

CURONIAN LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS IN LIVONIAN

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Abstract. Researchers of Finnic languages have stressed the special position of Livonian among its close relatives due to the great number of Latvian loan elements. The Latvian influence is noteworthy and present in all levels of the language. Baltic influence on Livonian is, however, more diverse both linguistically and chronologically. Livonians, especially Courland Livonians have been in contact with Curonians – their close neighbours – for a longer period of time. This is because Livonian has preserved a number of linguistic elements from Old Curonian – a language that belonged to the Baltic language group. The nature of Curonian and its position among other Baltic language has been – and still is – a matter of dispute. In the article, the possible Curonian elements in various levels of Livonian are presented and analysed.

Keywords: substratum, adstratum, language contacts, Finnic languages, Livonian language, Baltic languages, Curonian language

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1. Curonians and their language

The Curonian language is an extinct Baltic language, which was once spoken in western Courland and north-western Lithuania. The first written record of the Curonians or Kurs living in the Liepāja–Skudoda region dates from 853 AD – *Gens ... vocata Cori* (Būga 1961: 156 ff, Kabelka 1982: 63). Curonians are a frequent issue in the end-of-12th and, especially, 13th-century Icelandic chronicles, which tell of earlier events as well. Curonians are also mentioned in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry. Curonians used to attack ships on the Baltic and maraud the coasts, having their own villages plundered in return. The German invasion beginning in the mid-13th century meant death to many Curonians, while many more left or were made to leave their areas of settlement. Their emigration was further intensified by the constant battles in the region in the 14th–15th centuries. According to Baltic language historian Zigmās Zinkevičius it is the emigration and scattering of the Curonians that account for the frequent occurrence of the component *Kurš* in place names all over the Latvian and northern Lithuanian area and beyond (Endzelīns 1974: 512, Zinkevičius 1987:

216). The name *Kursi* occurring in Estonia as a village or farm name has been discussed by Valdek Pall (1972: 91–92), who writes, e.g., “The first phonetic equivalent that comes to mind is the ethnonym stem *Kurs-*, also known in Finnic languages as *kure-*, *kura-*, *kuuri-* etc.” Courland (*Kuuramaa*) as well as Curonians (*kuralased*) are mentioned in Estonian runic songs.

Most of the specialists of Baltic languages believe that in the mid-16th century the Curonians were still speaking a language variety that differed from Latvian, but by the beginning of the 17th century the remaining Curonians had become fully Latvianized. No texts of the Curonian language, which became extinct in Samogitia by the 16th century and in Courland by the 17th (Kabelka 1982: 67–68) have survived, except the Lord’s Prayer presented in a mixture of Curonian and Latvian in the *Preussische Chronik* by Simon Grunau (1510–1530) (Zinkevičius 1984: 347). However, a Curonian substratum can be detected in the Latvian dialects spoken in the historical Curonian areas in western Courland (Liepāja, Ventspils, Kuldīga, Talsi region) and in the Samogitian dialect of Lithuanian, in particular in the northwestern part of the area (Klaipėda, Skuoda, Kretinga, Telšiai region; see Endzelīns 1974: 440 ff, Rudzīte 1964: 64, Zinkevičius 1984: 341 ff, esp. 347–349, 1987: 213–217), while Livonian bears traces of a Curonian adstratum and possibly also substratum.¹ Although the survived data are too scarce to enable reconstruction of Curonian morphology, the indirectly obtained material is nevertheless of great importance, providing an idea of the phonetics and lexis of the extinct language and its abundant prefixes and suffixes. The Curonian elements detectable in Livonian are of particular importance, because Livonian never received the innovations that contributed to the levelling of the Samogitian as well as the Latvian dialects of Courland, which likened them ever more to the common and standard variants of the respective languages (see, e.g. Markus-Narvila 2011). As a rule, the Baltic dialects that evolved on a Curonian substratum have preserved Curonian phonetics only in archaic or totally non-standard Lithuanian or Latvian words (see e.g. Rudzīte 1964: 77 *et passim*). If a Latvian dialect element that is regarded as Curonian happens to occur in Livonian as well, the fact should help dispel the doubts that its appearance may be due to a more recent Lithuanian influence.

1 In his studies (e.g. Nieminen 1957) of Baltic and Finnic contacts Eino Nieminen tried to prove that Proto-Finnic had contacts with Old Curonian (Altkurisch), which was a Western Baltic language.

Ascertainment of a Curonian substratum in the Baltic territories requires, first and foremost, linguo-geographic and toponymic information. Latvian toponymist Ojārs Bušs (1989: 36) regards the studying of place names, especially of hydronyms, the paramount source for researchers looking for a Curonian substratum or trying to reconstruct the still unknown Curonian appellatives (think of the proverbial approach to place names as a cemetery of common nouns). In Lithuanian we find Curonian place names not only in the Curonian areas known from 13th-century sources, but almost throughout the whole Samogitian dialect area (Zinkevičius 1987: 214–215).

What was Curonian like and what was its position among the other Baltic languages has always been a contentious issue. Having many innovations in common with Old Prussian and its kindred language of Sudovian, Curonian is considered a Western Baltic language rather than an Eastern one. This hypothesis is borne out by numerous Old Prussian or Sudovian and Curonian lexical parallels. The tricky point is that on the background of Eastern Baltic languages (such as Latvian and Lithuanian) an Eastern Baltic substratum is much more difficult to detect than a Western Baltic one (Bušs 1989: 38, Bušs 1990: 51). According to Bušs there is not enough of reliable material to prove either this or that hypothesis (Bušs 1990: 50–51). It is known that in Middle Iron Age, around the middle of the 1st millennium AD contacts between Curonians and Sengallians intensified, due to which Curonian acquired a lot of Eastern Baltic traits, thus becoming, according to Jānis Endzelīns (Endzelīns 1951: 6, Endzelīns 1974: 504), an intermediate between the Lithuanian and Latvian languages.

2. Curonian–Livonian language contacts

The Curonians and Courland Livonians were immediate neighbours. In the 13th century the northern boundary between them was probably located somewhere in the region of modern Ventspils, Talsi and Tukums, while the eastern boundary ran along the River Venta (see LKV X: 19077–1908 *kuršu valoda*, Markus-Narvila 2011). Mixed settlement of the two peoples occurred in Courland as well as in Livonia (Endzelīns 1951: 6; for more detail, see below). Hitherto the possible Curonian substratum and adstratum in Livonian has been addressed only tangentially (see, e.g. Endzelīns 1970: 7–8). Livonian, esp. Courland Livonian has numerous Baltic word stems, which have retained some phonetic elements, both in the vowel and consonant system, that are typical of Curonian. The present paper attempts to highlight and analyse the possible Curonian elements in the Livonian

language. Although most of the examples below can be found in Seppo Suhonen's monograph on Latvian loanwords (Suhonen 1973), it is not difficult to see that not all of the suggested associations between the Baltic loanwords in Livonian and their Latvian source forms are quite univocal, especially if not corroborated by geographic data or if undermined by certain phonetic traits differing from common or standard Latvian. True, the results of the present study are also hardly more than preliminary. Incidentally, Livonian has exerted an extensive influence on the Curonian language, too, but this remains beyond the scope of the present article.

3. Traces of Curonian in the Livonian vowel system

3.1. Lengthening of the originally short Baltic vowels in tautosyllabic sequences with *stød*

The lengthening of the originally short Baltic vowels in tautosyllabic sequences with *stød* is observed in Samogitian dialect and in the Latvian dialects spoken in Courland: *arC* > *ārC*, *erC* > *ērC* > (western Courland) *ierC*, *urC* > *ūrC* > (western Courland) *uorC*. This phonetic development probably originates in traditional Curonian pronunciation (Endzelīns 1951: 7, Endzelīns 1974: 141, 638, Kabelka 1982: 72, Zinkevičius 1984: 348; for the occurrence of the phenomenon in Latvian dialects see Krautmane 1936: 113, Rudzīte 1964: 62, 63, 152, Laumane 2004a: 8–9).

The above tendency is exemplified in the following Baltic loanwords found in Courland Livonian: *kīermōZ* 'Holzwurm mit schwarzem Kopf'², cf. Latv *ķīr̃mis*, dial. *ķī̃r̃mis*, Lith *kirmis* id. ME II: 384–385; *kūrli* 'taub', cf. Latv *kūrls*, dial. *kũrls*² ME II: 323; EH I: 678, (Dundaga) *kūordals* id. LW: 168a; *skūorstin* 'Schornstein', cf. Latv *skũr̃stenis*, dial. *skũr̃stenis* id. ME III: 906; *sō'rG* 'Beschützer', cf. Latv *sãr̃gs* 'Wächter, Hüter' ME III: 716; *sā'rmōl* 'Hermelin (*Mustela erminea*); Iltis (*Mustela putorius*)', cf. Latv *sā̃r̃mulis*, *murd sā̃r̃mulis*² ME III: 819, 830, (Dundaga) *sā'rmul's* id. LW: 394b, Lith *šermuon-ēlis* id.³; *viērbil* 'Stock, worauf die Spule beim Abwickeln gesteckt wird', cf. Latv dial. *vĩrbulis*² ME IV: 603, Lith *vĩrbalas* 'rod;

2 The Livonian examples here and hereafter come from: Kettunen 1938.

3 *Hereinafter the Lithuanian examples drawn from the web dictionary Lietuvių kalbos žodyno (t. I–XX, 1941–2002) elektroninio varianto I leidimas 2005 = www.lkz.lt are not referenced in the text

tooth (of a harrow) etc'; **vā'rgō(Z)** 'Sklave', cf. Latv *vēr̃gs*, dial. *vēr̃gs*² ME IV: 561, (Dundaga) *v:ā'rks* id. LW: 509b.

3.2. Epenthesis of *-i-*

It is characteristic of the Latvian dialects with a Curonian substratum that a non-etymological *i* appears after the vowels *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū* and *uo* if the next syllable has a palatal vowel (Endzelīns 1974: 510, 529–530, Krautmane 1936: 112, Rudzīte 1964: 77). Baltologists regard the epenthesis of *-i-* as a Curonian trait (Endzelīns 1951: 136, Zinkevičius 1984: 348–349). As for Lithuanian, the epenthesis of *-i-* is typical of Samogitian dialect, which definitely has a Curonian substratum (Endzelīns 1974: 510, Zinkevičius 1984: 349). Under above conditions, regular epenthesis of *-i-* is very typical of the Latvian dialects of Dundaga and Pope, while the lexical layers affected (Low German and German loanwords) date from different periods, including relatively recent ones, as has also been pointed out by Lauri Posti (1942: 103, Ref. 1).

Mainly in loanwords some word stems with a non-etymological *-i-* have made their way into Courland Livonian, but the phenomenon also occurs in genuine Livonian words if the consonant or consonant sequence (previously or currently) preceding the 2nd-syllable *ij* is not palatalized (see LW: XXII, XXVIII, Posti 1942: 10, 13–14, 19, 102–103, 105–108, Suhonen 1973: 23, 24–25). Quite obviously the epenthesis of *-i-* is not an independent parallel development occurring in the neighbouring Baltic and Finnic languages, incl. Livonian and the Mulgi dialect of Estonian (Posti 1942: 106 ff, Tanning 1961: 26–27).

Livonian examples: **be'idīG** 'traurig', cf. Latv *bēdīgs* ME I: 288, dial. (Dundaga) *be'idīks* id., LW: 22a; **deidō** 'welken, verwelken, abmagern', cf. Latv *dēdēt*, dial. (Dundaga) *deidēt* id. ME I: 461, 453; **dra'igō** 'unnütz verbrauchen, vergeuden; zerschmettern', cf. Latv *dragāt* 'schmettern; zerbrechen' ME I: 488, Lith *drāgoti* 'to ruin, damage, destroy'; Sam **koig** 'Schiff', cf. Latv *kuģis*, *kuģe* id. ME II: 300; **kūi'k** 'Handgriff der Schaufel oder Sense', cf. Latv *kūķis*² id. ME II: 333; **pūi'k** 'Drache', cf. Latv *pūķis* id. ME III: 446; **ru'inō** '(mit einem stumpfen Messer) schneiden', cf. Latv *rūnīt* id. ME III: 571; **snūi'k** 'Rüssel, Schnauze', cf. Latv *snūķis*, *snūķis* id. ME III: 979, Lith. *snūķis* id.; **sve'itō**, S **sveit** 'segnen', cf. Latv *svētīt* id. ME III: 1155, dial. (Dundaga) *sve'i't* LW: 390b–391a; **stuidō** 'ermahnen', cf. Latv *stūidīt*, *stūdīt* 'antreiben, aufhetzen' ME III: 1101–1102, 1109; **zuinō** 'reiben, ziehen, reißen (von stumpfen Messern)', cf. Latv *žūinīt*² 'mit einem stumpfen Messer schneiden' ME IV: 829.

3.3. The Curonian-like lowering of the Baltic vowels *i* and *u*

The phenomenon is characteristic of the Latvian and Samogitian dialects with a Curonian substrate and to some extent also of Old Prussian (Zinkevičius 1984: 348, Zinkevičius 1987: 214).

i > *e*

In Livonian the first-syllable *i* has generally survived, but in some loanwords *e* occurs instead of the expected *i*. Posti comments the Livonian sound change of *i* > *e* preceding *h* and *r* as follows: “Wodurch dieser Lautwandel bedingt gewesen ist, ist unklar” (Posti 1942: 21)

Examples: *bre'd'd'õ* ‘waten’, cf. Latv *brist* : *bried* : *brīen* id. ME I: 332–333; *ke'lp* ‘Holzhaken ...; Strickschlinge ...’, cf. Latv dial. *ķēlpā*, žem **kelpa* ‘Schlinge, Schleife’ ME II: 363, Lith *kilpa* ‘loop, noose; snares; buttonhole’; *ke'r'k* < **kirkki* (see Posti 1942: 21) ‘Heuschrecke, Grille, Heimchen’, cf. Latv *ķirķis* ‘Heimchen; ein ganz kleiner Holzwurm; ein Insekt, das die Netze zerfrisst’ ME II: 384, ‘ein weisser, im Meeressande hausender Wurm’ EH I: 704, Lith *kiṛkis* ‘sea insect’; *lõpsnà* (< *lepsna*) ‘freundlich, leutselig’, cf. Latv *lipns* ‘freundlich, holdselig, hold’ ME III: 474, Lith *lipšnūs* / *lipsnūs* ‘kind, pleasant civil’; *ze'rmi* ‘grau (vor Alter)’, *zermliki* ‘greyish’, cf. Latv *sīrms* ‘grau, silbergrau; grau (fig.)’, alt’ ME III: 846–847.

u > *o*

In Livonian the first-syllable *u* has generally survived (Posti 1942: 13), but (mainly) in Baltic loanwords there is *o* instead of the expected *u*. This Curonian trait is typical of local Latvian (dialect) usage, including that of Dundaga (see Rudzīte 1964: 76, Suhonen 1973: 20, 67).

Examples: *bõmbal* ‘Knospe’, cf. Latv *bumbul(i)s* ‘Knolle, Wurzelknolle etc’ ME I:349–350; *dopàstõ*, *dopin't'õ* ‘stossen beim Reiten’, cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *dopinât* ‘auf den Knien schaukeln; trippeln, scharf traben (von Pferden)’ ME I: 488, Lith *dupinioti* ‘frighten fish with a stirring pole; *dopil'* ‘(Salz)fass’, cf. Latv *duplis*, dial. (Dundaga) *dopsele* id. ME I: 518, EH I: 328; *gro'blimi* ‘uneben, holperig’, cf. Latv *grubulains*, dial. *groblāins* id., (Dundaga) *groba* ‘eine Unebenheit auf dem Fahrwege’ ME I: 664; *mo'tškõl* / *mo'tskõl* ‘unförmiger Haufen’, cf. Latv *muckul(i)s*, *mučkuls* id. ME II: 658, 672; *po'D* / *podà* ‘abgetragenes Kleidungsstück, Lumpen’, cf. Latv *pudas* pl, dial. (incl. Dundaga) *poda*, *podas* pl ‘alter Kram, alte Kleider, Lumpen’ ME III: 401–402, 375, EH II: 310; *slo'bbõrtõ* ‘löffeln’, cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *šlõ'ber't* id. LW: 374b.

The sound change $u > o$ is also observed in the Latvian dialects spoken in Livonia and in a few loanwords in Salaca Livonian: *korst* ‘sengen, brennen, anbrennen, versengen (tr)’ (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009: 85: *korb*), cf. Latv *kuřstīt* ‘oft ein wenig heizen, schüren’ ME II: 326; *piestomp* ‘zustopfen’ (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009: 149), cf. Latv *piestumpt* ‘zu-, dazu-, hinzustossen. -schieben; schiebend, stossend anfüllen’ ME III: 298.

3.4. Baltic *ei > Curonian ei

The archaic Baltic diphthong *ei* survives in Prussian and (at least partly) in Curonian, whereas in the rest of the Baltic languages the change $*ei > \bar{e} > ie$ has taken place (Zinkevičius 1984: 347, Zinkevičius 1987: 215). In the Northern Samogitian dialect area the Baltic *ei*-diphthong lives on in *ei*, whose eastern boundary coincides with the 13th-century Curonian-Lithuanian linguistic boundary, while the Samogitian *ei*-words represent an older Curonian substratum (Endzelīns 1951: 7, Zinkevičius 1987: 215). In Courland Livonian the Curonian *ei*-diphthong lives on in the diphthong *ōi* in the words *k`ōidas* ‘Weberkamm; Ankerstock’ and *l`ōiga(-)* ‘excessive’. The *ōi*-diphthong of Courland Livonian can probably be tracked to the Curonian original $*skeitas$ resp. $*leika / lejka$; the Eastern Baltic equivalents have *ie*, as expected: Lith *skiētas* ‘crossbar of a harrow; (weaver’s) reed’, Latv *šķiets, šķietiš* ‘(weaver’s) reed’ (Endzelīns 1940: 251, Endzelīns 1974: 510–511).

The Salaca Livonian word *leišid* pl (CLiv *leiš* ‘Litauer’, cf. Latv *leītis* id. ME II: 447; see also Suhonen 1973: 148–149) is a more recent Latvian loanword with a Curonian-like *ei*-diphthong.

4. Curonian influence in the consonant system

4.1. Conservative Baltic tautosyllabic sequences

The dental nasal of the Baltic tautosyllabic sequences anC , enC , inC , unC remains unchanged in Curonian, as well as in the Western Baltic languages and Lithuanian. In Latvian we find the heterosyllabic *n*, but the tautosyllabic *n* has become a vowel: $anC > uoC$, $enC > ieC$, $inC > īC$, $unC > ūC$ (Rudzīte 1993: 303–306). In the Latvian dialects with a Curonian substratum (see, e.g. the lists of words with a VnC sequence, representing Stende dialect, compiled by Draviņš, Rūķe 1955: 78–87), as well as in a few words of the Livonian-like dialects

spoken in Livonia the tautosyllabic *n* persists (Rudzīte 1964: 153). The tautosyllabic *n* appears in some old Baltic loanwords in Finnic languages, e.g. Est *angerjas*, SLiv *aņger'*, *hang*, *-u*, Liv *aņg* etc. J. Endzelīns has repeatedly discussed the origin of the word stems with a tautosyllabic *n* in Latvian (e.g. Endzelīns 1974: 54 ff). Based on old chronicles, Endzelīns suggests that the vowelization of the tautosyllabic sequences in Latvian must have taken place before the 13th century (ibid.: 143). However, modern common and standard Latvian contains many word stems with a tautosyllabic *n* that can hardly be described as Curonian-like. The sequence *nC* has participated in the formation of descriptive and expressive words in Latvian (Endzelīns 1974: 156; for an analogous phenomenon in Estonian and other Finnic languages, see Vaba 2004). Similar cases are, e.g. Latv *duņdurs* 'horsefly' (LEV I: 241), whence it has been borrowed into Salaca Livonian as well as into Courland Livonian: SLiv *dundir* 'Hornisse, Hummel, Bremse', CLiv *du'ndōr* 'Bremse', *spiņdzēle* 'horsefly, beetle' (LEV II: 265 *spindzēt*), whence CLiv *spi'nzōl* 'Stechfliege'. Abundant word stems with an *nC* sequence have been smuggled into Latvian with loanwords. Words with a non-tautosyllabic *nC* have been borrowed from Finnic, German, Russian and other languages. A tautosyllabic *n* may, however, be encountered in recent Lithuanian loanwords. Among other possibilities, Endzelīns has even suggested that Latvian words with a tautosyllabic *n* may originate in some other extinct Baltic language variety but Curonian.

It should be noted that Latvian has retained the *m* of tautosyllabic sequences, but in the sequences of *-mb-* / *-mp-* it has become a vowel (Endzelīns 1974: 150). The matter is complicated by the fact that in several cases the *n* of the sequences *-nk-* / *-nc-*, *-ng-* / *-ndz-* is secondary as a result the sporadic sound change *m* > *n*, which persists in Latvian, because it took place only after the vowelization of *n* (for details, see Endzelīns 1974: 144 ff, esp. 147, 149, 509).

The possible words representing the Curonian-like tautosyllabic dental nasal in the Courland Livonian vocabulary are, e.g. **ba'ndō** 'schwärmen', cf. Latv dial. *bandēt* 'suchen' ME I: 262, Lith *band'yti* 'to try' LEV I: 106–107: *banda'*; **bland** 'Schmarotzer', **bla'ndō** 'sich herumschweifen', cf. *blanda* 'Tagedieb, Herumtreiber', *blāndīties* 'umherschweifen, sich umhertreiben' ME I: 309, Būga 1961: 178, LEV I: 132: a Curonian or expressive stem; **bru'n'īš** 'kleinere Wemgalle, Zährte', cf. Latv dial. *bruņcis* (a fish), Lith *brunšis* 'Plötze', OPr *brunse* (*Leuciscus rutilus*) Būga 1961: 179, Laumane 1973: 188; **bāndrōz** 'Genosse, Kamerad', but in parallel there are also genuine Latvian words such as, e.g. *bi'edōrz* 'Vereinsmitglied; Gefährte, Kamerad' Būga 1961: 178, Suhonen 1973: 97; **da'n'ž** 'Radfelge', cf.

Latv *dañdzis* id., OPr *dongo* ‘? Refe ? = Reif’ Būga 1961: 189–190, Endzelīns 1974: 505, ME I: 437, LEV I: *danga*; **du`n`š** ‘(Schnitz-, Dolch)messer’, cf. Latv *duñcis* id. ME I: 515, LEV I: 241; **gūņka** ‘künstliche Falte in Kleidern’, cf. Latv *gūņģis*² ‘Krümmung’, Lith *gūnka*, *gūnga* ‘curve, hump’ ME I: 683; **i`nd`iB** ‘eine böse Krankheit’, cf. Latv *iņdeve* id. Būga 1961: 180, ME I: 707–708; **krānta** ‘senkrechtes, vom Wasser ausgegrabenes Ufer’, cf. Latv *krañts*, *krañte* ‘Ufer’, Sam *krānta*, *krantà*, Lith *krañtas*, *kriañts* ‘beach, shore; coast’ Endzelīns 1974: 508, ME II: 259, EH I: 642, Laumane 2004b: 238; **kilāndōks** ‘Kropf der Vögel’, cf. Lith *skilāndis* id. Būga III: 848, LEW II: 806; **lāņka** ‘niedrige Flusswiese; eine Grasart, die in *l.* wächst’, cf. Latv *laņka* id. ME II: 420, Laumane 2004b: 242–243; **le`n`š** ‘Schleife, Öse, Schlinge’, cf. Latv *leņce*, *leñcis* id. ME I: 450, LEV I: 515: *lenk*; **līņga(Z) / līņga** ‘(den Reiter) leicht tragend’, cf. Latv *lingāns* ‘ein langbeiniger Mensch, der grosse Schritte macht’ ME II: 471, LEV I: 538 *linga*; **lūņkka** ‘Bucht, Busen; (niedrige) Wiese am Flusse’, cf. Latv *luņka* id., OPr *lunkis* ‘Winkel’ ME II: 513–514; **mā`ndrōkš** ‘Quirl’, cf. Latv dial. *māñturis* id. ME II: 602, Lith. *mentūris* id. Būga 1961: 181; **mu`ndrōZ** ‘munter, wachsam’, cf. Latv *muñdrs* id. ME II: 667, Lith *muñdras* id. Būga 1961: 181, LEV I: 608; **palāndōks** ‘pigeon’, cf. Lith *balañdis* id. Būga III: 178, 848, Endzelīns 1974: 510; **pa`ntšk** ‘unreines Wasser, Spülicht’, cf. Latv dial. *pañčka* ‘Pfütz’ ME III: 76; **rānta** ‘Kerbe, Strich, Streifen’, **a`trānta** ‘Kerbe’, cf. Latv *rañta*, *rañte* id. ME III: 477, Lith *rāntas*, *rañtas* id. Endzelīns 1974: 102; **rīnda** ‘Reihe’, Latv *rīnda* id. ME III: 527, Lith *rindà* id.; **ru`n`d`zlōz**, **ru`n`glis** ‘mit Macht, (Sjögren 1861: 192) mit schneller Bewegung, mit Gewalt’, cf. Lith *rungčiomis*, *rungčiom*, *rūngčiom* ‘vying with each other’; **sasprānga** ‘Kummetriemen’, cf. Latv *saspraņga* id. ME III: 742, Endzelīns 1974: 508; **sklānda** ‘Zaunstange’, cf. Latv *sklaņda* id. ME III: 881–882, EH II: 504, Lith *sklandà* id. Būga 1961: 183–184, Endzelīns 1974: 505, LEV II: 201, Bušmane 2004: 162–163; **skrānda**, **skra`ndōl** ‘Fetzen’, cf. Latv *skraņda(s)* ME III: 886–887, Lith *skrānda* ‘old fur coat’ Būga 1961: 184, LEV II: 204; **skūndartō** ‘verführen’, cf. Latv dial. *skuñdēt* ‘klagen, sich beklagen; tadeln; missgönnen; schmollen, zürnen’ ME III: 904–905, Lith *skundėti* id. Endzelīns 1974: 508, Būga 1961: 184, LEV II: 210; **spru`ņgil** ‘Knüttel’, cf. Latv *spruņgul(i)s* id. ME III: 1024–1025, Lith *spruņgulas* id.; **tange** ‘Himmel’ (this term for ‘sky’ was recorded from Courland Livonian at the turn of the 19th century (Winkler 1994: 40, 72), later the Curonian-like word receded from Livonian use, which is why it is not included either in Sjögren-

Wiedemann 1861 or in Kettunen 1938, cf. Lith *dangùs* ‘taevas’, OPr *dangus* ‘Himmel; Gaumen’⁴; *va`ndō* ‘herumwühlen’, cf. Latv *vañdīt* ‘wenden, umstören, durcheinanderwerfen’ ME IV: 469–470, Būga 1961: 186–187; *vēn`t`ar* ‘Satznetz, Fischreuse aus Garn’, cf. Latv *veñteris* id. ME IV: 537–538, Būga 1961: 187, LEW II: 1223–1224, LEV II: 507; *vibàndōks* / *vibànta* ‘Beifuß (*Artemisia vulgaris*)’, cf. Latv *vībante*, *vībuōtne* id. ME IV: 633; *ānda* ‘Seitenholz des Arbeitsschlittens’, cf. Latv dial. *æñdas*, genuine Latv *uodne* id. Būga 1961: 180, ME I: 570, IV: 413. In the above list, special attention should be paid to the words that have not any more been recorded later, such as *palàndōks*, *ru`n`d`zlōz*, *ru`n`glis*, *kilàndōks*, *tange*.

Many Curonian place names, especially oikonyms contain the suffix *-(a)ng-* with a tautosyllabic nasal (*Būtingē*, *Kretingà*, *Palangà* etc). In the Livonian tradition this toponym type is represented by *Kul`iņG* = Cur *Kuldinga*, Sam *Kūldinga*, Latv *Kūldīga* (for details, see Būga 1961: 168, Zinkevičius 1984: 349, Zinkevičius 1987: 214). Other Curonian-like place names with a tautosyllabic nasal include the Courland-Livonian *Dūon`diG*, cf. Cur *Dondaga*, Latv *Dundaga*, *KāndaB*, cf. Cur, Latv *Kandava*, probably also the name *Vāānta* of the biggest river of Courland, the border river between Curonian and Livonia, cf. Latv *Venta* (for the origin of the name of *Venta* and its nearly 30 tributaries see Bušs 1989: 36, Bušs 1990: 53 ff, Bušs 2003b: 184–185, Bušs 2003a: 190–193; among other things, Bušs points out that the namescape described is absolutely dominated by river names of the Baltic type) etc. The same suffix is also characteristic of Prussian and Sudovian place names, but not of the rest of the Baltic areas, which testifies to a closeness between Curonian and Western Baltic languages (Zinkevičius 1984: 349).

The list of the borrowed word stems with a Curonian-like tautosyllabic dental nasal is about 50 strong. However, it still needs a more careful etymological and language geographical analysis and, thus, a most critical approach. All of the presented cases need not be – and hardly are – direct loans from Curonian, rather being indirect loans arriving in Courland Livonian from some Courland Latvian dialect or, rarely, even from common or standard Latvian.

The Latvian word stems with a Curonian-like tautosyllabic nasal which occur outside the historical Curonian areas have been discussed by Endzelīns (1974: 508 ff). Referring to the geography of the place

4 The Baltic *dangus* is a substantivized adjective derived from the stem of the verb *deņgti* ‘to cover’, which in Latvian has been replaced by *debess* ‘sky’ ← *‘cloud’ (Endzelin 1944: 97). Both the ancient Estonians and Baltic peoples shared a dual image of the sky: clear and overcast (*pilvetaevas*) (for a closer description, see, e.g. Hurt 1989: 94).

names with the stem *kurs* Endzelīns has assumed a relatively massive (“in größerer Zahl”) Curonian immigration, settlements and influence of their language usage in Vidzeme. According to Endzelīns, Curonians arrived in western Vidzeme before the Latvians did (Endzelīns 1951: 6; 1970: 7), thus contributing to the Latvianization of the Livonians of Livonia. This may help to understand why word stems with a Curonian-like dental nasal can also be encountered in the Latvian varieties spoken in Livonian areas, whence, in turn, they spread on to Salaca Livonian and to Estonian dialects, e.g. SLiv *brang* / *bräng*, CLiv *bra’ngõ* ‘prächtigt, herrlich etc’, cf. Latv *brangs* id. ME I: 323–324, Lith *brangùs* ‘expensive; lovely, cute’ (for the possible Curonian background of the Latvian word, see LEV I: 141); SLiv *mänts* ‘Dorsch’ (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009: 125), cf. Latv *mæñca*, Lith *menkà* ‘chub (*Squalius cephalus*)’, *ménkë* ‘Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*)’; burbot (*Lota lota*)’ Endzelīns 1974: 507; LEV I, 581–582; Est dial. *tunts* ‘pig sticking knife’; Est dial. *len’ts* ‘shoulder strap’, Est dial. *lonk*, *longas*, *lõngas* ‘watery (river) meadow, swamp’ (Vaba 1997: 118–119, 123, 170).

4.2. Salaca Livonian *van̄ga*, Est dial. *vang*

An etymological conundrum is presented by the Salaca Livonian *van̄ga* ‘Bachwiese’, which is no doubt associated with the South Estonian (Hel Plv) *vang* : *vangu* ‘meadow in the bend of a river’ and *wan̄ju-mā* ‘von einer Flussbiegung eingeschlossenes Stück Land, Wiese’ (Wied., without regional labels). In Estonian place names *vang*, *-u* / *-a* occurs in a still wider area: in the Võru dialect area (Põlva, Rāpina), in the southern part of the Mulgi dialect area (Helme) and in Saarde parish the word can even occur in the function of the determinative part of a toponym (Pall 1972: 94, Simm 1984: 157), but it can also be found in Saaremaa (Püha, Põide) *Vanga/koppel*, *Vanga/niit* (Kallasmaa 1996: 483, Kallasmaa 2003: 94–95, 100). There have been attempts to associate this Estonian-Livonian landscape term with the ancient technical term *vang*, *-u* / *-a* ‘handle’, regarding the landscape sense as a figurative development (Pall 1972: 94; SSA III: 406 *vanko*). However, the origin of this Estonian-Livonian landscape term should hardly be defined without considering Baltic data and their obvious Indo-European background: Latv (< Cur) *vañga* ‘eine niedrig gelegene, feuchte Wiese mit hohem Gras; Heuschlag od. Sumpf an einem Fluss’ (for which the genuine Latvian *uodzīte* ‘kleiner Bach, sumpfige Stelle im Walde’ is an obvious etymological equivalent), OPr *wangus* ‘Dammerau (schlecht bestandener Eichwald, halb ausgerodete Waldfläche’, OLith *vangà*

‘Acker’ (ME IV: 413, 471, EH II: 756, Endzelin 1944: 61, 62, LEW II, 1195 *vanga 1*, 1256–1257 *vīngis*; see also LEV II, 483 *vangale*). The component *vanga* is quite frequent in Curonian, Old Prussian and Lithuanian names of rivers, swamps, woods and grasslands (Būga 1958: 421, Būga 1959: 94, Būga 1961: 170, 171, 420, 844, Vanagas 1981: *Vangà*, Zinkevičius 1984: 349, Bušs 2003b: 186).

4.3. Baltic *š > Curonian s, Baltic *ž > Curonian z

This speech sound development is also characteristic of the Prussian and Sudovian languages as well as of the northern group of the Eastern Baltic languages, i.e. Semgallian, Selonian and Latgallian. In the northeastern part of the Samogitian dialect area the influence of a Curonian substratum is manifested in the parallel occurrence or confusion of the sibilants *s/š* resp. *z/ž*. The original Baltic sibilants *š and *ž have only survived in Lithuanian (Endzelīns 1951: 6–7, Endzelīns 1974: 536, Zinkevičius 1984: 348, Zinkevičius 1987: 214, 215). This should explain why Curonian-like cases are so hard to notice. According to Posti (1942: 140–141) and Suhonen (1973: 30–31), in recent Latvian loanwords of Livonian the word-initial š- and ž- are generally replaced by s- resp. z-, but the substitution varies a great deal. A similar tendency is characteristic of Latvian dialect usage (see Endzelīns 1951: 159, 160). It is possible that this deviation is due to Latvian dialects based on a Curonian substratum.

Examples: *slo'bbōrtō* ‘löffeln’, cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *šlò`ber`t* id. LW: 374b; *snātsō* ‘rauschen’, cf. Latv *šņakt*: *šņāc* ‘schnarchen, schnarren, zischen, brausen (von Wind und Wogen)’ ME IV: 93; *s'o'r'kōZ* ‘Ratte’, cf. Latv *žūrka*, dial. *šūrks*² id. ME IV: 106, 834, Lith *žiūrkė* id.; *zno'udžō* ‘würgen’, cf. Latv *zņaugt*, *žņāugt* : *žņaudz* id. ME IV: 749, 824–825; *zuinō* / *zu'inō* ‘reiben, ziehen, reissen (von stumpfen Messern)’, cf. Latv *žūinīt*² ‘mit einem stumpfen Messer schneiden’ ME IV: 829; *zu'oG* ‘Zaun (auch in das Wasser gebaut, um die Fische in die Reuse zu leiten)’, cf. Latv *žuōgs*² ‘ein aus Strauch geflochtener Zaun’ ME IV: 839; *zāl* ‘Bedauern, Mitleid, Leid’, cf. Latv *žēl* ‘(adv) leid’ ME IV: 805.

4.4. Substitutes of Baltic *tj and *dj

The Baltic (stem-final) *tj > Curonian, Prussian and, partly, Samogitian *t'*, but Latv *š* and Lith *č*; Baltic (stem-final) *dj > Curonian, Prussian and, partly, Samogitian *d'*, but Latv *ž* and Lith *dž* (Endzelīns 1951: 7, 177, Kabelka 1982: 72, Zinkevičius 1984: 348,

Zinkevičius 1987: 214). According to Z. Zinkevičius (1987: 215) the Curonian substratum is manifested in Samogitian dialect in the parallel use or confusion of *k'č* and *g'dž*. As in the Latvian loanwords of Livonian the equivalent of the Latvian *k* is either *k* or *t'k* (Suhonen 1973: 32, 60), the occurrence of *t* instead of the expected *k* may signal of a Curonian-like speech sound development in the loanword: *ku š't*, pl *kuš'tiD* 'Bund, Büschel, Zotte', cf. Latv *kušķis* 'Büschel, Handvoll; Wisch, Strohwich' ME II: 329–330, Lith *kūškis* : *kuščio* 'bunch, bundle, tuft, wisp'.

5. Curonian-like affixes

5.1. Curonian-like prefixes *az / āz* and ? *pra-*

The Curonian prefix *āz* (see Endzelīns 1951: 635–636, Bušmane 1989: 232–234) occurs in the loanword *ōzgalD / āzgalD* 'Abteilung, Verschlag für Mastvieh', cf. Latv *āizgal̄ds*, dial. (Dundaga) *azga'ls*, (Pope) *azgālds* id. ME I: 26, LW: 268b.

The Old Prussian prefix *pra-* : *pro-* 'durch', whose Lithuanian equivalent is *prõ-* : *pra-* (Endzelīns 1982: 124, 610–611) appears in the borrowed adverb *pramīšk*, *premišk*, *prem'mišk* (*pra-* > *præ-* is due to an *i* in the successive syllable) 'stufenweise übereinander', *prem'miš*: *istū'b jālgad p.* '[sitzt] mit gekreuzten, übergeschlagenen Beinen', cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *pramiški*, *pramiš²*, *prēmiš* 'wechselweise' ME III: 376, Lith *pramaišiuī* 'helter-skelter'. Joh. Andreas Sjögren (1861: 191) has commented the case as follows: "premišk (*premiš*): in der Redensart *p. pānda* 'doppelt zusammenlegen, übereinander schlagen (von Zeugen)'. Die Abkunft dieses Wortes lässt sich weder aus dem Livischen selbst, noch aus den verwandten Sprachen, noch aus dem Lettischen deutlich nachweisen."

5.2. Diminutive Curonian suffix *-al-* / *-āl-*

This suffix occurs in numerous place names of historical Curonian areas, such as *Kretingālē*, *Žemālē*, *Upālē* and many others (Kabelka 1982: 72, Zinkevičius 1987: 214, 215). This diminutive is still quite productive in Samogitian dialect usage, while *-el-* / *-ēl-* is its regular equivalent in common Lithuanian (Zinkevičius 1984: 349; for the suffix *-al* in Latvian, see Krautmane 1936: 121, Endzelīns 1951: 344–345, Bušmane 1989: 104–105, Markus-Narvila 2011). In Livonian *-al-* / *-āl-* is observed in several borrowed nouns: in most cases the vowel *a*

persists in Livonian non-initial syllables, including after a long initial syllable, which is unexpected (see LW: XXV, Posti 1942: 42–44, 68, Suhonen 1973:30, 40). It must be stressed that the suffix *-al* does not occur in recent Latvian loanwords borrowed into Livonian from common or standard Latvian. The *al*-suffixed nouns recorded from Livonian (specifically from Courland Livonian) are as follows: *bōmbal* ‘Knospe’ and *būmbal* ‘Knolle, eine weiche Hervorragung, Anschwellung; Käfer’, cf. Latv *bumbul(i)s* ‘Knolle, Wurzelknolle etc’ ME I:349–350; *būndal* ‘Buttergefäß (gemacht aus einem runden Stück Holz)’, cf. Latv *buñdul(i)s*, dial. (Dundaga) *bundals* id. Endzelīns 1974: 508, ME I: 350351, LW: 33b; *mutāl* ‘Klumpen’, cf. Latv *mutulis* ‘Sprudel, Wirbel; zur Bezeichnung stöbernder, wirbelnder Massen; Gewimmel’, dial. (Pope) *mutals* ME II: 676, LW: 237a; *vabāl* ‘Marienkäfer’, cf. Latv *vabule*, *vabale*, dial. *vabala*, *vabale*, *vabals*, (Dundaga) *vā`bal* ‘Käfer, Mistkäfer etc’ ME IV: 428; LW: 463ab, Lith *vābalas* id.

5.3. Curonian suffix *-nīk-* > ? Liv *-nikā*

Julius Mägiste (1968: 12) has suggested that the productive Livonian suffix *-nikā* is a contamination of Est *-nik* and Latv *-niek-*; Arvo Laanest (1975: 147) seems to support Mägistes assumption. It should be added that in Latvian dialects (Dundaga, Pope) the same suffix appears in the shape of *-nik-* (Krautmane 1936: 121; Suhonen 1973: 37). Marta Rudzīte (1994: 305–306), however, tends to believe that the Livonian *-nikā* is rather a trace of Curonian influence (for details on the Curonian suffix, see Endzelīns 1951: 363): *a`lgnikā* ‘Tage-löhner’, cf. Latv *āldziniēks* ‘Lohndiener’ ME I: 66, Lith *alginiņkas* id., and many others .

6. Other Curonian-like words

Of the recent studies of possible Curonian words in Latvian dialect usage the work of Liene Markus-Narvila (2011) should be mentioned, where she analyses the vocabulary of Rucava subdialect spoken near the Latvian–Lithuanian border. Markus-Narvila has highlighted 17 Curonian words recorded from Rucava subdialect, most of which belong to concept groups referring to various activities, household utensils and landforms. The words also occur in other Latvian subdialects of Courland (Bārta, Dunika, Grobiņa, Kalēti, Nīgrande, Pērkone, Saldus). Most of them have also been recorded from Courland Livonian.

The Latvian Encyclopaedia (LKV XII: 23313–23325 *lībju valoda*), published before World War II, lists a score of possible Curonian words in the Livonian vocabulary. The author of the list is Latvian philologist Laimonis Rudzītis, whose interests included the Livonian language and culture (see Blumberga 2011: 38). The possible words of Curonian origin listed in the encyclopaedia include the Courland Livonian *gimānt*: *mittō* g. ‘not at all’, *gi`n` t`* ‘to envy, to hate’, *grumā* ‘quarrel, feud’, *klāsā* ‘light breath of wind’, *knaš* ‘nice, beautiful’, *plakā* ‘bedbug’ (cf. Lith *blākė*, Latv *blakts* id., see also Endzelīns 1974: 511), *ta`rmō* ‘to wish’ etc.

Based on geographic data, Curonian origin can be suspected for the following words of Courland Livonian⁵: *āibald* ‘Geifer, Schleim der kleinen Kinder’, *āibalt* ‘geifern’, *āibal(ōz)* ‘schwach, Schwächling’, cf. Lith *aibrūmas* ‘Wässern’: *aibrumas burnōj* ‘Wässern im Munde’ Būga III: 324, LEW I: 2; *dūon`ōz* ‘Daune’, *dūon`* ‘Daunen; Binsen, Rohrkolben (*Thypha L.*)’, cf. Latv *duōnis* ‘Schilf’ Endzelīns 1974: 511; *greil* ‘schief, verkehrt’, cf. Latv *greilis* ‘ein schiefer, krummer Mensch’ Endzelīns 1974: 511; *kōla / kāla* ‘Insel, trockene Stelle (Sandbank) im Wasser; Waldinsel’, cf. Latv *kālva* ‘Anhöhe, Hügel; kleine Insel’, Lith *kalvā* ‘hill, mound, glade; bank’, OPr **kalv-* ME II: 146, EH I: 580, LEW I: 209–210: *kālnas*, Laumane 2004b: 237–238; *kri`ssōl* ‘Hälmmchen’, *krislōd* ‘Heustreu’, cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *krissals* id. LW: 154b, Lith *krislas* ‘speck, scrap, crumb(s), straw’; *ma`ddōrtō*, *māddōtō* ‘an etwas herumarbeiten’, cf. Latv *maderēt* ‘sich zu schaffen machen, fürwitzig tun, etwas unternehmen, was nicht den Kräften entspricht’ ME II: 547, Lith *maderiotis* ‘be delayed/impeded’; *rēt`š`* ‘aus Wurzeln geflochtener Fischkorb’, cf. Latv dial. *kriekšis* id., (Dundaga) ME II: 283–284, *kriets* LW: 334b, Nieminen 1959: 207–208; *sta`IG* ‘wählerisch (von Tieren)’, cf. Latv dial. (Dundaga) *stalgs* ‘verwöhnt (im Essen), vernascht’ ME III: 1042, Lith *stalgūs* ‘sweet-toothed; gluttonous; obstinate; stubborn; strong’; S *tsir`liŋki*, K *tsīr`li`nD*, *tšīr`li`ŋki* ‘Lerche’, cf. Latv *cīrulis*, *cīrvul(i)s*, *cīrvēls* id. ME I: 391–392, Lith dial. *cīrulis*, *cyrulys* etc id. (According to J. Endzelīns the popular Latvian word *cīrulis* for ‘lark’ is a Curonian word, see ME I: 391–392, Zinkevičius 1987: 215); *tšamm* ‘Heu- und Strohnachbleibsel’, cf. Latv *čānīmas* pl ‘Nachbleibsel von gereinigtem Korn, (Dundaga) Abfälle überhaupt’ ME I: 403, Lith *čāmos* pl. ‘straw, litter, trash’; *vīlkatōks* ‘Werwolf’, cf. Latv *vilkatis*, *vilkate* id. ME IV: 557, 558, Lith *vilkātakis*, *vilkatakys* id.; *vāgāl* ‘Quappe’, cf. Latv

5 Here, only such words are presented that have not been mentioned earlier in the article. To save space, only the most essential Baltic material is set out for comparison.

vēdzele (-dz- < -g-) ‘Quappe (*Lota lota*); Aalmutter (*Zoarces viviparus*)’, Lith *vėgėlė* ‘burbot’ ME IV: 550, Laumane 1973: 129–130, 242–244.

Pending a more thoroughgoing etymological and language geographical analysis the above list is certainly not above critique.

Conclusion: Detailed establishment of the Curonian adstratum and possible substratum in Livonian helps explain and clarify Baltic as well as Finnic, in particular Livonian ethnogenesis.

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Language abbreviations

Est = Estonian, Lith = Lithuanian, Latv = Latvian, CLiv = Courland Livonian, SLiv = Salaca Livonian, OPr = Old Prussian, Sa = dialects of Saaremaa, Sam = Samogitian dialect of Lithuanian, OLith = Old Lithuanian

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Kokkuvõte. Lembit Vaba: Kura keele aines liivi keeles. Läänemeresoome keelte uurijad on rõhutanud liivi keele eriasendit võrreldes teiste läänemeresoome keeltega rohkete läti laeelementide tõttu. Läti keele mõju liivi keelele on tõepoolest ulatuslik, ilmnedes kõigil keeletasanditel. Siiski balti mõju liivi keelele on lingvistiliselt ja ajalisel mitmekihiline. Liivlastel, eriti Kuramaa liivlastel on pikka aega olnud kontakte kurelaste ehk kuršidega, kes olid nende vahetud naabrid. Seetõttu on liivi keel säilitanud mitmeid keelelisi elemente kunagisest kura keelest, mis kuulus balti keelte hulka. Kura keele olemus ja koht teiste balti keelte hulgas on olnud ja on üha vaidlusteema. Selles artiklis tuuakse esile ja analüüsitakse võimalikku kura keele ainekust liivi keele eri tasanditel.

Märksõnad: substraat, adstraat, keelekontaktid, läänemeresoome keeled, liivi keel, balti keeled, kura keel

Kubbõvõttõks. Lembit Vaba: Kuršõd kīel ain līvõ kīels. Vāldamiersūomõ kīeld tuņšlijid ātõ pāinatõn ku līvõ kīel um īzki munt vāldamiersūomõ kīeld siegās, sīepierāst ku līvõ kīels um pāgiņ leṭkīelst perīņ elementidi. Leṭkīel mõjjimi līvõ kīel pālõ um tuodpūolst laigāli, se um nāgṭõb amši kīel tazāpīndis. Baltõd mõjjimi līvõ kīel pālõ um nei kīel ku āiga pūolstõ setkõrdali. Līvliztõn, īzkiz Kurāmõ līvliztõn um kõgiņ aigõ võnd kubbõpūtimiži mõkurāliztõks agā kuršõdõks, kis võlṭõ nānt kāimad. Sīepierāst um līvõ kīelsõ īend pāgiņ kīel elementidi jedlõmist kurā kīelst, mis kūliz baltõd kīeld sieggõ. Kurā kēļ ja sīe kūõž munt baltõd kīeld siegās um īdõkabāl võnd īlṛõkūd temāt. Sīes kēras sõb vaņṭõltõd kurā kīel võibizt ainõ līvõ kīel īzkis tazāpīndis.