ESTONIAN:
TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES II

edited by
Mati Erelt

TARTU 1997
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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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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 redupli-
cative formation are non-identical because the copy is only a part
of the word stem that underlies the reduplication, cf Iaai 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
Reduplication in Estonian

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 no 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. – Kull ma tulen, kull 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 seal 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-bounded</th>
<th>Bounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suur-suur maja</td>
<td>purjus mis purjus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'big-big house'</td>
<td>'as drunk as can be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jookseb ja jookseb</td>
<td>tuleb tulema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'is running and running'</td>
<td>'leaves the place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mehed, mehed</td>
<td>Fin mies kuin mies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'men, men'</td>
<td>'every man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dõlok 'mountain' > dolok-dõlok '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: aegluselt '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\kt0123: 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 veinipudelikese kaugele-kaugele.
‘We slammed our record player shut and hid our only little bottle of wine far-far away.’
Reduplication in Estonian

ILU\kt0088: 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 hoolitseda, 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, kellega nad nii-nii lähedased olid, kelle pärast pidas ta köige ilus samaks 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)  

\begin{center} 
\textbf{sini-sinine}  
\end{center} 

‘blue-blue’

OC: Taevas oli \textbf{sini-sinine}.
‘The sky was blue-blue.’

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

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

\[(3) \quad \text{väga ja väga}
\]

‘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 öppinud.

‘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\kt0105: 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).

1.1.1.2. 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:

\[(4) \quad \text{hullem kui hull}
\]

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 kõverjoonest .. 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 üllatatalt head, aga klassis tehtud nirumad kui nirud.
Lit. ‘For, as a ruie, 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\kt0109: 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’

ILU\stkt0014: Saak nigelast nigelam, sissetulek närune.
Lit. ‘The crops worse than worse, the income lousy.’

ILU\stkt0026: 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 vihastest vihaste.
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.’

ILU\stkt0026: Aga selgemast selgemin 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 tõotas see (tulevik) tulla kirkamast kirkam.
Lit. ’Evidently this (future) promised to be brighter than brighter.

OC (P Kuusberg): Tunnen end vahel lollimast lollima.
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: **selväkin 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 genitival 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 suurenemas 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, Punttila 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’

ESBI\tet0012</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 tsaaariagsed 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\kt0128</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 Erelt, 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:

\[(12) \quad \text{söön ja söön} \]
\[\text{eat-1sg and eat-1sg} \]
\[\text{‘I’m eating and eating.’} \]

\[\text{kiiremini ja kiiremini} \]
\[\text{fast-comp-adv and fast-comp-adv} \]
\[\text{‘faster and faster’} \]

\[\text{ei tule ega tule} \]
\[\text{neg come neg come} \]
\[\text{‘isn’t coming’} \]

express300896.Lat4: Ja nüüd muudkui teen ja teen... juba kolmenteist 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 sundmõtetele on see, et haige ise võib oma mõtetesse suhtuda mõistusliku kriitikaga, kuid sellele vaatamata 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.’
Reduplication in Estonian

HOHA\ht0044/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 väiksema b vaiksema b, 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 ümbristevast 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 öhtuni* ‘from morning till evening’, *kogu aeg* ‘all the time’ etc. For example, *Sa töötad hommikust öhtuni* ‘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\kt0103: 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 auruvedu 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: käsaa 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, Punttila 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. Igaüks toimetas oma toimetamist ja mõtles oma mõitlemisi ‘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 söödämäa 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. Ihnishälinä alhaalla kulki kulkuaan ‘Downstairs the noise did not stop’ (cf Erelt, Punttila 1993: 165). The Finnish constructions that express continuation include also the following construction: verb + elative of the 3rd infinitive from the same stem + päästya: nauraa nauramasta päästyaänkin ‘S/he keeps laughing endlessly’ (cf Erelt, Punttila 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 Ŷün pole enam maakonna peakunstnik, sest seda ametikohtagi ei *ole olemas*.  
‘Aate-Heli Ŷün 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, Punttila 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 läksipidule menema* ‘I was going to go to the party’ (Varbla dialect); *tüdruk .. tulnu ussöst*
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:

\[(17) \text{inimese ja inimese (vahel on vahe)} \]
\[\text{man-gen and man-gen between is difference} \]
\[\text{‘there is a difference between different persons’} \]

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: \text{inimeste vahel on vahe} ‘there is a difference between people’

The same type of reduplication occurs in Finnish as well, e.g. \text{Samanikäinen on heidan porsaansa kuin nämäkin. Mutta ero se on porsailla ja porsailla. 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 \text{palju} ‘many, much’ (\text{palju inimesi} ‘many people’, \text{palju vett} ‘much water’).

Asyndetic reduplication of the noun:

\[(18) \text{inimesed, inimesed, inimesed} \]
\[\text{‘people, people, people’} \]
\[\text{vesi, vesi, vesi} \]
\[\text{‘water, water, water’} \]
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 Erelt, Punttila 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 – *kümned ja kümned tuhanded* 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 saklaste 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 Erelt, Punttila 1993: 169), Kymmenet- ja jälleen kymmenettuhannet palestiinalaiset matkaavat miehitysalueelta Israelin 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.

\[ (21) \]

\[ a \text{ aastast aastasse} \]
year-el year-ill
‘from year to year’

\[ b \text{ aasta aasta järel} \]
year-gen year-gen after
‘from year to year’

\[ c \text{ aasta aastalt} \]
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.’
Reduplication in Estonian

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, rahulolematu 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 adverbalized 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 paikkak 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 bületäänis 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
Reduplication in Estonian

(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), sealak sealak 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’, Sotauutisten 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 ihmisia ‘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 vilesus ‘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. tuira-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 ö e ō o å a*, e.g. *ei tissi ega tussi* ‘neither tits nor tush’, *pudi-padi* ‘bric-a-brac’, *ei kippu ega köppu* ‘dead silence’, *kila-kola* ‘junk’, *kiiga-kääga* ‘scrapingly’, *sitikad ja satikad* ‘beetles and crab lice’;

3) with a more obstruct 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. *okhis ja puhhis* ‘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  da-infinitive
El  Elative
Emph  emphatic particle
Gen  Genitive
Ill  Illative
In  Inessive
interr pron  interrogative pronoun
Mainf  ma-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

REFERENCES


REDUPLIKATSIOON EESTI KEELES

Mati Erelt

Kääsesolevad kirjutised keskenduvad eesti reduplicatsiooni erinevatele tüüplehekordustele. Millel on üksikasutusest süsteemiliselt erinev tähendus. Lähtetüvega identse tüve kordus on identsusalv eesti kesele, samasugune tüve kordus aga on sisusreduplikatsioon.

Identusreduplikatsioon võib olla täielik või osaline. Täieliku reduplicatsiooni korral korratakse kogu sõnatiiv, nt vana-vana naine, osalise


Wiedemann, Ferdinand Johann 1875: Grammatik der ehstnischen Sprache, zunächst wie sie in Mittelehstland gesprochen wird mit Berück­sichtigung der anderen Dialekte. St.-Pétersbourg.
Reduplikaatsiooni korral ainult mingit osa sõnatüvest, nt hausa keeles suna ‘nimi’ > sunanaki ‘nimed’

Sisult võib reduplikaatsioon olla intensiivistav, nt suur-suur maja, aspektiline, nt jookseb ja jookseb. või kvantifiteeriv (kvantoriaalne), nt sm mies kuin mies ‘iga mees’ Kõigil kolmel juhul on reduplikaatsiooni abil väljendatud kvantiteet kas piiritlemata või piiritletud. Piiritlemata kvantiteet avaldub intensiivistava reduplikaatsiooni korral (omaduse) suure intensiivsusea (nt suur-suur lind ‘väga suur lind’), aspektlike reduplikaatsiooni puhul (protsessi) jatkuvusena (nt jookseb ja jookseb) ning kvantoriaalset reduplikaatsiooni puhul (asja/olendi) ebamäärase paljususena (nt mehed, mehed, mehed!). Piiritletud kvantiteet avaldub vastavalt omaduse määratud astme saavutamisena (haige mis haige ‘täiesti haige’), prosessi perfektiivsusea (nt tuleb tulema) ning hulga ammendatusena (nt soome mies kuin mies ‘iga mees’).

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

1) 1980. aastate tekstikorpus (Tartu korpus), mis sisaldab 1 miljoni sõne ulatuses eri valdkondade tekste;
2) 1990. aastate tekstikorpus, mis sisaldab ca 250 000 sõne ulatuses ajakirjandustekste.

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

Identsusreduplikaatsiooni põhitüübid eesti keeles on järgmised:

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Similaarreduplikatsioon on nähtus, mille puhul lähetetüvele lisatakse
temaga vormiliselt ja/või semantiliselt samane sõnatüvi, nt 
sigin-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 poeetilise (Roman Jakobsoni 
mõttes).

Eesti keeles võib reduplicatiivne 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) alguskonsononandi puudumine : olemasolu, nt ootused ja lootused
3) esisilbi vokaali erinevus, nt liga-loga, nii ja nna (kõige sagedasem 
vokaalivaheldusse eesti kordustarindites on i:a)
4) alguskonsononandi 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 sisulisii järjestuspõhimõtteid.
Eesti paarissõnade järjestusprintsippe on lähemalt käsitlenud Märt Välja-
taga (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 õ 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 könelejakesksema mõiste paigutamine ettepoole, nt 
siin ja seal, rõõm ja mure.
TYPOLOGY 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’, aeglase ‘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

{pangandus 'banking', lapselik 'childish', tuhastama 'to incinerate', aeglase 'slowly')}.
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', häällik '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' > pruunjas, pruunikas 'brownish', vana 'old' > vanaldane 'oldish', arg 'wimpy' > arglik 'wimpish').

Inflectional derivation is syntactic-semantic and can be divided into intracategoric and intercategoric. 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’ > suurenda ‘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 intercategoric 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’ > önnelik ‘happy’, önnetu ‘unhappy’, önnekas ‘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 fas 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 Kangasmäe-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 transitive 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' – välgatama 'to flash once' – välklema 'to flash repeatedly'; Fin välkkyä – välähtää – välahdellä). 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. Denominational 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’, ütlema sina > sinatama ‘to address as thou’; Fin hopeoida, vaaleta, sinumella). 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 intercategoric.

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 onomatopoetic verbs or are descriptive in some other way. Finnish has no such constraint.

-ata-: võpatama ‘to wince’, loksatama ‘to splash once’, välgtama ‘to flash once’, praksatama ‘to crack once’, kääksatama ‘to squeak once’, klõpsatama ‘to click once’...
As these examples indicate, the ata-suffixed instants, u-suffixed frequentatives and ise-suffixed continuatives form a peculiar system. The underlying word is an onomatopoetic 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’, põörama ‘to turn’ > põörlema ‘to
revolve', hüppama 'to jump' > hüplema 'to jump repeatedly up and down, pörkama 'to bounce' > pörklema '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kysyä, kysellä</td>
<td>küsima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varastaa, varastella</td>
<td>varastama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhua, puhella</td>
<td>rääkima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vastata, vastailla</td>
<td>vastama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oppia, opetella, opiskella</td>
<td>öppima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>käydä, käyskennellä, kävellä</td>
<td>käima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laulaa, laulella, lauleskella</td>
<td>laulma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, välbatama ‘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 jaisahtaa, hölmähtänyt ilme, valssahtava sovitus). The beginning of an action or state is
expressed by istahtaa, nukahtaa, uinahtaa, kellahhtaa, seisahhtaa. 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 — 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:

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<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>alluma</td>
<td>allutama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘below, under’</td>
<td>‘to be subordinate to’</td>
<td>‘to subordinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilm</td>
<td>ilmuma</td>
<td>ilmutama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘weather’</td>
<td>‘to appear’</td>
<td>‘to develop (in photography)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>külm</td>
<td>külmuma</td>
<td>külmutama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>‘to freeze, intr.’</td>
<td>‘to freeze, tr.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avar</td>
<td>avardama</td>
<td>avarduma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spacious’</td>
<td>‘to extend, tr.’</td>
<td>‘to extend, intr.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

- rie > rietama > rietuma
  - '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
- nostaa > 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: \( \text{paimua} - \text{painautua}, \text{kastua} - \text{kastautua}, \text{hukkua} - \text{hukuttautua}, \text{etsiä} - \text{etsytyä} \). Whether the Estonian \( u \)-derivative is passive or reflexive depends mostly on the semantics of the underlying verb: \( \text{anduma} \) ‘to give oneself up to’, \( \text{hoiduma} \) ‘to avoid from’, \( \text{riietuma} \) ‘to dress oneself’ are reflexive verbs and \( \text{murduma} \) ‘to break, intr.’, \( \text{kattuma} \) ‘to overlap’, \( \text{peegelduma} \) ‘to be reflected’, \( \text{sulguma} \) ‘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: \( \text{kalduma} \) ‘to incline, to tend to’ – \( \text{kallutama} \) ‘to tilt’ – \( \text{kallutuma} \) ‘to bend’, where \( \text{kalduma} \) is an automotive verb (\( \text{Tool kaldus tahapoole} \) ‘The chair inclined back’, \( \text{kallutama} \) is a causative formed from it (\( \text{Jaan kallutas tooli tahapoole} \) ‘Jaan tilted the chair back’), and \( \text{kallutuma} \) is a reflexive verb that is formed from the latter (\( \text{Jaan kallutus (= kallutas end) ettepoole.} \) ‘Jaan leaned forward’). Actually, Estonian has some other series of three verbs (\( \text{sirguma} \) ‘to grow, intr.’ – \( \text{sirutama} \) ‘to stretch oneself’ – \( \text{sirutuma} \) ‘to be spread out’, \( \text{lahkuma} \) ‘to leave’ – \( \text{lahutama} \) ‘to separate, to divorce’ – \( \text{lahutuma} \) ‘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 \( \text{sirguma} \) and \( \text{sirutama}, \text{lahkuma} \) and \( \text{lahutama} \)) that it has become possible to form a new derivative verb pair that is based on the
casuative verb: *sirutama* – *sirutuma*, *lahutama* – *lahutuma* (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’ > *uuendama* ‘to renew’ > *uuenduma* ‘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 Räisänen 1985). In Estonian, too, *ndu*-derivatives are used to some extent spontaneously, they are especially frequent in bureaucratese (*juhtkond uuendub* ‘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 uueneb*, *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 punoita, diivailla, Est punetama ‘to be red with sth’, staaritsema ‘to act as a star’); (2) translativ 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 sibitama ‘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, rypiskellä, Est einetama ‘to take a meal’, maiustama ‘to eat candy’, napsitana ‘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 töstma 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 the are that 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 automotive verbs, e.g. Est leidma ‘to find’ > leiduma ‘to be found’, cf Fin löytää > löytyä; translatival 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 -\textit{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 \textit{liikuma} ‘to move’ > \textit{liigatama} ‘to stir once’, cf Fin \textit{liikkua} > \textit{liikahtaa}. In Estonian, there are no such Finnish suffixes as -\textit{ksi}-, -\textit{ksu}- and -\textit{aise}- (\textit{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 -\textit{a}-, -\textit{ä}-, -\textit{ta}-, -\textit{tä}- and -\textit{tta}-, -\textit{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 -\textit{u}-, -\textit{y}-, -\textit{o}- and -\textit{utu}-, -\textit{ytt}- 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 \textit{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

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mustata</td>
<td>musta/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merkitä</td>
<td>märgi/tse/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suureta</td>
<td>suure/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kavaltaa</td>
<td>kaval/da/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parantaa</td>
<td>para/nda/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeskennellä</td>
<td>tee/skle/ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textit{kavallan} ‘to be cunning’, \textit{parannan} ‘to repair’ \textit{teeskennellä} ‘to pretend’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kavaltaa</td>
<td>kaval/da/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parantaa</td>
<td>para/nda/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeskennellä</td>
<td>tee/skle/ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 morphophonologically 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hypätä</td>
<td>hüppama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyppiä</td>
<td>hüplema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypellä</td>
<td>hüpitama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyppelehtiä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypittää</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypitellä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypiskellä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyppyyttää</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyppäyttää</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypähtää</td>
<td>hüpatama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypähdellä</td>
<td>(hüpatlema)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 transitive verbs and ise-suffixed descriptive verbs as is the case in Finnish:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suurene- &gt; suurentaa</td>
<td>suure/ne/ma &gt; suure/n/da/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kevene- &gt; keventää</td>
<td>kerge/ne/ma &gt; kerge/n/da/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laajene- &gt; laajentaa</td>
<td>laie/ne/ma &gt; laie/n/da/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumise- &gt; sumistaa</td>
<td>sum/ise/ma &gt; sum/is/ta/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jyrise- &gt; jyristää</td>
<td>mür/ise/ma &gt; mür/is/ta/ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolise- &gt; kolistaa</td>
<td>kol/ise/ma &gt; kol/is/ta/ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ta- can be attached without any constraints to the u-suffix as well, but is 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 lendə/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 con gratulate’, 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 ommittella, 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 käänteissanakirja” 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:
### Typology of Estonian and Finnish word-formation. The Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teeske-nte-le-</td>
<td>teesk-le-</td>
<td>‘to pretend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juoke-nte-le</td>
<td>jooks-le-</td>
<td>‘to run about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupi-tte-le</td>
<td>kaup-le-</td>
<td>‘to trade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laisko-tte-le-</td>
<td>laisk-le-</td>
<td>‘to idle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kään-te-le-hiti</td>
<td>kään-le-</td>
<td>‘to wind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nimi-tte-le</td>
<td>nime-ta-</td>
<td>‘to name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinu-tte-le</td>
<td>sina-ta-</td>
<td>‘to say sina’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiti-tte-le</td>
<td>teie-ta-</td>
<td>‘to say teie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rouvi-tte-le</td>
<td>proua-ta-</td>
<td>‘to say proua’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vale-hte-le</td>
<td>vale-ta-</td>
<td>‘to lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hihi-tte-le</td>
<td>itsi-ta-</td>
<td>‘to giggle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 | siga-tse- ‘to act like a pig’
diiva-i-le | staari-tse- ‘to act like a star’
hermo-i-le- | närvi-tse- ‘to be nervous’
pelle-i-le- | tola-tse- ‘to play the fool’
kiiva-ste-le | äge-tse- ‘to be fierce’
huvi-tte-le | lõbu-tse- ‘to have fun’

6.5. In addition to the fact that different suffixes are used, 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’

9*
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.
REFERENCES


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SÕNAMOODUSTUSTÜPOLOGIA. VERB

Reet Kasik

Tuletusliidete abil moodustatakse verbe, substantiive, adjektiive ja adverbe paljude tuletusmallide järgi. Tuletise derivatiivne tähendus moodustub alussõna leksikaalset tähendusest ja tuletusliitega lisanduvast kategoriaalsetest 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, aeglasekt). Teine osa sõnatuletusest on leksikaalne – kindlalt kategoriaalne 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.


Modifitseeriva verbiliteuse osas hõlmavad soome ja eesti keele erinevused eeskätt tuletusvõimalustele ulatust ja produktiivsust. Alussõna hulk, millele modifitseeriva sufiks võib liituda, on eesti keeles semantiliselt piiratud, soome keeles ei ole. Eesti keeles moodustatakse kontinuatiivseid, momentaanseid ja kontinuatiivseid verbe reeglipäraselt void liikumist või heli tähistavatest verbidest Suur osa aktiivsetest kasutusel olevatest frekventatiivsetest, momentaansetest või kontinuatiivsetest verbiliteustest kuulub onomatopoeetiliste verbide hulka või on muul viisil deskriptiivsed.

-ata-: võpatama, loksata, välgatama, praksatama, kääksatama, klöpsatama...
-u-: võppuma, loksuma, välkuma, praksuma, kääksuma, klöpsuma...
-le-: võplema, lokslema, välklema, pöörlema, keerlema, karglema, hüplema, lendlema
-ise-: võbisema, logisema, pragisema, käsisma, klöbisema, mürisema...


Ka le-liitelisi verbe võib moodustada deskriptiivset juurtüvest ja sel juhul nad liituvad sama sarjaga: võplema, lokslema, välklema jt. Sagedamini
Reet Kasik

moodustatakse _le_-tuletisi aga liikumist või häält märkivatest “pärisverbidest”
Suur osa sellistestki _le_-tuletiste alusverbidest on tähenduselt momentaansed ja _le_-tuletis väljendab liikumise või häälitsuse kordumist: _höikama_ > _höiklema_, _pöörama_ > _pöörlema_, _hüppama_ > _hiulema_, _pörkama_ > _pörklema_. Kui samast sõnatiivest on olema nii _u_- või _i_- kui ka _le_-liiteline frekventatiivverb, siis on neil eri tähendus: _u_- või _i_-tuletis märgib momentaanne liikumise või heli korrupäras kordumist (_höikuma, loksuma, välkuma, orehkima_), _le_-tuletiste tähenduses liitub kordumisega teadud ebamäärasuse, juhuslikkuse või korrupärate varjund (_höiklema, lokslema, välklema, orehklema_).

Soome kees on modifitseeriv derivatsioon avaram kui eesti keees. _le_-tuletusel ei ole soome keees üldse ei semantilisi ega struktuurseid piiranguid, vaid _le_-tuletisi võib moodustada igasugustest verbidest (vrd sm _kysyä, kysellä_, ee _küsima_). Ka eesti deskriptiivsetele _ata_-verbidele vastavaid _ahta_- ja _aise_-tuletisi võib moodustada igasugustest verbidest ja ka noomenist_Est Nii momentaansed kui kai frekventatiivsed liited võivad soome keees väljendada ka deminutiivset (moderatiivset) modifitseerivat tähendust. Eesti derivatsioonistüsteemis sellist võimalust ei ole.


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 kees on tuletusvõimalused avaramad ja eesti verbipaaridele vastavad semantiliselt hoopis liigendatud 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 keees kuratiivseid verbe ei ole. Passiivsed ja refleksiivsed verbid on eesti keees alusverbit tähenduse suhtes komplementaarsed, sri transitiivsete alusverbist võib moodustada vaid
ühe *-/tuletise, mis on kas passiivse või refleksivse tähendusega. Soome keele vöib samast verbitüvest moodustada kaks eri tuletist, millest üks on passiivse, teine refleksivse tähendusega: painua – painautua. Ka on soome keele 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 rekurisivsuse puudumine kogu eesti derivatsioonisüsteemist. Soome keele, kus derivatiivne rekurisivsus on tavaline, toetab see ka ne- ja ndu-tuletiste paralleelset kasutamist.


Eesti keele fonoloogilised ja morfonoloogilised võimalused on piiratud kui soome keele. Tuletise struktuur on harilikult lihtne: juurtüvi ja üks ühesilbiline liide. Liitevariantite on eesti keele tunduvalt vähem kui soome keele ja tuletatud verbide struktuur on enamasti ülemõtteliselt selge ja läbipaistavam kui soome keele. Näiteks soome keele a-, ä-, ta-, tä- ja tta-
tätähed on eesti keeles suhanud kokku ühes ta-liiteks, välja arvatud kontraheerunud verbid, mis sünkroonilises keelekirjelduses lõigituvad tänapäeval juurverbide hulka. Soome keele u-, y-, o- ja utt-
tutumlised on suhanud ühes u-sufiksiks, mis alati asendab juurtüve vokaali. Kuna eesti keele ei ole sõna järgsilpides astmevaheldust ega ka muid häälikuvaheldusi kaugemal kui esimese ja teise silbi piiril, säilib liide sõna muutmisel kõigis sõnavormides ühesugusena. Liitsufikside ja sufiksi-kombinatsioone on soome keele hulgast, eesti keele suhteliselt vähe. Harilikult vastavad soome keele sufiksikombinatsioonidele eesti keele lihtsufiksid. Nätteks esitatud ta- ja le

liiksufiksikombinatsioonile vastab eesti keele kas ainult *ta- (sm simu-tt-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 keele erinevaid sufiksse või erinevaid moodustusmalle. See võib hõlmata teatud tähendusrühma, nii nagu staatustuletistes (sm diiva-i-le-, ee staari-tse-) või teatud tühveeratudi, nii nagu kontraheerunud verbide (sm tervata, meikki > meikata, ee törvama, aga meikima) või kolmesilbiliste alussõnade puhul (sm enitsöiddä, palmikoida, eesti keele võimat 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 (Ambrazas 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 -iis (Ambrazas 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 (Ambrazas 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 (Paulauskiene 1994) any reason why the quotative should be introduced into the system of Lithuanian moods. The representative of this school Aldona Paulauskiene brings out first and foremost the fact there are no morphological
The quotative mood in the Baltic Sea areal

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). Paulauskiene (just like Rätsep) regards the quotative as a variety of the indicative. Paulauskiene’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 (Paulauskiene 1994: 308).

If Rätsep considers important the mediational character of the mode of presenting speech, then Paulauskiene 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 (Paulauskiene 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 targa, 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
The quotative mood in the Baltic Sea areal 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 päästavd, 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 tonid 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 buvės metės, E olevat visanud ‘is said to have thrown’; the indicative pluperfect Li buvo metės, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Li Jis</td>
<td>daug dirb-qs</td>
<td>he-NOM</td>
<td>much work-sg- ptc-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jis daug dirb-qs</td>
<td>he-NOM</td>
<td>much work-sg- ptc-M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He is said to work a lot’</td>
<td>‘She is said to work a lot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Tense</th>
<th>Compound Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative preterite</td>
<td>iterative pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, dalyvine 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: *dirbės* ‘is said to have worked’, pro: *yra dirbės* ‘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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Simple Form</th>
<th>Compound Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>*metqs</td>
<td>*esqs *metqs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viskav</td>
<td>olev*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'is said to</td>
<td>*olev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>throw'</td>
<td>viskamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*viskav</td>
<td>*olev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>*metqs</td>
<td><em>buv</em>es *metqs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(olevat)</td>
<td><em>ol</em>nu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visanud</td>
<td>visanud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'is said to have thrown'</td>
<td>'is said to have been thrown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mesdavës</td>
<td>bûdavës</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olevat</td>
<td><em>ol</em>nu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pidevalt)</td>
<td>(pidevalt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visanud</td>
<td>visanud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'is said to have been thrown'</td>
<td>'is said to have been thrown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>mesiqs</td>
<td>bûsiqs *metqs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mesdavës</td>
<td>bûdavës</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>olevat</td>
<td><em>ol</em>nu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pidevalt)</td>
<td>(pidevalt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visanud</td>
<td>visanud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'is said to have been thrown'</td>
<td>'is said to have been thrown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*viskav</td>
<td>*olev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>*metqs</td>
<td><em>buv</em>es *metqs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hakkavat</td>
<td><em>ol</em>nu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tulevikus)</td>
<td>(tulevikus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viskama</td>
<td>viskamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'is said to be going to throw'</td>
<td>'is said to be thrown (in the future)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*viskav</td>
<td>*olev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tulevikus)</td>
<td>(tulevikus)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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  

\begin{align*}
\text{Jis} & \quad \text{daug} & \quad \text{dirb-qs} \\
\text{he-NOM} & \quad \text{much} & \quad \text{work-sg-ptc-M}
\end{align*}

‘He is said to work a lot’

*Ta palju töötav

In Lithuanian, the compound present form is expressed by means of the present participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ büti 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.

\begin{align*}
\text{Li} & \quad \text{Jis} & \quad \text{es-qs} & \quad \text{ilgai} & \quad \text{dirb-ės} \\
\text{he-NOM} & \quad \text{be-sg-ptc-M} & \quad \text{long} & \quad \text{work-sg-pptc-M}
\end{align*}

‘He is said to have worked for a long time’

*Ta olev kaua töötanud

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’ büti occurs in both cases as the active present participle.

(a) Li  

\begin{align*}
\text{Darbas} & \quad \text{es-qs} & \quad \text{paruošia-mas} \\
\text{work-NOM} & \quad \text{be-sg-ptc-M} & \quad \text{prepare-sg-ptc-pass-M}
\end{align*}

‘The work is said to be under preparation’

*Töö olev ette valmistatav

(b) Li  

\begin{align*}
\text{Darbas} & \quad \text{es-qs} & \quad \text{paruoš-tas} \\
\text{work-NOM} & \quad \text{be-sg-ptc-M} & \quad \text{prepare-sg-pptc-pass-M}
\end{align*}

‘The work is said to have been prepared’

*Töö 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.
The quotative mood in the Baltic Sea areal

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

(b) Li  
Jis büdav-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’ büti and the present participle in the passive and (b) the past participle of the iterative auxiliary verb ‘to be’ büti and the past participle in the passive.

(b) Li  
Darbas büv-ęs gerai  
work-sg-NOM be-sg-ipptc-M well  
paruoš-ıtas  
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’ büti 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-ıas  
he-NOM much work-sg-fptc-M  
‘He is said to be going to work a lot’  
*Ta palju (tulevikus) töötav.

(b) Li  
Ji daug bü-s-ıas 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) töötanud

In the Lithuanian passive forms one can find (a) the future participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ büti with the passive
participle of the passive present of the verb and (b) the future participle of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ büti with the passive past participle of the verb.

(a) Li  
 Darbas \( būs\)-\( iņs \) \( \text{gerai} \)  
 work-sg-NOM be-sg-fptc-M well  
 \( \text{paruošia-mas} \)  
 prepare-sg-ptc-pass-M  
 ‘The work is said to be going to be well prepared’

(b) Li  
 Darbas \( būs\)-\( iņs \) \( \text{gerai} \)  
 work-sg-NOM be-sg-fptc-M well  
 \( \text{paruoš-tas} \)  
 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 (\( \text{Kuulsin kedagi kōndivat} \) ‘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 (\( \text{nad tulnuvat} \) ‘they are said to have come’) that can be used alongside with the analytic ones (\( \text{nad olevat tulnud} \) ‘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. -įį and La -įjis (Ambrazas 1990: 231). For a more detailed discussion of the Latvian quotative see Muižniec 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 (admiring) 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 Naisest ela-vat ta lahus
wife-sg-EL live-q he-NOM separately
‘He is said to live separately from his wife’

E Ma tege-vat kōik valesti
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
‘It is said that s/he is going to receive a scholarship for studying in Finland’

‘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

‘Forests are said to have been here’

‘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

‘It is said that the buried money burns’

‘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  
\( \text{Jis jau besuprant-qs} \)  
\( \text{he-NOM already understand-sg-pte-M Lithuanian} \)

'It is said that he can already understand Lithuanian'

4) to express an action that occurred unexpectedly

Li  
\( \text{Vyras atsigr-ž-qs žiūri - stov-ės velnias} \)  
\( \text{man-NOM turn around-sg-pptc-M look-3sg stand-sg-pte-M devil-NOM} \)

'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 \( \text{da-} \) infinitive and rarely also the \( \text{ma-} \) 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 \( \text{vat-} \) form: \( \text{ta saavat uue tōökoha} \) ‘S/he is said to get a new job’;

2) the past participle of the personal voice: \( \text{ta suanud uue tōökoha} \) ‘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 \( \text{nud-} \) form and the \( \text{vat- (da-, ma-)} \) 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 jätud maha kaksteist poega ja ühe tütrekese. Mõne aja pärast hakkud 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 dukterelę. Po kiek laiko tėvas pamilęs kitą merginą, raganą. Ta sakanti: "Dukte tesie, bet savo sūnus visus sudegink..." Tėvas mąstęs taip, mąstęs šiaip, nebežinęs, 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), Ziryan (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

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REFERENCES


The quotative mood in the Baltic Sea areal


KAUDNE KÕNEVIIS LÄÄNEMERE AREAALIS

Birute Klaas

Käesolevas artiklis kõrvutatakse eesti ja leedu keele kaudse kõneviisi funktsioone ja morfosüntaktilisi tunnused, aga ka ajaloolist arengut. Artikli ülesandeks on osutada eesti ja leedu keele vahelistele sarnastustele 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 otse ja kaudse teatamislaadi väljendamiseks on Uhelt poolt tüpoloogiline nähtus, mis hõlmab paljusid Euroopa ja Aasia keeli. Samas on aga kogu paradigmat läbiv opositsioon tegevuse tunnetuse otse 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 keele osas võimalik vaid partitsiipidega väljendatud kaudne kõneviis, siis eesti keele osas on sellele lisaks võimalik kvotatiivi kasutada infinitiivselt vormistada, kuigi väga piiratud ulatuses ja põhiliselt murdekeele. Eesti kvotatiiv esineb ka sünteetilisi vorme (nad tulnud), mida võib analüütiliste kõrval (nad olevat tulnud) kasutada, kuid leedu keele selist 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 preeteritumile on kasutusel ka iteratiivne (korduva tegevuse) preeteritum ja futuurum. Leedu keelest on lihtaega ja liitaega süsteem üksühesest vastavuses, st igal lihtaja vormil on olemas ka sellele vastav liitaja vorm. Kui eesti keele osas on liitaega ajaline kaheplaanilisus sisuliselt mitteoluline, siis leedu keelest on kvotatiivi liitaega kaheplaanilisus säälinud ja tegemist on ajaliselt 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.

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Kvotatiivi funktsioonides võib täheldada ka suurt sarnasust eesti ja leedu keele vahel. Mõlemas keeles on esindatud kvotatiiiv põhifunktsioonid:
1) teate vahendatuse väljendamine;
2) kõneleja või teate allika kahtluste väljendamine tegevussituatsiooni raalsuse kohta.

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

Nii läänemereseome kui ka Balti keelte kaudse kõneviisi struktuuriliseks aluseks on partitsiipide kasutamine predikaadina. Selline kasutusviis võib olla tekinud mineviku liitaegadest abiverbi ärajätmise tulemusel (Ikola 1953:
Birute Klaas

55), kuid ei saa ka välistada võimalust, et lausestrukturiis 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.


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 parallelele tõmmata ka teiste morfosüntaktiliste kategoriate formeerumisega (Klaas 1996).
ON THE USE OF THE ESTONIAN PAST TENSE FORMS THROUGH THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS

Helle Metslang
Institute of the Estonian Language

1. On Estonian past tenses

The main substance of the Estonian tense system 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 olem ‘to be’ in the present tense or past, respectively, and of the perfect participle. For example, the tense forms of the verb otsi ‘to look for’ in the 1P sg and 3P sg are as follows.

(1) the present:
\( \text{ma otsi-n ‘I look for, I am looking for’} \), \( \text{ta otsi-b ‘he/she looks for, he/she is looking for’} \)
the past:
\( \text{ma otsi-si-n ‘I looked for, I was looking for’} \), \( \text{ta otsi-s ‘he/she looked for, he/she was looking for’} \)
the perfect:
\( \text{ma ole-n otsi-nud ‘I have looked for, I have been looking for’} \), \( \text{ta on otsi-nud ‘he/she has looked for, he/she has been looking for’} \)
the pluperfect:
\( \text{ma oli-n otsi-nud ‘I had looked for, I had been looking for’} \), \( \text{ta ol-i otsi-nud ‘he/she had looking for, he/she had been looking for’} \)

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1 This work was supported by the Research Support Scheme of the Higher Education Support Programme, grant No.: 516/1995.
2 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 käu 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, aga neid ei ole kusagil.
be:PRS my glasses : PRTV long look-for:PPART 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.

be:PST angry be:PST my glasses : PRTV long 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 ma hetk tagasi olin maha pillanud.
brother crush:PST my glasses:NOM that 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 jõudis, oli varas parasjagu be:PST thief just
neighbour’s-wife tell:PST that when he/she home get:PST from between the bed sheets
oli voodilinade vahelt raha otsinud.
varas parajagu be:PST thief just
raha 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. 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

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3 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).\(^4\)

(12) Naabrinaine tuli koju, nägi varast ja kutsus politsei.
neighbour’s wife come:PST home see:PST 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).\(^5\)

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
copboards:ELAT 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*...)

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\(^5\) 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
öppis 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 \textit{warte} schon drei Tage
(18) Ja \textit{zdu} uze tri dnja
(19) Ma \textit{olen oodanud} juba kolm päeva
   \hspace{1cm} I \textit{be:PRS} wait:\textit{PPART} already three days : \textit{NOM}
   \hspace{1cm} ‘I have been waiting for three days already.’

(20)
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ma \textit{ootan} juba kolm päeva
   \hspace{1cm} I \textit{wait:PRS} already three days : \textit{NOM}
   \hspace{1cm} ‘I have been waiting for three days already.’
\item Ma \textit{ootan} juba kolmandat päeva
   \hspace{1cm} I \textit{wait:PRS} already third day : \textit{PRTV}
   \hspace{1cm} ‘It’s the third day already that I am waiting.’
\end{enumerate}

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 \textit{on} maailmarekordi \textit{püstitanud}!
   Mari \textit{be:PRS} world-record:\textit{GEN} set:\textit{PPART}
   ‘Mari has set a world record!’

(22) Mari \textit{püstitas} maailmarekordi!
   Mari \textit{set:PST} world-record:\textit{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.
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.

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).
On the use of the Estonian past tense forms

(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 ma hetk tagasi olin maha pillanud.
‘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. 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

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6 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), characte-
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. The attitudes towards

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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).
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
On the use of the Estonian past tense forms

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Register</th>
<th>The 1890s</th>
<th>The 1930s</th>
<th>The 1980s</th>
<th>The 1990s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>10,101</td>
<td>10,004</td>
<td>10,032</td>
<td>10,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 files</td>
<td>14 files</td>
<td>12 files</td>
<td>1 file</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>10,008</td>
<td>10,053</td>
<td>10,172</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 files</td>
<td>5 files</td>
<td>5 files</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saama + tuk-participle</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A separate perfect participle</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saama + tuk-participle</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A separate perfect participle</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The present:</th>
<th><em>elavat, elada</em></th>
<th><em>ei elavat</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘is said to live’</td>
<td>‘is said not to live’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The past:</th>
<th>elanud</th>
<th><em>ei ole / pole elanud</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘was said to live’</td>
<td>‘was said not to live’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The perfect:</th>
<th>olevat elanud, olla elanud Ø elanud</th>
<th>ei olevat elanud ei olla / polla elanud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘has been said to live’</td>
<td>‘has been said not to live’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The pluperfect:</th>
<th>olnud elanud Ø elanud</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘had been said to live’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kuberneri kartnud mässajaid ja pole nende wastu midagi teinud. epo106.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 tehtī / 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 röõm elule, kui Miili tuli, ja tärkas kahjustundmus, 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 feared the time she had to go again.’

(39) Kui suur ja ruumikas koolimaja rahwast täis kogus ja kroonlühtrid auutules särasis, algas kohaline kooliõpetaja kell pool 4 jumala teenistuse, mida kohalise segakoori ilusad waimulikud laulud kaunistasid. Peale jumala teenistuse said veel 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 veel ei tea. Asekuningas on önnetumatele, kes oma waranduse koatunud, 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 rohkestes. Esimees hr Treffner tuletab tänasi päewa, mis K. K. Auujärjepäria stündimise 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.
The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1890s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent situation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotativity / narrativity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7
The types of uses of the compound tense forms in the active indicative (the language of fiction of the 1890s)

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

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 sünipäewa pidu õige suurewiisiline oli ja otse rahwuslist nägu kandis. Ligidalt ja kaugelt on wanaraugale südamlikkusid õnnesoowi tele- grammisid ja kirjasid saadetud, niisamati on ka väga 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 veel 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 olnud 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.
Helle Metslang

(48) Saksa keisril on Prantsuse uue presidendi suuremeelsus imelikul wiisil wäikese aga kaunis kibeda ninanipsu lõõnud. 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 tähendawad “Hamburger Nachrichten” -- tuntud Bismargi meeleline leht -- et keiser Wilhelm ja krahv 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!

‘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 rewolwri paugu läbi ära, Riia uulitsa ligida raudtee ääre kraawi. Enne laskis tema ühe paugu õhusse, teise aga omale rindu. Mikspärast ta oma eluküinla ära kustutas, on teadmata. Surnukeha wiidi hospidalisse.

‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A separate perfect participle</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tulevikus. See puudutawat eriti neid riike, kes ametlikult toetaside Punase Risti üksuste warustamist ja Abessiiniasses saatmist, nimelt
Rootsit, Norrat, Soomet ja Hollandit. Tähendatud riigid peaksid neile endi ühistele huwidele pöörama tähelepanu...

‘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 väeos 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 Arestam (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.’
On the use of the Estonian past tense forms

(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 päikeseheledal 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.  
The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses  
(the language of fiction of the 1930s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.  
The types of uses of the forms of the active indicative  
compound tenses (press language of the 1930s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hot news. the past in the past)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent situation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotativity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The types of uses of the forms of the active indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1930s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hot news. the past in the past)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent situation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tema sõda! 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 olevat sagenenud itaallaste luurelennud, mis põhjafrondil ulatuwat kuni Dessieni ja lõunafrondil 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 kadunul 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) Esemed olid kõik puutumata olekus. Sängi pandjal lebas lauluraamatu leht, mida naine oli õhtul nähtawasti 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.’


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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>421</td>
<td></td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saama</em> + <em>tud</em>-participle</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td></td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.
The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1980s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17.
The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (the language of fiction of the 1980s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18.
The types of uses of the forms of the indicative active compound tenses (press language of the 1980s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hot news. The past in the past)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent situation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 19.
The types of uses of the forms of the indicative compound active tenses (press language of the 1980s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use (hot news. The past in the past)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent situation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cliches: 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-oppimisele, mille abil viiakse ellu NLKP Keskkomitee 1985. a. märtsi- ja aprillipleenumi otsuseid, NLKP Keskkomitee otsuseid Komsomoli parteilise juhtimise edasisest parandamisest ja tema osatahtsuse suurendamisest noorsoo kommu-
nõstlikul kasvatamisel ning Abinõudest joomarlusest ja alkoholismist jagusaamiseks.

Sel eesmärgil tutvusid seminarist osavõtjad peale loengute ja auditooriumides toimunud seminarõppuste kohtadel parti Tallinna linnakomitee, parti Tallinna Kalinini raajoonikomitee ja parti Paide raajoonikomitee ning J. Lauristini nim. Tallinna Masinatehase, tootmiskoondise Talleks, 9. mai kolhoosi ja Türi näidissevhoostehnikumi parteialgorganisatsioonide 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 raajoonikomitee ning parteialgorganisatsioonide organiseerimis- ja poliitilise töö praktiline tulemus. Ent raajoni 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 standpoints 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.

‘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 cliches of press language. 8 (However, it happens that the possibilities of the use of compound tenses were just forgotten, in particular, in case of the

8 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) Õöl 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 läänud.

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The tense form</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Quotative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The past</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21.
The voice of the forms of the indicative compound tenses (press language of the 1990s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive (impersonal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The perfect</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pluperfect</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22.
The types of uses of the forms of the indicative active compound tenses (press language of the 1990s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>The perfect</th>
<th>The pluperfect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventual use (hot news. the past in the past)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cliches,
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 ostmud 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 19th 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 cliches, 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 cliches 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 3rd period as, on the one hand, it was rather a stylistic device anyway and besides, the perfect is unknown in Russian. Soviet press cliches 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 20th 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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Metslang, Helle 1994: Temporal relations in the predicate and the grammatical system of Estonian and Finnish. (Oulun yliopiston suomen ja saamen kielen laitoksen tutkimusraportteja 39.) Oulu.


EESTI VERBI MINEVIKUAEGADE KASUTAMISEST LÄBI VIIMASE AASTASAJA

Helle Metslang


(1) Nii kaugele on mu endine hea mees jõudnud. pro07.txt
(2) Artur jõudis poolhaigelt Napolisse, nii ruttu oli ta reisinud. pro89.txt
(3) Grazis on 29. juunil hirmus torm mässanud epol03.txt
(4) Benningsen on tubli ja üleüldiselt tuntud ning auustatud politikames, mille pärast siis ka tema sündmüna pidu olgu suuresti ükslikud ja ote rahwuslist nõgu kandis. Ligidalt ja kaugelt on on ka väga suur nende arv olnud, kes suusõnal temale õnne soowima täيانud. epo106.txt

Palju kasutatakse ka pluskvamperfekti ja köikvõimalikke muid konstruktsioone, näiteks saama-tehtavikku, mis on kord resultatiivse, (seega aspekttilise) tähendusega, kord aga lihtsalt sündmusliku tähendusega nagu saksa passiiv (5). Keeso analüütilisegrammatiku kõrvaslikkus tundub liialdusena. Funktsionaalstiilid ei eristu, ilukirjanduskeel on 1890. aastatel kirev nagu ajakirjanduskeel.

(5) Peale jumalat teenistuse said veel mitmed waimilikud laulud otse kantud, mille peale waimustawalt Keisri laulu lauldi. vir102.txt

(6) Dagens Nyheter kirjutab, et peaküsimus seisab nüüd Punase Risti seisukorra kujunemises Abessiinias tulevikus. See puudutab 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 huwidele pöörama tähelepanu... waba028.txt


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

Väljaspool neid reegleid kipub siisik veneperäras kasutust olema.. Jätkuva situatsiooni perfekti asemel esineb veneperäraselt preesensit (8), ei tunta kuuma uudise perfekti ja pluskvamperfecti mineviku mineviku tähenduses.


Nõukogulikud ajakirjandustambid vähendavad verbide, eriti preteeritumi ja pluskvamperfecti osakaalu tekstis. Üksiku partitsiibi kasutus predikaaadena,

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

(9) Õöl enne augustiorkaani olin oln välgas. 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


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

(1) Uuno Ellen vabastati Politsei ametiarst peadirektor ametikohalt. ns1294.txt

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

Ilukirjanduskeeles vormikasutus jätakab oma stabiilset, juba varem vajakuju-nenud joont.

Kokkuvõtval hakkab minevikuageade kasutuses silma ühelt poolt poolt vormivahendite valiku järjest üheplaneerilisemaks muutumine, teiselt poolt kasutusfunktsioonide vaheldumine ja ka vähenemine eri aegadel. Nii on perfekti põhäpplemisevormide võimalik, kõigil aegadel resultaadi- ja kogemusperfekt. Need on olemas kõigis mõjukelits, välja arvatud muidugi vene keel. Seetõttu on nende kasutamine nõukogudeaegses eesti keeles lihtsalt rusikareeglikus. Samas aga on kuuma uuisede perfekti kasutusel esimesel, s.o saksamõjulisel perioodil ja tuleb taas mõnevõrra viimasel, vabanemisperioodil. Kestva situatsiooni perfekti kasutatakse üldse vähem, aga viimastel aastakümnetel asendab seda alternatiivselt võimalik ja vene keels
valitud vorm preesens. Preteeritumi kasutus kasvas liitaegade arvel teisel, puristlikul perioodil – analüütilised vormid tundusid nähtavasti saksapärased. Kuigi vene mõju vastu võitlemine koguni tõstis perfekti osakaalu kolmandal perioodil, on eesti keeles soomega võrreldes perfekti siiski suhteliselt vähe ja preteeritumi palju. 1990. aastail ei pöörata ajakirjanduses keelele enam nii palju tähelepanu ja lihtsaim vorm, preteeritum, on pääsenud domineerima.
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 disscussed (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of nouns</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entities referred by see-phrases: mentioned earlier (section 1.1.)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including: a) mentioned by the same word</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) more general notion with regard to the see-phrase</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) paraphrase of what was earlier mentioned in the see-phrase</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifiable by shared knowledge (section 1.2.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlate of a relative or complement clause (section 1.3.)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite for the speaker (1.4.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text-exophor (1.5.)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other exophor (1.5.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of see-phrases in comparison with the total number of nouns</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seal/siin phrase (section 2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 vaatat teda ja kas sa leiad sealt midagi
g juurde(.) veel sellele algsele mõttele või algsele ideele? või sa
h vaatat 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 eks 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 Pa­
jusalu 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 clarifi-
cation. In English, where the definite article the is grammati­
calized, 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 demon­
strative 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 knowl-
edge. In the example (2), too, one can detect some defiance with
regard to the previous speaker, so that we can interpret as a mani-
festation of some discontent. On the other hand, the treatment of
see as first and foremost a pointer to the citation seems to be justi­
fied.

The cited phrase need not always be in the immediate neigh-
borhood, and if the speaker has doubts whether the others can rec­
ognize 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
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 as* `this thing`, *selles suhtes` `in this respect`, *sesta 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.* Namelt 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 oht '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 sealt 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 olund.
d M: mõhõhh selge et on olund jah. (...) siis ma käisin vaatamas
e veel väikeses saalis seda “Fernando Kapp saatis mulle kiria”.
f see oli täiesti ajuvaba.
g E: sina käisid ka seda vaatamas?
h M: jumala mõnus asi.
i L: jaa
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 thows 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 Mäik 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. kudas nad aitavad sul elu ja inimesi
c mõista? /.../ räägi nii nagu on.
d V: vat ma ei tea ju, kuda 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, kudas 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 mõöda tänavat. mingi
j probleem on. mingid emotsioonid. ja vod siis ma näen täpselt,
k tunnen täpselt *seda fiilingut*. kudas ma *seda pilti* pean
l tegema eks ole. et kudas, mis pilti sellest saaks. tuleb
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 arusaamatüks, kuhu need jalgratturid veel ma-huvad, 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-
discussion. 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 sel­lele 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) seljest 
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: ago 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 ap- 
parently 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 exam- 
ple (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 jät-kame 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 jät-kame 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'. 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  Femando 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 Femando 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.]
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.)]
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: 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 müuseumi ‘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 keel on sarnaselt muude soome-ugri keelelga 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 definitiiv. Lisaks muudele vahenditele (näiteks lause infostruktuur või objekti kääne) on selleks võimalik kasutada ka atribuutset pronomenit see või proadverbe siin ja seal. Käesolev artikkel püüab selgitada, missugusel juhul kasutatakse neid kolme sõna eesti kõnekeles definiitsusmarkerina.


Ootusprätselt kasutati minut materjalis kõige rohkem pronomenit see sisaldavaid substanttiivinfraase (edaspidi: seeNP) varemmainitud entiteedile 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 tsitseerimised, 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 Läänereikide arvamust (argu need Ida-Euroopa ja Balti riigid millegagi arvestagu). Viimase näite puhul on just (irooniline) tsitseerimine siinkirjutaja arvates ainuke viis, kuidas pronomeni see kasutamist seletada.

Varemmainitule võib viidata ka seeNP-ga, mis sisaldab varasema suhtes klassifikatoorselt kõrgemat mõistet (kui langevad ühed riigid siis laheb see protsess (= riikide langemine) edasi real 5b) või parafrasii (sellele algsele mõttele real 1g, vrdl. esmamaininime sellest võidakse saada teistmoodi aru kui sina seda mõtles real 1c).

Teise suure rühma seeNP-dest (kokku 36) moodustavad kõnelejatele ühiste teadmiste kaudu identifitseeritavad entiteedid. Selliste viitamiste arv kasvab tunnust 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
Is there an article in (spoken) Estonian?

kõiki mainitakse esimest korda ja ainult ühel neist ei ole definiitsusmarkerit. Kontekstis põhjal võib oletada, et kõneleja arvates on vestluspartnerid nendest etendustest, filmidest ja saadetest kuulnud. Ridadel 7a-b esinevad NP-d see eks ju Lammas all ja see eks ju need Armastuskirjad, milles pronoomeni ja põhisõna vahel on küll hesitatsioon eks 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 relatiivi- ja komplementlausette korrelaatfraasid pealauses, mis ka kirjakeele esiti 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 süntaksis ei või aga loomulikult olla sama selge kui kirjutatud kõik. Interpretatsiooniraskused tekivad kõigepealt sellega, kas mingi lause ikka on teise lause kõrvallause või pigem iseseisev üksus. Kuid ridadel (11) ja (5a) on kõr­vallause intonatsiooni seisuga selgelt oma korrelaadiga ühtne tervik, siis kal ei pruugi see nii olla. Real (9e) lõpetab kõneleja fraasiga see asi ühe intonati­sioninlise terviku, kuid lisab sellega siis relatiivlauske vormis oleva kõikile täienduse mida ma räägin. Sama on real (9k): fraas seda fiilingut lõpetab ühe terviku, kuid süntaktiliselt võiks viis järgnev lause kuidas seda pilti pean tegema olla eelnegav laiendav komplementlause.

Ainult kõnelejale definiiitsete seeNP-de hulk on suurim kõige kõnekeelsemas vestluses Tüdrukud (17) ja nii näibki selliste pronoonenikasutuse põhi-valdkond olevat eelkõige mitteformaalne dialoog.

Vaadeldud materjalis esines 24 substantiivifraasi, millel oli laiendiks proadverb siin või seal mingi vorm. Fraasi tuum oli kõikidel juhtudel tõlgendatav kohana, st rektsoonilisikohakäänetes olevaid substantiivifraaegi ei saa proadverbiga laiendata (*.Vasta sinna küsimusele on võimalik). Samas ei väljenda substantiivifraaagis alati primaaarselt kohta, ruumiline tähenduskomponent võib olla antud pigem taustateadmiste interpretseerimise kaudu kui sõna primaaarse 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 (13c) olevas lausungis me ostsime nii moodi et ühekroonised piletid sinna Meisterle. enduse nimetust Meister pi- dada prototüüpselt kohta väljendavaks. Samas kuulub enduse “ruumiline käsitus” lahutamatult kokku teadmisteega teatrist ja sellest mida seal tehakse (endusele minnakse, seal ollakse ja sealt tallakse). Mölemad näites (13) esinevad proadverb siin kasutused on selgelt samsas funktsioonis kui ridadel (13a ja b) esinevad pronomeni see kasutused: kõik neli substantiivifraasi on täiendatud definiitsusmarkeriga, sest tegemist on varemmainitud ja seega identifitseeritavate entiteetidega.

Küsimus sellest, kas eesti kõnekeesles on artikkel või mitte sõltub muidugi sellest, kuidas artiklit defineerida. Eelpooltoodud käsitlus osutab, et pronoonen see ja proadverb siin ja seal võivad täita lisaks oma demonstratiivsele funktsioonile ka erinevate entiteetide identitseeritavuse markeerija roli. Kõige rõhkom viitavad atributiivset pronoonenit või proadverb sisaldavad substantiivifraasid tekstis varem mainitud entiteetidele, kusjuures osa sellistest pronoonenitele see kasutustest on eelkõige tsitaadi markeerijad. Lisaks varemmainitule võivad atributiivsed pronoonenid ja proadverb olla ka identifitseeritavate entiteetide osutajad, just selline kasutus viitab (kujunene- vale) artikli kategooria olemasolule. Samas on aga selge, et pronoonen kasutamine ei ole eesti kõnekeesleski identifitseeritavas substantiivifraasis kokkupunktlik, mis näitab, et artikkel pole täielikult garammatikaliseerunud.

Käsoslev käsitus on puhtalt sünkrooniline ega püüagi anda vastust selele, kas pronoonenite artikli laadne kasutamine on suurenemas või vähenemas. Kuigi on selge, et kirjakeele on sedaliti pronoonenikasutust vähem kui kõnekeesles, ei pruugi see veel automaatselt tähendada, et antud juhul oleks kõnekeesles toimumas artikli tekkimine (nagu soome keeles). Eesti kirjakeele on ilmselt seoses saksas mõjude vähenemisega toimunud hoopis artikli laadne see vähenemine. Aga see nõuab juba täiendava uurimist.
SEMANTICS OF ESTONIAN UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS¹

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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’.² 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.³ 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

¹ The article is a revised and extended version of the second chapter of my BA thesis (Paldre 1996).
² All translations of quantifiers are unavoidably rough as the semantic fields between Estonian and English do not match exactly.
³ 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).\footnote{For a good overview of Generalised Quantifier Theory see, for example, Gamut (1991), Partee \textit{et al} (1993), or Does and Eijck (1996).} 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).
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 [±b] and internal structure [±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, [±i] divides entities crosswise to [±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. abstract5 – 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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5 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 UQs x 4 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) Terve skulptuur vajas pesemist

Whole sculpture need-imp-3sg washing-par

'The whole sculpture was in need of washing'

(b) Terve valitsus pooldas seadust

Whole government support-imp-3sg law-par

'The whole government supported the law'

(c) * Terve vesi on märg

*Whole water be-3sg wet

(d) Terved skulptuurid vajasid pesemist

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-pptc

*Kawe šokolaadi āra 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. 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.

6 The Estonian kõik has the same form in singular and plural nominative but declines differently in the remaining cases.
Estonian universal quantifiers

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Type of argument (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kõik</td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terve</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogu</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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 (QNPs) 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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7 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 \textit{kogu(Nsubst)} has the value +b. This also gives us that the value of \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{kogu} and \textit{kõik} in the case of mass nouns.\footnote{Jackendoff (1991: 25) gives an example of the unbounded definite object in the sentence (a) \textit{The sand stretched out as far as we could see}. This would translate into Estonian as (b) \textit{Liiv ulatus nii kaugele kui silm suutis näha} but not as (c) *\textit{Kogu liiv ulatus nii kaugele kui silm suutis näha} where the not quantified \textit{liiv} in (b) is definite and unbounded. The quantified \textit{kogu liiv} in (c), being definite and unbounded, is not the correct equivalent to (a).}

Now, we still haven’t ascribed any value to \textit{kõik(Npl)}, \textit{iga(Nsg)}, \textit{iga(Ngrp)} and \textit{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 \textit{kõik(Npl)}, \textit{iga(Nsg)}, \textit{iga(Ngrp)}, and \textit{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 \textit{iga(Nsg)} has an internal structure. It has even been called a distributive quantifier. \textit{iga(Nsg)} stresses explicitly that every member of N is separately included in the
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(Nsubj). 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.

\[(10) \quad *\text{Terve/Kogu} \quad \text{peaminister} \quad \text{läks} \quad \text{koos} \quad \text{istungile.} \quad \text{session-all}\]

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.

\[(11) \quad *\text{Iga} \quad \text{minister} \quad \text{läks} \quad \text{koos} \quad \text{istungile} \quad \text{session-all}\]

\[(12) \quad \text{Iga} \quad \text{minister} \quad \text{oli} \quad \text{täpselt} \quad \text{kohal. Nad} \quad \text{läksid} \quad \text{koos} \quad \text{istungile} \quad \text{session-all} \quad \text{‘Each minister was present on time. They went to the session together’}\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Value of argument (N)</th>
<th>Value of QNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kõik</td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terme</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogu</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, terme(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. terme 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 jää 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*-QNP s 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*-QNP s 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 QNP s 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.9

9 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 QNP s.
"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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QNP</th>
<th>Value of N</th>
<th>Value of QNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kõik(N)</td>
<td>(-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>(-b, -i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>(-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terve/kogu(N)</td>
<td>(+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>(+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>(+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogu(Nsubstr)</td>
<td>(-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>(+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga(N)</td>
<td>(+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>(-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>(-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>(-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. More Universal Quantifiers

I will now come to the rest of the UQs mentioned in the introduction, namely iga-sugune "every kind of," mistahes "every kind of" see/need ‘this/these’ and mõlemad ‘both’

The quantifiers iga-sugune 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.¹⁰ (Sentence (17c) is in the present tense just for the sake of a positive example.)

(17) igasugune and mistahes

(a) ?Igasugune/mistahes skulptuur vajas
   pesemist
   washing-par
   'Any sculpture was in need of washing'

(b) ?Igasugune/mistahes valitsus pooldas
   seadust
   law-par
   'Any government supported the law'

(c) Igasugune/mistahes vesi on märg
   Any
   sculpture be-imp-3sg wet
   'Any water is wet'

¹⁰ 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 knds of sculptures were needed' Here igasuguseid does not quantify universally over skulptuure any more.
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’. 

The demonstrative pronoun see/need ‘the’ or ‘this/these’ can also be considered a UQ. 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

---

1 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.

12 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Value of argument (N)</th>
<th>Type of QNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>igasugune/mistahes</em></td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>see</em></td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>need</em></td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mõlemad</em></td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical QNPs</th>
<th>Type of QNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$Q(N_{sg})$</td>
<td>$-b, -i]$, substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$[+b, +i]$, group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Q(N_{grp})$</td>
<td>$[+b, -i]$, singular thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$-b, -i]$, substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Q(N_{subst})$</td>
<td>$[+b, +i]$, group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Q(N_{pl})$</td>
<td>$[+b, -i]$, singular thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$-b, -i]$, substance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 – $kogu(N_{subst})$ – 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
Every government be-imp-3sg present. They
kogunesid lossi
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. Thus a QNP allows access only to its direct members not to members of members.

REFERENCES


Does, Jaap van der, Jan van Eijck 1996: Basic Quantifier Theory. – J. van der Does and J. Van Eijck (eds.), Quantifiers, Logic and Language. Cambridge Univ. Press. Cambridge


13 For discussion cf. Landman (1989: 570ff)
Estonian universal quantifiers

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EESTI KEELE UNIVERSAALSETE KVANTORITE SEMANTIKA

Leho Paldre

Semantiliselt on kvantorid funktsioonid, mis võtavad argumendiks noomeni ja mille väärtuseks on NP. Sümantiliselt vastavad kvantoritele NP täiendiks olevad determinatiivid. Eesti keeles väljendavad universaalset kvantifikatsiooni lekseemit kõik, iga, terve, kogu, igasugune, mistahes, see/need, mõlemad. Käesolev artikkel analüüsid neid kvantoreid kontseptuaalse semantika (KS) vaatenurgast.

1. Kvantorite klassifiktsioonisemise alused. KS-i järgi jaotuvad reaalse maailma objektid tunnuste ±piiratud [boundedness, ±b] ja ±sisestruktuur [internal structure, ±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 sise­strukturu kirjeldab, kas sõnast järeldub, et objektil, mille kohta teda kasutatakse, on mingi sisemine struktuur või ei. Kasutan sedasama jaotust eesti keele universaalsete kvantorite liigitamisel.


2.1. Teoreetiliselt on võimalik (4 UKd) × (4 noomenitüüpi) = 16 kombinatsiooni. Eesti keele kasutab neist tegelikult ainult kümmet (vt tabeli kahte esimest kaks tulpa).

Eesti keeles võimalikud kvantorite ja noomenitüüpide kombinatsioonid ning tulemusfraaside tüübid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kvantor</th>
<th>Argumendi tüüp (N)</th>
<th>Fraasi tüüp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kõik</td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, +i], pl</td>
<td>–b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terve</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogu</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga</td>
<td>[+b, –i], sg</td>
<td>–b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>–b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
<td>–b, –i], subst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eesti keele põhi-UKde lõplik klassifikatsioon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kvantorfraas</th>
<th>N-i tüüp</th>
<th>Fraasi tüüp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kõik(N)</td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terve/kogu(N)</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogu(N subst)</td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iga(N)</td>
<td>[+b, -i], sg</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+b, +i], grp</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-b, -i], subst</td>
<td>-b, +i], pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Kvantorite ja fraaside tüüpe vaadates tuleb välja, et eesti keele on täielikult kaetud võimalused, kus (a) noomenit kvantifitseeritakse ilma tema tüüpi muutmata ja kus (b) fraas on mitmuslik, hoolimata argumendi tüübit. Edasi oleks huvitav uurida, kas see on üldisem tendents või ainult eesti keele omapära.

Kvantifitseeritud fraaside juures ei ole võimalik tänaheldada kahekordset sisemist struktuuri, st et kui noomenil endal (nt valitsus) on olemas sissestrukturi [+i], siis kvantifitseeritud fraasis (nt iga valitsus) ei ole mingites säästlikutest konstruktsioonides võimalik eristada kahe alamstasandit [+i] (nt ‘kõik valitsused koos’ → ‘iga valitsus eraldi’ → ‘valitsusliikmed’). Järglegi, teoreetiliselt ei näe ma võimalikset, miks nii ei võiks olla.
ENTSPRICHT ESTNISCH DEM AGGLUTINIERENDEN SPRACHTYPUS?¹

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Universität Konstanz


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 Spracheigen-schaften, die aufeinander abge-

Entspricht Estnisch dem agglutinierenden Sprachtypus?


1. Die Existenz einer Wurzel, an welche die formalen Elemente angehängt wurden. Es gibt viele Affixe.
   \[ \sqrt{+} \]
   a) Das Ausdrücken von Kasus und Numerus durch besondere Endungen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL: -te- (--de--), -i-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>raamat ‘das Buch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>raamatu ‘des Buchs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>-sse</td>
<td>raamatu-sse ‘in das Buch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INE</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>raamatu-s ‘in dem Buch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>-st</td>
<td>raamatu-st ‘aus dem Buch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hier zeigt sich eine gewisse Anomalie, weil es manchmal zwei verschiedene Mehrzahlendungen (-te- und sog. -i-Plural) für die

\[ √ + \]


\[ √ ± \]

c) Keine Formalwörter.

Es gibt relativ wenig Formalwörter: Präpositionen, Postpositionen und Konjugationen.

\[ √ ± \]

d) Keine Komposita.


\[ √ - \]

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’


2. Privativer Gegensatz der Endungen.
   a) Der endungslose Nominativ, der fast ein Nullkasus ist, als Stammform.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL. -d [-te- (-de-), -i-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>raamat-Ø ‘das Buch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>raamatu-d-Ø ‘die Bücher’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\[ \sqrt{±} \]

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.

\[ \sqrt{+} \]


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'

\[\sqrt{+}\]

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.

\[\sqrt{?}\]

b) Fehlen der Genera.

Estnisch besitzt keine Genera.

\[\sqrt{+}\]


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 keinen Artikel.

Bemerkung. Das Zahlwort üks ‘ein’ kann manchmal ähnlich wie der unbestimmte Artikel funktionieren.

7 Die Möglichkeit Ableitungssuffixe an Endungen anzu-hängen.


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.


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, oba ‘die Bohne’, oä ‘der Bohne’, idu ‘der Keim’, eo
‘des Keims’; söö-n ‘ich esse’/ söö-i-n > söö-i-n ‘ich aß’). Es führt in
Richtung des introflexiven Typus.
√-

b) Es gibt keine Vokalharmonie.
√-

Bemerkung. In der südöstlichen Sprache und in den Dialek-
ten kommt die Vokalharmonie aber doch vor.


Ableitungen durch Suffixe sind sehr häufig, z. B. haige
‘krank, der Krank, die Krank’, haig-la ‘Krankenhaus’, haig-lus
‘Kranklichkeit’, haig-us ‘Krankheit’, haig-lane ‘kränklich’, haigus-
lik ‘krankhaft’, haige-stu-ma ‘krank werden’
√+

11. Fehlen der Kongruenz des attributiv gebrauchten Adjekt-
ivs, 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 Verbin-
dung mit 10 Standardfällen (Nom, Gen, Par usw.) aus 14. In
Verbindung mit dem Essiv, Terminativ, Abessiv und Komitativ
gibt es keine Kasuskongruenz, 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 Worfolge: roheline mets 'grüner Wald', rohelis-test.PL-ELA metsa-de-st.PL-ELA, aber nicht *metsadest rohelistest; metsad on rohelised 'die Wälder sind grüne'

\[\sqrt{\pm}\]

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 − rohkim, enam 'viel − mehr'
- olema − on < *oma 'zu sein − ist < *hab−'

\[\sqrt{\pm}\]


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'

\[\sqrt{\pm}\]
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 oder Mengen an: z. B. kahed.PL.NOM poisid.PL.NOM bedeutet etwa 'zwei Gruppe der Jungen' oder laual on kahed õunad bedeutet etwa 'auf dem Tisch liegen Äpfel von zwei verschiedene Sorten (z. B. rote und grüne)'


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 liefen'
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'
Entspricht Estnisch dem agglutinierenden Sprachtypus?

\[ \sqrt{\cdot} \]


\[ \sqrt{?} \]

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 translativ -ne- Suffixe; Suffix der Bedingungsform -ksi- (-ks) und des Abhängigkeitsforms (modus obliquus) -vat.


Reziproke Suffixe, Suffixe der Negation und der Unmöglichkeit fehlen.

\[ \sqrt{\pm} \]

b) **Die Temporalsuffixe.**

Supinum, der Infinitiv, die Partizipien und die Kasusformen werden durch Suffixe gebildet.

\[ \pm \]

c) **Die Personal- und Numeralsuffixe.**


\[ \pm \]

18. **Einziges Deklinations- bzw. Konjugationsparadigma.**

a) **Der einheitliche Konjugationstyp.**


\[ + \]

b) **Das einheitliche Konjugations- und Deklinationsmuster**


\[ - \]

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.

\[ - \]
   a) Auch der estnische Minimalsatz besteht nur aus einem finiten Verb, z. B.: Jookseb. ‘Er, sie läuft’
   \(\sqrt{+}\)

   b) Nominalsätze sind mögliche.
   Im Estnischen gibt es keine Nominalsätze ohne Hilfe des Verbs wie im Ungarischen András beteg Andreas ist krank’
   \(\sqrt{-}\)

   c) Gebundene Wortfolge.
   Obwohl die typische estnische Wortfolge SVO ist, ist sie doch grundsätzlich frei. Das ist ein Symptom des flektierenden Sprachtyps.
   \(\sqrt{-}\)

   d) Wenig Konjunktionen.
   \(\sqrt{-}\)

20. Nicht alle Sätze werden auf gleiche Weise aufgebaut, vielmehr sind mehrere Konstruktionen zulässig.
   \(\sqrt{+}\)

   Im Estnischen sind die infiniten Verbalformen (Supina (personale, impersonale und Kasusformen), Infinitiv, Partizipien, Gerundium) und auch die Nebensätze sehr häufig.
   \(\sqrt{\pm}\)

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.: Lähen metsa, jooksma, hüppama või tuppa.

gehe Wald 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 Kennzeichnen 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-ma. ADI= SUP 'rennen'
jooks-ma-s. INE 'im Rennen'
jooks-ma-st. ELA 'vom Rennen'
jooks-ma-ta. ABE 'nicht gerannt'
jooks-ma-tu. ABE: REFL 'es ist nicht möglich zu Laufen',
dazu auch drei Neologismen:
jooks-ma-ks. TRA 'dafür, daß jemand rennt'
(jooks-ma-ni. TER)
(jooks-ma-ga. KOM)

b) Der Infinitiv (od. 2. Infinitiv od. da-Infinitiv) ist sehr
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 või mööche 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-ta. INF < jooks+ta 'laufen' süü-a. INF [süia] 'essen' < söö+da
joos-ta-ma. SUP: IMP söö-da-ma. SUP: IMP

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.


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.


Urmas Sutrop

rohelise 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.


\[ \sqrt{±} \]

Vladimir Skalíčka 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,

dafür 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).

Skalíčka 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).

### ABKÜRZUNGEN

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### LITERATUR

KAS EESTI KEEL VASTAB AGLUTINEERIVALKEELETÜÜBILE?

Urmas Sutrop


Aglutineeriva keeletüübi tunnused

1. **Formatiivid liituvad ühele tüvele. Leidub rohkem afikseid.** See on olulisemad aglutineeriva keeletüübi tunnuseid. Eesti keel vastab sellele tunnusele hästi.
   a) **Käänet ja arvu väljendatakse erinevate afiksitega.** Eesti keele puhul on see harilikult tõesti nii.
   b) **Afiksite fonemaitline iseloom ning silbiline iseseisvus. Afiksite vohamise printsip.** Eesti keele afiksid kaotavad oma silbilise struktuuri ja fonemaitlise iseloomu. Afiksite vohamise printsip taandub.
   c) **Abisõnad puuduvad.** Eesti keele on suhteliselt vähe eessõnu, kuid taga- ja sidesõnad on küllaltki olulised.
   d) **Liitsõnad puuduvad.** Eesti keele on need siiski väga sagedased. Liitsõnad kuuluvad oma loomu poolest polüüntäülistisse keeletüüpi.
   e) **Tuletsusliited, käändelõpud jne ei ole selgelt eristunud.** Eesti keele kohta käib see täiesti.

2. **Lõppude privatiivne opositsioon.**
   a) **Nimetav kääne on ilma lõputa ning teistele käänete jaoks põhivorm (peaaegu nullkääne).** Eesti keele nimetav on tõesti ilma lõputa, kuid ainsuse käänete jaoks on põhikäändeks käändelõpu koatanud omastav, mitmuse käänete jaoks ainsuse osastav. Tagasõnad seostuvad ainsuses omastavakujulise tüvega.
   b) **Ainsus väljendab arvu puudumist.** Eesti keele on tõesti ainult mitmuses tähistatud.

3. **Tõeliste ees- ja tagasõnade väike hulk.** Üldiselt see tunnus kehtib, kuid “mitteehtsad” tagasõnad, mis käituvad nagu analüütilised käändevormid, osutavad isoleerivale keeletüü bile. See, et ees- ja tagasõnad, ka käändes, voivad endale liita modaallite -ki (-gi), kitsendab veelgi tõeliste ees- ja tagasõnade hulka.

4. **Aglutineerivates keeltes ei liigitata nimisõnu.**
   a) **Sõnaliigid puuduvad.** Eesti keele on näiteks küsitav omadussõnade esinemine iseseisvina sõnaliigina. Omadussõnadeks peetavaid sõnu käänatakse nagu nimisõnugi. Omadussõna ühildumine nimisõnaga on oluline flekteeriva keeletüübi tunnus. Siin jääb sõnaliikide puudumine või olemasolu eesti keele vastuseta.
   b) **Grammatilise soo puudumine.** Eesti keele ei ole soo kategorii. Küsisõnad eristavad ainult elusaid ja elutuid objekte ehk neid, kes end liigutavad või ei liiguta. Uuemal ajal moodustatakse naissoost isikuid märkivaid nimetusid ka erilliste liideteega (-tar ja -nna).
5. **Possessivsufiksid.** 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.


8. **Mõnikord võib ühesilbiline tuvi 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 vokaalharmonioonia.
   a) Eesti keeles on arenenud ulatuslik astmevaheldus. Selle tõttu on võimalik kõneleda introflekteeriva tüüpi elementidest eesti keeles.
   b) Vokaalharmonioonia 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. **Adjektiivattribuut ei ühildu nimisõnaga, kuna käät, arvu jne vältjendatke lauses ainult korra (nimisõna juures).** Eesti keel on sellest tunnusest oluliselt eemaldunud. Kümne esimese standardkääde puhul ühildub omadussõna nii käändes kui arvus nimisõnaga. Oleva, rajava, ilmaütleva ja kaasaütleva käände puhul omadussõna ei ühildu käändes, kuid ühildub siiski arvus.


14. **Isikulisi asesõna enamasti ei kasutata.** Kuna eesti keele on finiitsever kaubanduse, siis kasutatakse neid sageli ilma isikuliste asesõnaadeta.

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. Mitmuslike 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-, kausaliivne -ta-, faktitiivne -ta-, translatiivne -ne-. Tingiva köneviisi tunnus on -ksi- jne. Samas reitsiprooksust, 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 omastelt analüütiliselt.
   c) **Tegusõnadel on afiksid isiku ja arvu väljendamiseks.** Eesti keele väljendab tegusõna lõpp üheaegselt nii isikut kui arvu, mis on iseloomulik flekteerivale keelel. Ainult mitmuse kolmanda isiku puhul on tegusõna (kesksõna) tunnusele -va- liitunud mitmuse tunnus -d.

18. **Ühtne muutmisparadigma.**
   a) **Ühtne tegusõnade pööramisviis.** Eesti keele jäävad tegusõnade lõpud alati samaks.
   b) **Ühtne tegusõnade pööramise ja nimisõnade käänamise mäll.** Eesti keelest on astmevahelduse, lõpu- ja sisekao töö kujunenud väga palju erinevaid muuttüüpe. Kõneladakse juba käänd- ja pöördtüüpide alltüüpidest. Selline muuttüüpide rohkus on iseloomulik flekteerivale keelel. Ärge vajalik on sellega kaas on peegeldamine.
   c) **Puudub lõppude sünnonüümsus ja homonüümsus.** Eesti keel on sellega printsiibist oluliselt eemaldunud. Nüüteks on sünnonüümed mitmuse tunnused -i- ja -t-; samas on homonüümed mitmuse tunnus -t- (nimetava -d-), ainsuse osastava lõpp (nii -t, kui -d) ja tegusõna ainsuse teise pöörde lõpp -d. Lõppude sünnonüümsuse ja homonüümsuse olemasolu on oluline flekteerivale keelel.
   a) Ka eesti keele minimaallause koosneb ainult finiitsest verbivormist, nt Jookseb.
   b) Esinevad ka nominaallauseid. Eesti keeles nominaallauseid puuduvad.
   c) Sidesõnad on väga harvad. Eesti keeles on sidesõnad õpris 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.


   a) Supiin (ma-tegevusnimi) on eesti keeles kujunenud sisseütlevast käändest. Praegu vastab ta morfoloogiliselt pigem aditiivile. Ka funktsoonilt samanevad nimisõnad aditiivivormid supiinile, nt lähen metsa, jooksma, hüppama või tuppa. Samuti on supiinil arvukalt käänelisi vorme, nt jooksmas, jooksmast, jooksma, jooksma jne.
   b) Infinitiiv (da-infinitiiv) sarnaneb eesti keeles nii morfoloogiliselt kui funktsoonilt 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 keele olla ühine täti.
   e) Omadussõnad samanevad eesti keeles nende sagedasele markereitusele vaatamata niivõrd nimisõnadega, et on küsitav nende käsitamine iseseisva sõna liikuna.
   f) Peaegu kõik sõnad võivad eesti keeltes võttma rõhulise modaalliite -ki (-gi).

Nendest mõnest näitest nähtub, et sõnaliikide vahelised piirid on eesti keele tõesti ähmased.

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 onomatopoetic words was unsuccessful due to lack of a systematic theory in this field. Linguists failed to take into account the specific nature of onomatopoetic words. Onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetics 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 onomatopoetic 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 ‘onomatopoetic’ 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. könn ‘person with a stunted growth’, mölisema ‘to blabber’, möku ‘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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic vocabulary have a descriptive character, though they occasionally contain interesting observations, especially concerning the vowel alternations. The emphasis was on collecting onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 Värv). In addition, Mart Mäger studied onomatopoeia in Estonian avian vocabulary in his candidate dissertation (Mäger 1963). Valve Värv (later Põlma) wrote an impressive diploma thesis “About Onomatopoetic Verbs in Balto-Finnic Languages”, which has remained a valuable source to this day (Põlma 1961). She lists some 2,800 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic vocabulary. Later Valve Põlma narrowed her sphere of interest, and she
focused her attention on Estonian onomatopoetic verbs. Her candidate dissertation “Onomatopoetic Verbs in Literary Estonian” (1967) is the first and only systematic treatment of Estonian onomatopoetic verbs. The dissertation lists about 1,150 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic and sound-s 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 /ö/ (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 (Veidi 1988a, see also Veidi 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 onomatopoes 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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-
Some typological characteristics of Estonian onomatopoetic formations

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, onomatopoeic 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’, plärtsti ‘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^ + VOC + FRIC^  
sihisema  
sahisema  
suhisema  
sähisema  
söhisema

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 onomatopoetic word. Estonian has a few sets of onomatopoetic 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.

\[
\text{CONS + VOC + CONS (+S)}
\]

\[
\text{piiksuma - piuksuma} \\
\text{viiksuma - viuksuma} \\
\text{siitsuma - siutsuma - säutsuma} \\
\text{kääksuma - käuksuma}
\]

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.

\[
\text{mulksuma} \\
\text{vulksuma} \\
\text{kulksuma}
\]

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 onomatopoetic 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 / and \( r \) can extend a syllabic onset, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
pauhti & \rightarrow \text{plauhti} \\
põks & \rightarrow \text{plõks} \\
kõpsima & \rightarrow \text{klõpsima} \\
kiiksuma & \rightarrow \text{kriiksuma} \\
kääksuma & \rightarrow \text{krääksuma} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.,

\[
\begin{align*}
laks & \rightarrow \text{plaks} \\
lärtsti & \rightarrow \text{plärtsti} \\
rakisema & \rightarrow \text{pragisema} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Coda extensions are even more interesting. First, we can find such examples, where the liquids / and \( r \) are added, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
koksti & \rightarrow \text{kolksti} \\
tiksuma & \rightarrow \text{tilksuma} \\
patsti & \rightarrow \text{partsti} \\
latsuma & \rightarrow \text{lartsuma} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, we can find extensions with the nasals \( m, n, \eta \), e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
klõpsuma & \rightarrow \text{klõmpsuma} \\
krõpsuma & \rightarrow \text{krõmpsuma} \\
patsatama & \rightarrow \text{pantsatama} \\
potsatama & \rightarrow \text{pontsatama} \\
kätsatama & \rightarrow \text{käntsti} \\
prõksuma & \rightarrow \text{prõnksuma} \\
tiksuma & \rightarrow \text{tinksuma} \\
toksima & \rightarrow \text{tonksti} \\
\end{align*}
\]
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  
opdisema – 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 ‘onomatopoetic 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’ > kroon  

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 toddler (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 *schrapen*, Sw *skrapa*

plärisema ‘to make a continuous harsh unpleasant blaring noise’, cf Ger *plärren*, Eng *to blare*, MDu *blaren*, bieren

lärpima ‘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 *spragēti*

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 onomatopoetic 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 onomatopoetic 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 TÜPOLOGILISI JOONI

Enn Veldi

Artikkel käsitleb eesti onomatopoeetilise sõnavara tüpoloogilisi jooni ning tõstatab küsimuse ekspresiivse keeleliidu võimalikkusest Läänemere areaalis. Termin ‘onomatopoeetiline sõna’ tähistab ikoonilist sõna, mille referendiks on mingi akustiline nähtus, ‘häälkusümboolne sõna’ aga sõna, mille referendiks on mitteakustiline nähtus. Häälkusümboolika 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, mõlisema, möku.


Some typological characteristics of Estonian onomatopoetic formations

Need sufiksid on produktiivsed samuti hüüdnimedes ja slängis, vrd Riho ~ Riks, Tarmo ~ Tarts, jaapanlane ~ japs, kroon ~ kronds.


Samuti on R/L-formatiivid talavald germaani keeltes, kus nad annavad onomatoobili frekventatiivse või iteratiivse tähenduse. Robert Hinderlingi arvates on need formatiivid eesti keeles tekinud saksa keele mõjul, vrd saksa klimpern ~ eesti klimberdama, kritzeln ~ kritseldama.

Eesti keele onomatopoopidel 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 tüpologilisi sarnasusi selliste keelte ekspressiivses sõnavaras, mis paiknevad geograafiliselt lähestikku, kuid ei pruugi olla omavahel keeleesuguluses.