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 *nämād* '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.

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) *un* **`*tämā*** *bro'utš-õn*  `*kuoigī-d=* *pālõ*.
     and 3SG   drive-APP   ship-GEN.PL   on
     'and he used to sail on the ships' (AEDKL: F0997-03)

(2) ***ta*** *vȯ'l̦*   `*ne'i*, (0.5)  `*ne'i* *jõvā* `*pȯiški* *vȯ'l̦*.
     3SG   be.PST.3SG so   so   good   boy   be.PST.3SG
     'he was such (0.5) such a good boy' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

In addition to its function as a third person singular pronoun, *tämā*/*ta* 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 *sīekõks* 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 läpst* 'these kids', or independent (argumental) use of the third person plural pronoun or demonstrative pronoun as in *ne vȯ'l̦tõ* 'they/these were'. The long form *nämād* '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

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 Tammekänd's study on the use of demonstratives in Võro and Estonian narratives (Tammekänd 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 *tämā*/*ta*, *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.

Speaker	Year of birth	Place of birth	Main place(s) of residence	Place(s) of recording	Year of recording(s)
1	1903	Īra	Kūolka (Latvia)	Kūolka	1986
2	1918	Vaid	Rīga (Latvia), Vaid (Latvia)	Vaid	1997, 2000
3	1910	Vaid	Campbellville (Canada)	Saulaine (Canada)	2012
4	1909	Sīkrõg	Ādaži (Latvia)	Tartu (Estonia)	1986
5	1910	Vaid	Vaid (Latvia)	Vaid	1986

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 **tā* also appeared, which Larjavaara suggests was borrowed from the Baltic languages, as Latvian and Lithuanian have maintained the similar demonstrative pronouns *tas*/*tā* '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 **tā* (Larjavaara 1986: 74–75). The plural forms *nämād* and *ne* have developed from the plural demonstrative stems **nä* and **ne* which are suppletive plural forms of **tä* and **se* (Larjavaara 1986: 70). *-mä/-ma* is a Finnic suffix added to the demonstrative stems **tä* and **nä* (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., *tä'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 *tämā* 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 *tūo* 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 *tūo*, e.g., *sīe pāl*, *tūo pāl* 'on this, on that'. The grammar also mentions that *tūo* has the alternative forms *tuoi* and *toi* where the demonstrative meaning 'that' has been mixed with the word *tuoi* 'the other (one), the second (one)' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 117). The words *tuoi* 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 *tūo* have no separate long and short form in the nominative, unlike the third person pronoun *tämā*/*ta*. However, *se* and *tūo* do have long and short forms in other noun cases, e.g., *se* has the instrumental forms *sīekõks* and *sīeks* and – in the interior local cases – it has the inessive forms *sīesõ* and *sīes* (Kettunen 1938: LVIII). The demonstrative pronoun *tūo* also shows some long and short forms in other noun cases, e.g., the instrumental long form *tuokõks* 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 *tūo* 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 Ernštreits (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 translative-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 *nämād* is not mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian materials and appears only in Viitso and Ernštreits'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.

Prn.	Courland Livonian		Salaca Livonian	
tämā/ta	NOM:	*täma/tämā, ta* (1861, 1938, 2012)	NOM:	*täma, täm, tä* 1861, 2018), *tema, ta* (2018)
	GEN:	*tä(')m* (1861, 1938, 2012)	GEN:	*täm* (1861, 2018), *täma* (2018)
	DAT:	*tä(')mmõn* (1861, 1938, 2012)	PART:	*tända, tānd, tānda, tämdä* (1861), *tämda, tämd, tänd* (1861, 2018), *tämdi, tändä* (2018)
	PART:	*tānda* (1861, 1938, 2012)		
	INSTR:	*tä(')mkõks* (1861, 1938, 2012)	INSTR:	*tämk, tämka, tämg* (1861, 2018)
	ILL:	*tä'mmõz* (1938, 2012), *tä(')mmõ* (1861, 1938, 2012),	ELA:	*tämast, tämmäst* (1861, 2018), *tämmest* (1861)
	INE:	*tä'msõ* (1938, 2012), *tä(')ms* (1861, 1938)	ADE/ALL:	
	ELA:	*tä'mstõ* (1938, 2012), *tä(')mst* (1861, 1938)		*täm(m)el, täm(m)äl, täm(m)al, täml* (1861, 2018), *tämmyl* (2018)
se	NOM:	*se* (1861, 1938, 2012), *sie* (1938)	NOM:	*sie* (1861, 2018), *se, sëe, si* (2018)
	GEN:	*sīe/sie* (1861, 1938, 2012)	GEN:	*sie* (1861, 2018), *se, sia* (2018)
	DAT:	*sīen/sien* (1861, 1938, 2012)	PART:	*seda, säda* (1861, 2018), *säd* (2018)
	PART:	*siedā/sieda* (1861, 1938, 2012)	INSTR:	*sienk* (1861), *siek* (2018)
	INSTR:	*sīekõks/siekõks* (1861, 1938, 2012), *sienkõks* (1861), *sieks/sīeks* (1861, 1938)	INE:	*sies* (2018)
			ELA:	*siest* (2018)
			ADE/ALL:	
	ILL:	*sī(')ezõ/siezõ* (1861, 1938, 2012), *siez* (1861)		*sill, siell* (1861, 2018), *siel, siäl* (2018)
	INE:	*sīesõ* (1938, 2012), *sīes/sies* (1861, 1938)		
	ELA:	*sīestõ* (1938, 2012), *sīest/siest* (1861, 1938)		
	ADE:	*sīela/siela* (1861, 1938), *sīel/siel* (1861, 2012)		

Prn.	Courland Livonian		Salaca Livonian	
nämād/ne	NOM:	***nämād*** (2012), ***ne*** (1861, 1938, 2012)	NOM:	***nämad, nēd, nät*** (1861, 2018), ***namad, nänt, nänd, nend, nent*** (2018)
	GEN:	***nänt*** (1861, 1938, 2012), ***ne*** (1861)	PART:	***nänti*** (1861, 2018)
	DAT:	***näntõn*** (1861, 1938, 2012)	INSTR:	***näntk*** (1861, 2018), ***näntka*** (1861), ***nämadk, nämädk*** (2018)
	PART:	***nēḑi*** (1938, 2012), ***neidi*** (1861)		
	INSTR:	***näntkõks*** (1861, 1938, 2012)	ELA:	***näntest*** (1861, 2018), ***nejst*** (2018)
	ILL:	***nē(')ži*** (1938, 2012), ***neiši, neiži*** (1861)	ADE/ALL:	***nämadl, näntäl, näntel*** (1861, 2018), ***nämmädel, näntl*** (2018)
	INE:	***nēši*** (1938, 2012), ***neiši*** (1861)		
	ELA:	***nēšti*** (1938, 2012), ***neišti*** (1861)		
tūo	NOM:	***tuo, tuoi, toi*** (1861)	ADE:	***tol'*** (1861)
	GEN:	***tuo, tuoiz*** (1861)		
	DAT:	***tuon, tuoizõn*** (1861)		
	PART:	***tuodā/tuoda*** (1938, 2012), ***toda*** (1861, 1938)		
	INSTR:	***tuoks, tuoizõks, tuokõks, tuoizkõks*** (1861)		
	ILL:	***tuozõ, tuoizõ*** (1861)		
	INE:	***tūos*** (2012), ***tuoz, tuois*** (1861)		
	ELA:	***tūost/tuost*** (1861, 2012), ***tuoist*** (1861)		
	ADE:	***tuola/tūola*** (1861, 1938), ***tola, tuoila, toila*** (1861)		

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]

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tämā	nominative (long form)	31
ta	nominative (short form)	**328**
tä	nominative (short form)	6
tä'm	genitive	**28**
tānda	partitive	**28**
tä'mmõn	dative (long form)	**63**
tä'mn	dative (abbreviated long form)	1
tä'm	dative (short form)	3
tä'mkõks	instrumental	1
tä'mstõ	elative (long form)	1

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1 Based on earlier sources, the long illative form *tä'mmõz*, the short illative *tä'mmõ*, the long inessive *tä'msõ*, and the short inessive *tä'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 vȯ'ḷ-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'ḷ* *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* (.) *sā̇'l* *u'm*
     DEM   big   house   what   be.3SG   DEM   there   be.3SG
     ikš *`nai* (0.5)  *un*  ***`tämā*** *ē:::* (.) *mm* *strȱdõ-b* *ē*
     one   woman   and   3SG   HESIT   mm   work-3SG   HESIT
     To`ronto-sõ.* (.)  ***ta***  *jegā*  *`pāva *bro'utšõ-b* *ūoṇdžõl*
     Toronto-INE   3SG   every   day   drive-3SG   morning
     `je'dspēḍõn
     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)   *täs*   `*vȯ'ļ*      *seļļi,* (0.5)      `*naizpūoļi.* (0.8)
      here   be.PST.3SG   such   woman
      Pit-   `*Pitrõgõ-l*   **ta**      *jeli-*   `*jel-īz*
      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' (SUHK0520-01)

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*   *vȯ'ļ*   `*ānd-õn*    *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-õn* (0.5)   **tä**   `*je'mbit*   *i'z*
      DEM-PART   3SG-DAT   3SG   more   NEG.PST.3SG
      ī'z   *ūo*   `*vȯĭ-nd=*      *õ*        `*no* (.)   `*no* (.)
      NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG   be.able-APP   HESIT   PRFX   PRFX
      `*pi'dd-õ.*
      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 – *tä'm* – 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 *tä'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*   ***`tä'm***   *kū-n*   ***tä'm***
    DEM-DAT   be.3SG   DEM.PRX.GEN   month-DAT   DEM.PRX.GEN
    `kū-s* (0.5)    *sīe-s*       *kū-s*        *`tä'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 *tä'mmõn* (63 occurrences) – which is also mentioned in all the previous sources, the abbreviated long form *tä'mn* (one occurrence) – as a part of a temporal expression *tä'mnāigast* 'this (current) year' where the long form *tä'mmõn* and the word *āigast* 'year' merged into one compound phrase, and the short form *tä'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 *tä'm* in use:

(8) *je'dmõl*   *`Sānag-tõ*    *täs*     *u'm*     *ikš*    *`kõrand.* (.)   *ma*
    before   Sānag-PART   here   be.3SG   one   farm   1SG
    ä'b   *`tīeda*       *kui*     ***tä'm***     *u'm*     *`kõrand=*   *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 *tä'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 *tä'mkõks* 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*   *ä'b*   `` `tīe-da ``   *mis*   *ta*   *u'm*   *pa*   `` `ki'v ``
      1SG   NEG.1SG know.CNG.SG what   3SG be.3SG PREP stone
      ne'i   `` `kievām. `` (.)   **tä'm-kõks**   `` `kädū-d ``   *agā*   *õ̗r̥õ-bõd.*
      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: *tä'mstõ* which according to earlier sources can be considered the long form, as the short form – which is expected to be *tä'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-dõd ``   *ku*   **tä'm-stõ**   `` `midēgõst `` *ä'b*   *ūo.*
      strike-PPP that   3SG-ELA   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'nsõ* 'in me' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 116). According to earlier Courland Livonian grammars and dictionaries, the long illative form *tä'mmõz*, short illative *tä'mmõ*, long inessive *tä'msõ*, and short inessive *tä'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.

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
se	nominative	**429**
sīe	genitive	**88**
sīen	dative	14
siedā	partitive	**86**
sīekõks	instrumental (long form)	2
sīeks	instrumental (short form)	3
sī'ezõ	illative (long form)	2
sī'ez	illative (short form)	1
sīesõ	inessive (long form)	1
sīes	inessive (short form)	16
sīestõ	elative (long form)	4
sīest	elative (short form)	5
sīel	adessive	1

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*  `ï'ž=
  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'ḷ sīe* 'about this, over this' and *sīe allõ* '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'ezõ* (two occurrences) and *sī'ez* (one occurrence), inessive *sīesõ* (one occurrence) and *sīes* (16 occurrences), elative *sīestõ* (four occurrences) and *sīest* (five occurrences). The short forms are mentioned in the earlier

Courland Livonian sources, but in Viitso and Ernštreits'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*      *kǭrand-s*   `*emīņt*   *i'z*   *ūo*   *ku*   *se*
      DEM-INE   farm-INE   more   NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG   than   DEM
      ikš   *pi'ņ* (0.5)   *mä'-ddõn*.
      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 vȯ'ļ* (0.5)   ***sīe-sõ***   *ē*   `*rānda-sõ* (.)   *vanaãma*   *kis*
      3SG be.PST.3SG   DEM-INE   HESIT   coast-INE   grandmother   who
      võt-īz   `*lapš-ti*   *vastõ*.
      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*   *mit`ī'd-õn*.
      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.

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tuodā	partitive	1
tūos	inessive	1
tūola	adessive	2

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   ē   `sā̄'l* (0.5)   *ve'l* (.)   *vó'ļ   sie-dā=*
    and then HESIT there   still   be.PST.3SG DEM-PART
    tuo-dā   *ve'l   ē   ē   `kǭ'tõ-mõst    `tī'e-mõst,*
    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   `täs      vȯ'ļ, (.)      `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   lõja   ne'i   ē (.)   `vānkart-õz   ī'd-s   pūol-sõ*
  DEM   boat   so   HESIT   sway-PST.3SG   one-INE   side-INE
  ***`tūo-la*** (.)        *p- `pūol=   se (.)   `pūṛaz*
  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 *nämād*. 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 *nēḑi* (67 occurrences). The long nominative form *nämād* 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 *nät*. 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*, *nät*, and *nad*. The long form *nämād* 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 *nät* would be expected to be abbreviated from the long form *nämād* as they have preserved, respectively, *a* or *ä* in the stem.

Table 6. Case forms of the plural form *ne* in the data.[2]

Morphological form	Morphological case	Number of occurrences
ne	nominative (short form)	**204**
nēd	nominative (short form)	1
nad	nominative (short form)	2
nät	nominative (short form)	1
nänt	genitive	14
näntõn	dative	12
nēḑi	partitive	**78**
näntkõks	instrumental	4
nēšti	elative	1

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`midēgõst*   ***nad***   *`tī'e-bõd*   *nā̃*
      something   3PL   do-3PL   yes
      'they do something yes' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

The form *nät* 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 *nä*-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 *nät* in use, where the speaker had previously explained by what names cows were called on the Livonian Coast.

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2   According to earlier sources, the long nominative form *nämād*, illative form *nē'ži*, and inessive form *nēši* were also expected to appear, but these did not occur in the selected data.

(19) *un*   `*seḷḷiz-t*     **nä-t**=        *nimī-d*      `*vȯ'ḷ-tõ*.
     and   such-PL   DEM.PL-PL   name-PL   be.PST-3PL
     'and such were these names' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

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*   *seḷḷiz*   *pitkā*
     or   somehow   DEM.PL-PL   then   such.GEN   long.GEN
     `*vȯrd-kõks* (.)   *uḏā-ks*       *pīkst-õz* (.)      `*vastõ*.
     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 *nēḏi* (78 occurrences), and instrumental form *näntkõks* (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 *tä'mmõn* also had an abbreviated form *tä'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-šti**       *piedāg-išt* (.)   *ki'l*   *lōja*   `*kōr-idi*
     PTCL   DEM.PL-ELA.PL   pine-ELA.PL   AFFIRM boat   arc-PART.PL
     või-b   *ē*   *võtt-õ*   *täsā*
     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 *tä.* 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 *tä* 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 *tä'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 adverbial 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 *nämād*, 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

Abbreviations

1, 3 – persons, ADE – adessive, AFFIRM – affirmative marker, ALL – allative, APP – active past participle, CNG – connegative, DAT – dative, DEB – debitive, DEM – demonstrative, DST – distal, ELA – elative, GEN – genitive, HESIT – hesitation marker, ILL – illative, INE – inessive, INF – infinitive, INSTR – instrumental, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, PART – partitive, PL – plural, PPP – passive past participle, PREP – preposition, PRFX – prefix, PROX – proximal, PST – past, PTCL – particle, SG – singular.

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

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Kokkuvõte. Marili Tomingas: Kolmanda isiku ja demonstratiivpronoomenite vormid suulises liivi keeles. Artikkel uurib liivi keele kolmanda isiku ja demonstratiivpronoomenite käändevorme suulise liivi keele salvestistes. Andmestikuna kasutati 13 salvestist viie liivi keele kõnelejaga. Kuna liivi keeles võib kolmanda isiku ja demonstratiivpronoomenitel olla nii pikki kui ka lühikesi vorme, oli eesmärk teada saada, millisel kujul need suulises keeles esinevad ja kas kasutatakse rohkem pikki või lühikesi vorme. Samuti uuriti, kas demonstratiivpronoomen *tūo* on suulises keeles veel kasutuses. Tulemusi võrreldi ka varasemate liivi grammatikate andmetega. Ilmnes, et suulises keeles kasutatakse lisaks kirjakeele vormidele ka kolmanda isiku ainsuse

nominatiivi vormi *tä* ja mitmuse vorme *nēd*, *nad* ja *nät*, lisaks kolmanda isiku ainsuse daativi lühikest vormi *täm* ning demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* puhul kasutatakse instrumentaalis ja sisekohakäänetes veidi enam lühikesi vorme.

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

Kubbõvõttõks. Marili Tomingas. Kuolmõnd pärsōn ja nägṭijizt azūmsõnād morfolõgij sūlizõs līvõ kīels. Kēra tuņšlõb līvõ kīel kuolmõnd pärsōn ja nägṭijizt azūmsõnād morfolõgliži formidi sūlizõs līvõ kīels. Dattõd ātõ perīņ vīd līvõ kīel rõkāndijizt kīelst. Kēra merk võļ seḷṭõ, mingizt azūmsõnād sūlizõs kīelsõ ātõ kõḷbatõd pitkād ja lītizt formõdõks, ja mingizt formõd sõbõd kõḷbatõbõd jemīņ. Sai ka tuņšõltõd, või azūmsõnā *tūo* vel sõb kõḷbatõd sūlizõs kīels. Tuņšlimizõs um nãdõb ka rezultātõd ītlimi jedmilizt gramatikādõks ja sõnārõntõdõks. Um nãdõb, ku sūlizõs kīels kērakīel formõd kūoral sõbõd mūndakõrd kõḷbatõd ka nominatīv formõd *tä*, *nēd*, *nad* ja *nät*, nei īž ka kuolmõnd pärsōn datīv līti form *täm*. Instrumentāls ja sizāližis kūožnõtkīs sūlizõs kīelsõ nägṭijiz azūmsõnā *se* lītizt formõd saitõ kõḷbatõd rõz emīņ äbku pitkād.