THE *l*-CASES IN COURLAND LIVONIAN

Rogier Blokland[1] and Nobufumi Inaba[2]
[1]Uppsala University and [2]University of Turku

Abstract. Courland Livonian is the only Finnic language where the habitive expressions of giving, taking, and having do not use the so-called *l*-cases, but instead the dative, the elative or a postposition. As the *l*-cases mostly only occur in a number of fossilised expressions they have received less attention in the literature. In this article we summarise the functions of the *l*-cases in Courland Livonian on the basis of previous research and consider their status.

Keywords: case inventory, outer local cases, adverbs, Livonian

1. Introduction

Courland Livonian[1] is the only Finnic language where the habitive expressions of giving, taking, and having do not use the so-called *l*-cases[2], but instead the dative (*tä'mmõ-n um rōntõz* s/he-DAT be.3SG.PRS book 's/he has a book'), the elative (*Sina uod minst, od. min kądst, jenn rǫd sǫnd* you be.2SG.PRS I.ELA (German *oder*) I.GEN hand.ELA much money.PRT get.PRTC 'Du hast viel Geld von mir bekommen'; Wiedemann 1861a: 299b, cf. also Inaba 2015: 126), and a postposition derived from the word *ke'ž* 'hand' (*kīe-n kä'd-st sa said sīe rǫntõ?* who.GEN hand.ELA you get-2SG.PST this.GEN book.GEN 'whom did you get this book from?'; Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 110b) is used. The use of the dative has been an object of research already since the 1860s (cf. Wiedemann 1861a: 74–77, Alvre 1967, de Sivers 1970, Halling 1996a, Viitso 2008, Inaba 2015: 98–178). The *l*-cases, however, have received much less attention, probably because they mostly only occur in a number of fossilised

---

1   In the present article 'Livonian' will be used to refer to Courland Livonian, whilst Salis Livonian will be referred to as such.

2   What we here call the *l*-cases are usually known as the 'outer local cases' in opposition to the *s*-cases, which usually known as 'inner local cases' and which mostly indicate internal location; the opposition between them is very clear in the other Finnic languages.

expressions. The aim of our article is to summarise the functions of the *l*-cases in Courland Livonian on the basis of previous research and consider their status.[3] After the introduction we briefly review previous research in section 2, and in section 3 we give an overview of the various number of cases in Livonian as proposed in the literature. In section 4 we survey the functions of the *l*-cases in Courland Livonian; in section 5 we draw some conclusions.

In the present article only occasional mention will be made of Salis Livonian, as its case system deviates significantly from that of Courland Livonian with respect to the existence and use of the *l*-cases (for a recent overview of Salis Livonian grammar see Winkler and Pajusalu 2018).

2. Previous research

Wiedemann, in his 1861 grammar (based on material collected by Sjögren) describes how the *l*-cases are used basically only in a number of fossilised expressions (Wiedemann 1861a: 176–202). Instead of the *l*-cases Livonian uses postpositional constructions or internal local cases. Additional evidence for the fossilisation of the *l*-cases is the fact that they can be followed by other cases, thus, e.g., the elative suffix *-st* has been added to words in the ablative: *ald*, *aldõ* > *aldõst* 'from under'.

In the grammatical sketch of Livonian in his massive dictionary, Lauri Kettunen (1938: LI-LII) mentions that the functions of the adessive, ablative, and allative as used in Estonian and Finnish have in Livonian been mostly assumed by the dative. Notwithstanding, they are still used to some extent to denote place, time, function, and state. Rudimentary uses are *sìęla pùǫl* 'on this side' (< adessive of *se* 'this' + *pùǫl* 'side') and *tùǫla pùǫl* 'on that side' (adessive of *tᵘoı̯* 'other' + *pùǫl* 'side')'. Kettunen mentions that these cases are used very rarely in the plural, mentioning only *sēńiļ* '(gathering) mushrooms', *lāmbiļ* 'shepherding' and *vor̃žâl* 'at roost'.

The Estonian specialist on Livonian, Eduard Vääri, wrote his 1974 PhD on derivational suffixes in Livonian. His PhD was regrettably never published, but is now available online (Vääri 1974). Vääri does not consider the adessive, allative, and ablative proper cases and classifies

---

3   For the sake of tractability we will use 'allative' for the lative *l*-case, 'adessive' for the locative *l*-case, and 'ablative' for the separative *l*-case, as these have been in consistent use in previous research. Similarly, we use 'illative', 'inessive', and 'elative' for those local cases with an *s*-element.

all instances of words with *l*-cases as a subgroup of adverbs of place, and the fact that the *l*-cases were originally used to denote location but are used in Livonian for adverbs of time as well Vääri considers additional evidence for their development into adverb suffixes (Vääri 1974: 150). He also notes that adverb series have not always been derived from all three cases, and that older use is due to direct translation from foreign languages (Vääri 1974: 151). Vääri also presents a list of 74 adverbs with *l*-cases (Vääri 1974: 151–158).

Joel Nevis, in his 1989 article on case in Livonian, deeming the language to be in a state of attrition, suggests that Kettunen's 1947 grammar should reflect more advanced attrition than Wiedemann's 1861 grammar, though, in fact, the opposite is the case, as Kettunen posits a longer list of cases, including the allative, adessive, and ablative (Nevis 1989: 95). This, Nevis suspects, is due to 'excessive theoretizing' by Kettunen, who, having found a number of words with *l*-case endings, adds these cases to the case paradigm. Nevis, however, considers these 'extraparadigmatic adverbs' that do not belong in the case paradigm (much in the same way as Kittilä and Ylikoski 2011; see below). Additionally, Nevis (1989: 101) assumes that both the singular and plural forms of the *l*-cases disappeared at the same time.

Tiina Halling (1996b) looks at the first occurrences of *l*-cases in old sources, explains their main uses when Livonian was still spoken (in place names, adverbs, fossilised expressions, and postpositions), and explains in greater detail which functions of the *l*-cases have been assumed by the dative. Halling also points out that various instances of the influence of Latvian on Livonian grammar have been pointed out, but not explained in any detail; a first more detailed attempt is made by Ernštreits and Kļava (2014). Halling 2006 gives much the same information.

In overviews of Livonian case systems, Tiit-Rein Viitso (2008: 328, 2012: 22, 2016: 150) mentions the three *l*-cases – the adessive, allative, and ablative – as 'functionally parallel' (Viitso 2012: 22) to the *s*-cases and states they are mostly used in connection with place names of villages on the Livonian coast, a number of place names ending in -*mō* 'land', names of farms, a number of adverbs, and some other words, but Viitso does list them in the paradigm of existing cases in Livonian.

Kittilä and Ylikoski (2011: 48–49), in an article on the coding of goal, recipient, and vicinal goal in a number of Uralic languages, argue that the *l*-cases are not true productive cases and should be seen as 'rather a remnant from an earlier pan-Finnic adessive case or possibly only its incipient stage in pre-Livonian' (Kittilä and Ylikoski 2011: 49). They point out that the only semi-productive use is in compound place

names ending in *-mā* 'land', and as they nearly never refer to actual surfaces, they may more correctly be considered allomorphs of the three *s*-cases.

In summary, all authors agree that the *l*-cases are used only semi-productively, listing various uses, though nearly all authors of grammars or grammatical overviews do list them in the case paradigm.

3. Case in Livonian

The number of cases posited for Livonian has varied greatly, and already Wiedemann (1861a: 50) points out that the number of cases that can be posited for each Finnic language depends on the researcher.[4] Table 1 is a list (which does not aim at completeness) of cases suggested by the principal grammarians of Livonian.

All sources agree that the nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, and the *s*-cases (illative, inessive, and elative) form part of the Livonian case system. Nevis (1988: 107) and de Sivers (2001: 29, 40) do not list the *l*-cases (allative, adessive, and ablative) at all. The others that do list them, and occasionally also other peripheral cases, stress that these cases are not fully productive and are often replaced by other constructions. Thus, e.g., Wiedemann (1861a: 72–74) describes the formation of the *l*-cases, but does not list them in his exemplificatory paradigms (81–97).

Whether researchers call the *-ks/-kõks*-case the 'translative-comitative' or the 'instrumental' is mostly a question of terminology; only Nevis (1988: 104) differentiates between the comitative and the translative. These are generally considered to have coalesced into one case from the Finnic translative (*-*ksi*) and the (southern Finnic) comitative which ultimately goes back to the postposition *kansassa*, but, e.g., Viitso and Ernštreits (2012: 393) list both an instrumental (*-kõks*, *-ks*, *-õks*) and a translative (*-ks*), as they are occasionally distinguished (*pi'ņņõks* dog.TRA '(become) a dog' vs. *pi'ņkõks* dog.INS 'with a dog'). Grünthal (2003: 177–201) disagrees and assumes that there has been no syncretism: instead the translative and comitative use of *-ks* is due to Latvian-induced reanalysis of a single case suffix.

---

4   "Die Anzahl der Casus ist unbestimmt, da es in dieser Sprachfamilie von der Ansicht eines jeden Grammatikers abhängt, in wie weit er die von Nomina abgeleiteten Wortformen für Bezeichnung adverbialer Beziehungen als Casusformen ansehen und in das Declinationsschema hineinziehen will."

Table 1. The cases of Livonian.

	Wiedemann (1861a: 51)	Kettunen (1947: 56–71)	Vääri (1966: 142)	Nevis (1988: 107)	Boiko (2000: 132)	de Sivers (2001: 29, 40)	Moseley (2002: 24)	Viitso (2012: 22)	Viitso and Ernštreits (2012: 394)	Viitso (2016: 150–151)
NOMINATIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
GENITIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
DATIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
PARTITIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
ILLATIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
INESSIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
ELATIVE	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
ALLATIVE	×	×	×		×		×	×	×	×
ADESSIVE	×	×	×		×		×	×	×	×
ABLATIVE	×	×	×		×		×	×	×	×
TRANSLATIVE/COMITATIVE	×	×	×			×	×			
INSTRUMENTAL					×			×	×	×
ABESSIVE	(×)	×						×	×	×
TRANSLATIVE				×					×	×
COMITATIVE				×						
LATIVE									×	×
ESSIVE	(×)								×	×
EXCESSIVE									×	
INSTRUCTIVE	×	×	×					×	×	×

In the most recent overview of the Livonian case system, Viitso (2016: 150–151) presents a list with 16 cases for Livonian, including the allative, adessive, and ablative, but also such extremely rare cases as the lative; the excessive is included in the 2012 dictionary (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 393).

Pronoun inflection basically resembles that of nouns, but according to Vääri (1966: 145) pronouns do not occur in the adessive, ablative, allative, or instructive. According to Wiedemann (1861a: 116), older people still knew something of adessive, ablative, allative forms of the personal pronouns (thus Kolka/Eastern Livonian *mēla* we.ADE, *tēla* you. pl.ADE, *mēlald* we.ABL, *tēlald* you.pl.ABL; Pizā/Western Livonian *meila* we.ADE, *teila* you.pl.ADE, *neila* they.ADE, *meilọ* we.ALL, *teilọ* you.pl.ALL, and the 'double case' forms *meilda* we.ABL, *teilda* you.pl.ABL, *neilda* they.ABL). These *l*-case forms of the personal pronouns, however, do not occur in the texts in Wiedemann 1861a, nor in the grammar in any examples. Demonstrative pronouns, however, do occur in the *l*-cases: *sīel* (*āigal*) 'that (time)' (e.g., Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 23b under *āigal* 1), though *tūol-* seems to occur only in adverbs such as *tūolapūol* 'that side', *tūolapūoldõ* 'from that side', *tūolapūolõ* 'to that side' (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 339a). Forms without -*pūol* 'side' occur in Wiedemann (1861a: 116): *tuola, tuol, tuoila, toila*, but he already notes that the adessive forms of the demonstrative pronouns hardly occur except in adverbial constructions such as *siel āigal* 'zu der Zeit', *siel púol* 'diesseit, auf dieser Seite', and the *t*-forms were also already very rare (Wiedemann 1861a: 117); they do not occur in the texts. Similarly, the interrogative *mil* 'when' is used only in the construction *mil āigal* 'wann, zu welcher Zeit' (Wiedemann 1861a: 118).

Wiedemann (1861a: 74) also mentions that of the three *l*-cases the ablative is used least, noting forms such as *lapsọld* 'von Kindheit hat, eigentl. vom Kinde', *amāld púold ~ púolọld* 'von jeder Seite her', *ta nūzis lovāld* 'er erhob sich vom Bette', *ta tul' mọldọ* (*mạldọ*) 'er kam aus dem Binnenlande, aus der Lettengegend', *lạpš rụkāndis pūrandọld* 'das Kind sprach von dem Fussboden her'; here he also mentions that in Kolka the equivalent would be *pọrandọst*. The separative case (here the ablative) is generally the case that is used least of the three *l*-cases (cf. the use of the ablative in Finnish; Hakulinen et al. 2010: 1179), and, in any case, verbs in Livonian (and in Finnic in general) tend to govern the *l*-cases much less frequently. This also explains why in triads, specifically forms with the ablative tend to have double case; e.g., *lovāl* 'in bed', *lo'vvõl* 'into bed', but *lovā-ld* 'out of bed' > *lovā-ldõ-st* 'id.' In

addition, the adessive and allative have also coalesced[5] in a number of paradigms (Nevis 1989: 100–101, Viitso 2008: 336); thus, e.g., *le'žgõl* 'closer; close', *le'žgõld* 'from close by'.

For a number of what in the other Finnic languages are mostly still typical triads (both of nouns and adverbs), Livonian has a number of alternatives: 1) one form only (an adessive with allative and adessive meaning; e.g., *maṛṛõl* 'whilst gathering berries; going berry gathering'), 2) two forms (an adessive with allative and adessive meaning and an ablative; e.g., *a'lmõl* 'downwards; coastwards; down; at the coast', *a'lmõld* 'upwards; from the coast'), 3) three forms (an adessive, an allative, and an ablative; e.g., *kūoral* 'at the side', *kūorald* 'from the side', *kuorrõl* 'to the side'; *pāikal* 'at (a position)', *pāikald* 'from (a position)', *paikõl* 'to (a position)'; *sizāl* 'in; inside', *sizāld* 'from inside', *si'zzõl* 'into, inwards'; *suodāl* 'at/during war', *suodāld* 'from war', *suo'ddõl* 'to war'; *upāl* 'in fetters', *upāld* '(release from) fetters', *uppõl* '(put) in fetters'; *vadāl* '(at) seine fishing', *vadāld* '(from) seine fishing', *va'ddõl* '(to) seine fishing'); and 4) three forms where there is a form identical to the original adessive that has both adessive and allative meaning, whilst the original allative is also still extant; thus, e.g., *kougimõl* 'far; further away, *kougimõlõ* 'further away', *kougõmõld* 'from far away'; *le'žgõl* 'close by; closer', *le'žgõlõ* 'closer', *le'žgõld* 'from close by'.

4. The *l*-cases in Livonian

In modern Livonian, the *l*-cases only occur, when they do, in the singular (Moseley 2002: 24; Viitso 2008: 325), and they are not productive for all nouns (Kettunen 1938: LIV-LVIII; Nevis 1989: 101). On their plural use, Wiedemann (1861a: 72) writes that the adessive also occurs in the plural ('Der Adessiv … wird im Plural an den verkürzten Infin. auf i gebildet, ...'), and gives two examples: *pǟvil um ud* 'an den Tagen ist Nebel', *silmil näedõb* 'mit den Augen sichtbar, augenfällig'. Kettunen (1938: LII) and Viitso (2012: 22) also still list the plural of the *l*-cases (-*iļ* for the adessive and allative, -*iļd* for the ablative), though Kettunen notes that their use is limited to certain expressions referring, e.g., gathering mushrooms (*ne kā'bôd mętsàs̀ sēńiļ* 'sie gehen im walde zum pilzlesen'; Kettunen 1938: LII), shepherding (*lāmbiļ*;

---

5   The coalescence of locative and lative cases is common in spatial adposition systems, but less so in spatial case systems (Creissels 2009: 615).

Kettunen 1938: LVI), being at roost (*voȓžə̂l*; Kettunen 1938: LVI), col-
lecting (inner) bark (*nīń: lʲuo̝ˌbdə̂b-àˌigal naˌìst lǟˀbə̂d nīńil* 'in der zeit,
wo (im frühjahr) die baumrinde sich löst, gehen die weiber baumbast
reissen'; Kettunen 1938: 210b), and the expression 'face down' (*silmil*
'aufs gesicht': *ta ēt̆tiz ēńtša silmil mo̝ˀzə̂* 'er warf sich aufs gesicht';
Kettunen 1938: 366a).

As pointed out by Viitso (2008: 328), attributes modifying nouns
in the adessive or ablative are usually in the inessive or elative respec-
tively. Occasionally, however, the attribute might also occur in the
adessive: *siel ummõl pāval* 'an demselben Tage' (Wiedemann 1861a:
120, 346, cf. also Viitso 2008: 328, 343, Inaba 2015: 117, fn. 31), *siel
ūdo̝l pāval* 'am jüngsten Tage' (Wiedemann 1861a: 462a), *múolmo̝l púol*
(cf. *múolmo̝s púols*) 'auf beiden Seiten' (Wiedemann 1861a: 204), *ūdo̝l
pāval* 'an einem Tage' (Wiedemann 1861a: 260), *siel ummo̝ aigāl* 'um
diese Zeit' also occurs in Wiedemann (1861a: 343b). There are even
occasional examples of nouns in the dative being modified by attributes
in the adessive: *seismõndõmõl pāvan* 'on the seventh day' (UT 1942:
444a, cf. also Inaba 2015: 117, fn. 31).[6] In modern Livonian, adessive
attributes only occur in a very few fossilised expressions (e.g., *amāl
kurkõl* 'full-throatedly').

The loss of the *l*-cases in Livonian has not yet been studied in detail:
factors that have undoubtedly played a role are 1) the appropriation by
the dative of functions originally expressed by *l*-cases; 2) the influence
of Latvian, which only has a locative and (thus) no bidimensional
case system (cf. Rudzīte and Karma 1981: 232–233, Ernštreits and
Kļava 2014: 79–80). Nevis (1989: 101) assumes that due to 'cohesion'
between the *l*-cases they went out of use at the same time, but it seems
the allative disappeared first, as in many inflection classes the adessive
and allative have been conflated into a (morphological) adessive, and
Wiedemann (1861a: 73) already writes that he did not hear or see a
plural allative. In addition, he also points out that the allative was used
only to denote place or state, and not time (unlike the adessive).

Efforts were made in the 1930s to reintroduce the use of the *l*-cases
in literary Livonian (Ernštreits 2013: 29, 198–199, Ernštreits and Kļava
(2014: 80). According to Ernštreits (2013: 213), they are especially com-
mon in published and unpublished material written by the well-known
Livonian linguist and poet Pētõr Damberg (1909–1987). Thus, e.g., in

---

6   Wiedemann's (1861a: 23) *kīviko̝l* 'zänkisch' is not an adessive, but borrowed from
    Latv. *k̦īveklis* 'der Zänker', Dundaga Latvian *k̆īvkk̦els* (Kettunen 1938: 136b).

Damberg's article on the orthography of Livonian (Damberg 1978: 87) the *l*-cases are used in derivations and participles that are otherwise relatively uncommon: *lopandõksõl* 'at the end' (< *lopandõks* 'end'), *pūojmizõld* 'basically' (< *pū'oj* 'base'), *mojjimizõl* 'under the influence of' (< *mȯ'jjõ* 'to influence'), *vaitimizõl* 'under consideration' (< *va'itõ* 'to weigh'). As Ernštreits (2013: 172) points out, e.g., *pūojmizõld* is based on Est. *põhiliselt*; *mojjimizõl* is probably also based on Est. *mõjul* 'under the influence of'. The last three have also been taken up in the 2012 Viitso and Ernštreits dictionary.

4.1. Productive words[7]

4.1.1. Spatial expressions

In modern Livonian, the *l*-cases express location in general and not specifically location on a surface.

4.1.1.1. Toponyms

Many of these end in -*mō* '-land', which takes an *l*-case. Ernštreits (2013: 29) mentions that not all 12 Livonian villages on the Livonian Coast use *l*-cases: *Pizās* 'in Miķeļtornis'[8]: uses the inessive.

> *Ēstimō* 'Estonia': *'Ēstimõl* 'in Estonia'
> *Irē* 'Mazirbe': *Irēl* 'in Mazirbe'
> *Ku'rmō* 'Courland': *Ku'rmōl* 'in Courland'
> *Leţmō* 'Latvia': *Leţmōl* 'in Latvia'
> *Pitrõg* 'Pitrags': *Pitrõgõl* 'in Pitrags' (Ernštreits 2013: 29)
> *Sōrmō* 'Saaremaa; Estonia': *Sōrmōl* 'on Saaremaa; in Estonia' (Ernštreits 2013: 29)

Related to toponyms are farm names and family names:

> *ma vȯ'l' īraȉ lepēstəl* 'ich besuchte in Īra die familie Lepste', *tu'l min'ǩǩôks tēerizôl* 'komm mit mir zu der familie T' (Kettunen 1938: LII)

---

7   Sources are only mentioned for words not found in the 2012 Viitso and Ernštreits dictionary; the base word is from that dictionary if possible.

8   In English, the Latvian names are more commonly used.

4.1.1.2 Nouns with concrete spatial meaning

lovā 'bed'*: lovāl* 'in bed', *lovāld ~ lovāldõst* 'out of bed', *lo'vvõl* 'into bed'

mä'g 'hill': *ta jelāb mägõl ~ mäg pãl* 'er wohnt auf dem Berge' (Wiede-mann 1861a: 72), *mä'ggâl* 'den berg hinauf; zu den letten; auf dem berge; bei dem letten', *mä'ggâlD* 'von dem berge herab, aus der lettischen gegend' (Kettunen 1938)

mie'r 'sea': *mierõl* 'auf dem Meere' (Wiedemann 1861a: 72), *merrol̦* 'auf's Meer' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73)

mō 'land; countryside': *mōl* 'landeinwärts' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), *molo̦, malo̦* 'in's Land, zu den Letten' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), *mã̄lâ* 'zu den letten, aufs land' (Kettunen 1938), *vīrâmã̄lt* 'from abroad' (Kettunen 1925: 124), *Egyptmāld* 'from Egypt' (UT 1942: 3/2:15)

põrand 'floor': *põrandõl* 'on the floor', *põrandõld* 'from the floor'

rānda 'coast': *rāndal* 'am Ufer' (Wiedemann 1861a: 72), *rāndol̦* 'ans Ufer' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73)

tūl̦ik '(wind)mill': *tūl̦ikõl* 'at the (wind)mill; to the (wind)mill', *tūl̦ikõld* 'from the (wind)mill'

4.1.1.3. Nouns that refer to an action or where it occurs

lambil̦ '(at, to) shepherding', *lambil̦d* 'from shepherding'

mōr̦al 'berry-gathering' (Kettunen 1938: 230), *mar̦r̦õl* 'whilst berry-gathering; going berry-gathering'

sil̆tàl 'bei verrichtung seiner notdurft', *sil̆tâl* 'zur verrichtung seiner not-durft', *sil̆tàlD* 'von der verrichtung seiner notdurft' (Kettunen 1938: 368, 369)

suodāl 'at war', *suodāld* 'from war', *suo'ddõl* 'to war'

lᵘoı̦bdâb-àı̦gal naı̦st lā ʾbâd nīńil 'in der zeit, wo (im frühjahr) die baum-rinde sich löst, gehen die weiber baumbast reissen' (Kettunen 1938: 210b), *neı̦tsâd āttâ vo̦ǹnâd nīńâl* (= *nīńi kīskâmâs*) 'die mädchen sind gewesen, um bast zu reissen' (Kettunen 1938: 249b)

vadāl '(whilst) seine fishing', *vadāld* 'from seine fishing', *va'ddõl* 'to seine fishing'

4.2 . Adverbs and adpositions

4.2.1. Adverbs that refer to direction and relative location

a'igõl 'to one side'

a'lmõl 'downwards; towards the coast (seen from the sea); down; on the
    coast (seen from the sea)', *a'lmõld* 'from down up; from the coast
    (seen from the sea)'

aigāmǫ̅lõ 'to the side'

a'igõl 'to the side'

a'rgiḷ 'spread out'

ā'kõl-bū'kõl 'headlong'

kä'ddõl: sie um jõvāl kä'ddõl 'das ist rechts', *li jõ'vvāl kä'ddõl* 'geh
    nach rechts' (Kettunen 1938: 113b), *ku'rrül kä'ddõl* 'zur rechten
    hand' (Kettunen 1938: 114a)

kō̦ral 'in pasture'[9]

kōrandõl 'at the farm (outside of the building)'

kougõmõld 'from further away', *kougimõl* 'further away; (to) further
    away'

kuordõl 'high'

laidõl 'low; (to a) low (position)', *laidõld* '(from a) low (position)'

le'žgõl '(to) close (by); close (by)', *le'žgõl* '(from) close (by)',
    le'žgõlimõl '(to) close(r) (by)', *le'žgõlõ* '(to) close(r) (by),
    le'žgõlõmõl 'close(r) (by)'

lopāndõksõl 'at the end'

mõl 'in the countryside, in the country'

pāikal 'in a/its place', *pāikald* 'from a/its place' (> *pāika p̄āldõst*), *pai-
    kõl* 'to a/its place'

sidāmõl 'between'

sizāl 'inside', *sizāld* '(from) inside', *si'zzõl* '(to) inside'

tõvāld 'deeply'

tūoŋõl 'to the afterworld'

va'il 'in between', *vai'lõ* '(to) in between', *va'ild* 'from in between';
    eŋtšva'il 'between ourselves'

vi'engõl 'outstretched'

4.2.2. Pro-adverbs

sā̅'l 'there'

sā̅'ld 'from there'

sā̅'ldõst 'from there'

sā̅'lõ 'there'

tāld 'from here' (Wiedemann 1861b: 112a)

---

9   Alternatively, *kō̦ramõl* 'in pasture'.

4.2.3. Adverbs referring to state and/or manner

armõl 'peacefully'
avàlD 'zeitweilig' (Kettunen 1938)[10]
ädāl 'quickly, hastily'
jālgal 'on one's feet', *jalgõl* 'on one's feet; to one's feet'
joudõl 'with force, forcefully'
kä'dvardõl 'on one's arm'
kìebâlD 'heiss' (Kettunen 1938)
killõld 'enough; rather'
kiḷḷizõl 'on one's side'
kõrdõl 'in order; into order'
ku'zzâl 'harnen' (Kettunen 1938)
labākõl 'better'
laĭgàl 'breit auseinander' (Kettunen 1938), *laigāld* 'widely'
le'bbõl 'completely'
lìezâlD 'schräg, allmählich ansteigend' (Kettunen 1938)
lītõld 'shortly; briefly'
lotsāld 'loosely'
lõkald 'half open'
luštīgõl 'happily'
mī'el 'to be married (of a woman)', *mī'elõ* 'to get married (of a woman)'
murāgõl 'anxiously', *murāgõld* 'anxiously'
ūĺdâ-pāldâ 'hochmütig, von oben herab' (Kettunen 1938)
pitkāl 'prone', *pitkõl* '(to a) prone (position)', *pitkāld* 'long, lengthily'
pȯḷḷindžõl 'on one's knees', *pȯḷḷižõl* 'on one's knees'
põnkald 'tautly'
ratsõl 'on horseback', *ratsõld* 'astride'
sa'ggõld 'often'
serkõl 'wearing a shirt'
sidàmâlD 'mittelmässig' (Kettunen 1938)
siegāmõl 'disorderly', *siegāmõlõ* 'disorderly'
tieudzõld 'knowingly'
tijāld 'emptily, with empty hands'
tu'ḷḷõld 'heatedly'
upāl ~ upālkieuž 'in fetters', *upāld ~ upāldõst* 'out of fetters', *uppõl* 'into fetters'
vēḷagõld 'sparsely, thinly'
vienāgõl 'slowly', *vienāgõld* 'slowly'
vizāl 'fastened'

---

10 Kettunen thinks this may be a typographical error for *àḭ galD* (Kettunen 1938: 18b).

4.2.4. Other adverbs without spatial meaning

a'bbõl 'helping, (come) to help'
āigal 'at the time of ...'
āigastõl 'during the year ...' (Viitso 2008: 325)
i'ggõl '(for an) age'
ilgõjeijõl 'during seal hunting on ice, going seal hunting on ice'
īrgandõksõl 'at first'
ja'ggõld 'partly', *ja'ggõl* '(to be) present'
je'dmõl 'before, earlier; in front'
kõrdal 'in case of'
lõtõl 'at/to a church service'
mȯ'jjimizõl 'through the influence'
nã'dõbõl '(to come) into sight'
no'jjõl 'supported by'
pãval 'during the day' (Wiedemann 1861a: 346)
rõkkõl 'to be talking to somebody; get to talk to somebody'
sēŋõl 'gathering mushrooms'
suoikõl 'to quieten' (only in *suoikõl īedõ* 'to abate')
tã'dõl 'attention' (only in *tã'dõl pānda* 'pay attention to')
tuoimõl 'action' (only in *tuoimõl sõdõ* 'to manage')
ūoņdžõl 'in the morning'
siel ṵrgȯl 'unterdessen' (Wiedemann 1861a: 205, 347b)
vajāgõl 'lacking' (only in *vajāgõl sõdõ* 'to manage')
varāl 'by virtue of; dependent on'
varāld 'early'
varàmôlD 'früher' (Kettunen 1938)

4.3. The instrumental adessive

The instrumental use of the adessive is only specifically mentioned by Wiedemann in his 1861 grammar, and seems to occur only with the following words: *joud* 'power', *kurk* 'throat', and *silm* 'eye': *amāl joudõl júokš* 'aus allen Kräften laufen' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), *amāl kurkõl nagr* 'aus vollem Halse lachen' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), *ku ta is või vēžõst savõdl, sis nutīs amāl kurkõl* 'da er den Krebs nicht erwarten konnte, so rief er aus vollem Halse' (Wiedemann 1861a: 247), *ürgõb amāl kurkõl pinidi nutt* 'fängt an aus vollem Halse die Hunde zu rufen' (Wiedemann 1861a: 449), *silmil näedõb* 'mit den Augen sichtbar, augenfällig' (Wiedemann 1861a: 73); *joud* also occurs in the texts collected by Setälä (in 1888 and 1912) published in 1953 (*amāl joudəl*;

1953: 314)[11], and *amāl kurkõl* is relatively common: it occurs in a number of sources of 1920s and 1930s Livonian (e.g., in Stalte 1924: 23, in the 23.5.1932 edition of the newspaper 'Līvli', p. 2), but also in the 2012 Viitso-Ernštreits dictionary under *kurk* (*amāl kurkõl ouřõ* 'täiest kõrist kisendada', *amāl kurkõl na'grõ* 'laginal naerda'). The instrumental adessive of *silm* also occurs in Kettunen's dictionary (*sil̄mil* 'aufs gesicht': *ta ēťtiz ēńtša sil̄mil mǭʾzâ* 'er warf sich aufs gesicht'; 1938: 366a). As mentioned above, there are also a number of instrumental adessives which seem to have been created by Pētõr Damberg.

5. Conclusion

Though use of the *l*-cases in Livonian is much more limited than in the other Finnic languages, the reasons for this have not been exhaustively described in the literature. Already Wiedemann (1861a: 208) pointed out the role Latvian, with its unidimensional case system, has had in the decline of the use of the *l*-cases; Rudzīte and Karma (1981: 232) describe this in more detail. Kittilä and Ylikoski (2011: 48–49), however, suggest that their use has perhaps never risen beyond an 'incipient stage'. Though the two accounts do not nullify each other, it can be shown with the help of older sources (e.g., Wiedemann 1861a and 1861b) that the use of the *l*-cases in the 19th century was more varied and more widespread than it is now.

The available sources of Livonian show that the *l*-cases occur mostly in fossilised adverbs denoting location, position, temporal location, etc., as found in all Finnic languages. In habitive constructions the *l*-cases are not used; the lative and locative functions have been adopted by the dative and the separative functions by either the elative or, more commonly, an adpositional construction with *kä'dstõ*. As fossilised local cases, the *l*-cases (the allative, adessive, and ablative) are similar to the the *l*-cases in the other Finnic languages and therefore definitely older than the dative.

They can, therefore, notwithstanding Kittilä and Ylikoski, be considered to be rather old, though a number of instances are almost certainly due to Estonian influence (e.g., *mojjimizõl*, but possibly others too); as, e.g., has been pointed out recently by Grünthal (2015), Livonian

---

11   There are less than 10 occurrences of the allative and adessive in the 1953 Setälä text collection.

has been deeply influenced by other languages for centuries. There are many instances of the elative case suffix being added to the original ablative to clarify its function (cf. Viitso 2016: 149), and thus we can also compare the *l*-cases to, e.g., the old *l*-stem pro-adverbs which have undergone the same change due to the increasing unclarity of their meaning (e.g. *sǟld* 'from there' > *sǟldõst*). As such cases also occur in Salis Livonian (*sǟltest*) one could date the emergence of double case (at least in a number of instances) here to Proto-Livonian (dated to 1500 AD ± 100, cf. Kallio 2016: 61), though of course an independent development in both Courland and Salis Livonian could also have occurred. Similar instances of 'double case' are common in, e.g., Komi, Permyak, and Udmurt (cf. Korhonen 1979, Bartens 2003), and in Lude and Veps, where the coalescence of, e.g., the elative and inessive suffixes has led to the adverb *päi* 'towards; approximate direction' being added to this new inessive-looking case (e.g., Veps inessive/elative *lidnas* 'in the city; from the city' > inessive *lidnas* 'in the city' + new elative *lidnaspäi* 'from the city'). The case of Livonian, however, is different, because here after the use of the original case declined, a *s*-case ending was added to the original *l*-case ending. As Rudzīte and Karma (1981: 232–233) have observed, this led to the paradoxical situation that *s*-case suffixes express outer locality (e.g., *pǟ-lõ-z* 'on top of' < allative + illative, *pǟ-ldõ-st* 'from the top of', < ablative + elative), whereas the *l*-case suffixes express inner locality (e.g., *si'zzõl* 'inwards').

Addresses:

Rogier Blokland
Department of Modern Languages
Uppsala University
Box 636
SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
E-mail: rogier.blokland@moderna.uu.se

Nobufumi Inaba
Finnish and Finno-Ugric Languages
FI-20014 University of Turku
Finland
E-mail: nobufumi.inaba@utu.fi

Abbreviations

ABL – ablative, ADE – adessive, ALL – allative, DAT – dative, ELA – elative, GEN – genitive, INS – instrumental, PRS – present, PRT – partitive, PST – past, PRTC – active past participle, SG – singular, TRA – translative

References

Bartens, Raija (2003) "Kahden kaasuspäätteen jonoista suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä". In Marianne Bakró-Nagy and Károly Rédei, eds. *Ünnepi kötet Honti László tisztele-tére,* 46–54. Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet.

Boiko, Kersti (2000) *Līvõ kēļ. Piški optõbrōntõz. Lībiešu valoda. Mazā mācību grāmata.* Rīga: Līvu Savienība (Līvõd Īt).

Creissels, Denis (2009) "Spatial cases". In Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer, eds. *The Oxford handbook of case,* 609–625. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Damberg, Pētõr (1978) "Liivi keele korraldusest. Līvõ kīel kõrdõlpanmi". *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat* 23: 71–92.

Ernštreits, Valts (2013) *Liivi kirjakeel.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Ernštreits, Valts and Gunta Kļava (2014) "Grammatical changes caused by contact between Livonian and Latvian". *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* (*ESUKA – JEFUL*) 5, 1, 77–90.

Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, and Irja Alho (2010) *Iso suomen kielioppi.* 4. painos. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Halling, Tiina (1996a) "Der Dativ im Livischen im Vergleich zum Lettischen". In Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo et al., eds. *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachen in Kontakt. Vorträge des Symposiums aus Anlaß des 30-jährigen Bestehens der Finnougristik an der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen 21.–23. November 1996*, 103–110. Maastricht: Shaker.

Halling, Tiina (1996b) "Vaihtoehtoja ulkopaikallissijoille liivissä". In Heikki Leskinen, Sándor Maticsák, and Tõnu Seilenthal, eds. *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, Jyväskylä 10.–15. 8. 1995.* Pars III. *Sessiones sectionum. Phonologia & Morphologia,* 100–104. Jyväskylä.

Halling, Tiina (2006) "Liivi keel läti mõjusfääris". In Helen Koks and Jan Rahman, eds. *Mitmõkeelisüs ja keelevaihtus õdagumeresoomõ maiõ pääl. Mitmekeelsus ja keelevahetus läänemeresoome piirkonnas,* 55–70. (Võro Instituudi toimõndusõ, 18.) Võro: Võro Instituuť.

Inaba, Nobufumi (2015) *Suomen datiivigenetiivin juuret vertailevan menetelmän valossa.* (Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia, 272.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Kallio, Petri (2016) "Historical phonology from Proto-Finnic to Proto-Livonian". *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* (*ESUKA – JEFUL*) 7, 1, 39–65.

Kettunen, Lauri (1925) *Untersuchung über die livische Sprache*. I. *Phonetische Einführung. Sprachproben.* (Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis). B 8,₃.) Tartu.

Kettunen, Lauri (1938) *Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung*. (Lexica Societatis Fenno Ugricae, 5.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Kettunen, Lauri (1947) *Hauptzüge der livischen laut- und formengeschichte*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Kittilä, Seppo and Jussi Ylikoski (2011) "Remarks on the coding of goal, recipient and vicinal goal in European Uralic". In Seppo Kittilä, Katja Västi, and Jussi Ylikoski, eds. *Case, animacy, and semantic roles,* 29–64. (Typological Studies in Language, 99.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Korhonen, Mikko (1979) "Entwicklungstendenzen des finnisch-ugrischen Kasussystems". *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 43, 1–21.

Moseley, Christopher (2002) *Livonian*. (Languages of the World/Materials, 144.) München: Lincom.

Nevis, Joel A. (1988) "On Case in Livonian". *FUSAC '88 ACÉFO. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Finno-Ugric Studies Association of Canada. Actes du Sixième Colloque Annuel de l'Association Canadienne des Etudes Finno-Ougriennes,* 95–112. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Rudzīte, Marta and Tõnu Karma (1981) "Lätipärast liivi morfoloogias". *Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, Turku, 20.–27. VIII 1980.* Pars VI: *Dissertationes sectionum: phonologica et morphologica, syntactica et semantica,* 231–236. Turku.

de Sivers, Fanny (2002) *Parlons live. Une langue de la Baltique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

UT 1942 = *Ūž Testament*. Helsinki, 1942.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein (2008) *Liivi keel ja läänemeresoome keelemaastikud*. Tartu and Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein (2012) "Concerning inflection classes in Livonian". *Linguistica Uralica* 47, 12–26.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein (2016) "The essive in Livonian". *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* (*ESUKA – JEFUL*) 7, 1, 145–175.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein and Valts Ernštreits (2012) *Līvõkīel-ēstikīel-leţkīel sõnārōntõz. Liivi-eesti-läti sõnaraamat. Lībiešu-igauņu-latviešu vārdnīca*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool; Rīga: Latviešu valodas aģentūra.

Vääri, Eduard (Vjaari, È. È.) (1966) "Livskij jazyk". In Majtinskaja, K. E., ed. *Jazyki narodov SSSR*. Tom 3: *Finno-Ugorskie i samodijskie jazyki*. Moscow: Nauka

Vääri, Eduard (1974) *Algupärased tuletussufiksid liivi keeles*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Tartu Riiklik Ülikool. Available online at <http://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/17264>. Accessed on 05.12.2018.

Wiedemann, Ferdinand Johann (1861a) *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Gesammelte Schriften*. Bd. 2, Teil 1: *Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben*. St. Petersburg: Eggers et Comp.

Wiedemann, Ferdinand Johann (1861b) *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Gesammelte Schriften.* Bd. 2, Teil 2: *Livisch-deutsches und deutsch-livisches Wörterbuch.* St. Petersburg: Eggers et Comp.

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

Kokkuvõte. Rogier Blokland, Nobufumi Inaba: *l*-käänded Kuramaa liivi keeles. Kuramaa liivi keel on ainuke läänemeresoome keel, kus andmist, võtmist ja omamist väljendatakse mitte nn *l*-käänetega, vaid nende asemel kasutatakse daativi, elatiivi või postpositsiooni. Kuna *l*-käänded esinevad enamasti ainult kivinenud väljendites, on need kirjanduses vähe tähelepanu pälvinud. Käesolevas artiklis antakse ülevaade *l*-käänete funktsioonidest Kuramaa liivi keeles, tuginedes seejuures varasematele uurimustele.

Märksõnad: käändesüsteem, väliskohakäänded, adverbid, liivi keel

Kubbõvõttõks. Rogier Blokland, Nobufumi Inaba: *l*-nõtkūd Kurāmō līvõ kīelsõ. Kurāmō līvõ kēļ um āinagi vāldamiersūomõ kēļ, kus āndamiz, võtāmiz ja eņtšõn võidamiz pierāst äb ūot kõlbatõd *l*-nõtkūd. Nänt azmõl kõlbatõbõd datīv, elatīv agā tagāsõnā. *l*-nõtkūd ātõ nädõb set vaņši kītimižis ja sīepierāst ne äb ūotõ nei jõvīst tuņšõltõd. Sīes kēras mēg vaņļõm *l*-nõtkūd ilzandõkši Kurāmō līvõ kīelsõ, tiggõs sīejūs jedmilizt tuņšlimizt allizt pāl.