

Verbal categories in Salaca Livonian grammar¹

Darbības vārda kategorijas Salacas lībiešu gramatikā

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The Latvian territory in the central Baltic region has historically been a core area of the Baltic Sea *Sprachbund*. Besides the Baltic languages, several Finnic varieties have been spoken in this region. The present study focuses on verbal categories of one variety among them – Salaca Livonian, the only ancient Vidzeme Livonian dialect for which a language corpus is available. In the research history of Finnic languages, Salaca Livonian has often been seen as a mixed variety of Estonian and Livonian. However, it has actually been a mixture of at least three languages – Estonian, Livonian, and Latvian. This paper is an attempt to analyze Salaca Livonian verbal categories according to Estonian and Latvian grammatical traditions. Two main hypotheses are studied. First, it is shown that Salaca Livonian verb forms combine Finnic and Latvian grammatical categories. Secondly, the forms which allow different descriptions indicate weak boundaries or transitions between categories. Salaca Livonian verb morphology unites a number of archaic and innovative features in the making of verb paradigms.

Keywords: morphology, morphosyntax, verbal categories, Livonian, Estonian, Latvian

Introduction

Language data of the Salaca Livonian dialect is the most important source to explain what the language of the ancient Vidzeme Livonian people might have looked like. The variety was named after the river Salaca in northern Vidzeme, but the language data come from a broader region in the vicinity of the rivers Salaca and Svētupe and along the Gulf of Riga in the area of the ancient Livonian Metsepole County. The Salaca Livonian data were recorded from the mid-17th century to the mid-19th century (see Pajusalu 2009; 2013).

The largest collection of Salaca Livonian language materials was gathered by Finnish academician Anders Johann Sjögren in the summer of 1846 in the manor of Svētupe. The most comprehensive presentation of Salaca Livonian vocabulary and grammatical forms can be found in the dictionary of Salaca Livonian (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009), which presents over 3000 words and 8500 grammatical forms.

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This data makes it possible to determine the main structure of the Salaca Livonian variety, including its verbal categories.

Salaca Livonian is in several ways different from Courland Livonian, but it is certainly a variety of the same Livonian language. Unlike Courland Livonian people, speakers of Salaca Livonian identified their ethnicity and language as Livonian – *me uomõ Līb raust* ‘we are Livonian people’. All the early researchers from Thomas Hiärn onward regarded Salaca Livonian as a major variety of Livonian. Several collectors have already compared the Courland and Salaca varieties of Livonian. Among such studies, the Livonian grammar by Sjögren and Wiedemann (SjW 1861) is the most exhaustive treatment. It was the first systematic description of verbal categories in the Salaca Livonian language variety, which demonstrated that Salaca Livonian verb forms differed from Courland Livonian and also from Estonian in many ways.

The Courland and Salaca Livonian varieties have been influenced by various contacts with the neighbouring Estonian and Latvian dialects. Courland Livonian shares a number of common features with the insular dialect of Estonian and western dialects of Latvian, while Salaca Livonian has a lot of similarities with the western dialects of both North and South Estonian and on the other hand with dialects of Latvian in Vidzeme. However, as regards phonology and grammatical structure, both Courland and Salaca Livonian are in several respects closer to southern and even southeastern Estonian dialects than to insular and western dialects of Estonian (Pajusalu 2009).

The following overview will begin with a description of the general classification of verbal forms in Salaca Livonian, including (a) non-finite forms, incl. infinitives, a gerund, and participles, and (b) finite forms that are used as predicates or auxiliaries of analytical predicates. In Salaca Livonian certain non-finite forms can also function as predicates; auxiliaries and participles constitute together complex predicates. After the general description of non-finite and finite forms, they will be surveyed according to the main morphosyntactic categories of predicates, such as voice, person, tense, and mood. Salaca Livonian verb formation will be compared to Courland Livonian, Estonian and Latvian.

1. Non-finite forms

Salaca Livonian has two types of infinitives, a gerund, and present and past participles in both the active and passive voice, see Table 1.

It is generally characteristic of Finnic languages that they have **two series of infinitives** with historically *TA*- or *MA*-suffixed forms (see Laanest 1982, 245–248). *TA*-suffixed infinitives function in a sentence as objects and occasionally also as subjects, *MA*-suffixed infinitives as adverbials. *MA*-suffixed infinitives are sometimes classified as supines in Estonian (see Viitso 2007, 52–53) and also in Courland Livonian (see Viitso 2012, 20–21). Salaca Livonian verbal morphology includes both series of infinitives and their use is largely similar to Estonian and Courland Livonian. For example, in the case of the verb *šüöd(ä)* ‘to eat’ in Salaca Livonian, the *TA*-Infinitive is *šüödä* ‘to eat’ and the *MA*-Infinitive or the supine is *šüöm* ‘to eat (where)’, see examples (1) and (2) (the German translations come

from SjW 1861). The *m*-suffixed supine is historically an illative form of the *MA*-infinitive.

- (1) *Sūzar tā-b šüö-dä.*
 sister want-3SG eat-INF
 ‘The sister wants to eat.’ (SjW 1861, 339)
- (2) *Lass-igi mei-d šüö-m.*
 let-IMP.2PL we-PRTV eat-SUP
 ‘Let us (go to) eat.’ (SjW 1861, 352)

The use of supine forms is known also in Latvian dialects, e. g. Central Vidzeme *Nāc ēstu!* ‘Come to eat’ (VPSV 2007, 382; cf. Sal Liv *tul šüöm*).

Table 1

Non-finite forms of Salaca Livonian and their inflectional suffixes

TA-INFINITIVE	-da, -dä, -d, -a, -ä, -Ø	
GERUND	-tes, -des, -es, -s	
SUPINE (MA-INFINITIVE)	(Illative)	-ma, -me, -m
	Inessive	-mes, -ms
	Elicative	-mest
	Abessive	-mat, -mad, -mät, -met
	Comitative	-mak, -muk
	Translative	-muks
PARTICIPLE		
Active	Present	-b, -bu, -Ø
	Past	-n, -nn, -en, -enn, -änn, -nen, -enen
Passive	Present	-tau, -dau, -däu, -au, -tabs
	Past	-ded, -ted, -ed, -tets, -teds, -deds, -dets, -däts, -ets, -eds, -ts, -ds, -t, -tu, -du, -dud

The **gerund** is originally the inessive form of the *TA*-infinitive, which forms non-finite verbal clauses, e.g. Sal Liv *oll* ‘to be’: *olles* ‘being (somewhere), staying’, e. g.

- (3) *Jēli sāl oll-es nā-iz.*
 yesterday there be-GER see-PST.1SG
 ‘Yesterday when I was there I saw.’ (SjW 1861, 333)

The gerund of a predicative verb can be used as an intensifier of the action if it modifies the predicate:

- (4) *Mina polg-es polgu-b.*
 I beg-GER beg-PRS.1SG
 ‘I am begging with all my heart.’ (SjW 1861, 337)

The confirmative meaning is expressed by the gerund in sentences where the predicate occurs in the jussive mood, e.g.

- (5) *Las lä-kk kui läed-es.*
 let go-JUSS as go-GER
 ‘Let it go as it has to go.’ (SjW 1861, 326)
- (6) *Las ne ol-g, milli oll-es.*
 let they be-JUSS what be-GER
 ‘Let them be what they want to be.’ (SjW 1861, 330)

In addition to **supines** or *MA*-infinitives which originate from the illative forms, the Salaca Livonian data include non-finite forms of other internal local cases – the inessive and elative, as well as forms with case endings of the abessive, comitative, and translative. Such forms occur also in Courland Livonian with only one exception: the comitative supine is unique to Salaca Livonian. Modifier clauses with forms of the comitative supine intensify the action of the main clause:

- (7) *Kaza-ma-k kasa-b.*
 GROW-SUP-COM grow-PRS.3GER
 ‘He/she is growing rapidly.’ (SjW 1861, 321)

The inessive supine functions in constructions expressing progressive or continuous aspect, see (8). Such usages of the non-finite forms without a copula will be treated in connection with the respective finite forms.

- (8) *Mina ab tied, vei tāma tul-m-s.*
 I NEG know.CNG Q he/she come-SUP-INE
 ‘I don’t know whether he/she will come.’ (SjW 1861, 303)

Tiit-Rein Viitso has described special debitive forms of the supine which express debitive meaning in Courland Livonian (Viitso 2012, 21). In Salaca Livonian, **partitive forms of verbal nouns**, ending in *-mist*, appear in this function (see discussion of debitive forms below), e. g.:

- (9) *Sinne-l om jumer sie karn läe-mis-t.*
 you.SG-ADE COP around this house.GEN go-AN-PRTV
 ‘You have to go around the house.’ (SjW 1861, 307)

The participles in Salaca Livonian express distinctions between active and passive voice as well as between present and past tense. Unlike in Courland Livonian, they are not inflected for number, i.e. they do not have special singular and plural forms, nor are they usually inflected for case. The active present participle is mostly marked by the suffix *-b*, e.g. *jelab* ~ *jälab* ‘alive, living’, *kieb* ‘hot, boiling’, *palab* ‘hot, burning’. In sporadic cases the participle is formed without a suffix, e.g. *jäla* ‘alive, living’, or with the suffix *-bu*, e.g. *kiebu* ‘hot, boiling’. The *b*-suffixed participle is identical to the finite forms of the 3rd person

and also 1st person singular in the present indicative, cf. *jelab* ‘lives, I live’, *kieb* ‘boils’, *palab* ‘burns’. However, the use of the active present participle is limited, as is also the case in the western dialect of South Estonian (see Pajusalu 1996, 175–176).

The passive present participle is formed mostly with the complex suffixes *-tau* ~ *-dau* ~ *-au*, where *-ta* ~ *-da* ~ *-a* indicates a historical marker of the (T) TA-passive and *-u* is a vocalized ending of the present participle (*-b* > *-v* > *-u*); the choice of suffix variant depends on the sound structure of the verb stem, e.g. *joudau* ‘being drunk; drinkable’, *juokstau* ‘being run; running’, *paiktau* ~ *paikau* ‘being patched; patching’. The suffix *-dāu* occurs in a form with front vowels: *šūödāu* ‘being eaten; edible, eatable’. In one case, the suffix (*i*)*abs* appears: *tuntabs* ‘known, noticeable’; in this form a Latvian masculine ending *-s* was apparently added.

Similarly to western South Estonian and South Estonian linguistic enclaves in Latvia, in Livonian the use of the passive present participle has been much more productive than the use of the active present participle (cf. Pajusalu 1996, 217). This form denotes the means, time, place etc. of the action, and has parallels in Latvian, e.g. present passive participles *ēdamā karote* ‘soup spoon’, *dzīvojamā māja* ‘dwelling house’ (Vaba 1997, 47–50). Marta Rudzīte (1976, 146–147) and Lembit Vaba have assumed Latvian influence in such Livonian and southern Estonian constructions. The author of this article has presented similar examples from Finnish and considered the usage to also reflect earlier contacts between Finnic and Baltic languages (Pajusalu 1996, 217).

As in Finnish, the passive participle is used in the debitive meaning both in Courland and Salaca Livonian, cf. Finnish *on kutsuttava* ‘has to be invited’; Cour Liv *um kustōb* and Sal Liv *om kustau* (SjW 1861, 163). Tapani Lehtinen (1984) has claimed that the Finnic passive originates from the causatives.

The past participle is very frequent in the Salaca Livonian data and has various functions, especially in complex finite forms. The active past participle is formed with the suffixes *-(en)n* ~ *-(ān)n* and *-(e)nen*, e.g. *annen* ‘given’, *jäenn* ‘remained’, *šüönn* ‘eaten’, *šüötänn* ‘fed’; *juonen* ‘drunk’, *jäenen* ‘remained’. In the last two forms the suffix *-(e)nen* has a double marker (*-(e)n+en*); this formation is common in forms of monosyllabic verbs. The active past participle is often used alone as a finite verb form, for example in the oblique mood; these usages are discussed later together with the relevant verbal categories.

The use of the passive past participle is also highly frequent in the Salaca Livonian materials. The forms have a number of markers and various morphosyntactic functions. The markers of the passive past participle can be divided into six groups: (a) the old Finnic suffixes *-tu* ~ *-du*, e.g. *navatu* ‘rest, resting’, *pāzdu* ‘washed’, *šüödu* ‘eaten’, (b) the markers *-(e)d*, *-(e)t*, corresponding to the southwestern Estonian formation: *opated* ‘taught’, *risted* ~ *ristit* ‘baptized’, (c) the suffix *-dud*, which has an equivalent in North Estonian: *jäldud* ‘lived’, *kuoldud* ‘dead’; in Salaca Livonian the most typical markers of the passive past participle are (d) *-ded*, *-ted*: *anted* ‘given’, *luoded* ‘created’, *palated* ‘burnt’, and two groups with new *s*-final suffixes: (e) *-tets*, *-teds*, *-deds*, *-dets*, *-däts*, e.g. *anted* ~ *antets* ‘given’, *juoded* ~ *juodets* ‘drunk’, *šüödäts* ‘eaten’, and (f) *-ets*, *-eds*, *-ts*, *-ds*, e.g.

ands ~ *ants* ‘given’, *kazats* ‘grown’, *pūeds* ‘blessed, holy’. This huge variation of suffixes can be explained by the different historical origins, but synchronically it could reflect the use of the passive past participle forms in various functions. The passive past participle is central in expressing passive meaning in Salaca Livonian; it will be further examined in connection with relevant finite forms.

In the following sections the main categories of Salaca Livonian finite verbs are analyzed: voice, person and number, tense, and mood.

2. The passive voice

Distinction between active and passive forms is largely developed in Finnic languages. For example, in Standard Estonian the synthetic forms of the passive or the impersonal are used in the indicative, the conditional, the quotative or the oblique, and the jussive moods; the tense is also synthetically marked, incl. present and past forms of the passive; even a passive form of the supine exists (see Viitso 2007, 53). In South Estonian the personal passive occurred historically, and number distinction in passive forms has been preserved to the present day (Iva 2007, 99–102). However, in both Courland and Salaca Livonian the ways to express passive meanings are much more limited. In Livonian, passive participles are the only available means for making passive constructions. Although Sjögren–Wiedemann’s grammar presents passive forms of Courland and Salaca Livonian for all tenses and moods, all these forms are analytical constructions where the passive participles are combined with various auxiliaries and lexical verbs, e.g. Sal Liv *mind om kutsteds* ‘I am invited’, *mind sāb kutsteds* ‘I will be invited’, *mind oks sān kutsteds* ‘I would be invited’, etc. (SjW 1861, 162–163, cf. Winkler 1994, 430–431).

It is important to note that in Livonian the passive past participle can occur alone as a predicate in past forms of the oblique mood (called the relative mood by SjW). In Salaca Livonian data collections such forms occur, for example, in riddles, see (10). In this sentence the occurrence of the passive past participles *kandeds* ‘carried’ and *viededs* ‘taken’ without the copula *om* provides the additional meaning of reported action.

- (10) *Ku juks siezer sie vell kand-eds, un tagis*
 as one flea it out carry-PPTCP.PASS, and back
vied-eds vāg'in sill.
 take-PPTCP.PASS basin.GEN into.
 ‘As a flea it is (said to be) carried out and taken back into a basin.’ (SjW 1861, 363)

In Salaca Livonian the impersonal meaning can also be expressed by using the third person singular form:

- (11) *Kui sin-d kutsu-b?*
 how you.SG-PRTV call-PRS.3SG
 ‘What is your name? (lit. How does [one] call you?)’ (SjW 1861, 316)

In Finnish and Estonian a form of the passive present is used in such cases. e. g. Estonian:

- (12) *Kuidas sin-d kutsu-ta-kse?*
 how YOU.SG-PRTV call-PASS-PRS
 ‘What is your name? (lit. How are you called?)’

In Courland Livonian generic impersonal predicates are expressed by the third person singular and plural forms (see Viitso 2013, 276); in Salaca Livonian they are regularly singular forms. The use of the impersonal 3rd person forms is similar to Latvian (cf. Kalnača 2013a, 529).

3. Person and number

In Salaca Livonian the formation of verb paradigms reveals various levellings and related analogical innovations. Some changes have taken place also in Courland Livonian; for example, indicative present forms of the 1st person singular have usually been replaced by the 3rd person singular: Sal Liv *läeb* ‘(I) go, (he/she) goes’, *anab* ‘(I) give, (he/she) gives’, in Estonian *lähen* ‘I go’, *annan* ‘I give’ vs. *läheb* ‘he/she goes’, *annab* ‘he/she comes.’ In Salaca Livonian simplification of inflectional paradigms has been even more extensive than in Courland Livonian. In some cases a Salaca Livonian *b*-suffixed verb form can also denote other persons. As a rule, in the affirmative present paradigm identical forms occur frequently for the 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural, e.g. *läeb* ‘he/she comes, they come’, *ütlub* ‘he/she says, they say’. This resembles the Latvian formation of the third person.

The old Finnic personal endings have been preserved in Salaca Livonian in the second person forms and in the first person plural. The ending of the 2nd person singular is usually *-d*: *läed* ‘you go’, *näed* ‘you see’, cf. Estonian *lähed*, *näed*, Cour Liv *lã’d*, *nãd*. The ending of the 1st person plural is *-mi*, which is identical to some southern Estonian dialects: *läemi* ‘we go’, *näemi* ‘we see’, cf. Estonian *läheme*, *näeme*, Cour Liv *lã’mõ*, *nãmõ*, South Est *läämi*, *näemi*. The ending of the second person plural is *-ti*: *läeti* ‘you (pl.) go’, *näeti* ‘you (pl.) see’, cf. Estonian *lähete*, *näete*, Cour Liv *lã’rõ*, *nãtõ*, South Est *lääti*, *näeti*. In the 3rd person plural, the ending *-bed* or *-bud* is used occasionally: *sābed* ‘they get’, *tapabud* ‘they kill’, cf. Estonian *saavad*, *tapavad*, Cour Liv *sõbõd*, *tapõbõd*.

Unlike in Courland Livonian, the 3rd person plural form of the verb *oll ~ old* ‘to be’ in Salaca Livonian is always identical to the singular form, i.e. in both cases the form *om* is used, see Table 2. In this case, Salaca Livonian resembles not only Latvian, but also Estonian, where the same form *on* ‘is, are’ is used for the 3rd person singular and plural forms.

Table 2

**The indicative forms of the verb *oll ~ old* ‘to be’ in Salaca Livonian
as compared to Courland Livonian**

Tense / Person	Present		Present Negative		Preterite		Preterite Negative	
	Sal Liv	Cour Liv	Sal Liv	Cour Liv	Sal Liv	Cour Liv	Sal Liv	Cour Liv
1SG	<i>om ~ õ</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>ab uo</i>	<i>äb ūo</i>	<i>oļ</i>	<i>võļ</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>iz ūo</i>
2SG	<i>uod</i>	<i>ūod</i>	<i>ab uo</i>	<i>äd ūo</i>	<i>oļ</i>	<i>võļd</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>izt ūo</i>
3SG	<i>om</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>ab uo</i>	<i>äb ūo</i>	<i>oļ</i>	<i>võļ</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>iz ūo</i>
1PL	<i>uomi</i>	<i>ūomõ</i>	<i>ab uomi</i>	<i>äb ūomõ</i>	<i>oļmi</i>	<i>võļmõ</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>izt ūomõ</i>
2PL	<i>uoti</i>	<i>ūotõ</i>	<i>ab uoti</i>	<i>äd ūotõ</i>	<i>oļti</i>	<i>võļtõ</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>izt ūotõ</i>
3PL	<i>om</i>	<i>attõ</i>	<i>ab uo</i>	<i>äb ūotõ</i>	<i>oļ ~ oļt</i>	<i>võļtõ</i>	<i>iz uo</i>	<i>izt ūotõ</i>

Table 2 (cf. SjøW 1861, 153-156) indicates that in Salaca Livonian the formation of personal forms differs from Courland Livonian in many respects. Notably, negative and preterite paradigms of verbs are more extensively leveled than affirmative present paradigms. In addition to the convergence of 3rd person singular and plural forms, all the singular forms of the verb have become identical in the preterite. The largest change has taken place in the **negative paradigm**. The negative verb forms have converged to a common negative particle, *ab* in the present and *iz* in the preterite, similar to southern Estonian dialects. In addition, the connegative forms have converged to *uo* throughout the preterite paradigm and in most of the present paradigm. Only in the 1st and 2nd person plural do the connegative forms include personal endings, cf. *uomi* ‘we are’ and *ab uomi* ‘we are not’, *uoti* ‘you (pl.) are’ and *ab uoti* ‘you (pl.) are not’. The use of a single negative particle with a connegative form which is identical to an affirmative form of the verb is not typical of Finnic languages; it resembles the verbal negation in Baltic and Slavic languages. In conservative Finno-Ugric verb morphology, as in Finnish, there is a negative verb that has inflected forms with personal endings. (See Metslang et al. 2014 for a detailed overview of Livonian negation).

4. Tense

In Salaca Livonian synthetic or simple tense forms occur only in the present and the preterite or imperfect (as named by SjøW 1861 and Viitso 2012, 20). Present indicative forms are marked only by personal endings, while preterite forms contain a tense suffix which is followed by a personal ending where applicable.

In affirmative preterite or imperfect forms of Salaca Livonian two tense suffixes appear: the old Finnic *-i* and the southern Finnic *-iz* that has spread in the Estonian dialect area. The suffix *-i* has been preserved in highly frequent monosyllabic verbs, e.g. *sai* ‘I, he/she, they got’, *said* ‘you got’, *saimi* ‘we got’, *saiti* ‘you (pl.) got’. In some originally disyllabic forms the marker *-i* has merged into a preceding stem consonant, causing palatalization of the consonant, e.g. *oļ*

‘was (SG.)’ (< *oli), *oļmi* ‘we were’, *oļt* ‘they were’. Table 2 shows that preterite forms of the verb *oll* ~ *old* ‘to be’ have become identical in the singular but have maintained personal endings in the plural; also, in the 3rd person plural form, the plural marker *-t* has been sporadically used. When the new preterite marker *-is* ~ *-iz* was introduced, the form that originally denoted the 3rd person singular was applied for the whole preterite paradigm, e.g. *ailis* ‘(I, you, he/she, we, they) ran’, *ābtis* ‘(I, you, he/she, we, they) helped’.

In addition to the present and imperfect forms, Sjögren-Wiedemann’s grammar (SjW 1861, 160–161) presents four analytic or complex tenses of Courland and Salaca Livonian in the indicative and debitive moods. These are the perfect, the pluperfect and two future tenses. The perfect and pluperfect are formed from present tense and preterite forms of *oll* ~ *old* ‘to be’, respectively, combined with a past participle: *om kutsen* ‘has invited’, *oļ kutsen* ‘had invited’. Such formation of perfect and pluperfect forms is common in Finnic languages.

Sjögren-Wiedemann presented future tense forms of Livonian which they named the general future and the exact future. The general future is formed with the auxiliary *līb* ‘will’ and an infinitive: *ma līb kuts* ~ *minnel līb kuts* ‘I will invite’; according to SjW, 160, the meaning of the general future can also be expressed by forms of the present indicative, e.g. *kutsib* ‘invites’, or the inessive form of a supine, e.g. *ma [om] kutsumis* ‘I am inviting’. Such usage of the *mas-* ~ *mis-* ~ *ms-* suffixed supine forms actually denotes a continuous action. The exact future is formed by means of the auxiliary verbs *sād* or *līd* and the past participle: *ma sāb tien* ‘I’ll be done’, *ab lī kutsen* ‘will not be invited’ (*ibid.*). In Salaca Livonian *līd* is the most grammaticalized marker of the future, while *sād* expresses modal and aspectual meanings and is not primarily used to indicate tense reference (see Norvik 2012, 38). It is notable that in the Salaca Livonian data a supine form *lims* ‘will, is going to’ conveys a meaning of the future continuous, cf. example (8).

The future copula *līb* with a partitive form of the verbal noun denotes the meaning of necessity, e.g.:

(13) *Minne-l līb kutsu-mis-t.*

I-ADE be-3SG invite-AN-PRTV

‘I have to invite (in the future).’ (SjW 1861, 161)

The future is not a usual temporal category in the grammar of Finno-Ugric languages. Grammaticalization of the future forms is a new development in Livonian, apparently influenced by contact with Latvian. However, the verb *līd* has an old Finno-Ugric origin and the form *līb* has equivalents in western Estonian dialects and Old Literary Estonian, and also in several Finnic languages. Often temporal and modal aspects are combined in these forms, cf. Finnish *lienee* ‘maybe will’ (Norvik 2012, 30).

Tiit-Rein Viitso (2008, 325) has emphasized that complex tense forms in Livonian express actions which refer to certain time points. In the indicative the reference time is in the present or the past, in the case of conditional and oblique forms typically in the past, and the imperative and *liid*-forms refer to the future.

5. The mood

Only the conditional, the imperative, and the debitive have been treated earlier in the description of Salaca Livonian. However, in addition, forms of the quotative or oblique or relative mood and the oblique imperative or jussive mood, both expressing reported evidentiality, as well as forms of the potential, appear in Salaca Livonian data.

The **conditional** in Salaca Livonian reveals, similarly to the neighbouring western and southern Estonian dialects, identical forms with the suffix *-ks* for all persons: *oks* ‘(I, you, he / she, we, you, they) would be’, *läeks* ‘would go’, *panuks* ‘would put’, etc. The loss of personal endings in the conditional has made the structure of conditional paradigms more similar to Latvian (cf. Kalnača 2013a, 485–486). In analytic forms of the past conditional the form *oks* ‘would’ is used with a form of the past participle, e.g. *oks kutsen* ‘would have invited’ (SjW 1861, 160).

An old mood in the Finno-Ugric languages is the *ne*-marked **potential**, which is still used in northern Finnic languages but has disappeared in Estonian and Livonian. However, forms of the potential occurred marginally in southern Estonian dialects and in the old South Estonian or Tartu literary language (Reila 2009). The mood has not been earlier attested in Livonian but there is at least one occurrence of the potential in Salaca Livonian manuscripts: *tienes* ‘maybe do’ (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009, 195).

The **imperative** second person singular is formed without an ending in Salaca Livonian, e.g. *ail* ‘run!’, *ana* ~ *anna* ‘give!’, *ol* ‘be!’, the second person plural form of the imperative has the ending *-gi* ~ *-ki*, *-gid* ~ *-kid* or *-git* ~ *-kit*: *anagi* ‘you (pl.) give!’, *broutskid* ~ *broutskit* ‘you (pl.) drive!’, *olgi* ‘you (pl.) be!’. The third person imperative has the ending *-g* both in the singular and the plural: *kūlug* ‘may he/she/they hear!’, *ābtug* ‘may he/she/they help!’, *olg*, may he/she/they be!’. In the 1st person plural, the indicative forms have been used in the imperative function, e. g. *olmi* ‘may we be!’

The imperative negative or prohibitive forms are formed by using the particle *ala* ‘don’t’ and the imperative form of a verb, e.g. *ala le* ‘don’t you (SG.) go’, *ala legid* ‘don’t you (pl.) go’. This is different from the usual prohibitive forms in Finnic where the prohibitive verb is inflected, as in Estonian and Courland Livonian, cf. Est *ära mine*, *ärge minge*, Cour Liv *alā li*, *algid ligid* (Viitso 2008, 321), and closer to the Latvian formation of prohibitive imperatives where a single negative prefix *ne-* is used (cf. Kalnača 2013a, 491; Metslang et al. 2014).

The reported imperative or the **jussive** has developed in southern Finnic languages (see Erelt 2002; Erelt et al. 2006 for discussion of the Estonian jussive). The jussive expressing a reported command has been denoted in Salaca Livonian by means of forms that are identical to forms of the 3rd person imperative, usually with the addition of the particle *las*: *las lāk* ‘let’s go!’, *las mina olg* ‘let me be!’, *las mē olg* ‘let us be!’. The formation and functions of the Salaca Livonian jussive are similar to Courland Livonian, where the adverbial *laz* is used in such forms (Kehayov et al. 2012). In Latvian, *lai*-constructions with a verb form of the oblique mood are used in a similar meaning (cf. Kalnača 2011, 291).

The jussive is connected semantically to the **quotative or oblique mood**, as both moods express reported evidentiality (see Erelt et al. 2006). Grammaticalization of evidential meanings is a well-known development in the verbal morphology of the southern group of the Finnic languages, which shares several features with Baltic languages (see Kehayov 2008; Kalnača 2013a, 500–502).

Although the oblique or reported indicative has not been described earlier in Salaca Livonian, in Sjögren's texts the *ji*-suffixed forms occur, e. g.

- (14) *Mis nānt t'um tūōnika-d sāl patē-ji?*
 What those ten worker-PL.NOM there do-PRS.QUOT
 'What are those ten workers said to be doing there?' (SjW 1861, 324)

The *ji*-marked forms are used in the function of the quotative both in Courland Livonian and Häädemeeste, the neighbouring Estonian dialect of Salaca Livonian; they correspond to the agent noun and originated as *JA*-suffixed forms of a present participle in Finno-Ugric languages (Audova 2003). Examples of present forms of the oblique mood in Salaca Livonian are limited, but the functions of the form seem to be similar to Courland Livonian (see Kehayov et al. 2012).

There are more Salaca Livonian examples of the use of past participles as predicates in the forms which refer to reported evidentiality. In Estonian and Courland Livonian, too, such forms are characteristic of narratives but they occur in various modal meanings. Some similar cases of using past participles as predicates are also possible in colloquial Latvian (see Muižniece *et al.* 1999; Holvoet 2007, 51); nonfinite predication marks reported evidentiality in several languages of the Baltic region (Wälchli 2000). In Salaca Livonian data the meaning of reported evidentiality is central for these finite forms of the past participle:

- (15) *Nuor-d izanda-d Saksa mā-ld attulle-n.*
 Young-PL.NOM lord-PL.NOM Germany-ABL return-PPTC
 'The young landlords are said to return home from Germany.' (SjW 1861, 322)

The past participle also appears in object clauses when forms of the verb *ūtuld* 'to say' function as a predicate of the main clause:

- (16) *Tāma ütlu-b rikk olle-n.*
 he/she say-3SG rich be-PPTC
 'He/she says that he/she has been rich.' (SjW 1861, 334)

The sentence type presented in (16) is one possible source construction for the past forms of reported indicative with a participle predicate (see discussion in Kehayov 2008: 46–48).

The **debitive** is another verbal category which has been described both in Livonian and Latvian conjugations. In Latvian grammar it is often treated as a mood (Lokmane, Kalnača 2014). In Livonian grammar the debitive is usually described as a special hypercategory which has forms of various moods and tenses. Tiit-Rein Viitso has described seven different ways to make debitive constructions in Courland Livonian (Viitso 2008, 344–345). Descriptions of so-called debitive

forms in the indicative and conditional moods both in Courland and Salaca Livonian, for all tenses, date back to Sjögren–Wiedemann’s grammar (SjW 1861, 161, 163–164). They are actually various constructions which express necessity. Similarly to Courland Livonian, in Salaca Livonian necessity is typically expressed in active voice by analytic constructions consisting of the copula *om* ‘is’ and a special form of the verbal noun, ending in *-mist*:

- (17) *Minne-l om niema-d lūpsa-mi-st.*
 I-ADE COP COW-PL.NOM milk-AN-PRTV
 ‘I have to milk cows.’ (SjW 1861, 306)

Sometimes the copula is absent and only the debitive form ending in *-mist* expresses the meaning of obligation or necessity:

- (18) *S’ie rāk om āk’i, ku ūd tois tag lāe-mis-t.*
 This way be.3SG narrow as one.GEN other.GEN behind go-AN-PRTV
 ‘This path is so narrow that people have to go in single file’ (lit. ‘one must go behind the other’). (SjW 1861, 295)

The Salaca Livonian language also had passive debitive forms, made from a form of the verb *olla ~ old* and passive present participles, e.g. (*mind*) *oļ kutstau* ‘I have to be invited’ (SjW 1861, 163), (*mind*) *oks ollen kutstau* ‘I had to be invited’ (SjW 1861, 164). As in Courland Livonian, the use of a modal predicative *vajag* is frequent in Salaca Livonian, also without a copula:

- (19) *Sinnel vajag min-d opat lībi-ski pagat.*
 You-ADE must I-PRTV teach-INF Livonian-ADV speak-INF
 ‘You have to teach me to speak Livonian.’ (SjW 1861, 296)

Constructions with the adverbial *vaja* are widely spread also in Estonian, but the copula is usually preserved, e.g. *sinul on vaja mind õpetada liivi keelt rääkima*. In Latvian the verb *vajadzēt* ‘to need’ is used in similar meanings (see Kalnača 2013b).

6. In conclusion: Salaca Livonian verb morphology between Estonian and Latvian

One may distinguish six moods and six tense forms in Salaca Livonian. However, among the productive verb categories only the conditional and imperative forms are marked by special suffixes, and in the case of tenses only the preterite has its own marker. Several other categories are expressed by analytic forms which use auxiliaries and special forms of infinitives or participles; a tendency of finitization of non-finite verb forms occurs in several grammatical constructions. To review the special features of Salaca Livonian verb morphology, it is appropriate to compare Salaca Livonian verbal categories with classifications used in Estonian and Latvian grammars.

In the Estonian grammatical tradition the first distinction which is made is that between direct and indirect speech, see Table 3. In the direct speech, four tenses – the present, preterite, perfect, and pluperfect – and three moods – the indicative, conditional and imperative – are distinguished. The moods of indirect speech are the quotative, i.e. reported indicative, and the jussive, i.e. reported imperative; these moods have only present and perfect forms. It is possible to find equivalents for all the Estonian verbal categories in the Salaca Livonian system. Additionally, the forms of the future, future perfect and debitive appear in Salaca Livonian. In Estonian, too, it is possible to analytically express debitive and future meanings, but these constructions are not classified as special verb categories.

Table 3

Salaca Livonian verbal categories of the active voice as compared to Estonian grammar: forms of the verb *oll ~ old* ‘to be’

Direct Speech Mood / Tense	Present	Preterite	Perfect	Pluperfect	// Future	Future Perfect
Indicative	<i>om</i>	<i>oļ</i>	<i>om ollen</i>	<i>oļ ollen</i>	<i>līb</i>	<i>līb ollen</i>
Conditional	<i>oks</i>	---	<i>oks ollen</i>	---	---	---
Imperative	<i>ol</i>	---	<i>ol ollen</i>	---	<i>li</i>	<i>li ollen</i>
// <i>Debitive</i>	<i>om olmist</i>	<i>oļ olmist</i>	<i>ollen olmist</i>	<i>oļ ollen olmist</i>	<i>li olmist</i>	<i>li ollen olmist</i>
Indirect Speech Mood / Tense						
Quotative	<i>ollij</i>	---	<i>(ollij) ollen</i>	---	---	---
Jussive	<i>(las) olg</i>	---	<i>olg ollen</i>	---	---	---

The comparison of the Salaca Livonian verbal categories with Latvian grammar shows that in some respects the commonality is even greater than between Estonian and Salaca Livonian, see Table 4. For example, according to the full paradigm of Latvian verbs it is possible to describe the debitive and future forms as an integrated part of verb inflection. Salaca Livonian has appropriate equivalents for the majority of Latvian forms. In the future tense the oblique forms are missing in Salaca Livonian, but this could be explained by the insufficiency of the language data. However, formation of the jussive or reported imperative is different. The Salaca Livonian jussive can be presented here as the 3rd person imperative, but in fact it is used for all persons. The closest Latvian equivalents of Estonian and Livonian jussive forms are *lai*-constructions with forms of the oblique mood, e.g. *Viņš teica, lai es nākot šurp* ‘He told me to come here’ (cf. Kalnača 2011).

Salaca Livonian active verbal categories as compared to Latvian grammar:
forms of the verb *oll ~ old* 'to be'

Mood / Tense	Present Indefinite	Past Indefinite	Future Indefinite	Present Perfect	Past Perfect	Future Perfect
Indicative	om	oļ	līb	om ollen	oļ ollen	līb ollen
Conditional	<i>oks</i>	---	---	<i>oks ollen</i>	---	---
Imperative	<i>ol</i>	---	<i>li</i>	<i>ol ollen</i>	---	<i>li ollen</i>
Debitive	<i>om olmist</i>	<i>oļ olmist</i>	<i>li olmist</i>	<i>ollen olmist</i>	<i>oļ ollen olmist</i>	<i>li ollen olmist</i>
Oblique (Relative)	<i>ollij</i>	---	<i>līji</i>	<i>(ollij) ollen</i>	---	---
// Jussive	<i>(las) olg</i>	---	---	<i>olg ollen</i>	---	---

The extensive commonality of Salaca Livonian verbal categories with both Estonian and Latvian categories can be explained by the mutual influences between these languages and broader areal contacts. Due to its central position in the Baltic language area, Salaca Livonian preserves and shows a maximal set of uniting areal features. Salaca Livonian verbal morphology actually contains even more tenses and moods than included in Tables 3 and 4; as was demonstrated in this overview, there is the progressive or present continuous, formed by using an inessive form of the supine, as well as lexicalized forms of the potential mood formed with the old Finno-Ugric suffix *ne-*.

In several cases when we tend to suppose differences between Estonian and Latvian verbal categories, it is not clear whether they represent real differences in their functions or simply mismatches in grammatical descriptions. This is obviously true in the case of reported or oblique forms; there are also analytic constructions to convey debitive meanings in Estonian, etc. Obviously, a comparative study of Estonian and Latvian grammar which takes into account the Livonian language data could help to clarify such issues.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	person
AN	action noun
ABL	ablative
ADE	adessive
ADV	adverb
CNG	connegative
COM	comitative
COP	copula
Cour	Courland

GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
JUSS	jussive
Liv	Livonian
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PRS	present
PPTC	past participle
PRTV	partitive
PST	past
PTCL	particle
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
Sal	Salaca
SG	singular
SUP	supine

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Kopsavilkums

Latvijas teritorija vēsturiski ir bijusi Baltijas jūras valodu kopas (*Baltic Sea Sprachbund*) centrs Baltijā, jo blakus baltu valodām te vienmēr runātas arī vairākas Baltijas jūras somu valodas. Rakstā aplūkotas darbības vārda gramatiskās kategorijas Salacas lībiešu valodā – vienīgajā Vidzemē runātās lībiešu valodas paveidā, kam pieejams plašāks valodas materiāls. Baltijas jūras somu valodu izpētē Salacas lībiešu valoda parasti aplūkota kā igauņu un lībiešu valodas sajaukums. Taču, visticamāk, Salacas lībiešu valoda apvienojusi vismaz trīs valodu – igauņu, lībiešu un latviešu – pazīmes. Tāpēc rakstā mēģināts iztirzāt Salacas lībiešu valodas darbības vārda kategorijas saistībā ar igauņu un latviešu gramatiskajām tradīcijām. Pētījumā izvirzītas divas hipotēzes. Pirmkārt, pierādīts, ka Salacas lībiešu valodas darbības vārda formas ietver gan somugru, gan latviešu valodas gramatisko kategoriju pazīmes. Otrkārt, fiksēts fakts, ka darbības vārda formas, kam iespējama dažāda interpretācija, norāda arī uz neskaidrām kategoriju robežām. Salacas lībiešu valodas darbības vārda morfoloģijā tādējādi apvienojas gan arhaiskas parādības, gan dažādi jauninājumi.