

TARTU ÜLIKOOLI EESTI KEELE ÕPPETOOLI TOIMETISED 8

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ESTONIAN OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF TARTU 8

# ESTONIAN: TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES II

edited by  
Mati Ereht

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*This book is dedicated to VALTER TAULI  
(13 November 1907 – 3 January 1986) —  
the outstanding Estonian typologist,  
grammarian and language planning theorist.*

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# REDUPLICATION IN ESTONIAN

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**0.** In the present paper I will consider reduplication a pattern where to a word stem is attached another stem that is formally and/or semantically identical to the former, and the resulting construction (word or phrase) is in systematic functional contrast with the single occurrence of the word stem. If the added word stem is exactly the same, one has to do with **identity reduplication**, e.g. *suur-suur maja* 'a big-big house' If the attached word stem is only similar to the original stem – formally and/or semantically – it is an example of **similarity reduplication**, e.g. *sigin-sagin* 'bustl', *kisa ja kära* 'shouting and noise'

The main functional difference between the two types of reduplication lies in the fact that identity reduplication fulfills a certain semantic and emotive function, but in the case of similarity reduplication it takes additionally on the poetic function (in the sense of Jakobson 1960).

## **1. Identity reduplication**

### **1.0. Form and function**

**1.0.1.** From the **formal** point of view it is possible to differentiate between two basic types of identity reduplication (cf Moravcsik 1978).

(1) **Total reduplication.** The reduplicative elements (word stems) are identical, as in *vana-vana naine* 'an old-old woman', *Ta ootab ja ootab* 'he is waiting and waiting', Finnish *kasvaa kasvamistaan* 'it keeps on growing (lit. it grows its growing)'

(2) **Partial reduplication.** The constituents of the reduplicative formation are non-identical because the copy is only a part of the word stem that underlies the reduplication, cf *laai fica* 'bounce' > *fi-fica* 'bounce many times' (Kiyomi 1995: 1156).

Such cases as *kaka* 'faeces', *papa* 'daddy', *kuku* 'cuckoo' etc are not regarded as reduplications because here a syllable without a

lexical meaning gets repeated and not a word stem that carries a meaning.

Nor are reduplications in the synchronic sense such cases as *tulituline* 'fiery hot', *purupurjus* 'drunk as a lord', *minema minema* 'to go away' because *tuli-*, *puru-* and *minema* combine in the same sense also with other lexemes that are dissimilar to them in form, e.g. *tulivihane* 'very angry', *purukaine* 'absolutely sober', *jookseb minema* 'runs away'. Thus, here intensity and perfectivity do not result from the juxtaposition of two similar stems, but it is included in the lexical meaning of the particle itself. In such cases one could speak about reduplication only from the diachronic point of view.

It is not always easy to distinguish reduplication as stem repetition from sentence and text repetition because a sentence, too, may consist of a single word. Many one-word sentences, however, can be easily extended into multi-word ones without any shift in the function of the repetition – and thus their sentencehood can be established, e.g. *Kas sa tuled juba? – Tulen, tulen. – Küll ma tulen, küll ma tulen* 'Are you coming already? – I'm coming, I'm coming. – Don't worry, don't worry'

**1.0.2. Functions.** Most studies of reduplication stress the iconic feature of the phenomenon. The iconicity of reduplication is manifested in the fact that being formally quantitative it can express quantitative meaning too. The most frequent quantitative meanings of reduplication are **intensity**, **repetition/continuation** and **plurality**. These functions are related to certain entities – **properties**, **processes** and **things**.

Intensity is usually expressed by the reduplication of adjectives (*vana-vana* 'old-old'), qualitative or quantitative adverbs (*kiiresti-kiiresti* 'quickly-quickly', *väga-väga* 'very-very') or evaluative nouns (*lurjuste lurjus* 'scoundrel of scoundrels'). Quantitative aspects of processes (continuation/repetition etc) are, as a rule, expressed by the reduplication of verbs (*jookseb ja jookseb* 'is running and running') or temporal adverbials (*töötab päevast päeva* 'works day after day'). Moreover, the plurality of things is usually expressed by the reduplication of nouns or by the reduplication of numerals or pronouns.

In all these three types of entities the quantity that is expressed by reduplication can be **bounded** or **non-bounded**.



In the case of intensity, the function of non-bounded reduplication is close to the function of the adverbial intensifier *väga* 'very', e.g. *See oli suur-suur lind ≈ See oli väga suur lind* 'It was a very big bird', and the function of bounded reduplication is close to that of the adverb *täiesti* 'absolutely', e.g. *Ta on haige mis haige = Ta on täiesti haige* 'He/she is absolutely sick'

In the case of processes non-boundedness is manifested as repetition/continuation, e.g. *Ta jookseb ja jookseb* 'He/she is running and running' Boundedness can be expressed as existentiality, e.g. *on olemas* 'it exists' or perfectivity, e.g. *Tulin sealt tulema* 'I left that place'

In the case of things non-boundedness is manifested as uncertain plurality, as a large number of items involved, i.e. here repetition has the same function as, for example, the adverb *palju* 'many': *Lilled, lilled, lilled! – Nii palju lilli polnud ma varem kunagi näinud.* 'Flowers, flowers, flowers! – I had never seen so many flowers before' By bounded quantification I have in mind the function that is fulfilled by (linguistic) universal quantifiers, e.g. *kõik* 'all' and *iga* 'every', i.e. indication of exhaustiveness. For example, bounded quantity is expressed by the Finnish reduplicative construction *mies kuin mies* 'every man'

Table

	Non-bounded	Bounded
<b>Property</b>	<i>suur-suur maja</i> 'big-big house'	<i>purjus mis purjus</i> 'as drunk as can be'
<b>Process</b>	<i>jookseb ja jookseb</i> 'is running and running'	<i>tuleb tulema</i> 'leaves the place'
<b>Participant</b>	<i>mehed, mehed</i> 'men, men'	<i>Fin mies kuin mies.</i> 'every man'

In addition to iconic reduplication there are cases where the use of reduplication is not motivated iconically. In many languages reduplication may express the meaning that is just the opposite to intensity – *diminution*, as in Toba-Batak *dólok* 'mountain' > *dolok-dólok* 'hill' (Kiyomi 1995: 1153). A number of languages, including Estonian, use reduplication also to express indefiniteness that is not related to a particular entity type, as German *dann und dann* or Estonian *niisugune ja niisugune* 'such and such', *see ja see* 'this and this'

## 1.1. Identity reduplication in Estonian

1.1.0. Below I will consider the basic types of identity reduplication in Standard Estonian. The data come from two text corpora:

- 1) the 1980s text corpus (Tartu corpus) contains one million running words of various texts;
- 2) the 1990s text corpus contains about 250,000 running words of newspaper texts.

The examples from the corpora were supplemented by examples from various occasional texts, the card catalog of the literary language at the Estonian Language Institute, and those found in articles dealing with reduplication. Such examples will be marked OC (= Outside Corpus).

### 1.1.1. Intensifying reduplication

#### 1.1.1.1. Non-bounded reduplication

As was mentioned above, non-bounded intensifying reduplication has nearly the same function as the adverbial intensifier *väga* 'very' and others. However, this type of reduplication is always emotive (and is phonetically marked accordingly), whereas adverbial intensification may but need not be so. Therefore, it is quite natural that the range of application of reduplication as a means of intensification is narrower than that of adverbs. It cannot be used in every style and it can be used only with such gradable words that render emotive evaluation, e.g. adjectives *vaene* 'poor', *armas* 'cute', *kallis* 'dear', *tubli* 'excellent', *tore* 'great', *tark* 'clever', *hirmus* 'terrible', *jube* 'terrible' etc; adverbs of degree: *väga* 'very', *nii* 'so', *kohutavalt* 'terribly', *õige* 'right' etc, or with such words that usually have such a connotation, e.g. adjectives denoting measure and color: *suur* 'great', *väike* 'small', *pikk* 'long', *pisike* 'tiny', *must* 'black', *punane* 'red' etc, adverbs of manner and duration: *aeglaselt* 'slowly', *kaua* 'for a long time' etc. The lexemes that do not contain such emotional evaluation cannot be reduplicated: \**Ta on praktiline-praktiline inimene* 'He/she is a practical-practical person', though one can say *Ta on väga praktiline inimene* 'He is a very practical person'

### 1.1.1.1.1. Coordinate constructions

In Estonian, as in many other languages, the main type of non-bounded reduplication is (non-reduced) total asyndetic reduplication:

- (1) **pikk-pikk**  
'long-long'

ESBI\tet0039: Pakikeses oli kaks **peenikest-peenikest** abielusõrmust.

'The little parcel contained two thin-thin wedding rings.'

POP\tpt0033: Sajandi algusest ei ole ühtegi raamatut, kümmekond romaani nägid ilmavalgust kahekümnendatel-kolmekümnendatel aastatel, **suur-suur** enamik on aga nopitud maailmasõja järgsest toodangust.

'There is not a single book from the beginning of the century, a dozen novels were published in the 1920s and 1930s, but the great-great majority have been selected from the postwar production.'

POP\tpt0051: Kooliliselt iseäranis tugevaks arenes PbK möödunud sajandi lõpuks, mil siin ikkagi tegutsesid L. Auer (1868-1917, ühtekokku 49 aastat!) ja **mitmed-mitmed** teised rahvusvahelise mainega muusikud.

'By the end of the last century the Conservatoire of St. Petersburg developed into an especially good school when there taught L. Auer (1868-1917, altogether 49 years!) and several-several other musicians of international renown.'

ILU\tkt0123: Praegu tundus, et kõik see juhtus **väga-väga** ammu, kusagil mujal ja kellegi teisega.

'Now it seemed that it all happened long-long ago, in some other place and to some other person.'

ILU\tkt0120: Me lõime oma plaadimängija kinni ja peitsime oma ainsa veinipudelikesse **kaugele-kaugele**.

'We slammed our record player shut and hid our only little bottle of wine far-far away.'

ILU\stkt0088: Aalon heitis pilgu kellale: **kohe-kohe** algab seanss.  
 ‘Aalon cast a glance at his watch: the show is going to begin very soon.’

ILU\stkt0005: Teie saate veel **kaua-kaua** tema eest hellalt hoolit-  
 seda, võite õrnusevarud tervenisti mängu panna.  
 ‘You can still long-long care tenderly for her, you can use up all your resources of tenderness.’

ILU\stkt0042: Taevas, kas see on tõesti seesama lõbus poiss, kellelega nad **nii-nii** lähedased olid, kelle pärast pidas ta kõige ilusamaks aastaajaks sügist ja kes talle nõnda palju valu teinud?  
 ‘Goodness Gracious, is it really the same jolly fellow with whom they had been so-so close to each other, because of whom she had regarded autumn as the most beautiful season, and who had caused so much headache to her?’

A rather rare type of coordinate reduplication is reduced total asyndetic reduplication:

(2) **sini-sinine**  
 ‘blue-blue’

OC: Taevas oli **sini-sinine**.  
 ‘The sky was blue-blue.’

In Standard Estonian, reduced total asyndetic reduplication occurs mostly with *ke(ne)-* or *ne-* suffixed words, especially with color names, where the affix of the first component is dropped: *rohe-roheline* ‘green-green’, *sini-sinine* ‘blue-blue’, *puna-punane* ‘red-red’; *õhu-õhuke* ‘thin-thin’, *psi-pisike* ‘tiny-tiny’ etc.

In dialects there are some more possibilities to drop the first component, as *ala-alatu* ‘mean-mean’, *igaves-igavesti* ‘ever-ever’, *iluilus* ‘beautiful-beautiful’, *julk-julge* ‘brave-brave’, *kank-kangede* ‘stiff-stiff’, *kuit-kuidagi* ‘somehow-somehow’, *kõver-kõveride* ‘curvy-curvy’, *kerk-kergede* ‘light-light’, *väiku-väikuke* ‘tiny-tiny’ etc (cf Mäger 1966).

In addition to asyndetic reduplication one can also find such examples of repetition in Estonian, where the connecting element is the conjunction *ja* ‘and’:

- (3) **väga ja väga**  
‘very and very’

ESBI\tet0015: .. Rabindranath Tagore on meile olnud väga tähtis, kindlasti on **väga ja väga** paljud meist teda tähelepanelikult lugenud, ära kirjutanud ja pähe õppinud.

‘Rabindranath Tagore has been extremely important for us, I’m sure many and many of us have read him closely, copied his work and learned by heart.’

ILU\stkt0061: Oeh, askeldamist on **küll ja küll**.

‘Oh, there has been enough and enough bustling.’

ILU\tkt0105: Ja me tunneme teid – ka mujal – khm – **läbi ja läbi**.

‘And we know you – also elsewhere – well – throughout and throughout.’

The conjunction is rarely used to express intensity. In most cases the adverb of degree *väga* ‘very’ is intensified. The word pairs *küll ja küll* ‘enough and enough’ and *läbi ja läbi* ‘throughout and throughout’ have become fixed expressions. It is common, however, to express continuation/repetition of a process by means of syndetic repetition (cf 1.1.1.2.1).

#### 1.1.1.1.2. Comparative constructions

In Estonian, as in many other FU languages, comparative reduplication is a rather common type of intensifying reduplication. The following four constructions have a clearly comparative character.

The syndetic construction, where the standard of comparison is in the positive degree:

- (4) **hullem kui hull**  
bad-comp than bad  
‘very bad’

OC (Saareste IV, 621): See tüdruk on **ilusam kui ilus**.

Lit. 'This girl is more beautiful than beautiful.'

OC (O. Luts): Noh, see oleks juba **hullem kui hull!**

Lit. 'Well, it would worse than bad!'

OC (J. Kross): Härra Trump aga vehkis samal ajal oma ideaalringi mitmesugustest sirg- ja kõverjoontest .. **kirjumaks kui kirjuks**.

Lit. "Mr. Trump, however, was making at the same time his perfect circle of various straight and curvy lines .. more complicated than complicated."

OC (J.Kross): Sest harilikult olid kodukirjandid neil üllatavalt head, aga klassis tehtud **nirumad kui nirud**.

Lit. 'For, as a rule, the compositions that they had written at home were surprisingly good, but those written in class were poorer than poor.'

The case-marked construction, where the standard of comparison is in the positive degree:

- (5)     **hullust**     **hullem**  
           bad-el     bad-comp  
           'very bad'

ILU\tk0109: Järss tõttas haigla poole, tuju **räbalast räbalam**.

Lit. 'Järss hurried toward the hospital, his mood lousier than lousy.'

OC (J. Kross): Sest kahekümne aastaga oleks vabalt viit keelt kõneleval inimesel olnud **hõlpsast hõlpsam** õppida kuues juurde.

Lit. 'For during twenty years it would have been easier than easy for a person who could speak fluently five languages to learn the sixth one.'

The case-marked construction, where the standard of comparison is in the comparative degree:

- (6) **hullemast hullem**  
 bad-comp-el bad-comp  
 'very bad'

ILUstkt0014: Saak **nigelast nigelam**, sissetulek närune.

Lit. 'The crops worse than worse, the income lousy.'

ILUstkt0026: Sellest hetkest hakkasin ma südames tema poole hoidma: ma tundsin, et tema küll oleks mind kaitsnud, mitte nii, nagu tegi Toomas – mu mees, mu kallim, mu armuke, keda ma armastasin ja kelle peale ma olin **vihasemast vihasem**.

Lit. 'From that moment on I started to side with him in my heart: I felt that he would have protected me, not in the way as Toomas did – my husband, my darling, my lover whom I loved and with whom I was angrier than angrier.'

ILUstkt0026: Aga **selgemast selgemini** on meeles, kuidas ühel suvisel õhtul tulid külalised ja sealt hakkab lint jälle jätkuma.

Lit. 'However, I remember more clearly than more clearly how some guests arrived on a summer evening, and the tape continues from then on.'

OC (A. Kitzberg): Vald sai omale **tublimast tublima** mehe.

Lit. 'The commune got a man who was more excellent than more excellent.'

OC (Horisont): Ilmselt töötas see (tulevik) tulla **kirkamast kirkam**.

Lit. 'Evidently this (future) promised to be brighter than brighter.'

OC (P Kuusberg): Tunnen end vahel **lollimast lollimana**.

Lit. 'Sometimes I feel that I'm more stupid than more stupid.'

OC (Postimees 1997): Saksing tegi seda **rumalamast rumalamalt**. Aga võib-olla tegi ta seda hoopis **ülbemast ülbemalt**, sest niisuguseid asju ei olegi enam vaja varjata.

Lit. 'Saksing did it more stupidly than stupidly. However, maybe he did it more arrogantly than more arrogantly because now it is not necessary anymore to conceal such things.'

The corpora contained examples only of the three above-mentioned comparative reduplicative constructions. Other texts enabled me to find also some examples of the pattern, where only the standard of comparison is in the comparative degree:

- (7) **hullemast**      **hull**  
       bad-comp-el    bad  
       ‘very bad’

OC (A. Hint): *Taevas on sinisemast sinine.*  
 Lit. ‘The sky is bluer than blue.’

This type can be found occasionally in dialects as well, e.g. *raskematest raske asi* lit. ‘a more difficult than difficult thing’ (Ridala dialect) (Mäger 1966: 104).

The comparative reduplicative construction can be found in other FU languages as well, whereas the occurring patterns differ somewhat from the Estonian ones (see e.g. Maitinskaja 1964, Feoktistov 1974). Finnish has mostly constructions where the standard of comparison is in the positive degree and the marker of comparison stands in the comparative or superlative degree: *selvääkin selvempi* clear-part-emph clear-comp ‘very clear’, *onnellisista onnellisin* happy-pl-el happy-sup (cf Erelt, Punttila 1992).

Some researchers have regarded also the genitive constructions (8) and (9) as comparative constructions (cf Punttila 1985: 94-95, 106, 130, 141-142; see also Erelt, Punttila 1992: 8). The genitive has been treated as the case of inclusive comparison. A comparison is inclusive, if the marker of comparison (i.e. what is being compared) is included in the standard of comparison. In Estonian one can find mostly the reduplicative construction where the genitive extension is in the plural:

- (8) **raamatute**      **raamat**  
       book-pl/gen    book  
       ‘the ultimate book; originally the Bible’



This construction can be found in a large number of languages, and it is likely that it may have been borrowed into Estonian. Several expressions with this structure come from the Bible, e.g. *raamatute raamat* ‘book of books’, *kuningate kuningas* ‘king of kings’, *lõppude lõpuks* ‘after all’

ESBI\tet0050/A: Mul on aga sulle varuks üks **küsimuste küsimus**.  
‘However, I have one ultimate question in store for you.’

POP\tpt0075/A: Seetõttu on suurenevas ka nende inimeste arv, kes soovivad ikka sagedamini lugeda “tõelist **raamatute raamatut**” ja tutvuda meie kultuurilooga.  
‘Therefore the number of such people is on the increase, who would like to read more and more often “the real book of books” and get acquainted with our cultural history.’

ESBI\tet0050/A: See on mulle ka üks **probleemide probleem**, aga ainult mõnikord.  
‘For me, too, it’s an ultimate problem, but only sometimes.’

POP\tpt0044: Ka neid raamatuid säilitanud usklikud väidavad neist peituvat **tõdede tõde** ja jumalikku inspiratsiooni.  
‘Also the believers who have kept these books claim that they contain the ultimate truth and divine inspiration.’

ILU\stkt0066/A: Ja **lõppude lõpuks** tuleb arvestada ka seda, et pilti on arvatavasti väga põhjalikult retušeeritud.  
‘And finally you also have to take into account that it is likely that the picture may have been retouched very thoroughly.’

OC (Noorte Hääl): Kord on ühiskonna **aluste alus**.  
‘Order is the primary basis of a society.’

OC (J. Kross): Oi sa **raiskade raisk** – ma kujutan seda hiigla elavalt ette.  
‘Oh, shit – I can imagine it perfectly.’

The construction is, as a rule, substantival. There are only a few occasional examples with an adjective that are not to be found in the corpus: *Ta on jõledate jõle*. ‘She is a scarecrow.’ (Saareste

IV, 621.) *Kuivade kuiv on Ivanikesel, oh sa mu lapsuke.* ‘Ivan is perfectly dry, oh my kiddie.’ (Loomingu Raamatukogu).

The pattern with the genitival attribute in the singular is unproductive.

- (9)     **kuradi**    **kurat**  
           devil-gen   devil  
           ‘damn it’

It occurs in spoken language only together with two nouns: *kuradi kurat, saatana saatan* ‘damn it, oh shit’

OC (SS): **Kuradi kurat**, *mis loba sa ajad!*  
 ‘Go to hell, stop that nonsense!’

In contrast, for example, in the closely-related Finnish language this pattern is highly productive and can be applied both to nouns and adjectives: *suuren suuri, hienon hieno; toden totta, elämän elämä* etc (see Erelt, Puntila 1992: 9).

### 1.1.1.2. Bounded reduplication

Intensity reduplication is bounded if it indicates the existence of some quantity that is presumed by some quality. Such is for example the construction *See mees on loll mis loll* ‘This man is the ultimate fool’ The sentence indicates that the man under discussion has so many manifestations of stupidity that we could consider him a fool. In this case, to the reduplication corresponds the construction with an adverb of degree *Ta on täiesti loll* ‘He/she is an absolute fool’ As to its meaning bounded reduplication is also close to the construction with the modal adverb *tõesti* ‘really’, e.g. *See mees on tõesti loll* ‘This man is really a fool’ The boundary between bounded quantity (completeness) and modality of reality (truthfulness) is not clear-cut.

In the case of words that express quality, there are two types of bounded reduplication in Estonian. Both types of constructions are syndetic: *mis*-construction and *nii .. kui ka*-construction (equative construction).

- (10) **haige**      **mis**                      **haige**  
 sick            rel/interr pron      sick  
 ‘as sick as can be’

ESB\Itet0012</A>. .. sirge nina kitsaste huultega ning vasaku käe hoiak räägivad küllalt selget keelt, ehkki praegu on ta ilus, oh kui kena oma säravas tähtede-täpikestega siidhalatis, lehvik paremas käes – **hiinlane mis hiinlane!**

‘.. the straight nose with tight lips and the way she holds the right hand speak a rather clear language, although she is beautiful now, oh how lovely in her bright silk robe with stars and dots, with a fan in her right hand – she’s as Chinese as Chinese can be.

ILU\stkt0012</A>: See oli **masin mis masin**.  
 ‘It was a real machine.’

ILU\stkt0051</A>: Koosu tsaariagsed salmid läksid Klotsil ikka kõik viimseni asja ette, aga et ta nüüd mu südamevalu välja oli nuhkinud, see oli **liig mis liig**.

‘Klots had always used Koosu’s czarist poems for all their worth, but now he had sniffed out my heartache, and that was more than I could take.’

ILU\tkt0128</A>: Eit surus märja lapse vastu põske, nuusutas ja musitas, **laps mis laps**.

‘The old woman pressed the wet child against her cheek, she sniffed and kissed it, a real child.’

OC (SS): See rohi aitab – **kindel mis kindel**.

‘This medicine will help – I’m absolutely sure about it.’

OC (SS): Kali on **otsas mis otsas**.

‘The kvass is finished to the last drop.’

OC (SS): Kraavid on tõesti vett **täis mis täis**, ajavad lausa üle.

‘The ditches are really full of water to the brim, they are overflowing.’

OC (Edasi 1971): Keerasin veel oma tinatükki – **maja mis maja**.

‘I kept turning my piece of lead – a real house.’

OC (Edasi 1971): **Tõsi mis tõsi**, nii see on.  
 'That's the real truth, that's the way it is.'

The connecting word is the relative-interrogative pronoun *mis* 'what, that'. The repeated word is such an adjective or adverb (especially a word of state) that can also occur with the adverb *täiesti* 'absolutely, completely', e.g. *selge* 'clear', *kindel* 'sure, certain', *haige* 'sick', *küps* 'mature', *purjus* 'drunk', *täis* 'full', *läbi* 'through', *katki* 'broken', etc, or it can be a noun as well. The pattern is also common in dialects.

This pattern can be found in Finnish as well but not very often, e.g. *Kauppa mikä kauppa, ei se siitä muuksi muutu* (cf Ereht, Punttila 1992: 20).

- (11) **nii märg kui märg**  
 so wet as wet  
 'as wet as can be, absolutely wet'

OC: Ta on **nii märg kui märg**.  
 'He/she is soaked.'

OC (SS): Ta on omadega **nii läbi kui läbi**.  
 'He/she is finished.'

The connecting word is the compound conjunction *nii .. kui*, the repeated word can also be an adjective or adverb of state. The pattern is common in dialects as well.

### 1.1.2. Aspectual reduplication

The function of reduplicated process words is to express aspectual meanings, first and foremost continuation or repetition in their various manifestations, rarely existence or perfectivity. Emotiveness is added as a general meaning of reduplication. Evidently the expression of continuation can be regarded as non-bounded reduplication, the expression of existentiality and perfectivity as bounded reduplication.

### 1.1.2.1. Non-bounded reduplication

#### 1.1.2.1.1. Reduplication that expresses continuation

Typically, the continuation of a process or its continuing non-occurrence is expressed by syndetic repetition:

- (12) **söön ja söön**  
 eat-1sg and eat-1sg  
 'I'm eating and eating.'
- kiiremini ja kiiremini**  
 fast-comp-adv and fast-comp-adv  
 'faster and faster'
- ei tule ega tule**  
 neg come neg come  
 'isn't coming'

express300896.Lat4: Ja nüüd **muudkui teen ja teen...** juba kolmteist aastat.

'And now I keep doing it... I have already been doing it for thirteen years.'

sõnumileht180796.Lat4: Viha on nagu lumepall, mis **veereb ja veereb**, kuni seda ei ole enam võimalik peatada.

'Hate is like a snowball that keeps rolling until it's impossible to stop it.'

POP\tp0076/A: Iseloomulik sündmõtetele on see, et haige ise võib oma mõtetesse suhtuda mõistusliku kriitikaga, kuid sellele vaata-mata mõte **aina kordub ja kordub**.

'It is characteristic of fixed ideas that the patient's attitude toward his or her own ideas contains rational criticism, but nevertheless the idea keeps coming up again and again.'

ESBI\tet0050/A: Raske on ületada kriitika poolt **ikka kõrgemale ja kõrgemale** nihutatavat kvaliteedilatti.

'It's difficult to meet the quality standards that the critics have been raising higher and higher all the time.'

HOHA\tht0044/A: Uusi kudumisrütme on ju võimalik välja mõelda **ikka ja ikka** veel, nii nagu muusika ei saa otsa seetõttu, et noodimärkide arv on piiratud.

‘It’s possible to think up new knitting rhythms again and again, just like there is no end for music because the number of notes is limited.’

ILU\stkt0051/A. Tüdruk mangus, et loeksin seda **veel ja veel** kord.  
‘The girl begged me to read it once again and again.’

ILU\stkt0061/A: Kõik nende seljas kiprus pikkamisi **ikka väiksemaks ja väiksemaks**, kuni tüdrukud valust hullunuina metsa jooksid.

‘Everything that they had on kept shrinking gradually smaller and smaller until the girls ran into the woods, being insane from pain.’

ILU\stkt/A: Ta tuli mu juurde hiilimisi ja tema puudutuses oli udu vastikut niiskust, ja teda roomas **ikka rohkem ja rohkem**, nagu oleks ta valla pääsnud linna ümbritsevast soost.

‘He/she sneaked up to me and his/her touch had the nasty dankness of the fog, and it was crawling more and more, as if he/she had escaped from the swamp that surrounded the town.’

ILU\stkt0068/A: Koer **aina kaugenes ja kaugenes**, ta poleks vist enam hüüdmistki kuulnud, ja Joonas tundis äkki, kui üksi, kui mitte kellelegi vajalik ta on ..

‘The dog kept increasing the distance, and it is likely that it may have not heard when called, and Joonas realized all of a sudden how lonely if not unnecessary he was for everybody.’

Continuation may be **uniform** or **progressive (cumulative)**. In the case of uniform continuation, the verb gets repeated; in the case of progressive continuation, it is the adjective in the comparative degree or the adverb that extend the verb denoting change, or it may be the verb denoting a change. The reduplication of an adjective may produce a cumulative effect also in a sentence with *olema* ‘to be’, e.g. *Päevad on ikka pikemad ja pikemad* ‘The days have become longer and longer all the time’. In affirmative sentences the repeated words are joined by means of the

conjunction *ja* 'and' and occasionally by *ning* 'and'. In the case of negation the conjunction *ei .. ega* 'neither .. nor' is used.

In addition to repetition (or even without it), temporal continuation can be expressed by the adverbs *aina*, *üha*, *ikka*, *muudkui* etc, e.g. *Sina muudkui töötad (ja töötad)* 'You are only working and working'. Also, continuation can be expressed by temporal word combination: *hommikust õhtuni* 'from morning till evening', *kogu aeg* 'all the time' etc. For example, *Sa töötad hommikust õhtuni* 'You work from morning till evening'. Among the latter there are many such examples, where the quantifying function is fulfilled by the reduplication, e.g. *aastast aastasse* 'from year to year', *päev päeva järel* 'day after day' (for a detailed account see 1.3.2.1.).

In the case of affirmation, continuation is also expressed by the asyndetic repetition of a verb or an adverb (at least and usually triple):

- (13) **räägib, räägib, räägib**  
 speak-3sg speak-3sg speak-3sg  
 'is speaking, speaking, speaking'

ILU\tkt0103: Aga peaks **tegutsema, tegutsema, tegutsema...**  
 'But one should act, act, act...'

ILU\stk0067/A: Ta **ootas, ootas** kannatamatult Praha-nädala algust, istus läbematult ammu enne aega hotelli fuajees, kuni lõpuks tuldi teda autoga ära viima.

'He/she was waiting and waiting impatiently the beginning of his/her week in Prague, he/she had been sitting impatiently long before the right time in the hotel lobby when finally they came to pick him/her up by car.'

ESBI\tet0031/A: Justkui suur auruvedur etendub ta meile **üha kiiremini, kiiremini**.

As if a large locomotive it presents itself to us faster and faster.'

In order to express the continuation of a process, the Estonian language uses here only the above-mentioned simple means. In

several other FU-languages various infinite constructions are used (cf Maitinskaja 1964). In Finnish, uniform continuation can be expressed by the construction: verb + object that is expressed by a verbal noun with the *minen*-suffix from the same stem together with a possessive suffix: *kasvaa kasvamistaan*, e.g. *Verotulot kasvavat kasvamistaan mm. kaupunkin tulevien varakkaiden uusien asukkaiden ansiosta* 'Tax revenue is increasing and increasing, also because of the new prosperous inhabitants who settle down there' (cf Erelt, Puntila 1993: 165). A similar construction can be found in Standard Estonian, too. However, here it has not become so clearly grammaticalized as in Finnish, and it seems to fulfill to some extent the poetic function as well, e.g. *Igäüks toimetas oma toimetamist ja mõtles oma mõtlemisi* 'Everybody was attending his/her business and was thinking his/her thoughts' The construction *teeb tegemist* has become idiomatized: 1) is socializing, pays attention to, e.g. *Kahtlaste isikutega ei tee ta tegemist* 'He/she is not consorting with shady characters'; 2) is doing something, e.g. *teeb õues tegemist* 'is doing something in the yard' It seems that in Estonian dialects this construction expresses mostly only the continuation of an action, e.g. *vesi juusk ütte juuskmist* 'The water kept running and running' (Karksi dialect), *tuu om tuu lammass, kiä söödämaa pääl alasi rüük pääle rüükmist* 'That's the sheep that always kept baaing in the pasture' (cf Neetar 1988: 44).

In Finnish there also exist such reduplicative constructions mostly in the sense of continuation that differ from the former type by the fact that in place of a verbal noun with the *minen*-suffix they contain some other verbal noun from the same stem, i.e. the type *kulki kulkuaan*, e.g. *Ihmishälinä alhaalla kulki kulkuaan* 'Downstairs the noise did not stop' (cf Erelt, Puntila 1993: 165). The Finnish constructions that express continuation include also the following construction: verb + relative of the 3rd infinitive from the same stem + *päästyä*: *nauraa nauramasta päästyäänkin* 'S/he keeps laughing endlessly' (cf Erelt, Puntila 1993: 165-166).

### 1.1.2.2. Bounded reduplication

Bounded reduplication is expressed in Estonian mostly in the form of **existential reduplication**, i.e. as a reduplication that expresses



existence or its negation. Moreover, it occurs only in connection with one verb, i.e. actually it is not a regular stem repetition at all. Existentiality is expressed by the combination of the affirmative form of the verb *olema* 'to be' and the inessive case of the *ma*-infinitive (*mas*-form):

- (14)    **on    olemas**  
           be    be-mainf  
           'exists'  
           **ei    ole    olemas**  
           not be    be-mainf-in  
           'does not exist'

OC: Jumal **on olemas**.

'God exists.'

päevaleht211295.Lat4: Aate-Heli Õun pole enam maakonna peakunstnik, sest seda ametikohtagi **ei ole olemas**.

'Aate-Heli Õun does not hold the position of the chief artist of the district because this position does not exist any more.'

Occasionally one can find such examples in Estonian dialects, where the form *olemas* has become independent in the case of negation and occurs also elsewhere besides the repetition meaning 'at all', i.e. as an element that emphasizes the completeness of negation, e.g. (*koer*) *nii suur saks, pallast leibä ei süü olemaski* 'The dog you see is such a big wheel that it doesn't eat only bread at all' (Kolga-Jaani dialect) (cf Sepp 1983: 42).

However, there is another construction for expressing non-existence, where the *da*-infinitive of the verb *olema* 'to be' with the emphatic particle *-gi/-ki* is used instead of the *mas*-form:

- (15)    **ei    ole    ollagi**  
           not be    be-dainf-emph  
           'doesn't exist at all'

The construction points out that something is missing with regard to some person or place, whereas *ollagi* occurs in the construction as an element that emphasizes completeness with the

meaning 'not at all', e.g. *Mul pole raha ollagi* 'I have no money at all'; *Kinos polnud inimesi ollagi*. 'There were no people in the cinema whatsoever' However, one would conclude pragmatically that is not so much the absence of something as its paucity. Therefore, the subject of the construction is always non-countable, e.g. *raha* 'money', *inimesed* 'people (pl.)' or perceived as non-countable, e.g. *kõht* 'stomach' in the sentence *Sul pole kõhtu ollagi*. 'You haven't got any pot belly at all'

In Finnish, too, the completeness of negation is emphasized with the element *ollenkaan* 'at all', but if the Estonian *ollagi* occurs only together with the verb *olema*, then *ollenkaan* can occur together with other verbs as well, thus it has become a full-fledged particle, e.g. *En osaa ollenkaan piirtää* 'I can not draw at all' (cf Erelt, Puntila 1993: 168). Nor is this particle used only with a non-countable subject and it does not imply paucity. In the Estonian coastal dialects that are similar to Finnish, *ollagi* is used as a more general negational particle of existence, e.g. *ma ole ollagi sidä juttu rääkind* 'I have never talked about it'; *ei tuld ollagi miele ka sinne mennä* 'It didn't occur to me at all to go there' (Kuusalu dialect).

Also **perfectivity** (end of a process) can be rendered in Estonian with the help of a construction that could be regarded as reduplication from the diachronic point of view. The meaning of end is expressed in Estonian by the construction with the structure V + Vma: *läheb minema* go-3sg go-mainf 'goes away' Only two verbs – *tulema* 'to come' and *minema* 'to go' – can be used in this construction: *läheb minema* 'goes away', *tuleb tulema* 'comes away' The form *minema*, however, has become fully grammaticalized, i.e. it has become a perfective adverb with the meaning 'away', which occurs with other verbs of motion as well, thus outside the sphere of reduplicative constructions, e.g. *Saatsin ta minema* 'I sent him/her away' In fact, occasionally the verb form *tulema* is used with some other verbs as well, e.g. *Ta jooksis sealt tulema* 'S/he ran away from there'

In Estonian dialects one can find also such reduplicative constructions that denote beginning, e.g. *ma läksi pidule menema* 'I was going to go to the party' (Varbla dialect); *tüdruk .. tulnu ussõst*

*sisse tulõma* ‘The girl is said to have been about to enter the room’ (Urvaste dialect) (cf Sepp 1985: 41)

### 1.1.3. Quantifying reduplication

#### 1.1.3.1. Non-bounded reduplication

There are two types of non-bounded quantifying reduplication in Estonian. First, reduplication may convey the meaning of plurality, i.e. the meaning ‘more than one’, second, the meaning of multiplicity. The meaning of **plurality** is expressed by the syndetic construction:

- (17) **inimese ja inimese (vahel on vahe)**  
 man-gen and man-gen between is difference  
 ‘there is a difference between different persons’

ILU\stkt0016/A: Aga **kutsel ja kutsel** on vahe.

‘However, there is a difference between an invitation and an invitation.’

In this case the copulative construction can be replaced, as a rule, by the plural form of the noun: *inimeste vahel on vahe* ‘there is a difference between people’

The same type of reduplication occurs in Finnish as well, e.g. *Samanikäinen on heidan porsaansa kuin nämäkin. Mutta ero se on porsaillla ja porsaillla. Nämä niin pieniä vielä!* (cf Pulkkinen 1993: 25).

**Indefinite multiplicity** of objects can be conveyed both by asyndetic and syndetic repetition. A count noun is in the plural, a non-count noun in the singular, just as in the case of the quantifier *palju* ‘many, much’ (*palju inimesi* ‘many people’, *palju vett* ‘much water’).

Asyndetic reduplication of the noun:

- (18) **inimesed, inimesed, inimesed**  
 ‘people, people, people’  
**vesi, vesi, vesi**  
 ‘water, water, water’

OC: Kõikjal olid *inimesed, inimesed, inimesed!*  
 ‘Everywhere there were people, people, people!’

This elementary type of reduplication occurs in a large number of languages, being close to sentence repetition.

Syndetic (*ja* ‘and’ or *ning* ‘and’) repetition of the noun:

(19) **(aina) inimesed ja inimesed**  
 ‘only people and people’

OC: Kõikjal on *aina inimesed ja inimesed*.  
 ‘Everywhere there are only people and people.’

As a rule, the construction is associated with such adverbs denoting continuity as *aina* ‘only’, *muudkui* ‘only’, etc.

The same type occurs in Finnish as well, e.g. *Ympärillä näkyi vain merta ja merta* ‘All around one could see only the sea’ (cf Ereht, Puntila 1993: 169).

Syndetic repetition of the plural forms of numerals of measure (*kümned* ‘tens of’, *sajad* ‘hundreds of’, *tuhanded* ‘thousands of’, etc):

(20) **tuhanded ja tuhanded**  
 ‘thousands and thousands of’

express300896.Lat4: Ning siinkohal ei tohi unustada konteksti, sest viisteist-kakskümmend aastat tagasi tähendas kuulsus ühel kuuendikul kogu planeedist midagi väga suurt – **kümneid ja kümneid** tuhandeid vaatajaid staadionikontsertidel, ..

‘And here one shouldn’t forget the context because fifteen or twenty years ago fame on one sixth of the planet meant something very impressive – tens and tens of thousands of spectators at stadium concerts, ..’

OC: **Tuhanded ja tuhanded** eesti mehed astusid vabatahtlikult kas eesti leegioni või sakslaste üksustesse.

‘Thousands and thousands of Estonian men volunteered to join either the Estonian Legion or German units.’

Compare also the Finnish *voima, joka antaa elämän-rohkeuden tuhansille ja taas tuhansille* ‘the force that gives the courage to live to thousands and thousands of people’ (cf Ereht, Punttila 1993: 169), *Kymmenet- ja jälleen kymmenettuhannet palestiinalaiset matkaavat miehitysalueilta Israeliin työhön ja sen jälkeen miehitetyille alueille takaisin* ‘Tens and tens of thousands of Palestinians go from the occupied lands to Israel to work there and then return to the occupied lands’ (cf Kalliokoski 1989: 116), the German *tausend und aber tausend*, the Swedish *tusen och åter tusen*.

### 1.1.3.2. Bounded reduplication

It occurs either in the meaning of universal quantifiers *iga* ‘every’, *kõik* ‘all’ or in the meaning of the distributives *kaupa* ‘by’ *haaval* ‘by’ In Estonian, bounded quantifying reduplication occurs only as repetition of a noun that denotes a unit of time or some other measure mostly in the following types of constructions.

(21) *a aastast aastasse*  
 year-el year-ill  
 ‘from year to year’

*b aasta aasta järel*  
 year-gen year-gen after  
 ‘from year to year’

*c aasta aastalt*  
 year-gen year-abl  
 ‘from year to year’

ILU\stkt0056: Nad ei aimanud seda ja mu iha kasvas päevast päeva, olles ainuke vastupanuakt nende lakkamatule ilujanule.  
 ‘They didn’t anticipate it and my desire was growing day after day, being the only act of resistance to their unceasing craving for beauty.’

express300896.Lat4: Arnold teeb õhtul ühe suitsu, Lennartil läheb punast Marlborot sigaret sigareti järel.

‘Arnold smokes a cigarette in the evening, Lennart is smoking red Marlboros one cigarette after another.’

päevaleht211295.Lat4: Faktiliselt on Riely propageeritav mängustiil viinud selleni, et NBA kohtumised muutuvad **aasta-aastalt** üha tooremaks.

‘In fact, the style of playing that Riely advocates has resulted in the fact that with every year NBA matches are getting more and more violent.’

postimees301295.Lat4: Eestlaste mäng polnud suurem asi, treener tundus ülearu kurjana, rahulolematuus valdas **päev-päevalt** kogu saatjaskonna.

‘The Estonians’ playing was rather poor, the coach seemed to be too cruel, day after day the entire entourage was seized by discontent.’

OC: Seda tuleb teha **järk-järgult**, mitte korraga.

‘It has to be done step by step, not all at once.’

Depending on the meaning of the repeated lexeme and the situation, the constructions may have the meaning of a universal quantifier or the distributive meaning. Some constructions have become adverbialized with a shift in meaning, though they may include a quantifying element, e.g. *Aeg-ajalt ta istus ja puhkas* ‘From time to time s/he sat down and had some rest’; *Ta on ilmast- ilma haige* ‘S/he is sick all the time’

Similar constructions can be found in Finnish as well, e.g. *vuosi vuoden jälkeen, vuosi vuodelta* ‘year after year’ etc (see Erelt, Punttila 1993: 170). In Finnish, however, there are some other types of bounded quantifying reduplication. In Finnish reduplication in the sense ‘every, all’ often occurs as *mies kuin mies* ‘every single man’, where the repeated nouns that have the same form are joined by the conjunction *kuin*, e.g. .. *maailma on kipakka paikka ihmiselle kuin ihmiselle* ‘The world is a crazy place for everybody’ (cf Erelt, Punttila 1993: 169). Finnish has also a reduplication in the sense ‘noone/nothing’, i.e. a reduplication that expresses total absence as an attributive construction: *ei kirjan kirjaa* ‘no book whatsoever’, e.g. *Ei pilven pilveä taivalla* ‘not a single cloud in the sky’ (cf Erelt, Punttila 1993: 170).

In Estonian dialects, too, one can occasionally come across such negational reduplicative indefinite pronouns as *kee-keegitki*,

*kehikedagi, kehikeegi* ‘noone’, *mihimidagi, mis-midagi* ‘nothing’ (see also Mäger 1966).

#### 1.1.4. Indefinite reduplication

The function of expressing pure indefiniteness is fulfilled in Estonian by the repetition of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs:

- (22)    **see ja see**  
           ‘this and this’  
           **nii ja nii**  
           ‘so and so’

ESB\tet0016/A: Kohalikus ajalehes ning ülikooli bulletäänis ilmub teade: **selle ja selle** kursuse lõpetas esimesena üliõpilane see, keskmine hindepall niisugune; teisena see; kolmandana see jne.

‘The local newspaper and the university bulletin publish the following announcement: the student by that name was first to complete a certain course, the average grade was the following; the second student was by that name; the third one by that name, etc.’

ESB\tet0033/A: Hakkas siis seletama, et kui on sporditüdruk ja kui veel pommi tõstab, et siis on **nii ja nii**.

‘S/he then started to explain that if she’s an athlete and if she lifts weights too, then it will be like this.’

The copulative type is common in Estonian and it occurs also with other demonstratives besides the above-mentioned ones, e.g. *seal ja seal* ‘there and there’, *selline ja selline* ‘such and such’, *niisugune ja niisugune* ‘such and such’, *siis ja siis* ‘then and then’

In dialects one can find also older asyndetic indefinite reduplication: **see-see** ‘lit. this-this’, **nii-nii** ‘so-so’ For example, *ega ta humigu taa rääken: vanamäl täna nii-nii palju kala* ‘S/he didn’t wish to speak in the morning, today he has so much fish’ (Pühalepa dialect). In Estonian dialects and the more archaic literary language also the repetition of demonstratives ending in *-k* is common: **seek-seek** ‘lit. this-this’, **niik-niik** ‘so-so’ This type of reduplication was already described by Wiedemann in his grammar

(1875: 320): *niik niik palju* (so und so viel), *sellak sellak ajal* (zu der und der Zeit), *sedak sedak viisi* (auf die und die art), *sealاک sealاک kohas* (an der und der Stelle), *seek seek asja leidis* (die und die Sache hat er gefunden). This construction has been described in greater detail by Paul Alvre (1984: 54), who also provides such incongruent variants that occur more seldom (one or the other component lacks *-k*, the following component has the suffix *-gi* in place of *-k* etc.): *seek-seegi*, *seek-see*, *seek-selgi* (*päeval*); *niik-niigi*, *niik-nii*, *niiks-niiks*, *nii-niigi*. He also shows that in dialects one can find various contaminative constructions, where in addition to the *k*-element the connective conjunctions *ja* 'and', *ning* 'and', *või* 'or', *ehk* 'or' are used, e.g. *seek ja seek mees* 'Mr. so-and-so', *niik ning nii palju* 'this much', *nõnnak ehk nõnnak moodi* 'in this way' (cf Alvre 1984: 60). Alvre does not provide a clear answer for the origin of the copulative *k*-element, arguing that it may have originated either from the *gi*-affix or the affixal particle *-ka/-kä* (as in the conjunctions *ega* 'nor', *ning* < \**niinkä* 'or').

Indefinite reduplication is widespread in other languages as well: in Finnic (cf Pulkkinen 1993: 34-37), e.g. in Finnish: *virkaa olivat hakeneet ne ja ne henkilöt* 'The positions had been sought by the following persons', *Sotautusten toistuvana sisältöna oli, että vihollinen oli lyöty siellä ja siellä* 'The war news reported repeatedly that the enemy had been defeated in various locations', *Tapasin sellaisia ja sellaisia ihmisiä* 'I met such and such people', *Tee niin ja niin* 'Do it like this'; in Karelian: *niin i niin, semmoni i semmoni, seniin e seniin, senäin i senäin, zeziidä da zeziidä, sinä i sinä, moine i moine, nengda i nengda, nengoine i nengoine*; in non-FU languages, e.g. Russian *to-to i to-to*, *to-to*, *tam(-to) i tam(-to)*, *togda-to i togda to*, *tak i tak*, *tuda i tuda*; in German *der und der, dann und dann, soundso*; Swedish *der och den, där und där, så och så*. The basic type of construction is copulative.

## 2. Similarity reduplication

2.0. Similarity reduplication is a phenomenon, where a formally and/or semantically similar but not an identical word stem is added (by means of a connective conjunction or without it), e.g. *sigin-sagin* 'hustle and bustle', *kisa ja kära* 'shouting and commotion',



*häda ja viletsus* 'misery', *ei musta ega valget* 'neither black nor white' The function of identity reduplication is denotative and affective (emotive); in the case of similarity reduplication another function is added, which could be called **poetic** after Roman Jakobson. If the denotative function of the linguistic sign is oriented towards the context (denotation) and the emotive (affective) function is oriented towards the speaker (expression of the speaker's attitude), then poetic function is oriented towards the linguistic sign itself (Jakobson 1960). The poetic function is not unique to poetics as a kind of art, but it is also manifested in ordinary language usage, being realized according to Jakobson through the syntagmatic relation of (paradigmatically) similar linguistic elements: "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection onto the axis of combination" (Jakobson 1960: 358). For example, the words *kisama* 'to shout' and *karjuma* 'to shout' are similar both as to their phonetic composition and meaning. Their joining in a sentence (i.e. syntagmatically) will create a poetic effect.

The condition of poeticalness is similarity, i.e. variation where things otherwise coincide. As far as reduplication is concerned, one has to do with stem variation both in the sense of form and meaning. The coincidence provides quantity + emotivity, variation will add poeticalness.

In Estonian, variation can be realized as follows:

(1) Variation in meaning:

- 1) synonymy, e.g. *hirm ja kartus* 'fear'
- 2) antonymy, e.g. *vanad ja noored* 'the old and the young'
- 3) hyponymy, e.g. *pidu ja pulm* 'party and wedding'
- 4) complementarity, e.g. *maa ja rahvas* 'land and people'

(2) Variation in form:

- 1) difference in the initial consonants, e.g. *tuiira-ruira*
- 2) absence of the initial consonant: its presence, e.g. *ootused ja lootused* 'hopes and expectations'
- 3) difference in the vowel of the first syllable, e.g. *liga-loga* 'slipshod', *nii ja naa* 'this way and that way' (the most frequent vowel alternation in Estonian is *i:a*)
- 4) difference or absence of the initial consonant: presence + difference in the vowel of the first syllable, e.g. *sinka-vonka* 'in a snakelike manner', *ohkima ja puhkima* 'to huff and puff'

The variation in meaning and form may combine with each other, e.g. *kisa ja kära* 'shouting and noise' (synonymity + difference in the vowel of the first syllable), *head ja vead* 'advantages and disadvantages' (antonymity + difference in the initial consonant), or they may occur separately, e.g. in the case of *maa ja rahvas* 'land and people' there is only variation in contents, in the case of *tuira-ruira*, however, the variation is purely formal. In the latter case one or both members of the reduplicative construction do not have any separate meaning (they do not occur as separate word). For example, none of the components in *liga-loga* 'slipshod' and *virr-varr* 'muddle', the second component in *pudi-padi* 'bric-a-brac', and the first component of *kila-kola* 'junk' occur as separate words. The example *kila-kola* 'junk' shows that similarity reduplication can be regressive as well, though progressive similarity reduplication is more common.

The combinations that vary only in form stand mostly between a word and a phrase. The addition of a conjunction is usually optional, and in case there is no conjunction then the declension of the first component is often optional, too. Compare *kilast ja kolast*, *kilast-kolast*; *pudist ja padist*, *pudipadist*.

The variation follows certain **ordering principles** of form and substance. The ordering principles of Estonian syntactic freezes have been studied in greater detail by Märt Väljataga (1992).

Väljataga presents four phonological tendencies. In syntactic freezes the word that occupies the first place is the one with:

1) a smaller number of syllables, e.g. *elu ja tervis* 'life and health', *au ja kuulsus* 'honor and glory', *head ja paremat* 'good and better';

2) a higher vowel in the initial syllable according to the following hierarchy: i ü u õ e ö o ä a, e.g. *ei tissi ega tussi* 'neither tits nor tush', *pudi-padi* 'bric-a-brac', *ei kippu ega kõppu* 'dead silence', *kila-kola* 'junk', *kiiga-kääga* 'scrappingly', *sitikad ja satikad* 'beetles and crab lice';

3) with a more obstruent initial consonant in accordance with the following hierarchy: vowels > sibilants (s) > stops (k,p,t) > nasals (m,n) > liquids (l,r) > glides (j,v), e.g. *ohkis ja puhkis* 'huffed and puffed', *sigri-migri* 'mishmash', *kärin ja mürin* 'rumble', *tuira-ruira*;

4) a shorter quantity, e.g. *tasa ja targu* ‘slowly but surely’, *tõde ja õigus* ‘the truth and the right’, *läbi ja lõhki* ‘inside out’

At least the first and the fourth phonological tendencies can be reduced to a universal principle: from the simpler to the more complicated. It is evident that the second and the third tendencies are not universal because, for example, Cooper and Ross (1975) have claimed that in English the first position is occupied by the word that has a lower F2 frequency of the vowel in the initial syllable and which begins with a less obstruent consonant.

According to Väljataga, the predominant semantic tendency in the order of syntactic freezes is the “Me First Principle” of Cooper and Ross (1975: 67) – the notion that is more important or more speaker-centered comes first, i.e. which points to something that is closer to the speaker (*siin ja seal* ‘here and there’, to something that is temporally closer to the speaker (*täna ja homme* ‘today and tomorrow’), to something that is more positive (*rõõm ja mure*) ‘joy and sorrow’, to the male sex (*mees ja naine* ‘man and woman’), etc.

### 3. Conclusion

In Estonian, identity reduplication is not a very common means to express quantitative meanings. It is used when in addition to quantity it is necessary to express emotiveness. The Estonian identity reduplication is almost without an exception total reduplication, and it is relatively little grammaticalized, also when compared to Finnish.

In the case of similarity reduplication, poeticalness (in the sense of Jakobson 1960) is added to emotiveness. This kind of reduplication involves variation of meaning and/or stem form, which follows certain universal principles. But for some problematic exceptions, one could claim conformity to the well-known principles in the linear order of the reduplicated elements as well.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abl	Ablative
Comp	Comparative
Dainf	<i>da</i> -infinitive
El	Elicative
Emph	emphatic particle
Gen	Genitive
Ill	Illative
In	Inessive
interr pron	interrogative pronoun
Mainf	<i>ma</i> -infinitive
Neg	negation particle
Pl	Plural
1sg	1st person singular
3sg	3rd person singular
ESBI .., POP .., ILU .., HOHA ..	files of the 1980s text corpus
express .., päevaleht .., sõnumileht ..	files of the 1990s newspaper text corpus
OC	outside corpus

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## REDUPLIKATSIOON EESTI KEELES

### Mati Ereht

Käesolevas kirjutises käsitatakse reduplikatsioonina ainult sellist tüvekordust, millel on tüve üksikkasutusest süstemaatiliselt erinev tähendus. Lähtetüvega identse tüve kordus on **identsusreduplikatsioon**, sarnase tüve kordus aga **similaarreduplikatsioon**.

**Identsusreduplikatsioon** võib olla täielik või osaline. Täieliku reduplikatsiooni korral korratakse kogu sõnatüve, nt *vana-vana naine*, osalise

reduplikatsiooni korral ainult mingit osa sõnatüvest, nt *hausa keeles suna* 'nimi' > *sunanaki* 'nimed'

Sisult võib reduplikatsioon olla **intensiivistav**, nt *suur-suur maja*, **aspektiline**, nt *jookseb ja jookseb*, või **kvantifitseeriv** (kvantoriaalne), nt *sm mies kuin mies* 'iga mees'. Kõigil kolmel juhul on reduplikatsiooni abil väljendatud kvantiteet kas **piiritlemata** või **piiritletud**. Piiritlemata kvantiteet avaldub intensiivistava reduplikatsiooni korral (omaduse) suure intensiivsusena (nt *suur-suur lind* 'väga suur lind'), aspektilise reduplikatsiooni puhul (protsessi) jätkuvusena (nt *jookseb ja jookseb*) ning kvantoriaalse reduplikatsiooni puhul (asja/olendi) ebamäärase paljususena (nt *mehed, mehed, mehed!*). Piiritletud kvantiteet avaldub vastavalt omaduse määratud astme saavutamisenä (nt *haige mis haige* 'täiesti haige'), protsessi perfektiivsusena (nt *tuleb tulema*) ning hulga ammendatusena (nt soome *mies kuin mies* 'iga mees').

Artiklis on esitatud eesti kirjakeele identsusreduplikatsiooni põhitüübid. Materjali allikaks on kaks tekstikorpust:

1) 1980. aastate tekstikorpust (Tartu korpust), mis sisaldab 1 miljoni sõne ulatuses eri valdkondade tekste;

2) 1990. aastate tekstikorpust, mis sisaldab ca 250 000 sõne ulatuses ajakirjandustekste.

Korpustest saadud näitestikule lisaks on materjalina kasutatud ka mitmesugustest juhuslikest tekstidest, Eesti Keele Instituudi kirjakeele kartoteegist ja reduplikatsiooni kohta kirjutatud artiklitest leitud näiteid (märgitud OC (= Outside Corpus)).

Identsusreduplikatsiooni põhitüübid eesti keeles on järgmised:

	Piiritlemata	Piiritletud
Intensiivistav	<i>pikk-pikk puna-punane väga ja väga hullem kui hull hullust hullem hullemast hullem hullemast hull raamatute raamat kuradi kurat</i>	<i>haige mis haige nii märg kui märg</i>
Aspektiline	<i>söön ja söön räägib, räägib, räägib ei tule ega tule</i>	<i>on olemas ei ole ollagi</i>
Kvantoriaalne	<i>inimese ja inimese (vahel on vahe) inimesed, inimesed, inimesed (aina) inimesed ja inimesed tuhanded ja tuhanded aastast aastasse aasta aasta järel aasta aastalt</i>	
Indefiniitne		<i>see ja see</i>

**Similaarreduplikatsioon** on nähtus, mille puhul lähtetüvele lisatakse temaga vormiliselt ja/või semantilisel sarnane sõnatüvi, nt *signin-sagin, kisa ja kära, häda ja viletsus, ei musta ega valget*. Reduplikatsiooni korral on seega tegemist tüvevarieerumisega nii vormilises kui ka sisulises mõttes (erinevusega põhiosas kokkulangeva juures). Kui kokkulangevus annab kvantiteeditähenduse + emotiivsuse, siis varieerumine lisab sellele poeetilisuse (Roman Jakobsoni mõttes).

Eesti keeles võib reduplikatiivne varieerumine avalduda:

(1) tähendusvarieerumisena:

- 1) sünonüümia, nt *hirm ja kartus*
- 2) antonüümia, nt *vanad ja noored*
- 3) hüponüümia, nt *pidu ja pulm*
- 4) komplementaarsus, nt *maa ja rahvas*

(2) vormivarieerumisena:

- 1) alguskonsonandi erinevus, nt *tuira-ruira*
- 2) alguskonsonandi puudumine : olemasolu, nt *ootused ja lootused*
- 3) esisilbi vokaali erinevus, nt *liga-loga, nii ja naa* (kõige sagedasem vokaalivaheldus eesti kordustarindites on *i:a*)
- 4) alguskonsonandi erinevus või puudumine : olemasolu + esisilbi vokaali erinevus, nt *sinka-vonka, ohkima ja puhkima*

Tähendus- ja vormivarieerumine võivad kombineeruda omavahel, nt *kisa ja kära* (sünonüümia + esisilbi vokaali erinevus).

Varieerumine järgib kindlaid vormilisi ja sisulisi **järjestuspõhimõtteid**. Eesti paarissõnade järjestusprintsipi on lähemalt käsitlenud Märt Väljataga (1992). Paarissõnades paigutub esimeseks sõna, millel on: 1) vähem silpe, nt *elu ja tervis*; 2) kõrgem algsilbi vokaal vastavalt hierarhiale: *i ü u õ e ö o ä a*, nt *ei tissi ega tussi, pudi-padi*; 3) obstruentsem alguskonsonant vastavalt hierarhiale: vokaalid > sibilandid (s) > klusiilid (k,p,t) > nasaalid (m,n) > liikvidad (l,r) > poolvokaalid (j,v), nt *ohkis ja puhkis, sigri-migri*; 4) lühem välde, nt *tasa ja targu, tõde ja õigus*. Domineeriv sisuline tendents paarissõnade järjestuses on olulisema või kõnelejakeskema mõiste paigutamine ettepoole, nt *siin ja seal, rööm ja mure*.

# TYOLOGY OF ESTONIAN AND FINNISH WORD-FORMATION. THE VERB

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## 1. General structure of the Estonian derivational system

The word-formation of Estonian, similarly to that of the other Finno-Ugric languages, is rich and varied. The two main kinds of word-formation are compounding and suffixal derivation. Estonian derivational suffixes are numerous, and a great number of derivational patterns are applied to form verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The derivational meaning of a derivative is formed from the lexical meaning of the underlying word and the categorial meaning that is added by the derivational suffix.

One part of word-formation is grammatical – words are formed regularly according to the derivational patterns and the meaning of a derivative is determined by a derivational pattern. The derivational meaning of such a derivative constitutes at the same time its lexical meaning (*pangandus* ‘banking’, *lapselik* ‘childish’, *tuhastama* ‘to incinerate’, *aeglaselt* ‘slowly’).

The other part of word derivation is lexical – an affix with a certain categorial meaning can form derivatives, where the lexical meaning has become idiomatized and does not coincide with the derivative meaning that is determined by the derivational pattern. Idiomatic derivatives may have varied semantics. The lexical meaning may have concretized in comparison with the derivational meaning. Such idiomatization may involve a whole set of derivatives (for example, many *ja*-derivatives that denote an agent have become idiomatized in the sense of an occupation) or a sole derivative (e.g. the *us*-derivative *katus* ‘roof’ of the verb *katma* ‘to cover’ can be accommodated within the framework of the derivational meaning ‘covering device’, but it has acquired the additional individual meaning ‘part of a building’). On the other hand, the meaning of an idiomatized derivative may have a totally individual character, i.e. it may differ from the derivational meaning of its derivational type (*suitsetama* ‘to smoke’, *käsitlema*



'to deal (with)' *õhustik* 'atmosphere', *keskkond* 'environment', *suuline* 'oral' *peamine* 'main'). Derivatives with an individual meaning are also formed with such affixes that do not have, in fact, a clear-cut categorial meaning (*aurik* 'steamer', *põlvik* 'knee sock', *häälik* 'speech sound'; *malend* 'piece (of chess)', *sajand* 'century', *muistend* 'folk-tale'). The treatment of idiomatized derivatives is a domain of lexicology not grammar. The present article will treat the derivational system first and foremost as a grammatical system.

The derivational systems of different parts of speech have both similar and different features. In principle, there are two types of derivation – modifying and inflectional derivation. Modifying derivation is lexical-semantic – the derivational affix does not change the categorial properties of the underlying word, it only gives a shade to its lexical meaning. In Estonian, modifying derivation can be found in verbal, substantival and adjectival derivation. Verbal affixes have three modifying functions that are related and stand in opposition to one another. The character of action or aspect, which is affected by modifying verbal derivation, is the temporal duration of an action. Instants express a momentary action that stands in contrast to longer duration. Continuants express a constant durational action, frequentatives express an intermittent, irregular, repetitive action. The modifying function is determined by the derivational affix (cf *võpatama* 'to wince' – *võbisema* 'to shiver' – *võppuma* 'to shake' – *võplema* 'to palpitate'). The substantival affixes have two independent modifying functions, which are unrelated to each other and involve different underlying word sets. The Estonian derivational system enables us (1) to attach the derivational affix that marks the feminine gender to the words that denote a person and (2) to form derivatives with a diminutive meaning from substantives that have a concrete meaning (cf *sõber* 'friend' > *sõbranna* 'female friend', *sõbrake* 'little friend'). Adjectival derivation has one modifying function, but unlike verbal and substantival derivation it does not depend on the derivational affix but the underlying word – another adjective that has been formed with the help of any other affix has, as a rule, a moderative or diminutive meaning (cf *pruun* 'brown' > *pruunjās*, *pruunikas* 'brownish', *vana* 'old' > *vanaldane* 'oldish', *arg* 'wimpy' > *arglik* 'wimpish').

Inflectional derivation is syntactic-semantic and can be divided into intracategoric and intercategory. Category means here the

category of a part of speech. Intracategoric inflectional suffixes do not change the part of speech of the underlying stem, the semantic-syntactic features of the derivative, however, are remarkably different from the corresponding features of the underlying stem. Estonian reveals intracategoric inflectional derivation in verbal and substantival derivation. Deverbal verbal affixes have two functions that are mutually related and stand in opposition to one another – the derivational system allows to productively form transitive causative verbs from intransitive verbs (*kasvama* ‘to grow’ > *kasvatama* ‘to cause to grow’, *suurenema* ‘to increase’ > *suurendama* ‘to cause to increase’) and intransitive reflexive and passive verbs from transitive verbs (*hoidma* ‘to keep’ > *hoiduma* ‘to avoid’ *sulgema* ‘to close’ > *sulguma* ‘to close’). The substantival affix that is attached to the substantival stem may have four different inflectional functions: person (*linn* ‘town’ > *linlane* ‘city dweller’, *kala* ‘fish’ > *kalur* ‘fisherman’), place (*kana* ‘hen’ > *kanala* ‘chicken-house’, *tamm* ‘oak’ > *tammik* ‘oak forest’, assembly (*nimi* ‘name’ > *nimestik* ‘list’, *juht* ‘leader’ > *juhtkond* ‘leadership’), abstract feature or domain (*tõusik* ‘upstart, social climber’ > *tõusiklus* ‘social climbing’ *kaup* ‘merchandise’ > *kaubandus* ‘trade’).

The intercategory inflectional suffixes change the part of speech. Estonian has a great number of possibilities to form nouns from verbs (*lugema* ‘to read’ > *loeng* ‘lecture’, *lugemine* ‘reading’, *loetu* ‘what has been read’, *lugeja* ‘reader’) and verbs from nouns (*äge* ‘acute’ > *ägenema* ‘to become more acute’, *ägetsema* ‘to be fierce, violent’ *ägestuma* ‘to become infuriated’, to form substantives (*karske* ‘abstinent’ > *karskus* ‘abstinence’, *karsklane* ‘abstainer’) and adverbs from adjectives (*kange* ‘strong, stiff’ > *kangelt* ‘stiffly’, *kangesti* ‘strongly’) and adjectives from substantives (*õnn* ‘happiness’ > *õnnelik* ‘happy’, *õnnetu* ‘unhappy’, *õnnekas* ‘fortunate’).

## 2. On comparing Finnish and Estonian

During the long period of separate development Finnish and Estonian have been affected by a number of factors. For example, both languages have witnessed independent developments and

influence of different foreign languages. Finnish has retained the old system and the basic structure; Estonian has accepted many changes. When Finnish and Estonian are being compared, then it is often pointed out that Estonian is in comparison with Finnish shorten and 'more worn out'. Little analysis can be found concerning the consequences of this 'wearing out', what it will bring about and how it will affect language usage. Only one part of the above-mentioned shortening is strictly phonetic, such as vowel loss in case endings: *linna/sta* > *linna/st* 'from the town' *opettaja/ksi* > *õpetajaks* '(becoming) a teacher'. As the Finno-Ugric languages belong to the agglutinative type (grammatical markers are attached to a word stem), then the grammatical information that has disappeared from word forms as a result of shortening is much more important from the linguistic point of view. One had to compensate it by some other mechanisms and means, and, as a result, Estonian has changed both as to its structure and typology. One outstanding feature is that Estonian has become more analytic when compared to Finnish – grammatical meanings get expressed lexically. Estonian often uses a certain type of sentence structure or phrase in places where Finnish can do with a single word form:

- unettaa – uni tuleb peale 'I'm getting sleepy'
- nukahtaa – jääb magama 'he/she is falling asleep'
- hyväksyy – kiidab heaks 'he/she approves'
- luetuttaa – paneb läbi lugema; laseb läbi lugeda  
'it makes you to read it through'
- hukuttautuu – uputab ennast ära  
'he/she will drown himself/herself'
- kirjoittautuu – kirjutab sisse 'he/she writes in'

One should not conclude from these examples that Finnish derivatives correspond, as a rule, to syntactic structures in Estonian. As Finno-Ugric languages, Finnish and Estonian are both clearly derivational languages – word-formation and especially the degree of nominal derivatives are more or less the same in both languages. As far as verbs are concerned, the situation is somewhat different. Auli Hakulinen and Fred Karlsson write in their book 'Nykysuomen lauseoppia' (1979): "One of the characteristic features of Finnish morphosyntax is the versatile use and frequency

of word-formation, especially verbal derivation.” In Finnish, it is verbal derivation that constitutes a more developed and complicated system than in Estonian. It is also logical if one starts from the premise that the verb is the sentence center, and in comparison with the noun it has many more grammatical assignments. Verbal derivation is more grammatical, nominal derivation is more lexical. A comparison of grammaticalization in Finnish and Estonian reveals that Finnish is not only more agglutinative and synthetic than Estonian, but is generally ‘more grammatical’ than Estonian. The grammatical system of Finnish is richer both for its synthetic and analytic means as well as for the meanings that can be expressed. Finnish has retained its existing grammatical system better than Estonian and has replenished it with new structures. In texts, too, Finnish employs the possibilities of the existing varied grammatical system better than Estonian, which has fewer possibilities anyway (cf Metslang 1994). As Finnish is more grammatical than Estonian (information is rather conveyed by means of word-forms than separate words), then one would anticipate that the verb derivation of Finnish is also more varied than the formation of Estonian verbs.

The differences between the derivational systems of Finnish and Estonian can be treated on three levels. They include (1) the semantics of derivatives, (2) the pragmatics of derivatives or the productivity and usage of derivational types, and (3) the formation structure of derivatives. The following treatment of semantic, pragmatic and structural differences between Finnish and Estonian suffixal verbs will not analyze the derivatives as lexical units but derivational types and meanings as they were outlined in the first part of the article. The evaluation and characterization of Finnish data draws on the conclusions, analyses and comments by Finnish researchers of verb formation, first and foremost those by Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn, Leena Kytömäki, Kalevi Wiik, and Alpo Räisänen.

Estonian verbal derivation does not have much that would be missing in Finnish verbal derivation; on the contrary, there is relatively much in Finnish verbal derivation that is missing in Estonian verbal derivation. Finnish verbal derivation is more varied, flexible, richer in nuances, and also more productive. However, the basic structure of the verb formation system is the

same in Finnish and Estonian. The comparison of the meanings of Estonian derivatives with the traditional fivefold division in Finnish grammar that originates from Setälä reveals that Estonian has got the same widespread verb groups: causative and factitive verbs (the main affix *-ta-*), reflexive, passive and translative verbs (the main affixes *-u-* and *-ne-*), frequentative and continuative verbs (the main affixes *-i-*, *-u-*, *-le-*, *-tse-*) and momentaneous verbs (the main affix *-ata-*). Estonian lacks the so-called sensitive verbs that denote that the underlying word is regarded or named similar (cf Fin *hyväksyä*, *paheksua*). Although in Finnish, too, only a small number of derived verbs belong to this group, both Setälä and the following researchers, as a rule, single the group of sensitive derivations out separately. Estonian uses analytic expression in this meaning: *pahaks panna* 'to disapprove', *heaks kiita* 'to approve'.

Both Finnish and Estonian verbal derivation can be divided into three types. The modifying verbal affixes make it possible to vary the temporal duration of an action and to form frequentative, continuative and momentaneous verbs (Est *välkuma* 'to flash' – *välगतama* 'to flash once' – *välklema* 'to flash repeatedly'; Fin *välkkyä* – *välähtää* – *välähdellä*). The function of intracategoric inflectional suffixes stands closer to the expression of regular grammatical, especially syntactic relationships – verbal derivation offers a possibility to change the subject-object relations of verbs and to form causative verbs and reflexive-passive verbs (Est *lõppema* 'to end' > *lõpetama* 'to finish', *andma* 'to give' > *anduma* 'to yield (to a person)'; Fin *loppua* > *lopettaa*, *antaa* > *antautua*). Intercategoric inflectional suffixes form verbs from nouns. Denominal verbal derivation offers a possibility to express morphologically, by means of a single multimorphemic lexical unit, the syntactic-semantic relationship between a verb and its extension (Est *katma hõbedaga* > *hõbetama* 'to coat with silver', *muutuma valgeks* > *valgenema* 'to become light', *ütleva sina* > *sinatama* 'to address as thou'; Fin *hopeoida*, *vaaleta*, *sinutella*). The extension will become the underlying word of a derivative; the predicate will be abstracted into the categorial meaning of the derivational affix. The underlying word will retain the semantic function of the verbal extension in the derivative: means, result, object.

Estonian and Finnish verbal suffixes are not divided between the three above-mentioned functions. Most affixes are free – they

can be attached either to the verbal or the nominal stem and form new verbs with them. They are deverbal or denominal only in the sense of the function, i.e. they occur as deverbal or denominal in a concrete derivative, depending on the part of speech of the underlying word (Kangasmaa-Minn 1994: 40). A suffix, which has a function to change the part of speech, may intracategorially have either an inflectional or modifying function (cf e.g. the affix *-le-* in the words *laisklema* 'to idle' and *pöörlema* 'to revolve' or the affix *-ta-* in the words *sinatama* 'to address as thou' and *kasvatama* 'to cause to grow'. Therefore, rather than classifying and characterizing the suffixes, it would be more reasonable to speak about different derivational types – the modifying and inflectional ones, the latter of which is further divided into intracategoric and intercategoryic.

As far as the semantics of verbal derivatives is concerned, one could conclude then that the derivational meanings that are expressed by means of verbal affixes and the types of derived verbs are rather similar in Finnish and Estonian. However, Finnish and Estonian employ the existing possibilities to a larger or smaller degree differently.

### 3. Modifying verbal derivation

In modifying verbal derivation, Finnish and Estonian differ mostly for the range and productivity of their derivational possibilities. The number of underlying words to which a modifying suffix can be attached is semantically defined in Estonian; in Finnish it is not so.

3.1. In Estonian, frequentative, momentaneous and continuative verbs are formed regularly only from the verbs that denote movement or sound. A large number of used frequentative or momentaneous or continuative verbal derivatives belong to onomatopoeic verbs or are descriptive in some other way. Finnish has no such constraint.

*-ata-*: *võpatama* 'to wince', *loksatama* 'to splash once', *välगतama* 'to flash once', *praksatama* 'to crack once', *kääksatama* 'to squeak once', *klõpsatama* 'to click once' ...

- u-**: *võppuma* ‘to shake’ *loksuma* ‘to lap’, *välkuma* ‘to flash’, *praksuma* ‘to crackle’, *kääksuma* ‘to squeak’, *klõpsuma* ‘to click’ ...
- le-**: *võplema* ‘to palpitate’, *lokslema* ‘to be lapping’, *välklema* ‘to be flashing’ *pöörlema* ‘to revolve’, *keerlema* ‘to whirl’, *karglema* ‘to hop repeatedly’, *hüplema* ‘to hop repeatedly’, *lendlema* ‘to flutter’
- ise-**: *võbisema* ‘to shiver’, *logisema* ‘to be rickety’, *pragisema* ‘to crackle’, *kägisema* ‘to squeak’, *klõbisema* ‘to clatter’, *mürisema* ‘to rumble’ ...

As these examples indicate, the *ata*-suffixed instant, *u*-suffixed frequentatives and *ise*-suffixed continuatives form a peculiar system. The underlying word is an onomatopoeic root-stem that imitates sound or movement, which is usually not an independent word at all. The derivatives may occur as a series: the same underlying stem serves as a basis for forming an *ata*-suffixed instant that expresses a single movement or vocalization, an *u*-suffixed frequentative verb that indicates that the sound or movement under discussion occurs repeatedly, and an *ise*-suffixed continuative verb that expresses a continuous monotonous (in comparison with the frequentative verb lesser) movement or sound.

The phonetic structure of the underlying stem may be somewhat different, as the underlying stem of *ise*-derivatives presumes that a short vowel is followed by a short consonant, the *u*-suffix is attached only to a long consonant-final syllable, the first syllable of *ata*-derivatives can be long or short. It is characteristic of the Estonian derivational system that the potential derivational possibilities have not been fully realized – actually the derivatives do not form grammatically a full paradigm, but the system has a large number of occasional gaps and deviations.

The formation conditions of *le*-verbs are somewhat different. Also *le*-suffixed verbs can be formed from a descriptive root-stem, and in that case they join the same series: *võplema*, *lokslema*, *välklema* etc. However, it is more common that *le*-derivatives are formed from ‘real verbs’ that denote movement or sound. A large number of the underlying verbs of such *le*-derivatives are momentaneous as to their meaning and the *le*-derivative expresses the repetition of movement or sound: *hõikama* ‘to shout’ > *hõiklema* ‘to shout repeatedly’, *pöörama* ‘to turn’ > *pöörlema* ‘to

revolve', *hüppama* 'to jump' > *hüplema* 'to jump repeatedly up and down', *põrkama* 'to bounce' > *põrklema* 'to bounce repeatedly' In case there exist both *u-* or *i-* suffixed and *le-* suffixed frequentative verbs, then they have different meanings: the *u-* or *i-* derivative denotes a regular repetition of a momentaneous movement and sound (*hõikuma* 'to shout', *loksuma* 'to lap', *välkuma* 'to flash', *ohkima* 'to puff', whereas in the meaning of *le-* derivatives the repetition has a certain element of uncertainty, randomness or irregularity (*hõiklema*, *lokslema*, *välklema*, *ohklema*). The same shade of meaning is characteristic of Finnish *le-* suffixed verbs as well (see Wiik 1975).

The underlying word of a *le-* derivative can also be a verb that expresses a non-momentaneous, durative verb. In that case frequentativeness means the direction of movement: the underlying verb expresses a constant movement that will continue in the same manner, but the *le-* derivative expresses a direction of movement that is irregular and alternates randomly: *lendama* 'to fly' > *lendlema* 'to flutter about', *tormama* 'to rush' > *tormlema* 'to be impetuous', *tungima* 'to invade' > *tunglema* 'to crowd', *rändama* 'to travel' > *rändlema* 'to nomadize', *vehkima* 'to wave one's arms, to brandish' > *vehklema* 'to fence', *jooksma* 'to run' > *jookslema* 'to run about'

There are *le-* derivatives from some other verbs as well. However, the meanings of the majority of other *le-* suffixed verbs in Estonian have become lexicalized or idiomatized. And although a certain shade of frequentativeness in their meaning has usually been retained (cf *eksima* 'to err' and *ekslema* 'to wander about', *tegema* 'to do, to make' and *tegelema* 'to deal with', *püüdma* 'to try' and *püüdlema* 'to strive for', the meaning relationship between the underlying verb and the derivative is irregular and unproductive.

**3.2.** In Finnish modifying derivation is much more widespread than in Estonian. The above-described system that operates in Estonian constitutes only a small part of modifying verb derivation in Modern Finnish.

**3.2.1.** Kalevi Wiik (1975) claims that *le-* derivation in Finnish has no semantic or structural constraints whatsoever, and that *le-*



derivatives can be formed from any verbs. As *le*-verbs can be formed both from a momentaneous and a durative underlying base, then it is difficult to distinguish frequentative and continuative verbs from each other, and this drawing the line has often been problematic in the descriptions of Finnish verb derivation. Wiik, for example, claims in his article dealing with Finnish frequentatives and continuatives (1975: 153-166) that frequentatives and continuatives form, in fact, a single aspect of action that denotes temporal continuation of an activity in the boundaries of which the derivatives are complementary with regard to the meaning of the underlying verb. The derivatives that are formed from an underlying verb that denotes a momentaneous occurrence have a frequentative character (*hypätä* > *hyppiä*, *katketa* > *katkeilla*), but the derivatives that are formed from an underlying stem that expresses a durative action have a continuative character (*laulaa* > *laulella*, *olla* > *oleskella*). Sometimes the semantic field is even more complex. In Estonian there is no opposition frequentative – non-frequentative that would be based on the durative verb stem, cf

Finnish	Estonian
kysyä, kysellä	küsima 'to ask'
varastaa, varastella	varastama 'to steal'
puhua, puhella	rääkima 'to speak'
vastata, vastaila	vastama 'to answer'
oppia, opetella, opiskella	õppima 'to study'
käydä, käyskennellä, kävellä	käima 'to walk'
laulaa, laulella, lauleskella	laulma 'to sing'

3.2.2. A number of researchers think that in Finnish *le*-suffixed verbs the feature of random and irregular repetition is on the wane, and frequentatives express instead an arrogant, belittling or playful attitude. Such diminutive formation of frequentatives is productive, some people have described it even as a frequentative fashion (see Kytömäki, 1990). Finnish newspapers, oral speech and slang favor free, informal spoken style, were frequentatives fit in perfectly. In this sense in Finnish there is no clear-cut difference between deverbal and denominal *le*-derivatives, but the number of potential underlying words is constantly increasing, which will add pro-

ductivity, of course (*autoilla, ulkoilla, palloilla, miekkailla, pyöräillä*).

In Estonian there are no *le*-suffixed denominal action verbs, and there are very few deverbal *le*-derivatives that have a diminutive meaning: *mänglema* 'to play with', *tundlema* 'to be sentimental'. However, this derivational pattern is neither productive nor regular. In Estonian, no stylistic flavoring is added to a *le*-derivative on a regular basis.

**3.2.3.** Finnish momentaneous verbs have three structural types and three different suffixes: *-ahta-*, *-aise-*, *-alta-* (see Wiik 1978). In Estonian, only *ata*-suffixed momentaneous verbs are used, which correspond as to their phonetic shape and meaning to the Finnish *ahta*-suffixed verbs (*praksatama* 'to crack once', *välgatama* 'to flash once', *liigatama* 'to jerk', cf the Finnish *räsähtää, välähtää, liikahtaa*). In Estonian there are no such *aise*-suffixed verbs as *kiljaista, puraista, käväistä* which are rather common in Finnish, nor has Estonian any *alta*-suffixed verbs of the type *nostaltaa-, painaltaa-, pyyhältää*. Actually, the latter are likely to be rather rare in Common Finnish as well (see Wiik 1978).

**3.2.4.** Although in Finnish the formation of momentaneous verbs is more limited than the formation of frequentative verbs, in Finnish the possibilities to derive and use momentaneous verbs are nevertheless much better than in Estonian. In Estonian *ata*-verbs are formed on a regular basis only from descriptive verb stems, in Finnish the underlying words can be other verbs besides the descriptive ones as well, they can be even nouns. According to Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn, the verbs that are formed with *ahta-* and *aise-* suffixes are characterized by inchoativity, punctuality and moderativity (see Kangasmaa-Minn, 1982, 1985). Punctuality is in principle the same as momentaneousness, moderativity has been called diminutiveness as well. Moreover, mode of action is related to the meaning of the underlying verb. For example, *levähtää, kysäistä, lukaista* as actions can not be punctual but moderate, the same can be said about a large number of denominal derivatives that Leena Kytömäki (see Kytömäki 1990) has collected from recent newspapers (*Rokki jatsahtaa, hölmähtänyt ilme, valssahtava sovitus*). The beginning of an action or state is

expressed by *istahtaa*, *nukahtaa*, *uinahtaa*, *kellahtaa*, *seisahtaa*. Estonian has only one verb *seisatama* 'to stop' that could be interpreted as having this meaning. The exceptional character of this verb and the fact that its underlying word and meaning coincide with Finnish point to the fact that it may have been borrowed from Finnish.

On the basis of what was said above we could then claim that in Finnish both the momentaneous and frequentative suffixes can carry a diminutive (moderative) modifying meaning as well. The derivational system of Estonian does not foresee such a possibility. The momentaneous suffix is attached only to a verb stem, and because of the semantic constraints of the underlying verb *ata*-verbs have no other meanings than punctuality (momentaneousness). The continuative *tse*-suffix acts to a small extent as a modifying suffix that expresses diminutiveness or moderativity, but the deverbal derivational pattern is unproductive and there are few derivatives belonging to this group that have become idiomatized: *hingama* 'to breathe' > *hingitsema* 'to be barely alive', *nokkima* 'to peck' > *nokitsema* 'to putter', *näppima* 'to finger' > *näpitsema* 'to rummage quietly'

By way of conclusion we could say that when comparing modifying verb derivation in Finnish and Estonian, in Finnish the modifying derivation is more varied. The number of underlying words is not limited, there are more semantic groups than in Estonian, and the meaning of the derivative depends on the meaning of the underlying verb. As far as Estonian is concerned, we can find only one type of the underlying word (the descriptive verb), the suffix determines the meaning of the derivative unambiguously, spontaneous text-dependent occasional derivatives are not formed, and most of the derivatives are neutral in style.

#### 4. Intracategoric inflectional derivation

4.1. Both in Finnish and Estonian, deverbal verb formation has a syntactic character. This changes the subject-object relations of the underlying verb and thus both in Finnish and Estonian it can turn an intransitive verb into a transitive causative verb and a transitive verb into an intransitive passive or reflexive verb. The main

difference between the deverbal verb formation in Finnish and Estonian lies in the fact that deverbal verb formation in Finnish can in principle be and it often is recursive or gradual, i.e. the derivational steps can be repeated. The causative and reflexive-passive suffixes can occur in the same word twice or even more times (*kannatuttaa, verrytäytyä*). This makes it possible in Finnish to have such verb chains as, for example, *irti – irtoa – irrota – irrottaa – irrotella – irrottua – irrottautua – irtaantua – irtauta*. Estonian word-formation, however, has such a constraint that any derivational suffix can occur in the same word only once. Nor can synonymous suffixes (e.g. *-u-* and *-ne-*) occur, as a general rule, in the same word.

The basic patterns of forming deverbal transitive and intransitive verbs in Estonian are rather simple: if the underlying verb is intransitive, then one can form a transitive causative verb with the help of the *ta*-suffix: *kasvama* 'to grow, intr.' > *kasvatama* 'to grow, tr.', *langema* 'to fall' > *langetama* 'to fell', *lõppema* 'to end' > *lõpetama* 'to finish'. And if the underlying verb is transitive, then an intransitive reflexive or passive (automative) verb can be formed by means of the *u*-suffix: *kandma* 'to carry' > *kanduma* 'to be carried', *viskama* 'to throw' > *viskuma* 'to throw oneself', *sulgema* 'to close' > *sulguma* 'to close, intr.'. This concludes the derivational process – no longer verb chains can be formed.

If the root-stem is not verbal, then, depending on its phonetic structure, one of the two possible derivational patterns is used. At first is possible to form the *u*-derivative from the root-stem and then the *ta*-derivative from the latter or vice versa. The first pattern can be applied in the case of monosyllabic underlying stems and the second pattern in the case of disyllabic underlying stems:

all	> alluma	> allutama
'below, under'	'to be subordinate to'	'to subordinate'
ilm	> ilmuma	> ilmutama
'weather'	'to appear'	'to develop (in photography)'
külm	> külmuma	> külmutama
'cold'	'to freeze, intr.'	'to freeze, tr.'
avar	> avardama	> avarduma
'spacious'	'to extend, tr.'	'to extend, intr.'

riie	> riietama	> riietuma
'fabric'	'to dress, tr.'	'to dress, intr.'
rikas	> rikastama	> rikastuma
'rich'	'to enrich'	'to get rich'

The third possibility is that from a nominal root-stem one can form a *ne*-suffixed translative verb and from the latter a causative verb:

uus	> uuenema	> uuendama
'new'	'to become new'	'to renew'
suur	> suurenema	> suurendama
'big'	'to enlarge, intr.'	'to enlarge'
valge	> valgenema	> valgendama
'white'	'to lighten'	'to whitewash'

In Finnish, the derivational possibilities are much wider and to Estonian verb pairs correspond much more elaborate series. The recursiveness of deverbal verb formation means in practice that to the Estonian verb pairs transitive – intransitive correspond in Finnish chains that consist of at least three verbs, sometimes they are even longer:

hukkua > hukuttaa > hukuttautua  
 painaa > painattaa > painua > painautua  
 nähdä > näkyä > näyttää > näyttäytyä  
 kulkea > kulkeutua > kuljettaa > kuljetuttaa  
 sulaa > sulautua > sulattaa > sulatuttaa  
 nousta > nostaa > nostattaa  
 pienetä > pinentää > pinentyä > pienennyttää  
 vähetä > vähentää > vähentyä

4.2. Such a constraint brings along at least three typological differences between the Estonian and Finnish deverbal verb formation systems.

4.2.1. The Finnish derivational system includes in addition to intransitive and causative verbs also curative verbs that have three arguments: the causer of the action, the agent, and the object of the action: *Korko nousee* > *Pankki nostaa korkoa* > *Valtio nostattaa pankilla korkoa*. There are no curative verbs in Estonian because in their essence they are transitive verbs that have been formed from

another transitive verb and, in fact, by means of the same derivational suffix. Researchers have not found in the Estonian data any verb that would be definitely curative. Actually it is surprising because a structural difference in cognate languages means, as a rule, that one can find in one language at least some traces or occasional examples of a phenomenon that has retained its productivity or has become productive in another language.

**4.2.2.** In Estonian passive and reflexive verbs are complementary with regard to the meaning of the underlying verb, i.e. it is possible to form only one *u*-derivative from a transitive underlying verb that then has either a passive or a reflexive meaning. It is impossible to form two separate derivatives from the same verb stem, where one of them would have a passive and the other a reflexive meaning, as it is common in Finnish: *painua – painautua*, *kastua – kastautua*, *hukkua – hukuttautua*, *etsiä – etsytyä*. Whether the Estonian *u*-derivative is passive or reflexive depends mostly on the semantics of the underlying verb: *anduma* ‘to give oneself up to’, *hoiduma* ‘to avoid from’, *riietuma* ‘to dress oneself’ are reflexive verbs and *murduma* ‘to break, intr.’, *kattuma* ‘to overlap’, *peegelduma* ‘to be reflected’, *sulguma* ‘to close, intr.’ are passive (for a detailed discussion see Kasik 1991). Some verbs can be used both as reflexive and passive ones. I have found only one verb chain that is as clear-cut as the Finnish ones: *kalduma* ‘to incline, to tend to’ – *kallutama* ‘to tilt’ – *kallutuma* ‘to bend’, where *kalduma* is an automative verb (*Tool kaldus tahapoole* ‘The chair inclined back’, *kallutama* is a causative formed from it (*Jaan kallutas tooli tahapoole* ‘Jaan tilted the chair back’), and *kallutuma* is a reflexive verb that is formed from the latter (*Jaan kallutus (= kallutas end) ettepoole*. ‘Jaan leaned forward’). Actually, Estonian has some other series of three verbs (*sirguma* ‘to grow, intr.’) – *sirutama* ‘to stretch oneself’ – *sirutuma* ‘to be spread out’, *lahkuma* ‘to leave’ – *lahutama* ‘to separate, to divorce’ – *lahutuma* ‘to separate from, intr.’, but in these cases the regular semantic derivational relationship has become so weak between the passive underlying verb and the causative verb that was derived from the latter (cf *sirguma* and *sirutama*, *lahkuma* and *lahutama*) that it has become possible to form a new derivative verb pair that is based on the

casuative verb: *sirutama* – *sirutuma*, *lahutama* – *lahutama* (for a more detailed discussion see Kasik 1995).

4.2.3. The third group of verbs that we have to analyze from this aspect comprises *ne*- and *ndu*-derivatives and their inter-relationship. *-ndu-* is a compound suffix (*ne* + *da* + *u*) that contains two translative suffixes (*-ne-* and *-u-*) with the same meaning, so that the *ndu*-derivative that is formed via the causative intermediate step has the same meaning as the *ne*-derivative that was formed from the same root-stem (cf *uus* ‘new’ > *uuenema* ‘to become new’ > *uwendama* ‘to renew’ > *uwenduma* ‘to be renewed’). In Finnish it is rather common that both the *ne*- and *ntu*-derivatives of the same verb are used (*Oppikirjat vanhenevat / vanhentuvat*, for a more detailed discussion see Räsänen 1985). In Estonian, too, *ndu*-derivatives are used to some extent spontaneously, they are especially frequent in bureaucratese (*juhtkond uwendub* ‘the leadership is renewed’, *protsess kiirendub* ‘the process is sped up’). As the *ne*-suffix is not nowadays productive in the sense that it would be used to form new derivatives, then the functions of the *ne*-suffix are taken over by the *ndu*-suffix. Both in modern Estonian and Finnish *-u-* is an especially productive suffix that gets overused if the purpose is to avoid the explicit naming of doer/causer (cf *Tehas saastab loodust* ‘The factory pollutes nature’) a reference to it (cf *Loodust saastatakse* ‘Nature is polluted’), focusing only on the consequence, the description of the resultative situation (cf *Loodus saastub* ‘Nature gets polluted’). In a sense the lexical *u*-derivative has taken over some functions of the grammatical passive: a resultative action is described from the point of view of the object and not the subject. The derivational relationship CAUSATIVE > REFLEXIVE (AUTOMATIVE) is in modern Estonian, similarly to Finnish, stronger than the derivational relationship TRANSLATIVE > CAUSATIVE. On the other hand, Estonian language reformers have never accepted *ndu*-suffixed translative verbs from such words from which there is a *ne*-derivative as well. Thus the literary standard permits only expressions of the type *juhtkond ueneb*, *protsess kiireneb*. Such a solution is backed by the fact that regular recursiveness is missing from the entire system of Estonian derivation. In Finnish, where

derivative recursiveness is common, it backs the parallel use of *ne*- and *ndu*-derivatives as well.

## 5. Groups of denominal verbs

5.1. Both in Estonian and Finnish denominal verbs reflect the argument relationship between a verb and its extension. As a rule, the semantic function of the underlying word in the derivative is INSTRUMENT, RESULT or OBJECT. The semantic-syntactic analysis that proceeds from the relationship between the underlying word and the derivative gives as results more or less the same groups in both languages. Of the semantic groups that Leena Kytömäki presents in her study "Suomen verbijohdosten generointia" (1977) the following ones are represented in Estonian (1) status derivatives, which express a state or role, where the subject is in or has taken (Fin *punoittaa*, *diivailla*, Est *punetama* 'to be red with sth', *staaritsema* 'to act as a star'); (2) translative derivatives, which express a change that is taking place in the state of the subject (Fin *kostua*, *suureta*, Est *niiskuma* 'to moisten', *suurenema* 'to become enlarged'); (3) causative derivatives, which express the causality of changing the state of the object (Fin *tavuttaa*, *avartaa*, Est *silbitama* 'to divide into syllables', *avardama* 'to extend'); (4) instrumentative derivatives, where the underlying noun denotes the device that is used to carry out the action that is expressed by the verb (Fin *harjata*, *purjehtia*, *haravoida*, Est *harjama* 'to brush', *purjetama* 'to sail', *rehitsema* 'to rake'); (5) addressing and citation verbs, which denote what is said by the underlying word (Fin *sinutella*, *rouvitella*, Est *sinatama* 'to say 'sina' to sb', *prouatama* 'to say 'proua' to sb' There are also some verbs where the underlying word denotes eating and drinking (Fin *aterioida*, *herkutella*, *ryypiskellä*, Est *einetama* 'to take a meal', *maiustama* 'to eat candy', *napsitama* 'to booze').

When applying this method of analysis, it appears that in addition to the aforementioned sensitive derivatives (*hyväksyä*, *paheksua*), Estonian has no captative derivatives either, which express the catching or picking of something that is denoted by the underlying word (Fin *sienestää*, *rahastaa*, *sorsastaa*). The only captative derivative that is used in Estonian is *kalastama* 'to catch



fish', which is probably a loanword from Finnish. Sometimes it is difficult or even impossible to distinguish Finnish loanwords from native Estonian derivatives. A large number of derivatives has been introduced during the past one hundred years. The end of the previous century and the beginning of this century witnessed heavy borrowing from Finnish. Both words and their formation patterns were borrowed. Therefore, it is at times difficult to decide whether a certain word is a direct loanword, a derivative formed after the Finnish pattern, or an independent derivative.

5.2. The group of denominal verbs is peculiar in the sense that there are peculiar solutions both in the Finnish and the Estonian systems. Both in the case of the modifying and deverbal verb derivation, the derivative system of Estonian is only a simpler and more limited version of the corresponding Finnish system. In the group of denominal verbs, Estonian has at least one such formation pattern that has not been described in Finnish grammars or studies on derivation. In Estonian, for example, one can derive a verb from the name of a musical instrument that denotes playing this musical instrument: *kanneldama* 'to play the kannel', *viuldama* 'to play the violin', *klaverdama* 'to play the piano', in the lexicalized meaning also *trummeldama* 'to drum' and *pasundama* 'to trumpet'. This derivational pattern has to some extent extended to the derivation of verbs that denote playing some games: *maletama* 'to play chess' and *kabetama* 'to play drafts'. In Finnish you can also find at least the verb *rummuttaa*, but the formation of such verbs as a derivational type has never been described.

As a system the formation of Finnish and Estonian denominal verbs is so similar that it is not difficult to see behind it a grammatical feature – universal sentence structure. The role of the underlying word in the derivative – INSTRUMENT, RESULT, OBJECT – is a direct reference to the semantic structure of the sentence. Also the differences between Estonian and Finnish move within the boundaries of the system – in the case of the captative verbs that are used in Finnish the underlying word takes the role of OBJECT, whereas in the case of the playing verbs in Estonian it takes the role of INSTRUMENT.

**5.3.** The basic difference between the Finnish and Estonian denominal verbs lies in pragmatics, namely, in the application of the possibilities that are offered by the language. In Estonian, a large number of denominal verbs have become lexicalized, i.e. they have a definite meaning in the lexicon (it does not mean that they have become idiomatized – their meaning may be fully regular and derivative, but they are units of the lexicon, core words). Also those verbs that have been formed on the basis of the productive patterns (such as *u-* or *sta-*derivatives) have a definite transparent meaning. According to Leena Kytömäki, the Finnish denominal verbs are characterized by the contextuality of their meaning: the productive derivational process may provide such derivatives that have an individual meaning. In that case the verb suffix has no definite categorial meaning and Kytömäki calls such a suffix only a verbalizer – the function of the suffix is to turn a noun into a verb, the meaning of the verb develops on the basis of the meaning of the underlying word and the context of usage. Thus, denominal verbs that share the same suffix may have a totally different derivational meaning. Even one and the same derivative can be used in a different meaning in a different context, for example, *kivetä* can mean either covering with stones or removal of stones (see Kytömäki 1990). In Estonian, productive derivation is always related to a certain derivational meaning. It is only natural that there can be exceptions, derivatives with idiomatized meanings, but it concerns only a small number of words. Not a single formal pattern of verb formation is semantically free in Estonian.

**5.4.** Another difference between Finnish and Estonian denominal verbs concerns their usage. In Finnish denominal verb derivation there are many productive formation patterns, but the same can be said about Estonian as well. The difference lies in the fact that in Finnish the denominal verb formation belongs definitely to active linguistic means, but in Estonian rather to the passive ones. In Finnish, verb formation has become so grammaticalized that it is easy for a language user to spontaneously form such verbs that fit in with the text, they can be found in any issue of a newspaper. In Estonia an editor or author should be a real wordsmith if you could expect the formation of new verbs. It is this area where you can find a clear-cut difference between Finnish as a synthetic language

and Estonian as an analytic language. An Estonian would rather say *hõbedaga katma* than *hõbetama* ‘to coat with silver’, *sadulat hobuse selga tõstma* rather than *hobust saduldama* ‘to saddle a horse’. Although the number of derivatives is not that small, the derivational patterns are regular and potentially productive, the great majority of Estonian denominal verbs belong first and foremost to the sphere of written, official, terminological usage. Thus, there are possibilities to form new verbs, but their use would require a talented, creative language user; the formation of spontaneous text-dependent denominal verbs after the existing productive patterns is not part and parcel of everyday Estonian language usage. The Estonian denominal verb formation has a lexical character – a new word is formed. The Finnish denominal verb formation is more grammatical, i.e. it is comparable to the formation of a word form.

## 6. Structural differences

The phonological and morphophonological possibilities of the Estonian language are more limited than in Finnish. The majority of these constraints concern the non-initial syllables, thus they are that which involves word-formation. The Estonian verb suffixes are with a few exceptions monosyllabic that are attached to a monosyllabic or disyllabic stem. The structure of the derivative is, as a rule, simple: root-stem and a suffix.

The basic formation pattern of Estonian causative verbs is *kasvama* ‘to grow, intr.’ > *kasvatama* ‘to grow, tr.’, cf Fin *kasvaa* > *kasvattaa*; that of factitive verbs is Est *puhas* ‘clean’ > *puhastama* ‘to clean’, cf Fin *puhdas* > *puhdistaa* or Est *silp* ‘syllable’ > *silbitama* ‘to divide into syllables’, cf Fin *tavu* > *tavuttaa*; reflexive and automative verbs, e.g. Est *leidma* ‘to find’ > *leiduma* ‘to be found’, cf Fin *löytää* > *löytyä*; translative verbs, e.g. Est *must* ‘black’ > *mustuma* ‘to become dirty’, cf Fin *musta* > *mustua*, Est *suur* ‘big, large’ > *suurenema* ‘to become bigger’, cf Fin *suuri* > *suurene-*, frequentative and continuative verbs, e.g. Est *välk* ‘lightning’ > *välkuma* ‘to flash’, cf Fin *välkkyä*, Est *hüppama* ‘to jump’ > *hüplema* ‘to jump up and down, to hop’, cf Fin *hypätä* > *hypellä*, Est *märk* ‘sign’ > *märgitsema* ‘to denote’, cf Fin *merkki* > *merkitse-*. The only disyllabic verb suffix is the momentaneous

suffix *-ata-*, but in that case, too, the suffix always replaces the stem vowel of the underlying word, so that in any case the suffix lengthens the root-stem only by one syllable: Est *liikuma* 'to move' > *liigatama* 'to stir once', cf Fin *liikkua* > *liikahtaa*. In Estonian, there are no such Finnish suffixes as *-ksi-*, *-ksu-* and *-aise-* (*kuljeksia*, *paheksua*, *puraista*).

**6.1.** In Estonian the number of suffix variants is much smaller than in Finnish, and the structure of derived verbs is in most cases unambiguously clear and more transparent than in Finnish. For example, the Finnish suffixes *-a-*, *-ä-*, *-ta-*, *-tä-* and *-tta-*, *-ttä-* have fused in Estonian as a single *ta-* suffix, with the exception of the contracted verbs that in a synchronic language description are nowadays classified as root-verbs. The Finnish suffixes *-u-*, *-y-*, *-o-* and *-utu-*, *-yty-* have fused into the *u-* suffix, which always replaces the vowel of the root-stem.

As in Estonian there is no gradation in non-initial syllables or any other phonetic alternations farther than on the boundary of the first and the second syllable, then the suffix remains unchanged when the word is inflected in any wordforms (with the exception of some historical derivatives with a monosyllabic derivational stem). For example, it is impossible to see in the Finnish infinitival forms *mustata*, *merkitä*, *suureta* that in the first word there is the *ta-* suffix, in the second the *tse-* and in the third the *ne-* suffix.

In Estonian there are not any difficulties of this type, cf

Finnish	Estonian
mustata : mustaa-	musta/ma : musta/ta : musta/b
merkitä merkitse-	märgi/tse/ma märgi/tse/da : märgi/tse/b
suureta : suurene-	suure/ne/ma : suure/ne/da : suure/ne/b

Gradation, too, increases the number of suffix variants in Finnish and reduces the transparency of derivatives, for example, one has to recognize the *ta-* suffix in the weak-grade forms *kavallan* 'to be cunning', *parannan* 'to repair' *teeskennellä* 'to pretend':

Finnish	Estonian
kavaltaa : kavallan	kaval/da/ma : kaval/da/n
parantaa parannan	para/nda/ma para/nda/n
teeskennellä : teeskentelen	tee/skle/ma : tee/skle/n

6.2. In Finnish one is struck by the great number of compound suffixes and suffix combinations. In this respect verb derivation in Finnish differs greatly from verb derivation in Estonian. Of the verb suffixes that are common to Estonian and Finnish only *-ne-* and *-tse-* are attached in Finnish, too, only to a disyllabic root-stem (the types *pienene-*, *merkitse-*). All the other suffixes can be attached in Finnish rather freely to various suffixes. In Estonian there are relatively few combinations of suffixes. One can bring a large number of such examples which show that the complicated Finnish suffix combinations have never originated in Estonian, or they have been reduced to a single pattern that is morpho-phonologically clear and simple. The other constraint on form was discussed above – any Estonian suffix can occur only once in the same word, in Finnish, however, it can occur repeatedly. This circumstance makes it possible for Finnish to have even long verb chains from the same stem. The difference is remarkable if we compare the derivational possibilities of the same root-stem in Estonian and Finnish:

Finnish	Estonian
hypätä	hüppama
hyppiä	
hypellä	hüplema
hyppelehtiä	
hypittää	hüpitama
hypitellä	
hypiskellä	
hyppyyttää	
hyppäyttää	
hypähtää	hüpatama
hypähdellä	(hüpatlema)

The dictionary of modern literary Finnish “Suomen perussanakirja” lists altogether 12 derivatives from the same stem, the Estonian “Õigekeelsussõnaraamat” provides 5, and of these the last one is actually a potential theoretical formation without any examples given in the Estonian explanatory dictionary. This is another difference between Estonian and Finnish verb formation – a considerable number of Estonian verb derivatives with a more complicated structure that are recorded in the dictionaries have a

rather theoretical and potential character and form a collection of passive words, they do not belong to the everyday active vocabulary. According to Leena Kytömäki (see, e.g. Kytömäki 1990), in Finnish even those derivational patterns that contain rather long and complicated suffix combinations are productive in forming new spontaneous and occasional derivatives, and all kinds of verb derivatives are rather actively used, for example, in newspaper texts, advertising and spoken language.

**6.3.** The only Estonian verb suffix that forms compound suffixes with other suffixes on a regular basis is *-ta-*. In addition to root-stems, *-ta-* is attached to *ne-*-suffixed translative verbs and *ise-*-suffixed descriptive verbs as is the case in Finnish:

Finnish		Estonian
suurene- > suurentaa	suure/ne/ma 'to become bigger'	> suure/n/da/ma 'to enlarge'
kevene- > keventää	kerge/ne/ma 'to become lighter'	> kerge/n/da/ma 'to facilitate'
laajene- > laajentaa	laie/ne/ma 'to widen, intr.'	> laie/n/da/ma 'to widen, tr.'
sumise- > sumistaa	sum/ise/ma 'to buzz'	> sum/is/ta/ma 'to cause to buzz'
jyrise- > jyristää	mür/ise/ma 'to rumble'	> mür/is/ta/ma 'to thunder'
kolise- > kolistaa	kol/ise/ma 'to rattle'	> kol/is/ta/ma 'to make a rattle'

*-ta-* can be attached without any constraints to the *u-* suffix as well, but it occurs sporadically and irregularly and in only those cases, where the derivational base is a monosyllabic non-verb stem:

all/u/ma 'to be subordinate to' > all/u/ta/ma 'to subordinate'  
 külm/u/ma 'to freeze' > külm/u/ta/ma 'to cause to freeze'

**6.4.** Estonian has none of those polysyllabic suffix combinations that Leena Kytömäki discusses in her thesis page after page (see Kytömäki 1977). Usually to Finnish suffix combinations correspond simple suffixes in Estonian. The combinatorial possibilities of the *u-* and *ta-* suffixes were compared before (see 4.1.).

Here we will take a look at the formation of *le*-suffixed verbs in Estonian and Finnish. According to Leena Kytömäki, the use of *le*-suffixed frequentative verbs is very common in Common Finnish. *-le-* is also the overwhelmingly preferred suffix in the formation of new text-dependent denominal verb derivatives (Kytömäki 1990). The majority of the Estonian *le*-derivatives that have been recorded in dictionaries are deverbal frequentative verbs and their use in the common language is not very usual. A large number of the *le*-suffixed verbs that are used in Common Estonian have actually been lexicalized or idiomatized. There are few denominal *le*-verbs in Estonian and in regular verb formation to a Finnish denominal *le*-suffix corresponds, as a rule, some other suffix.

As to their structure, the Estonian *le*-suffixed verbs are mostly syncopal: *-le-* is attached to a monosyllabic consonant-ending root-stem (Est *lenda/ma* ‘to fly’ > *lend/le/ma* ‘to flutter about’ cf Fin *lentää* > *lennellä*). The Estonian orthographic dictionary lists a few hundred such verbs, some 30 of them have unique stems from the viewpoint of contemporary language. Estonian has also some compound-suffixed *tle-* and *skle-*verbs (*õnnitlema* ‘to congratulate’, *esitlema* ‘to introduce’, *olesklema* ‘to idle’, *otsisklema* ‘to be in search of’), but most of them are likely to be loans from Finnish (cf Fin *onnitella*, *esitellä*, *oleskella*, *etsiskellä*). In Finnish, in most cases *-le-* is attached to some other verb suffix. The calculations made by Leena Kytömäki show that the reverse dictionary “Suomen kielen käännteissanakirja” contains 129 *le*-verbs and about 2,000 such verbs where *-le-* is preceded by some other suffix. The suffix combination of spontaneously formed denominal derivatives is nearly always *i + le* or *ta + le* (Kytömäki 1990).

In Finnish, such derivatives that contain the *le*-suffix may belong to several semantic groups (see 5.3.). In Estonian, various simplified suffix variants are used in different semantic groups, or some other suffix is used.

**6.4.1.** If a derivative contains some frequentative shade of meaning, also in many derivatives that have an idiomatized meaning, the simple suffix *-le-* corresponds to the Finnish suffix combination:

Finnish		Estonian	
teeske-nte-le-	teesk-le-	'to pretend'	
juoke-nte-le	jooks-le-	'to run about'	
kaupi-tte-le	kaup-le-	'to trade'	
laisko-tte-le-	laisk-le-	'to idle'	
kään-te-le-hti	kään-le-	'to wind'	

**6.4.2.** In Finnish, the addressing and citation derivatives form a well-defined semantic group of denominal *le*-derivatives. In this semantic group modern Finnish uses almost without an exception the suffix combination *tta + le*. The *le*-suffix shows that the use of the name gets repeated, but the same morphological pattern is used also in that case when one has to do with a single speech act. In Estonian, in this semantic group the use of the *ta*-suffix has become fixed:

Finnish		Estonian	
nimi-tte-le	nime-ta-	'to name'	
sinu-tte-le	sina-ta-	'to say sina'	
teiti-tte-le	teie-ta-	'to say teie'	
rouvi-tte-le	proua-ta-	'to say proua'	
vale-hte-le	vale-ta-	'to lie'	
hihi-tte-le	itsi-ta-	'to giggle'	

**6.4.3.** One functional group of denominal verbs is status derivatives. They express some characteristic, state or role of the subject of the derivative. In Finnish, the status derivatives have been one of the most central groups of denominal verb derivatives for a long time, and the formation of new status derivatives after the productive patterns is very common in everyday spoken language and slang. Status derivatives can be formed in Finnish with the *ta*- and *tse*-suffix, but according to Kytömäki the most preferred suffix combination is *i + le* or *ta + le*.

Until recently surveys of Estonian word-formation did not pay any attention to status derivatives (Kasik 1996). The Estonian orthographical dictionary contains a few hundred status derivatives and there is at least one productive derivational pattern among them the meaning of which is close to the derivatives that are formed by means of the Finnish *i + le* and *ta + le* suffixes. Estonian uses the *tse*- suffix to express this meaning:



Finnish		Estonian
sika-i-le	sigatse-	'to act like a pig'
diiva-i-le	staaritse-	'to act like a star'
hermo-i-le-	närvitse-	'to be nervous'
pelle-i-le	tolatse-	'to play the fool'
kiiva-ste-le	ägetse-	'to be fierce'
huvi-tte-le	lõbutse-	'to have fun'

6.5. In addition to the fact that different suffixes are used, the different formation patterns of Estonian and Finnish verbs may be caused by different stem structures as well. For example, the old contracted verbs have *a-/ta-*suffixes in Finnish. Denominal verbs with the same structure can be formed spontaneously as well, and the suffix replaces the stem vowel of the underlying word: *meikki* > *meikata*, *filmi* > *filmata*, *korkki* > *korkata*, etc. This suffix has disappeared in the contracted verbs of contemporary Estonian. It is only the morphology of the verb that points to the diachronic formation pattern – the conjugation type and the inverted direction of gradation. A language user perceives denominal contracted verbs as converted – they do not have a derivational suffix, but the same root-stem can occur both as a noun and a verb. Thus, it is only natural that the stem vowel of the underlying word does not change. For morphophonological reasons those verbs where the stem vowel of the underlying vowel is *-a-* are transferred to the inflectional type of contracted verbs: *kõblas* : *kõpla* 'hoe' > *kõplama*: *kõplata* 'to hoe'; *sool soola* 'salt' > *soolama*: *soolata* 'to salt', *tõrv* : *tõrva* 'tar' > *tõrvama*: *tõrvata* 'to tar'

Similar verbs without a suffix can also be formed from nouns with a different stem so that the stem vowel is preserved:

meik: meigi 'makeup'	> meikima: meikida 'to apply makeup'
film: filmi 'film'	> filmima: filmida 'to shoot a film'
kork: korgi 'cork'	> korkima: korkida 'to cork'
puur puuri 'drill'	> puurima: puurida 'to drill'
liim: liimi 'glue'	> liimima: liimida 'to glue'
lapp: lapi 'patch'	> lappima: lappida 'to patch up'
riim: riimi 'rhyme'	> riimima: riimida 'to rhyme'
raam: raami 'frame'	> raamima: raamida 'to frame'

The same derivational pattern is used in Finnish as well (*tanssia, kuoria, pieniä, uusia*), but it is unproductive, and it is generally held that that they belong to the next derivational type. As the derivation is unrelated to the stem vowel (cf *muna > munia, kylmä > kylmiä*), then one has to do not with conversion but *i*-suffixed verbs.

In Finnish, the formation of denominal verbs from a three-syllable stem with the *i*-suffix is rather productive: *entisöidä, ennakoida, henkevöidä, kiharoida, luennoida, kapinoida, palmikoida*, etc. In Estonian, the verb suffixes are attached only to monosyllabic and disyllabic stems; nor is a vowel suffix ever attached to another vowel, but it will replace the latter. Actually, *-i* can be attached to some Estonian monosyllabic derivational stems as well; some ancient historical derivatives have got this structure: *joonima* 'to line' *sõlmima* 'to tie a knot' *sõdima* 'to wage war', *kerima* 'to wind', but this pattern is unproductive. No verbs are formed with a three-syllable derivational stem, to express the relevant idea, one has to use other syntactic or lexical means.

## 7. Conclusion

The number of verb derivatives is considerably smaller in Estonian than in Finnish. In Estonian the same meaning is often expressed by other syntactic or lexical means. Nevertheless, it is rather common that a derivative is used in both languages. In that case, to a suffix combination or some other structurally complicated suffix in Finnish corresponds a simplified variant of the same suffix in Estonian. For example, to the suffix combination *ta + le* that was discussed above correspond only *-ta-* or *-le-* in Estonian. Nor are by any means rare such cases, where in some semantic group Estonian and Finnish use different suffixes or different formation patterns. It can involve a certain semantic group, as in status derivatives, or a certain stem structure, as in the case of contracted verbs or such underlying words that consist of three syllables.

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## EESTI JA SOOME VÖRDLEV SÕNAMOODUSTUSTÜPOLOOGIA. VERB

### Reet Kasik

Tuletusliidete abil moodustatakse verbe, substantiive, adjektiive ja adverbe paljude tuletusmallide järgi. Tuletise derivatiivne tähendus moodustub alussõna leksikaalsest tähendusest ja tuletusliitega lisanduvast kategoriaalsest tähendusEst Osa sõnatuletusest on grammatiline – sõnu moodustatakse reeglipäraselt produktiivsete tuletusmallide järgi ja tuletise tähendus on tuletusmalliga määratud. Sellise tuletise derivatiivne tähendus on ühtlasi tema leksikaalne tähendus (*pangandus*, *lapselik*, *tuhastama*, *aeglaselt*). Teine osa sõnatuletusest on leksikaalne – kindla kategoriaalse tähendusega liite abil

võib moodustada tuletisi, mille leksikaalne tähendus on idiomatiseerunud ega kattu tuletusmalli poolt määratud derivatiivse tähendusega. Käesolevas artiklis käsitletakse tuletussüsteemina eeskätt grammatilist süsteemi.

Nii soome kui ka eesti verbituletus jaguneb kolmeks tüübiks. Modifitseerivate verbiliidete abil on võimalik varieerida tegevuse kestust ning moodustada frekventatiivseid, kontinuatiivseid ja momentaanseid verbe (ee *välkuma – välgatama – väiklema*, sm *välkkyä – välähtää – välähdellä*). Deverbaalsete muutesufiksitate funktsioon on lähemal regulaarsete grammatiliste, eriti süntaktiliste vahetõrgete väljendamisele – verbituletus pakub võimaluse muuta verbide subjekti-objektisuhteid ning moodustada kausatiivverbe ja refleksiiv-passiivverbe (ee *lõppema > lõpetama*, *andma > anduma*, sm *loppua > lopettaa*, *antaa > antautua*). Denominaalne verbituletus pakub võimaluse väljendada morfoloogiliselt, ühe mitmemorfeemilise leksikoniüksusega, süntaktilis-semantiliselt vahetõrgete verbi ja tema laiendi vahel (ee *katma hõbedaga > hõbetama*, *muutama valgeks > valgenema*, *ütleva sina > sinatama*, sm *hopeoida*, *vaaleta*, *sinutella*). Laiendist saab tuletise alussõna, predikaat abstraherub tuletusliite kategooriaalseks tähenduseks. Alussõna säilitab tuletises verbilaiendi semantiliselt funktsiooni: vahend, tulemus, objekt.

Modifitseeriva verbituletuse osas hõlmavad soome ja eesti keele erinevused eeskätt tuletusvõimaluste ulatust ja produktiivsust. Alussõnade hulk, millele modifitseeriv sufix võib liituda, on eesti keeles semantiliselt piiritletud, soome keeles ei ole. Eesti keeles moodustatakse frekventatiivseid, momentaanseid ja kontinuatiivseid verbe reeglipäraselt vaid liikumist või heli tähistavatest verbidest Suur osa aktiivselt kasutusel olevatest frekventatiivsetest, momentaansetest või kontinuatiivsetest verbituletistest kuulub onomatopoeetiliste verbide hulka või on muul viisil deskriptiivsed.

**-ata-**: *võpatama*, *loksatama*, *välgatama*, *praksatama*, *kääksatama*, *klõpsatama*...

**-u-**: *võppuma*, *loksuma*, *välkuma*, *praksuma*, *kääksuma*, *klõpsuma*...

**-le-**: *võplema*, *lokslema*, *väiklema*, *pöörlema*, *keerlema*, *karglema*, *hüplema*, *lendlema*

**-ise-**: *võbisema*, *logisema*, *pragisema*, *kägisema*, *klõbisema*, *mürisema*...

*ata*-liitelised momentaanid, *u*-liitelised frekventatiivid ja *ise*-liitelised kontinuatiivid moodustavad omalaadse süsteemi. Alussõnaks on looduslikku heli või liikumist jälgendav onomatopoeetiline juurtüvi, mis sageli ei olegi iseseisev sõna. Tuletised võivad esineda sarjana: samast alustüvest moodustatakse *ata*-liiteline momentaan, mis väljendab ühekordset liigutust või hääliisust, *u*-liiteline frekventatiivverb, mis osutab, et kõnealune heli või liikumine esineb korduvalt, ja *ise*-liiteline kontinuatiivverb, mis väljendab kestva ühetaolist (sageli frekventatiiv-verbiga võrreldes vähehaavalist) liikumist või heli.

Ka *le*-liitelisi verbe võib moodustada deskriptiivsest juurtüvest ja sel juhul nad liituvad sama sarjaga: *võplema*, *lokslema*, *väiklema* jt. Sagedamini

moodustatakse *le*-tuletisi aga liikumist või häält märkivatest “pärisverbidest” Suur osa sellistestki *le*-tuletiste alusverbidest on tähenduselt momentaansed ja *le*-tuletis väljendab liikumise või häälituse kordumist: *hõikama* > *hõiklema*, *pöörama* > *pöörlema*, *hüppama* > *hüplema*, *põrkama* > *põrklema*. Kui samast sõnatüvest on olemas nii *u*- või *i*- kui ka *le*-liiteline frekventatiivverb, siis on neil eri tähendus: *u*- või *i*-tuletis märgib momentaanse liikumise või heli korrapärasest kordumist (*hõikuma*, *loksuma*, *välkuma*, *ohkima*), *le*-tuletiste tähenduses liitub kordumisega teatud ebamäärasuse, juhuslikkuse või korrapärasuse varjund (*hõiklema*, *lokslema*, *välklema*, *ohklema*).

Soome keeles on modifitseeriv derivatsioon avaram kui eesti keeles. *le*-tuletusel ei ole soome keeles üldse ei semantilisi ega struktureid piiranguid, vaid *le*-tuletisi võib moodustada igasugustest verbidest (vrd sm *kysyä*, *kysellä*, ee *küsima*). Ka eesti deskriptiivsetele *ata*-verbidele vastavaid *ahia*- ja *aise*-tuletisi võib moodustada igasugustest verbidest ja ka noomenitEst Nii momentaansed kui ka frekventatiivsed liited võivad soome keeles väljendada ka deminutiivset (moderatiivset) modifitseerivat tähendust. Eesti derivatsioonisüsteemis sellist võimalust ei ole.

Deverbaalne verbimoodustus on nii soome kui ka eesti keeles oma olemuselt süntaktiline. Põhiline erinevus soome ja eesti verbitüvelise verbi-moodustuse vahel on see, et soome keeles võib deverbaalne verbituletus põhimõtteliselt olla ja tegelikkuses sageli ongi rekursiivne. Kausatiivi- ning refleksiivi-passiivisufiksud võivad esineda samas sõnas kaks või rohkemgi korda (*kannatuttaa*, *verryttäytyä*). See teeb soome keeles võimalikuks sellised verbiahelad nagu näiteks *irti – irtoa irrota – irrottaa – irrotella – irrottua – irrottautua – irtaantua – irtautua*. Eesti sõnamoodustust aga juhib selline piirang, et ükskõik missugune tuletusliide võib samas sõnas esineda vaid ühe korra. Ka sünonüümsed liited (näiteks *-u*- ja *-ne*-) ei esine üldreeglina samas sõnas. Kui alusverb on intransitiivne, siis võib sellest *ta*-sufiksi abil moodustada transitiivse kausatiivverbi: *kasvama* > *kasvatama*, *langema* > *langetama*, *lõppema* > *lõpetama*, ja kui alusverb on transitiivne, siis võib sellest *u*-liite abil moodustada intransitiivse refleksiiv- või passiiv-(automaatiiv)verbi: *kandma* > *kanduma*, *viskama* > *viskuma*, *sulgema* > *sulguma*. Sellega derivatsiooniprotsess lõpeb – pikemaid verbiahelaid ei moodustata.

Kui juurtüvi on mitteverbaalne, võib moodustada alguses *u*-tuletise ja sellest *ta*-tuletise või vastupidi. Esimene mudel on kasutatav ühesilbiliste alustüvede, teine mudel kahesilbiliste alustüvede korral: *all* > *alluma* > *allutama*, *avar* > *avardama* > *avarduma*.

Soome keeles on tuletusvõimalused avaramad ja eesti verbipaaridele vastavad semantiliselt hoopis liigendatumad seeriad: *painaa* > *painattaa* > *painua* > *painautua*. Soome tuletussüsteemi kuuluvad peale intransitiivsete ja kausatiivsete verbide veel kuratiivsed verbid, millel on kolm argumenti: tegevuse põhjustaja, tegija ja tegevusobjekt: *Korko nousee* > *Pankki nostaa korkoa* > *Valtio nostattaa pankilla korkoa*. Eesti keeles kuratiivseid verbe ei ole. Passiivsed ja refleksiivsed verbid on eesti keeles alusverbi tähenduse suhtes komplementaarsed, st transitiivsest alusverbist võib moodustada vaid

ühe *u*-tuletise, mis on kas passiivse või refleksiivse tähendusega. Soome keeles võib samast verbitüvest moodustada kaks eri tuletist, millest üks on passiivse, teine refleksiivse tähendusega: *painua – painautua*. Ka on soome keeles võrdlemisi tavaline, et samast verbist on kasutusel nii *ne-* kui ka *ntu-*tuletis: *Oppikirjat vanhenevat / vanhentuvat*. Eesti keelehoole ei ole kunagi aktsepteerinud *ndu*-liitelisi translatiivverbe sellistest sõnadest, millest on olemas ka *ne*-tuletis, kuigi neid spontaanselt mõnevõrra kasutatakse. Sellise lahenduse toeks on reeglipärase rekursiivsuse puudumine kogu eesti derivatsioonisüsteemist. Soome keeles, kus derivatiivne rekursiivsus on tavaline, toetab see ka *ne-* ja *ndu*-tuletiste paralleelset kasutamist.

Denominaalsed verbid peegeldavad nii eesti kui soome keeles verbi ja tema laiendi vahelist argumentivahekorda. Alussõna semantiline funktsioon tuletises on tavaliselt INSTRUMENT, RESULTAAT või OBJEKT. Alussõna ja tuletise vahekorras lähtuv semantilis-süntaktiline analüüs annab mõlemas keeles tulemuseks enam-vähem samad rühmad. Eesti keeles ei moodustata reeglipäraselt sensitiivtuletisi (*hyväksyä, paheksua*) ega kaptatiivtuletisi (*sienestää, rahastaa, sorsastaa*). Põhierinevus soome ja eesti denominaalsete verbide vahel on keele poolt pakutavate võimaluste kasutamises. Eesti keeles on suur osa denominaalsetest verbidest leksikaliseerunud, soome keele denominaalseid verbe iseloomustab tähenduse kontekstuaalsus: produktiivne derivatsiooni-protsess võib anda individuaalse tähendusega tuletisi. Ka kuulub soome keeles denominaalne verbimoodustus aktiivsete, eesti keeles aga pigem passiivsete keelevahendite hulka.

Eesti keele fonoloogilised ja morfonoloogilised võimalused on piiratumad kui soome keeles. Tuletise struktuur on harilikult lihtne: juurtüvi ja üks ühesilbiline liide. Liitevariante on eesti keeles tunduvalt vähem kui soome keeles ja tuletatud verbide struktuur on enamasti ühemõtteliselt selge ja läbipaistavam kui soome keeles. Näiteks soome keele *a-*, *ä-*, *ta-*, *tä-* ja *tta-*, *ttä*-liited on eesti keeles sulanud kokku üheks *ta*-liiteks, välja arvatud kontraheerunud verbid, mis sünkroonilises keelekirjelduses liigituvad tänapäeval juurverbide hulka. Soome keele *u-*, *y-*, *o-* ja *utu-*, *yty*-liited on sulanud üheks *u*-sufiksiks, mis alati asendab juurtüve vokaali. Kuna eesti keeles ei ole sõna järgsilpides astmeheldust ega ka muid häälikuvaheldusi kaugemal kui esimese ja teise silbi piiril, säilib liide sõna muutmisel kõigis sõnavormides ühesugusena. Liitsufikseid ja sufiksi-kombinatsioone on soome keeles rohkesti, eesti keeles suhteliselt vähe. Harilikult vastavad soome keele sufiksikombinatsioonidele eesti keeles liitsufiksids. Näitena esitatud *ta + le* sufiksikombinatsioonile vastab eesti keeles kas ainult *-ta-* (sm *sinu-tte-le*, ee *sina-ta-*) või ainult *-le-* (sm *kaupi-tte-le-*, ee *kaup-le-*). Haruldased ei ole ka niisugused juhtumid, et mingis tähendusrühmas kasutatakse eesti ja soome keeles erinevaid sufikseid või erinevaid moodustusmalle. See võib hõlmata teatud tähendusrühma, nii nagu staatustuletistes (sm *diiva-i-le-*, ee *staari-tse-*) või teatud tüvestruktuuri, nii nagu kontraheerunud verbide (sm *terva > tervata*, *meikki > meikata*, ee *tõrvama*, aga *meikima*) või kolmesilbiliste alussõnade puhul (sm *entisoidä, palmikoida*, eesti keeles võimatu vormimall).

# THE QUOTATIVE MOOD IN THE BALTIC SEA AREAL

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**0. Introductory remarks.** The article deals with the manifestations of the quotative mood in Estonian and Lithuanian. Thus it is a contrastive study of two languages – one Balto-Finnic and the other Baltic – that belong to two different language families but share one linguistic areal. The article will provide an overview of the functions and morphosyntactic markers of the quotative mood in Estonian and Lithuanian and their historical development. The aim of the article is to point out similarities and differences between Estonian and Lithuanian in this field. As it is a grammatical category that has brought about a lot of debates both in Estonian and Lithuanian, the status of the quotative as a separate mood will be discussed as well.

On the one hand, the various manifestations of the direct and indirect modes of presenting speech constitute a typological phenomenon that can be found in a large number of European and Asian languages. On the other hand, linguists have found that the morphological opposition of the direct and indirect way of perceiving an action that encompasses the whole paradigm is a phenomenon that occurs in a rather small areal, including the Balto-Finnic (Estonian, Livonian) and Baltic languages (Latvian and most Lithuanian dialects) (Ambrazas 1990: 231). Thus, one has to do with the languages that are located in the Baltic Sea areal.

The quotative mood is widespread in those eastern Baltic dialects that have had especially close contacts with the southern group of Balto-Finnic languages: Latvian, the northern, western and northeastern dialects of Lithuanian. Although it is likely that there may have not existed any direct contacts between the southern Balto-Finnic languages and Lithuanian dialects, the Curonian or Kurish and Selonian languages formed a buffer zone between them. It is true that these Baltic languages became extinct

already in the 14th and 15th centuries, but the above-mentioned Lithuanian dialects manifest a strong substratum that was left behind by them (Ambrasas 1990: 232).

A comparison of the morphological markers of the quotative mood in Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages shows even phonetic similarities, though their origin may not be the same. Thus, the phonetic shape looks similar in the Estonian *-vat* and the Latvian *-ot*, the Estonian *-ma* and the Lithuanian *-ma(s)*, the Livonian *-iji* and the Latvian *-ijis* (Ambrasas 1990: 231).

### 1. The quotative as a mood

In the Estonian linguistic literature there is consensus about the existence of three moods: the indicative, the conditional, and the imperative. "A Grammar of Estonian" that was published in 1995 gives as the fourth one the quotative although some Estonian linguists have held different opinions concerning the latter. Huno Rätsep, for example, has thought that the quotative should be regarded only as an indirect mode of presenting speech (Rätsep 1971). This view has been supported by the authors of some more recent papers as well, e.g. Ago Künnap (Künnap 1992).

On the other hand, the existence of another mood – the jussive – has been admitted rather quietly and without any argument. The above-mentioned grammar of Estonian brings out the latter as the fifth mood (EKG I: 80).

In various languages one can come across different names that are used to describe a mood that resembles the indirect mood or the quotative. The more widespread ones are, for example, narrative, *modus obliquus*, indirectal, conjunctive, imperceptive, dubitive, admirative, absentive. Although their functions overlap with the functions of the Estonian quotative, their scope need not be the same at all, e.g. the admirative expresses also a situation where something unexpected and surprising is experienced (Ambrasas 1990: 221). However, the basic uniting feature is undoubtedly related to the direct and indirect (mediated) way of conveying the cognitive process and message.

The differences between the moods are manifested in the mode of presenting speech, communicative goals, and also in the



attitude of the source of message towards the communicative act. On the basis of "A Grammar of Estonian" (EKG I: 8–82), we can bring out the following differences between the quotative and the other moods:

1) it is the mode of presenting speech that makes the quotative different from the other moods because in the case of the quotative the source of information is some third party, and the speaker only mediates the message to the speaker;

2) the communicative goal of the quotative is presentational (as is the case with the indicative and in most cases with the conditional);

3) the source of the message may regard the communicative act either as real (as the indicative and the imperative) or unreal (as the conditional).

The mediated message can be conveyed to the listener also by lexical means, by using various extensions (*vist* 'perhaps', *ilmselt* 'apparently', *arvatavasti* 'probably'). Such extensions, of course, add the speaker's evaluation of reality to the message.

Thus, there exist two viewpoints whether the quotative has the status of a mood in Estonian. If we accept the view that differences in the mode of presenting speech are sufficient to regard it as a separate category, then the quotative is the fourth mood. Otherwise, the quotative could be regarded as a category of the indicative that mediates the mode of presenting speech and be termed, for example, as the indirectal (Rätsep 1971: 62).

Nor is there any consensus in Lithuanian linguistics concerning the quotative mood (*netiesioginė nuosaka*). Similarly to Estonian linguists, the Lithuanians, too, are divided into two parties.

The most important treatments of Lithuanian morphology that have been published in the past decades see no valid reason for establishing the category of the quotative mood. For example, "Lietuvių kalbos morfologija" (LKM) singles out only three moods: the indicative, the imperative, and the conditional. Nor sees the 1994 edition (Paulauskienė 1994) any reason why the quotative should be introduced into the system of Lithuanian moods. The representative of this school Aldona Paulauskienė brings out first and foremost the fact there are no morphological

markers that would be characteristic of only this mood – in Lithuanian the quotative mood is expressed by the participles that can be used with other moods as well (e.g. the indicative). Paulauskienė (just like Rätsep) regards the quotative as a variety of the indicative. Paulauskienė's viewpoint rests on the claim that there should exist at least a single context, where the morphological categories that stand in opposition cannot be used as synonyms, and she claims that the participle forms of the quotative mood can, as a rule, be replaced by the finite forms of the indicative mood. Therefore, the mode of presenting speech is not selected on the basis of grammatical (morphological and syntactic) but stylistic considerations, reflecting the speaker's attitude towards what is talked about (Paulauskienė 1994: 308).

If Rätsep considers important the mediational character of the mode of presenting speech, then Paulauskienė considers the relationship between a real and an unreal action to be of great importance. The latter unites the quotative with the indicative – the quotative conveys an action that has really happened, standing together with the indicative in opposition with the conditional and the imperative, which express an action that actually does not take place in reality (Paulauskienė 1994: 309).

The general surveys of Lithuanian grammars, including the academic grammar (e.g. GLJ and DLKG) distinguish four moods in Lithuanian: the indicative, the conditional, the imperative, and the quotative. The quotative mood stands in opposition with the remaining three moods: its task is to convey a situation about the reality of which the speaker has his/her doubts indirectly, i.e. as experienced by other persons or sources of information (DLKG: 304, 310).

One can notice remarkable overlapping in the description of the quotative in Estonian and Lithuanian:

1) the speaker conveys a message that originates from a third party (i.e., one has to do with a mediated mode of presenting speech, cf EKG I: 80 and DLKG: 310);

2) the speaker is not fully convinced of the reality of the situation (i.e., the source of the message may regard the situation as real or unreal, cf EKG I: 82 and DLKG: 310);

3) the speaker does not express his/her wish concerning the occurrence of the situation (i.e., the communicative goal is presentational), cf EKG I: 82. According to DLKG, in Lithuanian, too, the communicative goal is mainly presentational, but it is admitted that the quotative mood can be used in the functions of the other moods as well; for example, the presentational goal of communication can be replaced by desirability, cf DLKG: 305.

## 2. Morphological marking of the quotative

### 2.1. Morphological marking of the quotative in Estonian

According to EKG, the morphological marker of the quotative mood is always *-vat*, which is historically the partitive case of the *v*-participle, e.g. *elavat* 'is said to live', *elatavat* 'is said to earn his/her living', *olevat elanud* or *elanuvat* 'is said to have lived' (EKG I: 236). The same forms are used both in affirmative and negative sentences. The past tense of the quotative mood *olevat elanud* 'is said to have lived' carries in itself a contradiction between content and form. As far as the form is concerned, one has to do with the perfect, but its double nature has disappeared, and as for its content, this tense form corresponds to the usage of all the three past tenses (the imperfect, the perfect and the pluperfect (Metslang 1991: 165)

However, the mediated mode of presenting speech occurs also in the case of narrative presentations, which could be regarded as the quotative mood and which are expressed only by participles. Such usage of the past participle (*nud*-participle) is especially widespread in folk tales and fairy tales, e.g. *Elanud kord kuningas ja olnud tal kolm poega. Kaks olnud tublid ja targad, aga kolmandast kasvanud ullike...* 'Once upon a time there lived a king and he is said to have had three sons. Two of them are said to have been diligent and wise, but the third one is said to have become a stupid person...'

The tendency that the periphrastic form of the perfect is replaced by the morphological form and the copulative verb disappears has a typological character, and it can be found in many languages (Metslang 1991: 166). Whether the appearance of such

forms in Estonian (and also in Livonian) was caused by the omission of the copula in the compound past tense form (see Ikola 1953: 41 and Künnap 1992: 214) is another question, but since a similar 'narrative past' is known in the Baltic languages, we will return to this problem later.

The narrative past has, in fact, two voices: if the *nud*-participle represents the personal, then the impersonal constructions with *tud*-participles are fully possible too, e.g. *Jõuludeks pruulitud taludes õlut, veristatud siga ja tehtud jõuluvorste*. 'For Christmas the farms are said to have brewed some beer, slaughtered a pig, and made some Christmas sausages'

The quotative has had and even now has in dialects and spoken language some other grammatical forms, too (the following examples come from Ikola 1953):

1) in addition to the *v*-participle, also the genitive, e.g. *Vana õpetanu veel, et nad keskmise sõlme päästavad, sis pidava tulema kaunis kõva tuul*. 'The old man is said to have taught that if they untie the middle knot, then a rather strong wind would be expected';

and the nominative, e.g. *Randlastel ollev parhillaki see usk kindma* 'Even now the coastal dwellers are said to have a firm belief in this';

2) the *ma*-infinitive, e.g. *öeldi kuused kulda joosma, sarapuud raha sadama, männid metta tilgutama* 'It was said that gold comes from spruces, money falls down from hazelnuts, and honey drips from pinetrees';

3) the *da*-infinitive, e.g. *Rahva jutu järgi käia meie naabermajas tondid kummitamas*. 'People say that ghosts are said to haunt our neighbor's house'

The Estonian quotative has no different persons or number although one can find some exceptions in dialects (see Metslang 1991: 16–168).

## 2.2. Morphological marking of the quotative mood in Lithuanian

In Lithuanian, the quotative mood is expressed by means of participles: the simple forms include the present active participles

as well as past and future forms, the compound forms are constructions of the active and passive participles with the verb *būti* 'to be'. Similarly to Estonian, the difference from the indicative lies in the case of compound tense forms in the verb 'to be', e.g. the imperfect quotative Li *buvęs metęs*, E *olevat visanud* 'is said to have thrown'; the indicative pluperfect Li *buvo metęs*, E *oli visanud* 'was said to have thrown'.

Lithuanian reveals no difference in person or number either, nor is there any difference between the formation of negation or affirmation.

Li	<i>Jis</i> he-NOM 'He is said to work a lot'	<i>daug</i> much	<i>dirb-ąs</i> work-sg-ptc-M
Li	<i>Ji</i> she-NOM 'She is said to work a lot'	<i>daug</i> much	<i>dir-anti</i> work-sg-ptc-F

In comparison with Estonian, the tense system of Lithuanian is more varied, and it is evident in the quotative mood as well, where, in addition to the present and the preterite, one can find such morphological forms as the iterative preterite (the past of a repeated action) and the future. Moreover, the active has both simple and compound tense forms; the passive has only compound forms.

In Lithuanian, the system of simple and compound tense forms is in one-to-one correspondence, i.e., each existing simple tense form has a corresponding compound tense form as well. This is an important difference in comparison with Estonian. If in Estonian grammar the perfect is a compound tense form of the preterite, then Lithuanian grammar, which follows the Indo-European (especially the English) grammatical tradition, treats the perfect as a compound tense form of the present.

**Simple Tense**  
present  
imperfect  
iterative preterite  
future

**Compound Tense**  
perfect  
pluperfect  
iterative pluperfect  
future

Thus, in the quotative mood, too, each simple and compound tense category has its morphological correspondence: the simple tenses are expressed by participles, in compound tenses the copulative participle is used in addition to the participle. Therefore, in Lithuanian the quotative is rich in participles indeed, and at times it is called figuratively the participial mood (*dalyvių nuosaka, dalyvinė nuosaka*).

The compound tenses include two temporal dimensions, i.e., the action situation is not directly related to the speech situation but is mediated by a point in time (viewpoint). If in Estonian the double nature of the preterite is not important from the viewpoint of the content, and the disappearance of the double nature of the content will result in the disappearance of the two-component form (Metslang 1993: 211), then in Lithuanian the compound tense forms of the quotative have retained the double nature of the content as well, and one has to do with a moment of observation or temporally mediated action that lies between an action that takes, took, or will take place in the present, past, or future and the moment of speech.

In Lithuanian, the compound tenses are also necessary to avoid the homonymy of form (DLKG: 311). Thus, the auxiliary verb is often omitted in the indicative present, and the present is conveyed only by means of the participle: *dirbęs* 'is said to have worked', pro: *yra dirbęs* 'has worked' In that case, however, the indicative present form would be homonymous with the simple tense form of the quotative preterite. Such homonymy can be avoided by using a compound tense form: *buvęs dirbęs* 'is said to have worked'

Below I have provided the Lithuanian quotative forms in different tenses, their corresponding Estonian forms, and the so-called grammatical translation. Of the passive forms, the first one is formed with the present participle and the second one with the preterite participle.

Tense	Simple Form		Compound Form	
	Active	Active	Active	Passive
Present	<i>metąs</i>	<i>esąs metęs</i>	<i>esąs</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>esąs mestas</i>
	<i>viskavat</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>viskamas</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>visatav</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>visatud</i>
	'is said to throw'	'is said to be throwing'	'is said to be thrown'	'is said to have been thrown'
	* <i>viskav</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visanud</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visatav</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visatud</i>
Preterite	<i>metęs</i>	<i>buvęs metęs</i>	<i>buvęs</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>buvęs</i> <i>mestas</i>
	( <i>olevat</i> ) <i>visanud</i>	<i>olnud</i> <i>visanud</i>	<i>olnud</i> <i>visatav</i>	<i>olnud</i> <i>visatud</i>
	'is said to have thrown'	'is said to have thrown'	'is said to have been the thrown one'	'is said to have been thrown'
Iterative preterite	<i>mesdavęs</i>	<i>būdavęs</i> <i>metęs</i>	<i>būdavęs</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>būdavęs</i> <i>mestas</i>
	<i>olevat</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> ) <i>visanud</i>	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> ) <i>visanud</i>	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> ) <i>visatav</i>	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> ) <i>visatud</i>
	'is said to have been thrown'	'is said to have been throwing'	'is said to have been the thrown one'	'is said to have been thrown constantly'
Future	<i>mesiąs</i>	<i>būsiąs metęs</i>	<i>būsiąs</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>būsiąs</i> <i>mestas</i>
	<i>hakkavat</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>viskama</i>	<i>olevat</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>viskamas</i>	<i>olevat</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatav</i>	<i>olevat</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatud</i>
	'is said to be going to throw'	'is said to be throwing'	'is said to be thrown (in the future)'	'is said to have thrown (in the future)'
	* <i>viskav</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> )	* <i>olev</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visanud</i>	* <i>olev</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatav</i>	* <i>olev</i> ( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatud</i>

### 2.2.1. The quotative present in Lithuanian

In the simple form, the present active of the Lithuanian quotative mood is expressed by means of the present participle; its grammatical equivalent in Estonian is the *v*-participle.

Li	<i>Jis</i>	<i>daug</i>	<i>dirb-ąs</i>
	he-NOM	much	work-sg-ptc-M
	‘He is said to work a lot’		
	*Ta palju tōōtav		

In Lithuanian, the compound present form is expressed by means of the present participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* and the preterite participle of a verb. If the Estonian equivalent of the former is the *v*-participle, then the Estonian active past participle is the *nud*-participle.

Li	<i>Jis</i>	<i>es-ąs</i>	<i>ilgai</i>	<i>dirb-ęs</i>
	he-NOM	be-sg-ptc-M	long	work-sg-pptc-M
	‘He is said to have worked for a long time’			
	*Ta olev kaua tōōtanud			

In Lithuanian, the present passive is expressed by means of the present passive participles (a) and the preterite passive participles (b). The auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* occurs in both cases as the active present participle.

(a) Li	<i>Darbas</i>	<i>es-ąs</i>	<i>paruošia-mas</i>
	work-NOM	be-sg-ptc-M	prepare-sg-ptc-pass-M
	‘The work is said to be under preparation’		
	*Tōō olev ette valmistatav		

(b) Li	<i>Darbas</i>	<i>es-ąs</i>	<i>paruoš-tas</i>
	work-NOM	be-sg-ptc-M	prepare-sg-pptc-pass-M
	‘The work is said to have been prepared’		
	*Tōō olev ette valmistatud		



### 2.2.2. The preterite quotative in Lithuanian

In the active simple form (a) of the Lithuanian preterite quotative the past participle is used, and in the compound form (b) the past participle with the past participle of the auxiliary verb 'to be' *būti* is used. The Estonian equivalent is the past participle, i.e. the *nud*-participle.

(a) Li    *Jis*                                    *daug*                                    *dirb-ęs*  
          he-NOM                                    much                                    work-sg-pptc-M  
          'He is said to have worked a lot'

(b) Li    *Jis*                                    *buv-ęs*                                    *ilgai*                                    *dirb-ęs*  
          he-NOM                                    be-sg-pptc-M                                    long                                    work-sg-pptc-M  
          'He was said to have worked for a long time'

The Lithuanian preterite passive forms are formed correspondingly (a) by means of the present participle of the verb in the passive and the past participle of the auxiliary verb 'to be' *būti* in the active and (b) by means of the past participle of the verb in the passive and the auxiliary verb 'to be' *būti* in the active.

(a) Li    *Darbas*                                    *buv-ęs*                                    *paruošia-mas*  
          work-sg-NOM                                    be-sg-pptc-M                                    prepare-sg-ptc-pass-M  
          'The work was said to have been under preparation'

(b) Li    *Darbas*                                    *buv-ęs*                                    *paruoš-tas*  
          work-sg-NOM                                    be-sg-pptc-M                                    prepare-sg-pptc-pass-M  
          'The work was said to have been prepared'

### 2.2.3. The iterative preterite in Lithuanian

The iterative preterite or the preterite of a repeated action can be also expressed by means of (a) a simple form and (b) a compound form. The simple form is formed by means of the past participle of a verb with an iterative suffix ( the *nud*-participle in Estonian), in the compound form the past participle of the auxiliary verb 'to be' *būti* has an iterative meaning, to which a verb in the past participle is added. In Estonian, iterativity can be expressed by lexical means.

- (a) Li    *Jis*                      *daug*                      *dirbdav-ęs*  
           he                            much                      work-sg-ipptc-M  
           ‘He is said to have been working a lot’  
           \*Ta palju pidevalt tötanud.

- (b) Li    *Jis*                      *būdav-ęs*                      *ilgai*                      *dirb-ęs*  
           he-NOM    be-sg-ipptc-M    long                      work-sg-ipptc-M  
           ‘He is said to have been working a long time constantly’

In Lithuanian, the iterative passive is formed by means of (a) the past participle of the iterative auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* and the present participle in the passive and (b) the past participle of the iterative auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* and the past participle in the passive.

- (b) Li    *Darbas*                      *buv-ęs*                      *gerai*  
           work-sg-NOM            be-sg-ipptc-M            well  
           *paruoš-tas*  
           prepare-sg-pptc-pass-M  
           ‘The work is said to have been well prepared’

#### 2.2.4. The future quotative in Lithuanian

The future quotative is expressed by means of (a) the simple future participle and the compound form consisting of the future participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* and the past participle of the verb. There is no grammatical future in Estonian, and therefore the future quotative can be expressed by lexical means.

- (a) Li    *Jis*                      *daug*                      *dirb-s-iąs*  
           he-NOM                      much                      work-sg-fptc-M  
           ‘He is said to be going to work a lot’  
           \*Ta palju (tulevikus) tötav.

- (b) Li    *Ji*                      *daug*                      *bū-s-iąs*                      *dirb-ęs*  
           he-NOM                      much                      be-sg-fptc-M            work-sg-pptc-M  
           ‘He is said to be going to work a lot’  
           \*Ta palju olev (tulevikus) tötanud

In the Lithuanian passive forms one can find (a) the future participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ *būti* with the passive

participle of the passive present of the verb and (b) the future participle of the auxiliary verb 'to be' *būti* with the passive past participle of the verb.

(a) Li    *Darbas*                            *bū-s-iqs*                            *gerai*  
 work-sg-NOM                            be-sg-fptc-M                            well  
*paruošia-mas*  
 prepare-sg-ptc-pass-M  
 'The work is said to be going to be well prepared'

(b) Li    *Darbas*                            *bū-s-iqs*                            *gerai*  
 work-sg-NOM                            be-sg-fptc-M                            well  
*paruoš-tas*  
 prepare-sg-pptc-pass-M  
 'The work is said to be going to be well prepared'

### 2.3. About the morphological marking of the quotative in Estonian and Lithuanian

In Estonian and Lithuanian, the quotative does not have any such morphological markers that would be used only for this mood. Thus, the Estonian *vat*-form is used also as the infinitive (*Kuulsin kedagi kõndivat* 'I heard someone walking'), and all the other morphological markers, too, are shared to express some other grammatical category.

The Estonian and Lithuanian quotative share an important formal feature – the use of the participles. In addition, though on a very limited scale and mostly in dialects, in Estonian it is possible to express the quotative by means of the infinitive as well.

The Estonian quotative includes also some synthetic forms (*nad tulnuvat* 'they are said to have come') that can be used alongside with the analytic ones (*nad olevat tulnud* 'they are said to have come'). It is impossible, however, to form such a synthetic quotative in Lithuanian.

The morphology of the Latvian quotative, however, is a peculiar mixture. On the one hand, the Baltic participial marking is used, where the morphological markers are shared by other grammatical categories. On the other hand, Latvian has developed a morphological marking that is characteristic only of the quotative

mood. Phonetically, it resembles Estonian and Livonian, and one could think that it could have originated from Balto-Finnic: cf E *-vat* and La *-ot*, Liv. *-iji* and La *-ījis* (Ambrazas 1990: 231). For a more detailed discussion of the Latvian quotative see Muižniece 1996.

### 3. The functions of the quotative

The main functions of the quotative are to mediate a message (narrative, reporting) and to express the doubts of the speaker or the source of the message concerning the reality or irreality of the situation (imperceptive, dubitive). As for the Estonian and Lithuanian quotative, these functions are similar. In addition, the Lithuanian indirect mode of presenting speech has some other functions that are lacking in the Estonian quotative, viz, the Lithuanian quotative can also convey the unexpected character of experiencing the situation (admirative) and the situation that was anticipated by the result (conclusive), see also Haarmann 1970: 84, Ambrazas 1990: 221.

#### 3.1. The functions of the quotative in Estonian

The Estonian quotative has the following functions (see EKG II: 36):

1) to convey such information about the truthfulness about which the speaker has his/her doubts

E	<i>Naisest</i>	<i>ela-vat</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>lahus</i>
	wife-sg-EL	live-q	he-NOM	separately
	‘He is said to live separately from his wife’			

E	<i>Ma</i>	<i>tege-vat</i>	<i>kõik</i>	<i>valesti</i>
	I-NOM	do-q	whatever-NOM	wrong
	‘It is said that whatever I do is wrong’			

2) to mediate such information that was obtained from another source

- E    *Ta*            *saa-vat*    *stipendiumi*        *Soome*  
 s/he-NOM    receive-q    scholarship GEN    Finland-ILL  
 ‘It is said that s/he is going to receive a scholarship for  
 studying in Finland’
- E    *Maja*            *tule-vat*            *kolmekordne*  
 house- NOM        come-q            three storeys-NOM  
 ‘It is said that the house is going to have three storeys’

### 3.2. The functions of the quotative in Lithuanian

The purpose of the Lithuanian quotative is to fulfill the following functions (DLKG: 311):

1) to mediate such information that was obtained from another source

- Li    *Čia,*            *sako,*            *miškai*            *buv-ę*  
 here            say-3pl        forest-pl-NOM    be-pl-pptc-M  
 ‘Forests are said to have been here’
- Li    *Ir*    *jie*            *nebū-s-ią*            *apie*  
 and    they-NOM    be-pl-fptc-M-neg    prep  
*tai*            *Paman-ę*  
 it-ACC            Think-pl-pptc-M  
 ‘And it is said that they are not going to begin to think  
 about it.’

2) to convey such information that has a doubtful nature or that does not correspond to reality

- Li    *Užkastieji*            *pinigai*            *deg-q*  
 bury-pl-NOM        money-pl-NOM    burn-pl-ptc-M  
 ‘It is said that the buried money burns’
- Li    *Nuo*    *žmonos*            *jis*            *atsiskyr-ęs*  
 prep    wife-sg-GEN    he-NOM        divorce-sg-pptc-M  
*es-qš*  
 be-sg-ptc-M  
 ‘He is said to be divorced from his wife’

3) to express an action that could be anticipated on the basis of the result

Li        *Jis*        *jau*        *besuprant-qs*        *Lietuviškai*  
 he-NOM    already    understand-sg-ptc-M    Lithuanian  
 ‘It is said that he can already understand Lithuanian’

4) to express an action that occurred unexpectedly

Li        *Vyras*        *atsigrēž-ēs*        *žiūri –*  
 man-NOM    turn around-sg-pptc-M    look-3sg  
*stov-īs*        *velnias*  
 stand-sg-ptc-M    devil-NOM  
 ‘The man is said to have turned around, looked – the devil is said to have been standing’

#### 4. About the origin of the quotative mood

The morphological outlets of the Estonian quotative can be divided into two groups:

- 1) participles, both past and present ones, mainly in the personal but also in the impersonal voice;
- 2) infinitives, the *da*-infinitive and rarely also the *ma*-infinitive.

Although the dialects really offer examples with all the aforementioned morphological categories, the infinitival usage in the quotative is rather peripheral. In Modern Estonian, too, there are two basic patterns to express the quotative mood:

- 1) the present participle of the personal voice in the partitive case or the *vat*-form: *ta saavat uue töökoha* ‘S/he is said to get a new job’;
- 2) the past participle of the personal voice: *ta saanud uue töökoha* ‘S/he is said to have got a new job’

It would be of great interest to know, of course, whether both patterns are native in Estonian, i.e. whether we can establish Balto-Finnic or even more general coincidences. On the other hand, one could point out that the so-called *nud*-form and the *vat*- (*da*-, *ma*-) form are semantically not the same either. This has led many linguists to think that it would be justified to separate these two

patterns also historically, i.e. as far as their origin is concerned (Ikola 1953: 57, Künnap 1992: 215).

#### 4.1. The past participle expressing the quotative

The past participle that expresses the quotative is widespread both in Estonian and Lithuanian, especially in narrative texts, for example, in fairy tales. Such a narrative quotative mood is expressed by the past participle that is in the function of the predicate.

E: *Surnud ühel isandal naine ja jätnud maha kaksteist poega ja ühe tütrekese. Mõne aja pärast hakanud isa teist neidu armastama, nõida. See öelnud: "Tütar las jääb, aga oma pojad põleta kõik ära..." Isa mõelnud nii, mõelnud naa, ei teadnud, mida ette võtta. Ja öelnud ta ühele oma teenrile...*

Li: *Vieno pono mirusi pati ir palikusi dvyliką sūnų ir dar vieną dukterėlę. Po kiek laiko tėvas pamilęs kitą merginą, raganą. Ta sakanti: "Duktė tesie, bet savo sūnus visus sudegink..." Tėvas mąstęs taip, mąstęs šiaip, nebežinąs, kas čia bebus daryti. Ir pasakęs vienam savo tarnui...*

'They say that the wife of a master had died and had left behind twelve sons and a little daughter. After a while the father had fallen in love with another maid, a witch. She is said to have said 'Let the daughter remain, but burn all your sons...' The father is said to have thought this way and that way and he didn't know what to do. And he is reported to have told his servant...'

According to Paul Alvre (Alvre 1993: 102), in narrative folk tales the participial predicate is in the perfect rather than in the imperfect. If we replaced in the above example the quotative mood by the indicative imperfect, then it would result in grammatical synonymy:

E: *Ühel isandal suri naine ja jättis maha kaksteist poega ja ühe tütrekese. Mõne aja pärast hakkas isa teist neidu armastama, nõida...*

‘The wife of some master died and left behind twelve sons and a little daughter. After a while the father fell in love with another maid, a witch...’

As was said above, the participle without a copulative verb has not only the meaning of the perfect, but it also includes the characteristics of both the imperfect and the pluperfect. In this case we would rather have the situation, where time, and especially the relationship between an event, its observation, and the moment of speech is not that important, and it has shifted into the periphery. It seems that the mediated character of time (compound past tense forms) is not as important as the mediated character of the message. The choice of the indirect mode of presenting speech over the direct mode includes, in fact, the modal aspect, and it is so in both languages, conveying the speaker’s attitude towards what is being talked about. This is so also in the above example, where we can not use the indicative perfect instead of the quotative mood, unless there would be a change in the expression of the speaker’s attitude.

The past participles that express the indirect mode of presenting speech are common in a large number of languages both in Europe and Asia. Therefore, it is highly justified to include this phenomenon among the Eurasian isoglosses (Haarmann 1970: 85) although we cannot observe this phenomenon in Russian. It would be too one-sided to limit ourselves by discussing only the common features that are shared by Balto-Finnic and Baltic and not to pay any attention to the existing analogies in more distant cognate languages and in those languages that have not had any direct contacts with the Balto-Finnic languages (e.g. Turkic). Compound past forms express the indirect mode of presenting speech in Cheremis (Mari), Votyak (Udmurt), Ziryian (Komi), Vogul (Mansi), Permic and Samoyed languages and also in Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Tuva, and other languages (see Grünthal 1941, Tauli 1966, Haarmann 1970, Ambrazas 1990, Künnap 1992, 1994, etc). Thus, the past-tense forms and the past participles, in particular, often add the modal aspect, i.e. doubting in the truthfulness of the message. This phenomenon is not characteristic only of some small geographic areal or only some cognate



languages. It is a typological phenomenon that has much broader implications.

At the same time the quotative mood in the Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages has some features that are typologically rather rare – namely, the uniting of narrativity and doubting the reality is not a widespread phenomenon at all, it would rather be a peculiarity of the eastern Baltic areal (Litvinov 1985).

The underlying structural basis of the quotative mood of both the Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages is the use of participles as the predicate. According to Ikola and Kettunen, it is likely that the use of only the participle may have originated from the omission of the copula from the compound past tenses (Ikola 1953: 55). On the other hand, one cannot rule out the possibility that from the very beginning the participle could have occurred in the sentence structure in the function of the predicate without a copulative verb (Grünthal 1941: 26–262).

## 5. Conclusions

Both in Estonian and Lithuanian the quotative mood is structurally based on the use of participles in the position of the predicate, which is actually a very ancient phenomenon. If we add here the circumstance that in both languages one can observe the tendency to the modal interpretation of participles, then there exist both morphosyntactic and semantic prerequisites for the oppositional development of the corresponding category.

However, the problem lies in determining the direction of influence. In principle, there are four possibilities. The morphological opposition between the direct and indirect modes of presenting speech has developed:

- 1) in Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages independently and in isolation;
- 2) first in Balto-Finnic languages and then spread by means of contacts into Baltic languages;
- 3) first in Baltic languages and then spread by means of contacts into Balto-Finnic languages;

4) as an areal isogloss in Balto-Finnic and Baltic languages, i.e., it has originated as a result of co-influence.

All the four variants are theoretically fully possible either in pure form or with variations.

1) its advantage is that it is a typological phenomenon that unites many languages although the formation of a paradigm that deserves the status of a mood can be found only in a small areal.

2) this theory is backed by the recent trend in Uralic studies and the new trends in explaining language affinity and the origin of languages and peoples. It enables us more than before and more efficiently to look for the Finno-Ugrian (Balto-Finnic) substratum in Indo-European languages (see also Wiik 1996, Künnap 1997).

3) this theory proceeds from the traditional theoretical premise. In that case the description of the direction of syntactic loans and common morphosyntactic features proceeds from the basic claim that Balto-Finnic languages have a considerable amount of Indo-European substratum, and that influences from the other direction have been minimal (see e.g. Suhonen 1990).

4) from the point of view of areal linguistics, it is an important contribution to the study of the existing shared morphosyntactic features. Such an approach emphasizes the role of co-influences in the development of isoglosses in the structure of geographically close languages (Raukko-Östman 1995).

It is evident that at the moment one cannot support only one possible direction of development. First and foremost, it is a typological phenomenon in the development of which language contacts have played an important role. The use of participles in the position of the quotative (with a copula or without it) is definitely a phenomenon, where we can speak about the fossilizing influence of the neighboring languages: the large number of participles that is characteristic of Balto-Finnic languages is a characteristic feature of Baltic languages as well. The similarity in the functions and structure of the quotative is not an exceptional isogloss in the Baltic Sea areal, but one can definitely draw some parallels with the formation of some other morphosyntactic categories as well (Klaas 1996).

## ABBREVIATIONS

### Languages

E	Estonian
La	Latvian
Li	Lithuanian
Liv	Livonian

### Number

sg	singular
pl	Plural

### Person

1,2,3	These appear in finite verb forms
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### Case

ACC	Accusative
EL	Elative
GEN	Genitive
ILL	illative
NOM	nominative

### verb form

fptc	future participle
ipptc	Iterative past participle
neg	Negation verb
pass	Passive
pptc	past participle
ptc	present participle
q	quotative

### Other

F	Feminine
M	masculine

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## KAUDNE KÕNEVIIS LÄÄNEMERE AREAALIS

### Birute Klaas

Käesolevas artiklis kõrvutatakse eesti ja leedu keele kaudse kõneviisi funktsioone ja morfosüntaktilisi tunnuseid, aga ka ajaloolist arengut. Artikli ülesandeks on osutada eesti ja leedu keele vahelistele sarnasustele selles valdkonnas. Et tegemist on mõlema keele spetsialistide seas palju vaidlusi põhjustanud grammatilise kategooriaga, leiab käsitlemist ka kvotatiivi kui iseseisva kõneviisi staatus.

Erinevate morfosüntaktiliste vormide kasutamine otsese ja kaudse teatamislaadi väljendamiseks on ühelt poolt tüpoloogiline nähtus, mis hõlmab paljusid Euroopa ja Aasia keeli. Samas on aga kogu paradigmat läbiv opositsioon tegevuse tunnetuse otsese ja kaudse viisi vahel Läänemere areaalis paiknevaid keeli (eesti, liivi, läti, suurem osa leedu murretest) iseloomustav nähtus.

Nii eesti kui ka leedu keele kvotatiivil puuduvad sellised morfoloogilised tunnused, mis oleksid ainult selles kõneviisis kasutusel. Mõlemaid keeli ühendavaks vormiliseks tunnusjooneks on partitsiipide kasutamine kaudses kõneviisis. Kui leedu keeles on võimalik vaid partitsiipidega väljendatud kaudne kõneviis, siis eesti keeles on sellele lisaks võimalik kvotatiivi ka infinitiivselt vormistada, kuigi väga piiratud ulatuses ja põhiliselt murdekeeles. Eesti kvotatiivis esineb ka sünteetilisi vorme (*nad tulnuvat*), mida võib analüütiliste kõrval (*nad olevat tulnud*) kasutada, kuid leedu keeles sellist sünteetilist kaudset kõneviisi moodustada ei saa.

Leedu keele ajasüsteem on eesti keelega võrreldes mitmekesisem ja see leiab väljenduse ka kaudses kõneviisis, kus lisaks preesensile ja preteeritumile on kasutusel ka iteratiivne (korduva tegevuse) preteeritum ja futuurum. Leedu keeles on liitaegade ja liitaegade süsteem üksüheses vastavuses, st igal lihtaja vormil on olemas ka sellele vastav liitaja vorm. Kui eesti keeles on liitaegade ajaline kaheplaanilisus sisuliselt mitteoluline, siis leedu keeles on kvotatiivi liitaegade kaheplaanilisus säilinud ja tegemist on ajalisel vahendatud tegevusega.

Järgnevalt on esitatud leedu keele kvotatiivi vormid erinevates aegades, nendele vastav kvotatiivi vorm eesti keeles ja grammatiline tõlge. Passiivi

vormidest esimene on preesensi partitsiibiga ja teine preteeritumi partitsiibiga moodustatud.

Aeg	lihtvorm		liitvorm	
	aktiiv	aktiiv	passiiv	passiiv
preesens	<i>metq̄s</i>	<i>esq̄s metq̄s</i>	<i>esq̄s</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>esq̄s mestas</i>
	<i>viskavat</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>viskamas</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>visatav</i>	<i>olevat</i> <i>visatud</i>
	* <i>viskav</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visanud</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visatav</i>	* <i>olev</i> <i>visatud</i>
preteeri- tum	<i>metq̄s</i>	<i>buvq̄s metq̄s</i>	<i>buvq̄s</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>buvq̄s</i> <i>mestas</i>
	( <i>olevat</i> )	<i>olnud</i>	<i>olnud</i>	<i>olnud</i>
	<i>visanud</i>	<i>visanud</i>	<i>visatav</i>	<i>visatud</i>
iteratiivne preteeri- tum	<i>mesdavq̄s</i>	<i>būdavq̄s</i> <i>metq̄s</i>	<i>būdavq̄s</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>būdavq̄s</i> <i>mestas</i>
	<i>olevat</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> )	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> )	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> )	<i>olnud</i> ( <i>pidevalt</i> )
	<i>visanud</i>	<i>visanud</i>	<i>visatav</i>	<i>visatud</i>
futuurum	<i>mesiq̄s</i>	<i>būsiq̄s metq̄s</i>	<i>būsiq̄s</i> <i>metamas</i>	<i>būsiq̄s</i> <i>mestas</i>
	<i>hakkavat</i>	<i>olevat</i>	<i>olevat</i>	<i>olevat</i>
	<i>viskama</i>	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>viskamas</i>	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatav</i>	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatud</i>
	* <i>viskav</i>	* <i>olev</i>	* <i>olev</i>	* <i>olev</i>
	( <i>tulevikus</i> )	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visanud</i>	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatav</i>	( <i>tulevikus</i> ) <i>visatud</i>

Kvotatiivi funktsioonides võib täheldada ka suurt sarnasust eesti ja leedu keele vahel. Mõlemas keeles on esindatud kvotatiivi põhifunktsioonid:

1) teate vahendatuse väljendamine;

2) kõneleja või teate allika kahtluste väljendamine tegevussituatsiooni reaalsuse kohta.

Sellele lisaks saab leedu keeles kaudse kõneviisiga edasi anda ka sündmuse ootuspärasust või ootamatust.

Nii läänemeresoome kui ka balti keelte kaudse kõneviisi struktuuriliseks aluseks on partitsiipide kasutamine predikaadina. Selline kasutusviis võib olla tekkinud mineviku liitaegadest abiverbi äräjätmise tulemusel (Ikola 1953:

55), kuid ei saa ka välistada võimalust, et lausestruktuuris võis partitsiip predikaadi rollis olla kohe ka ilma abiverbita (Grünthal 1941: 26–262).

Problemaatiline on küsimus, kas selline kasutusviis tekkis läänemeresoome ja balti keeltes isoleeritult või kontaktide tulemusel.

Kuna mineviku partitsiibi kasutamist indirektaalse teatamislaadina on peetud Euraasia keeli iseloomustavaks isoglossiks (Grünthal 1941, Tauli 1966, Haarmann 1970, Ambrazas 1990, Künnap 1992, 1994 jne), on võimalik, et morfoloogiline opositsioon otsese ja kaudse teatamislaadi vahel kujunes tüpoloogilise nähtusena balti ja läänemeresoome keeltes iseseisvalt. Samas võib kõneviisi staatust vääriva paradigma moodustumist näha vaid kitsas areaalis, mis ühendab läänemeresoome ja balti keeli. Tõenäoliselt on ka keelekontaktidel olnud oluline osa kanda, mille tulemusel balti ja läänemeresoome keelte kaudsel kõneviisil on selliseid tunnuseid, mis on tüpoloogiliselt üsna haruldased, näteks narratiivsuse ja tegevussituatsiooni reaalsuses kahtlemise ühendamine (Litvinov 1985).

Partitsiipide kasutamine (abiverbiga või ilma) kvotatiivi positsioonis on ilmselt nähtus, mille puhul võiksime ehk rääkida naaberkeelte konserveerivast mõjust: läänemeresoome keeltele iseloomulik partitsiipide rohkus on ka balti keeli iseloomustav seik.

Sarnasus kvotatiivi funktsioonides ja struktuuris ei ole erandlik isogloss Läänemere areaalis, vaid siin võib kindlasti paralleele tõmmata ka teiste morfosüntaktiliste kategooriate formeerumisega (Klaas 1996).

# ON THE USE OF THE ESTONIAN PAST TENSE FORMS THROUGH THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. On Estonian past tenses

The main substance of the Estonian tense system<sup>2</sup> is made up by the present tense and three past tenses – the (simple) past (traditionally called imperfect), the perfect and the past perfect tense or pluperfect. Among them the present tense and the past have simple forms, the perfect and pluperfect have analytical forms which consist of the auxiliary *olema* ‘to be’ in the present tense or past, respectively, and of the perfect participle. For example, the tense forms of the verb *otsima* ‘to look for’ in the 1P sg and 3P sg are as follows.

### (1) the present:

*ma otsi-n* ‘I look for, I am looking for’, *ta otsi-b* ‘he/she looks for, he/she is looking for’

the past:

*ma otsi-si-n* ‘I looked for, I was looking for’, *ta otsi-s* ‘he/she looked for, he/she was looking for’

the perfect:

*ma ole-n otsi-nud* ‘I have looked for, I have been looking for’, *ta on otsi-nud* ‘he/she has looked for, he/she has been looking for’

the pluperfect:

*ma oli-n otsi-nud* ‘I had looked for, I had been looking for’, *ta oli-i otsi-nud* ‘he/she had looking for, he/she had been looking for’

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<sup>2</sup> See more closely about the Estonian temporal system EKG I: 32-33, II: 74-79; Metslang and Tommola 1995.



The negative tense forms are similar in all the persons (2).

- (2) the present: *ei otsi* ‘(I, you, he, she, we, they) do not look for’  
 the past: *ei otsi-nud* ‘(I etc) did not look for’  
 the perfect: *ei ole otsi-nud* ‘(I etc) have not looked for’  
 the pluperfect: *ei ol-nud otsi-nud* ‘(I etc) had not looked for’

The active **voice** is contrasted to a voice (or voices) of variegated semantic and form-related distinctive features, traditionally known as impersonal but different authors have used the terms *passive*, *suppressive*, *ambipersonal* (see EKG II: 30-31, II: 72-74; Tommola 1993, Pihlak 1993). Without entering deeply into these problems we will stand by the term *passive* and give an example about the tense forms of this voice (3).

- (3) the present tense: *otsi-takse*, *ei otsi-ta* ‘is looked for, is not looked for’  
 the past: *otsi-ti*, *ei otsi-tud* ‘was looked for, was not looked for’  
 the perfect: *on otsi-tud*, *ei ole otsi-tud* ‘has been looked for, has not been looked for’  
 the pluperfect: *oli otsi-tud*, *ei ol-nud otsi-tud* ‘had been looked for, had not been looked for’

All mentioned tense forms carry fairly prototypical basic meanings which are well-known in many languages (see e.g. Dahl 1985, Reichenbach 1949). **The (simple) past** is a definite past tense: a past event is introduced, keeping the definite event time in mind (4).

- (4) *Otsisin*            *täna hommikul*    *kaua*    *oma prille*,  
 look-for:PST    today morning    long    my glasses:PRTV  
*aga ei leidnudki.*  
 but not find:PPART:CL  
 ‘I was looking for my glasses this morning but couldn’t find them.’

**The perfect** is an indefinite past tense form: an event is introduced from the point of view of the moment of speech (or some other time marked by the present tense) as something that occurred

earlier, the event time remains in the background in respect of the present tense reference point (5).

- (5) **Olen** oma prille kaua **otsinud**,  
 be:PRS my glasses : PRTV long look-for:PPART  
 aga neid ei ole kusagil.  
 but they: PRTV not be anywhere  
 'I have been looking long for my glasses but they are nowhere.'

The **pluperfect** is used both as an indefinite (6) or definite (7) past tense form to introduce an action preceding a past reference point.

- (6) **Olin** vihane. **Olin** oma prille kaua  
 be:PST angry be:PST my glasses : PRTV long  
**otsinud**, aga neid ei **olnud** kusagil.  
 look-for:PPART but they:PRTV not be:PPART anywhere

'I was angry. I had looked/ had been looking long for my glasses but they were nowhere.'

- (7) **Vend** astus katki mu prillid, mis  
 brother crush:PST my glasses:NOM that  
 ma hetk tagasi **olin** maha **pillanud**.  
 I a moment ago be:PST down drop:PPART  
 'Brother crushed my glassed underfoot, I had dropped them a moment ago.'

In addition to this, the pluperfect is often used in the reported speech in a vague past tense meaning.

- (8) **Naabrinaine** rääkis, et kui ta koju  
 neighbour's-wife tell:PST that when he/she home  
**jõudis**, **oli** varas parasjagu  
 get:PST be:PST thief just  
**voodilinade vahelt** raha **otsinud**.  
 from between the bed sheets money look-for:PPART  
 'The neighbour's wife said that when she had got home the thief had been looking for money from between the bed sheets.'

For the reported speech there is a special **mood** in Estonian, **quotative** which has two tense forms in the literary language, the present and the perfect (9), (10). The last one is a general past tense used for all cases of the past time reference and is named *preterite* in EKG I and II.

- (9) the present tense: *otsivat / ei otsivat* 'is said to look for / is said not to look for'  
 the perfect: *olevat otsinud / ei olevat otsinud* is said to have looked for / is said not to have looked for'

- (10) Kui naabrinaine koju jõudis,  
 when neighbour's wife home get:PST  
**olevat** varas parasjagu voodilinade vahelt  
 be:QUOT:PRS thief just from between bed sheets  
 raha **otsinud**.  
 money look-for:PPART  
 'When the neighbour's wife got home, the thief was said to have been looking for money from between bed sheets'

Besides this, in a freer usage in the function of quotative finite forms we find infinite forms.<sup>3</sup> The *da*-infinitive (*otsida* 'to look for') as the present tense form, the past participle (*otsinud* 'to have looked for') as the past (11).

- (11) Kui naabrinaine koju jõudis, **otsinud**  
 when neighbour's wife home get:PST look:for:PPART  
 varas parasjagu voodilinade vahelt. raha  
 thief just from between bed sheets money  
 'When the neighbour's wife got home, the thief was looking for money from between bed sheets.'

The other moods besides the indicative and quotative in Estonian are the conditional and imperative, however, these will not be viewed in this paper. Likewise, the present tense form will be left

<sup>3</sup> The special mood for reporting probably formed according to the German example in the 16–18th c. and had different forms in dialects (Kask 1985). Only one of them, the *vat*-form, takes the norm of literary language, the others remaining dialectal and vernacular.

out although it is widely used: in addition to an actual present tense form and various general and indefinite temporal meanings the present tense is also used when referring to the future since a regular grammatical future is lacking in Estonian.

Among past tenses, the simple past is the most common, in general use and without many restrictions. As in other languages, the past is used in typically narrative successive transmission of events, e.g. (12).<sup>4</sup>

- (12) Naabrinaine tuli koju, nägi  
 neighbour's wife come:PST home see:PST  
 varast ja kutsus politsei.  
 thief:PRTV and call:PST police:GEN  
 'The neighbour's wife came home, saw the thief and called the police.'

**The perfect** is the most interesting past tense form, connecting the present and past through its two-fold nature. Four main types of use of the perfect tense can be distinguished (Comrie 1976: 56-61).<sup>5</sup>

**1. The perfect of result** introduces the present state as a result of a past event (13).

- (13) Paistab, et on käinud vargad:  
 look:PRS that be:PRS go:PPART thieves  
 tuba on segamini, asjad on  
 room be:PRS in-a-mess things:NOM be:PRS  
 kappidest välja loobitud.  
 copboards:ELAT out throw:PASS:PPART  
 'It looks as if the thieves have been here: the room is in a mess, the things thrown out of the cupboards.'

Typically, the perfect of result is used in the context of the present tense, in the paraphrase to a perfect clause the predicate may be expressed by a static verb in the present tense form (e.g. *He has*

<sup>4</sup> On the use of tense and aspect in a narrative text see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 1989, Fleischmann 1991, Hopper 1979.

<sup>5</sup> See more closely about the Estonian perfect tense Ustal 1981.

arrived – *He is here; He has fallen asleep – He is sleeping / sleeps*).

**2. The experiential perfect** summarises the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event during the previous period of time from the point of view of the moment of speech (14).

- (14) Ta        on        käinud        mitmes ülikoolis.  
 he/she be:PRS go:PPART several universities : INESS  
 'He has attended several universities.'

The experiential perfect can easily be associated both with the present context (and thus the use of the present tense) and with specifying past events in the form of the past (15).

- (15) Ta        on        tark inimene, kes        on        käinud  
 he/she be:PRS wise man who be:PRS go:PPART  
 mitmes ülikoolis.        Pärast keskkooli  
 several universities : INESS after secondary school  
 õppis        ta        Tehnikaülikoolis,  
 study:PST he/she Technical University : INESS  
 hiljem aga lõpetas        Tartu Ülikooli  
 later but graduate:PST Tartu University : GEN  
 ajakirjanikuna  
 journalist:ESS  
 'He is a wise man who has attended several universities. After secondary school he studied at the Technical University, later he graduated from Tartu University as a journalist.'

**3. The perfect of persistent situation** expresses a situation which started in the past and continues at the moment of speech (16). The perfect of persistent situation occurs typically in the context of the present tense.

- (16) Ma        olen        elanud        siin        kümme aastat        ja  
 I        be:PRS live:PPART here        ten years        and  
 tunnen        kõiki elanikke.  
 know:PRS all inhabitants : PRTV  
 'I have been living here for ten years and I know all the inhabitants.'

Since it is a situation which takes place both in the past and in the present, the choice of the tense forms varies in different languages: English, too, uses the perfect, German and Russian, on the other hand, use the present tense (17), (18) (Comrie 1976: 60). Therefore it is no wonder that to the dismay of Estonian purists the use of the present tense can be found in Estonian, too, cf (19) and (20).

(17) Ich **warte** schon drei Tage

(18) Ja **zdu** uze tri dnja

(19) Ma **olen oodanud** juba kolm päeva  
 I be:PRS wait:PPART already three days : NOM  
 'I have been waiting for three days already.'

(20)

a. Ma **ootan** juba kolm päeva  
 I wait:PRS already three days : NOM  
 'I have been waiting for three days already.'

b. Ma **ootan** juba kolmandat päeva  
 I wait:PRS already third day : PRTV  
 'It's the third day already that I am waiting.'

**4. The perfect of recent past or the perfect of hot news.** It is used to report a recent event; the use of the perfect emphasises the actuality of the event or its significance from the point of view of the time of speaking (21). Equally, the past (22) can also be used although it does not render the novelty of the event prominent. The perfect of hot news is used less in Estonian than e.g. in Finnish (Metslang and Tommola 1996: 309).

(21) Mari **on** maailmarekordi **püstitanud!**  
 Mari be:PRS world-record:GEN set:PPART  
 'Mari has set a world record!'

(22) Mari **püstitas** maailmarekordi!  
 Mari set:PST world-record:GEN  
 'Mari set a world record!'

The perfect of hot news may be used in the text on the analogy of an indefinite article in an introductory sentence. The further description of events, e.g. (23) uses already the definite, simple past tense.

- (23) Ta **edestas** oma peamisi konkurente  
 he/she outstrip:PST one's main rivals : PRTV  
 ligi kahe minutiga.  
 by about two minutes  
 'She outstripped her main rivals by about two minutes.'

In some languages (e.g. German, French) this perfect type brings about a noticeable shift in meaning in the course of which the present background disappears from the meaning of the perfect and the perfect begins to express the meaning of the past.

Besides these four functions the **quotative** (24) usage can be observed in Estonian.

- (24) Vend ütles, et mina olevat /  
 brother say:PST that I be:QUOT:PRS  
**olen** ise oma prillid katki  
 be:PRS oneself one's glasses : NOM broken  
**astunud.**  
 tread:PPART  
 'Brother said that I myself had crushed my glasses underfoot./  
 I was said to have crushed my glasses underfoot myself by my  
 brother.'

In actual use different types of the perfect may sometimes coincide.

Analogically, basic ways of use can be found in case of the pluperfect whose reference point is in the past. The pluperfect of result introduces a state of the past as a result (25) of an earlier event, the experiential pluperfect summarises something that preceded a past time (26). The quotative use of the pluperfect is quite common (8).

- (25) Paistis, et **olid** **käinud** vargad:  
 seem:PST that be:PST go:PPART thieves  
 tuba oli segamini, asjad  
 room:NOM be:PST in-a-mess things:NOM  
**olid** kappidest välja **loobitud.**  
 be:PST cupboards:ELAT out throw:PASS:PPART  
 'The thieves seemed to have been here: the room was in a  
 mess, the things had been thrown out of the cupboards.'

- (26) Ta oli tark inimene,  
 he/she be:PST wise man  
 kes oli käinud mitmes ülikoolis.  
 who be:PST go:PPART several universities : INESS  
 'He was a wise man who had attended several universities.'
- (8) Naabrinaine rääkis, et kui ta koju jõudis, oli varas parasjagu  
 voodilinade vahelt raha otsinud.  
 'The neighbour's wife said that when she got home, the thief  
 had been looking for money from between bed sheets.'

The perfect of recent past can be placed in a par with the use of the pluperfect as the past in the past. Both of them focus first of all on the event preceding the reference moment, not on the situation of the time of reference owing to which these uses can be called eventual. While the use of the perfect of hot news is relatively delimited then the definite pluperfect (7) is a good instrument for expressing the temporal priority of the event.

- (7) Vend astus katki mu prillid, mis  
 brother crush:PST my glasses:NOM that  
 ma hetk tagasi olin maha pillanud.  
 I a moment ago be:PST down drop:PPART  
 'Brother crushed my glassed underfoot, I had dropped them a  
 moment ago.'

*Consecutio temporum*, known as a consistent sequence of tenses from Latin grammar is not at all a fixed ruled in Estonian (see EKG II:293, 301). It is completely lacking in the reported speech; the reported speech retains the tense form of the text reported from, cf (27) and (28).

- (27) Poiss ütles: "Puu langeb."  
 boy say:PST tree fall:PRS  
 'The boy said, "The tree is falling."'
- (28) Poiss ütles, et puu langeb / langevat.  
 boy say:PST that tree fall:PRS fall:QUOT:PRS  
 'The boy said the tree was falling. / The tree was said to be falling.'



In Finnish, however, it is possible to retain the primary tense orientation (29) as well as its change (30) in accordance with *consecutio temporum* (Wiik 1976: 155-161, Yli-Vakkuri 1994).

(29) Poika sanoi, että puu kaatuu.  
 boy say:PST that tree fall:PRS  
 'The boy said the tree was falling.'

(30) Poika sanoi, että puu kaatui.  
 boy say:PST that tree fall:PST  
 'The boy said the tree was falling.'

The most common changes under the influence of *consecutio temporum* consist in replacing the present tense form by the past and the past by a compound tense form. If these changes do not take place, the present tense or simple past forms remain.

Thus all three Estonian past tenses are, on the one hand, instruments for referring to a past event. On the other hand, the existence of several past tense forms is the richness of grammar which allows to introduce past events from various points of reference and temporal relationships, thus to give additional information which a language with only one past tense form (like Russian) can do using other means (first of all, lexical). The rules of the use of different past tense forms are not rigid, it mostly depends on the speaker's choices, the language usage and recommendations of the language care.<sup>6</sup> They all could have been influenced by several extra-linguistic factors, such as language contacts, the orientation of language regulation, the role of the language in question in the society etc. In the following we are going to have a glimpse on the use of the past tenses of literary Estonian during four periods throughout the last hundred years: in the 1890s, 1930s, 1980s and 1990s. All these periods belong to the era of the Estonian national literary language when native-speaking Estonians had become the reformers and users of literary Estonian, hitherto created and used by the German upper stratum of the society here. At the same time these periods vigorously

<sup>6</sup> On the regularities of the use of past tense forms see Vitsur 1966, Yli-Vakkuri 1994, EKG II.

differ by their socio-linguistic background and one could suppose that it is reflected also in the choice of grammatical means to be used.

## **2. On the Items of the History of Literary Estonian Under Observation**

**1. The 1890s** belong to the pre-standardisation period (cf Thomas 1991: 116). Based on the hitherto foreign-influenced literary language, in the second half of the 19th century our national literary language emerged and started being standardised (Kask 1970: 21). Literary Estonian was created and developed by German intellectuals during earlier centuries, in the second half of the 19th century Estonians themselves took over although they had got their education in the context of the German language and culture (cf Aitchinson 1993). (The ruling Russian power cannot much influence either culture or language.) The German influence on literary Estonian, aspiring to becoming genuinely Estonian, is thus manifested both through objectively existing tradition and the subjective factor – the cultural and educational background of the reformers of the literary language, their knowledge about the language and the like (cf Daneš 1988: 1510). The main attention is paid to the formation of the word stock, the standardisation of morphology and spelling, syntax is not taken much notice of at first and is often following the German pattern. It was also the beginning of the pedantic attitude to the literary language standard which has lasted to date (Kasik 1997).

**2. The 1930s** is the final decade of the period of standardisation of literary Estonian. A well-regulated literary language has come into being, it is in accordance with all needs of an independent state and includes all the respective registers. Possibilities for interrelationships with European countries have opened up, an attempt is made to withdraw from German influences. Close contacts have developed with the neighbouring country Finland where a related language is spoken. The completing of the standardisation period was, as was the case with numerous other literary languages (Thomas 1991: 118), character-

rised by purism, on the one hand (directed first of all against German influences) and the divergence of the literary and colloquial languages, on the other. "One's own", genuine features were searched for in folk speech, dialects, Finnish and other Balto-Finnic related languages. Finnish influences were upheld by the fact that our language reformer Johannes Aavik and several other persons of consequence had been educated in Finland. Concerning the tense forms of the verb, the Russian-influenced "imperfect-disease" (the overuse of the simple past tense) is fought against and the systematic use of all past tense forms as the richness of a language is fought for (Aavik 1936: 146-147).

**3. The 1980s** is the last decade of the Soviet power which was started in 1940. Literary Estonian has entered the post-standardisation period. The literary language is used and recognized among the whole Estonian nation, it is associated with the general national colloquial common Estonian which differs from the literary language considerably less than is the case with several other languages (Rätsep 1981). The main contact language is Russian whose strong pressure is accompanied with a low prestige of that language. Purist attitudes spring up as a reaction of protection against Russian influences. The use of literary Estonian, taking care of it and its development are viewed as a means for the preservation of our national identity. During the whole Soviet period the language care has reminded us of abundant possibilities of the use of Estonian compound tenses which tended to become neglected under the Russian influence (Veski 1958: 220-221; Kindlam 1976: 76-82).

**4. The 1990s** involve the end of the Soviet period and the restoration of Estonian independence, great changes in the society, democratisation. Contacts with Russian have become minimal, however, contacts with Finnish, English and other languages have become closer, international and cosmopolitan attitudes have gained ground. At the beginning of the decade purist attitudes intensify against Russian (e.g. Hint 1990), the influences of other contact languages are also fought against.<sup>7</sup> The attitudes towards

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<sup>7</sup> It is generally typical of the small languages to worry about the danger of the elements of foreign grammars to the identity of their language (cf Daneš 1988) but it seems exaggerated in this case. On the one hand, in the

the use of different registers and towards the norms of the of the literary language have become more liberal. A new, polylogical linguistic situation is forming (Hennoste 1997).

### 3. On Verb Forms of Contact Languages

Hence, the role of two external factors, 1) language contacts and 2) the standardisation of the literary language is different concerning the periods under consideration. The most significant features of the verb forms of the main influential languages in this context are as follows.

**German** has an abundant, mostly analytical system of forms. It has the same past tenses as Estonian, several inactive voices (*man*-impersonal, the passive with the auxiliaries *werden* and *sein*), two conjunctives which roughly correspond to Estonian conditional and quotative. Not only the past tense, but also the perfect is often used in the narrative; *consecutio temporum* is more consistent but, e.g. in indirect speech the verb forms remain unchanged whereas the conjunctive is used instead of the indicative, e.g. (31) (Gründzüge 1984: 530).

(31) Er erzählte, daß ihm die Mummel einen Finger *weggehext*  
*habe*

**Russian** has only one past tense form, the simple past. In the passive voice there is a perfect, too, used in the meaning of the past. e.g. (32). In Russian, the present tense corresponds to the perfect of persistent situation (33).

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development of languages, Estonian included, a particular role is always played by language contacts (Rätsep 1989; Wiik 1994). On the other hand, Estonian has been able to assimilate foreign influences with its system and there is no trace about *language death*, and, consequently, about its replacement by some other language, i.e. about prophetic phenomena as, for instance, the loss of the productivity of the genuine word-formation means, the loss of differences of registers, monostylism, a major free variation of language means, code-switching even within the same sentence, the loss of subordinate clauses etc (Dressler 1996).

- (32) *Étot dom byl postroen 10 let nazad*  
 this house be:PST build:PASS:PPART ten years ago  
 'The house was built ten years ago.'
- (33) *Ja zdu uze tri dnja*  
 I wait:PRS alraedy three days  
 'I have been waiting for three days already.'

**Finnish** has an abundant, mostly agglutinative grammar. The past tenses are the same (originating from the common Balto-Finnic history) as in case of Estonian. Their systematic use developed in the literary language under the influence of Swedish (Ikola 1960). (The same can be supposed in Estonian owing to the German influence.) In Swedish a sporadic use of the perfect like the past can be observed just as in German (Saluäär 1972); the same tendency can be found in Finnish, too, in contrast with Estonian. In Finnish we do not find the quotative among the moods. A common feature with Swedish is the use of the perfect in the function of the quotative (Metslang 1994: 91, 248). *Consecutio temporum* is more consistent in Swedish than in German (Ek 1986: 11). On the other hand, it occurs somewhat more in Finnish than in Estonian (see above). Consequently: the differences between Estonian and Finnish can be explained by the similarities with the long-term contact language of either, with German and Swedish, respectively.

#### 4. The material of analysis

I have made use of the materials from the corpuses of the Chair of the Estonian language of Tartu University and subjected them to an analysis: the corpus of the modern literary language, the corpuses of the literary language of the 1890s and the 1930s. The materials available enable to observe press language and the language of fiction. I selected c. 10,000 words of the text on both registers from each period as a sample, totally 70,374 words (Table 1). The materials of press language contain the texts of items of news, the fiction materials come from prose texts by a variety of authors. I selected such texts (*resp.* excerpts of texts) in which the past time reference as well as past tense forms are

dominating while the non-past forms are used minimally both in the context and the form. By their nature, the texts are first of all narratives, also descriptive to a certain extent, containing very few quotations and references which would change the deictic orientation. Unfortunately, there was no proper material on the language of fiction for the 1990s. The only material known, found in the corpus SCLOMB of Turku University is V Luik's novel "The Beauty of History", however, written in *praesens historicum* and as such, unsuitable for our purpose as a research object.

Table 1.

**The material of analysis**

Register	The 1890s	The 1930s	The 1980s	The 1990s
Press language	10,101 words 9 files	10,004 words 14 files	10,032 words 12 files	10,004 words 1 file
Fiction language	10,008 words 5 files	10,053 words 5 files	10,172 words 5 files	-

In these texts of different periods I will observe the use of the past tense forms of the indicative and quotative as a predicate of a sentence. Other moods are so much of a special function that they need a separate treatment. Besides the indicative it is necessary to observe the quotative for two reasons: 1) both of them can be used for a narrative, particularly in news items in which the news has been passed on by someone and so it is the question of the choice and custom if the reporting is marked or not, 2) at the earlier period the past participle is often used as a predicate in the affirmative and so it can be interpreted both as an indicative or quotative (see below), therefore it is purposeful to keep it under observation in all its uses. When needed, besides the three past tenses we will also observe other verb forms which refer to the past time. Secondly, I am also going to observe the functions of compound tenses in the texts of various periods. The aforementioned functions become distinctive only in the active voice, the passive compound forms occur mostly together with the resultative meaning (cf Comrie 1981), owing to which they will be

left out of the observation. I will make an attempt to find out if the frequencies based on the samples of various forms and functions refer to associations with socio-linguistic factors of these different periods.

## 5. The 1890s

### 5.1. The occurrence of the past tense forms

The frequencies of occurrence of the past tense forms and other constructions in the sample are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2.

**The past tense forms of the active and passive voice in press language of the 1890s (the sample size is 10,101 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	329	82	411
The perfect	127	33	160
The pluperfect	21	1	22
<i>Saama</i> + <i>tud</i> -participle	14	-	14
Total	491	116	607
A separate perfect participle	35		35
Total			642

*Praesens historicum* 20

Table 3.

**The past tense forms of the active and passive voice in the language of fiction of the 1890s (the sample size is 10.008 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	719	10	729
The perfect	38	4	42
The pluperfect	62	-	62
<i>Saama</i> + <i>tud</i> -participle	5	-	5
Total	824	14	838
A separate perfect participle	29		29
Total			867

The usage of the pre-standardisation period of the literary language is characterised by an abundant choice of analytical forms which may refer to the pattern of German grammar. Such an abundant and rich analytical grammar does not occur in the later periods and sometimes a question arises if the writer has really meant to express all possible nuances of grammatical meaning by various constructions or just trying to follow the tradition. This way the perfect forms are in use in the functions of other past tenses. The system of forms is quite obscure in places, e.g. in the function of the quotative (34), (36), (37), (35) the following forms are used.

The present:	<i>elavat, elada</i> 'is said to live'	<i>ei elavat</i> 'is said not to live'
The past:	<i>elanud</i> 'was said to live'	<i>ei ole / pole elanud</i> 'was said not to live'
The perfect:	<i>olevat elanud,</i> <i>olla elanud</i> <i>Ø elanud</i> 'has been said to live'	<i>ei olevat elanud</i> <i>ei olla / polla elanud</i> 'has been said not to live'
The pluperfect:	<i>olnud elanud</i> <i>Ø elanud</i> 'had been said to live'	-

On the other hand, the style value of the forms has not become discrete, the forms are used at random, only later they are discerned as either belonging to the usage of the literary language or folk speech.

(34) See leht põhjendab ülepea, et Pariisi ja Peterburi wahel diplomatilisest kokku leppimisest mitte kunagi juttu **polla olnud** ja et Wenemaa täie tegewuse priiuse ikka enesele **olla hoidnud**. val104.txt

'The paper gives reasons altogether that there **has never been** any talk about the diplomatic agreement between Paris and St.Petersburg and that Russia **has kept** the whole liberty to act for herself.'



- (35) Chicago kubernergi **kartnud** mässajaid ja **pole** nende vastu midagi **teinud**. epol06.txt  
 ‘The governor of Chicago **had been afraid** of the rebels and so **had taken** no measures against them.’
- (36) 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  
 ‘He said he **didn't remember** the Italian woman's letter **spoken** about by Delaroche-Bernet and in which the name of Dreyfus **had twice been mentioned**. He only **remembered** that Oberst Corbier **had warned** him against the woman and that the woman **had been** of a very romantic nature.’
- (37) Naatali inglased **olla wabatahtlikkudeks salkadeks ju kokku heitmas**. pos1003.txt  
 ‘The Natalian Englishmen **were said to have been forming** voluntary troops.’

This way the separate past participle is used as a predicate, it is a common feature of Estonian and Latvian (Muizniece 1997; cf Stolz 1991). In part of the cases the form is uniquely identifiable as the quotative past or a compound tense form with the elliptical auxiliary, these cases have also been taken into account there. A separate affirmative participle may remain quite obscure, e.g. *hoiatanud* ‘warned’, *olnud* ‘been’ in the example (36) – these cases (again an Estonian-Latvian common feature – Muizniece 1997) have been presented in the column of “a separate past participle”

The construction *saama* + past participle passive (*saab tehtud, sai tehtud* ‘will be done, was done’) corresponding in forms to the German passive *wird/wurde gemacht* is widely used. On the one hand, it is used in the meaning of the resultative passive (*Töö sai tehtud = Töö sai valmis* ‘the work was done = the work got ready’ (38) or only expressing an action like an impersonal (*Eile sai kaua*

tööd tehtud = *Eile tehti / tegime kaua tööd* ‘The work was done till late yesterday = Yesterday we worked till late’), e.g. (39).

(38) Ja imelik! Ka Kristjan Nõmmiku meelest **oli**, kui **saaks** suur puudus, mida ta kannatanud, tütarlapse ilmumisega **täidetud**. Ka tema südames **tuksus** rõõm elule, kui Miili **tuli**, ja **tärkas** kahjutundmus, kui Miili **läks**. Ta **ootas** teda ja ta **kartis** aega, mil ta jälle minema **pidi**. pro81.txt

‘And strange! Also Kristjan Nõmmik felt that the vast emptiness he had suffered from **had been filled** by the appearance of the girl. In his heart, too, the happiness for life **was pulsing** when Miili **came** and he **felt** sorry when Miili left. He **was waiting** for her and **feared** the time she **had** to go again.’

(39) Kui suur ja ruumikas koolimaja rahvast täis kogus ja kroonlühtrid auutuledes särasid, algas kohaline kooliõpetaja kell pool 4 jumala teenistuse, mida kohalise segakoori ilusad waimulikud laulud kaunistasid. Peale jumala teenistuse **said** weel mitmed waimulikud laulud **ette kantud**, mille peale waimustawalt Keisri laulu lauldi. vir102.txt

‘When the big and spacious schoolhouse was filled with people and the chandeliers were lit with glorious lights, at half past three the local schoolmaster started a sermon which was decorated with sacred songs by the local choir. After the sermon several more sacred songs **were performed** after which the Song for the Emperor was enthusiastically sung.’

The abundance of typically German analytical grammar in the text manifests itself in every possible way: besides verb constructions many auxiliaries are used (verbal particles, pre- and post-positions) just as in German but also Balto-Finnic analytical progressive construction and forms of compound tenses. In the language of fiction in which there is a lot of reference to past events, past tenses are used more than in press language – in particular, the simple past (26), but also the pluperfect. However, the press language is characterised by the continuance on several time levels, therefore there are relatively less simple past and more perfect tense forms. The fact that the reported speech is more

significant in press language, whereas the direct speech is more used in fiction does not bring about differences in the use of tenses, so far as the reported speech retains the tense of direct speech. The perfect (40) has very often been chosen in the news items of the period, 160 times in this sample, in the samples of more recent periods less than 100 times, though. Press language often marks the reference by the quotative as German does it by the conjunctive. The abundance of *praesens historicum* (41) in the sample is more of an occasional type, all the 20 cases come from one news item.

- (40) Müncheni ümbruses **on** 12 külas 200 talukohta kange pööristuule läbi **ära häwitatud**. Kahju on wäga suur. Kas ka inimesi **surma on saanud**, seda esiotsa weel ei tea. Asekuningas **on** õnnetumatele, kes oma waranduse kaotanud, 3000 marka **kinkinud**. Soldatist **on** häwituse paikadesse **saadetud** risusid ära koristama. epo103.txt

'In the vicinity of Munich in 12 villages 200 farmsteads **have been destroyed** by a strong whirlwind. Whether any people **have died** is not known yet. The Viceroy **has given** the unfortunate who have lost their property 3000 marks. The soldiers **have been sent** to the places of damage to clear away the trash.'

- (41) Eesti Kirjameeste Seltsi koosolek 6. mail. Liikmeid on arwata 20 kokku tulnud, wõeraid **on** rohkeste. Esimees hr Treffner **tuletab** tänasi päewa, mis K. K. Auujärjepärija sündimise päew **on**, kui rõõmu päewa koosolekule meelde, mille lõpuks keisri laulu **lauldakse**. val104.txt

'The meeting of the Society of Estonian Writers on 6 May. There are about 20 members present, numerous guests **have come**. The Chairman Mr. Treffner **reminds** of this day, which **is** the birthday of K.K.'s heir to the throne, to the audience as a day of glory at the end of it the Song for the Emperor **is sung**.

## 5.2. The functions of use of forms of compound tenses

Table 4.

**The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1890s)**

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	118	9
The pluperfect	16	5
Total	134	14

Table 5.

**The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1890s)**

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	35	3
The pluperfect	48	14
Total	83	17

The forms of compound tenses whose auxiliary is *olema* 'to be' are predominantly in the active voice. However, the forms of the passive can be found in other categories and forms: as resultative constructions, the past participle, forms of the quotative. The forms of compound tenses in the active voice are classified by their functions of use as follows.

Table 6.

**The types of uses of the compound tense forms in the active indicative (press language of the 1890s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	53	10	63
Experience	28	2	30
Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)	28	2	30
Persistent situation	3	-	3
Quotativity / narrativity	6	2	8
Total	118	16	134

Table 7

**The types of uses of the compound tense forms in the active indicative (the language of fiction of the 1890s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	12	16	28
Experience	15	11	26
Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)	7	21	28
Quotativity / narrativity	1	-	1
Total	35	48	83

The table summarises similar functions of the perfect and the pluperfect. Mainly the perfect of result is used (42), the pluperfect is substantially characterised by the use of the past in the past (43), expressing temporal relationships of events. The language of fiction is particularly fond of the latter.

(42) Nii kaugele **on** mu endine hea mees **jõudnud**. pro07.txt  
‘That far then **has** my former good husband **got**.’

(43) Artur jõudis poolhaigelt Napolisse, nii ruttu **oli** ta **reisinud**.  
pro89.txt  
‘Arthur got to Naples, half-sick, that fast **had** he **travelled**.’

Both of these tense forms have been used as a definite past tense in the literary language of this period by way of an equivalent to the past in case of the reported speech. As far as the perfect is concerned, its use is interwoven also with another typically German secondary usage in the meaning of the indicative past therefore the two uses of the perfect expressing past events without any relation to the present have a common term quotativity/narrativity (35), (44). The press can skilfully use the perfect of hot news (45). The experiential perfect and pluperfect, summarising the past have also gained ground, particularly in the negative form and particularly in the language of fiction (46), (47).

- (44) Benningsen on tubli ja üleüldiselt tuntud ning auustatud politikamees, mille pärast siis ka tema sünnipäewa pidu õige suureviisiline oli ja otse rahwuslist nägu kandis. Ligidalt ja kaugelt **on** wanaraugale südamlikkusid õnesoowi telegrammisid ja kirjasid **saadetud**, niisamati **on** ka wäga suur nende arw **olnud**, kes suusõnal temale õnne soowima tõtanud. epo106.txt  
 ‘Benningsen is an efficient and generally well-known and respected politician, therefore his birthday party turned out grand and had a truly national look. The old man **had received** congratulating telegrams and letters from far and near, equally, the number of those who had personally hurried to wish him all the happiness **had been** very big.’
- (45) Grazis **on** 29. juunil hirmus torm **mässanud** epo103.txt  
 ‘On 29 June in Graz a dreadful storm **had raged**.’
- (46) Nii sügawalt **ei ole** ma weel kellegiga oma perekonna-asjade üle **kõnelenud**, **ei** ka kedagi **kuulnud** omadest kõnelewat, kui teid! pro89.txt  
 ‘So deeply **have** I **never talked** to anyone about my family matters, **neither have** I **heard** anyone talk about their own ones so as you!’
- (47) Kõigest wõis aru saada, et siit elanikud enne paremaid päiwi **olid** näha **saanud**. pro02.txt.  
 ‘It was obvious from everything that the inhabitants here **had seen** better days.’

The perfect of hot news has a textual function to begin an item the presentation of which continues in the simple past. An alternative way to introduce a narrative item would be using the past together with a localising temporal adverbial in the introductory sentence. We could call these types of constructing a news item Type A and Type B, respectively. In press language of the 1890s there were eight items following Type A (48) and 18 following Type B (49), the remaining being mixed types.

- (48) Saksa keisrile ja krahw Caprivile **on** Prantsuse uue presidendi suuremeelsus imelikul viisil väikese aga kaunis kibeda ninanipsu **löönud**. Teadupärast **ei läinud** Perier mitte kohe riigi-paleesse elama, sest ta **tahtis** Carnot lesele aega oma asjade õiendamiseks ja kolimiseks anda. Seda tegu kiites teatades tähendavad “Hamburger Nachrichten” -- tuntud Bismargi meeleline leht -- et keiser Wilhelm ja krahw Caprivi Bismargile siis, kui ta ametist **pidanud** lahkuma, mitte aega pole nuusatagi andnud, ta **pidanud** üle pää kaela oma senisest paleest lahkuma... Eks ta ole! epo103.txt

‘The generosity of the new French president **had** in a strange way **snubbed** the German Kaiser and Count Caprivi in a small but fairly bitter way. As is known, Perier **did not** at once **move** to live in the state-palace as he **wanted** to give Carnot’s widow time to settle her things and pack. Commending him, the “Hamburger Nachrichten” – a well-known Bismarck’s paper – announces that neither Kaiser Wilhelm nor Count Caprivi had given Bismarck any time to blow his nose even when he **was** to retire from his post, he **was** to leave his hitherto palace in great haste.... Isn’t it bad enough!’

- (49) -- Tartust. **22 Mail kell 6 ja 31 minutit õhtu tappis** ennast teise linnajau wahtmeister Pits kahe rewolvri paugu läbi **ära**, Riia uulitsa ligida raudtee ääre kraawi. Enne **laskis** tema ühe paugu õhuse, teise aga omale rindu. Mikspärast ta oma eluküinla **ära kustutas**, on teadmata. Surnukeha **wiidi** hospitalisse. vir102.txt

‘From Tartu. **On 22 May at 6.31** the police officer Pits of the second quarter of the town **had killed** himself by two shots from his revolver in the ditch beside the railway near Riga Street. First he **shot** once in the air then put a bullet through his breast. Why he **put out** the candle of his life is unknown. The corpse **was taken** to the hospital.’

## 6. The 1930s

### 6.1. The occurrence of past tense forms

Table 8.

**The past tense forms in the active and passive in press language of the 1930s (the sample size is 10,004 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	552	2	554
The perfect	63	17	80
The pluperfect	48		48
Total	663	19	682
A separate perfect participle	8		8
Total			690

Table 9.

**The past tense forms in the active and passive in the language of fiction of the 1930s (the sample size being 10,053 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	885	-	885
The perfect	33	-	33
The pluperfect	83	-	83
Total	1001	-	1001

The analytical abundance of forms has been warded off from the literary language, the Finnish-influenced standard prefers more synthetic expression. The abundant use of the perfect and quotative, common with German is over. Despite the recommendations to use more perfect tense in semantically appropriate cases (as in Finnish), and not the past as in Russian the usage is probably sub-consciously avoiding the use of anything typically German and thus is directing to the use of more past, even in the present tense context (50).

(50) Dagens Nyheter kirjutab, et peaküsimus seisab nüüd Punase Risti seisukorra kujunemises Abessiinias tulewikus. See puudutawat eriti neid riike, kes ametlikult **toetasid** Punase Risti üksuste warustamist ja Abessiiniasse saatmist, nimelt



Rootsit, Norrat, Soomet ja Hollandit. Tähendatud riigid peaksid neile endi ühistele huvidele pöörama tähelepanu... waba028.txt

‘Dagens Nyheter states that the main issue now is the development of the position of the Red Cross in the future of Abessinia. All these countries are said to be concerned which officially **supported** fitting out the red Cross Units and their sending to Abessinia, namely Sweden, Norway, Finland and Holland. These countries mentioned should pay attention to the common interests of theirs...’

A separate participle with a vague past meaning is still somewhat used. J. Aavik advised to use the participle as an elliptical form of the perfect in newspaper headings of the type “for a simple statement about the recent events...” instead of the past (Aavik 1936: 147). Since the perfect of hot news has receded in the language by the 1930s, we do not come across a separate participle in the headings. The only case in the sample is (51) and even this is in the subheading and carries a resultative meaning.

(51) Rooma esimestel sõjapäevadel. See on Mussoline sõda. – Uusi väeosi Aafrikasse. – Liigutavad stseenid jaamades. “Parem elada päev lõvina...”

“Uus Eestile” **kirjutanud** Arwed Arenstam. uuse047.txt

‘Rome in the first days of the war. This is Mussolini’s war.- New troops to Africa. – Moving scenes at railway stations. “Better to live a day as a lion...”’

Arwed Arenstam (has) **written** to the “Uus Eesti”

However, the predicate occurs in the form of the past (52), (53), (54), although stylistically it would have been more impressive to use either the perfect or a separate participle.

(52) Itaallased **häwitasid** Sokota linna. waba028.txt

‘The Italians **destroyed** the town of Sokota.’

(53) Kloostri lesknaine **tapeti** jahipüssist. uuse043.txt

‘The widow from Kloostri **was killed** by a shotgun.’

- (54) **Suleti 50 toiduainete kauplust. paew043.txt**  
 ‘50 groceries **were closed.**’

The typically German passive construction *saama* + *tud*-participle has been left out from public use. The past time reference is gained in the form of the past and pluperfect. Press language uses various forms more evenly, in the language of fiction the past together with the pluperfect are dominating (55).

- (55) Millal **oli** Illimar esmakordselt selle seinamaalingu **avastanud**, seda ta **ei mäletanud**. Kuid ta **avastas** seda igal päikesehelodal hommikul edasi. lmg0016.txt  
 ‘When Illimar **had** first **discovered** the wall painting **he did not remember**. But he **discovered** it again and again every bright sunny morning.’

The use of the compound tenses in the passive has not considerably increased (Tables 10 and 11) although the *saama*-passive and other forms with passive meaning are out of use. Also in this connection we could observe a counter-reaction to the over-marking of the aspectual meanings (including the meaning of resultativeness in passive constructions) typical of the previous period (see Metslang, forthcoming). Consequently, if during the previous period all possible grammatical meanings were attempted to be expressed just like in German (or at least to use the instruments of their expression), now, on the other hand, a tendency towards minimalism seems to dominate. Either consciously or sub-consciously, an attempt is made to confine oneself to a more synthetic grammar, coinciding with Finnish in the function. At the same time the language has lost the richness of the grammar of either contact language – typically German categories, rooted in Estonian for a long time, are avoided and typically Finnish ones cannot be introduced that simply.

## 6.2. The types of uses of the forms of compound tenses

Table 10.

### The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1930s)

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	59	4
The pluperfect	42	6
Total	101	10

Table 11.

### The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1930s).

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	30	3
The pluperfect	63	20
Total	93	23

Table 12.

### The types of uses of the forms of the active indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1930s)

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	31	19	50
Experience	21	6	27
Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)	4	16	20
Persistent situation	3	-	3
Quotativity	-	1	1
Total	59	42	101

Table 13.

**The types of uses of the forms of the active indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1930s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	14	18	32
Experience	11	16	27
Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)	2	29	31
Persistent situation	3		3
Total	30	63	93

As the basic uses of the perfect tense have remained those which clearly distinguish the reference point of the present tense: the perfect of result (56) and experiential perfect (57).

(56) Aafrika sõda **on** kujunenud isiklikuks jõukatsumiseks mehel, kes kehastab Itaaliat. Benito Mussolini, Itaalia peaminister, **on** oma kuulsuse, oma tulewiku, oma nime, wast koguni oma elu **heitnud** waekausile. See on t e m a s õ d a ! uuse047.txt  
 ‘The African war **has become** a personal test of strength and power for a man who represents Italy. Benito Mussolini, the Italian Prime Minister **has thrown** his fame, his future, his name, perhaps even his life on the scales. This is his war!’

(57) Kuid kas keegi **on** kunagi **kuulnud** improvisatsiooni mängutoosis? ram0081.txt  
 ‘But **has** anyone ever **heard** an improvisation in the musical box?’

The use of hot news and quotativity/narrativity focussing on a past event is obviously avoided because of the influence of German and a variety of interpretation (52).

(52) Itaallased **häwitasid** Sokota linna. waba028.txt  
 ‘The Italians **destroyed** the town of Sokota.’

The quotative forms can only be found in press language, although fewer than at the time of the German-influenced language,

however, sometimes it is felt necessary to mark the reporting of the information. (Later when Russian is beginning to exert its influence, the use of the quotative radically drops.) The variety of quotative forms is getting replaced by the system of quotative forms which is in use to date (9): two tenses, parallel forms are lacking, e.g. the general past is expressed by the perfect tense form (58). Sporadically, the participle can be found in the function of the quotative past (59).

- (9) the present tense: *otsivat / ei otsivat* 'is said to look for/ is said not to look for'  
 the perfect: *olevat otsinud / ei olevat otsinud* 'is said to have looked for/ is said not to have looked for'
- (58) Kahel wiimasel wihmatul päewal **olewat sagenenud** itaallaste luurelennud, mis põhjafrendil ulatuwat kuni Dessieni ja lõunafrendil kuni Sassa-Banehni. waba028.txt  
 'During two last days without rain the Italian reconnaissance flights **are said to have become more frequent** which in the northern front extend up to Dessien and in the southern front up to Sassa-Banehn.'
- (59) Ainult ühe wäikekohapidajaga **olnud** kadunud kakelusi, kuna mees **eitanud** laenuwõtmist. uuse083.txt  
 'The deceased **was said to have had** fights only with a smallholder as the man had denied getting a loan.'

(Certainly, both the quotative and conditional need a definite past tense, the single, general past tense of the form of the perfect remains too obscure sometimes. Unfortunately a separate participle is only affirmative and sounds stylistically vernacular, whereas the neological advice to use a synthetic past as *otsinuvat* 'was said to have looked for' seems artificial. The latter form was not found in a sample of any period.)

Instead, the pluperfect is often used in the meaning of the past in the past (60). From the types of building a news item Type A together with the perfect of hot news has receded (2 cases), an introduction is mostly performed in the past tense (Type B in 17

cases), e.g. (61). The language standardisation has brought clarity into the system of verb forms and the use of these forms.

(60) Esemad olid kõik puutumata olekus. Säangi pandjal lebas lauluraamatu leht, mida naine **oli** õhtul nähtavasti **lugenud**.  
uuse083.txt

'The things were all intact. On the bed pillow there was a page from the hymnal book that the woman **had** obviously **been reading** the night before.'

(61) Narwast. Kreenholmi töölised olid koos. **Kesknädalal, 4. märtsil peeti** Narwas Kreenholmi wabriku tööliste erakorraline koosolek, millest **wõttis osa** üle 400 töölise. Päewakorra peapunktiks **oli** Tallinnas peetud kongressi aruande ettelugemine. Peale selle **olid** kõne all mõned sise ellu puutuvad küsimused. post030.txt

'From Narva. The workers from Kreenholm were present. **On Wednesday, 4 March**, an extraordinary meeting of the Kreenholm factory workers **was convened**, over 400 people **were participating**. The main point on the agenda was reading out the report of the Congress held in Tallinn. After that some questions concerning home activities **were touched upon**.'

## 7. The 1980s

Table 14.

**The past tense forms of the active and passive voice in press language of the 1980s (the sample size being 10,032 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	421		421
The perfect	92	1	93
The pluperfect	24	-	24
Total	-		538

*Praesens historicum* 10

Table 15.

**The past tense forms of the active and passive voice in the language of fiction of the 1980s (the sample size being 10,172 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	878	-	878
The perfect	27	-	27
The pluperfect	119	-	119
<i>saama</i> + <i>tud</i> -participle	3		3
Total	1027		1027

Table 16.

**The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1980s )**

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	63	29
The pluperfect	11	13
Total	74	42

Table 17.

**The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1980s)**

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	20	7
The pluperfect	97	22
Total	117	29

Table 18.

**The types of uses of the forms of the indicative active compound tenses (press language of the 1980s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	37	3	40
Experience	23	6	29
Eventual use (hot news. The past in the past)	1	2	3
Persistent situation	2	-	2
Total	63	11	74

Table 19.

**The types of uses of the forms of the indicative compound active tenses (press language of the 1980s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	10	31	41
Experience	10	24	34
Eventual use (hot news. The past in the past)	-	41	41
Persistent situation	-	1	1
Total	20	97	117

Although the language of the post-standardisation period was in the sphere of influence of Russian, it can, thanks to the successful completion of the preceding standardisation period be stable enough and retain its identity. Typically Russian features against which the language care is fighting, are, as far as the past tenses are concerned, the use of the past instead of compound tenses (instead of the perfect to express persistent situation the present tense was used), the pluperfect passive was used in the function of the past passive. However, it seems that these cases were exaggerated and the teaching of the use of the perfect has turned out fruitful.

In the texts of press language the significance of the verb has decreased, on the one hand, as well as the frequency of the past forms, on the other. The reason for this consisted in the strong pressure of Soviet clichés: a voluble nominal style (62) and ideological preachment and commenting, added to news items from the general point of view, which was formed basically by means of the present tense (63). Partly, the latter gave rise to a greater significance of the perfect as related to the present tense (64).

- (62) Õppeprotsessis **pöörati** erilist tähelepanu parteipoliitilise töö konkreetsete ülesannete, vormide ja meetodite tundma-õppimisele, mille abil **viiakse** ellu NLKP Keskkomitee 1985. a. märtsi- ja aprillipoleumi otsuseid, NLKP Keskkomitee otsuseid Komsomoli parteilise juhtimise edasisest parandamisest ja tema osatähtsuse suurendamisest noorsoo kommu-



nistlikul kasvatamisel ning Abinõudest joomarlusest ja alkoholismist jagusaamiseks.

Sel eesmärgil **tutvused** seminarist osavõtjad peale loengute ja auditooriumides toimunud seminarõppuste kohtadel partei Tallinna linnakomitee, partei Tallinna Kalinini rajoonikomitee ja partei Paide rajoonikomitee ning J. Lauristini nim. Tallinna Masinatehase, tootmiskoondise Talleks, 9. mai kolhoosi ja Türi näidissovhoostehnikumi parteialorganisatsioonide töökogemustega. stat0032.txt

'In the process of learning a special attention **was paid** to getting acquainted with concrete tasks, forms and methods of the party-political work, by means of which the decisions of the 1985 March and April plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee **will be carried out** for the further improvement of the party guidance of the Komsomol and the increasing of its role in the communist education of the youth as well as for the measures of abolishing drunkenness and alcoholism.

For this purpose the participants in the seminar after the lectures and seminars in lecture-halls **were familiarized** with the working experience in the party committee of Tallinn City and the party committee of the Kalinin district of Tallinn and the party committee of the district of Paide as well as in the party sub-organisation of the Tallinn Machine-building Works named after J.Lauristin, on the 9 May collective farm and the technical college of the Türi State Farm.'

- (63) Konverentsi päevaks täitis viisaastaku ülesande 12 ettevõtet. Kõik see **on** partei rajoonikomitee ning parteialorganisatsioonide organiseerimis- ja poliitilise töö praktiline tulemus. Ent rajooni kommunistid **ei piirdu** saavutatuga. Aeg **nõuab** enamat!

Kõigest sellest räägiti põhimõttekindlalt aruande- ja valimiskampaania ajal peetud parteikoosolekutel, kus kavandatud seisukohti **viiakse** juba ellu. stat0301.txt

'The five-year-plan task was fulfilled by 12 enterprises by the opening day of the Conference. All this **is** a practical result of the organising and political work of the party district committee and its organisations. But the **communists** of the

district **will not confine** themselves to it. The time **demands** more!

All this was principally discussed at the party meetings during the reporting and election campaigns and the planned stand-points **are being carried out** already.'

(64) Ent praegu tuleb nentida, et meie toodangu tarbija nõudmised **on märgatavalt suurenenud**, **on muutunud** tema maitse, samuti **suurenenud** ostuvõime, ning kergetööstus, kes kõike seda peab arvestama, tuleb oma ülesannetega toime vaevaliselt. stat0301.txt

'But now we have to admit that the requirements of our consumers have considerably **increased**, their taste **has changed**, their buying power **has grown** and the light industry that should take all this into account can hardly cope with the task.'

In press language which consistently received translated materials from Russian the use of the past and pluperfect dropped, however, the use of the perfect increased. It seems that thanks to the work done by the language care, the users of press language had learnt their lesson: in Estonian the perfect must be used in that case when the contents of the Russian past express the consequence of a past event in the present tense or a summary from the point of view of the latter. In other words, the perfect of result (64) and the experiential perfect (65) have been learnt and so they are used just automatically. These have, obviously together with the limitedness of the word stock used, begun to belong to the clichés of press language.<sup>8</sup> (However, it happens that the possibilities of the use of compound tenses were just forgotten, in particular, in case of the

<sup>8</sup> Finnish offers some possibility of comparison, the data, however, belong to the Oulu corpus from the 1960s (Hyvönen and Jämsä 1978: 13). Concerning news items in papers, from among past tenses the perfect tense has a little higher significance (17.3%) in Estonian in the 1980s than in the respective texts in Finland in the 1960s (14.9%). Generally, Finnish seems more eager using the abundant possibilities of grammar, there is relatively much pluperfect (9.5%) (the Estonian data give 4.4%) The rise of the Estonian perfect may obviously have depended on the facts mentioned. The past predominates similarly, based on Estonian data – 78.2%, on Finnish data – 75.6%.

pluperfect, e.g. (63) where in the first sentence the verb form *oli täitnud* 'had fulfilled' should have been used rather than *täitis* 'fulfilled'

- (65) Samal ajal **ei ole** kohalikud nõukogud ja nende täitevkomiteed veel täiel määral **kasutanud** neile seadusandlusega antud õigusi. stat0301.txt  
 'At the same time local councils and their executive committees **have not fully made use** of their rights given by the legislation.'

However, with respect to other uses of tense forms there are traces of the pressure of the Russian language and Soviet ideology on press language (the language of fiction was freer in its choices). The types of the perfect which occur more seldom are less clear and the Russian pattern can be observed instead. The marking of hot news by means of the perfect is actually unknown, although it could effectively replace the past. The news item of Type A does not occur together with the perfect, only Type B can be observed (6 times). The perfect of persistent situation was also very rarely observed in the sample. Usually it was replaced by the present tense (66).

- (66) Seniajani **ei tule** meie ehitusvalitsus **toime** 11., 12. ja 13. kai ehitamisega. stat0301.txt  
 'Up to now our building centre **does not cope** with building the quays no.11, 12 and 13.'

The pluperfect passive occurred in press language somewhat more frequently than in the preceding period. In addition to the rise of frequency, possibly indirectly caused by the Russian influence, there are a few quite apparent Russian-type uses in the function of the past (67).

- (67) Sotsialistliku võistluse korraldamisel oli aga ka puudusi. Stimuleerimine ei haaranud kõiki lüpsjaid. Preemiad **olid määratud** ainult kolmele parimale, nendeks osutusid enamasti ühed ja samad. stat0028.txt

‘In organising socialist emulation some shortcomings were found. The stimulation did not include all dairy workers. The bonuses **were appointed** to only three best workers and these turned out to be the same people as before.’

The expression of the quotativity which does not occur either in Finnish or in Russian, has practically been given up by Estonian press language, at the same time in fiction the quotative was lacking in the 1930s already. There is a small choice of past tense forms in use, only the three indicative tenses. The use of the pluperfect in the meaning of the past in the past has almost disappeared. In one of the texts on culture *praesens historicum* can be found (68)

(68) 1908. aastal **lõpetab** A. Lemba konservatooriumi.  
stat0363.txt

‘In 1908 A.Lemba **graduates** from the conservatoire.’

In the language of fiction the relationships are more or less similar to those of the 1930s, only the pluperfect finds even more use, first of all in the function of the past in the past, i.e. to mark the temporal relationship between the events (69).

(69) Ööl enne augustiorkaani olin väljas. Saatsin mööda inimtühje jaamataguseid tänavaid üht naist koju. Enne seda **olime** tunde minu väikeses toas **veetnud**, midagi **rääkinud**, lõpuks aga närviliseks **muutunud** ja vist nagu pooleldi riidugi **läinud**.  
stkt0007.txt

‘At the night before the August storm I was out. I saw a woman home along the empty streets behind the station. Before that we **had spent** hours in my small room, we **had spoken** about something but eventually we **had become** nervous and even as if half-**quarrelled**.’

## 8. Press language of the 1990s

Table 20.

**The active and passive past tense forms in press language of the 1990s (the sample size being 10,004 words)**

The tense form	Indicative	Quotative	Total
The past	533	-	533
The perfect	98	-	98
The pluperfect	14	-	14
Total			645

Table 21.

**The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1990s)**

	Active	Passive (impersonal)
The perfect	57	41
The pluperfect	8	6
Total	65	47

Table 22.

**The types of uses of the forms of the indicative active compound tenses (press language of the 1990s)**

Functions	The perfect	The pluperfect	Total
Result	31	1	32
Experience	20	2	22
Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)	6	5	11
Total	57	8	65

In the texts of news items of the independence period there are again more verb forms, particularly those in the past. Soviet volubility and brain-wash disappeared, the items carry a matter-of-fact information. Recently, though, the use of the verb forms in news items appear more one-sided than during the previous period, it looks as if young and broad-minded authors do not pay so much attention to linguistic formalities any more. The use of the language in the news items generally follows the known clichés,

although, occasionally, we can come across a more liberal language use. (In press language, as a whole, the usage has become quite liberal in the 1990s, sometimes we can observe an interesting play with linguistic forms.) The reporting of speech is, as before, not shown either by the quotative or any other forms. In the indicative we can mainly observe the past active (70), the perfect active (71) as well as the perfect passive (72).

(70) Neljapäeval **ebaõnnestus** Pääskülas asuva klaastaarapunkti röövimiskatse. bns1294.txt

‘On Thursday an attempt of robbery of the glass reception kiosk **failed**.’

(71) Soome on viies riik, mis **on** ametlikud **teatanud** reisidokumendi aktsepteerimisest. bns1294.txt

‘Finland is the fifth country which **has** officially **announced** the acknowledgement of the travel document.’

72) Operatsiooni ohutuse tagamiseks **on** kasutusele **võetud** mitmeid meetmeid. bns1294.txt

‘To guarantee the safety of the operation several measures **have been taken**.’

The use of the pluperfect has still dropped. The Russian influence being replaced by that of English and other languages has brought about a small rise in the use of the types of the eventual perfect, e.g. the perfect of hot news. At the same time, the perfectless Type B of constructing a news item which begins with a sentence in the past as in (70) is in wide use (28 times, Type A only once). The use of the perfect is largely confined to two main functions – the perfect of result (74) and the experiential perfect (71).

(73) Eesti ühe edukama firma AS EE Betoonelement kogu aktsiapaki **on ostnud** firma “Partek Betonila”, teatas Soome agentuur “Startel” bns1294.txt

‘The Finnish news agency “Startel” announced that the company “Partek Betonila” **has bought** the whole joint-stock package from one of the most successful Estonian company AS EE Betoonelement.’

- (74) Lisaks püüavad tuukrid kindlaks teha, kas “Estonia” kere **on** ka kusagilt peale visiiri vigastada **saanud**. bns1294.txt  
 ‘In addition to this the divers try to find if the body of the “Estonia” **has been damaged** anywhere else besides the visor.’

On the other hand, typically Russian features are not paid due attention to any more and this way the past is used where one could have a perfect form (75), (76) or a pluperfect (77).

- (75) **Muutus** Põlva- ja Valgamaa telefonide kaugvalimise kood. bns1294.txt  
 ‘The distant call code between Põlvamaa and Valgamaa **changed**.’
- (76) Uuno Ellen **vabastati** Politseiameti peadirektori ametikohalt. bns1294.txt  
 ‘Uuno Ellen **was set free** from his duties as Head Director of the Police Headquarters.’
- (77) Kiirabi selgitas, et mees **suri** alkoholimürgituse tagajärjel. bns1294.txt  
 ‘The emergency aid stated that the man **had died** in the consequence of alcohol poisoning.’

## 9. Conclusion

In the ways of forming the past information we observe the expected fluctuation according to extra-linguistic influential factors. The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the time of variegated and German-influenced forms. The sentence structure and the functions of forms have not yet been regulated, the texts reveal, abundantly, analytical grammar. The standardisation during the independence period brings about a purist direction from the German-oriented system of forms and use towards the Finnish-oriented ones, as a result of which the number of forms used before (and apparently also the number of expressible grammatical meanings) is decreasing. Literary Estonian does not use the

abundant, typically German analytical forms any more, and does not have many synthetical forms, either, as Finnish does. On the other hand, the system of forms and its use are both being regulated, a certain stability sets in. Registers are becoming distinctive. The language use of the 1980s is based upon the stability, achieved by the preceding period, also upon Russian influences and attempts to make them as harmless as possible. In press language the rules concerning the correspondences of Russian and Estonian tense forms become automatic, trying to avoid immediate Russian clichés, though. The latter has been obviously more criticised than it has actually deserved. The language of fiction of the 1890s is variegated as is press language. In the 1930s characteristically Estonian use of tenses has developed and since then it becomes relatively stable, using the past and eventual pluperfect, first of all. Therefore there is obviously no want of the sample of the 1990s, no significant changes are to be expected.

Press language is more sensitive to the influences of periods of history. Soviet clichés continue to occur in the word stock as well as in the choice of forms, at the same time there is more liberal use of forms. The functions of the perfect consist in the perfect of result and experiential perfect. They also occur in all contact languages, except Russian, of course. Therefore during the Soviet time their use by Estonian seemed to be a general rule. The eventual perfect is less used in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period as, on the one hand, it was rather a stylistic device anyway and besides, the perfect is unknown in Russian. Soviet press clichés reduce the role of verbs in the text, particularly in the past and pluperfect. A separate participle, well-used in folk speech, gradually dies out in the 20<sup>th</sup> century registers under observation. Quotativity, too, is used less and less. The use of quotative forms vanishes slowly, the expression of quotative by means of the compound tenses becomes minimal. Along with the restoration of the independence the Soviet nominal volubility is reducing, on the one hand, together with commenting in the present tense form, on the other, news items of the 1990s pay less attention to making use of all the possibilities that the language offers (the three past tenses, in this case) and to avoiding typically Russian features.



## ABBREVIATIONS

CL	textual clitic
ELAT	elative case
ESS	essive case
GEN	genitive case
INESS	inessive case
NOM	nominative case
PASS	passive voice
PPART	perfect participle
PRS	present tense
PRTV	partitive case
PST	(simple) past tense
QUOT	quotative mood

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## EESTI VERBI MINEVIKUAEGADE KASUTAMISEST LÄBI VIIMASE AASTASAJA

### Helle Metslang

Artiklis jälgitakse indikatiivi ja kvotatiivi minevikuvormide kasutust eesti kirjakeeles neljal perioodil: 1890. aastatel, 1930. aastatel, 1890. aastatel ja 1990. aastatel. Analüüsitakse väljavõtteid ajakirjanduskeelest (uudiste tekste) ja ilukirjanduskeelest. Vaadeldud perioodid erinevad kirjakeelt mõjutavate välistegurite poolest, millest olulisematena peetakse silmas 1) kontaktkeeli ja nende rolli ühiskonnas ja 2) eesti kirjakeele korraldust, selle etappi ja rolli ühiskonnas. Minevikuinfo vormistamise viisides leidub kõikumist vastavalt keelevälisetele mõjuritele.

1. **1890. aastad.** 19. sajandi lõpp on vormikirevuse ja saksa-pärasuste aeg. Lauseehituse ja vormide funktsioonide korrastamiseni pole jõutud, tekstidest nähtub rikkalik analüütiline grammatika. Kasutusel on perfekt kõigis oma funktsioonides. Ühelt poolt esineb tüüpilisi kaheplaanilisi kasutustüüpe: resultatiivperfekti (1) ja kokkuvõtvat kogemusperfekti (2), mis toovad esile minevikusündmuse oleviku vaatepunkti. Teiselt poolt on saksapäraselt sage ka oleviku vaatepunkti tahaplaanile jätvad sündmulikud, lihtmineviku tähendusele lähedasemad perfektitüübid: kuuma uudise perfekt (3) ja kvotatiivne perfektikasutus (4).

- (1) Nii kaugele **on** mu endine hea mees **jõudnud**. pro07.txt
- (2) Artur jõudis poolhaigelt Napolisse, nii ruttu **oli** ta **reisunud**. pro89.txt
- (3) Grazis **on** 29. juunil hirmus torm **mässanud** epo103.txt
- (4) Benningsen **on** tubli ja üleüldiselt tuntud ning auustatud politikamees, mille pärast siis ka tema sünipäeva pidu õige suureviisiline oli ja otse rahvuslist nägu kandis. Ligidalt ja kaugelt **on** wanaraugale südamlikkusid õnnesoovi telegrammisid ja kirjasid **saadetud**, niisamati **on** ka väga suur nende arw **olnud**, kes suusõnal temale õnne soovima tõtanud. epo106.txt

Palju kasutatakse ka pluskvamperfekti ja kõikvõimalikke muid konstruktsioone, näiteks *saama*-tehtavikku, mis on kord resultatiivse, (seega aspektilise) tähendusega, kord aga lihtsalt sündmusliku tähendusega nagu saksa passiiv (5). Keele analüütilisus ja grammatika külluslikkus tundub liialdatuna. Funktsionaalstiilid ei eristu, ilukirjanduskeel on 1890. aastatel kirev nagu ajakirjanduskeelgi.

- (5) Peale jumala teenistuse **said** veel mitmed waimulikud laulud **ette kantud**, mille peale waimustawalt Keisri laulu lauldi. vir102.txt

**2. 1930. aastad.** Keele standardiseerimine iseseisvusperioodil toob kaasa ühelt poolt puristliku suundumise saksapäraselt vormistikult ja kasutuselt soomepärasele, mistõttu kasutatavate vormide (ja nähtavasti ka väljendatavate grammatiliste tähenduste) hulk väheneb. 1930. aastate eesti kirjakeeles pole kasutusel rikkalikku saksapäraselt analüütilist ega soomepäraselt sünteetilist vormistikku. Teiselt poolt korrastatakse süsteem ja selle kasutus, kujuneb stabiilsus. Eristuvad funktsionaalstiilid. Perfekti kasutamine, eriti sündmuslikuna, väheneb, kuigi keelekorraldus soovib väljendusrikkaid liitaegu enam kasutada (6). Pigem siiski hoidutakse püüdlikult kõigest, mis võiks tunduda saksapärasena. See, et lihtminevikuga liialdamine võib olla märk vene mõjust, ei häiri sel perioodil nähtavasti kedagi. Selle perioodi tekstide grammatika varjukülgedeks on ühelt poolt saksapäraselt analüütilist grammatikat endasse võtnud rahvakeelest eemaldumine, teiselt poolt grammatika väljendusvaesus.

- (6) Dagens Nyheter kirjutab, et peaküsimus seisab nüüd Punase Risti seisukorra kujunemises Abessiinias tulewikus. See puudutawat eriti neid riike, kes ametlikult **toetasid** Punase Risti üksuste varustamist ja Abessiiniasse saatmist, nimelt Rootsit, Norrat, Soomet ja Hollandit. Tähendatud riigid peaksid neile endi ühiste huvidele pöörama tähelepanu... waba028.txt

**3. 1980. aastad.** 1980. aastate keelekasutus rajaneb eelmisel perioodil saavutatud stabiilsusele, vene keele mõjudele ja püüdele neid minimeerida. Vaadeldud kahest registrist on suurema surve all ja seetõttu ka tundlikum ajastute mõjudele ajakirjanduskeel. Kaitseks venepärase ajakasutuse vastu automatiseeruvad ajakirjanduskeeles rusikareeglid vene ja eesti ajavormide vaheliste vastavuste osas, püüdes vältida vene kasutuse otsesest kalkeeringut. Nii püütakse kasutada kõige levinumaid perfektitüüpe: kogemuserfekti (7) ja resultaadiperfekti (mõlemal juhul on vene vastavasisulises lauses lihtminevik).

- (7) Samal ajal ei ole kohalikud nõukogud ja nende täitevkomiteed veel täiel määral **kasutanud** neile seadusandlusega antud õigusi. stat0301.txt

Väljaspool neid reegleid kipub siiski venepäraselt kasutust olema.. Jätkuva situatsiooni perfekti asemel esineb venepäraselt preesensit (8), ei tunta kuuma uudise perfekti ja pluskvamperfekti mineviku mineviku tähenduses.

- (8) Seniajani ei tule meie ehitusvalitsus toime 11., 12. ja 13. Kai ehitamisega. stat0301.txt

Nõukogulikud ajakirjandusstambid vähendavad verbide, eriti preteeritumi ja pluskvamperfekti osakaalu tekstis. Üksiku partitsiibi kasutus predikaadina,

mida rahvakeel tunneb, hääbub vaadeldavates registrites 20. sajandil. Ka kvotatiivsust väljendatakse järjest vähem. Kvotatiivvormide kasutus kaob tasapisi, ka kvotatiivsuse väljendamine liitaegade abil muutub 20. sajandi keeles minimaalseks.

Ilukirjanduskeeles on oma ajakasutus kujunenud 1930. aastatel ja on sealtpeale suhteliselt stabiilne, kasutades ennekõike preteeritumi ja sündmuslikku pluskvamperfekti (9).

- (9) Ööl enne augustiorkaani olin väljas. Saatsin mööda inimtühje jaamataguseid tänavaid üht naist koju. Enne seda **olime** tunde minu väikeses toas **veetnud**, midagi **rääkinud**, lõpuks aga närviliseks **muutunud** ja vist nagu pooleldi riidugi **läinud**. stkt0007.txt

**4. 1990. aastad.** Iseseisvuse taastamisega taandub 1990. aastate sõnumite keeles ühelt poolt nõukogulik nominaalne sõnaohtus ja mittemineviku plaanis kommenteerimine, teiselt poolt on aga 1990. aastate sõnumite keeles vähenenud tähelepanu keele võimaluste (antud juhul verbi kolme minevikuaja) ärakasutamise ja venepärasustest hoidumise suhtes. 1990. aastate sõnumite keeles jätkuvad nõukogudeaegsed stambid sõnavara- ja vormivalikus, samas esineb ka vabaat vormikasutust. Minevikuaegadest domineerib tugevalt preteritum, ka seal, kus efektne oleks kuuma uudise perfekt (10), (11) võikus oleks vaja sündmuste ajasuhteid väljendavat mineviku mineviku plskvamperfekti (12).

- (0) **Muutus** Põlva- ja Valgamaa telefonide kaugvalimise kood. ns1294.txt

- (1) Uuno Ellen **vabastati** Politseiameti peadirektori ametikohalt. ns1294.txt

- (2) Kiirabi selgitas, et mees **suri** alkoholimürgituse tagajärjel. ns1294.txt

Ilukirjanduskeeles vormikasutus jätkab oma stabiilset, juba varem väjakuju-  
nenud joont.

**Kokkuvõtvalt** hakkab minevikuaegade kasutuses silma ühelt poolt vormivahendite valiku järjest üheplaanilisemaks muutumine, teiselt poolt kasutusfunktsioonide vaheldumine ja ka vähenemine eri aegadel. Nii on perfekti põhifunktsioonideks kõigil aegadel resultaadi- ja kogemusperfekt. Need on olemas kõigis mõjukeeltes, välja arvatud muidugi vene keel. Seetõttu on nende kasutamine nõukogudeaegses eesti keeles lihtsalt rusikareegliks. Samas aga on kuuma uudise perfekti kasutusel esimesel, s.o saksamõjulisel perioodil ja tuleb taas mõnevõrra viimasel, vabanemisperioodil. Kestva situatsiooni perfekti kasutatakse üldse vähe, aga viimastel aastakümnetel asendab seda alternatiivselt võimalik ja vene keeles

valitud vorm preesens. Preteeritumi kasutus kasvas liitaegade arvel teisel, puristlikul perioodil – analüütilised vormid tundusid nähtavasti saksapärased. Kuigi vene mõju vastu võitlemine koguni tõstis perfekt osakaalu kolmandal perioodil, on eesti keeles soomega võrreldes perfekt siiski suhteliselt vähe ja preteeritumi palju. 1990. aastail ei pöörata ajakirjanduses keelele enam nii palju tähelepanu ja lihtsaim vorm, preteeritum, on pääsenud domineerima.

# IS THERE AN ARTICLE IN (SPOKEN) ESTONIAN?

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While speaking, people name things and creatures around them, they describe their properties, actions and states. It is a well-known fact that the number of words is smaller than that of entities, it means that the same word can denote a large number of different entities. The latter circumstance brings about the necessity to point to the status of the referents of phrases in the text: in each location of the text, the participants in the communicative situation must know if the named entity is a new one or the same one that was mentioned in an earlier phrase. Thus, one is faced with an extensive problem that belongs to the theory of narrative and dialogue – how is an entity introduced to the narration or dialogue, and how is it carried through the text, so that at each moment of the narration it is clear whether one has to do with an aforementioned or a new thing, creature or phenomenon. The Estonian language often uses for this purpose the demonstrative pronoun *see* ‘this’ (more rarely the pronoun *too* ‘that’ and the proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *seal* ‘there’). For example, the referent of the phrase *see raamat* ‘this book’ is certainly known to the listener from an earlier time, or a reference is made to the latter in the speech situation. Thus, the pronoun *see* ‘this’ carries some additional information, the exact nature of which serves as the topic of the present article.

## **0. Some general remarks**

In a large number of the world’s languages there exists a separate category for the expression of what is known/unknown – the article. Estonian, as well as the other Finno-Ugric languages, have been traditionally regarded as non-article languages. Yet in Finnish linguistics one can find the view that the usage of the Finnish anaphoric pronoun *se* ‘this, that’ manifests a number of features that are characteristic of the article. Ritva Laury, for example, has claimed that in Finnish the demonstrative pronoun *se* has become,



in fact, grammaticalized as a definite article (Laury 1991, 1996). There have been, however, some counterarguments as well: although *se* is a highly frequent attribute in spoken language, it is nevertheless not obligatory. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as a grammaticalized article (see e.g. Sundbäck 1995).

In order to refer to the status of the entity, the article languages, too, often use demonstrative pronouns. For example, English has a large number of possibilities to translate the phrase *see raamat* (*the book, this book, that book*). This usage of articles and demonstratives has been called *tracking use* because in this case the article or the pronoun helps to find the track or the way along which the entity courses in the narrative world (Du Bois 1980: 203-206, Himmelmann 1996: 226-229). As Estonian lacks the special words to express the opposition known/unknown, it is first and foremost the demonstrative pronouns that can be used for this purpose. Below we will see, however, that the proadverbs *siin* 'here' and *seal* 'there' can be used too. The same set includes also, for example, such words as *mingi* 'some', *keegi* 'somebody', *üks* 'a certain' etc, which express indefiniteness. Here belong also such possession-expressing words that generally point to definiteness, cf, e.g., *minu maja* 'my house' and *üks maja* 'a house' In Estonian the definiteness or indefiniteness of an entity can also be expressed by means of syntactic categories, such as sentence type, case selection of the object, thematic relations, etc. (The links between the case selection of the object and the definiteness/indefiniteness of the object have been discussed, for example, by Rajandi, Metslang 1979: 33-41, for a comparison of the Finnish and English means of expressing definiteness see Chesterman 1991).

Demonstrative pronouns and the article share a number of common features. Both are used with a noun phrase in order to refer to the status of the entity that is expressed by this phrase just in this location of the text. Generally speaking, the article indicates whether the entity is definite or indefinite; the demonstrative pronoun, however, indicates that the entity is definite and it is referred to. Generally, the position of the entity in the context (spatial or social) is indicated by a demonstrative pronoun at least to a certain extent as well. The meaning of a demonstrative pronoun could be described then by means of three components: definiteness, de-

monstrativeness, and some opposition (usually distal) within the framework of demonstrativeness.

The study of the relationship between the article and the demonstrative has been based on the type of semantic change (grammaticalization), which is often considered to be even universal, in which the demonstrative pronoun, by passing through a number of intermediate stages, will finally end up as a definite article. The scheme of change has been worded precisely by Greenberg (1978: 61-65). In a nutshell, it is as follows: in Stage 0 the demonstrative pronoun that used to be only deictic begins to denote an element that has been mentioned earlier in the dialogue. In most cases this demonstrative is a distal pronoun. During the first stage the pronoun begins to refer not only to the aforementioned but also to a simply recognized or identified entity, i.e. the knowledge of the context and the world will become relevant in its usage. In the long run it will become grammatically compulsory, i.e. each time when some entity is mentioned, the speaker has to decide whether the given entity is identifiable or not. During this stage the demonstrative has, in fact, become a definite article. The future development proceeds through the syntactic marker of the noun to the designator of the part of speech, so that at the final stage the earlier demonstrative pronoun is used as a noun classifier.

At the same time, one can find counterarguments to the universality of this argument as well. There are languages, in which it is impossible to show that the definite marker is derived from any demonstrative; it is possible that the definite marker may have come into existence from totally different expressions. One can come across even the opposite process – the definite marker may become a demonstrative (Frajzyngier 1996: 169-172). Estonian and Finnish do not furnish support for such doubts, therefore may the universality of the process remain open here, it will not disturb the treatment of problems of Estonian.

For Estonian (and also Finnish) the relevant problem is evidently as follows: has the demonstrative pronoun *see* 'this' (Finnish *se*) become the attribute of the identified entities, and how obligatory is the use of such an attribute. It is these specific questions that Ritva Laury attempts to answer in Finnish (e.g. 1991, 1996), and the present article is on its way to answer the same questions for Estonian.

I have written about the system of demonstrative pronouns in Estonian in my article (Pajusalu 1997). Common Estonian has, in fact, two demonstrative pronouns, *see* and *too*, but the sphere of usage of *too* is very limited. If the pronoun *see* is used to refer to some entity, then the listener generally does not know, how distal is that entity (though in the case of *too* one can be more or less sure that spatially or pragmatically it is a more distal entity. One can say then that as the pronoun *see* is practically the “absolute ruler” in the deictic field, then its meaning component that expresses the distal opposition is negligible anyway. Thus the meaning of *see* retains only pure demonstrativeness and definiteness. Therefore, on its way to the article it should “lose” less of its semantic content than the pronouns in languages with a more complicated system of demonstratives. As *too* holds a rather marginal position in the demonstrative system of Estonian, then the “articlization” of the pronoun *see* does not contradict the universal principle that it is usually the distal pronoun that will become the article either. (In the South Estonian system of three demonstrative the distal *tuu* is, in fact, an article-like pronoun; for the demonstrative system of South Estonian see Pajusalu in press).

In addition to the attributive functions of the pronoun *see*, the present article will discuss the article-like usage of the local proadverbs *siin* and *seal* in spoken Estonian (for example, in the phrases *siin metsas* ‘in this forest’ and *sealt linnast* ‘from that town’). As the meaning of the proadverbs is very much dependent on the context (EKG I: 32), and their meaning is related to the deictic zero point or the location of the speaker, then they belong together with the demonstrative pronouns to the demonstratives of the deictic system of the language.

In order to explain the usage of the pronoun *see* and the proadverbs *siin* and *seal*, I have collected examples from those noun phrases that contain them adjectival attributes. Examples of the attributive use in fiction was discussed (in comparison with Finnish and Russian) in Pajusalu 1996. Here I am going to deal with spoken Estonian. The material comes first and foremost from three conversations: a political conversation taped from Radio Estonia in 1994 (henceforth Politics), an interview with an artist taped from Radio Tartu in 1994 (Artist), and the conversation between female university students (Girls) that was taped and tran-

scribed by Lilian Kajand for her diploma thesis (Kajand 1994: 66-92). An excerpt of about thirty minutes was used from each conversation. I have observed the usage of pronouns also in other conversations, but for these three I am going to provide statistical data as well. The present article includes also examples from the conversation of five university students, in which they were asked to tell and ask from each other what they had done during the previous week and what they intend to do during the next week (Time story). Although in certain cases the classification of the discussed noun phrases is somewhat subjective and dependent on the interpretation, Table 1 nevertheless gives a rough survey of the usage frequency of the different types of the article-like *see* and the proadverbs *siin/seal*. The first line of the table also gives the total number of nouns in the given text. For the author of this article it seemed to be the only relevant method to estimate the length of the text.

## **1. Article-like usage of the pronoun *see***

### **1.1. Reference to an aforementioned entity**

Noun phrases that include a demonstrative pronoun refer most frequently to an aforementioned entity. If the same entity is mentioned repeatedly in the text, it is evident that it is somehow necessary to point out that it is the same and not a new entity. In written language such a usage of the pronoun is not always necessary because if you keep talking about the same thing all the time and there are no other entities in the context that belong to the same kind, then misunderstanding is impossible. In the oral text, however, the listener has no time to “think it over” whether the context includes one or a number of identical entities, and, therefore, the speakers prefer to state clearly that it is the same thing that was mentioned before.

This group could be further classified into three subgroups. It was most common to refer to the same entity with the same word, as in examples (lh) and (lm), where in both cases the entity has already been mentioned before, in the lines (1b *ühe pildi* and 1f *teda*) and (1m *ühe toa*) respectively. In both cases the entity was

Table 1.

Text	Politics	Artist	Girls	Total
Total number of nouns	543	629	690	1862
Entities referred by <i>see</i> -phrases: mentioned earlier (section 1.1.)	41	38	37	116
Including: a) mentioned by the same word	17	18	33	68
b) more general notion with regard to the <i>see</i> -phrase	14	13	2	29
c) paraphrase of what was earlier mentioned in the <i>see</i> -phrase	10	7	2	19
Identifiable by shared knowledge (section 1.2.)	2	10	24	36
Correlate of a relative or complement clause (section 1.3.)	10	13	10	33
Definite for the speaker (1.4.)		2	17	19
Text-exophor (1.5.)		5		5
Other exophor (1.5.)			2	2
Total	53	68	91	212
Percentage of <i>see</i> -phrases in comparison with the total number of nouns	9.8%	10.8%	13.2%	11.4%
<i>seal/siin</i> phrase (section 2)	2	3	19	24

first mentioned by means of the “indefinite article” *üks* ‘one’. The same type of reference can be found in example (4a) as well, but there the first reference was not marked by an indefinite word.

(1)

- a I: kas sa muretsed sellepärast ka et näiteks kui sa maalid  
 b ühe pildi, sellest võidakse saada teistmoodi aru kui sina seda  
 c mõtlesid või kas sa üldse(.) kuidas (.) sa teed oma pildi  
 d valmis!  
 e K: no teen.  
 f I: nii ja nüüd sa vaatad teda ja kas sa leiad sealt midagi  
 g juurde(.) veel sellele algsele mõttele või algsele ideele? või sa  
 h vaatad seda pilti ja leiad et see on tühine kümnendik  
 i sellest, mis tegelikult sinu sisemuses on?  
 j K: jaa muidugi see on kümnendik. aga see on iga pilt on (.)  
 k vaata, ma ehitan nagu mingit maja oma piltidega ja  
 l selles suhtes et üks pilt on nagu üks tellis ja teatud piltide  
 m kogum moodustab siis ühe toa lõpuks üks ole. ja sellel toal on  
 n siis oma meeleolu.

I: Are you also worried because, for example, when you paint a picture, then people may understand it differently from what you had in mind. Or can you at all, how do you complete your picture?  
 K: Well, I can do that.

I: So, and now you look at it and can find something else in it, in addition to the original thought or the original idea? Or you look at the picture and you find that it's only a tenth of what is actually in you?

K: Sure, it's a tenth, but it's, each picture is, look, I'm building as if a house with my pictures and in that way, one picture is as if a brick and the collection of certain pictures forms then a room, doesn't it, and this room then has its own mood.

[Artist]

The noun phrases that belong to this subgroup actually quote something that had been said before, usually a single word but sometimes an expression as well. If the speech of one's partner is quoted, then sometimes one has to do with an utterance that specifies the meaning of the referent or the meaning of the phrase. In

that case the function of the demonstrative pronoun is to point out that it is a citation, and such a pronoun usage belongs to the means of regulation of dialogue (about regulating the dialogue see Pajusalu 1996). For example, in (2c) the speaker Y does not happen to know the person that X has just mentioned in the way that all those who are present should know him, and she asks for a clarification. In English, where the definite article *the* is grammaticalized, one would in that case use the demonstrative (*Who is this/that Tambet?*) because it is not so much reference to definiteness than demonstrative reference to a part of the text within the text, in this case to the word *Tambet* that can be found in the partner's reply to the word *Tambet*.

(2)

- a X: jaa. ja ma kohtasin Tambetit ja meil oli kokku lepitud
- b joonistamine.
- c Y: kes see Tambet on?

X: Yes, and I met Tambet and we had agreed on drawing.

Y: Who's that Tambet?

[Time story, the person's name has been changed]

An interesting explanation for a similar usage of the demonstrative *this* + *proper noun* in English has been suggested by Downing (1996: 128-129): the speaker may refer my means of the demonstrative also to the fact that although he or she knows the referent, he or she refuses to accept this infostructure and in this context the demonstrative is a marker of defiantly defective knowledge. In the example (2), too, one can detect some defiance with regard to the previous speaker, so that we can interpret as a manifestation of some discontent. On the other hand, the treatment of *see* as first and foremost a pointer to the citation seems to be justified.

The cited phrase need not always be in the immediate neighborhood, and if the speaker has doubts whether the others can recognize the citation, then he or she can point out that it is a citation.

Thus the speaker says in the example (3c) in an utterance that has a lower intonation that the previous noun phrase was a citation.

The pronoun *see* is, however, a grammatical pointer of citation, and its omission in speech is not common.

(3)

- a no (.) ütleme selles maailma osas kus me asume on võibolla
- b kõige olulisem tõepoolest see, et tõstetakse see agressiooni
- c lävi: kui kasutada terminit mida me siin oleme kasutanud:
- d niivõrd kõrgele, et mingit agressiooni ei tulegi.

Well, let's say that in this part of the world where we are located the most important thing is perhaps really that the threshold of aggression should be raised: if one uses the term that we have been using here: to such a high level that there would be no aggression at all.

[Politics]

I think that it is also difficult to interpret the example (4c-d) unless one takes into account that the speaker is quoting the "opinion of Western countries" The phrase *need Ida-Euroopa ja Balti riigid* 'these East European and Baltic countries' does not refer so much to what was mentioned previously in the dialogue (although the whole conversation is about Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries) as that somebody somewhere has said just so.

(4) [A longer passage about the Swedish position]

- a X: see Rootsi positsioon on siiski puht emotsionaalsel pinnal
- b mulle palju meeldivam kui mõnede Lääneriikide oma, kes
- c väga selgelt annavad mõista, et ärgu need Ida-Euroopa ja
- d Balti riigid millegagi arvestagu ja seda on ka ajakirjanduses
- e väga selgelt välja toodud

X. This Swedish position is nevertheless on purely emotional ground much more pleasant to me than the one of some Western countries who imply very clearly that those East European and Baltic countries should not count on anything, and the press has brought it out very clearly as well.

[Politics]



Thus one can say then that the pronoun *see* in noun phrases has two basic functions in the phrases that refer to the aforementioned item with the same word: to indicate that one is speaking about the same entity or to indicate that one has to do with a citation. Although formally one is dealing with the same phenomenon (what has been said before gets repeated), the communicative goals of speakers are still different: in the first case one moves on the scale of the referred entities, in the second case the scale is based on familiarity/non-familiarity with the textual elements. The latter could also be regarded as a metalinguistic (metadialogic) function.

The second subgroup was formed by noun phrases that refer to the aforementioned entity with a hyperonym, such as *see asi* 'this thing', *selles suhtes* 'in this respect', *seda tüüpi* 'of this type', etc. In such phrases the pronoun *see* indicates that it is the last-mentioned one of all the elements belonging to the mentioned class that is meant. The phenomenon is widespread in written language as well. In the example (5b) the phrase *see protsess* 'this process' refers to the immediately preceding description of the breakdown of states that is one of all the possible processes.

(5)

- a selle aspekti kohta mida Mälk esile tõi. nimelt et et kui
- b langevad ühed riigid siis läheb see protsess edasi. arvan, väga
- c paljud Lääneriigid...

About this aspect that Mälk brought out. Namely, that if some states break down, then this process is going to continue. I think that many western countries...

[Politics]

I classified into the third subgroup such phrases that clearly referred to what had been mentioned before but were worded differently from the earlier phrases that had referred to the same entity. I named them conventionally as paraphrases. Thus the example (1g) contains the phrase *sellele algsele mõttele* 'to this original idea', which refers to the thinking described in the lines (1b-c), but which is not worded there so exactly. See also example (8d).

Example (6c) again concerns reference with the same word although the location where the same word *huvi* 'interest' occurred

earlier, was so far away in the text that it did not make sense to present the entire text here. We could also think that *see huvi* 'this interest' rather refers in the context of this dialogue to a generally known entity and not to what was mentioned before. Example (6d) is about using a more general notion (the breakdown of a state = one of the dangers that exists in the world) although the word *ohu* 'danger' has, in fact, occurred in the earlier dialogue as well, but at the same time the prevailing common subject of the entire conversation is namely awareness of political hazard. Such examples show that the boundaries of the types that are discussed here are not always clear, and it is common that several reference strategies are intertwined.

(6)

[The earlier talk concerned *the interests that would get the Western countries interested in the intervention in the Baltic affairs.*]

- a X. Eesti vabariigi president on korduvalt osutanud noh
- b praktiliselt ainsale otseselt väljatoodavale meiepoolsele
- c käsitlusele sellest huvist. et kui kukuvad Balti riigid siis
- d see oht läheb edasi juba järgmiste peale ja seal edasi järgmiste peale.

The President of the Republic of Estonia has pointed repeatedly, well, to practically our only definite treatment of this interest to the effect that should the Baltic states break down then this danger will already pass on to the next ones and from there on the next ones. [Politics]

## 1.2. Reference to what is commonly known

The next largest group (in my data 36 examples in total) is formed by noun phrases, the referent of which is identifiable by shared background knowledge although it has not been mentioned in the text before. According to Greenberg's scheme, these usages of the demonstrative belong to the sphere of the article already. In example (7) the young ladies are discussing various theatrical productions. It is evident that all the young ladies are interested in culture and they know rather well which productions are currently per-

formed, which Estonian movies have been on recently, and likewise the share some common knowledge of the television programs. All in all two movies (7a and b), two theatre performances (7e, p) and two television programs are mentioned (one of them, however, seems to be a part of the other one, 7u and v). Only in one case out of six (7u) no definite pronoun or adverb is used at first mention (about the use of the adverb as a marker of definiteness see below). Lines (7a) and (7b) could be interpreted also so that *see* indicates hesitation because it is obvious that the speaker is unable to recall the title of the movie immediately (for hesitation phenomena in Estonian see Hennoste 1994). At the same time the speaker corrects herself in line (7b) and uses the singular *see* instead of the plural *need*, which indicates that it is an attribute that is congruent with the noun phrase and not with an independent filler. It is clear that sometimes the pronoun *see* occurs purely as a hesitation phenomenon or a “false start”, but in my data the number of such cases of *see* was negligible. Hennoste (1994) does not mention separately the pronoun *see* as a hesitation phenomenon either. On the other hand, both cases of *eks ju* ‘isn’t it’ (7a and b) are clear hesitations. In lines (7u and v) one noun phrase is divided between the replies of two speakers, but the pronominal form *selles* ‘in this’ clearly belongs to the same noun phrase as the name of the broadcast that comes after it although the phrase *vanal aastal* ‘in the old year’ has come inbetween.

(7) [The conversation is about one girl who has been to Tallinn and has often gone to the theater. In the meanwhile they discuss a movie that is on in Tartu. Then it is said that the movie theater was almost empty.]

- a E: selle ikka noh kaks nüüd see eks ju “Lammas all” on ju ja (.)
- b oota ja mille ja vot siis see eks ju need “Armastuskirjad” on ju
- c need on siis mingi täiesti täis olnud.
- d M: mõhõhh selge et on olnud jah. (...) siis ma käisin vaatamas
- e veel väikeses saalis seda “Fernando Kapp saatis mulle kirja”.
- f see oli täiesti ajuvaba.
- g E: sina käisid ka seda vaatamas?
- h M: jumala mõnus asi.
- i L: jaa

- j M: täiesti sürr  
 k T: see mis oli jah? õudsalt mõnus.  
 l M: Avdjuško on ikka täiesti lootusetu.  
 m E: miks ee?  
 n M: no ta kõik, mingi jälle kukub mingi laval viskab  
 o niimoodi pikali lihtsalt niiviisi sirutab ennast välja ja (.) nagu  
 p seal "Proua de Sade'is" jälle mingi lesib kuskil mingi lava peal  
 r mingi noh (.)  
 s E: ja jaa minestas seal (.)  
 t M: minestas jaa.  
 u E: nagu "Rikkad nutavad" seal selles vanal aastal  
 v M: "Aisakollis"  
 õ E: jaa "Aisakollis"

E: Well, there are actually two now this, isn't there "The Sheep Below", isn't there and. Wait and then there are those "Love Letters", aren't there. They are said to have been packed.

M: Sure they have been, sure... and then I also went to the little hall to watch this "Fernando Kapp Sent Me A Letter". It was absolute trash.

E: You saw it too, didn't you?

M: That was neat.

L: Sure.

M: Absolutely surrealistic.

T: The one that you saw, yes. Very neat.

M: Avdjushko is absolutely hopeless.

E: Why, eh?

M: Well, she is everything, somebody again, somebody falls down, somebody on the stage throws herself on the ground this way, simply this way, stretches herself out and. Just like there in "Mrs. de Sade" somebody is lying somewhere on some stage, well, somebody.

E: Yes, and she fainted there.

M: Yes, she did.

E: Just like "The Rich Are Crying" There in this in the old year.

M: In the "Jingle Monster"

E: Yes. In the "Jingle Monster"

[Girls]

It is evident that one cannot find this type of pronoun usage in written language, even the article languages (e.g. English) avoid, as a rule, the use of the article with proper nouns although because of certain pragmatic considerations one can use the article with a name as well (Du Bois 1980: 218). Such a usage of the pronoun is in no way obligatory in Spoken Estonian either, as can be concluded from the same excerpt in line (7u), where the name of the broadcast having the same status is without a pronoun (not mentioned but commonly known).

In example (8e) the interviewer evidently assumes that both the Artist and the listeners know that life has in addition to the philosophical side that the Artist has just mentioned in lines (8b-c) (*elu mõistmisega ja maailma mõistmisega* 'with the understanding of life and the understanding of the world') and that what is referred to by the interviewer refers as a known entity with a paraphrase (8d), also the everyday aspect. The noun phrase that refers to it contains a pronoun as well, which in this case indicates that the entity is shared knowledge both for the speaker and the listener (also to the radio listener) and thus identifiable.

(8) [The artist has been asked whether he feels anguish when he is painting a picture.]

- a K: ei ma ei piinle üldse selles. ma piinlen eluga rohkem kui  
 b pilditegemisega. võibolla. elu mõistmisega ja maailma  
 c mõistmisega võibolla rohkem.  
 d I: tähendab, kas selle elu mõistmise poolega või  
 e siis selle niisuguse lihtsa äraelamise poolega?  
 f K: ei. elu mõistmise poolega noh.

K: No, I don't feel any anguish here. I feel more anguish in connection with life than when painting a picture. Perhaps. Perhaps more in connection with understanding life and understanding the world.

I: Does it mean that in connection with understanding this life or then with living simply one's everyday life?

K. No, well, in connection with understanding life.

[Artist]

### 1.3. *see*-phrase as a correlate of the relative clause

Grammatically the most explicit group of the attributive usages of the pronoun is where *see* serves as the correlate of a relative or complement clause. In written language the pronoun may often be omitted (see EKG II: 312-314). Naturally, both relative and complement clauses can be found in an oral text as well, and usually the noun phrase of the main clause that is extended by the subordinate clause is marked by the pronoun *see*. In the previous passages such correlates characterized the relative clause: (5a) *selle aspekti kohta mida Mälk esile tõi* and the complement clause: (11) *selles suhtes et üks pilt on nagu üks tellis* (see also 10e). On the other hand, it is only natural that the syntax of oral text is not as clear as that of written language. Difficulties in interpretation arise first and foremost in connection with the problem whether some clause actually is the subordinate clause of the clause or rather an independent unit. If lines (11) and (5a) have a subordinate clause that from the point of intonation is clearly an undivided entity, then it need not always be the case. In line (9e) the speaker completes an intonational entity with the phrase *see asi* 'this thing' but then adds an addition in the form of a relative clause to it. The same thing occurs in line (9k): the phrase *seda fiilingut* 'this feeling' completes one entity. However, syntactically the following clause *kuidas ma seda pilti pean tegema* 'how should I make this picture' could be regarded as a complement clause that extends the preceding one.

(9)

- a I: ja nüüd me jõudsime jälle siia välja. maalid aitavad sul elu  
 b ja inimesi mõista. kuidas nad aitavad sul elu ja inimesi  
 c mõista? /.../ räägi nii nagu on.  
 d V: vat ma ei tea ju, kudas on. olgu noh. umbes. kui sa, kas see  
 e nüüd on see asi. mida ma räägin. kas see vastab nüüd  
 f sellele küsimusele. (.) ee tavaliselt ma tean kõige paremini  
 g siis, kuidas ma pilti teen kui ma elan, noh elan oma elu noh  
 h väljaspool seda pilditegemist elan oma elu noh oma elu. mul  
 i on oma probleemid, ma kõnnin mööda tänavat. mingi  
 j probleem on. mingid emotsioonid. ja vot siis ma näen täpselt,  
 k tunnen täpselt seda fiilingut. kuidas ma seda pilti pean  
 l tegema üks ole. et kuidas, mis pilti sellest saaks. tuleb

m iseenesest tuleb see pildi kujutis tuleb ette see soov sellist  
n pilti teha.

I: And now we reached the same place again. The paintings help you to understand life and people. How do they help you to understand life and people? Tell me the way it is.

V: Well, you see, in fact, I don't know, well, let's say, is it now the thing. That I'm talking about, is it now the answer to this question. Usually I know best how I'm painting a picture when I'm living, well, when I'm living my life outside this painting the picture, well my own life. I've got my own problems, I'm walking down the street, there is some problem, there are some emotions. And then I can see clearly, I'm experiencing exactly this feeling. How I should paint this picture, isn't it so, that how, what kind of picture could it be. This image of the picture comes from nowhere, there is this wish to paint such a picture.

[Artist]

#### 1.4. Reference to an entity that is definite for the speaker

Examples (9e) and (9k) are, in fact, closely related to the next group, where I put the phrases that are definite for the speaker. They are such phrases including the attributive pronoun *see* the referent of which is definite for the speaker but is not identifiable by the other participants in the dialogue. The speaker could specify the referent of the noun phrase, for example, by means of a subordinate clause, as in the previous group, but for some reason he or she does not do it. The listener, in its turn, does not have any serious problems because he or she knows the meaning of the corresponding expression (not as in example 2, for example) and also knows that the pronoun *see* points to the definiteness of the referred entity. An especially clear example of such reference comes from the newspaper *Postimees Extra* (I have already used this example in Pajusalu 1997): a woman who is telling us about her trip to Malta says: *Jääb arusaamatuks, kuhu need jalgratturid veel mahuvad, sest nende jaoks eraldi teelõike pole* 'It remains unclear where these cyclist could be accommodated because there are no special stretches of roads for them' The article does not mention the Maltese cyclists either before or after the sentence under dis-

cussion. Also, the Estonian reader has no background knowledge whether there are any cyclists on Malta or not. It is the pronoun *see*, however, that makes it clear to the listener that the speaker has seen Maltese cyclists (and probably there are many of them). The speaker could have added the relative clause *keda Maltal on palju* 'who are numerous in Malta', but for some reasons she did not do this.

Actually, the listener never knows at the moment when the correlate of a relative clause is uttered whether there will be a relative clause or not. It is obvious, however, that the noun clause that is marked by a pronoun is classified as definite for the speaker right away, and if the context does not require any specifications, one could remain satisfied with it as well. In example (10) the speaker explains herself to what did she refer to with the phrase *neid pisikesi* 'those little', but at the moment it is uttered the speaker does not know anything else but the fact that there are many little ones in the library, and the speaker has seen them there. Such definite phrases provide the speaker as if with the possibility to take up the subject if it should be of interest.

(10)

[A longer story about the national library and how Y visited it.]

- a X: see on ikka raskelt mõnus see uus raamatukogu. normaalne
- b koht ikka.
- c Y: aga kaheksandal korrusel ei olnud ka eriti. ma vaatasin.
- d muidu on ikka igast need neid pisikesi on palju.
- e neid kooliõpilasi kes tormavad seal ringi.

X: It's a very cool place indeed, this new library. It's a good place indeed.

Y: But the eighth floor wasn't, in fact. I took a look. Otherwise there are many of those little ones. The schoolchildren who are rushing around there.

[Girls]

In both previous examples (9m) the speaker refers to things that are definite for him *see pildi kujutis* 'the image of this picture' and *see mõte sellist pilti teha* 'this idea to make such a picture' Neither of them can be identifiable to the speaker otherwise than it



is only the listener that knows that they are definite for the speaker. The listener is, of course, aware that the artist has got the image of the picture and the preceding thought, but they are not commonly familiar in the way as, for example, the different sides of life in example (8). The pronoun *see* has a different role in these examples – in example (8) it indicates that one has in mind a commonly familiar thing, in example (9m), however, it indicates that the entity is definite for the speaker. Broadly speaking, pointing to an entity that is definite for oneself is an expression of human egoism and vanity. The occurrence of such examples shows again that a person need not always be sufficiently cooperative in his/her interaction, see, e.g., Pajusalu 1996b: 133-135.)

### 1.5. Some other references

In addition to the above-described larger types, my data included also some smaller groups that nevertheless fulfill an important role. I would regard as belonging to the text-exophoric (see for explanation of term Larjavaara 1990:128) or discourse deictic group those intratextual demonstrative references that refer to parts of the same text. In the interview “Artist” they were first and foremost references to the partner’s questions, as in (9f) *kas see vastab nüüd sel-lele küsimusele* ‘is that now a reply to this question’, where a reference is made to the previously-asked question. Once the interviewee in a radio interview recited a poem and then asked: *tead seda luuletust, jah?* ‘do you happen to know this poem, how about it?’ Such a text exophor is close to pointing to a citation because both of them move in the world of textual elements and help to identify the one that is right.

As the miscellaneous exophor group, I would classify references to such items that feature in the situation, but no previous references had been made to them. Such references have a purely demonstrative character, and although no video recordings were available, one could assume that there was a gesture that accompanied the corresponding phrase. One can not practically find such phrases in radio conversations, with the exception of musical broadcasts, where sometimes one talks about the records that are either in the hand of the speaker or somewhere in the studio. At the same time the context of the musical broadcast that is familiar to

the listener ties such references closely together with the rest of the text. In essence, in case the context is discussed in the broad sense (the context is everything that surrounds the speakers, in their minds, and in the text), there is no good reason to differentiate between the endophor and the exophor.

From the theoretical point of view, the time exophor is much more interesting, i.e., reference to such stretches of time that have not been mentioned before and to which the referent is ascribed depending on the moment of speech. The texts that are presented in the Table include only one such example in line (11j) *sellest nädalast* 'since this week'. It refers to the week when the moment of conversation is taking place. The pronoun supplements first and foremost those time units that are names of a cycle and not parts of a cycle. One can not use *päeval* (in the meaning of 24 hours) 'in the daytime', *nädalal* 'during the week', or *aastal* 'during the year' without a pronoun because these are names of cycles. On the other hand, names of parts of cycles are often used without a pronoun (*hommikul* 'in the morning', *esmaspäeval* 'on Monday', *talvel* 'in winter'), and in that case they refer to the last or next respective part of the current temporal cycle (of the dialogue or narrative), part of the day, day of the week, or season (depending on the grammatical time that is expressed by the verb). Thus, lines (11a, d, and g) include the phrases *laupäeva hommikul* 'on Saturday morning', *suvel* 'in summer' (*mingi* 'some' is the typical filler for this speaker and does not belong to this phrase), and *neljapäeval* 'on Thursday', which apparently all refer to this corresponding last stretch of time.

(11)

[The speakers have been discussing what they have seen on TV recently. The girls are trying to overtalk each other, everybody tries to get her turn until M begins to talk about her recent trip to Tallinn that she must have talked about earlier as well. The transcription presents only the replies without the exact scheme of overtalking.]

- a M: ma vaatasin laupäeva hommikul seda Nõiakivi.
- b T: mul on täiesti mul on täiesti. ma olen seda ma ei tea kui
- c mitu korda näinud. mul on täiesti
- d E: ma ei mäleta absoluutselt ma ei mäletand üldse mingi suvel

- e vaatasin viimati (.) nõrgalt ka ei mäleta.  
 f M: aga siis õudsalt kihvt on see (.) siis ma käisin vaatamas  
 g seda (.) neljapäeval käisin vaatamas Luukast.  
 h seda uut filmi.  
 i E: aa jaa see pidi see oot tulema oot see ongi vist  
 j sellest nädalast seal Illusioonis mängis (...)  
 k see on see Luukas.

M: I happened to watch this Magical Stone on Saturday morning.

T: I'm absolutely, I'm absolutely. I don't know how many times I've seen it. I'm absolutely

E: I don't remember anything at all, I didn't remember it at all, something in summer, I watched it in summer for the last time. I don't remember it even weakly.

M: But it's absolutely cool. Then I went to see it. On Thursday I went to see Luke. This new movie.

E: Oh, yeah, it was to come, wait, this must be on from this week on. It was on at this Illusion ... It's, it's this Luke.

[Girls]

In addition to the above-mentioned groups, there were also cases, for example, where the phrase was left unfinished, where the pronoun did not, in fact, occur as part the noun phrase but had apparently been intended as its opening. As attributive relations can not be analyzed if the head is missing, then I did not discuss them here. I also considered as a separate phrase, and thus unimportant from the point of view of the present article, such usages of *see*, where *see* did not agree with the following noun. Such usages of the pronoun count as hesitations, just as the pronoun *see* in example (12).

(12)

[The movie "Luke" is being discussed.]

siis mingi lõpeb umbes sellega et eks see (nominative) Luukasel (adessive) on mingi raskelt ilus korter.

something then ends roughly so that well this Luke has got some terrific apartment.

[Girls]

## 2. Proadverbs *siin* and *seal* as markers of definiteness

According to traditional syntax, the following proadverb in the sentence that opens a new sequence in the radio program *ja me jätkame siit stuudios* 'and we are going to continue from (here) the studio' is an apposition. And it seems that in this sentence such an explanation is sufficient – *stuudios* 'from the studio' is the part of sentence that specifies the proadverb *siit* 'from here'. But in case one imagines that there are two studios, one closer and the other farther away, then it seems that the following interpretation of the same sentence would be valid – *siit* is rather a demonstrative attribute and corresponds to the pronoun *sellest* in the sentence *ja me jätkame sellest stuudios, sest tolles stuudios läks makk katki* 'and we are going to continue from this studio because in that studio the tape-recorder broke down' (cf *ja me jätkame siit stuudios sest seal stuudios läks makk katki* 'and we are going to continue from the studio over here because in the studio over there the tape-recorder broke down'). The acceptability of the previous sentence is, however, somewhat questionable, just as in the case of most of the invented 'lab sentences'. Therefore, we will return to our materials of spoken language.

The material under discussion contained 24 noun phrases that were extended by some form of the proadverb *siin* 'here' or *seal* 'there'. In all the cases the nucleus of the phrase could be interpreted as a location, i.e., the noun phrases that require government and are in locative cases can not be extended by a proadverb (\**Vasta sinna küsimusele* 'reply to there question' is unacceptable). At the same time, a noun phrase need not always express primarily a place, the spatial component of meaning can be given through the interpretation of the background knowledge rather than through the primary meaning of the word. Line (13b) discusses a small hall that has been mentioned earlier as well, so that it is an aforementioned entity. It is apparent that *saal* 'hall' is a word that prototypically expresses location. On the other hand, one can hardly regard the title of the theatrical production *Meister* 'master' as expressing location prototypically. At the same time the "spatial treatment" of the production is part and parcel of one's knowledge of the theater and what is being done there (you go to the performance, you are there, and you come away from there). Both usages

of the proadverb *sinna* 'to there' that occur in example (13) have clearly the same function as those that occur in lines (13a and b): all the four noun phrases are supplemented by the marker of definiteness because they have been mentioned before, and thus they are identifiable.

(13)

[It has been reported that M went to see the theatrical production "Fernando Krapp sent me a letter" in the small hall of the Drama Theater, the relevant stretch can be found in example (7d, e). Between the present example and example (7) there is M's story that tells us how much money she had spent in Tallinn.]

- a L: aga mismoodi sa Draamas ostsid need piletid  
 b sinna väiksesse saali? palju seal oli see pilet?  
 c M: kuus krooni läks.  
 d L: me ostsime niimoodi et ühekroonised piletid  
 e sinna Meistrile. samal ajal oli Meister ja siis läksime sinna  
 f Fernando Krappi vaatama. seal ju ei kontrollita neid.

L: But how did you buy these tickets at the Drama (Theater) for that small hall? How much was the ticket over there?

M: I paid six kroons.

L: We bought so that one-kroon tickets for the Master. At the same time the Master was being performed, and we then went there to watch Fernando Krapp. You know they don't check them over there.

[Girls]

In example (14c), too, the phrase *seal kaheksandal* 'on that eighth' refers to the aforementioned eighth floor of the national library (see 10c), and the function of the proadverb *seal* 'there' is first and foremost to indicate that the same eighth is being discussed that had been discussed before.

(14)

[The episode describes a visit to the national library, its eighth floor has been mentioned before.]

- a L: Õde mul oli ka nii vaimustatud sellest raamatukogust.  
 b sõbrannaga olid seal mingi kunstiraamatuid vaadanud.  
 c M: jah seal kaheksandal ongi need kunstiraamatud enamuses.

L: My sister was so enthusiastic about this library as well. She and her friend had looked at some art books there.

M: Yes, there are mostly these art books on that eighth.

[Girls]

The places that exist in the world are clearly related to deixis and demonstrativity. It seems that when talking about places a person has more need to express its location in deictic space than when talking about other entities (I'm grateful to Reet Kasik for this observation). At the same time there is, in fact, a possibility in Estonian to use the opposition 'proximal-distal' because there are separate proadverbs that refer to what is proximal and distal. On the other hand, in the case of demonstrative pronouns this opposition is secondary. If the function of the distal proadverb in examples (13 and 14) is primarily the expression of familiarity and not distance, then the proadverb *siin* 'here' in example (15e) includes the meaning of proximity as well – the episode describes a region, where the speaker is situated at the moment of speaking. In a certain sense the reference is made to somewhere outside the text as is often the case with temporal expressions (for example, 11j). On the other hand, if line (15e) included the expression *selles regioonis* 'in this region', then it would be an unambiguous reference to the region that had been mentioned before.

(15)

[A longer discussion about the Swedish attitude toward the Baltic countries (example 4 included a short extract of it.)

- a Y: no tegelikult mulle see terve ebakindlus üldiselt ka meeldib  
 b teataval määral. kuigi just nimelt pragmaatilisest aspektist  
 c mh peab tõstatama küsimus, miks Lääs peaks sekkuma ja kas  
 d ta peaks sekkuma. see tähendab tuleb leida need huvid mis  
 e noh ajendaksid Lääneriike sekkuma ka siin regioonis. sest  
 f selline üldsõnaline nagu räägitakse midagi demokraatia  
 g kaitsmisest/.../

Y: Well, I actually like this “healthy uncertainty” generally to some degree. Although namely from the pragmatic aspect one would have to raise the question why the West should intervene and whether it should intervene. It means that one has to find those interests that would, well, make the western countries intervene in this region as well. Because such general statements when they speak something about defending democracy...

[Politics]

In example (16), too, we can find an exophoric reference (outside the text). Similarly, as in example (15), the proadverb is clearly in the function of the adjectival attribute, so that it would be rather doubtful to speak about the apposition in such sentences only because according to the classical treatment adverbs can not function as attributes. EKG also points out that the local proadverbs *kuhu* ‘to where’, *kus* ‘where’, and *kust* ‘from where’ may occur as adjectival attributes in the meaning ‘what kind of, which’ (e.g., *kus linnas* ‘in which town’, see EKG II: 120). Thus, the local proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *seal*’ should be included in the same group too.

(16)

[A lengthy discussion about security guarantees in the Baltic region.]

/.../ no üks (.) üsna mõjus selline vahend on ju tegelikult välisinvesteeringud. see tähendab Lääneriikide kodanike huvide toomine siia pinnale. et Lääneriikidel oleks kodanikke /.../

Well, one rather efficient such means is actually foreign investments. It means bringing the interests of citizens of western countries on this soil, so that the western countries had citizens ...

[Politics]

Although it is primarily the proximal proadverb that has a clear demonstrative meaning, the distal proadverb can form as if a deictic opposition to the proximal proadverb. Thus, example (17) first describes the process of making a picture, and in line (17c) *sinna* ‘to there’ in the phrase *sinna ühte pilti* ‘there in one picture’

could be interpreted as the marker of definiteness. And yet it gives also the idea (together with other circumstances, for example, with the notion how information gets transferred to the picture from the outside world) that the artist himself is outside the picture, i.e., the artist is ‘here’ and the picture (or rather what is depicted in the picture) is ‘there’ Therefore, in line (17j) it is the proximal proad-verb *siit* ‘from here’ that *loodus* ‘nature’ takes for its attribute.

(17)

[The conversation is about the idea that an artist does not change rapidly.]

- K. noh sest pildi tegemine on üsna pikaajaline protsess ja see  
 a nõuab see sisaldab endas tegelikult kohutavalt palju  
 b informatsiooni mis pilti pannakse. ja see informatsiooni  
 c kontsentreerumine sinna ühte pilti see on üsna raske  
 d ja /.../

[It is being discussed how each picture is like a room of a larger house, it includes, by the way, the text of example (1).]

- e K: sellel toal on siis oma meeleolu. seal on kardinad, omad  
 f inimesed elavad seal sees. neil on omad emotsioonid. oma  
 g vaade on eks ole. seal on ka teised toad on majas olemas.  
 h millel on noh teistsugused värgid ja iga pilt on nagu üks  
 i kübeke kogu informatsioonist mida ma võtan ütleme  
 j siit looduselt vastu ja siis pärast talletan.

K: Well, because the process of making a picture takes quite a long time, and it requires, it actually involves a tremendous amount of information that is put into the picture. And this concentration of information in this single picture it is, it is rather difficult and...

K: This room then has its own mood. There are curtains, its own people are living there inside. They have their own emotions, their own view, isn't it so. There also exist other rooms in the house that have, well, different stuff, and each picture is as if a tiny bit of all the information that let's say I receive from here from nature and then save later.

[Artist]



The distal proadverb *seal* 'there' and *sinna* 'to there' occurred three times together with the pronoun *see* 'this': *seal selles Draamateatris* 'there in the Drama Theater', *sinna sellesse muuseumi* 'there to this museum', and *seal selles Võru tänava köögis* 'there in this kitchen located on Võru Street'. All three occurred in the conversation "Girls". Apparently, such expressions should be regarded as a combination of the proadverb and the apposition because the function that marks attributive definiteness is carried by the demonstrative pronoun. It is possible that the above-discussed usages of the proadverb as an adjectival attribute stem, in fact, from expressions of this type by an elliptical omission of the pronoun. However, if the pronoun is, in fact, missing in the text, it does not make sense to think whether it used to be there before and then was left out. It is simply missing.

### 3. Different text types about the frequency of using the article-like pronoun

The present article has discussed first and foremost three different texts: the radio interviews "Politics" and "Artist" and the free conversation "Girls". Although it would be too early to make any final conclusions on the basis of these three texts, one can nevertheless clearly observe certain regularities.

First, my intuitive judgment concerning the degree how typical of spoken language are the texts under discussion: "Politics" is matter-of-fact, containing rather lengthy sentences; it is a conversation by experienced radio speakers. "Artist" is a free conversation between two friends, where (as in "Politics") the radio listener acts as the third party, who both speakers must reckon with. "Girls" is the most 'chaotic' one, a totally free conversation, with a lot of overtalking, unfinished phrases, etc. Thus, the degree of being typical of spoken language clearly increases so that "Politics" is closest to written language, "Girls" is closest to spoken language, and "Artist" is somewhere inbetween.

1. The percentage of the attributive usage of *see* in relation to the total number of nouns remains more or less the same in the texts under discussion, with a slight increase when the text is closer

to spoken language (“Politics” 9.8%, “Artist” 10.8%, “Girls” 13.2%).

2. The noun phrases that contain the pronoun *see* have a different status: in “Politics” most of such phrases refer to the aforementioned entity, thus helping ‘to get the entities through the text’ and helping to understand that the reference is made to something that had happened before. On the other hand, “Girls” contains many more such phrases with the attributive *see* that indicate that the entity belong to the sphere of common knowledge. Such a regularity is, of course, only natural because for female students who study together the sphere of common knowledge is largest, and as the conversation is not intended for other listeners, the speakers are allowed to refer in this way.

3. An increase in the degree of features that are characteristic of spoken language is accompanied by an abrupt increase in the number of the phrases that refer only to those entities that can be identified only by the speaker. If we were to approach this problem from the point of view of pedagogics or standardization, then we could say that a higher degree of features that are characteristic of spoken language brings about carelessness in reference. It is also perfectly natural because in a radio conversation that is listener-oriented such phrases would not have any important communicative value.

4. The number of noun phrases that contain the proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *seal* ‘there’ increases considerably together with an increase in the degree of features that are characteristic of spoken language.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The question whether there is an article in Spoken Estonian depends, of course, on the way how one defines the article. The preceding treatment indicates that the pronoun *see* ‘this’ and the proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *seal* ‘there’ can fulfill in addition to their demonstrative function also the role of marking the identifiability of various entities. It is most common that the noun phrases with an attributive pronoun or proadverb refer to the aforementioned entities, whereas a part of such usages of the pronoun *see*

act first and foremost as markers of a citation. In addition to what has been mentioned before, the pronouns and proadverbs may also serve as indicators of the identifiable entities. It is this usage that points to the (forming) existence of the category of the article. On the other hand, it is clear that the use of the pronoun is not obligatory even in the noun phrase that can be identified in Spoken Estonian, which shows that the article has not become fully grammaticalized.

The present treatment has a purely synchronic character, and it is not its goal to give any answer to the question whether the article-like usage of pronouns is on the rise or wane. Though it is clear that such pronoun usage is less frequent in written language than in spoken language, it need not mean automatically that spoken language is undergoing the formation of an article (as in Finnish). On the contrary, it is apparent that due to a decrease in German influences the usage of the article-like *see* has decreased as well. However, this problem would require additional research.

## SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS

- falling intonation at the end of an intonational unit
- , a slight fall in intonation as between the constituents of a compound sentence
- ! rising intonation as in a usual exclamatory sentence
- : stretch of a sentence uttered with a lower intonation
- (.) micropause
- /.../ omitted section
- X: beginning of the conversational turn of speaker X; in case the example contains a sequence of a longer turn, which is not the opening of the turn, then the speaker is not indicated

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## KAS EESTI (KÕNE)KEELES ON ARTIKKEL?

Renate Pajusalu

Eesti keelt on sarnaselt muude soome-ugri keeletega peetud artiklita keeleks. Ka artiklita keelel on aga vajadus vestluse käigus väljendada, kas viidatav entiteet on dialoogi jaoks uus, juba varem mainitud või mingil muul viisil definiitne. Lisaks muudele vahenditele (näiteks lause infostruktuur või objekti kääne) on selleks võimalik kasutada ka atributiivset pronoomenit *see* või proadverbe *siin* ja *seal*. Käesolev artikkel püüabki selgitada, missugusel juhul kasutatakse neid kolme sõna eesti kõnekeeles definiitsusmarkerina.

Demonstratiivpronoomeni kujunemist artikliks on peetud universaalseks grammatikaliseerumisprotsessiks (Greenberg 1978: 61-65). Vastavalt sellele mallile peetakse pronoomenit artikliks siis, kui seda hakatakse kasutama mitte ainult varemmainitud vaid ka muul viisil (näiteks ühistest teadmistest tuttavate) entiteetide atribuudina. Selline pronoomeni *se* artiklistumine on mõnede uurijate arvates juba toimunud soome kõnekeeles (Laury 1991, 1996).

Siinsete tähelepanekute aluseks on eelkõige kolm vestlust. Neist kõige formaalsem ja seega mõnes mõttes "kirjakeelseim" on poliitikakommentaatorite vestlus Eesti Raadios ("Poliitika"), kõige vabam aga üliõpilasneiuete sünnipäevavestlus ("Tüdrukud"), mille on litereerinud oma diplomitöös Lilian Kajand. Formaalsusastme poolest nende kahe vestluse vahepeale jääb Tartu Raadiost lindistatud intervjuu kunstnikuga ("Kunstnik").

Ootuspäraselt kasutati minu materjalis kõige rohkem pronoomenit *see* sisaldavaid substantiivifraase (edaspidi: *seeNP*) varemmainitud entiteetidele viitamisel (116 korda). Nende hulgas moodustasid omakorda suurima rühma NP-d, mis sisaldasid sama sõna, mida varem mainiti (näiteks *seda pilti* ja *sellel toal* näitedialoogis (1) ridadel h ja m). Selliste viitamiste hulgas moodustavad olulise rühma partneri tsiteerimised, mille puhul ei korrata niivõrd viitesuhet kui partneri poolt öeldut. Näites (2) korratakse nõnda ühe kõneleja poolt nimetatud nime (*Kes see Tambet on?*), näites (4) aga Lääneriikide arvamust (*ärgu need Ida-Euroopa ja Balti riigid millegagi arvestagu*). Viimase näite puhul on just (ironiline) tsiteerimine siinkirjutaja arvates ainuke viis, kuidas pronoomeni *see* kasutamist seletada.

Varemmainitule võib viidata ka *seeNP*-ga, mis sisaldab varasema suhtes klassifikatoorselt kõrgemat mõistet (*kui langevad ühed riigid siis läheb see protsess* (= riikide langemine) *edasi* real 5b) või parafraasi (*sellele algsele mõttele* real 1g, vrdl. esmamineimine *sellest võidakse saada teistmoodi aru kui sina seda mõtlesid* real 1c).

Teise suure rühma *seeNP*-dest (kokku 36) moodustavad kõnelejatele ühiste teadmiste kaudu identifitseeritavad entiteedid. Selliste viitamiste arv kasvas tunduvalt koos vestluse kõnekeelsuse astme suurenemisega, nii et üliõpilaste vestluses (Tüdrukud) oli neid kõige rohkem (24). Näites 7 räägitakse kahest eesti filmist, kahest teatrietendusest ja kahest telesaatest, neid

kõiki mainitakse esimest korda ja ainult ühel neist ei ole definiitsusmarkerit. Konteksti põhjal võib oletada, et kõneleja arvates on vestluspartnerid nendest etendustest, filmidest ja saadetest kuulnud. Ridadel 7a-b esinevad NP-d *see üks ju Lammas all* ja *see üks ju need Armastuskirjad*, milles pronoomeni ja põhisõna vahel on küll hesitatsioon *üks ju*, kuid siinkirjutaja arvates on pronoomenivormid siiski mõlemal juhul NP osad. Real 7e mainitakse teatrietendust *käisin vaatamas väikeses saalis veel seda "Fernando Kapp saatis mulle kirja"* Ridadel 7o-p osutab etenduse ühist identifitseeritavust proadverb: *nagu seal "Proua de Sade 'is" jälle mingi lesib kuskil mingi lava peal*.

Grammatiliselt kõige selgema tüübi (kokku 33 seeNP-d) moodustavad relatiiv- ja komplementlausete korrelaatfraasid pealauses, mis ka kirjakeeles tihti sisaldavad pronoomenit *see*. Sellised korrelaadid on näiteks relatiivlausel: (5a) *selle aspekti kohta mida Mälk esile tõi* ja komplementlausel: (11) *selles suhtes et üks pilt on nagu üks tellis*. (vt ka 10 e). Suulise teksti süntaks ei või aga loomulikult olla sama selge kui kirjutatud keele oma. Interpretatsiooniraskused tekivad kõigepealt sellega, kas mingi lause ikka on teise lause kõrvallause või pigem iseseisev üksus. Kui ridadel (11) ja (5a) on kõrvallause intonatsiooniliselt selgelt oma korrelaadiga ühtne tervik, siis alati ei pruugi see nii olla. Real (9e) lõpetab kõneleja fraasiga *see asi* ühe intonatsioonilise terviku, kuid lisab sellele siis relatiivlause vormis oleva täienduse *mida ma räägin*. Sama on real (9k): fraas *seda filingut* lõpetab ühe terviku, kuid süntakiliselt võiks järgnev *lause kuidas ma seda pilti pean tegema* olla eelnevat laiendav komplementlause.

Näited (9e) ja (9k) ongi tihedalt seotud järgmise rühmaga, millesse paigutasin kõnelejale definiitsed fraasid (kokku 19 seeNP-d). Need on sellised atributiivset pronoomenit *see* sisaldavad fraasid, mille referent on definiitne kõnelejale, kuid ei ole identifitseeritav teiste dialoogist osavõtjate poolt. Kõneleja võiks noomenfraasi referenti täpsustada näiteks kõrvallause abil, nagu eelmises rühmas, kuid millegipärast ta ei täpsusta. Kuulajal omakorda ei teki olulisi probleeme, sest ta teab, mida vastav väljend tähendab ja teab ka, et pronoomen *see* osutab viidatava entiteedi definiitsusele. Eriti selge näide sellise viitamise kohta on pärit Postimees Extrast, kus oma Malta reisist jutustav naine ütleb: *Jääb arusaamatuks, kuhu need jalgratturid veel mahuvad, sest nende jaoks eraldi teelõike pole*. Malta jalgratturitest pole artiklis juttu ei enne ega pärast vaadeldavat lauset. Samuti ei või eesti lugejal olla üldteadmisi sellest, kas Maltal on jalgrattureid või mitte. Just pronoomen *need* teeb aga kuulajale selgeks, et kõneleja on näinud Maltal jalgrattureid (ja tõenäoliselt veel palju).

Tegelikul ei tea kuulaja kunagi sel hetkel, kui kõrvallause korrelaat öeldakse, kas kõrvallause ikka tuleb või mitte. Pronoomeniga tähistatud substantiivlause aga klassifitseeritakse ilmselt kohe kõnelejale definiitseks ja kui kontekst ei nõua täpsustusi, võidakse sellega ka rahule jääda. Näites (10) selgitab kõneleja ise, kellele ta viitas fraasiga *neid pisikesi*, aga selle väljaütlemise hetkel ei tea kuulaja muud, kui seda, et raamatukogus on palju pisikesi ja kõneleja on neid seal näinud.

Ainult kõnelejale definiitsete *see*NP-de hulk on suurim kõige kõnekeelsemas vestluses Tüdrukud (17) ja nii näibki sellise pronoomenikasutuse põhi-valdkond olevat eelkõige mitteformaalne dialoog.

Vaadeldud materjalis esines 24 substantiivifraasi, millel oli laiendiks proadverbi *siin* või *seal* mingi vorm. Fraasi tuum oli kõikidel juhtudel tõlgendatav kohana, st rektsioonilisi kohakäänetes olevaid substantiivifraase ei saa proadverbiga laiendada (\*Vasta sinna küsimusele on võimatu). Samas ei väljenda subsantatiivifraas alati primaarselt kohta, ruumiline tähenduskomponent võib olla antud pigem taustateadmiste interpreteerimise kaudu kui sõna primaarse tähenduse kaudu. Real (13a-b) on küsimus *aga mismoodi sa Draamas ostsid need piletid sinna väiksesse saali?* Saalist on räägitud juba enne, nii et tegemist on varemmainitud entiteediga. *saal* on ilmselt prototüüpselt kohta väljendav sõna. Vaevalt saab aga real (13e) olevas lausungis *me ostsime niimoodi et ühekroonised piletid sinna Meistrile.* etenduse nimetust *Meister* pida prototüüpselt kohta väljendavaks. Samas kuulub etenduse “ruumiline käsitlus” lahutamatu kokku teadmistega teatrist ja sellest mida seal tehakse (etendusele minnakse, seal ollakse ja seal tullaakse). Mõlemad näites (13) esinevad proadverbi *sinna* kasutused on selgelt samas funktsioonis kui ridadel (13a ja b) esinevad pronoomeni *see* kasutused: kõik neli substantiivifraasi on täiendatud definiitsusmarkeriga, sest tegemist on varemmainitud ja seega identifitseeritavate entiteetidega.

Küsimus sellest, kas eesti kõnekeeles on artikkel või mitte sõltub muidugi sellest, kuidas artiklit defineerida. Eelpooltoodud käsitlus osutab, et pronoomen *see* ja proadverbid *siin* ja *seal* võivad täita lisaks oma demonstratiivsele funktsioonile ka erinevate entiteetide identifitseeritavuse markeerija rolli. Kõige rohkem viitavad atributiivset pronoomenit või proadverbi sisaldavad substantiivifraasid tekstis varem mainitud entiteetidele, kusjuures osa sellistest pronoomeni *see* kasutustest on eelkõige tsitaadi markeerijad. Lisaks varemmainitule võivad atributiivsed pronoomenid ja proadverbid olla ka identifitseeritavate entiteetide osutajad, just selline kasutus viitab (kujunevale) artikli kategooria olemasolule. Samas on aga selge, et pronoomeni kasutamine ei ole eesti kõnekeeleski identifitseeritavas substantiivifraasis kohustuslik, mis näitab, et artikkel pole täielikult grammatikaliseerunud.

Käesolev käsitlus on puhtalt sünkrooniline ega püüagi anda vastust sellele, kas pronoomenite artiklilaadne kasutamine on suurenemas või vähenemas. Kuigi on selge, et kirjakeeles on sedalaadi pronoomenikasutust vähem kui kõnekeeles, ei pruugi *see* veel automaatselt tähendada, et antud juhul oleks kõnekeeles toimumas artikli tekkimine (nagu soome keeles). Eesti kirjakeeles on ilmselt seoses saksa mõjude vähenemisega toimunud hoopis artiklilaadse *see* vähenemine. Aga *see* nõuab juba täiendavat uurimist.

# SEMANTICS OF ESTONIAN UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS<sup>1</sup>

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## 0. Introduction

Compared to Indo-European languages, Estonian has quite a large number of determiners that express positive universal quantification in some way or another. These are *kõik* 'all', *iga* 'every', *terve* 'whole', *kogu* 'whole', *igasugune* 'every kind of', *mistahes* 'every kind of', *see/need* 'this/these', *mõlemad* 'both'<sup>2</sup> In addition there are quantifiers that denote (negative) universality when combined with a negative verb: *ükski* 'no', *miski* 'no(thing)', *mingi* 'no(thing)', *keegi* 'no(body)', etc. Below I will consider only positive universal quantifiers. Furthermore, I will limit my analysis to only those quantifiers that are part of a subject-NP although I assume that my statements are generally valid for NPs in other positions as well.

Semantically quantifiers are functions that take a noun as their argument and have the NP as their value. Syntactically they correspond to determiners as NP complements.<sup>3</sup> Estonian syntax has traditionally distinguished more narrowly between substantive and quantifier phrases depending on what is the syntactic head of the phrase. I will adhere to the general term NP as this distinction has no relevance for our semantic analysis.

Quantifiers have been analysed as functions within several branches of semantics. The most comprehensive and effective of

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<sup>1</sup> The article is a revised and extended version of the second chapter of my BA thesis (Paldre 1996).

<sup>2</sup> All translations of quantifiers are unavoidably rough as the semantic fields between Estonian and English do not match exactly.

<sup>3</sup> In this paper I have adopted the traditional (syntactic) meaning of the word quantifier as the determiner of an NP. I preferred a different usage in my BA thesis (cf Paldre 1996). The reasons for that lie in the higher-order predicate logic that will not be used in the present article.



them is the Generalised Quantifier Theory (GQT) proposed by Barwise and Cooper (1983).<sup>4</sup> My attempt in this paper, however, will be to classify universal quantifiers according to the features that Conceptual Semantics (CS) uses to classify objects. While GQT provides sufficient means for the interpretation of quantifiers, there are no universal grounds within GQT for deciding which quantifiers should be analysed as synonyms and what not. On the basis of the following classification one can further analyse different (types of) universal quantifiers with more formal methods.

### 1. Principles of Classifying Quantifiers

Although all quantifiers mentioned in the introduction are universal, they are not synonymous, i.e., mutually exchangeable in context. But the differences in their meaning are not so apparent at all. Traditional approaches have distinguished quantifiers by such features as distributive vs. collective, definite vs. indefinite, concrete vs. abstract (cf Valencia 1994), or mass-count, and singular-plural (e.g., Link 1983). Though these may be useful for all practical purposes they are not exhaustive for a full classification of quantifiers because no pair of features alone is sufficient to cover the whole area. At the same time the mutual relations between different pairs of features cannot be clearly established.

For the following typology I have chosen features that Conceptual Semantics (CS) uses to classify nouns (Jackendoff 1991, Saeed 1997: 25–255): boundedness and internal structure. I agree with the CS claim that these are relevant and sufficient for classifying all nouns. Now, CS is nowhere concerned with quantifiers – except for some occasional remarks, cf Jackendoff (1993: 18) – and this is why this theory has been criticised on several occasions. Apparently, CS would consider quantifiers part of complex expressions and assign them to different functions. In the following I will not try to match Estonian universal quantifiers with the fixed number of functions of CS (Jackendoff 1991: 20ff).

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<sup>4</sup> For a good overview of Generalised Quantifier Theory see, for example, Gamut (1991), Partee *et al* (1993), or Does and Eijck (1996).

I have found useful the principle that quantifiers are functions. Applied to CS, this means that they assign a semantic type of nouns to a (possibly different) type of nouns.

Features boundedness  $[\pm b]$  and internal structure  $[\pm i]$  divide entities crosswise into four types. **Boundedness** is a feature that describes whether an object is or is not limited by some concrete amount or number. For example, an **individual** as *banana* or *house* is not the same object any more when we add another banana *resp.* house to it or when we slice or demolish it. Thus, individuals get the value  $[+b]$ . The same applies to **groups** as *government* or *nation*. On the other hand, **substances** (*water*) and **plural objects** (*bananas*) can be referred to with the same word no matter what the amount of water or number of bananas. So they get the value  $-b]$ .

As to the feature **internal structure**, the value  $[+i]$  implies some kind of structuring within the object. Value  $-i]$  does not necessarily mean that an object has no internal structure whatsoever – it is simply not implied by the word. Thus,  $[\pm i]$  divides entities crosswise to  $[\pm b]$ . Groups and plurals have  $[+i]$ , singular objects and mass nouns  $-i]$ . Some examples:

- (a) individuals (singular count nouns): *table, drop of water, horse*  $[+b, -i]$
- (b) groups (collective nouns): *government, class, group*  $[+b, +i]$
- (c) substances (mass – incl. abstract<sup>5</sup> – nouns): *milk, sand, singing*  $-b, +i]$
- (d) plural objects (plural nouns): *visitors, journeys, problems*  $-b, +i]$

I will now use the same typology to classify Estonian universal quantifiers.

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<sup>5</sup> It would be best to find a common term to cover both mass and abstract nouns because *substance* seems strange when used for (interpretations of) abstract nouns. Yet I have not met such a term in the relevant literature and don't find it necessary to invent one myself.

## 2. Analysis: Estonian Universal Quantifiers

Out of the eight positive universal quantifiers of Estonian only four can be considered “full” Universal Quantifiers (UQs). *See/need* ‘this/these’ are primarily demonstrative pronouns, *mõlemad* ‘both’ is defined in a very specific context only, and, as will be clear later, *igasugune* ‘every kind of’ and *mistahes* ‘every kind of’ can be defined in terms of other UQs. Therefore, I will start with the four remaining ones: *kõik* ‘all’, *kogu* ‘whole’, *iga* ‘every’ *terve* ‘whole’ There are two criteria for distinguishing between them. First, the type of nouns that a UQ can combine with, and second, whether the combinations themselves differ in meaning.

### 2.1. Possible combinations of quantifiers and nouns

It requires no deep insight to notice that all four quantifiers can have more than one type of noun as their argument and vice versa. Thus the solution is not that all four quantifiers behave as functions over a different type of noun each. Instead, we have theoretically  $4 \text{ UQs} \times 4 \text{ nouns} = 16$  possible combinations as in (1–(4). (a)-sentences have a singular object, (b)-sentences a group, (c)-sentences a substance and (d)-sentences a plural object as a UQ argument.

#### (1) *Terve*

- |     |  |                    |                 |                 |
|-----|--|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) | <i>Terve</i>                                 | <i>skulptuur</i>   | <i>vajas</i>    | <i>pesemist</i> |
|     | Whole  | sculpture          | need-imp-3sg    | washing-par     |
|     | ‘The whole sculpture was in need of washing’ |                    |                 |                 |
| (b) | <i>Terve</i>                                 | <i>valitsus</i>    | <i>pooldas</i>  | <i>seadust</i>  |
|     | Whole  | government         | support-imp-3sg | law-par         |
|     | ‘The whole government supported the law’     |                    |                 |                 |
| (c) | * <i>Terve</i>                               | <i>vesi</i>        | <i>on</i>       | <i>märg</i>     |
|     | *Whole                                       | water              | be-3sg          | wet             |
| (d) | <i>Terved</i>                                | <i>skulptuurid</i> | <i>vajasid</i>  | <i>pesemist</i> |
|     | Whole-pl                                     | sculpture-pl       | need-imp-3pl    | washing-par     |
|     | ‘Many sculptures were in need of washing’    |                    |                 |                 |

(2) *Kogu*

- (a) *Kogu skulptuur vajas pesemist*  
 Whole sculpture need-imp-3sg washing-par  
 'The whole sculpture was in need of washing'
- (b) *Kogu valitsus pooldas seadust*  
 Whole government support-imp-3sg law-par  
 'The whole government supported the law'
- (c) *Kogu vesi on märg*  
 Whole water be-3sg wet  
 'The whole water is wet'
- (d) \**Kogu skulptuurid vajasid pesemist*  
 \*Whole sculpture-pl need-imp-3pl washing-par

(3) *Iga*

- (a) *Iga skulptuur vajas pesemist*  
 Every sculpture need-imp-3sg washing-par  
 'Every sculpture was in need of washing'
- (b) *Iga valitsus pooldas seadust*  
 Every government support-imp-3sg law-par  
 'Every government supported the law'
- (c) ?*Iga vesi on märg*  
 ?Every water be-3sg wet  
 'Every water is wet'
- (d) \**Iga skulptuurid vajasid pesemist*  
 \*Every sculptures-pl need-imp-3pl washing-par

(4) *Kõik*

- (a) \**Kõik skulptuur vajas pesemist*  
 \*All sculpture need-imp-3sg washing-par
- (b) \**Kõik valitsus pooldas seadust*  
 \*All government support-imp-3sg law-par
- (c) ?*Kõik vesi on märg*  
 ?All water be-3sg wet  
 'Any water is wet'
- (d) *Kõik skulptuurid vajasid pesemist*  
 All-pl sculpture-pl need-imp-3pl washing-par  
 'All sculptures were in need of washing'

It is evident from the examples above that not all 16 theoretically conceivable combinations are possible in Estonian. No type of noun can act as an argument to all UQs. Individuals and groups can combine with three UQs (*terve* ‘whole’, *kogu* ‘whole’ and *iga* ‘every’) and so do substances (with *kogu* ‘whole’, *iga* ‘every’ and *kõik* ‘all’). Plural nouns combine with *kõik* ‘all’ only.

The previous sentence needs some comment. Isn’t it so that according to (1d) plural nouns can combine with *terved* ‘whole-pl’ as well!? But let us look at the meaning of *terved skulptuurid* ‘whole sculptures’. It can only mean either ‘unbroken sculptures’ (which is not relevant at all) or ‘many sculptures/part of the sculptures’. Thus in sentences as (1d) we need not have any universal quantification at all. Therefore, I will drop the plural *terved* from my analysis from now on.

Two more sentences – indicated with a question mark – need to be commented upon. In (4c) *kõik* has a mass noun as its argument. Although “*kõik* + mass noun” is a rare combination, there are examples of it in the Estonian corpus of written texts. (5) is a sentence from a novel by Viivi Luik.

- (5) *Ta oli salaja kõik tagavaraks pandud*  
 He have-imp-3sg secretly all reserve-tra set-ptc  
*Kawe šokolaadi ära söönud*  
 Kawe chocolate-gen off eat-ptc  
 ‘He had secretly eaten all the Kawe chocolate that had been set aside’

Here *šokolaadi* has to denote a substance. In order to denote a plural object ‘all pieces of chocolate’ both the quantifier and the noun should be in the plural: *kõik šokolaadid*.<sup>6</sup> For the meaning to be singular ‘the/one whole chocolate’ the quantified phrase should be *kogu šokolaad*. The additional information ‘that had been set aside’ further refers to an undefined amount of substance. This type of sentence becomes more acceptable if we recall that abstract nouns behave like substances, i.e., they have the value  $-b, -i]$ . Sentences with “*kõik* + abstract noun” as in (6–(7) are generally acceptable in Estonian.

<sup>6</sup> The Estonian *kõik* has the same form in singular and plural nominative but declines differently in the remaining cases.

- (6) *Kõik laulmine on ilus*  
 All singing be-3sg beautiful  
 'All singing is beautiful'
- (7) *Kõik kollane on ilus*  
 All yellow be-3sg beautiful  
 'Everything that is yellow is beautiful'

The other questionable sentence is (3c). Again we have a mass noun that combines with a UQ: *iga vesi* 'every water' I am stressing the type of noun, because mass nouns often have a synonym that denotes that substance in a standard amount. Thus *piim* 'milk' can mean both the liquid and a standard carton, usually one litre of milk. The former is a substance, the latter a singular object (individual). In all the examples I have used *vesi* 'water' as a substance.

It is evident that the meaning of *vesi* differs from that of *iga vesi*. The first one has its usual meaning 'water' and the second one 'any (kind of) water' or 'all waters'. This change in meaning, however, does not imply that the word *vesi* alone would denote 'kind of water'. It is only as a phrase that the meaning changes. This change in meaning will be dealt with later in 2.2.

Table 1.

## Possible combinations of quantifiers and nouns

Quantifier	Type of argument (N)
<i>kõik</i>	-b, -i], subst
	-b, +i], pl
<i>terve</i>	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp
<i>kogu</i>	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp
	-b, -i], subst
<i>iga</i>	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp
	-b, -i], subst

With this discussion in mind, Table 1 presents all the possible combinations of quantifiers and nouns. I will use the abbreviations **sg** (singular object), **grp** (group), **subst** (substance) and **pl** (plural object) to indicate the type of noun.

## 2.2. Quantified NPs as entities

The observation that only 10 combinations (Table 1) are possible in Estonian fails to provide us with a satisfactory typology of Estonian UQs. We would be unable, for example, to distinguish between the meanings of *kõik(Nsubst)* and *kogu(Nsubst)*. In order to grasp the differences, we need to determine the types of universally quantified phrases as a whole. For I argue that **it is the type of noun and type of quantified phrase together that allows us to distinguish between the meanings of UQs.**<sup>7</sup> This is natural when we understand a quantifier as a function from noun interpretations to NP interpretations.

First, let us determine the value of quantified NPs (QNP) according to the boundedness-feature. It is quite simple in the cases of *terve(Nsg)*, *terve(Ngrp)*, *kogu(Nsg)* and *kogu(Ngrp)*. Those phrases refer to individual singular objects and thus get the value +b as any singular objects.

The value of *kogu(Nsubst)* is not so evident. I claim that its b-feature is also positive. Let us assume for a moment that this is true. Then *kogu(Nsubst)* can denote either a group [+b, +i] or an individual [+b, -i]. It cannot denote a group because it lacks the necessary internal structure. Hence it has to denote a singular object – an individual. If we compare QNPs *kogu(Nsubst)* and *kõik(Nsubst)* as in (8) and (6, reprinted as 9) then, intuitively, they are not equivalent. Both QNPs *kogu laulmine* ‘whole singing’ and *kõik laulmine* ‘all singing’ do not denote an unbounded object. *kogu laulmine* (8) is defined within a context and seems to refer to a concrete event of singing while *kõik laulmine* (9) refers to

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<sup>7</sup> In a similar attempt to study French UQs Marie-Odile Junker (1994: 216–222) was not concerned about determining both the type of noun and the type of resulting phrases. French has fewer UQs and the system seems to be simpler. In the case of Estonian this is, however, necessary because neither criterion alone is sufficient for a complete typology.

singing as such – to an “unbounded amount of singing” Events are commonly equalised with singular things (cf Jackendoff 1990) and hence we can adopt the claim that *kogu(Nsubst)* has the value +b. This also gives us that the value of *kõik(Nsubst)* is –b].

- (8) *Kogu laulmine on ilus*  
 Whole singing be-3sg beautiful  
 ‘This (whole) singing is beautiful’
- (9) *Kõik laulmine on ilus*  
 All singing be-3sg beautiful  
 ‘All singing is beautiful’

So the Estonian *kogu(Nsubst)* behaves like a definite article. It changes a mass noun into a singular object/event that is confined to the context. This quantification seems to be one way how Estonian compensates the lack of definite and indefinite articles. Although Jackendoff states that definiteness does not equal to the value +b, it is exactly this difference that makes me distinguish between *kogu* and *kõik* in the case of mass nouns.<sup>8</sup>

Now, we still haven’t ascribed any value to *kõik(Npl)*, *iga(Nsg)*, *iga(Ngrp)* and *iga(Nsubst)*. They cannot be bounded because no matter how many objects we add to the set of N, the sentence with any of these QNPs still remains true. The only requirement is that no N can have the opposite property than the one stated by the VP, but there is no limit as to how big is the amount of Ns. Thus *kõik(Npl)*, *iga(Nsg)*, *iga(Ngrp)*, and *iga(Nsubst)* all have the value –b.

Next we need to determine the value of the i-feature of QNPs. There is no doubt that *iga(Nsg)* has an internal structure. It has even been called a distributive quantifier. *iga(Nsg)* stresses explicitly that every member of N is separately included in the

<sup>8</sup> Jackendoff (1991: 25) gives an example of the unbounded definite object in the sentence (a) *The sand stretched out as far as we could see*. This would translate into Estonian as (b) *Liiv ulatus nii kaugele kui silm suutis näha* but not as (c) *\*Kogu liiv ulatus nii kaugele kui silm suutis näha* where the not quantified *liiv* in (b) is definite and unbounded. The quantified *kogu liiv* in (c), being definite and unbounded, is not the correct equivalent to (a).



property denoted by VP. The same is valid for other *iga*-quantifiers, QNPs with a group as an argument – *terve(Ngrp)*, *kogu(Ngrp)* –, and the plural *kõik(Npl)*. They all have a positive i-value.

As to QNPs with a negative i-value we have already discussed the phrases *kõik(Nsubst)* and *kogu(Nsubst)*. Besides, *terve(Nsg)* and *kogu(Nsg)* do not imply any internal structure either. With these sentences it is impossible to form sentences with a collective predicate that would involve some co-operative work (10). Such a sentence would be possible with a +i QNP as a subject.

- (10) \**Terve/Kogu peaminister läks koos istungile.*  
 \*Whole prime minister go-imp-3sg together  
 session-all

One could deduce that we cannot imply the internal structure from *iga(Nsg)* either because (11) clearly shows that it cannot co-occur with a collective predicate. But this fact is obviously connected with the syntactic singularity of the head of QNP. A collective predicate requires a syntactically plural subject. This requirement is fulfilled in the second sentence of (12). Here we have the plural pronoun *nad* in the second sentence that refers back to the QNP *iga minister*. This confirms that apart from syntactic reasons *iga(Nsg)* would be able to behave as subject of a collective predicate.

- (11) \**Iga minister läks koos istungile*  
 \*Every minister go-imp-3sg together session-all
- (12) *Iga minister oli täpselt kohal. Nad*  
 Every minister be-imp-3sg exactly present they  
*läksid koos istungile*  
 go-imp-3sg together session-all  
 ‘Each minister was present on time. They went to the session together’

Now we have all the necessary data to expand Table 1 by adding the types of QNPs to it (Table 2).

Table 2.

**Table 2 expanded: Values of quantified NPs**

Quantifier	Value of argument (N)	Value of QNP
<i>kõik</i>	–b, –i], subst	–b, –i], subst
	–b, +i], pl	–b, +i], pl
<i>terve</i>	[+b, –i], sg	[+b, –i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
<i>kogu</i>	[+b, –i], sg	[+b, –i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
	–b, –i], subst	[+b, –i], sg
<i>iga</i>	[+b, –i], sg	–b, +i], pl
	[+b, +i], grp	–b, +i], pl
	–b, –i], subst	–b, +i], pl

### 2.3. Synonymy, polysemy, and final typology

The previous table has several entries that differ from each other only by the name of the quantifier while the values of the argument (N) and QNP are equivalent. For example, *terve(Ngrp)* and *kogu(Ngrp)* both yield the same value [+b, +i]. When we take these criteria to be the meaning of a quantifier, then we have something that looks exactly like a dictionary definition for synonymy – lexemes that have the same meaning are synonymous.

I claim that **quantifiers are full synonyms if (and only if) the values for boundedness and internal structure of both their argument and value (QNP) are equivalent.** This is not at all so trivial as it may seem. At this point quantifiers differ completely from, say, nouns that generally have a referent in the real world. The synonymy of nouns is determined by the same referent. It is not enough that two nouns have the same values for boundedness and internal structure.

So, according to Table 2, we have some pairs of synonyms. *terve* and *kogu* have no difference as long as they take a singular object or a group as an argument. In those cases they preserve the value of N. Thus, in sentences (13) and (14) we should be able to replace quantifiers without any change in meaning. And that is

indeed the case. Hence *terve* and *kogu* are synonyms when they combine with singular objects and groups.

- (13) *Terve/Kogu riul oli raamatuid täis*  
 Whole shelf be-imp-3sg book-pl-par full  
 ‘The whole shelf was filled with books’
- (14) *Terve/Kogu klass jäi hiljaks*  
 Whole class stay-imp-3sg late  
 ‘The whole class was late’

The problem arises when we consider *kogu* with a mass noun argument. Sentences (1c) and (2c), reprinted as (15) and (16), indicate that *kogu* can combine with mass nouns while the same is not possible with *terve*. Furthermore, *kogu(Nsubst)* differs from the other *kogu*-QNPs by how it affects its argument. While *kogu(Nsg)* and *kogu(grp)* preserve the type of their argument, *kogu(Nsubst)* changes a mass noun into a singular object. On these grounds I find it necessary to separate *kogu* into two lexemes. First, *kogu* with bounded (+b) arguments that is synonymous with *terve*. For this meaning I will use the notation *kogu/terve* from now on. And second, *kogu* with a mass noun argument that has no parallel in *terve* and that differs from the previous two other *kogu*-QNPs by its feature-changing function.

- (15) \**Terve vesi on märg*  
 \*Whole water be-3sg wet
- (16) *Kogu vesi on märg*  
 Whole water be-3sg wet  
 ‘(The whole) water is wet’

The explanatory dictionary of Estonian gives two senses for *kogu* as well (EK –2: 36–361). It differentiates between QNPs with abstract and concrete heads. I can see no semantic need to stress this kind of difference. Mass nouns have the same structure as abstract nouns. So we need to group them together.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In this entry in EKS–2 words expressing time are grouped together with abstract nouns. I don’t analyse time relations in my present analysis, but I would assume that they form yet another meaning within QNPs.

*kõik* has different arguments as well. I would, however, not divide it into two lexemes because we can cover this quantifier with one simple rule: *kõik* takes unbounded nouns as arguments and preserves their values in QNP. The same is valid for *terve/kogu*. It also preserves the feature structure of its arguments but can combine only with bounded objects. Thus *kõik* and *terve/kogu* cover the function of feature-preserving. The difference lies in the types of arguments they take.

Finally Table 2 presents the QNPs *iga(Nsg)*, *iga(grp)* and *iga(Nsubst)*. I find it helpful to group them into a single lexeme as well. The common rule is that all yield the value  $-b, +i$ . The fact that *iga* – indeclinable – can take no plural objects as arguments may as well have syntactic reasons.

So, the complete typology of positive (full) universal quantifiers of Estonian is presented in Table 3.

Table 3.

### Complete typology of full UQs of Estonian

QNP	Value of N	Value of QNP
<i>kõik(N)</i>	$-b, -i$ , subst	$-b, -i$ , subst
	$-b, +i$ , pl	$-b, +i$ , pl
<i>terve/kogu(N)</i>	$[+b, -i]$ , sg	$[+b, -i]$ , sg
	$[+b, +i]$ , grp	$[+b, +i]$ , grp
<i>kogu(Nsubst)</i>	$-b, -i$ , subst	$[+b, -i]$ , sg
<i>iga(N)</i>	$[+b, -i]$ , sg	$-b, +i$ , pl
	$[+b, +i]$ , grp	$-b, +i$ , pl
	$-b, -i$ , subst	$-b, +i$ , pl

### 3. More Universal Quantifiers

I will now come to the rest of the UQs mentioned in the introduction, namely *igasugune* ‘every kind of’, *mistahes* ‘every kind of’ *see/need* ‘this/these’ and *mõlemad* ‘both’

The quantifiers *igasugune* and *mistahes* have a more limited usage than the “full” ones. It looks like both imply that QNPs that include them can be divided into several kinds (+i). Their meaning is, therefore, not ‘every’ but ‘every kind of’ (Note that ‘kind of’ is

part of the meaning of the quantifier not of its argument N!) That is why I did not consider these quantifiers as “full” quantifiers. In fact, these UQs can be defined in terms of the quantifier *iga* with the argument *liik* ‘kind/sort’ in the partitive case but that is another topic.

Moreover, *igasugune* and *mistahes* are completely acceptable only for general assertions –b), where the predicate is in the present tense or temporally limited, though possibly with the verb in some past tense. For events and processes that have taken place in the past, sentences as (17) seem incorrect. With a verb in the present tense or with an additional clause *sel ajal* ‘at that time’ the same sentences would be fully acceptable.<sup>10</sup> (Sentence (17c) is in the present tense just for the sake of a positive example.)

(17) *igasugune* and *mistahes*

- (a) ?*Igasugune/mistahes* *skulptuur* *vajas*  
 ?Any sculpture need-imp-3sg  
*pesemist*  
 washing-par  
 ‘Any sculpture was in need of washing’
- (b) ?*Igasugune/mistahes* *valitsus* *pooldas*  
 ?Any government support-imp-3sg  
*seadust*  
 law-par  
 ‘Any government supported the law’
- (c) *Igasugune/mistahes* *vesi* *on* *märg*  
 Any sculpture be-imp-3sg wet  
 ‘Any water is wet’

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<sup>10</sup> This is close to the difference between the perfect and imperfect aspect. The problem becomes more complicated when we turn to QNPs in other than subject positions, e.g. when the QNP is a syntactic object as in *Näitusele vajati igasuguseid skulptuure* ‘For the exhibition all/any kinds of sculptures were needed’ Here *igasuguseid* does not quantify universally over *skulptuure* any more.

- (d) ?*Igasugused/mistahes skulptuurid vajasid*  
 ?Any sculpture-pl need-imp-3sg  
*pesemist*  
 washing-par  
 ‘Any sculptures were in need of washing’

As one can see from the above examples, *igasugune* and *mistahes* are synonyms. In all cases they are interchangeable and yield a QNP with the value  $-b, +i]$ . At the same time we cannot consider them synonyms to *iga* because their meaning is ‘any/every kind of’ rather than ‘every/all’<sup>11</sup>

The demonstrative pronoun *see/need* ‘the’ or ‘this/these’ can also be considered a UQ.<sup>12</sup> Besides the deictic function, it refers back to something in the previous discourse. It restricts the VP to a given singular object as a whole or to a substance or plural object in its totality. With mass nouns they have the function of definiteness as *kogu(Nsubst)*. A QNP with *see/need* always has a positive b-feature. Its i-feature remains the same as that of the argument.

QNPs with *see/need* have an interesting property, namely, that they can act as arguments for other UQs. Generally, this is a property that is not characteristic of quantifiers. This is one reason not to treat *see/need* under “full” UQs. So it is not possible to say \**kõik mõned majad* ‘all some houses’, \**ükski kolm looma* ‘none three animals’ or \**iga kogu vesi* ‘every whole water’ But it is absolutely correct to have Estonian sentences like (18).

- (18) (*Kogu see skulptuur vajas pesemist*  
 Whole this sculpture need-imp-3sg washing-par  
 ‘This whole sculpture was in need of washing’

In such combinations one can not clearly determine, what is the meaning of *see/need*. *kogu* already bears the universal

<sup>11</sup> I have used *any* as the English translation for *igasugune* and *mistahes*. The opposite, however, does not always hold because *any* can act as an existential quantifier (Kadmin & Landman 1993) but *mistahes* cannot.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on the English article *the* as a quantifier cf. Schwarzschild (1992: 642).

quantification. *see/need* either repeats the quantification, points to an external object or adds an emphasis.

Finally, there is the quantifier *mõlemad* that is defined only in contexts where the set of N has two objects. In spite of its limited usage it is still a universal quantifier – as is *terve* that is defined only when there is one member in N. The reason for considering *terve* among the full quantifiers is that the singular and plural are common categories in Estonian, but the same cannot be said for dual. *mõlemad* can be compared to *need* in that it takes a plural object and turns it into a bounded group [+b, +i].

The typology of additional quantifiers is summarised in Table 4.

Table 4.

#### More quantifiers

Quantifier	Value of argument (N)	Type of QNP
<i>igasugune/mistahes</i>	[+b, -i], sg	-b, +i], pl
	[+b, +i], grp	-b, +i], pl
	-b, -i], subst	-b, +i], pl
	-b, +i], pl	-b, +i], pl
<i>see</i>	[+b, -i], sg	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
	-b, -i], subst	[+b, -i], sg
<i>need</i>	-b, +i], pl	[+b, +i], grp
<i>mõlemad</i>	-b, +i], pl	[+b, +i], grp

#### 4. Inferences

The typology of positive universal quantifiers in Estonian gives some more insight into what is possible and what remains inexpressible by means of the Estonian language.

1. As was stated above (2.1.) theoretically a language can have  $4 \times 4 = 16$  possible functions of universal quantification from an N to QNP. When we count all the different combinations in Tables 3 and 4, we see that Estonian quantifiers correspond to nine of them. This is only one more than a half of the theoretically conceivable

16. Accordingly, there are seven functions for which Estonian has no lexical means (Table 5).

Table 5.

**UQs that have no lexical equivalent in Estonian**

Theoretical QNPs	Type of QNP
$Q(Nsg)$	-b, -i], substance
	[+b, +i], group
$Q(Ngrp)$	[+b, -i], singular thing
	-b, -i], substance
$Q(Nsubst)$	[+b, +i], group
$Q(Npl)$	[+b, -i], singular thing
	-b, -i], substance

Semantically or syntactically there is no reason why, for example, there is no quantifier that would turn a plural object into a singular one. At the same time there is a quantifier – *kogu(Nsubst)* – that turns a substance into a singular object. It does not follow from this fact that those “missing” cases cannot be expressed in Estonian by some other means.

2. For all four types of noun there is a feature-preserving UQ (the first four rows of Table 3). For bounded nouns it is *kõik*, for unbounded nouns – *terve/kogu*.

It also becomes evident that a plural QNP can be formed no matter what the type of noun – unless it is impossible for non-linguistic reasons, as in *\*iga Maa* ‘every Earth’ (this is of course possible as a metaphor). When the argument is a plural object, Estonian uses *kõik*, in other cases – *iga*.

It seems that the primary needs in Estonian are (a) to express universal quantification over a noun without changing its type and (b) to have a plural QNP no matter what the argument. Whether this statement holds more generally for other languages is yet to be explored.

3. One would guess that the type of a QNP can be more structured than that of a noun. For example, when we have an internally structured noun (+i), then by some quantification we should



theoretically be able to have a double internal structure: first the QNP implies some members, and, second, the members in turn imply some members. In practice it would mean that when we have, for example, a universally quantified 'big group' of 'small groups', then a distributive verb should refer to both the 'big group' and the 'small groups'. That this is not the case is illustrated by (19) (I will use a combination of two sentences for the same reasons as in (12)).

- (19) *Iga valitsus oli kohal. Nad kogunesid lossi*  
 Every government be-imp-3sg present. They  
 gather-imp-3sg castle-ill  
 'Every government was present. They gathered in the  
 castle'

The verb *kogunesid* involves entire governments, not individual members of governments. Indeed, (19) is true even if not all members of all governments were present.<sup>13</sup> Thus a QNP allows access only to its direct members not to members of members.

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<sup>13</sup> For discussion cf. Landman (1989: 570ff)

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## EESTI KEELE UNIVERSAALSETE KVANTORITE SEMANTIKA

### Leho Paldre

Semantiliselt on kvantorid funktsioonid, mis võtavad argumendiks noomeni ja mille väärtuseks on NP. Süntaktiliselt vastavad kvantoritele NP täiendiks olevad determinatiivid. Eesti keeles väljendavad universaalset kvantifikatsiooni lekseemid *kõik, iga, terve, kogu, igasugune, mistahes, see/need, mõlemad*. Käesolev artikkel analüüsib neid kvantoreid kontseptuaalse semantika (KS) vaatenurgast.

**1. Kvantorite klassifitseerimise alused.** KSi järgi jaotuvad reaalse maailma objektid tunnuste  $\pm$ piiratud [*boundedness*,  $\pm b$ ] ja  $\pm$ sisestruktuur [*internal structure*,  $\pm i$ ] järgi nelja rühma: ainsuslikud objektid [ $+b -i$ ], grupid [ $+b, +i$ ], ained  $-b, +i$ ] ja mitmuslikud objektid  $-b, +i$ ]. Tunnus **piiratud** kirjeldab seda,

kas objekt on piiritletud mingi konkreetse hulga või arvuga. Tunnus sise-**struktuur** kirjeldab, kas sõnast järeldub, et objektil, mille kohta teda kasutatakse, on mingi sisemine struktuur või ei. Kasutan sedasama jaotust eesti keele universaalsete kvantorite liigitamisel.

**2. Analüüs: eesti keele universaalsed kvantorid (UKd).** Sõnu *kõik*, *kogu*, *iga* ja *terve* võib pidada põhikvantoriteks. Teistel alguses loetletud UKdel on esmaseks rolliks midagi muud või on nad piiritletud väga spetsiifilise kontekstiga. Alustan seepärast põhikvantorite analüüsist. Põhikvantorite klassifitseerimiseks on kaks kriteeriumi. Esiteks see, millise noomenitüübiga vastav UK eesti keeles esineb, ja teiseks see, kas tulemuseks olevad kombinatsioonid ise on erineva tähendusega.

**2.1.** Teoreetiliselt on võimalik  $(4 \text{ UKd}) \times (4 \text{ noomenitüüpi}) = 16$  kombinatsiooni. Eesti keele kasutab neist tegelikult ainult kümnet (vt tabeli kahte esimest kaks tulp).

#### Eesti keeles võimalikud kvantorite ja noomenitüüpide kombinatsioonid ning tulemusfraaside tüübid

Kvantor	Argumendi tüüp (N)	Fraasi tüüp
<i>kõik</i>	-b, -i], subst	-b, -i], subst
	-b, +i], pl	-b, +i], pl
<i>terve</i>	[+b, -i], sg	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
<i>kogu</i>	[+b, -i], sg	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
	-b, -i], subst	[+b, -i], sg
<i>iga</i>	[+b, -i], sg	-b, +i], pl
	[+b, +i], grp	-b, +i], pl
	-b, -i], subst	-b, +i], pl

**2.2.** Teadmine, et eesti keeles on võimalik kümme kvantori ja noomenitüübi kombinatsiooni, ei anna meile veel rahuldavat klassifikatsiooni. Näiteks ei eristu *kõik(Nsubst)* ja *kogu(Nsubst)*. Ma väidan, et UKde tähenduste eristamiseks tuleb vaadata nii noomeni tüüpi kui ka kogu kvantifitseeritud fraasi tüüpi. Tervikfraaside tüübi määramisel saame mõnevõrra ootamatuid tulemusi (eelmise tabeli viimane tulp). Nimelt ilmneb, et mitmel juhul erineb kvantifitseeritud fraasi tüüp tema argumentiks oleva noomeni tüübist. Samuti osutuvad mõned kvantorid sünonüümseteks, st sama argumenti puhul annavad eri kvantorid sama tulemuse. Järgmises tabelis on esitatud põhikvantorite lõplik klassifikatsioon.

## Eesti keele põhi-UKde lõplik klassifikatsioon

Kvantorfraas	N-i tüüp	Fraasi tüüp
<i>kõik(N)</i>	-b, -i], subst	-b, -i], subst
	-b, +i], pl	-b, +i], pl
<i>terve/kogu(N)</i>	[+b, -i], sg	[+b, -i], sg
	[+b, +i], grp	[+b, +i], grp
<i>kogu(Nsubst)</i>	-b, -i], subst	[+b, -i], sg
<i>iga(N)</i>	[+b, -i], sg	-b, +i], pl
	[+b, +i], grp	-b, +i], pl
	-b, -i], subst	-b, +i], pl

**3. Lisakvantoreid.** Analüüsid ülejäänud UKsid, näeme, et *igasugune* ja *mistahes* on täiesti sünonüümsed. Fraasid nende kahe lekseemiga tähistavad alati mitmuslikke objekte, hoolimata argumendiks oleva noomeni tüübist. *see* on kasutatav vaid ühe objektiga kontekstides. Ta on "tunnust säilitav" kvantor, st fraasi väärtus on identne argumendi väärtusega. *need*-kvantor aga muudab fraasi grupiliseks. *mõlemad* kasutatakse kontekstis, kus on kaks objekti. Nagu *need*'ki annab ta fraasile grupilise väärtuse.

**4. Järeldusi.** Universaalsete kvantorite klassifikatsioon osutab mõnele seigale selle kohta, mida eesti keel võimaldab väljendada ja mida mitte. Lisakvantoreid ja põhikvantoreid kõrvutades ilmneb, et eesti keel kasutab 16 võimalikust kvantorist üheksat. Järelikult ei ole eesti keeles otseseid leksi-kaalseid võimalusi seitsme (peaaegu pool!) "kvantifitseerimisliigi" jaoks. Semantilisi ega süntaktilisi takistusi selleks ei näi olevat.

Kvantorite ja fraaside tüüpe vaadates tuleb välja, et eesti keeles on täielikult kaetud võimalused, kus (a) noomenit kvantifitseeritakse ilma tema tüüpi muutmata ja kus (b) fraas on mitmuslik, hoolimata argumendi tüübist. Edasi oleks huvitav uurida, kas see on üldisem tendents või ainult eesti keele omapära.

Kvantifitseeritud fraaside juures ei ole võimalik täheldada kahekordset sisemist struktuuri, st et kui noomenil endal (nt *valitsus*) on olemas sisestruktuur [+i], siis kvantifitseeritud fraasis (nt *iga valitsus*) ei ole mingites süntaktilistes konstruktsioonides võimalik eristada kahte alamtasandit [+i] (nt 'kõik valitsused koos' → 'iga valitsus eraldi' → 'valitsusliikmed'). Jällegi, teoreetiliselt ei näe ma põhjust, miks nii ei võiks olla.

# ENTSPRICHT ESTNISCH DEM AGGLUTINIERENDEN SPRACHTYPUS ?<sup>1</sup>

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Obwohl einmal die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen als Prototyp des agglutinierenden Sprachtypus dienten und der Ansatz der Sprachtypologie sehr fruchtbar in der Finnougristik war, haben die Finnougristen sich von der typologischen Methode distanziert. Aber in der letzten Zeit widmen auch estnische Sprachwissenschaftler ihre Aufmerksamkeit den typologischen bzw. arealtypologischen Untersuchungen (Tauli 1966, 1984, Uesson 1970, Viitso 1980, Rätsep 1981, Metslang, 1994, Künnäp 1994; 1996, Audova et al. 1996). Hier werde ich nicht ihre Arbeiten diskutieren, sondern werde Estnisch aus typologischer Sicht behandeln.

Georg von der Gabelentz hat in seiner *Sprachwissenschaft* (1901) die Sprachtypologie als "grammatische Statistik" definiert (Plank 1991: 453).

Ich werde fragen, ob Estnisch dem agglutinierenden Sprachtypus entspricht oder nicht. Dazu werde ich die typologischen Merkmale katalogisieren, eine Art von "grammatischer Statistik" durchführen. Dabei stütze ich mich auf die typologischen Studien des tschechischen Linguisten *Vladimír Skalička* (1909-1991). Er unterschied fünf Sprachtypen: isolierende, agglutinierende, flektierende, introflexive und polysynthetische Typen. Ein Sprachtypus ist für Skalička:

keine Zusammenfassung ähnlicher Sprachen, wie es in der älteren Typologie der Fall ist. Er ist auch nicht eine Verkörperung eines Sprachgeistes, wie man oft gemeint hat. Ein Typ ist ... die Verbindung von Spracheigenschaften, die aufeinander abge-

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<sup>1</sup> Tänan oma õpetajat prof. Frans Planku, et ta mind oma seminarides tüpoloogija juurde juhatas. Samuti tänan prof. Mati Erehtit asjalike märkuste ja väga oluliste viidete eest töödele, mis oleksid muidu võinud kahe silma vahele jääda. Tänan ka dr. Susanne Franki käsikirja hoolika redigeerimise eest.

stimmt sind. Der reine Typus ist ein deduktives Konstruktum, das nicht realisiert werden kann. Jede Sprache ist also eine Mischung von verschiedenen Typen. Wenn man z.B. behauptet, dass "das Ungarische oder das Finnische eine agglutinierende Sprache ist", so kann das nur so verstanden werden, dass der agglutinierende Typus im Ungarischen oder Finnischen die Dominante bildet (1979: 258-259).

### **Inwiefern entspricht Estnisch dem agglutinierenden Typ?**

Die Eigenschaften des agglutinierenden Typs wurden aus dem Aufsatz (Skalička 1979b) aufgenommen und mit den Eigenschaften aus (Skalička 1975, 1979a, 1979c, 1979d und Skalička, Sgall 1994) ergänzt.

*1. Die Existenz einer Wurzel, an welche die formalen Elemente angehängt wurden. Es gibt viele Affixe.*

√ +

*a) Das Ausdrücken von Kasus und Numerus durch besondere Endungen.*

		SG	PL: -te- (-de-), -i-
NOM	-ø	raamat 'das Buch'	raamatu-d 'die Bücher'
GEN	-ø	raamatu 'des Buchs'	raamatu-te 'der Bücher'
ILL	-sse	raamatu-sse 'in das Buch'	raamatu-te-sse 'in die Bücher' <i>od.</i> raamatu-i-sse
INE	-s	raamatu-s 'in dem Buch'	raamatu-te-s 'in den Büchern' <i>od.</i> raamatu-i-s
ELA	-st	raamatu-st 'aus dem Buch'	raamatu-te-st 'aus den Büchern' <i>od.</i> raamatu-i-st

Hier zeigt sich eine gewisse Anomalie, weil es manchmal zwei verschiedene Mehrzahlendungen (-te- und sog. -i-Plural) für die

Obliquakasus gibt. Manchmal geht auch die systematische Endung des Plurals verloren (z. B. maja ‘das Haus’ maj-u.PL.PAR, vgl. maja-sid.PL.PAR, jalg ‘der Fuß’, jalg-u.PL.PAR, jal-u-st.PL-ELA, vgl. jalga-de-st.PL-ELA.)

√ +

b) *Die phonematische Beschaffenheit und silbische Selbstständigkeit der Affixe. Das Prinzip der Hypertrophie der Affixe.*

Estnische Affixe verlieren oft ihre silbische Struktur (KV oder KKV), weil sie ihren Vokal verlieren. Z. B. -s.INE < -ssa/-ssä; -st.ELA < -sta/-stä. Andererseits verlieren die estnischen Kasusendungen oft ihren Konsonanten, z. B. die endungslosen Formen des Partitivs Genitivs und Akkusativs. Dafür sind die Akkusativ- und Genitivformen zusammengefallen. Diese Tendenz führt zur Verringerung der Hypertrophie. Vgl. türkische hypertrophierte Beispiele: git-mek.INF ‘gehen’, gid-i-yor-sun ‘du gehest’ und gid-i-yor-sunuz ‘ihr gehet’ (-i ist ein Verbindungsvokal, der sich nach die großen Vokalharmonie verändert, -yor- ist Präsensmarker, -sun ist die Endung für die zweite Person und -uz ist ein Pluralzeichen).

√ ±

c) *Keine Formalwörter.*

Es gibt relativ wenig Formalwörter: Präpositionen, Postpositionen und Konjugationen.

√ ±

d) *Keine Komposita.*

Estnisch ist sehr reich an Komposita, z. B. maailm ‘Welt’ < maa ‘Erde’ + ilm ‘Wetter, Welt’ Das ist eine polysynthetische Methode. Manche Komposita sind auch kondensiert, z. B. aasta ‘Jahr’ < ajast.ELA aega.ADI ‘von Zeit zu Zeit’

√ -

e) *Undeutliche Scheidung von Endungen und Ableitungssuffixen, Kasusendungen, adverbielle Endungen usw.*

Ableitungssuffixe unterscheiden sich von Kasusendungen dadurch, daß die Ableitungen vollständige Nomenparadigmen haben. Aber auch hier ist die Grenze undeutlich. Z. B. der Kasus Abessiv hat die Endung -ta ‘ohne’ dazu gibt es auch ein reflexive

Parallelform mit der Endung -tu 'sich/selbst ... ohne' Diese reflexive Abessivendung funktioniert auch als ein Ableitungssuffix. Z. B. laps.NOM 'Kind' lastetaPL.ABE 'ohne die Kinder' lastetu.PL.ABE:REFL=NOM 'kinderlos'; weiter lastetus 'Kinderlosigkeit'

Adverbielle Endungen -lt und -sti sind eigentlich Kasusendungen des Trennungskasus: -lt entspricht der Ablativendung und -sti < -st + i ist eine modifizierte Elativendung. Vgl. z. B. kiire auto 'schnelles Auto', kiire-lt.ABL auto-lt.ABL 'von dem schnellen Auto' auto sõitis kiire-sti.ADV=ABL 'das Auto fuhr schnell'; kiire-st.ELA auto-st.ELA 'von dem schnellen Auto' und auto sõitis kiire-sti.ADV=ELA+i 'das Auto fuhr schnell'

√ +

## 2. Privativer Gegensatz der Endungen.

a) *Der endungslose Nominativ, der fast ein Nullkasmus ist, als Stammform.*

	SG	PL. -d [-te- (-de-), -i-]
NOM ∅	raamat-∅ 'das Buch'	raamatu-d-∅ 'die Bücher'

Der estnische Nominativ ist endungslos, er ist der Kasus des Subjekts und des nominalen Prädikats, aber er verbindet sich nicht mit den Postpositionen. Mit den Postpositionen verbindet sich meistens der endungslose Genitiv bzw. Wortstamm. Der Nominalstamm kommt nicht im Nominativ, sondern immer im Genitiv vor. Alle Kasusendungen schließen sich an die Genitivform an.

√ ±

b) *Der Singular als Absenz des Numerus.*

Nur der Plural ist durch besondere Endungen markiert, der Singular bleibt im Estnischen wie auch in allen uralisch-jukagirischen Sprachen immer unmarkiert.

√ +

## 3. Die geringe Anzahl von echten Präpositionen und Postpositionen.

Viele Postpositionen sind innerhalb der inneren bzw. äußeren Lokalkasus deklinierbar. In manchen Fällen unterscheiden sich die



Postpositionalphrasen kaum noch von den Kasusformen der Substantive, bzw. sie sind analytische Kasusformen. Es führt in Richtung des isolierenden Typus.

maja.GEN si-sse.ILL = maja-sse.ILL	in das Haus
maja see-s.INE = maja-s.INE	im Haus
maja see-st.ELA = maja-st.ELA	aus dem Haus
laua.GEN pea-le.ALL = laua-le.ALL	auf den Tisch
laua pea-l.ADE = laua-l.ADE	auf dem Tisch
laua pea-lt.ABL = laua-lt.ABL	von dem Tisch

Fast alle (auch konjugierte) Prä- und Postpositionen können sich mit der suffigierten Modalpartikel -ki (-gi) verbinden. Z. B. maja see-st-ki 'auch aus dem Haus', mööda-gi tänavat 'auch die Straße entlang'

√ +

#### 4. Keine Klassifizierung der Substantiva.

##### a) Fehlen der Wortklassen.

Der Status der Adjektive im Estnischen als selbständige Wortklasse ist sehr fraglich. Das Adjektiv wird flektiert. Die Kongruenz der Adjektive ist ein wichtiges syntaktisches Symptom des flektierenden Sprachtyps.

√ ?

##### b) Fehlen der Genera.

Estnisch besitzt keine Genera.

√ +

Bemerkung. Nur die Fragewörter unterscheiden lebendige und nichtlebendige bzw. sich bewegende und nichtbewegende Gegenstände: kes?NOM, kelle?GEN, keda?PAR usw. für lebendige bzw. bewegende Wesen und mis?NOM, mille?GEN, mida?PAR usw. für die nichtlebendige bzw. nichtbewegende Sachen.

Die Endungen -tar und -nna des Substantivs bezeichnen weibliche Personen, z. B. tü-tar 'Tochter', laulja-tar bzw. laulja-nna 'Sängerin' vs. laulja 'Sänger'

### 5. Die Possessivsuffixe.

Estnisch hat keine Possessivsuffixe. Man hat das Fehlen der Possessivendungen als Symptom des isolierenden Sprachtypus gesehen. Vgl. finn. *poika-ni* und estn. *minu poeg* 'mein Sohn'

√-

### 6. Der Artikel – soweit vorhanden – als Suffix.

Estnisch hat keinen Artikel.

√-

Bemerkung. Das Zahlwort *üks* 'ein' kann manchmal ähnlich wie der unbestimmte Artikel funktionieren.

### 7 Die Möglichkeit Ableitungssuffixe an Endungen anzu-hängen.

Solche Fälle sind ganz häufig. Z. B. *pikk*.ADJ 'lang' (\**pide-kä* > *pitke* > *pikk*) / *pikk+us* > *pikkus*.SUBST 'Länge' / *pikkus+ne* > *pikkune*.ADJ 'lang/Länge in der Equationsbildungen' od. in Ver-balderivation, z. B. *kuum* 'warm' / *kuume-ne*.TRA-ma.SUP 'warm werden' / \**kuume-ne*.TRA-ta.CST-ma.SUP > *kuume-n-da-ma* 'warm (heiß) machen' / *kuume-n-da-ta*.PAS-ma 'Passive von warm (heiß) machen'

Auch Lokalkasusendungen, die synchronisch einfache erscheinen, sind von diachronischem Standpunkt aus betrachtet "agglutinierende Zusammensetzungen" Z. B. die Endung *-st* des inneren separativen Lokalkasus Elativ ist aus der alten Separativendung *-ta* und aus der inneren Lokalendung *-s* gebildet: *-st*.ELA < \**-sta* < \**-s* + \**-ta*.

√+

### 8. Die manchmal monosyllabische Wurzel, die in manchen Fällen in die anschließende Silbe übergeht. In den Endungen ist das konsonantische Element zumeist stark vertreten.

Die estnischen Endungen haben fast immer einen konsonantischen Bestandteil. Weil der Nominalstamm nicht im Nominativ, sondern nur im Genitiv vorkommt, ist er immer ein Vokalstamm. Die meisten Wörter mit monosyllabischem Nominativ haben den zweisilbigen Genitiv, z. B. *poiss*.NOM 'der Junge' : *poi-si*.GEN. Die Wörter, die den monosyllabischen Genitiv haben, inkorporieren nicht selbst silbenformierende Endungen so, daß das Wort

monosyllabisch bleibt, z. B. kuu.GEN 'des MONDS, des Monats' kuul.ADE 'auf dem Mond, im Monat', aber kuu-ta.ABE 'ohne den Mond'

√ +

9. *Das seltene Vorkommen von Alternationen. Freilich gibt es die Möglichkeit einer markanten Vokalharmonie.*

a) Die phonologische Reduktion der Endungen, verbunden mit der Differenzierung der Stämme führt zu zahlreichen Stammalternationen, bzw. zu Alternationen des Stufenwechsels. Als Resultat kann die Alternation allein die grammatischen Elemente ausdrücken (z. B. poiss.NOM 'Junge', poisi.GEN, poissi.PAR, uba 'die Bohne', oa 'der Bohne', idu 'der Keim', eo 'des Keims'; söö-n 'ich esse'/ söö-i-n > söi-n 'ich aß'). Es führt in Richtung des introflexiven Typus.

√ -

b) Es gibt keine Vokalharmonie.

√ -

Bemerkung. In der südestnischen Sprache und in den Dialekten kommt die Vokalharmonie aber doch vor.

10. *Die häufige Bildung von Ableitungen.*

Ableitungen durch Suffixe sind sehr häufig, z. B. haige 'krank, der Krank, die Krank', haig-la 'Krankenhaus', haig-lus 'Kränklichkeit', haig-us 'Krankheit', haig-lane 'kränklich', haiguslik 'krankhaft', haige-stu-ma 'krank werden'

√ +

11. *Fehlen der Kongruenz des attributiv gebrauchten Adjektivs, weil Kasus, Numerus usw. nur einmal (beim Substantiv) ausgedrückt werden.*

Im Estnischen kongruiert das attributiv gebrauchte Adjektiv mit dem Substantiv wie in den flektierenden Sprachen in Verbindung mit 10 Standardfällen (NOM, GEN, PAR usw.) aus 14. In Verbindung mit dem Essiv, Terminativ, Abessiv und Komitativ gibt es keine Kassuskongruenz, obwohl das Adjektiv den Numerus eigentlich zeigt. Dabei ist es interessant, daß der Essiv einer der ältesten Fälle ist und der Komitativ der allerjüngste unter estnischen Fällen (aus XVI Jh.).

Obligatorisch geblieben ist die Anteposition der Adjektiva, d. h. die feste Wortfolge: roheline mets ‘grüner Wald’, roheli-stest.PL-ELA metsa-de-st.PL-ELA, aber nicht \*metsadest rohelistest; metsad on rohelisted ‘die Wälder sind grüne’

√ ±

### 12. *Es gibt keinen Suppletivismus.*

Im estnischen gibt es einige Fälle des Suppletivismus, z. B.

üks – esimene	‘ein – erste’
kaks – teine	‘zwei – zweiter’
hea – parem	‘gut – besser’
minema – lähen	‘zu gehen – (ich) gehe’
palju – rohkem, enam	‘viel – mehr’
olema – on < *oma	‘zu sein – ist < *hab-’

√ ±

13. *Die Kardinalzahlen werden mit ihrem Substantiv wie die Adjektive verbunden. Sie haben keine Endungen und stehen mit dem Singular.*

Die Kardinalzahl üks (1) ‘ein’ ist adjektivisch. z. B.

üks.NOM poiss.NOM	– ‘ein Junge’
ühe.GEN poisi.GEN	– ‘eines Jungen’
ühte.PAR poissi.PAR	– “ein Junge: als Partialobjekt od. Partialsubjekt; in der Handlung bezeichnet Imperfekt”
ühel.ADE poisil.ADE	– ‘einem Jungen’
ühe.GEN poisiga.KOM	– ‘mit einem Jungen’

Alle anderen Kardinalzahlen (auch null) bilden nominative Partialkonstruktionen und stehen mit dem Singular. Alle Obliquakasus sind adjektivisch wie im Fall der Kardinalzahl üks.

kaks.NOM poissi.PAR	– ‘zwei Jungen’
kahe.GEN poisi.GEN	– ‘zwei Jungen’
kahte.PAR poissi.PAR	– ‘zwei Jungen’
kahest.ELA poisist.ELA	– ‘von zwei Jungen’
kahe.GEN poisiga.KOM	– ‘mit zwei Jungen’

√ ±

Bemerkung. Der sogenannten baskischen numeralen Partialkonstruktion X.PL.ABL NUM entspricht die estnische X.PL.ELA NUM, z. B.

bask.:	mutil-eta-tik	bi
	Junge-PL-ABL	zwei
estn.:	pois-te-st	kaks
	Junge-PL-ELA	zwei
	'zwei von den Jungen'	

Die estnische Pluralkonstruktion NUM.PL X.PL zeigt verschiedene Gruppen od. Mengen an: z. B. kahed.PL.NOM poisid.PL.NOM bedeutet etwa 'zwei Gruppe der Jungen' od. laual on kahed õunad bedeutet etwa 'auf dem Tisch liegen Äpfel von zwei verschiedene Sorten (z. B. rote und grüne)'

#### 14. Die Personalpronomia als Subjekt fallen zumeist weg.

Da das finite Verb durch Personalendungen immer markiert ist, fällt das Personalpronomen oft ganz weg. Auch der estnische Minimalsatz besteht nur aus einem finiten Verb, z. B.: "Jookseb." 'er läuft'

mina/ma	jookse-n	'ich laufe'	jooks-i-n	'ich laufte'
sina/sa	jookse-d	'du läufst'	jooks-i-d	'du liefst'
tema/ta	jookse-b	'er/sie/es läuft'	jooks-i-s	'er/sie/es lief'
meie/me	jookse-me	'wir laufen'	jooks-i-me	'wir liefen'
teie/te	jookse-te	'ihr lauft'	jooks-i-te	'ihr lieft'
nemad/nad	jookse-vad	'sie laufen'	jooks-i-d	'sie liefen'
	√ +			

#### 15. Ebenso fällt das Personalpronomen im Genitiv weg.

Da die Possessivsuffixe fehlen, ist das Personalpronomen im Genitiv unerlässlich. In Verbindung mit dem Substantiv bleibt das genitivische Personalpronomen unverändert, während das Substantiv alle Fälle und beide Numeri annehmen kann.

minu.GEN	tuba.NOM	'mein Zimmer'
minu	toa.GEN	'meines Zimmers'
minu	tuppa.ADI	'in meinen Zimmer'
minu	toast.ELA	'aus meinem Zimmer'

minu toaga.KOM 'mit meinem Zimmer'  
 minu toad.PL.NOM 'meine Zimmer'  
 minu tubadest.PL.ELA 'aus meinen Zimmern'

√ -

16. Die Personalpronomina *ich wir, du ihr* werden immer durch den gleichen Stamm für die einzelne Person ausgedrückt, dem im Plural eine Endung beigegeben wird.

Es ist möglich, daß *meie* 'wir' und *teie* 'ihr' historisch dieselben Stämme haben wie *mina* 'ich' und *sina* 'du'. Jedenfalls ist *sina* < \**tina*. Aber es gibt auch die Möglichkeit, daß die Pronomina für die erste und zweite Person die abgelösten Personalendungen sind. Auch haben die Pluralformen *meie* und *teie* keine richtigen Pluralendungen, obwohl -i- das Pluralzeichen sein kann.

√ ?

17. Das häufige Vorkommen von Suffixen, die verschiedene Modifikationen der Bedeutung des Verbs ausdrücken.

a) Modifizierende Suffixe sind sehr häufig, z. B. kausative -ta-, faktitive -ta-, reflexive -u- und translative -ne- Suffixe; Suffix der Bedingungsform -ksi- (-ks) und des Abhängigkeitsforms (modus obliquus) -vat.

Z. B. *põlema* 'brennen *intr.*' vs. *põle-ta-ma* 'brennen *tr.*', *külm* 'kalt' vs. *külme-ta-ma* 'frieren', *riietama* 'anziehen' vs. *riietu-ma* 'sich anziehen', *külme-ne-ma* 'kühler werden'; *loe-ksi-n* 'ich läse, ich würde lesen' und *ma luge-vat* 'ich lese angeblich; man sagt, daß ich lese'

Reziproke Suffixe, Suffixe der Negation und der Unmöglichkeit fehlen.

√ ±

b) Die Temporalsuffixe.

Für das Präteritum gibt es das Suffix -i- (-si-) (vgl. 14. oben). Für Präsens (eigentlich Nicht-Vergangenheit) gibt es synchronisch keine Suffixe. Die Zeitformen des Perfekts und Plusquamperfekts werden isolierend (analytisch) durch die konjugierte Form von *olema* 'sein' und Partizip gebildet. Die infiniten Formen, das

Supinum, der Infinitiv, die Partizipien und die Kasusformen werden durch Suffixe gebildet.

√ ±

*c) Die Personal- und Numeralsuffixe.*

Für die Personalsuffixe siehe 14. oben. Die Numeralsuffixe fehlen. Als die Person und der Numerus gleichzeitig nur mit einer Endung ausgedrückt werden, ist es ein charakteristisches Merkmal der flektierenden Tendenzen der estnischen Sprache. Nur in der dritten Person im Plural gibt es das Pluralsuffix -d (-va-d).

√ ±

*18. Einziges Deklinations- bzw. Konjugationsparadigma.*

*a) Der einheitliche Konjugationstyp.*

Für alle Verben bleiben die Personalendungen dieselben. Vgl. loe-n 'ich lese', jookse-n 'ich laufe', räägi-n 'ich spreche' (rääki-si-n 'ich sprach'), söö-n 'ich esse' usw.

√ +

*b) Das einheitliche Konjugations- und Deklinationsmuster*

Eigentlich gibt es sehr verschiedene Deklinationsmuster. Man spricht auch von verschiedenen Subdeklinationen des Substantivs und Subkonjugationen des Zeitworts. Die Mehrzahl der Deklinations- und Konjugationsmuster ist ein charakteristisches Merkmal des flektierenden Sprachtyps.

√ -

*c) Keine Synonymie und Homonymie der Endungen.*

Eigentlich sind z. B. die Pluralzeichen -i- und -te- (-de-) synonymisch und die Endung -d ist homonymisch mit dem Pluralzeichen im Nominativ, mit der Partitivendung (im Singular), und mit der Endung der zweiten Person im Singular. Z. B. idee-d.PL.NOM 'Ideen', idee-d.PAR, ide-i-d.PL.PAR, idee-de.PL.GEN, jookse-d 'du läufst'. Synonymie und Homonymie der Endungen ist ein wichtiges Merkmal der flektierenden Tendenzen der estnischen Sprache.

√ -

19. *Satzbau: das bloße Verb kann mit einer Endung stehen.*

a) *Auch der estnische Minimal Satz besteht nur aus einem finiten Verb, z. B.: Jookseb. 'Er, sie läuft'*

√ +

b) *Nominalsätze sind mögliche.*

Im Estnischen gibt es keine Nominalsätze ohne Hilfe des Verbs wie im Ungarischen *András beteg* Andreas ist krank'

√ -

c) *Gebundene Wortfolge.*

Obwohl die typische estnische Wortfolge SVO ist, ist sie doch grundsätzlich frei. Das ist ein Symptom des flektierenden Sprachtyps.

√ -

d) *Wenig Konjunktionen.*

Im Estnischen sind Konjunktionen ganz häufig, z. B. ja, ning 'und', kui 'wenn, als', kuid 'aber, (je)doch, kuigi 'obwohl', või, ehk 'oder' usw.

√ -

20. *Nicht alle Sätze werden auf gleiche Weise aufgebaut, vielmehr sind mehrere Konstruktionen zulässig.*

√ +

21. *Die Häufigkeit von infiniten Verbalformen und die beschränkte Verwendung von Nebensätzen.*

Im Estnischen sind die infiniten Verbalformen (Supina (personale, impersonale und Kasusformen), Infinitiv, Partizipien, Gerundium) und auch die Nebensätze sehr häufig.

√ ±

22. *Zum agglutinierenden Typus gehört das Fehlen der Wortarten. Es werden alle Affixe an alle Wurzeln angehängt.*

a) Das Supinum (od. 1. Infinitiv od. ma-Infinitiv) ist historisch der Illativ, synchronisch der Additiv ("kurze Form des Illativs") des Wortstamms; entsprechende Frage *kuhu?* 'wohin?'



Vgl.:

Lāhen metsa, jooksmā, hūppama vōi tuppa.  
 gehe Wald.ADI laufen.SUP hüpfen.SUP od. Zimmer.ADI  
 in den Wald zu laufen zu hüpfen od. ins Zimmer  
 Ich gehe in den Wald, um zu laufen, um zu hüpfen od. ins Zimmer.

Der Additiv ist morphologisch sehr variabel und ohne dominierende Endung. Die Kennzeichen sind -de, -tte, -se, ø, Verlängerung des Stamms und -ma für das Supinum. Der Stamm des Supinums ist normalerweise nicht gleich mit dem Genitivstamm.

Das Supinum hat folgende Kasusformen:

jooks-mā.ADI=SUP	‘rennen’
jooks-mā-s.INE	‘im Rennen’
jooks-mā-st.ELA	‘vom Rennen’
jooks-mā-tā.ABE	‘nicht gerannt’
jooks-mā-tu.ABE:REFL	‘es ist nicht möglich zu Laufen’,

dazu auch drei Neologismen:

jooks-mā-ks.TRA	‘dafür, daß jemand rennt’
(jooks-mā-ni.TER)	
(jooks-mā-gā.KOM)	

b) Der Infinitiv (od. 2. Infinitiv od. da-Infinitiv) ist sehr ähnlich mit dem Partitiv. Der Infinitiv hat Endungen -ta, -da od. -a. Der Partitiv, in den älteren Grammatiken auch Infinitiv genannt, hat Endungen -t, -d od. -ø, die aus der ursprünglichen Endung -ta (-tä) stammen. Vgl.:

Tahan	süüa,	õuna,	juua,	joosta	vōi
möchte	essen.INF	Apfel.PAR	trinken.INF	laufen.INF	od.

kommi.

Konfekt.PAR

Ich möchte essen, einen Apfel, trinken, laufen oder Konfekte.

c) Das impersonale Supinum wird aus dem Infinitiv gebildet.

joos-tā.INF	< jooks+tā ‘laufen’	süü-a.INF [süia]	‘essen’	< söö+da
joos-tā-mā.SUP:IMP		söö-da-mā.SUP:IMP		

Ein im Infinitiv manchmal verschwundener bzw. assimilierter Endungskonsonant -t- (-d-) kommt im impersonalen Supinum immer vor, z. B. süüa : söödama 'essen' tul-la : tul-da-ma 'kommen', ol-la : ol-da-ma 'sein' sur-ra : sur-da-ma 'sterben'

d) Die Stamm der fmiten Form kommt in der 1. Person im Präsens vor. Z. B. für jookse-n 'ich laufe' ist der Stamm jookse.

Der Stammform für die Substantive ist immer gleich dem Genitiv. Das Wort jookse 'Lauf, Laufen, Gelaufe, Gerenne, Laufzeit' wurde dekliniert jookse.NOM jooksu.GEN. Aber jookse ≠ jooksu. In dieser Situation hilft uns ein archaisches e-stämmiges Wort jookse 'Sprungbein' mit dem Genitiv jookse.

jookse-n	'ich laufe'	jookse-me	'wir laufen'
jookse-d	'du läufst'	jookse-te	'ihr lauft'
jookse-b	'er/sie/es läuft'	jookse-vad	'sie laufen'

e) Estnische Adjektive sind markiert oder nicht. Manche Adjektive sind doppeltmarkiert, aber sie sind schwer erkennbar, z. B. pisi-ke-ne 'klein' Das k-Element ist eine alte Adjektivendung. Das Element -ne funktioniert als eine Kasusendung, die an den Genitiv-stamm angehängt wurde.

Eigentlich ist es schwer Substantive und Adjektive zu unterscheiden, weil unmarkierte und -ne-markierte Adjektive beide morphologisch den Substantiven ähnlich sind. Das Adjektivsuffix -ne (-lane, -line) ist homonymisch mit dem Ableitungssuffix -ne (-lane, -line). Z. B. puna-ne 'rot' – reba-ne 'Fuchs', rohe-line 'grün' – töö-line 'Arbeiter', kaht-lane 'zweifelhaft' – mesi-lane 'Biene'

Die Tatsache, daß es die Kongruenz des Adjektivattributs mit dem Bezugswort in Verbindung mit 10 Standardfällen (NOM, GEN, PAR usw.) aus 14 gibt und in Verbindung mit dem Essiv, Terminativ, Abessiv und Komitativ fehlt (siehe 11. oben) hilft uns nicht. Nur die letzte Komponente in der Reihe hängt in den vier letzten Fällen die Kasusendung an. Diese letzte Komponente kann das Substantiv, das Pronomen, das Numerale oder das substantivierte Adjektiv sein. Z. B.

rohelse maja, kahe toa,  
 grün.GEN haus.GEN zwei.GEN Zimmer.GEN  
 mit dem grünen Haus, zwei Zimmer,  
 kollas-te kardina-te, mööbli ja minu-ga  
 gelb.PL.GEN Gardine.PL.GEN Möbel.GEN und ich.KOM  
 den gelben Gardinen, dem Möbel und mit mir.

f) Fast alle Wörter können die emphatische Endung -ki (-gi) ‘~ auch’ anhängen. Z. B. mina-gi, ‘\*ich-auch’ ja-gi ‘\*und-auch’, mees-ki ‘\*Mann-auch’, kui-gi ‘\*als-auch, obwohl’, olen-gi ‘\*ich bin-auch’, jooksen-gi ‘\*ich laufe-auch’, jooksma-gi ‘\*laufen-auch’, kiiresti-gi ‘\*eilig-auch’

√±

Vladimír Skalička hat schon in seiner Arbeit “Zur ungarischen Grammatik” behauptet, daß “die ganze Entwicklung [in Estnisch] also in der Richtung zu einem flexiven Typus geht” (1979a: 122). In seinem Vortrag “Über die Typologie des Estnischen” hat er zusammengefasst,

daß für die Entwicklung des Estnischen der flektierende Typus der wichtigste ist. der Anteil des isolierenden Typus tritt deutlich hervor. Der introflektierende Typus ist vorhanden, der polysynthetische Typus ist nur in der Wortbildung entwickelt. Der agglutinierende Typus tritt wohl zurück, ist aber noch in mancher Hinsicht gut bewahrt (1975: 373).

Skalička hat auch behauptet, daß die estnische Sprache eine Sonderstellung innerhalb der uralischen Sprachen einnimmt, weil das Estnische die introflexion am weitesten realisiert hat (1975: 369).

Tatsächlich hat Estnisch viele agglutinierende Eigenschaften verloren und gleichzeitig viele Eigenschaften aus vier anderen Sprachtypen – polysynthetische, flektierende, isolierende und introflexive – übernommen.

**ABKÜRZUNGEN**

ABE	Abessiv	NOM	Nominativ
ABE:REFL	reflexiver ABE	NUM	Numeral
ABL	Ablativ	PAR	Partitiv
ADE	Adessiv	PAS	Passiv
ADI	Additiv	PL	Plural
ADJ	Adjektiv	SG	Singular
ADV	Adverb	SUBST	Substantiv
ALL	Allativ	SUP	Supinum
CST	Causativ	TER	Terminativ
ELA	Elativ	TRA	Translativ
GEN	Genitiv	√ +	es stimmt
ILL	Illativ	√ -	es stimmt nicht
IMP	Impersonal	√ ?	fraglich
INE	Inessiv	√ ±	es stimmt
INF	Infinitiv		/stimmt nicht.
KOM	Komitativ		

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## KAS EESTI KEEL VASTAB AGLUTINEERIVALE KEELETÜÜBILE?

### Urmas Sutrop

Siinses töös kasutan tüpologia määratlust – “grammatiline statistika” (Georg von der Gabelentz). Ma küsin, kas eesti keel vastab aglutineerivale keeletüübile. Selleks katalogiseerin tüpoloogiliselt olulisi tunnuseid, teen “grammatilist statistikat” Tüpoloogilised tunnused, mille abil ma eesti keelt katalogiseerima hakkam, on võetud tšehhi lingvisti Vladimír Skalička (1909–1991) töödest.

Skalička eristas viit keeletüüpi – isoleeriv, aglutineeriv, flekteeriv ja polüsünteesiline. Tema arusaamist mööda on keeletüüp deduktiivne konstrukt, mis tegelikkuses ei realiseeru. Iga keel on erinevate tüüpide segu. Näiteks väide, et ungari või soome keel on aglutineeriv, tähendab seda, et ungari või soome keeles moodustab aglutineeriv tüüp dominandi.

*Aglutineeriva keeletüübi tunnused*

1. *Formatiivid liituvad ühele tüvele. Leidub rohkesti afikseid.* See on olulisemaid aglutineeriva keeletüübi tunnuseid. Eesti keel vastab sellele tunnusele hästi.

a) *Kääned ja arvu väljendatakse erinevate afiksitega.* Eesti keele puhul on see harilikult tõesti nii.

b) *Afiksitate fonemaatilise iseloomu ning silbilise iseseisvuse.* Afiksitate vohamise printsiip. Eesti keele afiksitate kaotavad oma silbilise struktuuri ja fonemaatilise iseloomu. Afiksitate vohamise printsiip taandub.

c) *Abisõnad puuduvad.* Eesti keeles on suhteliselt vähe eessõnu, kuid taga- ja sidesõnad on küllaltki olulised.

d) *Liitsõnad puuduvad.* Eesti keeles on need siiski väga sagedased. Liitsõnad kuuluvad oma loomu poolest polüsünteesilise keeletüüpi.

e) *Tuletusliited, käändelõpud jne ei ole selgelt eristunud.* Eesti keele kohta käib see täiesti.

2. *Lõppude privatiivne opositsioon.*

a) *Nimetav käänne on ilma lõputa ning teistele käänete jaoks põhivorm (peaaegu nullkäänne).* Eesti keele nimetav on tõesti ilma lõputa, kuid ainsuse käänete jaoks on põhikäändeks käändelõpu kaotanud omastav, mitmuse käänete jaoks ainsuse osastav. Tagasõnad seostuvad ainsuses omastavakujulise tüvega.

b) *Ainsus väljendab arvu puudumist.* Eesti keeles on tõesti ainult mitmus tähistatud.

3. *Tõeliste ees- ja tagasõnade väike hulk.* Üldiselt see tunnus kehtib, kuid "mitteheatsad" tagasõnad, mis käituvad nagu analüütilised käändevormid, osutavad isoleerivale keeletüübile. See, et ees- ja tagasõnad, ka käändes, võivad endale liita modaalliite *-ki (-gi)*, kitsendab veelgi tõeliste ees- ja tagasõnade hulka.

4. *Aglutineerivates keeltes ei liigitata nimisõnu.*

a) *Sõnaliigid puuduvad.* Eesti keeles on näiteks küsitav omadussõnade esinemine iseseisva sõnaliigina. Omadussõnadeks peetavaid sõnu käänatakse nagu nimisõnugi. Omadussõna ühildumine nimisõnuga on oluline flekteeriva keeletüübi tunnus. Siin jääb sõnaliikide puudumine või olemasolu eesti keeles vastuseta.

b) *Grammatilise soo puudumine.* Eesti keeles ei ole soo kategooriat. Küsisõnad eristavad ainult elusaid ja elutuid objekte ehk neid, kes end liigutavad või ei liiguta. Uuemal ajal moodustatakse naissoost isikuid märkivaid nimetusi ka eriliste liidetega (*-tar* ja *-nna*).

5. *Possessiivsufiks*. Eesti keeles on need kadunud. Selles võib näha isoleeriva keeletüübi esiletulekut.

6. *Kui artikkel on üldse olemas, siis esineb see on järelliitena*. Eesti keeles artikkel puudub, kuigi arvsõna üks kasutatakse mõnigi kord umbmäärase artikli taoliselt.

7. *Võimalus lisada lõppudele tuletusliiteid*. Selline nähtus on väga sage ja vaadeldav nii diakrooniliselt kui sünkrooniliselt. Nähtus puudutab peaaegu kõiki sõnaliike.

8. *Mõnikord võib ühesilbiline tüvi minna üle liituvasse silpi. Lõppudes on konsonandid enamasti tugevalt esindatud*. Selle tunnuse alusel on eesti keel ikka veel aglutineeriv.

9. *Tüvevaheldust esineb väga harva. Samas on võimalik ulatuslik vokaalharmonia*.

a) Eesti keeles on arenenud ulatuslik astmevaheldus. Selle tõttu on võimalik kõneleđa introflekteeriva tüübi elementidest eesti keeles.

b) Vokaalharmonia on eesti keelest kadunud. See tuleb siiski esile lõuna-eesti murretes.

10. *Sage sõnade tuletamine liidete abil*. Eesti keeles on selline sõnamoodustusviis väga sage.

11. *Adjektiivatribuut ei ühildu nimisõnaga, kuna kääned, arvu jne väljendatakse lauses ainult korra (nimisõna juures)*. Eesti keel on sellest tunnusest oluliselt eemaldunud. Kümne esimese standardkäände puhul ühildub omadussõna nii käändes kui arvus nimisõnaga. Oleva, rajava, ilmaütleva ja kaasaütleva käände puhul omadussõna ei ühildu käändes, kuid ühildub siiski arvus.

12. *Puudub suplettiivsus*. Eesti keeles leidub siiski vähesel hulgal suplettiivseid sõnu. Näiteks: üks – esimene, kaks – teine, hea – parem, minema – lähen, palju – enam, palju – rohkem, olema – on < \*oma.

13. *Põhiarvud seotakse nimisõnaga nagu omadussõnad. Neil ei ole mingeid lõppe ja nad jäävad ainsusesse*. Põhimõtteliselt seotakse arvsõnad nimisõnaga niisamuti nagu omadussõnad. Puhtal kujul siiski ainult põhiarvsõna üks (üks poiss, ühe poisi jne). Arvsõnad alates kahest (ka null) moodustavad nimetavas nn partsiaalkonstruktiooni (kaks poissi, kahe poisi, kahte poissi jne), st kui arvsõna on nimetavas, siis nimisõna on osastavas. Alates omastavast käändest käituvad kõik põhiarvsõnad nii nagu adjektiivid, s.o ühilduvad nimisõnaga. Arvsõnatarindeile on iseloomulik, et arvu väljendatakse ainsusega, st arvu puudumisega.

14. *Isikulisi asesõnu enamasti ei kasutata.* Kuna eesti keeles on finiitsed verbivormid isikulõppudega, siis kasutatakse neid sageli ilma isikuliste asesõnadeta.

15. *Samuti jäetakse ära isikuline asesõna omastavas käändes.* Kuna eesti keelest on omastusliited kadunud, siis ei jäeta omastavas käändes isikulist asesõna kunagi ära. Samas ei ühildu omastavas käändes asesõna nimisõnaga ei arvus ega käändes.

16. *1. ja 2. isiku asesõnadel on ainsuses ja mitmuses sama tüvi, millele mitmuses on lisatud mitmuse tunnus.* On võimalik, et ajalooliselt on ka eesti asesõnadel *mina* ja *meie* ning teiselt poolt *sina* < \**tina* ja *teie* sama tüvi. Mitmuslikel vormidel *meie* ja *teie* ei ole õiget mitmuse tunnust, kuigi reservatsioonidega saab elementi *-i-* selleks pidada.

17. *Leidub arvukalt afikseid, mis täiendavad tegusõna tähendust mitmesugusel viisil.*

a) *Modifitseerivad liited* on väga sagedased, nt refleksiivne *-u-*, kausatiivne *-ta-*, faktitiivne *-ta-*, translatiivne *-ne-*. Tingiva kõneviisi tunnus on *-ksi-* jne. Samas retsiprooksust, eitust ja võimatust väljendavad liited puuduvad.

b) *Ajatunnused.* Oleviku (õigemini mitte-mineviku) jaoks sünkrooniliselt tunnus puudub. Lihtminevikku väljendab tunnus *-i-* või *-si-*. Täis- ja enneminevikku väljendatakse isoleerivale tüübile omaselt analüütiliselt.

c) *Tegusõnadel on afiksiv isiku ja arvu väljendamiseks.* Eesti keeles väljendab tegusõna lõpp üheaegselt nii isikut kui arvu, mis on iseloomulik flekteerivale keeletüübile. Ainult mitmuse kolmanda isiku puhul on tegusõna (kesksõna) tunnusele *-va-* liitunud mitmuse tunnus *-d*.

18. *Ühtne muutmisparadigma.*

a) *Ühtne tegusõnade pööramisviis.* Eesti keeles jäävad tegusõnade lõpud alati samaks.

b) *Ühtne tegusõnade pööramise ja nimisõnade käänamise mall.* Eesti keeles on astmevahelduse, lõpu- ja sisekao tõttu kujunenud väga palju erinevaid muuttüüpe. Kõneldakse juba käänd- ja pöördtüüpide alltüüpidest. Selline muuttüüpide rohkus on iseloomulik flekteerivale keeletüübile.

c) *Puudub lõppude sünonüümsus ja homonüümsus.* Eesti keel on sellest printsibiist oluliselt eemaldunud. Näiteks on sünonüümsed mitmuse tunnused *-i-* ja *-t-*; samas on homonüümsed mitmuse tunnus *-t-* (nimetavas *-d*), ainsuse osastava lõpp (nii *-t*, kui *-d*) ja tegusõna ainsuse teise pöörde lõpp *-d*. Lõppude sünonüümsuse ja homonüümsuse olemasolu on oluline flekteeriva keeletüübi tunnus.



19. *Lauseehitus: pelk tegusõna võib koos lõpuga moodustada lause.*

a) *Ka eesti keele minimaallause* koosneb ainult finiiitset verbivormist, nt *Jookseb*.

b) *Esinevad ka nominaallaused*. Eesti keeles nominaallaused puuduvad.

c) *Sidesõnad on väga harvad*. Eesti keeles on sidesõnad üpris sagedased, nt *ja, ning, ega, ehk, kuid, või* jne.

20. *Lauseid ei moodustata ainult ühe malli järgi. Võimalikud on mitmesugused konstruktsioonid*. Eesti keele kohta käib see täielikult.

21. *Rohke infiniitsete verbivormide ning vähene kõrvallausete kasutus*. Eesti keeles on infiniitsed verbivormid (infinitiiv, kesksõnad, supiin, selle isikuline ja umbisikuline vorm ning käändevormid) väga sagedased. Kuid samas on väga sagedased ka kõrvallaused.

22. *Aglutineerivale tüübile on iseloomulik sõnaliikide puudumine. Iga afiksit saab liita igale tüvele.*

a) Supiin (*ma-tegevusnimi*) on eesti keeles kujunenud sisseütlevast käändest. Praegu vastab ta morfoloogiliselt pigem aditiivile. Ka funktsioonilt sarnanevad nimisõnade aditiivivormid supiinile, vrd *lähen metsa, jooksmata, hüppama või tuppa*. Samuti on supiinil arvukalt käändelisi vorme, nt *jooksmas, jooksmast, jooksmata, jooksmata* jne.

b) Infinitiiv (*da-infinitiiv*) sarnaneb eesti keeles nii morfoloogiliselt kui funktsioonilt osastava käändega, vrd *tahan süüa, õuna, juua, joosta ning kommi ja kapsast*.

c) Eesti keele umbisikuline supiin moodustatakse infinitiivist.

d) Tegusõnal ja vastaval nimisõnal võib eesti keeles olla ühine tüvi.

e) Omadussõnad sarnanevad eesti keeles nende sagedasele markeritusele vaatamata niivõrd nimisõnadega, et on küsitav nende käsitlemine iseseisva sõnaliigina.

f) Peaaegu kõik sõnad võivad eesti keeles võtta rõhulise modaalliite *-ki (-gi)*.

Nendest mõnest näitest nähtub, et sõnaliikide vahelised piirid on eesti keeles tõesti ähmased.

Vladimír Skalička näitas juba ühes oma varasemas töös, et eesti keele areng kulgeb flekteeriva tüübi suunas. Praegu on selge, et eesti keele arengus on flekteeriv tüüp kõige tähtsam. Ka isoleeriv keeletüüp tuleb selgelt esile. Introflekteeriv keeletüüp on samuti esindatud, kusjuures oluliselt suuremal määral kui üheski teises soome-ugri keeles. Polüsüntetiline tüüp ilmneb eelkõige liitsõnade moodustamisel. glutineeriv tüüp jääb eesti keeles järjest enam tahaplaanile.

# SOME TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ESTONIAN ONOMATOPOETIC FORMATIONS

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## **0. Introduction**

Otto Jespersen noted already long ago that “sound symbolism” plays a greater role in the development of languages than is admitted by most linguists (Jespersen 1933: 283). Nevertheless, for a long time the prevailing structuralistic approach in its various forms did not favor the study of iconic aspects of language. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1979 Roman Jakobson had to point out again that “we face two urgent and responsible problems – the sound-symbolic typology of languages, and the sound-symbolic universals ensuing from such a typology” (Jakobson and Waugh 1979: 187). For a long time the study of onomatopoeic words was unsuccessful due to lack of a systematic theory in this field. Linguists failed to take into account the specific nature of onomatopoeic words. Onomatopoeic words were studied only from the linguistic point of view, but actually an extralinguistic approach was needed. This shortcoming was admitted by Skalička when he wrote about his survey of onomatopoeic words in Hungarian that “our survey is from the point of view of phonetics in the scientific sense not at all organized. For this co-operation with acoustics would have been necessary” (Skalička 1967: 283). Fortunately, the past decades have seen considerable progress both in the general theory of linguistic iconism as well as in the typology of onomatopoeic and sound-symbolic vocabulary. A number of important general theoretical works have been published (e.g. Wescott 1980; Voronin 1982; Dogana 1983; Malkiel 1990; Hinton et al. 1994). Also, some recent encyclopedias of language and linguistics have treated sound symbolism much more adequately than it has ever done before (see, e.g., Asher (ed.) 1994: 4064-4070; Crystal 1987: 174-175). As far as the Balto-Finnic languages are concerned, Raimo Anttila has repeatedly used the Finnish material to approach onomatopoeics and sound symbolism

from the point of view of semiotics (see, e.g., Anttila 1975; 1976; 1977). The aim of this article is to point out some typological characteristics of Estonian onomatopoeic vocabulary, and I would also like to raise the question whether there could exist a possible 'expressive *Sprachbund*' in the Baltic Sea areal when we compare the Estonian data with those to be found in the Germanic and Baltic languages. I will outline a number of phenomena that point to the possibility of such a *Sprachbund*. In this paper the term 'onomatopoeic' refers to an iconic word that denotes an acoustic event, e.g., Eng *hiss, bang, creak, buzz*; Est *sisisema* and *susisema* 'to hiss', *klõmmima* 'to bang', *kriiksuma* 'to creak', *sumisema* 'to buzz', whereas the term 'sound symbolic' is used to denote an iconic word that denotes a non-acoustic phenomenon, e.g., *i* symbolizes diminutiveness in Eng *little, tiny, teeny* and Est *pisike* 'little, tiny', *tilluke* 'tiny'. Other well-known instances of sound symbolism are, for example, that labials (both labial consonants and vowels) denote rounded shape in the Eng *bulb* and Est *mugul* 'bulb', or that *ö* in Estonian often adds a pejorative connotation to a word, e.g. *kõnn* 'person with a stunted growth', *mõlisema* 'to blabber', *mõku* 'nerd'. Traditionally, in Finno-Ugric and Balto-Finnic linguistic studies the term 'descriptive' has generally denoted sound-symbolic words, but sometimes it is used as an umbrella term both for onomatopoeic and sound symbolic words.

## 1.0. Overview of previous studies of onomatopoeia and sound symbolism in Estonian

It is generally thought that Estonian as well as other Balto-Finnic languages are extremely rich in onomatopoeic and sound symbolic words.

### 1.1. Early studies

Jakob Hurt, Ferdinand Wiedemann, and Mihkel Veske all collected such words and made interesting observations about them already in the 19th century (see Hurt 1862; Wiedemann 1875: 120-121, 576; Weske 1875: 9-10). However, it seems that Kristjan Jaak Peterson was the very first linguist to discuss the problem of sound symbolism with regard to Estonian (Peterson 1821). Since then it has been

characteristic of Estonian linguists to assume that Estonian as well as the other Balto-Finnic languages have more onomatopoeic and sound symbolic words than Indo-European languages, and that it is impossible to translate these words adequately into Indo-European languages. It remains to be seen whether this hypothesis is actually true. Generally speaking, the early treatments of Estonian onomatopoeic vocabulary have a descriptive character, though they occasionally contain interesting observations, especially concerning the vowel alternations. The emphasis was on collecting onomatopoeic words; there is little, if any, analysis.

One could say that when coining new words for Estonian, the language reformer Johannes Aavik applied certain sound symbolic principles as he proceeded from the subjective impression that the pronunciation of a word would evoke (Aavik 1974). Aavik assumed that when coining new words, it is important to achieve harmony between form and content in language. Andrus Saareste, too, dealt with some sound symbolic problems in Estonian. He has discussed the role of the emotional factor in the development of language (Saareste 1927) and studied affective gemination in consonants (Saareste 1938). When studying the symbolic value of *i* in the word *kilu* 'brisling, sprat' in comparison with *kala* 'fish', he concludes that the former word could be a variant of the latter and that *i* denotes diminutiveness there (Saareste 1940).

1.2. The late 1950s witness the beginning of a new period in the study of Estonian onomatopoeic vocabulary. The difference in comparison with the previous researchers is that from now on the studies become more systematic, and the first classifications appear. The most outstanding researcher of this period is Valve Põlma (née Värvi). In addition, Mart Mäger studied onomatopoeia in Estonian avian vocabulary in his candidate dissertation (Mäger 1963). Valve Põlma (later Põlma) wrote an impressive diploma thesis "About Onomatopoeic Verbs in Balto-Finnic Languages", which has remained a valuable source to this day (Põlma 1961). She lists some 2,800 onomatopoeic verbs of Livonian, Votian, Vepsian, Ingrian, Karelian, Finnish, and Estonian. The classification is based on the sound source. To the best of my knowledge, this paper has remained the only comparative study of Balto-Finnic onomatopoeic vocabulary. Later Valve Põlma narrowed her sphere of interest, and she

focused her attention on Estonian onomatopoeic verbs. Her candidate dissertation "Onomatopoeic Verbs in Literary Estonian" (1967) is the first and only systematic treatment of Estonian onomatopoeic verbs. The dissertation lists about 1,150 onomatopoeic verbs in Literary Estonian. Valve Põlma uses a formal classification, her classification is based on the coda of the first syllable as she thinks that the sound symbolic values are manifested most clearly on the boundary between the first and the second syllable. However, her basis for classification remains controversial and, in fact, lacks substance because throughout the dissertation she supports the idea that all three components in the structure of the first syllable –onset, nucleus, and coda – carry meaning. Põlma classifies the words on the basis of the consonants in the coda into nine groups (the remaining verbs constitute the tenth group), whereas within each group the words are listed in the alphabetical order. In case the coda consists of a consonant cluster, for example *-mps-*, *-nks-*, *-lts-*, *-rts-*, the classification is carried out on the basis of the first consonant. The real value of Põlma's dissertation lies in the fact that it concentrates on the semantics of onomatopoeic verbs with a focus on their lexicographic treatment in a monolingual dictionary. The dissertation was originally intended as preparatory work for the "Explanatory Dictionary of Literary Estonian" and as such it has proved very helpful. In addition, Valve Põlma has published two valuable articles about interjections (Põlma 1975; 1975).

Valter Tauli has also discussed some problems with regard to Estonian onomatopoeic and sound-symbolic vocabulary. In his monograph "Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning" (1968) Tauli discusses the role of sound symbolism in language and provides many interesting examples from Estonian (Tauli 1968: 89-102). The book develops further the ideas of the Estonian language reformer Johannes Aavik. Tauli also discusses Estonian onomatopoeic and sound symbolic verbs in the first part of his "Standard Estonian Grammar" (Tauli 1973: 146-148), where he makes comments concerning the sound symbolic values of certain sounds in the root of onomatopoeic and sound symbolic words. Some aspects of sound symbolism in Estonian has been studied by Fanny de Sivers. She has dealt with the pejorative value of the Estonian phoneme /õ/ (Sivers 1962) and the symbolic value of Estonian vowels in words denoting laughter (Sivers 1981). Paul

Ariste has written about the role of emotional palatalization in Estonian expressive vocabulary (Ariste 1982). An important lexicographical source of Estonian onomatopoetic and sound symbolic vocabulary is the “Etymological Dictionary of Estonian” by Julius Mägiste (Mägiste 1983). The dictionary pays a lot of attention to onomatopoetic and sound symbolic words, and it contains a large number of valuable observations.

### **1.3. Estonian onomatopoetic vocabulary in the typological perspective**

The first attempt to study the Estonian onomatopoetic vocabulary in the typological perspective was made by the author of this article. My dissertation “English-Estonian Parallels in Onomatopoeia” contains a classification of Estonian onomatopoetic words that was worked out within the universal classification of onomatopoeia (Veldi 1988a, see also Veldi 1987). The dissertation was supervised by Stanislav Voronin, who has studied onomatopoetic and sound symbolic words in over 100 languages and has also written extensively on the general theory of phonosemantics. Voronin’s universal classification of onomatopes can be found in concise form in Voronin 1982: 44-70. This universal classification has made it possible to study the onomatopoetic words of a wide range of languages on a uniform basis.

## **2. Verbalization of sound in Estonian**

In this section I will discuss how elements of extralinguistic sounds are conveyed in the phonemic structure of Estonian onomatopoetic words.

### **2.1. Onomatopoetic words as models of extralinguistic sounds.**

Between the extralinguistic sound and the onomatopoetic word there operates the principle of (psycho)acoustic homogeneity, i.e., certain qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the extralinguistic sound are reflected in the acoustic characteristics of the phonemes that constitute the onomatopoetic word (in such words as **pomisema** ‘to mumble’ and **pahvima** ‘to puff’ the articulatory features are relevant

as well). Therefore, in order to reveal the relationship between the extralinguistic sounds and the phonological means of a language, one has to establish a typology of extralinguistic sounds and then reduce the infinite repertoire of sounds to a limited number of types of extralinguistic sounds. Such a typology can be established on the basis of the basic acoustic parameters of sounds as only one or a few most important features of an acoustic signal are really significant. After that it is necessary to compare the types of extralinguistic sounds with the acoustic properties of the speech sounds in the structure of an onomatopoeic word. There are two basic components of a sound—the qualitative acoustic elements and the quantitative acoustic elements. The basic qualitative acoustic elements of an extralinguistic sound that are reflected in the structure of an onomatopoeic word are the pulse, tone, pure noise and dissonance. The quantitative elements of a sound comprise pitch, loudness and length.

The pulse (an instantaneous sound) is reflected at the linguistic level by means of plosives (and partly also by affricates), as in the words **koputama** ‘to tap’ and **tikk-takk** ‘tick-tock’

The tone is, as a rule, conveyed by means of long vowels or sonorants, e.g. **piiksuma** ‘to beep’, **tuut** ‘hoot, the sound made by a car horn’, **pimm-pomm** ‘the deep resonant sounds of a bell’

The pure noise is usually conveyed by means of voiceless fricatives (e.g. **sisisema** ‘to hiss, to make a sound like a continuous ‘s’, **kahisema** ‘to rustle’

The dissonance is conveyed in Estonian onomatopoeic words by *r*, e.g. **urisema** ‘to growl’, **ragisema** ‘to crackle’

The quantitative elements of pitch, loudness, and duration are also reflected in the structure of onomatopoeic words. The high-pitched sounds of little birds are, for example, conveyed by high-pitched vowels, e.g. **siitsuma** ‘(of young birds) to cheep’, **viiksuma** ‘(of small birds) to make a thin high-pitched sound, to squeak’ On the other hand, low-pitched sounds are rendered by low-pitched vowels, e.g. **määgima** ‘to baa’, **ammuu** ‘moo, the low-pitched vocalization of a cow’ According to Ohala, in nature there operates the innately determined ‘frequency code’ In general, high-pitched signals are characteristic of small soundmakers, and high pitch is secondarily associated with such meanings as ‘subordinate’, ‘submissive’, and ‘non-threatening’ On the other hand, low-

frequency vocalizations are characteristic of large soundmakers and are secondarily associated with such meanings as 'dominant', 'aggressive' and 'threatening' (Ohala 1984).

Any model is, as a rule, to a greater or smaller degree a conventional reflection of its object and reflects only certain features and properties of the latter. In this connection it is important to emphasize that onomatopoetic words can never be, in principle, accurate copies of their referents. They are always approximations in comparison with the real sound (Grammont 1901: 97). Voronin holds that the precision of imitation is reversely proportional to the complexity of a sound (Voronin 1982: 191). Certain imitations of more elementary sounds can be rather similar in a large number of languages, e.g. the light tapping sound of clocks (Est **tikk-takk**, Eng **tick-tock**, Russ **tik-tak**).

As a linguistic sign an onomatopoetic word is a linear sequence of speech sounds. Therefore, if an extralinguistic sound is acoustically complex and simultaneous, the different elements of its structure are often conveyed in an onomatopoetic word sequentially and not simultaneously (cf Est **sumisema** 'to hum, to buzz' or Eng **hum**, where pure noise with elements of tone is reflected by two different types of sounds; *s* and *h* convey the element of pure noise, and *m* conveys tone, though extralinguistically you can hear these elements simultaneously).

## 2.2. Onomatopoeia as a specific and anomalous linguistic subsystem

In comparison with non-iconic vocabulary, onomatopoetic words reveal anomalous features both in phonology, morphology, and syntax (Mithun 1982: 49). On the other hand, these anomalous features have a systematic character. Onomatopoeia is, in fact, 'another subsystem' that differs from usual vocabulary. The specific character of the phonological structure is first and foremost manifested in the marked selection of phonemes and their sequences from the inventory of a given language (Anttila 1976: 7). Specific selection from the inventory of phonemes is made by means of the so-called 'canonical filter' (the term was coined by Anttila; cf also the title of an article by Samarin "Inventory and choice in expressive language" (1970). It seems that the most remarkable anomalous



feature in the syllabic structure of Estonian onomatopoetic roots is the concurrent occurrence of two consonant clusters – one in the onset and the other in the coda of the first syllable, e.g. **prantsti** ‘the sound of a resounding vibrating blow caused by a heavy fall’, **krõmpsuma** ‘to make a crunchy sound, as when eating’, **plartsti** ‘the sound of a body falling into water or sth wet hitting a surface and being flattened’

### 2.3. Phonosemantic patterns and paradigms

After passing through the canonical filter the selected phonemes organize themselves into canonical forms or patterns that are specific to expressive vocabulary in general (Anttila 1977: 33). This brings the patterns of onomatopoetic words into prominence in comparison with non-iconic vocabulary. The strong tendency to analogy and canonicity of form makes it possible to formalize the structure of onomatopoetic words in the form of patterns. The patterns are canonical forms that represent the majority of words in the given type. The patterns, in their turn, form phonosemantic paradigms. Onomatopoetic words are characterized by alternations of vowels and consonants and internal affixation (Wescott 1980: 22).

**2.3.1. Alternation of vowels.** It is a highly characteristic feature of onomatopoetic words. Sometimes there can be a number of alternations as in the following pattern:

**FRIC<sup>^</sup> + VOC + FRIC<sup>^</sup>**

**sihisema**

**sahisema**

**suhisema**

**sähisema**

**sohisema**

The general meaning of the series is ‘to make the rustling sound, as of wind whispering through the leaves’ Using Wescott’s terminology, vowel thinning is accompanied by semantic diminution and the thickening of a vowel, on the other hand, brings along semantic augmentation (Wescott 1980: 386).

A variety of vowel alternation is the diphthongization of a vowel in an onomatopoeic word. Estonian has a few sets of onomatopoeic words where a long vowel alternates with a diphthong. The diphthongized word denotes a somewhat shorter, weaker, and less intensive sound than the word with a long vowel.

### **CONS + VOC + CONS (+S)**

**piiksuma – piuksuma**

**viiksuma – viuksuma**

**siitsuma – siutsuma - säutsuma**

**kääksuma – käuksuma**

**2.3.2. Alternation of consonants.** Vowel alternations are more often discussed in the literature, but actually consonant alternations are equally important. The following example illustrates how the rounded shape of a bubble serves as the sound-symbolic motive in a number of words that denote the sound that accompanies the uneven flow of water. All these words contain labials (**mulksuma** and **vulksuma** – two, **kulksuma** – one) that express the rounded shape of bubbles.

**mulksuma**

**vulksuma**

**kulksuma**

In the case of **kulksuma** ‘to make a sound like water flowing unevenly out of an opening, esp. in the throat or from a bottleneck’, the velar sounds point to the narrowness of the opening.

**2.3.3. Internal derivation.** Another characteristic feature is internal affixation – i.e., extension of onomatopoeic roots by means of root-internal affixes. Roger Wescott treats as internal infixes sonorants that occur immediately before or after a syllable nucleus (Wescott 1980: 25). The process of addition or deletion of such internal elements is, in his view, similar to playing the accordion, therefore he has called it the ‘accordion principle’. The addition of internal elements is accompanied by semantic augmentation, and their deletion, on the other hand, is accompanied by

semantic diminution (ibid.: 386). As is known, Finno-Ugric languages originally did not have any initial consonant clusters. Therefore, it is not surprising that only *l* and *r* can extend a syllabic onset, e.g.

**pauhti – plauhti**  
**põks – plõks**  
**kõpsima – klõpsima**  
**kiiksuma – kriiksuma**  
**kääksuma – krääksuma**

As Estonian tended to avoid consonant clusters historically (cf Eng *strand* and Est *rand*), then it is not surprising that there is also an alternation, where the sonorant is present but the initial plosive is missing, e.g.,

**laks – plaks**  
**lärtsti – plärtsti**  
**ragisema – pragisema**

Coda extensions are even more interesting. First, we can find such examples, where the liquids *l* and *r* are added, e.g.,

**koksti – kolksti**  
**tiksuma – tilksuma**  
**patsti – partsti**  
**latsuma – lartsuma**

In addition, we we can find extensions with the nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, e.g.,

**klõpsuma – klõmpsuma**  
**krõpsuma – krõmpsuma**  
**patsatama – pantsatama**  
**potsatama – pontsatama**  
**kätsatama – kântsti**  
**prõksuma – prõnksuma**  
**tiksuma – tinksuma**  
**toksima – tonksti**

Double extensions, where extensions occur both in the onset and the coda, are possible, too, e.g.,

**patsti – plartsti – prantsti**

However, what is even more interesting in Estonian is the coda extensions or root-internal suffixation by means of *s* and the combinations of two sound-symbolic suffixes *ks*, *ps* and *ts*, e.g.,

**koputama – kopsima**

**nagisema – naksuma**

**podisema – potsti**

**kolisema – kolksuma**

**kõlisema – kõlksti**

**sulisema – sulpsti**

**tümisema – tümpsuma**

**plärisema – plärtsti**

**mürisema – mürtsuma**

In the word pairs **nagisema – naksuma**, **podisema – potsti**, **kolisema – kolksuma**, **sulisema – sulpsti**, **tümisema – tümpsuma**, **plärisema – plärtsti**, **mürisema – mürtsuma** the first word denotes a continuous sequence of sounds, whereas the second word denotes a sound with an abrupt and intensive ending.

The Finnish linguist Ahti Rytkönen held the view that the consonant clusters *-ks*, *-ps*, and *-ts* contain two sound symbolic suffixes (Rytkönen 1940: 33). Anttila has pointed out that Rytkönen was, in fact, “developing the notion of a phonaestheme at the same time that Firth was” (Anttila 1975: 19). To denote the same phenomenon, Julius Mägiste uses in his etymological dictionary the terms ‘onomatopoeic descriptive formative’ ‘descriptive-expressive formative’, and ‘affective-descriptive element’, cf. e.g., his discussion in the entries ‘kolksama’, ‘kopsima’, ‘suts’ (Mägiste 1983). Similarly to Rytkönen, Mägiste, too, treats the clusters *-ks*, *-ps*, and *-ts* as combinations of two sound-symbolic suffixes. Occasionally, one can find cases of metathesis, where *s* and *k* change places, e.g. the word *mürsk* ‘missile’ has been derived from *müra* ‘noise’ Apart from

onomatopoetic words the suffixes *-s*, *-ks*, *-ps*, and *-ts* are productive also in nicknames and slang terms, e.g.

Riho > **Riks**

Tarmo > **Tarts**

Toivo > **Toits**

jaapanlane 'Japanese' > **japs**

õpetaja 'teacher' > **õps**

jäätis 'ice cream' > **jäts**

kroon 'crown' > **kronts**

### 2.3.4. Expressive prefixation

Estonian has about 30 onomatopoetic formations with the unaccented syllable *kar-*, e.g. *karplauhti* 'the noise of falling or breaking or exploding with undue force', *karsumm* 'the sound of falling into the water, *karpõmm* 'the sound of a heavy bang, kaboom' (see Veldi 1988b). In addition, dictionaries list five words with the prefix *par-* as in *parsumm* 'the sound of a sudden fall into the water' and two words with *per-* as in *perlaksti* 'the sound of falling into the water'. As a rule, the prefixed word has a parallel variant without the prefix. The words that take this prefix denote sounds that accompany the falling and breaking of objects. Julius Mägiste regarded such formations as compound interjections and made an attempt to relate the meaning of *kar-* etymologically to the verb *kargama* 'to jump' (Mägiste 1983: 712) and *par-* and *per-* to the verbs *parisema* and *partsama* 'to fall abruptly' (ibid.: 1936, 1944, 1996). In my view, the above-mentioned verbs may have played some role in reinforcing the shape of these prefixes, but I tend to think that these unaccented initial syllables correspond to similar expressive prefixes that can be found in Germanic and Baltic languages. What I have in mind is the prefix *ker-* and its analogs in American English, cf. *kerplunk*, *kaboom* or the expressive prefix *pa-* in Lithuanian, e.g. *pašnipšt* 'a short hissing sound'. To the best of my knowledge, Estonian is the only Balto-Finnic language, where this expressive prefix can be found.

**2.3.5. R,L formatives.** As is known, large numbers of onomatopoetic words in Germanic languages are marked by the so-

called R,L-formatives (the term was coined by S.V. Voronin), which add a frequentative or iterative meaning to these words, e.g. Eng *crackle* – ‘to emit repeated slight cracking sounds’, *patter* – ‘to make a rapid succession of taps, as rain on a windowpane; to run with short quick steps’ It is likely that as a result of German influences these formatives found their way also into the Estonian suffixes *-rda-* and *-lda-* (Hinderling 1981: 143). Examples: Est *klimberdama* ‘to play unskilfully on the piano, as of strumming or pounding on it (< Ger *klimpern*); *jukerdama* ‘not to work properly (of a machine)’ < BaltGer *juckern*; *paterdama* ‘to waddle, to paddle, to toddle (of a child); *kritseldama* ‘to scribble’ (cf Ger *kritzeln*); *plätserdama* ‘to daub with clay’ (cf Ger *plätschern*). Paul Ariste has noted in his short article about the verb *kooserdama* ‘to wander, to roam’ that such verbs, as a rule, carry a pejorative connotation in Estonian (Ariste 1988: 58). Nowadays R,L-formatives are widely used in Estonian expressive vocabulary, e.g. *vaterdama* ‘to blabber’, *šlikerdama* ‘to slicker’, *töllerdama* ‘to stagger, to hang about’

### 3. Expressive Sprachbund in the Baltic Areal?

The term ‘expressive *Sprachbund*’ was suggested by Edward Stankiewicz in 1964 to denote typological similarities in the expressive sub-codes of such languages that are geographically contiguous but need not be genetically related to each other (Stankiewicz 1964: 260). However, the only areal study of onomatopoeics that has come to my attention is the one carried out by Murray B. Emeneau (Emeneau 1980). Of the aforementioned phenomena I would regard as belonging to the Baltic areal the following – expressive prefixation, R,L formatives, use of the sibilant as a sound-symbolic suffix. In the following I will outline some more similarities between Estonian, Germanic and Baltic languages that could point to the existence of an expressive Sprachbund in the Baltic areal. The starting point is Estonian.

**3.1. Eyecatching similarities.** Isomorphism on the phonemotype level is the leading factor in onomatopoeia anyway, cf the similarity in the Estonian word *krooksuma* ‘to croak’ and the

English **croak**. Therefore, etymologists have been rather cautious in pointing to the possibility that an onomatopoetic word may have been borrowed from another language. The following Estonian onomatopoetic verbs are usually regarded as having been borrowed from German: *kloppima* 'to pound, to beat (as of a carpet or one's heart)' < LG *kloppen*, *kratsima* 'to scratch' < Ger *kratzen*, *klirisema* 'to make the sound as of when glass is shattered' < Ger *klirren*, *trampima* 'to trample' < Ger *trampen*, *pahvima* 'to puff' < Ger *paffen*, *klähvima* 'to yelp, to yap' < Ger *kläffen*.

It is more common, however, for etymologists to regard many such similar words as native Estonian words or being of Balto-Finnic origin, though at times they do point to parallels, especially in German.

**kraapima** 'to scratch, to scrape' cf Eng *to scrape*, Dan *skrabe*, LG *schräpen*, Sw *skrapa*

**plärisema** 'to make a continuous harsh unpleasant blaring noise', cf Ger *plärren*, Eng *to blare*, MDu *blaren*, *bleren*

**lürpima** 'to slurp', cf Eng *to slurp*, Du *slurpen*, *slorpen*, Ger *schlürfen*

**praksuma** 'to make single crackling sounds', cf Eng *to break*, Lith *brakšt*, Latv *brakškēt*

**pragisema** 'to make continuous crackling sounds', cf Lith *spragėti*

**3.2. The pattern N + VOC + PLOS (S).** Here belongs a group of Estonian onomatopes that have, as a rule, counterparts in other Balto-Finnic languages, e.g.

**nipsti** 'snip, the sound of cutting with scissors, fillip'

**napsti** 'snap, the sound of closing the jaws quickly'

**naksama** 'to catch with one's teeth by making a short sharp sound'

**nagisema** 'to make a series of short creaky sounds, as of a floor'

**näksima** 'to nibble'

**näts** 'chewing gum'

These words have their counterparts in two sets of Indo-European onomatopoetic words. One set begins with *kn-* and the other one with *sn-*, cf Ger *knipsen*, Dan *knipse*, Sw *knipsa*; Ger *knacken*, *knacksen*, Eng *to knock*, ON *knoka*, Sw *knaka*, Lith *knakškēt*; Eng

*snip*. Ger *schnippen*, *schnipsen*; Eng *snap*, Ger *schnappen*, *schnapsen*, Lith *šnipšt*, *snap*.

#### 4. Conclusion

It is evident that Estonian provides a large number of onomatopoeic words that are interesting from the point of view of typology. The shared features to be found in the onomatopoeia and sound symbolism of the Baltic areal provide an exciting research topic. Unfortunately, so far there has been little, if any, cooperation between the linguists of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania who are competent regarding the onomatopoeic and sound-symbolic words in their respective languages. I hope that the situation will change for the better in the future.

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## **EESTI ONOMATOPOEETILISTE VÄLJENDITE TÜPOLOOGILISI JOONI**

### **Enn Veldi**

Artikkel käsitleb eesti onomatopoeetilise sõnavara tüpoloogilisi jooni ning tõstatab küsimuse ekspressiivse keeleliidu võimalikkusest Läänemere areaalis. Termin 'onomatopoeetiline sõna' tähistab ikoonilist sõna, mille referendiks on mingi akustiline nähtus, 'häälikusümboolne sõna' aga sõna, mille referendiks on mitteakustiline nähtus. Häälikusümboolika näiteks on labiaalide kasutamine ümmarguse kuju väljendamiseks inglise sõnas *bulb* ja

selle eesti vastes *mugul*, samuti see, et eesti *ö* sümboliseerib tihti halvustavat tähendust, nt sõnades *könn*, *mölisema*, *möku*.

Läbi aegade on eesti keele uurijad väitnud, et eesti keel ja läänemeresoome keeled on onomatopoeetilise sõnavara poolest rikkamad kui indoeuroopa keeled. Jakob Hurt, Ferdinand Wiedemann ja Mihkel Veske kogusid onomatopoeetilist sõnavara XIX sajandil. Kristjan Jaak Peterson aga on esimene eesti keelemees, kes käsitles häälikusümboolikat. Varasemad käsitlused on üldiselt kirjeldava iseloomuga, kuid neis võib leida huvitavaid tähelepanekuid.

1960-ndate aastate algusest muutuvad uuringud süstemaatiliseks ning tehakse katset onomatopoeetilist sõnavara klassifitseerida. Valve Põlma (Värv) käsitles oma diplomitöös (1961) onomatopoeetilisi verbe läänemeresoome keeltes, kandidaaditöös (1967) aga keskendus onomatopoeetilistele verbidele eesti kirjakeeles. Töö püsiväärtuseks on onomatopoeetiliste verbide semantiline käsitlus leksikograafilisel eesmärgil, kuid siin leidub ka huvitav katse onomatopoeetilisi verbe vormiliselt liigitada. Huvitavaid tähelepanekuid on teinud oma töödes samuti Mart Mäger, Valter Tauli ja Julius Mägiste.

Tüpoloogilises plaanis on eesti keele onomatopoeetilist sõnavara uurinud käesoleva artikli autor oma kandidaaditöös (1988). Seal esitatud eesti keele onomatoopide klassifikatsioon lähtub universaalsest onomatoopide klassifikatsioonist, mille töötas välja Stanislav Voronin. Töös vaadeldakse eesti keele onomatoope kui keeleväliste helide mudeleid, st onomatopoeetilise sõna häälikute akustilistes omadustes kajastuvad helide teatud kvantitatiivsed ja kvalitatiivsed omadused. Foneetilise motivatsiooni uurimiseks on kõigepealt vaja luua keeleväliste helide tüpologia ning seejärel vaadata, kuidas see avaldub uuritavas keeles. Onomatopoeetiline sõna on lineaarne järjend. Seetõttu on huvipakkuvad juhtumid, kus keeleväline heli on akustiliselt kompleksne ning samaaegne, nt *sumin* sisaldab puhast müra, milles on tooni elemente. Eesti keeles saab taolist heli edasi anda nii, et *s* kajastab puhast müra ning *m* tooni. Keeltes, kus heliline sibilant *z* on tavaline, saab müra ja tooni edasi anda samaaegselt, nt inglise sõnas *buzz* 'sumisema'

Kõige silmatorkavam anomaalsus eesti onomatoopide silbistruktuuris on kahe konsonantühendi esinemine samas sõnas, nt sõnades *prantsti*, *krõmpsuma*, *plartsti*. Huvitavaks jooneks on ka pika vokaali ja diftongi vaheldumine, nt *piiksuma* ~ *piuksuma*, *siitsuma* ~ *siutsuma* ~ *säutsuma*. Onomatopoeetilistele sõnadele on iseloomulik sisetuletus, st onomatopoeetilistele juurtele juuresiseste afiksrite lisamine, nt *pauhti* ~ *plauhti*, *kiiksuma* ~ *kriiksuma*; *koksti* ~ *kolksti*, *patsti* ~ *plartsti*; *krõpsuma* ~ *krõmpsuma*, *tiksuma* ~ *tinksuma*. Veelgi huvitavamad on juuresisene häälikusümboolne sufiks *s* ning kahe häälikusümboolse sufiksi ühendid *ks*, *ps* ja *ts*, vrd *koputama* ~ *kopsima*, *nagisema* ~ *naksuma*, *podisema* ~ *potsti*, *kolisema* ~ *kolksuma*, *sulisema* ~ *sulpsti*, *tümisema* ~ *tümpsti*, *mürisema* ~ *müristi*. Nii soome keeleuurija Ahti Rytönen kui ka Julius Mägiste on käsitlenud ühendeid *ks*, *ps* ja *ts* kahe häälikusümboolse sufiksi ühendina.

Need sufiksid on produktiivsed samuti hüüdnimedes ja slängis, vrd *Riho ~ Riks, Tarmo ~ Tarts, jaapanlane ~ japs, kroon ~ kronts*.

Eesti keeles on umbes 30 onomatopoeetilist sõna rõhuta eesosisega *kar-*, nt *karplauhti, karsumm, karpõmm*. Neile lisaks on sõnaraamatutes ka mõned sõnad eesosisega *par-* ja *per-* nt *parsumm, perlaksti*. Mägiste arvates lähtub *kar-* verbist *kargama* ja *par-* verbidest *parisema, parisama*. Käesoleva artikli autori arvates on antud juhul tegemist nähtusega, millel on laiem taust. Paralleele on võimalik leida nii germaani kui balti keeltest.

Samuti on R/L-formatiivid tavalised germaani keeltes, kus nad annavad onomatoobile frekventatiivse või iteratiivse tähenduse. Robert Hinderlingi arvates on need formatiivid eesti keeles tekkinud saksa keele mõjul, vrd saksa *klimpern* ~ eesti *klimberdama, kritzeln* ~ *kritseldama*.

Eesti keele onomatoopidel on mitmeid teisigi huvipakkuvaid ühisjooni germaani ja balti keeltega, nt paralleelid sõnadele *nipsti, napsti, naksama, näksima; pragisema, praksuma*. See võimaldab tõstatada küsimuse võimalikust ekspressiivsest keeleliidust Läänemere areaalis. Terminit 'expressive *Sprachbund*' kasutas Edward Stankiewicz (1964) tähistamaks tüpoloogilisi sarnasusi selliste keelte ekspressiivses sõnavaras, mis paiknevad geograafiliselt lähestikku, kuid ei pruugi olla omavahel keelesuguluses.



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