

THE ESSIVE IN LIVONIAN

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Abstract. In Livonian, there is a small set of word forms denoting locality or time and answering the questions *where?* and *when?*, and can be considered forms of the essive case on the basis of their case endings just as similar forms in other Finnic languages. The article studies these forms and related forms of the lative, sublative, and excessive case forms, answering the questions *to where?* *to when?*, and *from where?* *from when?*, and their history. In addition, word forms formally identical with the dative forms but used as adverbials of state are as forms of essive extracted from the dative, and their usage types are identified.

Keywords: Livonian, Finnic languages, essive, dative, case system, language history

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1. Introduction

The use of the Livonian essive case is studied below as it was used by the Livonians in the coast villages of the northern tip of the Courland peninsula of Latvia. There is a small set of words marking locality or time that can be simply identified as essive forms, most such words are adverbs or postpositions. About ten such forms have characteristic endings, other essive forms, as recognized on the basis of other Finnic languages, are formally identical with dative case forms. In addition, the dative as a unique case in the Finnic space, alongside the dative genitive of Finnish, has been the most problematic case for a very long time and, therefore, the problem of the existence of the Livonian essive has been overshadowed by the problems of the dative and dative genitive. In Livonian, ironically, very little of the historical essive is clearly different from the Livonian dative. For this reason, this article is an attempt to extract the essive from the dative by virtue of its non-dative functions. Formally, this attempt is supported by a few contrastive morphological pairs such as dative *kuo'ddõn* 'to home' vs. essive *kuo'nnõ* 'at home' and dative *õ'dõgõn* 'to the evening' vs. essive *õ'dõn* 'in/on the evening'

as well as the knowledge that in all other Finnic languages instances where the essive is somewhat better observable are rare.

1.1. Data

The source of most of the examples is the underlying database of the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012). Examples use the Standard Livonian orthography¹ as established by the Livonian Language Conference held in Irē (Mazirbe) in March 1996, except that here open \bar{o} ² is extracted from mid \bar{o} (in the earlier orthography open \bar{o} was rendered as \bar{a}) and the broken tone is indicated by an apostrophe; the tone is not added to data from the 19th century. Standard Livonian is based on East Livonian.

1.2. The Livonian case system

The number of cases in Livonian is problematic, as is characteristic of languages where adverbs and postpositions have case endings and case endings often have been the result of onetime suffix piling or permit optional suffix piling.

The standard inventory of nominal cases contains twelve cases. The first eight cases can be regularly formed from most nouns, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns.

The nominative is, first of all, the case of the telic (or total) subject and predicative, but it occurs also as the vocative, and forms adverbials of time. The genitive is the case of the possessor and the telic (or total) object, the partitive that of the atelic (or partial) object. In addition to expressing the atelicity of a subject or an object, the partitive case expresses a separate part of a whole or an entity in certain phrases, e.g., in *kabāl leibō* ‘piece of bread’ where *leib-ō* is the partitive of *lēba* ‘bread’.

1 The Livonian orthography uses letters with a macron to render long vowels and letters with the Latvian (comma-shaped) cedilla (*đ, ģ, ņ, ŗ, ť*) to render palatalized consonants. The letters *ō* and *õ* render respectively high and mid central vowels. The orthography follows the East Livonian pronunciation.

2 The open \bar{o} either comes (a) from an earlier long $*\bar{a}$ or (b) from a lengthened short $*a$ and, therefore, often participates in the morphophonemic alternation $a : \bar{o}$; the long mid \bar{o} results from lengthening of the short first component *o* of the former weak grade diphthong *ou* and often participates in the morphophonemic alternation *ou* : \bar{o} .

Resulting from the loss of the former genitive ending **-n* and depending on the declension type of the nominal (i.e., of nouns, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns), a frequent overlapping of nominative and genitive forms occurs. In plural, only personal and demonstrative pronouns have different nominative and genitive forms. The partitive case, as developed from the former separative case in **-ta/*-tä*, or **-tA* in shorthand, is represented by a set of endings that vary depending on the stem type; in addition, it has participated in the formation of the relative, ablative, and excessive endings.

All other cases are, first of all, adverbial cases of nominals (nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns) and of some adverbs, postpositions, and prepositions. The dative case is used primarily for expressing a recipient or beneficiary, owner, or source, which in other Finnic languages would be expressed using the allative, adessive, and ablative. This makes the Livonian dative case unique in the Finnic space. Its endings are *-n* and *-õn*. There have been attempts to include some other cases in the dative, so the essive case has also been included in the dative.

The instrumental case arose from the merger of the translative and comitative. In some noun types, at least potentially, the translative and comitative forms still can be differentiated (e.g., *naizõks* ‘for the wife’ vs. *naizkõks* ‘with the wife’, *sūrõks pi’ññõks* ‘[grows] into a big dog’ vs. *sūr pi’ñkõks* ‘with a big dog’, *vabāks mōks* ‘[becomes] a free country’ vs. *vabā mōkõks* ‘with a free country’). In the dative and instrumental, an adjectival complement of a noun is in the genitive, and the adjective receives the dative or instrumental ending mostly only in case of ellipsis of the head noun and, rarely, when specially emphasized. In translative phrases, the adjective mostly agrees with the noun in case.

The illative, inessive, and elative, on one hand, and the allative, adessive, and ablative, on the other hand, form triads of Finnic so-called interior and exterior local cases, where the three members of a triad, respectively, denote (a) a change or movement to a certain place, time, or state, (b) existing in or belonging to a place, time, or state, and (c) departure or start from a place, time, or state. As in Livonian, the most essential original functions of the allative, adessive, and ablative have been moved to the dative, the use of these three cases is now restricted to farmstead names, certain village names, place-names ending in *mō*, to a few nouns (and their adjectival attributes), e.g., *mō* ‘land, country’, *lõt* ‘church service’, *a’b* ‘help’, *ke’ž* ‘hand’, *kōṛa* ‘herd’, *mōṛa* ‘berry’, *suodā* ‘war’, *upā* ‘horse fetter’, and to some adverbs and postpositions. In Livonian, the allative, adessive, and ablative have no plural forms.

The instructive case form expresses regulation of activity by items (*jālgīņ* ‘on foot’), or of amount by units or number (*jagīņ* ‘in installments’, *pivāpāviņ* ‘on Sundays’, *metriņ* ‘by meters’, *nādīļiņ* ‘by weeks’, *kuolmiņ* ‘in threes’, *tū’ontiņ* ‘in thousands; by thousands’). Instructive case forms are pluralic.

The abessive case is a standard case of the supine (*sīemōt* ‘without eating’, *pie’zzōmōt* ‘without washing’), but it has been extremely rarely used with nouns because the prepositional phrase with the noun in abessive singular has been mostly replaced by the similar phrase with the noun in partitive singular (*ilmō rķ’tō* > *ilmō rķ’dō* ‘without money’).

The lative, essive, and excessive cases capture a sparse set of noun, adjective, adverb, and postposition forms that, similarly to interior and exterior case forms, denote (a) a change or move to a certain place, time, or state, (b) existing in or belonging to a place, time, or state, and (c) departure or start from a place, time, or state, but as a rule do not make morphologically regular triads with each other.

Note that the lative³ is actually a traditional cover term for several directional forms of adverbs or postpositions, ending first of all in **-k*, **-s*, or **-n*, the latter of which has served also as a component in the endings of the illative (**-sen* > *-zō* ~ *-ōz* ~ *-ō*) and allative (**-len* > *-lō* ~ *-l*).

The essive case is used to indicate belonging to or acting in a certain state or position. The essive ending as the former locative case suffix is the second component of the inessive and adessive endings (**-snA* > *-sā* ~ *-sō* ~ *-s* and **-lnA* > *-lō* ~ *-l*) and the first component of the excessive ending (**-ntA* > *-ndō*). In addition, it is possible that the essive ending is etymologically connected with the suffix *-nna* or *-nne* of such adverbs as Livonian *tānō* ‘(to) here’ and *sīnō* ~ *sīņō* ‘(to) there’, cf. also Estonian *tänna*, *sinna*; Lude *t’ännä*, *šinna*; Veps *t’änna*, *sinna*; East Votic and Hevaha Ingrian *tänneG*, *sinneG*; Finnish *tänne*, *sinne*; where the *nna*-forms may be older and *nne(k)*-forms are probably innovational having added an extra lative suffix **(e)k* to **-nnA*. Such forms are sometimes extracted from other lative forms as sublative forms. The list of sublative adverbs is longest in Finnish (cf. Hakulinen 2000: 229; MOK 138). The essive case serves as a non-etymological center of several locational and temporal triads.

3 In Finnic, the term *lative* is used for counterparts of the historical case endings **-k*, **-n*, **-s* that refer to the point of arrival.

The excessive⁴ case is most tightly connected with the essive case applied to nouns and adverbs used in the essive (*kuo'ndõ* 'from home', *tagānd* 'from behind'). It expresses removal from a point.

Although lative, essive, and excessive forms are formally close to corresponding members of interior and exterior local cases, in everyday usage, they do not form regular triads of case forms comparable to triads of interior and exterior local cases. There is one single triad of a stem occurring in a lative, essive, and excessive form, cf. *kuodāj* : *kuo'nmõ* : *kuo'ndõ(st)* in Table 1, but even in this case the 'where-to' case form ending does not share a component with the corresponding essive and excessive endings.

It is to be noted that because of the low functional load of some case forms there has been (a) a tendency towards the adverbialization of noun forms and, optionally, (b) a tendency of adding to separative, ablative, and excessive forms of adverbs and postpositions an additional elative case ending *-st* or *-õst* (*aldõ* > *aldõst* 'from below', *i'ldõ* > *i'ldõst* 'from above', *pāldõ* > *pāldõst* 'from the top of, from the upper side or surface of', *pūoldõ* > *pūoldõst* 'from the side of', *sā'ldõ* ~ *sāld* > *sā'ldõst* 'from there', *uldõ* > *uldõst* 'from (the) outside'; *sizāld* > *sizāldõst* 'from (the) inside', *va'ild* ~ *va'ildõ* > *va'ildõst* 'from between'; *kuo'ndõ* ~ *kuo'ndõst* 'from home', *tagānd* ~ *tagāndõst* 'from behind').⁵ In view of the fact that in the Salāts (in Latvian *Salaca*, in German *Salis*) Livonian dictionary (Winkler and Pajusalu 2009) one can find six correspondences for the eleven Courland items presented above, cf. *alt* > *altest* 'von unten', *pāld* > *pāldest* ~ *pāltest* ~ *pāldst* 'von oben', *sāld* ~ *sāeld* ~ *sālt* ~ *sēlt* > *sāltest* 'von da, daher', *vaeltest* 'aus, aus der Mitte, zwischen ... weg', *kontest* 'von zu Hause', *tagantest* 'von hinten', and, in addition, *velentest* 'von außen her, weit', which is a parallel of the above Courland *uldõst*. Similarly, an extra lative suffix *-z* ~ *-õz* can

4 Volmari Porkka may have been the first linguist to consider the excessive a case in his dissertation (Porkka 1885: 64, 67), at the same time he avoided speaking about cases or case endings when presenting adverbs and postpositions (128–129). Paul Ariste was the first linguist who turned his attention to this case in his grammar of the Votic language (Ariste 1948: 37–38 (in Estonian), Ariste 1968: 32 (in English) and also in other Finnic languages (Ariste 1960). This led to Tauno Särkkä's dissertation (Särkkä 1969). The term *excessive* was adapted to Finnish as *eksessiivi* following the example of adapting, in 1642, the Latin word *excessus* as *eksessi* (Jussila 1998:38). In this century, some modern Finnish linguists who never read Ariste or the handbook of Arvo Laanest 1982 have misanalyzed the Finnish term as *excessive*.

5 Such so-called suffix accumulation due to the fading of former case endings actually provides proof for the necessity of clear case endings in postpositions in languages with rich case systems.

be added optionally to disyllabic illative forms of nouns (*móizōz* ‘to the manor’; in such cases adding the suffix makes the form different from the otherwise identical partitive form cf. *móizō*) as well as to disyllabic inessive or adessive forms of some adverbs and postpositions (*pālōz* ‘on’, *sālōz* ‘there’).

Table 1 presents an overview of the usage and functions of cases in Livonian.

Table 1. Livonian cases and their functions

CASE	ENDING	SINGU-LAR	PLURAL	FUNCTIONS OR TRANSLATION
1. Nominative	–	<i>jōvā ke ’ž</i>	<i>jōvād kādūd</i>	[telic subject], [predicative]
2. Genitive	–	<i>jōvā kā ’d</i>	<i>jōvād kādūd</i>	[possessor attribute], [telic object], [complement of postpositions]
3. Partitive	<i>-dā -tā -dō -tō -ō</i>	<i>jō ’vvō kātā</i>	<i>jō ’vđi ke ’žži</i>	[atelic subject], [atelic object]
4. Dative	<i>-n -ōn</i>	<i>jōvā kā ’ddōn</i>	<i>jōvād kādūdōn</i>	to, at [recipient], [beneficiary]; from [source]
5. Instrumental	<i>-ks -ōks -kōks</i>	<i>jōvā kā ’dkōks</i>	<i>jōvād kādūdōks</i>	with [instrument]; to [goal]; [deadline]
6. Illative	<i>-zō -ō -z</i>	<i>jō ’vvō kā ’ddō</i>	<i>jō ’vži kežžz</i>	into [local]; to [goal]
7. Inessive	<i>-sā -sō -s</i>	<i>jōvās kā ’dsō</i>	<i>jō ’vši kežžs</i>	in [location]
8. Elative	<i>-stā -stō -st</i>	<i>jōvāst kā ’dstō</i>	<i>jō ’všti kežžst</i>	from [local; time]; about [source]
9. Allative	<i>-lō -l -ōl</i>	<i>jō ’vvōl kā ’ddōl</i>	–	‘to the right hand’ [direction]
10. Adessive	<i>-l -ōl</i>	<i>jōvāl kā ’ddōl</i>	–	‘on the right hand’ [location]
11. Ablative	<i>-ldō -ld -ōld -ldōst</i>	<i>jōvāld kā ’ddōld</i>	–	‘from the right hand’ [source]
12. Instructive	<i>-īņ -iņ</i>	–	<i>sadīņ pōriņ</i>	‘by hundreds of pairs’ [manner]; [amount]

CASE	ENDING	SINGU-LAR	PLURAL	FUNCTIONS OR TRANSLATION
13. Abessive	-tõ -t	rq̄'tõ	–	'without money'
14. Lative	-j -z *-k *-n	kuodāj	–	'[to] home' [direction]
15. Essive	-nā -nõ -n -õn	kuo'nnõ	–	'at home' [local]; on [time]; [state]
16. Excessive	-ndõ -nd -õnd -ndõst	kuo'ndõ(st)	–	'from home' [source]

1.3. Dative

According to Wiedemann 1861: 74–75, the use of dative forms in Livonian has been classified into three non-intersecting types on the basis of the similar use of the dative in other languages:

- (a) dative forms are used with the same verbs as the corresponding dative forms in German (*ānda õbīzõn ~ õbīztõn vietā, nīemõn ~ nīemõdõn ainđi* 'give water **to the horse** ~ **horses**, hay **to the cow** ~ **cows**'; *paint laskīz ne lambõd sudūdõn jerā sīedõ* 'herd. NOM abandon-PST.3SG this.PL.GEN sheep-PL.GEN wolf-PL-DAT away eat-INF' = 'the herd abandoned these sheep **for wolves** to eat')⁶;
- (b) dative forms corresponding to the Latin so-called *dativus commodi et incommodi* and *dativus ethicus* and expressed in German as dative forms with the preposition *für* 'for' (*se um mi'nnõn lālam* 'it is hard **for me**');)
- (c) the occurrence of the noun with the actual or imaginable verb 'to be' in all Finnic languages corresponding to the German verb *haben* (*võllõn um appõn makā* '**the beer** has a sour taste').

On the other hand, the conclusion has been made that in Livonian little remained of the essive, except *kougõn* 'far', *kuonnõ* 'at home', *kunā* 'when', and *tagān* 'behind' (Wiedemann 1861: 80–81).

Lauri Kettunen (1938: XLI, 1947: 59) has treated a series of forms corresponding "also to the Finnish essive" as forms of the "dative-locative". He equated the old locative ending in *-na (as in Finnish *kotona*

6 The examples are selected from those presented by Wiedemann, while the glossing is mine.

‘at home’, *kaukana* ‘far’, *takana* ‘after, behind’ and Livonian *kougõn* ‘far’ and *tagān*⁷ ‘after, behind’) with the Finnish essive as in *ehtoona* ‘in the evening’ and Livonian *õ’dõn*, and further with the Livonian dative and Finnish dative genitive, and even supposed that in Courland Livonian the dative case stems from the locative in **-nA*. As a result of this connection, the dative case – Kettunen called it LOCATIVE-ESSIVE – includes all case forms of nominals, adverbs, and postpositions ending in *-n*, which, at least pedagogically, is a good approximation for students but no solution for the problems of its inclusion into case system. At the same time, Kettunen never stopped believing in the reality of the essive in Livonian. In his last book (Kettunen 1960: 180), he presented examples of four types of uses of the essive. In fact, even the existence of some excessive case forms derived from such dative-like essive case forms is a strong argument for the truth of his belief.

Paul Alvre (1974) analyzed Kettunen’s theory concerning the origin of the dative case from the locative also using data from other Finnic languages. He rejected the theory, kept the locative and essive apart from the dative, and argued for the origin of the dative from the lative **-n ~*-ń*. Perhaps Alvre’s main idea is correct but otherwise his attempt failed.

A short list of the functions of the essive was presented in Viitso 2008: 328, and both the essive and excessive were listed among Livonian cases in the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 394).

Nobufumi Inaba’s important study (2015) of the roots of the Finnish dative genitive on the basis of data from five languages also includes a thorough study of the Livonian (both Courland and Salāts Livonian) dative and a discussion of earlier studies of the dative and neccessive constructions of Livonian, notably Halling 1996a, 1996b, Viitso 2014, and Wälchli 2000. He has turned his attention also to Kettunen’s identification of certain Livonian dative forms as counterparts of the Finnish essive forms and he has even found in Kettunen’s dictionary an example of an unknown essive construction type not listed even by Kettunen (*lapsõn vòldsõ* instead of the general ablative construction *lapsõld vòldsõ* ‘being a child’). Inaba’s reproof to Kettunen is that Kettunen does not seem to have noticed that his examples actually concern a

7 The form *tagān* occurred in West Livonian and Īra. In East Livonian, mostly *tagā* was used. Probably both *tagān* and *tagā* resulted from different mergers of the essive form **takana* and lative form **takak*, cf. Finnish *takana* and *taa ~ taakse*. Still, in the literary language the two forms have been differentiated.

construction-based nominal verb form (Inaba 2015: 154). Of course Inaba is correct – modifiers of nominal verb forms in a language are construction-bound and their functions and even meanings depend on and vary according to construction type. He has established six types of constructions with dative-like forms that can be identified as essive forms. At any rate, the study of the Livonian dative by him is a great success in Livonian studies, and section 4.4.6 on the predicative of Livonian verb nominals fills to a great extent the lacunae that are needed to establish the roles of the essive and dative.

The dative-locative or, in other words, the dative, works satisfactorily as a pedagogical solution for morphological patterning of Livonian case forms. However, this solution results in ascribing to the dative some important atypical functions whose scope is not yet clear. Below an attempt is made to extract the essive from the dative just for the purposes of a case study.

2. Essive

Kettunen has defined a list of locative and essive forms as dative forms. Such lists must be either accepted or refuted. Although Kettunen has ignored the problem of the part of speech of members of the list, I still suppose that the forms (a) *kuodāj*, *kuo'nnō*, *kuo'ndō* belong to the paradigm of the noun *kuo'd*. These are the necessary data:

- (1) *Kilā* *ro'vz-t* *vī-ž-tō* *Ants* *kūol-ōn*
village.GEN people-PL take-PST-3PL Ants.GEN die-PR.PLE
lejā *tū'm* *eņš* *kuodā-j.*
flesh.GEN he.GEN self.GEN home-LAT

‘Village people took the dead body of Ants **to his own home.**’

- (2) *Mā'd* *kuo'nnō* *vó'!-tō* *rujā-d* *bokā-d-ōks.*
we.GEN home.ESS be.PST-3PL sick-PL.NOM smallpox-PL-INL

‘**At our home**, there were people sick with smallpox.’

- (3) *Ikš* *rištīng* *vó'!* *kōg-iņ* *aig-ō*
one.NOM person.NOM be.PST.3SG long time-INV time.PRT
kuo-ndō *jarā.*
home-EXC away

‘A person was a long time **away from home.**’

Here (1) is an example of the lative form of ‘home’ with two pronominal attributes and (2) is the corresponding essive form with a pronominal attribute. (3) is an example of the excessive case form with a postposition; in this case, instead of a postposition, the adverb *jarāndōz* also can be used as an independent adverbial. These three examples show that these are three unique forms of this noun, as both attributes and postpositions obligatorily require a head noun. A case ending of nominals is also a case ending of adverbs and postpositions occurring in a similar function or position.

The need to use non-temporal and non-spatial essive forms in everyday life has been small, most known examples are from the New Testament where these are used in necessive and permissive constructions in lists of full essive forms. On the other hand, in a less formal usage only the last item of such lists is in the essive, while the preceding forms are in the genitive. This feature is shared with Estonian but found only in Wiedemann 1861b: 332, cf. (4), glossed for the present issue:

- (4) *Sinn-ōn tulū-b õigiz ja vagā-n vuol-da.*
 thou-DAT come-3SG honest.GEN and pious-ESS be-INF

‘You have to be **honest** and **pious**.’

Similarly, the adjectival attribute is in the genitive before a head in the essive (cf. Kettunen 1960: 180), so such a non-agreement is old and systematic and not conditioned by language degeneration:

- (5) *Si'nn-ōn um jōvā laps-ōn vō'l-mōst.*
 thou-DAT be.3SG good.GEN child-ESS be-SUP.DEB

‘You must be a **good child**.’

A still older case of non-agreement is the phrase *jegā tuoiz pāvan* ‘on every second day’ found in Wiedemann 1861a: 260 where, by the way, astonishment is expressed that for *pāva* ‘day’ dative has been used (there are more examples!).

2.1. The essive and other cases in local and temporal constructions

The few essive case forms established already in Wiedemann and Kettunen occur in local and temporal constructions that actually belong to certain sets of series of constructions that are used to exhaustively

describe the possible states and changes in space or time. In such constructions the case of the adverbial, i.e., of a noun, postposition, or adverb, is of great importance. Although essive forms have the central role both in local and temporal constructions, the occurrence of other cases in corresponding constructions is different.

As to local constructions, constructions with essive forms occupy the existential center, constructions with lative forms the potential arrival or input, and constructions with separative forms the departure or output. In Table 2, in addition to the known three essive forms *kuo'nnõ*, *kougõn*, *tagān*, the first one must have, after the vowel syncope, assimilated the stop **t* (or rather its voiced output *d*) to *n*, i.e. **tn* > *nn*. Livonian together with Estonian, Votic, and Western Finnish belongs to the Finnic dialects in which the former diminutive stem of the Proto-Finnic stem **kota*, has developed into a round vocalic stem, cf. Livonian *kuodū-d* 'homes (nom. pl.)', in contrast with Ingrian, Eastern Finnish, Karelian, Lude, and Veps, where it has developed into an **i*-stem, cf. Finnish *koti*.

In Table 2, the lative section includes latives in **-k* (*alā*, *tagā*) and in **-s* (the vowel *-õ* in *i'lzõ* and *ulzõ* may be a remnant of an extra illative ending **-hen* > *-õ*, cf. also the substandard Estonian *ülesse* which is the *s*-lative form *üles* modified into an illative-like form), and the unique lative suffix *-j* in *kuodāj* (that can be extended to *kuodājõz*, cf. *Un si'z riekmiēz u'm bro'utsõn kuodājõz ne'i luštīgõl* 'And then the traveler has driven **home** so merrily'). It is impossible to derive the forms *kuodāj* ~ *kuodājõz* from the paradigm of the noun *kuo'd* 'home', which is an *ū*-stem, cf. NomPl *kuodūd*; hence, the paradigm contains a unique morphologically unanalyzable form (*kuodāj* rather looks like a form imported from the paradigm of the stem *kuodā* 'house' followed by a unique ending *-j* than the stem *kuo'd* < **koto* with a unique ending *-āj*⁸).

8 Erkki Itkonen, in SSA 1: 412 sub *koti*, has postulated that Finnish *kotia* '(to) home' comes from **kotijak* and Livonian *kuodāj* comes from **kotajak*; this idea can be supported also by the rarer East Livonian form *kuodājõz*. On the other hand, in Coast Estonian and North-East Estonian, and also in neighboring Central North Estonian and Kodavere East Estonian, the so-called *je*-illative has been used, notably both in the older weak grade form *kuoje* '(to) home' and in a later strong grade form *kodaje*. Must 1987: 199–200, Univere 1988: 85, Must – Univere 2002: 237. Beyond this, the *je*-illative and some other cases of **h* > *j* in older Estonian folksongs were first described by Juhani Peegel 1974: 52 and especially 55; note that on p. 51, occasionally, even an illative form *kodoje* '(to) home' is found. Even in Livonian there are cases of the change of **h* to *j*, e.g., **viha* > *vijā* 'poison', **kehä* > *kejā* 'body'. The rise of the weak grade of *kuoje* is a problem (perhaps resolvable as **koito-k* > **kõ* (> *kuo*) and **kõ-hen* > **kõjen* > *kuoje*). Hence, Livonian *kuodāj* ~ *kuodājõz* can be considered closer to the Estonian illative forms than to the theoretical adverb proposed by Erkki Itkonen.

Table 2. The essive and other case forms in local constructions

LATIVE 'to where?'	ESSIVE 'wherein?'	SEPARATIVE 'from where?'	STEM
<i>kuodā-j</i>	<i>kuo'nnō</i> < * <i>kot-na</i>	<i>kuo'ndō(st)</i>	'home'
<i>kōga-z</i> < * <i>kauka-s</i>	<i>kougōn</i> < * <i>kauka-na</i>	<i>kougōnd</i>	'far'
<i>tagā</i> < * <i>taka-k</i>	<i>tagān</i> < * <i>taka-na</i>	<i>tagānd(ō(st))</i>	'behind'
<i>alā</i> < * <i>ala-k</i>	<i>allō</i> < * <i>al-na</i>	<i>aldō(st)</i>	'down'
<i>i'l-zō</i> < * <i>üle-s</i>	<i>i'llō</i> < * <i>ül-nā</i>	<i>i'ldōst</i>	'up'
<i>ul-zō</i> < * <i>ulko-s</i>	<i>ullō</i> < * <i>ulk-na</i>	<i>uldō(st)</i>	'out'

In Table 2, the essive forms *allō*, *i'llō*, *ullō* result from the assimilation **ln* > **nn* that must have been preceded by vowel syncope followed by stop loss in *ullō* and *kuo'nnō*. The separative forms represent either the most archaic forms ending in *-*tA* followed by later extensions or are formed from the corresponding essive forms. In addition to adverbs that can be presented as a series in tabular form, there are some adverbs that may represent certain essive or excessive forms, notably *kū'ođōn* 'directly' (cf. *kū'ođi* 'direct (adj.)' and Veps *kohtha* 'directly'), *jarāndōz* 'away from' (cf. *jarā* 'away'), *pakānd* 'quickly' (cf. Estonian *pakiline* 'urgent'), *ulzō|pē'đōn* 'to outside': *ullō|pē'đōn* '(to) outside' : *ullō|pē'đōn* '(in) outside' : *uldō|pē'đōnd* 'from outside'.

Although only five stems in the essive are used in temporal constructions, the two forms of the pronominal stem *ku-*, namely the interrogatives *kunā* 'when?' and *kunāks* 'to when?' cover all the time space, whereas the essive form *kunā* can be used also instead of the translative form *kunāks*, i.e., as to cover all the cells in its row in table 3. The nouns for three definite time periods used in the essive, occur in numerous compounds.

Table 3. The essive and other case forms in temporal constructions

Translative 'to when?'	Essive 'when?'	Instructive 'by when?'	Elicative 'from when?'	Stem
<i>kunāks</i>	<i>kunā</i>			'when'
<i>āigastōks</i>	<i>āigastōn</i>	<i>āigastiņ</i>	<i>āigastōst</i>	'year'
<i>pāvaks</i>	<i>pāvan</i>	<i>pāviņ</i>	<i>pāvast</i>	'day'
<i>brēđōks</i>	<i>brēđōn</i>	<i>brēđōgiņ</i>	<i>brēđōgst</i>	'Friday'
<i>ō'dōks</i>	<i>ō'dōn</i>	<i>ō'dōgiņ</i>	<i>ō'dōgst</i>	'evening'

The existing data on the essive and related cases together with data on the so-called sublative make it possible to reconstruct a 3×3 system of cases for state and transition of Proto-Finnic. Note that real systems are asymmetric, thus this symmetric system captures a space that can never be symmetrically filled.

Table 4. Cases of state and transition

	Proto-Finnic	Livonian	Estonian	Finnish	North Veps
Illative	*-sEn > -*hEn	-zõ -õ	-hV -V (-sse)	-hVn	-hV
Allative	*-len	-lõ -l	-le	-lle	-le
Sublative	*-nnek	-nõ -ņõ	-nna	-nne	-nna
Inessive	*-snA	-sõ -s	-s	-ssA	-s
Adessive	*-lnA	-l	-l	-llA	-l
Essive	*-nA	-nā -nõ -n	-na	-nA	-n
Elative	*-stA	-stõ -st	-st	-stA	-spai
Ablative	*-ltA	-ldõ -ld	-lt	-ltA	-lpai
Excessive	*-ntA	-ndõ	-nt	-ntA	-mpai

2.2. The essive in different parts of speech

The essive has been attested in nouns, adjectives, cardinal and ordinal numerals, active and passive present and past participles, adverbs, and in one postposition. Still, it is to be noted that most hitherto known examples of participles in the essive are from the New Testament (ÜT 1942).

A. Noun

- (6) *Mikš um tā'mm-õn vó'l-mõst äb+je'lziz*
 why COP.3SG he/she/it-DAT be-DEB non+alive.GEN

lu'm+momm-õn?

snow+mummy-ESS

‘Why must it be a lifeless **snowman**?’

B. Adjective

- (7) *Paʔimstiz u'm vōlda joutōm-ōn o'vkōks ä'b ku*
 better-ADV be-3SG be-INF poor-ESS honor-INL not-3SG as
rikk-ōn uidkōks.
 rich-ESS shame-TRL

‘It is better to live **poor** with honor than **rich** with shame.’

C. Cardinal numeral

- (8) *Mi'nn-ōn u'm lālam ʔ'd-ōn piškīž-i*
 I-DAT be.3SG difficult.NOM one-ESS little-PL.PRT
läpš-i kazā-tō.
 child-PL.PART rear-INF

‘For me, it is difficult to rear small children alone.’

D. Ordinal numeral

- (9) *Mq̄+tīeliz-ōn, kis vaij-ō nā-b, u'm*
 soil.GEN+worker-DAT who.NOM trouble-PRT see-3SG be.3SG
e'žmiz-ōn sq̄-mōst vī|a+ka'zz-ōst.
 first-ESS get-DEB fruit.GEN +growth-ELA

‘The farmer, who takes the trouble, ought to be the **first** to get the share of the crops.’⁹

E. Active present participle

- (10) *Ne'i-ī'ž u'm vō'l-mōst nānt naiz-t-ōn amā-s*
 So:same be.3SG be-DEB they.GEN woman-PL.DAT all-INE
ustāt-ōb-ōd-ōn.
 trust-ACT.PR.PLE-PL-ESS

‘Likewise, their wives must be **trustworthy** in all things.’

F. Active past participle

- (11) *Ta jelā-b eņtš mī'e-stō jarā la'gg-ōn-ōn.*
 she.NOM live-3SG own.GEN man-ELA away divorce-ACT.PST.PLE-ESS

‘She lives **having divorced** her husband.’

9 Cf. 2 Timothy 2:6.

G. Passive present participle

- (12) *Ajā ēņtš-ta sīe tagā-n, kōlbatōb-ōn pī'l-ō*
 drive.IMP.2SG self-PRT this.GEN back.ESS suitable-ESS stand-INF

Jumāl je'd-s.

God.GEN before.INE

‘Force yourself in order to stand as **being suitable** before God.’

H. Passive past participle

- (13) *Rišīng Pūoga-n u'm sō-mōst jarā and-tōt-ōn*
 man.GEN son-DAT be.3SG get-DEB away give-PS.PST.PLE-ESS

patliz-t ro'vz kā'dd-ō.

sinful-PL.GEN men.PL hand-ILL

‘The Son of Man must be given into the hands of sinful men.’

I. Adverb

- (14) *Ne vō'ītō kougōn.*
 they.NOM be.IPF-3PL far-ESS

‘They were **far**.’

J. Postposition

- (15) *Bokā-d tagā-n tā'm palg e-i*
 smallpox-PL.NOM after-ESS he.GEN face-NOM remain-PST.3SG

ārblimiz-ōks.

scarred-TRL

‘After smallpox, his face remained scarred.’

In view of a tendency or a tradition to translate the Finnish essive forms by means of the English phrase ‘as a _’, which has several meanings in English, several lexical equivalents in several Finnic languages alongside several morphological case forms, one must not think that a language develops morphological cases in order to have a set bouquet of identical but complicated constructions to be used for avoiding the most simple way of expressing an idea. As for Livonian, there are several conjunctions that can be translated as components of ‘as a _’, cf. two of them in (16) and (17).

(16) *Ne jel-iz-t ja v̄ļikš-iz-t kui kēņig-ōd,*
 they.NOM live-PST.3PL and rule-PST.3PL **as** king-PL.NOM

ku'b-s Kristus-ōks tū'ontō āigast-ō.
 assembly-INE christ-INL thousand-NOM year-PRT

‘They lived and ruled as kings, together with Christ for a thousand years.’

(16) is actually a translation of the last clause of Revelation 20:4. Livonian and other Finnic languages do not distinguish between reigning and ruling, the word *kui* permits one to believe that *ne* ‘they’ really functioned in the role of kings, and so did Christ. Still the phrase *kui kēņigōd, ku'bs Kristusōks* raises the problem of whether they all functioned in the role of kings in different kingdoms or in a collective kingdom. The problem is caused by the fact that it was the Greek verb form *ebasileusan* ‘and they reigned’ that has been translated as a comparison using the noun *kēņigōd* ‘kings’ in the nominative case. Livonian text shares the problem with several languages including Estonian where the same idea has been formulated using the plural essive form *kuningatena* which rather has the meaning ‘being kings’.

The following example (17) is an example of an ironic ‘as a _’ used when characterizing a toucher:

(17) *Sūr-Indrōk pīkst-ōb sūor-i, ku al-gō*
 Big-Indrōk.NOM squeeze-3SG vessel-PL.PRT in order let not-IMP.3SG

abū-d pō'dd-ōg-ōd, nekā seļļi masīertiji
 shoulder-PL.NOM ache-IMP-PL3 as such.NOM masseur.NOM

ta vō'ļ.
 he.NOM be.PST.3SG

‘Big Indrōk squeezes neck vessels in order not to let the shoulders ache, he was as such a masseur.’

In addition to the cases in (16) and (17), example (25) is a case where *ne'iku vakt-ōn* represents a case where an equivalent of ‘as’ is followed by a noun in the essive.

So the reasons for the choice and function of the nominative, translative, and essive forms cannot be substituted by translations beforehand.

3. Expression of state in normal sentences

In Livonian normal sentences, the subject's state is expressed by a predicative noun, adjective, or participle in the nominative, cf. (18) – (23).

- (18) *Piškipūoga u'm doktār.*
 small.son-NOM be.PRE.3SG doctor.NOM

'The grandson is a doctor.'

- (19) *Ta um rujā.*
 he.NOM be.PRE.3SG sick.NOM

'He is sick.'

- (20) *Puķō-d attō nōrk-ōn-ōd.*
 flower-PL.NOM be.PRE.3PL wither-ACT.PST.PLE-PL

'Flowers are withered.'

All the three sentences are to be treated as true. Similarly, an extended simple sentence such as (18') confirms that the subject is a doctor being at least officially and maybe also permanently engaged in a place called Saldõ and (18'') that he is a doctor just in Saldõ:

- (18') *Piškipūoga u'm Saldõ-s doktār.*
 smallson.NOM be.PRE.3SG Saldõ-INE doctor.NOM

'The grandson is a doctor in Saldõ¹⁰.'

- (18'') *Piškipūoga u'm doktār Saldõ-s.*
 smallson.NOM be.PRE.3SG doctor.NOM Saldõ-INE

'The grandson is a doctor just in Saldõ.'

On the other hand, the sentence (21) where the state of the subject is expressed by the adverbial of state in the instrumental can be understood as a hint to the temporality of the engagement or even to the noncompliance of the subject as a doctor:

- (21) *Ta u'm Saldõ-s doktār-ōks.*
 he.NOM be.PRE.3SG Saldõ-INE doctor-INL

'He is in Saldõ as a doctor.'

¹⁰ In Latvian *Saldus*.

Note that the use of the state adverbial presupposes the presence of a real or at least an imaginable adverbial of place. The same is true for a state adverbial in the instrumental:

- (22) *Mi'n izā vō'ļ pūr̥t-ōn kuo'ig pā-l*
 I.GEN father.NOM be.PST.3SG sail-ACT.PST.PLE ship.GEN on-ADE
kokk-ōks e'žm-ōks, si'z matrūz-ōks ja bōtsmaņņ-ōks
 cook-INL first-INL then sailor-INL and boatswain-INL
ka ta u'm vō-nd.
 also he.NOM be.PRE.3SG be-ACT.PST.PLE

‘My father had sailed on a ship first as a cook, then as a sailor, and a boatswain he has been also.’

Note that the use of the instrumental (*kokkōks, matrūzōks*) in the function of the translative in the first clause of the compound sentence (22) with the verb ‘to sail’ is characteristic of Livonian; in Estonian and Finnish it is excluded, the essive or a prepositional phrase is used instead of it. On the other hand, unlike in Livonian and Estonian, in cases like *bōtsmaņņōks ka ta u'm vōnd*, the translative essive is used in Finnish instead, as, e.g., in the old sailor song “*Olin Neptunus laivalla jungmannina*” ‘I was as a **ship’s boy** (ESS) on the ship Neptunus’.

4. Adverbials of state in the essive

The essive endings in Livonian are *-nā, -na, -nō, -n*, and *-ōn* depending on the stem structure. As the endings *-n* and *-ōn* are also characteristic of the dative case, there is some formal overlapping of the essive and dative forms of di- and trisyllabic stems.

4.1. Adverbials of state in the essive as complements of the supine in the debitive

The following is an example with a topicalized adverbial of state:

- (23) *Piški-n vōl-dsō um opāt-ōmōst un vald-ōmōst.*
 small-ESS be-GER be.3SG teach-DEB and control-DEB

‘One must be taught and controlled when being small.’

Here the object has been dropped in order to make the clause applicable for any meaningful object. Hence the clause can be considered to be derived, e.g., from the clause (23'):

- (23') *Piški-n vól-dsõ um laps-tā opāt-õmõst un vald-õmõst.*
 small-ESS be-GER be.3SG child-PRT teach-DEB and control-DEB
 ‘When being small, a child must be taught and controlled.’

The latter clause can be rearranged into a clause with the topicalized object:

- (23'') *Laps-tā um opāt-õmõst un vald-õmõst piški-n vól-dsõ.*
 child-PRT be.3SG teach-DEB and control-DEB small-ESS be-GER
 ‘A child must be taught and controlled when being small.’

For denoting different stages of life, the adverbials used with the gerund are more or less lexicalized in Livonian, cf. *sūrõn vòldsõ* ‘[when] being big (essive)’, *lapsõld vòldsõ* ‘being a child (ablative)’, *neitsõld ~ neitsõl vòldsõ* ‘being a maiden (ablative ~ adessive)’.

4.2. Adverbials of state in the essive in debitive clauses with a topicalized experiencer

In debitive clauses with an adverbial of state in the essive, the experiencer is topicalized and occurs in the dative:

- (24) *Lõtku'b kaitsijiz-õn um vó'l-mõst*
 church.body.GEN holder-DAT be.PRE.3SG be- DEB
äbsuõd-tõt-õn, ī'd naiz mī'e-n, mõistlüzõn,
 non.blame-PST.PLE-ESS one.GEN woman.GEN man-ESS temperate-ESS
kovālõn, sādizõn.
 wise-ESS respectable-ESS

‘The congregation holder must be blameless, the husband of one wife, temperate, wise, respectable.’

Note that in (25), the conjunction *nei'ku* ‘as’ excludes treating the form *vaktõn* as an essive form:

- (25) *Si'n u'm pī'l-ōmōst jūr-sō ne'iku vakṭ-ōn.*
 thou.DAT be.PRE.3SG stand-DEB side-INE so as guard-DAT
 'You have to stand at the side just like a guard.'

4.3. Adverbials of state in the essive as a complement of the infinitive

There is an open series of collocations of an adjective or an agent noun in the essive and a form of the verb *vōlda* 'to be', cf. (26).

- (26) *Si'nn-ōn lā'-ks ka jōvā mīel jū-s ja*
 thou.DAT go-CND also good.GEN sense.GEN at-INE and
rīemlīz-ōn vōl-da.
 glad-ESS be-INF
 'You should also have a good mindset and be glad.'

Many such collocations with a form of the verb 'to be' have related collocations with the verb *īedō* 'to remain; to get', e.g., *ta vōib lālamōks īedō* 'she may get pregnant' and *ta vōib lālamōn vōlda* 'she may be pregnant' where *lālam* means, first of all, 'heavy' and also 'hard'.

- (27) *Tä'mm-ōn um mīel pierāst e'žmiz-ōn vōl-da.*
 he/she- DAT be.PR.3SG sense.GEN by first-ESS be-INF
 'It is to his liking to be first. = He likes to be first.'

Still for other verbs, the use of instrumental case forms may seem ambiguous because of the ambiguity of instrumental forms. For example, the sentence *Ta lekš e'žmizōks daņtšōm* can be understood both as 'he went first to dance' and 'he went to dance with the first one'.

Hence, although the essive mostly expresses the subject's state or situation and the instrumental or translative expresses the subject's goals or purposes when entering a state or situation, even the contrary is possible. In principle, it is not always possible to decide which case is used instead of the other case. Huno Rätsep (1979:71) already has pointed out, that in the Mordvinic languages it is the *ks*-case and in Saamic it is the *n*-case that carries the functions of both Finnic translative and essive. Expression of both the state and goal in the framework of the instrumental case is also characteristic of the Baltic and

Slavic languages. In connection with the latter point, my colleague Valts Ernštreits turned my attention to the fact that in the sentence (6), i.e., *Mikš um tā'mmōn vō'lmōst ābje'lziz lu'mmomm-ōn?* 'Why must this be a lifeless **snowman**?' the word *lu'mmommōn*, which is in the essive, according to Finnic rules, must be in the dative in Latvian. The sentence is originally from Stalte (2011a: 75) and in its translation into Latvian, *Kāpēc viņam jābūt nedzīvam sniegavīram* (Stalte 2011b: 23), unlike in Livonian, the attribute of the noun is also in the dative. Gunta Kļava, from the Latvian Language Agency has added that in similar cases, the dative also can be used in Lithuanian. A pilot control of the use of the dative in translations of the New Testament into Livonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian has shown that essive-dative forms in Livonian and dative forms in Latvian are frequent in necessive constructions, while in Lithuanian nominative forms often are preferred. On the other hand, Pētōr Damberg (1978a: 80; 1978b: 91), who was at one time the best specialist in the field of Livonian language, was rather critical concerning the unusual language and style of the Livonian translation of the New Testament. According to him, the translator Karl Stalte was convinced that the language of the Holy Scripture must be specific. In my own experience from the 1970s and 1980s, when there were still Livonians who had actively used Livonian from early childhood, I found that they preferred to use the nominative case in such constructions, at least for participles. As for Latvian, perhaps the overwhelming use of the dative in necessive constructions is somehow connected with the somewhat incorrect patterns eagerly used at one point by Livonians who were becoming Latvianized.

5. Temporal use of the essive

The essive case form of the pronominal stem *ku-* is characterized by always having a temporal meaning, cf. *kunā* 'when'. In addition, this essive form also serves as the basis for the instrumental case form *kunāks* 'for which time'.

The essive is used with only three noun stems, *āigast* 'year', *pāva* 'day', *ō'dōg* 'evening', when used as when-adverbials, cf. *āigastōn*, *pāvan*, *ō'dōn*.

More precisely, the form *āigastōn* can be used in *tā'm āigastōn* 'this year', *lāndz āigastōn* 'last year'; with other adjectival complements, *āigast* is used in the nominative case and when used with a year number, both it and the number itself are in the inessive case.

The form *pāvan* occurs with demonstrative and ordinal complements and in the compounds *āndizpāvan* ‘on the day before yesterday’, *e’žzōmpāvan* ‘on Monday’, *tūoiznapāvan* ‘on Tuesday’, *kuolmōndpāvan* ‘on Wednesday’, *neļļōndpāvan* ‘on Thursday’, *pūolpāvan* ‘on Saturday’, *pivāpāvan* ‘on Sunday’, *sindipāvan* ‘on a birthday’, *jōņpāvan* ‘on St. John’s Day’, etc. An ordinal as a complement of the essive form *pāvan* occurs mostly in the essive, e.g., *kuolmōndōn pāvan* ‘on the third day’. Still, in *tuoiz pāvan* ‘on the second day, on another day’ the complement is in the genitive. Similarly, an adjectival complement of *pāvan* is in the genitive.

The essive form *ō’dōn* ‘in the evening’ is different from the corresponding dative form *ō’dōgōn* and, therefore, it can be safely used without a complement. It occurs also in some compounds, cf. *tā’mō’dōn* ‘on this evening’, *mūpō’dōn* ‘on tomorrow evening’.

In the compound *mūnāigast* ‘in the next year’ and its instrumental form *mūnāigastōks* ‘for the following year’ (and similarly, in *tagāmūnāigast* ‘in the year after next’ and *tagāmūnāigastōks* ‘for the year after next’) the complement subword *mūn* must be analyzed as the sequence of *mū* ‘else, another’ and the case ending *-n*. This case ending can best be identified as the essive. This solution is supported by another compound noun with the complement in the essive case, cf. *tūoiznapāva* ‘Tuesday’ where *tūoizna* must be considered an essive case of the ordinal *tuoiz* ‘second, other’, cf. gen. *tuoiz*, part. *tūoizta*, dat. *tuoizōn*.

A similar structure for the word for Tuesday is found in Veps and in one part of the dialects of Lude. cf. Veps *tožnar’g*, Lude *tožnar’g*, where *ar’g* has the meanings ‘meat-free meal’ or ‘meat-free day’ and *tožn-* and *tožn-* can be identified as former essive forms with the case suffix added to the consonantal stem that is still preserved as such in the partitive case forms of this form in all Finnic dialects, cf. Veps *toine* ‘second; other’, gen. *toižen*, part. *tošt’*. There are no data on the modern essive form of this Veps and Lude ordinal. On the other hand, even the form *toissa* in the Finnish compound *toissapäivänä* ‘on the day before yesterday’ and the collocation *toissa kesänä* ‘in the summer before last summer’ which are preserved alongside the modern essive form *toisena* reflect the oldest essive form **toisna*.

6. Local use of the essive

There is only one noun with local use in the essive, namely *kuo'nnõ* 'at home' from *kuo'd* 'home'. The form *kuo'nnõ* may have complements in the genitive, e.g., *eņtš kuo'nnõ* 'in one's own home'. The same is true for the corresponding lative and excessive forms *kuodāj* '[to] home' and *kuo'ndõ ~ kuo'ndõst* 'from home'.

The essive occurs in the adverb triad (i) *kõgaz* 'to afar', (ii) *kougõn* 'far', (iii) *kougõnd* 'from afar'.

In one adverb and postposition series, the essive form has mostly replaced the lative form in East Livonian; so instead of the triad *tagā* : *tagān* : *tagāndõst* only *tagān* and *tagāndõst* are usually used, cf. *je'dstõ tagān* 'from the front to the back', *tagāndõst je'ddõ* 'from the back to the front'; *sa pī'l je'dsõ*, *ma pī'lõb tagān* 'you stay in the front, I stay in the back'. Hence, in East Livonian the former essive form *tagān* hardly can be considered an essive form anymore.

Three adverbs and postpositions *i'llõ* 'up; in a higher place', *ullõ* 'out; in a place outside', and *allõ* 'in a lower place, under, below, beneath; down' have undergone the general Finnic change **ln > ll*, thus these adverbs have become morphologically unanalyzable long ago. Actually, even other forms of the corresponding triads have at one point become unanalyzable, and have added additional suitable case endings, cf. *i'ldõst* 'from above', *uldõst* 'from outside', *aldõst* 'from under, from below', where the elative ending has been added to the former separative ending *-dõ*, and *i'lzõ* 'up, to a higher place' and *ulzõ* 'out, to a place outside' where a vowel has been added to the former **s*-lative ending in order to have an ending formally identical with the illative ending otherwise characteristic of monosyllabic vocalic stems.

7. Dative-like essive case forms in different constructions and clause types.

There are rare cases of dative-like essive forms used as state adverbials in normal sentences. In (28) and (29), the infinitival form is in the essive. It presents the state of the subject and also functions as an adverbial. In other cases, adverbials are complements of infinitival forms. The essive forms express the state of the subject in (28) and (29), the state of the direct object in (30) – (32), and the state of the indirect object in (33). Note that in (33), the essive form *ī'dmēļiztõn* agrees with the

pluralic adverbial *Euodian ja Zintiken* in number, which is not the case for necessive constructions.

- (28) *Ta jelā-b jarā la'gg-ōn-ōn.*
 he/she-NOM live-PR.3SG away first-ACT.PST.PLE-ESS
 'He lives having split up.'
- (29) *Mis se ä'bŕ-iz rikkō-n vōl-da?*
 what.PRT this.NOM help-PST.3SG rich-ESS be-INF
 'What did it help to be rich?'
- (30) *Ne ne-iz-t tān-da knaš laps-ōn vō'lm*
 they.NOM live-PST-3PL he-PRT nice.GEN child-ESS 'be-SUP.ILL'
 'They saw him being a nice child.'
- (31) *Mittō midā-gid ä'b ūo ä'b+pū'di le'b ī'žentš;*
 not something-PRT not.3SG be not+clean.NOM through itself.GEN
set sīen ī'd, kis arrō-b midā-gid
 but this-DAT one.GEN who-NOM supposes-3SG something.PRT
ä'b+pū'diz-ōn vō'lm.
 not-ESS+clean-ESS be-SUP.ILL
 'Nothing is unclean of itself, but for this one who thinks something to be unclean.'
- (32) *Ajā ēņtš-ta sīe tagā-n, kōlbat-ōb-ōn*
 force.IMP.2SG self-PRT this.GEN behind-ESS fit-PRS.PLE-ESS
pī'l-ō Jumāl je'd-s, kui űeliz-ōn.
 stand-INF God.GEN for-INE as worker-ESS
 'Force yourself to stand approved before God, as being a worker.'
- (33) *Ma ānda-b nō'vv-ō Euodian ja Zintike-n*
 I.NOM give-1SG advice.PRT Euodia-DAT and Syntyche-DAT
vōl-da ī'd+mēļiz-t-ōn Izānd-ōs.
 be-INF one.GEN+minded-PL-ESS Lord-INE
 'I give advice to Euodia and Syntyche to be of the same mind in the Lord.'

It should be noted that Inaba (2015:156–157) has given special attention to two series of his examples, which are reflected in the above series. First, Inaba's examples (215)–(219) represent supine constructions whose predicates correspond to the referative constructions of Finnish and, in Livonian, belong to the paradigms of the verbs *arrō* 'to guess, think' and *nā'dō* 'to see'. The above examples (30) and (31) are shared with that series. Most likely, it is important that in all cases listed by Inaba the state adverbial in the essive presents the state of the direct object in the partitive.

- (34) *Mi'nn-ōn u'm lālam ī'd-ōn piškīž-i*
 I-DAT be.3SG hard.NSG one-ESS little-PL.PRT
lāpš-i kazā-tō.
 child-PL.PRT raise-INF

'For me, it is hard to raise little children alone.'

- (35) *Tā'mm-ōn u'm mīel pierāst e'žmiz-ōn vōl-da.*
 (s)he-DAT be.3SG mind.GEN to first-ESS be-INF

'For him it is a pleasure to be the first.'

Most dative-like essive forms are used as adverbials in necessive constructions. These constructions are impersonal and consist of four components: (a) a real or a dummy experiencer in the dative that serves as the subject of predication, (b) the predicate, (c) an infinitival complement, i.e., an infinitive, supine debitive, supine illative, or participle, (d) a state adverbial in the essive. Note that there exist necessive and permissive constructions with a state adverbial in the (translatival) instrumental or in the nominative. Table 5, shows necessive and permissive constructions with an adverbial in the essive. These are classified on the basis of the predicates, as the heads of the constructions, and their infinitival complements.

The hitherto known permissive constructions with an adverbial in the essive begin with the imperative verb *ānda* in type (5). The corresponding two similar examples actually go back to Wiedemann (1861a: 479), cf. also Inaba 2015: 156 (213) and (214). Later no similar cases have been documented.

Table 5. Necessive and permissive constructions with state adverbials in the essive

No.	Predicate	Infinitival complement	Examples
1.1	<i>um</i> ~ <i>vó'ļ</i>	<i>vó'lmōst</i> (DEB)	<i>Tā'ddōn u'm <u>selliztōn</u> vó'lmōst.</i> 'You must be <u>such</u> .'
1.2	~ <i>vólks</i>	<i>sōmōst</i> (DEB)	<i>Agā mi'nnōn u'm sōmōst <u>rištōtōn</u> le'b rištīmiz.</i> 'But I must get <u>baptized</u> through baptism.'
1.3		<i>vōlda</i> (INF)	<i>Tā'mmōn u'm mīel pierāst e'žmizōn vōlda.</i> 'For him it is a pleasure to be <u>the first</u> .'
1.4		<i>kazātō</i> (INF)	<i>Mi'nnōn u'm lālam ī'dōn piškāzi lāpši kazātō.</i> 'For me, it is hard to raise little children <u>alone</u> .'
2.1	<i>līb</i>	<i>vólmōst</i> (DEB)	<i>Mis tēg sidāt mō pāl, līb si'dtōtōn vó'lmōst touvōs.</i> 'Whatever you bind on earth will be <u>bound</u> in heaven.'
2.2		<i>vōlda</i> (INF)	<i>Nānt kō'dōn līb ī'd lejān vōlda.</i> 'They two must proceed to be <u>one flesh</u> '
2.3		<i>līdō</i> (INF)	<i>Tā'd ōgizōn līb parīmōn līdō.</i> 'Your righteousness should become <u>better</u> .'
2.4		<i>sōdō</i> (INF)	<i>Tā'ddōn līb sōdō rištōtōn.</i> 'You all should get <u>baptized</u> .'
3.	<i>tulūb</i>	<i>vōlda</i> (INF)	<i>Rištīngōdōn tulūb <u>andōks āndajin</u> vōlda.</i> 'People should be <u>forgivers</u> .'
4.	<i>lā'ks</i>	<i>vōlda</i> (INF)	<i>Si'nnōn lā'ks vōlda <u>rīemlizōn</u>.</i> 'You should be <u>glad</u> .'
5.	<i>ānda</i>	<i>līdō</i> (INF)	<i>Ānda mā'd Keizarōn līdō <u>joudzōn, tierrōn, tierābōn</u>.</i> 'Give that our Emperor be <u>strong, healthy, spry</u> .'

The single known case of necessary sentences of type (1.2) – which comes from the New Testament (Luke 12:50) – contradicts the fact that in Finnic, governees of the verb *sõdõ* ‘to become’ are in the translative, while in Livonian these are in the instrumental (translative-comitative), and participles, as the governors, are mostly in the nominative. Most likely, the use of the essive in the Livonian New Testament was influenced by the case use in the Latvian version.

Note that the example of type (2.1) is formally a normal sentence where *mis tēg sidāt* ‘whatever you bind’ is an individual case of the universal assertion *mis sõb si’dtõd* ‘whatever will be bound’, but the usage of the latter is counterindicated because of the undesirable homonymy of the dative and essive forms of the passive past participle. In addition, in the style of a sermon, an individual approach to listeners or readers is preferable to presenting abstract generalizations.

Much as in the latter case, there are three sentences characterized by Inaba (2015:157–158, examples (220)–(222)) as similar to necessary constructions, cf. Table 6. Inaba agrees that in these cases the dative forms can be considered essive forms. He considers it best to explain these forms as predicatives of the corresponding infinitival complements.

8. Conclusions

Although very little is known about the syntax of the Livonian language, a preliminary conclusion concerning the interrelations of the essive and dative can be made.

1. Some adverbs, postpositions, and the noun *kuo’d* ‘home’ have specific lative, essive, and excessive case forms used to express temporal and local functions. In certain other words the same functions are expressed by forms close to or identical with the dative case forms.
2. Excessive forms are related to corresponding existing essive forms and probably have been developed on the basis of essive forms.
3. Essive forms and excessive forms are structurally a case pair similar to the inessive and elative and to the adessive and ablative.
4. The sublative case forms *sīnõ* ‘to there’ and *tānõ* ‘to here’ may historically belong to the same triad of cases with the essive and excessive.

5. The usage of dative-like forms as state adverbials in Livonian can be considered the typical use of the essive, which is shared by other Finnic languages, especially Finnish, and does not belong to the Baltic and Germanic dative area.

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Abbreviations

ADE adessive, DAT dative, DEB debitive, ELA elative, ESS essive, GEN genitive, GER gerund, ILL illative, INE inessive, INL instrumental, NOM nominative, PRT partitive, PL plural, PLE participle, PRS present, PST past, SG singular, SUP supine.

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Kokkuvõte. Tiit-Rein Viitso: Essiiv liivi keeles. Liivi keeles on väike hulk asukohta või aega väljendavaid sõnavorme, mida muutlõpu järgi võib hinnata läänemeresoome essiivi ehk oleva käände vormideks või pidada erinevaks tavalistest liivi daativi vormidest. Artiklis vaadeldakse neid küsimustele *kus?* ja *millal?* vastavaid nimi-, omadus-, arv-, ase-, määr- ja tagasõna vorme ning ka neile vastavaid *kuhu?* ja *mis ajaks?* ning *kust?* ja *mis-ajast?* käänete vorme ja nende vasteid ning ajalugu läänemeresoome keeleruumis.

Märksõnad: liivi keel, läänemeresoome keeled, essiiv, daativ, käändesüsteem, keeleajalugu

Kubbõvõttõks. Tiit-Rein Viitso: Esiv livõ kiels. Livõ kielsõ um piški kub kūožõ agā aigõ nāgṭõbidi sõnāformidi, mis vastātõbõd kizzimiztõn *kus kūožõs?* ja *kunā?* ja eṅš lopāndõkst pierrõ ātõ esiv nõtk formõd nei iž ku seļizt formõd mūši vāldamiersuomõ kēļši. Kēras sṭõbõd vaṅtõltõd ne formõd, nāntõn ležgilizt kizzimiztõn *kus kūožõ?* *kunāks?* ja *kust kūožõst mis āigast?* vastātõbõd lativ, ekstsēsiv ja sublativ nõtkūd formõd, ja nānt istorij. Vel sṭõbõd kui esiv formõd ulzlagtõd dativ formõdõst form pūolstõ nāntkõks identizt formõd, mis ātõ kōlbatõd ku vōlmiz adverbialõd, ja sieldõks tīedõd nānt kōlbatimiz tīpõd.