THE l-CASES IN COURLAND LIVONIAN

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Abstract. Courland Livonian is the only Finnic language where the habitive expressions of giving, taking, and having do not use the so-called l-cases, but instead the dative, the elative or a postposition. As the l-cases mostly only occur in a number of fossilised expressions they have received less attention in the literature. In this article we summarise the functions of the l-cases in Courland Livonian on the basis of previous research and consider their status.

Keywords: case inventory, outer local cases, adverbs, Livonian

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1. Introduction

Courland Livonian¹ is the only Finnic language where the habitive expressions of giving, taking, and having do not use the so-called l-cases², but instead the dative (tä ’mmõ-n um rõntõz s/he-DAT be.3SG. PRS book ‘s/he has a book’), the elative (Sina wod minst, od. min kgsdst, Jenn rõd sond you be.2SG.PRS I.ELA (German oder) I.GEN hand.ELA much money.PRT get.PRTC ‘Du hast viel Geld von mir bekommen’; Wiedemann 1861a: 299b, cf. also Inaba 2015: 126), and a postposition derived from the word ke’ž ‘hand’ (kīe-n kā’d-st sa said sīe rõntõ? who.GEN hand.ELA you get-2SG.PST this.GEN book.GEN ‘whom did you get this book from?’; Viitso and Ernštreyits 2012: 110b) is used. The use of the dative has been an object of research already since the 1860s (cf. Wiedemann 1861a: 74–77, Alvre 1967, de Sivers 1970, Halling 1996a, Viitso 2008, Inaba 2015: 98–178). The l-cases, however, have received much less attention, probably because they mostly only occur in a number of fossilised

¹ In the present article ‘Livonian’ will be used to refer to Courland Livonian, whilst Salis Livonian will be referred to as such.

² What we here call the l-cases are usually known as the ‘outer local cases’ in opposition to the s-cases, which usually known as ‘inner local cases’ and which mostly indicate internal location; the opposition between them is very clear in the other Finnic languages.
expressions. The aim of our article is to summarise the functions of the $l$-cases in Courland Livonian on the basis of previous research and consider their status.\footnote{For the sake of tractability we will use ‘allative’ for the lative $l$-case, ‘adessive’ for the locative $l$-case, and ‘ablative’ for the separative $l$-case, as these have been in consistent use in previous research. Similarly, we use ‘illative’, ‘inessive’, and ‘elative’ for those local cases with an $s$-element.} After the introduction we briefly review previous research in section 2, and in section 3 we give an overview of the various number of cases in Livonian as proposed in the literature. In section 4 we survey the functions of the $l$-cases in Courland Livonian; in section 5 we draw some conclusions.

In the present article only occasional mention will be made of Salis Livonian, as its case system deviates significantly from that of Courland Livonian with respect to the existence and use of the $l$-cases (for a recent overview of Salis Livonian grammar see Winkler and Pajusalu 2018).

2. Previous research

Wiedemann, in his 1861 grammar (based on material collected by Sjögren) describes how the $l$-cases are used basically only in a number of fossilised expressions (Wiedemann 1861a: 176–202). Instead of the $l$-cases Livonian uses postpositional constructions or internal local cases. Additional evidence for the fossilisation of the $l$-cases is the fact that they can be followed by other cases, thus, e.g., the elative suffix -st has been added to words in the ablative: *ald, aldö > aldöst* ‘from under’.

In the grammatical sketch of Livonian in his massive dictionary, Lauri Kettunen (1938: LI-LII) mentions that the functions of the adessive, ablative, and allative as used in Estonian and Finnish have in Livonian been mostly assumed by the dative. Notwithstanding, they are still used to some extent to denote place, time, function, and state. Rudimentary uses are *siela pügl* ‘on this side’ (< adessive of *se* ‘this’ + *pügl* ‘side’) and *tuola pügl* ‘on that side’ (adessive of *töj* ‘other’ + *pügl* ‘side’). Kettunen mentions that these cases are used very rarely in the plural, mentioning only *sênil* ‘(gathering) mushrooms’, *lämbil* ‘shep- herding’ and *vořžõl* ‘at roost’.

The Estonian specialist on Livonian, Eduard Vääri, wrote his 1974 PhD on derivational suffixes in Livonian. His PhD was regrettably never published, but is now available online (Vääri 1974). Vääri does not consider the adessive, allative, and ablative proper cases and classifies
all instances of words with l-cases as a subgroup of adverbs of place, and the fact that the l-cases were originally used to denote location but are used in Livonian for adverbs of time as well Vääri considers additional evidence for their development into adverb suffixes (Vääri 1974: 150). He also notes that adverb series have not always been derived from all three cases, and that older use is due to direct translation from foreign languages (Vääri 1974: 151). Vääri also presents a list of 74 adverbs with l-cases (Vääri 1974: 151–158).

Joel Nevis, in his 1989 article on case in Livonian, deeming the language to be in a state of attrition, suggests that Kettunen’s 1947 grammar should reflect more advanced attrition than Wiedemann’s 1861 grammar, though, in fact, the opposite is the case, as Kettunen posits a longer list of cases, including the allative, adessive, and ablative (Nevis 1989: 95). This, Nevis suspects, is due to ‘excessive theoretizing’ by Kettunen, who, having found a number of words with l-case endings, adds these cases to the case paradigm. Nevis, however, considers these ‘extraparadigmatic adverbs’ that do not belong in the case paradigm (much in the same way as Kittilä and Ylikoski 2011; see below). Additionally, Nevis (1989: 101) assumes that both the singular and plural forms of the l-cases disappeared at the same time.

Tiina Halling (1996b) looks at the first occurrences of l-cases in old sources, explains their main uses when Livonian was still spoken (in place names, adverbs, fossilised expressions, and postpositions), and explains in greater detail which functions of the l-cases have been assumed by the dative. Halling also points out that various instances of the influence of Latvian on Livonian grammar have been pointed out, but not explained in any detail; a first more detailed attempt is made by Ernštreits and Kļava (2014). Halling 2006 gives much the same information.

In overviews of Livonian case systems, Tiit-Rein Viitso (2008: 328, 2012: 22, 2016: 150) mentions the three l-cases – the adessive, allative, and ablative – as ‘functionally parallel’ (Viitso 2012: 22) to the s-cases and states they are mostly used in connection with place names of villages on the Livonian coast, a number of place names ending in -mō ‘land’, names of farms, a number of adverbs, and some other words, but Viitso does list them in the paradigm of existing cases in Livonian.

Kittilä and Ylikoski (2011: 48–49), in an article on the coding of goal, recipient, and vicinal goal in a number of Uralic languages, argue that the l-cases are not true productive cases and should be seen as ‘rather a remnant from an earlier pan-Finnic adessive case or possibly only its incipient stage in pre-Livonian’ (Kittilä and Ylikoski 2011: 49). They point out that the only semi-productive use is in compound place
names ending in -mā ‘land’, and as they nearly never refer to actual surfaces, they may more correctly be considered allomorphs of the three s-cases.

In summary, all authors agree that the l-cases are used only semi-productively, listing various uses, though nearly all authors of grammars or grammatical overviews do list them in the case paradigm.

3. Case in Livonian

The number of cases posited for Livonian has varied greatly, and already Wiedemann (1861a: 50) points out that the number of cases that can be posited for each Finnic language depends on the researcher. Table 1 is a list (which does not aim at completeness) of cases suggested by the principal grammarians of Livonian.

All sources agree that the nominative, genitive, dative, partitive, and the s-cases (illative, inessive, and elative) form part of the Livonian case system. Nevis (1988: 107) and de Sivers (2001: 29, 40) do not list the l-cases (allative, adessive, and ablative) at all. The others that do list them, and occasionally also other peripheral cases, stress that these cases are not fully productive and are often replaced by other constructions. Thus, e.g., Wiedemann (1861a: 72–74) describes the formation of the l-cases, but does not list them in his exemplificatory paradigms (81–97).

Whether researchers call the -ks/-koks-case the ‘translative-comitative’ or the ‘instrumental’ is mostly a question of terminology; only Nevis (1988: 104) differentiates between the comitative and the translative. These are generally considered to have coalesced into one case from the Finnic translative (*-ksi) and the (southern Finnic) comitative which ultimately goes back to the postposition *kansassa, but, e.g., Viitso and Ernštreits (2012: 393) list both an instrumental (-koks, -ks, -ǒks) and a translative (-ks), as they are occasionally distinguished (pi’ěŋoks dog.tra ‘(become) a dog’ vs. pi’ěŋkoks dog.ins ‘with a dog’). Grünthal (2003: 177–201) disagrees and assumes that there has been no syncretism: instead the translative and comitative use of -ks is due to Latvian-induced reanalysis of a single case suffix.

4 “Die Anzahl der Casus ist unbestimmt, da es in dieser Sprachfamilie von der Ansicht eines jeden Grammatikers abhängt, in wie weit er die von Nomina abgeleiteten Wortformen für Bezeichnung adverbialer Beziehungen als Casusformen ansehen und in das Declinationsschema hineinziehen will.”
Table 1. The cases of Livonian.

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In the most recent overview of the Livonian case system, Viitso (2016: 150–151) presents a list with 16 cases for Livonian, including the allative, adessive, and ablative, but also such extremely rare cases as the lative; the excessive is included in the 2012 dictionary (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 393).

Pronoun inflection basically resembles that of nouns, but according to Vääri (1966: 145) pronouns do not occur in the adessive, ablative, allative, or instructive. According to Wiedemann (1861a: 116), older people still knew something of adessive, ablative, allative forms of the personal pronouns (thus Kolka/Eastern Livonian me莲花 you. pl.ADE, mēlald we.ABL, tēlalt you.pl.ABL; Pīzā/Western Livonian meila we.ADE, teila you.pl.ADE, neila they.ADE, meilo we.ALL, teilo you.pl.ALL, and the ‘double case’ forms meilda we.ABL, teilda you.pl.ABL, neilda they.ABL). These l-case forms of the personal pronouns, however, do not occur in the texts in Wiedemann 1861a, nor in the grammar in any examples. Demonstrative pronouns, however, do occur in the l-cases: siel (āigal) ‘that (time)’ (e.g., Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 23b under āigal 1), though tūol- seems to occur only in adverbs such as tūolapūol ‘that side’, tūolapūolād ‘from that side’, tūolapūolād ‘to that side’ (Viitso and Ernštreits 2012: 339a). Forms without -pūol ‘side’ occur in Wiedemann (1861a: 116): tuola, tuol, tuoila, toila, but he already notes that the adessive forms of the demonstrative pronouns hardly occur except in adverbial constructions such as siel āigal ‘zu der Zeit’, siel pūol ‘diesseit, auf dieser Seite’, and the t-forms were also already very rare (Wiedemann 1861a: 117); they do not occur in the texts. Similarly, the interrogative mil ‘when’ is used only in the construction mil āigal ‘wann, zu welcher Zeit’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 118).

Wiedemann (1861a: 74) also mentions that of the three l-cases the ablative is used least, noting forms such as lapsōld ‘von Kindheit hat, eigentl. vom Kinde’, amāld pūold ~ pūolgōld ‘von jeder Seite her’, ta nūzis lovāld ‘er erhob sich vom Bett’, ta tul’ moldo (maldg) ‘er kam aus dem Binnenlande, aus der Lettengegend’, laps rykāndis pūrandōld ‘das Kind sprach von dem Fußboden her’; here he also mentions that in Kolka the equivalent would be pūrandōst. The separative case (here the ablative) is generally the case that is used least of the three l-cases (cf. the use of the ablative in Finnish; Hakulinen et al. 2010: 1179), and, in any case, verbs in Livonian (and in Finnic in general) tend to govern the l-cases much less frequently. This also explains why in triads, specifically forms with the ablative tend to have double case; e.g., lovāl ‘in bed’, lo ’vōl ‘into bed’, but lovā-ld > lovā-ldō-st ‘id.’ In
addition, the adessive and allative have also coalesced\(^5\) in a number of paradigms (Nevis 1989: 100–101, Viitso 2008: 336); thus, e.g., *le’žgõl* ‘closer; close’, *le’žgõld* ‘from close by’.

For a number of what in the other Finnic languages are mostly still typical triads (both of nouns and adverbs), Livonian has a number of alternatives: 1) one form only (an adessive with allative and adessive meaning; e.g., *maţrõl* ‘whilst gathering berries; going berry gathering’), 2) two forms (an adessive with allative and adessive meaning and an ablative; e.g., *a’lmõl* ‘downwards; coastwards; down; at the coast’, *a’lmõld* ‘upwards; from the coast’), 3) three forms (an adessive, an allative, and an ablative; e.g., *kõoral* ‘at the side’, *kõoral’d* ‘from the side’, *kuorrõl* ‘to the side’; *pāikal* ‘at (a position)’, *pāikald* ‘from (a position)’, *paikõl* ‘to (a position)’; *sizõl* ‘in; inside’, *sizâld* ‘from inside’, *si’zzõl* ‘into, inwards’; *suodâld* ‘at/during war’, *suodâld* ‘from war’, *su’ddõl* ‘to war’; *upõl* ‘in fetters’, *upâld* ‘(release from) fetters’, *uppõl* ‘(put) in fetters’; *vadâl* ‘(at) seine fishing’, *vadâld* ‘(from) seine fishing’, *va’ddõl* ‘(to) seine fishing’); and 4) three forms where there is a form identical to the original adessive that has both adessive and allative meaning, whilst the original allative is also still extant; thus, e.g., *kougimõl* ‘far; further away’, *kougimõlõ* ‘further away’, *kougõmõld* ‘from far away’; *le’žgõl* ‘close by; closer’, *le’žgõlõ* ‘closer’, *le’žgõld* ‘from close by’.

4. The *l*-cases in Livonian

In modern Livonian, the *l*-cases only occur, when they do, in the singular (Moseley 2002: 24; Viitso 2008: 325), and they are not productive for all nouns (Kettunen 1938: LIV–LVIII; Nevis 1989: 101). On their plural use, Wiedemann (1861a: 72) writes that the adessive also occurs in the plural (‘Der Adessiv ... wird im Plural an den verkürzten Infin. auf i gebildet, ...’), and gives two examples: *pâvil um ud* ‘an den Tagen ist Nebel’, *silmil näedõb* ‘mit den Augen sichtbar, augenfällig’. Kettunen (1938: LII) and Viitso (2012: 22) also still list the plural of the *l*-cases (*-iļ* for the adessive and allative, *-ild* for the ablative), though Kettunen notes that their use is limited to certain expressions referring, e.g., gathering mushrooms (*ne kā ‘bõd mešsās sēnil* ‘sie gehen im walde zum pilzlesen’; Kettunen 1938: LII), shepherding (*lâmbil*; 

\(5\) The coalescence of locative and lative cases is common in spatial adposition systems, but less so in spatial case systems (Creissels 2009: 615).
Kettunen 1938: LVI), being at roost (vořžól; Kettunen 1938: LVI), collecting (inner) bark (nīn: ˈvojbdōb-aīgal ˈnajst lā ˈbōd nīnīl ‘in der zeit, wo (im frühjahr) die baumrinde sich löst, gehen die weiber baumbast reissen’; Kettunen 1938: 210b), and the expression ‘face down’ (siīmil ‘aufs gesicht’: ta ėīītī ēīntśa siīmil mō ˈzā ‘er warf sich aufs gesicht’; Kettunen 1938: 366a).

As pointed out by Viitso (2008: 328), attributes modifying nouns in the adessive or ablative are usually in the inessive or elative respectively. Occasionally, however, the attribute might also occur in the adessive: siel ummōl pāval ‘an demselben Tage’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 120, 346, cf. also Viitso 2008: 328, 343, Inaba 2015: 117, fn. 31), siel ūdōl pāval ‘am jüngsten Tage’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 462a), múolmōl pūol (cf. múolmōs pūols) ‘auf beiden Seiten’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 204), ūdōl pāval ‘an einem Tage’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 260), siel ummō aīgāl ‘um diese Zeit’ also occurs in Wiedemann (1861a: 343b). There are even occasional examples of nouns in the dative being modified by attributes in the adessive: seismōndōmōl pāvan ‘on the seventh day’ (UT 1942: 444a, cf. also Inaba 2015: 117, fn. 31).

In modern Livonian, adessive attributes only occur in a very few fossilised expressions (e.g., amāl kurkōl ‘full-throatedly’).

The loss of the l-cases in Livonian has not yet been studied in detail: factors that have undoubtedly played a role are 1) the appropriation by the dative of functions originally expressed by l-cases; 2) the influence of Latvian, which only has a locative and (thus) no bidimensional case system (cf. Rudzīte and Karma 1981: 232–233, Ernštreits and Kļava 2014: 79–80). Nevis (1989: 101) assumes that due to ‘cohesion’ between the l-cases they went out of use at the same time, but it seems the allative disappeared first, as in many inflection classes the adessive and allative have been conflated into a (morphological) adessive, and Wiedemann (1861a: 73) already writes that he did not hear or see a plural allative. In addition, he also points out that the allative was used only to denote place or state, and not time (unlike the adessive).

Efforts were made in the 1930s to reintroduce the use of the l-cases in literary Livonian (Ernštreits 2013: 29, 198–199, Ernštreits and Kļava (2014: 80). According to Ernštreits (2013: 213), they are especially common in published and unpublished material written by the well-known Livonian linguist and poet Pētūr Damberg (1909–1987). Thus, e.g., in

6 Wiedemann’s (1861a: 23) kīvikōl ‘zänkisch’ is not an adessive, but borrowed from Latv. kīveklis ‘der Zänker’, Dundaga Latvian kīvkeklis (Kettunen 1938: 136b).
Damberg’s article on the orthography of Livonian (Damberg 1978: 87) the l-cases are used in derivations and participles that are otherwise relatively uncommon: lopandõksõl ‘at the end’ (< lopandõks ‘end’), pūojmizõld ‘basically’ (< pū’oj ‘base’), mojjimizõl ‘under the influence of’ (< mò’jjõ ‘to influence’), vaitimizõl ‘under consideration’ (< va’itõ ‘to weigh’). As Ernštreits (2013: 172) points out, e.g., pūojmizõld is based on Est. põhiliselt; mojjimizõl is probably also based on Est. mõjul ‘under the influence of’. The last three have also been taken up in the 2012 Viitso and Ernštreits dictionary.

4.1. Productive words

4.1.1. Spatial expressions

In modern Livonian, the l-cases express location in general and not specifically location on a surface.

4.1.1.1. Toponyms

Many of these end in -mõ ‘-land’, which takes an l-case. Ernštreits (2013: 29) mentions that not all 12 Livonian villages on the Livonian Coast use l-cases: Pizās ‘in Miķelītornis’; uses the inessive.

Ēstimõ ‘Estonia’: ‘Ēstimõl ‘in Estonia’
Irē ‘Mazirbe’: Irēl ‘in Mazirbe’
Ku’rēmõ ‘Courland’: Ku’rēmõl ‘in Courland’
Leţmõ ‘Latvia’: Leţmõl ‘in Latvia’
Pitrõg ‘Pitrags’: Pitrõgõl ‘in Pitrags’ (Ernštreits 2013: 29)
Sõrmõ ‘Saaremaa; Estonia’: Sõrmõl ‘on Saaremaa; in Estonia’
(Ernštreits 2013: 29)

Related to toponyms are farm names and family names:

ma vo’t īraš leţstõl ‘ich besuchte in Īra die familie Lepste’, tu’l min’ ēksõs têrizõl ‘komm mit mir zu der familie T’ (Kettunen 1938: LII)

Sources are only mentioned for words not found in the 2012 Viitso and Ernštreits dictionary; the base word is from that dictionary if possible.

In English, the Latvian names are more commonly used.
4.1.1.2 Nouns with concrete spatial meaning

lovā ‘bed’: lovāl ‘in bed’, lovāld ~ lovāldöst ‘out of bed’, lo’vvöl ‘into bed’
mä’g ‘hill’: ta jelāb māgōl ~ māg pāl ‘er wohnt auf dem Berge’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 72), mā’ggōl ‘den berg hinauf; zu den letten; auf dem berge; bei dem letten’, mā’ggōld ‘von dem berge herab, aus der lettischen gegenb’ (Kettunen 1938)
mie’r ‘sea’: mierōl ‘auf dem Meere’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 72), merrpl ‘auf’s Meer’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73)
mō ‘land; countryside’: mōl ‘landeinwärts’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), mōlō ‘in’s Land, zu den Letten’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), mālō ‘zu den letten, aufs land’ (Kettunen 1938), ṯārōmālt ‘from abroad’ (Kettunen 1925: 124), Egyptmāld ‘from Egypt’ (UT 1942: 3/2:15)
pōrand ‘floor’: pōrandōl ‘on the floor’, pōrandōld ‘from the floor’
rānda ‘coast’: rāndal ‘am Ufer’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 72), rāndōl ‘ans Ufer’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73)
tūlik ‘(wind)mill’: tūlikōl ‘at the (wind)mill; to the (wind)mill’, tūlikōld ‘from the (wind)mill’

4.1.1.3. Nouns that refer to an action or where it occurs

lambiļ ‘(at, to) shepherding’, lambiļd ‘from shepherding’
mōral ‘berry-gathering’ (Kettunen 1938: 230), maṛtōl ‘whilst berry-gathering; going berry-gathering’
siṭāl ‘bei verrichtung seiner notdurft’, siṭtōl ‘zur verrichtung seiner notdurft’, siṭāld ‘von der verrichtung seiner notdurft’ (Kettunen 1938: 368, 369)

suodāl ‘at war’, suodāld ‘from war’, suο’ddōl ‘to war’
bojbdō-bāgal najst là bād nīnīl ‘in der zeit, wo (im frühjahr) die baumrinde sich löst, gehen die weiber baumbast reissen’ (Kettunen 1938: 210b), nejsōd āttō vojnōd nīnōl (= nīnī kīskōmōs) ‘die mädchen sind gewesen, um bast zu reissen’ (Kettunen 1938: 249b)
vadāl ‘(whilst) seine fishing’, vadāld ‘from seine fishing’, va’dōdl ‘to seine fishing’
4.2. Adverbs and adpositions

4.2.1. Adverbs that refer to direction and relative location

*a’igõl* ‘to one side’

*a’lmõl* ‘downwards; towards the coast (seen from the sea); down; on the coast (seen from the sea)’, *a’lmõld* ‘from down up; from the coast (seen from the sea)’

*aigõl* ‘to the side’

*a’igõl* ‘to the side’

a’r gif ‘spread out’

ā’köl-bū’köl ‘headlong’

kä’ddõl: sie um jõvāl kā’ddõl ‘das ist rechts’, li jõ’vvāl kā’ddõl ‘geh nach rechts’ (Kettunen 1938: 113b), ku’rrūl kā’ddõl ‘zur rechten hand’ (Kettunen 1938: 114a)

kõral ‘in pasture’

kõrōndõl ‘at the farm (outside of the building)’

kougmõld ‘from further away’, kougmõl ‘further away; (to) further away’

kuordõl ‘high’

laidõl ‘low; (to a) low (position)’, laidõld ‘(from a) low (position)’

le’žgõl ‘(to) close (by); close (by)’, le’žgõl ‘(from) close (by)’, le’žgõlimõl ‘(to) close(r) (by)’, le’žgõlõ ‘(to) close(r) (by)’, le’žgõlõmõl ‘close(r) (by)’

lopándõksõl ‘at the end’

mõl ‘in the countryside, in the country’

pāikal ‘in a/its place’, pāikal ‘from a/its place’ (> pāika pāldõst), pai-kõl ‘to a/its place’

sidāmõl ‘between’

sizāl ‘inside’, sizāld ‘(from) inside’, si’zzõl ‘(to) inside’

tōvāld ‘deeply’

tūŋgõl ‘to the afterworld’

va’il ‘in between’, vai’lō ‘(to) in between’, va’ild ‘from in between’;

ektörša’il ‘between ourselves’

vi’engõl ‘outstretched’

4.2.2. Pro-adverbs

sā’l ‘there’

sā’ld ‘from there’

sā’ldõst ‘from there’

sā’lō ‘there’

tāld ‘from here’ (Wiedemann 1861b: 112a)
4.2.3. Adverbs referring to state and/or manner

armõl ‘peacefully’
avà lD ‘zeitweilig’ (Kettunen 1938)\(^{10}\)
ädõl ‘quickly, hastily’
jálgal ‘on one’s feet’, jalgõl ‘on one’s feet; to one’s feet’
joudõl ‘with force, forcefully’
kä’dvardõl ‘on one’s arm’
kiebõlD ‘heiss’ (Kettunen 1938)
killõlD ‘enough; rather’
killokõl ‘on one’s side’
kördõl ‘in order; into order’
ku’zzõl ‘harnen’ (Kettunen 1938)
labakkõl ‘better’
laigãl ‘breit auseinander’ (Kettunen 1938), laigãld ‘widely’
le‘bbõl ‘completely’
liezõldD ‘schräg, allmählich ansteigend’ (Kettunen 1938)
litõld ‘shortly; briefly’
lotsõld ‘loosely’
lôkald ‘loosely’
lušõld ‘happily’
mî’el ‘to be married (of a woman)’, mî’elõ ‘to get married (of a woman)’
murâgôl ‘anxiously’, murâgôld ‘anxiously’
ûldõ-pâldõ ‘hochmütig, von oben herab’ (Kettunen 1938)
pítkõl ‘prone’, pîtkõl ‘(to a) prone (position)’, pîtkâld ‘long, lengthily’
pól[îndzõl ‘on one’s knees’, pôl[jîžõl ‘on one’s knees’
põnkâld ‘tautly’
ratsõl ‘on horseback’, ratsõld ‘astride’
sa’ggõld ‘often’
serkõl ‘wearing a shirt’
sidâmõlD ‘mittelmässig’ (Kettunen 1938)
sieginõlD ‘disorderly’, sieginõld ‘disorderly’
tieudõld ‘knowingly’
tijâld ‘emptily, with empty hands’
tu’llõld ‘heatedly’
upâl ~ upâlkieuž ‘in fetters’, upâld ~ upâldõst ‘out of fetters’, uppõl ‘into fetters’
vêlaqõld ‘sparsely, thinly’
vienâgõl ‘slowly’, vienâgõld ‘slowly’
vizâl ‘fastened’

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\(^{10}\) Kettunen thinks this may be a typographical error for ài galD (Kettunen 1938: 18b).
4.2.4. Other adverbs without spatial meaning

a’bbõl ‘helping, (come) to help’
aīgal ‘at the time of ...’
āīgastõl ‘during the year ...’ (Viitso 2008: 325)
i’ggõl ‘(for an) age’
ilgõjeijõl ‘during seal hunting on ice, going seal hunting on ice’
īrgandõksõl ‘at first’
ja’ggõld ‘partly’, ja’ggõl ‘(to be) present’
je’dmõl ‘before, earlier; in front’
kõrdal ‘in case of’
lõlõl ‘at/to a church service’
mõjjimizõl ‘through the influence’
nā’dõbõl ‘(to come) into sight’
no’jjõl ‘supported by’
põval ‘during the day’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 346)
rõkkõl ‘to be talking to somebody; get to talk to somebody’
sēñõl ‘gathering mushrooms’
suoikõl ‘to quieten’ (only in suoikõl īedõ ‘to abate’)
tā’dõl ‘attention’ (only in tā’dõl pânda ‘pay attention to’) 
tuoiimõl ‘action’ (only in tuoimõl sõdõ ‘to manage’)
ūonõdõl ‘in the morning’
siel ĭurgõl ‘unterdessen’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 205, 347b)
vajãgõl ‘lacking’ (only in vajãgõl sõdõ ‘to manage’) 
varâl ‘by virtue of; dependent on’
varãld ‘early’
varãmõld ‘früher’ (Kettunen 1938)

4.3. The instrumental adessive

The instrumental use of the adessive is only specifically mentioned by Wiedemann in his 1861 grammar, and seems to occur only with the following words: joud ‘power’, kurk ‘throat’, and silm ‘eye’: amâl joudõl jûokš ‘aus allen Kräften laufen’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), amâl kurkõl nagr ‘aus vollem Halse lachen’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73), ku ta is vûi vêžõst savõdl, sis nutis amâl kurkõl ‘da er den Krebs nicht erwarten konnte, so rief er aus vollem Halse’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 247), ĭurgõb amâl kurkõl pinidi nutt ‘fängt an aus vollem Halse die Hunde zu rufen’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 449), silmîl nãédõb ‘mit den Augen sichtbar, augenfällig’ (Wiedemann 1861a: 73); joud also occurs in the texts collected by Setälä (in 1888 and 1912) published in 1953 (amâl joudõl;
1953: 314), and *amāl kurkõl* is relatively common: it occurs in a number of sources of 1920s and 1930s Livonian (e.g., in Stalte 1924: 23, in the 23.5.1932 edition of the newspaper ‘Līvli’, p. 2), but also in the 2012 Viitso-Ernštretīs dictionary under kurk (*amāl kurkõl ounõ ‘tāiest kõrist kisendada’, *amāl kurkõl na’grõ ‘laginal naerda’). The instrumental adessive of *silm* also occurs in Kettunen’s dictionary (*silmil ‘aufs gesicht’: ta ētiz ēntša silmil mõ ‘er warf sich aufs gesicht’; 1938: 366a). As mentioned above, there are also a number of instrumental adessives which seem to have been created by Pētõr Dāmberg.

5. Conclusion

Though use of the *l*-cases in Livonian is much more limited than in the other Finnic languages, the reasons for this have not been exhaustively described in the literature. Already Wiedemann (1861a: 208) pointed out the role Latvian, with its unidimensional case system, has had in the decline of the use of the *l*-cases; Rudzīte and Karma (1981: 232) describe this in more detail. Kittilä and Ylikoski (2011: 48–49), however, suggest that their use has perhaps never risen beyond an ‘incipient stage’. Though the two accounts do not nullify each other, it can be shown with the help of older sources (e.g., Wiedemann 1861a and 1861b) that the use of the *l*-cases in the 19th century was more varied and more widespread than it is now.

The available sources of Livonian show that the *l*-cases occur mostly in fossilised adverbs denoting location, position, temporal location, etc., as found in all Finnic languages. In habitive constructions the *l*-cases are not used; the lative and locative functions have been adopted by the dative and the separative functions by either the elative or, more commonly, an adpositional construction with kā’dstõ. As fossilised local cases, the *l*-cases (the allative, adessive, and ablative) are similar to the *l*-cases in the other Finnic languages and therefore definitely older than the dative.

They can, therefore, notwithstanding Kittilä and Ylikoski, be considered to be rather old, though a number of instances are almost certainly due to Estonian influence (e.g., *mojjimizõl*, but possibly others too); as, e.g., has been pointed out recently by Grünthal (2015), Livonian

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11 There are less than 10 occurrences of the allative and adessive in the 1953 Setālā text collection.
has been deeply influenced by other languages for centuries. There are many instances of the elative case suffix being added to the original ablative to clarify its function (cf. Viitso 2016: 149), and thus we can also compare the l-cases to, e.g., the old l-stem pro-adverbs which have undergone the same change due to the increasing unclarity of their meaning (e.g. sīld ‘from there’ > sīldəst). As such cases also occur in Salis Livonian (sāltest) one could date the emergence of double case (at least in a number of instances) here to Proto-Livonian (dated to 1500 AD ± 100, cf. Kallio 2016: 61), though of course an independent development in both Courland and Salis Livonian could also have occurred. Similar instances of ‘double case’ are common in, e.g., Komi, Permyak, and Udmurt (cf. Korhonen 1979, Bartens 2003), and in Lude and Veps, where the coalescence of, e.g., the elative and inessive suffixes has led to the adverb pāi ‘towards; approximate direction’ being added to this new inessive-looking case (e.g., Veps inessive/elative lidnas ‘in the city; from the city’ > inessive lidnas ‘in the city’ + new elative lidnaspāi ‘from the city’). The case of Livonian, however, is different, because here after the use of the original case declined, a s-case ending was added to the original l-case ending. As Rudzīte and Karma (1981: 232–233) have observed, this led to the paradoxical situation that s-case suffixes express outer locality (e.g., pā-lō-z ‘on top of’ < allative + illative, pā-ldō-st ‘from the top of’, < ablative + elative), whereas the l-case suffixes express inner locality (e.g., si’zzōl ‘inwards’).
Abbreviations

ABL — ablative, ADE — adessive, ALL — allative, DAT — dative, ELA — elative, GEN — genitive, INS — instrumental, PRS — present, PRT — partitive, PST — past, PRTC — active past participle, SG — singular, TRA — transitive

References


Märksõnad: käändesüsteem, väliskohakääned, adverbid, liivi keel