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Studies on the South Estonian language islands
(Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna)**

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Uldis Balodis and Karl Pajusalu



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FOREWORD

The three South Estonian language islands – Leivu, Lutsi, and Kraasna – form a unique group within the Finnic language area. They are the southernmost Finnic varieties and were spoken in the multilingual environment of the Central Baltic area where they shared long-standing contacts with neighbouring Baltic and Slavic languages and dialects. As a result, these now moribund varieties of South Estonian have undergone extensive typological changes. However, due to their peripheral location they have also preserved a number of old Finnic traits. This volume is the first multifaceted introduction to the linguistic, cultural, and social history and current state of the South Estonian language islands to a wider English-speaking audience.

The articles in this issue are divided into four thematic sections. The first section introduces the language island communities. Uldis Balodis and Karl Pajusalu present an introductory overview on the research history, location, and current situation of the language islands. Miina Norvik and co-authors analyse a number of typological traits of these South Estonian varieties and compare them to neighbouring Baltic, Finnic, and Slavic languages and dialects. Anna Stafecka describes possible Finnic influence in different Latvian subdialects. Heiki Valk examines the archaeology and history of this region and discusses evidence suggesting that Leivu is indigenous to Latvia rather than the result of later migration of South Estonian speakers from Estonia.

The other three sections are dedicated to studies on each individual language island; however, the articles in these sections also include intriguing comparisons. The section on Leivu contains articles on its language history, pronunciation, linguistic contacts, and toponyms authored by Petri Kallio, Ilga Jansone, Pire Teras, and Lembit Vaba. The next section deals with the cultural, social, and linguistic position of Lutsi. Uldis Balodis describes the present state of Lutsi and the lives and language knowledge of its last speakers and rememberers. Hannes Korjus observes how the Lutsis have been depicted in Latvian media and by researchers throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Kristi

Salve studies the relationship of Lutsi folklore with that of other South Estonian and Finnic areas, while also bringing to light striking Baltic and Slavic connections. The final section focuses on Kraasna. Enn Ernits discusses Kraasna nominal derivation. Tobias Weber describes Kraasna language documentation and gives its linguistic characterisation.

Uldis Balodis served as the language editor for this volume and also translated the articles by Enn Ernits, Kristi Salve, Lembit Vaba – from Estonian – and the articles by Ilga Jansone, Hannes Korjus, Anna Stafecka – from Latvian – into English.

The editors of this volume would also like to express their profound gratitude to Jüvä Sullõv (Sulev Iva) for using his deep knowledge of South Estonian to ensure the accuracy of the language examples in several of the articles in this collection as well as, in general, contributing his support and insight throughout the creation of this volume. We would also like to express our thanks to the anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable suggestions and critiques, which contributed greatly to the success of this collection.

This special volume was created as a result of cooperation between the University of Tartu Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics, the University of Tartu Collegium for Transdisciplinary Studies in Archaeology, Genetics and Linguistics, and the University of Latvia Livonian Institute, and was also supported by several organisations and persons in Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. The editors of this volume thank all of them for their great support!

Uldis Balodis and Karl Pajusalu
Chicago and Tartu, October 6, 2021

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INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF THE SOUTH ESTONIAN LANGUAGE ISLANDS

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Abstract. The South Estonian language islands – Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna – are three historically South Estonian-speaking exclaves located not only beyond the borders of Estonia, but also geographically separated from the main body of South Estonian speakers for at least several centuries. Two of these communities – Leivu and Lutsi – were located in present-day Latvia. The third community – Kraasna – was located near the northernmost Lutsi communities – only about 35 kilometres distant across the present-day Latvian border in Russia. This article acts as an introduction to the studies in this volume by describing the history and current state of the communities at its focus. It gives an overview of the location of the language island communities, their origins, linguistic status, and self-identity as well as provides a survey of their research history dating from its beginnings in the late 19th century to the present.

Keywords: endangered languages, minority languages, language contact, Finnic languages, South Estonian, Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna

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1. Introduction

The South Estonian language islands – Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna – are three historically South Estonian-speaking regions located not only beyond the borders of Estonia, but also geographically separated from the main body of South Estonian speakers for at least several centuries.

Two of these communities – Leivu and Lutsi – were located in present-day Latvia. Leivu was spoken in a group of villages near the small communities of Lejasciems and Ilzene in northeastern Latvia. Lutsi was spoken in several dozen villages in the countryside to the

north, south, and southeast of the town of Ludza in southeastern Latvia (in the Latgale region). Both Leivu and Lutsi existed in relatively diverse linguistic environments. The Leivus lived in contact with speakers of the Latvian subdialects of the Malēnija region and show traces of possible ancient contact with Livonian. The Lutsis lived in close contact with speakers of not only Latvian and Latgalian, but also Russian, Polish, Belarusian, and Yiddish.

The third community – Kraasna – was located near the northernmost Lutsi communities – only about 35 kilometres distant across the present-day border in Russia. The Kraasna villages extended primarily to the south of the town of Krasnogorodsk. Other communities beyond just these three may have existed – and likely did exist – either as part of or separate from them. Researcher Paulopriit Voolaine, for example, wrote about a community of people also mentioned by Kallas (1903: 8) – by then almost entirely assimilated into local Russian speakers – who lived in the village of Sapohnovo near Vyshgorodok (Latvian: Augšpils) north of the Kraasna region and remembered their ancestors coming from Kolpino Island on Lake Pihkva/Pskov (Voolaine 1938: 6). Figure 1 shows a map of the South Estonian language islands and the South Estonian dialect areas in Estonia. See Section 3 for detailed maps of all three language island communities.

This article provides an overview of the history and current state of the South Estonian language island communities. Section 2 describes the origins of these communities, Section 3 gives information on their location and includes maps of their villages, Sections 4 and 5 describe the nature of the languages spoken by each community and their identities, Section 6 describes the current state of each language, Section 7 provides an overview of the research history of each community, and Section 8 gives some concluding remarks.



Figure 1. The South Estonian language islands (Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna) and the South Estonian dialect areas in Estonia (Source: Iva & Pajusalu 2004).

2. Origins

The origins of the language island communities are not precisely known, may not be the result of any single known event for the Lutsis, or perhaps no migration at all for the Leivus (for more on the historical development of the South Estonian language islands see Valk 2021 in this volume).

There are a number of theories on the origin of the Leivus. One is that the Leivus are – like the Lutsis – descendants of South Estonian-speaking settlers (see Jansone 2021 and Stafecka 2021 in this volume). Another is that the Leivus are indigenous to Latvia and represent a community which formerly was connected with South Estonian speakers further north but was, in time, separated from them due to settlement by Latvians in the area (see Vaba 2021 in this volume). A third possibility

is that they are descendants of another ancient undocumented Finnic language (e.g., the Atzele language (see Valk 2021 and Kallio 2021 in this volume)). In popular culture, the Leivus have sometimes been connected with the Livonians or been conjectured to be Livonians themselves, but due to the considerable differences between Leivu and Livonian, this theory is unlikely to be true.

The earliest known Lutsi origin account was published in 1877 by Mihkel Veske in “Bericht über die Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Estenland im Sommer 1875” and is recorded from two workmen Josef Antonof and his relative Petra whom he met in Estonia but who were from the Pilda region south of Ludza in Latvia (Weske 1877). These men shared one of the same stories recorded later by Kallas, namely that their ancestors had come from “Sweden” or the “Swedish king’s land”, i.e., Estonia during the period of Swedish rule. Other theories recorded include the Lutsis’ ancestors fleeing a war (see, for example, the story “Eestlastest Lutsimaal” (About the Estonians in Lutsimaa) in Mets et al. 2014 from Lutsi speaker Ossip Jakimenko), which is understood to be the Great Northern War, or avoiding forced conversion from Catholicism to Lutheranism in Estonia during Swedish rule.

Other stories mention Lutsi ancestors coming to the area after it was decimated by plague or coming to Latgale in exchange either for property or other peasants. In the course of his work, researcher Uldis Balodis has been shown land deeds dating to the 19th century by Lutsi descendants, which, along with memories of a more recent arrival, could also point to some movement of people from Estonia to the Ludza area more recently (Balodis 2020: 91–93). These different accounts along with the existence of variation in the South Estonian variety spoken by the Lutsis, suggests that the Lutsis may be the product of several population movements over the last centuries motivated by different events. The overall similarity and intelligibility of Lutsi to South Estonian varieties still spoken in Estonia may indicate either that the separation of the Lutsis from other South Estonian speakers is no more than a few centuries in length or perhaps that contact between the Lutsis and South Estonian speakers was regular and intense enough to affect the continued development of Lutsi. Kristi Salve (2021) also explores Lutsi origins in this volume. She analyses Lutsi folk songs and compares them to folk songs in South Estonian-speaking areas of

Estonia, showing various common features between Lutsi and South Estonian folklore.

In his monograph on Kraasna, Oskar Kallas (1904: 23–24) notes that the Kraasna people remembered their origins as being brought from the area of Petseri/Pechory (i.e., Setomaa) and that they still had some contact with people there. Pajusalu et al. (2020) date the arrival of the ancestors of the Kraasna community in the area near Krasnogorodsk beginning with the late 16th century though this was followed by later waves of migration (see also Weber 2021b in this volume).

3. Location

This section shows detailed maps of the villages inhabited by the three language island communities. The data for all three maps are taken from the online version of the *Eesti kohanimeraamat* (EKR; The Dictionary of Estonian Place Names; Kallasmaa et al. 2016). For the Lutsi and Kraasna maps these data are further cross-referenced with those given by Kallas in his monographs on the Lutsi (Kallas 1894) and Kraasna (Kallas 1903) communities. This removes a couple of villages from the Lutsi map that are mentioned in the EKR and adds a village to the Kraasna map – Kriskohv (Griškovo) – mentioned by Kallas but not listed in the EKR. Additionally, the location of two Leivu villages mentioned in the EKR – Aavašilla and Lügäbä – is uncertain or unknown and therefore these villages are not shown on the Leivu map. Ojansuu (1912: 13) places Aavašilla in Ilzene parish; however, its Latvian name and specific location are not known¹. Ojansuu (1912: 14) places Lügäbä in Kalncempji parish and the EKR gives “Liğupi” and “Liğubi” as two possible Latvian names for this village.

1 The Institute of the Estonian Language place name archive (*Eesti Keele Instituudi kohanimkartoteek*) gives an alternate form for Aavašilla – Haavasilla (<https://www.eki.ee/kohanimed/index.php?lei=1&po=haavasilla+k&liik=>). The ending *-šilla* ~ *-silla* ‘bridge.gen’ corresponds to Latvian *-upe* ‘river’ in the Leivu village name Pajušilla (Kärklupe). As *haava* is likely the genitive form of *haab* ‘aspen’ (Latvian: *apse*), a possible location could be near a river called Apšupe or Apšupīte. While there is no such river in Ilzene parish, there is an Apšupīte relatively nearby to the northeast at the boundary of present-day Alsviķi and Jaunlaicene parishes. This could provide a clue to the location of Aavašilla.

The maps show the maximum known extent of these communities. However, members of these communities also lived in other towns and villages (see, e.g., a description of this for Lutsi in Kallas 1894: 12) either as a result of marrying into non-Estonian families, purchasing property elsewhere, work, or any number of other reasons. And as the historical record of these communities begins only relatively recently, there quite possibly could have been other villages inhabited by members of these communities.

The Lutsi map shows the village names as recorded by Kallas but written in the orthography used in Balodis (2020). The Leivu and Kraasna maps use the Estonian-based spelling of the village names found in the EKR. All names are given with equivalents in Latvian – for Leivu and Lutsi – and Russian (in Cyrillic and transliterated into Latin script) – for Kraasna. Important cities and towns are also shown on the map, while the villages are each identified with a numerical index corresponding to the village name in the key (Tables 1–3) following each map. Place names shown on the map are given in Leivu, Lutsi, or Kraasna with the corresponding Latvian or Russian name given in parentheses.

Latvia's administrative divisions underwent extensive changes during the Soviet occupation. The lowest-level administrative division – the (civil) parish or *pagasts* – was eliminated in 1949 in favor of the Soviet-era *ciema padome* or village soviet (after 1984 simply called *ciems* or village) administrative division. Modern parish boundaries developed from these Soviet-era administrative divisions and were renamed *pagasts* or (civil) parish in 1991 following the restoration of Latvia's independence, but with boundaries differing considerably from those of the pre-1949 parishes and sometimes with a historical and modern *pagasts* having the same name but somewhat different boundaries (e.g., there is both a pre-1949 and post-1991 Pilda parish). Leivu and Lutsi villages are described with reference to both historical and modern divisions, as historical divisions can be indicative of, for example, finer language differences between groups of villages (and are still used today for describing Latvian subdialects in Latvian linguistics), while modern divisions are more useful for describing the location of villages on contemporary maps. Historical subdivisions referenced in Kallas's 1903 monograph and modern subdivisions are also given for the Kraasna villages.

The Institute of the Estonian Language place name archive (*Eesti Keele Instituudi kohanimkartoteek*; <https://www.eki.ee/kohanimed/>) often lists the historical parish on place name slips and was the main source for determining Leivu historical parish locations. For some Leivu villages, historical parish locations had to be extrapolated using their position relative to other villages and landmarks on maps showing historical parish boundaries. Leivu modern parish locations are taken from the EKR. The main sources for Lutsi historical and modern parish locations are Kallas (1894) and Balodis (2020) (as well as associated research by its author). Kraasna historical parish locations are taken from Kallas (1903), while modern parish locations were extrapolated using a variety of sources including the articles on and maps of each district and volost in Russian Wikipedia as well as the detailed map of Pskov Oblast at the MapData site online (<https://mapdata.ru/pskovskaya-oblast/>). For some Kraasna villages, modern parish locations also had to be extrapolated based on their location relative to other nearby landmarks or villages. Also note that the prime (') in the subdivision designations in Tables 1–3 is used to indicate a modern parish or volost, which has the same name as a historical parish or volost, but with different boundaries.

Despite changes in parish boundaries, most Leivu villages are located in a modern parish, which has the same name as the historical parish where they were located prior to 1949. In general terms, the largest cluster of Leivu villages was in Ilzene parish with smaller clusters in Lejasciems parish to the south and Kalncempji parish to the east.

The Lutsi villages divide into three geographic groups based on their historical pre-1949 parish. The villages to the north of Ludza were located in Mērdzene parish (called Mihalova parish until 1925), the villages to the south of Ludza and west of Nirza were in Pilda parish, and the villages east of the train line running south from Ludza were in Nirza and Briģi (called Janovole parish until 1925) parishes. While Lutsi dialect differences have not yet been fully researched, the division of the villages by historical parish is reflected in some differences within Lutsi, for example, the preference for the *-h* inessive ending in Pilda parish Lutsi villages and the *-n* inessive ending in villages in other parts of the Lutsi-speaking area (see Balodis forthcoming).

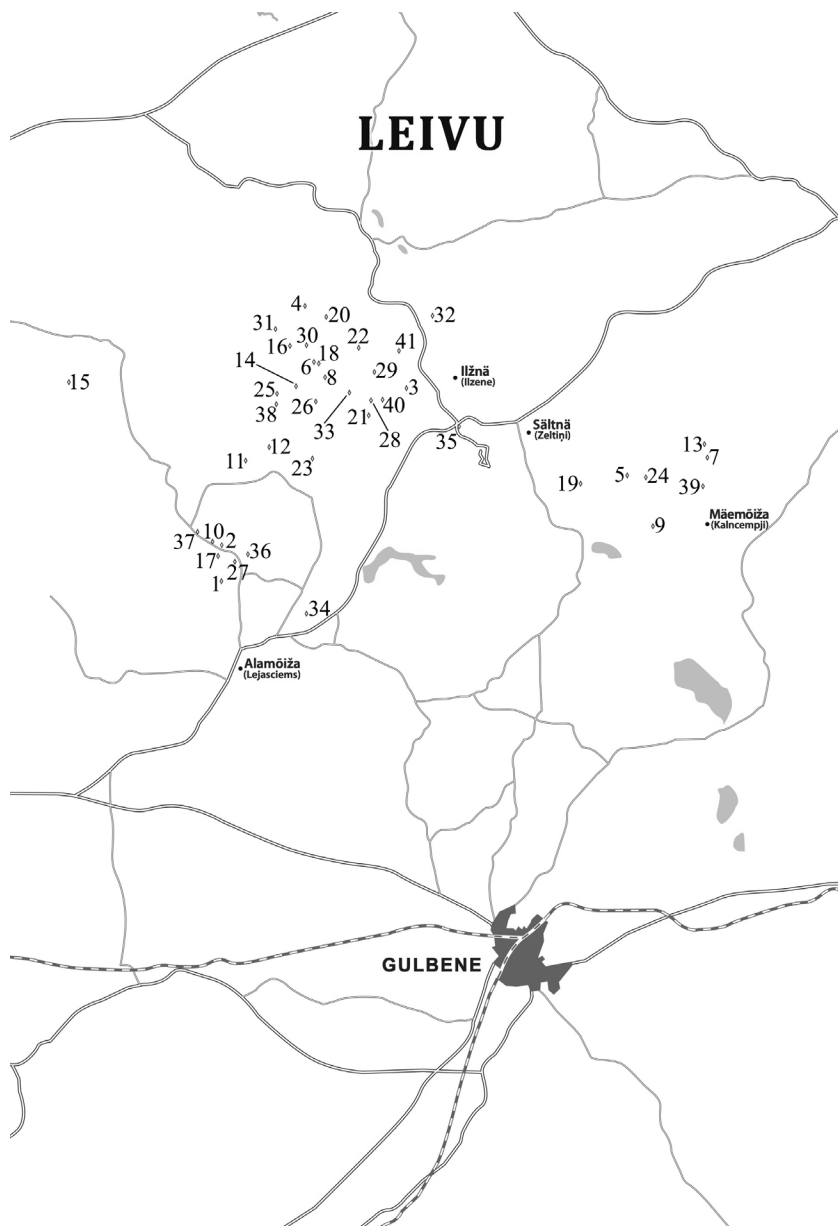


Figure 2. Map of the Leivu villages (Map created by Meeli Mets).

Table 1. Leivu and Latvian names of villages shown on Figure 2. (H = historical (pre-1949) parish, M = modern (post-1991) parish, D = Dūre, I, I' = Ilzene, K, K' = Kalncempji, L, L' = Lejasciems, V = Vireši, Z, Z' = Zeltiņi).

| | Leivu | Latvian | H | M |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------|---|----|
| 1 | Allikülä | Aļļi | L | L' |
| 2 | Andrini | Andriņi | L | L' |
| 3 | Andu | Onti | I | I' |
| 4 | Bullikülä | Buļļi | I | I' |
| 5 | Gotlōba | Gotlupi | K | K' |
| 6 | Gutapōllu | Gutapuri | I | I' |
| 7 | Järllaana | Jerlāni | K | K' |
| 8 | Katrōmōtsa | Jaunčonkas | I | I' |
| 9 | Kelle | Ķelles | K | K' |
| 10 | Kibakülä | Ķibas | L | L' |
| 11 | Küllekülä | Kuļļi | D | L' |
| 12 | Küpärmäe | Cepurkalni | I | L' |
| 13 | Laudikülä | Lauķi | K | K' |
| 14 | Laudumāe | Lubukalni | I | I' |
| 15 | Leivekülä | Līves | I | I' |
| 16 | Leivu | Līves | D | V |
| 17 | Majanikülä | Majani | L | L' |
| 18 | Mustura | Melnupes | I | I' |
| 19 | Mōtspalži | Micpalži | Z | Z' |
| 20 | Mōtsšlāga | Mežslokas | I | I' |
| 21 | Mäekülä, Bruunja | Brūniņi | I | I' |
| 22 | Paikna | Paiķēni | I | I' |
| 23 | Pajušilla | Kārklupe | I | L' |
| 24 | Pulgikülä | Puļķi | K | K' |
| 25 | Pöllupi | Pilupes | I | I' |
| 26 | Riikštakülä | Riekstiņi | I | I' |
| 27 | Salaga | Salaki | L | L' |
| 28 | Seivadži | Siveci | I | I' |
| 29 | Soosaare | Sūzari | I | I' |
| 30 | Soursuu | Lielpuri | I | I' |
| 31 | Šikksālgākülä | Āžmuguras | I | I' |
| 32 | Šlāagakülä | Ezerslokas | I | I' |
| 33 | Tsangukülä | Čonkas | I | I' |
| 34 | Tšipati | Čipati | L | L' |
| 35 | Tuklikülä | Dukuliena | I | Z' |
| 36 | Töülūsta | Tīlani | L | L' |
| 37 | Tüüre, Töüremōiža, Duurōmōiža | Dūre | D | L' |
| 38 | Uibumāe | Ābeļkalni | I | I' |
| 39 | Uranužō | Uranaži | K | K' |
| 40 | Vaslō | Jaunzemji | I | I' |
| 41 | Väakali | Kalnvēji | I | I' |

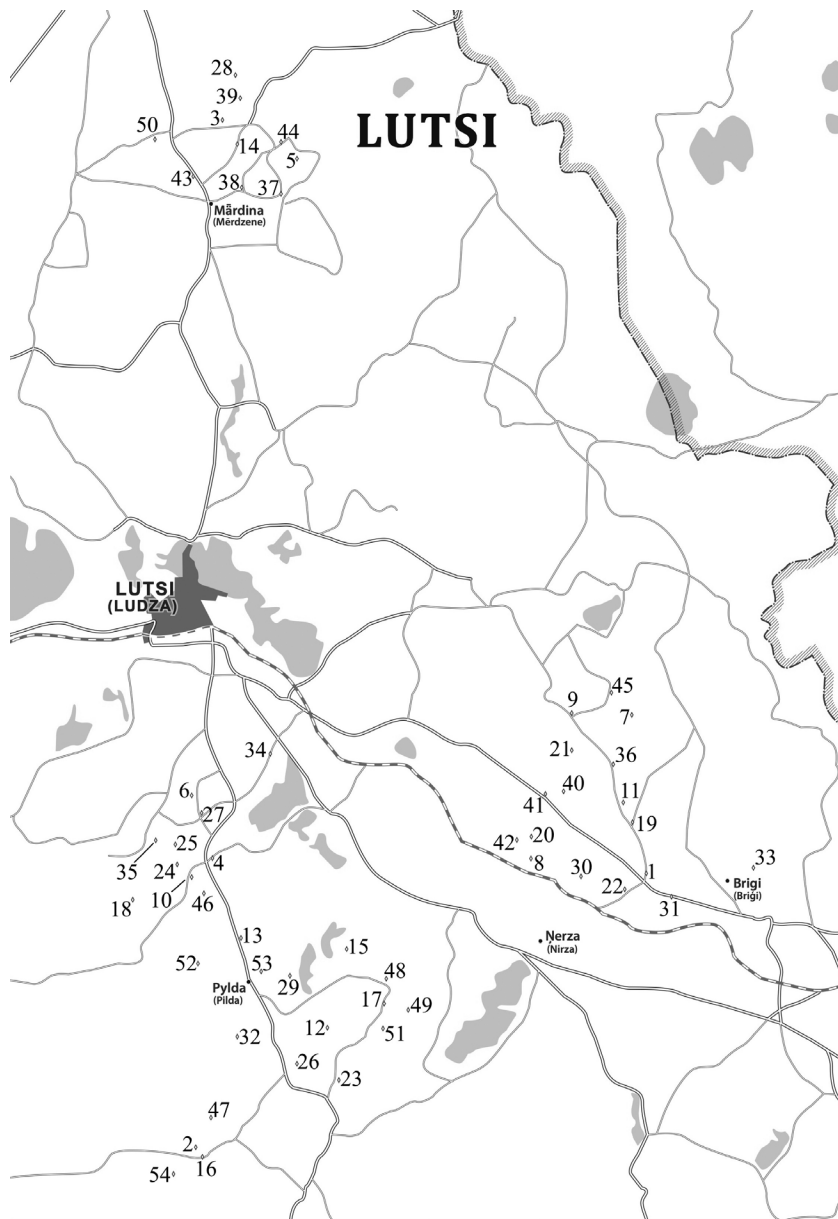


Figure 3. Map of the Lutsi villages (Map created by Meeli Mets).

Table 2. Lutsi and Latvian names of villages shown on Figure 3. (H = historical (pre-1949) parish, M = modern (post-1991) parish, B, B' = Briģi, C = Cibla, M, M' = Mērdzene, N = Nirza, Ņu = Ņukši, P, P' = Pilda, Pu = Pureņi).

| | Lutsi | Latvian | H | M |
|----|-----------------------------|----------------|---|----|
| 1 | Ala külä, Sūre-Pīkova | Lielā Pīkova | N | B' |
| 2 | Aļksenki | Aļoksinki | P | P' |
| 3 | Baranova | Baranova | M | M' |
| 4 | Belomoikino | Belomoiki | P | Ņu |
| 5 | Dektereva | Dekterova | M | M' |
| 6 | Dirgatsi | Dergači | P | Ņu |
| 7 | Dunduri | Abricki | B | C |
| 8 | Dūnaburi | Dinaburski | N | B' |
| 9 | Grēki | Greči | N | C |
| 10 | Inkina | Inkini | P | Ņu |
| 11 | Jertševa | Jerčova | B | B' |
| 12 | Kirbu külä, Kirbani | Škirpāni | P | P' |
| 13 | Kirivā-kidze külä, Rābakoza | Raibakozi | P | P' |
| 14 | Kitkova | Kitkova | M | M' |
| 15 | Kukli külä | Kukujeva | P | P' |
| 16 | Kulakovo | Kulakova | P | P' |
| 17 | Laizenaq | Laizāni | P | P' |
| 18 | Lōdi külä | Lociši | P | Pu |
| 19 | Lovodina | Jaunā Slobodka | B | B' |
| 20 | Lukodi | Ļukati | N | B' |
| 21 | Māgize külä | Barisi | N | C |
| 22 | Māe külä, Väiku-Pīkova | Mazā Pīkova | N | B' |
| 23 | Mytsa külä | Germi | P | P' |
| 24 | Nitkova | Šņitki | P | Ņu |
| 25 | Paideri | Paideri | P | Pu |
| 26 | Paldatsi | Boldači | P | P' |
| 27 | Palo-kyrdzi külä | Baravuški | P | Ņu |
| 28 | Parsikova | Parsikova | M | M' |
| 29 | Paške külä, Barava | Borovaja | P | P' |
| 30 | Väiku-Pīzeq | Pīzāni | N | B' |
| 31 | Poddubi | Poddubje | N | B' |
| 32 | Porkali | Porkaļi | P | P' |
| 33 | Prokori | Prohori | B | B' |
| 34 | Pūdniki | Pūdņiki | P | Ņu |
| 35 | Pūkeze külä | Pivkaiņi | P | Pu |
| 36 | Puntsuli | Puncuļi | B | B' |
| 37 | Rūzinova | Rūzori | M | M' |
| 38 | Salai | Šalaji | M | M' |
| 39 | Samuši | Samuši | M | M' |
| 40 | Skrīni | Skrini | N | B' |
| 41 | Sokani | Sokāni | N | C |
| 42 | Svikli | Svikli | N | B' |
| 43 | Sylogali | Silagaiļi | M | M' |
| 44 | Tabalova | Tabulova | M | M' |
| 45 | Tati külä | Ščastļivi | N | C |
| 46 | Toloni | Stoloni | P | Ņu |
| 47 | Tsirgu külä, Pūdinova | Putinova | P | P' |
| 48 | Sūre-Tsāpsiq, Jāni külä | Lielie Tjapši | P | P' |
| 49 | Väiku-Tsāpsiq | Mazie Tjapši | P | P' |
| 50 | Vahtsene külä, Nova ģerevna | Jaun-mihalova | M | M' |
| 51 | Vahtsetaloq, Saļnigi | Saļņiki | P | P' |
| 52 | Vārkali | Vorkaļi | P | P' |
| 53 | Vāhā külä | Veženki | P | P' |
| 54 | Zaļmona | Dzalmaņi | P | P' |

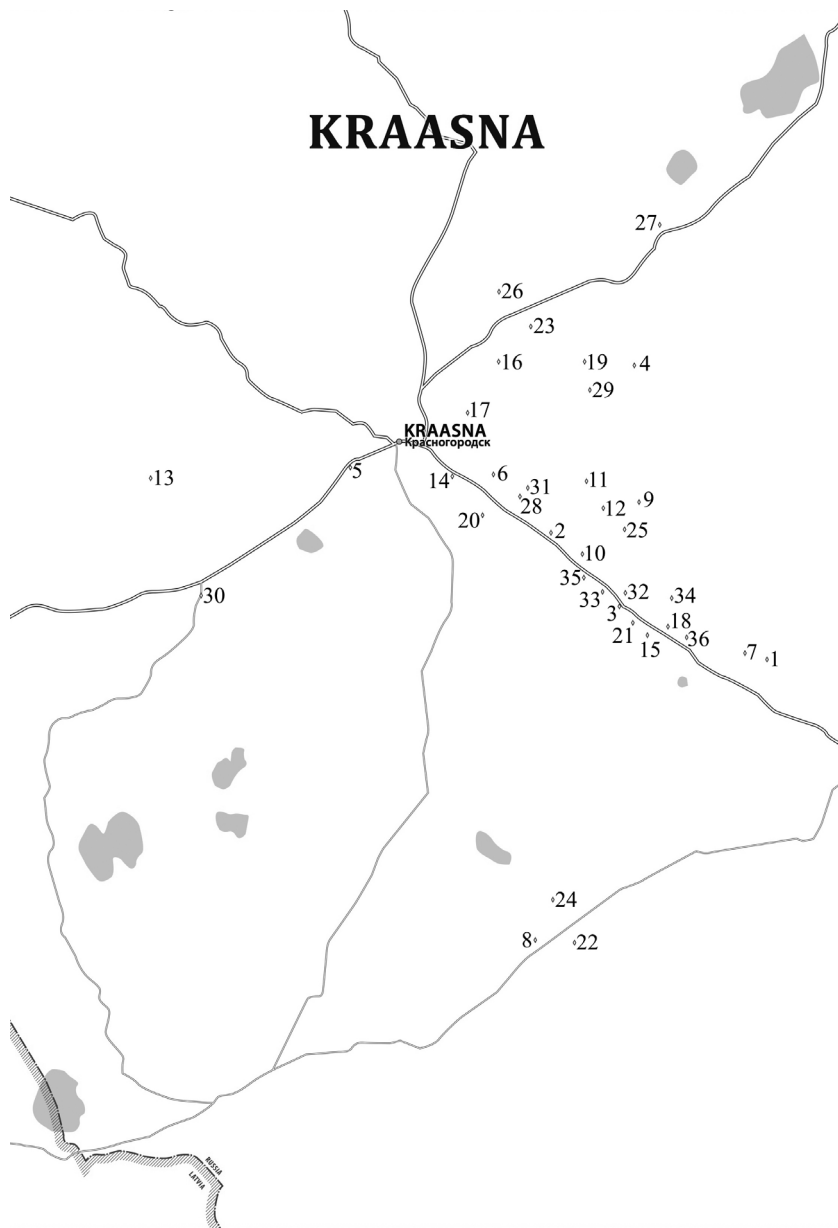


Figure 4. Map of the Kraasna villages (Map created by Meeli Mets).

Table 3. Kraasna and Russian names of villages shown in Figure 4. (H = historical (Kallas-era) administrative divisions, M = modern administrative divisions, B = Baryginskaja volost (Варыгинская волость), K, K' = Krasnogorodskaja volost (Красногородская волость), Pe = Petrovskaja volost (Петровская волость), Pg = Pograničnaja volost (Пограничная волость), Po = Pokrovs-kaja volost (Покровская волость), Pr = Prigorodnaja volost (Пригородная волость)).

| | Kraasna | Russian | H | M |
|----|------------------|--|----------|----------|
| 1 | Borodulina | Бородулино (Borodulino) | Pe | B |
| 2 | Gorbunova | Горбуново (Gorbunovo) | K | K' |
| 3 | Hanikülä | Ломы (Lomy) | K | K' |
| 4 | Hudjaga | Худяки (Hudjaki) | K | K' |
| 5 | Issajeva | Исаево (Isaevov) | K | K' |
| 6 | Ivatsova | Иванцево (Ivancevo) | K | K' |
| 7 | Kostrova | Кострово (Kostrovo) | K | B |
| 8 | Kraine | Крайнево (Krajnevo) | Po | Pr |
| 9 | Kriskohv | Гришково (Griškovo) | K | K' |
| 10 | Käpäkülä | Усово (Usovo) | K | K' |
| 11 | Makavina | Маковейково (Makovejkovo) | K | K' |
| 12 | Mihova | Мехово (Mehovo) | K | K' |
| 13 | Muldova | Мулдово (Muldovo) | K | K' |
| 14 | Mõisa | Мыза (Muza) | K | K' |
| 15 | Nahakülä | Агафоново (Agafonovo) | K | K' |
| 16 | Paraskova | Барашкино (Baraškino) | K | K' |
| 19 | Poddubno | Поддубно (Poddubno) | K | K' |
| 20 | Prentsi | Морозово (Morozovo) | K | K' |
| 21 | Rumuli | Подсадница (Podsadnica) | K | K' |
| 22 | Seeverik- ova | Северка (Severka) | Po | Pr |
| 23 | Seipolo | Серполово (Serpolovo) | K | K' |
| 24 | Selnika | Сильники (Sil'niki) | Po | Pr |
| 25 | Sokolina | Сакулино (Sakulino) | K | K' |
| 26 | Sorokina | Сорокино (Sorokino) | K | K' |
| 27 | Sossedova | Соседово (Sosedovo) | K | K' |
| 28 | Sülättivä | Шутово (Šutovo) | K | K' |
| 29 | Šagirjova | Жагорево (Žagorevo) | K | K' |
| 30 | Šerebina | Жеребино (Žerebino) | Po | Pg |
| 31 | Tammõkülä | Сорокино- Чухонское (Sorokino- Čuhonskoe) | K | K' |
| 32 | Suure- Tanka | Филелеево (Fileleevov) | K | K' |
| 33 | Väiku- Tanka | Прилотино (Priglotino) | K | K' |

| | Kraasna | Russian | H | M | | Kraasna | Russian | H | M |
|----|-----------------|--|----------|----------|----|----------------|----------------------------|----------|----------|
| 17 | Piirova | Спирово (Spirovo) | К | К' | 34 | Tsertseva | Черницово (Černicovo) | К | К' |
| 18 | Poddub- naja | Поддубно- Агафоновское (Poddubno- Agafonovskoe) | К | К' | 35 | Tsesneva | Частилково (Častilkovo) | К | К' |
| | | | | | 36 | Tsähnova | Дяхновка (Djaxnovka) | К | К' |

The majority of Kraasna villages cluster along the roads leading to the southeast and northeast from Krasnogorodsk. A handful of villages are also located further south and west. During Kallas's expedition, nearly all of the villages were in Krasnogorodskaja volost. Though some of the boundaries and names of administrative divisions may have changed, this is still generally the case today. Most of the villages are located in Krasnogorodskij District (Красногородский район) in Krasnogordskaja and Pograničnaja volosts. A handful of villages are found in Baryginskaja, Pograničnaja, and Prigorodnaja volosts located in Opočeckij District (Опочецкий район).

4. Linguistic status

The language island communities exist in a space between speaking three subdialects of South Estonian and three unique languages. They have elements of both, but are somewhere in the middle between both ends of this continuum.

These three communities are not uniform, isolated groups of South Estonian-speaking people. There are also variations within the languages spoken by these communities (Pajusalu 2020). For example, in the aforementioned use of different inessive endings in Lutsi, which corresponds to similar variations seen within the South Estonian speech area in Estonia and may suggest, as noted above, that the Lutsi community originated from several migrations of people from different parts of southeastern Estonia.

At the same time, each of these three communities was a unique laboratory for language contact and responded to the different modern and historical influences of its environment developing, on one hand, new features – such as *stød* or broken tone in Leivu and Lutsi (Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016, see also Norvik et al. 2021 in this volume) –

and new vocabulary, while, on the other hand, preserving grammatical archaisms – such as the inessive ending *-hn* in Lutsi – which are lost or less prevalent in the South Estonian varieties spoken in Estonia today.

And yet, while developing independently and separated from the main body of South Estonian speakers, the speakers of the language island varieties had some degree of contact with those speakers in Estonia. As noted by several of the authors in the current volume, this contact came through paths such as marriage, trade, manor lords moving South Estonian-speaking peasants between manors in the language islands and Estonia, or labourers venturing outside of their communities to work. This contact may also have at different points in time influenced the evolution of the three language island varieties.

5. Self-Identity

As with any community, the self-identity of the members of the three language island communities has evolved over time. Historically, members of these three communities predominantly saw themselves as Estonians and used self-designations also used historically or presently by Estonians in Estonia such as *maarahvas* ‘country folk’, *maamiis* ‘country person’, *eestlaseq* ‘Estonians’.

This same understanding of Lutsi identity is found among Lutsi descendants in the present day who generally see their ancestors as being *igauņi* ‘Estonians’ rather than members of a separate Lutsi ethnicity. The terms *Ludzas igauņi* ‘Ludza Estonians’ and *luci* ‘Lutsis’ are popular in Latvia as designations for the Lutsis for Lutsi language and culture events. *Ludzas igauņi* is also often used in scientific research to refer to the Lutsis (Balodis 2020). The situation for Leivu is similar with the Latvian designation *leivi* ‘Leivus’ generally used at present to refer to this community and in names for its language, cultural elements, etc. It should be noted that *leivi* is also the term in the local variety of Latvian for the Livonians. It is also noteworthy that some Leivu descendants have given prominence to the connections they presume they have with the Livonians. While it is unlikely that the Leivus are descendants of any Livonian group, the perception by some Leivu descendants that their ancestors were connected with the Livonians or perhaps even were Livonians themselves has led to a transformation of their identity from being linked with the Estonians to instead being linked with the Livonians.

In Latvia, the Lutsis and Leivus are increasingly seen as being one of the unique historical ethnic groups of Latvia – along with the indigenous Latvians and Livonians and non-indigenous Krevin Votians (Latvian: *krieviņi*) near Bauska – rather than as a historical Estonian emigrant community. The situation for Kraasna in Russia and whether there is any modern designation used by descendants of the community for their ancestors is unknown.

6. Obsolescence to Extinction and Rebirth

Presently, none of the language island varieties are used as languages of daily interaction. Kraasna was probably the first of the three varieties to lose its last speakers – most likely by the mid-20th century, if not earlier (Mets et al. 2014: 14). Paulopriit Voolaine visited the Kraasna region in 1952 and 1966 and his notebooks stored at the Estonian Literary Museum show that some amount of Kraasna language knowledge still existed among Kraasna descendants. Figure 5 shows one of these individuals from Voolaine’s 1966 trip to the Kraasna villages.



Figure 5. Jegor, son of Vassiili, Vassiljev with his wife. Voolaine writes on the back of the photo: “Both were born in Mõisa village. Jegor V. is the only Estonian who remembers the word ‘Kraasna’. He also knows the most Estonian words compared to others, and even some short sentences.” (Photo: Paulopriit Voolaine, 1966, Mõisa (Myza), Russia, ERM Fk 1508: 138).

In 2004, University of Tartu researchers found some fragmentary traces remaining of Kraasna in the village of Ivatsova. Two families living there knew of their Estonian roots (see Harju 2004); one family had also given its dog a South Estonian name – *Musti*. Many historical Kraasna villages described by Oskar Kallas and other earlier researchers, are now partially or even mostly gone. It is unknown how much knowledge of Estonian roots remains among Kraasna descendants today.

The language island communities of Latvia survived longer and, as is discussed in several of the articles in this volume, influenced the sound and structure of local Latvian varieties. The last known fluent speaker of Leivu was Anton Bok (1908–1988) (Nigol 1988) from Pajušilla (Kārklupe) village in present-day Lejasciems parish. Figure 6 shows two Leivu speakers with Estonian linguist Paul Ariste.



Figure 6. Estonian linguist Paul Ariste (centre) with Leivu speakers Alfred Peterson (left) and Alide Peterson (right). (Photo: Valter Niilus, 1935, Paikna (Paikēni), Latvia, ERM Fk 724: 3).

Lutsi would have ceased being a spoken language nearly at the exact same time as Leivu were it not for the efforts of one of its last speakers – Antonina Nikonova (1898–1983). Though Mrs. Nikonova passed away

at just around the same time as the last speaker of Leivu, she had been an enthusiastic speaker of Lutsi and not only encouraged others to speak it, but also spoke it with her grandson Nikolajs Nikonovs (1944–2006) of Lielie Tjapši village (Lutsi: Jāni külā, Sūre-Tsäpsiq) who would end up being the last known conversational speaker of Lutsi and lived into the 21st century. Lutsi knowledge persisted beyond Mr. Nikonovs' lifetime as well. His wife Antoņina Nikonova (1949–2014), a partial speaker of Lutsi, had extensive knowledge of Lutsi vocabulary and even some phrases. Today some knowledge of greetings, numbers, and short phrases remains among the wider group of Lutsi descendants (Balodis 2020). Likewise, there is memory to a greater or lesser extent among both Leivu and Lutsi descendants of having Estonian roots. Figure 7 shows Estonian researcher Paulopriit Voolaine with the Nikonovs family.



Figure 7. Paulopriit Voolaine with the Nikonovs family. The last fluent Lutsi speaker Antonina Nikonova (second from the left) is standing with her great-granddaughter Anna, right of her is Antoņina Nikonova (Nikolajs' wife), Jezups Nikonovs (Nikolajs' father), Paulopriit Voolaine, and the last conversational Lutsi speaker Nikolajs Nikonovs. The identities of the others are uncertain. (Source: Antoņina Nikonova's photo album, Jāni külā (Lielie Tjapši), Latvia, late 1970s / early 1980s).

Currently, Lutsi is undergoing some degree of language revitalisation. In 2020, the first book on Lutsi written not only for researchers but also for a general audience was published in Latvia (*Lutsi kiele lementar | Ludzas igauņu valodas ābece* by Uldis Balodis) and local organisations in Ludza (the Juris Soikāns Ludza Art School, and the Youth Theatre “Azotē”) have undertaken their own Lutsi language activities, while several research symposia focusing on Lutsi and the Finno-Ugric heritage of Latgale have been organised at the Ludza City Main Library. Cultural activities are also underway with the release of a compact disc of Lutsi folk songs by the Cibla town folklore group “Ilža” and the opening of a permanent exhibit on the Lutsis in 2021 at the Ludza Local History Museum (Ludzas novadpētniecības muzejs).

There has been no consistent language revival effort as of yet for Leivu, though Leivu was included along with Lutsi in the Latvian national programme of events for the 2015 European Day of Languages and Lutsi and Leivu songs were included in the 2018 compilation of songs from Latvia’s Finnic communities released as the album “Jūrd. Saknes. Roots.” There is also a memorial in Mežslokas in Ilzene parish noting that this was a place inhabited by the Leivus and the location of one of their cemeteries.

7. Research history

The time depth of research into the language islands is somewhat shallower than that of other similar communities in and around Latvia such as Livonian and Krevin Votian where the first extensive documentation dates to the mid-19th century whereas the language island varieties only began to be documented in the late 19th or early 20th century.

The first reports of the existence of these communities, however, come earlier. In 1782, August Wilhelm Hupel noted the presence of several thousand Estonians (i.e., Leivus) living within Alūksne church parish (Hupel 1782, also Jansone 2021 and Vaba 2021 in this volume). Adolph Brandt, in 1845, and Gustav Manteuffel, in 1869, note the presence of approximately 3000 Estonians (i.e., Lutsis) living in Mihalova (present-day Mērdzene) and Janovole (present-day Briģi) parishes north and east of Ludza (Brandt 1845, Manteuffel 1869). A colleague of Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald sent him several Kraasna songs in 1849, which are the first record of this community (see Ernits 2021 in this volume).

Many of the same names appear in the history of the documentation of the three language island varieties. Oskar Kallas (1868–1946) carried out the first extensive documentation of Lutsi in 1893 and subsequently also of Kraasna. Kallas published monographs in Estonian on both communities in 1894 and 1903, respectively, also publishing a bilingual German-Estonian collection of Lutsi stories in 1900 which also included a description of the Lutsi community in German and a German version of his Kraasna monograph in 1904. Heikki Ojansuu (1873–1923) visited the Lutsi and Leivu communities in 1911, and the Kraasna community in 1911 and 1914, and left several hundred pages of handwritten language documentation and phonograph recordings of Kraasna, which are discussed in the present volume by Tobias Weber (2021b). Valter Niilus (1913–1978) focused his work on Leivu, publishing a volume in French containing texts in Leivu with translations and a description of the community as he found it during his work (Niilus 1937). Paul Ariste (1905–1990) also was involved in documentation of Leivu and Lutsi and appears in archival photographs from the 1930s with speakers from both communities.

In the interwar years, August Sang (1914–1969) and Paulopriit Voolaine (1899–1985) worked with Lutsi. Sang, who is also known for his Estonian poetry, was accompanied on his research expedition to the Lutsi villages of Pilda parish by Ariste and Niilus. Thanks to their work, there exist audio recordings of Lutsi² from the interwar years. Sang also wrote several valuable unpublished studies on Lutsi phonology (Sang 1936a) and Lutsi noun and verb morphology (Sang 1936b, 1936c). Sang also took many photographs of the Lutsi villages and their inhabitants during his work and kept a journal during his Lutsi expedition. These are stored at the Estonian National Museum.

While Sang's work with Lutsi lasted only a few years, Paulopriit Voolaine's work lasted much of his life. Voolaine also visited the Leivu and Kraasna communities, but his work and closest relationships were connected with the Lutsis. During Latvia's interwar independence, Voolaine carried out language documentation and took photographs in the

2 These are stored at the Institute of the Estonian Language. The Lutsi consultant is Meikuls Jarošenko from Lielle Tjapši village in Pilda parish. Meikuls and his wife Tekla Jarošenko were also the consultants for Sang's unpublished Lutsi studies mentioned later in this paragraph.

Lutsi villages; however, he also worked to strengthen Lutsi identity and tried unsuccessfully to have Estonian taught in a school in Filantmüiza in Pilda parish. During the Soviet period, Voolaine returned to the Lutsi villages and also helped serve as a contact and guide for expeditions conducted by linguists from the University of Tartu. He also maintained a close relationship until the end of his life with the Nikonovs family of Lielie Tjapši village, which included the last known fluent speakers of Lutsi.

In the mid to late 20th century, extensive language documentation was carried out by linguists from Estonia. Audio and text documentation for Lutsi and Leivu exists from this period. Prominent figures in this documentation include Salme Nigol, Salme Tanning, Mari Must, Aili Univere, Aino Valmet, and Paulopriit Voolaine. No significant Kraasna language documentation is known to exist from this period.

During the late 20th century and early 21st century, Lembit Vaba has researched Latvian loanwords in Leivu and Lutsi, language contacts and the history of Estonian habitation in Latvia, and has been the most prominent Estonian researcher of the South Estonian language islands (Vaba 1997, 2011). Tiit-Rein Viitso (2009) has compared Leivu to Livonian. Karl Pajusalu (2009, 2014) has described the position of the language islands relative to the rest of South Estonian. Pire Teras (2007, 2010) has studied the phonology of Leivu. Hannes Korjus has published extensively on the Lutsis and their history, and also carried out a survey (Korjus 2001) of the Estonian habitation of Ludza District. Since 2013, linguist Uldis Balodis (2019) has documented the final remembered fragments of Lutsi among descendants as well as the present state of the historic Lutsi villages. Balodis has also carried out preliminary language revitalisation work with the creation of a Lutsi practical orthography (Balodis 2015) and publication of a Lutsi language primer (Balodis 2020). Enn Ernits and Tobias Weber are working on Kraasna linguistic materials (see, e.g., Ernits 2012, 2018, 2021, Weber 2019, 2021a, 2021b).

8. Conclusion

Our image of the extent of the language islands is in some measure a collection of snapshots of particular moments in time when the presence of Estonian speakers was either noted by local officials such as clergy or later periods primarily in the late 19th and 20th centuries when these

communities were the objects of serious scientific study. However, our understanding of the particular language island communities, their inter-relationship with each other and South Estonian speakers in Estonia, and the extent of South Estonian outside of Estonia is dynamic as more work is done to research other types of evidence for the presence of South Estonian in areas adjacent to Estonia. Further work, such as place name research and research of other historical records (revision lists, etc.), may provide additional insight into the history and extent of this presence. This volume brings together some of the newest studies on the language island varieties and is an effort to take this next step in describing the language island varieties, while perhaps also shining more light on their origins.

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Kokkuvõte. Uldis Balodis, Karl Pajusalu: Sissejuhatav ülevaade lõuna-eesti keelesaartest. Lõunaeeesti keelesaared – Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna – on kolm ajaloolist lõunaeeestikeelset enklaavi, mis ei jää üksnes väljapoole Eesti piire, vaid mis on olnud Lõuna-Eesti põhialast eraldatud vähemalt mitu sajandit. Kaks nendest keelesaartest – Leivu ja Lutsi – asuvad tänapäeva Lätis. Kolmas keelesaar – Kraasna – paiknes teisel pool Läti piiri Venemaal, jäädes põhjapoolsest Lutsi asualast ainult u 35 kilomeetri kaugusele. Artikkel tutvustab sissejuhatavalt selle erinumbri artiklite teemasid, kirjeldades lõunaeeesti keelesaarte ajalugu ja praegust olukorda. Esitatakse ülevaade keelesaarte asendist ja päritolust, keelelisest staatusest, kõnelejate identiteedist ning ka uurimisloost 19. sajandist tänaseni.

Märksõnad: ohustatud keeled, vähemuskeeled, keelekontakt, läänemeresoome keeled, lõunaeeesti, Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna

THE SOUTH ESTONIAN LANGUAGE ISLANDS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CENTRAL BALTIC AREA

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Abstract. This article offers a comparative analysis of several morphosyntactic and phonological features in the South Estonian language islands: Leivu, Lutsi, and Kraasna. The objective is to give an overview of the distribution of selected features, their (in)stability over time, and discuss their form and use in a broader areal context. To achieve this goal, comparative information was also included from the closest cognate varieties (Estonian and the South Estonian varieties, Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian) and the main contact varieties (Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian). The data analysed in this study originated from various sources: text collections, dictionaries, and language corpora. The results reveal a multitude of linguistic patterns and distribution patterns, which means that the studied varieties are similar to / different from one another in various ways and points to multifaceted contact situations and outcomes in this area.

Keywords: morphosyntax, phonology, language contact, borrowing, language areas, Central Baltic area, Southern Finnic languages

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1. Introduction

The Circum-Baltic area (CBA) is a meeting point for the languages of the Indo-European and Uralic language families. Based on a number of linguistic features, the CBA can be regarded as a buffer zone between the languages of the Standard Average European (SAE) area and Central Eurasia (Wälchli 2011). Whereas genetic diversity in the CBA is only moderate, continuity of contacts over a long period of time is seen as

the most significant factor characterising the area (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001, Wälchli 2011). According to the current view, for instance, Finnic speakers reached the Baltic Sea about 3200 to 2800 years ago but came into contact with Baltic tribes already on their way there (see Lang 2018, Grünthal et al., in press, Nichols 2021).

There have been attempts to establish the CBA as a linguistic area, but no isoglosses that would cover the entire area have been found (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001, Seržant (to appear)). Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006) proposes two isoglosses that could almost unite the entire area: polytonicity and word order in possessive NPs. However, it tends to be more often the case that convergence works on a micro-level mainly involving two or three languages; if more languages are involved this is regarded as an instance of overlapping and superposition of different language contacts (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 728). Thomas Stolz (1991), one of the many researchers studying the common features of this area, suggested the existence of convergence zones, e.g., he proposed a Latvian, Livonian, and Estonian contact-intensive zone. He, however, looked at the standard varieties.

The present article takes a closer look at a number of morpho-syntactic and phonological features in the southernmost Finnic languages, with a focus on the South Estonian language island varieties: Lutsi, Leivu, and Kraasna. The other varieties included in the study are Võro, Seto, Mulgi, Standard Estonian (represented by North Estonian in Figure 1), two Livonian varieties – Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian, and the main non-cognate contact varieties – Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian. Here, the respective area where the studied varieties are spoken is called the Central Baltic (see also Figure 1). It should be noted that Võro and Seto are important in terms of tracing the origins of Lutsi, Leivu, and Kraasna. Namely, Kraasna speakers are thought to have migrated to Krasnogorodsk from the Seto areas in the 16th century; the initial migration to the Ludza region (> Lutsi) is thought to have taken place in the 17th and 18th centuries from eastern Võromaa but followed by later waves from different parts of Setomaa and Võromaa; Leivu speakers, in turn, are thought to originate from western Võromaa (see, e.g., Kallas 1903: 46–56, Vaba 1977: 22). By now, the language island varieties have all gone extinct – Lutsi and Leivu became extinct as conversational languages in the 1970s to 1980s, Kraasna already in the first half of the 20th century.

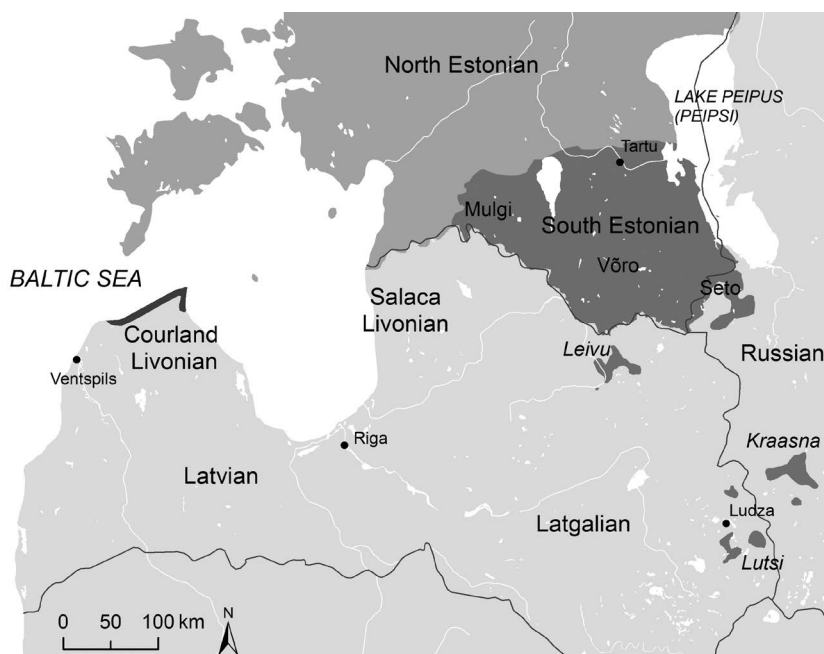


Figure 1. Location of the studied varieties in the Central Baltic area (map by Timo Rantanen, BEDLAN).

This article studies a selection of features, which include (i) four morphosyntactic topics: case-marking and agreement in noun phrases, comparative constructions, person-indexing, and negation; and (ii) ten phonological features: *stød*, glottal stop, *h*, voiced plosives, short vs. long consonant geminates, short vs. long vowels, central vowels (*õ* [ɤ]; *y* [u]), front rounded vowels (*ü* [y]; *ö* [ø]), vowel harmony, extensive palatalisation. The selected features are in one way or another characteristic of the South Estonian language islands or form a central part of their language system. Being characteristic of the language islands, however, does not exclude developments that are shared more broadly in the area. For instance, comparative adjective marking with *-b* can be regarded as a joint development in the southernmost South Estonian area (see Pajusalu 2008: 164). Whereas some of the selected features are discussed also in earlier studies (e.g., comparative constructions), there are also topics that previously have found only little attention (e.g., person-indexing). The selection of features described here is connected with the aims of the paper. First, to elaborate on the results of

previous studies that contain information on the respective varieties but to different extents. As far as we know, there is no study that would provide a systematic comparison of all twelve varieties without any gaps. Second, to shed more light on the topics that earlier have found little attention.

Our research questions are as follows:

1. Which of the selected features, if any, show convergence in the southernmost Finnic area?
2. Are there any features in the studied Finnic varieties that have been relatively stable over time?
3. If changes have taken place, then what have they brought along and what might have caused them?

We also have three main hypotheses. First, we hypothesise that there are instances where similarities involve two or three languages spoken in close proximity, rather than the languages of the entire southernmost Finnic area (as also proposed by Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001; see above). Second, we assume that there are features which have been relatively stable over time regardless of the multifaceted contact situations found in the area. Third, we hypothesise that we can detect two kinds of changes: (i) changes caused by the neighbouring Indo-European languages, (ii) changes that cannot be attributed (at least not directly) to the non-cognate contact varieties. As regards the former, we primarily expect ‘PAT(tern)’ transfers (for the term and explanation, see Matras & Sakel 2007). To exemplify the latter, the unexpectedly broad use of external local cases in Lutsi and Vana-Laitsna (Latvian: Veclaicene) is regarded as an instance of a development that cannot be explained by the direct influence of Latvian (Pajusalu 2008: 164).

Outcomes of language contacts depend on several factors. In addition to purely linguistic factors, such as genetic similarity, and the role and inherentness of the feature to the language structure, language external factors also play a role, e.g., the sociolinguistic situation and type of language contact (Aikhenvald 2006, Sakel 2007, Seržant (to appear)). The South Estonian language islands also existed in multifaceted contact situations. For instance, Lutsi speakers lived side by side with Latgalian, Russian, Belarusian, Polish, and Yiddish speakers

(see Ariste 1981: 36); the Central dialect of Standard Latvian may also be considered a contact language to some extent. This complex contact situation may have contributed to Lutsi remaining “pure” longer (see Vaba 2011: 208). Latgalian has been in close contact with other languages for centuries, which is evident in its historical development and due to the multilingualism of the Latgale region. Traces of older and newer contacts can be found in Latgalian, reflecting Finnic, Lithuanian, Polish, Belarusian, Russian, and others (Breidaks 2007). It was only at the end of the 19th century when Russian became dominant in the region (Ariste 1962). Due to its location in western Russia, Kraasna speakers ultimately switched to Russian, but in the 1850s there were still people in the Kraasna villages who did not speak Russian (Kallas 1903: 33). The Leivus, in turn, assimilated into the Latvians. The first documentations of Leivu from the middle of the 19th century already show a strong Latvian superstrate in its phonetics, morphology, syntax, and lexicon (Vaba 1997: 39). The phonetic, grammatical, and lexical innovations of Leivu that are shared with Livonian are due to Latvian influence on both Leivu and the Livonian varieties (Vaba 1997: 39ff.).

This article has the following structure. First, we introduce the materials and methods used in our study. Second, we introduce the main results of our study divided into two sections: morphosyntax and phonology. Finally, we present a discussion of the results and our conclusions.

2. Materials and methods

This article is a comparative study of several morphosyntactic and phonological features in twelve language varieties with a focus on the South Estonian language islands: Leivu (Lei), Lutsi (Lut), and Kraasna (Kra). The other varieties in the study are (i) the South Estonian varieties historically most closely related to them – Võro (Vro), Seto (Set), and Mulgi (Mul); (ii) Latgalian (Ltg) as the main non-cognate local variety; (iii) two Livonian varieties historically spoken in Latvia – Courland Livonian (CLiv) and Salaca Livonian (SLiv); and (iv) Estonian (Est), Latvian (Lav), and Russian (Rus) as the main standard varieties in the area. We also draw some parallels with local Russian varieties if relevant.

The selection of linguistic features depended on several considerations. As the focus is on the South Estonian language islands, the feature had to be in some respect characteristic/relevant to at least one of the language islands or, in general, central to language structure (e.g., noun and verb morphology). For instance, vowel harmony can be found in all three varieties (as well as in other dialects of South Estonian), whereas back negation is common not only to Lutsi and Kraasna (e.g., Mets et al. 2014: 14–20), but also to Seto and Võro. Both domains (morpho-syntax and phonology) had to be represented by features showing at least some variation in that area. As one of the goals was to elaborate on the previous studies, the selected features could already be listed as special features of South Estonian included in earlier areal typological studies (e.g., concerning CBA, SAE). The features chosen for the analysis represent only one possible selection of various features that could be given a closer look.

The linguistic examples used in the study come from a multitude of sources that represent somewhat different periods. The following paragraphs explain the considerations used to select the data to compare.

Linguistic examples from **Leivu, Lutsi, and Kraasna** were mainly found in the text collection *Eesti murded IX* ('Estonian dialects', Mets et al. 2014). This collection contains transcriptions of recordings from the 1910s to 1970s and is approx. 270 pages long (a Standard Estonian translation takes up half of each page). For Lutsi, we also used the grammatical overview by Balodis (2020). As there are only 16 pages of Kraasna texts in Mets et al. (2014) and all are recorded from a single speaker in 1911 or 1912, we also gathered data from two additional sources, one compiled by Kallas (1903) and the other by Ojansuu (1938; henceforth AES 202). However, regardless of this, the Kraasna data are the scarcest.

Unlike the language varieties of the South Estonian language islands, **Mulgi, Seto, and Võro** are local varieties that still remain in active use. According to the 2011 Estonian census, there were 74,512 Võro speakers, 12,532 Seto speakers, and 9,682 Mulgi speakers in Estonia. Still, among the youngest group (0 to 14 years) knowledge of local varieties is scarce, e.g., only 247 children of that age were reported to know Seto (ESA 2011). For the purposes of the present study, we used language examples included in the dictionaries, e.g., the Mulgi dictionary (Laande & Todesk 2013), the Estonian-Võro Dictionary

(Faster et al. 2014), the Seto-Estonian Dictionary (Saar et al. (in preparation)), the Seto Dictionary of Unique Words (Saar et al. 2020). These dictionaries represent the language use of the 20th century, mainly of the first half of the century, which makes it more comparable to the data of the language islands. South Estonian dictionaries were compiled using the word slips from the Institute of the Estonian Language Wiedemann card file (EKI WK). We also included data from various studies (e.g., Iva 2007, Pajusalu 1996, Tanning 1961, 2004).

Latgalian is currently spoken by 164,510 individuals, or approximately 8% of Latvia's population (see Lauze 2017: 50). The Latgalian data are taken from *A short grammar of Latgalian* by Nau (2011); we also used the Corpus of Modern Latgalian (MuLa) to check for the presence or absence of features. Nau's grammar is partly based on the language used in blogs, short stories, short journalistic prose, literary self-portraits of contemporary writers (referred to as "modern texts" in the grammar). Additionally, she used a corpus of traditional narratives, fairy-tales collected from two villages of Central Latgale in the 1890s and 1920. The Eastern-Central variety is also the language that forms the basis of written Latgalian (i.e., the partly standardised written form of Latgalian).

Similarly to the South Estonian language islands, **Salaca Livonian** is also extinct now. As it faded out of use already in the second half of the 19th century, the Salaca Livonian examples represent the oldest data included in this study – they come from the mid-19th century. The examples were collected from the grammar and dictionary compiled by Winkler and Pajusalu (2016, 2018) retaining the orthography used there¹. **Courland Livonian** was in everyday use in the 20th century (Blumberga 2013: 182), presently, it is actively being developed, has a standardised form, and a handful of L2 speakers (Ernštreits 2012: 159). The linguistic examples of Courland Livonian included in this study date to the 20th century. They are mainly taken from the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), which reflects the Livonian language of the second half of the 20th century. Regardless of

1 Originally, the Salaca Livonian data were collected by A. J. Sjögren in 1846 and included in the Livonian grammar published in 1861 (see Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861). As Sjögren was working with a translator, and about 60% of example sentences are translations of Bible sources, Hesselberg's grammar, and riddles (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 155), Salaca Livonian examples are to be treated with some caution.

the source, the Courland Livonian examples are presented in the modern Livonian orthography.

Latvian and Estonian are national languages that were subject to language standardisation in the 19th–20th centuries. The Estonian examples used in this study follow the present-day standard. Only where the language of the 19th–20th centuries differs has a separate comment been provided. With regard to **Russian**, we take into account, first of all, Standard Russian, and within the limits of available information, also Central Russian dialects spoken in the areas of Russia neighbouring Estonia and Latvia.

Our approach to data collection was to collect as comprehensive of a data set as possible from Lutsi, Leivu, and Kraasna. This mainly meant reading the text collections mentioned above and using the ctrl + F function for PDFs. The other varieties were included for comparative purposes, thus we did not attempt to obtain maximally complete data. We provide a qualitative analysis regarding the uneven amount of source material.

Several sources on South Estonian varieties contain transcribed text that varies somewhat from source to source. As the main part of the paper is concerned with morphosyntax for which phonetic details are not essential, we simplified the Kraasna, Seto, Võro, Mulgi, and Leivu transcriptions following the principles of the South Estonian literary standard (see, e.g., Fester et al. 2014), some Lutsi language examples are also presented in this literary standard and others in the new Lutsi orthography (see Balodis 2015).

3. Morphosyntactic features

In the following, sections 3.1 and 3.2 present a comparative analysis of nominal features, which fall under the topics of case-marking and noun phrases, and also comparative constructions. Sections 3.3 and 3.4, in turn, concentrate on verbal features relating to person-indexing and prodrop as well as negation.

3.1. Case-marking and agreement in noun phrases

This section takes a closer look at the cases that in South Estonian are of more recent origin, or that have become unproductive over time.

Additionally, we comment on general changes in the case system and study agreement between the adjectives and the head noun in the NP. In Latvian, Latgalian, and Russian, an adpositional construction is used in several instances; or the respective meaning represents one of several uses of a case and, therefore, would require more specific treatment. Thus, this section sets the main focus on the Finnic varieties.

The case paradigm of South Estonian varieties and language island varieties differs from the Standard Estonian by one case – the essive that is not listed in the case paradigm (e.g., see Balodis 2020: 76–77 for Lutsi) or among productive cases (Iva 2007: 41, 56–57 for Võro). The remaining shared cases are the nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, inessive, elative, allative, adessive, ablative, translative, terminative, abessive, and comitative. The presence of the essive in Standard Estonian is actually the result of language planning that started at the end of the 19th century. At that time, the essive had fallen out of use in most Estonian dialects and was productive only in the Northwestern Coastal dialect of Estonian, which was used as the source for its reintroduction. To compare, the literary standard for Võro was developed only at the end of the 20th century. Iva (2007: 56–57) sees one of the reasons for its unproductivity as the formal similarity between the essive and inessive cases, but he also mentions that the nominative and translative cases can appear in the function of the essive. Thus, although, on the one hand, we might be dealing with case syncretism, on the other hand, there are also indications of unproductivity, i.e., other cases taking over. In the entire South Estonian area (including in the language islands), the endings are similar to those of the inessive with the two cases being distinguished primarily by their functions (Metslang & Lindström 2017, Prillop et al. 2020: 307–309): Kra, Set *-h*, *-hnA* (1–2); Lut, Vro *-hn(A)*, *-n* (3); Lei, Mul *-n* (cf. Standard Estonian *-na*, e.g., *paadina* ‘as a boat’ vs. *paadis* ‘in a boat’). By contrast in Courland Livonian, the essive is preserved only in some lexicalised forms, e.g., *pivāpāvan* ‘on Sunday’ (Viitso 2008: 328); in Salaca Livonian, there do not seem to be any remaining traces of the essive.

- (1) Kra: *mine terve-hnā!* (Kallas 1903: 29)
 go.IMP.2SG healthy-ESS
 ‘go in health (lit. healthily)!’

- (2) Set: *üts' tüütär' oll' koto-h tüütriku-h viil* (Saar et al. (in preparation))
 one daughter be.PST.3SG home-INE girl-ESS still
 'one daughter was still unmarried (lit. as a girl) at home'
- (3) Lut: *naka=s inäp rüvli-n olyma* (Mets et al. 2014: 152)
 begin=NEG.PST more thief-ESS be:SUP
 '[s/he] was no longer a thief'

Whereas the status of the essive might be considered somewhat debatable, the following cases are unproductive in all of the Southern Finnic languages: the excessive (e.g., Lut, Mul, Set, Vro *mant* 'from (near)', Est *kodunt* 'from home', CLiv *tagānd* 'from behind'), prolative (Vro *vesilde* 'by water', *maildõ* 'by land'), and instructive. Whereas the instructive case has lost its inflectional ending in Estonian and the South Estonian varieties, the historical ending **-n* has been preserved in Northern Finnic; Livonian *-ŋ* also probably has the same origin (see Ross 1988: 21–23). Typically, the instructive forms appear in the plural and are used with numeral phrases (4–6a) but there are also other uses (e.g., 6b).

- (4) Kra: *kuuzi koi* (Kallas 1903: 113)
 six:PL.INS knit:PST.1SG
 '[I] knitted six at a time'
- (5) Set: *katsi pätsi anda-s poodi-h leibä* (Saar et al. (in preparation))
 two:PL.INS loaf.of.bread:PL.INS give-IPS.PRS shop-INE bread.PRT
 'they give two loaves of bread at a time at the grocery store'
- (6) CLiv: a. *kakš-ī-ŋ* (Viitso 2008: 329)
 two-PL-INS
 'two at a time'
- b. *īe-i-ŋ* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)
 night-PL-INS
 'for nights'

In general, shifts in the inflectional system of the South Estonian language island varieties correspond to the general developments of the inflectional systems of Estonian and South Estonian. The Livonian varieties also show further developments. One of the notable differences

is the marginalisation/conflation of the external local cases (for Courland Livonian, see, e.g., Viitso 2008: 328, Blokland & Inaba 2018). An interesting parallel can be observed between the Livonian varieties and Mulgi: they reveal conflation between the adessive and allative cases, e.g., Mul *seinäl* ‘onto the wall, on the wall’, SLiv *ybil* ‘to the horse, on the horse’ (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 77–79), and CLiv *põrandõl* ‘onto the floor, on the floor’. The Salaca Livonian example dates to the mid-19th century and illustrates the situation at that time, the Courland Livonian example represents one of the few instances where the external cases occur in the 20th century (see more in Viitso 2008, Blokland & Inaba 2018). In all other respects, Mulgi follows the system of the South Estonian varieties described above (see also Tanning 2004: 85–97).

The South Estonian varieties, including the language islands, show differences from Standard Estonian and the Livonian varieties with regard to the marking of agreeing adjectives in case and number with the head noun in the NP. In Standard Estonian, agreement is a general rule, but there are four case suffixes – the terminative, essive, abessive, and comitative – that are only attached to the final word of the phrase (7a–d) and can thus be regarded as phrase markers (Metslang & Lindström 2017: 60; for phrase markers, see also Hansen 2000; this phenomenon can also be considered to be suspended affixation, see, e.g., Despić 2017). In the South Estonian varieties, in turn, also essive and terminative agreement turned out to be possible (e.g., 8–9), and a few examples of comitative agreement could be found in Leivu (e.g., 10). According to Iva (2007: 54), using the terminative suffix only on the final word in Võro is an influence from Standard Estonian.

- (7) Est: a. *väikse puu-ni* (small tree-TERM) ‘up to a small tree’
 b. *väikse puu-na* (small tree-ESS) ‘as a small tree’
 c. *väikse puu-ta* (small tree-ABE) ‘without a small tree’
 d. *väikse puu-ga* (small tree-COM) ‘with a small tree’
- (8) Lut: a. *süre-ni vanhuze-ni* (Mets et al. 2014: 126)
 big-TERM age-TERM
 ‘until an old age’
- Kra: b. *suure-ni lehmä nüssängu-ni* (Kallas 1903: 108)
 big-TERM cow.GEN milking-TERM
 ‘until the big cow-milking’

- (9) Lei: *vanu-n aju-n olle varbun aid* (EMS)
 old.PL-ESS time.PL-ESS be.PST.3SG rod fence
 ‘in the old days there was a fence of rods’
- (10) Lei: *madali-de-ge lak’u osse-ge* (Mets et al. 2014: 24)
 low-PL-COM wide.PL.GEN branch.PL-COM
 ‘with low wide branches’

Regular agreement of the adjective and the noun in Standard Estonian is the result of language planning, or the so-called congruence reform that started at the end of the 19th century. In the 19th to 20th century, case endings in the North Estonian dialects (including the illative and allative endings) as well as plural suffixes that formed a separate syllable were generally not used on adjective attributes. This was also common in the literary language, which is largely based on the North Estonian Central dialect, and in the common spoken language (11) (see Nurkse 1937, Saari 2004[1995]). Relying on the South Estonian dialects where congruence was more common, Karl August Hermann included in his 1884 grammar book a requirement for agreement in all cases except the aforementioned four cases (see Hermann 1884).

- (11) Est: *targa professori-te-le* (Nurkse 1937: 51)
 smart professor-PL-ALL
 ‘to smart professors’

In Courland Livonian, agreement is a characteristic of grammatical cases and internal local cases, whereas the dative (12a) and instrumental (12b) cases show non-agreement. In Salaca Livonian, the extent of non-agreement is even greater, as it also involves external local cases (13). Here again, Mulgi shows interesting parallels with Salaca Livonian as the modifier may lack case marking in external as well as internal local cases (14) (see also the comment about North Estonian dialects above; for further examples from the Karksi subdialect, see Tanning 2004: 85–87).

- (12) CLiv: a. *jõvā sõbrā-n* (good friend-DAT) ‘to/for a good friend’,
 b. *ūd veisõ-ks* (new knife-INS) ‘with a new knife’

- (13) SLiv: *vana vallisnika-I* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 180)
old cottager-ADE;ALL
'to/for an old cottager'
- (14) Mul: *ma kinksi ubine väikse latse-I* (Laande & Todesk 2013)
1SG give:PST.1SG apple.GEN small child-ADE
'I gave a small child an apple'

Considering that Latvian, Latgalian, and Russian nominal dependents show agreement in all cases present in each language, it could be suggested that this is also responsible for a more elaborate agreement system in Võro, Seto, and the language islands. Still, Salaca Livonian, which was under strong Latvian influence, does not seem to offer support for this: non-agreement turned out to be typical even in local cases that show agreement in Latvian.

3.2. Comparative constructions

Typically, comparative constructions consist of two noun phrases, the object of comparison (*the comparee NP*, see *ta* in (15)) and the object to which it is compared (*the standard NP*, see *minust/mina* in (15)). The main differences among languages in forming comparative constructions are shown by the marking of the standard NP. Relying on (Stassen 2013), a distinction can be made between locational comparatives (15a), particle comparatives (15b), conjoined comparatives, and exceed comparatives. Under locational comparatives, he further lists: (i) *from*-comparatives (the standard NP marks the source of a movement associated with the meanings 'from', 'out of'), (ii) *to*-comparatives (the standard NP marks the goal of a movement associated with the meanings 'to, towards', 'over, beyond', 'for'), and (iii) *at*-comparatives (the standard NP marks a location associated with the meanings 'in', 'on', 'at').

- (15) Est: a. *Ta on minu-st ilusa-m*
3SG be.3SG 1SG-ELA beautiful-COMP
- b. *Ta on ilusa-m kui mina.*
3SG be.3SG beautiful-COMP than 1SG
'S/he is more beautiful than I'

The presence of the particle comparative type is usually listed as one of the traits of SAE (e.g., Haspelmath 2001, Heine and Kuteva 2006). Moreover, it can be regarded as a joint innovation in these languages as the older type in the Indo-European languages was the locational type (see Haspelmath 1998). A characteristic of European languages is also the occurrence of a comparative suffix (Stassen 2013). Table 1 shows that a comparative suffix can be found in all the studied varieties.

Table 1. Comparative suffixes in the analysed varieties.

| Est | Vro | Set | Kra | Lut | Lei | Mul | SLiv | CLiv | Lav | Ltg | Rus |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>-m</i> | <i>-mb, -mp</i> | <i>-mb</i> | <i>-mb</i> | <i>-mb(i), -mp</i> | <i>-mb</i> | <i>-mb, -mp</i> | <i>-m</i> | <i>-m(i)</i> | <i>-āk-</i> | <i>-uok-</i> | <i>-ee</i> |
| | <i>-p</i> | <i>-b, -p</i> | <i>-b</i> | <i>-p</i> | <i>-b</i> | <i>-p</i> | | | | | |

As (15) shows, a single language can include a locational as well as particle comparative (see also Metslang 2009 for Estonian and Finnish). Table 2 reveals that this is true for most of the studied varieties. The particle type (referred to as Pctl in Table 2) is the only option in Latvian and Latgalian (see also Endzelīns 1951: 478). It is important to note that the source marking type of locational comparative (referred to as Loc in Table 2) involves different kinds of marking for the standard – elative, partitive, genitive – depending on the language. Historically these are all related to source marking and thus are subsumed here under the same type (e.g., see Bernštejn 2005: 28 for the Indo-European languages and Prillop et al. 2020 for the Finnic languages; for a comment on the Russian genitive, see Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 683–685).

Table 2. Types of comparative constructions.

| Type | Est | Vro | Set | Kra | Lut | Lei | Mul | SLiv | CLiv | Lav | Ltg | Rus |
|------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Loc | SOURCE | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | + |
| | GOAL | | | + | | + | + | | + | | | |
| Pctl | ‘than’ | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | NEG | | | | | + | + | | | | | + |
| | NEG + ‘than’ | | | | | + | + | | + | + | + | + |

In the **locational type**, the standard NP in the Finnic languages is typically marked either with the elative (in Kra, Lei, Est² (15a), Mul, Vro, Set, and CLiv) or the partitive (Lut (16), Kra, Vro, Set, SLiv). Thus, Kraasna, Võro, and Seto show examples of two locational types. (17) shows variation even within the same sentence. In our survey of Lutsi data, only examples of the partitive comparative were found.

- (16) Lut: *vane-mb minno* (Mets et al. 2014: 169)
old-COMP 1SG.PRT
'older than me'
- (17) Kra: *mis on madala-mb maa haina ja pike-mb mu-i-st pu-i-st* (Mets et al. 2014: 290)
what be.3SG low-COMP meadow grass.PRT and tall-COMP other-PL-ELA tree-PL-ELA
'what is lower than the meadow grass and taller than other trees'

The Leivu, Lutsi, Seto, and Salaca Livonian data also revealed instances that can be subsumed under goal marking (see also above). Namely, Seto and Leivu texts contained examples of *vasta* 'to, towards' (18a–b), and Salaca Livonian data contained examples of 'over' (19). The Salaca Livonian *yl* 'over' seems to be a PAT-borrowing from Latvian *par* (or *pār*) 'over'. According to Endzelīns (1951: 672), historically the older form is *pār*, which in modern Latvian retains its location meaning and other smaller specifics, but *par* has a broader range of meanings (e.g., of, about, than, for, as, too, etc.). The particle *par*, which originates in Latvian, is also found in Latgalian, where it can be regarded as a late influence from Standard Latvian (Nau 2011: 72).

- (18) a. Lei: *tuu om kümme aastagu-t nuorõ-b vasta minnu* (EMS)
that be.3SG ten year-PRT young-COMP towards 1SG.PRT
'[s]he is ten years younger than me'

2 Whereas in present-day Estonian, the partitive is only attested in the comparative correlative construction, e.g., *mida varem, seda parem* (what.PRT soon-COMP that.PRT better.COMP) 'the sooner, the better', the Corpus of Old Written Estonian (VAKK) and the standard language from the beginning of 20th century show wider use, e.g., *wannem mind* 'older than me' (VAKK [1739]), *ausam sind* (VAKK [1766]) 'more honest than you', *selgem vett* (clear.COMP water.PRT) 'clearer than water' (Kallas 1903: 61).

- b. Set: *kuld om vasta hõpõ-t õks viil pallo kalli-p* (Saar et al. (in preparation))
 gold be.3SG towards silver-PRT still more much expensive-COMP
 ‘gold is still much more expensive than silver’

- (19) SLiv: *Läeli-m yl kaks birkau* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 88–89)
 heavy-COMP over two ship_pound.GEN
 ‘heavier than two ship-pounds’

The **particle type** is present in all of the analysed varieties, although to different extents. In Kraasna, however, it was not attested at all. Although this might be due to the limited amount of data, one should not forget that Kraasna data revealed two kinds of locational comparatives (17). Probably, Russian has also enabled the Kraasna variety to preserve the locational type (cf. Latvian and Latgalian that only contain the particle type).

According to the particle used in the construction, the following types can be distinguished:

(i) **‘than’³** – Est, Set *kui*, Lei *ku(i)*, Kra *ku, ko*, Lut, Set *ku*, Mul *ku, nagu*, Vro *ku(q⁴)*, CLiv *ku*, SLiv *kuj*, Ltg *kai*, Lav *kā*, Ltg, Lav *par*, Rus *čem*

- (20) Lut: *pihlappuu-st um parõ-mp kuu tammõ-st vil* (Mets et al. 2014: 247)
 rowan-ELA be.3SG good-COMP than oak-ELA moreover
 ‘rowan [cart] is even better than oak [cart]’

(ii) **negative marker** – Ltg *na* (only in 19th century texts (see the description of sources used for Nau 2011), in Modern Latgalian this type of use is very rare), Lut *ei*, Lei *ei, is* (= negative marker in the past tense, see also section 3.4)

- (21) Lut: *to oļļ sūre-mb ei šõ* (Vaba 1977: 20)
 that be.PST.3SG big-COMP NEG this
 ‘that one was bigger than this one’

3 Here ‘than’ stands for what can be regarded as a neutral particle that does not carry any additional meaning.

4 Following the Võro Standard language, *q* is hereinafter used for the laryngeal stop.

- (22) Ltg: *sieniok bieja ciszi daudž kieniniu, wajrok na tagad* (Nau 2011: 72)
 earlier be.PST.3SG very many king.PL.ACC more NEG now
 ‘in earlier times there were many kings, more than today’

(iii) negative marker + ‘than’ – CLiv *āb ku ~ ābku*, SLiv *ap ka*, Ltg *nakai ~ nikai*, Lav *nekā*, Lut *eigu, ūskui* (= negative marker in the past tense + ‘than’), Lei *ei ku*, Rus *neželi*

- (23) Lei: *kūla laib om magusa-mb eiq ku uma laib* (EMS)
 guest.GEN bread be.3SG sweet-COMP NEG than own bread
 ‘bread (eaten) as a guest is sweeter than one’s own’

- (24) CLiv: *Jo kovā⁵ āb ku tāmā* (EMK [Setälä 1953])
 PTCL smart NEG than 3SG
 ‘smarter than him/her’

Unlike the constructions based on ‘than’, other types of particle comparatives are restricted to particular groups of varieties. The negative marker, either with or without ‘than’, is found in Lutsi and Leivu as well as in the Livonian varieties where it can be regarded as a PAT-borrowing from Latvian/Latgalian. Already Vaba (1977: 20, 24) described Lutsi *ei, eigu* (< *ei* ‘not’ + *kui* ‘than’) and *ūskui* (< past negation marker *is* + *kui*) as translations of Latvian *ne* ‘not’ and *nekā* (‘not’ + ‘than’) and argued that this also applies to their counterparts in Leivu: *eiq ku, eikku, e ku*, and *isku*. It is noteworthy that both varieties also make use of the past tense marker even though Latvian and Latgalian negative markers are not inflected for tense (for more see Section 3.4). A closer look at examples in Leivu and Lutsi does not, however, enable one to conclude that their usage would be determined by temporal reference.

Although the negative marker can be found in Russian – *neželi* (*ne* ‘not’), at least in the standard language it is regarded as old-fashioned (Timberlake 2004: 215). The Kraasna data, which contained no examples of the negative marker included in the particle type (nor the particle type in general), also seem to suggest that there was no (strong) model in the neighbouring Russian varieties. Still, it should be kept in mind that the Kraasna data are scarce. In any case, it can be concluded that the usage of the negative marker unites the varieties (once) spoken in the territory of present-day Latvia.

5 For the usage of the comparative degree marker *jo* in Livonian, see Stolz (2013: 107).

3.3. Person-indexing in the indicative mood and pro-drop

This section takes a closer look at person-indexing in the indicative mood (see Table 3), which in previous studies has found less attention than, for instance, the presence/absence of personal endings in the conditional and quotative moods.

Table 3. Person-indexing in the studied Finnic varieties.

| | Est | Vro, Set | | Kra | Lut | Lei | Mul | SLiv | CLiv | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|---------|-----|---------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| PRS | 1Sg | -n | ∅ | | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | -b | -b | | | |
| | 2Sg | -d | -t, -dE | | -t, -dE | -t | -t, -dE | -d, -t | -d | -d | | | |
| | 3Sg | -b | ∅ | | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | -b, ∅ -p | -b | -b | | | |
| | 1Pl | -me | -miq | ∅ | -q | -m | -mE | -m, -me | -mi, -m | -b | -mõ, -m | | |
| | 2Pl | -te | -tiq, | ∅ | -t, -dE | -t | -t, -dE | -t, -de | -ti, -t | -b | -tõ, -t | | |
| | 3Pl | -vad | -vAq | | -vAq | -vAq | -vA, ∅ -vAq | -ve, -va, -v | -bVd | -b | -bõd | | |
| PST | 1Sg | -n | ∅ | | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | | | |
| | 2Sg | -d | -t | | -q | -q | -t | ∅ | -d, -t | -d | ∅ | -d, -t | |
| | 3Sg | ∅ | ∅ | | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | | |
| | 1Pl | -me | -miq | -q | ∅ | -q | -m, -mi | -mi | ∅ | -m, -me | -mi | ∅ | -mõ, -m |
| | 2Pl | -te | -tiq | ∅ | -q | -q | -q | -t, -de | -ti | ∅ | ∅ | -tõ, -t | |
| | 3Pl | -d | -q | | -q | -q | -q | ∅ | -ve, -v | -t | ∅ | -tõ, -t | |

As Table 3 illustrates, except for Estonian, the examined Finnic varieties tend to show syncretism between 1Sg and 3Sg. Syncretism depends on the word type, e.g., whereas Lutsi *tulema* ‘to come’ shows syncretism in the present tense, *tīdmä* ‘to know’ shows syncretism in the past tense (cf. 25a and 25b, but see the comment below about an additional conjugation type). While in the case of the South Estonian varieties examined here, syncretism between 1Sg and 3Sg forms usually means that there is no personal ending (marked with ∅ in Table 3),

in Livonian, the respective forms contain the personal ending *-b* (26). Regarding this feature, Mulgi shares similarities with both types, as in the present tense both \emptyset and *-b* ~ *-p* are possible, see (27a–b). Historically, the Proto-Uralic 3rd person forms are thought to have lacked a personal ending (see Janhunen 1982: 35), thus 3rd person with no ending can be argued to represent the earlier stage (Kallio 2014: 156).

- (25) Lut: a. *tulema* ‘to come’: Prs1Sg/3Sg *tule* vs. Pst1Sg *tulli*, Pst3Sg *tull*
(Balodis 2020: 85–86)
- b. *tīdmā* ‘to know’: Prs1Sg *tīā*, Prs3Sg *tīd* vs. Pst1Sg/3Sg *tīdze*
(Balodis 2020: 88)
- (26) CLiv: *tūlda* ‘to come’: Prs1Sg/3Sg *tulā-b* vs. Pst1Sg/3Sg *tuļ* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)
- (27) Mul: a. *laits aa tähti müüüdä sõnu kokku* (Laande & Todesk 2013)
child drive.3SG letter.PL.PRT along word.PL.PRT together
‘the child puts the words together based on the letters’
- b. *tule säde aa-p maja palame* (Laande & Todesk 2013)
fire.GEN spark drive-3SG house.GEN burn:SUP
‘a spark of fire sets the house on fire’

Lutsi, Leivu, Kraasna, Võro, and Seto additionally include a conjugation type only available in the present tense that in 3Sg is marked with *-s* and in 3Pl with *-sE(q)*, e.g., Kra *ists* ‘s/he sits down’ vs. *istusõq* ‘they sit down’ (AES 202: 26). It is important to note that in this conjugation type, there is no syncretism between 1Sg and 3Sg, e.g., Kra *istu* ‘I sit down’ vs. *ists* ‘s/he sits down’ (*ibid.*), Vro *elä* ‘I live’, *eläs* ‘s/he lives’. The forms in *-s* go back to the suffix **-sEn*, which may have expressed a medial or reflexive meaning (see more in Posti 1961). Currently, there are only some pairs of verbs that appear in both conjugation types and could point to such a distinction, e.g., Vro *küdsä* ‘(someone) bakes sth’, *küdsäs* ‘(something) is baking’, cf. words such as Vro *eläs* ‘s/he lives’ (see above), *kirotas* ‘s/he writes’ and many others that only take *-s* in 3Sg (see Iva 2007: 83–84).

By comparison in Latvian and Latgalian, there is no number distinction, so 3Sg and 3Pl regularly overlap regardless of tense (see Table 4). As 3rd person forms with no ending correspond to the proto-language

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| b. <i>tii kulle-de</i> | <i>sa tunne-de</i> |
| (Mets et al. 2014: 54) | (Mets et al. 2014: 56) |
| (2PL hear-2PL) | (2SG feel-2SG) |
| ‘you hear’ | ‘you feel’ |

In the past indicative, Lutsi shows syncretism in 2Sg, 2Pl, and 3Pl, as in (29) (see Balodis 2020: 84–89). In Kraasna, syncretism additionally involves 1Pl, e.g., *mii anniq* ‘we gave’ (AES 202: 25–26). The respective forms in Lutsi and Kraasna generally include the marker *-q*, while in Leivu, *-q* is found in 2Pl and 3Pl. Still, according to Table 3, lack of a personal ending is also possible (probably also in 2Pl), e.g., see (30). Although this reveals some similarities with Võro and Seto where the personal ending is commonly dropped in 1Pl and 2Pl, even stronger parallels can be drawn with Salaca Livonian where one and the same form can be used for all persons (see Table 3; see also Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 115). It appears that this is also true for the Livonian-like subdialects of Latvian in Courland and in northern Vidzeme (Rudzīte 2005: 77). According to Balode & Holvoet (2001: 29), personal endings were first lost in the singular paradigm as a result of the loss of final vowels, which could be the result of a Livonian substrate; homonymy of 3rd person singular and plural forms, in turn, facilitated their further spread in the plural paradigm.

(29) Lut: *andma* ‘to give’: Pst2Sg/2Pl/3Pl: *anniq*

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (30) Lei: | <i>sa ütležī</i> | <i>mii elli</i> |
| | (Mets et al. 2014: 28) | (Mets et al. 2014: 48) |
| | (2SG say.PST) | (1PL live.PST) |
| | ‘you said’ | ‘we lived’ |

In addition to Lutsi, conflation of 2Pl and 3Pl in the past tense is regular in Courland Livonian and may additionally involve 2Sg. The choice between *-t* and *-tõ* in 2Pl/3Pl usually depends on word structure (e.g., one-syllable words regularly take *-tõ*, as in (31a)), but there are also words like *ki'zzõ* ‘to ask’, which permit variation, as in (31b). In Salaca Livonian, the Pst2Pl marker is *-ti* and the Pst3Pl marker is *-t*. However, as it is possible to drop *-i* in the present tense (see Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 115), it is likewise possible that *-i* could be dropped in the past tense.

- (31) CLiv: a. *tōdō* ‘to want’: Pst2Sg: *tō’žt*, Pst2Pl/3Pl: *tō’žtō*
(Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)
- b. *ki’zzō* ‘to ask’: Pst2Sg: *kizžt*, Pst2Pl/3Pl: *kizžt ~ kizžtō*
(Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)

Regardless of the conflating forms in the paradigm, all the Finnic varieties included in the study permit dropping the subject pronoun. This means that in the same way as there are examples where the actual referent becomes clear from verbal morphology (32), there are also instances where morphology is insufficient to establish the referent (33). A further example can be brought from Salaca Livonian (34a) where only the translation suggests that *om* is used for 2Sg. First and foremost, it would be expected to express 3Sg or 1Sg, but as Table 3 illustrates, syncretism is possible in most of the persons (see also Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 115). In Courland Livonian, the same 3Sg/1Sg forms are additionally used for impersonal reference (e.g., *sēb* ‘I eat, s/he is eating, it is being eaten’). By comparison, in their study on the use of 1st person pronouns in Estonian dialects, Lindström et al. (2009) show that the presence or absence of a pronoun depends on the dialectal area rather than whether the personal ending is used or not. It appears that one such area – where pronouns are commonly dropped – is southern Estonia. In their article, they also list several other factors that play a role.

- (32) Lut: *käüli-mi tuuda škuolla* (Mets et al. 2014: 175)
go.PST-1PL there school:ILL
‘we went to school there’
- (33) Set: *käve poodih*
go.PST.1SG/1PL shop:INE
‘(I/we) went to store’
- (34) SLiv: a. *Mill om jua miel, ku tāru om.* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 170)
1sg:ADE;ALL be.3SG good sense that healthy be.3SG
- b. S: *jag fāgnar mig, att du är frisk*
1SG delight.PRS 1SG.ACC that 2SG be.2SG healthy
‘I am happy that [you] are healthy’

All in all, person-indexing and pro-drop in the Finnic varieties show that interesting developments are broader and do not overlap with syncretic forms in the non-cognate contact varieties, thus, changes in the system reflect language internal developments characteristic of the area rather than contact-induced change.

3.4. Standard negation

Standard negation refers to the negation of declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo 2007). A distinction can be made based on variations in three properties: 1) symmetricity (whether the form of the lexical verb in the affirmative and negative clauses differs or not), 2) the type of negative marker (a negative auxiliary inflecting for tense and/or person, an invariable negative particle, clitic, or affix), 3) the position of the negative marker relative to the lexical verb (preverbal, postverbal, or double). In the case of asymmetric negation, the form of the lexical verb may vary either appearing as a bare root or also containing an affix. One or more of the following categories are expressed in the negative marker: person, number, or tense (see, e.g., Miestamo et al. 2015, Metslang et al. 2015, Lindström et al. 2021).

The analysed varieties contained examples of all of the types mentioned above (see Table 5). Some features are not shown in the table as they are not found in the analysed languages, e.g., there are only examples of negative prefixes, thus suffixes are not represented in the table; clitics always follow the lexical verb, while particles precede it.

Table 5. Properties of standard negation.

| | Est | Vro, Set, Kra, Lut | Lei, Mul, SLiv | CLiv | Lav, Ltg | Rus |
|----------------|-----|-----------------------|-------------------|------|-------------|-----|
| symmetric | – | +/– | +/– | +/– | + | + |
| prevbl neg aux | – | + | + | + | – | – |
| prevbl ptcl | + | – | – | – | – | + |
| postvbl clitic | – | + | – | – | – | – |
| prefix | – | – | – | – | + | – |
| double neg | – | + | – | – | – | – |

Regarding structure, Latvian, Latgalian, and Russian contain symmetric negative constructions as negation differs from affirmation only by the addition of a negative marker, see (35). In Estonian, standard negation is asymmetric, as there are additional differences: unlike in the affirmative, in the negative the lexical verb has no personal ending, see (36). In the other studied varieties, both symmetric and asymmetric negation can be found (indicated by +/-), see (37) and (38). In the South Estonian varieties, including in the language islands, symmetricity regularly involves 1Sg and 3Sg as there is no personal ending; in other persons, symmetricity is possible but there is some variation (see section 3.3). In Courland Livonian, this distinction is made on the basis of number: negation is asymmetric in all singular persons but symmetric in plural, see, e.g., (38a–b). Examples such as (39) indicate that Salaca Livonian also aligns with Courland Livonian.

- (35) Rus: *ja piš-u : ja ne piš-u*
 1SG write-1SG : 1SG NEG write-1SG
 ‘I write : I don’t write’
- (36) Est: *sa tööta-d : sa ei tööta*
 2SG work-2SG : 2SG NEG work.CNG
 ‘you work : you don’t work’
- (37) Lut: a. *Ma kynele lutsi kīlt : ma kynele=eiq lutsi kīlt* (Balodis 2020: 83)
 1SG speak Lutsi language:PRT : 1SG speak.CNG=NEG Lutsi language:PRT
 ‘I speak Lutsi : I do not speak Lutsi’
- b. *Mī kynele-m lutsi kīlt : mī kynele=eiq lutsi kīlt* (Balodis 2020: 83)
 1PL speak-1PL Lutsi language:PRT / 1PL speak.CNG=NEG Lutsi language:PRT
 ‘We speak Lutsi : we do not speak Lutsi’
- (38) CLiv: a. *ma nū̄-b : ma āb nū̄*
 1SG see-1SG : 1SG NEG:1SG see.CNG
 ‘I see : I don’t see’
- b. *tēg nū̄-tō̄ : tēg āt nū̄-tō̄*
 2PL see-2PL : 2PL NEG:2PL see-2PL
 ‘you see : you don’t see’

- (39) SLiv: *Voj tee ab uo-ti korren?* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
 Q 2PL NEG be-2PL pick.APP
 ‘Have you not picked (sth)?’

While Estonian and Russian use a particle, and Latgalian and Latvian use a prefix to mark negation, the other varieties use a negative auxiliary that inflects for tense; in Courland Livonian, the negative marker additionally inflects for person and number (see Table 6). As Table 6 suggests, a distinction in tense is an example of a feature that has been preserved regardless of whether a different model is used in the non-cognate languages spoken in close proximity. However, parallels can be drawn with the use of preverbal non-inflected negative markers and in the Indo-European contact languages (Stolz 1991: 70–73; see also Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 628). Outside the southernmost Finnic area, the negative marker has also inflected for tense in the Insular dialect of Estonian and in the Kodavere subdialect of eastern Estonia. The latter contained a full personal paradigm that went out of use in the 1940s or 1950s (Viikberg 2020: 296).

Table 6. Markers of standard negation.

| | Est | Vro, Set, Kra, Lut | Mul | Lei | SLiv | CLiv | Lav | Ltg | Rus |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|------------|------------|-----------|
| PRS | <i>ei</i> | <i>ei(q)</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>ab</i> | <i>äb</i> (1Sg, 3Sg, 1Pl, 3Pl), <i>äd</i> (2Sg), <i>ät</i> (2Pl) | <i>ne-</i> | <i>na-</i> | <i>ne</i> |
| PST | | <i>es</i> | <i>es</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>iz</i> (1Sg, 3Sg, 1Pl), <i>izt</i> (2Sg, 2Pl, 3Pl) | | | |

More precisely, Mulgi, Võro, Seto, Lutsi, and Kraasna make a distinction between *ei(q)* and *es* that in Võro, Seto, Lutsi, and Kraasna can be used both preverbally as well as postverbally (see also Table 5) with some variation in the initial vowel of the negative verb (e.g., 40a–b). In Livonian, the general distinction is made between *ab* vs. *is* / *äb* vs. *iz*. As Table 6 illustrates, Leivu shows commonalities with both: *ei* shows similarities with Estonian and South Estonian varieties, including the language islands, whereas the negative past marker *is* shows a parallel with Livonian.

- (40) Kra: a. *ma lüü ei* (Mets et al. 2014: 278)
 1SG go.CNG NEG
 ‘I don’t go’
- b. *timä lüü äs* (Mets et al. 2014: 278)
 3SG go.CNG NEG.PST
 ‘S/he didn’t go’

With regard to the position of the negative marker in the analysed varieties, the preverbal position prevails (see Table 5). As already noted, both preverbal and postverbal positions are possible in Lutsi, Kraasna, Seto, and Võro (e.g., 40). Still, in Seto and Kraasna, the postverbal clitic turns out to be the primary option (for Seto, see also Lindström et al. 2021). For instance, (42) is one of the few examples containing the preverbal *ei* in Kraasna. However, this may be due to the scarcity of available Kraasna data. Leivu texts, in turn, only contained examples of the negative marker preceding the verb, as in (43).

- (41) Vro: *ei annaq ~ anna eiq* (Iva 2007: 102)
 NEG give.CNG ~ give.CNG NEG
 ‘doesn’t give’
- (42) Kra: *ma tiijü=eiq / ei saa andaq arq* (Weber 2021 in this volume, App. 2)
 1SG know.CNG=NEG / NEG can.CNG give:INF away
 ‘I don’t know, I cannot give [my daughter as a wife]’
- (43) Lei: *poig is teija* (Mets et al. 2014: 25)
 son NEG.PST know.CNG
 ‘[My] son didn’t know’

Kraasna, Lutsi, Seto, and Võro also show instances of double negation, as in (44a–b). As example (44b) reveals, double negation can also be attested with negative imperatives (according to Lindström et al. 2021, this is also possible in Seto). The function of double negation in Võro and Seto has included intensifying negation and marking its scope. In present-day Seto, the use of double negation is rare and inconsistent (Lindström et al. 2021).

- (44) Set: a. *läts' arq kõrdsi kotsele ne inäb edese es saa-ke eiq* (Saar et al. (in preparation))
 go.PST.3SG off tavern.GEN near and more further NEG.PST get.
 CNG-PTCL NEG
 '[S/he] went near the tavern and did not even get any further'
- Kra: b. *är võttu=i setä* (AES 202)
 NEG.IMP take=NEG this.PRT
 'do not take this'

Regarding negation, it can be observed that the distinction between present and past tense forms has been preserved in all of the analysed Finnic varieties except Estonian. Thus, the lack of such a distinction in the non-cognate contact varieties has not had an effect. Furthermore, neither Võro nor Seto are under threat of losing this distinction as a result of influence from Standard Estonian. Also noteworthy is that Kraasna, Võro, Seto, and Lutsi pattern together both in terms of structure and formal properties, while Leivu is closer to Mulgi and Salaca Livonian.

4. Phonological features

South Estonian dialects have a number of characteristic phonological features, which also have broader areal connections (see Pajusalu 2012). Below we consider ten features, all of which occur in Leivu and Lutsi, although several are more marginal in Leivu, and, with one exception are all also characteristic of Kraasna. For this group we chose unique features of word prosody, vowels, and consonants; see Table 7.

Like other Southern Finnic languages and dialects, the South Estonian language island varieties are characterised by complex quantity alternations, which can also be combined with tonal contrasts (see also Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 640–644). Additionally, the realisation of these prosodic phenomena can be associated with sound quality changes.

Table 7. Phonological features (+ – occurrence of a feature; (+) – limited occurrence of a feature; – – absence of a feature).

| Feature | Est | Võr | Set | Kra | Lut | Lei | Mul | SLiv | CLiv | Lav | Ltg | Rus |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| stød | – | – | – | – | (+) | (+) | – | + | + | + | + | – |
| glottal stop | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| h | (+) | + | + | + | + | (+) | (+) | – | – | – | – | + |
| voiced plosives | – | – | (+) | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + |
| short vs. long cons. geminates | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – |
| short vs. long vowels | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – |
| õ [ɤ] / y [ɯ] | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | – | + | + |
| ü [y] / ö [ø] | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | – | – | – |
| vowel harmony | – | + | + | + | + | (+) | (+) | – | – | – | (+) | – |
| extensive palatalisation | – | + | + | + | + | (+) | (+) | – | – | – | + | + |

Tonal variation is not typical of the Finno-Ugric languages. **Broken tone or stød** is characteristic, however, of Latvian and Latgalian, and is also found in Livonian (e.g., *lē'd* [le:ʔd] ‘leaf; page’). In addition to Livonian, broken tone is also found in Leivu and Lutsi, e.g., Leivu *vähämb* [ˈvæ.hæmb] > *vä'ämb* [væ:ʔmb] ‘less’, *naha* [ˈna.ha] > *na'a* [na:ʔ] ‘skin, gen.sg.’, *rahaga* [ˈra.ha.ga] > *ra'aga* [ˈra:ʔ.ga] ‘money.com’; Lutsi *hi'ir* [hi:ʔr] ‘mouse’ (in which broken tone is connected with the third quantity degree), *rehe* [ˈre.he] > *re'e* [re:ʔ] ‘threshing barn’ (see Balodis et al. 2016), but it has not been observed in other South Estonian dialects or in Kraasna.

Glottal stop is a frequent phoneme in the South Estonian phonological system distinguishing grammatical meanings, cf., e.g., *kala* [ˈka.la] ‘fish’ and *kalaq* [ˈka.laʔ] ‘fish, pl.’, (*ma*) *anna* [ˈan.na] ‘(I) give’ and *annaq* [ˈan.naʔ] ‘give.imp’. Typically, glottal stop occurs word-finally in South Estonian; however, it can sometimes also be found word-internally or elsewhere (see Iva 2005), e.g., Seto *iqe latś* [ˈi.ʔe latʃiʃ] ‘good child’ (Saar et al. 2020). Glottal stop can also occur following

liquids, e.g., Lutsi, Leivu, Kraasna *kolq* [kolʔ] ‘three’, *ärq* [ærʔ] ‘away; off’. Glottal stop does not exist as a phoneme in Latvian or Latgalian but can occur in careful or emphatic pronunciations of broken tone (see Grigorjevs 2011), e.g., Latvian *nē* [ne:ʔ] ‘no’ realised as [ˈne.ʔe]. Markus (2012) also notes that pronunciation of broken tone fully or partially as a glottal stop is especially characteristic of the Latgalian subdialects of northeastern Vidzeme. This region, also known as Malēnija, is located near the historical Leivu region in Latvia as well as South Estonian-speaking areas in Estonia. A unique feature of the Lutsi and Leivu language islands is the presence of both broken tone and glottal stop.

As is historically the case in Livonian, broken tone is also partially related to the **loss of h** in Leivu and Lutsi, e.g., *ra'a* [ra:ʔ] < *raha* [ˈra.ha] ‘money’ (see also Teras 2010, Viitso 2009: 277–279). In Latvian and Latgalian, *h* is not found as a native phoneme. In Estonian and in eastern South Estonian subdialects as well as in Kraasna, pronunciation of *h* has, as a rule, remained (e.g., Võro and Seto *hõbõhhõnõ* [ˈhʷ.bøh.hʷ.nø] ‘silvery’, Kraasna and Seto *luhits* [ˈlu.hʷits] ‘spoon’, *raha* ‘money’), which may have been aided by the neighbouring Russian language. As the occurrence of broken tone appears to be sporadic in Lutsi, intervocalic *h* also remains common in this variety (e.g., Lutsi *ähäq* [ˈæ.hæʔ] ‘wedding’). In North Estonian subdialects and also in everyday spoken Estonian, word-initial *h* is often not pronounced. Loss of *h* is also widespread in the western South Estonian subdialects as well as in Mulgi. On the other hand, along with loss of *h*, *h* hypercorrection is also found in Mulgi, for example in the words *kähen* [ˈkæ.hen] ‘in hand; at hand’ (cf. *käen*), *pähän* [ˈpæ.hæn] ‘on/in the head’ (cf. *pään*), *pääle* [ˈpæ:.le] ~ *pähle* [ˈpæh.le] ‘onto, over’ (Tanning 1961: 21, 43).

A phonological distinction between long and short sounds is characteristic of the languages of the Baltic region. Unlike in Russian, this distinction is found in all Finnic and Baltic languages in the area under study. In North and South Estonian subdialects (incl. the language islands), there is an additional contrast between long and over-long duration, which is why we speak of three quantity degrees in these languages, cf., e.g., South Estonian Q1 *külä* [ˈky.læ] ‘village’, Q2 *küllä* [ˈkyl.læ] ‘village.part’, and Q3 *küllä* [ˈkyl:.læ] ‘village.ill’. A three-way contrast for consonants is also found in Livonian; the realisation of this length contrast in a disyllabic trochaic foot is also characteristic of these languages (Markus et al. 2013). The trochaic foot system is

characteristic of Estonian runic songs as well as the Latvian *dainas*. All of the languages of the language area under study have initial syllable primary stress, including Latvian and Latgalian (but unlike, for example, Russian and Lithuanian); most of the Circum-Baltic languages show basic initial stress (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 638–640). In contrast to other Russian dialects, stress is also moved to the beginning of the word in the Pskov dialect, which is spoken alongside Finnic speakers, e.g., *rúčej* (cf. *ručěj*) ‘stream’, *Bóris* (cf. *Borís*) ‘Boris (given name)’ (Kostjučuk 2018: 119). In the case of stops, the characteristic feature connecting Livonian and the South Estonian language island varieties is intervocalic voicing of single consonants (e.g., Kraasna *hõbõhhõnõ* ‘silvery’, Lutsi *regi* [‘re.gi] ‘sled’, Livonian *tubā* [‘tu.ba:] ‘room; house’); voiceless stops occurring intervocalically are always pronounced as geminates: single voiceless stops as short geminates (Kraasna *hõpõ* [‘hʰp.pə] ‘silver’, Lutsi *reke* [‘rek.ke] ‘sled.part’, Livonian *liepā* [‘liep.pa:] ‘alder’) and geminate stops as long geminates (Kraasna *tappa* [‘tap:.pa] ‘to kill.inf’, Lutsi *rekke* [‘rek:.ke] ‘sled.ill’, Livonian *lieppõ* [‘liep:.pə] ‘alder.part’). Similarly in Latvian, voiceless stops are pronounced as half-long when located between a short stressed and short unstressed vowel (Laua 1997, Kalnača 2004) (e.g., *lapa* [‘lap.pa] ‘leaf’). In Livonian, gemination of voiced stops is also present, e.g., *tu’bbõ* [‘tu’b.bə] ‘room.part; house.part’, *vie’ddõn* [‘vie’d.dən] ‘water.dat’ (see Viitso 2008: 296), which is not characteristic of any of the other languages discussed in this study.

The Southern Finnic languages, Latgalian, and Russian are connected by the presence of the **back or central unrounded vowels** *õ* [ɤ] and/or *y* [ɯ], [ɨ]. The close-mid vowel *õ* [ɤ] is characteristic of Estonian and Mulgi (e.g., Estonian *õde* [‘ɤ.te] ‘sister’, Mulgi *sõsar* [‘sɤ.sar] ‘sister’), the close vowel *y* [ɯ] of Livonian and Lutsi (e.g., Livonian *sõzār* [‘su.za:r] ‘sister’, Lutsi *syzar* [‘su.za:rɨ] ‘sister’); close-mid *õ* [ɤ] and close *y* [ɯ] are found in Seto and Kraasna as well as marginally in Leivu and Võro, e.g., Seto and Võro *sysar* [‘su.sa:rɨ] ‘sister’. In Latgalian and Russian, *y* is usually pronounced as [ɨ]; only in Latvian is this vowel not found. Despite the strong influence of Latvian, the back unrounded vowels have nevertheless been maintained in all of the Finnic languages and dialects spoken in Latvia.

The **front rounded vowels** *ü* [y] and *ö* [ø] are not found in Latvian, Latgalian, or Russian. At the same time, they have remained in the South

Estonian language islands much as in other Estonian dialect areas, e.g., Kraasna *sügüzelt* ['sy.gy.zelt] 'in autumn', *söögi* ['sø:.gi] 'food.gen'; Lutsi *üözeq* ['yø.ze?] ~ *õzeq* ['ø:.ze?] 'at night', *sūmä* ['sy::mæ] 'to eat.inf'; Leivu *püübä* ['pyæ.bæ] 'Sunday'. In the 19th century, *ü* [y] and *õ* [ø] were still found in Livonian, but in the early 20th century *ü* was replaced by *i* and *õ* by *e* in Courland Livonian (see Viitso 2011).

Vowel harmony is characteristic of the Finno-Ugric languages and is also found in South Estonian as front and back *ä*- and *ü*-harmonies, cf. *valla* ['val:.la] 'open' and *vällä* ['væl:.lä] 'out', *tulu* ['tu.lu] 'profit' and *tülü* ['ty.ly] 'quarrel', and also as velar *õ*-harmony, cf. *tege* ['te.ge] 'makes' and *tulõ* ['tu.lø] 'comes'. Atypically for the Finnic languages, vowel harmony is not found in the North Estonian subdialects, Standard Estonian, or Livonian. It also does not occur in most Baltic or Slavic languages, however, Latgalian has a morphophonological harmony which superficially resembles vowel harmony (cf. Nau 2011). Palatal vowel harmony has been maintained in the South Estonian language islands, but it is not entirely consistent. *ü*-harmony fluctuates more, while *ä*-harmony and especially *õ*-harmony are better preserved. Much as in the Western dialect of South Estonian, vowel harmony fluctuates more in Leivu than it does in Lutsi or Kraasna (cf. Wiik 1988).

South Estonian pronunciation differs from that of North Estonian dialects, Standard Estonian, and Latvian due to its extensive **palatalisation** of consonant phonemes, also coarticulatorily near front vowels. As in Russian, and also Latgalian with a few exceptions (for more see Breidaks 2006), all consonants can, in principle, be palatalised in South Estonian, as long as it is articulatorily possible, e.g., Võro, Seto *kapp* [kapʲ:] 'cupboard', *pikk* [pikʲ:] 'long; tall', *kamm* [kamʲ:] 'comb', Seto *ruuhh* [ru:hʲ:] 'drug, medicine'. This extensive palatalisation of consonants is also found in all of the South Estonian language islands (e.g., Kraasna *särkki* ['sjærʲki.kʲi] 'coat.part'; Lutsi *tsirguq* ['tʲsʲir.gu?] 'birds', *koras* ['ko.rʲasʲ] '(s/he) gathered'; Leivu *d'alg* [dʲal:g] 'foot', *tul'le* ['tulʲ:.lʲe] '(s/he) came'); however, similar to Mulgi, it is more limited in Leivu.

The above overview of phonological developments in the South Estonian language islands shows that the language islands have maintained the main features of Finnic and, more narrowly, of South Estonian, while also acquiring features characteristic of the Baltic languages such as broken tone and voiced consonants. Latvian influence

is strongest in the westernmost Leivu language island where several phonetic developments are also similar to the western Mulgi dialect. The more eastern position of Kraasna and Lutsi encouraged preservation of characteristics similar to Russian such as the preservation of *h* and extensive consonant palatalisation. At the same time, Finno-Ugric features such as vowel harmony have been better preserved in more eastern South Estonian varieties. Development of tonal contrasts while still preserving the three-way quantity alternation characterises both of the South Estonian varieties spoken in Latvia – Leivu and Lutsi, and, in fact, the importance of these tonal contrasts also increases for quantity alternation (see Balodis et al. 2016).

5. Conclusions

This article examined various features in the domains of morpho-syntax and phonology that were relevant for consideration in an areal perspective. Its main focus was on the South Estonian language islands – Leivu, Lutsi, and Kraasna – but also made comparisons with the other main language varieties of the Central Baltic area: Estonian and the South Estonian varieties – Mulgi, Võro, and Seto; Latgalian and Latvian; Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian; Russian and its local varieties.

The results of our analysis of the selected features further support the hypothesis that in the Circum-Baltic area, convergence mainly occurs at the micro-level often involving only two to three languages. As this paper makes a more fine-grained distinction at a more specific level, we could see a multitude of patterns among the analysed varieties that point to multifaceted contact situations and their outcomes in the area. In several instances, Lutsi and Kraasna patterned together with Võro and Seto, while Leivu showed greater similarities with Salaca Livonian and Mulgi. This division is evident in the properties of standard negation, occurrence of certain phonological features, e.g., consonant palatalisation, the occurrence of *h*. With regard to comparative constructions, only Lutsi, Kraasna, Võro, and Seto revealed instances of partitive marking (similar to the use of the genitive in Russian) to express the standard, although they all contained additional methods for creating comparative constructions (e.g., using the elative case and/or a particle construction). It is possible that over time, as the partitive lost its

separative meaning the relative took over as an explicitly separative case. This, however, did not happen in the varieties that had a supporting model in the neighbouring languages.

As regards contact induced-changes caused by neighbouring Indo-European languages, we could find cases of PAT-borrowing as hypothesised. The clearest instances of PAT-borrowing were the particle comparatives that make use of the negative marker – only the Finnic varieties that have had close contacts with Latvian and/or Latgalian (Lutsi, Leivu, Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian) contained such examples. This shows that a pattern is likely to be borrowed if it has spread over a wide territory in a language that has a dominant position in society.

At the same time, there were developments that could not be considered a direct influence of the main non-cognate contact varieties. For instance, changes in the person-indexing system, which have led to various types of syncretism in the Finnic varieties, probably result from language internal developments. Although syncretism is characteristic of the Livonian-like subdialects of Latvian (the contact variety of Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian), Latvian and Latgalian in general, but also the Russian dialects. As was shown, syncretism is much more widespread in the studied Finnic varieties (except Standard Estonian).

As was also hypothesised, certain structural features have persisted despite the presence of differing models in the main contact varieties. One such example is the distinction between past and present tense in negative markers. This distinction is found in all of the analysed varieties except the main standard varieties in the area (Estonian, Latvian, Latgalian, Russian), which instead use invariable negative markers. In the case of Estonian, the reasons for the simplification of the system could also be sought in the work done by the Germans in developing the written standard, as German also does not have an inflective negative marker. Another example of a characteristic Finnic feature that has been stable is vowel harmony, which has been better preserved in the eastern periphery of the studied area, i.e., closer to predominantly Russian-speaking regions.

This study also contained examples of features or bundles of features, which reflect the impact of conscious language planning. For example, two particular phenomena in Standard Estonian are the result of language planning at the end of the 19th century. Thus, Standard

Estonian shows a different pattern for agreement within noun phrases than is found in the South Estonian language islands or in other non-standard varieties including ones for which a literary standard is of relatively recent origin. Likewise, the essive case was on the verge of disappearing in Estonian, but it was revived in the standard language, while in the other Finnic varieties examined here it has become unproductive. This shows that when favourable conditions exist (not too large of a language community, the standard language is only just developing) language planning can lead to changes in the language system that speakers are ready to accept.

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Abbreviations

1,2,3 – person, ABE – abessive, ACC – accusative, ADE – adessive, ALL – allative, APP – active past participle, CL – clitic, CLiv – Courland Livonian, CNG – connegative, COM – comitative, COMP – comparative, COND – conditional, CONJ – conjunction, ELA – elative, ESS – essive, Est – Estonian, F – feminine, FUT – future, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INE – inessive, INF – infinitive, INS – instructive, IPS – impersonal, Kra – Kraasna, Lav – Latvian, Lei – Leivu, Ltg – Latgalian, Lut – Lutsi, M – masculine, Mul – Mulgi, NEG – negative, PL – plural, PRS – present, PRT – partitive, PST – past, PTCL – particle, Q – question particle, REFL – reflexive, Rus – Russian, Set – Seto, SG – singular, SLiv – Salaca Livonian, SUP – supine, TERM – terminative, Vro – Võro

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Kokkuvõte. Miina Norvik, Uldis Balodis, Valts Ernštreits, Gunta Kļava, Helle Metslang, Karl Pajusalu, Eva Saar: Lõunaeesti keelesaared Kesk-Balti mõjuväljas. Artikkel esitab lõunaeesti keelesaarte – Leivu, Lutsi ja Kraasna – mitme morfosüntaktilise ja fonoloogilise joone võrdleva analüüsi. Uurimuse eesmärgiks on anda ülevaade valitud joonte levikust ja püsivusest ajas ning arutleda nende vormide ja kasutuse üle laiemas areaalses kontekstis. Selleks võetakse arvesse lähimate sugulaskeelte (eesti ja lõunaeesti, Kuramaa ja Salatsi liivi) ja -murrete ning tähtsamate kontaktkeelte (latgali, läti, vene) esinemusi. Analüüsitakse erinevatest allikatest, mh tekstikogudest, sõnaraamatutest ja keelekorpustest pärit ainek. Uurimistulemused toovad esile mitmesuguseid vormiseoseid ja muutuste levikuviise, osutades uuritud keelte ja murrete omavaheliste kontaktide mitmelaadsusele ning sellest tingitud erinevatele keelesüsteemi arengutele.

Märksõnad: morfosüntaks, fonoloogia, keelekontakt, laenamine, keele-areaalid, Kesk-Balti areaal, lõuna-läänemeresoome keeled

POSSIBLE TRACES OF FINNIC INFLUENCE IN LATVIAN SUBDIALECT PHONETICS AND MORPHOLOGY

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Abstract. This article discusses areas observed on geolinguistic maps showing Finnic or Finnic-like features in Latvian subdialects possibly resulting from Finnic influence. The Latvian dialect material analysed for this study shows that several such areas can be identified based on their phonetics and morphology: the Livonic dialect, the Selonc subdialects, certain Selonc subdialects on both banks of the Daugava River, certain subdialects in the former Leivu territory in northeastern Latvia near Alūksne and Gulbene, and a few subdialects in Zemgale near Bauska and Vecsaule where the Krevin Votians were settled. The shortening of word endings and generalisation of third-person verb forms is also quite regularly encountered in the subdialects spoken around Preiļi in Latgale. The least amount of language material is available about the Ludza Estonians or Lutsis who lived in eastern Latgale where their influence is seen in the tone system of the local subdialects.

Keywords: Latvian dialects, Finnic languages, dialectology, geolinguistics, language contact.

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1. Introduction

This article describes possible Finnic influence on the phonetics and morphology of Latvian subdialects. As Finnic influence is best preserved in the Livonic dialect of Latvian and similar language features are also encountered in other Latvian dialects, this article discusses areas observed on geolinguistic maps showing unique groups of shared features in Latvian subdialects, which could be explained by possible Finnic influence. This analysis utilises the maps and comments found in the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants (Atlas of Latvian Dialects)* volume on phonetics by Dr. philol. Alberts Sarkanis. It also uses the maps and comments of the atlas's recently published first volume on morphology

(LVDA 2021). The editor of this volume was Dr. philol. Anna Stafecka. The second volume is in preparation.

The Latvian dialect material analysed for this study shows that several such areas can be identified based on their phonetics and morphology: the Livonic dialect, the Selonc subdialects, certain Selonc subdialects on the right (Aizkraukle, Skrīveri, Pļaviņas, etc.) and left banks (Daudzese, Sece, etc.) of the Daugava River as well as in some subdialects in the former Leivu territory in northeastern Latvia near Alūksne and Gulbene (Ilzene, Lejasciems, Kalncempji, etc.), and a few subdialects in Zemgale near Bauska and Vecsaule where the Krevin Votians were settled. The least amount of language material is available about the Ludza Estonians or Lutsis who lived in eastern Latgale where their influence has been identified in the tone system of the local subdialects. The shortening of word endings as well as several parallels to Livonic dialect verb forms, for example, generalisation of third-person verb forms to other persons, is also quite regularly encountered in the subdialects spoken around Preiļi (in Galēni, Rudzēti, less often in Aizkalne and Vārkava).

This article has the following structure. Section 2 describes earlier research into Finnic influence in Latvian. Section 3 gives an overview of known Finnic influence and Finnic-like features in Latvian dialects, while Section 4 looks specifically at the influence of the South Estonian Leivu and Lutsi varieties on Latvian. Section 5 presents a series of geolinguistic maps to help visualise the location and extent of certain Finnic or Finnic-like features in Latvian. Section 6 expands on this by providing a more in-depth description of these features. Section 7 concludes this article by presenting a list of areas in Latvia showing Finnic or Finnic-like features.

2. Earlier research on Finnic influence in Latvian

Though Latvian and its neighbours – Livonian and Estonian – belong to different language families, contact among them has been close and with a long history. Research into this contact has been ongoing for more than a century. As noted by Latvian linguist Ojārs Bušs, lexical borrowings from Finnic languages, primarily from Estonian and Livonian, have been studied for more than 100 years (Bušs 2009a: 31). They have been

the subject of several monographs of which the most well-known is the study by Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen (Thomsen 1890), in which he mentions, among other things, more than 180 borrowings from the Finnic languages. Important contributions to the study of Baltic and Finnic languages have been made by Lauri Kettunen (Kettunen 1938), Jānis Endzelīns (Endzelīns 1970; ME, EH), Karl Aben (Aben 1957), Valdis Juris Zeps (Zeps 1962), Eberhard Winkler (Winkler 1997), Lembit Vaba (Vaba 1997), etc. The following Latvian linguists should also be mentioned in this regard: Marta Rudzīte, Silvija Raģe, Ojārs Bušs, Antons Breidaks, Benita Laumane, Elga Kagaine, Kersti Boiko, etc. (for more on this see Bušs 2009b: 10–11). In recent years, Uldis Balodis has studied the Lutsis (Balodis 2015; 2019; 2020).

Research into mutual influence between Latvian and the Finnic languages has focused mostly on lexical borrowings – Baltic and Finnic linguists have primarily studied vocabulary and toponyms borrowed from Livonian and Estonian, while focusing less on grammatical structure and word formation, as grammatical change occurs relatively slowly (Rudzīte 1958: 145–146). Brigita Bušmane has studied the distribution of Finnic-origin vocabulary in Latvian subdialects from a geolinguistic perspective (Bušmane 2000), while Anna Stafecka has studied this in Latvian and Lithuanian subdialects (Stafecka 2014).

The characteristic features, phonetics, and morphology of the Livonic dialects of both Kurzeme and Vidzeme are examined in M. Rudzīte's book *Latviešu dialektoloģija* (Latvian Dialectology), which provides a detailed description of the vocalism and consonantism of the Livonic dialects giving special attention to shortening of long vowels, syllable changes in suffixes as well as features of compound formation and verb conjugation (Rudzīte 1964: 149–255). Detailed studies of the phonetics and morphology of certain Livonic subdialects can be found in various subdialect descriptions. An impressive number of Livonic subdialect descriptions has been published in the *Filologu biedrības raksti* (Proceedings of the Society of Philologists; 1920–1940). A number of studies on the Livonic subdialects were published beginning in the second half of the 20th century (Putniņš 1985, Krautmane-Lohmatkina 2002, Dravniece 2008, Draviņš & Rūķe 1956, 1958). A dictionary of the Vidzeme Livonic Vainiži subdialect has also been published (Ādamsons & Kagaine 2000).

3. Finnic influence in Latvian dialects and subdialects

The Latvian language formed as a result of the merging of Baltic tribes in the 10th–12th centuries. Traces of these tribes’ languages can still be found in the more than 500 Latvian subdialects (in Latvian linguistics, a subdialect is traditionally considered to be the language variety spoken within the territory of one civil parish (Latvian: *pagasts*) according to the administrative boundaries of 1939). These subdialects are traditionally grouped into three dialects: Central (also Middle), Livonic (also Livonian, Livonian-influenced, or Livonianised), and High Latvian (see Figure 1). The Livonic dialect has been influenced by the Livonian language more than any other Latvian dialect (Rudzīte 1964: 149), though Livonian influence often extends beyond the boundaries of this dialect.

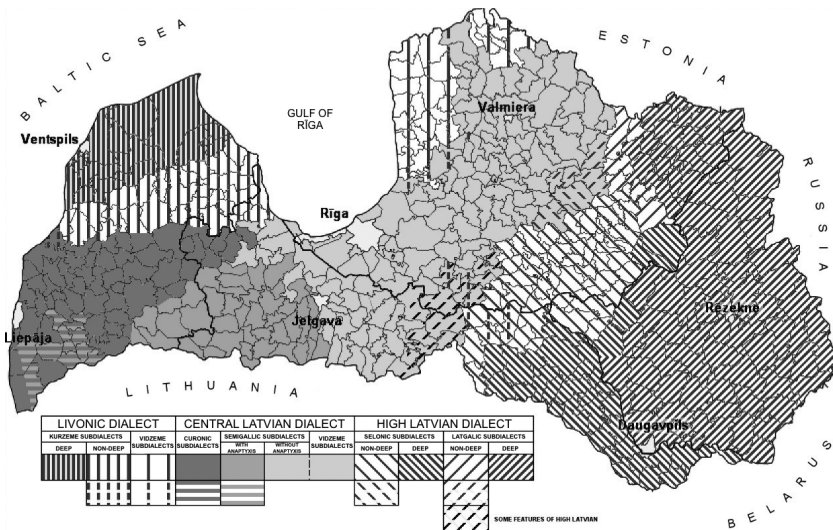


Figure 1. The Dialects of Latvian (The digital version of this map was created by L. Markus-Narvila based on the Latvian dialect map in Rudzīte 1993).

Several phonetic changes are attributable to Finnic and especially Livonian influence. Foremost among these is first syllable stress and also, for example, *au* > *ou* (*saule* > *soul* ‘sun’); however, Jānis Endzelīns considered attribution of this change to foreign influence as hypothetical, because it is not always possible to determine whether this sound change arose as a result of influence or independently (Endzelīns 1970: 8).

Other examples include the sound change¹ $\bar{e} > ei$, as in, $p\bar{e}c > peic$ ‘after’ (Endzelīns 1951: 138–139), sound changes affecting long vowels and the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* in suffixes and final syllables (including in noun case endings), and the loss of short vowels in final syllables. Features considered characteristic of the Livonic dialect include, for example, the loss of feminine gender and the generalisation of the third person in conjugation.

The Livonic dialect is spoken in northern Kurzeme and northwestern Vidzeme. The subdialects spoken near Rūjiena are also similar to these. The Livonic subdialects are divided into two groups: the *Vidzeme Livonic subdialects* and the *Kurzeme Livonic subdialects* – also called the *Tamian (tāmnieku) subdialects*.

The Kurzeme and Vidzeme Livonic subdialects also differ from each other and these differences are due to historical circumstances. Each of these groups has a different group of Latvian subdialects at its foundation, which interacted with Livonian, but not in the same ways. The Kurzeme Livonic subdialects came about as a result of contact between the Latvianised Curonian language and the Kurzeme Livonian language, while in Vidzeme, the Vidzeme Livonian language was in contact with the Semigallian-influenced Central dialect of Latvian spoken in Vidzeme (see Rudzīte 1964: 151–152). M. Rudzīte also catalogued the unique features characterising both groups of Livonic subdialects (Rudzīte 1964: 149–255), for example, the Standard Latvian (henceforth, SL) third-person pronoun *viņš* is *viš* in the Tamian subdialects, but *viņč* in the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects. The Kurzeme Livonic subdialects are characterised by certain features also found in the Curonic subdialects of the Central dialect. The Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, on the other hand, are characterised by certain unique changes to final syllables, for example, the shift of the vowel *e* to *a* (*tupal* < *tupele* ‘slipper; clog’, *ēval* < *ēvele* ‘plane’), *e* or *a* are used in place of *ie* in suffixes (*saimneks* < *saimnieks* ‘master; landlord, owner’, *latvaš* < *latvieši* ‘Latvians’); the plural dative pronouns *mumsim*, *jumsim* are encountered after prepositions; the preposition *iekš* ‘in’ is also typical (*iekš pur vid* ‘in the middle of the swamp’ (SL *purva vidū*), *iekš zēm* ‘in the land’ (SL *zemē*)).

1 According to Latvian linguistic practice, *e* and \bar{e} denote Latvian “narrow e” – [e] and [e:], while \bar{e} and \bar{e} denote Latvian “broad e” – [æ] and [æ:].

Compound formation is also one of the most productive word formation methods in the Livonic subdialects, for example, *vidnakt* ‘midnight’, *ābeļkuoks* ‘apple tree’, *mēllanuogs* ‘bilberries’, *upsmutt* ‘river mouth’, also word formation models using *-pakaļa* ‘hind part’ and *-apakša* ‘lower part’ (also *-apuža*), for example, *mežpakaļa* ‘area behind a forest’, *kalnapuža* ‘foot of a hill’, *kājapuža* ‘sole of a foot’, *malkielpakaļa* ‘area behind a pile of firewood’, *auspakaļa* ‘area behind one’s ear’, *mugurpakaļa* ‘back (of something); rear area’, which may be due to Finnic influence. Linguist Elga Kagaine has analysed the grammatical features, compound formation, and word formation models using *-apakša* (*-apuža*, *-apukša*, *-apaža*), *-pakaļa* in the subdialects of northern Vidzeme. She emphasises that these models are dominant not only in the Livonic dialect area, but are also found in the subdialects of the Central dialect in Vidzeme, have been fully incorporated into the Latvian subdialect word formation system and have also largely limited the productivity of the Baltic model (derivations with *pa-* and *aiz-*) (Kagaine 2008: 619–627). Silvija Raģe (2003: 269) also notes possible influence on syntax seen in disagreement among sentence constituents, for example, *gulēt gripā* ‘to have the flu’ (SL *gulēt*, *slimot ar gripu*), *salma jumts* ‘straw roof’ (SL *salmu jumts*), *ievest sienus* ‘to bring harvested hay into the barn’ (SL *ievest sienu*), etc.; the locative of purpose *iet govīs* ‘to go after cows’ (SL *iet pēc govīm*).

Finnic influence can also be found in Latvian subdialects elsewhere in Latvia. J. Endzelīns observes that the shortening of final syllables in infinitives, which is characteristic of the Livonic subdialects, is also found in the Selonian subdialects of Cesvaine, Patkule, Lazdona, Prauliena, Pļaviņas, Sarkanī (Endzelīns 1951: 69) and also in other High Latvian subdialects (Alūksne, Lejasciems, and others.), though suffixes are shortened most often in Skrīveri, Daudzese, and Sece where the Livonians may have lived in the past (Endzelīns 1951: 70). The maps, dialect material, and other studies published in the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (*Atlas of Latvian Dialects*) confirms these features.

Compounds with an initial nominative component have been recorded in certain Vidzeme Selonian subdialects, for example, *grāvsmala* (*grāūs'molā*) ‘side of a ditch’ in Aduliena, *plavazāle* (*pļouā.zālē*) ‘meadow grass’ in Meirāni, *liepaziedus* (*l'iepa.ziéd's*) ‘linden blossoms’ in Saikava (Poiša 1999: 106). This type of compound is considered to have developed due to Finnic influence as well as the aforementioned

word formation model using *-pakaļa*, which has also been recorded in the Vidzeme Selonic subdialect region, e.g., *stòļpokāļa* ‘area behind a stall’, *klēcpokāļa* ‘area behind a barn’ (for more see Poiša 1999: 106–107). M. Poiša has also identified still other features explainable by Finnic influence, e.g., a masculine form *tas* ‘that’ is used to refer to a feminine subject in *tas i ģimēnes lieta* ‘that is a family matter’ (SL *tā ir ģimenes lieta*) in Cesvaine (Poiša 1999: 108), the masculine pronoun *tas* is used to refer to feminine nouns in *a:dolas ta miza* ‘that bark is separating’ (SL *atdalās tā miza*) in Aduliena and *sākā tas moāja dē:kt* ‘that house began to burn’ (SL *sāka tā māja degt*) in Dzelzava (Poiša 1999: 108).

4. Leivu and Lutsi influence in Latvian

The Leivus who were migrants from southeastern Estonia lived near Alūksne and Gulbene in northeastern Latvia. The Lejasciems Latvian subdialect has been described in considerable detail by linguist Daina Zemzare (Zemzare 2011) giving attention not only to vocabulary and toponymy, but also phonetics and morphology. D. Zemzare mentions shortening of long vowels as well as vowel loss in suffixes, also the presence of certain suffixes of Estonian origin and other features (Zemzare 2011: 109–114). At present, there are many place names of Finno-Ugric origin in this region, especially in Lejasciems – where home and village names with Finno-Ugric roots are already found in the 1630 revision lists – also in Ilzene and Kalniena (for more see Jansons 1962: 199–204; also, Balode 2008: 11). In writing about Finno-Ugric place names near Gulbene, A. Jansons hypothesises that these place names may testify not only to the presence of immigrant Estonians, but also of other more ancient Finno-Ugric populations that lived mixed with the Latgalian.

There are few traces of Lutsi influence on surrounding Latvian subdialects with the exception of some lexical borrowings, most of which also occur in Standard Latvian. Linguist Antons Breidaks mentions several borrowings typical of Latgalian subdialects, for example, *endelēties* (*eņd'eļāt'īs*) ‘to argue, fight’, *kete* ‘left hand’, *kugre* ‘crucian carp’, *sugulis* (*suguļs*) ‘colt’ as well as several Finnic-origin toponyms, for example, *Paideri* (village), *Pylđa* (village), *Raibakozy* (village),

Rauzu azars (lake), *Soidu azars* (lake) (Brejda 2007 [1970]: 254–255). The eastern Latgale Latvian subdialects have two tones: falling and broken. However, A. Brejda mentions several subdialects near Ludza where only one tone is observed in the speech of Latvianised Lutsi descendants. This tone, which is similar to the stretched tone of the Central dialect, is the reason that people in this area say of the Estonians and their speech that *igauņi velk* – the Estonians drawl (Brejda 2007 [1970]: 253). Thus, the broken and falling tones have combined into a single – falling – tone in the speech of Latvianised Estonians (for more see Brejda 2007 [1972]: 30).

5. Visualising Finnic influence with geolinguistic maps

The distribution of different dialect features is best depicted using geolinguistic maps. The Livonic dialect was already an object of study at the end of the 19th century. August Bielenstein devotes one map (Figure 2) to depicting dialect differences in the atlas he published in 1892 (Bielenstein 1892).



Figure 2. A. Bielenstein's isogloss map published in 1892.

33 isoglosses are used to show the distribution of primarily phonetic and morphological features across Latvian subdialects. Groups of isoglosses show dialect and even subdialect group boundaries. Several isoglosses are devoted to the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, for example, isogloss 1 shows the loss of the final syllable, isogloss 2 shows *au* > *ou*, isogloss 12 shows the loss of person endings, isogloss 13 shows the loss of the feminine gender, etc.

Nearly 50 years later, linguist Velta Rūķe turned her attention to mapping the features of the Livonic dialect. In 1940, she published three maps with extensive comments of the Livonic dialect regions of Kurzeme and Vidzeme (Rūķe 2017 [1940]: 405–461), which show the phonetic and morphological features of these subdialects. The northern Kurzeme map uses 13 isoglosses to show phonetic differences (Figure 3) such as *au* > *ou*, *ō* (isogloss 3), the debitive with *jā-*, *jā-*, or *ja-* (isogloss 5), the diminutive with *-iņš*, *-īš*, *-iš* (isogloss 6), the third-person pronoun *viš*, *viš* ‘he’ (SL *viņš*) (isogloss 7), the first-person singular pronouns *es* and *ēs* (isogloss 10), the first-person plural pronouns *mēs* and *mēš*.

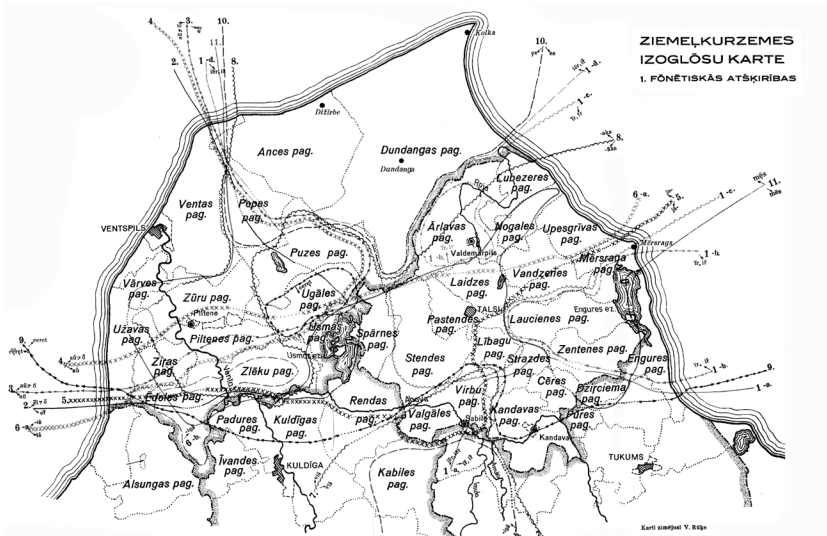


Figure 3. V. Rūķe. Northern Kurzeme isogloss map. Phonetic differences.

16 isoglosses are used to show morphological differences (Figure 4), for example, isogloss 1 shows the shift of the ending *-šan[a]* to *-šēn*, 8 isoglosses are devoted to the dative and locative endings of *iĵo-* and *iĵa-* stem nouns. Isoglosses 10–15 show the distribution of the prepositions *pie*, *nuo*, *aiz* and the corresponding prefixes *pie-*, *nuo-*, *aiz-*, while isogloss 16 shows the distribution of the present tense *ā-* and *ō-* stem reflexive verb endings.

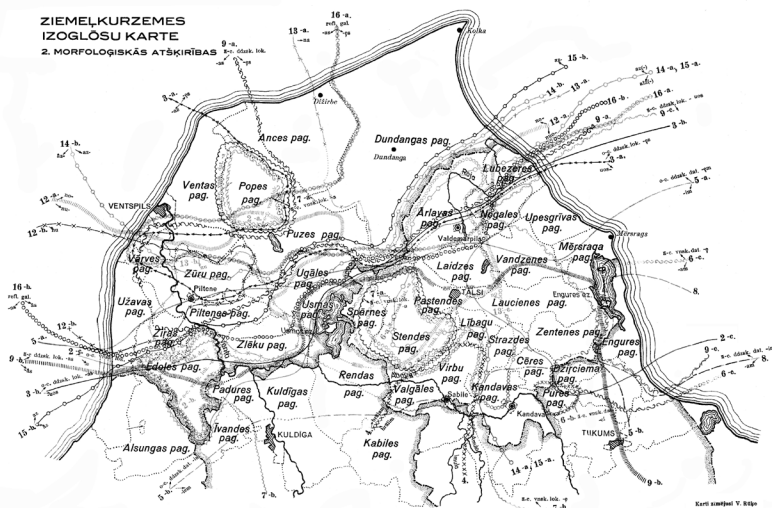


Figure 4. V. Rūķe. Northern Kurzeme isogloss map. Morphological differences.

V. Rūķe's third map is devoted to the western Vidzeme region, i.e., to the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects (Figure 5). 13 isoglosses are used on this map to show phonetic and morphological differences: tone in the verbs *iet* 'to go', *ņemt* 'to take' (isogloss 1), the pronunciation ([e] vs. [æ]) of the vowel *e* in monosyllabic infinitives, the loss of *j* after labials. The other 10 isoglosses show the morphological differences of these subdialects: the diminutive suffix *-iņš* (isogloss 4), the singular locative and plural dative and locative endings of *iĵo-* stem nouns (isoglosses 5–7), feminine plural *u-* stem forms (isogloss 9), the separation between the present tense *uoja-* and *āja-* verb stems (isogloss 11), the future tense forms of the verbs *nākt* 'to come', *mirt* 'to die' (*nācīs*, *mirīs*, *nāks*, *mirs*) (isogloss 12), the use of the supine (isogloss 13).

6. Examples of Finnic influence and Finnic-like features in Latvian subdialects

The phonetics volume of the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (*Atlas of Latvian Dialects*) was published in 2013 and was compiled by Dr. philol. Alberts Sarkanis (LVDA 2013). The maps of this atlas show Finnic influence not only in the Livonic dialect, but also in the High Latvian Selonic subdialect region, for example, secondary lengthening of syllable tone following voiced consonants *dāb(a)*, *kāz(a)*, Selonic subdialect: *kōza*, Latgalian subdialect: *kōz(a)* (Map 6), the palatal umlaut *ue* or *uē* of the diphthong *uo* in the words *kuoks*, *uozuols*, *ruoze*, and others (Map 54), shortening of the vowel *ī* in the suffix *īb-* *barīb*, *labīb* (Map 67), umlaut of vowel *ā* is also encountered in this region (Map 56). *e* > *ē* or *ĕ* has been recorded in the ordinal numeral *desmitais* ‘tenth’ in a compact area of the Kurzeme Livonic subdialect region, less often in the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, and mostly in the Vidzeme Selonic subdialects (Map 41), similarly *ā* > *ē* occurs in the word *pārsla* > *pērsla* ‘flake’ in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects and in a portion of the Vidzeme Central and Selonic subdialects (Map 17), the diphthong *au* > *ou* (*soule* ‘sun’, *broukt* ‘to drive’), which is characteristic of the Livonic dialect, is also found in a compact region in Vidzeme, less often in the Zemgale Selonic subdialects, and also in the northern Vidzeme Central subdialects as well as in a few Latgalian subdialects in Vidzeme and northern Latgale (Map 51). The shift of *a* to *ē* in stressed syllables following tautosyllabic *r*, for example, *sērkans* ‘red’, *sērma* ‘hoarfrost’, has been recorded in the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects as well as in the Selonic and Semigalian subdialects near Bauska and Vecsaule, i.e., the territory historically inhabited by the Krevin Votians (Map 14). The shift *ē* > *ā*, less often *ē*, in the word *vēl* ‘still, yet’ has been identified in the Vidzeme Selonic and Vidzeme Latgalian subdialects near Alūksne and Gulbene, i.e., the former Leivu territory (Map 45).

Shortening of the vowel *ā* in the infinitive *runat* ‘to speak’ (Map 79) and in the infinitive ending *-ināt* in *dedzinat* ‘to burn’, *ēdinat* ‘to feed’ (Map 80); and shortening of the vowel *ē* in the infinitive ending *-ēt* in *tecet* ‘to flow, trickle’, *redzet* ‘to see’, *sēdet* ‘to sit’ (Map 81) are found in the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects as well as in a few Selonic subdialects on the right bank of the Daugava River.

Many phonetic features are also found in the recently published first morphology volume (LVDA 2021) as well as the second morphology volume (still in preparation) of the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (Atlas of Latvian Dialects). Just as in the *Phonetics* volume, the Livonic dialect region can be identified in the *Morphology* volume material, which shows not only characteristic morphological, but also phonetic, features of this dialect not included in the *ALD Phonetics* volume. Using the materials collected for the *Morphology* volume stored at the University of Latvia Latvian Language Institute, the phonetic and morphological features typical of the Livonic subdialects also occurring in other Latvian subdialects, are examined below. However, it should be noted that the subdialect material collected for the *ALD* is quite varied, therefore, it can provide only an approximation of possible Finnic influence or the traces of this influence, which have been preserved in Latvian subdialects.

Shortening or loss of case endings is a feature of noun declension typical not only of the Livonic subdialects, but also encountered in other parts of Latvia. Below are some examples of these types of changes.

The loss of the case ending in the *io*-stem singular accusative and instrumental common form, for example, *ceļ*, *cēļ*, *vēj*, (cf. SL *ceļu* ‘road (AccSg, InstSg)’, *vēju* ‘wind (AccSg, InstSg)’), which is encountered over a large, compact portion of the Livonic dialect area, but is also recorded in a few subdialects on the right (Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Pļaviņas) and left banks (Daugmale, Rembate, Sece) of the Daugava River as well as in the Zemgale Krevin Votian territory (Vecsaule). The loss of the case ending in the *iā*-stem singular accusative and instrumental common form, for example, *gaļ* (SL *gaļu* ‘meat (AccSg, InstSg)’), is found in the Livonic dialect and in several Selonik subdialects on both banks of the Daugava River (Jumurda, Jumprava, Skrīveri, Sece).

The *a*-stem singular dative ending change *ai* > *ei*, as in for example, *lapei* (SL *lapai* ‘for a leaf’), is found in a few Kurzeme and even fewer Vidzeme Livonic subdialects and has been recorded in Lēdmane, Jumprava, Skrīveri, Dzelzava, Cesvaine, Patkule, Lazdona, Prauliena.

The *ē*-stem singular dative *priede* (< SL *priedei* ‘for a pine tree’) is found in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects as well as in Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Daudzese.

o-stem singular locative forms showing a shortened vowel in their ending, for example, *kuokā* ‘in a tree’ > *kuoka*, are widespread in

the Livonic dialect and also found in Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas, Daudzese, and Sērene. *o*-stem singular locative forms show the vowel change $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ in their ending, for example, *kuokē*, which is typical for some Kurzeme Livonic subdialects around Kuldīga and the Curonic subdialects south of Kuldīga; it has also been recorded in Daugmale, Plātere, Jumprava. The sound change $\bar{a} > \bar{e} > e$, for example, *kuoke*, is frequently encountered in this case ending in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, sporadically in the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, and has also been recorded in Jumprava, Skrīveri, Daudzese, Krustpils.

Similar changes are also seen in the singular locative forms of other stems, for example, the *jo*-stem form *vējā* ‘in the wind’ $>$ *vēja*, which is widespread in the Vidzeme and Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, and is also recorded in Tome, Aizkraukle, Pļaviņas, Daudzese, Sunākste.

The *a*-stem singular locative form, for example, *lapa* $>$ *lape*, derived from *-ai* – which arose as a result of the shortening of the ancient locative ending *-āi* (for more see Rudzīte 1964: 216), is characteristic of the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects and has also been recorded in Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Koknese as well as in the former Leivu territory – Ilzene and Kalncempji.

The *e*-stem singular locative form with a shortened vowel in its ending, for example, *priedē* $>$ *priede*, which is found over a large, compact portion of the Livonic dialect area, has also been recorded in a few Selonic subdialects on the right (Jumprava, Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas) and left banks (Tome, Daudzese, Sunākste) of the Daugava River as well as in Birzūļi, Dūre, Ilzene.

The *i*-stem singular locative form with a shortened vowel in its ending, for example, *naktī* $>$ *nakti* ‘in the night’, has a similar distribution and is characteristic primarily of the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects and has also been recorded in several Selonic subdialects on the right (Jumprava, Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas) and left banks (Sērene, Elkšņi) of the Daugava River, also in Zemgale (Svēte, Tērvete) as well as in Ilzene.

Plural nominative forms with vowel loss in their ending *lap’s*, *siev’s* (SL *lapas* ‘leaves’, *sievas* ‘women’) are found in the Livonic subdialects and have also been recorded in Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas, Sausnēja.

Plural genitive forms without consonant alternation *sirdu* (SL *siržu* ‘of hearts’), are characteristic of the Livonic subdialects and have

also been recorded in Liepkaļne, Odziena, Kurmene, Sidgunda, Sāviena, Sērene, Daudzese, and Bruķna.

A sound change in the *o*-stem plural dative ending, for example, *kuokiem* > *kuokem* ‘for trees’ is characteristic of the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, less often of the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, and is also recorded in Koknese and Pļaviņas.

The plural locative ending *-os* (<*-uos*), for example, *kuokos*, *kalnos* (SL *kuokuos* ‘in trees’, *kalnuos* ‘in hills’), which is characteristic primarily of the Vidzeme Livonic subdialect, is also recorded in Skrīveri, but the ending *-es*, which is dominant in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, has also been recorded in Skrīveri.

Also, the form *kuokēs* is typical of the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects and has been recorded in Skrīveri in Vidzeme, *kuokas* – widespread in the Kurzeme and Vidzeme Livonic subdialects has also been found in Skrīveri.

The shortening observed in the *a*-stem plural locative endings, for example in *lapas*, *mājas* (SL *lapās* ‘in leaves’, *mājās* ‘in homes; at home’) is typical of the Livonic dialect and has also been recorded in Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas as well as in Nereta and Krustpils.

Several Selonik subdialects (Skrīveri, Ābeļi, Daudzese, Sēlpils) and Ilzene share the plural locative ending *-us*, for example, *kuokus*, *kalnus*.

The *ijō*-stem plural dative and instrumental common form *brāļem* (SL *brāļiem* ‘brothers (DatPl, InstPl)’), which is more commonly encountered in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, is also recorded in just a few Vidzeme Livonic subdialects as well as in Aizkraukle, Koknese, Pļaviņas. The *e*-stem plural dative and instrumental common form *mātem* (SL *mātēm* ‘mothers (DatPl, InstPl)’) occurs in the Livonic dialect and a few subdialects along the Daugava River.

Adjectives with definite endings are not declined in the same way in all of the Livonic subdialects. These show phonetic differences, for example, shortening, changes in vowel quality, and also morphological changes (for more see Rudzīte 1964: 219–222).

The definite adjective masculine singular nominative form *labais* ‘the good one’, *baltais* ‘the white one’ is formed in the Vidzeme Livonic dialects using the segment *-ja-*, for example, *baltaš*, *labaš* (< *baltajs*, *labajs*). This form has also been sporadically recorded in the Selonik Skrīveri subdialect. The variant *labeis*, *balteis*, which occurs in a compact area in the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects around Vandzene,

Zentene, Kuldīga, has also been recorded in Jumprava and Skrīveri as well as in a small compact area around Cesvaine, Patkule.

The definite feminine adjective singular nominative has the corresponding indefinite adjective form *laba, balta*, which occurs in a compact area within the Vidzeme Livonic subdialect area and has also been recorded in Skrīveri and Aizkraukle as well as in Dūre and Ilzene.

The plural nominative feminine form *labas, baltas*, which is characteristic of a few of the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, is also found in Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Sāviena, Daudzese as well as Panemune in Zemgale.

The masculine plural nominative form *labi, balti* has not been recorded in the Livonic subdialects, but is found in Lēdmane and Skrīveri as well as in Ilzene and Lejasciems.

Other differences can also be noted. The generalised third-person form which is considered to be one of the most characteristic features of the Livonic dialect, also occurs sporadically in the Selonic subdialects as well as in the territory historically inhabited by the Krevin Votians and also that inhabited by the Leivus.

Noun declension also reveals a number of shared morphological features. Replacement of *ē*-stem plural locative forms with *a*-stem forms, for example, *mātās, priedās* (SL *mātēs* ‘in mothers’, *priedēs* ‘in pine trees’), which is typical of some Kurzeme Livonic subdialects around Stende, Strazde, and has been recorded in a small compact area in the Vidzeme Selonic subdialect area: Dzelzava, Sarkaņi, Patkule, Cesvaine, Lazdona, Prauliena. The form *priedam*, which is typical of the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, has been recorded in Lazdona.

The preposition *az* and prefix *az-*, which are typical of the subdialects of northern Kurzeme, have also been recorded in the Selonic subdialects of Graši, Ļaudona.

Several parallels between the Livonic dialect and the Vidzeme Selonic subdialects can also be found in verb conjugation. The *-āja*-stem third-person present tense form *mazgē* (SL *mazgā* ‘wash’), which is typical of the Livonic dialect, has also been identified in the Vidzeme Selonic subdialects of Jumprava and Skrīveri. The past tense forms *mele, rune* (and their variants) (SL *mēloja* ‘lied’, *runāja* ‘spoke’), which are characteristic of the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects, have also been recorded in the Skrīveri subdialect.

Forms characteristic of the Livonic subdialect also appear on geo-linguistic maps in the subdialects around Preiļi in Latgale (in Preiļi, Galēni, Rudzēti, and others), especially generalisation of third-person forms to other persons, e.g., *ēd* ‘I eat’ (SL *ēdu*), *jēm* ‘I take’ (SL *ņemu*), *aun* ‘I put on’ (SL *auju*), etc., which has not yet attracted the attention of linguists. Other forms characteristic of the Livonic subdialects found here include the *o*-stem plural accusative forms *kuoks* ‘tree (AccPl)’ (SL *kuokus*), *mats* ‘hair (AccPl)’ (SL *matus*), *zieds* ‘flowers (AccPl)’ (SL *ziedus*), etc. and the first- and second-person singular instrumental pronouns *ar man* ‘with me’ (SL *ar mani*), *ar tev* ‘with you’ (SL *ar tevi*).

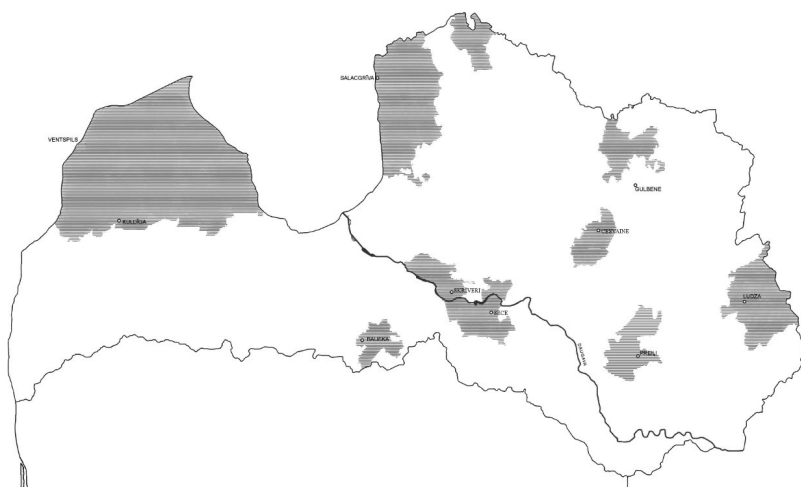


Figure 6. Possible areas of Finnic (phonetic and morphological) influence in Latvian subdialects (according to ALD data). (This map was created by A. Stafecka, its digital version was created by L. Markus-Narvila).

7. Conclusion

The dialect material discussed above makes it possible to identify a number of areas in the Livonic and other Latvian dialects, which share phonetic and morphological features with other Latvian subdialects:

- 1) The areas most frequently showing similarities – the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects and the Selonic subdialects on the right bank of the Daugava River;

- 2) a large, compact area in the Kurzeme and Vidzeme Livonic subdialects and the Vidzeme Selonik subdialects;
- 3) the Kurzeme Livonic subdialects and the Vidzeme Selonik subdialects around Cesvaine and Lazdona;
- 4) the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects and the Selonik subdialects on the right bank of the Daugava River;
- 5) the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects and the Selonik subdialects on the right bank of the Daugava River and the Leivu territory (Ilzene, Lejasciems, etc.);
- 6) the Vidzeme Livonic subdialects, the Selonik subdialects on the right and left banks of the Daugava River, and the Krevin Votian territory in Zemgale along with the subdialects located nearest to it;
- 7) individual Vidzeme and Zemgale Selonik subdialects and a few subdialects in the Leivu territory (Ilzene, Lejasciems, etc.);
- 8) Livonic dialects and certain subdialects in Latgale near Preiļi and its surrounding area, to which linguists have not devoted much attention.

Areas showing possible shared Finno-Ugric influence in Latvian subdialects may be evidence of earlier language contact or may preserve traces of an ancient Finno-Ugric population that lived mixed with the Latvians.

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Kokkuvõte. Anna Stafecka: Läänemeresoome mõju võimalikud jäljed läti murrakute foneetikas ja morfoloogias. Artikkel käsitleb läänemeresoome ja läänemeresoomepärase joonte maa-alalist levikut läti murretes. Läti murdeainestik, mida on selle uurimuse jaoks analüüsitud, näitab, et foneetilise ja morfoloogilise eripära põhjal on võimalik määratleda mitu sellist mõjuala: liivipärase murded, teatud seeli murrakud Daugava jõe mõlemal kaldal, teatud Kirde-Läti Alüksne ja Gulbene ümbruse murrakud ajaloolisel leivu alal ning mõned semgali murrakud Bauska ja Vecsaule lähistel, kus kunagi elasid kreevini vadjalased. Sõnalõppude lühenemist ja kolmanda isiku verbivormide üldistumist on üsna regulaarselt märgitud ka Latgales Preiži ümbruse murrakutes. Vähem on selliseid andmeid Ida-Latgalest Ludza eestlaste ehk lutside kunagistelt asualadelt. Siiski on seal lutsi mõju nähtav kohalike murrakute toonisüsteemis.

Märksõnad: läti murded, läänemeresoome keeled, dialektoloogia, geolingvistika, keelekontakt

FINNIC LANGUAGE ISLANDS IN EASTERN LATVIA: ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. This article discusses the archaeological background of the Leivu and Lutsi Finnic language islands. In contrast to the earlier research tradition, a hidden Finnic presence is suggested by the distribution area of Roman Iron Age tarand graves up to and including the Medieval Period when the presence of a Finnic population in north-eastern Latvia (“the Chud in Ochela”) is noted in 1179/80. The Leivu language island west of Alüksne may be the last descendants of this population, formed by the merging of a Finnic substrate and Latgalian superstrate and standing between the Estonians and Livonians. The borders of this Finnic area in northern and northeastern Latvia – a diverse network of communities, existing in parallel with Latgalian ones and based on various ethnic components – are difficult to determine, as archaeological traces of its cultural pattern in the 12th–14th centuries have much in common with the Latgalians despite definite peculiarities. The Finnic traces in the Lutsi area are more difficult to identify archaeologically, although physical anthropology suggests a former Finnic presence there too.

Keywords: archaeology, Iron Age, medieval, eastern Latvia, Latgale, Atzele, Leivu, Lutsi

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1. Introduction

The origin of the Finnic language islands of eastern Latvia has been a topic of discussion since the beginning of research interest in them in the late 19th century. Their genesis has been explained in different ways – both from the perspective of autochthonic roots and as resulting from immigration from Estonia. In earlier research, this question has traditionally been raised from a linguistic or historical perspective. The aim of this survey is to discuss this topic from an archaeological point of view, challenging some traditional approaches, and to disseminate ideas

emerging from an archaeological context to a neighbouring discipline – historical linguistics.

2. The broader background: The Finnic past of eastern Latvia

2.1. The origins of the Finnic population

In research since the early 1930s (see: Lang 2018: 35–41) but especially since the 1950s (Moora 1956: 53–54, Jaanits 1956: 135–139), the Finnic languages were considered to have arrived in the eastern Baltic area together with Comb Ware around 3000 BC. This theory was based on assuming a direct connection between archaeological cultures (with definite elements of the archaeological record ascribed to them) and languages. In the 1990s, this theory was abandoned, since there exist no direct universal connections between languages and elements of material culture. The fictional nature of “archaeological cultures” was shown by the non-overlapping character of different elements of the archaeological record also in the eastern Baltic region (Lang 2001).

For a long time there existed a considerable difference in the answers given by archaeologists and linguists to the question of when did the Finnic languages appear in the eastern Baltic region. While archaeological interpretations, based on the theory noted above, spoke of a 5000-year presence, linguistics accepted a much shorter time period. This contradiction was recently overcome through synthesis of archaeological and linguistic data – a new approach based on looking for changes in the archaeological record during the approximate time period suggested by linguistics.

This study, published first in Estonian (Lang 2018) and later, following the addition of some new information based on ancient DNA research, also in Finnish (Lang 2020) presents the theory that the speakers of the Proto-Finnic language arrived from the Volga region in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. They were in close contact with the early Baltic-speaking population already on the way, which is the reason for the presence of early Baltic loan words in the Finnic languages. The Finnic arrival which started, based on the archaeological record, probably at the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC, is regarded not as a one-time event, but as a long-term process – as a population flow

or a number of different migration waves or a combination of both. This migration was not a straightforward movement towards the west, but a process of broad settlement expansion – a creation and development of new settlement units. The arrival of this new population is connected with a broader phenomenon characteristic of that time – the genesis of fortified settlements (or early hill forts) which were founded in the eastern Baltic region on both the later Baltic and Finnic territories, giving evidence of population growth and power consolidation. The development of fortified settlements at that time was, however, not a specific feature connected with the Finnic migrations, but a part or expression of a much broader phenomenon during that time: strongholds of that kind were built then across all of the northern part of Europe where the economy was based on agriculture.

The main route of the Proto-Finnic immigration (Lang 2018: 204–225) entered eastern Latvia from Pskov Land and northern Belarus following the large Daugava waterway, passing through Latvia and reaching the Baltic Sea. Having reached the sea, these immigrants continued to the Curonian peninsula and Saaremaa, and along Estonia’s western coast to northern Estonia which became, as a result of cultural consolidation and population growth, the basis for further territorial expansion and the birth of other Finnic languages.

This expansion can be observed in the archaeological record, both in the distribution of a new type of pottery and in the appearance of a new grave form – the early tarand graves – irregular clusters of rectangular cell- or chamber-like burial structures (*tarands*) built on the surface of the ground (Lang 2007: 170–191, 2018: 168–174). The prototypes of this type of cemetery can be found in the Volga region where the dead were buried in “houses of the dead” – also cell-like rectangular structures, but made of timber. However, in Estonian coastal areas the *tarand* cells were built using stone instead of timber. The idea to construct stone graves – a tradition widespread in Scandinavia – originates from the earlier Germanic population, which inhabited the coastal areas of Estonia, Finland, and Courland before the Finnic arrival and buried their dead mainly in circular stone graves.

The societal processes caused by the arrival of a new population and the related settlement expansion can be connected with changes in language. Archaeology makes it possible to suggest regions where linguistic changes and contacts may have taken place. The two populations

and traditions mixed along the Baltic Sea coast, as shown by the presence of stone cist graves and early tarand graves in the same cemeteries during the pre-Roman Iron Age. Finnic language use ultimately dominated, but the earlier Scandinavian presence and contacts are evidenced by early Germanic loan words.

According to various linguistic studies (Sammallahti 1977, Viitso 1985, Kallio 2014), the South Estonian language is the result of the first separation from Proto-Finnic. This separation has now been connected with a specific region and time, i.e., with the people who “dropped off” from the general immigration route in the eastern part of eastern Latvia extending, maybe somewhat later, to southern Estonia. The second separation from Proto-Finnic, that of the Livonian language, can be related to the more western territories of Latvia.

2.2. The Roman Iron Age and its decline

Finnic culture in Latvia becomes archaeologically visible when pottery with textile impressions appears around the turn of the era (Vasks 1991). This kind of ware, common also for the Finnic areas of the Volga region, represents a tradition different from the striated pottery of the Baltic cultures.

The Finnic peculiarities clearly emerge beginning with the transition to the Roman Iron Age (dated as 0–400 AD in Latvia, 50–450 AD in Estonia) and are expressed by a new grave type, i.e., the typical tarand graves. These monumental graves built of large granite boulders follow the cell-based structure of early tarand graves, but instead of irregular clusters, the burial “chambers” are now organised in rows. The new grave type appears in southern Estonia in the 2nd century via cultural impacts or immigration from the south – present-day Latvian territory (Laul 2001: 192). In the Roman Iron Age, the border between Finnic and Baltic cultures is clearly reflected in the archaeological record by burial traditions. While the Balts inhumed the dead in big sand barrows with collective burials (Vasks 2001: 214–229), the Finnic population practised cremation, with ashes dispersed in tarand graves.

Most finds from the tarand graves of eastern Latvia reached archaeological collections already in the 19th century, and the material was analysed in detail in the 1930s (Moora 1929; 1938). The tarand graves of Vidzeme and Latgale have not attracted later research interest in Latvian archaeology and since that time no new excavations have

followed. Later surveys presented in general treatments of Latvian pre-history (LA 1974: 106–108, 130, Vasks 2001: 224–229) are heavily based on earlier material and conclusions.

Among the tarand graves of eastern Latvia, three main regions can be distinguished – the Gauja basin, central Vidzeme, and Latgale – each characterised by its own peculiarities (Laul 1982: 243–246, table XIV). The latter two areas also involve, respectively, the Leivu and Lutsi Finnic language islands: in both cases several stone setting cemeteries are known from the region. In general, however, the Roman Iron Age culture was very similar in southern Estonia and eastern Latvia, and on a broader scale, it can be treated as one cultural entity. Recent analysis of jewellery from tarand cemeteries shows close communication among the communities of southeastern Estonia, northern Vidzeme, and central Latgale (Olli 2019).

The Roman Iron Age culture flourished in eastern Latvia until the 5th century when the construction of new cemeteries and new tarand graves ended, and the latest finds date to the 6th century (Urtāns 1970: 76–79). The same process can also be seen in Estonia where about 80% of tarand graves were abandoned in the mid-5th century, while in northern Estonia continuity into the Migration Period can mainly be observed (Tvauri 2012: 254). Their final decline might correlate with the global climate catastrophe of 536/537, known both from written sources of the Mediterranean region as well as from sediments at the bottom of bodies of water (Tvauri 2014). The volcanic dust, which covered the sun for two years and caused the death of crops, was fatal for Northern Europe where a general decline of population and settlement can be observed in the 6th century. Roughly at the same time, there is written evidence of Justinian's Plague which killed about one-third of the population in the Mediterranean region in 541–543. There is no written evidence of the pandemic in the Baltic Sea region, but, considering oversea transmission, it may also have contributed to the decline in culture and population.

2.3. The Dark Ages: Disappearance, assimilation, or continuity?

In general, the abandonment of tarand graves has been regarded as a sign of the disappearance of the Finnic population in northern Latvia, as Finnic burial rites have been connected exclusively with stone graves. The fate of the Finnic population of eastern Latvia after the end of the Roman Iron Age has not attracted research interest in Latvian

archaeology for a long time – the latest article on the topic was published more than fifty years ago (Urtāns 1970) – and the focus in ethnic studies has been on the history of Baltic tribes. The expansion of the Latgalians, whose material culture and burial rites differed from those of the Finnic population – the Balts in Latvia practised inhumation – began in the 6th and 7th centuries. By the 9th–10th centuries, the area they occupied is believed to have reached the mostly uninhabited and forested border areas between later Estonian and Latvian territories (Radiņš 2006: 142–143), but also their later, 11th–12th century arrival at the Estonian-Latvian border areas has been suggested (Ciglis 2009, 35).

The history of the Finnic population in eastern Latvia following the end of the Roman Iron Age has been regarded as a history of decline and assimilation that has generally been believed to have ended in the Viking Age. A foothold for following the chronology of this process is craniological data from Kiviti cemetery (Šnore 1987): graves from the 8th and 9th centuries have been attributed to the Finnic population whereas burials from the 10th to 12th century have features common for the Balts with, however, also a certain continuity of Finnic traits (Denisova 1977: 137–139, 1990: 69–71). The case of Kiviti was regarded for a long time as the latest archaeological evidence of an autochthonous Finnic population in eastern Latvia.

In Latvian archaeology, the eastern part of present-day eastern Latvia, east of the areas occupied by the Livonians, has been regarded as fully Latgalian on the eve of the Crusades (LA 1974: 222–226, 277, Turlajs 1998: 12, Vasks 1997: 69; Ciglis 2016, 15, fig. 1). While a mixed Baltic-Finnic population was considered possible in the borderlands of the Livonian area, this possibility has been ruled out for eastern Latvia. Traditionally, the Finnic question has arisen in the archaeology of Vidzeme only with the emergence of the Livonian culture in the second half of the 10th century in the Lower Daugava and since the 11th century in the Gauja basin.

However, drawing parallels with the archaeological record of southern Estonia, makes it possible to propose a different history. As in Latvia, the construction of tarand cemeteries also came to an end in Estonia during the Migration Period when they were, as a general rule, abandoned. While in most of Estonia they were replaced by stone settings of irregular structure (clusters of stones with dispersed

ashes and grave goods), in southeastern Estonia – as well as in central Vidzeme and Latgale – the tradition of stone settings came to an end.

The abandonment of stone graves, however, does not mean the disappearance of the Finnic population (Valk 2018). In spite of the lack of known cemeteries, numerous hill forts and settlement sites indicate the continuity of settlement in southeastern Estonia from the 6th to 11th century. Evidently, in connection with the cataclysms and societal changes of the 6th century, major changes took place in funerary practices: after abandoning the tarand graves, the surviving Finnic communities began to bury their deceased in a way which has left almost no trace in the archaeological record. Most likely, the ashes without grave goods were buried in flat graves with no stone constructions. In addition to pit graves, there may have existed larger burial plots with cremains dispersed on their bottom, i.e., at a depth below strata disturbed by ploughing (Valk & Allmäe 2010, Valk & Laul 2014: 65).

Considering the cultural unity of the tarand cemeteries in southern Estonia and eastern Latvia, and the similar fate of the sites during the Migration Period, it seems logical to suggest that similar cultural processes continued within the whole area of this cemetery type also in the 6th–12th centuries. Most likely, as in southeastern Estonia, the Finnic population of northern Latvia also followed some archaeologically almost invisible type of burial rites after abandoning the tarand graves (Valk 2018). Thus, the lack of “Finnic graves”, i.e., stone graves in eastern Latvia, cannot be interpreted as a sign of the absence of a Finnic population.

The main difference between the developments in the areas of present-day Estonia and Latvia was the share of Baltic immigration which strongly influenced population processes in eastern Latvia. The ratio of indigenous vs. immigrant inhabitants is a great question concerning the ethnic history of the region. The “invisible” character of Finnic graves of that period makes it extremely complicated to distinguish the share of different ethnicities or to follow the process of assimilation and interactions of different ethnic groups during specific time periods.

Shifts in estimating the length of the period during which the Finnic population persisted have taken place only during the last years. Thus, the presence of a mixed Latgalian-Finnic (Chud) population has been noted in the former Abrene district (presently in the Russian

Federation) – in the 13th century lands of Abrene and Purnava (Ciglis 2016: 15) – and the idea that there was continuity in the Finnic population of the tarand graves area (Valk 2018) is mentioned in the most recent general work on Latvian archaeology where the preservation of this population in parallel with the Latgalians in northeastern Latvia in the second half of the 1st millennium and 2nd millennium BC is briefly noted (Vasks 2021: 579).

3. The end of the Iron Age and transition to the Medieval Period

3.1. Inhumations reappear

In most of southeastern Estonia,¹ burials reappear in the archaeological record only in the late 10th or 11th century – firstly, during the Late Viking Age, as flat cremation graves with no stone constructions. Graves, still very poorly known from the final centuries of prehistory, become more numerous in the region only following the transition to inhumation practices caused by the pre-Crusade influences of Orthodox Christianity, but mainly resulting from the conquest and Christianisation of 1215–1224 (Valk 2018). Burial practices become generally visible in the archaeological record, however, only beginning in the mid-13th century when numerous village cemeteries (Valk 2001a) appear.

It seems likely that similar developments took place also in the burial practices of the Finnic communities in northern and eastern Latvia. Thus, the inhumation graves of eastern Latvia known from the 13th century, and maybe also from the 12th century, cannot unambiguously be treated as examples of Latgalian inhumation practices – as has traditionally been held – because their Finnic affinity is equally possible. We can presume that, as in southeastern Estonia, the Finnic population reappears in the archaeological record of cemeteries together with a transition to the practice of inhumation.

1 The situation was different in the eastern part of Võrumaa which was involved in the distribution area of the so-called “Pskov group of long barrows” (Aun 1992). The burial sites of this population, which inhabited mainly sandy areas with pine forests from the 6th to the 9th/10th centuries and is characterised by great homogeneity of material culture (Mikhailova 2014), are of a similar character as those in Estonia, Pskov Land, and northeastern Latvia. Different researchers have different opinions in terms of their ethnic origin but agree in terms of their belonging to one population group.

3.2. Written sources: The 12th and 13th centuries

The monoethnic attitudes towards the ethnic situation in eastern Latvia on the eve of the Crusades, which have prevailed in Latvian archaeology, seem to have their roots in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (HCL 1982, IK 1993) – a text which speaks about the native inhabitants of the regions under discussion in clear and simple terms as *Lettones*, *Livones*, and *Estones*. This text, most of which was probably written in Rubene, 10 km southwest of Valmiera where its author Henry was the priest of a local Latgalian/Latvian congregation, does not concern the northeastern and eastern regions of Latvia, which were not the target of Crusades, or the ethnic situation in those regions.

It must be noted that the province of Atzele, which was located in the northeasternmost corner of Latvia and was divided between the bishop of Riga and the Order of the Sword Brethren in 1224 (Bunge 1853, I: no. 70), is not mentioned in the chronicle at all. We also should consider that the focus of Henry's text was the conquest of Estonia, but that there is no reason to regard the Finnic population of eastern Latvia as Estonians.

The Latvian archaeological research tradition has fully neglected another written source – the Novgorodian First Chronicle which mentions the raids of 1111 and 1179/1180 against Ochela (Nasonov 1950: 203, 225) – an area which has traditionally been identified with Atzele, mentioned in 1224 (Auns 1999). In the context of the raid of 1179/1180, it is explicitly stated that the province was inhabited by the Chud: “in winter went [Prince] Mstislav with the Novgorodians against the Chud, against Ochela and burnt all their country, but they fled to the sea, and many of them were killed there” (Auns 1999: 225). These words unambiguously refer not to the Baltic, but to the Finnic identity of the region, which was so clearly evident that it was also perceived as such from an outsider's position. Evidently, in the late 12th century, Finnic identity prevailed in the northeasternmost corner of Latvia.

In this context we also must consider another factor, namely, the information in the Pskov and Novgorodian chronicles on the military activities against “Ochela” and “the Chud”. In the warfare of that time, a military raid was followed by a similar revenge raid soon thereafter. It is significant that raids against Ochela appear in the chronicles in the context of the same block with those against the Chud or into Estonia (Mäesalu 2020: 350–351). Thus, in 1111, Prince Mstislav raided Ochela;

in 1113, he defeated the Chud “at Bor” – probably, in the context of their counterattack (Nasonov 1950: 204). The Novgorodian raid of Otepää in 1116 (Adrianovoj-Perets 1999: 267) was likely caused by the incursion of 1113. The raid against the Chud of Ochela in 1179/1180 may have been a punishment for 1176/1177 when “the whole land of the Chud” attacked Pskov. Thus, we can suggest a military alliance and cooperation between the Estonians and the inhabitants of Ochela, defined as *Chud* in 1179/1180. The size of the Novgorodian army in that invasion of Ochela is given as 20,000 men (PSRL IV: 15) – a large number even if exaggerated, which provides evidence of the large size of the territory and population of Finnic Atzele. Notes about the same raid say that the Chud fled “to the sea”, but were followed and slaughtered there by the Novgorodians. Here, probably, we can find a hint of the Gauja waterway which, when frozen in winter, was a perfect track for long-distance communication and could serve as a communication channel between the Livonians and the Finnic people of Atzele/Ochela also in earlier and later times.

The geographic borders of Atzele are not easy to define based on written sources. In the treaty of 1224, in addition to Atzele, four other territorial units – Abrene, Ābelene, Bērzene, Purnava – are noted and it remains unclear if these are regarded as parts of Atzele or as adjacent areas. Latvian historian Muntis Auns (1999) considers Atzele in a narrower sense – as the direct hinterlands of Alūksne hill fort. However, the army of 1179/1180 seems too large for looting such a limited territory suggesting a larger territorial extent for Atzele. In any case, the western border of Atzele is supposed to have extended to the Teutonic Order castle in Gaujiena (Koivaliina) called Atzel in German. Regardless of whether it was meant in the broader or narrower sense, Atzele involved the lands of the Leivu language island located between the medieval power centres of Alūksne and Gaujiena.

3.3. The archaeological record from the 12th to 15th centuries

3.3.1. *The cemetery of Siksälä*

From an archaeological perspective, the question of Finnic identities in northeastern Latvia during the Medieval Period emerged in connection with the excavations of Siksälä cemetery in the southeasternmost

corner of Estonia in 1980–1993 – a site with furnished cremation graves from the 11th to 14th/15th centuries and inhumations from the 13th to 15th centuries (Laul & Valk 2007, Valk & Laul 2014, Valk, Ratas & Laul 2014). The excavation results greatly differed from those of the ordinary medieval village cemeteries of Võrumaa (Valk 2001a) revealing a find assemblage characteristic of northeastern and eastern Latvia. The cultural peculiarities were expressed, first and foremost, in the female costume characterised by headbands with long hanging tassels (Latv. *vainags*) and shawls (Latv. *villaine*).

The burial rites of Siksälä cemetery (Valk & Laul 2014: 62–128) differ, however, from the Latgalian traditions. While the Latgalians practiced inhumations in the Late Iron Age, the dead of the Siksälä community were cremated until the early 13th century with their ashes dispersed over an area with an irregular cluster of small, mostly fist-sized cremated stones. Likewise, it was common in Baltic inhumation graves for men and women to be buried with their heads in opposite directions during the Iron Age and at the transition to the Medieval Period. However, while the Latgalians headed men towards the east, and women towards the west, the gender-based opposition in Siksälä followed the opposite direction. As in the medieval village cemeteries of Võrumaa, the men of Siksälä were oriented with their heads towards the southwest, and women towards the northeast. A specific feature of burial rites at Siksälä cemetery is also the presence of barrows with internal stone constructions: in several cases the grave pit was surrounded at ground level by a frame of rocks. Such *zhalnik*² type structures are alien to Latgalian cemeteries but are common for the Novgorod and Pskov Lands with a Finnic substrate population. Most likely, the mixed character of burial rites, differing from the Latgalian practices and those of southeastern Võrumaa, indicates a separate identity which had formed as a result of the merging of the local Finnic substrate population with the Latgalian superstrate. Thereby in identity and language use, judging by the record on 1179/1180, Finnic features remained prevalent.

Although the headbands and shawls decorated with bronze clips found in Siksälä cemetery are regarded as Latgalian, in the context

2 *Zhalnik*, a loan word from Russian, designates different stone structures at ground level around the grave pits of inhumation graves. *Zhalniks* were widespread in Novgorod and Pskov Land from the 11th to the 15th centuries.

of ethnocultural interpretations we must note another feature most characteristic for the site – the broad, shield-shaped bracelets (Valk & Laul 2014: 115–117, Valk, Ratas & Laul 2014), the concentration of which is the highest in the area surrounding Alūksne. Judging by their design, ornamentation, and parallels in Finnic areas, flat thin bracelets have been regarded as elements of Finnic culture (Vaska 2006) and also have not been found in the Latgalian core areas in the middle course of the Daugava River where the principalities of Jersika and Koknese existed in the early 13th century (Vaska 2006: fig. 2). The distribution area of shield-shaped bracelets (Vaska 2006: fig. 2) and wide thin bracelets in general (Vaska 2017: fig. 21) in Vidzeme greatly overlaps with the distribution area of tarand graves in Latvia. There are even two finds from northern Courland – from Puze cemetery ca. 25 km southeast of Ventspils. These finds in general can be regarded as a sign of Finnic identity or, at least, that their distribution area greatly overlaps with the area of earlier Finnic communication networks.

Considering the cultural pattern characteristic of eastern Latvia, the multitude of features regarded as “Latgalian”, and differences from the 13th–15th century cemeteries of Võrumaa, there is no reason to regard Siksälä as an Estonian burial site – the dissimilarities are so large that such an interpretation can be ruled out. Most likely, Siksälä cemetery with material culture characteristic of eastern Latvia, should be regarded as a representative of a separate identity – the Chud of Ochela, known from written sources. This identity – Finnic in language use, but greatly of “Latgalian” character in fashion and costume – was evidently formed as a result of the merging of a local Roman Iron Age Finnic substrate population with the Latgalian superstrate (Laul & Valk 2007: 109–122, Valk & Laul 2014: 185–187).

3.3.2. Archaeological traces of the Chud of Ochela

How big was the land of Ochela? Mentions of the raids against Ochela in the Novgorodian chronicles, which reflect only large-scale military events, and the size of the army of 1179/1180 clearly indicate the large extent of the territory inhabited by this Finnic population.

Although there is no written evidence, the size of the area is indirectly indicated by the distribution of cemeteries with cultural features/patterns characteristic of Siksälä cemetery (see Figure 1). In the north,

judging by archaeological finds, the occupation area of the Chud of Ochela probably involved the southern peripheries of the eastern part of present-day Võrumaa, as shown by finds from Krabi and Loosi (Valk & Laul 2014, 181, Valk et al. 2018). Archaeological data show that the occupation area of this ethnic group also extends to the southern and southwestern parts of Setomaa – areas which were probably politically subordinate to Izborsk hill fort in the 12th century, at least in the vicinity of the Izborsk–Alüksne road. In Setomaa, finds similar to those from Siksälä have been found in the cemeteries of Kendishi and Vinski.³

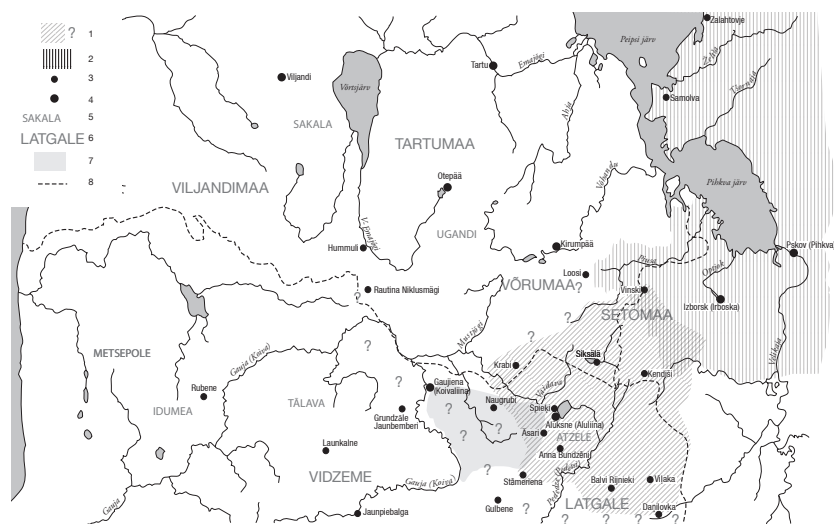


Figure 1. The occupation area of the Chud of Ochela and the Leivus. (According to Valk & Laul 2014, fig. 123). 1 – the presumed occupation area of the Chud of Ochela (question marks designate unknown borders), 2 – the cultural area of Pskov Land, 3 – sites mentioned in the text, 4 – central places in the 12th–14th centuries, 5 – historical provinces of the 13th century, 6 – historical areas of the 19th and 20th centuries, 7 – the area inhabited by the Leivus, 8 – present-day national borders. Map design: Jaana Ratas.

However, without any doubt most of the territory of the Chud of Ochela was located in northeastern Latvia where several cemeteries show cultural similarity with Siksälä cemetery. An important indicator is the distribution of shield-shaped bracelets, the main concentration

3 In Russian archaeological literature known as Murashkino.

area of which lies in the northeastern part of Latvia. They are also most numerous in the find assemblage of Viļaka cemetery located in the northeasternmost corner of the country (Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2005: 73–112, Pl. XIV: 1–165, Pl. XV: 1–27) where the toponym also indicates the Finnic past of the region. The distribution of these bracelets, most numerous in Siksälä, however, definitely extends beyond the borders of Atzele and involves large areas in northern Latvia indicating a Finnic presence and communication networks.

Another specific feature of eastern areas of Finnic culture is hollow horse-shaped pendants from the 13th and 14th centuries. This find group, most numerous in Ingermanland, is present also in northeastern Latvia, indicating a communication crescent which linked the Votian land with the territories of the Livonians in the Lower Daugava region (Valk 2001b). A peculiarity characteristic of northeastern Latvia, but alien to core areas of Latgalian occupation as well as to Livonian territories, is tiny anthropomorphic pendants, most numerous in Siksälä cemetery (Valk & Laul 2014, 112, fig. 89: 2–7). Judging by their distribution, these finds might be regarded as signs of a Finnic presence in northeastern Latvia too.

Finnic traces in northeastern Latvia are also evidenced by the presence of cemeteries with stone constructions at ground level – both zhalnik graves and irregular low stone clusters between the zhalnik boundaries of graves. Such burial sites are atypical for Estonia but common for Pskov and Novgorod Lands – including Ingermanland and Karelia – in the 13th and 14th centuries, and have been excavated in Balvi Rijnieki (Laul, Graudonis 1965) and Daņilovka (Šnore 1980, Kalējs & Gerhards, 2018) cemeteries located ca. 40 and 70 km southeast of Alūksne, respectively. As this type of site is difficult to distinguish prior to excavation, their number may actually be larger within Atzele, especially in its eastern areas.

Possible traces of Finnic identity in the Latgalian territories are also suggested by other features of burial rites, e.g., deviation from Latgalian grave orientation. While graves oriented with the head towards the west cannot be regarded as ethnic markers after the spread of Christianity – at that point local traditions became mixed with and overshadowed by the common Christian practice of burying all dead facing east – the focus should instead be directed towards female graves with a non-western orientation. For example, in the 13th–14th century cemetery of

Dzelzava, ca. 30 km southwest of Gulbene, 5 out of 7 female graves were oriented with the head between NEE and SE (Šturms 1930). East-oriented graves occur sporadically in different parts of eastern Latvia (Muižnieks & Vilcāne 2002), but in the northeast this might be due to Finnic tradition (e.g., in Siksälä). As statistical data of “non-Latgalian” orientation are viewed as a whole without indicating their date or region (Muižnieks 2006, 2008, 2015: 102–105), it is difficult to describe and interpret possible local peculiarities.

The question of ethnic affinity also concerns the Late Iron Age barrow cemeteries with inhumation graves in northern Vidzeme and Latgale and dating to the 11th to 13th centuries. Although cemeteries of this type mainly found up to a distance of 50–70 km from the eastern border of Latvia have been attributed to the Latgalian population (Radiņš 1999: 35–52; fig. 22), this approach can at least partly be questioned. The reasons for the practice of burying the dead in barrows in the easternmost periphery of Latvia are not known. Evidently, the roots of this practice can be connected to the tradition of the “long barrows of the Pskov group”, the ethnic backgrounds of which are, however, unclear from an archaeological perspective. Although the grave goods found in barrows with inhumations are of a Latgalian character, and the orientation of the related inhumation graves follows the Latgalian pattern, craniological features of medieval burials in the region differ from those of the Latgalians and are similar to those of the medieval cemeteries of southeastern Estonia and the formerly Finnic areas of northwestern Novgorod Land (Denisova 1977: 131–133). In terms of physical anthropology, these cemeteries form a clearly distinct cluster, separate from that of the Latgalian burial sites (Denisova 1990: 69–76, fig. 4, table 6). A non-Latgalian attribution of barrows can also be proposed for those in the basin of the Gauja River in northern Vidzeme. In this context, we must note the archaeologically investigated cemetery with 12th–13th century barrow graves in Jaunpiebalga, 40 km west of Gulbene. The craniological features of the population resemble those of people buried in the barrows of eastern Latvia (Denisova 1977: 131–133). When considering the fact that barrow cemeteries were characteristic for the Gauja Livonians and Siksälä cemetery, we should also consider an at least partly Finnic interpretation for such graves in the Roman Iron Age Finnic areas of eastern Latvia.

It cannot be ruled out that the area of the Chud of Ochela may have also extended to present-day Estonia in the vicinity of Valga/Valka where archaeological material refers to a situation different from that in the core areas of Estonia at the end of the Iron Age. For example, in Hummuli, 12th century barrows (*tumuli*) – a grave form alien to Estonians – both with inhumation and cremation burials and finds of an Estonian character have been studied (Hausmann 1897). Ca. 10 km southeast of Valga, *vainags* and *villaine* remains characteristic of eastern Latvia were found in the medieval cemetery of Rautina Niklusmägi (Valk et al. 2013). From both of these cemeteries, there are also examples of flat stone settings corresponding to Finnic traditions. Evidently, Rautina Niklusmägi cemetery did not belong to the Estonian land of Ugandi, because Lake Rautina was the site where Christian armies assembled before their raids into that province (Valk et al. 2013: 125–127). A similar cultural pattern of ethnic heterogeneity probably continued into adjacent territories in the northern border areas of Latvia. The find assemblage from Grundzāle Jaunbemberi 13th–14th century cemetery ca. 10 km southwest of Gaujiena – also where a double-headed Finnic horse-shaped pendant was found (Cimermane 1971) – is largely similar to that of Rautina and Siksälä.

The distribution of Estonian jewellery items across Latvian territory – a topic which requires further study – could also indicate involvement in Finnic communication networks. As an example, we can note that typical Estonian jewellery from the late 12th–13th centuries has been found at the cemetery of Pāvulkalns near Launkalne, 35 km east of Cēsis and 45 km SW of Valga/Valka (Siatkovskis 1986: fig. 17: 1, 2).

Thus, taken together, the extent of the territory occupied by the Ochela Chud to the southeast, south, southwest, west, and northwest of Alūksne is unclear. Although current research does not make it possible to define any definite border, it seems highly likely that it involved the territory of Atzele in a broader sense, i.e., it included Abrene, Ābelene, Bērzene, Purnava as well as the southern part of what would later become Setomaa and areas on both sides of the present-day border between Latvia and the Estonian district of Võrumaa. These areas were not inhabited by the Latgalians, but by a non-Estonian Finnic or a Finnic-Latgalian mixed population.

Evidently, the core areas of the Chud of Ochela were subordinate to the hill fort of Alūksne, which acted as an important stronghold on

the way from Pskov and Izborsk to two key directions. First, to the lands of the Latgalians of Tālava who were taxed by Pskov in the early 13th century and had accepted Orthodox Christianity before the arrival of the Germans and, second, to the south along the Aiviekste River to Koknese, an important centre on the Daugava waterway.

4. The archaeological record of the Leivu and Lutsi language islands

Archaeological monuments within the area occupied by the Leivus – the lands between Alūksne, Gaujiena, and Gulbene, which in the Late Iron Age were part of the land of Ochela/Atzele – have been poorly studied (Donina & Gusicka 2014). They certainly belonged to the direct hinterlands of the hill fort on Alūksne Tempļa kalns, first excavated in 2016. The investigation results show that the stronghold which was founded in the second half of the 1st millennium remained in use after the establishment of Medieval Livonia (Kalējs & Vilcāne 2018), probably until the construction of the stone castle of Marienburg on the island in Lake Alūksne in 1342. The finds from the site include a hollow Finnic horse-shaped pendant (*ibid.*: fig. 2: 1)

Archaeological data from cemeteries in the Leivu area (Doniņa & Guščika 2014, Kazaine 2015: 73) are not numerous and the only excavated site within the territory is in Naugrubi near Trapene. However, small-scale excavations have taken place in the immediate vicinity of the historical Leivu area. Trial excavations on Spieķi cemetery 3 km north of Alūksne stronghold (Atgāzis 1980, Donina 2015) revealed, as in Siksālā, in addition to inhumations a 13th–14th century cremation grave. In Asari (4.5 km southwest of Alūksne, on the north shore of Lake Indzeris), two burial sites are located in the immediate vicinity to each other. In the cemetery of Asari I, the archaeological record from the 9th to 12th centuries (Atgāzis 1984) is of a Latgalian character and in Asari II cemetery (Kalejs 2016), a male grave with an eastern orientation containing a sword was found, but a 13th–14th century hollow horse-shaped pendant from Asari I (ANM 5448) corresponds to Finnic culture. In Annas Bundzēni cemetery 5 km south of Alūksne, both men and women were found among east-oriented burials, which indicates

the parallel existence of Finnic and Latgalian traditions⁴. In all the cases noted above, the 13th–14th century find assemblage is similar to that of Siksälä. Stāmeriena cemetery (Žeiere 2021), ca. 10 km NE of Gulbene with finds characteristic of cemeteries in the direct hinterlands of Alūksne, is located ca. 10 km south of the southernmost Leivu villages.

Although in the Latvian research tradition these cemeteries have been attributed to the Latgalian, these conclusions are based on the traditional view of the ethnic situation in eastern Latvia and on the axiomatic presumption that all inhumation graves in eastern Latvia represent the Latgalian population. However, considering the fact that accepting Christianity – evidently, not later than in 1224 in Atzele – also meant accepting Christian burial rites, there is no reason to regard 13th and 14th century inhumations as a definite indication of Latgalian culture. We equally must consider the possibility that Finnic graves, archaeologically unknown due to the character of the burial rites as well as the research state of the area, became visible only after the transition to inhumation.

In the context of the ethnic affinity of the Leivu areas, we must also recall that the 1638 Swedish land inventory mentions Finnic village names within the Leivu area.⁵ Evidently, the villages mentioned in 1638 existed before the Livonian War (1558–1582). The time gap between the mid-15th century – the time period until which, judging by archaeological data, the Chud of Atzele had a Finnic identity – and the first half of the 16th century is short in a long-term perspective. Thus, there seems to be enough reason to suggest continuity between the Chud of Ochela and the Leivu language island, and regard the Leivus as the last remnants of this Finnic identity and population, which was most numerous at the end of the Iron Age.

While there is enough reason to suggest this continuity between the Chud of Ochela and the Leivu population, the situation concerning the Lutsis is rather unclear. There are no indications of a Finnic presence in the find assemblage (costume or jewellery) in that region since the end of the Roman Iron Age. The main archaeological features from the region suggesting a former Finnic presence are barrow cemeteries from the 1st millennium, craniometric data from 12th–13th century barrows

4 Letter from Vitolds Muižnieks (National History Museum of Latvia) in September 2017.

5 Information based on Dunsdorfs 1941.

with inhumations (Cibla, Rikopole, Isnauda) (Denisova 1990, fig. 4), and also some sporadic data of east-oriented female graves (Muižnieks & Vilcāne 2002: 555–566). The limited number of archaeological indicators suggests the Lutsis (or at least most of the population) are not descendants of the Roman Iron Age local Finnic population, but descend from medieval or post-medieval immigrants from southern Estonia. There does not seem to be sufficient reason to suggest the continuous persistence of a Finnic identity, although, hypothetically, some genetic continuity cannot be excluded.

5. Discussion

Concerning the ethnic situation in eastern Latvia in the territories inhabited by the Finnic population in the Roman Iron Age, it seems to have been greatly more complicated and diverse than depicted in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia which notes the presence of three ethnicities: the Estonians, Latgalians, and Livonians. In addition to these identities, probably other, also local, identity groups existed.

The presence of such groups in western Vidzeme is noted by Henry who mentions the Idumeans and Vends (near Cēsis). It must be noted that these communities were located in the immediate neighbourhood of his Rubene parish – at a distance of no more than 15–20 km from its centre and these local identity groups, which were located on the way to Riga and in Cēsis, could in no way remain unnoticed. Considering the fact that Henry is completely silent about the Finnic population of northern Courland (Vasks 2021), except for noting the origins of the Vends of Cēsis from that region, we should not be surprised that his chronicle gives no information about the ethnic situation in northeastern Latvia. Therefore, the lack of information in the Chronicle of Henry about the inhabitants of Atzele can in no way be regarded as an argument for the population of that region having been Latgalian.

Thus, the perspective of an Estonian–Latgalian opposition as the only option does not seem relevant for the northern, northeastern, eastern, but maybe also for the central regions of Vidzeme in the Late Iron Age and the Medieval Period. Evidently, a new approach from a more flexible perspective is needed for these regions, which were Finnic in the Roman Iron Age. In other words, there is no reason to

regard this society from the perspective of the classic trichotomy of Estonians, Livonians, and Latgalians, as instead there may have existed communities with ethnic identities, which were of a different, more diverse, vague, or local character, depending on the stage of interaction and integration of Finnic and Baltic cultures, resulting from their long history of contact. We must consider that this contact may have resulted in different outputs in different localities and communities. From the perspective of this approach, the geographic structure of such a society could be compared with that of a honeycomb, where cells of different shape and size represent populations and communities with different proportions of Baltic and Finnic components, in which the local identity units were not static, but could change over the course of time. Thus, the ethnonym the Chud of Ochela may also not have designated a clearly defined ethnic or cultural identity, but a loose conglomeration or assemblage of local groups or communities with definite peculiarities in culture and traditions, still having a common denominator – attachment to Finnic culture and language use.

A question with no definite answer is, also considering the Leivu ethnonym, the connections between the Livonians and the ancestors of the Leivus. As noted in the Chronicle of Henry in the case of the Vends, migrations of communities – both Latgalian and Finnic ones – may have taken place in the Late Iron Age and the Medieval Period also in eastern and northern Vidzeme. Signs of that have been observed in the spread of northeast-oriented graves east of the Livonian territories in the 14th and 15th centuries which has been interpreted as a mark of Livonian expansion towards the northeast (Mugurēvičs 1983).⁶ The analysis of craniological data from Siksälä cemetery also points to the arrival of a new population from the southwestern Livonian territories (Heapost 2007). Connections between the Chud of Ochela and the Livonians are, in addition to the ethnonym, also reflected in the language. Linguistic analysis does not regard the Leivu language, in spite of its vicinity to the Hargla dialect, as a proper part of the South Estonian language (Pajusalu et al. 2009, Viitso 2009; see also Kallio 2021 and Norvik et al. 2021 in this volume).

6 The emergence of this Finnic feature can, however, also be explained by the former “hidden” presence of the Finnic population or by the limited amount of archaeological information.

In any case, the character of the archaeological record from northeastern Latvia shows that there is no reason to regard the Chud of Ochela as a group of Estonians, as was formerly the case (Tarvel 1975). Also, the principal error of using the term “Chud” as a synonym for “Estonians” must be corrected. We need to consider the possibility that the Finnic population of northeastern Latvia may originate from a somewhat different source than the speakers of the Võru dialect and are the descendants of some other wave or group of early Proto-Finnic immigrants. The possibility of a deep temporal dimension for the difference with the population of Võrumaa is supported by the observation that the Leivu language is a result of the earliest branching from southern Proto-Finnic (cf. Kallio 2021).

The genesis and earlier history of the Finnic language islands is not documented in written sources but the general nature of the processes – characterised by retreat and decline – has been recorded since the research began on these communities. Considering this, there is no reason to suggest that decline started only with the start of historical documentation and to presume an earlier static persistence of a *status quo* of that time. More likely, these processes were dynamic also further in the past. In other words, if there existed written records from the 10th, 14th, or 15th centuries, the picture would be considerably different from traditional concepts and understandings.

The situation probably changed gradually in parallel with the expansion of Latgalian communities and culture and the assimilation of the Finnic population. Due to the lack of sources, it is not possible to describe the process of assimilation during the Iron Age and Medieval Period. We can only presume that these processes accelerated once the Baltic-speaking population and settlement units became the majority in a region. Data on the reasons for assimilation can be found only at its final stage – in the 20th century. For example, by the 1940s Lutsi adults no longer used Lutsi with their children, instead communicating with them exclusively in Latvian. They did this with the aim of giving their descendants a better future in Latvian-speaking society and to save them from disparagement for their use of a different language.⁷ Thus, Finnic language use probably also ended in earlier times along with generational changes and shifts in language use in particular regions.

7 Memories of Jānis Buls (born in 1941) from Greči village in the Lutsi area (2008).

6. Conclusions

The question of Finnic identities in northern and eastern Latvia after the decline of the Roman Iron Age tarand graves – especially from the perspective of possible connections with the Leivu and Lutsi Finnic language islands – has never been a research topic of special interest in Latvian archaeology where the focus has been on the study and expansion of Baltic identities in ethnic terms. However, written data note Atzele district as populated by the Chud in 1179/80 and the archaeological record of northeastern Latvia has certain peculiarities when compared to the core areas of Latgalian culture, while craniological features of barrows from eastern Latvia indicate similarities with Finnic populations.

Archaeological material provides no definite answer to the question of the ethnic affinity of the population of northern Vidzeme and northern and central Latgale in the final stage of the Iron Age and the Medieval Period due to the limited number of excavations and lack of targeted research from the perspective of ethnic history. Nevertheless, instead of the model of a monoethnic Latgalian population which emerges from written sources and earlier research tradition, the archaeological record is extensive enough to suggest another approach – a honeycomb model in which local identities of different sizes and character, with different shares of Finnic and Latgalian components coexisted. An approach based on this new paradigm could likely be a more fertile basis for further discussions of the ethnic history of northern Vidzeme and northern/eastern Latvia.

Since current research does not provide direct archaeological evidence regarding the ethnic situation in the Leivu areas in the Late Iron Age, Medieval Period, or Early Modern Period, conclusions must greatly consider information from adjacent neighbouring territories. These materials in no way allow one to regard these territories as purely Latgalian. A more likely scenario is the existence of an ethnic identity (or assemblage of local, closely related identities) based on a Finnic substrate and Latgalian superstrate, but with a predominantly Finnic character – that of the Chud of Ochela. Concerning the Lutsi area, archaeological evidence provides no definite support for the continuity of a population from the Roman Iron Age up to the 20th century.

Although archaeology can identify features of different origins in material evidence, it cannot firmly distinguish the speakers of Baltic and Finnic languages among the population of formerly Finnic areas of eastern Latvia. Despite that, there is enough reason to look upon the questions of ethnic relations in eastern Latvia from a new perspective – that of the long-term presence of a Finnic component in parallel to the Latgalian one. The last decades have witnessed a reevaluation of the Livonian component in the making and development of the Latvian nation. A similar reevaluation and growth of interest would be welcome also in studies concerning the Finnic past of eastern Latvia.

Identification of the ratio of Baltic and Finnic components in the northern and eastern parts of eastern Latvia is a task for future ethno-cultural studies of the region. Hopefully, clarity in terms of ethnic questions will be provided by new excavations and fresh interpretations as well as by results of ancient DNA analysis and comparison with those from the core Latgalian areas, from Siksälä cemetery, and other sites in southeastern Estonia.

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Kokkuvõte. Heiki Valk: Lõunaesti keelesaared Ida-Lätis: arheoloogiline taust ja perspektiiv. Artikkel käsitleb leivu ja lutsi keelesaarte arheoloogilist kujunemist. Erinevalt varasemast, baltikesksest vaatenurgast eeldatakse läänemeresoome rahvastiku varjatud püsimist rooma rauaaja tarandkalmete alal kuni keskajani ja ka keskaja vältel – kirjalikud allikad mainivad aastatel 1179–1180 “Otšela tšuude” (tinglikult “adsele maarahvast”). Leivu keelesaar võiks endast kujutada selle läänemere substraadi ja latgali superstraadi ühtesulamise tulemusena kujunenud ning eestlaste ja liivlaste vahel paiknenud rahvastiku viimaseid järeltulijaid. Läänemeresoome asuala piire Läti põhja- ja kirdeosas on raske määratleda, kuna ilmselt oli tegemist eriilmeliste, läti asustuse kõrval eksisteerinud kogukondade võrgustikuga ja 12.–14. sajandi rahvastiku kultuuri arheoloogilised jäljed on vaatamata teatud iseärasustele paljuski latgalipärase ilmega. Lutsi asualal on läänemeresoome jälgi arheoloogias raskem leida, kuigi füüsilise antropoloogia andmed sellele viitavad.

Märksõnad: arheoloogia, rauaaeg, keskaeg, Ida-Läti, Latgale, Atzele, Leivu, Lutsi

THE POSITION OF LEIVU

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Abstract. Leivu has generally been connected with Võro and especially its Hargla dialect. However, this classification has always been based on superficial synchronic similarities rather than a rigorous diachronic analysis. Instead, closer examination shows that Leivu is the earliest offshoot of South Estonian and that its similarities with Hargla Võro can better be explained by their geographical proximity.

Keywords: historical linguistics, Finnic languages, South Estonian, Võro, Leivu

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1. Introduction

As Sulev Iva (2015) has recently pointed out, Leivu differs from Lutsi and Kraasna in the sense that Leivu can be difficult to understand even for a native Võro speaker. Yet Leivu has generally been connected with Võro and especially the geographically closest Hargla dialect (see T. Iva 2007 for the most recent overview of Leivu studies).¹ Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1868: 502) mentioned this idea already, even though Heikki Ojansuu (1912: 15–18) was the first to formulate the

1 Leivu has even been called “a Hargla Estonian dialect between Alüksne and Gulbene/Latvia” (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: XIX), which must be taken for a misunderstanding of some sort. Then again, the only quantitative study so far discussing all of South Estonian connected Leivu with Lutsi and Kraasna (Wiik 1999 based on the atlas by Toomse 1998). This result reminds me of another even more recent quantitative study no less unexpectedly connecting Livonian with Votic and Ingrian (Honkola et al. 2019 based on Tuomi 2004–2010). Hence, there seems to be a problem with the quantitative studies based on dialect atlases whose main purpose is to show representative rather than exhaustive isoglosses. What is representative is always subjective, thus making the most peripheral languages and dialects suffer the most from wrong linguistic classifications (i.e., peripheral geographically and/or to a researcher’s interest).

theory of the Leivus as the early 17th century migrants from Hargla and possibly Karula. The present article provides an update to the discussion on the linguistic position of Leivu within Inland Finnic, that is, the South Estonian subgroup of Finnic.

2. South Estonian archaisms in Leivu

2.1. Phonology

What makes Leivu look South Estonian at first glance are its phonological archaisms such as the affricates inherited from Proto-Finnic (Kallio 2007: 241–242, 2014: 157–158, 2018b: 122–123):

- Proto-Finnic **cika* > Finnish *sika*, Karelian *sika*, Veps *siga*, Votic *sika*, Estonian *siga*, Livonian *sigā* ~ Võro *tsiga*, Leivu *tšiga* ‘pig’.
- Proto-Finnic **conki-* > Finnish *sonkia*, Karelian *tšonkie*, Veps *čonkta*, Estonian *songima* ~ Võro *tsungma*, Leivu *ts^uonğma* ‘to grub’.²
- Proto-Finnic **keüci* > Finnish *köysi*, Karelian *keysy*, Votic *tšöüsi*, Estonian *köis*, Livonian *kieuž* ~ Võro *köüds*, Leivu *käüdz* ‘rope’.³
- Proto-Finnic **süci* > Finnish *sysi*, Karelian *sysy*, Votic *süsi*, Estonian *süsi*, Livonian *si ž* ~ Võro *hüdsi*, Leivu *üdži* ‘(char)coal’.

Another South Estonian archaism also preserved in Leivu is the diphthong **äi* (Kallio 2018a: 261–262, 2018b: 123):⁴

- Proto-Finnic **säičcen*, **säicceme-* > Finnish *seitsemän*, Karelian *seittšemen*, Veps *seičeme*, Votic *seitsee*, Estonian *seitse*, Livonian *seis* ~ Võro *säidse*, Leivu *säidze* ‘seven’.

2 Both Karelian and Veps can irregularly have affricates which, however, were never due to **ti* > **ci* contrary to those in South Estonian, thus suggesting that they were of different origin (Kallio 2007: 241–242, 2014: 157–158).

3 As tempting as it would be to consider Leivu vocalism as an archaism (cf. Proto-Uralic **käwδä* ‘rope’; Aikio 2006: 19–20), Leivu was in fact subject to regular *eü* > *äü* (cf. also Võro *löüdmä* ~ Leivu *läüdmä* ‘to find’).

4 I used to think aloud that elsewhere in Finnic the following dental obstruent caused **äi* > **ei*, but Anthony Jakob (p.c.) has now far more convincingly suggested that **äi* > **ei* was regular everywhere except for monosyllabic vocalic stems and disyllabic *ä*-stems (see the data in Kallio 2018a: 261–262).

- Proto-Finnic **väicci* > Finnish *veitsi*, Karelian *veittši*, Veps *veič*, Votic *veittsi*, Estonian *veits*, Livonian *veis* ~ Võro *väits*, Leivu *väitš* ‘knife’.

The diphthong **ai* was preserved not only in South Estonian – including in Leivu – but also in Livonian (Kallio 2014: 159–160, 2018a: 257–259, 2018b: 123–124):

- Proto-Finnic **haina* > Finnish *heinä*, Karelian *heinä*, Veps *hein*, Votic *einä*, Estonian *hein* ~ Livonian *āina*, Võro *hain*, Leivu *ain* ‘hay’.
- Proto-Finnic **saina* > Finnish *seinä*, Karelian *seinä*, Veps *sein*, Votic *seinä*, Estonian *sein* ~ Livonian *sāina*, Võro *sain*, Leivu *sain* ‘wall’.
- Proto-Finnic **saisa-* > Finnish *seisoa*, Karelian *seisuo*, Veps *seišta*, Votic *sōisōa*, Estonian *seisma* ~ Võro *saisma*, Leivu *saizma* ‘to stand’.
- Proto-Finnic **saibas/*taibas* > Finnish *seiväs*, Karelian *seiväs*, Veps *seibaz*, Votic *seivāz*, Estonian *teivas* ~ Livonian *tāibaz*, Võro *saivas*, Leivu *saavas* ‘pole’.

Finally, there are two cases where in this respect Leivu looks more “South Estonian” than all the rest of South Estonian (Kallio 2018b: 124–126):

- Proto-Finnic **haimo* > Finnish *heimo*, Karelian *heimo*, Veps *heim*, Votic *ōimo*, Estonian *hõim* (→ Võro *hõim*) ~ Livonian *aim*, Leivu *aim* ‘tribe’.
- Proto-Finnic **laipa* > Finnish *leipä*, Karelian *leipä*, Veps *leib*, Votic *leipä*, Estonian *leib* (→ Livonian *lēba*, Võro *leib*) ~ Leivu *laib* ‘bread’.

As early as the 16th and 17th century, Old Literary South Estonian already had the forms *leib* and *hõim* (whose <ö> = /õ/), which could hardly be considered anything other than North Estonianisms. Since Old Literary South Estonian was primarily based on the Tartu dialect (Pajusalu 2006: 89–92), one could still regard Leivu as an early 17th century offshoot of Võro (cf. Ojansuu 1912: 16–18), but only if one further assumed that by that time North Estonian *leib* and *hõim* had merely spread to Tartu but not yet to Võro. Then again, as the Lutsi and Kraasna forms were already *leib* and *hõim*, the separation of Leivu must be dated much earlier than those of Lutsi and Kraasna (cf. Ojansuu 1912: 21–26).

2.2. Morphology

As is well-known, South Estonian has two conjugations, namely \emptyset - and *s*-conjugations (Pajusalu 1996: 49–56), which, however, only differ in the active indicative third person (Ikola 1931, Posti 1961). The \emptyset -conjugation has preserved the original Proto-Finnic third person endings:

- Prs. sg3: Proto-Finnic **teke* > Võro *tege*, Leivu *t'iege* ‘does’.⁵
- Prs. pl3: Proto-Finnic **tekebät* > Võro *tegeväq*, Leivu *t'iegevä?* ‘do’.
- Pst. sg3: Proto-Finnic **teki* > Võro *tegi*, Leivu *t'egi* ‘did’.
- Pst. pl3: Proto-Finnic **tegit* > Võro *teiq*; NB. Leivu *t'ekki* < Proto-Finnic **tekihen* (cf. the *s*-conjugation below).

The *s*-conjugation was in turn based on the Proto-Finnic reflexive endings originally only occurring in the third person (Lehtinen 1984: 39–41, Koivisto 1989):

- Prs. sg3: Proto-Finnic **eläksen* > Võro *eläs*, Leivu *i'elass* ‘lives’.
- Prs. pl3: Proto-Finnic **eläkset* > Võro *eläseq*, Leivu *i'elaze?* ‘live’.
- Pst. sg3/pl3: Proto-Finnic **elihen/*elihet* > Võro *elli(q)*, Leivu *i'elli* ‘lived’.

As far as morphology is concerned, the most striking South Estonian archaism going back as far as Proto-Uralic is indeed the present tense third person singular with no ending, whereas the present marker **-pi* (> **-bi* after unstressed syllables) is used everywhere else in Finnic (Viitso 2003: 144, Kallio 2014: 156):

- Proto-Finnic **teke* > Coastal Finnic **teke* + **-pi* = **tekebi* > Finnish *tekee*, Karelian *teköy*, Veps *tegeb*, Votic *teeb*, Estonian *teeb* (cf. analogically Livonian *tī'eb* pro *t'iegiüb*) ‘does’.

5 The expected outcome of the Proto-Uralic present tense third person singular **tekə* would of course have been Proto-Finnic *t'teki*, since second-syllable **ə* yielded **i* word-finally (Kallio 2012: 171–172). Proto-Finnic **teke* was therefore due to the analogy of the other present forms (cf. 1sg **tegen*, 2sg **teget*, 1pl **tegemmä*, 2pl **tegettä*, 3pl **tekebät*), not least because *t'teki* would have been identical with the past tense third person singular. Anyway, **teke* pro *t'teki* cannot be used as evidence that **-pi* was just secondarily lost in South Estonian (cf. Kettunen 1962: 85).

Although **-pi* has been expansive enough to spread from North Estonian to Mulgi, Tartu, and even Võro (Toomse 1955, 1998: 47, 100),⁶ it still often co-occurs with the *Ø*- and *s*-conjugations (Tanning 1961: 49, Keem 1970: 23, 25, 27–28, Pajusalu 1996: 108–110). This somewhat reminds me of Old Literary Finnish where *-pi* almost freely varied with zero (cf. Mikael Agricola's *saa = saapi* 'gets' and even *teke = tekepi* 'does'), as if it had not been a grammatical ending but an enclitic particle (cf. Nikkilä 1985: 285–327).

3. South Estonian innovations in Leivu

3.1. Phonology

As far as linguistic classifications are concerned, shared innovations are far more important than shared archaisms. For instance, the fact that Finnish and Võro share *a ~ ä* harmony does not make them any more closely related languages, because *a ~ ä* harmony goes back all the way through Proto-Finnic to Proto-Uralic. Thus, neither the affricates nor the diphthongs are equally strong evidence for the South Estonianness of Leivu as the assimilations **pt/*kt > *tt*, **pc/*kc > *cc*, **ps/*ks > *ss*, etc. (Kallio 2007: 236–237, 2014: 156–157, 2018b: 126–127):

- Proto-Finnic **oksa* > Finnish *oksa*, Karelian *oksa*, Veps *oks*, Votic *õhsa*, Estonian *oks*, Livonian *oksā* ~ Võro *oss*, Leivu *oss* 'branch'.
- Proto-Finnic **ükci* > Finnish *yksi*, Karelian *yksi*, Veps *üks*, Votic *ühsi*, Estonian *üks*, Livonian *ikš* ~ Võro *ütš*, Leivu *ütš* 'one'.
- Proto-Finnic **ükteksän* > Finnish *yhdeksän*, Karelian *yheksän*, Veps *ühesa*, Votic *ühesää*, Estonian *üheksa*, Livonian *ī'dõks* ~ Võro *üte(s)* *sa*, Leivu *ütese* 'nine'.

6 According to Karl Kont (1954: 1, 11), even Leivu had the ending **-pi*, but only in monosyllabic vocalic verb stems of which his examples were *dūp* 'drinks' and *šūp* 'eats' (cf. also *jūub* 'drinks'; Ojansuu *apud*, Toomse 1955: 8). However, the examples given by Valter Niilus (1936: 18, 25, 26, 28) were *dū* 'drinks', *šū* 'eats', *tū* (sic, recte *tū*) 'brings', and *vēi* 'leads', whereas those given by Salme Tanning (1955: 42) were *sā* 'gets', *lū* 'hits', *lū* 'lays an egg', and *tū* 'brings' in spite of the fact that she partly used the same informants as Kont did.

South Estonian innovations involving consonant clusters also include **tn* > **Vn* and **kn* > **nn*, similarly shared by Leivu (Viitso 2003: 144, 147, Kallio 2018b: 127–128):

- Proto-Finnic **litna* > Finnish *linna*, Karelian *linna*, Veps *lidn*, Votic *lidna*, Estonian *linn* (→ Salaca Livonian *linn*) ~ Võro *liin*, Leivu *lein* ‘(walled) town’.⁷
- Proto-Finnic **näknüt* > Estonian *näinud*, Livonian *nānd* ~ Võro *nān-nūq*, Leivu *nännü* (cf. analogically Finnish *nähnyt*, Karelian *nähnyt*, Veps *nähnu*, Votic *nähnü*) ‘seen’.

The metathesis **nh/*lh/*rh* > **hn/*hl/*hr* was yet another South Estonian consonantal innovation well reflected by Leivu, whereas the North Estonianism **nh/*lh/*rh* > **n/*l/*r* often dominated in more northern South Estonian (Kallio 2014: 162, 2018b: 128–129):

- Proto-Finnic **tarha* > Finnish *tarha*, Karelian *tarha*, Veps *tarh*, Votic *tara*, Estonian *tara*, Livonian *tarā* ~ Võro *tahr*, Leivu *tahr* ‘enclosure’.
- Proto-Finnic **vanha* > Finnish *vanha*, Karelian *vanha*, Veps *vanh*, Votic *vana*, Estonian *vana* (→ Võro *vana*), Livonian *vanā* ~ Kraasna *vahn*, Leivu *vahn* ‘old’.

Moving on to vocalism, the sporadic assimilation **e-ä* > **ä-ä* was otherwise shared by South Estonian and Livonian (Kallio 2014: 158–159, 2018b: 130),⁸ but Leivu again stands as a partial exception:

- Proto-Finnic **kenkä* > Finnish *kenkä*, Karelian *kenkä*, Veps *keng*, Votic *tšentšä*, Estonian *king* ~ Livonian *kānga*, Võro *käng* ~ Leivu *kʲeng* ‘shoe’.
- Proto-Finnic **selkä* > Finnish *selkä*, Karelian *selkä*, Veps *selg*, Votic *seltšä*, Estonian *selg* ~ Livonian *sālga*, Võro *sälg*, Leivu *sälg* ‘back’.

⁷ Courland Livonian *nīnō* ‘castle’ and Salaca Livonian *nīn* ‘town’ were apparently due to the sporadic assimilation **l-N* > **n-N* (cf. also Proto-Finnic **lehmä* > Courland Livonian *nī'em*, Salaca Livonian *niem* ‘cow’).

⁸ True, Old Livonian strangely shows both *ä* and *e* (Wiedemann 1861: 35, 97, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 97, 174). One may of course wonder whether *e*-vocalism was analogically generalised from the unlauded partitive plurals *kengi* and *selgi*. Still, this could only explain the word for ‘shoe’ frequently occurring in the plural, whereas the word for ‘back’ would remain a mystery.

Contrary to Mulgi *keṅg* and *selg*, Leivu *kieng* can in no way be regarded as a North Estonianism for obvious geographical reasons. Either Leivu *kieng* was influenced by Latvian *ķeņģe* itself borrowed from Finnic, or Leivu *kieng* goes back directly to Proto-Finnic **kenkä*, thus meaning that **kenkä* > **känkä* never spread to Leivu, although **selkä* > **sälkä* did. The latter alternative would of course suggest an early separation of Leivu. In addition to the sporadic assimilation **e-ä* > **ä-ä*, South Estonian and Livonian often also shared the sporadic backing **e-ä* > **ě-a* (Viitso 2003: 146–147, Kallio 2018b: 130–131):

- Proto-Finnic **meccä* > Finnish *metsä*, Karelian *metšä*, Veps *meč*, Votic *mettsä*, Estonian *mets* ~ Livonian *mõtsā*, Võro *mõts*, Leivu *mõts* ‘forest’.
- Proto-Finnic **nenä* > Finnish *nenä*, Karelian *nenä*, Veps *nena*, Votic *nenä*, Estonian *nina* ~ Võro *nyna*, Leivu *nõna* ‘nose’.⁹

However, the most characteristic South Estonian innovation involving vocalism was the raising of first-syllable overlong mid vowels in monosyllabic words or before an open second syllable (Teras 2003: 26–33, Viitso 2003: 174–177). As the raising long remained phonetic (viz. **ee/*öö/*oo/*õõ* > **ēē/*ōō/*oō/*õõ*), there were still no traces of it in 16th and 17th century Old Literary South Estonian (Kallio 2018b: 129). Yet the raising was no doubt a common South Estonian innovation, as demonstrated by the following modern South Estonian alternation pairs (i.e., overlong : long):

- Mulgi: *ij/ii* : *ee*, *ij/ii* : *öö*, *uy/uu* : *oo*, *õõ* : *õõ* (EMS, Laande & Todesk 2013).
- Tartu: *ē* : *ē*, *ō* : *ō*, *ō* : *ō*, *ō* : *ō* (Wiedemann 1864: 4); *ij* : *ee*, *ij* : *öö*, *uy* : *oo*, *õõ* : *õõ* (EMS).
- Võro-Seto: *ij* : *ee*, *ij* : *öö*, *uy* : *oo*, *õõ/yy* : *õõ* (EMS; Iva 2002, Käsi 2011).

9 Livonian *nanā* as well as Sangaste Tartu and Karula Võro *nana* ‘nose’ would seem to go back to Proto-Finno-Saamic **nana* (> North Saami *njunni* ‘nose’), but at least in theory, their first-syllable vocalism could also have been influenced by Latvian *nāss* ‘nostril, nose’.

- Leivu: $\hat{i} : \hat{i}\bar{e}$, $\hat{u} : \hat{u}\bar{o}$, $\hat{e} : \hat{e}/\hat{e}\hat{e}$ (Niilus 1935: 191–196); $\hat{i} : i\bar{e}$, $\hat{u} : \hat{u}\bar{o}$, $\hat{e} : \hat{e}\bar{e}$ (Kettunen *apud* Niilus 1939: 6–7); $\hat{ij} : ie$, $\hat{uj} : \hat{u}\bar{o}$, $\hat{uu} : uo$, $\hat{oo} : \hat{o}\bar{o}$ (EMS).

Interestingly, although everywhere else in South Estonian the contracted vowels were also subject to this raising, Leivu provides yet another exception (Viitso 2009: 274–275):

- Proto-Finnic **tegen* > Võro *tij* ~ Leivu *tie* ‘do’ (1SG).
- Proto-Finnic **veden* > Võro *vij* ~ Leivu *vie* ‘water’ (GEN).

Here we might very well be dealing with different relative chronologies again suggesting an early separation of Leivu:

- Leivu: **ee* > **eē* before **e₁e* > **ee*.
- Elsewhere: **e₁e* > **ee* before **ee* > **eē*, thus also **e₁e* > **ee* > **eē*.

The raising of $\hat{o}\bar{o}$ was a special case, because there was no corresponding high vowel phoneme. In general, the difference between [ɤ:] and [u:] is harder to hear and pronounce than those between [e:] and [i:], [ø:] and [y:], or [o:] and [u:]. For instance, Valter Niilus gave two alternative genitives for Leivu *mēk* ‘sword’, *mēga* and *mēega* (1935: 193), the former suggesting the merger of $\hat{o}\bar{o}$ and $\hat{o}\bar{o}$, but the latter suggesting the diphthongisation of $\hat{o}\bar{o}$ (cf. Kettunen’s *eē* above).¹⁰ Elsewhere, however, he also mentioned the adessive *mēgat* (Voolaine & Niilus 1936: 7 = Mets et al. 2014: 44), pointing to the common South Estonian alternation pair $\hat{o}\bar{o} : \hat{o}\bar{o}$. On the other hand, raised $\hat{o}\bar{o}$ also often went unheard, as exemplified by a 1956 recording in which the word for ‘fresh’ was originally transliterated as *rēsk* (Tanning 1956: 1–2) but more recently as *rīsk* (Mets et al. 2014: 94–95).

10 Remarkably, in both Leivu and Livonian, long mid vowels were diphthongised but not long mid-high vowels, though only in Leivu the latter were due to the raising of overlong vowels, whereas in Livonian they were due to umlaut (Viitso 2009: 273–274; Kallio 2016: 59). Incidentally, it has universally been taken for granted in Baltic linguistics that East Baltic **ē₁* (> Lithuanian *ė*, Latvian *e*) was lower than **ē₂* (> Lithuanian/Latvian *ie*), which was neither raised nor umlauted **ē₁* but due to the monophthongisation of stressed **ei/*ai* (Stang 1966: 44–46, 52–68). Since the diphthongisations in heavily Latvianised Leivu and Livonian hardly occurred independently of that in Latvian itself, East Baltic **ē₂* was most likely a long mid vowel similar to Finnic **ee* (i.e., IPA [e:]), whereas East Baltic **ē₁* was apparently mid-low (i.e., IPA [æ:]).

3.2. Morphology

Perhaps the most striking morphological innovation shared by all of South Estonian is the inessive ending **-hnA* corresponding to **-ssA* almost everywhere else in Finnic. Both endings co-occur only in the South Ostrobothnian dialect of Finnish where *-s* (< **-ssA*) is used elsewhere except for the following two groups (Laurosela 1913: 141–146):

- Certain monosyllabic pronominal stems: *mihnä* ‘where’ (INT), *johna* ‘where’ (REL), *kuhna* ‘in whom’, *kehnä* ‘in whom’; rarely *muhna* ‘in me’, *suhna* ‘in thee’.
- Before a possessive suffix: *tuvahnani* ‘in my room’, *tuvahnas* ‘in thy room’, *tuvahnansa* ‘in his/her/its/their room’, *tuvahnamma* ‘in our room’, *tuvahnanna* ‘in your room’.

The original West Uralic inessive ending was no doubt **-snA* (see most recently Ylikoski 2016). Lauri Posti (1953: 67–69) already suggested that **sn* > **ss* took place after an unstressed syllable, whereas **sn* > **hn* took place after a (primary or secondary) stressed syllable. As this only explains the first group, I would like to suggest a minor correction: **sn* > **ss* between an unstressed syllable and a word-final syllable, **sn* > **hn* elsewhere (cf. other sibilant + resonant clusters; Aikio 2015: 44). Eventually either **-ssA* or **-hnA* was analogically generalised, and even South Ostrobothnian has not completely been spared from analogies (cf. *täs* ‘here’, *tuas* ‘there’, etc.). What makes South Estonian unique within Finnic is the fact that **-ssA* was not generalised but **-hnA* (Toomse 1998: 93, 133, Pajusalu et al. 1999: 89–92):

- Old Literary South Estonian, Mulgi, Tartu, West Võro, Nirza Lutsi, Leivu *-n*.
- Hargla and Rõuge Võro *-hn*.
- East Võro, Seto, Pilda Lutsi, Kraasna *-h*.

The distribution of *-hn* is larger in the case of monosyllabic words as well as certain adverbs which can sometimes even retain *-hnA* (cf. Seto *aohna* ‘in time’, *ijhnä* ‘in front’; Keem & Käsi 2002: 41). In any case, Leivu once again proves to be genuine South Estonian.

4. Võro-Seto innovations in Leivu?

In general, Võro-Seto is characterised by its conservatism compared to more North Estonianised Mulgi and Tartu, although we already saw that even Võro-Seto has its own North Estonianisms (cf. *hõim* and *leib* above). Still, there were also exclusively Võro-Seto innovations, the most prominent of which was the raising of first-syllable short mid vowels before a nasal (Keem & Käsi 2002: 33, Kallio 2018a: 255, 2018b: 135–137):

- Inland Finnic **emä* > Mulgi *emä*, Tartu *emä*, Võro-Seto *imä*, Leivu *’ema* ‘mother’.
- Inland Finnic **om* > Mulgi *om*, Tartu *om*, Võro-Seto *um* (~ *om*), Leivu *’om* ‘is’.¹¹
- Inland Finnic **sëna* > Mulgi *sõna*, Tartu *sõna*, Võro-Seto *sõna/syna*, Leivu *sõna* ‘word’.

Only Võro-Seto (including Lutsi and Kraasna) was subject to the raising *e/ö/o/õ* > *i/ü/u/õ̃*, whereas Leivu was subject to the breaking *e/o* > *’e/’o* having nothing to do with the following consonant (cf. *’eza* ‘father’, *k’oda* ‘house’; Niilus 1935: 168–171, 181–183). Since Leivu failed to take part in the signature Võro-Seto innovation *e/ö/o/õ* > *i/ü/u/õ̃*, there is no justification to call Leivu a dialect of Võro(-Seto). Particularly revealing is the word for ‘tomorrow’:

- Old Literary South Estonian: *hõmen* (Gutslaff 1648) > *hommen* (Wastne Testament 1686).
- Mulgi: *ommen* (EMS, Laande & Todesk 2013).
- Tartu: *ommen*, except Sangaste *ommõn* (EMS).
- Võro-Seto: *hummõn* (EMS, Iva 2002, Käsi 2011); NB. Lutsi *hum̃men*, Kraasna *hum̃men* (Mets et al. 2014).
- Leivu: *uomen*, *uomõn* (EMS); *üõmen* (Niilus 1935: 181); *uõmen* (Mets et al. 2014).

11 The Proto-Finnic present forms were 1sg **olën*, 2sg **olët*, 3sg **on*, 1pl **olëmma*, 2pl **olëtta*, 3pl **omat*. In Inland Finnic, 3sg **om* pro **on* was due to the analogy of 3pl **omat*, whereas later in Võro-Seto, *o*-vocalism has largely been generalised throughout the paradigm: 1sg *olõ*, 2sg *olõt*, 3sg *um*, 1pl *olõmi*, 2pl *olõt*, 3pl *ummaq* → 1sg *olõ*, 2sg *olõt*, 3sg *om*, 1pl *olõmi*, 2pl *olõt*, 3pl *ommaq*.

As the Proto-Finnic form was **hoomëna* (> Finnish *huomenna*, Karelian *huomena*, Veps *homen*, Votic *oomõnna*), Standard Estonian *homme* no doubt goes back to *hooime* still found in Western and Insular Estonian. Judging from the Old Literary Estonian data, the shift *hooime(n)* > *homme(n)* took place as recently as the 17th century in both North and South Estonian. Still, its distribution covered all of South Estonian, the only exception being Leivu. Meanwhile, Lutsi and Kraasna were subject to *hooime(n)* > *homme(n)* as well as *e/ö/o/õ* > *i/ü/u/õ*, suggesting that both were still spoken in or near Võru County during the 17th century. Even though *e/ö/o/õ* > *i/ü/u/õ* cannot be dated as precisely as *hooime(n)* > *homme(n)*, it had certainly taken place by the 18th century (cf. “*imma* die Mutter (im Pölfwſchen)”; Hupel 1780: 529). An even earlier date is possible, because in spite of the fact that Johann Gutsclaff’s grammar (1648) mainly deals with the Tartu dialect, it occasionally also includes suspiciously Võro-looking words, such as *unno* ‘Mutterbruder’ (cf. Tartu *onu/ono* ~ Võro *uno* ‘uncle’), apparently due to the fact that his daytime job was a pastor in Urvaste, Võru County. The fact that *hõmen* and *unno* co-occur in his grammar is no problem, because pre-nasal *e/ö/o/õ* > *i/ü/u/õ* could long have remained operative. Anyway, while Lutsi and Kraasna demonstrably belong to the Võro-Seto branch, Leivu does not.

5. Hargla Võro innovations in Leivu?

As noted above, the idea of the Hargla origin of Leivu goes back to Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1868: 502), although Heikki Ojansuu (1912: 15–18) was the one to turn this hypothesis into a theory. Yet Ojansuu offered no linguistic evidence either, but just noted that Hargla Võro and Leivu share a couple of relatively recent sound changes which he promised to reveal in his forthcoming South Estonian *Lautgeschichte*, regrettably never published due to his untimely passing. For this reason, the first scholar to actually list any linguistic parallels between Hargla Võro and Leivu was Salme Nigol (1955: 149–150). As brief as her list was, it primarily included similarities whose distribution is not restricted to Hargla Võro and Leivu, such as the analogical *de*-illative typical of Tartu and adjacent dialects (Tanning 1961: 42, Keem 1970: 39, Keem & Käsä 2002: 40–41) as well as the present tense second person plural-turned-singular ending *-de*, well-attested elsewhere in

Võro (Keem & Käsi 2002: 47).¹² In general, not every similarity matters when subgrouping languages, but the following criteria must be met:

1. The distribution criterion. – Not all similarities between Hargla Võro and Leivu matter, but only those shared by them alone, because otherwise nothing would stop us from taking any Common South Estonian innovation mentioned above as proof of a close relationship between Hargla Võro and Leivu.
2. The innovation criterion. – Only innovations matter, whereas archaisms do not. The fact that Hargla Võro and Leivu have word-finally preserved consonant clusters like *kl* (cf. *kakl* ‘neck’), *kr* (cf. *kakr* ‘oat’), *pr* (cf. *sõpr* ‘friend’), etc. only proves that they are conservative, but not that they are closely related.
3. The genetic criterion. – Only genetic similarities matter, whereas areal similarities do not. As Hargla Võro is the most Latvianised Estonian dialect spoken outside Latvia (Vaba 1997: 483–486), it shares numerous Latvianisms with Leivu, though it may also have one Livonianism (cf. *es* > *is* ‘did not’; O’Rourke & Pajusalu 2016: 72). Anyway, these at most show that Hargla Võro and Leivu are close neighbours, but not that they are close relatives.
4. The big picture criterion. – Only similarities matter, whereas “similarities” do not. Take the word for ‘rope’, Hargla Võro *käüds* and Leivu *käüdž*, ostensibly suggesting that *eü* > *äü* was shared by Hargla Võro and Leivu alone, since elsewhere in South Estonian we find *köüds*, *köids*, *keids*, etc. (EMS s.v. *käüds*, *köüds*). In Hargla Võro, however, *eü* > *äü* is a sporadic change limited to this word, whereas in Leivu it occurs without exception (cf. Hargla Võro *leüdmä* ~ Leivu *läüdma* ‘to find’). Perhaps Leivu *eü* > *äü* was pushed by its diphthongisation *üü* > *öü*, related to its well-known Latgalianisms *ii* > *ei* and *uu* > *ou*. In any case, Hargla Võro *käüds* cannot be explained in this way, but at most it was borrowed from or influenced by Leivu *käüdž*, thus belonging to our areal similarities above.

12 The Proto-Finnic background of the Leivu present tense personal endings can be summarised as follows (cf. Pajusalu 1996: 104–120, S. Iva 2007: 81–86, Juntila 2018: 111–114): 1sg *-Ø* < **-n*; 2sg *-dE* ← 2pl; 3sg *-Ø* ≡ (*Ø*-conjugation); 3sg *-ss* < **-ksEn* (*s*-conjugation); 1pl/2pl *-mE/-dE* < **-mmA/*-ttA*, but vocalism generalised from the pronominal stems **me-/*te-* ‘we/you’; 3pl *-vA?* < **-bAt* (*Ø*-conjugation); 3pl *-zE?* < **-ksEt* (*s*-conjugation).

Indeed, Anders Johan Sjögren (1850: 10) had already pointed out that there still existed a dialect continuum between Hargla Võro and Leivu as recently as the early 19th century. Thus, Leivu did not become surrounded by Latvian or, more precisely, Latgalian until even later, and many Leivus still kept on regularly visiting Võru County (Mela 2001: 29–32). The fact that Hargla Võro was in direct contact with Leivu for centuries is the main reason for their similarities which I am in no way denying (see, e.g., Teras 2010 for prosodic similarities).

6. Leivu in the South Estonian family tree

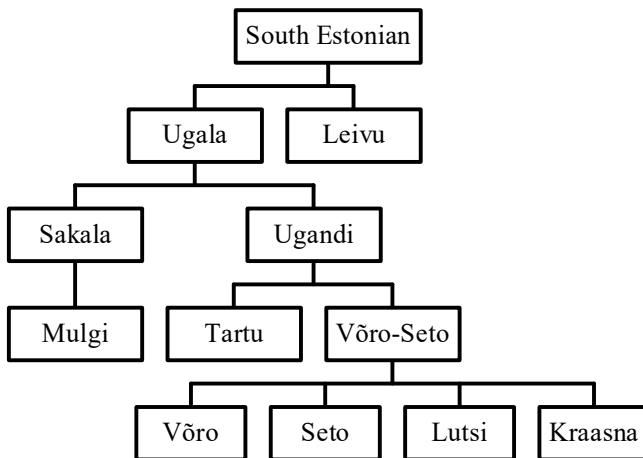


Figure 1. The South Estonian family tree.

Võro and Seto including Lutsi and Kraasna constitute the core of the South Estonian family tree, see Fig. 1. Yet their more precise inter-relationships are difficult to display in tree form, not least because the sharpest dialect boundary within Võro-Seto does not run between Võro and Seto but between West and East Võro (Pajusalu 1999: 159–164). The position of Tartu and whether it is more closely related to Mulgi or Võro-Seto can also be debated; thus far the latter relationship has been more popular (Rätsep 1989: 1509, Pajusalu et al. 2018: 50–54, 67–69). Due to the massive North Estonianisation of both Mulgi and Tartu, however, the dialect boundary between them is not as sharp as that between Tartu and Võro (Pajusalu 1999: 159–164), but this fact does not

necessarily tell us all about the time depth. At least the dialect boundary between Mulgi and Tartu closely follows the border of the ancient counties of Sakala and Ugandi, hence my names for the pre-stages of Mulgi and Tartu-Võro-Seto, respectively. Even though Ugala has earlier been used synonymously with both Ugandi and South Estonian, my compromise is now to use Ugala as the name for the proto-stage between Ugandi and South Estonian.

The idea of Leivu as the earliest offshoot of South Estonian is based on several minor innovations shared by all the rest of South Estonian. While none of them alone is sufficient to prove anything, there are so many of them together that it cannot be a coincidence. Some of these innovations can be dated to or even before the 16th and 17th centuries based on Old Literary South Estonian, hence suggesting that by that time Leivu was already a distinct dialect. However, Leivu was only distinct but not distant, since it was still open to widespread innovations, such as the *ga*-comitative (Rätsep 1989: 1516). Needless to say, there is nothing contradictory in the idea that some later innovations covered the whole Estonian dialect continuum, whereas some earlier ones did not. On the contrary, nothing could be more typical of the linguistic history of Estonia. For instance, although North and South Estonian were already distinct dialects as early as the Iron Age, they share several medieval and even later areal innovations (Rätsep 1989: 1511–1515), because of which they may now appear more closely related to each other than they are (cf. Honkola et al. 2019: 178).

7. The linguistic roots of Leivu

The idea of Leivu as an early 17th century offshoot of Hargla Võro (Ojansuu 1912: 15–18) has long been challenged by the idea of autochthonous Leivu, namely that Leivu could be connected with the 12th century Ochela (Atzele) Chuds mentioned in the Novgorod First Chronicle (Ariste 1962: 271–273). Indeed, if we exclude the earliest, more or less fictional, chapters of the Primary Chronicle, the Chuds of the Old Slavic chronicles can almost always be identified with the South Estonians (Kallio 2015: 91–93). Even Salme Nigol (1970: 68) accepted the idea of autochthonous Leivu, thus indirectly implying that her listed similarities with Hargla Võro were after all areal.

Remarkably, the number of Latvian loanwords is around 750 in Leivu as opposed to only around 180 in Lutsi (Vaba 1997: 38–39, 44–47). This fact does not prove but at least strongly suggests that the Latvian influence on Leivu was not only heavier but also considerably longer-lasting than that on Lutsi. Contrary to Leivu, Lutsi shares all the 17th century linguistic innovations with the rest of South Estonian, fully agreeing with the traditional theory of Lutsi as an early 18th century offshoot of East Võro (Ojansuu 1912: 18–26). Thus, there is no problem to date the Leivu separation from the rest of South Estonian centuries earlier.

Still, the fact that Leivu is genuine South Estonian also means that it is much more closely related to the other South Estonian dialects than to, say, Salaca Livonian. Note that Leivu and Salaca Livonian also share areal similarities (Pajusalu et al. 2009), which are due less to direct contacts than to their common Latvian superstrate. In any case, Leivu seems to have been the southernmost periphery of the South Estonian language area as early as the Middle Ages and perhaps even earlier. As far as I can see, this does not at all contradict archaeological and other non-linguistic evidence but quite the contrary (see now Valk 2018).

Needless to say, the concept of autochthony no longer has the same meaning as it did during the heyday of Continuity Theory. As the Uralic language family was a Bronze Age newcomer to the Baltic Sea region (Kallio 2006; Lang 2018), Leivu is no exception. The splitting up of Proto-Finnic into Inland and Coastal Finnic (*viz.* South Estonian vs. the rest) can be seen in the Middle and Late Iron Age archaeological evidence (*cf.* Tvauri 2012: 321–325). Although Inland Finnic did not diversify until more recently, there is no reason to think that its area was limited to southern Estonia, because small dialect areas typical of Estonian but atypical of Finnish were no doubt due to serfdom binding peasants to their land but only from the Middle Ages onwards.

The idea of autochthonous Leivu was also supported by many Leivus themselves, although Heikki Ojansuu (1912: 8–18) understandably did his best to downplay all such auricular traditions (already mentioned by Sjögren 1850: 9). In any case, this is what Ojansuu was personally told in Ilzene on 19 April 1911, as documented in his handwritten notes never meant to be published, thus explaining his somewhat unpolished style:

“Täkaläiset ihmiset sanovat kieltään ‘liivin kieleksi’ ja ‘maan kieleksi’ (virolaisia eivät sano olevansa). Maan alkuasukkaita ovat muka. Taistelussa lättiläisten, myöhempien tulokkaiden kanssa, joutuivat tappiolle. Viimeksi tulivat saksalaiset.” [The people here call their language “Livonian” and “Land” (they do not say they are Estonians). They are allegedly the aborigines of the land. They were defeated in the battle against the more recent Latvian newcomers. The Germans came last.]

Of these two self-designations, *maakijl* dates to much earlier going back to South-Central Finnic **maan* ‘land’ (GEN) + **keeli* ‘language’ > Votic *maatšeeli*, Estonian *maakeel*, Võro *maakijl* (cf. also Livonian *mōkēl* not meaning ‘Livonian’ but ‘Latvian’; Kettunen 1938: 229).¹³ In turn, *leivu* (< *liivu*) was only recently borrowed from Latgalian *leivu* (< *līvu*), the genitive of *leivis* (< *līvis*) ‘Leivu’ (< ‘Livonian’). Latgalian *leivis*, Latvian *līvis*, etc. were in turn borrowed from German *Live* ‘Livonian’ itself derived from Middle Low German where intervocalic *b* > *v*. A similar spirantisation also took place in Old Norse in which the word for ‘Livonian’ was an even earlier borrowing than in Middle Low German (cf. the 11th century Runic Swedish [*a*] *lf:lanti*, *aliflainþi* ‘in Livonia’; NB. there was no *v*-rune in the Younger Futhark). Therefore, the word for ‘Livonian’ originally had *b* (cf. Salaca Livonian *līb*, Latvian *lībis*, Old East Slavic *лѹбѣ*), whereas the forms with *v* were mediated through German(ic) (cf. Courland Livonian *līvōz*, Estonian *liivi*, Medieval Latin *livones*, etc.).¹⁴ This being the case, the suggested etymologies presupposing original **v* must be rejected (cf. Grünthal 1997: 250–253, Koski 2001: 535–537, Viitso 2009: 270–273).

13 The only North Finnic speakers calling their language *maa* are those of the Kukkuzi dialect (Posti 1980: XVIII, 267). Incidentally, I no longer agree with myself that “Kukkuzi Votic (...) should rather be called Kukkuzi Ingrian/Izhorian” (Kallio 2014: 162). Instead, I agree with Tiit-Rein Viitso that “Kukkuzi Votic was originally a North Fennic dialect that was first influenced by Votic proper and later by Lower Luga Ingrian” (Viitso 1998: 99).

14 The forms with *v* in classical sources (cf. Pliny *Hilleviones*, Tacitus *Lemovii*, Ptolemy *Αεβωνοι/Αενδωνοι*, etc.) are no more than random similarities. In general, desperate attempts to find Finnic and other Uralic tribes in classical sources belong to Gothicism rather than serious historiography. As Proto-Finnic had not even been diversified at the beginning of our era, there could have been no Livonians either. Thus, the earliest certain attestations of the word for ‘Livonian’ do not occur until the early second millennium (cf. Grünthal 1997: 245–250, Koski 2001: 537–541, Ernits 2014).

The fact that the Leivus came to be called Livonians is no wonder when we remember that now even the Low Latvian dialect is generally called Livonian in Latvian dialectology. As a matter of fact, when *lingua Liuonica* was for the first time mentioned in literature, it was already used to refer to Latvian spoken *circa Rigam* (Münster 1550: 789). The Leivus, too, were called Livonians long before they themselves used this term. Hence, there is no reason to ridicule them for regarding themselves as Livonians rather than Estonians, because the mistake was not theirs in the first place. Contrary to what especially Ojansuu was hinting between the lines, the fact that the Leivus called themselves Livonians does not make their oral tradition any less credible.

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Kokkuvõte. Petri Kallio: Leivu asend. Leivut on üldiselt ühendatud võro keelega ja eriti Hargla murrakuga. Paraku need klassifikatsioonid on alati tuginenud pindsete sünkroonsete sarnasuste arvestamisele, mitte rängele diakroonilisele analüüsile. Siinne lähem vaatlus näitab, et leivu on esimesena lahknenu lõunaestli keeleühitsusest ning selle sarnasusi Hargla võro keelega saab seletada pigem geograafilise lähedusega.

Märksõnad: ajalooline keeleteadus, läänemeresoome keeled, lõunaestli, võro, leivu

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* (*Spriewulf*³), *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 Alūksne 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 Alūksne 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.

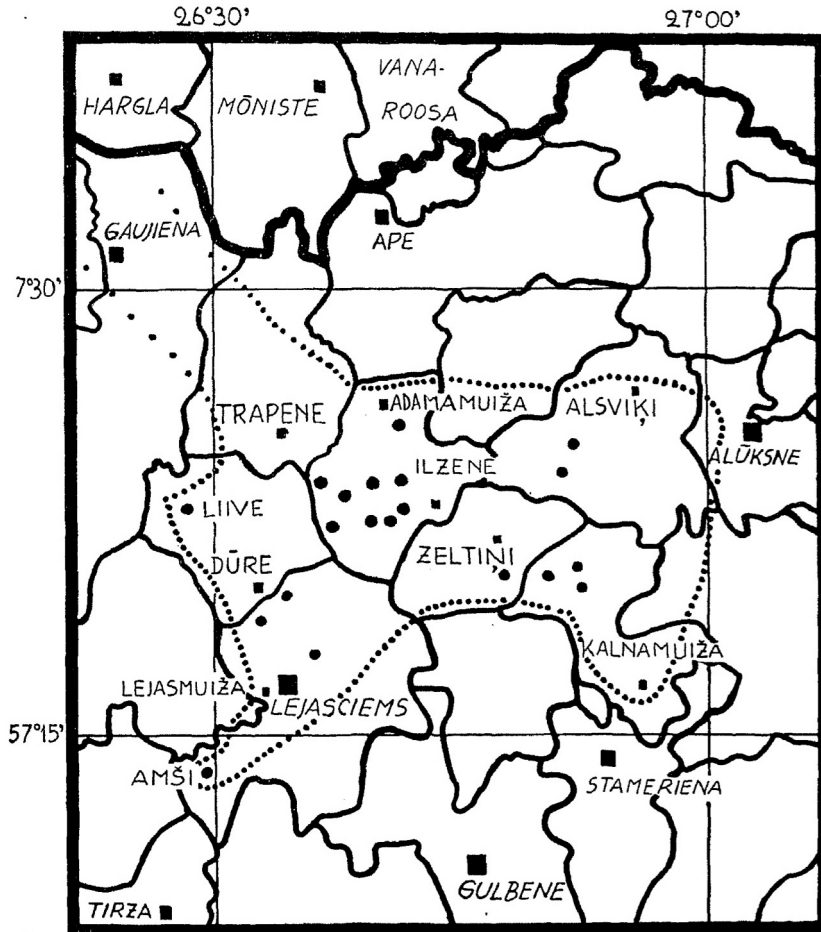


Figure 1. The Leivu-inhabited region delineated with a dotted line (according to Niilus 1935: 369).

A number of Finnish and Estonian researchers have been interested in the Leivus and their language. These include Heikki Ojansuu, Paulopriit 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* – *cèirūls* ‘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 Latgalians 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’, *bura* ‘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’, *cemme* ‘an iron loop’, *cepure* ‘hat’, *ciba* ‘hen’, *cimds* ‘glove’, *cīruls* ‘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.)'; *lāpāt* 'to crawl', cf. ig. *lāāpama*, *laapama* 'to walk dragging one's feet or limping'; *māga* 'human stomach; bird gizzard', cf. Estonian *magu*; *iēst 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, nakī*” (The singular locative ending of *i*-stem nouns and its tone: *sirdī* ‘in (a/the) heart’, *nakī* ‘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 gařam 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.” |
|--|---|

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), *Aļli* (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

BROKEN TONE IN LEIVU CV'V-WORDS

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Abstract. Leivu is one of the South Estonian dialects historically spoken in eastern Latvia and influenced by Latvian. One likely influence is broken tone or *stød*, which was developing in Leivu mainly as a result of the loss of /h/ in first quantity degree words. The aim of this study is to determine what characterises the pronunciation of CV'V-words (lost intervocalic /h/) and differentiates these from CVV-words. Sound durations, F0 and intensity contours of the syllable rhyme were analysed. Vowel duration in CV'V-words tends to be longer than in CVV-words. In CV'V-words, a short drop in intensity can occur between two identical or two different vowels, with the first vowel often being longer than the second one. In some cases, the second vowel in CV'V words was laryngealised. In CV'V-words, an early F0 turning point where F0 starts to fall occurs more consistently than in CVV-words where F0 can also be rising.

Keywords: word prosody, broken tone, South Estonian, linguistic enclaves, Leivu

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1. Introduction

The South Estonian Leivu dialect was historically spoken in eastern Latvia. Valter Niilus (1935: 369) identifies six parishes where Leivu speakers once lived: Ilnä (Ilzene), Alamõiza (Lejasciems), Mäemõiza (Kalncempji), Seltnä (Zeltņi), Alsviki (Alsviķi), and Duure (Dūre) parish. During his fieldwork in 1935, he met 55 speakers in Ilnä (Ilzene) parish who spoke Leivu to varying degrees. According to him, there were a total of 131 speakers of Leivu in this parish at that time. Additionally, there were also some Leivu speakers living in a few other parishes. (Niilus 1935: 370) During subsequent years, Leivu speakers were assimilated into the Latvians. The last tape recordings of Leivu speakers were made in the 1980s, and Anton Boks, who died in 1988, is known to have been the last speaker of Leivu (Nigol 1988).

Phonetic transcriptions of Leivu (e.g., Niilus 1937, Mets et al. 2014) show that first quantity (Q1) words as well as second quantity (Q2) words with consonant clusters where /h/ occurs in other Estonian dialects were often pronounced without /h/. However, some cases where an intervocalic /h/ has not been lost have also been found (e.g., *rahaga* ‘money, SG.COM’, for examples see Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016: 104–105). The loss of an intervocalic short /h/ has often been marked with an apostrophe in transcriptions, e.g., *taha* > *ta'a*¹ ‘want, PRS.1SG’, *vahetama* > *va'ēttama* ‘to exchange’ (Niilus 1936), *naha* > *nã'a* ‘nahk, SG.GEN’, *raha* > *rã'a* ‘money, SG.GEN’, *pähe* > *pã'ä* ‘head, SG.ILL’ (Niilus 1937), but sometimes no apostrophe has been used and in such cases the transcription resembles that of third quantity degree (Q3) words, e.g., *raha* > *rã* ‘money, SG.GEN’, *rãd* ‘money, SG.PRT’, *liha* > *l'iãd* ‘meat, SG.PRT’ (Niilus 1937) (cf. *mã* ‘land’, *mãd* ‘land, SG.PRT’).

Valter Niilus (1936: 37–38) has pointed out that transcriptions of Leivu from the 19th century by Anders Johan Sjögren and Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann show that /h/ was pronounced at that time, but that transcriptions from the 1920s by Paulopriit Voolaine show variation. His own observations from the 1930s show that variants without /h/ prevail. According to Niilus (1936: 38), in some cases a glottal stop or a pause occurs between vowels instead of /h/ or, in certain word types², the approximant [j], e.g., *tãht*: *tãhe* > *tãijè* ‘star, SG.GEN’, *jahe* > *jaijè* ‘chilly’. Tiit-Rein Viitso (2009: 277–278) analyses in detail different Leivu word structures where intervocalic /h/ has been lost or replaced by /j/. He proposes (2009: 278) that /h/ was “substituted with stød mostly in illative forms of monosyllabic vocalic stems and in stems where *h occurred between identical vowels”.

Broken tone or stød is one of the innovations that the South Estonian Leivu dialect shares with another Finnic language – Livonian (Viitso 2009). The loss of /h/ has also been regarded as one reason for the development of broken tone in Livonian (e.g., *rõ' ~ rõ'õ' ~ rõ'õ'*)

1 I use the transcription that the original authors used in the examples I provide. In most cases this is Uralic Transcription, where a breve above a vowel marks a half-short vowel, a grave marks a half-long vowel, a macron marks a full-long vowel, and a circumflex marks an overlong vowel. In Section 3, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

2 In these words, there tend to be *a*, *o*, *ä* in the first syllable and *e* or *ē* in the second syllable, but there are also other word types (see Niilus 1936: 38). In Uralic Transcription, [e] marks retracted [e].

(Est *raha*) ‘money’, *tu’ont* (Est *tuhat*) ‘thousand’, *mi’ed* (Est *mehed*) ‘men’) (Kettunen 1938: XXXV, see also Viitso 2009: 278). Kettunen (1938: XXXVI) proposes that in such words, /h/ became voiced and was assimilated into the preceding vowel, which, in these long syllables, was pronounced with a sharply falling tone that developed into the broken tone. With respect to Leivu, Niilus (1936: 40) refers to language contact with Latvian as one reason for the loss of word-initial and intervocalic /h/ (there is no /h/ in Latvian) and draws a parallel with Livonian. Although Viitso (2009: 278) finds that the loss of intervocalic /h/ resulted in broken tone in Leivu when there were two identical vowels, some examples can be found in transcriptions of Leivu where the syllable boundary or broken tone is also marked in the case of nonidentical vowels, e.g., *vahetama* > *va’ęttama* ‘to exchange’ (Niilus 1936: 39), *rehi* > *re,ì* ‘threshing house’, *tuhast* > *tu,ast* ‘ash, SG.TRL’ (Mets et al. 2014: 58, 62), *reha* > *re’a* ‘rake’ (Vaba 1997: 47).

According to Viitso (2009: 278), broken tone or *stød* is the “modulation of a sonorous segment, which is produced by means of an additional effort of vocal cords”; this modulation is usually realised as a drop or even a break in fundamental frequency or intensity, but in emphatic speech also as a glottal stop. Broken tone or *stød* is characteristic of several languages spoken around the Baltic Sea. These include Finnic languages – Livonian (Lehiste et al. 2008, Tuisk 2015) and, in addition to the South Estonian Leivu dialect, also the South Estonian Lutsi dialect (Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016) – as well as Indo-European languages – Latvian (Kariņš 1996: 16, Bond, Markus & Stockmal 2016: 3), Lithuanian (Balode & Holvoet 2001), Danish (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989, Grønnum 2015).

While some preliminary observations about the acoustic phonetic characteristics of broken tone have been made for the South Estonian Leivu and Lutsi dialects, several acoustic characteristics of broken tone have been determined in other languages. These characteristics will be discussed next, beginning with the Indo-European languages and then moving on to the Finnic languages with a focus on Livonian.

In Standard Latvian, long syllables have three contrastive tones: level, falling, and broken tone (Kariņš 1996: 16). The domain of broken tone is the voiced syllable rhyme of long syllables (Lehiste 1969: 144). Compared to level tone words, Latvian broken tone words are characterised by shorter vowel duration and a falling F0 contour in the stressed

syllable (in level tone words F0 is rising or level) (Kariņš 1996: 23, 130, Bond, Markus & Stockmal 2016: 7–8), and a short glottal stop in the middle of the syllable rhyme (Lehiste 1969: 149) or laryngealisation in the latter part of the syllable rhyme (Lehiste 1969: 148–149, Kariņš 1996: 23, 131) – or more rarely, during the entire syllable rhyme (Lehiste 1969: 149, Bond, Markus & Stockmal 2016: 8 – for only one elderly speaker, but not other speakers). In certain Latvian dialects that have differentiated broken, falling, and level tone, broken and falling tone have started to merge (Bond, Markus & Stockmal 2016: 3).

In Standard Lithuanian, long syllables have acute or sharp or falling tone, and circumflex or drawn or rising tone (Balode & Holvoet 2001: 50). However, most Žemaitian dialects spoken in northwestern Lithuania also have broken tone. There it is characterised by a rise in F0 and intensity at the beginning of the syllable rhyme, followed by glottal stop or laryngealisation and a sudden fall in F0 and intensity (in circumflex or level tone syllables no such fall occurs) (Balode & Holvoet 2001: 73).

In Danish, there is a contrast between words with and without *stød* (cf. Fischer-Jørgensen 1989, Grønnum 2015). In Danish, like in Latvian, the domain of *stød* is a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a sonorant in certain word structures (Grønnum & Basbøll 2002: 85). Compared to words without *stød*, Danish words with *stød* have higher F0 at the beginning of the syllable rhyme (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989, Grønnum 2015), which is also accompanied by higher intensity (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989). There is also a decrease in F0 and intensity in the latter part of the syllable as well as laryngealisation (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989). The main characteristic of *stød*, however, is laryngealisation or creaky voice. The timing of laryngealisation is variable (Grønnum 2014). Ilse Lehiste (1969: 152), for example, found that syllables where a vowel is followed by a sonorant are characterised by laryngealisation during the sonorant, more rarely between the vowel and sonorant or during the entire syllable rhyme. In Danish, duration appears not to distinguish words with and without *stød* as consistently as in Latvian or Livonian: for example, long vowels in words with *stød* are often longer, but sometimes also shorter than words without *stød* (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989: 48) – or they do not differ in duration (Grønnum & Basbøll 2002: 86).

In Livonian, as in Latvian and Danish, the domain of broken tone is the voiced syllable rhyme of the long syllable (Tuisk 2015: 25, Kiparsky

2017: 195). Livonian broken tone words, when compared to words without broken tone, have the following characteristics: a shorter duration of long vowels, irregularity in the intensity contour and a sudden intensity drop in the syllable rhyme, a laryngealisation phase that occurs more often in read than in spontaneous speech (Tuisk 2015: 32, 33). The location and duration of the laryngealisation phase varies but most likely starts at the end of the first third or in the middle of the syllable rhyme (Tuisk 2015: 33). The most stable feature of Livonian broken tone is an early F0 turning point where F0 starts to fall (Tuisk 2015: 33).

As noted above, there exist earlier acoustic phonetic studies of Leivu quantity (cf. Teras 2010, 2011) as well as some preliminary observations about the characteristics of broken tone in Lutsi South Estonian, which was also spoken in Latvia (cf. Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016), and in Leivu South Estonian (cf. Teras 2010: 9, 2011: 168, Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016). Preliminary observations about the acoustic characteristics of Leivu and also Lutsi broken tone words showed that words where an intervocalic /h/ has been lost are “characterised by falling F0, an abrupt dip in intensity movement during the vowel, and secondarily by a laryngealisation period during or at the end of the vowel” (Balodis, Pajusalu & Teras 2016: 112). However, a more in-depth acoustic phonetic analysis of broken tone words has not yet been done. It is not yet clear how consistent the loss of short intervocalic /h/ is or what the main acoustic characteristics of Leivu broken tone words are. This article focuses on analysing Leivu disyllabic words where loss of /h/ occurs. These words, referred to as CV’V-words in this study, will be treated as monosyllabic and compared to monosyllabic third quantity degree (Q3) CVV-words. The aim of this study is to determine the acoustic characteristics of Leivu CV’V-words. The questions addressed in this study are as follows:

- 1) how consistent is the loss of intervocalic /h/ in Leivu Q1 words;
- 2) what acoustically characterises broken tone in Leivu CV’V-words;
- 3) what differentiates CV’V-words from CVV-words.

2. Materials and methods

Digitised tape recordings of Leivu are available at the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages³ and at the Institute of the Estonian Language Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages.⁴ The material for the current study was gathered from the spontaneous speech of three male speakers of Leivu:

- 1) **Peter Melec (PM)** was born in 1867 and recorded in 1956 in Soosaare (Sūzaŗi) village, Ilnä (Ilzene) parish in Latvia (recordings EMH0003-01, EMH0003-02, EMH0004-01, EMH0004-02 (total duration 1 h 12 min) from the Institute of the Estonian Language Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages);
- 2) **Artur Peterson (AP)** was born in 1901 and recorded in 1971 in Paikna (Paiķēni) village, Ilnä (Ilzene) parish in Latvia (recordings F0158-01, F0158-02, F0158-03, F0158-04 (total duration 32 min) from the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages);
- 3) **Anton Boks (AB)** was born in 1906 and recorded in 1971 in Pajuŗilla (Kārklupe) village, Lejasciems parish in Latvia (recordings F0158-01, F0158-02, F0158-03, F0158-04 (total duration 29 min) from the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages).

In this paper, disyllabic CVhV(C)-words where loss of intervocalic /h/ occurs resulting in a CV'V(C)-word are examined (e.g., *raha* > *ra'a* 'money', *tahad* > *ta'ad* 'want, PRS.2SG', *tuhast* > *tu'ast* 'ash, SG.TRL') and compared to monosyllabic CVV(C)-words (e.g., *maa* 'land, earth', *sour* 'big', *kiilt* 'language, SG.PRT'). Content words were chosen for analysis, because less reduction is expected there. In the following analysis, these groups are called CV'V-words and CVV-words.

As there are no living Leivu speakers left, no additional material can be recorded. This is the reason that the material used in this study is limited to that which is available. The limited nature of the material is also one of the disadvantages of spontaneous speech. There were

3 <https://murdearhiiv.ut.ee/index.php>

4 <http://emsuka.eki.ee/>

a total of 24 CV'V-words where intervocalic /h/ was not pronounced and 202 monosyllabic CVV-words (see Table 1). The second syllable of the CV'V-words was open or closed (16 and 8 words, respectively), and the monosyllabic CVV-words also consisted of an open or closed syllable (74 and 128 words, respectively). Additionally, there were only a few cases of /h/-words where /h/ was retained and pronounced as voiced: Speaker PM had 2 such cases out of 16 /h/-words (*ahas* [awas:] 'narrow' and *tahat* [taħat:] 'want, PRS.2SG') and Speaker AB had 4 such cases out of 10 /h/-words (all of them *raha* [raħa] 'money').

Table 1. The number of analysed CV'V- and CVV-words by speaker and syllable type.

| Speaker | CV'V-words | | CVV-words | | CV'V-words | CVV-words |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| | Open syllable | Closed syllable | Open syllable | Closed syllable | | |
| PM | 9 | 5 | 31 | 66 | 14 | 97 |
| AP | 2 | 2 | 6 | 45 | 4 | 51 |
| AB | 5 | 1 | 37 | 17 | 6 | 54 |
| All | 16 | 8 | 74 | 128 | 24 | 202 |

The words were acoustically analysed with the phonetic analysis program Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021):

- 1) the durations of all sounds were measured in milliseconds; diphthongs were segmented into two components dividing the transition from the first component to the second component between the two vowels. In words where /h/ was lost between two identical vowels, a short drop in intensity (in the intensity curve or the sound wave) occurred. The valley of this drop was marked as a boundary between the two vowels;
- 2) fundamental frequency (F0) and intensity values were measured from the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme and from the turning point (TP) where F0 or intensity started to decrease (see an example of segmentation and annotation in Figure 1). The location of the TP was estimated visually.

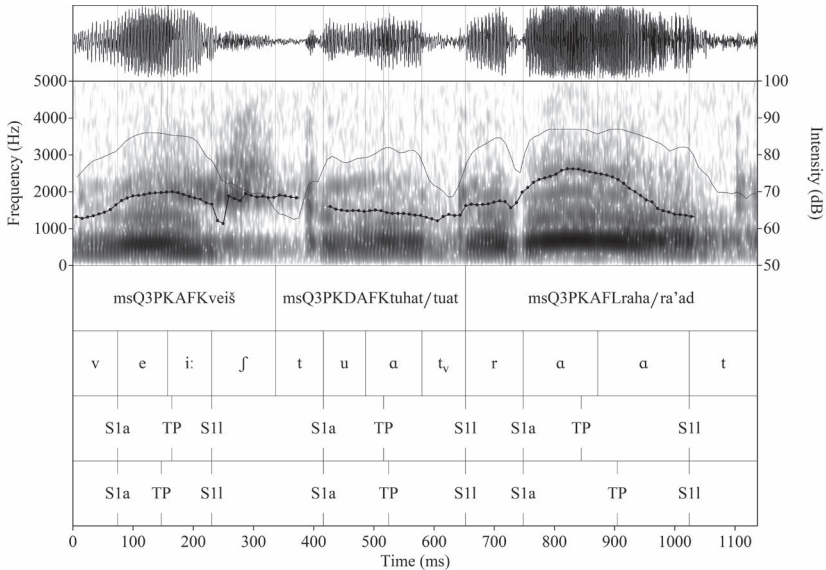


Figure 1. An example of segmentation and annotation of the phrase *veiš tuad ra'ad* 'five thousand of/in money'. Sound wave, spectrogram, intensity contour (solid line), F0 contour (dotted line, scale 80–350 Hz). The annotation shows four tiers: words, sounds, F0 and intensity measurement points (S1a, S1l – the beginning and the end of the syllable, TP – turning point).

The data were gathered using Praat scripts (compiled by Pärtel Lippus and modified by the author). The location of the turning point in the F0 and intensity curve was calculated as a percent of the total duration of the syllable rhyme, duration ratios of vowels were also calculated. Words with an open or closed syllable will be analysed separately.

Statistical analysis was carried out in R (R Core Team 2017). Descriptive statistics included the number of occurrences, cross tables to analyse together linguistic factors (syllable type: open or closed, length of syllable-final consonant or consonant cluster: short or long). In order to identify significant differences, one-way and two-way ANOVA and a Tukey post-hoc test were used. The following dependent variables were tested: the total duration of the syllable nucleus (V); F0 values at the beginning, at the TP, and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme in accented words with an early TP. The average value of these acoustic measures was calculated for each speaker for the following

factor conditions: for duration and F0 word type (CV'V or CVV), for duration and syllable type (open or closed) as well as C2 type (no consonant, short or long consonant).

3. Results

3.1. Duration

There were only some words where intervocalic /h/ was pronounced. These words are in Q1 where in Standard Estonian the second syllable short vowel is usually pronounced longer than the first syllable short vowel – duration ratio: 0.8 (Lippus et al. 2013: 21, 26). However, in Leivu, variation in duration ratios has been found (ratio: 0.8–1.5, cf. Teras 2010: 4–5). Also, /h/-words showed this variation: in 3 tokens the ratio was 0.32–0.85 (V2 longer than V1 as in Standard Estonian Q1 words), but in the other 3 tokens, the ratio was 1.29–2.24, which resembles that of Standard Estonian Q2 words with a long vowel in the first syllable and a short vowel in the second syllable (duration ratio: 1.8–2.3, Lippus et al. 2013: 21, 26).

In other cases, intervocalic /h/ was lost. Table 2 summarises the results and shows the total duration of vowels and syllable-final consonants by syllable type (open or closed) in Leivu CV'V- and CVV-words. The table shows average durations of syllable nuclei (V, long monophthong or diphthong) and – for closed syllables – consonant durations (ending in a short consonant (short C) or a long consonant or consonant cluster (long C)) as well as standard deviations.

Table 2. Average total duration of syllable nuclei, syllable-final short and long consonants, and standard deviations (in ms) in open and closed syllables of CV'V- and CVV-words (N – number of tokens, V – syllable nucleus).

| Word type | N | Open | N | Closed | | N | Closed | |
|------------|----|------|----|--------|---------|----|--------|--------|
| | | V | | V | Short C | | V | Long C |
| CV'V-words | 16 | 294 | 6 | 255 | 83 | 2 | 319 | 242 |
| | | 45 | | 61 | 22 | | 15 | 16 |
| CVV-words | 74 | 279 | 83 | 242 | 92 | 45 | 161 | 192 |
| | | 77 | | 66 | 34 | | 48 | 63 |

The average duration of syllable nuclei in open syllables is somewhat longer in CV'V-words than in CVV-words (294 ms vs. 279 ms). The same is true for the average duration of syllable nuclei in closed syllables (255 ms vs. 242 ms before short consonants, and 319 ms vs. 161 ms before long consonants or consonant clusters). In CVV-words, vowel duration in closed syllables is shorter before long consonants or consonant clusters than before short consonants (161 ms vs. 242 ms). There were only a few tokens where intervocalic /h/ was lost in words ending in a short consonant (e.g., *raha* > *ra'ad* 'money, SG.PRT', *tühüq* > *tü'üq* 'work, SG.ILL', *tuhat* > *tuad* 'thousand') or consonant cluster (*mihist* > *mi'ist* 'man, PL.ELA', *tuhast* > *tu'ast* 'ash, SG.TRL'). These words do not show the same vowel shortening seen in CVV-words: vowel duration is 255 ms before short consonants and 319 ms before long consonants.

The two-way ANOVA showed no statistically significant difference in the average vowel duration of speakers by word type ($F(df=1, 8) = 2.96, p = 0.12$), but it did show a significant difference by syllable type ($F(df=1, 8) = 8.93, p < 0.05$), and also that there was no interaction ($F(df=1, 8) = 4.12, p = 0.08$). The Tukey post-hoc test revealed that vowel duration in CVV-words is on average shorter than in CV'V-words (29 ms), but that this difference is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). It also showed that vowel duration in closed syllables is also on average shorter than in open syllables (50 ms), and that this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

The two-way ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference in average vowel duration of speakers by word type ($F(df=1, 11) = 19.86, p < 0.0001$) as well as by C2 type ($F(df=2, 11) = 8.27, p < 0.001$), and that there was an interaction ($F(df=2, 11) = 15.43, p < 0.0001$). The Tukey post-hoc test revealed that vowel duration in CVV-words is on average shorter than in CV'V-words (51 ms), and that this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). It also revealed that vowel duration before short and also long consonants is on average shorter than in open syllables (44 and 54 ms, respectively), and that these differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). It also showed that vowel duration is on average shorter before long consonants than before short consonants (10 ms), but that this difference is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

Long monophthongs and diphthongs occurred as syllable nuclei. Average durations of syllable nuclei are analysed separately next; average duration ratios of V1 and V2 have also been calculated (see Table 3).

Table 3. Average duration (in ms) of monophthongs and diphthongs in open and closed syllables and duration ratios of vowels (N – number of CV'V-words/CVV-words, V – total duration of syllable nucleus, V1 longer – the first component is longer, V1 shorter – the first component is shorter).

| Syllable type | N | V | CV'V-words | | | V1/ V2 | CVV-words | | | V1/ V2 |
|---------------|------|-------------|------------|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|-----|-----|-----------|
| | | | V | V1 | V2 | | V | V1 | V2 | |
| Open | 3/54 | Monophthong | 268 | | | | 272 | | | |
| | 10/7 | V1 longer | 290 | 176 | 114 | 1.56 | 313 | 208 | 105 | 2.11 |
| | 3/13 | V1 shorter | 331 | 126 | 205 | 0.63 | 290 | 113 | 178 | 0.65 |
| Closed | 0/56 | Monophthong | | – | | | 186 | | | |
| | 4/29 | V1 longer | 262 | 159 | 103 | 1.55 | 250 | 139 | 112 | 1.26 |
| | 4/43 | V1 shorter | 280 | 116 | 164 | 0.73 | 224 | 100 | 124 | 0.81 |

In open syllables, the duration of long monophthongs in CV'V-words and in CVV-words is similar (268 ms and 272 ms). However, there were only 3 tokens where the result of the loss of /h/ was a long monophthong: *raha* > *raa* [ra:] 'money', *ei taha* > *ei taa* [ta:] 'want, 3SG.NEG', *tühüq* > *tüü* [ty:]. In closed syllables, long monophthongs occurred only in CVV-words and were shorter in duration than in open syllables (186 ms vs. 272 ms).

When /h/ was lost between two identical vowels, in most cases there was a break between vowels marked by a short drop and rise or a sudden drop in intensity that divided a long vowel into two parts (see Figure 2): in 12 tokens the first part (V1) was longer than the second part (V2) (e.g., *raha* > *ra'a* [ra:⁵a]⁵ 'money', *mihist* > *mi'ist* [mi:⁵ist] 'man, PL.ELA'), and in 2 tokens V1 was shorter than V2 (e.g., *raha* > *ra'ad* [ra:⁵a't], *tühüq* > *tü'üq* [ty:⁵y'q]). In Table 3, all these words have

5 In the examples transcribed using IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), I use a superscript glottal stop to mark broken tone. Glottal stop has also been used to mark broken tone or stød in Danish and Livonian.

been counted as words containing diphthongs where the first component (V1) was also longer or shorter than the second component (V2).

When an intervocalic /h/ was lost between two different vowels, there were three different outcomes: in 2 tokens, V1 was longer than V2 divided by a break, i.e., a drop in intensity (*rehi* > *re'i* [re^ːi] ‘order, time, SG.GEN’, *d’o’a* [d^ːo^ːa] ‘flour’); in 1 token, V1 was shorter than V2 divided by a break, i.e., a drop in intensity (e.g., *tuhast* > *tu’ast* [tu^ːa:st]); and in 4 tokens, the two vowels were pronounced as a diphthong (V1 shorter than V2, *liha* > *lia* [lia:] ‘meat’, *tuhat* > *tuad* [tua:t] ‘thousand’, *mehe²* > *mie* [mie:] ‘man, PL.NOM’). In 7 tokens, where an intervocalic /h/ was lost, the second part of syllable nucleus was laryngealised.

In words where V1 is longer than V2 and the syllable is open, the total vowel durations in CVV-words are a little longer than in CV’V-words, in other cases the opposite situation is found (see Table 3). Both in CV’V- and CVV-words, vowels in open syllables are longer in duration than in closed syllables (see Table 3). Among CV’V-words, V1 is longer than V2 in 67% of tokens (open syllables: vowel duration ratio 1.56; closed syllables: 1.55) and V1 is shorter than V2 in 33% of tokens (open syllables: vowel duration ratio 0.63; closed syllables: 0.73). Among CVV-words containing diphthongs, V1 is longer than V2 in 39% of tokens (open syllables: vowel duration ratio 2.11; closed syllables: 1.26) and V1 is shorter than V2 in 61% of tokens (open syllables: vowel duration ratio 0.65; closed syllables: 0.81). In CV’V-words there is a tendency for V1 to be longer than V2 and in CVV-words for V2 to be longer than V1.

Figure 2 shows an example of a CV’V-word *raha* > *ra’a* ‘money’ where /h/ is lost and two vowels are pronounced with a break (V1 is longer than V2), i.e., this is an example of broken tone. A drop in the wave form (above) and also in the intensity curve can be seen in this word. Figure 3 shows an example of a CVV-word *maad* (long monophthong) ‘land, earth, SG.PRT’ for comparison.

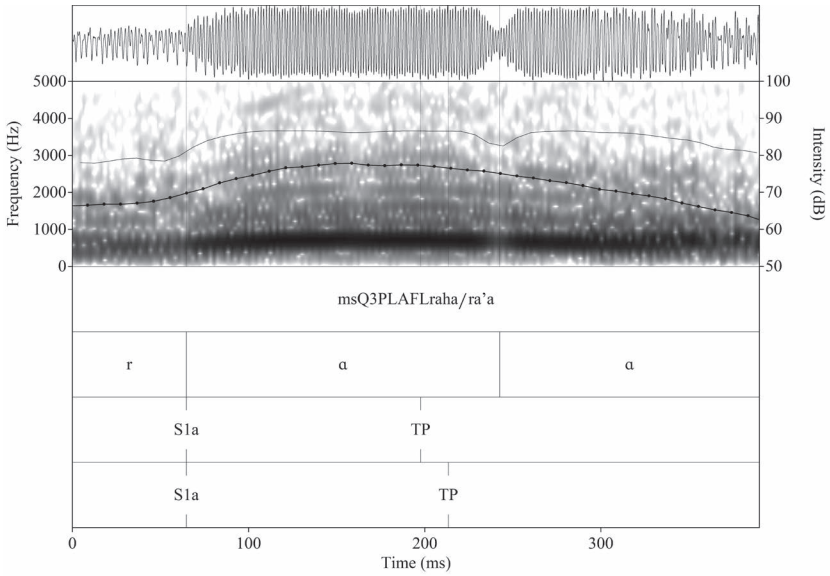


Figure 2. An example of a CV'V-word: *raha* [raːʔa] ‘money’ (Speaker PM, EMH0004-01). Sound wave, spectrogram, intensity contour (solid line), F0 contour (dotted line, scale 80–350 Hz).

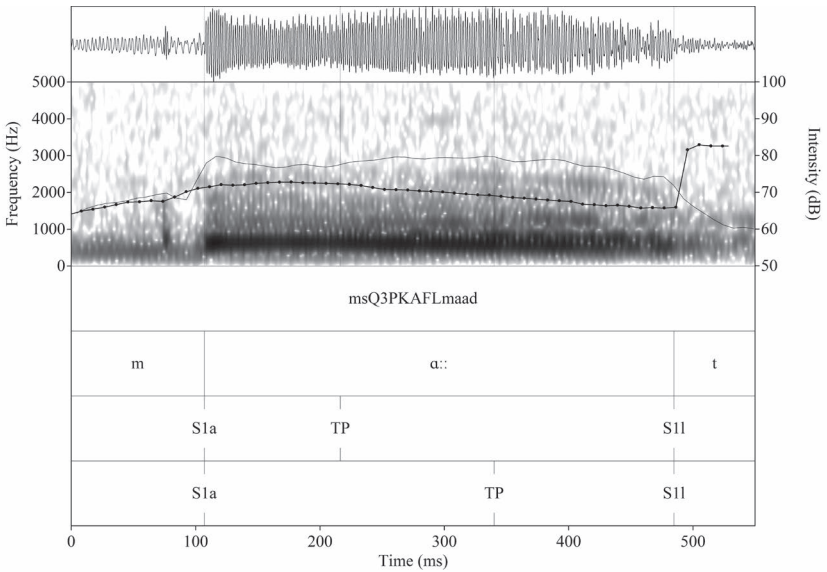


Figure 3. An example of a monosyllabic CVV-word: *maad* [maːt] ‘land, earth, SG.PRT’ (Speaker PM, EMH0003-02). Sound wave, spectrogram, intensity contour (solid line), F0 contour (dotted line, scale 80–350 Hz).

3.2. Fundamental frequency

To analyse the F0 contour, deaccented and accented words were analysed separately. Quantity analyses of Estonian have shown that F0 contours characteristic of Q2 and Q3 words are neutralised in deaccented words (Lippus et al. 2013: 21). The materials used in the current study include 3 deaccented and 21 accented CV'V-words, and 59 deaccented and 143 accented CVV-words. F0 was measured at the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme and at the TP where F0 turned and began to fall. The location of the TP was calculated as a percent of the total duration of the syllable rhyme. Words where the TP occurred in the first half of the syllable rhyme ($\leq 50\%$) are analysed separately from words where it occurred in the second half of the syllable rhyme ($> 50\%$). The following analysis concentrates primarily on accented words, but a short overview of F0 contours in deaccented words is given first.

All deaccented CV'V-words were pronounced with an early F0 TP occurring at 24% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme. From the beginning to the TP, the F0 contour was rather flat (average values: 169 and 166 Hz) followed by slight fall to 150 Hz. Deaccented CVV-words mainly (49 tokens from 59) also had a flat F0 contour from the beginning (155 Hz) to the TP (155 Hz at 24%) followed by a slight fall to 135 Hz. There were fewer deaccented CVV-words (10) where the F0 contour was slightly rising (169 Hz at the beginning, 177 Hz at the TP occurring at 70%, and 175 Hz at the end).

Table 4 shows F0 values (in Hz) at the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme and at the turning point (TP) in accented CV'V- and CVV-words.

Accented CV'V-words tend to have an early F0 turning point (at 23% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme). A late TP occurred only in one phrase-medial word (at 62%). An early TP is also characteristic of CVV-words occurring at 27% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme. However, in 27 CVV-words, the TP was late (72% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme). Half of these words occurred in a phrase-medial position (14 words). It can be concluded that in accented CV'V-words, an early F0 TP occurs more consistently than in CVV-words where it can also occur later (most probably in phrase-medial position).

Table 4. Average F0 values and standard deviations (in Hz) at the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme (S1b, S1e) and at the turning point (TP), and the location of the turning point (%) in accented CV'V- and CVV-words where the TP was early or late.

| Words where the TP occurs in the first half of the syllable (an early TP) | | | | | |
|--|----------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|
| Word type | N | S1b | TP | % | S1e |
| CV'V-words | 20 | 194 | 210 | 23 | 154 |
| | | 38 | 36 | 13 | 44 |
| CVV-words | 116 | 186 | 198 | 27 | 156 |
| | | 35 | 38 | 12 | 44 |
| Words where the TP occurs in the second half of the syllable (a late TP) | | | | | |
| Word type | N | S1b | TP | % | S1e |
| CV'V-words | 1 | 147 | 200 | 62 | 165 |
| CVV-words | 27 | 163 | 199 | 72 | 182 |
| | | 25 | 27 | 13 | 28 |

In words with an early TP, there is a tendency for F0 at the beginning of the syllable and at the TP to be higher in CV'V-words than in CVV-words (S1b 194 Hz vs. 186 Hz, and TP 210 Hz vs. 198 Hz). CV'V-words also show on average a greater decrease in F0 from the TP to the end of the word than in CVV-words (56 Hz vs. 42 Hz). However, the one-way ANOVA showed that these differences are not statistically significant (the results are, respectively, $F(df=1, 4) = 0.29, p > 0.05$; $F(df=1, 4) = 0.16, p > 0.05$; $F(df=1, 4) = 0.67, p > 0.05$).

3.3. Intensity

For intensity, deaccented and accented words were analysed separately. As was done for F0, the location of the intensity TP was also calculated as a percent of the total duration of the syllable rhyme. Words where the TP occurred in the first half of the syllable rhyme ($\leq 50\%$) are counted as having an early TP, and words where it occurred in the second half of the syllable rhyme ($> 50\%$) are counted as having a late TP. Deaccented words (both CV'V- and CVV-words) most often had an early intensity TP.

Table 5 shows intensity values at the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme and at the TP. Intensity is also analysed more closely in accented words. Words with an early and late TP are analysed separately.

Table 5. Average intensity values and standard deviations (in dB) at the beginning and end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme (S1b, S1e) and at the turning point (TP), and the location of the turning point (%) in CV'V- and CVV-words where the TP was early or late.

| Words where the TP occurs in the first half of the syllable (an early TP) | | | | | |
|--|----------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|
| Word type | N | S1b | TP | % | S1e |
| CV'V-words | 15 | 78 | 83 | 32 | 74 |
| | | 5 | 2 | 12 | 5 |
| CVV-words | 90 | 76 | 82 | 32 | 71 |
| | | 5 | 4 | 13 | 6 |
| Words where the TP occurs in the second half of the syllable (a late TP) | | | | | |
| Word type | N | S1b | TP | % | S1e |
| CV'V-words | 6 | 76 | 80 | 65 | 73 |
| | | 4 | 5 | 18 | 5 |
| CVV-words | 53 | 75 | 83 | 66 | 75 |
| | | 5 | 4 | 11 | 5 |

The results for intensity are quite similar to those for F0. In 71% of CV'V-words, there is an early TP and in 29% of CV'V-words it is late. A similar tendency can be observed in CVV-words: 63% of these words have an early TP, and 37% have a late TP. The intensity TP does not appear to differentiate CV'V-words from CVV-words very much. However, it was observed that CV'V-words and CVV-words were differentiated by (1) a short drop and rise in the intensity curve or in the sound wave between vowels (see Figure 2), or (2) a sudden drop in intensity that occurs in CV'V-words, but not in CVV-words. Methods for analysing and presenting changes in intensity curves will be considered in future research.

4. Discussion

In Leivu disyllabic /h/-words, the loss of intervocalic /h/ occurred in 80% of all tokens (24 tokens out of 30). The loss of intervocalic /h/ has also been found in Standard Estonian where it occurs more often in informal speech than in formal speech (23% vs. 6%); however, in Standard Estonian the most common variant of intervocalic /h/ is a voiced variant (86% in formal and 68% in informal speech) (Teras 2018: 885).

In Leivu CV'V-words, the average duration of syllable nuclei is on average longer than in CVV-words, but there is variation depending on syllable and C2 type. In this respect, Leivu differs from Latvian and Livonian where long vowels in broken tone words have been found to be shorter than in words without broken tone (Kariņš 1996, Bond, Markus & Stockmal 2016, Teras & Tuisk 2009, Tuisk 2015).

In most cases (17 tokens out of 24) in words where intervocalic /h/ is lost, the break (a short drop and rise or a sudden drop in intensity) divides two identical or different vowels into two parts: V1 is usually longer than V2 (average duration ratio: 1.56, see Table 6). Eberhard Winkler (2010: 71) has also pointed out that broken tone is characterised by a break, which divides a vowel or a diphthong into two parts, with the first component longer than the second component. Among CV'V-words, there is a larger percentage of cases where V1 is longer than V2 than among CVV-words (67% vs. 39%).

Salme Nigol (1955: 149) noted that in quality-alternational words, the first component of the diphthong is pronounced longer than the second component: *susi: soed* > *sõi*² 'wolf, PL.NOM', *mägi: mäel* > *mäil* 'hill, SG.ALL', *pagema: paeda* > *pàida*² 'to escape'. Quality-alternational words also occurred among the words analysed for this study. The average vowel durations in CVV-words where the diphthong occurs in quality-alternational words with consonant loss, as well as in non-quality-alternational words, are presented and compared to CV'V-words in Table 6. In 50% of quality-alternational words, V1 is longer than V2 (ratio: 1.68). However, V1 can also be longer in words without quality-alternation, though this is found in only 35% of cases (ratio: 1.3). The duration ratio of V1 and V2 in CV'V-words where V1 is longer than V2 is similar to that of quality-alternational words (1.56). However, vowel duration ratios in CV'V-words resemble those of CVCV-words (Q1), in which there also appears to be quite considerable variation (Teras 2011:

166–167): in 57% of tokens, the ratio was greater than one – 1.53, and in other tokens, the ratio was less than one – 0.73. Latvian influence can probably be seen in this variation, because in Latvian CVCV-words, the first syllable vowel has greater duration than the second syllable vowel (duration ratio: 1.2–2.0, Lehiste et al. 2008: 54).

Table 6. Vowel durations (in ms) in CV’V-words and in CVV-words without quality alternation (no C loss) and with quality alternation (C loss).

| Word type | N | V | No C loss | | | C loss | | |
|------------|-------|------------|-----------|-----|-------|--------|-----|-------|
| | | | V1 | V2 | V1/V2 | V1 | V2 | V1/V2 |
| CV’V-words | –/14 | V1 longer | | | | 171 | 111 | 1.56 |
| | –/7 | V1 shorter | | | | 120 | 182 | 0.69 |
| CVV-words | 24/12 | V1 longer | 141 | 110 | 1.3 | 174 | 112 | 1.68 |
| | 44/12 | V1 shorter | 100 | 132 | 0.78 | 114 | 155 | 0.75 |

Laryngealisation or creaky voice is considered the main characteristic of Danish stød (cf. Grønnum 2014). Laryngealisation or even glottal stop have also been named as one of the characteristics of Latvian and Lithuanian broken tone (Lehiste 1969, Kariņš 1996, Balode & Holvoet 2001). In Livonian, laryngealisation occurs more often in read than in spontaneous speech (Tuisk 2015). In Leivu CV’V-words, laryngealisation occurred in 7 tokens out of 24, where the final part of the syllable nucleus was pronounced as laryngealised. However, laryngealisation should be analysed more closely in future research.

In Leivu accented CV’V-words, the fundamental frequency TP is early and occurs in the first part of the syllable rhyme (23%) in almost all cases (except one token). An early F0 TP is also found in 73% of CVV-words, while in other cases, the TP is late (27% vs. 72% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme, respectively). An early F0 TP has also been found to be the most stable characteristic of Livonian broken tone words (Tuisk 2015). In CV’V-words, F0 at the beginning of the syllable nucleus and at the TP is a little higher and the decrease from the TP to the end of the word is greater than in CVV-words. A tendency for F0 to be higher at the beginning of words with broken tone than in words without broken tone has also been observed in Livonian (Teras & Tuisk 2009) and in Danish (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989, Grønnum 2015). Paul Kiparsky (2017: 201) explained the fall from high to low tone in

Livonian broken tone syllables where an intervocalic /h/ had been lost as “a continuation of the word’s pre-contraction tone contour”. That could well explain why Leivu CV’V words have quite consistently an early F0 TP, i.e., a fall from high to low tone. Leivu Q1 words also tend to have a late F0 TP, which means that F0 rises in the first syllable and falls after that (cf. Teras 2011: 168). When /h/ is lost, moving from high to low tone occurs in the broken tone syllable.

With respect to intensity at the beginning, at the TP, and at the end of the voiced part of the syllable rhyme, there is no major difference between CV’V- and CVV-words. Other methods for analysing intensity should be considered in future research. A short drop in the intensity curve or sound wave often appeared to occur between the two vowels in CV’V-words. Such a drop in intensity has also been described in Livonian (Tuisk 2015) as has a sudden fall in intensity in Lithuanian (Balode & Holvoet 2001).

5. Conclusion

Broken tone found in Latvian – as well as in Livonian, Lithuanian, and Danish – was also developing in Leivu South Estonian. The acoustic characteristics of broken tone found in these languages were considered in Leivu. Disyllabic words where intervocalic /h/ has been lost were analysed and compared to monosyllabic words. An intervocalic /h/ was almost always lost (except in 6 tokens out of 30).

Vowel duration in Leivu CV’V-words tends to be somewhat longer than in CVV-words, but there is variation depending on syllable structure. In CV’V-words, two identical vowels or two different vowels can often be separated by a break (e.g., a short drop in intensity). In such cases, the first vowel tends to be longer than the second vowel (duration ratio: 1.56). This ratio resembles that of Leivu CVCV-words where the first syllable vowel is often longer than the second syllable vowel. The first component of diphthongs in quality-alternational CVV-words is also often longer than the second component (duration ratio: 1.68).

In some cases, the final part of the syllable nucleus is laryngealised in CV’V words. Fundamental frequency in accented CV’V-words is almost always falling (an early F0 TP occurring at 23% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme). A falling F0 contour from high to low

can be seen as a continuation of the F0 contour in CVhV-words after the loss of /h/. In accented CVV-words, the F0 TP is also often early (occurring at 27% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme), but in 27% of tokens the TP was late (occurring at 72% of the total duration of the syllable rhyme).

The study of broken tone in Leivu should be expanded to trisyllabic and longer words where loss of intervocalic /h/ occurs, in order to increase our understanding of the acoustic characteristics of broken tone and determine whether the tendencies observed in this study are also found in longer words.

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Kokkuvõte. Pire Teras: Katketoon leivu CV’V-sõnades. Leivu on üks lõunaesti murretest, mida räägiti Ida-Lätis ja mida mõjutas läti keel. Üks neist mõjudest on tõenäoliselt katketoon, mis oli tekkimas peamiselt esmavähtelistes sõnades /h/ kao tulemusel. Liivi keeleski on katketooni kujunemise üheks põhjuseks peetud just /h/ kadu. Selle töö eesmärk on välja selgitada, mis iseloomustab leivu /h/-kaoliste CV’V-sõnade hääldust ja mis eristab neid kolmandavähtelistest CVV-sõnadest. Analüüsiti häälikukestusi, põhitooni- ja intensiivsuskontuure. Vokaalikestus on leivu CV’V-sõnades veidi pikem kui CVV-sõnades. CV’V-sõnades võib toimuda intensiivsuse langus ja tõus või järsk intensiivsuse langus nii kahe ühesuguse kui ka erineva vokaali vahel: esimene vokaal on enamasti kestuselt pikem kui teine. Ka CVV-sõnade hilistekkelistes diftongides on esimene osis sageli pikem kui teine. Mõnel juhul larüngaliseerub CV’V-sõnades silbituuma lõpuosa. Põhitoonikontuuris on CV’V-sõnades palju järjekindlamalt varane pöördepunkt ja langev põhitoon kui CVV-sõnades, kus tuleb ette ka hilise pöördepunktiga tõusvat põhitooni.

Märksõnad: sõnaprosoodia, katketoon, lõunaesti keel, keelesaared, leivu

LATVIAN PLACE NAMES AND DIALECTS: A RELEVANT SOURCE FOR THE EXPLORATION OF THE VIDZEME SOUTH ESTONIAN LANGUAGE

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Abstract. Knowledge about the South Estonian language spoken in the parts of Livonia where Latvian prevailed is based on materials collected from the Leivus residing in Ilzene parish (*Lv pagasts*) of eastern Vidzeme. Very little language or none at all has been recorded from the South Estonian speakers who are known to have lived in the parishes bordering Ilzene. The article introduces and analyses the works of Latvian place name and dialect researchers focusing on Lejasciems and Kalnamuiža as well as Madona municipality (*Lv novads*) located in the southeastern corner of Vidzeme where South Estonians have historically lived.

Keywords: toponyms, etymology, Latvian dialects, South Estonian dialects, language islands

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1. Introduction

Knowledge about the South Estonian language spoken in Vidzeme is based on materials collected at greater or lesser intervals for more than a century from the Leivu community residing in the villages of Ilzene parish (Germ *Ilzen*) (see [1] in Figure 1) located in eastern Vidzeme. The foundations for reliable documentation and scientific analysis of the Leivu language were laid by Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann in his study “Die Ehsteninseln in den lettischen Kirchspielen Marienburg und Schwaneburg in Livland” (The Estonian islands in the Latvian church parishes of Marienburg (Alüksne) and Schwaneburg (Gulbene) in Livonia) when he had the opportunity to interview a local churchwarden (Et *vöörmünder*) of Leivu origin about the Ilzene Leivus in the summer of 1866 (for more see Vaba 1997: 52–53). From the other

parishes bordering Ilzene, where the Leivu people are known to have also lived, there is very little, if any, recorded language material. A few text examples recorded by Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu in Andriņi village in Lejasciems (Germ *Aahof*) parish (see [2] in Fig. 1) in 1911 are the exception. Most of these have now been published in the Estonian dialect series (Mets et al. 2014: 33–37). As part of this research expedition, Ojansuu also visited Ate village (Germ *Ottenhof*) in Anna parish (Germ *Annenhof*) [9] as well as Zeltiņi (Germ *Seltinghof*) [3] and Siduli village in Alsviķi parish (Germ *Alswig*) [7] (see Fig. 1), though nothing significant was recorded there (Ojansuu 1912, Grünthal 1912: 325–326, Niilus 1937).

When the systematic documentation of the Estonian dialects began in the early 1920s, the South Estonian language – with a few exceptions – was no longer in active use in the Leivu villages. Paulopriit Voolaine (1899–1985) was sent on a scholarship expedition funded by the Mother Tongue Society (*Emakeele Selts*) to document Leivu in 1921. However, he observed that there were no speakers with sufficient Leivu language proficiency remaining in Dūre (present-day Lejasciems parish) or Līves (present-day Vireši parish), also no such speakers were found in Kalnamuiža parish (earlier Kalncempji [8], presently Stāmeriena parish [10]) or in Alsviķi parish (Germ *Alswig*) [7] (Koltsu or Kolcu and Tsiduli or Siduli villages), see Fig. 1). Therefore, it was only possible to document the language of the villages of Ilzene (Voolaine 1981: 101–106). The material that was collected and later comprehensively analysed by linguist Valter Niilus (1913–1978) during his language documentation expeditions also comes from the villages of Ilzene parish (Āžamuguri or Āžmugura, Brūniņi, Ilzene, Kārklupe, Melnupe, Paiķeni, Siveci, Onti) which he described being “like the strongest Leivu fortress” (*kui leivude kōvema kantsi*). In order to expand his circle of language informants, Niilus visited Andriņi, Lapati, and Majāni villages in Lejasciems parish as well as Zeltiņi and Melnupe villages in 1936, but these efforts were largely unsuccessful (Niilus 1936). Other Estonian dialect researchers (Aili Univere, Salme Tanning, Mari Must, Salme Nigol, and others) were also using informants from Ilzene or – according to Valter Niilus – from the strongest Leivu fortress. The last known speaker of Leivu was Antons Boks [1908–1988] from Kārklupe village in Ilzene parish (Vaba 1997: 50).

Historical South Estonian settlements in Vidzeme

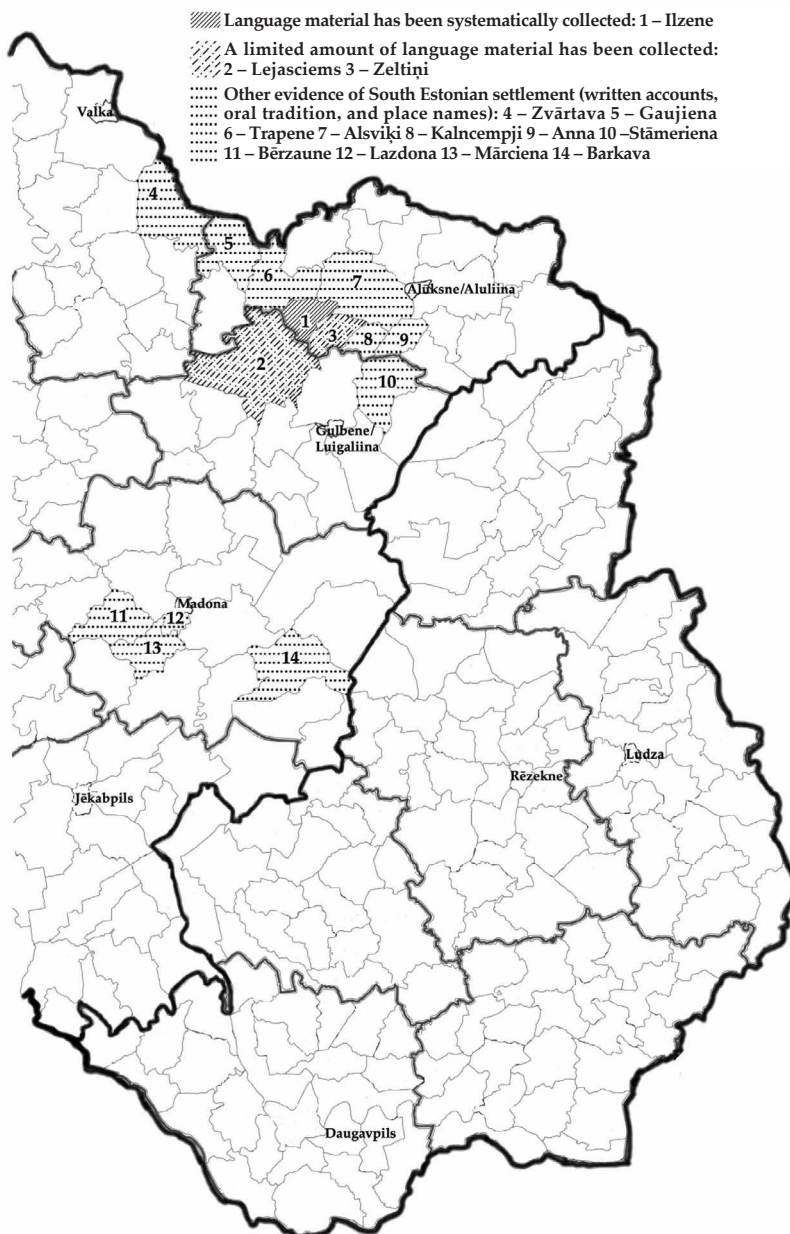


Figure 1. Historical South Estonian settlements in Vidzeme (marked with numbers in square brackets on a map of Latvian parishes). Map design and technical implementation: Väino Klaus.

Written sources, local oral tradition, and place names suggest that the South Estonian island-like settlements in Eastern Vidzeme had a considerable population. There are groups of South Estonians in Vidzeme of which the only known traces in the present day are possible local place names of Estonian origin or sometimes also a brief ethnographic description jotted down by a former local pastor. For example, in 1784, Detlev Georg Meyer, pastor of the Atzele congregation (Gaujiena, [5] in Fig. 1), described the head coverings of the Estonian women and girls in his mixed Latvian-Estonian congregation: Estonian women wear high fur hats with round bottoms all year round, while Estonian girls wear straw wreaths decorated with tinsel and spangles (Stepermanis 1960: 228).

Considerably richer information is offered by Latvian sources on the South Estonians living in Lejasciems and Kalnamuiža as well as in Madona municipality (Bērzaune, Lazdona, and Mārciena) located in southeastern Vidzeme.

2. What can Estonian place names tell us in Daina Zemzare's study *Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu*

There are early ethnographic descriptions (from 1841) and rather sparse language descriptions from Līves village (Germ *Liewe*) in the former Lejasciems parish (for more see Vaba 1997: 50–52). The visits to the Lejasciems villages by Ojansuu, Voolaine, and Niilus were not fruitful for collecting language materials. Therefore, in my view Latvian linguist Daina Zemzare's study "Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu" (Language testimony about the Lejasciems region) (Zemzare 1940) deserves attention which, if carefully analysed, can provide important additional information about the Leivu language which has been extremely scarcely recorded at Lejasciems. The place name file of the Institute of the Estonian Language contains a rather modest Leivu slip file (290 slips), the majority of which consists of names from Ilzene with only a small number recorded in Lejasciems, primarily in Līves village. It should also be noted that the quality of the Leivu place name collection is rather variable. Unfortunately, Zemzare's work has not gained the attention of researchers of Estonian or other Finnic languages. Zemzare (1911–1971) was a versatile and prolific Latvian researcher,

who, among other things, wrote studies on Latvian dialect vocabulary as well as place names and personal names. Zemzare began her field work in Lejasciems in the summer of 1935. She travelled through the villages of what was Lejasciems parish at that time (also Līves which was not a part of Lejasciems parish then or now) and documented names related to settlements, nature, and cultivation as well as the stories on the same topics. However, Zemzare paid greater attention to the villages of the Lejasciems region on the lands of the former Lejasmuiža state manor which are found in inventory books (Germ *Wackenbuch*) listing manor farms and their encumbrances dating from 1738, 1750, 1757 (Zemzare 1940: 31). The collected material was then supplemented by Zemzare with the help of the Domēņi parish archives (from 1821 onward) and student notes from 1932 (stored at the Archives of Latvian Folklore (*Latviešu folkloras krātuve*)).

Zemzare writes that the people living along the Gauja River in Lejasciems parish as well as those in Ilzene parish and a part of those in Kalnciems parish can be considered descendants of Estonians. During her fieldwork, Zemzare met only a few older people who knew that their grandparents had spoken Estonian and that they also could not understand real Estonians either. Her Latvian-speaking informants assured Zemzare that Estonian had formerly been spoken in the villages of Andriņi, Ķibasi, Ķilpāni, Kručki, Majāni, Salaki, Suži, and Lapati. With the end of Estonian language knowledge, Estonian place names would either disappear completely or in the best case be replaced with translations, but in general Estonian place names are still well preserved, observes Zemzare (1940: 107). The part of Lejasciems where the descendants of Estonians live is referred to by other people in Lejasciems as “the black end” (*māllais gòls*, i.e., Lv std *melnais gals*); Zemzare theorises that this name may have come from the predominance of black colour in the clothing of the people there (Zemzare 1940: 3–4). À propos, a similar oral tradition survived in Kalnamuiža in the last century where “the black end” referred to the Estonians who lived there who wore darker clothing, had darker complexions and hair colour compared with Latvians (Balode & Jansone 2017: 7). According to Zemzare, it is unclear whether the Lejasciems (and Ilzene) Estonians are native to this area or immigrants (Zemzare 1940: 5).

Zemzare’s research indicates that the Estonians at the area left a noticeable mark on the place names of Lejasciems. This is especially

evident in the word stems of place names of Estonian origin and perhaps also in derivational suffixes and topoformants. Lejasciems as well as Ilzene and Kalnamuiža are situated in the deep Latgalic subdialect area (Lv *dziļā latgaliskā izloksne*). Compared to Standard Latvian and the Central Dialect on which it is based, the most important innovations in the local subdialect have occurred in vocalism which also reached the Ilzene Leivu dialect and that are not, however, regular (Vaba 1997: 47–42, 54 etc.). The Estonian place names of Lejasciems have acquired the phonetic characteristics of the local Latvian subdialect; however, the changes in the vocalistic characteristics of the Latvian Eastern subdialects are not regular in Lejasciems. Some examples:

Lv std *a* > Ltg *o*: but *Kadejs*, *Kadeja pūrs* swamp, Ķilpāni village, cf. Ilzene *kadaja*⁶ pl, V *katai* : *kadaja* ‘juniper’; *Lāmbas pļava* meadow, Andriņi village, cf. Ilzene *lamba* pl, Et *lammas* : *lamba* ‘sheep / Schaf’; *Palana pūrs* swamp Salaki village, cf. Ilzene *palanu*, V *palanu* ‘burned out (place)’; *Samēlpūrs* swamp, Kručki village, cf. V *sammāl*: *sambla* ‘moss’; *Sarapi* farmstead, Lapati village, cf. Et *sarap* ‘hazelnut tree’; *Saviku pļava* field, Čipati village, cf. Et *savi* ‘clay’; *Vanateri* farmstead, Lapati village, cf. Ilzene *vana* ~ *vona*, Et *vana* : *vana* ‘old’; *Vachceteri* farmstead, Salaki village, cf. Ilzene *vastnō* : *vahtsō*, V *vahtsōnō* : *vahtsō* ‘new’);

Lv std *ā* > Ltg *ō* > *uo*: but *Āva(s) kōlls* hill, Salaki and Andriņi villages, cf. V *haab* : *haava* ‘aspen (tree)’; *Lānupes kōlls* hill, *Lānups drova* field, Salaki village, cf. V *laas* : *laane* ‘a large dense forest / dichter Laubwald auf feuchtem Boden’; original *ā* developed into a diphthong which varies considerably in the local subdialect: *°ā* (Lejasciems), *uo* ~ *ua* (Zeltiņi), see Endzelīns 1951: 125;

Lv std *ē* [ä] > Ltg *a*: *Janeze* field, Majāni village, cf. Et *jānes* : *jānese* ‘hare’; *Maģi* hill, Salmaņi village, cf. Et *māgi* : *māe* ‘hill’; *Makra kōlls* ~ *Makarkōlls* pasture, Kručki village, cf. Ilzene *mākr* : *māgra*, Et *māger* : *māgra* ‘badger / Dachs’; *Parānda* (? < **pēṛēnd-*) *pūrs* swamp Ķilpāni village, ? cf. M *pōreñd* : *pōrendi* ‘fire for clearing land for farming (slash-and-burn agriculture), large fire’ Tanning 1958: 109; *Varatkōlls* hill, Čipati and Lembji villages, cf. Ilzene plg *vārete*, V *vārehī* : *vārehti* ‘gate’, but *Lepans* ~ *Ļepans* hill slope, Majāni village, ? cf. Et *lepp* : *lepa* ‘alder’);

6 Estonian dialect examples without a referenced source are from the following publications: EMS, Kāis 2011, MES, Pall 1982–1989. Examples are presented in the Estonian orthography; palatalisation is also marked.

Lv std *ēr* > Ltg *ēr* [ãr], *ē̃r* [eãr]: *V^eēra kòlls* ~ *V^eēru kòlls* field, hillock, mound, Umari village, cf. V *viir* : *veere* ‘edge, shore’;

Lv std *ī* > Ltg *ei*: *Lēives* village, *Lēivurga* field, Dukulī village, cf. Et *liiv* : *liiva* ‘sand’; *Pēirenīca*, but *Pīrenīca* ~ *Pīra* meadow, Salaki village, ? cf. V *piir* : *piiri* ‘border, boundary’; *Tēigurga* meadow, Lapati and Ķilpāni villages, *Tēigurga* river, Lapati village, ? cf. V *tiik* : *tiigi* ‘pond / Teich’, but *Linceļmola* field, Lembji village, ? cf. V *liin* : *liina* ‘town; hill fort’;

Lv std *ū* > Ltg *ou*: but *Sūretere* farmstead, Salaki village, cf. Ilzene *sour* : *sourō*, V *suur* : *suurō* ‘large’).

The reasons for these two different patterns in vocalism are not yet completely understood. In Zemzare’s opinion, place names in which the expected dialectal vowel changes do not occur belong to a somewhat newer stratum (Zemzare 1940: 108). I think, however, that more likely the main reason is the Standard Latvian influence which at that time had already become familiar and known to local people at school and church. Zemzare also agrees with this. Also, we should not disregard the fact that the interviews with the informants probably took place in Standard Latvian (the interviewers were not speakers of the local subdialect) – a situation which, as is well known, always inclines the informants towards the standard language. In dialects the preservation of the original vocalism may be a result of the sound environment. For example, in the Eastern Latvian dialect, original dialectal *a* can be maintained in front of *v*, front vowels, and elsewhere which might explain the persistence of *a* in the names *Saviki*, *Saviku pļava*, *Sāvika pūriņš*, *Kadeja pūrs*, *Samēlpūrs* (about Eastern Latvian dialect vocalism see Rudzīte 1964: 267, etc.). Paul Ariste (1931: 175–179) attempted to explain the differences in the innovations in Ilzene and Lejasciems Leivu vocalism. In Ariste’s approach, the relatively consistent diphthongisation of the original long vowels *ī* and *ū* that are characteristic of Eastern Latvian occurred differently in Ilzene (Zeltiņi parish) than in Lejasciems, because the Estonians had lived there for a longer period of time and had been in intensive contact with Latvians for longer than the Estonians in the neighbouring area. In Ariste’s opinion, the contradiction that accompanies this hypothesis – why Estonian language survived the longest in Ilzene – is explained by the fact that Ilzene was

separated from Latvian settlements by forests and swamps. However, if the starting point of the discussion is that the local Estonians are indigenous inhabitants, then, of course, Ariste's view is not correct.

Zemzare feels that the vowel *o* [õ] in Lejasciems place names may be of diagnostic value in determining whether a name is of Finnic origin (Zemzare 1940: 108), though the structurally unusual *o* in this Latvian subdialect is not constant, also because original *a* > Ltg *o*: *Kõlgamasas pūrs* (swamp), *Kõnčura kòlls* (hill), etc., *Konukòlls* (hill, meadows), *Oja* [õ] meadow, *Čoruze* ~ *Čorize* [õ] river, field.

Lejasciems place names of Estonian origin have mostly been adapted to the Latvian morphological system, but there are several interesting exceptions. Zemzare has recorded place names where the suffix contains the final vowel *i* which is unusual in the Latvian context and can be interpreted as a masculine plural nominative in this specific context, e.g., *Jāņišūc* (the morphologically adapted parallel form is *J^oānušouki(s)*) [-*n*- sic!] field, *Peķi kòlls* (the morphologically adapted parallel form is *Peķa kòlls*) field, *Maģi kòlls* hill, *Ruvi ceļš* road, *Sāņķi kòlls* hill. The suffixes of Latvian compound names are in genitive (either singular or plural), therefore, morphologically the Latvian versions of these examples would have been **Maģu kòlls*, **Ruvu ceļš*, **Sāņķu kòlls*. In the Livonic dialect of Latvian, compound words with nominative suffixes have been recorded and these follow the same Finnic word formation model (see Rudzīte 1964: 202). Zemzare explains the instability of the grammatical gender of Lejasciems compound word suffixes (e.g., *Āva* <*m*> ~ *Āvas* <*f*> *kòlls* hill) as well as the dominance of the masculine gender with the influence of Estonian (Zemzare 1940: 108). Zemzare correlates *kene*- ending place names with Estonian *kene*-compound appellatives: e.g., *Laudakenes kokts* an area in Salaki village, ? cf. Et *laudakene* dim. 'cattle-shed'; *Palukene* meadow, forest, cf. Et *palukene* dim. 'dry pine forest'; *Tamakene* thick pine forest, meadow, cf. Et *tammekene* dim. 'oak'. In my opinion, Ilzene (and South Estonian) linguistic innovations include abundant use of diminutives, analysis of Lejasciems names cannot ignore the highly productive Latvian *iņš*-noun formation model (< **-inis*) which may have been used as a model in Lejasciems, because in the modern language, Latvian *iņš*-words coincide with diminutives with the same ending.

In studying the etymology of Lejasciems place names, Zemzare has promoted the view that each place name had a meaning at the time

it was given which seeks to describe the object that is being named. For Lejasciems names unclear in the Latvian (Baltic) context, Zemzare attempted to find sound structural correspondences or similar Estonian appellatives, occasionally also using (South) Estonian place names or first names to support the proposed appellative. When attempting to determine the etymology of place names, hypotheses always need to be viewed with a reasonable degree of scepticism and make me think of walking on thin ice; however, the approach that a place name is formed directly from an appellative does not always give a sufficiently convincing result. I find comparisons such as these offered by Zemzare questionable: *Isa* field, meadow, *Īsas pūriņš* swamp, cf. Et *isa*, Ilzene *esä* ‘father / Vater’, *Ivika* ~ *Īvika pūrs* swamp, cf. Et *ivikas* : *ivika* ‘grainy / körnig, körnreich’, *Kakļica kakt*s an area in Līves village, cf. Et *kaklus* : *kakluse* ‘quarrel, scuffle, brawl / Streit, Balgerei, Rauferei’, *Kamaldīņa* river, cf. Et *kamal* ‘double handful / Gäspe’, *kammal* ‘cupped hands / Faust mit beyden Händen’, *Ķēriki* village, cf. Et *kerik*, *kirik*, Ilzene *ķērik* ‘church’, *Ķilpani* village, cf. Et *kilp* : *kilbi* ‘shield / Schild’, *Kuņiks* ~ *Kuņika*, *Kuņika pūrs* meadow, cf. Et *kuñn* : *kuñni* ‘a small, cylindrical piece of wood / kleines, zylinderförmiges Holzstück, *kuñniks* ‘how long / wie lange’, *Šilmists* field, cf. Et *silmist āra* ‘blind / blind’, etc. By slightly correcting and adjusting the etymologies proposed by Zemzare as well as adding new ones, I can propose based on the preliminary analysis that the place names collected and published by Zemzare contain over a hundred appellative word stems of possible Estonian origin. It is important to emphasise that in most cases they have a corresponding appellative in the South Estonian (V) dialect.

Some examples: *Janeze* field: Ilzene *d'ānnen* : *d'āneza*, V *jānešs* : *jānese* ‘hare’; *Ceri(k)pulda* field: Ilzene V *pōld* : *pōllu* ‘field’; *Kadejs* ~ *Kadeja pūrs* swamp: Ilzene *kadaja* pl, V *katai* : *kadaja* ‘juniper’; *Kašenīca* ~ *Kašeņica* meadow, *Kašinīte* meadow: Ilzene *kašš* : *kaši*, V *kašs* : *kašsi* ‘cat’; *Kugru kōlls* field, flax retting pool: Ilzene *kukr* : *kugrō*, V *kogōr* : *kogrō* ‘crucian carp (*Carassius carassius*)’; *Nakrīms* field, pasture: Ilzene *nakr* : *nakrō*, V *nakōr* : *nakrō* ‘turnip’; *Palana pūrs* swamp: Ilzene *palanu*, V *palanu* ‘burned out (place)’; *Punačš* ~ *Punaču kōlli* hills, *Punača pūrs* swamp: V *punanō* : *punadsō* ‘reddish-brown’; *Sūļģitajs* ~ *Sūļģitis* ~ *Sūļģa pūrs* swamp: Ilzene *sulu-* ‘flax retting pool’, V *sulg* : *sulu* ‘sluice, barrier, dam; *Suža pļava* meadow and *Suža pūrs* swamp: Ilzene *suž'i* : *soe*, V *susi* : *soe* ‘wolf’.

In a string of cases, there is a corresponding appellative in the Mulgi dialect (M), but none in the Võro dialect: *Ivika pùrs* ~ *Ìvika pùrs* swamp: M *jõhvik* ‘sedge, marsh carex (*Carex acutiformis*): a swamp grass reminiscent of horsehair; hardy fescue (a hardy grass that grows on dry meadows); bristle oat (*Avena strigosa*)’, the source of the loan *iviks* ‘mällgalvîši, lit., black heads (a type of plant)’ recorded in the Lejasciems Latvian subdialect is the same as the plant name *jõhvik* given here, not, as Zemzare thought *ivikas* ‘grainy / körnig, körnreich’, *ivike* ‘grain, seed / das Körnchen, der Same’; *Loisi* field, cf. M *loisk* : *loisu* ‘a low-lying, wet place; water puddle’; *Makra kòlls* ~ *Makarkòlls* pasture, cf. Ilzene *mäkr* : *mägrä*, M *mäger* : *mägrä* ‘badger’; *Parànda pùrs* swamp, ? cf. M *põreñd* : *põrendi* ‘fire for clearing land for farming (slash-and-burn agriculture), large fire’ Tanning 1958: 109; *Ruvi ceļš* road, cf. *ruhi* : V *rohe* ~ M *ruhvi* ‘dugout boat’; *Tilgasa pùrs*, *Tilka(s) pùrs* and *Ķilka* (? < *tilka*) *pùrs* ~ *Škùsta pùrs* swamp, cf. M *tilk* : *tilga*: *kesätilk* ‘spring shoots of the field horsetail’, Lv *skùste* ~ *škùste* ‘field horsetail (a type of plant) / Schachtel, Schafthalm’.

Zemzare tried to highlight the Estonian derivational suffixes found in the Lejasciems place names (Zemzare 1940: 108); however, due to the researcher’s modest knowledge of language and limited understanding of Estonian word derivation, the analysis is mechanical, and the result is more than questionable. Some derivational suffixes characteristic of Estonian place names, i.e., topoformants, can be identified, however, with considerable certainty:

-ik: *Kuņiks* ~ *Kuņika*, *Kuņika pùrs* meadow, *Làudiķis* forest, *Nistiķis* field, forest, *Nūrņeķis* ~ *Nurmīķis* field, meadow, *Piļika kràujš* ravine, *Saviks*, *Savika kòlls* field;

-m and -m(a): *Magim(a)* meadow, *Màigima kòlls* field, *Matuma kòlls* hill, *Pitërma* meadow, *Nakrìms* field, pasture, *Sùrums* swamp; -ndV: *Kàvànda-sùlg* brook;

-st(V): *Kaņista kàlliņš*, *Kaņists* meadows, *Ķivists* ~ *Ķivèsts* pasture, *Palas-tene*, *Šilmists* field; -ts(V): ? *Tinačš* ~ *Tinača* brook, flax retting pool.

Further careful analysis may reveal the contents of these place names as well as appellatives, derivational suffixes, topoformants, etc., which have escaped attention up until now.

3. Estonian language material in the Kalniena (Kalnamuiža) subdialect dictionary

August Wilhelm Hupel was the first to describe the Leivu people in print, while also being the first to assert correctly that they are South Estonians, not Livonians. In 1782, he wrote the following about the Estonian settlements in the area of Kalnamuiža or Kalniena (Kalncempji, in present-day Stāmeriena parish) in his well-known work “Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehstland” (Hupel 1782: 212–213): *“In dieser Gegend geht ein Strich ehstnische Wohnungen mitten durch die Letten, von Kalnamuisch zwischen Seltinghof und Marienburg über Treppenhof und Adsel nach Walk, der einige tausend Bewohner hat, lauter wahre Ehsten, die sich unvermischt zusammen halten. Ihre Weiber schneiden wie die am Peipus-See, die Haare ab, sobald sie verheirathet sind. Wenn sich diese dahin gezogen und dort niedergelassen haben, ist mir unbekannt.”*⁷

In 1815, the Alūksne pastor Otto Friedrich Paul von Prühl compiled a list of Kalnamuiža farmsteads inhabited by Estonians (34 farmsteads) who also understood Latvian but spoke it poorly. August Bielenstein (1892: 19–20) confirmed this information about the Kalnamuiža Estonians explaining that in Kalnamuiža, which belongs to the Zeltiņi filial church, there is a certain number (“eine Anzahl Ehsten”) of mostly Latvianised Estonians. According to the 1811 Livonian governorate revision lists (Lv *dvēseļu revīzijas*, lit. soul revisions), there were 66 farmsteads in Kalnamuiža, therefore, Estonians had to have lived in more than half of these households (Balode & Jansone 2017: 6–7). According to Ojansuu, who also visited Kalnamuiža during his 1911 expedition, only very few still spoke Estonian by that time: he reports a total of 9 men and women who lived in the villages of Laud'i (Lv Lauķi), Lügābā, Gotliba (Lv Gotlupi) (Ojansuu 1912: 7–26, quoting a source in Estonian: Grünthal 1912, 322, 325). Communities classified by Voolaine in 1921 as Leivu villages in Kalnamuiža parish included Uranužō (Lv Uranaži), Paļži, Mōtspaļži, Bulki (Lv Melderpuļķi, also,

7 Translation: In this area, 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.

Puļķi), Spriuli or Preili (Lv Sprīvuļi), Laudi (Lv Lauķi), Gotlubi (Lv Gotlupi), and Lügäbä; Voolaine found “barely five people who knew a little bit of the Leivu dialect” in this parish (Voolaine 1981: 106).

The Kalnamuiža Estonians have left a significant impression on the local Latvian subdialect, as can be seen from the analysis of the recently published “Kalnienas izloksnes vārdnīca” (Dictionary of the Kalniena subdialect) (Balode & Jansone 2017) compiled by Sarmīte Balode and Ilga Jansone. The Kalniena subdialect belongs to the High Latvian Vidzeme subdialect group but its speakers appear to distance themselves and sharply contrast with the Latgalians: *čāngāļi jàu ir àtras dabas, àtri suòk kaùtīs, čāngāļus navàr kàitinât* ‘the čāngāļi (Latgalians) have a moody character, they are quick to fight, the čāngāļi should not be irritated’ (*sub čāngālis*). The Kalniena subdialect is characterised in particular by a number of developments in vocalism, many of which can also be seen in the linguistic novelty encountered in the Leivu spoken in Ilzene, for example, *a > o*, *ē > ie*, *î > ei*, *û > ou*, in some words *i > u*. Most of the material in the Kalniena dictionary was collected during 1977–2013. The dictionary includes specific local vocabulary and a significantly wider range of dialect and shared vocabulary. Finnic, including South Estonian, influence can be detected at all levels of language. In this article I highlight the vocabulary that are possible (South) Estonian loan words (i.e., substrate words) which have not yet been noted in Latvian lexicographic sources or not identified as loans, for example, *cekecs* ‘s-shaped iron for cutting up grass’, cf. eS *tsagiraud* ‘s-shaped iron for chopping or hacking (feed); chopper’, *tsagama* ‘to chop up finely’, *čogas* pl ‘pressed berry waste; pressed flax seeds’, cf. Et *soga* ‘mud, muck’, *sagu* ‘remainders at the bottom of a pot, dregs in some kind of a liquid at the bottom of a pot, draff’, *ičiks* ‘chicken (or other bird) gizzard’, cf. eS (*h*)*ōdsik* id., *kirdavacka* ‘flat round bread made of course-ground wheat or barley (Lv *karaša*)’, cf. eS *kōrd*: *kōrdleib* ‘bread with stripes made from other ingredients’ + *vatsk* ‘wheat, barley, or rye flat cake (which often contained potato or groat porridge, split hemp seeds, etc.)’, *sobiņas*: *iēst s* ‘to eat something better than others’, cf. Et *sobi* ‘fraud, deception’. Other substrate phenomena include abstract nouns as well as nominals with other semantics which, following the example of Estonian, can occur in the dialect as singular forms instead of the expected plural forms, e.g., *bāda* ‘sorrow, suffering, misfortune’, Lv std *bēdas* pl, *brisma* ‘very large, terribly large’,

Lv std *briesmas* pl ‘danger, horror’, *šāusma* ‘very large, terribly large’, Lv std *šausmas* pl ‘horror’. Like Latvian more broadly, in addition to prefix verbs, the Kalniena subdialect is also characterised by verb and adverb units (phrasal verbs) and prefix verbs which are accompanied by adverbs of the same meanings. The Finnic influence is clear in speech, e.g., *apkuort abgrīza motus* ‘the hair was cut around’, *ār tīm [rijas] gruôbekļīm nūkratija sòlmus nūst* ‘with those [threshing barn] rakes, the straw was shaken off, *piadīt kluô* ‘to knit on to’, *sadzina graūdus kùpā* ‘pushed the grains together’, *viersā uzliēja cimānta javu* ‘poured the cement mortar onto (it)’ (see Vaba 2018: 151–153).

4. Estonian names in Bērzaune, Lazdona, and Mārciena parish place names?

In the study mentioned earlier, Bielenstein briefly described three other groups of Estonians known to him: the Estonian-speaking Ilzene parish, the approximately 500 Estonian inhabitants of Lejasciems, and the residents of Mārciena (see [13] on Fig. 1) manor in Bērzaune (see [11] on Fig. 1) parish, “*who differ considerably in terms of physiognomy, clothing, and character from their neighbours living around them, but whom they still call Tschūdi* (cf. *Ru Чудь*, Tschude, Eestlane ‘Estonian’) *even though they speak and have long spoken Latvian*” (Bielenstein 1892: 19–20). As is known, *чудь* refers to all Estonians in Russian chronicles beginning in the 11th century. Little is known about the Estonians who lived within the boundaries of what are now the Mārciena and Bērzaune parishes, located in the southern part of the Selonik subdialect area in Madona municipality in the southeastern corner of Vidzeme. Latvian place name researcher Ojārs Bušs considers the place names *Kaisītis* (lake), *Subra*, *Ūsmāni*, perhaps also *Parkas* and *Īreļi* (farmstead names) as possible evidence of Estonian settlement in Mārciena. According to Bušs, there is a great likelihood that the village names *Siksala*, *Raksala* or *Rāksola*, *Čibestēni* (< **Ķibestēni*) and the forest name *Riste* – located across the Aiviekste River in Barkava parish (see [14] in Fig. 1) in Latgale – are of Estonian (Finnic) origin. Bušs has also found and highlighted possible traces of Estonian settlement in Lazdona (see [12] in Fig. 1) parish. These are: *Sāmalas* or *Sāmalu purvs* (swamp), *Niras* or *Ņiras ezeriņš* (lake), and perhaps *Kuja* (river)

which earlier Latvian place name researchers have also considered to be place names of Finnic origin (Bušs 2006; see also Vaba 2019: 60). Traces of an Estonian or more general Finnic substrate in the phonetics of the Selonic subdialects which, according to Latvian dialect researcher Maija Poiša (1985: 191), are particularly evident from the presence of transitional vowels at the beginning of words facilitating pronunciation and less often also within word-internal consonant sequences (anaptyxis), seem to support the Estonian, i.e., Finnic, origin of these place names. Poiša's hypothesis concerning observable Estonian (Finnic) traces in the phonetics of the Selonic subdialects would require the presence of significant past South Estonian (Finnic) settlement in this area. A migration hypothesis, however, would mean a considerable migration to this area in the past. Niilus has also played with the notion that the southern boundary of the Leivu-inhabited region may also have reached that far south in antiquity, i.e., approximately 110 km from the border of Estonia and 60–70 km from the Gauja Estonians. He added that “perhaps research into old place names will give a precise answer regarding the area formerly inhabited by the Leivus” (Niilus 1935: 368, 370). According to the archaeological data, the extent of the South Estonian-inhabited region, e.g., in the Early Iron Age (1st–5th centuries A. D.), extended only into present-day northern Latvia (Jaanits et al. 1982: 245). Systematic study of the Selonic subdialects and place names of this dialect area, especially that of Mārciena, Lazdona, and also neighbouring parishes, would undoubtedly reveal new Estonian (Finnic) place names and would make it possible to provide a clearer picture of the extent of possible Estonian (Finnic) settlement in the region and perhaps also of its linguistic character.

5. Conclusion

In this article I introduced and presented a preliminary analysis of the print materials published by Latvian place name and dialect researchers with a focus on Lejasciems, Kalnamuiža, and the southeastern corner of Madona municipality which were historically inhabited by South Estonians. My aim was to show that the work of Latvian linguist Daina Zemzare on the place names of the Lejasciems region offers an important contribution to Estonian dialect research on the Leivu language spoken in the area. One of the key questions is the occurrence of two

different patterns in the vocalism of the place names of Estonian origin in Lejasciems, the reasons for which are not completely clear. By correcting and adjusting the etymologies proposed by Zemzare as well as adding new ones, it is possible to conclude that the place names of Lejasciems contain over a hundred appellative word stems of possible Estonian origin. In most cases they have a corresponding form in the South Estonian (Võro) dialect.

The recently published Kalniena subdialect dictionary provides an opportunity to obtain information about the South Estonian substrate spoken in the area. A preliminary analysis of the dictionary makes it possible to state that the Kalnamuiža Estonians have left a significant mark on the local Latvian subdialect.

There is an indisputable Estonian, i.e., Finnic, layer in the place name inventory of Madona municipality located in the southeastern corner of Vidzeme. This fact is supported by the occurrence of transitional vowels at the beginning of words facilitating pronunciation, and less often also within word-internal consonant sequences which is characteristic of the subdialect spoken in the municipality. However, it is not clear whether this is an old South Estonian, i.e., Finnic population, or the result of a later migration.

Abbreviations

dim. – diminutive; Et – Estonian; eS – South Estonian; f – feminine; std – standard language; Lv – Latvian; Ltg – Latgalian; m – masculine; M – Mulgi dialect; pl – plural; plg – plural genitive; Germ – German; V – Võru dialect; Ru – Russian

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Online resources

EMS = Eesti murrete sõnaraamat. <http://www.eki.ee/dict/ems/>.

MES = Mulgi sõnastik. <http://www.eki.ee/dict/mulgi/>.

Kokkuvõte. Lembit Vaba: Lāti kohanimed ja murded: asjakohane allikas Vidzeme lõunaeesti keele uurimiseks. Teadmised lätikeelsel Liivimaal kõneldud lõunaeesti keelest rajanevad ainestikul, mida on kogutud Vidzeme idaosas Ilzene valla külades elanud leivudelt. Ilzenega piirnevatest valdadest, kus teadaolevalt elas samuti lõunaestlasi, on keeleainest talletatud napilt või üldse mitte. Artiklis analüüsitakse neid Lāti kohanime- ja murdeuurijate töid, mis on seotud Lejasciemi ja Kalnamuiža ning Vidzeme kagunurga Madona piirkonnaga, kus ajalooliselt on elanud lõunaestlasi.

Lejasciemi vallast talletatud keeleaines on sedavõrd kasin, et eesti ja teiste läänemeresoome keeleuurijate huvi peaks väärima Lāti keeleteadlase Daina Zemzare töö „Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu” (1940), mis hoolika analüüsi korral pakub olulist lisa Lejasciemi valla külades kõneldud leivu keele kohta. Liiatigi sisaldab Eesti Keele Instituudi kohanimkartoteek väga tagasihoidliku ja ebaühtlase kvaliteediga Leivu sedelkogu (246 sedelit), kus Lejasciemi nimesid on vaid vähesel määral, sealjuures peamiselt Līvesi külast. Välitöödel teadsid Zemzare keelejuhid kinnitada, et eesti keelt räägitud vanasti Andriņi, Ķibasi, Ķilpāni, Kručki, Majāni, Salaki, Suži ja Lapati külas. Zemzare võis siiski tõdeda, et eesti kohanimed olid tollal (1930ndate teine pool) Lejasciemis veel hästi säilinud. Zemzare arvates pole selge, kas Lejasciemi ja Ilzene eestlased on siinse piirkonna põlisasukad või sisserändajad.

Zemzare uurimus osutab, kui tähelepandava jälje on sealsed eestlased jätnud Lejasciemi kohanimistusse. See ilmneb eelkõige kohanimedes esinevates eesti päritolu sõnatüvedes ning võib-olla ka tuletusliidetes ja topoformantides. Lejasciems on sügava latgali murdekeele (läti *dziļā latgaliskā izloksne*) ala. Võrreldes läti ühiskeele ja selle baasiks olnud keskmurdega on siinse murdekeele olulisimad innovatsioonid toimunud vokalismis, mis tulevad esile ka Lejasciemi eesti päritolu kohanimedes, kuid siiski mitte järjekindlalt. Vokalismis avalduva kahetise esinemuse põhjused pole lõpuni selged. Zemzare arvates esindavad kohanimed, milles ei ole ootuspäraseid murdeomaseid

vokaalimuutusi, suhteliselt uuemat nimekihistust. Peapõhjuseks tuleb siiski pidada läti kirjakeele mõju, mis tollal oli kooli ja kiriku kaudu saanud siinsele rahvale omaseks. Ilzene ja Lejasciemi leivu keeleuususe vokalismis esinevat lahknevust on püüdnud seletada ka Paul Ariste. Algupäraste pikkade vokaalide *ī* ja *ū* idalätipärane, suhteliselt konsekventne diftongistumine on tema arvates Ilzenes erinevalt Lejasciemi toimunud seetõttu, et sealsed eestlased on vanemad sisserändajad ja olnud seega pikema aja jooksul lätlastega intensiivses kontaktis kui naaberlased eestlased. Sellise oletusega kaasnev vastuoksus – miks eesti keel tugevast läti mõjust hoolimata pidas Ilzenes kõige kauem vastu – on Ariste arvates seletatav sellega, et Ilzene oli läti asustusest eraldatud metsadesoodega. Ent kui arutluse lähtekohaks on siinsete eestlaste põliskasustus, siis Ariste seisukoht ei päde.

Lejasciemi eestipärased kohanimed on enamasti kohanenud läti morfoloogilise süsteemiga, kuid on huvitavaid erandeid. Zemzare on registreerinud kohanimed, kus täiendosa on läti kontekstis ebahariliku lõpuvokaaliga *i*, mida saab tõlgendada maskuliinide pluraali nominatiiviks. Nominatiivse täiendosisega sõnaühendid ja liitsõnad esindavad läänemeresoome sõnamoodustusmalli, mis on hästi tuntud läti liivipärases murdekeeles. Lejasciemi liitnimede täiendosisete grammatilise soo kõikumist, sealjuures meessoos domineerimist, seletab Zemzare õigesti eesti keele mõjuga.

Lejasciemi kohanimede etümologiseerimisel on Zemzare tõukunud lähtekohast, et igal kohanimel on nimeandmise hetkel tähendus, mis püüab kirjeldada objekti, millele nimi antakse. Zemzare on kõigile läti (balti) kontekstis läbipaistmatutele Lejasciemi nimedele püüdnud leida häälikuehituselt kokkulangevaid või lähedasi eesti üldnimesid, tuues mõnikord üldnime toeks (lõuna) eesti koha- või ka eesnimesid. Zemzare etümoloogiaid mõneti parandades ja täpsustades ning uusi lisades võin provisoorse analüüsiga tõdeda, et Zemzare kogutud ja publitseeritud kohanimed kätkevad üle saja võimaliku eesti päritolu apellatiivse sõnatüve. On oluline rõhutada, et enamasti on neil apellatiivne vaste lõunaeeesti (Võru) murdekeeles. Real juhtudel apellatiivne vaste Võru murdekeeles puudub, kuid on registreeritud Mulgist. Zemzare on püüdnud esile tuua Lejasciemi kohanimedes esinevaid eesti tuletusliiteid, kuid uurija tagasihoidliku keeleoskuse ja eesti sõnatuletuse vähese tundmise tõttu on analüüs mehaaniline ja tulemus teinekord küsitav.

Edasine hoolikas analüüs toob tõenäoliselt esile kohanimedesse kätketud ja seni tähelepanuta jäänud apellatiive, tuletusliiteid, topoformante vms.

Alüksne koguduse õpetaja Otto Friedrich Paul von Prühl on 1815. a paiku koostanud loendi Kalnamuiža taludest, kus elavad eestlased (34 talu). Heikki Ojansuu teatel, kes 1911. a uurimisreisil käis ka Kalnamuižas, oskasid veel vaid vähesed mingil määral eesti keelt. Ometi on Kalnamuiža eestlased jätnud nimetamisväärse jälje kohalikku läti murdekeelde, kui provisoorseltki ana-

lүүsida hiljaaegu ilmunud Sarmīte Balode ja Ilga Jansone koostatud sõnaraamatut „Kalnienas izloksnes vārdnīca”. Valdav osa ainestikust on kogutud aastatel 1977–2013. Sõnaraamatus on pearõhk spetsiifilisel lokaalsel sõnavaral. Läänemeresoome, sh lõunaeesti mõju võib täheldada kõigil keeletasandil. Sõnavara kõrval tuleb substraatnähtustest nimetada abstraktnoomeneid, mis eesti keele eeskujul esinevad murrakus ootuspäraste mitmussõnade asemel ainsussõnadena, nt *bāda* 'mure, vaev, häda', läti kk *bēdas* pl jt. Siinsele idaläti murdekeelele on omased läänemeresoome keeltele iseloomulikud põhiverbi ja adverbi ühendid (ühendverbid) ja prefiksverbid, mida saadavad samatähenduslikud adverbid. Jne. Kõnealuse murdesõnaraamatu materjali edasist võrdlevat analüüsi tuleb jätkata, mis tõenäoliselt toob esile uut huvipakkuvat substraatset lõunaeesti keeleainest.

Kohanimed on tõend võimalikust eesti asustusest Vidzeme kagunurga Madona piirkonna seeli murdeala lõunaosas, praeguse haldusjaotuse järgi Mārciena ja Bērzaune vallas, samuti Lazdonas. Kohanimede eesti resp. läänemeresoome päritolu näib toetavat siinsele murdekeelele iseloomulik hääldust hõlbustav siirdevokaal sõnaalgulistes, harvem ka sõnasisestes konsonantühendites. Praegu pole selge, kas tegemist on tõesti põlise lõunaeesti resp. läänemeresoome asustusega või sisserändega. Piirkonna murdekeele ja kohanimistu edasine süstemaatiline uurimine aitaks välja selgitada uusi eesti (läänemeresoome) päritolu kohanimesid ja võimaldaks luua selgema ettekujutuse sealse piirkonna võimaliku eesti (läänemeresoome) asustuse ulatusest ja keelelisest iseloomust.

Märksõnad: kohanimed, etümoloogia, läti murded, lõunaeesti murded, keele-
saared

LUTSI SPEAKERS AND REMEMBERERS IN THE LATE 20TH AND EARLY 21ST CENTURIES

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Abstract. This article describes the language of the last speakers of Lutsi as well as their family background and the sources of their language knowledge, in order to show the paths by which Lutsi language knowledge – even if only of a fragmentary sort – has survived up to the present day. The language knowledge of these last speakers is described using observations taken from the field notes and memories of other researchers as well as from my own encounters with them. This information is placed in a historical and regional context by providing a detailed overview of the historical extent of the Lutsi community, theories about Lutsi origins and how this connects with the memory of Lutsi families and observed language variation within the Lutsi speech area, changes in Lutsi speaker numbers and language use, and the history of Lutsi documentation and the observations of the researchers who documented them.

Keywords: endangered languages, language islands, language extinction, rememberers, Latgale, Finnic languages, South Estonian, Lutsi

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1. Introduction

Lutsi is a variety of South Estonian, which developed in relative isolation from the main body of South Estonian speakers in Estonia for several centuries and was historically spoken in several dozen villages in the countryside surrounding the town of Ludza in eastern Latvia (Latgale) (Vaba 1997, Pajusalu 2008). The first mentions of Estonians living in this area date to the mid-19th century (Brandt 1845, Manteuffel 1869) and the first major expedition to describe the language, culture, and origins of this community was conducted by Estonian researcher Oskar Kallas in 1893. Lutsi continued to be documented at intervals throughout the 20th century. The Lutsi community assimilated

linguistically into the Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian speech communities and ceased to be used as a language of occasional daily interaction in the 1970s and 1980s. However, following the death of the last fluent speakers during this period, Lutsi continued to live on in the last partial speakers through the early 21st century and those who only remembered fragments of the language of their ancestors.

This article describes the language of these last speakers as well as their family background and the sources of their language knowledge, in order to show the paths by which Lutsi language knowledge – even if only of a fragmentary sort – has survived up to the present day. The language knowledge of these last speakers is described using observations taken from the field notes and memories of other researchers as well as from my own encounters with them.

In their article on the structural consequences of language death, Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 181) categorise language proficiency using the following model: “*S* for “strong” or “(nearly) fully competent”; *I* for “imperfect”, i.e. for reasonably fluent so-called “semi-speakers”; *W* “weak semi-speakers” with more restricted speaking competence...; and *R* for so-called “rememberers” who know only few words or isolated phrases”. This model is adopted in the present study in order to draw a distinction between fluent/partial speakers and rememberers – those who still possess some memory of Lutsi in the Lutsi descendant community.

Sections 2–5 place Lutsi in its historical and regional context by describing the location where it was spoken and its historical extent over this region (Section 2), theories about the origins of the Lutsis and how this connects with the memory of Lutsi families as well as language variation within the Lutsi speech area (Section 3), changes in speaker numbers and language use (Section 4), and the history of documentation of the Lutsis and their language (Section 5). Sections 6–7 describe the language knowledge and histories of the last known family where Lutsi was spoken (Section 6) and the rememberers whom I have met and interviewed (Section 7). Section 8 discusses some of the features of the Lutsi rememberers’ language and compares the Lutsi fragments discussed in this article to the fragments documented from Krevin Votic rememberers in the 19th and 20th centuries.

2. Location

Lutsi was historically spoken in several dozen villages across a wide area north, south, and southeast of the town of Ludza in the Latgale region of eastern Latvia. In his monograph *Lutsi maarahvas* (Ludza Estonians), Kallas (1894: 13–15) lists 53 villages, which he describes as follows: “Some of the villages listed are now completely Latvian but 40 years ago were Estonian; in others, Estonians and Latvians have always lived mixed. I list all the villages where there are still Estonians and also those where according to popular accounts they had once been.” (Kallas 1894: 12).

There certainly were also other communities in this region where Lutsis have lived in the past. Some communities such as Mytsa külä¹ (Latvian: Germe) – which has a historical connection with the Lutsis (Kallas 1894: 16) – and Dülüni (possibly Latvian Dilāni in Kaunata parish) – the village where Kallas’s consultant Rōza Gudrenik lived (Kallas 1894: 78) are mentioned already in *Lutsi maarahvas*. Researcher Paulopriit Voolaine also recorded 10 folk songs from a Lutsi speaker in Mytsa külä in 1925 (Voolaine 1925–1926). Later researchers have also noted other communities where Lutsis have lived (Voolaine 1925, 1926a, Korjus 2004) or may have lived (Balodis 2019). Ultimately, this is also a question of how one defines a Lutsi community – is this any community where a Lutsi person has ever lived or must it meet other criteria? However, Kallas’s list of 53 villages gives a good idea of the historical range of Lutsi habitation. These villages and other communities significant to the Lutsis are shown on the map in Figure 1. Every village and place mentioned in this article is also labelled on this map.

The administrative boundaries shown on the map reflect borders as of summer 2021. All Lutsi villages are located within the new larger Ludza municipality (Latvian: Ludzas novads) formed on 1 July 2021 following the reform of Latvia’s administrative divisions this year. The majority of Lutsi documentation refers to parish boundaries as they existed during Latvia’s interwar independence (these boundaries existed until 1949), which differ from those shown on this map. This practice is

1 Unless otherwise noted, the Lutsi practical orthography described in Balodis (2015, 2020) is used for Lutsi place names, personal names, and other uses in this article.

also followed in this article. The cluster of villages to the south of Ludza corresponds to those located in pre-1949 Pilda parish, the cluster to the southeast of Ludza is located almost entirely in pre-1949 Nirza parish with a few eastern villages in pre-1949 Briģi parish, and the cluster north of Ludza is located in pre-1949 Mērdzene parish.



Figure 1. Lutsi villages (identified according to their location in the pre-1949 parishes: Pilda=solid circles, Nirza=squares, Briģi=stars, Mērdzene=triangles) with other communities of note (open circles) within modern (as of July 2021) administrative divisions (names in italics).

3. Origins

The origin of the Lutsis is not clearly known and they have given researchers various accounts. In the earliest accounts, recorded by Mihkel Veske and Oskar Kallas, the Lutsis stated that their ancestors had come from Sweden or from the Swedish king's land (Weske 1877, Kallas 1894), i.e., Estonia during the period of Swedish rule (1629–1721) and from Rīga land (Weske 1877), i.e., the province of Livonia. For example, Kallas (1894: 37) records this account from a 50-year-old man in Pilda parish: “My grandfather’s father Jakap came together with his brother from Sweden [i.e., Estonia], from Vähä village and arrived here also in Vähä village [=Latvian: Veženki].” (*Me vanaezä ezä, Jakap, tul’l’ vellega ütehn Rood’i maalt Vähä küläst, ja siie sai ka Vähä külä.*) This quote also highlights the fact that some Lutsi villages have names in common with villages in southeastern Estonia (see e.g., Ojansuu 1912: 21 for a comparison of similar/identical village names near Ludza and near Vastseliina in Estonia) indicating a possible place of origin for a portion of the Lutsis.

Other origin stories have mentioned Lutsi ancestors fleeing a war, which is understood as referring to the Great Northern War, or coming to Catholic Latgale to avoid forced conversion to Lutheranism (for more see Balodis 2020). For an example of a story mentioning this war, see “Eestlastest Lutsimaal” (About the Estonians of the Ludza region) told by Osips Jakimenko of Škirpāni village (Lutsi: Kirbu külä) in Pilda parish in 1960 (Mets et al. 2014: 213–215). Other more prosaic reasons are also mentioned such as Estonian peasants being purchased by a local manor lord in exchange for goats (Pence 1972: 123).

In the course of my field work in the Ludza region between 2013 and 2017, several Lutsi descendants have also shown me 19th century land deeds for family properties in Lutsi villages or told me that their families purchased their land during that time, which could mean that their ancestors arrived in the 19th century or, alternatively, were already living near Ludza then and purchased land in those areas at that time.

Most families I have interviewed do not have a specific ancestor they can identify as coming from Estonia, but instead are just aware of having Estonian roots and/or Estonian-speaking (i.e., Lutsi-speaking) ancestors. However, one such case does appear in a family tree documented in a school research study undertaken by Ginta Birška in

2009. She notes that in the family tree of Antons Buļš of Barisi village (Lutsi: Mägize külä) in Nirza parish, the oldest known male ancestor – Kazimirs Buļš – married a woman from Estonia named Ilze (Birška 2009: 23). This could point again to a possible time of origin for a portion of the Lutsi community or, alternatively, to ongoing sporadic contacts with Estonia also seen in the Kraasna language island (see Kallas 1903, Weber 2021) where manor lords owning properties in Kraasna and southeastern Estonia would bring women and men from Estonia as potential marriage partners for young people in the Kraasna community. Birth years for Kazimirs and Ilze Buļš are not included in the family tree given in the appendix of Birška's study. However, their oldest child, Andris Bulis, is shown as having been born in 1842; extrapolating from this, Kazimirs and Ilze may have been born around 1820 or earlier.

The abundance of origin stories and lack of any known single founding event for the Lutsi community in the historical record suggests that the Lutsi language island formed as a result of several different population movements of differing sizes and due to various reasons over at least the last three to four centuries. This theory is also supported by variation seen in the language spoken by the Lutsis. Lutsi is not uniform and shows some of the same variation as subdialects in southeastern Estonia and adjacent areas such as variation in the inessive case ending. In the west in Pilda parish, the inessive ending *-h* is more prevalent, while in other parts of the Lutsi-speaking region, *-n* is more prevalent (Balodis, forthcoming). This division also exists in South Estonian subdialects in Estonia; however, there the opposite distribution is observed – the inessive ending *-n* is more prevalent in the west, while *-h* is more prevalent in the east (Iva 2007: 24). The existence of this same variation in specific parts of the Lutsi-speaking region – rather than use of only one ending or a mixture of all endings – may point to the Pilda parish Lutsis originating from a population in the eastern part of the South Estonian speech area in Estonia where the *-h* inessive is more prevalent and the Nirza parish Lutsis originating from the western part of this area where the *-n* inessive is more prevalent. The *-n* inessive characteristic of Nirza parish is also found in one of the remembered Lutsi fragments discussed in this article (see (2)). Leontīne Antonova – the rememberer who recalled this fragment – was originally from Greči (Lutsi: Grēki) in interwar Nirza parish.

4. Speakers and population

As noted above, at present, the Lutsi descendant community is fully assimilated into the surrounding speech communities. In my conversations with Lutsi descendants, most consider themselves Latvians and/or Latgalians with Estonian ancestors, though at least one Lutsi descendant I have met – Bronīslava Zambere – identified as Estonian (see Section 7). In broad terms, the grandparents or great-grandparents of currently middle-aged or older Lutsi descendants will have been the last generation in their families to have spoken Lutsi fluently.

The total number of Lutsi descendants is difficult to estimate. However, it likely numbers in the thousands in Latvia and also among the Latvian diaspora and their descendants living outside of Latvia. Two common last names associated with the Lutsis are Buls (and its variants: Buļš, Bulis, Buļis) and Mekšs. According to the 2011 Latvian National Census, a total of 1627 people² had one of these two last names in Latvia. This likely only scratches the surface of the number of people with Lutsi ancestry alive today, but does provide a baseline figure for such estimates.

There has never been a formal census of Lutsi speakers, though researchers have made estimates of the speech community's size, which are shown in Table 1. See Section 5 for English translations of a few short quotes from these researchers, which provide context for the language situation they encountered as well as how they defined a Lutsi speaker for their count.

The figures for 2013 and 2021 are based on my own assessments since I began researching the Lutsi community in 2013. The number of rememberers in 2013 and 2021 may be higher than shown, as there may be rememberers I have not found. The difference in the number of rememberers between these two years reflects the loss of those who passed away in the interim. Also, rememberers only include those who have inherited knowledge within their families or close community, rather than learned words by some other means (e.g., from a book or school activity).

2 The specific 2011 census figures for the number of people with these last names, which I obtained through an inquiry to the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (Centrālā statistikas pārvalde) are: Bula (284 people), Bule (414), Bulis (104), Buls (350), Buļa/Buļe (64), Buļš (150), Mekša (154), Mekšs (107).

Table 1. Estimates of Lutsi speakers.

| Year | Estimated number of speakers | Source |
|------|---|---------------|
| 1893 | 800 | Kallas 1894 |
| 1912 | 200 | Ojansuu 1912 |
| 1925 | 120 | Voolaine 1925 |
| 1936 | 200 | Sang 1936a |
| 2001 | 2 | Korjus 2002 |
| 2013 | 1 partial speaker, ≥ 7 rememberers | Balodis |
| 2021 | 0 speakers, ≥ 4 rememberers | Balodis |

5. History of documentation

This section describes the changes in Lutsi language knowledge and use in the words of the researchers who studied the Lutsi community from the late 19th to the early 21st centuries. These quotes are translated by me from Estonian (Kallas 1894, Voolaine 1925, Sang 1936a), Finnish (Ojansuu 1912), and Latvian (Korjus 2002).

As noted above, the first extensive documentation of the Lutsis was carried out by Oskar Kallas (1868–1946). Kallas documented Lutsi across the large region encompassing its historical speech area. His language documentation consists primarily of folk songs and proverbs and he is the only researcher to document the South Estonian spoken in Mērdzene parish. He notes that he found only two women in the parish who could still sing songs in Estonian (1894: 75); nevertheless, this provides the only information available on the language spoken in this part of the Lutsi speech area. Kallas characterised the situation he encountered during his research as follows:

“Perhaps it could be said that there are still about 800 Estonian speakers, with those who can understand with difficulty included in this 800. The language is partly lost, partly disappearing, it has been or is being replaced by Latvian, Latvian and Russian, rarely just Russian. Often all three languages are mixed up; I know a man who speaks Estonian with his 82-year-old father, speaks Latvian with his Latvian wife, his children who attend Russian school speak Russian with their parents; in church the man prays from a Polish prayer book. When children today have reached this man’s age, then Estonian will hardly be heard anywhere, only in a few places [like] Filantmuiža village; other villages will then be as far gone as [Mērdzene] parish is now.” (Kallas 1894: 17)

The next major documentation of Lutsi came in 1911 and was conducted by Heikki Ojansuu (1873–1923) who focused his attention on the villages of Pilda parish and left over two hundred pages of handwritten documentation consisting of vocabulary, songs, stories, and other stretches of transcribed connected speech. Ojansuu was the only researcher to document the language of several villages in Pilda parish including Belomoiki and Šņitki. After Ojansuu, no documentation exists from any other villages aside from Lielie Tjapši, Škirpāni, and Germi in Pilda parish; Greči, Ščastļivi, and Barisi in Nirza parish; and Puncuļi in Briģi parish. Ojansuu describes the language situation during his expedition as follows:

“Kallas estimated the number of Estonian speakers in the Lutsi region at approximately 800; presently, there are hardly more than 200; Latvianisation is proceeding quite quickly. While Kallas still heard children speaking Estonian in some villages as they played on the village roads, I found only a few people under the age of 20 who could understand Estonian, and only in that same (Škirpāni) village.” (Ojansuu 1912: 18)

During Latvia’s interwar independence, the two primary researchers of Lutsi were Paulopriit Voolaine (1899–1985) and August Sang (1914–1969). Paulopriit Voolaine’s work extended for a significantly longer period than Sang’s and also involved attempts at strengthening the position and encouraging knowledge of Lutsi within the Lutsi community. Voolaine wrote several unpublished studies on Lutsi phonology (Voolaine 1927) and morphology (Voolaine 1926b). He also documented³ the only known examples of Lutsi language from Germi – 10 folk songs recorded from Jān Herman (Voolaine 1925–1926) – and the only examples of Lutsi from Briģi parish recorded after Kallas’s 1893 expedition – a folk song from Pītre Fomīn and a sentence from Elizabet Fomīn in Puncuļi (Lutsi: Puntsuli) (Voolaine 1925–1927).

3 Voolaine’s materials are available at AEDFUL. His phonology study is indexed as AES0180, his morphology study as AES0130. Handwritten copies of the originals are available as PDFs online at AEDKL (see bibliography for links). Voolaine’s manuscript containing the folk songs from Germi is indexed as ESMT0102 and the manuscript containing the song and sentence from Puncuļi is indexed as ESMT0022 and are available online at AEDFUL.

Voolaine worked with the Lutsis to open Estonian schools in Pilda and Nirza parishes; an effort which was, however, ultimately unsuccessful (for more see Korjus 2021). During the Soviet years, Voolaine returned and would also help lead expeditions by other Estonian linguists and researchers to the Lutsi communities and to document their language. For the rest of his life, Voolaine maintained close ties with the Nikonovs family in Lielie Tjapši, which included the last speakers of Lutsi (for more on this family see Section 6). Voolaine's (1925: 373–374) description of the language situation in the early years of his work is given below. Note that Latvian names for villages are rewritten in their standard Latvian form or replaced using brackets. Voolaine uses Estonian phonetic approximations for these names in the original (e.g., Škirpaanõ instead of Škirpāni):

“In [Mērdzene] parish...[people] know how to say just a few words in Estonian. In [Pilda] parish, [one] can speak with about 60 people in Lutsi. In Kirbu (Škirpāni) village...[one] can speak with 23 people; in [Lielie Tjapši] Suurõ Tsäpsi (Jaani village...) – [one] can converse with 16 people. In other villages, 0–5 people know how to speak Lutsi. In Nerza parish, they can speak Lutsi: almost 20 people in Tati (Ščastļivi) village...; about 30 people in Greeki (Greči) village...; 15 people in Mägize (Barisi) village... In the other villages, just a few speak Lutsi... In [Brigi] parish, [one] can converse with barely 10 people in Lutsi. Even in Puncuļi village...only 4–5 people can understand Lutsi... Lutsi speakers are people aged 50–90 who are called: maamiis, igauns, tšuhhna, suur ísuuhna. Only in [Lielie Tjapši] – to the amazement of the people of the village – does 3-year-old Oodum Jerašenko understand Lutsi.” (Voolaine 1925: 373–374)

August Sang accompanied Paul Ariste and Valter Niilus to Latgale in 1936 focusing his work on Lielie Tjapši village in Pilda parish. Niilus worked primarily on Leivu and published a volume *Valimik leivu murdetekste. Choix de textes dialectaux leivu.* of Leivu texts with French translations and other information on Leivu (Niilus 1937). Sang wrote several unpublished studies⁴ on Lutsi phonology and noun and verb

4 Sang's original studies are stored at AEDFUL: phonology study (AES0193), noun study (AES0188), verb study (AES0189). Later handwritten copies of his studies are also available at AEDKL: phonology study (indexed as two separate documents – H0060, H0061), noun study (M0030), and verb study (M0029).

morphology (Sang 1936b, 1936c, 1936d) and also kept a field journal (Sang 1936e) – stored at the Estonian National Museum – detailing his impressions of the Lutsis and his experiences during his 1936 expedition. Sang also wrote two additional records⁵ describing his work: a research journal of his 1936 expedition giving information on Lutsi consultants, communities, and the progress of his work (Sang 1936f), and a brief overview of his Lutsi research in 1937 (Sang 1937). Ariste also left a journal entry of his own dated 14 July 1936 describing some aspects of this expedition as well as noteworthy features of Lutsi (Ariste 1936). Sang took a large number of photos during his expedition, which are stored at the Estonian National Museum, and he and Ariste made the only known recordings of Lutsi from before the Second World War. These recordings⁶ made in 1938 – of Meikuls Jarošenko from Lielie Tjapši – are stored in the Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages at the Institute of the Estonian Language (AEDFUL). Sang gives the following assessment of the Lutsi language situation about a decade after the one provided by Voolaine above:

“Roughly estimating, I thought that the number of language speakers now stands at two hundred...First of all, it is difficult to draw a line between a speaker and a non-speaker. So, in “Uus Eesti” from 21 June 1936, the number of speakers — four hundred — seems correct if including those who know only a few greetings or curses in the language. And the above number — two hundred — would decrease five or six times if only those with mother language proficiency are considered proficient in the language.” (Sang 1936a: 401)

Other documentation during the mid to late 20th century was carried out by linguists from Estonia including Salme Nigol and Salme Tanning. The audio recordings made are all from Lielie Tjapši and Škirpāni villages in Pilda parish and transcripts of many of these recordings were published in 2014 in the Estonian dialect text volume on the South Estonian language islands *Eesti murded IX*. Another important expedition undertaken by Latvian researchers – the 26th Folklorists’ Expedition of the Latvian Academy of Sciences to Ludza District – in 1972,

5 Both journals are stored at AEDFUL. The 1936 journal is indexed as ESP0233; the 1937 journal is indexed as ESP0254.

6 The recordings are indexed as: EMH4088-03, EMH4090-02.

documented folk songs but also traditions and other memories of the last Lutsi speakers and partial speakers in Pilda and Nirza parishes (for more on this expedition see Korjus 2021).

In the 21st century, work has continued to document the memories and fragmentary language knowledge among Lutsi descendants. Hannes Korjus conducted a survey of Estonians living in Ludza District (Latvian: Ludzas rajons) (Korjus 2001) and in subsequent years has published a collection of Lutsi stories in Latvian which also included informational articles on the history of the community (Korjus 2003), other articles and books in Estonian (e.g., Korjus 2004, 2005, 2011), and more recently an in-depth study of Lutsi history (Korjuss 2017). Korjus (2002) describes the Lutsi language situation at the turn of the 21st century as follows:

“According to the Republic of Latvia Ministry of the Interior Population Register, on 1 January 2001, there were 17 residents of Estonian ethnicity living in Ludza District. Of the surveyed respondents, only two spoke Estonian, the rest communicated in Latvian and Russian or only in Russian. Estonian was not used as a family language by any family.” (Korjus 2002)

As noted above, I began my work with Lutsi in 2013 and documented the language and memories of the last partial speaker and rememberers of Lutsi (for more see Sections 6 and 7, also Balodis 2019). In 2017, I also documented the current state of all 53 villages mentioned by Kallas, and in 2020, I published a Lutsi language primer (Balodis 2020) aimed at acquainting Lutsi descendants as well as Latvians in general with the Lutsi language and the history of the Lutsi communities using a Lutsi practical orthography I designed (described in Balodis 2015, 2020).

6. Last speakers

This section places some of the facts about changes in Lutsi language use, proficiency, and speaker number discussed above in the context of the last family where Lutsi was spoken – the Nikonovs-Jarošenko-Germovs family of Lielie Tjapši village in Pilda parish. The story of how Lutsi knowledge changed from generation to generation in this

family also reflects the change of language use in the Lutsi community. The story of these speakers is told through the memories of the researchers who interacted with them and their language proficiency is gauged using the Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 181) scale described at the beginning of this article. The quotes from these researchers given in this section are translated by me from Estonian (Sang) and Latvian (Pence, Vaba, Korjus).



Figure 2. August Sang (left) and Paul Ariste (right) with the Jarošenko family. Tekla and Meikuls Jarošenko are third and fourth from the left. (Photo: Valter Niilus, 1936, Lielie Tjapši, Pilda parish, ERM Fk 754:114).

Tekla Jarošenko (née Germova; 1867–1962 or 1963) and Meikuls Jarošenko (1866–1945) – wife and husband – were S (strong) speakers of Lutsi and, as described in Section 5, were language consultants for linguists during Latvia’s interwar independence. Their lives began decades before Kallas’s 1893 expedition and even during Sang’s documentation in the late 1930s, as shown by the quote below, several generations of their family and also members of their community used Lutsi as a language of interaction. A translation of an excerpt from an entry on 3 June 1936 in Sang’s field diary describes the Jarošenko family and their Lutsi language abilities:

“We are travelling with mag. [Paul] Ariste and stud. phil. [Valter] Niilus to Ludza. We first stop in Lielie Tjapši at Meikul Jarošenko’s house. Meikul is a true Estonian man. His wife [Tekla Jarošenko], daughter [Antonina Nikonova], and grandson speak the dialect freely, [his] son-in-law – with difficulty. We are treated kindly, after eating we go 5 km on foot to the Raipole⁷ ksjons (Catholic priest) who lives there... In the evening at the Jarošenko household, a group of local people have assembled – [they are] language speakers. The language is foreign, but understandable, though at first one lacks the experience and courage to dare [to attempt] a longer conversation.” (Sang 1936c: 2–3)

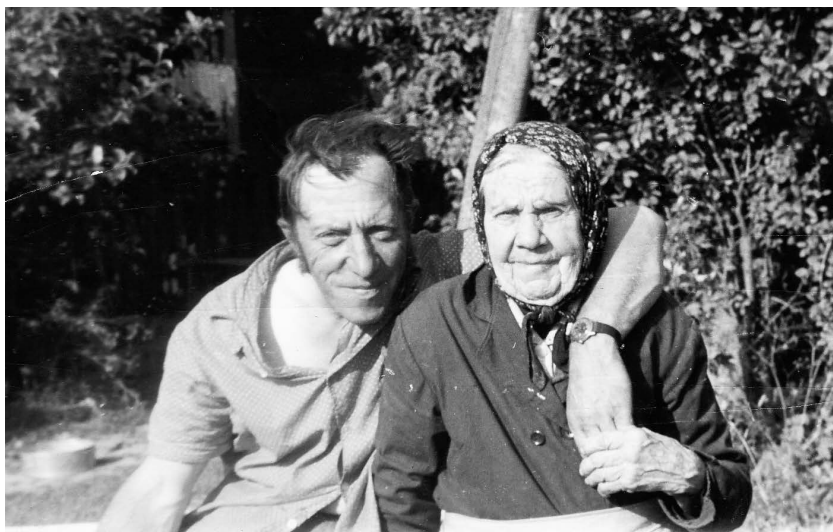


Figure 3. Nikolajs Nikonovs and his grandmother Antonina Nikonova. (Source: Nikonovs family photo album).

Antonina Nikonova⁸ (née Jarošenko; 1898–1983), daughter of Tekla and Meikuls Jarošenko, was also a strong speaker of Lutsi and served as a language consultant for linguists. Field recordings of Nikonova from the 1970s are stored at the Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages at the Institute of the Estonian Language (AEDFUL)

7 St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic church in Raipole has historically been of central importance to the Lutsis of Pilda parish.

8 Various spellings are used by different researchers for the names of Antonina Nikonova and her grandson’s wife Antõņina Nikonova. The spellings I use are those used on the headstones for both women in the cemetery adjoining Raipole church.

and the University of Tartu Archive of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (AEDKL). Nikonova was born only a few years after Kallas's expedition and during her youth Lutsi was still known in a handful of villages in Pilda and Nirza parishes. This situation would change throughout her life as the Lutsi-speaking area contracted to encompass only Škirpāni and Lielie Tjapši villages in Pilda parish by the 1970s and then, finally, only her native Lielie Tjapši village. Nikonova maintained her high proficiency in Lutsi throughout her life and passed on this knowledge to her son and grandson as well as fragmentary knowledge to her great-granddaughter. Her language knowledge and that of her parents and descendants is described in this translation from the field notes of Guna Pence from the 26th Folklorists' Expedition of the Latvian Academy of Sciences to Ludza District (For more on this expedition and Lutsi language attitudes at that time, see Korjus 2021).

“The consultant has lived in Tjapši for her whole life. Also her parents. Currently, Antoņina Ņikanova lives alone, is happy and able. She is often visited by her grandson Nikolajs and his wife who live nearby. Ņikanova's son Jezups lives in the city of Ludza. Antoņina Ņikanova's father and mother (also husband) were Estonians. The consultant also has fluent knowledge of the Lutsi language; she taught it to her son and grandson. In addition, her son also learned the Standard Estonian language, as he studied in Estonia. In the past, Ņikanova's home had been a gathering places for Lutsis: celebrations were held here, [also] meetings with linguists from Estonia. In practice, Ņikanova can be considered almost the only Lutsi who can speak the Lutsi language so fluently as well as the only one to have passed it down to the next generations. As a consultant, Antoņina Ņikanova is responsive, gladly sings Latvian as well as Estonian songs. The consultant participated in the concert at the Folklorists' 26th Research Expedition concluding conference where she sang in the Lutsi language. The materials collected during the expedition represent only a portion of that, which remains in the consultant's memory. Work with the consultant should be continued, especially with respect to collecting Estonian folklore. The consultant learned these songs from her parents and grandparents” (Pence 1972: 7–8).

Antonina Nikonova raised her grandson Nikolajs Nikonovs (1944–2006), though Nikonovs was not nearly as fluent as his grandmother and could be classified as being in between an I (imperfect) and W (weak)

speaker, but closer to a W (weak) speaker, he was in a unique position to still have been exposed to spoken Lutsi in his earlier life, which is something that was no longer possible for later generations. There exist several field recordings⁹ of Nikonovs made in 1989, in which Nikonovs responds to the interviewing linguists' questions in Russian and to some extent in Lutsi.

Lembit Vaba (p.c.), who was one of the linguists who made these recordings, recounted his memory of Nikolajs Nikonovs' language abilities as follows:

“In the summer of 1989, dialect researcher Salme Nigol and I visited Nikolajs Nikanovs at his and his wife's home. For most of our visit, Nikolajs was lying in bed. He appeared physically very weak and sickly, but still was happy to speak with us. The dialogue was not lively, but N[ikolajs] remembered instructions and advice said in Lutsi, but no longer understood their meaning. Nikolajs had heard these from his grandmother Antoņina, who had raised him, and he also confirmed this himself. “

Hannes Korjus (p.c.) who met Nikolajs in 2001, remembered Nikonovs' Lutsi language abilities as follows:

“Nikolajs knew individual words [in Lutsi] (including, profanities), place names, but I spoke with him in Latvian/Russian. Nikolajs tended to speak in Latvian-Latgalian, and so it was sometimes hard to understand him...He said that his grandmother Antonina had spoken the Lutsi dialect...[Nikolajs had grown up with] Antonina [who had raised him] instead of his mother.”

Though I never met Nikolajs, I did meet his wife Antoņina Nikonova (née Strumpe; 1949–2014). She remembered Nikolajs and his grandmother Antonina using some Lutsi with each other. Though Nikolajs' had less Lutsi ability than his grandmother, judging from the field recordings, he still had some ability to come up with short sentences in Lutsi.

9 The recordings are stored at AEDFUL and are indexed as: EMH4153, EMH4154, EMH4155, EMH4156.



Figure 4. Antõina Nikonova in her home in Pilda. (Photo: Uldis Balodis, 2013).

I met Antõina Nikonova and interviewed her on several occasions between 2012 and 2014. Unlike her husband, Antõina Nikonova was not able to make up simple sentences, but did remember words for different animals (e.g., *kikas* ‘rooster’, *lihm* ‘cow’) and even short phrases (e.g., *ma sinnu salli* ‘I love you’). She also recalled some of the words and phrases she remembered her husband and his grandmother saying to each other (e.g., *valge* ‘sugar [lit. white]’). Thus, Antonina Nikonova could probably be classified as being between a W (weak) speaker and a rememberer, as she did have a relatively large amount of Lutsi knowledge compared to other rememberers but did not seem to be able to construct sentences of her own.

Antõina Nikonova also appears in the documentary film *Kadunud hõim: Lugu Lutsi maarahvast* (Lost Tribe: A Story about the Lutsi Estonians) (Jääts & Selgmäe 2014). In this movie, she can also be heard speaking Lutsi. The rememberer Helēna Kravale discussed in Section 7.3 also appears in the film.



Figure 5. Anna Leščinska (centre) with Uldis Balodis (left) and Karl Pajusalu (right). (Photo: Renate Pajusalu, 2018, Ludza).

Some Lutsi language knowledge has been passed down in this family for at least one more generation. Anna Leščinska (née Nikonova; 1973), daughter of Antoņina and Nikolajs Nikonovs, spent considerable time with her great-grandmother Antonina Nikonova in her childhood and remembered asking her great-grandmother to teach her to speak some Lutsi. When I met with Anna in 2018, she remembered the Lutsi greeting *tere* and also how to count from one to ten in Lutsi. At present, Leščinska is one of a handful of Lutsi rememberers in the community of Lutsi descendants, several of whom are described in Section 7.

7. Rememberers

At present, the only language knowledge remaining among Lutsi descendants is in the form of individual words and short remembered sentences. In this section, I describe the knowledge of three rememberers who remember more unique language fragments as well as the history of the Lutsi language in their own families and the source from which they learned what they remember. All of the quotes from rememberers given in this section are translated by me from Latvian.

7.1. Broņislava Zambere



Figure 6. Broņislava Zambere and Uldis Balodis outside of Zambere’s home (2014, Barisi).

I learned about Broņislava Zambere (née Bule; 1938) thanks to a research study *Igauņi Ciblas novadā* (The Estonians of Cibla municipality) conducted by Ginta Birskā (2009), a high school student at the time, in 2009, on the family histories of the Estonians of Cibla municipality.

I first met Zambere in 2014; she is the only Lutsi descendant whom I have met who clearly identified herself as Estonian. She told me “I’m Estonian. I’m proud of that.” She also remembered visits by Estonians bringing gifts for the village children for Christmas during the Second World War and also Estonian researchers in the 1970s eating lunch at her house in Barisi. Of her ancestry and her family’s language knowledge, she said:

“I remember my ancestors. My ancestors were real Estonians. My grandfather [Ignats Buļš; 1859–1849] and grandmother [Cecelija Bule; 1865–1963] spoke Estonian, in Estonian, but not always...when they wanted the children not to understand, that’s when they did. Father and mum, well, they understood something, but they didn’t speak it.”

Birska includes a handwritten statement from Zambere in the back of her study in which Zambere writes out by hand the Lutsi numerals and story fragments she remembers. Zambere also writes: “In early childhood, [my grandparents] told me stories in Latgalian as well as in Estonian. I remember a very short story in Estonian.” When I met Zambere she remembered how to count from 1 to 10 in Lutsi, how to say “My name is Broņislava” (pronounced by her as: mini nimi on broņislava), and also the story fragment mentioned in Birška’s study. Birška (2009: 27) notes Zambere has also taught this story to her grandchildren, though I have not met them to confirm this.

My IPA transcription of this fragment from the recording I made of Zambere is given below in (1) along with a morphological analysis of the fragment. The free translation is the same as that given by Zambere in Latgalian, but also matches the content of the fragment. The Latgalian translation of the fragment, with the same meaning in English as (1), is given by Zambere in Birška’s (2009) study as: *Dzeivoja raizi večiņa ar vecīti koza ar trejim dālim, gara, gara posoka soksim nu gola.*

- (1) etskuna ieli tieda: paba:ga kits kolme
 once live.3SG.PST old_man old_lady.COM goat three.GEN
 puja:ga? pik pik jutus alustəm otsəst
 son.COM long long story start.1PL.PRES end.EL
 ‘There once lived an old man with an old lady, a goat with three sons. [It’s] a long, long story, let’s start from the beginning (lit. end).’

The story fragment resembles stories recorded earlier by other Lutsi researchers. For example, the fairy tale “Kīrele-kārele” (Voolaine 1925–1926: 15, Mets et al. 2014: 267) recorded from Petruļa Bule (born 1855) in neighbouring Ščastļivi (Lutsi: Tati külä) village in Nirza parish by Paulopriit Voolaine in 1925, which contains the line *dēda bābaga, kiš kolme pujağa* ‘an old man with an old lady, a goat with three sons’. Similarly, songs 9 and 10 entitled “Pikk jutt” in *Lutsi maarahvas* contain versions of the rest of this fragment, e.g., *pikk pikk jutus – las ma otsast alusta* ‘a long, long story – let me start from the beginning’ (Song 10) (Kallas 1894: 82).

Zambere did not seem to possess any other Lutsi language knowledge. However, it is impressive how clear and relatively intact this fragment had remained over the decades. Zambere’s Lutsi language

knowledge came from her grandparents – somewhat analogously to Nikolajs Nikonovs who also inherited his language from his grandmother. It is also interesting to note that Zambere's grandparents were born in the mid-19th century and as such would have not only been alive during the time of Kallas's 1893 expedition, but would have already been 30+ years old at the time (though neither of them is listed among Kallas's informants in *Lutsi maarahvas*) and lived during the same period as Meikuls and Tekla Jarošenko described in Section 6.

7.2. Leontīne Antonova

I learned about Leontīne Antonova (1924–2019) when her niece attended the 2018 Lutsi studies seminar in Ludza that summer and played a video of her aunt reciting a Lutsi fragment she remembered. She also revealed that her aunt appears in a photo taken by Paulopriit Voolaine in 1937, which they had seen when it was republished in Hannes Korjus's 2017 Lutsi history study *Ludzas igauņi*. This photo is also reproduced in this section as Figure 7. Later that summer I met with Leontīne Antonova and her sister with whom she shared an apartment in Rīga. Antonova's sister did not remember any words or phrases in Lutsi.

In my conversation with her, Antonova described how she had lived in Greči (Lutsi: Grēki) in Nirza parish in her youth, worked in the town of Nirza for a time, but then ultimately moved to Ludza to attend the technical college there. Her specialty was accounting, economics, planning, and then she moved to Rīga from Ludza in 1950. She remembered Paulopriit Voolaine's visits to Greči in her childhood and the Estonian Christmas celebrations he would organise for the village children.

Antonova's father, Antons Buls Pētera dēls (1875?–1951),¹⁰ spoke some Lutsi, but did not speak it to her, though she thought that her grandfather Pēteris had spoken Lutsi well. She also did not remember Lutsi being much spoken in Greči in her childhood. She mainly remembered her father and a neighbour speaking Lutsi including when they did not want her or her sister to understand what they were saying. An excerpt of Antonova's description:

10 The birth year of Antonova's father is estimated based on her statement that he died in 1951 at the age of 76.

“Well, Estonian wasn’t spoken at all... I’m saying it was only my father. Pēteris – I didn’t know [his] father, that is, my grandfather. But my neighbour was Lida’s father’s brother... Francis. He wasn’t married. He was also bored. He would often run over to our place, to my father. And, well, then he sometimes wanted to speak some Estonian. Then he and my father would chat a bit.”



Figure 7. Leontīne Antonova (front left in a white kerchief), the woman who taught her the Lutsi song (right, also in a white kerchief), Antonova’s mother Jezupata Bule (third from left), Antonova’s father Antons Buls Pētera dēls (on the right, blurry). (Photo: P. Voolaine, 1937, at Antons Buls’ home, Greči village, Nirza parish, ERM Fk 811:8).

Antonova learned her fragment from a neighbour Anna who also appears in Figure 7 on the right in a white kerchief. Antonova gives the following description: “I was taught [by]... Monika’s sister [Anna]. I visited her in the evenings. She taught me a few things. She also taught me some poems in Latvian, one in Estonian.”

The fragment Antonova remembered, shown in IPA in (2) with a morphological analysis and my proposed English translation, which is explained in the subsequent discussion, appears to combine elements



Figure 8. Leontīne Antonova at her home in Rīga. (Photo: U. Balodis, 2018).

of two different Lutsi songs: “Kuzekene, kuzekene” and “Tsiri, tsiri, tsirgukene”. Antonova herself remembered this fragment as meaning “Oh, little spruce, oh, little spruce, how lovely you are!” (The original wording given by Antonova in Latvian is: *Ak, eglīte, ak, eglīte, cik skaista tu gan esi!*), which is similar to the meaning of the first two lines of “Kuzekene, kuzekene” shown in (3), but does not fully translate the fragment in (2).

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| (2) | ku:zikijni | ku:zikijni | | Little spruce, little spruce, |
| | little_spruce | little_spruce | | |
| | astu | pesti | kuivakijni | Oh, your... ? ... little dry one. |
| | oh_your | ? | little_dry_one | |
| | varikijni | varba | utsam | In the forest, on top of a fencepost, |
| | forest.IN | fencepost.GEN | top.IN | |
| | ku:lja | ku:za | otsan | on top of a golden spruce. |
| | gold.GEN | spruce.GEN | top.IN | |

“Kuzekene, kuzekene” was written down by composer Emilis Melngailis in 1930 in Antonova’s native village of Greči from Rožaļa Bule (born 1845) and Petruļa Bule (born 1865), and is shown in (3) in Melngailis’s original spelling with an English translation. The source for this song is Melngailis’s original handwritten transcription of it located at the Archives of Latvian Folklore at the University of Latvia Institute of Literature, Folklore, and Art (accessible at: <http://garamantas.lv/en/unit/360754>).

- (3) Kuzekene, kuzekene, kalado, kalado, Little spruce, little spruce, kalado, kalado,
 A su ilu ilukisti, kalado, kalado! Oh your beautiful beauty, kalado, kalado!
 Kündlikizi, kündlikizi, kalado, kalado, Little candle, little candle, kalado, kalado,
 A su valu valukisti, kalado, kalado! Oh your luminous light, kalado, kalado!

With the exception of the refrain *kalado*, line 1 is the same as line 1 of Antonova’s fragment and the first two words of line 2 *a su* are likely the same as *astu* at the beginning of line 2 of Antonova’s fragment in (2), while the final word *kuivakiji* appears to be the diminutive *kuivakine* ‘little dry one’. The middle word *pesti* is unclear and discussed separately below. It should be noted that the refrain *kalado* is also found in Latvian songs associated with mumming (*ķekatas*) especially around Christmas but more generally between the Winter Solstice and Meteņi (Ash Wednesday) (Jansons 2010: 59).

“Tsiri, tsiri, tsirgukene” is recorded as Song 36 in Kallas’s language examples in *Lutsi maarahvas*, shown in (4) in Kallas’s original spelling with an English translation. Compare also Song 35 – “Tsireline tsirgukõnõ”, which includes the similar lines: *Vaarikuna varba otsan, kuiva kuuze osa pääl*. (Kallas 1894: 87); cf. also the last two lines of the Siberian Seto “Tsiri-tsiri, tsirgukõnõ”: *Varikuh varba pääl, kuiva kuusõ ossa pääl*. (Source: http://www.folklore.ee/pubte/eraamat/siberilaulud/setu/ee/02_14_laul.php)

The last two lines of Song 36 in (4) are very similar to those of Antonova’s fragment, though Antonova uses the word *ku:lja* ‘gold’ instead of *kuiva* ‘dry’ in the last line of her fragment. It is also assumed that the word *varikiji* from line 3 in (2) corresponds to the inessive form *vaarikun* ‘in the forest’ in line 4 in (4), rather than being a diminutive *va(a)ri(ku)kine*, as in this and other versions of this song (see Song 35 and the Siberian Seto song mentioned above), there is always an inessive form of *va(a)rik* ‘forest’ in this position.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (4) Tsiri, tsiri, tsirgukene, Para, para, pardzikene Kos sa kulda pezākene! Vaarikun varba otsan, kuiva kuuze ladva otsan. | Tsiri, tsiri, little bird, Para, para, little duck, Where is your little gold nest? In the forest at the top of the fence post, at the top of a dry spruce. |
|--|---|

The word *pesti* in line 2 of Antonova's fragment could be a phonetically reduced form of some other word or words, as the song recorded by Melngailis includes the words *ilukisti* and *valukisti*, the endings of which resemble *pesti*. It could also be connected with the word *pezā* 'nest', as its diminutive form *pezākene* occurs in "Tsiri, tsiri, tsirgukene" in the line above those corresponding to the last two lines of Antonova's fragment. A third possibility, proposed in Balodis (2020: 151), is that this line in Antonova's fragment is *Otsa pāstā kuivikine* 'dry from the head [i.e., top] of the treetop'.

The structure of Antonova's fragment is less clear than that of Zambere's in (1), because perhaps while Zambere's family did not speak Lutsi to her, her grandparents did tell her stories in Lutsi when she was a child. Thus, it may be that she was more frequently exposed not only to Lutsi in general, but to this fragment in particular, and so its phonology became more ingrained in her memory. From Antonova's description, Lutsi was only sometimes present in her home when her father and a neighbour would occasionally speak it to each other. She had to seek out this Lutsi fragment herself, asking a neighbour to teach her something in Lutsi. Presumably, she was exposed to Lutsi less often in her childhood and with less intensity, and her knowledge of this fragment was probably not reinforced over as long of a period of time – perhaps especially after she moved permanently to Rīga in 1950 and with her father dying the following year. As a result, with time, its structure became less clear in her memory.

7.3. Helēna Kravale and other rememberers

There are other rememberers too, mostly people that remember the greeting *tere* or a few numerals in Lutsi. An unexpected example of this took place in 2013 when I met Leontīne Bule who was 88 years old at the time and had lived and worked in Rīga but would spend her summers at her family's home in Ļukati village (Lutsi: Lukodi), which itself

was likely over a century old at the time, as, according to Bule, it had been moved to Ļukati from Barisi in 1917.

According to Bule, the house was set to be demolished and a new one built in its place, but then this plan never came to pass as the Second World War arrived and so instead this old house remained standing where it did. I visited Ļukati most recently in 2017 and at that time this house was still standing where it had for a full century since having been moved from Barisi. When I met Bule she still remembered the greeting *tere, tere* and this was a wonderful surprise, as I had not expected anyone in this village to remember even a single word of Lutsi, as no one, aside from Kallas in 1893, had documented any Lutsi language there.

One particular story of a single remembered Lutsi word bears repeating. I met Helēna Kravale (1925–2013) in 2013. Her grandparents Aleksandrs Mekšs (1854–1922) and Tekla Mekša (née Ļipovska) (1864–1946) – who lived in Vorkaļi (Lutsi: Vārkali) village in Pilda parish – were the last to speak Lutsi. Tekla was Latgalian not Lutsi, but, according to Helēna, learned Lutsi after marrying Aleksandrs; Helēna said that Tekla and Aleksandrs would also use Lutsi as a way to speak in front of the children without them understanding.



Figure 9. Helēna Kravale (right) with her niece Līga Kondrāte (left) in Helēna's apartment in Ludza. (Photo: U. Balodis, 2013).

Little language documentation exists from Vorkaļi. Kallas records one song (No. 101) from Vorkaļi in *Lutsi maarahvas*, but does not give a name for the woman who sang it. Ojansuu lists a Lutsi language consultant from Vorkaļi (Ul'ian Jāni poeg N'ukš) and writes that “there are very many [who] understand Estonian in Vorkaļi” (*Vaarkalissa hyvin paljon viron ymmärtäjiä.*) on the first page of his Lutsi language notes dated 27 May 1911.

Helēna remembered a single word of Lutsi – *suzi* ‘wolf’ – because of a story that her mother Emīlija Kravale (née Mekša; 1897–1988) had told her. When Emīlija was a young girl, one day she had noticed a large grey dog following her as she walked home from school. When she got home and told her parents about this, she remembered them becoming very agitated and speaking to each other in Lutsi repeating the word *suzi*, as apparently it had not been a grey dog, but a wolf that had been following Emīlija on her way home from school.

Emīlija did not speak more than a few words of Lutsi according to her granddaughter Līga Kondrāte (née Kravale). However, this experience left enough of an impression on Emīlija that she repeated this story and so memory of this single Lutsi word remained alive among her descendants up to the present.

8. Remembered Lutsi and Finnic rememberers in Latvia

As languages die, their systems experience change. Lutsi experienced gradual language death,¹¹ as it was slowly replaced over several generations primarily by Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian. This section describes the characteristics of the last fragments of Lutsi and some of their shared features. It is beyond the scope of the current article, but a detailed study of all Lutsi language documentation showing how Lutsi transformed generation to generation as it underwent this process of change should be pursued in the future (for a discussion of grammatical

11 Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 182–186) discuss four types of language death: sudden death (a language dies suddenly due to the sudden death of its speakers), radical death (a language dies suddenly due to a severe external threat and speakers shift to a different language as a survival strategy), gradual death (a language dies over several generations as it is gradually replaced by a dominant language), bottom-to-top death (a language loses its colloquial registers and is used only in more formal situations).

changes due to language death in Eastern Seto – a close relative of Lutsi – and other Finnic varieties, see Kehayov 2017). In this section, I also describe the fragments recorded from rememberers of Krevin Votic – the language spoken by another Finnic language island community in Latvia, as these are quite similar in character to those I found for Lutsi in the last years.

8.1. The Characteristics of Remembered Lutsi

Perhaps the feature, which the Lutsi fragments have most in common with each other is that for each there seemed to be a specific reason or event that led to it being remembered. For Bronislava Zambere, it was part of a story she heard in childhood. Also, perhaps its memory was associated with her sense of Estonian identity. For Leontīne Antonova, it was her own curiosity about Lutsi in her youth that led her to seek out a speaker to teach her how to say something in this language. This likely helped keep it alive in her memory throughout her life. And for Helēna Kravale, it was a story passed down from her mother connected with a particularly memorable event – her mother being followed home from school by a wolf. Even rememberers who recall just numerals or a greeting may have an emotional connection to this knowledge and have maintained it for this reason, e.g., Anna Leščinska who was very close with her great-grandmother Antonina Nikonova and asked her to teach her some Lutsi, as a result still knows a greeting and the numerals 1–10 in Lutsi.

I have made no attempt to draw generalisations here about the phonological character of these fragments, as they are too few in number and too short to be able to make such conclusions. However, some general observations can be made by comparing Bronislava Zambere's pronunciation of the Lutsi numerals 1–10 with their approximate pronunciation in the first decades of the 20th century (based on pronunciations found for numerals in the Lutsi texts in Mets et al. 2014).

Table 2 compares these pronunciations. The left column shows the early 20th century Lutsi pronunciation and the middle column shows my IPA transcription of Bronislava Zambere's pronunciation. Note that in the original recording, Zambere speaks rather quickly, so these transcriptions are a best approximation of an imperfect recording of these numerals. In the recording, Zambere gives two different pronunciations

for the numeral ‘one’ and it is unclear whether the numeral ‘three’ ends in *l*, *m*, or *lm*.

Zambere also recorded these numerals in her own hand in a written statement she wrote describing her Lutsi language knowledge found in the back of Birska 2009. Zambere uses a Latgalian-based orthography to write Lutsi where <c> is [ts], <y> represents an unrounded vowel, and long vowels are marked with a macron. Zambere’s transcription is included in the right column, as it is interesting to see how she understands and hears her own pronunciation of Lutsi. Note that both in the recording and in Birska 2009, Zambere reverses the order of the numerals *katieze* ‘eight’ and *etieze* ‘nine’ (she writes the numerals in the following order: *ic*, *kac*, *kol*, *nylie*, *vīs*, *kūs*, *sedzie*, *etieze*, *katieze*, *tjummie*). In Table 2, these numerals are shown in their correct order.

Table 2. Comparison of early 20th century and B. Zambere’s pronunciation of Lutsi numerals.

| Numeral | Lutsi | Zambere spoken | Zambere written |
|---------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | yʰʲsʲ | its, ets | ic |
| 2 | kaʰʲsʲ | kats | kac |
| 3 | kolʔ | kol ~ kom ~ kolm | kol |
| 4 | ne.li: | nɤ.li:(ə) | nylie |
| 5 | vi::sʲ | vi:s | vīs |
| 6 | ku::sʲ | ku:s | kūs |
| 7 | sæ:.dziɛ | se.dzi(ə) | sedzie |
| 8 | ka.te:.za | ka.tiə.zə | katieze |
| 9 | y.tiɛ:.zæ | e.tiə.zə | etieze |
| 10 | kʲymʲ.mʲɛ | tʲym.mɛ | tjummie |

While every nuance of Zambere’s pronunciation will not be analysed here, a few major themes emerge. In Latgalian, non-alveolar consonants are palatalised before front vowels and palatalised consonants can occur in every position (initial, medial, final) within a word (Nau 2011: 11). In Lutsi, every consonant – except /j/ and /ʔ/ – can potentially be palatalised and consonants are palatalised before front vowels (Balodis 2020: 18). However, Zambere mostly does not pronounce palatalised consonants where they would be expected (based on the pronunciations

shown in the left column). An exception is *tʲymme* ‘ten’, in which the initial consonant is palatalised before the front rounded vowel *y*. In some places, such as *etiəzə* ‘nine’ (historical pronunciation: *ytʲe:zæ*) and possibly also in *sedzi(ə)* ‘seven’ (historical pronunciation: *sæ:dzʲe*) the palatalisation before the front vowel has been lost and the front vowel replaced by a diphthong *iə*.

The front rounded vowel *y* is replaced by either *i* or *e* in *its, ets* ‘one’ and *etiəzə* ‘nine’, but is maintained in *tʲymme* ‘ten’. While both Lutsi and Latgalian have an unrounded vowel phoneme, this vowel does not occur in the original pronunciation of the Lutsi numerals 1–10; however, an unrounded vowel is found in Zambere’s pronunciation of the numeral ‘four’ – *nʲli:* (original pronunciation: *neli:*).

A phonetic contrast between long and short vowels is preserved in Zambere’s pronunciation. Latgalian and Standard Latvian also have this same contrast. Certain differences between vowels are neutralised in Zambere’s pronunciation and as a result final syllable vowels are generally pronounced by her as *ə*. There is not enough material in the numerals or her remembered fragment from the Lutsi story to say clearly whether any residual features of vowel harmony remain in her pronunciation of Lutsi.

In terms of changes to the sound system, Campbell and Muntzel cite Andersen’s (1982: 95) three hypotheses regarding the changes that languages undergo in language contact situations. Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 186) give these as:

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

Zambere’s pronunciation of the Lutsi numerals both supports and diverges from these hypotheses. In general, features found in Latgalian – which is likely Zambere’s dominant language, such as a vowel length

contrast and an unrounded vowel, are preserved in her pronunciation of Lutsi. There is also a diminishing of contrasts between vowels seen in the general shift away from *y* to *i* or *e* and the pronunciation of most final syllable vowels as *ə*. However, in at least one instance – in her pronunciation of the numeral ‘ten’ – the front rounded vowel *y*, which is not found in Latgalian at all, does seem to have been preserved. Likewise, the extensive palatalisation found in both Latgalian and Lutsi appears to be largely absent from Zambere’s pronunciation of the Lutsi numerals.

As suggested above, a future study of the language of Lutsi rememberers should include a more precise acoustic analysis of these fragments and also place them in the context of the more fluent Lutsi recorded in the mid to late 20th century, in order to understand how Lutsi transformed in the last decades that it was actively spoken and whether the changes seen in 21st century Lutsi already can be seen in this earlier more fluent Lutsi or if they are a more recent development. This study should also examine the features of the language of other rememberers. For example, in hearing Antonina Nikonova say *ma sinnu salli* ‘I love you’ and Helēna Kravale say *suzi* ‘wolf’, my impression was that in both of their pronunciations, *ll* in *salli* and *z* in *suzi* were pronounced as palatalised, which again would show another aspect of what features were preserved more generally in late Lutsi.

With respect to morphological and syntactic change, Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 191–195) provide examples of losses of morphological distinctions and syntactic change associated with language death. However, these are not entirely relevant to the Lutsi fragments discussed in this article. These fragments appear to be examples of rote memorised language, in which the morphological structure of words remains generally intact, perhaps because the rememberer recalls the fragment more as a series of sounds with a meaning attached to the entire fragment rather than it being produced word-by-word with insight into the meaning of each word and its structure. This would be akin to a person knowing set phrases – greetings, etc. – in other languages that they do not speak themselves (e.g., German *auf Wiedersehen!* ‘see you later!’, French *bonne chance!* ‘good luck!’, etc.) where the overall meaning of the phrase is understood, but the meaning of its components may not be.

This analysis is supported by my impression of listening to Zambere and Antonova deliver their remembered lines. While I never tried asking

them what a specific word in the fragment meant, it felt that they had rote memorised them. Their recitation of their fragments was also accompanied by a kind of unique performative prosody. These seemed like phrases that they had said many times and that this prosody was a consequence of this. Perhaps this performative prosody even helped them remember their Lutsi fragments.

The fact that case endings appear quite intact especially in Zambere's fragment but also to some extent in Antonova's fragment, e.g., the comitatives *paba:ga* 'with an old lady', *puja:ga?* 'with a son', the elative *otsäst* 'from the end' (in Zambere's fragment), and the inessive *otsan* 'at the end' (in Antonova's fragment), also may show that these fragments are rote memorised and therefore preserve the morphological structure of Lutsi rather well despite the rememberers likely having little or no insight into the meaning of each word in their fragment.

8.2. Krevin Votic: Another example of Finnic rememberers in Latvia

Finally, I wanted to connect the 21st century language of Lutsi rememberers with that of another group of Finnic rememberers in Latvia dating to the 19th century – the Krevins. The Krevin community was a Votic language island, which spoke its variety of Votic for several hundred years in the vicinity of Bauska in southern Latvia until its assimilation into the surrounding population in the mid-19th century. Similarly to Lutsi, even after Krevin was no longer actively spoken, a few fragments were documented decades later from Krevin rememberers. These are extremely similar in character to the Lutsi fragments I found in the last years and are described by Winkler (1997: 117–118).

Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann recorded the first set of fragments – several short sentences – in 1870 (published in Wiedemann 1871), which are similar in their scope and form to the Lutsi sentence remembered by Bronislava Zambere. Also, by coincidence, one of these Krevin sentences – *suzi nessi lampe* 'the wolf carried away a sheep' – contains the word *suzi* 'wolf', just as the Lutsi fragment recorded from Helēna Kravale.

The other fragment was recorded by Johannes Schwerts (Jānis Zēvers) in 1933 and consists of a short song fragment in Krevin with a Latvian translation provided by the consultant. Winkler quotes Schwerts'

own assessment of this fragment, in which Sehwers (1940: 68) says that the man who gave him this Krevin fragment was not Krevin himself and had learned it years earlier from someone else. Sehwers also found the Krevin version of the song to be only partially intelligible. This is reminiscent of the situation with Leontīne Antonova's remembered Lutsi song. Though she was of Lutsi descent, she did not grow up speaking Lutsi and learned her Lutsi song from someone else. Decades later when I was able to document it, the Lutsi version of the song was not entirely intelligible and the Latvian translation that Antonova provided at best corresponded only to the beginning of the song.

9. Conclusion

This article describes the last fragments – beyond greetings and numerals – remembered by members of the community of Lutsi descendants. It also paints a picture of how Lutsi was used and how its use changed over generations in Lutsi families as well as specifically in the Nikonovs-Jarošenko-Germovs family of Lielie Tjapši where spoken Lutsi persisted the longest.

Lutsi continued to be spoken in the Ludza area for at least several centuries and its documentation coincided with the century or so during which it passed from being a language used actively by speakers in Lutsi village communities to a language used in a handful of families in increasingly limited contexts and finally to the present day where only fragments are remembered by Lutsi descendants. While the specifics of the Lutsi language situation prior to Oskar Kallas's initial documentation of the Lutsis and their language in 1893 is unknowable, it seems that Lutsi must have been in a relatively stable situation in a part of Latvia, which historically has also been rather multilingual. (Recall Kallas's (1893: 17) observation of the Lutsi man who regularly used Lutsi, Latvian, Russian, and Polish depending on the context.) It may be that this multilingual situation was a factor in allowing Lutsi to survive for as long as it did. Speakers were accustomed to also knowing and using other languages, but knowledge of these languages did not prevent use of Lutsi in family and village community contexts. It may also be that the occasional addition of new speakers of South Estonian from Estonia – due to marriage or perhaps even migrations of larger groups

of people – could have bolstered and periodically reinvigorated the use of South Estonian by the Lutsi community.

Comparing Ojansuu's observations of the Lutsi situation to those of Kallas (see Section 5), it is clear that language shift was already underway at the beginning of the 20th century. This process may have been further accelerated during Latvia's interwar independence when the role of Latvian – and to some extent Latgalian – was greatly expanded and its profile was raised. Additionally, a story I heard from several rememberers, which is also mentioned in this article (e.g., Helēna Kravale's memory of her grandparents' use of Lutsi), is that Lutsi-speaking parents and grandparents would use Lutsi with each other as a secret language to prevent children from understanding what they were saying. This certainly also impeded intergenerational transmission of Lutsi.

Section 8 of this article examines the shared features of the Lutsi fragments discussed in Section 7 and also compares them with the final fragments recorded from Krevin Votic rememberers in the 19th century. All of the Lutsi rememberers appeared to have a story or reason associated with their memory of their fragment. For some this remembered fragment may also be a source of pride or identity. While a comparative acoustic analysis of all remembered Lutsi fragments is beyond the scope of this article, the Lutsi numerals 1–10 recorded from rememberer Broņislava Zambere were compared to the pronunciation of these numerals as it would have been in the first decades of the 20th century. Zambere's pronunciation showed a decrease in vowel distinctions (the shift of the front rounded vowel *y* to *i* or *e* in most cases and a shift of final syllable vowels to *ə* in several cases) as well as a non-palatalised pronunciation of consonants where a palatalised pronunciation would be expected – a surprising change given the highly palatalised nature of not only Lutsi but also Latgalian, which is likely Zambere's dominant language.

Morphologically, the fragments remembered by Zambere and Antonova were largely intact, though, in my opinion, this is due to both rememberers having rote memorised their fragments as whole units rather than stretches of speech composed of discrete words where each word would be individually memorised and also understood separately from the entire fragment. No attempt was made to analyse the syntax of these fragments.

A more detailed study of all of the phonological as well as morphological and syntactic features of these Lutsi fragments as well as Lutsi as it was spoken in earlier decades by more fluent speakers should be conducted in the future. Such a study would show how Lutsi changed over the decades and from generation to generation as the Lutsi community shifted increasingly to other languages. This could also show whether the characteristics observed in Bronislava Zambere's pronunciation of the Lutsi numerals are already present earlier or are limited only to her.

Today Lutsi is a dormant language. Though inherited knowledge of Lutsi is minimal, awareness of Lutsi roots and heritage is not uncommon among Lutsi descendants in the Ludza area. With the publication of the first Lutsi language primer last year (Balodis 2020) and increasing interest in Latvia and among the Lutsi descendant community in particular in Lutsi language heritage, knowledge of and about Lutsi is slowly expanding for the first time in decades. Whether reacquaintance of Lutsi descendants with their ancestral language will ever become a full language revival, still remains to be seen.

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(Estonian: Eesti Keele Instituudi eesti murrete ja soome-ugri keelte arhiiv, EMSUKA)

AEDKL = University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages

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Kokkuvõte. Uldis Balodis: Lutsi keele kõnelejad ja mäletajad 20. ja 21. sajandi vahetusel. Lutsi keelt räägiti mitu sajandit Kagu-Lätis Ludza linna ümbritsevat valdades ja külades. Lutsi keel ja kultuur said tähtsaks osaks nii Latgali kui ka kogu Läti kultuuriajaloost. Lutsi keel on ühendanud Eestit ja Lätit ning saanud nende ühise pärandi sümboliks. Selle artikli esimeses osas kirjeldatakse lutsi keele uurijate (Oskar Kallas, Heikki Ojansuu, Paulopriit Voolaine, August Sang) mälestusi ja tähelepanekuid ajast, kui seda

keelt veel räägiti igapäevaselt. Artikli teises osas antakse ülevaate Põlda valla Jaani küla Nikonovide perekonnast, kes olid viimaseid lutsi keele oskajaid. Samuti vaadeldakse viimaseid lutsi keelepärandi kandjaid tänapäeval – nn mäletajaid –, käsitledes nii nende elulugusid kui ka teadmisi lutsi keelest.

Kokkogyteq Lutsi kielehn. Uldis Balodis: Lutsi kiele kynelejaq ni mälehäjäq 20. ni 21. sä-ästaga vaihtusel. Mitu sä-ästakka kyneldi lutsi kilt Ludzi ümbre valdohn ni küllihn. Lutsi kıl um nī Lätkalihn ku kaq kȳ Lätihn kultūri aolū tähtsä oza. Lutsi kıl um kaq tähtsä köüdüs Läti ni Ēstimā vaihel ni noide ütīdzē perändūze tunnismārķ. Sjöł kirotuzel um katš ossa. Edimädzēhn ozahn ma selledā lutsi kiele ūņjide (Oskar Kallas, Heikki Ojansuu, Paulopriit Voolaine, August Sang) mälehūizi ni tähelepandmizi aost, ku tūd kilt vīl egā päiv kyneldi. Tȳzēhn ozahn tī ūlekaehuze Pylda valla Jāni külā Nikonovi perrest, kohn elliq perämädze lutsi kiele myistjaq. Ma ka kynele perämädzist Lutsi inemizist tāmädzel pāvāl – nm mälehäjidest –, kiā viļ tīdvāq veidūq lutsi kilt, ni kaq noide elolüst ni kiele tīdmizest.

Märksõnad: ohustatud keeled, keelesaared, keelesurm, mäletajad, Latgale, läänemeresoome keeled, lõunaesti, lutsi

FROM SEMENTOVSKIJ TO THE 20TH CENTURY. NOTES ON THE LUTSIS IN THE LATVIAN PRESS

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Abstract. The Lutsis, a historically South Estonian-speaking language island community located near the town of Ludza in southeastern Latvia, have come increasingly into public awareness in Latvia over the last decade with the release of books on Lutsi history and language suitable for both professional and lay audiences as well as other new works relating to Lutsi folk culture. However, even before this recent burst of activity, the Lutsis have been mentioned in the Latvian and Estonian press and have also appeared in the field notes of researchers whose work was connected with the Lutsis. This article traces the descriptions of the Lutsis in a variety of sources from the first descriptions in the mid-19th century, through the interwar independence of Latvia, and as late as the 1970s when important expeditions by Latvian researchers documented the impressions of the last Lutsi speakers on the state of their language and culture.

Keywords: ethnic identity, endangered languages, minority languages, Finnic languages, South Estonian, Lutsi, Latgale, Ludza

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1. Introduction

The Lutsis, a historically South Estonian-speaking language island community located near the town of Ludza in southeastern Latvia, have come increasingly into public awareness in Latvia over the last decade with the release of books on Lutsi history (Korjuss 2017) and language (Balodis 2020) suitable for both academic and lay audiences as well as other new works relating to Lutsi folk culture including the 2019 album *Lutsi Rahvalaulud / Ludzas igauņu dziesmas* (Lutsi folk songs) released by the Cibla folklore group “Ilža”. However, even before this recent burst of activity, the Lutsis have been mentioned in the Latvian and Estonian press and have also appeared in the field notes of researchers whose work was connected with the Lutsis. This article traces the

descriptions of the Lutsis in a variety of sources from the first descriptions in the mid-19th century, through the interwar independence of Latvia, and as late as the 1970s when several important expeditions by Latvian researchers documented the impressions of the last Lutsi speakers on the state of their language and culture. This article also quotes extensively from original sources in translation providing a first-hand view of the developing understanding of the Lutsis by themselves as well as others.

Section 2 of the article details the earliest mentions of the Lutsis by outsiders; section 3 focuses on descriptions of the two earliest expeditions to the Lutsis by Oskar Kallas (in 1893) and Heikki Ojansuu (in 1911) as well as Lutsi reactions to them; section 4 describes the interactions of Paulopriit Voolaine – one of the most important 20th century researchers of the Lutsis – and his efforts to open Estonian schools in the Lutsi region as well as attitudes towards these efforts from Latvians and the Latvian government; section 5 discusses the work of Latvian composer Emilis Melngailis with Lutsi folk singers and the recognition they received in Latvia during the 1930s as well as Melngailis's efforts to determine whether Lutsi and Livonian were perhaps the same language; section 6 given an overview of the Latvian folklore research expeditions to the Lutsi area in the 1970s and describes Lutsi memories and stories of their origin as well as attitudes towards their language and folk culture at a time when the majority of the Lutsi community had already assimilated linguistically into surrounding language groups.

2. First mentions

In 1872, the Vitebsk Statistics Committee published Aleksandr Sementovskij's (Александр Семеновский, 1821–1893) study *Etnografičeskij obzor Vitebskoj gubernii* (An Ethnographic Overview of Vitebsk Governorate). In its introduction, Sementovskij wrote: “As a science, ethnography has never attracted the attention of scientists and educated people in general, as much as in the second half of this century when the national question has also become part of questions of state policy. Never in the past have we, Russians, given so much attention to the nations, which inhabit our homeland spanning half the globe, as we have in the last decade. The need for ethnographic studies, especially

in our northwestern periphery, could be fully felt only after the Polish uprising from 1863 to 1864 (Polish: *powstanie styczniowe*).”

Gustaw baron Manteuffel-Szoegé (1832–1916) wrote the following in his book *Inflanty Polskie* (Polish Livonia) (Manteifels 2020: 67–68):

“Energetic in their character and extremely dirty. Numbering approximately 3000, precisely 2886 persons from both genders. They live among the Latvians and Russians on the state properties in Mihalova and Janovole as well as next to Pilda manor in Ludza County¹ 85 miles away from their nearest countrymen. They have preserved their language and customs, but have given up their black clothing, which they had worn in the past. Some of them are Roman Catholic, but in the 1840s, a portion of them were forced to convert from Greek Uniates to Russia’s ruling church. A notable article by the esteemed researcher of this nation, Dr. M. Veske² (1843–1890),³ was recently (1877) published in Tartu in the yearbook of the Learned Estonian Society. It claims that the aforementioned Estonians of Polish Livonia and Pilda manor, which currently belongs to St. Petersburg Professor Theodor Stein, came from Swedish lands (*Rootsi maalt*) or “the Swedish king’s land” (*Rootsi kuninga maalt*), which is evidenced by the traditions they have preserved. They left their homeland when the current Livonian Governorate belonged to Sweden. Dr. Veske had heard from an Estonian from Pilda manor that his great-grandfather had arrived from the land of Rīga (*Riia maalt*) with his countrymen, whose descendants now live in Polish Livonia. The man was about forty years old and his great-grandfather had been a small boy at the time. The Estonian language of Polish Livonia, according to Dr. Veske, undoubtedly belongs to the Võro dialect (*Werroscher Dialect*). The differences are insignificant, they had to have arisen due to an ancient split from the core of the nation. Dr. Veske promises to acquaint us with the features of their language at a later time.”

The Lutsis had come to Mihkel Veske’s attention in 1877. During the construction of the Baltic railway, he had met a couple of Lutsi men (“Maajumala poig” 1943). Uldis Balodis has noted that information

1 Latvian: *apriņķis*

2 Mihkel Veske (28 January 1843–16 May 1890) was an Estonian theologian and linguist.

3 See Dr. M. Veske “Über die Witebskischen Esten” in the publication *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*. Dorpat, 1877, Vol. 8. Ntbk. 4, pgs. 29–33.

about the Estonians of Ludza appears in Mihkel Veske's study *Bericht über die Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Estenland im Sommer 1875* (Report on the results of the Summer 1875 journey through Estonia). Veske describes meeting two Pilda Estonian labourers (Josef Antonof and his relative) in Estonia. The labourers told Veske – just as other Lutsis would tell other researchers in the future – that their ancestors came from “the land of Rīga”, “Sweden”, “the Swedish king's land” (Balodis 2020: 94).

3. First researchers and Lutsi attitudes

In 1892, Oskar Kallas (1868–1946) read an article in *Postimees* by St. Petersburg correspondent Karl August Leopas (1854–1940)⁴ about the Catholic Estonians of Latgale (Leopas had learned about them from a Catholic seminary student from Latgale who was studying in St. Petersburg at the time). This article by K. Leopas – he was the owner of a St. Petersburg book and note store – was published on 10 September 1892 on the front page of *Postimees* right under the headline and signed with the initials K.L. Correspondent K.L. reported that on a train from Tallinn to St. Petersburg, a Polish seminary student had told him that there were many Catholic Estonians living in the Vitebsk Governorate.

This coincidence created sudden and particular interest. Oskar Kallas provided the first extensive information on the Lutsis. Kallas travelled widely across the Ludza area in 1893 and recorded information about the Estonians living there and their language. Kallas published separate reports on his journey in Estonian and German. The most important of these for the Lutsis was his 1894 monograph *Lutsi maarahvas* (Ludza Estonians, lit. Ludza country folk).⁵ In 1900, Kallas published collections of Lutsi stories in Estonian and German.

Following Oskar Kallas's 1893 expedition to Ludza County in Vitebsk Governorate, to visit the Estonians living near Ludza who spoke – more or less – their own unique dialect, news about the Lutsis also appeared in books as well as periodicals published in the Vitebsk and Livonian Governorates.

4 K. Leopas Eesti rahva unustatud suguharust. *Postimees*, 10.09.1892, No. 202.

5 See Uldis Balodis “Ludzilazest: Who are the Lutsis?”

http://lutsimaa.lv/Lutsimaa_Land_of_the_Ludza_Estonians/Who_are_the_Lutsis.html

Latgalian writer, politician, and culture worker Francis Kemps (1876–1952) mentioned the Lutsis in his book *Latgalieši* (The Latgalians):

“In Pilda and Nerza parishes⁶ in Ludza County, Estonians have lived in about six villages since ancient times, and in Rēzekne County. When and how these foreigners came here cannot be clearly determined. They also do not have anything to tell about their arrival. According to the old people in the villages, during serfdom, manor lords had often traded people for hunting dogs, and every one of the current Estonian or Lithuanian villages stems from a particular family which had once been traded in Lithuania or Estonia for dogs.” (Kemps 1910: 46–47)

Francis Kemps knew of the Lutsis, but in 1925, when Ernests Blese⁷ (1892–1964) wrote about the inhabitants of Latgale, the Estonians no longer merited a mention. The Estonians of Latgale were, apparently, a numerically small enough group to remain unnoticed:

(a) “Everyone knows that the ethnic composition of Latgale is very diverse. In addition to the main ethnicity – the Latvians, whose percentage relative to other ethnicities is lower in Latgale than elsewhere in Latvia and in Latvia in general, we also encounter a large number of Russian, Belarusians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Jews in Latgale.” (Blese 1925: 357)

(b) “All of these ethnicities have not been in Latgale equally long. Historically, the oldest of these are the Russians, Belarusians, and partially also the Lithuanians, the newest arrivals in Latgale are the Poles and Jews. Each of these ethnicities, with the exception of the Jews, has their own native language.” (Blese 1925: 358)

Oskar Kallas (1894) wrote that though at first the Lutsis were rather hostile towards him (i.e., Kallas – author’s note), in time they would treat him almost like their king. At first the Lutsis thought that Kallas was spreading cholera among them, there were even some who claimed that Kallas wanted to make trouble for the Lutsis. The local people detained

6 Latvian: *pagasts*.

7 Ernests Blese (1892–1964). Latvian linguist, University of Latvia philology professor (1928–1944), Germersheim University professor (1947–1964). Researcher of Latvian person names and family names.

Kallas and took him to their parish hall, where Kallas was released but the Lutsis received a harsh punishment. In time, people began to view Kallas as “the king’s son”, “a seer”, “the czar’s emissary”. When 18 years later (in 1911), Professor Heikki Ojansuu of Finland (University of Helsinki dean) arrived in Latvia, that is near Ilzene, excesses similar to Kallas’s experiences were repeated. Some of the residents of Ilzene (Ilzene parish is located in the southwestern part of Alūksne municipality) were stirred up by rumours that he (i.e., Heikki Ojansuu) was a false prophet, the Antichrist, that the end of the world was nigh. But later all of this died down (“No Ilzenes” 1911).

In that same summer of 1911, Finnish researcher Dr. Heikki Ojansuu and stud. phil. Ed. Gulbis of Tartu also came to the area near Pilda in Latgale. Their expedition attracted the attention of the newspaper *Dzimtenes Vēstnesis*:

“Rare guests have come to our dark end, about which little is ever heard in the newspapers: University of Helsinki dean Dr. Ojansuu and stud. phil. Ed. Gulbis of Tartu. Their intent is to study the relationships among local languages (Estonian, Latvian, Russian) and how they have changed. It should be noted that Estonian colonists were settled here 200 years ago. Living among the local Latgalians and being in close contact with the Russians, for the most part they have already forgotten their mother tongue and now are considered to be Latvians. The people are superstitious, uneducated, and ignorant, and therefore they view the aforementioned strangers with great suspicion and do not understand their scientific intentions. It would be welcome if even the local clergy, which holds great sway among the people, instructed them that there is no basis for mistrust here. R.” (“Pilda” 1911)

The local [Catholic] clergy received praise in a different article authored by Dr. Heikki Ojansuu’s travelling companion:⁸

“They are helpful, kind, heartfelt – characteristics that immediately bind a stranger’s heart to them. At first we lived for about a week with Pilda priest Gedvillo.⁹ Kind, genuine, humble in his nature, he was helpful to us more than just once. I still remember the first day at the priest’s

8 This travelling companion was apparently Ed. Gulbis, because in the newspaper *Dzimtenes Vēstnesis* (04.07.1911) an article was published with the same title “Kur Latgale beidzas” (Ceļojuma pēczīmes)” – author: Ed. Gulbis.

9 Julijans Gedvillo (1864–1929).

home. Sunday morning, approximately eight o'clock... We drank our tea and then also walked up the chapel hill. The small church was overflowing mostly with women who had dropped to their knees and were reciting prayers. It was my first time seeing a Catholic church service and I can't deny that I wasn't a little surprised by all of this strange singing, music... loud prayers. But when I heard the sound of my beloved Latvian language... ancient melodies, these people once again felt close and with a strange sense of self-respect, it seemed to me as if noble Rome herself had learned to speak in the Latvian tongue. And when the long prayers had ended and the bell in the tower sounded a few closing words, then the people scattered with their small hymnals in hand. And whoever has a need, they simply go up to their priest at the same chapel hill and tell him about their need. The priest kindly listens to all of them, sometimes joking or telling them about something from the newspaper. Every morning around 10 o'clock, the priest goes to the chapel and holds mass, which lasts for a couple of hours. He is a true servant of the Lord. And he must always be prepared and worthy of performing his exalted duty. But what is his salary? And still what energy in performing his duties and in his relationship with his congregation..." ("Kur Latgale beidzas" 1911: 586–588)

This aforementioned travelling companion also wrote:

"During the summer all the men most able to work travel to Russia to earn money, as they say "burlakos". I asked why they do not go to the Baltic [governorates] where work would not be as hard and the pay is no worse; they respond that they did not know about this... They are surprised when they are told that there is a Vidzeme and Kurzeme where Latvians also live, a great many Latvians; they think that they alone compose the entire Latvian nation and that their language is the real one. In "Škirpāni" there are about 20 heads of homesteads, each of whom has been allotted about 1 or 2 pūrvietas¹⁰ of land. The land is cut into narrow strips, so narrow that in places a ploughman and his horse can barely turn around. Due to the paltriness of their land, the men leave every spring to earn money; as soon as the snow begins to vanish, agents recruit them for all manner of work, like canal digging, road building, and so on. One party was even sent to the Amur region. Only the disabled, women, and children remain at home. Dz.V." ("Kur Latgale beidzas" 1911: 586–588).

10 A "pūrvietā" is a traditional Latvian areal unit of measure equalling approximately one-third of a hectare.

In 1913, the Estonians of the Ludza area were mentioned in passing: “In terms of its ethnic diversity, Latgale is strongly reminiscent of Austro-Hungary. In addition, there are Estonian and Jewish peasants living in a few villages in Pilda and Michalewa parishes. As in Austro-Hungary, also here no nation has achieved particular dominance in its position.” (“Tautību stāvoklis” 1913).

4. Paulopriit Voolaine and Estonian schools

Paulopriit Voolaine, who had become an admirer of Kallas and Ojansuu, first visited the Lutsis in the summer of 1921 on scholarship from the Academic Mother Tongue Society (*Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts*). Researcher Indrek Jääts describes Voolaine’s work and role as follows:

“Voolaine utilised the promotion of the Lutsi cause, the personality of Oskar Kallas and memory of his 1893 field work. After the months and years that he lived among the Lutsis, Voolaine undoubtedly came to know the Lutsis even better than Kallas himself. With his stories about the Lutsis he was the main “importer” of these topics in the Estonian press. At one point he even earned the title “King of the Lutsis” on the humour page “Sädemed” in the newspaper *Postimees* (*Postimees*, No. 111, 26.04.1936). Kallas, who Voolaine, apparently, greatly admired, was in terms of his position in academia and society, of course, a first-order star compared to Voolaine. So, Voolaine mentioned Oskar Kallas’s prestigious first and last names in many of his articles in the belief that it would work to the advantage of the cause. Voolaine waved Kallas’s last name like a flag that could inspire both the Lutsis as well as Estonian society.” (Jääts 2014: 28)

Voolaine’s own attitudes towards his work and the reasons and importance for preserving Lutsi language, culture, and identity can be seen in the following two excerpts from articles he authored in the 1920s published in *Postimees* and *Üliõpilasleht*, respectively:

“Waves of foreign nations have not yet washed them out to sea, they are a forgotten islet in a sad Latgale backwater beyond the city of Ludza. Foreign currents of water have not yet caught these Estonian countrymen in their eddies, leaving behind only the hush of a monotonous sea of nations. I had planned to go to the funeral of the last Lutsi and ring

the bells for the dear departed, those brothers and sisters who were banished in bygone times from Terra Mariana; but to my amazement, I found 2 islands where I could inhale the air of Old Estonia where the living language of South Estonia echoed from the mouths of the old and even some of the young.” (Voolaine 1921)

“Nothing can be permitted to turn us into pessimists with respect to saving our nation. A patriot of our small nation must always hold the gospel of our nation in his hands, with which he must find his path to the islands of our countrymen, which are drowning in the hostile and destructive raging of foreign waters.” (Voolaine 1926)



Figure 1. Paulopriit Voolaine (on the right in a white shirt) with Lutsis in Greči village. (Photo: August Sang, 1936, ERM Fk 756:12).

Education became one of Voolaine's main directions for strengthening Lutsi identity not only in the present but also reinvigorating it for the future. He supported the opening of Estonian schools in the Lutsi region as well as helping Lutsi young people study in Estonia. These activities would ultimately lead to Voolaine's expulsion from Latvia with him only being able to return during the Soviet years. From an overview of his work in the 1920s and 1930s, which Voolaine compiled many decades later in December 1963, we read the following:

“In 1926, from January until July, I lived in Pilda parish in Škirpāni village (*Kirbani küla*) and Lielie Tjapši village (*Tsāpsi küla*). Thanks to the support of the Rīga Estonian Education and Aid Society,¹¹ I began to work with matters connected to the education of the Estonian diaspora.” (Voolaine 1963)

On 14 December 1930, Voolaine noted that the Pilda parish council had met on 17.12.1930 to discuss the possible opening of a Lutsi school and that there already existed a list of 50 children of Lutsi descent whose parents wanted an Estonian school to be opened in Lielie Tjapši. The Nirza parish Estonians had the same sort of story. So, the Lutsis waited for a response from Estonian teachers who spoke Latvian and Russian (“Lutsi eestlased” 1930). However, in 1932, the attitude was already completely different. This can also be seen in Voolaine's piece in *Postimees*: “Pressure by Latvia on minority nations. What will the new direction mean for Estonian schools?” (Voolaine 1932)

Voolaine's activities did not go unnoticed by the press in Latgale, nor by Latvian government institutions. In 1932, the newspaper *Latgales ziņas* published an article about Ludza County schools; its author was teacher Jūlijs Ozols:

“Estonian parallel classes have been set up at the Filandmuiža 4-year primary school. So a new minority! Several Estonian families settled in Pilda parish in the past. The oldest generation still speaks Estonian, but the youngest one doesn't. Last year an Estonian student¹² arrived in Pilda parish who has registered practically half the parish as Estonians. Later, many of those who had been registered sensed this gentleman's

11 Estonian: Riia Eesti Hariduse ja Abiandmise Selts.

12 The student mentioned in this quote may have been Paulopriit Voolaine.

true intent and did all they could to get rid of the Estonian ethnicity imposed upon them. According to local opinion, the Estonian parallel classes, as well as the private Polish primary school, have only been opened in order to assimilate Latvian children.” (Ozols 1932)¹³

Ozols was not the only one who was fairly critical towards Estonian classes in Ludza County. Here is another example: “Estonian parallel classes have been opened at the Pilda parish school, though no one in the younger generation speaks Estonian – only because in the past a few Estonian families immigrated here.” (Ludzeneeks 1932).

According to the data from the Republic of Latvia Central Political Administration (*Galvenā politiskā pārvalde*) card file, Voolaine (Latgalian: Povuls Volainis) was one of the main inspirers of Lutsi descendant youth and driving forces urging them to study in Estonia (Štšerbinskis 2007: 146). While he was collecting ethnographic and linguistic materials in Ludza County, he “confirmed to many local residents in Nirza and Pilda parishes, that their ancestors had been Estonians and therefore they should send their children to study at schools in Estonia, because children arriving from Latvia do not have to pay anything for their studies. In 1936, he and Estonian Education Union consultant Neeme Ruus¹⁴ recruited many boys from the aforementioned parishes to go study in Estonia. In 1939 (Latvian State Historical Archive, Central Political Administration card file, Volainis P.), Voolaine was forbidden entry to the Republic of Latvia (Štšerbinskis 2007: 145–146).

In 1937, the researcher of Livonian folklore Oskar Loorits (1900–1961) was expelled from Latvia (Kursīte 2008), the same also happened to Voolaine (reported in *Postimees* in January 1938) (Jääts 2013). For comparison, in 1938, the Central Political Administration (CPA) of the Latvian Ministry of Interior, counted the number of Catholic priests of Lithuanian descent in the employ of Eduards Stukelis, the Counsellor of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Rīga. In the opinion of the CPA,

13 Note: The identical article was also published in the magazine *Audzinātājs* (see Jūlijs Ozols *Audzinātājs*, No.1., 1932, pg. 23) Instead of “an Estonian student” it says “a Tartu student”.

14 Neeme Ruus (1911–1942). In 1940, he was Minister of Welfare in the Estonian puppet government led by Johannes Vares-Barbarus, and from the end of July 1940, he was the Propaganda Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party. He stayed in Estonia to work underground, but was apprehended by the Germans and shot.

because of Stukelis, Lithuanian clergy had been “placed in politically important congregations along the border where the Lithuanians need it”. The CPA felt that the aforementioned priests were promoting the Lithuanianisation of Latvians. Staņislavs Kurļandskis, who directed Lithuanian community life in Latgale, was also expelled from Latvia (Jēkabsons 2013: 109–110).

5. Emilis Melngailis and Lutsi folk music heritage

During Latvia’s first independence period, the Lutsis were considered to be Setos,¹⁵ Finns, Livonians. In 1929, the magazine *Mākslas un senatnes mēnešraksts Latvijas Saule* (The Art and Antiquity Monthly “Sun of Latvia”; No. 85–86, 1929) published the following: “Searching for Livonians. The Folklore Archive has asked composer E. Melngailis to find traces of the ancient Livonians in Latgale as part of his folklore studies,¹⁶ Nerza parish (Br.Z) pg. 952.”

Composer Emilis Melngailis conducted an “experiment” by bringing along a Livonian, Didriķis Volganskis (1884–1968), with him from the Livonian Coast. Melngailis wrote:

“I really wanted to see if a Courlander from Cape Kolka could speak with the Livonians who still can be found in 7 places near Lejasciems, also in a few places near Ludza. The Cape Kolka fisherman type I brought along, Mr. Volganskis, truly stood out as dark-skinned among the light-toned Livonians. He also could not converse at all with the Greči village Livonians (in Nierza, near Ludza). He says 1, 2: *ikš, kakš*, they say: *ūts, kāts*.” (Melngailis 1934: 112)

15 Cand. hist. A. Lazdiņa *Ekskursants* No.14 01.10.1935, pg. 306: “...it is interesting to note that Setos also live in Pilda and Nirza parishes in Ludza County who came here from their homeland. These Latgalian Setos are almost completely assimilated into the Latvians. It is unusual that this little nation has managed to maintain its unique characteristics [living] among the Russians including their brightly-coloured folk costumes, which must be considered the most beautiful and unique in all of Estonia.” This quote gives an example of the view in Latvia during that time that the Lutsis are Setos.

16 Emilis Melngailis “Līvu pēdas Latgalē” (speech). *Latvijas Kareivis*, 23.03.1933. At the opening of National Education Week in Daugavpils.



Figure 2. Rozālija Buļa, 85 years old (front middle), Didriķis Volganskis (in a black hat behind Rozālija), Petruļa Buļa (last on left) in Greči village. (Photo: Emīlis Melngailis, 1930, UL ILFA Archives of Latvian Folklore, image No. LFK 1045, 57c).¹⁷

During the interwar years, the Lutsis had cause to feel proud of their countrywoman, singer and folklore research informant Petruļa Buļa from Greči village in Nirza parish. In news reports at the time we read of her being awarded the Silver Medal of Honour of the Order of Three Stars (“Galvas pilsētā” 1932). Emīlis Melngailis also notes Petruļa Buļa’s knowledge of Lutsi (which he calls Livonian) and mentions her among other figures he considered cultural luminaries at this time:

“That the storied castle of light, which is to be lifted up, can be found in folklore was already sensed by Krišjānis Valdemārs with his prescient mind. With a critical eye he separated the duties of his rival between those that are urgent and others that can be delayed. Without a lot of loud fuss, revolts, or hatreds, he urged the youth to collect folklore, organised Brīvzemnieks’ trips, determined that Krišjānis Barons should undertake the task of collecting dainas. Next, Matīss Siliņš, the founder

17 <http://garamantas.lv/en/illustration/377677/Greci-parish-near-Nierza>.

of that storehouse of ancient objects – the Latvian Museum – should be immediately named. What would the song festival be without costume displays, without ancient attire? Here is a photograph in which a noble group of singers is seated, but Matīss Siliņš, who is one of the few who has a deeper understanding of our antiquity, is standing behind them. That *kokle* player in the middle is the late Suiti master Henķis from whom I have written down both songs and dances. Seated to his left is Meklenburgu Dārta, who has given me the best melodies from central Korsa. Visible next to her is Buļu Petruļa from Greči village in Nierza, close to Ludza, who still knows the Livonian language. On the other side behind Henķis you can see Uksiļu Marinka with her goddaughter Piparu Margieta. Both of whom on their trip from Palanga to Rīga saw the railroad for the first time. On the end is Ulmaņu Late from the same area in Kuldīga as Meklenburgu Dārta. They also still sing in Livonian in Ilzene near Lejasciems. Do not think that Courlandic is the same as Livonian. Where a Livonian says – *ūts, kāts* (= one, two), a Courlander says *ikš, kakš*. The relationship is distant.” (Melngailis 1938: 24)

According to the information available in the Archives of Latvian Folklore (*Latviešu folkloras krātuve*), Melngailis used the song “Padzīdomi mes, mōsenis” sung by Petruļa Buļa, by including it in the beginning of his arrangement “Gaismeņa ausa”. But Valdis Klētnieks also wrote about the *kalado*-song that Melngailis recorded, which Rozālija Buļa and Petruļa Buļa had sung for him in 1930:

Ku-ze-ke-ne ku-ze-ke-ne, kalado, kalado
(translation: Little spruce, little spruce, kalado, kalado)
(Klētnieks 1968: 628)

In the 1930s, Petruļa Buļa appeared to be relatively easy to hire. In 1939, conductor of the Ludza Aizsargi (Home Guard) Division Choir and self-employed artist Pēteris Ore, collected folk songs from her. He also wrote the following:

“In Greči village in Nirza parish, I met 90-year-old singer Rozālija Bule. Her folk song repertoire is truly vast, but it can’t be known if they can be sung in two melodies, because it was impossible to get more melodies from her. The song texts are completely Latvian, maintained within the verses and rhythm of the folk songs, likewise the motifs are sung in a completely unique way with a special accentuation. Not far from Rozālija Bule lives 67-year-old Petronela Buļa. It turned out that

she had already been invited to Rīga a few years ago to sing Estonian folk songs, because in her time she had been not only a great singer of Latvian folk songs, but also had known many Estonian folk songs. This time, however, I had no luck inspiring her to sing. The grey-haired lady had fallen upon hard times and she had lost the joy to sing. It is interesting to note that in Greči and Sčastļivije villages in Nirza parish there are still many Estonian families living now. The children of these families prefer to speak Latvian.” (“Vienā aprīņķī” 1939)

A few years after Pēteris Ore, the Soviet occupation came. In March 1941, Emilis Melngailis collected folklore materials for an art decade in Moscow (“Vāc folkloras materiālus” 1941). However, Petruļa Buļa’s and the other “Nirza and Pilda parish Livonians’ moment in the sun” in Moscow was apparently not meant to be.

6. Latvian research expeditions in the 1970s

The 26th expedition of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Andrejs Upīts’ Language and Literature Institute Folklore Section took place in Summer 1972. Other participants included the employees of the Language and Literature Institute, the faculty of the Latvian Academy of Music, etc. The expedition focused on Ludza District¹⁸ and also interviewed Lutsis. A member of this expedition, Mirdza Berzinska documented the Lutsis’ stories about their history and origins. Lutsi Marija Laizāne gave the following accounts:¹⁹

“Long ago, the Estonians of Ozupine village killed their manor lord at Janovle manor and were first to receive their freedom. The Latgalian envied the Estonians because of this, but nevertheless kept living under their manor lord’s jurisdiction.” (Berzinska 1972: 58)

“The Estonians attended a Latgalian wedding in Voiti village and joked to each other that the wedding meal would be ‘kassi liha’ – cat meat. All of the Estonians laughed, but because the Latgalians could not understand them, they thought that the Estonians just felt good at their feast and that was why they were so jolly.” (Berzinska 1972: 58)

18 Latvian: *rajons*.

19 “Marija Laizāne, 82 years old. She was born in Cibla parish in Ludza County. She went to school for one winter. Her mother was Estonian and spoke Estonian.” (Berzinska 1972: 57)

“The Estonians had sprightly girls, the Latgalians didn’t, they were submissive, quiet.” (Berzinska 1972: 58)

“Sometimes their neighbours wondered how these Estonians came to be in Latgale, then the informant’s (i.e., Marija Laizāne – author’s note) father said: ‘A black raven carried the Estonians from Estonia through the air. The Estonians fell out of the raven’s pocket over Latgale, over Ozupine, Greči, Puncuļi, and Abricki villages.’” (Berzinska 1972: 57)

The origin myth of the Lutsis given above is a somewhat analogous story to Fr. R. Kreutzwald’s *Kalevipoeg*. Not only did the Lutsis fly, but also Kreutzwald’s Kalev used flight in the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* to reach his new home:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Kolmas istus kotka selga,</i> | <i>On an eagle sat the third one,</i> |
| <i>Põhjakotka tiiva peale...</i> | <i>On the northern eagle’s wings.</i> |
| <i>See, kes sõitis kotka seljas,</i> | <i>He, who rolled away to Russia,</i> |
| <i>Põhjakotka tiiva pealla,</i> | <i>Rose to be a clever merchant,</i> |
| <i>Lendas palju, liugles palju,</i> | <i>Braider of the purls in shops.</i> |
| <i>Lendas tüki lõuna poole,</i> | <i>He, who blew to Tundraland,</i> |
| <i>Teise tüki tõusu poole,</i> | <i>Rose to be a valiant warrior,</i> |
| <i>Sõitis üle Soome mere,</i> | <i>Wielder of the axe of warfare.</i> |
| <i>Liugles üle Läänemere,</i> | <i>He who rode the back of th’eagle,</i> |
| <i>Veeres üle Viru mere,</i> | <i>On the northern eagle’s wings,</i> |
| <i>Kuni õnne kohendusel,</i> | <i>Flew a long time, glided more,</i> |
| <i>Jumalikul juhatusel</i> | <i>Flew a distance to the south,</i> |
| <i>Kotkas kõrge kalju peale</i> | <i>Then another t’wards the sunrise,</i> |
| <i>Viskas mehe Viru randa.</i> | <i>Flew across the Finnish sea,</i> |
| <i>(Kreutzwald 1935: 16)</i> | <i>Skimmed across the Western sea,</i> |
| | <i>Rolled across the Viru sea.</i> |
| | <i>(Kreutzwald 2011: 31–32)</i> |

Another member of the 1972 expedition Guna Pence, interviewed Lutsi informant Nikolajs Buļš²⁰ son of Staņislavs, who told other stories of Lutsi origins:

“They say that the first Estonians came to live here when a manor lord had purchased them from Estonia in exchange for some goats.” (Pence 1972: 124)

20 Research informant Nikolajs Buļš son of Staņislavs. Born in 1911. He lived in Ludza District, Ozupiene village soviet (Latvian: *ciema padome*), Ščastļivi village.

“There once was a law that Estonians could only marry each other. That is why everyone has the last name Buļš here.” (Pence 1972: 124)

“The Estonians always kept together and apart from the Latgalians. They had their own parties. The Estonians couldn’t stand the Latgalians and also vice versa. They also sat apart in church.” (Pence 1972: 124)

Irisa Priedīte, a researcher at the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum of Latvia, had the following to say about the museum’s expedition in 1974 and its results:

“We turned our attention, even if only slightly, to the so-called Ludza Estonians. In 1974, 46 exhibits were brought from Pilda and Mērdzene parishes. These were made by individuals from Estonian or mixed Estonian-Latvian families. The archive contains descriptions of the lives, work, and traditions of 50 residents of these parishes (those who know their Estonian origins). A portion of these are supplemented with photographs.” (Priedīte 1996)

Other aspects of the 1972 Lutsi expedition are described in the articles by Antons Breidaks (1932–2000) and Vija Jugāne. Breidaks provides a detailed overview of the unique features, the considerable multilingualism of the part of Latgale where Lutsi was spoken, and the importance of language contact in its development. He also gives some thought to the origins of the Lutsis and the presence and influence of Lutsi on local toponyms and family names.

“The study of different ethnic groups and language contacts elicits special interest in Latgale. This is because Russians, Belarusians, Poles, Estonians, and others have lived alongside Latvians (retrospectively, Latgalians) in this cultural historical region of Latvia since ancient times. The influence of the cultures and languages of the Slavic nations in Latgale has been extensively discussed in the scientific literature. Latvian and Lithuanian as well as Russian and Polish researchers have written about this question. Estonian and Finnish researchers have studied Estonian and Latgalian culture and language contacts. Latvian researchers have studied this issue relatively little.” (Breidaks 1972a)

“Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences and Hungarian Academy of Sciences academic Prof. Paul Ariste has been especially interested in the Lutsis. He has been in Ludza District many times to collect Estonian dialect materials. P. Ariste has broadly examined the features of the Lutsi dialect, which reflect influence from Latvian, Russian, Belarusian,

and Polish. In his article ‘Examples of language contact in Latgale’, P. Ariste recognises Ludza District as one of the most interesting regions in the Baltic, because it is possible to observe the processes and results of contact among languages of various origins. He thinks that some Estonians settled in Ludza District long ago, but the majority in the 17th century. There are many names of settlements in Ludza District, which were borrowed from Estonian, for example, Germi, Kaupuzy, Lynuży, Paidery, Pylda, Raibakozy, Spenery. The influence of Estonian can also be seen in many exterior place names, which are borrowed from Estonian, for example, Ašu plova, Boku mežs, etc. Nowadays only rarely do older Estonians still remember the ancient exterior names, which they once used in their full form, for example, in Cjapši village there is a meadow named Havesta kolk, hills named Kaudu megi, Lavaamegi, Sanaavarik, etc. There are also a few last names of Estonian origin in Ludza District, for example, Kaupužs, Poikāns, Soikāns, Unda, Zeps, etc. These examples testify to the extensive influence of Estonian on the Latgalian subdialects of Ludza District.” (Breidaks 1972b)

The 1972 expedition still encountered the last people who had grown up and lived their lives with Lutsi, even if by then they may not have spoken it very often anymore. In her article, Vija Jugāne describes her conversation with Antoņina Nikonova (1898–1983), whose grandson Nikolajs Nikonovs (1944–2006) would be the last speaker of Lutsi, and shows Nikonova’s attitudes towards her unique knowledge and language in a world where very few others can understand it.

“Estonian Antoņina Nikonova of Pilda village sang her folk songs. She said she would sing three, but sang two. When she returned to her place, we asked why she didn’t sing the third one. ‘Well, why should I sing it, you won’t understand what I’m singing about anyway. It could be that I’m making fun of you,’ she smiled back at us. This grandmother’s words describe in a practical way the attitude of a singer in Latgale towards song – the text and melody are a single whole /.../ because by singing to an audience it is possible to describe the events about which the song is written with more feeling.” (Jugāne 1972)

The observations and conclusions of the expedition members found in Jugāne’s article help, in some measure, to get a sense of the shared and separate – of Latgale and the Lutsis. They also show the differing attitudes of younger and the very youngest generation towards this vanishing heritage.



Figure 3. Lutsi speaker and singer Antonina Nikonova in Lielie Tjapši village. (Source: Pence 1972: 6).

“In the past there were several Estonian villages here and their residents separated themselves from the Latgalian, they tried to maintain their culture. Now, of course, everyone is cooperating, in daily life it’s not possible to say who is Latvian, who is Estonian. It turns out that there are still fifteen Estonians of whom four speak Estonian fluently. The oldest of them – Jezups Jakimenko – is 96 years old /.../ So, at the last moment it was still possible to collect materials of immeasurable value to study the mutual influence of two language groups, two cultures, and how they develop.

/.../ in this expedition there was an occasion where educated children were ashamed of their own ethnic culture /.../ Researcher Mirdza Berzinska elaborates:²¹ ‘I have had occasion to observe how small children listen to songs and stories with the greatest of interest, while young people seem to be ashamed of these or are only interested in the stage. The old women complain: no one knows how to sing at weddings anymore, they just warble; I don’t know how to do that and don’t want to. I asked the [language and culture] informant Antoņina A. if her children also sing. – One daughter does have a good voice, but she only sings those modern songs, she doesn’t like the old ones. And it also doesn’t turn out well. If she tries. I don’t know if it’s the fault of her voice or /.../ Maybe she doesn’t feel the song’s soul /.../ Nowadays young people don’t know how to have fun without drinking, and the song doesn’t sound right. And when they get drunk, it doesn’t sound right either.

21 An employee at the Archives of Latvian Folklore (Latviešu folkloras krātuve) and collector of folklore for many years; a contributor to the publication *Latviešu tautasdziesmas* (Latvian folk songs).

And they don't remember the words or the melody. Children, however, according to the observations of every expedition member, listen in rapt attention to the songs, stories, and legends told by their grandmother and grandfather. Even in the scientific session, which lasted for several hours, the small girls and boys sat unblinking and listened with great interest not only to the performances, but also to the speeches. Probably by respecting their people's folklore in their childhood, they will also respect their people's creative works, by continuing to pass down their folklore across the generations." (Jugāne 1972)

The Lutsis were suddenly mentioned again at the folklore festival "Baltica-89":

"The noteworthy Estonian folklorist Oskar Kallas studied the ethnography and folklore of the Lutsis. As the residents of Rogovka village knew, there was still a woman alive in 1975 who knew Estonian folk songs. In this sense, Ludza District, which is also where Rogovka village is located, has been a kind of micromodel of the cultural situation characteristic of the Baltic. The Latvian and Estonian, or more broadly speaking – Baltic and Finno-Ugric, cultures interacted and influenced each other in this place." (Kiope 1989)

7. Conclusion

The Lutsis are currently experiencing a revival in Latvia among descendants while also being (re)discovered among the wider population of Latvia and the Baltic States. However, the Lutsis have been the focus of research and articles in the popular media since the middle of the 19th century. This article traced the Lutsi presence in the press and in the notes of researchers over this time up to the 1970s when the last generation of those who had grown up speaking Lutsi and lived with Lutsi were still alive providing a unique insight into not only the language and culture contact that has characterised the Lutsi community over its existence, but also the attitudes of Lutsis and their descendants towards the state of that language and culture at that time.

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Kokkuvõte. Hannes Korjus: Sementovskijst 20. sajandisse. Märkmeid lutsidest Lāti ajakirjanduses. Kunagine lõunaestikeelne lutside kogukond elas Kagu-Lätis Ludza linna ümbruses. Lätis on nad saanud suurema avaliku tähelepanu osalisteks alles viimastel kümnenditel, kui on ilmunud raamatuid nende ajaloo ja keele kohta nii asjatundjatele kui ka laiemale huvirühmale ning on hakatud elavdama lutsi rahvakultuuri. Siiski ka enne seda viimast aktiivsuse tõusu on lutsidest kirjutatud Lāti ja Eesti ajakirjanduses ja on ilmunud välitööde märkmeid lutsidega seotud uurimuste tegijatelt. Antud artikkel jälgib lutside kirjeldusi erinevates allikates alates varastest mainimistest 19. sajandi keskel, jätkates maailmasõdadevahelise perioodiga ning jõudes viimaks 1970. aastateni, kui Lāti uurijad dokumenteerisid oma ekspeditsioonidel viimaste lutsi kõnelejade keelelist ja kultuurilist olukorda.

Märksõnad: etniline identiteet, ohustatud keeled, vähemuskeeled, läänemere-soome keeled, lõunaestis, Lutsi, Latgale, Ludza

OBSERVATIONS ON LUTSI ORAL TRADITION

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Abstract: This article examines Lutsi intangible culture in an attempt to clarify the origins of this language island. Historical stories about coming from “Sweden” refer to southern Estonia, but such stories are also widespread in areas that were never under Swedish rule. The Christian tradition is based on the church language and literature of Estonia. Lutsi laments or lament-like songs are unique, different from Seto laments, but also from the lament-like orphan songs of southern Estonia. Work songs and ritual songs (*tavandilaul*) as well as narrative songs are related to traditions found in both Võromaa and Setomaa. Oskar Kallas’s documentation contains an impressive number of children’s songs and readings, short verses, and other peripheral material. Their proportion only increases in later collections. The influence of Latvian songs is striking and can be seen from direct translations to texts where original and borrowed material intermingle. The Lutsi tradition was also probably influenced by their Slavic neighbours. Comparisons with the folklore of the other South Estonian language islands and that of the Tver Karelians shows both commonalities and differences.

Keywords: folklore styles, laments, runic songs, Christian tradition, Finnic, South Estonian, Lutsi, Latvian influence

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1. Introduction

Serious interest in the Lutsis has resurfaced in the 21st century. Thus far the Lutsi language has been the aspect of their intangible culture to receive the most attention. Language and the oral tradition conveyed through it are closely related and connected in many ways. Written language documentation as well as audio recordings of folk songs, stories, religious and folklore material, historical accounts, and other similar material are the focus of research for folklorists and ethnologists. However, texts collected primarily for their folklore may also hold great interest for linguists. Especially folk songs, but also stories, short forms,

and other texts preserve archaic words, word combinations, grammatical forms, and other material lost in everyday language. This has allowed us to talk about linguistic archaeology based on Estonian runic songs (Peegel 1970).

1893 can be considered a turning point in the history of Lutsi research. This was the year that a young Estonian folklorist, Oskar Kallas, travelled to the Lutsi villages on an expedition supported by the Finnish Literature Society. He published two books based on this research: *Lutsi maarahvas* (The Lutsis; Kallas 1894) and *Kaheksakümmend Lutsi maarahva muinasjuttu* (Eighty Lutsi folk tales; Kallas 1900). The 20th century saw the accelerating and final disappearance of the Lutsi language; a process, which had already begun in the previous century or centuries. At the same time, the amount of collected material continued to increase. In 1911, Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu documented Lutsi and the language of the other South Estonian language islands. Paulopriit Voolaine made numerous documentation trips from Estonia and also worked to support Lutsi traditional culture with the help of various research organisations and institutions. August Sang conducted documentation expeditions among the Lutsis for the purpose of linguistic research. There was also interest in Latvia in this minority group: composer and musicologist Emilis Melngailis recorded a number of Lutsi songs. Estonian and Latvian researchers continued their documentation expeditions during the decades of the Soviet occupation and stored these materials in various archives. As noted above, linguistic documentation also offers interesting material for researchers of folklore and ethnology.

Publication and research have proceeded differently depending on the nature of the material. Oskar Kallas's book of folk tales has been republished electronically (Kallas 2008) and in print (Kallas 2015). Stories recorded by Kallas and other researchers (Paulopriit Voolaine, August Sang) have also been published with commentary online (Annom et al. 2011) and in print (Annom et al. 2018); also in Latvian (Godiņš 2015).

Lutsi songs have been published much less than their stories. The Lutsi material, like that collected from the other South Estonian language islands, contains proverbs and riddles, which have appeared in academic publications (Hussar et al. 1980–1988, Krikmann & Saukas 2001–2014). A large number of several types of folklore texts have

recently been published in the South Estonian language islands volume of the “Eesti murded” (Estonian dialects) series (Mets et al. 2014). There are also scattered individual texts in various scientific and popular publications.

The following observations on Lutsi folk songs and other elements of intangible culture are based on Oskar Kallas’s classic book *Lutsi maarahvas* (1894). It gives a more or less exhaustive picture of the songs in Lutsi and other elements of oral tradition remembered at the time they were documented. The material collected by later researchers has been used for comparison and supplementation as necessary. Its wider involvement would lead to a number of problems. First of all, it is apparent that some singers were visited repeatedly by different researchers or even the same researcher, but repeated performances by one singer are not equivalent to variations recorded from different singers. Second, especially when comparing material collected in the second half of the 20th century with that from Kallas, there is already a diachronic aspect at play. Over time, there was a significant narrowing of the repertoire, which is linked with the emergence of marginal genres.

In this article, I endeavour to find an answer to the question of what Lutsi oral tradition can tell us about their history. Folk songs are my primary focus, but I also examine other song genres. I will also examine the question: does this material makes it clear(er) when and how the South Estonian language island near the eastern Latvian city of Ludza came into existence? At the same time, the links between runic songs and other traditional forms of singing as well as with other folklore genres and the folk songs of neighbouring nations are also discussed. I will also touch upon the folklore of the other South Estonian language islands (Kraasna and Leivu) through comparisons. It is also sensible to compare the Lutsis with other Finnic language islands. One particular Karelian language island provides the best comparison. These are the Tver Karelians who relocated at a fairly specifically known time and who were already offered as a comparison to the Lutsis by Oskar Kallas. According to Kallas, both groups moved to their new home territories in the 17th century – the Karelians after 1617 following the conclusion of the Treaty of Stolbovo, the Lutsis in the mid-17th century (Kallas 1894: 38).

2. Lutsi origins in folklore data

Oskar Kallas's hypothesis that the Lutsis are descendants of relatively recent immigrants has been mostly confirmed and further developed by linguists for more than a century. However, this question cannot be considered to be completely resolved. In fact, G. Mannteuffel, who in 1868 was one of the first to mention the Lutsis in writing, noted the possibility that the Lutsis had lived in the Ludza area since the beginning (Kallas 1894: 36–37). More recently, Lembit Vaba has been a strong supporter of the same view, while also acknowledging later immigration (Vaba 1997: 33, Vaba 2001). In his opinion, the long survival of the Lutsi language around Ludza is due to a unique balance in conditions there, which are characterised by “etnilise ja konfessionaalse heterogeensuse” (ethnic and confessional heterogeneity) (Vaba 1997: 33–35) or “rahvuste pudru seas” (a porridge of nations) (cf. Kallas 1894: 12). Paul Ariste also suggested – albeit only in passing and without further explanation – the existence of an old Finnic substrate, while at the same time considering the majority of Lutsi ancestors being later immigrants (Ariste 1956).

A generally valid development in Lutsi emigration theories is the view that the Lutsis originated from the Setos. Unexpectedly and directly, Ülo Tedre presented this view in an article about Oskar Kallas's folklore research. Among other things, Tedre gave a rather detailed overview of *Lutsi maarahvas* noting the large proportion of narrative songs among the folk songs published in the book (in Tedre's opinion, there are 14 types with 36 variants, which corresponds exactly to the number of songs found in Kallas's book in the section entitled “Jutustavad laulud” (Narrative songs); however, there are texts in this section, which clearly do not fit into it). Tedre notes: *It seems that the researcher has either asked specifically for narrative songs or these have a place of honour in the repertoire. Taking into account a Seto origin, this [i.e., the inherently high proportion of lyroepics – K.S.] is not impossible.* (“Näikse, et koguja on kas küsitlenud eriti jutustavaid laule või on viimased olnud repertuaaris aukohal. Arvestades setu päritolu pole see võimatu”, Tedre 1998: 146). This would then be at least the third position on the origin of the Lutsis based on an analysis of folklore.

Ülo Tedre's article, as if accidentally dropping the claim that the Lutsis originate from the Setos, at first only surprised me: on what

grounds, apart from the relatively large proportion of narrative songs, was this conclusion based, which differed from long-held and generally accepted views? At the same time, I myself am well acquainted with the situation in the field of folk tales where the similarity of Seto and Lutsi is clearly visible, and this is not at all the case in the newer repertoire where the similarity could be explained by common sources for loans. Conversely, the Setos and Lutsis often specifically have more ancient folk tales in common, which may be completely unknown in neighbouring nations. Often such folk tales contain archaic religious concepts as well as frequent song interludes. It should be noted that AT 425A “Üheksa velle sõsar” (The Sister of Nine Brothers; Salve & Sarv 1987: 14–15, etc.) belongs to this group and also found its way into the Latvian repertoire. The Latvian variants differ considerably from the ones in Lutsi, which shows that we are dealing with a substrate instead of a recent loan. Therefore, I began to understand that Ülo Tedre’s observation could still turn out to be a fruitful hypothesis, forcing a different perspective to be critically considered. I will attempt to do this below by analysing the songs with an eye on folklore genre and specific typological units, in order to determine which origin theory they support.

3. Toponyms and ethnonyms, historical origins

Arguments in favour of the Lutsis as indigenous are partially sociolinguistic and seem convincing. Good concrete examples of the language situation at the end of the 19th century are already given by Kallas (1894: 11); later researchers, for example Voolaine (1925), offer equally compelling examples. Perhaps influential in this situation was that Lutsi was not the language of state or church, and that it also differed from the language of the surrounding majority, and, indeed, was just one of many different minority groups and as a result was uniquely preserved. Perhaps the real death sentence for the Lutsis (or rather for the Lutsi language, as it was precisely language that distinguished the Lutsis from other Catholics in Latgale) was the elevation of the Latvian and Latgalian languages to a predominant position in the Republic of Latvia.

Oskar Kallas thought that contemporary place names spoke in favour of the Võro origins of the Lutsis. And, indeed, a string of Lutsi

place names correspond to ones in Võromaa. In addition to toponyms, Kallas also gave considerable attention to ethnonyms in his books on the Lutsi and Kraasna communities (Kallas 1894, Kallas 1903). So, for example, he considered the use of the toponym/ethnonym *Rootsi* ‘Sweden/Swedish’ to be an important distinguishing feature between the Lutsi and Kraasna communities. Use of this term by the Lutsis would seem to be evidence that they had lived under Swedish rule in the past, while the absence of this term in Kraasna appears to confirm that its inhabitants came from Setomaa. However, the relevant material is by no means uniform. Thus, in multilingual Latgale, this hypothetical Swedish origin is confirmed by a loanword in Lutsi: *Mii olli Shveeda rahvas* ‘We were people of Sweden’ (ERA II 33, 24 < Lutsi – P. Voolaine (1930)). However, it is clear that this old original name, which all Finnic nations have historically known independent of whether or not they had lived under Swedish rule during a relatively late and brief period of history, had simply been forgotten by the Kraasna community.

There has been a great deal of confusion regarding ethnonyms, including self-designations, in the Lutsi community. It is true (according to linguists) that the use of several self-designations by speakers of one language or the same self-designation by speakers of different languages is a rather common phenomenon among Finnic nations, as shown by Riho Grünthal (1997). Their neighbours also called the Lutsis by various names, including *tchuhna* (Kallas 1894: 15, 16). For the Lutsis, this term appears to have had no pejorative connotation. This was also the case in the Kraasna community where phonetic variants of this term were used as a self-designation (Kallas 1903: 39). However, it would be interesting to know who the *Tsukhna kuning* – the Tsukhna king – was for the Lutsis (Kallas 1894: 59). Did he rule *Maa pool* – in Estonia – or over *Roodzi maa* – Sweden (Kallas 1894: 38)? The meaning of *tsukhna* would in this case be approximately the same as for the Setos, i.e., ‘a Lutheran speaker of our (or almost our) language’. At the very least, it seems like the mishmash of Lutsi ethnonyms does not arise unequivocally from their own multilingualism or from the surrounding Babel of nations (see also Voolaine 1925: 374 et seq.).

An interesting example of defining an ethnic group based on religious affiliation is shown by Lutsi *tshiuli*, *kiuli*: phonetic variants of the same word, which refers to Germans as well as Lutheran Estonians and Latvians (Kallas 1894: 30). It is quite remarkable that the very same

word was known in Kraasna where in the 19th century *kivli* referred to Estonian-Lutheran immigrants (Kallas 1903: 39–40). In Setomaa, which has been considered the place of origin for the Kraasna community, this word is unknown. What were the possible connections between the Lutsi and Kraasna communities? Could it just be that the name used for a third ethnic group was adopted in casual communication if there was even alienation between Orthodox and Catholic believers? Catholic Lutsis did not consider Orthodox Estonians to be Estonians anymore: *Olõ õi nimä Maarahvas, nimä uma Vindlaze!* ‘They aren’t Lutsi, they are Russian!’ (Kallas 1894: 49) Of course, ethnicity was also defined in parallel by language.

Voolaine visited the Lutsis in the generation after Kallas encountering an already different political situation. According to Voolaine, terms with a pejorative connotation still in full use at the time were *tshiuli* (primarily referring to Lutheran Latvians) and *tshangali* (referring to Catholic Latgalians); however, Catholic Lutsi speakers could also still refer to their Latgalian fellow believers as *tshangali* (Voolaine 1925: 376–377). Oral history certainly has something to say about the origin of the Lutsis, but at the same time it also remains a type of folklore, and so cannot be taken at face value.

Ending up in one’s current home territory due to one’s ancestors being prisoners of war or as a result of being sold and living before then as subjects of a different king are recurring motifs in the historical traditions of many nations and ethnic groups. Of course, there have been many such events and, therefore, the line dividing folklore from reality must be determined in each case separately. A good example are the frequently repeated historical accounts of the Swedish period, the Swedish war, the king of Sweden. This does not mean that all of these stories, even those about trees planted by the king of Sweden, his lost boot, or his promise never to return to rule Estonia, should automatically be accepted as true. A similar account of Swedish origins was known (along with other stories) among the Leivus (also known as the *Koiva maarahvas* ‘Gauja Estonians’) (Niilus 1935: 374). A very significant parallel is found in Setomaa, which has never been under Swedish rule, but where there nevertheless exists a historical tradition passed down more or less to the present day stating that they originate from “Swedish people” (Remmel 1997: 120, Valk 1996: 62–64). Even more surprising was discovering such a tradition among the Veps (an

unwritten conversation in 1975 at Peloila cemetery in the Southern Veps territory). In addition to this account, there is also the expected richness and varied nature of Swedish accounts (including self-identification as Swedish people) found among the Votians whose land was indeed ruled by Sweden for a long time (Västrik 1998: 135–137). It can be said that these Swedish stories were common among the peoples living on the southern and eastern shores of the Gulf of Finland. Taking all of this into account, it seems that Oskar Kallas attributed too much meaning to the stories widespread among the Lutsis of how their ancestors had reached their current homeland (Kallas 1894: 37–39).

4. Religious language and “Jumala laulud” (God songs)

In the introduction to *Lutsi maarahvas*, Oskar Kallas made many cultural historical observations, the value of which has only increased with time. It is commendable that Kallas recorded prayer texts and religious song fragments considering these, along with historical accounts, to be important evidence of the origin of the Lutsi people. It seems, however, that Kallas overestimated their value as evidence. For example, the “riismekesed” (scraps) of religious songs (Kallas 1894: 57) are actually folklorised fragments of songs from the Lutheran hymnal and the repertoire of the Moravian Brethren. Thus, there is no reason to doubt their evangelicalism, but this does not prove the existence of church services or religious literature in the Lutsi language in the past. Kallas contrasts the Lutsis with the ancestors of the Kraasna community who did not have these. The Setos, similarly, did not have a liturgy in their own language until Estonia’s independence. Though the Setos are known to have been Orthodox since Christianisation, they still were more than happy to learn from their Lutheran neighbours, first and foremost from the repertoire of the Moravian Brethren, but also religious songs from the church hymnal (Salve 1995). In the absence of documentation of how these songs spread to Setomaa, and likewise knowledge about the history of Setomaa, a faulty conclusion could be drawn based on the lengthy religious songs recorded from the Setos, i.e., that they once had been Lutherans.

One of Kallas's "riismekesed", namely,

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Kes ol ilmale prīsvā, prāsvā,</i> | 'Those who squandered, |
| | reveled with strangers, |
| <i>ilmale sõprust pidāmā</i> | make friends in the [bad] world.' |

was also known in the Seto tradition where the corresponding verses remained as part of an extensive text until the second half of the 20th century in the following form:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Kes ilmaga prisva ja prasva,</i> | 'Those who squandered and |
| | reveled with strangers, |
| <i>kes ilmaga sõprust pidava.</i> | those make friends in the [bad] world.' |

(RKM Mgn 166b – H. Tampere, V. Pino < I. Pino, 64 years old (1959)

These and many other religious verses from the Lutheran-Moravian tradition reached the Seto repertoire in a form different from printed sources. In Seto tradition, this variation continued.

The second fragment on the same page is undoubtedly based on a church hymn that had been in circulation for centuries and was known as "Põrguvalulaul" (The pain of hell song) (the title of this section of the church hymnal (1881, no. 374) – "Põrgo valust" (On the pain of hell) – lent its name to the first song of the corresponding part). It is surprising that with his church background, Oskar Kallas did not know this song, the beginning verses of which are:

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Oh tulke, inemise,</i> | 'Oh come, people, |
| <i>Oh tulke, vaivalise,</i> | Oh come, poor souls, |
| <i>Ja pandke tähele,</i> | And mark my words,' |

The source of the Lutsi fragment can be identified as verses 5, 10, and 17 of this very long song:

Verse 5, Line 6:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Kui pime org nink põrguhaud.</i> | 'When the valley and |
| | the grave of hell are dark.' |

Verse 10, Lines 4 and 5:

Ne tõine tõist sääl pesva ‘There they beat each other
Nink hammastega kiskva And tear with [their] teeth’

Verse 17, Lines 1 and 2:

Küll kuradi so kiskva ‘Devils tear you apart for sure
Ja paigast tõiste viskva And throw [you] from one place to another’

The first editions of the South Estonian church hymnal were published late enough (in 1685 and 1695) that it is simply impossible that these would have ended up in the hands of migrants if their date of emigration is placed in the mid-17th century. If emigration is placed at the beginning of the 18th century, then it would in principle be possible, although not probable. Especially in view of the Seto parallel, it seems more likely that the religious songs Oskar Kallas recorded – and perhaps also others – reached the Lutsis much later with smaller emigrant groups or individual refugees who merged with the earlier existing Lutsi population. Only from the second half of the 19th century were new Estonian settlers able to preserve their Lutheran identity. However, songs learned so recently from the latter would have probably also been better preserved and the informants would have remembered the circumstances of how they learned them.

Despite all his efforts, Oskar Kallas never got to see a single book in Estonian or meet anyone who had seen one (Kallas 1894: 58). The informants who had confirmed their earlier existence, spoke instead of a storied golden age in which books had been printed even in Lutsi, although the language was considered inferior at the time. Influence from new Estonian settlers cannot be ruled out or mixing of what was heard from them with the Lutsis’ vanishing memories of their own past. Likewise, Kallas himself mentioned that the Lutsis continued to have occasional contact with Estonia (Kallas 1894: 63) and that some of what was seen or heard there may also have been remembered.

It is also unclear what songs the informant was thinking of who claimed that *Jumala laulu’ olli inne ka maavärki* ‘God songs were also in Lutsi earlier’ (Kallas 1894: 54). Nor can it be unequivocally concluded from such a short sentence that this refers to a (Lutheran) church hymn. Folklore songs, i.e., runic epic songs, could easily fit under this

term as well as (Catholic) religious songs orally translated from other languages. Kallas also published one of the latter (Kallas 1894: 57) and though it is clearly a literal translation by the performer, translations of more widely known and sung songs may have existed earlier.

Some Catholic Lutsi prayers, especially the prayer from Salnigi, less so the morning prayer recorded in Vähä, are clearly reminiscent of Orthodox Seto prayers (see for example the prayers recorded from Anne Vabarna: Kalkun 2001: 59–64). Andreas Kalkun has called such prayers Orthodox, contrasting them with Protestant-Pietist prayers. However, in the case of such non-canonical, folk prayers, the question concerning to which denomination their transmitters belonged is usually not relevant. Tradition bearers were not aware of doctrinal differences among Christian denominations and, moreover, folk prayers could contain non-Christian folk religious elements. Thus, Seto prayers are no more Orthodox than Lutsi prayers are Catholic, as it is not possible to identify Christian elements by denomination, for example, in prayers of the Kraasna community or in the Võro *piksepalve* ‘Thunder’s Prayer’ of Jürgen of Vihtla. It would be more fitting to characterise all of these as folk tradition or old-fashioned. This folk prayer tradition did not disappear among the Lutsis for at least another generation. Paulopriit Voolaine still recorded this short prayer:

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Hoia’, Jummal, äkilidze surma iist,</i> | ‘Protect [me] God from |
| | sudden death, |
| <i>tiiulda tõbõ iist!</i> | from unexpected disease!’ |

ERA II 33, 45 (7)

He also documented Christian motifs grounded in alliteration and parallelism in Lutsi healing prayers (for example, *Jeesus Kristus, tulõ’ sa abist, astu armust!* ‘Jesus Christ, come and help, have mercy on me!’ (ERA 33, 63/4 (16)). The wording of a Seto prayer very directly matches with that of another Lutsi prayer fragment he recorded, which seeks to place

hüiva sõna suuhtõ, tarka meelt pääha ‘a good word in [my] mouth, a wise mind in [my] head’ (ERA II 42, 467 (49)).

“Ave Maria” is, of course, clearly a Catholic prayer. Perhaps because of its fragmentary nature, Kallas thought it possible that it could already have been brought from Võromaa as a Catholic remnant. However, it is more plausible that it was acquired in Latgale. For Catholics the fragmentation of an important prayer may simply indicate that Lutsi did not have the status of a church language or, more generally, that of a “sacred language”, which is also the reason why they began praying at home in other languages.

Oskar Kallas’s notification of the fact that the version of the Lord’s Prayer he recorded from the Lutsis (1894: 55) corresponds to the Lutheran tradition is entirely appropriate. This can, of course, be explained by the emigration of the Lutsis from Lutheran Võromaa only in the 17th century (or at the beginning of the 18th century), but not necessarily. As Kallas himself observes, the entire population of Latgale, regardless of ethnicity, had been evangelical after the Reformation and until this territory came under Polish rule in 1660. Assuming that Lutsi settlement had existed earlier, the final doxology of the Lord’s Prayer (...*sest Sinu päralt on riik ja vägi ja au igavesti* ‘... for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever’), i.e., the Lutheran version, may have been acquired in or around Ludza.

At this point it pays to draw attention to the fact that the Orthodox Church also uses a shorter version of the Lord’s Prayer without the final doxology. Therefore, the Lutsi Lord’s Prayer is least compatible with the view that they came from Setomaa. Kallas draws attention to the difference in Lutsi where on one hand there is *ezä* ‘father’, *ezänd* ‘head of the household’, but on the other hand there is *Issand* ‘Lord’. That is truly interesting, but even more interesting is the fact that the same distinction applies to the Kraasna language (Kallas 1903: 65). Clearly this difference is related to the language of the church (scriptures). For South Estonian speakers, it was probably easier to accept the different meanings of *esänd* and *Issand*. It should be noted that already on the title page of the New Testament published in 1686, the form *Issand* is taken completely for granted, but at times, for example in Matthew 6: 1, 6, 8, 9, uses of *Essa* and *Issa* mix one with another. This inconsistency appears also in John 14: 8, 9 where the word *Essand* is used to address Jesus and Jesus speaks of his heavenly *Essa*. In fact, this difference also appears already in earlier South Estonian sources. Kristiina Ross speaks of expressions that arose and became ingrained during the Catholic

period, in connection with difficult to explain places in the 17th century North and South Estonian pericopic books (Lohk & Ross 2019: 100, 101, 104). This difference among the Lutsis is more suggestive of emigration from Võromaa. Of course, more extensive migration to areas populated by the Lutsis already earlier should be considered. It is hard to believe that such a church language could have developed there independently of the church language of northern Estonia. The *Kraasna Issand* may come from contact with the Lutsis or could be explained by the Kraasna community also migrating from Võromaa.

5. Folk songs

While historical accounts attempt to leave the impression that they are giving a direct and truthful account of the past, other types of folklore do not promise quick or easy answers. It is clear that something can be inferred about the past of a people who have such traditions only after careful analysis of many folklore texts.

Very little has been written about Lutsi folk songs – only a few remarks in discussions about different genres. For example, Herbert Tampere concluded, on one hand, that Lutsi calendar customs and the few documented calendar song styles correspond to those of south-eastern Estonia, but on the other hand, they also show Seto-type features (Tampere 1960: 25, 29). The only exception is Elmar Päss’s study of the Lutsi variants of the song type “Parmu matus” (The gadfly’s funeral). The results of this work are not particularly influenced by the fact that, as an Orthodox follower of the Finnish school, Päss had compared reconstructed lines. He concluded that the Lutsi variants have a closer connection with those of Võromaa and especially those found in Vastseliina and Räpina parishes, which border Setomaa (Päss 1927: 100–101). Päss likewise noted a close connection between the Lutsi variants and those of Setomaa. In fact, there is reason to believe that the Võro-Seto distinction is not significant for that song and that Päss erred in omitting Setomaa from further study (Päss 1927: 101–102).

It is quite likely that following a new set of observations, the Lutsi “Parmu matus” variants would fit into the distribution group, which Arvo Krikmann identified in publications of South Estonian riddles as Group G3 (consisting mainly of Setomaa, its neighbouring parishes (Vastseliina, Räpina), and/or the language islands (Lutsi, Leivu,

Kraasna)) or perhaps also Group G2 (a wider area of distribution in which Seto clearly dominates) (Krikmann 2000: 333–335).

The portion of *Lutsi maarahvas* containing language examples includes a total of 155 Lutsi songs and song fragments with different forms and features (a few cases, e.g., No. 148 and 150, may be short forms of runic songs), some of which are variants of the same song type. Oskar Kallas often chose not to write down the variants in their entirety (for example, No. 122 and 124 give only the lines differing from previous variants). According to Kallas, he did not write down again, that which he “juba sõna-sõnalt olivad” (already had word-for-word) (Kallas 1894: 78). In any case, it is certain that many of the important song groups and individual texts found in Kallas’s book were documented at the last minute. Following established practice, Kallas primarily published “Laulud laulust” (Songs about singing). It contains only two texts with contemporary type names “Lauliku vaev” (A singer’s anguish) and “Laulikule juua” (To drink for the singer). Both are songs with many variants known across all of Estonia.

6. Laments and sorrow songs

Let us now take a closer look at a genre, which for Finnic nations has a more direct or indirect connection with runic songs – namely, laments. Did the Lutsis know laments at the time when their heritage was recorded? In Oskar Kallas’s publication, laments do not form a special section. These can be found in Section III as “Vaeselapse laulud, nutu-, murelaulud” (Orphan songs, crying, weeping songs) and there are also some wedding laments in Section VI – “Pulma laulud” (Wedding songs). Kallas uses the title “Vaeselapse laul” (Orphan’s song) for the first four in Section III, of which at least three (No. 12, 13, 15) show considerable similarity to orphan songs from southeastern Estonia, though No. 14 is clearly translated from Latvian. The same surely can be said about Lutsi orphan songs as about those from Võromaa: they are filled with unhidden sorrow and despair leaving the impression that they describe a recent loss. Simple repetition, exclamatory lines, and (rhetorical) questions are used as artistic techniques. If not a lament, then these songs are very close to laments. In Seto tradition, it is nearly impossible to say whether a text recorded in writing by dictation is a

lament or a song (Salve 2000), thus it is not surprising that this is also the case for Lutsi. The noticeable isosyllabicity at the end of No. 12 in particular gives this impression. The same can be said about the last couple of lines of No. 13. However, these are just impressions. Nothing more certain can be said without knowing the situation in which they were performed or their melody. Here we recall that Oskar Kallas has nevertheless described Lutsi funerals, but unfortunately it is not possible to precisely understand his sentence in the funeral description: “Naised nutavad, karjuvad teel läbilõikava häälega, niisama ka haul” (Women weep, wail with piercing voices on the way and also at the grave) (Kallas 1894: 51). Was that a Lutsi lament or just regular crying? It is quite plausible that Kallas was just not able to identify a phenomenon unfamiliar to him on the basis of a first auditory impression. If the wailing also contained distinguishable words, then it was still not enough for this researcher to have been able to put together a meaningful text in a distant South Estonian language.

No. 16 is most directly reminiscent of a Seto lament, due to its repeating refrain word *koolokõnõ* ‘the dear deceased’, but the next “sorrow songs” are again very difficult to place on the song-lament scale. Are they songs or laments in the tradition of Võromaa or Setomaa? No. 20 and 21 are slightly more likely to belong to Seto tradition where the song type “Kolm vaest” (Three Paupers) has received an epic development, but No. 25 is perhaps related more to the Võromaa song repertoire.

A host of difficult to answer questions are also found in the most lament-like Lutsi text. This is “Sõjamehe lahkumine” (26) (The soldier’s departure), so probably a conscript’s lament. The first 15 lines of this text are farewells with a repetitive structure, the wording of which shows an improvisational style, despite the use of traditional word pairs (*Maar’a maakõnõ* ‘dear land of Mary’; *halas hainakõnõ* ‘dear green grass’). The next lines (16–43) are based on lines or formulas, which are known from the song types “Kasvatus asjata” (Raising in vain), “Tütar vette” (Daughter into the water), “Venna sõjalugu” (Brother’s war story). The similarity of the beginning of the Lutsi text to the Latvian song for a bride leaving her father’s home is very significant (Lautenbach 1896: 100). In summary, the heterogeneity of Lutsi farewell laments is reminiscent first of all not of Seto farewell laments (which also have a more unstable wording compared to other lament types),

but fragments of chants documented elsewhere in Estonia (Tampere 1960: 205–206). Can the latter be considered the late remnants of an older lament tradition? In other words, the question is whether this is an example of a stagnant or forgotten and decaying cultural phenomenon. Seto lament culture represents a much higher level of development compared to these fragments. In Veera Pino’s opinion, the inevitable subjectivity of the solution to the entire lament vs. song dilemma can be seen in the list of “clear or probable” Lutsi laments given in the introduction of *Seto surnuitkud* (Seto mourning laments), in which only a part coincides with those named here as possible laments (Pino & Sarv 1981: 4).

As noted above, later collections, though much poorer and more monotonous than Kallas’s collection, can still provide important additions in some cases. For example, Paulopriit Voolaine still met with Kallas’s informants on a documentation trip in 1925 and wrote down variants of the same songs and possible laments, including a probable farewell lament performed by Jaan Herman (Kallas 1894, No. 26; cf. AES, MT 102, 22(1)), which provides a good opportunity for comparison. Also worthy of note is the mourning lament where the collector’s explanatory sentence contains an interesting lament term.

“Tütär kuigõlõs (laulab nuttes venitavalt) ema haul” (A daughter wails (sings crying in a stretched manner) at her mother’s grave):

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Maamakõnõ armakõnõ!</i> | ‘Dear mum, my dear one! |
| <i>Lätsi Maar’ a maa sisse,</i> | You’ve passed into Mary’s land, |
| <i>verevä liivakõzõ sisse.</i> | into the red earth. |
| <i>Halla haanakõzõga</i> | With green grass |
| <i>Kati’ silma’ kinni.</i> | [they] covered your eyes.’ |

ERA II 33, 46(12) – P. Voolaine < Agata Jakimenko, age 80 (1930).

Two traditional forms present evidence for a Finnic source: the alliterative word pairs *Maarja maa* and *hal’as hain*, which appear in a number of story types. Correspondence to Seto and also lament traditions is shown by the word pair *maamakõnõ armakõnõ* ‘dear mum, my dear one’, which in Seto laments is a usual form of address used for a mother.

Among the Finnic peoples with lament traditions, the word *kuigõlõma* ‘to wail, lament’ has no corresponding form. The exception, however, are the Leivus who know this word, but the extent to which its

meaning overlapped with its meaning in Lutsi is not quite clear. What did the informant mean with the following words: *ku ma zes ikki, zes ma ende ikki un ikki. ku ma zes vauglezi un kuiglezi, zes ma ende vauglezi un kuiglezi* ‘when I cried then again, then I just cried and cried. when I just wailed and lamented, then I just wailed and lamented’ (Niilus 1937: 26, p. 48). As well as expressing the poetic-musical whole, the possibility must be considered that these may be asemantic cries and shouts of despair. The latter is also made more probable by the following sentence, according to which *peni ka vauglezi un kuiglezi* ‘the dog also howled and whined’.

Unfortunately, Voolaine has not always included such informant explanations and we once again encounter the difficulty of distinguishing laments and songs. Help can again be sought from address forms (*Tütrekene, mu armakõnõ* ‘daughter, my dear one’ – AES MT 22, 2), also the interjection *ee* (ibid.) may provide a hint – it could indicate a moan, sob, or other sounds related to crying.

Another obvious mourning lament (Mets et al. 2014: 270–271) repeats the address line (*A mu tütrekene, mu kallikõnõ* ‘Oh my daughter, my precious one’ or its variants), likewise several lines begin with *a*, which much like the aforementioned *ee*, was probably necessary for the laments as a way to take a breath, while simultaneously helping to structure the text. This rather long text can safely be considered a lament, but its origin is uncertain. It is quite distant from the Seto lament tradition as well as from the Võromaa lament-like orphan songs and also from old Lutsi folk songs. We do not encounter traditional lines in this, let alone line pairs or groups, not even consistent word pairs, except perhaps *käekeze kergekeze* ‘dear light hands’ and *vahadzõ hiuzõkõzõ* ‘dear yellow hair’. We recall that such word pairs are used not only in folk songs but also in short forms and folk prayers, for example *kuri kotus, valge valuza päävä pääle* ‘an evil place, on[to] the white light [of the] sun’ (Kallas 1894: 56). Perhaps Lutsi laments show a mixture of early traditions with those of neighbouring nations? It is to be expected that in a community with declining mother tongue use borrowed songs would appear including in the category of “sorrow songs and laments”. In addition to the aforementioned Latvian loan No. 14, the quatrain No. 24 can without hesitation also be considered a loan. The matter is more complicated with text No. 18. Its structure also seems unusual (with the exception of the first line, of course, which is a line familiar

from runic songs). A clear parallel with Veps tradition forces us to abandon the assumption that this could be a Latvian loan. A song has been documented from the Veps, which contains the same keywords: cuckoo, branches (= trees, in Lutsi), family members who are found to be missing:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Tuli kãgoi vastha</i> | ‘A cuckoo came to meet |
| <i>Kaik oksaized lugi</i> | [It] counted all the small branches |
| <i>Õhted oksast ei olend</i> | One branch was missing |
| <i>Kedak sinaiz ei olend</i> | [there] was no one like you |
| <i>Ei ole sõtjad tatoihuttain.</i> | the one who fed me, [my] dear dad, is no more.’ |

(Setälä & Kala 1935: 377/9 (183))

The Veps song consists of several repeated episodes, each of which announces the absence of a family member. It cannot be ruled out that originally the Lutsi song was also long and multi-episodic, because this type of repetitive structure was still known – even favoured – by them (“Joodiku kojukutse” (Calling the drunkard to come home) or “Ema üle kõige” (Mother above all), Kallas 1894, No. 116–118). Since it is not possible for the Lutsi and Veps songs to originate from the same ancient source and its likewise impossible for the Vepsians to have borrowed a Latvian song, it remains to search for a common source in Russian (Slavic) tradition.

7. Wedding songs

Several possible wedding laments (No. 65, 66, 81, 91, 92, 93) are clearly visible in Section VI (“Pulma laulud” (Wedding songs)). Apparently, Oskar Kallas considered them to be “leinavateks” (for mourning) in his notes concerning wedding song refrains (see Kallas 1894: 97). Most of them contain address forms (*Velekene armakene* ‘dear brother, beloved one’), which are also found in Seto bridal laments. Three of the mentioned “lament candidates” are related to “pääköitmine” (head binding), i.e., the practice of placing the headscarf worn by a married woman onto the bride’s head; however, the address lines facilitating identification of the genre do not appear in two of these. When comparing texts No. 92 and 93 with text No. 94, the same “head

binding” appears, but the difference between the first two and the last one becomes immediately apparent. In the first two, there is a complaining and plaintive tone, the lines, especially those of the fragmented No. 93, vary considerably in syllable number. A completely different tone prevails in song No. 94, which is a mutual reproaching song characteristic of weddings. However, a hint of the bride’s ritual weeping can be detected in it (Tedre 2000).

Of course, questions are raised by the fact that, at Seto weddings, lamenting occurred only during the first half of the wedding held in the bride’s home, while the “pääkõitmine” (head binding) took place in the groom’s home either immediately upon arrival or at the end of the celebration (Kallas 1894: 68). Perhaps the solution is that, according to Kallas’s description, the Lutsis combined two rituals: the brushing of the bride’s hair – which other Finnic nations, for example the Votians and Vepsians, did on the eve of the wedding after going to the sauna – and the putting on of the wife’s headscarf, which was done only at the groom’s home. The Latvians, including in Latgale and even in the Ludza region, had a custom of calling participants to the head brushing with a song, which took place before the head scarf was placed on the wife’s head (Vītolīņš 1968: 1164, 1165: 423).

In addition to the observations above, there are a couple of lament-like songs, which Kallas classifies as “minija laulud” (daughter-in-law songs) (No. 95, 97). The dramatic contrasting of a daughter-in-law’s and unmarried young woman’s periods of life is also very characteristic of wedding laments. Especially the beginning of No. 95 and starting with the second third of No. 97, one can see lament-like address lines and a noticeable lament-like feeling.

As we have already seen, a portion of wedding songs can also be laments, but likewise there are also songs which have no connection with wedding customs. They deal with relationships between young people (No. 63) or are fragments. In Lutsi wedding songs, two different historical layers stand out immediately, which can even be mixed within a single text. On one hand, old-fashioned, often pan-Finnic, wedding songs are well-represented, as for example “Puutus puusatu ette” (Came upon a hipless bride) and “Oota, kuni kasvan kaasikuks” (Wait until I grow up to be a wedding singer) (Kallas 1894, No. 61, 62). All of the so-called “kaasikute laulud” (wedding singer songs) must be considered old-fashioned. These include a series of praises sung by the

groom's wedding singers for themselves and the groom (No. 71 et seq.) or mocking songs by the bride's singers to the groom's singers (No. 85).

Similar songs are also known among the Setos, the Leivus, in the Kraasna community, in Võromaa, Tartumaa, and (Ida-)Virumaa as well as by the Votians. With the exception of the Votians and residents of Virumaa, these were sung with various modifications of the refrain *kaske-kanke*.

As the distribution already shows, the wedding singer songs probably represent a very old tradition (Salve & Rüütel 1989: 30–31). The *kaske-kanke* refrain has been a kind of logo or signifier of wedding songs for South Estonian-speaking groups, so that for Russians and Latvians in Latgale it came to mind immediately when Oskar Kallas said he was collecting Estonian songs (Kallas 1894: 67). For the Leivus, the refrain appears to have been an axis around which material of different origins was added. Latvian wedding songs did not have refrains (see Vītoliņš 1968) and in general no system of refrains developed in Latvian work or ritual songs comparable to that found in southern Estonia, although Tampere (1956, 1956a) seemed to see some commonalities in them. As far as Setomaa is concerned, it is thought that the tradition of refrains was lost in various singing styles in its southern part due to foreign influence (Sarv 1999: 298–307). But was foreign influence weaker on the Leivus? Probably not. Therefore, the difference must be noted in each case individually.

It is almost impossible to distinguish between older Seto and Võro wedding songs due to their great similarity. Looking back, it is not possible to answer questions about the earlier performance style, single- or many-part singing, etc. If many-part singing was known, was it similar to that of the Setos or that of (western) Võromaa? At first glance, the address word *tätäkene* 'dear daddy' may seem to point towards the Setos; however, this word also appears in certain contexts in the colloquial speech of Võromaa.

A slight hint pointing in the direction of Setomaa is the fact that the wedding song "Velle vihtlemine" (Brother's whisking [in the sauna]), which is known by many Finnic nations and tribes (Kallas 1894, No. 72, Rüütel 1970), includes the same horse praise added to the end of a variant performed in 1925. The lines *Püzüi no putsai puusa pääl./ Linaseeme lehe pääl* 'a bird feather does not stay on the hip, linseed

[does not stay] on the mane' (AES MT 102, 21 (3)) are characteristic specifically of the Seto repertoire.

It is noteworthy, however, that Latvian loans have found their way into even a song style as conservative as wedding songs. Oskar Kallas includes notes such as “Lāti keelest lauliku ‘ümberüteldud’” (“Rephrased” by the singer from Latvian), apparently based on the singers’ own words. Thus, on one hand, clear Latvian influences (No. 75) have been left unmarked, while on the other hand, among those marked as loans at least a part are runic-song-like lines (for example, lines 14–15 in song No. 98, most of which is translated very fluently from Latvian).

Sometimes we also find lines or line groups in Lutsi songs, which are not Latvian loans, but are also unknown in the Estonian tradition. A more reliable identification of these apparently locally sourced song components and perhaps even songs will only be possible if all runic song material is digitised and is added to the database (www.folklore.ee/regilaul/andmebaas). Already in its current form, the runic song database was a great help in writing this article.

The local name for the groomsman – *põksaja* – reached the wedding songs. In a mocking song about the groom’s wedding party (Kallas 1894, No. 85, 86, three later transcriptions by Voolaine in different collections from one singer) several parallel lines describe who is sitting on the back of whom (or what). In this song, sits *põksaja põdra sälähn* ‘the groomsman on the back of an elk’, but the bride, for example, is sitting alternatively on *mõhe* ‘a bread trough’ or *mõõga* ‘a sword’, etc. The striving for alliteration is very strong.

8. Calendar songs

Following Oskar Kallas’s classification of Lutsi songs, we reach holiday songs or, according to their modern name, calendar songs. These include two Shrove Tuesday (Estonian: *vastlapäev*) songs, one Palm Sunday (South Estonian: *urbepäev*) song, and eight “swinging songs” (Estonian: *kiigelaul*). The case of the Shrove Tuesday songs is clear. It is clear that these are connected with Võromaa tradition both in terms of content and refrains, for which there is no evidence in Setomaa *Maaselitsa* (Shrovetide) songs. The first of these Shrove Tuesday songs (No. 49) contains mourning motifs indicating the approaching fast,

which are typical of Seto *Maaselitsa* songs, but which also fit well into the Catholic context of Latgale.

Quite a few questions are raised, however, by the only Palm Sunday song. Perhaps Ülo Tedre's Seto hypothesis was also partially inspired by Oskar Kallas's parenthetical note¹ after *Urge päiva /urbepäeva/ laul* (Palm Sunday song) ("I heard the same song in Setomaa; "tsõtsõ" is an exclamation called out in rhythm with the movement of a swing." see 1894: 94). It is only surprising that Kallas noticed this similarity with a Seto song, but nevertheless wrote the Lutsi song refrain word as *tsõdze*. In light of the Seto traditional *tsõõ-tsõõ* refrain, it is clear that Kallas made a mistake. Perhaps he confused an asemantic refrain word with a similar kinship term (i.e., aunt)?

A refrain word occurring at the beginning of a line is found in several types of Seto songs, also in variants of the Palm Sunday song. However, another style exists: the refrain word occurs at the end of a half-line or line. This latter style is also known in the work and ritual songs of Võromaa (and more broadly in southern Estonia and in South Estonian-influenced central Estonia) (see, e.g., Vissel 1988: 173, 177, 189). However, no real Palm Sunday songs are known from Võromaa (or from southern Tartumaa and Mulgimaa), therefore, at least in the 19th–20th centuries these were only part of the tradition of the Setos and Lutsis.

Swing songs are well-represented with eight texts in Oskar Kallas's book. Literally only two of the swing songs are associated with Easter (No. 52, 53), Kallas probably titled the third (No. 54) "Lihavõtte hällü laul" (Easter swing song) according to the singer's own description, the holiday is also named in Song No. 55. In all of southern Estonia, including Setomaa, but also in Latvia, swinging and swing songs are associated with Easter. Lutsi swing song refrains correspond to the refrains known in southeastern Estonia (also in Setomaa), which vary though in their sound structure: in Lutsi, for example, *Häde eiu kuku; Häde eia kako*. And, incidentally, Kallas recorded the same refrains with small variations in Kraasna. Very few swing song melodies have been recorded from the Latvians, and most of them also come only from Latgale (Vītoliņš 1973: 49). In this context it should be noted that the known Latvian swing songs do not have refrains.

1 "Sama laulu kuulsin Setu maal; "tsõtsõ" on hüüdsõna, hüütakse ühes taktis laudkiige liikumisega."

Among the calendar songs, Oskar Kallas also included one, which is described as a “talze pühi laul” (Christmas song). This is a game song, which represents the newest revisions of the “Väravamäng” (Gate game). Since Christmas time was the most important time for playing song games, then it is also understandable to name the corresponding song after Christmas.

But where are the Lutsi Martinmas (Estonian: *mardipäev*) and St. Catherine’s Day (Estonian: *kadripäev*) songs? The complete disappearance of these over a couple of centuries is difficult to explain only with the surrounding population not being familiar with Martinmas or St. Catherine’s Day mummers. Marking the feast days of saints in this way would also not have been contrary to Catholic principles. The fact that the Latgalians and Slavs practiced mumming on Christmas should not have ruled out the Lutsis mumming on Martinmas or St. Catherine’s Day. By comparison, the Livonians continued to go mumming on Martinmas even though their Latvian neighbours were unfamiliar with this custom, but still learned from them to go mumming on Shrove Tuesday with the corresponding songs (Salve 1984).

It is clear that already by the 17th century, not to mention the beginning of the 18th century, Martinmas traditions together with corresponding songs had to have developed in Estonia long before. Otherwise, it is simply not possible to explain their all-around correspondence – in words and melodies – to runic songs. The oldness of Martinmas and St. Catherine’s Day songs is also indicated by the developed unique regional characteristics. This question is very intriguing. The matter is also not made clearer by several Leivu Martinmas songs or fragments, which were recorded by Valter Niilus (AES 154: 20), since one of these is clearly a translation and only one line has been recorded from the other two, thus nothing can be concluded based on them.

Incidentally, Oskar Kallas only recorded a few fragments a couple lines in length in Kraasna, in which, at least, Märt is mentioned (Kallas 1903: 107, No. 2). Based on this it is not at all clear whether this is a mocking of someone because of his name, a fragment from a description of the difficult Martinmas journey, or something else altogether.

9. Joking and mocking songs

Oskar Kallas placed very different kinds of songs in the section “Nalja laulud, jorutused, pilkamise laulud” (Joking songs, droning, mocking songs). Here is the hyperbolically boastful “Küll mina olin mees” (Sure, I was a man) (the type name used today is “Noorena võtsin kirbu kinni” (I caught a flea when I was young), No. 30). This was also widely known in Estonia. By contrast, “Poisie pilgatakse” (The boys are mocked; No. 46) and “Peretütart pilgatakse” (The farmer’s daughter is mocked; No. 47) have no direct equivalent. The first one still contains allusions to runic songs, in the second one we encounter a clearly intentional example of alliteration, but its metre is quite variable and leans more towards the characteristic six-syllable structure of children’s readings. The opening lines of “Naisi pilgatakse” (Women are mocked; No. 48) are unclear, but this is clearly due to forgetting, because the last three lines strongly refer to the runic song type “Teomehe tillike” (The corvée peasant’s willy), which is widely known in Estonia.

In this section, we also find humorous children’s songs or readings about animals or birds (“Parmu matus” (The gadfly’s funeral), “Tsiri, tsiri tsirgukene” (Chirp little bird), “Kits, mits habõnelle” (Goat with a beard), etc.) as well as the cumulative “Läätsä lää ei kotti” (Lentils do not go in a bag), which stands between a fairy tale and song.

Two different dance songs (No. 31, 32) are identified by the singer as “old Swedish songs”, which excludes the possibility of learning and/or creating them on site. But while these songs give a close and familiar impression, it is not so simple. It seems possible that these songs, while using runic song techniques and containing specific traditional elements, for example, word pairs, only received their current form among the Lutsis. Dance song No. 32, which was documented later also from the Lutsis, is clearly based on songs such as the “Pudrukeetmine” (Porridge cooking), which uses a chain of parallelisms based on first names, and “Löö pilli” (Play a tune), which speaks about playing a musical instrument, but some alliterative word pairs, such as *pikk Piitre* ‘tall Piitre’, are also traditional. In the case of dance song No. 31, it is not possible to refer to a specific song. It seems to have been constructed from smaller parts, for example, lines, half-lines, word pairs, beginning with *tantsi-vast tammest* (about a dancing oak tree) in the first line.

Very intriguing are the two or three variants of “Minä lätsi mõtsa” (I went into the forest) (No. 43 and 44, lines which differ are noted next to the latter song), which Oskar Kallas could have easily placed with the narrative songs. The beginning of the song makes one think of a borrowing, but then come alliterative lines and traditional word pairs. Hunting and catching an animal (in this case, a goat), getting and hiding fat, the unwanted spread of a secret are reminiscent of runic song content motifs. In the end, the protagonist speaks about punishing himself with the lines

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|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Sai suure suningu,</i> | ‘[He] got a big judgment, |
| <i>Rase raha massangu,</i> | a difficult money payment,’ |

for which no correspondences could be found, though the word pair *rahaline raske* (difficult to pay) exists in the tradition as both lines might. Of interest are the derivations of the verbs *sundma* ‘to force’ and *masma* ‘to pay’, the first of which is still used in its old sense (to judge).

Finally, there is another song in the same section referred to by the singer as a “talsepühi laul” (Christmas song) (“Mina olin ka” (I was too; No. 42), which is a unique earlier version of the widely known game song “Metsa läksin ma ja metsa läksid sa” (I went to the forest and you went to the forest). This, like the aforementioned variant of “Väravamäng”, has, in turn, given a basis for dating the age of Estonian songs associated with migration, still based on the theory that the Lutsis are descendants of 17th century immigrants (Rüütel 1971: 13–14; 31–33).

However, as already noted above, one can also imagine one or another song arriving in the Ludza area even with fewer or later immigrants. In addition, the uniqueness of No. 42 makes one reexamine possible borrowing relationships.

10. Narrative songs

Next, we take a closer look at narrative songs, which, in Ülo Tedre’s opinion, provide a basis for a Seto origin for the Lutsis. First of all, it must be said that, according to Oskar Kallas’s classification (which Tedre appears to have fully accepted), Section VII entitled “Jutustavad laulud” (Narrative songs) also includes several songs, which, based on modern understanding, should not be here. Songs about birds and

animals, which belong to the repertoire performed to children, are included in this category and similar ones have also been included with joking and mocking songs. Often, they have a narrative element.

It is worth nothing that “Kits ja hunt” (The goat and the wolf; No. 123, 124, 126) – apparently popular among the Lutsis – also has a parallel story in the Caucasus (Anderson 1927). There are also translated loans among the narrative songs (No. 133, 134, probably also 114). Kallas did not mark any of these as translations. A good example of a song whose origin Kallas probably did not ask about (or the singer claimed to have heard it from someone in Estonian) is No. 134 (“Kazus roosakene tee veerehn” ‘A little rose grows on the roadside’). This is a song where suitors are compared, which is unknown in this form in Estonia, including among the Setos. The dislike of an old man and desire for a young one is expressed through other images. Since Latvians also have songs about the same subject, the Lutsi song is probably derived from them. The opening line already points in that direction.

Repetition songs are strongly represented among the more runic-like and genuine narrative songs: “Haned kadunud” (The geese are lost), “Ehted kadunud” (The jewellery is lost), “Hobune kadunud” (The horse is lost), but also “Joodiku kojukutse” (Calling the drunkard to come home) (Kallas 1894: “Ema üle kõige” (Mother above all) or “Vanemad üle kõige” (Parents above all)) – so nothing Seto-specific. Note that there are three to five variants for each of these song types. Among the Lutsis, there are no older narrative songs from Võromaa, but likewise from Setomaa, there are none of the interesting songs referred to by Jakob Hurt as “muinasusulised laulud” (songs of ancient beliefs, Hurt 1904). Seto “ristiusulised laulud” (Christian songs) are represented by “Jeesuse surm” (Jesus’s death), which is the only documented Lutsi runic-style legend song and appears as two fragmentary versions (Kallas 1894, No. 131 and 132). Could “Jeesuse surm”, which is known to us as definitely being of Seto origin, have also earlier been known in Võromaa? The presence in Võromaa and southern Tartumaa of often fragmentary versions of individual archaic fairy tale and song types known in Setomaa at least allows for this possibility. The 17th century intangible culture of Võromaa is not revealed particularly exhaustively in the folklore collections of the second half of the 19th century. However, it is very likely that “Jeesuse surm” as well as several other Seto elements entered the Lutsi song repertoire thanks to Seto migrants.

A few narrative songs also stand out as they have no direct correspondences elsewhere in Estonia. For example, “Sulane künnil” (Farmhand ploughing) (Kallas 1894, No. 111–113), which includes corresponding lines from different songs, but as a whole, extended through motif repetition, is completely unique.

For many songs, I would not risk to state anything. For example, lines 2–5 of No. 114 (“Kolm tütart” (Three daughters)) are typical opening lines of a Seto narrative song. Moving further into the forest as she picks berries, a girl reaches the seashore, she chats with a fisherman and at the end of the song there are probably orphan song motifs, but there is nothing about it at all reminiscent of a runic song. Most likely this is a translation of a Latvian song, to which some of the motifs also refer.

Songs, which at least in 19th–20th century Estonian folk tradition have been categorised as children’s songs, can be found in quite a few sections in addition to II, which is called “Laste laulud” (Children’s songs). Along with several traditional South Estonian lullabies and playing songs, it also includes a fairy tale song related to the Seto repertoire (No. 6) and an endless tale about the rejection of a request to narrate the story (No. 9 and 10). Grouped with the children’s songs, the opening line of No. 11 *Kur ’g, kär ’g, kus sa olid?* ‘Crane, [black] woodpecker, where are you?’ seems very genuine, but may be borrowed in its entirety. Incidentally, texts that are essentially children’s songs can be found also in other sections, for example “Mitmesugused riismed” (Various remains).

Folk songs can hardly be classified in such a way where there would not be a few, which do not seem to fit anywhere. Oskar Kallas has called this section (VIII) “Mitmesugused riismed” (Various remains). It comes as some surprise that many of them (No. 135, 136, 137, also No. 143) are clearly herding songs, the first of which has the *lere* refrain. In southern Tartumaa and especially in Võromaa, there are herding songs with similar refrains (*leli, leele, leelo*), but precisely this one does not appear to be found in the Estonian material. Herding songs in Setomaa are known to have no refrains. These herding songs are the only Lutsi work songs, which have reached us today. Again, this cannot be seen as completely accidental. Functional work songs do not make up a proportion of Latvian songs comparable to that of Estonian songs; and herding songs are those that specifically are most numerous (Vītoliņš

1958). However, there is a harvest song in the much smaller collection of songs recorded in Kraasna, though with a secondary *kaske-kanke* refrain taken from wedding songs (Kallas 1903: 114).

Some of the other texts found in this section include short forms (No. 148, 150) or song fragments a couple lines in length whose song type could not be determined. It is also difficult to say anything about the quatrain No. 141, which seems to use alliteration, though its line pairs are not related to each other and also do not have any correspondences in the Estonian repertoire. More than in other sections, there appear to be Latvian borrowings here (in addition to those noted by Kallas, probably also No. 141, 142, 144).

11. Narrated songs

There has already been reason in many cases to mention songs with an unclear form. In exceptional cases, there are texts, which can in no way be considered songs, though they are based on song plots. Let us take a look at a couple of these from August Sang's linguistically accurate documentation in the Academic Mother Tongue Society (*Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts*) collection. The first (see Mets et al. 2014: 137–138) is the story of a woman's murderer. The Lutsi text is reminiscent of the Seto (or, more broadly, the southeastern Estonian) "Naisetapja" (The woman's killer), but the correspondence is not very precise. It is missing the important final episode of "Naisetapja" with the criminal's repentance and punishment. On the other hand, the Lutsi story ends with the children being killed by wild animals that are summoned by their dead mother. The killer is the husband himself, so there is no place for the episode of visiting a tavern where the murderer is found. This rather concise Lutsi text is at its core about the children's search for their mother and the father's untruthful answers. The consistent wording used to address the father seems like a formula: *Ezä, sa mi däädä, kon mi maama?* 'Father, you [are] our daddy, where [is] our mummy?' In this text, the word pairs *soo veer – tee veer* 'swampside, roadside' as well as *vahtse vihaga vihtumine* 'thrashing with a new whisk' have a Finnic background. There is probably no direct connection between this Lutsi story and "Naisetapja". Instead, it is likely a retelling of a ballad from another nation's repertoire in Lutsi.

Another text recorded by Sang (Mets et al. 2014: 134) also prompts a comparison with runic songs, namely “Venna sõjalugu” (Brother’s war story). As also in the previous case, there are significant differences between this text and the usual form of this very popular song in Estonia, including in Setomaa. Missing parts include the opening motifs with news about the war and discussions of who must go to war, but also the brother’s return in the end, other family members not recognising him, but his sister recognising him, and a dialogue between the siblings. The Lutsi text begins with this introductory sentence: *Sääd jo imä poiga sõitta*. ‘Mother is already preparing her son for war.’ Next, the mother as well as the three sisters and wife ask about the time of his possible return home. From the metaphorical answer given to the wife, it is clear that there is no hope of him returning home. The essentially impossible conditions for returning home are also featured in some of the variants in Estonia, but they are completely different.

Also in the case of this Lutsi text, a prose retelling of a song of Estonian origin can be ruled out, because their plots are too different. “Venna sõjalugu” is widely known among Baltic and Slavic nations, likewise there are parallel ballads about a woman’s killer. Ballads have spread from nation to nation in such a way that they were taken from a foreign language and formulated into a song sung in one’s own language. It may be that at some earlier point when Lutsi was still more vital, these stories told to Sang also would have taken the form of a song.

Compared to the aforementioned texts, the third one recorded by Paulopriit Voolaine is relatively unproblematic: *Poeg käskis ema vett tuua kirvest ihuda, minija käskis tuua vett leiba kasta. Jummal’ ei tahtnud seda ja muutis poja “sokast soo viirde”, minija “tedrest tee veerde”* ‘The son ordered [his] mother to bring water for sharpening an axe, the daughter-in-law ordered [her] to bring water for making bread. God did not allow it and turned the son into a duck on the edge of the swamp, [and] the daughter-in-law into a black grouse on the edge of the road’ ERA II 33, 24(1) < Lutsi, Pilda parish – P.Voolaine<Meikul Jarošenko (1930).

Probably the narrator fumbled about so much when telling these fragments that the collector did not try to record them verbatim, as he did for speech in verse texts. However, two (incomplete) lines leave no doubt that the informant has heard (or even known) the narrative song

“Tütred lindudeks” (The daughters become birds). Kallas (1894: 112) gives a 4-line fragment of the same song under the title “Kolm tütart” (Three daughters). The fragment corresponds to the normal form of the song and could easily be placed into the body of the entire song. By 1930, however, the relationship among events had already become confused: the innocent girls do not become birds at the son’s urging, but instead [of the girls] the son and daughter-in-law do. Additionally, the metamorphosis is presented as God’s punishment, as is often the case in creation stories. If the performer had not remembered the core words in two lines, which made it possible to clearly identify them, this would have resulted in one racking one’s brain in vain, as is often the case for texts from fading traditions.

12. Comparisons with Kraasna and Leivu

Although Lutsi songs have been compared with those of the other South Estonian language islands a number of times, it is worth it to stop by Leivu and Kraasna for a moment. Again, our knowledge of the Kraasna community is largely based on the work of Oskar Kallas. After him, only Heikki Ojansuu still managed to record language examples, including folklore texts. Kallas also published his invaluable material as a book (Kallas 1903), which presents the view that the Kraasna community is of Seto origin. As with the Lutsis, he has also relied here on oral historical tradition as well as linguistic and ethnographic observations.

The assertion that the Kraasna language island inhabitants were of Seto origin should, however, still be tested in several ways. Oskar Kallas was a competent philologist, but it should be noted that if we accept the possibility that migration occurred as early as the second half of the 16th century, then certainly a number of archaic features which are now characteristic only of Seto were historically known across a wider area of southern Estonia. For example, there are words found in the *Vastne Testament* (New Testament; 1686), which uses the Tartu dialect, that are known only in dialect collections from Setomaa (Peebo 1989). Russian influence may have appeared independently of each other in Seto and Kraasna. As for toponymy, to which Oskar Kallas himself assigned importance, it can be noted that Naha village in Kraasna is the namesake of a village in Räpina parish in Võromaa. His

remarks about folk costumes do not leave a very convincing impression (Kallas 1903: 27–29), because while confirming the Seto origins of Kraasna clothing, Kallas also acknowledges that considerable changes took place in Kraasna folk costumes during the 19th century. Certainly, he had considerable expertise regarding folk costumes thanks to his earlier experience in collecting (Õunapuu 1998: 77–82).

The absence of laments here is a real quandary when claiming a Seto origin for the Kraasna community. The absence of laments in Kraasna is further emphasised by the fact that later this community was also in contact with its supposed original home. Kallas also mentions his informants' reports about brides who came from Setomaa (Kallas 1903: 46). Since laments have always been a women's tradition, then it could also be assumed that arrival of fresh blood preserved the lament culture at least to some extent. Does this indicate that the presently known Seto laments developed as late as the 17th–18th centuries or that the Kraasna community originated from somewhere other than the Setos?

Kallas noted that wedding songs in their language remained in use in Kraasna for a relatively long time, but he also managed to record work and calendar songs. The surviving songs were – as was also often the case for the Lutsis – relatively heterosyllabic. Perhaps some of them had their own characteristic performance style already from the beginning, which Kallas describes as: “laulva häälega, venitades – mitte jutustades – öeldi” (with a singing voice, said by stretching – not telling) (Kallas 1903: 103). This could indicate a lament, but likewise a charm or incantation. An incantation-like quality is also strongly evident in, for example, No. 14, which is a harvest song.

In the case of the third South Estonian language island – the Leivus or Gauja Estonians – the picture regarding their self-designation and historical origins has also been colourful and contradictory. Though they have their own stories describing their “Swedish” origins, it is fairly universally held that they are indigenous. The Leivu folk songs were collected a generation after O. Kallas's Lutsi expedition, beginning with Paulopriit Voolaine's first trip to the Leivus in 1926 and continuing with Valter Niilus's fruitful expeditions in 1935 and 1937. Therefore, it would be more useful to compare what has been collected with the Lutsi materials Voolaine and Sang recorded.

Valter Niilus published the Leivu folk songs he collected, and he correctly points out that the first of these is a translation of a Latvian

orphan song “Maziņš biju, neredzēju” ‘I was little, I didn’t see’ (Niilus 1935: 380, 381). In fact, this Latvian-origin song with the opening verse in Estonian “Väike olli, es ma näe” ‘I was little, I didn’t see’ became very popular in southern Estonia no later than the end of the 19th century, where it was grouped with runic-song-like orphan songs and remained in circulation for a long time. The Leivu version is a completely independent translation, which is considerably rougher and more uneven than those sung in Estonia. By the way, the Lutsis also knew this Latvian-origin song.

Three major groups can be distinguished for Leivu songs, namely, chain song readings typical of the children’s repertoire, wedding songs, and translations of Latvian songs. The latter two groups partially overlap, for example, wedding songs obviously borrowed from Latvian but sung with the *kaske-kanke* refrain. There is little from everything else and often fragmented song texts are difficult to classify in terms of their genre. The Leivu song repertoire may have been richer during earlier generations, but it certainly had been under strong Latvian influence for a longer time. In addition to the translated songs, songs were also sung in Latvian. The last knowers of Leivu songs may have even been the most prominent Latvian folk singers in the area (Niilus 1935: 378).

The Leivus’ situation was different from that of the Kraasna community, among whom Kallas did not observe a significant circulation of songs in Russian. (Kallas 1903: 104). A comparison of the three language islands shows that there is much more translated material in the Lutsi material than Kallas stated in his publication, that there was quite a lot in the Leivu material, but that in the Kraasna material translated loans apparently are rare. Kallas remarked that only one song (Kallas 1903: 112, No. 8) had been translated from Russian. Indeed, there is no doubt about any other songs that they could be translations. There is no reason to think that Kallas would have avoided recording translated loans in Kraasna, if he had not avoided doing so with the Lutsis. Of course, the total amount of Lutsi material is much greater than that from Kraasna, but there are also considerably more loans. It can be assumed that in Kraasna, where at the beginning of the 20th century there were few native speakers left, singing was already mostly in Russian and so there was no longer any need for translating. However, Kallas’s remark should be taken seriously, as accordingly Estonian songs were not replaced by Russian ones in Kraasna, but instead disappeared altogether.

Here, an important difference must be noted between the Lutsi and Leivu relationship with the Latvian repertoire and the Kraasna relationship with the Russian one. It was clearly easier to integrate Latvian and Lutsi–Leivu–Estonian songs. We can come across portions with two different origins within one text and in some cases, it is almost impossible to say what we are dealing with: there is no known corresponding runic song, but there is intentional alliteration and parallelism. An example of this is this wedding song (No. 89):

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Lää ma tarrõ kaema,</i> | ‘I’m going inside to see, |
| <i>Kas istus mu t’üt’ä lava odzan,</i> | does my dad sit at the head of the table, |
| <i>Kas kiird mu imä kezet tarre,</i> | does my mum turn [around] |
| | in the middle of the room, |
| <i>Kas istus mu hõim hõ’ilan?</i> | does my family sit in a row? |
| <i>Tere laud lõhmusine,</i> | Hello, lime-tree table, |
| <i>Tere kanni kadjatse,</i> | Hello, juniper mugs, |
| <i>Tere pingi’pedäjätse’!</i> | Hello, pine-tree benches! |
| <i>Ei istu mu ezä lava odzan,</i> | My father is not sitting at |
| | the head of the table, |
| <i>Ei kiird imä kezet tare,</i> | my mother is not turning in |
| | the middle of the room, |
| <i>Ei istu hõim hõ’ilan.</i> | my family is not sitting in a row.’ |

Of course, there are direct correspondences to the first line *Lää ma tarre kaema* ‘I’m going inside to see’ – the same occurs as the usual greeting lines 5–7 in wedding songs. The questioning lines 2–4 are repeated in the negative in 8–10. In this example, there is actually no component of foreign origin, but, of course, among Lutsi songs there are also ones with very little connection to runic songs, but which visibly have a four-line structure. An example of this is No. 98, which the singer themselves acknowledged as a translation, but the last two lines are traditional runic song lines. Such examples are especially common in the Lutsi repertoire, while in the Leivu repertoire we encounter translations, which seem more literal, for example:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Vahn jeza, l'ikatai,</i> | ‘[My] old dad has a limp, |
| <i>taht noort naist kuossi.</i> | [he] wants to marry a young woman. |
| <i>Lööge tõeõõ d'alg ka katski,</i> | Let’s break [his] other leg, |
| <i>Saa veel nuorõba.</i> | [he] will get an even younger [wife].’ |

(AES, MT 203, 30 < Ilzene parish – V. Niilus < Anet Kalej (1937))

Among newer songs in (southern) Estonia, there are quite a few Latvian loans, which have already been noted in runic songs. The most striking examples of these are songs with the *liigo* refrain and also other Latvian-origin Midsummer songs found in parishes along the border with Latvia. More generally, it is incorrect to speak simply of Latvian influence or loans, but rather about similar characteristics, until more extensive research can be done to determine whether one or the other is the result of mutual developments or something else. There are also common old strata in Estonian and Latvian folk music. Ingrid Rüütel has found that up to 75% of Latvian wedding song tunes have Estonian parallels and likewise 45% of Estonian wedding song tunes have Latvian parallels (Rüütel 2001).

A comparison of Kraasna and Leivu riddles can be significant from the perspective of accepting foreign influence. In Kraasna riddles there is little material of Russian origin. Primarily they are quite South Estonian in character and strongly linked to language, for example through alliteration and rhythm. In Leivu riddles we do not find an equivalent expression of euphony. By contrast, we encounter Latvian-origin clichés and most of the riddles also have direct Latvian correspondences. In some cases, a Leivu riddle will occur only once in our story corpus. (Salve 2015: 285–309) In Lutsi riddles, which are much more extensively recorded, the situation is intermediate. Own and borrowed are equally common. It should be noted that in addition to Latvian loans, there is also a small amount of obvious Russian loans among the Lutsi riddles.

13. A more distant comparison: The Tver Karelians

Matti Kuusi considered the existence of runic-style proverbs in Finnic nations as an indicator showing whether they had ever had runic songs. He was able to observe that the Tver Karelians (as well as the

inhabitants of southwestern Finland) had preserved runic-style proverbs, even though the old songs were vanishing or had vanished in their territories. This type of proverb has not been recorded from the Vepsians, as these, like the songs of the same form, apparently also had not existed (Kuusi 1978: 47). However, (in Kuusi's words) "language and culture shocks" left a strong impression on Tver songs. Let us illustrate what was said with an example of the song type "Kuolon sanomat" (News of death), which was also known to the Lutsis:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Oi vaivaine Vasleizen', kunne sie suorielet? Suorielen mina suohuzih, muahuzih,</i> | 'O my poor dear Vasle, where are you wandering? I am wandering through bogs, meadows, |
| <i>vavarnazista fattietemah, marjazih keriamäh. Tuli sana jällesta: tuattos kuolomassa! Kuolov ka kuolguh, suan mie tuammost tuatua nägomah:</i> | to look for raspberries, to pick sweet berries. [Then] a message reached [me], father is dying! [He] is passing away, I'm going to see my [dying] dad: |
| ----- | |

(Niemi 1927: 1131, s 655/656)

The Lutsi variant of the same song type (Kallas 1894, No. 116 et seq., "Ema üle kõige" (Mother above all)) includes familiar lines with "limping feet". Clearly, they can be accepted as "old songs" only based on a more reliable form of the text from the same parish. The original song folklore of both the Tver Karelians and Lutsis contains a remarkably large proportion of children's songs and readings, chain songs, laments or lament-type songs. Within a single song, the degree to which runic song norms are followed is often variable: lines often have a fluctuating number of syllables, use of alliteration and parallelism is inconsistent. Among surviving runic songs, there are no song types reflecting older beliefs, traditions, or circumstances. Also among Tver Karelian narrative songs, songs comparing relatives are strongly represented, for example, "Surmasõnumid" (News of death), "Venesse pürgiv neiu" (A girl seeking a boat), suitor comparisons, etc. Various forms of incantations, both more runic-song-like and more prose-like, have an important place.

14. Conclusions

Based on all of the observations above, it can be said that the picture is relatively uneven and also contradictory. Lutsi intangible culture divides into different groups and individual works defined by tradition, form, and theme. Must we avoid trying to say anything about the history of an ethnic group based on its oral tradition? Certainly not, but at the same time we cannot overlook some features while highlighting others. When considering the many components relating to the history of Lutsi settlement, features which appear contradictory seem quite expected. But it should also be kept in mind that many of the features we find in Lutsi oral tradition not only characterise them, but also are typical of many cultures near and far that are in the process of being forgotten. Runic songs form a very complete system and as such are also very fragile. It is quite impossible and difficult to decide what the peak of the development curve had been in the past based only on its final form.

Still in the 1920s, Lutsi children learned readings whose first lines have direct correspondences in Setomaa, but which as a whole seem quite unique. The earlier Lutsi variant was recorded by Oskar Kallas (1894: 121, No. 147), the later variant is this:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Tirka mullõ, tiiziken 'e,</i> | ‘Leap at me, kitty, |
| <i>Karga' mullõ, kassikõnõ</i> | Jump at me, pussycat! |
| <i>Kassil valgõ' kapudakõzõ',</i> | The cat has white socks, |
| <i>tiizil til'l'o rätikene.</i> | the kitty [has] a tiny kerchief.’ |

(ERA II 33, 24(1) – Ludza, Pilda parish, Tsäpsi village – P. Voolaine <Oodik Jaroshenko, 9 a. (1930/31))

Oodik's generation could still remember similar readings in their old age, but no longer passed on these Lutsi traditions.

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Kokkuvõte. Kristi Salve: Tähelepanekuid Lutsi maarahva suulisest pärimusest. Artiklis on vaadeldud Lutsi maarahva vaimset kultuuri, püüdes selgust tuua keelesaare kujunemisloosse. Ajaloolised jutud „Rootsi“ päritolust viitavad küll Lõuna-Eestile, kuid sellised jutud on levinud ka aladel, mis pole Rootsi võimu alla kuulunudki. Lutsi kristlik pärimus lähtub Eesti kirikukeelest ja -kirjandusest. Lutsi itkud või itkulaadsed laulud on omapärased, erinedes setu itkudest, aga ka Lõuna-Eesti itkulaadsetest vaeslapselauludest. Töö- ja tavandilaulud, samuti jutustavad laulud seostuvad nii Võrumaa kui ka Setumaa traditsiooniga. Juba Oskar Kallase kogus on silmapaistvalt palju lastele mõeldud laule ja lugemisi, lühikesi (pilke)salmikesi ja muud perifeerset rahvaluule ainek. Hilisemates kogudes nende osakaal suureneb. Silmapaistev on läti laulude mõju alates otsestest tõlgetest kuni tekstideni, milles genuinne ja laenuline segunevad. Ilmselt on Lutsi traditsiooni mõjutanud ka naabruses elavad slaavi rahvad. Võrdluses teiste vanade eesti keelesaarte, aga ka Tveri karjalaste rahvaluulega hakkab silma mõndagi ühist, kuid samas ka erinevat.

Märksõnad: folklooriliigid, itkud, regilaulud, kristlik pärimus, läänemeresoome, lõunaeesti, Lutsi, läti mõju

KRAASNA NOMINAL DERIVATION

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Abstract. This article examines the derivation of Kraasna nominals using suffixes. Despite limited documentation, it was possible to find a large number of nominal derivatives using 18 derivational suffixes formed from 20 primary suffixes and 21 suffixes formed from 21 secondary suffixes. Kraasna suffixes mostly resemble those of Seto. Only the compound suffixes *(-i)s-to*, *-la-s*, and *-ži-ne*, which derive just a few words (*kaklas*, *laanist*, *soomist*, *ammuužine*) are not characteristic of Seto. The suffixes **-ek* and **eš* occur as the assimilated form *-eh* in Kraasna, but as *-eh* and *-e^o* in Seto. In oblique cases, the derivational suffix *-eh* still occurs in a mid-19th century folk song but had been lost by the early 20th century. The Kraasna dialect is surprisingly similar to Seto, from which it separated 300 years before its documentation in the early 20th century. It would be interesting to know to what extent later connections with Setomaa harmonised both dialects.

Keywords: morphology, nominals, derivatives, Finnic languages, Estonian, South Estonian, Seto, Kraasna

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1. Introduction

The Kraasna dialect became extinct in the early 20th century and the Kraasna community is now fully assimilated into the Russians. The ancestors of the Kraasna community came from nearby eastern Setomaa and settled near the small town of Krasny (now called Krasnogorodsk) near OPOCHKA in Pskov District in the late 16th or early 17th century (Mets et al. 2014: 14, Pajusalu 2020: 200).

The first records of the Kraasna community date to 1849. These were sent to Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882), the compiler of the epic “Kalevipoeg”, who at the time was assisting the head of the statistical department of the Russian Geographical Society Peter v. Koeppen (1793–1864) in the compilation of a population map of

European Russia by Adolph Johann Brandt (1812–1856) who was employed there. The latter sent to Kreutzwald four folk songs written down by a non-Estonian-speaking lady, in a form which was, however, rather flawed and distorted (see Ernits 2012: 42–48). Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the texts, translate them into German and Estonian, and publish them; most recently by the author of the present article (Ernits 2018; see also Neus 1852).

The first study of Kraasna language and culture was compiled and published in 1903 by Estonian folklore researcher Oskar Kallas (1868–1946). This overview contains 23 folk song texts and excerpts, proverbs, folk tales, etc. (Kallas 1903). His documentation is considerably more precise than that of his predecessors, though it still contains minor omissions and inconsistencies, e.g., the marking of the laryngeal stop and back-*e*.

In the early 1910s, Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu (1873–1923) documented the Kraasna dialect more broadly prior to its extinction. His documentation, copies of which were given to the Academic Mother Tongue Society (Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts) in 1937 and 1938 by the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura), was published in the final volume of the Estonian dialect text series “Eesti murded” (Mets et al. 2014: 277–294, No. 186–207; see also p. 7). Though Kraasna was visited after 1940, it was no longer possible to collect any significant language material. In 2016, Tobias Weber, then a student at the University of Munich, wrote a comprehensive bachelor’s thesis (and later also a master’s thesis) on the Kraasna dialect, in which he also published the handwritten notes of Kallas and Ojansuu comparing them linguistically with each other and with those published in Mets et al. (2014). In general, Kraasna language documentation is rather limited. Its research history is more thoroughly described in Weber (2016: 1 ff.; Weber 2018: 9 and others). Word formation has not yet been studied.

2. Materials and methods

Relatively few derivational suffixes of nominal words in Võro South Estonian have been studied (cf. Käsi 2000: 173). The current article deals with Kraasna nominal derivation by means of suffixation. Nouns and adjectives are discussed separately, which are formed either using primary (simple) or secondary (compound) suffixation, or from nominals

or verbs using denominalising or deverbalising suffixes, respectively. Native words and loans are distinguished; in the latter case, a distinction is made between whether the entire word is a loan or just the root. Efforts have been made to use relevant vocabulary as much as possible, and it is presented alphabetically for each suffix. With respect to word formation, the views of Erelt, Erelt & Ross (2020) and Kasik (2015) have been taken into account. The following works have been especially helpful with respect to historical linguistic questions: Hakulinen (1968), Laanest (1975), Mägiste (1982–1983), and Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar (2012). Due to limitations on space, several types of derivatives are not examined in this article including some vowel-final derivatives, which have lost their endings in the nominative singular as well as *i*-derivatives, e.g., *pini* ‘dog’ (Est V: 1942; < **penä*, Hakulinen 1968: 104). Likewise unexamined are late loan derivatives with suffixes of foreign origin, e.g., *t'ied-a* ‘grandfather; old man’ (Mets et al. 2014: 283) and *H'edo-ška* (Est V: 1936).

Examples are presented in a simplified Seto script. For the sake of simplicity and consistency, in reconstructions as well as in examples taken from written records, the laryngeal stop is written as ^q and back-*e* as *õ*. The latter in the word forms documented by Kallas is not restored in the examples. Phonetically reconstructed word forms are marked with an asterisk. Due to the scarcity of documented Kraasna vocabulary, the nominative singular form of the word is often missing. In such cases, a theoretical form is reconstructed alongside an attested form in a different noun case and, if possible, on the basis of a similar word in the South Estonian Seto dialect. Often the meaning of a word is not known, in which case this is derived based on Seto logic. Theoretical reconstructed word meanings are marked with †. It should be noted that any reconstruction is still to a greater or lesser extent somewhat approximate (and primarily assisted by Haak et al. 1994–2020, Käsi 2016, Saar et al. 2020, Pall 1982–1989, and Käsi 2011). Word forms found in a different noun case are given with abbreviations for their case and number. The semantics of suffix and nominal derivation are also not ignored.

Usually, the page number of published sources or manuscripts is referenced in the article. Folk songs are the exception, as the number in front of the hyphen marks the song number and the one behind it marks the verse number. When using the folk songs sent by Brandt, their

number and the verse number (by colony) are referenced according to Ernits 2018. The source of the manuscript material is Weber (2016).

3. Primary nominal derivatives

-dze- ~ -dzõ- < -nE : -dzE. NomPl **sõzaridzõ^q* ‘sisters’ (Kallas 1903: 124; Se *sõsaridse^q* < *sõsar’* ‘sister’); NomPl *vaderidze^q* ‘godparents’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291; Se *vatõr’* ‘godparent’); NomPl *velidze^q* ‘brothers’ (AES 202: 11; Se *velidse^q* < *veli* ‘brother’). This suffix is abstracted from the *ne*-suffix (see below), a diminutive or collective suffix denoting a group of people, cf. Leivu *ilženidze[^q]* ‘Ilzene residents’ (Faster 2015: 269). The latter is only used in the plural.

-du ~ -dü ~ -tu ~ -tü < *-toin. The adjectives *ilmadu* ‘huge, very much’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *ilmadu* < *ilm* ‘weather; world’) and *ilotu* ‘unpleasant; ugly; inappropriate, unbecoming’ (PrtSg *ilotust*; Kallas 1903: 13-3...4; cf. Se *ilodu* ~ *ilodo^q* < *ilo* ‘beauty; joy’, Univere 1972: 164) are formed using this denominal suffix indicating the absence of a property. See also *-d-us* ~ *-d-üs*.

-eh ~ -õh : -e ~ -õ < *-Ek ja *-Eš. This can be both a denominal and a deverbal suffix. In the Kraasna dialect, two historical suffixes have converged resulting in the same *h*-final result. The root words containing the suffix **-eš* are mostly unknown (Laanest 1975: 133). Nominal derivatives include *+hoonõh* ‘building’ (NomPl *huunõ^q*, AES 202: 12; cf. Se *hoonõh* ~ *hoonõ^q*); *imeh* ~ *jimme* ‘miracle’ (Est V: 1938; AES 202: 21; Se *imeh* ~ *ime^q*); *murõh* ‘sorrow’ (Est V: 1945); *+palõh* ‘cheek; face’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; Se *palõh* ~ *palõ^q*); *pereh* ~ *perreh* ‘family’ (AES 202: 13; Est V: 1934; cf. Se *pereh* ~ *pere^q*; < *perä* ‘base; back; remainder’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* pere); *perzeh* ‘buttocks’ (NomPl *pierze^q*, Mets et al. 2014: 290; AES 202; cf. Se *perä*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* perse); *tarõ* ‘room’ (Mets et al. 2014: 281; see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* tare); *+undsõh* ‘fog’ (*undzeh*, Est V: 1946; Se *undsõ^q*).

It is unclear whether some words are original words or Baltic or Germanic loans, cf. *+hoonõh* and blt **šānas*; *+palõh* and Proto-Germanic **balgiz*, *tarõ* and ruO *dorŭ* or germL *dare* (for possible native words see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 *sub* tare). *hammõh* ‘shirt’ (Est V: 1935) is a loanword, Proto-Germanic **χami-z*; Metsmägi, Sedrik

& Soosaar 2012). If this word pair is correctly recorded, then it also belongs here: **toorõ(h) : *tuurõ* ‘raw, fresh’ (*tuore* : ElaSg or TraSg *tuurest* (Est V: 1940, 1947; cf. Se *tooras ~ toorõss* : *tuurõ*, but fi *tuore*).

Deverbals show objects of actions: *kastõh* ‘dew’ (Est V: 1941; cf. et *kastma* ‘to water, irrigate’); *lihavõdedeh* ‘Easter, lit. meat taking’ (Est V: 1953; see et *võtma* ‘to take’); *+mähe^a : mähke?* ‘diaper’ (IIIPI? *mähkühe*, AES 202: 14; but Se *mähe* : *mähkmä*; cf. et *mähkima* ‘to wrap’) and *paaz'õh* ‘abscess’ (PrtPl *paizit*; Est V: 1952; cf. et *paisuma* ‘to swell’ or *paistma* ‘to shine’).

-e ~ -õ < *-Ea < *-EtA. The following adjectives of Proto-Finnic origin or older are formed using denominal *-e*: *haigõ* ‘ill’ (AES 202: 11); *helde* ‘generous’ (Kallas 1903: 91; cf. *hell* ‘tender; sensitive; sore’); *jämme* ‘thick’ (GenSg *jämme*, AES 202: 13); *kangõ* ‘stiff; strong’ (Est V: 1945; cf. *kang* ‘crow-bar’); *korgõ* ‘high’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291; IIIsg *kuorgõhõ*, AES 202: 26); *+lipõ* ‘slippery’ (PrtSg *libõhõt*; Mets et al. 2014: 281); *pehme* ‘soft’ (AES 202: 9); *+pümme* ‘dark’ (GenSg? *pümme*, AES 202); *rassõ* ‘heavy’ (AES 202: 9); *sakõ* ‘frequent’ (AES 202: 7); *terveh* ‘healthy’ (Est V: 1937; SgEss *tervehnä* (AES 202: 9); *tihkõ* ‘dense’ (Est V: 1945); *valgõ* ‘white’ (Est V: 1934). *Helde* is a variant formed by analogy to a consonant gradational stem (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). *Tere* (AES 202: 28) is based on the shape of the word *terveh*. The derivational suffix *-õh* appears in other cases in folk song variants documented in the mid-19th century, later it disappears, cf. **valgõhõta* (PrtSg *walga heta*, Br: 1-2) ~ *valgõt* (Mets et al. 2014: 288) ~ *valgõta* (Kallas 1903: 1-3; all three words PrtSg). This group may also include NomPl *+puhtõ^a* ‘funeral’ (AllPI *puhtilõ*, Est V: 1945; Se *puhtõ^a*; cf. et *puhe* ‘dawn’; originally ‘a funeral feast held in the morning’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2200).

-i : -ja ~ -jä < *-jA. Two plant names are formed using the denominal *jV*-suffix: *katai* : *kadaja* ‘juniper’ (AES 202: 10; ERA II: 94; cf. Se *katai* : *kadaja*) and *petäi* ‘pine’ (Est V: 1934) : *+pedäjä* (NomPl *pedäjä^a*, AES 202: 3), also likely is *+putsai* ‘feather’ (NomPl *pudzaja^a*, Est V: 1938; Se *putsai* : *pudsaja*; cf. *puts* : *pudsu* ‘fluff’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 2255), the same as et *pudi* and *pudu*. Probably also of the same origin is *kevväi* : *+kevjä* ‘spring’ (Est V: 1944; AblSg *kevjäält*, AES 202: 11) and *min'n'i* ‘daughter-in-law’ (NomPl *minijä^a*, AES 202: 12; Est V: 1949; cf. however Mägiste 1982–1983: 1540: < *minema* ‘to go’ + doer *-ja ~ -jä*). The word *mõr'z'ja* ‘bride’ is not included among Baltic loans here

(cf. Proto-Baltic **martjā*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1601).¹ This denominational suffix is considered to be based on the original form **-ka ~ *-kä* (Laanest 1975: 136), but it is possible that other suffixes have been joined to this stem in other languages and dialects.

In contrast, significantly more nouns are formed using the deverbal *jV*-suffix. Nouns describing doers include **haudja* ‘steamer’ (AllSg *viha haudjallõ* ‘bath whisk steamer’, Mets et al. 2014: 290; cf. Se *haudma* ‘to steam’); **kandija* ‘carrier’ (TraSg *adra kandias* ‘plough carrier’, Br: 4-7; cf. *kandma* ‘carry’); **kodohoidja* ‘one who looks after the house when others are not at home’, lit. ‘housekeeper’ (*kodohoiidja*, Kallas 1903: 98); **külbijä* ‘sower’ (TraSg *külbias*, Br: 4-6; cf. Se *külbmä* ‘to sow’); **kütjä* ‘heater’ (AllSg *sanna kütjäle* ‘sauna heater’; Mets et al. 2014: 290); **laulja* ‘singer’ (NomPl *hähilaulja^q* ‘wedding singer’, Est V: 1935; cf. *laulma* ‘to sing’); **tuuja* ‘bringer’ (AllSg *vii tuujallõ* ‘water bringer’; Mets et al. 2014: 290); **vingjä* ‘whiner’ (AdeSg *vingjäl*; Mets et al. 2014: 290); **võttija* ‘taker’ (TraSg *witze wätias* ‘whipper’, Br: 4-5). In two cases, this deverbal formation has secondarily resulted in animal meanings: *elläi* ‘animal’ (Est V: 1947; cf. Se *elläi : eljä* < *elämä* ‘live’)² and **süüjä* ‘parasite’ (PrtSg *sööjaid*, Kallas 1903: 97; cf. Se *süüma* ‘to eat’). A couple of lexemes refer to tools: *rapai* ‘swingle (a sword-like instrument with a wide wooden blade used with flax stalks; et *ropsimõõk*)’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *rapai : rabaja* and *rabahhamma : rapa^q* also: ‘to thresh flax’) as well as *var’okaaja* ‘mirror’, lit. ‘shadow watcher’ (Est V: 1942; cf. Se *var’okaetus* ‘mirror’); in one case also an important event NomPl *saaja^q* ‘wedding’ (AES 202: 2; Se *saaja^q ~ saja^q* < *saama* ‘to get’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). An unknown meaning is encountered in *üllei : ülejä* (Est V: 1951).

-k : -ga < *-kkA. The study of words with this suffix poses several problems: 1) most words do not have a documented singular genitive form, making it difficult to distinguish words formed with the compound suffix **-kkei ~ *-kk-oi*, 2) it is uncertain whether the genitive *-a* or *-u* ending is not due to analogy, 3) a variety of *k*-suffixes has been observed in Estonian dialects (Neetar 1990: 49). Therefore, words with both suffixes are discussed together. Additionally, due to apocope in the

1 The suffix *-n* : *-me-* in Fi *morsian* : *morsiamen* ‘bride’ is secondary (see Hakulinen 1968: 112).

2 cf. *suur elläi ~ suur jelläi* ‘rich man’ (Kallas 1903: 27).

nominative, there is also a third *k*-type secondary derivational suffix (see Section 4).

This Kraasna denominal suffix forms the following noun and adjective derivatives: ⁺(*huu*)*hublik* ‘sorrel, lit. horse sorrel (*Rumex crispus*)’ (NomPl (*huu*)*hubliga*^q, AES 202: 5; cf. et *huba* ‘crumbly’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; *lut’k* ‘(bed)bug’ (Est V: 1940); *maas’k* ‘strawberry’ (Est V: 1934; presumably, the same stem as the word *manner* ‘mainland’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *mus’t’k* ‘(black) bilberry’ (Est V: 1934; cf. *must* ‘black’); *or’k* ~ *orik* (78); ~ *uor’k* ‘boar’ (Est V: 1942; Kallas 1903: 32, 78; eS word; GenSg is *oriku*, Käsi 2011; which derives from the word *ora* ‘spike, bodkin’ or Proto-Germanic, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); ⁺*sit’k* ~ *sitik* ‘black currant’ (NomPl *sitka*^q, AES 202: 7; Se *sitikmar’a*^q ~ *sitka*^q *mar’a*^q < *sitik* ‘beetle’ < *sitt* ‘shit’); *suolik* ‘intestine’ (NomPl *suoligu*^q ~ *suoligõ*^q, AES 202: 7; Est V: 1934; cf. fi *suoli*); *vas’k’* ‘calf’ (Est V: 1949; cf. *vasik* ~ *vas’k*); cf. Proto-Indo-Iranian *vasa-*). This suffix derives animal as well as plant names. The word *harak* ‘magpie’ (NomPl *haragu*^q, AES 202: 10 Est V: 1938) is a Baltic loan, while ⁺*kasuk* (*-k* < ru *-h*) ‘fur coat’ and ⁺*turak* (*-k* < ru *-k*) ‘fool’ (Pall 1982–1989) are Russian loans (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) as well as *kill’ok* ‘clay hand washing dish’ (cf. Se *kilok* : *kiloga*, *kilokas* < ru *зилек*).

-l’ : -la- < ***-IA**. Nouns are formed using this denominal suffix *jummal* ~ *jimmel* (AES 202: 7, 11; the vowel *i* in *jimmel* was pronounced backwards; cf. Se *jummal’*) : *jumala* ~ *jimala* ‘god’ (Kallas 1903: 65; AES 202: 11) and *pässül* ‘steelyard (et *päsmer*, *margapuu*)’ (AES 202: 11; Se *pässül’* : *päsülä*). The suffix is attached to the first part of the germL *besemer* ~ *besmer* ~ *bisemer*, cf. also *pässerm* (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). An assumed Baltic loanword is *sammõl* : *samble* ‘moss’ (Est V: 1952; NomPl *samblõ*^q, Est V: 1938); Proto-Baltic *n* was replaced by Finnic *l* (cf. blt **samanas*), and of Proto-Germanic origin is ⁺*hummal’* ‘hops’ (NomPl *humala*^q, ERA II: 106). The only known adjective is *matal* : *madala* ‘low’ (AES 202: 4; Mets et al. 2014: 291).

-m ~ -e ~ -õ ~ Ø : **-ma-** ~ **-me-** ~ **-mä** ~ **-mõ-** < ***-mA** ~ ***-mE**. For various reasons, three related Finnic suffixes have assimilated in the Kraasna dialect. Descendants of these are, for example: fi *-in*, *-ma* ~ *-mä* and *-ma* ~ *-mä* ~ *-(i)n* (see Laanest 1975: 134, 137–138). The following are denominal derivatives: ⁺*ikim?* ‘(tooth) gums’ (AES 202: 4; NomPl *igime*^q, Est V: 1934; Se *ikim* : *igime*; cf. fi *ien* : *ikene-*); ⁺*süä* ‘heart’

(AdeSg *süämel*; Kallas 1903: 91, 92; cf. fi *sydäin*); ⁺*tukõm* ‘support?’ (AllSg *tugemile*, Kallas 1903: 1-23; cf. eS *tugim* ~ *tukim* ‘switch, rod’, *tugimus* ‘cudgel; sprig’, Wiedemann 1973: 1211; cf. Se *tugi* ‘support’) and *võezi* ~ *võizi* : *võiz’me* ‘butter’ (Est V: 1947; Kallas 1903: 86; Mets et al. 2014: 287; Se *puuvõisi* : *puuvõisma* : *puuvõismõ* ‘vegetable oil’; ^{*}*voisime-* < ^{*}*voitime* < ^{*}*voit[a]-ime* (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3936). In some words, the singular nominative *-m* has survived due to the influence of the genitive.

Of adjectival origin is *nõdr̄m* : *nõdr’me* ~ [?]*nõdõrna* ‘cradle pole; a device for pressing grain into a mortar’ (AES 202: 8; Haak et al. 1994–2020; Est V: 1937; *-na* < ^{*}*-ma*; Se *nõdõrm* : *nõdõrma* ~ *nõdõrmõ* < *nõdõr*, cf. et *nõder* ‘weak; (dialect form:) cradle spar’, in related languages also: ‘flexible’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012)³ and NomPl *suurma^q* ‘groats’ (AES 202: 25; Se *suurma^q* < *suur* ‘large’, see Mägiste 1982–1983: 2941).⁴ The other derivative type is *hääjerm* (see Sec. 4).

The deverbal derivatives are ⁺*azõ* ‘location; sleeping place’ (NomPl *azõmõ^q*, AES 202: 6; Se *asõ* : *asõma* ~ *asõmõ* < *asuma* ‘to come into being, to appear’ < *asuma* ‘to dwell; to be located’); *võti* ‘key’ (NomPl *võtmõ^q*, AES 202: 20; cf. Se *võtma* ‘to take’); NomPl *vuulme^q* ‘draw-knife’ (Kallas 1903: 25); cf. Se *vuul’ma* ‘to whittle’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The known Kraasna partitive singular form of this suffix is *-nd*, e.g., *azõnd* ‘place’ (Mets et al. 2014: 280; also Se *asõnd*) and *võezind* ‘butter’ (Mets et al. 2014: 283).

-n : **-na** ~ **-nä** < ^{*}**-nA**. This denominal suffix appears in the words *hapõn* : *habõna* ‘beard’ (Est V: 1937), which is commonly used in its plural form *habõna^q* (AES 202: 4; cf. Se *habõna^q*), and ⁺*upin* ‘apple’ (NomPl *ubina^q*, AES 202: 25; cf. Se *upin* < *uba* ‘bean’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). A deverbal suffix of the same form is found in adjectives ⁺*kas’sin* : *kazina* ‘scanty; clean’ (AllSg *kazinale*, Kallas 1903: 14-11; Se *kassin* < *kasima* : *kassi^q* ‘to clean; to harvest fruit’) where the suffix indicates a diminutive (Mägiste 1982–1983: 722; Neetar 1990: 85 does not address the derivative).

3 The South Estonian word has become *a*-final only in the Võnnu and Seto varieties, elsewhere it is *u*-type (see Haak et al. 1994–2020). This is why Mägiste only allows for a *mu*-suffix (< ^{*}*-moi*; Mägiste 1982–1983: 1756).

4 Fi *suurima* ~ *suurimo* ‘an individual grain or groat’ is indirectly associated with a verb known from folk songs *suurtaa* ‘to break into individual grains or groats’ (Hakulinen 1968: 162).

-nd ~ -d < *-ntA. This denominal suffix usually means ‘with something or someone similar’, e.g., ⁺*imänd* ~ ⁺*jimänd* ‘lady’ (NomPl *imändä^q*, Kallas 1903: 6-33; Est V: 1936; Se *imä* ‘mother’); *Essänd* : *Essändä* ‘Lord’ (Est V: 1949; AllSg *Essändäle* AES 202: 12); *ezänd* ~ ⁺*jezänd* : *ezändä* ~ *jezändä* ‘gentleman; manor lord’ (Kallas 1903: 96, 98; AES 202: 3; Se *esä*); *soend* ‘werewolf’ (Kallas 1903: 96; also Se *soend* < *susi* : *soe* ‘wolf’). The shape of this suffix (*-nd* > *-d*) is unique: *põrmad* : *põrmadu* ‘floor’ (Est V: 1934, 1943. Word forms found in Kallas: *põrmandul* (Kallas 1903: 124) and *põrmandule* (ERA I: 26); cf. also Se *põrmad* ~ *põrmand* : *põrmadu* ~ *põrmandu*). These are probably constructed by analogy.

-ne ~ -nõ : -ze ~ -zõ or -dze ~ -dzõ < *-(i)nEn : -(i)sE- ~ -(i)tsE- < *-n’c’E (see also *n’*). This denominal suffix forms nouns as well as adjectives. Some nouns are abstracted from adjectives. Some words do not have singular forms. Referring to means of action: NomPl *ahersälüze^q* ‘breeching (a part of a horse harness)’ (Est V: 1940; still only in Se and Vas); NomPl *pädze^q* ~ *päädze^q* ‘headstall, halter’ (Est V: 1934, 1940; Se *päitse^q* < *päine* : *päitse* < *pää* ‘head’) and *suudzõ* ‘bridle’ (Est V: 1934; < *suu* ‘mouth’). Referring to people in general, relatives, etc.: *in’imen’e* : *inimize* ‘human; person’ (Mets et al. 2014: 277; AES 202: 25); *kabõhanõ* ~ *kabõhõnõ* ‘young woman’ (NomPl *kabõhõdze^q* AES 202: 12, 28; Kallas 1903: 40; *-he* ~ *-hõ* is a suffix on the base word; Se *kabõhhõnõ*); *naan’õ* : *naaz’õ* ‘woman, wife’ (Mets et al. 2014: 280; Est V: 1938); *sulanõ* ‘hind, farmhand’ (AES 202: 10; cf. fi *sulhanen* ‘bridegroom’; < *sula* ‘gentle’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2908). Referring to members of the animal kingdom: ⁺*mehine* ‘bee’ (NomPl *mehidze^q*, Est V: 1950; Se *mehine* : *mehidse*) and ⁺*tianõ* ‘titmouse’ (*tiazehain*, Kallas 1903: 45). The secondary variant of this suffix is the denominal *-n’* : *-ze* ~ *-zõ*, which occurs in the nouns *hopõn’* : *hobõzõ* ‘horse’ and *repän’* ‘fox’ (both Est V: 1934). Referring to holidays or activities: *ristjäts* ‘baptism’ (Mets et al. 2014: 277; Se plural *ristjätisi^q*); NomPl *talidze^q* ‘Christmas’ (AES 202: 6) (see also adjectives) and *õütsi* ‘grazing of horses at night’ (AES 202: 20; Se *õüts* : *õüdsi* < *õine* : *õise* ~ *õitse* < *õö* ‘night’). Not grouped by meaning: *laudadze^q* ~ *laadadze^q* ‘an offering made to the cowhouse gods; et *lehmäkahi*’ (Kallas 1903: 86; cf. Se *laut* : *lauda* ‘cowshed’); NomPl *päälze^q* ‘haulms’ (Est V: 1940) and *tarõalunõ* ‘basement (lit. ‘under the room or house’)’ (Kallas 1903: 26; Se *tarõalonõ*). See also *-dze- ~ -dzõ-*.

There is an abundance of adjectives derived from nouns: *haavane* ‘of aspen (wood)’ (*haavane*; AES 202: 25); *jääne* ‘icy, covered with ice’ (Kallas 1903: 126); *kadajanõ* ‘of juniper’ (Est V: 1952); ⁺*kullanõ* ‘golden, of gold’ (GenPl *kulladzide*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. Se *kullanõ*); *kõllanõ* ‘yellow’ (AES 202: 11); *kõonõ* ~ *kõõvunõ* ‘of birch (wood)’ (AES 202: 25; Est V: 1952; < *kõiv* : *kõo* ‘birch’); *külmäne* ‘cold’ (Mets et al. 2014: 290); *lepäne* ‘of alder (wood)’ (AES 202: 25); *näl’äne* ‘hungry’ (Est V: 1944); *paiunõ* (Haak et al. 1994–2020) ‘of willow (wood)’ (NomPl *pajudzõ^q*, Est V: 1941); *patane* ‘sinful’ (AllPl *patadzile*, Kallas 1903: 100; Se *patanõ* < *patt* : *patu* ‘sin’; plural stem, Käsi 2000: 173); ⁺*pedäjine* ‘of pine’ (NomPl *pedäjidze^q*, AES 202: 25; cf. Se *petäi*); *puzanõ* ‘bitter’ (Est V: 1953; only in Kra; cf. also Kra *pusa* ‘sullen?’); *puunõ* ‘wooden, of wood’ (Est V: 1940) (ElaSg *puudzest*, Kallas 1903: 88); *ravvanõ* ‘made of iron’ (AES 202: 8); with unclear meanings: ⁺*sadõhinõ* : *sadõhitse* ‘rainy?’ (Mets et al. 2014: 290; may be a derivative of the word **sadõh*, but it has not been documented, cf. still in Se *sado* ‘precipitation; rotten wood; lazy person’); *savinõ* ‘clayey’ (NomPl *savidzõ^q*, Est V: 1953; AES 202: 13); *sinine* ~ *šinine* ‘blue’ (Est V: 1941, 1951; NomPl *sinidze^q*, AES 202: 12); *sitanõ* ‘mucky’ (AES 202: 21); *suvidzõ^q pühi^q* ‘Pentecost’ (*suvidze pühi*, Kallas 1903: 44); *tal’ize pühi* ~ *tal’zi pühi* ‘Christmas’ (Kallas 1903: 44; Mets et al. 2014: 282; Se *tal’sipühi* < **talvinõ* : **talvidzõ* ‘wintery’); ⁺*teräne* ‘of steel’ (GenPl *terädzide*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. *terane* ‘steel’, Pall 1982–1989); ⁺*tõbinõ* ‘ill’ (*tõpine*, Kallas 1903: 5-5); ⁺*tõrvanõ* ‘tarry’ in the compound *tõrvashain* (Kallas 1903: 45);⁵ ⁺*utonõ*? ‘foggy’ (NomPl *utoza^q*, Est V: 1940); ⁺*vaenõ* ‘poor’ (*vaenegi*, Est V: 1940; < **vaivainen* ‘miserable; difficult’ < *vaiiv*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *vahanõ* ‘waxy, of wax’ (AES 202: 11); ⁺*vas’nõ* ‘copper, of copper’ (GenPl *vas’tside*, Kallas 1903: 6-51...54; cf. Se *vasinõ* < **vas’k* ‘copper’); *vastanõ* ‘new’ (Est V: 1938); ⁺*ves’ne* ‘watery, wet’ (IneSg *ves’tseh*, AES 202: 25); ⁺*vihanõ* ‘angry’ (NomPl *vihaza^q*, AES 202: 12).

The adjectives *haavanõ*, *lepäne*, *ravvanõ*, etc. refer to materials; this is characteristic of the Võro dialect (Käsi 2000: 173; see also Viires 1960: 50–51). The *p*-sound in **tõbinõ* is either an inaccuracy or hypercorrection, cf. regular in Võro *tõbinõ* ~ *tõpin* ‘ill’ (Käsi 2011: 790).

5 It is possible it is also derived from a noun with a suffix, cf. Se *tõrvas* ‘pitch pine’ (< *tõrv* ‘tar’).

Words of adverbial origin indicate time: ⁺*humdõnõnõ* ‘of tomorrow’ (GenSg *hummenetse*; AES 202: 25; < the adverb ⁺*humdõn* ‘tomorrow’); *muistine* ‘ancient’ (Kallas 1903: 71; < *muu* ‘another’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1563); ⁺*vahtnõ* : *vahtsõ* ‘new’ (Mets et al. 2014: 285; < *vas’t* ‘maybe’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

-o ~ -u < *-o. Initially, Kra *-o* (< **-o* and **-oi*, see also Sec. 4) and **-u* were three different suffixes, the use of which is quite varied in South Estonian language varieties due to the *o > u* change (see Kettunen 1929: 155–156, 157–159). Originally derived by deverbal *-o* are the nouns *elo ~ jelo* ‘dwelling house’ (Kallas 1903: 90; Mets et al. 2014: 290; cf. Se *elo* ‘life; household’ < *elämä* ‘to live’); ⁺*kiird* ‘winding?’ (ComSg *kieruga*, Est V: 1949; cf. Se *kiird* ‘winding’, *kiirdmä* ‘to wind’, cf. fi *kierto*); and *teno* ‘thanks’ (Kallas 1903: 14–5, 6; cf. fi *tenho* ‘enchantment; witchcraft’, Se *teno* and *tehnämä* ‘to thank’).

-o ~ -u < *-u. Originally, the noun ⁺*kahr* ‘bear’ had the *u*-suffix (NomPl *kahru^a* ~ *kahrõ^a*, AES 202: 10, Est V: 1950; Se *kahr* : *kahro*; probably the same stem as the word *kare* ‘rough’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012), ⁺*mago* : *mao* ‘taste, flavour’ (*mako*, Kallas 1903: 100; cf. Se *magu* : *mau* : *maku*) and *pago* ‘block’ (*viizupago* ‘bast shoe block’ (Est V: 1941; cf. Se *pago* : *pao* ‘(boot) last’); the main component of this compound word is considered to be a variant of the lexeme *pakk* : *paku* ‘block; chunk’, assuming the Finnic alternation **-k- ~ *-kk-* (Mägiste 1982–1983: 1904).⁶

-r : -ra ~ -re ~ -rõ < *-rA. With this suffix the following are formed: *kõdr* ~ *kõdõr* : *kõdra* ‘seed pod’ (Est V: 1943, 1951; probably the same stem as in the Finnish word *kotelo* ‘casing, shell; cocoon’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and the first component of the compound word *künnärpää* ‘elbow’ (Est V: 1934) (cf. Lut *künnärpää*, Se *künnär’pää*) and ⁺*pinnär’* ‘planting bed’ (NomPl *pindre^a*, Est V: 1936; Se *pinnär’*). The remaining words are mainly loans from Indo-European languages borrowed at various times: ⁺*kõtar* ‘wheel spoke’ (NomPl *kõdara^a*, Est V: 1940); ⁺*sõbõr* ‘friend’ (ComSg *sõbraga*, AES 202: 7); ⁺*sõzar* ‘sister’ (NomPl *syzarõ^a*, Est V: 1941); *tütär* ‘daughter’ (AES 202: 13); *utar’* ‘udder’ (AES 202: 10) and *vassar* ‘hammer’ (Est V: 1937). The meaning

6 Elsewhere, *pakk* is derived from the Proto-Germanic word form **spaka-* ~ **spakō*, cf. Middle Dutch *spāke ~ spaecke* ‘pole; dowel’ (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

and origin of the word *hannar'* (Est V: 1939, 1952) are unknown. The only adjective in this group is *kõvvõr'* 'curved, bent' (AES 202: 8).

-s : Ø < *-s : *-h- < *-š-. The following nouns are formed from *a*-stem words using this suffix: *kikas* 'rooster' (AES 202: 10; ComSg *kikkaga*, Mets et al. 2014: 292; cf. et *kukk*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *rõevas* : *rõiva* 'clothing' (Est V: 1953; cf. fi *roivas* 'hemp or flax bundle', Kulonen 2000: 88); *säünäs* 'ide (*Leuciscus idus*)' (AES 202: 7); *varbas* 'toe' (NomPl *varba^a*, Est V: 1934; cf. et *varb* 'rod, switch', Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *võõras* 'stranger' (Pall 1982–1989; cf. et *veer* 'border, edge' or blt loan). In the word *saabas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'boot', the suffix is added to first part of the Old Russian loanword *sapogū* 'boot' or the final part was lost after the suffix was added (cf. liv *sõpkõz* 'boot').

There are many Indo-European loans from different periods with this suffix. The Baltic loans are *hammas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'tooth'; ⁺*har'as* 'bristle' (PrtPl *haraššit*, Est V: 1952); *kinnas* 'glove' (Pall 1982–1989); *oon'as* (Haak et al. 1994–2020) 'ram'; *ratas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'wheel'; *saivas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'pole, stake'; ⁺*taivas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'sky; heaven'; *udras* (Pall 1982–1989) 'otter'. Of Proto-Germanic origin: *haugas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'hawk'; ⁺*kangas* 'cloth' (PrtSg *kangast*, Est V: 1939); *rahvas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'people'; *rõngas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'circle, ring'; *tõbras* (Pall 1982–1989) 'cattle'; *varas* (Pall 1982–1989) 'thief'. The suffix is lost in the Proto-Indo-Iranian loanword *põrs* 'piglet' (AES 202: 12; Se *põrss*). A word of problematic affiliation recorded in the Kraasna dialect is *põrmas* 'floor' (Est V: 1941). The origin of the word *kuvvas* 'axe handle' (Est V: 1935; Vas *kuvvas* : *kuuda*) is unclear (see Junttila 2012: 287). Loans also include the *as*-final adjectives: *hal'as* 'green' (NomPl *halja^a*, Est V: 1939; AES 202: 11); ⁺*pal'as* 'naked' (Pall 1982–1989); *puhas* (Kallas 1903: 87) : ⁺*puhta* 'clean' (SgII *puhtahõ*, Est V: 1937); *rikas* 'rich' (Mets et al. 2014: 279).

-s : -se ~ -sa ~ -sä < *-isA. The word *imis* ~ *im's* 'sow' (Est V: 1942; Kallas 1903: 32; cf. Se *imä* 'mother') is a denominal noun, but the word *tul'is* ~ *tul's* 'collective name for ancient tools used to light a fire (e.g., flint, tinder)' (Kallas 1903: 26) is a Proto-Baltic loan, cf. It *dūlis* 'a smoking piece of wood for driving away bees' (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The word form *tulis* 'fire striker' is found in Võromaa and Setomaa (Pall 1982–1989). Adjectives formed from nouns: *illos* 'beautiful' (NomPl *iloza*, AES 202: 8; ERA II: 87; cf. Se *illos* < *ilo*

‘beauty; joy’), *makus* ‘tasty?’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. Se *magu* ‘flavour, taste’) and *valuz* ‘painful’ (Kallas 1903: 96; the same stem as the word *valge* ‘white’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) as well as from a deverbal *süntsä* ‘polite, fitting’ (Est V: 1935; cf. Se Rõu Vas *süntsä* < *sündüs* (< **süntüisä*) < *sündümä* ‘to be born’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2012, Käsi 2000: 177).

-s : -se- ~ -sõ < *-ksE. This suffix is found in: ⁺*jalas* ‘runner (on a sleigh)’ (NomPl *jalazõ^q*, Est V: 1940; in some Estonian dialects: *jalakse-*; < *jalg* ‘foot’); *jänes* ‘hare’ (AES 202: 10; cf. fi *jänis*); ⁺*keres* : *keresist* ‘stones heated in a sauna and doused with water to generate steam’ (Kallas 1903: R 4-12; in et dialects: *kerikse-*; either a Proto-Baltic loan or genuine, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); ⁺*kärbes* ‘fly (*Muscidae*)’ (NomPl *kärpse^q*, Est V: 1935; Se *kärbäs*; it may be that *-es* is a form derived from the *ne*-suffix, cf. see fi *kärpänen*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); ⁺*oras* ‘young crop’ (NomPl *oraze*, Kallas 1903: 11-3; < *ora* ‘spike, spit’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; in some et dialects *orakse-*, but cf. fi *oras* : *oraan* < **orahan*); *nõges* ‘nettle’ (*nõges*, Kallas 1903: 45; NomPl *nõgõzõ^q*, Est V: 1939; cf. Se *nõgõnõ* ~ *nõgõs*’, in et dialects *nogekse-*); *varõs* ‘crow’ (NomPl *varõzõ^q*, AES 202: 5, 25; cf. liv *varĩkš*).

-ts : -tsa- ~ -tsä- < *-tsA. This denominal as well as deverbal suffix forms are used in the names of devices and instruments: ⁺*kammits* ‘hobble, tangle’ (*kammitsõhõ*, AES 202: 8; loan stem + a Finnic suffix, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *kol’gits* ~ *kuolks* : ‘a tool used for breaking flax’ (ComPl *kol’ksidega*, Kallas 1903: 96; Mets et al. 2014: 284; Est V: 1940; cf. et *kolkima* ‘to break flax or hemp’; e.g., Kra *kolgõtas kol’ksidega* ‘(the flax) is broken with a flax-breaker’). The word ⁺*luhits* ‘spoon’ (ComSg *luhitsaga*, Kallas 1903: 87) is of Old Russian origin, cf. *лъжица* ‘a small spoon for giving Holy Communion’. The word *kar’ts* : *karidzõ* ‘piggin, a wooden bowl with a short handle’ (NomPl *karidzõ*, Est V: 1953); cf. ru *копеч* ‘a small cup; a box for finely ground flour’, Must 2000: 84) has been borrowed from Russian. The word *labõrits* ‘St. Lawrence’s Day’ (*labõritsakene*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *Laurentius*) is also a borrowing.

-u, see -o ~ -u.

-us ~ -üs : -u ~ -ü or -use ~ -usõ < *-UtE (Laanest 1975: 142). The following abstract nouns are formed with this suffix: *tehrüs* ‘health’ (ComSg *tehrüga*, Pall 1982–1989; Est V: 1940; cf. Se *terveh* ‘healthy’;

about the sound change *hr* < *rv* cf. Se *tehrütämä* ‘to greet’, fi *tervyys* : *tervyyden* ‘health’) and *õigus* ‘rightness’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *õigus* : *õigusõ* < *õigõ* ‘right; honest, fair’, cf. fi *oikeus* : *oikeuden*). See also the secondary suffix *-us* ~ *-üs*.

-v : **-va** ~ **-vä** < ***-vA**. The only noun derived from another noun with this suffix is *allev* ‘urban village’ (AES 202: 20; cf. et *ala* ‘field, sphere; territory’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). Denominal and deverbial adjectives are much more common: *elläv* ~ *jelläv* ‘alive’ (AES 202: 3, 9; NomPl *elävä^q*, Est V: 1943; cf. Se *elämä* ‘to live’); ⁺*kirriv* : *kirivä* ‘variegated, multi-coloured’ (Kallas 1903: 78; cf. et *kiri* : *kirä* ‘letter; pattern’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); ⁺*otav* ‘cheap’ (NomPl *odava^q*, AES 202: 11); *pallav* ‘hot’ (AES 202: 10; cf. Se *palama* ‘to burn’); *tutva* ‘known’ (Est V: 1935; et *tuttav* is a consonant stem present tense impersonal voice participle (< **tunt-ta-βa*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *verrev* : *verevä* ‘red’ (AES 202: 7; ERA I: 42; *veri* ‘blood’); *õgõv* ‘straight’ (AES 202: 8; the same stem as the et word *õige* ‘right, correct’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

4. Secondary nominal derivatives

-dus ~ **-düs** < ***-tU-Us** < ***-tOi-Us**. If the word *süüdüs* (AES 202: 11), the meaning of which is unknown, means the absence of fault (cf. et *süütaus* ~ *süüdus* : *süüduse* ‘innocence’, Wiedemann 1973: 1104), then it must be assumed that this abstract noun is based on a presumed adjective indicating the absence of a state or quality ⁺*süüdü*. However, if it does not have a caritive meaning, then it functions as a primary suffix, which is attached to the noun referring to guilt, cf. eS *süüd* ‘guilt’. See also *-du* ~ *-dü*.

-(i)st : **-(i)sto** ~ **-(i)stu** < ***-s-ta-i** (see Hakulinen 1968: 149). This suffix is known in only two words in Kraasna folk songs: ⁺*laanist* ‘a low, bosky landscape?’ (ElaSg *laanistust*, Kallas 1903: 1-10; cf. et *laas* : *laane* ‘pine forest’) and ⁺*soomist* ‘a swampy meadow or pasture-land’ (ElaSg *soomistost*, Kallas 1903: 1-9; < *soo* ‘swamp’; cf. *soomik* ‘swampy area’ < *soovik*, in which *v* occurred in place of a hiatus, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2854, 2859; probably of the same origin: Vas *soomik* ‘wet creature’, Pall 1982–1989).

-jas ~ -jäs : [-ja ~ -jä] < *-jA-s. According to current data, this suffix occurs only in the nouns *uohtjas* : **uohtja* ‘thistle’ (NomPl *uohtja^q*, AES 202: 6; Kallas 1903: 45; Se *oht’jas*; < *ohe* : *ohte* ‘awn; beard’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1816) and *ruod’jas* ‘pole, post?’ (Est V: 1938; cf. Se *rood’as(s)* : *ruudja* ‘pole, post’).

-k : **-gi** < *-kk-i < *-kkA-i. The following are formed with this deverbal suffix: **juuk’* : *joogi* ‘drink’ and **süük’* : *söögi* ‘food’ (both Kallas 1903: 91).

-k : **-gu** < *-kk-o < *-kka-o or *-kk-oi < *kka-oi. This suffix has had several semantic functions. Derivatives with this suffix describe human characteristics and are formed primarily from nouns and adjectives, e.g., *habõnik* ‘bearded man’ (AES 202: 25; < *habõna^q* ‘beard’); *hübärik* ‘powerless; premature child? (as a curse word)’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. fi *äpäpä* ‘bastard; degenerate’); **kaas’k* ~ *kaazik* ‘wedding singer’ (NomPl *kaazigu^q* ~ *kaazigõ^q* ~ *kaas’ku^q*, AES 202: 2; Kallas 1903: 102; Est V: 1935; the same stem as *kaasas* ‘with’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *noor’k* ~ *nuorik* ~ *nuor’k* ‘young wife’ (AES 202: 4; Kallas 1903: 98; Mets et al. 2014: 291; cf. Se *nuur’* : *noorõ* ‘young’); *näidsik* ~ *näütsik* ~ *näädzik* ‘girl, young woman’ (Kallas 1903: 128; cf. *neitsi* ‘virgin; maiden’ < **neine* : **neitse*, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *tütrik* ‘girl’ (NomPl *tütrigu^q*, AES 202: 6; Est V: 1937; cf. Se *tütär’*). See also *-k* : *ga* < *-kka (Sec. 3).

The same suffix is used to derive the names of objects: *linik* ‘kerchief, tablecloth’ (Kallas 1903: 29; cf. *lina*); **länik* ‘a wooden container for milk, etc.’ (NomPl *länigu^q*, Est V: 1935; Proto-Baltic stem, cf. It *lenta* ‘table; plank’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); *nüs’k* ‘milk pail’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. eS *nüss* ‘milking’; according to Neetar 1990: 27, *nüssik* is deverbal); *pilak* ‘splinter holder (a clip for holding burning kindling)’ (Est V: 1952; cf. *pilu?* ‘slit’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). Associated with the daily cycle: **hommok* ~ *hommuk* ~ *hummuk* ‘morning’ (AblSg *hommogult* ~ *hommugult* ~ *hummugult*, AES 202: 21; Mets et al. 2014: 282, 283; the same stem as et *homme* ‘tomorrow’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *õdag* : *õdaguld* ‘evening’ (Mets et al. 2014: 289, 290). In adjectives, *-k* appears to function as a diminutive suffix: *poolik* ‘half’ (Kallas 1903: 1-27; cf. Se *puul’* : *poolõ* ‘half’) and **väiku* ‘small’ (AllSg *väikule*, Kallas 1903: 14-12; **vähi-kko* < **vähä* ‘little; few’, see also Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) ‘small’ also in the noun **sagarik* : *sagariku* ‘rain shower’ (Kallas 1903: 80). It is

not clear whether the words with unknown meanings – *iešk* (AES 202: 7, cf. Se etc. *eesik* ‘a cow’s name’) and *tõešk* (AES 202: 7) – come from the ordinal numerals ‘first’ and ‘second’.

The word *vanig'* ~ *van'k* ‘wreath’ (Est V: 1938; Kallas 1903: 29) and perhaps also *tatrik* : *tatrigu* ‘buckwheat’ (AES 202: 7, 25; cf. ru *татарка*, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; with the diminutive suffix *-ikkoi, Mägiste 1982–1983: 3096) cannot be considered loans. The nouns *puuzlik* ‘idol’ (Kallas 1903: 67; the origin of this word is uncertain, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and ⁺*unik* ~ *un'k* : *un'kohõ* ~ *hun'kohõ* ‘heap, pile’ (Mets et al. 2014: 285) are difficult to semantically categorise.

It is completely uncertain for the words *keranik* (Est V: 1935) and *pelenik* (Est V: 1949), because their meaning is unknown. In cases when documentation is unclear, cf. e.g., Se *kelenik* ‘servant of an abbot’ (< ru *келейник*, Must 2000: 94, but also Kod *kärinik* ‘noisemaker’ and *kerinik* ~ *körinik* ‘sickly’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020), then these may contain *-nik* of Russian (or Latvian) origin instead.

-kanõ ~ -käne < *-kA-(i)nEn. The diminutive suffix *-*kVnV* forms many new words. Most of these are recorded by Kallas. An abundance of diminutives is very characteristic of Võro, which may be the result of Russian and/or Latvian influence. In front-vowel words, the compound suffix has the form *-kene*, but in back-vowel words it is either *-kanõ* or *-kõnõ*.⁷ Though the latter come from the same Finnic suffix, it is sensible to keep these separate in Estonian. The following diminutive nouns are formed using the *kanõ*-suffix, which denotes either the smallness of creatures or personalities or an affectionate attitude towards them: *gul'ukkanõ* ‘pigeon’ (AES 202: 25; < *gul'u* ‘pigeon (dim.)’); *haan'akkanõ* ‘hay (dim.)’ (AES 202: 4; < *hain* ‘hay’); *hatakane* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *hatt* ‘female dog; whore’); *hõngõkkane* (AES 202: 13; < *hõng* ‘breath; soul’); *jumalakkane* (AES 202: 4; < *jummal* ‘god’); *kaazõkkanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *kaas'* ‘lid, cover’); ⁺*kablakanõ* (NomPl *kablakaze*^a, Est V: 1940; < *kabõl'* ‘string, cord’); ⁺*kalakanõ* : *kalakazõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 291; < *kala* ‘fish’); ⁺*kamakanõ* (PrtSg *kamakaiste*, 3-20; < *kama* ‘a finely milled flour mixture used for making porridge, baking, etc.’); *kanakane* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-17) < *kana* ‘hen’;

7 The base words of the *kVnV*-diminutives were derived by the author of this article with particular reference to Seto words (Käsi 2011).

kan'kanõ (Est V: 1951; *kann'* : *kanni* 'jug'; in this and other examples typically there is syncope resulting in the palatalisation of the preceding consonant); *kar'pkanõ* (Est V: 1952; < *karp* : *karbi* 'box, case'); *kaškanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *kašk* 'overcoat'; Se *kask* : *kaska* ~ *kasuk* : *kasuga*); ⁺*kedzokanõ* (PrtSg *kedzokaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-4; cf. Se *ketso* 'spindle' < **keta-s-* 'disc' + *-*oi*, see Mägiste 1982–1983: 790); *kikkakanõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-14...15; < *kikas* 'rooster'); **kogrõkanõ* (*kogrokane*, Br: 2-2; < **kogõr'*) 'crucian carp', *kor'v'kanõ* ~ *kuor'v'kanõ* (AES 202: 8; Est V: 1953; < *korv'* 'basket'); ⁺*kostikanõ* : *kostikaze* (Kallas 1903: 3-23; < *kost'* 'guest', Must 2000: 129); *kuh'akane* (Kallas 1903: 14-8; < *kuhi* 'rick, stack'; *kuningakane* (Kallas 1903: 80; < *kuningas* 'king'); *ladvakkanõ* (AES 202: 7; < *ladõv* 'top (of trees, etc.)'); **ladzõkan* ~ **ladzõkõn* ~ ⁺*ladzõkanõ* (*latzakan*, Br: 4-1; *ladzekane*, ERA I: 67; < *lats'* : *ladzõ* 'child'); ⁺*langakanõ* (PrtSg *langakaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-5; < *lang* 'yarn'); *l'el'l'okanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-3; multiple diminutive, using palatalisation, *o-* and *kanõ*-suffixes; cf. Se *lelo* ~ *leloo* ~ *lelooh* 'leelo (a type of Estonian folk song)'); ⁺*livvakanõ* (ElaSg *livvakazest*, Kallas 1903: 88; < *liud* : *livva* 'a type of large serving dish'); *magilkakanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *magilka* 'grave' < ru *могилка* 'grave (dim.)'); *munakane* (Kallas 1903: 3-12; < *muna* 'egg'); ⁺*naaz'õkanõ* : **naaz'õkazõ* (*naesõkaze*, Kallas 1903: 19-2; < *naan'õ* 'woman, wife'); *oinakkanõ* (Est V: 1953; < *oinas* 'ram'); ⁺*ollõkanõ* (PrtSg *ollekaiste*, Kallas 1903: 3-21; < *olu^q* 'beer'); ⁺*orazõkanõ* (NomPl *orazekaze^q*, Kallas 1903: 103; < *oras* 'young crop'); *paabakane* (Kallas 1903: 124); < *paaba* 'old woman' < ru *баба*; Se *paaba*); *pad'akanõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 280; < *padi* 'pillow'); *painakane* 'nightmare, incubus' (Kallas 1903: 96; cf. eN *painakas* 'nightmare', Neetar 1990: 57); *pikrikanõ* (Est V: 1941; < *pikri* 'cup, shot glass'); *pos'kane* ~ *puos'kanõ* (Est V: 1945; Kallas 1903: 124; < *poiss'* 'boy, young man'); *puhmakkanõ* (AES 202: 6; < *puhm* 'bush'); *puuzlikanõ* (AES 202: 12; < *puuslik* 'idol'); ⁺*pungakanõ* (IllSg *pungakaizdõ*, Kallas 1903: 22-5; recorded in Kallas's notebook instead as: PrtSg *punga* (ERA I 87); < *pung* 'wallet'); ⁺*sainakanõ* (PrtSg *sainakaist*, Kallas 1903: 12-6; *sain* 'wall (here: unit of measure for fabric)'); *saunakkanõ* (AES 202: 7; < *saun* 'sauna'); *teedakane* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *teeda* 'old man' < ru *дед* 'grandfather'; Se *teeda*); *tsirgukane* (*vihmatsirgukane*, Kallas 1903: 32; < *tsirk* 'bird'); *tsurakkanõ* (AES 202: 5; < *tsura* 'boy; young unmarried man; helper'; Se *tsura*); *tüttrikanõ* (AES 202: 10; < *tüttrik* 'girl; young unmarried

woman; female farm worker’, see Sec. 3); *vaderikane* (Mets et al. 2014: 291; < *vadõr’* ~ *vatõr’* ‘godparent’); *varzakkanõ* (AES 202: 3; < *vars* ‘foal’); *vazigakkanõ* (AES 202: 3; < *vazik* ‘calf’); *vigliakane* (Kallas 1903: 14-7; < *vigõl’* ‘pitchfork’); *vihmakane* (Kallas 1903: 9-1; < *vihm* ‘rain’); *vikakaarikane* (Kallas 1903: 9-3, 4; < *vikakaar’* ‘rainbow’; Se *vikat’kaar’*) and ⁺*voonakanõ* (NomPl *voonakazõ^a*, AES 202: 3; < *vuun* ‘lamb’). Words with unknown meanings include: *ažkanõ* (Est V: 1951), *ed’kanõ* (Est V: 1953) and *Jintskane* (Kallas 1903: 124). The unique form *vaderidzekaze* (Kallas 1903: 21-3; < *vatõr’* ‘godparent’) has the plural meaning ‘godparents (dim.) together’, see *-dze-* ~ *-dzõ-*.

There are relatively few adjectives with this suffix. Some of these are formed from nouns and denote the content of a material: ⁺*aganakanõ* ‘of chaff, containing chaff’ (NomPl *aganakas^a*, Mets et al. 2014: 285; < *akan’* : *agana* ‘chaff’); *juonõkanõ* ‘striped’ (AES 202: 13; Se *joonikanõ* < *juun’* ‘stripe’) and *kõevanõ* ‘of birch; made of birch-wood’ (Est V: 1944; < *kõiv* ‘birch’). The other adjectives with this suffix are derived from adjectives, e.g., *jämkkäne* ‘fat; coarse (et *jämedune*)’ (Kallas 1903: 125; cf. Se *jämükene* < *jämmeh* ‘fat; coarse’); *ohkanõ* ‘thin (et *õhukene*)’ (Est V: 1941; Se *ohkõnõ* < *ohu^a* ~ *ohut* ‘thin’); *piukane* (Kallas 1903: 125; *piukõnõ* ‘in length’ (Kallas 1903: 125; cf. Se *piu^a* ‘in length’, *piutus* ‘length; height’), and *sõgõhõkkane* ‘blind (et *pimedakene*)’ (AES 202: 26; < *sõkõh* ‘blind’). In this case, the diminutive meaning is only partially evident. The diminutive is an adjective of noun origin: ⁺*pizukanõ* : *pizukaze* ‘small (et *pisikene*)’ (Kallas 1903: 1-24; < **pisu* ‘drop; a small amount’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012 [< **pisa*]).

The following are secondarily nominalised: *armakane* ‘beloved’ (Kallas 1903: 19-1; < *armas* : *arma*, Käsi 2011: 39); *mustakane* ‘evil spirit, devil; lit. little black one (et *mustakene*)’ (Kallas 1903: 95; < *must* ‘black’); *vanakkanõ* ‘dear old person (et *vanakene*)’ (Est V: 1945; < *vahn* ‘old’, Pall 1982–1989) and **väikokan[õ]* ~ **väikokõn[õ]* ‘little one (about children) (et *väiksekene*)’ (*waiekan*, Br: 4-2; *väiko* ~ *väiku* ‘little’). Of adverbial origin: *suutskakkanõ* (Est V: 1942; cf. Se *ts’uut* ‘a little bit, a small amount’ < ru *чумб*) and *tsipakõnõ* (Pall 1982–1989; < *tsipa* ‘a little bit, a small amount’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012, Käsi 2011).

-kene ~ **-kõnõ** < ***-k(k)E-(i)nen** < ***-k(k)A-(i)nen**. Nouns are derived most of all with this suffix: *aiakene* (Kallas 1903: 73; < *aid* ‘garden’); *anumakene* (Kallas 1903: 82; < *annom* ‘vessel; container’);

ezändäkene (Kallas 1903: 80; < *ezänd* ‘lord’); *hainakene* (Kallas 1903: 45; < *hain* ‘hay’); *hiireherrnekene* (Kallas 1903: 44; < *hiireherneh* ‘vetch’); *+huunõkõnõ* (*hoonekest*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *hoonõh* ‘building’); *humalakõnõ* (ERA III: 196; < *hummal* ‘hops’); *hõimukene* (Kallas 1903: 92; < *hõim* ‘tribe, people’); *här’äkene* (AES 202: 3; < *härg* ‘bull’); **imekene* (Br: 3-1); < *imä* ‘mother’); *juudakene* (*suujuudakene*, Kallas 1903: 125; < *Juudas?*); *+kaazõkõnõ* (*kaazõkkõzõga*, AES 202: 7; < *kaas* ‘lid, cover’); *kah’akene* (Kallas 1903: 87; < *kahi* ‘a drink offering’); *kanakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-15; < *kana* ‘hen’); *karmukõnõ* (AES 202: 1; < *karm* ‘charcoal fumes’); *+kar’uzõkõnõ* (PrtSg *karjuzekõist*, Kallas 1903: 7-11; < *kar’us* ‘herder’); *ker’kene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *ker’go*; cf. *Se ker’go* ‘a small bench’); *kivikene* (Kallas 1903: 9-5; < *kivi* ‘stone’); *kupakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 82; < *kupp* ‘a small cupping glass’); NomPl **kälēdzekeze⁹* ~ *kälēdekez’* (ERA II: 85; Kallas 1903: 21-2; < *kälēdze⁹* ‘brothers’ wives’. A singular form has not been observed, cf. older *källine* (Göseken 1660, cited by: Väari 2013: 156; *Se källü* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’); *künlekene* ~ *+kündlikene* (Est V: 1953; *kündlikeze*, Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *künnel* ‘candle’); *labõritsakene* (Kallas 1903: 87; < *labõrits* ‘St. Lawrence’s Day’); *+ladzõkõnõ* (SgPrt *ladzõkõist*, Kallas 1903: 7-10; < *lats* ‘child’); *+laulukõnõ* (NomPl *maalaulukeze*, Kallas 1903: 103; < *laul* ‘song’); *lehmäkene* (Kallas 1903: 10-5; < *lehm* ‘cow’); *+leiväkene* (AllSg *leivakezele*, Kallas 1903: 93; < *leib* ‘bread’); *lelokene* (Kallas 1903: 1-1; < *lelo* ‘leelo (a type of Estonian folk song)’); *maamakene* (Kallas 1903: 1-15; < *maama* ‘mother’ < ru *мама*; *Se maama*); *mer’kene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *meri* ‘sea’); *munakõnõ* (NomPl *munakeze*, (Kallas 1903: 128; Mets et al. 2014: 207-13; < *muna* ‘egg’); *Märtkene* (Kallas 1903: 124; < *Märt* ‘a man’s name’); *origugene* (Kallas 1903: 84; < *orik* ‘boar’); *paabakene* (Kallas 1903: 128; < *paaba* ‘old woman’ < ru *баба*); *+palakõnõ* (ComSg *palakezega*, Kallas 1903: 22-2; < *pala* ‘piece’); *+piiragukõnõ* (NomPl *piiragukõzõ⁹*, Kallas 1903: 21; < *piirak* ‘(large) pie (a type of food)’ < ru *пирог*); *pinikene* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *pini* ‘dog’); *puhmakõnõ* (*kadajapuhmakõnõ*, Kallas 1903: 73; < *puhm* ‘bush’); *+rihekene* (*r’ihekeist*, Kallas 1903: 87; < *riih* ‘threshing barn’); *rästäkene* (Kallas 1903: 32; < *rästäs* ‘thrush’); *rät’kene* (Mets et al. 2014: 281; < *rätt* ‘kerchief; towel’); *+rüpkene* (IllSg *rüppkõizdõ*, Kallas 1903: 101; < *rüpp* ‘lap’; *Se rüpp* : *rüpu*); *saanikõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 3-4; < *saan* ‘sleigh’); *sannakõnõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 290; < *sann* ‘sauna’); *+soolakõnõ* (AllSg *soolakezele*, Kallas 1903: 93; < *suul* : *soola*

‘salt’); *surakõnõ* (Mets et al. 2014: 207-14; < *sura* ‘egg yolk’, cf. et *sora*); ⁺*sõnakõnõ* (NomPl *sõnakeze^q*, Kallas 1903: 22-3; < *sõna* ‘word’); ⁺*suukõnõ* (*sũ’ũkene*, Kallas 1903: 92; < *sugu* : *suu* ‘gender; family; generation’); *sõirakõnõ* (ERA I: 63; < *sõir* ‘cheese’; *sõzarakõnõ* (ERA IV; < *sõzar* ‘sister’); *tedrekene* (Kallas 1903: 5-1; < *tedõr* ‘grouse’); *t’surakõnõ* (Est V: 1934; < *ts’ura* ‘boy; young man’); ⁺*tehrükene* (PrtSg *tehr’ũkeist*, Kallas 1903: 100; < *tehrũs* ‘health’ < ^{*}*tervehũs*; Mägiste 1982–1983: 3139); *tingäkene* (Est V: 1937; < *ting* ‘money’ (cf. Seto *ting* : *tingä* ‘money’ < ru *деньги*’); ⁺*tõprakõnõ* (NomPl *tõprakeze^q*, Kallas 1903: 78; < *tõbras* ‘cattle’); *udarakene* (Kallas 1903: 125; < *utar* ‘udder’); *ut’kene* (ERA III: 223; < *utt* ‘ewe’); *vaibakene* (ERA II: 106; < *vaip* ‘carpet, rug’); *vahnembakene* (Kallas 1903: 11-11; cf. et *vanõmb* ‘parent’; nominalised form of the comparative form of the adjective); *varzakõnõ* (Kallas 1903: 32; < *vars* ‘foal’); *velekene* (ERA II: 100; < *veli* ‘brother’); ⁺*villakõnõ* (NomPl *villakes^q*, Mets et al. 2014: 284; < *vill* ‘wool’); *voonakene* : *voonakeze* (Kallas 1903: 32, 127; < *vuun* ‘lamb’); *võizmakõnõ* (ERA I: 63; < *võizi* ‘butter’). The only completely unique noun formed from an adjective is *pikene* ~ *pikkene* ~ *pikäne* : ⁺*pikkeze* ‘thunderstorm; lightning’ (AES 202: 12; ComSg *pikkezega*, ERA III: 182; Kallas 1903: 90; Se *pikne* ~ *pikse*; < *pikk* ‘long, tall’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 2042).

Only a few adjectives are known, which are formed with the diminutive suffix *-kene* ~ *-kõnõ*, e.g., ^{*}*jelläkene* (*jellekene*, Br: 3-1; < *jell?* ‘gentle’); *noorekene* (ERA II: 100; *nuur* ‘young’; ⁺*pehmekene* (NomPl *pehmekez^q*, Est V: 1948; < *pehme* ‘soft’); ^{*}*raaskõnõ* ‘a little bit, a small amount’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Se *raas* : *raasa* ~ *raasu* ‘a little bit, a small amount’) and *veikene* (Est V: 1938; < *veiko* ~ *veiku* ‘small’, see Sec. 3). Of these, only *raaskõnõ* is derived from a noun, the others come from adjectives.

-lanõ ~ -läne < ^{*}**-IA-inEn**. This compound suffix occurs mainly in nation and animal names and attaches to vowel as well as consonant stems. The documented nation names – some, true enough, with distorted meanings – are the following: *musstlane* ‘some kind of evil spirit’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. et *mustlane* ‘Romany’ < *must* ‘black’); *suumlanõ* ‘Finnish’ (AES 202: 1; cf. et *Soomes*); *vadilano* ~ *vadylynõ* ‘a curse word’ (AES 202: 8; Est V: 1951; Se *vadilano*; cf. et *vadjalane* ‘Votian’, Kallas 1903: 95) and *vindläne* ~ ⁺*vineläne* ~ ~ ⁺*vinlanõ* ~ *vinndlanõ* ‘Russian’

(NomPl *vindläze^q* ~ *vineläze^q* ~ *vinlaze^q* ~ *vinndlaze^q*, AES 202: 4, 10; Est V: 1937, 1945; Kallas 1903: 39, 40; Se *veneläne* ~ *vindläne*; cf. *Vene*).

Insect and bird names include: ⁺*hüürläne* ‘wasp’ (NomPl *hüürläze*, Kallas 1903: 47; Se *hüürläne*); *kihulanõ* ‘mosquito’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020; NomPl *kihulas^q*, Est V: 1945; cf. et *kihu* ‘black fly’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012); ⁺*kuzikuklanõ* ‘a small ant (according to Kallas)’ (NomPl *kuzikuklazõ^q*, Kallas 1903: 22; Se *kusikuklane* ‘ant’); *kärbläne* ‘fly’ (Est V: 1935); *pääzläne* ‘swallow’ (NomPl *pääzlädze^q*, AES 202: 5, 10); ⁺*tialanõ* ‘titmouse’ (*tialazehain* ‘a type of plant’, Kallas 1903 45; Se *tialanõ*; cf. et *tiha* : *tiha* ‘titmouse’, Wiedemann 1973: 1153); *varblanõ* ‘sparrow’ (NomPl *varblaz^q*, Est V: 1938, 1946). The suffix in question also appears in two other nouns: *kozilanõ* ‘suitor’ (ComSg *kosilazõga*, AES 202: 26; Mets et al. 2014: 279; cf. et *kosjad*) and *vaimlanõ* ‘enemy?’ (AES 202: 8; cf. Se *vaimlanõ* ~ *vainlanõ* ‘enemy’ and et *tuhinvaimlane* ‘religious fanatic’, Wiedemann 1973: 1291). Based on Seto and other South Estonian materials, a more believable base word would be *vain* ‘hatred’.⁸

-las < ***-la-s**. Only *kaklas* ‘owl’ (AES 202: 25; cf. Se *kakk* ‘owl’) is derived with this suffix. In this case, an incorrect recording of the word cannot be ruled out; however, this suffix is also used in Estonian and Finnish (see Hakulinen 1968: 134, 171).

-lik < ***-lä-kkä-oi**. Only *päülik* ‘sun’ (Kallas 1903: 88; cf. Vas *päivlik* ‘sun’ < *päiv* ‘day; sun’; see also Neetar 1990: 80) is known to be derived using this denominal suffix in Kraasna.

-line ~ **-linõ** < ***-IIA-inEn**. The suffix appears in the following nouns derived from adjectives: *pääline* ‘cream’ (Mets et al. 2014: 287; cf. Se *päälisepiim* ~ *päälüsepim* ‘cream’, *pääline* ‘upper’ < *pääl* ‘above; on top of’; it is also possible that it was derived using the suffix *-us* ~ *-üs*, cf. *päälisse* ~ *päälüsse* ‘haulms’) and *virmalinõ* ‘a curse word’ (Kallas 1903: 95; cf. et *virmalised* ‘polar light’, fi *virmalliset* ‘celestial signs’ and fi *virma* ‘fast, lively’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012). The suffix also derives adjectives from nouns: *aolinõ* ‘of a time’ (NomPl *üteaolidze^q* ‘simultaneous’, Est V: 1950, also Haak et al. 1994–2020; cf. Se *aig* ‘time’); ⁺*iäline* : ‘relating to age’ (NomPl *üteiälidze^q* ‘of the same age’, Est V: 1950; cf. Se *igä* ‘lifetime; age’); *ikuline* ‘weepy’ (Kallas

8 The compound word *tuhinvaimlane* dates to the 19th century and its base word is *vaim* ‘spirit’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3653).

1903: 13-6; cf. Se *ikk* ‘weeping’); ⁺*karvalinõ* ‘in some colour’ (Kallas 1903: 1-12; Se *karv* ‘colour’); *vallalinõ* ‘unmarried’ (AES 202: 3; cf. Se *vald* ‘field, sphere’); *varbuline* ‘made of poles’ (Kallas 1903: 73; cf. Se *varb* : *varva* ‘pole’). The adjective *kurvaline* (Kallas 1903: 13-7; also Se) ‘sad’ is derived from an adjective, cf. et *kurb*.

-mes : -mõs < ***-mE-s**. The following are derived using this suffix: ⁺*sõõrmõs* ‘chute, groove; nostril’ (NomPl *s’yymõs*⁹, AES 202: 13; cf. et *sõõre*, Se Vas *sõõrmõs*, liv *sõõrmõz*, but fi *sierain* : *sieraimen* ‘nostril’; cf. et *sõõr* ‘circle’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012).

-mine : -miže < ***-mA-inEn**. Suffixes denoting actions or their objects form action nouns: *elämine* ‘living’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *elämä* ‘to live; to habit’); *kozimine* ‘courtship’ (ERA II: 168; cf. Se *kosima* ‘to propose (marriage)’); ⁺*šüümine* : *šüümiže* ‘eating’ (AES 202: 12; Se *süümä* ‘to eat’).

-ndus < ***nt-us**. This suffix is found only in nouns derived from other nouns: ⁺*soend* ‘werewolf’ (PrtSg *soendust*, Kallas 1903: 96; cf. Se *soend* ~ *soendik* ~ *soendus* < *susi* ‘wolf’). Unlike many deverbal suffixes in Estonian dialects (see Neetar 1990: 117 and others; Mund 2005), the denominal does not change the meaning of the word.

-ng : **-ngu** / **-n-gü** < ***-n-ko-i** < ***-n-ka**. Most *ng*-suffixed words appear in eastern sub-dialects of South Estonian (Tanning 1955: 128, 129, 132, 133). Based on verbal nouns: Kra ⁺*massang* ‘tax; payment’ (PrtSg *masangut*, Est V: 1943; Mets et al. 2014: 284; cf. Se *masma* ‘to pay’) and ⁺*upung* : *upungu* ‘flood’ (Kallas 1903: 87; cf. Se *upung* < *uppuma* ‘to drown’; Neetar 1990: 125). The deverbal suffix is found in the words ⁺*nüssäng* : *nüssängü* ‘milking time’ (TermSg *nüssänguni*, Kallas 1903: 4-6; cf. Se *nüssäng* ‘milking’ and *nüsmä* ‘to milk’) and ⁺*palang* : *palangu* ‘burning, fire’ (Kallas 1903: 87; cf. Se *palang* ‘rush, hurry’ < *palama* ‘to burn’). In the word *nüssäng*, the noun originally describing the action developed to describe the time of that action, e.g., see also Hargla *ahu palang* ‘stove kindling; stove kindling time, i.e., evening’ (Neetar 1990: 126).

-o ~ **-u** < ***-oi** ~ ***-õi**. For variation in the Kraasna suffix see *-o* ~ *-u* (Sec. 3). Originally, small size or affection were expressed with a diminutive suffix. Derived forms include: ⁺*haro* ‘branch’ (ComSg *haroga*, Est V: 1940; cf. Se *haro*, et *ara* < **hara* ‘branch’); *jahu* ‘flour’ (Est V: 1940; cf. Se *jahu* ~ *jauh* ‘flour’ and *jauhma* ‘to mill, to grind; fi *jauho(t)*’); *kodo* ‘home’ (Mets et al. 2014: 292; cf. Se *koda* : *kua*

‘test; shell; crust’; Mägiste 1928: 8); *ono* ~ *jimä veli* ‘uncle (mother’s brother)’ (Kallas 1903: 101; cf. fi *eno*; the same stem as in the word *enam* ‘more’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; Mägiste 1928: 5); the nickname *T’eto* (Est V: 1936); *tsirk* : *+tsirgu* ‘bird’ (Mets et al. 2014: 203). It is possible that *mōro* ‘bitter’ (AES 202: 13; the same stem as et *mōrk* ‘bitter, bitterish’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; Finnic **moro* or **moru*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 1602) is a diminutive adjective. In the first case, two diminutive suffixes expressing small size or reduction in size were attached to the stem.

A portion of Kraasna diminutive nouns have become *u*-final, e.g., *aigu* ‘time (dim.) (et *ajake*)’ in the verse *Urbepäivä, armas aigu* ‘Palm Sunday, dear time’ (Kallas 1903: 17-1; cf. Se *aig* ‘time’); nickname *Pet’u* (AES 202: 11) and apparently also *tōrdu* ‘vat’ (Kallas 1903: 89; Se *tōrdo* ~ *tōrdu*; cf. fi *torto* ‘kneading trough; barrel’; Mägiste 1928: 17) as well as perhaps *+parm* ‘gadfly’ (NomPl *parmu^q*, AES 202: 5; cf. descriptive fi *paarma*, Kulonen 1995: 281; it is not impossible that the shift to *u*-final inflection occurred following apocope).

In the case of the words *moro* ‘grass; lawn’ (Est V: 1937), *+pōrgo* : *pōrgohe* ‘hell’ (Est V: 1953) and *taro* ‘hive’ (Kallas 1903: 25), it is unclear whether this is genuine or borrowed material. For example, in the case of *moro*, fi *moro* ‘chickweed (*Stellaria media*)’ and Proto-Germanic *mūrōn(-)* are given for comparison (Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012: 289).

-rm : -rma ~ -r-mä < *-r-mA. The following is derived with this suffix: *+hājierm* : *+hājiermä* ‘flower’ (NomPl *hājiermä^q*, AES 202: 4; Se *hāierm* : *hāiermä* ~ *hāiermu*; the basis for derivation is etymologically the same as et *ōis* : *ōie* ‘flower’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 4020, cf. also the suffixed form Se *hāidse^q* ‘flower’).

-s : -se ~ -sō ~ -s-k : -s-ki < *-s-k. This originally pejorative suffix is very characteristic of South Estonian dialects. In some sense conditionally, the following can be placed here: *kodass’* ‘eagle; hawk’ (AES 202: 3; eS metathesis has occurred in this word, cf. et *kotkas*, Mägiste 1982–1983: 969); *purašk* ‘large chisel’ (Est V: 1941; eS *puras* ~ *purask*, Pall 1982–1989 < *pura* ‘icicle; an object of this shape’, Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012) and *sizas* ‘nightingale’ (Kallas 1903: 32; Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012; eS *sisas* ~ *sisask*, Pall 1982–1989; cf. et *sis* ‘nightingale’). From a synchronic perspective, *-s* is a simple suffix (see Sec. 3), from a diachronic perspective, however, it is secondary.

-sine < ***-s(i)nEn**. The adverb *ammuuzine* ‘ancient’ (AES 202: 11; cf. Vas Se *ammunõ* < *ammu* ‘long ago’; Har *ammusine*; see also Käsi 2000: 174) is derived with this suffix.⁹

-st : **-sto** ~ **-stu**, see **-(i)st** : **-(i)sto** ~ **-(i)stu**.

-us ~ **-üs** : **-usõ** ~ **-üse** < ***-o-s** or ***-U-s** < ***-o-ks** or ***-U-ks**. Words derived with this suffix describe actions and their results. The following nouns are formed from nominals: *kar's* ‘herder’ (Est V: 1942; Mägiste 1982–1983: 708, cf. et *kari* ‘herd’); **kipõküüdžüs?* ‘evil spirit, devil’ (*kipeküüzüs*, Kallas 1903: 78; cf. Se *kipõ* ‘bitter; stiff; lively’ +*küüds* ‘nail’); *lõhmus* : *lõhmuz* ‘linden’ (Est V: 1941, 1946; cf. fi *lehmus* ‘fat and weak; linden’, Kulonen 1995: 58); *põigus* ‘crossbeam; transverse bandage’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Seto: *põigus* ~ *põikus* ‘a crossbar connecting pairs of sledge spokes’ (Saar et al. 2020), Rõu *põik*; see also Mägiste 1982–1983: 2273); *sõrms* : **sõrmuzõ* ‘ring’ (AES 202: 4; *sõrmuuzõ*, Mets et al. 2014: 279; < *sõrm* ‘finger’); +*sälüs* ‘breeching (a part of a horse harness)’ (Pall 1982–1989; cf. Se *säl'g* : *sälä* ‘back (part of the body)’); *ülegohs* ~ *ülegos* ~ *ülegus* ‘evil spirit, devil’, lit. ‘a wrong’, cf. et *ülekohus* ‘injustice’ (AES 202: 28; Kallas 1903: 95; not believable that the eS word < *koht* ‘place’, see Metsmägi, Sedrik & Soosaar 2012), because the Se word is *kotus* ‘place’ (< **kott*); maybe a eN loan?). NomPl *taoze^a* ‘(horse’s) collar’ (Est V: 1934) is related to the noun et *tagus*, which comes, in turn, from the adverb *taga* ‘behind’ (Mägiste 1982–1983: 3077). The meaning of *peeguze^a* (NomPl; Est V: 1940) remains unclear.

Nouns derived from verbs include: +*katus* : *katsõt* ‘roof’ (Mets et al. 2014: 288; cf. *katma* ‘to cover’); +*kohetus* ~ *kohtus* : *kohetuz* ‘dough left to rise’ (Kallas 1903: 128; PrtSg *koh'tust*, Mets et al. 2014: 286; cf. Se *kohe-ta-ma* ‘to raise, to rise’ < eS *kohuma* ‘to expand; to rise’, Haak et al. 1994–2020); *kumarus* ‘bowing’ (Mets et al. 2014: 291); *kõlks* : +*kõlguzõ* ‘chaff store-room (et *aganik*); a hay barn (near home)’ (NomPl *kõlguzõ^a*, Est V: 1937, 1947; cf. Se *kõlgus* : *kõlgusõ* ~ *kõlksõ*); *mõistuz* : **mõistuzõ* ‘mind; riddle’ (*mõistuzekõne*, *sõnamõistus* ‘riddle’, Kallas 1903: 103; Se *mõistus* ‘consciousness; mind; riddle’, cf. *mõistma*

9 Further research is needed on the relationship of *-sine*, *-skine*, and *-tsin* ~ *-tšin*, cf. Urv *ammuskinõ*, Lei Lut *ammutsin*; Har *ennesine* ~ *enniskine* ‘recent’, Rõu Urv *inneskine* ‘recent; previous; former’, Se *inniskäne* ‘recent’, Lei *jennemuistutšin* ‘ancient’ (Haak et al. 1994–2020).

‘to understand’); ⁺*puhtus* ‘flatulence’ (AdePl *puhtusil*, Mets et al. 2014: 291); ⁺*püürüs* : *püürüze* ‘twirling stick’ (Mets et al. 2014: 286; Se *püürüs* ‘twirling stick; whorl of oat plants’); ⁺*tapõlus* ‘fight, battle’ (*tapeluze*, Kallas 1903: 52); ⁺*virus* ‘arch above the oven (et vomme, ahjukumm)’ (AdePl *virusil*, Kallas 1903: 124; cf. *viruma* ‘to lie (down)’, Mägiste 1982–1983: 3885). These nouns can refer to a person (e.g., *kar’s*), trees (*lõhmus*), objects (*sõrms*), and abstract concepts like *tehrüs*, *ülegohs*.

Some of the relevant words end in the sound sequence *hus* ~ *hüs*, of which *h* is a semelfactive suffix (**-ht-* : **-hδ-* > **-ht-* : **-h-*) and belongs to the base word: ⁺*lebähüs* ‘lying down after a meal’ (PrtSg *lebähüst*, Kallas 1903: 100; **lebähtämä*); ⁺*mälehus* ‘memories’ (PrtSg *mälehüst*, Kallas 1903: 104; cf. Se *mälehtüs* ‘memories; food that is chewed’, *mälehtämä* ‘to remember; to memorialise’); *tulõhus* ‘occurrence; occasion’ (AES 202: 11); ⁺*unõhus* ‘forgetting’ (InsPl *unehuizi*, Kallas 1903: 18-2; cf. Se and others *unõhumma* ‘to forget about’); *vanhus* ‘age’ (Est V: 1945; cf. Se *vanhus*, Vas *vanahhuss*).

5. Summary

Despite the limited amount of documented vocabulary, fortunately it was possible to find many nominal derivatives in the Kraasna dialect using 18 derivational suffixes formed from 20 primary suffixes and 21 derivational suffixes formed from 21 secondary suffixes. Kraasna suffixes mostly resemble those of Seto. Only the compound suffixes (*-i*) *s-to*, *-la-s*, and *-ži-ne*, which derive just a few words (*kaklas*, *laanist*, *soomist*, *ammuužine*) are not characteristic of Seto. The latter suffix also is found in the Hargla, Leivu, and Lutsi dialects. The suffix *-eh* was characteristic of the Kraasna dialect, which is the assimilated form of **-ek* and **eš*, while in Seto South Estonian these may occur in parallel as *-eh* and *-e^q*. In oblique cases, the derivational suffix *-eh* still occurs in a mid-19th century folk song in one word PrtSg **valgõ-hõ-ta* ‘white’, but by the beginning of the 20th century it had been lost, cf. **valgõt*. The diminutive suffix *-kanõ*, was widely used in the Kraasna dialect.

Most Kraasna nominal derivatives have correspondences in Seto, only a few have not been observed: *kipõküüdžüs* ‘evil spirit’, *tukõm* ‘support’, and *vadõridžõ^q* ‘godparents’. The words *laudadzõ^q* ~ *laadadzõ^q* ‘an offering made to the cowhouse gods’ and *puzanõ* ‘bitter’

only appear in the Kraasna dialect. The Kraasna dialect, which separated from Seto 300 years prior to its documentation at the beginning of the 20th century, is surprisingly similar to the latter. It would be interesting to know to what extent later connections with Setomaa harmonised both dialects. For example, one local manor lord who also owned manors in Setomaa, brought young Seto women from Golina manor – located ten versts from Petseri – as wives for young Kraasna men. The same manor lord brought people from Kraasna to work on his Setomaa manors, likewise Setos came to Kraasna bringing fish to sell (Kallas 1903: 8–9, 36, 46).

Abbreviations

Abl – ablative, Ade – adessive, All – allative, blt – Baltic, Br – a folk song sent by Brandt (see Ernits 2018), dim – diminutive, eS – South Estonian, Ela – elative, eN – North Estonian, et – Estonian, fi – Finnish, Gen – genitive, germL – Low German, Har – Hargla, Ill – illative, Ine – inessive, Ins – instrumental, Lei – Leivu, liv – Livonian, lt – Lithuanian, Lut – Lutsi, Nom – nominative, ruO – Old Russian, Prt – partitive, Pl – plural, Rõu – Rõuge, ru – Russian, Se – Seto, Sg – singular, Term – terminative, Tra – translative, Urv – Urvaste, Vas – Vastseliina

Archival sources

- AES 202 = Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi ülevaated; Häälikuloolisi andmeid ja tekste Kraasna murdest (Academic Mother Tongue Society overviews; Sound historical data and texts in the Kraasna dialect); Heikki Ojansuu; 1938; <http://emsuka.eki.ee/view-book-collection/2519> (Tallinn, Eesti Keele Instituut (Institute of the Estonian Language) / Emakeele Selts (Mother Tongue Society))
- ERA I = ERA Kallas M4: I (Tartu, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum (Estonian Literary Museum), Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv (Estonian Folklore Archives)).
- ERA II = ERA Kallas M4: II (see previous).
- ERA III = ERA Kallas M4: III (see previous).
- ERA IV = ERA Voolaine M1 (see previous).
- Est V = *Estonica V* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Heikki Ojansuun arkisto (Finnish Literature Society, Heikki Ojansuu archive))

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Kokkuvõte. Enn Ernits: Kraasna noomenituletus. Vaatamata talletatud sõnavara piiratusel ilmneb Kraasna murrakus rohkesti käändsõnatuletisi. Need on moodustatud 20 primaarsufiksist tekkinud 18 liite ja 21 sekundaarsufiksist kujunenud sama arvu liidete abil. Kraasna sufiksidsarnanevad seto omadega. Ainult liitliited *(-i)s-to*, *-la-s* ja *-ži-ne*, mis tuletavad vaid üksikuid sõnu (*kaklas*, *laanisto*, *soomisto*, *ammuuzine*), pole seto murrakutele omased. Viimatimainitud sufiks esineb ka Hargla, leivu ja lutsi murrakutes. Kraasna murrakule oli iseloomulik liidete **-ek* ja **eš* sarnastunud kuju *-eh*, seevastu seto murrakutes võivad need esineda paralleelselt *-eh* ja *-e^g* kujul. Obliikva-käändes derivatiivsufiks *-eh* esines XIX sajandi keskpaiku veel ühe rahvalaulu sõnas **valgõ-hõ-ta*, XX sajandi alguseks oli taandunud, vrd **valgõt*. Kraasna murrakus kasutati rohkesti deminutiivliidet *-kanõ*. Enamikul Kraasna käändsõnatuletistel on vasted seto murrakutes, üksnes vähestel juhtudel see puudub, sh *kipõküüdzüs* ‘kurivaim’, *mako* ‘magamine’, *tukim* ‘tugi’ ja *vadõridzõ^g* ‘vaderid’. Teadaolevalt ainult Kraasna murrakus esinevad sõnad *laudadzõ^g* ~ *laadadzõ^g* ‘lehmakahi’ ja *puzanõ* ‘mõrkjas’. Kraasna murrak, mis irdus setost XX sajandi alguse kirjapanekutega võrreldes 300 aastat varem, on viimasega üllatuslikult sarnane. Tuleks uurida, kuivõrd suutsid murrakuid ühtlustada hilisemad seosed Setomaaga.

Märksõnad: morfoloogia, käändsõnad, tuletised, läänemeresoome keeled, eesti keel, lõunaeesti keel, seto keel, Kraasna

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF HEIKKI OJANSUU’S PHONOGRAPH RECORDINGS OF KRAASNA

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Abstract. The South Estonian Kraasna subdialect was spoken until the first half of the 20th century by a now vanished community in Krasnogorodsk, Russia. All linguistic descriptions to date are based on textual sources, mostly manuscripts from Heikki Ojansuu’s 1911/12 and 1914 fieldwork. Ojansuu’s phonograph recordings were thought to be lost by previous researchers and remained unused. The rediscovery of these recordings allows for the first analysis of Kraasna based on spoken language data, closing gaps in the description and enabling further research. This description follows a theory-neutral and framework-free approach, while respecting traditions in Estonian linguistics and linking the results to research in Estonian dialectology. It provides key information on the Kraasna subdialect based on the corpus – phonology, morphology, syntax – despite being restricted to the phonograph recordings. Future research can expand on these points and build on the present description.

Keywords: linguistic enclaves, historical sociolinguistics, Estonian dialectology, documentary linguistics, phonograph recordings, South Estonian, Kraasna

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1. Introduction

The extinct variety historically spoken by the Kraasna community is traditionally seen as a South Estonian variety and is either grouped with the linguistically similar (Võro-)Seto subdialects (Kask 1956, Iva 2015, Pajusalu et al. 2020) or geographically with the other two South Estonian linguistic enclaves in Latvia (Pajusalu 2007, Mets et al. 2014). In either case, Kraasna is part of the extreme periphery and thus less relevant to (contemporary) developments and contact phenomena among Estonian dialects (cf. Pajusalu 1997), while providing important insights into historical developments and contact phenomena with other languages (e.g., Pajusalu & Muižniece 1997, Krikmann & Pajusalu

2000, Pajusalu 2005). However, these descriptions are based on a relatively small corpus, as there were only two researchers who managed to gather texts and authentic speech from native speakers – Oskar Kallas in 1901 and Heikki Ojansuu in 1911/12 and 1914. Paulopriit Voolaine collected some words from rememberers in the 1950s and 1960s after the death of the last competent speakers in the 1930s; Adolph Johann Brandt collected some folk songs in 1849 (cf. Ernits 2012, 2018, Neus 1850) before the Kraasna community had been defined and introduced to the scholarly community (Kallas 1901, 1903).

As a result, the description of the Kraasna variety is still less accurate (Pajusalu et al. 2020: 200) or based upon different sources. The manuscripts from Kallas and Ojansuu's fieldwork are kept in various archives in Tartu, Tallinn, and Helsinki. They show differences depending on their source, as well as differences between these sources and published versions which were introduced during copying and transcription. The first step of the project was the collection, digitisation, and comparison of artefacts (cf. Weber 2016, 2019, forthcoming), which will be briefly summarised in the following section. During the recovery of the original sources, phonograph recordings resurfaced which had been unknown to linguists working on Kraasna (cf. Mets et al. 2014: 7) and, subsequently, not used for the description of the variety thus far. The main body of this paper aims to supply a description of these highly valuable sources with an emphasis on linking them to existing linguistic descriptions. This is not a full phonetic analysis or comprehensive morphological reconstruction but fills gaps in the description and provides observations from a different dataset to deliver further proof or falsify claims in the literature. Hopefully, this will inspire more specialist research on Kraasna, drawing from all available sources.

2. The data

This section gives an overview of the sources which make up the dataset on which this analysis is based. We can consider this dataset to be a corpus even though it is not published and not prepared for use in corpus linguistic analysis. For this reason, the initial discussion of the provenance, contents, and representation of the data is essential for this corpus-based study (cf. Woodbury 2011). It must be stressed that this corpus is not balanced or otherwise strategically compiled –

it contains my transcriptions of these phonograph recordings (in the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet) and, therefore, not the entire bulk of Kraasna material. This restricts the amount of data to the intelligible parts of the recordings which means that certain words or phrases may be excluded or missing in comparison to the manuscripts due to later damage to the wax cylinders or unclear words. The exclusion of data from manuscripts and publication is justified under the premise that the transcriptions in textual sources exhibit several differences compared to the recordings (see also Weber 2016 and Weber, forthcoming). This issue is addressed at the end of this section after a description of the phonograph recordings.

2.1. Ojansuu's recordings

Finnish linguist Heikki Ojansuu recorded the central and most comprehensive collection of Kraasna language material between 1911–1914. Unfortunately, his journal and travel logs are not preserved, which limits the amount of retrievable metadata. Therefore, some information on his expeditions needs to be inferred from his field notes: Ojansuu visited Kraasna for the first time in 1911/12 on a trip to southern Estonia where he recorded about 2,000 pages of dialect language in 27 dialects (*Estonica*). It is unclear whether the manuscripts were created in the field or copied from earlier scratch notes; they contain almost exclusively linguistic data with occasional translations into Finnish or grammatical annotation. Metadata are only given in the headline, indicating the place of recording and, occasionally, personal names, likely of consultants (see Weber 2021). The research objective was likely related to Ojansuu's interest in phonetics, which can be seen in a very detailed use of Finno-Ugric transcription, and the subsequent publication of an article on South Estonian phonology based on these data (Ojansuu 1912).

In July 1914, Ojansuu visited Kraasna again, this time with his wife. The collected material included longer coherent narratives – different from the short phrases, single words, and song texts collected in 1911/12 – about the lives of the consultants. Ojansuu took a phonograph with him to make what became the only surviving audio recordings of coherent Kraasna, including some monologues and structured elicitation (significant phrases or words were each repeated three times). Eight wax cylinders with roughly twenty minutes of recordings survived the journey (see Appendix 1); as Mrs Ojansuu reports in 1938 (ES MT 224),

some additional cylinders were destroyed at the request of a consultant. The surviving recordings were initially given to the Kalevala Society but are now kept in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society. They were thought to be lost by 1938 and subsequently forgotten but resurfaced during my archival work. Three of the cylinders bear Ojansuu's name, the others are filed under the name of Armas Otto Väisänen (who never visited the Kraasna community) but are labelled as Kraasna data. With the exception of one cylinder, these are clearly recordings of the transcribed data of the *Estonica* collection and can be linked to pages in the manuscript. As the quality of the recordings, which were copied in 1963 (and again in the 1980s), does not allow for a new transcription from scratch, I have resorted to using Ojansuu's notes as a basis for an edited transcription (see following section). However, it appears that the notes and the recordings stem from the same communicative event, either as notes taken simultaneously or later from listening to the recordings.

Some of the recordings bear Väisänen's name, therefore, I assume that he received the recordings from Ojansuu, as two recordings contain song and musical performances (no. 299 and 301; note that these numbers refer to the archive numbers of the phonograph recording rather than the numbers of the tape copies, see Appendix 1 for further information). These two recordings, along with a recording (no. 300), exhibit more wear and, as a result, more distortions and less clear sound. This may be due to repeated playing by the researchers. If they were given to Väisänen, it would appear plausible that he listened to the musical performances more often than the narratives, given his interest in ethnomusicology. Recording 299 also contains men and women talking, which may be the researcher himself – possibly in a test recording or instructions to the consultants, as the languages spoken are Finnish (a song contains the word *suomalainen*) or Standard Estonian. The digitisation of recording 300 is distorted at the beginning and contains shorter sentences and portions of elicitation. Furthermore, a female can be heard counting before providing example sentences and target words in particular phonological environments. Recording 301 contains three narratives following a song; one narrative is about harvesting cereal crops and another on processing dairy. The remaining recordings bear Väisänen's name. Recording 81 contains structured elicitation of words and phrases; recording 82 contains a narrative on wedding traditions

and a partial one on baptisms as well as phrases not recorded in the transcripts, while recording 83 includes a full narrative on burial customs and a partial one on processing crops. Recording 84 contains the full narrative on weekend routines, a part of a story about a theft, and some sentences about Easter, with recording 86 consisting of elicitation exclusively. Most of the narratives were transcribed and can be linked to parts of the manuscripts (see Appendix 1).

These transcriptions from the 1914 trip were kept in an archive at the University of Tartu, where they are marked as lost; however, a copy bearing the same name is kept at the Institute of the Estonian Language in Tallinn alongside an excerpt prepared by an unknown author. The manuscripts were also copied by typewriting with the transcript kept as part one of the *Estonica* collection at the Finnish Literature Society. These transcripts are, at times, divergent (for more information see Weber 2016). Various scientific treatments cite Ojansuu's materials from these different sources, including a publication of Kraasna, Lutsi, and Leivu dialect texts (Mets et al. 2014). The relationship between the audio recordings and the manuscripts can be seen in Appendix 1.

Unfortunately, there is no information on Ojansuu's consultants. His main consultants were likely known to Kallas, as his monograph contains a list of first names including several reminiscent of those in Ojansuu's manuscripts, but only *Ullá* [Vasiljevna] is mentioned in both authors' works. The speakers on the recordings are likely *Ullá* and Matrëna Rodionovna [Kuznecova] who is identified as one of the last fluent speakers until her passing aged 96 in the mid-1930s (Voolaine collected information about the last speakers in the 1950s and 1960s, which includes information obtained from Matrëna's descendants). A major issue arising from the uncertainty around the consultants' identity is the lack of biographical data. While we assume that Matrëna, as the main consultant, was originally from the Kraasna-speaking regions, Kallas notes that landlords resettled single men and women of a marriageable age from Seto-speaking regions to the Kraasna region (cf. Kallas 1903). Furthermore, we learn from Voolaine's manuscripts that the Kraasna community was visiting Seto-speaking regions, likely for religious reasons. Familial ties and frequent exchanges with other South Estonian communities might have influenced the language use of the last speakers – an important factor to consider when evaluating the reliability of Ojansuu's sources.

2.2. Reliability of sources

Apart from the aforementioned issues with the speaker biographies, we must consider a range of factors pertaining to the artefacts themselves when working with Kraasna data. The most prevalent issue throughout all Kraasna textual artefacts is the intertextual links among them. While it is possible to reconstruct relationships between manuscripts or transcriptions and the recordings, we do not know about their connections precisely. The recordings may have been made at the same time as the transcripts, which may have been further edited and revised using the recorded versions; it might also be the case that the transcriptions were based solely on the recordings after the sessions. They are clearly related to the recorded speech events and were revised (insertions, deletions, commentary) as if the transcriber listened to a recording repeatedly (Note: due to the nature of the phonograph cylinders, the quality of the recording deteriorates every time it is played allowing for fewer repetitions). However, though unlikely given the number of similarities, it cannot be ruled out that the recordings were made on a different occasion before or after the transcribed speech event (e.g., recording a version after practising, recording the transcribed version, transcribing a dictated version with the stimulus of the recording).

As the sound quality of the digitised recordings did not allow for entirely new transcriptions, I used the existing manuscripts as a basis for a revised transcription. In this instance, I only altered the transcription if I could ascertain a clear difference between the recorded and transcribed versions. This does not mean that the transcriptions contained in the manuscripts are obsolete, as instances of omission may be a result of jumps in the recording or cracks in the phonograph cylinder. Consequently, the linguistic analysis in the following sections is exclusively based on the materials contained in the recordings as transcribed by me, using the existing transcriptions for guidance. Differing conclusions about the Kraasna subdialect are possible for any of the above-mentioned reasons, as different speakers, different stages of language shift, different speech events, or different datasets may result in divergent interpretations of the language material (cf. Weber & Klee 2020).

I would like to conclude this section with some comments about the transcription process. The approach chosen for creating a new transcription was born out of necessity. While it is, nowadays, possible to scan and refurbish mechanically stored recordings (Fadeyev et al.

2005, Cornell et al. 2007), these technologies are not widely available. I hope that, in the future, it will be possible to digitise and restore the Kraasna recordings in a form that allows for phonetic analysis and supports reliable accounts of the Kraasna materials. Until then, the solution lies in the construction of the transcription. Due to their interpretative nature, transcriptions are representations of the author's understanding filtered through professional craftsmanship, personal preferences, and biases. They contain as much information on the transcriber's world view as on their transcribing skills – and basing the new transcriptions on Ojansuu's manuscripts ensures that the transcription is constructed on three researchers' opinions (in addition to Ojansuu's and my own interpretation, Jüvä Sullõv checked the transcriptions; I bear full responsibility for any errors), so biases and preferences may be reduced. Therefore, I recommend working with all original sources by the various authors simultaneously (Weber 2016) to avoid the "positivist trap of establishing an authoritative version of a text" (Seidel 2016: 31).

Although it could be argued that it is less interesting to know who authored a change in a set of data than to know under which assumptions and for which objectives it was changed (in addition to the fact that the author or editor acts on the level of the artefact and is not ascribed to the level of particular words or sentences), recording reasons for changes is more difficult and requires a high level of self-reflection. To give an example from the Kraasna transcriptions: In the manuscripts (Estonica I, 25), Ojansuu writes *šiiippi* ('soap'), which I have changed to *šîppi*, under the assumptions that a) I believe I hear a palatalised alveolar and not a palato-alveolar sibilant in the recording, b) *š* is an innovation under contact influence, c) both *š* and *ś* would be considered allophones of /s/ in Finnish, and d) it would fit my own interpretations of Kraasna phonology. Information on these reasons would have to be linked to the minimal change in one diacritic, which is difficult to present in plain text. I changed the manuscript transcriptions only for instances where I am (a) certain about the difference or (b) can justify the claim, while changes due to my (c & d) personal preferences and interpretations may occasionally arise. The readers are advised to consult the original sources for comparison and be aware of claiming an objective truth which interpretative transcription methods do not permit. Despite these caveats in working with the recordings, the contained material is insightful for describing the Kraasna variety.

3. Methodology

Presenting a linguistic analysis requires decisions to be made about the representation and interpretation of results. The challenge is to align the description with the traditions in Estonian linguistics and dialectology, on the one hand, while keeping the text accessible to as broad an audience as possible, on the other. I opted for a framework-free presentation of data as the guiding principle (Haspelmath 2010), while highlighting points for further enquiry in Estonian dialectology. As a reference, I used publications drawing from Ojansuu's manuscripts, allowing for a verification and re-evaluation of these findings. Firstly, there are short grammatical sketches in the Mets et al. 2014 collection of dialect texts, which list the same points as the handbook on Estonian dialects by Pajusalu et al. 2020. For the phonological description, a table of phonological peculiarities of South Estonian is given in the introduction to a volume on South Estonian sounds (Pajusalu et al. 2003). In addition, there are two important collections of maps for (South) Estonian dialectology, showing geographic spread, dialect boundaries and isoglosses: Andrus Saareste's dialect atlas (1955) covers all Estonian varieties, including Kraasna, while the maps prepared by Mihkel Toomse, edited and published posthumously by Karl Pajusalu (1998), cover South Estonian varieties only. Both sources contain occasional blanks on Kraasna data points, while other results can be re-examined using the audio recordings. A comparison to a modern South Estonian language form was facilitated by a grammar (Iva 2007) and a dictionary (Faster et al. 2014) of the literary standard of the related South Estonian Võro variety. I have indexed points of enquiry if they are linked to information found in the literature: Toomse's work is indexed by T followed by the page number, Saareste's work (1955) with Saa and a page number, information from the South Estonian comparative table (Pajusalu et al. 2003: 10–11) by LEH, and points from the dialectological handbook (Pajusalu et al. 2020: 200–201) with EMK.

The present description is data-based; however, the corpus exclusively contains transcriptions of the audio recordings (see Appendix 2). Consequently, the analysis covers only the language use of Ojansuu's 1914 consultants, which may differ from the language use of his consultants two years prior and the language use recorded by Kallas (1903) or earlier scholars (see Ernits 2018 for an analysis). A thorough description

of the Kraasna subdialect would need to take these different layers of language into account as well as possible adstrata of other Seto varieties due to an increasing degree of mobility as the language began to shift under Russian influence. This comparative grammatical description based on all sources is left for future research. As the recordings are the main source for this work, three points are important to consider. First, the discussion is based on my transcriptions, i.e., my understanding of the recordings filtered through my own view on the Kraasna variety and South Estonian in general. I open the chance for discussion of these findings and interpretations, as anyone may contest or debate my transcriptions by accessing the recordings to falsify my claims. Second, larger entities like sentences or words are easier to transcribe and analyse, while subtle notions on the phonemic level may be obscured by the noise of the recording. I present what I believe can be heard in the recordings and flag parts which are less clearly interpretable. Lastly, I would like to remind the reader that this is a small-corpus survey with an unbalanced dataset. Thus, forms which we would expect from a stereotypical grammar may not have been recorded at all, or at least not contained in the twenty minutes of the recordings. I start with some general impressions on the language of the recordings before discussing phonological, morphological, and syntactic issues in detail.

4. Introductory remarks about the recordings

The language which can be heard in the recordings is clearly South Estonian and akin to varieties of Seto and shows a noticeable influence from Russian on its phonology (with a few loanwords in between). The speakers – all women, possibly the same consultant(s) – have a strong command of the language, as they can produce a narrative without longer breaks. Occasionally, the speakers self-correct or start a sentence over – this does, however, not impede the flow of speech.

There are two types of recordings. The first contains what seems to be structured elicitation of words and word forms which were important to Ojansuu's research. In these the consultant repeats words or phrases several times, occasionally in a particular context (to trigger changes or make the task appear more natural).

The remaining recordings contain coherent narratives, ranging from a few sentences to a full story. These are told in a lively fashion,

noticeable in the use of voice and intonation. Some texts appear procedural in nature, resulting in a sequence of parallel sentence structures. Sadly, these sentences usually start with *vaija* ‘necessary’ or *nakka* ‘I begin’, which both require the use of a non-finite verb form (the infinitive and supine, respectively), leading to ample evidence on non-finite forms at the cost of finite verb forms.

In some situations, it appears that the consultant is facing away from the phonograph, addressing a bystander or making a comment to themselves. The quality of the recording does not provide for an analysis of these exchanges. As a follow-up topic for research which is not covered here, I suggest an analysis of the pragmatics of the recordings, including the use of intonation and voice for reporting a dialogue in the narrative.

5. Phonological structure

The Kraasna phoneme inventory contains all the phonemes we expect to find in a South Estonian variety with length (in three phonological grades) and palatalisation of consonants being distinctive. The glottal stop is preserved (LEH), even if it is not prominently uttered in every context. It appears that all consonants can be palatalised except for the glottal stop and the weak affricate. While the glottal stop is never palatalised in South Estonian, the lack of palatalised weak affricates, which we can find in data from other Võro-Seto varieties, is likely due to the size of the corpus. Occasionally, this palatalisation can lead to a post-alveolar pronunciation of alveolar sibilants (LEH) which should, however, be seen as a free allophone or occasional variation rather than a regular shift, as it is attested only once in the recordings, i.e., *košjoŋe* ‘to the proposal (pl.)’. The affricates appear both voiced and unvoiced (LEH) – *malts* ‘*Atriplex*’, *małdza*’ ‘*Atriplex* (pl.)’ – with the unvoiced affricate clearly voiced and appearing to regressively velarise the preceding *l* in the example. This so-called “Russian L” (LEH) – transcribed as <ɺ> – is the velarised allophone of *l* and is occasionally more velarised than in other instances, making it impossible to decide whether it is more similar to the corresponding Latvian or Russian phoneme (T43). However, its existence and use are confirmed (T26). The voiced *z* (LEH) appears as an allophone of *s* and may also be palatalised. This palatalisation can trigger the same retraction to *ž* (e.g., *vīž* ~ *vīž* ‘five’) as observed for *š*. Voiced consonants, while not generally as voiced

as in Russian may be a result of Russian influence, and result in weak grade plosives appearing in non-devoiced form (T28). Foreign sounds are rare. There are no instances of *f* and *x* appears as an allophone of *h* once in *xàmbit* ‘teeth (PL.PART)’.

5.1. Palatalisation

Palatalisation is one of the topics extensively covered in Toomse’s maps and is an interesting point for examination, as palatalisation type not only distinguishes South Estonian from Standard Estonian, but with Russian as a contact language, we expect Kraasna to differ from varieties of South Estonian with no linguistic contact with Russian. This likely contact phenomenon can be observed in Kraasna, with the front vowels *ä ö ü i e* triggering palatalisation regressively in the preceding consonant. This palatalisation could not be confirmed for every front vowel context, yet appears to be a common phonological process, e.g., *íégemà* ‘to do’, *íéé* ‘hello’, *nühktamà* ‘to scrub’, *pèrrà* ‘after’, *pā́t* ‘on top’. Palatalisation is most frequently observed for *i* and *e*, rarely for *ü*, and with inconclusive results for *ö*, due to the relative scarcity of this phoneme. This type of palatalisation in front vowel contexts can occasionally be progressive (LEH), although instances reminiscent of progressive palatalisation can generally be explained with phonotactics, e.g., the elision of a front vowel following the palatalised consonant.

There are a number of contexts which are especially prone to triggering palatalisation in South Estonian, for example, the palatalisation of an alveolar nasal (T23) or lateral approximant (T27) in #CV_i contexts. While the palatalisation of the nasal appears in *pañi* ‘I put (PST)’, there are conflicting data on the palatalisation of *l* in this context. It can be assumed that this type of palatalisation is regular, e.g., *ñéli* ~ *ñélli* ‘four’, but is not always clearly audible in the recordings, e.g., *tulli* ‘I came’. There are no data points for the alveolar plosive in this context (T29), but we can find both palatalised and unpalatalised variants before *i*, e.g., *rattitē* ‘onto a cart (pl.)’ but *puhtist* ‘for the funeral (pl.)’. This palatalisation of the geminated alveolar plosive in words with a contraction (T64), e.g., a short illative, can be attested for other forms as well, e.g., *tatti* ‘to the *Leccinum*’.

One of the most curious phenomena is the palatalisation of liquids, namely the alveolar nasal (T53) and the semivowel *v* (T59) in #CVi_V,

#CVi_, #C \bar{V} _i contexts, which can be extended to the lateral approximant. Here, *grade* plays an important role. In forms of the second – or long – grade, the consonant is palatalised and the triggering vowel *i* disappears, e.g., *hā́naʔ* ‘hay (pl.)’, *révas* ‘piece of clothing’, *tḗle* ‘to you (pl.)’, while appearing as the full vowel *i* in the diphthong before an unpalatalised consonant in the third – or overlong – grade, e.g., *haina* ‘hay (PART)’, *teil* ‘at you (pl.)’.

Other contexts of enquiry for palatalisation include clusters of liquids and plosives. The palatalisation of a secondary cluster with an alveolar plosive (*tl*, *tr*, *tv*) as a result of syncope (T61) cannot be precisely analysed with the present dataset, as the only suitable example is located right at a jump in the recording, i.e., *túl jezā košjotę tütri-* ‘the father came to propose [to a girl]’. It appears to me that the *t* is slightly palatalised but not as much as in other contexts. Another cluster is *lk* in the second syllable before *i* (T80), which we find in *pélksi* ‘I feared’, while it is possible that an unpalatalised *?kolki* ‘I broke [flax]’ occurs in one of the heavily distorted parts of the recordings, providing an inconclusive image. For the cluster *rk* in the same context (T84), we find a palatalised form in *sárkki* ‘shirt (PART)’. The cluster *ts* deriving from a historical **kc* or **pc* cluster appears palatalised in word-final position due to the apocope of *i* (T88/89), i.e., *ʃüts* < **ükci* ‘one’ and *lats* < **lapci* ‘child’. The same palatalisation can be assumed for forms with third syllable contraction (T90), which are unattested in the corpus.

Finally, a view on the position of palatalised consonants within a word. Palatalisation can occur in the onset and coda of syllables, thus palatalised consonants appear word-initially, -medially, and -finally. In the latter case, they may carry morphologically distinctive information, e.g., the past tense marking on verbs. Furthermore, word-final palatalisation can appear on a final alveolar nasal in nominative singular nouns after third syllable apocope (T98), as evidenced by the word *hopęń* ‘horse’. Additionally, the apocope of *i* may lead to the palatalisation of word-final consonants, such as the velar plosive (T70), e.g., *keik* ‘all’, *pink* ‘bench’.

5.2. Assimilatory phenomena

We can observe assimilatory phenomena connected to harmony in the Kraasna data. Although the existence of vowel harmony can be

ascertained to a certain degree, there is no clear consonant harmony. While South Estonian is not known for having consonant harmony, this type of assimilatory process can be a secondary development of vowel harmony, namely when vowels lead to a consistent change in the surrounding consonants, e.g., palatalisation (as can be seen in Erzya Mordvin). The lack of consonant harmony proves that the palatalisation in a front vocalic context is not consistently applied. Despite this, we can observe an occasional syllable harmony (LEH), i.e., the fronting of vowels after a palatal consonant, as in *praśśattāmmā* ‘to bid farewell’. In *praśśattāmmā*, the suffixal vowels are slightly fronted following the palatalised geminate sibilant, despite the stem being back vocalic. This example shows that the vowel harmony itself is not as steadfast as one might expect, especially when Russian loanwords are not fully adapted to vowel harmony (e.g., *pra-védattāmma* ‘to visit’). Generally, *a u o e i* appear in the same context (dubbed “back vowels” here), while *ä ö ü e (i)* form the opposite group (“front vowels”). There are instances where *e* and *i* are retracted, usually noted as *ɛ* and *ɨ* – they may then act as back vowels or just an allophone of *e* and *i*. Especially *i* may appear in all contexts, *o* in certain words in final position, e.g., *nägo* ‘face’; both are frequently encountered phenomena in South Estonian varieties. There are different types of harmonic pairs which are especially interesting to Estonian dialectology (LEH), namely the harmonic pairs *e-ɛ u-ü* and *o-ö*. In Kraasna, we find a clear *e-ɛ* harmony, the expected *u-ü* harmony cannot be found in the data (likely due to the limited nature of the data), while the *o-ö* is very unlikely. A final observation on harmony: It was surprising to hear words with palatalised consonants and front vowels end in the velarised *n~l* which can be observed several times in words like *pāl* ‘on top’ or *šāl* ‘there’. In both words, the final *l* is clearly velarised, which is another argument against consonant harmony.

5.3. Stress

Primary stress occurs regularly on the first syllable with odd-numbered syllables as potential candidates for secondary stress, which is common in the Finnic languages. There are only a few exceptions in the recordings: In the numerals 11–17, the ‘teen’ element *-tei-st-* receives primary stress instead of the expected word-initial primary stress and secondary stressed ‘teen’, e.g., *kaśtei-stkümmend* ‘twelve’. This may be

Russian influence, where the ‘teen’ element is stressed for all numerals in the range of 12–19. Other examples of unexpected primary stress in non-initial syllables can be found in *mī jelā̄·gi* ‘we live’, *huṃmēñ om pühā̄pāi·v* ‘tomorrow is Sunday’, and *hittā ɛdaguh magāmmà* ‘I go to sleep in the evening’. Other instances are due to Russian influence, e.g., in the loanwords *pravādi·í* ‘to escort (in a procession)’ (<*проводить* ‘to guide’) and *kata·tka* ‘barrow’. Importantly, clitics may be stressed (LEH), for example the negation particle in *ma' _ tījā _ ei·?* ‘I do not know’.

As seen in the example above, *mī jelā̄·gi* ‘we live’, there appears to be a conflation of stress and length, where the stressed syllable is lengthened. This seems to occur occasionally even in monosyllabic words, e.g., *nācɫ* (~ *nācɫ̄*) ‘nail’. In word forms of the third (overlong) grade, which includes all monosyllabic words, this mixture of stress and secondary lengthening can exhibit an additional diphthongisation. These diphthongised forms had not fully developed into a VV vowel sequence (as in Finnish) and were in the opposite direction to the diphthongisation in Leivu (LEH), i.e., the Kraasna diphthongised forms are opening rather than closing. It may be that the initial position of the vowel is further closed and with the contour of length and stress, the position of the jaw is lowering naturally, yet, we observe this in several contexts, e.g., *kʷòrv* ‘basket’, *kʷorgēh* ‘high (INE)’, *rʷoittu* ‘swiftly’, *ʷól* ‘was (3SG)’, *ʷostà?* ‘to buy’, *ʷólnu?* ‘been (PTCP.PST)’, *ʷom* ‘is (3SG)’, *kʷoɫn?* ‘passed away (PTCP.PST)’, *kʷēdettäs* ‘is cooked (IPS)’, *mʷel* ‘at us’.

5.4. Syllable structure

Some interesting observations can be made about syllable structure and word form creation. In non-initial syllables, researchers have highlighted the frequent vowel elision (EMK), which is visible but not as strong as implied, e.g., *kołktsɛmma* ‘to break (flax)’, *kořvkkane* ‘basket (DIM)’, *tāłttāmmā* ‘to pay [as a wedding present]’, *sermst* ‘ring (PART)’, *pābtsɛmma* ‘to practise midwifery’, *kuoɫn?* ‘passed away (PTCP.PST)’, *rařtsɛmma* ‘to feed, entertain’. Palatalisation often occurs in the contexts of an apocope of *i*, which can also be found in other South Estonian varieties. The elided vowel may be still audible in an extremely reduced form, as the speakers in the recordings break complex clusters with a pause or schwa, which is difficult to hear in the recordings but

noticeable. This could be transcribed as a syllable break *kol̥k.tsemma* or a schwa vowel *rah^vvast* ‘people (PART)’. Retracted *j*, as well as *o*, may also occur in non-initial syllables (LEH, see above). Occasionally, we can find diphthongs in non-initial syllables (LEH), e.g., *tivvakkaižde* ‘into small bowls’.

The initial syllable is mostly interesting due to the widely-reported iotation of the front vowels *i* and *e* (EMK), i.e., *e i* → *je ji* / #₋. There are forms in the manuscripts, which are not iotated but turned out to be iotated in the recordings, e.g., *jikmà* ‘to cry’, and there are at least twice as many iotated as un-iotated forms in the recordings. Not only can the data confirm this trend, but it appears that some words show a similar change *ü* → *jü* / #₋. It is not quite as widespread, e.g., *jütte* ‘together’, *jüldäs* ‘is said (IPS)’, *jüts* ‘one’, but may be a first sign of the change which can be heard in recordings fifty years later. Interestingly, this iotation cannot be observed for *ä*. We also find consonant clusters word-initially (LEH), for which only two examples can be found in the corpus, i.e., *praśśattämmä* ‘to bid farewell’, *štobj* ‘so that’, with the latter being a loan from Russian (<чмобы). Furthermore, the raised unrounded back vowel *j* can be found in first syllables (LEH), e.g., *kjñetda* ‘to speak’.

This raising of mid-high vowels occurs in two contexts. As in the previous example, before nasals, *s*, and *h* (EMK), e.g., *sjs* ‘then’, *ljinà* ‘flax’, *mihele* ‘to a man’, *lindaš* ‘it flies’ as well as the copula verb (LEH), i.e., *um*, and the reflexive pronoun (LEH), i.e., *hiñnèga* ‘with oneself’. Furthermore, the manuscripts show instances of raising over-long mid-high vowels (LEH), for which there is no instance recorded in the phonograph recordings.

The extent to which *h* was preserved in different positions is an important element of Estonian dialectology. In the Kraasna recordings, we find it word-initially (LEH), e.g., *hing* ‘soul’, after long vowels (T49) or vowel clusters (LEH), e.g., *rîh* ‘barn’, even in a geminated form (LEH), i.e., *rîhhe* ‘into the barn’. Word-finally (LEH), it occurs as part of noun stems, e.g., *hameh* ‘shirt’, as well as in its use as the inessive suffix, e.g., *perzeh* ‘in the bottom’.

In word-final position, *v* is preserved as a fricative (LEH), e.g., *k^uòrv* ‘basket’, although it is not possible to establish clearly whether it is voiced after a long-vocalic syllable (T52), as there is only one occurrence, i.e., *pühàpài-v* ‘Sunday’, which may be devoiced. This semivowel

v is preserved before a rounded vowel in word-final position (T60). The only potential word fitting this context is in a very noisy part of the recording but may be *kaivul/kaivo* ‘into the well’.

A set of other points of enquiry relates to the historical development of consonant clusters. In the word *takãh* ‘behind’ (T36), we find that the velar plosive is geminated. Furthermore, the cluster *ht* is preserved in the partitive singular of nouns exhibiting stem allomorphy ending in *h* (T119), i.e., *hameht* ‘shirt (PART)’. The cluster **ηk* before an unstressed third syllable vowel (T121) is only attested once, as a simple voiced plosive in the form *kuñiga* ‘of the king’. The presumed metathesis of *h* in words like *vahnemba* (EMK) cannot be clearly evaluated. However, it appears that there is a word *vanhu* ‘old (PART.PL)’ in one of the distorted sections of the recordings, which may speak against this metathesis.

Finally, some observations on word-final consonants. It may be the case that there is compensatory lengthening of sibilants in word-final position (T48). Yet, due to the high-pitched noise on the recordings, it is hardly possible to ascertain the length of sibilants. The only potential form is in an unsuitable context, barely audible at the very beginning of the recording, i.e., *íéé māmīs* ‘hello, countryman’, where I believe I hear a slightly lengthened sibilant. One reviewer pointed out that lengthened sibilants would be expected in word-final position for many words in the texts based on their equivalents in other South Estonian varieties; however, as the frequency of the sibilants merges with the noise of the phonograph and the tape recorder, the length cannot be ascertained. I agree with the reviewer that there likely is lengthening of word-final sibilants, but this would need to be measured in higher quality recordings, as it is indiscernible from listening to the recordings. Ultimately, I would like to highlight that the glottal stop does, occasionally, assimilate to the following consonant, as is also the case in other varieties of South Estonian with a glottal stop, e.g., *umma^p p̄erst, mâga^k kiññ[?]* ‘[covered] up with earth’, *añna _i^h _häädä̀* ‘it is not an issue’.

6. Morphology

The following section presents an overview of the morphology of the Kraasna data. As the dataset is small and the texts are from particular genres, an in-depth analysis of the morphology of particular noun or verb classes cannot reliably be presented here. This also affects

the paradigms and comparative tables requested by the reviewers – a larger corpus study including the remaining manuscript materials may generate further insights, as certain categories occur in parts which were not recorded on the wax cylinders. In addition to the limitations created by the small size of the dataset, there are instances in which the Kraasna data are not internally consistent, likely as a result of interspeaker variation (see section 6.3.1 for examples). Despite this variation, the Kraasna data are still coherent as regards South Estonian or Finnic morphology, e.g., stem allomorphy depending on (historical) syllable structure leading to stem or grade alternations.

6.1. Nominal morphology

The central concepts in nominal morphology are number and case. Overall, singular forms were much more prevalent in the corpus than plural forms. The singular is regularly unmarked; the nominative plural is marked with the glottal stop, which can be heard clearly even after syncope or vowel elision, e.g., *juʔ* ‘stories’, *tuññʔ* ‘hours’. In the genitive plural, we find changes in the final vowel triggered by the general plural suffix *-i*, e.g., *rindu* ‘into the chest (pl.)’, *rihhe* ‘into the barn’. This plural suffix may also cause diphthongs in non-initial syllables, e.g., *tivvakkaiẓde* ‘into small bowls’. The partitive plural exhibits a strengthening or lengthening (T37), which is also common in other South Estonian varieties, e.g., *rükki~rüki* ‘rye’, *hainu* ‘hay’, *kañtu* ‘fish’, *šärkki* ‘shirts’, *uguritsi* ‘cucumbers’, *kapstit* ‘cabbages’, *sibulit* ‘onions’, *hàmbit* ‘teeth’, *puid* ‘trees’. In these examples, a vowel-marked partitive is more prominent with only the last four forms containing traces of the **tA* partitive marker. The genitive and partitive plural supply the stem for the semantic cases, e.g., illative *hakkijalgu* ‘into sheaves’, allative *rattit̩e* ‘onto a cart (pl.)’, comitative *latsigaʔ* ‘with children’, *käsšiga~käsiga* ‘with hands, by hand’. The latter example can also confirm the genitive plural (stem) of *käsi*-type nouns without a change to the historical **t* in the stem (T68). Apart from these forms, there are no plural forms in semantic cases.

The nominative singular and genitive singular are unmarked, though grade alternation, i.e., stem allomorphy due to historical phonotactics, can distinguish these forms for some noun classes. For the partitive singular, there are no unexpected case markers, as we find vowel-marked

forms, e.g., *poiga* ‘son’, and forms exhibiting the alveolar plosive of the historical **tA* marker, e.g., *jumalat* ‘god’, *rahvast* ‘people’, *vⁱert* ‘blood’, *tütärd* ‘daughter’, *hameht* ‘shirt’, *hobest* ‘horse’. More interesting is the gemination we observe in partitive forms (EMK), namely, between the first and second syllable before a contracted syllable (T35), e.g., *ji^mmä* ‘mother’, *ješsä* ‘father’, *ti^mmä* ‘him/her’.

We find eight semantic cases in the corpus, with six of these belonging to the local cases. The abessive was not recorded in the dataset, but, while rare, is attested consistently with *-lda*[?] in the manuscripts. The terminative is only attested once in the manuscripts (Estonica V, 1945) as *sēnāni*[?] ‘until now’. In spoken language use, it was likely replaced with postpositions indicating movement (Saa44), e.g., *mān*[?] ‘at’, *manu*[?] ‘to’, *vīrde* ‘to the edge’. The most frequently found semantic cases are the illative and allative directional cases and the comitative.

The illative has three types of markers: the *-hE* marker, the *-TE* marker, and the so-called short illative which is marked by lengthening alone. The *-hE* marker is used exclusively for trisyllabic noun stems (T129, Saa48) in the dataset (note that vowel elision makes them appear as bisyllabic stems), i.e., *kotksehe* ‘into a barn’, *länkkohē* ‘into a milk churn’, *kerkkohē* ‘(in)to church’, *huⁿkkohē* ‘into a heap’. The illative of nouns with a monosyllabic stem (T56) cannot be analysed unambiguously. There is one occasion of a highly idiosyncratic form *t’össe*, which is translated into Standard Estonian as *tööle* ‘to work’ in the 2014 dialect collection, while we would expect *tüühü* in Standard Võro. It is likely an illative but may not be a form of the word for ‘work’. Other monosyllabic nouns with a word-final consonant exhibit forms with a *t* element in the illative suffix, e.g., *riihtē* ‘into a barn’ – found in a barely understandable part of the recordings – and *vīrde* ‘to the edge’. The most frequent form of the illative is the short illative, which is distinguished for monosyllabic nouns with a long vowel or diphthong, e.g., *sūta* ‘into salt’, *haūda* ‘into the grave’, with a word-final geminated consonant or consonant cluster, e.g., *kirstu* ‘into a coffin’, *paikka* ‘to a place’, *säl^gä* ‘onto the back (INE)’, *sänna* ‘into the sauna’, *meisa* ‘into the forest’, with VCi#, e.g., *ku^hjä* ‘into a stack’, *kārja* ‘to the livestock’, *mārja* ‘to the berry’, *ā^hju* ‘into the oven’, or VCV# in nominative singular, e.g., *pa^tta* ‘into a pot’, *kāit-* ‘into a hand’.

The inessive is exclusively expressed with the suffix *-h*, also for monosyllabic nouns with a long vowel or diphthong (T93), e.g., *kāeh*

‘in hand’, which is given as *kääh* and *kääzeh* by Saareste (1955: 55), or after a secondary stressed syllable (T133), e.g., in *edaguh* ‘in the evening’. The suffix *-h* is consistently used to mark the inessive. The elative marker *-st* is only attested twice, i.e., *ahost* ‘out of the oven’, *jüst* ‘out of the river’, but consistent with other South Estonian varieties.

The exterior local cases are all attested with their expected forms, though the allative does not receive secondary stress (Saa38). The allative suffix is *-IE* and not geminated except in pronouns (e.g., *muttë* ‘to me’). We find the forms *košjotë* ‘to the proposal (pl.)’, *tatsële* ‘to the child’, *jimäle* ‘to the mother’, *šüümajtë* ‘for dinner time’, *mihele* ‘to a man’, *hobežetë* ‘to the horse’, *peremehele* ‘to the landlord’. The adessive is marked with *-l*, e.g., *mehël* ‘at the man’, *jimšël* ‘at the sow’, the ablative with the suffix *-lt*, e.g., *tezëlt* ‘from the other’.

The comitative is marked with the suffix *-ga*², without vowel harmony, and not geminated for any nouns, e.g., *vīga*² ‘with water’, *kirvega*² ‘with an axe’. The glottal stop may not always be audible or may assimilate to the following consonant, e.g., *jimäga* ‘with the mother’, *rihāga* ‘with a barn’, *vikadiga* ‘with a scythe’, *kablāga* ‘with a cable’, *hobežega* ‘with a horse’, *nāšitkkidēga* ‘with carrying handles’, *māga*^t ‘with soil’. The translative suffix is, as indicated in the literature (EMK), morphologically the *-st* form. There are three instances of it recorded in the corpus, i.e., *haigēst* ‘(becoming) sick’, *puhtist* ‘for the funeral’, *ūzest* ‘for the night’. The latter two forms occur as temporal adjuncts. Despite the existence of this case, it is not consistently used in all contexts where a translative form may be expected, e.g., *a kujjozē² kuiva²* ‘but they dried [fully] dry’; *rüä² sava² vāłmi²* ‘the rye (pl.) becomes ready [for further processing]’; *ku sā ei vjhma hāna² sāva kuiva²* ‘if it does not rain, the hay (pl.) will become dry’; *ni sā haigē* ‘and he became sick’; *sā māgitkakkane* ‘it becomes a little tomb’. This may potentially also include sentences where there is a transition, but which may not necessarily require the use of the translative, e.g., *sā pada täüz* ‘the pot becomes full’; *sā at hapupim* ‘underneath [it] turns into curdled milk’; *a pāt sā pālinē* ‘but on top [it] turns into cream’. This phenomenon is not restricted to a particular verb (e.g., *sā* ‘becomes’), as evidenced by *kujjozē² kuiva²*. Furthermore, although some forms may be semantically interpreted as phrasal or particle verbs, e.g., *sā + täüz* ‘become full’, *sā + kuiv* ‘become dry’, or even *sā + haigē* ‘fall ill’. *kuiva²* ‘dry (pl.)’ is an adjective, as evidenced by its number agreement; *haigē* ‘ill’ is another

example of an adjective used with both marked and unmarked translative meanings. Additionally, *sā mą̀gı̀tkakkane* does not contain any particles or adjectives but just the unmarked noun phrase.

There are four possible explanations I would like to offer. First, there may have been free variation or idiolectal differences regarding the use of the translative. As the same narrative on burial rites contains the phrases *lát haigest* ‘he falls ill’ and *sā mą̀gı̀tkakkane* ‘it becomes a little tomb’, I would ascribe this to free variation rather than interspeaker differences. Second, this variation may be a sign of language attrition or shift despite the contact language Russian also marking these translative meanings. Third, we may consider the context, i.e., the point in the discourse where the marked and unmarked versions appear. For the unmarked forms, the transition is an expected result, which can be inferred from real-world knowledge, e.g., *ku sā ei vı̀h̃ma hā́ña[?] sāva kuiva[?]* ‘if it does not rain, the hay will get dry’, *timä aettas māga / sā mą̀gı̀tkakkane* ‘they cover him with earth, it becomes a tomb’; in another instance, it can be inferred from context, i.e., *kakset̃ keřtu är[?] ni sā haigē* ‘[his/her] stomach gets upset and [s/he] falls ill’. This example may be directly compared to the marked version, *jelās jelās / ni lát haigest* ‘he lives, lives, and falls ill’, where the change is unexpected, surprising, or a strong contrast to the previous information. This interpretation of the translative being explicitly marked in contexts where new or contrasting information is introduced, while being unmarked when a transition with a result which can be expected or inferred from real-world knowledge may require further discussion and analysis beyond the present dataset. Fourth, we may consider permanency as a feature influencing the choice of translative marking (Lehiste 1969, Stassen 1997). This approach may still not explain the inconsistency encountered in the marking of this case. As we have only one example of a marked translative on a predicate adjective in the recordings, a thorough discussion must also include occurrences in the manuscript to avoid reasoning based on counterexamples.

To close the discussion of nominal morphology, I would like to point out that adjectives can take the same case and number marking as nouns, while also being marked for degree of comparison. There is only one instance of the comparative in the corpus, which is marked with the *-b* suffix (EMK), i.e., *inābāt* ‘anymore (PART)’. The manuscripts, however, contain several instances of the *-mb* suffix, which makes it impossible

to give a definite answer on the morphological shape of the comparative suffix. I would further like to point out that Kallas' monograph contains a form with *-b*, i.e., *vahneb* 'older' (Kallas 1903: 42), whereas his notepads exclusively contain the form *vahnem*.

6.2. Pronouns and determiners

We can find various types of pronouns and determiners in the text. The personal pronouns can be found in the forms of *ma?*, *sa?*, *tä* (T24/25), with the oblique stem *mu* and *su* for first and second person singular (T41). The pronouns appear in the nominative, genitive, partitive, and the exterior local cases (see Table 1).

Table 1. Pronominal forms and their allomorphs in Ojansuu's Kraasna phonograph recordings.

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------|---|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| NOM | <i>ma?</i> | <i>sa</i> <i>sa?</i> | <i>timä</i> <i>tä</i> | <i>mī</i> | | <i>nä</i> |
| GEN | <i>mu</i> <i>minu</i> | <i>sinu</i> | <i>timä</i> | <i>mī</i> | | |
| PART | | | <i>timmä</i> <i>timmä</i> | <i>mei[d]gi</i> | | <i>näid</i> |
| ALL | <i>muttē</i> <i>muttē</i> | <i>suttē</i> | <i>timäle</i> <i>tälle</i> <i>tällē</i> | | <i>iële</i> | <i>näile</i> |
| ADE | <i>mut</i> <i>mut</i> | <i>sut</i> | <i>täl</i> <i>täl</i> | <i>meil</i> <i>miel</i> | <i>teil</i> | <i>näil</i> |

The demonstrative pronoun *tū* 'that' can be found, possibly also a plural *nu* 'those' in one of the distorted parts of the recordings as well as the demonstrative pronoun referring to a distance between the proximal and distal, *tā* 'that' (see Pajusalu 2015). The interrogative and reflexive pronouns appear as *kiä~kiä* 'who', partitive *kedä* for animate referents and *mis* 'what' (possibly *miä* in the genitive) for inanimate referents. These pronouns have been contracted with the comitative suffix into *minkka* 'with what' and *kinkka* 'with whom', e.g., *ravida otē ēi minkka* 'there was nothing with which to feed/cure', *otē ēi minkka ahju küttä?* 'there is nothing to heat the oven', *otē ēi kinkka kineŋda?* 'there is no

one to talk to'. This form also appears in *ole ei minkka miñnä?* 'there is nothing with which to go [there is no money]', for which the referent is not clear from context – it may be about a cart or coach. Furthermore, we find the modal interrogative *kuis* 'how' in *kuis olat* (or *jelät*) 'how are you', the temporal interrogative *kunas* 'when' and *pallos* used in a question about amount with the meaning 'how many'. There are two local interrogatives, *kos* and *koh* 'where', in the illative and inessive, respectively. For these interrogative pronouns, a lengthened final sibilant can be assumed but is not certain from the recordings. From the relative pronoun, the indefinite pronoun *kiäki* 'someone' is formed in *tule ei kiäkki* 'no one comes'. A distributive form of the indefinite pronoun *egätë üttële* 'to each and every one' can be found in the allative. A number of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns can be found in the texts: *hiñnëga* 'with oneself' in the comitative, the complement *uma* 'own', e.g., *läivä [---] uma tare põle* 'they went to their own house', as well as the reciprocal pronoun *juś tēžëga?* 'with one another' in the comitative.

Apart from the aforementioned *pallos*, the other quantifiers are the numerals. The cardinal numbers 1–17 are: *juś~juś, kaś~kats, k^oolh, nélli, vīz~vīž, kûž, sādze, katęza, juțezä* (T125), *kümme, üštei-stkümme* (-toi-s-), *kaštei-stkümme*, *kolmtei-stkümme*[nd], *nelitei-stkümme*[nd], *vīztei-stkümme*[nd], *kūztei-stkümme*[nd], *sādzetei-stkümme*.

6.3. Verbal morphology

After discussing nominal and pronominal morphology, we now turn our attention to verbal morphology. Kraasna verbs have finite and non-finite forms, with finite forms marked for person, number, tense, mood, and voice.

Non-finite forms include the infinitive and supine (in Estonian linguistics both are often treated as infinitives), and the participles. Historically, the infinitive had the suffix **tAk* which developed into a variety of allomorphs. The most clearly visible continuation of this suffix is the form *-dA?*, e.g., *kīņētda?* 'to speak', *maa-[da?]* 'to sleep', which can be contracted into a stem-final alveolar plosive, e.g., *nīttä?* 'to mow', *añda?* 'to give', alveolar nasal, e.g., *miñnä?* 'to go', or geminated consonants or consonant clusters, e.g., *tappä* 'to kill', *rakko* 'to cut trees', *peśsä?* 'to beat', *kuśsu?* 'to call', *meśka?* 'to wash'. In forms with a long vowel, the infinitive suffix assimilated into a semivowel, e.g., *viä?* 'to

bring', *tuvva*[?] 'to bring', forms with long *a* or *ä* are not attested in the corpus. The geminated stem consonant in infinitives with a short initial syllable (T39) occurs in both second and third grade, e.g., *jellä*[?] 'to live', *valä*[?] 'to pour', but *pešsä*[?] 'to beat', *küttä*[?] 'to heat'. For bisyllabic verbs with a short initial syllable and no stem allomorphy (T104), an assimilated suffix can be found, i.e., *jellä*[?]. For trisyllabic verbs with the passive or causative derivational suffix **-ttA* (T115), the attested forms show both a strong and a weak allomorph of the derivational suffix, i.e., *lätattä*[?] 'to wed' but *teṁmada* 'to pull'. The supine, a telic infinitive, is formed with the **mA* suffix, which may be geminated, e.g., *jįstma* 'to sit', *pidämä* 'to hold', *magamma* 'to sleep', *kaitsṁma* 'to protect', *kataittamma* 'to mangle', *ležättämmä* 'to lie (down)'. For verbs with a secondary-stressed syllable, such as the above-mentioned causative verbs (T128), we can see that the bilabial nasal is consistently geminated, e.g., *kulättamma* 'to entertain', *lätättamma* 'to wed', *ležättämmä* 'to lie (down)', *praššättämmä* 'to bid farewell'.

The participles can be divided according to their formal and functional links to tense and voice categories. There are no attested forms of present tense participles, apart from a barely audible, potential form *jelläv* 'alive, living', which would correspond to the expected active participle form. Past tense participles are attested for active and passive voice. Examples of past tense active participles can be found as *oṅnu~^uoṅnu*[?] 'been (APP)', *k^uoṅn*[?] 'passed away (APP)', *mānu*[?] 'slept (APP)', *kündnü* 'ploughed (APP)', *vāzünü*[?] 'tired (APP)' and have the suffix *nU~nU[?]~n[?]*. They are used for forming perfective or perfect tense statements such as *om är_kuoṅn*[?] 's/he passed away', and are also found in compound tense forms like the perfect passive in *tä^uom^uoṅnu[?]pandu*[?] 'it has been put'. This also appears with an irrealis meaning, i.e., *oṅnu us jumalat oṅnu us mei[d]gi* 'if there was no god, there would not be us'. The past tense passive forms have a suffix *-t*, possibly also *-TU*, in the nominative, with the vowel *u* following in all other forms (forms showing the presumable vowel harmony are not attested in the corpus), e.g., *kāḃet* 'dug (PPP)', *paṅt* 'put (PPP)', *lätattatu* 'wed (PPP)'. The nominative plural forms *pandu*[?] 'put (PPP.PL)' and *jįstḃdu*[?] 'placed (PPP.PL)' occur in the recordings, displaying a weakening of the passive suffix before the nominative plural marker *-[?]*.

6.3.1. Person and number marking

The first person singular is consistently zero-marked or unmarked in all synthetic tenses in the indicative, e.g., (*ma*) *káu* ‘I go’, (*ma*) *mak̄kà* ‘I sleep’, (*ma*) *pélgä* ‘I fear’, (*ma*) *jìst̄t̄* ‘I sat’, (*ma*) *pélksi* ‘I feared’. The second person singular is marked with *-t* in the present tense, e.g., (*sa*) *nak̄kat* ‘you begin’, (*sa*) *lezäätät* ‘you lie (down)’, and with the glottal stop *-ʔ* in the past tense, e.g., (*sa*) *näiʔ* ‘you saw’, (*sa*) *käveʔ* ‘you went’, (*sa*) *kūlʔ* ‘you heard’, with one exception where the present tense marker is used, i.e., (*sa*) *kūlbset* ‘you sowed’. The third person has two suffixes in the present tense, as in other South Estonian varieties, a *-s* suffix from a historical medial (Posti 1961), e.g., *nak̄kas* ‘s/he begins’, *tälattas* ‘s/he weds’, *jeläs* ‘s/he lives’, and a zero-marked or unmarked form, e.g., *lät* ‘s/he goes’, *jìst* ‘s/he sits’, *vet̄* ‘s/he takes’, *sā* ‘she/he/it becomes’. The form *sā* shows that monosyllabic verbs in this verb class are not marked with a *-b/-p* element (T47) as in South Estonian varieties with a strong North Estonian influence. The same holds for bisyllabic verb stems with a short initial syllable (T100), i.e., *tut̄t̄* ‘she/he/it comes’. In the past tense, the third person singular is unmarked or zero-marked, e.g., *viht̄* ‘s/he hit (PST) with a *viht* [in the sauna for cleaning]’, *kir̄ḡ* ‘it crowded’.

Plural verb forms are less common, especially for first and second person. There is one instance of the first person plural in present tense, which falls together with the (unmarked) first person singular, i.e., (*mī*) *jelä ~ jelā ~ jelā-gi* ‘we live’. This phenomenon can be found in other South Estonian varieties, especially when used with a personal pronoun as in this example (see Iva 2007). In varieties where this syncretism is prevalent, the second person plural falls together with the second person singular form when a pronoun is used – there is no attested form in the corpus, but the manuscripts show a different image: There appears to be a syncretism, but with an unexpected marked form, which cannot be confirmed or falsified using the recordings, i.e., from AES 202 *saʔ annàde* ‘you (sg.) give’ – *tī annàde* ‘you (pl.) give’; *lāde* ‘you go’; *sa istùdeʔ* ‘you (sg.) sit’ – *tī istùde* ‘you (pl.) sit’; *tī är tuññeðeʔ miññū* ‘you (pl.) know me’; *tī linah jelāde* ‘you (pl.) live in the city’ (Estonica V). These forms seem idiosyncratic and contradict the consistent use of *-t* in the singular in the recordings, while appearing to provide further evidence for this proposed syncretism. In the present tense, the third person plural suffixes are *-vAʔ* for verbs with an unmarked third person

singular form, e.g., *sāva*[?] ‘they become’, *lätvā*[?] ‘they go’, and *-zE*[?] for those verb classes ending in *-s* in the respective singular forms (T127), e.g., *kujjoze*[?] ‘they dry’, *küzüze* ‘they ask’. There are not many third person plural past tense forms attested in the recordings (e.g., *tuü* ‘they came’); in the manuscripts, we find *-[?]* for all verb types.

6.3.2. Mood

Grammars of modern South Estonian varieties operate with five moods: indicative, conditional, imperative, jussive, and quotative. The imperative and jussive are formally and semantically related, as the jussive is the imperative of the third person. In the present corpus we find only a few non-indicative forms. The imperative is attested for the second person singular, marked with *-[?]*, e.g., *sa min[?] ruottu [kozima]* ‘you, hurry!’; *mine^k keñeñe* ‘go and speak!’; *nu miñ[?] sa íegemä* ‘now go do!’; *vī[?] timäle* ‘bring him/her’; *pan* ‘put!’; *tsuska sinu hand kaivu* ‘hang your tail into the well’. In the plural, the **-k* suffix of the imperative appears as a velar plosive with an additional personal/plural marking, i.e., *-gE[?]* in *jeläge[?]* ‘live!’ or *kuttēge[?]* ‘obey!’.

(1) shows an example of a prohibitive or negative imperative. The jussive is found only in the manuscripts – but not in the recordings – as the form *-go/ko*.

- (1) *tēñe ütles àndu ei är[?]*
 other say.3SG give.NEG.IMP NEG away
 ‘the other says: [she] shall not be given away [as a wife]’

- (2) *otnu us jumalat otnu us meid]=gi*
 COP.APP NEG.PST god.PART COP.APP NEG.PST 1PL.PART=EMPH
 ‘if there was no god, there would not be us’

There are no clear conditional or quotative forms in the recordings. One form with an irrealis meaning uses the past tense active participle (2). This example may be poetic language, though could be indicative of a participle use for the conditional (Saa52) and potentially for the quotative as well. For the quotative, Saareste provides an example from a poetic text (Saa23) with *-dav*, which is also mentioned once in AES 202, 8.

6.3.3. Voice

A noticeable stylistic element in the narratives is the frequent use of passive voice for the main verb. The present tense passive marker is *-TA*, which may appear in a weak form or assimilate to the stem. Only the third person or impersonal passive with the personal marker *-s* is attested in the recordings, e.g., *kāñitäs* ‘it is turned’, *nāttäs* ‘one begins’, *kulāttäs* ‘one is entertained’, *andas* ‘it is given’, *laottadas* ~ *laottēdas* ‘it is spread’, *tuvvas* ‘one brings’, *müvvas* ‘one sells’, *vījäs* ‘one brings’. The derivational suffix *-TA* changes its vowel to *E* before the passive marker, e.g., *kiēdettäs* ‘it is cooked’, *nīdēttäs* ‘it is mowed’, *laottēdas* ‘it is spread’. The same change applies to trisyllabic stems (Saa24), e.g., *raŋtsēdas* ‘is fed, entertained’, *kattēttas* ‘is closed shut’, *kūdzettäs* ‘is baked’. Saareste’s form for the present impersonal of the verb ‘to speak’ (Saa33) can be found as *jüldäs* ‘it is said’ with the complete elision of the alveolar plosive in the stem. There is no synthetic passive past tense in the corpus, only in the manuscripts, while anteriority is expressed with an analytic form using the participle with the copula verb, e.g., *ol pañt* ‘it had been put’; *om “olnu” pandu* ‘they had been put’. A similar analytic construction with a participle can be found with a resultative meaning, e.g., *haud ku um kābēt* ‘when the grave was (completely) dug out’. A curious form *pandaze*[?], likely a synthetic third person plural form, can be seen in (3).

- (3) *pandaze*[?] *tälle* *käe*[?] *rištī* *rindu* *pāl*
 put.PASS.3PL 3SG.ALL hand.PL folded chest.GEN.PL onto
 ‘the hands were put together (folded) on the chest for him’

6.3.4. Tense

The final verbal category is tense. Present tense is not marked in the language of the recordings despite leaving traces in the shape of the personal suffixes (i.e., third-person *-s-* for medial verbs). The past tense is marked with the vowel *-i* which precedes the personal suffix. The first and third person singular are unmarked, e.g., *tulli* ‘I came’, *tuł* ‘she/he/it came’, while the glottal stop is used to mark the second person singular, e.g., *käve*[?] ‘you (sg.) went’. This past tense marker may shorten a long stem vowel, e.g., *näi*[?] ‘you (sg.) saw’, assimilate to the *U*-stem vowel of reflexive verbs, e.g., *sündü* ‘s/he was born’, or lead

to change in the stem vowel, e.g., *vei* ‘I brought’. In the (zero-marked) third person singular, it may be contracted into the stem-final consonant, leading to a palatalisation, e.g., *tuľ* ‘s/he came’, *kirǵ* ‘it crowed’, *jütel* ‘s/he said’, *pańđ* ‘s/he put’ (Saa38), *vǵht* ‘s/he hit (PST) with a *viht* [in the sauna for cleaning]’, *küüt* ‘s/he heated’, *naķkaś* ‘s/he began’. Also found in the corpus are past tense forms containing the marker *e* (EMK), e.g., *mähke* ‘s/he wrapped’, *jǵšte* ‘I sat’, as well as the *-si* marker in *pelksi* ‘I feared’ where the plosive is preserved (T75). An interesting form using *-sE* as the past tense marker (see Pajusalu 2005) is also found, e.g., *külbset* ‘you sowed’.

In addition to the synthetic past tense, further past tense forms can be created with analytic constructions using participles and the finite copula verb, as in *om* *oľnu?* *pandu?*, *oľ pańt* ‘had been put’ and *om är_kotn?* ‘has passed away’.

6.4. The copula verb

The copula verb can be found occasionally used in the recordings, but not as often as would be expected in a written text. This is especially the case with the necessitative construction, in which the copula is not used, rendering this sentence type similar to its Russian equivalent. For finite forms, mostly third-person forms are found in the recordings, more often showing a raising of the stem vowel before the bilabial nasal, i.e., *um~om* (~*om*) in the singular and *umma?~umma* (~*omma?*~*omma*) in the plural. There is one form in the first person singular, i.e., *ma_ole* ‘I am’. In the past tense, the third person is *oľ~oľ* (T33). Furthermore, we also find the non-finite forms of the connegative, i.e., *ole* (*ei*), and the past tense active participle, i.e., *oľnu?*~*otnu*.

6.5. Negation and other clitics

Although negation is a topic of syntax, the allomorphy and morphological forms of the negative particle will be discussed in this section. The literature on verbal negation in South Estonian offers interpretations of the form as an auxiliary verb with a highly defective paradigm, inflecting only for tense, or as a pair of negation particles which exist for present and past tense. As the negation element appears as a clitic in the corpus, the interpretation of it as a particle can be favoured, although

since the connegative form of the lexical verb is a non-finite form it would then be the predicate instead of the ‘negation verb’. The negation particle may appear rather isolated from the verb and occurs in its lexical form with the stem vowel *e*, e.g., *tijä_ei* ‘I do not know’. With increasing cliticisation, the particle assimilates to the vowel of the connegative verb, e.g., *otē_ēi* ‘is not’, *añna_ih* ‘do(es) not give’. The same assimilation appears for the past tense particle with the unattested base form **es*, e.g., *otnu us* ‘there was not’, *jā_äs* ‘did not stay’. The clitic may be stressed, i.e., *tijä_ei*?

Of other potential clitics, only the emphatic *-Ki* can be found, e.g., *mei[d]gi* ‘we too’, *jelā_gi* ‘[we] do live’, *ärki* ‘completely away’. There are only two occurrences of the emphatic **iks* in the manuscripts. The postpositions may also occasionally appear like clitics, e.g., *pāla* ‘under the head’, *jumata_tak* ‘behind god’, possibly also *jezä_päle* ‘onto the father’. This cliticisation may be due to the speed of spoken language with the (primary) stress removed from the adpositional element.

6.6. Derivational morphology

Apart from nominal and verbal inflection, I would like to highlight some elements of the derivational morphology present in the corpus. There are several instances of the diminutive *-kE(nE)* and its allomorphs, e.g., *seberkkene* ‘friend (DIM)’, *kündlekkene* ‘candle (DIM)’, *korvkkane* ‘basket (DIM)’, *māgittakkane* ‘little tomb (DIM)’. The latter example shows that a loanword (< Russian *могила* ‘grave’) may be affixed with this diminutive derivational suffix, despite already being affixed with the diminutive of the donor language (*-ka*). Another derivational suffix found in the corpus is the agent noun derivation *-JA*, e.g., *rabah_haja* ‘flail; (a person?) that flails’. Adverbs are derived with the *-lt* marker, e.g., *humūgult* ‘in the morning’, *lēnagult* ‘at noon’, *edagult* ‘in the evening’, *jedimädzett* ‘first’, historically other markers may have also been used, e.g., *vañtatè* ‘open’. For verbal derivation, the corpus includes examples of the frequentative **-ele-*, e.g., *häbendelä* ‘to be ashamed’, factitive **-ta-*, e.g., *praśśattāmmā* ‘to bid farewell’, *katattamma* ‘to mangle’, as well as the historical reflexive derivation **-U-*, e.g., *sündü* ‘s/he was born’, *korjus* ‘gathers’, and the deadjectival progressive verbal suffix **-nE-*, e.g., *hapņes* ‘it curdles’. However, the derivative processes associated with these derivational suffixes were

likely unproductive at the time of recording with these verbs having already been lexicalised.

6.7. Loanwords

To conclude the section on morphology, I would briefly like to discuss the treatment of Russian loanwords. These loanwords are almost exclusively nouns referring to concrete objects like tools or relate to religious language. Examples include *kata·tka* ‘barrow’, *ptū[gat]* ‘plough’, *màgitka* ‘grave’, *màgitkakkane* ‘tomb (DIM)’. Other examples were not clearly understandable, e.g., the object placed in the left hand of the deceased at the burial ceremony, *?padarožij*, which could be explained with *no* ‘onto’ + *дороза* ‘way’ as grave goods (it is unlikely to be a form of *подорожник* ‘*Plantago*’). The examples above show that these forms are used with South Estonian inflectional and derivational morphology, e.g., the partitive case marker (*ptū[gat]*) and the diminutive suffix (*màgitkakkane*). There is one example of the complementiser *štobji* ‘so that’, and also one verb, i.e., *pravađi·i* ‘to escort (in a procession)’, which fits syntactically into the South Estonian sentence as an infinitive despite not showing the borrowing language’s supine marker, as in *pra·vėdattamma* ‘to visit’ (<*приведать* + *-ma*).

7. Notes about syntax

As dialect syntax and the syntax of spoken language could and should provide enough talking points for a separate article, I will limit this section to a few notes for further enquiry. Sentence-level phenomena are most easily checked and verified using the recordings, as the presence, absence, or order of words is clearly audible in most cases. Despite this, there are some major differences in the manuscripts, likely due to the limited number of times a phonograph recording can be played before suffering from quality loss of the physical medium. The transcriber likely focused on phonology and word-level phenomena, adding skipped words at the end or abbreviating them. An in-depth study of syntactic elements of the Kraasna subdialect is only possible with the present dataset, as the manuscripts alone are not reliable enough for definite conclusions.

The sentence structures appear interesting and different from what I might have expected beforehand, whether it is due to the fact that we are

dealing with (spontaneous) spoken language in a monological narrative or that it is caused by the peculiarities of this South Estonian variety and its state of language contact and language shift at the time of recording. One major point of discussion, namely the motivation for marking the translative case, has already been mentioned in the previous section.

One of the reasons for the interesting word order and sentence structures is the predominant use of three sentence types: a necessitative sentence with *vaijā* ‘necessary’, sentences with *nakka~nakkas* ‘I begin; s/he begins’, and sentences in impersonal passive voice. The necessitative construction is always clause-initial and generally appears without the copula verb. The adjective *vaijā* triggers the use of the infinitive of the semantic main verb without exception. The necessitative construction is impersonal, as no overt subject is used. It may be analogous to the Russian *нужно* ‘it is necessary’.

The sentence type with *nakka~nakkas* regularly triggers the use of the supine form of the semantic verb. While *nakka~nakkas* has the semantics of ‘I begin’ and ‘s/he begins’, the use of this verb appears to be less semantically but rather functionally motivated. On the one hand, it could be interpreted as a marker of a sequence, equivalent to the conjunction ‘and then’ in the narration of a procedural or sequential story (4). On the other hand, it can be interpreted in a broader frame of aspectual marking as an inchoative marker for a spontaneous or intentional event in a reported dialogue (5). It may also be a syntactic calque from Russian *стать* ‘stand; begin; become’, which, in the source language, can be repeated in subsequent clauses.

- (4) *nakkas nāñe jikmā nakkas väike tats jikmā*
 begin.3SG woman cry.SUP begin.3SG small child cry.SUP
 ‘(and then) the wife starts crying, (and then) the small child starts crying’
- (5) *kedä sa nakkat naitma / ma nakkā poiga naitma*
 who.PART 2SG begin.2SG wed.SUP 1SG begin.1SG son.PART wed.SUP
 ‘who are you intending (‘starting’) to wed? I intend (‘start’) to wed (my) son’

Similar aspectual features can be observed in the beginning of the narrative on burial rites, i.e., *jeläs jeläs / ni lát haigest* ‘(he) lives, lives, and fell ill’, where the continuous aspect of the verb living is expressed by the reduplication of the verb. The phrase *jeläs jeläs* itself might also

be a calque from the Russian formulaic expressions *жил-поживал* or *жил-был* ‘once upon a time’, but in a reduplicated form (the Russian equivalent would be an unattested **жил-жил*). More visibly marked is the perfective with the particle *är*[?], e.g., *hāna[?] kujjozē[?] är[?]* ‘the hay dries completely’, *hapņes är[?]* ‘it curdles completely’, *meze är[?]* ‘I wash it off’, *paḡ lālattas är[?]* ‘the priest confirms the marriage’, *suiṭtas täl jo är[?] pā[?]*, ‘he is combed [until he is ready for the ceremony]’, *är[?] kuli* ‘he passed away’, *müvväs är[?]* ‘it is sold off’. The use of the particle *är*[?] is not motivated by the semantics of ‘away’ as in certain phrasal verb constructions, e.g., *veṭa pälze pīmā pātt är[?]* ‘I skim the cream off the top’.

Another example of the use of *är*[?] as part of a phrasal or particle verb is *ära aṅda[?]* ‘to give away’. As in Standard Estonian, particle verbs are fairly common in Kraasna. Other particles or adverbs which can be found in phrasal verbs include *jeṭte* ‘forth’, *pērṛä* ‘after’, *kiñ[?]* ‘closed; fixed’, and *üles* ‘up(wards)’, e.g., *panē hobeze jeṭte* ‘I harness the horse’, *lā hainu pērṛä* ‘I go after the hay’, *ködä kabläga kiñ[?]* ‘I tie it up with wire’, *pandas kāzēga kiñ[?]* ‘it is closed shut with a lid’, *kattēttas timä siḷmä[?] kiñ[?]* ‘his eyes are closed shut’, *aettas māga^k kiññ[?]* ‘(he) is covered up with earth’, *nāñē tuḷ hummogult üles* ‘the woman got up in the morning’, or even the illative form of the word for ‘back’, *sälḡä*, in *aettas tällē hameh säḡä* ‘they put a shirt on him’. These phrasal verbs have a resultative meaning or emphasise that the process has concluded.

The third common sentence type uses the impersonal passive form of the main verb, which is attested around thirty times in the corpus. Why this form was so frequently used cannot be answered definitively, although it is, formally, a more complex form than a personally inflected finite verb, as there are, potentially, additional stem allomorphy and vowel changes; it does not, however, appear to be the form one chooses by default. The use of the impersonal passive may be linked to the genre of the narrative or may have been triggered by the framing of the question or setting of the stimulus by the researcher. He possibly asked for a general account of customs instead of a personal narrative or primed the consultants by frequently using the impersonal passive himself. Admittedly, the lines between both genres are blurred in the narrative, as it appears that the stories relate to the speakers’ lives. However, the use of the impersonal passive makes it less immediate, as the verbal action becomes more abstract and less concretely tied to the particular real-world event referenced in the narrative. Having said that, the use of a

present tense form makes the story-telling more immersive and vivid compared to the use of the past tense for referencing a remote event.

The most commonly used tenses are the present and past, with rare occasions of a more remote past, e.g., the perfect. The consultants occasionally use the tenses inconsistently for their stories, changing from past tense to present tense without a concrete, cotextual motivation, e.g., use of reported speech, which supports immersive story-telling. It appears that the consultant is not only retelling an event or reporting a custom but also commenting on it, e.g., shifting from the present to past tense in *jā ās kinkka jellāʔ*, *ärʔ kūli* ‘no one stayed alive (remained to live with), he passed away’ before returning to the procedural story with necessitatives and present tense impersonal passives. This emotional level may be heard in the intonation, for example, in the same narrative, it appears the speaker uses a lamenting, even sobbing, intonation when reporting that the deceased is buried, i.e., *aettas mâga^k kiññʔ* ‘he is covered up with earth’.

There are some instances of more complex sentences, namely questions and sentences with a complementiser. The polar question uses the clause-initial question tag *kas* in (6) and (7). The same text contains two instances of a complement phrase marked with *et*, i.e., (8) and (9).

- (6) *kas sa añnat ar mułtè tütârd mehèl*
 Q 2SG give.2SG away 1SG.ALL daughter.PART man.ADE
 ‘do you give me [your] daughter for a wife’
- (7) *kas vèt pap̃ lâtattâʔ*
 Q take.3SG priest wed.IN
 ‘does the priest accept (‘take’) [our request] to get married’
- (8) *kià ütles et um rikaš vaijâ ära añdaʔ*
 who say.3SG that cop.3SG rich necessary away give.INF
 ‘who says that he is rich – it is necessary to consent to the marriage (‘give away’)’
- (9) *kià ütles et um hüâ*
 who say.3SG that cop.3SG good
 ‘who (one) says that he is good’

Case and number agreement between the nominal head and adjectival attribute is observed in most cases, e.g., *pālze pīmâ* ‘top.GEN milk.GEN’,

hüvvä kätte ‘right.ILL hand.ILL’, *hüvvä paikka* ‘good.ILL place.ILL’, *hāna[?] sāva kuiva[?]* ‘hay.PL become.3PL dry.PL’, *vattāṭiṇe pink* ‘free.NOM.SG bench.NOM.SG’, and *kurra kätte* ‘left.ILL hand.ILL’. Occasionally, the case may be redundantly double-marked, e.g., *pañđ jimäle kervale* ‘give.3SG.PST mother.ALL next_to.ALL’ or *ma jistē hobezēḷē sālǵǵ* ‘I sit.1SG.PST horse.ALL back.ILL’.

Overall, we find a frequent replacement of case marking with adpositions. Especially for the (exterior) local cases, we find the analytic case marking, e.g., *mā pālē* ‘onto (the) earth’, *rindu pāl* ‘onto the chest’, *kodo boḷē* ‘towards home’. The case governed by the postposition is mostly identical with South Estonian or Estonian forms, except in the aforementioned *pañđ jimäle kervale*, where we would expect the genitive *jimä*.

As an opposite phenomenon, the comitative is used to combine two nouns into a single noun phrase without the use of a conjunction, i.e., *jezä jimāga jikva[?]* ‘father and (‘with’) mother are crying’. This shows the close relationship between both nouns without referring to the parents by the collective **vahnemba[?]* found in the manuscripts. This form of referring to parents can also be found in other languages around the world.

Finally, some observations about speech patterns in general. We find many examples of ellipsis, as is to be expected in spoken language use. Most often, a pronoun or the copula verb is dropped, e.g., in the necessitative. The ellipsis of pronouns (10a) seems arbitrary, as there are several examples where the pronoun is used (10b) without particular emphasis on the agent.

(10a) *lā hainu pèrǵǵ*
 go.1SG hay.GEN.PL after
 ‘I go after the hay’

(10b) *ma lā kodo boḷē*
 1SG go.1SG home.GEN towards
 ‘I go home’

For sequences, a parallel sentence structure is used, e.g., *laottadas jo taivva rät māgitka pālē, pandas vatsk māgitka pālē, pandas ḷihad paḷā māgitka pālē / tuvvas vīnā māgitka pālē* ‘the tablecloth is spread onto the grave, the bread is put onto the grave, the meats are put onto the

grave, the liquor is brought onto the grave’, with impersonal passive verb forms, nominal objects, and the local adverbial *màgitka pãlè* ‘onto the grave’. There are only a few instances when the speakers correct themselves or start over, e.g., *la- lao- / la- / laottadas* ‘it is spread’ or *ärki kül- är^k küli* ‘(he) passed away’. The most interesting example is *pandas pada pä- pandas padi pãla* ‘the pillow is put underneath the head’, where the speaker notices that she used the genitive form *pada* when the nominative object *padi* would be regularly used after the impersonal passive verb. This shows that the speakers still had a good command of the language despite the language attrition reported by Kallas (1903). Combined with their coherent story-telling and lively intonation, it can be assumed that the consultants were able to speak the language without major difficulties, at least on the topics of their narratives.

8. Summary

Access to the raw materials, i.e., the sound recordings, of the Kraasna fieldwork conducted by Heikki Ojansuu allows for the scientific examination of issues of a linguistic and dialectological nature. These recordings, in theory, allow for the falsification of claims or provide examples in support of existing descriptions. While it is not possible to provide a holistic account of the Kraasna subdialect based on the phonograph recordings alone, many points and forms can be found in the data, leading to the most comprehensive linguistic description of the Kraasna subdialect to date, and the only one not to be based on the manuscripts as the primary source. My hope is that this linguistic description reinvigorates scholars’ interest in further investigating the Kraasna subdialect, hopefully leading to more analyses based on Ojansuu’s recordings.

The Kraasna subdialect presents itself as a South Estonian variety which is in some parts similar – in others dissimilar – to the other varieties of this dialect continuum. Kraasna exhibits a noticeable Russian influence in its phonology, e.g., the iotation of the front vowels *i*, *e*, and *ü* in word-initial position or the palatalisation of consonants in the context of front vowels, and lexicon. Despite these contact-induced phenomena, the language use on record presents a fluent and confident

language use by the consultants. Morphologically, the language of the recordings complies with the existing descriptions, linking the variety to the easternmost South Estonian varieties of Võro and Seto. While this similarity can be confirmed with direct observations and comparisons, the functional description of Kraasna suggests some inconsistencies, e.g., in the use of the translative case. On the syntactic level, the Kraasna recordings differ most strongly from their transcriptions in the manuscripts. Having access to a recording of the speech event makes it possible to fill gaps and enable further research into stylistic or pragmatic aspects of language use, e.g., the use of voice and intonation, levels of self-correction, and parallel sentence structures. The extent to which these characteristics are unique to Kraasna will need to be established by future research, as they may be caused more generally by spontaneous speech or the genre of spoken text.

I propose several directions for future research and enquiry into these recordings. First, it would be useful to have new digitisations made of the phonograph recordings, using modern technology (e.g., optical precision measuring) rather than relying on the 1963 tape recordings of the originals. This would allow the reduction of mechanical noise and grant access to sections of the recordings which are distorted in the tape copies, possibly providing a quality which makes the digitisation useable for phonetic analysis. Second, the present descriptive study of the recordings needs to be compared to the remaining manuscripts from Ojansuu's 1914 and 1911/12 fieldwork, ultimately being extended to the sources by Kallas gathered in 1901 and Kreutzwald/Brandt in the mid-19th century. This may highlight differences in the speakers' language use, trends and developments, or inconsistencies in the data. The use of stylometrics or tools from forensic linguistics may help to identify the consultants based on their language use and determine whether the recordings are from one or several speakers as well as how (dis)similar their language use is compared to that of other consultants recorded in manuscripts and other data collections. Third, as the identity of the consultant(s) for the recordings is not clear, we do not know without a doubt who provided us with these clear recordings of the Kraasna Estonians' language use. A combined effort of archival research and speaker identification may provide insights into different historical stages of the Kraasna subdialect, or groups of the population which preserved Kraasna better or longer than others. It appears from

later ethnographic accounts, that members of the Kraasna community visited Seto-speaking regions and also, as Kallas suggests, that landlords brought young men and women from Seto-speaking regions in the north as spouses for the Kraasna Estonian population in the mid-19th century. The consultants who can be heard in the recordings may be affected by either process, which could explain differences from earlier language data. Fourth, this comparative effort may be supported by the comparison of the present description and dataset with other South Estonian varieties and their descriptions. How close is the Kraasna subdialect of the recordings, or the overall language use in the manuscripts, to other South Estonian, especially Võro and Seto subdialects? Fifth, the descriptions of syntax and sentence- or text-level phenomena should be compared and discussed under the research framework of South Estonian spontaneous speech or dialectal syntax. These comparisons should provide further insights into whether the peculiarities described hold true for other varieties or Estonian spoken language use in general, or if we are dealing with an exclusive development of the Kraasna subdialect. Finally, any gaps in the present analysis, for example pertaining to pragmatics or conversation analysis, should be closed by experts on these topics or discussed in further detail. To ensure brevity, the present overview is cursory, with many aspects of linguistic description offering work for future research into the Kraasna subdialect. Consequently, I hope that this is only the starting signal for more publications to come, and not the end of linguistic research into this fascinating linguistic enclave, its speakers, and their language use.

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Kokkuvõte. Tobias Weber: Heikki Ojansuu Kraasna murraku fonogrammide lingvistiline analüüs. Venemaal Pihkva oblastis Krasnogorodski ümbruses elanud Kraasna maarahvas rääkis lõunaestipärast Kraasna murrakut 20. sajandi esimese pooleni. Kõik keeleteaduslikud käsitlused Kraasna murrakust on siiani kasutanud kirjalikke allikaid, enamjaolt Heikki Ojansuu 1911.–12. ning 1914. aastal kogunud käsikirju. Ojansuu tehtud fonogrammid arvati enne käesoleva uurimistöö tegemist olevat kadunud ning sellepärast pole neid varasemad uurijad kasutanud. Taasleitud helisalvestiste abil on selles artiklis kirjeldatud Kraasna murrakut esimest korda suulise kõne andmete alusel, täites lünki eelnevates analüüsides. Siinses kirjelduses järgitakse teoreetiliselt neutraalset deskriptiivset lähenemist, samas austades Eesti keeleteaduse traditsioone ja arvestades Eesti murdeuurimise varasemate tulemustega. Artikkel esitab Kraasna fonoloogia, morfoloogia ja süntaksi kohta põhiteavet, piirdudes aga korpuspõhise uurimisena fonogrammide keeleainesega. See on aluseks järgnevatele uurimisprojektidele, mis saavad käesolevat kirjeldust lähtekohaks kasutades arendada analüüsi edasi, seda laiendades ja süvendades.

Märksõnad: keelesaared, ajalooline sotsiolingvistika, Eesti dialektoloogia, keelte dokumenteerimine, fonogrammid, lõunaestsi keel, Kraasna murrak

Appendix 1: Content of the recordings

| Recording 1963 / Recording 1980s / Recording no. / Researcher / Place of recording / Time of recording | Start time record- ing 1963 (recording 1980s) | End time record- ing 1963 (recording 1980s) | Title of text (Eesti murded IX) / description of recording / page in Estonica |
|---|---|---|---|
| A 502/15 fonokop 136/7 299 Ojansuu [Kraasna?] [sine dato] | 0:00 (0:15) | 0:55 (1:10) | [man talking, Standard Estonian?] |
| | 0:55 (1:10) | 1:11 (1:20) | [woman talking] |
| | 1:11 (1:20) | 1:33 (1:43) | [man talking] |
| | 1:33 (1:43) | 2:21 (2:32) | [man singing, Finnish?] |
| | 2:21 (2:32) | 3:12 (2:54) | [women singing] |
| A 502/16 fonokop 136/8 300 Ojansuu Kraasna [s.d.] | 0:00 (0:12) | 1:27 (1:39) | [woman speaking, distorted] |
| | 1:27 (1:39) | 2:17 (2:23) | Estonica I 6-7 (partial) |
| | 2:17 (2:23) | 2:39 (2:45) | [woman counting] |
| | 2:39 (2:45) | 3:10 (3:08) | Estonica I 6-7 (partial) |
| A 502/17 fonokop 136/9 301 Ojansuu [Kraasna?] [s.d.] | 0:00 (0:14) | 0:46 (1:01) | [woman singing] |
| | 0:46 (1:01) | 1:50 (2:29) | [story about fox and wolf, Ulla Vasiljevna? See Kallas 1903] |
| | 1:50 (2:29) | 2:20 (3:23) | Estonica I 33 |
| | 2:20 (3:23) | 3:25 (4:21) | Estonica I 35-36 |
| A 530/4 fonokop 32/4 81 „Ohjelmaa“ Väisänen / [Ojansuu] Kraasna 1914 | 0:00 (0:21) | 2:05 (2:25) | Estonica I, 28 |
| | 2:05 (2:25) | 2:35 (2:54) | AES 202 |
| | 2:35 (2:54) | 3:14 (3:33) | [woman speaking] |
| | 3:14 (3:33) | 3:23 (3:45) | Estonica I, 40 |

| Recording 1963 / Recording 1980s / Recording no. / Researcher / Place of recording / Time of recording | Start time record- ing 1963 (recording 1980s) | End time record- ing 1963 (recording 1980s) | Title of text (Eesti murded IX) / description of recording / page in Estonica |
|---|---|---|---|
| A 530/5 fonokop 32/5 82 „Häät“ Väisänen / [Ojansuu] Kraasna 1914 | 0:00 (0:20) | 2:55 (2:30) | Pulmakombed Estonica I, 19-20 |
| | 2:55 (2:30) | 3:11 (2:45) | [woman speaking] |
| | 3:11 (2:45) | 3:33 (3:10) | Ristimisest (partial) Estonica I, 18 |
| A 530/6 fonokop 32/6 83 „Hautajaiset“ Väisänen / [Ojansuu] Kraasna 1914 | 0:00 (0:16) | 2:52 (3:01) | Matused Estonica I, 21-22 |
| | 2:52 (3:01) | 3:18 (3:23) | Leivast (partial) Estonica I, 23-24 |
| A 530/7 fonokop 32/7 84 „Pesemistä“ Väisänen / [Ojansuu] Kraasna 1914 | 0:00 (0:20) | 2:27 (2:24) | Nädalavahetusest Estonica I, 25-26 |
| | 2:27 (2:24) | 2:54 (2:48) | Estonica I, 38 |
| | 2:54 (2:48) | 3:29 (3:22) | Varas (partial) Estonica I, 29 |
| A 530/9 fonokop 32/8 86 Väisänen / [Ojansuu] Kraasna 1914 | 0:00 (0:15) | 3:10 (3:28) | Estonica I, 1-8 (partial) |

Appendix 2: Transcribed texts from the recordings

These transcriptions are based on Ojansuu's transcriptions contained in AES 202. In many cases, Ojansuu's detailed transcriptions can be confirmed – they were only altered if the recordings clearly do not align with his transcriptions. Due to wear on the cylinders and the mechanical noise created during copying, fine details in Ojansuu's transcription were occasionally impossible to transcribe (even for a native speaker, as Jüvä Sullõv stated in personal communication). This mostly affected the quality of sibilants and vowels, as well as length or quantity, overall. I bear responsibility for the quality of the present transcriptions and hope that new digitisations will enable narrower transcriptions or phonetic analyses in the future.

502/16 (a502b_02)

The following part is transcribed from listening impression only, the text could not be linked to any instances in the manuscripts. The sentences about harvesting could be loosely related to *Estonica I*, 23 = AES 202, 17 = EMIX 'Leivast'.

nu nakka ma nāņē [---] / nakka ma nāņē [---] / (talking in background)
nakka kangast kudama / nakka kangast sâdmä / nakka kangast kudama /
ma [rabataja] // nakka [---]-telemma //
[---] [riihte] `peima / nakka rükä [---] nakka `kandma / nakka hakkijałgu
`pandma / nakka kũ vidämä / ma nakka rükä atma / nu nakka rükki
`pešmä / nakka tarę mǎn? `kandma rüki / (---) / ma- / [---] //
[ma] tullì [h]ummugult üles / mezi sũ kamm`pâ / (---) ma (--) //
kos hobęzega lât [x3] / ma- [---] ma (--) ma tetä? / tã um munakęņ ta um
är? (---) [kervalt] [---] // [mul ołł kolk- / ma kolki liñnu]
nàgłä?, nāgł, nàgłä?, nāgł (~ nāgł), nàgłä?
[varbas vārba? varbas vārba?] varbas vārba?
(--) maja vaija maijā vaijā?
haràk haraga? [x3]
takh olę_ęi xàmbit muł, takh olę_ęi hàmbit muł, takh olę_ęi hàmbit muł
ma- (--) vabā nāņē, tũ um vaba nāņē, tũ um vaĵba nāņ[ę]
malts, matdza? [x3]
ņęęęę umma pęrst pešsā?, ñęęęę umma^p pęrst pešsā?, ñęęę_ umma^p
pęrst pešsā?

ʷüts, kaís, kʷolh, nélli, víz, kúz, sãdze, kateza, ʷüteza, kũmmè
üts̄tei-stkũmmend (-toi-s-), kaís̄tei-stkũmmend, kolm̄tei-stkũmmend[nd],
nel̄itei-stkũmmend[nd], v̄z̄tei-stkũmmend[nd], kũz̄tei-stkũmmend[nd],
sãdz̄etei-stkũmmend
vaíja kapstit vaíllaʷ vígaʷ, vaíja uguritsi vaíllaʷ vígaʷ, vaíja sibulit vaílla vígaʷ
vaíja (---) [x3] // ma tull̄i kav̄vendest [x3]
ku um v̄z̄ünüʷ sa ei j̄evvaʷ [x3]

502/17 (a502b_03)

[singing, a song with every line starting in “liiku” or “niiku”]

[The following part is mostly unintelligible; it is a version of a story about a fox tricking a wolf but not equivalent to the version in Ojansuu’s manuscripts (recorded in *Estonica V* in 1912). The text is very similar to the story told to Oskar Kallas by Ulía Vasiljevna (1903: 126) and might be from the same consultant. This part needs to be revisited when better audio quality is available, as it is impossible to link the recording to a section in the manuscripts.]

[suzi ja repän olíi] [---] [taluga hingämä] / repän [nigu] kallo [ni sa
püvvä kallo] / tsuska sinu hand kaivu [ja] korjuz hanna täüz kallu / [susi]
timä hanna kaivu ja kaivu ärʷ hand külm̄i já kinni (-) repän [küllä küläh]
jütles [külämehe] (--) / külä rahvas / hüä rahvas / suzi sit kaivu / [---]
vēta sul (-) lats [---] / [jeläse] keik (---) mu küllä / sa j̄öz̄et v̄ert a ma j̄öz̄e
mättä //

hainu vikadiga n̄ideitäs / rihäga r̄ip̄itas / ümbre k̄äntäs štoj̄i haina
kujjozeʷ / a kujjozeʷ kuivaʷ / h̄änaʷ kujjozeʷ ärʷ pane rukka / l̄ä pan̄e hēb-
hobezeʷ jeite l̄ä hainu p̄er̄ä / h̄änaʷ / pan̄e h̄änaʷ rat̄ij̄te k̄odä kab̄t̄aga kiñʷ /
v̄i(n) h̄äna küʷ / k̄än(ä) ḡürmä küle p̄äl̄e / nakka hainu kol̄k̄ts̄emma / nakka
kol̄k̄sehe hainu k̄ändm̄ä //

nüšs̄ä ma l̄ehm̄ä hōmm̄igult / nüšs̄ä ēdagult / nüšs̄ä ma l̄ehm̄ä hūmm̄igult
ni nüšs̄ä [ku] t̄en̄agult ni nüšs̄ä (-) / p̄im̄ä maʷ kurna pāita s̄ä pada täüz /
hap̄ne ärʷ p̄im̄ / s̄ä at hap̄up̄im̄ / a p̄ät̄ s̄ä p̄älīne / vēta p̄äl̄ze p̄im̄ä p̄ät̄ ärʷ
/ pan̄e ǟh̄jo p̄iz̄lem̄mä / ahost ma vēta ušs̄e nakka vēz̄ind̄ īegem̄ä / ni ma
vēta vēi- vēiz̄me / mēze ärʷ / pan̄e ma vēiz̄me s̄ūta / hapu p̄im̄ä pan̄e ǟh̄ju
/ [---] ahost ušs̄e kohop̄im̄ä / kohop̄im̄ä l̄än̄kkohe pan̄e kivi ata / pan̄e šol
p̄im̄ä s̄ūta / hoij̄ä šett̄ä (---)

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ie'ere māmīs kuis olāt (jelät) [x3] /

kuñiga nāñe [x3] /

*taha- (---) / ü'legòh[s] [x3] / jumata_tak mī jelā-gi jumata_takāh mī jelā
jumata takāh mī jelā / o'nu us jumatat o'nu us mei[d]gi [x3] /*

kēdēre kēdra? kē'iru kēdē' kēdra? kē'iru kēdē' kēdra? kē'iru /

olē ei mīnkka miñnā? rahad olē ei? [x3] /

*ma kañhū veitā vergū pālē jüst / ma kañhū veitā vergū pālē jüst / ma kañhū
veitā vergū pālē jüst / ni tēbras ni tēpra? [x3] /*

ma lā kodo botē [x3] /hädä

kabēhhezē' tu' / se'berkkēne' tu' / he'be'he'ne' tu' /

jimäl uol vīz poiga / jimäl uol vīz poiga / jimäl vol vīz poiga /

vī' timäle (--) [x3] /

rūg ni rusk [x3] /

vaija rakko' puid kirvega? [x3] /

*mī kuòrv mī ko'v'kkane' [x2] / mī kuòrv mī ko'v'- jedimädzelt / jedimänne
jedimädzelt / jedimäne jedimädzelt //*

añna_ i^h _hädä häbendelä? vaija k'julh [x3] /

muna(n) hüvä (---) /

*tsirb `lindaš `korgeh muna `perzeh / tsirk `lindaš `kuorgeh muza- muna
`perzeh / tsirk `lindaš `korgeh muna `perzeh //*

kakse' ke'itu är? ni sā haigē [x3] /

*vanhu asju [x3] [---] / pēlgä ma pēlksi ma pēlgä ma pēlksi ma pēlgä ma
pēlk- (---) /*

mu harak mu haragä [x3] [---]

kui kündnü nī külbset [x3] /

ñjñā rabah-haja [x3] /

*ma makkā / mānu? / ma makkā / mānu? / ma makkā ma ma- [---] (vaija)
vaija maa-[da]*

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tuļ jezā košjote tütri- [---] tuļli košjote suļtē // (faces away from the phonograph) / kedā sa naķkat naitma? / ma naķkà poiga naitma / kas sa aņnat ar muļtē tūitārd mehēl / ma' tūjā_ei-? / ei sā aņda? ar? / kiā ütles, et um rikaš vaijā āra aņda? / tēņē ütles aņdu ei ār? oļē_ei hüā / kiā ütles et um hüā / mine^k_keņeļe / nāil lāivā juļ? jūtte / naķkaš hāhki tēgēmā / vajā miņnā? papi mān? / kaš veļ pap? tālattā? // pap? naķkas kūzumā [---] kunas teil sāva? [---] sāva? hoļ iispāivā / pallos meil rahvast sā / [faces away: no vuot lā nu / lā nü sinnā] // ma lā kozitazega? merzjat keņeļda / inemist kūmme sāija lāt / šāt naķkas sata hoitma ravtsēmma / vīnāga jūma / ni tāstas ārki / jezā jimāga jikva?, lāivā? tālattamma, lāivā? kerkkohē / pap? tālattas ār? / pap? and sērmūzē nātle kait- [---] sērmst oļē_ei / sis naķka_i pap? tālattatu / tālattas pap? ār nāid ni nā lāivā kū? / tuļeva? kū? veettas tāvva tāde naķkas tāltāimā rahāga / pālē tū juldās vaijā kuļsu vaķkà_rahvas / vaķkà rahvast tuļē inemist vīzdeji-stkūmmēnd / ni nā naķkassē tagaži ravtsēmma / ni naķkas vīnāga jūma / nu ravtsēdas ār? nāttas kulaittamma nāttas kargamma / nāttas [jārmulit] (-) lūumā / kulāttas kulaittas ni lāivā [---] uma tare pōļē /

jelāge? nu kui tēle jumal aņd / kuļtēļge? ješsā ni kuļtēļge? jimā / nu vot hāhā keiķ / nādāli jelās / lāt imā potē koštma /

ūitle midā tātsēle kah / kas minu [? kosjole laskave kuul] tahat minemā / sa min? ruoitu [kozima] //

inemene sūndū mā pālē / inemine sūndū mā pālē / (--) kuts pāba / naķkas last pābtsēmma / pābts latse ār? / lāt kūt saņnā / veļ sis lātsi_ saņna / mešĥ vīga? ni vīht vīhāgā? ni māhke māhku / ni tuļ tarē mān? ni paņd jimāle keļvāļē [---]

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(-) jelās, jelās ni lāt haigēst, (--) haigē, ležāttās, tuļē_ei kiākki pra-vēdattamma timmā [---] mis sa ležāttāt, mis suļ um haigē. [---] ležāttāt, ležāttāt ma_oļē keiķ tēbinē [ei jovva] [---]

(---) ārki kūl- ār^k kūli uoļ aŗmas vāegā! / vaija kuļsu? meškmā, meštas ār?, suiittas tāl jo ār? pā, aettas tāllē hamēh šālgā, aettas tāllē hamēh [---] nu piņģi pālē tālle sāettas aņēnd, tāoitadas tāllē tāvva rāt [? piņģi pālē], pandas timā ležāttāimā [---] naķkas nāņē jikmā, naķkas vāike tāts jikmā / jā ās kinkka jellā?, ār? kūli / vaija puhtit teitā?. vaija midāgi veļ tappā, vaja puhtist hoļ tāmmaš / tappā. / vaija miņnā t'ōsse, tettā kirst, / pandas

kirstu, pandas kãzëga kiñ? laottëdas kirstu rëvas, pandas pada pä-
pandas padi päla // pandas timä kirstu lezättämmä, kaitteitas timä siimä?
kiñ?, (-) pandaze? tälle kãe? rišti rindu päl, nu vot / nãttas puhtij tægëmä /
kořãttas rahvast, rüga kiëdettäs, vaïsku küdzettäs // timä näsitkkidega (-)
keřkkohë / (-) nakkas keřkkohë kandma / šãt nakkas pap timmä pravadi-í
/ tãllë andas kurra kãtte (padarožij?), hüvvä kãtte andas kündlekkene // ni
kaitteitas timä sũ kinhi / (-) prašsattämmä pandaze? kãzëga (-) kiñ? [---] (-)
vijäs timmä havva manu? haüd ku um kãbët / timä tãstas haüda / aettas
mãga^k kiññ? / [vettas] (---) / tãllë pandas jãtgu ku [? ei] jumala kumarda?
/ timä aettas mãga / sã mãgitkakkanë (-- la- lao- / la- / laottadas jo tãvvä
rãt mãgitka pälë, pandas vatsk mãgitka pälë, pandas tãhad patã mãgitka
pälë / tuvvas vãnã mãgitka pälë (-) / nãttas hiñge ülendämmä: hiñg hüvvä
paikka nãttas puhtijst šerbämmä //

voit ma- ma? / jelä nu laisiga? kuis tahat [---]

(-) rüã? sava? valmi?, vaijã minnä? peim[ma] / (-) ei otë minkka peima,
vaijã uosta? [-] [peimja?] kanna edaguut huñkkohe, panë ma ha-kkijãtga.
[---] rüã? ar? peimi, nakka kũ vidãmä, nakka kuhjã pand- [---] (-) vaija
atta? rihhe / vaija rih panda? kũttüimä / hummeñ nakka riht pës-

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hameñ jo um must. vaija hameht meška? vaija panda tãkku, vaija kũttã?
tãbeñet, vaija uosta? šippi. vaija vuetta? hameñ / panë ma hamme lãkku
(? hammeřruikue ~ hammeřruikue) kãziga ma meze / vi vi vırde / nakka
nüñktãmã hameht kãšsiga / meze ar? / lã jũ vırde / veita teřvã, nakka
teřvãga pësãmã (-) nakka ju uhtma vīga? / pälë tũ nakka pũrdmã panë
teřna pälë kuñjoma / kuñjos ar? / vaija tuvva? tarë mãn? / veita valoga ni
kata-tka ni kataitamma hamme-ä- (-) pũlpühã küiteitäs sañ / lã ma
sãñna / nakka ma vihãga vihtma nakka ma pãd meškma / meze nãgo viiga
/ huha ar ma ei ke^e viga / ã ma puhta hamme(?) sãlgã, ã ma puhta [?]
kãdza? siirde / nu lãã ma tarë mãn? ar? / sã edãg / nakka edak pidãmã /
hittã edaguh magãmmã /

hummeñ om pühãpäi-v / tułë keha päl üles / meze sũ / kumarda jumalat /
nu miñ? sa tægëmã, miã sułtë vaijã, kiã lãt kãrja, kiã lãt hobëst kaitsëmna
/ aga mešsa tañti a kiã lãt mãrja / šuumaig keik korjus tarë mãn? / nakka
ü? šuimãjtë / nakkã juis tẽžëga? keñełemma / tezełt küzüze mis sa nãi? /
mis sa kũl? / iãmbã ma kãrja kãdži / leñ(m) lãis rũkkã vai lãis teugu / hittã
nu hiñgãmã pälë šũmajã / lãã kosma lãhavette äde bołë (-) / panë hobëze
jeite ni lã kosma / veita latsë ka hiñnëga / lã kostma pãba pole mu lais

*läts jezä päle / vaijä miñnä[?] kü[?] / mis sa[?] mułļe añnat košti_ga hiñnèga /
pan mułļe hoı vèezind / tivvakaizde hiñnèga //*

*tuł varaš, tuł varaš vargilt tä uom uoınu[?] pandu[?] vārä[?] kiñ[?], íal uoı mero
kevä. kasuı oı pañt mero päle úzest. nāñe tuł hummogult úles, kaes: verä[?]
vałļatè. läts ni ütles mihele: verä vałļatè. sa käve[?] ússe[h]. ei ütles ma
‘kau us ússe[h]. sa- sa[?] ‘kau us ússe[h] a miel verä[?] vałļatè. nāñe ütles oļe
i inābāt plū-*

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är veıtū_i seıtā [x3] /

pan hopēñ jette [x3] /

ravida oļe ei minkka [x3]

[---] minkka ahjo küütä[?] oļe ei minkka ahju küütä[?] oļe ei minkka ahju- [---]

mā om jezändä rahvā kāeh [x2] mā on jezändä [---]

am[?] om är_kuotn[?] / mu jezä om am[?] är kuotn[?] /

kap[st]a[?] omma[?] jisıteđu[?] / kap[st]a omma jisıteđu[?] / kap[st]a omma jisıteđu[?] /

*ma kana panē jıstma munna päle / ma kana panē jıstma munna päle / ma
kana panē jıstma munn- [---] kołm nādälıt jıst kana [x3] /*

*vaija haina niıttä[?] [x3] / vaija haina rıbu[?] [x3] [---] vaija haina rukka
panda[?] [x2] / sā ei vıjhma hāña[?] sāva kuiva[?] / ku sā ei vıjhma hāña[?] sāva
kuiva[?] / ku sā ei vıjhma sāva hāña[?] kuiva[?] / vaija haina viıä[?] ku[?] / vaija
hāña[?] viıä[?] ku[?] [x2] / ma jıste hobezeļe šälğä [x3]*

[---] pıppu teımbada (-) pıppu teımmada[?] / sa tahat pıppu teımma[da[?]] /

viıjäs sinnä[?] lınā müvvas är[?] [x3] / sā peremehele rahā [x3] /

oļe ei kinkka kınētda[?] [x3] [---] egatē üttèle hüä [x3]

[---] kikas kirğ [x2] /

ma meıštā kje [x3] /

jüts łammas / kjiık łamba[?] [3x]

kae koh sa jelät [3x] [---]

[nu sant jelä[?]] [---]

ma timāhavva koi šärkki [x3]

*(---) [---] vałļatıñe pink [x2] / muı_umma[?] tuıñ[?] [x2] / [jelläv om] / haige
[---]*

*jimseı omma[?] väike pèrza[?] [x2] [---] [timahavva (---)] muı oı (-) -ma jütel
/ muı oı kaıs lehmä / ma vei är[?] jai jüts / muı oı kaıs lehmä / ma vei är[?] jai
jüts*

