

Salis-Livisch I. J. A. Sjögrens Manuskript. Ediert, glossiert und übersetzt von Eberhard Winkler und Karl Pajusalu, Wiesbaden 2016 (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. Band 88). 392 lk.

Salis-Livisch II. Grammatik und Wörterverzeichnis. Mit einem Anhang zu den salis-livischen Sprichwörtern. Auf der Grundlage von J. A. Sjögrens Sprachmaterialien verfasst von Eberhard Winkler und Karl Pajusalu, Wiesbaden 2018 (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. Band 89). 403 lk.

In recent years, Salaca Livonian has been effectively studied by Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu. In 2009 they published "Salis-livisches Wörterbuch" (SLW). The dictionary was based on previously published material, mainly on the Salaca Livonian language materials collected by J. A. Sjögren, first published and interpreted by F. J. Wiedemann (SW 1861). As for "Salisch-Livisch I" and "Salisch-Livisch II", the books are based on Sjögren's own manuscript of 1846, written during his Livonian expedition.

In their preface to "Salis-Livisch I" the publishers explain that while preparing SLW they could not avail of Sjögren's own manuscript for lack of a good enough copy. In the introductory part (pp. 9–34) E. Winkler introduces the manuscript and various related factors. First, based on Sjögren's other writings, a brief overview is given of his trip to Salaca and his local informants. There were two main informants, consulted mainly via an interpreter as Sjögren did not understand either Livonian or Latvian (see p. 11). Then the description proceeds to the contents and structure of the manuscript, which obviously anticipated later addition of Courland Livonian material (see p. 13). The manuscript consists of word lists and sentence examples, including some riddles as well as translations of Bible sentences. In total, there are more or less exactly 2180 sentences (see p. 23). Less attention has been paid to the Courland Livonian part of the manuscript, with an essential emphasis on how to differentiate between the Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian material.

The preparation of the publication under review has involved a substantial comparative analysis of Sjögren's

original manuscript and its publication by F. J. Wiedemann (SW), which has yielded a number of critical remarks on the latter. First, Wiedemann only presented about 1630 of Sjögren's 2180 sentences (see p. 31). Winkler and Pajusalu have marked the sentences missed by Wiedemann with an asterisk. Second, the manuscript is far richer in morphology than the SW-based SLW (see p. 32). Third, the manuscript contains words not found either in SW or in SLW (see the word list on pp. 387–388). Fourth, Wiedemann has "corrected" or "unified" Sjögren's spelling (see p. 32), and fifth, not all of his sentence analyses are adequate (see p. 33).

The main body of "Salis-Livisch I" consists (1) of the publication of the Salaca Livonian part of Sjögren's original manuscript as true to detail as possible (35–114) and (2) of the glosses and translations for the sentences therein (pp. 115–386). According to the authors (p. 7), the manuscript was interpretable to the extent of about 90%; those places which have remained unclear or doubtful are presented in brackets following a question mark (see p. 35).

The provision of glosses for the original sentences must have made an invaluable contribution to the emergence of the Salaca Livonian Grammar published in "Salis-Livisch II". The glossed sentences have been translated into German, adding, for clarity's sake, the mostly Swedish, but sometimes also Finnish or German translations from Sjögren's hand. Comments of a great variety are also not unfrequent. Attention is drawn, for example, to the whether certain word forms should be written as one or two words and the related sound changes possible at the

word boundary; the possible representation of *stød*; case functions; more anticipated word forms; unusual government; congruence problems; unclear meanings; sentences possibly originating from Sjögren's own pen; Sjögren's possible mistakes or misspellings or word repetitions; word forms missing from the SLW; Estonian counterparts; Latvian influences, etc. Some riddles have been given Estonian or Latvian counterparts.

The end of the book is anticipated by the above-mentioned extra word list (pp. 387–388), followed by lists of abbreviations (p. 389) and of references and source texts (pp. 391–392).

"Salis-Livisch II" starts with a preface where the authors explain why the Grammar needed to be complemented by a new Salaca Livonian dictionary apart from their own 2009 publication of SLW, emphasising that SLW will also retain its scholarly value, even though it is not directly based on Sjögren's original manuscript.

There follows a corrigendum to "Salis-Livisch I" (pp. 15–21), which consists of two parts: (1) mistakes discovered in the publication of Sjögren's original manuscript, and (2) mistakes found in the glossed and translated sentences.

The main parts of "Salis-Livisch II" are the Grammar (pp. 23–195) and the word list of Sjögren's manuscript (pp. 197–332) provided with a German index (pp. 333–355). There are also two supplements — 36 Salaca Livonian proverbs with a short commentary (pp. 357–360) and a contrastive list of lexis in Sjögren versus earlier sources (1655–1846; pp. 361–399). The book ends with Abbreviations (p. 400) and a list of References and Sources (pp. 401–403).

The contrastive word list presents (1) the pre-Sjögren words present in his list and (2) the words missing in Sjögren's list, thus supplementing the dictionary compiled from his original manuscript. It is doubtful, though, whether the contrastive list enables any language historical deductions, say about emergence and evolution of those (very frequent) Salaca Livonian words and

morphological forms that bear traces of phonetic erosion and/or morphological reduction. The data are, after all, scarce and often contradictory. Even the earliest source (1655) contains some shortened word forms, e.g. *Kott* 'house', while Sjögren's manuscript also presents *koda* 'house', which lacks apocope. Moreover, the word occurs in full form in 1821 and 1829, but in a source of 1828 we find the apocopic *kod* (see p. 370). In Sjögren's manuscript shortened and unshortened forms of a word can occur in parallel: *kjind* ~ *kjinda* ~ *kjindas* ~ *kind* 'mitten' etc (see, e.g., p. 72). The authors have not discussed such language historical issues in the grammar part of the book as their purpose was different, notably (as stated in the preface to "Salis-Livisch I"), to produce a synchronous grammar of Salaca Livonian as deducible from Sjögren's manuscript.

In spite of the scarcity of material (merely 2180 sentences), the authors have managed a rather impressive grammar with chapters on Orthography (pp. 23–27), Phonology (pp. 28–66), Morphology and Morphosyntax (pp. 67–154) and Outlines of Syntax (pp. 155–195).

The chapter of Phonology presents the vowel and consonant phonemes of Salaca Livonian, discusses the vowel system of the word-initial and successive syllables, as well as the word-initial, word-internal and word-final consonants and consonant clusters. The subchapter on Word Prosody addresses stress, quantity and word structure, and *stød*. The subchapter on Morphophonology deals with grade alternation (including single cases of quality gradation) and the morphophonological vowel alternations in non-initial syllables.

The chapter on Morphology and Morphosyntax contains separate subchapters on Noun, Pronouns, Numerals and Verbs, discussing their inflection, formation and the functions of different morphological forms, and gives a survey of other parts of speech, such as adverbs, pre- and postpositions, particles, and conjunctions). In both noun and verb morphology, the most fascinating aspect is specification of inflectional paradigms and the respec-

tive stem types. Here E. Winkler and K. Pajusalu have strictly confined themselves to the words with at least two inflected forms represented in Sjögren's manuscript, which leaves us with about half of the nouns (see p. 67) and most of the verbs (see p. 107). It appears that Salaca Livonian is far poorer in different inflectional paradigms than Courland Livonian (see LĒLS 394–395, 398–410), which result is not only due to the scarcity of material but rather more to intensive shortening, which has caused many paradigms of Salaca Livonian to coincide. This has entailed changes in the Salaca Livonian system of mono- and biradical words. In Finnic languages, a monoradical word has a vocalic stem, whereas a biradical word has a vocalic and a consonant stem. In Salaca Livonian, however, stem shortening (apocope) has led to a situation where the stems of monoradical words can be either vocalic or consonantal, e.g. *nuor* 'young': partitive *nuord*, inessive *nuors*, elative *nuors[t]*, nominative plural and genitive-accusative *nuord* (p. 262; we can see that the Salaca Livonian counterpart *nuor* of the Estonian biradical word *noor* 'young' has become a monoradical consonant-stem word). The same holds for polysyllabic words: *nädal* 'week': genitive-accusative *nädal*, partitive *nädalt* ~ *nädal*, comitative plural *nädalthk* (p. 263; note that the Salaca Livonian counterpart *nädal* of the Estonian monoradical vocalic-stem word *nädal* 'week' has become a monoradical consonant-stem word). In Salaca Livonian, biradical words can feature more consonant-stem cases than, for example, in Estonian, cf. comitative: Salaca Livonian *sullisk* (consonant stem; see p. 70, 295)

and Estonian *sulasega* (vowel stem) 'with farm hand'.

The Syntax chapter provides separate subchapters on Types of Sentences and Grammatical Constructions, Simple Sentences, Parts of Speech, Congruence, and Complex Sentences.

Mati Hint has described the Salaca Livonian dictionary (SLW) compiled by Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu as an inevitable piece of basic literature on Finnic linguistics (Hint 776). Such an appreciative view seems even more appropriate for the two books just introduced, especially the Grammar.

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Abbreviations

Hint — M. Hint, Peaaegu usutamatu liivi sõnaraamat. — KK 2012, 776–783; **LĒLS** — T.-R. Viits, V. Ernštreits, Livõkiel-estikiel-leṭkiel sõnarõntõz. Liivi-eesti-läti sõnaraamat. Lībiešu-igauņu-latviešu vārdnīca, Tartu–Rīga 2012; **SLW** — Salis-livisches Wörterbuch. Herausgegeben von Eberhard Winkler und Karl Pajusalu, Tallinn 2009 (Linguistica Uralica. Supplementary Series / Volume 3); **SW** — Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Gesammelte Schriften. Band II, Teil 1. Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben; Teil 2. Livisch-deutsches und deutsch-livisches Wörterbuch. Im Auftrag der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften bearbeitet und mit einer historisch-ethnographischen Einleitung versehen von Ferdinand Joh. Wiedemann, St Petersburg 1861.

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