THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SALACA LIVONIAN AND COURLAND LIVONIAN DIALECTS

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

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

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1. Introduction

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

1 The study has been carried out within the framework of Estonian Research Council project IUT2-37. Thanks to Riho Grünthal, Santeri Junttila, David Ogren and Tiit-Rein Viitso for their help in preparing the article.
extensive corpus has remained of Courland Livonian, which was still spoken until quite recently. The eastern dialect of Courland Livonian is the basis for modern written Livonian. Systematic overviews have been done of the distinctive features of Courland Livonian and its dialects (see Viitso 2008a, 2011). For an overview of the early history of Livonian, however, the Courland Livonian material can be supplemented with written samples of Salaca Livonian, dating from the second half of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century.

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

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

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

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

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

The ternary length distinction finds expression in Livonian dialects in that, in addition to the phonological opposition between short and long consonants and vowels, there is also a distinction between short and long geminates (Lehiste et al. 2008). In the preserved Salaca Livonian material, short geminates are marked with either a single or double consonant, e.g. *katuks ~ kattuks2 ‘roof’, *pakan ~ pakkan ‘fast, quickly’, *oppub ~ opub ‘learns’, while long geminates are consistently represented by doubled consonants: *oppī ‘learner’, *oppen ‘learned’, *sulli ‘servant’. This distinction operates in primary stress-bearing feet on the boundary between stressed and unstressed syllables, and is related to foot isochrony. After a single consonant or short geminate, the vowel of the second syllable lengthens; by contrast, long geminates in Salaca Livonian are typically followed by vowel reduction or elision as well as contraction of the second and third syllables, as in the previously mentioned example oppī (< *oppiji).

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

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2 Salaca Livonian examples are presented in the historical orthography in which they were recorded (see SLW), while Courland Livonian examples are presented in modern Livonian orthography (see LELS).
Estonian dialects, these vowels were only slightly longer than the vowel of the initial syllable.

The likely appearance of **broken tone** in Salaca Livonian is indicated by the way in which various word forms were written. For instance, words written with a dash or an h between vowels can be presumed to have carried broken tone, as in rā ~ raā ~ ra-a ~ raha ‘money’ (Cour rō’). Broken tone may also be indicated by alternating marking of vowel length, as in pūgum ~ pugum ‘to blow’, Cour pū’gōm (see Winkler 1999b, 2010 for a more detailed treatment).

Similarly to Courland Livonian, the historical consonant phoneme h has disappeared in all positions in Salaca Livonian, e.g. Sal abin ‘beard’ (Est habe), Sal lia ‘skin’ (Est liha), Sal murt ‘worry (Part)’ (Võro murōht). When Salaca Livonian words are written with h, it indicates broken tone or, in older sources, a preceding long vowel. The letters g and k in word-final position in unstressed syllables more likely indicate a glottal stop, e.g. jei ~ jeig ‘ice’, uta ~ utak ‘take (Imp2Sg)’; both broken tone and glottal stops are characteristic of the Leivu South Estonian as well (see Teras 2010, Viitso 2009). Word-medial intravocalic g in Salaca Livonian sources sometimes corresponds to broken tone in Leivu, as in the word pagatum ‘to speak’, cf. Leivu pa’atõm.

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

Different developments are observed in Courland Livonian words originally featuring consonant clusters consisting of a stop and an approximant (Viitso 2008b: 229), e.g. CourE _vō’ddōl_ ‘wait’, _ka’gglō_ ‘neck’, CourW _vuo’dlō_, _ka’glō_. Viitso claims that these forms have developed from earlier shorter forms, such as _*vō’dl_ and _*kagl_, where the syllabic approximant in western Courland Livonian broke down into a sequence consisting of a non-syllabic approximant followed by the vowel _ō_, and in eastern Courland Livonian broke down into a sequence consisting of the preceding vowel and a non-syllabic approximant. In some Salaca Livonian words, the stop in such consonant clusters has become a vowel, e.g. _kāl_ ~ _kaol_ (< _*kakla_ ‘neck’, _kāra_ (< _*kakra_) ‘oat’, but in cases where the consonant cluster has been preserved, the documented forms do indeed correspond to the short forms postulated by Viitso, e.g. _ōdl_ ‘wait’, _mūtl_ ‘think’; _nāgr_ ‘turnip’, _odr_ ‘barley’. In Courland Livonian, the infinitive form of such verbs typically ends in a vowel, e.g. _*vō’dlō_ ‘to wait’ and _mōlō_ ‘to think’; in Salaca Livonian, however, the infinitive form ends in an approximant, e.g. _ōdl_, although a vowel may appear before the approximant: _mūl_ ~ _mūtul_ ~ _mūttul_. Salaca Livonian words of this type thus exhibit both presumed older forms and newer independent developments.

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

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

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3 In this article _ı_ marks a high back unrounded vowel.
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ūrūs ~ ūrs ~ ĩr, ūdug ~ üdug. In some instances ū is written as ö in Salaca Livonian sources, e.g. mōtā’mets’ (1839).

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

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

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

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

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

(3) The Salaca and western Courland equivalents of eastern Courland tōva ‘deep’ both feature the vowel i. In Proto-Finnic this word had an i and presumably Proto-Livonian preserved it as well (see Pajusalu 2012: 216), which suggests that Salaca and western Courland Livonian have preserved the original i;
Table 1. Equivalents of eastern Courland Livonian first-syllable ŏ in Salaca and western Courland Livonian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salaca</th>
<th>CourEast</th>
<th>CourWest</th>
<th>Proto-Livonian</th>
<th>Pre-Livonian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mütsa</td>
<td>mōtsā</td>
<td>mitsā</td>
<td>*mōtsa (Q2)</td>
<td>*metsa</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tūla</td>
<td>tōla, P. tōllō</td>
<td>tīla</td>
<td>*tōlva</td>
<td>*telva</td>
<td>‘club’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ālō ~ vūlō ~ vūlōga</td>
<td>vōlga</td>
<td>vīlga</td>
<td>*vōlga</td>
<td>*velka</td>
<td>‘debt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. kūrd ~ kūra</td>
<td>kōrdā</td>
<td>kīrdā</td>
<td>*kōrdā</td>
<td>*kerta</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. pūrm</td>
<td>pōrm</td>
<td>pirm</td>
<td>*pōrm, -ō</td>
<td>*permo</td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tūmb</td>
<td>tōmbō</td>
<td>timbō</td>
<td>*tōmbō-</td>
<td>*tempa-</td>
<td>‘to pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. rūsk</td>
<td>rōskō</td>
<td>rīskō</td>
<td>*rōskō</td>
<td>*rēska</td>
<td>‘fresh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ār ~ ārs ~ ārus ~ āras ~ āras</td>
<td>vōrōz</td>
<td>vīraz</td>
<td>*vōraz</td>
<td>*vēras</td>
<td>‘stranger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. āja</td>
<td>jōgā ~ jagā</td>
<td>jegā</td>
<td>*jega</td>
<td>*eka</td>
<td>‘every(one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ājāra ~ jera</td>
<td>jōrā ~ jarā</td>
<td>jārā</td>
<td>*jera</td>
<td>*erā</td>
<td>‘away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ānu</td>
<td>nōv</td>
<td>ni’uv</td>
<td>*nōuv</td>
<td>*neuvo</td>
<td>‘advice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. āiva</td>
<td>tōvā</td>
<td>tivā</td>
<td>*tivā</td>
<td>*tiva</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ājug</td>
<td>jōugō (+ Li.)</td>
<td>jūkt’</td>
<td>*iugō</td>
<td>*hivuke</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ājūt</td>
<td>jō’vvō ~ jō’uvvō</td>
<td>i’uvvō</td>
<td>*i’u(v)-</td>
<td>*iho-</td>
<td>‘to whet, sharpen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ājuā ~ juo</td>
<td>jōvā</td>
<td>juvā</td>
<td>*iuvā</td>
<td>*hivā</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. āstū, -ub</td>
<td>sōvīlō</td>
<td>si’uvlō</td>
<td>*sūvelē-</td>
<td>*sūkele-</td>
<td>‘to itch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. āmurz, -ub</td>
<td>mō’ržō, -b</td>
<td>SjW mū’rž</td>
<td>*mūrso</td>
<td>*mūrise-</td>
<td>‘to rumble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. āsüzār</td>
<td>sōzār</td>
<td>sīzār</td>
<td>*sizar</td>
<td>*sisar</td>
<td>‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. āvunā</td>
<td>sōnā</td>
<td>sinā</td>
<td>*sina</td>
<td>*sina</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. āsūr</td>
<td>sōr ~ sōra</td>
<td>sīra</td>
<td>*sīrā</td>
<td>*siira</td>
<td>‘cheese’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ābi ~ übbi</td>
<td>ā’bbi</td>
<td>i’bbi</td>
<td>*ō’bbin</td>
<td>*hopeinen</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. ābbi</td>
<td>ā’bdō</td>
<td>i’bdō</td>
<td>*ō’bdō</td>
<td>*hopeta</td>
<td>‘silver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. ākivē</td>
<td>kōvē</td>
<td>kīvē</td>
<td>*kōvāsi</td>
<td>*kovas</td>
<td>‘whetstone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. āva ~ üvñ</td>
<td>ōvā</td>
<td>īvā</td>
<td>*ōva</td>
<td>*uha</td>
<td>‘current, flow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. –jö ~ jö</td>
<td>jōbā</td>
<td>jubā (Lž) ~ jub</td>
<td>*juba</td>
<td>*juba</td>
<td>‘already’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 The forms kōvē and kīvē were derived from the verb kōvē. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salaca</th>
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<th>CourWest</th>
<th>Proto-Livonian</th>
<th>Pre-Livonian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. küur</td>
<td>kõ’urõ</td>
<td>ki’urõ</td>
<td>*kõ’urõ</td>
<td>*kovera ‘crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. süu</td>
<td>sõ’u(v) ~ sõ’uvõ</td>
<td>si’u(v)</td>
<td>*sõ’uvõ</td>
<td>*suvi ‘summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. küu, -vud</td>
<td>kõuvõ, -d ~ kõvaz</td>
<td>kiuv(v), -õd</td>
<td>*kõuvõ</td>
<td>*koivu ‘birch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. süud, -ub</td>
<td>sõudõ, sõdab ~ sõidõ, sõdab</td>
<td>siudõ, sidab</td>
<td>*sõudõ-(*sõida-)</td>
<td>*souta- ‘to row’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. pûda</td>
<td>põda, P. põudõ</td>
<td>*pûda</td>
<td>*põuda</td>
<td>*pouta ‘drought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. lünnug</td>
<td>lõnag ~ lõinag</td>
<td>lõnag</td>
<td>*lõunak (Q2) (*lõinak (Q2))</td>
<td>*lounak ‘south’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. tût, -ub</td>
<td>tõtõ, -ab</td>
<td>tõtõ, -ab</td>
<td>*tõvotti-</td>
<td>*toivotta- (*tõitta-) ‘to promise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. eigus</td>
<td>õigiz</td>
<td>õigi</td>
<td>*õigus ~ *õigõ</td>
<td>*õiketus ‘right, justice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eit</td>
<td>õigi</td>
<td>õigi</td>
<td>*õigõ</td>
<td>*õiketa ‘right, correct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. vui ~ ui</td>
<td>võidag li. võidug</td>
<td>vuidug ~ uidug</td>
<td>*vui-</td>
<td>*voi ‘butter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. vuîj ~ uij</td>
<td>võidõ</td>
<td>vuidõ</td>
<td>*vu(ij)-</td>
<td>*voi- ‘to be able to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. vai ~ voi ~ vei</td>
<td>või ~ võ ~ ~ vói ~ võ</td>
<td>vuoi ~ vui ~ yu</td>
<td>*vai ~ *voi</td>
<td>*vai ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. muiпõši ~ muiпõši</td>
<td>mõitõz</td>
<td>muitiz</td>
<td>*muisseti</td>
<td>*muитoisin ‘otherwise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. ut, utab ~ utte ~ vutt</td>
<td>võttõ, võtõb</td>
<td>utõ, utõb ~ vuotõ, vuotõb</td>
<td>*vutta-</td>
<td>*votta- ‘to take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. udim ~ utim ~ utim</td>
<td>võtõm</td>
<td>utim ~ vuõtõm</td>
<td>*vuttim (Q2)</td>
<td>*vottim ‘key’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. ruoi ~ ruoj</td>
<td>rõ’v</td>
<td>ri’u</td>
<td>? *ro’uõwõ</td>
<td>*rõho ‘grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. şiõõd</td>
<td>siedõ SjW söõd</td>
<td>siedõ</td>
<td>*sõ-</td>
<td>*seuí- ‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. şiõõt, -ub</td>
<td>sietõ, -b SjW söõt</td>
<td>sietõ, -ub</td>
<td>*sõõtta-</td>
<td>*seïtta- ‘to feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. bruv ~ bruv</td>
<td>brõuvõ ~</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>Lat brûvêt, Ger brauen</td>
<td>Lat skrûve, Ger schrauben ‘to brew’ ‘to screw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skrõuv</td>
<td>sriuv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Joan</td>
<td>Jõvõn ~ Jõvõnõz</td>
<td>Jõn</td>
<td>Ger Johann</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Kristus</td>
<td>Krõstõz</td>
<td>Kristõz</td>
<td>Ger Christus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) Word-initial \( iu \) has become \( jõ \) in eastern Courland Livonian (13–15), \( ju \) in Salaca and western Courland Livonian;

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

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

(7) The equivalents of the diphthong \( iu \) in the Slavic loanword \( *sūra \) (20) are Salaca \( ŭ \) and western Courland \( ĭ \). However, the form \( sōra \) has been recorded in the eastern Courland village of Ire, and the form \( sūir \) (preserving the older diphthong \( ĕu \)) is attested in the western Courland village of Piza;

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

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

(10) The words \( *kovera \) (26) and \( *suvi \) (27) feature the diphthong \( ņu \), which evidently appeared in Proto-Livonian, since the first-syllable vowels in these words in all three dialects correspond to this diphthong – eastern Courland \( ņu \), \( ņv \), Salaca \( ŭu \), western Courland \( iu \); the diphthong \( *ōu \), without broken tone, is found in CourE \( kōvō \) ~ \( kōvaz \) ‘birch’ (28), Salaca \( küu \), CourW \( kiu(v) \), obtained through a characteristic Livonian process of metathesis from the form \( *koivu \) (> \( *kouvi > *kōuvi \));

(11) The equivalents of Finnic \( *ou \) in all Livonian dialects can be traced back to the diphthong \( ņu \) (29–31). The diphthong \( ņu \) has been preserved in the strong grade of words featuring gradation, e.g. eastern Courland \( sōudō \) ‘to row’, compare to Salaca \( sūud \), western Courland \( siudō \), but has undergone assimilation to \( ņ \) in the weak grade, e.g. eastern Courland \( sōdab \) ‘he/she rows’, western Courland \( sidāb \). The diphthong in the Proto-Livonian words \( *pōuda \) and \( *lōunak \) has undergone monophthongization in all dialects, and in Salaca Livonian has shortened before the secondary geminate \( nn \): \( lūnmug \) ‘south’;
(12) In eastern Courland Livonian, the diphthong õi appears as an alternative to õu (32, also 29 and 31). In words which evidently featured *õu in Proto-Livonian, the Salaca and western Courland Livonian equivalents of eastern Courland Livonian õi are ĕ and ĭ; in eastern Courland Livonian, õi appears variably with õu and õ, e.g. sòudõ ~ sòidõ, lõnag ~ lõinag, where õi is the secondary form;

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

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

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

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

(17) SjW shows the diphthong õö in the eastern Courland Livonian words sõöd ‘to eat’ and sõöt ‘to feed’ (41, 42); these forms may have developed from earlier forms with ȫ. However, the typical forms of these words feature ie (< *ũö) in Courland Livonian and ť in Salaca Livonian;

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

To summarize, first-syllable õ in eastern Courland Livonian corresponds to the presumed Proto-Livonian forms for certain words, but there are also words featuring a secondary ŏ. While first-syllable ŏ in western Courland Livonian has historically turned into ū and then been replaced by i, in Salaca Livonian it has also been replaced in some cases by e; for example, the sound change õi > ei has con-
sistent taken place, and e appears sporadically in place of õ in some other word types as well.

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

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

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

Similarly to western Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian exhibits a tendency to replace the stem vowel *e* with *u*. In the eastern Courland dialect, the stem vowel *e* has generally become ō: *tā’dōd* ‘stars’, *tūndōb* ‘he/she feels’, *mōtlōb* ‘he/she thinks’, while in the western dialect the secondary change ō > *u* is observed: *tā’dud*, *tūndub*, *mitlub* (Viitso 2008b: 230). Salaca Livonian features the change *e > u*, e.g. *tūndub ~ tundub*, *miţlub*, but also *e > a*, e.g. *tundab ~ tunab*, and in some cases these originally *e*-based stems have forms containing the stem vowel *e* in the second syllable: Sal *panub* ‘he/she puts’ ~ *paneb*,
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tulab ‘he/she comes’ ~ tulub ~ tulleb (1839). In the eastern Courland dialect, a-stem inflection is attested, e.g. panāb, tulāb, while in the western dialect the stem vowel u is found: panūb, tulūb. Therefore, Salaca Livonian has equivalents of both the eastern and western Courland Livonian formations. Replacement of the stem vowel e with u is also seen in the western dialect of South Estonian (Pajusalu 1996: 63).

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

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

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

In addition to prepalatalization, Livonian dialects also exhibit progressive palatalization, in which the vowel i in the first syllable of weak-grade forms has caused the following consonant to be palatalized, i itself generally being conflated with that consonant,
wherein s > š. Progressive palatalization is widespread in eastern Courland Livonian, e.g. lāška ‘lazy’, mūostab ‘he/she can/knows how to’, lānga ‘wave (Part)’ vs. western Courland Livonian lāiska, mūostab, lāinta (Viitso 2008b: 230). In the Salaca Livonian material, in addition to older i-based forms such as laisk and moistab, there also appear variants in which i has disappeared. In these words, the consonants š and ž, developed through palatalization, are marked only sporadically: lāsk ~ lāska, mōstab ~ mōståd ‘you understand’, tōžum pāāva ‘Tuesday’. In some cases, a similar alternation can be observed in words featuring a diphthong which emerged through prepalatalization, e.g. Sal vaisk (< *vasikka) ‘calf’ ~ vāšk ~ vask; rūsk’ (< *rusikka) ‘fist’, compare to CourE vāški ~ vaš’ki, rūška, CourW va’ški, ru’isk.

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

3. Salaca and Courland Livonian inflectional morphology

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

The historical genitive ending -n occurs in both Salaca and Courland Livonian in certain compound words, e.g. Sal märn aig and Cour mie’rn aigā (< *neren akja) ‘edge of the sea, seashore’. However, the case ending -n is used in the dative meaning only in Courland Livonian. In Salaca Livonian, the dative is expressed by adessive-allative forms, which are formed from strikingly similar stems, e.g. Cour minnōn ‘at me, to me’, Sal minnel ~ minel ~ minnul ~ minnul ~ minnol ~ mil ~ mill, Cour mā’dđōn ‘at us, to us’, Sal mäddel ~ mädl ~ mäddl ~ medl, CourE jo’ugōn ‘on the river, to the river’, CourW jō’gōn, Sal jōgel, Cour i’dđōn ‘at one, to one’, Sal ūdel, Cour mē’en ‘at a man, to a man’, Sal miel etc. The inflectional stems are
often the same in both Salaca and Courland Livonian, although Salaca Livonian shows more variation. While in Courland Livonian the dative is predominantly based on the genitive stem, e.g. jālga ‘foot (Gen)’ and jālgan ‘foot (Dat)’, in Salaca Livonian the adessive-allative stem may differ from that of the genitive, corresponding instead to the lexicalized adessive-allative form in Courland Livonian, e.g. Sal jalgel ‘on a foot, to a foot’ and CourE jalgõl ‘on feet, to feet’. In the case of pronouns, certain genitive and short dative forms are identical in Courland Livonian, such as kēn ‘whose, to whom (Gen, Ad/Al)’ ~ kīngan ‘to whom (Ad/Al)’, while in Salaca Livonian the genitive and the adessive-allative are consistently distinguished, as in k’in ~ kīn ~ king ~ k’ina ~ kinga ~ k’inge ‘whose (Gen)’ and k’ingal ~ k’ingel ~ kingel ‘to whom (Ad/Al)’. Here again, more variation in stem formation is found in Salaca Livonian.

In place of the instrumental, Salaca Livonian uses two cases – the comitative and the translative. In some inflection classes, the formation of the instrumental in Courland Livonian is similar to that of the translative in Salaca Livonian, e.g. Cour āigastõks ‘year (Ins)’ vs. Sal ād’isteks ~ āgisteks (Tra), Cour īgāks ‘lifetime (Ins)’ vs. Sal īgaks ‘forever’, Cour īzāndõks ‘lord (Ins)’ vs. Sal īzandeks, Cour lapsõks ‘child (Ins)’ vs. Sal lapseks ~ lapsuks, Cour lupātõks ‘tatter (Ins)’ vs. Sal lopateks. In the inflection types where the Courland Livonian instrumental marker is -kõks, the basic form often corresponds to the Salaca Livonian comitative form, to which the ending -õks has been added, e.g. Sal āimk ‘family (Com)’, Cour āimkõks, Sal joutk ‘force (Com)’, Cour joudkõks, Sal mādk ‘we (Com)’, Cour mādkõks, Sal mielk ‘mind (Com)’, Cour mielkõks, Sal pāek ‘head (Com)’, Cour pākõks. Most likely, these Courland Livonian forms have been arrived at in precisely the way described above, i.e. by adding the translative ending to the historical comitative form. Such forms demonstrate that Salaca Livonian morphological formation is sometimes more conservative than that of Courland Livonian.

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

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

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

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

The Courland Livonian dialects feature different endings for first and second person plural. In eastern Courland Livonian, these are typically -mō and -tō, e.g. saimō ‘we received’, tu’lmō ‘we came’, saitō ‘you (Pl) received’, tu’līō ‘you (Pl) came’, āndizmō ‘we gave’, āndistō ‘you (Pl) gave’, in western Courland Livonian -mi and -ti, e.g. saimi, tu’lmi, saiti, tu’līi, or with longer stems -(ō)m and -(ō)t, e.g. āndizōm, āndizōt. Examples have also been recorded in eastern Courland Livonian of weak-grade forms, such as lekšmā ‘we went’, lekštā ‘you (Pl) went’; Viitso regards these as historically primary
forms (Viitso 2008b: 229–231). In Salaca Livonian, the typical first and second person plural personal endings are -mi and -ti: saimi, saiti, although isolated instances have also been recorded of vowel-less endings, e.g. läemi ~ läem ‘we go’, iktuti ~ iktut ‘you (Pl) cry’, in one case also -me: lähme (1839). Here too, the similarity of the phonological development of Salaca and Courland Livonian is evident. In Salaca Livonian, only originally monosyllabic verb stems receive personal endings in the preterite; otherwise, person and number is indicated by a personal pronoun, e.g. me tul’ (< *tuli) we came’, te tul’ ‘you (Pl) came’, me leks ~ lekš ~ läks (< *läksi) ‘we went’, te leks ~ lekš ~ läks ‘you (Pl) went’.

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

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

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

Salaca Livonian contains roughly a hundred Finnic or southern Finnic word stems which are not known in either main dialect of Courland Livonian. These include such common words as imi ‘person’ (Est inimene, Cour rištīng), var ‘thief’ (Est varas, Cour salāj), jānds ~ jānts ‘hare’ (Fin jānis (compare to Sal kals < *kallis), Cour kōps), oin ~ oen ‘ram’ (Est oinas, Cour jōsō), sonn ‘ram’ (compare to Fin sonni ‘bull’), vediks ~ vedikš ~ ved(i)s ~ veits ‘bovine’ (Est veis, Cour sūrjelāj), pāld ~ pāold ‘mountain, ridge’ (Fin palle, Cour mä’g); adjectives tīn ‘pregnant (of animals)’ (Est tiine, Cour läālam), vīmi ‘final, last’ (Fin viimeinen, Cour pe’rri), ūl ~ ūles ‘malicious’ (Est ēel, Cour tīg), verbs k’änn ~ k’enn ~ kienn ~ kiānn ‘to bend, turn’ (Est kāāna-, Cour kērō), nuok ‘to nod’ (Fin nuokkua, Cour
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danktõ), sall ‘to bite’ (Fin salva, Cour jamstõ). These Finnic words generally have a phonetic form typical of Salaca Livonian and they can be considered to belong to the old basic lexicon. Their equivalents in Courland Livonian are semantically adjacent Finnic words, local innovations, or loanwords.

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

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

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

In cases where a Salaca Livonian word is common in only one of the Courland dialects, the most typical situation is that a new word has been adopted in eastern Courland Livonian, while Salaca and western Courland Livonian have preserved a common Finnic root, e.g. Sal jānn ~ jānne ‘a lot, much’, CourW jennõ; CourE pāgiņ ~ je’nnõ; Sal om ~ oma ‘own’, CourW u’m, CourE enštõ; Sal emel’ki ‘spider’, CourW emriki, CourE ēbrikš; Sal uomd ~ uomde ‘tomorrow’, CourW ūomdõ, CourE mūpõ; Sal aim jāma ‘hostess, lady of the house’,
CourW aim-jemā, CourE perīnai ~ aimjemā; Sal vikat, CourW vikāt ‘scythe’, CourE vikart. There are some cases where the Salaca and eastern Courland Livonian words are similar and the western Courland Livonian form is distinct, e.g. Sal pidis ~ piddis ‘along (something)’, CourE pi’ddiz ~ pi’ddōz ~ pi’ds, CourW mīedō; Sal nutt ‘to shout, cry’, CourE nuttō ~ uttō, CourW uttō; Sal ägg ‘harrow’, CourE ā’ggōz, CourW e’kš ~ e’gž. As a general rule, Salaca Livonian differs from the Courland dialect in which a word new to Proto-Livonian has come into use.

5. Conclusion

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

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