

## CONSTRUCTIONS OF OBLIGATION, DUTY, AND NECESSITY IN LIVONIAN\*

Tiit-Rein Viitso

*University of Tartu*

**Abstract.** In Livonian, obligation, duty, and necessity are expressed mainly by means of constructions containing a finite form of the auxiliary verbs *piđim* ‘must’ and *piđiks* ‘should have to’, *tūlda* ‘to come’, *lā’dō* ‘to go’, *vōlda* ‘to be’ and *līdō* ‘shall, will’. The multitude of constructions can be reduced to eleven underlying constructional models consisting of three components: (a) the experiencer in the nominative or the experiencer in the dative (which can occur with all auxiliaries), (b) an auxiliary verb as the predicate and (c) the infinitive, a supine form or a participle of a main verb or the adverb *vajāg* ‘necessary’ and the object noun.

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### 1. Introduction

The present study deals with the structure of constructions expressing obligation, duty, and necessity in Livonian clauses. The constructions are grouped according to the auxiliary verbs *piđim* and *piđiks*, *tūlda*, *lā’dō*, *vōlda* and *līdō*, forming the predicate in the constructions. Here an obligation is understood as something that must be done because of a promise or because it is morally right. A duty is something that is done or must be done as part of a job, or under external compulsion or law. A necessity is something that one must have or do, something that is vitally or inevitably necessary. As in everyday life throughout history there have existed obligations and duties that are unnecessary and even harmful, here obligations and duties are not considered to be subtypes of necessity. This point of view is relatively close to the world view of the Livonian language where the noun *tī’edōb*, primarily the present passive participle of the verb *tī’edō* ‘to do’, covers both obligation and duty, and there is no special term for either of them. Necessity, in Livonian *vajāgōm*, as well as the adject-

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tives *vajāgli* or *vajāgi* ‘necessary’, are derived from the adverb *vajāg*. Constructions with the adverb *vajāg* ‘necessary’ form a clear class of constructions of necessity. All other cases form a continuum where obligation, duty, and necessity are not expressed by means of these nouns or adjectives but by means of special constructions. Somewhat ironically, these constructions capture even certain inevitable processes or occasions that “necessarily” occur as “compelled by fate or by natural law to <what must be will be>”, to cite Merriam-Webster, but cannot be characterized in terms of obligation, duty and necessity. Hence, one must not mix up a study of the form of constructions used for expressing obligation, duty, and necessity and the classification the content of clauses using such constructions. Still, as the verbs *vōlda* and *līdō* occur both in constructions with the adverb *vajāg* and in constructions where the expression of obligation, duty or necessity, or natural law meets no characteristic formal restrictions, constructions with the auxiliaries *vōlda* and are discussed in two different sections.

The source of most of the examples is the Livonian-Estonian-Latvian dictionary (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012) or the underlying database of the dictionary and a corpus of texts which date from 1932 at the earliest. Six examples of *piđim* and *piđīks* are from Kettunen 1938. All examples are given in the Standard Livonian orthography<sup>1</sup> as established by the Livonian Language Conference held in Irē (Mazirbe) in March 1996, except that here the open *ō* is distinguished from the mid *o* and the broken tone is indicated by an apostrophe. Standard Livonian is based on East Livonian.

As the constructions under discussion are either affirmative or negative, one must remember that in the indicative and conditional mood, a finite auxiliary verb form of an affirmative clause is transformed in a negative clause into a sequence of a finite form of the negation verb and the corresponding connegative form of the auxiliary verb. Note that a connegative form of the main verb has personal endings only in plural. As an example of interrelations of the affirmative and negative present and past time paradigms of the verb *vōlda* ‘to be’, cf. tables 1 and 2.

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1 The Livonian orthography uses letters with a macron to render long vowels and letters with the Latvian (comma-shaped) cedilla (*đ, l, ŋ, r, t*) to render palatalized consonants. The letters *o* and *ō* render correspondingly mid and high central vowels. The orthography follows the East Livonian pronunciation.

**Table 1.** Affirmative and negative indicative mood forms of *võlda* ‘to be’.

Per- son	Affirmative				Negative			
	present indicative		past indicative		present indicative		past indicative	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>u'm</i>	<i>ūomō</i>	<i>vó'ļ</i>	<i>vó'ļmō</i>	<i>ā'b ūo</i>	<i>ā'b ūomō</i>	<i>i'z ūo</i>	<i>i'z ūomō</i>
2nd	<i>ūo-d</i>	<i>ūotō</i>	<i>vó'ļd</i>	<i>vó'ļtō</i>	<i>ā'd ūo</i>	<i>āt ūotō</i>	<i>i'zt ūo</i>	<i>i'zt ūotō</i>
3rd	<i>u'm</i>	<i>umātō ~ ātō ~ attō ~ āt ~ at</i>	<i>vó'ļ</i>	<i>vó'ļtō</i>	<i>ā'b ūo</i>	<i>ā'b ūotō</i>	<i>i'z ūo</i>	<i>i'zt ūotō</i>

**Table 2.** Affirmative and negative conditional and quotative mood forms of *võlda* ‘to be’.

Per- son	Affirmative				Negative			
	conditional		quotative		conditional		quotative	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>vólks</i>	<i>vólksmō</i>	<i>vóļli</i>	<i>vóļlid</i>	<i>ā'b vólks</i>	<i>ā'b vólksmō</i>	<i>ā'b vóļli</i>	<i>ā'b vóļlid</i>
2nd	<i>vólkst</i>	<i>vólkstō</i>	<i>vóļli</i>	<i>vóļlid</i>	<i>ā'd vólks</i>	<i>āt vólkstō</i>	<i>ā'd vóļli</i>	<i>āt vóļlid</i>
3rd	<i>vólks</i>	<i>vólks-tō</i>	<i>vóļli</i>	<i>vóļlid</i>	<i>ā'b vólks</i>	<i>ā'b vólkstō</i>	<i>ā'b vóļli</i>	<i>ā'b vóļlid</i>

Constructions of obligation and duty contain in addition to the auxiliaries obligatorily an indefinite form of the main verb, namely either the infinitive or the illative or debitive form of the supine or a participle. The indefinite form inventory of Livonian is relatively rich; the choice of form depends to some extent on the governmental preferences of an auxiliary. For an overview of indefinite forms and their endings, cf. Table 3.

**Table 3.** Infinitive form system of the Livonian verb

INFINITIVE FORMS					
PARTICIPLES		Active		Passive	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	Present	<i>-bõ -b -õb</i>	<i>-bõd -õbõd</i>	<i>-tõb -dõb</i>	<i>-tõbõd -dõbõd</i>
	Past	<i>-nd -n -õn</i>	<i>-nõd -nd -õnõd</i>	<i>-tõt - dõt</i>	<i>-tõd -dõd</i>
INFINITIVE		<i>-da -dõ -õ</i>			
GERUND		<i>-dsõ -õs</i>			
SUPINE	Illativ	<i>-mõ -m -õm</i>			
	Inessive	<i>-mõs -õmõs</i>			
	Erelative	<i>-mõst -õmõst</i>			
	Abessive	<i>-mõt -õmõt</i>			
	Instrumental	<i>-mõks -õmõks</i>			
	Debitive	<i>-mõst -õmõst</i>			

For a first understanding of the roles of infinitive, gerund and supine form, cf. examples with the corresponding forms of the verb *lā'dõ* 'to go':

INFINITIVE *Ma tõ'b lā'dõ kuodāj* 'I want **to go** home.'

GERUND: *Kuodāj lā'dsõ ma kã'b ka bũõdõõ.* 'When **going** home, I also go to the store.'

SUPINE:

Illative: *Jemã pa'õ lapsõn lā'mõ kuodāj.* 'Mother told the child **to go** home.'

Inessive: *Ma ni um lā'mõs kuodāj.* 'I am now **going** home.'

Erelative: *Võida tãnda jarã lã'mõst!* 'Keep him **from going** away!

Abessive: *Ma ä'b lã' tãstã jarã kuodāj lã'mõt.* 'I don't go away from here **without going** home.'

Instrumental: *Ni lã'b lã'mõks ne'i kui lã'b.* 'Now it is going **to go** the way it goes.'

Debitive: *U'm lã'mõst.bõn pã'lõ.* 'One must **go** on a train.'

Note that only infinitives may occur in the role of a subject or an object.

## 2. *Piḡīm* and *piḡīks*.

The verb represented by the stems *piḡīm* in the indicative mood and *piḡīks* in the conditional is a highly defective auxiliary. Morphological segmentation of the stems is problematic because (a) no other disyllabic or longer verb stem ends in *i* or *ī*, and all other monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant add the marker *-ōks* in the conditional mood and (b) all other words have no special mood marker in the indicative mood and therefore add personal endings to the pure stem. Here *piḡīm* must in any case be considered a unique stem containing an indicative mood marker which, exceptionally, is not inflected for person. Below, conditionally, the two mood stems *piḡīm* and *piḡīks* are segmented as having the common lexical stem *piḡī-* and mood markers *-m* and *-ks*. Still, it is noteworthy that Lauri Kettunen has presented in his dictionary all cases of *piḡīks* under the headword *pi'ddō*, i.e. *pi'ddō*, but the form *piḡīm* has an entry of its own (Kettunen 1938: 185b and 186a). As in Livonian intervocalic consonants of the weak grade indicative or a conditional mood stem do not differ from intervocalic consonants of a strong grade stem of an infinitive, supine, or participle as to palatalization and the absence thereof, one cannot consider the forms *piḡīm* and *piḡīks* to be members of the paradigm of the verb *pi'ddō* 'to hold' together with *pidāb* 'holds' and *pidāks* 'should hold'.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1. *Piḡīm*.

The form **piḡīm** is mostly used together with the illative supine form of a main verb.

The form **piḡīm** occurs mainly (a) in normal clauses (i.e. in clauses having a subject) where the subject is filled by the experiencer in the nominative case, cf. (1)–(3) or (b) in subjectless clauses (i.e. in clauses that are valid for anyone), cf. (4):

- (1) *Ma*            *piḡī-m*            *jarā*    *lā'mō*.  
I.NOM        must-IND        away    go-SUP.ILL

'I must go away.'

2 Kettunen's approach was probably influenced by the fact that according to Wiedemann 1861b: 80, the entry *Pidd* pr. *pidāb*, the verb *pi'ddō* had also the meaning 'müssen, sollen', i.e. 'must, should', with the single example *seda pidāks vōlm* 'it should be'. Kettunen has obviously simply identified *pidāks* with *piḡīks* and treated the so far unknown form *piḡīm* as a different word.

- (2) *Amād piḍī-m oppõm.*  
 all-PL.NOM must-IND learn-SUP.ILL  
 ‘All must learn.’
- (3) *Sa piḍī-m mūpõ lõtõl lā’m.*  
 thou.NOM must-IND tomorrow divine service-ALL go-SUP.ILL  
 ‘You must go tomorrow to the divine service.’

In a subordinate clause, depending on the past tense predicate of the main clause, **piḍīm** refers to a past situation, cf. *Ma īrgiz lo’mḡõ ja piḍīm pigātagā mḡ’zõ sadām’*.

- (4) *Ma īrg-iz lo’mḡ-õ*  
 I.NOM begin-IND.PAST sway-INF  
*ja piḍīm pigātagā mḡ’z-õ sadā-m.*  
 and must.IND almost down-ILL fall-SUP.ILL  
 ‘I began to sway and almost had to fall down.’

Lauri Kettunen (1938: 286a) has also presented a case of *piḍīm* with the past active participle *võnd* of the verb *võlda* ‘to be’:

- (5) *Ta piḍī-m vō-nd.*  
 he.NOM must-IND be-PLE.ACT.PAST  
 ‘He must have been.’

Obviously (5) can be considered an elliptic clause, shortened from *\*Ta piḍīm vō’lḡõ võnd*, for which there is a one-to-one Estonian correspondence *Ta peab olema olnud*.

Rarer is **piḍīm** in experiential clauses where the experiencer is in the dative case:

- (6) *Tā’dd-õn piḍī-m sēe-s aḡā-s jo*  
 you-DAT must-IND this-INE thing.INE more  
*kovāl vō’l-mõ.*  
 clever-NOM be-SUP.ILL  
 ‘You must be more clever in this thing.’
- (7) *Tā’m piḍī-m tā-sā vō’l-m.*  
 he.DAT must-IND here-INE be-SUP.ILL  
 ‘He must be here.’

Note that the word *tä'm* in (7) represents the short (or allegro) form of the personal pronoun. In both the nominative and the dative, Livonian personal pronouns have short forms alongside the full forms, cf. Table 3.

**Table 3.** Full and short nominative and dative forms of personal pronouns.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Nominative	Dative	Nominative	Dative
1st person	<i>minā ~ ma</i>	<i>mi'nnõn ~ mi'n</i>	<i>mēg ~ meg</i>	<i>mā'ddõn ~ mā'n</i>
2nd person	<i>sinā ~ sa</i>	<i>si'nnõn ~ si'n</i>	<i>tēg ~ teg</i>	<i>tā'ddõn ~ tā'n</i>
3rd person	<i>tāmā ~ ta</i>	<i>tā'mmõn ~ tä'm</i>	<i>nāmā ~ ne</i>	<i>nāntõn ~ nā'n</i>

As the short forms *mi'n*, *si'n* and *tä'm* (in an unstressed position they may occur without broken tone) formally overlap with the genitive, one must not take the allegro forms for similar genitive forms which, by the way, never occur in this syntactic position.

- (8) *Ne'i*      ***piḏī-m***      *võ'lmõ.*  
so      must-IND      be-SUP.ILL.

‘It must be so. ~ So it must be.’

However, Kettunen also presents a case of *piḏīm* with the main verb in the infinitive form:

- (9) *Tä'm*      ***piḏī-m***      *tä-sā*      *võ'l-da.*  
he.DAT      must-IND      here-INE      be-INF

‘He must be here.’

## 2.2. Piḏīks

The form *piḏīks* functions as a conditional mood form. As an auxiliary it occurs mostly with the illative form of the supine and rarely with the infinitive of the main verb.

The stem *piḏīks* occurs mainly (a) in normal clauses beginning with nominative or (b) in generic clauses.

In normal clauses the stem *piḏīks* does not take personal endings in singular, while in plural it takes a distinctive ending for the 1st person

plural and a common ending for both the 2nd and 3rd person, cf. examples (10) – (13).

- (10) *Sa piḍṭ-ks opp-ōm.*  
 thou-NOM should-CND learn- SUP.ILL  
 ‘You should learn.’
- (11) *Ta piḍṭ-ks rujā vō 'l-mō.*  
 he.NOM should-CND sick-NOM be-SUP.ILL  
 ‘He should be sick.’
- (12) *Mēg piḍṭ-ks-mō vō 'l-mō.*  
 we-NOM should-CND-1PL be-SUP.ILL  
 ‘We should be.’
- (13) *Ne piḍṭ-ks-t tu 'l-mō.*  
 they.NOM should-CND-2/3PL come-SUP.ILL  
 ‘They should come.’

In generic clauses *piḍṭiks* does not take any personal ending, cf. (14) and (15), and, hence, must be considered to be in singular:

- (14) *Piḍṭ-ks kappiḷt-ōm mō-dō.*  
 should- CND hoe-SUP.ILL land-PART  
 ‘One should hoe land.’

In (15), resulting from topicalization of the temporal adverbial, the subject in nominative plural has been moved after the predicate phrase. In this clause *piḍṭiks* does not take the plural personal ending:

- (15) *Si'z piḍṭ-ks vō 'l-mō*  
 Then should- CND be-SUP.ILL  
*jōvā-d purdō-d.*  
 good-PL.NOM footbridge-PL.NOM  
 ‘Then there should be a good footbridge.’

There are three known examples with *piḍṭiks* and the main verb in the infinitive form, namely one with the experiencer in the nominative (16), one with the experiencer in the dative (17), cf. Kettunen 1938: 285b), and one generic clause with a topicalized genitive object (18):



- (16) *Ta piđt-ks jarā bro'utš-ō.*  
 he.NOM should-CND away ride-INF  
 'He should ride away.'
- (17) *Tä'm piđt-ks tämpō vōl-da sīn.*  
 he.DAT should-CND today be-INF here-INE  
 'He should be here today.'
- (18) *Uļizuks piđt-ks vi'zz-ō drēgiļt-ō.*  
 outdoor.GEN should-CND shut-ILL bolt-INF  
 'One should bolt the front door.'

### 2.3. Meaning of *piđīm* and *piđīks*

Here above, except in example (4), the form *piđīm* has been translated as 'must' relying on translation of examples (1), (2), and (4) into Estonian and Latvian by the Livonian schoolteacher, writer, and linguist Pētōr Damberg (1909–1987) as clauses of inevitability or strong obligation and on his use in one of his writings of the form *piđīks* in example (15) as expressing a probabilistic hope. In Kettunen 1938 all cases of both *piđīm* and *piđīks* have been translated into German using forms of subjunctive 2 of German verbs *haben*, *müssen*, or *sollen*.

### 3. *Tūlda*.

There are only two known cases with the verb *tūlda*, whose primary and most usual meaning is 'to come', in the role of an auxiliary in the meaning 'to have to'. (19) expresses an external pressure on the experiencer to enable an action, i.e. a duty. Note, however, that in (20) the main verb form *tī'edō* has been dropped from the final clause. Hence, this sentence reflects recommendations given for certain probable and maybe inevitable future actions.

- (19) *Si'nn-ōn tulā-b lass-ō mi'nn-ōn*  
 thou-DAT come-3SG let-INF I-DAT  
  
*sīn-da kuodā-j sōt-ō.*  
 thou-PART home-LAT send-INF  
 'You have to let me send you home.'

- (20) *Mēg*    *nē-ḡi*                    *opāt-ōm*    *tī'e-m,*  
 we        they-PART.PL            teach-1PL    do-SUP.ILL
- mis*                    *nānt-ōn*            ***tulā-b.***  
 what.NOM    they-DAT            come-3SG

‘We teach them to do what they will have [to do].’

#### 4. *Lā'dō.*

Forms of the indicative and conditional moods of the verb *lā'dō*, whose primary and most usual meaning is ‘to go’, function in subjectless clauses as auxiliaries and express (a) when used in the indicative mood, the moral obligation or prohibition of the action expressed by the infinitive of a main verb, (b) when used in the conditional mood, a proposal or recommendation to perform or avoid the action expressed by the infinitive of the main verb when used in the conditional mood.

The 3rd person present indicative of the verb has been used in catechetical formulae, e.g. (21) and (22)<sup>3</sup> and thus such a construction may express both obligations and necessities:

- (21) *Si'nn-ōn*            ***lā'-b***                    *ouvōst-ō*            *eņtš*  
 thou:DAT            go-3SG                    honor-INF.ILL        self.GEN
- i'zz-ō*                    *ja*                    *je'mm-ō.*  
 father-PART        and                    mother-PART

‘You must honor your father and mother.’

- (22) *Si'nn-ōn*            *ä'-b*                    ***lā'***                    *tapp-ō.*  
 thou-DAT            not- 3SG                    go-CNEG.IND        kill-INF

‘You must not kill.’

Affirmative preterite forms of the verb *lā'dō* mainly point to the experiencer’s past action or its attendant phenomena (23), negative forms to the absence of obligation or necessity of an action (24):

- (23) *Nānt-ōn*            ***lekš***                    *pāgiņ*    *pā-dō*                    *murd-ō.*  
 They-DAT            go.PAST                    much    head-PART            break-INF

‘They had to rack their brains a lot.’

3 Here translations of Livonian catechetical formulae (21) and (22) follow the wording of the Livonian text.

- (24) *Mi'nn-õn i'z lã' sie-dã tī'e-dõ.*  
 I-DAT not.PAST go.CNEG.IND this-PART do-INF  
 'I did not have to do it.'

Object topicalization focuses the object of corresponding obligation or non-obligation of an action expressed by the infinitive and is accomplished by the simultaneous movement of the main verb to the end of the clause, cf. (25). Similarly, topicalization of a time or place adverbial focuses the place or time of an action and is accomplished by the movement of the main verb to the end of the clause, cf. (26):

- (25) *Jūobõn-t ä'-b lã' jemīņ jūot-õ*  
 drunk-PART not-PR3 go.CNEG.IND more water-INF  
 'One must not give a drunk more to drink.'

- (26) *Mū sõna-s ä'-b lã' krõip-õ vôtš-õ.*  
 else-GEN sauna-INE not-PR go.CNEG.IND scabies look for-INF  
 'In someone else's sauna, one must not look for scabies.'<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, clauses with the topicalized object often undergo simplification and the experiencer and other adverbials undergo ellipsis inasmuch as the contextual and/or extralinguistic conditions allow it. The same is true for clauses beginning with the experiencer in the dative, cf. (27) where in *võidõ kilgõ* there has remained nothing that could undergo further simplification.

- (27) *Lã'-b void-õ kilg-õ.*  
 go-3SG keep-INF side-ILL  
 'One must keep aside.'

A conditional form of the verb *lã'dõ* in an affirmative clause usually expresses a recommendation for an action, while in a negative clause it is a recommendation against it. A clause beginning with the experiencer is then first of all a recommendation given for a certain experiencer, cf. (28). When the experiencer has undergone ellipsis, the clause is potentially a more general recommendation to perform an action (29). In a clause with a topicalized object or a topicalized adverbial of time or place, the attention is focused on the object, place,

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4 This proverb should be understood as meaning that no guest should criticize the host's home.

or time. Clauses with no topicalized adverbial or object begin with the auxiliary verb and tend to be as short as possible, cf. (30)–(31):

- (28) *Tā'mm-ōn lā'-ks leṭkēl-dō opp-ō.*  
 he-DAT go-CND.3 Latvian language-PART learn-INF  
 'He should learn the Latvian language.'

- (29) *Sie-dā lā'-ks kuigid va|mō-ks sō-dō.*  
 this-PART go-CND.3 somehow ready-INL get-INF  
 'It should get ready somehow.'

- (30) *Lā'-ks kappi|t-ō mō-dō.*  
 go-CND.3 hoe-INF land-PART  
 'One should hoe land.'

- (31) *Lā'-ks lā'-dō.*  
 go-CND.3 go-INF  
 'One should go.'

There is an interesting case where instead of the main verb *kītō* 'say, tell', it is its auxiliary that takes the infinitive form after *lā'ks*:

- (32) *Vanā irg-ōn mōtl-ō.*  
 old.NOM begin-ACT.PAST.PPLE think-INF  
  
*ku ä'-b lā'-ks vōl-da kīt-ōn.*  
 that not-3SG go-CNEG.CND be-INF tell-ACT.PAST.PLE  
 'The old person began to think that he should not have told anything.'

There are no formal reasons not to use the auxiliary in the quotative, imperative, and jussive mood, but there are no known examples of it.

### 5. *Vōlda* and *līdō* in constructions of obligation and duty

In Livonian, the verb *vōlda* fulfills mostly the same existential role as the English verb *to be* and the verb *līdō* approximately the same role as the English verbs *shall* and *will*. In constructions of duty or obligation, and necessity, forms of the verbs *vōlda* and *līdō* are

auxiliaries used (a) with the debitive form of the supine and (b) with the passive present participle form of the main verb.<sup>5</sup>

### 5.1. *Võlda* with the debitive supine

Depending on the main function of the debitive supine, constructions with finite forms of *võlda* express mostly inevitable or moral obligations or experiences. This construction is used with the verb *võlda* in the indicative, cf. (33)–(37) and (40)–(41), in the conditional, cf. (38)–(39) and (40), in the jussive (43), and in the quotative (44). The experiencer, when made explicit, occurs in such constructions in the dative case, cf. (31)–(37).

- (33) *Jegāi'd-ōn*      *u'm*      *kānda-mōst*      *eņtš*      *rišt-ō.*  
everyone-DAT    be.3SG    carry-SUP.DEB    self.GEN    cross-PART

‘Everyone has to carry his cross.’

- (34) *Si'nn-ōn*      *ā'-b*      *ūo*      *võtā-mōst*  
you-DAT      no-PR      be.CNEG.IND      take-SUP.DEB  
*vigā-ks*      *mi'n*      *sō'ņ-đi.*  
amiss-INL    I.GEN      word-PL.PART

‘You don’t have to take my words amiss.’

- (35) *Sīe-n*      *u'm*      *su'gg-ōmōst.*  
this-DAT      be-3SG    happen-SUP.DEB

‘It is to happen.’

- (36) *Vadā-n*      *vō'ļ*      *vō'l-mōst*      *vēļa.*  
seine-DAT    be.3SG.PAST    be-SUP.DEB    loose.NOM

‘A seine had to be loose.’

5 Both types (a) and (b) were first described in Wiedemann 1861a: 161, 163–164 as *Verbum debitivum*. This term covered constructions of obligation and duty with the auxiliaries *võlda* and *līdō* probably because constructions with other verbs had remained unnoticed. Another important difference between the 1861 grammar and the present description is that instead of forms ending in *-mōst* and *-ōmōst*, which are here classified as debitive forms of the supine, in 1861 forms ending in *-mist* and *-imist* were reported.

- (37) *Tä'mm-õn i'z ūo mit sug̃d*  
 he-DAT no.PAST be.CNEG.IND no bit

*tapā-mōst tūoiz-ta.*  
 kill-SUP.DEB other-PART

‘He did not have to kill another person at all.’

- (38) *Si'nn-õn vól-ks sie-dā t̃eda-mōst.*  
 thou-DAT be-CND.3SG this-PART be-SUP.DEB

‘You should have to know this.’

- (39) *Mä'dd-õn vól-ks vò-nd*  
 everyone-DAT be-CND. be-ACT.PAST.PPLE

*ätsmidēg-õst mānga-mōst.*  
 whatever-PART play-SUP.DEB

‘We should have had to play whatever.’

In sentences beginning with the experiencer, the object, when present, is in the partitive case, cf. (33), (34), (37)–(39). For the topicalized object, there is an example of the genitive object too, cf. (41). As the experiencer adverb has undergone ellipsis, (40) may represent a hint at somebody, (41) at an order, and (42) at a proposal.

- (40) *Sie-dā u'm t̃'e-mōst pū'dõ-ks.*  
 this-PART has.3SG do-SUP.DEB clean-TRL

‘One has to clean it.’

- (41) *Se||iz-t mõtkõ-d u'm pa'n-mōst a'ig-õl.*  
 such-PL thought-PL be.3SG put-SUP.DEB side-ALL

‘Such thoughts are to be put aside.’

- (42) *Laps-tā vól-ks rištõ-mōst.*  
 child-PART be-CND.3SG christen-SUP.DEB

‘A child should be christened.’

It is to be noted that not all adverbials in the dative are experiencer adverbials. In (43), it is the indirect object in the dative that is topicalized, the experiencer adverbial having undergone ellipsis:

- (43) *Umāl-d-õn u'm pa'n-mõst maiskõļi,*  
 hop-PL-DAT be.3SG put-SUP.DEB pole.PL.PART  
*la'z ne või-gõ-d a'il-õ i'lpēdõn.*  
 let they.NOM may-JUS-PL twine.INF upwards  
 'For hops, one must install polesb in order that they could twine upwards.'

In (44), the modifying phrase of the underlying object is topicalized, while both the underlying object and experiencer have undergone ellipsis:

- (44) *Piški-n vól-dsõ u'm opāt-õmõst*  
 Small-ESS<sup>6</sup> be-GER be.3Sg teach-SUP.DEB  
*u'n vald-õmõst.*  
 and control-SUB.DEB  
 'When being small, one must teach and rule it.'

In (45), the subordinate clause expresses the purpose of the action described in the main clause:

- (45) *Ne'i vòļļ-i sōida-mõst, al-gõ*  
 So be-QUO row-SUP.DEB not-JUS  
*vadā mǎ'd-õg jarā.*  
 dragnet.NOM get mussed-JUS completely  
 'So it was reported to row in order for the dragnet not to get tangled up.'

In (46), by contrast, it is the action expressed by the main clause that makes a necessary precondition for the action expressed by the debitive construction:

- (46) *Ma astā-b si'n jālga-d*  
 I.NOM step-PR.1 you.GEN.SG foot-GEN.PL  
*pā-lõ, la'z vól-kõ daņtšõmõst.*  
 on-ALL let be-JUS.SG dance-SUP.DEB  
 'I am stepping on your feet to be dancing.'

6 *piškin* is not a shortened variant of *piškizõn* but an adverbialized petrified essive case form of the adjective *piški* 'small'.

Although the debitive form of the supine is mostly and traditionally used with the verbs *võlda* and *līdō* (cf. 4.2), there are cases where the auxiliary verb has undergone ellipsis and the debitive supine is left, e.g.

- (47) *Lā'-mōst*      *peisl-ōm*      *lem-āma*      *jū'r-ō*.  
 go-SUP.DEB      warm-SUP.ILL      warmth-mother.GEN      to-ILL

‘One has to go to warm oneself to the mother of warmth.’

Note that sentence (47), in addition to the ellipsis of the auxiliary verb, also replaces the usual East Livonian form *lē'mōst* with the innovational debitive form *lā'mōst*<sup>7</sup>.

## 5.2. *Võlda* with the present passive participle

In (48) and (49) the main verb is in the form of the present passive participle. In (48), there is an adverbial in the dative but in (49) the experiencer has undergone ellipsis:

- (48) *Si'nn-ōn*      *u'm*      *sīe-dō-b*      *se*      *lēba*.  
 thou-DAT      be.3SG      eat-PSS-PR.PLE      this.NOM      bread.NOM

‘For you, this bread is to eat.’

- (49) *Vōi*      *translatīv*      *ja*      *komitatīv*      *ā'-b*  
 whether      translative.NOM      and      be-CNEG-CND.3PL      not-PR.3  
*vōl-ks-tō*      *ī'diņ-ōb*      *ī'd-ō*      *nōtkōm-ō?*  
 be.CNEC-CND-3PL      unite-PSS-PR.PLE      one-ILL      case-ILL.SG

‘Whether translative and comitative were not to be united into one case?’

7 The three debitive forms *lē'mōst* of *lā'dō* ‘to go’, *kē'mōst* of *kā'dō* ‘to walk’, and *nēmōst* of *nā'dō* ‘to see’ have obviously arisen from the partitive singular forms *lē'mizt*, *kē'mizt*, and *nēmizt* of the action names *lē'mi* ‘going’, *kē'mi* ‘walking’, and *nēmi* ‘seeing’ of the corresponding verbs. In these action names, the long vowel *ē* results from the historical raising of the vowels \**ā* and \**ā̄* in the first syllable before the vowel \**i* in the second syllable. Later in East Livonian, the vowel *i* of the partitive forms of verbal nouns has been replaced by *ō*. In West and Īra Livonian constructions of obligation and duty, *i* was not replaced by *ō* and thus in these dialects there is no special debitive form; instead, in corresponding constructions the partitive case form of verbal nouns is still used. On the other hand, the form *lā'mōst* in (47) is a hitherto unnoticed case of paradigmatic leveling of supine stems in East Livonian, cf. other supine forms *lā'mō*, *lā'mōs*, *lā'mōst*, *lā'mōks* of the verb *lā'dō*.



In both cases the main verb is represented by the present passive participle of a transitive verb and both sentences have undergone passivization, i.e. in addition to the morphological change of a verb form of an underlying active sentence or clause into the corresponding passive participle, also the subject is either changed into an adverbial or dropped so that the direct object can become the subject. The sentence (48) is similar to the Finnish sentence *Sinun on syötävä se leipä* ‘You must eat this bread’ where *sinun* is the experiencer in genitive. Still (48) can also be considered the topicalized version of the underlying *Se leiba u'm si'nnõn sīdõb* ‘This bread is for you to eat’, being derived according to the following scheme:

↳ Se leiba u'm si'nnõn sīdõb ↗ > *Si'nnõn u'm sīdõb se leiba*

## 5.2. *Līdõ* with debitive supine

The verb *līdõ* expresses existence or action in the future. Accordingly, the verb *līdõ* with the debitive supine refers to future obligations or duties. There are no examples of the use of the construction in the conditional mood.

- (50) *Mā'dd-õn*    *kõrd*    *lī-b*                    *ānda-mõst*  
we-DAT        time        have to-3SG        give-SUP.DEB

*vastūks-t*                    *i'ļ*        *sīe.*  
liability-PART            for        this.GEN

‘In time, we shall bear liability for this.’

- (51) *Sie-dā*            *ro'vz-t-õn*            *lī-ji*                    *ka'idlõ-mõst.*  
this-PART        people-PL-DAT        have to-QUO.SG        regret-SUP.DEB

‘People are reported to have to regret it in the future.’

## 6. *Võlda* and *līdõ* in constructions of necessity

In a necessity construction, it is the adverb *vajāg* ‘necessary’ that carries the idea of necessity while the verb forms function as auxiliaries. In principle, a necessity construction presupposes the existence of a necessary object or action that is expressed as the object of the sentence, if present.

### 6.1. *Võlda + vajāg*

Most often, a necessity construction begins with an experiencer adverbial in the dative, cf. (52) and (53). Such sentences signal that somebody or something is in need of something that is presented in the form of the object in partitive after the predicate:

- (52) *Mi'nn-ōn u'm vajāg tō'rmi-di.*  
 I-DAT be.3SG necessary acorns-PL.PART

‘For me acorns are necessary.’

- (53) *Mašīn-ōn u'm vajāg jōvv-ō ūo|timiz-t.*  
 machine-DAT be.3SG necessary good-PART caring-PART

‘For the machine, good care is necessary.’

For a topicalized object, the purpose or properties of a necessary object (or a number of necessary objects) have been presented by means of one or several adverbials. In both (54) and (55), the object in genitive (the so-called total object) hints at a prototypical object with characteristic purpose or properties:

- (54) *Sīe vō'ļ vajāg kō'uriz tutkām-ōks.*  
 this.GEN. be.3SG.PAST necessary crooked.GEN hook-INL

‘It needed to end up crooked.’

- (55) *Vastūks vō'ļ vajāg uks ōik-ōn.*  
 staple.GEN be.3SG.PAST necessary door.GEN hook-DAT

‘A staple was needed for the door hook.’

In (56), the topicalized object in partitive (the so-called partial object) hints at an occasional or temporarily needed object:

- (56) *Sie-dā mi'nn-ōn u'm vajāg mi'n lōja pierāst.*  
 this-PART I-DAT **be.3SG. necessary** I.GEN boat.GEN for

‘This is necessary for me for my boat.’

In (57) where no experiencer is specified and the object is in genitive, there is a principal need for a hitherto non-existing object:

- (57) *U'm vajāg spetsiāl skūol lu'gdōb-rōntō.*  
 be.3SG. necessary special school.GEN readable-book.GEN

‘A special school reader is necessary.’

In (58), a proverb, in the coordinate clause with a topicalized adverbial of time, the experiencer can be recovered from the main clause, cf. *perīmīez* ‘master’. On the other hand, the absence of the grammatical object in both clauses means that the sentence is true for any suitable real object:

- (58) *Ī'd pāva perīmīez ā'-b mōtlō,*  
 one-GEN day.GEN master.NOM not-3SG think.CNEG.SG

*ku mūpō ka ĩ-b vajāg.*  
 that tomorrow also will be-3SG necessary

A man of one day does not think that tomorrow it will also be necessary’.

## 7. Underlying patterns of constructions of obligation, duty and necessity and their background

On the basis of the discussion and examples presented, it is possible to come to a general list of constructions of obligation, duty, and necessity. In compiling the list the following premises are taken into account: (1) a construction of obligation and duty includes an experiencer, an auxiliary verb, and an infinite form of a main verb, notably either an infinitive, a supine or a participle; (2) a construction of necessity includes an experiencer, an auxiliary verb with the adverb *vajāg*, and an object; (3) in addition, in principle, the auxiliary verb may have more modifiers, e.g. adverbials of time, place, manner, and purpose, and similarly, the main verb may have its modifiers, e. g. the object and adverbials. The experiencer is in the nominative case and in the role of the subject only in some constructions with the verb *piđīm* ‘must’ / *piđīks* ‘should be’.

Actually, in a clause, most potential modifiers, including the experiencer, can be dropped when earlier mentioned, otherwise unimportant or avoided. On the other hand, modifiers can be topicalized. Usually, when present, the experiencer is topicalized. When an object is topicalized, either (a) the object is moved before the experiencer, (b) the experiencer is moved to the end of the clause (our data show no other adverbials in the clause), or (c) the experiencer is dropped.

When some other adverbial is topicalized, the experiencer is either moved to the end of the clause or, mostly, dropped. Hence, the possible occurrences of clauses with constructions of obligation, duty, and necessity can be seen as representing the following nuclear constructions:

***piḍīm / piḍīks***

- 1.1. experiencer.NOM + *piḍīm / piḍīks* + supine.ILL
- 1.2. experiencer.NOM + *piḍīm* + participle.ACT.PAST
- 1.3. experiencer.NOM + *piḍīm / piḍīks* + infinitive
- 1.4. experiencer.DAT + *piḍīm / piḍīks* + supine.ILL
- 1.5. experiencer.DAT + *piḍīm / piḍīks* + infinitive

***tūlda***

- 2.1. experiencer.DAT + *tulāb* + infinitive

***lūdō***

- 3.1. experiencer.DAT + *lā'b / lekš / lā'ks* + infinitive

***vōlda / lūdō***

- 4.1. experiencer.DAT + *u'm / vō' / vōlks / vōlks vōnd / vōl'i / la'z vōlkō / + supine.DEB*
  - 4.2. experiencer.DAT + *u'm / vōlks* + passive present participle
  - 4.3. experiencer.DAT + *līb / līks / līji* + supine.DEB
- vōlda / lūdō***
- 5.1. experiencer.DAT + *u'm / vō' / vōlks / vōl'i* + *vajāg* + object
  - 5.2. experiencer.DAT + *līb / līks / līji* + *vajāg* + (object.GEN)

Livonian constructions with *piḍīm* and *piḍīks* differ from corresponding constructions in other Finnic languages first of all by having two possible forms of the main verb.

**Address**

Tiit-Rein Viitso  
 Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics  
 University of Tartu  
 Jakobi 2  
 51014 Tartu, Estonia  
 E-mail: tiit-rein.viitso@ut.ee

**Abbreviations**

ACT – active, ALL – allative, CNEG – negative converb, CND – conditional mood, GEN – genitive, DAT – dative, DEB – debitive, ILL – illative, IND – indicative, INE – inessive, INL – instrumental,

JUS – jussive, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, PART – partitive, PAST – past, PL – plural, PP – participle, PR – present, PSS – passive, QUO – quotative, SUP – supine

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**Märksõnad:** liivi keel, sund, kohustus, vajadus, kogeja, kogejamäärus daativis

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