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Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Tartu

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Opponent: Professor Axel Holvoet (Vilnius University)

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PREFACE

My academic journey began at Vilnius University in 2010 where I had the privilege to meet and learn from many amazing people both in linguistics and literary sciences. I went there believing wholeheartedly that I would eventually become a mythologist. However, meeting eminent Baltic linguists changed the course of my life from the one I imagined at the time. And for this I feel gratitude towards them. I am very thankful to both linguistic and literary scientists who have shown how intertwined things were, far beyond what I could grasp at the time, and some of the lessons I received from them are still to be applied and understood in practice. Considering that I hated literature lessons in school, I was blown away by the wonderful lectures held by Paulius Subačius and Irina Melnikova. They restored my love for literature as well as showed that literature sciences can be very telling and valuable, and I still long for their insights. I became interested in Baltic Finnic language contacts thanks the members of the Department of Baltic Linguistics of Vilnius University, particularly Jurgis Pakerys, Bonifacas Stundžia, Eglė Žilinskaitė-Šinkūnienė, Vytautas Rinkevičius, and Agnė Navickaitė-Klišauskienė, whom I respect, value, and feel much affection for, and who have encouraged me to pursue a career in this field.

My first contact with Livonian was in 2013 at the first Livonian Summer University in Košrags. I must admit that I did not know much, nor did I know what to expect. The summer school certainly changed my life forever, both because of the people I met there, including the late Tiit-Rein Viitso, who was not only competent, but an extraordinarily sweet person with a great sense of humour (though no minor sense of humour)[1]. Also, it was the first time that I met the beloved Karl Pajusalu, whose literary talent was still somewhat of a secret at the time, and who has always been both very supportive, insightful, and full of interesting stories to tell. It was also there I met my dear future colleagues Valts Ernštreits and Gunta Kļava, who have been the people that have been there every day, both as friends and as professionals, as well as consultants during this journey. I thank them for their trust, support, expertise, the opportunities that they gave me, and great (as well as difficult) discussions, events, and adventures that we have had and are still having. It was also there I met many friends as well as one of my supervisors – Miina Norvik, who herself was a PhD student at the time, and with whom we happened to share a room during that summer school. We also shared the room with Kerttu Rozenvalde, who has also held my hand through some difficult moments, and who has a special place in my heart.

While the Lithuanian imperative marker *-k(i)-* and its origin caught my interest already during my BA studies, I did not do much else other than read the literature that was available to me at that time. I came back to the idea of researching imperatives when it came to writing my MA thesis, but together with my already then

[1] A Reference to a joke he made on a road trip during the first Livonian Summer University, that we will see many lighthouses, however there will be no heavy houses.

supervisor Birute Klaas-Lang, we decided that the Estonian adessive case was a much more sensible option at the time. I came back to this idea when the time came to apply for a PhD position. Then I naively expected to research all the imperatives and hortatives in the Baltic languages, Livonian, and Estonian. However, as evident by the topic of the thesis, I ended up sticking with the Livonian jussive as the focus of my thesis. As it turned out, this subject offered many more challenges than I initially expected.

I feel gratitude towards many people on my journey, but, obviously, first and foremost my supervisors, Birute Klaas-Lang, and Miina Norvik. Without them it would not have been possible. They always found time for me and my texts, no matter how busy they were, even on weekends, or other busiest moments, sometimes almost nights, conferences between presentations, and other inconvenient moments. I am grateful to them for pushing me forward, but also understanding and supporting me both academically and personally. And I am extraordinarily thankful for the support in the moments when I was behind the schedule, for holding my hand and believing in me in the most difficult moments. I am also very grateful for their honesty when I was falling behind, however, they never gave up on me, and always (at least as far as I know) believed in me.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Petar Kehayov, who was the first to review my thesis before it was sent to the reviewers outside the university. His feedback has helped me a great deal to improve my thesis. I would like to also thank the reviewers of the thesis, Axel Holvoet and Heete Sahkai, who have also provided me with a great deal of very useful insights. Admittedly I was not able to implement them all in the final version of the thesis because of the time constraints, however, I have learned a lot in the process and intend to continue to expand my knowledge in the topics that have been put forth for future work.

It cannot be stressed enough that the Department of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics holds a special place in my heart. I feel very grateful for the support, trust, and encouragement that I received there. Both the staff and students were incredibly helpful, understanding and enriching all at the same time, even though I still remember how disappointed Gerson Klumpp was, when I as an exchange BA student of Lithuanian philology failed to learn the alternative names for Finno-Ugric nations and almost failed his course. Since then, fortunately, thanks to the wonderful Finno-Ugric linguists I learned a great deal, and I am extraordinarily thankful for both for the knowledge that I got from them as well as personal relationships, which are extremely valuable for me. I wholeheartedly thank Gerson Klumpp, Helle Metslang, Ann Veismann, Liina Lindström, Nikolai Kuznetsov, Renate Pajusalu, Pire Teras, Margit Kuusk, Marili Tomingas, Triin Todesk, Polina Oskolskaia, Kristiina Praakli and many others, for their knowledge, support, help and just being there, asking how I was doing and creating a beautiful, friendly, and caring environment.

I would especially like to thank Tiia Margus and Andrea Nagy, who have restlessly solved so many problems, and who helped me and many others with so many issues. It cannot be stressed enough that you make many lives, including mine, much easier and better. I would also like to say special thanks to Tuuli Tuisk, who

is very dear to me, and has been a great support as well as enriched my knowledge and taught me Livonian together with Tiit-Rein Viitso.

I thank the people I met at the many conferences and other events I had the privilege to participate in. I have received so many great comments during those events, as well as had countless fascinating discussions and heartwarming memories and friendships. I would like to express special gratitude to Rogier Blokland for his support, optimism, thorough comments, and the best stories ever. I am also very grateful to Jayde Will, who proofread the thesis and made it much more readable and was very flexible and helpful while I was busy trying to fix the last things in the last moments.

I would like to express a special thanks for all the people with whom I shared an apartment in Lai 34a while I was still living there and after I had already moved out, as I kept coming back. For the longest time I lived there with Merit Niinemägi, who has become a very close and dear friend, as well as somebody to talk linguistics about on a daily basis and at parties. I am also very happy to have had the privilege of living with and being friends with Allan, Anti, Anna, Līga, Andris, Helen, Caroline, David, Kärt, Katri, Aive, and others. Without them my life would have been much more difficult in every possible way. The discussions and debates that we had enriched my life and knowledge, and the personal support was extraordinarily valuable for me. I also thank all the friends, who (probably for their benefit) did not have to live with me, and who have listened to my pains and joys, and have still chosen to remain my friends.

I would also like to thank Tiina Kattel, who in fact was the person who brought me to Estonia, to Tartu and to the University of Tartu for the first time in my life. She also organised many social and academic events, and a summer school, which gave incredible opportunities to grow and without whom I might have never come to Estonia at all. She is an inspiration as well as the one who really did build the bridge to Tartu for me and most likely many others. She also introduced me to Ilze Talberga, with whom we spent many nights talking linguistics and Baltic-Finnic similarities and differences, as well as singing and playing folk songs.

I am also grateful to my family, who believed in me, and supported me, and, of course, nagged me as well, but that is called love. I would also like to thank my husband, whom I met right at the most difficult time of writing my dissertation, and who was there through all my doubt, restlessness, irritability, and certainly got the worst part of it, but regardless of that supported me till the end and loved me.

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There are many people I am grateful to and who are dear to me whom I did not mention here specifically. I will try to make sure to do so personally and I am truly very very grateful for your support and kindness as well as expertise. I am very lucky to be surrounded by incredible, kind, selfless, very competent, inspiring people and for that I am forever grateful, and I will never forget that.

INTRODUCTION

The thesis focuses on the Livonian jussive, which, until now, has only been addressed within the context of Livonian grammar in books and sketches (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861; Kettunen 1938; de Sivers 2001; Viitso 2008a), as one of the Livonian verbal categories (Kehayov et al. 2012; Pajusalu 2014), or mentioned in areal studies (Kehayov et al. 2011). Studying Livonian, including the jussive, presented challenges due to the limited access to Livonian texts, which were mostly available only in physical books (e.g., Setälä 1953, Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861, Loorits 1936, Stalte 2011, Mägiste 1964), text collections, and recordings in archives that were not easily obtainable for many scholars due to various reasons.

Livonian is a South Finnic language within the Uralic language family. Historically, it was spoken in Latvia and had two varieties: Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian. The sole surviving variety is Courland Livonian, which encompassed three dialects: Eastern (Mustānum, Kūolka, Vaid, S̄ānag, Pitrõg, Kuoštrõg, Irē, Sīkrõg, Ūžkilā), Western (Pizā, Lūž), and Central (Īra) Livonian. Sometimes, Īra is also grouped with the Western dialect (Viitso 2008a: 311–313). This thesis focuses on Courland Livonian without specific dialect emphasis; however, the Eastern dialect is more represented due to a higher volume of written/collected texts, possibly because standard Livonian is based on this dialect, and it was spoken in more villages than the Western dialect.

Livonian was first documented in the 19th century, and even by its initial documentation, it had been a minority language for centuries, resulting in a language shift and bilingualism being common in the Livonian community (Grünthal 2015: 97). As a Finnic language, Livonian had close contact with Baltic tribes, particularly those in the area of modern Latvia. This contact was also observed during this study, along with contact with German, Swedish, and Russian (Grünthal 2015). Approximately 37% of Livonian words are estimated to be loanwords (Winkler 2013: 304). Livonian-Latvian language contacts are well attested in linguistic data (e.g., Matthews 1956, Rudzīte 1994, Wälchli 2000, 2001, Klaas 2002, Kehayov et al. 2011, Ernštreits & Kļava 2014, Klaas-Lang & Norvik 2014, etc.).

During the first half of the 19th century, Livonians had productive linguistic and cultural communities. However, the Livonian Uprising in 1859 led to nearly half of Livonians being forcibly displaced from their homes and replaced by Latvians (Blumberga 2013: 171–172). Some Livonians remained on the coast as maids and in similar roles, while others returned later. Many, however, left the coast, exposing Livonian to more Latvian influence. World War I dealt another blow to the Livonian community (Loorits 1938: 125–134), displacing people from the coast and relocating them predominantly to Latvian-speaking areas to the extent that Lauri Kettunen, in one of his letters from the Livonian Coast, expressed relief at encountering any Livonians, as he and his student Oskar Loorits feared there would be none left (Blumberga 2006: 205). Kettunen noted that many Livonians became refugees in Russia, although most returned. He also observed that those who spent time in Estonia spoke a mixed language.

It has been noticed that languages in the Central Baltic area share many common developments (Larsson 2001), and has been even referred to as a *sprachbund* (Stolz 1991). Wälchli (2001: 413) even suggested that it is most useful to concentrate on the central contact area when studying Baltic–Finnic language contacts, namely, to concentrate on Latvian–Livonian language contacts. While this study focuses on the Livonian jussive, where possible the data and descriptions of the other languages of the area are considered, with the [P2] dedicated both to the functions of the Livonian jussive and the Latvian indirect imperative.

Regardless of the difficulties of obtaining data and the low number of speakers of Livonian, the language has received a lot of attention among linguists, particularly in recent years. On the one hand, "practical" advances have facilitated research, including recent developments in digital resources, the ever-increasing amount of open access research, and improved socioeconomic conditions that have also facilitated social and academic events. These things in turn have fostered collaboration between scholars and raised interest and awareness in students and future scholars. Advances in areal, contact linguistics, and language typology have increased awareness of the importance of all languages, including endangered and minority languages.

Comprehensive studies of various aspects of Livonian have been carried out, including grammar in general (de Sivers 2001, Viitso 2008a), phonetics (Tuisk et al. 2008, Tuisk 2015), the literary language and orthography (Ernštreits 2010), future reference (Norvik 2015), grammar of Salaca Livonian (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018), causative constructions (Norvik & Pakerys 2022), obsolete tensed negative pronoun construction (Blokland 2022), pronouns and proadverbs (Tomingas 2023), etc. Four special issues of the Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics have also been exclusively dedicated to Livonian studies. Livonian has also been included in studies of language contacts and areal studies (e.g., Rudzīte 1994, Wälchli 2000, Bernhard Wälchli 2001, Kehayov et al. 2011, Ernštreits & Kļava 2014, Klaas-Lang & Norvik 2014, Grünthal 2015, Verschik 2022, Norvik et al. 2022, Kalnača & Lokmane 2022, etc.).

This study is focused on a peculiar feature of Livonian – the jussive mood. It is one of the latest recognized forms in Livonian. The term jussive, in general, is used to refer to 3rd person imperatives (Dobrushina 2012). The Livonian jussive is primarily used in the 3rd person; however, it is also used in the 1st and 2nd persons, and primarily is used to convey typical imperative functions, but also introduces concessive clauses, purpose clauses, and questions. Prior to 2002, descriptions have all classified it as part of the imperative mood. Later, following the example of Estonian, the imperative mood and the jussive mood have been classified as separate moods.

The goals of this study are: 1) determining how the Livonian jussive is used in terms of its morphosyntax, and exploring how the usage correlates with previous descriptions (Viitso 2008a, de Sivers 2001, Kettunen 1938, Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861) [P1], 2) determining which semantic and syntactic functions it is used in, including its further development as a subordinator, as well as its similarities to the Latvian 3rd person imperative [P2], 3) determining covariance between function

and person category [P3], and 4) exploring the Livonian jussive in the Central Baltic area context, most specifically Latvian, as it is the closest contact language of Livonian [P2].

The hypotheses proposed in this study are the following: since Livonian and Latvian are at the epicentre of Baltic-Finnic language contacts, the semantic and syntactic developments of Livonian and Latvian indirect imperative constructions will have unique developments compared to the more peripheral contact languages. This hypothesis is based on previously noticed usage in Livonian, Latvian, and the Kihnu dialect of Estonian, introducing interrogatives with indirect imperative constructions (Kehayov et al. 2011).

The second hypothesis posits that the most prototypical imperative functions would be used with the 3rd person forms, while non-prototypical imperative functions would be used with the other person forms. This hypothesis is based on observations in previous research (Aikhenvald 2017: 7, 2010: 3, 55, 75) indicating that if languages have extended imperative paradigms or separate directive forms for other than the 2nd person, then 2nd person imperative forms tend to be used directively to convey commands, orders, and the like, while 1st person forms are employed to express suggestions and permissions, and 3rd person is utilized for indirect and mediated wishes.

The thesis comprises a cover chapter and three publications listed at the beginning. Each article addresses specific issues of the Livonian jussive. The first article [P1] is focused on the morphosyntactic aspects specifically describing the presence of the hortative particle "laz," negation strategies, distribution of person forms, and object marking, with a focus on total object marking. The second article [P2] focuses on the semantic and syntactic functions of the Livonian jussive, as well as its further developments and how this usage compares to the usage of the indirect imperative in the closest contact language of Livonian, which is Latvian. The third article [P3] is dedicated to the covariation between the person category and semantic and syntactic functions of the Livonian jussive.

[P1] and [P2] provide useful insights for describing the Livonian jussive and are valuable for teaching Livonian in terms of the jussive mood, object marking, and syntax of Livonian. [P2] also reveals the previously unknown convergence of the Livonian and Latvian indirect imperatives and their usage, which is important for studying language contacts, particularly in the Central Baltic area, as well as providing insight into possible developments of directive constructions. [P3] is more focused on general linguistics and language typology. The person category is the subject of much debate concerning imperatives, and the article provides insight into the functions each of the person forms the Livonian jussive serves. It also demonstrates that the prototypicality of the functions the jussive is used in depends both on the mood and the person form, which could potentially apply to other imperatives as well.

1. IMPERATIVE, JUSSIVE AND RELATED TERMINOLOGY

1.1. Directive speech act

Along with assertive and interrogative speech acts (with exclamative speech acts also frequently mentioned), the directive speech act is one of the basic or primary illocutionary acts (Dik 1997a: 301–302). An assertive speech act provides information to the addressee, an interrogative speech act expresses a request for information (Dik 1997a: 302), and a directive speech act can be defined as a speech act that provides the addressee with a reason to act or bring about the state of affairs specified in the speech act (Jary & Kissine 2016: 124, Kissine 2009: 131). This means that in case of a directive speech act "both the speaker and the addressee believe that both the speaker and the addressee believe that both the speaker and the addressee believe that u [utterance] is a reason to act" (Jary & Kissine 2014: 58). In simpler terms, the utterance serves as a reason to act, and both parties (the addresser and the addressee) agree with this. This definition holds true regardless of the addressee's reaction (i.e. whether they choose to act or not to act). However, the most prototypical directive speech acts are commonly associated with the addresser's control over the state of affairs (Aikhenvald 2010: 119, 147).

Directive speech acts are commonly linked with imperative sentences and the imperative mood (Aikhenvald 2010: 2). Nevertheless, various linguists have observed that the imperative is not the exclusive method for expressing commands, directives, and requests, which are functions typically associated with imperatives. This observation has led to the proposition that declarative constructions are frequently employed across languages as a secondary approach to convey directive speech acts (Aikhenvald 2010: 38). This propensity could be attributed to pragmatic considerations, such as politeness (more details on politeness and imperatives can be found in Aikhenvald 2010: §6.2–6.4), since imperatives might come across as too harsh, direct, or even inappropriate. Jary & Kissine (2016: 126) posit that significant non-imperative clause types are utilised to communicate various directive speech acts. For instance, they provide examples of interrogative (1) and declarative (2) clauses:

(1) Will you close the door?

(2) You are leaving now.

Example (1) could be construed as a request, while example (2), one might contend, is just as directive as imperative proper, and possibly even more forceful. In both cases, the directive meaning is not linguistically encoded but is rather conveyed pragmatically or extralinguistically. Other linguists offer an array of examples to illustrate conveying commands. Aikhenvald (2010: §8) extensively

discusses *disguised imperatives*, encompassing verbless directives (e.g., exclamations like "shh!"), commands conveyed through images (e.g., traffic signs or signs prohibiting various actions), and other methods of conveying commands. These methods may not only lack an imperative form or verb but could even be devoid of any words altogether. This underscores the vital role of pragmatics in determining the genuine illocutionary force of each speech act. Nevertheless, each fundamental illocution is fundamentally linked to a specific sentence type or mood (Dik 1997b: 237).

1.2. The imperative sentence

The term "imperative" has a twofold nature: it refers to both a verb form and a sentence type, both of which are associated with commands (Crystal 2008: 237). The term "command" is sometimes used interchangeably with "directive speech act" or "imperative sentence." In this context, the former definition will be used. The imperative sentence constitutes one of the basic sentence types. The basic sentence types share similarities with types of speech acts, and a similar division: declarative sentences, imperative sentences, and interrogative sentences. The imperative sentence is closely linked to the directive speech act and is typically characterized by its predicate being in the imperative mood.

Unlike other basic sentence types, it tends to lack an overt addressee (Crystal 2008: 87). This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the subject of an imperative sentence containing a 2nd person imperative form coincides with the addressee of the utterance, thus rendering it implicit. Unlike declarative sentences, imperative sentences do not carry a truth value, preventing them from being readily transformed into meaningful interrogative sentences (Aikhenvald 2010: 3).

Furthermore, while directive speech acts can be achieved using declarative or interrogative sentences, performing assertive or interrogative speech acts using an imperative sentence is considerably more challenging. While it is possible to say, "Tell me about your day!" as a replacement for "How did your day go?" in specific contexts, such usage is constrained by pragmatic, semantic factors, and potentially standardized phrases. On the other hand, interrogative or declarative sentences can be used much more flexibly to convey directive speech acts, although limitations may still arise depending on the language. While sentence types are inherently connected to the types of speech acts, they do not completely align. This implies that the sentence's type or its linguistic elements alone do not definitively determine the type of speech act it conveys, which holds true for the opposite – that the sentence type is not definitively determined by the speech act that it conveys. This means that the sentence type is encoded formally, whereas speech act type is not necessarily encoded formally. It is noteworthy that declarative and interrogative sentences encompass a variety of predicate forms, which they share, whereas the imperative sentence is typically confined to the imperative mood, hortative constructions, and similar forms that are not commonly used in declarative or interrogative sentences.

Portner (2004, 2007) sheds light on both the semantic commonalities between interrogatives and declaratives and their distinction from imperative sentences. He associates imperative clauses with what he terms *To Do Lists*. These lists represent sets of actions for the addressee to undertake. Imperative sentences serve the purpose of updating the addressee's *To Do List*, effectively communicating tasks to be accomplished (Portner 2004: 239–240).

In a parallel exploration, Portner (2004: 237–243) compares *To Do Lists* with the universally applicable notions of *Common Ground* and *Question Sets*, which correspondingly are associated with declaratives and interrogatives. *Common Ground* encapsulates the shared set of propositions among conversation participants and is revised using declarative sentences. Conversely, *Question Sets* encompass the array of issues participants seek to address, advanced using interrogative sentences. An individual's *To Do List* is a hierarchy of potential actions which align with *Common Ground*, where some actions are more favourable than others. Han (1999) introduced a similar concept of a *plan set*, identifying scenarios where imperative clauses not only update but also acknowledge an individual's plan (e.g., permissions). Notably, Portner (2004: 237) points out that the *Common Ground* and *Question Sets* are shared by the participants, while the *To Do Lists* are individualised and uniquely characterize each conversational participant.

Imperative sentences, declarative sentences, and interrogative sentences all share a universal presence (or are at least extremely common). Nevertheless, imperative sentences are more closely tied to the imperative mood than declarative or interrogative sentences are to any particular form. Analysing them separately, especially in terms of semantics, is challenging due to their strong connection. In this thesis, "imperative" refers to the form of the predicate, while also being seen as an essential part of the context in which it is used.

1.3. The imperative mood

Imperatives have garnered significant attention in recent decades (Kaufmann 2012, Aikhenvald 2010, van der Auwera et al. 2005, Xrakovskij & Volodin 2001, Rupp 2003, Xrakovskij 1992, Beukema & Coopmans 1989, etc.). Linguists point out the morphological and semantic simplicity of imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010: 45–46, Takahashi 2004: 1, Platzack & Rosengren 1997: 178). It is often the case that 2nd person imperative forms coincide with the root or the stem of the verb (Aikhenvald 2010: 18), e.g., English: *go!*, German: *gehe!* 'go', Estonian: *mine!* 'go'.

Typically, imperatives are described through their functions, primarily commands, but also orders or instructions. Intuitively, a command seems to be the main function of imperatives. It is often seen as the typical or even "default" function of imperatives (Takahashi 2004: 13, Kaufmann 2012: 113). Likewise, the imperative is widely regarded as the most common form for conveying commands (Aikhenvald 2010: 2). Nevertheless, imperatives serve a range of other functions, including permissions (3), instructions (4), good wishes (5), threats (6) and warnings, curses (7), exhortations (8), invitations (9), prayers (10) and others.

(3) Go ahead, help yourself!

(4) Go straight, then turn left and the train station will be on your right.

(5) Get well soon!

(6) Come anywhere near me and you'll regret it!

(7) Go to hell!

(8) Look! Isn't it the most beautiful view!

(9) Come visit us any time!

(10) Give us this day our daily bread.

While imperatives are used to express a variety of notions, not all imperative functions are considered equally intrinsic. For instance, Han (1999: 7) draws a comparison between imperatives conveying threats or dares, and declaratives conveying irony or sarcasm, a parallel that appears reasonable given that dares (6) present the direct opposite of the state of affairs specified with the imperative clause. The prototypical usage of imperatives is associated with the exertion of force or directive force, often regarded as evident (Takahashi 2004: 15–16, Palmer 2001: 80). Imperatives are frequently viewed as the most assertive directives, often emanating from figures of authority, thus expecting the addressee to be compelled to comply (Palmer 2001: 80). It has even been proposed that directive force could be "the primary criterion" determining the prototypicality of the occurrences of imperatives (Takahashi 2004: 15–16). However, directive force is not prevalent in the majority of the examples provided above.

Lyons (1977: 746) observed that a speaker issuing *personal directives* has to believe that the addressee is capable of compliance, otherwise the directive cannot be appropriately conveyed. Additionally, it has also been proposed that imperatives and hortatives, along with directiveness similarly to optatives, express the speaker's wish about the state of affairs (Auwera et al. 2005). As illustrated by Jary & Kissine (2014: 55–58, 2016: 122), one does not need to have any interest in the outcome of advice, permission, or even an order. They emphasised (2014: 57) that a general could command his men to enter battle without personally desiring them to endanger their lives. This underscores how even prototypical orders or commands can stem from circumstances (e.g., authority, rules, duty, etc.) rather than the speaker's volition, sometimes even conflicting with the latter. The same principle extends to various forms of directive speech acts, suggesting that a speaker's volition might constitute a potential semantic element in imperatives, but not an obligatory one.

Directive force is perceived as the primary semantic component of imperatives, thus establishing a close connection between them and directive speech acts. The prototypical addresser of an imperative is an authoritative figure, with an

inherent expectation of compliance from the addressee. While the volition of the speaker is a plausible but not mandatory semantic aspect of an imperative, Kissine (2009: 131–132) highlights that not all imperative clauses are defined by directive force. The imperative mood can also convey desires, as seen in cases like good wishes and retrospective imperatives, where the speaker expresses a wish for state of affairs to become true without necessarily attempting to influence the outcome. Moreover, Kissine attributes the alignment of imperative sentences with directive force to the inclination to interpret desires in a directive manner.

1.4. Imperative and person category

Aikhenvald (2010: §1.2) illustrated that imperatives exhibit a wide array of usages, contexts, and functions cross-linguistically, alongside significant variations in their paradigms. For instance, certain languages have multiple imperative paradigms (Aikhenvald 2020: 60), with Tariana featuring as many as 9 distinct imperative paradigms. Furthermore, she established (2010: §2) that across languages globally, imperatives can co-occur with a diverse range of categories. These categories may or may not align with those used in conjunction with other moods. Notably, the most controversial category impacting imperatives is the person category.

It has been argued that only 2nd person forms can be deemed imperatives. Lyons (1977: 747) asserts that the imperative is inherently tied to the 2nd person, requiring that commands or requests be directed toward the individual expected to execute them. However, such statements do not inherently preclude the possibility of 1st or 3rd person imperatives.

It is indeed true that certain languages, including English, German, Dutch, and others, employ hortative constructions to convey commands to individuals other than the 2nd person. For instance, expressions like *let's go!* or *let him do the dishes!* serve this purpose. However, in most cases, such usage is deemed unacceptable when directed at the 2nd person in these languages, making it challenging to establish an imperative paradigm. Nevertheless, there are languages with forms that effectively communicate commands to individuals beyond the 2nd person and their forms maintain morphological consistency (forming a singular paradigm) with the 2nd person forms. Examples of such languages include Hungarian and Finnish.

Furthermore, some languages exhibit multiple imperative paradigms. For instance, Estonian features an imperative proper, used with all but the 1st person singular (Erelt 2017b: 167), and a jussive paradigm applicable to all persons (Erelt 2017b: 172–173). Another example is Evenki, which has two imperative paradigms: one for the near future and another for the distant future (Aikhenvald 2010: 51). Additionally, Tariana stands out with its nine distinct paradigms (Aikhenvald 2020: 60). However, a consensus regarding terminology in such cases remains elusive, and each situation is addressed individually.

Forms and constructions primarily intended to convey commands to subjects other than the 2nd person are commonly designated as jussive, injunctive, hortative,

adhortative, cohortative, etc. Among these terms, the most prevalent are *jussive* and *hortative* (e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 48), Generally, the term jussive pertains to the 3rd person forms (e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 48, Dobrushina 2012), while hortative is primarily used for the 1st person (mainly plural) forms (e.g., Kim & Kwon 2020). However, there is no agreement on what exactly these terms refer to, as the term hortative is also suggested to be used for all non 2nd person imperatives (Jary & Kissine 2016: 144). The variation in terminology and conceptual understanding of imperatives set them apart from other linguistic forms. Aikhenvald (2010: 48) highlights that "No grammar would use one term for 1st person declarative, another one for 2nd person, and yet another one for 3rd." Imperatives tend to provoke more extensive discussions than any other form or mood, particularly when addressing the person category. Consequently, a consistent classification for non-2nd person forms and constructions primarily used for conveying commands is still missing.

As a possible solution, the umbrella-term *imperative-hortatives* referring to all such forms and constructions together was proposed (Auwera et al. 2005) focusing on the function alone rather than form. This approach is encompassing, however, distinguishing between different forms or constructions is lacking.

Aikhenvald (2010) introduced the concept of distinguishing between *canonical* and *non-canonical* imperatives. The former encompasses the 2nd person forms, while the latter include the 1st and 3rd person forms (she also considers impersonal forms as a subtype of non-canonical imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010: 56)). She suggests that non-canonical and canonical imperatives might constitute a unified paradigm (2010: 49). However, non-canonical imperatives could also form a distinct paradigm, or 1st and 3rd person imperatives might differ from one another (Aikhenvald 2010: 48).

In her discussion (2010: §2.2) Aikhenvald classifies languages into four categories: 1) where canonical and non-canonical imperatives create a single paradigm; 2) where canonical imperatives form a paradigm, and non-canonical imperatives are marked differently; 3) where canonical and non-canonical imperative forms overlap, such that one type of non-canonical imperatives shares a paradigm with canonical imperatives, while the other type differs; 4) where distinct forms exist for canonical and each non-canonical imperative.

This classification primarily hinges on the person category: 2nd person imperatives are consistently labelled as canonical, and 1st and 3rd person imperatives as non-canonical, irrespective of their formal or syntactic traits. This terminology remains consistent for 1st and 3rd person imperatives that share a paradigm with the 2nd person, as well as for those forming separate paradigms. However, it also applies to cases where all forms or constructions differ. In many instances, the desire to differentiate between languages featuring a complete (or extended) imperative paradigm and those with multiple imperative paradigms arises. Nevertheless, the utility of this approach becomes questionable, particularly in relation to morphology, as well as semantics, since the terms solely pertain to the person category and not the paradigm to which it belongs.

The most practical definition to date appears to be the one proposed by Jary & Kissine (2016). They propose that any forms or constructions morphologically

and syntactically consistent with the 2nd person should be classified as imperative, while the term "hortative" could be reserved for languages where forms or constructions for other persons do not align with the 2nd person. This approach strikes a balance: it is sufficiently inclusive to accommodate complete imperative paradigms (if they are uniform), yet not overly broad, as it enables differentiation between languages with uniform paradigms, languages that use distinct methods for conveying 2nd person commands and commands for other persons, as well as languages that may lack either of these forms or constructions. However, Jary & Kissine do not address languages where forms or constructions differ for every person, nor do they tackle languages with multiple paradigms. Conversely, the terminological discrepancy in languages with multiple paradigms could potentially be resolved using multiple terms, provided these terms are well-motivated and clearly defined.

1.5. Indirect imperatives

Even though the 2nd person addressee-oriented commands might be the most typical, one may also need to convey a directive speech act towards any of the participants (as well as non-participants) of a conversation, and languages can deal with this in many ways. One of the possible strategies is mediated or reported speech, e.g., *he told you to go*, but there might also be dedicated constructions, e.g., *let him go and do the dishes*, or morphological forms, like in Finnish, e.g., *kertokoon* '(let one) tell', or Hungarian, e.g., *beszéljen* '(let one) talk', which are congruent with the 2nd person imperative.

Some suggest to use the term "3rd person imperative" (Dobrushina 2012: 3) if the form is congruent with the 2nd person imperative. At first glance, this does not seem unreasonable, however, along with the argument made by Aikhenvald, one would not have a "3rd person indicative" as a separate definition. It is also redundant if the forms are a part of one paradigm. The previously mentioned approach suggested by Jary & Kissine (2016) proposes to refer to the forms that are morphologically and syntactically congruent with the 2nd person imperative simply as imperatives, meaning one term for the whole paradigm with a certain number of distinct person forms. In a similar spirit, the umbrella-term proposed here for secondary imperative paradigms, like the Estonian jussive, is the *indirect imperative*. In this study, the necessity for one term to refer to such paradigms arose, at least when referring to paradigms in multiple languages, while conducting the study of the functions and usage of the Livonian jussive and the Latvian "analytical 3rd person imperative" [P2].

On the one hand, the term "jussive" is not consistent in general linguistics. The term "analytical 3rd person imperative" which is used in Latvian linguistics (also applicable to the Lithuanian grammars) is not accurate, as this 3rd person imperative is used with all persons, including the 2nd person, and the data clearly showed that the 1st and 2nd person forms are not used exclusively for the non-prototypical imperative functions that would fall under the label "further developments"

([P2]: 86). [P3] gave further proof that all person forms of the Livonian jussive are used in prototypical imperative functions. This ultimately led to the choice of the term *indirect imperative*. The term *indirect imperative* seems encompassing enough, as it includes the occurrences of any indirect or mediated commands, requests, or other prototypical imperative functions which can be used with any person, but at the same time it is specific and intuitive enough, specifying that it conveys functions characteristic of imperatives, but that there is no direct conversational connection between the addresser and the addressee of the utterance. When referring to Livonian forms alone the term jussive will be used throughout the thesis, as it is an already established term in Livonian.

2. LIVONIAN JUSSIVE

In addition to the imperative proper, Livonian has developed a secondary indirect imperative paradigm commonly referred to as the jussive. The imperative proper paradigm is incomplete, comprising three forms: the 2nd person singular, the 2nd person plural, and 1st person plural. Conversely, the Livonian jussive constitutes a complete paradigm, mirroring the structure of other moods in Livonian, such as indicative, conditional, and reportative. The jussive paradigm encompasses six members: the 1st person singular and plural, the 2nd person singular and plural, and 3rd person singular and plural. It is worth noting that, like the reportative, the jussive is morphologically inflected solely for singular and plural, with person distinctions marked only using pronouns.

Jussive could be referred to as the "youngest" mood in Livonian. The classification of these forms and the term "jussive" were introduced into Livonian linguistics following the Estonian example. Initially, these forms were categorised as part of the imperative proper paradigm, leading to the notion that the imperative proper paradigm encompassed all six person forms in earlier descriptions of Livonian (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 130, Kettunen 1938: LX–LXV).

Similarly, the unique usage of "3rd person imperative" forms with other persons was observed in Estonian (Wiedemann 2011 [1875]: 509, Erelt 2002). These forms, however, were initially classified as part of the imperative proper paradigm. The fact that these forms were employed with all persons was largely overlooked until Hint (1969: 335) brought attention to it. Rätsep (1971) subsequently analysed their usage, proposing that such instances constituted a complete paradigm and formed a similar evidential[2] opposition with the imperative proper, akin to the contrast between the reportative mood and the indicative mood. Eventually, Tiit-Rein Viitso (1976: 157) coined a name for this newly recognised paradigm: the jussive mood (Est.: *möönev kõneviis* 'concessive mood'), which was adopted within Estonian linguistics (e.g., Erelt et al. 2017, Viht & Habicht 2019, Metslang & Sepper 2010, Erelt & Metslang 2004, Erelt et al. 1995). Subsequently, this approach was also applied to Livonian (Viitso 2008a: 320, Kehayov et al. 2012, Pajusalu 2014).

2.1. Origin and paradigm

The origin of the jussive mood in Livonian and Estonian remains unclear, although it is likely the same in both languages. Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 135) have proposed that the construction may have been extended to other persons due to Latvian influence. Latvian has a "3rd person imperative" employing a hortative particle *lai* 'let', which, akin to the Livonian jussive, is employed with all persons (Viitso 2008a: 317). Hint (1969: 335) and Viitso (2011: 211) suggest that 3rd

[2] Note that Rätsep did not use the term *evidential* at the time.

person forms have been generalized to other persons, eventually forming the new paradigm. Conversely, others (Erelt & Metslang 2004: 167–172, Erelt 2017b: 173) propose the opposite view: that the [present] jussive (which might have been the optative in the past, also see Laanest (1975: 154)) was adapted for the imperative paradigm to convey 3rd person commands. While Latvian influence on the Livonian language is well documented (e.g., Ernštreits & Kļava 2014, Larsson 2001, B. Wälchli 2001, 2000, Rudzīte 1996, 1994, Matthews 1956, etc.), its role in shaping the usage or emergence of this construction remains an open question.

In Courland Livonian, the forms themselves lack person inflection (with the person category marked using pronouns), though they are inflected for number (adding a plural marker in plural forms). Conversely, in Salaca Livonian, jussive forms lack number inflection (Pajusalu 2014: 128). The jussive markers in Courland Livonian are *-kkõ*, *-kõ*, *-gõ*, *-g*, and-*õg(õ)*, with the plural marker being *-d.* According to Viitso (2008a: 320) the jussive is usually used with the particle *laz* 'let' (in Salaca Livonian *las* 'let' (Pajusalu 2014: 128)) which essentially duplicates the indirect imperative marking, e.g. *laz ma/sa/ta āndag* 'let me/you/he/she give' (HORT 1SG/2SG/3SG.N give.JUSS.SG), *laz mēg/tēg/ne āndag* 'let us/you/them give' (HORT 1PL/2PL/3PL.N give.JUSS.PL). See the forms in Table 1.

Table 1. Livonian jussive and imperative forms of võlda 'to be'

	Courland Livonian		Salaca Livonian[3]	
	Imperative	Jussive	Imperative	Jussive
1SG	–	laz vȯl-kõ	–	las olg
2SG	vȯ'l	laz vȯl-kõ	ol	las olg
3SG	–	laz vȯl-kõ	olg	las olg
1PL	vȯl-gõ-m	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olmi	las olg
2PL	vȯl-gi-d	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olgi	las olg
3PL	–	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olg	las olg

The forms in Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian are classified differently (Courland Livonian: Viitso 2008a: 318–320, Salaca Livonian: Pajusalu 2014: 128, Pajusalu & Winkler 2018: 120–125). The latter classification suggests that Salaca Livonian includes a 3rd person imperative (typically used with *lass* 'let') and a periphrastic imperative. The periphrastic imperative is constructed using *lass* and the "3rd person imperative," lacking specific person markers aside from pronouns, and is employed with all persons except the 2nd. The 3rd person imperative and the periphrastic imperative appear nearly identical, with the only distinction being the occasional omission of the hortative particle in the former, casting doubt on this differentiation.

[3] The Salaca Livonian forms are from (Pajusalu 2014: 128).

The Courland Livonian imperative proper paradigm is considered to lack 3rd person forms, while the Estonian imperative proper paradigm is thought to encompass 3rd person forms (Erelt 2017b: 170), like the classification suggested for Salaca Livonian. Despite identical forms, a vague differentiation is drawn between the 3rd person imperative and jussive. The 3rd person imperative forms are deemed to convey non-mediated commands to addressees not partaking in the conversation (Erelt 2017b: 170), signifying the speaker as the source of the command. In contrast, jussive expresses wishes, concessions, or reported commands (Erelt 2017b: 172–173), where the origin of the command is not the speaker. While this classification appears reasonable at first glance, due to the lack of formal differences between mediated and non-mediated 3rd person commands they may be challenging to discern unless explicitly indicated.

2.2. The hortative particle *laz* 'let'

The hortative particle *laz* 'let' is likely a cognate of the Estonian hortative particle *las* 'let' (Kehayov et al. 2012: 49). The latter has been derived from the 2nd person singular imperative form of the verb *laskma* 'let, allow, make.' Similarly, in Livonian, the particle originates from the verb *laskõ* 'let, allow, make', which is considered to be of Finno-Ugric origin (Toivonen et al. 1958: 278; ESR: 228, Itkonen et al. 1995: 49). The particle inherited the causative-permissive meaning from the original modal verb (Metslang & Sepper 2010: 546). Metslang (2000a: 181) suggested that the modal uses of the German *lass* 'let' (the 2nd person singular imperative of the verb *lassen* 'let, allow') have influenced the development of the Estonian hortative particle *las*. However, she also noted that development of such particles is quite common (Metslang 2000b: 59–60).

Hortative particles derived from the 2nd person singular imperative forms of similar modal verbs are attested in many languages in the Baltic Sea region, as are other particles that have been derived from imperative forms (e.g., Metslang 2000b: 60, Blinkena 2007: 202). Apart from the Livonian *laz* 'let' and Estonian *las* 'let', highly lexicalised particles are found in the Baltic languages (see §2.5), and Russian (Dobrushina 2008: 125). The particlization of the hortative particles in the South Finnic and Baltic languages, as well as Russian is more advanced than that of the German *lass* 'let'. Moreover Finnic, Baltic and Russian hortative constructions share typical subject marking (nominative) as shown in (11), (12). In contrast, German constructions (similar to English hortative constructions) exhibit typical object marking (accusative), as seen in (14). Additionally, the main verb appears in finite indicative forms in Baltic, Estonian (11), and Russian (13) languages, and finite jussive forms in Livonian (12), while it is in the infinitive form in German (14).

(11) Estonian:
Las *ta* *läheb!*
HORT 3SG.N go.3SG
'Let him/her go!'

(12) Livonian:
Laz *ta* *läkkõ!*
HORT 3SG.NOM go.JUS.SG
'Let him/her go!'

(13) Russian:
Пусть он идет!
HORT 3SG.M.N go.3SG
'Let him go!'

(14) German:
Laß ihn gehen!
HORT 3SG.M.ACC go.INF
'Let him go!'

This suggests that the hortative particle *las* 'let' in Estonian, Livonian, and other languages within the Baltic Sea region is more likely an areal development rather than a result of German influence.

2.3. Negation

In Livonian, similar to other Finnic languages, verbs are negated using negative auxiliaries. Viitso (2006: 112, Viitso 2011: 321) distinguishes a "prohibitive verb" used with imperatives and jussives, and a "negative auxiliary verb" used with all other moods. Here, the term "negative auxiliary" is preferred regardless of the mood. Livonian employs three different negative auxiliaries: one auxiliary is used with the indicative (present tense), conditional, and reportative; another is used with past indicative forms; and yet another is used with the imperative proper and jussive. It is inflected for number and person (except in Salaca Livonian). The forms of the negative auxiliaries are illustrated in Table 2[4].

[4] The table and the references are taken from [P1].

Table 2. Inflection of the Livonian negative auxiliary

Person	Courland Livonian				Salaca Livonian			
	Indicative		Imperative	Jussive	Indicative		Imperative	Jussive
	Present	Past			Present	Past		
1sg	äb[5]	iz	–	algõ	ab	iz	–	ala
2sg	äd	izt	alā				ala[6]	
3sg	äb	iz	–					
1pl	äb	iz	algõm	algõd (algõ)[7]				
2pl	ät	izt	algid					
3pl	äb	izt	–					

Notably, Courland Livonian retains the inflection for person in the negative auxiliary, while Salaca Livonian, similar to Estonian, does not. Both Livonian varieties maintain distinct negative auxiliaries for the present and past indicative. This distinction is also found in some Estonian varieties (Viitso 2006: 112). As illustrated in the table and suggested by Kettunen (1938: LXV) and Viitso (2008a: 321), the jussive negative auxiliary is *algõ* 'let not' in singular and *algõd* 'let not' in plural. Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 156–157) proposed that the singular form *algõ* can also be used in plural, for instance: *algõ ma/sa/ta āndag* 'let me/you/him/her [1SG/2SG/3SG.N] not give', *algõd/algõ mēg/tēg/ne āndagõd* 'let us/you/them [1PL/2PL/3PL.N] not give'. The same parallel usage of *algõ* / *algõd* in plural was also suggested by Kehayov et al. (2012: 49). Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 156) and Kettunen (1938: LXV) also mention that the negated jussive forms can be used with the hortative particle *laz* 'let': *las ma algõ vȯlg*[8] 'let me [1SG.N] not be'; *las ta algõ vȯlg* 'let him/her [3SG.N] not be'; *las mēg algõ võlg* 'let us [1PL.N] not be'. Sjögren & Wiedemann provide examples for the 1st person (Courland and Salaca Livonian) and the 3rd person (only Salaca Livonian) in both the singular and plural, while Kettunen offers examples only for the 1st and 3rd person singular.

[5] The forms of the negation auxiliary in Courland Livonian are taken from Viitso (2008a: 321).

[6] The forms of the negation auxiliary in Salaca Livonian are taken from Pajusalu (2014: 128). The person category is not discussed at length; the persons mentioned are 2SG, 2PL, 1PL, 3SG, 3PL; negation of the jussive mood is not specified, however Pajusalu states that "The jussive expressing a reported command has been denoted in Salaca Livonian by means of forms that are identical to forms of the 3rd person imperative", which suggests, that the negation auxiliary also coincides with the negation auxiliary of the imperative, which is not inflected.

[7] Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 156–157).

[8] Kettunen's examples are provided in modern orthography.

2.4. Previous research

The Livonian jussive has primarily been studied within broader examinations of the Livonian language, often focusing either on Livonian grammar as a whole (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861; Kettunen 1938, de Sivers 2001[9], Moseley 2002[10], Viitso 2008a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018) or on the Livonian verbal categories (Kehayov et al. 2012, Pajusalu 2014[11]). The classification and understanding of this paradigm have been significantly influenced by the treatment of the Estonian jussive in Estonian linguistics. The Livonian jussive "inherited" its status as a distinct mood from the Estonian jussive, along with the term "jussive." However, no studies have yet exclusively focused on the Livonian jussive or its specific functions.

Moseley (2002: 55) refers to the mood as *subjunctive* and notes its usage "for 'projected' or putative states and actions", rarely used in main clauses but frequently used in subordinate purpose clauses. Viitso (2008a: 320) suggests that the Livonian jussive is employed to convey obligation, concession, ora command. A more extensive exploration of the Livonian jussive has been offered by Kehayov et al. (2012) within the context of evidentiality. Similar to Moseley, Kehayov et al. (2012: 49) assert that the Livonian jussive appears most often in subordinate clauses, particularly complement clauses that convey reported speech. According to Kehayov et al. (2012: 48) the Livonian jussive (which they also refer to as *reported imperative*) indicates that the addresser (the source of the command) does not coincide with the speaker. It is also utilised to convey participant-internal and external necessity as well as in deliberative questions (Kehayov et al. 2012: 50). The latter is a finding also noted in a prior study (Kehayov et al. 2011), although only one occurrence was cited and found during that study. Kehayov et al. also observe (2012: 50) that the jussive is more frequent in Livonian data compared to Estonian and that its usage differs between the two languages.

The Livonian grammar by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861), does not specifically address the jussive, nor is it treated as a separate category by Kettunen (1938). This is not surprising, as at that time, it was considered to be part of the imperative proper paradigm, similar to the situation in Estonian (Wiedemann 2011 [1875]). However, adverbial clauses introduced using jussive forms have been covered in the grammar by Sjögren and Wiedemann (1861: 278–279, 279–280), particularly purpose clauses (15), and concessive clauses (16). Interestingly most of the concessive clauses feature the secondary concessive marker particle *kil* 'sure, though'.

[9] Classified as imperative

[10] Classified as subjuncitve.

[11] Along with the term *jussive*, Pajusalu also uses the terms *oblique imperative* and *reported imperative*. Note that in this case Pajusalu focuses on Salaca Livonian.

(15) alā ūrg ku rikās, **algõ** sin
neg.IMP.3SG start.IMP.CNG.SG as rich.N.SG neg.JUS.SG 3SG.DAT
vȯlg loptõmist ku joutõmõn (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 278)
be.JUS.SG end.DEB as poor.DAT.SG
'don't start as a rich [person], so you don't have to end up like a poor [person]'

(16) **laz** ta kil **vȯlgõ** tazāndõks, sīegid pierāst
HORT 3SG.N though be.JUS.SG allegory.N.SG even so
um ta ka tuož (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 280)
be.3SG 3SG.N also true
'even though it is an allegory, it is also true'

Even though recently Livonian has been extensively researched by numerous scholars, resulting in many new insights into the language, the jussive mood has often remained either a peripheral topic or only received partial attention, leaving numerous questions unanswered.

2.5. Livonian jussive in the context of Baltic Sea area

Multiple contact languages of Livonian have developed hortative particles from permissive-causative verbs meaning 'let, allow': Estonian *las* 'let' from *laskma* 'let, allow', Latvian *lai* 'let' from *laist* 'let, allow', Lithuanian *lai* 'let' from *leisti* 'let, allow', and Russian *пусть* 'let' from *пустить* 'let, allow'. Lithuanian has also developed other hortative particles, with the most productive ones in modern Lithuanian being *te* 'let', *tegu* 'let', and *tegul* 'let', whereas in some dialects, there are also *testa* 'let', *testau* 'let' (Zinkevičius 1981: 136). Except for the latter Lithuanian hortative particles, all these particles share a very similar origin, and they all share similar argument marking.

The Livonian particle laz differs from the others in that it is used with the jussive and not with the indicative verb forms, which is the opposite of the case in the other languages. Such usage has also been attested in Vaivara village in Estonia (Must 1987: 256). Note that Vaivara village is located in North-East Estonia, quite far from the historic Livonian language area.

It is important to note, that such double marking also occurs in modern colloquial Estonian. Such usage can also be observed in online language usage such as forums and internet comments (17), (18), (19).

(17) *Kui muidu ei saa siis **las** **tehku** mõni*
if otherwise NEG can.CNG then HORT do.JUSS some.N.SG
sober aga ise pead siis pildil olema![12]
friend.N.SG but RFL.N.SG must.2SG then picture.ADE.SG be.SUP
'If it cannot be done otherwise, then let some friend do [it] (~take a picture), you must be in the picture yourself then!'

[12] Estonian National Corpus 2017, etTenTen2017: https://www.sketchengine.eu/ettenten-estonian-corpus/

(18) *minu* *arvamus* *on,* *et* *iga* *omanik* ***las***
1SG.G opinion.N.SG be.3SG that every owner.N.SG HORT
tehku, *mida* *tahab* *oma* *varaga*[13]
do.JUSS what.P.SG want.3SG own property.INS.SG
'In my opinion let every owner do with their property what they want'

(19) *Vana* ***las*** ***mingu*** *ja* *uus* ***tulgu***[14]
old.N.SG HORT go.JUSS and new.N.SG come.JUSS
'Let the old [year] go and let the new [year] come.'

On another note, the true extent of this usage and the semantic differences between the Estonian jussive, hortative construction with *las*, and *las* with jussive are thus far not clear. Currently, it cannot be ascertained whether such usage in Livonian and Estonian is connected, or whether these were separate developments. Further research is needed.

Additionally, it is worth noting that occasionally the Livonian laz is also used with indicative predicates, and even past indicative predicates (see §4.1.5), which resembles the Latvian and Estonian usage. There is a slim chance that it might be a remnant of previous usage; however, it seems more likely that it was a result of Livonian-Latvian bilingualism. As Grünthal pointed out (2015: 97), Livonian had been a minority language for centuries even before the first time it was documented, thus bilingualism and language shift were very common occurrences. This would make it much more probable that fully bilingual Livonian-Latvian speakers would follow the Latvian pattern (a hortative construction used with indicative), rather than it being the preservation of an older variant.

On the one hand, Livonian is very similar to Estonian, as jussive forms in both languages share the jussive marker, and both languages also developed hortative particles from the 2nd person singular imperative forms from etymologically the same verb (Livonian laz < laskõ 'let, allow', Estonian las < laskma 'let, allow'). However, Livonian stands apart from its closest related language as both strategies (jussive and the hortative particle) have fully merged, resulting in a double marking of a single construction, while Estonian for the most part has kept two distinct constructions: the jussive mood and the hortative construction with the particle *las*. As noted in some cases, they are also combined, meaning that, at least to a certain extent, a third strategy has developed. As a result, the Livonian system became much more like that of Latvian or Russian, as these languages too have only one indirect imperative construction, which is the hortative construction.

The neighbouring Baltic language, Lithuanian, is most closely related to Latvian, but when it comes to indirect imperatives, its system is distinctly different from Latvian. Lithuanian has also developed the same hortative particle *lai* 'let' (< *leisti, laidyti* 'let, allow'). It is most productive in Northern Lithuanian

[13] https://foorum.naistekas.delfi.ee/read.php?75,9360473 (accessed in April 2023).

[14] https://www.facebook.com/ettevotlikudNaised/photos/a.756825791053812/90030708
0039015/?type=3&paipv=0&eav=Afbo1Fhf-_0aZ2MxT0lBKybQdzxzgGcEnMkozOyGI9
VGe7yV_y2wJja3IyTq8iRabN0&_rdr (accessed in April 2023).

dialects and is not very frequent in standard Lithuanian [15]. Lithuanian has developed multiple other hortative particles[16]: *te* 'let' (a permissive/optative prefix/particle), *tegu* 'let', *tegul* 'let' (both from the permissive form of the verb *gulėti* 'to lay'), and the less productive dialectal *testa* 'let', *testau* 'let' (both from the permissive form of the verb *stovėti* 'to stand').

Alongside the hortative particle constructions, historically, Lithuanian has also had a permissive mood (Zinkevičius 1981: 133–135), which is formed with the prefix (or as Zinkevičius refers to it a prepositional particle) *te-* and characteristic markers *-ie*, *-y*, *-ai*, which originally were used to mark the optative (Zinkevičius 1981: 134). While such forms are not productive in modern Lithuanian, they gave rise to a new paradigm formed with the permissive prefix *te-* attached to the indicative present or future tense forms, replacing the original permissive forms (Ambrazas et al. 2005: 309). It's noteworthy that the permissive prefix has also been attested to having been used with the imperative proper forms, e.g.: *te-bū-k* 'let [it] be,' which are also attested in the old written texts (Zinkevičius 1981: 135). This also constitutes double marking of directivity, with *-k(i)* a marker of imperative proper and *te-* a marker of the permissive/indirect imperative.

The Lithuanian imperative marker *-k(i)* is an innovation not shared by Latvian, and its origin is still unclear. Kazlauskas (1966; 1968: 382–385) suggested that the marker might have originated in the Lithuanian language itself from the Lithuanian particle *gi*[17], which is used to stress certain elements of an utterance[18]. Zinkevičius argues that phonetics does not support this hypothesis (1981: 130). However, Toporov and Trubachov suggested that the new Lithuanian imperative, like the Slavonic particle *-ka*, could be a result of the influence of the Baltic Finnic languages, in which the imperative marker *-ka*[19] is very old[20] (Toporov & Trubachov 1962: 249–250). This hypothesis has been repeatedly dismissed for various reasons (e.g., Kazlauskas 1968: 382–383, Zinkevičius: 1981: 130; Vykypěl 2004: 52–53).

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[15] One could suspect that *lai* is a result of Latvian influence, but it is also possible that it is a common Baltic development, but that it was later out competed by the newer Lithuanian particles and its frequency in Northern Lithuanian dialects was supported by Latvian. However, this requires further research.

[16] For more see Zinkevičius (1981: 136).

[17] He also notes that the particle was more frequent in old texts than modern ones, and often was attached to the word it stressed (Kazlauskas 1966: 70), which sounds very similar to the situation in modern Estonian (cf. footnote 18).

[18] What is curious is that Estonian also has a particle, *-gi/-ki*, which is used to stress almost any element of an utterance and also follows (i.e. is attached to) the element it stresses.

[19] The Finnic imperative markers are *-k*, *-ka*, *-kä*, *-ko*, and *-kö* (Laanest 1975: 153–155), but also *-ke*, *-ge* in Estonian, e.g., *luge-ge!* 'read!' (2PL), *vaada-ke!* 'look!' (2PL), and *-gi* in Livonian, e.g.: *lu'ggõ-gi-d!* 'read!' (2PL).

[20] It can be reconstructed back to Proto-Uralic, where it had been functioning as a marker of the present tense and imperative. Collinder (1960: 303-305) states that the imperative function is secondary but due to its spread it must have been developed in Proto-Uralic.

Shields (1986) proposed that the Lithuanian imperative marker *-k(i)* is the inherited Proto-Indo-European marker *k(i)*<**k*. According to his reconstruction, the primary meaning of the marker would have been 'here and now', but *-i-* became the main marker for that and thus **k* shifted its meaning to 'not here and not now'. Hamp (1994) disagrees with Shield's proposal and retains his previous position (1976: 30) that it is possible that 'the Finnish model has encouraged the formation, but the substance of the suffix has been drawn from native material' and not Proto-Indo-European material.

The imperative with the marker *-k(i)* is not the only imperative form in Lithuanian. In some Lithuanian dialects, the imperative with the marker *-k(i)* and the imperative without it have (or at least had) different meanings (Stang 1942: 246–248, Zinkevičius 1981: 133). According to Stang (1942: 246–248) in the Tverečius dialect the imperative with *-k(i)* functions (or at least functioned) as 'Imperativus Futuri' and the imperative without *-k(i)* as 'Imperativus Präsentis'. Zinkevičius (1981: 133) also states that in some dialects the forms with *-k(i)* express immediate commands that must be performed now, and forms without the marker *-k*, express distant commands that can be performed later. Stang proposed it might be a secondary development, but he also thinks that it is possible that the Tverečius dialect might have maintained the initial distinction (1942: 246–248).

The Estonian and Livonian imperative markers (*-ke*, *-ge*, *-gi*, see footnote 19) are phonetically consistent with the Lithuanian imperative marker, but were not mentioned in any of the publications concerning the origin of the Lithuanian imperative marker. They might not have been considered due to a very probable language barrier. The varying meanings that are attested in different dialects of Lithuanian might indicate that the marker *–k(i)* itself could be relatively old. It might have been used alongside the original Baltic imperative form for an extended period until eventually due to language economy, the tense distinction between immediate future and a more distant future became easier to convey using lexical rather than morphological means. However, such a marker is not attested in Latvian at all and is not generalized in all Lithuanian dialects, thus the hypothesis of Finnic influence remains problematic.

Nonetheless, the striking similarities in indirect imperative marking and usage seem to indicate that at least some developments in directivity marking are a result of language contacts. This indicates that other developments that might have resulted from language contacts are also possible. It is worth noting that the imperative systems of both Latvian and Livonian are simpler compared to those of Estonian and Lithuanian. It could imply that the development has progressed further in Latvian and Livonian, and Estonian and Lithuanian have not yet caught up with these advancements. Such a hypothesis could be supported by the functions of indirect imperatives In Livonian and Latvian, and their further developments (refer to §4.2). However, it is important to emphasize that this matter requires further exploration.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Data

The data used in this study were collected from two corpora, as well as manually from folk tales and folk songs gathered by Oskar Loorits after World War One. The data collection occurred in three stages. The first corpus utilized in this thesis [P1] is a segment of the Estonian Dialect Corpus[21], which is fully morphologically annotated. Most of the corpus data consists of folk tales collected by E.N. Setälä during his fieldwork in 1888 and 1912 that was later published in 1953 (Setälä 1953). A smaller portion of the texts in the corpus are recordings of Grizelda Kristiņ and Poulīņ Kļaviņ, however all jussive occurrences which had enough context came from the folk tales collected by Setälä, thus the transcribed recordings of Grizelda Kristiņ and Poulīņ Kļaviņ were not used in the dataset, and this source is abbreviated as "Setälä".

[P2] required additional data, which was manually collected from the folk songs collected by Oskar Loorits (1936) (abbreviated as "folk songs") as well as folk tales from Vaid village, also collected by Oskar Loorits. This collection is housed in the archive in the Estonian Literary Museum (OL), and this source is abbreviated as "Vaid".

Additional data was also required for [P3]. The final segment of data is sourced from the recently launched Livonian corpus on the Livonian.tech platform, developed by the UL Livonian Institute. During the time of data collection for this study, the corpus contained texts from various sources including the New Testament (translated by Kōrli Stalte), the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian Dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), a Livonian primer (Stalte 2011[22]), the Catechism (translated by Edgar Vālgamā), a textbook (Damberg 1935), transcribed recordings of Pētõr Damberg, the Livonian-Esperanto dictionary (Čače et al. 1966) and folktales collected by Oskar Loorits during the interwar period (OL), this source is abbreviated as Livonian.tech.

The corpus was still in the developmental stage during the data collection from the Livonian.tech. This implies that some texts had not been fully added (e.g., only portions of the folktales collected by Loorits (OL) were included), and the orthography of some texts might not have been fully corrected (resulting in some examples not appearing in the search). Additionally, only a small portion of the corpus had undergone morphological annotation, which required conducting searches using both annotation categories (the jussive singular, jussive plural, jussive connegative singular, and jussive connegative plural) and text search. Various forms of the hortative particle jussive *laz* and *las*, negative auxiliaries *algõ*, *algõd* and jussive endings: **g, *gõ, *õg, *gõd, *õgõd, *k,* and **kõ* were included in the search.

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[21] *The Livonian corpus*. Estonian Dialect Corpus (Eesti murdekorpus). Available at: http://www.murre.ut.ee/mkweb/ (viewed in August, 2019).

[22] The manuscript was written in 1936 but it was discovered only in 2005 long after the author's death, and published in 2011 (Ernštreits 2010: 117)

The search results were manually processed, leading to the identification of 2805 potential jussive occurrences. Since a substantial number of occurrences (1553) were extracted from the New Testament, only the first 400 out of 1553 were selected for the dataset. Certain occurrences were omitted from the final set due to inadequate context or because they turned out to be 2nd plural imperative forms, mistakenly appearing as jussive due to variations in spelling[23]. The data and occurrences are summarised in Table 3. The numbers in the table represent the final count of occurrences utilised in the publications.

Table 3. The data used in the study

Source	Texts	Occurrences	Articles	Abbreviation
Livonian Corpus (Estonian Dialect Corpus)	Folktales, collected by Setälä (1953), transcribed recordings of Grizelda Kristiņ and Poulīņ Kļaviņ	444	[P1], [P2], [P3]	Setälä
Folk songs collected by Loorits	Loorits 1936	131	[P2]	Folk songs
Folktales colleted by Loorits in Vaid	LF	215	[P2], [P3]	Vaid
Livonian Corpus (Livonian.tech)	Translation of the New Testament (ŪT), Livonian-Estonian-Latvian Dictionary (LELS), Livonian primer (Stalte 1937), Catechism (Valgamā 1936), textbook (Damberg 1935), transcribed recordings of Pētõr Damberg), Livonian-Esperanto dictionary (Čače, Damberg, Grīva 1966), folktales collected by Loorits (OL)	1405	[P3]	Livonian.tech
The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian	[24]	230	[P2]	Latvian corpus
Latvian folk songs	Dainuskapis.lv	300	[P2]	Latvian folk songs

[23] Livonian exhibits phonetic variation between vowels indicated by *-i-* and *-õ-*, e.g., *õbbi* ~ *ibbi* 'a horse'. The second person plural imperative ending in Livonian is *-gid*, which due to the variation can also appear as *-gõd*, which coincides with the plural jussive marking. The second person plural imperative negative auxiliary is *algid*, which can appear as *algõd*, which again coincides with the plural jussive negative auxiliary. In such cases the actual marking can only be determined by the context.

[24] http://nosketch.korpuss.lv/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=LVK2013

The Latvian data was employed for comparative purposes in [P2]. Both sources were searched for instances of the Latvian hortative particle *lai*. A total of 1000 occurrences were extracted from The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian. However, it should be noted that the particle *lai* is also employed with other verb forms, such as the conditional mood, relative mood, or evidential mood (Holvoet 1998: 103–104). For this study, only constructions with the indicative mood (which is the unmarked mood) were utilised, amounting to 230 instances in total. The first 300 occurrences from the Latvian folk song database were utilized in [P2].

Given the exploratory nature of the study, the analysis model had to be formulated at the outset. Initially, the Livonian corpus within the Estonian Dialect Corpus was the sole available digital resource for Livonian. Consequently, this data was employed in all articles ([P1], [P2], [P3]), and the analysis model was developed based on this data. Notably this data does not use the usual punctuation (is a type of phonetic transcription), thus it makes analysis of main and subordinate clauses complicated. For this reason such analysis was not employed in the study. Subsequently, data was manually collected from texts gathered by Loorits, encompassing folktales from Vaid as well as folk songs (Loorits 1936). These sources were utilised for function analysis in [P2], where Latvian data was also incorporated.

By the time the final part of this study [P3] was undertaken, the initial version of the Livonian.tech platform had been launched. Although the data was not entirely annotated, and certain texts were not fully integrated, it still represented the most extensive database of Livonian texts available. Consequently, it emerged as the optimal data source for the concluding section of the study, which focused on the covariance of person and function concerning the Livonian jussive. A larger dataset was particularly advantageous for analysing the latter aspect, as 1st and 2nd person forms are notably scarce.

3.2. Methodology

This study is primarily exploratory and data-driven. Previous research, as well as general inquiries into imperatives, jussives, indirect imperatives, and related forms, were considered and incorporated. The final analytical model adopts a functional typological approach, however the classification is derived from the data and may not align precisely with existing classifications.

The analysis of the data evolved organically. Initially ([P1]), easily determinable aspects were examined, such as the presence or absence of a subject, the number of subject referents, the number of predicates, the presence of an object, the use of the hortative particle *laz*, negation, and negation strategies. Subsequently, the study delved into more intricate categories, such as object marking. Given the complexity of Livonian morphology, determining the object form often posed challenges (see §4.1.4). Consequently, additional analysis of object referent modifiers and semantic analysis of object referents were required.

After the morphosyntactic analysis, the semantic functions of the Livonian jussive were investigated in [P2]. Previous descriptions that treated jussive as a distinct mood (Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008b, Viitso 2011, Kehayov et al. 2012, Pajusalu 2014, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018) did not focus on the jussive's functions specifically, resulting in a limited list of functions. This necessitated an exploratory approach to determine the precise usage of the jussive. The findings of [P2] were corroborated in the final phase of the study [P3], as all productive functions were also present. However, there were functions with minimal productivity, occurring only once or twice in the dataset, indicating that the list is not exhaustive. Nonetheless, the consistency of results and distribution in [P2] and [P3] suggests that the productive functions are adequately represented in the data.

[P3] was dedicated to exploring the relationship between function and person. In this phase, functions identified in the previous stage of the study were analysed for prototypicality, which then categorised them into prototypical and non-prototypical functions (see §4.2.11). Subsequently, jussive occurrences were analysed for prototypicality, rather than undergoing a detailed function analysis. This approach was motivated by several factors. Primarily, it allowed for the inclusion of a greater amount of data in the study. Additionally, a substantial portion of the texts originated from the translation of the New Testament. A nuanced analysis of prototypical functions would require a deep understanding of biblical context and differential statuses of addressers and addressees, which was beyond the scope of this study. Conversely, non-prototypical functions feature distinctive structures (see §4.2.7.–4.2.9.), enabling a more reliable and feasible differentiation.

While it was feasible to exclude the translation of the New Testament from the study, this text is unique in providing attested 2nd person plural forms (which were not present in the other texts), which would make its exclusion a substantial loss. Notably, the primary point of contention among linguists concerning different person forms of imperatives is the prototypicality of functions in which those forms appear. Moreover, directive speech acts and prototypical imperative functions are often treated as a unified group rather than distinct categories. Given the previous description of jussive functions in [P2], these considerations led to the decision that a less detailed analysis was a more favourable alternative compared to excluding the New Testament texts.

4. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The various aspects of the Livonian jussive that have been examined are presented in separate subchapters. [P1] focuses on the morphosyntactic aspects of the Livonian jussive, including the person category, subject-person agreement in number, negation marking, usage of the particle *laz*, and total object marking. [P2] explores the semantic and syntactic functions of Livonian and Latvian indirect imperatives, along with their subsequent developments, and compares them. [P3] centres on the correlation between the person category and the functions for which the Livonian jussive is employed. It also tests the hypothesis that 3rd person forms would be most frequently used in prototypical imperative functions, while 1st and 2nd person forms would be predominant in non-prototypical imperative functions.

4.1. Morphosyntactic properties of the Livonian jussive

This chapter is dedicated to the morphosyntactic aspects of the Livonian jussive [P1]. Firstly, the most controversial category of imperatives will be presented: the person category and the frequencies of the different person forms. Secondly, the various negation strategies utilised in the data will be outlined. This will be followed by an analysis of the usage of the hortative particle *laz* 'let' and the marking of the object referents of the Livonian jussive, with a particular emphasis on total object marking, as the marking can be ambiguous due to the unique Livonian case marking. Finally, the tense category will be discussed.

4.1.1. Person

The Livonian jussive is inflected for number, but not for person, which is only marked syntactically with personal pronouns. The results of the analysis in [P1] are summarized in Table 4 along with additional analysis of the Livonian texts used in [P2], which were not discussed in the publications. The jussive showed a very strong tendency to be used in the 3rd person (97,1%), overwhelmingly in the singular, as only 13,9% cases are in plural and 83,1% are in the singular. The 2nd person plural does not appear in this set of data at all but is attested in the New Testament (20).

Table 4. Distribution of person forms

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total
Setälä	2 (0,5%)	6 (1,4%)	378 (85,1%)	2 (0,5%)	–	56 (12,6%)	444
Vaid	2 (0,9%)	1 (0,5%)	190 (88,4%)	–	–	22 (10,2%)	215
Folk songs[25]	9 (6,9%)	1 (0,8%)	88 (67,2%)	1 (0,8%)	–	32 (24,4%)	131
Total	13 (1,6%)	8 (1,0%)	656 (83,1%)	3 (0,4%)	0	110 (13,9%)	789

(20) *Aga* ***laz*** *tēg* ***tīedagõd,*** *ku* *Rišting* *Pūogan*
but HORT 2PL.N know.JUS.PL that human.G.SG son.DAT.SG
um *võimi* *mā* *pā̆l* *patud* *andõks*
be.3SG power.N.SG earth.G.SG on sin.N/G.PL forgiveness.TRSL.SG
andõ (Livonian.tech, ŪT)
give.INF
'But let you know that a Human Son has the power on the earth to forgive sins'

The other forms are represented in the data, however, except for the 3rd person their frequency is very low: in most cases under 1%. The most frequent form after the 3rd person is the 1st person singular, mostly driven by the frequency in the folk songs (6,9%) (21). 2nd person singular forms also occur in all text sets (22), and 1st person plural forms (23) occur in Setälä, as well as folk songs, but does not occur in Vaid.

(21) ***Laz*** *ma* ***ārmastõg*** *kientõ* *ārmastõs –*
HORT 1SG.N love.JUS.SG who.P.SG love.GER
siedā *neitstõ* *kil* *ma* *ārmastõb* (Loorits 1936, 301)
this.P.SG girl.P.SG surely 1SG.N love.1SG
'Let me love whomever I love, this girl I love for sure'

(22) *sie* *mis* *minā* *să̄tiz* *ne* *rā̆̄ntədəks* ***laz***
this.G.SG what 1SG.N send.PST.1SG 3PL.N book.INS.PL HORT
sa ***tapāg*** *täm'* ***mā̆̄***[26]
2SG.N kill.JUS.SG 3SG.G down
'the thing that I sent you with these books [was that] you would kill him (~let you kill him)'

(23) ku ta ī'ž tulūb ta mēd́i tūndub
if 3SG.N RFL.N come.3SG 3SG.N 1PL.P recognise.3SG
laz meg **iegəd** miŋgizəks ieds (Setälä)
HORT 1PL.N become.JUS.SG what_kind_of.INS.SG become.GER
'if he comes himself, he will recognise us no matter how we look (~let us become whatever we become)'

[25] Note that the results given here and in [P1] are slightly different. This results from one mistake (one 1st person singular case was counted by mistake) and from different approaches to analysis, that is here different subject and predicate marking is viewed separately, while in [P1] those markings were blended.

[26] Setälä

There are some cases in Setälä and folk songs where the subject and jussive predicate lack agreement in number. In Setälä, all cases featured the same singular subject referent *jegāikš*[27] 'everyone', which is morphologically singular but semantically plural. In one of the examples the same subject referent was used with singular and plural predicates (24), which could potentially be explained by the idea that before the addressees of the state of affairs have a bag in their hand they were viewed as individuals, but after getting a bag, they were viewed as a group based on that commonality.

(24) *sis* *ti'esə+mi'ed* *ā't* *kītənəd* ***laz*** ***vįtāg***
then judge.N.PL be.3PL say.APPPL let.HORT take.JUS.SG
jegā+ükš *ūi'd* *kᵘęt́t́* *un* ***laz*** ***läkkəd***
everyone.N.SG one.G.SG bag.G.SG and let.HORT go.JUS.PL
ulzə (Setälä)
out
'Then the judges told everyone to take one bag and go outside.'

The number of the subject and the predicate in the folk songs lacked agreement three times, all of which were negated. In two cases, the subjects of the predicates had been mentioned with an earlier predicate but were omitted with the one that had a different number marking. In one of the songs (25) the subject was mentioned in the same clause.

(25) Mina kītõb, (mina kītõb),
1SG.N say.1SG 1SG.N say.1SG
kus peri-nai um voza gläbbõn:
where mistress.N.SG be.3SG meat.N/G.SG hide.APPSG
pū lemdõks tagan,
wood.G.SG milking_pail.INS.SG behind
algõ neitsõd **sõgõ** siedõ. (folk songs)
neg.JUS.SG maiden.N.PL get.JUS.SG eat.INF
'I will tell, (I will tell),
where the mistress hid the meat,
bedind a wooden milking pail,
so the maidens could not eat [it].'

[27] This might mean that this subject referent might be viewed both as singular and plural since it is morphologically singular, but semantically plural. Note that the number for this referent also varies in other texts, e.g., Stalte (2011): *Amād ädägizt väggõ jarā ja jūokšizt* (run.PST.3PL) *jegāikš* (everyone.N.SG) *eņtš kūožõ* 'Everyone got very scared and everyone ran to their places' and The New Testament (translated also by Stalte): *Ja sugīz ,ku ta vald sānd ja tägiž tund, paņ kutsõm entš pālkalizt ,kīend käddõ ta rā vǫ̀ļ andõn, laz sāg tieudõ, mis jegaikš* (everyone.N.SG) *vǫ̀ļ* (be.3SG) *kōpikšõn*. 'And so it happened, that after he got the power and came back, he ordered to invite his servants, to whom he gave money so he would get to know what they had bought.'

(26) *siz* *ta* *um'* *loulən* ***laz*** ***ieg*** *ma'ggəm*
then 3SG.N be.3SG sing.APPSG HORT stay.JUS.SG sleep.SUP.ILL
ne *kʷolm* *silmə*[28]
3PL.N three.N.SG eye.P.SG
'Then she sang so that the three eyes would fall asleep (~let the three eyes fall asleep)'

(27) *matt́əks+pāva* *ī̮dən* *äb* *tuę* *tūlda*
Mathew's_day.G.SG evening.adv NEG.3SG bring.3SG fire.P.SG
tu'bbə ***algə*** ***vęlk*** *kärmizi* (Setälä)
room.ILL.SG NEG.JUS.SG be.JUS.SG fly.P.PL
'On the eve of St. Mathew's day [one] does not bring fire inside, so there would be no flies (~let not be flies)'

The subject number also does not agree with the number of the predicate in case of a numeral phrase (26) and partial subject (27). In (26) the lack of agreement is driven by the numeral phrase, however there are not enough examples to be certain that numeral phrases are always used with the singular. In Estonian, the singular is used in existential sentences, and both singular and plural in unmarked sentences, even though plural is preferred (Erelt 2017b: 205). More research is needed to ascertain their usage in Livonian.

4.1.2. Negation

Negated jussive predicates are relatively rare (23 out of 215 occurrences in Vaid, 33 occurrences out of 444 in Setälä, and 18 out 131 in the folk songs). The plural auxiliary *algõd* does not appear neither in Setälä, nor in the folk songs (Loorits 1936); it is only the singular auxiliary *algõ* that occurs both with singular and plural (28) predicates. In one case, *algõ* is used together with the particle *laz* (29) in the folk songs.

(28) *jumāl* *ju* *küll* *ne* *kutsəgəd* *aga*
god.N/G.SG sure definitely 3PL.N invite.JUS.SG but
pit́kīst ***algə*** ***kutsəgəd***[29]
thunder.P.SG neg.JUS.SG invite.JUS.SG
'[he said to definitely invite God, but not to invite Thunder'

(29) *Jaṇṭš* *stōstõz* *siedā* *lapstõn,*
Jaṇṭš.N.SG tell.PST.3SG this.P.SG child.DAT.SG
laz ***algõ*** *näntõn* ***vȯlkõ*** *irm* *kā̆mõst.* (Folk songs)
HORT NEG.JUS.SG 3PL.DAT be.JUS.SG fear.N.SG go.SUP.ELA
'Jaṇṭš said this to children,
so they would not be afraid to go.'

[28] Setälä

[29] Setälä

The negative auxiliary was not inflected for number in any of the folk texts. The plural negative auxiliary does occur in the translation of the New Testament (30), albeit very rarely, but the singular auxiliary seems to be used exclusively in non-literary language [P1].

(30) *Ja* *kūondiz* *näntõn* *pā̆l,* ***algõd*** *ne*
and encourage.PST.3SG 3PL.DAT on NEG.JUS.PL 3PL.N
tīegõd *tā̆nda* *tieutõbõks* (ŪT)
make.JUS.PL 3SG.P known.INS
'And encourage them not to reveal him.'

Algõ, was used 8 times in Vaid after World War I, but *äb* 'not' (the negative auxiliary for the present tense in the indicative mood), was also used as a sole indicator once (31). *Laz* (HORT) *äb* (IND.NEG) was used 13 times (32), making it the most popular negation strategy in Vaid. In one case *laz äb* was applied to coordinated predicates.

(31) *laz* *ta* *nei* *läkkõ,* *ku* *ta* *äb* *naggõr*
HORT 3SG.N so walk.JUS.SG that 3SG.N NEG.3SG laugh.CNG.SG
un *näntõ* *pā̆l* ***äb*** ***vaṇṭḷõg,*** – *mõitõz* *ja* *ta*
and 3PL.G at NEG.3SG look.JUS.SG otherwise if 3SG.N
nagrõb, *siz* *ta* *sadā'b* *si'zzõl.*
laugh.3sg then 3SG.N fall.3sg inside
'Let him walk this way, that he does not laugh and let him not look at them, otherwise, if he laughs, then he will fall in.'

(32) *Lā̆nd* *īd* *pūn* *jū'rõ,* *se* *um* *kītõn,*
go.APPSG one.G.SG tree.G.SG next_to this.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPS
ku *ta* *vel* *tō'b* *ka'zzõ,* ***laz*** *tā̆nda* ***äb***
that 3SG.N more want.3SG grow.INF HORT 3SG.P NEG.3SG
ra'ḍḷõg.
cut.JUS.SG
'[He] went up to one tree and it told [him] that it still wants to grow, let [him] not cut it.'

There is a striking difference between the negative auxiliaries used in Vaid and the other texts (Setälä and folk songs). The latter is particularly surprising since Loorits collected the folk songs and the folktales around the same time. The original jussive auxiliary might have been kept in the folk songs because of the stricter structure and rhymed nature of the texts. The fact that the original auxiliary occurs less frequently in Vaid, collected after WWI, than the new construction is curious, as it suggests a very rapid shift. Setälä collected the texts in 1888 and 1912, the latter being barely a decade before Loorits started collecting the texts in Vaid. Since the informants of the texts collected in Vaid are known, I decided to investigate whether there might be some speaker-related preferences.

It turned out that 5 informants have used a negative auxiliary but only two of them have used *äb*. However, one of them (Jōṇ Zēberg, born 1904) has provided

the most negated jussive predicates – 13, out of which 11 were *laz äb*, 1 *äb* and 1 *algõ*. Another speaker, who also used *laz äb* was Alfons Bärtold (born 1910). Except for J. Zēberg, *algõ* was also used by Katriņ Zēberg, born 1877, Līž Bärtold, born 1881, and Maŗī Bärtold, born 1879, but they provided fewer negated predicates. The frequencies per informant are summed up in Table 5.

Table 5. Negative auxiliaries per informant

Informant	Date of birth	*algõ*	*laz äb*	*äb*
Alfons Bärtold	1910	–	2	–
Jōņ Zēberg	1904	1	11	1
Līž Bärtold	1881	1	–	–
Maŗī Bärtold	1879	4	–	–
Katriņ Zēberg	1877	2	–	–

This clearly indicates that *algõ* was used by more informants, thus making it more productive among different speakers. However, the informants who used *laz äb* provided more texts, thereby making their usage more prevalent in the corpus. This illustrates the complexity of studying a language with a small number of informants, as the frequency of any phenomenon might skew the true usage among the linguistic community due to unequal representation if a disproportionate amount data comes from one or two sources.

The differences of this usage among informants also illustrate that those who grew up within a fully functional linguistic community kept the original negative auxiliary *algõ*, while those who grew up around World War I and experienced the displacement of the community due to the war at a young age used the newly introduced *laz äb*. During the war Livonians were forced to leave their homes and live in predominantly Latvian-speaking communities, which makes it most likely a calque from Latvian, as there is no difference in negation in the indicative and imperative or indirect imperative in Latvian – the same negative prefix *ne-* 'not' is used. A similar shift after the displacement of Livonians was also observed in prefix frequency (Dailidėnaitė & Ernštreits 2022: §4.1); however, it did not appear to be generational.

4.1.3. The usage of the hortative particle *laz*

Kettunen (1938: LXV) suggested that it is unnecessary to use the hortative particle *laz* with the Livonian jussive, while Viitso (2008a: 320) stated that the Livonian jussive is used with the particle *laz*. The results [P1][30] are summarized in Table 6. The column labelled "*laz*" represents the number of single predicates that are used with *laz*. It also includes the first predicates of coordinated structures, in which multiple predicates are used with a single hortative particle. The

[30] The data from [P2] is also added, though not discussed in any publication.

column labelled "*(laz)*" represents the non-first predicates of coordinated structures that did not have a separate particle. The column labelled "*laz + (laz)*" represents the combined count of the two categories mentioned above, and the column labelled "Ø" shows the number of jussive predicates that were used without any particle.

Table 6. Usage of particle laz

	Setälä	Vaid	Folk songs	Total
laz[31]	385 (93,7%)	177 (92,2%)	96 (85,0%)	658 (91,9%)
(*laz*)[32]	18 (4,4%)	14 (7,3%)	10 (8,8%)	42 (5,9%)
laz + (*laz*)	403 (98,1%)	191 (99,5%)	106 (93,8%)	700 (97,8%)
Ø	8 (1,9%)	1 (0,5%)	7 (6,2%)	16 (2,2%)
Total	411	192	113	716

The particle *laz* was used in the majority of cases ranging from 93,8% to 99,5% depending on the text, with an average of 97,8%. A small portion of these occurrences (5,9%) were non-first coordinated predicates when a single particle was used for all the coordinated predicates together (33). Only a very limited number of jussive predicates were used without *laz* (2,2%). The instances without the particle were most common in the folk songs (6,2%) (34) but were much less frequent in the folktales (1,9% and 0,5%).

(33) *Un* *ni* *se* *mīez* *um* *kītõn,* ***laz***
and now this.N.SG man.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPSG HORT
ta ***läkkõ*** *un* ***sīegõ*** *siedā* *apatõkst*
3.SG.N go.JUS.SG and eat.JUS.SG this.P.SG dough_starter.P.SG
un ***tūog*** *tämmõn* *ka*. (Vaid)
and bring.JUS.SG 3.SG.DAT too
'And now the man told him to go and eat that dough starter and bring [some] for him too.'

(34) *Jumal* ***svētõg*** *Kur-mōdõ,*
god.N.SG bless.JUS.SG Courland.P.SG
siedā *lēba* *mōdõ,*
this.P.SG bread.G.SG land.P.SG
kus *jelam* *mēg!*
where live.1PL 1PL.N
Laz *täma* ***svētõg,***
HORT 3SG.N bless.JUS.SG

[31] This row contains the number of single predicates and the first predicates of coordinated structures

[32] This row shows the number of secondary coordinated predicates that share the particle with the first predicates of coordinated structures

mēḍi	*ämḍi*	***abgōdõg***,
1PL.P	all.P.PL	provide_for.JUS.SG
siedā	*põlam*	*mēg.* (folk songs, 573/1)
this.P.SG	ask.1PL	1PL.N

'Let God bless Courland,
this land of bread,
where we live!
Let him bless,
provide for us all,
this is what we are asking for.'

As illustrated in (34) the same text can include examples with and without *laz*. It appears that the choice of using or omitting the particle in this song depends on the rhythmic structure of a particular phrase, which might explain the more frequent occurrences without the particle. It is also noticeable that the texts that were collected earlier (by Setälä) less frequently omit the particle in the case of coordinated predicates (4,4% compared to 7,3% and 8,8%) than the texts collected later by Loorits.

There were only 16 occurrences in which the jussive was used without the particle *laz*. Based on this data, it does not seem dialect-related. The predicates without *laz* were used in some sentences alongside other predicates that did have the particle (34). In some cases multiple predicates were used in a row without *laz* (36), and in one case the jussive predicate without the particle was used along with the 2nd person singular imperative form conveying a non-mediated 3rd person command (35). However, the data does not suggest that mediation has any effect on the presence or absence of *laz*.

(35)

ku	*tēg*	*lā̆'tə*	*kʷodāi*	*siz*	*tä'ddən*	*um'*
when	2PL.N	go.2PL	home	then	2PL.DAT	be.3SG
sūr	*kik*	*siz*	*tapāgid*	*se*	*kik*	
big.N.SG	rooster.N.SG	then	kill.IMP.2PL	this.N.SG	rooster.N.SG	
mə̄'zə	*un*	*puol*	*süö*	*ī'ž*	*jẹ̄rā*	
down	and	half.G/N.SG	eat.IMP.2SG	yourself	PRF	
un	*puol*	***süögə***	*jẹ̄mānd* (Setälä)			
and	half.G/N.SG	eat.JUS.SG	matron.N.SG			

'When you arrive home there you will have a big rooster, then kill this rooster and eat half of it yourself and let the matron eat half.'

(36)

ta	*pə̄liz*	*sʲedā*	*kuŕŕə*	*ku*	*täm'*	*tapāb*
3SG.N	ask.PST.3SG	this.P.SG	devil.P.SG	when	3SG.G.	kill.3SG
mə̄'zə	***kapīńtəg***	*täm'*	*pienəks*	*un*	***pistāg***	
down	hack.JUS.SG	3SG.G	small.TRSL.SG	and	shove.JUS.SG	
täm'	*lejā*	*täm'*	*serk*	*si'zzəl*	*un*	***paŋgə***
3SG.G	body.G/N.SG	3SG.G	shirt.G.SG	inside	and	put.JUS.SG
täm'	*übīz*	*sə̄lga*	*pə̄lə* (Setälä)			
3SG.G	horse.G.SG	back.G.SG	on_top			

'He asked the devil to hack him into small pieces and put his body into his shirt and put onto his horse's back.'

It is, notable that there are no purpose clauses (see §4.2.8.) introduced without laz in the data, but there are some concessive clauses (see §4.2.7.) and questions (see §4.2.9.) that are introduced without laz. This might suggest that laz might act as a subordinator at least to some extent, however there is not enough evidence to be certain about that.

4.1.4. Object of a jussive predicate

This chapter is focused on the objects and object referents of jussive predicates, particularly total object marking. The results were described in [P1], and the data from [P2] has also been included here. Jussive object marking is particularly interesting as jussive (or 3rd person imperative) object marking is not consistent across the Finnic languages, and imperative and jussive object marking deviates from the languages most closely related to Livonian.

Finnic languages typically distinguish between total and partial objects (e.g., Lees 2003, 2015, Tveite 2004 for Livonian). Total objects occur with predicates that express an action or activity that has been completed, or those whose quantity is definite, e.g., (37), while partial objects occur with predicates that express an action or activity that has not been (or cannot be) completed, or those whose quantity is indefinite, e.g. (38). Total objects are also frequently referred to as *accusative objects* and partial objects as *partitive objects* (e.g., Lees 2003, 2015, Tveite 2004, Bjarnadóttir & de Smit 2013). Sometimes the terms are also applied to the cases, e.g., Tervola (2015) uses the term *total case* to refer to the cases that are used to express total objects in Finnish.

(37) a) Finnish:
Tilasin ***taksin*** (ISK)
order.PST.1SG taxi.G.SG
'I ordered a taxi.'

b) Estonian:
ta *kirjutas* *sellest* ***raamatu*** (Metslang 2017: 268)
3SG.N write.PST.3SG this.ELA.SG book.G.SG
'He wrote a book about this.'

(38) a) Finnish:
koira *vetää* ***pulkkaa*** (ISK)
dog.N.SG pull.3SG sled.P.SG
'The dog is pulling the sled.'

b) Estonian:
Jüri *luges* ***raamatut***. (Metslang 2017: 266)
Jüri.N.SG read.PST.3SG book.P.SG
'Jüri was reading a book.'

Partial objects are consistently marked using the partitive case in Finnic languages. On the other hand, total objects are typically encoded using various case forms, depending on factors such as the morphological number of the object referent, its semantics, and the morphological form of the predicate (VISK: §934–935). Total objects of indicative predicates, for instance, are encoded with the genitive case when the object referent is singular (37) and with the nominative case when the object referent is plural (39).

In contrast, total objects of imperative predicates are usually marked with the nominative case in Estonian and Finnish (40). However, in Livonian, at least in certain cases, the genitive case is used (41). Kettunen (1938: XLI) also noted that genitive is occasionally employed in Livonian when nominative would be expected in other Finnic languages, as seen in example (42).

(39) *Huomasit* *kai* ***ne*** ***virheet*** *tekstissä* (VISK)
notice.2SG perhaps this.N.PL mistake.N.PL text.INE.SG
'Perhaps [you] have noticed those mistakes in the text'

(40) *Tilaa* *meille* ***taksi****!* (VISK)
order.IMP.2SG 1PL.ALL taxi.N.SG
'Order us a taxi!'

(41) *ānda* *min'nən* ***sie*** ***piškīz*** ***lind****!*[33]
give.IMP.2SG 1SG.DAT this.G.SG small.G.SG bird.G.SG
'Give me this small bird!'

(42) *um* *võtāmõst* ***sīe*** ***õbīz*** (Kettunen 1938: XLI)
be.3SG take.DEB this.G.SG horse.G.SG
'[One] has to take this horse.'

According to Peltola (2016: 689), the marking of total objects in 3rd person imperative forms in Finnish follows the same pattern as indicative predicates. In Estonian, the object of the jussive (and imperative) is marked with the nominative case, as stated by Metslang (2017: 271–272). This type of marking appears to be a relatively recent development. Lees (2017: 245) discovered that jussive objects, both in South and North Estonian, were mostly marked using the partitive case (and thus considered partial) until the early 20th century. However, starting from the 20th century, nominative-marked objects became almost as frequent, while genitive-marked objects disappeared. It's worth noting that the data used by Lees (2015) was primarily drawn from translations of the New Testament and other religious texts, many of which were translated by non-native speakers of Estonian (specific details about the Estonian data can be found in Lees 2015: 17–20). This shift in object marking might also be attributed to the increasing prevalence of texts authored by native speakers.

[33] This example is from the Livonian corpus of the Estonian Dialectal corpus, originally from Setälä (1953).

Examining object marking in Livonian, particularly how objects of jussive predicates are marked, presents a compelling area of study due to the contrast with object marking in Estonian and Finnish. However, object marking in Livonian poses certain challenges. As demonstrated in Table 7, the presence of homonymous case forms is quite pronounced in Livonian. This means that the forms of the nominative and genitive cases often coincide, and even the form of the partitive case is the same in many instances, making the determination of object marking rather intricate.

Table 7. Case forms in Livonian[34]

Nominative	Genitive	Partitive	Translation
pā̆va	pā̆va	päuvõ	day, sun
torī	torī	torī	pipe
ruzū	ruzū	ruzū	rubble
nīem	nīem	nīemõ	cow
pȯis	pȯis	pȯisõ	Boy
ukš	uks	ukstā	Door
piški	piškīz	piškīzt	baby; small

Nominative, genitive, and partitive forms exhibit a more notable distinction in demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, as illustrated in (42). This distinction enables the determination of the specific marking that was employed.

Total and partial object distribution

Out of 789 occurrences, overt objects[35] were present in 287 clauses. Among these, 32 overt objects were found in the folk songs, 78 in the folk tales collected in Vaid and 179 in the folk tales collected by Setälä. The distribution of total and partial objects is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Total and partial object distribution

	Total			Partial		
	Sg	Pl	Total	Sg	Pl	Total
Setälä	**108 (60,3%)**	17 (9,5%)	**125 (69,8%)**	40 (22,3%)	14 (7,8%)	54 (30,2%)
Vaid	**49 (64,5%)**	5 (6,6%)	**54 (71,1%)**	17 (22,4%)	5 (6,6%)	22 (28,9%)
Folk songs	2 (6,3 %)	–	2 (6,3%)	26 (81,3%)	4 (12,5%)	30 (93,8%)

[34] Forms are from Viitso & Ernštreits 2012

[35] Excluding several whose form was not identifiable, as the referent's form was the same in the nominative, genitive and partitive, and did not have any attributes or demonstrative pronouns.

The distribution of objects in the folktales follows a similar pattern. In Setälä's tales, the majority of objects (69.8%) were total, while in Vaid's tales, it was 71.1%. Partial objects accounted for less than one-third of the objects in both sets (30.2% and 28.9%, respectively). However, in the folk songs, the distribution is quite different, with the majority of objects (93.8%) being partial, and only a small fraction (6.3%) being total. Such a strong tendency to mark object partially could potentially be attributed to the influence of Latvian, as modern Latvian lacks the total-partial opposition in objects of affirmative and most negated predicates, and most objects are marked partially. This is further supported by the differences in marking in similar contexts (using the same verbs) between folktales (43) and in folk songs (44).

(43) Maṛī um opātõd, laz iedõg[36] **piškiz** **kukīḷ**
Maṛī.N.SG be.3SG teach.PPP HORT bake.JUS.SG small.G.SG bun.G.SG
un pangõ **eṇtš** **ūsõd** si'llõ. (Vaid)
and put.JUS.SG own pubic_hair.N/G.PL inside
'Maṛī was taught to bake a small bun and put her pubic hair inside.'

(44) Jaṇtš vēḷõz sūr luštõks,
Jaṇtš.N.SG wish.PST.3SG big.G.SG joy.INS.SG
laz **sjeda** avīzõd si'l pangõ (folk songs, 584)
HORT this.P.SG newspaper.G.PL inside put.JUS.SG
'Jaṇtš wished with great joy,
that this were put into the newspapers'.

The verbs and particles in (43) and (44) are the same yet the object is total in (43) and partial in (44). It's worth noting that partiality in this case could also be influenced by the pronominal referent.

A strong influence of Latvian is indicated by the fact that many informants have mentioned that the song is also sung in Latvian or only in Latvian (Loorits 1936: 23), suggesting the possibility of translation from Latvian to Livonian. There are even cases where the song is referred to as a Latvian song (1936: 122). In this case the informant also added that it is a Latvian drinkers' song, and that it is not beautiful. Another sign of Latvian influence is the presence of Latvian words in the songs, such as *avīzõd* 'newspapers' (Lat.: *avīze*), *svētõ* 'to bless' (Lat.: *svētīt*), *apgõdõ* 'to provide for' (Lat.: *apgādāt*), etc.

Pronouns in Livonian, as well as in other Finnic languages tend to be partial more frequently than nouns and exhibit partiality in contexts where nouns would typically have total object marking (e.g., Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 241, Tveite 2004: 38, Lees 2015: 231, Metslang 2017: 272–273), Therefore, a more detailed analysis of the object referents, including the word class, was necessary. The distribution of total and partial object marking with noun and pronoun object referents is presented in Table 9. Among the 287 referents, 97 were pronoun object referents.

[36] This spelling is unusual, could be a mistake, usually this verb is spelled "ūdõg".

Table 9. Total and partial marking distribution of noun and pronoun object referents

	Total object				Partial object			
	Nouns		Pronouns		Nouns		Pronouns	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Setälä	79 (44,1%)	15 (8,4%)	29 (16,2%)	2 (1,1%)	12 (6,7%)	7 (3,9%)	28 (15,6%)	7 (3,9%)
Vaid	39 (51,3%)	5 (6,6%)	10 (13,2%)	–	9 (11,8%)	5 (6,6%)	8 (10,5%)	–
Folk songs	2 (6,3%)	–	–	–	15 (46,9%)	2 (6,3%)	11 (34,4%)	2 (6,3%)
Total	120 (41,8%)	20 (7,0%)	39 (13,6%)	2 (0,7%)	36 (12,5%)	14 (4,9%)	47 (16,4%)	9 (3,1%)
	140 (48,8%)		41 (14,3%)		50 (17,4%)		56 (19,5%)	

As illustrated by the table, pronouns appear as both total and partial objects in the folktales, while the majority of objects (both noun and pronoun referents) are partial in the folk songs. Noun referents are more prevalent than pronoun referents across all text sets and are significantly more frequent as total objects compared to partial objects (48.8% vs. 17.4%). Pronouns, on the other hand, are more frequently encountered as partial objects rather than total objects overall (19.5% vs. 14.3%).

However, total pronominal objects are slightly more frequent than partial pronominal objects in the folktales from Vaid (10 vs 8). Overall, common objects were total nominal objects (except in folk songs), followed by partial pronominal and nominal objects, with total pronominal objects being the least common. It should be noted, however, that all the options for word class, number, and total/partial opposition were only observed in the oldest texts. Plural pronominal objects were absent in Vaid, and only 2 instances of total nominal singular objects were found in folk songs, with no other total objects. Total pronominal objects are consistently marked with the genitive case (45), while partial pronominal objects are marked with the partitive case (46).

(45) *Kurē* *um* *räukõn* *un* *pa'llõn,* *laz*
devil.N.SG be.3SG scream.APPSG and ask.APPSG HORT
laskõg ***täm*** *zarkõ*. (Vaid)
let.JUS.SG 3SG.G cofin.ILL.SG
'The devil has been screaming and asking to let him into the coffin.'

(46) *un* *le* *sil'l* *siẹ* *nuoŕ+izānd* *jūr* *las*
and go.IMP.2SG inside this.G.SG young_man.G.SG to HORT
ta *vel* *vịtāg* ***sīnda*** *spēl̄əm* *kārtidi* (Setälä)
3SG.N also take.JUS.SG 2SG.P play.SUP.ILL card.P.PL
'And go inside to this young man so he takes you to play cards.'

Total object marking

The total objects of imperative predicates in Finnic languages are typically marked with the nominative case, while the genitive case is a rare occurrence (Lees 2015: 241). However, this does happen in Livonian (41). The distribution of total nominal and pronominal objects clearly indicates that pronouns in Livonian, as in other Finnic languages, tend to be marked as partial objects significantly more frequently than nominal objects.

Since there are three possible variants for marking total objects (nominative, genitive, and ambiguous nominative/genitive), an analysis was conducted to determine whether the object referent influences the marking. To explore this, object referents were categorized into rough semantic groups. Additionally, the distribution of partial objects was included for comparison, as marking variation does not occur in this case. The results of the semantic analysis of the nominal objects are presented in the table below, with the numbers in parentheses indicating examples of the occurrences.

Table 10. Total object marking

Semantic group	N/G	G	N	P	Total:
Human	4	9 (47)	0	7	20
Animal	7	11 (48)	1	4	23
Mythical being	1 (49)	0	0	1	2
Object	40	38 (50)	7	24	108
Amount	2	4 (51)	0	0	6
Abstract object	4 (52)	0	0	12	16
Substance	0	4 (53)	1	3	8
Numeral	0	0	6 (54)	1	7
Total:	58	66	15	51	190

The most frequent form of total nominal objects was the genitive case, closely followed by the ambiguous nominative/genitive marking. Partial objects were also nearly as frequent. In contrast, nominative marking was relatively rare. It was used once to mark an animal referent (ne vārzad ‘those foals’ in Vaid), 7 times for inanimate objects (e.g., ne umārd ‘those apples’, se nīn ‘this castle’) which all appear in the texts collected by Setälä, with all except one being plural referents. Additionally, nominative marking was found in 6 numeral constructions (54).

Both genitive and partitive markings are used quite extensively and occur with most types of referents, except numeral constructions. The most frequent referents with genitive and partitive markings are inanimate objects, followed by human, animal, and abstract referents. Genitive marking was also used for plural inanimate objects (e.g., nänt eņtš ō’rõnd ‘those own (REFL) clothes’). Interestingly, ambiguous nominative/genitive objects appear to behave more similarly to genitive and partitive objects. This observation supports the conclusion (Lees 2015: 230,

[P1]) that ambiguous marking can be considered equivalent to genitive marking. Below are examples from each of the semantic groups:

(47) *ta=m'* *ī'ž* *tund* *kēńig* *jū'r* *un*
3SG.N=be.3SG RFL.N.SG come.APPSG king.G.SG to and
kītən *laz* *ta* *āndag* *eńťš*
tell.APPSG HORT 3SG.N give.JUS.SG rfl.G.SG
ī'd ***tidār*** *täm'mən* *pa* *nāizəks.* (Setälä; human)
one.G.SG daughter.G.SG 3SG.DAT as wife.INS.SG
'He came to the king himself and told him to give one of his daughters for him to be his wife.'

(48) *kurē* *um'* *tund* *ki'zzəm* *täm'* *kä'dst*
devil.N.SG be.3SG come.APPSG ask.SUP.ILL 3SG.G from
laz *āndag* *täm'mən* ***ī'd*** ***sigā***. (Setälä; animal)
HORT give.JUS.SG 3SG.DAT one.G.SG pig.G.SG
'The devil asked him to give him one pig.'

(49) ***jumāl*** *ju* *küll* *ne* *kutsəgəd* (Setälä; mythical being)
god.G/N.SG INTJ INTJ 3PL.N invite.JUS.PL.
'Let them definitely invite the God.'

(50) *Nei* *se* *izānd* *um* *ki'zzõn* *tä'm* *kädst,*
now this.N.SG lord.N.SG be.3SG ask.APPSG 3SG.G from
laz *ta* *panägţõg* ***sīe*** ***munā***. (Vaid; object)
HORT 3SG.N show.JUS.SG this.G.SG egg.G.SG
'Now the lord asked him to show the egg.'

(51) *Ni* *ta* *um* *kītõn,* *laz* *siz* *āndag*
now 3SG.N be.3SG tell.APPSG HORT then give.JUS.SG
sīe ***sīek***. (Vaid; amount)
this.G.SG peck.G.SG
'Now he said to give the peck[37].'

(52) ***jõvāpā̆va*** *laz* *āndag* *äb* *ullõ,* *äb*
good_day.G/N.SG HORT give.JUS.SG not outside not
tubās (Vaid; abstract object)
inside
'let her greet (~give greetings) neither outside, nor inside'

[37] *Sīek* is a measurment unit used in the past, measuring at around 10,9 liters, here translated as 'peck'.

(53) *siz* *õbbi* *um* *opātõn* *neitstõn,* *laz* *ta*
then horse.N.SG be.3SG teach.APPSG girl.DAT.SG HORT 3SG.N
valāg ***sīe*** ***vied*** *potīļõst* *uldzõ* *iļ*
pour.JUS.SG this.G.SG water.G.SG bottle.ELA.SG out over
tabārlū *iļļõ* (Vaid; substance)
tailbone.G.SG over
'Then the horse taught the girl, that she should pour the water out of the bottle over the tailbone.'

(54) *Laz* *pang* ***vīž*** ***ru'bļõ*** *kūnduks* *pāl,*
HORT put.JUS.SG five.N.SG rouble.P.SG threshold.G.SG on
siz *ām̃a* *lasūb* *si'zzõl!* (Folk songs; numeral construction)
then mother.N.SG let.3SG inside
'Let [one] put five roubles on the threshold,
then the mother will let [them] inside!'

The analysis results indicate that the nominative case is occasionally used to mark total objects, but its usage is quite restricted. The nominative case is employed for marking total objects in specific contexts, such as numeral constructions (starting with the number 2, as the number 1 functions like a pronoun or an article). Additionally, it is found in several instances marking total objects with plural inanimate referents, and a few isolated cases where the nominative is used for plural animal referents, singular inanimate objects, and substances. In contrast, other marking options are notably more productive across all types of referents, except for numeral constructions. This leads to the conclusion that the nominative case, as a marker for the total object of a jussive predicate, lacks productivity and is limited to very specific referential contexts (primarily numeral constructions). The genitive case, on the other hand, is the preferred choice for marking total objects with various referent types, and the instances of ambiguous cases could likely be categorised as genitive.

4.1.5. Tense

Livonian employs two primary morphological tenses, which are the present and the past. Among Livonian moods, only the indicative exhibits morphological tense distinctions (Viitso 2008a: 319). Imperatives are commonly associated with the non-past tense, with prevalent temporal references being immediate or deferred future occurrences (Aikhenvald 2010: 129). In Latvian, the hortative construction, comprising the hortative particle *lai* and an indicative present form, e.g., *lai viņš iet* 'let him [3SG.N] go', is known to be used not only with present and future tenses, but also with the past tense, observed particularly in folk songs (Holvoet 1998: 105). The utilisation of the Latvian indirect imperative in this manner has also been identified in the data referenced in [P2]: past tense forms exhibited productivity in folk songs, but were restricted to concessive clauses in contemporary texts.

The Livonian jussive is usually used with the hortative particle *laz*. There are rare instances where the jussive is replaced by the indicative mood:

(55) *Rebbi* *um* *kītõn,* *ku* *tä'mmõn* *um* *kīlma,*
fox.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPSG that 3SG.DAT be.3SG cold.N.SG
ku *nei* *ta* *äb* *või* *lā̆'dõ,*
that now 3SG.N NEG can.CNG.SG go.INF
laz *põddõrz* ***viedāb*** *eņtš* *kōskõ* *mōz.* (Vaid)
HORT moose.N.SG pull.3SG rfl.G.SG skin.G/N.SG off
'The fox said, that he was cold and that he can't go now, let the moose take his skin off.'

This construction is evidently employed in a manner similar to the typical use of the jussive, but distinctively, this construction exhibits tense marking, unlike the jussive. This distinction introduces the potential for tense specification. Although infrequent, occurrences of the past tense can be found in the Livonian data, as exemplified by (56).

(56) ***La'z*** *kil* *jegāī'dõn* ***vȯ'ļ*** *tuoisti*
HORT though everyone.DAT.SG be.PST.3SG different.N.SG
nīž, *si'z* *lopāndõks* pigā amādõn
story.N.SG then end.N.SG almost everyone.DAT.SG
vȯ'ļ īti: vanāst ne āigad vȯ'ļtõ
be.PST.3SG same.N.SG in_old_times 3PL.N time.N.PL be.PST.3PL
paŗīmõd. (Livonian.tech)
better.N.PL
'Even though everyone had a different story, the end was almost always the same: the old times were better.'

However, it is important to note that in the data used in [P3], the past indicative was exclusively employed in concessive clauses (see §4.2.7), which is strikingly similar to the Latvian usage. The full scope of such usage is currently not fully understood, but it appears to be relatively infrequent and potentially restricted to concessive clauses, and most likely originated from Latvian.

4.2. Functions

[P2] focuses on the functions in which the Livonian jussive is used. These functions and their distribution are also compared to the usage of the Latvian indirect imperative. The determination of functions takes into account the entire available context of each occurrence, including the main clause verbs that indicate reporting. The classification of functions is primarily based on data analysis, while also taking into consideration existing descriptions of imperative functions and descriptions of other types of clauses.

4.2.1. Function distribution

There were 8 productive functions identified in the dataset: directive, request, exhortation, permission, wish, concession, purpose, and question. The distribution of functions, along with the Latvian data from [P2], is presented in Table 11. The number of occurrences is provided first, followed by the percentages in parentheses. The numbers are presented for each source individually, as well as combined. The functions are listed in order of prototypicality, with the more prototypical functions appearing first.

Table 11. Distribution of the functions of lai constructions and jussive

Function	Corpus (LV)	Folk songs (LV)	Total LV	Folk songs	Vaid	Setälä	Total LIV
Directive	14 (6,0%)	9 (3,0%)	23 (4,3%)	9 (6,8%)	97 (45,1%)	175 (39,4%)	281 (35,6%)
Request	6 (2,6%)	6 (2,0%)	12 (2,3%)	5 (3,8%)	44 (20,5%)	98 (22,1%)	147 (18,6%)
Exhortation	–	–	–	2 (1,5%)	12 (5,6%)	18 (4,1%)	32 (4,1%)
Permission	2 (0,9%)	3 (1,0%)	5 (0,9%)	1 (0,8%)	7 (3,3%)	8 (1,8%)	16 (2,0%)
Wish	18 (7,8%)	26 (8,7%)	44 (8,3%)	36 (27,5%)	12 (5,6%)	9 (2,0%)	57 (7,2%)
Concession	90 (39,1%)	73 (24,3%)	163 (30,8%)	14 (10,7%)	–	5 (1,1%)	19 (2,4%)
Purpose	85 (36,9%)	183 (61,0%)	268 (50,1%)	60 (45,8%)	38 (17,7%)	118 (26,6%)	216 (27,3%)
Question	10 (4,3%)	–	10 (1,9%)	2 (1,5%)	5 (2,3%)	11 (2,5%)	18 (2,3%)
Other	5 (2,2%)	–	5 (0,9%)	2 (1,5%)	–	2 (0,5%)	4 (0,5%)
Total:	230	300	530	131	215	444	790

The distribution between languages is also illustrated in Chart 1:

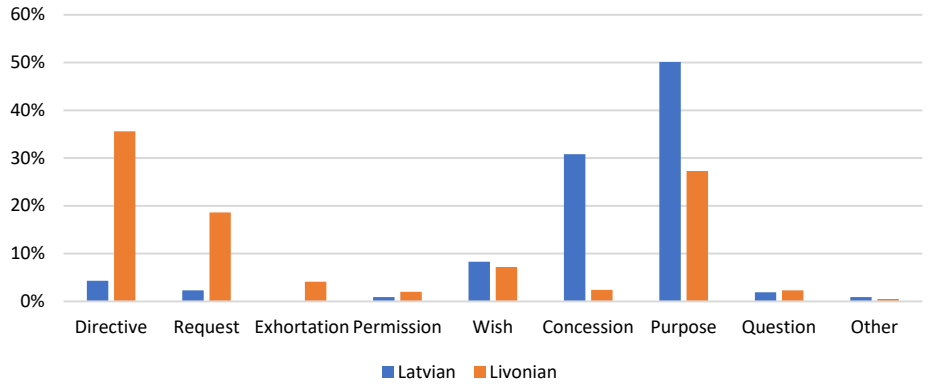

Chart 1. Indirect imperative function distribution

The Livonian jussive covers the same range of functions as the Latvian indirect imperative, but yet their distribution varies. The Livonian jussive exhibits a pronounced inclination towards functions traditionally associated with imperatives, while the Latvian indirect imperative is notably more prevalent in functions less typical for imperatives, such as concession and purpose. In conveying purpose, the Livonian jussive is also frequently employed (ranging from 17.7% to 45.8% depending on the text type), whereas instances of concession are rare.

Directives constitute the most frequent function of the Livonian jussive (35.6%), with requests also relatively common (18.6%). The distribution across texts is depicted in Chart 2 below. While the function distribution remains similar between Vaid and Setälä, the distribution within Livonian folk songs starkly contrasts with that found in folktales. Notably, the distribution in folk songs aligns more closely with that of Latvian texts, where function distribution remains consistent regardless of text genre. This observation lends support to the notion that numerous Livonian folk songs may have been translated from Latvian, as is also suggested by informants (Loorits: 1936: 23, 122) and Loorits (1936: 2, 12, 16, 102).

Within Livonian folk songs, the jussive is predominantly employed for expressing purpose (45.8%) and wishes (27.5%). The frequency of concession falls between that observed in Latvian and Livonian texts (10.7%). Notably, the typical imperative functions (such as directives or requests) are infrequent in Livonian folk songs, aligning with the broader trend seen in Latvian texts.

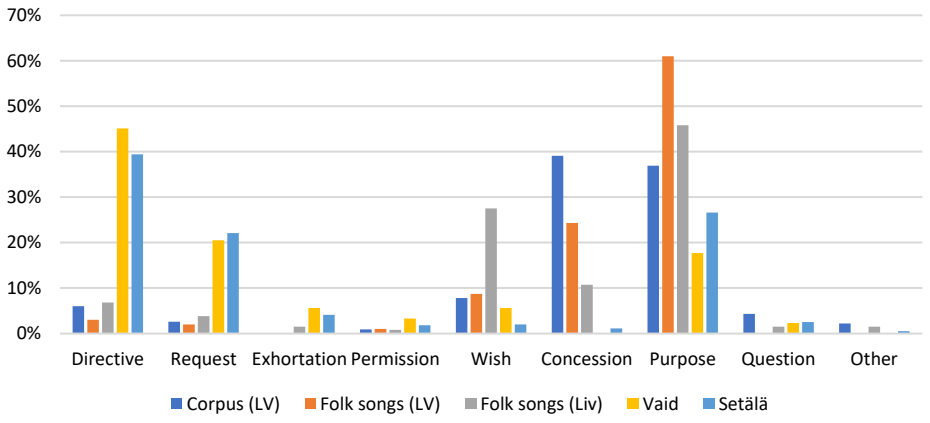

Chart 2. Function distribution across texts

The Livonian jussive exhibits a pronounced tendency to be employed in functions typically associated with imperatives, yet there are also additional developments present. Notably, the function of purpose stands out as the most productive among the atypical functions in all texts, while concession and questions are relatively less productive.

The primary discrepancies between the usage of the Livonian and Latvian indirect imperative become evident in the distribution of prototypical imperative functions. These functions constitute over half of the occurrences of the Livonian jussive, whereas the Latvian indirect imperative, as seen in the data used in [P2], is rarely employed to convey them. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Livonian jussive is infrequently used to express concession, in contrast to its more frequent usage in the Latvian data.

4.2.2. Directive

The primary function associated with imperatives is directive, wherein imperatives are regarded as forms that convey commands, orders, or instructions. They are associated with directivity and directive force, even encompassing a 'psychosocial influence' (Palmer 2001: 80, Takahashi 2004: 12–17, Crystal 2008: 237, Aikhenvald 2010: 3, Brown & Miller 2013: 2020, etc.). The scope of a directive is narrower within this context; not all acts that are directive in nature (e.g., Martínez 2013, Jary & Kissine 2016: §2.1) are included here as directives. In this classification, a directive signifies a speech act that articulates a command, instruction, order, or advice, and exerts force or authority through various means such as social status (57), competence or superior knowledge (58), superior physical force, a combination of these factors, or other forms of superiority that grant the speaker the authority to issue commands.

(57) *Nei* *kēņigjemānd* *um* *kītõn,* ***laz*** *sullizt*
now queen.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPSG HORT servant.N.PL
āndagõd *sīedõ* *un* *pangõd* *ma'ggõm.* (Vaid)
give.JUS.PL eat.INF and put.JUS.SG sleep.SUP.ILL
'Now the queen told the servants to give [her] food (~eat) and put [her] to sleep.'

(58) *Un* *um* *kītõn,* *ku* *pierrõ* *kūž* *verštõ*
and be.3SG tell.APPSG that after six.N.SG verst[38].P.SG
līb *ikš* *mȯizõ,* ***laz*** *ta* ***läk*** *sīņõ*
be.FUT.3SG one.N.SG manor.N.SG HORT 3SG.N go.JUS.SG there
si'zzõl *un* ***ki'zzõg,*** *või* *äb* *ūo* *vajāg*
inside and ask.JUS.SG if NEG be.CNG.SG need
gūogõdpaintõ. (Vaid)
goose_herder.P.SG
'And [he] told, that after six versts there will be a manor, he should go in there and ask whether a goose herder is not needed.'

(57) illustrates a typical example of a command or order issued by a person of authority. In this instance, a queen is instructing her servants, who are strongly compelled to follow her orders and are highly unlikely to disobey. (58) exemplifies a directive, which consists of an instruction or advice offered by an individual possessing superior knowledge compared to the recipient. As a result of this knowledge gap, the recipient is likely to feel compelled to act, although the speaker may not have significant control over the recipient's actions.

Imperatives and directives are rather frequently associated with the volition of the speaker (e.g., van der Auwera et al. 2005: 55, Porter 2018: 144). It has been noted (Jary & Kissine 2016: 123) that the speaker may not necessarily be urging the addressee to take action when providing advice or granting permission. This observation applies equally to commands and instructions, as the speaker may be obligated by professional or caregiving responsibilities, or other circumstances, to issue commands without a strong interest in the outcome or the intention to prompt the addressee to act. Consequently, the semantic components of a directive include higher status or superiority of the speaker, a specific addressee, and a compelling drive for the addressee to take action, resulting in heightened directivity. Directives can manifest as main clauses or be embedded within larger structures.

4.2.3. Request

Requests are also directive (Jary & Kissine 2016: 120); however, they can be distinguished from directives in that they lack the element of superior status on the part of the speaker. As a result, they may not inherently convey a sense of force or authority. Moreover, the imperative form may not always be the predominant means of expressing requests. For example, within the Baltic region, declarative

[38] A unit of distance equalling1,0668 km.

clauses or interrogatives with a conditional are more commonly employed (Klaas-Lang et al. 2017: 216, 225). Typically, the speaker making a request does not exert a substantial influence on the addressee's compliance. As demonstrated by the example below, reported requests are also syntactically marked by the choice of a verb that specifically denotes requesting. In the following case, the verb used is *pallõ* 'to ask, to request'.

(59) *se* *tidār* *kil* *pā̲liz* ***algə*** *ta*
this.N.SG daughter.N.SG sure ask.PST.3SG neg.JUS.SG 3SG.N
tapāg *ku* *ta* *ikštiz* *līb* *täm'* *pa*
kill.JUS.SG that 3SG.N afterall be.FUT.3SG 3SG.G as
nāizəks *bet* *se* *jḗrnaz* *iz*
wife.INM.SG but this.N.SG pea.N.SG NEG.PST
jętā *ta* *tapīz* *täm'* *mā̲'zə.* (Setälä)
leave.CNG.SG 3SG.N kill.PST.3SG 3SG.G down
'The daughter did ask him not to kill, [said] that she would marry him (~will become his wife) after all, but the pea [the male character] did not leave [him alive] and killed him.'

(59) serves as good example of an unreciprocated request, wherein the addressee disregards the request. In this scenario, a girl asks the pea [the male character] not to harm her father, even proposing to marry the pea in exchange, yet he proceeds with the act. This example underscores the lack of influence the requester has over the outcome.

Similar to directives, requests can manifest in both main and embedded clauses. The essential components of a request encompass the following: an addresser lacking superiority over the addressee and thereby lacking control over the request's result, the addresser's volition, directivity, and a specific addressee who is anticipated to act, though not necessarily compelled to do so.

4.2.4. Exhortation

Unlike directives or requests, exhortations exhibit a lower level of directiveness but similarly to directives and requests can manifest both as main clauses and embedded clauses. Exhortations propose an activity rather than commanding it, and they can target a specific addressee (60), similar to directives and requests. However, they can also be directed at an unspecified or rhetorical addressee (61), distinguishing them from the previously mentioned functions.

(60) *mā̲'ŕšjālga* *nänt* *vīb* *lōda* *tutkāmə* *pā̲lab* ***laz***
suitor.N.SG 3PL.G take.3SG table.G.SG end.ILL.SG ask.3SG HORT
ne ***istāgəd*** *lōda* *tagān.* (Vaid)
3PL.N sit.JUS.PL table.G.SG behind
'The suitor takes them to the end of the table and asks them to sit at the table.'

(61) *Kis* *äb* *usk,* ***laz*** ***pavaṇķlõg***.
who NEG.3SG believe.CNG.SG HORT look.JUS.SG
'[Those] who do not believe, [can] look (~let look) [for themselves].'

(60) provides an example of an exhortation with a specific addressee: the groom and the bride. They are invited to take their seats at the end of the table, a position of honour. The groom and bride, or possibly their parents, are the individuals for whom the suitor is working for. This places the suitor in a position to encourage their actions, but not to impose demands. Such an exhortation differs significantly from a request, as the primary beneficiary is not the addresser, but rather the addressee, which contrasts with the dynamics of a request. (61) illustrates a rhetorical or general exhortation lacking a specific addressee. In this case, the statement highlights a possibility without expecting any particular addressee to take action.

4.2.5. Permission

Permissions, in comparison to directives and requests, exhibit a lower degree of directiveness. Similar to directives, they are characterized by the presence of authority or superiority on the part of the addresser. An individual must hold a specific position, such as social status, ownership, competence, or another form of authority, to be both approached for a permission and be authorized to grant it. Permissions do not require or propose any specific action; rather, they abstain from interference with an action. As highlighted by Jary & Kissine (2016: 123), the addresser of a permission may not necessarily possess any personal volition regarding the addressee's execution of the permitted action. As Jary & Kissine (2014: 58) illustrate, a parent might allow their child to quit studying languages, even if they wished for the child to continue their studies. Permissions are also different from the previous functions in that they come in a second conversational situation: the addressee asks for permission (62), or it might be implied by the situation (63).

(62) *se* *pȯis* *um* *kītõn,* *ku* *ta* *tōb*
this.N.SG boy.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPSG that 3SG.N want.3SG
lā̃dõ *pȭzõd* *si'zzõl.* *Un* *se* *izānd* *um* *kītõn,*
go.INF bush.G.PL inside and this lord.N.SG be.3SG tell.APPSG
laz *ta* ***läk***. (Vaid)
HORT 3SG.N go.JUS.SG
'the boy told that he wants to go to the bushes. And the lord told him he could go (~to go).'

(63) *Naizõn äb ūo nīem vȯnd. Pivāpā̃va ūoṇdžõl lā̃nd Kuolkõ. Sūr barā siṇīži nīemõdi sīend. Ikš neitst ka vȯnd, selli līti pu'nni strīplimi gūngaserk vȯnd, um vȯnd mõtsānaigās. Ku se um siedā nāizta nā̃nd, siz se um nuttõn sīe tuoiz kōrapaintõn: "Griet, ajā nīemõd mierrõ!" Irgõnd nuttõ: "Līgid mierrõ, nīemõd, līgid mierrõ!" Un at lā̃nõd.*
Bet ikš nīemõ um īend sīṇ'īž sīemõ, äb ūo lā̃nd īṇõ, ku ne munt nīemõd at mierrõ nuolā̃nõd.

‘One woman did not have a cow. On Sunday morning [she] went to Kūolka. A big herd of blue cows had been grazing (~eating). A girl was also there, [she was wearing] a short, striped skirt and was next to the forest. When she saw the woman, she yelled to the other herder: “Griet, lead the cows to the sea!” [She] started to call: “Go to the sea, cows, go to the sea!” and they went.
But one cow remained in place to graze (~eat), [it] did not go with them (~together), when the other cows went to the sea.’

Siz	*se*	*mierneitst*	*um*	*kītõn*	*sīe*
then	this.N.SG	sea_maiden.N.SG	be.3SG	say.APP	this.G.SG
mōnaizõn,	***laz***	***võtāg***	*eṇtšõn*	*sīe*	
land_woman.DAT.SG	HORT	take.JUS.SG	self.DAT.SG	this.G.SG	
nīemõ,	*mis*	*sīṇ*	*um*	*īend.* (Sīkrõg)	
cow.P.SG	that.N.SG	here	be.3SG	stay.APP	

‘Then the sea maiden told the land woman to take the cow that stayed here for herself.’

Note that the latter example is from the dataset utilised in [P3]. It is from the same collection compiled by Loorits (OL). This folktale originates from Sīkrõg. This specific folktale has been included here as an illustrative instance of a permission, which is necessitated by the situation at hand. The need for permission to possess the cow was indicated in the initial sentence of the folktale, where it was stated that a woman did not have a cow. This statement clearly implied that she needed one, even though she did not explicitly request it. However, no such examples were present within the data analysed in [P2].

Differently from directives, requests, or exhortations, the addresser of a permission is passive. The main components of a permission are an addresser who has some type of authority, and does not initiate, propose, or require any action, but rather refrains from interfering with an action, and an addressee who requests for a permission (this might also be situational, as in (67)) and the second conversational exchange position. Note that they can occur in main clauses and can also be embedded.

4.2.6. Wish

Wishes, particularly good wishes, are typically regarded as a peripheral function of imperatives (Jary & Kissine 2016, Aikhenvald 2010: 200). Nonetheless, they are often conveyed using imperative forms across various languages (e.g., Jarkey 2017: 179–180 (Japanese), Vries 2017: 252 (Korowai), Amha 2017: 287, 290, 297 (Wolaitta), and Aikhenvald 2020 for ‘bad wishes’ in various languages). In this context, a wish is understood as an expression of the speaker’s volition, encompassing optatives, good wishes, prayers, and even curses and imprecations.

Differently from the previously mentioned functions, wishes are not directive; instead, they articulate the speaker’s volition or emotion (as seen in the case of curses and imprecations). Wishes may involve an addressee or lack one, and they can be directed towards a mythical or abstract recipient. In many instances, wishes are of a rhetorical nature, wherein the addresser holds no power over the

outcome. Consequently, no individual is expected or obligated to act, although the possibility is not excluded.

(64) ***läz*** *se* *jumāl* *izānd* *tēd́i* ***svē'təg*** (Setälä)
HORT this.N.SG god.N.SG lord.N.SG 2PL.P bless.JUS.SG
'May God the Lord bless you'

(65) *siz* *līb* *freilen* *lä'b* *pā̆l* *vaṅḱĺəb* *un*
then be.FUT.3SG maiden.N.SG go.3SG on look.3SG and
siz *ta* *tā̆'b* ***laz*** *sa* *täm'mən*
then 3SG.N want.3SG HORT 2SG.N 3SG.DAT
sie *umār* ***āndag*** (Setälä)
this.G.SG apple.G.SG give.JUS.SG
'Then the maiden will go look and then she will want you to give this apple.'

(66) *Un* *sīepierāst* *si'nnõn* ***laz*** *mūpõ* *ūoṇdžõl*
and for_it 2SG.DAT HORT tomorrow morning
līgõd *tijād* *võrgõd!* (Vaid)
will_be.JUS.SG empty.N.PL net.N.PL
'And because of this let your [fishing] nets be empty tomorrow!'

(64) illustrates a good wish utilised within a religious context or religious service, targeting a specific mythical recipient, which is God. (65) illustrates a mediated (foreseen) wish with a distinct addressee. (66) portrays a malevolent wish, devoid of a direct addressee, but rather involving an experiencer, where the syntactic addressee (nets) belongs to the actual addressee, who manifests as a possessor-experiencer.

Wishes typically exhibit less directiveness. Aikhenvald (2020: 55) noted that curses or imprecations convey emotional states rather than explicit directive speech acts. This may explain their limitations in certain syntactic constructions commonly found in directive imperatives. For instance, while wishes can generally be embedded (e.g., mediated), it is unusual to embed curses. It is noteworthy that Kissine (2009: 131–132) observed that wishes and desires are generally construed as directive, a perspective that could also apply to curses and imprecations aimed at specific addressees, even if the 'directive' meaning differs from the semantic content.

4.2.7. Concession

Concession, a relationship of incompatibility between two situations (Hetterle 2015: 50), is conveyed using concessive clauses, which do not manifest as the main clause. Latvian grammarians (Auziņa et al. 2015: 872) describe concessive clauses as expressing circumstances that could have been relevant to the outcome of the main clause, but were not. This type of concession also occurs in Livonian (67). Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 279–280) have also described concessive clauses, but jussive constructions are just one of the means to convey concession,

alongside conjunctions like *īž* ‘even’, *sīepierāst* ‘because of that’, *sīegid pierāst* ‘still, in spite of (~because of that)’. Viitso (2008a: 320) mentions conveying concession as one of the functions of the Livonian jussive. Concessive clauses introduced with jussive in Livonian most frequently occur before the main clause (68); however, they can occur both before the main clause and after it (67).

(67) *se* *naiz+izā* *āndiz* *sie* *znuotən*
this.N.SG father-in-law.N.SG give.PST.3SG this.G.SG son-in-law.DAT.SG
selĺiz *pūŋga* *ku* *täm’* *kunāgid* *rɑ̄’*
such.G.SG bag.G.SG that 3SG.DAT never money.N.SG
äb *pūt* ***laz*** *ta* ***läkkə*** *kus*
NEG.3SG lack.CNG.SG HORT 3SG.N go.JUS.SG where
lɑ̄’dsə. (Setälä)
go.GER
‘The father-in-law gave the son-in-law such a bag so that he never has a shortage of money (~money is never lacking) wherever he goes.’

(68) ***Volkõ*** *vana-izand,* ***volkõ*** *nuor-izand,*
be.JUS.SG old_man.N.SG be.JUS.SG young_man.N.SG
tulgid *tu’bbõ* *daŋţšõm!* (folk songs, 528/4)
come.IMP.2PL room.ILL.SG dance.SUP.ILL
‘Be [it] an old man, be [it] a young man,
come inside to dance!’

(67) illustrates a concessive clause that emphasises the irrelevance of the location where the son-in-law would go (the irrelevance of circumstances). (68) emphasises the irrelevance of one of the qualities of men, which is their age. It is worth noting that the jussive forms are used without the particle *laz* in (68). Additionally, a juxtaposition of two contradicting situations is used in this folk song.

The following examples occurred in the data of [P3], so they are not included in the function distribution. However, these occurrences demonstrate even more strategies by which the Livonian jussive is used to mark concession. (69) shows that the predicate might be omitted and the particle *laz* can express, or rather stress, concession also without the predicate. (70) illustrates that alongside the jussive, an additional marker of concession – a particle of concession *kil* ‘though, surely’ – can be used. Additional particles of concession can also be used in Latvian, like *arī* ‘also, as well’, *gan* ‘though’, which when combined with *lai* mean ‘even though, in spite of, despite’. Other additional markers of concession, such as juxtaposing antonyms, can also be used in Latvian ([P2]: 76–77).

(69) ***Laz*** ***kīskõg,*** ***laz,*** *set* *ku* *mīnda* *äb*
HORT tear.JUS.SG HORT only if 1SG.P neg.3SG
kīsk! (Livonian.tech, OL)
tear.CNG.SG
‘Let [it] tear [it] up, let, as long as it is no me (~only if [it] does not tear me up)!’

(70) ***La'z*** ***kil*** *jegāī'dõn* ***vȯ'ļ*** *tuoisti*
HORT though everyone.DAT.SG be.PST.3SG different.N.SG
nīž, *si'z* *lopāndõks* *pigā* *amādõn* *vȯ'ļ*
story.N.SG then end.N.SG almost everyone.DAT.SG be.PST.3SG
īti: *vanāst* *ne* *āigad* *vȯ'ļtõ*
same.N.SG in_old_times 3PL.N time.N.PL be.PST.3PL
paŗīmõd. (Livonian.tech)
better.N.PL
'Even though everyone had a different story, the end was almost always the same: the old times were better.'

(70) illustrates another peculiar usage, which in the dataset of this study was discovered only in concessive clauses, and that is in past indicative forms. In this sentence a jussive form is replaced by the past indicative form, which is used with *laz* and which was most likely triggered by the strong connotation of memories and direction to the past. Such usage is common in Latvian ([P2]: 76–77) thus there is little doubt that such usage in Livonian is an influence from Latvian.

4.2.8. Purpose

Purpose, like concession, is also conveyed using subordinate clauses. The main clause describes an action that was carried out intentionally in order to bring about the result encoded in the adverbial purpose clause (Cristofaro 2003: 157, Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 20, Hetterle 2015: 51). In this construction, the main clause expresses that something is done, and the purpose clause expresses that the action is done with the intention that a specific outcome would take place, as seen in example (71):

(71) *Se* *vȯzā* *um* *nei* *ūnd,* *perīnai* *um*
this.N.SG meat.N.SG be.3SG now fry.APPSG landlady.N.SG be.3SG
tõnd *immer* *kierõ,* ***laz*** *tuoi* *pūoļ*
want.APPSG around turn.INF HORT second.N.SG half.N.SG
ka ***ūg***. (Vaid)
also fry.JUS.SG
'The meat was now fried, the landlady wanted to turn it around, so the other side would also fry (~let the other side also fry).'

(71) illustrates a typical Livonian purpose clause, where an intentional action is taken with the goal of achieving what is specified in the purpose clause (in this case, for the other side of the meat to fry). According to Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 19) purpose clauses have four main conceptual components: 1) intentionality, 2) target-directedness, 3) future orientation, and 4) a hypothetical result state. The future orientation of purpose clauses has been stressed (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 19, 43, Hetterle 2015: 51). However, they could be better described as "future-oriented in relation to the main clause" ([P2]: 77–78), as they can also describe the actions that have been done in the past, as shown in example (72).

(72) *ne* *ātõ* *ruoikõnd* *aijõ* *sīe* *lōja* *si'llõ,*
3PL.N be.3PL rush.APPSG bring.INF this.G.SG boat.N.SG inside
laz ***sōgõ*** *mierrõ* *jedspēḑõn.* (Vaid)
HORT get.JUS.SG sea.ILL.SG away
'They were rushing to bring the boat inside [~water], so they could get out to the sea (~let they get to the sea away).'

In (72), the subjects of the main clause were rushing in the past, aiming to get out into the sea, which indicates a future orientation in relation to the main clause. A purpose clause marked with the jussive does not specify any time reference morphologically or syntactically. Similar to concession, purpose clauses are also not directive and lack a specific addressee, instead resembling declarative clauses rather than directive ones. They exhibit intentionality as well as future orientation in comparison to the main clause. Purpose is conveyed using the jussive only in subordinate clauses, not in the main clauses.

4.2.9. Question

The final productive function of the Livonian jussive is the formation questions, both direct (74) and indirect (73). This distinctive usage has been previously observed and is shared with Latvian, as well as the Kihnu dialect in Estonia (Kehayov et al. 2011). The usage in Latvian has also been discussed by Holvoet (1998: 106), who categorizes such usage as deontic requests that seek directives rather than information.

The questions within the data varied in their nature. They encompassed inquiries for information (73), and for directives (74). and many were also rhetorical in nature, thus not directed at a specific addressee. Note that 1st person plural imperative is used in (74) instead of a plural jussive form, however, due to its combination with the particle *laz* it is considered a jussive occurrence here.

(73) *u* *nei'* *ta* *um* *ki'zzən* *agā* ***sāg*** *dēńimist* (Setälä)
and now 3SG.N be.3SG ask.APPSG but get.JUS.SG job.P.SG
'And then she asked if it was possible to get a job'

(74) Mis siz mēg **laz** **tiegõm**? (Livonian.tech)[39]
what.N/G/P.SG then 1PL.N HORT do.IMP.1PL
'What should we do then?'

Questions introduced with the jussive construction do not necessarily exhibit directiveness. They can occur both in main clauses and be embedded. They can have an addressee, but they can also occur without one. In many cases, they can convey the emotional state of the speaker, particularly in the case of rhetorical questions. However, they can also be used to request information or a directive.

[39] This example is from the data used in [P3].

4.2.10. Other

In addition to its productive functions, the jussive was also utilised to express dares, as shown in (75), and warnings, as well as used with an auxiliary verb, as depicted in (76). While at first glance dares may appear similar to directives, they actually convey the opposite of their apparent state of affairs. As demonstrated in (75), the addresser "invites" the addressee to come, but simultaneously indicates that there will be negative consequences if the addressee dares to comply.

(75) ***Laz*** ***tulgõ,*** ***laz*** ***tulgõ*** –
HORT come.JUS.SG HORT come.JUS.SG
ku *lupatõks* *ma* *tā̆nda* *mõ* *jūr* *gõžõb(õ)!* (folk songs)
as rag.N.SG 1SG.N 3SG.PART ground.G.SG to throw.1SG
'Let [him] come, let [him] come,
I will throw him to the ground like a rag!'

(76) ***Laz*** *se* *kēńig+jẹmānd* ***vịtāg*** *āndag* *sīnda*
HORT this.N.SG queen.N.SG take.JUS.SG give.JUS.SG 2SG.P
bēńda *kä'ddə* *un* *laz* *ti'egə*
executioner.G.SG to and HORT do.JUS.SG
sin'nən *tutkām* (Setälä)
2SG.DAT end.G/N.SG
'Let the queen give (take give) you to the executioner and let [him] end you (do you end)'

In the later part of the study [P3], an additional instance of jussive being used to convey manner was also identified:

(77) *Nīžõd* *ma* *paṇ* *kȭrda* *pierrõ* *nei,*
story.N/G.PL 1SG.N put.PST.1SG order.G.SG according so
laz *kievāmõd* ***vȯlgõd*** *je'dsõ* *ja*
HORT easy.N.PL be.JUS.SG in_front and
lā̆lamõd *pierrõ.* (Livonian.tech)
difficult.N.PL after
'I have arranged the stories so the easy [ones] are in the beginning (~in the front) and the difficult [ones] are at the end (~later)'

This shows that there might be more ways to use the Livonian jussive, however, they would most likely be unproductive.

4.2.11. Function prototypicality

Typically, imperatives are associated with directive speech acts, which, in most definitions, include commands, orders, prohibitions, pleas, requests, exhortations, advice, warnings, and permissions (Jary & Kissine 2016: 122). However, the further developments of the Livonian jussive, such as introducing concessive and purpose clauses, or questions are certainly atypical, though all these functions are also shared by the Latvian indirect imperative.

Conveying concession using indirect imperatives is also common in other languages in the region, such as Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Russian (Erelt 2017a: 735, Auziņa et al. 2015: 873–874, Ambrazas et al. 2005: 687–688, Dobrushina 2008: 134–135). While this development is present in other languages as well (Dobrushina 2008), it is still comparatively rather rare, and is most likely an areal development, and not a typical use of imperatives. Though not nearly as productively, purpose can also be conveyed using imperative forms in Hungarian (Péteri 2012: 450), but in general it is uncommon. The only other language in the Baltic Sea region that has also expanded its usage of the indirect imperative to express purpose is Latvian. Introducing questions using imperatives is also uncommon, however, this usage is also productive in Latvian and occurs in the Kihnu dialect in Estonian (Kehayov et al. 2011). Note that this dialect might have been in close contact with Livonian and/or Latvian.

In terms of prototypicality, directive functions clearly form the centre of the prototypical functions of imperatives, and the least directive functions (like concession or purpose) are at the other end of the spectrum. Questions, while they can exhibit directiveness (requesting for a directive or information), are quite atypical and uncommon. The most difficult function to classify is a wish, which in this case includes prayers, good wishes, imprecations, optative uses, and other expressions of volition or emotions of the speaker.

Typically, good wishes are viewed as peripheral (Aikhenvald 2010: 200), so much so that Jary & Kissine (2016: 125) state that cross-linguistically good wishes "lie at the intersection between the imperative and the optative/subjunctive type". This somewhat contradicts a rather common viewpoint that volition is an important semantic component of imperatives (van der Auwera et al. 2005, Telban 2017: 269). Another contradiction to the position held by Jary & Kissine is also the fact that it is common to express wishes, good wishes, and imprecations, or curses (~bad wishes), and this occurs across a wide array of languages (e.g., Jarkey 2017: 179–180 (Japanese), Vries 2017: 252 (Korowai), Amha 2017: 287, 290, 297 (Wolaitta)) including Indo-European languages. It might be true that as Jary & Kissine (2016: 124–125) pointed out, good wishes might not be very productive in every language; however, it is also a very common way to express wishes, which means that such usage cannot be viewed as an atypical phenomenon.

Considering the fact that it is common to convey directives, requests, and exhortations, as well as to convey permissions and that it is not atypical to express wishes using imperatives, modally, imperatives cover many different meanings. Directives are used to express or create a necessity. Exhortations and permissions are used to express or create a possibility. Requests express both the volition of the addresser, but also express or create a necessity. Wishes would convey the volition of the speaker without creating a necessity.

Along with the observations made by Aikhenvald (2017: 7, 2010: 3, 55, 75) that 1st person imperatives tend to convey suggestions and permissions, 2nd person imperatives tend to express commands, and mediated or 3rd person imperatives tend to convey indirect and mediated wishes suggests that the person category as

well as the mood has an effect on the function the forms are used in. This leads to a hypothesis that the prototypicality of a function is not only determined by the mood, but also by the person category. In this case, the prototypicality could not be viewed as a pre-determined single-layered scale, but rather as a multi-dimensional continuum which encompasses both the mood value as well as the person (and possibly person and number) values.

As previously discussed, the Livonian jussive is most frequently used in the 3rd person. If Aikhenvald is correct and imperatives have different functions and semantic overtones in different person forms, it could be expected that when it comes to the Livonian jussive, expressing wishes would not only be expected, but also typical. This leads to the classification of prototypical functions, including directive, request, exhortation, permission, and wish, and non-prototypical functions, including concession, purpose, and question.

4.2.12. Function and person covariance

The differences within the person category have been observed by many linguists. Lyons (1977: 638–639) noted that all languages have 1st and 2nd person pronouns, even though person is frequently marked in verbal inflection. 3rd person pronouns are lacking in many languages, and demonstrative pronouns might be used in the place of 3rd person pronouns. Livonian (and Finnish) do have 3rd person pronouns, however, demonstrative pronouns can replace them (Livonian: *ta, tämā* 'he, she', *se* 'this, that, he, she, it', Finnish: *hän* 'he, she', *se* 'this, that, he, she, it'). According to Lyons, 1st and 2nd person differ substantially from the 3rd person. Siewierska (2004: 6–7) pointed out that the 3rd person, compared to the first two, can exhibit a different word order, case marking, number and gender marking, etc., and the differences might stem from the fact that 1st and 2nd person are essentially deictic, and their identity becomes clear in the extralinguistic context, whereas the 3rd person is usually used anaphorically and the identity of the 3rd person is determined linguistically.

The analysis in [P1] showed that the Livonian jussive is used with the 3rd person singular most of the time (Table 4). No 2nd person plural forms occurred in the data used in [P1] and [P2], and 1st and 2nd person forms were very rare (2,0% of 1st person forms combined and 1,0% of 2nd person singular forms). Since 3rd person forms are the most productive and other forms are peripheral, it could be expected that the latter would be used in an atypical matter. Person form distribution notably differs between folk songs and folktales, and the function distribution also differs. One of the possible reasons might be Latvian influence, as in both cases the Livonian folk songs are closer to the Latvian texts and not the other Livonian texts. However, if different person forms of imperatives are used differently, such differences might also be explainable by the distribution of the person forms. This led to a hypothesis that different person forms would be used in different functions: 3rd person forms would be used in more prototypical functions, while 1st and 2nd person forms would be used in non-prototypical functions.

The results of [P3] are illustrated in Table 12. The distribution of prototypical and non-prototypical functions is presented separately for each person and number combination, as well as for all person values combined. Since 1st and 2nd person forms are quite rare, the percentages are presented first, and the absolute number of occurrences are given in parentheses.

Table 12. Person and function prototypicality

Function	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Prototypical	32.7% (17)	37.5% (9)	**58.6%** (17)	**63.6%** (14)	**73.2%** (1054)	56.8% (159)
	34.2% (26)		**60.8%** (31)		**70.5%** (1213)	
Non-prototypical	**67.3%** (35)	**62.5%** (15)	41.4% (12)	36.4% (8)	26.8% (385)	43.4% (122)
	65.8% (50)		39.2% (20)		29.5% (507)	
Total	52	24	29	22	1439	281

As anticipated, the most prototypical forms of the Livonian jussive – the 3rd person forms – are used prototypically most of the time (70,5%), with the singular forms not only being much more frequent but also contributing significantly to the proportion of prototypical functions, as they are used prototypically in 73.2% of cases. In contrast, the plural forms are used prototypically in only 56,8% of the occurrences. The most surprising finding is that the 2nd person forms are also used prototypically in a majority of cases (60,8%), despite Livonian having an imperative proper. Furthermore, 2nd person forms surpass 3rd person plural forms in terms of prototypical usage.

The 1st person forms differ the most from the other forms, as they are used to convey prototypical imperative functions significantly less frequently, coming in at only 34.2%. Among the 1st person singular forms, prototypical imperative functions are used the least (32,7%). The plural forms are used prototypically slightly more frequently (37,5%), but still not nearly as often as the 2nd or 3rd person forms. Interestingly, 1st and 2nd person forms are used more frequently to express prototypical imperative functions in plural than in singular, whereas the opposite is true for the 3rd person.

The hypothesis that the 3rd person would be used prototypically while 1st and 2nd person forms would be used in non-prototypical functions was only partially correct. Indeed, 3rd person forms were used in prototypical functions in most cases. However, contrary to expectations, 2nd person forms are used prototypically almost as frequently as the 3rd person forms and almost twice as frequently as the 1st person forms.

This suggests that prototypicality of the functions is not solely dependent on mood but also on the person. The unexpected tendency of the 2nd person is to be used as an addressee. Such results seem to indicate that the 2nd person forms, if used in a mood associated with directive constructions, have an inherent tendency to be used in prototypical imperative functions, and it could be reflected even in

forms that are rarely used in the 2nd person, like in the case of the Livonian jussive.

The unexpected tendency of 2nd person forms to be used prototypically in most cases, even in an indirect (or mediated) imperative form, may stem from the inherent tendency of the 2nd person to be used as an addressee. These results seem to indicate that 2nd person forms, when used in a mood associated with directive constructions, inherently tend to be used in prototypical imperative functions. This tendency could be reflected even in forms that are rarely used in the 2nd person, such as the Livonian jussive.

Furthermore, these results suggest that the 1st person is typically less likely to be used in prototypical imperative functions, possibly due to pragmatic reasons. Therefore, the prototypical functions for the 1st person could differ from those of the 2nd person, reflecting the pragmatic aspects associated with each person form. In this context, the higher frequency of prototypical functions in 1st person plural could be related to the fact that cross-linguistically 1st person plural imperative proper forms are significantly more frequent than 1st person singular imperative proper forms. This difference along with the more reliable (due to the higher frequency), and more pronounced difference in the singular and plural 3rd person forms also suggests that number might be an important factor determining the functions that are most typical for any given form.

Considering these findings, the classification of paradigms and forms as imperatives based solely on person forms may not be accurate. Instead, it appears that different person forms exhibit tendencies to be used in different functions, particularly if morphologically consistent paradigms are considered separately. Therefore, prototypical imperative paradigms should be viewed as a continuum determined by mood, person and number category values. This perspective allows for an expanded definition of imperatives, incorporating the varied usage patterns of different person and number forms.

PUBLICATIONS

5. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

The study revealed that the Livonian jussive is predominantly used with the hortative particle *laz* as proposed by Viitso (2008a: 320). Occurrences without the particle were exceedingly rare and did not display any observable distinctions from instances with the particle during this study. Livonian jussive bares a lot of similarities with the Estonian jussive, most notably its form, even though it is usually used with *laz*, which normally is not the case with the respective particle in Estonian. This prompts the question of whether the separate classification of the formally identical 3rd person imperative and jussive in Estonian is justified or sustained by the hypothesis that the jussive originated from 3rd person imperative forms, thus forming a distinct paradigm. This same issue is applicable to the classification used for Salaca Livonian (Pajusalu & Winkler 2018: 120–125).

While markers (*-kkõ*, *-kõ*, *-gõ*, *-g*, and *-õg(õ)* appear to be linked to imperative markers, forming a consistent paradigm, the distinction between the Estonian and Salaca Livonian jussives and 3rd person imperatives seems somewhat vague. If the hypothesis that the jussive originated from a previous optative paradigm (Erelt & Metslang 2004: 167–172, Erelt 2017b: 173) holds true, it would be reasonable to exclude the jussive (or 3rd person imperative) from the imperative paradigm altogether, as already done for Livonian by Viitso (2008a: 320). Given that during this study it became apparent that there is a formal difference but seemingly no difference in usage in Livonian, this supports such a hypothesis.

Since the Livonian jussive in an overwhelming majority of cases exhibits double marking, with the analytical marker *laz* and the synthetic marker (*-kkõ*, *-kõ*, *-gõ*, *-g*, *-õg(õ)*), and *laz* occurs in a clause-initial position, it leads to the question of whether *laz* should be considered as acting only as an analytical mood marker, or should it also be considered a subordinator. Except for some concession clauses (see 4.1.5.), *laz* is not used without the jussive forms. Also, jussive forms can be used without *laz*, at least in some subordinate clauses, including questions and concessive clauses. Furthermore, the data used in this study did not include any examples where the jussive occurs with any other subordinator, including the cases without *laz*. On the other hand, there are also no cases in the data in which the Livonian jussive without *laz* introduces a purpose clause. This leads to a suggestion that *laz* should be primarily considered as a mood marker that exhibits some features of a subordinator, but at this point the evidence to classify it as a subordinator is not sufficient.

It can be proposed that due to the nature of the jussive and its frequent occurrence in subordinate clauses, it is inevitable that the analytical marker *laz* were to develop at least some subordinator functions, which seems to be the case in the purpose clauses. This makes Livonian different from its main contact language Latvian, where *lai* indeed functions as a subordinator and occurs with most finite forms. The frequent occurrence in subordinate clauses also shows similarities

with the subjunctive, however, that fact that it is overwhelmingly used in prototypical imperative functions indicates that it is still closer to imperative.

The study also showed that though negation of the Livonian jussive is a rare occurrence, it displays more variation than any other morphosyntactic aspect of the Livonian jussive. The displacement of the Livonian community during WWI appears to have significantly influenced the language patterns. New strategies adopted by some speakers, possibly influenced by contact with Latvian, became dominant. These strategies deviate from the patterns observed in folktales collected before WWI and also differ from the patterns noted by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861: 156) and Kettunen (1938: LXV).

The Livonian jussive is most commonly utilised in the 3rd person, and in most cases in the singular. While all person forms are attested, as suggested by Viitso (2008a: 320), the 2nd person plural is exceptionally rare and only occurs in the translation of the New Testament, but not in any other texts. The remaining person forms are present in the other texts, although the frequency of the 1st person singular and plural, as well as 2nd person singular, is notably low.

During this study it became clear that the Livonian jussive serves productively in eight functions: as a directive, request, exhortation, permission, wish, concession, purpose, and question. Although less frequently, it is also employed in other functions such as a threat, dare, or manner. The range of functions in which the Livonian jussive operates mirrors that of the Latvian indirect imperative, however, their distribution differs. Notably, most of the productive functions can be conveyed both in main and in subordinate clauses (including directive, request, exhortation, permission, wish, and question), however, concession and purpose are conveyed exclusively in adverbial clauses.

The Livonian jussive predominantly appears in prototypical imperative functions, whereas the Latvian indirect imperative tends to be used in non-prototypical functions, possibly influenced by the overall frequency of such functions, and the fact that Livonian has alternative grammatical means for their expression (namely subordinators like *ku* 'so that' and *koks* 'even though', etc.), which is not the case in Latvian. To comprehensively assess the productivity of prototypical imperative functions versus non-prototypical ones conveyed through indirect imperative constructions, a further comparative analysis should be conducted across Latvian and Livonian, encompassing not only indirect imperative constructions which have been analysed here, but also parallel methods of expressing the same functions (e.g., concession, purpose) within the same discourse. The observed distribution of the functions of the Livonian jussive in folk songs resembles that of the Latvian indirect imperative rather than the distribution in the Livonian folktales, which leads to a proposition that many of the Livonian folk songs might be translated from Latvian.

Although the jussive is not the sole method of introducing purpose clauses in Livonian (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861: 278–279), this particular construction for conveying purpose, namely introducing purpose clauses, is absent in Estonian and Finnish imperatives (Erelt 2017a: 723–725, Peltola 2014: 126–127) rendering Livonian relatively unique in the Finnic context in this regard. Conversely,

Livonian's closest contact language, Latvian, employs the same indirect imperative construction to introduce purpose clauses (Auziņa et al. 2015: 869, [P2]: §4.7) a feature not shared with its nearest related language, Lithuanian (Ambrazas et al. 1976: 862, Ambrazas et al. 2005: 689), making Latvian also distinct in this sense. This suggests that the Livonian-Latvian contact area serves as the focal point for this linguistic development.

The study of the covariance between the function of the Livonian jussive and its person forms revealed distinct usage patterns among different forms. Surprisingly, the 2nd person forms exhibited closer usage characteristics to 3rd person forms than to the 1st person forms. Notably, 1st person forms differed the most from the others, being least frequently used in prototypical imperative functions, particularly the 1st person singular. In contrast, both 2nd and 3rd person forms were most frequently employed in prototypical imperative functions (e.g., directives, requests). The 1st person was more commonly used in non-prototypical functions, especially questions, which occurred significantly more frequently compared to other forms. Purpose emerged as the most productive non-prototypical function, active across all person forms. Ironically, despite being named after the Estonian jussive, which in Estonian is called the *möönev kõneviis* which is literally 'the concessive mood', the Livonian jussive, was rare in all person forms when it came to expressing concession.

The results of the study indicate that 2nd person forms, although scarce in the dataset, exhibit a strong inclination towards being employed in prototypical imperative functions even when utilised within indirect imperatives. This tendency may be linked to the inherent semantics of the 2nd person, which naturally occurs as the default addressee. This quality is also the rationale behind considering the 2nd person as central to the semantics of imperatives.

3rd person forms emerge as the most prototypical or even default forms of the Livonian jussive and the Latvian indirect imperative (and potentially of indirect imperatives in general). Thus, it is unsurprising that they frequently manifest in the prototypical functions of imperatives, given the directive nature of jussive and inherent indirectness of the 3rd person. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the study reveals a differentiation in usage between 3rd person singular and plural forms, with 3rd person singular forms displaying a more pronounced tendency towards prototypical imperative functions, while 3rd person plural forms are notably productive in non-prototypical functions.

Although the 1st person forms, particularly 1st person plural, also make appearances in prototypical imperative functions, their frequency is considerably lower. These forms exhibit greater productivity in non-prototypical imperative functions, such as concession, purpose, and question. This phenomenon can be pragmatically explained, as directive speech acts directed at the 1st person, especially 1st person singular, tend to arise in more specific contexts and often lack a neutral tone unless mediated.

These findings align with Aikhenvald's suggestion (2017: 7, 2010: 3, 55, 75) that 2nd person imperatives are commonly used for commands and orders, while 1st person imperatives lean towards suggestions and permissions. Remarkably,

the inclination of 2nd person forms to convey typical imperative functions remains valid even within indirect imperatives, despite the infrequent occurrence of such forms in the 2nd person. However, the results diverge from Aikhenvald's assertion that mediated or 3rd person imperatives generally function as indirect and mediated wishes. The data clearly demonstrates that in Livonian, 3rd person jussive forms most commonly manifest in prototypical imperative functions.

The results of this study suggest that the prototypicality of functions can be perceived as a continuum influenced not solely by mood but also by the person and number categories. This implies that the prototypicality of a given form comprises two or three variables, not just the mood. Consequently, the core prototypical functions may differ across various person forms. Furthermore, the observed disparities between the 3rd person singular and plural, as well as between the 1st person singular and plural, suggest that each distinct person and number value may entail distinct prototypical functions. This conclusion is reinforced by the cross-linguistic prevalence of 1st person plural imperative forms over 1st person singular imperative forms, indicating fundamental distinctions among different person and number combinations, particularly in relation to imperatives.

The study has demonstrated that the Livonian jussive encompasses the exact same range of functions as the Latvian indirect imperative, albeit with differing distribution patterns. Many of these functions are shared with other languages in the region, including Estonian, Lithuanian, and Russian. However, Livonian and Latvian exhibit unique shared developments, such as the introduction of purpose clauses and questions using indirect imperatives, setting them apart in the linguistic landscape.

Interestingly, all these languages – Livonian, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, and Russian – have evolved highly grammaticalized hortative particles from permissive-causative verbs (and permissive verb forms in Lithuanian). Unlike certain other languages, such as Germanic languages, the Finnic, Baltic, and Slavic languages employ subject marking to indicate the addressee of the hortative construction, suggesting an areal development that warrants further investigation.

The fact that Livonian and Latvian exhibit the least prototypical functions implies that they represent the central area of this linguistic development, while the other languages fall within the periphery. Furthermore, Russian, Latvian, and Livonian showcase stable and consistent constructions, whereas Estonian and Lithuanian display greater variability, indicating a less established phenomenon and hinting at a peripheral aspect of the development of indirect imperatives. Additionally, the productivity of Lithuanian constructions appears to be relatively lower (though this requires further research for confirmation), which may suggest that the origins of these constructions could potentially be traced to the central contact area between Finnic and Baltic languages.

Nonetheless, the ultimate source of the development of these indirect imperative constructions remains unknown at present. The manner in which they evolved and spread also lacks clarity. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, data from other languages – particularly Latvian, Estonian,

Lithuanian, and Russian – must be examined, and a more in-depth analysis of the variety of markers used in Lithuanian, as well as the distinction between the 3rd person imperative and jussive in Estonian, should be undertaken. Exploring older texts could also significantly contribute to uncovering the development of indirect imperative constructions in the region and shedding light on the trajectory of their diffusion.

ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ALL	allative
APPPL	plural active past participal
APPSG	singular active past participal
CNG	connegative
DAT	dative
DEB	debitive
ELA	elative
FUT	future
G	genitive
GER	gerund
HORT	hortative
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INTJ	interjection
JUS	jussive
M	masculine
N	nominative
NEG	negative
N/G	ambiguous nominative/genitive
P	partitive
PL	plural
PPP	past passive participle
PRF	perfect
PST	past
RFL	reflexive
SG	singular
TRSL	translative

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Liivi jussiiv Kesk-Balti kontekstis

Kõikides maailma keeltes on võimalik edastada infot, esitada küsimusi ja käskida. Tavaliselt on keeltes selleks olemas spetsiifilised vahendid. Näiteks infot edastatakse üldiselt kindla kõneviisi abil. Käskimisega aga seostatakse tavaliselt käskivat kõneviisi ehk imperatiivi. Üldiselt on kindla kõneviisi paradigmad keeltes suhteliselt sarnased, kuid imperatiivid võivad olla väga erinevad. Näiteks inglise keeles on imperatiivil vaid üks vorm, nt *go!* 'mine!/minge!' mida kasutatakse vaid teises isikus. Samuti on keeli, kus imperatiivil on olemas kõikide isikute vormid, näiteks soome või ungari keel. On ka selliseid keeli, milles on käskimiseks kõneviise rohkem kui üks, nt aravaki keeles tariana on koguni 9 erinevat käskivat kõneviisi. Sellesse kategooriasse sobivad ka eesti ning liivi keeled, kuna mõlemal on nii imperatiiv kui ka jussiiv. Doktoritöös pakutakse liivi ja eesti jussiivi, läti 3. isiku imperatiivi ning teiste keelte 3. isiku või vahendatud imperatiivide jaoks üldmõistet kaudimperatiiv ehk indirektne imperatiiv (inglise keeles: *indirect imperative*).

See doktoritöö käsitleb Kuramaa liivi keele jussiivi, selle morfosüntaktilisi omadusi ja funktsioone Kesk-Balti kontekstis. Doktoritöö põhineb kolmel artiklil ning igas artiklis keskendutakse erinevatele liivi jussiivi aspektidele. Töös kasutatud analüüsimudel põhineb peamiselt andmetel, lähtudes siiski ka funktsionaaltüpoloogilisest lähenemisest.

Esimeses artiklis [A1] vaadeldakse liivi keele jussiivi morfosüntaksit, nimelt hortatiivpartikli *laz* 'las' olemasolu, eituse strateegiaid, subjekti esinemist ning subjekti ja jussiivis predikaadi ühildumist, millises isikus jussiivi predikaadid esinevad, täis- ja osasihitise tasakaalu ning täissihitise käänet. Teine artikkel [A2] käsitleb liivi jussiivi funktsioone võrreldes neid läti kaudimperatiivi kasutusega. Kolmandas artiklis [A3] keskendutakse isiku kategooria ja jussiivi funktsiooni kovariatsioonile.

Liivi jussiiv on kõige „noorem" liivi kõneviis. Väga kaua peeti liivi jussiivi vorme imperatiivi paradigma osaks (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861, Kettunen 1938, de Sivers 2001). Eesti keeleteaduse eeskujul hakati ka liivi jussiivi käsitlema omaette kõneviisina (Viitso 2008a, Viitso 2011, Pajusalu 2014, Kehayov et al. 2012). Liivi ja eesti jussiivid on mõnes mõttes sarnased: jussiivi tunnus on sama päritoluga nii liivi kui ka eesti keeles, samuti on mõlemas keeles jussiivil täisparadigma. Kuigi nagu eesti jussiivilgi puudub ka liivi jussiivil morfoloogiline isiku tunnus, muutub liivi jussiiv siiski arvus. Samuti kasutatakse nii Salatsi kui ka Kuramaa liivi keeles üldjuhul jussiivi hortatiivpartikliga *laz*. Imperatiivi eitamiseks kasutatakse eitusabiverbi, mis nagu jussiivgi muutub arvus. Jussiivi vorme illustreeritakse Tabelis 1 ning eituse vorme Tabelis 2.

Tabel 1. Liivi jussiivi paradigma

	Kuramaa liivi keel		Salatsi liivi keel	
Isik	Imperatiiv	Jussiiv	Imperatiiv	Jussiiv
1SG	–	laz vȯl-kõ	–	las olg
2SG	vȯ'l	laz vȯl-kõ	ol	las olg
3SG	–	laz vȯl-kõ	olg	las olg
1PL	vȯl-gõ-m	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olmi	las olg
2PL	vȯl-gi-d	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olgi	las olg
3PL	–	laz vȯl-kõ-d	olg	las olg

Tabel 2. Liivi jussiivi eitamine

Isik	Kuramaa liivi keel				Salatsi liivi keel			
	Indikatiiv		Imperatiiv	Jussiiv	Indicative		Imperatiiv	Jussiiv
	Olevik	Minevik			Olevik	Minevik		
1sg	äb	iz	–	algõ	ab	iz	–	ala
2sg	äd	izt	alā				ala	
3sg	äb	iz	–					
1pl	äb	iz	algõm	algõd (algõ)				
2pl	ät	izt	algid					
3pl	äb	izt	–					

Siiamaani on liivi keele jussiiv enamasti saanud tähelepanu kas grammatika kirjeldustes (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861, Kettunen 1938, de Sivers 2001, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008a, Viitso 2011, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018) või tegusõna kategooriate kirjeldustes (Kehayov et al. 2012, Pajusalu 2014). Põhjalikult pole liivi jussiivi ega selle kasutust siiamaani uuritud.

Käesoleva doktoritöö eesmärkideks on: 1) selgitada kuidas kasutatakse liivi jussiivi morfosüntaksi vaatepunktist ning vaadelda kuidas sarnaneb kasutatavate andmete kasutus siinsete liivi jussiivi kirjeldustega [A1]; 2) selgitada millistes semantilistes ja süntaktilistes funktsioonides, kaasa arvatud edasised arengud, liivi jussiiv esineb ning võrrelda seda kasutust läti kaudimperatiivi kasutusega [A2]; 3) selgitada millistes funktsioonides kiputakse kasutama liivi keele jussiivi erinevate isikute vorme [A3]; 4) vaadelda liivi keele jussiivi Kesk-Balti kontekstis ja selgitada kuhu see paigutub lõuna läänemeresoome ning balti keelte kontekstis [A2].

Selles töös kontrollitakse kahte hüpoteesi: 1) kuna liivi ja läti keeled on balti ja läänemeresoome kontaktala keskel, peaks liivi ning läti kaudimperatiivil ja liivi jussiivil olema unikaalseid arenguid võrreldes perifeersete kontaktkeeltega; 2) kuna kõige prototüüpsemateks (sagedasemateks) liivi jussiivi vormideks on 3. isiku vormid, kiputakse neid pigem kasutama prototüüpsetes imperatiivi

funktsioonides ning 1. ja 2. isiku vorme kiputakse pigem kasutama mitteprototüüpsetes imperatiivi funktsioonides.

Doktoritöös sai kasutatud nii liivi keele korpuste kui ka manuaalselt kogutud andmeid. Andmete allikad, nendest leitud jussiivi näidete arvud ning andmete kasutus artiklites on esitatud Tabelis 3.

Tabel 3. Doktoritöös kasutatud andmed

Allikas	Tekstid	Jussiivi esinemised	Artikkel
Liivi keele korpus (Eesti murdekorpus)	Folktales, collected by Setälä (1953), transcribed recordings of Grizelda Kristiņ, Poulīņ Kļaviņ	444	[A1], [A2], [A3]
Oskar Looritsa kogutud rahvalaulud	Loorits 1936	131	[A2]
Oskar Looritsa Vaides kogutud muistendid	LF	215	[A2], [A3]
Liivi korpus (Livonian.tech)	Uus Testament (ŪT), Liivi-eesti-läti sõnaraamat (LELS), Liivi keele aabits (Stalte 1937), Katekismus (Valgamā 1936), Liivi lugemik (Damberg 1935), transkribeeritud Pētõr Dambergi lindistused, Liivi-esperanto sõnaraamat (Čače, Damberg, Grīva 1966), Oskar Looritsa kogutud muistendid (OL)	1405	[A3]
Tasakaalustatud tänapäeva läti keele korpus	[40]	230	[A2]
Läti rahvalaulud	Dainuskapis.lv	300	[A2]

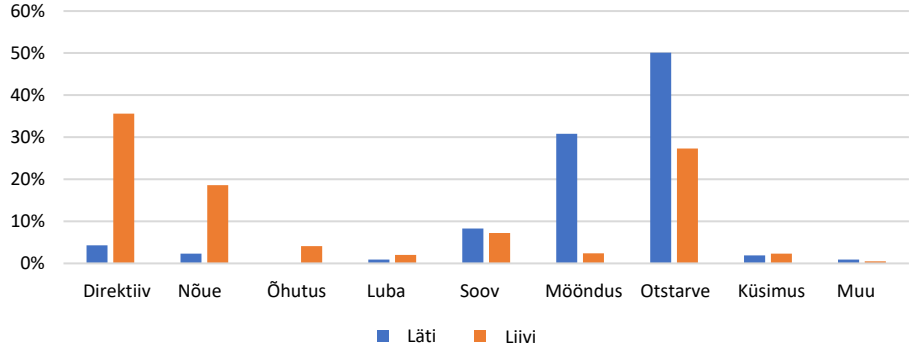
Morfosüntaktiline liivi jussiivi analüüs näitas, et liivi jussiivi kõige sagedasemaks ning tüüpilisemaks vormiks on 3. isiku vormid, eriti 3. isiku ainsuse vorm. Kõige haruldasem on aga 2. isiku mitmuse vorm, mis esineb kõikidest analüüsitud tekstidest vaid ühes tekstis (Uues Testamendis). Liivi jussiivi kasutatakse peaaegu alati hortatiivpartikliga *laz* ning erinevusi jussiivi näidetel koos partikliga ja ilma partiklita ei õnnestunud identifitseerida. Käesoleva töö andmetes liivi jussiivi abiverb arvus ei muutu ning selle ainsuslikku vormi kasutatakse nii ainsuse kui ka mitmuse predikaatidega. Maailmasõdade vahelisel perioodil kogutud andmetes esinesid uued läti keele eeskujul tekkinud eituse strateegiad: hortatiivpartikli *laz* ja kindla kõneviisi eitusabiverbi *äb* kombinatsioon, mis oli Vaid külas

[40] http://nosketch.korpuss.lv/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=LVK2013

produktiivsemgi kui liivipärane eituse strateegia. Analüüsides kasutust keelejuhi kaupa selgus aga, et uue strateegia produktiivsus oli seotud sellega, et rohkem tekste oli kogutud noorematelt keelejuhtidelt, kes kasvasid üles lätikeelses keskkonnas. Vanemad keelejuhid ei kasutanud uut eituse strateegiat üldse ning liivi eitusstrateegiat kasutas kokku rohkem keelejuhte, kui uut eitusstrateegiat.

Sihitise analüüs näitas, et liivi jussiivi sihitisel on kolm võimalikku käändevormi: partitiiv (osasihitis), genitiiv (täissihitis), nominatiiv (täissihitis). Kuna liivi keele grammatiliste käänete vormid langevad tihti kokku, eriti nominatiivi ja genitiivi vormid, siis selleks, et teha kindlaks milline täissihitise kääne on eelistatud, pidi analüüsi laiendama täiendi ning asesõna analüüsimisega. Samuti oli vajalik ka semantiline sihitise referentide analüüs. Selgus, et täissihitise eelistatud käändevormiks on genitiiv kõikide referentide puhul, välja arvatud arvsõnafraasid. Juhul kui täissihitise referendiks on arvsõnafraas, esineb see alati nominatiivis.

Jussiivi funktsioonide analüüsi käigus selgus, et liivi jussiivil on 8 produktiivset funktsiooni: direktiiv, nõue, õhutus, luba, soov, mööndus, otstarve ja küsimus. Liivi jussiivi kasutatakse samades funktsioonides, milles kasutatakse ka läti kaudimperatiivi, funktsioonide jaotus erineb siiski märgatavalt. Kaudimperatiivide funktsioonide jaotus on esitatud allolevas Joonises 1.



Joonis 1. Kaudimperatiivi fuktsioonide jaotus

Kuigi nii liivi kui ka läti kaudimperatiiv esineb kõikides funktsioonides, on liivi jussiivil märgatav tendents esineda prototüüpsetes imperatiivi funktsioonides ning läti kaudimperatiivil on selge kallak ebaproduktiivsete funktsioonide poole. Liivi jussiivi kõige sagedasemad funktsioonid on direktiiv, nõue ja otstarve, mis on kõige sagedasem mitteprototüüpiline funktsioon, milles esineb liivi jussiiv. Läti kaudimperatiivi aga kasutatakse enamasti otstarbe, mööndus ning soovi funktsioonis.

Selgus et hüpotees, et liivi ja läti keelte – mis asuvad balti ja läänemeresoome keelte kontaktala keskel – kaudimperatiividel on arenguid, mis ei ole jõudnud nende lähimate sugulaskeelteni, on õige. Nimelt otstarbe ja küsimuse funktsioonid on unikaalsed liivi ja läti keelte kaudimperatiividele ning ei ole üldistunud eesti

ega leedu keelele. Samas on mööndus produktiivne kaudimperatiivide funktsioon kõikides nendes keeltes ja ka vene keeles, mis potentsiaalselt illustreerib selle areaalse arengu levikala. Mitteprototüüpsed imperatiivi funktsioonid, milleks kasutatakse liivi jussiivi, on illustreeritud allolevates näidetes: (1) illustreerib mööndust, (2) on tüüpiline liivi otstarbe lause, ning viimasena (3) illustreerib kaudset küsimust.

(78) *Volkõ* *vana-izand,* *volkõ* *nuor-izand,*
olla.JUS.SG vana_isand.N.SG olla.JUS.SG noormees.N.SG
tulgid *tu'bbõ* *daṇţšõm!* (folk songs, 528/4)
tulla.IMP.2PL tuba.ILL.SG tantsida.SUP.ILL
'Olgu vanamees, olgu noormees,
tulge tuppa tantsima!'

(79) *Se* *vȯzā* *um* *nei* *ūnd,* *perīnai*
see.N.SG liha.N.SG olla.3SG nüüd praadida.APPSG perenaine.N.SG
um *tōnd* *immer* *kierõ,* *laz* *tuoi*
olla.3SG tahta.APPSG ümber keerata.INF HORT teine.N.SG
pūoļ *ka* *ūg.* (Vaid)
pool.N.SG also praadida.JUS.SG
'Liha on nüüd praetud, perenaine tahtsi keerata ümber, et praeks ka teine pool.'

(80) *u* *nei'* *ta* *um* *ki'zzən* *agā* *sāg*
ja nüüd 3SG.N olla.3SG küsida.APPSG aga saada.JUSS.SG
dēńimist (Setälä)
töö.P.SG
'Ja siis ta küsis, kas ei saaks tööd'

Funktsioonide prototüüpsuse analüüsi käigus said identifitseeritud 5 prototüüpset funktsiooni (direktiiv, nõue, õhutus, luba, soov) ning 3 ebaprototüüpset funktsiooni (mööndus, otstarve, küsimus). Analüüsides isikuvormide esinemist prototüüpsetes ja ebaprototüüpsetes funktsioonides selgus, et hüpotees, et 3. isiku vorme kiputakse kasutama prototüüpselt ja 1. ning 2. isiku vorme ebaprototüüpselt, oli ainult osaliselt õige. Analüüsi tulemused on esitatud Tabelis 4.

Tabel 4. Funktsiooni prototüüpsuse ja isiku vormi kovariatsioon

Fuktsioon	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Prototüüpiline	32.7% (17)	37.5% (9)	**58.6%** (17)	**63.6%** (14)	**73.2%** (1054)	56.8% (159)
	34.2% (26)		**60.8%** (31)		**70.5%** (1213)	
Mitte prototüüpiline	**67.3%** (35)	**62.5%** (15)	41.4% (12)	36.4% (8)	26.8% (385)	43.4% (122)
	65.8% (50)		39.2% (20)		29.5% (507)	
Kokku	52	24	29	22	1439	281

3. isiku vormid esinevad tõesti enamasti prototüüpsetes imperatiivi funktsioonides, eriti 3. isiku ainsuse vormid. 1. isiku vormid, nagu oleks võinud oodata, esinevad sagedamini ebaprototüüpsetes funktsioonides kui prototüüpsetes funktsioonides. Üllatav on see, et erinevalt oodatust esinevad 2. isiku vormid enamasti prototüüpsetes imperatiivi funktsioonides, lisaks sellele pisut sagedaminigi kui 3. isiku mitmuse vormid.

Selle doktoritöö tulemused panustavad liivi keele morfosüntaksi ning süntaksi uurimisse ning paremasse liivi ja läti ning balti ja läänemeresoome keelte vaheliste kontaktide mõistmisse, tuues välja varem teadmatuid liivi ja läti kaudimperatiivi kasutuse sarnasusi. Samuti selgusid uurimuse käigus nii mõnedki suunad, mis vajavad edasist uurimist. Nimelt on oluline sarnast uurimust laiendada ning kaasata ka teisi areaalis olevaid keeli. Doktoritöös läbiviidud uurimuse tulemused ei lange kokku ka tüpoloogiliste uurimuste järeldustega, et 3. ja 1. isiku imperatiivi vorme kiputakse kasutama vaid ebaprototüüpsetes imperatiivi funktsioonides, kuna kõiki liivi jussiivi vorme kasutatakse ka prototüüpsete funktsioonide väljendamiseks. Töö tulemustest selgub, et imperatiivi funktsioonide prototüüpsust peaks vaatama mitte üldhierarhiana, vaid pigem kahe (või isegi kolme) muutuja (nimelt kõneviis, isik ja potentsiaalselt arv) koosesinemise tulemusena, kus iga vormi funktsioonide prototüüpsust määrab nii kõneviis kui ka isiku kategooria.

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