THE FORMS OF THIRD PERSON
AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
IN SPOKEN LIVONIAN RECORDINGS

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Abstract. This article studies the inflectional forms of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns as used in spoken language recordings. In Standard Livonian, these words have the nominative singular forms tämā/ta ‘he/she; this’, se ‘this’, tūo ‘that’, and the nominative plural forms nāmād ‘they’ (for tämā), ne ‘they; these’ (for both ta and se), and tuoist ‘those’ (for tūo). The current empirical study describes their use based on Livonian fieldwork recordings from the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (AEDKL). In the present article, the inflectional forms and the main functional tendencies of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns are described, comparing them also to the forms mentioned in earlier Livonian grammars and dictionaries to see if there is any change in their use.

Keywords: demonstrative pronouns, third person pronoun, spoken language, dialogues, Livonian

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1. Introduction

Standard Livonian, based on the eastern dialect of Courland Livonian on the Livonian Coast in northwestern Latvia, has two nominative forms for its third person singular pronoun: the long form tämā and the short form ta ‘he/she’. The short form is said to be more frequent, and the long form is said to be used for phrasal stress (Viitso 2008: 332). See (1) and (2) for examples of the third person singular pronoun long and short forms, where the symbol ` marks the stressed word (see the full list of the transcription symbols at the end of the article):

(1) ESUKA – JEFUL 2022, 13–1: 157–184
In addition to its function as a third person singular pronoun, tämā/tamā can sometimes also be used adnominally in its original function as a demonstrative pronoun, as its demonstrative use has been preserved in some temporal phrases like tä’m pāva ‘on this day’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 117).

The demonstrative se is the most common demonstrative pronoun in Livonian. It has one nominative form in Standard Livonian, but it can have long and short forms in other cases such as the local cases and instrumental case, e.g., the instrumental forms sīēkōks and sīeks ‘with this’ (Kettunen 1938: LVIII). Se can be used to refer to both close and distal objects and is therefore considered distance-neutral (Larjavaara 1986: 36). In addition, se can be also used in a function similar to a third person singular pronoun, referring to a previously mentioned entity endophorically, e.g., se juoi ka ‘he drank, too’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116, AEDKL: SUHK0506-01).

The pronouns ta and se share a common plural form ne ‘they; these’ and its other case forms. Adnominal use and context help to determine the more precise function, e.g., adnominal demonstrative use as in ne lāpst ‘these kids’, or independent (argumental) use of the third person plural pronoun or demonstrative pronoun as in ne võ’ļttō ‘they/these were’. The long form nāmād ‘they’ is said to be used only as a third person plural pronoun (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 206). A similar distribution also appears in Estonian – a close relative of Livonian – with the third person singular pronoun tema/ta and demonstrative pronoun see; these pronouns share all plural case forms (e.g., the inessive form neis ‘in them; in these’) except for the plural nominative nemad/nad ‘they’ and need ‘these’, which differ (Pajusalu 2005: 108).

In addition, there is a distal demonstrative pronoun tūo ‘that’, which is already described as a rarely used pronoun in Sjögren and Wiedemann’s first Livonian grammar (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 117). In the
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Later grammars and dictionaries, it appears only in some phrases, e.g., *tuolāpūol* ‘on the other side’ (Viitso 2008: 334) and is not mentioned as a separate demonstrative pronoun anymore in the latest Livonian dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits (2012). Therefore, according to the latest overviews, *tūo* is considered to have disappeared from Livonian as a separate demonstrative pronoun. As spontaneous spoken language material may include more contrastive and distal references than written texts or revised narratives, the current article is, however, also focused on determining the possible uses of the distal pronoun *tūo* from the data.

Finnic third person and demonstrative pronouns have so far been studied mostly based on Estonian, Finnish, and Võro, for example, Lea Laitinen’s study on the use of the Finnish third person pronoun *hän* (Laitinen 2005), Marja Etelämäki’s study on Finnish demonstratives in interaction (Etelämäki 2009), Renate Pajusalu’s studies on Estonian pronouns (Pajusalu 2005, 2009) and Võro demonstratives (Pajusalu 2015), and Liina Tammekäänd’s study on the use of demonstratives in Võro and Estonian narratives (Tammekäänd 2015). Livonian personal pronouns and demonstratives have been so far listed mainly in Sjögren and Wiedemann’s Livonian dictionary and grammar (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861), Kettunen’s Livonian dictionary with an introduction to grammar (Kettunen 1938), Viitso’s overview of Livonian grammar (Viitso 2008), Viitso and Ernštreits’s Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), and Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu’s Salaca Livonian dictionary (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009) and grammar (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018). These sources mostly contain paradigms of personal and demonstrative pronouns, in Sjögren and Wiedemann’s dictionary, some of the main contexts for their use are described with some accompanying examples. Thus, the latest use of Livonian pronouns requires further research and description, based on the actual spontaneous language in recordings of native speakers. The aim of this article is to give an actual account of the Livonian pronouns *tämä/tu, se*, their shared plural form *ne*, the rare distal pronoun *tūo*, and their case forms as used in spontaneous spoken language material by the last native speakers. The research questions of this study are:

1) Do the forms of third person and demonstrative pronouns in spoken Livonian data differ from the forms in grammars and dictionaries?
2) If a pronoun has both long and short forms in a particular case, which form is preferred?
3) Is the distal demonstrative pronoun tūo still used as a separate demonstrative pronoun in the spoken language data?

The article is structured as follows: the data and methods of the study are introduced in section 2, an overview of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns as well as their inflection as described in earlier sources is presented in section 3, the forms of the pronouns in the spoken Livonian recording data are presented and analysed in section 4. A summary of the results follows at the end of the paper.

2. Data and methods

Data from spoken language recordings are used to analyse the spontaneous and unedited use of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns for this study. The recorded data for this research are taken from the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (AEDKL, https://murdearhiiv.ut.ee). There are currently a total of 400 recordings of Livonian at the AEDKL, including both spontaneous conversations and non-spontaneous recordings like phonetic examples, narratives, poems, and songs. For the current study, only spontaneous language recordings were chosen which are in the form of a dialogue between a native Livonian speaker and researcher(s) who speak(s) Livonian as a second language. These conversations have been recorded during fieldwork with Livonian native speakers. The main topics in the recordings are everyday life on the Livonian Coast, past events, local people, places, and history. The researchers also ask specifying or directing questions, initiate new topics, or ask other questions in the conversations.

Only the native speaker speech data are used in the analysis to study the naturally used forms of Livonian pronouns. A problematic aspect of using the archive recordings’ dialogue material is that the researchers’ language may influence the language choices of native speakers, for example, when a native speaker immediately repeats or uses a word or a phrase that the researcher has just previously uttered. Such cases of repetitions are left out of the data.

The data consist of texts from 13 different recordings with five different Livonian native speakers (three females and two males, aged
76–102 during the recording). The recordings are from 1986–2012 and are recorded by researchers from the University of Tartu – Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, and Tiina Halling. For analysing the material in the recordings, the text of the recordings was transcribed using the Livonian orthography and conversation analysis transcription symbols adapted by Hennoste et al. (2013), originally by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974). Conversation transcription symbols help to mark stress, intonation, pauses, self-repairs, background sounds, and other important details needed for interpreting the text from the recordings more precisely. The total length of the utilised recordings is approximately 4 hours and 33 minutes.

The recordings used for the study were chosen based on sound quality, as the older recordings in the archive mostly have poor quality and are not suitable for transcription; the utilised recordings are from the late 1980s to the 2010s. Speakers were selected based on them speaking Livonian as their native language. An additional consideration taken into account was that there would be at least 30 minutes of transcribed material from each selected speaker. Table 1 summarises the background data (year of birth, place of birth, place of residence, place(s) and year(s) of recording) on the selected speakers and their recordings. Speakers 2–5 – born in Vaid (Latvian: Vaide) or Sīkrõg (Latvian: Sīkrags) – are speakers of the eastern dialect of Courland Livonian on which Standard Livonian is based (Ernštreits 2013: 194).

Table 1. Background data on the speakers and recordings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Main place(s) of residence</th>
<th>Place(s) of recording</th>
<th>Year of recording(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Īra</td>
<td>Kūolka (Latvia)</td>
<td>Kūolka</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Vaid</td>
<td>Rīga (Latvia), Vaid (Latvia)</td>
<td>Vaid</td>
<td>1997, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Vaid</td>
<td>Campbellville (Canada)</td>
<td>Saulaine (Canada)</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Sīkrõg</td>
<td>Ādaži (Latvia)</td>
<td>Tartu (Estonia)</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Vaid</td>
<td>Vaid (Latvia)</td>
<td>Vaid</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Speaker 1 was born in Īra (Latvian: Lielirbe) and is a speaker of the mid dialect of Courland Livonian, which can also be considered a part of the western dialect, as it mostly has western dialect features (Ernštreits 2013: 16–17). All speakers aside from Speaker 3 lived in Latvia at the time of the recording; Speaker 3 emigrated to Canada during World War II.

The methods used for this study are qualitative, quantitative, and comparative. Firstly, I am describing the forms of third person and demonstrative pronouns in the data qualitatively and presenting the numbers of their occurrences in the data; subsequently, I am also comparing the forms with existing information about the pronouns in Livonian grammars and dictionaries. If in one case there appear several different case forms, I will sum up which forms were the most preferred in the spoken language data, whether there are any differences from previous sources, and what are their other distinctive features.

3. Overview of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns in earlier sources

The Livonian third person singular pronoun long form tämā and the demonstrative pronouns se and tūo historically developed from the Proto-Finnic demonstrative stems *tä ‘this’, *se ‘this, it’, and *tō ‘that’ (Larjavaara 1986: 75). In Late Proto-Finnic, a fourth demonstrative stem *tä also appeared, which Larjavaara suggests was borrowed from the Baltic languages, as Latvian and Lithuanian have maintained the similar demonstrative pronouns tas/tä ‘this, that’. It is not entirely certain if the third person pronoun ta in Livonian is just a shortened form of tämā or also represents a merger with the demonstrative stem *tä (Larjavaara 1986: 74–75). The plural forms nāmād and ne have developed from the plural demonstrative stems *nā and *ne which are suppletive plural forms of *tä and *se (Larjavaara 1986: 70). -mā/-ma is a Finnic suffix added to the demonstrative stems *tä and *nā (Kulonen 2000: 355).

As briefly mentioned above, the Livonian third person singular pronoun tämā was also a demonstrative pronoun, as there are some demonstrative attributive forms with tämā preserved in Livonian, e.g., tā’m āigast ‘in this year’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861 : 116). However, the non-attributive demonstrative use of it has disappeared from Livonian. Other Southern Finnic languages like Estonian and Võro share
a similar phenomenon – in these languages, a demonstrative pronoun with the same stem has also developed into a third person singular pronoun, e.g., Estonian tema and Võro timä ‘he, she’. Votic tämä is mostly also used as the third person singular pronoun, but in some villages, tämä may be used both as the third person singular pronoun and as the demonstrative pronoun ‘this’, e.g., tätä sirkotutti ‘he/she felt the urge to wring [his/her] hands’ and tämä tšülä põli ‘this village burned down’ (Adler et al. 2013).

The demonstrative stem *se is preserved in Livonian as the main demonstrative pronoun se; the distal demonstrative pronoun tuo was already rarely used according to Sjögren and Wiedemann’s grammar, mostly alongside se in a contrastive context. Sjögren and Wiedemann mention that se always refers to a closer object than tuo, e.g., sīe pāl, tuo pāl ‘on this, on that’. The grammar also mentions that tuo has the alternative forms tuo and toi where the demonstrative meaning ‘that’ has been mixed with the word tuo ‘the other (one), the second (one)’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 117). The words tuo and toi also originate from the demonstrative stem *tuo (Kulonen 2000: 304). Sjögren and Wiedemann see the Latvian distance-neutral pronoun tas ‘this, that’ as the main influence explaining why Livonian started to use the demonstrative pronoun se more for referring to both closer and further objects instead of using two different demonstratives (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 117).

The demonstrative pronouns se and tuo have no separate long and short form in the nominative, unlike the third person pronoun tämä/ta. However, se and tuo do have long and short forms in other noun cases, e.g., se has the instrumental forms sīekoks and sīeks and – in the interior local cases – it has the inessive forms sīesō and sīes (Kettunen 1938: LVIII). The demonstrative pronoun tuo also shows some long and short forms in other noun cases, e.g., the instrumental long form tuokoks and short form tuoks (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). In the most recent Livonian dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits, there is only one form of se mentioned for the cases (no separate long and short forms are given) and tuo is no longer mentioned as a separate demonstrative pronoun, but only as a part of some compound phrases (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 282).
Table 2 summarises the forms of the third person and demonstrative pronouns in the grammars and dictionaries by Sjögren and Wiedemann (1861), Kettunen (1938), Viitso and Ernštreyits (2012), and Pajusalu and Winkler (2018). For a complete overview, forms from Salaca Livonian (extinct at the end of the 19th century) which was spoken in north-central Latvia are mentioned, where possible, alongside Courland Livonian forms. The sign ’ marks the Livonian broken tone which is not always marked in earlier sources and therefore is marked in brackets to avoid repetition of the same word form. Also, in earlier sources, long vowels are often not marked, so the same form is given in the table below in different orthographies with a slash separating such variants. For the distal demonstrative pronoun tūo (written as tuo in earlier sources), no plural forms other than the nominative plural tuoist are mentioned in the sources and therefore its other plural case forms could not be added to the table as there are no available data about them.

As can be seen in Table 2, the third person pronoun singular in Courland Livonian has separate long and short forms in the nominative and interior local cases. Salaca Livonian forms are very diverse, having at least two different forms for every noun case. Unlike Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian did not develop a dative case, but instead used allative/adessive forms. In contrast, there is no information about third person illative or inessive pronouns in Salaca Livonian, Sjögren & Wiedemann note in their grammar that these forms seemed to be unknown in this area (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). However, the third person elative pronoun was also used in Salaca Livonian.

The demonstrative pronoun se also has an alternative nominative form sie according to earlier sources. In Lauri Kettunen’s dictionary of Courland Livonian, se has both long and short forms in the instrumental (there called the translatative-comitative) and in all interior local cases. Sjögren and Wiedemann – and also Kettunen – mention the rarely-used adessive forms of se, e.g., in phrases like sīel āigal ‘at this time’ (Viitso 2008: 328) or in adverbs like sīela ‘there’ (Kettunen 1938: LVIII). The plural form nāmād is not mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian materials and appears only in Viitso and Ernštreyits’s dictionary as well as in Salaca Livonian sources. Courland Livonian shows less variation of forms here than Salaca Livonian, which has a far greater number of separate long and short forms – for example, in the instrumental and elative.
Table 2. Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns in earlier sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prn.</th>
<th>Courland Livonian</th>
<th>Salaca Livonian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen: tä(’)m</td>
<td></td>
<td>gen: täm (1861, 2018), täma (2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part: tända</td>
<td></td>
<td>instr: tämk, tämka, tämg (1861, 2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instr: tä(’)mkõks</td>
<td></td>
<td>ela: tämast, tämmast (1861, 2018), tämmest (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ill: tä(’)mmõz (1838, 2012), tä(’)mmõ (1861, 1938, 2012)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ade/all: täm(m)el, täm(m)ääl, täm(m)al, täml (1861, 2018), tämmyl (2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen: sīe/sie</td>
<td></td>
<td>gen: sie (1861, 2018), se, sīa (2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ela: sīestõ (1938, 2012), sīest/siest (1861, 1938)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The full paradigm of the distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* is given only in Sjögren and Wiedemann’s dictionary and has different case forms according to whether the nominative form is *tuo* ‘that’ or *tuoi / toi* ‘that, the second (one), the other (one)’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). Kettunen mentions only a couple of case forms for this demonstrative in, for example, the partitive and adessive cases; in the adessive case, it already has an adverbial meaning – *tūola* ‘there’ (Kettunen 1938: LVIII). In Viitso and Ernštreits’s dictionary, the forms of *tūo* appear only in some phrases like *siedā-tuodā* ‘this and that’ (partitive) and *sīes-tūos* ‘in this and that’ (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 282). In Salaca Livonian, *tūo* is almost not used at all, only the adessive form *tol’* ‘on that’ is mentioned (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116).
4. The inflection of third person and demonstrative pronouns in spoken language

4.1. The third person singular and demonstrative pronoun tämā/ta (singular)

There were a total of 490 examples of the third person singular and demonstrative pronoun tämā/ta in different forms and cases. The most common form was the nominative short form ta (328 occurrences), the second most common was the dative long form tä’mmõn (64 occurrences), the third most common was the nominative long form tämā, followed by the genitive form tä’m and partitive form tānda (both 28 occurrences). Other cases appeared less than 20 times, except for the illative and inessive cases which did not occur in the current data, as the interior local cases are very rarely used in Livonian with personal pronouns (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). Table 3 summarises the case forms that occurred in the data. The forms are presented in the order that the noun cases are shown in the most recent Livonian dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits (2012).

Table 3. Case forms of the third person singular and demonstrative pronoun tämā/ta in the data.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tämā</td>
<td>nominative (long form)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tä’m</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tānda</td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tä’mmõn</td>
<td>dative (long form)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tä’mn</td>
<td>dative (abbreviated long form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā’m</td>
<td>dative (short form)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā’mkõks</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā’mstõ</td>
<td>elative (long form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Based on earlier sources, the long illative form tä’mmõz, the short illative tä’mmõ, the long inessive tā’msõ, and the short inessive tā’ms were also expected to appear, but these forms did not occur in the selected data.
The nominative had a total of three different forms in the data: the long form tämā and the short forms ta and tä. The data show that the short nominative form ta is the most used form with 328 examples, while the long form tämā has only 32 occurrences, and the alternative short form tä has only six occurrences. Previous researchers have mentioned that tämā is a more stressed form than ta, which is considered to be the more common and neutral form (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 115, Viitso 2008: 332). 20 examples out of 32 in the data are also phonologically stressed while the rest of the examples are not, which shows tämā does not always appear phonologically stressed. In the data, tämā is mostly used to distinguish a certain referent from two or more previously mentioned referents (see also Pajusalu et al. 2020: 325–326 for Estonian) and to mark a contrast. In (3), the speaker is talking about two sisters and that one of them had studied to become a nurse. The long form tämā is used here to distinguish and stress that the speaker is talking about the previously mentioned sister:

(3) ne võ’l-tõ kakš ’sõzār-tõ. (0.5) Kristīn? (.) ja ja  
3pl be.pst.3pl two sister-part Kristīn and and  
ē se, (.). ‘Rozāl. (.).hh un ’tämā vȯ’l opp-õn  
hesit dem Rozāl and 3sg be.pst.3sg study-app  
ku ’sõzār? as nurse  
‘they were two sisters (0.5) Kristīn (.) and and um this (.) Rozāl (.) and  
she had studied to be a nurse’ (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

Tämā can be also used for the second mention of a previously introduced referent, after which the short form ta may follow, as in (4):

(4) se sūr ’kuodā mis ’u’m, (0.5) ’se (.). sā’l u’m  
dem big house what be.3sg dem there be.3sg  
iķš ’nai (0.5) un ’tämā ē: (.) mm strōdō-b ē  
one woman and 3sg hesit mm work-3sg hesit  
To’ronto-sō (.). ta jegā ’pāva bro’utšō-b ūoŋdžōl  
Toronto-mine 3sg every day drive-3sg morning  
‘je’dspēdōn away  
‘this big house that is (here) (0.5) this one (.). there is a woman (0.5) and  
she um (.). mm works um in Toronto (.). she drives away every day in the  
morning’ (AEDKL: DS0127-03)
However, tämā is not always used for the second mention of a referent, also ta can be used for referring to the previously introduced referent, as in (5). The variation and contrast of tämā and ta should be studied more closely in the future based on more examples.

(5) tās `vò'ʃ sešši, (0.5) `naizpūoʃi. (0.8)
here be.pst.3SG such woman
Pit- `Pitrõg-ё ta jel-ı iz
Pit- Pitrõg-ADE 3SG liv- live-pst.3SG
'there (literally: here) was such (0.5) a woman (0.8) in Pit- Pitrõg [Pitrags]
she liv- lived’ (SUKH0520-01)

In addition, there was an alternative short nominative form tä, which was used only six times. This form has previously been mentioned only in the Salaca Livonian sources (e.g., Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116), but not in any Courland Livonian sources. As it is used so rarely in the data, it may be a phonological variant of ta. See the use of tä in (6), where the speaker talks about her husband drowning in the Īra (Latvian: Irbe) River. Previously in the text the speaker referred to him only with the form ta.

(6) ē vòʃ `änd-ðn sie-dā sie-dā (0.5) pū-da
ē be.pst.3SG give-app dem-part dem-part wood-part
sie-dā (0.5) tä `mm-ðn (0.5) tä je' mbit i'z
dem-part 3SG-dat 3SG more neg.pst.3SG
i'z ūo `vōi-nd= ō `no (.) `no (.)
neg.pst.3SG be.cng.sg be.able-app hesit prfx prfx
`pi'dd-ð.
hold-inf
‘(he) um was given this this (0.5) [piece of] wood this (0.5) to him (0.5)
he was no longer able um to hold on’ (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The genitive case appeared only in one form – täm – in the data (28 times). Also, the earlier Courland Livonian sources mention this as the only form, while in Salaca Livonian there is also a long genitive form täma in addition to täm. Three examples in the data also showed its proximal demonstrative use in temporal expressions, referring to the current time. See (7), where the speaker is explaining that her daughter is going to have a birthday in the current month. At the end of the
example, the speaker replaces the proximal form tā’m with the inessive form of se which is distance-neutral and can refer to both proximal and distal objects:

(7) sīe-n u’m ‘tā’m kū-n tā’m
DEM-DAT be.3SG DEM.PRX.GEN month-DAT DEM.PRX.GEN
‘kū-s (0.5) sīe-s kū-s ‘tā’mm-õn u’m
month-INE DEM-INE month-INE 3SG-DAT be.3SG
‘she has in this (current) month in this (current) month (0.5) in this month she has (a birthday)’ (SUHK0506-01)

The dative case, however, had three different forms in the spoken language data: the long form tā’mmõn (63 occurrences) – which is also mentioned in all the previous sources, the abbreviated long form tā’mn (one occurrence) – as a part of a temporal expression tā’mnāigast ‘this (current) year’ where the long form tā’mmõn and the word āigast ‘year’ merged into one compound phrase, and the short form tā’m (three occurrences) – which is not mentioned in any of the earlier sources. Viitso mentions similar short forms of the dative in the first and second person singular and plural, e.g., the long form of the first person dative singular pronoun mi’nnõn and its short form mi’n, but does not mention the short form of the third person dative singular pronoun (Viitso 2008: 332). However, the third person dative singular short form is found in the data, but as there are only a few examples showing use of the short form, this seems to be a rather new phenomenon. See (8) for an example of the dative short form tā’m in use:

(8) je’dmõl ’Sānag-tō tās u’m ikš ‘kōrand.(.) ma
before Šānag-PART here be.3SG one farm 1SG
ä’b ‘tēda kui tā’m u’m ‘kōrand= ni’m.
NEG.1SG know.CNG.SG how 3SG-DAT be.3SG farm name
‘before Sānag [Saunags], there [literally ‘here’] is a farm (.) I do not know what is the farm’s name’ (AEDKL: F0997-03)

The partitive form tānda had 28 occurrences in the data and only has one form – there are no separate long and short forms. The form does not differ from the partitive form mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources. Surprisingly, the instrumental form tā’mkõks was used only once in the data, although the Livonian instrumental is also used in
the comitative and translative function and in various other adverbials (Viitso 2008: 327). The form tā’mkoks is the same as described in the grammars and dictionaries and also does not show separate long and short forms. The only instrumental example in the data concerns an inanimate object; in (9), the speaker is explaining to the researcher how a stone found on the coast can be used:

(9) ma a’b `tīe-da mis ta u’m pa `ki’v
ne’i `kievām (.). tā’m-kōks ‘kādū-d agā ērō-bōd.
so light 3sg-instr hand-pl perhaps rub-3pl
‘I do not know which stone is so light (.). perhaps hands are rubbed with it’ (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

There was also only one elative example in the data: tā’mstō which according to earlier sources can be considered the long form, as the short form – which is expected to be tā’mst – did not occur in the data. The elative form was also used in reference to an inanimate object rather than a person. In (10), the speaker is explaining to the researcher what kind of an object may be brittle:

(10) kīraz `ka= või-b võl-da ‘trapšā. (0.8) ta u’m `ne’i axe too may-3sg be-inf brittle 3sg be.3sg so
’ta’g-dōd ku tā’m-stō ‘midēgōst ā’b ūo.
strike-ppp that 3sg-elā nothing neg.3sg be
‘also an axe may be brittle (0.8) it is struck so much that there is no use from it’ (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

There were no examples of the other interior local cases – the illative and inessive – in the selected data, as these cases are in general used very rarely with personal pronouns in Livonian and are expressed with adpositions instead of interior local cases, e.g., mi’n sizāl ‘inside of me’ instead of mi’nsō ‘in me’ (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). According to earlier Courland Livonian grammars and dictionaries, the long illative form tā’mmōz, short illative tā’mmō, long inessive tā’msō, and short inessive tā’ms would have been expected to appear in the data. The lack of such examples, however, does not mean that these forms were not used at all, but that they may have occurred rarely and in specific contexts.
4.2. The demonstrative pronoun *se* (singular)

The demonstrative pronoun *se* was the most common among the studied pronouns in the data: there were a total of 652 examples of it in different case forms. The most used forms were the nominative *se* (429 occurrences), genitive *sīe* (88 occurrences), and partitive *siedā* (86 occurrences), which were all identical to the forms mentioned in the dictionaries and grammars and also have no unique long and short forms in earlier sources or in the spoken language data. Other cases appeared less than 20 times, but had quite diverse forms in the data: starting with the instrumental, all cases (aside from one adessive example) had both long and short forms of which some short forms, like the inessive and elative forms, occurred slightly more often than the long forms, which are mentioned in the most recent Livonian dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits (2012). Table 4 presents the forms of the demonstrative pronoun *se* that appeared in the spoken language data.

**Table 4.** Case forms of the demonstrative pronoun *se* in the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>se</em></td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīe</em></td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīen</em></td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>siedā</em></td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīekoks</em></td>
<td>instrumental (long form)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīeks</em></td>
<td>instrumental (short form)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sī’ezō</em></td>
<td>illative (long form)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sī’ez</em></td>
<td>illative (short form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīesō</em></td>
<td>inessive (long form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīes</em></td>
<td>inessive (short form)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīestō</em></td>
<td>elative (long form)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīest</em></td>
<td>elative (short form)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sīel</em></td>
<td>adessive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Se* has a diverse use in the data: it may be used for both external and text-internal reference, it may refer to both inanimate and animate, concrete and abstracts referents, and appears also to have an article-like
use (see Pajusalu 1997: 155 for Estonian) where se occurs in noun phrases to show that the speaker is talking about a previously mentioned, well-known, or definite entity. It may be also used as a so-called placeholder in the text when the speaker is still searching for a subsequent word (see Keevallik 2010 for Estonian). See (11) for an example of the placeholder function where the speaker is describing how waterlilies look, and while searching for the correct word, is starting the noun phrase with the demonstrative se, elongating the pronunciation of se, and having a longer pause (0.8 seconds) before continuing with the following word.

(11) ne `ēdrõmõ-d kazā-bõd vie’d pāl ṭẑ= 
    DEM.PL blossom-PL grow-3PL water.GEN on self
set (0.5) se; (0.8) `jūr u’m `vie’d= sizāl.
only DEM root be.3SG water.GEN inside
    ‘these blossoms are growing above the water only (0.5) this (0.8) root is in the water’ (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

The genitive form sīe (88 occurrences), partitive form siedā (86 occurrences), and dative form sīen (14 occurrences) all have only one form in the data that also matches the forms mentioned in the grammars and dictionaries. The genitive form shows diverse uses in the data: as an attribute – the genitive is the most common attribute case used with the dative and instrumental (Viitso 2008: 326), for marking the full object, and appearing together with different adpositions, e.g., i’l sīe ‘about this, over this’ and sīe allō ‘below this’. The partitive marks the partial object and is also used with some adpositions in the data, e.g., pi’er siedā ‘after this’ and pi’ds siedā ‘along this’. Dative forms are mostly used in possessive constructions in the data, e.g., sīen u’m sindipāva ‘he has a birthday’.

There are only a few examples for each case of the remaining cases. In addition, there was one example of the rarely used adessive in Livonian (Viitso 2008: 328). The instrumental and interior local cases all have long and short forms in the data – instrumental sīekõks (two occurrences) and sīeks (three occurrences) ‘with this’, illative sī’ezō (two occurrences) and sī’ez (one occurrence), inessive sīesō (one occurrence) and sīes (16 occurrences), elative sīestō (four occurrences) and sīest (five occurrences). The short forms are mentioned in the earlier
Courland Livonian sources, but in Viitso and Ernšt relics’s dictionary (2012) only the long forms of *se* are given. Although there are only a few examples of the previously mentioned cases in the data, the short forms are slightly more common in the spoken language data (except for the illative). Short local case forms are almost always used in the data when the demonstrative is an attribute and the following noun appears immediately, so short forms may thus be more preferred for connecting a noun phrase faster and more smoothly in spontaneous spoken language. (12) and (13) illustrate the use of the short and long inessive forms:

(12) `sīe-s kōrands-emīnt i’z ūo ku se
 DEM-INE farm-INE more NEG.PST.3SG be.CNG.SG than DEM
 ikš pi’n (0.5) mā-ddōn.
 one dog 1PL-DAT.PL
 ‘at this farm there was no more than this one dog (0.5) (which) we had’
 (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

(13) ta vô’l (0.5) sīe-sō ē ’rānda-sō (. ) vanāma kis
 3SG be.PST.3SG DEM-INE HESIT coast-INE grandmother who
 vōt-īz ’lapš-tī vastō.
 take-PST.3SG child-PART.PL against
 ‘she was (0.5) on this um coast (. ) the grandmother who received the
 children (helped in childbirth)’ (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

The rare adessive form *sīel* appeared in the data in the same phrase *sīel āigal* ‘at this time’ that Viitso mentions in his overview of Livonian grammar (Viitso 2008: 328) as one of the few examples where the lexicalised adessive is still used in Livonian. See (14), where the researcher had asked the speaker if local people had any cars in the Livonian villages when the speaker was still living there before World War II:

(14) `sīe-l= āiga-l i’z ūo mitī i’d-ōn.
 DEM-ADE time-ADE NEG.PST.3SG be.CNG.SG no one-DAT
 ‘at that time no one had (any cars)’ (AEDKL: DS0128-01)
4.3. The demonstrative pronoun *tūo* (singular)

The rare distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* is nowadays said to appear only in some compound phrases and adverbs. It appeared in the spoken language data four times and only in a couple of case forms in the singular; plural examples could not be found. However, there were also examples in the data of the word *tuoi* which is considered to be a demonstrative form in Sjögren and Wiedemann’s grammar (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). These examples were not included as they were used only with the meaning ‘the other (one)’ or ‘the second (one)’ and not with the demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘that’. Table 5 shows the forms of the demonstrative pronoun *tūo* that occurred in the material.

Table 5. Case forms of the demonstrative pronoun *tūo* in the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tuodā</em></td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tūos</em></td>
<td>inessive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tūola</em></td>
<td>adessive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The partitive form *tuodā* appears in the data alongside the partitive form of *se* – *siedā*, as also mentioned in Viitso and Ernštreits’s dictionary in the compound phrase *siedā-tuodā*. In (15), the two units are also pronounced together, so *tuodā* is a part of a compound phrase here and does not appear separately. The speaker is describing in the example how he and his friend went after their missing boat to Rū’nõ (Estonian: Ruhnu) island and what they had to do before they could head back home:

(15) *ja si’z ĕ ‘sā’l (0.5) ve’l (. ) wō’l sie-dā=*

and then HESIT there still be.PST.3SG DEM-PART

*tuodā* *ve’l ĕ ĕ ‘kō’tō-mōst ’tī’e-mōst,*

DEM.DIST-PART still HESIT HESIT remove-DEB do- DEB

‘and then, um there (0.5) still (. ) was this and that still um to remove and to do’ (SUHK0520-01)

In Viitso and Ernštreits’s Livonian dictionary (2012), the inessive form *tūos* occurs only connected to *se* in the compound phrase *sīes-tūos* ‘in this and that’, in the data, however, it appeared separately from *se,*
but still in the same contrastive context. In the inessive use shown in (16), the speaker is answering the researcher’s question about where the old school rooms for the children used to be in the building in which they are talking. The speaker is using the distal pronoun tūo to refer to a room located further down from them:

(16) ē no `tās vô’, (.) `sīe-s tubā-s ja
    HESIT PTCL here be.PST.3SG DEM-INE ROOM-INE and
    `tūo-s tubā-s.
    DEM.DIST-INE ROOM-INE
    ‘um well here (it) was (.) in this room and in that room’ (SUHK0520-01)

The adessive example tūola is also mentioned as being part of the adverb phrase tūolapūol ‘on that side’ in Viitso and Ernštreits’s dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 339). In the data, it appears in a similar context in two examples, but in the first example there is a short pause after the word tūola, so it is not entirely certain if the speaker intended to use it separately from the following word or not. See (17), where the speaker is talking about a boat sinking in a storm:

(17) se lōja ne’i ē (.) `vānkart-ōz r’d-s pūol-sô
    DEM boat so HESIT sway-PST.3SG one-INE side-INE
    `tūo-la (.) p-`pūol= se (.) ‘pūrāz
    DEM.DST-ADE s-side DEM sail
    ‘this boat so um (.) was swaying on one side on that (.) side (was) this (.) sail’ (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

In the second example, tūola appeared in the adverbial tūolapūol which was pronounced together as one unit, so it did not appear as a separate demonstrative pronoun form, but as a part of a lexicalised adverb where the adessive form can still be detected. (16) and possibly also (17), however, show tūo being used separately from a fixed phrase, indicating that it can also appear as an independently used demonstrative in a contrastive context.
4.4. Plural forms

There were a total of 317 examples of the third person and demonstrative pronoun se plural forms which have homonymous forms in all cases aside from the nominative long form nāmād. 200 examples of them were used non-attributively and 117 attributively. The most common case forms were the nominative short form ne (196 occurrences) and the partitive form nēḍi (67 occurrences). The long nominative form nāmād which is mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources only by Viitso and Ernštreits (Viitso 2008: 332, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 206) did not appear in the selected data at all, indicating that in spoken language the nominative short form ne is especially preferred. For the short nominative form there were a couple of alternative forms – nēd, nad, and nāt. These were, however, used rarely – only once or twice – and their use should be studied more closely in the future based on more examples.

There were no examples of the illative form nē’ži or the inessive form nēši in the data; however, the elative form nēšti did occur. The other cases aside from the nominative and partitive – even otherwise common cases like the genitive and dative – were used infrequently. One reason for this is that demonstrative attributes were often used in the nominative case in the data, e.g., alongside a noun that is in the dative or instrumental plural: ne muntõn ‘to these other (people)’, ne ažādõks ‘with these things’, ne ainõdõks ‘with these medications’; although in the singular, the demonstrative attribute is usually in the genitive for a following noun in the dative or instrumental (Viitso 2008: 327). Table 6 shows the plural forms that occurred in the data.

In the nominative case, there were a total of four different short forms: ne, nēd, nāt, and nad. The long form nāmād was not used in the data, although it would have been expected as there were examples of the long form used in third person singular pronoun forms. The short form ne is clearly the most common and preferred form with 204 examples. The other alternative short forms appear only once or twice in the data. The forms nad and nāt would be expected to be abbreviated from the long form nāmād as they have preserved, respectively, a or ä in the stem.
Table 6. Case forms of the plural form ne in the data.²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological form</th>
<th>Morphological case</th>
<th>Number of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēd</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nad</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāt</td>
<td>nominative (short form)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nänt</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>näntōn</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēdi</td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>näntkōks</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēšti</td>
<td>elative</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form nad occurs twice in the data and has not been mentioned before in any of the previous sources. Both examples of it are referring to people and are not adnominal demonstrative uses; see (18), where the speaker is answering the researcher’s question about what people who are not working might do:

(18) äds’ midēgòst nad ‘tī’e-bōd nā
    something 3PL do-3PL yes
    ‘they do something yes’ (AEDKL: F1035-03)

The form nāt occurs only once in the data and is used adnominally as the plural form of the demonstrative pronoun, although a third person pronoun plural use would be expected because of the nā-stem, which indicates the connection to the nämād-pronoun, which is said to be used only for people. This form is previously mentioned only in Salaca Livonian sources, but not in Courland Livonian sources. See (19) for an example showing nāt in use, where the speaker had previously explained by what names cows were called on the Livonian Coast.

² According to earlier sources, the long nominative form nämād, illative form nē’zi, and inessive form nēši were also expected to appear, but these did not occur in the selected data.
Demonstrative pronouns in spoken Livonian

The form nēd also occurs only once and has previously also been mentioned only in the Salaca Livonian sources. In the data, it was used as a demonstrative referring to a previously mentioned inanimate object. In (20), the speaker is describing how a spear is used for pushing branches away from a tree:

(20) või kuigõst nē-d si’z selļiz pitkā
    or somehow DEM.PL-PL then such GEN long GEN
    ’vōrd-kōks (.) uďā-ks pīkst-ōz (.) ’vāstō.
    shaft-INSTR spear-INSTR push-PST.3SG against
    ’or somehow then these (branches) with this kind of a long shaft (.) with a spear were pushed (.) against’ (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

The genitive form nänt (14 occurrences), dative form näntõn (12 occurrences), partitive form nēdi (78 occurrences), and instrumental form näntkōks (4 occurrences) appeared only in one form and had no separate long and short forms. The utilised forms did not differ from those mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources. In the third person, the singular dative form tā’mmōn also had an abbreviated form tā’m, while in the plural, the dative had only the long form näntõn and the form nänt was only used as a genitive.

Of the interior local cases, only one elative example occurred; therefore, according to the spoken language data, the illative and inessive forms are also not common in the plural. In (21), the elative form is used when the speaker is describing the material from which boat arcs can be made:

(21) nu ’nē-štī piedāg-išt (.) ki’l lāja ’kōr-idi
    PTCL DEM.PL-ELA.PL pine-ELA.PL AFFIRM boat arc-PART.PL
    või-b ē võtt-ō tāsā
    may-3SG ē take-INF here
    ’well from these pines (.) one may um take boat ribs here’ (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)
5. Conclusions

A total of 1463 examples of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns were collected from spontaneous language recordings in order to describe the forms of third person and demonstrative pronouns in spoken language. The analysed forms were also compared to forms previously described in the Livonian grammars and dictionaries authored by Sjögren and Wiedemann (1861), Kettunen (1938), Viitso and Ernštreits (2012), and Winkler and Pajusalu (2018), to see if there were any differences observable in the spoken language data.

The third person pronoun was used in three different nominative singular forms: the long form tämā and short forms ta and tà. Of these three, ta was the most common and the other two were used only rarely in the material. The data showed that tämā can also be phonologically stressed, but does not always have to be. In addition, it was mostly used for distinguishing a particular referent from a group and for the second mention of a newly introduced referent. The alternate short form tà is the rarest of the three and has been previously mentioned in grammars and dictionaries only for the extinct Salaca Livonian, but not for Courland Livonian. In the data, there also appeared three different forms of the dative: the long form tä’mmõn – that is also mentioned in the previous sources, its abbreviated form tä’mn – as a part of a temporal compound, and the short form tà’m – that is likely shortened from the long form, but is used only rarely. The other case forms appeared in the same form as mentioned in earlier Livonian grammars and dictionaries. There were no examples showing use of the illative and inessive case forms of the pronoun tämā/ta – which is mostly used as the third person singular pronoun – as these case forms are used rarely with personal pronouns.

The demonstrative pronoun se had the most diverse forms in the data: it appeared in every noun case, even in the adessive case, which is rarely used in Livonian. There were examples of both long and short forms in the data for the instrumental (sīekõks and sīeks), illative (sī’ezõ and sī’ez), inessive (sīesõ and sīes), and elative cases (sīestõ and sīest), of which only the long forms are mentioned in the most recent Livonian dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits (2012); however, earlier sources do mention both short and long forms. The short forms of these cases (aside from the illative) appeared to be slightly more preferred than the long forms, especially in attributive use.
The distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* – which is thought to have mostly disappeared from Livonian – appeared four times in the spoken language data and was also used independently, not only as part of lexicalised adverbal phrases. This shows that although it is used rarely, it has not disappeared completely from Livonian.

The homonymous plural forms of the third person and demonstrative pronoun *se* were not as diverse as singular forms; there were many examples of the nominative plural form *ne* which was also used as an attribute with nouns in other cases. The long nominative form *nāmād*, illative form *nē’ži*, and inessive form *nēši* did not appear in the data. Three alternate nominative short forms *nēd*, *nät*, and *nad* did occur, however, of which *nēd* and *nät* have only been previously mentioned in Salaca Livonian sources, while *nad* has not been described in any previous overview. These forms appeared in the data quite infrequently – only once or twice – so their use should be studied more closely based on more examples. The other cases of the plural forms did not have separate long and short forms and did not differ from the forms in earlier grammars and dictionaries.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

**Transcription symbols**

- ‘ broken tone  
- . final falling intonation  
- , slight falling intonation  
- (.) micropause (0.2 seconds or shorter)  
- (0.5) pause length in seconds  
- ` stressed word  
= two separate units pronounced together  
e: elongated sound  
p- unfinished word

**References**


nominatiivi vormi tâ ja mitmuse vorme nêd, nad ja nât, lisaks kolmanda isiku ainsuse daativi lühikest vormi tâm ning demonstratiivpronoomeni se puhul kasutatakse instrumentaalis ja sisehakakäänetes veidi enam lühikesi vorme.

Märksõnad: demonstratiivpronoomenid, kolmanda isiku asesõnad, suuline keel, dialoogid, liivi keel