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Language Education and Learning Materials in Latvia's Finnic Languages — Livonian and Lutsi

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My connection with Lutsi

- ▶ I began studying Livonian early in life.
- ▶ I began researching Lutsi in 2012 a year before receiving a 3-year postdoctoral research fellowship from the Finnish Kone Foundation funding my work with Lutsi.
- ▶ I have documented the language of the last Lutsi rememberers and visited the 50+ villages known to have a historical connection with the Lutsis based on the earliest documentation (Kallas 1894).
- ▶ I'm the author of the Lutsi primer – a tool for Lutsi language and culture revitalization.
- ▶ I have family connections with Ludza and possibly with the Lutsis through my Ludza ancestors.



Top: My great-grandfather Ludza District head and Latgalian activist Jezups Soikans (1889-1930)
Bottom: Touching a foundation stone in my family's ancestral village Britiki



Overview



- *Latvia's ancient Finnic heritage*
- *Livonian*
 - *The history of written Livonian in the 19th and 20th centuries*
 - *The role of Livonian in interwar and post-WWII Latvia*
 - *The Livonian Institute and modern efforts at Livonian language maintenance*
- *Lutsi*
 - *Background on the Lutsi community and its history*
 - *The Lutsi community today*
 - *The Lutsi primer and language reacquaintance*


Latvia's ancient Finnic heritage



- ▶ The most well-known Finnic community are the Livonians – in NW Latvia (Courland/Kurzeme), along the Gulf of Rīga, and in western Livonia/Vidzeme.
- ▶ South Estonian Language Islands (Lutsi & Leivu in Latvia)
- ▶ Other now assimilated communities (Krevin Votians near Bauska, unknown communities leaving lg traces)
- ▶ Latvian language and identity derive a great deal from extended contact with and assimilation of Finnic peoples.

Livonian Edrōm Velde wearing a Livonian folk costume
(photo: Baiba Šuvcāne)

SOURCE: <http://www.livones.net/lv/kratuve/livones-net-arhivs/libiesu-tautasterpi>



What is Finnic influence in Latvian and what does it look like? (Stafecka 2021)

- ▶ How is Finnic influence understood?
 - ▶ These can be changes mimicking a pattern seen in Finnic languages, but not necessarily in Baltic languages.
 - ▶ These can be forms similar to those found in the Livonic dialect of Latvian.
 - ▶ Or otherwise different from surrounding subdialects.
- ▶ Elimination of gender distinction in nouns and pronouns.
 - ▶ Latvian has 2 genders, in Finnic influenced areas masculine forms are used where feminine pronouns and nouns are used in other Latvian varieties.
- ▶ Changes in noun case and verb form use.
 - ▶ Latvian 3rd person forms are generalized to other persons mimicking similar patterns seen in Livonian and other Finnic languages in Latvia.
- ▶ Differences in the tones used in a subdialect compared to surrounding areas.
 - ▶ In the Lutsi area tonal distinctions are simplified in some subdialects perhaps due to Finnic influence.

Livonian and the South Estonian language islands

- 2 Livonian communities
- 3 South-Estonian-speaking communities outside of Estonia.
- 2 (Lutsi, Leivu) in Latvia, 1 (Kraasna) in Russia.
- Last conversational speakers:
 - Courland Livonian (still spoken)
 - Salaca Livonian (1860s)
 - Lutsi (Nikolajs Nikonovs, 2006)
 - Leivu (Anton Bok, 1987)
 - Kraasna (before WWII)



The Finnic languages of Latvia and Estonia

(map by Timo Rantanen, BEDLAN; Norvik et al. 2021)

The Courland Livonians

- ▶ The Livonians are recognized by law as indigenous to Latvia.
- ▶ In the 1950s, the Courland Livonians were forced to leave their traditional home in NW Latvia due to Soviet militarization of the area.
- ▶ In the 2020s: ~20 conversational (mostly L2) speakers and ~200 with basic knowledge of Livonian.
- ▶ The University of Latvia Livonian Institute is developing online language resources
- ▶ These include an online Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary is being translated into English and Livonian audio is being added.
- ▶ Livonian is a model for language revitalization in Latvia.



*Livonian speaker Valts Ernštreits teaching the advanced Livonian course at the Livonian Summer University.
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, Pizā (Mīķeļtornis), Latvia, 2017)*

The Salaca Livonians

- The last known speakers lived in northern coastal Vidzeme the 1860s.
- Some language fragments were documented in the early 20th century.
- Modern descendants are aware of their heritage and view it positively.
- A similar language revitalization situation as Lutsi.
- A dictionary and grammar have been published based on the only existing documentation dating to the mid-19th century.
- Both varieties used as a medium for modern literature (poetry) but are not currently spoken in daily life.

Vidzeme Livonian descendants – members of the Lielnori family – study their family tree.
(Photo: Rasma Noriņa, Rīga, Latvia, 2012)



The Lutsis – Estonian war refugees in Latvia's Catholic east?



- First mentioned in the mid-19th century (Manteuffel 1869, Veske 1877). Lived in several dozen villages around Ludza in Latgale.
- Various Lutsi origin stories (war refugees, brought in by local manor lords, more recent migrations) (Vaba 1997, Balodis 2020, Salve 2021).
- The Lutsis appear to stem from several migrations of various sizes occurring at irregular intervals over the course of at least three centuries.
- But so far, no archeological evidence for ancient Finnic habitation in the Ludza area though old toponyms are preserved (Valk 2021).

Paulopriit Voolaine and the last speakers of Lutsi.
(Source: Antoņina Nikonova's photo album, Jāni küla (Lielie Tjapši), Latvia, late 1970s / early 1980s)

The Leivus – Latvia's other indigenous Finnic nation?

- ▶ The Leivus lived in NE Latvia near N Latgale, close to the city of Alūksne.
- ▶ Leivu may be the modern descendant of the undocumented language of the historical land of Atzele in modern-day northeastern Latvia.
- ▶ Estonian or Finnic village names already appear in an early 17th century plough audit in this area.
- ▶ Leivus have told researchers that their ancestors have always been in this area.
- ▶ Modern Leivus sometimes consider themselves to be descendants of Livonians, but there is no evidence for this.

(Balodis & Pajusalu 2021, Jansone 2021, Vaba 2021)



Estonian linguist Paul Ariste (center) with Leivu speakers Alfred Peterson (left) and Alide Peterson (right).

(Photo: Valter Niilus, 1935, Paikna (Paiķēni), Latvia, ERM Fk 724: 3).

The Kraasnas – A South Estonian island in the borderlands of Russia

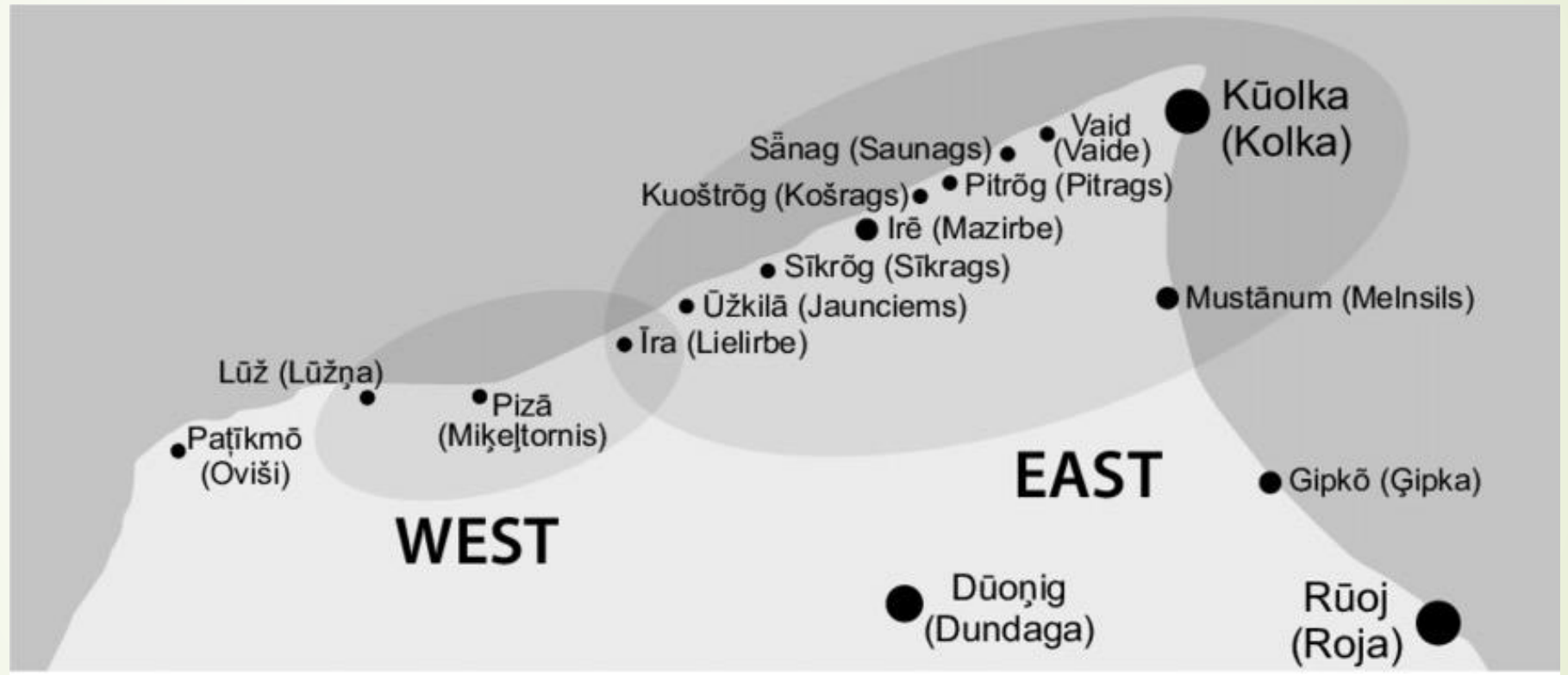


Kraasna rememberer Jegor Vassiljev with his wife.
(Photo: Paulopriit Voolaine, 1966, Mõisa (Myza), Russia, ERM Fk 1508: 138)

- First mentioned in 1849 when Adolph Johann Brandt sent the compiler of *Kalevipoeg*, Friedrich Reinholdt Kreuzwald, Kraasna songs.
- Kraasna was documented by Oskar Kallas in the 1900s and Heikki Ojansuu in the 1910s.
- Located close to northern Lutsi villages.
- A few individuals remembered Kraasna words when Paulopriit Voolaine visited in 1952 and 1966.

(Balodis & Pajusalu 2021, Ernits 2021, Weber 2021)

Courland Livonian villages and dialects



(Source: Balodis 2018)

Püwa

Matthens Ewangelium

tihtischki.

Druffd pandoo England un wöhro ma bihböl ietisch perahst

Wedruckt für die Britische und Ausländische Bibelgesellschaft.
Blagoweschtschenskaja Nr. 1.

Pehterburgs.
Blagoweschtschenskaja Nr. 1.
1880.

History of early written Livonian

- First mention of Livonian words (maga magamas 'to sleep deeply' (=Latvian 'gulēt gulēdams')) in the 13th century Livonian Chronicle of Henry/
- The first published was the Gospel of Matthew published in 1863 in both the eastern and western dialects of Courland Livonian published in London.
- The first book intended for use by actual Livonians was a version based on these translations published in 1880 in St. Petersburg.
- The first linguistic documentation of Livonian was carried out by Finnish linguist Johan Anders Sjögren. Sjögren's
- Sjögren's documentation and documentation by Estonian linguist Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann was used by Wiedemann to publish the first Livonian grammar and a Livonian-German-Livonian Dictionary in 1861.
- Sjögren's main Courland Livonian informants – Jān Prints, Sr. and his sons Jān and Pētōr – were also literary figures in their own right in the Latvian context.
- Jān Prints Sr. and Jr. published "Jūrnieku svētās dziesmas un lūgšanas" (The sacred songs and prayers of mariners) in 1845, which was the second collection of original poetry ever published in Latvian.
- This shows the importance of education and learning to Livonians already at this time.

Independence and activity in Livonian community

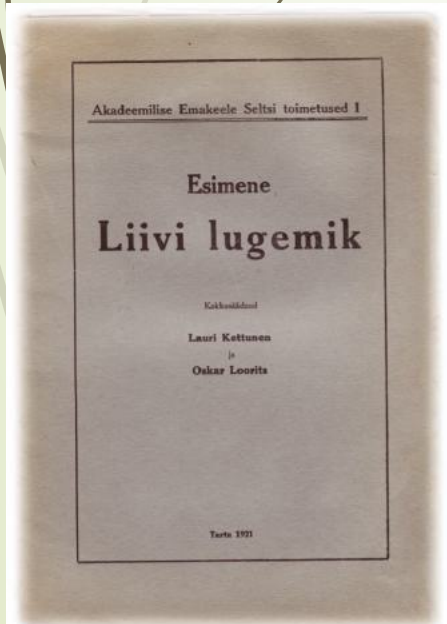
- First Livonian community organization *Līvōd Īt* (Livonian Union) founded in 1923
- Livonian flag and anthem adopted in 1923
- Publication of the Livonian newspaper “*Līvli*” (1931-1939) – important in standardizing Livonian spelling.
- Decision to teach Livonian in schools
- Important support from Emakeele Selts (Estonian Mother Tongue Society), *Suomalaisuuden Liitto* (Association of Finnish Culture and Identity).



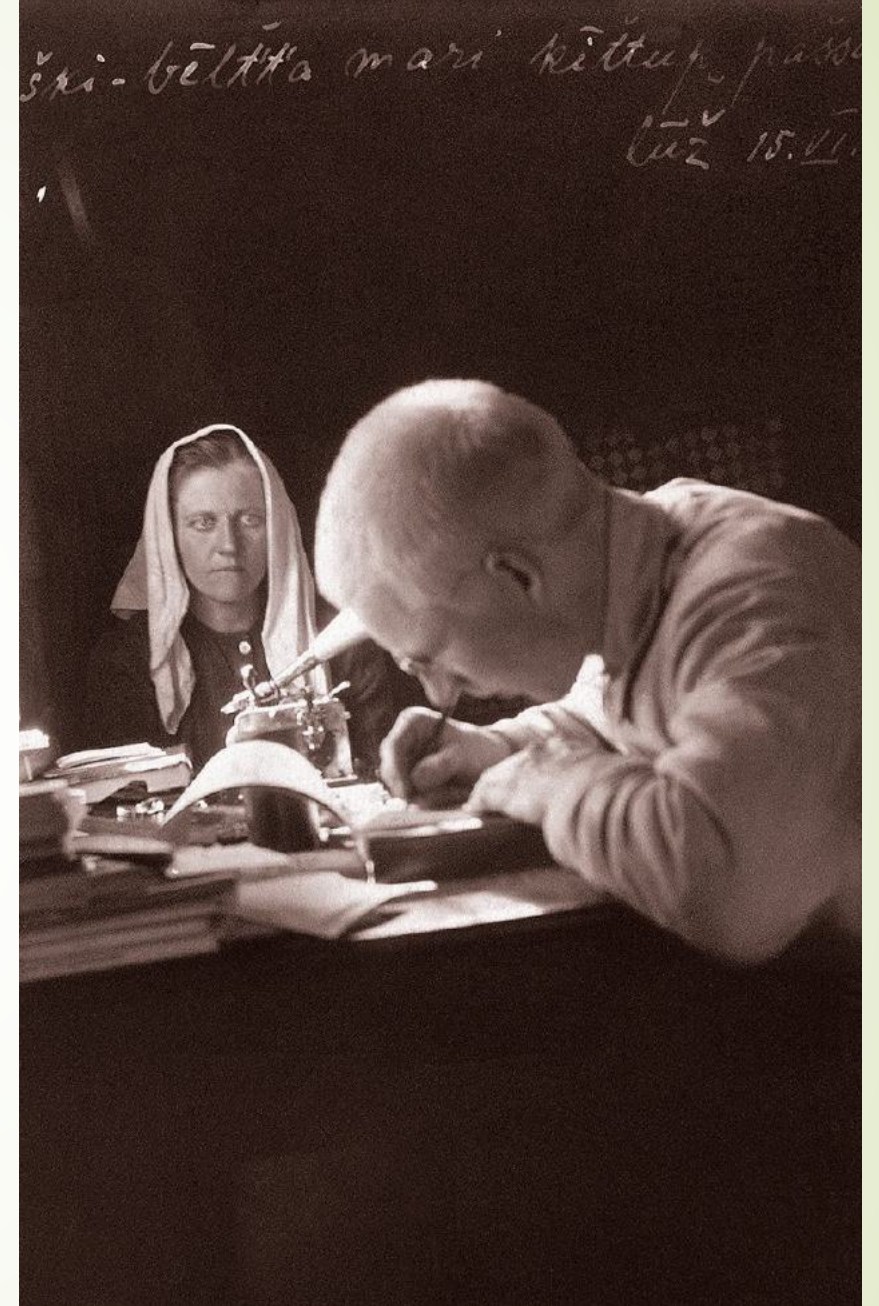
Didrök Volganski, head of Līvōd Īt at Livonian Song Festival
(Source: *The Livonians*; taken at Irē (Mazīrbe), Latvia, 1924)



Lauri Kettunen (wearing a hat) at the Irē (Mazirbe) train stop



- Finnish linguist Lauri Kettunen and Estonian folklorist Oskar Loorits had a central role in Livonian language and culture efforts
- This included the publication of the first secular book in Livonian in 1921 (*Ežmizt līvōd lugdōbrōntōz* = *Esimene liivi lugemik*)



Oskar Loorits working with a Livonian consultant (Lūž (Lūžņa), Latvia, 1920).

A a	Ē ē	Ļ ļ	Ō ō	T t
Ā ā	F f	M m	Õ õ	Ț ț
Ä ä	G g	N n	Ō ō	U u
Ā ā	I i	Ņ ņ	P p	Ū ū
B b	Ī ī	O o	R r	V v
D d	J j	Ō ō	Ŗ ŗ	Z z
Ḑ ḑ	K k	Ū ū	S s	Ž ž
E e	L l	Ō ō	Š š	

COURLAND LIVONIAN ALPHABET (IN 2023)

(Source: <https://enciklopedija.lv/skirklis/5259-1%C4%ABbie%C5%A1u-valoda>)

Livonian speakers and demographics



- ▶ Livonian speakers:
 - ▶ Mid-19th c.: ~2500 (Courland), 26 (Vidzeme)
 - ▶ Early 20th c.: ~1500
 - ▶ Post-WWII: ~600
 - ▶ Current: ~20 (2nd lg speakers)
- ▶ Livonian villages were depopulated and then resettled after both world wars.
- ▶ In the 20th century, Courland Livonian villages were not monoethnic.

Estonian folklorist Oskar Loorits with Livonians
(1937, <https://blog.erm.ee/?p=10493>, ERM Fk 793:68).

Achievements of the interwar Livonian community

- Education of Livonian young people
- Publication of Livonian reading books
- Building of Livonian Community House in Irē (Mazirbe)
- Organizing of Livonian language teaching
- Mart Lepste was ultimately the only language teacher (traveling between villages by horse and buggy to offer 1 Livonian language lesson per week to students).



Mart Lepste, Livonian language teacher
(Photo: Ferdinand Linnus; Irē (Mazirbe), Latvia, 1938; ERM Fk 475:36)



Education of Livonian teachers for the Coast schools

- Finnish linguist Lauri Kettunen and Estonian folklorist Oskar Looits had a profound impact on the interwar Livonian community and the maintenance of the Livonian language.
- On Lauri Kettunen's suggestion, more than a dozen young Livonians were educated in various fields in Estonia, Finland, and also Latvia in the 1920s.
- The purpose was so that they could return to the Livonian Coast to work and teach.
- Only one of these Livonians – Pētōr Damberg (1909-1987) – educated at the Jelgava Teachers' Academy received a posting on the Livonian Coast.
- Damberg became the director of the 4-year primary school in Pizā (Miķeļtornis) in 1937.
- Damberg published a Livonian reader in 1937.

Livonian cultural worker and language teacher Pētōr Damberg
(Source: <https://www.discogs.com/artist/3752723-P%C4%93t%C3%B5r-Damberg>).

Ama popularlimi
papiros Letmāl

ROKOKO

20 kāb. — 35 sant.



Commercial advertisement in Livonian

(Source: *Rāndalist ājgarāntōz*
(Livonian Almanac), 1933)

The Soviet occupation of Latvia

- ▶ No possibility for teaching Livonian
- ▶ The Livonian Community House closed and repurposed
- ▶ Līvōd Īt was disbanded
- ▶ Livonians could not register under their actual ethnicity during the Soviet years and attempts to change this were unsuccessful
- ▶ Livonian villages become part of the Soviet border zone
- ▶ Livonian village inhabitants could no longer access the sea or even walk out onto the shore by the 1950s
- ▶ This made the traditional livelihood (fishing) impossible and so Livonians left their ancestral villages for other parts of Latvia in order to find work
- ▶ The end of the Livonians living together as a compact community and the beginning of the situation that exists up until the present

Soviet-era guard tower on the Livonian Coast.
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, Sānag (Saunags), Latvia, 2000)





The 1970s and 1980s – a gradual reawakening

- Founding of Livonian choirs – Līvlist and Kāndla – in 1972.
- The choirs offered a place for Livonians to gather and cultivate and maintain their traditions as well as language to some extent
- “A 19th century Livonian Wedding” shown on Latvian television in 1979.
- First Livonian monument in Miķeļtornis
- Reestablishment of the Livonian Union as the Livonian Culture Union in 1988.

Hilda Grīva, director of the choral ensemble «Kāndla»
(Source: <http://www.livones.net/lv/kratuve/livones-net-arhivs/dazas-piezimes-par-livlist-un-kandla-nodibinasanu>)

Recognition given to Livonian and the Livonians since the restoration of independence in 1990

- Officially recognized as an indigenous nation of Latvia (1991).
- Līvõd Rānda territory (1991-2004).
- Recognized in the Latvian State Language Law (1999).
- Recognized in the Preamble added to the Latvian Constitution in 2014.
- Official bilingual signage first appeared in Livonian in 2022 – with Latgalian signage appearing a short while earlier

Latvian and Livonian flags on the bridge across the Gauja River on the Day of Livonian Heritage (Source: LTV, Sigulda, Latvia, 2023)



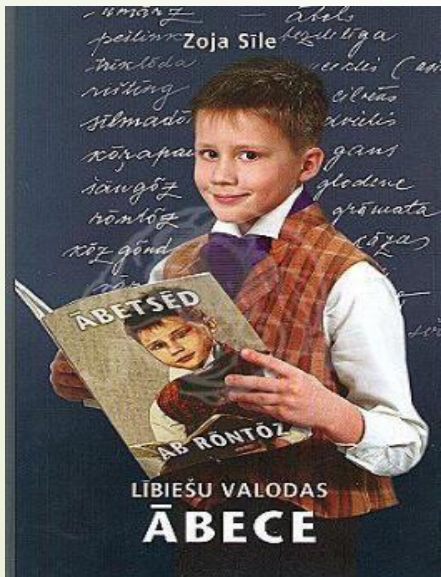


How has Livonian been studied and used since 1990?

- ▶ For the time being, used increasingly less as a language of daily interaction.
- ▶ Various books for language learning: *Līvõ kēļ*, *Līvõd tekstõd*, *Jelzī sōnā*
- ▶ The Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary online with grammatical information
- ▶ Classes taught at the Livonian Youth Summer School “Mierlinkizt” and other classes in Rīga
- ▶ University courses (U of Tartu, U of Latvia)
- ▶ Livonian Summer University
- ▶ Poetry (in both Courland and Salaca Livonian)
- ▶ Major challenges: No place where Livonian is spoken in daily life, no concentrated Livonian community, mostly partial speakers with elementary level knowledge.



LIVONIAN
LANGUAGE
LEARNING
TEXTS
AND
MATERIALS
PUBLISHED
SINCE
2000



University of Latvia Livonian Institute

- Founded in 2018
- Livonian Summer University
- Support for the Youth Summer School “Mierlinkizt”
- Livonian.tech platform
- Expansion of the Livonian dictionary (audio and English being added)
- During COVID, beginning Livonian classes were created online
- 7-part video series filmed in Livonian villages on Livonian language and history available on Youtube (with English subtitles)
- New Online Livonian course with support materials “Op līvõ kīeldõ!” (Learn Livonian!) being created



*Estonian President Alar Karis visiting the UL Livonian Institute on 25/4/2023
(Source: <https://www.lu.lv/par-mums/lu-mediji/zinas/zina/t/77646/>)*

Op līvõ kīeldõ! – Learn Livonian!

- ▶ Online – so easily accessible regardless of location of students
- ▶ Uses videos to teach Livonian in conjunction with an online workbook of exercises
- ▶ Planned to take Livonian language studies to a more advanced level than previous materials
- ▶ This confronts one of the problems of Livonian language classes always being focused on elementary study
- ▶ The language taught is taken from language documentation, so there is less focus on idealized expressions, which might also sometimes just replicate Latvian but with Livonian words and instead on how Livonian speakers themselves used Livonian. (e.g., *Kui jelād? Jōvīzt!*)
- ▶ There is less emphasis on teaching grammatical terms or presenting language through this kind of a lens, but instead on learning, use, and repetition of words, phrases, and matrix sentences. (Somewhat reminiscent of the technique used by such tools as Duolingo.)
- ▶ Part of the Year of Livonian Heritage (2023).



OP
LĪVŌ
KĪELDŌ



Mis sin nim um? Kāds ir tavs vārds?

OP
LĪVŌ
KĪELDŌ

Min nim um Katriņ.

Min nim um Kōrli.



Katriņ Poulīn
Bārban Emma
Grizelda Ēdrōm
Maŗī Anni Marta
Kristīn Lizet



Kōrli Jōņ Pētōr
Nikā Mikīļ Teodor
Aņdrōks Uļī Didrōk
Jākōb Maŗt

Kērat! Raksti!

Minā um mīez. Min nim um _____.

Kōrli / Anni

Minā um nai. Min nim um _____.

Jōņ / Poulīn

Minā um neist. Min nim um _____.

Bārban / Mikīļ

Minā um pōis. Min nim um _____.

Pētōr / Ēdrōm

Mis tām nim um? Tām nim um Mikīļ. Tām nim um Liž.

Kāds ir viņa/viņas vārds? Viņa vārds ir Miķelis. Viņas vārds ir Lize.

Mis tām nim um? Tām nim um _____.



Jōņ

Mis tām nim um? Tām nim um _____.



Katriņ

Sōnād! Vārdi!

minā, min; sinā, sin; ta, tām
es, mans/mana; tu, tavs/tava; viņš/viņa, viņa/viņas
mis, nim, um

Rōkandōkst! Frāzes!

Mis sin nim um? Min nim um...
Mis tām nim um? Tām nim um...



Mis tām nim um? Kāds ir viņa/viņas vārds?

OP
LĪVŌ
KĪELDŌ

Niž! Stāsti!



Tām nim um Poulīn.



Jōņ



Pētōr



Bārban



Katriņ



Kōrli



Nikā



Grizelda



Uļī



Ēdrōm

Kērat! Raksti!



Emma



Pētōr



Hilda



Katriņ, Didrōk



Kaupo

Tām nim um _____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

A few words about Salaca Livonian

- ▶ Organized teaching of Salaca Livonian is not yet taking place
- ▶ There are some other challenges not faced by Courland Livonian
 - ▶ More fragmentary documentation
 - ▶ No living speakers or rememberers
 - ▶ No audio recordings of speakers
- ▶ A dictionary (2009) and grammar (2018) have been published in German by Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu

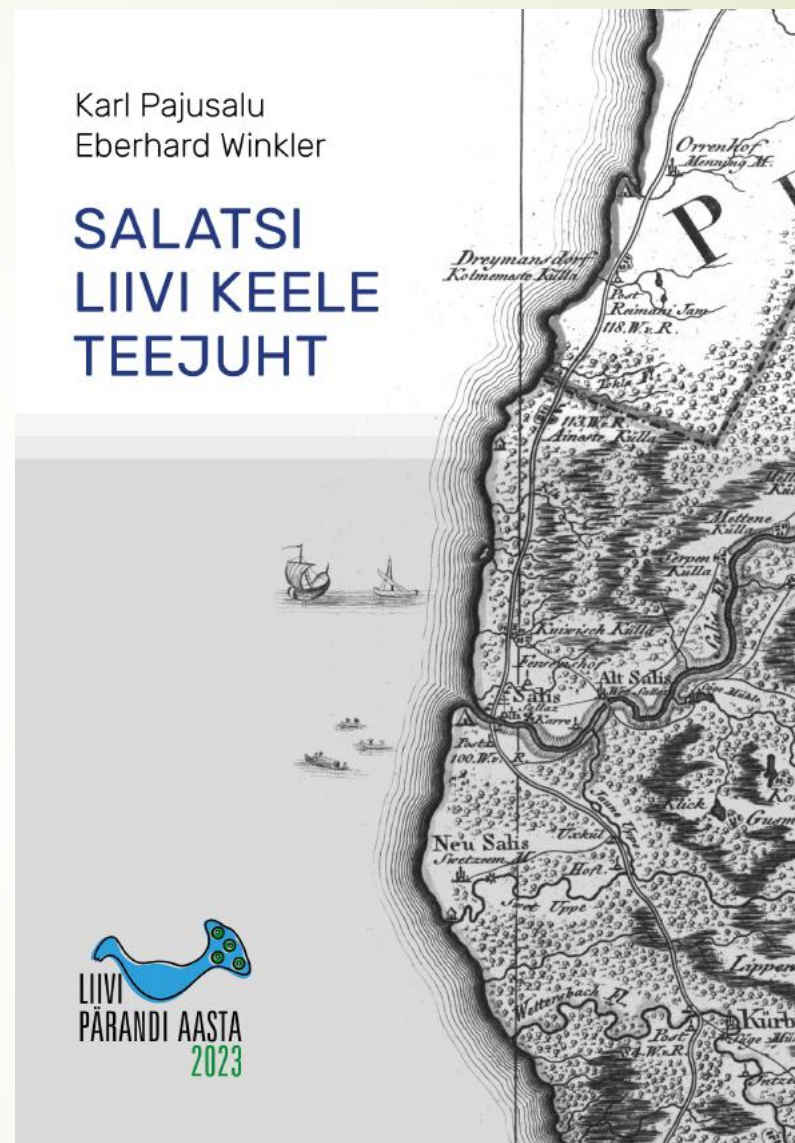
*The Livonian flag at the Livonian cafe «Avat»
in the historic Salaca Livonian territory
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, Ikla, Estonia, 2023)*



Salatsi liivi keele teejuht

Guide to Salaca Livonian

- A new guide has just been published in Estonian in 2023
- Also to be translated into Latvian
- Provides the history and a grammatical sketch of Salaca Livonian
- A topical dictionary (inspired by the topical dictionary in the Lutsi primer)
- Text samples





The Future of Livonian language teaching

- Continuing to create new language learning materials designed specifically for Livonian using language documentation not a generic template.
- Developing new online and digital language resources (grammar, expanding the dictionary, etc.).
- Making Livonian available to anyone interested – not just community members.
- Placing a heavy focus on online and digital resources, since this is the most logical solution given the lack of a compact Livonian-inhabited region.

A new official bilingual Latvian-Livonian road sign
(Source: University of Latvia Livonian Institute, 2022)

LATVIJAS KULTŪRVĒSTURISKAIS IEDALĪJUMS

Mērogs 1 : 1 150 000

0 11,5 23 km



APZĪMĒJUMI

- SĒLIJA** Kultūrvēsturiskās zemes nosaukums un teritorija
- Pībeļģe** Kultūrvēsturiskās teritorijas nosaukums
- NOVADES** Pilsētas robeža un administratīvais centrs
- NOVADES** Pilsētas robežs (norādīts tikai pašvaldībās, kuru nosaukums nesatur šīs administratīvās centra nosaukumu)

- OGRE** Valsts pilsētas nosaukums
- Auze** Pilsētas nosaukums
- Krustpils** Pilsētas daļas nosaukums
- Ķekava** Ciema nosaukums
- VIETNĪCĀ** Pagasta robeža un nosaukums

- Iedzīvotāju skaits apdzīvotajā vietā
- > 600 000
 - 300 000 - 600 000
 - 50 000 - 300 000
 - < 50 000

Pazīme: Administratīvais iedalījums datus satiek ar 2023. gada 10. jūnijā Saeimā pieņemto Administratīvo teritoriju un apdzīvotā vietu likumu





Lutsi self-identity

- In the past, Lutsis called themselves Estonians and their descendants consider themselves Latvians/Latgalians or Russians of Estonian descent.
- That ancestry is what defines the Lutsi identity and descendant community rather than a separate linguistic or ethnic identity.
- Also, their identity as Catholics is important to Lutsi self-identity and links them with the Latgalians.
- More recently, the term *lucs* (singular) and *luci* (plural) – based on Lutsi – has come into use, which appears to show that the conception of who the Lutsis are is changing and evolving.

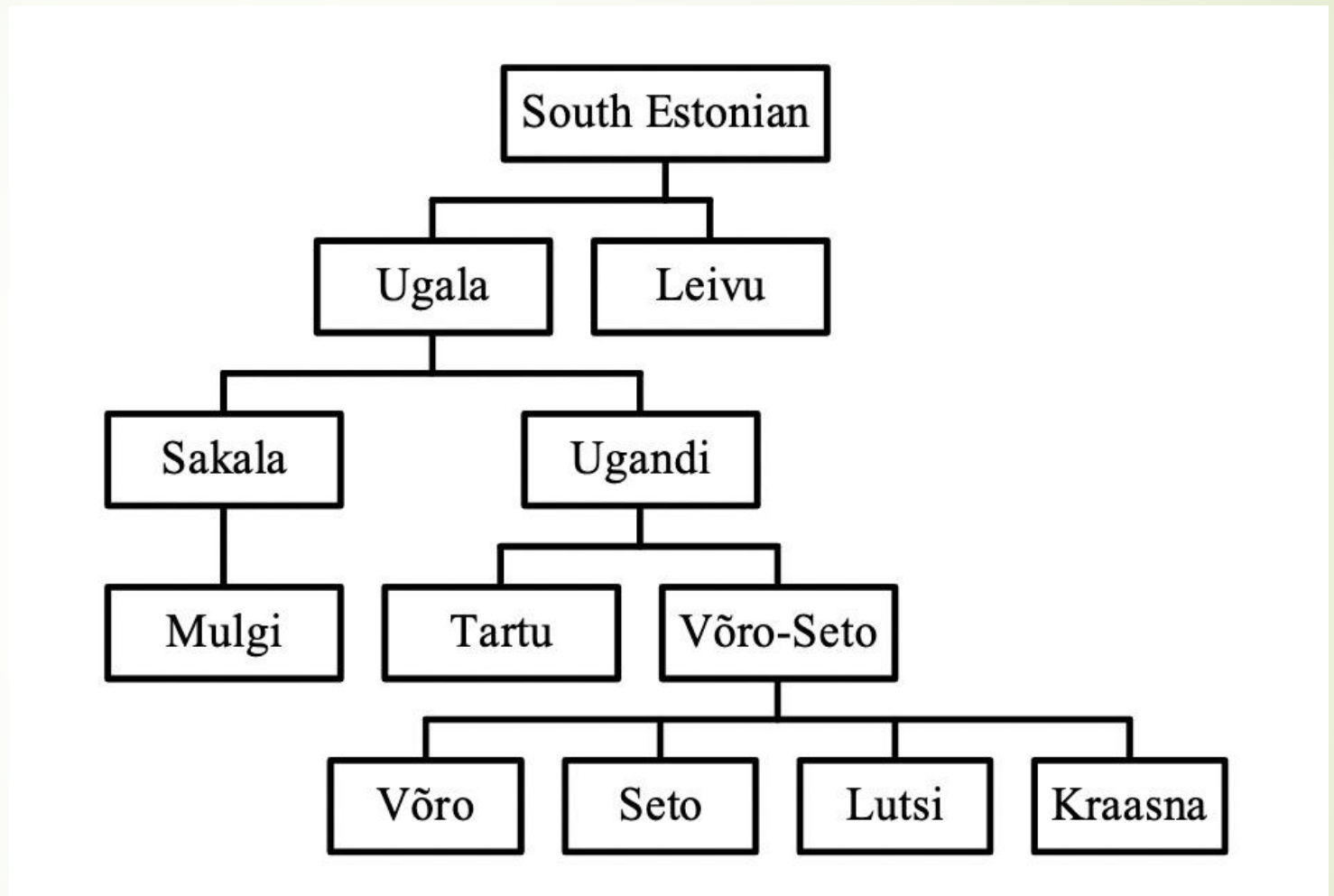
Lutsi speaker and singer

Antonina Nikonova in Jāni külä (Lielie Tjapši) village.

(Source: Pence 1972, Korjus 2021)

How are the South Estonian Ig varieties related? (Kallio 2021)

- Leivu is the earliest variety of South Estonian to separate from Proto-South Estonian.
- Lutsi and Kraasna are closely related to and largely intelligible to speakers of modern South Estonian varieties.
- This supports the story that Lutsi and Kraasna are (at least partially) from a more recent migration and that the Leivus have always lived where they live.



The South Estonian family tree
(Kallio 2021)

Lutsi history

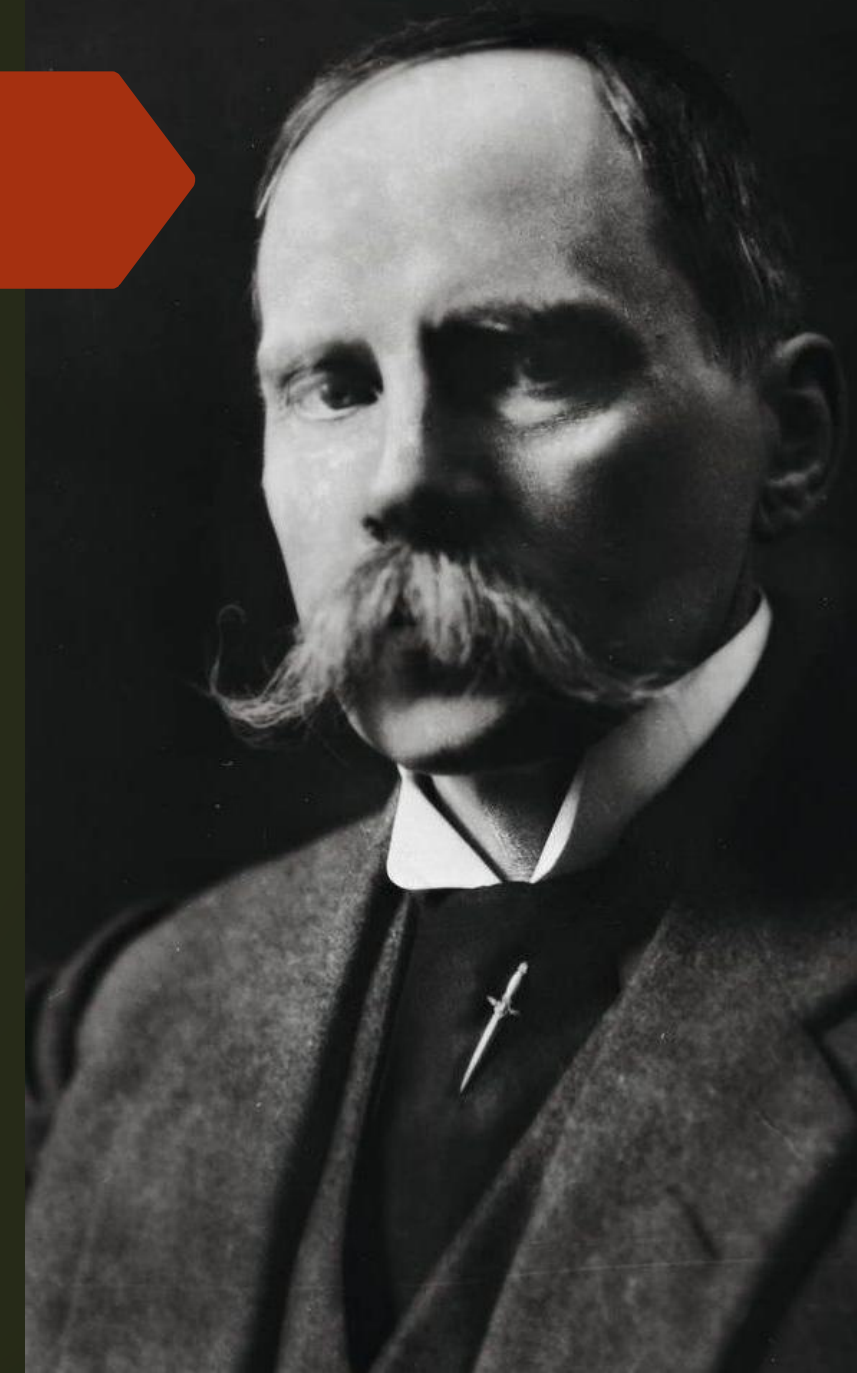


Linguists August Sang (left) and Paul Ariste (right)
With the Lutsi-speaking Jarošenko family in Jānikülä
(Photo: Valter Niilus, 1936, ERM Fk 754-114)

History of Lutsi documentation

- ▶ **1875:** Earliest record of Lutsi; numerals (1-10) recorded by Estonian researcher Mihkel Veske from Lutsi laborers in Estonia.
- ▶ **1893:** First extensive documentation by Estonian researcher Oskar Kallas (*cultural information; word lists, folklore texts; Mērdzene Lutsi*)
- ▶ **1911:** Next extensive documentation by Finnish researcher Heikki Ojansuu (*extensive narratives, some word lists*)
- ▶ **1920s-1980s:** Estonian researcher Paulopriit Voolaine (*extensive narratives; some linguistic studies; photographs*)
- ▶ **1930s:** Estonian researchers Paul Ariste and August Sang (*extensive narratives, only pre-WWII audio recording; some linguistic studies; photographs*)
- ▶ **1960s-1980s:** Other Estonian researchers (*narratives, recordings*)
- ▶ **2013-present:** Uldis Balodis (*some recordings; photographs; observations on present-day community*)

Oskar Kallas (1868-1946)
(Source: Estonian Literary Museum)





A house in the historical Lutsi village of Kitkova, which may have already been standing during Oskar Kallas's 1893 expedition. (Photo: Uldis Balodis, 2017)

The Lutsi community transforms

- 1893: ~800 speakers. Oskar Kallas only one to document Mērdzene parish Lutsi.
- 1920s & 1930s: 120-200 speakers (Pilda & Nirza parishes)
- Mid to late 20th century: small number of speakers (Tjapši and Škirpāni villages in Pilda parish, possibly also Greči and Barisi villages in Nirza parish)
- 1980s-2006: Last known fluent speakers (Tjapši village in Pilda parish)
- 2014: Last known partial speaker (Tjapši village in Pilda parish)
- Present day: isolated knowledge of individual words, short sentences

(Kallas 1893, Ojansuu 1912, Voolaine 1925, Sang 1936, Korjus 2001, Balodis 2021)



The Lutsi villages visited by Oskar Kallas in 1893 with modern administrative boundaries
(Source: Balodis 2021)

Lutsi during the interwar years



- ▶ Lutsi was still used as a language of daily interaction in a limited number of villages before WWII.
- ▶ Some interesting connections with Livonian in the press.
- ▶ Significant language documentation (mostly written).
- ▶ Some community activism and attempts to build/maintain Lutsi identity.
- ▶ Paulopriit Voolaine and August Sang most responsible for this, but they had differing views of Lutsi development.
- ▶ Voolaine believed in maintaining Lutsi language and identity.
- ▶ Sang favored assimilation of the Lutsis into the local Latgalian population.

Lutsis at harvest time in Grēki (Greči) village.
(Source: ERM Fk 811:8; Paulopriit Voolaine, 1937)



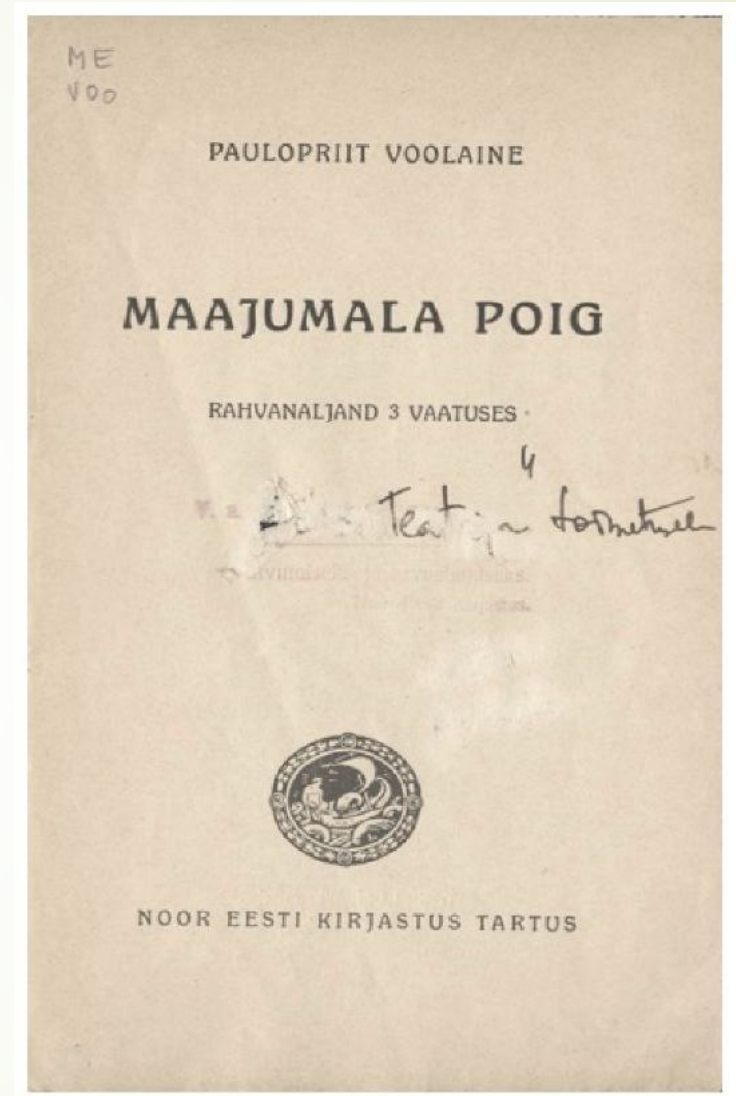
Supporting Lutsi identity during the interwar years

- ▶ Voolaine made efforts to raise the Estonian national awareness of Lutsis by:
 - ▶ encouraging Lutsis to register as Estonians,
 - ▶ organizing Estonian Christmas celebrations with gifts from benefactors in Estonia,
 - ▶ helping Lutsi young people study in Estonia.
 - ▶ working with Lutsi community members to open an Estonian school in the Lutsi region, though this was ultimately unsuccessful

Paulopriit Voolaine in his student years
(Source: Estonian Literary Museum)

Supporting Lutsi identity during the interwar years

- The Estonian Mother Tongue Society (Emakeele Selts) awards its first scholarship to Paulopriit Voolaine (1899-1985) in 1921 to study the Lutsis.
- Voolaine extensively documented Lutsi and the Lutsi villages, forming lifelong bonds with some Lutsi families.
- Voolaine also made attempts to write Lutsi in an orthography like that used still for South Estonian in Estonia and also wrote a play (Maajumala poig = Son of the Earth God) dramatizing Kallas's expedition.



Cover of the play «Maajumala Poig» written in Standard Estonian with Lutsi portions.



Paulopriit Voolaine (left) at an Estonian Christmas celebration in Tati küla (Ščastlivi), Latvia (Photo: J. Bull, 1937, ERM Fk 811:72)

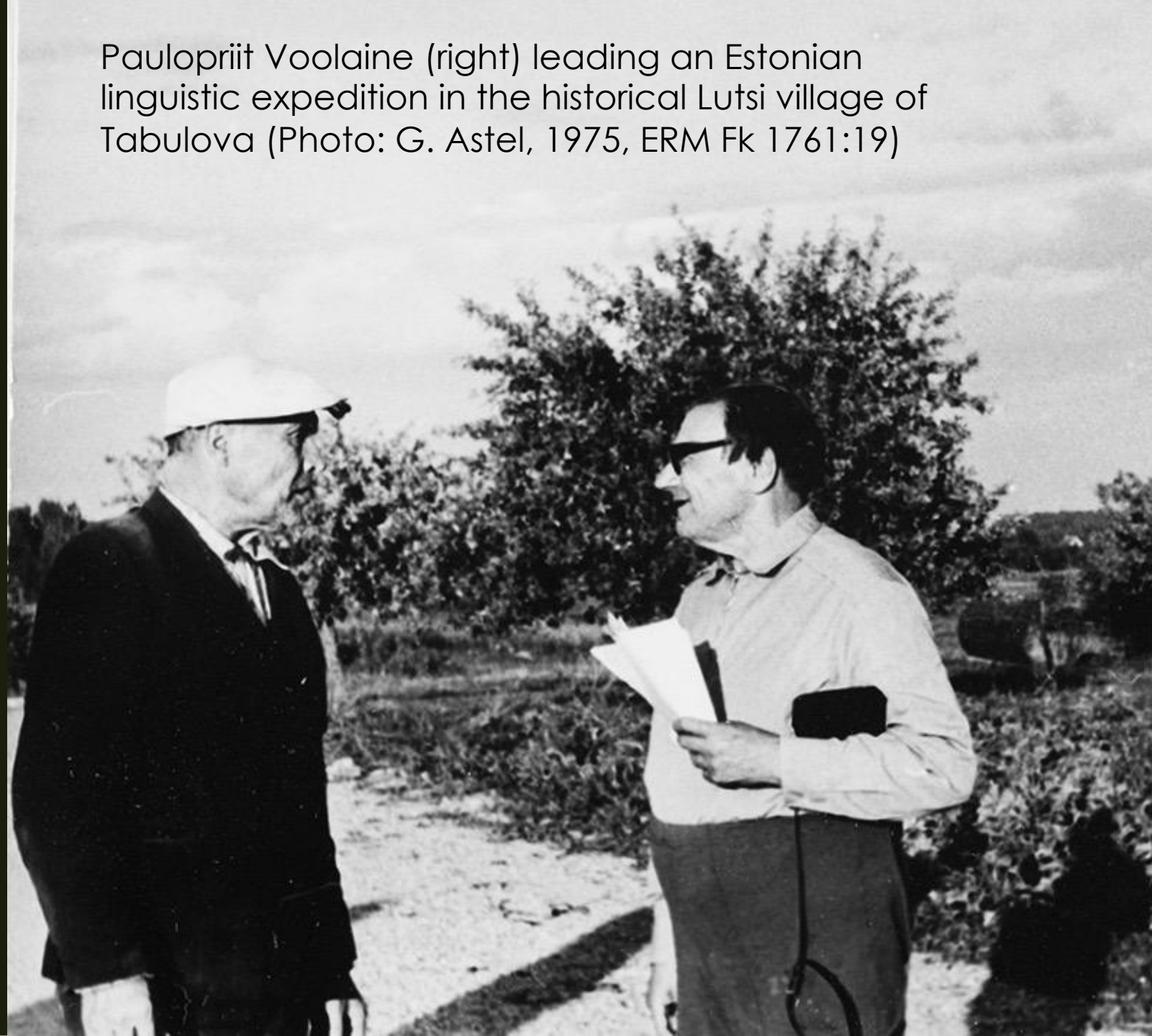


The schoolhouse in Filantmuiža, Latvia where Voolaine planned to open an Estonian school.
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, 2013)

Supporting Lutsi identity during the Soviet occupation

- Voolaine was declared *persona non grata* for his activities by the Ulmanis government and forced to leave Latvia.
- During the Soviet occupation of the Baltics, Voolaine returned to Latvia and led several expeditions with linguists from Estonia.
- Language revival was not possible.
- During my fieldwork, I met people who remembered Voolaine from the interwar independence period and also knew him from his expeditions during the Soviet years.

Paulopriit Voolaine (right) leading an Estonian linguistic expedition in the historical Lutsi village of Tabulova (Photo: G. Astel, 1975, ERM Fk 1761:19)





Last conversational Lutsi speakers Nikolajs Nikonovs with his grandmother Antonina Nikonova in the early 1980s. (Source: Nikonovs family photo album)



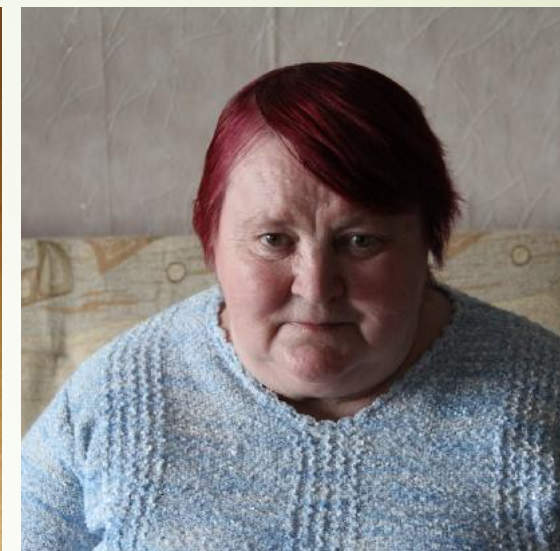
The Nikonovs family home in Jānikülā (Lielie Tjapši) village, Latvia. The last place where Lutsi was spoken in daily life in the 1980s. (Photo: Uldis Balodis, 2017)



The home of the last person of Lutsi descent living in neighboring Väiku Tsäpsiq (Mazie Tjapši).
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, 2017)

How is Lutsi spoken in the 21st century?

- ▶ No longer as a conversational language.
- ▶ Remembered by people who heard it spoken around them.
- ▶ Antoņina Nikonova (1946-2014) was a partial passive speaker who could understand many words and also remembered many words and sentences.
- ▶ Bronislava Zambere (1938) remembers Lutsi numbers but also the start of a fairy tale that she learned from her grandfather. She considers herself Estonian.
- ▶ Leonfīne Antonova (1924-2019) learned a Lutsi verse from a neighbor.
- ▶ In all cases language is a signifier of their Lutsi identity.

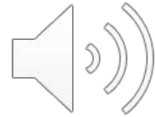


Clockwise: Leonfīne Antonova, Antoņina Nikonova, Bronislava Zambere with Uldis Balodis (Photos: U. Balodis)





A Lutsi fragment remembered.



- The beginning of a story that Bronislava Zambere's grandfather told her.
- Her grandfather was alive during Oskar Kallas's 1893 expedition to the Lutsis.
- The story also appears in other documentation (Kallas, Ojansuu) from other speakers.

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

*Photo: Lutsi rememberer Bronislava Zambere
(Photo: Uldis Balodis, Barisi, Latvia, 2014)*

The Lutsi community today

- ▶ The community has shifted entirely to Latvian and Latgalian – to a lesser extent Russian.
- ▶ Awareness among descendants of their ancestry, though nearly no one identifies as being just Lutsi/Estonian.
- ▶ Community actions and events
 - ▶ Lutsi music CD by the folklore group 'Ilža'
 - ▶ Project by J. Soikans Ludza Art School focusing on Lutsi heritage
 - ▶ A short dramatic performance incorporating Lutsi language by the Ludza youth theater "Teātris azotē" (Theater in the corner)
- ▶ Education & Research
 - ▶ Lutsi Primer (published in 2020)
 - ▶ Permanent Lutsi exhibit at the Ludza Local History Museum (opened in 2022)
 - ▶ Scientific seminars (3 have taken place in Ludza since 2015; next is in 2024)
 - ▶ Special volume of Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics (2021)
 - ▶ Southernmost Finnic Prosody Project (University of Tartu; began in 2022)



*Lutsi descendants (front and right of center) with participants of the Lutsi studies symposium in Ludza, Latvia in 2017
Photo: Uldis Balodis research archive*

A Ā Ä Ä B B D D
E Ē F G Ģ H Ķ Ī
J K Ķ L Ļ M Ņ N Ņ
O Ō Ö Ö P P Q R
R S Š Š T Ņ U Ū Ü
Ū V V Y Ŷ Z Ž Ž

LEMENTAR

ULDIS BALODIS

ĀBECE

LUTSI KIELE LEMENTAR LUDZAS IGAUNU VALODAS ĀBECE

ULDIS BALODIS



The goals of the Lutsi primer

- Language reacquaintance = language “revitalization-lite”
- Keep knowledge of identity alive
- Keep open options for future larger revival
- Highlighting the role of Latgalian by including it in the topical dictionary and in presentations discussing how the Lutsi experience is instructive for Latgalian language survival.
- Use of Lutsi and awareness of Lutsi identity of the Ludza region can potentially offer an economic boost to this part of Latvia



Needs and principles for writing Lutsi

- ▶ Lutsi had no history of widespread use as a written language when still spoken in daily life.
- ▶ Paulopriit Voolaine's interwar Lutsi orthography was like that used for other South Estonian varieties in Estonia.
- ▶ What's changed? In the past, there were people who could model speech, so an orthography today must also take on a pedagogical/teaching function, while also being readable by people who have no sense for the language anymore.
- ▶ As Lutsi descendants are Latvian and Latgalian speakers, new orthographies should be like those of Latvian and Latgalian.


Lutsi modern orthography

► Influences:

- Most of all Latvian and Latgalian, but with elements of the modern (Courland) Livonian, Estonian, and South Estonian (Võro) orthographies for sounds not found in literary Latvian. (see Balodis 2015)

► Features:

- Long vowels are marked with macrons and palatalized consonants with commas, just as in Latvian, Latgalian, Livonian (e.g., ā, ē, ķ, ļ).
- Estonian and South Estonian in the phonetic values of <ä> [æ], <ö> [ø], <ü> [y].
- Follows Latgalian in using <y> to write a central to back unrounded vowel, written in Livonian, Estonian, and other South Estonian varieties as <õ>.
- Follows the Latgalian practice of palatalizing consonants before front vowels (i, e, ö, ü) without explicitly marking them using a palatalization comma (e.g., Lutsi *tuli* 'fire')
- Follows the practice of literary South Estonian (Võro) in Estonia of writing a glottal stop with <q>.



A Ā Ä Å B Ḅ D Ḍ E Ē F G Ğ H Ĥ
I Ī J K Ḳ L Ḷ M Ṃ N Ṇ O Ō Ö Ő
P P̣ Q R Ṛ S Ş Š T Ṭ U Ū Ü Ŭ
V Ṿ Y Ÿ Z Ẓ Ž

LUTSI ALPHABET



The Structure of the Lutsi primer

- Creates a single resource for multiple types of needs
- Based on my field research and archival research of existing documentation.
- Language
 - Phrases
 - Example sentences
 - Grammatical sketch (includes ~20 verbs fully conjugated in past and present tense)
 - Topical dictionary (Latvian-Lutsi-Latgalian)
- History and culture
 - History of the Lutsis and those who researched them
 - The language and history of the last communities where Lutsi was still spoken

LUTSI ÜTLEMIZEQ | LUCU ŠPIKERIS

LUCISKI

Kynelem lutsi kilt!
Tereq!
Kuis sul lätt?
Kuis teil lätt?
Mul lätt hõste, kui sul?
Mul lätt hõste, kui teil?
Ībā hõste, aitūma!
Kaihost halvaste.
Nāgemist!
Aitūma.
Oleq hūā.
Olkeq hūāq.
Annaq andis.
Ankeq andis.
Ūtš hūā tehrūs!
Paļļo ynne sūnnūpāvēst!
Paļļo ynne nimepāvēst!
Hūvvi Lihavyttit!
Hūvvi Leigu pūhhi!
Hūvvā Jāni pāivā!
Hūvvā Lāti Eziqsaismispāivā!
Ilozit Taļzepūhhi!
Kas sa kynelet lutsi kilt?
Kas ti kynelet lutsi kilt?
Ma kynele lutsi kilt.
Ma kynele-eiq lutsi kilt.
Jah. / Eiq.
(Tereq) hummugust.
Tereq pāvēst.
Tereq ydagust.
Hūvvā ūd.
Mis um suq nimi?
Muq nimi um...
Ma eļā Ludzihn/Lātkalihn/Lātihn.
Ludzimā um illos mā.
Ma sinnu salli.

LATVISKI

Runāsim luciski!
Sveiki!
Kā tev iet?
Kā jums iet?
Man iet labi, kā tev?
Man iet labi, kā jums?
Ļoti labi, paldies!
Dienžēl slākti.
Uz redzēšanos!
Paldies (uzsvars uz otrās zilbes).
Lūdzu (uzrunājot vienu cilvēku).
Lūdzu (formāli/uzrunājot vairākus cilvēkus).
Atvaino.
Atvainojiet.
Priekā (saskandinot glāzes)!
Daudz laimes dzimšanas dienā!
Daudz laimes vārda dienā!
Priecīgas Lieldienas!
Priecīgus Līgo svētkus!
Priecīgus Jāņus!
Priecīgu Latvijas Neatkarības dienu!
Priecīgus Ziemassvētkus!
Vai tu runā luciski?
Vai jūs runājat luciski?
Es runāju luciski.
Es nerunāju luciski.
Jā. / Nē.
Labrīt.
Labdien.
Labvakar.
Ar labu nakti.
Kā tevi sauc?
Mani sauc...
Es dzīvoju Ludzā / Latgalē / Latvijā.
Ludzas zeme (apkārtnē) ir skaista zeme.
Es tevi mīlu.

Lutsi phrases

- Phrases and useful words for those who wish to reconnect with their heritage but do not wish to learn Lutsi
- Based on my own observations of the significance of the use of simple language to create community and support identity in communities I know (Latvians in the US, Livonians in Latvia, Native peoples in the US, etc.)

Example sentences



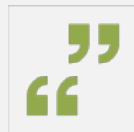
The core “ABC-book” portion of the primer



Highlights views of the historical Lutsi region



But also has a teaching function



The sentences show the 3 most important cases for forming basic sentences: **nominative** (subject), **genitive** (object, forming oblique cases), **partitive** (object, other functions).



Lutsi kielejuht Tekla Jarošenko / Ludzas igauņu valodas teicēja Tekla Jarošenko. Lielie Tjapši, Pildas pagasts. Foto: V. Niilus, 1936. ERM Fk 754:109

A

ahi 'krāsns'

Ahi um pallav.
Krāsns ir karsta.

Vanaimā sais aho man.
Vecmāmiņa stāv pie krāsns.

Vanaimā näge ahjo.
Vecmāmiņa redz krāsni.



Villages

The experience of being in the Lutsi villages
(images, language, people)

Language samples taken from the Estonian
dialect series “Eesti murded” volume on the
South Estonian Language Islands

Fieldwork observations

Archival photos and modern photos



Tekla un Meikuls Jarošenko, viņu meita Antonina Nikonova, kā arī viņas mazdēls Nikolajs Nikonovs bijuši Ludzas igauņu valodas teicēji. Attēlā redzama ģimene un igauņu pētnieki, vistīcāmāk, ārpus ģimenes mājām Lielajos Tjapšos. No kreisās: valodnieks Augusts Sangs, Antonina Nikonova (?), Tekla Jarošenko, Meikuls Jarošenko, Meikuls Nikonovs (?), nezināms, valodnieks Pauls Ariste. Lielie Tjapši, Pīldas pagasts. Foto: V. Niius, 1936, ERM Fk 754:114

LIELO TJAPŠU LUDZAS IGAUŅU VALODAS PIEMĒRS

Meikuls Jarošenko (1866) un Tekla Jarošenko (1867) bija ļoti nozīmīgi valodas teicēji un parādās gan ierakstos, gan rakstītā valodas dokumentācijā. Jarošenko pāris arī bija igauņu pētnieka Augusta Sanga teicēji 1930. gadu nepublicētajiem pētījumiem par Ludzas igauņu valodas fonoloģiju un morfoloģiju.

Teicēji stāsta Augustam Sangam par pētnieka Pauloprīta Volaines Ludzas igauņu ekspedīciju pirmsākumiem, kā arī par nesekmīgajiem centieniem nodibināt igauņu skolas Ludzas igauņu bērniem. Tekstu pierakstīja Augusts Sangs 1938. gadā, to datorīzējusi Mervi Kalmusa (*Mervi Kalmus*) 2009. gadā.

PAULOPRĪTS VOLAINE

Ludzas igauņu valodā	Igauņu valodā	Latviešu valodā
Pāle hi ebi tu Paul Vólain miiq poole mä rahvast otšma ni kaema.	Pārast, hiljem tuli Paul Voolain [=Paulopriit Voolaine] meie poole maarahvast [=lutsisid] otsima ja vaatama.	Pēc tam, vēlāk pie mums nāca Pauls Volaine [=Pauloprīts Volaine] Ludzas igauņus meklēt un skatīties.
Edimält tu Jāni küllä.	Kõigepealt tuli Jaani külla.	Vispirms brauca uz Lielajiem Tjapšiem.
Timmä kiekki tšjä-s, kost um.	Teda keegi ei teadnud [=tundnud], kust [ta] on.	Neviens nezināja, no kurienes [viņš] ir.
Timä üte]. . . miiq kūssem: "Kost sina olt?"	Tema ütles. . . Me kūsissime: "Kust sina [pārit] oled?"	Viņš teica. . . Mēs prasījām: "No kurienes tu esi?"
Timä ütles nyi, et tš mällähät ku o tulnuq Filip Mihhailoviš Kallas,	Tema ütleb nii, et te mäletate, kui oli tulnud Filip Mihhailoviš Kallas [=Oskar Kallas].	Viņš teica tā, vai jūs atceraties, kā bija nācis Filips Mihailovičs Kallass [=Oskars Kallass].
"Ma tulli timä jälgi pith noide külli, kon um mä rahvas.	"Ma tulin tema jälgi pidi nendesse küladesse, kus on maarahvas [=lutsid].	"Es sekoju viņa pēdās uz tiem ciemiem, kur ir Ludzas igauņi.
No tulli edimält Kirbu küllä. Kirbu külläst ülti: mineq Jāni küllä Meikuli pöle, Jarašenka pöle, tš myist hüastele mävärki kyneldaq. . .	Tulin kõigepealt Kirbu külla. Kirbu külast öeldi, [et] mine Jaani külla Meikuli poole, Jarašenka poole, too mõistab hästi maavärki [=lutsi keeles] rääkida. . .	Vispirms devos uz Škirpānu ciemu. Škirpānu ciemā teica, dodies uz Lielo Tjapšu ciemu pie Meikula, pie Jarošenko, tas māk izcili runāt Ludzas igauņu valodā . . .
Mi ollim mä rahvas, unehhudeduq.	Me olime maarahvas [=lutsid], unustatud.	Mēs bijām Ludzas igauņi, aizmirsti.
Timä mēle kyneli et tš olt mš sugulidzeq, tš olt Ludzi mäle sānuq vai aedu Vyromält.	Tema meile rääkis, et teie olete meie sugulased, teie olete Lutsimaale saanud [=lāinud] vōi aetud Võrumaalt.	Viņš mums teica, ka jūs esat mūsu radnieki, jūs esat uz Ludzas zemi atnākuši vai atdzīti no Veru zemes [Võrumaa ir Igaunijas dienvidaustrumos].
Vyromäl ka ummaq sāndzeq küllāq ni sāndzeq nimeq küllil.	Võrumaal on ka sellised külad ja sellised nimes küladel.	Veru zemē arī ir šādi ciemi un šādi nosaukumi ciemiem.



*Kartupeļu raža [P. Volaine pa kreisi]. Greči, Nirzas pagasts.
Foto: P. Voolaine, 1937 ERM Fk 811:38*



*Skats uz Julija Bula māju. Celta 1938. gadā. Greči, Nirzas pagasts.
Foto: V. Kutsar, 1973 ERM Fk 1687:1*



*Skats uz Julija Bula kūti un klēti. Abas celtas 1930. gadu beigās.
Greči, Nirzas pagasts. Foto: V. Kutsar, 1973 ERM Fk 1687:3*



Greču ciema centrs. Foto: U. Balodis, 2013



Greči. Foto: U. Balodis, 2013



Greči. Foto: U. Balodis, 2013



*Ludzas igāņu pēcteces Līdija Bule un Līdija Sprudzāne
Foto: U. Balodis, 2013*



Topical dictionary

- ▶ About ~500 words
- ▶ Based on Estonian word frequency lists and groups of words typically found in beginning language courses (colors, simple adjectives (cold, warm), etc.)
- ▶ Topical categories include:
 - ▶ weather, sky and landscape, animals, body, family, home, clothing, city life, work, food and drink, calendar and time , colors, adjectives, numerals
- ▶ Organized topically so words in similar domains could be learned
- ▶ Created some contemporary vocabulary ('computer') based on either Latvian/Latgalian or literary Võro
- ▶ Also created terms for local Ludza institutions to promote local use of Lutsi
- ▶ Latgalian included to support use of Latgalian in its home region.

(Galotne simtiem)	-sada
100	sada
105	sada vīš
200	katšsada
348	kolqsada nelikūmmend kateza
(Galotne tūkstošiem)	-tuhat
1000	tuhat
2000	katštuhāt
2020	katštuhāt katškūmmend
36 295	kolqkūmmend kūštuhāt katšsada ūtezākūmmend vīš

KĀRTAS SKAITĻA VĀRDI	
1.	edimāne (edimādze, edimāst)
2.	tīņe (tīže, tyist)
3.	kolmas (kolma(n)da, kolma(n)dat)
4.	neļās (neļā(n)dā, neļā(n)dāt)
5.	vīes (vīe(n)dā, vīe(n)dāt)
6.	kuvves (kuvve(n)da, kuvve(n)dat)
7.	sāitsmes (sāitsme(n)dā, sāitsme(n)dāt)
8.	katsas (katsa(n)da, katsa(n)dat)
9.	ūtsās (ūtsā(n)dā, ūtsā(n)dāt)
10.	kūmnes (kūmne(n)dā, kūmne(n)dāt)

VIETVĀRDI UN LUDZAS IESTĀŽU NOSAUKUMI

Brigi	Brigi (Brigi, Brigit)	Brygi
Daugava	Vāinā jygi (-jiu, -jyke)	Daugova
Igaunija	Ēstimā (-mā, -mād)	Igaunēja
J. Soikāna Ludzas mākslas skola	J. Soikansi Ludzi taide kūļ (kuoli, kūli)	J. Soikana Ludzys muoksls skūla
Krievija	Vinnemā (-mā, -mād)	Krīveja
Latgale	Lātkali (Lātkali, Lātkalit)	Latgola
Latvija	Lāti (Lāti, Lātit)	Latveja
Lielais Ludzas ezers	Sūr Ludzi jārv (-jārve, jārve), Sūr jārv (-jārve, jārve)	Lelais Ludzys azars
Ludza	Lutsi (Ludzi, Lutsit) [uz Ludzu = Lutsi (illatīvs); Braucam uz Ludzu. = Sūdām Lutsi.]	Ludza
Ludzas pilsētas galvenā bibliotēka	Ludzi līna pārāmadukogo (-kogo, -koko) [Ludzas bibliotēka: Ludzi rāmadukogo]	Ludzys pišātys golvonuo biblioteka
Ludzas novada tūrisma informācijas centrs	Ludzi pīrkunna tūrisma informatseja keskus	Ludzys nūvoda tūrisma informacejys centrys
Ludzas novadpētniecības muzejs	Ludzimā ūrmize mūseum (mūseumi, mūseummi)	Ludzys nūvod-pietnīceibys muzejs
Ludzas novads	Ludzi pīrkund (-kunna, -kunda)	Ludzys nūvods
Ludzas pareizticīgo baznīca	Ludzi yigeuzu kerik (kerigu, kerigut)	Ludzys pareizticīgūs bazneica
Ludzas pils	Ludzi mālin (mālina, mālina)	Ludzys piļs

Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri

Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics

Urimusi lõunaeesti keelesaartest /
Studies on the South Estonian language islands
(Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna)

Urimusi lõunaeesti keelesaartest Studies on the South Estonian language islands (Leivu, Lutsi, Kraasna)

- First major work in English on the South Estonian language islands.
- Brings together not only linguists, but also other specialists (historians, archeologists, literary specialists) to describe the history, origins, and language of these three communities.
- Includes not only descriptions, but also new discoveries about the origins of these communities.
- Acquaints the world outside of Finnic linguistics with these communities and creates a single resource for reference and basis for further research.

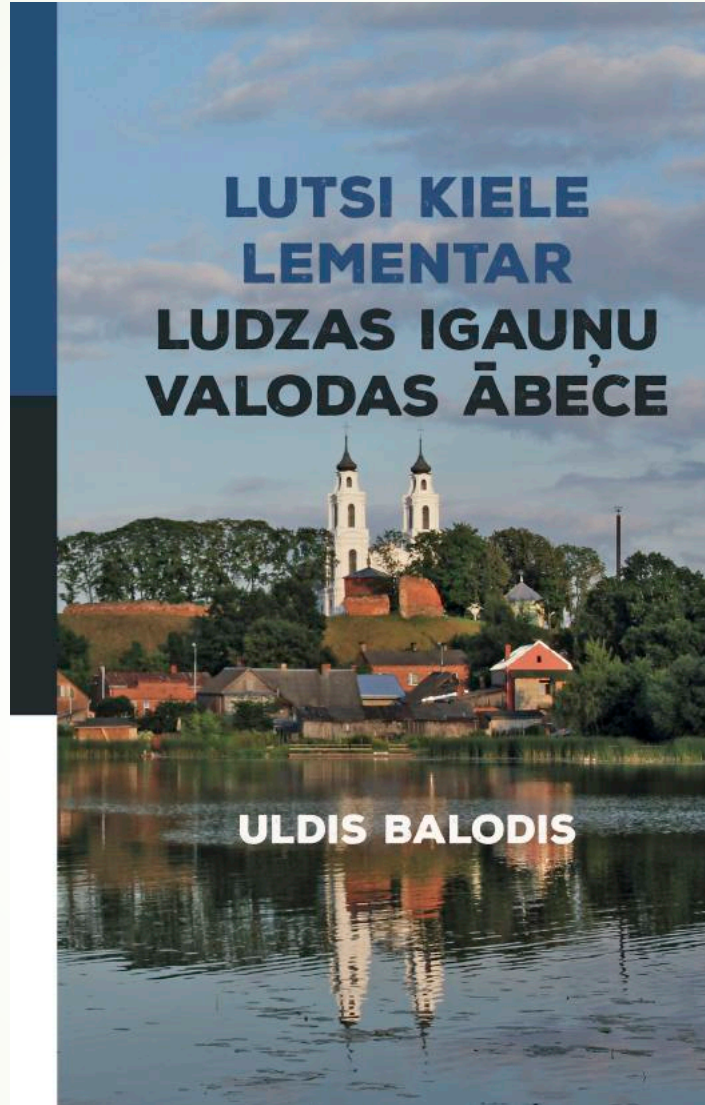


ESUKA/JEFUL special issue on the South Estonian language islands

- Available for free download at:
<http://tinyurl.com/languageislands>

Lutsi primer in Lutsi and Latvian

- Available for free download at:
<http://tinyurl.com/ludza>



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