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Pro-forms
in Spoken Courland Livonian

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PREFACE

My Livonian language studies started during my master's studies in early 2016 when I was participating in the Livonian course taught by Professor Tiit-Rein Viitso and Research Fellow Tuuli Tuisk. The course was very interesting, well-structured, and practical and already during the course I knew I wanted to continue working with Livonian also in the future. During the same semester, I was also taking part in the course "Grammar of Finno-Ugric languages" taught by Professor Gerson Klumpp. In that course, one of the topics we covered was demonstrative words related to definiteness, in which I became increasingly interested and which Gerson suggested to me both as a topic for a seminar paper and as a topic for my master's thesis. I happily accepted the offer and defended my master's thesis on the formation and meanings of demonstrative proadjectives in Finnic languages in 2017. After that, Professor Karl Pajusalu encouraged me to continue researching the topic at the PhD level, focusing on Livonian. Thanks to the suggestions of my supervisors, I started my doctoral studies in autumn 2018, researching pro-forms in Courland Livonian.

In the process of writing this thesis, there are many people I wish to thank. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Gerson Klumpp and Professor Karl Pajusalu for their help, support, and never-ending good ideas regarding my topic. I am thankful that you always found time to read and check my materials and drafts and to discuss my questions and problems regarding my research. I also want to thank you for your preparedness to read my work always thoroughly and quickly even when I had submitted the drafts later than planned. Thank you both for your good comments, suggestions, observations, and corrections from which my writing and especially this thesis has improved a great deal. I am also thankful and honoured to have been able to participate in the projects and work conducted by you and which have also helped me to develop the current thesis.

I also would like to thank Tuuli Tuisk who conducted a great and enlightening Livonian language course and has helped me with lots of questions about the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages and recordings with Livonian native speakers while I was compiling my data. Thank you, Tuuli, also for taking me along on your research projects about Livonian! I hope one day I can be as helpful as you have been!

I am very grateful to Valts Ernštreits who read and commented on the draft of my manuscript and pointed out several important aspects to be changed. I would like to thank Valts for helping me with various questions about Livonian vocabulary and for allowing me to participate in the place names project at the University of Latvia Livonian Institute. I thank both Valts Ernštreits and Miina Norvik for teaching me Livonian up to an intermediate level and for sharing their knowledge and experience.

I would also like to thank my internal reviewer Renate Pajusalu for reading my manuscript thoroughly and quickly and for giving me very helpful comments

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Grammatical abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – persons, ADE – adessive, AdvP – adverbial phrase, ALL – allative, APP – active past participle, CNG – connegative, COND – conditional, DAT – dative, DEB – debitive, DEM – demonstrative, Demonstr – demonstrative, DST – distal, ELA – elative, fem – feminine gender, GEN – genitive, HESIT – hesitation marker, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INE – inessive, INF – infinitive, INSTR – instrumental, JUS – jussive, L – long form, LAT – lative, masc – masculine gender, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, NP – noun phrase, PART – partitive, PL – plural, POSTP – postposition, PREP – preposition, PRFX – prefix, ProAdj – demonstrative proadjective, ProAdv – demonstrative proadverb, ProDem – demonstrative pronoun, ProPers – personal pronoun, PROX – proximal, PST – past, PTCL – particle, QUOT – quotative, S – short form, SG – singular, SUP – supine, TRANSL – translative.

Language abbreviations

CLiv – Courland Livonian, Est – Estonian, Fin – Finnish, Latv – Latvian, Liv – Livonian, SEst – South Estonian, SLiv – Salaca Livonian.

Transcription symbols

'	Livonian broken tone	e:	elongated sound
.	final falling intonation	$ $	laughing voice
,	slight falling intonation	@ @	change of the voice quality
?	rising intonation	hehe	laughter with open mouth
(.)	micropause (0.2 seconds or shorter)	mhe	laughter with closed mouth
		n-	unfinished word
(0.5)	pause length in seconds	.hh	inhaling
`	stressed word	hh	exhaling
[ ]	simultaneous speaking	{se}	poorly audible text part
=	two separate units pronounced together	{-}	unclear word
		(( ))	transcriber's comment
> <	accelerated part		

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Goals of the study

Pronouns and proadverbs are among the words most frequently used on a daily basis for referring to different people, objects, places, and discourses. Cross-linguistically, personal pronouns and demonstratives are also among the oldest words; this is especially true for demonstratives, which emerged very early in the evolution of language (Diessel 1999: 152). Without these pronouns and proadverbs, we would not be able to communicate in our everyday life as effectively or clearly. This doctoral thesis examines Livonian *pro-forms*, that is, pronouns and proadverbs referring to a person, place, time, manner, quality, or degree, which can replace and thus be co-referential with a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or an adverbial phrase. I focus on the four main and frequently used subgroups of Livonian pro-forms: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative proadjectives, and demonstrative proadverbs, of which many share common origin and stems and are also semantically rather vague without an accompanying context (e.g., English *I*, *such*, *this*, *there*). Other types of pronouns and proadverbs – such as reciprocal, reflexive, possessive, interrogative forms, which often include semantically more defined word parts (e.g., English *each other*, *one's own*, *something*, etc.) – are excluded from the current study to narrow its focus on personal pronouns and demonstratives. Replacement is, however, not the only function of pro-forms (Pajusalu 1999: 16) as the term *pro* (Latin 'for') might suggest, and the studied pronouns and proadverbs may also be exophoric (referring to physical surroundings) or used independently (e.g., as discourse particles) without replacing a particular word or phrase mentioned before or after. In the current thesis, I use the term *pro-forms* to refer to the studied pronouns and proadverbs as a whole in order to have a common designation for them, as one of their primary shared features is their ability to replace words and phrases universally. Table 1 presents the subgroups of the researched pronouns and proadverbs in the Livonian literary language, which is based on the Courland Livonian Eastern dialect (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012):

Table 1. Groups of pro-forms in the Courland Livonian literary language

ProPers's	ProDems	ProAdjs	ProAdvs
minā, *ma* 'I' *sinā*, *sa* 'you 2SG' *tämā*, *ta* 's/he' *mēg*, *meg* 'we' *tēg*, *teg* 'you 2PL' *nämād*, *ne* 'they'	*se* 'this' *tūo* 'that'	*seḷḷi* 'such; like this', *tūoḷi* 'like that' *seḷḷi-tūoḷi* 'like this and like that; different kinds of'	*tā̄nõ, sī'ḍõ* 'hither' *täsā, täs, sī'ḍ, sī'ḍš, sī'ḍšõ* 'here' *tästā, sī'ḍšt* 'from here' *sīnõ, sīņõ* 'thither' *sīnõ-tā̄nõ, sīņõ-tā̄nõ* 'thither and hither' *sā̄'l, sā̄'lõ* 'there' *sā̄'ld, sā̄'ldõst* 'from there' *sā̄'ldtäst* 'from there and from here' *si'z* 'then' *ni* 'now' *ne'i* 'so'

Livonian has two main varieties: Salaca Livonian (abbreviated as SLiv in lexical examples), which was spoken in northern Latvia in the Salaca River area, but which became extinct in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ century (Pajusalu & Winkler 2011: 76), and Courland Livonian (abbreviated as CLiv in lexical examples), which was historically spoken along the coast of northwestern Latvia. One of the last known Courland Livonian native speakers – Grizelda Kristiņ – to have been born there died in 2013 (Charter 2013). Courland Livonian, however, still has about 30–40 second language speakers (L2-speakers) worldwide (Hanson 2017). The current speakers are mostly descendants of the last native speakers who acquired Livonian to some degree from their natively Livonian-speaking grand-parents and/or have learned the language later on their own. These speakers are, however, bi- or trilingual, with Latvian being their main language. There are also several Livonian speakers among scholars around the world who have studied the language on the courses at the university, at the language camps, by doing their research on Livonian language and/or culture, etc. (Tuisk & Pajusalu 2022: 314–316). It is estimated that around 210 individuals may have basic Livonian profi-ciency corresponding to level A1 or A2. (Ernštreits 2013: 14–15)

In Chapter 2, I introduce both Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian pro-forms to provide as complete of a historical overview as possible of pro-forms in both varieties. The empirical analysis (Chapters 4 and 5) examines Courland Livonian pro-forms based on spoken language material recorded in 1986–2012. Thus, the main focus of this thesis is Courland Livonian. A more in-depth over-view of the Livonians, the Livonian language and its varieties can be found in Section 1.2.

Livonian pro-forms are an interesting topic with many aspects remaining to be researched as they show a great deal of diversity in their forms; several pro-nouns and proadverbs show use of both long and short forms, varying by stems

or by the length of case endings or former case endings in grammaticalised pro-adverbs (e.g., CLiv *minā*, *ma* 'I', *sīestõ*, *sīest* 'from this', and *sā'lõ*, *sā'l* 'there'). Thus, there are actually two types of long and short Courland Livonian pro-forms: 1) long and short forms based on stem length, e.g., the long 2nd person singular pronoun *sinā* and its short form *sa* 'you', and 2) long and short forms based on the case ending length at the end of the word form, e.g., the demonstrative inessive form *sīesõ* 'in this' with the long inessive ending *-sõ* and the demonstrative inessive form *sīes* 'in this' with the short inessive ending *-s* (see Viitso 2008: 329 for the list of Livonian case endings). The variation of long and short forms is typologically interesting and important to study as many languages have been proved to show a difference in the use long and short forms of (personal) pronouns, for example, depending on the pragmatic context (e.g., the Estonian long form *mina* 'I' in emphasized use, see Pajusalu 2017: 569) or language register (e.g., the Finnish written standard *minä* and spoken language *mä* 'I', see Hakulinen et al. 2004: § 716).

In addition, Livonian has preserved several different stems in certain subgroups of pro-forms, for example, in proadverbs (e.g., CLiv *täsā* and *sī'ḍ* 'here'). Although there have been some general overviews and descriptions of Livonian pro-forms in earlier grammars and dictionaries (see Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008), thus far there has not been an empirical study on their use. To be able to answer raising questions about their actual use, Livonian pronouns and proadverbs must be researched and described in greater detail. The main goal of the current study is to research and describe the qualities, variety, and differences of Courland Livonian pro-forms and therefore to fill the gap created by the lack of an empirical study on their morphosyntactic use and their actual semantic-pragmatic functions in interaction based on spoken language material documented from the last native speakers.

Pro-forms, in general, are special for having a very abstract meaning on their own – their more precise meaning in speech depends on the speech moment and the surrounding environment or discourse. Therefore, they also belong with deictic words (in Greek, *deiktikos* means 'pointing, indicating, being able to show' from the verb *deiknynai* 'to show'), as they can be used when pointing or referring to different entities, times, or places (Lyons 1977: 636, Larjavaara 1990: 3, Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 87). Deictics are also universal – they exist in every language (Diessel 1999: 36, Diessel 2006: 469). They are important in everyday communication and expression – they refer and point to physical entities or part(s) of the surrounding text in a conversation, helping to clarify the references made. Deictic words need to be connected to some contextual information for them to convey a meaning (Levinson 1995: 10, Pajusalu 1999: 9). For example, the Courland Livonian 3rd person singular pronoun *ta* 's/he' and the proadverbs *sā'l* 'there' and *si'z* 'then' can be used accordingly about different people, objects, places, or times, depending on the speech situation(s) and speaker, e.g., the sentence ***Ta** vȯ'ļ **si'z** **sā'l*** 'S/he was there then' can refer to the person, time, and place the speaker is pointing to from his current point of view during a certain speech situation.

In addition, a more grammaticalised pragmatic use of some pro-forms is also possible, e.g., the aforementioned proadverb *si'z* 'then' can be used as a discourse particle for marking the start or end of an utterance or for marking stress or tonality (see Section 5.4.2.3.).

The abstract meaning of pro-forms makes their semantic and pragmatic functions wider (Pajusalu 1999: 14). For example, the Livonian demonstrative pronoun *se* 'this' can be used both independently and as an attribute of a following noun, e.g., CLiv *se u'm täsā* 'it is here' where the demonstrative pronoun *se* is independent vs *se rištīng vȯ'ļ tegīž täsā* 'this person was here again' where *se* appears in an adjective-like position and may be referring semantically in the utterance to certain qualities of the person mentioned before (for the same use described in Estonian, see Erelt et al. 1995: 27, Pajusalu 1996b: 92). Therefore, it is efficient to research and compare different groups of pro-forms as a system, because different subgroups of these words may show similar features that are important for understanding and describing their functions. Also, as all of Livonian third person and demonstrative pronouns' forms are based on the historical Proto-Finnic demonstrative stems **tämä* 'this', **se* 'this' and **too* 'that' (for more detail, see Section 2.1.), it is efficient to look at the different groups of pronouns and proadverbs together to be able to spot certain special morphological, syntactical or semantical features that the words from the same stem may have among these groups.

The first main goal of the thesis is to describe the variety and tendencies of the morphosyntactic use and different semantic-pragmatic functions of Livonian pro-forms, as a short description of their different forms, development, usage, and meanings has thus far been published only in the first Livonian grammar by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a). However, there are still many unresearched aspects of the use of Livonian pronouns and proadverbs. One of these is the variation in the use of short and long forms. Most of the inflectional forms of Livonian personal pronouns and also some of the other pronouns and proadverbs have both long and short forms, e.g., the long 3rd person singular form *tämā* 's/he' and its short form *ta* or the long proadverb form *täsā* 'here' and its short form *täs*. Regarding personal pronouns, some earlier studies have stated that short forms are the most common or that long forms are used for stress (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 115–116, Viitso 2008: 332). However, there is no empirical research yet on the exact variation of use of short and long forms, which could explain in which (other) contexts the longer forms are preferred. Also unknown at this point is how the use of long and short forms of other pronouns and proadverbs varies, especially in spoken language, where the contrastive contexts and references to different surrounding or text-internal entities may occur more often than in written texts and, therefore, may also cause more variation in morphosyntactic use.

The second main goal is to determine to what extent forms in spoken language differ from those in the Livonian literary language and those mentioned in earlier grammars and dictionaries. Spoken language may include more dialectal forms and is also more spontaneous, so it is expected that spoken language recordings

could contain more diverse forms than the literary language (e.g., more abbreviated forms, dialectal or colloquial forms, etc.). Therefore, I also compare the forms in audio recordings to those in the grammars and dictionaries to determine which are used in spoken language and whether there are forms in addition to those mentioned in earlier literature (see Section 4.5. and Chapter 6 for conclusions). Additionally, the forms mentioned in different grammars and dictionaries vary a bit, so in the theoretical part of the thesis, the goal is also to give an overview of the historical developments in the use of Livonian pro-forms.

As the third main goal, I focus on explaining the deictic and possible logophoric differences of certain deictic stems and words. For example, the main demonstrative pronoun in Livonian is *se* 'this, it', although Livonian has also a distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* 'that', which, according to the latest sources, is said to have mostly disappeared from Livonian, appearing only in some fixed phrases, such as *siedā-tuodā* 'this and that' (Viitso 2008: 332, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 282). The spoken language data are valuable material for determining how native speakers express deictic oppositions and contrasts while using deictic words – is the pronoun *se* mostly also used for distal entities or is the distal pronoun *tūo* still used in spoken language? In addition, there is also considerable variation in the stems of demonstrative proadverbs – forms originating from the same stem may show different deictic oppositions in Livonian. For example, the proadverb *sī'ḍšt* 'from **here**' refers to a proximate distance, while the form *sīŋõ* '**thither**', derived from the same stem, has a distal reference (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 286, 292).

The fourth main goal is to report on the semantic and pragmatic uses of Livonian pro-forms. As pro-forms have an abstract meaning and are strongly connected to the references made with them, they may have many different semantic and pragmatic uses, which should also be described. For example, the demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* 'such' may be used for pointing to surrounding entities, while referring to a previous or subsequent portion of text, or while referring to familiar qualities from the speaker's point of view (Tomingas 2018: 250). These different semantic and pragmatic functions should be better described for all pronouns and proadverbs in order to document their actual use in Livonian.

The fifth and final main goal of the thesis is to discover and describe functions of pro-forms that are typical for spoken language, e.g., article-like use or use as placeholders, hesitation markers, or particles which are mostly not mentioned in overviews of written language. The current research is based on previously recorded spoken language material where the longer context around each example makes it possible to analyse and investigate the examples and their meanings better than in short written narratives or example sentences without a surrounding context. Thus far there have been only a few studies which have used recordings of spoken Livonian as a data source (e.g., Norvik 2015, Tuisk 2015). Most studies on Livonian are based on written texts or transcribed oral texts where repetitions, particle-like uses, etc. may have been left out after editing and, therefore, do not reflect the true language use of native speakers.

Thus, the main research questions of the thesis are:

1) In which inflectional forms are pro-forms used in the spoken language data?
2) Which pro-forms have separate long and short forms in the data?
3) If both long and short forms occur, how does their use differ from morpho-syntactic and/or pragmatic point of view?
4) Do the forms in spoken language data differ from those mentioned in grammars and dictionaries?
5) Is the distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* still used as an independent demonstrative pronoun in spoken language data?
6) What are the different semantic meanings and pragmatic functions of the pro-forms used in the data? (E.g., animate/inanimate or concrete/abstract referent types, pragmatic use as placeholders, softeners, discourse particles.)

Livonian pro-forms have thus far been described only briefly in dictionaries and grammar overviews. On Courland Livonian, these sources are the first scientific Livonian grammar *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben* by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a), the Livonian-German and German-Livonian dictionary *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's livisch-deutsches und deutsch-livisches Wörterbuch* by the same authors (1861b), Kettunen's Livonian-German dictionary and grammar *Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung* (1938), Christopher Moseley's descriptive Livonian grammar (2002), Viitso's overview of Livonian grammar in the article "Liivi keele erijooned läänemere-soome keeleruumis" (2008) and Viitso & Ernštreits's trilingual Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary *Līvõkīel-ēstikīel-leţkīel sõnārōntõz. Liivi-eesti-läti sõnaraamat. Lībiešu-igauņu-latviešu vārdnīca* (2012). On the extinct Salaca Livonian variety, these are also the before-mentioned grammar and dictionary by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a, 1861b), the Salaca Livonian dictionary *Salis-Livisches Wörterbuch* by Pajusalu & Winkler (2009) and the Salaca Livonian grammar and dictionary *Salis-Livisch II. Grammatik und Wörterverzeichnis. Mit einem Anhang zu den salis-livischen Sprichwörtern* by Pajusalu & Winkler (2018) that is based on Sjögren's manuscript from his expedition to Salaca Livonians. These grammars and dictionaries are also the base for comparing the empirical data of the thesis with previous descriptions on Livonian pro-forms, focusing mainly on the comparison with the earlier Courland Livonian sources, but mentioning also Salaca Livonian sources, where possible.

The above-mentioned sources include more descriptions on the use of personal and demonstrative pronouns. There is less information about Livonian pro-adjectives and proadverbs, although the forms of proadverbs are especially productive. Also, in general linguistics there have been fewer studies on pro-adjectives and proadverbs compared to personal and demonstrative pronouns, so the current study is also attempting to expand research into proadjectives and proadverbs in order to deepen knowledge about their use.

Researching Livonian pro-forms using spoken language data from native speakers, therefore, provides an opportunity to study these forms based on the wider context of recorded dialogues with researchers and to compare spoken

language data with the forms in dictionaries in order to spot possible differences, developments, and alternative forms. Livonian is a highly endangered language and it is listed in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Druviete & Kļava 2018: 129). Livonian language knowledge is limited to only a few bi- or trilingual native speakers and mostly L2-speakers, researchers, language teachers. Therefore, it is important to analyse and describe data from native speakers' recordings carefully, as the results may be of benefit to language teaching and revitalisation as well as to L2-speakers and other researchers who may gain new knowledge from this work. In addition, researching Livonian pro-forms also makes it possible to make comparisons with closely related languages like Estonian, South Estonian and Finnish as well as with the closest neighbouring and contact language Latvian and other contact languages such as German, Swedish and Russian. Such comparisons may show how similar the systems of pronouns and proadverbs of these languages are and the extent to which the closest contact languages have influenced the use of Livonian pro-forms. In addition, the results of the study are also important for typological research, as these results can also be used for comparisons with other more distant languages.

1.2. Livonian and its varieties

Livonian is a Uralic language belonging to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric languages. Within the Finnic branch, Livonian belongs to the Southern Finnic subgroup along with North and South Estonian and Votic. Livonian was the second language after South Estonian to split from Late Proto-Finnic, diverging around the second century AD (Kallio 2014: 163–165). The closest related language to Livonian is South Estonian; they share certain lexical and grammatical features still today, e.g., preserving the past tense of the negation verb, see (1):

(1) a. CLiv:
      ta   ***i'z***   *ūo*
      3SG.S   NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG
      's/he was not'

    b. SEst:
      tä   ***es***   *olõq*
      3SG.S   NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG
      's/he was not'

The earliest mention of the Livonians dates to the 12th century. The Livonians are referred to with the Russian ethnonym *Либь* in Nestor's Chronicle *The Tale of Bygone Years* (Boiko 1998: 5, Zemītis 2011: 75). The etymology of this ethnonym is not entirely clear. It has been proposed that it may come from the same stem as Estonian *liiv* 'sand' or might be borrowed from the Proto-Germanic stem **slīwa*

'wet, slimy' or from a proper name. Ethnonyms formed from the same stem have been preserved in German and Latvian: German *Live* and Latvian *lībis* from which Livonian later borrowed its later endonym *lībõ(z)*, nowadays *līvli*. (Grünthal 1997: 250–253, Metsmägi et al. 2012) Earlier endonyms used by Courland Livonians to refer to themselves were *rāndali* 'coastal person', *rānda-kurāli* 'coast Curonian', or *kurāli* 'Curonian' in northern Courland, and also *kalāmīez* 'fisherman' in the northern Courland eastern dialect; these contrasted with the Livonian exonym for Latvians – *mōmīez* 'inland man' (Boiko 1998: 5). Salaca Livonian endonyms have been *līb mīes* 'Livonian man' or *līb raust*, *līb roust* 'Livonian people' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 109).

Early mentions of Livonians can be found in the *Livonian Chronicle of Henry* where the Livonians are referred to as *Lyvonibus* starting from the 1180s, and in the *Older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, which describes the Livonians at the end of the 13th century. Beginning in the 13th century, there are already more historical written sources about the Livonians, such as contracts, documents, etc. (Zemītis 2011: 75)

More information on the specific locations inhabited by the Livonians is known from the end of the 12th century, when there were five historical areas where the Livonians lived: northern Courland, the lower course of the Daugava River (Latv *Daugava*, Liv *Vēna,* Est *Väina,*), the lower course of the Gauja River (Latv *Gauja*, Liv and Est *Koiva*), the Metsepole (Latv *Metsepole,* Liv *Mõtsāpūol,* Est *Metsapoole*) area around present-day Salaca in Latvia and the southern part of Pärnu county in Estonia, and the Idumea[1] (also *Ydumea*) area in central Latvia on the lower course of Brasla river (also *Raupa* or *Ropa*) – an area with mixed Livonian and Latgalian habitation (Zemītis 2011: 75, Tarvel 1982: 69). Daugava, Gauja, Metsepole, and Idumea Livonians are referred to as Livonia Livonians, those in northern Courland as Courland Livonians. Livonian was thus historically spoken mainly in northern Latvia and to some extent also in southwestern Estonia (Sutrop 2011: 113 –115, Laakso 2022: 380–381). In addition to Estonian and Livonian being closely related languages, some specific lexical, phonological, and morphological similarities with Livonian can still be seen especially strongly in southwestern Estonian dialects, such as secondary *a* occurring in non-initial syllables, e.g., CLiv *käbā* and Est southwestern dialects' *käba* 'cone', or similar formation of the partitive forms of personal pronouns, e.g., SLiv *tämd ~ tänd ~ tend* and Est southwestern dialects' *tend ~ tänd* 'him/her' (O'Rourke & Pajusalu 2016: 73, 75). See Figure 1 for the areas historically inhabited by the Livonians at the end of the 12th century.

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[1] The name *Idumea* is borrowed from the old Biblical kingdom name of Edom/Idumea in South Palestine. This name was used in the *Livonian Chronicle of Henry* due to the similarity to the locally used name *Idumā*, likely meaning 'northeast land'. The name of the latter historical Central Latvian region *Vidzeme*, meaning 'mid land' has also been compared to it. (Tarvel 1982: 69)
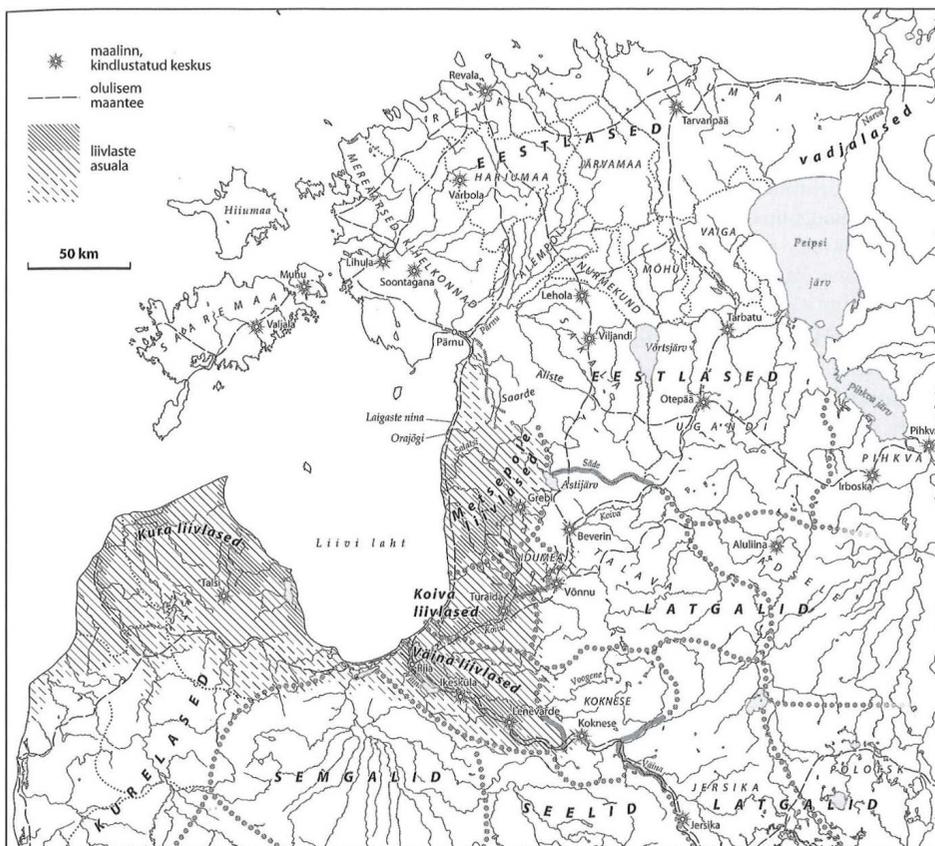
Figure 1. The area historically inhabitated by the Livonians (map by Urmas Sutrop and Raivo Aunap (Sutrop 2011: 115))

Liivlaste asuala – Livonian-inhabited areas, *Kura liivlased* – Courland Livonians, *Väina liivlased* – Daugava Livonians, *Koiva liivlased* – Gauja Livonians, *Idumea* – Idumea, *Metsepole liivlased* – Metsepole Livonians.

It is thought that from the 12th to 13th century, there were approximately 15,000–21,000 Livonians, though this number has even been placed as high as 28,000 (Boiko 1998: 5). Due to Christianisation at that time and assimilation into the surrounding Baltic tribes, the number of Livonians decreased considerably during the next centuries. In the 14th century, the Livonians around Turaida were already partially assimilated. (Zemītis 2011: 103) The Daugava and Gauja Livonians were among the first to assimilate as they were living near the main trade routes (Ernštreits 2013: 13). In 1622, according to the chronicle of Thomas Hiärne, Livonians were living in four areas of the western part of the Latvian Historical Land of Vidzeme: Liepupe, Limbaži, Nabe, and Vainiži. (Boiko 1998: 6) Wars (e.g., the Livonian War 1558–1583, the Polish-Swedish War 1600–1629) and epidemics (especially the plague of 1710) led to most of the Livonia Livonians becoming extinct, with only some of them being left near Salaca and Limbaži in

northern Latvia after the plague of 1710. (Zemītis 2011: 103) These last Livonia Livonians are called the Salaca Livonians. In 1846, there were only 22 speakers of Salaca Livonian left (Sjögren 1849: 468–469).

Courland Livonians were mentioned in historical documents as the *Lyuones* for the first time in 1355–1362 and were described as the inhabitants of a village near Kuldīga. Also, in the 15th century, the Livonians near Grobiņa, Kuldīga, and Kandava were mentioned by Flandrian Guillebert de Lannoy in his travelogue. It is thought that the later coastal northern Courland Livonian villages (see Figure 2) developed from the places where Livonian fishermen lived during the summer. (Boiko 1998: 6) Courland Livonians were not as severely affected as Livonia Livonians by the wars of the 16th to 18th century, because, for the most part, the wars did not reach that deep into Courland (Zemītis 2011: 103). However, as the area inhabited by the inland Latvians expanded, the Courland Livonians moved increasingly closer to the coastal areas which were separated from the inland by forests and swamps. This is also the reason why Courland Livonian was preserved there for so long compared to the other Livonian varieties, as its speakers were quite separated from the inland Latvians. The Courland Livonians had more contacts by sea with Saaremaa Island in Estonia (Zemītis 2011: 103). In the middle of the 19th century, there were 14 Livonian fishing villages along the coast of northern Courland starting from Paṭīkmõ (Latv *Oviši*) in the west to Gipkõ (Latv *Ģipka*) in the east (see Figure 2). The villages in between were Lūž (Latv *Lūžņa*), Pizā (Latv *Miķeļtorni*s), Īra (Latv *Lielirbe*), Ūžkilā (Latv *Jaunciems*), Sīkrõg (Latv *Sīkrags*), Irē (Latv *Mazirbe*), Kuoštrõg (Latv *Košrags*), Pitrõg (Latv *Pitrags*), Sānag (Latv *Saunags*), Vaid (Latv *Vaide*), Kūolka (Latv *Kolka*), and Mustānum (Latv *Melnsils*) – with a total of 2324 Courland Livonian speakers (Sjögren 1853: 270). Mägkilā (Latv *Uši*) and Ōst (Latv *Aizklāņi*) have also been referred to as Livonian villages in some sources (see Figure 2), but there is no exact information on how late Courland Livonian was still spoken there, thus, these villages do not always appear in the list of the traditional Livonian coastal villages.

Thus, the Livonian of the past few centuries can linguistically and areally be divided into two varieties: Courland Livonian (CLiv *Kurāmō līvõ kēļ*, Est *Kuramaa liivi keel*, Fin *Kuurinmaan liivi*, Latv *Kurzemes lībiešu valoda*) – in the coastal area of northwestern Latvia – and Salaca Livonian (CLiv *Salāts līvõ kēļ*, Est *salatsiliivi keel*, Fin *Salatsin liivi*, Latv *Salacas lībiešu valoda*) – in northern Latvia (Pajusalu 2014: 150). At the time of Sjögren's research expedition to the Salaca Livonians in 1846, there were supposedly only 22 mostly elderly speakers of Salaca Livonian left, when Wiedemann continued Sjögren's work, this number had decreased to eight (Sjögren 1849: 468–469, Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: II, IX). More precise data about Sjögren's informants is listed in the book by Winkler about Sjögren's Salaca Livonian expedition and other early Salaca Livonian sources (Winkler 2019). It is thought that one of the last speakers of Salaca Livonian – Gusts Bis(e)nieks (written as Bishtneek by Sjögren) – died in 1868 (Rudzīte & Karma 1975: 354, Pajusalu & Winkler 2011: 76); however, there are also mentions of possible latter Salaca Livonian speakers at the end of the 19th

and beginning of the 20th century (Rudzīte & Karma 1975: 356). One of the main reasons why Salaca Livonian started to become extinct during the 19th century was that the area was Latvianised at the beginning of the 19th century and Salaca Livonians were sent to live next to Latvian families. As a result, the Salaca Livonians quickly assimilated (Jannau 1828: 154).
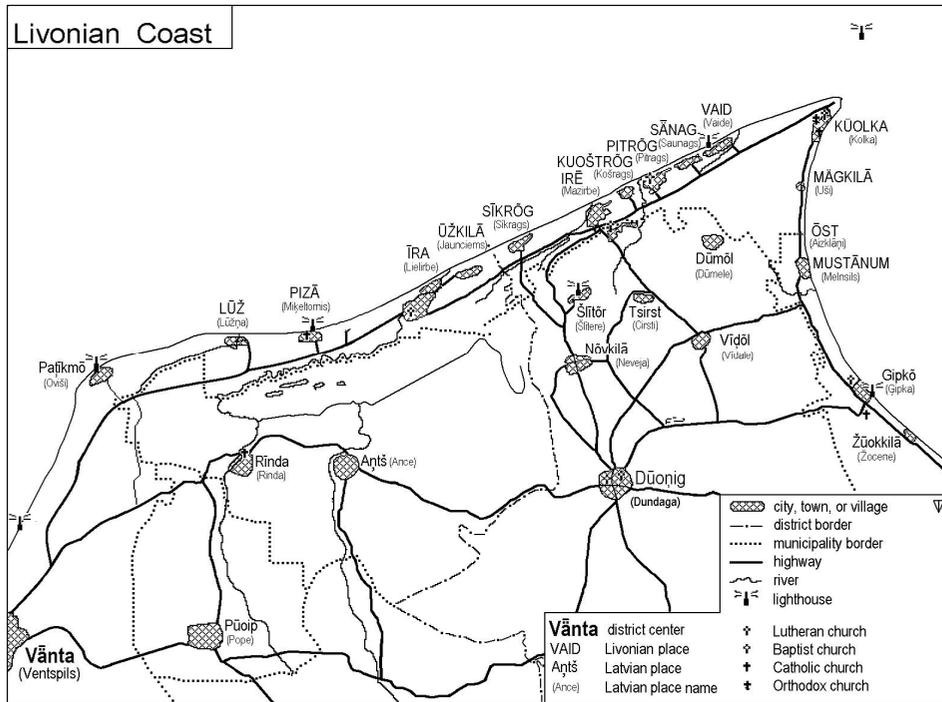
Figure 2. Courland Livonian coastal villages (map by Tiit-Rein Viitso)

At the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th century, Courland Livonian speakers were left in only 12 coastal villages, from Lūž to Mustānum (Ernštreits 2013: 14). These 12 Courland Livonian villages are divided into the eastern, western, and sometimes also mid dialect areas. The villages of Ūžkilā, Sīkrõg, Irē, Kuoštrõg, Pitrõg, Sānag, Vaid, Kūolka, and Mustānum are in the eastern dialect area, and the villages of Lūž and Pizā belong to the western dialect area (Wiedemann & Sjögren 1861a: C). The village of Īra is located between the eastern and western villages and is often considered to have a separate mid dialect of its own, showing some eastern, but mostly western dialect features (Kettunen 1938: VIII, Boiko 1998: 9). Some researchers, however, also consider the dialect of Īra to be a part of the western dialect (e.g., Viitso 2008: 232), as Īra has most of the western dialect features with a couple of eastern dialect innovations. However, classifying it as a mid dialect is more common (Ernštreits 2013: 16) and, therefore, this classi- fication is also used in the current thesis. The Courland Livonian western dialect is also said to have more features in common with Salaca Livonian than the

eastern dialect has, as historically some of the Salaca Livonians were likely sent to live in the western dialect area (Kettunen 1938: VIII).

Some of the most distinctive features between the western and the eastern dialect are, e.g., that the eastern non-initial syllable *u* has changed into *õ* (e.g., eastern *kāndõd* ~ western *kāndud* 'stumps') and the western long *ā* is not labialised as in the eastern dialect (e.g., eastern *mǭ* ~ western *mā* 'land') (Viitso 2011: 215). The differences are, thus, more morphophonological than lexical.

The world wars during the 20th century influenced the number of Courland Livonians a great deal: according to the 1920 census, the Courland Livonians numbered only 831, although the Finnish linguist Lauri Kettunen, who made several expeditions to the Livonians in 1920s, thought the number of Livonian speakers to be as high as 1500. During World War I, the Livonians were forced to flee to inland Latvia, Estonia, and Russia and some Livonians did not return to the coastal area after the war and assimilated into other ethnicities. In 1925, the number of Livonians had already risen to 1238, as more Livonians had returned to Latvia after the war and knowledge of their ethnic identity had also increased. However, by the 1930s, the number of Livonians was once again decreasing: in 1930, there were 962 Livonians, in 1935, there were 944, with seven percent of Livonians living in areas of Latvia other than the Courland Livonian coastal villages. (Blumberga 2011: 136–137)

Due to the events of World War I and the Livonians being forced to flee and live in a foreign environment, the younger generation did not acquire Livonian as strongly and as a result only about one-quarter of Livonian speakers spoke Livonian at home (Blumberga 2011: 137). After World War II and the changes it brought – such as people fleeing during the war and the Republic of Latvia becoming the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940 – the number of Livonian speakers decreased again, leaving no more than 500 or 600 Livonian speakers in Latvia. In 1950, the USSR closed the coastal border to its citizens which ended the opportunity for the Livonians to practise their traditional way of life by fishing. This caused many Livonians to migrate to other parts of Latvia, in order to make a living doing something else. After this, the Courland Livonian coastal area was no longer an area compactly inhabited by Livonians. (Ernštreits 2013: 14)

As there were already fewer Livonian speakers left after World War II, passing on the language to the next generations was not as common anymore. Latvian was mostly used in everyday life, at work, and at school, especially considering the political situation of the USSR and the suppression of the national identity of minor nations to avoid uprisings against the new political system. Until the 1970s, however, the number of Livonian speakers remained quite stable, but then started decreasing rapidly, as the older generation of speakers aged and died, and there were not as many new younger speakers anymore. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were only about 30 native speakers of Livonian left, all of whom were elderly. The last good native speakers died in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s. These included, for example, Poulīn Kļaviņa in 2001, Viktor Berthold in 2009, Erna Vanaga in 2010, and Grizelda Kristiņ in 2013; Kristiņ had fled to Sweden during World War II and afterwards migrated to Canada. (Ernštreits 2013: 14)

As Livonian was not an official language of public institutions or schools, most Livonians had been bilingual at least since World War I, also speaking Latvian – at the latest – when going to school (Ernštreits 2013: 14). This has also been one of the main reasons for the Livonians assimilating quickly into the Latvians during the 20th century. However, there was considerable activity in Livonian cultural and social movements between the world wars, such as the establishment of the Livonian Union (*Līvõd Īt*) – a Livonian community organisation – on 2 April 1923 in Irē (Mazirbe), the publication of the Livonian newspaper *Līvli* between 1931 and 1939, and the construction of the Livonian Community House which opened on 6 August 1939 in Irē (see Blumberga 2021). The process of assimilation into the Latvians was, however, quick in the second half of the 20th century due to political and social reasons.

During the Soviet period, a new Livonian cultural awakening began during the 1970s, when several Livonian choral ensembles were established, which were active in preserving the Livonian language, culture, and traditions. In the 1990s, this movement became especially active during the Latvian national awakening and following the reestablishment of Latvia's independence. (Ernštreits 2013: 15) Many new study materials and dictionaries were published during and after the 1990s, e.g., *Latviešu-lībiešu sarunvārdnīca. Leţkīel-līvõkīel rõksõnarāntõz* (*Latvian-Livonian Phrasebook*) by Valda Šuvcāne and Elfrīda Žagare in 1991, *Līvõkīel-leţkīel-līvõkīel sõnārōntõz. Lībiešu-latviešu-lībiešu vārdnīca* (*Livonian-Latvian-Livonian Dictionary*) by Valts Ernštreits in 1999 (Ernštreits 1999), and *Līvõ kēļ. Piški optõbrōntõz. Lībiešu valoda. Mazā mācību grāmata* (*The Livonian language. A small textbook*) by Kersti Boiko soon after (Boiko 2000). In 2012, the large trilingual Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary *Līvõkīel-ēstikīel-leţkīel sõnārōntõz. Liivi-eesti-läti sõnaraamat. Lībiešu-igauņu-latviešu vārdnīca* (*Livonian-Estonian-Latvian Dictionary*) by Tiit-Rein Viitso and Valts Ernštreits was published. This is the most important recently published dictionary of Livonian. In addition, since the 1990s there have been several poetry books published in both Courland and Salaca Livonian (see Ernštreits et al. 2022).

The Livonians are acknowledged in the preamble of the Constitution (*Satversme*) of the Republic of Latvia (Blumberga 2011: 146) and their identity and cultural-historical environment is protected by several laws.

Currently, the revitalisation of the Livonian language, culture, traditions, and community continues, especially through organisations such as the University of Latvia Livonian Institute (founded in 2018), the Livonian Union, the Society of Livonian Friends (Blumberga 2011: 149, 153). There are also several Livonian choral ensembles currently in Latvia, the annual *Mierlinkizt* (*Sea Birds*) Livonian language and culture children's summer school, and the Livonian Summer University, which is held every four years for university students. The University of Latvia Livonian Institute is the first Livonian scientific institution in the world focusing on research into Livonian language, culture, and heritage (Livones.net). Many different technological resources have been developed for the purpose of revitalising Livonian and making Livonian language sources more available; these include lexical and morphological databases, a Livonian text corpus, a

geospatially linked place name database, and Livonian machine translation in progress (see Ernštreits et al. 2022).

1.3. Structure of the thesis

This doctoral thesis consists of six chapters, of which Chapter 1 is an introduction of the study and the topic, Chapter 2 introduces the research objects and their earlier research in more detail, and Chapter 3 is focused on theoretical notions. Chapters 4–5 are empirical analysis chapters of the researched data, and in Chapter 6, the conclusions of the study are given. The more precise description of each chapter is given below.

The present chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the topic of pro-forms and main goals of the study; gives an overview of Livonian language, its speakers and varieties through the history; presents the overall structure of the thesis; provides a more detailed overview of the used data and the principles in choosing the native speakers and recordings; describes the research methods of the study and presents the earlier sources and the most important studies on pro-forms in both Livonian and Finnic languages, focusing separately on the scientific dictionaries and grammars where Livonian pro-forms have been described. At the end of the chapter, a brief overview of the typological profile of Livonian is given to introduce the reader to the main features of the language.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction on the historical development of the pro-forms in Livonian, comparing it to the more closely related Finnic languages, such as Votic, Estonian and Võro (South Estonian). A more detailed overview of the pro-forms in the before-mentioned Courland Livonian and Salaca Livonian grammars and dictionaries follows where the pro-forms occurring in these sources are looked at in the subchapters of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative proadjectives and demonstrative proadverbs. Also, the earlier descriptions on the use of these pro-forms are mentioned, where possible. The pro-forms of Courland and Salaca Livonian are summarised in comparative tables.

Chapter 3 is focused on the main theoretical approach to pro-forms which is the phenomenon of deixis through which the use and the meanings of the pro-forms can be identified and explained. In this chapter, the theoretical concept of the deixis is explained and thereafter the different types of deixis are described – both the main types of deixis, such as personal, spatial and temporal deixis, but also the more specific types, such as manner, quality and degree deixis; discourse deixis; social deixis and affective deixis. Thereafter also a general overview of the grammatical groups of the pro-forms follows, focusing on the definitions and qualities of the personal and demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative proadjectives and demonstrative proadverbs. This is followed by an overview of anaphora and nominal determination which are important uses of the pro-forms, additionally describing also pro-forms marking definiteness, becoming definite articles, and being used as placeholders.

Chapter 4 consists of the analysis focusing on morphosyntactic use of the pro-forms based on the data from Courland Livonian spoken language recordings. The chapter is divided into the four sections of 1) personal and demonstrative pronouns, 2) demonstrative proadjectives, 3) demonstrative proadverbs, and 4) the summary of the results and main tendencies. Personal and demonstrative pronouns are looked at together in one section as the 3rd person singular pronoun *tämā* 's/he' can act also as a proximal demonstrative 'this' in temporal expressions and the 3rd person plural pronoun *ne* 'they' is homonymous with the demonstrative pronoun *se* plural form *ne* 'these'. The 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns are also analysed in adnominal and nominal subchapters according to their use in the examples.

Chapter 5 is focused on analysing and describing both the semantic references and pragmatic functions that the pro-forms have in the spoken language data. The pro-forms were divided into four subsections according to their semantic closeness: 1) 1st and 2nd persons, 2) 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns, 3) demonstrative proadjectives, and 4) demonstrative proadverbs. Again, 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative proadjectives are analysed in different subchapters according to if they occur nominally or adnominally in the data. Analysing the semantic-pragmatic use of the pro-forms yields more information on their acutal meanings and reflects their use in spoken language: e.g., to which different entities or speech-act and non-speech act participants can the personal pronouns refer to; to which kind of animate and inanimate, abstract or non-abstract entities can the 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns refer to; which pronouns are used for lastly-mentioned entity or in logophoric use; are the long forms phonetically stressed in the data more often than the short forms; which different pragmatic functions occur in the use of pro-forms (e.g., exophoric, anaphoric, correlative, generic, recognitional, introductive use, use as a discourse particle) and which examples of place holding, repetitions or self-repairs occur in the data.

Chapter 6 of conclusions is summarising the chapters of the thesis and is providing an overview of the main results and findings of the analysis chapters, answering to the research questions posed in the first chapter and is discussing the main tendencies of the results and possible future resarch on the topic. This is followed by a summary of the thesis in Estonian.

At the end of the thesis, there is an **Appendix** with tables summarising all of the inflectional forms of Courland Livonian pro-forms that appeared in the spoken language data.

1.4. Data

The data used for the empirical analysis are the recordings of Livonian native speakers stored at the *University of Tartu Archive of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages* (AEDKL), which is accessible online and free to use for research purposes. Registered users can access all of the data stored in the archive while

unregistered users can access only some of it. The archive currently contains 400 recordings of Livonian by both native and second language speakers. In addition to recordings of semi-structured interviews with native speakers, these 400 recordings also include narratives, phonetic experiments and examples, readings, performances of poems/songs, etc. by the speakers. This dissertation used only semi-structured spoken language data from Livonian native speakers where the researcher(s) and a native speaker are having a conversation in Livonian with questions which are to some extent planned by the interviewer(s). A semi-structured interview is defined as a verbal interchange where one person attempts elicit information from the other one, but in addition to prepared questions, the interview can turn out to unfold in a conversational manner, giving the participants the chance to pursue topics they feel are important (see Longhurst 2009). The recordings used are fieldwork interviews, which makes them to some extent always semi-structured, as the researchers have planned or are planning at least some content of the interview ahead, although they also have spontaneous questions, comments, and reactions arising throughout the recording.

In addition to the question of genre, there is also the question of spontaneous vs. controlled speech in different registers, e.g., is a speaker talking to the interviewer(s) the same way s/he would talk, for example, to a neighbour (see Rozhanskiy 2021: 16). This also varies among the recordings used: for the most part, the native speakers are familiar with the researcher(s) and the researchers have a long history of visiting them and communicating with them for years, so they know each other well and could be considered friends or close acquaintances. However, there are some recordings where some of the interviewers and native speakers have only recently met. In addition, the role of an interviewer also affects the situation as it gives the interviewer a role of authority to expect answers to the questions. However, in the semi-structured spoken language recordings, questioning may be also followed by narrating, comments, and reactions, so the role of authority may also not be permanent throughout the recording. Thus, the recordings used cannot be classified as entirely spontaneous or entirely controlled language, but rather as a mix of the two.

Another problem with data in a severely endangered language is whether the results can be generisable as the data are limited and also whether the data are valid for drawing conclusions regarding the use of a particular language as the last native speakers do not represent a typical language environment (Kehayov 2017: 1). This is a problem, which inevitably accompanies research into severely endangered languages. Thus, data were chosen from those native speakers who learned Courland Livonian as their first language, used it for communicating with their family and friends, still used the language during the period when the recordings were made, and identified themselves as Livonians. A shortcoming of this thesis can be that the number of such native speakers and the amount of data used for this thesis is rather small – and as a result some expected forms may be missing; however, the main goal in collecting the data was to prefer data representing authentic language use rather than focusing on the quantity of the data selected. In addition, research of the missing or rare forms can be conducted in

the future with the expansion of the Courland Livonian spoken language corpus and by focusing on finding these forms and similar phenomena.

The choice to use recordings of semi-structured interviews was made, because this genre shows the natural use of pro-forms in spoken language by native speakers; as there were only few native speakers of Courland Livonian left during the times these recordings were made, such data are valuable. As, however, the researchers' language can influence the language choices of the native speakers in utterances that follow, immediate repetitions of the same pro-forms that the researcher has just used are excluded from the data so that the examples of the pro-forms are as natural as possible. Also, the examples that are unclear or inaudible (e.g., when the researcher and the native speaker are talking at the same time or when the word is uttered too quietly or unclearly) are not included in the analysed pro-forms' data to avoid possible misinterpretation.

The research data consist of the spoken semi-structured language recordings of six Livonian native speakers (three female and three male) that were chosen from the archive, the speakers are among the last good native speakers of Courland Livonian. I have compiled two corpora of the recordings with the chosen speakers. The first corpus is the main corpus containing the transcription of the entire content of the recordings. 17 recordings were transcribed for this corpus – altogether 7 hours, 13 minutes, and 4 seconds of data; thus, there is approximately one hour of transcribed material with each chosen native speaker. An important aspect of this corpus is that the entire content of the recordings is transcribed, which gives additional context around the examples of pro-forms and makes it possible to understand their use and analyse their semantic functions more precisely. A list of the recordings used in the main corpus is given at the end of the dissertation (see the List of Data Sources).

The second corpus is the expanded corpus. Only rarely occurring forms that had only one example or no examples at all in the main corpus were transcribed with their surrounding context in this corpus. The expanded corpus consists of all the other semi-structured language recordings with suitable audio quality by the same six speakers from the AEDKL dating to the period from 1986 to 2012; altogether 156 recordings. The total length of these recordings is 66 hours, 41 minutes, and 54 seconds. The expanded corpus is important for describing and documenting as many different forms of Courland Livonian pronouns and proadverbs as possible based on the current data for a wider overview of spoken language material. This is also necessary in order to have sufficient material for analysing the rarely occurring forms (e.g., local case forms of personal pronouns) and pro-forms that occur only rarely in the main corpus. The two corpora are distinguished in the dissertation as the main corpus and the expanded corpus. The number and length of the recordings vary much more in the expanded corpus, as for some native speakers there are up to 40 semi-structured language recordings and for other speakers fewer than ten recordings in the archive. Thus, the material of the expanded corpus is used as a supplement to the main corpus, as the searched forms, number and length of the recordings in the expanded corpus vary more than those in the main corpus, which is balanced according to the length of

the recordings. The list of the recordings that are used in the expanded corpus can also be found at the end of the thesis.

Compiling and transcribing the corpus of spoken Courland Livonian recordings is an important contribution for both this thesis and for research of Courland Livonian, as thus far only a couple of the recordings from the AEDKL have been transcribed and annotated for the *University of Tartu Corpus of Estonian Dialects* (*Tartu Ülikooli Murdekorpus*) and most of the other Livonian corpora have been thus far based on written texts or transcripts of oral texts, which may have been edited.

The main principle for choosing the recordings for the corpus was that their audio quality be at a suitable level throughout the recording for understanding and transcribing the text. Therefore, the recordings with the selected speakers are mostly among the newest ones in the archive, dating to 1986–2012, as the earlier recordings in the archive from the 1960s and 1970s generally do not have sufficiently good sound quality to make transcription possible. The second principle for selecting recordings was that Livonian be the speaker's first native language. After taking these principles into account, the recordings of the main corpus were otherwise chosen randomly.

The chosen recordings are from 1986–2012 and the speakers' age at the time of recording was between 65 and 102. Five out of six speakers spoke the Livonian eastern dialect, on which the Livonian literary language is also based. One speaker spoke the mid dialect, although in 1952 she moved to Kūolka, which is located in the eastern dialect area (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02). The recordings of mid and western dialect speakers are among the rarer ones in AEDKL. In addition to the recordings of one mid dialect speaker, there is only one recording of a western dialect speaker; the sound quality of that recording, however, made it unsuitable for accurate transcription and, therefore, it was not included in the data. Table 2 summarises the background data on the speakers.

Table 2. Background data on the selected native speakers.

Sp. no.	Gender	Year of birth	Dialect	Place of birth	Main place(s) of residence	Year(s) of recording(s)
1	female	1903	mid	Īra	Kūolka (Latvia)	1986, 1987
2	female	1918	eastern	Vaid	Vaid and Riga (Latvia)	1986, 1997, 2000
3	female	1910	eastern	Vaid	Campbellville and Saulaine (Canada)	2010, 2012
4	male	1909	eastern	Sīkrõg	Ādaži (Latvia)	1986
5	male	1910	eastern	Vaid	Vaid (Latvia)	1986
6	male	1921	eastern	Vaid	Kūolka (Latvia)	1986, 2000, 2004, 2005

The recordings used are made by researchers of Livonian from the University of Tartu, Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling, Valts Ernštreits, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus, and Tuuli Tuisk (listed chronologically in the order of appearance on the recordings). I have transcribed the text of the recordings, using the modern orthography of Livonian and conversational transcription symbols adapted by University of Tartu Laboratory of Spoken and Computer Mediated Communication, originally taken into use by American scholar Gail Jefferson (see Eesti Keeleressursside Keskus 2020, Hepburn & Bolden 2013) to mark intonation, stress, unfinished words, pauses, laughter, background sounds, and other important details needed for interpreting the text in the recordings (conversational transcription symbols are listed at the beginning of the thesis).

As the current thesis is also focused on showing the different long and short forms of pro-forms, throughout the thesis the long and short pro-forms are distinguished also within glossed examples, where the abbreviation L stands for the long form and the abbreviation S stands for the short form. The forms with the interior local case endings are also divided accordingly, considering the longer form ending with -õ as the long form and the form without õ as the short form (e.g., the long inessive form *sīesõ* and the short inessive form *sīes* 'in this' of the demonstrative pronoun *se*). The glossing abbreviations are also listed at the beginning of the thesis.

The titles of the subsections on a certain pro-form are named after the most subsequently occurring nominative forms that appear more than once in the data. For example, the subsections on the 3rd person singular pronoun are titled as *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* based on which forms appeared in the data subsequently.

1.5. Methods

The analysis portion of the thesis is divided into two parts: morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic analysis. Morphosyntactic use of pronouns and proadverbs is analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods, examining in which morphological forms and syntactic positions pronouns and proadverbs are used in the recordings and how often certain forms occur and what may be the cause of it. The qualitative and quantitative analysis are both important for comparing the occurrences of long and short forms of the pro-forms and to be able to state which forms are more common or occur more often in a certain context. The main morphosyntactic functions of these pronouns are also described, e.g., can a certain pro-form occur as an attribute or as a determiner, which pro-forms occur more often in a particular morphosyntactic context, etc. In addition, I compare the spoken language data forms with pro-forms listed in earlier grammars and dictionaries in order to identify the similarities and differences between the inflectional forms in the data and in earlier Courland Livonian dictionaries and grammars.

For the semantic-pragmatic analysis, I use the qualitative text analysis method for studying the pragmatic meanings in more detail. The qualitative text analysis method takes into account the references made with pro-forms and the context of

previous and subsequent text in the dialogue before or after a certain reference, while also considering word stress, pauses, self-repairs for describing the pragmatic function of the pro-form in a particular context, e.g., its use as a narrative connector or as a discourse particle depending on the text. Based on this method, different semantic meanings and referent types as well as pragmatic functions that pronouns and proadverbs have in the text are presented again both qualitatively and quantitatively, showing which semantic or pragmatic functions are most frequently used in the data. The quantitative analysis portion focuses on the number of examples and which tendencies are shown in the data by this, i.e., which forms are more or less preferred according to the data and what may cause this.

1.6. Earlier studies on pro-forms in Livonian and other Finnic languages

Finnic pro-forms have been studied more in more largely spoken languages like Finnish and Estonian than in minorly spoken languages like Livonian and Votic. To summarise the research on pro-forms in both Livonian and the Finnic languages in general, I present an overview of previous studies and articles about deictic words in the Finnic languages. Firstly, I will focus on the studies only about Livonian, the descriptions of the main studies on other Finnic languages follow.

The main scientific sources on Livonian pro-forms have this far been grammars and dictionaries, which as a separate type of sources, differentiating from the empiric studies and articles, are described more in detail in Section 1.7. The empiric research of Livonian pro-forms has recently grown and several new articles specifically about Livonian pro-forms have been written. The present author has published three articles focusing on different groups of Courland Livonian pro-forms. In the article on Courland Livonian proadjectives (Tomingas 2018), it is examined in which syntactic positions and morphological forms do proadjectives occur in the example sentences and what are their main functions (e.g., physical pointing, referring to a preceding or subsequent part of the text, referring to well-known or general types of qualities). There is also an article about frequently used discourse particles in Courland Livonian (Tomingas 2022a), where the proadverbs *si'z* 'then' and *ne'i* 'so' grammaticalized into discourse particles are discussed. The third article is about the inflectional forms of 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns in spoken Courland Livonian language, analysing the diversity of the forms and the main tendencies in their use (Tomingas 2022b). In addition, Rogier Blokland has looked at obsolete tensed negative pronoun construction in 19th century Livonian (2022) and Milda Dailidėnaitė has researched the use of pronouns with the jussive mood (2022).

Among the earlier and more general studies on Finnic pro-forms, there is Heikki Ojansuu's study *Itämerensuomalaisten kielten pronominioppia* (Ojansuu

1922), which is focused on explaining the derivational units of different types of Finnic pronouns and their development and meanings. In the second part of the study, Ojansuu focuses on their declension. Also the derivational units of Livonian pro-forms are mentioned throughout the study (e.g., Ojansuu 1922: 78, 81), but there is no separate section dedicated only to Southern Finnic or Livonian pro-forms. Ojansuu's study is the first to examine all Finnic pronouns and gives a good overview of the historical development and components of Finnic pronouns.

One of the largest and the most diverse works on Finnic demonstratives was written by Matti Larjavaara. His dissertation *Itämerensuomen demonstratiivit* (*Finnic demonstratives*) presents the etymology, morphology, and semantics of Finnic demonstratives with the primary focus on the Eastern Finnic languages – Veps, Karelian, and Ludic (Larjavaara 1986). In addition, Larjavaara also briefly describes the deictic systems of other Finnic languages and some of their deictic words in more detail in the theoretical overview. He also mentions Livonian as an example of a demonstrative pronoun system mostly using only one main demonstrative pronoun se or sie, as use of the other demonstrative pronoun tūo had diminished (Larjavaara 1986: 36–37). In addition to demonstrative pronouns, Larjavaara also analyses other word groups from the same demonstrative stems: demonstrative proadjectives and proadverbs. Thus, his dissertation is the most comprehensive work analysing and comparing different Eastern Finnic demonstratives. For the data, the author has gone through about 10,000 pages of material from different Eastern Finnic text and narrative collections (Larjavaara 1986: 11–12). In addition to his dissertation on Finnic demonstratives, Larjavaara has also written the overview book *Suomen deiksis* (*Finnish deixis*) where he explains the deictic system of the Finnish literary language (Larjavaara 1990).

Ritva Laury has extensively researched the use of Finnish demonstratives, focusing on their use in spoken spontaneous conversation. Laury has published several studies on Finnish demonstratives, analysing the local case and locative forms of Finnish demonstratives in spoken discourse (Laury 1996a), the use and meanings of Finnish demonstratives in conversation (Laury 1996b, 2005), and the article-like use of the Finnish demonstrative se (Laury 1996c, 1997). In addition, Eva-Leena Seppänen and Marja Etelämäki wrote their doctoral theses about Finnish demonstratives. Seppänen focused on how demonstratives and 3rd person pronoun are used for referring to co-participants in conversations (Seppänen 1998) and Etelämäki studied how the Finnish demonstrative pronoun *tämä* 'this' has acquired multiple meanings in conversational use (Etelämäki 2006). Both continued their work on Finnish demonstratives in practical use in other articles, see e.g., Seppänen 2001, 2003, 2005, Etelämäki 2009.

Katri Priiki has researched Finnish demonstrative pronouns and the 3rd person singular pronoun *hän* in conversations as well as how these pronouns are used for referring to different people. Her doctoral dissertation on this topic was published in 2017. Priiki has continued studying the Finnish demonstrative pronoun *tuo* 'that' and its development into a particle. The Finnish 3rd person singular pronoun *hän* 's/he' in Standard Finnish, regional dialects, and folktales has been studied by Lea Laitinen (2005). There are also longer studies about other personal pronouns

in Finnish, e.g., Liisa Raevaara's article on the use of the 1st person singular pronoun *minä* 'I' by young people in Helsinki (Raevaara 2015) and Karita Suomalainen's doctoral thesis about the use and variation of the 2nd person singular pronoun *sinä* 'you' in Finnish (Suomalainen 2020).

The most comprehensive work on the use and meanings of Estonian deictic words is Renate Pajusalu's doctoral thesis *Deiktikud eesti keeles* (*Deictics in Estonian*) (Pajusalu 1999). In her thesis, Pajusalu explains the deictic system and the pragmatic use of Estonian personal and demonstrative pronouns, and deictic temporal adverbs, focusing mostly on the functional use of pronouns in the dissertation's six articles. In addition to analysing the deictic system of the Estonian common language, Pajusalu has also examined the use of deictics in Estonian varieties: in the colloquial language, and in North and South Estonian. She has also compared the Estonian systems with those of the closely located Finnish language and also of Russian, to spot similarities and differences in their use of deictic words. In addition to written standard language data, Pajusalu has also used recorded interviews and conversations as research data in her dissertation. She has continued researching demonstratives and personal pronouns in both Estonian and Võro, see, e.g., Pajusalu 2005, 2009, 2015. In addition, she has introduced and compared the background of the demonstrative and 3rd person singular pronouns of Livonian and other Finnic languages in some of her articles (see Pajusalu 2006, 2015).

Maria Reile has studied Estonian demonstrative pronouns and proadverbs in exophoric use (pointing to entities in physical surroundings) as well as on what factors the use of demonstratives may depend (e.g., the object's distance from the speaker, the visibility of the object, the contrastiveness of the situation, etc.). In her dissertation on the same topic (Reile 2019), Reile conducted three experiments with Estonian informants and in one of these she also included Finnish and Russian speakers, to compare the Estonian results with these languages. Reile has also continued researching the use of Estonian and Võro demonstratives and has published further articles on the use of demonstratives referring to space, see Plado & Reile 2020, Reile et al. 2020. Additionally, Liina Tammekänd has researched the use of demonstrative pronouns and the demonstrative system in Estonian and Võro based on spoken narratives from bilingual speakers (Tammekänd 2015). Her article shows that the Võro system, which uses three different demonstrative pronouns, is starting to simplify and that speakers are now mostly using only two demonstrative pronouns (Tammekänd 2015: 214).

Helen Hint analysed the Estonian referential system in her dissertation published in 2021. Her analysis is based on both spoken narratives and written corpus data. Hint analyses zero-reference, determiners, pronouns and demonstratives used for reference and the factors that may influence the choice of a reference device in discourse. The articles of the dissertation compare and analyse the 3rd person singular pronoun *ta* and zero-reference, demonstrative pronouns and proadverbs as determiners in a noun phrase, and pronouns and full noun phrases. In addition, in some articles she compares the tendencies of the Estonian referential system with those of Finnish and Russian. According to Hint's data and articles,

zero-reference is mostly used in Estonian in main clauses and for nominative subjects; the use of *ta* is, however, not that restricted, and it appears in different cases, as a subject and non-subject and also in subordinate clauses. Hint also describes that the choice of pronouns in Estonian is influenced by many different grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic factors: e.g., the number of referents in a clause, the number of times the referent has been mentioned, and referential distance in the discourse. For example, demonstrative pronouns in Estonian are mostly referring to inanimate entities for the second and later mentions of the entity. Demonstrative adverbs are the most rarely used referential devices in Estonian as they are more specifically connected to expressing spatial meanings. Hint also studies the determiner constructions of demonstrative adverbs where proadverbial determiners like *siin* 'here' or *seal* 'there' appear alongside a noun in a local interior case, e.g., *siin koolis* 'in this school (literally: here in school)', comparing these to the determiner constructions of demonstrative pronouns like *see* 'this' and *too* 'that', e.g., *selles koolis* 'in this school', and how they differ. It appeared that the choice of a demonstrative determiner depends on the semantic factors of the following substantive – a demonstrative adverb is more frequently used with substantives referring to a place or, if that is not the case, the level of concreteness of the substantive can be a deciding factor. The comparison with the contact languages – Finnish and Russian – shows that the choice of a determiner is influenced in Estonian more by pragmatic factors, but in Finnish instead by grammatical factors. The choice of pronouns in Estonian is again more affected by grammatical factors, while in Finnish and Russian grammatical and pragmatic factors are both equally important. The balance of personal pronouns and zero-reference was, however, similar in all three languages. The Estonian data showed the largest number of phrases with determiners while in the Russian data these appeared only rarely; also, the Finnish data showed fewer determiners than in Estonian. (Hint 2021: 113–122)

There are also several University of Tartu master's theses written about Estonian and Finnic demonstrative pronouns and/or personal pronouns, e.g., Raili Pool's thesis about the different forms of Estonian 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns (1999), Mari-Epp Tirkkonen's thesis about demonstrative pronouns and 3rd person pronouns in Estonian coastal and northerneastern dialects (2006), Agu Bleive's thesis about the same pronouns in the areal-typological context of the Finnic and Permic languages (2016). In his thesis, Bleive also briefly describes demonstrative pronouns and 3rd person pronouns in Livonian and compares these with the pronouns in other Finnic languages.

In addition to the research on demonstrative pronouns and personal pronouns, the amount of research on other pro-forms like proadverbs and proadjectives has also been increasing in the past years. Ann Veismann has written her bachelor's thesis about lexical temporal deixis in Estonian (Veismann 1997). Leelo Keevallik has studied the Estonian demonstrative proadverb *nii* 'in this way' in interaction (Keevallik 2005). The present author's master's thesis (2017) is about proadjectives in Finnic languages, the forms and main meanings of Courland Livonian proadjectives are also analysed in the thesis. The master's thesis is focused on the

structure, variation, and meanings of proadjectives in Finnic languages based on example sentences from the dictionaries and text collections. Denys Teptiuk has researched manner deictics as a source for new quotative strategies for a part of his doctoral thesis (Teptiuk 2019). He has published several articles on manner deictics in quotatives in Finno-Ugric languages, focusing also on Estonian and Finnish manner deictics and their use (see Teptiuk 2020).

There has also been recent research on the deictic words of other smaller Finnic languages. Tatjana Agranat has studied the grammaticalisation of the Votic demonstrative pronoun *se* 'this' and its use as an article (Agranat 2015). In addition, Rogier Blokland has looked at the borrowing of personal pronouns in Votic in his article about the borrowability of pronouns in Uralic (Blokland 2012). Anna Schwarz & Fedor Rozhanskiy (Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022) also authored a paper on the pronominal system of Soikkola Ingrian, which focuses on personal, demonstrative, reflexive, and reciprocal pronouns and their variation. The authors also compare fieldwork data from the 21st century with earlier grammar sources from the 19th and 20th century to determine the extent to which the pronominal system of Soikkola Ingrian has changed. It appears that there have been a couple of innovations, but mostly the pronominal system has not significantly changed.

One of the largest and most recent works on Finnic demonstratives is Chingduang Yurayong's doctoral thesis Postposed demonstratives in Finnic and North Russian dialects where he studies the development, functional use, and substratum of demonstrative pronouns in thirteen Finnic and two North Russian varieties (Yurayong 2020). In addition to examining other Finnic languages, Yurayong also analyses Livonian demonstrative pronouns, which mostly appear in preposed use, although there are also some examples of postposed use (Yurayong 2020: 135).

The growing number of theses and articles on Finnic deictic words in the past years shows that interest in this topic is growing and that different studies make it easier to compare the use and functions of different Finnic deictic words with each other as well as with those found in other languages.

1.7. Overview of Livonian grammars and dictionaries

In this section, I introduce scientific grammars and dictionaries of Livonian (see the overview of the exact pro-forms occurring in them in Sections 2.2.–2.5.). I give a brief description about both the background and the content of these sources, beginning with the first grammars and dictionaries up to the most recent ones.

The first Livonian grammar and dictionary were published in 1861 in two parts: the first part is a grammar (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) and the second is a Livonian-German and German-Livonian dictionary (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b). Collection of language material was started by Anders Johan Sjögren (also spelled as Andreas Johan Sjögren) who was sent to research Livonian language by the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Sjögren travelled on

research expeditions to the Courland and Salaca Livonians in 1846 and to the Courland Livonians in 1852 (Winkler 2007: 152).

On his Salaca Livonian trip in 1846, Sjögren learned about 22 Salaca Livonians, all of whom were elderly but still knew the language on some level. His two main informants were a local judge named Jurre Ahbolting and a farm housewife named Anne Mihelsone, both of whom could read and also knew Latvian; the judge also knew Estonian to some extent. Sjögren worked with them with the help of a translator and sometimes using a Latvian or Estonian dictionary. (Winkler 2017: 78, Winkler 2019: 11–14, 30) Sjögren's Salaca Livonian expedition route and notes about the trip have been documented in his travelogue (Sjögren 1849) and his diary (manuscript), which have been summarised in a book about early Salaca Livonian sources by Winkler (Winkler 2019).

Sjögren also had two main informants for the different dialects of Courland Livonian in 1852 – Nikā Polmaṇ from the eastern area and Jāṇ Prints Sr. from the western area, thus, both main Courland Livonian dialects were represented (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: II–III).

Sjögren then wrote the first notes about the language, published a travelogue about his first expedition (Sjögren 1849), and began compiling the dictionary but died in 1855 before finishing this work; the dictionary had been completed only to almost the end of the letter D (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: I). After Sjögren's death, his materials and manuscript were passed on to academician Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann in the summer of 1856. Wiedemann finished the first version of the grammar and dictionary by autumn of 1857. However, he decided to go on an additional expedition to the Courland Livonians in 1858 and subsequently re-wrote the grammar once more as the manuscript had some gaps in the declination and conjugation systems. Also, there was no precise information about phonetics, as Sjögren had used different systems for marking the pronunciation, so this had been unclear for Wiedemann. (Viitso 1996: 154, Winkler 2007: 152–153) He also decided not to visit the Salaca Livonian speakers, as supposedly only eight of the Salaca Livonian speakers remained of those that Sjögren had initially met and the language was close to extinction already at the time of Sjögren's expedition. Thus, Wiedemann thought it would be more efficient to gather more material from the Courland Livonian area and focus entirely on the documentation of this Livonian variety (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: II).

On his trip, Wiedemann gathered additional material mostly from Nikā Polmaṇ. In the grammar and dictionary, Wiedemann used the abbreviations K. for the eastern (Kūolka village) dialect, P. for the western (Pizā village) dialect, and L. for the Salaca Livonian dialect (Livonia Livonian dialect, L. stands for *Livland* 'Livonia' in German) if a certain word form was written down only from a particular dialect. If a word appears in the dictionary without any dialectal abbre-viation, then it appears in both Courland Livonian dialects. (Sjögren & Wiede-mann 1861a: II–IV)

The grammar includes a historical overview of the Livonians, language examples (*Sprachproben*), and chapters about Livonian phonetics, orthography, derivation, declination, conjugation, and syntax. The dictionary contains both

Livonian-German and German-Livonian sections. It includes words from Courland Livonian (eastern and western dialect) and also from Salaca Livonian, but only where possible, as less material was gathered for Salaca Livonian on Sjögren's only expedition there and the material did not always include equivalents to Courland Livonian words (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: IV).

The grammar contains a chapter on pronouns which includes paradigms and also a longer description of the use of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, addressing questions such as which forms are used more often, which dialects have different pronoun forms, how does the use of long and short forms vary, which forms are used in a certain context, etc. The paradigms also include some case forms of Livonian demonstrative pronouns which have nowadays become demonstrative proadverbs. Also, demonstrative proadjective forms and their use are briefly described. This overview gives well-documented information about the use of Livonian pronouns, which to some extent also helps in analysing and explaining the use of pronouns in contemporary Livonian.

In 1938, Lauri Kettunen published a new scientific Livonian dictionary, which included an introduction to Livonian grammar (the grammar portion was separately published also in 1947 with some additions, see Kettunen 1947). The dictionary is Livonian-German and the grammar overview is also written in German. Livonian vocabulary and examples are written in phonetic transcription to show the exact phonetic pronunciation of the words. The work for compiling the dictionary began already with Kettunen's expeditions to the Livonians in 1920 and continued with his other expeditions in following years until 1937 (Loorits 1938: 52, Blumberga 2011: 29, 33). The dictionary is based mostly on the Courland Livonian material collected by Kettunen himself and his assistants (e.g., folklorist Oskar Loorits), although Kettunen also added Salaca Livonian words from Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary in order to make his dictionary as complete an overview of Livonian varieties as possible (Kettunen 1932: 60–61). In 1928, Livonian intellectual Kōrli Stalte was hired to edit and correct the dictionary, especially the Latvian loanwords, and to translate the initial translations of the Livonian words from Estonian to German. In the following years, Kettunen continued to check the manuscript with Livonian speakers, adding new words that the speakers remembered, and translating the words, examples, and phraseologisms into German. In addition, Kettunen added neologisms from Kōrli Stalte's translation of the New Testament (1937) and was thus using almost all Livonian vocabulary collections available at the time. (Ernštreits 2002: 28)

In his grammar overview, Kettunen provides a paradigm of Livonian personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns but does not describe their use or features in more detail. The dictionary is one-sided, Livonian-German, but it also includes etymological explanations and a registry of the German words used in the dictionary, so it is possible to find a page or pages where a certain word in German in mentioned. Kettunen also added, where possible, different dialectal word forms to the dictionary. With about 11,500 tokens, Kettunen's dictionary is one of the

largest and most comprehensive dictionaries of Livonian. (Laakso 1988: VIII, I, Ernštreits 2002: 23)

In 2002, a short descriptive grammar of Livonian language was published by Cristopher Moseley in the Languages of the World/Materials series, focusing on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Courland Livonian. The grammar is based on a corpus of recordings provided by one speaker. (Moseley 2002: 3) At the end of the book, there are also example texts of recordings with some of the last Courland Livonian speakers.

Tiit-Rein Viitso's overview of Livonian grammar was published in 2008 in a collection of his studies on the Finnic languages. In this overview, there are also sections about Livonian personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns as well as short explanations on the use of some word forms (e.g., long and short forms of personal pronouns). Viitso also briefly mentions some demonstrative pro-adverbs and a demonstrative proadjective *seļļi*, but not all of their forms. In 2012, the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary compiled by Tiit-Rein Viitso and Valts Ernštreits was published. In Viitso's 2008 overview and in the 2012 dictionary by Ernštreits and Viitso, slightly different lists of pronouns are mentioned, with some long or short forms being left out of one of the sources. This dictionary also includes vocabulary entries for personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, pro-adjectives, and proadverbs as well as example sentences for most of the word tokens. The dictionary is mostly based on Viitso's work with his informants Katriņ Krason from Kuoštrõg village (Košrags), Olga Rozenfeld from Kūolka (Kolka), Poulīn Kļaviņa from Vaid (Vaide), Elfrīda Žagare and Pētõr Damberg from Sīkrõg village (Sīkrags). Viitso also used written Livonian texts for compiling the dictionary – e.g., Pētõr Damberg's articles, Kōrli Stalte's translation of the New Testament (1937, 1942), Edgar Vālgamā's translation of Luther's Small Catechism (1936), some of the first issues of the newspaper *Līvli* (The Livonian), and Didrõk Volganski's letters to his son Edgar Vālgamā. To some extent, Viitso also used Kettunen's dictionary and the Livonian vocabulary card catalogue at the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu. In addition, Viitso mentions in the dictionary's preface that Pētõr Damberg had started compiling the Livonian vocabulary card catalogue with Estonian and Latvian translations, which Viitso and Damberg had often discussed until August 1986 (Damberg died 25.04.1987). After a long break, Viitso started working on the dictionary again in 2003. When Viitso completed the work on his part of the dictionary, Valts Ernštreits edited it and also modernised and translated the Latvian portion. (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 12) This can be considered the most comprehensive and important dictionary of modern Livonian published thus far.

In 2009, the Salaca Livonian dictionary by Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu was published. This dictionary is based on 11 different Salaca Livonian text sources, most of them collected by Sjögren. The dictionary includes sources from 1665–1846 (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 10). In 2018, Winkler and Pajusalu also published a Salaca Livonian grammar. This was based on Sjögren's manuscript on Salaca Livonian, which he had written for the Livonian grammar and dictionary later finished by Wiedemann. As Wiedemann never visited the Salaca

Livonians, he had standardised many of the Salaca Livonian words collected by Sjögren for the dictionary. Thus, Winkler and Pajusalu's grammar gives a more authentic description of Sjögren's actual Salaca Livonian materials (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 13). The grammar includes overviews of orthography, phonology, morphology, and morphosyntax as well as the main syntactic features. In the morphology chapter, there are also sections on the Salaca Livonian pronouns, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns.

1.8. Overview of the Livonian typological profile

Livonian is a Finnic language of the Uralic language family. Areally, its most dominant contact language has been Latvian (Wälchli 2000: 211). Thus, some expected Finnic features in Livonian have been influenced by Latvian over time. Ernštreits & Kļava (2014) mention changes in the case system (e.g., the merging of the translative and comitative (also instrumental) cases, development of the dative case, and use of the locative case in a directional case function); the use of prefix verbs, prefixes, and negative affixes; changes in forming the impersonal; and the formation of compounds as the main characteristics of Latvian influence in Livonian. In addition, Livonian has adapted many loanwords from Latvian or sometimes includes both Livonian and Latvian versions of words, e.g., parallel forms of conjunctions are used, for example, Livonian *agā* and Latvian *bet* 'but' (see Tomingas 2022a: 95). Livonian vocabulary generally has less reconstructed Finnic vocabulary than, for example, Finnish, although occasionally also Livonian has preserved older Proto-Finnic word forms, e.g., Livonian *pi'ņ* 'dog' (Proto-Finnic **peni*) vs. Finnish *koira* (Wälchli 2000: 213).

Compared to many other Finnic languages, Livonian has undergone an extensive reduction of unstressed syllables, resulting in important sound changes, e.g., the loss of postconsonantal -*v*, e.g., CLiv *tǭla* and Est *talv* 'winter'. Also, unlike many other Finnic languages, Livonian does not have consonant gradation and it is not certain that it ever had it. The morphology of the cases shows considerable syncretism of local cases and also nominative and genitive forms for most of the declension types. Also in Livonian grammar, Latvian equivalents can be easily found in many situations, e.g., in the use of prepositions and debitive mood, which also exist in Latvian. (Wälchli 2000: 213)

Wälchli mentions another four specific features in which Livonian diverges from the usual Finnic typology: the dative-genitive split, the increase in the use of prepositions, imperatives in final subordinate clauses, and negation in which some persons are marked and some not. (Wälchli 2000)

To conclude, Livonian is rather exceptional among the Finnic languages, having diverged from Late Proto-Finnic at an early stage, undergoing numerous sound changes, and experiencing long-term influence from a Baltic language. Livonian has accepted more innovations and influence from another language than most other Finnic languages.

2. LIVONIAN PRO-FORMS IN EARLIER SOURCES

This chapter provides an overview of Livonian pro-forms, based on the earlier literature on Livonian pronouns and proadverbs. In the first section, there is a historical overview of the development of Livonian pro-forms in the context of the other Finnic languages. Sections 2.2.–2.5. summarise different forms of Livonian pro-forms as well as notes about their use that have appeared in Livonian grammars, dictionaries, and overviews by different authors. This summary of earlier sources on Livonian pro-forms is also compared with the spoken language data in the empirical chapters in order to identify any differences between previous descriptions and spoken language data.

2.1. The historical development of Livonian and Finnic pro-forms

As in all Finnic languages, Livonian has three persons in both singular and plural, and there is no dual. The Livonian 3rd person singular pronoun and demonstrative pronouns originate from the Proto-Finnic demonstrative stems: *tämä 'this (here)', *se 'this, it', and *too 'that'. In Late Proto-Finnic, a fourth stem *taa appeared, which some researchers think to be a loan stem from the Baltic languages, as in Latvian and Lithuanian there is a similar demonstrative pronoun ta/tā/tas 'that, it'; however, the Baltic etymology of Finnic taa is not accepted by all researchers, as it is also thought to have developed as a variant from the stem *tämä (see Kulonen 2000).

The reconstructed demonstrative words from the above-mentioned Proto-Finnic stems are *tämä, *taa, *too, and *se (Larjavaara 1986: 74–75). In the demonstrative *tämä, there is an additional element -mA, which is a suffix in Finnic (Metsmägi et al. 2012, Kulonen 2000: 355). Proto-Finnic demonstratives have been preserved in different ways in present-day Finnic languages. Most of the Northern Finnic languages, e.g., Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian, have preserved the demonstrative pronoun tämä 'this (here)' in its original use, while the Southern Finnic languages, e.g., Livonian, Estonian, and Võro, have developed the Proto-Finnic demonstrative pronoun *tämä into a 3rd person pronoun – Livonian tämā/ta, Estonian tema/ta, and Võro timä/tiä/tä(ä) (Iva et al. 2014) – meaning 's/he'. This is also one of the main features that distinguishes the Southern Finnic languages (Votic, Estonian, Võro, Livonian) from the Northern Finnic group (Finnish, Ingrian Finnish, Karelian, Veps, Ingrian, Ludic), although in Votic, tämä (with the alternate forms täm/temma/temm/tem/tam in different dialects) can appear both as a demonstrative pronoun and as a 3rd person pronoun, e.g., tämä tšülä põli 'this village burned (down)' and täm on ramokaz meez 'he is a strong man' (Adler et al. 2013). However, the use of tämä as a demonstrative pronoun is considered rather rare and it appears only in examples from some villages – Mati, Rudja, and Kattila – where language use may be more influenced by Ingrian Finnish, which uses tämä as a demonstrative pronoun.

The demonstrative stem *se has been preserved in Southern Finnic as the main demonstrative pronoun, because in some Southern Finnic languages, such as Livonian and North Estonian, the additional stem *too is used more rarely (Pajusalu 1996a: 150, Pajusalu 2006: 243, Viitso 2008: 332, 334); however, in South Estonian, e.g., in Võro, it is used often (see Tammekänd 2015). According to the latest grammar overviews, the Livonian demonstrative *tūo* is often not considered as a separate pronoun, although there are remnants of it in some demonstrative adverbs and proadjectives as well as in coordinated demonstrative phrases, e.g., *tūoļi* 'like that' and *sīes-tūos* 'in this and that' (Viitso 2008: 332; Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). In the Salaca Livonian dictionaries and grammar, the *too stem occurs rarely, appearing only in adessive form *tol'*(Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116) and in proadjectives, e.g., *tuoli* 'like that' (Pajusalu & Winkler 2009: 198). Thus the use of this stem had diminished in Salaca Livonian already earlier than in Courland Livonian.

The demonstrative stem *taa exists in Võro as the proximal demonstrative pronoun *taa* 'this'. In Livonian and Estonian, however, there remain fewer signs of *taa, e.g., Est *taamal* 'behind, over there' and Est *taga* and Liv *tagā*/*tagān* 'behind' are considered to be derived from the *taa demonstrative (Metsmägi et al. 2012). However, it is theorised that the Livonian and Estonian 3rd person pronoun short form *ta* may have also been influenced by the *taa-stem in addition to possibly representing a shortening of Livonian *tämā* and Estonian *tema* into *ta* (Larjavaara 1986: 74–75, Metsmägi et al. 2012).

The plural forms of all of the previously mentioned Proto-Finnic demonstratives are *n*-initial: *nämä*, *ne, *noo*, and *naa.* The plural forms originate from the same singular forms *tämä*, *se, *too*, and *taa, but the stems are suppletive and *n*-initial, which is an areal phenomenon in the Finno-Ugric languages, e.g., Komi найö 'they', Erzya не, неть, нетне 'these', and Moksha нят, ня 'these' (Cygankin 1980: 261). The plural form of *tämä has developed in the present-day Southern Finnic languages into Livonian *nämäd* 'they', Votic *nämä* and *nämäd*, Estonian *nemad* 'they', and Võro *nimäq*/*niäq*/*nä*(*äq*).

Proadjectives in Livonian, e.g., Courland Livonian *seļļi* and *tūoļi*, originate from demonstrative pronouns, as their first part includes the full stem of the demonstrative pronouns and their second part, e.g., Courland Livonian –*ļi* is a shortened form of the Proto-Finnic *-lAinen* suffix. Proadverbs in Livonian also originate from demonstrative pronouns. Originally, these were different locational case forms of demonstrative pronouns (e.g., inessive, adessive, ablative, etc.). This can be seen from the case endings that have been at least partially preserved within these adverbs, e.g., the proadverb *täst* 'from here', which contains the elative ending -*st*, although the word itself is no longer a demonstrative pronoun, but the demonstrative proadverb.

All of the Livonian personal pronouns have both long and short forms in the nominative, for example, in the Livonian literary language (based on the Courland Livonian eastern dialect): *minā*/*ma* 'I', *sinā*/*sa* 'you', *tämā*/*ta* 'he, she', *mēg*/*meg* 'we', *tēg*/*teg* 'you (plural)', and *nämād*/*ne* 'they' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). The plural forms *mēg*/*meg* and *tēg*/*teg* have preserved the *g*-ending which

likely originates from the Proto-Finnic word final *-k*, which South Estonian preserved as a plural marker – the glottal stop ʔ (IPA symbol), written mostly with the letter *q* or with the upper comma ' in Võro ortography. However, it is not entirely certain that Livonian *mēg* and *tēg* originate from Proto-Finnic word-final *-k*, as there remain no other traces of plural words with word-final *-k* in Livonian (Laanest 1975: 122). Salaca Livonian, on the contrary, had lost the pronoun-final *-g* in its 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronouns; the forms *me*/*mē* and *te*/*tē* are used instead. The *-g* may have been lost from the end of these pronouns due to closer contacts with Estonian, as it too lost the final *-g* in these pronouns (Est *me* 'we' and *te* 'you (plural)').

Table 3 summarises the most common pro-forms in Courland Livonian and the above-mentioned related and contact languages: Estonian, Võro, Latvian, Votic, and Finnish. This summarising table helps to compare these languages and allows one to see which groups of Courland Livonian pro-forms are more similar to those in other languages.

Among the personal pronouns' forms, Courland Livonian has most similarities with Estonian, as there appear similar long and short forms of the same stems. Considering the demonstrative pronouns, Courland Livonian is more similar to Finnish, which distinguishes three different demonstrative stems, while in standard Estonian there is no independent demonstrative **tämä*-stem anymore. Among demonstrative proadjectives' forms, Courland Livonian and Latvian are the most similar, having two different stems in use, while the other languages besides Finnish have preserved only one demonstrative stem among proadjectives. Courland Livonian static proadverbs show altogether three different stems, these forms are also similar to Finnish ones, although their meanings and use differ (see the comments in parentheses).

Table 3. Standard pro-forms in Courland Livonian and its closest related and contact languages

Language	1SG, 1PL	2SG, 2PL	3SG, 3PL	Demonstrative pronouns	Demonstrative proadjectives	Demonstrative proadverbs (static)
Courland Livonian	*minā/ma, mēg/meg*	*sinā/sa, tēg/teg*	*tämā/ta, nämād/ne*	*se* (neutral), *tūo* (distal), *tä'm, tä'mn* (preserved proximal forms)	*seļļi* (neutral), *tūoļi* (distal)	*tāsā, tās, sī'ḑ, sī'ḑš, sī'ḑšõ* (proximal), *sā'lõ, sā'l* (distal), *tūola* (distal)
Estonian	*mina/ma, meie/me*	*sina/sa, teie/te*	*tema/ta, nemad/nad*	*see* (neutral), *too* (distal)	*selline* (neutral)	*siin* (proximal), *seal* (distal)
Võro	*mina/ ma(q), miiq/mi*	*sina/ sa(q), tiiq/ti*	*timä/tiä/tä/tää, nimäq/niäq/ nääq/nä*	*seo/sjoo* (speaker-proximal), *taa* (proximal), *tuu* (distal)	*sääne* (neutral)	*sii(h)n* (speaker-proximal), *ta(h)n* (proximal), *sääl* (distal)
Latvian	*es, mēs*	*tu, jūs*	*viņš* (masc)/*viņa* (fem), *viņi* (plural)	*šis* (masc)/*šī* (fem) (proximal), *tas* (masc)/*tā* (fem) (neutral)	*šāds* (proximal), *tāds* (neutral)	*šeit* (proximal), *tur* (distal)
Votic	*mie/miä, möö*	*sie/siä, töö*	*hän/tämä, hüü/nämä*	*se* (neutral), *too* (distal)	*kammuga, mokoma, mokomain, sellainõ* (neutral)	*siinä* (neutral), *siällä* (distal), *tuolla* (distal)
Finnish	*minä, me*	*sinä, te*	*hän, he*	*se* (endophoric), *tämä* (proximal), *tuo* (distal)	*sellainen* (endophoric), *tällainen* (proximal), *tuollainen* (distal)	*siellä* (endophoric), *tässä, täällä* (proximal), *tuolla* (distal)

2.2. Livonian personal pronouns

In the following, I will give an overview of Livonian personal pronouns mentioned in earlier dictionaries and grammars. As the orthographies and transcriptions used in these sources vary, I will also introduce the main principles of orthography or a transcription of each source to explain the meaning of the symbols.

The first Livonian grammar and dictionary by Sjögren ans Wiedemann use the Umlaut letters where dots are marked below the letter, e.g., *ạ* which stand for nowadays *ä*. The long vowels are occasionally marked with the macron above the vowel, e.g., *nēd* 'these' as in nowadays Livonian ortography. The palatalisation is marked with an acute accent over the letter, e.g., *eńtš* 'own'. The broken tone that is a characteristic trait for Livonian pronunciation is not marked. Within the chapter, the original letters in the grammar and dictionary are used, but in summarising tables of other Livonian sources, the forms are brought to nowadays Livonian ortography to avoid the repetitions of the forms due to different ortographies and transcriptions.

The grammar by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a) mentions the personal pronouns *mina*, *ma*; *sina*, *sa*; *tạma/ta* (in Salaca Livonian *tạma*, *tạm*, *tā*); *mēg*, *meig* (in Salaca Livonian *mē*)*; *tēg*, *teig* (in Salaca Livonian *tē*), and *ne*, *nei* (in Salaca Livonian *nạmad*, *nēd*, *nạt*). It notes that shorter forms like *ma*, *sa*, and *ta* are used more often than longer forms like *mina*, *sina*, and *täma* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 115–116). It also points out that inessive and illative forms of personal pronouns are rarely used (in Salaca Livonian there is no sign of these at all) and are instead replaced with postpositions, e.g., *min **sizāl** '**inside** of me' instead of the inessive form *mins* 'in me'. Also, the use of the external locative cases (allative, adessive, and ablative) had already become very rare by this time according to Sjögren & Wiedemann's grammar. It is noted that only some older speakers remember these forms, for example, adessive forms of *mēg* 'we' like *mēla/meila* 'us' have been replaced with postpositional expressions, e.g., *mä'd **p̄āl** '**on** us' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116). Recently there have been two views on Livonian external locative cases: Blokland and Inaba (2018) say that Livonian has had three different external locative cases and their use has diminished through time, possibly because of the influence of Latvian, which has only one locative case. They state that external locative case forms in Livonian are nowadays mostly "fossilised adverbs denoting location, position, temporal location, etc.". (Blokland & Inaba 2018: 160) However, Kittilä & Ylikoski (2011) think that Livonian external locative forms are "rather a remnant from an earlier pan-Finnic adessive case or possibly only its incipient stage in pre-Livonian" (Kittilä & Ylikoski 2011: 48–49). However, the external locative case examples of personal pronouns in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary show that their use was more varied during the 19th century and was not only focused on adessive meanings (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116).

It is also stated that the 3rd person pronoun *täma* (nowadays written *tämā*) is a former demonstrative pronoun, which is proven by the fact that the former locative case forms of the demonstrative still exist in Livonian, e.g., the present-day demonstrative proadverb *täsā* 'here'. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116–117).

Lauri Kettunen has used phonetic transcription in his introduction to Livonian grammar and in Livonian-German dictionary (1938), where half-long vowels are marked with a grave accent above the letter, long vowels are marked with the macron above the letter, and the palatalisation is marked with the acute accent above the letter, the broken tone is marked with the symbol ' as in nowadays Livonian ortography. Capitalised letters marked unvoiced or semi-voiced consonants. In Kettunen's introduction to Livonian grammar (1938), which is based on Courland Livonian, there is a list of the following personal pronouns: *minà, ma*; *sinà, sa*; *tämà, ta*; *meg, mēg*; *teg, tēg*, and *ne*. In the dictionary portion, Kettunen also mentions the 3rd person singular form *tä*, referring to the form *ta* in the entry and considering *tä* as only a phonetic variation of *ta* (Kettunen 1938: 445). The long form of the 3rd person plural pronoun *nämād* is not mentioned in Kettunen's dictionary, but the forms *nemàd* and *nemàt'* appear in the text collection by Kettunen in 1925, so similar forms have been attested by him (Kettunen 1925: 77–78, 82). In the dictionary by Viitso & Ernštreits 2012, the long form *nämād* is present again. Thus, it is likely that *nämād* or *nemàd* and *nemàt'* are missing from Kettunen's grammar overview due to their rare use.

In Moseley's 2002 short descriptive Livonian grammar the long final vowel of the personal pronouns in singular is not marked and the shorter forms of the 1st and 2nd plural pronoun are not mentioned, so the personal pronouns are listed as *mina*, *ma; sina*, *sa; tämā*, *ta; mēG*, *tēG*, and *ne* (final capitals indicate a semi-voiced consonant) (Moseley 2002: 14, 44). Although the shorter forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns are missing, the list is otherwise the same as the one given by Kettunen (1938).

In his Livonian grammar sketch (based on the Livonian literary language), Viitso (2008) uses nowadays Livonian orthography where the long vowels are marked with macron above the letter, the palatalised letters are marked with a cedilla below the letter and the broken tone is marked with the symbol '. In the grammar overview, there are following personal pronouns: *minā, ma; sinā, sa*; *tämā, ta; mēg, meg*; *tēg, teg*; *ne*, i.e., the same forms that are also mentioned in the latest Livonian dictionary besides the 3rd person plural long form *nämād* which appears in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary but is not mentioned in Viitso's grammar overview (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). Viitso notes in his overview that long forms of personal pronouns are stressed (Viitso 2008: 332).

The Salaca Livonian dictionary compiled by Eberhard Winkler and Karl Pajusalu uses the macron for marking long vowels and lists the following personal pronouns: *mina*, *ma*, *mā*; *sina*, *sa*; *täma*, *tema*, *täm*, *tä*, *ta*; *me*, *mē*; *te*, *tē* and *nämad*, *nänt, nät*, *nant*, *ned*, *net*, *nēd* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009). As can be seen, 3rd person pronoun singular and plural forms vary considerably; however, that may be affected by the fact that Salaca Livonian, which had no official literary language, was also written down by different people including non-linguists who might write the same word in many different ways (for the checked and specified list, cf. Winkler & Pajusalu 2018). In Salaca Livonian, there are also more 3rd person plural forms with a *d/t*-ending (the plural marker), while Courland Livonian mostly uses only the simple suppletive stem *ne*. Unlike in corresponding

Courland Livonian forms (e.g., *meg*, *teg*), the *g*-ending is not found in Salaca Livonian 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns (e.g., *me*, *te*).

The Salaca Livonian grammar by the same authors (2018) does not use the macron for marking the long vowels but writes them out as double letters. The grammar mentions the following personal pronouns: *mina*, *minna*, *ma*; *sina*, *sin*, *sa*; *täma*, *täm*, *tema*, *ta*; *mee*, *meie*; *tee*, *te* and *nämad*, *namad*, *nänt*, *nänd*, *nend*, *nent*, *nät*, *need*. The 3rd person plural forms are once again especially diverse. There are also some differences in the case system of Salaca Livonian compared to Courland Livonian: in Salaca Livonian, there is no sign anymore of inessive or illative forms of personal pronouns; the grammar presents Sjögren's example of a combined adessive/allative case, e.g., *minnel* '(to) me', which can instead also be used for illative functions. Salaca Livonian also uses a case marked as the allative/adessive in the grammar, while Courland Livonian has developed a dative case due to the influence of Latvian which uses a dative for functions similar to those of the allative and adessive. (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 93–94) Salaca Livonian has no dative. Table 4 summarises all of the Courland and Salaca Livonian personal pronoun nominative singular and plural forms mentioned by the above authors. To avoid repetitions of the same word in different orthographies, where possible, the words are written in the present-day Livonian orthography in the tables. As the Viitso 2008 and Viitso & Ernštreits 2012 forms are mostly the same, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012 is only mentioned in the tables when a certain form only appears in the dictionary by Viitso & Ernštreits but not in Viitso's (2008) overview.

Table 4. Personal pronouns in Courland and Salaca Livonian

Personal pronoun	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
1SG	***minā, mina*** (Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) ***ma*** (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008)	***mina, ma, mā*** (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) ***minna*** (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
2SG	***sinā, sina*** (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) ***sa*** (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008)	***sina, sa*** (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) ***sin*** (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
3SG	***tämā, täma, ta*** (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008)	***täma, täm, tä*** (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) ***tema, ta*** (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)

Table 4. Continue

Personal pronoun	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
1PL	*mēg* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) *meig* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *meg* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008)	*mē* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *me* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009) *meie* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
2PL	*tēg* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) *teig* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *teg* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008)	*tē* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009) *te* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
3PL	*ne* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) *nei* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *nämād* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	*nämad, nēd, nät* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *nänt, nant, ned, net* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *namad, nänd, nend, nent* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)

2.3. Livonian demonstrative pronouns

The earliest Livonian grammar by Sjögren & Wiedemann gives full case paradigms for two demonstrative pronouns: distance-neutral *se* (*sie* in Salaca Livonian) and distal *tuo*/*tuoi*/*toi*. The plural forms of *se* are *ne*/*nei* (*nạmad, nēd, nạt* in Salaca Livonian) and the plural form of *tuo*/*tuoi* is *tuoist*. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116–117) It is mentioned that *se* is the most used demonstrative pronoun; the influence of the Latvian demonstrative pronoun *tas* 'that, it' (Kalnača & Lokmane 2021: 197) is seen as a possible cause here (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 117), as it can be used for both endophoric and distal reference, thus its use in Latvian may have caused *se* to analogically become more distance-neutral. It is also noted that *se* is often used instead of a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun, but the exact context for this is not stated. The distal demonstrative *tuo* is said to be used rarely and its alternative forms *tuoi*/*toi* had become mixed with the word *tuoi* 'the other (one)', which also appears as a numeral with the meaning 'the second (one)'. The context of using *tuo* is mostly contrastive alongside the other demonstrative *se*, e.g., *se tulūb, tuoi lạeb* 'this one comes, that one goes', but it can also be used independently in expressions like *tuola puol* 'on that side'. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116–117)

In his grammar, Kettunen presents the full paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun *se*/*sⁱe* and some forms of the distal demonstrative pronoun *tuo*, indicating that most of its forms were no longer used. Separately, Kettunen also provides short and long forms of *se*/*sⁱe* for the instrumental, inessive, and elative cases, e.g., the instrumental forms *sìẹks* and *sìẹǩkȧks* 'with this'. Only two cases are mentioned for the distal demonstrative pronoun: the partitive forms *todà* or *tᵘodà* 'that' and

the adessive form *tùo̬la* 'there', which can be considered a demonstrative proadverb, though it still preserves the adessive case ending -*l*. (Kettunen 1938: LVIII)

In Moseley's grammar, only the demonstrative *se* and its plural form *ne* are mentioned as demonstrative pronouns, *tūo* is not discussed.

In his overview of Livonian demonstratives, Viitso considers *se* the main demonstrative pronoun, although he notes that the numeral *tuoi* 'the second (one), the other (one)' may also be used in a demonstrative function. The distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* is no longer mentioned as an independent demonstrative pronoun, it only appears as a part of some locational proadverbs, e.g., **tūola- pūoldõ** 'from **that** side/from **the other** side'. (Viitso 2008: 332, 334).

In Winkler and Pajusalu's Salaca Livonian dictionary, only the demonstrative pronoun *se*/*sie* is mentioned; the distal demonstrative *tuo* does not appear as a separate demonstrative pronoun, but there are signs of it in some phrases, e.g., *tol puol* 'on that side' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 172, 198). The Salaca Livonian grammar gives only the demonstrative pronoun *sie*/*se*/*sëe*/*si* with plural forms identical to those of the 3rd person plural pronoun. It is noted that when *nämad* is used alone, it is used as the 3rd person pronoun but when it occurs with a noun, then it functions as a demonstrative pronoun. As in Sjögren & Wiedemann's grammar, *sie* is also said to be often used instead of the 3rd person pronoun in Salaca Livonian. The partitive case is given as the general direct object form for demonstrative pronouns while genitive forms appear only as attributes or with adpositions. There is, however, one example in the grammar where a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a direct object is in the genitive, which is thought to be a result of Latvian accusative case influence. It is not certain whether the same can happen in the plural, as plural nominative and genitive forms are identical in Salaca Livonian and there are insufficient examples to determine this. (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 94–96) Table 5 summarises the singular and plural forms of demonstrative pronouns described by the above authors.

Table 5. Demonstrative pronouns in Courland and Salaca Livonian

Demonstrative pronoun	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
DEM SG	*se* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) *sie* (Kettunen 1938) *tuo, tuoi, toi* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)	*sie* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *se* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *sëe, si* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
DEM PL	*ne* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938, Moseley 2002, Viitso 2008) *nei, tuoist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)	*nämad, nēd, nät* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *nänt, nant, ned, net* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *namad, nänd, nend, nent* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)

2.4. Livonian demonstrative proadjectives

In Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary, two proadjectives are presented in the section on demonstrative pronouns: *selli* 'such, this kind of' – from the demonstrative pronoun *se* – and *tuoli* or *tuolli* 'that kind of' – from the demonstrative pronoun *tuo*. Their plural forms are *sellist* and *tuolist/tuollist*. It is again noted that of these forms, *tuoli/tuolli* is used far more rarely and only in contrastive sentences with *selli* or in combination with it as *selli tuoli* 'this and that kind of, all kinds of'. Further, it adds that in the Courland Livonian western dialect (Pizā dialect), the phrase *se selli* is used as a determinative more often than just *se*, e.g., *kis se selli rištīń vol'* 'who was this (kind of) person'. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 118) Among the examples for *tuoli* given in the dictionary, there is an additional interesting example of its use in Salaca Livonian mentioned – *seda tuolis* 'in this way' formed of two different demonstrative stems (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 119).

Proadjectives are not mentioned in the section on demonstrative pronouns in Kettunen's grammar; however, they can be found in the dictionary itself: *seĺli* (in unstressed contexts *selli*) 'such' and the combined *seĺli tùǫli* 'all kinds of'. The plural forms are *seĺlist* and *seĺlist tùǫlist*. The distal demonstrative proadjective *tùǫli* is not given separately and appears only as a part of *seĺli tùǫli*. (Kettunen 1938: 357, 440)

Moseley's grammar does not mention demonstrative proadjectives as a separate group of demonstratives (Moseley 2002). Viitso mentions only the demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* 'such' in his Livonian grammar description (Viitso 2008: 332). However, the *Livonian-Estonian-Latvian Dictionary* also includes the proadjectives *tūǫļi* 'other kind of, that kind of' and *seļļi-tūǫļi* 'this and that kind of, different kinds of', which are probably not mentioned in the grammar overview because of their rare use. The plural forms are, accordingly, *seļļizt*, *tūǫļizt* and *seļļizt-tūǫļizt* based on Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary. (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012).

Both the Salaca Livonian dictionary and grammar list the proadjectives *seli/selli* 'such' and *tuoli* 'that kind of'. The plural forms are *selist/sellist* and *tuolist*. Both sources again give the example *seda tuolis* in their listing for *tuoli*. (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 174, 198; Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 95, 308) Table 6 summarises the different proadjectives mentioned by the above authors.

Table 6. Demonstrative proadjectives in Courland and Salaca Livonian

Demonstrative ProAdj	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
ProAdj SG	*selli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938) *seĺli* (Kettunen 1938) *seḷḷi* (Viitso 2008), *tūoḷi* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *tuoli/tuolli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)	*selli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *tuoli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *seli, tuoli* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *tuolli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)
Co-ordinated ProAdjs SG	*selli tuoli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *seḷḷi tūoli* (Kettunen 1938) *seḷḷi-tūoḷi* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	*selli tuoli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)
ProAdj PL	*sellist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938) *seĺlist* (Kettunen 1938) *seḷḷizt* (Viitso 2008) *tuolist, tuollist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)	*sellist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *selist ~ silist* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *tuollist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *tuolist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Co-ordinated ProAdjs PL	*sellist tuolist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) *seĺlist tùoḷist* (Kettunen 1938) *seḷḷizt, tūoḷizt, seḷḷizt-tūoḷizt* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	*sellist tuolist* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a)

2.5. Livonian demonstrative proadverbs

Livonian proadverbs are examined in three different groups based on their main function: locative, temporal, and manner-indicating. Locative proadverbs, which show location and direction, form the largest group of proadverbs in Livonian. Most of the words in this group have historically been case forms of demonstrative pronouns but have grammaticalised into proadverbs over time and are no longer declinable words. Locative proadverbs are especially diverse in Livonian, as in some cases proadverbs deriving from different stems may even have the same meaning (e.g., *tǟsā* and *sī'ḍ* 'here'). Locative proadverbs can be divided into three sub-groups according to the location/direction that they are indicating:

lative direction (moving towards something), static location (being somewhere), and separative direction (moving away from something).

Sjögren and Wiedemann's dictionary mentions the proximal proadverbs *sīd, sīdọ* for Courland Livonian and *sīt* 'hither, here' for Salaca Livonian, which can have both lative and static meanings depending on the context. The proximal proadverbs *tān, tāns, tānọs* in Courland Livonian and *tạnn* 'hither' in Salaca Livonian have only a lative function. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 99, 112) The proadverbs *sīn, sīnọ, sien* in Courland Livonian and *sinn* and *sinne* 'here, thither' in Salaca Livonian combine proximal static and distal lative meanings. The examples also include a contrastive phrase *sīn un tān* 'thither and hither', which is *sinn un tạnn* in Salaca Livonian. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 100) The proximal proadverbs *tạs* and *tạsa* 'here' have a static meaning; the distal static proadverb *sạl* 'there' is also mentioned (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 97, 112). Separative proximal proadverbs are very diverse: proximal *sīdst, sīst*, and *sīdọst* in Courland Livonian and *sītest* in Salaca Livonian, also, *tāld, tạst*, and *tạstọ* – all meaning 'from here'. The separative distal proadverbs are *sạld* and *sạldọst* in Courland Livonian and *sạlt* and *sạltest* in Salaca Livonian – all meaning 'from there'. (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 97, 99, 112; note that the form *sạldọst/sạltest* contains two former case endings: the ablative ending -*ldõ*/-*ltõ* and the elative ending -*st*.) Thus, it can be said that proximal lative and separative forms are especially productive.

Kettunen's dictionary lists the proximal proadverbs *sīᴅ/sī'ᴅ, sīn, sīd̂ậ/sī'd̂ậ* for Courland Livonian and *sīt* 'hither, here' for Salaca Livonian, which have proximal lative and proximal static meanings (Kettunen 1938: 369). The compound *sīn̂ậ tān̂ậ* in Courland Livonian and *sinn un tänn* in Salaca Livonian are also given. Courland Livonian *sīn/sīń, sīn̂ậ(z)* 'thither' and Salaca Livonian *sinn, sinne* are the distal lative proadverbs in each variety. (Kettunen 1938: 371) The proximal static proadverbs also include the forms *sīn/sīń, sī'tš, sī'tš̂ậ, täš̄*, and *täšsà* 'here' (Kettunen 1938: 371, 446). The distal static proadverbs are *sā̇'l/sạl, sā̇'l̂ậ* 'there'; the dictionary also gives an example with the distal form *tùọla* 'there', but it lacks an entry of its own in the dictionary (Kettunen 1938: 371, 393). The proximal separative proadverbs also have numerous different forms: *sītšt, sī'tšt̂ậ* in Courland Livonian and *sītest* 'from here' in Salaca Livonian, also, *täšt, täštà*, and *täšt̂ậ* 'from here' (Kettunen 1938: 371, 446). Courland Livonian *sā̇'lᴅ/sạlᴅ, sā̇'ld̂ậ* and Salaca Livonian *sạlt, sạltest* 'from there' are the distal separative pronouns accordingly in these varieties (Kettunen 1938: 393).

Moseley's grammar again does not mention demonstrative proadverbs as a separate group of demonstratives in its descriptive portion (Moseley 2002: 45). Viitso presents the locative proadverbs in a table in his Livonian grammar overview. These include the proximal lative proadverb *tānõ* 'hither', the distal lative proadverb *sīņõ* 'thither', proximal static *täsā* 'here', distal static *sālõ* 'there', proximal separative *tästā* 'from here', and distal separative *sāldõ(st)* 'from there'. In addition, compound adverbs containing the word *pūol* 'side' are also mentioned, e.g., *tānõpūolõ* 'to this side', but as they include another autosemantic word which has a full meaning of its own, these kinds of adverbs are not considered as

fully independent locative demonstrative proadverb forms in the current study. (Viitso 2008: 334) In the *Livonian-Estonian-Latvian* dictionary by Viitso and Ernštreits (2012), there are some additional forms of locative proadverbs mentioned that do not appear in Viitso's overview: proximal lative *sī'ḑõ* 'hither' and the compound *sīnõ-tānõ* 'thither and hither', distal lative *sīņõ* and *sīņõz* 'thither', proximal static *sī'ḑ, sī'ḑš* and *täs* 'here', distal static *sā'l* and *sā'lõz* 'there', proximal separative *sī'ḑšt, sī'ḑštõ* 'from there', and the compound *sā'ldtäst* 'from there and from here' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012).

Winkler & Pajusalu's Salaca Livonian dictionary lists the proximal proadverbs *sīt, sīd, sinn, sin*, and *sinne* 'hither, here', which again have both lative and static functions. The Salaca Livonian grammar by the same authors presents similar forms, which are sometimes written in a slightly different orthography: *siit/siid/ sijt, sija* 'hither, here' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 173, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 291). However, there is one difference between the Salaca Livonian dictionary and grammar, namely, the proadverbs *sinn, sinne, siin* 'hither, thither' are said to be both proximal and distal lative proadverbs, but not static (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 291). Another set of proximal lative adverbs is *tänn, tänne, tān* 'hither' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 204, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 312).

Other proximal static proadverbs listed in addition to those previously mentioned are *täs* and *täss* 'here' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 204, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018: 312). The distal static proadverbs are *sāl/sääl/sāll/sääll/seal/säel* 'there'. The separative adverbs are again very productive: proximal *täst, tästa, sīdst, sitest/sītest/siitest/sijtest* 'from here' and distal *säld/sāld/sālt/säält/säeld/sēlt/sealt, sāltest/säältest* 'from there'. (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 173, 291)

Temporal proadverbs refer to the moment when something is happening, and they are not as numerous as the locative proadverbs. Sjögren and Wiedemann's dictionary lists the temporal adverbs *sis/sīs, siest/sīst* (the latter only for Courland Livonian) 'then, thereafter' and *ni* 'now' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 100). Kettunen presents the forms *siz/sīz* 'then', *ni* and the Salaca Livonian form *nüüd* 'now' (Kettunen 1938: 246, 367). Viitso's grammar overview gives the forms *si'z* 'then' and *ni* 'now' (Viitso 2008: 335). The Salaca Livonian dictionary has the forms *sis* 'then' and *ni/ne/nei* 'so, now' (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009: 130, 176). The Salaca Livonian grammar by the same authors includes the forms *sis/siis* 'then' and *ni/nij/ne/nej* 'so, now'. Thus, in Salaca Livonian these are temporal as well as manner-indicating proadverb forms (Winkler & Pajusalu 2017: 260, 292).

Manner-indicating proadverbs refer to the way or manner in which something is done. In Sjögren and Wiedemann's dictionary, there are two manner-indicating proadverb forms: *ne* and *nei* 'so' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b: 68). Kettunen mentions the same forms – *ne* and *ne'i* (with broken tone) (Kettunen 1938: 243), while Viitso only gives the temporal proadverb form *ne'i* (Viitso 2008: 335). The forms found in the Salaca Livonian dictionary and grammar were already mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph. Table 7 summarises the proadverbs found in Livonian.

Table 7. Demonstrative proadverbs in Courland and Salaca Livonian

Demonstrative ProAdv	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
Proximal lative	*sī(')ḍõ* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sī(')d*, *tā̄n*, *tā̄ns*, *tā̄nõs* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *sī(')d*, *sīn* (Kettunen 1938) *tā̄nõ* (Viitso 2008)	*sīt*, *tänn* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *sīd, siid, sijt, sija, sinn, sin, sinne, siin, tänne, tā̄n* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Distal lative	*sīn*, *sīnõ* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sien* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *sīṇ*, *sīnõz* (Kettunen 1938) *sīṇõ*, *sīṇõz* (Viitso 2008)	*sinn*, *sinne* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2018) *siin* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2018)
Proximal static	*sīn* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sīnõ, sien, täs, täsa* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *sī(')d, sīṇ, sī'tš, sī'tšõ* (Kettunen 1938) *täsā, täs* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sī'ḍ, sī'ḍš* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	*sīt*, *täs* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *sinn, sinne, täsa* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *sīd, sin, sijt, siid, sija, täss* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Distal static	*sā̄(')l* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sā̄(')lõ* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *sā̄'lõz* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *tūola* (Kettunen 1938)	*sā̄l* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *sā̄ll, seal, säel* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Proximal separative	*sīdst, sīst, sīdst, tā̄ld* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *täst, tästõ* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938) *tästā* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *sītšt, sī'tštõ* (Kettunen 1938) *sī'ḍšt, sī'ḍštõ* (Viitso & Ernšterits 2012)	*sītest, täst* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *tā̄ld, täst, tästõ* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *tästa, sīdst, sijtest* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)

Demonstrative ProAdv	Courland Livonian	Salaca Livonian
Distal separative	*sā̄(')ld* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) *sā̄(')ldõ* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *sā̄ldõst* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Viitso 2008)	*sā̄lt, sā̄ltest* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *säld, sā̄ld, säeld, sēlt, sealt* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Co-ordinated ProAdvs	*sīn un tā̄n* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *sīnõ tā̄nõ* (Kettunen 1938) *sīnõ-tā̄nõ, sā̄'ldtäst* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	*sinn un tänn* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b)
Temporal	*ni* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *sis, sīs, sies, sīst* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b) *si(')z* (Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *sīz* (Kettunen 1938)	*sis, sīs, ni* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *nū̄d* (Kettunen 1938) *nij, ne, nei, nej* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)
Manner-indicating	*ne'i* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008) *ne* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938)	*ne, nei* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018) *ni, nij, nej* (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009, 2018)

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Deixis and deictic pronouns and proadverbs

Deictic words have an important role in every language, helping to identify various surroundings, persons, objects, activities, processes, events, etc. by referring to them (Lyons 1977: 637, Pajusalu 1999: 9). Deictic words connect the speech situation to a particular context characterised by people, time, and the surrounding location. Thus, deictic words make it possible to understand references made about these characteristics and the relations between them. The ability to refer to entities using deictic words also makes it easier to point at or talk about entities, which we do not exactly know how to call (unknown, unrecognisable, or foreign objects). This makes us more intelligible to interlocutors and, as a result, also makes the speech event more successful. However, the vagueness of deictic words without a larger context or explanation surrounding them can also make the text more difficult to understand, for example, when reading only fragments of a text or hearing fragments of a conversation where deictic words are used. Deictic words are especially useful for communicating with other people when we need to refer to our surroundings, previous discourse, or, alternatively, need to ask for more information about people, objects, events, and places, about which we have insufficient information. Deictic words help to create meanings and references exactly according to the speech situation.

In this chapter, the essence of the deictic pro-forms analysed in this study (personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, proadjectives, proadverbs) and their deictic features are explained. I begin by providing general information about the terms used and then each group of words is examined in more detail in each section.

The term 'pronoun' can refer to several different kinds of word sets, for example, personal pronouns, demonstratives, indefinites, interrogatives, relatives, etc. There is a tradition in linguistics of defining pronouns as words standing for (auto-semantic) nouns, but this is not a completely satisfactory term because the various words, which pronouns can represent do not together form a single, homogenous category of words. For example, pronouns can refer to both substantives and adjectives, which are different word classes. Grammarians have had several classification problems when deciding, for example, whether 3rd person pronouns are 'personal' or 'demonstrative' and whether pronominal adjectives should also be called pronouns. (Bhat 2004: 1) In order to distinguish pronominal substantives and pronominal adjectives according to their exact word class, the terms 'pro-substantive' and 'proadjective' would be clearer to use, but in most studies, however, 'pronoun' is the more popular term for both.

Pronouns can be used not only in place of nouns, but also in place of noun phrases. In some languages, pronouns can even reference other categories beyond just substantives and adjectives such as adverbs (e.g., Finnish *tässä* 'here', lit. 'in this') and even verbs, for example, in Mongolian, Turkic, and some Uralic languages. For example, in the Uralic language Kamas, *idəm* 'to be so' is derived

from the demonstrative pronoun *idə* 'this here' and the denominal verb morpheme *-m* (Klumpp 2002: 69). However, some grammarians only consider words belonging to the nominal category to be grammatically pronouns (Bhat 2004: 2). This has, however, also led to the splitting and defining of many different and separate groups of pronouns, e.g., demonstratives, indefinites, interrogatives, etc., as they may also include words that are not completely nominal (Bhat 2004: 2).

Personal pronouns (e.g., *I*), demonstrative pronouns (*this*), and demonstrative proadjectives (*such*) are deictic pronouns and are distinguished from other kinds of pronouns such as reciprocal pronouns (e.g., *each other*), reflexive pronouns (e.g., *myself*), interrogative-relative pronouns (e.g., *who*), determinatives (e.g., *some*), and indefinite pronouns (e.g., *someone*). This is done as these either have a more particular meaning on their own even without additional context or include a part of a word that is autosemantic (e.g., *any**one***). The function of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and proadjectives, however, is much more connected to pointing compared to other pronouns. Also, their scale of meanings is even more dependent on the reference and can, therefore, adapt to different contexts more often. However, as a result, their meaning is also vaguer without a surrounding context.

Demonstrative proadverbs (e.g., *here*, *so*, *then*) are also distinguished in this study from other proadverbs such as indefinite proadverbs (e.g., *anywhere*). The meaning of proadverbs also includes more of a sense of pointing, but is, at the same time, vaguer than all other groups of proadverbs. Demonstrative proadverbs can be divided into several types: demonstrative locative proadverbs referring to a location, demonstrative temporal proadverbs referring to time, and demonstrative manner-indicating proadverbs referring to a manner or way of doing something.

The following sections give a theoretical overview of 1) deixis as a phenomenon and 2) its main types, in order to understand how personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, proadjectives, and proadverbs appear in the deictic system, to which deictic types they belong, and what their main functions are. There are three main categories of deixis in which deictic words are generally classified and analysed: personal deixis, spatial/demonstrative deixis (depending on whether proximal/distal oppositions are distinguished in a language using deictic words), and temporal deixis (Lyons 1977: 636). These three types are all essential in understanding the use and functions of deictic words (e.g., the kinds of functions that demonstrative pronouns can show in spatial/demonstrative or temporal deixis). In addition, there also exist other types of deixis such as manner deixis, discourse deixis, and social deixis. Discourse deixis refers to a certain part of the discourse itself, while social deixis can mark level of formality, social position, etc. (Levinson 1983: 89–90). As this study focuses on discourse material and also examines adverbs that describe the manner in which something is done, discourse and manner deixis are introduced and discussed more in depth in this chapter.

3.1.1. The concept of deixis

Deixis is a phenomenon where the use and meaning of a linguistic expression depends fully on the context of the situation and/or discourse, for example, the time, place, or the participants of a certain speech event. The words that can act this way in a speech event are deictic words. (Lyons 1977: 636–637, Levinson 1983: 54). As the exact meaning of pronouns and proadverbs always depends on the context, all of the previously mentioned personal and demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative proadverbs are also deictic words: personal pronouns like *you*, *we*; demonstrative pronouns like *this*, *that*; demonstrative proadjectives like *such*, demonstrative pronouns like *here* and *there*.

Deixis is described on personal, spatial, and temporal scales where the starting zero point (named *origo*, 'origin' in Latin) are the deictic words I, HERE, and NOW, which all describe their scale from the closest point of view in the speech moment (the current speaker, the closest location, and the present moment). The German linguist Karl Bühler was the first to describe the deictic zero point or *origo*. Bühler proposed two terms for distinguishing deictic words from other naming words: deictic field (*Zeigfeld*) and symbolic field (*Symbolfeld*). Pointing/deictic words, e.g., demonstrative pronouns belong to the deictic field and words to which deictics refer belong to the symbolic field. The deictic field is speaker/first person-oriented as the speaker is the one making references according to his point of view. (Bühler 1982 (1934): 102–120, Bühler 2011: 67) In addition, Bühler has also mentioned the phenomenon of *Deixis am Phantasma* in which the deictic center from the speaker in the ongoing speech situation is moved to a different, deictically projected situation which appears in narratives and descriptions (see also Diessel 1999: 95).

Deixis is considered a part of the domain of pragmatics, as it connects the structures of language to the context in which they are used (Levinson 1983: 55). The main feature of deixis is verbal pointing (pointing using linguistic means) and, therefore, the words used for pointing are called deictic words. Deictic meanings are connected and dependent on the interpretation of utterances containing deictic word(s) and the analysis of the context where such utterances occur. Therefore, deictic expressions cannot be understood without making assumptions or conclusions about the situation or without having some knowledge about the situation. The basic meanings of deictic words (without a context) belong to semantics, but deixis as a phenomenon belongs to pragmatics as it is fully dependent on different situations and contexts. (Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 87–89)

Stephen Levinson suggests that gestural and symbolic use of deixis should be distinguished, as deictic words may also have a non-deictic usage, where the entity being referred to using a deictic word is not present in the speech situation and, so, this usage requires some general spatial and temporal knowledge about the utterance. In the case of gestural deixis, deictic words refer to audio-visual information that is present at the speech moment and at which the speaker is pointing in that exact moment. For example, the sentence *I want this book there* requires the ability to see which book is being spoken about. Symbolic usage,

however, requires only basic or previous knowledge about the utterance, for example, in the sentence *This book you told me about was good*. In this sentence, the book that is being referred to is not physically present while being referred to, therefore, the reference to it is symbolic and thus non-deictic. (Levinson 1995: 32)

This dissertation also focuses on the previously mentioned symbolic (non-deictic/endophoric) use of pro-forms. This use is very common in Livonian next to exophoric use. Endophoric use also includes diverse subtypes of anaphoric (and cataphoric), discourse deictic, and recognitional use. These are also researched in order to describe the different reference functions of pro-forms.

3.1.2. Personal deixis

Personal deixis shows the grammatical persons and their relations in the utterance. Therefore, it can be used for pointing and referring to both people and objects, as personal pronouns that mark grammatical persons may refer to both. The most important categories of personal deixis are the deictics I and YOU (the speaker and the addressee), as the distribution of these roles strongly depends on the speech situation, i.e., who is the speaker of an utterance and who is its addressee. (Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 90–91, Larjavaara 1990: 43)

The categories WE and YOU (plural) that originate from I and YOU (singular) also belong to personal deixis, as, accordingly, these refer to the speaker/to the addressee and someone else who may be among the addressees but does not necessarily have to be (see Lyons 1977, Pajusalu 1999: 24). There are languages, which distinguish for the deictic words WE and YOU whether the addressee is included; these are also called exclusive and inclusive personal pronouns, for example, the Yuki language in California, which has for example the inclusive 1st person plural pronoun *mey* 'we' which refers to the speaker and the addressee, and the exclusive 1st person plural pronoun *ʔúṣa* 'we' which excludes the addressee (Balodis 2016: 171–172).

In addition, the 3rd person categories S/HE, IT and THEY also belong to personal deixis, although they are usually not considered as having a role in the deixis of a particular discourse, as the third person usually cannot be the speaker or the addressee and, as a result, is not part of the speech situation, the exception is the 3rd person forms used for politeness, e.g., in German *Sie* and Hungarian *Ön* with the verb in 3rd person. Other than that, the 3rd person category is often considered to be on the border of personal and demonstrative deixis because it also refers to reality outside of speech act roles. However, the main quality that distinguishes personal pronouns from the demonstrative pronouns is that personal pronouns cannot be used as determiners, while demonstrative pronouns can, e.g., ***this** dog*.

3.1.3. Spatial and demonstrative deixis

Spatial and demonstrative deixis refer to everything that surrounds the speakers. The term 'spatial deixis' is mostly used when talking about this category. However, not all languages refer to spatial oppositions with different demonstrative pronouns or proadverbs. Therefore, the term 'demonstrative deixis' would be more neutral, as it shows the feature of demonstratives pointing to the surroundings without necessarily distinguishing spatial oppositions. (Larjavaara 1990: 95, Pajusalu 1999: 25) For example, in Estonian the demonstrative pronoun *see* may refer to both proximal and distal objects. This is especially true in northern Estonia where the distal pronoun *too* is often unknown among speakers (Pajusalu 1997b: 26). Matti Larjavaara has used the term 'neutral demonstrative deixis' to describe cases where there is, for example, only one demonstrative pronoun in a language, as this kind of demonstrative deixis lacks spatial oppositions (Larjavaara 1990: 37).

Also, many other synsemantic adverbs belong to the category of spatial deixis (e.g., *up*, *down*, *on*, *in*, etc.). However, these are not pro-forms and, therefore, are excluded from the empirical part of this study. Spatial deixis is often considered the primary or basic category of deixis, as in other categories some kind of spatial distance between entities is also essential, e.g., the 3rd person category in personal deixis or temporal expressions like **on that** Thursday, **in** the evening in temporal deixis (Lyons 1977: 718, Pajusalu 1999: 26, Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 93).

3.1.4. Temporal deixis

Temporal deixis represents the grammatical category of time and marks it by using temporal adverbs (e.g., *then*, *now*, but also synsemantic temporal adverbs like *yesterday*, *today*, etc.) as well as with tense markers on the verb (e.g., *went, will come*, etc.) (Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 93). Demonstrative pronouns can show also temporal oppositions, such as Estonian *see* 'this' and *too* 'that', e.g., **sel** *aastal* '**this** year, current year; **that** year' or **tol** *ajal* 'during **that** time; back then' (Pajusalu 1999: 67–70). In Livonian, the demonstrative pronoun *se* has been described as a neutral pronoun which can refer to both closer and ongoing or to past time, e.g., *sīes āigal* 'at this time; at that time' (Viitso 2008: 328), although also the use of distal demonstrative *tūo* could also be expected when referring to farther past events.

The temporal category references during the speech moment usually cause no problems in understanding between the interlocutors (Pajusalu 1999: 26). However, outside of the speech moment, when reading or hearing a text with temporal deictics, it is again much more difficult to identify to which point in time the speakers are referring. Thus, background information (about the speech time, reference time, etc.) or further explanations about it are required in that case.

3.1.5. Manner, quality and degree deixis

Manner, quality, and degree deixis are the types of deixis, which have been more mentioned and discussed only in recent years. In his article, Ekkehard König (2015) notes that even though the typological and areal studies, for example, by Himmelmann (1997), Diessel (1999, 2006), Dixon (2003), and others, have expanded knowledge of different deictic systems in the world's languages, the semantic dimensions of manner, quality, and degree have, however, been mostly missing from research so far and have not been described from a deictic point of view. It should be noted, though, that in the Finnic languages, proadjectives and proadverbs indicating manner, quality, or degree have often developed from the same stem as the more researched demonstrative pronouns, e.g., the Livonian demonstrative pronoun *se* and demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* and the demonstrative pronoun plural form *ne* and manner proadverb *ne'i* (Metsmägi et al. 2012). Some Finnic languages even have an entire system of deictic proadjectives and proadverbs showing demonstrative-deictic oppositions, e.g., Finnish *näin, noin, niin* 'so', where *näin* is proximal to the speaker/speaker's point of view, *noin* is closer to the interlocutor/his point of view, and *niin* is distal and anaphoric (König 2017: 147).

Proadjectives and proadverbs, for example, the above-mentioned *näin, noin, niin* in Finnish, have mostly been researched as isolated particles without any focus on their demonstrative and typological characteristics (König 2015). In their cross-linguistic study on proadverbs, König & Umbach (2018) discuss how in their demonstrative use, the semantic categories of 'manner', 'quality', and 'degree' can be distinguished in addition to the well-known semantic categories of other demonstratives such as 'person', 'place', 'time', etc.

A single demonstrative proadverb may often be used for several of the above-mentioned categories of manner, quality, and degree (König & Umbach 2018: 288–289). For example, the Livonian demonstrative proadverb *ne'i* occurs in all three functions, cf. the following examples in (2) and their English translations:

(2) a. manner:
         *ta te'i siedā **ne'i***
         's/he did it **so** (in this way)'

     b. quality:
         *ta u'm **ne'i***
         's/he is **like this**'

     c. degree:
         *se i'z ūo **ne'i** kougõn*
         'it was not **so** far [away]'.

Quality deixis can also be shown with proadjectives, as in *pūoga võ'ļ **seļļi*** 'the boy was such [like this]'. As can be seen from the translations, instead of using simple one-word expressions these categories can also be expressed with more complex ones. e.g., English *like this* (König & Umbach 2018: 288) or Livonian

siedāvīţi 'similar to this' (quality deixis) and *siedāvīţõ* 'like this, in this way, so' (manner deixis).

As mentioned above, both proadjectives and proadverbs can show manner, quality, and degree deixis. In the empirical analysis of the thesis, I will focus only on the proadjectives and proadverbs without an additional autosemantic component.

3.1.6. Discourse deixis

Discourse deixis – also called text deixis – refers to a certain part of a discourse or an expression within it (Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 94), for example, in (3):

(3) `ta`   *kīt-iz*   **`ne'i`**. (.)   > *mi'nn-õn*   *ä'b=*   *ūo*
     3SG.S   say-PST.3SG   so   1SG-DAT.L   NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG
     `aigõ`. <
     time.PART
     'she said **so** [the following] "I do not have time"' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The expressions that discourse deixis is referring to are themselves utterances, so discourse deixis is pointing at a text object (Pajusalu 1999: 29, Dylgjeri & Kazazi 2013: 94) Matti Larjavaara has also called this kind of deixis text-exophoric, as the text referred to has a similar function in this category as the surrounding objects (Larjavaara 1990: 130–135). Discourse deixis can be expressed with demonstratives such as demonstrative pronouns, proadjectives, or proadverbs. This can be seen in (3) above where the Livonian native speaker uses the pro-adverb *ne'i*, which shows that the upcoming text is coreferential with it.

3.1.7. Social deixis

The concept of social deixis was first presented by Charles Fillmore in the lectures on deixis he gave in 1971 in Santa Cruz (published in 1997). He defined social deixis as "the aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs". Fillmore gave examples of where social deixis occurs in language: devices for person marking, such as pronouns; distinctions of plain, polite, honorific, and humble speech; formal distinctions in utterances, such as imperative sentences (e.g., an adult using the imperative for talking to a child); the variation of using names, titles, and kinship terms, etc., which all can function as social acts. (Fillmore 1997)

According to Stephen Levinson's definition, social deixis shows the aspects of social situations during the speech act, e.g., social identity or social relationships between interactants (Levinson 1983: 89). T-V distinctions (Latin *tu* and *vos*, singular and plural versions of *you* in languages that have at least two 2nd person pronouns) are one of the most common examples of the use of social deixis in everyday life, and show the formality, familiarity, or solidarity existing

between the speech act participants, which is especially common in European languages. The T-distinction is used when speaking to a friend or a person with whom one is more familiar, also for individuals of socially equal status (e.g., two students). The V-distinction is mostly used when talking to a stranger or someone who is socially superior (e.g., a teacher, an older person). Some languages, such as Japanese, also use the third person for marking social superiority and/or politeness. (Foley 1997: 314–316, 319, see also Section 3.1.2.). German has a separate formal plural pronoun *Sie*, marking the distance in the relations between interactants. (Foley 1997: 314). In addition, social deixis can often be seen in the way names, titles, and honorifics are used, e.g., using someone's full name or nickname, adding a title like *Mr President*, *Your Majesty*, etc. (Pajusalu 1999: 29).

The difference between social deixis and other types of deixis is that social status is not that dependent on the current speech situation, as social relations between certain interactants usually have a longer history and do not change during every new speech act. This is also the reason that social deixis is often not considered to be among the main types of deixis (Pajusalu 1999: 30). Social deixis among pro-forms is expressed with pronouns, especially with personal pronouns. For example, in addition to the T-V distinction of the 2nd person singular and plural pronouns, there are also examples of the 3rd person pronouns which are or have been used as forms of address, replacing 2nd person, in order to avoid the face situation of a higher (noble) person talking to a lower class person, e.g., in German *Bringe er mir ein Glas Wasser*! 'he (you) bring me a glass of water'.

3.1.8. Affective deixis

In addition to social deixis, affective deixis (sometimes also called 'emotional deixis') has also been mentioned as a possible additional type of deixis. Affective deixis shows the speaker's emotional attitude and evaluations towards the entity about which the speaker is talking (see Östman 1995). Robin Lakoff has also proposed that affective demonstratives in English can also be markers of solidarity, as the speaker wishes to involve the listener emotionally, bringing on a shared sentiment by using the demonstrative *this* affectively, e.g., *There was **this** traveling salesman, and he…*, while the example ***This Henry Kissinger is really something!*** presents a more common view about the entity which expresses enthusiasm. (see Lakoff 1974, Potts & Schwarz 2009: 2).

It has also been proposed that proximal demonstratives (e.g., English *this*) may usually show a positive attitude towards an entity, while distal ones (e.g., English *that*) are more connected to a negative attitude (Pajusalu 1999: 30). In Finnish dialects and colloquial language, an important choice when referring to persons is whether to use the 3rd person singular pronoun *hän* or the demonstrative pronouns *tämä, se*, or *tuo* (Pajusalu 1999: 31), as pronouns may have very specific collocations in different registers of speech. For example, in present-day colloquial Finnish, the demonstrative *se* is used for neutral reference to persons, while

hän is more stressed and rather ironic or pejorative (Priiki 2017: 44, 49–50); however, in literary Finnish, *hän* is the main way of referring to persons (Hakulinen et al. 2004: § 716).

Jan-Ola Östman has also researched literary Finnish affective deixis. In Finnish, in his opinion, the proximal demonstrative *tä(m)ä* is used for showing sympathy towards someone, the demonstrative *se* is used neutrally, and the distal demonstrative *tuo* is used to express a pejorative meaning (Östman 1995: 269). However, Valma Yli-Vakkuri has stated that Finnish *se* may also be pejorative, admiring, or otherwise emotionally reinforcing (Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 120–121), thus, demonstrative pronouns may be used in very different affective contexts, depending more on the situation. Affective deixis is expressed using pronouns, mainly demonstrative pronouns.

Thus far, Livonian affective deixis has not been researched and so it has been unclear whether there is a difference between using, e.g., *tämā*/*ta*, *se*, or *tūo* for reference in affective situations.

3.1.9. Personal pronouns

The term 'personal pronoun' is strongly connected to the grammatical category of 'person' which helps to distinguish the speaker of an utterance (e.g., *I*), the addressee (e.g., *you*), and another person talked about in speech (e.g., *he*). With respect to the grammatical person category, the speaker is called the first person, the addressee is the second person, and the person talked about is called the third person. (Siewierska 2004: 1). Personal pronouns are the words marking these categories. In addition to the category of person, the category of number is also strongly connected to personal pronouns, as they may have both singular and plural forms. Some languages may also have dual, trial, or other forms separate from plural, which refer to a particular number of individuals, for example, two, three, four, or five people at a time (e.g., the Northern Mansi 2nd person singular pronoun *naŋ* 'you', 2nd person dual pronoun *ne:n* 'the two of you', and 2nd person plural pronoun *na:n* 'you'). Personal pronouns may also show grammatical or actual gender and animacy (e.g., German *er* 'he', *sie* 'she', *es* 'it'), level of formality (e.g., Russian *Вы* 'you' as a form of politeness), and even social status, location according to the speaker or addressee, kin relationship, generation, etc. (Siewierska 2004: 3) Personal pronouns do not always have to refer only to people, as in many languages these pronouns can also be used for animals and objects. As mentioned above in the section on personal deixis, some languages also make distinctions for personal pronouns showing whether the addressee or one of the interlocutors is included in the reference. The forms thus distinguished are called inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns. For example, in Mandarin there is an inclusive pronoun *zánmen* 'we' which specifically means 'I and you (the addressee)' (inclusive pronoun), while the other Mandarin pronoun *wǒmen* 'we' can be both inclusive and exclusive depending on the context. In its

exclusive meaning 'I and some others, but not you (the addressee)', it excludes the addressee from the reference (Cysouw 2013).

1st and 2nd person pronouns are considered to be fundamental and different than 3rd person pronouns, as they are defining the roles of speaker and addressee in a discourse and these roles are mainly referred to only with person markers, whereas the 3rd person can be referred to with various lexical expressions (Lyons 1977: 638, Siewierska 2004: 5). For example, demonstrative pronouns or full nominal expressions can be used to refer to the 3rd person (Siewierska 2004: 5–6).

Even when the 1st person category is defined as the speaker and the 2nd person as the addressee or hearer in a conversation, the actual identity of these roles in a speech situation is dependent on who says the utterance and to whom, when, and where it is said. The 3rd person form can also be much dependent on the surrounding context. (Siewierska 2004: 7.) Thus, personal pronouns show the relations between the speaker, the addressee, and the surrounding entities in one of the main categories of deixis: personal deixis. Personal deixis shows the relations with other people or objects in speech: who is the speaker or addressee, who is the person being spoken about in the discourse, etc.

3.1.10. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *this*, *that*) are pointing and referring pronouns that are often used to bring attention to a particular person/object in speech; additionally, even physical pointing may be used with them. They help to organise the information in speech, to draw the hearer's attention to something, and to activate particular shared knowledge. Therefore, demonstratives – including demonstrative pronouns – have mostly pragmatic functions. They also have certain semantic features: they can be deictically contrastive when there are at least two demonstratives in a language (proximal and distal), or distance-neutral when the same demonstrative is used for both proximal and distal entities. (Diessel 1999: 2) Therefore, demonstrative pronouns mark the second major category of deixis – space/demonstrative deixis, which distinguishes the locations, directions, and distances of different entities.

Demonstrative pronouns can be classified as either exophoric or endophoric according to their pragmatic use. Exophoric use refers to surrounding entities, endophoric use refers to entities in speech and, therefore, is discourse centred. There are three subgroups of endophoric use: **anaphoric, discourse deictic, and recognitional**. Anaphoric use is coreferential with a particular noun phrase that occurs in the preceding text, e.g., *A tall man is walking across the street.* ***This man** is coming here.*; discourse deictic use refers to the surrounding discourse in general, e.g., A: *Are you at home?* B: *Who asked **that**?* and recognitional use indicates that the speaker and hearer have previous shared knowledge of a referent, as the reference does not appear beforehand in the text but can be referred to previously in some other situation, e.g., *By the way, **this** John showed up at my door again*. (see Himmelmann 1997, Diessel 1999: 6–7) Holger Diessel supports

the idea that exophoric use is the main use of demonstratives and that other uses are derived from it (Diessel 1999: 7).

Demonstrative pronouns can have three kinds of features: **semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic**. Semantic features can describe the type of referent and its location – its demonstrative/spatial position and distance in spatial deixis (see Section 3.1.3.) as well as its qualities. Diessel distinguishes five subcategories under the category of (spatial) deixis: distance, visibility, elevation, geography, and movement/direction. Under the category of quality there are six subcategories: ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number, and boundedness. The pragmatic features of demonstrative pronouns show how the demonstrative pronouns are used (exophoric or endophoric use and contrastive/non-contrastive, emphatic/ non-emphatic, or precise/vague use). Syntactic features describe different grammatical features of demonstrative pronouns – part of speech, agreement (e.g., in case, number, gender), and the grammatical case itself. (Diessel 1999: 50–51)

There exists little information about the origin of demonstrative words. It has not been proven that demonstratives were derived from any lexical source other than a deictic one. It is likely that demonstratives are one of the oldest language items or even that they were the basis for forming language, as their pragmatic functions distinguish them from all other word classes. (Diessel 1999: 8–9.)

3.1.11. Demonstrative proadjectives

Demonstrative proadjectives (e.g., *such*) are also demonstrative nouns belonging to the adjectives' word class and may be derived from the same or close stem as demonstrative pronouns. That is also the case for Livonian, where the demonstrative proadjectives *seḷḷi* and *tūoḷi* have been derived from the demonstrative stems *se* and *tūo* accordingly. Proadjectives can be used as determiners as well as refer to a full noun phrase alone; see example (4) in Courland Livonian, where the first *seḷḷi* shows the determinative use within a noun phrase and the second partitive form *seḷḷizt* is referring to the previously mentioned noun phrase.

(4)	*Se*	*u'm*	**seḷḷi**	**pu'nni**	**kuoṭ**.
	DEM	be.3SG	such	red	bag
	Ma	*tō-b*	*ka*	**seḷḷiz-t.**	
	1SG.S	want-1SG	too	such-PART.S	
	'It is **a kind of red bag**. I want one **such as this**, too.'				

Proadjectives have the semantic feature of referring to qualities through a type or a class. As a result, reference expressed with proadjectives is more directed toward a type of many similar or identical objects rather than one particular object/token (Larjavaara 1986: 26, Hole & Klumpp 2000: 232–233). As many proadjectives in Finnic languages derive from a particular demonstrative pronoun stem (e.g., Finnish *tämä* 'this (here)' and *tällainen* 'such', *tuo* 'that' and *tuollainen* 'like that'), proadjectives can also mark (spatial) deictic distance from the speaker's and/or hearer's point of view and can, therefore, also be considered deictic words with

their meaning dependent on the surroundings, location, and other features related to the speech moment. Thus, in addition to referring to the quality or type of an entity, proadjectives can also refer to the distance of the quality based on the surroundings or the discourse. Therefore, they are quite similar to demonstrative pronouns in this respect.

Although proadjectives are adjectives and function as such in a sentence (they can be attributes for nouns and also occur independently from a noun), they mostly tend not to be compared which is usually common for adjectives (see for Finnish proadjectives Hakulinen et al. 2004: §610, and for Estonian proadjectives Erelt et al. 1995: 27).

3.1.12. Demonstrative proadverbs

Demonstrative proadverbs (e.g., *here*, *then*, *so*) are the only type of uninflected demonstratives which can accordingly be subclassified as locational proadverbs, manner-indicating proadverbs and temporal proadverbs. In Finnic languages, these may show an older, often non-productive case-inflection within them, e.g., in Late Proto-Finnic locative *-nA* showing in Livonian demonstrative proadverb *sīn* and Estonian demonstrative proadverb *siin* 'here'. Many locational proadverbs in Finnic languages have developed from earlier interior or exterior local case forms of the demonstrative pronouns. For example, the inessive case ending -*s* can be still seen in the Livonian proadverb *täs* 'here' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), but the word itself has grammaticalised into an adverb over time, even though it once was a case form of a demonstrative pronoun. Many Finnic languages have a series of three or even more proadverbs with the same stem distinguished by the location or direction to which they are referring: e.g., Estonian ablative-like *sealt*, adessive-like *seal*, and illative-like *sinna* form a group of proadverbs originating from the same stem but showing different locations (Keevallik 2011: 412).

Proadverbs can be divided into locative proadverbs showing the location and direction of something (e.g., *here*, *there*), temporal proadverbs showing time (e.g., *then*), and manner-indicating proadverbs showing the state or manner of something (e.g., *so*). Some researchers (e.g., König 2015, König & Umbach 2018) have described manner-indicating proadverbs even more precisely as adverbs of quality, degree, or similarity, as described in Section 3.1.5. Proadverbs can show many different deictic differences, belonging to both space/demonstrative deixis and to the third main category of deixis – temporal deixis, as well as to manner deixis.

3.2. Anaphora and nominal determination

Anaphora and nominal determination are important theoretical concepts with respect to pro-forms and their qualities. Anaphora is the relation between two linguistic elements. The interpretation of anaphora is largely determined by the interpretation of another lexical unit, which is called the antecedent because it precedes the anaphor. For example, in the sentence ***John*** *said that **he** was a music lover*, "John" is the antecedent and "he" is the anaphor. The term 'anaphora' comes from the Greek word ἀναφορά, meaning 'carrying back', which is a good definition of the relationship between the anaphor and antecedent, as the anaphor carries semantic reference back to the initial word. Anaphors can be expressed with pronouns, reflexives, names, descriptions, but also gaps such as zero expression (pro-drop). (Huang 2000: 1, 3) For example, when a particular word is not used, but it is clear from the previous context to which entity reference is made, using a personal pronoun at first and then dropping it in the next phrase in front of a verb. In the Finnic languages, the verb conjugation, however, also indicates the person, which makes the zero-expression anaphora even clearer. For example, CLiv ***Mēg ūom ī'ds lēbas: ī'dsõ ku'bsõ pe'ļļõm, ī'dsõ ku'bsõ sīemõ*** '**We are** "in one bread": together [we] **make** money, together [we] **eat**' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), where the 1st person plural pronoun *mēg* 'we' is used first as an anaphor followed later by a pro-drop. Only the verb phrases *pe'ļļõm* 'we earn' and *sīemõ* 'we eat' indicate that the same people are still being referred to using pro-drop. Zero expressions are also important in the text from a semantic point of view (despite seeming to be just a missing lexical reference), as personal pronouns as well as zero forms still refer to highly salient entities and the highest status in focus in the text. Also, personal pronouns and zero expressions are interchangeable in many contexts (Gundel et al. 1993, Hint 2021: 109).

Anaphora can be divided into two main categories according to its syntactic use: NP- or DP-anaphora (noun phrase or demonstrative phrase anaphora) and VP-anaphora (verb phrase anaphora). The following is a short overview of NP- and N-anaphora, which are more relevant to the current thesis. NP-anaphora also includes N-anaphora (noun anaphora). In the case of NP-anaphora, the anaphor and the antecedent are related in terms of reference; they are defined by 'identity of reference'. By contrast in N-anaphora, both the anaphor and its antecedent correspond to the 'identity of sense', e.g., *John bought **a new CD**, but Bill bought a second-hand **one*** where the antecedent *a new CD* and the anaphor *one* actually refer to two different objects of the same type or sense. NP-anaphora can be expressed by gaps, pronouns, reflexives, names, and descriptions, while N-anaphora can be expressed by gaps, pronouns, and nouns. (Huang 2000: 2–3)

Determination refers to specifying the reference of a noun or noun phrase in a particular context, e.g., whether the expression of a noun phrase is definite, indefinite, specific, unspecific, generic, etc. While specificity is a quality of a referential act, referring to one specific entity in a particular speech situation context, definiteness is instead a textual quality and often depends on whether an entity has been mentioned earlier in the text (Pajusalu 1999: 2). Numerals and demonstrative pronouns have often become nominal determiners in European languages

(for Estonian, see Hint 2021: 42), having developed into articles in many languages. Livonian does not have an obligatory article, but the use of numerals and demonstratives can be article-like, e.g., in the sentence *Sǟ'lõz **ikš** skūolopātiji sai eņțšõn mōkabāl* 'A school teacher got a piece of land there for himself/herself' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), the numeral *ikš* 'one' implies that the reference is indefinite, as there is no specific information about a particular school teacher. However, if we use the demonstrative pronoun *se* instead of *ikš* – *Sǟ'lõz **se** skūolopātiji sai eņțšõn mōkabāl* 'The school teacher got a piece of land there for himself/herself' – then the reference would be definite and the expectation would be that a particular school teacher is identifiable, either by previous mention in the text, by shared common knowledge or by presence (exophoric reference). Thus the function of *se* would be comparable to the definite article in English. For more information on the development of demonstratives into definite articles, see Section 3.2.2.

3.2.1. Definiteness

Definiteness, as a category of determination, expresses the quality of a referent being already known and familiar from a previous interaction or being a particular, concrete, or generally known entity (Chesterman 1991: 2–3, Lyons 1999: 3). Definite expressions indicate that the speaker is referring to a definite or particular entity, not just to any entity of that kind (e.g., *the car* when talking about a particular car that the speaker owns, has previously been talked about, or is generally known from the previous discourse, or *a car* when just talking about any car that is not specified). Definite reference is also expected to be clear for the hearer and not just for the speaker. Therefore, important qualities for definiteness include familiarity, identifiability, general knowledge, and the previous discourse between speakers. (Lyons 1999: 2–3) Thus, definiteness can be considered a phenomenon, which depends on interaction (Lyons 1999: 6, Larjavaara 1990: 17).

3.2.2. Demonstratives as a source of definite articles

Articles are one of the main lexical units for showing definiteness. There are also definite prefixes and suffixes in the world's languages, e.g., the Swedish definite suffix -*et*, or the Arabic definite prefix *al* (Lyons 1999: 1). Finnic languages do not have articles but instead use demonstratives in a context similar to definite articles in, for example, English or German.

Holger Diessel states that adnominal demonstratives have provided a common historical source for definite articles with most earlier studies by various researchers saying that definite articles come from anaphoric adnominal demonstratives. When anaphoric demonstratives (which have not yet acquired definite article status) are mostly used only for topical antecedents, then the use of article-like demonstratives is much more extended with them being able to refer to all kinds of referents in the preceding discourse – even non-topical ones. (Diessel 1999: 128)

As demonstrative pronouns have features in common with articles – they are able to mark definiteness in discourse – they can become definite articles via grammaticalisation. This happens when a demonstrative pronoun is used not only for referring to a previously mentioned noun phrase but also for identifying other familiar objects. As a result, the use of a demonstrative ultimately becomes obligatory. (Pajusalu 1997a: 148) In her research on the Finnish demonstrative pronoun *se*, Ritva Laury states that in 19th-century narratives, *se* is used regularly in front of noun phrases and basically functions as an article (Laury 1991). However, use of *se* is still not completely obligatory, therefore, it cannot be considered a fully independent article in Finnish (Pajusalu 1997a: 147). Tatjana Agranat found that the Votic demonstrative *se* also was regularly used for stressing and identifying certain references in 19th-century texts; however, in 21st-century texts it does not occur as regularly anymore and, thus, *se* has also not fully grammaticalised into a definite article in Votic (Agranat 2015). Renate Pajusalu has studied whether the Estonian demonstrative pronoun *see* is also used like a definite article in spoken Estonian. Her article gives five cases where *see* has an article-like function: 1) when reference is made to an aforementioned entity that is known to both the speaker and hearer, 2) when making a reference to a commonly known entity (e.g., a commonly known TV show), 3) when *see* is used as a correlate of the relative clause, 4) when reference is made to an entity that is definite for the speaker, and 5) when referring to an entity found outside of the discourse context (e.g., text heard from the television or radio). However, in none of these cases is *see* completely obligatory and, thus, it has not become an article, although it does help to clarify the reference and make it more concrete in the speech situation. (Pajusalu 1997a).

No similar study has yet been conducted on Livonian. However, a general overview based on the data used in the current study will be given in the empirical section discussing whether Livonian demonstrative pronouns also show article-like functions and, if they do, in which contexts they occur (see Section 5.2.2.2.).

3.2.3. Demonstratives as placeholders

In addition to the use as articles, demonstratives are also very common source for nominal placeholder in the world's languages in general (Fox 2010: 3). The pointing function of the demonstratives makes it possible to catch the hearer's attention on to be said and specified referent while the speaker is trying to remember or articulate it. Thus the common focus of attention is shared in the process of specifying the referent. In addition to the pointing use, demonstratives as pro-forms can substitute the word or a phrase and can act on the place of the word that the speaker has problems remembering or articulating. (Hayashi & Yoon 2010: 36, 46) In the current study, also the placeholding and self-repair examples are looked at where possible, to describe with which pro-forms these occur and what are the most common strategies for using them.

4. MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF COURLAND LIVONIAN PRO-FORMS

The first analysis chapter of this thesis examines the morphosyntactic use of Courland Livonian pro-forms in the spoken language data and focuses on describing their inflectional diversity, the variation of long and short forms (where possible), and the most common tendencies of morphosyntactic use, e.g., in which contexts or morphosyntactic surroundings do long or short forms appear more often and whether it possible to use these forms as determiners. The morphosyntactic analysis is important for describing and explaining the actual use, preferences, and diversity of the pro-forms in the last Livonian native speakers' language, giving an overview of which inflectional forms are the most frequently used in the data, which are among the rarest ones or missing, and how much variation there is between certain forms. This analysis also provides material for comparing the modern use of Livonian pro-forms to the descriptions in earlier grammars and dictionaries, which is mentioned throughout the chapter and is summarised in Section 4.5.

The pro-forms in the analysis are grouped according to the grammatical similarity they share with each other: in Section 4.1, personal and demonstrative pronouns are analysed, as Livonian 3rd person pronouns have historically developed from demonstratives; in Section 4.2, the morphosyntactic use of demonstrative proadjectives is analysed; and Section 4.3 is about the morphosyntactic use of demonstrative proadverbs, divided into two sections – Section 4.3.1 on locative proadverbs and Section 4.3.2 on manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs. Section 4.4. discusses and summarises the main morphosyntactic tendencies discovered among the groups of pro-forms, and in the summary – Section 4.5 at the end of the fourth chapter – the results from the data are also compared to earlier sources on Livonian pro-forms in order to compare and describe possible differences and changes.

4.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns

Livonian personal and demonstrative pronouns are analysed together in one section, as the 3rd person pronouns historically were demonstratives in late Proto-Finnic and occasionally appear in demonstrative use still today: the pronoun *tāmā* 'he, she' which is the 3rd person singular pronoun in nowadays Livonian has also preserved some of its initial historical demonstrative meaning 'this' in some phrases, e.g., **tǟ'm** *āigast* '(during) **this** (ongoing) year', although it is no longer used as a fully independent demonstrative pronoun (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 117).

Similarly, the 3rd person pronoun plural form *ne* 'they' has the same form as the distance-neutral demonstrative pronoun *se* 'this' plural form *ne* 'these'. They are, thus, indistinguishable in **nominal** use, where the pronoun is used independently, e.g., ***ne*** *ātõ täsā* 'they/these are here', but can be distinguished in **adnominal** use, where *ne* is used as an attribute or a determiner of a noun, e.g., ***ne*** *rõntõd ātõ täsā* '**these** books are here'. In the latter case, where *ne* is used as an attribute, it can only be a demonstrative pronoun rather than a personal pronoun, except when used as a genitive attribute for showing possession, e.g., ***nänt lapst rõntõd*** '**their** children's books' or '**these** children's books', where both 3rd person pronoun plural and demonstrative pronoun plural interpretations are possible. This demonstrates that certain personal and demonstrative pronoun lexemes and forms cannot always be strictly distinguished from each other in Livonian.

The morphosyntactic analysis of personal and demonstrative pronouns continues as follows: I present different inflectional forms that appear in the data and describe which ones occur as both long and short either based on the length of the stem or accordingly a longer or shorter case ending (see also Section 1.1.) and which appear in only one form (without separate long and short forms based on the above-mentioned conditions) as well as what differences exist in their morphosyntactic use. The analysis of the demonstrative pronouns includes two separate sections on nominal and adnominal use. This distinction depends on whether the pronoun is used as a demonstrative attribute or not, which considerably changes the overall use of the pronoun; therefore, these examples are analysed in different sections.

4.1.1. *Minā, ma*

In the main corpus, there were a total of 632 examples of the 1st person singular pronoun in different inflectional forms. The examples appeared in five different cases: nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, and elative. Of these, the nominative and dative had both long and short forms and the elative example *mi'nstõ* appeared only in its long form; according to Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary and Kettunen's dictionary, there is also a short elative form *mi'nst* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 115, Kettunen 1938: LVIII). There were no examples of the instrumental case or interior local cases other than the elative (i.e., the illative and inessive) in the main corpus. From the expanded corpus that was used for finding examples of the forms that had only one or no examples at all in the main corpus, 11 additional examples of the elative long form *mi'nstõ* were found; however, there were no additional examples of other inflectional forms that were missing from the main corpus (instrumental, illative, and inessive forms). Table 8 and Figure 3 sum up the inflectional forms of both the main and the expanded corpus.

Table 8. Inflectional forms of the 1st person singular pronoun in the data

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
minā	nominative (long form)	95
ma	nominative (short form)	**295**
mah	nominative (short, aspirated form)	3
mä	nominative (short form)	1
mi'n	genitive	83
mi'nnõn	dative (long form)	**115**
mi'n	dative (short form)	25
mīnda	partitive	14
mi'nstõ	elative (long form)	12
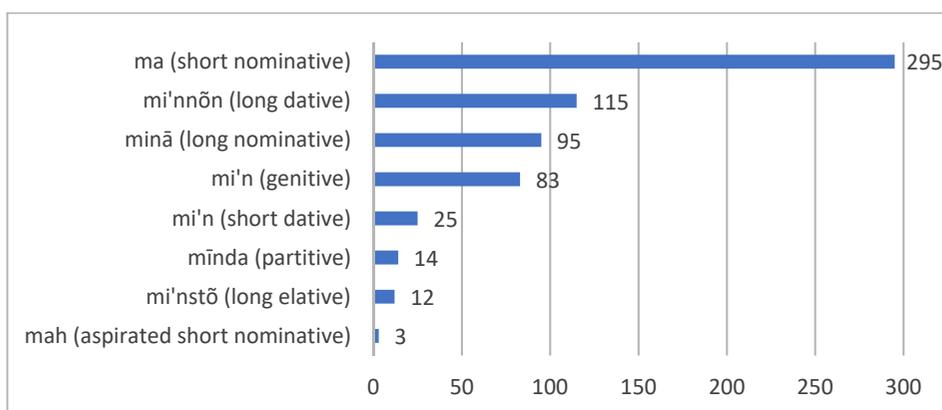
Figure 3. Inflectional forms of the 1st person singular pronoun in the data

As can be seen from the table above, in the nominative, the 1st person singular pronouns show four different forms in the data: the short form *ma*, the long form *minā*, and the alternative short forms *mah* and *mä*. The latter two forms have only one or a couple of examples in the data and, therefore, cannot be considered regularly used forms. Instead these appear only occasionally and are phonologically motivated: the form *mä* is pronounced together with a following word starting with *ä* and the aspirated short nominative *mah* appears when there is a short break before continuing the utterance, thus causing the aspiration; otherwise, however, the sound *h* has mostly disappeared from Livonian and is only used in foreign loanwords, names, and interjections, e.g., *härtsog* 'duke', *hop* 'let's go!', etc. (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). It has disappeared from other words of Finnic origin, such as *i'bbi* or *õ'bbi* 'horse', while in many other Finnic languages *h* has been preserved in the corresponding forms of such words, e.g., Finnish *hevonen*, Ingrian *hepoin*, Karelian, Ludic, and Veps *hebo* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012, Metsmägi et al. 2012). See (5) and (6) for examples of *mä* and *mah*:

(5) **`mä**=      ä'b            `tīed. (.)   `mikšpierāst.
    1SG.S   NEG.1SG   know.CNG.SG   what_for
    'I do not know (.) why [he did that]' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

(6) un   `ni        **ma^h** (.)      $ ku       lek-š        `kuodā-j   ve'l
    and   now   1SG.S   when   go-PST.1SG   home-LAT   even
    `e'mmit        sa-i                  `pieksõ. $
    more   go-PST.1SG   beating.PART
    'and now as **I** (.) went home I got even more beat up' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

The short nominative form *ma* is the most commonly used form in the main
corpus with 295 examples, showing that native speakers use the short form *ma*
more frequently than the long form *minā* (95 examples). Also, *ma* is used by all
of the speakers, while *minā* is used by five speakers out of six and is missing from
Speaker no. 1's data. Speaker no. 1 speaks the Īra dialect, which differs a bit from
the Eastern dialect spoken by the other five speakers. The motivations for
choosing to use the long form *minā* or the short form *ma* seem to be more
semantic-pragmatic (e.g., choosing the long form for contrasting, stressing the
speaker's individuality, starting or continuing a narrative, etc.) and are, therefore,
discussed in more detail in Section 5.1.1. For the most part, both *minā* and *ma*
very often appear in the first position of the utterance, moving to the second
position only after a temporal adverbial or an object phrase that is phonologically
stressed; see example (7):

(7) a   ku   `īrgõ-b        akū-b        ne'i        `sãlga   pȯ'ddõ-m,
    but   when   start-3SG   get-3SG   so   back   ache-SUP
    (.) ä'b   `tämpõ        **ma**            ä'b            `vȯi,
    NEG.1SG   today   1SG.S   NEG.1SG   may.CNG.SG
    'but when [my] back starts, gets aching so (.) no today **I** can't' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

The dative case also has two forms: the long form *mi'nnõn* (115 examples) and
the short form *mi'n* (25 examples), which is abbreviated from *mi'nnõn*; such
abbreviation is noted as a tendency for most personal pronouns by Viitso (Viitso
2008: 332). However, in 2008, Viitso gives these forms without the broken tone,
though his later sources do mark them for broken tone (see also Inaba 2015: 105
for a detailed overview of Courland Livonian dative forms). The short dative form
mi'n is homonymous with the genitive form *mi'n*. Here, by contrast, the long
form is preferred, which is also the older form. Although the short form *mi'n*
would be especially suitable for quick spoken discourse and/or accelerated speech,
it has not yet taken the place of the long form *mi'nnõn*. Its homonymity with the
genitive form may also be a contributing cause for this, as the genitive has only
one form *mi'n* and the two forms could be indistinguishable in some contexts and
syntactic structures. See (8) and (9) accordingly on the short dative form *mi'n* and
the homonymous genitive form.

(8) | *un* | *`si'z* | *ē* | *`Grizelda* | **mi'n** (.) | *`at-`kērat-õz* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | then | HESIT | Grizelda | 1SG.DAT.S | PRFX-write-PST.3SG |

ē	*se*	*`kēra.*
HESIT	DEM	letter

'and then um Grizelda (.) wrote **me** um this letter' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

(9) | **mi'n** | *jemā* | *`tãmikš-iz* | *tä'mm-õn* | *`mǭṛ-idi* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.GEN | mother | offer- PST.3SG | 3SG-DAT.L | berry-PART.PL |

mi'n	*`tarā-st.*
1SG.GEN	garden-ELA

'**my** mother offered him/her berries from **my** garden' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

The partitive, genitive, and elative examples each only had one type of form. Partitive *mīnda* and genitive *mi'n* do not distinguish long and short forms at all, though, elative *mi'nstõ* could be considered the long form, as mentioned above. However, the short elative form *mi'nst* appeared neither in the main corpus nor in the expanded corpus. The elative is also the only interior local case for which the 1st person singular pronoun has examples in both corpora, as the illative and inessive cases would be used very rarely or artificially with the personal pronouns. In the main corpus, the elative example was used with a separative meaning (where from?); additionally, in the expanded corpus there were also examples where the form *mi'nstõ* was used in its comparative function. See (10) on the separative function and (11) on the comparative construction:

(10) | *sa* | *`kīt* | **mi'n-stõ** | *`tier-īdi* | *un,* .hh |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.SG.S | say.IMP.2SG | 1SG-ELA.L | greeting-PART.PL | and |

un=	*un*	*la'z*	*`tämā*	*e*	*`bro'utšõ-g.*
and	and	let	3SG.L	HESIT	drive-JUS.SG

'you say greetings **from me** and .hh and and let him um drive [here]' (AEDKL: F0997-02)

(11) | *ta* | *vȯ'ḷ* (.) | *rǭžki* | *`vaṇīmi* | **mi'n-stõ**. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3.SG.S | be.PST.3SG | a_bit | older | 1SG-ELA.L |

'he was (.) a bit older **than me**' (AEDKL: DS0118-01)

Several more subtypes of uses can be distinguished among the dative adverbials: a possessive adverbial construction with the dative, e.g., **mi'nnõn *ä'b ūo `aigõ*** 'I do not have time' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01), an experiencer construction, e.g., **mi'nnõn** *`jālga li'bžtiz* 'my foot slipped' (AEDKL: F1035-01), a debitive mood construction, showing what needs to be done by someone, where the agent noun is in the dative, e.g., **`mi'n** *vȯ'ḷ `strǭdõmõst* 'I had to work' (AEDKL: F1035-01). The absence of the instrumental form from both corpora could be caused by a similar meaning being expressed with the postposition *ī'ṇõz* 'together, with' or the adverb *ku'bs* 'with', although the use of the instrumental would nonetheless be common and expected. Likely the non-dynamic genre of the interview is the reason for the lack of instrumental case examples, as examples of it are rare also among certain other personal pronouns. In Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary, most

of the examples with the form *mi'nkõks* are also used in their instrumental rather than comitative meaning, e.g., *Ta mãngiz* **mi'nkõks** *ne'iku kaš īrkõks* 's/he played **with me** like a cat with a mouse' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 185). Therefore, it is possible that for expressing the comitative meaning the adpositions are more preferred in Courland Livonian. However, examples of the instrumental case have also been shown to have some comitative functions, e.g., *ma sīeb na'ggiri* **kāimaks** 'I eat potatoes **together with a neighbour**' (Viitso 2008: 327). Grünthal (2003) conducted a short test on the functional and syntactic distribution of the functions of Livonian translative-comitative forms. His results showed an almost equal division between comitative and instrumental use vs. translative use with comitative-instrumental being slightly more common: 56% of the examples were used in a comitative or instrumental function and 44% in a translative function (Grünthal 2003: 184). Grünthal also suggested that the comitative use with the preposition *pa* (borrowed from Latvian) in Courland Livonian is acquired from the similar construction in Latvian where accusative-instrumental case form is used (Grünthal 2003: 194).

4.1.2. *Sinā, sa*

There were a total of 86 examples of the 2nd person singular pronoun *sinā, sa* in the main corpus. Its inflectional forms were quite poorly represented in the main corpus, showing only nominative, dative, and partitive forms. Of these, the nominative and dative had both long and short forms in the main corpus, while the partitive did not distinguish a separate long or short form. The expanded corpus added 12 genitive examples of the form *si'n*, four partitive examples of *sīnda*, two instrumental examples of *si'nkõks* and one long elative example of *si'nstõ*. The forms of both corpora are summed up in Table 9 and in Figure 4.

Table 9. Inflectional forms of the 2nd person singular pronoun in the data

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
sinā	nominative (long form)	3
sa	nominative (short form)	**67**
sa^h	nominative (short, aspirated form)	1
si'n	genitive	12
si'nnõn	dative (long form)	8
si'n	dative (short form)	6
sīnda	partitive	5
si'nkõks	instrumental	2
si'nstõ	elative (long form)	1
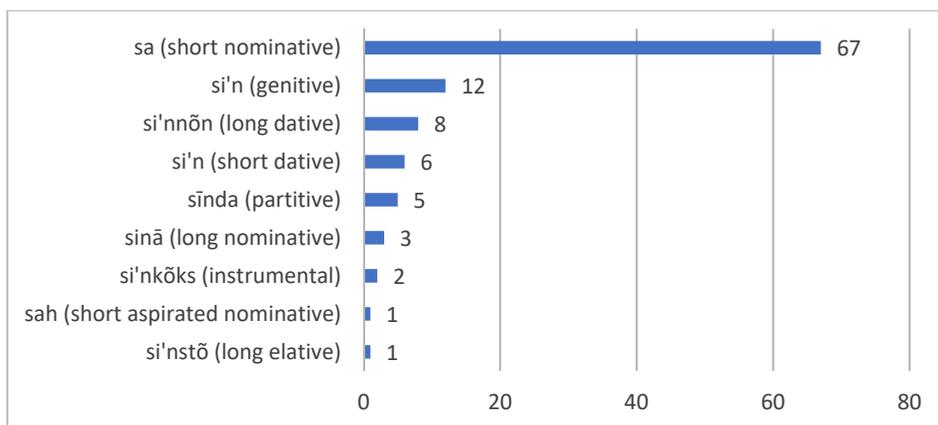
Figure 4. Inflectional forms of the 2nd person singular pronoun in the data

In the nominative case, there were a total of three forms: long nominative *sinā* (3 examples), short nominative *sa* (67 examples), and the aspirated short form *sa^h* (one example). Short nominative *sa* is the most preferred among the nominative forms, while the long form *sinā* has only a couple of occurrences, so seemingly, the long nominative occurs more rarely for the 2nd person singular pronoun than for the 1st person singular pronoun. The short and aspirated form *sa^h* appeared at the end of an utterance, when the speaker was finishing the utterance with this pronoun, asking one of the interviewers a question, or adding stress and a rising intonation to the form; see example, see example (12):

(12) *lutār*   [*sa*   *`ūo-d*?] (.)   *ā*   *ma*   *`ka=*   *u'm*   *`lutār.*
Lutheran   2SG.S   be-2SG   PTCL   1SG.S   also   be.1SG   Lutheran
(.) *`sa^h*?
   2SG.S
'are you a Lutheran? (.) I see, I am also a Lutheran. (.) [what about] **you**?' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The dative case also shows two forms for the 2nd person singular pronoun: the long form *si'nnõn* (eight examples) and the short form *si'n*, which is abbreviated in an analogous manner to 1st person singular *mi'n* and is also homonymous with the genitive form *si'n*. Although there are fewer examples, the number of long dative and short dative forms does not differ much and are used almost equally much, while in the case of the 1st person singular pronoun, the long dative form is strongly preferred. Among the short dative form examples, there are three examples where a discourse particle *ju* 'well, indeed' appears next to the short form *si'n*. Thus, due to the shortness and syllabic structure (one closed syllable) of the form, other small words and particles are more easily connected to it than to the long form. See (13) for an example of the long dative form and (14) for an example of the short one:

(13) või   `si'nn-õn      ä'b       ūo            vajāg      `vie-tā?
      PTCL   2SG-DAT.L   NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG   need   water-PART
      'don't **you** need water?' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

(14) **si'n**   ju=   ä'b   ūo   `rǭ'-dõ   ju.
      2SG.DAT.S   PTCL   NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG   money-PART   PTCL
      'well **you** do not have money' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

Genitive, partitive, instrumental, and elative examples appeared only in one form, as genitive, partitive, and instrumental forms do not distinguish separate long and short forms and the elative example is again considered to be a long form based on earlier sources, though there were no examples of the short elative form *si'nst* in the data. Surprisingly, genitive examples appeared only in the expanded corpus, while the otherwise common genitive case did not appear among the main corpus forms. The genre of the recordings might also cause this, as the speakers are usually talking about their life or past events as narratives. In these contexts, the 1st and 3rd person pronouns are typically used and there is little conversation about the present moment during the recording, which would provide a chance for using the 2nd person singular pronoun in genitive.

The elative form *si'nstõ* was used for marking the change or process of becoming something, see example (15):

(15) `minā      tǭ'-b       tī'e-dõ       **`si'n-stõ** (.)   `e'žmiz
      1SG.L   want-1SG   do-INF   2SG-ELA.L   first.GEN
      ja   `perīz      `tieudmī'e.
      and   last.GEN   researcher.GEN
      'I want to make **[of] you** (.) the first and the last researcher' (AEDKL: SUHK0432-01)

As interior local cases are otherwise not very commonly used with personal pronouns in Livonian, the elative forms, which do occur in the data, show that at least the elative is an interior local case that is still used more frequently with personal pronouns.

4.1.3. *Tämā, ta, tä*

4.1.3.1. Nominal use

In total, there were 728 examples of *tämā, ta*, *tä* in nominal use in the main corpus. Different inflectional forms were quite diversely represented among the nominal examples – there were examples in the nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, instrumental, elative, and even the rarely used adessive case, which appears in modern Livonian almost exclusively in certain adverbials and fixed phrases (Viitso 2008: 328). The genitive attribute examples which showed possession were also included in the nominal use section (12 examples). In the expanded corpus, there were additionally four examples of the long elative *tä'mstõ*, two

examples of the short elative *tä'mst*, and one example of the long inessive *tä'msõ*, where again it is important to note that there is also a short inessive form *tä'ms* which did not occur in the corpora (Kettunen 1938: LVIII, Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116). The illative forms *tä'mmõz* (long) and *tä'mmõ* (short), which are also mentioned by Kettunen (1938), did not occur in the data. Table 10 and Figure 5 summarise the inflectional forms of both corpora.

Table 10. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *tämā, ta, tä* in the data (nominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tämā	nominative (long form)	35
ta	nominative (short form)	**477**
ta^h	nominative (short, aspirated form)	1
tä	nominative (short form)	8
tä'm	genitive	35
tä'mmõn	dative (long form)	**116**
tä'm	dative (short form)	6
tā̃nda	partitive	**45**
tä'mkõks	instrumental	3
tä'msõ	inessive (long form)	1
tä'mstõ	elative (long form)	5
tä'mst	elative (short form)	2
tämāl	adessive	1
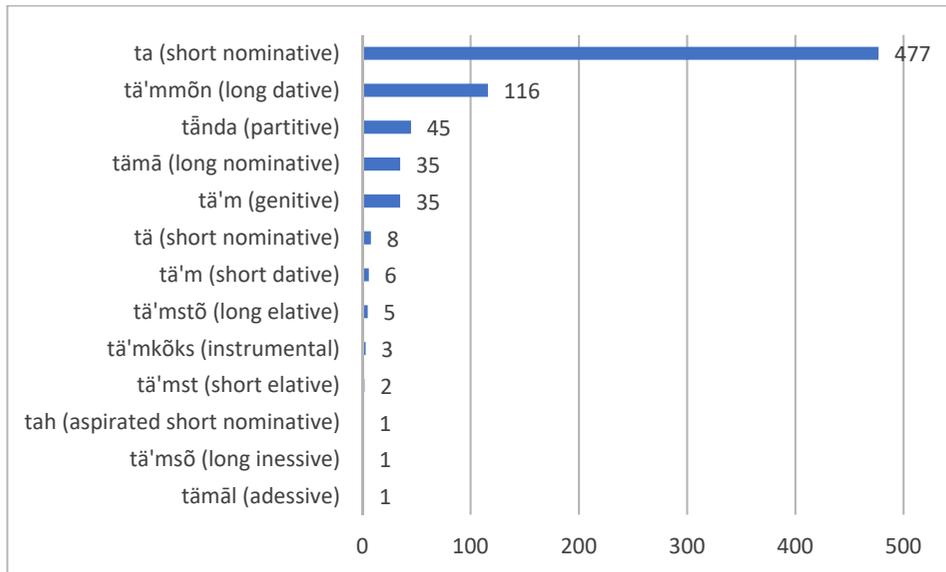
Figure 5. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* in the data (nominal use)

The nominative case has three different forms in the data: long form *tämā* (35 examples), short form *ta* (the most common, 477 examples), aspirated short form *ta^h* (one example) and another alternative short form *tä* (eight examples). Again it can be seen that the short form is the most common and thus neutral use of a personal pronoun. The motivation for choosing between the long form *tämā* and the short form *ta* are again more semantic-pragmatic and are discussed in Section 5.2.1.1. The aspirated short form *ta^h* occurred phonologically stressed and appeared in the end of an utterance, causing the aspiration. The other short form *tä* seems to be an occasional alternate phonological form of *ta*. In Courland Livonian sources, it has so far been mentioned only in Kettunen's dictionary (Kettunen 1938: 445), where it is described as only a phonetic variant and its use in Salaca Livonian is also referenced based on Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116); the form is mentioned in all Salaca Livonian dictionaries and grammars. *Tä* is used by four speakers out of six, which shows that it is also not an accidental form used by just one speaker. In example (16), the speaker uses the form *tä* three times in one utterance:

(16)   **tä**   **tä**   *si'z*   **tä**   *`jel-īz*     *ku*     *se*     *`skūol*
      3SG.S   3SG.S   then   3SG.S   live-PST.3SG   when   DEM   school
      võ'ļ.
      be.PST.3SG
      '**she she** then **she** lived [here] when this school was [here]' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The dative has both the long form *tä'mmõn* and the short form *tä'm* which is again homonymous with the genitive form *tä'm*. The long form of the dative (116 examples) again occurs much more often than the short form (20 examples). Viitso does not mention the 3rd person singular short dative form in his Livonian grammar overview as he does for the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns, though it also has a dative function in the data and is abbreviated from the long dative form in the same way as the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns where the dative ending *-õn* has also been lost (Tomingas 2022b: 172). Additionally, the data show two elative forms – the long form *tä'mstõ* (five examples) and the short form *tä'mst* (two examples) – of which the long form is used slightly more often. The inessive form *tä'msõ* (one example) also occurred in the data. This can be considered the long form of the inessive, as Sjögren & Wiedemann as well as Kettunen mention the short inessive form *tä'ms*, which did not, however, appear in the data. The 3rd person singular elative pronoun is used for marking a source of something or a knowledge, fear, etc. about something, see (17) for an example of the elative form:

(17)   *mi'nn-õn*   *või-b*   *võl-da*   *`irm*   **tä'm-stõ**.
      1SG-DAT.L   may-3SG   be-INF   fear   3SG-ELA.L
      'I may be scared **of him/her**' (AEDKL: SUHK0435-02)

The long inessive form *tä'msõ* was not used about a person, but about an inanimate entity – it referred to what is inside of a book. This is the only example of an inessive case personal pronoun encountered thus far. The only adessive form – *tämāl* – was not expected to appear, as in modern Livonian, the adessive is mostly used only in certain fixed adverbials such as *mọ̄l* 'on the ground', *a'bbõl* 'for help', *lovāl* 'in the bed', *sīel āigal* 'at that time', etc. (Viitso 2008: 328). This form is also not mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources, though a similar form – *tämal* – does, however, appear in Salaca Livonian sources where the adessive continued to be used in contrast to Courland Livonian where the dative took over similar functions from the adessive case. The speaker continues with dative after using the adessive form in example (18):

(18) *ē:*   **`tämā-l**      *ju*      *hm*        *ē*          *`Poulīn*
      HESIT   3SG.L-ADE   PTCL   HESIT   HESIT   Poulīn.GEN
      `ve'll̦-õn*            *`Aņdrõks. (.)   *võ'l̦*   *sel̦l̦i*   *`lọ̄ja.*
      brother-DAT   Aņdrõks.   be.PST.3SG   such   boat
      'um well **he** had hm um Poulīn's brother Aņdrõks (.) had such a boat' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

The genitive form *tä'm* (35 examples) and the partitive form *tānda* (45 examples) did not have separate short and long forms. The overall nominal use tended strongly towards the nominative (478 examples) and long dative (116 examples) dominating with other forms appearing less than 100 times in the data.

4.1.3.2. Adnominal use

Adnominal uses of *tämā, ta, tä* included their use as demonstrative attributes. There were six examples of this use in temporal expressions in the main corpus and another different four expressions in the expanded corpus. All of the collected examples of demonstrative attribute use occurred in temporal expressions, showing that *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* has maintained its demonstrative function only in temporal phrases in Livonian, but not as a separate demonstrative of its own.

Eight demonstrative attributes occurred as genitive *tä'm* and two as the essive form *tä'mn* which appeared within a fixed phrase *tä'mnāigast* '(during) this (current) year'. Historically, the headword in many Livonian temporal expressions has been in the now rarely used essive case, which can have several different endings (-*nā*, -*nõ*, -*n* or -*õn*) in Livonian, as in, for example, *tä'm āigastõn* '(during) this (current) year'. However, in some variants of temporal expressions, the essive ending has been either dropped or substituted with the nominative in the headword, while the demonstrative attribute remains in the genitive, e.g., *tä'm āigast* '(during) this (current) year' and the abovementioned fixed phrase *tä'mnāigast*. The attribute case used with the essive is usually said to be the genitive, although also essive attribute is possible, e.g., *tä'm**n** āigastõn* '(during) this (current) year'. (Viitso 2008: 328, Viitso 2016: 151, 165) However, both the attributive and headword cases in temporal expressions can vary quite a lot in

modern Livonian with, for example, the inessive and adessive cases also being possible, as in, inessive *sīe*(*s*) *āigas*, adessive *sīe*(*l*) *āigal* 'at that time' or the merged form *sīesa'ggõl* (Viitso 2008: 288, 328).

In the main corpus, the following temporal phrases occurred with a demonstrative *tämā, ta, tä* attribute: *tä'm kūn* (one example) 'this month', *tä'm kūs* (one example) 'this month' and *tä'm āigast* (two examples) and *tä'mnāigast* (two examples). The first example *tä'm kūn* includes the essive ending *-n* (originating from the Proto-Finnic locative case ending *-*nA*), while the headword in the second example *tä'm kūs* is in the inessive. The final examples *tä'm āigast* and *tä'mnāigast* have likely dropped the essive ending from the end of the headword, as the attribute cases are, accordingly, the genitive and essive and these examples are quite clearly comparable to *tä'm āigastõn* and *tä'mnāigastõn* in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary. In *tä'm āigastõn,* the essive ending appears at the end of the headword, while in *tä'mnāigastõn,* the essive ending appears on both components. (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) See (19) for an example of both the genitive form *tä'm* and essive form *tä'mn* in a temporal use:

(19) | bet | ē | **`tä'm** | ē | **tä'm-n**-*āigast* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | HESIT | DEM.PROX.GEN | HESIT | DEM.PROX-ESS-year |
| *i'z* | | *ūo* | *ne'ije'n* | `*lūn-da* |
| NEG.PST.3SG | | be.CNG.SG | so_much | snow-PART |

'but um **this** um **on this [current]** year there was not so much snow' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The expanded corpus had four additional demonstrative temporal phrase examples: *tä'm ȫ'dõg* 'this evening', *tä'm ūoṇdžõl* 'this morning', *tä'm sõ'vvõ* 'this summer', and *tä'm si'gž* 'this autumn'. The first expression again likely dropped the essive ending from the headword, the second example uses the adessive case for the headword, and both of the last examples also likely dropped the essive ending, e.g., *sõ'vvõ* 'summer' is clearly comparable to essive *sõ'vvõn* 'in (the) summer', while the nominative form of the word is *sõ'v* 'summer'. Table 11 summarises the demonstrative temporal phrases containing a *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* demonstrative attribute in both corpora.

Table 11. Demonstrative phrases with the pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* in the data (adnominal use)

Phrase	Meaning	Number of occurrences
tä'm kūn	'this month'	1
tä'm kūs	'this month'	1
tä'm āigast	'this year'	2
tä'mnāigast	'this year'	2
tä'm ȫ'dõg	'this evening'	1
tä'm ūoṇdžõl	'this morning'	1
tä'm sõ'vvõ	'this summer'	1
tä'm si'gž	'this autumn'	1

Tāmā, ta, tä thus acts as a demonstrative only in temporal phrases and in its genitive or essive attribute form. Using the demonstrative *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* gives a change to distinguish the current and ongoing temporal references from ones in the past, e.g., *tä'm õ'dõg* 'this (current) evening' vs. *sīe õ'dõg* 'that (past) evening', although the neutral demonstrative *se* may also refer to the closer or current events in addition to its past time meaning, but *tä'm* or *tä'mn* refer always to the current, ongoing time (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012).

4.1.4. *Mēg, meg*

The 1st person plural pronoun *mēg, meg* had in total 248 examples in the main corpus. The examples appeared in nominative, genitive, dative, and partitive. In the expanded corpus, there were additionally three elative forms of *mēšti* and two elative forms of *mä'dstõ*, the latter being formed of the genitive stem *mä'd* and the elative case ending -*stõ*. The instrumental, inessive and illative forms were missing from both corpora. Table 12 and Figure 6 show the inflectional forms of the 1st person plural pronoun in both the main and expanded corpus.

Table 12. Inflectional forms of the 1st person plural pronoun in the data

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
mēg	nominative (long form)	**40**
mãg	nominative (long form in a self-repair)	1
meg	nominative (short form)	**94**
me	nominative (short form)	2
mä'd	genitive	28
mä'ddõn	dative (long form)	**71**
mēḑin	dative (long form)	1
mä'd	dative (short form)	2
mēḑi	partitive	9
mēšti	elative	3
mä'dstõ	elative	2
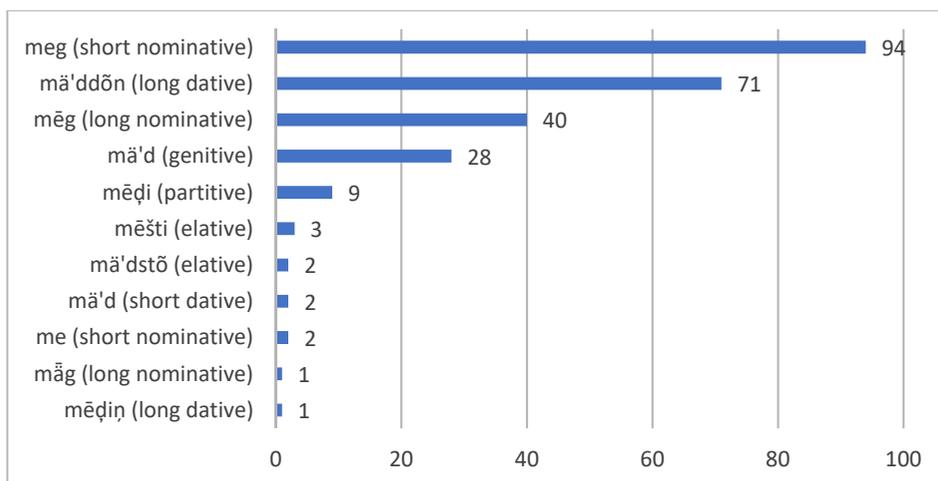
Figure 6. Inflectional forms of the 1st person plural pronoun in the data

In the nominative case, there appeared a total of four different forms: the long nominative *mēg*, the short nominative *meg*, another short nominative form *me*, and a long form *mā̄g*, which was immediately followed by a self-repair. The most used form in the nominative was the short form *meg* with 94 examples. The long form *mēg* also occurs moderately often in the data (41 examples), but occurs less than half as often as the short form. An alternate short form *me* appeared only twice in the data and occurred when the pronoun was lengthened due to the speaker's thinking process or when it appeared in a non-stressed position; see example (20):

(20)　　*ku*　　　***me***　　　*lek-š-mõ*　　*ē*　　　*sīe* .hh　　　*`lāt-st*
　　　　when　　1PL.S　　　go-PST-1PL　HESIT　DEM.GEN　church_service-ELA
　　　　ullõ　　*nekā*　　*krūogõ*　　　*`si'zzõl.*
　　　　out　　　like　　　tavern.ILL　　inside
　　　　'when **we** went out um from this .hh church service inside to the tavern' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

The alternate long form *mā̄g* appeared in the context of a self-repair, where the speaker changes the pronoun from 1st person plural to 1st person singular. The use of *ā̄* may also be accidental influence from Latvian, as in Latvian the long *ē* in a closed syllable is pronounced in this way. See example (21):

(21)　***mā̄g***　　　*`ma*　　*ju*　　*mm* (.)　　*setku* (.)　　*`pastāl-õks*　　*u'm*
　　　1PL.L　　　1SG.S　PTCL　HESIT　　　only　　　tied_shoe-INSTR　be.1SG
　　　skūolõ　　　　*ka*　　*`lā̄'-nd.*
　　　school.ILL　　too　　go-APP.SG
　　　'**we** I mm (.) always (.) have gone to school with tied shoes too' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

The dative appeared in three different forms: the long form *mä'ddõn* was again the most frequently used (71 examples), the short form *mä'd* only rarely (two examples), and the alternate long form *mēḑin* was used only by one speaker, which may indicate that this was an accidental form.

There were also two different elative forms: the expected form *mēšti* (3 examples) and the form *mä'dstõ* (two examples), which is constructed from the 1st person plural genitive pronominal stem *mä'd* and the elative case ending -*stõ*. As the speaker who used *mä'dstõ* had also used *mēšti* in other recordings, *mä'dstõ* may have been constructed by her, because she did not remember the form *mēšti* at the time of speaking. As there are no examples of *mä'dstõ* from the other speakers, the form is likely rare, but also not necessarily artificial. Although this form has not been mentioned in previous sources on Courland Livonian pronouns, Salaca Livonian sources again include similar forms – *mạddest* and *mạdst* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 115). Example (22) shows the use of the elative form *mä'dstõ*.

(22)	*ō*	*Pētõr*	*`Damberg*	*jah.*	.hh	*nu=*	*mh* (0.5) .hh	*nu*
	oh	Pētõr	Damberg	yes		PTCL	HESIT	PTCL

	se	*vȯ'ḷ*	*jo*	*`kougõn*	***mä'd-stõ***.	
	DEM	be.PST.3SG	PREP	far	1PL-ELA.L	

'oh Pētõr Damberg yes .hh well (0.5) well he was further away **from us**' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

The genitive form *mä'd* (28 examples) and the partitive form *mēḑi* (nine examples) again have only one form and do not distinguish long and short forms.

4.1.5. *Tēg, teg*

The 2nd person plural pronoun *tēg*, *teg* had in total 35 examples in the main corpus. The use of the inflectional forms was not diverse and there were only examples of nominative, genitive, dative, and partitive forms. Additionally, in the expanded corpus, there was the instrumental form *tä'dkõks* (one example) and the partitive form *tēḑi* (three examples). Table 13 and Figure 7 present the forms of the 2nd person plural in both the main and expanded corpus.

Table 13. Inflectional forms of the 2nd person plural pronoun in the data

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tēg	nominative (long form)	**12**
teg	nominative (short form)	**12**
tä'd	genitive	4
tä'ddõn	dative (long form)	6
tēḑi	partitive	4
tä'dkõks	instrumental	1
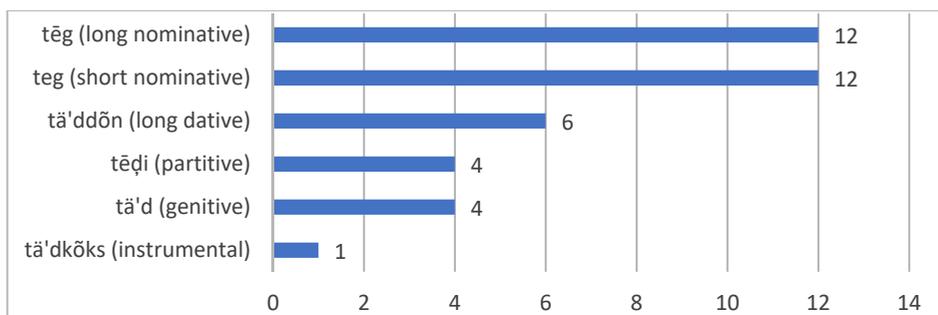
Figure 7. Inflectional forms of the 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun in the data

The number of 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun examples is rather small compared to the 1ˢᵗ person pronoun examples. This is also caused by the often narrative- and interview-like genre of the recordings where the speaker is using mostly the 1ˢᵗ and 3ʳᵈ person pronouns while answering questions or telling a story. There were again two nominative forms: the long form *tēg* and the short form *teg*. Interestingly, both were used equally often in the data. This is the only case among the personal pronouns thus far where the short nominative form is not used much more often.

This time, there was only one dative form in the data – the long form *tä'ddõn* (six examples), although, according to Viitso a short dative form *tän* is also possible (Viitso 2008: 332). Genitive *tä'd* and partitive *tēḑi* once again only had one form each. In addition, there was also one instrumental form – *tä'dkõks*, though instrumental examples have on the whole been rare in the data. See (23) for an example of the instrumental where the speaker is using the polite plural form with the interviewer:

(23) *ku*   *`teg* (.)    *`jõvīst*   *`sa-mūošta-t*        *`leţkīel-dõ* (.)
      when   2PL.S   well   PRFX-understand-2PL   Latvian-PART
      ku   *ma*   *või-b*   ***`tä'd-kõks*        *e*        *`leţkīel-dõ*
      when   1SG.S   may-1SG   2PL-INSTR   HESIT   Latvian-PART
      rõkāndõ.
      speak.INF
      'as you (.) understand Latvian well (.) as I may speak um Latvian **with you**'
      (AEDKL: SUHK05011-01)

4.1.6. *Ne, nēd*

4.1.6.1. Nominal use

In total there were 378 examples of *ne*, *nēd* in the main corpus. Seven genitive attributes of the same pronoun used with a possessive meaning were also included in the data. In the main corpus there appeared nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, instrumental and elative forms. In the expanded corpus, there additionally appeared two inessive examples of *nēši* and nine additional examples of the elative form *nēšti*. The forms of both corpora are presented in Table 14 and in Figure 8.

Table 14. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *ne, nēd* in the data (nominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
nēd	nominative (long form)	4
ne	nominative (short form)	**251**
neʰ	nominative (short, aspirated form)	1
n-	nominative (merged form)	1
nänt	genitive	14
näntõn	dative	**26**
nēḍi	partitive	**76**
näntkõks	instrumental	4
nēši	inessive	2
nēšti	elative	10
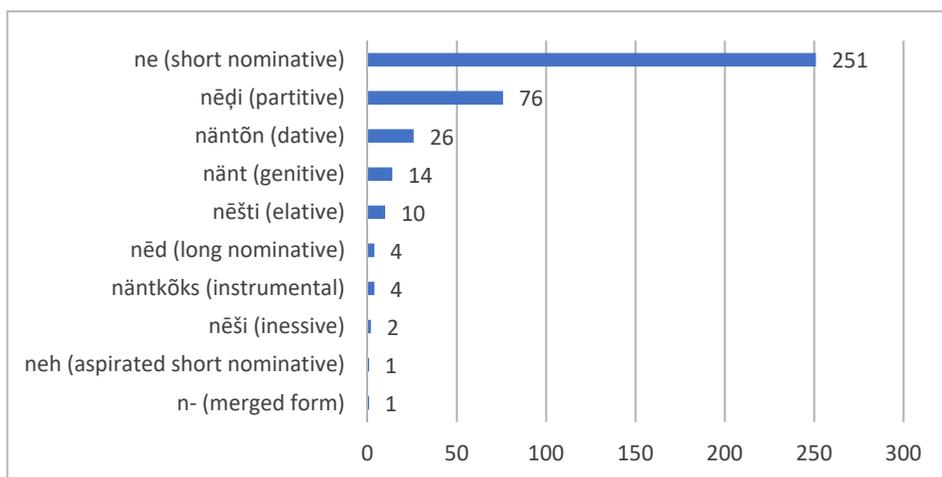
Figure 8. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *ne, nēd* in the data (nominal use)

In total there are four different nominative case forms, while the long form *nämād* mentioned in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012) is completely missing. *Nämād* can also be seen in the Livonian-Esperanto dictionary manuscript compiled by Livonian linguist Pētõr Damberg (Čače et al. 1966). As Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary was also based on the vocabulary card catalogue compiled by Damberg, it is likely that Damberg is responsible for bringing the form into the dictionary, although its actual use is not very frequent. It is more likely that this form has fallen out of use more recently in Courland Livonian as no examples containing it appear in the data or in the largest dictionaries and grammars. However, there are similar forms *nemàd* and *nemàt'* in Kettunen's Livonian text collection (Kettunen 1925: 76–78, 82). In addition to the most common short form *ne* (251 examples), there also appeared an alternate long form *nēd* (four examples), an aspirated short form *neʰ* (one example), and a form which had

merged together with the following word and appeared as *n-* (one example). *nēd* occurred infrequently in the data, but had a clearly audible longer vowel followed by the plural ending *-d*. The form was used by three speakers out of six, thus, the form is not an accidental form used by only one speaker. See (24) for an example of *nēd*:

(24) *ku*   *nē-ḏi*   *panū-b*   `*frīzerõ,* (.)
       when   DEM.PL-PART.PL   put-3SG   freezer.ILL
       si'z   **nē-d**   *pīlõ-bõd*   *ē* (.)   `*kõgiņ.*
       then   DEM.PL-PL.L   stand-3PL   HESIT   long
       'when one puts these [strawberries] into the freezer (.) then **these** preserve um (.) long' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Other case forms did not distinguish long and short forms. Among the examples of nominal use, partitive *nēḏi* occurred especially often (76 examples), as the object case for personal and demonstrative pronouns is usually partitive, while for many other nouns the genitive marks the full object (Viitso 2008: 326). Other case forms which occurred were dative *näntõn* (27 examples), genitive *nänt* (14 examples), elative *nēšti* (10 examples), instrumental *näntkõks* (4 times), and inessive *nēši* (two examples); these did not differ from the forms of *ne* described in earlier Courland Livonian sources.

4.1.6.2. Adnominal use

There are 260 examples of the adnominal use of *ne, nēd* in the main corpus. These uses included examples of nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, inessive, and elative forms, showing considerable variety among inessive forms. Additionally, three examples of the inessive long form *nēši* and one of the inessive short form *nēš* appeared in the expanded corpus. Table 15 and Figure 9 summarise the forms of both corpora.

Table 15. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in the data (adnominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
ne	nominative (short form)	**158**
nēd	nominative (long form)	1
nēg	nominative (long form)	1
nänt	genitive	5
näntõn	dative	2
nēḏi	partitive	**86**
nēši	inessive (long form)	4
neiš	inessive (short form)	2
nēš	inessive (short form)	2
nēšti	elative	3
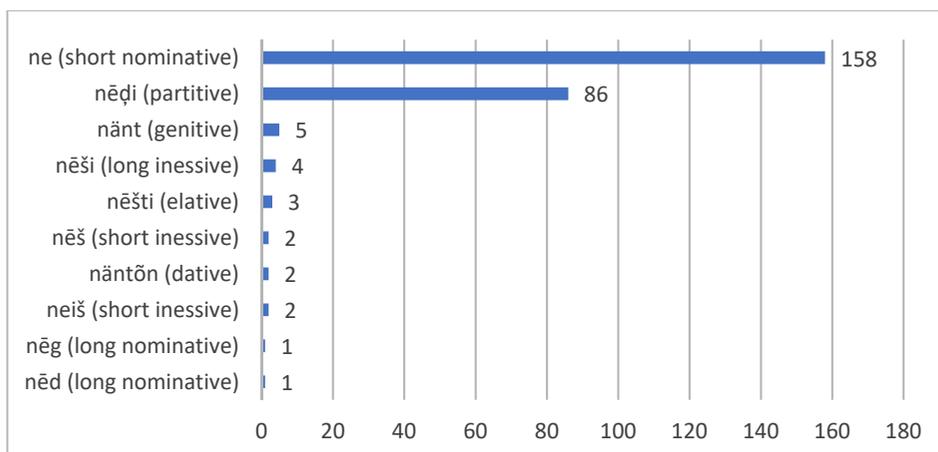
Figure 9. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in the data (adnominal use)

For the nominative case, both the short form *ne* (158 examples) and the long form *nēd* (one example) appeared; these were also present among the nominal use examples. The long form *nämād* mentioned by Viitso (2008) and Viitso & Ernštreits (2012) also did not occur among the adnominal examples, which shows that this form is either very rare or had disappeared from spoken language use. Aside from short nominative *ne* and partitive *nēḍi*, other case forms are rather poorly represented, which is explained by the choice of the attributive case in the data. In addition to nominative examples showing adnominal use in general, the nominative is also used as an attributive case for certain other cases. Although the grammar overviews state that the genitive is the attributive case of nouns in the dative and instrumental cases (Viitso 2008: 327), the data show that speakers instead often prefer nominative *ne* in spoken language use; there are only five examples in the data of the genitive attribute. See accordingly (25) for an example of a nominative attribute and (26) for one of agenitive attribute both used with an instrumental headword.

(25) `Natāl-õn`   *ikš*   `ve'ḷ`   *u'm*   *kūolõ-n*   ***ne***
      Natāl-DAT   one   brother   be.3SG   die-APP.SG   DEM.PL.S
      `bokā-dõks`   *ja,*
      pox-INSTR.PL   and
      'One brother of Natāl has died due to **these** pox and' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-02)

(26) *un*   *ta=*   `ī'ž`   *lek-š*   ***nänt***   `võrgõ-dõks`
      and   3SG.S   self   go.PST.3SG   DEM.PL.GEN   net-INSTR.PL
      'and she herself went [fishing] with **these** nets' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Although other case forms occurred only a few times, the inessive case was especially diverse, showing three different forms in the data: the long form *nēši* (four examples), the short form *nēš*, and an alternative short form *neiš,* which was only used by one speaker but similar to the form *neiši* was found in Sjögren &

Wiedemann's dictionary (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116). The short form *nēš* has not been mentioned in earlier sources, but it could be abbreviated from the long form *nēši* used when the speaker follows *nēš* with a noun phrase, as in example (27):

(27) *no*   **nē-š**   `*sūrim-is*   *kil-īs*   *minā*
      PTCL   DEM.PL-INE.S   bigger-INE.PL   village- INE.PL   1SG.L
      mõtlõ-b   *ku*   `*vó'ļ*   *ki'l*   *mingi.*
      think-1SG   that   be.PST.3SG   PTCL   someone
      'well **in these** bigger villages I think that there was someone' [about if there were other women who went fishing with nets] (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

4.1.7. *Se*

4.1.7.1. Nominal use

There were 532 examples of the distance-neutral demonstrative pronoun *se* in nominal use in the main corpus. The inflectional forms that appeared in the main corpus were in the nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, instrumental, and elative. From the expanded corpus, three short illative forms of *sī'ez* could be added. Forms of both corpora are presented in Table 16 in Figure 10.

Table 16. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *se* in the data (nominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
se	nominative	**386**
se^h	nominative (aspirated form)	5
sīe	genitive	33
sīen	dative	21
siedā	partitive	**70**
sīekõks	instrumental (long form)	2
sīeks	instrumental (short form)	7
sī'ez	illative (short form)	3
sīestõ	elative (long form)	6
sīest	elative (short form)	2
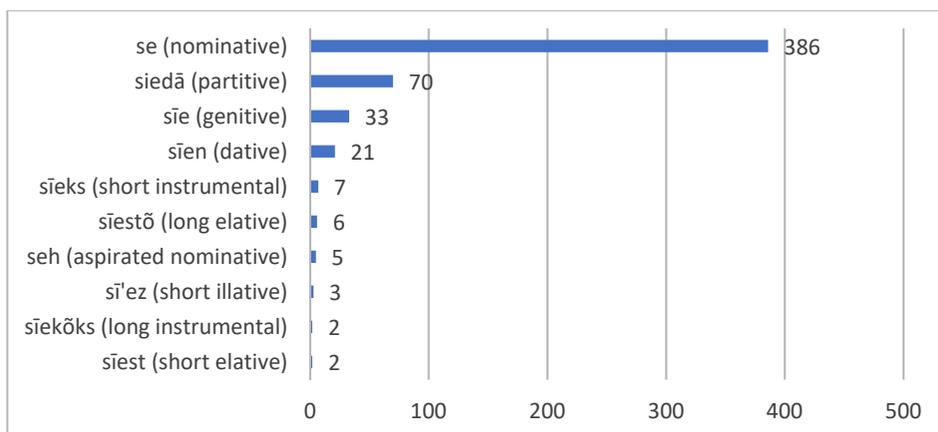
Figure 10. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *se* in the data (nominal use)

The demonstrative pronoun *se* shows two nominative forms in the nominal use: the common form *se* (386 examples) which does not have a separate long and short form, and *se*[h], an aspirated form of it (five examples), which results from either a subsequent pause or being in a phonologically stressed position. See example (28) for the aspirated form:

(28) *un*   `*se*[h] (1.0)   *se*   *bro'utš-iz*   *sīe* (0.5)   *sīe* (0.8)
      and   DEM   DEM   ride-PST.3SG   DEM.GEN   DEM.GEN
      rōdariek (.)   *pāl*
      railway.GEN   POSTP
      'and **that [one]** (1.0) that [one] rode [worked] on this (0.5) this (0.8) railway'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Second most frequent after the nominative form *se*, are the many examples of partitive *siedā* (70 examples), showing that partitive objects are more common than the rarer genitive objects (33 examples). Partitive *siedā* (70 examples), genitive *sīe* (33 examples), and dative *sīen* (21 examples) again do not distinguish long and short forms.

Other forms appear fewer than 20 times in the data, but all of these show a long or short form. The instrumental case has a long form *sīekõks* (two examples) and a short form *sīeks* (seven examples), which is also mentioned in all earlier Courland Livonian sources with the exception of the dictionary by Viitso & Ernštreits (2012). The data show that the short instrumental form is used a bit more often. The opposite situation is found for the elative where of its two forms – the long form *sīestõ* (six examples) and the short form *sīest* (two examples) – the long form is used a bit more frequently. Previously, Kettunen's dictionary (1938) had been the only source to mention both of the elative forms, with other grammars and dictionaries showing only one form – mostly *sīestõ*. Illative *sī'ez* appeared in the data only in its short form (two examples), but it has, however, also a long form *sī'ezõ*, which appeared in adnominal use (see Section 4.1.7.2.).

This short form has been mentioned before only in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (1861a). See example (29) of the short illative form:

(29) ǭrõn-d   sa-i-t   `tõla-tõd       ǭrõndõ`benk=   pāl. (0.5)
      cloth-PL   get-PST-3PL   beat-PPP   clothbench.GEN   POSTP
      tǟn-da   `likt-īz (.)    **sī'e-z** (0.5)    `libḑi=   sizāl,
      3SG-PART   push-PST.3SG   DEM-ILL.S   lye.GEN   POSTP
      'clothes got washed on the clothbench (0.5) it was pushed (.) **into this** (0.5) inside the lye' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

4.1.7.2. Adnominal use

There were more examples showing adnominal use of the distance-neutral demonstrative *se* than nominal use. A total of 566 examples of adnominal use were found in the main corpus, showing that this use is very common in the data. Examples of adnominal uses of this pronoun appeared in the nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, illative, inessive, and elative cases as well as the rare adessive case. The instrumental case, however, is missing from adnominal use, as the attributes of instrumental nouns are in the genitive; this also explains the larger number of genitive examples used adnominally in the data. Genitive attributes also usually occur with dative nouns. (Viitso 2008: 327) Nonetheless, there was one example of a dative attribute in the main corpus. In the expanded corpus, there were additionally seven adessive forms *sīel*, five dative forms *sīen,* three elative long forms *sīestõ*, and one illative short form *sī'ez.* The inflectional forms of both corpora are listed in Table 17 in Figure 11.

Table 17. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *se* in the data (adnominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
se	nominative	**337**
se^h	nominative (aspirated)	3
sīe	genitive	**141**
sīen	dative	6
siedā	partitive	44
sī'ezõ	illative (long form)	3
sī'ez	illative (short form)	2
sīesõ	inessive (long form)	3
sīes	inessive (short form)	25
sīestõ	elative (long form)	4
sīest	elative (short form)	6
sīel	adessive	8
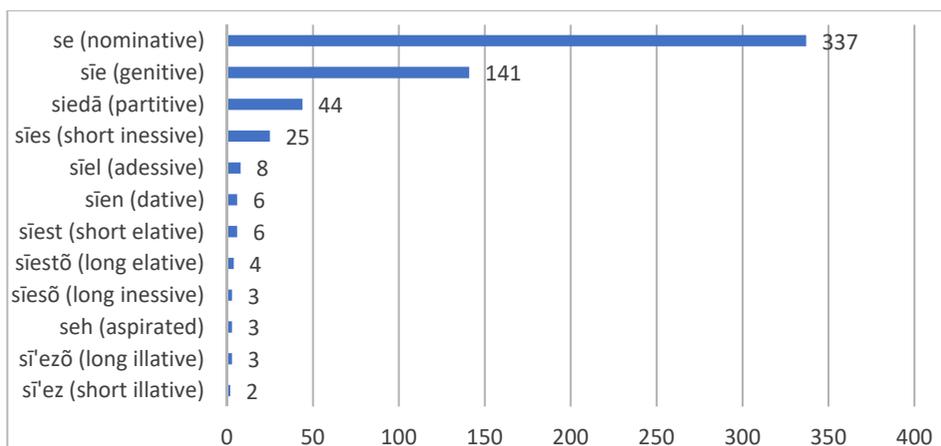
Figure 11. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *se* in the data (adnominal use)

In addition to the nominative form *se* (337 examples), other adnominal forms included three instances of the aspirated form *se^h*, which appeared when there was a pause and, in one case, when the attribute with *se^h* appeared postposed immediately after the headword. A distinction between long and short forms was not observed in the nominative case. Long and short forms, however, do occur in the interior local cases examples – the long illative *sī'ezõ* (three examples) and short illative *sī'ez* (one example), both of which are also mentioned in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (1861a), but not in other sources. The inessive case shows two forms, of which the short form *sīes* was far more frequent (25 examples) than the long form *sīesõ* (three examples), showing that in spoken language, speakers prefer to use the short form as an attribute in front of the following noun phrase. These same long and short inessive forms are both again mentioned only in Kettunen's dictionary (1938), while Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a) give only the short form, and Viitso (2008) and Viitso & Ernštreits (2012) list only the long form. The elative case has the long form *sīestõ* (four examples) and short form *sīest* (six examples), of which only Kettunen mentions both in his dictionary (Kettunen 1938: LVIII) while again only the short form *sīest* is found in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116), and only the long form *sīestõ* is given in Viitso's grammar overview and Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (Viitso 2008: 332, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). Based on the spoken language data, it can be concluded that the short forms of the inessive and elative cases are generally a bit more common in adnominal use, while the long forms tend to appear more often towards the end of a clause or alongside a pause.

The partitive, genitive, dative, and adessive did not distinguish separate long and short forms in the data. Additional dative and adessive examples from the expanded corpus are all temporal phrases. These are *sīen āigal* (four examples), *sīen āigastõs* (one example), where the headword *āigal* is in the adessive and *āigastõs* is in the inessive, while the attribute *sīen* is in the dative or *sīel āigal* 'at that time' (seven examples), where the attribute *sīel* is in the adessive. Viitso

mentions in his overview that the attributive case of nouns in the adessive is usually, however, the inessive, e.g., *sīes eņtšõs āigal* 'at that same time', though an allative attribute is also possible, e.g., *sīel āigal* (Viitso 2008: 328). As the dative case in Livonian has been influenced by the historical locative-essive case, which has the ending *-nA* according to Kettunen (1938), the dative attribute *sīen* has likely developed from the use of the historical essive or is influenced by a similar dative use which occurred in old Latvian texts, e.g., *tan rītan* 'on that morning', but is no longer found in modern Latvian (Kettunen 1938: XLI, Endzelin 1922: 340). Therefore, the data show that the attributive case used with the adessive in noun phrases can show considerable variation. There was also one example in the main corpus of the phrase where a dative attribute and the headword are both in dative, which is rare, as the attribute for a dative headword is usually in the genitive (Viitso 2008: 326), see example (30):

(30) *se*   `sīlda`   *ka*   *lek-š*   `īņõz`   **sīe-n**   [`vie'dd-õn.`]
      DEM   bridge   too   go-PST.3SG   along   DEM-DAT   water-DAT
      'this bridge also went along to **this** water' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The data also show some possible examples of the syntactically postposed use of the adnominal demonstrative; there were two such occurrences. However, it is not entirely clear if the speaker is targeting the postposed use or is the preposed use interrupted. See example (31), where the partitive form *siedā* agrees in case with the previous noun and may appear in postposed position; the same form, however, also appears in a preposed position in this example:

(31) *un*   `ki'l=`   *vó'ļ-ti*   *ē* (.)   *ē*   *vó'ļ*   `andõ-n`
      and   PTCL   be.PST-3PL   HESIT   HESIT   be.PST.3SG   give-APP.SG
      sie-dā   *sie-dā*, (0.5)   `pū-da`   **sie-dā**, (.)   `tä'mm-õn,`
      DEM-PART   DEM-PART   wood-PART   DEM-PART   3SG-DAT.L
      'and [they] gave um (.) um [he] was given this this (.) **this** wood (.) to him' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Changduang Yurayong researched the postposed use of Finnic demonstrative pronouns in his dissertation (Yurayong 2020); these also included the Livonian demonstrative pronoun *se*. From Yurayong's research it appears that the postposed use of a demonstrative pronoun is very rare compared to the preposed use. Compared to the other Finnic languages, Livonian had the lowest percentage tendency for using postposed demonstrative pronouns – only 2.94%, while the tendency for preposed demonstrative use was prevalent at 97.06%. By comparison, in Finnic languages spoken near the Northern Russian dialect areas, the percentage use of postposed demonstratives was much higher (Yurayong 2020: 135). Postposed demonstrative use – especially for marking definiteness, evaluation, information structure – is more common among the Eastern Finnic languages, which share it as an adstrate feature with North Russian dialects; the use of postposed demonstratives for these functions does not appear in the Western and Central Finnic area (Yurayong 2020: 218).

4.1.8. *Tūo*

4.1.8.1. Nominal use

The distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* did not have any examples of nominal use in the main corpus; however, two examples of nominal use were found in the expanded corpus. These appeared in the nominative and partitive cases. Table 18 lists the forms of the nominal use examples in the expanded corpus.

Table 18. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *tūo* in the expanded corpus (nominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tūo	nominative	1
tuodā	partitive	1

The distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* appears in the nominative form *tūo* and the partitive form *tuodā* in nominal use. However, nominative *tūo* occurs in an example with a self-repair of the distance-neutral demonstrative pronoun *se*. The native speaker is together with the interviewer in her kitchen and is asked to say the Livonian designations of certain objects there (32):

(32)   *un*   **`tūo:** (.)     *un*     `sie-dā*   *meg*   *nut-īz-mõ*
      and   DST.DEM   and   DEM-PART   1PL.S   call-PST-1PL
      vȯz-   `vȯzāmašīn.*
      mea-   meat_grinder
      'and **that** (.) and this one we called meat grinder' (AEDKL: DS0126-03)

The second partitive example of *tuodā* occurs without a self-repair. The speaker is using the partitive form as a cataphora, using the distal demonstrative pronoun *tuodā* before the upcoming narrative; see example (33):

(33) $ *mi'n=*   *t-*   *u'm* $ *kītõ-mõst*   **`tuo-dā,** .hh
      1SG.DAT.S   t-   be.3SG   say-DEB   DST.DEM-PART
      minā   *nūoŗšpāva-s*   *vȯ'ļ*   *dīezgan*   *seļļi*   *bōldar*
      1SG.L   youth_day-INE   be.PST.1SG   quite   such   brat
      'I have to say **that** .hh in my youth days I was quite a brat' (AEDKL: F0998-04)

These examples show that although the use of *tūo* is rare, with it occurring only twice in the expanded corpus, *tūo* can also appear independently in nominal use or outside of fixed, lexicalised phrases such as *sīes-tūos* 'in this, in that'.

4.1.8.2. Adnominal use

There were a total of four adnominal use examples in the main corpus: two adessive examples, one inessive, and one nominative example. There were no additional examples of *tūo* in adnominal use in the expanded corpus. The inflectional forms of *tūo* in the main corpus are listed in the Table 19.

Table 19. Inflectional forms of the pronoun *tūo* in the main corpus (adnominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
tūo	nominative	1
tūos	inessive	1
tūola	adessive	2

Adessive *tūola* has two examples in the data. In both of these it is an attribute of the noun *pūol* 'side', but is not pronounced together with it as the adverbial *tūola-pūol* – a form, which also exists in Livonian; see example (34):

(34) *ne*   *vȯ'ḷ-tõ*   `Pǭtšõ-s* (.)   **`tuo-lā*   *pūol*   *Dūoņig-tõ.*
3PL   be.PST-3PL   Pǭtš-INE   DEM.DST-ADE   side   Dūoņig-PART
'they were in Pǭtš [Latv Pāce] (.) on **that [other]** side of Dūoņig' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

The inessive example occurs alongside and in contrast with the other demonstrative pronoun *se*, forming the contrastive noun phrases *sīes tubās ja tūos tubās*; see example (35):

(35) *ē*   *no*   `täs*   *vȯ'ḷ.* (.)   `sīe-s*   *tubā-s*   *ja*
HESIT   PTCL   here.S   be.PST.3SG   DEM-INE.S   room-INE   and
**`tūo-s*   *tubā-s.*
DEM.DST-INE   room-INE
'um well here [this school] was (.) in this room and in **that** room' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The nominative form *tūo* appears in a temporal phrase where it is pronounced together with the following word *āig* 'time', which is a reduced form of *āiga*; see example (36):

(36) *nā̈.* (0.5)   **tūo*=   *āig*   *ke'-i-tõ*   `pāgiņ.*
yes (0.5)   DEM.DST   time   go-PST-3PL   a_lot
'yes (0.5) at **that** time [people] used to go a lot' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

Although the adnominal use examples do not show a great deal of variety in inflectional forms, these few examples still show that the distal demonstrative *tūo* was still in use by the last native speakers and mostly occurred in local cases.

4.1.9. Coordinated demonstratives

Coordinated demonstratives consist of two demonstratives used together as one expression. Examples of coordinated demonstratives could only be found in the expanded corpus, all of them appearing in the same partitive form. Table 20 lists the coordinated demonstratives examples in the expanded corpus.

Table 20. Forms of the coordinated demonstratives in the expanded corpus

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
siedā-tuodā	partitive	5
siedā ja tuodā	partitive	1

The form is used as an object phrase and as a substitute for a concrete object; see example (37):

(37) *sā'l*   *ta*   *`kazāt-iz*      ***`sie-dā***   ***`tuo-dā***   *ja,*
there.S   3SG   grow-PST.3SG   DEM-PART   DEM.DST-PART   and
'there he grew **this and that** and' (AEDKL: SUHK0491-01)

This compound has lexicalised into a phrase. There were no examples of other case forms of this compound in the data, although the inessive form *sīes-tūos* would have also been expected to appear in the data, as it is mentioned in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012).

4.2. Demonstrative proadjectives

The morphosyntactic use of the demonstrative proadjectives is analysed in two subchapters of the demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* in Section 4.2.1. and of the coordinated proadjectives where two proadjectives occur as a one phrase in Section 4.2.2. The demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* is also analysed in both nominal and adnominal use.

The distal demonstrative proadjective *tūoḷi* did not appear independently in the data and therefore could not be analysed separately. The form *tūoḷi*, however, appears as a separate word entry in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) and also in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary as the forms *tuoli* or *tolli* (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 118). These leave an impression that the distal demonstrative proadjective could also be used independently. In future research, the corpora could be expanded to see if the distal demonstrative pro-adjective *tūoḷi* appears also separately from the coordinated proadjectives' context.

4.2.1. *Seḷḷi*

4.2.1.1. Nominal use

The demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* had 97 examples in the main corpus, among the main corpus examples there were nominative, genitive, and partitive examples only, the partitive showed also an alternate longer form *seḷḷižtõ*. The inflectional forms are not very diverse in the main corpus, showing that the proadjectives are mostly used in the grammatical cases. In the expanded corpus, there were additional dative forms of *seḷḷizõn* (four examples) and *seḷḷižõn* (one example),

an alternate long partitive singular *seḷḷižtõ* (one example), an instrumental-translative *seḷḷizõks* (one example), and an elative plural form *seḷḷižist* (one example). The inflectional forms of *seḷḷi* in both the main and the expanded corpus are listed in Table 21 in Figure 12.

Table 21. Inflectional forms of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (nominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
seḷḷi	nominative (singular)	**54**
seḷḷizt	nominative (plural)	**17**
seḷḷiz	genitive (singular)	8
seḷḷizõn	dative (singular)	4
seḷḷižõn	dative (singular)	1
seḷḷižtõ	partitive (long singular)	2
seḷḷizt	partitive (short singular)	12
seḷḷiži	partitive (plural)	5
seḷḷizõks	instrumental-translative (singular)	1
seḷḷižist	elative (plural)	1
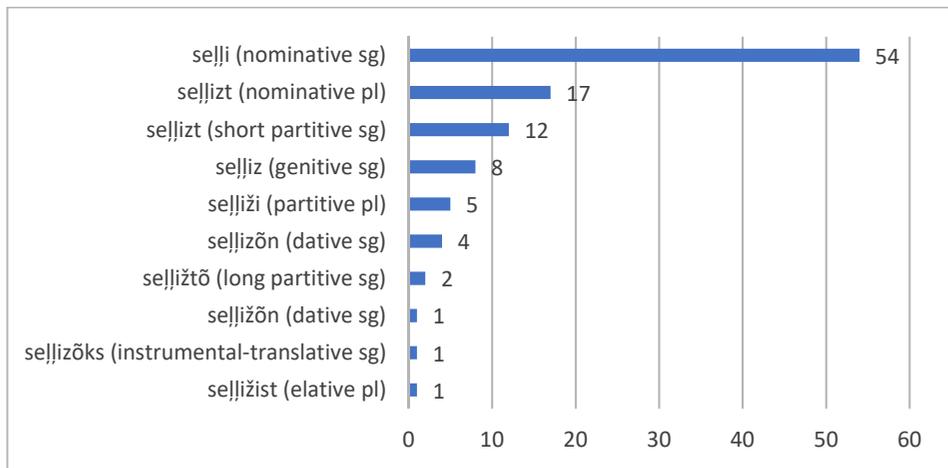
Figure 12. Inflectional forms of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (nominal use)

The nominative singular form *seḷḷi* (54 examples) and plural form *seḷḷizt* (17 examples) do not distinguish long and short forms in the data. The plural form *seḷḷizt* is also homonymous with the partitive singular form *seḷḷizt*, as *-t* can be both a plural marker and a partitive singular marker in Livonian.

The demonstrative pronoun *seḷḷi* shows long and short forms only in the partitive case singular: *seḷḷizt* (12 examples) and *seḷḷižtõ* (two examples). There is a minor phonetic variation between *z* and *ž* in the singular dative forms seen in the forms *seḷḷizõn* (four examples) and *seḷḷižõn* (one example).

The singular genitive form *seļļiz* appears only in one form in the data (eight examples), the same is true for the instrumental-translative form *seļļizõks* and the elative plural form *seļļižist*, which are both mentioned in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012). However, interior local case uses with this proadjective can be considered quite rare just as with personal pronouns. See (38) for an example of elative use, where the speaker is replying to the interviewer's question regarding what can be made with a certain plant:

(38) *vot*   `Frīda*      **`seļļiž-ist**   `ä'dsmingiž-i*   *u'm*   *mis*
        PTCL   Frīda   such-ELA.PL   some_kind-PART.PL   be.3SG   what
        ta   *tī'e-b*   `tējõ.*
        3SG.S   make-3SG   tea.PART
        'well Frīda **from such,** there are some kind of [plants] of which she makes tea'
        (AEDKL: SUHK0523-01)

In Livonian, the translative case has merged with the instrumental case, possibly because of the use of the Latvian preposition *pa* + accusative-instrumental (see Grünthal 2003: 194). However, some words, such as adjectives, have also preserved the translative meaning of 'becoming something' with the ending *-ks*; this is the reason that both cases are mentioned in this analysis (Viitso 2008: 327). See (39) for an example of the instrumental-translative use:

(39) *i'ļsēmḑa*   *pī'l-iz*   *si'z*   *sēmḑa-n*   *pǟlõ.* (.)   *bet*   *se*
        butterfat   stand-PST.3SG   then   milk-DAT   on   but   DEM
        `i'z=*                   *ūo*                       `ne'i* .hh   `seļļi* (.)   *ku*   *tǟn-da*
        NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG   so   such   that   3SG-PART
        või-b   *sō-dõ*   *pa*   **seļļiz-õks**   *mis*   *tēg*
        may-3SG   get-INF   PREP   such-INSTR.TRANSL   that   2PL.L
        pǟldiņ   *mõtlõ-tõ*
        now   think-2PL
        'there was butterfat on the milk then (.) but it was not so .hh the kind (.) that [one] can get **the kind** that you are thinking of now' (AEDKL: DS0126-02)

4.2.1.2. Adnominal use

In total there were 227 examples of the demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* in adnominal use in the main corpus, including seven examples of postposed use, where the proadjective attribute is used in the second position immediately after the headword (the proadjective attribute and the headword have switched places). The expanded corpus included the short partitive plural *seļļiž* – where the plural marker *i* has been dropped before the headword, an alternate long partitive plural *seļļiztõd*, and the illative plural *seļļižiz*; all of these had only one example. The long partitive forms *seļļiž* and *seļļiztõd* have not been listed in any earlier sources. The illative plural *seļļižiz*, however, appears in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012). Table 22 and Figure 13 list the inflectional forms of *seļļi* in both corpora in adnominal use.

Table 22. Inflectional forms of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (adnominal use)

Form	Case	Number of occurrences
seḷḷi	nominative (singular)	**135**
seḷḷizt	nominative (plural)	**45**
seḷḷiz	genitive (singular)	23
seḷḷizt	genitive (plural)	1
seḷḷizt	partitive (short singular)	16
seḷḷiztõd	partitive (long plural)	1
seḷḷiži	partitive (long plural)	7
seḷḷiž	partitive (short plural)	1
seḷḷižiz	illative (plural)	1
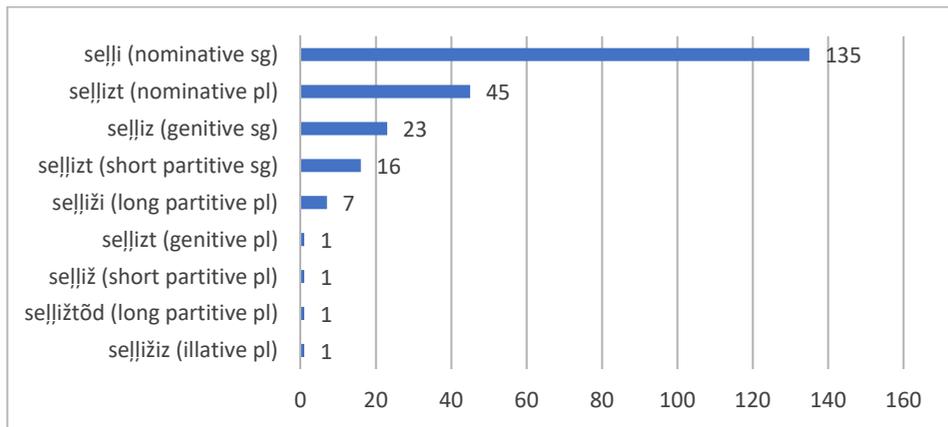
Figure 13. Inflectional forms of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (adnominal use)

As mentioned above, only the partitive plural shows different long and short forms in adnominal use in the data; however, the long form *seḷḷiži* is the most common, while the short form *seḷḷiž* and the alternate long form *seḷḷiztõd* both appear only once in the data. See (40) for an example of the alternate partitive long form *seḷḷiztõd*, which may have been caused through mixing of the singular partitive form *seḷḷizt* and the plural marker *-d*:

(40) *no*   *un*   *laps-õn*   *ju*   *vȯ'ḷ*   *`irm*   *ku*
      PTCL   and   child-DAT   PTCL   be.PST.3SG   fear   when
      seḷḷiz-tõ-d (0.5)   *až-īdi*   *kīt-iz*
      such-PART-PL   thing-PART.PL   say-PST.3SG
      'well and child was of course scared when **such** things were told' (AEDKL: DS0119-07)

It is syntactically interesting that there were also seven examples of *seḷḷi* in postposed use in contexts where it appeared as an attribute after the headword; see example (41):

(41)   `tämā`   *u'm* (0.8)   `Märsragā-s.` (0.5)   `lieudõ-n`? (.)   *ä'b*
       3SG.L   be.3SG   Märsragā-INE   find-APP.SG   NEG.3SG
       `lieudõ-n`   *bet*   *sā'l,* (0.5)   `kūlõ-n.` (.)   `nīžimiz`   **seḷḷiz.**
       find-APP.SG   but   there.S   hear-APP.SG   story.GEN   such.GEN
       'he has (0.8) found in Märsragā [Latv Mērsrags] (.) not found but (0.5) heard (.)
       such a story there' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

This shows that similarly to the demonstrative pronoun *se* (Yurayong 2020: 133), postposed use may also occur for the demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi*, although this type of use is not very frequent compared to preposed use, which is prevalent in the examples.

     In addition, *seḷḷi* in adnominal use can occur with names. This use with names has also not been much described in general linguistics. See example (42), where the speaker is talking about which Livonians went to study in Finland:

(42)   `Vālgamā`   `Edgar` (0.5)   `bro'utš-iz` (.)   `Sīkrõgõ-l`   **seḷḷi** (1.0)
       Vālgamā.GEN   Edgar   travel-PST.3SG   Sīkrõg-ALL.ADE   such
       Mil-   `Hilda.`
       Mil-   Hilda
       'Vālgamā Edgar (0.5) went (.) in Sīkrõg [there was] a [**this kind of**] (1.0) Mil-
       Hilda [who went]' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

4.2.2. Coordinated proadjectives

In total, there were only two examples of coordinated proadjectives in the data, both of these appeared in the expanded corpus and both forms were in the plural partitive. There were no separate examples of *tūoḷi* in the data outside of the context of a compound phrase. Similarly to the demonstrative compound *siedā-tuodā*, the proadjective partitive *seḷḷizt-tūoḷizt* seems to be lexicalised to only a partitive case use, as there were no other examples. See example (43) on the phrase:

(43)   *no*:   *un*   *si'z*   `tegīž` (0.8)   *te'-i* (0.5)   **`seḷḷiž-i`**=
       PTCL   and   then   again   make-PST.3SG   this_kind-PART.PL.L
       `tūoḷiž-i` (0.5)   *e*   *a'ž-ḍi*
       that_kind-PART.PL   HESIT   things-PART.PL
       'well and then again (0.8) [one] made (0.5) different sorts of [**this and that kind of**] um things' (AEDKL: SUHK0443-02)

4.3. Demonstrative proadverbs

The forms of demonstrative proadverbs are analysed in two sections: the locative proadverbs in Section 4.3.1 and the manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs in Section 4.3.2. Locative proadverbs are an especially productive group of pro-adverbs in Livonian, which show the location or direction of something and can be divided into three subtypes by their meaning and use – as mentioned in Section 2.5: lative proadverbs show movement towards something (where to?), static proadverbs refer to the static location of something (where?), and separative proadverbs point to the direction of movement away from somewhere (where from?). These all are discussed in different sections. In addition, these groups can also be divided into subgroups based on whether they are referring to a proximal or distal location; therefore, these sections also contain subsections on proximal and distal proadverbs (e.g., the proximal lative proadverb *tǟnõ* 'hither' and the distal lative proadverb *sīņõ* 'thither').

Manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs have in general fewer forms than locative proadverbs. Their dictionary forms are *ne'i* 'so' (manner-indicating) and *ni* 'now' and *si'z* 'then' (temporal). They are analysed within one section. The form *ne'i* originates from the demonstrative plural stem *nä-* or *ne-* and the proadverb *si'z* from the demonstrative singular stem *se* (Metsmägi et al. 2012).

4.3.1. Locative proadverbs

The examples of locative proadverbs are divided into lative, static, and separative subgroups based on their use in the data. Thus, for example, when a proadverb was used with a dynamic verb, e.g., *lǟ'dõ* 'to go', which requires a lative (movement towards a particular direction) in Livonian, the proadverb used along with it was also considered to be used with a lative meaning, even if in earlier dictionaries or grammars it might have been marked as having only a static meaning, e.g., *täsā* 'here' (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012). The use of locative pro-adverbs in Livonian has been greatly influenced by Latvian during the 20th of century, as in Latvian, lative and static meanings are not separated but occur within a single locative case (see Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). This influence can also be seen in Livonian when static locative proadverbs are occasionally used by some speakers to express lative meanings.

In the following sections on locative proadverbs, proximal proadverbs (which refer to a closer location from the speaker's point of view) are presented first, this is followed by an analysis of distal proadverbs (which refer to a further location from the speaker's point of view). The examples of coordinated locative pro-adverbs, such as *sīnõ-tǟnõ* 'thither and hither' were missing from the data used for this study and should be researched further while expanding the corpus.

4.3.1.1. Lative

Proximal forms

There were a total 27 examples of proximal lative proadverbs. These examples had two different stems: *tä-*, which was used by speakers of both Eastern and Īra dialects, and *si-*, which was used only by the speaker of the Īra dialect.

In the expanded corpus, there was one additional form with the *si*-stem used by the Īra dialect speaker: *sī'ḍõ*. Thus, the *si*-stemmed proximal lative proadverbs are used in the data only by the Īra dialect speaker, which shows based on the data that these proadverbs belong only to the Īra dialect as these do not appear in the data of the Eastern dialect speakers. However, the Īra dialect speaker also uses *tä*-stemmed proximal lative proadverbs a couple of times, which may be caused by her later moving to Kūolka village in the Eastern dialect area after World War II. The forms of the proximal lative proadverbs that appeared in both corpora are listed in the Table 23.

Table 23. Forms of the lative proximal proadverbs in the data

Form of lative proximal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sī'ḍõ (long form)	1
sī'ḍ (short form)	**6**
tā̃nõ (long form)	**4**
tā̃n (short form)	2
täsā (long form)	**4**
tässõ (long form)	2
täs (short form)	**8**

Although there were only a few examples of lative use, the variation seen for different proadverbs in lative use is quite diverse. It is notable that the proadverbs *täsā* and *täs* also occasionally occur in lative use, although they are actually proximal static proadverbs in Livonian (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 319). In addition, the long form *tässõ* appeared in the spoken language data which thus far has not been mentioned in any earlier Livonian sources. The form *tässõ* may be influenced by the inessive case ending -*sõ*. The form *sī'ḍ*, which is said to have the static meaning 'here' in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary, also shows lative use in the data. In Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (1861a) and Kettunen's dictionary (1938), the similar form *sī'd* – where palatalised *ḍ* is not marked – is said to have a lative use (Kettunen 1938: 47). The lative use of these words, which originally have a static meaning, can be considered an influence of Latvian. As Latvian uses its locative case for both static and lative meanings, some speakers had also started to use static proadverbs in lative function due to this influence (Ernštreits & Kļava 2014: 79–81).

täs and *sī'ḍ*, which as noted above is used only by the Īra dialect speaker in the lative proximal use, are the most used proadverb forms in the data. Thus, short

forms of the locative proadverbs are preferred in the spoken language data. In addition, the proadverbs *tãnõ, tãn, täs*, and *täsā* may sometimes also occur as determiners of nouns which also refer to places or locations (for the same use in Estonian see Sahkai 2003: 131–132, Pajusalu 2017: 581, Hint et al. 2021: 6). There were a total of six such examples out of 25 where the proadverb was used as a determiner. See (44) for an example of the short form *täs* used as a determiner for the following noun:

(44) `si'z  tämā  at-bro'utš-iz  ē (.)  **täs**  `Leṭmõ-l?
      then 3SG.L PRFX-travel-PST.3SG HESIT hither.S Latvia-ALL.ADE
      'then he travelled um (.) **here** [hither] to Latvia' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

Example (45) shows the use of a *si*-stem proadverb form *sī'ḍ*, which is only used by the Īra dialect speaker among lative proximal examples.

(45) *si'z* *meg* *ē* (0.8) *täi-* *sa-i-mõ* **`sī'ḍ** *a'j-tõd.* (.)
      then 1PL.S um täi- get-PST-1PL hither.S chase-PPP
      `*Kuolkõ.*
      Kūolka.ILL
      'then we um (0.8) got chased away **here** (.) to Kūolka' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Distal forms

There were 24 examples of lative distal proadverbs in the main corpus. All speakers used only forms with *-si* and *-sä* stems for expressing lative distal meanings: *sīṇõ, sīṇ*, and *sā̃'l*. Of these, *sā̃'l* is mentioned in earlier sources only as a static distal demonstrative proadverb, which confirms the abovementioned notion that some speakers had started to use static proadverbs also with a lative meaning due to Latvian influence. Additionally, in the expanded corpus, there were 22 examples of the long form *sīṇõz,* and three examples of the short form *sīṇ. sīṇõz* is used by only one speaker from Sīkrõg village but also occurs in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012), though not as a separate entry and only in some example sentences. Kettunen mentions a similar but unpalatalised form *sīnõz* (Kettunen 1938: 371). The forms that appeared in both corpora are listed in the Table 24.

Table 24. Forms of the lative distal proadverbs in the data

Form of lative distal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sī'ṇõz (long form)	**22**
sī'ṇõ (long form)	**14**
sīṇ (short form)	5
sā̃'l (short form)	**8**

Among the lative distal proadverbs, the most used form is the long form *sīņõz* from the expanded corpus; however, as noted above, this is used only by the speaker from Sīkrõg village, so it does not reflect the use of distal lative proadverbs by the other speakers. Thus, the most common form which occurs among five speakers out of six is *sīņõ*, which can also be considered a long form because of a preserved *-õ*; see example (46) on its use, where it also appears as a determiner:

(46)   *ja*   *Sōna*   *Līž*   *lā'-nd*   **sīņõ**   *kīņõ*
        and   Sauna.GEN   Līž   go-APP.SG   thither.L   barn.ILL
        'and Sauna Līž had gone **there** into the barn' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

Distal lative proadverbs were also occasionally used as determiners with the following noun; in the data, there were a total of seven such examples. See example (47), where the proadverb *sā'l* – which had previously been considered a static distal proadverb – is used with a distal lative meaning and as a determiner with the following noun in the illative:

(47)   *tä'm*   *vo'ļ*   *rõžki*   *`rõ'-dõ*      *`ie-`krõ'jõ-n.* (.) .hh
        3SG.DAT.S   be.PST.3SG   a_bit   money-PART   PRFX-save-APP.SG
        un   *`sīepierāst*      *ta*      *või-ž*      *`aiz-`bro'utšõ*
        and   therefore   3SG.S   may- PST.3SG   PRFX-travel.INF
        sā'l   *`Kanādõ.*
        thither.S   Canada.ILL
        'he had saved a bit of money (.) .hh and because of that he could travel **there** [thither] to Canada' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

4.3.1.2. Static

Proximal forms

There were 166 examples of static proximal proadverbs in the main corpus with two different stems *si-* and *tä-*: *sī'ḍš*, *sī'ḍ*, *sīn*, *täsā*, *tässõ*, and *täs*. Of these, the first two forms are mentioned in Kettunen's dictionary (in a slightly different orthography) and Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary, the forms *sīn*, *täsā*, and *täs* are mentioned in all earlier Courland Livonian dictionaries, and the form *tässõ* has not appeared in earlier sources. The forms *sī'ḍš* and *sī'ḍ* were only used by the Īra dialect speaker. However, another *si*-stemmed proadverb *sīn* was used both by the Īra dialect speaker and two Eastern dialect speakers from Vaid village, showing that *sīn* is not limited only to use in the Īra dialect. In the expanded corpus, there appeared additional examples of the long form *sī'ḍš* (five examples), and the short form *sī'd* (three examples), these both appeared again in the data of the Īra dialect speaker. Thus, based on the data, all of the *si*-stemmed proximal static proadverbs besides the form *sīn* (which also appeared in the eastern dialect) belong to the Īra dialect use. The forms in both corpora are listed in Table 25 and in Figure 14.

Table 25. Forms of the static proximal proadverbs in the data

Form of the static proximal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sī'ḍš (long form)	6
sī'ḍ (short form)	7
sī'd (short form)	3
sīn	4
täsā (long form)	**41**
tässõ (long form)	**18**
täs (short form)	**95**
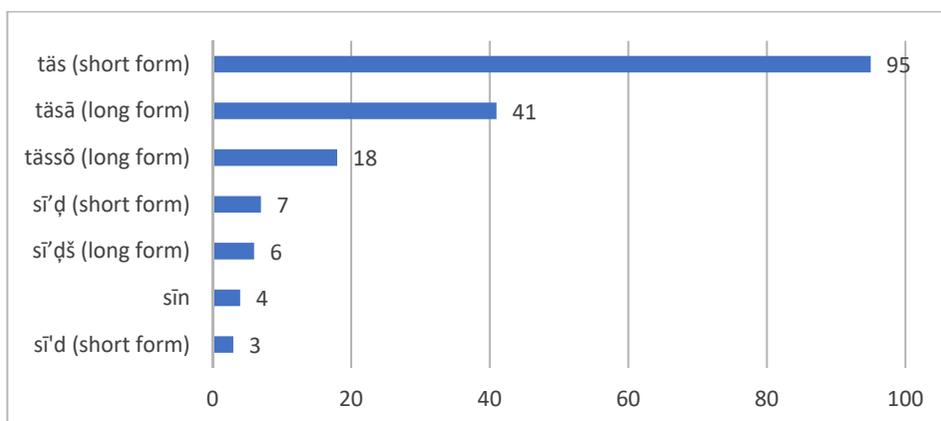
Figure 14. Forms of the static proximal proadverbs in the data

The most common form used to express a proximal static meaning was the short form *täs* (95 examples),which shows that speakers also prefer the proadverbial short form in spoken language data. However, it also has two long forms *täsā* (41 examples) and *tässõ* (18 examples), of which the latter, as noted above, is not mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian dictionaries but is likely influenced by the inessive case ending -*sõ*; see example (48):

(48)　　*amā*　　*ē*　　　*`vie'd*　　*`sistēm*　　*ku*　　*kouv-stõ*　　*tulū-b*
　　　　whole　HESIT　water.GEN　system　when　well-ELA　come-3SG
　　　　ve'ž　　*mä'-ddõn*　　[*`i'lzõ*]　　***tässõ***
　　　　water　1PL-DAT.PL　　up　　　here.L
　　　　'the whole um water system when there comes water from the well up **here** to us'
　　　　(AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Aside from *sīn*, the *si*-stemmed static proximal proadverbs are less used and are mostly found only in the speech of the Īra dialect speaker. Proximal static pro-adverbs can also be used as determiners with a following noun. There were 18 examples of their use as determiners; see (49) for an example where the proadverb *sī'ḍ* from the Īra dialect is used as a determiner:

(49) | *agā* | `*mi'n*` | *se* | *ē* | `*vaṇīm*` | *pūoga* | *kis* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | 1SG.GEN | DEM | HESIT | older | son | who |

jelā-b **sī'ḍ** `*Kūolka-s*, (0.8) *se* `*kīt-iz*,
live-3SG here.S Kūolka-INE DEM say-PST.3SG

'but my this um older son who lives **here** in Kūolka (0.8) he said' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Distal forms

There were 296 examples of static distal proadverbs in the main corpus and were the most commonly used locative proadverb type in the data. However, their variety of forms was smaller with all speakers using *sā'lõ* and *sā'l*; one speaker from Sīkrõg village also used the long form *sā'lõz*. In the expanded corpus, there were additionally one example of *sīel*, homonymous with the adessive form of *se*, but used in adverbial function by the Īra dialect speaker, and nine examples of *sā'lõz*, being used by the Sīkrõg village speaker only as in the main corpus. Table 26 and Figure 15 list the forms of static distal proadverbs in both corpora.

Table 26. Forms of the static distal proadverbs in the data

Form of the static distal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sā'lõz (long form)	10
sā'lõ (long form)	11
sā'l (short form)	**284**
sīel (short form)	1

sã'l (short form)	284
sã'lõ (long form)	11
sã'lõz (long form)	10
sīel	1

(x-axis: 0, 50, 100, 150, 200, 250, 300)
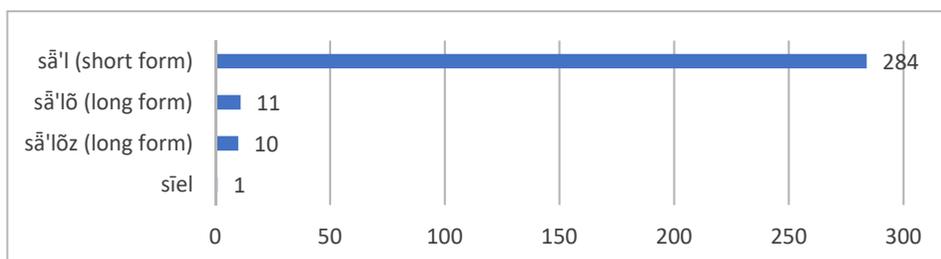
Figure 15. Forms of the static distal proadverbs in the data

The forms encountered for the static distal proadverbs in use are not overly diverse with the short form *sā'l* strongly preferred and used by all of the speakers (284 examples); the long form *sā'lõ* has only 11 occurrences. Both of these forms have been mentioned in all of the earlier Courland Livonian sources. The other long form *sā'lõz* is mentioned only in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012) and as it is used by only one speaker, it might belong to a subdialect of a particular Courland Livonian village or villages. Among the static distal examples, there also appeared a total of 27 examples of its use as a determiner. See (50) for an example of *sā'lõz* used as a determiner with the following noun:

(50) *se*   *jõvīst*   *mūošta-b*   *`līvõ=*   *kīel-dõ*   *se* (0.5)
      DEM   well   know-3SG   Livonian   language-PART   DEM
      ē:: (.)   *`Elza*   **sā̄'lõz**   *Rīgõ-s.*
      HESIT   Elza   there.L   Riga-INE
      'this one knows Livonian well this (0.5) um (.) Elza **there** in Riga' (AEDKL:
      SUHK0433-01)

There were also a couple of examples where the static distal proadverb appeared
as a determiner in postposed use when the proadverb was used as a determiner
after the noun; see example (51):

(51) *se*   *`ka*   *võ'ļ*   *mingizkõrd*   *ē*   *si'z*   *Rīgõ*
      DEM   also   be.PST.3SG   some_time   HESIT   then   Riga.GEN
      `ītõ-s?* .hh    *mis*      *ē* (.)    *`līvõ   *Rīgõz*   *ītõ-s*
      society-INE   what   HESIT   Livonian   Riga   society-INE
      mis   *võ'ļ*   *`Mõtsāpark-sõ*   **sā̄'lõ**.
      what   be.PST.3SG   Mõtsāpark-INE   there.L
      'he was also at some time um then in the society in Riga .hh that um (.) in the
      Livonians' Riga society that was **there** in Forest Park [Latv Mežaparks]' (AEDKL:
      SUHK0523-02)

Another long form *sā̄'lõ* is mostly used towards the end of a clause or next to a
pause when there is no text following. By contrast, the short form *sā̄'l* again
appears often in the middle of the text or as a determiner with a following noun.
Thus, the short form is likely more preferred for connecting it with subsequent
text, while the vowel-final form *sā̄'lõ* mostly appears independently. The spea-
kers, thus, mostly prefer the short form for connecting the text and the long forms
without any immediately following context, although both tendencies also show
some exceptions in the data. See (52) for an example of typical use of the long
form *sā̄'lõ* and of the short form *sā̄'l* in the data.

(52) *ē*   *se*   *võ'ļ*   *ē*   **`sā̄'l**   *ē*   *rǫ̃žki*
      um   DEM   be.PST.3SG   HESIT   there.S   HESIT   a_bit
      sā̄'lõ, (0.8) .hh   *ä'b`kougõn*    *`tässõ,*
      there.L   not_far   here.L
      'um it [the farm] was **there** um a bit **there** (0.8) .hh not far here' (AEDKL:
      SUHK0520-01)

4.3.1.3. Separative

Proximal forms

Separative proadverbs had the fewest examples in the locative proadverb data. Of
the separative proximal proadverb examples, only four examples were of the form
tästā. Additionally, in the expanded corpus, there were also the forms *tästõ* (two
examples), *sī'd̦štõ* (two examples), and *sī'd̦št* (one example) with both of the *si-*
stem forms used by the Īra dialect speaker. All of these forms have been
mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources, but not all in a single source.

Thus, *tästā* is mentioned by Kettunen 1938, Viitso 2008, and Viitso & Ernštreits 2012, but not in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (1861b); *tästõ* appears in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (1861b), but is not mentioned in the other sources; and the forms *sī'ḍstõ* and *sī'ḍšt* appear in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012). The forms of the separative proximal proadverbs in both the main and the expanded corpus are listed in the Table 27.

Table 27. Forms of the separative proximal proadverbs in the data

Form of the separative proximal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sī'ḍštõ (long form)	**2**
sī'ḍšt (short form)	1
tästā (long form)	**4**
tästõ (long form)	**2**

Of these few examples, the long form *tästā* occurs most often (four examples). A short form *täst* would have been expected, as it is mentioned in Kettunen's dictionary (Kettunen 1938: 446), but it did not appear in the data. Similarly to the proximal static proadverb *tässõ*, the proximal separative also has a form *tästõ*, which is likely influenced by or derived from the elative case ending *-stõ*. See (53) and (54), respectively, for examples of the proadverbs *tästā* and *tästõ*:

(53)   *ē:*   *ta*   *ta*   *`kōv-iz*      *jūk-*      *`jȭg-ţa*   **_tästā_**
       HESIT   3SG.S   3SG.S   dig-PST.3SG   jūk-   sand-PART   from_here.L
       aldõ   *`uldõ*
       from_under   out
       'um he he digged sand out **from** under **here**' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

(54)   *`si'z* (1.0)      *vied-īz*      **_`tästõ_** (0.5)   *`kädū-dõks*   *vīed-iz*
       then   drag- PST.3SG   from_here.L   hand-INSTR.PL   drag- PST.3SG
       *`vīļa.* (.)      **_`tästõ_**   *le'bbõ*   *`uks*   *le'bbõ.*
       grain.GEN   from_here.L   POSTP   door.GEN   POSTP
       'then [one] brought **from here** (0.5) brought grain by hands (.) through **from here** through the door ' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-02)

Proximal separative proadverbs did not show any examples of use as determiners but considering the small number of examples and that all the other locative proadverbs show this use, it is likely also possible for separative proadverbs and should be researched further using more data.

Distal forms

Distal separative proadverbs also had only a few examples in the data. In the main corpus, there were two examples of *sā'ldõ*; in the expanded corpus there was a corresponding long form – *sā'ldõst* (two examples) – and the short form *sā'ld* (seven examples). Table 28 lists the examples from both corpora.

Table 28. Forms of the separative distal proadverbs in the data

Form of the separative distal proadverb	Number of occurrences
sā̀'ldõst (long form)	2
sā̀'ldõ (long form)	2
sā̀'ld (short form)	**7**

Here all the forms are derived from the same stem and are again not especially diverse compared to the forms encountered for the proximal proadverbs and distal lative proadverbs. The most used form here is the short form *sā̀'ld*, while the long forms *sā̀'ldõ* and *sā̀'ldõst* both had only two examples, thus, use of the short form again tends to be a bit more popular. The long form *sā̀'ldõst* (which includes both former ablative and elative case endings in it) was used only by the Sīkrõg village speaker and the other long form *sā̀'ldõ* by one speaker originally from Vaid, living later in Kūolka. The short form *sā̀'ld* was used by three speakers. All of these forms have been previously mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources, the form *sā̀'ldõst* is missing from Kettunen's dictionary (1938) but is mentioned by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861b) and Viitso (2008). See examples (55) and (56) of the long forms *sā̀'ldõst* and *sā̀'ldõ*:

(55) `minā        u'm          vónd        Ulman=          `skūol-sõ
      1SG.L   be.1SG   be.APP.SG   Ulman.GEN   school-INE
      `skūolmēstar-õks       ī'd          `āigast. (3.0)   ja   `**sā̀'ldõst**
      teacher-INSTR.TRANSL   one.GEN   year.GEN   and   from_there.L
      ma   lek-š   `Pi'zzõ.
      1SG.S   go-PST.1SG   Pizā.ILL
      'I have been at Ulman [Latv Ulmanis] school as a teacher for one year (3.0) and
      from there I went to Pizā' (AEDKL: SUHK0445-02)

(56) un   si'z   `**sā̀'ldõ**         ne          āt          lā-nõd         `Zvīedõr.
      and   then   from_there.L   3PL.S   be.3PL   go-APP.PL   Sweden.ILL
      'and then **from there** they have gone to Sweden' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

There was also one example of use as a determiner. Thus, the determiner use is quite common among different locative proadverbs. See example (57) below:

(57) ta   vȯ'ḷ   `kītõ-n         sīe:, (0.5)   `sīkrõgnikā-n
      3SG.S   be.PST.3SG   say-APP.SG   DEM.GEN   Sīkrõg_inhabitant-DAT
      kis   **sā̀'ld**   `Rūotšmȯl-dõ   vȯ'ḷ   bro'utšõ-n
      who   from_there.S   Sweden-ABL   be.PST.3SG   travel-APP.SG
      `tā̀nõ        tä'm                  `sõ'vvõ.
      hither.L   DEM.PROX.GEN   summer
      'he had told to this (0.5) Sīkrõg inhabitant who had come here **from there** from
      Sweden this summer' (AEDKL: SUHK0432-02)

4.3.2. Manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs

4.3.2.1. *Ne'i*, *nä'i*

There were a total of 484 examples of the manner-indicating pronoun *ne'i*, and also the additional forms *nä'i* (11 examples) and *ne'ig* (one example) in the main corpus. There were no other examples of this proadverb in the expanded corpus, so the use of the manner-indicating proadverb *ne'i, nä'i* is quite fixed to these two forms. Since the form *ne'ig* only occurred once in the data, there are not enough examples to analyse it more thoroughly and it can therefore be considered an accidental or merged form. Table 29 shows the forms of the manner-indicating proadverb *ne'i, nä'i* in both of the corpora.

Table 29. Forms of the proadverb *ne'i*, *nä'i* in the data

Form of manner-indicating proadverb	Number of occurrences
ne'i	**484**
nä'i	**11**
ne'ig	1

With 484 examples, *ne'i* is the most common form in the data, see (39) for example on *ne'i* in Section 4.2.1.1. The form *nä'i* (11 examples) appears in the data collected from two brothers from Vaid village, although both brothers also use *ne'i* in their data. The form *nä'i* tends to be used more at the end of a narrative or at the end of a speaker's turn as a conclusion. See example (58), where Speaker no. 6 is answering to the interviewer's question about the name of the valley near to his childhood farm, using the form *nä'i*:

(58) `sīe-n        ni'm      lāikam (.)     i'z             `ūo. .hh   **`nä'i**
      DEM-DAT   name   probably   NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG   so
      ma   mõtlõ-b
      1SG.S   think-1SG
      'it probably (.) did not have a name .hh I think **so**' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

See also example (59) for the only occurrence of the form *ne'ig*, which may also results from a merger with the word *ku* 'that', Speaker no. 3 is talking about the master of the farm keeping one horse for going to the church service on Sundays:

(59) *un   sīe   `ī'd   ta   pid-īz   **ne'ig** (.)   la'z*
      and   DEM.GEN   one.GEN   3SG.S   keep-PST.3SG   so   let
      vól-kõ   `knaš        [ku       lī-b                 `lȭtõ-l]
      be-JUSS.SG   beautiful   when   will_be-3SG   church_service-ALL.ADE
      'and that one he kept so (.) let [it] be beautiful when he will be at a church service'
      (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

4.3.2.2. *Ni*

The temporal proadverb *ni* had 96 examples in the main corpus. There were 95 examples of *ni* and one example of the aspirated form *ni^h*. The expanded corpus also added one additional example of the aspirated form *ni^h*. The forms of the temporal adverb *ni* in both corpora are listed in the Table 30.

Table 30. Forms of the proadverb *ni* in the data

Form of temporal proadverb	Number of occurrences
ni	95
ni^h	2

As can be seen from the table, *ni* generally has just one form, as the aspirated form only appears twice alongside a pause See (60) for an example of the form *ni* and (61) for an example of the aspirated form *ni^h*:

(60)   *oi*   *ku*   *mi'n*   *ä'b*   *tu'ḷ*   **ni**   *`mīelõ.*
         oh   when   1SG.DAT.S   NEG.3SG   come.PST.3SG   now   mind.ILL
         'oh it [the name of a minister] does not come to my mind **now**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

(61)   *se*   *u'm* (3.0)   *ne'i*   *jõvā*   *`tắ'tõks.* (1.5)   **ni^h**. (.)
         DEM   be.3SG   so   good   omen   now
         ku   *mi'nn-õn* (1.0)   *`ne'i*     *ja*      *`ne'i*
         when   1SG-DAT.L   so   and   so
         'it is (3.0) so good omen (1.5) **now** (.) when for me (1.0) it goes like this and this' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

4.3.2.3. *Si'z*

There were 942 examples of the temporal proadverb *si'z* in the main corpus which is the largest number of examples of any of the pronouns or proadverbs analysed in the current thesis. In the main corpus, there was not much variation among the forms. Additionally, there were two instances, where it had merged with the following word and had the form *s-*. There were no additional forms in the expanded corpus. Table 31 summarises the forms of the temporal proadverb *si'z* in both in the main and the expanded corpus.

Table 31. Forms of the proadverb *si'z* in the data

Form of temporal proadverb	Number of occurrences
si'z	942
s- (merged form)	2

The merged form *s-* can be distinguished from the context, e.g., in a conditional clause, see example (62):

(62) *un*   *ma*   *ku*   *pu-*   *`pū'gõ-b.* (0.5)      *`i'lzõ*, .hh   *mi'nn-õn*
      and   1SG.S   when   cr-   crawl-1SG   up   1SG-DAT.L
      ē   *`ka*      *s=*      *ne*            *`ǫ'rõn-d*   *īe-bõd*
      HESIT   also   then   DEM.PL   cloth-PL   get-3PL
      `mustā-ks.
      dirty-INSTR.TRANSL
      'and when I cr- crawl (0.5) up .hh then my um also **then** these clothes get dirty'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

See also (63) for an example of the most commonly used form *si'z*:

(63) *`si'z*      *ku* (.)      *ku*      *`ta*   *vȯl-ks*   *vȯnd*, .hh (1.2)   *ku*
      then   if   if   3SG.S   be-COND.SG   be.APP.SG   if
      si'z   *`va'nbiz-tõn*            *vȯl-ks*                  *vȯnd*            *ve'l*      *`a'bbõ.*
      then   parent-DAT.PL   be-COND.SG   be.APP.SG   still   help.PART
      '**then** if (.) if he had been [alive] .hh (1.2) **then** the parents would have still had help' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

4.4. Observations on morphosyntax

In this section, I describe the main morphosyntactic tendencies that occurred among the use of pro-forms in Chapter 4. The analysis of the current chapter has been focused on the inflectional variety of the pro-forms and morphosyntactic tendencies that stand out in the use of certain pro-forms. Therefore, I summarise the main morphosyntactic tendencies to draw more clear conclusions of morpho-syntactic use based on the data and analysis. The observations will be discussed by groups of pro-forms: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demon-strative proadjectives, and demonstrative proadverbs.

Personal pronouns were often used in the first position of a clause with the only exception being clauses which begin with a temporal adverbial, in which case personal pronouns could also be used in the second position in the clause. It was possible to leave out the personal pronoun when two verbs occurred close to each other and the first verb already appeared alongside a personal pronoun; however, mostly the preference was not to exclude personal pronouns from a clause.

Demonstrative pronouns could be more flexible considering their position in a clause and could move rather freely. A very important morphosyntactic feature that stood out among demonstrative pronouns was that the interior local case forms with shorter case endings were preferred to be used more as attributes for a head noun and to connect them more smoothly phonotactically, while interior local case forms with the longer endings appeared more often nominally or along-side breaks. With the plural demonstrative form *ne*, it is notable that although the

attribute case occurring with a head noun is said to be the genitive (Viitso 2008: 327), in the data, the nominative was mostly used as the attribute case; however, there were also a couple of genitive attribute examples. This shows that the plural form *ne* is moving towards simplification from the genitive to the nominative in attributive use.

Demonstrative proadjectives in attributive contexts appeared mostly in pre-posed use, although there were also some examples in the data of postposed use where the proadjective appeared as an attribute after the head noun and agreed with it in case. This use is rather rare among Southern Finnic languages and its functions and motivations could be further researched. For the coordinated demonstrative proadjectives, it stood out that only partitive plural examples appeared and were similar to a fixed phrase use.

There were examples of almost all demonstrative locative proadverbs appearing as modifiers in front of a noun, e.g., example (46) above, *sīņõ kīņõ* 'to this barn'. Although grammatically the proadverb and the following noun are not agreeing, the modifier function still stands out among the proadverbs in the data and is reminiscent of similar attributive use of demonstrative pronouns. This pheno-menon could also be researched further based on the first observations done on the basis of empirical data.

4.5. Summary

In the morphosyntactic analysis chapter, three larger groups of pro-forms were analysed according to their inflectional form in the spoken language data and their morphosyntactic use in the examples. The pro-forms were divided into three sections according to their grammatical order and proximity: 1) personal and demonstrative pronouns, 2) demonstrative proadjectives, and 3) demonstrative proadverbs, which were further divided into two subsections – 1) locative pro-adverbs and 2) manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs. The 3rd person pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and demonstrative proadjectives also were divided into subsections according to their nominal or adnominal use and depending on their syntactic structure. In nominal use, the pro-form was used independently and, in adnominal use, the pro-form was acting as a demonstrative attribute for some other noun. The morphosyntactic analysis chapter was focused on determining which inflectional forms of the pro-forms appear in the spoken language data, whether they differ from earlier sources, and in which cases separate long and short forms occur, in addition, also what are the main features of these forms in syntactic use and whether there are certain morphosyntactic tendencies when either a long or short form tends to be used more.

In the first section on personal and demonstrative pronouns, there appeared several forms in the spoken language data that have not been mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources and some that have been previously mentioned only in Salaca Livonian sources. The forms are listed in Table 32. The forms marked with * appeared in earlier sources on Salaca Livonian.

Table 32. Undescribed forms of personal and demonstrative pronouns in the data

Form in the data	Grammatical explanation
ma^h	1st person singular (aspirated short nominative)
sa^h	2nd person singular (aspirated short nominative)
tä*	3rd person singular (short nominative)
tä'm	3rd person singular (short dative)
tämāl*	3rd person singular (adessive)
mā̄g	1st person plural (long nominative)
me*	1st person plural (short nominative)
mē̄ḑin	1st person plural (long dative)
mä'dstõ	1st person plural (elative)
nēd*	3rd person/demonstrative *se* plural (long nominative)
nēg	demonstrative *se* plural (long nominative)
ne^h	3rd person/demonstrative *se* plural (aspirated short nominative)
n-	3rd person/demonstrative *se* plural (merged nominative)
neiš	demonstrative *se* plural (short inessive)
nē̆š	demonstrative *se* plural (short inessive)
se^h	distance-neutral demonstrative (aspirated nominative)

The new Courland Livonian forms summarised above include aspirated forms – which mostly occur after a pause or at the end of the utterance – as well as some nominative, dative, inessive, and elative forms, and the thus far little described and rare adessive forms. Forms in common with Salaca Livonian sources may show similar dialectal variety and influences or similar developments in the Courland Livonian variety.

There were also some case forms that did not appear in the data at all. Mostly, the illative and inessive forms were missing from the data in the case of personal pronouns, so these cases may only rarely be used with personal pronouns. Of the interior local cases, the elative case was used the most, showing more productive use and expressing separative direction, change of agent, and appearing in comparative constructions. Surprisingly, there were also no instrumental case examples of most of the personal pronouns in the data, which may be a result of the rather static genre of the recorded interviews. Also some short dative forms of the personal pronouns, mentioned by Viitso (2008), were missing from the data. The long form of the 3rd person plural, *nämād* 'they', was completely absent from both the main and expanded corpus data, although it would have been expected based on the analogy of the 3rd person singular pronoun long form *tämā* and short form *ta* 's/he'. The form *nämād/nämad* has been mentioned before only in the Salaca Livonian variety in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116), in Viitso's Livonian grammar overview (Viitso 2008: 332), and in Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary (2012), in addition, the similar forms

nemàd, *nemàt'* appear in Kettunen's text collection (Kettunen 1925: 76–78, 82). As the form *nämād* has also appeared in the Livonian-Esperanto dictionary manuscript compiled by Livonian linguist Pētõr Damberg (Čače et al. 1966) and Viitso & Ernštreits's dictionary is also partially based on the vocabulary card catalogue that Damberg compiled, it is likely that Damberg has added this form to the above-mentioned dictionaries, either based on his knowledge of its earlier use or based on the Salaca Livonian example. It is likely that the form *nämād* had fallen out of use in late Courland Livonian as aside from the aforementioned occurrences in Sjögren & Wiedemann's dictionary, Kettunen's text collection with similar *nema*-stemmed words, and the Livonian-Esperanto dictionary, there are no examples of it in the data or in other dictionaries or grammars. The distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* 'that' also showed restricted use, appearing only in some case forms – the nominative, partitive, inessive, and adessive – in the data. As the use of the distal demonstrative *tūo* is rare, the corpus could be expanded in the future in order to find other additional forms of it.

With regard to the demonstrative proadjectives, only the proadjective *seļļi* 'such, like this' appeared in the data independently, while the other distal demonstrative proadjective *tūoļi* 'like that' appeared only within coordinated demonstrative phrases along with *seļļi* such as *seļļiži-tūoļiži* 'this and that kind'. Thus, the independent use of *tūoļi* is likely quite rare and it appears more in a contrastive context with the distance-neutral proadjective *seļļi*. There were also some inflectional forms of the proadjective *seļļi* in the data that have not been mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources. These forms are listed in Table 33.

Table 33. Undescribed forms of the proadjective *seļļi* in the data

Form in the data	Grammatical explanation
seļļižõn	Distance-neutral proadjective (dative singular from)
seļļiztõ	Distance-neutral proadjective (partitive singular long from)
seļļiztõd	Distance-neutral proadjective (partitive plural long from)
seļļiž	Distance-neutral proadjective (partitive plural short from)

The new forms mostly had longer endings or an alternative pronunciation with *ž* instead of *z*, though there was also one short, abbreviated form in the partitive plural. The interior local case forms were absent from the data as well as dative, inessive, and instrumental-translative plural forms. However, illative and elative plural forms did occur, showing that the use of the proadjective in interior local cases is productive. The data could, however, be expanded in the future to find the other missing forms in the current data.

For the locative proadverbs, most of the forms that appeared have also been mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources. However, the proximal proadverb *tässõ* 'here' which occurred in the data was not mentioned in any earlier source but was likely influenced by the long inessive ending *-sõ* and is similar to the proximal separative form *tästõ* 'from here', which shows a longer ending

similar to the elative case ending. Also, some of the forms had acquired a lative meaning in addition to their original static meaning in the language of some speakers. For example, the forms *täsā* 'here', *sī'ḍ* 'here', and *sā̀'l* 'there' originally had only a static meaning, but because of the possible influence of Latvian where the locative case is used for both static and lative meanings, some speakers also used these proadverbs with a lative meaning in addition to their static use, e.g., *tu'ḷ täsā* 's/he came here'. Most of the demonstrative proadverbs were also used as determiners with a following noun or noun phrase referring to a location or place.

For manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs, there were also some new forms in the data that have not been mentioned in other Courland Livonian sources. These forms are listed and explained in Table 34.

Table 34. Undescribed forms of manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs in the data

Form in the data	Grammatical explanation
nä'i	Manner-indicating proadverb (alternative phonetical form)
ne'ig	Manner-indicating proadverb (merged form)
ni^h	Temporal proadverb (aspirated form)
s-	Temporal proadverb (merged form)

The manner-indicating proadverb *ne'i* 'so' had two additional forms *nä'i* and *ne'ig* 'so' in addition to the main form *ne'i*; the form *nä'i* was used by two brothers from Vaid village. In comparison to *ne'i*, *nä'i* was preferred more towards the end of a clause or at a turn between speakers. The form *ne'ig* may be a merged form resulting from the phrase *ne'i ku* 'so that', but as there was only one example of it in the data, this is only a theory. There also was the aspirated form *ni^h* for the temporal proadverb *ni* 'now', and the merged form *s-* for the temporal proadverb *si'z* 'then'. Otherwise, the use of the proadverbs was quite homogenous and they did not show many new or additional forms.

To sum up the results, the personal and demonstrative pronouns showed the most diverse use of inflectional forms, showing also some new, thus far undescribed forms in the data. However, some expected forms included in earlier dictionaries and grammars were also missing among these examples, especially certain interior local case forms and also instrumental case forms. In addition, distal demonstrative and proadjective forms were also rare in the data. Thus, the data could be expanded in the future with a focus on finding and analysing the missing or rare (case) forms. The current data thus have helped to show, which forms or uses are among the rarest ones and which could be the focus of future research.

5. SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF COURLAND LIVONIAN PRO-FORMS

This chapter is focused on analysing and explaining both the different characteristics of referents to which pro-forms are connected and the pragmatic uses that are more dependent on the practical actions and context of the spoken interaction (such as self-repairs, filler words, discourse particles, recognitional use from previous or shared knowledge, etc.). Analysing the semantic and pragmatic use of the pro-forms is important for describing their actual meanings, options for reference, and their practical use, especially as, in spoken interaction, the pro-forms may acquire many more functions that are not necessarily described or mentioned in grammars or dictionaries; thus, the analysis helps to broaden the description of the pro-forms. The more detailed semantic and pragmatic description of examples of Livonian pro-forms in use also gives a chance to compare these to other languages.

The analysis chapter is structured so that the sections on semantically more similar pro-forms would follow each other: thus the 1st and 2nd person pronouns are discussed together in Section 5.1. These – as the speech act pronouns – differ from the 3rd person pronoun, which is mostly outside of the speech situation and may have more similarities with the demonstrative pronouns; as a result of this similarity, the 3rd person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are analysed together in Section 5.2. As these pronouns distinguish also nominal and adnominal use, there are sub-sections on these uses as well. In addition, Section 5.2.6. focuses on the coordinate demonstratives where two demonstratives are used together and form a phrase of their own. This is followed by an analysis of demonstrative pro-adjectives in Section 5.3, where the nominal and adnominal uses are again discussed in separate sub-sections as well as coordinated proadjectives in Section 5.3.2. Finally, Section 5.4 focuses on proadverbs and is divided into sub-sections on locative proadverbs (Section 5.4.1) and manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs (Section 5.4.2).

5.1. 1st and 2nd person pronouns

The semantic-pragmatic analysis of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns is divided into two parts: semantic use is discussed first, which analyses how the pronouns were used for reference in the data and what specific referent types characterise their use (e.g., the speaker, the interlocutor, the interlocutor within the narrative, generic use, etc.). This is followed by the pragmatic analysis, which discusses the most common tendencies for choosing between long and short forms of pronouns (e.g., contrastivity, second mention of an entity, starting or continuing a narrative, etc.). In addition, practical pragmatic aspects that appear in spoken interaction are described and analysed – phonological stress of words, interruptions, repetitions, prolongations and self-repairs while using pronouns in interaction

5.1.1. 1st and 2nd person singular

Use of different referent types: 1st person singular

There were in total 643 examples of the 1st person singular pronoun *minā*, *ma* in the data of both corpora. Among the semantic referent types, three different types of uses could be distinguished: 1) a speaker referring to himself/herself during the speech moment, 2) the 1st person's perspective in a narrative (the speaker is directly quoting the 3rd person referent's speech), and 3) general reference in the 1st person where the speaker is not so much referring to himself/herself, but instead providing a general example of how a phrase or word may be used in Livonian, using the 1st person singular as a role for it.

The number of occurrences of all the above-mentioned referent types are summarised in Table 35.

Table 35. Referent types of the 1st person singular pronoun in the data

Referent type	Number of occurrences
Speaker during the speech moment	**605**
General reference	28
1st person referent's perspective in the narrative	10

Speaker referring to himself/herself at the speech moment was the most prevalent reference type (605 examples), which is also expected in the genre of fieldwork interviews where speakers are mostly talking about their own life and knowledge, see (62) in Section 4.3.2.3. for this use.

The next most common type was general reference (28 examples in the data). This reference type occurred as the speakers were occasionally also asked to explain the use of some phrases or words to the researcher(s). See (64) for the general reference use in the context where the speaker is explaining to the interviewer how the verb *ti'ggõ* 'lean' may be used, and (65), where the interviewer TV is asking the native speaker PD if a certain collocation can be used in Livonian and the native speaker provides a general example of it in the 1st person singular use:

(64)   **ma**   *või-b*   *ti'ggõ*   `*taibõ=*   *pā̮l*, (.)
       1SG.S   may-1SG   lean.INF   stick.GEN   POSTP
       ma   *või-b*   *ti'ggõ*   *e*   `*štok=*   *pā̮l*,
       1SG.S   may-1SG   lean.INF   HESIT   walking_stick.GEN   POSTP
       'I may lean on a stick (.) **I** may lean on a walking stick' (AEDKL: F0997-03)

(65)   TV: *või*   *pā*   *ka*   *kānda-b*
             PTCL   head   too   carry-3SG
       (.)
       PD: *pā*   *`kānda-b* (2.2)   *pā*        *`kānda-b* (5.5)   *sie-dā*   **mi'n**
             head   carry-3SG   head   carry-3SG   DEM-PART   1SG.GEN
             `pā*      *ä'b*        *`kānda. (3.5)   *sie-dā*   *`mä'rrõ*   **mi'n**
             head   NEG.3SG   carry.CNG.SG   DEM-PART   noise.PART   1SG.GEN
             pā   *ä'b*   *kānda.*
             head   NEG.3SG   carry.CNG.SG
       'TV: does a head also "bear"
       (.)
       PD: a head bears (2.2) a head bears (5.5) **my** head does not bear [stand] it (3.5)
       my head cannot bear this noise' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

There was also a type of use where the speaker was quoting the text of a third person directly from that person's point of view while telling the interviewer a narrative (10 examples). This type occurred the least in the data, but shows that occasionally the speakers also prefer to use a direct quotation of a 3rd person referent from the 1st person referent's perspective, instead of using the 3rd person singular pronoun, see (66):

(66)   *`ta*        *kīt-iz*       *`ne'i.* (.)   **`mi'nn-õn** (0.5)   *kuolm,* (0.5)
       3SG.S   say-PST.3SG   so   1SG-DAT.L   three
       kuolm   *`oksõ,* (.)    *ve'l*          *`ātõ.*
       three   branch.PART   still   be.3PL
       'she said so [the following] (.) "**I** (0.5) still have three (0.5) three branches (.) I still have"' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Stress and use of the long and short forms: 1st person singular

The 1st person singular pronoun *minā*, *ma* shows separate long and short forms in the data in the nominative (long form *minā*, short forms *ma*, *ma^h*, and *mä*) and dative case (long form *mi'nnõn* and short form *mi'n*). Also, the elative form *mi'nstõ* could be considered a long form based on earlier Courland Livonian grammars and dictionaries, of which some also mentioned the short form *mi'nst* (see, e.g., Kettunen 1938: LVIII), but as the short form *mi'nst* did not occur in the current data, there is not sufficient material to compare them. Therefore, only the motivations for using the long and short forms of the nominative and dative case in the data are discussed.

One of the main criteria that is mentioned in distinguishing the long and short form of the personal pronouns is stress. Often in languages with two or more pronoun forms, one of is said to be stressed rather than unstressed or appears in contrastive contexts and is the main focus in the clause, e.g., French *je* 'I', which appears neutrally, and *moi* 'me', which appears in stressed contexts, comparisons, or with prepositions. Therefore, the instances of phonological stress occurring in examples in the data were examined to see if the long forms of Livonian personal

pronouns – which are said to be stressed in a phrase (Viitso 2008: 332) – are phonologically stressed in the data.

In the nominative, the long nominative form *minā* could be used both as an unstressed (see (67)) and stressed (see (70–73) below), in the data. However, there was a larger number of stressed examples: 63 examples out of 95 were stressed, while the other 32 examples *minā* were not stressed. Therefore, *minā* does not obligatorily have to be phonologically stressed. See (67) for an unstressed use of *minā*; the speaker starts the utterance with the short form *ma* and continues with the long form *minā*.

(67) **ma**   *sīe*   *`vanā-n* (.)   **minā**      *`vanā-n*   *ibīz-õn*
      1SG.S   DEM.GEN   old-DAT   1SG.L   old-DAT   horse-DAT
      minā   *ä'b*   *`mā'dlõ.* (.)   *emīṇt*   *ni'm*
      1SG.L   NEG.1SG   remember.CNG.SG   anymore   name
      '**I** do not remember this old one's (.) **I** do not remember the old horse's **I** do not remember (.) [this] name anymore' AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Most of the examples of the short form *ma* – 270 out of 295 – are unstressed; however, despite its short length, it is also possible to stress it and almost all speakers – five out of six – also use the stressed *ma* in the data. However, most of the examples of stressed *ma* occur in the data of the only Īra dialect speaker. This speaker does not use the long form *minā* in the data at all, so in her case the stressed *ma* may also be substituting for the long and more often stressed form *minā* seen in the other speakers' data. See (68) for an example of the Īra dialect speaker using the short form *ma* as a stressed form:

(68) *ku*   **`ma**     *i'z*          *`ūo*   *si'z*   *või-*   *i'z*
      when   1SG.S   NEG.PST.1SG   be.CNG.SG   then   may   NEG.PST.3SG
      või-ž-ti   *`no-`loulõ.*
      may-PST-3PL   PRFX-sing.INF
      'when **I** was not along [in the choir] then [they] could not sing' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

There were two stressed examples and one unstressed example of the aspirated short form *ma^h*, The other short form *mä* was also stressed, showing that the alternative phonetic variants of the short form mostly occur in a phonologically stressed position, see (69):

(69) [*täs*   *`pivāskuodā-s.*] (.)   *pivāskuodā-s*   *`ma^h,* (.)   *mm*   *`pāldiṇ*
      here.S   church-INE   church-INE   1SG.S   HESIT   now
      ē   *`kakš*      *päuvõ*        *`nädīḷ-sõ*
      HESIT   two   day.PART   week-INE
      'here in the church (.) in the church **I** mm am [working] at the moment um two days a week' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

In the data, there are three main types of pragmatic contexts where the nominative long form *minā* is used: 1) to stress the speaker's individuality and/or opinions, 2) to draw contrasts or make comparisons with some other referent(s), 3) at the

beginning of narratives or a sequence of events. The second and the third use are also mentioned for the Estonian nominative long form *mina* (see Pajusalu 2017: 569).

In the first group where the speaker's individuality is stressed, there are no exact contrasts with other person in the context, but the speaker feels the urge to stress his/her case or point of view. See (70), where the interviewer has been previously talking about a river nearby and how it is reminiscent of a river in Latvia. The speaker agrees with this thought and then uses the long nominative form *minā* to stress her point of view:

(70) [nǟ.] (.) **`minā**  mõtlõ-b  ku  se  u'm  `knaš
      yes   1SG.L   think-1SG that DEM be.3SG beautiful
      kūož   `kah.
      place   too
      'yes (.) **I** think that this is a nice place as well' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

In the second group, the speaker is contrasting or comparing himself/herself to some other entity and is therefore using the stressed long form *minā* to stress the contrast or difference. In (71), the speaker is comparing herself with her relative:

(71) ta   u'm   `kuolm  āigast  jo    `vanā ku   **`minā**.
      3SG.S   be.3SG three   year   PREP old   than 1SG.L
      'she is three years older than **me**' (AEDKL: F1035-05)

In the third group – associated with use in narratives, the long form *minā* is used at the beginning of a narrative or utterance and may thereafter be changed to the short form *ma*; however, at another turn of events in the same narrative, the speaker may again continue with the long form. See (72) and (73), respectively:

(72) un   **`minā**=  n    vȯ'ḷ        ē      veis   `ī'ṇõ (.)
      and   1SG.L   n-   be.PST.3SG HESIT knife along
      ma   võt-īz   `veis       {si'z} (.)  ī'ed-iz     `ulzõ.
      1SG.S   take-PST.1SG   knife.GEN   then   cut-PST.1SG out
      'and **I** had um a knife along (.) **I** took the knife then (.) cut [the knees of trousers] out' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

(73) un   ē   **ma**   tǭ'-ž   `nǟ'-dõ. (.)  kui   se    `je'i
      and   HESIT   1SG.S   want-PST.1SG   see-INF   how   DEM   ice
      ni   `lǟ'-b    ē (0.5)  ē     `mǭ-n`-allõ. (0.5)  `vi'ed= si'zzõl.
      now   go-3SG   HESIT   HESIT ground-GEN-below   water.GEN inside
      (0.5) .hh **`minā** (.)  ē      nu    ku    `vī'mõ   sad-īz `
                 1SG.L   HESIT PTCL when rain.PART   fall-PST.3SG
      ka^h? (.) .hh un   **`minā** pugū-b   ē   ī'd
      too   and   1SG.L   climb-1SG HESIT   one.ILL
      `piedāgõ  `i'lzõ.
      pine.ILL up
      'and **I** wanted to see (.) how this ice now goes um (0.5) um under the ground (0.5) .hh **I** (.) um well when it was also raining (.) .hh and **I** climbed um up a pine' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

In the dative case, the long form *mi'nnõn* was mostly unstressed in the data, showing 83 unstressed examples and 32 stressed examples out of a total of 115 examples. The short dative form *mi'n* was mostly also unstressed, having 21 unstressed examples and four stressed examples out of 25, see (49) in Section 4.3.1.2. and (60) in Section 4.3.2.2. Thus, the short form *mi'n* had very few stressed examples and, therefore, of the two forms, the long form *mi'nnõn* occurs more often in the stressed position. See (74) and (75) for examples of unstressed and stressed uses of the dative long form *mi'nnõn* in a similar syntactic context of dative possession, with the stress depending on what the speaker wants to emphasise in each utterance:

(74) **mi'nn-õn**   *ki'l* (.)   `*kīlma*   *i'z*   *ūo*
      1SG-DAT.L   PTCL   cold   NEG.PST.3SG be.CNG.SG
      'well **I** was not really feeling cold' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

(75) *nekā*   `**mi'nn-õn**   *ē*        *mingi*   `*sūr*   `*skūol*   *ä'b*
      like   1SG-DAT.L   HESIT   some   big   school   NEG.3SG
      `*ūo.*
      be.CNG.SG
      'like **I** um do not have some big school [education]' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

Placeholding and self-repairs: 1st person singular

Although overall the 1st person singular pronoun had a large number of examples – 642 occurrences in the data, and, thus, it would be expected that there would also be more practical pragmatic functions, such as self-repairs, repetitions, etc. in its use, these occur surprisingly seldom in the data. There were in total only seven examples of repetitions where particular forms of the pronoun *minā*, *ma* were repeated immediately after each other or nearby, either because of stumbling in the text or using the form as a filling word for planning upcoming speech and having time to think about the following words in the speech, as in (76):

(76) *se*   *u'm*   `**mi'n** (.)    `**mi'n**   *pūoga.*
      DEM   be.3SG   1SG.GEN   1SG.GEN   son
      'this is **my** (.) **my** son' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

There were also two cases of interruptions where the form of the 1st person singular pronoun was first interrupted, but then started over again, showing possible hesitation about the form; see (77):

(77) *paldies*   `*jumāl-õn*? (1.5) .hh   *ku*   **mi-**   **mi'nn-õn**   *u'm*
      thank_you   God-DAT   that   mi-   1SG-DAT.L   be.3SG
      ē   `*pensij*? (0.8)    *kūžkimdõ*     `*rubīļ-t.*
      HESIT   pension   sixty   ruble-PART
      'thank God (1.5) .hh that **I- I have** um a pension (0.8) sixty roubles' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

In addition, there was one example of a self-repair where the speaker changed the form of the 1st person singular pronoun; see (67). The speaker makes a self-repair and changes the short nominative form *ma* into the long form *minā*, seemingly wanting to stress her point of view more.

Use of different referent types: 2nd person singular

There were in total 105 examples of the 2nd person singular pronoun *sinā*, *sa* in the data from the corpora. Four different semantic referent types were encountered: 1) speaker referring to the interlocutor during the speech event (the speaker is referring to one of the interviewers), 2) speaker referring to a 2nd person referent within a narrative (referring to the interlocutor who is not present during the speech moment), 3) generic use, 4) speaker referring to himself/herself within the narrative (quoting someone turning to him/her within a narrative). The number of occurrences of each referent type is summarised in Table 36.

Table 36. Referent types of the 2nd person singular pronoun in the data

Referent type	Number of occurrences
Generic use	**58**
Interlocutor during the speech event	25
2nd person's referent in the narrative	12
Speaker as the 2nd person within the narrative	10

The most common use was the generic use (58 examples), where the speaker is not referring directly to the interlocutor, but the reference is either generally about life or actually connected to the speaker himself/herself by content, trying to also make the interlocutor a co-experiencer of a situation (for the similar use and motivation in Estonian and other languages, see Pajusalu 1999: 55). The presence of a large number of such examples in the data is likely caused by the genre of the interview, where the main focus is on the native speaker and the genre causes less turning to the interlocutor, while the interview has often narrative-like parts of the native speakers' memories and opinions. See (78), where the speaker has previously been saying that his health is good so far and that he does not have any pain, thereafter using the 2nd person singular pronoun for general reference:

(78) *se*   \``sūr` .hh    *ē*        \``vȯnni.` (0.5)   *ku*   **\``si'nn-õn`**   *ä'b*
       DEM   big   HESIT   luck   when   2SG-DAT.L   NEG.3SG
       \``pȯ'd`              *mittõ=*         \``midēgõst`
       ache.CNG.SG   not   anything
       'this is great .hh um luck (0.5) when you have nothing aching' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

Next, there were 26 examples of reference to the interlocutor (the interviewer) who is present during the speech moment. However, not all of the speakers use the 2nd person singular pronoun for turning to the interviewer, some also use the

2nd person plural to mark either the formality of the speech situation or not close relations. In (79), the speaker is asking from the interviewer if he is familiar with the term that the speaker is using:

(79)   *ta*   *vȯ'ļ*   *`baptist.* (.)    **sa**       *`tīeda-d*   *mis*
         3SG.S   be.PST.3SG   Baptist   2SG.S   know-2SG   what
         baptis[*tõ-d*   *āt.*]
         Baptist-PL   be.3PL
         'he was a Baptist (.) you know what Baptists are' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The 2nd person singular pronoun could also be used for a 2nd person referent in a narrative not present during the speech moment (12 examples). See (80), where the speaker is quoting his grandfather's speech to a 2nd person referent in a narrative where he describes how a neighbour wanted to borrow hay from his grandfather after the neighbour's barn had burned down:

(80)   *vanātȯ̧ţi*   *vȯ'ļ*   *nuttõ-n*   *`tagān* (0.8)   *no*
         grandfather   be.PST.3SG   yell-APP.SG   behind   PTCL
         si'z (0.5)   *`tep*            **sa**      *sīe*         *kuoţ*        *`tā'dõks.*
         PTCL   fill.IMP.2SG   2SG.S   DEM.GEN   bag.GEN   full
         'grandfather had yelled back (0.8) "well, then (0.5) **you** fill this bag full [of hay]"'
         (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

A 2nd person singular pronoun was also used to refer to the speaker himself/herself while the speaker was quoting direct speech of a 3rd person referent in a narrative about himself/herself (10 examples). See (81), for an example of the speaker quoting a 3rd person referent's direct speech to her:

(81)   *`ta=*       *kīt-iz.* (.)      *`kīt*   *mi'nn-õn*   *`paldies* (0.5)
         3SG.S   say-PST.3SG   say.IMP.2SG   1SG-DAT.L   thank_you
         ku   *ma*   **`si'n** (.)      **si'n**       *`mī'e*
         when   1SG.S   2SG.GEN   2SG.GEN   husband.GEN
         päst-īz   *`ulz.*
         save- PST.1SG   out
         'he said (.) "say 'thank you' to me (0.5) since I saved your (.) your husband"'
         (AEDKL: SUHK0507-01)

Stress and use of the long and short forms: 2nd person singular

As with the 1st person singular, the 2nd person singular also showed separate long and short forms again in the nominative, dative, and elative cases in the data; however, as the short elative form *si'nst* again did not appear in the data but can be found only in the earlier grammars and dictionaries, the use of the elative forms cannot be compared.

In the nominative case, there were 66 examples of the short form *sa*, one example of the aspirated short form *sa^h*, and three examples of the long form *sinā*. All of the nominative short form *sa* examples were unstressed, the aspirated

example *sa^h* was stressed, and the long form *sinā* had two stressed and one un-stressed example. This shows that the 2nd person singular pronoun, the long form *sinā*, and the short form *sa* are more polar with respect to phonological stress than the 1st person singular pronoun, where also the short form *ma* could appear in a stressed position. The aspirated short form's aspiration may be caused by the stress placed on it. The long form *sinā* is mostly stressed but can also appear unstressed. See (82), for an example of the stressed long form *sinā*, where the speaker is explaining the location of a bridge to the interviewer, imagining the place and situation the interviewer had previously asked about:

(82) *ja*   *`sinā*    *ē*        *tulā-d*     *`tästā*   *k-*   *un*   *lā'-d*
     and   2SG.L   HESIT   come-2SG   from_here.L   k-   and   go-2SG
     `sīņõ,*  .hh    *si'z=*    *si'z* (.)   *`sā'l   *kus*   {*`lopū-b,*} (.)   *se*
     thither.L   then   then   there   where   end-3SG   DEM
     mä'd   *`rūobõž,*
     1PL.GEN   border
     'and **you** um come from here and go there .hh then then (.) there where [it] ends (.) this our border' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

See also (83) for the typical unstressed use of the short form *sa* where the speaker is directing a question at the interviewer:

(83) *või*   *sa*   *ē*   *`tiedā-d*    *kus*     *mi'n*        *`veļ*
     PTCL   2SG.S   HESIT   know-2SG   where   1SG.GEN   brother
     `jel-īz.
     live-PST.3SG
     'do **you** um know where my brother lived' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

Example (84) shows the stressed use of the short, aspirated form *sa^h* at the end of the speaker's turn, formulated as a question to the interviewer(s):

(84) VB: *lutār*   [*sa*   *`ūo-d*?] (.)   *ā*      *ma*     *`ka=*   *u'm*   *`lutār.*
        Lutheran   2SG.S   be-2SG   PTCL   1SG.S   too   be.1SG   Lutheran
        (.)   *`sa^h?*
            2SG.S
       TV: [*ma*   *u'm*   *`lutār.*]
          1SG.S   be.1SG   Lutheran
       KP: *lutār.*
         Lutheran
       'VB: are you Lutheran? (.) I see I am also Lutheran (.) **you**?
       TV: I am also Lutheran
       KP: Lutheran' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The examples of the long dative *si'nnõn* include five stressed and three unstressed examples, therefore, the long dative form might again be used both as stressed and unstressed. The short form *si'n* was mostly unstressed in the data, showing five unstressed examples and one stressed example. Similarly to the 1st person

singular pronoun dative use, the short dative form tends to be used as unstressed. See (85) for an example of the unstressed use of the short dative form *si'n*:

(85) *un*   **si'n**   *ju*   `*tuoi=*    *ni*      *ä'b*       `*ūo.*
      and   2SG.DAT.S   PTCL   second   now   NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG
      'and **you** do not have the other one along now' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Placeholding and self-repairs: 2nd person singular

Compared to the 1st person plural singular repair examples in interaction, the 2nd person singular pronoun has even fewer examples. Only two examples of repetitions occurred, which shows that the 2nd person singular pronoun is not a preferred pronoun in the context of filling words, self-repairs, etc. See example (81) above where the speaker repeats the form *si'n* with a pause in advance of thinking about the upcoming text.

5.1.2. 1st and 2nd person plural

Use of different referent types: 1st person plural

In total, there were 253 examples of the 1st person plural pronoun *mēg*, *meg* in the data. There were four different referent types, which could be distinguished: 1) speaker and 3rd person referent(s) during the speech event, 2) speaker and 3rd person referent(s) in the narrative, 3) general reference where the speaker is targeting a larger group of people in the country or in the world in general, and 4) quoting 3rd person referents as the 1st person plural in the narrative. There were no examples of the speaker referring to himself/herself and the interlocutor(s) during the speech event. The number of occurrences of these reference types are summarised in the Table 37.

Table 37. Referent types of the 1st person plural pronoun in the data

Referent type	Number of occurrences
Speaker and 3rd person(s) referent(s) in the narrative	**231**
General reference	11
Speaker and 3rd person(s) during the speech event	10
3rd person referents in the narrative	1

The most common reference type among the examples is a speaker referring to himself/herself and 3rd person referent(s) within a narrative, thus, to the persons who are not present during the speech moment. This type is especially prevalent because of the genre of the recordings typically being about remembering and talking about past events, people, and places. In (86), the speaker is talking about domestic animals on her childhood farm on the Livonian Coast, which lived with the families on the farm at that time:

(86) **mä'd** ē: **`mä'd** kǭrand-s vȯ'ḷ-tõ `kuolm ibīz-tõ.
1PL.GEN HESIT 1PL.GEN farm-INE be.PST-3PL three horse-PART
'in **our** um **our** farm there were three horses' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

General reference use, where the speaker targets a larger group of people in general, appeared 11 times in the data. See (87), where the speaker is talking about the Messiah coming and saving people:

(87) un `sīe-st ka `se (.) se `āiga tulū-b, (0.8)
and DEM-ELA.S too DEM DEM time come-3SG
tulū-b `jū'rõ, (2.0) vä'ggi (0.5) `kierdõ. (1.5) ku `pästäji
come-3SG by very quickly when saviour
mä'-ddõn tulū-b.
1PL-DAT.PL come-3SG
'and because of this this (.) this time comes (0.8) comes (2.0) very (0.5) quickly (1.5) when the saviour comes **for us**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

There were also 10 examples of a speaker referring to himself/herself and the 3rd person referent who is present or nearby during the speech event. In (88), the speaker is showing the interviewer the house where she is currently living with her daughter:

(88) amā ē `vie'd `sistēm ku kouv-stõ tulū-b
all HESIT water.GEN system when well-ELA come-3SG
ve'ž **mä'-ddõn** [`i'lzõ] tässõ .hh sīe `amā
water 1PL-DAT.PL up here.L DEM.GEN all.GEN
ta `ī'ž `te'-i.
3SG.S self make-PST.3SG
'the whole um water system, the water comes from the well **to us** up here .hh he did this all by himself' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Finally, there was one example in the data where the speaker was quoting text from a third person's point of view in the narrative; see (89):

(89) si'z se (.) mm: `Benjamin jemānd kītõ-n `ne'i. (.)
then DEM HESIT Benjamin Missis say-APP.SG so
@ `sõzār. (.) `tämpõ tēg või-tõ võl-da `pāikal. (.) tä'-ddõn
sister today 2PL.L may-2PL be-INF on_place 2PL-DAT.PL
ä'b ūo `tu'l-mõst. @ (1.5) @ tä'd **mē-ḑin**
NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG come-DEB 2PL.GEN 1PL-DAT.PL.L
ä'b= ūo `vajāg. @
NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG need
'then this (.) mm Mrs. Benjamin said (.) "nurse (.) today you may stay where you are (.) you do not need to come (1.5) **we** do not need you' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

Stress and use of the long and short forms: 1ˢᵗ person plural

The 1ˢᵗ person plural pronoun shows distinct long and short forms again for the nominative and dative cases. Surprisingly, the nominative long form *mēg* appears more often as unstressed – 25 times – and has 15 stressed examples out of a total of 40 examples. This is the first but not the only case among the personal pronouns where the long form has more unstressed occurrences – the 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun shows the same tendency (see the next section). The alternate long form *māg* was also unstressed. See (90) for an example of the unstressed use of the long form *mēg*:

(90) **mēg** *ke'-i-mõ* `ˋkǫṛõ-l` *ja* *vanā* *Līž* `ˋka`
  1PL.L go-PST-1PL herd-ADE and old Līž too
  vȯ'ļ   `ˋkǫṛõ-l`
  be.PST.3SG herd-ADE
  '**we** used to go herding and old Līž was herding' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

Similarly to the 1ˢᵗ person singular pronoun, the contexts where the stressed long form *mēg* appears are 1) at the beginning of a narrative or at a turn of events in a narrative, 2) in contrast to some other referent. (91) shows an examples of the stressed long form *mēg* in a narrative:

(91) *si'z* `ˋRīga-z` *bro'utš-iz* `ˋikš` (.) `ˋtidār`? (1.5) *si'z* **`ˋmeg`**
  then Riga-ILL ride-PST.3SG one daughter then 1PL.S
  .hh *ē* **`ˋmēg`** *ē,* (0.5) `ˋtā'-ž-mi,` (0.5) `ˋbro'utšõ` *tān-da*
  HESIT 1PL.L HESIT want-PST-1PL ride.INF 3SG-PART
  `ˋbro'utšõ` *tān-da* `ˋvȯtšõ-m,`
  ride.INF 3SG-PART look_for-SUP
  'then one (.) daugther went to Riga (1.5) then **we** .hh um **we** um (0.5) wanted (0.5) to go looking for him' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The short form *meg* was mostly unstressed, having 88 unstressed examples and 6 stressed examples out of 94, so the short form *meg* appears as stressed quite rarely and, by comparison, the long form *mēg* shows more stressed use. Another short form *me*, which appeared only twice in the data, had one unstressed and one stressed example.

In the dative, the long form *mä'ddõn* had slightly more unstressed than stressed examples – 39 unstressed and 33 stressed out of 72 examples. Thus, the unstressed and stressed forms were used almost equally and the form is mostly not limited to only one type of use. The short dative form *mä'd*, however, appeared only twice in the data and both of its examples were unstressed. See (92) for an example of the unstressed use of both the short form *mä'd* and the long form *mä'ddõn*:

(92) **mä'd** *vȯ'ļ* *se,* (.) *se* *Vol`ganski.* (1.0) *se*
  1PL.DAT.S be.PST.3SG DEM DEM Volganski DEM
  mä'-ddõn *vȯ'ļ* *se* `ˋjūondiji.`
  1PL-DAT.PL be.PST.3SG DEM instructor
  '**we** had this (.) this Volganski (1.0) he was **our** instructor' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Placeholding and self-repairs: 1ˢᵗ person plural

Similarly to the 1ˢᵗ person and 2ⁿᵈ person singular pronouns, *mēg*, *meg* also do not show that many examples of practical pragmatic use as self-repairs or filler words. There are, however, three occurrences of repetition. Two of these also include the hesitation marker *ē* in between the repetitions, showing that the speaker is hesitating or thinking about how to continue. In one such repetition, the speaker also changes the form from the short nominative *meg* to the longer form *mēg*, see example (91) above.

   In addition, there are four examples of self-repairs, in three of them the 1ˢᵗ person plural form is changed to the 1ˢᵗ person singular pronoun, showing that the speakers first thought is to use the plural, but then they change it to the singular, making the reference more precise. See (93) for an example of this change; Speaker no. 3 is talking about how her mother used to go fishing in a small boat for a certain kind of fish in shallow water:

(93) *un*   *se*   *vȯʼḷ*   **mä'd**   *ē*   *mi'n*   *`jemā*   *tīe.*
      and   DEM   be.PST.3SG   1PL.GEN   HESIT   1SG.GEN   mother.GEN   job
      'and this was our um my mother's job' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Use of different referent types: 2ⁿᵈ person plural

There were in total of 39 examples the 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun *tēg*, *teg* in the data. Four semantic referent types could be distinguished: 1) 2ⁿᵈ person during the speech event (formal use) 2) 2ⁿᵈ person during the speech event (plural use), and accordingly 3) 2ⁿᵈ person referents in the narrative (formal use), and 4) 2ⁿᵈ person referents in the narrative (plural use). As can be seen, the main opposition in the meanings is between the plural and formal use. Also, the generic use, which was found for the 2ⁿᵈ person singular pronoun, was not found for the 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun. The number of occurrences of these referent types is summarised in Table 38.

Table 38. Referent types of the 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun in the data

Referent referent type	Number of occurrences
2ⁿᵈ person during the speech event (formal)	22
2ⁿᵈ person during the speech event (plural)	10
2ⁿᵈ person referents in the narrative (formal)	3
2ⁿᵈ person referents in the narrative (plural)	4

The formal use of the 2ⁿᵈ person during the speech event was the most used reference type with 22 examples. In these examples, the speaker is turning to the interviewer, using the plural form about him/her as a polite form; see (94), where the speaker is turning towards the interviewer with a question for him:

(94) AB: *un*   ***teg***   *`jelā-t*     *ve'l*    *sā'l*     *`Tartu-s*   *nā̅ʰ*?
            and   2PL.S   live-2PL   still   there   Tartu-INE   yes
      (.)
      TV: *`nā̅.*
            yes
      'AB: and **you** live still there in Tartu yes?
      (.)
      TV: yes' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The use of the 2ⁿᵈ person plural during the speech event was the next most common with 10 examples. In these examples the speaker was turning towards both interviewers; see (95):

(95) TH: *nā̅*   *nu*   *`tienū.* (0.5)   *ma*   *mõtlõ-b*   *ku*   *mä'-ddõn*
            yes   PTCL   thank_you   1SG.S   think-1SG   that   1PL-DAT.PL.L
            u'm   *bro'utšõ-mõst*   *`je'dspēd̦in.*
            be.3SG   ride-DEB   away
      (.)
      PK: .hh   ***tä'-ddõn***   *mūpõ*   *u'm*   *sūr*   *`tīepā̅va.*
                   2PL-DAT.PL.L   tomorrow   be.3SG   big   workday
      'TH: yes well thank you (0.5) I think that we need to leave now
      (.)
      PK: .hh **you** have a big workday tomorrow' (AEDKL: F1037-01)

There were quite few examples of uses within a narrative, analogically also showing the formal and plural uses discussed above. See (96) for an example of plural use in a narrative where the speaker is quoting her earlier question to the girls:

(96) *`ma*     *kiz-īz*        *nänt*               *`neitškiz-t*   *`kä'dst,* .hh   *kis*
        1SG.S   ask-PST.1SG   DEM.PL.GEN   girl-PL.GEN   POSTP   who
        sīn   *`võ'l̦-ti*       *hehe*    $ *ma*      *`ki'z* $ ***teg***   *`uskõ-t*
        here   be.PST-3PL   hehe   1SG.S   ask   2PL.S   believe-2PL
        `jumāl-õn.
        God-DAT
        'I asked these girls .hh who were here hehe I ask, "do **you** believe in God"'
        (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Stress and use of the long and short forms: 2ⁿᵈ person plural

The 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun showed separate long and short forms in the data only in the nominative. Also the short dative forms *tän* and *tä'd* would have been expected (Viitso 2008: 332), but these did not appear in the data. In the nominative, similarly to the 1ˢᵗ person plural pronoun, the long form *tēg* appeared mostly unstressed. There were nine unstressed examples and three stressed examples, of which two appeared in questions. Thus, the main context for using the stressed long form *tēg* based on the data is for stressing the subject within a question. See

(97) for an example where the speaker is asking the interviewer if he has not been in the Livonian Community House:

(97) `te-` `tēg` sā'l ät ūo-tõ `vònnõd`
te- 2PL.L there.S NEG.2PL be.CNG-2PL be.APP.PL
'**yo- you** have not been there' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

The nominative short form *teg* appears only as unstressed in the data, having a total of 12 examples. Thus, based on the data, in the 2nd person plural, the long form is likely to be more stressed while the shorter form is unstressed. See (98), where despite the context of contrasting the referents, the speaker is, however, using the short forms of the pronouns:

(98) **teg** kītõ-t `e'žmõks` un ma kītõ-b `tūoiz-ta=`
2PL.S say-2PL first and 1SG.S say-1SG second-PART
kõrd.
time
'**you** say [it] first and I say [it] the second time' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

Placeholding and self-repairs: 2nd person plural

In the data, there appeared only three examples of practical pragmatic use: two examples of repetition and one example where the form was interrupted and then started again; see example (97) above. In one of the repetition examples, the hesitation marker *ē* again appeared before the repeated form and was pronounced together with the first form, again showing the speaker's hesitation with respect to the following words or needing time to remember the next word; see (99):

(99) `tä'd=` ē `tä'd` ne `neitškiz-t` `kīt-iz-ti` ku
2PL.GEN HESIT 2PL.GEN DEM.PL girl-PL say-PST-3PL that
`lī-ji,`
will_be-QUOT.SG
'**your** um **your** these girls told me that [one] would come' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

5.2. 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns

In the following sections, the different semantic and pragmatic use features of Livonian 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns are analysed. The more precise semantic and pragmatic aspects of analysing a particular pronoun are presented at the beginning of each section, as the pronouns have some structural differences. As noted, the nominal and adnominal uses of the pronouns are examined in different sections, as the different syntactic structure of these examples also causes differences in their semantic and pragmatic use.

There is a separate Section 5.2.3. for comparing the referent types of the 3rd person singular pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* and the demonstrative pronoun *se* in nominal

use, as these pronouns act similarly, both being able to refer to the 3rd person singular entities. They thus share many of their referent types but have also some differences. Comparing them helps to see which pronoun of them is more common in a certain use, e.g., when referring to humans. The pronouns are compared only in nominal use, as *tāmā*, *ta*, *tä* show adnominal use very rarely and only in one certain function (see Section 5.2.1.2.), thus lacking enough material for the comparison here.

In addition, there is also a section on coordinated demonstratives (Section 5.2.6.), which consists of two different demonstratives merged into one fixed phrase, e.g., *siedā-tuodā* 'this and that' (partitive). The pronouns *tāmā*, *ta*, *tä* and *ne*, *nēd* have some additional research criteria due to being used both as the 3rd person pronouns and as demonstrative pronouns; these are listed at the beginning of their analysis sections.

5.2.1. *Tāmā, ta, tä*

In order to analyse the semantic and pragmatic use of the pronouns *tāmā*, *ta*, *tä* – which are mostly called 3rd person singular pronouns in earlier Livonian grammars and dictionaries, but may also have a demonstrative use in some phrases – I first focus on two aspects of semantic reference aspects in their nominal use:

1) Animacy/inanimacy of the referent – It is important to determine if *tāmā*, *ta*, *tä* can all be used for referring to both animate and inanimate referents. In addition, I look at how much the number of uses differs between animate and inanimate referents and what, therefore, are the main tendencies for reference with these pronouns according to the data.

2) Referent type – This point helps to specify to which types of animate or inanimate entities *tāmā*, *ta*, *tä* and their other case forms refer. In the traditional semantic classification, different entities can be divided into 1) physical (animate and inanimate) objects, 2) abstract temporal entities like events, processes, states, which exist on a time scale, and 3) abstract entities like propositions, claims, decisions, etc., which are considered outside of space and time (Lyons 1977: 442–443). According to the references in the data, I divide them into more precise sub-classes, e.g., humans, other living entities, personified non-humans, personified institutions – which are considered animate referent types – and physical inanimate objects, non-physical abstract objects, temporal reference, and generic subjects – which are considered inanimate referent types.

After considering the semantic features listed above, I will also analyse four pragmatic features which reflect the practical use of each pronoun in a particular situation:

1) Endophoric or exophoric use – at this point, I analyse how often the 3rd person singular pronoun is used for pointing to physical surroundings in the speech

situation (exophoric use) or pointing to a noun phrase or part of the text in the preceding or following discourse (endophoric use). As the analysis material is mostly a conversation between two people and the most common topic of the conversations is past events, it is, however, expected for most of the uses to be endophoric.

2) Deictic, contrastive and/or logophoric use – This point is considered when the pronouns *tämā, ta, tä* are used along with some another pronoun (e.g., *se*) in the utterance to mark either the (deictic) contrastiveness of a referent or the logophoricity – being able to distinguish a certain referent between two or more referents in the utterance with morphologically different anaphoric forms, mostly appearing in the context of reported speech (see Clements 1975). This point also helps to analyse if the 3rd person singular pronoun is used for a particular referent.

3) Stress. The analysis investigates which form is more often phonologically stressed and, if stressed, what is the motivation or the context for doing so (e.g., in the context of contrasts, marking the start of a narrative, etc.).

4) Use in placeholding and self-repairs. This helps to see how often the pronouns *tämā, ta, tä* are connected to placeholding or self-repair functions in practical, spontaneous use and also whether the form of the pronoun is changed following a self-repair, which can give information about the speakers' motivation to choose a certain form of a pronoun. I present a number of such placeholding or repair cases and describe them more precisely, examining whether such uses occur mostly due to problems with remembering (postponing the following word) or due to mistakes and self-repairs, etc., according to how the speaker continues the text.

As in adnominal use, the pronoun is an attribute of a main word and the pronoun itself is not referring to a certain referent type as much as it is adding a particular semantic or pragmatic function to the main word. Instead of the referent types, the function of the modifiers is analysed in the adnominal use data.

In the corpora, there were 730 examples in nominal use and eight examples in adnominal use – altogether 738 examples of the 3rd person singular pronoun. I discuss the semantic-pragmatic use of the nominal and attributive examples separately in the next two sections.

5.2.1.1. Nominal use

Use of different referent types

In total, there were 735 examples of the nominal use of *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*. As listed above, the referents in the nominal use analysis were divided into two main types: animate and inanimate. Based on the nominal examples of the pronouns *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* the following subcategories of animate and inanimate referents could be distinguished: humans, other living entities (e.g., different animals, plants),

personified non-humans (e.g., mythological characters that are considered to act as animate entities), personified institutions (e.g., reference to an institution which actually refers to the people running the institution, for example, a welfare institution), physical inanimate objects (e.g., a stone, a chair, a house), non-physical abstract objects (e.g., words, names, etc.), state-of-affairs laid out in the text (e.g., *ne'i ta lā'b* 'so **it** goes'), and discourse. Table 39 and Figure 16 list the different referent types and the number of occurrences of nominal examples in the main corpus. As mentioned above, the number of the referent types of *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* is also compared with the referent types of the demonstrative pronoun *se* in nominal use in Section 5.2.3., as these pronouns act similarly, both referring to the 3rd person singular entities.

Table 39. Animacy/inanimacy and referent types of *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* in the data (nominal use)

Animacy/inanimacy:	Animate		Inanimate	
Referent types:	Human	518	Physical object	157
	Other living entity	30	Abstract object	6
	Personified non-human	9	State-of-affairs	10
	Personified institution	5		
Total:		**562**		**173**
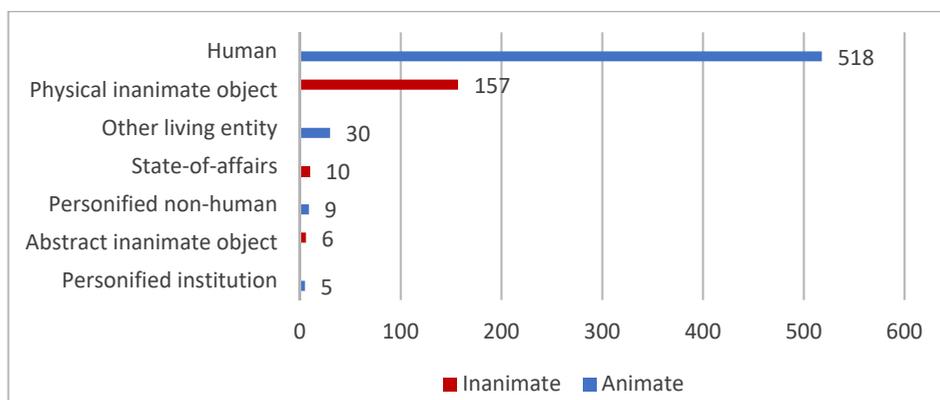
Figure 16. Referent types of the pronoun *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* in the data (nominal use)

Tämä, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns were mostly used for referring to animate entities (altogether 562 examples). However, there was also a considerable number of references to inanimate entities (173 examples). The most common semantic use of *tämä*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns is referring to humans (518 times), physical inanimate objects followed (157 times), and other referent types such as other living entities, personified non-humans, general subjects, personified institutions, and abstract inanimate objects occurred rarely, each having fewer than 30 examples in the data.

Among the rarely represented referent types, most of the animate and inanimate referent types had quite similar numbers of examples (e.g., personified

non-humans occur 9 times and references to states-of-affairs – 10 times, abstract inanimate entities – six times, animate personified institutions – five times). However, looking at the two most popular referent types – the examples of humans (518 times) and physical inanimate objects (156 times) – it can be seen that *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns are clearly used more while referring to persons than to physical inanimate objects. Thus, referring to animate referents – especially persons – with these pronouns is the most common, referring to inanimate referents is also possible in Livonian, but less popular.

The category of person was the most diverse in terms of different forms of *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*: all three nominative forms, both dative forms, and genitive and partitive forms were used for referring to persons. The instrumental and elative forms were, however, not used for persons. See (81) in Section 5.1.1. for the example on the category of person with the form *ta*.

In the category of other living entities, only references to animals appeared. The references in the main corpus were mostly about domestic animals (a cow, a horse, a dog), but also about fish. With references to animals, of the nominative forms, only the short form *ta* was used (19 times), of the other case forms, the long dative *tä'mmõn* (6 times), partitive *tānda* (3 times), and genitive *tä'm* (2 times) also were used. See (100), where Speaker no. 6 talks about where a flounder can be found in the sea:

(100) *jo* `*liestā,* (.) *pīlõ-b* `*mȭ=* *pāl.* (1.8) `*mie'r-sõ.*
because flounder stay-3SG ground.GEN POSTP sea-INE
(1.0) ***ta*** *ä'b* `*ūo* *nekā* `*mū* *kalā* *kis*
3SG.S NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG like other fish who
a'ilõ-b *pi'ds* `*vie-tā.*
run-3SG PREP water-PART
'because a flounder stays on the ground (1.8) in the sea (1.0) **it** is not like some other fish which (.) runs across the water' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

In the examples of personified non-humans, the references were about mythological or biblical characters, e.g., about dwarves and God. The personified creatures were referred to with the short nominative form *ta* (three times), the long dative *tä'mmõn*, genitive *tä'm*, and partitive *tānda* (all two times). In (101), Speaker no. 1 is talking about having everything in her life thanks to God:

(101) *lä'b* ***`tä'm*** `*tikkiž* *mi'nn-õn* *u'm.*
PREP 3SG.GEN everything 1SG-DAT.L be.3SG
'because of **Him** I have everything' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

References to institutions were considered as personified in the main corpus data, as these actually referred to a person running the institution. All five references about personified institutions used the nominative short form *ta* and all of these appeared in the same speaker's text and were about a store on wheels visiting the coastal Livonian villages every two weeks. See (102), where Speaker no. 2 is talking about its route:

(102) *agā*   *tuoi* (0.5)   *a:*   *neḷḷõndpǟva-n*   *ku*   ***ta***   *tulā-b* (0.5)
       but   other   HESIT   Thursday-ESS   when   3SG.S   come-3SG
       si'z   *ju*   ***ta***   *u'm*   *tuoiz*   *Pitrõg-õld*   *irgõ-n*
       then   PTCL   3SG.S   be.3SG   other   Pitrõg-ABL   start-APP.SG
       'but another (0.5) um Thursday when **it** comes (0.5) then **it** has started [coming] the other way from Pitrõg' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

In the category of physical inanimate objects, the nominative short form *ta* was mostly used for reference (110 times), but also the other nominative forms *tä* (3 times) and *tämā* (2 times). The other forms used to refer to physical inanimate objects were the long dative *tä'mmõn* (12 times), short dative *tä'm* (2 times), partitive *tānda* (10 times), genitive *tä'm* (6 times), instrumental *tä'mkõks* (2 times), and elative form *tä'mstõ* (1 time). Among the examples, there appeared many different kind of referents. *Tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns were used, for example, for physical objects in nature, such as a river, trees, snow, ice, the sun, etc., human-built objects, such as a house, a farm, but also about different items, such as a stone, a hat, a boat, a bottle, a wall, a pocket, etc. In addition, reference was also made to food, drinks, and substances, for example, wine, flour, a bun, etc. Interestingly, the 3rd person singular pronoun could be used for both countable (e.g., a wall) and uncountable (e.g., snow) physical inanimate objects. See, respectively, (103) for an example with a countable referent and (104) for an example with an uncountable referent.

(103) *ma*   *või-b*   *ti'g-tõ* (1.5)   *ka*   `*sainõ*   *agā*   ***ta***
       1SG.S   may-1SG   support-INF   also   wall.PART   PTCL   3SG.S
       sadā-b   `*immõr.*
       fall-3SG   over
       'I can support (1.5) a wall too if **it** falls over' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

(104) *lu'm*   *või-b*   *ka*   *kandõ*   *mūndakõrd*   *ku*   ***ta***
       snow   may-3SG   also   carry.INF   sometimes   when   3SG.S
       u'm   *kilmõ-n*   *ne'i* (0.5)   *vizā-ks*
       be.3SG   freeze-APP   so   strong-INSTR.TRANSL
       'snow can also sometimes support [something] when it has frozen so (0.5) firmly' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

Abstract objects were referred to mostly with the nominative short form *ta* (5 times) and once with partitive *tānda*. Examples of abstract referents included references to particular words or phrases. In (105), Speaker no. 2 has been thinking of how to explain a phrase an interviewer has asked about, after discussing the phrase the speaker concludes she finally understands what is meant by a certain word in the phrase:

(105) `*ni*    *ma*    `***tǟn-da***   `*sa-*`*mūoštõ-b*   *sie-dā*   `*sõ'nnõ.*
       now   1SG.S   3SG-PART   PRFX-understand-1SG   DEM-PART   word.PART
       'now I understand **it** this word' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

Reference to states-of-affairs appeared only with the short nominative form *ta* (10 examples). Like with the previously described situations or circumstances, reference to states-of-affairs seems to have a fixed use with the form *ta*. In (106), Speaker no. 6 had previously said that the husbands of his relatives have recently died. The speaker uses *ta* to summarise the circumstances described before and to acknowledge the situation as a whole:

(106) `ne'i   **ta**=     `lā̱'-b   mis   või-b   `tī'e-dõ.
       so   3SG.S   go-3SG   what   may-3SG   do-INF
       'so **it** goes, what can one do' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

Below I more precisely examine the pragmatic use features of *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns in examples from the main corpus data – endophoric/exophoric use, deictic oppositions, possible logophoric use, and use in a placeholding or self-repair functions. These features are seen as an addition to the semantic use features described above, as a pronoun that has a particular semantic reference in a text may at the same time also be used in a particular pragmatic context – e.g., as a part of a self-repair, as a contrast, etc.

There were no exophoric use examples of *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns in the main corpus, which was mostly expected as the most common topic of the main corpus recordings was past events, and the interviewers mostly did not specifically ask to talk or point at surrounding items. However, there were also some recordings where a speaker was talking about a nearby item or people and places in photos they were looking at during the recording, but in such cases, other pronouns (demonstrative pronouns and proadverbs) were used for exophoric reference and *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns were already being used as an anaphora referring back to this entity.

There were in total 24 examples where the *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns appeared in contrast with another pronoun to either distinguish the first mentioned referent, or to neutralise the focus to only the mentioned referent. *Tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns contrasted only with the *se*-pronoun in the main corpus data. In 18 of these examples, *se* and *ta* were used to refer to the same referent: the speaker first introduced a new referent in the text, then continued referring to it with the demonstrative pronoun *se* as an anaphora, and after that the speaker changed the pronoun to the 3rd person singular pronoun. See (107) where Speaker no. 3 is talking about a dog at their farm using the pronoun *se* after introducing the new referent. *Se* is probably also required in this example, because there are two referents mentioned in quick succession one after the other – the master of the house is referred to with the 3rd person dative pronoun *tä'mmõn* and the dog is referred to with the demonstrative pronoun *se*. The speaker then continues to talk only about the dog and as the other referent (the master of the house) is not mentioned anymore, only the reference to the dog stays active. After the third mention of the dog with the pronoun *se,* the speaker refers to the dog with the 3rd person singular partitive pronoun *tānda*, as there is now only one active referent and there is no need to contrast two referents anymore with two different pronouns *se* and *ta*. However,

it also makes it possible to add the pronoun *se* as a reference to the last mentioned entity of the two should a new referent come up in the discourse. (107) is likely also an example of logophoric use, as the 3rd person singular partitive pronoun *tānda* in the subordinate clause could be marking that the object is the same referent, while the demonstrative pronoun *siedā* could more likely be referring to another upcoming new referent with its demonstrative meaning.

(107) *tä'mm-õn*   *vȯ'ļ*   `*pi'ņ.* (.)   *un*    ***se***   *tu'ļ*        `*kõ̦ra-n*
       3SG-DAT.L   be.PST.3SG   dog   and   DEM   come.PST.3SG   herd-DAT
       se   *tu'ļ*   *ē*   *ku*   *lek-š*   *ē*   `*ka̦r̦rõ.* (.)
       DEM   come.PST.3SG   HESIT   when   go-PST.3SG   HESIT   herd.ILL
       se   `*pi'ņ*    *tu'ļ*              `*īņi*   *ja*   ***tān-da***   `*kuts-īz.*
       DEM   dog   come.PST.3SG   along   if   3SG-PART   call-PST.3SG
       'and he had a dog. (.) and **that [one]** came herding, **that [one]** came, um, when one went um herding (.) this dog came along if [*ja* – Latv borrowing] **it** was called.'
       (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The other six examples appeared in a discourse deictic-contrastive context where there were two entities mentioned and different pronouns were used to distinguish them. The examples show that in this type of context, Livonian *tämā, ta, tä-* pronouns refer to the first mentioned referent in the text and the pronoun *se* refers to the last mentioned referent of the two. In (108), Speaker no. 1 is talking about one of her sons. In the previous text, the speaker referred to her son with the pronoun *ta* and then mentions a new referent, the son's brother whom the speaker refers to with the pronoun *se* to distinguish the two referents from each other. Thus, *ta* is used for the first mentioned referent and *se* for the last mentioned referent:

(108) ***tä'mm-õn***   `*ve'ļ*      `*ka*   *ve'l*   *u'm.* (0.5)   `***se***   *u'm*
       3SG-DAT.L   brother   also   still   be.3SG   DEM   be.3SG
       jo   `*vanā.* (0.5)   `***se***   *vȯ'ļ*   `*mõtlõ-n*   *ku*
       PREP   old   DEM   be.PST.3SG   think-APP.SG   that
       `*ni*    ***ta***    *lā'-b*    `*tīe=*   *jūs.*
       now   3SG.S   go-3SG   work.GEN   POSTP
       '**he** [the son] also has a brother. (0.5) **that [one]** [the brother] is older. (0.5) **that [one]** [the brother] had thought that now **he** [the son] goes to work' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Stress and use of the long and short forms

The pronoun *tämā, ta, tä* showed separate long and short forms in the nominative, dative, and elative cases. The nominative had the long form *tämā* and short forms *ta, ta*^{*h*} (aspirated), and *tä*, the dative had the long form *tä'mmõn* and short form *tä'm*, and the elative had the long form *tä'mstõ* and short form *tä'mst*. Also the long inessive form *tä'msõ* appeared in the data, but as the expected short form *tä'ms* did not occur in the data, the inessive examples are left out of the discussion, as there are no data on the short form to make a comparison.

The nominative long form *tämā* appeared more often as phonologically stressed in the data with 26 examples out of a total of 35 examples; there were also nine unstressed examples. The unstressed examples mostly occurred when *tämā* appeared in the second position in a clause, in which case the first syntactic unit of the clause, e.g., an adverbial, was phonologically stressed. More often, the long form was, however, preferred in the stressed use. In general, the long form appeared at the beginning of narratives, in a contrastive context with other referents, or stressing the referent's individuality. See (109) and (110), respectively, for examples of the phonetically stressed and unstressed uses of *tämā*. In (109), the long form is stressing the referent's individuality, while in (110), the long form appears in a narrating context.

(109) `**tämā**` `ki'l`   või-ks   bro'utšõ   õ   `pūolpằva-n`
       3SG.L   PTCL   may-COND.SG   ride.INF   HESIT   Saturday-ESS
       õ   `Irē-l.`
       HESIT   Irē-ALL.ADE
       '**he** could really come um on Saturday um to Irē' (AEDKL: F0997-02)

(110) ja   `sằ'l`   **tämā**   vȯ'ļ   ku   `sõzār.`
       and   there   3SG.L   be.PST.3SG   as   nurse
       'and there **she** was [worked as] a nurse' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

The short form *ta* was more often unstressed with 445 unstressed and 33 stressed examples out of a total of 478 examples. The stressed examples appeared in the same contexts as the long form *tämā*: mostly in a narrative context, but also stressing the referent's individuality or drawing a contrast with other referents. See example (3) in Section 3.1.6 on the use of the stressed short form *ta*, where it appears in a narrative in which a speaker is contrasting two characters: herself and the mother of her stepchildren.

The other short form *tä* occurred more often as unstressed, with seven unstressed and one stressed example, which appeared at the end of the utterance. The only example of the aspirated form *ta^h* was stressed, also appearing at the end of the utterance next to a pause. The stressed form of *tä* was also stressing the referent's individuality, the stressed *ta^h* appeared in a contrastive context. See (111) for an example of the aspirated form, in which Speaker no. 4 is describing a lizard:

(111) bet   `**ta^h**` (0.5)   mūrda-b   eņtš   tabār   `järä`
       but   3SG.S   break-3SG   his/her   tail.GEN   away
       'but **it** breaks off its tail' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

The dative long form *tä'mmõn* appeared in the data more often unstressed than stressed: it had 67 unstressed examples and 49 stressed examples. The long form appeared again in the already mentioned contexts of narrative, contrast, and reference to the referent's individuality. The short dative form *tä'm* had only six examples in the data of which four were unstressed and two stressed, both also stressing the referent's individuality.

The long elative form *tä'mstõ* had three unstressed and two stressed examples; the two examples of the short elative form *tä'mst* were both stressed. As there are only a couple of examples of both forms, no certain conclusions can be drawn on their use preference with respect to phonological stress, but the data again show that the short form does not always appear as unstressed nor the long form as mostly stressed.

Placeholding and self-repairs

There were in total 12 examples where *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns were used in a repetitive context or were corrected with a self-repair. Most of the examples (seven examples) occurred in the context of repetition, which shows that *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* are used for gaining time and remembering an upcoming word while postponing the following text with the repetition of the word. Mostly, but not always, pauses and/or hesitation markers or particles also appear in such examples. See (112), where Speaker no. 2 is replying to the interviewer's question regarding where one of the local Livonian school teachers used to go to school. The repetition of *tämā* along with hesitation markers and elongations show that the speaker is postponing the text in order to remember the upcoming place name:

(112) *ē:*   **`tämā**     **`tämā**   *ke'-i*   *ē:*   *õ* .hh   *`Nurmuiža-s.*
      HESIT   3SG.L   3SG.L   go-PST.3SG   HESIT   HESIT   Nurmuiža-INE
      'umm, he, he went [to school to], umm um .hh to Nurmuiža' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

In addition, there were five examples in a self-repair context where either the grammatical form of the *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronoun was changed or was replaced with another pronoun (the demonstrative pronoun *se* or the 3rd person singular and demonstrative *se* common plural form *ne*). See (113), where Speaker no. 1 even corrects herself twice, first using the long dative form *tä'mmõn*, then replacing it with *sīen* (dative form of the *se*-pronoun), and then changing it back to *tä'mmõn* again:

(113) {*Gaḷmakā-n*} (.)   *pūoga*   *vȯ'ḷ.* (.)   **tä'mm-õn** (.)   *ē*   *`sīe-n*
      Gaḷmakā-DAT   son   be.PST.3SG   3SG-DAT.L   HESIT   DEM-DAT
      `tä'mm-õn   *ve'l*   *vȯ'ḷ.*
      3SG-DAT.L   still   be.PST.3SG
      'Gaḷmakā (.) had a son. (.) **s/he** (.) um **s/he s/he** still had' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Thus, to summarise, the most popular semantic use tendencies of nominal *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns are reference to physical entities, mostly to animate entities – including humans, with reference to physical inanimate objects also well represented. From a pragmatic use point of view, these pronouns only occurred in the context of endophoric reference. *Tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns, as opposed to the demonstrative pronoun *se*, could express both the discourse deictic opposition of two just mentioned entities or neutralise the focus/stress of a just introduced new referent.

5.2.1.2. Adnominal use

Temporal use

There were in total 10 adnominal examples of *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronouns in the main corpus. Eight examples of the genitive form *tä'm* and two of the essive form *tä'mn*. According to Viitso, the attribute case for the essive is usually the genitive in modern Livonian (Viitso 2008: 326–327); however, as the examples also show, in some phrases an essive attribute has been preserved. All of the adnominal use examples were used in a temporal meaning and no other meanings occurred. Also, no separate long or short forms could be distinguished in adnominal use, so in the current section there is no discussion of stress or the use of long and short forms.

In these 10 examples, genitive *tä'm* and essive *tä'mn* were used as demonstrative pronouns in temporal expressions referring to the current, ongoing time. This shows that *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* – in addition to functioning as a 3rd person singular pronoun – also still functions as a demonstrative pronoun in Livonian. Its use, however, is more restricted nowadays than originally, as all of the demonstrative adnominal examples in the data and in the earlier sources are connected with temporal deixis and pointing to the current time frame and distinguishing it from past or future time frames (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116–117).

As mentioned above, all 10 examples of demonstrative pronoun use occurred in temporal expressions when referring to a current month, year, morning, evening, or season. In (114), Speaker no. 1 is talking about a local schoolteacher who had died recently, pointing to the current year with the form *tä'm*:

(114) *se* `ka` *u'm* `kūolõ-n.` (.) **tä'm** `āigast` > *niset*
DEM also be.3SG die-APP.SG DEM.PROX.GEN year just_now
`ä'b` *ūo,* < (.) *ä'b* *ūo* *kõgiņ* `aigõ`
NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG long time.PART
ku *tän-da* `mat-īz.`
when 3SG-PART bury-PST.3SG
'she has also died. (.) **this** year, just now (.) it is not long time ago when she was buried' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Thus, *tä'm* is an important form in Livonian temporal deixis, pointing to a current time frame and helping to distinguish it from more distant past or future time frames. *Tä'm* and *tä'mn* forms have clearly demonstrative use, although these forms are not productive in other contexts than the temporal expressions, so *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* is not an independent demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative function of the *tä'm* and *tä'mn* is however partially preserved. All of the 10 demonstrative *tä'm* and *tä'mn* examples were used in exophoric pointing, as they referred to a current time frame at the moment of speaking in the data (for the similar function in Estonian demonstrative *see*, see also Pajusalu 1999: 67).

Placeholding and self-repairs

There were two self-repairs and one repetition in the main corpus data, where the case form of the phrase *tä'm kūn* – with its headword *kūn* in the rarely-used essive in Livonian –was first changed to the phrase *tä'm kūs* (and *tä'm* was repeated) – with the inessive form *kūs*, which may have seemed the more frequent or common form to the speaker. Afterwards, *tä'm* was replaced with *sīes* – the inessive form of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, forming the phrase *sīes kūs*, where both the attribute and the main word agree in case, and which, therefore, may also seem like a clearer option for the speaker, although the previous phrases are also possible and accepted in Livonian. This self-repair shows that *se* may also refer – due to its demonstrative neutrality (it can refer to both proximal and distal objects) – to the closest (proximal) time in Livonian, similarly as in Estonian temporal deixis, where the distance-neutral demonstrative *see* can refer to current, past, and upcoming time frame (Pajusalu 1999: 67). See (115) for an example of the aforementioned self-repair process. Speaker no. 1 is talking about her husband's first daughter having a birthday during the same month:

(115) *sīe-n*   *u'm*   **tä'm**   *kū-n*   **tä'm**
         DEM-DAT   be.3SG   DEM.PROX.GEN   month-ESS   DEM.PROX.GEN
         `*kū-s*` (0.5)   **`sīe-s**     *kū-s*           `*tä'mm-õn*   *u'm*.
         month-INE   DEM-INE   month-INE   3SG-DAT.L   be.3SG
         'that [one] has this month, in this month (0.5) in that month she has [a birthday]'
         (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Although there is a small number of examples of the adnominal use of the *tämā, ta, tä*-pronouns in the data, these examples show demonstrative pronoun-like functions, which are, however, restricted only to temporal expressions. The demonstrative genitive form *tä'm* shows the closest time frame during the speech moment in temporal deixis and is exophoric in all the demonstrative examples in the data.

5.2.2. *Se*

Se is the most common demonstrative pronoun in Livonian. It is demonstratively neutral and can refer to both proximal and distal objects. To analyse the semantic and pragmatic uses of the *se*-pronoun more closely, I examine similar parameters as in the use of *tämā, ta, tä*-pronouns, adding also some other more specific pragmatic features relevant to demonstratives according to Holger Diessel's typological research on demonstratives (1999) and Renate Pajusalu's dissertation on the use of Estonian deictic pronouns (1999). The analysis is divided into two sections according to the syntactic uses, which also causes differences in semantic and pragmatic use: nominal use – where *se* is used independently – and adnominal use – where *se* appears as a demonstrative attribute.

In the semantic use analysis of the nominal examples, I analyse the following points:

1) animacy/inanimacy of the referent,

2) referent type: e.g., human, other living entity, personified institution, physical inanimate object, abstract inanimate object, and other types according to the examples in the data. For instance, there are also examples of *se* used as a correlate for longer syntactic units such as subordinate clauses. Therefore, *se* also has more syntactically caused references (for Estonian, see Pajusalu 1999: 111), which are considered a type of their own in the semantic analysis.

In the pragmatic use analysis of the nominal examples, the following features are analysed:

1) Exophoric or endophoric use – is the reference with the pronoun *se* made about surrounding objects (exophoric) or text-internally (endophoric). According to Diessel (1999: 6), the endophoric use of demonstratives may be divided into anaphoric (coreferential with a noun phrase in the surrounding text), discourse deictic (referring to a certain chunk of the surrounding text), and recognitional (showing that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent due to a shared experience) uses. Therefore, I also include a more exact summary about the endophoric examples regarding how many of them belong to anaphoric/ cataphoric, discourse deictic, or recognitional uses. As recognitional demonstratives can be only used adnominally (Diessel 1999: 105), this type of endophoric use is considered only in the analysis of the adnominal *se*.

2) Deictic, contrastive, and/or logophoric use – as demonstrative *se* is a place deictic (Diessel 1999: 36), I look if there are references in the data where *se* is used to mark a certain distance (proximal or distal), distance opposition, or logophoricity along with some other deictic pronoun.

Placeholding and self-repairs – this point is analysed to see if there occur interruptions with *se*, which are connected with the placeholding function, filling function, or self-repairs. As *se* is one of the most general and abstract deictic pronouns, the examples where the use of *se* is not clear enough to be referring to a particular referent are also discussed here.

The pronoun *se* can also act as an attribute of the headword and the pronoun *se* itself does not refer to a particular referent but functions as a determiner for it and adds a certain pragmatic function to the main word in interaction (Diessel 1999: 93). Thus, instead of referent types, the pragmatic function of the attribute is analysed in the adnominal use data. Diessel mentions the following main pragmatic functions in his typological study of demonstratives (1999: 94–114):

1) The exophoric use, which sets the hearer's attention to the entity that is physically surrounding the interlocutors during the speech event, e.g.,

(116) *un*   *täs*   *se*   *sūr*   *`kuodā*    *mis*    *`u'm,* (0.5)   *`se*
and   here.S   DEM   big   house   what   be.3SG   DEM
'and here this big house that is (0.5) **this one**' (AEDKL: DS0127-03)

2) The anaphoric use, where the demonstrative appears as coreferential with a noun or noun phrase that has been mentioned previously in the discourse, helping to track text-internal references, opposite of the exophoric use. This is a frequent function after an entity has been mentioned for the first time (especially in languages, which do not have a definite article) and the referent is established as a topic with anaphoric use, e.g.,

(117) *ē*   *tä'mm-õn*   *vȯ'ḷ*   *saksā*   *`mīez.* (1.0) .hh   *un*
HESIT   3SG-DAT.L   be.PST.3SG   German   husband   and
se   *mīez*   *vȯ'ḷ*   *Dia`kovski,*
DEM   husband   be.PST.3SG   Dziakowsky
'um she had a German husband (1.0) .hh and **that** husband was Dziakowsky'
(AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

3) The discourse deictic use refers to a larger part of the surrounding discourse as a whole. Thus, the discourse deictic demonstrative is not coreferential with only one noun phrase, but a longer unit or proposition, e.g., the speaker referring to the narrative that the old people on the coast had told him when he was a child, referring back to a piece of a story he re-told to the interviewer:

(118) *mi'nn-õn*   *u'm*   *`nē-mõst* hh    *kui*    *se*    *ažā*    *`u'm.*
1SG-DAT.L   be.3SG   see-DEB   how   DEM   thing   be.3SG
'I had to see hh how **this** thing [story] is' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

4) The recognitional use does not have a referent in the preceding or surrounding discourse, but is instead used for activating specific shared knowledge of something or to mark information that is already known to the hearer. Therefore, this kind of referent has thus far been inactive in the discourse, but pragmatically presupposed in the hearer's knowledge, e.g., the first mention of a local factory owner and a factory:

(119) *se*   *Mo`rozov*    *te'-i*        *sīe* (.)    *sīe:*    *`fabrik*?
DEM   Morozov   make-PST.3SG   DEM.GEN   DEM.GEN   factory.GEN
'**this** Morozov made **this** (.) **this** factory' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

In addition, Diessel mentions one other subcase where endophoric demonstratives can be used without a preceding referent, i.e., for introducing new discourse topics, and where a demonstrative functions instead as an article for marking specific information.

5) Reactivation, which is similar to anaphoric use. The difference here is that the demonstrative is used anaphorically to reactivate the reference that had occurred at some time earlier in the preceding discourse, but there is a longer distance between the last mention and the reactivation mention than in the case of anaphoric use. The last mention is not recent and there may be several other topics in between the last mention and the reactivation.

In addition to the above-mentioned pragmatic functions by Diessel, the correlative function – where the meaning of the adnominal demonstrative is defined alongside the subordinate clause – also appeared among the adnominal use examples, e.g.,

(120) ta   ve'l   te'-i   **sīe** (0.5)   `garāž   kus
       3SG.S   also   make-PST.3SG   DEM.GEN   garage.GEN   where
       või-b   ē   `mašīn   pān-dõ
       may-3SG   HESIT   car.GEN   put-INF
       'he also made **this** (0.5) garage where [one] could um put the car' (AEDKL:
       DS0127-05)

A separate function of temporal use could also be distinguished among the examples, where the speakers are referring to a particular time unit in the context of a narrative. This function is somewhat similar to discourse deictic use, as the time reference is also connected to the part of the discourse mentioned before, e.g.,

(121) ku   tān-da   `vālmiz       tī'e-b. (.)   si'z      `minā   vò'ļ
       when   3SG-PART   ready   make-3SG   then   1SG.L   be.PST.1SG
       `Rīgõ-sõ. (0.5)        `si'z   ē   `minā     vò'ļ       `tīe-sõ
       Riga-INE   then   HESIT   1SG.L   be.PST.1SG work-INE
       `minā       i'z                     või           `võl-da   **sīe-l**   `āiga-l
       1SG.L   NEG.PST.1SG   may.CNG.SG   be-INF   DEM-ADE   time-ADE
       sā'lõ.
       there.L
       'when it [the Livonian Community House] was built (.) then I was in Riga (0.5)
       then um I was at work I could not be there at **that** time' (AEDKL: DS0122-03)

The two functions mentioned last are more connected to semantic reference, therefore, the different functions are referred to together as semantic-pragmatic. There were in total 534 nominal use examples of *se* and 582 adnominal use examples in the data, which are analysed in the following sections.

5.2.2.1. Nominal use

Use of different referent types

In the data, there were in total 535 examples of *se* in nominal use. The referent types in the main corpus data were diverse and eight different referent types could be distinguished. The inanimate referent types included physical inanimate objects, the correlative use referring to a neighbouring or subordinate clause (syntactically caused reference), discourse deictic reference, abstract inanimate objects, and events or situations. In the main corpus examples, the animate referent types were humans, other living entities (animals and plants), and personified institutions. There were also eight examples where no clear semantic reference could be identified due to the interruption of the utterance or change of the pronoun in self-repair. Therefore, these eight examples where no reference type could be identified are excluded from the 535 total examples in the semantic analysis part and are discussed later in the pragmatic use analysis. Table 40 and Figure 17 show the numbers of animate and inanimate references and the referent types of the pronoun *se* in nominal use. See also Section 5.2.3., where the referent types of the demonstrative pronoun *se* in nominal use are compared with the referent types of the 3rd person singular pronoun *tämä*, *ta*, *tä*.

Table 40. Animacy/inanimacy and referent types of *se* in the data (nominal use)

Animacy/inanimacy:	Animate		Inanimate	
Referent types:	Human	143	Physical object	200
	Personified institution	10	Correlative	122
	Other living entity	7	Abstract object	14
			Discourse	23
			Event/situation	8
Total:		**160**		**367**
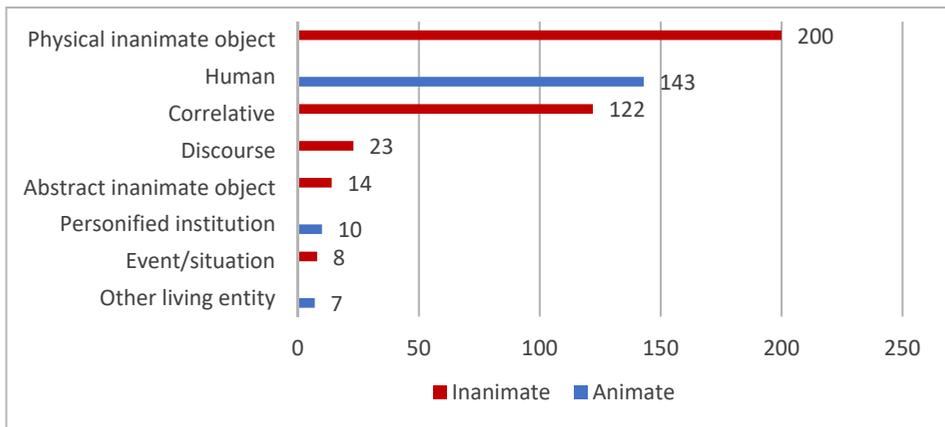
Figure 17. Referent types of the pronoun *se* in the data (nominal use)

Se was mostly referring to inanimate entities in the main corpus data – 367 times, and to animate entities a total of 160 times, with the most used referent type being inanimate physical objects (200 times). The human referent type was the second most used among the *se*-examples with 142 occurrences, which shows that *se* is also popular for referring to humans. At the same time, only three referent types could be distinguished for animate entities, while six different types could be identified for inanimate referents. Thus, referring to inanimate referents is clearly more common also in the representation of different referent types. The third most used referent type was reference to a neighbouring or a subordinate clause (122 times). This can be called the correlative function and is caused by the syntactic structure of the utterance and the need of referring to a longer syntactic unit.

Other referent types were minimally represented. There were references to a previous longer portion of discourse in the text (23 times), inanimate abstract objects (14 times), personified institutions (10 times), other living entities (7 times), events (8 times). No examples of the generic subject occurred with *se*.

Similarly to *tämä*, *ta*, *tä*, the references to physical inanimate objects were about physical objects in nature, human-built objects (a station, a room, etc.), but also about items and substances (food, wine, etc.). See (122) for an example where *se* is referring to a physical inanimate object; Speaker no. 2 has been previously talking about forgetting her walking stick while going to Riga and using a broomstick instead:

(122)   *nu*   *`jõvīst*   *ku*    *lī-*    *`Rīgõ-s*   *vȯ'ļ* (.)   *`lūdvaŗž*
         PTCL   well   when   lī-   Riga-INE be.PST.3SG broomstick
         mhe (.) $ *un*   *si'z* $ **`sīe-ks** (.)    *ē*    *`ke'-i*
         mhe   and   then   DEM-INSTR.S   HESIT   walk-PST.1SG
         mingiz   *pūol*   *`päuv-ḍi,*
         some   half   day-PART.PL
         'well, good that in Riga there was (.) a broomstick mhe (.) and then [I] walked **with it** for half of the days' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

The second most used referent type among inanimate references was referring to a preceding or an upcoming clause – the correlative use (122 examples). A tendency could be seen among these examples where if a case form has both long and short forms available, the long form is slightly more preferred while referring to subordinate clauses. In (123), Speaker no. 4 is explaining to the interviewer how a local creek called *Bä'bbõrūrga* 'Dwarf/Beaver creek' may have got its name. The form *sīestõ* is referring to an upcoming subordinate clause:

(123)   *`agā*     *se*     *u'm*    *su-*    *ka*    *su'ggõ-n*    **`sīe-stõ,**
         PTCL   DEM   be.3SG   su-   also   evolve-APP.SG   DEM-ELA.L
         (.)   *ku*   *ä'b=*   *sugīd*   *ne*   *`bä'bbõrdõt*   *ne,*
            when   NEG.3SG at_all   DEM.PL.S dwarf.PL   DEM.PL.S
         'perhaps this [name] has come also **from that** (.) that not at all because of these dwarves but these… [beavers]' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

In (124), the short elative form *sīest* is used for referring to preceding clauses. Here the elative form *sīest* already has a more grammaticalised, explanatory meaning 'because of that':

(124) `jumāl-t      jembit      mit`ī'd-õn   ä'b   ūo   `vajāg.
God-PART   anymore   no_one-DAT   NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG   need
(5.0)
`ne'i      ta      u'm. (1.5)      un      **`sīe-st**   ka   `se (.)   se
so   3SG.S   be.3SG   and   DEM-ELA.S   also   DEM   DEM
`āiga      tulū-b, (0.8)      tulū-b      `jū'rõ, (2.0)   vä'ggi (0.5)   `kierdõ.
time   come-3SG   come-3SG   by   very   fast
'no one needs God anymore (5.0) so it is (1.5) and **of that** [because of that] also this (.) this time is arriving (2.0) very (0.5) fast' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

References to abstract inanimate objects, such as words, phrases, names, or unspecified objects (e.g., *something*) occurred 14 times in the data. The references to abstract objects appeared mostly when a speaker was explaining the meaning of a word or phrase or a possible origin of a place name in Livonian to the interviewer. See (125), where Speaker no. 6 is explaining the meaning of the word *idā* 'northeast' to the interviewer:

(125) `idā. (0.5)      **`se**   u'm (.)   nu?   mis   `kui   ma
Northeast   DEM   be.3SG   PTCL   what   how   1SG.S
või-ks   `pa-`kītõ. (.)   `ziemeļ      `ziemeļ.
may-COND.SG   PRFX-say.INF   North   North
'Northeast (0.5) **that** is (.) well what how could I say (.) North North' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

There were 23 examples of references to longer discourse units. Such references occurred when a speaker was referring back to a part of a narrative or series of events that a speaker has mentioned before to summarise them all at once. Thus *se* is used discourse-deictically in these. In (126), Speaker no. 5 had previously told a story about a sinking boat on the sea and how the local people helped to save the sailors. To summarise the reference to the previous narrative, saying where it all took place, the speaker uses the nominative form *se*:

(126) ē   **`se**      hmm      ē      võ'ļ      ē (.)      `Ūdrūotš
HESIT   DEM   HESIT   HESIT   be.PST.3SG   HESIT   Ūdrūotš.GEN
`vālgamȭ=   pāl (.)   võ'ļ.
fish_harbour.GEN   POSTP   be.PST.3SG
'um **that** hmm um was um (.) at the Ūdrūotš farm's fish harbour (.) [that] was' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-02)

References to events or situations were among the rarest ones in the data. These appeared only 5 times in the same speaker's text, and all were made with the nominative form. In the main corpus data, Speaker no. 5 used it to refer to a time of plague; see (127):

(127)
a'k	`mē'r. (.)	no	**se** .hh	`se	u'm	`vónd	nā
PTCL	plague	PTCL	DEM	DEM	be.3SG	be.APP.SG	yes

bet	`täs	ma	ä'b	ūo	`kūlõ-n.
but	here.S	1SG.S	NEG.1SG	be.CNG.SG	hear-APP

'oh plague well **that** (.) **that** has been yes but here I have not heard [about that]'
(AEDKL: SUHK0520-02)

See also (128), where *se* is referring to a general situation. Speaker no. 6 has been talking about an incident in his childhood where he cut the knees out of his trousers when these parts got dirty and, therefore, could not wear them anymore:

(128)
`pūola-d	`iz- ī'ed-tõd	`ulzõ, (.)	un	mis=	**se=**	ni	`tī'e-b.
knee-PL	PRFX-cut-PPP	out	and	what	DEM	now	do-3SG

'the knees [were] cut out (.) and what will **this** cost now' [(.) now I (.) needed new trousers again] (AEDKL: F1089-05)

As mentioned above, three different referent types could be distinguished for animate entities: references to humans, other living entities (animals, plants), and personified institutions. The most popular of these was reference to humans (142 times). Most of these were in the nominative (119 times), among which *se* appeared both as an anaphora after the introduction of the referent and also in predicative clauses (*This is x* type of clauses). *Se* was especially preferred as the second-mention anaphora after a new entity had been introduced in the text. See (129) for an example of *se* being used for the second mention:

(129)
un	ikš	`tidār	u'm	`kūolõ-n. (0.5)	**se**	kūol-õz
and	one	daughter	be.3SG	die-APP.SG	DEM	die-PST.3SG

`Rīgõ-sõ,
Riga-INE

'and one daughter has died (0.5) **that [one]** died in Riga' (AEDKL: F1035-05)

Example (130) shows the use of *se* in a predicative clause:

(130)
`Pitrõg-õl	u'm (.)	`Freiberg, (1.0)	**se**	ve'l	`u'm.
Pitrõg-ADE	be.3SG	Freiberg	DEM	still	be.3SG

ē (.)	līvli.
HESIT	Livonian

'in Pitrõg there is (.) Freiberg (1.0) **that [one]** is also um (.) Livonian' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

Much as with *tämā, ta, tä*-pronouns, another animate referent type observed among the uses of *se* was reference to personified institutions. In this type, reference is made to an institution, but instead indicates reference to the people at the institution. There were 10 examples where the nominative form *se* referred to personified institutions (e.g., a welfare institution, a mill). In (131), Speaker no. 5 is talking about a welfare institution lending money to local people for building houses:

(131) *ja*   *`si'z*    *se*    *`ūoļikš*   *ē*   *tu'ļ*   *`vastõ* (0.8)
and   then   DEM   welfare_office   HESIT   come.PST.3SG   against
ē   ***se*** (0.5)   *`ānd-iz*      *ē,* (1.0)     *ē*      *`rǭ'-dõ*
HESIT   DEM   give-PST.3SG   HESIT   HESIT   money-PART
'and then this welfare office um made a favour (0.8) um **that [one]** (0.5) gave um
(1.0) um money' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

There were also references to other living entities – in a total of seven occurrences, six of which appeared in the nominative and one in the genitive. Five references were made about domestic animals, two references were made about plants. Compared to the number of examples with the *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*-pronoun, references to other living entities are made less often with *se* than with *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*. See (132), where *se* is used for referring to a waterlily:

(132) ***se***   *sa-i*   *nuttõd*   *ka*   *se^h* (1.5)   *puţkõz* (.)
DEM   get-PST.3SG   call.PPP   too   DEM   flower
mis   *kaz-īz* (1.0)   *sūo-ši*
what   grow-PST.3SG   swamp-INE.PL
'**that** was also called [a white flower] that (1.5) flower (.) that grew in (1.0) the swamps' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

Stress and use of the long and short forms

The demonstrative *se* had different long and short forms in the elative and instrumental cases in nominal use. There were also examples of the short illative form *sī'ez*, but as the long illative did not occur among the nominal use examples and as a result there is no comparison material, the illative is excluded from the discussion.

The instrumental case had the long form *sīekõks* and the short form *sīeks* in the data. The long form appeared only twice, and both of its examples were phonologically stressed. The short form had six stressed and one unstressed example. It can be seen that the short instrumental is a bit more common in nominal use than the long form. However, as there are only a few examples in general, no definite conclusions regarding its use can be made. However, based on the data, the instrumental case forms generally tend to be stressed more often than unstressed.

The elative long form *sīestõ* had four stressed and two unstressed forms in the data. The stressed examples appeared mostly along with a subordinate clause explaining the meaning of the form, while the unstressed forms appeared towards the end of a clause. All the stressed examples appeared in the context of referring to the particular cause of something rather than a location or direction. See (123) in the current section for an example of the use of the stressed long elative, showing it followed by a subordinate clause. The short elative form *sīest* had only two examples – one stressed and one unstressed – with the first, stressed example referring to a cause, see (124) in the current section, and the second, unstressed example referring to a location and direction. As there are also only a few

examples in the data in general, no general conclusion on its use can be made. However, it is possible that the speakers more often prefer the stressed form of the elative when expressing the cause of something, and non-stressed form is rather used for expressing the location. See (133) for an example of the unstressed short form *sīest* referring to a location

(133) *ja*   `so'v*    *i'z*              `päz*   *sīe-st*   *kuodā-st*
and   smoke   NEG.PST.3SG   get.CNG.SG   DEM-ELA.S   house-ELA
`ulzõ*   ***sīe-st***
out   DEM-ELA.S
'and the smoke did not get out from that house **from that**' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

The exophoric, contrastive, and logophoric examples are discussed next. Among the 533 nominal examples, there were 31 exophoric references which shows *se* is a commonly used pronoun for pointing to nearby entities. Most of the exophoric references were made in one recording, where Speaker no. 3 and the interviewer were looking at old photos of local Livonians and places on the Livonian Coast, but there were also some exophoric references to other nearby objects and items with *se*. In (134), Speaker no. 3 is referring to the Livonian Community House in a new photo they are looking at with the interviewer:

(134) `ō*    ***se***    *u'm*    *ē*        *līvõ-d*          `kuodā*.
oh   DEM   be.3SG   HESIT   Livonian-PL   house
'oh, **this** is um the Livonians' [Community] House' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

In contrastive and logophoric-like use, *se* was used for bringing a new referent into focus either after the first mention of the new referent or from a sequence of new referents, and also for marking the last mentioned referent of the two. See (135), where *se* is used after the first mention of a new referent that is also the last mentioned of several referents:

(135) *mi'n*   `mī'e-n*      *ē*      `ve'ļ*   *nai* (0.5)   `se*
1SG.GEN   husband-DAT   HESIT   brother.GEN   woman   DEM
tu'ļ   *mi'nn-õn*   *nē-ḑi*   `lūom-idi*   *kūoi-* (.)
come.PST.3SG   1SG-DAT.L   DEM-PART.PL   animal-PART.PL   kūoi
`kū'opõ-m*
tend-SUP
'my husband's um brother's wife (0.5) **that [one]** came to te- to tend these animals for me' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

To summarise the main tendencies of the nominal use of *se*, it refered mostly to inanimate physical objects, humans, and surrounding clauses; the latter was syntactically motivated. *Se* is very often used for referring to the last mentioned entity in the text or bringing focus on the completely new, just introduced entity. Although endophoric reference with *se* was mostly used in the data, *se* was used also for exophoric reference, which showed *se* is a common pronoun in Livonian

demonstrative deixis. In addition, also discourse-deictic references occurred, showing *se* also belongs to discourse deixis.

Placeholding and self-repairs

There were eight examples of *se* where its use was not finished or there was not enough context for a particular semantic reference to be distinguished. These can be interpreted as filler words without a larger meaning. All of these appeared in the nominative. See (136), where Speaker no. 1 is talking about an illness her son had and the use of *se* is not finished:

(136) *`tä'mm-õn    se      `pā   e-i   seḷḷi   `slikţi-ks.   un*
      3SG-DAT.L   DEM   head stay-PST.3SG such   bad-INSTR.TRANSL   and
      `se* (.)    un     `si'z   `tān-da     vó'ḷ        `vī-mist   `jālgabõ.
      DEM   and   then   3SG-PART   be.PST.3SG   take-DEB   town.ILL
      'his head got such bad and **that** (.) and then he had to be taken to town' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

In addition to the filler word function without a particular semantic reference, there were 10 examples of repetitions where the form of *se* was repeated immediately as a placeholder. In such cases, however, a semantic reference could be identified. There were six examples where *se* appeared as part of a self-repair mechanism (4 partitive forms, 1 nominative and 1 dative form). In such cases, *se* was either replaced by or replacing another pronoun – a 3rd person pronoun singular or plural or replaced with another case form. In (137), Speaker no. 1 is trying to remember how a specific train car was called and is replacing the reference using *siedā* with the 3rd person singular partitive form *tānda*:

(137) *kui   **sie-dā**   `tān-da   sā-b   nut-tõd*
      how   DEM-PART   3SG-PART   get-3SG   call-PPP
      'how **that** it is called' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

5.2.2.2. Adnominal use

Functions

There were in total 582 adnominal use examples of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, showing that adnominal use is even a bit more frequent in the spoken language data than nominal use. In the examples, there were seven types of functions (see also the list of pragmatic functions mentioned by Diessel in Section 5.2.2): exophoric use, anaphoric use, discourse deictic use, recognitional use, reactivation, correlative use, and temporal use. Table 41 and Figure 18 list the number of occurrences of the functions:

Table 41. Functions of the pronoun *se* in the data (adnominal use)

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	16
Anaphoric use	**151**
Discourse deictic use	2
Recognitional use	**231**
Reactivation	**96**
Correlative use	69
Temporal use	17
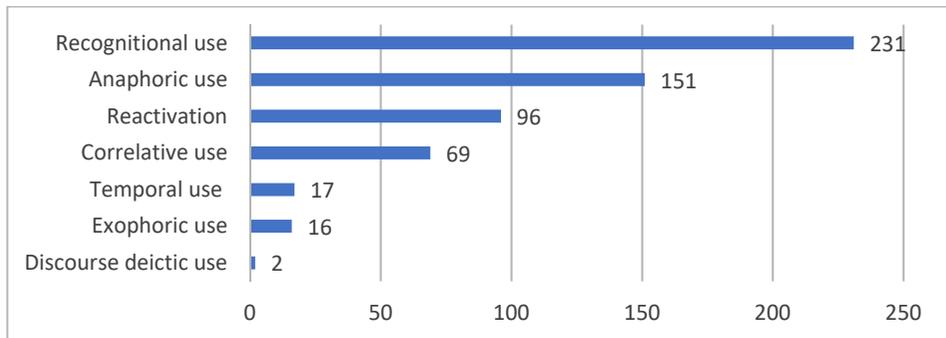
Figure 18. Functions of the pronoun *se* in the data (adnominal use)

The most frequent function among the adnominal examples in the data was the recognitional use (231 examples), where the demonstrative *se* does not have a corresponding referent in the preceding discourse and surrounding context/ situation. The reference is new in the discourse, but is known to the speaker. Diessel mentions that the reference expresses information that is also known to the hearer because of a shared experience. (Diessel 1999: 105) In the data, however, there is not always enough information or context to know if all such examples are also familiar to the interlocutor(s), but as the reference has not been formulated in the previous context, the speaker shows that the reference comes from previous knowledge and may expect that the reference would be familiar to the interviewer(s). See (138), where Speaker no. 2 is talking about a Livonian captain who emigrated to the United States and put up a memorial to his parents at the Mazirbe graveyard known to both the speaker and the interviewer, as they are both familiar with the local surroundings:

(138) `si'z      tämā      at-bro'utš-iz       ē (.)      täs        `Leţmō̦-l'?.hh
       then   3SG.L   PRFX-ride-PST.3SG   HESIT   here.S   Latvia-ALL.ADE
       un   *ja*   `uz-pand           **sīe**              `mādõltõbki'v
       and   and   PRFX-put.APP.SG   DEM.GEN   memorial_stone.GEN
       sīe-s   `kālma-š?
       DEM-INE.S   graveyard-INE
       'then he came um (.) here to Latvia .hh and he put **this** memorial stone in **this**
       graveyard' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

The fact that the largest number of examples showed the recognitional use, indicates that this function is especially common in spoken language where many different as well as in general commonly known people, places, objects, etc. are discussed as part of semi-structured interviews. There were also some examples in the data where the demonstrative *se* continued to be used after the first recognitional use, which also is reminiscent of a definite article use; see (139). However, the demonstrative *se* in front of a noun is not required, and the speaker can drop the demonstrative pronoun from the front of the referent at some point.

(139) `mi'nn-õn,` (1.0)   `kērat-iz.` (0.5)   ***se***   `kēranikā`   *Uldis*
1SG-DAT.L   write-PST.3SG (0.5)   DEM   writer   Uldis
`Krasts.` (1.0)   *tä'mm-õn*   *`izā`*   *vȯ'ļ*   *`līvli*
Krasts   3SG-DAT.L   father   be.PST.3SG   Livonian
sīe   *Uldis*   *`Krasts-õn.*   *ta*   *u'm* (.)   *`õigiz*
DEM.GEN   Uldis   Krasts-DAT   3SG.S   be.3SG   right
{ni'mkiz}   *`Krišjān*   *Uldis*   *`Krišjānis.*
name   Krišjān   Uldis   Krišjānis
'to me (1.0) wrote (0.5) **this** writer Uldis Krasts (1.0) he had a Livonian father this Uldis Krasts (.) his real name is Krišjān Uldis Krišjānis' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

The second most frequent function was the anaphoric function (151 examples), where a noun phrase including a demonstrative pronoun is coreferential with a particular noun or noun phrase from the previous discourse (Diessel 1999: 95). This function also has similarities with the article-like use: after the first mention of a new referent, the speaker continues to use the noun alongside the demonstrative pronoun *se*, marking the definiteness of an entity that was referred to. The same function has also been mentioned by Pajusalu for Estonian (Pajusalu 1997a: 153), by Hint et al. for Finnish (Hint et al. 2017: 94) by Klumpp for Kamas (Klumpp 2015: 229–230). See (140), where the speaker is using the noun *liegā* 'dirt' and afterwards refers to it anaphorically with the demonstrative *se*:

(140) *un*   *ē*   *`mọ̄-sõ*   *vȯ'ļ*   $ *`liegā.* $ (1.0)   *`ma*
and   HESIT   ground-INE   be.PST.3SG   dirt   1SG.S
sīe   *`liegā=*   *sillõ,* (.)   *`sad-īz*   *`mọ̄'zõ.*
DEM.GEN   dirt.GEN   POSTP   fall-PST.1SG   down
'and um on the ground there was dirt (1.0) I fell inside **this** dirt (.) fell down' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The third most used function was reactivation of a formerly mentioned referent in the discourse (96 examples). It is very similar to the previously mentioned anaphoric function, but the difference is that before the previous reference there has been a longer intervening segment of different topics and references to other entities. In (141), Speaker no. 6 is using the demonstrative pronoun *se* to re-activate a reference to the schoolteacher he had been talking about earlier before the current topic about the local Baptists. The speaker is reactivating the reference with the demonstrative pronoun, marking that the reference is about the same schoolteacher they had been talking about earlier:

(141) *un   si'z   vȯ'ļ   ikš   seļļi   mm:::* .hh *`ka   seļļi*
     and   then   be.PST.3SG   one   such   HESIT   too   such
     {vannõdi}   `pȯis    vȯ'ļ.* (0.8).hh *no    un    `se   irg-īz
     old   boy   be.PST.3SG   PTCL   and   DEM   start-PST.3SG
     ē (0.5)   .hh *`vaņtõļ    **sīe**    `skūolmēstar   `pāl.*
     HESIT   look.INF   DEM.GEN   teacher.GEN   POSTP
     'and then there was one such mm .hh was also this kind of an old bachelor (0.8) .hh
     well and that [one] started um (0.5) .hh to look at **this** teacher' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The correlative function followed next (69 examples). In this function, the reference of a noun phrase including the demonstrative *se* is both syntactically and semantically connected to another clause, which specifies the reference. See (142), where Speaker no. 3 is describing how her husband built their estate and mentions the garage, which appears with a demonstrative motivated by the non-restrictive relative clause. The function of the demonstrative is neither recognition nor anaphora/reactivation because the garage is mentioned for the first time and the reference of the demonstrative pronoun *se* is explained to the interlocutor, as the relative clause is defining the type that the demonstrative pronoun *se* is referring to. The connecting relative element of the relative clause is underlined in the example.

(142) *nu   un   si'z   `pie'rrõ   ta   ve'l   te'-i*
     PTCL   and   then   after   3SG.S   still   make-PST.3SG
     sīe (0.5)   *`garāž    <u>kus</u>    või-b    ē    `mašīn   pān-dõ*
     DEM.GEN   garage.GEN   where   may-3SG   HESIT   car.GEN   put-INF
     'well and then later he also built **this** (0.5) garage where one can put a car'
     (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The other three functions – exophoric, temporal, and discourse deictic use – appeared fewer than 20 times in the data. There were 16 examples of exophoric use where the speaker was referring to an object physically close by during the speech moment. See (143), where the speaker is comparing the size of a boat to the surrounding room during the speech moment:

(143) *no   `minā    ä'b    `tiedā   või   ta   i'z*
     PTCL   1SG.L   NEG.1SG   know.CNG.SG   PTCL   3SG.S   NEG.PST.3SG
     ūo   ne'i   `pitkā    ne'iku    **se:**    `tubā
     be.CNG.SG   so   long   like   DEM   room
     'well I do not know if it [the boat] was not as long as **this** room' (AEDKL:
     DS0127-05)

Temporal and discourse deictic uses were quite rare. There were 17 temporal examples and two discourse deictic examples. Temporal examples were typically referring to the time (a day, a year, etc.) when an event in a narrative took place. See (144), where the interviewer VE and Speaker no. 3 are talking about life on the Livonian Coast before World War II:

(144) VE: *või* `*mašīn-idi* `*ka* *sā'l* *vȯ'ļ* *kuskis*. (.)
      PTCL   car-PART.PL   too   there.S   be.PST.3SG   somewhere
      `*mūnda-n*
      someone-DAT
    (0.5)
    GK: **sīe-l**= *āiga-l* *i'z* `*ūo* *mi*`*tī'd-õn*.
      DEM-ADE   time-ADE   NEG.PST.3SG   be.CNG.SG   no one-DAT
    'were there also cars somewhere (.) [belonging] to anyone'
    'at **that** time nobody had one' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

The discourse deictic use is rather rare in adnominal use. It is more common in the nominal use examples, where nominal *se* can refer to a longer part of the discourse as a whole, while in adnominal use the following noun tends to be a lexical expression with a new referent. There were, however, two examples where an adnominal construction with *se* referred to a longer piece of preceding discourse; see (145):

(145) `*va'ŋ-ši* *āig-ši* *nīž-õz* *i'ļ* `*mȯizizāndõ-d* *i'ļ*
      old-INE.PL   time-INE.PL   tell-PST.3SG   PREP   manor_lord-PL   PREP
      `*mȯizõtīe-d* *kui* *vȯ'ļ-tõ*. (.) *nu* `*paldīž* ***se***
      manor_work- PL   how   be.PST-3PL   PTCL   currently   DEM
      rõk *u'm* `*mõitiz* *tegīž*.
      talk   be.3SG   different   again
    'in the old times stories were told about manor lords and how manor work was (.) well currently **this** talk is again different' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

Stress and use of the long and short forms

The demonstrative pronoun *se* showed separate long and short forms for all of the interior local cases – the illative, inessive, and elative – in the adnominal examples. However, the number of illative and elative examples again stayed below ten in the data, while the inessive case occurred more often and had in total eight examples. It is also expected for there to be more unstressed examples in adnominal use than in nominal use, as in adnominal use, *se* is used as an attribute and – based on observations from the data – the headword of the phrase tends to be phonologically stressed more often.

    For the illative case, there were three examples of the long form *sī'ezõ* and two examples of the short form *sī'ez*, all of which were unstressed in the data. The headword of the nominal phrase is stressed in these examples, which is a pattern also noted above. See (146), for an example of the unstressed short illative form *sī'ez* where the subsequent headword of the phrase is stressed:

(146) *ja* `*sīŋõ* ***sī'e-z*** `*mȯ'-zõ* *ta* *kīl-iz*
      and   thither.S   DEM-ILL.S   land-ILL   3SG.S   sow-PST.3SG
      `*kanīp-idi*.
      cannabis-PART.PL
    'and there [thither] **in that** land he sowed cannabis' (AEDKL: SUHK0434-02)

Of the inessive examples, all three of the long inessive form *sīesõ* were unstressed. There were 10 occurrences of the stressed and 15 occurrences of the unstressed use of the short inessive form *sīes*. All of the unstressed occurrences of the short form *sīes* showed endophoric use. The stressed examples of the short form *sīes* were mostly followed by a subordinate clause. There were also four exophoric examples where the speaker is stressing the demonstrative phonologically to refer to a certain direction or location more clearly; possibly the reference is also accompanied by a gesture. See (147), where Speaker no. 3 is asked to show on a photo where the kitchen was located in the Livonian Community House. There is actually also a contrast within this reference situation, as the speaker is referring to one corner and contrasting it with the other, excluded corner.

(147) *se*　　　*ˋkēk*　　*ma*　　*mõtlõ-b*　*ku*　*se*　　　*vȯ'ļ* (.)
　　　　DEM　　kitchen　1SG.S　think-1SG　that　DEM　　be.PST.3SG
　　　　ˋtagāpūol　*vot*　　*ˋsīe-s*　　*ē*　　　*mm*　　　*ˋtutkām-s*　*bet*
　　　　backside　　PTCL　　DEM-INE.S　HESIT　HESIT　　end-INE　　but
　　　　tuoi-s　　　　*ˋkaṇṭ-šõ.*
　　　　other-INE　　　corner- INE
　　　　'this kitchen I think it was (.) on the back side see at **this** um mm end but in the other corner' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

In the elative case, there were four examples of the long form *sīestõ* and six examples of the short form *sīest*. As with the illative examples, both long and short forms were unstressed and most of the time the subsequent headword was phonologically stressed. Thus, in adnominal use, the unstressed examples occur more often.

Placeholding and self-repairs

The examples of repetitions with the demonstrative pronoun *se* were especially common. There were 51 examples of repetitions, in addition to double repetitions there were also examples with up to four forms of *se* in a row where a self-repair of an inflectional form could also appear. In the data, there were far fewer examples of self-repairs – a total of only six examples in adnominal use. See (148), where the speaker is planning the next words by repeating *se* and also adding self-repairs, changing the case from the genitive to the inessive according to the subsequent noun case:

(148) *sā'l*　　　*vȯ'ļ*　　　*seļļi* (.)　　*seļļi*　　{*ˋmōl*}　　*vȯ'ļ.* (1.2)
　　　　there.S　　be.PST.3SG　such　　　　such　　seawall　　be.PST.3SG
　　　　ˋSārmā　　*sīe* (.)　　*sīe=*　　　*sīe=*　　　*sīe-s*
　　　　Sārmā.GEN　DEM.GEN　DEM.GEN　　DEM.GEN　　DEM-INE.S
　　　　ē .hh　　*ē* .hh (.)　*ˋsīe-s*　　*ē* (.)　　*sīe-s*　　　*ˋtutkāmõ-s*
　　　　HESIT　　HESIT　　　DEM-INE.S　HESIT　　DEM-INE.S　end-INE
　　　　kus=　　*kus*　　　*u'm*　　*se*　　*Sārmā*　　*ˋbāik.*
　　　　where　　where　　　be.3SG　DEM　Sārmā　　lighthouse
　　　　'there was this kind of (.) this kind of a seawall there was (1.2) **this (.) this this in this** um .hh um .hh (.) **in this** um (.) **in this** end where where there is this Sārmā [Est Saaremaa] lighthouse' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Thus it can be concluded that *se* is a very commonly used pronoun for planning speech, postponing an upcoming word, and finding a targeted form, due both to its abstractness and various functions mentioned above.

5.2.3. *Tämä*, *ta*, *tä* vs. *se* in nominal use

In this section, the referent types of the 3rd person singular pronoun *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* and the demonstrative pronoun *se* are compared with each other, as these pronouns share many of their referent types in the data and act similarly in some respects, although both pronouns also show some referent types that did not appear in the data of the other pronoun. Both refer to the entities from the 3rd person singular point of view, thus it is important to compare them to see what are their main similarities and differences and which pronoun appears to be more or less common in a certain use (e.g., when referring to humans, physical inanimate entities, etc.) based on the data. The number of the referent types of the 3rd person singular pronoun *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* and the demonstrative pronoun *se* in nominal use are listed in Table 42 and Figure 19.

Table 42. Comparison of the referent types of *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* and *se* (nominal use)

Referent type	*tämä*, *ta*, *tä*	*se*
Human	**518**	**143**
Physical inanimate object	**157**	**200**
Other living entity	**30**	7
State-of-affairs	10	0
Personified non-human	9	0
Abstract inanimate object	6	14
Personified institution	5	10
Correlative	0	**122**
Discourse	0	23
Event/situation	0	8
Total examples:	**735**	**527**
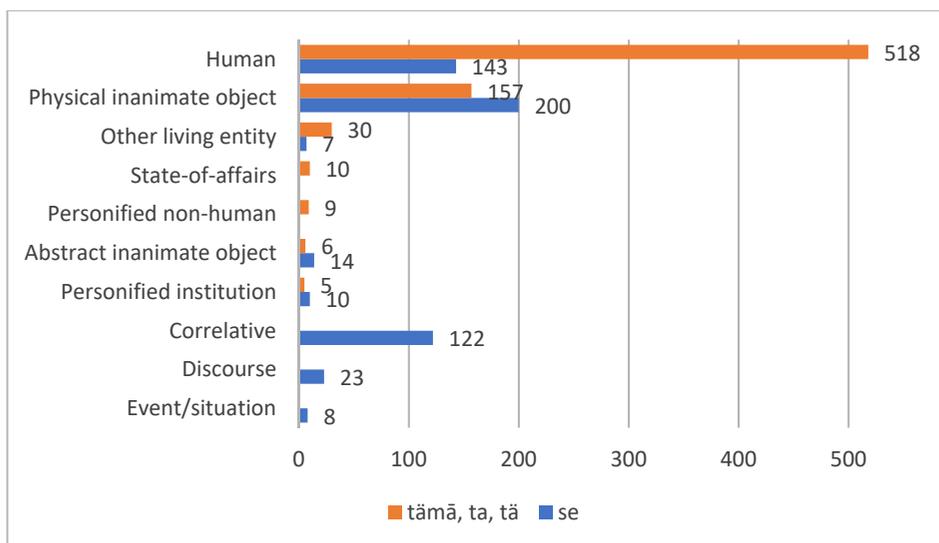
Figure 19. Comparison of the referent types: *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* and *se* (nominal use)

Tämā, *ta*, *tä* had in total more, 735 examples of nominal use in the data, while *se* showed 527 examples of nominal use, excluding eight examples of filler words with unclear referent type from the data. From the table and figure above it can be seen that the two most common uses of both pronouns are **referring to humans and physical inanimate objects**. However, the pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* is used most frequently referring to humans (518 examples) and secondly to physical inanimate objects (157 examples), while for *se* it is the other way around – the most frequent type of reference is to physical inanimate objects (200 examples) and secondly to humans (143 examples). These two types however clearly stand out from the rest of the types with their bigger number of examples. In case of *se,* the number difference between the referent types of physical inanimate objects and humans is however not that big as for *tämā*, *ta*, where clearly referring to humans is much more preferred based on the data.

There were three referent types where *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* did not show examples in the data, but the demonstrative pronoun *se* did: these were correlative use (122 examples), referring to discourse (23 examples) and referring to an event or situation (eight examples). Here, the correlative use stood out in the case of *se* (122 examples). In correlative use, the reference made with *se* is caused syntactically and is defined by the content of a neighbouring clause. Thus, syntactically more complex correlative references are preferred with *se* in Courland Livonian based on the data. Also, the references to discourse and to events or situations are not made with the 3rd person pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* or are very rare based on the data. However, *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* has a similar refererent type to the event/situation type: state-of-affairs (10 examples), which is however more general and is referring to the circumstances mentioned in the text, but not to a concrete event or situation precisely.

There were also two referent types where *se* did not appear: the before mentioned state-of-affairs type, and personified non-humans (e.g., characters that are treated as living entities, such as dwarves). However, as the number of these types is rather small in general (9–10 examples in case of *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* on both types), the corpora could be expanded in the future to see if there are also references with *se* to these types, especially as *se* is used for referring to the similar types, such as events/situations, humans, and other living entities.

For the rest of the types, such as other living entity, abstract inanimate object, and personified institution, the number of the examples was rather small, but one pronoun stood always out a bit more than the other one. For example, references to other living entities than humans occurred more with *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* (30 examples), while *se* was used less (seven examples). In the case of abstract inanimate objects and personified institutions, *se* was used more, referring to abstract inanimate objects 14 times and to personified institutions 10 times, while *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* was used respectively six and five times for these types. The difference for these two types is not however so big as in the case of other living entities, where using *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* is more preferred compared to *se*. However, the examples show that these are the types where both of the pronouns can be used.

To conclude, the demonstrative pronoun *se* is a bit more diverse regarding to the use of different referent types, while *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* is preferred to use for animate or animate-considered characters or institutions and is not used for the syntactically caused referent types. However, *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* is also used for some certain inanimate types, such as physical inanimate objects, state-of-affairs, and abstract inanimate objects, of which especially referring to physical inanimate objects stood out with 157 examples. Respectively, *se* was used more for referring to inanimate, abstract and syntactically caused referent types, but referring to humans also stood out with 143 examples. The number of examples was especially close in the type of physical inanimate object, so this is the type where their use is the most similar.

5.2.4. *Ne, nēd*

In analysing the pronouns *ne*, *nēd* – which can be used both as the 3rd person plural pronoun and the plural form of the demonstrative pronoun *se* depending on the context or nominal or adnominal use frame – the same aspects as in the analysis of the pronouns *tämä*, *ta*, *tä*, and *se* are considered. For semantic use this is: 1) the animacy/inanimacy of the referent and 2) the referent type. For pragmatic use this is: 1) endophoric/exophoric use, 2) deictic, contrastive, or logophoric use, 3) stress and use of the long and short forms, and 4) place-holding and self-repairs.

Similarly to *tämä, ta, tä,* in adnominal use, the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* is an attribute of the headword and the pronoun itself is not referring to a certain referent type but is instead adding a particular pragmatic function to the headword. Thus, the function of the determiner is analysed in adnominal use instead of the referent types.

5.2.4.1. Nominal use

Use of different referent types

There were in total 389 examples of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in nominal use in the data. Similarly to the pronouns *tämä*, *ta*, *tä* and the demonstrative pronoun *se*, the examples were divided into groups of animate and inanimate referents if there was enough context. The following referent types could be distinguished for animate referents: humans, other living entities (different domestic and wild animals, fish, plants), and personified creatures (e.g., dwarves). The following groups were distinguished for inanimate referents: physical inanimate objects (e.g., stones, photos, farms), abstract non-physical objects (e.g., words), correlative reference, discourse deictic reference, and temporal reference (e.g., years). In addition, there was also one example of a filler word where no reference to a particular entity could be distinguished and therefore was excluded from the referent type groups. The distribution of the referent types is presented in Table 43 and Figure 20.

Table 43. Animacy/inanimacy and referent types of *ne, nēd* in the data (nominal use)

Animacy/inanimacy:	Animate		Inanimate	
Referent types:	Humans	170	Physical objects	98
	Other living entities	86	Abstract objects	1
	Personified non-humans	6	Correlative	25
			Temporal	2
Total:		**262**		**126**
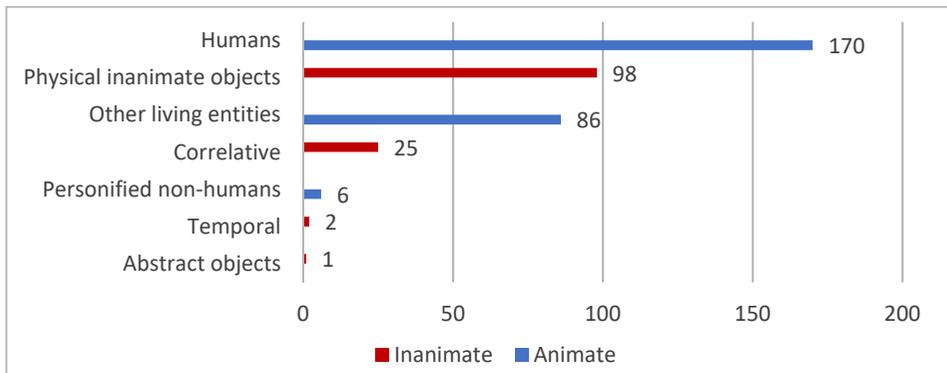
Figure 20. Referent types of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in the data (nominal use)

The distribution of referent types is quite different from the singular nominal use of the demonstrative pronoun *se* and more like that of the pronoun *tämä*, *ta*, *tä*, for which references to humans, physical inanimate objects, and to other living entities were also the most common and which had more references to animate than to inanimate entities. That is also the case for *ne*, *nēd*, for which references to animate entities are more common. There were 262 examples of reference to

animate referents and 126 examples of reference to inanimate referents, which is rather surprising considering that *ne, nēd* are the plural forms of both the 3ʳᵈ person singular pronoun and the demonstrative pronoun *se*. Thus, it would have been expected that the animate and inanimate references would have been more similar in number in the data. The data, however, show that the speakers use *ne, nēd* more for reference to animate entities.

Among the animate referents, references to humans are the most common (170 examples), which is also the most common referent type in general. See (149), where Speaker no. 6 is talking about local people and an old Easter tradition:

(149) *un*   `*vanā-d*          *ro'vzt*          *ju*          *ai'l-iz-t*          `*kõnka=*
         and   old-PL   people   PTCL   run-PST-3PL   dune.GEN
         pāl   *jegā*, (1.0)   `*lejāvõtāmõ-dõks.* (1.0)   *un*   *si'z*   ***ne***
         POSTP   every   Easter-INSTR.TRANSL.PL   and   then   3PL.S
         `*lõl-iz-t*          *ī'ž*          `*lõl-idi,*
         sing-PST-3PL   too   song-PART.PL
         'and old people ran up the dune every (1.0) Easter (1.0) and then **they** also sang songs' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The second most used referent type was reference to inanimate physical objects (98 examples). Both the forms *ne* and *nēd* could refer to animate human referents as well as inanimate physical objects. See (150) for an example of *nēd* where it is referring to inanimate physical objects:

(150) `*oksādõd*   *pid-īz-tõ*   *vastõ* (1.0)   *või*   *kuigõst*   ***nē-d***
         branch.PL   keep-PST-3PL   against   or   somehow   DEM-PL.L
         si'z   *seḷḷiz*   *pitkā*   `*vórd-kõks* (.)   *uḑā-ks*
         then   such.GEN   long.GEN   edge-INSTR   spear-INSTR
         pīkst-õz (.)   `*vastõ.*
         push-PST.3SG   against
         'branches were kept against (1.0) or somehow **these** then with this kind of a long stick (.) with a spear were pushed (.) against' (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

Compared to the singular forms, the plural forms *ne, nēd* show especially many references to other living entities (86 examples), among which there are many different kinds of animals (e.g., sheep, dogs, cats, cows, horses, wolves, wild boars), fish (flounders, sprats, vimba), and plants (e.g., trees, cranberries, strawberries, water lilies). Thus, based on the spoken language data, it is more common to refer to animals, fish, and plants in the plural (as a group or set) in Livonian, as not that many examples of other living entities appeared among the singular pronouns. In (151), Speaker no. 4 is talking about vipers:

(151) *ja* (.)   `*tuoiz-t*          *ūška-d*          *āt*          *ne*          `*kī-d.* (0.5)
         and   other-PL   snake-PL   be.3PL   DEM.PL.S   viper-PL
         `*kī* (2.5)          `***ne*** (0.5)   *ä'b*   *ūo-t*   `*vī'riz-t.*
         viper   DEM.PL/3PL   NEG.3PL   be.CNG-3PL   yellow-PL
         'and (.) other snakes are these vipers (0.5) a viper (2.5) **these/they** (0.5) are not yellow' (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

The fourth referent type with more than 20 examples was the correlative use (25 examples) where the meaning of the pronoun was connected to the preceding or following clause. See (152), where the form *näntõn* is connected to the following subordinate clause:

(152) *seḷḷiz-t*   `*bankrotõ,* (0.5)   *või-ž*   *võl-da*   *set*
      such-PART.S   bankruptcy.PART   may-PST.3SG   be-INF   only
      **`*nän-tõn*** (.)      *kīe-n*      *vȯ'ḷ-tõ*      `*kuoigī-d*   *vanāst*
      DEM.PL-DAT.PL   who-DAT   be.PST-3PL   boat-PL   formerly
      'this kind of bankruptcy (0.5) could be only for **those** (.) who had boats back then'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

Other referent types – personified creatures (six examples), temporal reference (two examples), and abstract objects (one example) – occurred only minimally in the data. All references to personified creatures appeared in one speaker's narrative about dwarves and local beliefs about them. Reference to abstract objects was made about the words that the speaker was asked to read for the recording. Temporal references were made about years and the time in general; see (153), where Speaker no. 1 is talking about her children's birthday years:

(153) *īe-b*   `*kūžkimdõ*      *āigast.* (.)      `*nän-tõn*   `*amā-dõn*   *midāgist*
      stay-3SG   sixty   year   DEM.PL-DAT.PL   all-DAT.PL   something
      u'm   `*vajāg.* (0.5)     ***ne***      *ātõ*      *seḷḷiz-t*      `*jubilejāigastõ-t,*
      be.3SG   need   DEM.PL.S   be.3PL   such-PL   jubilee_year-PL
      '[she] will be sixty (.) they all need something. (0.5) **these** are these kinds of jubilee years' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Most of the nominal examples of *ne*, *nēd* were endophoric, there were two exophoric examples where the speaker was referring to the photos that she and the interviewer were looking at; see (154):

(154) *ō*   ***ne***   *ātõ*   `*vä'ggõ* (0.5)     *knaššõ-d*      `*bīldõ-d*=   *e.*
      oh   DEM.PL.S   be.3PL   very   beautiful-PL   picture-PL   HESIT
      'oh **these** are very (0.5) beautiful pictures um' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

To sum up, references to animate entities, also including animals, fish, and plants are especially common with the pronouns *ne*, *nēd*, also references to physical inanimate entities often appear. The likely cause of this is that speakers prefer to refer to animals as a group or a class. Therefore, they refer to them more often in the plural than in the singular, which could possibly instead mark a reference to only one particular entity. Other functions appear rather minimally and references to personified creatures, abstract inanimate objects, and temporal use are among the rarest ones in the data. In practical pragmatic use, the form *ne* appears more often in repetitions and prolongations with hesitation markers, though self-repairs are quite rare.

Stress and use of the long and short forms

The pronoun *ne*, *nēd* had long and short forms only in the nominative case. The long form *nēd* only appeared as phonologically unstressed in the data, while the short form *ne* had 17 stressed examples out of 251 examples in total. The aspirated short form *ne^h* was stressed and the merged form *n-* unstressed. All of the stressed examples appeared either in a narrating context, in a contrastive context, or stressing the referent's individuality again. See example (151) above for the stressed use of the short nominative form *ne*, contrasting the referent with a referent mentioned earlier in the text.

Placeholding and self-repairs

Compared to the singular demonstrative pronoun *se*, the pronouns *ne*, *nēd* appeared rather infrequently in repetitions and self-repair mechanisms: there were only seven examples where *ne* appeared in repetitions and only one example of a self-repair where the form of *ne*, *nēd* was changed. However, there were 23 examples where *ne* was noticeably prolonged and used with hesitation markers. See (155), where Speaker no. 1 is talking about moving from Īra to Kūolka after World War II:

(155) *kis   tā'-ž   ē::   `lā'-dõ   **ne**   **ne:**,* (.)
      who   want-PST.3SG   HESIT   go-INF   DEM.PL.S   DEM.PL.S
      või-ž-ti   `lā'-dõ*. .hh   *nē-ḍi                `tuo-i.
      may-PST-3PL   go-INF   DEM.PL-PART.PL   bring-PST.3SG
      'who wanted um to go **these these** (.) could go .hh these were brought' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

There was also one example of a possible filler word which could not be connected to any particular referent in the text. See (156), where Speaker no. 6 is talking about going to Livonian lessons at school in his childhood:

(156) *ē   `minā   lek-š   ju* (.)   *oppõ-m   **nē-ḍi***
      HESIT   1SG.L   go-PST.1SG   PTCL   study-SUP   DEM.PL-PART.PL
      `līvõ=   kīel-dõ
      Livonian   language- PART
      'um I went (.) to study **these**… the Livonian language' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

5.2.4.2. Adnominal use

Functions

There were in total 264 adnominal use examples of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in the data, which shows that adnominal examples occur less in the data than nominal use examples. This is the opposite trend observed for the demonstrative singular pronoun *se*, where the adnominal use was a bit more frequent. The following pragmatic uses were found in the adnominal examples: exophoric use, anaphoric

use, recognitional use, reactivation, and correlative use. Table 44 and Figure 21 list the occurrences of these functions in the data.

Table 44. Functions of the pronoun *ne, nēd* in the data (adnominal use)

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	3
Anaphoric use	**135**
Recognitional use	**102**
Reactivation	6
Correlative use	18
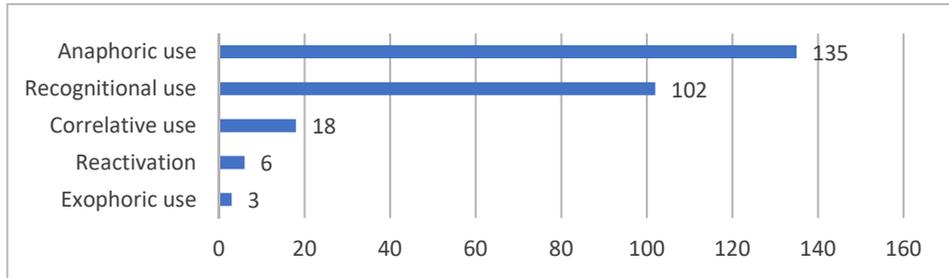
Figure 21. Functions of the pronoun *ne*, *nēd* in the data (adnominal use)

The most frequent function among the adnominal use examples is anaphoric use (136 examples). This again differs from the pattern observed for the singular form *se*, where recognitional use was clearly the most common. However, recognitional use is also quite frequent for plural forms (102 examples). See (157) for an example of anaphoric use, where Speaker no. 3 is talking about how fishing nets for flounders differed from the usual nets:

(157) *vȯʼļ-ti*   *`piškiz-t* (.)    *`silmā-d*   *un*   **ne**   *`piškiz-t*
       be.PST-3PL   small-PL   eye-PL   and   DEM.PL.S   small-PL
       silmā-dõn   *pãlõ*   *veʼl*   *vȯʼļ*   *seļļiz-t*   *`sūr-d*   *ē* (.)
       eye-DAT.PL   on   also   be.PST.3SG   such-PL   big-PL   HESIT
       silmõ-d
       eye-PL
       'there were small (.) holes and on **these** small holes there were also these kind of big um (.) holes' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

This kind of use helps to concretise the referent as well as often adds definiteness and is again often similar to an article-like use (see the same use of *se* in Section 5.2.2.2)

    The second most frequent function was recognitional use (102 examples), where a reference is made to an entity, which has not been mentioned earlier, but is likely commonly known. In (158), Speaker no. 1 is talking about which songs

she and the local people used to sing in the choir, adding the form *nēḍi* in front of the nouns to mark a specific type of song that is also familiar to the hearer:

(158) *meg*   *lōl-i-miz*   *ē* (0.5)   **nē-ḍi**   `ʼjumālsõnā`
     1PL.S   sing-PST-1PL   HESIT   DEM.PL-PART.PL   God's_word.GEN
     `ʼlōl-idi`, (.)   *un*   *meg*   *ju*   *lōl-i-miz*   `ʼkaʰ`
     song-PART.PL   and   1PL.S   PTCL   sing-PST-1PL   too
     nē-ḍi (.)   **nē-ḍi**   `ʼlaitsigõ-d`   *lōl-idi.*
     DEM.PL-PART.PL   DEM.PL-PART.PL   secular- PL   song-PART.PL
     'we sang um (0.5) **these** choral songs (.) and we also sang **these** (.) **these** secular songs' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Other types – the correlative use (17 examples), reactivation (six examples), and the exophoric pointing use (three examples) – appeared fewer than 20 times in the data. Unlike with the use of demonstrative singular pronoun *se*, all of these functions appear quite minimally in the data – even the otherwise common correlative use. The exophoric pointing use has the fewest examples, but the examples that appeared are clearly referring to nearby objects during the speech moment. See (159), where Speaker no. 5 is answering the interviewer's question – where did the former schoolteacher live – as the conversation is taking place in the building that used to be the school the speaker also attended:

(159) *täs*   **ne-iš** ((coughing))   **ne-iš**   *pišk-īž*   *tu-*
     here.S   DEM.PL-INE.PL.S   DEM.PL-INE.PL.S   small-INE.PL   tu-
     tutkā-d   *tub-iš*   *ta*   `ʼjel-īz.`
     end-PL   room-INE.PL   3SG.S   live-PST.3SG
     'here **in these in these** small back rooms she lived ' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

Stress and use of the long and short forms

In adnominal use, distinct long and short forms of the pronouns *ne, nēd, nēg* appeared in the inessive case: the long form *nēši* (four examples) and the short forms *neiš* (two examples) and *nēš* (two examples). Seven of the inessive attribute examples are unstressed in the data, thus, unstressed use is quite common for adnominal examples. Only one example of the long form *nēši* is phonologically stressed in the correlative function, where it is endophorically referring back to several referents mentioned in the previous clause. In (160), the interviewer had previously asked the speaker how the days of the week are called in Livonian:

(160) *nu*   `ʼne`   *vȯʼḷ-ti,* (2.0)   **`ʼnē-ši`**   `ʼpäuv-ši`
     PTCL   DEM.PL.S   be.PST-3PL   DEM.PL-INE.PL.L   day-INE.PL
     või-ž   *ē*   *või-ž*   *ē*   `ʼjeʼllõ.`
     may-PST.3SG   HESIT   may-PST.3SG   HESIT   work.INF
     'well these were (2.0) in **these** days one could um could um work' (AEDKL: SUHK0525-02)

Placeholding and self-repairs

Similarly to the nominal use of *ne*, *nēd*, repetitions and self-repairs are not very numerous in the adnominal use data: there were 11 examples of repetitions and three examples of self-repairs. However, it is interesting to note that in all of the self-repair examples, the pronoun is changed from the demonstrative pronoun *se* to the plural form *ne*, as the speakers reformulate the reference in the plural; see (161):

(161)   *ja*   *`si'z*      *ē* (0.5)     *ē*       *`sie-dā,* (0.5)   **nē-ḍi**
        and   then   HESIT   HESIT   DEM-PART   DEM.PL-PART.PL
        `materjal-idi   *mis*   *ē* (.)   *ē*   *ē*   *ē*   *vȯ'ļ*
        material-PART.PL   what   HESIT   HESIT   HESIT   HESIT   be.PST.3SG
        `vajāg*    *ē*       *pū-d* (.)     *`pū-ḍi   *`mõtsā-st*.hh    *`nē-ḍi*
        need   HESIT   wood-PL   wood-PART.PL   forest-ELA   DEM.PL-PART.PL
        `ānd-iz   *i'ļ*   *vīdõz*   *dalīb*
        give-PST.3SG   PREP   fifth.GEN   part.GEN
        'and then um (0.5) um this (0.5) **these** materials that um (.) um um um were necessary um wood (.) wood from the forest .hh **these** were given in fifths' (AEDKL: SUHK05220-01)

It can be thus concluded that the most common functions in adnominal use were the anaphoric and recognitional functions. Long and short forms in the inessive are mostly not stressed as attributes, and self-repairs with the plural form *ne*, *nēd* are rather rare compared to the demonstrative *se* singular form examples.

5.2.5. *Tūo*

Tūo is the rarest among the pronouns and occurs almost exclusively as part of adverbial phrases in the most recent dictionaries and grammar overviews, e.g., ***tūola****pūol* 'on that side, on the other side' (Viitso 2008: 334, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012), with an additional meaning shift from the original demonstrative meaning 'that' to the meaning 'the other' and being mixed with the word *tuoi* 'the second, the other' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 117). Due to the dominating demonstratively neutral pronoun *se* and mixing with the word *tuoi*, the actual examples of the pronoun *tūo* are very rare. However, it is still important to analyse these examples, in order to spot the cases where *tūo* is still used and identify its main functions in modern Livonian.

     To analyse the use of *tūo*, I consider the same semantic and pragmatic features I discussed for the pronoun *se* (see Section 5.2.2). For nominal use, I examine the animacy/inanimacy of the referents and the specific referent types, to which *tūo* refers, while for adnominal use, I consider the functions of *tūo* as an attribute. For pragmatic use, I analyse whether the references show exophoric or endophoric use (and within this whether the uses are anaphoric/cataphoric, discourse-deictic, or recognitional), deictic/contrastive use, and whether it is used in repetitions or as a part of self-repair if such examples occur.

There were two nominal use examples and four adnominal examples of the demonstrative pronoun *tūo* in the main corpus data. The cases where *tūo* appears as part of a coordinated demonstrative (e.g., *siedā-tuodā* 'this and that') are analysed separately in Section 5.2.6. There were no plural examples of *tūo* in the data and its plural forms have likely fallen out of use, as no sources after Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a) mention them. Therefore, the plural forms of *tūo* could not be investigated. Sjögren and Wiedemann give the plural form of the distal demonstrative pronoun as *tuoist* and refer to its declension type. As in other neighbouring Finnic languages, the plural form of the distal demonstrative is also suppletive, as in the case of the demonstrative pronoun *se* or *see* (see Section 2.1.); a plural form starting with *n* would be expected instead, e.g., *nuo* 'those' in Finnish or *nood* 'those' in Estonian. The form *tuoist* shows a closer connection with the numeral *tuoi* 'the second, the other' (see Section 2.3.), which does not have a suppletive plural form. This again shows that both the morphology and the semantics of the demonstrative *tūo* are to some extent mixed with that of the numeral *tuoi*.

5.2.5.1. Nominal use

In total, there were only two examples of the nominal use of *tūo*, which both appeared only in the expanded corpus and not in the main corpus data. One of the examples was discourse deictic, referring cataphorically to an upcoming narrative. The second example was exophoric, pointing to the a nearby object. Both of these examples, (32) and (33), were already presented in Section 4.1.8.1 and are revisited here. (32) also includes a self-repair mechanism, where the speaker starts to refer to an object in her kitchen first with the distal demonstrative *tūo*, but then changes to the distance-neutral pronoun *se*, likely hesitating to use the rare form *tūo*. However, the speaker likely first used the distal form either because the object was further away compared to other objects named before or to distinguish it from another object that was referred to with the distance-neutral *se*. However, although rare, this exophoric nominal example is valuable for showing that *tūo* can function as an independent exophoric pronoun referring to the distal or contrasting objects.

(33) is discourse deictic and cataphoric. It is referring cataphorically to the whole upcoming narrative about the more distant past – the speaker's youth. The narrative being about a more distant time may also be a reason that the distal demonstrative *tūo* is used here. *tūo* may be acting as a contrast with the demonstrative *se*, which is indicating a "closer", present or shorter reference compared to the distal pronoun. *se* as a distance-neutral pronoun can be used however for both close and distal references depending on the context. The same use can be seen in Estonian where the reference to a more distant time can but does not have to be expressed with the distal demonstrative *too*, e.g., *tol ajal* 'at that (further time)' (Pajusalu 2017: 572).

5.2.5.2. Adnominal use

There were in total four examples of *tūo* in adnominal use in the main corpus: two of the adessive form *tuolā*, one of the nominative form *tūo*, and one of the inessive form *tūos*.

All of the semantic references were inanimate. The inessive form was pointing at a physical object – a room; the two adessive forms referred to the deictic further/other location by modifying the word *pūol* 'side'; and the nominative example *tūo* was temporal and referred to a more distant past time. In the adessive, *tūo* is used more in the meaning of 'the other' as at least in one example it contrasts with the word *ikš* 'one'. See (162), where Speaker no. 5 is talking about seeing a sinking boat and its sail swinging in the sea:

(162) *ne'i* *se* *`lōja* (0.5)  *ne'i*  *ē*  *`vãnkart-õz* *ī'd-s*
      so   DEM boat   so   HESIT wriggle-PST.3SG one-INE
      pūol-sõ ***tūo-la*** (.) *p-* *`pūol=*  *se* (.)  *`pūṛaz*
      side-INE   DEM.DST-ADE p-   side   DEM   sail
      'so this boat (0.5) so um swinging on one side to **the other side** [was] that sail'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The inessive example was the only one that was exophoric. That was also the only example that showed deictic distance and opposition/contrastivity with the pronoun *se*, as in the example the interviewer had asked if the house in which they are speaking at the recording moment had once been a school. In (163), Speaker no. 5 is pointing to the rooms with the pronouns *se* and *tūo*, *se* being proximal and referring to the room they are in and *tūo* being distal and referring to the more distant room; the proximal and distal proadverbs also indicate this distinction in the following text:

(163) *ē* *no* *`täs*  *`vȯ'ḷ.* (.) *`sīe-s* *tubā-s* *ja*
      HESIT PTCL here.S be.PST.3SG DEM-INE.S room-INE and
      ***`tūo-s***  *tubā-s.* (0.8)  *`sã'l* *vȯ'ḷ* *ē* (0.5) *`e'žmi*
      DEM.DST-INE room-INE   there.S be.PST.3SG HESIT   first
      ja (0.8) *`tuoi*  *klas*  *ja*  *täs*  *vȯ'ḷ* (.)  *`kuolmõz.*
      and   second class and here.S be.PST.3SG third
      'um well here [the school] was (.) in this room and **in that** room (0.8) there was um (0.5) the first and (0.8) the second class and here was (.) the third [class]'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The temporal nominative example was referring to a more distant past time, belonging to temporal deixis. Renate Pajusalu has noted that Estonian *too* is used in a similar way mostly in temporal expressions (Pajusalu 2017: 572, Pajusalu 1996b: 100). See (164), where the speaker is replying to the interviewer's question of whether people on the Livonian Coast used to wear folk costumes often in the past:

(164) *nā̃.* (0.5)   **tūo**=   *āig*   *ke'-i-tõ*   *`pā̃giņ.*
      yes   DEM.DST   time   go-PST-3PL   a_lot
      'yes (0.5) at **that** time [people] used to wear [them] a lot' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

There were no adnominal use examples of placeholding, filler words, or self-repair with *tūo* in the main corpus data. To sum up the main features of *tūo* in adnominal use, it is strongly a part of demonstrative deixis, as all of the examples are pointing to a location. *Tūo* can contrast with both the numeral *ikš* and the demonstrative pronoun *se* and can have the meanings 'the other' or 'that', depending on the contrasted word.

5.2.6. Coordinated demonstratives

There were six examples of the coordinated demonstrative forms where two demonstratives would occur next to each other forming one phrase. In the data, there were five examples of the form *siedā-tuodā* 'this and that' and one example of a form with a conjunction *siedā ja tuodā* 'this and that'. Both types include partitive forms of the distance-neutral demonstrative *se* and the distal demonstrative *tūo*.

    In all of the examples, *siedā-tuodā* substitutes a particular reference, making it less transparent, but indicating through its meaning that the reference is about different kinds of things, objects, actions, etc., which is the most important function of the phrase. See (165), where Speaker no. 4 is talking about his grandfather growing different kinds of plants near his house:

(165) *ku*   *tä'mm-õn*   *vȯ'ļ*   *sā̃'lõ* (0.5)   *rọ̄žki*   *`mọ̄-dõ*
      when   3SG-DAT.L   be.PST.3SG   there.L   a_bit   land-PART
      jūrs   *sīe*   *`kuodā-n*   *ja* (0.5)   *sā̃'l*   *ta*
      at   DEM.GEN   house-DAT   and   there.S   3SG.S
      *`kazāt-iz*   **`sie-dā**=   **`tuo-dā**   *ja,*
      grow-PST.3SG DEM-PART   DEM.DST-PART   and
      'when he had there (0.5) a bit of land at this house and (0.5) there he grew **this and that** and' (AEDKL: SUHK0491-01)

There were no repetitions or self-repairs in the data with these coordinated demonstratives. It is, however, notable that in all six examples, both demonstrative parts were stressed. Forms with interior local cases, such as *sīes-tūos* and *sīest-tūost*, would have also been expected according to dictionaries and grammars, but these did not occur in the data.

5.3. Demonstrative proadjectives

5.3.1. *Seḷḷi*

The demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi*, derived from the demonstrative *se* 'this, that' (see Section 2.1), is the main proadjective in the data; the other proadjective *tūoḷi* from the distal demonstrative stem *tūo* (see Section 2.1) appeared only within coordinated proadjective phrases alongside *seḷḷi* in the data (see Section 5.3.2) and, therefore, cannot be analysed separately. Demonstrative proadjectives are mostly said to refer to a quality or a set of qualities and to a type or class of entities (Larjavaara 1986: 26). Especially in adnominal use where the demonstrative proadjective is an attribute of another noun, the demonstrative proadjective may be referring to the qualities of similar objects as a *type*, not to one concrete object – called a *token*. Thus, this kind of use refers to a particular, definite *type* that is represented by one indefinite *token*. (Hole & Klumpp 2000: 243; for a similar use in Finnish, see Vilkuna 1992: 104). See (166), where the speaker is referring to a particular type of roof seen in the photo they were looking at with the interviewer. The reference with the proadjective is referring to a particular type, not to the same token:

(166) `mi'n     āiga-l     ju     `emīṇt   `emīṇ   **seḷḷiz-t**
      1SG.GEN   time-ADE   PTCL   anymore   anymore   such-PART.S
      `katūks-t     i'z          `tī'e
      roof-PART   NEG.PST.3SG   do.CNG.SG
      'in my time **this kind of** roof was not made anymore' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

In addition to the above-mentioned reference function of a quality or a type, proadjectives have also functions that are typical to demonstrative words, such as exophoric pointing use, the anaphoric function, the correlative function and the discourse deictic function. However, as the proadjective grammatically has an adjective function, it cannot refer to a particular animate or inanimate referent as a token, so in the analysis, the reference functions are distinguished instead of the referent types. See (167), where the speaker is talking about which kind of people used to visit the Livonian Coast; note that the reference is not actually directed at particular people, but at a type of people:

(167) *kis*   *tu'ḷ-tõ*   *mingiz*   `*nädīḷ* (0.5)     [*Rīgõ-st*]     `*emīṇt*
      who   come.PST-3PL   some   week   Riga-ELA   more
      võ'ḷ-t   `***seḷḷiz-t***
      be.PST-3PL   such-PL
      'who came [for about] a week (0.5) from Riga there were more of **this kind** [of people]' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

There are also functions reminiscent of the recognitional use of the demonstrative pronoun *se* where *seḷḷi* appears with a subsequent noun or noun phrase, which has not appeared earlier in the text but is connected to the previous knowledge of the

speaker. The speaker introduces a referent which may be unknown to the hearer by highlighting one of its qualities. The referent's type, however, is known to the hearer and the speaker uses a demonstrative proadjective, thus softening the introduction. (Tomingas 2018: 250; for a similar use in Finnish with the pronoun *semmonen* see Vilkuna 1992: 132–133). I refer to this as the introductive function in the data, as it is a way to introduce, explain, or bring closer possibly unfamiliar information to the hearer. In addition, the same use may also appear with proper names when introducing a new referent that may not be familiar to the hearer. See (168) and (169), respectively, for the explaining and introductive uses:

(168) *ä'b`kougõn*     *`tässõ,* .hh hh   *sā'l*   *`vȯ'ļ*     **seļļi**     *`sūr* (.)   *sūr*
       not_far   here.L   there.S   be.PST.3SG   such   big   big
       vanā   *`kȯrand*
       old   farm
       'not far here .hh hh there was **this kind of a** big (.) big old farm' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

(169) *un:*   *un=*   *un*   *vȯ'ļ*   **seļļi** (.)   *`Ksēnij*   *se*
       and   and   and   be.PST.3SG   such   Ksēnij   DEM
       vȯ'ļ   *`kūolkanikā,*
       be.PST.3SG   Kūolka_inhabitant
       'and and and there was **this [such]** (.) Ksēnij she was a local in Kūolka' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The nominal and adnominal uses of the demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* are analysed in the following sections according to their use. There were in total 104 nominal and 231 adnominal examples in the data. The variation of the long and short forms was very minor in the data for both nominal and adnominal uses of *seļļi*, providing only one example of a long and short form. Therefore, the phonological stress of long and short forms is not discussed, due to the small number of examples not providing sufficient material for such a discussion.

5.3.1.1. Nominal use

Functions

There were in total 105 examples of the nominal use of *seļļi* in the data. The following groups of reference functions could be distinguished based on the examples in the data: the exophoric use, correlative use, discourse deictic use, reference to a quality, and reference to a type. The number of occurrences are listed in Table 45 and Figure 22.

Table 45. Functions of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (nominal use)

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	4
Correlative use	**51**
Discourse deictic use	8
Reference to a quality	9
Reference to a type	**33**
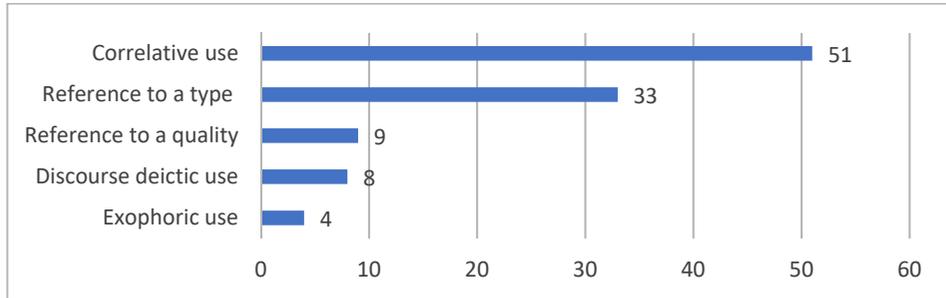
Figure 22. Functions of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (nominal use)

The most common functions of *seḷḷi* in nominal use were the correlative use (51 examples) and reference to a type (33 examples). This shows that nominal *seḷḷi* is for the most part both syntactically and semantically connected to a previous or upcoming clause and refers more frequently to a type than to a quality in the data. See (170) for the correlative use of *seḷḷi* and (171) for *seḷḷi* referring to a type.

(170) *agā*   ` *sā̄'l*        *vȯ'ḷ-ti*        *ka*        **` *seḷḷiz-t*** (0.8)   *kis*   *kis*   *ē* (0.8)
          but   there.S   be.PST-3PL   too   such-PL   who   who   HESIT
          kis   *vȯ'ḷ-ti*   ` *ulz=*        *a'j-tõd*, .hh        *un*        *kis*        ` *tā'-ž* {-}
          who   be.PST-3PL   out   throw-PPP   and   who   want-PST.3SG
          ` *Saksamā-lõ*   *bro'utšõ.*
          Germany-ALL   ride.INF
          'but there were also **such** [people] (0.8) who who um (0.8) who were thrown out .hh and who wanted to travel to Germany' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

(171) *ä'b*   *kū'oḓõn*   ` *päp*        *nu*        *ne'iku*        *ku*        ` *kestār.* (0.5)   **seḷḷi**.
          NEG.3SG   exactly   priest   PTCL   like   like   sacrist   such
          'not exactly a priest but like a sacrist (0.5) **this kind of**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The other uses that appeared were the discourse deictic use (eight examples), reference to a quality (nine examples), and the exophoric use (four examples). See (172) for a reference to quality; Speaker no. 3 is looking at a photo and is using the proadjective *seḷḷi* to refer to the physical qualities of the person in the photo. The proadjective *seḷḷi* also appears in the position after the demonstrative pronoun *se*, which is a rare kind of use.

(172)   `sie-dā`   *minā*   *riktig*   *ä'b*   `tund`   *kis*   *se*
       DEM-PART   1SG.L   actually NEG.1SG know.CNG.SG who   DEM
       seḷḷi   `u'm`
       such   be.3SG
       'I do not actually know who **such a** person [lit. such one] is' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

In the discourse deictic use, *seḷḷi* referred to a larger set of qualities mentioned in the larger chunk of discourse. In (173), Speaker no. 3 (GK) and the interviewer (VE) are discussing the character traits of a male relative; the speaker is referring to the qualities identifiable based on VE's discourse using the proadjective *seḷḷi*:

(173) VE: *ku*   *ta*   *ä'b*   *või*   `pīlõ`   *ī'd*
             that   3SG.S NEG.3SG may.CNG.SG stand.INF one.GEN
             `kūož=`   *pāl.*
             place.GEN   POSTP
      (0.5)
      GK: *nujah*   [*nu*   `ne'i.` .hh]
           PTCL   PTCL   so
      VE: [*tä'mm-õn*   *u'm*]   `tī'e-mõst`   *midāgõst.*
           3SG-DAT.L   be.3SG   do-DEB   something
      GK: ***seḷḷi***   *vȯ'ḷ*   `mä'd`   *mīez*   *ē*   `mi'n`
           such   be.PST.3SG 1PL.GEN husband HESIT 1SG.GEN
           mīez   `kaʰ.`
           husband   too
      'VE: that he cannot stand in one place
      GK: well yes, well so .hh
      VE: he always needs to do something
      GK: our husband um my husband was also **like that**' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

There were three exophoric pointing examples, where the speaker was pointing at a quality or type of a physically nearby object. In (174), Speaker no. 3 is presenting a piece of handicraft to the interviewers:

(174) `ne'iku` (.)   *nu?* (.)   ***seḷḷi***   *vȯl-ks*   `nǭ'gõ`   *täs*   *u'm*
       like   PTCL   such   be-COND.SG leather here.S be.3SG
       se   `vīla?`
       DEM   wool
       'like (.) well (.) **this kind of** leather would have to be here is this wool' (AEDKL: SUHK0523-02)

An interesting additional reading that occurred was reference to approximate length, possibly followed by a physical gesture, due to exophoric reference. See (175), where Speaker no. 2 is talking about preparing chicory and referring to the approximate length of a piece of chicory with the proadjective *seḷḷi*:

(175) *ī'edõ-b*   *ē*   *`sūtäu-did.* .hh    *nu*      *`tsentimētr*   *`ī'd*
       cut-3SG   HESIT   mouthful-PART.PL   PTCL   centimeter   one.GEN
       pūol   *$ tsentimētr $*   *nu*   *`seḷḷiz.*
       half   centimeter GEN   PTCL   such.GEN
       '[one] cuts um mouthfuls .hh well a centimetre one and a half centimetres well
       like that' AEDKL: F1037-01)

Placeholding and self-repairs

In nominal use, there were very few examples of repetitions or self-repair in the
data. There were three examples of repetitions, which showed the problems with
remembering a subsequent word or expression; the proadjective is used partially
as a substitute in place of the forgotten expression. There was also only one self-
repair where the speaker corrected the form of *seḷḷi*. See (176) for a repetition of
the proadjective due to problems with remembering and (177) for a self-repair
where the inflectional form is reformulated.

(176) *un*   *si'z*   *`sā̄'l*      *vȯ'ḷ*                  *`tuoiz=*   *kilg-sõ*   *`jo'ugõ*
       and   then   there.S   be.PST.3SG   other.GEN   side-INE   river.PART
       `sā̄'l*       *vȯ'ḷ*          **seḷḷi** (.)     *`sā̄'l   *vȯ'ḷ*   **seḷḷi** (.) .hh
       there.S   be.PST.3SG   such   there.S   be.PST.3SG   such
       ē   **seḷḷi::,** (1.5) hhhh (0.5)   *`kui*      *sie-dā*       *sā-b*          *`kītõ.*
       HESIT   such   how   DEM-PART   may-3SG   say.INF
       'and then there was on the other side of the river there was such (.) .hh um such
       (1.5) hhhh (0.5) how can [one] say it' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

(177) *tšabā*   *tšōka* (0.8)   *se*   *u'm*   *seḷḷi,* (1.5) hh (1.2)   *`jämp*
       joker   fool   DEM   be.3SG   such   stupid
       rištīng   *rō̄z*   *nu*   *ä'b*   *`jämp*   *nu*   *ta*   *ne'i,* (.)
       person   a_bit   PTCL   NEG.3SG   stupid   PTCL   3SG.S   so
       seḷḷi, (0.8)   *midāgõd* {-}   *ī'dõkabāl*   *`rõkāndõ-b*      *ja*       *`ne'i* (0.5)
       such   something   always   tell-3SG   and   so
       midēgõst   **{seḷḷiŋ}**   **seḷḷiz-t**
       something   seḷḷin   such-PART.S
       'a joker a fool (0.8) it is this kind of (1.5) .hh (1.2) stupid person a bit well not
       stupid but he so (.) like this (0.8) all the time tells something and so (0.5) something
       like this this' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

5.3.1.2. Adnominal use

Functions

In adnominal use, the demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* had 230 examples in the
data. The reference functions of adnominal *seḷḷi* observed in the data were:
exophoric pointing, the anaphoric use, correlative use, discourse deictic use, and
introductive use (see the description of the reference functions in Section 5.3.1)
The number of occurrences of these types are listed in Table 46 and Figure 23.

Table 46. Functions of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (adnominal use)

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	3
Anaphoric use	10
Correlative use	**54**
Discourse deictic use	11
Introductive use	**152**
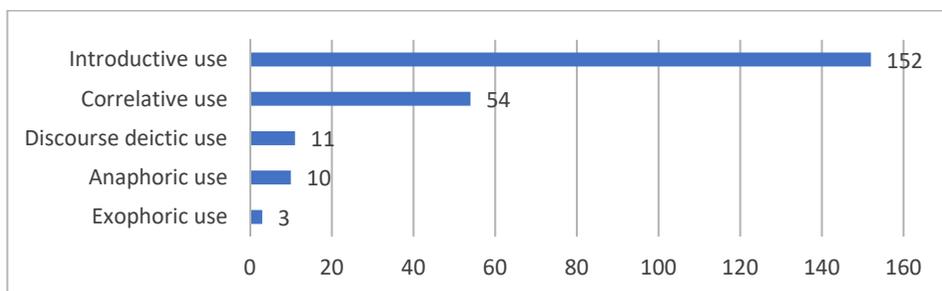
Figure 23. Functions of the proadjective *seḷḷi* in the data (adnominal use)

Of the different types of uses, the introductive function – where *seḷḷi* occurs with a noun, noun phrase, or proper name – is clearly the most popular in the data (152 examples). See (178) for an example of the introductive use, where Speaker no. 3 is answering the interviewer's question regarding whether she used to grow strawberries in her garden and the speaker is explaining the reason for not doing so:

(178) *se `mǭ  ä'b  ūo  `sīepierāst se u'm*
DEM land NEG.3SG be.CNG.SG therefore DEM be.3SG
*täs u'm **seḷḷi** `jõugõmǭ. (.) midēgist jõvīst*
here.S be.3SG such sandful_land nothing well
ä'b `kazā,
NEG.3SG grow.CNG.SG
'this land is not for that this is here is **this kind of** sandy land (.) nothing grows well' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

See also (179), which illustrates the introductive function occurring with a proper name. In the example, Speaker no. 6 is naming the Livonians who went to study in Finland before World War II, introducing a supposedly new referent to the hearer with the proadjective:

(179) *un si'z `Zūonkõ  perī`mī'e-dõn vȯ'ḷ ē ka^h*
and then Zūonkõ.GEN owner-DAT.PL be.PST.3SG HESIT too
`tidār  **seḷḷi**  `Bärta. (0.5) se= ka `bro'utš-iz. (.)  `je'dspē'ḍin.
daughter such Bärta DEM too ride-PST.3SG away
'and then Zūonkõ's owners had um also a daughter **that [such]** Bärta (0.5) she also went (.) away' (AEDKL: F1089-05)

Much as with the nominal use of *seļļi*, the correlative function is also popular in adnominal use (54 examples). Here the content of the neighbouring or subordinate clause is defining the reference of *seļļi*, which may often appear as a cataphora in this function. See (180) for an example of the correlative use; the relative clause connector is underlined.

(180)   *ne*   *ne'i*   *või-ž*   *sa-`rõkāndõ*    *ē*       *perī`mī'e-kõks*   *ē* (0.5)
           3PL.S   so   may-PST.3SG   PRFX-talk.INF   HESIT   owner-INSTR   HESIT
           si'z   *se*   *`ānd-iz*       *si'z*       **seļļiz**        *ē*        *`mõpāika*
           then   3SG   give-PST.3SG   then   such.GEN   HESIT   land_place.GEN
           ne'ije'n   <u>*kus*</u>   *või-ž*   *sīe*   *kõrand*   *`tī'e-dõ.*
           so_much   where   may-PST.3SG   DEM.GEN   farm.GEN   make-INF
           'in this way they could come to an agreement um with the owner of the farm um (0.5) then he gave then **this kind of** um piece of land an amount where it was possible to build a house' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The other four functions of adnominal use appeared fewer than twenty times in the data: the discourse deictic use (11 examples), the anaphoric use (10 examples), and the least used exophoric function (three examples). The discourse deictic use and anaphoric use appeared almost equally often in the adnominal use data. The anaphoric use is similar to the anaphoric use of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, where a referent after introduction is expressed with a demonstrative. This is comparable to the definite article-like use (see Section 5.2.2.2), but different from *se* in this function, as *seļļi* only marks the definiteness of the type, but not of the token. See (181) for the discourse deictic use and (182) for the anaphoric use. In (181), the speaker is referring back to the narrative about mythological creatures called *ma'gī'edijizt* 'the stomach cutters' that she had previously talked about to the interviewers. In (182), the first reference to *kupšād* 'buyers' and the anaphoric use with *seļļi* can be seen.

(181)   *no*   *un*   *laps-õn*   *ju*   *vȯ'ļ*   *`irm*   *ku*
           PTCL   and   child-DAT   PTCL   be.PST.3SG   fear   when
           seļļiz-tõ-d   *ē* (0.5)   *`až-īdi*       *`kīt-iz*
           such-PART.L-PL   HESIT   thing-PART.PL   say-PST.3SG
           'well and children were of course scared when such um (0.5) things were told' (AEDKL: DS0119-07)

(182)   *si'z*   *vȯ'ļ-tõ*   *`kupšā-d.* (0.5)    *kis*       *ē*         *`võt-īz,* .hh
           then   be.PST-3PL   buyer-PL   who   HESIT   take-PST.3SG
           vȯ'ļ-t   *`Sãnagõ-l* .hh    *vȯ'ļ-tõ*       *`kakš*   *ē* (.)   **seļļiz-t**
           be.PST-3PL   Sãnag-ADE   be.PST-3PL   two   HESIT   such-PART.S
           ē   *`kupšõ,*
           HESIT   buyer.PART
           'and then there were buyers (0.5) who took [fish] .hh in Sãnag .hh there were two um (.) **such** um buyers ' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

Exophoric use appeared quite rarely. There were only three examples in the data of which two appeared while Speaker no. 3 and the interviewer were looking at photos taken of Livonians on the coast before World War II. See (183):

(183) *minā*   ***seḷḷiz-t***   *`bīldõ*   *tikkiž*   *ä'b*   *ūo*
     1SG.L   such-PART.S   picture.PART   at_all   NEG.1SG   be.CNG.SG
     {*`nãnd=õb.*}
     see.APP.SG-õb
     'I have not seen **such** picture at all' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

In conclusion, the introductive use can appear in adnominal use but not in nominal use. The correlative use was among the most frequent functions in adnominal use and appeared nearly as often as for the nominal examples.

Placeholding and self-repairs

There were eight examples of repetitions and one example of a self-repair of a corrected inflectional form of *seḷḷi* in the adnominal use examples. The pronoun is often extended in the repetition examples and is accompanied by hesitation markers or pauses. This indicates that the speaker has a problem with remembering a subsequent word or term; see (184):

(184) *ne*   *`sā'l*   *ātõ*   ***seḷḷiz-t***   *ē* (.)   ***seḷḷiz-t***   *ē*
     DEM.PL.S   there.S   be.3PL   such-PL   HESIT   such-PL   HESIT
     `vigā-d.* (1.0)       ***seḷḷiz-t*** (0.5)       *mm*       *s-* (.)       *ē*       *`sūo-d.
     vally-PL   such-PL   HESIT   s-   HESIT   swamp-PL
     'these there are **these kind of** um (.) **these kind of** um small vallies (1.0) **these kind of** (0.5) mm s- (.) um swamps' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

5.3.2. Coordinated proadjectives

In the data, there were only two examples of coordinated proadjectives which consisted of both the distance-neutral demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* and the distal demonstrative proadjective *tūoḷi*. Since *tūoḷi* did not occur separately in the data, these examples are also the only ones that show the distal demonstrative proadjective in the data. Similarly to the coordinated demonstrative pronoun *siedā-tuodā*, which consists of the same demonstrative stems, the coordinated proadjective examples also occurred only in the partitive case, but this time in the plural – in contrast to the singular *siedā-tuodā* (see Section 5.2.6.). This shows that the plural is instead preferred in the use of coordinated proadjectives. The coordinated proadjective *seḷḷiži-tūoḷiži* is referring to different kinds of types and qualities at the same time, in the same situation or contexts, avoiding concrete referents, but thereby making the coordinated proadjective less specific (Tomingas 2018: 251). See (185) for the use of coordinated proadjective:

(185) *no:*   *un*   *si'z*   ˋ*tegīž* (0.8)   *te'-i* (0.5)   **ˋ*seḻḻiž-i*=**
PTCL   and   then   again   make-PST.3SG   this_kind-PART.PL.L
ˋ*tūoḻiž-i* (0.5)   *e*   ˋ*a'ž-ḍi*   *miss-õks*   ˉ*või-ž*
that_kind-PART.PL   HESIT   things-PART.PL   what-INSTR   may-PST.3SG
kärm-iži   *ra'bbõ*   ˋ*mǭ'zõ.*
fly-PART.PL   beat.INF   down
'well and then again (0.8) [one] made (0.5) **different sorts of** (0.5) um things that [one] could swat flies with' (AEDKL: SUHK0443-02)

There were no self-repairs or repetitions with the coordinated proadjectives, but similarly to the coordinated demonstratives, both demonstrative parts of the phrase again were phonologically stressed. This was the same behaviour observed in the examples of coordinated demonstrative pronouns and probably is a way of helping to mark or distinguish the different types mentioned in the same expression.

5.4. Demonstrative proadverbs

5.4.1. Locative proadverbs

The semantic-pragmatic analysis of locative proadverbs is divided into two parts: 1) analysis of lexical semantic use and 2) analysis of pragmatic use. In the semantic use analysis, I show, which locative proadverbs in the data are used with an additional meaning compared to their original, primary meaning; for example, which originally static proadverbs are also used with a lative meaning by some speakers due to influence of the Latvian locative case, which can express both static and directional meanings (briefly mentioned in Section 4.3.1; see also Ernštreits & Kļava 2016: 80). In the pragmatic use analysis, I give an overview of the functions in which the locative proadverbs occur, e.g., exophoric use, anaphoric use, reference to general surroundings (more general than the exophoric pointing reference to a particular object, e.g., reference to a whole village, a country, etc.), correlative use, recognitional use, reactivation. In addition, stress and its possible influence on the long and short forms and the occurrences of repetitions and self-repairs are discussed.

5.4.1.1. Lative

Proximal forms

There were in total 27 examples of proximal lative proadverbs in the data. In addition to the forms *tānõ* and *tān* 'into here', which appear in lative use also in earlier grammars and dictionaries, the forms *sī'ḍõ*, *täsā*, *tässõ* and *täs* also appeared in lative use; however, these have earlier been described and translated as proximal static proadverbs. The form *sī'ḍ* is an uncertain case. Earlier, Kettunen (1938) had translated a similar form *sī'd* without palatalisation as a proximal lative proadverb meaning 'into here', but in Viitso & Ernštreits's

dictionary (2012) the form *sī'ḍ* is translated as a proximal static proadverb 'here'. Based on the data, it can be said that the forms *täs* (seven examples), *täsā* (four examples), *tässõ* (two examples), and possibly also *sī'ḍ* (six examples) have acquired an additional lative meaning along with their original use as proximal static proadverbs. See (186) for an example of the proadverb *täs* where the subsequent noun is in the illative case, which also shows that the speaker is actually targeting the lative meaning of the proadverb:

(186) *si'z*   *tuoiz:* (0.5)   `*kievād*, (1.0)      *mai`kū-s*   *meg*
     then   second.GEN   spring.GEN   May_month-INE   1PL.S
     sa-i-mi   **täs**   `*tā'giž.*
     get-PST-1PL   hither.S   back
     'then in the second (0.5) spring (1.0) in the month of May we got back **here [hither]**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Table 47 lists the forms of the proximal lative proadverbs in the data with their original and acquired meaning(s) if they also occurred with such a meaning:

Table 47. The original and acquired meanings of the lative proximal proadverbs

The form of the proadverb	Original meaning according to earlier sources (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	Acquired meaning in the data (if one occurred)
sī'ḍõ (long form)	'hither'	–
sī'ḍ (short form)	'here'	'hither'
tā̄nõ (long form)	'hither'	–
tā̄n (short form)	'hither'	–
täsā (long form)	'here'	'hither'
täs (short form)	'here'	'hither'

As the *si*-stemmed proximal lative proadverbs were used only by the speaker of the Īra dialect it is likely that these proadverbs are used only in the western dialect and Īra dialect area. The eastern dialect speakers used only *tä*-stemmed proximal lative proadverbs in the data.

    Among the functions, there were 26 examples where a proximal lative proadverb was referring to the general surroundings (e.g., the surrounding village, the surrounding area, the surrounding or nearby country) where a reference cannot be strictly classified as an exophoric reference as the context is more general and the referred location might not be visible. However, since the referenced place or area is physically surrounding or nearby, the speaker considers it proximal. See (187), where Speaker no. 1 is talking about moving to Kūolka (the village where the recording was made) from Īra after World War II:

(187) *tu'ļ̀-mi* (.)   *parāmstiz=*   **`sī'ḍ.** (.)    `*sī'ḍ*   *vȯ'ļ-ti:*   `*je'nnõ*
come.PST-1PL   better   hither.S   here.S   be.PST-3PL   a_lot
ne   *īranikā-d*.
DEM.PL.S   Īra_inhabitant-PL
'we came (.) **here [hither]** instead (.) here there were many of these Īra people'
(AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

There was also one exophoric example of pointing to a concrete surrounding object. In (188), the speaker is mentioning her guestbook that she also brings up later in the recording and asks the interviewers to write in there:

(188) *Alfon*   *u'm*   *nīžõ-n* $ ***tä̃nõ***   `*rǭntõ-ž* $
Alfon   be.3SG   tell-APP   hither.L   book-ILL
'Alfon has told a story **in this** book' (AEDKL: F0997-03)

With respect to the phonological stress of the long and short forms of the proximate locative proadverbs, while some of the proadverbs show either more stressed or unstressed use, some do not show a clear tendency towards being used more as phonologically stressed or unstressed. For example, the form *täs* shows only unstressed use in the data (eight examples), the form *tässõ* also occurs only as unstressed (two examples), while the *si*-stemmed forms appear mostly stressed in the data (six examples), although there is also one unstressed example. All other forms showed almost an equal number of stressed and unstressed examples. Thus, the stress is instead dependent on the speaker's choice and the context (e.g., exophoric or endophoric use, correlative use).

There were no examples of repetitions and only one of self-repair in the proximal lative proadverb data. The self-repair example shows that the speaker is hesitating between using the *tä*-stemmed and *si*-stemmed proximal lative proadverb and chooses the *si*-stemmed one. The example is from the Īra dialect speaker. Her language, however, may be influenced a bit by the eastern dialect in Kūolka where she moved later, though her speech mostly has the features of the Īra dialect. See (189) for the aforementioned self-repair:

(189) *si'z*   `*meg*    *tu'ļ-mi*      `*tǟ-*   **`sī'ḍ.**
then   1PL.S   come.PST-1PL   tä-   hither.S
'then we came he- **here [hither]**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Thus, based on the data, proximal lative proadverbs are not used as filler words for planning upcoming speech and do not cause many problems or self-repairs in the interaction.

Distal forms

In total, there are 49 examples of lative distal proadverbs in the data. Similarly to the proximal lative proadverbs, these examples also include forms originally considered to be distal static proadverbs but which have acquired an additional lative meaning in some speakers' language due to possible Latvian influence. The forms *sī'ņõz* and *sīņõ* also had a distal lative meaning in earlier dictionaries and did not have any additional meaning. The form *sīņ* is interesting for having both a distal lative and proximal static meaning according to Kettunen (1938: 371), but in the data it occurred only as a distal lative proadverb. The form *sā'l* is originally a distal static proadverb, but according to the data it has also acquired a distal lative meaning in some speakers' language. Table 48 lists the forms with their original and acquired meaning(s).

Table 48. Original and acquired meanings of the lative distal proadverbs

The form of the proadverb	Original meaning according to earlier sources (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861b, Kettunen 1938, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012)	Acquired meaning in the data (if one occurred)
sī'ņõz (long form)	'thither'	–
sī'ņõ (long form)	'thither'	–
sīņ (short form)	'thither', 'here'	–
sā'l (short form)	'there'	'thither'

See (190), for an example of the form *sā'l*, which has acquired a distal lative meaning in some speakers' language in addition to its distal static meaning:

(190) *se   u'm   mingizt* (.)   *je'mbit   ku   ˋkakškimdõ::   ˋverštõ,* (.)
        DEM   be.3SG   some   more   than   twenty   verst.PART
        ē   ˋĪra-st. (0.5) .hh   *lek-š-mõ   ˋsā'l   jelā-m.*
        HESIT   Īra-ELA   go-PST-1PL   there.S   live-SUP
        'it is some (.) more than twenty versts (.) um from Īra (0.5) .hh we went to live **there [thither]**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

The following types of functions occurred in the distal lative proadverb data: the exophoric use, anaphoric use, correlative use, recognitional use, reactivation, and unspecific use (the speaker is giving an example where a certain reference cannot be distinguished, see also the similar general use with the 1st person singular pronouns *minā*, *ma* in Section 5.1.1). References to general surroundings were missing, as distal proadverbs are not used for referring to closer or surrounding locations. Table 49 shows the functions and their number of occurrences in the data.

Table 49. Functions of the lative distal proadverbs in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	1
Referring to general surroundings	0
Anaphoric use	**30**
Cataphoric use	5
Correlative use	3
Recognitional use	4
Reactivation	4
Unspecific use	2

Many of the pragmatic types occurring in the examples of lative distal proadverb are similar to the demonstrative pronoun *se* adnominal use examples (explained in Section 5.2.2). The most common was anaphoric use with 30 examples. Other types occurred fewer than 10 times in the data. New types included the cataphoric use (five examples) and unspecific use (two examples). The cataphoric use differs from the correlative use, because in the correlative use, the reference made with the proadverb is connected to a longer clause, while in the cataphoric use, the proadverb refers to a shorter phrase occurring after the proadverb; see (191):

(191) *ro'vzt*   *`urgõ-nd*        *`sīņõz,* (1.2)   *sī'e-zõ*   *`sūo-zõ.*
       people   flee-APP.PL   thither.L   DEM-ILL.L   swamp-ILL
       'people fled **there [thither]** (1.2) to this swamp' (AEDKL: SUHK0433-01)

Unspecific use appeared with examples where the speaker was actually not referring to a particular location or a direction, but just giving a language example to the interviewer, so no particular referent could be identified; see (192):

(192) *ta*   *jūokš-iz* (0.5)   *`ädā-l*          *`sīņõ.* (.)   *se*   *u'm*
       3SG.S   run-PST.3SG   trouble-ADE   thither.L   DEM   be.3SG
       seļļiz (.)   *sūr*   *`ruoikõmiz-õks*   *ta*   *jūokš-iz.*
       such.GEN   big.GEN   rushing-INSTR   3SG.S   run-PST.3SG
       's/he ran (0.5) **there [thither]** with a rush (.) it is with such (.) big rush s/he ran'
       (AEDKL: SUHK0442-03)

Similarly to the proximal lative proadverbs, the phonologically stressed and unstressed uses were divided rather equally among most of the forms; however, the short forms *sīņ* (five examples) and *sā'l* (eight examples) did mostly occur in unstressed use with one and two stressed examples, respectively. Similarly to the proximal lative proadverbs, the short forms tended to be more often unstressed, but the stress seems to be dependent instead on language choices and surrounding context (e.g., in the exophoric or correlative uses, the proadverb is more likely to be phonologically stressed in order to mark the physical pointing or the main word next to the subordinate clause, etc.).

No examples of repetitions occurred in the data; however, there was one case of self-repair where the lative distal pronoun was reformulated with the illative form of the demonstrative pronoun *se*. See (193) for this example of reformulation:

(193) sǭ-b   nus-tõd   `i'ḷḷõ   nu (0.5) ((whistles))   kas   või
     get-3SG   raise-PPP   up   PTCL   PTCL   PTCL
     `vi'ed-st-õst    sā̀'l (.)    `sīņõz (0.5)   `sī'e-z   ē (2.5)
     water-ELA-ELA   there.S   thither.L   DEM-ILL.S   HESIT
     mis=   ta=   ni   `võ'ḷ   sā̀'l   se
     what   3SG.S   now   be.PST.3SG   there.S   DEM
     'it gets raised up well (0.5) even from the water there (.) **there [thither]** (0.5) to this um (2.5) what was it now there this' (AEDKL: SUHK0440-01)

5.4.1.2. Static

Proximal forms

There were in total 174 examples of proximal static proadverbs in the data with the forms *sī'ḍš, sī'ḍ, sī'd, täsā, tässõ*, and *täs*. The proadverbs *sī'ḍ*, *täsā*, *tässõ*, and *täs* have in addition to their original proximal static use also acquired a proximal lative use in some speakers' data, which was already shown in the discussion about the lative use in Section 5.4.1.1. Thus, the tendency is for some proximal static proadverbs to also become proximal lative proadverbs due to the influence of the Latvian locative case on speakers.

    The following types of functions occurred in the proximal static proadverb data: the exophoric use, reference to general surroundings, the anaphoric use, cataphoric use, recognitional use, and reactivation of a referent which had previously appeared. The unspecific use was missing. Table 50 lists their number of occurrences in the data.

Table 50. Functions of the static proximal proadverbs in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	29
Referring to general surroundings	**138**
Anaphoric use	2
Cataphoric use	2
Recognitional use	1
Reactivation	2
Unspecific use	0

The most used functions of the proximal static proadverbs were referring to the general surroundings and the exophoric use, other functions appeared only a couple of times or once in the data. That is, however, expected as proximal entities are mostly also physically closer to the speaker and do not require that much explanation for the interlocutor; pointing or referring to the nearby surroundings

is more common instead. See (194) and (195), respectively, for examples of reference to general surroundings and exophoric pointing.

(194) *mi'nn-õn*   *`pūoga*    *ki'l*    *`jelā-b*   **sī'ḍš**.
1SG-DAT.L   son   PTCL   live-3SG   here.S
'my son however lives **here**' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

(195) *se*   *`rõntõz*    *u'm*    *pigātagā*    *`täuž.* (.) .hh   *un*   **`täs**
DEM   book   be.3SG   almost   full   and   here.S
u'm   *`pe'rri*    *ē*    *`lē'ḍ*.
be.3SG   last   HESIT   page
'this book is almost full (.) .hh and **here** is the last page' (AEDKL: F1035-05)

The form *sīn* is the only *si*-stemmed locative proadverb in the data that is also used by some Eastern dialect speakers, not just by the Īra dialect speaker. This form seems to have a more specific reference context than other proximal static proadverbs, as it may refer to a particular location more specifically with the meaning 'right here', instead of the more general and variously interpretable 'here'. This may also be the reason why some of the Eastern dialect speakers occasionally also use the form *sīn* in addition to *tä*-stemmed proximal static proadverbs. In (196), Speaker no. 3 uses the form *sīn* to describe a particular point in the river near her house:

(196) **sīn**   *ī'd-s*   *`kūožõ-s*    *u'm*    *seḻḻi*    *e::m*    *`se:* .hh,
here   one-INE   place-INE   be.3SG   such   HESIT   DEM
ä'b   *`ūo*    *ā̄* (0.5)    *ne'i*    *`tõvā*   *vä'ggõ*.
NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG   HESIT   so   deep   very
'**here** in one place there is this kind of um this .hh it is not um (0.5) so deep' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

With respect to phonological stress, there are some forms, which stand out and occur mostly in stressed use. The forms *sī'ḍ* (seven examples), *sī'd* (three examples), *sī'ḍš* (six examples), and *tässõ* (18 examples) occur mostly phonologically stressed and have only one or a couple of unstressed examples. The form *sīn* (four examples) occurs only as unstressed. However, as there are only a few examples in the data of the aforementioned forms, this may not be representative of their general tendency and, therefore, should be further researched. The other forms – *täsā* (41 examples) and *täs* (95 examples) – show both stressed and unstressed examples, although the unstressed use is a bit more common.

There were only two examples of repetition and one of self-repair in the data, showing that proximal static proadverbs are also not commonly connected with self-repair mechanisms or used as filler words. In the self-repair example (197), Speaker no. 1 is substituting the proximal static proadverb with a distal static proadverb and is referring to her original home village Īra while living in Kūolka:

(197) *ku*   *meg*   *je- jel-ī-mõz*   **`sī'ḍ**, (.)   *sā'l*      `*Īra-s*
  when   1PL.S   je-live-PST-1PL   here.S   there.S   Īra-INE
  si'z   `*ne'ije'nnõ*      *i'z*      `*broutšõ-t*   *ne=*
  then   so_much   NEG.PST.3SG   ride.CNG-3PL   DEM.PL.S
  ne:, (.)   *e=*   *ne:* (.)   `*kuoṛṛijiz-t.*
  DEM.PL.S   HESIT   DEM.PL.S   gatherer-PL
  'when we li- lived **here** (.) there in Īra then these these (.) um these gatherers did not come that much' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

Distal forms

There are in total 306 examples of static distal proadverbs in the data, which is the largest number of examples of locative proadverbs. The distal static pro-adverbs appeared in four different forms: *sā'lõz, sā'lõ, sā'l*, and *sīel*. The form *sā'l* was also used as a distal lative proadverb by some of the speakers and this lative use was described in Section 5.4.1.1. None of the other distal static pro-adverbs showed any additionally acquired meanings in the data.

The functions, which appeared in the examples can be divided into the following groups: the exophoric use, anaphoric use, cataphoric use, correlative use, recognitional use, and unspecific use, where a reference to a certain location could not be detected (mentioned also in Section 5.4.1.1). Reference to general surroundings and reactivation did not occur. The number of occurrences of these functions is listed in Table 51.

Table 51. Functions of the static distal proadverbs in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	9
Referring to general surroundings	0
Anaphoric use	**217**
Cataphoric use	32
Correlative use	30
Recognitional use	13
Reactivation	0
Unspecific use	5

Similarly to distal lative proadverbs, the most common function of distal static proadverbs is the anaphoric use (217 examples), where a reference is made to an already mentioned entity; see (198):

(198) *un*   `*si'z*      `*tān-da*   *vȯ'ḷ*   `*vī-mist*      `*jālgabõ.* (1.2)
  and   then   3SG-PART   be.PST.3SG   take-DEB   town.ILL
  `**sā'l**. (0.5)      `**sā'l**   *ne*   `*tān-da*      `*āṛšt-iz-ti.*
  there.S   there.S   3PL.S   3PL-PART   cure-PST-3PL
  'and then he had to be taken to the town (1.2) **there** (0.5) **there** they cured him' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

The cataphoric (32 examples) and correlative functions (30 examples) were the next most common. As also mentioned in Section 5.4.1.1, the cataphoric use differs from the correlative use, as the reference is made to a shorter subsequent phrase, not to a full clause, e.g., as in (199):

(199) *ja*   *si'z*   **`sā̀'lõz,** (0.8)    *sīe*              *ūrga-n-`aigā-s*, (.)
       and   then   there.L   DEM.GEN   creek-GEN-side-INE
       vȯ'ḷ (0.8)   **`pur-dõd** (1.0)    *nē-ḍi*            **`pū-ḍi,**
       be.PST.3SG   dash-PPP   DEM-PART.PL   trees-PART.PL
       'and then **there** (0.8) at this creek (.) someone had (0.8) dashed (1.0) these trees'
       (AEDKL: SUHK0431-01)

Other functions – the recognitional use (13 examples), exophoric use (nine examples), and unspecific use (five examples) – appeared fewer than 20 times in the data. See (200) for an example of the unspecific use, where Speaker no. 2 is saying that she had trouble remembering the word 'tradition' in Livonian. The use of the proadverb *sā̀'l* 'here' is similar to the existential construction in English, e.g., *there is*.

(200) *k-*   **`kui**     *si'z*      *se*       **`tradītsij**   *u'm*   **`līvõ=**
       k-   how   then   DEM   tradition   be.3SG   Livonian
       kīel-kõks. .hh   *ma*   *mit*   *ä'b*   **`tiedā.** (0.5) **sā̀'l**
       language-INSTR   1SG.S   not   NEG.1SG   know.CNG.SG   there.S
       vȯ'ḷ   *seḷḷi*   **`sõnā**
       be.PST.3SG   such   word
       'h- how then this tradition is in Livonian .hh I really do not know (0.5) **there** was such a word' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

With respect to phonological stress, the long forms *sā̀'lõz* and *sā̀'lõ* show almost an equal number of unstressed and stressed examples. The short form *sā̀'l* has more unstressed (174 examples) than phonologically stressed examples (110 examples). The only example of the form *sīel* in the expanded corpus was unstressed. Therefore, there is again no restriction on using the long or short forms only as stressed or unstressed, but the short forms tend to be unstressed more often.

There were in total nine examples of repetitions and two examples of self-repairs in the examples of distal static proadverbs, showing that these proadverbs occur instead as filler words for planning subsequent speech. Also, hesitation markers, such as *ē* or *ā̄*, often occurred alongside these proadverbs; see (201):

(201) *n-*   *no*:: (.)   **`sā̀'l**    *ē* (.)    **`sā̀'l**   *vȯ'ḷ*   **`motōrlȭja.**
       n-   PTCL   there.S   HESIT   there.S   be.PST.3SG   motorboat
       'w- well (.) **there** um (.) **there** was a motorboat' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

5.4.1.3. Separative

Proximal forms

With only nine examples, proximal separative proadverbs were among the rarest examples in the locative proadverb data. These appeared in four different forms: *tästā*, *tästõ*, *sī'ḍštõ*, and *sī'ḍšt*, of which the *si*-stemmed forms were again used only by the Īra dialect speaker. These forms did not have any additional acquired meanings aside from their original proximal separative use in the data.

The following functions could be identified in the examples: the exophoric use, anaphoric use, cataphoric use, and reference to general surroundings (see also Sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2 for the same function) where a reference is made to a physically surrounding area but the reference is, however, more general than exophoric pointing. The examples of the recognitional and unspecific use were missing, reactivation also did not occur. Table 52 shows the number of occurrences of the mentioned functions.

Table 52. Functions of the separative proximal proadverbs in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	1
Referring to general surroundings	**5**
Anaphoric use	1
Cataphoric use	2
Recognitional use	0
Reactivation	0
Unspecific use	0

The most common function was referring to general surroundings, similarly to the other proximal proadverbs. See (202), where Speaker no. 3 had been asked about a military base that could be heard nearby:

(202) ō   ne   `suodāmī'e-d   ä'b   ūo-tõ   **tästā**
       oh   DEM.PL.S   soldier-PL   NEG.3PL   be.CNG-3PL   from_here.L
       `kougõn. (.)    nän-tõn          u'm        `kamp.
       far   3PL/DEM-DAT.PL   be.3SG   camp
       'oh these soldiers are not far **from here** (.) they have a camp' (AEDKL: DS0128-01)

The exophoric and anaphoric uses both had only one example and the cataphoric use had two examples in the data. As there was a small number of proximal separative proadverb examples in general, this study could be further expanded in the future by also considering phonological stress. The *si*-stemmed forms *sī'ḍštõ* (two examples) and *sī'ḍšt* (one examples) and the form *tästõ* (two examples) – likely influenced by the elative case ending *-stõ* – only occurred as phonologically stressed in the data. That is similar to their corresponding forms in proximal static use, which also appeared mostly stressed. The form *tästā* (four

examples), however, showed both stressed and unstressed use with both occurring twice in the data.

There was one example of repetition and no examples of self-repair in proximal separative use. The repetition appeared with the form *sī'd̦štõ*; see (203), where Speaker no. 1 is using this form while having trouble remembering the next word.

(203) | *ku* | *ta* | **`sī'd̦štõ** (.) | **`sī'd̦štõ** | *nu,* (0.5) | `*i'z* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | 3SG.S | from_here.L | from_here.L | PTCL | NEG.PST.3SG |

ē (3.5)   `*i'z*
HESIT   NEG.PST.3SG

'when it could not **from here** (.) **from here** well (0.5) could not um (3.5) could'
(AEDKL: SUHK05010-01)

Distal forms

There were 11 examples of distal separative proadverbs in the data, which had three different forms: *sā'ldõst, sā'ldõ,* and *sā'ld*. All of these appeared in their original distal separative meaning and had not acquired an additional meaning in the data.

The functions of their use could be divided into the following groups: the anaphoric use, correlative use, and recognitional use. There were no exophoric examples this time, and also no larger situation (general surrounding) uses, as distal forms do not usually refer to nearby surroundings. Also, there were no examples of the cataphoric or unspecific uses or reactivation. The number of occurrences of these is listed in Table 53.

Table 53. Functions of the separative distal proadverbs in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Exophoric use	0
Referring to general surroundings	0
Anaphoric use	**8**
Correlative use	2
Recognitional use	1
Reactivation	0
Unspecific use	0

Much as other distal proadverbs, the anaphoric use again occurred the most often (eight examples). In addition, there were two examples of the correlative use where the reference of the proadverb was connected to a neighbouring clause, and one example of the recognitional use where the proadverb was used as a determiner with a noun. (55) in Section 4.3.1.3 shows the recognitional use of this form.

Most of the distal separative proadverb examples were phonologically stressed in the data. There was only one example of the form *sā'ldõ* and one example

of the form *sā'ld* that were unstressed. The form *sā'ldõst* had only two examples and occurred only as stressed. However, as the number of all the distal separative examples is not large, the stressed and unstressed uses of the long and short forms should be further researched.

There was one self-repair in the data and no examples of repetitions. In the self-repair example, the speaker substituted the separative form with the static form and then changed it back to the separative form again, showing that the speaker is doubting which form to use; see (204):

(204) *vȯ'ļ*　　　　*bro'utšõ-mõst*　　`*Stendõ* (.) .hh　　*un*　　**`*sā̀'ld***
　　　be.PST.3SG　　ride-DEB　　　　Stend.ILL　　　　and　　　from_there.S
　　　tu'ļļi　　　　*ē*　　　`*sā'l*　　*tu'ļ*　　　　　*ē* (0.5)　　*no`jah*
　　　come.PST.3SG　　HESIT　　there.S　　come.PST.3SG　　HESIT　　　PTCL
　　　**`*sā̀'ld***　　　　*tu'ļ*　　　　　`*sūr=*　　*bõ̯n*
　　　from_there.S　　come.PST.3SG　　big　　　train
　　　'[one] had to go to Stend [Latv Stende] (.) .hh and **from there** came um there came um (0.5) well **from there** came the big train' (AEDKL: DS0119-01)

5.4.2. Manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs

Proadverbs other than locative proadverbs are analysed in the following section on manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs. The manner-indicating pro-adverbs that occurred in the data are *ne'i, nä'i* 'so' and the temporal proadverbs are *ni* 'now' and *si'z* 'then'. Both manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs share the characteristic that in addition to their initial, adverbial meaning they also have many pragmatic uses as discourse particles in the spoken language data. Proadverbs are one of the most common words to grammaticalise into particles (see, e.g., Hennoste 2000). Therefore there are also many examples of, e.g., text particles (bordering or finishing a certain part of the text or starting a new topic), tonal particles (giving additional stress to a certain word or phrase), concluding particles (explaining or concluding something), intensifiers, approximatives, etc. (see Tomingas 2022a as the basis for the classification of Livonian discourse particles). Some of the reference functions that were present in the classification of pronoun functions, e.g., the anaphoric, cataphoric, and correlative function, are excluded from the main classification for the sake of simplifying the classi-fication, as these functions are not always so clearly distinguishable for pro-adverbs and mostly do not occur in more pragmatic particle-like use. Thus, it is more efficient to classify the manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs according to their proadverbial or particle use. However, correlative, exophoric, etc. examples are occasionally mentioned within the general analysis where possible.

In the following sections, I analyse the functions of the manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs, focusing both on examples of their main adverbial use as well as different functions as discourse particles. The phonological stress is very variable for these proadverbs, often helping to distinguish their adverbial and particle-like uses. These particles are mostly unstressed; however, there are also

some examples of the opposite. Therefore, the use of phonological stress is not discussed in this section as a point of its own but is occasionally mentioned while discussing the different functions. Subsequently, a brief overview of the practical pragmatic use of the repetitions and self-repairs is also given.

5.4.2.1. *Ne'i, nä'i*

There were in total 484 examples of *ne'i*, 11 examples of *nä'i* and one example of *ne'ig* in the data, which is probably a merged or accidental form, as there were no other occurrences of this form in the data. Thus, based on the data, the forms *ne'i* and *nä'i* are considered to be the main forms of the manner-indicating pro-adverb, as they appeared more than once. For the manner-indicating proadverbs *ne'i* and *nä'i*, two main types of uses – as adverbials and as discourse particles – could be distinguished. As briefly mentioned above, however, some of the examples also stand on the border between an adverb and a particle. For example, the degree-showing use of *ne'i*, e.g., *ne'i tõvā* 'so deep', could be classified both as an adverbial or an intensifying particle (Tomingas 2022a: 102, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 206, see also about Estonian *nii* Hennoste 2000: 1800). In the analysis, I distinguish three adverbial use functions based on König & Umbach's (2018) typological classification of manner, quality, and degree, see also examples of these in Section 3.1.5. In addition, the following discourse particle functions appeared: bordering, concluding, narrative connecting, tonal, approximative, and editing. The number of occurrences of these types are presented in Table 54 and Figure 24.

Table 54. Functions of the proadverb *ne'i*, *nä'i* in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Manner	**321**
Quality	5
Degree	**89**
Bordering particle	4
Concluding particle	22
Narrative connector	19
Tonal particle	16
Approximative particle	16
Editing particle	4
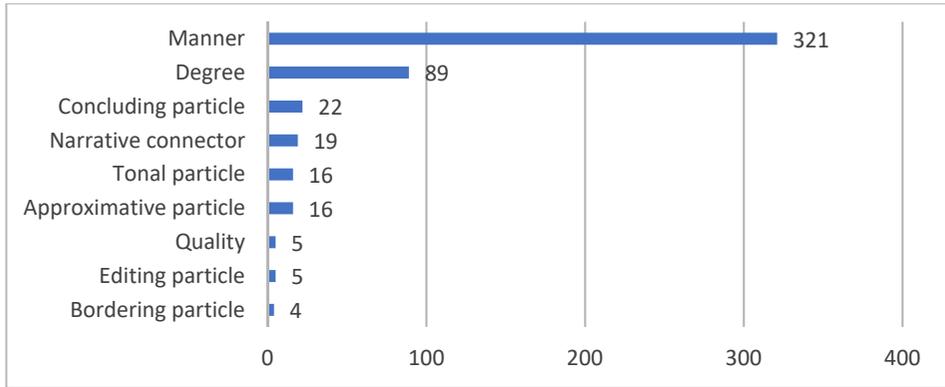
Figure 24. Functions of the proadverb *ne'i, nä'i* in the data

The most frequent function in the data is clearly the use as a manner-indicating proadverb, which shows the manner or way of doing something (321 examples). Mostly, *ne'i* and *nä'i* are phonologically stressed in this use, but not always. In the manner-indicating use, the correlative and discourse-deictic referring strategies occur most, which may be both anaphoric and cataphoric, e.g., the proadverb can mark the subsequent direct speech; see example (205):

(205) *pūoga   kīt-iz   `**ne'i**=     bet      `mi'n- (0.5)   ma   `lā'-b.*
      son   say-PST.3SG   so   but   1SG.GEN/DAT.S   1SG.S   go-1SG
      'the son said **so** "but me (0.5) I will go"' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

See also (206), where *ne'i* is unstressed and is referring to the manner and (207) for an example of the manner-indicating use of *nä'i*:

(206) *agā   `paššõ-s        un       **ne'i**     `dokument-iš, .hh   u'm   `kēra-tõd*
      but   passport-INE   and   so   document-INE.PL   be.3SG   write-PPP
      ku   ma   u'm   `sindõ-n .hh     ē         Va'id`-kilā-s
      that   1SG.S   be.1SG   be_born-APP   HESIT   Vaid-village-INE
      'but in the passport and **[like] so** in the documents .hh it is written that I was born .hh um in Vaid village' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

(207) ***nä'i**   meg   ūo-mõ   `je'llõ-nd.*
      so   1PL.S   be-1PL   live-APP.PL
      '**so** we have lived' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

There was also one exophoric manner-indicating example when the speaker was explaining the direction of the compass to the interviewer, see example (208):

(208) *ē   kompas-sõ   `je'ds     si'z      pīlõ-b        `**ne'i**. (0.5)*
      HESIT   compass-INE   front   then   stand-3SG   so
      sīe   `pūol        `nägţõ-b.
      DEM.GEN   half.GEN   show-3SG
      'um in the compass in front then [it] stands **[like] so** (0.5) this side shows' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The next most common use – with 89 examples – was indicating the degree of something. In some cases, the use as a degree marker is on the border of a grade particle, as it indicates the intensity of something. However, in some of the examples, the proadverb is more connected to a neighbouring clause, showing more of a correlative relation, as in (209); the connective element is underlined:

(209)	ku=	ta	lek-š	vī'dõ-z	`klassõ-z,	.hh	si'z	ta
when	3SG.S	go-PST.3SG	fifth-ILL	class-ILL		then	3SG.S
ne'i	`jõvīst	ē	`op-īz, (.) .hh	<u>ku</u>	`amā-d	`vīžnikā-d
so	well	HESIT	study- PST.3SG	that	all-PL	five-PL

'when she went to fifth grade .hh then she um studied so well (.) .hh that all [her grades] were "fives"' (AEDKL: F1035-01)

The concluding particle use appeared 22 times and was used with the meaning 'so, therefore' in the data (see also Tomingas 2022a: 101–102), explaining or concluding the circumstances laid out earlier in the text; see (210):

(210)	`vīžtuoistõnõ-s	`āigastõ-s	sa-i-mi	`ulz=	a'j-tõd. (0.8)
fifteenth-INE	year-INE	get-PST-1PL	out	throw-PPP
ne'i	vó'ḷ	`eṇtš-õn	vótšõ-mist,	ē:	`eṇtš-õn
so	be.PST.3SG	self-DAT	look_for-DEB	HESIT	self-DAT
vótšõ-mist	kis	sīn-da	vī-b	`je'dspē'ḍi.
look_for-DEB	who	2SG-PART	take-3SG	away

'in 1915 we were thrown out (0.8) **so** one had to look one had to look who takes you away' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

The narrative connector function appeared 19 times. The proadverb occurs at the beginning of a clause in this case and may often be paired with other connective particles such as *un* 'and', *ja* 'and', *no* 'well', *si'z* 'then', but may also occur without them. See (211) for an example of the narrative connecting use:

(211)	ja	si'z	**ne'i**	`pi'errõ .hh	ē	`si'z	ē (0.5)	ē .hh hh
and	then	so	later	HESIT	then	HESIT	HESIT
ē	ku	**ne'i**	tu'ḷ	se	`krīevāiga	
HESIT	when	so	come.PST.3SG	DEM	Russian_time	

'and then so later .hh um then um (0.5) um .hh hh um when there so came this Russian time' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

Both tonal and approximative particle use appeared 16 times in the data. The first gives a certain tone or stress to a certain part of a phrase but is, however, itself phonologically unstressed. The approximative particle shows approximate or indefinite time, the amount or number of something of which the speaker is not entirely sure. See (212) and (213), respectively, for examples of the tonal and approximative uses (see also Tomingas 2022a: 102):

(212) *ma*   *kīt-iz*   `Mīl,* (0.5)   *sa*   ***ne'i***   *või-d*   *tūl-da*
       1SG.S   say-PST.1SG   Mīl   2SG.S   so   may-2SG   come-INF
       ne'i   *ē*   *eṇtš*   `ī'ž*      *eṇtš*    *läpš-i*              `kazātõ-m*
       so   HESIT   self.GEN   self   self.GEN child-PART.PL   raise-SUP
       'I said Mīl (0.5) you **so** may come **so** um you're your own children to raise'
       (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

(213) `ãrkiḷ*   *vȯ'ḷ*   ***ne'i*** (0.5)   *mingiz*   *nēḷakimdõ* (1.2)
       dormer   be.PST.3SG   so   some   forty
       `tsentimētõr-t*        `pitkā*   *vȯ'ḷ.*
       centimetre-PART   long   be.PST.3SG
       'the dormer was **so** (0.5) some forty centimetres long it was' (AEDKL:
       SUHK0431-01)

The other three functions – quality, the editing particle and bordering particle
uses – were rarer, appearing fewer than 10 times in the data. The editing particle
use had four examples and these referred to objects or activities similar in type to
ones which had been previously mentioned, indicating that the speaker has
problems in finishing the clause, or could still add an additional specifying
information (for the same use with the Estonian particle *nii*, see Hennoste 2000:
1800). The bordering particle is finishing a topic or starting a new one, marking
the border between particular portions of text (Tomingas 2022a: 101; for Estonian
nii, see Keevallik 2005: 118–119). See (177) in Section 5.3.1.1 for an example of
the editing particle use of *ne'i* and (214) for an example of the bordering use. In
(214), the speaker is finishing one topic – whether children in one family can be
similar to each other, then adds *ne'i*, which functions as a bordering particle and
marks the beginning of the new topic about her guestbook:

(214) `nã*     *un*     *un*    `ātõ*   *ka*   `ī'tiz-t.* (0.5)   `**ne'i**.* .hh   *se*
       yes   and   and   be.3PL   too   similar-PL   so   DEM
       `rõntõz*      *u'm*       *pigātagā*      `täuž.*
       book   be.3SG   almost   full
       'yes and and [kids] may be also similar (0.5) **so** .hh this book is almost full'
       (AEDKL: F1035-03)

There were 15 cases of repetition with the form *ne'i*, the other form *nä'i* was not
used in repetitions. There were no robust examples of self-repairs where a form
would have been substituted aside from in the editing use function discussed
above. The repetition examples appeared a couple of times right after each other,
but mostly along with hesitation markers and pauses; see (215):

(215) *agā*   *si'z*   *ju*   `**ne'i**,* (.)   `**ne'i**   *briesmīgi*   *i'z=*
       but   then   PTCL   so   so   awfully   NEG.PST.3SG
       `jūo-t.*
       drink.CNG-3PL
       'but back then [people] did not drink **so** (.) **so** awfully' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

5.4.2.2. *Ni*

In the data, there were in total 95 examples of the temporal proadverb *ni* and two examples of its aspirated form *ni^h*. Also, this proadverb appeared both in its main function as a temporal proadverb with the meaning 'now' and as a discourse particle; however, in most of the instances of particle-like use, the proadverb is interpretable in various ways or included more than one semantic-pragmatic function at a time (e.g., the temporal use and narrative connector use); such cases are grouped under the narrative connector use, as the temporal reference is not entirely clear in these. The number of occurrences of the of *ni* are listed in Table 55.

Table 55. Functions of the proadverb *ni* in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Temporal use	**54**
Narrative connector	38
Tonal particle	5

Its most frequent function was use as a temporal proadverb where the speaker is referring to currently ongoing time or ongoing time in a narrative and its meaning is purely temporal. See (216), where Speaker no. 1 is talking about the arrival of the Messiah:

(216) `*ikškõrd*`   `*ta*`   `*tu'ļ*`   `*ku*`   `*ta*`   `*ku*`   `*ta*`
      once   3SG.S   come.PST.3SG   when   3SG.S   when   3SG.S
      `*sīnd-iz,* (1.0)`   `*tūoiz-ta*`   `*kõrda*`   `*tulū-b,* (.)`   `***ni****. (0.5)*`
      be_born-PST.3SG   second-PART   time.PART   come-3SG   now
      paļdīž.
      currently
      'once he came when he when he was born (1.0) for the second time [he] comes (.) **now** (0.5) currently' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

Among the narrative connector use examples, a temporal interpretation was also possible. In addition, *ni* and *ni^h* appeared in a context and positions where they could also be interpreted as clausal connectors showing the order and/or relationship of the actions. In (217), Speaker no. 5 is talking about how his family's boat went missing during a storm and it was announced on the radio that the boat appeared on an island nearby. The speaker is using the proadverb *ni* to mark the order of the events, connect the narrative, and bring the conclusions into focus:

(217) ja   `**ni**=    vȯ'ļ        ē          lē'-mõst     ē (.)        `vaṇțlõ-m. (0.5)
     and   now   be. PST.3SG   HESIT   go-DEB   HESIT   look-SUP
     .hh **ni**   `mēg      ē         sie-dā       `mõtl-īz-õm   ku
     now   1PL.L   HESIT   DEM-PART   think-PST-1PL   that
     {se=   ju}   `mä'd       lõja        `lī-b.
     DEM   PTCL   1PL.GEN   boat   will_be-3SG
     '[in the post office there was (.) um a radio and there um the post office clerk had
     heard that it was said .hh] and **now** we had um to go um (.) to look (0.5) **now** we
     um thought that this will be our boat' (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

The tonal particle use occurred five times in the data and was not a reference to a
temporal event but was stressing a certain part of the clause. See (218), where
Speaker no. 1 has trouble remembering the name of a person she wants to talk
about, stressing the word *kui* 'how' with the particle *ni*:

(218) si'z   vȯ'ļ   ka   `se^h (1.0) .hh hhhh   kui=   **ni**
     then   be.PST.3SG   too   DEM   how   PTCL
     tǟn-da   sā-b   `nuttõ.
     3SG-PART   may-3SG   call.INF
     'then there was also this (1.0) .hh hhhh how may he be called **now**' (AEDKL:
     SUHK0506-02)

There were five examples of repetitions with the form *ni* and no self-repair
examples in the data. Mostly there is a pause between repetitions, showing the
planning of speech and the problems with remembering or continuing with the
following word. There was also an example where *ni* was repeated three times in
a row where the speaker may just have stumbled; see (219):

(219) `si'z     ä'b        pa'n          `tǟ'dõl   si'z   `amā   u'm
     then   NEG.3SG   put.CNG.SG   attention   then   all   be.3SG
     `jõvā. .hh       agā        mm:         `paldīž   **ni**   **ni**   **ni**
     good   but   HESIT   currently   now   now   now
     ne   amā-d   attõ
     DEM.PL.S   all-PL   be.3PL
     'then [as a kid] one does not notice then everything is good .hh but mm at the
     moment **now now now** these all [things] are' (AEDKL: F1035-03)

5.4.2.3. *Si'z*

There were 942 examples of the temporal proadverb *si'z* and two examples of the
merged form *s-* – in total 944 examples, which is the largest number of examples
that any of the researched pro-forms has had in the data. Also, *si'z* can be used as
an adverb (e.g., referring to time and also the condition or circumstances of
actions in the correlative use) and as a particle, narrative connector, bordering
particle, additive particle, tonal particle, and concluding particle (most of these
particle functions of *si'z* are also discussed in Tomingas 2022a). The narrative
connector and additive particle are both connective elements and could also be

called sequential particles. The number of occurrences of these functions is listed in Table 56 and Figure 25.

Table 56. Functions of the proadverb *si'z* in the data

Function	Number of occurrences
Reference to time, conditions, or circumstances	**415**
Narrative connector	**378**
Bordering particle	7
Additive particle	31
Tonal particle	61
Concluding particle	52
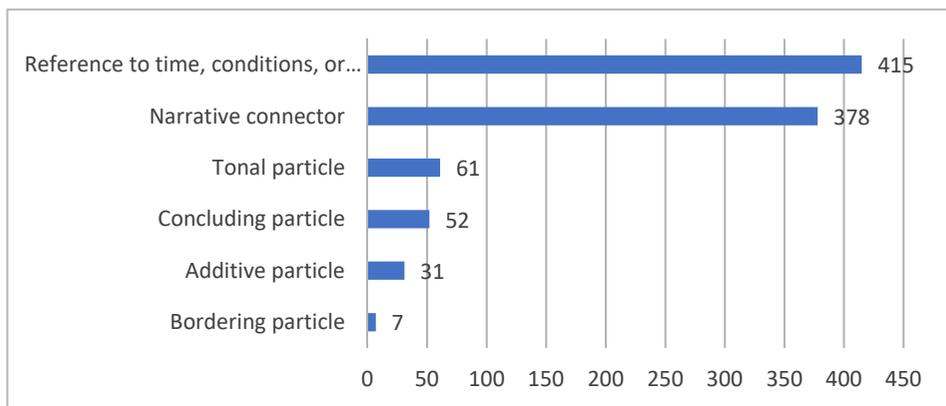
Figure 25. Functions of the proadverb *si'z* in the data

Reference to a certain condition/conditions or previously described circumstances was the most used with 415 examples. This use is strongly correlative and the neighbouring or subordinate clause is actually defining the reference with *si'z*, as in (220):

(220) *ja*   *vȯ'ļ*   *`lāini-d,* (.)   ***si'z***   *ju*   *tä'm-kõks*
     and   be.PST.3SG   wave-PL   then   PTCL   3SG-INSTR
     i'z   *või*   *`lā'-dõ*   *mi'errõ.*
     NEG.PST.3SG   may.CNG.SG   go-INF   sea.ILL
     'if there were waves (.) **then** [one] could not go to the sea with it [a boat]' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The use as a narrative connector was the next most common (378 examples) and is on the border between the proadverbial and particle-like uses. On the one hand, it points to actions following each other, showing a certain temporal line, on the other hand, however, the actions are not following each other on a strict timeline but rather in the order the speaker decides to tell them and, therefore, *si'z* is used to connect the clauses. In this use, *si'z* often appears alongside other connectors,

such as *un*, *ja*, and *no*, but it may also occur alone. See (221) for an example of *si'z* used as a narrative connector:

(221) `sā'l    jel-īz. (1.0)    *un*    ***si'z***    *ma*    *lek-š*    `mī'e-lõ
       there.S   work-PST.1SG   and   then   1SG.S   go-PST.1SG   man-ALL
       '[for five years I was working at the railway] worked there (1.0) and **then** I got married' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-02)

This was followed by four types of particle uses which all appeared fewer than 100 times in the data: tonal particle (61 examples), concluding particle (52 examples), additive particle (31 examples), and bordering particle (seven examples). Some of these functions also were found among the uses of the previously analysed proadverbs *ne'i*, *nä'i*, and *ni*. The tonal particle use again stresses a certain word or certain part of a clause but may pragmatically also include the speaker's stance or the urge to get more information from the interlocutor (Tomingas 2022a: 101). See (222), where Speaker no. 2 has started a new topic regarding how the interviewer's usual fellow interviewer is doing who is not present during the recording. The speaker shows interest and marks urging with the particle *si'z*:

(222) `nā `nā   *Val-* (.)   *nu*   *kui*   ***si'z***   `Valt-õn   *ni*   *lā-b.*
       yes yes   Val-   PTCL   how   PTCL   Valt-DAT   now   go-3SG
       'yes yes Val- (.) well how is Valt doing now **then**' (AEDKL: F1035-05)

In its concluding particle use (52 examples), *si'z* provides an explanation or conclusion based on previous information given in the text (Tomingas 2022a: 101) and is used more with the meaning 'therefore, thus, so'. In (223), Speaker no. 1 previously talked about how her first husband drowned in the Īra River. The speaker is making a conclusion after the narrative with the particle *si'z*. The particle may again appear alongside other connectors or particles. In its explaining or concluding use, a cluster of *ne'i* 'so' and *si'z* is common.

(223) `nā̃ʰ. (1.0) *ne'i*    ***si'z***    `mi'nn-õn (0.5)   *e* $ `kievāmstiz
       yes   PTCL   PTCL   1SG-DAT.L   HESIT   easily
       ä'b   *ūo*   `lā'-nd. $
       NEG.3SG   be.CNG.SG   go-APP.SG
       'yes (1.0) so **then [therefore]** for me (0.5) um it has not been easy' (AEDKL: F1035-05)

The additive particle use was next most common with 31 examples. In this case, *si'z* was used with the meaning 'also, in addition' and was used in the context of listing similar types of entities (Tomingas 2022a: 100). Again, in this use, *si'z* often appears alongside other connectors like *un* and *ja* but may also appear alone. In (224), Speaker no. 3 has been asked about the name of the horses in her homestead, the speaker GK is using *si'z* in the additive function alongside the connector *un*:

(224) GK: *ō*   *`ī'd-õn*     *vȯ'ļ*          *`Griet.*
          oh   one-DAT   be.PST.3SG   Griet
      (0.5)
      VE: ahah
          PTCL
      GK: *un* (1.0)   *un*   **si'z**   *`vȯ'ļ,* (1.0)    *`Ans.*
          and   and   PTCL   be.PST.3SG   Ans
      'GK: oh one [horse's] name was Griet
      (0.5)
      VE: I see
      GK: and (1.0) and **then** there was (1.0) Ans' (AEDKL: DS0127-05)

The bordering particle function was the least used with seven examples. Similarly to the bordering function of the proadverb *ne'i*, *si'z*, it can start a new topic or mark the end or summary of the previous topic. Again, *si'z* in such a context, can appear alongside other particles or connectors such as *ne'iku* 'like', *ne'i, un*. (Tomingas 2022a: 100). See (225), where Speaker no. 5 has previously answered the interviewer's question regarding whether he had also studied at the old Livonian school; the speaker is summarising the topic and his turn in the dialogue with the particle *si'z*.

(225) *`täs*     *e*        *mēg*     *`amā-d* $ *ne:*   *vanā-d* $ *ē*
      here.S   HESIT   1PL.L   all- PL   DEM.PL.S   old-PL   HESIT
      täs   *ūo-mõ* (0.5)   *`oppõ-nõd* .hh hh .hh     *`nā*   **si'z**
      here.S   be-1PL   study-APP.PL   yes   PTCL
      'here um we all these old ones um here we have (0.5) studied .hh hh .hh yes **then**'
      (AEDKL: SUHK0520-01)

There were 11 examples of repeated *si'z* in the data, most of them appearing alongside pauses or hesitation markers, showing problems with remembering or uncertainty. Four examples of repetition were also pronounced right after each other or pronounced together. In (226), Speaker no. 1 is repeating the form *si'z* with the tonal particle *ju* alongside and accompanied by pauses and a hesitation marker, showing that she is hesitating in saying the subsequent text and is using *si'z* and *ju* as filler words:

(226) *un*   *`si'gžõ*   **si'z**   *ju* (.)   *ē*   **si'z**   *ju*::, (1.5)
      and   autumn   then   PTCL   HESIT   then   PTCL
      kuoṟṟ-i-miz   *`māṟ-idi.* (0.5)      *vī-ž-mi*         *`Väntõ.*
      pick-PST-1PL   berry-PART.PL   take-PST-1PL   Vānta.ILL
      'and in autumn **then** (.) um **then** (1.5) we picked berries (0.5) brought them to Vānta [Latv: Ventspils]' (AEDKL: SUHK0506-01)

5.5. Summary

In the semantic-pragmatic analysis chapter, the four main groups of pro-forms were analysed from both a semantic and pragmatic point of view examining which types of references can be made with them (e.g., to animate or inanimate entities, humans, animals, physical or abstract objects, etc.) and which different kinds of functions they can have in semi-structured conversation. The pro-forms were divided into four sections according to their semantic closeness: 1) 1st and 2nd person pronouns, 2) 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns, 3) demonstrative proadjectives, and 4) demonstrative proadverbs which were divided into two subgroups: 1) locative proadverbs, and 2) manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs. The 3rd person pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and demonstrative proadjectives were also analysed in different sections according to their nominal or adnominal use, as changes in syntactic structure also cause different functions in semantic-pragmatic use.

The 1st person singular pronouns *minā*, *ma* were mostly referring to the speaker himself/herself in the data, there were also some examples of the general use when the speaker was not referring directly to himself/herself while providing, e.g., a language example or a direct speech examples from another person's point of view. The 2nd person singular pronouns *sinā*, *sa* appeared mostly in generic use where the speaker is not targeting the interlocutor directly, but some more general phenomenon. It appeared that the long form *minā* is mostly phonologically stressed in the data and tends to occur at the beginning of narratives and in narrative continuation, in contrastive contexts and when the speaker wants to stress his/her point of view. Although the short form *ma* appears mostly unstressed, stressed short forms were also possible, which is not common, for example, in the neighbouring Estonian language (Pajusalu 2017: 569). There were only a few examples of the long form *sinā*, but it also appeared mostly stressed in the data, while the short form *sa* only appeared unstressed and the aspirated short form *sa^h* was stressed in the data, showing that a stressed short form is also possible in the 2nd person singular. The 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns did not often occur within repetitions and self-repairs, thus, planning upcoming speech or interaction problems are not frequently connected with these pronouns.

In the plural, the most common reference strategies were – in the 1st person plural – reference to the speaker himself/herself and 3rd person referents in a narrative and – in the 2nd person plural – reference to the interlocutor (the interviewer) in a formal (polite) use. Surprisingly, the 1st person plural long form *mēg* had more unstressed than stressed examples. This was also the case for the 2nd person plural long form *tēg*. However, both of these long forms also had stressed examples. The long forms also appeared more in the context of narrative continuations and contrasts. The short forms *meg* and *teg* were mostly unstressed. Similarly to the singular forms, the plural forms showed only a few examples of repetitions or self-repairs, and the tendency was for the 1st person plural pronoun to be substituted with the 1st person singular pronoun in self-repair examples.

With respect to the semantic use of the 3rd person singular pronouns *tämā*, *ta*, in nominal use the most common referent types were humans and then physical inanimate objects. The demonstrative pronoun *se* showed the opposite pattern in nominal use: physical objects were referred to the most, though references to humans were also quite common. In adnominal use, the *tämā*-pronoun acted as a demonstrative pronoun in temporal expressions, pointing to ongoing time. In the adnominal use of *se*, the most popular function was the recognitional use where the speaker makes a reference that has been not mentioned before in the discourse but can be recognised based on common knowledge. The most common referent type for the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun *se* shared plural forms *ne* and *nēd* was humans, which was surprising as more inanimate references would also have been expected due to the existence of these shared forms. In adnominal use of the plural form, the anaphoric and recognitional functions were the most common. The distal demonstrative *tūo* is commonly considered a disappearing demonstrative in Livonian, but it nevertheless had a small number of examples in the data and was also used as an independent demonstrative, not just in fixed demonstrative phrases. It occurred both in nominal and adnominal use and also showed temporal deictic use, referring to more distant past time. In addition, some examples of the partitive coordinated demonstrative pronoun phrase *siedā-tuodā* occurred, referring to different types of referents at the same time.

The demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* was used the most in the correlative function in nominal use and in the explaining function in adnominal use, which is similar to the recognitional use except that only the speaker has previous knowledge about the referent, which has not occurred earlier in the discourse. Much as with the demonstrative pronouns, for coordinated proadjectives there only appeared a partitive example *seļļiži-tūoļiži* in plural that was referring to different kinds of qualities. The proadjective *tūoļi* did not appear independently in the data.

For the locative proadverbs, a shift in some static proadverbs could be seen in the data from certain speakers, as some of the static proadverbs, such as *sā'l*, *täsā*, *tässõ*, and *täs*, had acquired a lative meaning in addition to their original static use. All of the proximal proadverbs most commonly referred to general surroundings (e.g., the surrounding village, country, etc.), while distal proadverbs were most commonly anaphoric in the data. The coordinated locative proadverbs did not appear in the data and should thus be researched further while expanding the corpus.

In addition to their original proadverbial use, the manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs also showed use as discourse particles. For example, in addition to its manner-indicating use, the manner-indicating proadverb *ne'i* also showed use as a concluding or bordering particle and as a narrative connector, the temporal proadverb *ni* also appeared in combined use where many functions intertwined at a time or were variously interpretable, e.g., its functions in temporal use and as a narrative connector. The temporal proadverb *si'z* appeared mostly as a narrative connector, but also occurred as a tonal, concluding, and additive particle in addition to its temporal uses.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the current study, four different groups of Courland Livonian pro-forms were described and analysed: 1) personal pronouns: *minā*, *ma* 'I'; *sinā*, *sa* 'you'; *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* 's/he'; *mēg*, *meg* 'we'; *tēg, teg* 'you (plural)', and *ne, nēd* 'they'; 2) demonstrative pronouns: *se* 'this', *tūo* 'that', and 3rd person singular pronoun *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* in temporal demonstrative use; 3) demonstrative proadjectives *seḷḷi* 'such, this kind' and *tūoḷi* 'that kind' which appeared in the phrases of coordinated pro-adjectives; and 4) demonstrative proadverbs which were the only group of indeclinable demonstrative words among the researched pro-forms. The demonstrative proadverbs could be divided into three different subgroups based on their use and meanings: 1) the locative proadverbs which show location and direction, such as *tānõ* 'hither', *täsā* 'here', and *tästā* 'from here'; 2) the manner-indicating proadverbs: *ne'i* and *nä'i* 'so' which can refer to a manner, quality, or degree of something and have various discourse particle functions as a bordering, concluding, or tonal particle; and 3) the temporal proadverbs: *ni* 'now' and *si'z* 'then' which refer to time and conditions, but similarly to the manner-indicating proadverbs have also developed the discourse particle functions of bordering, tonal, or concluding particles, and which function also as connectors and additive particles in spoken discourse.

All of the above-mentioned groups of pro-forms in Courland Livonian are very diverse both lexically and inflectionally, several pronouns having both long and short forms in certain inflectional cases and the locative proadverbs often having different forms with up to two different demonstrative stems for expressing the same meaning such as CLiv *täsā* and *sīn*, both meaning 'here'). As the last scientific descriptions of the inflectional forms and semantic-pragmatic use of Livonian pro-forms come mostly from the mid-19th and mid-20th century (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a, Kettunen 1938) and are rather brief, the current empirical study tried to give as complete of an overview as possible of the recent use of the pro-forms, such as how they were used in the language of the last native speakers of Courland Livonian.

This thesis answers six main research questions: 1) in which inflectional forms do the pro-forms appear in the spoken language data, 2) which pro-forms appear in both long and short forms, 3) how does the use of long and short forms differ, 4) do the forms in spoken language data differ from the forms described in earlier grammars and dictionaries, 5) is the distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* (which was mostly thought to be extinct as an independent demonstrative pronoun in Livonian, the use being fixed only to some phrases) in use in spoken language, and 6) what are the main semantic referent types and the main functions to which pro-forms are referring: animate, inanimate, concrete physical, abstract referents; contrastive, deictic, and logophoric use; proximal and distal location references among lative, stative, and separative directions; pragmatic use within place-holders, repetitions, and as discourse particles.

The analysis of the above-mentioned pro-forms was based on recordings of the last native speakers of Courland Livonian, which are semi-structured interviews with usually one native speaker and one or more linguists who speak Livonian as a second language. The recordings were made by the linguists Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling, Valts Ernštreits, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus, and Tuuli Tuisk during fieldwork trips organised by the University of Tartu. The utilised recordings are taken from the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (AEDKL), newer recordings from 1986 to 2012 were used for the research due to the sound quality, as older recordings in the archive mostly did not have suitable sound quality for transcribing the whole text from the recordings. For the data, the recordings with six different native speakers (three female, three male speakers) were chosen. When choosing the speakers, consideration included whether the chosen speakers were good native language speakers and whether there would be a consistent number of recordings with them in the archive. Based on these recordings, two corpora were compiled: the main corpus where there is at least one hour of transcribed material with each native speaker (total length: 7 hours, 13 minutes and 4 seconds) and the expanded corpus which was added in order to collect more rarely occurring forms or forms that did not appear in the main corpus (total length: 66 hours 41 minutes and 54 seconds) and where the rest of the semi-structured language recordings with suitable sound quality from the same six native speakers were placed. In the main corpus, the whole text of the recordings was transcribed, in the expanded corpus only the examples of rarely occurring or special forms with the surrounding context were transcribed.

The spoken semi-structured language data from the audio recordings have both pros and cons for researching the morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic use of pro-forms. Spoken language material in the form of an interview provides enough context for analysing the examples within one recording. Also the recordings by the same speaker or by speakers from the same village can be compared to each other to see if some more rarely occurring pro-form could be a dialectal phenomenon. Also from a morphosyntactic point of view, the special or differentiating forms that speakers may use are easier to analyse and track based on one speaker's or all speakers' other recordings. In addition, the intonation and stress which are also important pragmatic factors while considering the exact semantic-pragmatic meaning or reference of pro-forms could be analysed based on the audio recordings. However, there are also references and forms the context of which may remain outside of the recordings or are said in between recordings and there may not always be enough background information to decide on the origin of a form or the exact semantic-pragmatic meaning of a certain reference. An effort was made to avoid such cases by leaving out examples where the exact form of the word was not audible or clear and classifying the examples separately where various semantic-pragmatic interpretations would be possible. In addition, in the genre of the recordings where the native speakers are talking to speakers for whom Livonian is a second language, the interviewer's speech may cause some influence on language choices, therefore, these were again avoided by leaving out the examples where the speaker is immediately repeating the same

form of the pro-forms that the interviewer had used. Also, the genre of the recordings also includes longer narratives which are not as dynamic or diverse (with, e.g., more exophoric references, miscellaneous case forms, etc.) as it would be if two or more native speakers that are familiar with each other would be talking in a dialogue, although there are also occasionally some more dynamic dialogue examples between the native speaker and the interviewer(s) in the data, these are however more rare cases.

Some of the examples in the data may also be interpreted in various ways, as in the spoken language material the interruptions, pauses, self-repairs, and other such mechanisms are common, thus it cannot be always certainly decided that one example belongs under one interpretation only, although the most probable one based on the surrounding context was chosen for the analysis.

The data were researched using the qualitative-quantitative method for the morphosyntactic analysis portion, and with the qualitative-quantitative method and qualitative text analysis method for the semantic-pragmatic analysis portion. In addition, the inflectional forms found in the data were briefly compared to the forms in earlier grammars and dictionaries in the morphosyntactic analysis in order to spot the similarities and differences between the pro-forms and to find out which forms have not been mentioned thus far in earlier sources.

Next, I conclude and also discuss the main results of the empirical chapters and summarise the main tendencies in both morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic use of Courland Livonian pro-forms that were found based on the data as well as answering the above-mentioned research questions of the thesis.

To answer the first research question regarding which forms of pro-forms occurred in the spoken language data, it can be said that not all of the expected inflectional forms based on the earlier literature were covered in the data and the missing or rare forms should, therefore, be researched further while expanding the corpora. There were some missing examples of personal pronoun forms of the interior local cases and instrumental case, most of the case forms of the rarely used distal demonstrative *tūo* (with the exceptions of the singular nominative, partitive, inessive, and adessive forms), no examples of coordinated demonstrative proadverbs (such as *sīnõ-tãnõ* 'thither and hither') and the distal demonstrative proadjective *tūoļi* in independent use outside of coordinated proadjective phrases (such as *seļļiži-tūoļiži* 'this kind of and that kind of'). Most of the missing examples are, however, also noted as rarely used already in Sjögren & Wiedemann's Livonian grammar (1861a), e.g., the interior local case examples of personal pronouns are considered especially rare and artificial and it is said that adpositions are instead used in place of these cases (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a 116). However, the absence of examples of the 1st person singular and plural pronoun in the instrumental case was rather unexpected and may be due to the somewhat non-dynamic nature of the genre of recorded interviews or a preference of using adverbs for the same meaning instead.

Aside from the aforementioned exceptions, the other case forms in the usual Livonian inflectional paradigm appeared in the compiled corpora and the data even showed some thus far undescribed forms. Answering the fourth research

question of whether forms in spoken language differ from earlier sources, it can be said that all of the main subgroups of pro-forms showed some new, thus far undescribed forms in the data in addition to the main, literary language forms described in earlier dictionaries and grammars. The most diverse were the nominative forms of personal and demonstrative pronouns which showed some alternative phonetic forms in the data, e.g., the forms with *ä* or long *ā̄: tä* 's/he' and *mā̄g* 'we' and the forms with a dropped or additional ending. These are: the short form *me* 'we', the merged form *n-* 'they, these', and the long forms *nēd* and *nēg* 'they, these'. Most of the nominative short forms ending with a vowel also had aspirated forms, mainly used at the end of an utterance or along with a pause, e.g. *ma^h* 'I', *sa^h* 'you', and *ne^h* 'they, these'. In addition, the following new forms in other inflectional cases of the personal and demonstrative pronouns occurred in the data: the 3rd person singular pronoun short dative form *tä'm* 'to him/her', the 1st person plural dative form *mēḑin* 'to us', the demonstrative *se* plural inessive short forms *neiš* and *nēš* 'in these', and the 1st person plural elative form *mä'dstõ* 'from us'. Other subgroups of pro-forms showed fewer new forms: the demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* 'such, this kind of' has a phonetic alternate dative form *seḷḷižõn* 'to this kind of', a long partitive form *seḷḷižtõ* 'this kind of', a long partitive plural form *seḷḷiztõd*, and a short partitive plural form *seḷḷiž* 'these kinds of' in the data. Manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs also showed only a couple of new forms: the manner-indicating proadverb *nä'i* 'so' which is a phonetic alternate of the literary language form *ne'i* 'so', another alternate form *ne'ig* 'so', and an aspirated form *ni^h* 'now' of the literary language form *ni* 'now'. Among the demonstrative locative proadverbs, there was an undescribed proximal static proadverb *tässõ* 'here' in the data and some previously documented static proadverbs, such as *täsā* 'here' and *sā̄'l* 'there', which had also acquired an additional lative meaning in some speakers' language due to the influence of the Latvian locative case, which is used for both static and lative meanings.

The second and third research questions focused on which pro-forms have both long and short forms in spoken language and how their use differs. Based on the morphosyntactic analysis of the fourth chapter, it appeared that the 1st and 2nd person pronouns mostly show different long and short forms in the nominative and dative cases: the long dative form *mi'nnõn* and the short dative form *mi'n* 'to me'. Based on earlier sources, this opposition would have also been expected in the elative case – the long form *si'nstõ* and the short form *si'nst* 'from you, of you' according to Kettunen (1938: LVIII), but the short forms of the elative case did not occur in the 1st and 2nd person pronoun data. The 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns, however, show more variety in the addition of some interior local cases: the singular long elative form *tä'mstõ* and the short elative form *tä'mst* 'from him/her, of him/her' and the plural long inessive form *nēši* and the short inessive forms *nēš* and *neiš* 'from them/these, of them/these'. The demonstrative pronoun *se* shows long and short forms in the interior local cases in the instrumental case – the long form *sīekõks* and the short form *sīeks* 'with this', but not in nominative or dative which was the case of most of the personal pronouns. The demonstrative proadjective *seḷḷi* has only a few long and short form examples,

all of them occurring in singular and plural forms of the partitive case: the singular partitive long form *seḷḷižtõ* and the short form *seḷḷizt* 'like this'. The manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs mostly did not show separate long and short forms aside from the merged form *s-* of the temporal proadverb *si'z* 'then'. The locative proadverbs were, however, very diverse and had both long and short forms for almost every form; long forms like *täsā*, *tässõ* and the short form *täs* 'here', the long form *sī'dštõ* and the short form *sī'ḍšt* 'from here' of the proximal proadverbs; and the long forms *sā'lõ* and *sā'lõz* and short form *sā'l* 'there' of the distal proadverbs. The only forms which did not show a corresponding long or short equivalent in the data were the proximal stative proadverb form *sīn* 'here' and the separative proximal proadverbs *tästā* and *tästõ* 'from here'; the short form *täst* was missing from the data, although it has been mentioned in some of the earlier sources.

The motivations for preferring a long or short form differed within the forms and cases and were also not completely coherent. In singular use of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular nominative examples, the long forms were more often phonologically stressed than the short forms. However, there were also some examples of unstressed long forms and of stressed short forms, which shows that it cannot be considered a rule that the longer form has to always be stressed and the short form unstressed. Surprisingly, the 1st and 2nd person plural long nominative forms *mēg* 'we' and *tēg* 'you' were more often unstressed than stressed in the data, although they also had stressed examples. The short form *meg* was, however, mostly unstressed with only a few stressed examples and the short form *teg* appeared only unstressed in the data. The motivations for using the long nominative form were semantic-pragmatic: the long forms were used in the context of two subjects being contrasted with each other, at the beginning of narratives or in narrative sequences, and to stress a person's individuality or opinions. No clear tendencies could be drawn from the dative examples of the personal pronouns and the instrumental examples of the demonstrative *se* 'this', as they showed almost an equal number of both stressed and unstressed examples. The dative examples could, therefore, be researched further while expanding the corpora in the future. However, the short dative forms were morphosyntactically more preferred along with particles and other shorter words, while the long dative forms could also appear at the end of a turn or along with a pause; thus, the shorter forms are more preferred for connecting the smaller units more smoothly within a clause. A similar motivation also stood out in the use of the interior local case forms of the demonstrative *se* and in the use of locative proadverbs: the shorter form was more often used in the middle of a clause, especially when the use of it was attributive or determinative, the longer forms appeared more often alongside a pause or at the end of a turn.

The fifth research question focused on the use of the distal demonstrative pronoun *tūo* 'that' which the most recent Courland Livonian sources have considered an almost disappeared form, occurring only in certain fixed phrases. Although only a couple examples of *tūo* in both nominal and adnominal use occurred in the data, the examples were surprisingly diverse. In addition to the

contrastive use alongside the distance-neutral demonstrative *se*, *tūo* also occurred independently in some of the examples and also the nominal use examples show that its use is not only frozen in locational use or use within fixed phrases, as it also appeared in the nominative and partitive cases in addition to the inessive and adessive examples. However, as the number of total examples remained under 10, the distal pronoun and its use could definitely be researched further also to possibly spot more examples and forms from other speakers. Its use has likely diminished into only singular use as no plural examples could be found.

There were also some examples of the proximal demonstrative use with the genitive form *tä'm* and the essive form *tä'mn* in temporal expressions of the 3rd person pronoun and former demonstrative pronoun *tämā* 's/he, this', referring to current, ongoing time, e.g., *tä'm āigast* '(during) this (current) year', these forms have also been mentioned in earlier Courland Livonian sources. This use cannot be considered only an independent demonstrative use, as it appears only adnominally and the attribute occurs only in the genitive or essive cases. There were also some examples in the data where the distance-neutral demonstrative pronoun *se* was used for referring to ongoing time but which can also refer to past time. The data show that speakers in recent decades still mostly prefer the proximal demonstrative expression for referring to current time.

The sixth research question was about the main semantic referent types and functions that were used with the pro-forms. The semantic-pragmatic use of Courland Livonian pro-forms could overall be considered quite diverse: the semantic references in the 1st and 2nd person were about both speech-act and non-speech-act participants (through a narrative), and there were also examples of the generic use. Both 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns had references to different kinds of animate and inanimate referents, which were classified into more specific subgroups of referents according to examples: humans, other living entities (animals, plants), personified creatures, personified institutions, physical inanimate objects, abstract objects, events, and temporal use. Also, there is the syntactically caused reference occurring in the correlative function. In addition, many different functions were used: the exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and discourse deictic uses and – for the adnominal examples – also the recognitional use and reactivation of a referent mentioned later in the text. It appeared from the data, that in the first mention of a new referent, a demonstrative pronoun can occur in front of the noun or adverbial phrase in the recognitional function, i.e., marking a referent as known to both the speaker and the hearer from previous shared knowledge or the introductive function, where it is previously known only to the speaker, but not the hearer. In the second mention, the reference usually continues with a form of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, only in rare cases do the speakers start to use the 3rd person pronoun immediately in the second mention. Further mentions can be use the 3rd person pronoun after some references with the demonstrative pronoun *se*, until the formerly made new reference is activated enough to switch to the personal pronoun. See Figure 26, which summarises the most common reference strategies in the first and second mention and further mentions in reference based on the data.

First mention		Second mention		Further mentions
	NP	→ se + NP / se / tämä or ta	→	
(Recognitional)	se + NP	→ se / tämä or ta	→	ta
(Introductive)	seļļi + NP	→ se / tämä or ta	→	
(Recognitional)	ProAdv + AdvP	→ Loc ProAdv / AdvP		
	AdvP	→ Loc ProAdv + AdvP	→	Loc ProAdv / AdvP

Figure 26. Common first, second, and further mentions strategies based on the data

The demonstrative proadjective *seļļi* 'such, this kind of' also showed an introductive function for a newly introduced referent that the speaker considers unfamiliar to the interlocutor. The locative proadverbs were mostly used in the anaphoric function but there were also a considerable number of examples referring to general surroundings like a village, country, place nearby, etc. The manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs *ne'i* 'so', *ni* 'now', and *si'z* 'then' in addition to showing use as adverbs also occurred in many different types of uses as discourse particles: bordering particles, concluding particles, tonal particles. Thus, all of the researched manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs have acquired the pragmatic use as discourse particles in addition to their original use as adverbs. However, the use as adverbs was prevalent in the data, and the different discourse particle uses generally had fewer examples. Further research could focus on their use as discourse particles to describe the grammar and pragmatics of the discourse particles in more detail, e.g., in which position in a clause or turn can certain particles appear (clause-initial, clause-internal, clause-final), what particle clusters can be formed, and how can different functions and groups of discourse particles be classified in Livonian.

To conclude, the semantic-pragmatic use of Livonian pro-forms is quite similar to that of Estonian, as many similar or even identical semantic-pragmatic strategies appeared and the motivation for using the long and short forms also had many common features with Estonian long and short forms of personal pronouns (Est personal pronouns *mina*, *ma*; *sina, sa; tema, ta; meie, me; teie, te*; and *nemad*, *nad*), demonstrative pronouns (Est demonstratives *see*, *too*), and the demonstrative proadjective (Est demonstrative proadjective *selline*). Livonian pro-forms are, however, inflectionally more diverse than those of standard Estonian, as they have preserved a greater diversity of different stems, e.g., the distal proadjective *tūoļi* and the diverse set of locative proadverbs with both *tä-* and *si-* stems. Also, Latvian has definitely left an influence on the use of Livonian pro-forms: the use of the distance-neutral demonstrative *se* has likely increased due to the influence of the Latvian demonstrative *tas* 'that, it', which can refer to both further objects but can appear also in neutral use, while the use of the Livonian distal demonstrative *tūo* has decreased. That is already suggested by Sjögren & Wiedemann (1861a). Also, the influence of the Latvian locative case has added a lative use to some proadverbs which originally had only a static meaning, reducing the use of the lative proadverbs. It is also possible that Latvian has influenced the use of proximal temporal expressions and coordinated proadjectives to some

extent, as similar expressions like *šogad* 'this (current) year' and *šāds tāds* 'this kind of and that kind of' can be also found in Latvian. The compiled corpora for this doctoral thesis provided examples for describing the main tendencies of both morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic uses of the pro-forms, but also, as some forms and examples had only a couple examples, some were used rarely, and some of the expected or more rare forms did not appear in the data at all, further research could definitely be carried out, especially to describe and analyse the more rarely occurring forms.

KOKKUVÕTE

Doktoritöös "Pro-forms in spoken Courland Livonian" ("Provormid suulises Kuramaa liivi keeles") keskendutakse nelja Kuramaa liivi keeles sagedasti kasutatud asesõnade rühma uurimisele, milleks on 1) isikulised asesõnad: *minā*, *ma* 'mina, ma'; *sinā*, *sa* 'sina, sa'; *tämā*; *ta*; *tä* 'tema, ta'; *mēg*, *meg* 'meie, me'; *tēg, teg* 'teie, te' ja *ne*, *nēd* 'nad'; 2) näitavad asesõnad: *se* 'see', *tūo* 'too'; 3) näitavad aseomadussõnad: *seļļi* 'selline' ja *tūoļi* 'teistsugune, naasugune'; ja 4) näitavad asemäärsõnad, mis on ainuke töös analüüsitav muutumatute sõnade rühm. Näitavaid asemäärsõnu saab omakorda jagada kolme rühma: 1) kohamäärsõnad, mis näitavad asukohta või suunda, näiteks latiivne ehk tegevuse suunda väljendav *tǟnõ* 'siia', staatiline ehk püsivat asukohta näitav *täsā* 'siin' ja separatiivne ehk tegevuse lähtepunkti märkiv *tästā* 'siit'; 2) viisimäärsõnad *ne'i* ja *nä'i* 'nii', mis näitavad viisi, omadust või astet ning mis võivad käituda ka diskursuse-partiklitena (piiripartiklitena, seletavate-järeldavate partiklitena ja värvingu-partiklitena); ja 3) ajamäärsõnad *ni* 'nüüd' ja *si'z* 'siis', mis viitavad ajahetkele, tingimustele või asjaoludele ning mis võivad samuti esineda värvingu- või seletavate ja piiripartiklitena, samuti konnektorite või lisavas funktsioonis partiklitena.

Provormid on igapäevases suhtluses sagedasti kasutatavad sõnad, mis võivad viidata erinevatele inimestele, objektidele, kohtadele, tekstisisestele viidetele ja diskursustele, asendades tekstis ka teatud fraasi või lausa pikemat tekstilõiku. Provormid, eriti just näitavad asesõnad ehk demonstratiivid, on maailma keeltes ka üks kõige vanemaid sõnarühmi, tulenedes vajadusest ümbritsevale osutavalt viidata. Provormidega loodud viited võivad olla eksofoorsed ehk füüsilisele ümbrusele viitavad või endofoorsed ehk tekstisisesed. Igapäevases suhtluses kasutatakse provorme tihedalt: seda nii sõnakorduste vältimiseks ja viitamise lihtsustamiseks kui ka osutamiseks objektidele, mille täpset tähendust, omadusi või asukohta ei teata; samuti kuulaja tähelepanu tõmbamiseks soovitud objektile või asukohale. Seega on provormid suhtluses olulisel kohal, aidates luua kõneleja ja kuulaja vahel ühist ja selgemat mõistmist.

Käesoleva doktoritöö põhieesmärkideks on kirjeldada Kuramaa liivi keele provormide kasutust viimaste emakeelsete kõnelejate suulises spontaanses keeles, leida ja analüüsida esinenud vorme ja nende kasutust ja tähendusi ning võrrelda andmeid varasemate liivi keele grammatikate ja sõnaraamatutega, leidmaks, kuidas nende kasutus võib aja jooksul olla muutunud või säilinud. Kuna liivi keele provormide kohta on seni olnud pigem vähe empiirilisi uurimusi ja põhilisteks vormide ja kasutuse kirjelduste allikateks ongi grammatikad ja sõnaraamatud, millest mõned on ilmunud 19. ja 20. sajandi keskpaigas, antakse käesoleva tööga põhjalikum analüüs ja ülevaade Kuramaa liivi keele provormide tänapäevasemast kasutusest. Samuti üritatakse tööga pakkuda tüpoloogilist materjali liivi keele võrdlemiseks teiste keeltega, kuid ka infot ja ainest liivi keelt võõrkeelena õppijatele või liivi keele uurijatele. Kuramaa liivi keel on Euroopa üks kõige ohustatumaid keeli, millel pole enam emakeelseid kõnelejaid, teadaolevalt viimane

emakeelne kõneleja Grizelda Kristiņ suri 2013. aastal. Liivi keele teise keele või võõrkeelena rääkijate arv ulatub maailmas vaid mõnekümne kõnelejani. Seetõttu on tähtis uurida ja kirjeldada viimaste emakeelsete kõnelejate keelt, aidates nii kaasa ka keelejoonte edasisele säilimisele.

Töö ülesehitus. Doktoritöö koosneb kuuest peatükist, millest kolm esimest on teemat sissejuhatavad ja tutvustavad peatükid ja kolm viimast empiirilised peatükid. Töö esimeses, sissejuhatavas peatükis sõnastatakse töö peamised eesmärgid ja uurimisküsimused, tutvustatakse töö ülesehitust, andmestikku ja uurimismeetodeid. Peatükis on ka ülevaade varasematest provormide uurimustest liivi ja läänemeresoome keeltes. Teises peatükis antakse ülevaade liivi keele provormide ajaloolisest arengust ning tutvustatakse detailsemalt nende paradigmasid ja kasutuskirjeldusi varasemates sõnaraamatutes ja grammatikates. Kolmas peatükk on teoreetiline ülevaade 1) provorme kirjeldavast deiksise mõistest ja selle liikidest ja 2) deiktilistest pronoomenitest ja proadverbidest üldkeeleteaduslikust vaatenurgast. Neljandas peatükis keskendutakse provormide morfosüntaktilisele analüüsile Tartu Ülikooli eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiivi (TÜ EMSA) Kuramaa liivi keele suuliste salvestiste materjali põhjal. Viiendas peatükis analüüsitakse provormide erinevaid semantilis-pragmaatilisi funktsioone andmestikus. Kuuendas peatükis esitatakse tulemuste kokkuvõte ja järeldused, võrreldakse esinenud vorme varasemate sõnaraamatute ja grammatikatega ning arutletakse provormide peamiste kasutustendentside ja nende edasiste uurimisvõimaluste üle.

Töö uurimisküsimused. Doktoritöös püstitati kuus uurimisküsimust: 1) Millistes erinevates morfoloogilistes vormides esinevad provormid suulise keele andmestikus?; 2) Millistel provormidel esinevad eraldi pikad ja lühikesed vormid?; 3) Kui esineb nii pikk kui ka lühike vorm, kuidas erineb nende kasutus morfosüntaktilisest ja/või pragmaatilisest vaatepunktist?; 4) Kas vormid suulise keele andmestikus erinevad varasemates grammatikates ja sõnaraamatutes mainitutest?; 5) Kas kaugemale osutav demonstratiiv *tūo* (mida peetakse viimaste grammatikate ja sõnaraamatute põhjal liivi keelest kadumas olevaks) esineb andmestikus?; 6) Milliseid erinevaid semantilisi viiteid ja semantilis-pragmaatilisi funktsioone provormidel materjalis on?

Materjal ja meetod. Uuritava andmestikuna kasutatakse töös kuue Kuramaa liivi emakeelse kõneleja suulise spontaanse kõne salvestisi Tartu Ülikooli murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiivist. Kõnelejate hulgas on kolm naist ja kolm meest ning valitud salvestised pärinevad aastatest 1986–2012. Kuigi arhiivis leidub salvestisi ka varasematest aastatest, ei kasutatud neid helikvaliteedi transkribeerimiseks sobimatuse tõttu. Kõnelejate vanus salvestiste tegemise hetkel on 65–102 ning nende hulgas on viis Kuramaa liivi keele idamurde kõnelejat ning üks Īra küla murde kõneleja. Īra küla murret on mõned uurijad liigitanud eraldi keskmurdeks, mõned aga väheste idamurdepäraste joontega läänemurdeks (Viitso 2008: 225–226). Salvestised on välitööde käigus teinud Tartu Ülikooli keeleteadlased Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling, Valts Ernštreits, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus ja Tuuli Tuisk. Nendes salvestistes räägib üks emakeelne kõneleja ning üks või mitu liivi keelt võõrkeelena kõnelevat keeleuurijat. Teemadeks on eelkõige kohalik elu,

inimesed ja ümbrus ning möödunud aja sündmused liivi ranna külades. Salvestiste põhjal koostati töö jaoks kaks korpust: esimene korpus on põhikorpus, kus on transkribeeritud kogu salvestiste tekst ja kus iga kõneleja salvestistest on transkribeeritud vähemalt tunni aja mahus materjali. Selle korpuse maht on kokku 7 tundi, 13 minutit ja 4 sekundit. Teine korpus on laiendatud korpus, mis koosneb arhiivi kõigist ülejäänud spontaansetest ja sobiva helikvaliteediga salvestistest samade keelejuhtidega. Laiendatud korpus on loodud põhikorpuses harvaesinevate või puuduvate vormide leidmiseks ning sellese on transkribeeritud vaid eripäraste vormide ja kasutuste näited koos ümbritseva kontekstiga. Laiendatud korpuse maht on 66 tundi, 41 minutit ja 54 sekundit. Kasutatud salvestiste nimekiri on lisatud töö lõppu. Transkribeerimiseks on kasutatud tänapäeva liivi kirjakeele ortograafiat ja lisaks ka vestlustranskriptsiooni sümboleid, et märkida rõhku, intonatsiooni, pause ja muid suulise keele näidete tõlgendamisel olulisi parameetreid. Kasutatud transkriptsioonimärgid on esitatud töö alguses. Töö meetodiks on materjali morfosüntaktilise analüüsi puhul kvalitatiiv-kvantitatiivne meetod, kus vaadeldakse, milliseid morfoloogilisi vorme ja morfosüntaktilisi tendentse kvalitatiivselt esineb ning kui palju neid esineb ja mis on materjali põhjal levinuimad vormid ja tendentsid. Lisaks on võrreldud töö andmestikus esinenud vorme lühidalt ka varasemates grammatikates ja sõnaraamatutes mainitud vormidega, et leida võimalikke erinevusi või seni mainimata vorme. Semantilis-pragmaatilise analüüsi osas kasutatakse samuti kvalitatiiv-kvantitatiivset meetodit ning materjali semantilis-pragmaatiliste tähenduste täpsemaks uurimiseks ja kirjedamiseks ka kvalitatiivset tekstianalüüsi, kus osalausete ja lindistuse konteksti uurimisel analüüsitakse ja selgitatakse välja provormide pragmaatilised, kontekstist sõltuvad tähendusfunktsioonid, võttes arvesse eelnevaid ja järgnevaid viitesuhteid, sõnarõhku, võimalikke pause ja takerdumisi keeles ning provormide paiknemist osalauses, mis võib viidata nende täpsemale pragmaatilisele kasutusfunktsioonile näiteks siduva elemendi või hoopis rõhu- või fookuspartiklina.

Põhitulemused. Esimene uurimisküsimuse vastusena vaadeldi, millistes vormides Kuramaa liivi keele provormid suulise keele andmestikus esinevad. Selgus, et korpustes puudusid mõned varasemates sõnaraamatutes ja grammatikates kirjeldatud vormid, nagu isikuliste asesõnade sisseütleva ja seesütleva käänete vormid (nt teise isiku mitmuse kohakäänete vormid: sisseütlev *tē'ži* 'teisse', seesütlev *tēši* 'teis' ja seestütlev *tēšti* 'teist') ning mõne isikulise asesõna puhul ka instrumentaali käändevormid (nt esimese isiku ainsuse instrumentaal *mi'nkõks* 'minuga'), samuti polnud andmestikus harvaesineva demonstratiivi *tūo* 'too' kõiki käändevorme (puudusid omastav, daativ, instrumentaal, sisseütlev ja seestütlev) ega selle mitmusevorme. Samuti puudusid näited kohamäärsõnade liitvormidest (nt *sīnõ-tānõ* 'sinna-tänna') ja näitava aseomadussõna *tūoḷi* 'teistsugune, naasugune' iseseisvast kasutusest väljaspool liitvormi, see esines materjalis vaid kahest demonstratiivsest proadjektiivist kokku pandud liitfraasis (nt *seḷḷiži-tūoḷiži* 'niisuguseid-naasuguseid'). Samas on suuremat osa neist vormidest ka juba varasemates grammatikates märgitud harvaesinevatena, nt isikuliste asesõnade kohakäändeliste vormide asemel eelistatakse liivi keeles pigem kasutada

adpositsioone, nt seesütleva käände vormi *mi'nsõ* 'minus' asemel kasutatakse pigem adpositsiooniga varianti *mi'n sizāl* 'minu sees' (Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a: 116). Ülejäänud Kuramaa liivi keeles ootuspärased vormid esinesid korpustes erineva arvukusega, ulatudes ühest näitest kuni mõnesaja näiteni. Puuduolevate vormide uurimiseks on edaspidi võimalik korpusi laiendada, et ka nende kasutust täpsemalt kirjeldada. Ühtlasi võimaldasid senised korpused täpsustada, millised vormid esinevad harvemas kasutuses.

Töös võrreldi ka korpustest leitud vorme varasemate grammatikate ja sõnaraamatutega. Selgus, et korpustes oli ka mõningaid varasemates allikates seni kirjeldamata vorme. Nendest kõige rohkem esines isikuliste ja näitavate asesõnade nimetava käände häälikuliselt varieeruvaid vorme, nagu *ä* või pika *ā*-ga vormid *tä* 'ta' and *mǟg* 'meie'; lõpukao, kokkusulamise või pikenduselemendiga vormid nagu lühike esimese isiku mitmuse asesõna *me* 'me', kolmanda isiku mitmuse ja demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* mitmuse kokku sulanud vorm *n-* 'nad, need', pikk vorm *nēd* 'nad, need' ja demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* mitmuse pikk vorm *nēg* 'need'. Lisaks esines pronoomenite hulgas mõningaid seni kirjeldamata osastava, daativi, seesütleva ja seestütleva käände vorme, nt demonstratiivse proadjektiivi ainsuse osastava vorm *seḷḷiztõ* 'sellist' ja mitmuse osastava vormid *seḷḷiž* ja *seḷḷiztõd* 'selliseid', kolmanda isiku ainsuse daativi vorm *tä'm* 'tal', demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* mitmuse seesütleva vormid *nēš* ja *neiš* 'neis' ja esimese isiku mitmuse seestütlev vorm *mä'dstõ* 'meist'. Samuti oli andmestikus mõningaid proadverbide seni kirjeldamata vorme, nagu *nä'i* ja *ne'ig* 'nii', kokkusulanud vorm *s-* proadverbist *si'z* 'siis' ning kohamäärsõna vorm *tässõ* 'siin', viimane on ilmselt mõjutatud seesütleva käände lõpust *-sõ*. Lisaks sai andmestikus kinnitust, et kohamäärsõnade puhul kasutavad mõningad keelejuhid staatilisi kohamäärsõnu ka latiivses kasutuses. Seda saab lugeda läti keele mõjuks, kuna läti keeles ei eristata lokatiivi käändes latiivset ja staatilist tähendust (vt ka Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). Sellised kohamäärsõnad on näiteks *täsā* 'siin', *sī'ḑ* 'siin' ja *sǟ'l* 'seal', mida mõned keelejuhid kasutavad ka latiivselt, vastavalt tähendustes 'siia' kohamäärsõnade *täsā* ja *sī'ḑ* puhul ning tähenduses 'sinna' kohamäärsõna *sǟ'l* puhul.

Lisaks uuriti töös, millistel provormidel on nii pikk kui ka lühike kuju ja milliseid kasutuserinevusi neil olla võib. Andmestikust ilmnes, et enamasti oli eraldi pikki ja lühikesi vorme isikuliste asesõnade puhul nii nimetavas kui ka daativi käändes (nt esimese isiku ainsuse puhul pikk nominatiivi vorm *minā* ja lühike nominatiivi vorm *ma* 'mina, ma', samuti pikk daativi vorm *mi'nnõn* ja lühike daativi vorm *mi'n* 'minul, mul'), aga demonstratiivi *se* puhul sisekohakäänetes ja instrumentaalis (seesütleva käände pikk vorm *sīesõ* ja lühike vorm *sīes* 'selles, ses', instrumentaali pikk vorm *sīekõks* ja lühike vorm *sīeks* 'sellega') ning mitmuse vormi *ne* puhul nimetavas ja seesütlevas käändes (nt nimetava käände pikk vorm *nēd* ja lühike vorm *ne* 'nad, need', seesütleva käände pikk vorm *nēši* ja lühike vorm *nēš* 'nendes, neis'). Näitaval aseomadussõnal *seḷḷi* esines lühikesi ja pikki vorme ainsuse ja mitmuse osastavas käändes, nt pikk ainsuse osastava vorm *seḷḷiztõ* 'sellist', pikk mitmuse osastava vorm *seḷḷiztõd* 'selliseid' ja lühike mitmuse osastava vorm *seḷḷiž* 'selliseid', kuid neist oli andmestikus vaid

üksikuid näiteid. Samuti esines pikki ja lühikesi vorme kohamäärsõnadel, näiteks pikk vorm *tǟsā* ja selle lühike vorm *täs* 'siin'. Isikuliste asesõnade puhul esinesid pikad vormid enamikel juhtudel (peale esimese ja teise isiku mitmuse pikkade vormide *mēg* 'meie, me' ja *tēg* 'teie, te') rohkematel kordadel rõhutatult. Rõhutatud pikad vormid esinesid andmestikus kas kontrastiivsetes, individuaalsust rõhutavates või narratiivsetes kontekstides. Eraldi lühikesed ja pikad vormid puudusid viisi- ja ajamäärsõnadel, kuigi esines kokkusulanud vorm *s-* ajamäärsõnast *si'z* 'siis'. Demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* kohakäänete lühikesed vormid, nt seesütleva käände lühike vorm *sīes* 'selles' ja seestütleva käände lühike vorm *sīest* 'sellest' esinesid sagedamini adnominaalselt (atribuudina järgnevale nimisõnale), samal ajal kui pikad vormid nagu *sīesõ* 'selles' ilmnesid rohkem nominaalses kasutuses ning lausungi lõpus või pauside läheduses.

Viies uurimisküsimus oli kaugemale viitava näitava asesõna *tūo* kasutuse kohta. Demonstratiivi *tūo* on hiljutiste grammatika ülevaadete ja sõnaraamatute andmetel (nt Viitso 2008, Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) peetud pigem kadumas olevaks asesõnaks, mis esineb vaid kinnistunud fraasides, sageli vaid *se*-demonstratiiviga kõrvuti, nt fraasis *siedā-tuodā* 'seda-toda'. Andmestikust selgus, et demonstratiiv *tūo* esines ka iseseisvas kasutuses ilma *se*-ta ning seda kasutati nii nominaalselt kui ka adnominaalselt, samuti oli andmestikus esindatud eksofoorne kasutus, kui demonstratiivi *tūo* kasutati otseseks viitamiseks ümbritsevale füüsilisele objektile. Seega võib andmestiku põhjal öelda, et demonstratiiv *tūo* ei ole pidama jäänud vaid kinnistunud fraasidesse, vaid esineb ka iseseisva demonstratiivpronoomenina. Näiteid *tūo*-demonstratiivist oli andmestikus kokku aga vaid alla 10, seega tuleks selle kasutust korpuste mahtu laiendades täpsemalt edasi uurida, nt kas *tūo* on produktiivne kõigis käändevormides ning kas esineb veel selle mitmusevormi või on see kasutusest hävinud.

Lisaks selgus andmestikust, et kolmanda isiku ainsuse pronoomenit *tämā, ta, tä* kasutatakse demonstratiivsena ajaväljendites, kuid ainult omastavas ja olevas käändes, nt väljendites *tä'mnāigast* 'sellel (praegusel) aastal', kus vorm *tä'mn* on olevas käändes, ja *tä'm kūs* 'selles (praeguses) kuus', kus *tä'm* on omastavas käändes. Seda kasutust on mainitud ka varasemates grammatikates ja sõnaraamates, kuid oleva käände vormi ajaväljendites on täpsemalt uurinud ja seletanud Tiit-Rein Viitso (vt Viitso 2016). Kuna demonstratiivne kasutus esineb vaid omastava ja oleva käände puhul, ei saa pronoomenit *tämā*, *ta*, *tä* määratleda enam iseseisva demonstratiivpronoomenina. Siiski on sellel oma kindel funktsioon just käesolevale ajale viitamisel. Kuigi käesolevale ajale võib Kuramaa liivi keeles viidata ka neutraalse demonstratiivpronoomeniga *se*, ilmnes andmestikust, et tavalisem on sel puhul kasutada siiski pronoomenit *tämā*, *ta*, *tä*.

Viimane uurimisküsimus keskendus provormide erinevatele semantiliste viidetele ja semantilis-pragmaatilistele funktsioonidele. Selle küsimuse puhul uuriti, kas viidatakse elus või eluta referentidele, konkreetsetele või abstraktsetele referentidele ning milliseid täpsemaid referentide alltüüpe andmestiku põhjal leidub. Täpsemalt klassifitseeriti ja analüüsiti tüpoloogilise kirjanduse põhjal ka provormide semantilis-pragmaatilise kasutuse funktsioone, nagu eksofoorne, anafoorne ja korrelatiivne kasutus (inglise keeles *exophoric use*, *anaphoric use*, *correlative use*), äratuntavust märkiv kasutus (inglise keeles *recognitional use*),

varasemalt mainitud referendi aktiveerimine (inglise keeles *reactivation*), uue referendi tutvustamist märkiv kasutus (inglise keeles *introductive use*), diskursusedeiktiline kasutus (inglise keeles *discourse deictic use*) ning vaadeldi ka kasutust kohta hoidva sõna (inglise keeles *placeholder*) või partiklina.

Nii provormide semantiline kui ka pragmaatiline kasutus olid andmestikus mitmekesised: lisaks sõnaraamatutes esitatud põhitähendustele leidus isikuliste asesõnade puhul mitmesuguseid viiteid väljaspool kõnesituatsiooni olevatele isikutele, näiteks kui keelejuht tsiteerib narratiivi käigus kolmanda isiku kõnet otsekõnena, samuti esines geneerilist kasutust ainsuse teise isiku pronoomeni *sinā*, *sa* puhul, kus pronoomen viitab mingile üldisele situatsioonile, samas kuulajat kaasates. Kolmanda isiku asesõnad ja näitavad asesõnad viitasid erinevat tüüpi elusatele ja elututele referentidele, mis jaotati gruppidesse, nagu inimesed, muud elusolendid (loomad, taimed), isikustatud olendid (mütoloogilised tegelased), isikustatud asutused, füüsilised eluta objektid, abstraktsed objektid, sündmused või aega märkiv kasutus. Selgus, et kolmanda isiku pronoomenit *tämā, ta, tä* kasutati enim inimestele viitamiseks, kuid leidus ka märkimisväärne hulk viiteid eluta füüsilistele objektidele. Demonstratiivi *se* kasutati ainestikus enim eltua füüsilistele objektidele viitamiseks, kuid leidus ka viiteid inimestele. Kolmanda isiku ainsuse ja demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* ühine mitmusevorm *ne*, *nēd* viitas andmestikus enim inimestele, kuid lisaks ka eluta füüsilistele objektidele ning muudele elusolenditele ehk loomadele ja taimedele. Samuti leidus demonstratiivsete asesõnade puhul andmestikus süntaktiliselt põhjustatud viiteid, nagu korrelatiivne funktsioon, kus provorm viitab eelnenud või järgnevale osalausele tervikuna. Semantilis-pragmaatiliste kasutusfunktsioonide seas esinesid eksofoorne, anafoorne, katafoorne, diskursuse deiktiline kasutus ning adnominaalse kasutuse puhul lisaks ka äratuntavust märkiv kasutus (nii kõneleja kui ka kuulaja on viitealusega tuttavad varasemast ühisest teadmisest), juba mainitud referendi taasaktiveerimine ning tutvustav kasutus, mille puhul kõneleja on viitealusega tuttav, kuid kuulaja jaoks võib viide ja informatsioon olla uus. Uut referenti tutvustav kasutus ilmnes materjalis näitava aseomadussõnaga *seļļi* ja võis esineda nii koos nimisõnaga kui ka pärisnimega, nt *seļļizt vigād* 'sellised orud' või *seļļi Bärta* 'selline Bärta'. Andmestikust ilmes ka, et uut referenti võidakse tutvustada adnominaalset näitava asesõnaga *se* või näitava aseomadussõnaga *seļļi*, edaspidi võidakse jätkata nominaalselt demonstratiiviga *se* ning kui uus referent on sellega aktiveeritud, võib viide jätkuda kolmanda isiku ainsuse asesõnaga *ta*. Joonisel 27 on andmestiku põhjal kujutatud Kuramaa liivi keeles sagedasti esinevaid viitamisstrateegiaid.

Esimene mainimine		Teine mainimine	Edasised mainimised
	NP	→ se + NP / se / tämā või ta	→
(Äratuntav)	se + NP	→ se / tämā või ta	→ ta
(Tutvustav)	seļļi + NP	→ se / tämā või ta	→
(Äratuntav)	ProAdv + AdvP	→ Loc ProAdv / AdvP	
	AdvP	→ Loc ProAdv + AdvP	→ Loc ProAdv / AdvP

Joonis 27. Andmestikus sagedasti esinevad viitamisstrateegiad

Lausungites, kus on kaks referenti, märgib demonstratiivpronoomen *se* viimasena nimetatud referenti, kolmanda isiku ainsuse pronoomen aga esimesena mainitud referenti. Lisaks võib kolmanda isiku ainsuse pronoomen *tämā* või *ta* märkida ka logofoorsust, materjalis ilmnes selline kasutus just kõrvallausetes, kus pealauses kasutati referendi kohta viidet näitava asesõnaga *se*, kõrvallauses jätkati aga kolmanda isiku ainsuse pronoomeniga, kuna asesõnaga *se* võiks kõrvallauses viidata juba teisele referendile.

Kuramaa liivi keele provormid on nii morfoloogilise kui ka semantilis-pragmaatilise kasutuse poolest väga mitmekesised, kuna mitmetel vormidel esineb eraldi pikki ja lühikesi vorme ning kohamäärsõnade kasutuses võib sarnasele tähendusele, näiteks 'siin' vastata mitu eritüvelist sõna, näiteks nii *täsā*, *täs*, *tässõ* kui ka *sī'ḍš*, *sī'ḍ* või *sīn*. Nii morfoloogilises kui ka semantilis-pragmaatilises kasutuses on olulisi sarnasusi eesti keelega, milles esineb samuti enamike vormide puhul nii pikki kui ka lühikesi vorme (näiteks eesti keele isikulised asesõnad *mina, ma*; *sina*, *sa*; *tema*, *ta*; *meie*, *me*; *teie*, *te* ning *nemad*, *nad*). Mitmed provormid, eriti just kohamäärsõnad on Kuramaa liivi keeles siiski mitmekesisemad.

Semantilises kasutuses leidub samuti sarnasusi liivi ja eesti keele vahel, näiteks ka eesti keeles kasutatakse pikki vorme just kontrastiivses või narratiivses kontekstis (vt Pajusalu 2017). Kuramaa liivi keele provormide kasutust on kindlasti mõjutanud ka läti keel. Läti demonstratiivpronoomen *tas* 'too, see' võib oma neutraalsema kasutusega olla mõjutanud asukohaneutraalse demonstratiivpronoomeni *se* kasutuse esiletõusmist liivi keeles ja kaugemale osutava demonstratiivpronoomeni *tūo* kasutuse vähenemist. Samuti on läti keele mõjul mõnede kõnelejate andmestikus staatilisust märkivad kohamäärsõnad omandanud ka latiivse tähenduse, kuna läti keele lokatiivi käändes *kus*? ja *kuhu*? tähendusi ei eristata (vt Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). Ka käesolevale ajale viitav funktsioon vormiga *tä'm* või *tä'mn* ning proadjektiivide kahe tüve pariskasutus, nt *seḷḷiži-tūoḷiži* võivad olla osalt mõjutatud ka läti keelest, kuna läti keeles on olemas sarnased vasted, nt *šogad* 'tänavu' ning *šāds tāds* 'niisugune-naasugune'.

Doktoritöö jaoks koostatud korpused võimaldasid kirjeldada suurema osa Kuramaa liivi keele provormide tänapäevast kasutust ja nende põhilisi tendentse, puuduvaid või harva esinenud vorme saaks korpuste põhjal ja nende laiendamisel aga edasi uurida, et ka neid edaspidi täpsemalt kirjeldada. Eriti oluline oleks uurida liivi keele kohakäänete ja instrumentaali kasutust isikuliste asesõnade puhul, demonstratiivpronoomeni *tūo* ja demonstratiivse proadjektiivi *tūoḷi* erinevaid vorme ja semantilis-pragmaatilist kasutust ning liitvormide kasutust, kuna eelmainitud provormidest oli doktoritöö andmestikus näiteid harvem. Doktoritöö pakub näiteid ja kirjeldusi ka edasiseks tüpoloogiliseks võrdluseks teiste keeltega, eneseparanduste ja partiklite täiendavaks uurimiseks, liivi keele sõnavara ja morfosüntaksi täpsemaks uurimiseks, samuti võib loodud korpuste transkriptsioonide abil täpsemalt edasi uurida Kuramaa liivi keele fonoloogilisi seaduspärasusi.

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LIST OF DATA SOURCES

Table 57. Used recordings in the main corpus.

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
SUHK0506-01	00:31:06	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	22.08.1986
SUHK0506-02	00:30:51	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	22.08.1986
SUHK0523-02	00:22:47	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
F0997-02	00:01:00	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0997-03	00:12:18	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F1035-03	00:20:17	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	04.08.2000
F1035-05	00:06:03	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	04.08.2000
F1037-01	00:08:55	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	06.08.2000
DS0127-03	00:03:07	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	13.04.2012
DS0127-05	00:25:30	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	13.04.2012
DS0128-01	00:31:29	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	14.04.2012
SUHK0431-01	00:44:09	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0442-03	00:23:03	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0520-01	00:40:18	5	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
SUHK0520-02	00:19:39	5	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
F1035-01	00:35:45	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	04.08.2000
F1089-05	00:32:58	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	03.08.2005
Total length:	**07:13:04**				

Table 58. Used recordings in the expanded corpus.

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
SUHK0507-01	00:40:56	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	22.08.1986
SUHK0508-01	00:41:30	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	24.08.1986
SUHK0508-02	00:27:54	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	24.08.1986
SUHK0509-01	00:40:03	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0509-02	00:23:37	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0510-01	00:35:39	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0510-02	00:27:54	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0511-01	00:39:47	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	28.08.1986
SUHK0511-02	00:23:23	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	28.08.1986
SUHK0525-01	00:42:54	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	09.1987
SUHK0525-02	00:42:52	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	09.1987
SUHK0526-01	00:39:32	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	09.1987
SUHK0526-02	00:30:52	1	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	09.1987
SUHK0522-01	00:39:34	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
SUHK0522-02	00:14:48	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
SUHK0523-01	00:34:15	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
F0996-01	00:46:43	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0996-02	00:46:40	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0997-01	00:33:10	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0997-04	00:12:04	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0997-05	00:34:40	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0998-01	00:09:42	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0998-02	00:36:40	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0998-03	00:18:30	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F0998-04	00:27:59	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
F0999-02	00:46:55	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	24.07.1997
F1035-04	00:20:10	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	04.08.2000
F1036-04	00:41:16	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Tiina Halling	Vaid (Latvia)	05.08.2000
F1036-05	00:03:24	2	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	05.08.2000
DS0116-01	00:44:53	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Vaid (Latvia)	22.05.2010
DS0116-02	00:04:45	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Vaid (Latvia)	22.05.2010
DS0116-03	00:07:51	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Vaid (Latvia)	22.05.2010
DS0117-01	00:51:07	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	23.05.2010
DS0117-02	00:02:55	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	23.05.2010
DS0117-03	00:07:00	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	23.05.2010
DS0117-04	00:18:44	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	23.05.2010
DS0117-05	00:39:26	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	23.05.2010
DS0118-01	00:08:30	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0118-02	00:09:07	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0118-03	00:16:01	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0118-04	00:07:00	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0118-05	00:29:07	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0118-06	00:06:50	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	24.05.2010
DS0119-01	00:40:34	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010
DS0119-03	00:23:04	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010
DS0119-04	00:01:42	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010
DS0119-05	00:21:28	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010
DS0119-06	00:13:47	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010
DS0119-07	00:12:30	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	25.05.2010

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
DS0120-01	00:45:30	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	26.05.2010
DS0120-02	00:31:16	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	26.05.2010
DS0120-03	00:18:46	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	26.05.2010
DS0120-04	00:14:35	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	26.05.2010
DS0120-05	00:04:58	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	26.05.2010
DS0121-01	00:22:28	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-02	00:03:12	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-03	00:04:34	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-04	00:02:07	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-05	00:00:50	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-07	00:03:06	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-08	00:04:45	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-09	00:16:21	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-10	00:08:45	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-11	00:01:10	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-12	00:12:56	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-13	00:00:28	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-14	00:26:10	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-15	00:16:03	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-16	00:06:09	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0121-17	00:08:46	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	27.05.2010
DS0122-01	00:34:25	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
DS0122-02	00:00:25	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010
DS0122-03	00:06:49	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010
DS0122-04	00:04:20	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010
DS0122-05	00:06:51	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010
DS0122-06	00:10:07	3	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	28.05.2010
DS0123-01	00:05:02	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-02	00:16:52	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-03	00:01:33	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-04	00:04:07	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-05	00:04:07	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-06	00:00:41	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-07	01:01:49	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-08	00:12:27	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0123-09	00:14:57	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	09.04.2012
DS0124-01	00:10:23	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	10.04.2012
DS0124-02	00:41:36	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	10.04.2012
DS0125-01	00:11:21	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-02	00:09:16	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-03	00:55:37	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-04	00:09:01	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-05	00:52:44	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-06	00:01:01	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0125-07	00:05:36	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	11.04.2012
DS0126-01	00:00:32	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0126-02	00:39:16	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0126-03	00:43:29	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0126-04	00:03:53	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0126-05	00:01:40	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0126-06	01:24:30	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	12.04.2012
DS0127-01	01:02:43	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	13.04.2012
DS0127-02	00:22:54	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	13.04.2012
DS0127-04	00:00:56	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	13.04.2012
DS0128-02	00:50:10	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	14.04.2012
DS0128-03	00:01:18	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	14.04.2012
DS0128-04	01:15:08	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	14.04.2012
DS0128-05	00:02:52	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	14.04.2012

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
DS0129-01	01:02:31	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	15.04.2012
DS0129-02	00:29:52	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	15.04.2012
DS0129-03	01:20:42	3	Valts Ernštreits	Saulaine (Canada)	15.04.2012
SUHK0430-01	00:43:14	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0430-02	00:42:10	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0431-02	00:44:09	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0432-01	00:42:52	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0432-02	00:21:22	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0433-01	00:42:46	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0433-02	00:33:40	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	20.01.1986
SUHK0434-01	00:44:08	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0434-02	00:42:34	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0435-01	00:42:11	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0435-02	00:19:17	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0436-01	00:43:15	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0436-02	00:41:58	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0437-01	00:40:03	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0437-02	00:31:03	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0438-01	00:43:36	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0438-02	00:41:23	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Sīkrõg (Latvia)	23.01.1986
SUHK0439-01	00:37:19	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	11.08.1986
SUHK0442-01	00:41:12	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0442-02	00:16:27	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0445-01	00:42:59	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0445-02	00:31:18	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0490-01	00:31:03	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0490-02	00:30:22	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0491-01	00:30:27	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0491-02	00:29:09	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0500-01	00:41:30	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0500-02	00:35:06	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0501-01	00:39:38	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0501-02	00:36:06	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0502-01	00:42:37	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0502-02	00:42:39	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0503-01	00:38:47	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0503-02	00:36:14	4	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Tartu (Estonia)	08.1986
SUHK0521-02	00:08:04	5	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Vaid (Latvia)	27.08.1986
SUHK0512-01	00:39:09	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	22.08.1986
SUHK0512-02	00:24:57	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	22.08.1986

Archive number	Duration	Sp. nr.	Interviewer(s)	Place of recording	Time of recording
SUHK0513-01	00:41:14	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0513-02	00:19:50	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
SUHK0514-01	00:30:05	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	26.08.1986
F1035-02	00:13:55	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	04.08.2000
F1042-09	00:32:47	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus	Kūolka (Latvia)	05.08.2004
F1062-01	00:00:49	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus	Kūolka (Latvia)	05.08.2004
F1062-03	00:30:14	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso, Karl Pajusalu, Pärtel Lippus	Kūolka (Latvia)	05.08.2004
F1089-01	00:00:41	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	03.08.2005
F1089-02	00:01:22	6	Tiit-Rein Viitso	Kūolka (Latvia)	03.08.2005
Total length:	**66:41:54**				

APPENDIX

Tables of pro-forms occurring in the data

Table 59. Inflectional forms of personal pronouns in the data

Pronoun	NOM	GEN	DAT	PART	INSTR	ILL	INE	ELA	ADE	ESS
1SG	*minā, ma, māʰ, mä*	*miʼn*	*miʼnnõn, miʼn*	*mīnda*	*²(miʼnkõks)*	*(miʼnnõ, miʼnnõz)*	*(miʼnsõ)*	*miʼnstõ*	–	–
2SG	*sinā, sa, saʰ*	*siʼn*	*siʼnnõn, siʼn*	*sīnda*	*siʼnkõks*	*(siʼnnõ, siʼnnõz)*	*(siʼnsõ)*	*siʼnstõ*	–	–
3SG	*tämā, ta, taʰ, tä*	*täʼm*	*täʼmmõn, täʼm*	*tānda*	*täʼmkõks*	*(täʼmmõ, täʼmmõz)*	*täʼmsõ*	*täʼmstõ*	*tämāl*	*täʼmn*
1PL	*mēg, mäg, meg, me*	*mäʼd*	*mäʼddõn, mēḑin, mäʼd*	*mēḑi*	*(mäʼdkõks)*	*(mēʼži)*	*(mēši)*	*mēšti, mäʼdstõ*	–	–
2PL	*tēg, teg*	*täʼd*	*täʼddõn*	*tēḑi*	*täʼdkõks*	*(tēʼži)*	*(tēši)*	*(tēšti)*	–	–
3PL	*ne, neʰ, nēd, nēg, n-*	*nänt*	*näntõn*	*nēḑi*	*näntkõks*	*(nēʼži)*	*nēši*	*nēšti*	–	–

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2 Forms marked with * did not occur in the research data, expected form(s) according to the dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) are given in parentheses.

Table 60. Inflectional forms of demonstrative pronouns in the data

Pronoun	NOM	GEN	DAT	PART	INSTR	ILL	INE	ELA	ADE	ESS
Proximal DEM SG	–	*tä'm*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*tä'mn*
Distance-neutral DEM SG	*se, se^h*	*sīe*	*sīen*	*siedā*	*sīekõks, sīeks*	*sī'ezõ, sī'ez*	*sīesõ, sīes*	*sīestõ, sīest*	*sīel*	–
Distance-neutral DEM PL	*ne, nēd*	*nänt*	*näntõn*	*nēdi*	*näntkõks*	*^{3} (nē'ži)*	*nēši, neiš, nēš*	*nēšti*	–	–
Distal DEM SG	*tūo*	* *(tūo)*	* *(tūon)*	*tuodā*	* *(tūoks, tūokõks)*	* *(tūozõ)*	*tūos*	* *(tūost)*	*tūola*	–

Table 61. Inflectional forms of demonstrative proadjectives in the data

Pronoun	NOM	GEN	DAT	PART	INSTR-TRANSL	ILL	INE	ELA	ADE	ESS
Dem ProAdj SG	*seļļi*	*seļļiz*	*seļļižõn, seļļižõn*	*seļļižõ, seļļizt*	*seļļizõks*	* *(seļļizõ)*	* *(seļļizõs)*	* *(seļļizõst)*	–	–
Dem ProAdj PL	*seļļizt*	*seļļizt*	* *(seļļiztõn)*	*seļļiži, seļļiž, seļļiztõd*	* *(seļļizõks)*	*seļļižiz*	* *(seļļižis)*	*seļļižist*	–	–

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[3] Forms marked with * did not occur in the research data, expected form(s) according to the dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012 or Sjögren & Wiedemann 1861a) are given in parentheses.

Table 62. Forms of locative proadverbs in the data

Proadverb	Proximal	Distal
Lative	*sī'ḍõ, sī'ḍ, tã̆nõ, tã̆n, täsä, tässõ, täs*	*sī'ņõz, sī'ņõ, sī'ņ, sā̆'l*
Static	*sī'ḍš, sī'ḍ, sī'd, sīn, täsä, tässõ, täs*	*sā̆'lõz, sā̆'lõ, sā̆'l, sīel*
Separative	*sī'ḍštõ, sī'ḍšt, tästä, tästõ*	*sā̆'ldõst, sā̆'ldõ, sā̆'ld*

Table 63. Forms of manner-indicating and temporal proadverbs in the data

Proadverb	Forms
Manner-indicating	*ne'i, nä'i, ne'ig*
Temporal	*ni, ni^h, si'z, s-*

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