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PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ESTONIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU 11

ESTONIAN: TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES III

edited by
Mati Erelt

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RAAMATUKOGU

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AGREEMENT IN ESTONIAN

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0. Agreement is a very common phenomenon in the languages of the world, therefore no theory of syntax can avoid it. However, agreement as a separate phenomenon has been discussed relatively little. Usually it has been studied as an accompanying phenomenon of something else, in most cases as a formal marker of some constituent of the sentence (syntactic function), and it has been discussed under the relevant parts of the sentence.

The 1980s, however, saw some positive developments in the treatment of agreement. There have been attempts to systematize the types of agreement in the languages of the world and to establish the hierarchy and functions of the types (see e.g. Lehmann 1982, 1988, Corbett 1979, 1986, 1988, Croft 1988). Now agreement is not regarded anymore as a redundant phenomenon, as Jespersen did it (1928), but as a phenomenon that has its own functions (or function) whose role in distinguishing the parts of the sentence would rather derive from these more general functions, thus being of secondary character.

At different times Estonian linguistics has studied more thoroughly two domains of agreement: agreement of the predicate verb (Johannes Valgma 1963 in the literary language and Helmi Neetar 1964 in the dialects) and agreement of the adjective attribute (Rein Nurkse 1937). However, so far the general picture of agreement in Estonian is inexistent.

1. General remarks about agreement

1.1. Definition of agreement

Below agreement is defined as the copying of the grammatical category (*agreeing category*) of one constituent (*element agreed with* or *controller*) in the other constituent (*target*), which is syntactically or anaphorically related to the former.[1] For example,

[1] The terms *controller* and *target* are by Corbett (1979).

in Estonian the adjectival attribute (target) agrees with its head noun (controller) in case and number (agreeing categories), as in (1), or the personal pronoun in class, as in (2):

(1) suur-test maja-de-st
big-pl-el house-pl-el
(2) Kohtasin Jaani. Ta oli väga haige.
met-1sg Jaan he was very sick

In case of some categories agreement is triggered by the morphological form of the controller. It is so, for example, in the category of case. In such cases we can speak only about the opposition of agreeing and non-agreeing cases. For example, of the 14 cases of Estonian in ten cases the adjective attribute agrees with its head noun, but in four cases – terminative, essive, abessive, and comitative – it does not (cf. 2.1.2.). In case of other categories agreement is triggered by the morphological form or meaning of the controller. Number is one such category (in other languages also gender, for example). In addition to the distinction agreement – non-agreement, we can here also speak about the distinction syntactic (grammatical or normal) agreement vs. semantic (semantically motivated) agreement. The content value of agreement is revealed in those cases where the form of the source of agreement does not correspond to its content. For example, in the sentence

(4) Robert, te olete haige!
'Robert, you are ill!'

the subject is formally in the plural but denotes only one referent, i.e. it is the so-called politeness plural. As the sentence indicates, the plural form of the predicate verb is conditioned by the plural form of the subject, and the singular form of the predicative is conditioned by the singular content of the subject. Thus, in this case the predicate verb agrees with the subject in number syntactically, but the predicative does so semantically. Cases of non-correspondence between the form and content serve also as a basis for drawing conclusions about the degree of semantic motivation in some domain of agreement as a whole (predicate

verb – subject, adjective attribute – noun, etc.). The degree of semantic motivation of a domain of agreement is a relative value that is determined by the ratio of cases of semantic agreement to all the cases of agreement. The agreement in number of the predicate verb and the subject is less semantic than the agreement in number of the predicative and the subject. However, the former is not 100% syntactic because, for example, if the subject is a quantifier phrase, the predicate verb may (but does not have to) be in the plural as well, i.e. it can agree with the subject on the basis of the plural content and not the singular form, cf.

(5a) Viis meest lahkus.
'Five men left (sg)'
(5b) Viis meest lahkusid.
'Five men left (pl)'

1.2. Domains of agreement

The domains of agreement in the world's languages have been studied by Edith Moravcsik (1978) and Christian Lehmann (1982). Below I am going to rely on the description by Lehmann because it is more recent and more thorough. Table 1 reflects it in a somewhat modified form. The agreeing constituent is followed by the controller in brackets. The category of class includes at least the categories of gender, animateness, and species.

Table 1. Domains of agreement

	Agreeing constituents	agreeing categories class	number	person	case
domain of case agreement	determiner	+	+	–	+
	adjective attribute	+	+	–	+
	relative clause	+	+	–	+
	possessor (←possessum)	+	+	–	+
	apposition	(+)	(+)	–	+
	nominal predicate	(+)	(+)	–	+

domain of person agreement	possessum (←possessor)	+	+	+	–
	adposition	+	+	+	–
	verb	+	+	+	–
	relative pronoun	+	+	+	–
	personal and demonstrative pronoun	+	+	+	–

The table shows that, according to Lehmann, the domains (types) of agreement are subdivided into two major domains. The first one allows case agreement but not person agreement, in the second one it is the other way round. The construction possessor – possessum occurs in both domains, but in case agreement the possessor agrees with the possessum (as in the Russian *moj drug* 'my friend'), in person agreement it is the other way round – the possessum agrees with the possessor (*minun ystäväni* 'my friend').

1.3. Agreement hierarchy

Corbett (1979) has made an attempt to provide a hierarchical order of agreement types, which is as follows:

attribute – predicate – relative pronoun – personal pronoun

Corbett has studied mostly gender and number agreement, and this hierarchy of agreement is valid first and foremost for the syntacticity *resp* semanticity of agreement. Corbett namely states that the likelihood of semantic agreement increases monotonically as we move rightwards along the agreement hierarchy. The more left-hand is a concrete sentence element in this hierarchy, the stronger is the likelihood of its syntactic agreement; the more right-hand, the stronger is the likelihood of its semantic agreement. For example, the likelihood that an attribute agrees syntactically with its head is stronger than the likelihood that in the case of the predicate. The condition of gradual decrease requires that if syntactic agreement occurs in some position of the hierarchy, then it will also occur in each position that is on its left.

And, in contrast, if semantic agreement occurs in some position of the hierarchy, then it will also occur in each position that is located on the right from it. In case there are two possibilities of agreement in two adjacent positions of the hierarchy, then the likelihood of semantic agreement in the right-hand position is at least as strong as in the left-hand one.

Corbett's hierarchy can be reduced, in fact, to a regularity that had been proposed even earlier (Lyons 1968: 287, Moravcsik, 1978: 340) – that the possibility for syntactic agreement to obtain decreases with the syntactic (structural) distance of the target from the controller. The more similar is a syntactic unit to a word, the smaller is the syntactic distance of its constituents. The attribute and its head are constituents of the noun phrase, their syntactic distance is smallest. The predicate and its arguments are constituents of the clause, thus it is internal agreement of the clause. The correlate of the relative pronoun is located in the dependent clause, thus agreement occurs between the constituents of different clauses. Actually, the personal pronoun and its antecedent are syntactically unrelated, there is only an anaphorical relation between them.

The predicate is subdivided into four predicate types, which in their turn form a hierarchy (Comrie 1975, Corbett 1983: 42 etc.):

finite verb – participle – adjective – noun

In the predicate hierarchy, too, the likelihood of semantic agreement increases monotonically rightwards. The syntactic agreement of the participle component of the predicate is less likely than the syntactic agreement of the finite verb; the semantic agreement of the adjective predicate is in its turn more likely than the semantic agreement of the participle, and, finally, the semantic agreement of the nominal predicative is more likely than the syntactic agreement of the adjective predicative.

2. Agreement in Literary Estonian

The present article focuses on the following problems: 1) which agreement domains (types) are represented in modern Literary Estonian and to what extent, 2) is the semantic motivation of agreement types in line with Corbett's agreement hierarchy, and 3) what kind of shifts have taken place in agreement during the present century. The data come mostly from the corpus of modern Literary Estonian (1890–1980).

2.1. Domains (types) of agreement in Estonian

Estonian has to a greater or smaller degree the following types of agreement:

Table 2. Domains of agreement in Estonian

	agreeing constituents	agreeing categories class	number	person	case
domain of case agreement	determiner	–	+	–	+
	adjective attribute	–	+	–	+
	relative clause	–	+	–	+
	possessor (←possessum)	–	+	–	+
	apposition	–	(+)	–	+
	nominal predicate	–	(+)	–	+
domain of person agreement	possessum (←possessor)	–	–	–	–
	adposition	–	–	–	–
	verb	+	+	+	–
	relative pronoun	+	+	+	–
	personal and demonstrative pronoun	+	+	+	–

2.1.1. Agreement of determiners

The Estonian language does not have any **articles** although some uses of the indefinite pronoun *üks* 'one' and the demonstrative

pronoun *see* 'this' are rather close to the article (Pajusalu 1997). Therefore, one cannot speak of the agreement of articles here.

Similarly to adjectives, **demonstrative pronouns** agree with their head nouns in case and number:

(6)

	sg	pl
nominative	see mees 'this man'	need mehed
genitive	selle mehe	nende meeste
partitive	seda meest	neid mehi
etc.		

Quantifiers agree with nouns in case and number, but not all of them behave in the same way. Adjective quantifiers agree with nouns in all the same cases as adjectives and in number. Actually, the singular and plural do not differ from each other that much as for the meaning of quantity as for definiteness.

(7)

	sg	pl
nominative	mõni mees 'some man'	mõned mehed
genitive	mõne mehe	mõnede meeste
etc.		

Cardinal numerals agree with nouns in all the mentioned cases with the exception of the nominative singular. In the nominative singular the numeral or substantive quantifier is considered as the head, the noun is its governed extension, which is in the partitive. In Estonian, the cardinal numeral agrees with nouns in number as well, but nouns in the plural form are not in the meaning of the plural but the meaning of a set.

(8)

	sg	pl
nominative	viis meest/saabast 'five men/boots'	viied *mehed/saapad
genitive	viie mehe/saapa	viite *meeste/saabaste
partitive	viit meest/saabast	viisi *mehi/saapaid
etc.		

Substantive quantifiers, too, agree with their head noun in all the cases with the exception of the nominative singular, however, there is no agreement in number here.

(9a)	nominative	enamik mehi 'the majority of men'
	genitive	enamiku meeste
	partitive	enamikku mehi
	etc.	
(9b)	nominative	hulk mehi 'a large number of men'
	genitive	hulga meeste
	partitive	hulka mehi
	etc.	

As a recent phenomenon one can observe that the substantive quantifiers tend to become adjectivized, which is accompanied by agreement in number and case in the nominative as well:

(10) enamik mehi 'the majority of men' → enamikud mehed
osa mehi 'one part of men' → osad mehed

2.1.2. Agreement of the adjective attribute

In a typical case the adjective attribute occurs as a premodifier in Estonian. In Contemporary Literary Estonian, the prototypical adjective attribute agrees with its head in number and in all the cases with the exception of the terminative, essive, abessive, and comitative. If the noun happens to be in one of these cases, then the adjective attribute will remain in the genitive and agree with its head only in number.

(11)

	sg	pl
nominative	ilus tüdruk 'beautiful girl'	ilusad tüdrukud
genitive	ilusa tüdruku	ilusate tüdrukute
partitive	ilusat tüdrukut	ilusaid tüdrukuid
illative	ilusasse tüdrukusse	ilusatesse tüdrukutesse
inessive	ilusas tüdrukus	ilusates tüdrukutes

elative	ilusast tüdrukust	ilusatest tüdrukutest
allative	ilusale tüdrukule	ilusatele tüdrukutele
adessive	ilusal tüdrukul	ilusatel tüdrukutel
ablative	ilusalt tüdrukult	ilusatelt tüdrukutelt
translative	ilusaks tüdrukuks	ilusateks tüdrukuteks
terminative	ilusa tüdrukuni	ilusate tüdrukuteni
essive	ilusa tüdrukuna	ilusate tüdrukutena
abessive	ilusa tüdrukuta	ilusate tüdrukuteta
comitative	ilusa tüdrukuga	ilusate tüdrukutega

The system of agreement in contemporary Literary Estonian is not exactly the same what can be found in dialects, in the older literary language, or in the common language half a century ago. According to the study by Rein Nurkse (1937), in addition to the four last cases there was often no case agreement in the allative either, slightly less seldom in the illative in *–sse*, number agreement was absent elsewhere as well: *valge varesele* 'to the white crow', *vana majasse* 'into the old house', *targa inimestele* 'to clever people', *külma ilmade* 'of cold weather, pl.' Proceeding from Karl Leetberg (1925: 25–26), Nurkse claims that there was no agreement of the attribute if the addition of the corresponding markers lengthened the word by one syllable. Nurkse called this regularity the principle of *syllable economy*.

In dialects the non-agreement that is due to syllable economy is prevalent in the North Estonian dialects and in the area of northern Mulgi. In contrast, agreement predominates in the northeastern coastal dialect and in South Estonian dialects (with the exception of the northern part of the Mulgi dialect area), but one can also find such examples where non-agreement takes place due to the syllable economy (Nurkse 1937: 42–43).

The situation in the dialects is also reflected in the older literary language, which is based on the central northern dialect. The early Estonian grammars (Hornung 1693, Thor Helle 1732, Hupel 1818, Ahrens 1853, Wiedemann 1875) observed case agreement both in the last cases and in the allative, Wiedemann also in the illative and non-agreement in number in the genitive plural. Attempts to restate the rules of agreement in the literary language were made already in the first Estonian grammar (Hermann 1885), which prescribes to the literary language

the rules of agreement that are valid today. Later language planners made attempts to change Hermann's rules both in the direction of greater agreement and the other way round. The official trend, especially the Finnish-style language reform at the beginning of the century, recommended agreement also in the essive if it should happen to be necessary for the clarity of thought (Loorits 1923: 151, Kettunen 1924: 69, Muuk and Tedre 1931: 81 ff., Aavik 1936: 79), some recommended it even in the terminative (Loorits 123: 151) and abessive (Aavik 1936: 79).

Nurkse stated that the agreement of the adjective attribute in the essive would not give any noticeable effect because in a number of other cases, for example, in such cases as the comitative or genitive, the ambiguity would still be there, and some other possibilities should be found anyway to eliminate it. Instead of using agreement for disambiguation, in the view of Nurkse, it would be expedient to try to accomplish it by means of word order. For example, one could allow to use the order *teaduskonna iga liikmele* instead of *iga teaduskonna liikmele* 'to each member of the faculty', if a single faculty is meant. Nurkse believed firmly that Estonian was moving back toward the ancient Finno-Ugric non-agreement and that prescriptive grammar should take it into account. Time showed, however, that Nurkse and some other conservatives were wrong. Estonian did not witness any retrogression. At the same time agreement did not extend to the last four cases either, so that the efforts of language reformers were also to no avail.

How could one explain this development and not the one that Nurkse expected and predicted? Such a norm was, of course, prescribed by grammarians, and the language editors were avid to enforce it. However, it does not explain the completeness of the change and the lack of resistance. In order to explain the latter, one as to turn to the language itself. One is tempted to ask whether one should not look for the solution in the grammaticalization of cases.

It has been claimed that the likelihood of intra-NP agreement is stronger to the degree the higher is the grammaticality of the formative (of the marker of case or number) (Lehmann 1982: 241–242). In the case of the adpositions, which have the least grammaticalized case markers that are clearly related to the whole

NP, there is no agreement in the languges of the world. In the case of agglutinating case markers, agreement is observed in a relatively small number of languages, in the case of fusing markers, however, it can be found in a large number of languages. The four last cases of Estonian (essive, terminative, comitative, and abessive) are, as far as their grammaticality is concerned, close to the adpositions (some linguists, in fact, have called them 'clitic adpositions' (Uibo 1977, Nevis 1986, 1988), and, therefore, the adjective attribute remains in the genitive if the head is in one of these cases, e.g. *vanema vennaga* 'with one's elder brother', where the adjective attribute, in fact, agrees with the genitive form *venna*. It is true that not all the four last cases have developed from adpositions (this development can be tracked down only for the comitative), but synchronically the corresponding endings do have many features in common with adpositions. The genuine grammatical cases (i.e. the first three ones) behave very differently from each other with relation to agreement. In these cases there is complete agreement in dialects and the older literary language. Fluctuations in agreement can be observed, in fact, in those cases that remain between these two groups. Non-agreement is most frequent in the allative, less in the illative in *–sse*, and least of all (but it still occurs) in the rest of the cases, i.e. following hierarchy is observed: *le* > *sse* > *markers of other cases*. One could of course state after Leetberg and Nurkse that this hierarchy is based on syllable economy, but actually syllabicity is not a phenomenon in itself here but an indicator of lesser grammaticalization (a syllable is formally closer to a word than a consonant cluster).

So, the grammatical the case, the stronger is the likelihood of the agreement of the adjective attribute.[2] As the cases are

[2] Languages vary greatly as for the degree of grammaticalization that is necessary for agreement. Felix J. Oinas (1960: 121–138) has showed that in eastern Balto-Finnic languages (Votic, Karelian-Olonetsian, Vepsian, Ludic) the postpositional cases show the beginning of development toward the agreement of the attribute. Agreement is most frequent in Vepsian: there are four cases that show agreement of the attribute: *ke*-comitative, *mö*-prolative-comitative, *lo*-peripheral and *pä*-separational. Ludic and Karelian are represented by two cases each: Ludic – *lo*-peripheral and *pä*-separational, and Karelian-Olonetsian – *ke*-

developing toward increased grammaticality, then it could be expected that there could not have been any retrogression toward 'ancient non-agreement' The development could have taken place in only one direction, toward increased agreement. It is not believable, of course, that the actual grammaticalization of syllabic local cases over a half-century could lead to the situation that agreement had to be launched at any cost. It seems that there are other reasons behind the generalization of agreement. However, at least the direction is determined by grammaticalization.

A marked adjective attribute can occur as a postmodifier. Such an attribute agrees with its head also in the terminative, essive, abessive, and comitative. In fact, case endings could be omitted in the head:

(12)	terminative	õe(ni) armsani
	essive	õe(na) armsana
	abessive	õe(ta) armsata
	comitative	õe(ga) armsaga

2.1.3. Agreement of relative clauses

If we treat the concept of the relative clause more broadly than it has been customary in Estonian linguistics by including also the participial constructions, then we can find this type of agreement in Estonian as well. Estonian has four participles:

(13)	precent participle active or *v*-participle	õppiv
	present participle passive or *tav*-participle	õpitav

comitative and *lo-* peripheral. The Votic examples of agreement are confined to *ka-* comitative only: *tõisii kaa tyttäri kaa* 'with other girls' Oinas thinks that the development of this kind of agreement could be explained by the Russian influence. In Old Russian the repetition of prepositions was used until the 17th century (incl.) (*is kon' iz svoix iz ezdovyx* 'from among his riding horses', *v bulatnyx v dospesex* 'in armor of the damask steel'). If this phenomenon were regarded as agreement, and Russian researchers have done so, then in Old Russian the grammaticalization threshold of agreement was even lower.

past participle active or *nud*-participle	õppinud
past participle passive or *tud*-participle	õpitud

As both the adjective attribute and the participial attribute are normally premodifiers, then the postposition is the marked position. The present participles agree with their head in case and number both in preposition and postposition, the past participles do not agree in preposition but do so in postposition:

(14)

söövatele inimestele	inimestele, söövatele ja joovatele[3]
'to eating people'	'to people, eating and drinking'
söödavatele õuntele	õuntele, söödavatele ja moosiks
'to edible apples'	keedetavatele 'to apples, those to be eaten and those from which jam will be made'
söönud inimestele	inimestele, söönutele ja puhanutele
'to people who have eaten'	'to the people who have eaten and rested'
söödud õuntele	õuntele, söödutele ja moosiks keedetutele
'to the eaten apples'	'to the apples that have been eaten and from which jam has been made'

Occasionally, the past participle agrees in preposition as well:

(15) Aeg-ajalt tabas silm pooleli jäetuid ehitisi
'From time to time one's eye saw half-finished buildings'

In fact, it is not a phenomenon that is characteristic only of contemporary written language. Already Lauri Kettunen (1924: 70) provided such examples of agreement:

[3] Usually the attribute in postposition is not one word, therefore such a sentence as *Inimestele, söövatele, tundus elu lausa paradiislikuna* 'To the eating people life seemed to be like paradise' is unacceptable. In contrast, for example, the sentence *Inimestele, söövatele ja joovatele, tundus elu lausa paradiislikuna* 'To the eating and drinking people life looked like paradise' is fully acceptable.

(16) Jutustab sündinud lugudest
'he/she tells stories that have taken place'
Mälestame langenuid kangelasi
'we commemorate the fallen heroes'

At this he points out that 'Such usage is promoted, in addition to the natural unifying force of the attribute and its headword, especially the variability of the second participle that is used substantivally: *Allakirjutanule usaldati kavatsuse läbiviimine. Nii jääme siis kindlasti öeldu juure ja ütleme, nagu juba öeldud* (Luts) 'The signed person was entrusted with the implementation of the intention. So we are sure to stick to what has been said and we say as has been said' Later, also Johannes Aavik (1936: 80) has pointed out such cases of agreement, considering them as errors in relation to the norms of the literary language. However, it is difficult to observe any tendencies because of the small the number of examples where agreement occurs.

2.1.4. Agreement of the possessor with the possessum

It is a relatively common phenomenon in the world's languages that the possessive pronouns that express the possessor agree with their head, e.g. in Russian the possessive pronouns agree in gender, number, and case: *moj muž* (m) 'my husband' – *moja žena* (f) 'my wife', *moj drug* (sg) 'my friend' – *moi druz'ja* (pl) 'my friends', *moj drug* (nom) 'my friend' – *moego druga* (gen) 'of my friend' There are no possessive pronouns (as pronouns that refer to the person) in Estonian, but it has the attributive reflexive pronoun *oma* (as a pronoun that refers to the subject). According to the norms of the literary language, *oma* does not agree with its head. An exception is the fixed combinations *omal käel* 'on one's own', *omast käest* 'from one's own resources', *omal viisil* 'in one's own way', *omal soovil* 'of one's own will', etc, where *oma* has been brought into prominence.

(17) Ta kinkis oma pruudile kaelakee
'He gave his bride a necklace'

(18) Ta lahkus omal soovil
'He/she left of his/her own will'

The actual usage of the literary language corresponds more or less to this norm. However, one can observe the agreement of *oma* in some other cases as well:

(19) Heliloojana jäi Artur Lemba omas loomingus kord võetud ja omandatud põhimõtetele kindlaks elu lõpuni
'As a composer Artus Lemba remained loyal to to the principles that he had once adopted and acquired until the end of his life'

The corpus material indicates that agreement is nevertheless a very rare phenomenon. One cannot observe any increase or decrease over the century.

2.1.5. Agreement of the apposition

Generally speaking, the agreement of the apposition is problematic. Nevertheless, if one treats the appositional bond as subordination (which is debatable) and the identity of form in appositions as agreement, then one can first and foremost talk about case agreement. In the view of Lehmann (1982: 208) class and number agreement are a coincidence, i.e. the gender or number form of the apposition depends first and foremost on the word that functions as the apposition and not that much on its head. For example, in the Estonian phrase

(20) "Kukerpillid", meie tuntud lauluansambel
'"Kukerpillid", our well-known vocal group'

the singular form of the apposition *meie tuntud lauluansambel* 'our well-known vocal group' is caused by the collective meaning of the word *lauluansambel* 'vocal group' As for case agreement, then a postposed apposition always agrees with its head:

(21) Jaanil, minu parimal sõbral, on täna sünnipäev
'Jaan, my best friend, has his birthday today'

In most cases a preposed apposition is in agreement, too:

(22) Minu parimal sõbral Jaanil on täna sünnipäev
'My best friend Jaan has his birthday today'

The most important exceptions include a word of address or an apposition that expresses affinity, title, or occupation and functions as such if they are in the singular, without an attribute, and have not been brought into prominence.

(23) Öelge härra Tammele, et ta meid ootaks
'Tell Mr Tamm to wait for us'
(24) Võtsin onu Peetrilt laenu
'I borrowed some money from uncle Peeter'

In actual usage one can notice that non-agreement has extended to other preposed appositions as well.

(25) Laenasin raamatu sõber Jaanile.
'I lent the book to my friend Jaan'
(26) Kass Arturil on pahad kombed
'The cat Artur has bad habits'

2.1.6. Agreement of the nominal predicate

On the one hand, the nominal predicate in Estonian can occur as an adjective or substantive in the nominative case (occasionally also in the genitive or partitive cases), and in the essive, or translative cases, on the other hand. The first type of the nominal predicate functions mainly as the subject complement (only in the infinitive constructions it may function as the object complement as well) and is called the 'predicative' (*predikatiiv*). The translative and essive predicates function both as subject and object complements and are called in the Estonian linguistic tradition 'predicative adverbials' (*predikatiivadverbiaal*). The

adjective is the prototypical nominal predicate from the point of view of agreement. The number of the substantive predicate is largely dependent upon the substantive itself, cf. (27a) and (27b) whereby it is difficult to regard it as agreement.

(27a) Tammed on väga võluv abielupaar
'The Tamms are a very nice married couple
(27b) Tammed on õpetajad
'The Tamms are teachers'

Below we will limit ourselves to the discussion of the adjective predicative.

The adjective predicativee agrees with the subject in number:

(28a) See tüdruk on ilus
'This girl is beautiful'
(28b) Need tüdrukud on ilusad
'These girls are beautiful'

In the infinitive constructions it may agree also with the object in number and case:

(29a) Arvasin mehe vanema olevat
'I thought the man was older'
(29b) Arvasin mehed vanemad olevat
'I thought that the men were older'

The number agreement of the predicative is rather consistent. Here one cannot see any remarkable fluctuations, and grammars tend to neglect them quietly.

Agreement of the predicate adverbial is more complicated. The predicative adverbial, too, can agree with the subject or object in number:

(30a) Ta nägu värvus punaseks.
'His/her face turned red'

(30b) Nende näod värvusid punasteks
'Their faces turned red'
(31a) Juhan istus nukrana nurgas
'Juhan was sitting sadly in the corner'
(31b) Nad istusid nukratena nurgas
'They were sitting sadly in the corner'

However, the agreement of the predicative adverbial reveals considerable fluctuations, and the prescriptive grammars fail to provide identical rules. In most cases they state that in the case of the plural controller the predicative adverbial in translative should be used in the singular, if possible. According to some grammars (e.g. EKLP I: 236), it should always be in the singular. Thus, sentence (30b) would be regarded as ungrammatical or even unacceptable. As for the essive, most grammarians claim that here too one should prefer the singular, some grammars, however, recommend the plural (e.g. EKLP I: 236). The newest grammars such as EKG II (1993) and EKK (1997) prefer the singular both for the essive and the translative, but in both cases they do not rule out the plural either. Kristina Pai's study about the agreement of translative and essive predicative adverbial in Literary Estonian (Pai 19997) indicates that in the 1980s the singular prevailed in the translative adverbial (sg – 83%, pl – 17%) but the plural form was somewhat more frequent in the essive (sg – 36%, pl 64%).

2.1.7. Possessive agreement (agreement of the possessum with the possessor)

Similarly to the other Balto-Finnic languages, there was a time when Estonian, too, had possessive agreement. By now of the Balto-Finnic languages the possessive suffixes and the corresponding agreement has been preserved first and foremost in Finnish: *minun (1st p. sg) äitini (1st p. sg), meidän (1st p. pl) äitimme (1st p. pl), sinun (2nd p. sg) äitisi (2nd p. sg)*. The possessive suffixes occur more rarely in Karelian, Vepsian, and Izhurian, whereas in Estonian, Livonian, and Votic they have been preserved only rudimentarily mostly in adverbs and pronouns (Laanest 1975: 116). In contemporary Estonian there is

no possessive agreement, but traces of possessive suffixes can be found in dialects, most frequently in the northeastern coastal dialect and in its neighboring subdialects of the central dialect and in the eastern dialect (Must 1987: 219–223). In the northeastern coastal dialect and in Setu the possessive suffix is occasionally used in addresses, e.g. *poigani* 'my son' Occasional examples of possessive suffixes can be found in the Old Literary Language, e.g. *szynnu tachtmuß* 'your will' (1524). The possessive suffixes occur as rudiments also in some particles that are used in the literary language: *iganes, eales, üksnes, iseäranis, suisa, ldasa-* and *tasa*-suffixed adverbs (*aruldasa* 'for one's reason', *ealdasa* 'for one's age', *suurutasa* 'for its size') and also in the pronoun *enese* 'one's own' (for a more detailed discussion see Alvre 1968: 658–671).

2.1.8. In Estonian the **adposition** does not agree in number or person. On the other hand, one can find it in the closely-related Finnish language, e.g. *minun (1st p. sg) kanssani (1st p. sg), meidän (1st p. pl) kanssamme (1st p. pl), sinun (2nd p. sg) kanssasi (2nd p. sg).*

2.1.9. Agreement of the predicate verb

In the world's languages the agreement of the verb with the subject is most common, the agreement with the object is also rather common, but the agreement of the verb with the other arguments of the verb is rather rare.

In Estonian the predicate verb agrees with its subject in person and number:

(32)

	sg	pl
1st p	ma loe-n 'I read'	me loe-me 'we read'
2nd p	sa loe-d 'you read'	te loe-te 'you read'
3rd p[4]	ta loe-b 's/he reads'	nad loe-vad 'they read'

[4] Diachronically the present markers of the third person *–b* and *–vad* are tense markers.

So far there has been no final answer in Estonian linguistics to the question how one should treat the source of agreement in sentences of the type (33).

(33) Aknad olid suletud liiga vara
'The windows had been opened too early'

If the nominative sentence element is the subject, then Estonian has the personal action passive as in the Indo-European languages, and the verb agrees naturally with the subject. However, if we treat it as the total object, then we are dealing with the impersonal passive, and verb agreement is caused by the object.

In the literary language person agreement is consistent only in the indicative as in the above examples.[5] The conditional reveals both agreement and non-agreement, whereas non-agreement predominates.

(34)

	sg	pl
1st p.	ma loeks(in) 'I would read'	me loeks(ime) 'we would read'
2nd p.	sa loeks(id) 'you would read'	te loeks(ite) 'you would read'
3rd p.	ta loeks 'he would read'	nad loeks(id) 'they would read'

In the imperative, agreement is present, but it is a defective mood.[6] In contemporary Estonian, number agreement of the plural predicate is fully consistent in the subject.

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[5] In Estonian dialects one can find non-agreement of the person in the indicative as well.

[6] In most cases in the first person plural the indicative form *loeme* is used instead of the imperative form. The imperative form is mostly used in the elevated style. According to the newest grammars (EKG I and EKK), the imperative has only two persons. The 3rd person form of the imperative has generalized into the other persons as well, thus shaping a new mood – the jussive.

2.10. Agreement of relative pronouns

An Estonian relative clause begins with a relative word, which usually is the relative pro-substantive *kes* 'who' or *mis* 'what; that' In special cases one can find also some other relative pronouns, first and foremost the pro-adjectives *milline* 'which' and *missugune* 'what kind of', but we will leave them aside for a while.

(35) See mees, kes siin käis, oli Juhan
'The man who came here was Juhan'
(36) See auto, mille ma ostsin, oli rikkis
'The car that I bought was broken'

Relative pronouns can agree with their correlate in class, number, and person, any part of the sentence can occur as the correlate.[7]

Class agreement is manifested in the opposition animateness–inanimateness. In dialects and in the Older Literary Language this distinction rather inconsistent. In the literary language this distinction has become rather consistent in the course of this century. The Estonians would proceed from at least two hierarchies in the choice of *kes* 'who' and *mis* 'what; that':

(a) animateness hierarchy: human > higher animals > lower animals > inanimates
(b) individuality hierarchy: individual > distributive set > collective set

In the case of a single human referent the pronoun *kes* 'who' is always used, for animals also *mis* 'what; that' is used in certain environments as well, whereas in the case of lower animals the useage of *mis* is freer than in the case of higher animals, cf.

[7] Agreement of the relative pronouns in Estonian has been studied more thoroughly by Erelt 1996.

(37a) see mees, kes/*mis siin käis
this man who/*that here came
'the man who came here'
(37b) siga, kelle/?mille sa tapsid
pig who-gen/?that-gen you slaughtered
'the pig that you slaughtered'
(37c) sääsk, kelle/mille sa tapsid
gnat who-gen/that-gen you killed
'the gnat that you killed'

In case there are several creatures, the use of *kes* or *mis* largely depends on whether the set of referents is distributive or collective, cf.

(38a) mehed, kes/*mis töötasid ehitusel
men who/*that worked at the construction
'the men who worked at the construction'
(38b) brigaad, kes/mis töötas ehitusel
team who/that worked at the construction
'the team that worked at the construction'
(38c) sääsed, kes/mis lendasid meie ümber
gnats who/that were flying around us
'the gnats that were flying around us'
(38d) sääseparv, *kes/mis lendas meie ümber
the swarm of flies *who/that was flying around us
'the swarm of flies that was flying around us'

If the hierarchies allow both possibilities, the choice will be determined by other factors, first and foremost by the meaning and the semantic role of the argument (cf. Erelt 1996: 13–14).

Number agreement of *kes* and *mis* is a parallel possibility, as in (39a) and (39b), but actually this usage is very rare (*kes*: sg – 99.34%, pl – 0.56%, *mis*: sg – 98.5%, pl .1.5%).

(39a) need mehed, kellele te auto müüsite
the men who-all you sold the car
'the men to whom you sold the car'

(39b) need mehed, kelledele te auto müüsite
the men who-pl-all you sold the car
'the men to whom you sold the car'

Person agreement of *kes* and *mis*. Recent grammars of Modern Estonian (Tauli 1980: 247, EKG II: 313–314) state that if a relative clause modifies a personal pronoun and a relative serves as the subject of the relative clause, then the relative pronoun is usually immediately followed by the same personal pronoun in the nominative, cf.

(40a) mina, kes ma siin elan
'I who I live here'
(40b) sina, kes sa siin elad
'you who you live here'

Relative pronouns can be followed only by shorter forms of personal pronouns, and in spoken language they function, in fact, as clitics: *kesma* 'who I', *kessa* 'who you', *kesta* 'who he/she', *kesme* 'who we', *keste* 'who you', *kesnad* 'who they' Analogical fusion has taken place in the interrogative *kes+see*: *Kesse on?* 'Who is it?'

Earlier grammars looked upon such agreement in person as an unnecessary Germanic influence (EKLP I: 377).

Unfortunately, the present scope of the corpus of the literary language does not enable us to draw fully valid conclusions about such a rare phenomenon as person agreement of the relative pronoun. Nevertheless, it seems that agreement with the personal pronoun of the main clause is prevalent in the modern language. The corpus itself did not contain any examples where agreement was not observed, and only occasional examples could be found elsewhere, e.g.:

(41) ...kuidas siis sina, kes oled eestlane, pääsed leinast... (newspaper 1994)
'...how is it then that you who you are an Estonian can escape mourning...'

The correlate of the reative pronoun can be the subject, object, or object adverbial. It seems that person agreement of the relative pronoun observes the following general principle – the obligation of agreement diminishes from the subject toward the adverbial. The relative pronoun always agrees with the subject:

(42a) Mina, kes ma olen siin juba tükk aega istunud, pole siiski lootust kaotanud
'I, who I have been sitting here for quite a while, have nevertheless given up hope as yet'
(42b) *Mina, kes olen siin juba tükk aega istunud ...
(42c) *Mina, kes on juba tükk aega istunud ...

In case the antecedent is an adverbial, there can occur agreement of the relative pronoun, as in sentence (43a). However, it need not always be so. In the latter case the predicate of the relative clause remains in an unmarked form (third person) (43b).

(43a) Mulle, kes ma olen siin juba tükk aega istunud, pole seni keegi tähelepanu pööranud
'So far nobody has paid any attention to me who I have been sitting here for quite a while already'
(43b) Mulle, kes on siin juba tükk aega istunud ...

The personal pronoun and demonstrative pronoun agree with their antecedent in class (animateness), number, and perhaps in person as well. As we are discussing here the agreement of anaphorically related elements, which remains a fringe area and is not regarded as agreement in many treatments, then let us limit our discussion to some remarks.

Class agreement is manifested here in the opposition of animateness and inanimateness. Usually one would refer to an animate creature by means of the personal pronoun *tema~ta* 'he/she' and to an inanimate one by means of the demonstrative pronoun *see* 'this':

(44) Peeter käis siin. Laenasin talle raha
'Peeter was here. I lent him some money'

(45) Ostsin auto. Tahtsin sellega reisima minna
'I bought a car. I wanted to go on a trip in it'

However, such an opposition is to some extent inconsistent. One could refer to an inanimate antecedent also by means of the short form of the third person personal pronoun *ta* (46), and an animate antecedent can be referred to by means of the demonstrative pronoun *see*, cf. EKG II: 208–209:

(46) Viin on hea asi, kuid ta võtab mõistuse ära
'Vodka is a good thing, but it takes one's senses away'
(47) Meile tuleb uus minister, aga see ei tunne meie elu
'We are going to have a new minister, but he does not know our life'

However, in case *see* refers to a person that is known to the listener, then it is accompanied by a derogatory connotation (48).

(48) Peeter käis siin. – Mida see siit tahtis?
'Peeter was here. – What did he want?'

In case the preceding text mentions two antecedents that are equal as far as their animateness is concerned, then usually *ta* refers to the first one and *see* to the second one (cf. EKG II: 209):

(49) Sõnaraamat (1) on paberivirna (2) all. Tõsta see (2) ära, siis saad ta (1) kätte.
'The dictionary is under a stack of papers. Lift this away, then you can reach it'

It is obvious that the personal and demonstrative pronouns agree anaphorically in number:

(50a) Peeter käis siin. Laenasin talle raha
'Peeter was here. I lent him some money'
(50b) Poisid käisid siin. Laenasin neile raha
'The boys were here. I lent them some money'

Person agreement is less obvious as one cannot find any examples of the anaphora of the first and second persons.

2.2. Agreement hierarchy and number agreement in Estonian

Next we will look at agreement in Estonian in the light of Corbett's (1979) agreement hierarchy. We will limit ourselves to number agreement, which can be found both in the areas of person and case agreement, and we will examine how the degree of its semantic motivation depends on the syntactic (structural) distance between the target and the controller.

1. The adjective attribute and its head belong to the same phrase, being thus most closely related. The form of the adjective attribute is always determined by the morphological form of the head. Thus, here agreement has a fully syntactic character. In the case of coordinate construction consisting of singular members the attribute is in singular form. If the head is a quantified expression, then the attribute is positioned immediately before a singular noun.

(51a) ilus tüdruk 'beautiful girl'
(51b) ilusad tüdrukud 'beautiful girls'
(52a) valge maja ja aed 'a white house and a garden'
(52b) *valged maja ja aed
(53a) kaks valget maja 'two white houses'
(53b) *valged kaks maja

2. The agreement source of the verbal predicate is the subject that does not belong to the same phrase with the verb. Number agreement is frequent and rather syntactic, but it is more semantic than the agreement of the adjective attribute. In case of the plural subject, including *plurale tantum* and the politeness plural, the verbal predicate is always in the plural form:

(54) Lapsed mängivad
'The kids are playing'

(55) Püksid narmendavad
'The pants are frayed'
(56) Mari, te olete nii veetlev
'Mari, you're so charming'

However, quantifying constructions and coordinate constructions consisting of singular members reveal fluctuations that are caused by various circumstances:

(57a) Mees ja naine söövad
'A man and a woman are having a meal'
(57b) Seal sööb mees ja naine
'A man and a woman are having a meal there'
(58a) Kaks meest söövad
'Two men are having a meal'
(58b) Kaks meest sööb
'Two men are having a meal'

According to the corpus of the literary language, coordinate constructions show the prevalence of plural forms (sg – 79.4%, pl – 20.6%), in quantifying phrases the percentage of singular and plural forms is more or less equal (sg – 48%, pl – 52%).

3. The structural distance of the adjective predicative from the subject is greater than that of the verbal predicate. In the case of the plural subject the adjective predicative is in the plural, but, unlike the verbal predicate, it will remain in the singular in the case of the politeness plural (60), thus agreeing semantically with the subject. In the case of *plurale tantum*, however, the predicative is in the plural (61).

(59) Lapsed on haiged
'The kids are ill'
(60) Peeter, te olete haige
'Peeter, you're ill'
(61) Käärid olid nürid
'The scissors were dull'

In case the subject is a conjoined noun phrase or a quantifying expression, then the adjective predicative is always in the plural, thus agreement is also in this case more semantic than in the case of the verbal predicate:

(62) Peeter ja Jüri on haiged
'Peeter and Jüri are ill'
(63) Kaks poissi on haiged
'Two boys are ill'

4. The structural distance of the adjective adverbial from its controller is even greater than that of the predicative, therefore, one would expect even a higher degree of semantic motivation. At the same time in contemporary Estonian in the case of a coordinate construction consisting of singular members and a quantifying expression the translative adverbial is always in the singular and an essive adverbial is almost always in the singular (see Pai 1997):

(64) Peeter ja Jüri jäid haigeks/*haigeteks
'Peeter and Jüri fell ill'
(65) Kolm poissi jäid haigeks/*haigeteks
'Three boys fell ill'
(66) Peeter ja Jüri tundusid haigena = haigetena
'Peeter and Jüri looked ill'
(67) Kolm poissi tundusid haigena = haigetena
'Three boys looked ill'

It indicates as if the number agreement of the predicative adverbial were semantically less motivated, which would contradict Corbett's hierarchy of predicate agreement. However, as the predicative adverbial, especially in the translative, remains also in the case of the plural controller mostly in the singular, then perhaps it would be more correct to speak also in the case of coordinate constructions and quantified expressions about incongruity rather than the singular that is conditioned by the singular form of the controller. Thus, it will remain an open question whether the agreement of the predicative adverbial is more or less semantically motivated than the agreement of the

predicative. However, it is clear that in comparison with the verbal predicate the semanticity of the agreement of the predicative adverbial is higher because, as in the case of the predicative, the predicative adverbial will remain in the singular in the case of the politeness plural as well.

(68) Peeter, te jääte igavesti nooreks/*noorteks
'Peeter, you will remain young forever'
(69) Peeter, te tundute haigena/*haigetena
'Peeter, you look ill'

The circumstance that an essive predicative adverbial is in the case of coordinate constructions and quantified expressions slightly more frequently in the plural than a translative predicative adverbial, which indicates a somewhat higher degree of the semanticity of its agreement, could be explained by the fact that an essive adverbial is a free extension of the verb, whereas a translative predicative adverbial is a bound extension of the verb.

5. The relative pronoun and its correlate belong to different clauses, therefore one would expect a high degree of semanticity of its agreement. Unfortunately, as we could see, the ratio of agreeing cases is very small, and therefore the data do not enable us to draw any conclusions about the degree of semantic motivation of agreement. Judging by my own linguistic competence, it is quite possible to use the plural in the case of the coordinate and quantified constructions:

(70) Jüri ja Peeter, kelledelt ma auto ostsin..
'Jüri and Peeter from whom I bought a car..'
(71) Kaks meest, kelledelt ma auto ostsin..
'Two men from whom I bought a car..'

6. The structural distance of personal and demonstrative pronouns from their source of agreement is greatest, and the use of the plural is fully semantically motivated.

(72) Meile tulid külla Jüri ja Peeter. Nad~need on minu vanad sõbrad.
'Jüri and Peeter came to visit us. They are old friends of ours.'

(73) Minu kaks head sõpra on mind palju aidanud. Nad~need olid mulle abiks isegi maja ehitamisel.
'My two good friends have helped me a lot. They helped me even build the house.'

So, despite some sketchiness of the statistical data and the difficulty in deciding on certain occasions whether it is syntactic agreement or incongruity, it seems that Corbett's hierarchies are largely valid in the case of Estonian number agreement as well.

2.3. Some trends in the number agreement of Estonian

Next we will take a look at what has happened to number agreement during this century. Can we identify here any more general tendencies, for example, a general expansion of number agreement and its development toward greater syntacticity?

As we could see in the case of the adjective attribute, it is really so that agreement has expanded both in the case of the categories of case and number. It is impossible to state whether there has been a shift toward greater syntacticity or semanticity because nobody has studied how often constructions of the type *armsad Jüri ja Mari* 'dear Jüri and Mari' and *ilusad kaks maja* 'two beautiful houses' have been used.

In the case of the verbal predicate we can observe a shift toward greater syntacticity of agreement. According to the corpus of the literary languages in the 1890s (Table 3), at the end of the previous century the plural forms of the subject expressed by a collective noun (e.g. *rahvas* 'people') were sometimes used, e.g.

(74) Selle peale tuli vaheaeg, kus siis rahwas koolimaja õuel asusid, et seal lahkes looduses pidu edasi pidada.
'Then followed a break when the people were in the schoolyard in order to carry on with the celebration in the open air.'

It is likely that there was some fluctuation even later. As late as in the 1930s Johannes Aavik considered it necessary to point it out in his prescriptive grammar (1936: 82) that "Also such utterances as 'rahvas *räägivad* (pro *räägib*) 'people are talking' should be avoided although such plurals can be found in popular dialects." Nowadays the plural forms of collective nouns that function as controllers are absolutely impossible, which again indicates that agreement has become more syntactic.

Nowadays the greater syntacticity of verb agreement is also indicated by the fact that the use of the plural in the case of quantified phrases has clearly decreased (cf. Table 3).

Nevertheless, in the case of coordinate constructions that consist of singular members the use of the plural has increased considerably, which, in contrast, points to a shift toward semantic agreement. Thus, in the case of the verbal predicate one cannot speak of one definite tendency.

Table 3. Agreement of the predicate verb

	1890		1980	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
quant. expr.	15 (14.7%)	87 (85.3%)	45 (48%)	49 (52%)
conjoined NPs	31 (45%)	38 (55%)	20 (20.6%)	77 (79.4%)
collective NP (*rahvas* 'people')	39 (78%)	11 (22%)	–	–

It is impossible to observe any shifts in the case of the adjective predicative.

Changes in the agreement of the predicative adverbial can be observed only in the translative case because the essive case had not been firmly established as yet at the end of the previous century. Table 4 shows that one can observe an increase in the agreement for the translative, i.e. the use of the plural has increased in the case of a plural controller. At the same time agreement has become more syntactic as the use of the plural has decreased in the case of the coordinate construction.

Table 4. Number agreement of the adjective predicative adverbial in the translative case

	1890		1980	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
pl	165 (93.2%)	12 (6.8%)	126 (83%)	26 (17%)
conjoined NPs	14	10	9	–

In the case of relative pronouns, number agreement is clearly on the decrease. A very clear change in the use of the relative pronoun *kes* 'who' in the course of this century is characterized by Table 5 (in addition to the plural controller, it takes also into account conjoined noun phrases and quantified expressions):

Table 5. Number agreement of the relative pronoun *kes* 'who'

1890		1980	
sg	pl	sg	pl
88 (61.5%)	50 (38.5%)	305 (99.34%)	2 (0.56%)

Unfortunately, we do not have any data about the changes in the number agreement of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

Thus, the development of number agreement in Estonian indicates both increase and decrease. A clear increase in number agreement has taken place in the case of the adjective attribute and the predicative adverbial. Both of them represent case-domain agreement. At the same time agreement has decreased in the case of relative pronouns, thus in the domain of person agreement. Such a development in agreement is a logical continuation, on the one hand, to the development of the Balto-Finnic adjective attribute from the incongruous one into the congruous one, and, on the other hand, to the decrease of person agreement of the verb as a sub-case of person-domain agreement (see also Rätsep 1981: 207).

In addition to the increase and decrease in agreement, one can observe that agreement has become more syntactic.

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ÜHILDUMINE EESTI KEELES

Mati Erelt

Käesolevas kirjutises on käsitletud kolme probleemi: 1) missugused ühildumispiirkonnad (tüübid) on esindatud tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles ja mil määral, 2) kas arvuühildumine eesti keeles on kooskõlas Greville Corbett'i (1979 jj) ühildumishierarhiaga, 3) millised nihked on ühildumises toimunud käesoleva sajandi jooksul. Materjali allikaks on eesti kirjakeele korpus (1890–1980).

Ühildumispiirkonnad eesti keeles

Eesti keeles on suuremal või vähemal määral esindatud järgmised ühildumispiirkonnad:

1. **Määratleja** (ingl *determiner*) ühildub määratletava substantiiviga arvus ja käändes. Demonstratiivpronoomen või adjektiivne kvantor ühilduvad arvus ja kõigis käänetes peale nelja viimase, nt *sellele mehele – nendele meestele; mõni mees – mõned mehed, mõne mehe – mõnede meeste* (kvantorite puhul erineb mitmus ainsusest siiski pigem definiitsuse kui kvantiteedi poolest). Põhiarvsõnalised kvantorid ühilduvad kõigis käänetes peale ainsuse nimetava (ning nelja viimase käände), vrd *viiele mehele, viiest mehest,* kuid *viis meest.* Ühildumine leiab aset ka arvus, kuid substantiiv on mitmuses pigem hulga kui pluraalses tähenduses: *viis meest/saabast – viied *mehed/saapad.* Substantiivsed kvantorid käituvad põhiarvude taoliselt, kuid neil puudub arvuühildumine, nt *enamik mehi – enamiku meeste.* Viimase aja arenguid on substantiivsete kvantorite *enamik* ja *osa* adjektiivistumine ja arvuühildumise teke, nt *enamikud mehed, osad mehed.*

2. **Adjektiivatribuut** ühildub põhjaga käändes ja arvus, nt *suur mees – suurtele meestele,* v.a esiivis, terminatiivis, komitatiivis ja abes-

siivis. Varem esines arvu- ja käändeühildumatust muudeski käänetes, R. Nurkse (1937) arvates vastavalt silbiökonoomia reeglile, eriti allatiivis, harvemini illatiivis: *valge varesele, vana majasse, targa inimestele*, arvuühildumatust ka mitmuse genitiivis *külma ilmade*. Ühildumise puudumist neljas viimases käändes võib seletada nende käänete vähese grammatikaliseeritusega, ühilduma hakkamist allatiivis, illatiivis ja mitmuse genitiivis aga käänete jätkuva grammatikaliseerumisega.

3. **Relatiivkonstruktsioonina** toimiv partitsiip ühildub substantiivse põhjaga samuti arvus ja käändes, oleviku partitsiip alati, mineviku partitsiip ainult järelasendis, nt *söövatele inimestele, söödavatele õuntele, söönud inimestele – inimestele, söönutele ja puhanutele, söödud õuntele – õuntele, söödutele ja moosiks keedetutele*. Esineb siiski mineviku partitsiipide juhuslikku ühildumist ka eesasendis: *Aeg-ajalt tabas silm pooleli jäetuid ehitisi.*

4. **Omaja ühildumist omandiga** esineb tüüpkujul näiteks vene possessiivpronoomenite puhul: *moj muž – moja žena, moj drug – moj druz'ja, moj drug – moego druga*. Eesti keeles refleksiivpronoomenid puuduvad, kuid on atributiivselt kasutatav relatiivpronoomen *oma*, mis kirjakeele normide kohaselt ühildub põhjaga vaid kinnisühendeis, esiletõstetuna, nt *omal käel, omast käest, omal viisil, omal soovil*. Tegelikus kasutuses esineb vähesel määral ühildumist ka muudel juhtudel, nt *Heliloojana jäi Artur Lemba omas loomingus kord võetud ja omandatud põhimõtetele kindlaks elu lõpuni*. Nagu näitavad korpuse andmed, esines sellist ühildumist juba sada aastat tagasi, kusjuures mingit kasvu või kahanemist pole võimalik täheldada.

5. **Lisandi** ühildumine on arvukategooria osas problemaatiline. Näiteks fraasis *"Kukerpillid" meie tuntud lauluansambel* on lisandi *meie tuntud lauluansambel* mitmus tingitud sõna *lauluansambel* enda kollektiivsest tähendusest. Käändes ühildub järellisand oma põhjaga alati, eeslisand enamasti, nt *Jaanil, minu parimal sõbral*; *minu parimal sõbral Jaanil*. Olulisimaid erandeid on kõnetlussõnad ning sugulust, tiitlit või elukutset väljendavad sõnad, kui nad on ainsuses, ilma täiendita ning pole lauses sisuliselt esile tõstetud, nt *härra Tammele; onu Peetrilt*. Tegelikus kasutuses on märgata mitteühildumise laienemist muudelegi laiendita singulaarsetele juhtudele, nagu *sõber Jaanile* vms.

6. **"Nominaalpredikaadi"** esindajad – predikatiiv ja predikatiivadverbiaal ühilduvad subjekti või objektiga arvus, nt *Ta on haige – Nad on haiged; Ta nägu värvus punaseks – Nende näod värvusid punasteks;*

Ta istus nukrana nurgas. – Nad istusid nukratena nurgas; predikatiiv infinitiivtarindis ka käändes, nt *Tüdruk on ilus. Arvasin tüdruku olevat ilusa.* Ühildumisest võib kindlalt rääkida vaid adjektiivide korral, sest substantiivse predikatiivi ja predikatiiv-adverbiaali arvuvorm oleneb suuresti predikatiivsest substantiivist endast, vrd *Tammed on väga võluv abielupaar – Tammed on õpetajad.* Predikatiivi arvuühildumine on võrdlemisi järjekindel, predikatiivadverbiaali arvuühildumine seevastu üsna kõikuv ning eri grammatikad esitavad erinevaid ühildumisreegleid. Domineerib siiski seisukoht, et translatiivne predikatiivadverbiaal on eelistatavalt ainsuses ka pluraalse ühildumisallika puhul. Kristina Pai uurimusest predikatiivadverbiaali ühildumise kohta (1997) nähtub, et 1980. aastatel domineeris translatiivi korral singular (sg – 83%, pl – 17%), aga essiivi korral pluural (sg – 36%, pl 64%).

7 **Predikatiivverb** ühildub eesti keeles subjektiga isikus ja arvus, nt *ma loen, sa loed, ta loeb, me loeme, te loete, nad loevad.* Seni puudub vastus küsimusele, kas lausetüübis *Aknad olid suletud liiga vara* on tegemist subjekti, objekti või millegi vahepealsega. Kui pidada sõnavormi *aknad* objektiks, võib eesti keeles predikaatverbi ühildumisallikaks olla peale subjekti ka objekt. Eesti kirjakeeles on verbi isiku- ja arvuühildumine järjekindel ainult indikatiivis.

8. **Relatiivpronoomenid** *kes* ja *mis* võivad eesti keeles oma korrelaadiga ühilduda klassis (elus/elutu), arvus ja isikus, nt *mees, kes siin käis – auto, mille ma ostsin; auto, mille – autod, millede; mina, kes ma – sina, kes sa.* Klassiühildumine on kirjakeeles suhteliselt järjekindlaks kujunenud käesoleva sajandi jooksul. Pronoomeni *kes* või *mis* valikul lähtub eestlane eelkõige kahest hierarhiast: (a) elusushierarhiast: inimene > kõrgem loom > madalam loom > mitteolend ja (b) individuaalsushierarhiast: indiviid > distributiivne hulk > kollektiiv. Relatiivpronoomenite arvuühildumist esineb tänapäeval äärmiselt harva (*kes*: sg – 99.34%, pl – 0.56%, *mis*: sg – 98.5%, pl – 1.5%). Isikuühildumist on peetud relatiivpronoomenite puhul germanismiks ning soovitatud vältida, kuid tulemusetult.

9. **Personaal- ja demonstratiivpronoomen** ühildub oma korrelaadiga klassis (elus/elutu), arvus ja võib-olla ka isikus. Elusale viitab harilikult personaalpronoomen *tema~ta,* elutule demonstratiivpronoomen *see*, nt *Peeter käis siin. Laenasin talle raha; Ostsin auto. Tahtsin sellega reisima minna,* kuid see eristus pole järjekindel, vrd *Viin on hea asi, kuid ta võtab mõistuse ära; Meile tuleb uus minister, aga see ei tunne meid ega meie elu.* Arvuühildumine on ilmne: *Peeter käis siin.*

Laenasin talle raha; *Poisid käisid siin. Laenasin neile raha;* isikuühildumine mitte nii ilmne, sest anafoorse seose ja seega ühildumise võimalus on ainult 3. isiku puhul.

Ühildumishierarhia ja arvuühildumine eesti keeles

Edasi on vaadeldud eesti arvuühildumise vastavust Corbett'i (1979 jj) ühildumishierarhiale, s.o seda, kas arvuühildumise semantilisus *resp* süntaktilisus oleneb ka eesti ühildumisallika ja ühilduva moodustaja süntaktilisest (struktuurilisest) distantsist.

1. Adjektiivatribuut ja tema põhi kuuluvad samasse fraasi, olles seega väga tihedalt seotud. Adjektiivatribuudi ühildumine on ka mitteprototüüpse ühildumisallika korral süntaktiline, s.o ühildumisallika vormist, mitte sisust olenev, nt *valge maja ja aed – *valged maja ja aed; kaks valget maja – *valged kaks maja.*

2. Verbaalse predikaadi struktuuriline distants ühildumisallikast on suurem, sest allikaks on subjekt, mis ei kuulu verbiga samasse fraasi. Arvuühildumine on sage ja üsna süntaktiline, kuid siiski semantilisem kui adjektiivatribuudi ühildumine. Verb on pluuralis igasuguse pluurali vormis allika puhul, ka *plurale tantum*-sõnade ja viisakusmitmuse korral, nt *Püksid narmendavad. Mari, te olete nii veetlev.* Kvantoritarindite ja ainsuslike liikmetega rindtarindite puhul esineb siiski mitmesugustest asjaoludest tingitud varieerumist, vrd *Mees ja naine söövad – Seal sööb mees ja naine; Kaks meest söövad – Kaks meest sööb.* Korpuse andmetel on rindtarindite puhul ülekaal pluuralil (sg – 79.4%, pl – 20.6%), kvanoritarindite korral on ainsuse ja mitmuse kasutus enam-vähem võrdne (sg – 48%, pl – 52%).

3. Adjektiivpredikatiivi struktuuriline distants subjektist on suurem kui verbaalsel predikaadil. Ka ühildumise semantiline motivatsioon on suurem – rind- ja kvantoritarindite puhul on predikatiiv mitmuses, nt *Peeter ja Jüri on haiged; Kaks poissi on haiged*, viisakusmitmuse korral aga ainsuses, nt *Peeter, te olete haige. Plurale tantum* – sõnade puhul ühildub adjektiivpredikatiiv siiski süntaktiliselt, nt *Käärid olid nürid.*.

4. Adjektiivse predikatiivadverbiaali struktuuriline distants ühildumisallikast on veelgi suurem kui predikatiivi puhul, mistõttu võiks eeldada ka ühildumise suuremat semantilisuse astet. Siiski on tänapäeva eesti keeles translatiivne adverbiaal rind- ja kvantoritarindite puhul alati ning essiivne adverbiaal peaaegu alati ainsuses: *Peeter ja Jüri jäid haigeks/*haigeteks. Kolm poissi jäid haigeks/*haigeteks. Peeter ja Jüri tundusid haigena = haigetena. Kolm poissi tundusid haigena = haigetena.* Kuna aga predikatiivadverbiaal, eriti translatiivne, jääb ka

pluurali vormis ühildumisallika puhul enamasti ainsusesse, siis ilmselt tuleks ülal nimetatud ainsusekasutust pidada pigem ühildumatuseks kui vormiliseks ühildumiseks.

5. Relatiivpronoomen ning tema korrelaat kuuluvad eri osalausetesse ning seega võiks siin eeldada veelgi suuremat semantilist motiveeritust. Kahjuks on ühilduvate juhtumite arv korpuses nii väike, et ühildumise kohta midagi kindlat väita on võimatu.

6. Personaal- ja demonstratiivpronoomenite struktuuriline distants ühildumisallikast on kõige suurem ning pluurali kasutus on täielikult semantiliselt motiveeritud, nt *Meile tulid külla Jüri ja Peeter. Nad~need on minu vanad sõbrad. Minu kaks head sõpra on mind palju aidanud. Nad~need olid mulle abiks isegi maja ehitamisel.*

Seega vaatamata statistiliste andmete lünklikkusele ning raskustele otsustamisel, kas tegu on vormilise ühildumise või ühildumatusega, tundub Corbetti ühildumishierarhia laias laastus kehtivat eesti keele puhulgi.

Arvuühildumise suundumustest eesti keeles

Adjektiivatribuudi ühildumine on viimase sajandi jooksul laienenud nii käände- kui ka arvukategooria osas. Muutuste kohta suurema süntaktilisuse suunas puuduvad andmed.

Verbiühildumises on täheldatav selge nihe suurema süntaktilisuse suunas. Täielikult on kadunud mitmusliku öeldise kasutus kollektiivsubstantiivide puhul (*rahvas räägivad*), mis sada aastat tagasi oli üsna tavaline, näiteks sõna *rahvas* puhul korpuse andmeil: sg 39 (78%), pl 11 (22%). Pluurali kasutus on kahanenud ka kvantorifraasi puhul: 1890 – sg 15 (14.7%), pl 87 (85.3%), 1980 – sg 45 (48%), pl 49 (52%). Ainsuslike liikmetega rindtarindite puhul on pluurali kasutus siiski kasvanud, mis osutab hoopis semantilise motiveerituse suurenemisele: 1890 – sg 31 (45%), pl 38 (55%), 1980 – sg 20 (20.6%), pl 77 (79.4%). Seega verbaalse predikaadi ühildumise puhul ei saa siiski rääkida päris kindlast suundumusest.

Adjektiivpredikatiivi puhul pole märgata mingeid olulisi nihkeid.

Adjektiivse predikatiivadverbiaali ühildumises on muutused jälgitavad üksnes translatiivi korral, sest essiiv ei olnud möödunud sajandi lõpus eesti kirjakeeles veel piisavalt juurdunud. Translatiivi puhul võib näha nii ühildumise üldist kasvu kui ka selle muutumist süntaktilisemaks. Esimesele tendentsile osutab predikatiivadverbiaali mitmusevormi kasutuse suurenemine pluurali vormis ühildumisallika puhul: 1890 – sg 165 (93.2%), pl 12 (6.8%), 1980 – sg 126 (83%), pl 26 (17%),

teisele tendentsile aga mitmusevormi kasutuse kahanemine rindtarindi puhul: 1890 – sg 14, pl 10, 1980 – sg 9, pl 0.

Relatiivpronoomenite arvuühildumine on selgelt kahanemas, nt pronoomeni *kes* puhul on mitmuse kasutus pluraalse allika puhul kahanenud peaaegu olematuks: 1890 – sg 88 (61.5%), pl 50 (38.5%), 1980 – sg 305 (99.34%), pl 2 (0.56%).

Kahjuks puuduvad andmed isikuliste ja näitavate asesõnade arvuühildumise muutuste kohta.

Seega eesti keele arvuühildumises on näha nii kasvu kui kahanemist. Selge arvuühildumise kasv on toimunud adjektiivatribuudi ja predikatiivadverbiaali ühildumises. Mõlemal juhul on tegemist käändeühildumispiirkonnaga. Samas on ühildumine kahanenud relatiivpronoomenite puhul, seega isikuühildumise piirkonnas. Selline ühildumise areng on loogiline jätk ühelt poolt läänemeresoome keelte adjektiivatribuudi varasemale arengule ühildumatust atribuudist ühilduvaks, teiselt poolt aga isikuühildumise kahanemisele.

Lisaks ühildumise kasvule ja kahanemisele võib täheldada ka ühildumise üldist muutumist süntaktilisemaks.

DEPENDENCE OF THE OBJECT CASE ON THE SEMANTICS OF THE VERB IN ESTONIAN, FINNISH, AND LITHUANIAN

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0. The declinable object in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian: some typological generalizations; about the object selection

The declinable object (henceforth object) in the Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages is a grammatical category that is determined largely by similar conditions (see Kont 1963, Larsson 1983, Klaas 1988, Klaas 1996).

The most general common feature between the object in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian is its three-case occurrence, i.e. the use of different cases to mark either a total or partial object that belongs to a defined or undefined situation. The total object is in the nominative or genitive in Estonian and Finnish, in Lithuanian it is in the nominative or accusative. The partial object, on the other hand, is in the partitive in Estonian and Finnish and in the genitive in Lithuanian, e.g.

E *Eile lõpetati korteris* ***remont*** (nom).
'Yesterday the refurbishment of the apartment was finished'
Töömehed lõpetasid korteris ***remondi*** (gen).
'The workmen finished the refurbishment of the apartment'
Töömehed ei lõpetanud korteris ***remonti*** (part).
'The workmen did not finish the refurbishment of the apartment'

F ***Tyttö*** (nom) *lähetettiin kouluun.*
'The girl was sent to school'
Vanhemmat lähettivät ***tytön*** (gen) *kouluun.*
'The parents sent the girl to school'

Vanhemmat eivät lähettäneet ***tyttöä*** (part) *kouluun.*
'The parents did not send the girl to school'

L *Reikia* ***knyga*** (nom) *gauti.*
'One has to obtain the book'
Jis davė man ***knygą*** (acc).
'He gave me a book'
Jis nedavė man ***knygos*** (gen).
'He did not give me the book'

The nominative total object in Lithuanian is actually in many positions archaic and is disappearing from active use. Therefore, the accusative total object, as a rule substitutes it (Klaas 1996: 46).

The selection of the object in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian depends either on the object concept or/and the verb, e.g. all the three languages have the partial object in those sentences that deny the existence of the object concept (see also Klaas 1996: 44)

E *Töömehed ei lõpetanud korteris* ***remonti*** (part).
'The workmen did not finish the refurbishment of the apartment'

F *Vanhemmat eivät lähettäneet* ***tyttöä*** (part) *kouluun.*
'The parents did not sent the girl to school'

L *Jis nedavė man* ***knygos*** (gen).
'He did not give me the book'

Besides, the occurrence of the verb in some grammatical forms can determine the case of the object, e.g. in some syntactic constructions the infinitive is extended both in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian by a nominative total object.

E *Tuli tahtmine* ***müts*** (nom) *maha võtta.*
'I felt like taking off the hat'

F *Tahdottiin ottaa* ***hattu*** (nom) *päästä.*

L *Ėmė noras nusiimti* ***kepurė*** (nom).

The choice of the object cases expresses in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian aspectual differences in meaning. According to *A Grammar of Estonian* (EKG: 51), the selection of the object is determined by

1) the definiteness (resultativeness or perfectiveness) or non-definiteness of an action (an action is uncertain from the point of view of result or completion);

2) the quantitative definiteness of indefiniteness of the object thing.

In Estonian the total object in the genitive is used when both the action and the object thing are definite. In Lithuanian, too the defined object thing (thing, set, definite amount) takes a total object in the accusative. In the case of an undefined object thing (substance, undefined amount), the Lithuanian partial object takes the genitive case, whereas the Estonian partial object stands in the partitive case.

E *Lapsed* *jõid* ***piima.***
child-pl-nom drink-past-3pl milk-part
'The children drank some milk'
L *Vaikai* *gėrė* ***pieno.***
child-pl-nom drink-past-3pl milk-gen

E *Vend* *kannab* ***puid.***
brother-nom carry-3sg firewood-pl-part
'The brother is carrying some firewood'
L *Brolis* *neša* ***malkų.***
brother-nom carry-3sg firewood-pl-gen

An example of the definite object thing is *šokolaad(itahvel)* '(a bar of) chocolate' in the sentence

E *Ma* *ostsin* ***šokolaadi.***
I buy-past-1sg chocolate-gen
'I bought a (bar of) chocolate'
L *Aš* *nupirkau* ***šokoladą.***
I buy-past-1sg chocolate-acc

On the other hand, *šokolaad* 'chocolate' as a substance will become an object concept and is expressed as a partial object:

E	*Ma*	*ostsin*	***šokolaadi.***
	I	buy-past-1sg	chocolate-part
	'I bought some chocolate'		
L	*Aš*	*nupirkau*	***šokolado.***
	I	buy-past-1sg	chocolate-gen

When comparing the use of the object in Estonian and in Finnish, then in those sentences where in Finnish the use of a case-marked object is sufficient to express definiteness–indefiniteness of an action one needs in Estonian in addition to the total object in the genitive either an affixal adverb (*ära, läbi, maha, etc.*) or an adverbial (*lõpuni* 'until the end', *täielikult* 'completely', etc.):

E	*Tüdruk*	*sõi*	***supi***	*ära.*
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-gen	up-affix adv
	'The girl ate the soup up'			
F	*Tyttö*	*söi*	***keiton.***	
	girl.nom	eat-past-3g	soup-gen	

However, at times Estonian (especially spoken Estonian) uses all the three definiteness markers of an action:

E	*Ma*	*lugesin*	***raamatu***	*lõpuni*	*läbi.*
	I	read-past-1sg	book-gen	end-term	affix adv
	'I read the book through until the end'				
F	*Minä*	*luin*	***kirjan.***		
	I	read-past-1sg	book-gen		

According to Helle Metslang, "In order to characterize a referent quantitatively, in Finnish the opposition totality/partiality is often sufficient where Estonian doubles it with the help of lexical means" (Metslang 1994: 20).

Similarly to Russian, Lithuanian has ample possibilities to express definiteness/indefiniteness of a sentence by means of perfective prefixes: *ardyti-iš/ardyti* 'to unravel', *augti-už/augti*

'to grow – to grow up', *eiti-nu/eiti* 'to go – to go away', *sodinti-pa/sodinti* 'to plant – to plant in the ground'

E	*Peeter*	*värvis*	*oma*	***auto***	*ära.*
	nom	paint-past-3sg	poss.pron	car-gen	affix adv
	'Peeter painted his car'				
F	*Petteri*	*maalasi*	***autonsa.***		
	nom	paint-past-3sg	car-sg.gen+poss.suff		
L	*Petras*	*nu/dažė*	*savo*	***mašiną.***	
	nom	paint-past perf.pref-3sg	poss.pron	car-acc	
E	*Tüdruk*	*sõi*	***suppi.***		
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-part		
	'The girl was eating soup'				
E	*Tüdruk*	*sõi*	***supi***	*ära.*	
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-gen	affix.adv	
	'The girl ate up the soup'				
F	*Tyttö*	*söi*	***keittoa.***		
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-part		
F	*Tyttö*	*söi*	***keiton.***		
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-gen		
L	*Mergaitė*	*valgė*	***sriubos.***		
	girl-nom	eat-past-3sg	soup-gen		
L	*Mergaitė*	*su/valgė*	***sriubą.***		
	girl-nom	eat-past perf.pref-3sg	soup-acc		

In Lithuanian, a verb is often sufficient to express the perfective definiteness or imperfective indefiniteness of a sentence (LKM: 130–140). As a rule, verbs with an imperfective meaning do not take a prefix and they make the meaning of the sentence indefinite. Verbs with the perfective aspect are derived from verbs with an imperfective meaning by attaching a prefix. Usually prefixes do not change the lexical meaning of verbs, thus only marking the action as definite. In Finnish and Estonian, however, it is the case of the object noun that can already express the definiteness and indefiniteness of a sentence.

E	*Poiss*	*kirjutas*	***luuletuse/***	***luuletust.***
	boy-nom	write-past-3sg	poem-gen	poem-part
	'The boy wrote a poem/was writing a poem'			
F	*Poika*	*kirjoitti*	***runon/***	***runoa.***
	boy-nom	write-past-3sg	poem-gen	poem-part
L	*Vaikynas*	*parašė/rašė*		***eilėraštį.***
	boy-nom	write+perf.pref./–perf.pref.past-3sg		poem-acc

Thus, Estonian with its possibilities to express aspect in the sentence (NOUN, VERB) represents, in fact, a transitional pattern between the Balto-Finnic, where object cases are used (NOUN), and the Indo-European, where a verb is marked by means of a prefix (VERB). In Russian the aspect is mostly expressed by means of a prefix (VERB); in Lithuanian we can see both (NOUN, VERB). In this category, too, Estonian has made a step toward analytic expression, thus departing from the archaic Balto-Finnic synthetic pattern.

1. Dependence of the object case upon the semantics of the verb

1.1. Estonian partitive verbs

There are Estonian verbs that semantically express an indefinite action. In Estonian they are called partitive verbs because in sentences where these verbs only the partial object is observed, i.e. the object is in the partitive case. The semantic range of partitive verbs is rather wide and vague. The majority of them can be divided into three larger groups that express:

1) processes of intentional influence: wish, persuasion, request, temptation, warning, instigation, prohibition, command, requirement (see Õim 1983: 192–236);

2) sensory and rational cognition, feelings;

3) physical impact (touching, moving, etc.);

4) verbs that denote the procession, evalution, etc. of an action.

A Grammar of Estonian classifies the partitive verbs into the following semantic groups (EKG: 50):

1) verbs that denote mental and sensory cognition and its expression:
armastama 'to love', *austama* 'to respect', *häbenema* 'to be ashamed of', *maitsma* 'to taste', *leinama* 'to mourn', etc.;

2) verbs that denote moving and touching:
embama 'to embrace', *hammustama* 'to bite', *lööma* 'to hit', *noogutama* 'to nod', *puudutama* 'to touch', etc.;

3) verbs that are associated with the object of an existential normal and experiencer sentence:
ahistama 'to harass', *hoidma* 'to hold', *katma* 'to cover', *ootama* 'to wait', *ähvardama* 'to threaten', etc.;

4) verbs that denote the progression, evaluation, etc. of an action:
aitama 'to help', *alustama* 'to begin', *kavatsema* 'to intend', *nõudma* 'to demand', *takistama* 'to obstruct', etc.;

5) various other verbs that lack common features but denote continuous controllable actions and occur together with directional objects:
helistama 'to ring', *juhtima* 'to lead', *kasutama* 'to use', *näitama* 'to show', *teenima* 'to earn', *õnnitlema* 'to congratulate', etc.

Partitive verbs have been a debatable problem in Estonian linguistics. EKG considers as partitive verbs also such verbs that become resultative upon adding perfective extensions to the sentence (perfective adverb, lative adverbial modifier of state or lative adverbial modifier of place) and occur in the sentence together with a total object. Below we will examine partitive verbs in Finnish. It appears that one can find a similar viewpoint in Finnish grammar, too. Such a view, however, differs from the view of Huno Rätsep. In his monograph *Types of Estonian Simple Sentences* he classifies Estonian transitive verbs into three groups (Rätsep 1978: 223):

1. Verbs that require a three-case object, e.g. *alistama* 'to subjugate', *ehitama* 'to build', *istutama* 'to plant', *kirjutama* 'to write', *minetama* 'to lose', *omandama* 'to acquire', *rajama* 'to establish', *trükkima* 'to print', *vigastama* 'to injure', *äratama* 'to

wake', etc. With these verbs the object can be in the nominative, genitive, or partitive depending on the general object rules.

2. Verbs that take a partitive object, e.g. *alustama* 'to begin', *harrastama* 'to practice', *jätkama* 'to continue', *liputama* 'to flash', *nautima* 'to enjoy, *pooldama* 'to support', *sallima* 'to tolerate', *õigustama* 'to justify', *üritama* 'to attempt', etc.

3. Verbs that take a three-case object or a partitive object, e.g. *ahvatlema* 'to entice', *arstima* 'to cure', *ehmatama* 'to frighten', *hõõruma* 'to rub', *ihuma* 'to hone', *juhtima* 'to lead', *kallama* 'to pour', *loopima* 'to throw', *mudima* 'to fondle', *nihutama* 'to shift', *pumpama* 'to pump', *raputama* 'to shake', *sikutama* 'to pull', *tõmbama* 'to pull', *vedama* 'to carry', *õrritama* 'to tease', *ässitama* 'to instigate', etc.

As far as the latter type of verbs is concerned, the selection of the object case depends first and foremost on whether the verb has any extensions with a resultative background or not. In case of resultative extensions the three-case object is used, if such extensions are missing, then only the partitive object can be used. Thus, in the case of Rätsep's classification the number of partitive verbs is much smaller than according to EKG.

It is true that an irresultative action situation can become a resultative one by adding perfective extensions:

Koer kraapis ***ust*** (part). – *Koer kraapis* ***ukse*** (gen) ***katki.***
'The dog was scratching the door. – The dog scratched the door broken'

Therefore, Huno Rätsep divides irresultative verbs into two groups (Rätsep 1978: 221): verbs that take the three-case object and only the partitive object under certain conditions. In the case of such verbs the three-case object cannot be used without extensions of certain types. At the same time the partitive object can occur without such extensions as well. If we omit the extensions in sentences with such verbs, then a sentence with the genitive or nominative object will become ungrammatical. On the other hand, a sentence with the partitive object will retain its grammaticality.

To sum up, one could say that Estonian partitive verbs can be divided into two groups:

1) 'hard' partitive verbs, i.e. such irresultative verbs that always occur in action situations without boundaries. The hard partitive verbs always behave as irresultative verbs – sentences with such verbs do not allow to use the genitive/nominative object, i.e. the total object:
Komisjon pooldas **teise kandidaadi* (gen). 'The board favored the second candidate'

2) 'soft' partitive verbs, i.e. such irresultative verbs that, while being without boundaries, allow perfective adverbs in the sentence and participate together with the genitive/nominative total object in definite action situations.
If in the case of soft partitive verbs (b) the addition of a perfective adverb together with a change in the object case can make the entire action situation resultative, then in the case of hard partitive verbs (a) this is not so:

(a)
1. *Komisjon pooldas **teist kandidaati*** (part).
   'The board supported the second candidate'
2. ***Komisjon pooldas **teise kandidaadi*** (gen) *lõpuni.*
3. *Komisjon pooldas **teist kandidaati*** (part) *lõpuni.*
   'The board supported the second candidate until the end'

(b)
1. *Mees ihus **nuga*** (part).
   'The man was sharpening the knife'
2. *Mees ihus **noa*** (gen) *teravaks.*
   'The man sharpened the knife'
3. *Mees ihus **nuga*** (part) *teravaks.*
   'The man was sharpening the knife'

Situations b1 and b3 are identical as far as the aspect is concerned. Both sentences describe a situtation with an indefinite point of beginning and end, i.e. the time boundary is unimportant from the point of view of describing the situation. Nor is the resultant boundary of the situation important, i.e.whether

the knife will become sharp or not (whether the result is gained or not). The focus is on process, i.e. the sharpening of the knife. The adverbial component together with the partitive object (b3) does not define the situation from the aspect of time or result, but it specifies the contents of the situation.

Sentences with a hard partitive verb a1 and a3 reveal a similar situation – a process is described the resultative criteria of which are unimportant in the presentation of the action situation. The process is described the contents of which is supporting the second candidate. Whether this process had any results, whether the second candidate was elected, is unimportant from the point of view of presenting the situation.

On the other hand, action situation b2, where the genitive object has replaced the partitive one, expresses a totally different situation from the point of view of resultativeness although sentences b2 and b3 consist of the same components (with the exception of the object case). The use of the genitive object sets boundaries to the action situation – the irresultative (i.e. soft or boundary-permitting) partitive verb behaves similarly to the aspectual verbs. It is important to point out that without a perfective adverb, i.e. by only changing the object case into the genitive, it is impossible to form a grammatical and acceptable sentence: **Mees ihus noa* (gen). However, even the addition of a perfective adverb to a sentence with a hard partitive verb (a2) does not make it possible to use the genitive object.

Let us examine the list of partitive verbs in EKG (EKG: 50–51), which provides examples of both partitive verbs and three-case verbs from the point of view whether these verbs can occur in definite action situations as well.

The list includes 144 verbs, 42 of them can occur as verbs of the three-case object.

1) Of the 61 verbs that denote mental and sensory cognition and its expression 12 can be placed into a definite action situation which is accompanied by the use of the total object:

*aimas **saladuse*** (gen) *ära* 'guessed the secret'; *kannatas **süsti*** (gen) *ära* 'bore the injection'; *kuulas **jutu*** (gen) *ära* 'heard out the story'; *käsitles **juhtumi*** (gen) *lõpuni* 'investigated the case

until the end'; *laitis* ***ettepaneku*** (gen) *maha* 'disapproved of the proposal'; *maitsesin selle* ***koogi*** (gen) *ära* 'I tasted this cake'; *mõtlen* ***lahenduse*** (gen) *valmis* 'I'll think up a solution'; *märkasin tema* ***punastamise*** (gen) *ära* 'I noticed her blushing'; *nägi oma firma* ***hävingu*** (gen) *ära* 'witnessed the bankruptcy of his company'; *tajus ja tundis tema jutus olevad* ***ebakõlad*** (nom) *ära* 'perceived and recognized the inconsistencies in his story'; *vaatasime need* ***kohad*** (nom) *üle* 'we looked these placed over'

2) the list of verbs that denote movement and touching includes over half of those that can be associated with a definite situation as well (20 out of 31):

embas, suudles, kallistas ***naise*** (gen) *hingetuks* 'he embraced, kissed, hugged his wife breathless'; *hammustas* ***koogi*** (gen) *pooleks* 'bit the cake into two pieces'; *keerutas* ***lõnga*** (gen) *sõlme* 'twisted the yarn into a knot'; *kraapis* ***ukse*** (gen) *katki* 'scratched the door so that it became broken'; *kratsis* ***käe*** (gen) *katki* 'scratched the hand so that it became bloody'; *lappas* ***raamatu*** (gen) *kapsaks* 'flipped the book through until it became dog-eared'; *limpsis* ***jäätise*** (gen) *lõpuni* 'licked the ice-cream till the end'; *lõi, peksis, tagus* ***röövli*** (gen) *oimetuks* 'hit, beat, punched the robber unconscious'; *müksas* ***sõbra*** (gen) *vastu kappi* 'bumped his friend against the cabinet'; *nõelas* ***ohvri*** (gen) *surnuks* 'stung the victim dead'; *näpistas* ***käe*** (gen) *siniseks* 'pinched his arm blue'; *piitsutas* ***looma*** (gen) *surnuks* 'whiplashed the animal dead'; *puudutas* ***mängija*** (gen) *ära* 'touched the player'; *silitas* ***selja*** (gen) *terveks* 'stroked his back and the back was cured'; *sügas* ***naha*** (gen) *katki* 'scratched the skin so that it became bloody'; *veeretas* ***kivid*** (nom) *kraavi* 'rolled the rocks into the ditch'

3) in the case of existential normal and experiencer clauses existentiality sets strict constraints that do not allow to form resultative clauses with the listed 19 examples. Here, too, one can add perfective adverbs to a large number of verbs, but in that case the existential contents of the clause will get lost:

Lapsed ehtisid ***kuuske*** (part). – *Lapsed ehtisid* ***kuuse*** (gen) *ära.* 'The children were decorating the Christmas tree. – The children decorated the Christmas tree'
Nõukogu ootas ***otsust*** (part). – *Nõukogu ootas* ***otsuse*** (gen) *ära ja lõpetas* ***koosoleku*** (gen). 'The board was expecting a decision. – The board waited until the decision was announced and finished the meeting'

4) of the 12 example verbs that denote the progression and evaluation of the action, two turned out to be aspectual verbs:

katkestama 'to interrupt' – *Laulja katkestas* ***esinemise*** (gen). 'The singer interrupted the performance'
püüdma 'to catch' – *Poiss püüdis vaid ühe* ***ahvena*** (gen). 'The boy caught only one perch'

As far as the other example verbs are concerned, two of them can be used in a definite action situation as well:

aitas ***invaliidi*** (gen) *bussi* 'helped the disabled person board the bus'; *nõuan* ***hüvitise*** (gen) *kätte* 'I will claim the compensation'

5) in the group of verbs with a smaller number of common features, where verbs denote continuous controllable actions and which occur together with the direction object, six example verbs out of 21 occur in resultative action situations as well:

helistas ***uksekella*** (gen) *katki* 'rang the doorbell broken'; *juhtis* ***hobuse*** (gen) *talli* 'led the horse into the stable'; *tarvitas* ***kreemi*** (gen) *lõpuni* 'used up the cream', *näitas talle* ***koha*** (gen) *kätte* 'showed him to his seat'; *parandas* ***kontrolltööd*** (nom) *ära* 'corrected the tests'

Thus, one part of the irresultative verbs that are given in the EKG list of partitive verbs can be placed in resultative action situations as well upon adding action-limiting extensions. Therefore, it is impossible to speak of grammatical redundancy when the action situation of irresultative partitive verbs is made

definite by adding the necessary extensions. Such sentences are grammatically and semantically unacceptable without the above-mentioned extensions:

Koer kraapis **ukse* (gen).
Komisjon laitis **ettepaneku* (gen).
Poiss juhtis **hobuse* (gen).

At the same time the verbs *katkestama* 'to interrupt' and *püüdma* 'to catch', which have been classified as partitive verbs, can be placed in a resultative action situation as well.

*Juhataja katkestas **nõupidamise*** (gen). 'The chairperson interrupted the meeting'
*Poiss püüdis **ahvena*** (gen). 'The boy caught a perch'

It is true that here we are dealing with polysemous verbs, where, on the one hand, one can speak about the progression of the action, a process. In the case of this kind of approach there is no doubt that the verbs *katkestama* and *püüdma* have an irresultative character. On the other hand, these verbs can also be regarded (without adding the adverbial component) as verbs that require the completion of the action situation, i.e. as typical aspectual verbs, which depending on the definiteness–indefiniteness of the situation require either the total or partial object in the sentence, cf.

*Meie saabumine tekitas **segadust/segaduse*** (part/gen). 'Our arrival caused some confusion' (EKG: 51).

1.2. Partitive verbs in Finnish

The transitive verbs of Finnish are divided into four groups (Leino 1991: 138):

1) resultative verbs that take the accusative object;
2) irresultative verbs that take the partitive object;
3) the 'two-faced' resultative–irresultative verbs that allow the accusative and the partitive object; quasiresultative verbs (this

term was used by Terho Itkonen, (Itkonen 1974: 174–185), which occur together with the accusative object. Although in the latter group we are dealing with an irresultative action situation, it will lead to a result after which the action situation cannot continue in the same manner.

Similarly to Estonian, in Finnish, too, the totality–partiality of the object that depends on the semantics of the verb is first and foremost associated with the resultativeness and irresultativeness of the action situation.

The following semantic verb groups are always irresultative (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1979: 184):

1) verbs that denote a situation and an action situation: *hallita, sisältää, valvoa*, etc.

2) verbs that denote emotions and subjective attitudes: *arvostaa, epäillä, ihailla, kiittää, kunnioittaa*, etc.

3) causative verbs that denote a psycho-physiological activity: *huvittaa, janottaa, kiinnostaa, rasittaa*, etc.

4) verbs that denote forward–backward movement: *heiluttaa, nyökyttää, ravistaa*, etc.

In most cases with these verbs the choice of the object case is automatic and the use of the total object is impossible: e.g. **Tuuli heilutti* ***lipputangon*** (gen). 'The wind was swinging the flagpole'

In Finnish, too, the action situation can be made resultative by adding resultative adverbs and changing the object case:

F *Mies ajaa* ***autoa*** (part). *Mies ajoi* ***auton*** (gen) *talliin.*
E *Mees juhib* ***autot*** (part). *Mees juhib* ***auto*** (gen) *garaaži.*
'The man is driving a car. The man is driving the car into the garage'

One can agree with Pentti Leino (Leino 1991: 140) in that "the resultativeness–irresultativeness of verbs, especially in association with the object, is not only the property of verbs, it would rather encompass the entire sentence", i.e. the action situation.

The semantic similarities and differences of Estonian and Finnish partitive verbs have been discussed in a number of

studies, e.g. Kont 1963, Itkonen 1974, Koponen 1985, and others. There is a considerable overlap between the semantic groups of Estonian and Finnish verbs that take the partial object. On the other hand, Finnish often has two-aspect verbs among the verbs that describe sensory and intellectual actions as well as among the verbs that are associated with intentional actions. Unlike Estonian, the total object often occurs with such verbs that denote the actions of one's senses as well as with some other verbs, where in Estonian only the partial object can be used. The following example sentences have been taken from Paul Alvre's *A Finnish Grammar* (Alvre 1992: 190–191):

F *Uskotko sinä **sen*** (gen)?
E *Kas sa usud **seda*** (part)?
'Do you believe it?'
F *Teen **sen*** (gen) *mielelläni.*
E *Teen **seda*** (part) *meelsasti.*
'I'm doing it with pleasure'
F *Tuon **miehen*** (gen) *kyllä tunnen.*
E *Seda **meest*** (part) *ma ju tunnen.*
'This man I happen to know'
F *Sen **seikan*** (gen) *kai tietänee sanomattasikin.*
E *Võib-olla seda **seika*** (part) *teatakse sinu ütlematagi.*
'Maybe this episode is known without your mentioning it'
F *En tahtoisi nähdä muuta kuin **sataman*** (gen), **talot** (nom) *ja kirkkaan **taivaan*** (gen).
E *Ma ei tahaks näha muud kui **sadamat*** (part), ***maju*** (part) *ja kirgast **taevast*** (part).
'I wouldn't like to see anything else but the port, some houses, and the bright sky'

In Estonian one would emphasize the course of the action, and the action itself can be observed as a process, where the fixing of the starting and finishing moment is unimportant. Nor is the gaining of the result important. The same verb can be perceived in Finnish as marking the starting point of the action, but also as a verb the action process of which may include the result. For example, *knowing* in Finnish includes also *recognition*

and *knowledge*. In addition, there is one more semantic field, where Finnish uses only the partitive object, namely, in the case of verbs that denote natural phenomena, the weather, and human psychic and physical manifestations (Kont 1963: 89–90). Such verbs occur only in determinate sentence constructions (in this case without a person), e.g.

Lasta (part) *pelottaa*. 'The child is frightened'
Häntä (part) *suututtaa*. 'He gets angry'

1.3. Lithuanian verbs that require the genitive

In Lithuanian, too, we can find a large number of verbs that take the partial object, i.e. the object in the genitive case. Lithuanian grammars emphasize the dependence of the genitive government upon semantics (LKG: 21, LKS: 107, DLKG: 510). As for their semantics, such verbs can be classified into various groups. For example, the Academic Lithuanian Grammar suggests the following classification (LKG: 21):

1) verbs that denote the person's inner state:
bijoti 'to be afraid', *baimintis* 'to be afraid', *drovėtis* 'to feel ashamed', *gailėtis* 'to pity', *gedėti* 'to feel ashamed', *ilgėtis* 'to yearn', *išsigąsti* 'to get frightened', *laukti* 'to wait', *klausyti* 'to ask', *norėti* 'to want', *pavydėti* 'to envy', *tikėtis* 'to believe', *trokšti* 'to yearn', etc.

2) impersonal verbs which denote that something is absent or redundant:
stigti 'to be absent', *stikoti* 'to be absent', *trūkti* 'to be absent', *nustoti* 'to be left without', *netekti* 'to be left without', *užtekti* 'to suffice', *pakakti* 'to be enough', *ganėti* 'to be enough', etc.

3) verbs that mark an active action process in the course of which the subject tries to gain the object:
ieškoti 'to seek', *dairytis* 'to stare around', *žvalgytis* 'to stare', *mokytis* 'to study', *siekti* 'to seek', *klausti* 'to ask', *prašyti* 'to beg', *teirautis* 'to enquire', *reikalauti* 'to demand', *reikėti* 'to need', *pageidauti* 'to wish', etc.

4) verbs that denote an active action process in the course of which the subject tries to avoid the object:
vengti 'to avoid', *šalintis* 'to evade', *saugotis* 'to refrain from', *atsikratyti* 'to free onself from sb', *atsižadėti* 'to renounce';

5) verbs that denote a concrete action that is associated with the physical contact:
griebtis 'to grab', *imtis* 'to take', *kabintis* 'to grab', *laikytis* 'to hold still', *remtis* 'to lean', *kliūti* 'to get stuck', etc.

However, in the case of such verbs it is possible to use in a parallel manner instead of the genitive object the prepositional construction. Therefore, we are not going to examine them here.

The more recent edition of the academic grammar offers a less detailed classification of semantic groups. The verbs that take the genitive are classified into three groups (DLKG: 510–511):

1) verbs that denote want, wish, aspirations, seeking, etc.:
norėti 'to want', *geisti* 'to yearn', *ilgėtis* 'to yearn', *laukti* 'to wait', *trokšti* 'to desire', *tikėtis* 'to believe', *pavydėti* 'to envy', *klausyti* 'to listen', *klausytis* 'to listen';
klausti 'to ask', *prašyti* 'to beg, to ask', *teirautis* 'to enquire', *reikalauti* 'to demand', *reikėti* 'to need', *pageidauti* 'to wish';
ieškoti 'to seek', *dairytis* 'to stare around', *žvalgytis* 'to stare', *graibytis* 'to grab in a fumbling manner', *siekti* 'to seek', *žiūrėti* 'to look', *laikytis* 'to detain', *mokytis* 'to study';

2) verbs that denote fearing, avoidance, etc.:
bijoti 'to be afraid', *baimintis* 'to fear a little', *išsigąsti* 'to become frightened', *baidytis* 'to be afraid', *drovėtis* 'to be ashamed', *gėdytis* 'to be ashamed', *gailėtis* 'to regret', *gedėti* 'to mourn';
vengti 'to avoid', *šalintis* 'to dodge', *saugotis* 'to refrain from', *atsikratyti* 'to get rid of sb', *atsižadėti* 'to renounce';

3) verbs that denote the absence or surplus of something:
stigti 'to be absent', *stikoti* 'to be absent', *trūkti* 'to be absent', *nustoti* 'to be left without', *netekti* 'to be left without', *užtekti* 'to suffice', *pakakti* 'to be enough', *ganėti* 'to be enough'

1.4. Partitive verbs in Estonian and Finnish and verbs with the genitive government in Lithuanian

The number of partitive verbs in Estonian and Finnish – especially in Estonian – is much larger than the number of verbs with the genitive government in Lithuanian. At the same time there is a common core of verbs that denote intentional impact and sensory and intellectual cognition, where the partial object is used in all the three languages (see also Klaas 1988: 46ff.).

1.4.1. Self-manifestations that are associated with feelings are expressed by verbs that denote an action situation, where the object is present, but there is no active impact on the object by the subject or such an effort. On the contrary, the object has brought about the corresponding feelings or a psycho-physiological state in the subject. Verbs with such semantics are irresultative in Estonian, Finnish, and Lithuanian, and they do not permit the total object. Nor is it possible in Estonian to make the action situation resultative (there are some partitive verbs, where it is possible) by adding some perfective extensions to the verb, e.g. **Sõber haletses **haige** (gen) ära.* 'The friend pitied the sick person'

(1)

E	*Sõber*	*haletses*	*haiget.*
	friend-nom	pity-past-3sg	sick person-part
	'The friend pitied the sick person'		
L	*Draugas*	*gailėjosi*	*ligonio.*
	friend-nom	pity-past-3sg	sick person-gen
F	*Ystäva*	*sääli*	*sairasta.*
	friend-nom	pity-past-3sg	sick person-part

(2)

E	*Tüdruk*	*häbenes*	*külalisi.*
	girl-nom	be shy-past-3sg	guest-partpl
	'The girl was shy of the guests'		

L	*Mergaitė*	*drovisi*	*svečių.*
	girl-nom	be shy-past-3sg	guest-genpl
F	*Tyttö*	*häpesi*	*vieraita.*
	girl-nom	be shy-past-3sg	guest-partpl

(3)

E	*Laps*	*kardab*	*pimedust.*
	child-nom	be afraid-3sg	darkness-part
	'The child is afraid of darkness'		
L	*Vaikas*	*bijo*	*tamsos.*
	child-nom	be afraid-3sg	darkness-gen
F	*Lapsi*	*pelkää*	*pimeää.*
	child-nom	be afraid-3sg	darkness-part

(4)

E	*Ta*	*leinas*	*kaua*	*oma*	*meest.*
	She	mourn-past-3sg	long	her	husband-part
	'She mourned her husband for a long time'				
L	*Ji*	*ilgai*	*gedėjo*	*savo*	*vyro.*
	She	long	mourn-past-3sg	her	husband-gen
F	*Hän*	*suri*	*kauan*	*oma*	*miestään.*
	She	mourn-past-3sg	long	her	husband-part+poss.suff

(5)

E	*Kassipojad*	*pelgavad*	*vett.*
	kitten-nompl	fear-3pl	water-part
	'Kittens fear water'		
L	*Kačiukai*	*baiminasi*	*vandens.*
	kitten-nompl	fear-3pl	water-gen
F	*Kissapennut*	*pelkäävät*	*vettä.*
	kitten-nompl	fear-3pl	water-part

1.4.2. An active action situation is described by verbs that denote various processes that are associated with intentional impact, e.g. wish, temptation, request, etc. The object in its turn expresses what is expected to achieve by means of the impact.

(6)

E	*Vang*	*anus*	*halastust.*
	convict-nom	beg-past-3sg	mercy-part
	'The convict begged for mercy'		
L	*Belaisvis*	*maldavo*	*prisigailėjimo.*
	convict-nom	beg-past-3sg	mercy-gen
F	*Vanki*	*anoi*	*armoa.*
	convict-nom	beg-past-3sg	mercy-part

(7)

E	*Ta*	*igatseb*	*sõprust.*
	He	long-3sg	friendship-part
	'He is longing for friendship'		
L	*Jis*	*ilgisi*	*draugystės.*
	He	long-3sg	friendship-gen
F	*Hän*	*kaipaa*	*ystävyyttä.*
	He	long-3sg	friendship-part

(8)

E	*Naine*	*lootis*	*abi.*
	woman-nom	expect-past-3sg	help-part
	'The woman expected some help'		
L	*Moteris*	*tikėjosi*	*pagalbos.*
	woman-nom	expect-past-3sg	help-gen
F	*Nainen*	*toivoi*	*apua.*
	woman-nom	expect-past-3sg	help-part

(9)

E	*Poeg*	*lunis*	*raha.*
	son-nom	scrounge-past-3sg	money-part
	'The son scrounged some money'		
L	*Sūnus*	*kaulijo*	*pinigų.*
	son-nom	scrounge-past-3sg	money-genpl
F	*Poika*	*kärtti*	*rahaa.*
	son-nom	scrounge-past-3sg	money-part

(10)

E	*Direktor*	*nõudis*	*hoolikust.*
	director-nom	demand-past-3sg	care-part
	'The director demanded care'		
L	*Direktorius*	*reikalavo*	*kruopštumo.*
	director-nom	demand-past-3sg	care-gen
F	*Johtaja*	*vaati*	*huolellisuutta.*
	director-nom	demand-past-3sg	care-part

(11)

E	*Komisjon*	*nõutas*	*vastust.*
	board-nom	demand-past-3sg	answer-part
	'The board demanded an answer'		
L	*Komisija*	*teiravosi*	*atsakymo.*
	board-nom	demand-past-3sg	answer-gen
F	*Toimikunta*	*hankki*	*vastausta/vastauksen.*
	board-nom	demand-past-3sg	answer-part/gen

(12)

E	*Lapsed*	*paluvad*	*abi.*
	child-nompl	ask-3pl	help-part
	'The children are asking for help'		
L	*Vaikai*	*prašo*	*pagalbos.*
	child-nompl	ask-3pl	help-gen
F	*Lapset*	*pyytävät*	*apua.*
	child-nompl	ask-3pl	help-part

(13)

E	*Ta*	*soovib*	*endale*	*kõike.*
	He	wish-3sg	himself-all	everything-part
	'He would like to have everything'			
L	*Jis*	*pageidauja*	*sau*	*visko.*
	He	wish-3sg	himself-dat	everything-gen
F	*Hän*	*haluaa*	*itselleen*	*kaiken.*
	He	wish-3sg	himself-all+poss.suff	everything-gen

(14)

E	*Peeter*	*tahab*	*uut*	*korterit.*
	nom	want-3sg	new-part	apartment-part
	'Peeter would like to have a new apartment'			
L	*Petras*	*nori*	*naujo*	*buto.*
	nom	want-3sg	new-gen	apartment-gen
F	*Petteri*	*tahtoo*	*uuden*	*asunnon.*
	nom	want-3sg	new-gen	apartment-gen

(15)

E	*Perenaine*	*jälgis*	*korda.*
	landlady-nom	take care-past-3sg	order-part
	'The landlady took care of order'		
L	*Šeimininkė*	*prižiūrėjo*	*tvarkos.*
	landlady-nom	take care-past-3sg	order-gen
F	*Emäntä*	*piti yllä*	*järjestystä/järjestyksen.*
	landlady-nom	take care-past-3sg	order-part/gen

(16)

E	*Turist*	*küsis*	*teed.*
	tourist-nom	ask-past-3sg	way-part
	'The tourist asked the way'		
L	*Turistas*	*klausė*	*kelio.*
	tourist-nom	ask-past-3sg	way-gen
F	*Turisti*	*kysyi*	*tietä.*
	tourist-nom	ask-past-3sg	way-part

Some verbs (11, 13, 14, 15), the semantics of which would requires, as expected, the partitive object in Estonian, have two aspects in Finnish. As far as such irresultative verbs are concerned, it is important to stress the process in Estonian. The action situation does not include the possibility of resultativeness, e.g. *Peeter tahab uut* ***korterit*** (part). 'Peeter would like to have a new apartment', cf. *Peeter saab uue* ***korteri*** (gen). 'Peeter will get a new apartment' In Estonian the situation of intention does not include any rudiments of the situation of getting, and thus it is totally irresultative. In Finnish, however, this situation can be described from the point of view of two aspects:

1) by emphasizing the process, i.e. as irresultative and using the partial object, e.g. *Petteri haluaa uutta* ***asuntoa*** (part), or

2) by focusing on the result, i.e. as resultative and together with the total object, e.g. *Petteri haluaa uuden* ***asunnon*** (gen).

1.4.3. Verbs that describe the active action process with the purpose of avoiding the object. Lithuanian has a relatively large number of such verbs that take the genitive case. Estonian, in contrast, provided only one such example.

(17)

E	*Ta*	*väldib*	*inimesi.*
	He	avoid-3sg	people-partpl
	'He avoids people'		
L	*Jis*	*vengia*	*žmonių.*
	He	avoid-3sg	people-genpl
F	*Hän*	*välttelee*	*ihmisiä.*
	He	avoid-3sg	people-partpl

We can find some more verbs of this kind in Finnish:

(18)

L	*Jis*	*šalinasi*	*žmonių.*
	He	avoid-3sg	people-genpl
F	*Hän*	*karttaa*	*ihmisiä.*
	He	avoid-3sg	people-partpl
	'He avoids people'		

(19)

L	*Reikia*	*saugotis*	*traukinio.*
	have to	keep away-inf	train-gen
F	*Pitää*	*varoa*	*junaa.*
	have to	keep away-inf	train-part
	'One has to keep away from the train'		

1.4.4. Verbs that denote an action situation that is associated with sensory and rational cognition. In Estonian, the objects of experiencing by means of different senses stand in the partitive.

In Lithuanian, however, only verbs that are mainly associated with listening and seeing take the genitive object.

(20)

E	*Noored*	*kuulavad*	*muusikat.*
	young people-nompl	listen-3pl	music-part
	'The young listen to the music'		
L	*Jaunimas*	*klauso*	*muzikos.*
	young people-nomsg	listen-3sg	music-gen
F	*Nuoret*	*kuuntelevat*	*musiikkia.*
	young people-nompl	listen-3pl	music-part

(21)

E	*Ta*	*otsis*	*vastust.*
	He	look for-past-3sg	answer-part
	'He was looking for an answer'		
L	*Jis*	*ieškojo*	*atsakymo.*
	He	look for-past-3sg	answer-gen
F	*Hän*	*etsi*	*vastausta.*
	He	look for-past-3sg	answer-part

(22)

E	*Lapsed*	*piilusid*	*külalist.*
	child-nompl	peek-past-3pl	guest-part
	'The children were peeking at the guest'		
L	*Vaikai*	*žvalgėsi*	*svečio.*
	child-nompl	peek-past-3pl	guest-gen
F	*Lapset*	*kurkistivat*	*vierasta.*
	child-nompl	peek-past-3pl	guest-part

(23)

E	*Poisid*	*vahtisid*	*kaupluse*	*vitriini.*
	boy-nompl	look-past-3pl	shop-gen	display case-part
	'The boys were looking at the display case of the shop'			
L	*Berniukai*	*dairėsi*	*parduotuvės*	*vitrinos.*
	boy-nompl	look-past-3pl	shop-gen	display case-gen
F	*Pojat*	*katselivat*	*kaupaan*	*näyteikkunaa.*
	boy-nompl	look-past-3pl	shop-gen	display case-part

(24)

E	*Neiu*	*õppis*	*meditsiini.*
	young lady-nom	study-past-3sg	medicine-part
	'The young lady was studying medicine'		
L	*Mergina*	*mokėsi*	*medicinos.*
	young lady-nom	study-past-3sg	medicine-gen
F	*Tyttö*	*opiskeli*	*lääketiedettä.*
	young lady-nom	study-past-3sg	medicine-part

1.5. The number of partitive verbs in Estonian is much larger than the number of verbs that take the genitive in Lithuanian, and it is also larger than the number of partitive verbs in Finnish.

Thus, the Lithuanian equivalents of many Estonian partitive verbs are verbs that take the accusative total object or the dative and instrumental indirect object.

1.5.1. In Estonian the partitive object extends verbs that denote processes that are associated with feelings. In Lithuanian, however, the accusative or total object occurs as well:

(25)

E	*Ema*	*armastab*	*oma*	*last.*
	mother-nom	love-3sg	poss.pron	child-part
	'Mother loves her child'			
L	*Motyna*	*myli*	*savo*	*vaiką.*
	mother-nom	love-3sg	poss.pron	child-acc
F	*Äiti*	*rakastaa*		*lastaan.*
	mother-nom	love-3sg		child-part+poss.suff

(26)

E	*Igaüks*	*austab*	*ausat*	*inimest.*
	everybody-nom	respect-3sg	honest-part	person-part
	'Everybody respects an honest person'			
L	*Kiekvienas*	*gerbia*	*dorą*	*žmogų.*
	everybody-nom	respect-3sg	honest-acc	person-acc
F	*Jokainen*	*kunnioittaa*	*rehellista*	*ihmistä.*
	everybody-nom	respect-3sg	honest-part	person-part

(27)

E	*Ma*	*tunnen*	*valu.*
	I	feel-1sg	pain-part
	'I'm feeling pain'		
L	*Aš*	*jaučiu*	*skausmą.*
	I	feel-1sg	pain-acc
F	*Minä*	*tunnen*	*kipua.*
	I	feel-1sg	pain-part

1.5.2. Action processes where the subject makes an active impact on the object.

(28)

E	*Auhind*	*ergutas*	*õpilast.*
	prize-nom	stimulate-past-3sg	student-part
	'The prize stimulated the student'		
L	*Prizas*	*paskatino*	*mokinį.*
	prize-nom	stimulate-past-3sg	student-acc
F	*Palkinto*	*innoitti*	*opiskelijaa.*
	prize-nom	stimulate-past-3sg	student-part

(29)

E	*Õpetaja*	*manitses*	*loodrit.*
	teacher-nom	scold-past-3sg	lazybones-part
	'The teacher scolded the lazybones'		
L	*Mokytojas*	*įtikinėjo*	*tinginį.*
	teacher-nom	scold-past-3sg	lazybones-acc
F	*Opettaja*	*varoitti*	*vetelystä.*
	teacher-nom	scold-past-3sg	lazybones-part

1.5.3. In Lithuanian, also the sensory and intellectual cognition is expressed by a large number of verbs that take the accusative object:

(30)

E	*Koer*	*haistab*	*lõhna.*
	dog-nom	smell-3sg	scent-part
	'The dog is smelling the scent'		

L	*Šuo*	*uodžia*	*kvapą.*
	dog-nom	smell-3sg	scent-acc
F	*Koira*	*haistaa*	*tuoksun.*
	dog-nom	smell-3sg	scent-gen

(31)

E	*Külaline*	*maitses*	*kooki.*
	guest-nom	taste-past-3sg	cake-part
	'The guest tasted the cake'		
L	*Svečias*	*ragavo*	*pyragaitį.*
	guest-nom	taste-past-3sg	cake-acc
F	*Vieras*	*maisti*	*kakkua.*
	guest-nom	taste-past-3sg	cake-part

(32)

E	*Peeter*	*mõistis*	*Pauli*	*kahtlusi.*
	nom	understand-past-3sg	gen	suspicion-partpl
	'Peeter understood Paul's suspicions'			
L	*Petras*	*suprato*	*Povilo*	*abėjones.*
	nom	understand-past-3sg	gen	suspicion-accpl
F	*Petteri*	*ymmärsi*	*Paulin*	*epäilykset/epäilyksiä.*
	nom	understand-past-3sg	gen	suspicion-nompl/partpl

(33)

E	*Ma*	*nägin*	*sõpra.*
	I	see-past-1sg	friend-part
	'I saw a friend'		
L	*Aš*	*mačiau*	*draugą.*
	I	see-past-1sg	friend-acc
F	*Minä*	*näin*	*ystävän.*
	I	see-past-1sg	friend-gen

(34)

E	*Peeter*	*teadis*	*arsti*	*nime.*
	nom	know-past-3sg	doctor-gen	name-part
	'Peeter knew the doctor's name'			
L	*Petras*	*žinojo*	*daktaro*	*vardą.*
	nom	know-past-3sg	doctor-gen	name-acc

F	*Petteri*	*tiesi*	*lääkärin*	*nimen.*
	nom	know-past-3sg	doctor-gen	name-gen

(35)

E	*Lapsed*	*vaatasid*	*filmi.*
	child-nompl	watch-past-3pl	film-part
	'The children watched the film'		
L	*Vaikai*	*žiūrėjo*	*filmą.*
	child-nompl	watch-past-3pl	film-acc
F	*Lapset*	*katselivat*	*elokuvaa.*
	child-nompl	watch-past-3pl	film-part

This group reveals some similarities between Finnish and Lithuanian. Both languages have a rather large number of verbs that denote sensory and intellectual cognition. They take the total object (Lithuanian) or allow treating the situation as resultative or irresultative, i.e. they occur in the sentence together with the total or partial object (Finnish).

1.5.4. In Lithuanian, verbs that denote an impact that results from a movement, touch, or some physical contact require the accusative object as the extension:

(36)

E	*Vanaema*	*kaelustas*	*lapselapsi.*
	grandma-nom	hug-past-3sg	grandchild-partpl
	'Grandma hugged her grandchildren'		
L	*Močiutė*	*apkabino*	*anukus.*
	grandma-nom	hug-past-3sg	grandchild-acc
F	*Mummo*	*syleili*	*lapsenlapsia.*
	grandma-nom	hug-past-3sg	grandchild-partpl

(37)

E	*Poiss*	*lõi*	*koera.*
	boy-nom	hit-past-3sg	dog-part
	'The boy hit the dog'		
L	*Berniukas*	*mušė*	*šunį.*
	boy-nom	hit-past-3sg	dog-acc

F	*Poika*	*iski*	*koiraa.*
	boy-nom	hit-past-3sg	dog-part

(38)

E	*Külm*	*näpistab*	*kõrvu.*
	frost-nom	pinch-3sg	ear-partpl
	'The frost pinches one's ears'		
L	*Šaltis*	*gnyba*	*ausis.*
	frost-nom	pinch-3sg	ear-accpl
F	*Pakkanen*	*nipistää*	*korviaa.*
	frost-nom	pinch-3sg	ear-partpl

In Lithuanian, a verb that describes the physical contact takes the genitive object in case the physical contact is limited by the meaning *to get hold of sth* or *to get stuck behind sth* (see p. 63).

1.5.5. In Lithuanian, verbs that denote feelings can be extended also by the indirect object in the dative:

(39)

E	*Mees*	*kadestas*	*sõpra.*
	man-nom	envy-past-3sg	friend-part
	'The man envied his friend'		
L	*Vyras*	*pavydėjo*	*draugui.*
	man-nom	envy-past-3sg	friend-dat
F	*Mies*	*kadehti*	*ystävää.*
	man-nom	envy-past-3sg	friend-part

1.5.6. Verbs that describe an active action situation and affective processes can be extended also by the addressee object, which is often in the dative in Lithuanian.

(40)

E	*Suitsetamine*	*kahjustab*	*tervist.*
	smoking-nom	damage-3sg	health-part
	'Smoking is a hazard to one's health'		

L	*Rūkymas*	*kenkia*	*sveikatai.*
	smoking-nom	damage-3sg	health-dat
F	*Tupakointi*	*vaarantaa*	*terveyttä.*
	smoking-nom	damage-3sg	health-part

1.5.7. In Lithuanian, there are some verbs denoting feelings that require the instrumental as their extension:

(41)

E	*Turistid*	*imetlesid*	*loodust.*
	tourist-nompl	admire-past-3pl	nature-part
	'The tourists were admiring nature'		
L	*Turistai*	*grožėjosi*	*gamta.*
	tourist-nompl	admire-past-3pl	nature-instr
F	*Turistit*	*ihailivat*	*luontoa.*
	tourist-nompl	admire-past-3pl	nature-part

Conclusion

As far as their semantics is concerned, the partitive verbs in Estonian and the verbs that take the genitive case in Lithuanian are to some extent similar. The partial object is often used to describe action situations that express feelings but also the action situations that are associated with intentional impact and intellectual cognition. Estonian is much more consistent in the use of the partial object. In Finnish, the partitive object that is dependent upon the semantics of the verb can be replaced in many cases by the total object as well. Thus, a situation that is clearly irresultative can be perceived as having two aspects in Finnish. Nor is the genitive object in Lithuanian the only possible extension of verbs that belong to the above-mentioned semantic groups because one can find the accusative or total object as well as the dative or instrumental indirect object.

ABBREVIATIONS

LANGUAGES
E = Estonian
F = Finnish
L = Lithuanian

NUMBER
sg = singular pl = plural

PERSON
1,2,3
These appear on finite verb forms

CASE
acc = accusative ine = inessive
ade =adessive ins = instrumental
all = allative nom = nominative
dat = dative par = partitive
gen = genitive

VERB FORM
inf = infinitive
past = preterite
perf.pref = perfective prefix

OTHER
affixadv = affixal adverb
poss.suff = possessive suffix
poss.pron = possessive pronoun

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OBJEKTI KÄÄNDE SÕLTUVUS VERBI SEMANTIKAST EESTI, SOOME JA LEEDU KEELES

Birute Klaas

Käesolevas artiklis võrreldakse eesti, soome ja leedu keele käändsõnalise objekti esinemistingimusi, pöörates peatähelepanu objekti käände valiku olenevusele verbi tähendusest.

Läänemeresoome ja balti keelte objektid on paljuski sarnased (vt Kont 1963, Larsson 1983, Klaas 1988, Klaas 1996). Kõige üldisem ühisjoon eesti, soome ja leedu keele objekti vahel on totaal- ja partsiaalobjekti vastandus, st erinevate käänete kasutamine piiritletud ja piiritlemata tegevussituatsiooni korral. Objektivariandi valik eesti, soome ja leedu keeles sõltub kas objektmõistest või/ja verbist. Objekti käände valik väljendab eelkõige aspektilist laadi tähenduserinevusi. Eesti keel esindab aspekti väljenduse poolest üleminekumalli läänemeresoome nominaalse (objektikäänetega markeerimise) ja indoeuroopa verbaalse (verbi prefiksiga markeerimise) vahel. Ka leedu keeles väljendatakse lause aspekti nii noomeni kui ka verbi vormi abil, samas kui näiteks vene keel väljendab lause aspekti põhiliselt verbiprefiksiga.

Eesti keeles on verbe (partitiivverbid), mis väljendavad piiritlemata tegevust. Selliste verbide semantiline spekter on küllaltki lai ja laialivalguv. Põhilised semantilised rühmad (Õim 1983: 192–236, EKG: 50) moodustuvad tahtelise mõjutuse protsesse, meelelist ja mõistuslikku tunnetust, aga ka füüsilist mõjutust (liigutamist, puudutamist) väljendavatest verbidest.

Partitiivverbid võib eesti keeles jagada kaheks (vt ka Rätsep 1978: 223):

1) irresultatiivsed, piirivõimaluseta tegevussituatsioonides esinevad verbid, mida ei ole võimalik kasutada täisobjektiga (b); artiklis on nende kohta kasutatud terminit jäigad partitiivverbid. Ka perfektiivsusadverbi lisamine ei muuda selliste verbidega väljendatud situatsiooni resultatiivseks ega võimalda täisobjekti kasutamist (c):

a) *Komisjon pooldas **teist kandidaati*** (part).
b) **Komisjon pooldas **teise kandidaadi*** (gen).
c) **Komisjon pooldas **teise kandidaadi*** (gen) *lõpuni.*
d) *Komisjon pooldas **teist kandidaati*** (part) *lõpuni.*

2) irresultatiivsed, kuid teatud tingimustel (perfektiivsusadverbi lisamisel) piiritletud tegevussituatsioonis osalevad ja täisobjekti lubavad verbid (c); artiklis kasutatakse selliste verbide kohta terminit pehmed partitiivverbid. Ilma perfektiivsusadverbita, st pelgalt objektikäänet muutes ei ole ka selles rühmas võimalik grammatiliselt korrektset lauset moodustada (b):

a) *Mees ihus* ***nuga*** (part).
b) **Mees ihus* ***noa*** (gen).
c) *Mees ihus* ***noa*** (gen) *teravaks.*
d) *Mees ihus* ***nuga*** (part) *teravaks.*

Artiklis vaadeldakse ka EKG partitiivverbide näiteloendit (EKG: 50–51, kokku 144 verbi) püütakse jagada nad kolmekäändelist objekti lubavateks ehk pehmeteks partitiivverbideks (näiteloendis 42 verbi) ja seda mittelubavateks ehk jäikadeks partitiivverbideks (näiteloendis 102 verbi).

Sarnaselt eesti keelega on ka soome verbi semantikast sõltuv objekti totaalsus–partsiaalsus seotud eelkõige tegevussituatsiooni resultatiivsuse–irresultatiivsusega. Partsiaalobjektiga lausetes olevate verbide semantilised rühmad on üldjoontes sarnased eesti keele omadega ja väljendavad (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1979: 184) olukorda ja tegevussituatsioone, emotsioone ja subjektiivset suhtumist, psühhofüsioloogilist tegevust ja edasi-tagasi liikumist.

Nii eesti kui ka soome keele kohta kehtib Pentti Leino väide (Leino 1991: 140), et verbide resultatiivsus–irresultatiivsus ei ole ainult verbide, vaid kogu lause omadus. Eesti ja soome partitiivverbide semantilisi sarnasusi ja erinevusi on vaadeldud päris palju, näit Kont 1963, Itkonen 1974, Koponen 1985. Osaliselt on partsiaalobjekti nõudvate verbide semantilised rühmad eesti ja soome keeles üsnagi kattuvad, kuid nii meelte- kui ka intellektuaalset tegevust kirjeldavate verbide, aga ka tahtelise tegevusega seotud verbide seas on soome keeles sageli kaheaspektilisi verbe, kusjuures eesti keeles saab kasutada ainult osasihitist:

Uskotko sinä ***sen*** (gen)? *Kas sa usud* ***seda*** (part)?
Tiedän ***vastauksen*** (gen). *Tean* ***vastust*** (part).

Eesti keeles rõhutatakse sündmuse kulgu ja sündmus ise on vaadeldav protsessina, mille algus- ja lõppmomendi fikseerimine ei ole oluline, samuti tulemuse saavutamine. Sama verbi võib soome keeles tajuda ka sündmuse algusmomenti tähistavana, aga ka verbina, millega kirjeldatud tegevusprotsess võib sisaldada ka tulemust: nii näiteks

tundmine sisaldab soome keeles ka *ära tundmist* ja *teadmine* annab *teadmised.*

Ka leedu keeles leiame terve hulga verbe, mis nõuavad partsiaalobjekti, st objekti genitiivis. Leedu keele grammatikad rõhutavad genitiivse rektsiooni sõltuvust just nimelt tegevussituatsiooni kirjeldavate verbide semantikast (LKG: 21, LKS: 107, DLKG: 510). Põhilised semantilised rühmad moodustuvad tahtelist mõjutust, kartmist ja vältimist, millegi puudumist või ülejäämist väljendavatest verbidest.

Partitiivsete verbide hulk eesti ja soome keeles (ja eriti just eesti keeles) ületab tunduvalt genitiivse rektsiooniga verbide hulga leedu keeles, kuid samas moodustub teatud ühisosa tahtelise mõjutuse ja meelelise ning intellektuaalse tunnetusega verbidest, kus kõigis kolmes keeles kasutatakse osasihitist (vt ka Klaas 1988: 46 jj):

1) tunnetega seotud eneseavaldusi väljendavad verbid, mis kirjeldavad tegevussituatsiooni, kuhu kuulub küll objekt, kuid kus ei toimu objekti aktiivset mõjutust subjekti poolt ega pole ka sellesuunalist taotlust. Objekt on põhjustanud subjektis vastavate tunnete või psühhofüsioloogilise seisundi tekkimise. Sellise semantikaga verbid on nii eesti, soome kui ka leedu keeles irresultatiivsed ega võimalda täisobjekti kasutamist. Ka on võimatu eesti keeles tegevussituatsiooni resultatiivseks kujundada, lisades verbile mingeid perfektiivseid laiendeid, näit **Sõber haletses **haige** ära.*

E	*Laps*	*kardab*	***pimedust*** (part).
L	*Vaikas*	*bijo*	***tamsos*** (gen).
S	*Lapsi*	*pelkää*	***pimeää*** (part).

2) aktiivset tegevussituatsiooni kirjeldavad verbid, mis väljendavad mitmesuguseid tahtelise mõjutusega seotud protsesse, näit soovi, ahvatlust, palvet, aga ka objekti vältimist. Objekt omakorda väljendab seda, mida mõjutusega loodetakse saada või mida vältida.

E	*Naine*	*lootis*	***abi*** (part).
L	*Moteris*	*tikėjosi*	***pagalbos*** (gen).
S	*Nainen*	*toivoi*	***apua*** (part).

Osa verbe, mille tähendus nõuab eesti keeles ootuspäraselt partitiivobjekti, on soome keeles kaheaspektilised. Selliste irresultatiivsete verbide puhul on eesti keeles tähtis rõhutada protsessi ja tegevussituatsioon ei sisalda resultatiivsuse võimalikkust. Soome keeles on võimalik antud situatsiooni kirjeldada kahest aspektist lähtuvalt:

a) protsessi rõhutavalt ja seega irresultatiivsena ning partsiaalobjekti kasutades: *Petteri haluaa **uutta asuntoa*** (part) või
b) tulemust silmas pidavana, st resultatiivsena ja koos täisobjektiga: *Petteri haluaa **uuden asunnon*** (gen).

3) verbid, mis väljendavad meelelise ja mõistusliku tunnetusega seotud tegevussituatsiooni. Kui eesti keeles on erinevate meeltega kogemise objektid partitiivis, siis leedu keeles nõuavad genitiivset objekti vaid peamiselt kuulmise ja nägemisega seotud verbid:

E	*Noored*	*kuulavad*	***muusikat*** (part).
L	*Jaunimas*	*klauso*	***muzikos*** (gen).
S	*Nuoret*	*kuuntelevat*	***musiikkia*** (part).

Kuna partitiivverbide hulk eesti ja soome keeles ületab tunduvalt genitiivse rektsiooniga verbide hulga leedu keeles, siis on paljude eesti/soome partitiivverbide vasteks leedu keeles akusatiivne totaalobjekt või daatiivne/instrumentaalne indirektne objekt:

E	*Külaline*	*maitses*	***kooki*** (part).
L	*Svečias*	*ragavo*	***pyragaitį*** (acc).
S	*Vieras*	*maisti*	***kakkua*** (part).

Siin on võimalik täheldada sarnasusi soome ja leedu keele vahel. Mõlemas keeles on küllaltki palju meelelist ja mõistuslikku tunnetust väljendavaid verbe, mis esinevad koos täisobjektiga (leedu keeles) või lubavad situatsiooni vaadelda kas resultatiivsena või irresultatiivsena, st on lauses koos täis- või osaobjektiga (soome keeles):

E	*Ma*	*nägin*	***sõpra*** (part).
L	*Aš*	*mačiau*	***draugą*** (acc).
S	*Minä*	*näin*	***ystävän/ystävää*** (gen/part).

Kokkuvõtvalt võib öelda, et partitiivverbid eesti ja soome keeles ning genitiivse rektsiooniga verbid leedu keeles on oma semantika osas mõningal määral sarnased. Partsiaalobjektiga on sageli tegemist tundeid väljendavate tegevussituatsioonide, aga ka tahtelise mõjutuse ja meelte ning mõistusliku tunnetusega seotud tegevussituatsioonide kirjeldamisel. Kõige järjekindlam on partsiaalobjekti kasutamisel eesti keel. Soome keeles on verbi semantikast johtuva partitiivobjekti asemel paljudel juhtudel võimalik kasutada ka täisobjekti, st eesti keeles kindlalt irresul-

tatiivset situatsiooni võib soome keeles tajuda kaheaspektilisena. Ka leedu keeles ei ole ülalnimetatud semantilistesse rühmadesse kuuluvate verbide ainuvõimalik laiend genitiivne objekt, sest esineb ka akusatiivset ehk totaalobjekti, aga ka daatiivset või instrumentaalset indirektset objekti.

ON THE TYPOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE

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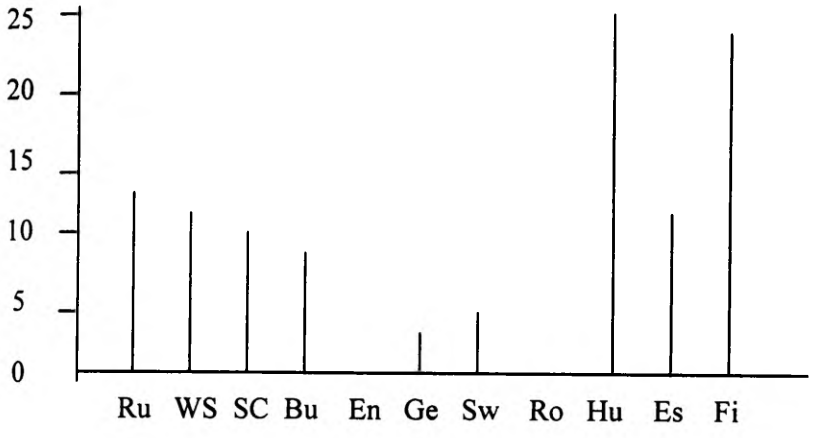
I must confess that to my knowledge no-one else but **Hannu Tommola** has attempted to specify the morpho-syntactic flectivity and analyticity of the Estonian language as compared to a number of other languages in figures and diagrams. Tommola himself admits that his results are most preliminary, the criteria used inadequate in several respects etc. However, Tommola's results do indicate something. To begin with, therefore, I think it necessary to briefly introduce them.

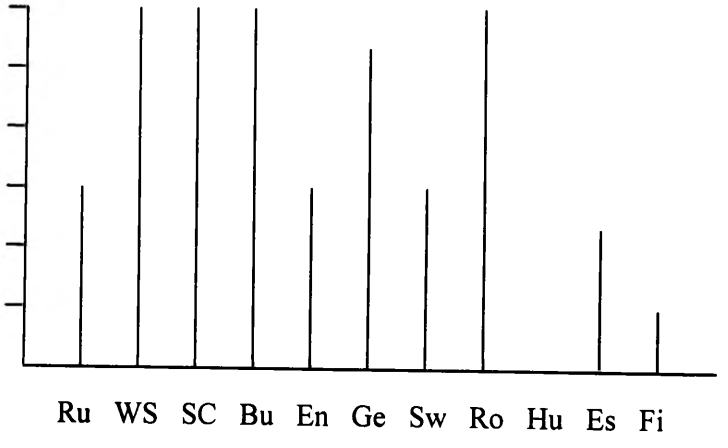
Tommola (Tommola 1998) compares the morphosyntax of a number of Slavic languages (first of all, Russian), Germanic (English, German, Swedish) and Romance languages (first of all, French) and, on the other hand, Finno-Ugric languages (Hungarian, Estonian, Finnish) among themselves. By the way, Tommola recognizes the traditional genealogical affinity of languages based upon a respective proto-language (see p. 2). This paper makes it possible, with regard to other languages compared, to bring forth major peculiarities of Estonian below. In presenting his data I am going to use the following abbrevations: Bu – Bulgarian, En – English, Es – Estonian, Fi – Finnish, Ge – German, Hu – Hungarian, Ro – Romance, Ru – Russian, SC – Serbo-Croatian (i.e. Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian = Slovenian), SS – South Slavic, Sw – Swedish, WS – West Slavic. The brackets in the tables indicate, first of all, sporadic evidence.

Consequently, Tommola's data are quite eloquent as to the typological position of the Estonian language as compared to a number of other languages. Regrettably, I have no such research results for presenting respective figures or diagrams. What I could say about the Estonian typology and its origin is only **something very general.**

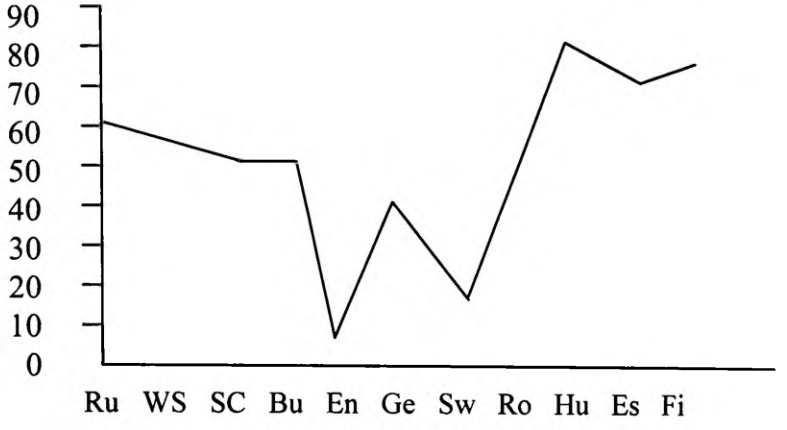
Verb derivation



Characteristics of (indirect) diateses
(reflexive pronoun as a clitic particle)



The stage of summary syntheticity



The correlation of features among the languages compared

	WS	SC	Bu	En	Ge	Sw	Ru	Hu	Es	Fi
Ru	0,693	0,575	0,102	-0,037	0,209	0,082	-0,054	0,114	0,193	0,14
WS		0,948	0,445	-0,058	0,329	-0,087	0,144	0,077	0,134	0,07
SC			0,549	0,012	0,437	-0,075	0,281	0,037	0,109	0,03
Bu				0,340	0,499	0,139	0,561	-0,008	-0,023	-0,12
En					0,527	0,701	0,347	-0,170	0,010	-0,11
Ge						0,427	0,700	0,021	0,136	0,03
Sw							0,275	-0,172	0,068	-0,18
Ro							-0,145	-0,038	-0,17	
Hu								0,575	0,74	
Es									0,75	

The summary table of characteristics

1. Synthetic evidential

Ru	WS	SC	Bu	En	Ge	Sw	Ro	Hu	Es	Fi
-	-	-	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ru	WS	SS	En	Ge	Sw	Ro	Hu	Es	Fi

2. Reflexive in verb derivation

(+)	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	-	+

3. The passive without subject

+	(-)?	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	(-)	(+)

4. Synthetic reflexive

(-)	(-)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

The typological exceptionality of Estonian as an essentially inflected and analytical language in the principally agglutinative and synthetic Uralic language family is a well-known phenomenon. A practically absolute explanation of the exceptionality has been the recession of the original Estonian agglutination and syntheticity under the influence of Indo-European languages. I dare to seriously doubt the sole truthfulness of the explanation. At least in the sense that there is no sufficient evidence to prove the assumed plain agglutinativity or syntheticity in Estonian. The outdated Estonian written records from almost half a thousand years before do not differ in any degree from the modern Estonian language. The period before the written records is dominated by the fantasy through which appear the ideas of the proto-languages and the language trees.

If we give up these outdated fixed ideas about proto-languages and language trees and proceed only from the **evidence** of the modern Uralic languages, the whole picture of their historical background will change. There is no more need, at any cost, to explain the similarities and differences starting from an original primary source but the whole notorious historical and modern factology can be taken into consideration without attempting to modify it towards traditional patterns (see e.g. Künnap 1998a: 3–4, 8–10, 27–37. 111–114).

If the formation process of Uralic languages really proceeded more or less by means of the assimilation of different languages, one of the assimilators could have been a definite *lingua franca*, a necessary subsidiary language in use. In this case it is only thinkable that the researchers of the history of Uralic languages attempt to reconstruct the said *lingua franca* in all its deficiency and scantiness as the Proto-Uralic language. The "proto-language", reconstructed like that, would not allow to draw any conclusions about onetime real languages under consideration although often it is the case, i.e. a completely pseudo-scientific "back-reconstruction" is indulged in – the further construction which proceeds from the reconstruction.

Continuing such a train of thought, there is no reason to speak about Proto-Finnic with everything resulting from it. Thus both the similarity and difference of Finnic languages stand out in a completely new light. Concretely, in the case of **northern and southern dialects of Estonian** we can only refer to two languages which are similar in one respect and different in another. It makes no sense attempting to derive one from the other, to view southern Estonian dialects as a language form which had branched off from northern Estonian dialects, something like a "prodigal son", gone astray, or something like that.

The northern and southern Estonian dialects are essentially different from each other. Part of these differences, at least, can be explained by temporally very far and varied linguistic sources of departure, possibly even by those various languages which, by way of assimilation, eventually gave rise to the modern Uralic languages.

Kalevi Wiik has drawn together seven basic theories of birth about the southern Estonian group of dialects (Wiik 1998). Those were the versions by Lauri Kettunen, Paul Ariste, Paul Alvre, Arvo Laanest, Terho Itkonen, Pekka Sammallahti, and Tiit-Rein Viitso. He himself has created the eighth and the most acceptable version which, concisely put, consists in the following: the pattern of summary/development of the Võru/southern Estonian language is as follows: northern Estonian + the Chude (in the years +50 – +1050). Since the northern Estonian pattern is the early Proto-Finnic + the influences of the Baltic + Germanic + Scandinavian languages and the Chude pattern is Proto-Finnic + the influences of the Baltic + Volga + "Dniepr" languages, the summary pattern of the Võru/southern Estonian is the early Proto-Finnic + the influences of the Baltic + Germanic + Scandinavian + Volga + "Dniepr" languages (Wiik 1996: 587–588). In a manuscript study Wiik observes the formation history of the Võru language in somewhat greater detail. He considers the Chude component in the Võru language stronger than that of northern Estonian. The northern Estonian and Võru language continued mixing on the present area of the Mulgi and Tartu dialects whereby the Võru component is prevailing. Thus the Mulgi-Tartu dialectal area was formed. In the present-day north-eastern Latvia the Võru language got mixed up with Chude, the last trace of which, escaping from Latvianization, was the Kraasna linguistic enclave. The Chudes, eventually, passed entirely over to the Russian language. The Russian influence spread also on the Võru language area. I would add that it is most obvious in the Setu dialect usage. I would also show that by Wiik the Chude population was the Proto-Finnic south-eastern group living to east from the River Velikaya (cf. also the Russian name "Chudskoye ozero" for Peipus Lake). Today Mari and Mordvin are known as Volgaic languages. Wiik's term "Dniepr languages" concerns the onetime Finno-Ugric languages/dialects, Slavonized by now, on the banks of the River Dniepr.

Thus the southern Estonian dialectal group as such does not appear a "perversive" or "archaic" dialectal variety of northern Estonian, however, just on the contrary, it is the Chude or the

south-eastern Finnic language which was in contact with the south-western Finnic or the northern Estonian language.

Hereby I would like to observe more closely a few possible ancient morphosyntactical peculiar feature. The Estonian ***a*-plural** has been regarded as a variety of the *i*-plural. Concerning the age of the *a*-plural obviously not only such single derivations as *püksatu* 'without pants', *tükati* 'partially', S *pani käed rista* 'folded his arms' have a say in this matter but also the rare cases we find in dialectal forms V *hargahutma* 'to substantiate', L, V *jutak(as)* 'talkative', R *kahjama* 'to regret', S, L, K *kahjatsema* id, T *kivastik* 'stony place', K *kondakas* 'bony', T *kõivane* 'from birch', V *kõivastik* 'birchwood', T, V *patane* 'sinful', Leivu *pataline* id, *patatama* 'to hear the confession', V *poisa* 'chap', V *põllatõ* 'field', L *püstanaed* 'picket fence', L, K *püstand*(-) id, S *püstasilmi* 'wide-eyed', R, S, L *rista-rästa* 'crisscross', K *tikal* 'stick', L, K *tükaline* 'spotted', S, L, K *tüka-tomba* 'in pieces', I *untama* 'to willow', S, K, V *varjatus* 'eclipse', V *võrgalene* 'fishing with nets' (see Pall 1982–1989).

Hardly can all these instances be explained as proceeding from the *a*-plural, as, for example, "juttudekas", "kividestik", "kontidekas", "kõivudestik" etc. Neither can the sound analogy in the plural *pat(t)a*(-) → *patune* > *patane* 'sinful' be regarded reliable. It is rather an ancient peculiarity of Estonian, occurring in such obvious *a*-plural forms as well as in the derivations of the type *patane* whatever the origin.

Once observing **the plural**, I would like to touch upon another peculiarity of Estonian. The whole declension paradigm of the nouns in the plural – except the partitive – is formed by means of the **t*-marker. This formation, however, is not characteristic of southern Estonian dialects which have **i* in the oblique cases. On the other hand, Livonian has a few oblique cases with the **t*-marker. I would not perceive that the pronouncing the Estonian **t*-paradigm under consideration as a very new phenomenon. Selkup is well known to have, without exception, the noun plural case paradigm with the **t*-marker. I also stand up for **Paul Alvre**'s supposition about a considerable age of the Finnic plural types *kala-δe̯-n* and *kalo-i-δe̯n* whereas instead of the Selkup plural genitive **t*-marker northern Samoyed

languages use the double marker **i* + **t* in the plural genitive. I have regarded all this as a result of the onetime Finnic–Samoyed contacts (see Künnap 1998a: 90–94).

The Estonian **terminative** is supposed not to have a direct case equivalent in cognate languages. It is only in Estonian that we can find it in the case form *-ni*. The terminative case ending *-ni* is derived from a former **-nnik* ending. I will remind again that the **-ntV(ŋ)* is a generally used suffix of the lative (*where to?*-case) of the absolute declension of nouns in Samoyed languages. Observing the development *nt* > *nn* > *n*, known in both Finnic and Samoyed languages, the cases under consideration may again indicate the phenomenon of contact between these languages. Therefore the Estonian terminative, too, could be ancient as a case.

In his article on the history of the Finnic simple preterite (Viitso 1998) **Tiit-Rein Viitso** concludes that part of the northern Estonian **sibilant preterite markers** and all Livonian sibilant preterite markers originate from an earlier **ś*-preterite marker (p. 435). He is of the opinion that the widespread idea that in Finnic there is no or has never been any **ś* preterite marker should be considered erroneous; he also questions the truth of my explanation to the effect that the **ś*-suffix of the negation verb could be generalized into other persons and numbers of various languages from the 3pSg (in Künnap 1993: 209).

Viitso asks where the **ś*-preterite marker **has disappeared** from the other Finnic dialects. He assumes that the marker has withdrawn due to the **i* having become more generalized. Yet he goes on saying that it is ever so possible that the onetime **ś*-preterite forms continue their occurrence in the forms of the conditional mood of these languages or dialects. In other words, the marker **-isi-* goes back to a still earlier preterite marker **-ś-*. In Livonian the marker of the conditional mood is *-ks(-)* and in Estonian *-ks(i-)*, possibly compound suffixes, the second component *s* may also originate from the preterite marker **-ś-*, which could have been linked with the marker **-k(-)*, an obscured present or a present participle marker. Viitso shows that there are such languages even in Europe [in fact Viitso obviously means

Indo-European languages – A. K.] in which conditionality can be expressed by preterite forms (Viitso 1998: 435.)

One of the more vigorous arguments about the occurrence of the **ś*-preterite in the western Finno-Ugric negative auxiliary throughout its conjugation paradigm is the **Mordvin evidence**, observed also by Viitso (p. 429–430). But Viitso ignores **József Szinnyei**'s indication that in the Erza-Mordvin dialect the negative auxiliary is conjugated similarly to main verbs, i.e. the **ś*-marker occurs only in 3p, so, for instance, in 1pSg *eji-ń*: 2pSg *eji-t'*: 3pSg *eź* (Szinnyei 1910: 143).

Further, I find the wide-spread approach, according to which the Estonian negative particles *eb* ~ *ep*, *ei* and *es* ~ *is* are observed only as **the forms of 3pSg** of the onetime conjugation paradigm of the negative auxiliary, extremely questionable (see also Künnap 1993: 206–207). We should not forget that the negative particle *ei*, first of all, is widely spread in Finnic as a general negative particle which need not necessarily precede the main verb. I have drawn attention to the fact already in my graduation thesis in manuscript in 1965: in these Finnic languages in which we find *ei*, the *ei* may occur in such languages which have no conjugation of the negative auxiliary. A definite person of a tense form, as *ei* is considered to be, could not have spread that way. That way *ei* could have spread only as an infinite verb form which it, in all probability, was.

My idea is this: the particle *ei* has not necessarily originally been analysed as a present form or *es* ~ *is* as a preterite form. If we observe the oldest Estonian texts we will get very interesting results. **Georg Müller** uses the negative particle, assumingly in the preterite, in the texts of his sermons 1600–1606 often the way that the preterite is expressed by the main verb, e.g. *is piddi* 'he was not to', *is woynuth* 'he could not (with the past participle)' The same can be found as used by **Heinrich Göseken** 1660, e.g. *is ollin* 'I was not' The undeterminedness of the tense category seems to be typical of the *eb* ~ *ep*, regarded as a present form, e.g. Müller *eb ... olli* 'he was ... not' As is known, the *ei* has been considered an *i*-preterite rudiment of a onetime negative auxiliary. (Ikola 1958: 22.)

One of **the most vigorous arguments** for the occurrence of the **ś* preterite marker in the Estonian negative auxiliary is the fact that in southern Estonia *es* is a generally accepted as a preterite negative particle although the preterite with the markers *-(i)s(i-)* has not been or is characteristic of southern Estonian main verbs. Supposing that there has never been any preterite marker **ś* in the particle *es*, the whole picture changes. The only question that remains is where the sibilant component of the negative particle *es* ~ *is* originates from. Several explanations can be offered. If we keep in mind that the departure form for the Estonian (Finnic) negative particle *ei* could have been both **e-jä* and **e-pi* (> in rapid speech **e-βi* > *ei*), something of the kind could also be supposed in case of the negative particle *es* ~ *is*. In southern Estonia the ending *-s* of the present 3pSg is as good, e.g. in the Võru dialect *kulõss* 'he is listening', *eläss* 'he is living' (examples by Viitso 1998: 431).

On my part, I would associate the compound suffixes in Finnic **-isi-*, Livonian-Estonian *-ks(i-)*, Estonian *-kse* and Lapp **-kć-*, listed by Viitso, with **the deverbal nominal material** of departure rather than with paradigmatically widespread or otherwise explicit tense markers. I am still of the opinion that both the preterite marker **ś* and the present marker **k* are a clear evidence only in the easternmost Uralic, first of all, in Ob-Ugric and Samoyed languages with the associations leading still further east – to Siberian non-Uralic languages.

In sum, I fail to see any **clear evidence** in Estonian about the negation being ever formed by means of a full conjugation paradigm of a negative auxiliary and about the procedure of formation having later been reduced. The formation of the Estonian negation is and was typologically something quite different than, for instance, in the modern Finnish, e.g. *en ole* 'I am not', *et ole* 'you are not', *ei ole* 'he/she/it is not' The exceptional usages of the Kodavere subdialect of Estonian in the preterite *esin ole* 'I am not': *esid ole* 'you are not': *es ole* 'he/she/it is not' are both considered by Szinnyei (Szinnyei 1910: 144) of recent origin, by way of analogy with the Estonian

secondary *s*-preterite, e.g. *lugesin* 'I read': *lugesid* 'you read'· *luges* 'he/she read' (← *magasin* 'I slept' < **makatin*).

Finally, I would emphasise again that the peculiarity of the Estonian typology in comparison with other Uralic languages – a high degree of inflection and analyticity – could be **age-old primary features** wherever they originate from. Whether and to what extent it is so or not, requires further profound and open-minded research.

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EESTI KEELE TÜPOLOOGILISEST ALGUPÄRAST

Ago Künnap

Minu teada pole keegi peale **Hannu Tommola** üritanud eesti keele morfosüntaktilist flektiivsust ja analüütilisust võrrelda hulga teiste keeltega jooniste ja diagrammide kujul. Seepärast pean ma vajalikuks tema (esialgseid küll) tulemusi lühidalt tutvustada.

Oma artiklis võrdleb Tommola (1998) slaavi, germaani ja romaani keeli mõnede soome-ugri keeltega morfosüntaksi aspektist. Artikkel võimaldab eesti keele nelja olulise iseärasuse esiletoomist. Tommola andmed osutavad eesti keele asendile mitmete teiste keelte suhtes.

Eesti keele tüpoloogiline erandlikkus tugevasti flektiivse ja analüütilise keelena põhiliselt aglutinatiivses ja sünteetilises uurali keeleperes on üldtuntud seik. Praktiliselt ainus seletus nimetatud erandlikkuse päritolu kohta on seni olnud eesti keele algupärase aglutinatiivsuse ja sünteetilisuse taandumine indoeuroopa keelte mõjul. Kahtlen tõsiselt sellise seletuse ainuõigsuses. Poole tuhande aasta tagused eesti keele vanimad kirjapanekud ei erine oluliselt tänapäeva keelest. Sellest ajapiirist tagapool domineerib fantaasia mänguväli oma algkeele- ja keelepuuideedega.

Kui me loobume viimastest ja lähtume ainuüksi tänapäeva uurali keelte **evidentsist**, kogu pilt nende keelte ajaloolisest taustast muutub. Sellisest lähtekohast kaotab mõtte ka läänemeresoome algkeele postuleerimine. **Põhja- ja lõunaeesti** murded on milleski sarnased ja milleski erinevad. Pole mõtet üritada tuletada ühte murderühma teisest. Rühmade erinevused võivad tagasi minna nende erinevate keelteni, millest kõnealused murderühmad põlvnevad.

Kalevi Wiik (1998) on koondanud ühte seitse teooriat lõunaeesti murderühma päritolu kohta. Ise on ta lisanud kaheksanda teooria, mille kohaselt see murderühm põlvneb iseseisvast tšuudi keelest (Wiik 1996).

Järgnevalt vaatlen mõnesid eesti keele võimalikke ürgseid erijooni. Ma ei saa nõustuda seletusega, et eesti ***a*-pluural** on kõigest *i*-pluurali variant. Selleks ei anna eesti keele ja eriti tema murrete ainestik alust, nii et tegemist võib olla ürgse joonega.

Ka ***t*-pluurali** kasutamine eesti obliikvakäänetes ning tema sufiksi kombineerumine *i*-pluurali sufiksiga ei tarvitse olla nii uus nähtus, nagu sageli arvatakse, sest mõlemad jooned on tuttavad ka samojeedi keeltele

ning võivad kuuluda läänemeresoome–samojeedi kunagiste kontaktnähtuste hulka (vt Künnap 1998a: 90–94).

Viimaseid võib esindada ka eesti terminatiivi *-ni*, vrd. samojeedi latiivi (datiivi) **-ntV(ŋ)*.

Edasi ei näe ma eesti keeles (ega ka teistes läänemeresoome keeltes) oletatava alguurali **ś*-preteeriti jälgi, mida **Tiit-Rein Viitso** (1998) arvab nägevat. Vanimad eesti keele tekstid osutavad, et pigem on *ei*, *ep* ja *es~is* temporaalselt diferentseerimata eituspartiklid. Sealhulgas siis ka **ś*-preteeriti jäljeks peetav *es~is*.

Lõpuks arvan ma, et eesti keele tugev flektiivsus ja analüütilisus võivad olla selle keele ürgseteks algseteks joonteks, kust nad ka ei pärineks. Asja lõplik selgitamine jääb eelarvamustevaba uurimistöö edasiseks ülesandeks.

IS THE ESTONIAN AND FINNISH CONDITIONAL ACTUALLY A CONDITIONAL?[1]

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Both Estonian and Finnish feature the mood traditionally dubbed 'The Conditional Mood' Its marker in Estonian is *-ks(i)-*, and in Finnish *-isi-*; the *modes d'emploi* of the said mood overlap in the said two languages, by and large. Hence, the Conditional Mood is used to form both the predicate of the conditional sentence and its main clause (1), (2), the quoting subordinate clause (3a), (3b), (4), the proposal, order or exhortation (5a), (5b), (6a), (6b); the Conditional Mood helps make milder the utterance otherwise felt to be too rough and straightforward (7a), (7b) etc.

(1) Oleks seal küüned, roniks puu otsa.
Est. 'Had the pig claws, it would climb up the tree'
(lit. Were the pig beclawed, it would climb up the tree)
(2) Jos jos-sana ei olisi, sitten lehmätkin lentäisi.
Fin. 'Were there no if-word, even cows would fly'
(lit. If there were no if-word, then even the cows would fly)
(3a) Ema palus, et ma viiksin kirja posti.
Est. 'Mother asked me to mail the letter'
(lit. Mother requested that I should take the letter to the post office)
(3b) Äiti pyysi, että veisin kirjeen postiin. (HK)
Fin. 'Mother asked me to mail the letter'
(lit. Mother requested that I should take the letter to the post office)

[1] This work was supported by the Estonian Science Foundation, Grant No.:3858. Ants Pihlak provided additional insights into the use of moods.

(4) Sinä väität, että olisin hävytön. (HK)
Fin. 'You say that I am a disgrace'
(lit. You suggest that I should be shameless)
(5a) Läheksite ehk veel natukeseks välja mängima.
Est. 'Might you go out to play a bit longer'
(lit. Perhaps you would go for some more time out to play)
(5b) Menisitte vielä vähän ulos leikkimään. (HK)
Fin. 'Might you go out to play a bit longer'
(lit. Perhaps you would go for some more time out to play)
(6a) Kui pääseks ahju juurde!
Est. 'A spot of warming-up near the stove is what I need!'
(lit. If I could just make it to the stove!)
(6b) Jospa pääsisi uunin luo!
Fin. 'A spot of warming-up near the stove is what I need!'
(lit. If I could just make it to the stove!)
(7a) Kas professoriga võiks kokku saada?
Est. 'May I see the Professor?'
(lit. Could the Professor be met?)
(7b) Olisiko professori tavattavissa?
Fin. 'May I see the Professor?'
(lit. Might the Professor be available to be met?)

Conditional Mood is regarded to be one among the five moods in Estonian and among the four moods in Finnish. The moods of the Estonian language are Indicative, Conditional, Imperative, Quotative (a mood expressing an alleged statement or representation, or quoting someone as having done something), and Jussive (from Latin *jussus*, pp of *jubçre* 'to order' – a mood expressing indirect command, exhortation to the action, admonition, obligation like in *Lapsed olgu õhtul kodus* 'The children be at home in the evening!'; *Mingu teil kõik hästi* 'Everything be fine with you!'; *Sõber helistas ja ütles, et oodaku ma teda tänavanurgal* 'A friend of mine called me and said that I wait for him at the street corner'; *Mina istugu toas ja õppigu, kui teised väljas mängivad* 'Me to be cooped up in the house and to study, with the others having fun outside!')[2] The moods of the

[2] As a point in contrasting the languages it may be of interest to mention that the meaning of Estonian Jussive overlaps with that of two types of

Finnish language are Indicative, Conditional, Imperative and Potential (a mood expressing something existing in possibility, capable of being made real; something that can develop or become actual; possible capacity or value).

From the typological viewpoint, both languages feature a mood of wide functions, expressing *irrealis* (lower certainty or weaker manipulative force – Givón 1994), which has been dubbed *Subjunctive* (in German *Konjunktiv*). Actually regarded as the Conditional is the mood of a narrower scope, expressing something essential to the appearance or occurrence of something else, a prerequisite; something subject to, implying, or dependent on a condition; expressing, containing, or implying a supposition – i.e. a mood used in sentences like (1) and (2). Therefore dubbing of the whole area covered by Subjunctive / Conjunctive as Conditional seems the same *pars pro toto* -technique as would be the use of *Optative* (a mood, expressing wish or desire, e.g. in Greek) on the basis of the use of all clauses of desire (5) – (6). Disregarding the terminological confusion we would still rather stick to the established term *Conditional*.[3]

Besides the overlapping of functions, the Estonian and Finnish Conditional seem to reveal some minor differences. E.g. an Estonian would surely add into the Estonian translation of sentence (8a) a modal verb.

English Subjunctives: the Formulaic Subjunctive, consisting of the base-verb but used only in clauses in certain set expressions: *So be it then* (Est. *Saagu siis pealegi nii olema*) and the Mandative Subjunctive, consisting of the base-verb – there is lack of the regular Indicative concord between Subject and the finite verb in the 3rd Person Singular Present, and the Present and Past tenses are indistinguishable: *We demand that the individual citizen watch closely any development in this matter* (Est. *Me nõuame, et iga kodanik jälgigu võimalikke arenguid selles asjas*). (Quirk et al. 1982: 50–51)

[3] In greater detail on Subjunctive cf. e.g. Givón 1994, Palmer 1986; on Estonian and Finnish Conditional in Erelt et alia 1995: 81, 1993: 34-35, Kauppinen 1995, 1998, Peegel 1957, Lehtinen 1983, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 275–276.

(8a) Haluaisin isompana omistaa Silja Linen ja siellä olisi biljardipöytiä ... (SU)
Fin. 'I would like to own m/v Silja Line when I grow up; on the ship there would be some billiard-tables ...'
(lit. When bigger I would want to own Silja Line and there would be some billiard tables there ...)

(8b) Tahaksin suuremana olla Silja Line'i omanik ja seal võiksid olla piljardilauad.
Est. 'I would like to own m/v Silja Line when I grow up; on the ship there could be the billiard-tables ...'
(lit. When bigger I would want to be owner of Silja Line and there could/might be billiard tables there...)

Striking the eye and ear with Finns studying and knowledgeable in Estonian is the fact that although the Estonian Conditional is generally correctly used by them, there still are some cases where a Finn will tend to use the Conditional form. An Estonian however would rather opt for an Indicative form (9a), (9c) pro (9b); would use a construction with a modal verb (10a), (10c) pro (10b); or a conditional predicate with a modal verb like in (8b).

(9a) Silloin minä tiesin, että murhaaja joutuisi kiinni. (MW)
Fin. 'I became assured then that the murderer would be apprehended'
(lit. Then I knew that the murderer would get caught)

(9b) Siis ma teadsin, et mõrvar võetaks kinni.
(translation into Estonian by a Finnish undergraduate; a Conditional form used instead of Indicative) lit. 'Then I knew that the murderer should get caught'

(9c) Siis ma teadsin, et mõrvar võetakse kinni.
Est. 'I became assured then that the murderer would be apprehended'
(lit. Then I knew that the murderer would get caught *võetakse* is actually the form not of Present Conditional, but

that of Ambipersonal[4] in Present Indicative; 'would' in translation means 'Future in the Past')

(10a) "... Se voi käydä hänelle kalliiksi."
Fin. '... The cost of that may amount to a pretty penny for him/her'
(lit. This may cost to him/her dearly)
Hän ei tarkoittanut muuta kuin että kyllästyneet vuokralaiset ehkä muuttaisivat pois talosta. (MW).
Fin. 'He/she just meant that the bored tenants would perhaps move from the house'
(lit. He/she did not mean anything but that the tenants having it up to their neck might possibly move from the house)

(10b) "See võib maksta talle raha."
Est. 'This may cost him/her some money'
Ta ei tähendanud muud kui et tüdinenud üürnikud koliksid majast ära.
Est. (translation of a Finnish undergraduate)
(lit. He/she did not signify anything but that the bored tenants should move from the house)

(10c) "See võib talle kalliks maksma minna."
Est. '... The cost of that may amount to a pretty penny for him/her'
(lit. This may cost to him/her dearly)
Ta ei mõelnud sellega muud kui et tüdinud üürnikud võivad majast ära kolida.
Est. 'He/she just meant that the bored tenants might move from the house'
(lit. He/she did not mean anything more but that the bored tenants may move from the house)

What are the motives underlying those differences of use?

In the first place, one should clearly take into account the differences in those two systems of moods. Finnish lacks the indirect moods like the Estonian Quotative (quoting someone as

[4] *Ambipersonal* is a term, originally suggested by Hannu Tommola (1993) to designate the so-called "impersonal" forms in Finnish and Estonian, e.g. *Vahekäigus suitsetati* 'There was smoking in the aisle'

doing something) and the Jussive (exhortative mood). Therefore their functions can be performed by existent marked moods. In evidence here are the analogies with the long-time host languages, dominating both Estonian and Finnish. Like German, featuring different moods for expressing quotation (*Konjunktiv I,* e.g. *Peter komme*) and *irrealis* (*Konjunktiv II,* e.g. *Peter käme*), so does Estonian perform with different moods, respectively Quotative (*Peeter tulevat* 'Peter is said to come') and Conditional *(Peeter tuleks* 'Peter would come').[5] (As to the forms of the Past, in both languages composite tense forms are used.) The grammar of Swedish does not differentiate between those two functions, hence there are no separate quotative forms that originated in Finnish.

As it seems, the choice of the verb form depends primarily on the meaningful function of the mood, however the wider contextual-pragmatic circumstances have their impact, too. Often the factors of different kind operate in one and the same direction: the Conditional is used e.g. in fixed sentence types, matching its semantics (e.g. the exhortative sentence); the uncertainty, inherent to the Conditional will reduce the categorical character of order, question or statement. It is certain that here, too there are analogies with host languages, however they would merit separate treatment.

In what follows I would like to identify general and simplified logical-semantic[6] structures, contexts of use and

[5] Hence grammaticalized in Estonian and German is the category of evidentiality – cf. Metslang, Muižniece and Pajusalu, in this volume. In this connection it would be to the point to remind that H. Rätsep (1971) proposed a new category of Estonian called Manner of Communication and indicating evidentiality. In his treatment, both indirect moods Quotative and Jussive (*Tuldagu täna õhtul vara koju* lit. 'Let there be coming home early tonight'; *Täna õhtul tuldavat vara koju* lit. 'Tonight there will reportedly be coming home early') belong to the Intermediary Manner of Communication.

[6] The logic underlying the language is the so-called naïve logic, being simpler, more primitive and more generalizing than the logic having evolved into a separate science that deals with the formal principles and structure of thought and reasoning. The said conventional logic, a particular mode of reasoning viewed as valid or faulty by a given

pragmatic factors, calling for the form of the Conditional of the predicate in Estonian and Finnish. Regarding the meaning I would also aim to clarify whether and to what extent the mood functioning as the Subjunctive / Conjunctive is based on explicit or implicit inference relations. In other words, it might well be that the name *Conditional* is more rational and more justified than it might first seem; it might well be that even the non-conditional uses can be traced back to the inference relations. The analysis of the meaning will inevitably turn out subjective, stemming from the mother tongue, i.e. the Estonian language proficiency of the author.[7] As the material of survey, the subcorpora ILU[8] and HAVU[9] of SCLOMB of the University of Turku were used, plus the examples in Estonian made by the author and the examples taken from Finnish sources, with the author's translation in Estonian.

1. Background structures highlighting the Conditional

Lately, the Conditional in Finnish has been extensively studied by Anneli Kauppinen (1995, 1998). After her example we

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language, need not differentiate between the implication (if A, then B: if the pig has claws, it will climb up the tree) and the equivalence (if A, then and only then B: only then will the pig climb up the tree, if it has claws). In the first case the inference B (the pig will climb up the tree) can be valid also with A being false (the pig has no claws), in the second case B can be valid only provided A is valid (the pig will climb up the tree only if it has claws). The inferences of conventional logic are generally the relations of equivalence: with the pig lacking the claws, the effort to climb up a tree will be abortive.

[7] As said by Marshall McLuhan (who pioneered the study of impact of communication media on social systems) "Our own mother tongues are things in which we participate totally. They change our perception. So that if we spoke Chinese we would have a different sense of hearing, smell, and touch." (McLuhan 1995: 283).

[8] Novel by the Estonian author V Luik "Ajaloo ilu" (Beauty of History) and its translation into Finnish.

[9] Novel by a Finnish author V Huovinen "Havukka-ahon ajattelija" and its translation into Estonian.

differentiate between two main types of use of the Conditional, between two interpretations: the frame interpretations (*kehystulkinta*) and the intentional interpretation (*intentiotulkinta*). In the first case the Conditional is used when a situation is accommodated in a certain conditional situation frame. The frame can be formed both by an adverbial modifier of condition or a subordinate clause like (1), (2). However, it can be manifested also in some other way in the same sentence or in the surrounding context. The intentional interpretation embraces the desire, exhortation, intention, quoted order etc., like in (3a), (3b), (5a), (5b), (6a), (6b). Besides, there are cases, e.g. (4), (8) – (10), where the Finnish language forms the Predicate in the Conditional, unlike the Estonian language. The linguistic flair of Estonian would rather exclude such sentences from the above interpretation.

1.1. Frame interpretation

A→B

One of the major contexts of use of the Conditional both in Finnish and Estonian is the *irrealis* 'if' – then' -relation: if A happened, B would happen. The unreal world is opposed to the reality: actually A does not take place, and neither does B, consequently. Schematically the whole structure could be designated as follows:

A → B
(¬A_r

→ ¬B_r)

In both languages, the situations of the unreal world A and B are formed by the Conditional, the real situations A_r and B_r by the Indicative. The sentences in Conditional express the idea that something is subject to, implying, or dependent on a condition; they express, contain, or imply a supposition.

(11)	⌉A_r	Ei minulla ole ennen ollutkaan selvää käsitystä ontosta pystyhongasta. Fin. 'As it is, I never imagined what a hollow standing pine would look like' (lit. I did not ever use to have a clear understanding of a hollow standing pine)	Mul pole enne olnudki selget pilti jalalseisvast männikuivakast.
	A	Jos olisin arvannut, Fin. 'If I had had any idea'	Kui oleksin teadnud,
	B	niin olisin aikoja käynyt. HAVU 882–883 'I would long ago visited it' (lit. If I had imagined it I would long ago have gone there and returned – 'käydä' implying a bidirectional activity: there and back)	oleksin ammugi ära käinud

Based on the same underlying structure are, besides the sentence with the conditional clause (1), (2), (11) also such adversative co-ordinative sentences (expressing contrast, opposition, or adverse circumstances – cf. the adversative conjunction 'but') like Est. *Ma oleksin laevast maha jäänud. aga sain õnneks takso* 'I would have missed the ferry had I not managed to catch a taxi' (lit. I would have missed the ferry, however I was lucky to catch a taxi), or *Ma sain õnneks takso, muidu oleksin laevast maha jäänud* 'Luckily I managed to catch a taxi, or I would have missed the ferry' – (12), (13), (14).

(12)	B	Konsta olisi jakanut tietoa enemmänkin, Fin. 'Konsta would have provided some more information'	Konsta oleks jaganud rohkemgi teateid,
	⌉A_r	mutta maisterit menivät sisälle. 'however the Masters entered' HAVU 3600. (lit. Konsta would have delivered even more information, however the Masters went into the house'	kuid magistrid läksid sisse.

The whole background structure can be represented in broad outlines as follows:

A	Had the Masters not entered (= had they remained outside),
→B	Konsta would have provided them more information.
⌉A_r	The Masters entered,
→ ⌉B_r	so Konsta could not give them more information.

Putting the clauses in the sequence, opposite to that in sentence (12) provides sentences like (13), (14).

(13)	A_r	Magistrid läksid sisse,
	B	muidu oleks Konsta jaganud rohkemgi teateid
	⌉	Est. 'The Masters entered, or else Konsta would have provided them with some more information'

(14)

Ta on tõepoolest nagu kuu pealt kukkunud, muidu teaks ta juba, et kompoti vastu võitleb kõige tulisemalt see, kellele kompott kõige rohkem maitseb. Est. 'He looks like fallen from the clouds, otherwise he would be aware that the one who is the most vehement to attack the stewed fruit does like the stewed fruit' ILU 1190 (lit. He really is like fallen from the clouds, or else he would surely know that the stewed fruit is antagonised most vehemently by the one who is likes the stewed fruit the most')	Hän on todellakin kuin kuusta pudonnut, muuten hän jo tietäisi että tulisimmin hilloketta vastaan taistelee se jolle hilloke parhaimmin maistuu.

Underlying the frame interpretation is also the use of the Conditional in the subordinate clause of comparison (15). Here, however, the relation of inference A → B is a loose (non-strict) implication rather than a true equivalence; B can also occur

without A. Approached from the A point of view, the matter could also be regarded under the modal logical angle: it is possible that 'if A, (then) B'. The possibility is indicated in the scheme by the operator *poss*.[10] As it is, in actual fact B_r occurs, as if caused by A_r. Nonetheless, there is no overt assertion in the sentence of the occurrence of A_r.

poss (A → B)
B_r

(A_r?)

(15)		Ta ootab, et isa juba ära läheks,	Hän odottaa isän jo lähtevän,
	B_r	isa aga ei lähe ega lähe,	mutta isä ei vain lähde,
	A	nagu ootaks ta kedagi, kes peab iga minut tulema. ILU 1082 Est. 'He/she is waiting for Father to leave, the latter, however, is biding his time, as if he were expecting someone to come any moment now' (lit. He/she waits that Father should go, at long last, Father however never goes, as if he were expecting someone, who must come any minute)	ihan kuin odottaisi jotakuta jonka pitäisi saapua minä hetkenä tahansa.

In the background there is roughly the following structure:

A Were Father expecting someone,
B he would not leave.

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[10] The opposite thereof, the absolute necessity is designated by the operator *nec*. In case of absence of the operator *poss* the default operator is *nec*.

B_r Father does not leave.
(A_r?) (It is not known whether Father is expecting someone.)

There are various comparison-containing situations A in that type of sentence, both those feasible in reality, e.g. with Father expecting someone (15), and those clearly imaginative, e.g. a pack of elephants having a rumpus in the residential house apartment (16) or with all worries of the world foisted upon one old man's shoulders (17):

(16) Ülemisest korterist kostis valju müdinat, nagu oleks seal elevandikari trampinud.
Est. 'There was loud trampling heard from the upper storey flat, as if a pack of elephants were stampeding'
(lit. From the upper apartment load trampling was heard, as if a pack of elephants were stamping there)

(17) Hänen kasvonsa olivat alakuloiset, ikään kuin kaikki maailman murheet olisivat ukon harteilla. HAVU 3372.
Fin. 'His face looked forlorn, as if all the sorrows of the world had been descended on the old man's shoulders'
(lit. His face was sorrowful, as if all worries of the world were on the old man's shoulders)

Tema nägu oli nukker, ust nagu oleksid kogu maailma mured vanamehe õlgadel.

1.2. Intentional interpretation

A(→B)

The sentences of type A are used to form an intention, a contemplation to undertake something, a desire etc., whereby a positive outcome B is hoped to be negotiated. B is, for the most part, an implicit, non-verbalised expected and desired outcome in general, i.e. the desire that everything should be in good order and well.

1.2.1. Desirability

The background structure is simply

A(→B)

Component A expresses an unreal situation, which is not in conformity with the existent reality, a situation imaginary or desirable. Both languages resort to this technique to express desire, recommendation, contemplation, suggestion, proposal, as well as the exhortation – urging earnestly by advice, warning, etc. to do what is proper or required, intermediating someone other's suggestion.

In the latter case the Estonian language might use both the Conditional Mood (20), (23) and the Jussive (21), (25). B is a desired outcome in general, which has gone unverbalised (not formulated in words).

(18) A Oleks homme ilus ilm!
Est. 'Pray there be beautiful weather tomorrow!'
(lit. Should tomorrow there be a beautiful weather!)
(→B)

(19) Saadaks sel aastal jõulukaardid varakult ära!
Est. 'Why don't we mail the Christmas cards in good time this year!'
(lit. What if we mailed the Christmas cards early on this year!)

(20) Tülikale poisile öeldi, et ta läheks teise kooli.
Est. 'The troublesome boy was advised to go to another school'
(lit. The troublesome boy was said that he should go to another school)

(21) Tülikale poisile öeldi, et ta mingu teise kooli.
Est. 'The troublesome boy was advised to go to another school'

(lit. The troublesome boy was said that he would better go to another school)

(22)	Kun olisi nyt turpea pullo viinaa ... HAVU 1563 Fin. 'The only thing we need now is a solid bottle of vodka' (lit. Were there a mighty bottle of vodka available now)	Kui siin nüüd oleks turd pudel viina ...
(23)	Ojasto toivoi, Fin. 'Ojasto suggested' että olisi ammuttava tasapuolisesti naaraita ja koiraita. HAVU 1743 'that female animals and male animals be shot in equal proportions' (lit. Ojasto wished that one should shoot in equal proportions female animals and male animals)	Ojasto soovis, et emaseid ja isaseid tuleks lasta võrdselt.
(24)	Vielä pitäisi talosta ostaa pari leipää. HAVU 2116 Fin. 'Besides, some bread should be bought at the farmstead' (lit. In addition, one should buy at the farmstead a couple of loafs of bread)	Veel peaks talust paar leiba ostma.
(25)	Söisi heiniä suosta, eikä toisen paitoja. HAVU 346 Fin. 'He/she'd better eat grass in the moor than his/her fellow's shirts' (lit. Let him/her eat grass in the moor, not the other man's shirts)	Söögu soost rohtu, mitte aga teise inimese särke.

1.2.2. Purpose

In this case one imagines a possibility that the event A will yield, as a result, the event B. For actual triggering of the event B the real, actual situation A_r is to be effected. It is not revealed in the sentence whether the actual B_r will also take effect. Hence, the background structure is as follows:

poss (A → B)

A_r

(→ B_r ?)

The purpose B is formed in Estonian by the subordinate clause with the predicate in the Conditional Mood (26) or the contracted clause with the verb in *da*-Infinitive (28), (27); in Finnish – the subordinate clause with the predicate in the Conditional Mood (28) or the *finalis* (relating to the ultimate purpose or result of a process) (27) with the main word in the form of an Infinitive.

(26) Peitsin suu käega, et teised mu muiet ei märkaks.
Est. 'I shielded my mouth with my hand so that the others should not notice my smile'
(lit. I hid my mouth with my hand that the others would not notice my smile)

(27) Et seda vaikust lõhkuda, prantsatab ta kõhuli sohvale ... ILU 1548
Est. 'To break that silence, he falls with a bang on his belly on the settee'

Murtaakseen tuon hiljaisuuden hän rojahtaa vatsalleen sohvalle ...

(28)	A_r	Pylkkänen peitti suunsa kädellään, 'Pylkkänen shielded his mouth with his hand'	Pylkkänen peitis suu käega,
	B	ettei hymyilisi. HAVU 1888 'for not to smile' (lit. Pylkkänen hid his mouth with his hand so that he should not smile)	et mitte muiata.
		(B_r?)	

The background structure of sentence (26) would be something like:

poss	It is possible
A	That if Pylkkänen shielded his mouth with his hand
B	He would not smile.
A_r	Pylkkänen shielded his mouth with his hand.
B_r?	(It is unknown whether he did smile or not.)

1.2.3. Contemplation (an act of considering with attention), suggestion of the option

Unlike the background structure of the previous type, B is not a clearly worded (verbalised) desirable development, resulting from the imaginary situation A (as in the case of desirability, cf. 1.2.1). The situation A is presented as the possible initiator of B. Both are unreal, hence the form of the predicate is the Conditional Mood. In Estonian, the contemplation (intent, consideration) is formed, besides the Conditional Mood (29), (31) also by the verb in the form of the *da*-Infinitive (32), the Conditional Mood of the option (30), (33), (34) alternating with the Infinitive.

poss (A → B)

A

(→B?)

(29) A Kui läheks kinno?
Est. 'Why don't we go to the movies?'
(lit. What if we went go to the movies?)
(→ B?)

(30) A Minu juures oleks üks vaba tuba.
Est. 'In my place would be one free room'
(lit. With me there would be one free room)
(situation: the opposite party of the conversation is seeking accommodation)

(31)	?(B)	Mitähän Fin. 'Why don't'	Mis oleks,
	A	– jos kerran yrittäisi sitä mitä monesti on mieli tehnyt ... HAVU 837 'we undertake what has time and again been on our mind' (lit. What if we undertook that what we have many times wanted to do)	kui võtaks kord ette, mida süda mitmel korral on himustanud ...
(32)	?(A)	Mutta mihin sen Mooseksen panisim ... HAVU 1110 Fin. 'Where should we put that Moses?' (lit. However, where should we put that Moses?)	Aga kuhu see Mooses panna?
(33)		Hänen etusormensa pyyhkäisee hajamielisenä pitkin Tyyntä Valtamerta; Australia – Jaava – Borneo, noin vain aivan ylimalkainen sormensivallus maapallon suurimman meren yli.	Tema nimetissõrm libiseb hajameelselt mööda Vaikset ookeani: Austraalia – Jaava – Borneo, nii et ainult ühe päris umbkaudse

		Fin. 'His forefinger is gliding distractedly along the Pacific Ocean; Australia – Java – Borneo, just a passing sweep by the finger over the largest sea of the globe' (lit. His forefinger glides distractedly along the Pacific Ocean; Australia – Java – Borneo, just a passing sweep by the finger over the largest sea of the globe)	sõrmetõmbega üle maakera suurima ookeani.
	A	Siellä sitä olisi suolavettä ... HAVU 658–659 'Oh boy, there would be lots of brine there... (lit. There should be lots of brine there)	Seal oleks alles seda soolvett ...
(34)	A	Tuossa olisi pankki. (AK) Fin. 'There you would find a bank' (lit. Yonder should be the bank) (situation: a party to the conversation needs to go to the bank)	Seal on / oleks üks pank

1.3. Other meanings

Inherent to different structures has been the inference of explicit – implicit relation of presupposition, both languages resorting to the Conditional Mood to express the above meaning. In the following, I will add thereto the third group where the Finnish language uses the Conditional, unlike the Estonian language. The speaker of Estonian fails to perceive here any background interpretation 'if – (then)' Hence we will identify the structure with a single symbol:

A

Belonging here are the cases when Finnish features the Conditional, Estonian, however, the Indicative (35), (37), (9) or Quotative (36): reference to the future time (35), referring to a statement (assertion) or information (36), (37), (9). Hence

the Finnish Conditional fulfils here the tasks that could well belong to the competence of the Future or Quotative.

On the other hand, this difference in use could be also interpreted so that Finnish perceives the frame triggering the Conditional much wider than Estonian; posing as the frame (A) can also be the Future, conformity to validity of the quotation, etc. In that case, for Finnish the structure could be rather

(A→) B

(35)	Ruoka oli ollut hyvää ja tulisi ilmeisesti sitä olemaankin. HAVU 2383 Fin. 'Food has heretofore been good and so would it be henceforward, too' (lit. Food has been good and would evidently be like that)	Toit oli olnud hea ja on seda ilmselt edaspidigi.
(36)	Kääpäahon isänta oli kuitenkin luvannut, että naapuripitäjästä tulisi pian mies, joka kuulemma olisi erittäin sovelias ja innostunut tällaisiin tehtäviin. HAVU 1023 Fin. 'Owner of Kääpäaho, however had reassured us that soon someone would come from the neighbouring parish, particularly suitable and keen to handle such tasks, as the rumours go' (lit. Owner of Kääpäaho, however had promised that soon a man would come from the neighbouring parish, allegedly particularly suitable and keen to handle such tasks'	Kääpäaho peremees oli siiski lubanud, et naaberkihelkonnast tulevat varsti mees, kes kuulu järgi oleks eriti sobiv ja niisuguste ülesannete puhul hakkamas.
(37)	Aikoinaan uskottiin, että biologisten rytmien aiheuttaja olisi rytminen muutos ympäristötekijöissä, erityisesti valon ja pimeän vaihtelu. (MM) Fin. 'People used to think that triggering the biological rhythms was the change in environmental factors, particularly so the alternation of light and darkness'	Omal ajal usuti, et bioloogiliste rütmide põhjustajaks on rütmilised muutused keskkonnas, eriti valguse ja pimeduse vaheldumine

(lit. One used to think that triggering the biological rhythms should be the change in environmental factors, particularly the alternation of light and darkness)

(9) Silloin minä tiesin, että murhaaja ioutuisi kiinni. (MW)
Fin. 'Then I knew that the murderer would be apprehended'
(lit. Then I knew that the murderer should be caught)

Siis ma teadsin, et mõrvar võetakse kinni

Hence the use of the Conditional has three naïve-logical background structures (that need not, however, be clearly differentiated in case of every concrete sentence):

1) A → B (frame interpretation) – calls for the Conditional Mood both in Estonian and Finnish;

2) A (→ B) (intentional interpretation) – this, too calls for the Conditional Mood in both Estonian and Finnish;

3) A – one-part structure, though involving in certain cases the use of the Conditional Mood in Finnish, however not in Estonian. It is possible that Finnish does perceive here some frame, the cases of Group 3 having for Finnish the two-part structure (A →) B.

Hence in both languages the background of use of the Conditional Mood is the relation of inference, justifying the use of the term *Conditional*. However, this surmise can be refuted, among the above structures, by the third one, as regards Finnish – the Finnish Conditional Mood might be more of the nature of Subjunctive than the Estonian Conditional Mood.

2. Typical contexts of use

In both languages the Conditional is typically used in the **sentences of the following type**:

- exhortative sentence (6a), (6b), (22)
- sentence of suggestion (31)

- the sentence with adverb of condition and the conditional subordinate clause (1), (2), (11)
- final sentence (in Estonian also *et* 'so that' + the *da*-Infinitive) (28)
- contemplation in the interrogative sentence (in Estonian the Conditional Mood with the modal verb or without that, however also) (29), (31), (32)
- comparative subordinate clauses (with connectives *nagu, justkui, otsekui* 'as if, as though' in Estonian, *aivan kuin, ikään kuin* 'as if, as though' in Finnish) (15), (16), (17)
- clauses complementing the Estonian verbs *näima* 'to seem', *paistma* 'to look like', *tunduma* 'to feel like' and the respective Finnish verbs (38)

(38) Hän oli kutakuinkin tyytyväinen mietintöönsä, vaikka hänestä tuntui, että siitä olisi voinut saada enemmänkin irti ... HAVU 770
Fin. 'He was rather pleased with his mental exercise, however it seemed to him that he might have managed to get about more...
(lit. He was generally pleased with his mental exercise, although it seemed to him that he should have managed to achieve more)

Ta oli oma mõttetööga teatava määrani rahul, kuigi talle tundus, et oleks võinud ka rohkemaga toime tulla ...

sentence of concession – cf. in English "Sneer kindly though you may, John is very popular"; "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow" (Authorized Version, Joshua 1,18) – conjunction *kuigi* 'although' in Estonian, *vaikka* 'although' in Finnish (39)

(39) Iita ei suostunut ottamaan mitään maksua yösijasta, vaikka Ojasto olisi kuinka tyrkyttänyt. HAVU 3639
Fin. 'Iita did not agree to accept any payment for the overnight accommodation, however hard Ojasto would press his point (try as Ojasto would to coax her)'
(lit. 'Iita did not agree to accept any payment for the overnight accommodation, try as Ojasto would to coax her)

Iita ei olnud nõus võtma öömaja eest midagi, hoolimata sellest, kui kangesti Ojasto talle ka peale ei käinud.

- clauses complementing the verbs, expressing volition (*käskima* 'to order' *soovima* 'to desire', *paluma* 'to ask' *nõudma* 'to request' *ette panema* 'to propose, to suggest' *soovitama* 'to recommend' *lootma* 'to hope' *ootama* 'to wait' etc. and the respective Finnish verbs) (23), (40); when quoting the admonition (order), Estonian also uses Jussive (25)

(40) Hän on aina odottanut että kerran sentään tapahtuisi jotakin, että alkaisi sota, että tulisi rajuilma ja veisi taloista katot päältä tai että edes joku kuolisi. HAVU 840
Fin. 'He has been constantly expecting something to happen, in the long last, that a war would start, a tempest would break out, tearing off the roofs of the houses, that someone would at least die'
(lit. He has been expecting that something should happen, for once, that a war should start, a tempest should break out and should tear off the roofs of the houses, that someone should die, if nothing else)

Ta on ikka oodanud, et ükskord ometi midagi juhtuks, et algaks sõda, et tuleks maru ja viiks majade katused pealt ära või et vähemalt mõni äragi sureks.

Sometimes in the form of the Conditional Mood **a modal construction** is used. Then, inherent to the sentence or the text are e.g. the following **features of the meaning** of modal character:

• desirability/non-desirability (24), (41), (42)

(41) Hän ajatteli, että toisen ihmisen terveys on asia, jolla ei saisi leikitellä. HAVU 2796
Fin. 'He was thinking that the health of another person was a matter not to be toyed with'
(lit. He thought that one's fellow's health was a thing with which one should not toy)

Ta mõtles, et teise inmese tervis on asi, millega ei tohi mängida.

(42) Varsinkaan ei pitäisi pelotella, sillä eikö ihmisen mielessä ollut muutenkin tarpeeksi asti synkkiä mietteitä. HAVU 2797
Fin. 'In particular, one should not frighten the other person, man's head already being crammed with dark thoughts, as it was'
(lit. In particular, one should not frighten one, because wasn't man's head already sufficiently crammed with dark thoughts)

Iseäranis ei tuleks hirmutada, sest eks inimese peas ole niikuinii küllaldaselt musti mõtteid.

• supposition (43). Although the Estonian text features the Past Indicative form *võis*, there could also be the form of the Present Conditional (*võiks*)

(43) Üks lind olnud pikk ja triibuline, lipsu moodi, käinud kahel jalal ja krooksunud, teine jälle olnud jäme ja ümmargune nagu arbuus, aga silmad olnud hirmsad, tiigri omad. See võis olla öökull. ILU 1320–1321
Est. 'One bird was said to have been long and stripy, like a necktie, walking on two legs and

Eräs lintu on pitkä ja juovikas, kravatin näköinen, kulkee kahdella jalalla ja kurnuttaa, toinen taas paksu ja pyöreä kuin arbuusi, mutta silmät sillä on kauheat, tiikerin silmät. Se voisi olla pöllö.

croaking; the other, on the contrary – fat and round like a water melon, with the eyes, however terrible like the tiger's. That might have been the owl' (lit. One bird had allegedly been long and stripy, like a necktie, it had allegedly walked on two legs and it had allegedly croaked; the other, on the contrary, had allegedly been fat and round like a water melon, however it's eyes had allegedly been terrible like the tiger's. That could have been the owl)

- intention (contemplation) (44)

(44) Mitähän sille sanoisi, vai olisiko aivan hiljaa ... HAVU 141
Fin. 'What should we tell him, or should we better keep silent...'
(lit. What should we tell him, or should we be fully silent)

Mis talle peaks ütlema, või oleks hoopis kuss? ...

- supposition imagination, deliberation without a frame and an intention (45), (46)

(45) Oma laia rihma, mis võiks pärit olla ühteviisi nii ohvitser Marsi kui ka pikanäpumees Mercuriuse riidekapist, tõmbab ta piha ümber ühe augu jao koomale ja jääb võrdlemisi rahule sellega, mis peeglist paistab. ILU 962
Est. 'He tightens up by one hole his wide belt that could originate equally well from the wardrobe of the officer Mars as from that of the pilferer Mercury, being rather contented with the reflection of himself in the mirror'

Hänen leveä vyönsä voisi olla yhtä hyvin upseeri Marsin kuin taskuvaras Mercuriuksen vaatekaapista, sen hän vetää yhtä reikää kireämmälle uumallaan ja on verrattain tyytyväinen siihen mitä peilistä näkee.

(lit. He tightens up around his waist by one hole his wide belt that could originate equally well from the wardrobe of the officer Mars as from that of the pilferer Mercury, and remains rather contented with what is seen in the mirror'

(46) Haluaisin olla yli-ihminen. SU Tahaksin olla üliinimene.
Fin. 'I would like to be a superman'

In the Estonian language it is normal that in such use, belonging to the 3rd group of meanings, the predicate in the Conditional Mood should include the modal verb: *Minu peres võiks olla seitse last.* Est. 'My family could well have seven children'; *Meil peaks olema suur maja ja ilus aed.* Est. 'We should have a large house and a beautiful garden' When, however we use the basic verb alone, without the modal verb (*Minu peres oleks seitse last* Est. 'In my family there would be seven children', *Meil oleks suur maja ja ilus aed* Est. 'We would have a large house and a beautiful garden'), the narration would look like planning (intentional interpretation). In Finnish one can also fantasy without a modal verb, cf. (8a) and (8b).

(8a) Haluaisin isompana omistaa Silja Linen ja siellä olisi biljardipöytiä ... (SU)
Fin. 'When grown up I would like to own Silja Line, where there would be some billiard tables'

(8b) Tahaksin suuremana olla Silja Line'i omanik ja seal võiksid olla piljardilauad
Est. 'When grown up I would like to own Silja Line, where there could be billiard tables'

Unlike Finnish, the Estonian Conditional Mood is not used for reference to the future (35), and in sentences complementing information, speaking etc. verbs (*teadma* 'to know', *arvama* 'to reckon' *uskuma* 'to believe' *ütlema* 'to say' *mõtlema* 'to think', *lubama* 'to promise', *oletama* 'to surmise' *väitma* 'to assert, to represent' *teatama* 'to notify, to announce' *lubama* 'to permit' *rääkima* 'to speak' *kartma* 'to fear' *ootama* 'to expect'). The Predicate of the sentence quoting a statement is in Indicative or

Quotative (36) – (37) or else it will be formed by the *pidama* '*must, have to, be to*' construction (47).

(47) Samoin tutkittaisiin ja pantaisiin säiliöön lintujen suolistosta löytyviä loisia. HAVU 1018
Fin. 'Also researched and prepared would be parasites found in the intestines of the birds'
(lit. In the like manner would be researched and prepared parasites found in the intestines of the birds)

Samuti pidi uuritama ja prepareeritama lindude soolestikus leiduvaid parasiite.

The Conditional Mood is possible in Estonian also when there are doubts about the content of the statement: *Ma ei arva / usu, et ta tuleb / tuleks.* Est. 'I do not think / believe that he will come / would come.

3. Some more pragmatic uses

The Conditional will modify and make milder the order, statement, expression of will, request, modal assessments; it will emphasise the question, and form the rhetoric question. Often in such cases, particularly in Estonian, it is not the single verb that is in the Conditional Mood, but also the modal construction. Some uses have fossilized into formulas (*miten sanoisin* Fin. 'the way I would say it' *ma ütleksin* Est. 'I would say', *ma tahaksin öelda* Est. 'I would like to say').

(48) Tuota, mihin minä tämän paperin panisin ... HAVU 170
Fin. 'Now ... where would I put that paper...

Seda et ... kuhu ma selle paberi võiksin panna?

(49) – Minä tuota teiltä kysyisin varsin iliman vain, että onko siinä perrää, kun ne puhuvat ihmiset, että te olisitte käynyt etelässä kouluja silloin kun lähitte maailmalle? HAVU 2322
Fin. 'I would like to just ask you whether the rumours are correct

"Ma tahaks teie käest ainult päris naasama küsida, et kas sellel on tõepõhja all, nagu inimesed räägivad, et te oleksite nagu käinud seal lõuna pool koolis, enne kui maailma mööda luusima läksite?"

	that you allegedly received your schooling in the southern parts, when you went out in the wide world' (lit. I would like to ask you out right whether it is true, like people say that you should have been to school in the south, when you went out in the wide world)	
(50)	Luulisi nyt kuitenkin Jumalan suuttuvan atomipommista, vaikka kuka sen tietää ... HAVU 77 Fin. 'One would conceivably expect God to get angry about the A-bomb, though one never knows...	Nüüd võiks siiski arvata, et jumal aatomipommi pärast vihaseks saab, aga kes teda teab ...
(51)	Praegu on see liiga, kuidas ma ütleksin, liiga kaitsetu. ILU 795 Est. 'As it is, it is too – how should I say – too exposed'	Nyt se on liian, miten sanoisin, liian suojaton.
(52)	Mihin se olisi ne rahat pannut? HAVU 1968 Fin. 'Where might he/she have put these monies?'	Kuhu ta need rahad peaks pannud olema?
(53)	Erikoisesti hän olisi halunnut tiedon siitä, ovatko maisterit viisaita vai tyhmiä. Mutta tätä hän ei uskaltanut suoraan kysyä pojilta. HAVU 1083–1084 Fin. 'In particular, he/she would have liked to know whether the Masters were wise or dumb. But he/she dared not just so ask that question of the boys'	Iseäranis oleks ta tahtnud teada saada, kas magistrid on targad või rumalad. Kuid seda ei söandanud ta poiste käest otseteed küsida.
(54)	Mikäpä olisi estänyt tarinapadan porisemista! HAVU 3660 Fin. 'What could have prevented that spinning of yarns from going on'	Mis küll oleks takistanud pajatustepada podisemast!

The Finnish, unlike the Estonian children use the Conditional for description of the **playful** world when performing (54), (50). The Estonian children use Indicative forms and mark the play frame lexically by means of the word *mängult* 'pretending to engage in'

(55) Tämä olisi helikopteri (AK) Mina olen mängult helikopter
Fin. 'I would be a helicopter'
(lit. 'This would be a helicopter')

(56) Nyt ne hyppäis (AK) Nüüd nad mängult hüppavad
Fin. 'Now they would jump'

4. Summary

The mood dubbed Conditional in Estonian and Finnish is rather Subjunctive by its functions. Comparison of Estonian and Finnish use of Conditional reveals three areas of influence, linked between one another. Prevailing is the logical-semantic structure of the complex of sentences. Also operative, and adding their impact are typical contexts and situations of use. In both languages the Conditional Mood is used in sentences, the background structure whereof contains 1) the implication valid in the unreal world (frame interpretation), e.g. *Oleks seal küüned, roniks puu otsa* Est. 'Were the pig (be)clawed it would climb the tree'; *Jos jos-sana ei olisi, sitten lehmätkin lentäisi* Fin. 'Were there no 'if' word, even cows would fly', 2) the possibility to achieve a desirable result (intentional interpretation), e.g. *Läheksite ehk veel natukeseks välja mängima* Est. 'Might you perhaps go out to play for some more time'; *Menisitte vielä vähän ulos leikkimään* Fin. 'Might you perhaps go out to play for some more time'; *Kui pääseks ahju juurde!* Est. 'Could I just get to the stove!' *Jospa pääsisi uunin luo!* Fin. 'Could I just get to the stove!' In these two cases the background structure is the complex relation of the presupposition – inference. Underlying those two basic structures are several common contexts of use: the sentence with an adverbial of condition, the subordinate clause of condition, the sentence of exhortation, the interrogative clause of contemplation etc. Besides that, however the Finnish language uses the Conditional Mood also in some cases where the speaker of Estonian fails to perceive the relation presupposition – inference. In Finnish, unlike in Estonian, the Conditional is used for the future time reference and while quoting the assertion; Finnish, unlike Estonian children resort to Conditional while

speaking about the developments in the 'make-believe', imaginary world of play.

Double-marked in the form of Conditional are the predicates that are not constituted by a single main verb only, including also a modal verb. By means of such predicates both languages express e.g. desirability or non-desirability, surmise, intention. When the sentence expresses the representation or deliberation without any factor of frame or contemplation, the modal verb is required in Estonian. In both languages both the Conditional and the modal verbs are used to mark civility and courtesy, to make the expression sound milder.

As it is, the question of whether we have to do with the Conditional or Subjunctive statement will go unanswered in this essay. In view of the background semantics, the name *Conditional* can be regarded as reasonably substantiated, particularly as regards Estonian, where the relation of inference can be perceived behind all cases of use. On the other hand, the abundance of syntactic, textual and pragmatic contexts of use speaks strongly in favour of the breakdown into Subjunctive.

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KAS EESTI JA SOOME KONDITSIONAAL ON KONDITSIONAAL?

Helle Metslang

Eesti ja soome keeles konditsionaaliks nimetatud kõneviis vastab oma funktsioonidelt pigem subjunktiivile / konjunktiivile. Eesti ja soome konditsionaalikasutuse võrdlemisel tulevad esile kolm omavahel seotud

mõjuvaldkonda. Ennekõike on oluline lausekompleksi loogilis-semantiline struktuur, selle kõrval ja sellega koos avaldavad mõju ka tüüpilised kasutuskontekstid ja -situatsioonid. Mõlemas keeles kasutatakse konditsionaali lauseis, mille tauststruktuuris on 1) irreaalses maailmas kehtiv implikatsiooniseos (raamitõlgendus), nt *Oleks seal küüned, roniks puu otsa; Jos jos-sana ei olisi, sitten lehmätkin lentäisi*, 2) soovitava tulemuse saavutamise võimalus (intentsioonitõlgendus), nt. *Läheksite ehk veel natukeseks välja mängima; Menisitte vielä vähän ulos leikkimään; Kui pääseks ahju juurde! Jospa päästsi uunin luo!* Neil kahel juhul on tauststruktuur kompleksne eelduse–järelduse seos. Neil kahel põhistruktuuril rajanevad mitmed ühised kasutuskontekstid: tingimusmäärusega lause, tingimuskõrvallause, soovlause, kaalutlusküsilause jne. Lisaks aga kasutab soome keel konditsionaali ka mõningail juhtudel, kus eesti keele kõneleja ei taju eelduse–järelduse seost. Soome keeles, kuid mitte eesti keeles kasutatakse konditsionaali tulevikust rääkides (nt *Ruoka oli ollut hyvää ja tulisi ilmeisesti sitä olemaankin*, vrd *Toit oli olnud hea ja on seda ilmselt edaspidigi*) ja väidet refereerides (nt *Aikoinaan uskottiin, että biologisten rytmien aiheuttaja olisi rytminen muutos ympäristötekijöissä*, vrd *Omal ajal usuti, et bioloogiliste rütmide põhjustajaks on rütmilised muutused keskkonnas*). Soome, kuid mitte eesti lapsed räägivad konditsionaalis kujuteldavas mängumaailmas toimuvast (nt *Nyt ne hyppäis*. vrd *Nüüd nad mängult hüppavad*).

Kahekordselt markeeritud on konditsionaalivormis predikaadid, mis ei koosne mitte põhiverbist üksinda, vaid sisaldavad ka modaalverbi. Selliste predikaatide abil väljendatakse mõlemas keeles näiteks soovitavust või ebasoovitavust (nt *Varsinkaan ei pitäisi pelotella; Iseäranis ei tuleks hirmutada*), oletust, kavatsust (nt *Mitähän sille sanoisi, vai olisiko aivan hiljaa; Mis talle peaks ütlema, või oleks hoopis kuss?*). Kui lause väljendab kujutlust või arutlust ilma mingi raami või kavatsemise momendita, on eesti keeles modaalverb tingimata vajalik (*Minu peres võiks olla seitse last; Meil peaks olema suur maja ja ilus aed.*) Mõlemas keeles on nii konditsionaal kui modaalverbid kasutusel viisakuse, väljenduse pehmendamise markeerimiseks (nt *Minä kysyisin teiltä; Ma küsiksin teie käest*).

Küsimus, kas tegemist on konditsionaali või subjunktiivi / konjunktiiviga, jääb seekord vastuseta. Kui arvestada implitsiitseid loogilisi seoseid, võib nimetust *konditsionaal* kõneviisi tähendusfunktsiooni seisukohalt põhjendatuks pidada, eriti eesti keele osas, kus kõigi kasutusjuhtude taga võib näha järeldusseost. Teiselt poolt kõneleb süntaktiliste, tekstiliste ja pragmaatiliste kasutuskontekstide rohkus subjunktiiviks / konjunktiiviks liigitamise kasuks.

PAST PARTICIPLE FINITIZATION IN ESTONIAN AND LATVIAN[1]

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The quotative mood or *modus obliquus*, which presents mediated or reported information, has been regarded as an essential common feature of the Baltic linguistic areal (Stolz 1991. 45–50, Klaas 1997). In broader terms, the expression of evidentiality as a separate indirect speech mode or the evidential voice is under discussion (e.g. Campbell 1998: 305). Of the Balto-Finnic languages the relevant forms can be found in Livonian and Estonian and of the Baltic languages in Latvian and Lithuanian. An important means of marking evidentiality in Estonian and Latvian is the use of participles as the predicate without an auxiliary – both in the present and past. Our paper takes a form-centered view. We will focus on the various morphosyntactic functions of the past participle as the predicate in Estonian and Latvian. At the same time we are going to answer the question how the finite use of the past participle may have arisen and changed historically and what kind of similarities and differences can be observed in these languages.

1. Treatment of the past participle as the predicate in the previous descriptions of Estonian and Latvian

1.1. Estonian

The use of the Estonian past participle without an auxiliary, e.g. *tüdruk elanud saarel* 'the girl is reported to have lived on an island (= girl + live:PRT + island: ADESS)', has usually been

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treated within the framework of a larger paradigm, which includes the use of the present *vat*-marked form, e.g. *tüdruk elavat saarel* 'the girl is said to live on an island (= girl + live:QUOT:PRS + island: ADESS)' Earlier treatments mostly associated such forms with a specific mood (see Kask 1984: 227 ff). In the middle of the 19th century such forms were described as the conjunctive (e.g. Ahrens 1853) and later as the relative or *modus relativus* (e.g. Wiedemann 1864, 1875; Einer 1885; Põld 1922: 70).

Jaan Jõgever was one of the first linguists to claim that the use of part participles as the predicate does not primarily express the mood. Jõgever emphasized, proceeding from the definition by Hermann (1884), that it is not a specific mood but non-direct speech, i.e. *oratio indirecta* (1904: 107–108). The simple past form of this speech is the past participle without an auxiliary (Jõgever 1920: 55). Põld and Leetberg did not regard such a use of participles as belonging to the morphological level and described it in the study of syntax (in fact, Veske had done the same as early as in 1879). In the view of Põld, these forms belong to the *transferring speech mode* of the indirect speech that stand in opposition with the indicative mood forms of the direct speech (Põld 1922: 70). Leetberg explained such forms by the finitization of infinite verb forms that occurs in the indirect speech and by the emergence of the *semi-oblique predicate* (1925: 79 ff). Similar thoughts were expressed by the Finnish scholar Airila (1935: 56–57).

Unlike other grammarians, the language reformer Oskar Loorits claimed that it is far from clear which mood is expressed by the past participle without an auxiliary. According to Loorits, "the participle alone expresses neither the meaning of the oblique nor the indicative mood, e.g. in the sentence *ta palut pulma* 'he is reported to have been invited to the wedding' (= he + invite:PASS: PRT + wedding:ILL)' it is far from clear whether it means *ta on palut* 'he is invited' or *olevat palut* 'is said to have been invited' He recommends a synthetic form of the past quotative mood, where the mood marker *-vat* is attached to the participle, e.g. *olnuvat* 'is said to have been' *kirjutanuvat* 'is said

to have written' (Loorits 1923: 86) – cf. the participles *olnud* 'been', *kirjutanud* 'written'

Since the mid-1920s it became customary to regard the past participle forms without an auxiliary as forms of the oblique mood (e.g. Muuk 1927: 111; Muuk, Tedre 1930: 58–59; Valgma, Remmel 1968: 119; Tauli 1972: 73), or such forms were not mentioned at all (Jänes 1947; Vääri 1969). The first part of the recent academic grammar of Estonian states that "the past participle occurs in the function of the predicate only as a component of finite compound forms together with the simple form of the verb *olema* 'to be' and/or the negation word" (EKG I: 67). On the other hand, according to the same grammar the paradigm of the personal quotative includes the analytic *nuvat*-marked forms, which are derived from the past participle, e.g. *elanuvat* 'is said to have lived', and the paradigm of the personal conditional includes the synthetic *nuks (+ a personal ending)*-marked forms, which are derived from the past participle, e.g. *elanuks(in)* '(I) would have lived' (EKG I: 95–96). This set of forms does not include such impersonal forms as *elatuvat* 'is said to earn one's living by' and *elatuks* 'would earn one's living by' The second part of this grammar, however, mentions past participles without an auxiliary as elliptical forms of the preterite quotative, which can be heard in popular speech (EKG II: 36).

There are also differences in the interpretation of the past participle without an auxiliary concerning its grammatical tense. Wiedemann (1875) provides such forms as examples of the preterite. Einer (1885) distinguished three past tenses of *modus relativus*. He regards the participial forms without an auxiliary simply as the past, e.g. *palunud* 'is said to have asked', *palutud* 'is said to have been asked' In the perfect *olevat* (the present quotative of the verb *olema* 'to be') is attached, e.g. *olevat palunud* 'is said to have asked', and in the pluperfect *olnud* (as the past quotative form of the verb *olema*) is attached, e.g. *olnud palunud* 'is said to have asked' (pp. 34–36). A large number of grammars that were written in this century regard single past participles as simple past forms which differ from analytic forms of the quotative mood just in reference to the tense (e.g. Jõgever 1920, Kask, Vaigla, and Veski 1936, Valgma and Remmel 1968,

Valgma 1971). However, many Estonian grammars since Muuk (1927) and Aavik (1936) have treated as quotative mood tenses only the present and the perfect or the general past tense (as Tauli 1972), thus the latter has included both the forms with the auxiliary *olevat* and without it, e.g. *olevat sõitnud* and *sõitnud* 'is said to have ridden' At this, usually the forms without an auxiliary were regarded as elliptical, e.g. according to Kask, "in case of the perfect the auxiliary *olevat* can be left out in a certain style" (1984: 243). In principle, the same view is presented in the second part of the academic grammar of Estonian (EKG II: 36), only the term *täisminevik* 'perfect' has been replaced by the more accurate term *üldminevik* 'preterite'

Although it has been common since the 1920s to describe the use of the past participle as the predicate within the framework of the paradigm of the quotative mood, the treatment of the semantic content of the quotative mood has varied to some extent, and it has been defined by rather different international terms — *modus obliquus* (e.g. Muuk 1927: 102; Valgma and Remmel 1968: 119; Kask 1984: 251), "the obviative or relative mood, also called indirect speech" (Raun and Saareste 1965: 29), the narrative (Tauli 1972: 73), the quotative (Viitso 1976: 157; Viitso also gives reasons why he does not like the terms *narrative* and *modus obliquus*). Viitso's term *quotative* is also used in EKG I. Kask 1984 still uses *modus relativus* (p. 251).

One should point out that the problem has been how to characterize the quotative mood as a morphosyntactic category and not how to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the possibilities of the past participles without an auxiliary as the predicate. Also, upon transition from the level of the mood to the more general level of indirect mode of reporting, the viewpoint has remained category-centered and not form-centered (cf. Rätsep 1971). So far the diachronic and dialect studies have paid more attention to the various possibilities to use the form (e.g. Künnap 1992, Pajusalu 1996, Pajusalu and Muižniece 1997).

Dialect studies have also described the use of the past participle without an auxiliary in the meaning of the so-called past imperative, e.g. *öelnud kohe* 'you should have said it at once' (Mägiste 1976). Pajusalu (1989 and 1996) has called such

forms as the past jussive. It is not the jussive that is associated with the command concerning a person that is not participating in the speech situation (as defined by EKG I: 83), but the jussive that expresses general deontic modality. Here the meanings of the conditional and imperative moods were intermingled with each other. Akhmanova's term *imaginary imperative* (1966: 249) would be appropriate to describe such a reproachful use of the past participle. Here one is dealing with a specific grammatical category, which is manifested in the fact that these forms may stand apart from the usual past participle, e.g. in the Karksi dialect *tulden* 'should have come', cf. *tullu* 'had come', in the Nõo dialect *ärnu annu* 'you shouldn't have given', cf. *ei annu* 'didn't give' (Pajusalu 1996: 159–160).

1.2. Latvian

The same kind of treatment can be found in the descriptions of Latvian. It has been common in Latvian linguistics to relate the use of the past participle without an auxiliary to the expression of obliqueness. Since the days of the first Latvian grammars the preterite form of the quotative mood has been presented either as the past participle (Brūvers 1911: 43, Aizpranks 1923: 67, Bērziņš 1938: 62–63) or as a compound form including the past participle (Mīlenbahs 1895: 64–66, Abuls 1922: 61–65, Ziemele 1979: 158–160, Ceplīte, Ceplītes 1991: 73, 83). The majority of grammars, however, mention both possibilities, i.e. they point out that the auxiliary *esot* 'is said to be' can be left out (e.g. Ģiezens 1925: 98–99, Ramāns 1937: 113–115, Endzelīns & Mīlenbahs 1939: 62–63, Gailums, Vilāns 1961: 137, Grabis, Niedra, Zirne 1970: 205).

Endzelīns (1982: 584–585) claims that it is characteristic of the Baltic languages to replace the indicative forms by the corresponding participles when reporting what another person had said, i.e. the finite present forms get replaced by the present participle and the finite past forms by the past participle.

Latvian grammars have not attempted to distinguish several tenses of the forms; both the single participle and the compound

form have been called the relative preterite (also the preterite of the conjunctive, narrative, storytelling mood, and the narrative form of the indicative mood, Gailums, Vilāns 1961: 136–137). The grammars use three different terms that denote the quotative preterite: *saliktā tagadne* 'the compound present', *pabeigtā tagadne* 'the completed present', and *pagātne* 'the past' The two former terms correspond to the perfect of the indicative mood. An unusual Latvian grammar that attempted to make a difference between the two preterite forms of the quotative is the high-school grammar by Alksnis published in 1948. It states that one can omit the auxiliary *esot* in the 'compound present' of the quotative, and that this form is used in the meaning of the past (p. 102). The academic grammar of Latvian (MLLVG: 625) and several other grammars mention that the auxiliary of the relative preterite can be left out if it does not make understanding more difficult; in the indicative perfect, too, it is possible to use the participle without an auxiliary.

In Latvian the necessity mood or the debitive has an quotative ('narrative') form that consists of the quotative form of the verb *būt* 'to be' and the uninflected debitive form. Earlier grammars distinguish three tenses of the quotative form of the debitive – the present, past, and future. It is noteworthy that in earlier grammars it is only the past participle that occurs as the auxiliary of the debitive past, including those grammars, where both the compound form and the participle without an auxiliary are possible in the quotative preterite (Aizpranks 1923: 67, Ģiezens 1925: 99, Alksnis, Vilāns 1948: 102). More recent grammars (e.g. Ceplīte, Ceplītes 1991: 84) provide four regular tenses for the quotative debitive, the auxiliary of the 'compound present' consists of two words (e.g. *Man esot bijis jānāk.* 'It is said that I was to come' (I: DAT + be:QUOT:PRS + be:PRT + come:DEB).

In Latvian the past participle without an auxiliary often occurs as an equivalent of the perfect indicative and usually expresses a static condition or state. Almost all the grammars point out that sometimes the auxiliary *ir* 'is' can be omitted.

The use of the past participle in a reproachful or some other jussive sense is also possible in Latvian (though it is impossible

in Finnish, for example). Such constructions that correspond to the Estonian jussive preterite, e.g. *jel paldies pasacīiusi!* 'you should have said thank you!' have been called the elliptical conditional (MLLVG: 61, Eiche 1983: 38). Raģe, too, writes in her study of Vidzeme dialects (Raģe 1964: 113) that sometimes one can omit the auxiliary verb in the past conditional. Her example sentences have a reproachful meaning, e.g. *Nācis tak reiz mājā!* 'you should have come home!'

According to Elksnītis, in eastern Latvian dialects it is possible to use the past participle in place of the present conditional (Elksnītis 1929: 154), e.g. *Kad tu vysu zỳnâju^{e}šę, runātu pavysam sitaźdi* 'If you knew everything, you would tell a completely different story.' Endzelīns (1951: 1015) mentions the same use of the past participle in dialects; his examples come from the dialect area of eastern Latvia and from the language of folk songs, e.g. *Kaut ieviņa vēl ziedējuse* 'if only the little bird cherry had still blossomed!'

Elksnītis and Endzelīns also point out that in the eastern dialects of Latvian the participle without an auxiliary may express a threat that actually will not be carried out (see Elksnītis, ibid., Endzelīns, ibid.). Elksnītis provides the following example: *ņźms aiz kājām un īzsvīeds pa du^{l}ŕvs!* 'I should have taken you by the hands and thrown you out!' According to Ambrazas (1990: 187–189), the past participles without an auxiliary occur in fossilized expressive idioms, which, in his opinion, proves the age of such forms. One such expressive idiom is, for example, *Velns parāvis*! 'Damn it!' Nevertheless, it seems that in contemporary Latvian the productive use of the past participle in the jussive sense is more restricted than in Estonian and requires a text with a high degree of emotionality.

Ambrazas in his thorough study of the participles in the Baltic languages points out that both in Lithuanian and Latvian the past participles without an auxiliary are also used in the meaning of the optative, e.g. *lai tad citi ēduši vai neēduši* 'may the others eat or be hungry (= not eaten)' (1990: 187–188).

Amrazas puts forward the view that the Baltic constructions with the present and past participles prove the ancient predicate function of the verbal derivatives of **-us* (which has become the

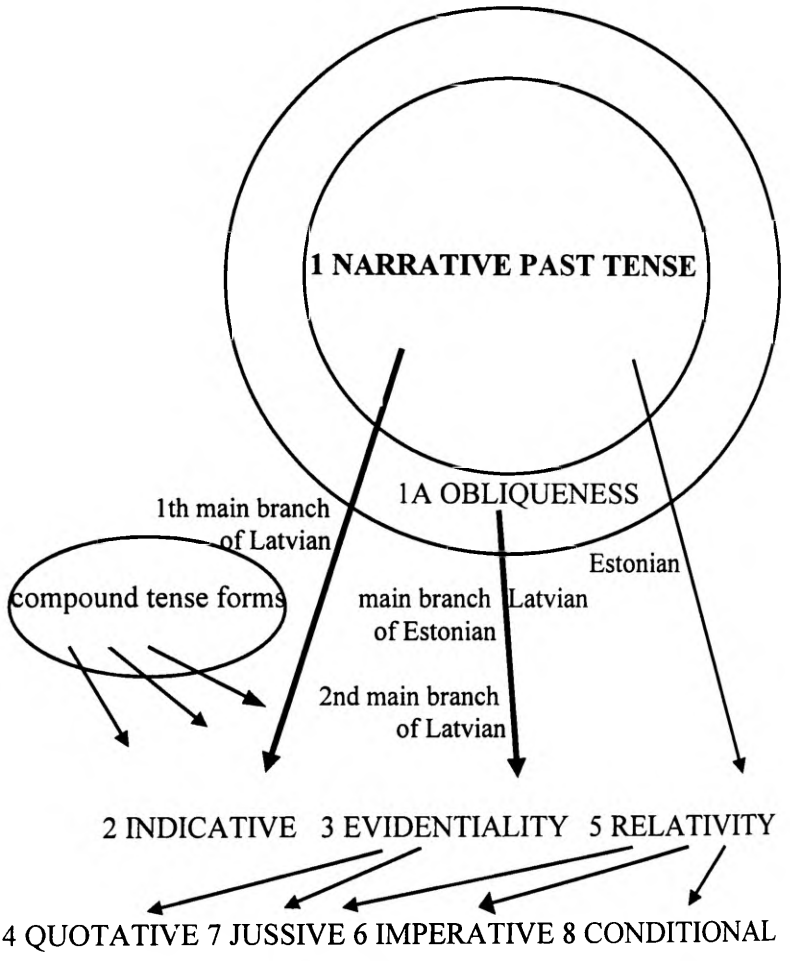
past active participle in Latvian) and **-nt*. According to Ambrazas "it is likely that already at the prehistoric development stages of the Indo-European languages these forms may have had a certain range of use – in semantically subordinate sentences, in constructions with modal meanings, etc. Later they developed into parts of periphrastic forms, or they were ousted by finite forms, or they remained in use in modal meanings, as is the case with the oblique mood in eastern Baltic languages" (Ambrazas 1990: 191).

Estonian and Latvian are rather similar in their use of the past participle without an auxiliary, though there are some differences. In Standard Estonian, the quotative use of a single unmarked participle is restricted to the affirmative sentence. In Latvian you cannot attach any mood markers or personal endings to the end of the past participle form; in Estonian such cases can occur. It could be so because these languages belong to different morphological types. In Latvian the past participle has retained such nominal features as the number and gender (it is also declined in all the cases in the function of the attribute); a participle that is used in tense forms is in the nominative case and it also has the ending of the nominative case. Below we will attempt to present our vision of the scheme how the finitization of the active past participle (the *nud*-participle) as the predicate may have taken place in Estonian and whether this model could be valid for Latvian as well.

2. Finitization of the past participle

The use of the past participle as the predicate is characterized both by consecutive and parallel developments. We will present the scheme of one possible chain of developments (Fig. 1). Although in all its links the past participle without an auxiliary functions as the predicate, at different stages the form has different grammatical meanings, it participates in different grammatical oppositions, and it also differs partly as far as its formal characteristics are concerned. In all the cases under

Figure 1. **Finitization of the past participle**



discussion the characteristics of the finite verb increase gradually in the participle used as the predicate. At the same time the subsequent stages carry in themselves traces of the previous stages. These developments can be regarded as regrammaticalization processes. It means modification of the grammatical function of a form (it is one of the possible meanings of the term regrammaticalization, "a more narrow definition of regrammaticalization would confine the term to forms that have lost their grammatical function and regained that or some other function" (Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer 1991: 62). Both grammaticalization and regrammaticalization are panchronic processes (ibid. 248–261), which may be manifested both in the historic development and in synchronic variation. At the same time the language may have forms that correspond to the different stages. Our scheme is first and foremost based on Estonian; at the same time it tries to follow the analogical developments in Latvian.

2.1. Initial stage

2.1.1. Narrative past tense

The use of the past participle in the function of the predicate is an ancient feature both in the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages. Although one can find it even nowadays both in the Baltic and Balto-Finnic languages, the more recent cases have been regarded as variants of the more recent compound tense forms without a copula and not as retention of the ancient use (see above and Pajusalu, Muižniece 1997: 96).

The original use of the participle may have occurred at the time when there was no opposition between the finite and non-finite verb forms. The participle in the Estonian sentence *Jüri kukkunud* 'Jüri is said to have fallen down' or in the Latvian sentence *Juris nokritis* was what we would now call something between the predicate and the predicative. Nor were there any compound tense forms at that time (as the Estonian *on läinud, on kukkunud, oli elatud* 'has gone, has fallen down, had lived', the Latvian *ir gājis, ir nokritis, bija dzīvots*), which would have

separated the time of the event and the viewpoint by looking at a past event from the position of a later point of time. Thus, such uses of the participle could not have had the meaning of the present relevance, which is typical of the perfect (cf. Comrie 1976: 52). The past participle expressed the completion of an event and thus its past character. Nowadays such a use of the participle as a predicate that expresses the past can still be found in many eastern cognate languages (e.g. in Cheremis, which has many nominal sentences), where it is used in storytelling and listing events in narrative texts. In the Uralic (Hakulinen, Leino 1987: 40) and Baltic languages (Ambrazas 1990: 186) it is the participle without an auxiliary that acts as the predicate of a narrative text. Apparently, the participial predicate was first used in the narrative that focuses on the events under discussion and does not actualize the speech situation (e.g. speaking time, participants in the communication, and their evaluations of the contents of the utterance). "No doubt face-to-face dialogue and storytelling as a monologue are ancient types of oral conversation. However, they clearly differ from each other, and they do not use the means of expression in the same way" (Hakulinen, Leino 1987: 36–37). At this stage the participial predicate is not associated with a subject that would correspond to the first or the second persons.

2.1.2. Obliqueness

Obliqueness of information occurs in this use as a peripheral and accompanying component of meaning. The story is often a paraphrase of what one could hear from another person. Thus, the narrative use is characterized by the inherent presence of the roots of the category of evidentiality. However, the grammatical opposition of direct and indirect information has not taken shape as yet. By evidentiality we mean a general category that indicated the origin of the information and through the latter its evidence or proof (see 2.3).

The original function of the use is then subdivided into a number of branches. The use of the participial predicate spreads

from the monologic narrative into dialogic conversation, which would make important the modal, temporal, and other relationships with the speech situation. The participial predicate begins to relate to all the persons. The verb form has to find its place in the oppositions finiteness – non-finiteness, directal – indirectal, simple tense form – compound tense form and among the moods.

2.2. Indicative

Among the languages under discussion, it is the Latvian where the center of the original use – the meaning of the past – has developed into the preterite indicative tense form.

In Latvian the single participle as the predicate is often ambiguous – should it be regarded as a separate verb form or a compound form that elliptically lacks a copula. In addition, there are a number of possibilities to interpret it as a modal, e.g. oblique form, as in examples (2), (4), and (5). However, the main development is the use of the participle without an auxiliary in such positions where the past indicative tenses would be appropriate, including the simple past, e.g. (1), (3), and (6).

(1) Vienīgais ceļš man *liegts*.
Ainuke tee *on* minu jaoks *suletud*. (SCLOMB BUR 3569)
The only road for me *is closed*.

(2)a. Tā *bijis* arī otrdien.
Nii ka teisipäeval. ('Nii *olnud* ka teisipäeval.')
It *had been* like this on Tuesday as well.

(2)b. Tante Olga *devusies* savās gaitās agri no rīta, grozā ķelle un veci ādas cimdi, kā vienmēr.
Tädi Olga *on läinud* retkele hommikul vara, korvis kellu ja vanad nahkkindad nagu alati. (SCLOMB ILU 1310–1311)
Aunt Olga *is reported to have gone* on a trip early in the morning, with a trowel and old leather gloves in her basket, as usual.

(3) Viņš laikam nesen *saņēmis* algu.
Küllap ta *oli* äsja palka *saanud.* (SCLOMB BUR 1404)
He must *have received* his pay just before.

(4) Vēlāk (..) Edīte uzzināja, ka Edmunds *izbraucis* naktī no svētdienas uz pirmdienu.
Hiljem (..) sai Edīte teada, et Edmunds *oli välja sõitnud* ööl vastu esmaspäeva. (SCLOMB BUR 407)
It was later when Edīte learned that Edmunds *had left* on the night before Monday.

(5)a. Vecāki neko nemācēja pastāstīt par sava bērna gaitām.
Vanemad ei teadnud midagi oma lapse käekäigust.
The parents knew nothing about the destiny of their child.
(5)b. Reti *dzīvojis* mājās.
Kodus *elas* ta harva. (SCLOMB BUR 1924–1925)
('Harva elanud kodus.')
He seldom *lived* at home.

(6) Sēž tā, kā *palikusi.*
Istub nii nagu istuma *jäi.* (SCLOMB ILU 1338)
He is sitting in the way he *remained* sitting.

One could interpret the Latvian indicative forms of past participles as the continuation of the old use in the function of the simple past; on the other hand, it could be regarded as the invasion of the perfect in the range of application of the simple past. The development of the perfect into the simple past is a well-known tendency that is, for example, happening in Modern German and which has resulted, for example, in the Russian imperfect. It is likely that both processes may take place hand in hand, supporting each other.

In Latvian the participial predicate is a past form that has a wider range of application than the finite form – the imperfect. Despite its finite use the participle has not adopted the morphological properties of a finite form, it is still inflected for gender and number as before. Neither Latvian nor Common Estonian has an agglutinating character that would be sufficiently strong for this purpose in comparison with the eastern Finno-Ugric languages, where the original participial predicate has

begun to be conjugated (see Künnap 1992: 214). Estonian would rather show a tendency to lose its personal endings. And yet one can come across personal, number, and mood forms of the participial predicate in various dialects – see Pajusalu, Muižniece 1997 and 2.4.

In Estonian, too, some linguists (Loorits, Airila) noticed in the 1920s and 1930s ambiguous past participles in the functions of the predicate, where one cannot understand whether it is the indicative or quotative, a simple or an elliptical compound form (see 1.1 about Loorits). An analysis of texts in Literary Estonian showed that such forms were widespread as late as the end of the 19th century (7), but in the 1930s and later they have practically disappeared (Metslang 1997: 115).

(7) Ta ütles, et ei mäletawat Italia naesterahwa kirjast, millest Delaroche-Bernet *jutustanud* ja milles Dreysus'i nimi kaks korda olla nimetatud. Ta mäletada ainult seda, et oberst Corbier teda selle naesterahwa eest *hoiatanud* ja et see naesterahwas wäga romaanlist laadi *olnud*. (pos1003.txt 36)
He said that he couldn't recall the letter by an Italian woman that Delaroche-Bernet *had talked* about and where the Name Dreysus had been mentioned twice. He is said to remember only that Oberst Corbier *had warned* him against this woman and that woman *had been* very similar to the Romance type.

2.3. Evidentiality

The use of a single participle as the predicate to express obliqueness of the information stems from the periphery of the source category. In Estonian such marking of evidentiality is the main function of the participial predicate, and in Latvian it is an important sphere of use. Both the grammaticalization of evidentiality and the use of participles to express evidentiality are widespread features in the Balto-Finnic areal (Klaas 1997: 95–97). Evidentiality as a broad general category expresses various modes of information evidence. The types of evidence include direct or proven evidence (visually, auditorily, or through cognition) and indirect evidence, which can be divided into

reporting (reporting what had been heard, folklore etc.) and concluding. Different languages may grammaticalize different kinds of evidence (Willett 1988: 51–97).

Of the large number of terms that are used to describe moods of reported information, the reporting mood of a statement could be termed as the *quotative* (as Viitso 1976, Dahl 1985, EKG I and II) and the concluding mood as the *inferential*. Both Estonian and Latvian have grammaticalized indirect evidence of reporting. The jussive as the mediated command mood includes both the reported and the concluding command.

2.4. Quotative

In Estonian the originally peripheral indirect meaning of the old participial predicate underwent broadening and further development. Such a changing category whose peripheral function develops into central function of a new category and whose central function disappears has been called figuratively the doughnut category (Dahl 1994). An attentive reader would recognize a doughnut in Fig.1. The use of a past participle in the function of the past tense of the indirectal is supported by the existence of compound tense forms. In many languages, including both Estonian and Latvian (8) and (9), the indicative compound forms have a secondary use for the expression of information indirectness.

(8)a. Niisiis, eile õhtul *on* Lion Moskvast *helistanud* ja *öelnud* järgmist: tal oleks ehk võimalik need sinised tassid (..) ära osta, koguni terve serviisi, aga ta ei saa üksi, ilma teistega nõu pidamata nii suurt ostu teha.

Tātad vakar vakarā Lions *ir pezvanījis* no Maskavas un *teicis* tā: viņam varbūt būs iespēja tās zilās tasītes (..) nopirkt, pat visu servīzi, bet viņš nevar viens pats, neapspriedies ar pārējiem, tik lielu pirkumu izdarīt.

Thus, last night Lion *had called* from Moscow and *said* the following: he could perhaps buy these blue cups (..), even the entire set, but he cannot make such a big purchase alone, without consulting the others.

(8)b. Uudis *on olnud* justkui hea, aga arusaamatu.
Jaunums *bijis* it kā labs, taču nesaprotams. (SCLOMB ILU 1653–1654)
The news *was* as if good but incomprehensible.

(9)a. Līdzi bija vietējais mežsargs.
Kohalik metsavaht oli kaasas.
The local forest ranger was with them.

(9)b. Viņš runāja, ka nekad nebūtu domājis, ka šajā dieva un cilvēku nolādētajā vietā notikusi šāda traģēdija.
Ta ütles, et kes oleks võinud arvata, et selles jumalast ja inimestest ära neetud kohas toimub veel säärane tragöödia.
He said that who could have thought that such a tragedy could still happen in such a place that was damned both by God and people.

(9)c. Vācu fašisti tūkstoš deviņi simti četrdesmit ceturtajā gadā gravas biezoknī *izdzinuši* ceļu un *ierīkojuši* vai nu izlūkskolu, vai selekcijas staciju.
Saksa fašistid *olid* tuhande ja neljakümne neljandal aastal *ajanud* nõotihnikusse tee ja *asutanud* sinna kas luurekooli või jaotuspunkti. (SCLOMB BUR 3835–3837)
The German fascists *had* in 1944 *built* a road into the valley thicket and *established* there either a training center for spies or a distribution center.

There are at least two kinds of meaning transfer on which such a secondary use is based. On the one hand, the perfect or pluperfect can express some conclusion about an earlier event, e.g. *Siin on käinud vargad* 'This place has been visited by thieves' Such a perfective use may give rise to the inferential. The other possibility is the metaphorical transfer – a form that expresses distancing of the speaker from the event will start to express distancing of the speaker from the information as well (see Fleischman 1989). It is likely that the Estonian and Latvian quotative use of the compound tenses, especially the pluperfect, may be based on this. In both languages it is the main function of the quotative, the past form of which is a compound form with a copula.

If the copula is dropped, only the participle will remain out of all the compound forms. As a further development, for example, the category of the perfect may give rise to the

independent category of the quotative; this has taken place in Bulgarian, where the third person perfect form without an auxiliary has become the quotative (see Dahl 1985: 152). In Estonian the single past participle can be used in the function of the quotative for all the persons, e.g.

(10) Ma kuulsin, et sa *käinud* eile teatris.
I've heard that you *had gone* to the theater yesterday.

Nor is it impossible in Latvian in the first and second persons, though against the norm and actually very rare (e.g. the SCLOMB corpus did not contain any examples), e.g.

(11) Dzirdēju, ka tu ļoti labi *uzstājusies*.
Kuulsin, et sa *esinenud* väga hästi.
I've heard that you *had performed* excellently.

It is the third person past where in Latvian the participle without an auxiliary usually occurs.

Although together with the introduction of the predicate function the participle has begun to act as a finite verb form, no accompanying explicit finitization can be observed either in Estonian or Latvian. It is true that the participial predicate occupies the second position in the sentence as any finite form does, cf. *Sa käisid eile teatris, Sa olevat eile teatris käinud, Sa käinud eile teatris* 'You went to the theater yesterday; you are said to have gone to the theater yesterday; you are said to have gone to the theater yesterday' If we omit the finite form in the sentence *Sa olevat eile teatris käinud*, then we will get a sentence with an unacceptable word order **Sa eile teatris käinud.* Thus, the fact that the participle is subjected to the V2 rule contradicts the interpretation that we are dealing with ellipsis. In the latter case a genuine non-finite form should fit in a more distant position as well, as is the case in the contextually elliptical sentence *Sina olevat eile peol käinud ja lapsed omapead jätnud* 'You are reported to have gone to a party yesterday and left the kids unattended' Although meaning and usage are never stagnant

but in constant motion, they need not always be accompanied by form changes or at least not right away.

A finite form of the verb differs from a non-finite one in that it expresses (1) the absolute time that is related to the moment of speech, (2) the mood, and (3) the person. As far as the participial predicate is concerned, the meaning of the relative past of the participle is replaced by the absolute meaning of the past participle; however, the mood and person markers are not attached.

The South Estonian dialects are an exception here. The Tartu dialect has plural personal forms, e.g. *ollumi* 'we (have) been', *olluti* 'you (have) been', *olluva* 'they (have) been'; the plural third person form is widespread in all the South Estonian dialects and also in their vicinity in the North Estonian dialect area (Pajusalu, Muižniece 1997). In such innovative forms as *olnuvat* 'is reported to have been' the mood marker has been attached to the participle (see also Metslang 1991: 163–168). Unfortunately, such a mood form (unlike the conditional forms as *olnuks* 'would have been') does not have any dialect background. Such forms as the Karksi *olluve* 'they (have) been' which have been provided as an example of the oblique mood (Tanning 1961: 53), contain the marker *-ve* or *-va* as the plural third person suffix, not as the quotative marker (see Pajusalu 1996: 177–178).

Herewith we will make a little digression to the present participles that would, similarly to the past participles, also seem appropriate for the expression of evidentiality. The Baltic languages use the present participle for the expression of the present quotative. Also, the Estonian *vat*-form stems from the present participle. On the other hand, the source structures are different – the Baltic form stems from the nominal sentence, as in Estonian *poiss (on) tulev* 'the boy (is) coming' The Estonian original partitive, however, originated from the sentence with a participial construction that extended a verb of speaking or knowing, as in *poiss öeldi tulevat* 'the boy was said to be coming' or *poiss kuuldus tulevat* 'the boy was heard to be coming' The Baltic pattern is also followed by the older South Estonian nominative form, e.g. *tsura tullõv* 'the boy is said to be coming'

Thus, the quotative in the form of a participle has at least three possible sources: (1) the original participle predicate, (2) copula ellipsis in the compound indicative form, and (3) the participial construction.

2.5. Relativity

The third branch that grows out of the participial predicate goes into deontic and irreal modality. Its first link could be the use that expresses relativity. A sentence with the participle predicate expresses a preferred or recommended situation, i.e. a situation that would have given a positive result. In complex sentences that express conditional relations it could express protasis but not apodosis.

(12) Ennemini *müünd* ega müüri tükid / Ennemini *kauplend* kaluka pakud / kut sina müüsid neiu ära (the dialect of Kihelkonna)
Rather you *could have sold* some parts of the wall / Rather *you could have sold* your blocks for the woolen cloth/ but you sold off your maid.

(13) Eks *lasknud* meid tulde jääda, *pugend* ise kahekesi läbi akna välja; siis oleks saanud te ometi rahulikult sõimata. (A. H. Tammsaare, example from Peegel 1957: 59–60.)
You *could have left* us in the fire, you two *could have climbed out* of the window, then you could have cursed in peace after all.

(14) Labāk maza *nomirusi*, nekā liela *izaugusi*. (Endzelīns 1951: 974–975).
Parem (kui oleksin) väiksena *surnud*, kui suureks *kasvanud*.
It would have been better if I *had died* young than *grown up*.

Relativity as a semantic tendency of the forms that are similar to the oblique mood is also illustrated by the fact that earlier descriptions of both Estonian and Latvian have used the term relative for the entire oblique mood (see 1.1. and 1.2.).

2.6. Imperative

When applying it to the second person, the previous link would provide a development of an imperative expressing a command that is directed to the past (and thus cannot be carried out any more), e.g. the dialogue examples of (15) for the second person singular and (16) for the second person plural. The same use occurs in Latvian as well, see (17) and (18).

(15) Ma magasin hommikul sisse. – *Tulnud* õhtul õigel ajal koju!
I overslept this morning. – You (sg.) *should have come* home in time last night.

(16) Me magasime hommikul sisse. – *Tulnud* õhtul õigel ajal koju!
We overslept this morning. – You (pl.) *should have come* home in time last night.

(17) *Nācis* tak reiz mājā!
(Sa) *tulnud* ometigi koju!
You (sg.masc.) *should have come* home.

(18) *Nākuši* tak reis mājā!
(Te) *tulnud* ometigi koju!
You (pl.masc.) *should have come* home.

In Latvian one as if has to add a word that expresses some emotionality (reproach). In the Mulgi dialect of South Estonian there is a special mood marker *-den* (e.g. *tulden* 'should have come' pro *tullu* 'come (the past participle)'; see Pajusalu 1996: 159).

2.7. Jussive

If a direct command, recommendation, and obliqueness can be expressed by means of the participial predicate, then the latter can also express an indirect command that is directed at the third person, i.e. act as the jussive past form, e.g.

(19) Ta magas hommikul sisse. – *Tulnud* eile õigel ajal koju!
He overslept this morning. – He *should have come* home in time last night.

For Latvian see examples (17) and (18), where any person may act as the subject.

(20) Jel paldies *pasacījusi*!
Öelnud aitäh!
She *should have said* thank you.

(21) Velns viņu *rāvis*!
Kurat teda võtku (= *võtnud*)!
Damn it (= may the Devil *have taken* him)!

2.8. Conditional

One step further from the relative use is the use as the simple past conditional form in the various functions of this mood. In Estonian the mood has to be marked separately in most cases. The Estonian dialects contain a number of forms, e.g. *võisind* 'might (= või 'may' + *si* 'a marker of the conditional' + *nd* 'a marker of the past participle') in the insular dialect and *tullus* 'would come (= *tull* 'come' + *u* 'a marker of the past participle' + *s* 'a marker of the conditional') in the Mulgi dialect. Even in the literary language the innovative form *võinuks* 'might' has taken root to a certain degree.

In Latvian it is impossible to attach a mood marker to the participle marker. On the other hand, in certain cases it is possible to use the single past participle as the past conditional form, for example, when something in the sentence already refers to the conditional (in example (23) the words *it kā* 'as if' and in (24) *labāk* 'better').

(22) Jo to, cik kāds *varējis* padarīt, bet nepadarījis dažādu traucēkļu dēļ, to pie darbu izpētes neviens vērā neņem.
Sest seda, kui palju keegi *oleks võinud* teha, kuid on jätnud tegemata igasuguste segavate asjaolude tõttu, seda töökokkuvõtete

tegemisel arvesse ei võeta. (SCLOMB BUR 1216)
However, no one will take into account when writing the work report how much someone *might have done* but has left undone because of some disturbing circumstances.

(23) Katrā ziņā viņš, it kā *izdarījis* kādu, Dievs zina, cik lielu atklājumu, nosaka: "Jābūt drosmei!"
Igatahes lausub ta, nii nagu *oleks teinud* mõne jumal teab kui suure avastuse: "Peab julgema!" (SCLOMB ILU 2413)
Anyway, he would say as if he *had done* God knows how important a discovery, "You must dare!"

(24) Labāk manu iesaliņu ciema cūkas *apēdušas!*
Parem *söönud* küla sead minu linnased!
Rather, the village pigs *could have eaten* my malt.

Example (24) comes from the book by Ambrazas (1990: 187), where the Russian term *soslagatel'noje naklonenije* 'conditional mood' is used.
In the eastern part of South Estonia, in the Võru dialect, the past participial predicate is also used for the present, e.g. *tiiq võinuq tullaq* 'you might have come' (for a more extensive discussion see Pajusalu and Muižniece 1997). In Latvia a similar use has been described in the eastern Latvian dialects (Elksnītis 1929, see the examples of 1.2) and in Latvian folk poetry (the examples provided by Endzelīns 1951, see 1.2).

3. Conclusion

The previous discussion indicates that in Estonian and Latvian both the functions of the past participial predicate without an auxiliary verb and the course of finitization are in many respects surprisingly similar. These similarities cannot be explained by only late contacts between the neighboring languages. In the case of both languages the starting point is the ancient trends of the language family in the use of participles at the time when the finite and non-finite uses had not been clearly distinguished as yet. While being on the periphery of the language family and

coming into contact with each other over a long period of time there have been both mutual influences and influences from third languages (e.g. Kask 1984 and others have claimed that the German conjunctive had an impact on the development of the quotative in Estonian and Latvian). At the same time there are differences both between the languages and between the dialects.

In Estonian the finitization of the past participial predicate is more closely related to the category of evidentiality, the use of the participle as the form of the past indicative is exceptional. In Latvian one of the main areas of using the participle is the expression of the narrative past indicative. Although in Latvian all the same main evidential and relative uses are possible as in Estonian, the indirect and relative uses are sometimes not distinguished as clearly as in Estonian. One possible reason why the regrammaticalization of the participial predicate is somewhat stronger in Estonian could be related to the more agglutinating morphological type of Estonian, which makes it possible to mark the different uses morphologically as well. It has happened in the synthetic forms of the quotative and the conditional and in the western group of the South Estonian dialects even in the jussive.

A closer look at the Estonian and Latvian dialects reveals some interesting parallel developments. An especially strong tendency to grammaticalize the finite use of the participial predicate is revealed in the South Estonian dialects in the immediate vicinity of Latvian. On the other hand, the northern dialects of Latvian that share a contact area with Estonian reveal some interesting special developments. It is likely that the contact on the border of the language areas may have favored both the retention of the old and similar innovative changes. This contact area can be further subdivided into smaller areas that share their own specific features. For example, the easternmost Võru dialect of South Estonian and the Latgallian dialects of eastern Latvia share remarkable common features in the marking of the present conditional by means of the past participial predicate, which could be regarded as a telling example of the finitization of the past participle without an auxiliary.

ABBREVATIONS

ADESS	adessive case
DAT	dative case
DEB	debitive mood
ILL	illative case
masc	masculine
PASS	passive voice
pl	plural
pos.text	Text Corpus of Estonian at the University of Tartu
PRS	present tense
PST	participle
QUOT	quotative mood
SCLOMB ILU	Text Corpus Studia Comparativa Linguarum Orbis Maris Baltici at the University of Turku, text of the novel "Ajaloo ilu" by Viivi Luik
SCLOMB BUR	Text Corpus Studia Comparativa Linguarum Orbis Maris Baltici at the University of Turku, text of the novel "Būris" by Albert Bels
sg	singular

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MINEVIKU PARTITSIIBI FINIIDISTUMINE EESTI JA LÄTI KEELES

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Artiklis vaatleme eesti ja läti keele öeldisena toimiva mineviku partitsiibi erinevaid morfosüntaktilisi funktsioone. Keelte tänapäevase partitsiibikasutuse alusel püüame esitada skeemi, kuidas on mineviku partitsiibi finiitne kasutus võinud neis keeltes ajalooliselt tekkida ja muutuda ning milliseid ühisjooni ja erinevusi võib siin täheldada eesti ja läti keele vahel.

Partitsiibi kasutuses öeldisena tulevad esile nii üksteisele järgnevad kui samaaegsed arengud. Kuigi kõigil ajaloolise arengu etappidel on tegemist mineviku partitsiibiga öeldise funktsioonis, kannab see vorm eri aegadel mitmeid erinevaid grammatilisi tähendusi, osaleb erinevates grammatilistes positsioonides ja osaliselt erineb ka vormiomaduste poolest. Kõigil vaadeldavatel juhtudel süvenevad predikaadina kasutatavas partitsiibis järk-järgult finiitverbi omadused. Samas kannavad järgnevad etapid endas eelnevate etappide jälgi. Neid arenguid võib käsitleda regrammatikaliseerumisprotsessidena, mõistes regrammatikaliseerumise all vormi grammatiliste funktsioonide teisenemist. Nagu grammatikaliseerumine, nii ka regrammatikaliseerumine on pankrooniline protsess, mis võib ilmneda nii ajaloolises arengus kui sünkroonses varieerumises. Samal ajal võib keeles esineda eri etappidele vastavaid keelendeid. Meie skeem põhineb ennekõike eesti keelel, püüdes selle kõrval jälgida analoogilisi arenguid ka läti keeles.

Algne partitsiibi kasutamine võis esineda siis, kui polnud veel kujunenud vastandust finiitse ja infiniitse verbivormi vahel. Partitsiip lauses nagu *Jüri kukkunud* või läti *Juris nokritis* oli midagi tänapäevase öeldise ja öeldistäite vahepealset. Neil partitsiibikasutustel ei saanud olla perfektile omast kõnehetkerelevantsust. Mineviku partitsiip väljendas sündmuse lõpetatust ja seega minevikulisust. Sellist partitsiibi kasutamist minevikku väljendava predikaadina esineb tänapäevalgi idapoolsetes soome-ugri keeltes, kus seda kasutatakse valmislugude jutustamisel, sündmuste loetlemisel narratiivses tekstis. Uurali ja balti keeltes on olnud just abiverbita partitsiip tüüpiline narratiivse teksti predikaadi vorm. Ilmselt ongi partitsiibivormilist predikaati kasutatud esmalt narratiivis, mis keskendub käsitletavatele sündmustele ega aktualiseeri kõnesituatsiooni.

Perifeerse, kaasneva tähenduskomponendina esineb selles kasutuses info vahendatus. Lugu on sageli kelleltki kuuldu ümberjutustus. Seega on narratiivikasutuses eos evidentsiaalsuse kategooria, kuid otsese ja kaudse info grammatiline opositsioon ei ole veel kujunenud.

Algsest kasutusfunktsioonist hargneb mitu haru. Partitsiippredikaadi kasutus levib monoloogilisest narratiivist ka dialoogilisse vestlusse, mis muudab oluliseks modaalse, ajalise jm seose kõnesituatsiooniga. Verbivorm peab leidma endale koha opositsioonides finiitsus–infiniitsus, direktaal–indirektaal, lihtajavorm–liitajavorm ning kõneviiside seas.

Vaadeltavatest keeltest on algse kasutuse kese, minevikutähendus, andnud edasiarendusena kasutuse indikatiivi üldmineviku ajavormina läti keeles. Patitsiippredikaat on läti keeles laiema kasutusalaga minevikuvorm kui finiitne imperfekti vorm. Finiitsest kasutusest hoolimata pole läti partitsiip omaks võtnud finiitvormi morfoloogilisi omadusi, muutudes endist viisi soos ja arvus.

Lähtekategooria perifeeriast on pärit üksiku partitsiibi kasutamine info kaudsuse väljendamiseks, see on eesti keeles partitsiippredikaadi põhifunktsioon ja läti keeles üks oluline kasutusala. Nii eesti kui läti keeles on grammatikaliseerunud kaudne refereerimisevidentsiaalsus.

Kuigi predikaadi funktsiooni juurdudes on partitsiip hakanud toimima finiitse verbivormina, ei kaasne ei eesti ega läti keeles sellega kuigivõrd eksplitsiitset fmiidistumist. Kuid partitsiippredikaat paikneb lauses teisel kohal nagu finiitne verbivorm. Partitsiibi allumine V2-reeglile räägib seega vastu ellipsitõlgendusele, mille korral peaks ehtsalt infiniitne verbivorm kõlbama lauses ka tahapoole.

Kolmas haru, mis algsest partitsiippredikaadist välja kasvab, suundub deontilisse ja irreaalsuse modaalsusse. Esimeseks lüliks võiks siin pidada relatiivsust väljendavat kasutust. Partitsiippredikaadiga lause väljendab eelistatavat või soovitavat situatsiooni. Tingimusseoseid

väljendavates liitlausetes võib sellega väljendada eeldust, kuid mitte järeldust.

Teisele isikule rakendatuna annab relatiivsus edasiarenduse minevikku suunatud, seega teostamatut käsku väljendavaks imperatiiviks. Kui juba otsene käsk, soovitavus ja vahendatus on väljendatavad partitsiip-predikaadi abil, siis võib see väljendada ka neile kõigile lähedast kaudset, näiteks kolmandale isikule suunatud käsku, s.o toimida jussiivi minevikuvormina.

Relatiivikasutusest samm edasi on kasutus konditsionaali lihtmineviku vormina selle kõneviisi mitmesugustes funktsioonides. Siin tuleb eesti keeles juba kõneviisi markeerida, v.a Võru murdes. Läti keeles on võimatu lisada kõneviisi tunnust partitsiibi tunnusele, aga küll on teatud juhtudel võimalik kasutada üksikut mineviku partitsiipi konditsionaali mineviku vormina, näiteks kui lauses miski viitab juba konditsionaalile.

Eesti ja läti keeles on abiverbita mineviku predikaatpartitsiibi funktsioonid ja võimalik finiidistumine paljuski üllatavalt sarnased. Samas on ka erinevusi keelte vahel ja keelte murrete vahel. Eesti keeles on mineviku predikaatpartitsiibi finiidistumine seotud tugevamalt evidentsiaalsuse kategooriaga, erandlik on kasutus lihtsalt indikatiivi mineviku markeerimisel. Läti keeles on partitsiibi põhilisi kasutusalasid just indikatiivi jutustava mineviku väljendamine. Läti keeles on küll võimalikud kõik põhilised indirektiivsed ja relatiivsed kasutusalad, mis eesti keeleski, kuid need ei eristu mõnikord nii selgelt kui eesti keeles. Üks tõenäoline põhjus, miks predikaatpartitsiibi regrammatikalisatsioon on eesti keeles eri suunades tugevam, võib olla seotud eesti keele aglutinatiivsema morfoloogilise tüübiga, mis võimaldab ka vormiliselt erinevat kasutust.

ABOUT THE USE OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN ESTONIAN CASES

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0. Introduction

A peculiar feature of the system of Estonian pronouns is the existence of long and short parallel forms of personal pronouns both in spoken and written languages.

	Sg 1	Sg 2	Sg 3	Pl 1	Pl 2	Pl 3
1.Nominative	mina~ma	sina~sa	tema~ta	meie~me	teie~te	nemad~ nad
2.Genitive	minu~mu	sinu~su	tema~ta	meie~me	teie~te	nende
3.Partitive	mind	sind	teda	meid	teid	neid
4.Illative	minusse~ musse	sinusse~ susse	temasse~ tasse	meisse	teisse	nendesse~ neisse
5.Inessive	minus~ mus	sinus~ sus	temas~ tas	meis	teis	nendes~ neis
6.Elative	minust~ must	sinust~ sust	temast~ tast	meist	teist	nendest~ neist
7.Allative	minule~ mulle	sinule~ sulle	temale~ talle	meile	teile	nendele~ neile
8.Adessive	minul~ mul	sinul~ sul	temal~ tal	meil	teil	nendel~ neil
9.Ablative	minult~ mult	sinult~ sult	temalt~ talt	meilt	teilt	nendelt~ neilt
10.Translative	minuks	sinuks	temaks	meieks~ meiks	teieks~ teiks	nendeks~ neiks
11.Terminative	minuni	sinuni	temani	meieni	teieni	nendeni
12.Essive	minuna	sinuna	temana	meiena	teiena	nendena
13.Abessive	minuta	sinuta	temata	meieta	teieta	nendeta
14.Comitative	minuga~ muga	sinuga~ suga	temaga~ taga	meiega	teiega	nendega

In the partitive case the form of the Estonian personal pronouns does not vary, there is only one form *mind, sind, teda, meid, teid, neid.* Such forms will be called neutral forms in this article.

Of the first and second person plural pronouns all the case forms have the neutral form with the exception of the nominative, genitive, and translative. No short pronoun form in the singular is used in the translative, terminative, essive, or abessive. The subject person can be expressed in Estonian also without using any personal pronoun, it can be identified by means of the personal ending of the verb (e.g. ***loen*** 'I read', ***laulad*** 'you (sg) sing') or context in case the latter is absent (e.g. in negative sentences or in the conditional that are without any endings). Implicit pronouns will be called zero pronouns in this article.

Below I am going to discuss only the first and second person singular pronouns *mina/ma, sina/sa* in all the cases.

1. Examples from other languages

The existence of long and short forms of pronouns is rather rare at least in written languages, and therefore this phenomenon is of great interest from the typological point of view.

In addition to Estonian, the long and short forms of personal pronouns can be found in some other Finno-Ugric languages as well. In Livonian the long and short forms can be found only in the nominative (sg 1 *mina/ma*, sg 2 *sina/sa*) (Laanest 1975: 125, Vääri 1966: 144). Both in the case of Estonian and Livonian it has been pointed out that the short forms *ma, sa* are used in an unstressed position (Viitso 1974: 159). The existence of long and short forms has been attested also in South Vepsian (sg 1 *minä/mä*, sg 2 *sinä/sä*) (Ojansuu 1922: 57). Similarly to Livonian, in South Vepsian, too, the short forms of the pronoun occur only in the nominative (Ojansuu 1922: 57, Kährik 1990: 17–18).

In Finnish the use of personal pronouns is remarkably different in written and spoken languages. According to the grammatical rules of Finnish, the personal pronoun (sg 1 *minä*, sg 2 *sinä*) is used in the function of the subject in a stressed position or in case of contrast; in other cases it can be omitted because the person is expressed by means of a personal ending of the verb (e.g. *olen* 'I am') (Hakulinen 1979: 553–554, Karlsson 1983: 60). Finnish dialects and spoken language have in addition to *minä, sinä* also the monosyllabic variant *mä, sä*, occasionally

with a long vowel *mää, sää* (in dialects also the variants *mie, sie*). In parallel to the long variant the short case forms occur in addition to the nominative also in the genitive (*minun/mun*), partitive (*minua/mua*), accusative (*minut/mut*), internal local cases (e.g. the illative *minuun/muhun*) and external local cases (e.g. the allative *minulle/mulle*) (Nuolijärvi 1986: 169–178, Mielikäinen 1980: 131–138). There exist a number of sociolinguistic studies about the usage of short and long pronoun forms in Finnish. For example, it has been found that in the spoken language of Helsinki the younger speakers prefer the short form *mä* and the older ones the long variant *minä* (Paunonen 1982: 153 ff.; see Lainio & Wande 1994 about the usage of pronouns by those Finns who live in Sweden and Mielikäinen 1980 about the usage of pronouns in the spoken language of Jyväskylä). In Finnish the personal pronouns have been considered to be the characteristic feature that often enables people to distinguish the dialects (Mielikäinen 1980: 133–134). On the other hand, the personal pronouns in Finnish is a feature that people can regulate consciously in their speech, thus trying to achieve some similarity either to the literary language or some social dialect that they regard as prestigious, e.g. the spoken language of Helsinki (Nuolijärvi 1986: 170).

In the case of Finnish, too, the interpretation of the usage of the long and short form of the pronoun is based on whether the pronoun is stressed or unstressed. Lainio and Wande propose the following classification for the first person singular in the spoken and written languages (observing only the pronoun usage of the subject): literary language – stressed *minä olen*, unstressed *Ø* + *olen*; spoken language – stressed *minä olen*, unstressed: 1) neutral *mä olen*, 2) non-stressed *Ø* + *olen* (Lainio & Wande 1994: 178).

But for the Balto-Finnic languages, the other Finno-Ugric languages do not reveal any variation of the personal pronoun forms (Ojansuu 1922, Vértes 1967, Majtinskaja 1964).

Variation of personal pronoun forms can be found in Dutch where full and reduced forms occur both in the subject and object cases (in the subject case sg 1 *ik/'k*, sg 2 *jij/je*; in the object case sg 1 *mij/me*, sg 2 *jou/je*) (Kooij 1987: 146–147). In spoken Dutch the reduced pronoun forms are, as a rule, used in an unstressed position; the full forms occur mostly in case of emphasis,

however, unstressed usage is possible as well. Only the full forms are used, for example, for contrasting, co-ordination, and comparing persons (Geerts et al 1984: 173–176).

Unlike the long and short forms of the Estonian personal pronouns, some Romance languages have different sets for stressed and unstressed pronouns. In French, for example, all the unstressed pronoun forms have their stressed counterparts, whereas the unstressed ones are used only together with a verb. Different stressed and unstressed pronouns can be found, for example, in Romanian as well (Majtinskaja 1969: 173). A Spanish sentence would not have a personal pronoun if the verb form indicates the person or number (Juga 1979: 18).

2. Previous treatments of long and short pronoun forms in Estonian

Göseken's Estonian grammar of 1660 was the first one to mention the existence of different forms for the first and second pronoun singular in the nominative. The short forms of the pronouns for the other cases appeared in grammars somewhat later, e.g. both variants in the genitive (*minu/mu*) and allative (*minule/mulle*) occurred for the first time in Hornung's grammar (1693), the variants of the illative (*minusse/musse*), however, as late as in Ahrens' grammar (1843), and the long and short forms of the comitative were mentioned for the first time by Wiedemann (1875). Hermann was the only grammarian to mention the possibility of short forms also in the terminative (*minuni/muni*) and abessive (*minuta/muta*), though putting them in parentheses as forms to be avoided (Hermann 1884).

The authors of the earliest Estonian grammars only mention the existence of different forms of the personal pronouns, but they do not explain differences in their usage. Starting with the Estonian grammar by Jõgever (1919) and ending with the contemporary grammars, the most frequently made observation (and at the same time practically the only one) about the different usage of the long and short forms of the personal pronoun has been related to the circumstance whether the pronoun is stressed or unstressed in the sentence. Many authors have pointed out that

the long form of the pronoun occurs in a stressed position and that the short form occurs in an unstressed position of a sentence (see, for example, Aavik 1936: 64, Valgma and Remmel 1970: 107, Palmeos 1985: 41–43). Some authors (Leetberg 1921: 45, Tauli 1980: 314–315, Erelt et al 1997: 146) think that in the case of the allative and adessive the short form can be found in a stressed position in the sentence as well.

Until now no one has studied the functional difference of long and short forms of the pronouns, i.e. in which function does one or the other variant of the pronoun occur in the sentence. Nor are there any sociolinguistic studies about the variability of different forms of the pronouns.

This article will make an attempt to give an overview of the use of the different forms of the first and second person singular pronouns in all the Estonian cases and to find answers to the questions why one or the other form was used.[1]

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[1] I am going to observe the usage of personal pronouns both in fiction and in oral conversations. For the purpose of unifying the material only texts in the form of dialogs were used because the first and the second persons are used mostly in dialogs.

The material that comes from fiction (further drama text) was collected from the play by Mati Unt "The Hour of Ghosts on Jannsen Street" (Unt 1986) and from Act I of the play by Ardi Liives "Always in September" (Liives 1987). The drama genre was selected because of its abundance of dialog, the form of the dialog is important first and foremost for the recording of the second person pronoun, which is much more common in the dialog than in the monolog. Altogether 1,132 examples were collected from the language of the drama, including the short, long, and neutral forms of the pronoun and zero pronouns.

The material of oral conversations (further conversations) was taped in 1997 and 1998 from Estonian-language television and radio programs, altogether about five hours. Selected were programs in the dialog form, where speakers use the second person singular pronoun. Altogether 1,403 examples of first and second person pronouns were collected.

All in all 2,535 examples were analyzed, which are used to calculate the percentages. As comparative material, I will provide numerical data about the frequency of the long and short forms of the pronoun in the one-million-word Corpus of the Estonian Literary Language in the 1980s at the University of Tartu (further the basic corpus). These data

3. Usage of the first and second person personal pronouns in different cases

3.1. Nominative

The following table reflects the occurrence of long, short, and neutral pronouns in the nominative (zero represents the subject, whereby all the examples of the zero pronoun will be regarded as nominative).

	Drama text		Conversations	
Short	494	62.1%	671	64.0%
Zero	230	28.9%	261	24.9%
Long	72	9.0%	117	11.1%

As can be seen, in the nominative both the drama texts and conversations contain the largest number of short forms, followed by the zero pronoun and the long form. In the basic corpus, too, in the nominative the first and second person singular pronouns occurred mostly as short forms – 3,220 times or 82.3% of the cases, the long form occurred 697 times or 17.7%, the occurrence of the zero pronoun was not analyzed in the corpus.

It is likely that the reason why the short forms are abundant in the nominative lies in the informational structure of the sentence. According to the Academic Grammar of Estonian, the elements of the informational structure express 1) the starting point of the message (THEME) and its destination (RHEME), 2) the familiarity of the referents or definiteness and unfamiliarity or

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are intended to illustrate first and foremost those cases for which there is little illustrative material and not to carry out a thorough analysis. In the case of the comitative, some additional material was sought from the text corpus of the Institute of the Estonian Language (further the additional corpus). As there are no crucial differences in the usage of the first and second singular personal pronouns, the examples about both persons are provided together. In the case of the examples that were transliterated from oral conversation, the following conventional signs were used: ? – interrogative intonation, (.) short pause, (...) longer pause, *mi̱na* – sentence stress is indicated by underlining the stressed vowel of a word.

indefiniteness, and 3) the prominence, importance of something (FOCUS). The most important means of bringing into prominence is sentence stress (EKG II: 191–192). It is likely that the opposition definite: indefinite may not be important in the selection of the long or short form of the personal pronouns as the personal pronouns of the first and second persons express such participants in the speech situation who are always known to the listeners. The pronoun *sina* can be used to make a generic reference as well, i.e. not only to the listener but a general person. However, this article will not discuss such cases separately.

Casting aside definiteness and indefiniteness as something unimportant, we will now examine the impact of the theme, rheme, and focus on the selection of pronoun form. The analysis of the oral material of this study confirmed the viewpoint of many grammarians that short pronouns occur in an unstressed position in the sentence. Functionally, it implies non-focus and/or non-rhematicity (thematicity), which will be discussed below together with non-prominence. A nominative short pronoun is basically a sentence-initial subject.

(1) *Ma* mäletan, et sa alati armastasid õhtuti oopereid kuulata.
'I remember that you always liked to listen to operas in the evenings.'

Of all the short pronouns (taking into account all the cases), there were 97.8% unstressed and only 2.2% stressed ones. There was only a single example where the nominative subject carried the stress:

(2) a selle kohta ütles direktor et tead Ao (.) ega see ei ole sellepärast et isa on sul nooruslik et see on sellepärast et *sa* hakkad vanaks jääma
'The director said about it that you know Ao that it is not because your dad looks youngish, but it is because you are beginning to get old.'

Example (2) is exceptional for a short nominative. The short pronoun form *sa* has been brought into prominence, and it is used in the contrasting function (*isa – sa*). In all the other cases

the short form of the pronoun occurred in the non-prominent position, e.g.

(3) *ma* ei ole selliseid osi varem mänginud ja *ma* praegu mängin ja ta on mulle kõige lähedasem ja
'I have never played such roles before and now I'm playing and it is most intimate to me and'

In most cases the long form of the pronoun has been brought into prominence (in 81.2% of the conversation material), and it contains more important information. Prominence can be achieved by means of the particles *ka, küll, hoopis, samuti, just* and the clitic *-gi* and/or by means of stress. If the particle is positioned after the pronoun, then the pronoun is unstressed (4), and if it is positioned before the pronoun, it is stressed (5):

(4) ei (.) *mina* küll ei mäleta et ta oleks ütelnud et vaata et sa nüüd näitlejaks hakkad
'No I don't remember him saying that see to it that you will become an actor.'
or
(5) Ka *mina* tunnen, et olen väsinud.
'I'm also feeling that I'm tired.'

A pronoun that has been brought into prominence without a particle is always stressed:

(6) *mina* ütlen sulle kaks rida (.) ühest lorilaulust (.) ja *sina* katsu seda hästi tõsiselt öelda
'I'll dictate you two lines from a dirty ballad and you try to say it as seriously as possible.'

(7) räägi nüüd siis sellest mida *sina* hakkad muutma või mismoodi sa seda teed
'Now tell me about what you are going to change or how you're going to do it.'

Prominence is, as a rule, accompanied by opposition. The use of the long form brings into prominence the importance of the

information in the pronoun, which is opposed either explicitly (6) or implicitly (7) to some other person.

However, a long pronoun may occur as a non-prominent one as well (18.2% of the conversational material). In most of these cases one has to do with opposition as well:

(8) A: kumb mina olen?
B: *sina* oled müüja (.) *mina* olen ostja (.) turul (.) sina müüd pirukaid
A: Which of them is me?
B: You're a vendor, I'm a customer at the market, you're selling pies.

(9) A: *mina* olen Saara
B: ja *mina* olen Koit
A: I'm Sarah.
B: And I'm Koit.

There are also occasional examples, where the long non-prominent form of the pronoun in the nominative is unrelated to opposition, e.g.

(10) *sina* Marko ütlesid et sa tunned suurt huvi ajaloo vastu
'You Marko said that you were very much into history.'

(11) nüüd me hakkame rääkima mis mehi *sina* oled
'Now we're going to discuss what kind of a man you are.'

Thus, one could say that in the case of the nominative the selection of the pronoun form depends first and foremost upon the importance of the information that is expressed by the pronoun and opposition. If the information is important, then the pronoun is brought into prominence; the formal means of expression include stress and the long form of the pronoun. In case the information is unimportant, the pronoun is not brought into prominence; formwise it can be expressed by lack of stress and the short form of the pronoun. In the case of opposition a long form is possible even in the case of non-prominence.

Although the choice of the pronoun form is independent of the familiarity or unfamiliarity of the information that is stressed by the pronouns, one can establish some relationship between the variability of the pronoun form and Chafe's treatment of the informational structure of the sentence, which he calls *activation cost* (Chafe 1994: 71–81). According to Chafe, the speaker chooses the means of forwarding information by taking into account whether the information is at that moment active, semiactive, or inactive, whereas the utterance should result in making the information active in the listener's consciousness. Thus, if the speaker thinks that the forwarded information is active for the listener, it will be forwarded as familiar information. On the other hand, if it is regarded as inactive, then as new information, whereas in English the principal means of expressing the new information is stress (ibid.). When trying to adapt this treatment to the Estonian personal pronouns, one could explain the use of the long and prominent pronoun form by the speaker's wish to activate the currently inactive information in the listener's consciousness. (The familiarity of the information does not play any role here, the means that are being selected to activate the currently inactive information – stress and the long form – coincide with the means of forwarding new information). On the other hand, if the information that is expressed by the pronoun is active for the listener, it will be mediated by means of forwarding familiar information, which include lack of stress and the short form.

The informational structure of the sentence influences the selection of the pronoun form in other Estonian cases as well. As the associations are similar, then this topic will not be discussed any more.

3.2. Genitive

When discussing the genitive I have separated those cases where the pronoun in the genitive occurs together with an adposition or words that behave similarly to them, e.g. *arust, arvates, teada.* These examples form a group that shares similar features, whereby it would be expedient to treat them separately.

In the case of the genitive drama texts and conversations reveal noticeable differences in the choice of the pronoun form. The latter prefer mostly the long pronoun, the former contain slightly more short forms.

	Drama text		**Conversations**	
Long	53	44.2%	50	73.5%
Short	67	55.8%	18	26.5%

As for the genitive, the basic corpus contained an almost equal number of short and long forms of the pronoun. There were 776 long forms (49.1%) and 804 short forms (50.9%). These data are rather close to the usage of pronouns in the drama text, and they help to illustrate one result of the present study – a written text contains a larger number of the short genitive of the pronoun than an oral conversation. One should also take into account the fact that the combinations of an adposition and a pronoun have not been separated form the corpus data. In case they were separated from the other genitive forms, it would be likely that the short pronoun form might prevail in the corpus data.

Such a difference between the usage of the pronoun in the drama text and conversations is of great interest. Assuming the spontaneity and speed of speech, one might expect a higher proportion of short forms. The short genitive forms *mu* and *su* are, in fact, also clitics (just like the short nominative forms *ma* and *sa*), being prosodically related to the next word, nor do they carry, as a rule, any stress (Hint 1998: 145). In most cases stress is carried by the word that follows the short form, thus, one has to do with a proclitic:

(12) nii et tantsind oled ja näitleja oled aga ma olen *su* häält kuulnud tervest reast (.) olmereklaamidest
'So you have danced and you're an actor, but I have heard your voice in a number of commercials.'

It seems that the prevalence of the long pronoun form in conversations is related to the identification of the functions of the long and short forms in speech. The conversations contained 46% prominent long genitive forms (23 examples) but 54%

non-prominent ones (27 examples). Thus, the long pronoun form in the genitive often occurs without the function of prominence, where one would expect a short form, e.g.

(13) aga vaataks vahepeal õige (.) ma ütlesin ette rutates siit meie koduteleviisorist *sinu* seljatagant (.) *sinu* üht liiki ponnistusi
'But why don't we watch in the meanwhile, I said prematurely from our home television behind your back, your efforts of sorts.'

In case of prominence the long pronoun form seems to be the only possibility, whereas usually one has to do with contrasting emphasis, as can be seen in example (14). There were no examples of a prominent short pronoun form in the genitive.

(14) vaata (...) on ju mehel ja naisel tihti niimoodi et on *minu* lapsed ja *sinu* lapsed ja siis on meie lapsed
'Look, a man and a woman often have things this way that there are my kids and your kids and then there are our kids.'

It seems that in the case of the non-prominent genitive one has to do with a free variability of long and short forms, in the case of prominence, however, only the long form is used.

3.3. Pronoun + adposition

Of the combinations of the pronoun and adposition I am going to discuss here only those cases where the pronoun is in the genitive. Those occasional examples where the adposition occurs together with the pronoun in the partitive or comitative will be discussed together with the corresponding cases as in those cases the pronoun form remains unchanged. The examples revealed that in combinations the words *arust, arvates* and *teada* behave similarly to the pronouns. Therefore, such cases will be discussed under the adposition and not the genitive.

In the material under discussion the pronouns occurred together with adpositions mostly in the long form.

	Drama text		Conversations	
Long	28	90.3%	31	100%
Short	3	9.7%	–	–

Only the long form was used in such combinations as *minu/sinu arust, minu/sinu arvates* 'in my/your opinion' and *minu/sinu teada* 'to the best of my/your knowledge', e.g.

(15) *Minu* teada pidi vanaema terve päeva ära olema.
'To the best of my knowledge granny was to be away for the entire day.'

The short pronoun forms *mu* and *su* are proclitically related to the adposition, e.g.

(16) *Mu* ümber oli kõik nagu silmapete.
'Everything around me was like make-believe.'

All the examples of the short pronoun form occurred together with an adposition. Only long pronoun forms occurred as extensions of the preposition, e.g.

(17) teatris küll ei ole ühtegi peale *minu*
'In fact, there is nobody else in the theater but me.'

It is likely that the preference of the long form in an adpositional combination may be related to bringing a person into prominence and contrasting. The conversational data included 71% of long forms (22 examples) in the prominent position and 29% (9 examples) in the non-prominent position. To what the person expressed by the pronoun is contrasted may remain implicit, as in example (18):

(18) ma ütlesin ju mis on *minu* jaoks tähtis
'Actually I said what was important for me.'

In the above example the pronoun is brought into prominence by expressing contrast. As was pointed out, a long pronoun form in

an adpositional combination may occur as a non-prominent one as well, e.g.

(19) see intervjuu tegemine on üks kummaline asi *minu* meelest
'This conducting an interview is a strange thing in my opinion.'

(20) aga see ajakirjanik kes *minu* juures käis oli väga sümpaatne ja jättis väga hea mulje ja
'But this journalist who came to me was very nice and made a very favorable impression and.'

In examples (19) and (20) the pronouns have not been brought into prominence in the sentence, and they could be replaced by the short genitive form as well.

The fact that the conversational material does not contain any short pronoun forms in adpositional combinations does not mean that they are not used in speech at all. Such adpositional combinations as *mu peale* 'on me' and *mu vastu* 'against me' are rather common in speech, but due to the scarcity of material our examples did not reveal any.

3.4. Partitive

The first and second person singular pronouns occur in the partitive only in the neutral form (*mind, sind*). Therefore, this case does not pose any interest from the point of view of pronoun form alternation. A pronoun in the partitive may be either focused (21) or unfocused (22):

(21) Taevale tänu, *mind* on sellest õndsusest säästetud.
'Thank heavens, I've been spared from this bliss.'

(22) ma liigun põhiliselt sellistes ringkondades kus *mind* teatakse ja tuntakse
'I mingle mostly in such circles where they know me.'

Thus, by analogy with the other cases one would expect both long and short forms in the partitive (which is the case, for example, in Finnish). The problem why the Estonian language has only one form in the partitive should be explained by language historians.

3.5. Internal local cases

The internal local cases proved to be very rare for personal pronouns. Therefore, the data of the basic corpus will be given as well.

	Drama text		**Conversations**		**Basic corpus**	
	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short
Illative	2(100%)	–	–	–	18 (94.7%)	1(5.3%
Inessive	2(100%)	–	4(100%)	–	47(100%)	–
Elative	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	91 (93.8%)	1 (25%)	91 (93.8%)	6(6.2%

The short forms of the internal local cases are very rarely used. The basic corpus contained only one example of the short form in the illative (23), there was none in the inessive. Most examples with the short form were in the elative, but their overall number was nevertheless rather small, all of them being in the non-prominent position (24).

(23) Käske valjusid enam ei kuule, nad ei jõua *musse* – kõik vajub alla, Su parketini.
'I cannot hear loud commands any more, they don't reach me – everything sinks as far as your parquet.'

(24) ütle siis ära kuidas *sust* näitleja sai
'Tell me then how did you become an actor.'

The long form of the pronoun is used both in prominent (25) and (26) and non-prominent positions (27) and (28).

(25) Mis puutub *minusse*, siis ei sünni mina igaühele ega igaüks minule.
'As for me, then I'm not fit for everyone, nor is everyone fit for me.'

(26) Ei, täna räägime *sinust*, täna on sinu sünnipäev.
'No, today we're going to talk about you, today is your birthday.'

(27) aga oled sa mõelnud ka (.) mis on selle põhjuseks (.) mis *sinus* selliseid negatiivseid emotsioone esile tõstab et sa sinna ei lähe?
'But have you ever thought what could be the reason that provokes such negatives emotions in you that you don't go there?'

(28) einoh kui ta on *sinust* vanem siis ta ongi vanem õde eks ole
'Well, if she's older than you then she must be your elder sister, isn't it so?'

It seems that in the case of internal local cases the selection of the pronoun form does not depend so much upon the focus of the pronoun or its position in the theme or rheme of the sentence as upon the case itself. These three cases are so rare for the personal pronouns and are associated with certain verbs (especially the illative) that the long pronoun form is selected automatically as the most common one both in the prominent and non-prominent positions.

3.6. External local cases

In the allative and adessive cases one can find mostly the short form. As far as the ablative is concerned, there were too few examples in the drama text and conversations to make any generalizations, and the long pronoun form predominated in the basic corpus.

	Drama text		**Conversations**		**Basic corpus**	
	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short
Allative	3 (5.4%)	53 (94.6)	6 (13.3%)	39 (86.7%)	41 (5.2%)	742 (94.8%)
Adessive	10 (19.2%)	42 (80.8%)	17 (10.9%)	139 (89.1%)	60 (7.6%)	734 (92.4%)
Ablative	–	1 (100%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	30 (76.9%)	9 (23.1%)

The allative and adessive are different from the other cases in that the short pronoun forms also carry the function of bringing the information into prominence, leaving the long forms as second-rate. In the following example the contrasting stress brings into prominence both the long and short forms of the allative.

(29) A: näiteks (.) *minule* ei meeldi üldse maamiinid no ja siis ma (.) nagu
B: me oleme sarnased kujutad ette (.) *mulle* ka ei meeldi (.) ma lausa vihkan neid maamiine
A: For example, I don't like the landmines at all, well, and then I as if
B: We are similar, can you imagine, I don't like them either, actually I hate those landmines.

Both the long pronoun form *minule* in conversational turn A and the short form *mulle* in turn B have been brought into prominence in the utterance. Both variants share a similar semantic function, they function as the subject of the action in the utterance (see EKG II: 11–12). Where the short pronoun form has the function of the long form, a situation may arise where the long form is not needed anymore, and it will be cast aside gradually.

We can see the same in the case of the adessive, which also occurs as brought into prominence in the normal way, e.g.

(30) *mul* tuleb selle looga muuseas kogu aeg meelde (.) Aarete saar kus lauldi see et (.) hoirassaa ja pudel rummi
'In connection with this song I'm constantly thinking of the 'Treasure Island' where they sang that yo-ho-ho and a bottle of rum.'

However, the majority of short allative and adessive forms occur in the non-prominent position. The conversational material revealed short non-prominent allative forms in 84.6% of the cases (33 times) and prominent ones in 15.4% of the cases (6 times). The same material revealed that short adessive forms were non-prominent in 92.1% of the cases (128 times) and prominent in 7.9% of the cases (11 times). As the short pronoun form is mostly used in the non-prominent position (includes non-rhematicity and non-focus), then one would expect the predominance of the short form in the allative and adessive. As far as the theme-rheme aspect is concerned, the pronouns in the allative and adessive are not as distinguishable as the nominative forms. Nevertheless, one could point out the feature that a pronoun in the allative and adessive often occurs in the sentence as the subject of action. The latter, however, is usually located in the theme because of the informational structure of the sentence. Thus, one would expect such pronouns to be short.

The pronouns in the allative and adessive enable the speaker to express the presence of oneself (in the case of the first person singular) or the addressee (in the case of the second person) in the sentence, and as in most cases one does not have to emphasize it, then the short form of the pronoun will be selected. It would also be interesting to find out why in conversations the adessive was much more frequent than the allative when compared to the drama text and the basic corpus (139 adessives vs. 39 allatives). A possible explanation might be the speaker's wish to express one's presence in the utterance if the grammatical subject is unsuitable for this purpose, and the possibilities of the adessive as the subject of action are greater than those of the allative.

(31) A: kas te tunnete ennast panga kliendina või tarbijana kuidagimoodi petetuna või nördinult?
B: no pe̲tetult noh ikka sellepärast et nad nagu kümme tuhat arvestasid *mul* kohe nagu ra̲ha nagu eks maha mida ma tegelikult ei saanud
A: As a client of the bank or a consumer do you feel that you were somehow cheated or indignantly

B: Well, I felt cheated, well, it's so because they calculated as if ten thousand, as if I had the money, as if the money that I did not actually receive.

(32) üks suur ja vahva ajakiri käis *sul* hiljuti kodus ja (.) küllap tema küsis ka mitut asja
'Recently a big and glorious magazine visited your place and they must have asked a couple of things.'

In example (31) the speaker adds himself by means of the pronoun *mul* (i.e. the first person) in conversational turn B. In example (32) the pronoun *sul* expresses the presence of the addressee in the utterance.

In the case of the allative and adessive one could also explain the absolute preference of the short forms by the phonological structure of the pronoun forms. As far as their phonological shape is concerned, both the short allative forms *mulle* and *sulle* as well as the adessive forms *mul* and *sul* can occur as full-fledged words and bear sentence stress. The same cannot be said about the short forms of the nominative and the genitive. (As for the phonological structure, the short forms of the internal local cases could also fulfill the function of bringing into prominence. However, as their usage is so restricted, we cannot regard them as equal to the allative and adessive here.)

The long forms of the allative and adessive occur mostly in the prominent position. The conversational material showed that 100% of the long allative forms and 82.4% of the long adessive forms (14 examples) were prominent. There were 17.6% long adessive forms (3 examples) that had not been brought into prominence, and those could be replaced by a short pronoun form, e.g.

(33) *sinul* lasub kohustus parandada maailma oma võimaluste piires
'You have the responsibility to improve the world as far as you can.'

There were very few examples with the ablative, but it seems that the short pronoun forms *mult* and *sult* cannot occur in the

prominent position on an equal footing with the other external local cases. The only example of the long ablative occurred in the prominent position in the sentence:

(34) a sellepärast neil ongi nii palju et nad said Sirjelt juba seitse ja pool ja *minult* said nad (.) kolm siis nad said kümme ja pool punkti
'Well, that's why they have so many because they received seven and a half from Sirje and three from me, so they received ten and a half credit points.'

Example (34) includes the long and prominent pronoun form *minult*, which has the contrasting function (the opposition from Sirje – from me). It seems that the short form *mult* is not natural in this position, on the other hand, the short form would be very natural if it were non-prominent, e.g.

(35) Sõda võttis *mult* kaks last.
'The war took away two of my kids.'

Also, the only example with the short ablative occurred as non-prominent in the sentence:

(36) siis oli pilli vaja teatril ja siis võeti *mult* pill ära ja nüüd on ununenud
'Then the theater needed the instrument and then they took the instrument away from me and now it has been forgotten.'

Similarly to the internal local cases, the ablative occurs in the personal pronouns mostly as a dependent extension, and it is also a rare case form. The usage of the long and short pronoun forms seems to depend mostly on prominence in the sentence.

3.7. Translative, terminative, essive, and abessive

Only three earlier grammarians – Hermann (1884), Leetberg (1921), and Aavik (1936) considered possible the existence of the short translative forms *muks* and *suks*. No later grammar has

mentioned the existence of these short forms. The existence of the short terminative, essive, and abessive forms has always been denied. The material under discussion did not include any examples with the translative and essive. However, there were only some long pronoun forms of the terminative and abessive, e.g.

(37) Vaid paarist kohast kandus *minuni* tasast juttu.
'Quiet conversation reached me only from a couple of places.'

(38) Tule, tule! kutsub hobune, ma pean sind sinna viima, sest ilma *sinuta* ei saa rong ära sõita.
'Come, come! the horse is calling, I'll have to take you there because without you the train cannot leave.'

3.8. Comitative

It was only the long comitative pronoun forms *minuga* and *sinuga* that occurred in the drama text, conversations, and the basic corpus (9 times in the drama text, twice in the conversations, and 72 times in the basic corpus), e.g.

(39) Ma kuulsin, et *sinuga* midagi juhtus, et sind viidi haiglasse...
'I heard that something had happened to you, that you had been taken to the hospital...'

However, the additional corpus contained three examples of the short comitative (I analyzed an extract of 1,000 passages from the language of fiction), e.g.

(40) "Sa võiks *muga* kaasa tulla," palus Lotta käheda häälega.
'"You might come with me", begged Lotta in a husky voice.'

(41) "Nii!" ütles Juss. "Nüüd ma saan *suga* arved klaariks teha!"
'"So!" said Juss. "Now I can settle accounts with you!"'

A number of Estonian grammarians (e.g. Palmeos 1985) have put the short comitative forms *muga* and *suga* into parentheses as extremely rare, others do not mention the short forms at all (e.g. Valgma and Remmel 1970). The fact that the material under discussion contained a very small number of short comitative forms proves that their usage is rare, indeed. It seems that the short comitative forms have not found their place into written texts as yet, but one can hear *muga* and *suga* rather often in spoken language (the existing examples of the short forms were also found in direct speech). It seems that the short comitative forms can occur first and foremost in the speech flow between other words but not singly in a prominent position.

4. Summary

The material collected from the drama text, conversations, and the basic corpus revealed that the usage of the first and second person singular pronouns does not differ remarkably in spoken and written Estonian. The only remarkable difference was in the genitive, where the long pronoun form was much more frequent in oral conversations than in the drama text and the basic corpus. The results were rather similar as far as the other case forms were concerned.

The selection of the pronoun form is largely governed by such factors as the prominence and case of the word form. Prominence includes rhematicity and focus, and their formal means of expression include stress and the long pronoun form. On the other hand, non-prominence includes non-rhematicity and non-focus, and it is achieved by lack of stress and the short pronoun form. The preference of the short form in the nominative is related to its occurrence in the non-prominent position in the sentence. A short pronoun form in the nominative has been brought into prominence in most cases, and most frequently one has to do with contrasting emphasis. It seems that in the case of a non-prominent genitive long and short pronoun forms vary freely, the short form, however, cannot occur as a prominent one. In the case of the nominative and genitive the prominence of the short forms is excluded by their phonological form. In the case of

the internal local cases the long pronoun form seems to stem first and foremost from the cases because in those cases the short forms would be rather unusual and rarely useable (especially in the illative and inessive). The usage of the pronoun in the ablative is similar to the internal local cases. In addition to the case, here the selection of the pronoun is affected by its prominence in the sentence as well. In the case of the allative and the adessive the short pronoun form predominates, which occurs also in the prominent position in the sentence, thus fulfilling the functions of the long form. The frequency of the short form could be related to the occurrence of allative and adessive pronouns as the subject of action in the sentence. In most cases it is located in the theme of the sentence, and it is, as expected, a short form. The preference of short forms in the allative and adessive could be influenced by the phonological form of these pronoun forms. In the translative, terminative, essive, and abessive only the long pronoun form is used. In the comitative, however, the short form is to a certain degree used in the non-prominent position as well.

The present article studied only the functional aspect of the usage of long and short pronoun forms. Whether and how a person's age, gender, and dialect background affects the usage of Estonian personal pronouns would require a separate sociolinguistic study.

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AINSUSE 1. JA 2. ISIKU PERSONAAL-PRONOOMENITE ERI KUJUDE KASUTAMISEST EESTI KEELE KÄÄNETES

Raili Pool

Eesti keele pronoomenisüsteemi omapäraseks jooneks võib pidada pikkade (*mina, sina*) ja lühikeste (*ma, sa*) paralleelvormide olemasolu personaalpronoomenite puhul nii kõne- kui kirjakeeles. Partitiivi puhul pronoomenite kuju ei varieeru (*mind, sind*), neid vorme nimetatakse käesolevas artiklis neutraalkujudeks. Subjektisikut võib väljendada ka ainult verbi pöördelõpuga (*loen, laulad*), selle puudumisel saab isiku kindlaks teha konteksti abil. Implitsiitsena esinevaid asesõnu nimetatakse siin nullpronoomeniteks.

Käesolev artikkel püüab anda ülevaate ainsuse 1. ja 2. isiku pronoomenite eri kujude kasutamisest kõigis eesti keele käänetes ning leida vastuseid küsimustele, miks üht või teist kuju on kasutatud. Materjali allikateks on kirjalik draamatekst, suulised vestlused (kogutud raadio- ja televisioonidialoogidest) ning Tartu Ülikooli eesti keele korpus.

Vaadeldud materjal näitas, et ainsuse 1. ja 2. isiku pronoomenite eri kujude kasutamises ei ole eesti keeles suulise ja kirjaliku teksti vahel olulisi erinevusi. Ainus silmapaistev erinevus oli genitiivis, mille puhul suulistes vestlustes kasutati märgatavalt rohkem pikka asesõnavormi kui draamatekstis ja korpuses, muude käänete puhul olid tulemused üsna ühesugused.

Pronoomenikuju valikul tõusevad oluliste teguritena esile sõnavormi esiletõstetus ja kääne. Esiletõstetus hõlmab endas remaatilisuse ja fokuseerituse ning selle väljendamise vormilisteks vahenditeks on rõhk ja pikk pronoomenikuju. Mitte-esiletõstetus omakorda hõlmab mitte-remaatilisuse ja mittefokuseerituse ning seda vormistab rõhu puudumine ja lühike pronoomenivorm.

Nominatiivis domineeris lühike pronoomenikuju, mis esineb lauses mitte-esiletõstetud positsioonis, nt ***Ma*** *mäletan, et sa alati armastasid õhtuti oopereid kuulata.* Pikk pronoomenivorm on enamasti lauses esile tõstetud ning kannab endas olulisemat infot. Esiletõstmine võib toimuda partiklite *ka, küll, hoopis, samuti, just* ning liidepartikli *-gi* abil ja/või rõhu abil, nt *Ka* ***mina*** *tunnen, et olen väsinud.* Pika nominatiivse pronoomenivormi esiletõstuga kaasneb peaaegu alati vastandus, nt ***mina*** *ütlen sulle kaks rida (.) ühest lorilaulust (.) ja* ***sina*** *katsu seda hästi tõsiselt öelda.* Pikk pronoomenivorm võib siiski esineda ka mitte-esiletõstetuna, enamasti on neilgi juhtudel tegu vastandusega, nt *A:* ***mina*** *olen Saara B: ja* ***mina*** *olen Koit.*

Genitiivi puhul tundub mitte-esiletõstetuse korral olevat tegu pronoomeni pika ja lühikese vormi vaba varieerumisega, st et rõhutus positsioonis võivad võrdselt esineda nii pikad kui lühikesed asesõnakujud, nt *nii et tantsind oled ja näitleja oled aga ma olen* ***su*** *häält kuulnud tervest reast (.) olmereklaamidest; aga vaataks vahepeal õige (.) ma ütlesin ette rutates siit meie koduteleviisorist* ***sinu*** *seljatagant (.)* ***sinu*** *üht liiki ponnistusi.* Esiletõstetuse puhul tundub olevat ainuvõimalik pikk pronoomenikuju, kusjuures tavaliselt on tegemist kontrasteeriva rõhutamisega, nt *vaata (...) on ju mehel ja naisel on tihti niimoodi et on* ***minu*** *lapsed ja* ***sinu*** *lapsed ja siis on meie lapsed.* Nominatiivi ja genitiivi puhul välistab lühikujude esiletõstetuse juba nende fonoloogiline vorm.

Pronoomenid genitiivis koos kaassõnaga on käesolevas artiklis eraldi rühmaks arvatud, kaassõnadega on võrdsustatud ka nendega sarnaselt käituvad sõnad *arust, arvates, teada.* Pronoomenid koos kaassõnaga esinesid valdavalt pikas vormis ning esiletõstetud positsioonis, nt ***Minu*** *teada pidi vanaema terve päeva kodust ära olema.*

Sisekohakäänete lühivorme kasutatakse väga harva ja mitte-esiletõstetud positsioonis, nt *ütle siis ära kuidas* ***sust*** *näitleja sai.* Pikka pronoomenikuju kasutatakse nii esiletõstetuna kui ka mitte-esiletõstetuna. Tundub, et sisekohakäänete puhul ei mängi pronoomenikuju valikul rolli mitte niivõrd pronoomeni fokuseerimine või paiknemine lause teemas või reemas, vaid hoopis kääne ise. Sisekohakäänetega on sarnane ka asesõnakasutus ablatiivis.

Allatiivi ja adessiivi puhul on valitsev lühike pronoomenikuju, mis esineb lauses ka esiletõstetud positsioonis, täites niiviisi pika vormi funktsioone, nt *A: näiteks (.)* ***minule*** *ei meeldi üldse maamiinid no ja siis ma (.); nagu B: me oleme sarnased kujutad ette (.)* ***mulle*** *ka ei meeldi (.) ma lausa vihkan neid maamiine.* Lühivormi sagedus võib olla seotud ka allatiivis ja adessiivis olevate pronoomenite esinemisega lause tegevussubjektina. See paikneb enamasti lause teemas ning on seega ootuspäraselt lühikujuline. Lühikujude eelistust allatiivis ja adessiivis võib mõjutada ka nende pronoomenikujude fonoloogiline vorm.

Translatiivis, terminatiivis ja abessiivis kasutatakse vaid pikka pronoomenikuju, komitatiivis mitte-esiletõstetud positsioonis vähesel määral ka lühikuju.

TEMPERATURE TERMS IN THE BALTIC AREA[1]

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1. Introduction

A basic temperature term is a psychologically salient, in most cases morphologically simple and native word, which generally denotes the quality of temperature at a basic level, and which is applicable in animate, inanimate, and weather domains. According to this definition, the basic temperature term must be applicable for living creatures, including human beings, for things such as stones and buildings, but also for food and drink, as well as for speaking about weather (Sutrop 1998).

In the following paper, we take only the basic temperature terms in the Baltic area into consideration but if necessary we will also mention some secondary terms. First, we try to give some introductory remarks about the possible temperature term systems. Second, we analyse the Estonian basic temperature terms, and finally, we compare the Estonian terms and temperature term system with the terms and systems of the neighbouring languages such as Russian, Latvian, Lithuanian, South-Estonian, Finnish, and also German. We assume that the terms under consideration are psychologically salient general terms which are applicable to all relevant domains. The aim of the following analysis is to find out whether these terms are morphologically simple, and whether they are native words. This means we must analyse our sample both morphologically and etymologically.

Another interesting aspect of the temperature terms concerns the different word classes to which such terms may belong

[1] I am grateful to Prof. Frans Plank for comments and helpful discussion and to Ms. Alanna Moger for reading the manuscript and correcting my English.

depending on the languages. Although in many languages temperature terms may be adjectives, in some languages they are either nominal or verbal. R. M. W. Dixon points out that if a language has only a few adjectives, those will be for time-stable properties such as size, length, colour, etc., while less durable qualities, for example, 'hot' and 'cold' will be expressed as verbs. From the sample of 20 languages with very small adjective classes (from 7 to 24 adjectives pro language) he found 3 languages with an adjective 'hot' and two languages with an adjective 'cold' (Dixon 1982: 7). For example, Central African Creole Sango is a language without temperature adjectives. Sango derives 'hot' and 'wet' from the nouns 'fire' and 'water', but has the verbs 'to be cold' and 'to be dry' (Dixon 1982: 53). We will also ask whether the temperature terms (adjectives) in Estonian and neighbouring languages have nominal or verbal character.

We have seen that there are temperature systems without basic temperature terms. If a language has only one basic temperature term, this term may denote either cold or warm regions. An example with one basic temperature term is Selkup (South Samoyed, Samoyed). In the Taz dialect of Selkup there is a basic term *pötpyl'* 'warm, hot', which has antonymic relations with three semantically different terms for a cold region *casyqyl'* 'cold for days, things, liquids; frosty', *qɔ:ńyl'* 'frosty for days, weather', and *qantypyl'* (*qannympyl', qantɛ:mpyl'*) 'cold for things, water; frozen (people), hands, things exposed to cold' (data from Kuznecova et al. 1980: 28, see also Sutrop 1998). These terms for cold temperature regions are not basic because they are specialised and not general terms. Their use is restricted only to some domain. On the other hand, all Selkup temperature terms have verbal character. For example, the only semantically basic (i.e. general) term *pötpyl'* 'warm, hot' is analysable as *pöt-pyl'*. This term is derived from the intransitive verbal stem *pöt-* 'to heat, to warm' and is historically a past participle with the past

participle suffix *-pyl'* (the last segment *-l'* may be an adjectival suffix *-l'*)[2]

Examples of the temperature term systems with two basic terms are Tagalog (Central Philippine, Austronesian), Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), and French (Italic, Indo-European). In Tagalog the term *maínit* corresponds to English 'hot and warm' and *malamíg* to 'cold and cool' The French and Chinese temperature systems are identical. Both temperature systems have two basic absolute terms and two secondary relative terms. The absolute terms are *froid* 'cold' and *chaud* 'hot' in French and *lěng* 'cold' and *rè* 'hot' in Chinese. The so-called relative terms in those systems contain their history. The terms *frais* 'literally: fresh' in French and *liángkuai* in some Chinese dialects are used when the temperature is falling, i.e. the preceding temperature was higher. The terms *doux* 'literally: sweet' in French and *nuǎnhuo* in some Chinese dialects are used only when the temperature is rising, i.e. the earlier temperature was lower. For practical reasons these terms are often incorrectly translated 'cool' and 'warm', respectively. In Russian there are also two basic temperature terms, but the secondary terms do not form such a system as in French or Chinese.

Some languages have three basic temperature terms. For example, in Latvian and Lithuanian (Baltic, Indo-European) there are two basic terms for the warm region, and only one term for the cold region. Theoretically it is also possible that there are systems with two basic terms for a cold region and one term for a warm region.

Temperature term systems with four basic terms are rare. Good examples with four basic temperature terms are German, English and Estonian.

[2] According to Helimski (1983: 48) "the suffix -би [-by-] goes back to the Common Selkup suffix of past participle *-(m)pej"

2. Estonian temperature terms

In an earlier empirical study we investigated the Estonian temperature terms (Figure 1). We established that there are four basic temperature terms – *külm* 'cold', *jahe* 'cool', *soe* 'warm', and *kuum* 'hot' – and two transitional terms – *palav* 'burning, hot' and *leige* 'lukewarm, tepid' – in Estonian. The basic temperature terms belong cognitively into two sub-groups. The terms for cold and warm form the primary group and the terms for cool and hot form the secondary group among the basic terms (Sutrop 1998).

In this study 80 Estonian native speakers participated. All subjects did the temperature-term list task, the antonym naming task, the temperature-verb list task, and the temperature-term ranking task. So our results are statistically credible and representative for modern Estonian. In the following we will give etymological and morphological analysis of the established basic terms in Estonian (Sutrop 1988).

The transitional term *palav* 'burning, hot; synonym for *kuum* 'hot'' was never basic in Estonian. The term *palav* is the ACTIVE PRESENT PARTICIPLE of the verb *palama* ~ *põlema* 'to burn' This stem belongs to Finno-Ugric **pal'a* 'Eiskruste, Frost; frieren, gefrieren' (Rédei 1988: I, 352). Rédei gave the following explanation of the semantic change 'frost, to freeze → to burn':

> Die entgegengesetzte Bedeutung der Entsprechungen in der verwandten Sprachen ('frieren' ~ 'brennen') kann damit erklärt werden, daß große Kälte bzw. Wärme ähnliche physiologische Reize auslösen (1988: I, 352).

Figure 1. Temperature terms in Estonian

BASIC TERMS:	1. *külm*	'cold'	PRIMARY GROUP
	2. *soe*	'warm'	
	3. *jahe*	'cool'	SECONDARY
	4. *kuum*	'hot'	GROUP

NON-BASIC TERMS:	5. *palav*	'burning'	TRANSITIONAL GROUP
	6. *leige*	'lukewarm'	
	7. *jäine*	'icy'	
	8. *tuline*	'fiery'	
	9. *jääkülm*	'ice cold'	
	etc.		

It is interesting to note that such phenomenon – cold and hot are semantically and etymologically connected – is widely spread. For example, in North Germanic languages the semantic change of the term **sval-* 'hot → cold' took place: Old English *swelan* and Old Frisian *swela* 'langsam brennen', Middle Dutch *swelen* 'sengen, dörren'; Old Norse *svalr*, New Norwegian, Swedish, Danish *sval*, New Icelandic svalur 'cool, cold' (see Vries 1962: 564). One can find more such examples in Bechtel (1879: 17–21), Abel (1884), and Lewy (1907: 144).

Now we will focus on the basic temperature terms in Estonian. The basic terms *külm* 'cold' and *soe* 'warm' both belong to the Finno-Permic layer of the temperature terms in Estonian. The term *külm* 'cold' belongs to **kilmä (*külmä)* 'kalt; Kälte, Frost; kalt werden, gefrieren, erfrieren' (Rédei 1988: II,663). It is believed that this is an early Proto-Baltic loan. For example, Jorma Koivulehti (1983: 125–127) and Lembit Vaba (1994: 242) have derived this term from (Proto-)Baltic **gel(V)ma- (*gēl(V)ma-)* 'cold, frost'

The term *soe* 'warm' goes back to Finno-Permic **saja* 'Schatten' (Rédei 1988: II,748). The meaning warm is a secondary development in the Finnic and/or Estonian. In Finnish its primary meaning is preserved: *suoja* 'Schutz, Schirm, Zufluchtsort' and in dialects also 'Gebäude, Haus, Stube' As a secondary semantic development we can find the meanings 'Tauwetter; sanft, mild, gelind (vom Wetter)' from the Finnish

dialects.[3] In Estonian we can find *Warm Soj/sojast* 'warm' in Stahl (1637: 127) and *Warm /(calidus) Soij/Sojast* 'warm', *etwas warm (lauliche) leige* 'lauwarm', *warmen/ soiendama* 'to warm', *Warm Bad/ (Thermæ, arum) soij saun* 'warm bath', and *Wärme / [calor] Soija* 'warmth' in Göseken (1660: 457). This stem is attested also in South-Estonian: *warm lemmi, sohia* 'warm' and *schwul Soje* 'sweltering, sultry' Gutslaff (1648). It is clear that *sohia (Soje)* was not basic in South-Estonian.

In South-Estonian, the general term for warm is *lämmi*. It is of Finno-Mordvinic or Finno-Cheremisic origin: **lämpɜ* 'warm, Wärme' (Rédei 1988: II, 685). The term *lämmi* is known in all Finnic languages (see Saareste 1924: 258–259). In Finnish, the term *lämmin,* GENITIVE *lämpimän* 'warm, mild, hot; warmth' is basic. It is possible that this term was basic also in Estonian before it was replaced with the term *soe* 'warm'

The terms *jahe* 'cool' and *kuum* 'hot' both belong to the Finno-Mordvinic layer of Estonian vocabulary. The noun-verb **jakša* 'kühl, kalt; kühl, kalt wereden' (Rédei 1988: II, 631) has some doubtful cognates also in Cheremisic. In Finnish, this term is replaced with *viileä* 'cool' The distinction between cold and cool seems to be quite old in Finnic. There were two terms for the cold region in Finnic: an older Finno-Permic term **kilmä (*külmà)* 'cold' and a more recent term *jahe,* GENITIVE *jaheda* < Finnic **jaheta* 'cool' < Finno-Mordvinic **jakša* 'cool, cold' It is also possible that **jakša* is a velar parallel form to an older Finno-Ugric stem **jäkšɜ* 'kühl, kalt; kühl, kalt werden' (Rédei 1988: I, 90–91). The term *kuum* 'hot' belongs to **kūma* 'heiß, glühend; Fieber' (Rédei 1988: II, 657–658). It is also basic in Finnish: *kuuma* 'heiß, brennend, glühend, hitzig'

We have seen that the temperature terms have also changed. Now there are four basic terms in Estonian: *külm* 'cold', *jahe* 'cool' *soe* ' warm', and *kuum* 'hot' We may reconstruct the earlier Finnic: **külmä* 'cold', **jaheta* 'cool', **lämpetä* 'warm', and **kuuma* 'hot' In Estonian **lämpetä* is replaced with *soe*

[3] See also Saareste (1924: 258–259) for the terms for warm in the Estonian dialects and Beke (1940) for comparison of the Estonian *soe* and Finnish *suoja.*

'warm' and in Finnish **jaheta* is replaced with *viileä* 'cool' The term *jahe* < Finnic **jaheta* < Finno-Permic **jakša* < Finno-Ugric **jäkšз* may be the oldest temperature term in Estonian. It is possible that it has the general meaning 'cold, cool' Here it is not possible to decide which term was the Finno-Ugric term for warm region. It is also interesting that the terms **külmä* 'cold' and **kuuma* 'hot' were unmarked in Finnic. For contrast, the terms **jah-eta* and **lämp-etä* were marked in Finnic.

Everybody knows that a sauna is a warm or hot place. It is interesting to note the parallel semantic development of the Estonian terms *soe* 'warm' and *saun* 'sauna' The primary meaning of *soe* was 'protection, shelter, cover' The meaning 'warm' developed from that because a freezing man felt a warm sensation in such protective places. The primary meaning of the term *saun* < *sauna* 'sauna' was 'cave in the snow-drift as a shelter from the wind or for staying overnight' Also, in such protective caves, the ancient men had the feeling of warmth. This sensation of warmth was carried over to any warm smoke or steam bath, sauna.

We will end this chapter with an ethnographic note. In his dissertation of the endemic diseases of Estonians, Karl Ernst von Baer wrote in 1814 that for Estonians the highest value is a *hot* rather than a *warm* room (1976: 24).

3. Areal comparison

Now we will focus on the areal comparison. If we compare the temperature term systems around the Baltic Sea we can see that Finnic and Germanic languages possess four-term systems, the Baltic languages possess three-term systems, and in Russian there is a two-term system in use (Table 1).

Table 1.
The systems of the temperature terms around the Baltic Sea

Gloss	Russian	Latvian	Lithuanian	German	Finnish	South-Estonian	Estonian
hot	teplyj	karsts	karštas	heiß	kuuma	kuum	kuum
warm		silts	šiltas	warm	lämmin	lämmi	soe
cool	xolodnyj	auksts	šaltas	kühl	viileä	jahhe	jahe
cold				kalt	kylmä	külm	külm

Table 1 shows that there are temperature term systems with two, three, and four basic terms in the languages around the Baltic Sea. Here we understand the basic terms as defined above. These terms are psychologically salient and their use is not restricted to a narrow class of objects.

It may seem that in Russian there are more than two cognitively basic temperature terms. But in the cold region only *xolodnyj* 'cold, cool' is basic. The use of the term *proxladnyj* 'cool, cooled down, chilly' is restricted. The term is morphologically complex and is not monolexemic, i.e., its meaning is predictable from its parts: *proxladnyj* < *pro* + *xolodnyj* 'somewhat cold' In the warm region, the term *teplyj* 'warm' seems to be basic but there is no basic term for 'hot' The terms which correspond to hot are used restrictively: *gorjačij* 'hot for tactile senasations', *žarkij* 'hot for non-tactile sensations', and *znoijnyj* 'hot for non-tactile sensations when the source of heat is the sun' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1998).

Diachronically, the Russian basic temperature terms *xolodnyj* and *teplyj* are morphologically complex. The term xolodnyj is analysable as *xolod-n-yj* 'cold-DENOMINAL.ADJ-MASC.ADJ' from *xolod* < **cholodъ* <**choldъ* 'sbs. cold, coldness' The further etymology of that term is not clear. The term *teplyj* is analysable as *tep-l-yj* 'warm-DEVERBAL-MASC.ADJ' belonging to Indo-European root **tep-* (cf. English *tepid*).

The Baltic languages have a temperature-term system with three basic terms. For the cold region, both Latvian and

Lithuanian has only one basic term as in Russian. Lithuanian *šaltas*, Latvian non-basic *salts*, and Old Prussian **saltas* 'cold' (< Baltic **šaltas* 'cold') are historically verbal adjectives to Lithuanian *šalti* 'gefrieren, abkühlen, kalt werden', Latvian *salt* 'frieren, gerinnen', for example, Lithuanian *šaltas* < *šal-tas* 'cold-PAST.PASSIVE. PARTICIPLE' Latvian basic term *auksts* 'cold' (in dialects also *austs*) is also deverbal as is the former *salts* 'a non-basic term for cold' (see Lanszweert 1984: 21–22).

There are two cognitively basic temperature terms for the warm region in the Baltic languages. Lithuanian *šiltas* 'warm, angenehm, liebevoll' to *šilti* 'warm werden'and Latvian *silts* 'warm' to *silt* 'warm werden' are deverbal adjectives as are the terms for cold. According to Lanszweert, these terms for warm are relatively young in Baltic languages. (1984: 165–166). In Old Prussian, the term for warm is not available except in the toponym *Taplawken* 'Warmfelt genannt' In this toponym the stem **tep-* is the same as in Russian *teplyj* 'warm' (see Lanszweert 1984: 166).

The terms for 'hot' are older than the terms for 'warm' in the Baltic languages. Lithuanian *karštas* 'hot', and Latvian *karsts* 'hot' and *karst* 'become hot' are from the Lithuanian root *kurti*, Latvian *kurt* 'to heat' The terms for hot are also deverbal adjectives. To summarise, all basic temperature terms are deverbal adjectives (past passive participles) in Latvian and Lithuanian. Possibly, both Baltic and Slavic languages possessed a two-term system. The category cold has remained the same in Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian whereas the category warm is split into hot and warm categories in the Baltic languages.

German has a temperature system with four basic terms. Both the terms *kalt* 'cold' and *kühl* 'cool' are of the same origin. The term *kalt* is a cognate of the Germanic adjective **kalda-* 'cold' which is a *to*-participle to the Germanic strong verb **kal-a-* 'frieren, kalt werden' The younger term *kühl* is a cognate of the West-Germanic stretched (*dehnstufiges*) adjective **kōlja-* to the same strong verb **kal-a-* 'frieren, kalt werden'

The two basic terms for the warm region are different. The term *warm* 'warm' is from Germanic adjective **warma-* 'warm' which is deverbal (cf. Lithuanian *virti*, Old Church Slavic *vĭrěti*

'siedeln, kochen'). Probably the Latin term *formus* 'hot' which is not a cognate of **warma-* was used as a pattern for building **warma-* (see Kluge 1995: 875). The term *heiß* 'hot' is from the Germanic adjective **haita-* 'hot' which is a *d*-extension from an Indo-European root **kai-* 'to burn'

We have seen that all the four basic temperature terms in German (and English) are diachronically deverbal. It is possible to reconstruct German as a two-term language. The split of the warm category into warm and hot categories took place earlier than the split of the category cold into cold and cool categories.The split of the cold category took place in the West-Germanic period. The earlier split of the warm category into two cognitively basic categories corresponds to the situation in Latvian and Lithuanian where this category is split as well, but the cold category has remained intact. In Russian, both cognitively basic categories, the cold and the warm categories, have remained intact.

Above we have analysed the Finnic temperature terms. Here it is important to add that we can reconstruct a two-term system with the terms **külmä* 'cold' and **kuuma* 'hot' for Proto-Finnic. In Late-Proto-Finnic there was already the distinction of four cognitively basic temperature categories. The older categories cold and hot were designated with the morphologically simple terms but the more recent categories cool and warm were designated with the morphologically complex *eta*-adjectives **jaheta* 'cool' and **lämpetä* 'warm' At present it is not possible to decide whether such distinction into more than two categories was already in use in Finno-Mordvinic or earlier.

The Finnic temperature terms are more nominal in their character than the German, Baltic or Slavic terms (although Russian *xolodnyj* 'cold' is nominal). Historically, the only morphologically simple terms in our sample are Estonian *külm* 'cold' and *kuum* 'hot' and their cognates in Finnish, and South-Estonian. It is likely that the temperature categories and terms were developed separately in the West-Germanic and Finnic languages.

It is possible to show that German has influenced the Estonian temperature term system. If we consider the antonymic

relations between the basic temperature terms then we can see that the main opposition is not *külm : kuum* 'cold : hot' but *külm soe* 'cold : warm' in Estonian. The same situation appears in German where the main opposition is *kalt : warm* 'cold : warm' At the basic level two other oppositions are also possible in Estonian and German: Estonian *jahe soe*, German *kühl warm* 'cool : warm' and Estonian *kuum : külm*, German *heiß kalt* 'hot : cold' In English, there are four oppositions at the basic level: *hot cold, cool : warm, cold : warm*, and *hot cool.*

Here we must also have in mind that the Estonian terms *külm* 'cold' and *soe* 'warm' form cognitively the primary group among the basic temperature terms. Consequently, their antonymic opposition is also cognitively more salient. In the Late-Proto-Finnic the main opposition was, with high probability, between the unmarked terms **külmä* 'cold' and **kuuma* 'hot' At the same time the marked *eta*-adjectives **jaheta* 'cool' and *lämpetä* 'warm' probably formed a secondary group. Earlier the basic term for the low temperatures could have been Finno-Cheremisic or Finno-Mordvinic **jakša* 'cool, cold' which goes back to the Finno-Ugric **jäkšз* 'cool, cold' When the Finno-Permic people borrowed the Proto-Baltic term **kilmä (*külmä)* 'cold; frost (kalt; Kälte, Frost; kalt werden, gefrieren, erfrieren)' it probably was not a basic general term. The term **külmä* could have become only basic in Proto-Finnic.

At the present state of our knowledge, we must content ourselves with the preliminary and mostly etymological remarks alone. For more precise treatment the empirical data are needed. For typology of the temperature terms around the Baltic Sea, we need more data from the Finnic and Lappic minority languages as well as from the major languages in this area, for example, from Swedish, Danish, German, Latvian, and Belorussian. It is not only important at which stage of the temperature vocabulary development a langauge is, but how this language has reached its present state. We should also compare the present and reconstructed basic terms etymologically, i.e. to explain and compare their types of origin.

4. Conclusions

In this paper we have analysed the cognitively basic temperature terms in Estonian and neighbouring languages morphologically and etymologically. We have seen that the only morphologically simple basic terms are Estonian *külm*, Finnish *kylmä* 'cold' and Estonian *kuum*, Finnish *kuuma* 'hot' All other terms in our sample were morphologically complex, i.e. derived. The Finnic temperature terms are more nominal in their character than the German, English, Baltic or Slavic terms which are deverbal.

Diachronically, for all languages in our sample it is possible to reconstruct a two-term stage with one basic term for low temperatures and another for higher temperatures. Synchronically, Russian is on this two-term stage. In the Baltic languages and in German and English at first the warm category split into warm and hot categories. The Baltic languages represent, synchronically, this stage of temperature term development. After the splitting of the warm category, the cold category split in West-Germanic also. There are four basic terms in German and English now (but only three, for example, in Danish where there are two basic terms for higher temperatures – *warm* 'warm' and *hed* 'hot' – and only one basic term for low temperatures – *kold* 'cold'; the term *kølig* 'cool' is not basic because it is synchronically complex (*ig*-suffix) and actually means 'something cold').

Finnic languages reached a four basic-term stage relatively early. In Proto-Finnic there was clearly a two-term system with the basic terms **külmä* 'cold' and **kuuma* 'hot' because the marked *eta*-adjectives **jaheta* 'cool' and **lämpetä* 'warm' were secondary terms. Estonian clearly has four basic temperature terms.

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LÄÄNEMERE AREAALI TEMPERATUURISÕNAD

Urmas Sutrop

1. Sissejuhatus

Selles kirjutises vaadeldakse eesti ja teiste Läänemere areaali keelte (vene, läti, leedu, soome, saksa jt) temperatuurisõnavara. Vaatluse all on ainult temperatuuride kognitiivsed põhinimetused. Eesti keele puhul lähtuvad need varasemast empiirilisest uurimusest (Sutrop 1998), teiste keelte puhul on valik toimunud eksperthinnangu alusel. Temperatuuri põhinimetusteks (*basic temperature term*) nimetab käesoleva töö autor psühholoogiliselt esile tulevat, enamasti morfoloogiliselt lihtsat põlissõna, mis tähistab mingit kognitiivse põhitasandi temperatuurikvaliteeti ning on kasutatav nii elusolendite, asjade kui ka ilma kohta.

Järgnevalt tutvustatakse mõningaid temperatuurisüsteeme ja vaadeldakse, kas Läänemere areaali keeltes on kognitiivselt esile tulev temperatuurisõnavara morfoloogiliselt lihtne ja põline. Selleks analüüsitakse temperatuuri põhisõnavara morfoloogiliselt ja etümoloogiliselt. Muu hulgas uuritakse, kas praegustel temperatuuriadjektiividel on aja-

looliselt verbaalne või nominaalne iseloom. Samuti viidatakse mõningatele võimalikele temperatuurisüsteemide vastastikustele mõjutustele.

Keeltes, kus on vähe adjektiive (7 kuni 24) temperatuuriadjektiivid enamasti puuduvad. Seega igas keeles ei pruugi olla temperatuuri põhinimetusi. Üksainus põhinimetus on näiteks samojeedi keelte hulka kuuluvas sölkupi keeles. Kuuma ja sooja tähistatakse sölkupi keele tazi murdes põhinimetusega *pötpyl'*, mis on kasutatav nii inimeste, söögi ja joogi kui ka ilma puhul. Madalate temperatuuride jaoks on sölkupi keeles kolm teisest sõna, mille distributsioon on piiratud. Ühte sõna saab kasutada külmade käte jaoks, teist külma ilma puhul jne. Seega ei ole need sõnad põhinimetused. Sölkupi temperatuurinimetused on verbaalse iseloomuga. Ka põhinimetus *pötpyl'* 'soe, kuum' on ajalooliselt mineviku kesksõna verbist *pöt-* 'kuumutama, soojendama'

Kaks temperatuuri põhinimetust on näiteks vene, tagalogi (kesk filipiini, austroneesia), hiina ja prantsuse keeles. Tagalogi ja vene keele temperatuurisüsteemid on lihtsad. Prantsuse keeles ja mõnes hiina murdes on aga kujunenud komplitseeritud temperatuurisüsteem, milles osalevad ka teisesed temperatuurinimetused. Prantsuse keeles on kaks põhinimetust *froid* 'jahe, külm' ja *chaud* 'soe, kuum' Neile vastanduvad teisesed nimetused, mis on suhtelised selles mõttes, et nad sisaldavad endas lisateavet temperatuuri muutuse kohta. Prantsuse keeles kasutatakse suhtelist sõna *frais* 'värske' siis, kui temperatuur langeb, ja *doux* 'magus' siis, kui temperatuur tõuseb.

Indogermaani keeltes ongi enamasti kaks temperatuuri põhisõna. Kolm põhisõna on näiteks läti ja leedu keeles. Neli põhisõna on saksa, inglise ja eesti keeles.

2. Eesti keele temperatuurinimetused

Ühes varasemas töös on käesoleva kirjutise autor empiiriliselt välja selgitanud eesti keele aktiivse temperatuurisõnavara (Sutrop 1998). Kognitiivselt kõige esiletulevamad temperatuurisõnad on esitatud põhiartikli joonisel 1. Sellelt nähtub, et põhinimetused on eesti keeles *külm*, *jahe*, *soe* ja *kuum*. Seejuures *külm* ja *soe* moodustavad kognitiivselt rohkem esile tuleva esmase rühma, põhinimetused *jahe* ja *kuum* aga teisese rühma. Põhinimetuste ja mittepõhinimetuste vahel on üleminekurühm, kuhu kuuluvad *palav* ja *leige*, millel on mõningaid põhinimetuse omadusi. Sõna *palav* on oleviku kesksõna verbist *palama* ~ *põlema* ning sõnal *leige* on *eda*-adjektiivi kuju. Verb *palama* ~ *põlema* on tagasiviidav soome-ugri tüvele **pal'a* 'jääkoorik, pakane, külmetama' Niisugune semantiline nihe seletatub asjaoluga, et väga kuum ja külm

ärritus põhjustavad ühesuguse füsioloogilise valureaktsiooni. Nähtus esineb paljudes keeltes. Näiteks põhjagermaani keeltes on toimunud tüve **sval-* tähendusnihe 'kuum → külm' Võrdle ühelt poolt vanainglise *swelan,* vanafriisi *swela* 'aeglaselt põlema', keskhollandi *swelen* 'kõrbema, kõrvetama, kuivatama' ja teiselt poolt norra, rootsi, taani *sval,* islandi *svalur* 'jahe, külm'

Eesti keele temperatuuri põhinimetustest kuuluvad sõnad *külm* ja *soe* permisoome või ka varasemasse sõnavarakihti. Sõna *külm* < **kilmä (*külmä)* peetakse varaseks (proto)balti laenuks (Koivulehti 1983, Vaba 1994). Permisoome **saja* '(tuule)vari' on eesti keeles ja soome murretes muutunud semantilise nihke tulemusena temperatuurisõnaks. Soome sõnas *suoja* on selle algne tähendus 'kaitse, vari, pelgupaik' säilinud. Eesti keeles on sõna *soe* (omastav *sooja*) kasutus temperatuurisõnana jälgitav alates 17. sajandist *Soj/sojast* (Stahl 1637), *Soij/Sojast, soij saun* ja *Soija* 'soojus' (Göseken 1660) ning lõunaeesti keeles *sohia* (Gutslaff 1648).

Lõunaeesti keeles on *sooja* asemel põhinimetusena kasutusel *lämmi,* mis lähtub mordvasoome või varasemast tüvest **lämpɜ* 'soe, soojus' juurde. See sõna on Saareste (1924) järgi tuntud kõigis läänemeresoome keeltes. Ka soome keeles on *lämmin* (omastav *lämpimän*) põhinimetus. Tõenäoliselt oli samast tüvest moodustatud *eda*-adjektiiv *lämme, lämbe* varem eesti keeles põhinimetus, mille vahetas välja *soe.*

Temperatuurinimetused *jahe* ja *kuum* kuuluvad mõlemad mordvasoome kihistusse. Sõna *jahe,* omastav *jaheda* < läänemeresoome **jaheta* 'jahe' < mordvasoome **jakša* 'jahe, külm; jahenema; külmenema' on tüüpiline hilisläänemeresoome *eda*-adjektiiv. Sõna *kuum* on morfoloogiliselt lihtne ja on tagasiviidav mordvasoome tüvele **kūma* 'kuum, hõõguv; palavik'

Läänemeresoome temperatuurisüsteemi saabki rekonstrueerida neljaliikmelisena. Tundub siiski, et põhisõnu oli selles süsteemis ainult kaks: **külmä* ja **kuuma.* Sekundaarsed sõnad olid markeeritud *eda*-adjektiivid **lämpetä* ja **jaheta.* Süsteemis on toimunud rida asendusi ning tänapäeva eesti keeles on kujunenud nelja põhisõnaga temperatuurisüsteem.

Läänemere-soome	Soome	Lõunaeesti	Eesti
**kuuma*	*kuuma*	*kuum*	*kuum*
**lämpetä*	*lämmin*	*lämmi*	*soe*
**jaheta*	*viileä*	*jahhe*	*jahe*
**külmä*	*kylmä*	*külm*	*külm*

Nagu näeme, on lõunaeesti keeles kõik hilisläänemeresoome temperatuurisüsteemi sõnad säilinud. Eesti keeles on **lämpetä* asendunud semantilise eriarengu tõttu sõnaga *soe* ning soome keeles **jaheta* sõnaga *viileä*.

3. Areaali võrdlus

Kui võrdleme eesti keelt teiste Läänemere areaali keeltega (vt tabel 1), siis näeme, et eesti keeles ja seda seitsmesaja aasta jooksul mõjutanud saksa keeles on neli kognitiivset põhisõna, läti ja leedu keeles kolm ning vene keeles kaks.

Vene keeles on kognitiivseteks põhisõnadeks *xolodnyj* 'külm' ja *teplyj* 'soe' Külma tähistav *xolodnyj* on denominaal substantiivist *xolod* 'külm, külmus' ning sooja tähistav *teplyj* deverbaal indoeuroopa verbitüvest **tep-* (võrdle näiteks inglise *tepid* 'leige'). Ülejäänud vene keele temperatuurisõnad pole põhisõnad, kuna nende kasutus on piiratud. Sõna *žarkij* tähistab kuuma ainult mittekatsutavate asjade puhul, *gorjačij* asjade puhul, mida saab käega katsuda, ja *znojnyj* mittekatsutavate asjade puhul, kui soojusallikaks on päike. Piiratud kasutusega on ka sõna *proxladnyj*, mis on selgelt läbinähtav tuletis *pro+ xolodnyj* 'külmavõitu'

Balti keeltes on kasutusel kolme põhisõnaga süsteem. Nii läti kui leedu keeles on madalate temperatuuride jaoks kasutusel ainult üks põhisõna nagu vene keeleski. Leedu *šaltas*, läti mittepõhisõna *sals* ja vanapreisi *saltas* 'külm' (< balti **šaltas* 'külm') on ajalooliselt verbaaladjektiivid (mineviku kesksõnad). Läti keeles on põhisõnaks samuti deverbaalne *auksts*, murretes ka *austs* 'külm'

Kõrgemate temperatuuride jaoks on balti keeltes kaks põhisõna. Leedu *šiltas* 'soe, meeldiv' ja läti *silts* 'soe' on samuti verbaaladjektiivid. Need on tulnud kasutusele hiljem kui põhisõnad kuuma tähistamiseks. Ka leedu *karštas* ja läti *karsts* 'kuum' on deverbaalsed, lähtudes leedu verbist *kurti* (läti *kurt*) 'soojendama'

Nagu nägime, on kõik läti ja leedu kognitiivsed temperatuuri põhinimetused verbaaladjektiivid (mineviku kesksõnad). Samal ajal kui külma kategooria on balti ja slaavi keeltes jäänud algseks, on sooja kategooria balti keeltes jagunenud sooja ja kuuma kategooriaks. Seejuures tähistavad vanemad terminid kuuma kategooriat.

Saksa ja inglise keeles on nagu eesti keeleski neli temperatuuri põhinimetust. Külmemat piirkonda tähistavad saksa *kalt*, inglise *cold* 'külm' ning saksa *kühl* ja inglise *cool* 'jahe' on tuletatud ühest ja samast germaani tugevast verbist **kal-a-* 'külmuma, külmaks minema' Sõnad *kalt* ja *cold* on germaani adjektiivi **kalda-* 'külm' vasted.

Verbaaladjektiiv **kalda-* on *to*-kesksõna nimetatud verbist. Hilisemad *kühl* ja *cool* on läänegermaani pikendatud astmes adjektiivi **kōlja-* vasted, mis on samuti moodustatud verbist **kal-a-*.

Saksa ja inglise *warm* 'soe' on germaani deverbaaladjektiivi **warma-* 'soe' kognaadid. Saksa *heiß* ja inglise *hot* 'kuum' on kujud germaani adjektiivist **haita-* 'kuum', mis on indoeuroopa verbitüve **kai-* 'põlema' *d*-laiendus. Nägime, et ajalooliselt on saksa ja inglise temperatuuri põhisõnad verbaalse iseloomuga. Sooja kategooria jagunes germaani keeltes enne (nagu balti keelteski). Hiljem jagunes osas germaani keeltes ka külma kategooria.

Võrreldes neid temperatuurisüsteeme eesti omaga, näeme, et balti, vene ja germaani süsteem on verbaalse iseloomuga (ehkki vene *xolodnyj* oli nominaalne) ning läänemeresoome süsteem rohkem nominaalse iseloomuga. Samuti näeme, et ainsad morfoloogiliselt lihtsad sõnad on *külm* ja *kuum* ning nende variandid läänemeresoome keeltes. Kõik ülejäänud sõnad on morfoloogiliselt kompleksed (ka *jahe*, omastav *jaheda*: *jah-e* < **jah-eta* ning *soe*, mis on tähendusnihke kaudu tuletatud).

Tõenäoliselt on temperatuurisüsteemid läänemeresoome ja indoeuroopa keeltes arenenud sõltumatult. Saksa keel on küll mõjutanud eesti keele temperatuurisüsteemi omapärasel viisil. Läänemeresoome algne opositsioon **külmä : *kuuma* on eesti keeles asendunud saksa keele mõjul opositsiooniga *külm : soe*. Kognitiivsel põhitasandil on nii saksa kui ka eesti keeles kolm ühesugust antonüümipaari B *kalt warm* 'külm : soe', *kühl : warm* 'jahe : soe' ja *heiß : kalt* 'kuum : külm' Inglise keeles on selliseid antonüümipaare aga neli. Esiteks ootuspärane *hot : cold* 'kuum : külm', mis eesti ja saksa keeles põhitasandil puudub, edasi *cool : warm* 'jahe : soe' *cold : warm* 'külm : soe' ja *hot : cool* 'kuum : jahe' (vt Sutrop 1998). Meenutagem, et eesti *külm* ja *soe* moodustasid põhisõnade hulgas esmase rühma. Nii nagu need kaks sõna on eesti keeles kognitiivselt kõige esiletulevamad temperatuurinimetused, nii on kõige esiletulevam ka nende antonüümne opositsioon *külm soe*. Hilises läänemeresoome algkeeles oli põhiopositsioon ootuspärane **külmä : *kuuma*. Markeeritud *eda*-adjektiivid **jaheta* ja **lämpetä* moodustasid sekundaarse opositsiooni.

4. Järeldused

Selles artiklis analüüsisime kognitiivseid temperatuuri põhinimetusi eesti keeles ja teistes Läänemere areaali keeltes. Nägime, et ainsad morfoloogiliselt lihtsad temperatuurinimed olid eesti *külm*, soome *kylmä* ja eesti *kuum*, soome *kuuma*. Kõik ülejäänud nimetused olid tuletatud.

Läänemeresoome, sh ka eesti temperatuuri põhinimetused on oma iseloomult nominaalsed. Vene, läti, leedu, saksa ja inglise terminid on aga verbaalse iseloomuga.

Vene keeles on säilinud varasem kahe põhinimetusega süsteem. Läti ja leedu keeles on sooja kategooria jagunenud kuuma ja sooja kategooriaks ning need keeled on kolme kognitiivse põhisõna staadiumis. Ka osas germaani keeltes jagunes esmalt sooja kategooria, ning alles hiljem külma kategooria. Nii on inglise ja saksa keeles nelja kognitiivse põhisõnaga temperatuurisüsteem, mille struktuuris (antonüümsed opositsioonid) on siiski erinevusi.

Läänemeresoome algkeeles oli ilmselt kasutusel temperatuurisüsteem, kus oli kaks põhisõna **külmä* ja **kuuma* ning kaks sekundaarset markeeritud nimetust **jaheta* ja **lämpetä*. Tänapäeva eesti keeles on selgelt neli temperatuuri kognitiivset põhisõna B *külm*, *jahe*, *soe* ja *kuum*.

LEXICOGRAPHY OF ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS

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1. Introduction

It is by no means a recent idea to collect and make a systematic description of all the onomatopoetic words of a language. Poyatos has written about "the human need to imitate the sounds and movements of nature, animals, people and the very artifacts we create" (Poyatos 1993: 385). It is likely that in the same way we may be curious to explore the ways these sounds are reflected in our mother tongue and to make comparisons with other languages. To the best of my knowledge, the Frenchman Charles Nodier (1780–1844) was the first person to publish a specialized dictionary of onomatopoetic words (Nodier, 1808). In Estonia, Jakob Hurt compiled a glossary of onomatopoetic words for the Põlva dialect of South Estonian as early as in 1862. Soon two centuries will have passed since that time, but, for some reason, to this day systematic descriptions have remained surprisingly few in number for most languages. A number of dictionaries and glossaries can be consulted in manuscript form (e.g. Hurt 1862; Põlma 1967; Saharova 1946; Värv 1961). Moreover, if we take the pessimistic view that during the next 50 years or so half of the world languages will go extinct, then it is likely that the onomatopoetic vocabulary of endangered languages and dialects may be lost forever unless efforts are made to record it.

It seems that at the moment it is the Japanese language where the onomatopoetic vocabulary is most extensively studied. I believe there are more dictionaries of onomatopoetic expressions for Japanese than for any other language (see, e.g. Ono 1984 and Kakehi 1998). The rapid development of the Internet has so far turned up two phonosemantic dictionaries – both of them for English (Shisler 1997; Magnus 1998). To this day, the lexicographic description of onomatopoetic words has remained problematic. While lexicalized and grammaticalized onomatopes

have found their way into general dictionaries, the true picture is much more varied. In fact, there are several categories of more specific lexical items such as comic-book coinages or the use of onomatopoeia by individual authors that clearly belong to "the vocabulary beyond the dictionary" (Poyatos 1993: Ch. 7). These, however, need systematic description, too.

As is known, languages can be very different as far as the size of their onomatopoetic vocabulary is concerned. Lithuanian is said to have more onomatopoetic words than German (Rūke-Dravina 1978: 168). When discussing the size of the ideophonic lexicon in Bantu languages, Samarin admits that it is difficult to make comparisons for two reasons. First, the existing descriptions are far from uniform – they may be inadequate or biased. Second, "the ideophones may have been classified as some other kind of word", meaning that they have not been identified as such (Samarin 1971: 133). As far as Estonian is concerned, Huno Rätsep has estimated that about 20% of Estonian bases are of onomatopoetic or sound-symbolic origin (Rätsep 1983: 544). The Estonian repertoire of onomatopoetic words has posed problems for the makers of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries (see Veldi 1994 and Hausenberg 1979). The specific nature of onomatopoetic words presents a number of problems for their lexicographic description. The purpose of the article is to tackle some of the problems that are related to the lexicographic description of onomatopoetic words. The preparation of general monolingual dictionaries and comprehensive bilingual dictionaries requires expertise in these areas. The situation is far from ideal – more often than not such words are poorly recorded in dictionaries, and smaller dictionaries tend to neglect them altogether.

1. Onomatopoeia as a specific linguistic subsystem

Onomatopoeia is a phonosemantic subsystem of language, which in comparison with 'conventional language' follows its own specific and at the same time systematic code of values. Paavo Ravila once pointed out that "affective words follow rules of their own; for this reason it is possible to deal with them scientifically"

(Ravila 1953: 148). The term 'phonosemantic' points to the existence of a phonetically motivated relationship between sound and sense. The phonosemantic subsystem is usually divided into two domains: 1) onomatopoeia and 2) sound symbolism. An example of onomatopoeia would be, for example, the Estonian word *kukku* and the actual cry of a cuckoo (its extralinguistic referent). On the other hand, the Estonian words *ümar* and *ümmargune* 'round, rounded' are examples of sound symbolism. In these words the labials *ü* and *m* convey the rounded shape of an object. The rounded shape, which is usually perceived visually, is symbolized by means of the 'roundedness' of speech sounds. There is a fundamental difference between these two categories of words. In the case of onomatopoeia the onomatopoetic word and its extralinguistic referent are both acoustic phenomena (sound is imitated by sound). The building blocks of an onomatopoetic word are the phonemes of a language. As the number of speech sounds is relatively small in comparison with the infinite variety of extralinguistic sounds, then any onomatopoetic word can, in principle, be only a rough approximation of the acoustic structure of its extralinguistic referent (Ullmann 1957: 88). Another important difference lies in the fact that an onomatopoetic word is a linear sequence, whereas a number of acoustic components can be heard simultaneously.

In contrast, in the case of sound symbolism non-acoustic features (such as rounded shape or smallness) are turned into acoustic speech sounds by means of synesthetic mechanisms. However, at present it is far from clear how the synesthetic mechanisms might actually operate. For this reason, it is easier to draw valid conclusions and make generalizations about onomatopoeia than sound symbolism. On the other hand, knowledge of sound-symbolic processes would enable an etymologist to clear up a certain amount of obscure etymologies. In recent decades linguists have felt that the study of language change should include the integration of onomatopoeia and sound symbolism (see Malkiel 1987).

2. Specialized dictionaries of phonesthemes and onomatopoetic words

The studies dealing with the lexicographic description of onomatopoetic words are few in number (see Hausenberg 1979; Hausmann 1989; Poyatos 1993; Veldi 1994). Franz Hausmann wrote a brief paper about dictionaries of onomatopoetic words for the three-volume comprehensive survey of dictionaries (Hausmann 1989). He outlines two kinds of onomatopoetic dictionaries: 1) synchronic and 2) etymological ones. The synchronic dictionaries and glossaries list the onomatopoetic words and expressions of some language, dialect, or text type such as the comic strip, fairy tales, the imaginative use of onomatopoeia by an individual writer, etc. The diachronic (or etymological) dictionaries of onomatopoetic words, on the other hand, concentrate on the history and comparative treatment of onomatopoetic roots and words Actually, there are very few dictionaries that belong to the latter category – I have seen only the one for Spanish by Garcia de Diego (1968). As far as the etymology is concerned, usually one has to rely on the general etymological dictionaries. Estonian is in a relatively good position in the sense that Julius Mägiste did not underestimate the role of onomatopoetic and sound-symbolic words when compiling in his twelve-volume etymological dictionary of Estonian (Mägiste 1983). Unfortunately, Mägiste was unable to complete his work. Therefore, further etymological and comparative studies would be needed for Estonian. One would suspect that at least some of the words that are treated as native onomatopoetic words reveal strong similarities to Germanic and Baltic languages. Therefore, it is debatable whether they are of only Estonian origin or they reveal features that are common in the Baltic area.

In addition, we should single out a dictionary type that is specific to phonosemantic studies – namely, the dictionary of phonesthemes. According to the *New Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (1996), a phonestheme is "a phoneme or group of phonemes with semantic associations as a result of its recurrent appearance in words of similar meaning" Thus, the macrostructure (nomenclature) of this dictionary type consists of phonesthemes

or submorphemic units. The primary aim is to define the phonosemantic meaning of each phonestheme. These meanings can be established more easily if all the relevant words are grouped together. Phonesthemes themselves can be grouped alphabetically or conceptually In a phonestheme dictionary the onomatopoetic words fulfill the role of illustrative examples. They serve as the data that show where a phonestheme occurs. Estonian phonesthemes can appear in initial, medial, and final positions of onomatopoetic stems. Examples of Estonian phonesthemes are, for example, the following initial consonant clusters:

kl- klirisema 'to make a jarring sound, as of glass'
kr- krooksuma 'to croak'
pl- plumpsti 'with a plop, of a fall into water'
pr- praksuma 'to make a crackling sound'

Examples of final phonesthemes would include, e.g.

-r- klirisema 'to make a jarring sound, as of glass'
-ks- praksuma 'to make a crackling sound', *krooksuma* 'to croak'
-mps- plumpsti 'with a plop, of a fall into water'

The medial phonesthemes are represented by
-i- klirisema 'to make a jarring sound, as of glass'
-oo- krooksuma 'to croak'
-u- plumpsti 'with a plop, of a fall into water'
-a- praksuma 'to make a crackling sound'

A syllable is analyzable into three components: onset, nucleus, and coda. This is the basis for various formal classifications of onomatopoetic words. Accordingly, an onomatopoetic word can be analyzed as a sequence of three phonesthemes. Sometimes the medial and final phonesthemes are regarded as one unit, in that case an onomatopoetic word would consist of two phonesthemes. In contrast, a more refined analysis would regard more elaborate onsets and codas as phonestheme clusters, which can increase the total number of possible phonesthemes in an onomatopoetic word up to five or six.

Roger Wescott has introduced the concept of *holestheme* to denote words that consist entirely of phonesthemes (Wescott 1987: 68).

Once the meaning of phonesthemes has been established, it is possible 'to reverse' the dictionary and regroup the material according to meaning – thus moving from sense to sound. *The Dictionary of English Phonesthemes* (1997) by Benjamin Shisler and *A Dictionary of English Sound* (1998) by Margaret Magnus are examples of phonestheme dictionaries. Shisler derived his dictionary from the well-known book on English word-formation by Hans Marchand (1969). Its virtue is clarity because Hans Marchand's original book was very good. On the other hand, the letter B of the dictionary by Magnus, which can be consulted on the Internet (see Magnus 1998), shows that her dictionary is a rather comprehensive project. It seems though that her dictionary focuses more on sound symbolism than onomatopoeia.

Also, it should be pointed out that Valter Tauli discusses Estonian onomatopoetic bases in his *Standard Estonian Grammar* on the basis of onsets, vowels, and codas (Tauli 1973: 146–148). In Tauli's view "all these three phonemic elements may be expressive" (idem: 146). Valve Põlma's dissertation *Onomatopoetic Verbs in Literary Estonian* (1967), on the other hand, groups onomatopoetic bases according to the final phonestheme (see Põlma 1967). Põlma's aim when writing her dissertation was to work out the principles of lexicographic description for the general monolingual explanatory dictionary of Estonian. Therefore, in all other respects, such as definitions and the choice of example sentences, Põlma's dissertation resembles a traditional dictionary (see also Veldi 1997).

Poyatos has written about the need to establish a systematic inventory of paralinguistic alternants of a language in the form of a dictionary (Poyatos 1993: 416–417). In his view, the collected material could be rearranged in three ways: 1) as an alphabetical list, 2) as a thesaurus-type dictionary, and 3) as a phonetic classification that is based on "their sound-producing mechanisms" Poyatos is also of the opinion that such specialized collections could serve as a source for the compilation of other dictionaries. In principle, Voronin's universal classification of

onomatopes is also a possible a framework for a thesaurus of onomatopoetic words (see Voronin 1982: 39–70).

A Practical Guide to Japanese–English Onomatopoeia and Mimesis (1984) by Hideichi Ono is a parallel dictionary with the Japanese material on the left-hand side and its English translation on the right-hand side. The definitions and explanations of the Japanese words are in English. The aim of the dictionary is to compare and contrast Japanese and English onomatopoetic words. All the example sentences are provided with English translations. Such a format has enabled the Japanese researchers to introduce the richness of Japanese onomatopoeia to the international linguistic community. For this reason, a professor of general linguistics anywhere in the world can easily select some examples of onomatopoeia for comparison from Japanese because the Japanese material is readily available. Moreover, the Japanese linguists stress the pedagogical aspect of teaching onomatopoetic vocabulary to advanced learners of the Japanese language. They think that it is especially important to teach it to the foreigner learners of Japanese because of the important role that onomatopoeia plays in the Japanese language. Therefore, the Japanese often advertise their dictionaries of onomatopoetic words as learner's dictionaries, claiming that onomatopoeia is so important for the Japanese language that no advanced learner of the language can do without it. I have also noticed that some journals devoted to the methodology of teaching the Japanese language publish on a regular basis language features that deal with the semantics and usage of onomatopoetic words. The Japanese veteran of onomatopoeia research Hisao Kakehi and his team have recently published a comprehensive dictionary of Japanese onomatopoetic words (see Kakehi et al. 1998).

Donald R. Kloe's *A Dictionary of Onomatopoeic Sounds, Tones and Noises in English and Spanish* (1977) is a bilingual dictionary. The dictionary is at the same time bidirectional because it incorporates two monolingual dictionaries and functions at the same time as a bilingual dictionary – at first from English to Spanish and then from Spanish to English. At first the English onomatopoetic words with English-language definitions and collocations appear on the left-hand side and the Spanish correspondences together with their Spanish-language definitions

appear on the right-hand side. Then the same material is reversed so that the Spanish words appear on the left-hand side and the English ones on the right-hand side. The onomatopoetic words have been classified into four semantic categories that are based on extralinguistic criteria. Within these broad categories the words are grouped alphabetically. The four semantic categories are as follows:

1) sounds of animals,
2) sounds, both vocal and physical, created by man,
3) the melodious and sometimes violent sounds of nature,
4) miscellaneous sounds, including those of machinery and musical instruments.

This classification principle is conceptual – the criterion is the source of sound. According to Kloe, there are four types of sounds – those of animals, human beings, nature, and mechanical sounds. The latter category is further subdivided into sounds of machines and musical instruments. The problem with Kloe's classification is that neglects such possibilities where one and the same sound appears in more than one category. For example, an insect, airplane, or conversation can all produce a buzzing sound. I am going to study the notion of *buzz* and the corresponding Estonian words *sumin* 'low-pitched buzz', *pinin* 'high-pitched buzz', and *pirin* 'high-pitched buzz' throughout this article. Kloe's entry for *buzz* is as follows:

BUZZ* The imitative sound of birds and insects. Bee, bumble bee, fly, gadfly, gnat, hornet, horsefly, humming bird, ichneumon fly, jar fly, mosquito, wasp. *buzz,* vi. To make a sound like that of a prolonged z-zzzzzzzz. *buzz,* vi. To hum as the above named bird and insects.	**ZUMBAR*** Abeja, abejarrón, abejorro, avispa, avispón, cènzalo, cínife, colibre, colibrí, crabrón, icneumón, chupaflor (Venez.), chupamiel, chupamirto (Méx.), chuparomero, jején, (Amér.), mosca, mosca de burro, moscardón, mosco, mosquito, tábano, zancudo (Amér.). La voz onomatopéyica del sonido continuado, seguido y

buzz, n. The humming sound of this bird and these insects.	bronco que hacen estos insectos mientras vuelan. También las aves de la especie de la colibrí mientras vuelan. Pero más especialmente cuando se detienen brevemente en el vuelo para chupar el néctar. *zumbador*, ra, adj. Que zumba. *zzzzzzz,zzzzzzz* – la voz onomatopéyica.

The asterisk * denotes in Kloe's dictionary a "word which is truly onomatopoeic" On the other hand the same entry in the Spanish–English section looks as follows:

ZUMBAR* Abeja, abejarrón, abejorro, avispa, avispón, cènzalo, cínife, colibre, colibrí, crabrón, icneumón, chupaflor (Venez.), chupamiel, chupamirto (Méx.), chuparomero, jején, (Amér.), mosca, mosca de burro, moscardón, mosco, mosquito, tábano, zancudo (Amér.). La voz onomatopéyica del sonido continuado, seguido y bronco que hacen estos insectos mientras vuelan. También las aves de la especie de la colibrí mientras vuelan. Pero más	**BUZZ*** The imitative sound of birds and insects. Bee, bumble bee, fly, gadfly, gnat, hornet, horsefly, humming bird, ichneumon fly, jar fly, mosquito, wasp. *buzz,* vi. To make a sound like that of a prolonged z-zzzzzzzz *buzz,* vi. To hum as the above named bird and insects. *buzz*, n. The humming sound of this bird and these insects. **DRONE** From OE DRÂN.

especialmente cuando se detienen brevemente en el vuelo para chupar el néctar. *Zumbador*, ra, adj. Que zumba. *Zzzzzzz, zzzzzzz* – la voz onomatopéyica.	Bee, bumble bee, fly, gadfly, gnat, hornet, horsefly, humming bird, ichneumon fly, jar fly, mosquito, wasp. *drone*, vi. To make a continuous and monotonous humming or buzzing sound. *drone*, n. A dull, deep, continuous humming sound.

As we can see, the Spanish–English section reveals that the Spanish word *zumbar* has two English equivalents – *buzz* and *drone*. One is tempted to ask why is *hum* not included on the right-hand side? When we inspect Kloe's entry for *buzz*, we can notice that the value of the dictionary lies in the list of insects and birds that make a buzzing sound. In fact, he lists 12 collocates for *buzz*. The author admits, "a sincere effort has been made to accurately relate the animal to the sound and the sound to the animal" (Kloe 1977: VI). What is surprising is that closely related languages can sometimes reveal considerable differences when it comes to collocations. Stolt (1972) examined the onomatopoetic collocations in German and Swedish and found a surprising number of false friends that may cause problems for translators. The collocational or combinatory behavior of onomatopoetic words links sounds to their sources. Unfortunately, Kloe does not describe the methods that he used to obtain this information in the preface to his dictionary.

Larrieu (1991) published an alphabetical list of onomatopoetic words in Brazilian Portuguese together with translations and explanations in English. The author does not mention the sources and methods of data collection, but the list leaves an impression that it could be the type of vocabulary that is to be found in comic strips. The only insect sound that I could find was *tuim* defined as 'insect sound' (Larrieu 1991: 78).

3. Description of onomatopoetic words in general monolingual dictionaries

In a typical case at first a researcher does not have a readily available data collection. He or she would have to collect his or her material in field conditions or do some targeted reading. In many cases, however, a researcher is also interested in obtaining a list of onomatopoetic words that have found their way into unabridged monolingual and comprehensive bilingual dictionaries. As I know from my own experience, until recently it was a very time-consuming task to read through the existing monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. Fortunately, the arrival of CD ROM dictionaries has facilitated the process of finding the phonosemantic component in a monolingual dictionary, especially if the dictionary labels such vocabulary and if it has good search and filtering facilities. I explored the *New Shorter Oxford Dictionary* on CD-ROM with the purpose of finding onomatopoetic words. The search *imit* resulted in 980 hits and 978 entries. I consider it to be a very good result because the English onomatopoetic vocabulary that usually finds it way into a general dictionary amounts to about 1,000 items. For example, my dissertation *English–Estonian Parallels in Onomatopoeia* contains a list of 1,049 onomatopoetic words (Veldi 1988). Unfortunately, electronic dictionaries are not as yet available for many languages of the world.

The problem that interests me is the following – how does Kloe's list of collocations compare to what we can obtain by inspecting the definitions and illustrative examples in monolingual dictionaries. I am going to begin my exploration with the Collins COBUILD Collocations on CD-ROM, which provides up to 20 collocations for the 10,000 most frequent word, the total amount of illustrative examples reaching 2.6 million. Unfortunately, my searches came to nothing because it appears that *buzz* is not included in the dictionary. This led me to check the frequency of *buzz* in the second edition of the Collins COBUILD English Dictionary (1995). The frequency is indicated as two diamonds out of five, which proves that the word is frequent enough to be included in medium-sized dictionaries.

Next I examined the treatment of *buzz* in the Collins COBUILD on CD-ROM (1995), being inspired by the circumstance that the dictionary is supplemented with a five-million-word word bank. COBUILD provides the following definition:

buzz – *A buzz is a continuous /z/ sound, like the sound of a bee when it is flying*

As we can see, the definition includes 1) the description of the acoustic characteristics of the sound (a continuous /z/ sound) and 2) a reference to its most typical source (bee). The examination of the various senses of 'buzz' provided the following possible sources of the sound: 1) bee, 2) fly, 3) wasp, 4) insect, 5) plane, 6) ears, 7) conversation. Of these, an insect is a superordinate that includes bees, flies, and wasps. The comparison of Kloe's list of collocations with this list reveals two important differences. Kloe's list does not include plane, ears, and conversation (evidently because these are not sounds of 'animals'), but its strength lies in the fact that it lists both 'big' and 'small' insects. COBUILD's description, on the other hand, fails to mention the small insects, such as gnats and mosquitoes, which produce a high-pitched buzz. Thus, both descriptions are inadequate in some important aspects.

Next I explored *The BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* (Morton et al. 1997) with the following results:

1) the entry *buzz* contains the example sentence *insects were buzzing through the air*;
2) the entry *bee* provides the combinations *bees buzz* and *bees hum*,
3) the entry fly provides the combination *flies buzz*,
4) the entry *mosquito* says that *mosquitoes hum*.

According to the introduction to this dictionary, collocations of this type "consist of a noun and verb; the verb names an action characteristic of the person or thing designated by the noun" (idem: XXXIII).

Then I decided to look through the 41 illustrative examples in the five-million-word Word Bank section of COBUILD on CD-ROM. The choice of examples was at first surprising.

It appeared that the vast majority of examples illustrated the more abstract and figurative meanings of *buzz* such as 'excitement', whereas there were no examples at all that would illustrate the sound that insects produce. Out of 41 examples only four could be identified as describing sound. It made me think of some possible drawbacks of corpus-based dictionaries. The more abstract and figurative meanings of onomatopoetic words are probably more frequent. Therefore dictionaries that are exclusively compiled on the basis of word frequencies may easily neglect those concrete meanings that are less frequent. Therefore, it seems that in order to produce a well-balanced dictionary, the material of even large-scale corpora has to be complemented by extensive reading programs. As Della Summers has said, "a corpus is better adapted to provide insights in *depth*", whereas the chief merit of reading programs "is that it offers insights into the *breadth* of language" (Summers 1996: 183). Taking into account the specific nature of onomatopoetic words, it seems that these words should be collected both by means of special corpora and targeted reading programs. It is true that onomatopoetic words are characteristic of certain genres and text types. Where can we find then onomatopoetic vocabulary? *The Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language* (McArthur 1998: 420) points out four genres or types of texts where onomatopoeia is common: 1) children's stories, 2) comic books and cartoons, 3) in the language of advertising, 4) when writers want to build up phonesthetic effects. These four areas could be explored by means of targeted reading programs. Oswalt reports that the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) has a better coverage of imitatives than the first one (Oswalt 1994: 293–294). Once again, it makes me wonder whether this improvement was due to corpus-based research or targeted reading programs. I believe that actually both are needed, one would complement the other. As far as the language of the comic strip is concerned, Poyatos has worked out a classification of ten categories of soundgraphs (Poyatos 1993: 407–415). It would be of interest to apply Poyatos' classification to the study of Estonian comic strips. Ten years ago we had few, if any, Estonian-language comic strips. At present, our newspapers publish translated comics on a daily basis. It would be interesting to study them for

several reasons. First, it would enable us to establish an inventory of onomatopoetic words in Estonian-language comic strips. Second, we could study the problem of intercultural borrowing. We could find out whether or not the translators have been too lazy to come up with the Estonian words and have preferred to adapt English-language vocabulary.

In fact, there is another aspect of onomatopoetic words that we should not neglect. We have to take into account that in spoken language the use of an onomatopoetic word is often accompanied by a relevant gesture. This leads us to a new perspective for which we have no Estonian data as yet. Moreover, it would be interesting then to make cross-cultural comparisons. Onomatopoetic words are absent or rare in formal writing, with the exception of such terms as, for example, *tweeter* 'a loudspeaker for high-pitched sounds' and *woofer* 'a loudspeaker for low-pitched sounds' The columnist William Safire, in fact, advises against the use of such onomatopoetic words as *zap* in good writing (Safire 1990: 102–103).

Let us now examine the description of the Estonian equivalents of *buzz*. The *Explanatory Dictionary of Literary Estonian* (henceforth EKSS) is the first dictionary of Estonian that defines the meaning of Estonian words. The dictionary has been published in fascicles since 1988. Unfortunately, at the time of writing this article the entries *sumin* and *sumisema* have not been published yet. Therefore, we will begin our exploration with the entry *sumisema* 'to buzz' in Põlma's dissertation (Põlma 1967: 89):

sumisema [v.] *madalatoonilist (vaikset) monotoonset heli andma.*
'to produce a low-pitched (quiet) monotonous sound'

A definition consists of the genus and a set of differentiating features. In this definition the genus is *heli* 'sound' and the specific features include:
1) *madalatooniline* 'low-pitched'
2) *vaikne* 'quiet'
3) *monotoonne* 'monotonous'

The definition is followed by a list of collocations that includes six insects:
1) *kärbes* 'fly'
2) *parm* 'horsefly'
3) *mesilane* 'bee'
4) *kumalane* 'bumblebee'
5) *sitikas* 'beetle'
6) *põrnikas* 'beetle'

This list is in its turn followed by examples of peripheral and figurative meanings. For the sake of simplicity I am not going to discuss these here.

EKSS defines the verb *pinisema* by means of a noun because alphabetically *pinin* precedes *pinisema.*

pinin – *putukate tekitatud kõrge ühetooniline inisev heli; seda meenutav muu heli v. hääl.*
'a high-pitched monotonous whining sound that is produced by insects; some other similar sound or voice'

pinisema – *pininat tekitama*
'to buzz – to produce a buzz'

In this definition the genus is *heli* 'sound' The set of specific features includes three characteristics of the sound:
1) *kõrge* 'high-pitched'
2) *ühetooniline* 'monotonous'
3) *inisev* 'nasal-sounding'

However, this definition is different from the previous one by an interesting feature. Namely, the specific feature *inisev* is actually a synonymic reference. The choice of a genus is an interesting problem. If the genus is too broad, then the number of specific features could be too large, and the definition will look awkward. It is interesting to note that in this definition the genus *heli* 'sound' has been narrowed down by using a synonymic reference *inisev,* which is the present participle of the verb *inisema* 'of cows, to low plaintively, to speak with a nasal sound' Thus,

the combination *inisev heli* is actually the same as *inin*. It could be argued whether *inisev* 'nasal-sounding' is a good choice as its core meaning refers to the sound that cows make and a manner of speaking through one's nose. Its association with insects is secondary. I believe that Põlma's choice is better (see the next example). In addition, the EKSS definition mentions *putukad* 'insects' as the sound source and mentions the possibility that there may be other sources that can produce a similar sound.

Valve Põlma's dissertation (Põlma 1967: 95) provides the following definition:

pinisema – *vaikset monotoonset peenikest (pirisevat) häält tegema*
'to make a quiet monotonous high-pitched (buzzing) sound'

This definition brings four specific features:
1) *vaikne* 'quiet' (EKSS does not include this feature)
2) *monotoonne* 'monotonous'
3) *peenike* 'high-pitched'
4) *pirisev* 'buzzing'

However, it makes no reference to the sound source. Here, too, the genus *hääl* 'sound, voice' is narrowed down by means of the participle *pirisev*, which should be regarded together as *pirisev hääl = pirin*. Again, we are dealing with defining by means of a synonym.

The illustrative examples – both condensed examples and sentences – bring out the following insects:
1) *kihulane* 'blackfly'
2) *kärbes* 'fly'
3) *moskiito* 'mosquito'
4) *sääsk* 'gnat'

On the whole, as far as the onomatopoetic entries are concerned, EKSS is adequate enough.

Now, it would be interesting to find out whether the entries *kihulane, kimalane, kumalane, kärbes, mesilane, moskiito, parm,*

and *põrnikas* in EKSS include references to the sounds that they make. We have to leave out *sitikas* and *sääsk* because these entries have not been published as yet:

1) *kihulane* (-)
2) *kimalane – Kimalased sumisevad, pinisevad.*
3) *kumalane – Kumalased sumisevad, põrisevad.*
4) *kärbes – Kärbes pirises ämblikuvõrgus. Tuba sumises kärbestest.*
5) *mesilane – Mesilased sumisevad.*
6) *moskiito* (-)
7) *parm – Parm põriseb ta kõrva ääres. Mis sa, parm, siin pirised!*
8) *põrnikas – Põrnikad sumisevad, põrisevad.*

The result is somewhat inconsistent but good enough. The entries *kimalane, kumalane, kärbes, parm* and *põrnikas* make a reference to the sounds that these insects make; the entries *kihulane* and *moskiito* do not. In the case of *moskiito* we could take into account that mosquitoes may seem exotic to most Estonians.

4. Treatment of synonyms

Next, I would like to look at the problem of synonymy in onomatopoetic words. To the best of my knowledge, I have never seen any systematic research into this problem. If a language has a relatively small number of onomatopoetic words, then this problem might not crop up at all. For the Estonian language, however, it is an interesting problem.

I will begin my exploration with COBUILD because it provides both synonyms and superordinates.

buzz

1) *A buzz is a continuous /z/ sound, like the sound of bee when it is flying.*
   SYNONYMS: buzzing
2) *Something that buzzes makes a continuous /z/ sound.*
   SYNONYMS: hum

3) *If something such as a fly or plane buzzes, it moves along making a buzzing sound.*
SUPERORDINATE: move
1) *If someone or something buzzes around, they move around very quickly and busily.*
SYNONYMS: race
2) *If thoughts are buzzing round your head, or if your head is buzzing with thoughts, you are thinking about a lot of things, especially is a confused or worried way.* SYNONYMS: hum, race
3) *If your ears are buzzing, they are filled with an unpleasant humming sound which makes it difficult for you to hear properly.* SYNONYMS: ring
4) *If a place is buzzing with conversation, questions, etc, it is filled with the sound of a lot of people talking excitedly.* SYNONYMS: hum, throb
5) *A buzz of conversation is the sound of a lot of people talking excitedly.*
A place that has a buzz has an atmosphere of activity and excitement; an official use.

The entry *buzz* has nine senses; synonyms are provided for six senses and a superordinate is provided for one sense. The treatment of synonyms in COBUILD shows that various senses of an onomatopoetic word can have different synonyms. At the same time the superordinate for sense 3 is not associated with sound but movement although the meaning of sound is clearly present.

There are two synonym finders for the Estonian language (Õim 1991; Saagpakk 1992). The synonym finder by Õim provides the following information in the entries *sumin* 'buzz' and *sumisema* 'to buzz':

SUMIN, suma; **häältesuma, jutusuma**: kahin *klassist käis lõbus kahin läbi,* kihin-kahin; **putukate kohta**: põrin, surin *mesilaste surin,* mõrin *kärbeste mõrin*
sumin → kõmin
SUMISEMA, surama *mesilased surasid lilledes*, mõrisema, surrama, surisema *mesilased surisevad õie ümber*
sumisema → kumisema

We can notice that the treatment of the noun *sumin* 'buzz' and the verb *sumisema* 'to buzz' differ from each other in a number of ways. The entry *sumin* begins somewhat unexpectedly with the sense 'buzz of conversation', which is clearly a secondary meaning. When we consult the order of senses for *buzz* in COBUILD, we will see that this meaning is given as sense nine. The 'buzz of insects', which is the most important meaning, should have come first. Second, the entire entry *sumisema* 'to buzz' is about insects, but it does not discuss the meaning 'to buzz with conversation or voices', which is as common in Estonian as it is in English (see sense seven in COBUILD). It is also hard to understand why the references *sumin* → *kõmin* and *sumisema* → *kumisema* need separate entries. These references could be placed within the entries *SUMIN* and *SUMISEMA*.

Saagpakk's (Saagpakk 1992) entries for *sumin* and *sumisema* are as follows:

sumin suma, lärm, põrin, surin, sahin; mesilaste ~; häälte ~; jutu ~; ~kõrvades; kõrge ~(pinin); ~al (surisedes jne.)

sumisema surisema, vurisema, põrisema, kohisema, umisema, kumisema, vulisema.

As we can see, Saagpakk's treatment is somewhat different from that of Õim. What is most interesting is that he includes *kõrge sumin* (pinin) 'high-pitched buzz', thus making an important reference to another set of synonyms. On the other hand, this reference can be found only once; the entry *sumisema* does not have it, for example.

Next, let us take a look at the entries *pinin, pirisema* and *pirin, pirisema,* which denote high-pitched buzzing. The corresponding entries in Õim (Õim 1991) are as follows:

pinin → virin
pinisema → pirisema
PIRISEMA, *putukate kohta:* pinisema, inisema, tinisema *sääsed inisevad ja tinisevad*
pirisema → nutma, virisema

First, what is surprising here is that *pinin* refers to *virin*, whereas *pinisema* refers to *pirisema*. The problem is that *virin* is not associated with insects but with a human complaining voice. The second inconsistency is that the noun *pirin* does not occur at all. The example sentence *sääsed inisevad ja tinisevad* seems too peripheral to me, I would have expected to see more typical collocations such as *sääsed pirisevad* or *sääsed pinisevad*. The onomatopoetic verb *inisema* is first and foremost associated with cows and only secondarily with insects. *Tinisema* is less typical than its transitive counterpart, which most typically occurs in the combination *kitarri tinistama* 'to twang a guitar'

Now let us look at the same entries in Saagpakk (Saagpakk 1992):

pinin kõrge sumin, pirin
pinisema pirisevalt inisema, ulguma, nutma
pirin virin; kõrge sumin (pinin)

pirisema vinguma, kiunuma, hädaldama, virisema

Again, what is most interesting is that Saagpakk links *pinin* and *pirin* to *sumin*, which we cannot see in Õim's treatment. On the other hand, we can observe the following inconsistency. The treatments of *pinin* and *pinisema* and *pirin* and *pirisema* are not uniform. The entry *pirisema* makes no reference to *pinisema* and *sumisema*.

Judging by these entries we can conclude that the synonymic relations of onomatopoetic words require further research. This is especially true for Estonian. I believe that *sumin* and *sumisema* should be regarded as the predominant words. On the other hand, *pinin*, *pinisema* and *pirin*, *pirisema* are related to them as words that denote the high-pitched buzzing of small insects. Another problem that needs some clarification is what is typical and what is peripheral here.

5. Onomatopoetic words in bilingual dictionaries

Now it is time to examine how *buzz* has been treated in English–Estonian and Estonian–English dictionaries (see also an earlier paper of mine Veldi 1994). *An English–Estonian Dictionary* by Johannes Silvet (1895–1979) is the most comprehensive dictionary that we have from English into Estonian (Silvet 1989). The first edition of Silvet's dictionary was published in 1939, the second edition in 1948, and the third one came out in 1989. Silvet's entry for *buzz* is as follows:

buzz II **1.** *s.* sumin, surin, põrin **2.** *v.i.& t.* sumisema, surisema, põrisema, sumistama, suristama, põristama; *sl.* (elektri)sumistiga signaliseerima; *Am. sl. (telefoniga)* helistama; *av.fam. (millegi, kellegi)* ohtlikus läheduses manööverdama, ähvardavalt mööda (*või* üle) lendama ◊ **to give smb. a** *~Am.sl.* kellelegi helistama; **to ~about** sihitult ümber aelema; **to ~off** *sl.* jalga laskma, vehkat tegema

When we examine the correspondences in Silvet's dictionary, we will see that he failed to realize that the English *buzz* corresponds to both the low-pitched and high-pitched humming sounds in Estonian. Therefore, he was unable to offer such Estonian equivalents as *pirisema* and *pinisema* for the high-pitched buzzing sound of small insects such as gnats. Another important sense that is not reflected is *kumisema* 'to buzz, of one's ears' (see sense 6 in COBUILD).

The *Estonian–English Dictionary* by Paul F Saagpakk (1910–1996) is the most comprehensive Estonian–English Dictionary available (Saagpakk 1992). Let us examine the treatment of *sumin, sumisema; pinin, pinisema*; *pirin, pirisema* in his dictionary.

sumin *(surin)* buzz, *(mesilaste, aeroplaani)* drone, hum; *(häälte)* murmur; *(jutu-)* ripple; *(kõrvades)* tingling (*or* ringing) in the ears, buzzing noise in the head

sumisema *(surisema)* to buzz, to drone, to hum; *(kohisema)* to murmur; *(vulisema)* to ripple; *mesilased ~sid aias* the bees were humming in the garden

pinin *(sumin)* high-pitched buzz; *(pirin)* whine, puling

pinisema to buzz; to cry, to whine, to pule

pirin *(nutt)* cry, *(virin)* whine, puling; *(niitsumine)* whimpering; buzz (of insects)

pirisema to cry, to whine, to pule, to whimper; *(Am. fam.)* to gripe; to buzz

Saagpakk's treatment is better in the sense that he provides explanatory glosses in parentheses. Such glosses are indispensable in the treatment of onomatopoetic words. On the other hand, Saagpakk's weakness is the temptation to include untypical and peripheral collocations that are of little, if any, practical value. Concentration on core meanings and collocations would have improved the quality here. In the case of *pirin* and *pirisema* I would have preferred to place the sense *buzz* first as it is in the entries for *pinin* and *pinisema*.

Silvet's dictionary is monodirectional rather than bidirectional. Saagpakk's treatment, on the other hand, is more bidirectional.

The quality of description in monolingual dictionaries largely determines the quality of lexicographic description in bilingual dictionaries. Silvet was unable to use EKSS because it had not come out, but he could have read Põlma's dissertation, which became available in 1967. Anyway, I believe that I have shown that there is room for further improvement for Estonian–English and English–Estonian dictionaries.

6. Concluding remarks

Onomatopoetic words form a specific subsystem of language. So far their lexicographic description has often been inadequate. The quality of monolingual descriptions determines the quality of bilingual dictionaries. The quality of monolingual description in its turn depends on the quality of specialized systematic descriptions. There are two problems that need further research – collocations and synonyms. Data collection can be improved with the help of targeted reading programs that would cover those genres and text types where onomatopoeia is common. It is evident that the relatively new genre – the Estonian-language comic strip – could provide some material for interesting generalizations. As Estonian has an extensive repertoire of onomatopoetic words, then we should make efforts to compile a specialized dictionary with English-language explanations. Such a dictionary would enable the international linguistic community to get access to the Estonian material.

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ONOMATOPOEETILISTE SÕNADE LEKSIKOGRAAFIA

Enn Veldi

Onomatopoeetiliste sõnade kogumisega on huvilised tegelenud aastasadu. Prantslane Charles Nodier (1780–1844) oli tõenäoliselt esimene, kes vormistas oma kogu onomatopoeetiliste sõnade sõnaraamatuks. Charles Nodier'i sõnastiku esimene trükk ilmus 1808. aastal. Jakob Hurt koostas oma *Onomatopoeetica Estonica* (1862) Põlva murdest kogutud materjali põhjal. Siiski on mõnevõrra üllatav, et taolisi sõnastikke on maailmas suhteliselt vähe. Tõenäoliselt on see teatud määral seletatav uskumusega, et onomatopoeetilise sõnavara poolest on indoeuroopa keeled suhteliselt vaesed. Seevastu on onomatopoeetiliste sõnaraamatute koostamine enim levinud Jaapanis. Jaapanlased leiavad, et onomatopoeetilist sõnavara tuleb õpetada neile välismaalastele, kes õpivad jaapani keelt edasijõudnute tasemel. Seepärast ilmuvad jaapani onomatopoeetiliste sõnade sõnastikud ingliskeelsete seletustega ning jaapanikeelne onomatopoeetiline sõnavara on rahvusvaheliselt kergesti kättesaadav.

Franz Hausmann on onomatopoeetiliste sõnade sõnastikud jaotanud kahte tüüpi: 1) sünkroonsed ja 2) etümoloogilised. Etümoloogiliste sõnastike hulgast saab mainida ainult Garcia de Diego poolt koostatud hispaania keele sõnastikku. Tavaliselt tuleb uurijal piirduda onomatopoeetilise sõnavara etümoloogilise käsitlusega üldises etümoloogilises sõnastikus. Eraldi sõnaraamatu tüübi moodustavad fonesteemisõnastikud. Onomatopoeetilised juured koosnevad fonesteemidest ning sõltuvalt analüüsipõhimõtetest võib juures esineda kuni viis-kuus fonesteemi.

Artikkel keskendub inglisekeelse sõna *buzz* ja selle eestikeelsete vastete *sumin, sumisema, pinin, pinisema, pinisema, pirin, pirisema* käsitlemisele mitmesugustes sõnastikes. Donald Kloe inglise–hispaania ja hispaania–inglise sõnastik annab ulatusliku loetelu putukatest, kelle tekitatud häält annab edasi inglise *buzz*. See loend võimaldab teha järelduse, et inglise *buzz* käib nii madalatoonilise kui kõrgetoonilise sumina kohta. Eesti keele puhul on huvitav see, et *sumin* ja *sumisema* seostuvad eelkõige madalatoonilise heliga ning *kõrgetoonilise heli jaoks on eraldi sõnad – pinin, pinisema* ning *pirin, pirisema*. Antud asjaolu ei märganud või ei teadnud näiteks Johannes Silvet. Silveti inglise–eesti sõnaraamat toob vastetena *sumin, sumisema; surin, surisema; põrin, põrisema*, kuid ei paku kõrgetoonilist heli imiteerivaid vasteid *pinin, pinisema; pirin,*

pirisema, mis seostuvad näiteks sääskedega. Samuti puudub Silveti inglise–eesti sõnaraamatus vaste *kumisema*, mis seostub kõrvadega.

Ükskeelsete keelekirjelduste kvaliteet määrab suures osas kakskeelsete sõnastike kvaliteedi. Ükskeelsete kirjelduste kvaliteet sõltub aga omakorda üksikuurimuste kvaliteedist. Onomatopöa puhul on tähtis kollokatsioonide ning sünonüümide käsitlus. Korpuslingvistika senine areng näitab, et onomatopoeetilise sõnavara kogumiseks on vaja kas eraldi allkorpuseid või lugemisprogramme. Eesti keele puhul on samuti vaja uurida koomiksite sõnavara, sest see žanr jõudis meieni üsna hiljuti. Samuti peame eesti keele onomatopoeetilise sõnavara tegema rahvusvaheliselt kättesaadavaks. Selleks on vaja koostada onomatopoeetiliste sõnade sõnastik, kus vasted ja seletused on inglise keeles.

HOW TO PORTRAY EMOTIONS?

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1. Introduction

In addition to humans, other creatures have got emotions as well. However, when linguists discuss emotion words and the study of their meanings as a specific field and a semantic problem, then they usually mean human emotions. The reason for this is simple, of course.

Emotions are not only 'states of mind', feelings that a human or some other creature experiences subjectively. Emotions form a definite subsystem in one's psyche that is related by covert but complicated associations to other subsystems – starting with the immediate perception of the world and ending with evaluations, beliefs, knowledge, and reasoning. Emotions have causes, and they themselves can act as causes, i.e. they can affect the functioning of the other subsystems. For humans we have constructed an intuitive perception of the nature of these relations and mechanisms, each relying on his or her own subjective experience and, on the other hand, assuming that the other humans have a more or less similar internal structure than we ourselves. And this treatment has become established as a 'collective folk theory', which is reflected in language. As far as animals are concerned, we do not know these mechanisms as yet.

This distinction is important here not only because I have to justify why the following discussion will focus only on human emotions. It is likewise important to bring out in the very beginning the principal view that I am going to take when discussing the description of emotions by means of language.

Emotions play an important role in human behavior, in the interpretation of other people's behavior, and in the interaction with other people. Therefore, it is not surprising that languages have, as a rule, hundreds of words for the designation of emotions. For example, Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), when studying the semantic field of English emotion words, included

in their study 590 words, and their list was not intended to be exhaustive but only representative.

What is the meaning of these words or, to be more precise, their semantic content? What can we learn from the information concerning a person who is characterized (in some situation, in the context of some activity) as being joyful, surprised, disappointed, became angry, ferocious, got panicky, became worried, cruel, melancholy, etc. How do we select the expressions to describe emotions and their nuances? Is there a good reason for us to say in Estonian *tulivihane* 'lit. fiery angry' but not *tuliõnnetu* 'lit. fiery unhappy', why do we say *vihapurse* 'lit. eruption of anger' but not *murepurse* 'lit. eruption of worry'; we say *ta kees vihast* 'he was boiling with anger' but not *ta kees kurbusest* 'he was boiling with sadness' Is the classification of emotions, speaking and drawing conclusions about them more or less similar in different languages and cultures, or is it an area of human psyche that is universal as far as its biological roots are concerned but is classified and interpreted differently in various cultures?

In recent years these problems have been studied extensively in linguistics, especially in cognitive approaches (see e.g. articles in the collection Niemeier and Dirven 1997, which also reflects the various approaches and research trends). This article, too, belongs to this general approach.

Linguists are first and foremost interested in the words and (well-established) expressions that describe emotions and related phenomena. Of course, psychologists, too, study emotions, but they examine emotions as if taken separately, as 'objective reality' For them it is of secondary importance how emotions are designated or how people talk about them. And if they do happen to study this aspect, then it is a means and not an aim. The Estonian vocabulary that expresses emotions has been studied and described in this way by Jüri Allik (1996). And although such studies provide a linguist who studies the vocabulary of emotions with valuable information, it is not exactly the thing (or at least the only thing) that a linguist is interested in when he or she begins to study the meanings of emotion words.

A linguist, when studying the meanings of words (or other expressions), cannot avoid the question what these words mean

for language **users**, what content is ascribed to them in concrete contexts, and how the meanings get associated with each other. Words that describe emotions form a semantic field in a language, and at least from the viewpoint of cognitive semantics it is evident that this field is based on the folk theory as part of the more general 'folk theory of the mental field' (Õim 1996; 1997). (Here the epithet 'folk' means, in fact, that the folk theory need not always coincide with the 'serious theory' of emotions that is developed by psychologists). It is the folk theory that a linguist-semanticist is interested in and not the 'actual' place and role of emotions in the structure of human psyche. One might provide the following quotation: "It is a common fact that people "know" a lot about their own emotional experiences and those of others, and that they know what the meaning of emotion concepts like "love", "anger", "fear" and "joy" are, but that they do so only until asked to give a definition of them" (Swanepoel 1992: 419). They need this knowledge for successful social interaction – in order to be able to interpret the emotional responses of themselves and others, to predict the responses of others in certain situations, and to affect the emotions of other people in order to provoke certain responses. Each member of a linguistic and cultural community has got this knowledge but it is latent. He or she is unable to define the concepts and words of emotions, but he or she knows how to use them. The underlying basis is his or her own folk theory, and the task of a linguist is to detect it by analyzing language usage. In this sense, linguistic studies share more common ground with cognitive (cultural) anthropology (see e.g. Wierzbicka 1992) than with psychology.

No doubt that emotion words present a complicated research object for semantics. On the other hand, that is why they can be regarded as the so-called touchstone of the theory. Here one is dealing with such expressions whose referents are beyond direct observation, have fuzzy borders, and overlap partially, at the same time forming a clearly perceptible system. How does language conceptualize this area and how to analyze and describe this conceptualization?

The main part of this paper will discuss the various theoretical approaches to the description of the meanings of emotion words (part 2). The concrete part (part 3) will focus

on the metaphorical uses of some Estonian words of emotion, especially the word *viha* 'anger' and related expressions. One aim is to compare these uses (and possible conclusions about the corresponding folk theory) with the use of the corresponding English expressions, mainly on the basis the work of Zoltán Kövecses "Metaphors of anger, pride and love" (Kövecses 1986). The final part of the paper (part 4) will discuss, on the basis of the preceding parts, the problem how one could take an 'integrated' approach to the semantics of emotion words.

2. Some treatments of emotion words

V Ju. Apresjan and Ju. D. Apresjan (1993) bring out two approaches, which have been typically used to describe words that designate emotions as well as other psychic states. The first one is called the conceptual approach and the second one is the metaphorical approach.

2.1. The conceptual approach

In the case of the conceptual approach, which has been developed, for example, by the so-called Moscow School (see Õim 1996) and in the (earlier) work of Anna Wierzbicka, one tried to classify the prototypical situations, where the corresponding emotion occurs, bringing out the conceptual, first and foremost, the causal relationships between the components of a situation. For example, Iordanskaya describes the meaning of the word *kurvastama* (Russ *ogorčat'sa*) 'to feel sad' as follows (Iordanskaja 1972: 7):

A kurvastab B üle (Russ *A ogorčaetsja iz-za B*)
'A is sad about B'

A is in such a passive-negative emotional *state* that is usually *caused* in an average person i by his or her following *assessment* of event j: 1) i is *convinced* that event j occurs or has occurred; 2) i does (would) not want j to happen. (Italics are used to mark

those concepts that present the key concepts of the described situation).

Thus, two factors have been brought out; A's sadness about something is a negative emotional state, and, second, it has been pointed out what typically causes it, in this case certain beliefs (knowledge) and evaluations of A that act in combination.

The information that is given in the description can be classified more precisely. One could give the following (adapted) example (Iordanskaya and Mel'čuk 1990: 335):

X kardab Y-it
'X is afraid of Y'

Assertion

Assessment: X expects/believes Y to cause something that is undesirable for X

Emotion: in this case X has, or he has a tendency to have, an emotionally negative attitude toward Y

Characterization:

Cause: This state or attitude is caused by the above-mentioned belief/expectation of X toward Y;

Prototypical state: This state is of the kind that typically accompanies a dangerous expectation;

Consequence: This expectation and/or state serves as the cause that X tries to avoid Y

My own attempt 'to portray' such Estonian emotion words as *rõõmus* 'glad', *mures* 'worried', and *hirmul* 'terrified' basically belongs to the same approach (Õim 1971, Ch.2), the only difference being that the situation (background) was fixed by the concept of presupposition which was then a popular concept in linguistic semantics.

For example (leaving aside formalism):

X is worried that Y

Presuppositions:

1) X is a person
2) X's attention is directed at the fact that Y is possible

3) X believes that Y is possible
4) X wants Y not to happen

Assertion:

X is worried*

In the assertion * denotes the 'pure' emotion that one feels when being worried.

V Ju. Apresjan and Ju. D. Apresjan point out that such a logical-conceptual analysis is inadequate for the treatment of emotion words although it is necessary as the prevailing approach. First, it is necessary to find ways how to characterize emotional states more precisely (though the authors do not suggest any concrete solutions). Second, they point out that it is necessary to bring out those characteristics of the emotional states that would enable the researcher to explain the linguistic means of expression that are used to describe emotions. Here they are having in mind first and foremost the metaphorical and other symptomatic expressions. The authors call the treatment of emotions from this aspect as the metaphorical approach. As I am going to compare Estonian and English mostly on the basis of the analyses by Kövecses (1986), then I will describe this approach on the basis of the latter work.

2.2. The metaphorical approach

Kövecses points out that when describing emotions (as well as other psyche-related phenomena) it is very common to use expressions in their figurative meaning. He claims on the basis of the general treatment of metaphors, which was originally proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), that these expressions do not reflect simply some casual fantasies of language users, but they are typically based on certain coherent conceptual structures.

For example, when describing anger one can first distinguish between two types of expressions: metonymical and metaphorical ones. The use of the metonymical expressions is based on the general principle – the psychological effects of an emotion stand for the emotion. Accordingly, when describing anger one can find expressions, where the background includes such physiological

manifestations accompanying anger. The latter include blood pressure *(When I found out, I almost burst a blood vessel)*, redness in one's face and neck area *(She was scarlet with rage)*, agitation *(She was shaking with anger)*, interference with accurate perception *(She was blind with rage)*, and body heat *(Don't get hot under the collar)*.

As most of these manifestations are real and can be observed, and, second, the metonymical transfer is a common method of meaning transfer, then there is no reason to presume any complicated folk theory of emotions. Here the folk theory is manifested first and foremost in what is regarded as the main physiological manifestations of anger. However, these metonymical relationships serve as the basis for a large number of metaphorical transfers, and one could postulate a somewhat 'more elaborate' folk theory as the basis of these transfers, which ensures the systematic character of the transfers and semantic coherence.

As Kövecses points out, it is particularly relevant with regard to the metaphors of anger that emphasize (body) heat. According to Kövecses, it serves as the basis for the most general metaphor of anger ANGER IS HEAT. This metaphor has two basic versions – one where the heat is applied to fluids and the other where it is applied to solids. In the first case the metaphor combines with the metonymies of internal pressure and agitation and in the second case with the metonymy of redness.

The first one (heat as applied to fluids) is much more elaborate, and the reason for this is that "in our overall conceptual system we have the general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS" (Kövecses 1986: 14).

The ANGER IS HEAT metaphor, when combined with this general metaphor, yields the metaphor that Kövecses treats as the central one in the entire system of anger metaphors – ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. It can be illustrated by such expressions as *You make my blood boil; Simmer down!; I had reached the boiling point.* The elaboration of the image-schema that serves as the basis for this central metaphor results in a number of more concrete metaphorical schemes such as INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER (cf. *He was bursting with anger;*

I suppressed my anger). INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM (cf. *Billy's just blowing off steam*), and so on.

When the general metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is applied to solids, then it is concretized in the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE *(She was doing a slow burn; What you said inflamed him)*. However, this type is considerably less productive.

What is important in this approach is, of course, not simply finding some general source domain for certain metaphorical expressions, which in our case describe anger. The most important thing is that this source domain, e.g. HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, acts as an image-schema, which serves as the basis for structuring the different aspects of anger itself and the entire situation involved (the target domain). For example, THE CONTAINER IS THE BODY, THE HEAT OF THE FLUID IS ANGER, THE HEAT SCALE IS THE ANGER SCALE – the end points being zero and the limit. An explosion of the container is loss of control by the person when the intensity of his or her anger exceeds its limit (Kövecses 1986: 17-18). By using the ability of metaphorical transfer a person would construct on the basis of the source domain, as an immediately observable or familiar domain, the target domain as an unobservable area – and emotions do belong here – the result being a folk theory.

Usually the metaphorical classification of more complicated phenomena is not so simple that a single source domain would be sufficient. In the case of anger, too, Kövecses provides some other metaphorical structures (e.g. ANGER IS AN OPPONENT WITH WHOM ONE FIGHTS, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS WILD ANIMAL WHOSE RELEASE ONE HAS TO FEAR). However, I believe that what was said above is enough to explain the theoretical idea that serves as the basis for the metaphorical treatment of emotions.

2.3. Cross-cultural analysis of emotions

One could logically presume that the emotional system as a subsystem of psyche, the roots of which lie clearly in the nature of the human being as a biological species, is identical in all

the people. Thus, the emotions of human beings would be the same, independent of one's culture or language. However, the situation is far from simple. The past decade, in particular, has seen a lively discussion of the problem, first and foremost, among cultural anthropologists and linguists. It is a well-known fact that the vocabulary of emotions does not coincide in different languages. Even if, in principle, two languages have a certain word for the designation of the same emotion, then their range of application may differ with regard to some features. A cross-cultural comparison of emotion words and expressions adds a cultural-social dimension to the research topic in question. No doubt it is a very interesting research topic, but at the same time it will further complicate the problems involved. A comprehensive overview of these problems can be found in Wierzbicka's book "Semantics, Culture and Cognition" (1992), which discusses the views of both linguists and cultural anthropologists. My overview below will be largely based on this book.

The problem has a number of aspects. At first, one is tempted to ask – if a language does not have a word for a certain emotion (which has a separate designation in some other language) – can it be interpreted so that the native speakers of this language do not know (experience) the feeling in question? Not necessarily, of course. It only means that the corresponding culture as a whole has not found this emotion or feeling worthy of a special name. Nor does it mean that the speakers of the given language cannot perceive the emotion as a distinct, recognizable feeling or that they cannot talk about it. Similarly to shades of color, also the feelings and their shades can be described in many different ways, e.g. with the help of similes ("he felt as a boy who has been naughty and is now standing in front of his teacher").

Actually, the concepts of feelings that have been lexicalized in a language enable us to put together a certain folk taxonomy of emotions as part of the world picture that reflects people and the relations between them. It indicates the distinctions that are recognized in the area under discussion as particularly salient. Wierzbicka (1992: 121–123) provides as an example the Polish words *tesknota* (noun) and *tesknič* (verb), which have no one-to-one correspondence in English and can be translated depending on the context as *homesick, long, miss, pine, nostalgia.* Thus,

in Polish culture *tesknota* is salient as a separate concept, but it is not so in the English-speaking world.

It does not concern only the relatively complex and fuzzy emotions, such as the above-mentioned example, but also the emotions that psychologists call basic emotions and are regarded, in principle, as universal and distinguishable in all languages and cultures. These include, for example, interest, fear, shame, anger, joy, and surprise (altogether a dozen emotions). However, Wierzbicka finds that this list would rather reflect a folk taxonomy that is characteristic of the English language. For example, Gidjingali, an Australian aboriginal language, does not make a distinction between fear and shame, i.e. there are no special words for them (Wierzbicka 1992: 119). On the other hand, Ilonggo, the language of the Philippine headhunting tribe, has the concept of *liget*, its common translation equivalent and explanation being 'energy, anger, passion' Typically, researchers have identified it with the emotion that is designated by the English *anger* (though it is characterized by greater intensity) and treated it as an example of a universal basic emotion. Wierzbicka (1992: 139–142) shows by a thorough analysis that although from the viewpoint of Anglo-Saxon culture *liget* could be the same as anger, there is a fundamental difference if we examine its place and role in Ilonggo psyche and culture. *Liget* "expresses itself equally in the passion to kill as in the passion to work. It implies vitality and fierceness, a will to compete, and a will to triumph." (Wierzbicka1986: 139). If *anger* is basically a negative, hostile feeling toward the target person, then *liget* would rather mean competitiveness, the object of which is not necessarily a certain human being, and where the negative attitude need not predominate at all. Just as English (culture) does not have an exact equivalent for the Ilonggo word *liget*, the Ilonggo language lacks an exact equivalent for the English *anger* although it is regarded as a basic emotion.

Therefore, a number of authors have suggested the possibility of the opposite argumentation. The absence of a word does not preclude the ability of experiencing an emotion, or of perceiving it as distinct and identifiable. Nevertheless, there are good reasons to think that differences in the 'emotion talk' are linked with differences in emotions themselves – if people raised

in different cultures come to internalize different ways of describing their experience, this may make what they experience different (Wierzbicka 1992: 124).

I would like to add on my part that actually the problem is not only whether certain emotions are designated in a certain language/culture by a separate word or not and to what extent it is able to distinguish the corresponding real emotion from the others. A linguist (and a cultural anthropologist) would also be interested in the role that is attributed to emotions as a whole in a certain culture and the role of individual emotions in this entire system (once again I would like to emphasize the integrity of the folk theory). When interacting with other people, we do not actually operate with emotions that belong to the 'psychological reality' Instead, we are operating with culture- and language-based images of how emotions affect human behavior, which circumstances give rise to them, and, accordingly, how they can be used to influence the behavior of other people, if necessary. Cross-cultural comparisons should focus on these holistic systems. However, it is hard to establish them because it would require comprehensive empirical research that proceeds from the same description principles and uses an identical manner of presentation.

And finally I would like to touch upon one aspect of cross-cultural (or cross-language) comparison of emotions that has found little application on a conscious and systematic basis. It is related to the above-described metaphorical approach to the analysis of emotions, or broadly speaking, to the problem how emotions are interpreted and described. If metaphorical transfers are based on certain (relatively) coherent structures – folk theories – then do they coincide and to what extent do they coincide in different languages? In the next section I am going to make an attempt to analyze the metaphorical expressions that are used to describe the Estonian word *viha* 'anger' from this viewpoint (and the resulting folk theory) and to compare it with the analysis of English by Kövecses (1986).

3. Some metaphorical features of anger in Estonian

The first aim of this section is to analyze the metaphorical expressions that are related to *viha* 'anger' in order to find out whether this material enables us to envisage an outline of a folk model (it would be too much to call it a folk theory). The second aim is to compare it to Kövecses' analysis of the English material (1986).

My comparison will be restricted to the expressions that are parallel to those that Kövecses discusses within the framework of the main metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

At first I would like to point out a peculiarity of the Estonian language – it specifies where anger is located. One would say that

ta hing sai/läks täis
'lit. his soul became/went full'
ta hing oli täis
'lit. his soul was full'

These expressions have an unambiguous meaning of getting angry and being angry One could guess that they could be elliptical expressions that leave out what is it that one's soul is/will be full of (= anger). Thus, one is tempted to say that the folk image of Estonian is that anger is not located simply in one's body but in one's soul (see also Õim 1997). However, this claim should not be taken too seriously because most other expressions that describe anger and related processes do not include any such localizing references.

When we examine the Estonian expressions, where anger and related processes are described on the basis of the image of liquid, then at first there seems to be an obvious analogy with the corresponding underlying English pattern. In Estonian, too, one would say that

Ta *kees* vihast
'He was boiling with anger'

Ta *läks* keema
'lit. He started to boil' (= he/she became angry)
Temas *pulbitses/kobrutas* viha'
'He was seething/frothing with anger'

A closer inspection, however, reveals at least two differences from the pattern that was suggested by Kövecses. At first, it is probably not accidental that in Estonian one would speak in connection with anger not only about boiling (which points to the heat of a fluid), but also expressions that refer to fermentation, e.g.

Temas *käärib* viha
'He is fermenting with anger'
Temas *kobrutab* viha
'He is frothing with anger'

are equally common. Also, if a fluid is fermenting in a closed container, its pressure will increase, and it may lead to an explosion. Using the concepts by Kövecses, one could say that from the point of view of the source domain in the Estonian model it is not boiling or heat that is important but any process (in a fluid) that builds pressure. Fermentation is one such process. The building of pressure is an analogy that is of fundamental importance, as the expression

plahvatas vihast
'exploded with anger'

indicates both in Estonian and English, which points to the fact that an increase in the intensity of anger has its limit.

Also, in Estonian one would say that

Ta viha *lahtus*.
'lit. His anger went flat'

Going flat, however, is a process that does not characterize a hot/boiling fluid but would rather be associated with a fermenting or fermented fluid. The analogy with cooling is used much more rarely when speaking about anger in Estonian.

The above is directly related also to the second difference of the Estonian material from Kövecses' model.

As we saw, when comparing the source and target domains Kövecses emphasizes that ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, where the container corresponds to the body in the target domain. If one takes into account the above and some other Estonian expressions that describe anger, then we would rather come to the conclusion that a more correct pattern would be ANGER IS A FLUID (IN A CLOSED CONTAINER) WHERE PRESSURE-BUILDING PROCESSES OCCUR. Thus, the "fluid itself" – heat – is simply a pressure-building parameter, but there can be some others as well. In the metaphorical sentences

Temas *pulbitses* viha
'He was seething with anger'
Temas *kobrutas* viha
'lit. He was fermenting with anger'

the fluid itself seethes or ferments. This Estonian analogy is supported, for example, by the expression *viha välja valama* 'lit. to pour out one's anger':

Ta *valas oma viha välja* alluvate peale.
'lit. He poured his anger out on his subordinates'

It is indirectly proved also by the previously mentioned expression

Ta hing oli täis
'lit. His soul was full'

Or, for example,

Mu hing sai lõpuks nii täis, et ma plahvatasin.
'lit. Finally my soul got so full that I exploded'

A closed container may explode also when too much fluid is added there under pressure. I am not in a position to say whether

the ANGER IS HEAT analogy is really more suitable for the English material or Kövecses got simply carried away by the relationship of anger and heat. As a generalization, it also fits for those cases where the fluid is absent in the source domain, as the following expressions show: *Temas hõõgus viha* 'He/she was smoldering with anger', *leegitsev viha* 'blazing anger' Anyway, one could conclude that the metaphorical patterns of anger are not identical in English and Estonian. If we examined some other types of metaphorical transfer and compare, for example, also those syntactic constructions in both languages that originally must have been of metaphorical origin, then the differences would become more apparent. (In Estonian one would, for example, say *vihastas kellegi peale* 'lit became angry on sb', *on vihane/kannab viha kellegi peale* 'lit. is angry/carries anger on sb' – why so?).

As a side remark, I would like to mention that the above treatment should not be interpreted as if it rested upon the assumption that language users would really compare anger to a fluid and the processes that take place therein. They would rather think of it as some abstract "substance", which has, however, certain definite features (Kövecses, too, points out that *anger*, similarly to the majority of designations of emotions, is a mass noun). Fluid would rather be a conventional descriptor that is introduced by the researcher and interpreter of the substance, which allows to explain anger-related metaphors in a coherent and explicit way.

4. Discussion

Each of the described approaches focuses on different aspects of emotions and their linguistic expression. It is natural from the point of view of theoretical semantics to ask the question where the deeper relationship between these aspects could be found and how to develop an 'integrated' method of treatment and presentation. In fact, the phenomenon in question is the same in all the three treatments. Below I am going to present briefly my understanding of where and how to look for a solution.

In my opinion, the conceptual approach, where the corresponding emotion is described in the context of the entire situation, bringing out the components of the latter and their interrelations, including the causal relationships, offers the kind of general framework that is needed anyway. The material that is obtained by the other approaches should be integrated into it. At least it is so according to the current predominant perceptions in theoretical semantics – the semantic descriptions of linguistic units are presented as structures that are put together from discrete units. And actually the only difficult problem here is the presentation of the 'immediate substance' of emotions themselves. The identification of the relevant situational components and their relationships does not differ, in principle, from the analysis of other types of meaning. Typical test sentences could be used to this end. If the sentence

> **Ta oli mures, et pakane võib kahjustada ta õunapuid, aga ta soovis, et pakane kahjustaks ta õunapuid*
> 'He was worried that frost might damage his apple trees, but he wanted the frost to damage his apple trees'

is semantically unacceptable, then it would be justified to include 'A wants non-X' (where X denotes what one is worried about) in the description of *mure* 'worry' Also, this presentation enables us to link the rules that describe various general regularities. For example, in the case of emotions one important type of knowledge is which emotions (simultaneously, in the same situation in relation to the same target) cannot coexist, i.e. they are mutually exclusive. For example, in these conditions one cannot be both worried and happy with regard to the same target situation. It is not necessary to present this information in the description of each emotion, it could be formulated by means of some general rules, using the same semantic units that occur in the descriptions of emotion structures. For example, if the description of emotion e1 includes the component "A wants X" and the description of emotion e2 includes the component "A wants non-X", then these emotions cannot occur together. Such rules constitute the main device that links the descriptions of individual words into some entity or 'theory'

The metaphorical treatment in its present stage presents many more theoretical problems. At first it is inevitably subjective. For example, Kövecses states that the most general metaphor connected with anger is ANGER IS HEAT. Some other researcher, however, may find that it is not so and that some other formulation would be much better. One could ask which objective material (e.g. test sentences) could be used to check or refute the claim?

The main reason why the metaphorical treatment is topical and fascinating lies undoubtedly in the somewhat surprising discovery that the use of metaphorical expressions is not based on individual associations but on structural transfers from a source domain to a target domain. In case one attempts to present the corresponding structural classifications in some notation that is theoretically acceptable, then one would typically reach structures that are similar to the ones that are used in conceptual presentation. Thus, at first one could say that in a broader theoretical context the metaphorical approach would basically provide additional material for conceptual analysis and that the latter forms the general framework of presentation. However, as the approach and the obtained material are totally different, then the potential importance of the metaphorical approach is tremendous. By the way, it is this approach that provides data about the characteristics of the emotional states themselves.

The presentation mode itself is that of frame (Õim and Saluveer 1985), no matter how it is called (image schemas, cognitive models). It is only necessary to fix the categories that link the relevant aspects of the source domain and the target domain. At this it is clear that the concepts that were originally borrowed from the source domain such as 'heat', 'fluid' and 'pressure' have to be defined as abstract categories, their properties are common for both domains, not in their original (in this case physical) meaning. These abstract categories are, in fact, the basic devices that make it possible to explain the corresponding structural transfers and thus at the same time to formulate the folk theories of (as in this case emotions) the studied target domains.

As was said above, the cross-cultural approach to the treatment of emotion concepts represents an additional research

dimension that does not oppose any of the two previous ones, but it would rather provide them with a more general framework. It is the kind of approach that is to some extent similar to the typological approach in the treatment of grammatical categories. As was emphasized above, the results that are obtained within the framework of this approach are valuable because they point to the necessity to describe and compare the semantic fields of emotions in different cultures (languages) together with the underlying folk theories, not the ways how individual emotions are expressed. And one has to compare both the results of the conceptual analysis and the results of the metaphorical approach. When we examine the English *anger* and the Estonian *viha*, then it is unlikely that the conceptual analysis of their meanings might bring out any important differences. However, if we examine (additionally) the metaphorical uses in both languages, then, as the previous analysis hopefully indicated, the picture will become much more complicated. Upon focusing on these complexities, the final result will undoubtedly be much more varied and adequate for both languages.

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KUIDAS PORTRETEERIDA EMOTSIOONE?

Haldur Õim

Kuidas kirjeldada emotsioone tähistavate sõnade (emotsioonisõnade) tähendusi? Semantikas ei ole sellele küsimusele lihtne vastata ei teoreetiliselt ega praktiliselt.

Emotsioonid ei ole pelgalt teatud "hingeseisundid", tunded, mida inimene või muu olend subjektiivselt läbi elab. Emotsioonid moodustavad kindla allsüsteemi psüühikas, mis varjatud, kuid komplitseeritud seoste kaudu on seotud teiste allsüsteemidega – alustades maailma vahetust tajumisest kuni hinnangute, uskumuste, teadmiste, arutlusteni välja. Emotsioonidel on põhjused ja nad ise võivad olla põhjusteks, so mõjutada teiste allsüsteemide funktsioneerimist. Me oleme konstruee-

rinud teatud intuitiivse arusaama sellest, missugused need seosed ja mehhanismid inimestel on, tuginedes igaüks oma subjektiivsele kogemusele ja teiselt poolt eeldusele, et teised inimesed on enam-vähem samasuguse siseehitusega kui meie ise. Ja see käsitlus on kinnistunud teatud "kollektiivses naiivteoorias", mida kajastab keel.

Igas keeles on tuhandeid sõnu emotsioonide tähistamiseks.Mis on nende sõnade tähendus, ehk lähemalt semantiline sisu? Mida me loeme välja infost inimese kohta, kelle kohta öeldakse, et ta (mingis situatsioonis, mingi tegevuse kontekstis) oli rõõmus, üllatunud, pettunud, vihastas, sattus raevu, paanikasse, muutus murelikuks, tigedaks, melanhoolseks jne. Kuidas me valime emotsioonidest ja nende varjunditest rääkimiseks väljendeid? Viimastel aastatel on semantikas nende küsimustega palju tegeldud, eriti kognitiivlingvistilise orientatsiooniga käsitlustes. Ka käesolev artikkel kuulub sellesse üldisesse raami.

Emotsioonisõnad moodustavad ühe semantilise välja keeles ja vähemalt kognitiivse semantika seisukohalt on ilmne, et selle välja aluseks on naiivteooria (naïve theory, folk theory) kui üldisema "mentaalse välja naiivteooria" osa. Antud juhul täiend "naiivne" tähendab just seda, et naiivteooria ei pruugi kokku langeda psühholoogide poolt arendatava emotsioonide "tõsiteooriaga" Ja lingvisti-semantikut huvitab just see naiivteooria, mitte emotsioonide "tõeline" koht ja roll inimese psüühilises ehituses.

Käesoleva töö põhiosas käsitletakse erinevaid teoreetilisi lähenemisi emotsioonisõnade tähenduste kirjeldamisele (2. osa). Töö konkreetses osas (3) vaatlen mõnede eesti keele emotsioonisõnade, eelkõige sõna *viha* ja sellega seostuvate väljendite metafoorseid kasutusi. Ja üheks eesmärgiks on võrrelda neid kasutusi (ja võimalikke järeldusi vastava naiivteooria kohta) inglise keele vastavate väljendite kasutamisega, lähteks peamiselt Zoltan Kövecsesi töö "Metaphors of anger, pride and love" Töö viimases osas (4) käsitlen eelnenu põhjal küsimust, kuidas oleks võimalik jõuda teatud "integreeritud" lähenemiseni emotsioonisõnade semantikale.

Mõistelise lähenemise puhul, mida on arendanud näiteks nn Moskva koolkond, püütakse liigendada prototüüpseid situatsioone, milles vastav emotsioon esineb, tuues välja situatsiooni komponentide vahelised kontseptuaalsed, eelkõige kausaalsed seosed. Näiteks sõna *kurvastama* (vene k. *ogorčat'sja*) tähendust kirjeldab L. N. Iordanskaja selliselt:

A kurvastab B üle (A ogorčaetsja iz-za B):
A on niisuguses passiivses-negatiivses emotsionaalses *seisundis*, mida keskmisel inimesel i tavaliselt *põhjustab* tema järgmine *hinnang* sündmusele j: 1) i on *veendunud*, et sündmus j leiab aset või on aset

leidnud; 2) i ei *soovi(ks)* j toimumist (kursiivis on minu poolt esitatud need mõisted, mis esitavad kirjeldatava situatsiooni võtmemõisteid).

Niisiis on välja toodud kaks faktorit: A kurvastamine millegi üle on negatiivne emotsionaalne seisund, ja teiseks on osutatud, mis selle tüüpiliselt põhjustab, antud juhul A teatud uskumised (teadmised) ja hinnangud koos toimivatena.

Mõistelise lähenemise peapuudus on see, et see ei võimalda täpsemalt esile tuua emotsionaalsete seisundite endi sisu. Ja teiseks ei näita see, mis põhimõtetest lähtudes valitakse emotsoonide iseloomustamiseks erinevaid keelelisi vahendeid.

Teatud määral võimaldab neid puudusi ületada **metafooriline** lähenemine, mida, nagu öeldud, kirjeldatake artiklis eelkõige Z. Kövecsesi raamatu põhjal. Kövecses osutab,et emotsioonide (nagu ka muude psüühikaga seotud nähtuste) kirjeldamisel on äärmiselt tüüpiline väljendite kasutamine ülekantud tähenduses. Tuginedes algselt G. Lakoffi ja M. Johnsoni poolt esitatud üldisele metafooride käsitlusele, väidab ta, et need väljendid ei kajasta lihtsalt keelekasutajate juhuslikke fantaasiaid, vaid tüüpiliselt on nende aluseks teatud koherentsed kontseptuaalsed struktuurid. Näiteks analüüsides emotsiooni *viha* kirjeldamiseks kasutatavaid väljendeid inglise keeles leiab Kövecses, et keskne metafooriskeem siin on ANGER IS HEAT IN A FLUID (viha on kuumus), nt *ta kees vihast.*Sellest on tuletatavad ka konkreetsemad ülekanded, nt et viha intensiivsuse kasv üle teatu piiri võib viia plahvatuseni (niisamuti nagu temperatuuri kasv suletud nõus) jne.

Kolmandana vaadeldakse **interkulturaalset** lähenemist emotsioonide analüüsimisel, tuginedes eelkõige Anna Wierzbicka töödele. On üldteada fakt, et erinevate keelte emotsioone tähistav sõnavara ei kattu. Isegi kui (põhimõtteliselt) sama emotsiooni tähistamiseks on kahes keeles kindel sõna, siis nende sõnade tähenduspiirkonnad võivad mingite tunnuste osas erineda. Selline interkulturaalne emotsioonisõnavara ja -väljendite võrdlus lisab kõnealusele uurimisalale uue, kultuurilis-sotsiaalse dimensiooni. Tundemõistete põhjal, mis mingis keeles on leksikaliseeritud, võime koostada emotsioonide teatud *folk*-taksonoomia kui inimesi ja nendevahelisi suhteid kajastava maailmapildi osa, mis näitab, missuguseid eristusi kõnealusel alal vastavas kultuuris tunnetatakse relevantsetena. Näitena toob Wierzbicka poola keel sõnad *tesknota* (noomen) ja *tesknić* (verb), millel ei ole otsest vastet inglise keeles ja mida võib sõltuvalt kontekstist tõlkida kui *homesick, long, miss, pine, nostalgia.* Niisiis on *tesknota* Poola kultuuris omaette mõistena relevantne, inglise omas aga mitte.

Artikli kolmandas osas võrreldakse lühidalt emotsiooni **viha** iseloomustavaid väljendeid inglise ja eesti keeles, kusjuures lähteks on

Kövecsesi väide, et inglise materjali seletab kõige paremini skeem ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Artiklis osutatakse, et eesti keele materjali põhjal osutub see skeem liiga ühekülgseks. Kas on tegemist eesti ja inglise keeles sisalduvate erinevate viha naiivteooriatega või Kövecsesi lihtsustusega inglise keele osas, ei ole selge. Esiteks osutavad mitmed eesti keele väljendid, et vedeliku temperatuur ei ole viha kirjeldavate metafooride allikalana ainumäärav. Väljendid nagu *temas kääris viha, viha lahtus* jt osutavad, et kriitilise tähtsusega on vedelikus toimuvad protsessid, mis tõstavad rõhku (ja võivad viia plahvatuseni). Teiseks, viha enda allikmõistena on pigem vedelik ise, milles toimuvad mingid rõhku tõstvad protsessid ngu kuumenemine, käärimine, mitte need protsessid (Kövescesil vedeliku temperatuur). Eesti keeles võidakse öelda ka *temas pulbitses viha, kobrutas viha* jms, mis osutavad, et viha kujutletakse (metafoorselt) vedelikuna.

Artikli viimases osas osutatakse, et emotsioonisõnade "integreeritud" semantilise kirjeldusviisi saamiseks tuleb eelkirjeldatud lähenemisviisid kuidagi ühendada, mitte vaadelda neid konkureerivatena. Üldiseks raamiks, milles seda üritada, sobib enim mõisteline lähenemisviis, sest see haarab ja liigendab kogu relevantset situatsiooni. Pealegi on see kahtlemata objektiivseim analüüsi aluseks oleva materjali osas. Metafoorne lähenemine tekitab probleeme oma subjektiivsusega, kuid samas annab materjali vahetu emotsionaalse seisundi iseloomustamiseks, mis mõistelise analüüsi puhul puudulikuks jääb. Interkulturaalne lähenemisviis lisab uue dimensiooni kogu käsitlusele ja osutab, et analüüsida ja võrrela tuleb teatud semantilisi kogumeid, mitte üksiksõnu. See kehtib nii mõistelise kui ka metafoorilise käsitlusviisi kohta.

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