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UNEXPECTED LOC. SG. $-â$ IN HIGH LATVIAN

Abstract. This paper investigates \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings in the High Latvian dialects. It is shown that the phenomenon of labialization of inherited $*\bar{a}$ largely rebuts the traditional comparison of Low Latvian loc. sg. $-â$ with High Latvian $-â$ because in most dialects we in fact expect $-\hat{o}$, $-\hat{o}^a$ or $-u\hat{o}$ instead. Following an alternative line of thought, this “unexpected” loc. sg. $-â$ is rather identified with loc. sg. $-ai$ and a new sound law is proposed, according to which word-final, unaccented $*-ai$ is widely monophthongized to $-â$. Apart from the locative singular the effects hereof are also seen in *navâ* (< **navai*) ‘(there) is not’ and perhaps also *visâ* (< **visai*) ‘particularly; entirely.’ The etymological identity of LLv. $-ai$ and HLv. $-â$ is also suggested by the fact that $-ai$ is attested right along the isogloss for unexpected $-â$ —a distribution that is very similar to that of $-ai$ and its cognates $-ei$, $-\bar{e}$ and $-\epsilon$ etc. in Kurzeme. As a result, loc. sg. $*-ai$ appears to be significantly more widespread than previously assumed, while the isogloss for $*-â$ is accordingly narrowed so that it only includes LLv. $-â$; HLv. $-\hat{o}$, $-\hat{o}^a$, $-u\hat{o}$, etc.; and at least part of the High Latvian dialects that attest $-â$ but have no regular labialization.

Keywords: Latvian; High Latvian; comparative linguistics; dialectology; locative; inessive; adessive.

1. Introduction

Looking at isogloss maps of \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings such as Rudzīte 1969 [2005, 162–163] or LVDAm, 210, one gets a decided impression of homogeneity as the ending is usually $-â$ throughout the Latvian speech community, except for the major part of Kurzeme and a smaller area on both banks of the Daugava around Skrīveri, where we find $-ai$ (or cognates hereof) instead.¹ Etymologically loc. sg. $-â$ is identified with Lt. $-ojè$ and

¹ Both endings vary in tone and according to LVDAm, 52–54 the dialects attest $-â$, $-\bar{a}$, $-\acute{a}$, $-\grave{a}$ and $-â$ besides $-ai$ and $-ai$. However, considering that unaccented tones are unstable in the Selonian dialects of Vidzeme (Poiša 1985, 22; 1999, 37–40) and that the

derived from the East Baltic \bar{a} -stem inessive singular $*-\bar{a}'ien'$ vel sim.; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 306 (= 1951, 415–416). In other words, the \hat{a} is thought to be a reflex of inherited $*\bar{a}$.

However, unlike Low Latvian where inherited $*\bar{a}$ is generally preserved as such, most High Latvian dialects have various labialized reflexes like \bar{o} , \bar{o}^a or uo instead. With this in mind we would also expect to find locative endings $-\hat{o}$, $-\hat{o}^a$ and $-u\hat{o}$ in dialects with regular labialization in unaccented syllables, but this is only occasionally the case. Accordingly, the homogeneity expressed on the isogloss maps is misleading because HLv. $-\hat{a}$ is very often incomparable to LLv. $-\hat{a}$ due to the absence of labialization. This circumstance has not received due attention in the scholarly literature.

In the following we shall take a fresh look at \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings in High Latvian and attempt to identify their Low Latvian counterparts.² In order to assess the material properly, though, we shall not merely consider the phonetic shape of the endings themselves but also the phonological context specific to each dialect.³ For this purpose it is necessary first to review the phenomenon of labialization of inherited $*\bar{a}$.

2. Labialization of inherited $*\bar{a}$

Labialization of inherited $*\bar{a}$ is a widespread and well-known phonological feature of the High Latvian dialects, although the degree of manifestation varies so that the westernmost dialects round merely to \bar{a} whereas dialects further to the east show concomitant raising to \bar{o} or even diphthongisation to \bar{o}^a , oa or uo a.o.⁴ Likewise, the conditions for labialization are not identical everywhere, and we may roughly distinguish between dialects where

Low Latvian dialects of Kurzeme have lost the distinction altogether (Endzelīns 1922, 27–28 [= 1951, 42–43]), tonal evidence alone warrants a distinction between no more than three etymological endings: $-\hat{a}$, $-\bar{a}$ and $-ai$. Of these we are only concerned with $-\hat{a}$ and $-ai$ here.

² Synchronically, the \bar{a} -stem ending is of course also employed in the o -stems; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 293 (= 1951, 398).

³ For the sake of simplicity I shall with few exceptions quantize the dialectal landscape into counties as tradition has it. I am aware that this implies a certain error margin; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 40–43.

⁴ For other realizations see Endzelīns 1922, 85 (= 1951, 125); Rudzīte 1969 [2005, 118–125]; LVDAf, 43–44, 206.

labialization is ubiquitous and dialects where it is restricted to accented syllables. Unlike short *a*, which is also subject to labialization, long *ā* is usually not preserved if the following syllable contains a front vowel, although certain dialects in Eastern Vidzeme do attest umlaut-like correspondences to a limited extent, e.g., *būorda* ‘beard’ : dim. *bārdiņa* (Ābele 1934, 168).⁵ The conditions and origin of this phenomenon are still not entirely clear, but it seems that labialization is missing mainly when *ā* is non-final and followed by *r* or *v*, so it is probably irrelevant in the context of the locative singular.⁶ Quite exceptional is the distribution of *ā* and *ō* in Drusti₃₀₃ where it is *ō* that is conditioned by the presence of front vowels or palatal consonants; cf. Cīrulis 1911, 61–63.

In terms of isoglosses, labialization is most widespread in accented syllables, where it has been registered in virtually all High Latvian dialects; cf. LVDAf, 43–44, 206. In other words, the isogloss may be considered among those definitive for High Latvian as a dialect group. Labialization of unaccented *ā*, on the other hand, characterizes a somewhat narrower area which excludes most High Latvian dialects in Vidzeme as well as the westernmost High Latvian dialects in Zemgale; cf. LVDAf, 104, 269. It is possible, however, that the isogloss has been displaced eastward due to influence from Low and Standard Latvian; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 85; Breidaks 1989 [2007, 358]; Kalniņš 2020, 337–338. Regardless of differences in realization as well as conditioning, it seems likely that labialization of *ā* is shared with Lithuanian; thereby not claiming that the innovation must necessarily be dated to a time when Latvian and Lithuanian could still be considered one language.⁷

Traditionally, the diachronic interpretation of the Latvian material maintains that labialization is phonologically regular only in accented syllables, while its presence in unaccented syllables is ascribed to analogy or auxiliary accent; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 86–88 (= 1951, 127–129); Rudzīte 1993, 237–238. An alternative scenario is offered by Breidaks (1989 [2007,

⁵ To be precise, labialization of *a* is essentially not an umlaut phenomenon either; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 73–83 (= 1951, 110–123); Rudzīte 1964, 267–271; and Breidaks 1989 [2007, 327–335] who departs from the assumption that it is *o* that has developed into *a* and not the other way around.

⁶ For more details see Ābele 1934; Endzelīns 1922, 86 (= 1951, 126); Breidaks 1989 [2007, 352–353]; Kalniņš 2020, 360–364.

⁷ For the fate of *ā* in Lithuanian see Zinkevičius 1966, 68–74, 473–478.

350–358]), who expects labialization in accented as well as unaccented syllables and even considers it an archaism to the extent of reconstructing it for Low Latvian. Wherever we see \bar{a} , he claims, it is the phonologically regular reflex of an older \bar{o} . Both of these accounts, however, are characterized by an outspoken failure to appreciate the integrity of isoglosses that are otherwise very coherent and clearly defined.

Considering that Baltic must have inherited non-labial $*\bar{a}$, it is most obvious to regard \bar{a} the regular reflex in Low Latvian and in unaccented syllables in part of High Latvian. On the other hand, taking the evidence at face value, it must be assumed that the majority of High Latvian dialects underwent phonological labialization also in unaccented syllables. While we do find unaccented \bar{a} in a variety of cases in the latter group too, these differ from dialect to dialect and are usually easy to explain by means of analogy, contraction, borrowing or influence from Low or Standard Latvian; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 337–395. A significant exception hereto is the \bar{a} -stem locative singular ending $-\hat{a}$, whose lack of labialization is all but obvious.

3. The \bar{a} -stem locative singular

With the isogloss for labialization in unaccented syllables in mind, it is clear that we must distinguish between dialects where HLv. $-\hat{a}$ is the expected counterpart to LLv. $-\hat{a}$ and dialects where it is not, or, in other words, between expected and unexpected $-\hat{a}$. In addition to these, High Latvian also attests a labialized ending which may be variously realized,⁸ a short diphthong $-ai$,⁹

⁸ Labialized reflexes are recorded in Nēŗēŗta₃₆₅, Susēŗja₃₆₉, Slate₃₇₀, Mazlaicene₃₈₆, Medŗni₄₃₀, Dignāŗja₄₃₅ and Ziemeŗis₄₆₂; cf. Ābele, Lepika 1928, 33²⁷; Rudzīte 1969 [2005, 162–163]; Breidaks 1989 [2007, 357]; LVDAm, 45, 52–54, 210; Kalniņš 2020, 351–355 370. To be sure, labialized reflexes are also found in most Selonian dialects in Vidzeme, but this is not phonological and has been ignored in the following; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 85 (= 1951, 125); Poiŗa 1985, 25; 1999, 43; Kalniņš 2020, 337–338. Note also that loc. sg. $-u\hat{o}$ in the definite adjective in Kalncempji₃₉₅ is not a reflex of $*-\hat{a}$ but a contraction of $*-uj\hat{a}$; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 375.

⁹ Recorded in Reŗbate₂₂₂, Lēŗdmane₂₂₃, Lielvārde₂₂₇, Krape₃₃₈, Jumprava₃₄₄, Skŗīŗeri₃₄₅, Aizkraukle₃₄₆, Kuoknese₃₄₇, Pļaviņas₃₄₈, Sēŗene₃₅₀, Daudzese₃₅₁, Sece₃₅₂, Krustpils₃₅₇, Sarkanŗi₄₁₄ and Ļauduona₄₂₃; cf. Rudzīte 1969 [2005, 162–163]; LVDAm, 38–39, 44–45, 52–54, 194, 201, 210; Poiŗa 1985, 166; Kalniņš 2020, 338–344. Depending on the dialect, however, $-ai$ may have developed further into $-\hat{a}i$, $-oi$, $-\check{g}i$, $-ei$, $-\bar{e}$, $-\check{e}$ or $-e$ (*pace* LVDAm, 54 Kuoknese₃₄₇ $-\bar{a}$ and $-\bar{a}$ probably belong here too, reflecting $*-ai$ rather than

and a long diphthong $-\bar{a}i$, which is virtually unrecognized in the literature.¹⁰

In the traditional view, according to which labialization operated in accented syllables only, HLv. $-\hat{a}$ is easily identified with LLv. $-\hat{a}$ and demands no special attention. Considering forms like masc. gen. sg. def. *vacuo* (SLv. *veçà*) ‘old’ whose $-uo$ is supposed to be analogical to masc. gen. sg. *tu* (SLv. *tà*) ‘that,’ Endzelīns (1922, 88¹ [= 1951, 129]) explains the absence of analogy in the locative singular with the lack of an appropriate model such as loc. sg. $^{**}tu\hat{o}$ in the pronominal declension, where we usually find *taî tajâ tamâ* a.o. instead; cf. Rudzīte 1964, 352. As a consequence, however, the labialized locative endings $-\hat{o}$, $-u\hat{o}$ etc. with their scattered attestation are rendered all the more problematic since auxiliary accent, which is otherwise subject to relatively broad isoglosses, is even less likely than analogy to account for them.

To Braidaks (1989 [2007, 357–358]) who departs from the assumption that labialization is regular in unaccented syllables, the labialized endings pose no problem. However, since he is set on expanding the isogloss to the rest of the Latvian speech community, he is forced to operate with lowering of $^{*}\bar{o}$ to $-\bar{a}$ in final open syllables, which he compares to the High Latvian lowering of $^{*}\bar{e}$ to $-\bar{e}$. Not only is this brazenly uneconomical but lowering of $^{*}\bar{e}$ is also a poor parallel because it is by no means restricted to final open syllables and because the isogloss does not cover the northernmost High Latvian dialects, never mind Low Latvian.¹¹ Braidaks’ scenario is further compromised by

$^{*}\bar{a}$; in *Çsvaine*₄₁₆ and *Lubāna*₄₁₇, on the other hand, $-\bar{e}$ reflects $-\bar{a}$, cf. Poiša 1999, 96). In quite a few dialects loc. sg. $-ai$ is restricted to the definite adjective and therefore likely to be a recent import from monosyllabic pronouns *šai* ‘this’ and *tai* ‘that;’ cf. Kalniņš 2020, 375. This applies to *Uogre*₃₂₅, *Ērgļi*₃₂₆, *Sinuole*₃₉₂, *Lizums*₃₉₇, *Galgauska*₄₀₀, *Aduliena*₄₀₈, *Çsvaine*₄₁₆, and *Saikava*₄₂₄.

¹⁰ Recorded in *Irši*₃₃₄, *Sausnēja*₃₃₅, *Uodziena*₃₄₁, *Graši*₄₀₅, *Aduliena*₄₀₈, *Dzēlzava*₄₀₉, *Çsvaine*₄₁₆ and *Sāvienna*₄₂₈ but probably also present in *Bēbri*₃₄₀ where only the \bar{e} -stem counterpart is attested; cf. Poiša 1985, 200; 1999, 116; Kalniņš 2020, 338–344. This ending, too, may be subject to facultative labialization.

¹¹ For more details on lowering of $^{*}\bar{e}$ see Endzelīns 1922, 72–73 (= 1951, 108–109); Rūķe 1939, 146–148 w. map 1; Rudzīte 1964, 273–274; 1969 [2005, 144–145]; Braidaks 1989 [2007, 359–361]; LVDAf, 105–106 (the dotted pattern which represents *ie* is unfortunately missing from the legend on the map on p. 271) a.o. The map of \bar{e} -stem locative singular endings in LVDAm, 217 does not clearly distinguish $-\bar{e}$ from $-\bar{e}$ and is of limited use.

forms like Sunākste₃₅₃ prs. 3. ps. *runò*^{a2} (SLv. *runā*) ‘speaks’ (Vīksne 1936, 58) and Pilda₄₉₂ fem. nom. sg. def. *glēituo* (SLv. *glītā*) ‘beautiful’ (Tichovskis 1933, 51), which are not “lowered.”

If we take a step back and reconsider the evidence for labialization, we may on the one hand identify LLv. *-â* with both HLv. expected *-â* and labialized *-ô*, *-uô* etc. and, on the other, single out HLv. unexpected *-â* as the real crux of the problem. As for the other two endings, HLv. *-ai* most likely corresponds to LLv. *-ai*, while *-āi* remains obscure for the time being and will henceforth be disregarded.¹²

4. A sound law **-āi* > *-â*

All previous attempts to account for unexpected HLv. *ā*-stem loc. sg. *-â* have assumed from the outset that it is cognate with LLv. *-â*. There are certain indications, however, that it should be identified with *-ai* instead. The first argument in favor of this idea consists of evidence of a hitherto unknown High Latvian sound law stating that word-final, unaccented **-āi* was monophthongized to *-â*.

Thus instead of (or besides) *nav* ‘(there) is not’ High Latvian dialects widely employ a variant *navâ*. Apart from Slate₃₇₀, Dignāja₄₃₅, Višķi₄₅₁, Šķilbēni₄₇₄, Cibla₄₈₈, Pilda₄₉₂, Krāsava₅₀₆, and Skaista₅₀₇ (see Kalniņš 2020, 349),¹³ variants of *navâ* are also registered in Drusti₃₀₃ (Cīrulis 1911, 86), Piebalga_{310/316} (Endzelīns 1922, 557 [= 1951, 719]), Mēdzūla₃₁₈ (Hauzenberga 1934, 191), Uogre₃₂₅, Ērgļi₃₂₆ (Zariņš 1931, 20),¹⁴ Liepkalne₃₃₃ (Poiša 1985, 153), Irši₃₃₄ (1985, 111), Sausnēja₃₃₅ (1985, 232), Vestiena₃₃₆ (Ozoliņa 1937, 90), Jaunruoze₃₈₄ (Ābele, Lepika 1928, 47), Mazlaicene₃₈₆ (1928, 40), Stāmeriena₄₀₂ (Zaube 1939, 130, 132), Viesiena₄₁₁ (Ozoliņa 1937, 96), Mārciena₄₂₂ (Strautiņa 2007, 98), Varakļāni₄₂₆ (Latkovskis 1935, 54; Jokubauska 1983, 142), Kalupe₄₄₅ (Reķēna 1983, 62), Alūksne₄₆₅ (Brencis 1914, 111), Tilža₄₇₇ (Ūsele 1998, 37), Baltinava₄₇₈ (Mežale 1983, 26) and Nirza₄₉₃ (Āboliņa 1926, 46); in other

¹² We might be dealing with an archaic variant of expected *-â* (= LLv. *-â*) but this is not altogether unproblematic; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 349–350. Perhaps it is perhaps better to assume a local lengthening of *-ai*.

¹³ For Šķilbēni₄₇₄ see also Reidzāne 1983, 135.

¹⁴ Also the folk song attestations of *nevā* and *navā* given in ME 2, 697 s.v. *nav* are from Ērgļi₃₂₆ according to DS.

words, roughly all parts of Latgale, widely in southern and eastern Vidzeme but only marginally in Zemgale (see appendix). Now, since most of these dialects labialize unaccented **ā*, the final *-â* in *navâ* can hardly be a regular reflex of inherited **ā*. Indeed, both *nav* and *navâ* are obvious shortenings of *navâid*,¹⁵ the negative form of defective prs. 3. ps. *vaid* '(there) is,' and the *-â* in *navâ* might therefore rather continue **-aî*. To be precise, Endzelīns (1922, 556–557 [= 1951, 719]) prefers to derive *navâ* from **navâd*, assuming the *â* to be analogical to **irâd* 'is,' which contains inherited **ā* and not **ai* (cf. OLV. *jirā-g* <girrahg>, *ibid.*)¹⁶ but while this explanation may account for *ā* in *nevā* and *nevâd*² in southeastern Kurzeme (ME 2, 697 s.v. *nav*), it fails to address the unexpected lack of labialization in the High Latvian forms. A sound change **-aî* > *-â*, on the other hand, offers a natural explanation of *navâ* and from this point of view it is probably *navâ* that lent its *-â* to *irâ* etc., and not the other way around.

Another instance of **-aî* > *-â* might be HLv. *visâ*, which is a common variant of SLv. adv. *visai* 'particularly; entirely,' especially in Latgale; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 465–467; ME 4, 622 s.v. *visā*. This adverb has long been compared to Lt. *visái* 'entirely,' although the etymology is not wholly clear. Pace Zinkevičius 1981, 180 Lt. *visái* probably does not belong to the adverbs in *-aī* because we would then expect ***visi* in Latvian. Rather, the Latvian forms suggest that another syllable has been lost, directing one's thoughts towards the locative ending *-ai*. As Endzelīns (l.c.) duly notes, Lt. *visái* is hardly derivable from inessive *visoje* for phonological reasons. If, on the other hand, it were a variant of the partially synonymous *visaīp*¹⁷ 'in many ways; entirely' with loss of the final *-p* in allegro speech (this is quite common in adverbs, cf. Lt. *šiañdie(n)* 'today' etc.), then we might be dealing with an old *ā*-stem adessive singular.¹⁸ In any case, the *-â* in HLv. *visâ* is unexpected

¹⁵ So is the likewise well-attested *nava*. On the other hand, we also find variously extended forms such as *navaida*, *navaidâs* and *navaidanâs*; see Endzelīns 1922, 556–557 (= 1951, 718–720); ME 2, 697 s.v. *nav*.

¹⁶ The *-d* in *irâd*, on the other hand, must be analogical to **navaid* (Endzelīns l.c.).

¹⁷ Although this particular form usually has a circumflex ending, the tone of the ending *-aip* generally vacillates and an acute **visáip* therefore may very well have existed too; cf. Zinkevičius 1966, 222.

¹⁸ Endzelīns' (1922, 466–467 [= 1951, 610]) own suggestion is that the *-ai* in

in many dialects, and cognacy with Lt. *visái* is only possible by assuming a sound law $*-aî > -â$.¹⁹

Finally, the dialect of Andrupene₄₉₈ curiously lacks labialization in pronominal adverbs *kâ* ‘how,’ *tâ* ‘thus’ etc. which occur besides the more common *kaî*, *taî*; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 349. These are hardly imported from Standard Latvian because we also find *lâ~laî* ‘may’ for SLv. *laî*. Albeit a very local phenomenon,²⁰ this looks like yet another case of $*-aî > -â$ provided that we are dealing with enclitic and orthotonic variants respectively. While standalone *kaî*, *taî* are mainly restricted to (a large) part of Latgale,²¹ *kaî* was probably also appended to *tik* ‘so much’ in order to form the adverb *tikai* ‘only,’ which is common across the entire speech community; cf. Endzelīns 1951, 611.²² This etymology also explains why we usually find *īkaî* vel sim. in High Latvian where we would generally expect *īkâ* as per the proposed sound law:²³ either *īkaî* was unverbated only after unaccented $*-aî$ became $-â$ or regular *īkâ* was analogically restored on the model of *kaî* etc.²⁴

The proposed sound law only affected $-aî$ with broken tone whereas falling $-ài$ is preserved, e.g., in the \bar{a} -stem dative singular and adverbs in

Lv. *visai* was always word-final but avoided shortening because it was accented on the ending. Alternatively, he continues, *visai* might be analogical to adverbs *kaî* ‘how’ *taî* ‘thus’ etc. HLv. *visâ*, on the other hand, he derives from the inessive although this is precluded by the lack of labialization.

¹⁹ Other adverbs such as *labai* ‘well’ and *mîtreigai* ‘calmly’ usually have falling tone on the ending and are probably of different origin; cf. Endzelīns 1951, 610–611.

²⁰ Also Skaista₅₀₇ employs *kâ* and *tâ* besides *kaî* and *taî* (Latkovsks 1935, 49) but since *lâ* is unattested, it is unclear whether this is really comparable. Alternatively *kâ* and *tâ* could be Standard Latvian. This is likely the case in Ziemeris₄₆₂ which not only has *tâ* ‘thus’ besides *kuô* ‘how’ but also *agruôki* ‘earlier’ besides *gròutâki* ‘harder’ a.o. (Markus 1983, 152).

²¹ For the isogloss *kaî* : *kâ~kuô* etc. see Rūķe 1939, 171–172 w. map 2. Since the isogloss usually goes hand in hand with that of *kaîds* ‘what kind of’ *taîds* ‘such’ : *kâds tâds*, also LVDAm, 118–119, 277 is relevant.

²² Some parallel formations are SLv. *tikkuo* ‘just; hardly’ which contains acc. sg. *kùo* ‘what,’ dial. *cikai~ciekai* ‘barely’ with adv. *kaî* ‘how’ as well as Kalupe₄₄₅ *īk kuô* ‘only’ (Reķēna 1983, 64) with *kuô* ‘how’ instead of *kaî*.

²³ *īkâ* is seemingly only attested in Andrupene₄₉₈ (Kalniņš l.c.)

²⁴ Late univibration is suggested by the non-initial accent in, e.g., Mārciena₄₂₂ *tìkàì* (Strautiņa 2007, 61).

-*ài*.²⁵ Admittedly, the nominal loc. sg. *-ai* usually has a falling tone too, but the ending must be cognate with pronominal *-aî* in loc. sg. *šai* ‘this,’ *taî* ‘that,’ and perhaps also adv. *kaî* ‘how,’ *taî* ‘thus’ etc., which usually have broken tone in High Latvian.²⁶ Moreover, loc. sg. *-ai* is mainly attested in the Selonian dialects of Vidzeme, where tones in unaccented syllables are not overly stable and we see unexpected falling tones also in, e.g., loc. sg. *-â* (Kalniņš 2020, 344) and *naûvâ* ‘(there) is not’ (Poiša 1985, 153). It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the nominal ending also once had broken (or rising) tone. Due to the very forms *šai*, *taî* etc. the sound law must be restricted to unaccented syllables, while *navaið(a)* ‘(there) is not’ shows that *aî* is only affected in absolute word-final position. In terms of dating, the sound law must have succeeded labialization of **ā*, for otherwise HLv. loc. sg. *-â* (< **-aî*) would have been labialized too. On the other hand, the dialects also attest cases of unaccented *-aî* that arose after **-aî* > *-â* such as the already mentioned *īkaî* ‘only.’²⁷

5. The geographical distribution of *-ai* and *-â*

A second argument in favor of identifying unexpected HLv. loc. sg. *-â* with *-ai* and not with LLv. *-â* is distributional. Firstly, it is curious that unexpected *-â* may cooccur with labialized *-ô*, *-uô* etc. in the same dialect but not with *-ai*, and, secondly, that *-ai* is attested right on the periphery of the area where we find unexpected *-â*. This complementary distribution is highly reminiscent of the situation in Kurzeme where *-ai*, too, occurs in natural prolongation of its less transparent cognates *-ei*, *-ē*, *-e* and *-ė*,²⁸ and thereby lends support to the idea that HLv. *-â* and *-ai* are in fact etymologically identical.

²⁵ For a similar tonal conditioning see Kalniņš 2020, 378–380 on *ùo* besides *oî/û* from **ā* in central Latgale.

²⁶ This contrasts with Low Latvian where we usually see *šai taî* etc.; cf. Endzelīns 1922, 387–388 (= 1951, 527).

²⁷ Other sources to secondary *-aî* are apocope (Vēclaicene₃₈₆ prt.3.ps. *navaraî* < **navaraja* vel sim. ‘could not;’ Ābele, Lepika 1928, 22), analogy (Galgauska₄₀₀ loc. sg. def. *lobaî* ‘the good’ = loc. sg. *taî* ‘that;’ cf. Kalniņš 2020, 375) and borrowing from Lithuanian (Bebrene₄₄₂ adv. *labai* ‘quite, really’ ← Lt. *labai*; cf. Kancāns 1937, 71).

²⁸ For isogloss maps see Rudzīte 1969 [2005, 162–163]; LVDAm, 194, 210.

Appended is a map of High Latvian \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings.²⁹ Though based on the maps in Rudzītē 1969 [2005, 162–163] and LVDAm, 194, 201, 210,³⁰ the present map differs by reducing the substantial dialectal variation to a mere three basic synchronic endings: $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{o}$ and $-ai$.³¹ Moreover, the isogloss for labialization in unaccented syllables has been overlaid in order to be able to distinguish between expected $-\hat{a}$ in the west and unexpected $-\hat{a}$ in the east.³² Labialization has not been marked for most Selonian dialects in Vidzeme, where it is more or less facultative; see fn 8.³³ Accordingly, the occurrence of labialized endings is not phonological in this area and has therefore been disregarded. So, too, $-ai$ in dialects which only have it in the definite adjective and $-\bar{a}i$ in general due to its unclear origin; see fns 9 and 10.

Finally, the map also contains a broken line which approximates the isogloss for $*-a\hat{i} > -\hat{a}$ on the basis of attestation of unexpected loc. sg. $-\hat{a}$, loc. sg. $-ai$, and *navâ* ‘(there) is not.’³⁴ While this is merely meant to serve as illustration and should certainly be taken with a grain of salt, loc. sg. $-\hat{a}$ is nevertheless largely claimed to continue $*-a\hat{i}$ to the east of this line. In terms of etymology, this is probably a reflex of the adessive (cf. Kalniņš 2020, 347–349), and these dialects are consequently characterized by an inherited adessive ending in the \bar{a} -stems, as well as an inessive ending in the \bar{e} -stems.

²⁹ High Latvian is defined in accordance with Rudzītē 2005, endsheet, LVDAf, 187 and LVDAm, 186.

³⁰ Also the concomitant descriptions in LVDAm, 38–39, 44–45, 52–54, as well as the data in Kalniņš 2020, 337–395 are considered.

³¹ $-\bar{a}$ covers $-\bar{a}$ -a: -a - \hat{a} - \hat{a} - $\bar{\epsilon}$; $-\bar{o}$ covers $-\bar{o}$ - \bar{o}^a -oa -uo; $-ai$ covers $-ai$ - $\bar{v}i$ - $\hat{a}i$ - $\bar{o}i$ - $\bar{\epsilon}i$ - $\bar{e}i$ - $\bar{\epsilon}$ - \bar{e} - $\bar{\epsilon}$ -e.

³² The isogloss is inferred from the maps of inf. $-\bar{a}t$ in LVDAf, 269–270, the data in Kalniņš 2020, 337–395, as well as a review of the corpus of published dialect descriptions.

³³ A notable exception is the southeastern part of Lubāna₄₁₇; cf. Kalniņš 2020, 338. Labialization is also left unmarked in Vārnavas₃₅₄, Ābeļi₃₅₆, Zalve₃₅₉, Rite₃₆₆, Alsviķi₃₉₁, Beļava₃₉₄, Stāmeriena₄₀₂, Pededze₄₆₄, Alūksne₄₆₅, Anna₄₆₇, Liepna₄₆₉ and Vīksna₄₇₀ where the material is heterogenous.

³⁴ The testimony of *visâ* ‘particularly; entirely’ is somewhat ambiguous and has not been considered here. Admittedly, some western dialects attest *visâi* vel sim. besides *navâ*—thus, e.g., Mārciena₄₂₂ (cf. Strautiņa 2007, 61, 98)—but since this $-\bar{a}i$ never has broken (or rising) tone, it might be more likely that we are dealing with the adverbial ending found also in, e.g., Mārciena₄₂₂ *lo 'bâi* ‘well’ (2007, 61).

To the west, on the other hand, $-\hat{a}$ is presumably a reflex of the inessive. On both sides of the isogloss we find “pockets” which elude strong conclusions. It is thus uncertain whether the westernmost attestations of *navâ* can be taken as evidence for $*-a\hat{i} > -\hat{a}$ without the support of unexpected loc. sg. $-\hat{a}$ since *navâ* might have diffused further westward as a single lexeme. Likewise, it is not beyond doubt that eastern dialects with no labialization were ever affected by $*-a\hat{i} > -\hat{a}$ at all. On both sides of the isogloss we also find dialects that simultaneously employ both adessive and inessive endings in the \bar{a} -stems: these attest either expected $-\hat{a}$ besides $-ai$ (in the west) or unexpected $-\hat{a}$ besides $-\hat{o}$ (in the east).

6. Conclusion

Previous attempts to account for the High Latvian \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings are unsatisfactory because they do not pay due attention to labialization of inherited $*\bar{a}$ or leave part of the endings unexplained. A reevaluation of this phenomenon reveals two isoglosses: a broader one for labialization in accented syllables only and a narrower for labialization regardless of the accent. For the various locative singular endings this means that expected $-\hat{a}$ and labialized $-\hat{o}$, $-u\hat{o}$ etc. are immediately comparable to LLv. $-\hat{a}$ while $-ai$ corresponds to LLv. $-ai$. Unexpected $-\hat{a}$, on the other hand, presents a problem.

While all hitherto approaches have compared this ending to LLv. $-\hat{a}$, it has proven fruitful to try to identify it with LLv. $-ai$ instead. By means of a sound law according to which unaccented $*-a\hat{i}$ develops into $-\hat{a}$, unexpected $-\hat{a}$ can be a regular reflex of loc. sg. $-a\hat{i}$ which is still observable in widely attested pronominal forms such as loc. sg. *šai* ‘this’ *tai* ‘that’ and perhaps also adv. *kai* ‘how’ *tai* ‘thus’ etc. Such a sound law is supported by independent evidence such as the well-attested prs. 3. ps. *navâ* ‘(there) is not’ and adv. *visâ* ‘particularly; entirely’ as well as the exceptional *kâ* ‘how,’ *lâ* ‘may,’ *īkâ* ‘only’ etc. in Andrupene⁴⁹⁸. The identity of unexpected $-\hat{a}$ and the nominal ending $-ai$ is further supported by the fact that these endings are mutually exclusive yet geographically coherent which is very similar to $-ai$ and $-ei$, $-\bar{e}$ etc. in Kurzeme.

If this proposition is valid, then loc. sg. $-ai$ is significantly more widespread in Latvian than hitherto assumed, and the isogloss maps of \bar{a} -stem locative singular endings may with a little diachronic interpretation be amended to

show a broad presence of *-ai* not only in the utmost west of the speech community but also in a large part of the east. From an etymological perspective, the function of the locative singular is in High Latvian fulfilled by either the inessive, the adessive, or both, with the most common configuration having an adessive ending in the *ā*-stems besides inessive in the *ē*-stems.

NELAUKTAS LATVIŲ AUKŠTAIČIŲ LOC. SG. *-â*

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamos *ā* kamieno vienaskaitos lokatyvo galūnės latvių aukštaičių tarmėse. Parodyta, kad paveldėtojo **ā* labializacijos reiškinys didžiąja dalimi paneigia latvių žemaičių loc. sg. galūnės *-â* lyginimą su aukštaičių *-â*, nes daugumoje tarmių iš tiesų būtų lauktinios galūnės *-ô*, *-ô^a* ar *-uô*. Laikantis alternatyvaus požiūrio, ši „nelaukta“ loc. sg. galūnė *-â* yra tapatinama su loc. sg. *-ai* ir siūlomas naujas garsų dėsnis, pagal kurį nekirčiuotas žodžio galo **-ai* daug kur monoftongizuotas į *-â*. Be vienaskaitos lokatyvo, reiškinio rezultatai matomi taip pat formoje *navâ* (< **navai*) ‘nėra’ ir galbūt *visâ* (< **visai*) ‘visai’. Etimologinį la. žem. *-ai* ir aukšt. *-â* tapatumą taip pat pagrindžia tai, kad *-ai* liudijama palei nelauktosios *-â* izoglosą – distribucija, panaši į *-ai* ir jos atitikmenų *-ei*, *-ē*, *-ę* distribuciją Kuržemėje. Dėl to loc. sg. **-ai*, atrodo, yra reikšmingai labiau išplitusi, nei manyta anksčiau, o **-â* izoglosa atitinkamai susiaurinama, kad apimtų tik la. žem. *-â*, aukšt. *-ô*, *-ô^a*, *-uô* etc. ir bent dalį latvių aukštaičių tarmių, kurioms būdinga *-â*, tačiau nebūdinga reguliari labializacija.

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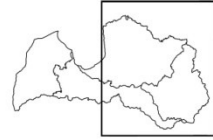
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Appendix

MAP

High Latvian *o-* and *ā-* stem locative singular endings



- *-ai*
- △ *-ā*
- ▨ expected *-ā*
- ▩ unexpected *-ā*
- n *navā*
- isogloss for **aī > ā*

