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 pišim ‘must’ and pišiks ‘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.

Keywords: Livonian, obligation, duty, necessity, experiencer, experiencer adverbial in dative

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2014.5.1.10

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 pišim and pišiks, 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 adjec-

* This study was supported by the Estonian Research Council (IUT 2-37).
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 *pišim* and *pišiks* are from Kettunen 1938. All examples are given in the Standard Livonian orthography as established by the Livonian Language Conference held in Irē (Mazirbe) in March 1996, except that here the open ǭ is distinguished from the mid Ī 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.

---

1 The Livonian orthography uses letters with a macron to render long vowels and letters with the Latvian (comma-shaped) cedilla (d, l, g, t, p) to render palatalized consonants. The letters ơ and ũ 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present indicative</td>
<td>past indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>u’m</td>
<td>ūomõ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ūo-d</td>
<td>ūotõ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>u’m</td>
<td>unõtõ ~ ātõ ~ attõ ~ āt ~ at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>võlks</td>
<td>võlksmõ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>võlks</td>
<td>võlksmõ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>võlks</td>
<td>võlks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Infinite form system of the Livonian verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFINITE FORMS</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPLES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-bõ -b -õb</td>
<td>-tõbõd -dõbõd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-nd -n -õn</td>
<td>-tõt -dõt -tõd -dõd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFINITIVE</td>
<td>-da -dõ -õ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERUND</td>
<td>-dsõ -õs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPINE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illative</td>
<td>-mõ -m -õm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inessive</td>
<td>-mõs -õmõs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elative</td>
<td>-mõst -õmõst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abessive</td>
<td>-mõt -õmõt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-mõks -õmõks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debitive</td>
<td>-mõst -õmõst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kā’b ka būodšō. ‘When going home, I also go to the store.’

**SUPINE:**

Illative:  
Jēmā pa’ŋ lapsōn lā’mō kuodāj. ‘Mother told the child to go home.’

Inessive:  
Ma ni um lā’mōs kuodāj. ‘I am now going home.’

Elative:  
Vōida tānda jarā lā’mōst! ‘Keep him from going away!’

Abessive:  
Ma ā’b lā’ tāstā jarā kuodāj lā’mōt. ‘I don’t go away from here without going home.’

Instrumental:  
Ni lā’b lā’mōks ne’i kui lā’b. ‘Now it is going to go the way it goes.’

Debitive:  
U’m lē’mōst bōn pā’lō. ‘One must go on a train.’

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

The verb represented by the stems piđīm in the indicative mood and piđīks 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 piđīm 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 piđīm and piđīks are segmented as having the common lexical stem piđī- and mood markers -m and -ks. Still, it is noteworthy that Lauri Kettunen has presented in his dictionary all cases of piđīks under the headword pi’dđō, i.e. pi’dđō, but the form piđīm 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 piđīm and piđīks to be members of the paradigm of the verb pi’dđō ‘to hold’ together with pidāb ‘holds’ and pidāks ‘should hold’.

2.1. Piđīm.

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

The form piđīm 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    piđī-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’dđō had also the meaning ‘müssen, sollen’, i.e. ‘must, should’, with the single example seda pidāks vēlm ‘it should be’. Kettunen has obviously simply identified piđīks with piđīks and treated the so far unknown form piđīm as a different word.
In a subordinate clause, depending on the past tense predicate of the main clause, \textit{piðīm} refers to a past situation, cf. \textit{Ma ėrgīz \textit{lo} ʻ\textit{mmō} \textit{ja piðīm} \textit{pigātagā} mōʻzō sadām}.

(4) \begin{align*}
\text{Ma} & \text{ ėrg-īz} \quad \text{\textit{lo} ʻ\textit{mmō}} \\
\text{I.NOM} & \text{ begin-IND.PAST} \quad \text{sway-INF} \\
\text{ja} & \text{ \textit{piðīm} \textit{pigātagā} mōʻzō sadām}. \\
\text{and} & \text{ must.IND} \quad \text{almost down-ILL} \quad \text{fall-SUP.ILL} \\
\end{align*}

‘I began to sway and almost had to fall down.’

Lauri Kettunen (1938: 286a) has also presented a case of \textit{piðīm} with the past active participle \textit{vōnd} of the verb \textit{vōlda} ‘to be’:

(5) \begin{align*}
\text{Ta} & \text{ \textit{piðī-m} \textit{vō-nд}.} \\
\text{he.NOM} & \text{ must-IND} \quad \text{be-PLE.ACT.PAST} \\
\end{align*}

‘He must have been.’

Obviously (5) can be considered an elliptic clause, shortened from *\textit{Ta piðīm vō ʻ\textit{lmō} vōnd}, for which there is a one-to-one Estonian correspondence \textit{Ta peab olema olnud}.

Rarer is \textit{piðīm} in experiential clauses where the experiencer is in the dative case:

(6) \begin{align*}
\text{Tāʻddōn} & \text{ \textit{piðī-m} \textit{sīe-s ažā-s jo}} \\
\text{you-DAT} & \text{ must-IND} \quad \text{this-INE} \quad \text{thing.INE} \quad \text{more} \\
\text{kovāl} & \text{ \textit{vō l-mō}}. \\
\text{clever-NOM} & \text{ be-SUP.ILL} \\
\end{align*}

‘You must be more clever in this thing.’

(7) \begin{align*}
\text{Tāʻm} & \text{ \textit{piðī-m} \textit{tā-sā vō l-mō}.} \\
\text{he.DAT} & \text{ must-IND} \quad \text{here-INE} \quad \text{be-SUP.ILL} \\
\end{align*}

‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>minā ~ ma</td>
<td>mi’nñón ~ mi’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>sinā ~ sa</td>
<td>si’nñón ~ si’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>tāmā ~ ta</td>
<td>tā’mmōn ~ tā’m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pi’dī-m vō’lmō.
so must-IND be-SUP.ILL.

‘It must be so. ~ So it must be.’

However, Kettunen also presents a case of pi’dīm with the main verb in the infinitive form:

(9) Tā’m pi’dī-m tā-sā vō’l-da.
he.DAT must-IND here-INE be-INF

‘He must be here.’

2.2. Pi’dīks

The form pi’dīks 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 pi’dīks occurs mainly (a) in normal clauses beginning with nominative or (b) in generic clauses.

In normal clauses the stem pi’dīks 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) \( Sa \ \text{pići-ks} \ \text{opp-õm.} \)
    thou-NOM should-CND learn- SUP.ILL
    ‘You should learn.’

(11) \( Ta \ \text{pići-ks} \ \text{rujā} \ \text{vó’l-mō.} \)
    he.NOM should-CND sick-NOM be-SUP.ILL
    ‘He should be sick.’

(12) \( Mēg \ \text{pići-ks-mō} \ \text{vó’l-mō.} \)
    we-NOM should-CND-1PL be-SUP.ILL
    ‘We should be.’

(13) \( Ne \ \text{pići-ks-t} \ \text{tu’l-mō.} \)
    they.NOM should-CND-2/3PL come-SUP.ILL
    ‘They should come.’

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

(14) \( Pići-ks \ \text{kappišt-õm} \ \text{mō-dō.} \)
    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 pićiks does not take the plural personal ending:

(15) \( Si’z \ \text{pići-ks} \ \text{vó’l-mō} \)
    Then should- CND be-SUP.ILL
    jōvā-d \( \text{purdō-d.} \)
    good-PL.NOM footbridge-PL.NOM
    ‘Then there should be a good footbridge.’

There are three known examples with pićiks 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 piḍī-ks jarā bro’utš-õ.
he.NOM should-CND away ride-INF

‘He should ride away.’

(17) Tä’m piḍī-ks tämpõ võl-da sīn.
he.DAT should-CND today be-INF here-INE

‘He should be here today.’

(18) Uļļiziks piḍī-ks vi’zz-õ drēgilṭ-õ.
outdoor.GEN should-CND shut-ILL bolt-INF

‘One should bolt the front door.’

2.3. Meaning of piḍīm and piḍiks

Here above, except in example (4), the form piḍīm 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 Pētrõr Damberg (1909–1987) as clauses of inevitability or strong obligation and on his use in one of his writings of the form piḍiks in example (15) as expressing a probabilistic hope. In Kettunen 1938 all cases of both piḍīm and piḍiks 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’edõ has been dropped from the final clause. Hence, this sentence reflects recommendations given for certain probable and maybe inevitable future actions.

(19) Si’n’n-õn tulā-b lass-õ mi’n’n-õn
thou-DAT come-3SG let-INF I-DAT

sīn-da kuodā-j sōt-õ.
thou-PART home-LAT send-INF

‘You have to let me send you home.’
(20) *Mēg nē-di 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 subject-less 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)³ and thus such a construction may express both obligations and necessities:

(21) *Si’nn-ōn lā’-b ouvōst-ō eŋtš*
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 ā’-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.
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) \[ \text{Jūobônt-} \, \overline{\text{a}^-\text{b}} \, \overline{\text{l}^-\text{a}^-} \, \text{jemīng} \, \text{jūot-ō} \]
\[ \text{drunk-PART not-PR3 go.CNEG.IND more water-INF} \]

‘One must not give a drunk more to drink.’

(26) \[ \text{Mū} \, \text{sōna-s} \, \text{ā^-b} \, \text{lā^-} \, \text{krōip-ō} \, \text{vōtś-ō}. \]
\[ \text{else-GEN sauna-INE not-PR go.CNEG.IND scables look for-INF} \]

‘In someone else’s sauna, one must not look for scables.’

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 \text{vōidō kilgō} there has remained nothing that could undergo further simplification.

(27) \[ \text{Lā^-b} \, \text{vōid-ō} \, \text{kilg-ō}. \]
\[ \text{go-3SG keep-INF side-ILL} \]

‘One must keep aside.’

A conditional form of the verb \text{lā^-dō} 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, place.

---

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) Tä’mm-õn lā’-ks leķēl-dō opp-õ.
    he-DAT go-CND.3 Latvian language-PART learn-INF
    ‘He should learn the Latvian language.’

(29) Sie-dā lā’-ks kuigid valmā-ks sō-dō.
    this-PART go-CND.3 somehow ready-INL get-INF
    ‘It should get ready somehow.’

(30) Lā’-ks kappīł-tō 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-õn mōtl-õ.
    old.NOM begin-ACT.PAST.PPLE think-INF
    ku ā’-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. Vīlda and līdō in constructions of obligation and duty

In Livonian, the verb vūlda 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 vūlda 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.⁵

5.1. Vōlda with the debitive supine

Depending on the main function of the debitive supine, constructions with finite forms of vōlda express mostly inevitable or moral obligations or experiences. This construction is used with the verb vōlda 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) Jegā'ī 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 ū’-b ūo vōtā-mōst
    you-DAT no-PR be.CNEG.IND take-SUP.DEB
    vigā-ks mi’n sō ’n-ψi.
    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’l vō’l-mōst vēla.
    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 vōlda and līdā 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.
He did not have to kill another person at all.'

‘You should have to know this.’

‘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.

‘One has to clean it.’

‘Such thoughts are to be put aside.’

‘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 maiskõli, hop-PL-DAT be.3SG put-SUP.DEB pole.PL.PART
la’z ne või-gõ-d a’il-õ i’lzpēdõn. 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 võl-dsõ u’m opāt-õmõst
Small-ESS 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 võll-i sõida-mõst, al-gõ
So be-QUO row-SUP.DEB not-JUS
vadā mā’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 võl-kõ dauntsõmõst.
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 piškīzõn but an adverbalized 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 *līdõ* (cf. 4.2), there are cases where the auxiliary verb has undergone ellipsis and the debitive supine is left, e.g.

(47)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lā’-mõst} & \quad \text{peisl-õm} & \quad \text{lem-āma} & \quad jū’r-õ. \\
\text{go-SUP.DEB} & \quad \text{warm-SUP.ILL} & \quad \text{warmth-mother.GEN} & \quad \text{to-ILL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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’mõst* with the innovational debitive form *lā’mõst’*.

### 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Si’nn-õn} & \quad \text{u’m} & \quad \text{sīe-dõ-b} & \quad \text{se} & \quad \text{leba.} \\
\text{thou-DAT} & \quad \text{be.3SG} & \quad \text{eat-PSS-PR.PLE} & \quad \text{this.NOM} & \quad \text{bread.NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

‘For you, this bread is to eat.’

(49)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Või} & \quad \text{translatīv} & \quad \text{ja} & \quad \text{komitatīv} & \quad \text{ā’-b} \\
\text{whether} & \quad \text{translative.NOM} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{be-CNEG-CND.3PL} & \quad \text{not-PR.3}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vōl-ks-tō} & \quad \text{i’diņt-õb} & \quad \text{i’d-õ} & \quad \text{nōtkõm-õ?} \\
\text{be.CNEG-CND-3PL} & \quad \text{unite-PSS.PR.PLE} & \quad \text{one-ILL} & \quad \text{case-ILL.SG}
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

7 The three debitive forms *lē’mõst* of *lā’dõ* ‘to go’, *kē’mõst* of *kā’dõ* ‘to walk’, and *nēmõst* of *nā’dõ* ‘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 *ā* 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 *õ*. In West and Ira Livonian constructions of obligation and duty, *i* was not replaced by *õ* 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’mõst* in (47) is a hitherto unnoticed case of paradigmatic leveling of supine stems in East Livonian, cf. other supine forms *lā’mò*, *lā’mōs*, *lā’mõst*, *lā’mõks* of the verb *lā’dõ*.
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 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 lēba u’m si’nnõn sīedõb* ‘This bread is for you to eat’, being derived according to the following scheme:

\[
\text{Se lēba } u’m \text{ si’nnõn } sīedõb > Si’nnõn u’m sīdeõb se lēba
\]

### 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 kōrd lī-b ānda-mõst*
    we-DAT time have to-3SG give-SUP.DEB
    vastūks-t i’l sīe.
    liability-PART for this.GEN

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

(51) *Sie-dā ro’vz-t-õn lī-ji ka’īdlõ-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. *Vōlda* 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-õn u’m vajāg tõ’rmi-di.
   I-DAT be.3SG necessary acorns-PL.PART
   ‘For me acorns are necessary.’

(53) Mašīn-õn u’m vajāg jõvv-õ ūoltimiz-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) Si’e võ’l vajāg kõ’uriz tutkām-õks.
    this.GEN. be.3SG.PAST necessary crooked.GEN hook-INL
    ‘It needed to end up crooked.’

(55) Vastūks võ’l vajāg uks õik-õn.
    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) Si’e-dā mi’nn-õn u’m vajāg mi’n lõja. 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:
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 īi-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 pos-
sible 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 a expe-
riencer, 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 *pīdīm
‘must’ / *piðīks ‘should be’.

Actually, in a clause, most potential modifiers, including the expe-
riencer, can be dropped when earlier mentioned, otherwise unim-
portant 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:

**piđîm / piđîks**
1.1. experiencer.NOM + piđîm / piđîks + supine.ILL
1.2. experiencer.NOM + piđîm + participle.ACT.PAST
1.3. experiencer.NOM + piđîm / piđîks + infinitive
1.4. experiencer.DAT + piđîm / piđîks + supine.ILL
1.5. experiencer.DAT + piđîm / piđîks + infinitive

**tūlda**
2.1. experiencer.DAT + tūlāb + infinitive

**lādō**
3.1. experiencer.DAT + lā’b / lekš / lā’ks + infinitive

**vǒlda / tīdō**
4.1. experiencer.DAT + u’m / vō’l / vōks / vōls vōnd / vōlļi / la’z vōlkō / + supine.DEB
4.2. experiencer.DAT + u’m / vōls + passive present participle
4.3. experiencer.DAT + līb / līks / līji + supine.DEB

Livonian constructions with *piđîm* and *piđîks* 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**
Obligation, duty, and necessity in Livonian


References

Kettunen, Lauri (1938) *Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung.* (Lexica Societatis Finno-Ugricae, 5.) Helsinki.


Kokkuvõte. Tiit-Rein Viitso: Sundi, kohustust ja vajadust väljendavad konstruktsioonid liivi keeles. Liivi keeles väljendatakse sundi, kohustust ja vajadust peamiselt tarinditega, mille koostisse kuulub abiverbide pidīm ‘pidada (kindel kõneviis)’ ja piidiks ‘peaks’, ùlda ‘tulla’, lā’dō ‘minna’, võlda ‘olla’ ja lūdō ‘leeda’ finiitvorm. Tarindite suur hulk taandub kümnele alusmallile, millel on kolm komponenti: (a) kas nominatiivne kogeejaalus või datitvne kogeejamäärus (mis võib esineda koos kõigi abiverbidega), (b) õeldisabiverb ning (c) peaverbi infinitiiv, supiinivorm või kesksõna või siis määrsõna vajāg ‘vaja’ koos sihitisnoomeniga.

Märksõnad: liivi keel, sund, kohustus, vajadus, kogeeja, kogeejamäärumus daativis
Kubbövötämi. Tiit-Rein Viitso. Võttõd ja päiõpandõd tiedõbõd ja vajägõmóöd ulzõkitõmi lõvõ kõelsõ. Lõvõ kõelsõ sõbõd võttõd ja päiõpandõd tiedõbõd ja vajägõmóöd ulzõ kõõd päazõlistõz konstruktsijd abkõks, kunõ kõlõbõd abtõemizõsnõnad piõõm ja piõiks, tõlõda, lõõdõ, võõlõda ja lõõdõ nõtkijõd formõõd. Konstruktsijd sür lug sõb liitiõtõd õdtuõistõn alõizeitõks päõõ, mingizõõn um kuõlm komponentõ: (a) kõndatõji subjekt nominatiõvs agã kõndatõji objekt datõvs, (b) predikatõabtõemizõsnõõ, (c) päõtemizõsnõõ infinitõv, supõõn form agã vaistsõõn agã síz advãrõb vajõõg objektažõsnõõks.