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PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE DEVICES IN SALACA LIVONIAN*

Abstract. In Finnic languages, the future is often expressed by means of the present tense. In addition to the present tense, there are also periphrastic devices that convey the future. Such devices involve verbs that have developed or are developing into future markers. This article concentrates on one of the varieties of Livonian — Salaca Livonian. It analyses the development of the verbs *tulla* 'come', *ürg* 'begin', *sād* 'become' and *līd* 'will' (copula) that on the basis of broader typological background can be regarded as possible future markers in Salaca Livonian. The aim is to show to what extent these verbs have grammaticalized. The article reveals that *līd* is the most grammaticalized verb, as it also expresses the future in its temporal sense.

Keywords: Salaca Livonian, Finnic languages, future time reference, TAM-categories, grammaticalization.

1. Introduction

It is generally accepted that Finnic languages constitute a part of the "futureless" area of Northern Europe as future time reference remains often ungrammaticalized or is only partly grammaticalized (e.g. Dahl 2000a). However, as Metslang (1996) indicates, although Finnic languages tend to lack an inflectional future, they all seem to have at least one partly grammaticalized periphrastic construction that is used for future time reference. As most studies of Finnic languages have concentrated on the biggest Finnic languages — Finnish and Estonian — rather than on the smaller ones (e.g. Livonian, Votic), and have usually proceeded from traditional levels of language description (especially in the case of smaller languages), periphrastic constructions are often overlooked: they remain between the levels of morphology and syntax. Therefore there is a need to describe and examine the corresponding devices more thoroughly, first of all in the smaller Finnic languages.

This article focuses on future time reference in Salaca Livonian. Next to Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian is the other main variety of Livonian. The people and their language are named after the River Salaca of the

* The article is based on the master's thesis defended at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics at the University of Tartu (Norvik 2010). The author is thankful to her supervisors Prof. Karl Pajusalu and Prof. Helle Metslang. This study was supported by the Estonian Science Foundation grant No. 8409.

Northern part of Latvia, in the vicinity of which they mainly lived. By now Salaca Livonian is an extinct language that was last spoken about 150 years ago: supposedly, the last speaker died in 1868 (Vääri 1959 : 209). This fact, however, does not reduce its importance. On the contrary, for the reason that studies of Livonian grammar have proceeded mainly from Courland Livonian dialects, Salaca Livonian deserves closer attention. What is more, the linguistic data of Salaca Livonian (gathered between 1665 and 1846) gives both an account of rich verb morphology and also of several periphrastic devices used for future time reference.

The periphrastic means that express future in Salaca Livonian include the following verbs: *tulla*¹ 'come', *ürg* 'begin', *sād* 'become', *līd* 'will' (copula). The primary goal of this article is to show to what extent it is possible to consider these verbs as future auxiliaries. The analysis of the aforementioned four verbs follows from a broader typological background and takes as starting points Dahl's (2000a) and Metslang's (1996) divisions of future devices of about 30 European languages. Although on the basis of their work distinction can be made between the GO-, WILL-, SHALL-, COME-, BECOME-, BEGIN- and copula-types², the present article discusses the COME-, BECOME-, BEGIN- and copula-types that seem to be the main future types in Finnic languages.

2. Material and method

Salaca Livonian is preserved in written form only. The linguistic material of the language was gathered by various researchers between 1665 and 1846. Although there are linguistic sources from three different centuries, their distribution is quite uneven. Namely, the material that dates from 1665 to 1839 was documented during the period when the language was spread over the widest territory of Salaca Livonia and spoken by quite a representative number of people; however, the amount of the linguistic data from this period is small. The most comprehensive material was gathered in 1846, but at the same time it represents the period when there was only a small number of fluent speakers left who lived in a relatively limited area (see Winkler, Pajusalu 2009).

The present article relies on the linguistic data collected in 1846 and later published in Joh. Andreas Sjögren's "Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben" (1861). The reason is the comprehensiveness of the material: it contains the greatest amount of sentences collected from everyday speech, proverbs, and parts of Bible translations. The earlier linguistic data does not include many sentences or coherent texts and therefore does not provide enough information for drawing reliable conclusions about the future time reference in Salaca Livonian.

The usage of the verbs *līd*, *tulla*, *sād* and *ürg* is studied in the light of the grammaticalization theory. This method was chosen because it helps to describe and explain the gradual development of grammar. Namely, from general grammaticalization paths presented for future auxiliaries in

¹ The conventional base form of Livonian is the infinitive.

² One type is formed up of verbs that have developed or are developing into future markers via the same meaning; often the verbs also have the same origin. E.g. under GO-type falls the English *be going to* -future in case of which the verb *go* does not express its first meaning (movement) but rather future. In addition to English, verbs with similar source meanings have also developed future usages in Dutch, French, Spanish etc. (Dahl 2000a : 319).

other European languages it is possible to suggest in which way and to what extent the corresponding verbs of Salaca Livonian have grammaticalized. As the majority of the sample sentences lack broader context, generalisations can mostly be made on the basis of single sentences. Yet when context is available it has been taken into account.

3. Discussion

3.1. Copula-type and Salaca Livonian *līd*

This type involves copulas that have grammaticalized into an auxiliary combining with a participle or an infinitive. The copula-type is present for example in Russian (*быд-* + infinitive) (Dahl 2000a : 324; Metslang 1996 : 131). In Russian, the copula construction occurs first and foremost in connection with imperfective situations, i.e. with situations that are repeated or continuous in the future and that are not orientated to a result, as in (1). The synthetic future is common in the case of situations that receive perfective interpretation, as in (2) (KPI 281–282).

- (1) *я буду выполнять задание* (KPI 281)
'I will start fulfilling the task'
- (2) *я выполняю задание* (KPI 281)
'I will fulfil the task'

In Finnic languages, the copula-type is rather wide-spread. This is often regarded as Russian influence: parallels can be drawn between Russian *есть* vs. *будет* and Finno-Ugric **wole-* vs. **le-*; **wole-* is neutral (present, non-modal), **le-* is temporal (future) or modal (see e.g. Metslang 1996 : 135). For example, according to Viitso (2008 : 319), in Livonian, the forms of *vōlda* (< **wole-* root) do not involve future meaning as the future paradigm is based on the forms of *līdō* (< **le-* root).

In different Finnic languages, the copulas that derive from the **le-* root indeed exhibit several meanings, including temporal and modal meanings. It is possible that the development of different meanings proceeded from the meaning 'be somewhere'. For example, Heine (1993 : 59) places such meaning to the first stage of meaning development. According to Heine, the first stage is the stage of concrete source schemas (e.g. X is at Y), the verb has its full lexical meaning, and the complement refers to a concrete object or is an adverb. For example, the verb *līb* in Courland Livonian sentence (3) can be connected with the meaning 'be somewhere' and *jivās kād's* 'on the right side' refers to a place.

- (3) *e'žmās-t kīrdō ma l ī-b jivā-s kād's* (Setälä 1953 : 167)
first-PART time:PART 1SG be-1SG right-INE hand-INE
'For the first time, I will be on the right side'

Further development apparently involved marking certain changes, including 'come into being, emerge'. For example, Saukkonen (1965 : 174) maintains that the verb **le-* acquired its future and modal meanings via the meanings 'come into being, emerge', as in Izhorian (4). In order to show that also potential³ meaning (often expressed by the element *-ne-*) evolved via the

³ Potential typically expresses epistemic possibility.

meaning 'come', he presents the Ingrian sentence (5). However, *-ne-* is not present in all epistemic sentences, cf. the Courland Livonian sentence (6) (Kettunen 1938 : 197), in which *līdō* combines with the active past participle. As Sjögren (1861 : 287–288) notes, in case of Livonian *līdō*, epistemic meaning particularly tends to arise in connection with past events.

- (4) *h^uōno kesä l'ē* (Saukkonen 1965 : 174)
 bad summer be.3SG
 'It will be a bad summer'
- (5) *kons lie-n e-e maailma-n loppu* (Saukkonen 1965 : 174)
 when be-POT-3SG world-GEN end
 'When does the world come to an end?'
- (6) *sudū-d_l ī-b δ d_mi'n ni'emδ m_ō'-z δ m ū r d a-n δ d*
 wolf-PL be-3PL 1SG:GEN cow:PART ground-ILL stroke-PL.APP
 'Wolfs seem to have struck down my cow'

The stage of change was probably followed by the stage at which the verb **le-* combined with different participles, infinitives and, as a result, conveyed modal or aspectual meanings. For example, Heine (1993 : 60) has regarded such variation within one stage. As can be seen from several sources, in Courland Livonian, the construction $N_{\text{dat}} + \text{Pred}_{3\text{SG}} + \text{INF}$ expresses modal nuances (as in 7), *līdō* + active past participles may receive modal interpretation (see sentence 6), however, depending on the broader context, also the aspectual meaning (resultativity) may arise (e.g. 8).

- (7) *siⁿm_ ā b_l ī t a p̃ p δ* (Kettunen 1938 : 197)
 2SG:DAT NEG be:NEG kill:INF
 'You are not supposed to kill'
- (8) *ku sinā l ī-d sie kurē j a r ā t a p p -ə n,*
 when 2SG be-2SG this:GEN devil.GEN away kill-PTCP
siz sinā ruoik min' jū'r tegīž! (Setälä 1953 : 107)
 then 2SG hurry:IMP 1SG:GEN to back
 'When you have killed the devil, then hurry back to me!'

In the grammaticalization process, future is regarded as a post modal meaning (e.g. Auwera, Plungian 1998). Purely temporal meaning tends to arise when modal nuances are not present; the situation is imperfect and connected with time. Such meaning is possible but not very frequent as when speaking about the future it is more common to express modal nuances, like obligations, wishes etc. (e.g. Lyons 1977 : 816), than confident beliefs about the future — one can never be entirely sure in the future. This could be the reason why also in Livonian the future in its temporal sense occurred rather seldom.

In the Salaca Livonian material, *līd* occurs 49 times. It is used in different combinations and meanings: *līd* combines with supine and infinitive, active and passive past participles, enters into a particular modal construction ($N_{\text{ade}} + \text{Pred}_{3\text{SG}} + V_{\text{mist}}^4$); it expresses 'being somewhere, change, come into being, emerge', conveys deontic, dynamic as well as epistemic modality, resultativity and future.

⁴ *-mist* is the partitive form of the action nominal (suffix *-mi*).

3.1.1. 'Being somewhere'

This meaning can be attested in several occasions. In such instances, the verb **le-* agrees with the subject (in Salaca Livonian, *līb* is the form of 3SG, but the ending *-b* is generalised to 1SG and 3PL as well) and the complement is an adverb denoting a place, as in (9).

- (9) *mina ütlu-b, ku nāmad līb užīnest jūrs* (Sjögren 1861 : 338)
 1SG say-1SG that 3PL be-3PL soon here
 'I say that they will be here soon'

3.1.2. 'Change' (also 'come into being, emerge')

This stage is represented by examples that indicate change in the state, for example, in sentence (10), the subject undergoes a change (becomes a shoemaker). Sentence (10) also shows that the change experiencer (*sie* 'this') and the resulting state (*kānanika* 'shoemaker') can both be expressed by the nominative form in Livonian. In connection with sentence (11), it appears that one of the functions of *līd* is to convey the kind of change that involves an animate referent getting more passive (as Pajusalu, Tragel 2007 : 297 consider similar instances): in sentence (11), it is expected that somebody will become satisfied.

- (10) *sie om iga-s kānanika a b līb* (Sjögren 1861 : 328)
 this its life-INE shoemaker NEG be:NEG
 'S/he (lit. it) will not become a shoemaker in his/her (lit. its) life'
- (11) *las lā-k, las jā-g, mierk a b līb* (Sjögren 1861 : 349)
 let go-IMP let stay-IMP satisfied NEG be:NEG
 'Let [him/her] go, let [him/her] stay, [s/he] will not be satisfied'

3.1.3. Dynamic/deontic modality

These two meanings arise mostly in connection with the following construction: $N_{ade} + Pred_{3SG} + V_{mist}$. This particular construction expresses either obligation (deontic modality) or necessity (dynamic modality), see (12) (Sjögren 1861 : 357).

- (12) *sie pārast tād-l līb nei polgu-mist*
 this because 2PL-ADE be-3SG like.this beg-AN.PART
 'Because of this you need to beg like this'

3.1.4. Epistemic modality

Epistemic meaning can be detected mainly as a result of *līd* combining with the active past participle (suffix *-n*), see (13a). As was already mentioned, in such instances the situation takes place in the past. This also becomes apparent when taking into account the German translation (13b) presented to the sentence (13a) (Sjögren 1861 : 350). In fact, according to Hentschel, Weydt (1990 : 98), one of the functions of the German Future II (*werden* + past participle + *sein/haben*) is to express supposition about a past event, as in (13b).

- (13a) *mina luotu-b, ku täma lī-m-s tulle-n*
1SG hope-1SG that 3SG be-SUP-INE come-APP
'I hope s/he has arrived'
- (13b) *Ich meine, er wird gekommen sein*
'I think, s/he has arrived'

3.1.5. Resultativity

līd + the passive past participle (suffix *-deds/-teds*), on the other hand, conveys first and foremost resultativity, i.e. an action that is directed to a result in the future, as in (14) (Sjögren 1861 : 328). This means that in such sentences aspectual nuances arise in connection with future.

- (14) *mis omme-l tie-d se lī-b tied-ed s*
what yourself-ADE/ALL do-2SG, this be-3SG do-PPP
'What you do for yourself this will be done'

3.1.6. Future

Among the sentences containing *līd* there are also some examples in the case of which the primary function of *līd* is to express the temporal notion future (rather than modality or aspectuality). However, such examples are rare and future meaning is present only when *līd* combines with the infinitive, see sentence (15) (Sjögren 1861 : 338). What is more, the corresponding sentences can be attested mostly in Biblical texts, which convey confident beliefs about future situations.

- (15) *Mina usku-b un ūde lug usku-b, ku*
1SG believe-1SG and one:PART story:PART believe-1SG that
jumal luo-b, om luo-n un lī-b luod
God create-3SG be.3SG create-APP and be-3SG create:INF
'I believe and continuously believe that God creates, has created and will create'

The 49 example sentences indicate that *līd* more often expresses modal meanings than the temporal (i.e. future) meaning. The reason was already stated above: the future is something yet to come, and as we have not perceived it nor do we remember it, the main way to talk about the future is to express our hopes, beliefs, deductions etc. in connection with it. So, although *līd* has also developed the future meaning in its temporal sense there are only some examples of it.

3.2. BECOME-type and Salaca Livonian *sād* 'become'⁵

The most representative example of the BECOME-type is the German construction *werden* + infinitive that expresses modal as well as temporal nuances (cf.

⁵ The verb *sād* is translated as 'become' although another possible translation could be 'get'. For example, in the case of Estonian, Habicht and Tragel (to appear) speak about the development of 'get' -verb, Dahl (2000), on the other hand, has presented both translations ('get, become'). The main reason for translating *sād* mostly as 'become' is that in typological studies of future constructions 'become'-verbs are often regarded as sources for future and 'become' is the meaning that in a most explicit way helps to unite the polysemous *sād* with the BECOME-type (see e.g. Dahl 200).

sentences 16 and 17 (Hentschel, Weydt 1990 : 96)). According to Dahl (2000b : 351), the usage of inchoative verbs for future time reference is in fact spreading in several languages of Northern Europe. He presents the Swedish sentence (18) (Dahl 2000b : 351), in which the verb *bli* 'become' does not express change (i.e. that the party turns pleasant) but the future (i.e. that if the party will take place it will be pleasant). However, Dahl does not regard *bli* as a fully-developed future device.

- (16) *Wenn er das hört, wird er vor Wut platzen*
'When he hears about this, he will explode from anger'
(17) *Peter wird inzwischen längst in Köln sein*
'Peter is supposedly in Cologne already'
(18) *Den här festen blir nog trevlig*
'The party will be pleasant'

Although Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca (1994 : 263) claim that verbs with the meaning 'become' develop their future meaning via intention, Hilpert (2008 : 153–155) argues that at least in the case of *werden* the meaning 'intention' is a later extension.

In Finno-Ugric languages, the source meaning of the verb with the meaning 'become' was presumably 'come' (Häkkinen 2004 : 1095). In accordance with this, Metslang (1996 : 133) suggests the following grammaticalization path: 'come' > 'become' > future. In Finnic languages, the meaning 'come' is archaic and can be found only in some older texts, e.g. in old literary Finnish (19).

- (19) *kun aamu sa a* (KS 3)
when morning come:3SG
'When it will be morning' (lit. 'When morning comes')

A verb with the meaning 'become' has developed future usages in Estonian and Livonian. In Estonian, there is the construction *saama* + supine that may be interpreted as the future in connection to imperfective situations, as in (20) (Metslang 1994 : 165). Mägiste (1936 : 79) presents corresponding examples from Livonian. Although it is possible that at least in Estonian such constructions have a native basis (see e.g. Mägiste 1936), German influence is not denied. For Estonian *saama*, Habicht and Tragel (to appear) have presented a rather detailed path of development, but have also pointed to German influence. Metslang (1994 : 164) argues that *saama*-construction found its way to Estonian via active and past participles. Rather frequent constructions of *sõdõ* + participle in Livonian (first of all in translated texts) seem to prove its foreign influence as well.

- (20) *tema arvamus sa a - b mu-lle palju t ä h e n d a - m a*
3SG:GEN opinion become-3G 1SG-ALL a.lot mean-SUP
'His/her opinion will mean a lot to me'

In Salaca Livonian, the verb *sād* has 45 occurrences. In almost half of the examples (in 19 sentences) the verb *sād* is part of the construction $\text{Pred}_{3\text{SG}}$ + the passive past participle, as in (21). Therefore, the most frequent form of *sād* is 3SG. In the case where a subject is present, it mainly represents a human being; only in some instances does the subject refer to a non-living thing or something abstract (like in 22). What is notable, *sād* occurs more often in connection with negation (as in 21).

(21) *täm' a b s ā u s ü t u l - d e d s* (Sjögren 1861 : 312)
 3SG NEG become:NEG praise-PPP
 'S/he will not be praised'

(22) *las s ā - g sin t ā - mi* (Sjögren 1861 : 351)
 let become-IMP 2SG:GEN will-AN
 'Your will be done' (lit. 'Let your willing come')

sād expresses several meanings: 'come, reach/get somewhere, get free, change', and resultativity. If to proceed from the grammaticalization path presented above ('come' > 'become' > future) but to broaden it somewhat relaying on both Metslang (1994) as well as Habicht and Tragel (to appear), Salaca Livonian *sād* seems to have followed the grammaticalization path: 'come' > 'reach/get somewhere, get free' > 'change' > resultativity > (future).⁶

3.2.1. 'Come'

The sentence (22) can be connected with the archaic meaning: 'come'; at the same time it is an example of an abstract coming (*tāmi* 'will, volition' is not capable of moving like a human being).

3.2.2. 'Reach/get somewhere, get free'

The following stage of development could involve the meanings 'reach/get somewhere, get free' (cf. e.g. Metslang 1994 : 111). The example (23) expresses 'reaching somewhere (= Riga)', the example (24) 'getting free from somewhere'.

(23) *voi üll ū d p ā va s ā - b R ī g ?* (Sjögren 1861 : 315)
 PTCL over one:GEN day:GEN get-3SG riga:ILL
 'Does [one] reach Riga in one day?'

(24) *ku mina s ā - b t ä s t v a l l i s* (Sjögren 1861 : 316)
 when 1SG get-1SG here out
 'When I will get out of here'

3.2.3. 'Become'

The meaning 'become' that was regarded as the intermediate stage between the source meaning and future occurs for instance in sentence (25). In comparison with the sentence (10), only the resulting state (*mied* 'men') is marked by the nominative, the change experiencer is indicated by the relative case.

(25) *n ä n t e - s t s ā - b p ä r a s t m i e - d* (Sjögren 1861 : 300)
 3PL-ELA become-3PL afterwards man-PL
 'They will become men afterwards'

3.2.4. Resultativity

Habicht and Tragel (to appear) describe resultativity, i.e. the aspectual meaning that stresses the result of an action, as something preceding the future meaning. Such meaning arises first of all in connection with the passive

⁶ For the reason that in Salaca Livonian there are no examples of sentences in which *sād* would convey 'future' in its temporal sense, 'future' is put into brackets.

past participle, see (21). For the reason that in Salaca Livonian the participle constructions are the most common in Biblical texts, it is reasonable to assume foreign influence (as in Estonian).

3.2.5. Future

There are no examples of *sād* expressing the future in its temporal sense. This means that on the basis of 49 examples, the development of the verb *sād* in Salaca Livonian only reached the resultativity (the previous stage).

When comparing BECOME- and copula-types, rather similar patterns emerge: both have developed the future meaning via expressing change, different modal meanings and resultativity; the modal and aspectual nuances emerge first of all in combination with participles or in certain constructions; the future meaning is especially common in connection with the infinitive or supine.

3.3. COME-type and Salaca Livonian *tulla* 'come'

COME-type involves verbs that originally describe movement, in this particular case, futures which descend from 'come'. Constructions containing the verb with the meaning 'come' have spread in Scandinavian languages and Romansh dialects (Dahl 2000a : 320). As these languages are not genetically or geographically related, Dahl believes that we are dealing with an independent development, so he stresses the need of further study. Moreover, although Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca (1994) argue that all movement-related sources of the future expressions reach the stage of prediction⁷ via the stage of intention, Dahl suggests that the corresponding devices never involved intention (Dahl 2000a : 321–322). Hilpert, relying on the Swedish future construction with *komma att* 'come to' supports Dahl's claim. According to Hilpert, the more likely path of grammaticalization is movement > inchoativity > prediction as "an action of coming does not presuppose a physical or social force that obliges the agent to act" (Hilpert 2006 : 165; 2008 : 126).

In Finnic languages, a verb with the source meaning 'come' has developed future usages for example in Finnish, in which *tulla* combines with supine illative (suffix *-mAAn*), like in (26). According to ISK (2004 : 1470) and Metslang (1994 : 170–173), future interpretation of this construction is possible in the case of an imperfective situation if no modal nuances arise, and if a situation cannot be connected with a purpose-oriented action of an agent and with a particular place in the room. KS indicates that speakers tend to choose the future construction on such occasions when using the present tense would change the intended meaning. For example replacing *tulee ikäväämään* 'will miss' with *ikävöi* 'misses' in sentence (26) would result in present interpretation. KKS states that also the corresponding Karelian construction (*tulla* + supine illative) may receive future interpretation, see sentence (27).

- (26) *hän t u l e - e i k ä v ö i - m ä ä n y l e i s ö - ä - ä n* (ISK 2004 : 1470)
 3SG come-3SG miss-SUP.ILL audience-PART-POSS.3SG
 'He will miss the audience'

⁷ Prediction and future are used as synonymous here.

- (27) *sit sama-s tila-s t u l e - d m a g u a - m a h i ä n k a i k e n* (KKS 6)
 then same-INE place-INE come-2SG sleep-SUP.ILL eternally
 'Then at the same place you will sleep eternally'

The grammaticalization path of 'come' -verbs in Finnic languages seems to be similar to that presented by Hilpert (see above): movement > change⁸ > prediction. For instance, also Metslang (1994 : 170) regards change as the middle stage between 'come' and future. This claim can be illustrated by the Votic example (28).

- (28) *kui inehmine vana-ssi t u u - B i v u h s õ - t t u u - v a D h a l l i - D* (VKS 6)
 when person old-TRA come-3SG hair-PL come-3PL grey-PL
 'When a person becomes old, [his/her] hair will turn grey'

In Salaca Livonian, a similar kind of meaning development can be detected: movement > change > immediate future. The verb *tulla* occurs most often in its source meaning, i.e. it expresses movement (an action of coming) of an agent. Among such examples, there are also some instances of an abstract movement, for example, in sentence (29), the subject is *juks tob* 'an illness' that is not capable of moving like a living being.

- (29) *minne-l t u l a - b j u k s t o b* (Sjögren 1861 : 299)
 1SG-ADE/ALL come-3SG one illness
 'I am falling ill' (lit. 'An illness is coming on me')

All in all, there are only six sentences in which *tulla* has other functions and combinatorial properties. Namely, it combines with the supine inessive (suffix *-ms ~ -mis ~ -mes*) and on two occasions it expresses change (as in 30); in the remaining four sentences it conveys immediate future (as in 31) (Sjögren 1861 : 316):

- (30) *ku t u l - m s k a v a l i - m , s i s a n a - b t ä d - l o p a t u - m i s t*
 when come-SUP.INE smart-COMP then give-3SG 2PL-ADE/ALL teach-AN.PART
 'When [one] gets smarter, [one] will teach you (lit. give you teaching)'
 (31) *voi sa ka taggis t u l - m i s ?* (Sjögren 1861 : 296)
 PTCL 2SG also back come-SUP.INE
 'Are you also coming back?'

In both of the sentences the supine inessive form of *tulla* functions as the predicate (there is only one sentence in which it occurs together with *oll* 'be' – *om tulmes* 'is coming'). These examples suggest that such combination gives rise to an aspectual meaning. In the sentence (30), *-ms* seems to convey constant change (getting smarter and smarter). In the sentence (31), it seems to mark certain continuity from the present to the future (the action of coming back is expected to occur soon⁹).

Although 6 occurrences are too few to make any strong conclusions, it seems plausible that development towards the future meaning has taken place. The intermediate stage may have been 'change'; there are no traces of intentional meaning in connection with *tulla*. However, there is the possibility that

⁸ Inchoativity can be connected with change.

⁹ In fact, it has been noted that rather often 'come' -futures are immediate futures as a "'come' -future requires that the speaker's point of view be some time in the future, and it is only reasonable to suppose that this dislocation of perspective would not usually involve a projection into distant future" (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994 : 269).

the examples of the immediate future refer to a general tendency to convey the immediate future by using the supine inessive with the main verb.

3.4. BEGIN-type and Salaca Livonian *ürg* 'begin'

BEGIN-type is comprised of verbs that have developed the 'future' meaning via the meaning 'begin'. In European languages, such meaning development is characteristic to Estonian, in which this type is represented by the construction *hakkama* 'begin' + supine (Dahl 2000a : 324). However, the future interpretation arises only in certain cases. According to Metslang (1994 : 167), in sentence (32), the meaning 'begin' is still present: it is supported by the exact location in time (*poole tunni pärast* 'in an half an hour') when the action denoted by the sentence will begin; in sentence (33) (Metslang 1994 : 167), on the other hand, the 'future' meaning is foregrounded: sentence (33) expresses first of all the fact that an action rather than its beginning will take place in the future.

(32) *külalise-d h a k k a - v a d s ö ö - m a p o o l e t u n n i p ä r a s t*
 guest-PL begin-3PL eat-SUP half:GEN hour:GEN after
 'The guests will start eating in half an hour'

(33) *konverentsi k ü l a l i s e - d h a k k a - v a d*
 conference:GEN guest-PL begin-3PL
s ö ö - m a - s k ä i - m a r e s t o r a n i - s
 eat-SUP-INE go-SUP restaurant-INE
 'The guests of the conference will be eating in a restaurant'

Not all examples are that straightforward (see e.g. Metslang 1994 : 167; Penjam 2008 : 185). Regardless of that, the fact that there are unambiguous examples, it is possible to state that in Estonian the following development has taken place: 'begin' > future. This grammaticalization path is actually common in Finnic languages and Finno-Ugric languages in general, and to such a degree that the source meaning of the ingressive verbs may vary (Metslang 1996 : 133). For example, in Votic, there is the verb *nõisa* with the original meaning 'rise'. The meaning 'begin' is said to be a loan from Russian as Russian *стать* 'begin' and *вставать* 'rise' have similar stems (Mägiste 1936 : 82–83). Still, it was the meaning 'begin' that led to the future meaning not the meaning 'rise'. The sentence (34) is an example of *nõisa* + supine that in the broader context seems to give rise to the future interpretation, but when taken out of the context, the meaning 'begin' is stronger.

(34) *eb n õ õ s i n u - a s u o j õ t t a - m a a* (Ariste 1980 : 6)
 NEG begin:NEG 2SG-PART warm-SUP
 '[It] will not warm you up'

In Courland Livonian, there are two verbs that can be found in the meaning 'begin': *irgõ* (e.g. 35) and *akkõ* (e.g. 36), though *akkõ* tends to be more frequent in the meaning 'catch'. Although Livonian grammars or dictionaries do not give any hints about their possible 'future' meaning, texts may reveal also futurate usages (e.g. when considering the sentences in the broader context), but this requires further study.

(35) *m ē g i r g õ - m l ä ' - d õ* (Kettunen 1938 : 75)
 1PL begin-1PL go-INF
 'We will start going'

- (36) *ni übbi ak ū-b [---] süö-dâ t ā'-m* (Setälä 1953 : 191)
 now horse begin-3SG eat-INF want-SUP
 'Now the horse begins to want to eat'

In the Salaca Livonian material, both *akk* as well as *ürg* occur, but similarly with the Courland Livonian counterpart, the former is used first of all in the meaning 'catch'. All in all, *ürg* has 11 occurrences. It combines with different kinds of subjects and lexical verbs. The subject is a human being or an animal; the verb expresses a physical or verbal action, denotes a non-agentive process or a state (e.g. in (37) the subject is a human being that carries out a physical action expressed by the verb). There are also two examples of weather phenomena (e.g. 38). In addition to that, one sentence (39) conveys a durative beginning (see Metslang 1994, who does not regard it as a good source for future).

- (37) *nēd mie-d ürg u-b pū-di v ā z* (Sjögren 1861 : 313)
 these man-PL begin-3PL wood-PL.PART carry:INF
 'These men start to carry wood'

- (38) *nānt āgist šugus varr ürg u-b t'ulm* (Sjögren 1861 : 318)
 these years autumn early begin-3SG be.cold:SUP
 'It will get cold early during these years' (lit. 'These years it begins to be cold early')

- (39) *mina jo ürg u-b samoist* (Sjögren 1861 : 308)
 1SG already begin-1SG understand:INF
 'I am beginning to understand already'

As can be seen in these examples, in the case of *ürg*, there are no clear instances of the 'future' meaning. Perhaps in the wider context of these sentences there would be grounds for assuming it (e.g. in case of 37), but as no context is available then on the basis of these 11 examples it cannot be concluded that the meaning development 'begin' > future has taken place.

Conclusions

The present article focused on the future time reference in one of the varieties of Livonian — Salaca Livonian. Proceeding from a broader typological background, the article discussed correspondence to four future types: COME-, BEGIN-, BECOME- and copula-type. In the case of Salaca Livonian, the verbs that were regarded as possible future markers of the aforementioned types were the following: *tulla* 'come', *ürg* 'begin', *sād* 'become' and *līd* 'will' (copula). The aim was to see, to what extent these verbs have grammaticalized as future markers.

The analysis showed that the most grammaticalized marker in Salaca Livonian is *līd*: it occurs in several combinations to express different meanings, including the future in its temporal sense. *sād* has detached itself from the source meaning but the linguistic material of Salaca Livonian does not reveal any usages of *sād* in the temporal sense (in connection with the future it conveys mainly modal and aspectual meanings). *ürg* does not have any 'future' examples either. *tulla* seems to have developed into a marker of the immediate future, however, it is possible that the few examples may indicate only the general tendency to express the immediate future with the inessive supine form.

To conclude, although *lid* proves to have also developed temporal meaning (occurs first of all in Biblical texts), there are more examples of *lid* conveying modal functions. This result was interpreted as a reference to the fact that in our everyday life it is more common to express our hopes, inferences and wishes in connection with the future rather than confident beliefs about it.

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Abbreviations

ISK — A. Hakulinen, M. Vilkuna, R. Korhonen, V. Koivisto, T.-R. Heinonen, I. Alho, *Iso suomen kielioppi*, Helsinki 2004 (SKST 950); **KKS 6** — *Karjalan kielen sanakirja. Kuudes osa. T–Ö*, Helsinki 2005 (LSFU XVI, 6, *Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja* 25); **KPT** — *Краткая русская грамматика*, Москва 1989; **KS** — *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* 3, Helsinki 2006 (*Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja* 140); **VKS** — *Vadja keele sõnaraamat 6*. Toimetanud S. Grünberg, Tallinn 2010.

1, 2, 3 — person, **ADE** — adessive, **ALL** — allative, **AN** — action nominal, **APP** — active past participle, **COMP** — comparative, **GEN** — genitive, **DAT** — dative, **ELA** — elative, **ILL** — illative, **IMP** — imperfect, **INE** — inessive, **INF** — infinitive, **N** — noun, **NEG** — negation, **PART** — partitive, **PL** — plural, **POSS** — possessive, **POT** — potential, **PPP** — passive past participle, **Pred** — predicate, **PTCL** — particle, **SG** — singular, **SUP** — supine, **TRA** — translative, **V** — verb.

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МИЙНА НОРВИК (Тарту)

ПЕРИФРАСТИЧЕСКИЕ СРЕДСТВА ВЫРАЖЕНИЯ БУДУЩЕГО ВРЕМЕНИ В САЛАЦКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ ЛИВСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

В одном из вариантов ливского языка — салацком диалекте — будущее время передается с помощью формы настоящего времени. Однако наряду с формой настоящего времени используются и перифрастические средства, указывающие на будущее время. С учетом более широкого типологического фона автор статьи выясняет, в какой мере грамматикализировались для выражения будущего времени глаголы *tulla* 'приходить', *ürg* 'начинать', *sād* 'получать' и *lid* 'буду'.

Анализ материала показал, что наиболее грамматикализованным среди упомянутых стал глагол *lid*, который обладает многими комбинаторными возможностями (сочетается с партиципом, инфинитивом, супином) и имеет различные значения (пробывание в будущем, изменение, динамическая, деонтозная, эпистемическая модальности, результативность, будущее). Установлено, что различные значения зависят от конструкции, например, эпистемическая модальность отмечается при сочетании *lid* с формой партиципа множественного числа. Иногда *lid* передает и будущее в его временном смысле. В таких случаях он сочетается с инфинитивом и трактуется как вспомогательный глагол. Соответствующих примеров, однако, мало, а потому можно полагать, что в связи с будущим обычно принято передавать скорее свои желания, надежды (отсюда — модальные нюансы), чем строго определенную веру относительно событий будущего.

Глагол *sād* в салацком диалекте, правда, отделился от своего первоначального смысла ('получать'), хотя он тоже встречается в различных комбинациях и передает различные значения, но при этом не отмечено ни одного случая, в котором обозначилось бы будущее время. Так же и *ürg* в предложениях передает прежде всего значение начала. А вот глагол *tulla* все же встречается и в функции имманентного будущего (в таких случаях он сочетается с формой инессива супина), но поскольку пока обнаружены лишь единичные подобные примеры, нельзя со всей определенностью утверждать, что развитие '*tulema*' > имманентное будущее произошло. К тому же возможно, что соответствующие примеры указывают на общую тенденцию с помощью формы инессива супина выражать имманентное будущее.