

Livonian

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Contents

Abbreviations	01
0. Introduction	03
0.1 The historical background	05
1. Phonology	14
1.0 Distinctive segments	14
1.1 Vowels	14
1.2 Consonants	16
1.3 Diphthongs	19
1.4 Syllables	19
2. Morphology	23
2.1 Inflection	23
2.2 Verb morphology	50
3. Syntax	58
3.1 General	58
3.2 Other sentence types	58
3.3 Complex sentences	60
3.4 Structural questions	69
3.5 Negation	77
3.6 Anaphora	81
3.7 Reflexives	82
3.8 Reciprocals	83
3.9 Possession	83
3.10 Emphasis	84
3.11 Topic	86
3.12 Other movement processes	87
The texts	88
Bibliography	118

ABBREVIATIONS

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

AB ablative

AC active

AD adessive

AJ adjective

AL allative

AV adverb

CA causative

CJ conjunction

CP copula

CT comitative/translative

DM diminutive

DT dative

EL elative

EM emphatic (particle)

GN genitive

ID indicative

IE imperative

IF infinitive

IL illative

IM impersonal

IN inessive

IP infinitive of purpose

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

0. INTRODUCTION

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

It consists of a Descriptive Grammar of the present-day Livonian language as recorded in an extensive corpus provided by one speaker.

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

The Livonian language shift to Latvian has brought with it not merely lexical but also morphological innovation; for example, verb prefixes are not native to the language, but are found in abundance, as borrowed Latvian morphemes, in Livonian speech.

Since some confusion may arise about the terms 'Baltic' and 'Baltic-Finnic', which refer to two entirely different linguistic units, I use the term 'Baltic' in this work to refer to the precursor of the later Latvian, Lithuanian and Old Prussian languages and their speakers, and the

term 'Baltic-Finnic' to refer to the north-western branch of the Finno-Ugric language family (comprising Finnish, Karelian, Votic, Vepsian, Ingrian, Estonian and Livonian).

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

0.1 The historical background

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

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

At the time the Chronicle was written, the Livonians were settled on the coast of the Gulf of Riga, from the present border of Estonia to the Daugava and beyond the site of Riga, and also on the Courland peninsula on the opposite side of the Gulf. The Courland peninsula was also occupied by the Curonians, of whose language no positively identifiable trace remains. Whatever the case, either or both peoples left behind numerous place-names on the peninsula which are clearly of Baltic-Finnic origin. The linguistic evidence of the enduring presence of speakers of Baltic-Finnic languages on the peninsula lives on in the so-called Tamian dialects of Latvian, which show clear Baltic-Finnic traces.

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

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

1835 (Köppen) 2,074

1852 (Sjögren) 2,324

1858 (Wiedemann) 2,390

1888 (Setälä) 2,929

Census figures, when they acknowledge the existence of the Livonians at all, have not provided an accurate picture. In both Tsarist and Soviet times, the Livonians were not distinguished from the Latvians in census statistics, yet an official figure of 866 Livonians given in 1920 differs widely from Kettunen's estimate of 1,500 Livonian speakers, which itself would seem a conservative estimate compared with the figures given above. Of course, what constituted a 'Livonian' for official purposes may not have had a linguistic basis, and we must also bear in mind that in 1915 the whole population was forced into temporary exile for the rest of the duration of the First World War. The vast majority, however, returned to their villages after the

war. Dispersal has been made necessary in recent decades by the Soviet government, for whom the peninsula was a strategic area.

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

This was not to signal the flowering of a Livonian literary language, however. Sjögren had already died in 1855, Wiedemann's interests turned elsewhere, Nika Pollmann was forced to leave the coast, and the Prinz family split up, with some moving to Ventspils. However, there was another edition of Matthew's Gospel in 1880, this time with a German-based orthography (like that of contemporary Latvian), which was nowhere near as faithful to the phonetic system of Livonian as Wiedemann's method. Not until the publication of the first Livonian reader in 1921 was Wiedemann's influence restored.

The Livonians of modern times have lived in twelve villages on the Courland peninsula (see map): Vaid, Sānag, Pitrōg, Koštrōg, Ire, Sīkrōg, and Ūžkila belonged to the Dundaga manorial estates, and are now incorporated in Talsi rayon in Latvia; whereas Ira, Piza, and Luž_ formed part of the Pope estates; their administrative centre is now Ventspils (Vānta in Livonian), further to the south.

The remaining villages are virtually deserted now. Since the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union in 1940 and the socio-economic reorganisation that that implied, two major factors have brought about the rapid decline of the Livonian villages. The collectivisation of the fishing industry centralised fishing activity (on the villages of Ire and Kolka). Moreover, the area took on strategic importance for the Soviet defence forces in the Baltic, and the peninsula was depopulated. The forced removal of the Livonians from their home villages is nothing new in this century. Deportations also took place during the First and Second World Wars, though with a high rate of return after the First War. This disruption to their way of life in turn restricted the amount of material gathered, not only by linguists, but also by ethnographers such as the Finn Ilmari Manninen and the Estonian Oskar Loorits. During the inter-war period, however, much material of ethnographic interest was gathered in field trips by the Estonian ethnographer Ferdinand Linnus of Tartu University. His last trip was in 1939, in conjunction with the opening of the Livonian House, a centre for Livonian culture which enjoyed a very brief existence before the outbreak of the war.

It was only in the Enlightenment period that an increase in interest in the already declining Livonian population was aroused, and the task of collecting ethnographic and linguistic information fell to the Baltic-German pastors whose charges the Livonians were.

These priests were, after all, among the very few literate members of the feudal society that existed in the Baltic lands until the mid-nineteenth century. Naturally, the orthography in which they transcribed their Livonian vocabularies was adapted from the German, with varying degrees of consistency.

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

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

The completed work was published in 1861 by the Imperial Academy under the title Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben. The introduction by Wiedemann is comprehensive (104 pages).

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

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

The orthography Kettunen devised placed accuracy before convenience, for he needed to take account of intonation marking, including the phenomenon of broken tone, something which was not indicated in the orthography then being established. Subsequent scholars, such as Suhonen, have retained Kettunen's orthographic practices, which are the basis of that used in the present work.

Other researchers, notably Eduard Vääri in Estonia, have published extensively on the subject of Livonian in recent years. Vääri is now the foremost linguistic specialist, and Jüri Linnus the foremost ethnographer, in the field of Livonian studies in Estonia.

Since scholars such as Seppo Suhonen (b.1938) have provided invaluable additions to the work of Kettunen, notably with regard to loanwords, and linguistic and ethnographic research has continued to flourish in Estonia, the main outlines of present-day Livonian have been made available to us in sufficiently detailed form as to permit a close analysis of the decline of the language, which is now taking its inevitable course.

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

A descriptive study of modern spoken Livonian

Note on transcription

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

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

- (macron) indicates a long vowel or consonant.

̄ indicates a semi-long geminated consonant (placed over first element). This should be distinguished from the háček on š [ʃ] and ž [ʒ].

' indicates palatalisation of consonants (lateral and dental).

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

One major simplification of the original transcription should be noted. As the sounds [e] and [ɛ] (rendered by Kettunen/Suhonen as ɛ) occur in mutually exclusive environments, namely [e] in initial (stressed) syllables and [ɛ] in subsequent (unstressed) syllables, both are rendered here as e, for ease of transcription of a very frequently

occurring phoneme. (This is not to suggest that the phoneme is a reduced form of an original *e, nor is it an attempt to prescribe orthography in what is after all a descriptive grammar. Recent texts in Livonian published in Latvia have rendered the phoneme as õ, but it does not correspond to the Estonian letter õ in phonetic value; the Livonian equivalent of that phoneme - which occurs only in stressed position moreover - is rendered here, and by Kettunen-Suhonen, as e.)

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

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

Intonation is not marked in the examples unless it is of semantic significance.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.0 Distinctive segments

The following is an inventory of the distinctive segments in Livonian. Those of infrequent or inconsistent occurrence (used in borrowings only or subject to fluctuation) are given in brackets (see 1.1 and 1.2 below).

/ʔ/, /a/, /ā/, /ǎ/, /ǎ̄/, /b/, /d/, /d̄/, /e/, /ē/, /ē/, /ē̄/, (/f/), /g/, (/h/), /i/, /ī/, /j/, /k/, /l/, /l̄/, /m/, /n/, /ń/, /o/, /ō/, /ō/, (/õ/), /p/, /t/, /t̄/, /s/, /s̄/, /v/, /t̄/, /u/, /ū/, /ū̄/, /v/, /z/, /z̄/, /ʔ/.

The phoneme /n/ is realised as ^h to the left of /k/ and /g/.

1.1 Vowels

The vowels consist of high front unrounded /i/, mid-front unrounded /e/, mid-central unrounded /ē/, low front unrounded /a/, the schwa /e/ [ə], low back unrounded /a/, half-rounded back /o/, unrounded mid-back /ō/ and high back rounded /u/. Of infrequent and unstable occurrence are high front rounded /ū/ and mid-front rounded /õ/, sometimes

found in borrowings and alternating with /i/ and /e/ respectively in native stems. All except [ə] can occur in long or short forms. Examples:

siZ 'then'
ku 'when', kū 'moon'
tīB 'wing'
rānda 'coast'
pāl 'on'
voza 'meat'
bet 'but'
koñt'š 'until'
veza 'shoot, sprout'

The mark _˘ under /ē/ and /ō/ indicates a phonemically distinct, more centralised vowel, occurring only in stressed syllables. Note that [ə] never occurs in a stressed syllable. Note also that /i/ and /u/ can also occur in a shortened form as the unstressed initial element in a diphthong or triphthong, transcribed here as /j/ and /w/, but by Kettunen as /^l/ and /^u/ respectively:

twei 'other'
vje'dde 'pull, haul'

1.1.1 Glottal catch

Though not a syllabic itself, the glottal catch /ʔ/ can only occur between vowels and consonants in stressed syllables, as in vje'dde above.

1.1.2 Word-initial vowels

Any vowel may occur word-initially except [ə]. No examples are recorded beginning with /õ/ or /ū/.

1.1.3 Word-final vowels

Any vowel may occur word-finally. Long vowels do not occur finally in unstressed syllables.

1.2 Consonants

1.2.1 Plosives

Plosives consist of unvoiced labial /p/ and its voiced counterpart /b/; unvoiced apico-alveolar /t/ and its voiced counterpart /d/; the palatalised versions of these /t/ and /d/; unvoiced dorso-velar /k/ and its voiced counterpart /g/. In word-final position the plosive consonants may be either voiced, unvoiced or partially voiced depending on their environment, and are marked thus in texts: G, D, B. Plosives may be geminated between vowels. Examples:

vada 'seine'

kiedeD 'ropes'

ātte 'they are'

ka 'also'

pāl 'on'

tībeD 'wings'

aga 'or'

ē'bbi 'horse'

1.2.2 Fricatives

The inventory of fricatives consist of unvoiced apico-alveolar /s/, unvoiced dorso-postalveolar /š/, their voiced equivalents /z/ and /ž/, and voiced labio-dental /v/. Unvoiced labio-dental /f/ occurs only in recent loans (and no adjacent source-language has /f/ either). All fricatives may be geminated. In word-final position the same partial devoicing applies to /s/ or /z/, /š/ or /ž/ as to plosives: they are transcribed as Z and Ž. Examples:

se 'it'

vāldiZ 'open' (AJ)

sidiZ 'tied' (3SG)

vo'tt'e 'were' (3PL)

si'zzel 'inside' (AV)

lekšte 'went' (3PL)

1.2.3 Nasals

The nasals, all voiced, consist of labio-dental /m/, apico-alveolar /n/, palatal-alveolar /ɲ/ and dorso-velar /ŋ/. Examples:

immer 'around'

ne 'they'

siŋ '(t)hither'

āŋkar 'anchor'

/ɲ/ does not occur initially and always precedes either /k/ or /g/.

1.2.4 Liquids

These consist of the apico-alveolar lateral /l/, the palatalised lateral /l̥/, trilled alveolar /r/ and trilled palatalised alveolar /r̥/. All can be lengthened. Examples:

jūr 'at' (PO)

vo'l 'was' (3SG)

il̥Z 'up'

mje'rre 'sea' (IL)

ōra 'sandbank'

It should be noted that palatalised /l̥/ is of infrequent and somewhat inconsistent occurrence, and tends to be found in words of Latvian origin. Interestingly, this sound

(formerly written r) has virtually disappeared from spoken Latvian, and (since 1945) from the written language.

1.2.5 Glide

There is only one true glide, the high front unrounded /j/, as in ja 'and'.

However, there is a vestigial glide, often realised as /uw/ in the combination written as uvv in words such as se'uvve 'summer' (PT), pāuvve 'day' (AD).

The /w/ as transcribed before /o/ in words such as kwolm 'three' indicates a briefer onset in a variant of the diphthong /uo/.

1.2.6 Word-final consonants

All consonants may occur in word-final position with the following exceptions:

- (a) the borrowed sounds /f/ and /h/ never occur word-finally;
- (b) /h/ cannot occur word-finally as it is always followed by /k/ or /g/;
- (c) /Z/ and /Ž/, /B/, /D/ and /G/ are found in word-final position only as voiced counterparts of /s/, /š/, /p/, /t/ and /k/ before a word commencing with a vowel or a voiced consonant;
- (d) /v/ is extremely rare in word-final position.

1.2.7 Word-initial consonants

Any single consonant may occur initially except t_j and the palatalised /dʲ/, /lʲ/, /nʲ/, /tʲ/, but words beginning with /b/, /d/, /f/, /g/, /h/, /š/, /z/ and /ž/ may be regarded as borrowings.

1.2.8 Word-initial consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are foreign to the Baltic-Finnic languages generally, so those which occur in Livonian may be regarded as being of non-Finnic origin, mostly traceable to Latvian (though the provenance of such anomalies as knaš 'beautiful' is not

quite certain). Borrowed initial clusters with /r/ are found: /br/, /dr/, /gr/, /kr/, /pr/, /s(r)/; as well as isolated cases such as /zn/ in znuots 'brother-in-law' (<Latv. zn[u]ots).

1.2.9 Word-final consonant clusters

A limited number of word-final clusters are possible: /ks/, /nD/, /st/ and /lD/ are found in suffixes (participles and case-endings), while /lk/, /ts/, /ts/ and /sk/ are attributable either to apocope (elision of [ə]) or in some cases to borrowings.

1.3 Diphthongs

Diphthongs occur exclusively in stressed (initial) syllables. Apart from /ie/, they generally have /u/ or /i/ as their second element:

meittiz 'otherwise'

tāud 'full'

See also the note about Glide above (1.2.5), and note that the glottal catch (1.1.1) may occur between vowels, but this cannot be regarded as an element in a diphthong.

1.4 Syllables

1.4.1 Syllable assignment of medial units and clusters

Consonant clusters are most usually found in word-medial position, and thus the question of syllable division inevitably involves clusters. Generally, what applies to word-final consonants also applies to syllable-final consonants, but certain other conditions apply:

- (a) Geminate clusters only occur in word-medial and word-final position, and medial syllable division should be regarded as being between the two halves of the geminate.
- (b) The glottal catch // never occurs at the end of a syllable; in monosyllables it occurs before the final consonant (si'l 'lap') and in polysyllables generally before a geminate (si'z/zel 'inside' (AV)).

(c) Some words have an unvoiced final consonant which is semi-long, such as set 'only'.

1.4.2 Canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable can be formulated as (C)V(C(C)) (taking monosyllables into account).

1.4.3 Restrictions on consonants and vowels

Vowel-harmony is non-existent in present-day Livonian, though it is probable that it existed at an unrecorded stage before vowels in unstressed syllables mutated into [ɛ].

Feature harmony only exists to the extent that if one member of a cluster is palatalised, so are the others (vo'lt't'e 'were' 3PL).

1.4.4 Suprasegmental elements

1.4.4.1 Length

Both consonant length and vowel length are distinctive in Livonian. Consonants are only lengthened (geminated) in medial and final position, and long vowels only occur in stressed (initial) syllables. Length, palatalization and glottal catch are all distinctive: tu'l 'fire' (nom.), tu'l 'fire' (gen.), tūl 'wind' (nom.), tūl 'wind' (gen.).

1.4.4.2 Stress

Stress is on the first syllable of each lexical element. Secondary stress occurs on subsequent syllables of compound lexical elements.

1.4.4.3 Intonation

'Broken tone', involving the use of the 'glottal catch', is both a segmental and a suprasegmental feature of Livonian. Kettunen (1925) describes it as an intonational feature, a weakening of enunciation after the onset of a long vowel or an abrupt catch between a short vowel and a consonant, and he demonstrates the phenomenon in his 'kymographic' illustrations; but in his 1938 dictionary (XXXVII) he focuses on it as a more purely phonological feature. The minimal pairs given in 1.4.4.1 above show that it

is distinctive. Kettunen summarises its dual origins: through the disappearance of /*h/ (*raha > rō 'money'; cf. Est., Fi. raha) and through apocope and syncope in the second syllable in cases where the first syllable is short (*meri > me'r, gen. mje'r 'sea'; cf. Est., Fi. meri). As an intonational feature, broken tone is limited to the lexical level; what follows concerns intonation at the supralexical level.

1.4.4.3.1 Normal intonation patterns in statements

In simple statements (main clauses), the intonation pattern typically involves a rising tone on the stressed (initial) syllable and thereafter a gradual fall or levelling, followed by falling intonation on or from the final stressed syllable:

sel'iZ sūrvadidi āt vonned vanast

such big-seines+PT have been old+EL

'Such big seines have existed formerly.'

1.4.4.3.2 Normal intonation patterns in questions

Intonation in single-clause question-word questions is basically the same as in simple statements, but with a rise instead of a fall on the final stressed syllable:

miŋgist vo'lt't'e vabaD?

what-kind were drying-racks?

'What were the drying-racks like?'

The main clause of a yes-no question is characterised by a fall followed by a final rise:

no ku vo'lt't'e ta'lkkeD, kas ē'den dāntsiZ

well when were working-bees, Q evening+AD danced+IM

ka?

also?

'Well, when there were working-bees, did they dance in the evening too?'

1.4.4.3.3 Contrastive intonation

Contrastive intonation in Livonian, which can make use of flexible word order and lexical markers of emphasis, is not markedly different to the intonation patterns of simple statements, with the initial rise and final fall shifted to the stressed syllables of contrasting elements (not to the emphatic marker itself):

piškist vo'lt't'e, ne ju iZ uo miš v̄ette

small+PL were(3PL), they EMNG P be what take(IF)

'They were small, and not worth taking.'

1.4.4.3.4 Subtypes of intonational contours

Subordinate clauses beginning with adverbs or conjunctions generally have the same intonation pattern as main clauses, with no stress, or secondary stress and falling intonation, on the subordinating element:

sie pjerast siZ sāl vo'l' sel'i saŋde voza

it(GN) because then there was such fat meat

'That is why there was (such) fat meat on it.'

1.4.5 Morphology (Segmental)

1.4.5.1 Assimilation

1.4.5.1.1 Consonant assimilation

The phenomenon most nearly approaching true assimilation of consonants in Livonian is that of the 'semi-voiced' consonants referred to above (1.2.1) and written B, D, G, Z, Ž (sometimes also D', DZ). Depending on their environment, they tend toward the voiced before a vowel or voiced consonant, or the unvoiced before an unvoiced consonant.

Examples:

kūjastiZ so'usse

/kūjastis/ 'was dried in smoke'

meittiZ ist

/meittiz/ 'otherwise were not'

1.4.5.1.2 Vowel assimilation

The only vowel that is at all frequently subject to assimilation in speech is the (consistently unstressed) [ə], as in the alternation between āī and āīte (with geminated ī) 'are' (3PL). As the sound [ə] usually carries a grammatical function, this does not apply to many words.

1.4.6 Metathesis is not evident in Livonian, but there is a form of consonant-switching in the declensions of a few isolated words like lāpš 'child' (NM SG), lapst (NM PL), lapsta (PT SG). The Finnish and Estonian cognate forms (respectively lapsi, lapset, lasta and laps, lapsed, last) indicate that the form lāpš is a metathetic development from an earlier form *lapsi.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Inflection

2.1.1 Noun inflection

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

2.1.1.1 Number

Singular and plural number are marked.

2.1.1.2 Gender

Neither grammatical gender nor any other form of classification obtains in Livonian.

2.1.1.3 Definiteness

Definiteness is not overtly marked, but note the contrast between partitive and accusative reference as outlined in the case system set out below (see especially 2.1.1.5.4).

2.1.1.4 Case

Kettunen (1938) attests seven distinct nominal paradigms. One example of each is given here. Note the identical forms of the nominative and genitive in most of the paradigms.

The accusative case is not given here as it is always identical with the nominative.

2.1.1.4.1 Monosyllabic stem

pū 'tree'

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

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

2.1.1.4.2 Disyllabic stem in a-

kala 'fish'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kala	kalaD
Gen.	kala	kalaD

Dat.	kalan	kaladen
Com./Transl.	kalaks	kaladeks
Part.	ka'lle	ka'd'i
Iness.	kalas	ka'šši
Elat.	kalast	ka'šti
Illat.	ka'lle(z)	ka'łzi

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

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

su'G 'relative'

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

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

2.1.1.4.4 Disyllabic stem in e-

mā'G (<*me'G) 'hill'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	mā'G	māguD
Gen.	mā'G	māguD
Dat.	mā'ggen	māguden
Com./Transl.	māguks	māgudeks

Part.	mā'gge	māgidi
Iness.	mā'ks	mā'kši
Elat.	mā'kst	mā'kšti
Illat.	mā'gge	mā'gži
Adess.	mā'ggel	
Ablat.	mā'ggelD	
Allat.	mā'ggel	

2.1.1.4.5 Disyllabic stem in -Z

lāmbaZ 'sheep'

Nom.	lāmbaZ	lāmbēD
Gen.	lāmbē	lāmbēD
Dat.	lāmbēn	lāmbēden
Com./Transl.	lāmbēks	lāmbēdeks
Part.	lāmbast	lāmbidi
Iness.	lāmbes	lāmpšši
Elat.	lāmbest	lāmpšti
Illat.	lāmbēZ	lāmbži
Adess.	*lāmbel	lāmbil
Ablat.	*lāmbelD	lāmbilD
Allat.	*lāmbel	lāmbil

2.1.1.4.6 Polysyllabic stem in -i

ē'bbi 'horse'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	ē'bbi	ē'bbist
Gen.	ēbiZ	ē'bbist

Dat.	ēbizen	ē'bbisten
Com./Transl.	ēbizeks	ē'bbisteks
Part.	ēbist	ēbiži
Iness.	ēbizes	ēbizis
Elat.	ēbizest	ēbizist
Illat.	ēbize	ēbiziZ

(Adessive, ablative and allative forms are lacking for ē'bbi.)

2.1.1.4.7 Polysyllabic stems in a-, o-, e-

kōranD 'courtyard'

Nom.	kōranD	kōrandēD
Gen.	kōranD	kōrandēD
Dat.	kōrandēn	kōrandēden
Com./Transl.	kōrandēks	kōrandēdeks
Part.	kōrant	kōrandidi
Iness.	kōrandes/kōrantse	kōrandis
Elat.	kōrandest	kōrandist
Illat.	kōrande	kōrandiZ
Adess.	kōrandel	
Ablat.	kōrandelD	
Allat.	kōrandel	

2.1.1.5 Means of expressing syntactic functions

2.1.1.5.1 Subject of intransitive verb

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

no odem kui ju jega ķerD ei ildīn ma'ggem

well Adam like EM every time fell immediately sleep(IP)

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

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

no sugiZ ka līveD rāndaZ seļļiži

well happened also Livonians' coast+IN such(PT PL)

āb-voņ su'ggimiži ku uppandiste kalami'eD jara

mis-fortune(GN) happenings(PT) that drowned fishermen away

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

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

2.1.1.5.2 Subject of transitive verb

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

sa uoD eitten eītš ājkar

you(SG) are thrown own anchor

'You have thrown your anchor.'

2.1.1.5.3 Subject of copular construction

Copular constructions also generally have a nominative subject:

ama um voņD ka vā'ggi knaš

all is been also very beautiful

'And everything has been very beautiful.'

2.1.1.5.4 Direct object

Direct objects in Livonian take either the accusative case, which is identical with the nominative, or the partitive case, according to the principle of perceived definiteness which applies in all the Baltic-Finnic languages. The use of these cases in Livonian

corresponds in fact very closely with that in Finnish and Estonian. Countable, 'definite'

direct objects take the accusative/nominative case:

bet jākkeben ta um mīmitten knaš sīlmaD-ō'renD

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

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

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

ta māngiZ nēd'i knaššidi lōlidi

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

'He played some of those beautiful songs.'

leṁde leibe āndiZ

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

'(Some) warm bread was given.'

Certain verbs indicating emotion or other abstract relations take a partitive direct object.

Such verbs include tunde 'know', pivaste 'bless', nutte 'call, name', voṭše 'seek', mā'dle 'remember':

siZ te'iž panuksikkaD āt tānda votšeneD

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

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

Negative verbs always take a partitive direct object:

ma sveda jemin' āb mā'dle

I it(PT) longer NG PR remember

'I no longer remember it.'

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

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

ma küliZ ku sina nei knašše māgīst eītš kañdle

I heard that you(SG) so beautifully played own kandal (PT) (Est./Fi. kannel, Fi.

kantele, stringed instrument)

'I heard you playing your kandal so beautifully.'

2.1.1.5.5 Indirect object

Indirect objects take the dative or any other appropriate case endings.

2.1.1.5.6 Object of comparison

The object of comparison does not take any particular case, but the comparison itself is made with the particle ku.

2.1.1.5.7 Object of equation

The object of an equation is not marked by a distinct case either, but by nei...ku 'as...as'.

2.1.1.5.8 Other objects governed by verbs

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

rabaD iebeD vōlgeD pāle

mash(PL) remain straw(GN PL) onto (PO, ='head+IL')

'The mash stays on the straw.'

2.1.1.5.9 Complement of copular construction

The complement of a copula appears in the nominative:

nu lēba ūdijiD vo'lt'e naist

well bread(GN) bakers were women

'Well, the bread-bakers were women.'

2.1.1.5.10 Object-complement

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

lēba kukkiID' tutkameD nuttist lēba

bread(GN) loaves' ends called(3PL) bread(GN)

tutkameks

end+CT

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

2.1.1.5.11 Objects governed by adjectives

Certain adjectives can take objects and govern their cases:

for example tāud 'full' takes the comitative/translative:

vērgeD ātte vonneD nei tādeD kaladeks

nets are been so full(PL) fish(CT PL)

'The nets have been so full of fish.'

2.1.1.5.12 Agent in passive construction

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

2.1.1.6 Means of expressing syntactic functions in non-finite clauses

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

lještaD ve'ijimizes um voñD ka, ve'ijimiZ jūs um

flounder(GN PL) fishing+IN is been also, fishing at is

vonD ka mirgiži āb mirgiži anekdōttiliži, selliži

been also some+PT PL NG PR some+PT PL anecdotal+PT PL, such+PT PL

su'ggimiži

happenings+PT

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

no siZ lēba ō'i eittes is two'it pjērsle

well then bread(GN) oven+IL throwing+IN NG P may fart

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

lēba ūdimiZ pjerast jegas kōrants vo'ī sūr

bread(GN) baking for(PO) each(IN) household+IN was big

lēba-ō'i

bread-oven

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

2.1.1.7 Means of expressing non-local semantic functions

2.1.1.7.1 Benefactive

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

rānda kōrandis nei je'n'n is kaza ri'ggest

coast+GN households+IN so much NG P grow rye+PT

las sōge ama aigast pjerast eñtšen leibe

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

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

2.1.1.7.2 Source

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

sieda sai mōmi'eD kā'tst kalaD je'tst

it(PT) got land-men(GN) from(PO) fish(GN PL) before(PO)

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

2.1.1.7.3 Instrumental

A separate instrumental case is no longer functional in Livonian. The comitative-translative case is generally used:

siZ rōibiZ grābileks siduD ō'ist ulze

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

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

2.1.1.7.4 Comitative

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

siZ kieriZ pieneD kiededeks vāste meṛkke ja

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

seidiZ meṛk pāl

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

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

2.1.1.7.5 Circumstance

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

bet ne plādinD vo'īt't'e vā'ggi ma'gdiD až nāntten

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

jūre rippiZ

with drank(3SG)

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

The meaning of 'without' is conveyed by the preposition īlme (some speakers use bās)

followed by the partitive:

ūdīst vo'dderst leibe ka īlme tiemieste

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

'Barley bread was also baked without yeast.'

2.1.1.8 Possessive

The genitive case is used:

lješta lūkkīst ka vo'l't't'e pi'emdeD

flounder's bones also were softened

'The flounder's bones had also softened.'

2.1.1.9 Other non-spatial relations

2.1.1.9.1 Reference

The elative case is used for reference:

no ma nīžeB ka mje'r kōzginist

well I tell also sea(GN) wedding+EL

'Well, I (will) also tell (you) about the wedding of the sea.' (a Livonian legend)

2.1.1.9.2 Essive

The comitative/translative case has an essive function:

tD aigast ma vo'l' puoipse oppattajiks

one+PT year I was Pope+IN teacher+CT

'For one year I was in Pope as a teacher.'

2.1.1.9.3 Translative

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

iedeB sīlkeD pieneks

cuts herrings thin+CT

'One cuts the herrings thin.'

2.1.1.9.4 Part/whole relations

The scope of use of the partitive case, explained below in 2.1.1.6.5, relates to integral parts of whole units, real and perceived.

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

ja panaB siZ seļis sīk tēmppeD ūnda pāl ja

and puts then such(IN) herring pieces hook(GN) on and

ēttaB ūndaD mje'rre

throws lines sea+IL

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

2.1.1.9.5 Partitive

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

va'dde vjediste kakš mieste

seine+PT pulled two man+PT

'The seine was pulled by two men.'

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

nānt tei saḡdist ō'renest

they+PT made(3SG) thick+EL PL garments+EL

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

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

mō kañtte luomiZ seṯ vo'í ka'ld'i, bet

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

mje'r-kañtte luomis iZ uo ka'ld'i

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

'Only in the catch on the landward side were there fish; but in the catch on the seaward side there were no fish.'

(The plural subject, in both positive and negative instances, is perceived as indefinite.

The verb in the copula is singular.)

2.1.1.10 Location in space

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

2.1.1.10.1 General location

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

vada sū um ja sāleZ, kus um vadan ouk

seine's mouth is and there, where is seine+DT opening

twoiZ tutkameZ, sje um vada pjera

other+IN end+IN, it is seine's rear

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

2.1.1.10.2 Proximate location

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

meṯk jūs vo'í, vel vo'í seḷi pū

marker(GN) by was, still was such tree

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

2.1.1.10.3 Interior location

The inessive case is used:

kūž aga kō'deks luome āḡkarplat'seZ veis sōde

six or eight catch+PT anchor-place+IN can get

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

2.1.1.10.4 Exterior location

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

ildī'n ku nānt vettiZ ō'ist ulze rōZ vo'í

immediately when them took+3SG oven+EL out slightly was

jō'ttemest

cool+OG

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

2.1.1.10.5 Anterior location

This is expressed by the postposition je'dde:

siZ ta mürdiZ okšti ni'emeD jālgāD je'dde

then he folded twigs+PT cows' legs' before

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

2.1.1.10.6 Posterior location

tagan indicates position behind:

se vo'ī je'tspēd'en Pat'tikmō ala, sin' Lūž

it was forward Patikmō below, there Lūž

kila tagan je'tspēd'en

village(GN) behind forward

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

2.1.1.10.7 Superior location

Superior location, with and without contact, is expressed by i'īle (adverb), i'ī

(preposition) for both movement and stasis:

siZ vo'ī vjedamest, astamest ulze, vjedamest lōja

then was pull+OG, step+OG out, pull+OG boat

i'īle, i'ī laideD

over(AV), over shallows

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

i'ī kalaD iZ nūze ve'Ž

over fishes(GN) NG P rise water

'The water did not rise over the fishes.'

2.1.1.10.8 Surface location

The postposition pāl 'on' governs the genitive:

iZ ūD leibe kapsta* lē'D pāl?

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

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

2.1.1.10.9 Inferior location

The postposition ala, which, like most postpositions, can also be used adverbially, is used:

sis pa'nt'te tija lōda ala

then put(3PL P) empty box under

'Then they put an empty box underneath.'

2.1.1.10.10 Inferior contact location

As with ulle/ulze (2.1.1.10.4), there is no complete distinction in usage between ala (2.1.1.10.9) and the postposition alle:

tā'mmen volge se'īli a'lli jālgāD alle

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

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

2.1.1.10.11 Lateral location

The preposition pi'ts means 'along' for both movement and stasis. It governs the partitive:

mūnda ke'rd mēG sāl pi'ts juome, pi'ts vjetta,

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

bre'd'd'es neizme ka piškiži tūrskidi

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

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

2.1.1.10.12 Lateral contact location

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

kābiñt'tiZ ve'ṛge kjeuD pāle

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

'The net was hung on ropes.'

2.1.1.10.13 Citerior location

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

mi'eden tegiŽ vo'l' se ku'bbe-püttemi rāndas tu'ln-aigas

men+DAT again was it together-meeting shore+IN fire side+IN-

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

2.1.1.10.14 Citerior contact location

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

ta rōški rabiŽ suormedeks vašte lēba kuortte

she slightly tapped fingers+CT against bread+GN crust+PT

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

2.1.1.10.15 Uterior and ulterior contact location

Approximate and ulterior location are expressed either with circumlocutions or with jūs

(stationary), jūst (movement away) and jūre (movement toward):

kiḷkste vei sāлга jūst i'edist vel sellist šōveD si'zzel

side+EL or back(GN) from-beside cut+IMP still such+PL incisions into

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

2.1.1.10.16 Medial location: 'between'

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

se um sellī, vērge lina um pāndet sellist ā'neD

it is such, net(GN) cloth is put(PPP) such(GN PL) stands

va'ize, kō'D ā'n va'is

between, two(GN) stand(GN) between

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

2.1.1.10.17 Medial location: 'among'

Once again the postpositions jūs, jūst and jūre can be used to indicate medial location

'among' (postposition and adverb):

sjeguB rōški i'l-seḿdi jūre

mixes little over-milk+PT among

'One mixes in a little cream.'

2.1.1.10.18 Circumferential location

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

pa'n tā'mmen ēntš knaš kēradeks umbeldet

put(3SG P) him(DT) own beautiful inscriptions+CT sewn

ed'iz-ō'ren aga e'ž-ō'ren pä immer

fore-garment or [variant] head(GN) around

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

2.1.1.11 Location in time

2.1.1.11.1 General time expressions

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

siZ kiedeD jēva sidabeD vada jūr rānda pāl

then ropes already tie(3 PL) seine(GN) onto shore on

uoḿdzēl ku irgeB lā'de mje'rre

morning+AD when begins go sea+IL

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

2.1.1.11.2 Frequentatives

No morphological distinction is made between single and frequentative action as far as verbs are concerned, but frequentative action may be indicated with nouns, using the nominative case for occasions and the partitive for periods:

sūrD lještaden jega ķeṛD pa'h se'uvve

big+PL flounder+DT PL every time put(3SG P) summer(PT)

si'zzel ka suola vėl

into also salt still

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

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

The postposition pie'rre governs the genitive case:

siZ rōZ aiga pie'rre ta tegiŽ vettiZ kukkil'D' tikkiŽ ulze

then short time(GN) after she again took loaves altogether out

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

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

The elative case is used:

ja nei sieste aigast siZ rāndas āt su'ggenD sūrD touvveD

and so that+EL time+EL then coast+IN are happened big+PL storms

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

2.1.1.11.5 Duration

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

rānda kōrandis nei je'nn is kaza ri'ggest

coast(GN) households+IN so much NG P grow rye+PT

las sōge ama aigast pjerast ēntšen leibe

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

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

leibe ūdiZ miŋgiZ nādiļ pāle

bread+PT baked(3SG) some week(GN) on

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

2.1.1.11.6 Anterior duration past

The postposition tā'gišpēd'en 'back' governs the partitive case:

se sugiZ ka vanast va'nne, kōgin' kōgin', aigastidi tā'gišpēd'en

it happened also old+EL old+PT, long long, years(PT) ago

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

2.1.1.11.7 Anterior duration future

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

sieste jega ītste rōZ um siemest, ku siZ las tuotteG tāutteG ama aigast

it+EL every one+EL little is eat+OG, that then so-that food fill+SJ whole year(GN)

kā'dde

for

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

2.1.1.11.8 Posterior duration past

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

pie'rre ū'i ieptemit siZ rōibiZ grābil'eks siduD ū'ist ulze

after oven(GN) cooling+PT then scraped(3SG) coal-hook+CT coals oven+EL out

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

2.1.2 Pronouns

2.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1 Free pronouns exist in both singular and plural, with distinction between animate and inanimate in the third person. They are declined as follows:

Singular			Plural		
1	2	3	1	2	3

Nom. m(in)a s(in)a t(äm)a mēG tēG ne

Acc./Gen. mi'n si'n tä'm mä'D tä'D nänt

Dat. mi'nnen si'nnen tä'mmen mä'dden tä'dden näntten

Com./Tr. mi'neks si'neks tä'mkkeks mä'tkeks tä'tkeks näntkeks

Part. mīnda sīnda tānda mēd'i tēd'i nēd'i

Iness. mi'nsse si'nsse ta'nsse mēšši tēšši nēšši

Elat. mi'nste si'nste tä'mste mēšti tēšti nēšti

Illat. mi'nne si'nne tä'mme mēži tēži nēži

2.1.2.1.2 Specific indefinite pronoun

'Someone' is mirgi:

ja vanast piga mitt t'tse kōrants iZ uo sellist

and formerly just not one+IN household+IN NG P be such+PT

aime, kien mirgi, iZ uo vei ni iza vei puoga, iZ uo uppanden

family+PT, whom+DT someone, NG P be nor so father nor son, NG P be drowned

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

2.1.2.1.3 Emphatic pronouns

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

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

2.1.2.1.4 Pronoun-noun constructions

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

kui ne saitte ku'bbe ne puisseD neitsteks?

how they got together they boys girls+CT?

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

In addition, personal pronouns may be combined with nouns in a true pronominal sense.

The following example also includes se 'it' used with the force of a definite or demonstrative article:

mä'dden laṗsten se vä'ggi maistiZ se appen lēba appatteks

we+DT children+DT it much tasted it sour bread(GN) leaven

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

2.1.2.2 Reflexive pronouns

The basic reflexive pronoun is en̄š, the oblique root of the emphatic pronoun t'ž 'self', and the full range of oblique cases can be used.

2.1.2.3 Possessive pronouns

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

2.1.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns

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

2.1.2.5 Interrogative pronouns

These stand at the head of a clause, and after a question-word reversal of subject and verb is usual but not obligatory. They are fully declinable: mis 'what', kis 'who' are the nominative forms.

2.1.2.6 Relative pronouns

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

siZ va'idist uīze sellist vana, va'nlikkest

then exchanged(IM) out such(PL) old, elderly(PL)

ro'ukkeks, kiš iZ, kien sje vo'l iġš t̄auŽ, kuna ta l̄ā'B
 people+CT, who NG P whom(DT) it was one full, when he goes

'Then one changed places with some old, elderly person, who didn't -, to whom it was all the same when he went.'

2.1.3 Numerals and quantifiers

The cardinal numerals are declinable to the same extent as adjectives, for example:

nom. iġš, gen. īD, part. ītte, dat. īden, illat. īde, iness. īts(e), elat. ītst(e), com./transl. ītkeks 'one'. (Note that the genitive form has also taken on the meaning 'only, solely', and an adverbial form īdin, apparently derived from it, has the meaning 'singly, alone'.)

nom. kakš, gen. kō'D (declined like iġš but with kō- stem) 'two'.

kwolm, stem kwolm- 'three'.

nēla, stem nēla (but part. nēlle) 'four'.

vīž, gen. vīD, stem vīd- 'five'.

kūž, gen. kūD, stem kūd- 'six'.

seis, stem seis- 'seven'.

kō'deks, stem kō'deks- 'eight'.

īdeks, stem īdeks- 'nine'.

kim, stem kim- 'ten' (part. kimde)

iġš-twoisten 'eleven' and so on through to īdeks-twoisten 'nineteen', the first element being declinable.

kakš-kimde 'twenty'; other multiples of ten follow the same pattern.

sada, stem sada- (but part. sa'dde) 'hundred'.

Ordinal numbers are as follows:

e'žmi, stem e'žmi-/e'žme- 'first'.

twoi, gen. twoiZ, part. tuoišta, stem twois- 'second'.

kwolmeZ, stem kwolmeZ- 'third'; other ordinals are formed by adding -(e)Z to the cardinal stem. But note that, exceptionally for a Baltic-Finnic language, the ordinals from 11 to 19 add the -eZ to the second and not the first element: iġš-twoisteneZ 'eleventh'. Ordinal numbers are declinable.

Note also that not all cases of the primary cardinal and ordinal numbers are recorded either in the corpus or by Kettunen. Numerals always govern the singular number, and other quantifiers take the singular or plural depending on category. Where the numeral is in the nominative, the noun is in the partitive case, but where other noun cases are concerned, the same kinds of restrictions apply as with adjectives:

mūnda kēřD lještaD vo'lt seī, vo'lt'e seī īts, sellīZ īts trīpse seī
 some time flounder(PL) were only, were only one+IN, such one+IN, shoal+IN only
 'Sometimes the flounder were, sort of, were only in one shoal.' (numeral and noun case agree)

se'uvve ta um pakkamD jeva kiela kō'tkeks, mūnda
 summer(PT) he is soon already clock two+CT, some
 kēřD jeva kiela ītkeks lekšte mje'rre jeva
 time already clock one+CT went(3PL) sea+IL already

'In summer it (=daylight) is as early as two o'clock, sometimes even as early as one o'clock they went to sea.' (Numeral and noun case disagree; special use of comitative/translative case with numerals for clock times)

sek ka roiben kō't kã'tkeks si'zzel ama se si'l tãutkeks nei
 it also gathered(P AC P) two(GN) hand+CT in(AV) all it lap full+CT thus

'It (=he) had gathered with (his) two hands a whole lap-full, like that. (Disagreement in comitative/translative noun case)

2.1.4 Adjectives: comparison

The comparative marker is -em for adjectives, -em(t) for adverbs. The superlative form ends in -im. Comparisons are constructed using the conjunction ku 'than':

nēd'i ist two'it mitte kunageſt pakkandem siede

they+PT NG P IM dared(PPP) NG ever sooner eat

ku seī tal'š-pivade

than only winter-festival+CT(PL)

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

2.1.4.1 Correlative constructions

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

kien vo'lt't'e sūrimist kōzgenD, nāntten ka

whom(DT) were biggest(PL) wedding(PL), them(DT) also

vo'l jemin nēd'i nuor-pōridi

was more they(PT) young-couples(PT)

'Whoever had the biggest wedding(s) also had more young couples.'

2.1.4.2 Equatives

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

ēlekst vo'lt't'e nei-t'ž pitkaD

rows were so-self long+PL

'The rows were equally long.'

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

kui tēva bōl'a, nei pitka um se stōk misseks se ouk um vi'zze ti'edet

how deep tub, so long is that stick which+CT that hole is shut made(PPP)

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

Adverbs are compared in equative constructions using nei+adverb:

nei kōgin kōntš āt vērgeD vonneD, nei kōgin'ätte ka rāndas vabaD vonneD

so long since are nets been, so long are also coast+IN seines been

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

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

twoi vo'l ka vel um ve'ggi beī se āb uo nei ve'ggi ku e'žmi vo'l

second beer also still is strong but it NG PR be so strong as first beer

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

2.1.4.3 Adverbs

Adverbs have no system of agreement with other sentence elements. Though most adverbs are derived from adjectives, some, like the intensifier vā'ggi 'very' are independent of adjectives (or of uncertain derivation). Adjective-derived adverbs are characterised by the ending -(i)st:

ja muoštiZ sjeda jevist

and knew-how(IM) it(PT) well

'And one knew how to do it well.' (<jeva 'good')

The comparison of adverbs follows the pattern found with adjectives, with the addition of -t to the comparative and superlative endings -em, -im:

siZ irgiZ kjerđemt vje'dde

then began(IM) faster(AV) pull

'Then one began to pull faster.'

2.1.5 Nominal categorizers: Derived nouns

2.1.5.1 Nouns from nouns

While there are numerous compound nouns in Livonian (and they appear to be freely created), there is a striking lack of suffixes which can produce nouns from nouns, and there appear to be none that are productive without restriction. A case in point is the suffix -nikka (cf. Latv. -nieks), pl. -nikkaD 'inhabitant of'; though we find examples such as īranikkaD 'the people of Ire' and mōnikka 'land-dweller' (=inland Latvian), the preferred word for the latter appears to be the simple compound mōmieZ 'land-man' (mō+mieZ).

Considering the proliferation of diminutives in both the Balt and Baltic-Finnic languages, the rarity of diminutives in Livonian is striking. However, there are some diminutives in -kki, as in ve'lkki 'little brother' (ve'! 'brother'); lūkki 'little bone' (lū 'bone').

2.1.5.2 Nouns from verbs

The gerund form of the verb characteristically ends in -imi (ja'ggimi 'distributing') and as such may take nominal case endings: ja'ggimiZ (iness.) 'in distributing'.

The agentive ending is -(i)ji: oppattiji 'teacher'.

2.1.5.3 Nouns from adjectives

A common ending to form nouns from adjectives is -it: laigit 'breadth' (<laiga) ; pitkit 'length' (<pitka); sajgdit 'thickness' (<sajgde).

2.2 Verb morphology

2.2.1 Voice

2.2.1.1 Passive

There is no passive voice; impersonal constructions are used instead. Impersonal constructions, or agentless passives, are used in all cases where a non-specific agent is

less important than the action of the verb. This also applies to the 'infinitive of obligation', which is another type of impersonal construction:

bet leibe vo'! jega keřD vostamest

but bread+PT was each time buy+OG

'But bread had to be bought each time.'

This construction, -mest+dative of subject of obligation, nom. or part. of verb object, is not a Baltic-Finnic characteristic, but is analogous to the Latvian construction of the verbal prefix jā-+verb in 3SG PR with dat. of subject of obligation.

2.2.1.2 Means of increasing the valency of the verb

Causative verbs are not common in Latvian, but some exist, and they can take impersonal forms as well. The causative suffix is -att-:

jelattiste sōnas

ferment+CA+IM sauna+IN

'It was fermented in the sauna.'

But more usually, causation is indicated by using sōde 'get' in conjunction with the main verb:

siZ sai ō'i rō'ski ieptet

then got(3SG) oven slightly cooled(PPP)

'Then the oven was cooled slightly.'

2.2.1.3 Tense

2.2.1.3.1 Use of formally distinguished tenses

2.2.1.3.1.1 Universal time reference

The present tense is used for universal time reference::

ja sjeda juome siepjerast, kui ma kīttiZ, ku āb uo jeva ve'Ž mā'dden

and it+PT drink+IPL PR therefore, as I said, that NG PR be good water we+DT

'And we drink it, as I said, because we do not have good water.'

2.2.1.3.1.2 Present tense

The present tense is marked for person and number; the 1SG and 3SG forms are identical for all verbs. Sample conjugation:

sōde 'get': sōB, sōD, sōB, sōm(e), sōt(te), sōbeD.

2.2.1.3.1.3 Past time

Likewise, the past tense is marked for person and number, with identical forms for 1SG and 3SG. In the past tense, however, the 2PL and 3PL forms are also identical.

Past tense conjugation of sōde: sai, saiD, sai, saim(e), sai(tte), sait(te).

2.2.1.3.1.4 Future time

There is no future tense; the present is used instead. (There is, however, a verb l̄iB which constitutes a future tense of the verb 'to be' but has present-tense 3SG form.)

2.2.1.3.2 Tense distinctions in relation to moods and nonfinite forms

The simple present/past distinction holds good in the indicative mood irrespective of finite/nonfinite verb distinctions, and there is no mandatory sequence of tenses between main and subordinate clauses:

no siZ ku lek̄šte ni mje'rre, va'dde vjediste

well then when went+3PL now sea+IL, seine+PT pulled(3PL)

kaḱš mieste, kaḱš pušnikke, e'dd̄i mieZ ja ta'ggi mieZ, ku

two man+PT, two party+PT, front man and rear man, when

seidist aga pūr'ttist selliZ kuože kuš ni vo'l,

rowed+3PL or sailed+3PL such place+IL where now was,

meḱlist kuš ni īrgeB ve'ijje

thought+3PL where now starts fish

'Well now, when they went to sea, the seine was pulled by two men, two parties, a front man and a rear man, when they rowed or sailed to some place, wherever it was, where they thought they will now start to fish.'

The subjunctive mood is independent of tense:

se aga vo'l selli, teiZ, selli uškimi ku

it perhaps was such, again, such belief that

laZ tāutteG kā'dde sis sjeda touttikt

so-that fill+SJ hand+IL then that+PT food+PT

'Perhaps it was, again, a sort of belief, so that that food would suffice.'

2.2.1.4 Aspect

2.2.1.4.1 Perfect

Perfect (and pluperfect) forms are composed of the appropriate person and tense of the verb 'to be' with the past active participle of the main verb. Aside from its use in the normal sense of perfect aspect, to indicate completed action, the morphological perfect is used in narrative contexts as the simple past:

no mis sāleZ jākkeB neiZ, sjeda ta piga sū-senadeks

well what there Jacob saw, it+PT he just mouth-words+CT

āb uo veinD kunagest mūntten jara nīže

NG PR be been-able ever others+DT away tell

'Well, what Jacob saw there he has never been able (=was never able) to tell in words to anyone else.'

2.2.1.5 Mood

2.2.1.5.1 Indicative

The indicative mood is used for all events, actions and states perceived as 'real' and encompasses those cases not described under conditional, imperative, subjunctive and 'obligation' moods; it will not be discussed separately.

2.2.1.5.2 Conditional

The conditional is not a morphologically distinct mood, and in clauses introduced by až 'if', the verb appears in the indicative or subjunctive mood according to whether the action or state is perceived as actual or putative:

se Pratt'iZ mōd'i, āndiZ jē'uvve vīl'a-ka'zze, až

it arranged lands+PT, gave good+PT grain-growth+PT, if

tānda vo'l't'e o'uvvestenD

she(PT) were(3PL) honoured (P ACP)

'It (=she, the land-fairy) kept the lands in order, and granted a good growth of grain if they (had) honoured her.' (Indicative-conditional clause)

2.2.1.5.3 Imperative

2.2.1.5.3.1 Forms

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

no vetta siZ ka īD si'l tāut eñtšen

well take then also one lap full self+DT

'Well, take one armful for yourself then.'

The plural form is -giD (or -agiD, -igiD depending on the type of conjugation) to the stem, for example vetta/vettagiD.

2.2.1.5.3.2 Negative imperative

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

ala kartte

don't fear

'Don't be afraid.'

2.2.1.5.4 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood is indicated by the suffix -G added to the stem of the verb. The same suffix is added in the negative subjunctive clause, which is the same as the negative imperative/hortatory, and which is preceded by alge in the third person. The subjunctive mood is used for 'projected' or putative states and actions, but is rarely encountered (at least in the corpus) in main clauses, being more commonly used in subordinate clauses indicating purpose. The following example contains both positive and negative subjunctive forms:

siZ ta mürdiZ okšti ni'emeD jālgaD je'dde alge ta

then he bent twigs+PT cows' legs' before lest he

va'ijjeG te'uvvem ja las ta, ku ta kō'leB vje'dde

sink+SJ deeper and so-that he, when he tries haul

ulze, las tā'mmen volge selli a'lli jālgaD alle, kus

out, so-that he+DAT be+SJ such base legs' under, where

ta veiB pi'dde i'lle

he can stay up

'Then he bent twigs in front of the cows' legs, so that he would not sink deeper, and so that, when he tries to haul them out, he will have a sort of base under his legs so that he can stay up.'

2.2.1.6 Infinitives

Kettunen distinguishes four types of infinitive. The first infinitive, characterised by the ending *-e*, constitutes the basic (dictionary citation) form and can be used in conjunction with auxiliary verbs. The second infinitive ending in *-es* (that of the inessive case) has a function similar to that of the present active participle:

va'dde vje'ddes kalamieD amaD vā'ggi tiedist tikkiŽ, mirgi um mi'er-pu'oi
seine+PT hauling+IN fishermen all(PL) much knew everything, how is sea- bottom
 'In pulling the seine the fishermen all knew thoroughly what the sea-bottom is like.'

The third infinitive may be described as the 'infinitive of purpose', and has the characteristic ending *-m(e)*:

siZ āma aĻ sōttiZ lāpši rañde van't'l'em
then mother always accompanied children+PT shore+IL look+IP

'Then the mother always accompanied the children to the shore to look.'

The fourth infinitive is the 'nomen actionis' or nominalised verb; it may take the case-endings and other morphological and syntactic features of the noun. Its nominative form is *-imi*:

kalaD ja'ggimi se vo'f selli, ku kuoriZ
fish+GN PL distribution it was such, that gathered(IM)
 ama je'tse ne sūrimist lještaD ulze
all forward they biggest flounder(PL) out

'The distribution of fish was such that the biggest flounder were all gathered out in front.'

2.2.1.7 Participles

Participles, present and past, function as adjectives formed from verbs. Past active and passive participles, attributive and predicative, are identical in form. The characteristic ending is *-n(D)*: *kienD* 'boiled' (*kiede* 'boil'); a variant is *-en*: *nūzen* 'risen' (*nūze* 'rise').

The present passive participle ends in *-deB*: *juodeB* 'drinkable, for drinking' (*juode* 'drink'). It appears to have very limited use, and has none of the force of obligation implied by the equivalent participle in, for example, Finnish (see 2.1.3.1.2 for the separate 'infinitive of obligation').

The present passive participle occasionally occurs, undeclined, in combinations, such as *siedep-kalaD* 'edible fish (pl.)'. Participles in general show a fair degree of instability in spoken Livonian. In the corpus, past active participles are found where a present participle would be expected, and no examples of present active participles are recorded. Kettunen cites *-be/-B* as the ending for the present active participle, identical with the passive.

3.SYNTAX

3.1 General

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

3.1.1 Sentence types

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

3.1.1.1 Direct and indirect speech

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

se kīttiZ: "se um mi'n̄nen"

it said: "it is mine"

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

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

lapst tułt'e āndam tiet āman ku lōjaD tułt'e

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

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

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

3.2 Other sentence types

3.2.1 Interrogative sentences

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

kas ē'degel dāntšiZ ka?

Q evening+AD dance+P-PS also?

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

3.2.1.2 Question-word questions

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

kien se um?

whose it is?

'Whose is it?'

kui vel vejuB?

how still fish+3SG PR?

'How does one still fish?'

m̄ngist vo'lt'e vanaD kō'a-painteD?

what-kind were old+PL cattle-herds?

'What were the old cowherds like?'

3.2.1.3 Echo-questions

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

tās vo'lt'e selliZ lūdeD. lūdeD?

here were such brooms. brooms?

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

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

un maksist kōr'a-paintten pālkke?

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

'And the cowherd was paid a wage?'

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

3.2.1.4 Answers

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

kōr'a-paintten pālkka is sō makstet.

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

'The cowherd was not paid a wage.'

3.3 Complex sentences

3.3.1 Co-ordination

3.3.1.1 Sentence co-ordination

There are three principal co-ordinating words: ja or un 'and', aga 'or', bet 'but'; all of them may co-ordinate sentences. (For vei see 3.3.1.5.5.)

3.3.1.2 Number of co-ordinators

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

3.3.1.3 Means of co-ordinating major categories

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

3.3.1.4 Co-ordination and accompaniment

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

sis pa'nt't'e tija lōda ala ja tija lōdaks siZ va'ittist si'zzel nānt
then put+3PL P empty box down and empty box+CT then lowered(IM) inside them

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

no lještaD saiD kanttet rāndast kwodai rētšedeks
well flounder got carried shore+AB home+IL baskets+CT

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

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

3.3.1.5 Structural parallelism in co-ordination

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

3.3.1.5.1 Adjectives and participial constructions

ē'dekst sōni ne vo'lt't'e jēva rakkandeD ja pū'deks piestet
evening(GN) by they were already gutted(PPP) and clean+CT washed(PPP)

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

3.3.1.5.2 Nouns and nominalised constructions

no ļeinakst aigal aga ē'dekst puol twoi lještaD kwodai
well lunch(GN) time+AD or evening(GN) side brought(IM) flounder home+IL

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

3.3.1.5.3 Different types of adverbial

se vel iZ muošta lentše kiedeD ku'bbe aga teiŽ riŋkke nēd'i kjeuži
it still NG P be-able pull ropes together or again loop those+PT ropes+PT

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

3.3.1.5.4 Active and passive/impersonal verbs

siZ ka amaD ne kōznikkaD tu'lt't'e iŋeZ
then also all+PL those wedding-guests came together

ja sāl sai se kōzgenD loppandeks pi'ddet
and there got that wedding closing-festivities held(PPP)

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

3.3.1.5.5 Other uses of co-ordinators

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

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

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

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

vada sū um ja sāleZ
seine(GN) mouth is and there

'The mouth of the seine is there too.'

3.3.2 Subordination

3.3.2.1 General markers

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

3.3.2.2 Noun clauses

3.3.2.2.1 Forms

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

ma um t'Ž nā'nD ku keššil'deks at ve'ijjenD oksakka'ld'i
I . am self seen that net+CT PL are fished stickleback+PT PL

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

3.3.2.2.2 Types of noun clause

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

kus ne pa'ntte sjeda ma äp tieda
where they put (P) it+PT I NG PR know

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

3.3.2.3 Adjective clauses

3.3.2.3.1 Marking

Adjective clauses may be formed either (a) with relative pronouns placed after the head word and followed by a verb phrase, or (b) by placing a participial phrase with or without adjectives before the head word (noun). This is at least theoretically true of Livonian as it is of other Baltic-Finnic languages. But in the spoken language both kinds of construction are extremely rare; speakers tend to replace adjective clauses and relative constructions with strings of main clauses. Even on the rare occasions when they occur, they are combined with such strings to form constructions which in the 'literary' language, such as it is, would be deemed ungrammatical:

ikš kwo'iG mis pāl ta vo'ī bōtsman'n'eks se vo'ī selfi

one ship which on he was boatswain+CT it was such

kwo'iG kuivastu se pidiZ selfist si'dmeD hāpsalust

ship Kuivastu it kept such+PT PL connections+PT Haapsalu+EL

kārdlasse

Kārdla+IL (Estonian case endings)

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

3.3.2.3.2 Restrictive and non-restrictive marking

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

3.3.2.3.3 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses in the true sense are extremely rare or non-existent. But a construction involving a relative clause with its head transferred to the main clause is

occasionally found, though it is debatable whether this would be considered grammatical:

nu alZ nei kis ju pidiZ miŋgiZ eñtšen neitste sis se

well always so who EM kept some self+DT girl+PT then it

se ju rekkandiZ: "mēG siZ lā'me iñekst tegiŽ sīnes tagan"

it EM spoke: "we then go together again thither fetch"

'Well, it was always so that he who kept some girl to himself said: "We are going together to fetch (her) again."

3.3.2.3.4 Elements of the sentence that can be relativised

Apart from nouns, pronouns can be relativised:

je'dde-vjedaji se siZ neme vo'ī se kis viŽ brūt' ja brūdšana, viŽ

forward-bringer it then you-see was it who brought bride and bridegroom, brought

ālttar je'dde

altar (GN) front+IL (=before)

'You see, the escort was the one who brought the bride and bridegroom before the altar.'

3.3.2.4 Adverb clauses

3.3.2.4.1 Marking and position

As can be seen from the examples given below, adverbial clauses are characteristically introduced by conjunctions, which in some cases may qualify an adverb. Sometimes, as in the case of *las* in clauses of purpose, the conjunction may govern a change of verbal mood, from indicative to subjunctive. Adverb clauses generally follow the main clause, but may precede it.

3.3.2.4.2 Types

3.3.2.4.2.1 Time

nu siZ ku mina irgiZ nā'de midegest siZ vo'ī kōzgenD neikku

well then when I began see something+PT then was wedding thus

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

3.3.2.4.2.2 Manner

e'd'd'ist kiededen vo'í ittiZ kier, ta'ggist

front+PL rope+DT PL was one-kind-of knot, rear+PL

kiededen tegiZ twoistiZ vo'í kier neiku kiereD vol't't'e si'zzel-pēden

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

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

3.3.2.4.2.3 Purpose

se um las pi'leG vada sū vāldiZ

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

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

3.3.2.4.2.4 Cause

vadan vo'í vo'l'mest vēla vadan siepjerast ku

seine+DT was be+OG sparse seine+DT because that

ist velet jo nei piškiži lešti ve'ijje

NG P PL want+PP IT so small+PT PL flounder+PT PL fish

'The seine had to be sparse because they didn't want to fish for such small flounder.'

3.3.2.4.2.5 Condition

meittiZ aš ieridi āb volks siZ kiedeD lākste ne'rre

otherwise if loops+PT NG PR be+SJ then ropes go+SJ knot+IL

'Otherwise if there were no loops, then the ropes would go into knots.'

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

aš lještaD vo'lt't'e nei ĩt sargdit ja ĩt sūrit

if flounder were so one+PT fat+PL and one+PT big+PL

viskiZ ĩt ĩden twoiZ twoizen ja nei-ĩt

toss+3SG P one+PT one+DT other other+DT and so-one+PT

'If the flounder were (INDIC.) equally fat and equally big, one would be tossed to one person, another to another, and so on.'

3.3.2.4.2.6 Result

For the positive form, las, see 3.3.2.4.2.3 above. The negative form, āige, is based on the imperative:

āige pīkste ke'izži kietta vje'ddes kā'tse

so-that-not rub hands+PT rope+PT pull+PR AC PE hands+DT

vo'lt't'e sellist luppatted

were such+PL cloths

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

3.3.2.4.2.7 Degree

se'uvve mūnda kērd vo'lt't'e lještaD nei aigaZ ku

summer+PT some time were flounder so close that

iZ vej lōjaks mitte i'í laideD i'íle pā'zze

NG P can boat+CT anything+PT over shallows' over get

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

3.3.2.4.2.8 Concession

bet perizeks pent petter vētiZ īrma jara ja jelist

but finally Pent Petor took Irma to and lived(3PL)

jevist ama iġa kokš ka ādun iZ uo je'vve mielde petter

well all age though also Ādu+DT NG P be good+PT mind+PT Petor

pāl ka sentš kontš ta kuoliZ

on even to-then until he died

'But finally Pent Petor took Irma and they lived well all their lives, though Ādu was not

well disposed to Petor even until he died.'

3.3.2.4.2.9 Place

se vo'l' kus ne-ī'Z kus kjeuŽ um

it was where so-self where rope is

'It was just where the rope is.'

Note the intensifying effect of the repetition of kus.

sāl kus tuoista ķeīD vo'l't ta'gġist kiedeD, sāl tegiŽ

there where another time were rear+PL ropes, there again

ni pa'h e'd'd'ist kiedeD

now put(3SG P) front+PL ropes

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

3.3.2.4.3 Finiteness and non-finiteness are not marked for adverbial clauses, at least in

the corpus of spoken Livonian, which restricts itself to finite verb forms. This is partly

because the language lacks the morphological means to construct the participial forms

used, for example, in Finnish (Menetettyään koiransa... 'Having lost his dog...'). Such

forms are apparently considered inappropriate to the informal register of spoken

Livonian, as well as ambiguous, owing to the restricted range of past participial forms in

the language.

3.3.2.5 Sequence of tenses

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

no siZ um seīlist legendeD ātte ku sie pārna alle

well then is such+PL legends are that that linden under

vanaD īvlist vo'īiD pallenD entš jumaltte. ku nāntten

old+PL Livonians were prayed(PP) own god+DT. when they+DT

atte vēreD tunneD swodadeks pāle, siZ ne āt pallenD

are strangers come(PP) wars+CT onto, then they are prayed

sāl entš jumali, laZ ā'pteG nāntten swodal.

there own gods+PT, so-that help+SJ them(DT) war+AD.

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

3.4 Structural questions

3.4.1 Internal structure of the sentence

3.4.1.1 Copular sentences

3.4.1.1.1 Copula of equation

Both subject and predicate nouns appear in the nominative:

mi'n iza vo'l' mje'r-mieZ

my father was sea-man

'My father was a seaman.'

3.4.1.1.2 Copula with predicate in oblique case

ārgaD vo'lt't'e ni'emeD baras

bulls were cows' herd+IN

'Bulls were in the herd.'

3.4.1.1.3 Copula of existence

('There is') need not precede the subject:

no vabaD ju ätte vonneD amustiZ

well drying-racks EM are been long

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

3.4.1.1.4 Copula with subject-complement in translative case

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

je'dde-vjedajiks volli siZ mingi su'gli

forward-bringer+CT was then some relative

'So the escort was some relative.'

3.4.1.1.5 Copula of possession ('to have')

This construction involves the dative of the possessor:

mā'dden vo'í selli ke'zzi ārga ikš kerD

we+DT was such angry bull one time

'We once had an angry bull.'

3.4.1.1.6 Negative copula

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

lještaD ju ist uotte vä'ggi tevas vje'tse

flounder EM NEG PL P been very deep+IN water+IN

'The flounder were not in very deep water.'

3.4.1.2 Verbal sentences

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

no polakkeD lā'beD jarre ka ündaks veijjem

well boys go lake+IL also line+CT fish+IP

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

3.4.1.2.1 Placement of the verb

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

tu'lt't'e brēt'list kupšaden ēsti mōlt in'ez ka brēt'list perinaist
came(3PL) sprats' merchant+DT PL Estonia land+EL together also sprats' wives

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

3.4.1.2.2 Impersonal constructions

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

nu neikku irgiZ vje'dde tegiZ tvoiZ luom

well so began(IM) haul again second catch

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

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

kābin't'tiZ vērgē kjeuD pāle ja nei siZ la'ktiZ vērgē laigalD

hung(IM) net ropes' on and so then spread(IM P) net open

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

3.4.1.2.3 Subject

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

livlist veitte keitte küttemes* aga jakt pāl neiku nēD vanaD ro'uš̄t ka vel kīt̄tist

Livonians little went hunting or hunt on as they old+PL people also still say

'Livonians rarely went hunting, or on the hunt, as those old people still say.'

*küttemes is an Estonian borrowing.

3.4.1.2.4 Direct object

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

ama sai ti'edet kādudeks. brētlist sai pjestet kādudeks,

all got done(PPP) hands+CT. sprats got washed hands+CT,

brētlist sai kādudeks suudet ja nei, no sāleZ pe'ļlist

sprats got hands+CT salted and so, well thus earn+IMP

rō'de, mi'eD ve'ij̄jist naist suolist

money+PT, men fished women salted

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

Use of the partitive corresponds to the other Baltic-Finnic languages as regards the marking of definiteness/indefiniteness.

3.4.1.2.5 Indirect object

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

türskaden āt türskaveŗgeD, türskaD sõbeD ka ūndadeks ve'idet

cod+DT PL are cod-nets, cod+PL get+3PL also line+CT PL fished(PPP)

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

3.4.1.2.6 Oblique object

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

ūndaD pāl panaB sīlkkidi, iedeB sīlkeD pieneks ja

lines' on puts herrings+PT, cuts herrings thin+CT and

panaB siZ seļlis sil'k tem̄ppeD ūnda pāl ja ēttaB

puts then such herring(GN) pieces line(GN) on and throws

ūndaD mje'rre. türskaD akkebeD pāl.

lines sea+IL. cod+PL catch on.

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

3.4.1.2.7 Order of constituents

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

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

se vo'ļ seļli dēļist ku'bbe ra'bdet kīn, kūs

it was such planks+EL together thrown hut, where

PN copula AJ OB N AV PE NM N RE

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

vo'l sizar pitka lōda kwoṛdemest aigadeks, seļlist

was inside long table higher+EL edge+CT PL, such+EL

copula AV AJ NM N AJ OB N AJ

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

dēļist aigadeks ja sie lōda immer siZ jāļga

planks+EL edge+CT PL and that(GN) table(GN) around then foot(GN)

PHRASE----- CJ AJ GNN PO AV NGN

pāl pi'liste naist ja suolist bokšuD si'zzel bret'liži

on kept(3PL) women and salted(3PL) barrels into sprats+PT

PO V NM N CJ V GNN PO OB N

'It was a hut thrown together out of planks, inside which was a long high-sided table of planks, and around that table stood women (on foot) salting sprats to go into barrels.'

3.4.1.3 Adverbials

3.4.1.3.1 Types

3.4.1.3.1.1 Adverb

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

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

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

3.4.2 Adjective phrases

3.4.2.1 Definition

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

3.4.2.2 Adjectivals with arguments

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

vo'l vā'ggi lālam vjedde va'dde

was very difficult haul seine+PT

'It was very difficult to haul the seine.'

3.4.2.3 Adverbial modification of adjectives

The adverb precedes the adjective: vā'ggi lālam 'very difficult'.

3.4.3 Adverbial phrases

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

3.4.4 Postpositional phrases

3.4.4.1 Operational definition

The postpositional phrases consist of a narrow range of words with semantic reference to position in time or space, placed after nouns whose cases they govern. See the examples in 3.4.1.3.1.2. Some of them, such as pāl, 'on', lit. 'head+AD', contain case-endings themselves, but most do not.

3.4.4.2 Postpositional phrases and their argument

Postpositional phrases may be regarded, and have been treated (3.4.1.3.1.2), as a subclass of adverbials, with regard to what they may govern.

Postpositions all govern the genitive case.

3.4.5 The noun phrase

3.4.5.1 Operational definition

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

3.4.5.2 Modifiers in the noun phrase

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

3.4.5.2.2 Relative clauses follow the head noun. If the head noun is followed by a postposition, the relative clause follows the postposition:

lōjaD immer viskemi suguB set ōr'aD pāl kuš āt sūrD laineD
boats' around turning happens only sandbanks on where are big+PL waves

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

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

no jemin' ta pur'ttiZ eñ'tš jema ve'í kwoigiD pāl
well mostly he sailed own mother's brother's ships on

'Well, mostly he sailed on his uncle's ships.'

3.4.5.2.4 Articles do not exist in Livonian. The demonstrative adjectives are *se* 'this, that' and *ne* 'these, those'. They are declinable.

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

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

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

si'n ju ka um rētš sālgaZ

you(SG)+DT EM also is basket back+IN

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

3.4.5.2.8 Comparative and superlative structures

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

siZ irgiZ kjerdemt vjedde

then began(3SG) more-quickly pull

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

no tūrskavergeden ätte ne ve'rge silmaD sūrimist

well cod-nets+DT are those net's eyes biggest+PL

'Well, the openings in the cod-nets are biggest.'

3.5 Negation

3.5.1 Sentence negation

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

mā'd jū's ka nēd'i nei vā'ggi je'nne iZ uo, ōralist vo'ft'te

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

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

As in the other Baltic-Finnic languages, there is a special form of the verb, often identical with the stem, which is used with the negative particle. In the case of the verb 'to be', as above, the form is irregular; uo. The negative particle itself has two variants, iZ and āB, for all persons. The former is used for past tense verbs and the latter for the present tense; in fact it is the negative element and not the verb stem (which remains unchanged) that shows the tense of the verb. In this respect Livonian differs markedly from other Baltic-Finnic languages. Both particles lose their voicing before unvoiced consonants:

mejtizi ta'lkidi sel'l'iži āp tieda rāndas

other-kinds-of+PT working-bees+PT such+PT PL NG PR know coast+IN

'(I) don't know any other sorts of working-bee on the coast.' (Note the deletion of the subject pronoun in the above example.)

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

kōr'a-paiñt't'en pālkka is sō makstet

cattleherds+DT wage+PT NG P get paid(PPP)

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

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

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

bet ka sie kōr'a-paiñt't'en siZ iZ uo lē'mest jēga pāva kāffel

but also that+GN cattle-herds+DT then NG P be go+OG each day cattle+AL

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

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

vana breñkkou i'Ž āb uo voñD nei vā'ggi ka'D

old Brenkkou selfNG PR be been so very envious

'Old Brenkkou himself has not been (=wasn't) so very envious.' (This use of the perfect tense occurs in a narrative context.)

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

nēd'i mūs ist kēlbat ku set siZ lēba-ōis

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

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

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

ja mi'n āma se vo'l se is-tō'ji

and my mother it was it not-wisher

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

3.5.2 Constituent negation

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

iZ sellist piva kalaks is pidaneD aga ta vo'l vanast voñD ka

NG P such+PT sacred fish+CT NG P held(P AC P) but he was old+AB been also

piva kala

sacred fish

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

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

vanast ätte ka üdenD ja ti'eneD nēd'i

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

raza-kakkidi ilge, mitte ilge razast bet si'k-razast

grease-cakes+PT seal's, not seal's grease+AB but herring-grease+AB

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

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

ne vo'lt't'e jelaizeks ieneD sellist äp- kelbattabeks

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

'They had become sort of uninhabitable.'

ka'ffe mä'dden äp tundenD

small-beer+PT we+DT NG PR known

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

3.5.3 Negation in co-ordinated structures

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

se ist uoD mingist sellist li'ebist ist mideD

it NG P be any+PT such+PT fat+PT NG P anything+PT

'It wasn't either fat or anything.'

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

3.6 Anaphora

3.6.1 Means of expressing anaphora

3.6.1.1 Deletion

Deletion of identical elements, especially verbs, is common:

IranikkaD nuttabeD ja'mdeD kiedeD bassudeks, pieneD kiedeD droššadeks

Īre-people call thick+PL ropes bassud+CT, thin+PL ropes droššad+CT

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

3.6.1.2 Personal pronoun

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

lješta ju um selli jāmp kala ku ta puguB jālga ala

flounder EM is such stupid fish that he escapes foot(GN) under (PO)

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

3.6.1.3 Reflexive pronoun

Three reflexive pronoun functions can be distinguished:

3.6.1.3.1 Reflexive pronoun as object or in oblique case

no až mingizen vo' ka nei ku ta eñtšen

well if someone+DT was also so that he self+DT

iZ uo aige lā'de, vo' ju ka sellis kis pidiste

NG P be time+PT go, was EM also such who kept(3PL)

siZ kōfa-paintte eñtšen

then cattle-herd+PT self+DT

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

3.6.1.3.2 Reflexive as complement of the subject

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

siZ ju jęga ikš ĩŽ kīndiZ ja ĩŽ nīttiZ eñtš ri'ggeZ

then EM each one self sowed and self mowed own rye

'At that time everyone sowed and mowed their own rye themselves.'

3.6.1.3.3 Reflexive possession

The reflexive possessive adjective eñtš (< ĩŽ) is used. See the example above or:

se siZ vonD ku, siZ neikka se nuor mieZ vīŽ siZ ni

it then been that, then like it young man took then now

eñtš naiZ eñtš kwodai siZ ka amaD ne kōžnikkaD tu'lt'e ĩneZ

own woman own home+IL then also all+PL those wedding-guests came together

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

3.7 Reflexives

3.7.1 Means of expressing reflexivity

As observed in 3.6.1.3, the basic reflexive pronoun is eñtš, the oblique root of the emphatic pronoun ĩŽ 'self', and the full range of oblique cases can be used.

3.7.2 Scope of reflexivity

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

3.7.3 Syntactic functions relating to reflexives

The reflexive pronoun must follow the verb to which it refers. This applies equally well to the oblique (inflected) forms:

no bet kalami'eD ju ĩ'ts-ĩ't pidiste eñtšen kuid'i lešti taga-varaks
well but fishermen EM continually kept self+DT dry+PT PL flounder+PT PL back-
reserve+CT

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

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

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

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

3.8 Reciprocals

3.8.1 Means of expressing reciprocity

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

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

*elsewhere rendered as kila.

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

3.9 Possession

3.9.1 Sentences expressing possession

Livonian lacks a verb 'to have', and instead expresses possession using the dative case of the possessor+copula. Otherwise possession is expressed by the genitive case. It can be personal (kalami'eD jelami 'fishermen's life') or impersonal (kila ro'ušt 'the people of the

village'). Reflexive possession (where the possessed element is the object) can be expressed using *eñtš* (see 3.6.1.3.3):

ikš keřD ta-tř ka nižiz ku ta volli lasken

one time he-self also told that he was shot (P AC P)

eñtš taras vorukst pält bokkidi

own garden+IN sown-land(GN) off deer+PT PL

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

3.9.2 Alienable and inalienable possession

No formal distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession.

3.9.3 Temporary and permanent possession

No distinction is made.

3.10 Emphasis

3.10.1 Sentence emphasis

3.10.1.1 Non-contradictory emphasis

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

no kui vėl vejub?

well how still fish+3SG?

'Well, how else does one fish?'

vėl vediste sūrvadaks

still hauled+3PL big-seine+CT

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

3.10.1.2 Contradictory emphasis

In a negative response where a positive one might be expected, it is possible to repeat the negative element, placing it both first and in its normal position before the verb. See 3.5.2.

3.10.2 Constituent emphasis

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

siepjeras siZ sāl vo' selli sangde voza ja

therefore then there was such fat meat and

kōma voza ju nei ta um jeva, vā'ggi jeva voza um

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

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

3.10.2.1 Expression of emphasis

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

live rāndas set kūjastiZ so'usse, meittiZ išt

Livonian coast+IN only dried+IM smoke+IN, otherwise NG P

kūjastet, pāva kā'DZ išt kūjastet kald'i

dried(PPP) sun's hand+IN NG P IM dried(PPP) fish(PT PL)

'On the Livonian coast, drying was only done in smoke; no other kind of drying was done; one didn't dry fish in the sun.'

Variations in intonation, which are not indicated in this section, can also express degrees of emphasis.

3.10.3 Focus of yes-no questions

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

no kōma iZ uo miŋgi ſelli piva kala?

well turbot NG P be any such sacred fish?

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

3.11 Topic

3.11.1 Means of indicating topic

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

nu mūnda keŕD vo'ĭ nei je'nŋ leſti ku iZ

well some time was so many flounder+PT PL that NG P

vej, kakš mieste is sōtte laiije si'zzel

be-able, two man+PT NG P got(PPP) boat(PT) inside

'Well, sometimes there were so many flounder that one couldn't, two men couldn't get the boat in.' (Particle-Adverbial-Copula-Noun Phrase-Adverbial Clause of Result [Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial])

3.12 Other movement processes

3.12.1 Verb-final sentences

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

ōra keŕD miŋgist keŕD vo'ĭ

rare time some+PT time was

'It was rare, there sometimes was.'

3.12.2 Parenthetical construction

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

twoi sūr uppandimi vo'ĭ ku ĩvlist - sje vo'ĭ

another big drowning was when Livonians - it was

jeva je'ts mi'n sīndemit su'ggen - ku ĩvlist vo'ĭt'e

already before my birth+PT happened - when Livonians were

bro'utšenD lieppe

travelled Liepāja+IL

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

The texts

The following ten passages of spoken Livonian represent continuous natural speech in the form of monologues recorded by ten different elderly speakers, male and female, all over 65 years old, who had retained reasonable fluency in the language. All the narrators are recalling earlier periods in their lives, and thus narrative style and past-tense forms predominate. The speakers were prompted and interrupted as little as possible. The recordings were made over a period between 1971 and 1989. None of the material presented here has been previously transcribed or published. The transcription is an attempt to represent the speech as heard rather than to follow any consistent spelling conventions; therefore there may be some inconsistency in spelling of some words from text to text, especially in the use of the glottal catch or 'broken tone'.

1. Alfons Berthold, 68 years, Vaid village, Talsi region

recorded by Kristi Salve 1978

- 1 mēG Zuonkel volme pägin roušte. nēla vaľanikke.
we Zuonka+AD were many people(PT). four tenant(PT).
- 2 jega-īden vol ikš tuba, ja õige vol amaden kupsse.
each-one+DT was one room, and kitchen was all+DT PL together.
- 3 mā'D ukxen vaste vol ikš nuor neitst, ja mēG se'uvve
our door+DT opposite was one young girl, and we summer+PT
- 4 lōtizem kwoigidi, pūd'i lōtizem; kwoigid tultte
loaded ships+PT, wood(PT PL) loaded(1PL); ships came
- 5 mierre madalis ja lōjadeks višti pūde jūre. uondžel
sea+IL low+IN and boats+CT took(IM) wood+PT to(PO).morning+AD
- 6 vol lē'mist tegiž lōt't'em kwoigidi. ja ieze ikš nuor
was go+OG again load+IP ships+PT. and night+IN one young
- 7 poiss vol tunD kwoiste mōze ja tōZ sōde sille se
boy was come ship+EL land+IL and wanted get in that
- 8 neitst jūr. aga iZ voi magatte, ta tei mā'rre, ja
girl(GN) to. but NG P can get-sleep, he made noise+PT. and
- 9 ma vol selī piški poiški, ja iza tei uks vāldiž,
I was such small boy(DM), and father made door open,
- 10 tōZ tānda a'je je'tspēd'en. aga sāl t'ž õ'i
wanted him(PT) drive away. but there just oven(GN)
- 11 je'tse vol beŋk. ja beŋk pāl vol ve'iž-pan'. nei,
before was bench. and bench(GN) on was water-bucket. so,
- 12 se vōttiZ se vje'd-pan' ja valiZ iza pāle

it took that water(GN)-bucket and poured father(GN) onto

13 tu'bbe. ja iza a'iliZ taga, ja siZ volt't'e kil

room+IL. and father ran after, and then were indeed

14 kjerdeD jālgaD. mina iZ uo kunagis nānD ku iza nei

rapid(PL) feet. I NG P be ever seen when father so

15 kjerdistiZ vejž a'ile, iZ külb ka ille.

quickly could run, NG P manage also up.

Translation

There were many of us at Zuonka, four tenants. Each one had one room, and we all had the kitchen in common. Opposite our door was one young girl, and in summer we loaded ships, loading wood. The ships came low in the water, and wood was taken to them in boats. In the morning we had to go back to load the ships. And at night one young boy came ashore from a ship, and wanted to get into the girl's place. But you couldn't get to sleep, he was making a noise. And I was, like, a little boy, and Father opened the door, wanting to drive him away. But just there, in front of the oven, was a bench. And on the bench was a bucket of water. So he took that bucket of water and poured it on Father, into the room. And Father ran after him, and then he had really rapid feet. I'd never seen how quickly Father could run, and he couldn't catch up.

Notes

line 4: lōtizem 'we loaded'; alternative form of lōtizme - an unattested case of metathesis.

line 7: kwoiste 'from a ship'; note omission of -g- from stem (kwoi'G).

line 9: poiški 'little boy'; a rare instance of a diminutive. (See DG, 2.2.1.1.)

lines 11 - 12: compare ve'iž-pan' (with 'water' in nom.; the speaker hesitates on this word) and vje'd-pan' (with 'water' in gen. form) for the compound 'water-bucket'. This

presumably has nothing to do with its accusative function in the second instance; the vacillation is more likely due to the irregular gen. form ve'iž.

line 14: kunagis 'ever'; Kettunen gives kunagiD.

line 15: vejž instead of vejZ 'could'.

line 15: iZ külb 'couldn't manage/wasn't good enough'; külbe is recorded by Kettunen as a variant of kelbe (cf. Est. kōlvata, Fi. kelvata). The only instance of the phoneme [ü] in this passage; compare kil (as opposed to kül) in line 13.

2. Hermīne Zīberts, 88 years, Ire (Mazirbe) village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1978

1 nei, um, kwolem tariĒ. Īde tariĒ alle panaB

so, is three plate+PT. one+GN plate(GN) under puts(IM)

2 vet'tim. un ĪD tariĒ alle um suormeks. un ĪD

key. and one(GN) plate(GN) under is ring. and one(GN)

3 alle um tegiŽ se - krĪt, krĪt. ni se kĕrateB, se

under is again that - chalk, chalk. now it writes, that

4 vāldaD um krĪt. krĪt'. aga sel rāndakielkkeks ka

white(?PL) is chalk. krĪt'. but that+AD Livonian+CT also

5 krĪt'. na. nu, ikš um, mis kienen se vet'tim um, se

krĪt'. yes. well, one is, what whom(DT) that key is, that

6 um perinai aga perimieZ, se kis sāB ilze. se um - e - ta

is housewife or husband, that who gets up. it is - er - he

7 - seda ju ma āB tieda, minnen um panmest sĪlmaD vizas

- that(PT) EMI NG PR know, me+DT is put+OG eyes shut

8 un, un tuoi um, kis panaB tegiŽ nei sje tariĒ

and, and other is, who puts again so that(GN) plate(GN)

9 alle. ni, ku ma nustaB ilze, siZ ma nāB mis ma ni ulZ

under. now, when I lift up, then I see what I now out

10 nustaB, veġi ma nustaB nei se - ku ma nustaB seda -

lift, whether I lift so it - when I lift that(PT) -

11 seda - suormeks, siZ ma lĪB brūt'. un ku ma - lĪB

that(PT) ring, then I will-be bride. and if I - will-be

12 vet'tim, siZ ma lĪB perinai. un ku ma lĪB vālda,

key, then I will-be housewife. and if I will-be white,

13 siZ um nōve. siZ um nōve, siZ um kuolemest jara, se um

then is death. then is death, then is die+OG away, it is

14 nōve.

death. [laughs]

Translation

[The speaker is referring to a game traditionally played on New Year's Eve, in which the players cover certain objects under plates, each one signifying an event in the future.]

So, there are three plates. Under one plate you put a key. And under one plate there's a ring. And under one, again, there's - chalk. That's how you write it, [krĪt]. That white (stuff) is chalk, [krĪt'], but that's what it is in Livonian too: [krĪt']. Yes. Well, one is, the one who has the key is, that's a housewife, or husband, the one who picks that up. It's - er - he - I don't know that, I have to close my eyes and, the other one is the one who again puts it under the plate. Now, when I lift it up, then I see what I've picked out, whether I pick up so - if I pick up that - that ring, then I'll be a bride. And if I - it'll be - the key, then I'll be a housewife. And if I will be white, then that's death. Then that's death, you have to die then, that's death.

Notes

line 1: kwolem for kwolm 'three'.

line 2 and elsewhere: un for 'and'. Compare other speakers who use ja. The preference for the Latvian conjunction un over the Baltic-Finnic ja does not seem to indicate a dialect variation, or even a greater degree of Latvian interference. Un is well established in Livonian and its use seems to be purely a matter of personal preference. Speakers tend to use one or the other conjunction consistently.

lines 3 and 4: krīt/krīt' 'chalk'. Evidently the interlocutor has not understood this word at first, so the speaker is more careful in pronouncing it a second time, with palatalisation (its usual form), while claiming that it is written krīt.

line 9: nāB for nā'B 'see'; this speaker does not use 'broken tone' at all. Note also īD for īD, minnen for mi'nnen.

lines 13/14: nōve, siZ um kuolemest jara, se um nōve: though the speaker uses the verb kuole 'die', she prefers nōve (with broken tone nō've < Latv. nāve) over the more usual kuol'imi for 'death'. Examples given by Kettunen suggest that nō've is used for the personification of death, whereas kuol'imi signifies the act of dying.

3. August Freiberg, age unknown; Pitrõg village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1978

1 leja-vettameks vol kette- kjettemest kana-mu'ndi. siZ

Easter+CT was [hesit.] boil+OG hen-eggs+PT. then

2 jemaD kougiñ magiste. lapst lekšta jemme pjeksam.

mothers long slept. children went mother+PT beat+IP.

3 siZ jema āndiZ kērabže kana-mu'nd'i, kis vol

then mother gave colourful+PT PL hen-eggs+PT, which was

4 sīppel-kuordeks ru't'eD. un kiñd'eleks kēratteD

onion-skin+CT rolled(PPP) and candle+CT written(PPP)

5 ni'm pāle, sien, kien sje muna um. puoišid tegiž

name onto, that+DT, whom+DT that egg is. boys again

6 lekšte ailem uondžel varalt neitsidi pjeksam. neitsid'en

went run+IP morning+AD early+AB girls+PT beat+IP. girls+DT

7 vol't' kērabist munaD un āndiZ ne pwoišiden. ne

were colourful+PL eggs and gave they boys+DT. they

8 pjeksiste pūppal'-oksadeks, alab-oksadeks,

beat pussy-willow-branches+CT, willow-branches+CT,

9 kien vol' pūppil' sizal. keuv-oksadeks ka.

which+DT was pussy-willow inside. birch-branches+CT also.

Translation

At Easter one had to boil eggs. Then the mothers would sleep in, the children would go to beat their mother. Then the mother would give colourful eggs, which were rolled with onion-skins. And with a candle was written the name of the one whose egg it was. Again, the boys went running early in the morning to beat the girls. The girls had

coloured eggs and gave them to the boys. They beat with catkins, willow-branches that had catkins on them. With birch-branches too.

Notes

line 1: leja-vettameks: see speaker 6, line 1.

line 3: kērabže where kērabidi (PT PL) might be expected. Note also the complete absence of broken tone.

lines 8 and 9: pūppal, pūppil: < Latv. pūp[u]ols, Dundaga dialect pūppals.

4. Katrin Krasson, 83 years, Koštrōg village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

1 siZ, tā'dden nuorD naist, ma selli kītte amast

then, you(DT PL) young+PL women, I such say whole+EL

2 sidamest, ku tā'dden ātte lapst, ālge tēG kilas

heart+EL, if you+DT PL are children, don't you(PL) village+IN

3 maggegeD. mina um sie, entš igasse pi'eje'llen ku

sleep(IE PL). I am it(GN), own life+IN experienced when

4 kilhasse maguB, un siZ tulaB kwodai un āndaB se

village+IN sleeps, and then comes home+IL and gives it

5 lapsten īlma seda ma'gdeD, aizma'gdeD, semd'i,

children+DT without it(PT) slept(PPP), fallen-asleep, milk+PT,

6 ku siZ se lāpšen sliktē dabaG. se um se amasse sūr

when then it child+DT badly nature. it is it all+IN great

7 skoud. ku āB veī se kis lapsta i'mtteB, āB veī

harm. if NG PR can it who child+PT suckles, NG PR can

8 kilas ma'gge. tāssa um vonD selli rištiḡ, kis um nānt

village+IN sleep. here is been such person, who is their

9 jūrsse nā'deD, kis um selli vōnD, un jema um kīten

place seen(PPP), who is such been, and mother is said

10 nei: seda ma'gde tōB, seda ma'gde tōB, ku ni um

so: it(PT) sleep wants, it(PT) sleep wants, when now is

11 vōnD selli lāpš, kis amaD skoud'eD jārandiZ. ni ta

been such child, who all+PL faults away. now (s)he

12 kītteB, sāl tikkiZ um amaD sliktē.

says, there everything is all+PL bad.

Translation

Then to you young women I say with all my heart, if you have children, don't sleep away from home. I've experienced in my own life how one sleeps away and then comes home and gives the child, without it getting to sleep, falling asleep, milk; how then the child is more ill-tempered. It's a great fault in everyone. You can't, when you're suckling a child, sleep away from home. There was a person here who was seen at the home of one who was like that, and the mother said, it wants to be put to sleep! to sleep! because now there was a child with all those faults. Now she says, everything's worst of all there.

Notes

line 1: kītte for kītteB 'say' in the first person singular. Kettunen suggests (Wörterbuch, p.LX) that the first person form without -B (identical to the infinitive rather than 3SG PR) is an old feature of the West Livonian dialect.

line 2 and elsewhere: kilaš is to be taken to mean 'visiting, away from home' rather than literally 'in the village'; compare Est. kūlas, Fi. kylässä. Note also

line 4: kilhasse, where the speaker has inserted -h- into the longer form of the inessive case; not recorded elsewhere.

line 3: pi'eje'llen 'experienced', formed with Latv. prefix pie- on the Liv. stem je'lle 'live', on the model of Latv. piezīvojot 'experience'. Again, in

line 5: aizma'gdeD 'fallen asleep' (PPP), a calque not recorded by Kettunen, formed from the Latv. prefix aiz-+ma'gge 'sleep', clearly a direct cognate of Latv. aizmigt 'fall asleep' - particularly interesting in view of the similarity of the two stems.

line 6: slikte dabaG, apparently meaning '(more) ill-tempered'. dabaG is not recorded by Kettunen, but he suggests that daba (<Latv. daba 'nature') is a loan from Baltic-Finnic, cf. Fi. tapa). slikte is the adverbial form of slikt 'bad' (<Latv. slikts). This may be a

calque based on Latv. sliktdabgāk 'more bad-tempered' with the Latv. (adverbial) comparative ending -āk.

line 9: jūrsse, variant of jūs 'at (the place of)' (PO).

line 10: se da ma'gde tōb: meaning uncertain, presumably 'it wants/needs to be put to sleep' if ma'gde is a contraction of magatte 'put to sleep' (causative).

line 11: skoud'eD 'faults'; Kettunen records skōD'.

line 12: amaD slikte: superlative construction, 'worst of all'.

5. Lidia Didrikson, 85 years, Kuolka village, Talsi region; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

- 1 nā, nā. siZ kiediZ siga pāde. un teñni-pāvan
yes, yes. then boiled(IM) pig's head(PT). and Anthony-day+DT
- 2 siZ ju saiD ka lapst tegiŽ ju sūr kabal vō'zze.
then EM got(3PL) also children again EM big piece meat+PT.
- 3 mūd pāvaD siZ vōl sēli piški, bet ni pāvan siZ
other+PL days then was such small, but now day+DT then
- 4 sai sūr kabal. un talš-pivaD siZ vōl ka, talš-pivaD
got big piece. and Christmas(PL) then was also, Christmas(PL)
- 5 sa tiedaD, se um se Kristus siñdemi-pāva, talš-pivaD,
you(SG) know, it is it Christ's birth-day, Christmas(PL),
- 6 siZ sei vō'zze lapst kuijen tōste. siZ vōlt'
then ate meat(PT) children as-much-as wanted. then were
- 7 jouttemD āigaD, nā. āigaD vōlt't'e jouttemD, vanbisten
poor+PL times, yes. times were poor+PL, parents+DT
- 8 iZ uo lapsten añde. bet siZ talš-pivaD siZ ju
NG P be children+DT give. but then Christmas(PL) then EM
- 9 lapst seitte vō'zze neijen kuijene tōste. nā.
children ate meat+PT so-much as-much wanted(3PL). yes.
- 10 mattikš pāva um kakškīmde - vei se um kakškīmdnēlas
Matthew's day is twenty- - whether it is 24th
- 11 vei kakškīmdseitsmas vōl ta? kuna se mattikš pāva ni um?
or 27th was he? when it Matthew's day now is?
- 12 vei sin āB uo ka mielsse? meļlegeD seda:
or you(SG DT) NG PR be also mind+IN? think(IE PL) that(PT):

- 13 mūh' mina vel tieget, bet min āmi tāmn-aigast
last-year I still did, but me+DT all(PT PL) this-year
- 14 pakītte, vei ta vōl' kakškīmdeseitsmes pāva ta vōl vei
tell, whether he was 27th day he was or
- 15 vōl ta kakškīmdē-nēlas, kakškīmdeseitsmas ta um vōnd?
was he 24th, 27th he is been?

Translation

[Note: the passage transcribed is one side of a conversation; the other interlocutor is not clearly audible and has been omitted here.]

Yes, yes. Then one boiled a pig's head. And so on St. Anthony's Day the children, then again, got a big piece of meat. On other days it was sort of small, but now on this day you got a big piece. And Christmas, too, was - Christmas, you know, it's Christ's birthday - Christmas, then the children ate meat, as much as they wanted. They were poor times, yes. Times were poor, parents had nothing to give their children. But then at Christmas, then the children at as much meat as they wanted. Yes. St. Matthew's day is the twenty- - is it the twenty-fourth, or the twenty-seventh, was it? Now when is that St. Matthew's day? Don't you remember either? Think of it! Last year I still did, but all this year I have to tell whether it was the twenty-seventh day or was it the twenty-fourth, twenty-seventh, was it?

Notes

line 2: this speaker makes minimal use of 'broken tone'. A vestigial glottal stop is audible in the word vō'zze 'meat' (PT), but not at all in, for example, va(')nbisten 'parents' (DT) in line 7.

line 3: note consistent use of Latvian conjunctions bet 'but' and un 'and'.

line 5: sīndemi-pāva 'birthday'; sīnde-pāva would be more usual. Perhaps this could be more correctly translated as 'the day of Christ's birth'.

lines 6 & 9: kuijen, kuijene: not given as a single word by Kettunen, but the stress pattern suggests that it is perceived as one. (Kettunen gives kui 'as' and je'nne 'much' as separate words.) But note the single word nejjen 'so much' in line 9; the sense of nejjen kuijene is 'just as much as'.

lines 10 & 11: vei...vei 'whether...or'.

line 12: meflegeD seda 'think of it': an imperative plural with rhetorical function.

line 13: tieget: it is difficult to judge the meaning of this word because, not using broken tone, the speaker makes no distinction between the verbs tiede 'know' and ti'ede 'do'; the former would seem more likely here, but the -g- is only explicable, according to Kettunen, as an irregular form of the latter verb.

line 13: min āmi 'for me all (PT PL)': this phrase is rather rapid and garbled.

line 14: pakītte 'say, tell'; the Latv. prefix pa- gives a momentaneous or 'diminutive' force to the verb (kītte 'say'). Pakītte is not given by Kettunen, but evidently it is patterned after Latv. pastāstīt 'say, tell (a little)'.

6. Berta Indrikson, 80 years, Ire village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

1 nā, leja-veṭtam-uondžel siZ lapst lekšta mā'G pāl,

yes, Easter-morning+AD then children went hill(GN) on(PO),

2 lōlist 'tšitšoliņki, tšitšoliņki, ni tā'dde aiga 'm ilze

sang " " , now you(DT PL) time 's up

3 nūze. sūrD ljestāD piškiZ-mje'rre, piškiZ ljestāD

rise. big+PL flounder+PL small-sea+IL, small flounder+PL

4 sūr-mje'rre. nā. piškiZ ljestāD lā'geD sūr-mje'rre,

big-sea+IL. yes. small flounder+PL go(IE) big-sea+IL,

5 bet sūr-ljestāD las tulgeD piški-mje'rre. nā. un siZ

but big-flounder may come(IE) small-sea+IL. yes. and then

6 vanaD rouD vīšte ka leja-veṭtameD pāl sje seļlisti

old+PL people took also Easter(PL) on(PO) that such(PT PL)

7 kūzidi, seļli piškiZ kūze puskantiZ,

spruce(PT PL), such small spruce decorated(IM),

8 sapanD seļli knaššidi pappīridi,

gathered(P AC P) such beautiful(PT PL) papers(PT),

9 knaššidi luppatidi un siZ vīšte eņtš ne

beautiful(PT PL) cloths(PT) and then took own they

10 kuodiden. nā. seļliZ pañ - pan kālma pāl,

homes+DT. yes. such(PT PL) put(IM)-put(IM) grave(GN) onto(PO),

11 seļli piškiZ kūze. nei, kien voļ. ma tiedaB,

such little spruce. so, whom(DT) was. I know,

12 mādden voļ seļli Lounits Mari. tāmnen voļt'e, ne

we+DT was such " " . she+DT were, they

13 lapst volt't'e jara kuolenD. un siZ tšammen ne
children were away died. and then she+DT they

14 lapsten selli piški küze un sellist knaššeD -
children+DT such small spruce and such(PL) beautiful(PL) –

15 volt't'e rōza, volt't'e mingi selliZ - spuože pappiereD.
were pink, were some such - shiny papers.

16 nā.

yes.

Translation

Yes, on Easter morning then, the children went up the hill, singing 'Tšitšoliņki, tšitšoliņki, now it's time for you to get up. Big flounder into the little sea, little flounder into the big sea.' Yes. Let the little flounder go into the big sea, but may the big flounder come into the little sea. Yes. And then old people also took those spruce-trees at Easter, they decorated sort of little spruces, they'd gathered those pretty papers, beautiful cloths and then took them to their homes. Yes. All things like that they'd put on a grave, a little spruce like that. That is whoever had one. I know, we had someone called Lounits Mari. Her children had died. And so for those children she had one of those little spruces and those beautiful - they were some - shiny bits of paper. Yes.

Notes

line 1: leja-veġtam-uondžel 'on Easter morning'; leja-veġtameD 'Easter' is modelled on the Estonian lihavõtte, lit. 'flesh-taking'; here it is used a part of a compound in which the final element uondžel takes the adessive case ending (irregular, nom. uomeG).

line 2: tšitšoliņki...: opening lines of a well-known folk-song traditionally sung on Easter morning to 'waken the birds' in the coastal villages. Kettunen gives a slightly different version, but the sense is as given here.

line 2: m for um.

lines 3/4: piškiZ and sūr given here without plural or case endings, as attributive parts of compounds with mje'rre. Note also the fluctuating use of broken tone with mje(')rre and other words; where used by this speaker, it is barely perceptible.

line 6: leja-veġtameD pāl 'at Easter'; note the use of the postposition. Compare the use of talš-pivaD (which is a calque of Latv. Ziemsvētki 'winter festival(s)') without a postposition or case ending to mean 'at Christmas' by speaker 5.

line 8: sapanD: apparently a calque, formed from the Latv. prefix sa- ('together')+panda 'put', meaning 'gather, assemble, put together'. But Kettunen does record sapann with the same meaning from the extinct Salis dialect.

lines 9/10: eņtš ne kuodiden: 'them to their own homes'; note the uncharacteristic position of ne 'them/those'. This speaker appears to use ne only as an article, undeclined (see also lines 13/14, ne lapsten 'for those children').

line 11: nei, kien vol: the meaning appears to be 'well, whoever had one.'

line 13: jara kuolenD: note the use of jara as an intensifier ('died away') and its position before the participle.

line 15: spuože pappiereD 'shiny bits of paper'; the speaker hesitates, apparently in search of a word, before spuože, taken directly from Latv. (spožs 'shiny') and not recorded by Kettunen, rather than, for example, Liv. si'ldzi 'glossy, shiny'. The interference may be due to the following word, pappiereD, which has a direct cognate in Latv. (papīri). The ending -e in spuože does not have any apparent morphological significance.

7. Liina Veide, 77 years, Kuolka village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

- 1 nu ju talše-pivaD mēG broutšizme lōtel õden.
well EM Christmas(PL) we travelled church+AL night+DT.
- 2 sāl vo' l sūr lōlami un, un, un kīndel palist
there was great singing and, and, and candle burned(3PL)
- 3 un ne knaššiD ežmiZ talš-pivaD tegiŽ broutšem
and those beautiful+PL first Christmas(PL) again travel(1PL)
- 4 lōtel. pjerre lēnagst āige siZ mēG broutšem sugu
church+AL. after lunch(GN) time(PT) then we travel kin(GN)
- 5 jūr. sjāl vo' l vo'lte un, un tikkiŽ õ'stigel' tegiŽ
to(PO). there was beer(PT) and, and always dinner+AD again
- 6 vo'lme ku'bsse, vanaD līveD. nu siZ uvud-āigast,
were(1PL) together, old(PL) Livonians. well then new-year,
- 7 ūd-āigast õden tegiŽ amaD lekšme ku'bbe un siZ
new-year eve+DT again all+PL went(1PL) together and then
- 8 vonne valist. kien vo' l suormeks, sjen vo' l
luck(PT) cast(3PL). whom(DT) was ring, that+DT was
- 9 kōzgenD sie āigast, un tegiŽ kien krīt' vo' l, sien
wedding that year, and again whom(DT) chalk was, that(DT)
- 10 vo' l kuolemest. un siZ lekšme tegiŽ pūd'i vettem
was die+OG. and then went(1PL) again trees(PT) take+IP
- 11 ku'bbe. ja vo' l kakš, siZ v-, kakš pūd āltte,
together. if was two, then [HES.] two tree(PT) kindle,
- 12 siZ miele lā'B sie āiga. un aŽ ikš vwolG vo' l kāds,
then man+AL goes that time. and if one straw was hand+IN,

- 13 siZ vo' l, ieB vanad-neitseks. nei siZ vo' l. nu siZ
then was, stays old(PL)-maid+CT. so then was. well then
- 14 tu' l, tuli vasta-lova un teñni-pāva, teñni-pāva siZ
came, came Shrovetide and Anthony's-day, Anthony's-day then
- 15 kiettiZ siga pāde un, un tegiŽ vasta-lova siZ
boiled(IM) pig's head(PT) and, and again Shrovetide then
- 16 lekšte neitseD puoiššiD immer, dāntšist un siZ,
went(3PL) girls boys' around, danced(IM) and then,
- 17 se' lli vo' le se loul, 'ziŋgi springi vasta-lova, ē
such was that song, " " Shrovetide, "
- 18 vasta-lova, nei.
Shrovetide, so.

Translation

Well then, at Christmas we travelled to church at night. There was a lot of singing there, and, and, and the candles burned and, that beautiful first Christmas again we travelled to church. After lunchtime we travel to our relatives. There was beer and, and we were always together again at dinner, the old Livonians. Well then, at New Year, on New Year's Eve again we all went together and threw our luck [tin]. Whoever had a ring would have a wedding that year, and again, whoever had chalk would have to die. And then we went together to take trees. If there were two, two trees lit, then you'd get married that time. And if one straw was in your hand, then you'd stay an old maid. That's how it was. Well, then came, Shrovetide came, and St. Anthony's Day; on St. Anthony's Day they boiled a pig's head, and again at Shrovetide the girls went round the boys, danced and then the song was like this: 'Ziŋgi springi vasta-lova, ē vasta-lova', like that.

Notes

line 1: This speaker makes marked use of both broken tone (though it is not always present where expected) and the phoneme [õ]. She pronounces the adverb given by Kettunen as e'den with an initial õ: õ'den (cf. Est. õõ, Fi. yõ) (see also lines 5 and 7).

line 2: kindel palist 'they burned a candle'.

line 3: ežmiZ 'first' in singular form.

line 4: broušem 'we travel' (present tense),

line 5: Compare sjal with säl (line 1) for 'there'.

line 5: õ'stigel: this word is untraceable but may be a variant pronunciation of ü'degistel/ē'degistel 'at dinner'; cf. õ'den in line 1.

line 6: uvud- for ūd-.

line 8: vonne valist 'luck cast'; this refers to the practice of throwing a lump of molten tin into cold water and divining the future from the shape it takes. Compare this with the game referred to in the passage by speaker 2.

line 10: pūd'i 'trees' (PT PL) and

line 11: pūD āltte apparently refer to straws, as indicated by

line 12: vwoIG (Kettunen has vol'G).

line 11: ja is the Latvian word for 'if'; all other speakers use the Liv. word až (see line 12). Since this speaker consistently uses the Latvian un for 'and', ja cannot mean 'and' here.

line 17: zingi springi: apparently meaningless incantation.

8. Petõr Damberg, 63 years, formerly of Sikrõog village, living in Riga, recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

1 ku voļle niklas pāvan lē'mest zōkker pāle ūlze ja
when was Nicholas' day(DT) go+OG rack(GN) onto over and

2 siZ vo'tlemest ku kwotkaneZ sadaB las tānda sōge
then wait+OG when eagle falls so-that him(PT) get(SJ)

3 kā'dde. mikspjerast kuod'in seda kwotkaneZ lē'mest
hand+IL. why exactly that(PT) eagle going(PT)

4 siZ voļ - appkamest, sjeda mina āB mē'dle. aga se
then was - observe+OG, that(PT) I NG PR remember. but it

5 voļ mingi nōļa lapsten. bārban pāva, se voļ
was some joke children+DT. Barbara's day, it was

6 lāmbeD pāva, naist pāva. siZ ist voļ't'e ku'dde,
sheep(GN PL) day, women's day. then NG P were weave,

7 ist ka vērbikse. meitteZ lāmbeden īrgebeD pe'dde
NG P also spin. otherwise sheep+DT PL begin+3PL hurt

8 jālgāD ja nei iebeD pimdeks. bārban pāvan lekste
feet and so become dark+CT. Barbara's day+DT went(3PL)

9 ka bārbañ ajam. siZ neitseD ē'd'et immer
also Barbara(PT) chase+IP. then girls dress around

10 meittiziZ ōren'iZ ja lekste kōrandst
different+IN PL clothes+IN and went household+EL

11 kōrande - kōrandst kōrantte bārbañ ajam.
household+PT- household+EL household+IL Barbara+PT chase+IP.

12 voļ sellīZ - voļ katriñ ajam, katriñ ē'deG.

was such - was Catherine chase+IP, Catherine's evening.

13 ka lekste katriń ajam. voĺ katriń pāva, um

also went(3PL) Catherine chase+IP. was Catherine's day, is

14 ka selli kĭtteB-seņa voĺ. bet se āB uo katriń

also such saying-word was. but it NG PR be Catherine's

15 pāva 1D. sāl um ka ańdreks-pāva, voĺ ańdreks-pāva,

day only. there is also Andrew's-day, was Andrew's-day,

16 ja eĺ - mart pāva.

and [HES.] Martin's day.

Translation

When it was St.Nicholas' day you had to go up onto the [drying-] rack and then wait for the eagle to descend to get hold of it. Exactly why the movement of the eagle had to be observed, that I don't remember. But it was a sort of joke for the children. St.Barbara's Day, that was the sheep's day, women's day. There was no weaving then, and no spinning either. Otherwise the sheep's legs would start to hurt and so they'd become dark. On Barbara's Day, too, they went on a 'Barbara chase'. Then the girls would dress up in different clothes and go from household to household on the 'Barbara chase'. There was such a - there was a 'Catherine's chase' on St.Catherine's Day evening. They'd go on a 'Catherine chase' too. It was St.Catherine's Day, and there was such a proverb. But it isn't only St.Catherine's Day. There's also St.Andrew's Day there, there was St.Andrew's Day, and, er, St.Martin's Day.

Notes

The speaker was an experienced informant with a good education, and a teacher himself. It is Damberg's recorded speech that forms the basis of the material used in the

Descriptive Grammar.

line 1: voĺle for voĺ.

line 1: zōkker 'rack'; Kettunen defines this word as "gerüst, stellage (aus ästigen bäumen)".

line 1: ülze: note the use of the phoneme /ü/. ülze is more normally rendered as i'lze, and though the 'broken tone' is lacking here, this speaker does make moderate use of it; see vo'tlemest in line 2, for example.

line 4: appkamest, presumably for appakkamest 'to be observed' (OG); Kettunen explains app-akke 'bemerken, wahrnehmen, auf etwas kommen' as being formed from the Latv. prefix ap- 'herum, ab' and Liv. akke 'greifen, fassen'.

lines 6/7: note the construction siZ ist voĺt't'e ku'dde. ist ka vērbikse 'then there was no weaving, and no spinning either' (for them, a plural referent implied by the form ist voĺt't'e).

line 9: bārbań ajam: the reason for the palatalised ń is unclear, perhaps by analogy with katriń (ajam); the phrase may mean either 'for the Barbara('s day) chase/hunt' or 'to chase/hunt Barbara', ajam being the infinitive of purpose of a'(i)jje.

line 14: the proverb referred to here, quoted by Damberg further on in the passage, and by Kettunen in his Wörterbuch, is: mart mattaB, katriń kattaB, ańdreks tulab a'rtteB jara 'At Martinmas it snows ('buries'), at St.Catherine's even more ('cover'), (but by) St.Andrew's it's thawed away ('comes dissolves away').

9. Poulīn Klavīna, 63 years, formerly of Koštrōg village, recorded in Riga, 1981, by

Seppo Suhonen

- 1 emmit. emmit, nei ku Zuonka kōrents jelizde īŽ un
more. more, so that Zuonka household+IN lived self and
- 2 mēG nēla. aga mūŽ kōranD - Ūdruotšēl ka
we four. but other(PT PL) household - Ūdruots+AD also
- 3 jelizde nēla aime. nēla aime vel, nu mis ātte
lived four family+PT. four family+PT still, well what are
- 4 nei sellist pālkanikaD. un perimieZ eņtšēl sāl vol
so such+PL wage-earners. and landlord self+AD there was
- 5 kōrenD jēga a - kō' tutkam pāle. nu Folman jūsse
household each [HES.] two(GN) end(GN) on. well F.(GN) at(PO)
- 6 sāl ka jeliste nā ka nēla, volt't'e Krištin,
there also lived yes also four, were Kr.,
- 7 Šreitmaņ, ValkiD Poulīn se min rišt-jema, se ka sāl
Šr., V. P. that my godmother, that also there
- 8 mēG selliZ suguD volme, ju kougeZ suguD. nu
we such relatives were, more distant relatives. well
- 9 selliZ um ValkiD Poulīn, se min rišt-jema, tās āt
such is V. P. , that my godmother, here are
- 10 amaD kuolkanikaD, ne ka ātte amaD līvleD. Ūd-
all+PL Kuolka-people, they also are all+PL Livonians. [HES.]
- 11 sem- Ūdruotš, Ūdruotšen puogaD, amaD līvles ne ātte
[HES.] Ūdr., Ūdr.+DT boys, all+PL Livonians they are
- 12 kupsse. neikku se, tās ne bīldaD mis ātte, ne

together. so-that it, here those pictures where are, they

- 13 āt amaD līvles sapandeD. tās tegiŽ mēG Lielupse
are all+PL Livonians gathered. here again we Lielupe+IN
- 14 seda tāmme, ku seda, volt't'e ne ēstlist
that+PT oak+PT, when it+PT, were those Estonians
- 15 at-tunneD, un siZ tāmme panaB, kis um, ku - ?
arrived, and then oak+PT puts, who is, that - ?

Translation

[The speaker is reminiscing as she looks through a photograph album showing other Livonians she used to know.]

More. More, so that in the Zuonka household lived myself and four of us. But in other households - at Ūdruotš there also lived four families, four more families, well, what you might call wage-earners. And the landlord himself had a household there, at each - at the two ends of the house. Well, at Folman's there also lived four: there was Krištin, Šreitmaņ, Valkid Poulīn - that's my god-mother - we also had relatives there, more distant relatives. Well, that's Valkid Poulīn, that's my god-mother, here they are all Kuolka people, they are all Livonians. Ūdruotš, the Ūdruotš boys, all Livonians they are together. So that - here are the pictures where they are all, all the Livonians gathered. Again, here we are on the Lielupe, that oak, when - the Estonians had arrived, and then he puts the oak - who's that, who?

Notes

Note this speaker's minimal use of broken tone.

line 4: pālkanikaD, not given in Kettunen's dictionary, but evidently 'wage-earners' or 'paid employees' from pālkkā 'wage' + -nik.

lines 11 & 13: līvles: final -s unexplained; possibly for līvedeks 'as Livonians'.

line 13: sapandeD: see note to line 8, speaker 6.

line 14: Lielupe: one of the major rivers of Latvia.

line 15: at-tunned: 'arrived', past active participle of at-tūlda, a calque, noted by Kettunen, based on Latvian at+nākt 'arrive' (Liv. tūlda, Latv. nākt 'come').

10. Oskar Stalte, 85 years, recorded in Riga 1989 by Christopher Moseley

- 1 un sie tuoñiŽ keŕD ku tānda vjediZ ulze siZ ta,
and that last time when him(PT) led(IM) out then he,
- 2 tāssa rīges tsentral sāl vizas-kwodas, kakš ne
here Riga(IN) central there prison(double-IN), two those
- 3 krieve naist nēd'i, tānden veŕten un pand
Russian woman(PT) them(PT), here taken and put(P AC P)
- 4 seļiZ, seļiZ ōdeZ, ōdeZ, ōdeZ seļiZ, seļiZ
such(IN), such(IN) narrow, narrow, narrow such(IN), such(IN)
- 5 komber sizal. un ēd'en pōlaZ, amaD
chamber(GN) inside. and undressed(P AC P) naked, all(PL)
- 6 ōrenD um attvutteD jāra. un nei ka um kīlde mīngiZ
clothes is taken(PPP) away. and so also is frozen some
- 7 kōgeks stuñd'i sāl. seda tikkiŽ vañt'-naist
long+CT hours+PT there. it(PT) everything look - women
- 8 tuoiŽ seŕ āB toud' laške vel - se āB, seda āB
true only NG PR dare let yet - it NG PR, it(PT) NG PR
- 9 toud', seda āB toud'. un mi'nnen ka, mina ka tōB
dare, it(PT) NG PR dare. and me(DT) also, I also want
- 10 midage kītte, vañt', tā'mmen. ta āB lā', vañt'li,
something say, look, him(DT). he NG PR go, look,
- 11 seda. un sie um iñl'i aša, ku ta um lānD sie
it(PT). and it is wondrous thing, that he is gone that(GN)
- 12 rek le'bbe nēlakīmde krāD sāl kīlma, ku tāmmen
way(GN) through 40 degree there cold, when him(DT)

13 äB leibe vqnD, äB uo vqnD ðren, äb uo vonD midagi.

NG PR bread+PT been, NG PR been clothing, NG PR been anything.

14 ta kieriZ tã'giŽ. un tãmmen voí, íne voí läpš, piški

he turned back. and him(DT) was, together was child, small

15 läpš.

child.

Translation

[The speaker refers to an incident in the life of Uli Büntik-Kīnkamäg, the so-called 'King of the Livonians', who died in prison.]

And that last time when he was taken out, then, here at Riga Central Prison, two Russian women took them and put them in a narrow, narrow, narrow sort, sort of chamber. And stripped him naked, all his clothes were taken away. And he was freezing for several hours there. Everything, look - the women truly didn't dare let him out yet - they didn't dare, they didn't dare to. And I too have, I want to say something too; look - at him. He doesn't go, look - at that. And the wondrous thing is that he went that way through 40 degrees of frost, when he didn't have any bread, didn't have any clothes, didn't have anything.

He turned back. And he had with him a child, a little child.

Notes

lines 1/2: rīges tšentral sāl vizas-kwodas, lit. 'in Riga Central there Prison'; the -s in rīges may be either a Livonian inessive or a Latvian genitive case, as the Latvian name of the institution is Rīgas Centrālais Cietums. vizas-kwodas, with both elements in the inessive case, means 'hard-house' (cietums means 'hardness' in Latvian also) and is thus analogous with pīva-kwoda 'holy-house' (=church).

line 2: like many other speakers, this speaker uses ne as an indeclinable article.

line 3: tānden presumably for tāne 'here, hither'.

line 5: komber 'chamber/room' (GN). Kettunen gives the forms kōmar, kōmar, kōmer but notes the derivation from Latv. kammaris/kambaris/Est. kammer/kamber, hence the -b- and the corresponding shortening of the stressed vowel.

line 6: atvutteD 'taken away' (PPP); Kettunen gives the form att-utte, utte being a variant of vette 'take'; indeed the u heard in this word is somewhat centralised. The ɨ of the Latv. prefix at- 'away, back' is here lengthened before a vowel. Note also the construction amaD ðreD um attvutteD jãra lit. 'all clothes is away-taken away', with plural subject and singular verb (echoing the Finnish construction kaikki vaatteet on otettu pois) followed by the emphatic adverb jãra.

line 6: kīlde: an untraced form, but presumably a variant of kīlmden 'frozen' (P AC P) < kilme 'freeze'.

line 7: kōgeks 'long' is an adverb in the form of the comitative case of kōgaZ; kōgeks only has temporal reference, kōgaZ only spatial reference.

lines 7, 10: vañt', vañt'li (interjection) 'look, see'.

line 11: iml'i for imil' or i'mlimi (Kettunen) 'wondrous, marvellous'.

line 11: aša for aža 'thing'.

lines 11/12: le'bbe is a preposition referring to nēlakīmdē krãD rather than a postposition after rek.

line 12: krãD 'degree'; Kettunen does not record this or any other word for 'degree', but does note gra'dde-glōZ 'thermometer'; cf. Est. kraad, Latv. grãds.

Note also that three tenses are used in this narrative: present, perfect and preterite.

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FUF Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen (Helsinki)

K&K Keel ja Kirjandus (Tallinn)

SUST Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimitukset (Helsinki)

V Virittäjä (Helsinki)

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