

CHANGE-OF-STATE PREDICATES AND THEIR USE IN EXPRESSING THE FUTURE: THE CASE OF LIVONIAN¹

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Abstract. The present article considers change-of-state predicates in Livonian and their possible development into future copulas. The focus is on the verbs *tēdō* ‘remain, stay; become’, *sōdō* ‘get; become’, and *līdō* (synchronically a future copula), but also the verbs *tūlda* ‘come’ and *lādō* ‘go’ are included for comparative purposes. The results show that all five verbs can be used for expressing change of state, but it depends on the particular verb and underlying construction, whether conveying the sense ‘become’ is a central or only a marginal function. This study shows that Courland Livonian fits well to the general picture of Northern Europe where the present tense form of a verb with meaning ‘become’ can be used for marking the future time reference, and at least one verb – *līdō* – also appears as a future copula.

Keywords: change of state, copulas, future time reference, Courland Livonian

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1. Introduction

In several languages of Northern Europe (in Germanic languages, excl. English, and Finno-Ugric languages) a common strategy for expressing a state in the future is to use the present tense of verbs meaning ‘become’ (Dahl 2000b: 351, 357). In example (1), the Swedish *bli* ‘become’ (original meaning ‘remain’) is said to express ‘being’ rather than ‘becoming’; example (2), on the other hand, illustrates the case when ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ blur – this is to be expected as typically a situation involves both the state itself and the event that marks its beginning. (Dahl 2000b: 351, 355)

(1) Swedish (Dahl 2000b: 351)

<i>Det</i>	<i>blir</i>	<i>kallt</i>	<i>imorgon.</i>
it	become.3SG	cold.NT	tomorrow

‘It will be cold tomorrow.’

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- (2) Swedish (Dahl 2000b: 351)
Du blir snart en stor pojke.
 you become.2SG soon a big boy
 ‘You will soon be a big boy.’

It has been attested that CHANGE-OF-STATE (‘become’) > FUTURE (‘will be’) is a possible development (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 318). The German future time reference (FTR) device *werden*, which goes back to the root **wert-* ‘turn’ (Kluge 1995), is sometimes presented as an example of the aforementioned grammaticalization path (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994: 262–263). There is some evidence that the Slavic FTR device *bǫd-* also follows the development ‘become’ > ‘will be’ (see Dahl 2000b: 360). In the Swiss dialect Züritütsch, the inchoative and/or future copulas² are claimed to etymologically derive from change expressions: change of orientation (*wèerden* ‘become, get’; cognate of German *werden*), change of place (*überchoo* ‘get, receive’ < *über* ‘over’ and *choo* ‘come’), change of possession (*gèè* ‘give’), and also change of position (*choo* ‘come’) (Bickel 1992: 7–8, 10).

This article concentrates on change-of-state predicates and their potential to develop into future copulas. Here, CHANGE-OF-STATE (used synonymously with INCHOATIVITY and the sense ‘become’) is associated with change in some property of the logical subject over time, an entry into a new state from an old state (Sweetser 1997: 117, Frawley 1992: 190, see also Pajusalu et al. 2004: 43). The main focus is on Courland Livonian, which together with the other variety of Livonian (Salaca Livonian) belongs to the southern Finnic group (comprised of Estonian, Votic, and Livonian). Finnic languages provide interesting data on this topic as there are no well-grammaticalized future auxiliaries or morphological future, and a verb in the present tense can also mark future time reference. It has been claimed that due to the perfectivity ascribed to change-of-state predicates, e.g. Estonian

2 Here, the term *copula* is used for linguistic elements that have little or no semantic content and occur with certain lexemes functioning as a predicate nucleus, e.g. the verb ‘be’. The instances considered in this article represent the case when the copula is a verb. (Pustet 2003: 5, Payne 1997: 115) Copulas can be distinguished from semi-copulas that add some meaning to the predicate phrases in which they occur, e.g. the verbs with the sense ‘become’, ‘remain’ etc. (see Pustet 2003: 5–6). Some researchers subsume both cases under the term *copula* (see e.g. Geist and Rothstein 2007: 1). Bickel uses *inchoative copula* in the same way as *semi-copula* can be used (inchoativity denotes change of state). This article distinguishes between inchoative copulas that are primarily connected with change and copulas that are static in meaning and have little semantic content.

saada ‘get, become’, *tulla* ‘come’, *jääda* ‘remain, stay’, and Finnish *tulla* ‘come, become’ and *jääda* ‘remain, stay’, such predicates typically place a situation into the future when used in the present tense, see (3) (Metslang 1994: 175). In addition, they function as phrasal verbs; Estonian *saada* and Finnish *tulla* are also used as future auxiliaries (n.d.).

- (3) Estonian
Temast saab ajakirjanik.
 s/he.ELA get.3SG journalist
 ‘S/he will become a journalist.’

Whereas change-of-state predicates in Estonian and Finnish have received quite some attention (e.g. Pajusalu and Trigel 2007, Pajusalu 1994, Metslang 1994, Huumo 2007, Tommola 2010, Pajunen 2001), there are no in-depth studies of such predicates in Livonian. The present article attempts to fill this gap. Regarding this, the aims are to analyse the verbs that appear as change-of-state predicates in Livonian – *sõdõ* ‘get, become’, *īedõ* ‘remain, stay; become’, *līdõ* (synchronically a future copula), *tūlda* ‘come’, and *lādõ* ‘go’, and to observe what their functions are in connection with FTR. The main research questions are (i) to what extent is expressing change central to these verbs, and (ii) to what extent can they be regarded as future copulas. When discussing this, special attention is paid to analytic constructions³ into which these verbs enter.

Estonian is said to be rich in change-of-state predicates (see Pajusalu et al. 2004: 44). The same seems to apply to Livonian: in addition to the aforementioned five verbs that deserve a closer look, there are other verbs that have developed the sense ‘become’, e.g. *eitõ* ‘throw’, *rabbõ* ‘hit’, *suggõ* ‘emerge’, see (4). However, despite the possible use in the sense ‘become’, the verbs *eitõ*, *rabbõ*, and *suggõ* are not dealt with in this article. The reason is that one of the aims of this study is to consider the possible path CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE, but lexical items with such specificity do not usually develop into FTR devices, whereas the verbs expressing ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘be, become’

3 In the Finnic languages, change can also be expressed by synthetic means. In Estonian, an analytic change-construction often has a synthetic counterpart, e.g. *haigeks jääma* ‘lit. remain ill’ vs. *haige/stu/ma* ‘fall ill’; *paksuks muutuma*, lit. ‘change fat’ vs. *pakse/ne/ma* ‘become fatter’ (Pajusalu and Trigel 2007: 292). In Livonian, however, analytic constructions seem to be more common. Furthermore, differently from other Finnic languages, there is no productive *ne-* suffix in Livonian that would combine with adjectives to express change in some property (Laakso 1990: 115, Pajunen 2001: 105).

and related meanings, are commonly attested sources for FUTURE (Bybee et al. 1994: 5, 253; see also Heine and Kuteva 2002: 331)

- (4) Livonian (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>A'ž</i> | <i>kuoŕ</i> | <i>sugūb</i> | <i>ouklizōks,</i> | |
| if | bag | become.3SG | holey.TRA | |
| <i>si'z</i> | <i>tānda</i> | <i>vōib</i> | <i>paikō</i> | <i>vi'zzō.</i> |
| then | it.PART | can.3SG | mend.tINF | together |
- ‘If the bag gets holes in it, one can mend it.’

It will be shown that regardless of the multiple options of expressing change, *tedō* and *sōdō* are the most common change-of-state predicates; the further development into a future copula characterises only the verb *līdō*.

The article proceeds as follows: section 2 introduces the material and methods; section 3 considers the explicit and implicit expressions of change; section 4 discusses the path CHANGE-OF STATE > FUTURE; and section 5 presents the conclusions.

2. Material and methods

The present study focuses on Courland Livonian, more precisely on the East dialect of Courland Livonian. This was once the most widely spread (associated with 9 Courland Livonian villages out of 12: Mustānum, Kūolka, Vaid, Sānag, Pitrōg, Kuoštrōg, Irē, Sīkrōg, and Ūžkilā), and, as a result, the most widely documented; the literary language is also based on the East Livonian dialect.

The linguistic material of Livonian originates from the following sources:

- Text collections compiled by Kettunen (1925), Mägiste (1964), and Setälä (1953). These collections include transcriptions of narratives told by various informants from various villages of Courland Livonia.
- Selection of recordings made during 1972 through 2010. The recordings are preserved in the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages of the University of Tartu (AEDKL).
- Parts of Bible translations – Gospel of Mark (ŪT 1942) and Gospel of Matthew (1880).
- The ABC book by Stalte (2011), which contains texts compiled and edited by the author.

- Language data collected by Sjögren, later on edited and supplemented by Wiedemann (Sjögren 1861). It contains both authentic texts (edited to a different extent) as well as translated texts; Courland Livonian as well as Salaca Livonian dialects are included.

For a more precise overview of the source material of this study, see Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of the source materials of Courland Livonian

Source materials	Date of collection/ compiling	Dialect (subdialect) represented in the source materials	Text types included in the present study
<i>Oral texts</i>			
<i>Text collections</i>			
Mägiste (1964)	1943	East, West	Mainly narratives collected from different informants
Kettunen (1925)	1917–1925	East, West, Central	
Setälä (1953)	1888, 1912	East, West, Central	
<i>Recordings</i>			
Oral texts recorded from various informants (AEDKL)	1968–2010	East	Interviews about past events, but also about everyday life
<i>Written texts</i>			
<i>Translations</i>			
Gospel of Mark (ŪT 1942)	1931–1936	East (Irē)	Translational texts
Gospel of Matthew (1880)	before 1880	East	
<i>Edited texts</i>			
Stalte (2011)	mid 1930s	East (Irē)	Stories compiled and edited by one individual Sentence examples without context
Sjögren (1861)	1846, 1852	East, West, Central	

As can be seen, the source materials cover various text types as well as periods and thus are a good subject for a comparative study. The majority of examples in the data set represent the Kūolka and Irē

subdialects. Still, the final data set contains examples from all the nine villages mentioned above. Occasionally, parallels will be drawn with the Salaca Livonian variety and other Finnic languages.

The verbs discussed in the present study are *sõdõ*, *iedõ*, *lidõ*, *tũlda*, and *lãdõ*. They can all occur in the sense ‘become’ and thus were regarded as subjects for closer inspection, concerning also the grammaticalization path CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE (cf. section 1). Their source meanings imply that originally we are dealing with verbs of motion or at least with verbs dynamic in meaning: *tũlda* ‘come’, *lãdõ* ‘go’, *sõdõ* ‘get, become’ < originally a motion verb with the sense ‘come, arrive’ (SSA III), *iedõ* ‘remain, stay’; *lidõ* < possibly a motion verb (Budenz 1966: 698; see also 4.3). The verbs *lidõ*, *sõdõ*, *tũlda*, and *lãdõ* are old native verbs traced back to Proto-Finno-Ugric; they have counterparts in both genealogically closely related languages as well as more distantly related languages. The verb *iedõ* only has counterparts in the Finnic languages and is usually considered a loan from Proto-Indo-Aryan (see e.g. SSA II).

The main focus, however, is on the verbs *sõdõ*, *lidõ*, and *iedõ*. As the vast majority of instances of *tũlda* and *lãdõ* convey motion and the sense ‘become’ is only marginal, they are included for comparative purposes. Considering this, I collected all the simple predicates containing *sõdõ*, *lidõ*, and *iedõ* (with context) from the East Livonian texts represented in Mägiste (1964), Kettunen (1925), Setälä (1953), Gospel of Mark (ŪT 1942), and Stalte (2011). In the case of Sjögren (1861), these verbs were extracted only from the example sentences representing East Livonian (Kũolka subdialect). In the case of the Gospel of Matthew (1880), the verbs were extracted from 16 out of 28 chapters (the chapters were randomly chosen).

After collecting the examples with *sõdõ*, *lidõ*, and *iedõ* from the sources listed above, the data set contained 870 instances: 372 example sentences of *sõdõ*, 261 of *lidõ*, and 237 of *iedõ*. Next, phrasal verbs were removed, and finally, in the case of each verb, 150 occurrences were randomly chosen to be coded and analysed for the purposes of the present study. The examples were coded for the following predicate semantics: (i) equation, proper inclusion, and attribution (they involve the cases of change viewed here as explicit or implicit, see below), (ii) locative relations, (iii) possessive relations, (iv) existential(-like) relations by concurrently taking into account the underlying constructions. The verbs were coded for voice, mood, tense, polarity, and person. The broader context was necessary in determining the time reference, especially when distinguishing between present and future time reference.

Section 3 discusses the five verbs expressing explicit or implicit change in some property of the logical subject and section 4 focuses on their possible development into a future copula. Constructions that have locative, possessive, and existential functions are not in focus when considering the change of state, but they get some attention when discussing the development into a future copula (see section 4).

3. Explicit and implicit change constructions in Livonian

In Livonian, *s̄d̄d̄*, *īed̄*, *līd̄*, *tūlda*, and *lād̄d̄* can all express CHANGE, as in (5)–(9). In regard, the question arises as to what the difference is in their use as change-of-state predicates.

- (5) Courland Livonian, Sīkrōg (Kettunen 1925: 50)
sis tā'm sie ģālga saġ tejš t'errāks
 then s/he.DAT this leg get.PST.3SG again well.TRA
 'then his/her leg got well again'
- (6) Courland Livonian, Sīkrōg (Kettunen 1925: 44)
saġ rek pālā, ārga
 get.PST.3SG road.GEN on.ALL ox
eġ pa rištiņgāks
 remain.PST.3SG PTCL human.TRA
 'reached the road, the ox turned into a human being'
- (7) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Setälä 1953: 106)
un siz pāla s'edā kēniġt,
 and then beg.IMP.2SG this.PART king.PART
ku sinā līd sāl povārāks
 that you LEE.2SG there chef.TRA
 'and then beg this king so that you would become a chef there'
- (8) Courland Livonian (Stalte 2011: 55)
 "Āb tīeda, kas sinstō tulāb ōigi
 NEG know.CNG whether you.ELA come.3SG real
kūoršīņdpūstiji, ku kazād sūrōks, kītiz jemā.
 chimney_sweep when grow.2SG big.TRA say.PST.3SG mother
 'I don't know whether you'll become a real chimney sweep, when you grow up', mother said.'

(9) Courland Livonian (Stalte 2011: 69)

Pētōr tōb sīe suormōks jarā pūstō,
 Peter want.3SG this.GEN finger.INS away clean.tINF

agā se lāb vel sūrimōks
 but this go.3SG more big.COMP.TRA

‘Peter wants to clean it up with his finger but it gets even bigger.’

The following sections will show that depending on the verb and the underlying construction, the sense ‘become’ can be central, in the background, or only marginal. The analysis in subsections 3.1 through 3.3 mainly draws on Table 3, which represents the distribution of the verbs *sōdō*, *īedō*, and *līdō* between the goal-marking, source-marking, and predicate nominal and adjective constructions. Percentages in brackets show the overall distribution of these constructions in the data set (for other constructions, see 4.1 and 4.2). Semantically, these constructions can be associated with expressing inclusion, equation, and attribution.

Table 3. *sōdō*, *īedō*, and *līdō* in explicit and implicit change-constructions

Construction \ Verb	<i>sōdō</i> n=53/150	<i>īedō</i> n=101/150	<i>līdō</i> n=51/150
Goal-marking constr. NP _{nom} V AdjP _{tra} /NP _{tra}	38 (25.3%)	89 (59.3%)	3 (2%)
Source-marking constr. NP _{cla} V NP _{nom}	4 (2.7%)	–	–
Predicate nominal and adjective constr.-s NP _{nom} V AdjP _{nom} /NP _{nom}	2 (1.3%)	–	41 (27.3%)
NP V AdvP/NP _{loc} /PP	9 (6%)	12 (8%)	7 (4.7%)
Total:	53 (35.3%)	101 (67.3%)	51 (34%)

3.1. Goal-marking (GM) construction

$\text{NP}_{\text{nom}} \text{V} \text{NP}_{\text{tra}}/\text{AdjP}_{\text{tra}}$

This construction can be primarily associated with expressing CHANGE; the change experiencer is marked by the nominative case and the resulting state by the translative case (Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 293; see also Erelt 2005).

Although all three verbs in the data set appear in the GM construction, *īedō* is the most frequent (cf. Table 3). In the GM construction, *sōdō* and *īedō* convey change from one state into another, e.g. ill > well, see (5), ox > human being, see (6). The majority of examples in the data set represent the construction $\text{NP}_{\text{nom}} \text{V} \text{AdjP}_{\text{tra}}$. Table 4 contains the most frequent combinations of *sōdō* and *īedō* + AdjP_{tra} or NP_{tra} . It includes the instances that occurred two or more times in the case of *sōdō*, and three or more times in the case of *īedō*.

Table 4. Most frequent combinations of *sōdō* and *īedō* + AdjP_{tra} / NP_{tra} in the data set

<i>sōdō</i> + AdjP_{tra}	No. of inst.-s	<i>īedō</i> + $\text{AdjP}_{\text{tra}}/\text{NP}_{\text{tra}}$	No. of inst.-s
<i>tierrōks</i> ‘well’	6	<i>rujāks</i> ‘ill’	7
<i>sūrōks</i> ‘big’	4	<i>rištīngōks</i> ‘human’	5
<i>kō’zīzōks</i> ‘mad’	4	<i>vanāks</i> ‘old’	4
<i>rujāks</i> ‘ill’	2	<i>kō’zīzōks</i> ‘mad’	4
<i>nukkōrōks</i> ‘annoyed’	2	<i>pi’mdōks</i> ‘dark’	3
<i>tundtōks</i> ‘famous’	2	<i>kivīks</i> / <i>ki’vkōks</i> ‘stone’	3
		<i>tierrōks</i> ‘well’	3
		<i>vagāks</i> ‘silent’	3
		<i>mī’erōks</i> / <i>mī’erkōks</i> ‘calm’	3
		<i>punīzōks</i> ‘red’	3

In addition to the *ks*- forms that represent the translative case, Table 4 also contains a few *kōks*- forms. *kōks*- is a marker of the instrumental case that goes back to the older comitative form (see Viitso 2008: 326). All in all, the data set contains 8 *kōks*- forms (*sōdō* – 1/37; *īedō* – 5/89; *līdō* – 2/3), but instead of showing traces of the old comitative functions, in the above cases it functions as a translative marker: 7 out of 8 examples clearly express change and

one expresses a temporary state (see below). As the present-day instrumental case builds on both the translative case and the former comitative case (see Viitso 2008: 326), the data set reveals examples where *-kōks* has taken over the translative functions. For comparison, the Salaca Livonian case paradigm makes a clear distinction between the translative and the comitative case; there is no instrumental case.

It has been shown that Estonian *jääda* (cognate of Livonian *īedō*) typically expresses negative/passive change or continuation⁴ (see Pajusalu and Tragel 2007). Although without context, the instances in Table 4 could suggest that the same applies to Livonian, such a generalization cannot be made for Livonian *īedō*: there are many examples in the data set that convey positive change, e.g. fool > smart (10), dirty > clean and clear (11) (cf. also the cases *tierrōks*, *kō'zīzōks*, *rujāks* that combine with both verbs; see also subsections 3.3 and 4.2). In addition, among 89 examples of *īedō* in the GM construction there do not seem to be any cases of *īedō* expressing continuation.

- (10) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Setälä 1953: 135)
ni mul'ki nai iend pa kovālaks
 now fool women remain.PTCP PTCL smart.TRA
 'now the fool woman became smart'
- (11) Courland Livonian, (Mägiste 1964: 32)
na'ggōrd iebāt pū'dōks un s'ēldōks
 turnip.PL remain.3PL clean.TRA and clear.TRA
 'turnips will become clean and clear'

In example (10), the sense 'become' is supported by the preposition *pa*, which is a loan from Latvian; it is typically used together with the Livonian translative marker to express change (see Wiemer et al. 2012: 38). All in all, the data set contains 30 instances of *īedō* (out of 89) in the GM construction supported by the preposition *pa*. The usage of *pa* seems to depend on the speaker and possibly on their knowledge of Latvian: some informants always couple the translative case marker with *pa*, some do it only occasionally, and some in-

4 Pajusalu and Tragel (2007: 306) discuss change-of-state predicates in Estonian in terms of positivity and negativity, associating them with three domains: (i) quantity (increase-decrease), (ii) purposefulness, activity (active-passive), (iii) evaluation of the state of the human being from the experiencer's point of view (improve-deteriorate). The first member of the pair can be connected with positivity and the other member with negativity; there are also interrelations between the domains. This goes back to metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

formants use only the translative case marker. In addition to *īedō*, there are a few instances of *pa* combining with *sōdō* and *līdō* (cf. also subsection 3.3).

A comparison of sources reveals that the use of *sōdō* and *īedō* differs with respect to the text types: *sōdō* is commonly used as a change-of-state predicate in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (20 instances out of 38 originate from Bible translations), while *īedō* appears only rarely (5 instances out of 89 come from Bible translations). The situation is the opposite in the case of (transcribed) oral texts (*sōdō* – 8, *īedō* – 67). Sjögren (1861) also sides with the (transcribed) oral texts as the data set contains only one example of *sōdō* but seven examples of *īedō*. Furthermore, *sōdō* appears in the example, which states that either *sōdō* or *īedō* is possible: *vanāks iend od. sōnd* ‘has become old’ (see Sjögren 1861: 314). The ABC book contains an equal amount of instances of *sōdō* and *īedō* in the GM construction – both have 9 occurrences. All the 18 instances in the ABC book are examples of NP_{nom} V AdjP_{tra}, but as 13 different adjectives appear it is hard to make generalizations about possible collocations.

The texts also contain a few examples of *lādō* and *tūlda* expressing CHANGE in the GM construction, e.g. (12). Again, there is a difference between sources: the instances that clearly express the sense ‘become’ originate from the Gospel of Matthew (1880), the Gospel of Mark (ŪT 1942), and the ABC book. As in the vast majority of cases *lādō* and *tūlda* express motion, the function of conveying change of state remains only marginal. By comparison, the Salaca Livonian examples recorded by Sjögren (1861) seem to indicate a greater extent of grammaticalization of the cognate *tulla* already in the 19th century: in addition to two instances expressing change, e.g. (13), the Salaca Livonian material also contains four examples that can be associated with progressivity and immediate future⁵ (see more in Norvik 2012a: 35–37).

(12) Courland Livonian (ŪT, Mark 13:24)

<i>Aga</i>	<i>nēši</i>	<i>pāviš</i> ...	<i>līb</i>	<i>pāva</i>	<i>pimdōks</i>
but	those.PL.INE	day.PL.INE	go.3SG	sun	dark.TRA

5 The marker *-ms* (also found in the form *-mis*, *-mes*) that combines with *tulla* in example (13) is an instance of an M-infinitive inessive (Norvik 2012a: 36). Originally, such forms have functioned as locative adverbials, but a further development into progressivity and immediate future has also been attested (see Serebrennikov 1963: 502–503, Metslang 1994: 120–136). In example (13), *-ms* seems to give an additional meaning of gradual change.

ja kū āb ānda entš kūvallō.
and moon NEG.3SG give.CNG own moon_light.PART

‘But in those days ... the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light.’ (KJV)

- (13) Salaca Livonian (Sjögren 1861: 316)

Kui tāma tulms vanimaks, sis
when s/he come.mINF.INE old.COMP.TRA then

tämmäl ürgub näet buoksterd.
s/he.ADE/ALL begin.3SG show.tINF letter.PL

‘When s/he turns older, s/he will be shown the letters.’

The data set includes 3 instances of *līdō* in the GM construction. Unlike *sōdō*, *īedō*, *tūlda*, and *lādō*, which clearly express change, in the examples with *līdō*, the sense ‘become’ can remain in the background, as in (14a). The same applies to Estonian sentence (14b), which is a translational equivalent of sentence (14a), but it uses the present copula *olla* ‘be’ instead (cf. also Estonian *tulla* ‘come’ and Livonian *līdō* in the existential clause). In the other two examples containing *līdō*, e.g. (15), ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ seem to blur, and also the case of a temporary state may come into question (see below). While examples (14a–b) do not necessarily imply any subject referent that would change (i.e. become a star), in example (15), on the other hand, the subject referent *sinā* ‘you’ will go through a change (i.e. become a chef) before being a chef.

- (14) Courland Livonian (ŪT, Mark 13:04)

a. *Kīt mādōn, kuna se līb ja mis*
tell.IMP we.DAT when this LEE.3SG and what

līb tādkōks, ku se ama sāb tāutōt?
LEE. 3SG sign.INS when this all get.3SG fulfil.PTCP

Estonian (Piibel.net)

b. *Ūtle meile, millal see kōik tuleb ja mis*
tell.IMP we.ALL when this all come.3SG and what

on tunnustäheks kui kōik see hakkab täituma?”
be.3SG sign.TRA when all this begin.3SG fulfil.mINF

‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what will be the sign that they are all about to be fulfilled?’ (KJV)

(15)= Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Sjögren 1861: 106)

(7)	<i>un</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>pāla</i>	<i>s'edā</i>	<i>kēnigt,</i>
	and	then	beg.IMP	this.PART	king.PART
	<i>ku</i>	<i>sinā</i>	<i>tād</i>	<i>sā'l</i>	<i>povāraks</i>
	that	you	LEE.2SG	there	chef.TRA

‘and then beg this king so that you would become a chef there’

Instances like (14) and (15) are also regarded as extensions of the translative⁶ into copular clauses. Instead of conveying change they are said to mark a temporary state or a non-essential character of the subject. Such extension is claimed to have taken place in Livonian and Estonian, but only in the case of predicate nominals; in the other Finnic languages, the essive case can be used instead. (Kont 1963: 168, Erelt & Metslang 2003: 167–168, see also Pajunen 2001: 106–109, Viitso 2008: 342)

3.2. Source-marking (SM) construction NP_{ela} V NP_{nom}

In the case of the SM construction, the change experiencer is expressed by the elative case and the resulting state remains unmarked (i.e. in the nominative case) (Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 294, Erelt 2005: 20).

The data set contains all in all 4 instances of *sōdō* (see Table 3). Three of them originate from the ABC book, e.g. (16); one example comes from Sjögren (1861), see (17). Whereas the examples in the ABC book contain a noun (that expresses the resulting state) in the nominative case, in Sjögren (1861) the partitive case is used, cf. (16) and (17). It seems possible to claim that example (17) represents a borderline case between POSSESSION and BECOME (see more in subsection 4.2) as *sōdō* could also be associated with the sense ‘get’ and *meidi* analysed as object.

(16) Courland Livonian (Stalte 2011: 63)

<i>Vanātōṣi</i>	<i>kītiz,</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>pōisōst</i>	<i>sōb</i>	<i>vist</i>	<i>miermīez.</i>
old_man	say.PST.3SG	that	boy.ELA	get.3SG	probably	seaman

‘The old man said that the boy will probably become a seaman.’

6 As can be seen, there are instances of the extension of the instrumental case as we ll. For comparison, whereas the Gospel of Mark (ÜT 1942) contains the instrumental form *tād/kōks* (15), in the Gospel of Matthew (1880), in a similar context the translative form *pa tāhd/ōks* is used.

- (17) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Sjögren 1861: 300)
Neišti sōb perr seda meidi.
 they.ELA get.3SG after this.PART man.PL.PART
 ‘Out of them will come men.’

In fact, the verbs *līdō* and *tūlda* are also possible in the SM construction. A few examples with *tūlda* can be found in the ABC book and Bible translations, e.g. (18), see also (8). Example (19) has been noted down by Viitso, who maintains that *līdō* is rare in the SM construction (Viitso 2008: 344). This is evidenced by the fact that the first data set, which consisted of 870 examples, did not contain any examples of *līdō* in the SM construction. However, there was one example involving an elative constituent, see (20), but it could represent a borderline case as the elative constituent conveys cause: it can be paraphrased as ‘this does not cause any problems’ (see Erelt 2005: 21). The source materials also revealed a similar sentence containing *tūlda*.

- (18) Courland Livonian (Matthew 2:6)
jo instō se wālikschiji tuluhb
 for you.ELA this ruler come.3SG
 ‘for out of you will come a ruler’ (KJV)

- (19) Courland Livonian (Viitso 2008: 344)
Pūogast īb kalāmīez.
 son.ELA LEE.3SG fisherman
 ‘Son will become a fisherman.’

- (20) Courland Livonian (ŪT, Mark 16:18)
až ne jūobōd mingist kūoltijist
 if they drink.3PL something.PART deadly.PART
ainō, sēst nāntōn āb īr viggō
 substance.PART this.ELA they.DAT NEG LEE.CNG fault.PART
 ‘and when they drink deadly poison, it will not hurt them at all’ (KJV)

In comparison with the neighbouring Finnic languages, the SM construction is clearly the least common in Courland Livonian (at least in the case of *sōdō*, *tūlda*, and *līdō*). This suggests a later development. In fact, in the case of Estonian, the SM construction is also claimed to be of a more recent development than the GM construction: the first instances of the SM construction are attested in Old Written Estonian only in the 19th century (see Tragel and Habicht

2012: 1386). Nowadays, Estonian *tulla* and *saada* enter into both constructions, e.g. (21a–b)⁷, while *tulla* is the most typical change-of-state predicate in Finnish, see (22a–b); in addition, it has developed into an FTR device (Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 300, 303; Metslang 1994: 175).

- (21) Estonian
- a. *Temast tuleb maailmameister.* >
s/he come.3SG world_champion
- b. *Tema tuleb maailmameistriks.*
s/he come.3SG world_champion
- ‘S/he will become a world champion.’

- (22) Finnish
- a. *Hän tulee lääkäriksi.* >
s/he come.3SG doctor.TRA
- b. *Hänestä tulee lääkäri.*
s/he.ELA come.3SG doctor
- ‘S/he’ll become a doctor.’

3.3. Predicate nominal and adjective constructions (NP_{nom} V NP_{nom}/AdjP_{nom})

The predicate nominal construction NP_{nom} V NP_{nom} is used to convey equation and proper inclusion⁸, see (23); the predicate adjective construction NP_{nom} V AdjP_{nom} expresses attribution, e.g. (24) (see Payne 1997: 114, 120). Here, cases of encoding a property of the subject by means of AdvP (usually a state adverbial), NP_{loc} (NP in the locative case), or PP, e.g. (25), are also subsumed under predicate adjectives (see EKG II: 56; Erelt and Metslang 2003). Unlike GM constructions, which mark change explicitly, NP_{nom} V NP_{nom} / AdjP_{nom} are not explicit change constructions: occasionally they mark change, but the sense ‘become’ typically remains in the background (see below).

7 At the same time it is the only change-of-state verb in Estonian for which the SM construction and GM construction can be transformationally unrelated, cf. *Temast tuleb arst.* > b. **Tema tuleb arstiks* ‘S/he will become a doctor.’ (Erelt 2005: 24).

8 In the case of equation, the subject of the clause and the predicate nominal are identical and can be reversed (‘X is Y’, e.g. *He is my father*); in the case of proper inclusion, the subject indicates a specific referent and the predicate nominal is non-specific (‘X is a Y’, e.g. *Mary is a teacher*) (Payne 1997: 114).

- (23) Courland Livonian, Irē (Setälä 1953: 207)
un sien vanā sañtān /.../ līb piški puoga
 and this.DAT old.GEN cripple.DAT LEE.3SG small son
un siz se līb tām' tidār miez
 and then it LEE.3SG s/he.GEN daughter.GEN husband
 ‘And then this old cripple will have a son and this will be his daughter’s husband.’
- (24) (Matthew 24:13)
kis lopahndōkst sānist pihlōb se sōb vōndzi
 who end until stand.3SG this get.3SG happy
 ‘but the one who stands firm to the end will be saved’ (KJV)
- (25) Courland Livonian, Kuoštrōg (Mägiste 1964: 25)
ke'ž um iend bās jeņkiā
 hand be.3SG remain.PTCP without soul.PART
 ‘hand has remained without a soul’

NP_{nom} V NP_{nom}/AdjP_{nom} can be primarily associated with *līdō* – all in all there are 41 instances: NP_{nom} V NP_{nom} appears 14 times, e.g. (23), NP_{nom} V AdjP_{nom} is used 27 times. There are only two examples of *sōdō* in the construction NP_{nom} V NP_{nom}/AdjP_{nom}, e.g. (24); other verbs do not occur.

The analysis reveals that in the corresponding predicate nominal and predicate adjective constructions, the sense ‘become’ usually remains in the background or comes from background knowledge – the future situation is not present yet and therefore certain change is necessary for something to be the state of affairs in the future (Norvik 2013: 141). In addition to cases that receive FTR, there are also instances that express epistemic meaning and get present time reference, e.g. (26) (see more in 4.4).

- (26) Courland Livonian, Sīkrōg (Kettunen 1925: 62)
no, sin pūogad umāteā petrogradāš, ne
 well you.GEN son.PL be.3PL St.Petersburg.INE they
lībāt sūrd bolššāvikkāD, ne lībāt sūrt pu'nnist
 LEE.3PL big.PL bolshevik.PL they LEE.3PL big.PL red.PL
 ‘well, your sons are in St. Petersburg, they are supposedly big Bolsheviks, big Red’

The constructions $\text{NP}_{\text{nom}} \text{V AdvP} / \text{NP}_{\text{loc}} / \text{PP}$ are found with *līdō*, *sḡdō*, as well as *īedō*, see (25), (27), and (28). The verb *sḡdō* is used only in two word combinations: *sḡdō virgō* (7 out of 9 instances) ‘become awake’ and *sḡdō je’llō* (2/9) ‘become alive’. As appears, *īedō* enters into the same word combination: *īedō virgō* (1/13) and *īedō je’llō* (3/13). This again shows overlap between *sḡdō* and *īedō*. The constructions $\text{NP}_{\text{nom}} \text{V AdvP} / \text{NP}_{\text{loc}} / \text{PP}$ involving *īedō* are the only cases that mainly seem to express negative/passive change or continuation, e.g. become silent /alone / without a soul, and continue to be alive etc. (cf. GM constructions to which this does not apply, but see also 4.2). However, *īedō je’llō* is used once in the sense ‘stay alive’; in the other two occasions it means ‘become alive’.

- (27) Courland Livonian, Vaid (Setälä 1953: 160)

<i>ku</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>kēv</i>	<i>k^ulmiz</i>	<i>kird</i>	<i>pierslāb,</i>
when	this	mare	third	time	fart.3SG

<i>sis</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>līd</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>galām</i>
then	you	LEE.3SG	PTCL	finished

‘when this mare farts for the third time, you’ll be finished’

- (28) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Setälä 1953: 99)

<i>ku</i>	<i>āb</i>	<i>lik,</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>āb</i>	<i>lik</i>
when	NEG	move.CNG	then	NEG	move.CNG

<i>un</i>	<i>mit-ikš</i>	<i>āb</i>	<i>uo</i>	<i>sānd</i>	<i>jel’lā</i>
and	noone	NEG	be.CNG	get.PTCP	life.ILL

‘but if one does not move, one does not move and no one has come to life’

The instances of $\text{NP}_{\text{nom}} \text{V AdvP} / \text{NP}_{\text{loc}} / \text{PP}$ convey change to a different extent. The sense ‘become’ can be associated primarily with *sḡdō* and *īedō*; in addition, *sḡdō* evokes the co-meaning SUCCEED, as in (28). For comparison, Trigel and Habicht (2012: 1376) claim that Estonian *saada* carries the co-meaning SUCCEED in almost any construction as this is an early meaning development (see also 4.2). In the case of *līdō*, the sense ‘become’ is commonly implicit and the senses ‘become’ and ‘be’ seem to blur with reference to the future. However, the data set also includes examples of *līdō* coupled with *pa*, but it remains unclear whether *pa* stresses transformation from one state into another (cf. subsection 3.1) or is bleached.

The source materials contain a few examples of *lādō* + $\text{AdvP} / \text{NP}_{\text{loc}}$ as well, e.g. (29); however, there do not seem to be any

instances of *tūlda* in the corresponding constructions. Furthermore, whereas Estonian *minna* (stem variants *mine-*, *lähe-*, *läks-*; cognate of Livonian *lādō*) and *tulla* can also take a noun in the illative or allative case, e.g. (30) (Muischnek and Sahkai 2010, Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 299, 303), this is rare in Livonian – the outer locative cases (allative, adessive, ablative) in Livonian have generally faded out of use (Viitso 2008: 326).

- (29) Courland Livonian, Irē (Setälä 1953: 188)
sin pā lā'b lā'igi, ku ma ōrāb
 you.GEN head go.3SG into_pieces when I scream
 ‘your head will fall into pieces when I scream’
- (30) Estonian (Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 303)
Haige tuli teadvusele.
 sick come.PST.3SG consciousness.ALL
 ‘The sick person came to consciousness.’

4. Development into the change of state and into the future

Although the verbs *līdō*, *sōdō*, *īedō*, *tūlda*, and *lādō* originate from different sources, they all show further developments. Moreover, a sense that connects them is ‘become’. However, there are differences between verbs in to what extent they appear in the sense ‘become’, what additional meanings they express, and in which constructions they primarily occur (cf. section 3).

Another question is to what extent they can be regarded as future copulas. As maintained already, the grammaticalization path CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE is a possible one; furthermore, Livonian falls into the area of Northern Europe, where a state in the future is marked by the present tense forms of verbs with the sense ‘become’ (cf. subsection 1). In order to see what *līdō*, *sōdō*, *īedō*, *tūlda*, and *lādō* denote when used in the present tense, the following subsections focus on the present tense forms.

Table 5 shows the distribution of present tense forms (Pr) and past tense forms (Pst), subsuming imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect forms. Whereas section 3 concentrated on GM constructions, SM constructions, predicate nominal and adjective constructions that can be primarily associated with conveying equation, inclusion, and attribution, this section also includes the rest of the cases, i.e. when the verbs are

used in locative, possessive, and existential(-like)⁹ constructions to express the corresponding relations. Thus, all predicate types (equation, inclusion, attribution, location, existence, and possession) that are the most likely to lack a semantically rich verb are included (see Payne 1997: 113).

Again, the focus is on the verbs *līdō*, *sōdō*, and *īedō*; the verbs *tūlda* and *lādō* are used for comparative purposes.

Table 5. Past vs. present tense forms in the data set

Con- struction \ Verb	<i>sōdō</i> n=150		<i>īedō</i> n=150		<i>līdō</i> n = 150	
	Pst (%)	Pst (%)	Pst (%)	Pst (%)	Pst (%)	Pst (%)
Goal-marking c.	26 (25.3%)	12 (8%)	59 (39.3%)	30 (20%)	–	3 (2%)
Source-marking c.	1 (2.7%)	3 (2%)	–	–	–	–
Nom. and adj. pred. constr.-s (NP V AdjP/NP)	–	2 (1.3%)	–	–	1 (0.7%)	41 (27.3%)
(NP V AdvP/PP/NP _{loc})	9 (6%)	–	9 (6%)	3 (2%)	–	7 (4.7%)
Locative c.-s	25 (16.7%)	17 (11.3%)	21 (14%)	21 (14%)	–	24 (16%)
Possessive c.-s	34 (22.7%)	21 (14.0%)	2 (1.3%)	1 (0.7%)	–	23 (15.3%)
Existential (-like) c.-s	–	–	1 (0.7%)	3 (2%)	–	52 (34.7%)
Total:	95 (63.3%)	55 (36.7%)	92 (61.3%)	58 (38.7%)	1 (0.7 %)	149 (99.3%)

9 Existential(-like) constructions subsume the typical cases that introduce new participants to the discourse; the theme position is usually filled with a locational or a temporal adjunct, but it can also be missing, e.g. if the circumstances are clear from the context (see Payne 1997: 123; EKG II: 15). Here, existential(-like) constructions also include the state-of-affairs constructions that typically describe environmental conditions but also mental states; they do not involve a subject (cf. Turunen 2010: 38).

4.1. Inclusion, equation, attribution: ‘be’ vs. ‘become’ with reference to the future

Considering only the present tense forms, the amount of examples including *īedō* or *sōdō* drops significantly (see Table 5). At the same time, there is hardly any drop in the case of *līdō* as typically it is used only in the present tense (cf. 4.3).

The analysis reveals that regardless of the time reference, *īedō* and *sōdō* in the GM construction and SM construction convey the sense ‘become’. For instance, example (31) expresses ‘becoming a seaman’ rather than ‘being a seaman’ in the future. The verb *līdō* is rare in both constructions (see Table 5), but in the few cases that occur in the data set, the senses ‘become’ and ‘be’ either blur with reference to the future or the sense ‘become’ remains in the background, as in (32).

(31)= Courland Livonian (Stalte 2012: 63)

(16) *Vanātoji kītiz, ku pōisōst sōb vist miermīez.*
old_man say.PST.3SG that boy.ELA get.3SG probably seaman

‘The old man said that the boy will probably become a seaman.’

(32)= Courland Livonian (Mark 13:04)

(14a) *Kīt māddōn, kuna se līb ja mis*
tell.IMP we.DAT when this LEE.3SG and what
līb tādkōks, ku se ama sāb tāutōt?
LEE. 3SG sign.INS when this all get.3SG fulfil.PTCP

‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what will be the sign that they are all about to be fulfilled?’ (KJV)

The constructions NP_{nom} V NP_{nom} / AdjP_{nom} mainly include *līdō*, e.g. (33), but the data set also contains two instances of *sōdō*, e.g. (34). Whereas the present tense forms express FTR and tend to leave the sense ‘become’ in the background, the only perfect tense form of *līdō* conveys change (see more in 4.3). When a property of the subject is coded by an adverbial, a noun in the locative case, or a prepositional phrase (NP_{nom} V AdvP / NP_{loc} / PP), both senses are possible, but directional cases tend to support the sense ‘become’ (primarily associated with *sōdō* and *īedō*), whereas local cases tend to evoke the sense ‘be’ (primarily associated with *līdō*).

(33)= Courland Livonian, Irē (Setälä 1953: 207)

(23) *un sien vanā sañtān ... līb piški puoga*
and this.DAT old.GEN cripple.DAT LEE.3SG small son

un siz se līb tām' tidār miez
and then it LEE.3SG s/he.GEN daughter.GEN husband

‘And then this old cripple will have a son and this will be his daughter’s husband.’

(34)= (Matthew 24:13)

(24) *kis lopahndōkst sānist pihlōb se sōb vōndzi*
who end until stand.3SG this get.3SG happy

‘but the one who stands firm to the end will be saved’ (KJV)

4.2. Locative, possessive, and existential(-like) relations

Irrespective of time reference, *īedō* in the locative, possessive, and existential-like relations tends to occur in its original meaning – ‘remain, stay’, e.g. (35). Still, the data set includes a few instances that convey the sense opposite to ‘remain, stay’, namely ‘get somewhere, emerge’. For instance, example (36) expresses the fact that a hidden treasure ‘gets to ground’ (becomes visible / can be brought into the ground again), cf. *sōdō* in (38).

(35) Courland Livonian, Ūžkilā (Kettunen 1925: 72)

ma āb iē kuodāj
I NEG remain.CNG home.ILL

‘I won’t stay at home.’

(36) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Mägiste 1964: 40)

si'z rō ieb mōp pālā siš
then money remain.3SG ground on.ALL then

sōp tānda kā'ddā
get.3SG it.PART hand.ILL

‘then money gets to the ground, then one can get it’

Instances like (36) reveal further developments out of the original meaning, but preceding the sense ‘become’. They are not yet true change-of-state constructions as the leap necessary for counting as a change-of-state construction requires a shift from a two-participant

construction into a one-participant construction (see Petré 2012: 41). The GM constructions involving *īedō* (cf. 3.1) represent such participant constructions; in these constructions, *īedō* functions as a general change-of-state predicate. Thus, the grammaticalization path in (37) can be presented for Livonian *īedō*. Relying on Huumo (2007: 91), who argues that Finnish *jääda* (cognate of Livonian *īedō*) is a punctual change-of-state verb even in the reading ‘remain’¹⁰, the development presented in (37) is by all means expected. No further development into a future copula can be attested (cf. Swedish *bli* ‘remain, stay’ in section 1 that shows such development); in combination with the M-infinitive, however, *īedō* expresses a phasal sense.

(37) REMAIN > BECOME

The verb *sōdō*, in turn, appears in the sense ‘reach somewhere’, SUCCEED, when expressing locative relations, e.g. (38); in the possessive relations, it conveys the senses ‘get, receive’. These senses can be considered as consequent stages of the original meaning ‘come’¹¹, cf. the grammaticalization path in (39), which is proposed for the Estonian cognate *saada* (see Trigel and Habicht 2012: 1404).

(38) Courland Livonian, Kūolka (Sjögren 1861: 295)

<i>Kui</i>	<i>sōm</i>	<i>mēg</i>	<i>sīn?</i>
how	get.1PL	we	there
‘How do we get there?’			

(39) COME > SUCCEED > POSSESS > BECOME > POSSIBILITY > NECESSITY > PROBABILITY > PASSIVE >> FUTURE (Trigel and Habicht 2012: 1404)

The grammaticalization path in (39) contains FUTURE at the end of the chain. In the corresponding case, however, *saada* does not occur as a sole copula, but combines with an infinitive; a combination of *saada* + an infinitive or a participle is also used to express the semantic domains between BECOME and FUTURE (Trigel and Habicht 2012: 1405–1406). The linguistic data on Livonian indicates that this is

10 “‘Not leaving’ can be regarded as “a punctual change with respect to the projected course of events, and the directional case marking of the locative modifier is understood as reflecting a fictive change from this projected course of events into the current state of continuity” (Huumo 2007: 95).

11 The source materials reveal a few examples that can be analyzed as metonymic shifts from the original motion reading, e.g. the Gospel of Matthew (1880) contains *ōhdōg sai* ‘evening came’ (Matthew 8:16). In the New Testament published 60 years later (ÜT 1942), *sōdō* is replaced by *tūlda*: *ōdōg tuļ* ‘evening came’ (Matthew 8:16). This indicates that *tūlda* has pushed the verb *sōdō* out from this meaning.

generally the case also in Livonian, but such auxiliary-like usages are not in focus here as they deserve a separate treatment. As a simple predicate, *sõdõ* has developed the furthest into a change-of-state predicate like *īdõ* (for the difference in their use, see subsection 3.1).

When expressing possessive, locative, and existential(-like) relations, *īdõ* is more likely to appear in static relations (see also Norvik 2013: 153–154): usually it combines with local cases and the senses ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ blur with a reference to the future, or the sense ‘being’ is in the foreground and the sense ‘become’ comes from the context (for further comments, see 4.3).

4.3. CHANGE > FUTURE

As can be seen, the verbs *īdõ* and *sõdõ* can be at best regarded as inchoative copulas. Irrespective of time reference, they primarily convey change of state, and when used as simple predicates no further development from CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE can be attested. The sense ‘become’ is supported by the GM and SM constructions (sometimes accompanied by the preposition *pa*); in the constructions NP_{nom} V AdvP / NP_{loc} / PP, the sense ‘become’ is commonly evoked by the use of directional cases.

The verb *īdõ*, in turn, has developed further: in the case of all predicate types, the senses ‘become’ and ‘be’ can be shown to intertwine (to a different extent) with reference to the future. Usually *īdõ* appears in constructions that are not change constructions and favours static relations (local cases). Furthermore, *īdõ* is obligatory when a copula with no primary inchoative meaning is needed, i.e. it is not interchangeable with the present copula *võlda* ‘be’ (Norvik 2013: 153). Thus, in spite of the fact that *īdõ* is not entirely devoid of semantic content (cf. also 4.4), there is reason to regard *īdõ* as a future copula, especially if regarding *īedõ* and *sõdõ* as inchoative copulas.

Although there are researchers, e.g. Györke (1936), who claim that Finnic LEE(NE)- verbs¹² (including Livonian *īdõ*) go back to the meaning ‘be’, there seems to be more arguments in favour of a dynamic source meaning, possibly connected with motion, e.g. Saukkonen (1965: 174) considers the sense ‘come’ an early meaning element of LEE(NE)- verbs (see Norvik 2013: 132–134; cf. section 1). The source materials also reveal some examples that evoke such a

12 Livonian *īdõ* and its cognates in the Finnic languages go back to the Proto-Finnic root **lē(ne)*-; *-ne-* is a potential suffix (Saukkonen 1965: 174). Regarding this, the cognate verbs in the Finnic languages are here referred to as LEE(NE)- verbs.

reading or express abstract motion, see (40). Regarding this, it seems to be possible to claim that at least in general terms the grammaticalization path in (41) holds for *līdō*.

- (40) Courland Livonian, Ire (Setälä 1953: 213)
mjitiz ku vanā kurē tulūb,
 otherwise when old devil come.3SG

un ta tūlīn līb, ta sin kīskāb lā'igi
 and he soon LEE.3SG he you.GEN tear.3SG into_pieces
 ‘Otherwise when the old devil comes and he soon will, he will tear you into pieces’

- (41) MOTION > BECOME > FUTURE

The sense ‘become’ tends to be retained the best in past forms. Although in Livonian simple past forms have never been attested¹³ and the data set contains only one example of *līdō* in the perfect tense form, it clearly conveys the sense ‘become’, see (42). For comparison, in Karelian, the cognate *lie(nöy)* is common in past forms and first and foremost conveys change (Majtinskaja 1973: 88–89).

- (42) Courland Livonian (Setälä 1953: 166)
tāmā um' kītān, koks ta līnd ī'dāks
 s/he be.3SG say.PTCP when_be.CND s/he LEE.PTCP nine

kīrdā jo knaš äb ku se tsā'rām
 time.PART as beautiful NEG like this fly
 ‘s/he said, that s/he would become nine times as beautiful as this fly’

The claim about a dynamic source finds support from the contact languages: German *werden* and Slavic *bōd-* are shown to go back to a dynamic source meaning (cf. section 1). Another piece of evidence comes from Aunus Karelian and Ludic: both Finnic languages have grammaticalized the verbs *rotie(kseh)* and *rodizetta* respectively, which are traced back to Russian *rodit'sja* ‘be born’ (no such development has taken place in Russian). Although *rotie(kseh)* and *rodizetta* occur in the sense ‘be born’ as well, there are examples of all the predicate types included in Table 5 that show that prove the development indicated in (44), e.g. (43). Furthermore, it seems that *rotie(kseh)*

13 If *līdō* had simple past forms, they were probably *līž-* (Tiit-Rein Viitso, personal communication).

and *rodizetta* have actually replaced the former uses of LEE(NE)-forms (Norvik 2013: 151). As with *līdō* and Karelian *lie(nöy)*, Ladic *rodizetta* and Aunus Karelian *rotie(kseh)* also express change when used in the past forms (Norvik 2013: 149–150).

- (43) Ludic (Norvik 2012b)
Huomei minä rodimmos kod'is.
 tomorrow I be_born.REFL home.INE

‘Tomorrow I’ll be at home.’

- (44) ‘be born’ > BECOME > FUTURE

The discussion above indicates that CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE is indeed characteristic to the languages of Northern Europe, including the Finnic languages: there is usually at least one change-of-state predicate that has developed into a future copula a (or future auxiliary) at least to some extent.

4.4. FUTURE > EPISTEMIC MODALITY

As can be seen, *līdō* in Courland Livonian is primarily associated with FTR. A different question is to what extent it expresses temporal meaning and to what extent modal meanings are present. It has been shown that in FTR devices, temporal meaning elements intertwine with modal meaning elements (often also aspectual meaning elements are involved) (e.g. Dahl 2000a: 313); furthermore, regarding the nature of future, a sentence that gets FTR almost always differs modally from non-futurate cases (Dahl 1985: 103, Lyons 1977: 677, 816). This viewpoint has been accepted here as well. However, there is clearly a difference between the cases in which the temporal and modal meanings intertwine with reference to the future, as in (45), and the cases that are primarily modal and get present time reference, e.g. (46).

(45)= Courland Livonian, Irē (Setälä 1953: 207)

- (23) *un sien vanā sañtān /.../ līb piški puoga*
 and this.DAT old.GEN cripple.DAT LEE.3SG small son

un siz se līb tām' tidār miez
 and then it LEE.3SG s/he.GEN daughter.GEN husband

‘And then this old cripple will have a son and this will be his daughter’s husband.’

(46)= Courland Livonian, Sīkrõg (Kettunen 1925: 62)

(26) *no, sin pùogad umàtteê petrogradâs, ne lībât*
 well you.GEN son.PL be.3PL St.Petersburg.INE they LEE.3PL

sūrd BolššâvikkâD, ne lībât sūrt pu'nnist
 big.PL bolshevik.PL they LEE.3PL big.PL red.PL

‘well, your sons are in St. Petersburg, they are supposedly big
 Bolsheviks, big Red’

Typically, the epistemic meaning of LEE(NE)- verbs in the Finnic languages has been connected with the **lēne-* root. Example (46), however, proves that this is not necessarily the case: it uses the LEE-form but still gives rise to the epistemic meaning. In fact, LEENE-forms do not occur in Livonian. Although modal and temporal meaning elements intertwine in *līdō*, and in addition to the sense ‘be’ also ‘become’ is present, *līdō* is primarily still used for future time reference and is typically not interchangeable with the present copula *vōlda* ‘be’. For further comments on the intertwining of modal and temporal meanings in the case of LEE(NE)- verbs, see Norvik (2013).

5. Conclusion

The present article considered five verbs – *līdō*, *sōdō*, *īedō*, *tūlda*, and *lādō* – expressing the domain CHANGE and their possible further development into FUTURE. The concept CHANGE was associated here with change in some property of the logical subject; in the case of FUTURE, the discussion concentrated on the grammaticalization of change-of-state predicates into future copulas. Although the main focus was on the verbs *līdō*, *sōdō*, and *īedō*; the verbs *tūlda* and *lādō* were included for comparative purposes. The data set consisted of 450 examples of *līdō*, *sōdō*, and *īedō* (each verb was represented in 150 examples). They were coded for the following predicate semantics: equation, inclusion, attribution, location, possession, and existence (-like) instances; concurrently, their underlying constructions were taken into account. The linguistic data was collected from oral (transcribed) texts (various text collections, recordings) and written texts (Bible translations, an ABC book).

When considering the five verbs as change-of-state predicates, the study concentrated on the cases of attribution, equation, and inclusion, and their underlying constructions: goal-marking (GM) constructions, source-marking (SM) constructions, nominal and adjective predicate constructions. As the GM and SM constructions explicitly mark the

resulting state or the change experiencer and primarily evoke the sense ‘become’, they were called explicit change constructions. The nominal and adjective predicate constructions, in turn, can be regarded as implicit change constructions as the change experiencer as well as the resulting state remain unmarked. For instance, in the case of future time reference, the sense ‘become’ in such cases tends to come from background knowledge.

The study has revealed that *īedō* ‘remain, stay’ is the most general change-of-state predicate: the data set contained all in all 89 examples (out of 150) of *īedō* in the GM construction. Although the verb *sōdō* ‘get; become’ is also frequently used as a change-of-state predicate (38 examples in the GM construction, 4 examples in the SM construction), it tends to be used as one mainly in Bible translations and edited texts. For comparison, in Bible translations, *īedō* only rarely appears as a change-of-state predicate (the data set contains only 5 instances). Nominal and adjectival constructions and thus also implicit change can be associated mainly with *līdō*: the data set contains 41 instances of *līdō* in the nominal and adjective constructions expressing attribution, equation, and proper inclusion with reference to the future; *sōdō* occurs twice, and the other verbs do not occur at all. Although there are 3 examples of *līdō* in the GM construction, the senses ‘be’ and ‘become’ seem to blur and in addition the sense of temporary state tends to emerge. It was shown that the verbs *tūlda* ‘come’ and *lādō* ‘go’ in the majority of cases convey motion, and it is only rarely that they function as change-of-state predicates.

The investigation of CHANGE-OF-STATE > FUTURE has shown that only *līdō* can be considered a future copula. Firstly, although modal and temporal meaning elements intertwine in *līdō*, it is primarily used to express the future. Secondly, it has only little semantic content: usually *līdō* evokes the sense ‘be’, sometimes also ‘become’, although ‘become’ tends to remain in the background. Thirdly, *līdō* is typically not interchangeable with the present copula *vōlda* ‘be’. The verbs *sōdō* and *īedō*, in turn, can be at best considered as inchoative copulas as they primarily express the process of change and do not show any further development into future copulas.

Taken together, the evidence from this study shows that Livonian is rich in change-of-state predicates, but the following development into a future copula has taken place only in the case of *līdō*. Viewing the results against the broader background, it becomes clear that although closely related languages may have a similar set of possible inchoative / future copulas, the final outcomes may differ considerably. For example, in Livonian the verb *īedō* is the most general change-of-state verb, the Estonian cognate *jäüda* is used mainly for

expressing negative/passive change, but the Finnish cognate only infrequently conveys the sense ‘become’.

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – numbers, ADE – adessive, ALL – allative, COND – conditional, CNG – connegative, COMP – comparative, DAT – dative, ELA – elative, GEN – genitive, ILL - IMP – imperative, INE – inessive, INS – instrumental, NEG – negative, PART – partitive, PL – plural, PST – past, PTCL – particle, PTCP – participle, REFL– reflexive, SG – singular, tINF – T-infinitive, TRA – translative

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Kokkuvõte. Miina Norvik: Muutust väljendavad predikaadid liivi keeles ning nende kasutamine tuleviku väljendamisel. Siinne artikkel analüüsib muutust märkivaid verbe liivi keeles ning nende võimalikku arengut tulevikukoopulaks. Põhirõhk on verbidel *līdō* (sünkrooniliselt tulevikukoopula), *sōdō* 'saada' ja *īedō* 'jääda, saada', kuid võrdluseks on vaadeldud ka verbe *tūlda* 'tulla' ja *lādō* 'minna'. Artiklis näidatakse, et kuigi kõik need viis verbi võivad esineda muutust väljendavana, on verbiti ja ühtlasi konstruktsiooniti erinev, kas muutuse väljendamine on esmane või üksnes marginaalne funktsioon. Uurimusest selgub, et kõige rahvapärasem ning üldisema tähendusega muutusverb liivi keeles on *īedō* 'jääda, saada', mis siseneb translatiivsesse muutuskonstruktsiooni. Teine sage muutusverb on *sōdō* 'saada', kuid selle kasutamises võib vähemalt osaliselt tunda kontaktkeelte mõju, näiteks eelistatakse verbi *sōdō* 'saada' tarvitada muutuse väljendamiseks usulistest tekstides. Edasist arengut tulevikukoopulaks näitab siiski vaid *līdō*, mis ennekõike väljendab tulevikus olemist, kuigi tagaplaanil on sageli tunda ka muutuse tähendust ning ajaline tähenduselement põimub üldjuhul modaalse tähenduselemendiga.

Võtmesõnad: seisundimuutus, koopulad, tuleviku väljendamine, Kuramaa liivi keel

Kubbõvõttõks. Miina Norvik: Mõitõksvãrbõd lĩvõ kiẽlsõ ja nãnt kõlbatõmi tulbiz ãiga ulzkõtõmiz pierãst. Se kãra tuņšlõb mõitõksvãrbidi lĩvõ kiẽlsõ ja nãnt tultõkst tulbiz ãiga kopulaks. Pããããlistõz um vaņņõltõd vãrbidi *lĩdõ, sõdõ* ja *ĩedõ*. Nẽđi um tazãntõd vãrbõdõks *tũlda* ja *lãdõ*. Amãd viž vãrbõ võibõd ulzkõtõ mõitõkst. Võldantõs vãrbstõ ja konstruksijst, või se um pãtãtõks agã set kũorali tãntõks. Tuņšlõks nãgđõb, ku amã rovvĩđi mõitõksvãrb um *ĩedõ*, mis sõb kõlbatõd konstruksijst translãtĩvõks. Tuoi sagdi mõitõksvãrb um *sõdõ*, bet se um lieudtõb emmit vaimližis tekstis. Võib võlda, ku se um kontaktĩeld mõj. Kazãndõkst mõitõks > tulbiz ãiga kopula nãgđõb set *lĩdõ*. Se kĩtõb pakãndim võlmizt, bet vel võib se kĩtõ mõitõkst ja modãlizt tãntõkst.