

ILZE TĀLBERGA

On the equivalents of the Latvian
verbal prefixes in Estonian



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PREFACE

I became interested in Latvian verbal prefixes when I started to study Estonian and my interest increased when I started teaching Latvian to Estonians. I came across a situation where I realized that I do not understand the Latvian verbal prefix system myself, so I could not properly explain it to language learners. Until then, prefixes were something so natural for me that I didn't even have to think about it, but then suddenly I became obsessed with them. And that is the reason why the research study began – I thought that if I had a better understanding of prefixes, I would potentially find a better way to explain them to language learners in the Estonian language context and thus attain a better understanding of Estonian itself. Needless to say, all these objectives have now been achieved and shared in this thesis.

The research process has naturally had its ups and downs. During the research I found myself thinking – do we Latvians and Estonians even think the same? This thesis sheds insight into our beautiful languages, their complexity, differences and similarities. As I share my findings with the readers, I am convinced that there is still much room for development and discovery in Estonian and Latvian contrastive studies. I hope that in the future there will be more Latvian-Estonian scholars, researchers, translators, language learners and teachers. I wish that for the next generations of Latvians and Estonians learning each other's languages will be as natural as learning any other major language. I hope we will notice that we have much more in common than it may seem at first glance.

I would like to thank my supervisor professor Birute Klaas-Lang who, throughout all these years, has supported me, given helpful advice, and kept me in good spirits.

I'm thankful to preliminary reviewers, professor Andra Kalnača (University of Latvia) and dr. Tiina Rüütmaa (Tallinn University) for their feedback and valuable advice. Your knowledge and recommendations helped to improve this work.

My special gratitude to my two co-authors and former students Merle Vare and Aive Mandel for their contribution to the writing of the respective articles and thus the development of the thesis. Your contribution to the Latvian and Estonian language research and literature translation is priceless.

I thank my colleagues at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics. Miina Norvik and Tuuli Tuisk, who are also my former Latvian language students, for their feedback and helpful suggestions. I appreciate the help of Liina Lindström and Ann Veismann, who took the time to meet me and helped me by explaining the complexities of the Estonian language. I thank Piret Piiraja and David Ogren for proofreading the articles and summary.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank absolutely everyone who has ever taken an interest in the development of this work, helped me in every way, raising my spirits and believing in this work. You know who you are, and your support is invaluable.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

- [P1] Zagorska, Ilze 2016. Expressing the Latvian verb prefix *ie-* in Estonian. – Valoda: nozīme un forma 7. Gramatika un saziņa = Language: Meaning and Form 7. Grammar and Communication. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 235–247.
- [P2] Tālberga, Ilze; Mandel, Aive 2017. On the imperfective and perfective aspect in Estonian and Latvian. – Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri / Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics, 8 (1), 241–261.
- [P3] Tālberga, Ilze 2017. Estonian equivalents of the Latvian verb prefix *aiz-*. – Valoda: nozīme un forma 8. Valodas gramatiskās un leksiskās sistēmas variatīvums = Language: Meaning and Form 8. Grammatical and lexical variance in language system. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 232–243.
- [P4] Tālberga, Ilze; Vare, Merle 2019. Lāti verbiprefiksite vastetest eesti keeles viie verbi näitel. Lähivõrdlusi. Lähivertailuja 29. Tallinn: Eesti Rakenduslingvistika Ühing, 228–261.

„Speaking or writing without prefixes is not quite the right thing
and you will never become a true pro like that.

How to play the prefix lottery?

1) Learn to use them correctly with some verbs
so, you do not sound like a complete idiot;

2) Just close your eyes and pick one
or pick one you have heard before.“

Latvian language student Jere Niemi

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives

Based on the practice of teaching Latvian, the author of this thesis has observed that the most difficult topic for Estonian native speakers who study Latvian are Latvian verbal prefixes¹. There are two possible reasons for this problem: 1) there are no verbal prefixes in Estonian, and as a result, language learners do not generally know whether and how to use verbal prefixes in Latvian; 2) there are no practicable study materials that would introduce the Latvian verbal prefixes and their appropriate usage.

As the quotation at the top of this page shows, in the Latvian language learners' opinion there is no single, clear system for the acquirement of the Latvian verbal prefixes – according to them 1) one must learn by heart certain prefixed verbs, 2) choose prefixes arbitrarily or rely on previously heard examples. It can be concluded from the quotation that for a language learner verbal prefixes are perceived as entities separate from the verb, which must be interchanged according to the verb or situation. Perhaps, this may indicate that one must understand the meaning of the prefix rather than learn the already fixed prefixed verbs.

While teaching Latvian to Estonian native speakers the author of the dissertation has had to explain the functions of the Latvian verbal prefixes in the Estonian context, and as mentioned before – without any appropriate material to rely on. The only possibility has been to use the Latvian verbal prefix function description given by Latvian language grammar (Ahero et al. 1959) without systematic explanations in the context of the Estonian language. The central problem concerning verbal prefixes is that Latvian language learners do not always perceive their functions, that is, what a verbal prefix means, what meaning it gives to the verb, when to use prefixes and when not. There are mainly two problematic practices connected to the Latvian verbal prefixes among native speakers of Estonian:

¹ In the four articles of this dissertation the term *verb prefixes* is used, but in the rest of the summary it is the term *verbal prefixes*.

- 1) they use a prefix that is not appropriate for the situation,
- 2) they do not use a prefix at all (Zagorska 2016: 235)².

In the first case, the reason may be the vague or abstract meaning of the prefix, which the learner has not yet learned to understand. However, the second case, which is also one of the hypothesis of the study, is that the function of the prefix or the situation in which the prefix is used in Latvian might not be expressed separately in Estonian, thus a language learner cannot „perceive“ the need to use a prefix. Also, they may not know exactly which prefix to choose, hence they prefer not to use any prefix.

While translating Latvian prefixed verbs and sentences into Estonian, it has not always been possible to find one-to-one matches for prefixes in Estonian. One of the aims of this study has been to find out when it is possible and when not. Hence, based on the above-mentioned issues, the purpose of this dissertation is to find answers to the following questions:

- What are the possible equivalents of the Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian, i.e. what means (lexical-grammatical, syntactic, analytical, semantic) can be used to express the respective verbal prefix function?
- In what cases do Latvian verbal prefixes not have equivalents in Estonian?

1.2. Terminology and previous works on the same topic

In this dissertation the following terms are distinguished. In Latvian: (1) *verbal prefix* is a morpheme that, when joined to a verb, gives it an additional aspectual meaning (e.g. direction, beginning of action, quantity, quality) and / or simply renders its perfectivity; (2) *prefixed verb* is a verb that is derived with a prefix (this also includes the biaspectual verbs), and (3) a *non-prefixed verb* – the main verb (simple verb) without the prefix (more on the terms and examples see chapter 2.1.). In this research the prefixed verb is treated as a form that consists of the prefix and the main verb and is opposed to the non-prefixed verb (this also includes the biaspectual verbs). The *meaning* or *function* of a prefix refers to the nuance that the prefix adds to the main verb.

In Estonian: (1) *verbal particle* (also called *affixal adverb* or *prefixal adverb*) is an adverb that appears with a verb and gives the verb an additional meaning, mainly direction, state, perfectivity or modality; (2) *phrasal verb* is verb that consists either of a verb and adverb compound (*particle verb*) or a verb and noun compound (*expression verb*), (3) *compound verb* is a verb that consists of a

² It should be emphasized that these practices do generally vary among language learners. It does not mean that they do not understand the subject of prefixes at all. It depends on the situation and on previously acquired languages. Since the author of the dissertation has observed these practices amongst language learners who have themselves also reported this problem, this topic is nevertheless worth investigating.

non-finite and finite verb compound, (4) *momentaneous verb* is a verb that expresses short, rapid action (for more on the terms and examples see chapter 2.2.).

Verbal prefixes and the verbal aspect have provided a great deal of research material in Latvian linguistic discourse. One of the first to discuss Latvian verbal prefixes was linguist Jānis Endzelīns in his study „Latyšskie predlogi part I and II (1905–1907/1971). The study addresses aspect, prefix relationship with the spatial prepositions and spatial adverbs, as well as polysemy and ambiguity. Following his study, prefixes have been addressed in subsequent Latvian grammars (Ahero et al. 1959, LVG etc.)

In recent years, more and more attention has been paid to the classification of Latvian prefixed verbs. Daiga Deksnē (2015) investigates whether there is anything in common about those verbs that can be derived with the same prefixes. She also looks upon derivation of verbs with foreign (mainly Latin) prefixes and native (Latvian) prefixes (Deksnē 2017), as well as discusses verb derivation with prefixoids in Latvian (Deksnē 2018). Daiki Horigučī (2014a) deals with the semantic oppositions and temporal adverbials regarding verbal aspect in Latvian and also discusses the construction *unprefixed verb + adverb* (2016). Some studies have paid attention to redundant prefixes (Šmidebergs 2008a, Horigučī 2014b), double prefixation (Horigučī 2015), lexical synonymy of verbal prefixes (Zuicena 2005), and the use of verbal prefixes in dictionaries (Šmidebergs 2008b, Škrabals 2012).

The verbal aspect of Latvian in comparison with the closest relative of Estonian – Finnish has been briefly described by Andra Kalnača (2005). The article deals with the fact that the Latvian construction *non-prefixed verb + adverb* is comparable to the Finnish construction *verb + adverb*. However, the Latvian construction expresses imperfective action, but the Finnish construction, in fact, perfective. Due to the kinship between the Finnish and Estonian language, the results presented in the article also show similarities with the Estonian language.

Some contrastive studies on verbal aspect / verbal prefixes have been done at the University of Tartu, for example a master's thesis on the aspectuality in Finnish, Estonian and Latvian (Žogota 2006). The main emphasis in this master's thesis is on the aspectuality in Finnish and a comparison is made using fiction translations into Estonian and Latvian. In addition, there are also master's theses which overlap with the current dissertation in terms of methodology and some research questions – on the Estonian equivalents of the Hungarian verbal prefix *el-* (Rüütmaa 1998) and verbal prefix *meg-* (Reemann-Aro 2016).

When the Latvian verbal prefixes are discussed, the verbal particles (affixal adverbs) are often offered as an equivalent in Estonian (Mägiste 1937; Vaba 2010; Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). Kersti Boiko (1999a, 1999b) has done a study on Estonian verbal particles (she uses the term *prefixal adverbs*), specifically *alla* 'down' and *alt* 'from down' in phrasal verbs. The conclusion of her voluminous two-part article is that the correspondences of Estonian verbal particles in Latvian are mainly verbal prefixes. Although this is partially true and we do

see similarities between verbal prefixes and verbal particles, the results of this thesis show that there are still more possible equivalents of the prefixes in Estonian.

Although verbal prefixes and verbal aspect have been studied in many different languages, so far, no study has focused on the Latvian verbal prefix equivalents in Estonian. The results are intended to contribute to the development of both language teaching and learning methodologies. Results of this study may also provide additional information on the grammatical structure and similarities and differences between Latvian and Estonian.

1.3. Overview of publications

The articles are divided into three general parts – the first [P1] and the third [P3] article focus on separate verbal prefixes (*ie-* and *aiz-* respectively), the second article [P2] focuses on the verbal aspect in Latvian and Estonian comparatively, the fourth article [P4] focuses on deriving five verbs with different prefixes. The first article [P1] looks at all the functions (perfectivity, direction, quantity, quality) of one prefix, while the [P3] article focuses solely on the directional meaning of the prefix. Article [P2] differs in that in addition to the Latvian-Estonian direction, the Estonian-Latvian direction is also considered. The fourth article [P4] is the only one where the material is viewed not by prefix but by verb – how different prefixes change a verb.

Article [P1] „Expressing the Latvian Verb Prefix *ie-* in Estonian“ (2016) deals with the Latvian verbal prefix *ie-*. As one of the 11 Latvian verbal prefixes, *ie-* is chosen because it has the least number of functions (namely, five). Research is based on the distribution of the functions of the prefix *ie-* by Soida (2009). The material used consists of four Latvian works of fiction and their Estonian translations.

Article [P2] „On the Imperative and Perfect Aspect in Estonian and Latvian“ (2017) (co-author Aive Mandel) compares the most traditional way of expressing the imperfect and perfect aspect in Estonian and Latvian, namely, in Estonian the focus is on direct object and particle verbs, and in Latvian the focus is on prefixed verbs and the construction *non-prefixed verb + adverb*. Given the results of article [P1], the goal is to see if the matches work the other way around (translation from Estonian to Latvian). Also, the Estonian progressive (a (non-finite) verb form in *-mas*, used to express momentary action) is briefly discussed. The material used consists of three Latvian fiction books and their Estonian translations, and two Estonian fiction books and their Latvian translations. Note on the division of contribution: the author of the dissertation dealt with the collection of examples in both languages, the description of theoretical background in Latvian and the analysis of examples.

Article [P3] „The Estonian Equivalents of the Latvian verb prefix *aiz-*“ (2017) deals with the Latvian verbal prefix *aiz-*. In comparison to the prefix *ie-* [P1], which has only one directional meaning (adverb *iekšā* ‘in(side)’), the prefix *aiz-*

has three directional meanings: adverb *prom* ‘away’, adverb *ciet* ‘closed’ and adverb *priekšā* ‘in front’. The prefix *aiz-* also has a corresponding preposition *aiz*. Given the volume of the article, the focus was solely on directional meaning and the other functions of the prefix were not investigated.

Article [P4] „Showing the correspondences of the Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian through five verbs“ (2019) (co-author Merle Vare) is the only publication that is written in Estonian. Unlike articles [P1] and [P3], in the article [P4] the research focus is on the way different prefixes change the verb. Five verbs were analyzed – *iet* ‘go’, *vest* ‘take, carry’, *dot* ‘give’, *just* ‘feel’ and *prast* ‘know (how)’. The purpose of the study was to find out how the meaning of the main verb changes when different prefixes are added to it. Note on division of contribution: the author of the dissertation dealt with the collection of examples, the description of theoretical background and part of the analysis.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

The dissertation consists of six chapters and four publications. The introduction presents the purpose of the study, terminology, the background of the topic and summarizes four articles. The second chapter gives a general background to the theory and concept of aspect in Latvian and Estonian. The third chapter describes the material and method of the study. The fourth chapter presents the results of the study and the discussion of the results. Chapter five presents the conclusions of the study. The sixth chapter is an overview of the dissertation in Estonian. Two appendixes are presented at the end – (1) the Latvian-Estonian prefixed verb dictionary and (2) an overview of the 11 Latvian verbal prefixes and their equivalents in Estonian. Both appendixes are based on the analysis of the current study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Both Latvian and Estonian have historically been influenced by the same languages (German and Russian) and hold an important kinship to their closest linguistic relatives (Lithuanian and Finnish, respectively). In addition, close contacts with the Livonian language for both Latvian and Estonian also play an important role. In this chapter a brief overview of the theoretical background of the study is given. First, the verbal prefixes and verbal aspect are introduced, providing a brief glance on the prefixal and aspectual system in the contact languages of Latvian and Estonian (German, Russian, Lithuanian, Livonian and Finnish), afterwards a more specific description of the Latvian aspect and verbal prefixes (2.1.) and aspect in Estonian (2.2.) is given. In subchapter 2.3. a small overview of the similarities and differences between Latvian and Estonian aspect is given.

Example (1)³ illustrates the current study. Comparison is made here between the four languages of the Baltic region. These languages differ in the aspectual expression. It can be seen below that in order to express the completion (perfectivity) of the action Latvian and Lithuanian use prefixes (prefix *uz-* and *pa-*, accordingly), but the object (poem) is in accusative and does not play any role here in order to express the perfectivity. On the contrary, Estonian and Finnish use the simple verb, but the case alternation, namely the object *poem* in genitive, is what indicates the totality of the action. This example illustrates that expressing aspect can be somewhat confusing for language learners in both cases – when Latvians/Lithuanians acquire Estonian/ Finnish and vice versa, since the first group of languages changes the verb (by adding the prefix), the other one changes the case of the object.

(1) Latvian:	Puisis	uz-rakstīja / rakstīja	dzejoli
	boy	PREF-write.PST.3 / write.PST.3	poem.ACC
Lithuanian:	Vaikinas	pa-rašė / rašė	eilėrašči
	boy	PREF-write.PST.3 / write.PST.3	poem.ACC
Estonian:	Poiss	kirjutas	luuletuse / luuletust
	boy	write.PST.3	poem.GEN/PART
Finnish:	Poika	kirjoitti	runon / runoa
	boy	write.PST.3	poem.GEN/PART
	'The boy wrote / was writing a poem'		

It is believed that the current meanings of verbal prefixes have developed from spatial meaning and therefore they are very similar in their meaning to prepositions and adverbs, having at the same time partially maintained these spatial meanings to this day, for example German *auftrinken* 'drink up', Russian *omcmynum* 'move away' (Forsyth 1970: 18; Comrie 1976: 89, Klimas 1991).

³ The examples of Lithuanian, Estonian and Finnish is taken from Klaas 1996: 42.

However, additional meanings have emerged, where in some cases the spatial meaning is either seen very vaguely or hardly at all (Dewell 2015).

Prefixes are usually associated with the perfective meaning, where imperfective (non-prefixed verb) is opposed to the perfective (prefixed verb), thus forming the so-called aspectual pairs: as in Russian *читать: прочитать* ‘read’ (Forsyth 1970: 19) or Lithuanian *daryti: padaryti* ‘make’ (LG 2006: 236). In this case, the prefix may be said to be „empty“, because it makes the verb perfective, but does not change or influence the lexical meaning of the verb (Forsyth 1970: 19).

Simple verbs are usually considered to be imperfective, but prefixed verbs perfective. However, in some languages (Russian, Lithuanian) it is possible to change the perfective prefixed verbs into imperfective by adding a derivative suffix, for example in Russian *писать* ‘write’ (non-prefixed verb, imperfective), *выписать* ‘copy out’ (prefixed verb, perfective) and *выписывать* ‘copy out’ (prefixed verb, imperfective) (Comrie 1976: 125). In Lithuanian, this is called second perfectivization: *atidavinėti* ‘return repeatedly’, *atiduoti* ‘return’ (LG 2006: 237).

In Russian, there are imperfective verbs that cannot form a perfective (e.g. *ожидатьс* ‘expect’), perfective forms that cannot have imperfective forms (e.g. *рухнуть* ‘collapse’) and bi-aspectual verbs (e.g. *жениться* ‘marry’) where broader context is needed in order to determine the perfective or imperfective form (Forsyth 1970: 32–33). In Lithuanian verbs may be of dual aspectual character, where the aspectual meaning depends on the tense form and context, for example *mirti* ‘die’, *gimti* ‘be born’ (LG 2006: 235). Also, there are cases when the verb does not occur without prefix *pasakoti* ‘tell (about), narrate’ or the lexical meaning of the main verb differs from the prefixed one *priklausyti* ‘depend’: *klausyti* ‘listen’ (LG 2006: 236).

If the preverbs are separable from the verb they are called particles, but if they are not separable, then they are called prefixes, for example in Uralic languages (Kiefer & Honti 2003) or German (Behrens 2003; Dewell 2015). In German, unlike the inseparable verbal prefixes (*be-*, *ver-*, *er-*, *ent-*, *zer-*), separable prefixes also may act as prepositions and particles (*über-*, *um-*, *unter-*, *durch-*) (Dewell 2015). The verbal particles either appear at the end of the sentence (*Er schwamm vor den grossen Haien weg* ‘He swam away from the big sharks’) or in case of the subordinate clause the particle verb becomes unseparable and appears at the end of the clause (*Er hatte so grosse Angst dass er vor den Haien wegschwamm* ‘He was so afraid that he swam away from the sharks.’) (Behrens 2003: 41–42).

According to Kiefer & Honti (2003: 138) if there are verbal prefixes in Uralic languages, then they are most likely to be borrowings or loan translations. Livonian belongs to the Finno-Ugric branch but has been in contact with Latvian and therefore the languages have strongly influenced each other. Latvian has had such a profound influence on the Livonian language that the latter has borrowed one of the linguistic phenomena peculiar to Latvian – verbal prefixes, which are not found in either Estonian or Finnish (Mägiste 1937; de Sivers

1971; Wälchli 2001; Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). According to Lembit Vaba (2010: 226–227) Livonian has borrowed 10 verbal prefixes from Latvian. In Livonian verbal prefixes are used to derive native verbs, e.g. *lādō* ‘go’: *aizlādō* ‘go away’ and borrowed verbs from Latvian, e.g. *broutšō* ‘drive’: *aizbroutšō* ‘drive away’ (in Latvian *braukt* ‘drive’: *aizbraukt* ‘drive away’) (de Sivers 1971; Grünthal 2015). Latvian verbal prefixes are borrowed also in the Souther-Estonian dialect – Leivu (Vaba 2010: 226).

In Finnish, verbal aspect is expressed through different linguistic means – object case (*Tytti kutoi sukan* ‘Tytti knit a sock’), semantics of the verb (*löytää* ‘find’), derivative suffixes (*Koira hyppää* ‘The dog is jumping around’) etc. (Sulkala 1996). However, unlike Finnish, Estonian uses prefix-like verbal particles that help to express perfectivity (Sulkala 1996: 181) (see more in chapter 2.2).

Prefixes are closely related to the verbal aspect and *aktionsart* (lexical aspect). According to Bernard Comrie (1976) “Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).” When aspect is mentioned, the Russian verbal aspect is always brought up first as example, due to its seemingly well-developed aspectual system (Forsyth 1970; Comrie 1976). Where there is aspect, *aktionsart* will always be mentioned as researchers are trying to keep them apart. If in case of aspect the contrast is drawn between the perfective and imperfective aspect, then *aktionsart* is considered to be connected to verbal predicate (static, inchoative, resultative) (Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 189). *Aktionsart* (also called *actionality* or lexical aspect) changes, varies how the action is carried out, this includes telicity, habituality, iterativity, punctuality, durativity, progressivity etc (Comrie 1976).

According to Kiefer & Honti (2003: 139) „aspect has to do with telicity and boundedness“ but *Aktionsart* „expresses an accidental modification of the meaning of the base verb expressed by morphological means“. J. Forsyth (1970: 19) says that in case of *Aktionsart* the prefix may „indicate how that action develops or proceeds in particular circumstances“. According to Lea Sawicki (2010: 170–171) *Aktionsart* „is a non-obligatory indication of the specific way things are happening. Unlike the number of terms in the opposition of aspect, which is fixed in a given language, the number of Aktionsarten that can be distinguished in a given verb varies according to its semantics“.

2.1. On aspect in Latvian

In Latvian, verbal aspect is expressed in two ways – by prefixes (the perfect and imperfective aspect) and suffixes (the semelfactive and iterative aspect) (Kalnača 2013: 90–91). Prefixed verbs express completed, limited activities that have

attained a process (purpose) or status, but imperfect ones – continuous, unlimited activities (Ahero et al. 1959: 566; Kalme & Smiltneice 2001: 219–220).

The contrast between the one form (non-prefixed verb) and another (prefixed verb) is known as correlation (Ahero et al. 1959: 567; Kalme & Smiltneice 2001: 218–219). The non-prefixed verb is generally imperfect (*lasīt* ‘read’) (example (2)) where the situation is perceived as continuous and prefixed verb is perfect (*izlasīt* ‘read, finish reading’) (example (3)), where the situation is perceived as completed. Verbal prefixes occur already in the infinitive, and they do not change the word type or other grammatical form (Ahero et al. 1959: 344; Soida 2009: 227–228; Vulāne 2013: 39–40).

- (2) Māsa **lasīja** grāmatu
 sister read.PST.3 book.ACC
 ‘Sister **was reading** a book’ (not necessary finished)

- (3) Māsa **izlasīja** grāmatu
 sister PREF-read.PST.3 book.ACC
 ‘Sister **read** a book’ (finished reading)

There are 11 verbal prefixes in Latvian (*aiz-*, *ap-*, *at-*, *ie-*, *iz-*, *no-*, *pa-*, *pār-*, *pie-*, *sa-*, *uz-*) and their main function in most cases is to add some lexical nuance to the verb or modify its meaning: e.g. in directional meaning, where the prefix has the same meaning as an adverb of place or manner (e.g. *skriet* ‘run’ vs *ieskriet* ‘run in(side)’), the beginning of the action (e.g. *degt* ‘burn’ vs *iedegt* ‘light up’), quantitative, where the prefix refers to the action as limited in time (e.g. *stāvēt* ‘stand’ vs *pastāvēt* ‘stand (a bit)’) or qualitative meaning, where the prefix refers to action as limited by the amount (e.g. *ēst* ‘eat’ vs *pārēsties* ‘overeat’) (Ahero et al. 1959: 567; Mathiassen 1997; Kalme & Smiltneice 2001: 220; Soida 2009: 228; Kalnača 2014: 93).

Also, it is believed that in Latvian prefixes have initially had only directional meaning, but over time, additional and more abstract meanings have developed (Ahero et al. 1959: 344; Staltmane 1959: 609). Seven of the verbal prefixes have a preposition of the same lexical form – *aiz*, *ap*, *no*, *pa*, *pār*, *pie*, *uz* (Staltmane 1959: 609). The relationship between prefixes and prepositions can be seen when a prefixed verb is used together with the prepositional phrase: *viņš uzkāpa uz krēsla* ‘he stepped on a chair’. If the prefix does not have a corresponding preposition, it is used with another preposition or a noun phrase (Soida 2009: 236). The prefix „[...]” refers not only to the delineation of action in space, but also to the fact that by reaching a certain point in space, action is realized, ends with its purpose, result [...]“ (Staltmane 1959: 610).

The prefixed verbs (perfect aspect) with the directional meaning, mainly motion verbs, are contrasted with the syntactic construction of *non-prefixed verb* + *adverb* (imperfect aspect), where the corresponding adverb is used to indicate

direction (see Table 1⁴). The construction *non-prefixed verb + adverb* is used when the prefixed verb cannot be (or is not traditionally) used, namely when the activity described occurs at the same time as the speech, by narrating the past events in the present tense (the so-called *praesens historicum*), or in imperative (Paegle 2003: 135; Kalme & Smiltnece 2001: 221; Kalnača 2015: 537). Each verbal prefix has at least one corresponding adverb (see Table 1), and which of the meanings expressed by the adverbs the prefix has on any particular case depends largely on the semantics of the main verb and the context. It should be noted, that apart from all the different meanings that prefixes may have, the spatial meaning is the only one where a prefix has the corresponding adverb (Kalnača 2017: 84). This means that for example if the prefix refers to the perfectivity of the action, the prefix cannot be „replaced“, that is, it does not have any corresponding adverb and therefore cannot form a *non-prefixed verb + adverb* construction. In this case the opposite of the prefixed verb is a simple verb.

Table 1. Latvian verbal prefixes and their corresponding adverbs by Ahero et al. (1959: 571) and Soida (2009: 236–242)

Verbal prefix	Corresponding adverb
<i>aiz-</i>	<i>prom</i> ‘away’, <i>priekšā</i> ‘in front’, <i>ciet</i> ‘close’
<i>ap-</i>	<i>apkārt</i> ‘around’, <i>nost</i> ‘off’
<i>at-</i>	<i>šurp</i> ‘here’, <i>nost</i> ‘off’, <i>atpakaļ</i> ‘back’, <i>vaļā</i> ‘open’
<i>ie-</i>	<i>iekšā</i> ‘in(side)’
<i>iz-</i>	<i>ārā</i> ‘out’, <i>laukā</i> ‘out’, <i>cauri</i> ‘through’
<i>no-</i>	<i>lejšup/lejā</i> ‘down’, <i>zemē</i> ‘down’, <i>nost</i> ‘down, off’
<i>pa-</i>	<i>apakš(ā)</i> ‘under’, <i>vaļā</i> ‘open’, <i>garām</i> ‘past, by’, <i>sānis</i> ‘aside’
<i>pār-</i>	<i>pāri</i> ‘over’, <i>atpakaļ</i> ‘back’
<i>pie-</i>	<i>klāt</i> ‘close, near’
<i>sa-</i>	<i>kopā</i> ‘together’, <i>iekšā</i> ‘in(side)’, <i>viršū</i> ‘on top of’, <i>augšup</i> ‘up’
<i>uz-</i>	<i>viršū</i> ‘on top of’, <i>augšā</i> ‘up’

In Latvian it is common to use both, a prefixed verb and an adverb with the same meaning together, for example, *izmetst laukā* ‘throw out’. However, in this case, the adverb is still an independent unit, it means that the adverb emphasizes the directional meaning expressed by the prefix, but does not affect the aspect of the verb (Smiltnece 2015b: 599–601; Kalnača 2013: 90–91, Kalnača 2015: 537).

There are some adverbs that are preposition-like, meaning that they do act like regular adverbs (as an extension to the verb), but at the same time affect the

⁴ The same table is presented in the article [P4] with the Estonian translation.

case of the substantive, for example adverbs like *apkārt* ‘around’, *cauri* ‘through’, *garām* ‘past, by’, *klāt* ‘close, near’, *līdz* ‘until’, *pāri* ‘over’, *pretī* ‘against’, *priekšā* ‘in front’ demand the substantive to be in dative case – *apkārt ezeram* ‘around the lake’, *cauri mežam* ‘through the forest’ etc. Some of these adverbs resemble the same type of prepositions, although the latter are used with accusative – *ap ezeru* ‘around the lake’, *caur mežu* ‘through the forest’ etc.

Soida (2009: 231–232) distinguishes between prefixed verbs that have a purely formal relation to the main verb, e.g. *pagūt* ‘catch up’, *palikt* ‘stay’, *uzņemt* ‘receive’, and prefixed verbs that have only an associative relation to the main verb: *panākt (savu)* ‘achieve (one’s wish)’, *uziet* ‘find’. Compare the above-mentioned prefixed verbs with their main verbs: *gūt* ‘get (something)’, *likt* ‘put, place something somewhere’, *ņemt* ‘take’, *nākt* ‘come’, *iet* ‘go’. According to Velta Staltmane (1959: 607–631), formal prefixes take part in the formation of correlative pairs of verbs, but in most cases do not add any lexical meaning, they are rather „lexically unimportant, formal affixes“.

Even if the verb is prefixed, it does not necessarily mean that it is automatically perfective. The biaspectual verbs do not depend on the presence or absence of the prefix to express perfective / imperfect aspect, on the contrary, the aspect depends only on the context (Kalnača 2014: 102). Examples of such verbs are non-prefixed verb *dot* ‘give’, *iet* ‘go’ or prefixed verbs *izdot* ‘give out, publish’, *pārdot* ‘sell’, *pārbaudīt* ‘check’, *pierādīt* ‘prove’ etc. (Paegle 2003: 134; Kalnača 2015: 537–239). According to Kalnača (2014: 103–104), in the case of biaspectual verbs, it is more important to emphasize not whether the activity is *complete / incomplete*, but rather whether it is a *general* (example (4)) or a *particular* (example (5)) action, which depends on adverbial modifiers of time, compound adverbs, or grammatical and compound object.

- (4) Vakar **pārlasīju** laikrakstus
yesterday PREF-read.PST.1SG newspapers.ACC
‘I **reread** the newspapers again yesterday.’ (Kalnača 2014: 104)

- (5) Vakar **pārlasīju** visus jaunākos laikrakstus
yesterday PREF-read.PST.1SG all.ACC latest.ACC newspapers.ACC
‘Yesterday I **reread** all the latest newspapers.’ (Kalnača 2014: 104)

Usually only one prefix is added to the verb, except (1) in case of a negation (prefix *ne-*), (2) a verb is not used without the prefix (e.g. *pa-zīt* ‘know (someone)’), or (3) the prefix is not perceived as an independent morpheme – *patikt* ‘like’, that is, the prefix is „fused“ with the verb, so it forms an independent verb (Ahero et al. 1959: 345; Soida 2009: 230).

The prefixes and their derived verbs are often polysemous (Vulāne 2015: 279), that is, with different verbs or even with the same verb, the prefix may have a different function. The exact meaning of the verb becomes clear only in context (Ahero et al. 1959: 344), e.g. the verb *pamest* can mean 1. to leave something/

someone, 2. to throw something under something, 3. to throw small amount of something.

In some cases, in addition to the prefix, the verb is also accompanied by a reflexive form, which together with prefix forms a circumfix – a morpheme that is located before the word stem (prefix) and at the end (reflexive ending) (Vulāne 2013: 42; Vulāne 2015: 200). Generally, a circumfix occurs when an instantaneous, unexpected, or overbear activity is expressed, e.g. *iesāpēties* ‘suddenly feel pain’ (main verb *sāpēt* ‘feel pain’), *pārēsties* ‘overeats’ (main verb *ēst* ‘eat’) (Kalnača & Lokmane 2015: 512). Also, the prefix and reflexive ending in some cases may be inseparable (the prefixed verb without the reflexive ending is not used), thus forming a specific form of meaning, e.g. *gulēt* ‘sleep’ vs *aiz-gulēties* ‘oversleep’ (Kalnača 2013: 46). Not all verbs are capable of forming a reflexive form, for example the verb *mācīt* ‘teach’ has the reflexive form *mācīties* ‘learn’, but on the other hand there are verbs where the reflexive form is semantically completely different from the main form (e.g. *dot* ‘give’ vs *doties* ‘go, be on the way to somewhere’), but also verbs that have no reflexive form (e.g. *grimt* ‘sink’) or reflexive form that has no main form (e.g. *brīnīties* ‘wonder’). (Ahero et al. 1959: 554–564; Kalnača & Lokmane 2015: 512)

Different prefixes may also be synonymous when joined by the same verbs, such as *iedegt/aizdegst* ‘light up’. A possible reason may be that if the semantics of the main verb itself indicates the potential perfectivity of the action, it may be associated with several different prefixes, all bearing the same sense of perfect action (Ahero et al. 1959: 569–560). However, Staltmane (1959: 613) is of the opinion that prefixes cannot always be substituted and that the difference in their use is often reflected in a sentence. However, if the main verb has multiple meanings (homonyms), the meanings of the same prefix are individual (see chapter 4.2.).

Besides the directional meaning that each prefix has, overlapping with the meaning of the corresponding adverb, Soida (2009: 241–257) distributes the other functions of the prefixes as follows: the beginning of the action, the time limited activity, partial action etc. In the older grammar (Ahero et al. 1959: 344–370) and more recent Latvian grammar (Vulāne 2015: 278–286), each prefix separately lists several different meanings, with some examples of the verbs. Ahero et al. (1959: 344–370) is also the only one that gives examples of prefixed verbs in case of which the prefix has changed the lexical meaning of the verb, i.e. the prefix is not used without the verb.

2.2. On aspect in Estonian

Estonian has quite a different means of expressing aspect in comparison to Latvian. There are several grammatical and lexical means of expressing it. Three aspects are distinguished in Estonian – the boundedness aspect (bounded and unbounded aspect), the phasal aspect and the quantitative aspect (Erelt 2017: 113–114).

In the case of the boundedness aspect, the focus is put on the activity – the achieved (perfect) (example (6)) or not-achieved (imperfect) situation (example (7)). This is done, for example, by using the subject and object case, adverbs of time, or adverbials that mark destination. Also, the lexical meaning of the verb itself is undeniably important. In case of the boundedness aspect, the verbs are divided into imperfective, perfective, and aspect verbs. (Erelt 2017: 113–114, Metslang 2017: 264) Imperfective verbs are atelic verbs that are not usually aspectually bounded, e.g. *elama* ‘live’, *jooksma* ‘run’, *vihkama* ‘hate’, *vaatama* ‘watch’. Transitive imperfective verbs are also known as partitive verbs – they do not (generally) allow object case alternation, i.e. the object is usually in partitive (Erelt 2017: 113) (except when the verb particles may be added, see below).

Perfective verbs include the perfective meaning already in the semantics of the verb *uinuma* ‘fall asleep’, *andestama* ‘forgive’, *kaotama* ‘lose’ and these verbs are usually accompanied by total object (Erelt 2017: 113–114; Metslang 2017: 264).

Aspect verbs (imperfective-perfective verbs) are telic verbs that allow the object to vary between the three cases (nominative, genitive and partitive), for example verbs like *ehitama* ‘build’, *tooma* ‘bring’, *kirjutama* ‘write’ etc. (Erelt 2017: 114, Metslang 2017: 265) This means that when the clause is affirmative, the object is quantitatively bounded, and the action is perceived as perfective then the object is used in nominative/genitive case (the so-called *total object*). The object is in the partitive (*partial object*) when the action is perceived as imperfective and the object is not quantitatively bounded (Erelt et al. 2000: 377–388; Metslang 2017: 270). However, the object of a negative clause is always partial, even in case of perfective verbs (Metslang 2017: 267).

(6) perfective (Erelt 2017: 114)

Jüri	ehitas	<u>suvila</u>
Jüri	build.PST.3	summerhouse.GEN
‘Jüri built a summerhouse’		

(7) imperfective (Erelt 2017: 114)

Jüri	ehitas	<u>suvilat</u>
Jüri	build.PST.3	summerhouse.PART
‘Jüri was building a summerhouse’		

In Estonian, perfective aspect may also be expressed by verbal particles. While a total object marks the perfectivity of the action and totality of the object, verbal particles also modify the meaning of the verb. A verbal particle gives the verb an additional meaning: spatial/directional (*sisse minema* ‘step inside’), perfective (*valmis tegema* ‘make ready’), state (*lahti tegema* ‘open’), or modality (*vaja olema* ‘need something’) (Rätsep 1978: 29–31; Erelt 2017: 104–107). Verbal particles are also called affixal adverbs (Erelt et al. 2000) or prefixal adverbs (Boiko 1999a, 1999b). In this dissertation the term *verbal particles* is

preferred and the verbs accompanied by the particle are called *particle verbs* (Estonian: *ühendverb*).

Huno Rätsep (1978) distinguishes between two types of particle verbs – regular (Estonian: *korrapärane ühendverb*) and idiomatic (Estonian: *ainukordne ühendverb*) (Rätsep 1978: 28). The first are formed mainly by motion verbs in combination with adverbs (e.g. spatial, state) forming affix-like constructions. The adverbs are interchangeable, e.g. verb *sõitma* ‘drive’ + spatial adverb *sisse* ‘in’ / *välja* ‘out’ / *alla* ‘down’ / *üles* ‘up’ as well as the other way around – the same adverbs may appear with different verbs, for example *välja* ‘out’ + *sõitma* ‘drive’ / *jooksma* ‘run’ / *lendama* ‘fly’ etc. (Rätsep 1978: 28). The adverb may not always be separable from the verb semantically, as the latter would lose its directional purpose, so they still form a lexical unit. In this sense, particle verbs are very similar to verbal prefixes. According to Cornelius Hasselblatt (1990) particle verbs have emerged in Estonian largely due to the influence of German.

Idiomatic particle verbs are more individual (more phrase-like) and neither the verb nor the adverb is interchanged in order to maintain the meaning (Rätsep 1978: 28). These kinds of particle verbs are either completely individual (unambiguous), e.g. *ette heitma* ‘reproach’ or, on the contrary, they may appear as both regular particle verb as well as idiomatic particle verb (ambiguous), e.g. *sisse astuma* 1. ‘step into (e.g. a room)’ or 2. ‘be enrolled (e.g. in a university)’.

The perfective particles resemble directional adverbs, but are used in order to express perfectivity, e.g. *üles leidma* ‘find’ (the adverb *üles* means ‘up’, but does not directly refer to the movement, here it is more idiomatic). Particles are not always obligatory, since the total object may refer to the totality of the object, therefore they may in this sense duplicate the perfective meaning (*ära lõpetama* ‘finish’ (Erelt 2017: 115). Or on the contrary – verbal particles may be obligatory, in cases of the object case homonymy (Erelt 2017: 115). For example, the noun *maja* ‘house’ has the same form in singular genitive and partitive and in order to express perfectivity the verbal particle *valmis* ‘ready’ should be added (example (8)).

(8) perfective (Erelt 2017: 115)

Ta	ehitas	maja	valmis
s/he	build.PST.3	house.GEN	ready
‘S/he finished building a house’			

Perfective particle *ära* is the most common particle both for expressing orientation (*ära minema* ‘go away’) and perfectivity (*ära tegema* ‘finish doing something’) and it is only through the context that it becomes clear which meaning is used at the moment (Rätsep 1978: 31; Metslang 2001: 445, Erelt 2017: 106).

(9)

Isa	läks	ära
father	go.PST.3	away
‘Father went away’		

- (10) Laps **sõi** õuna **ära**
 child eat.PST.3 apple.GEN PP
 ‘Child ate an apple / finished eating an apple’

Some imperfective verbs can be accompanied by verbal particles (e.g. perfective particles *ära*, *läbi*) or adverbials (e.g. *puhtaks* ‘clean’) (Erelt 2017: 116). This means that partitive verbs may in fact become aspectually bounded. In this case, verbal particles modulate the meaning or even change the lexical meaning of the verb, compare – *tundma* ‘know (somebody), feel’ and *ära tundma* ‘recognize’ (Erelt 2017: 116). This is one of the situations where Estonian language learners may have difficulties distinguishing when the verb is aspectually bounded (e.g. referring to the endpoint) (Tamm, Vaiss 2019).

Another type of verbs that are important are *expression verbs* (Estonian: *väljendverb*). Particle verbs and expression verbs are together called **phrasal verbs**, because they have a phrasal meaning (Viitso 2003: 86). Expression verbs consist of verb and noun (Erelt, Kasik, Metslang et al. 1993: 20; Viitso 2003: 86) or also verb and adjective/pronoun constructions, where the nominal component holds the basic meaning and is supported by the verb e.g. *aru saama* ‘understand’, *jalga laskma* ‘flee’ (Viitso 2003: 86).

While object alternation marks perfectivity in transitive verbs, in the case of intransitive verbs there are no such means, and whether the situation is completed/achieved or not is not always determinable, namely, „intransitive sentences often remain ambiguous in their aspect“ (Erelt 2017: 116) (example (11)).

- (11) perfective / imperfective (Erelt 2017: 116)

Jüri **sõitis** Brüsselisse
 Jüri drive.PST.3 Brussels.ILL
 ‘Jüri **drove** / **was driving** to Brussels’

Phasal aspect contains the expression of the beginning of action (ingressive), continuation (continuative, progressive) and end of the action (egressive, terminative), but also the prephase (prospective) and post-phase (retrospective) aspect (Erelt 2017: 117–118). Only two of these aspects appeared in the study: ingressive and progressive aspect. The ingressive aspect is mainly expressed by verbs that denote the beginning of action, like *hakkama* ‘begin’, *minema* ‘start’, or intense, sudden beginning of the action by verbs *lööma* ‘start’, *panema* ‘put’ etc (Erelt, Kasik, Metslang et al. 1993: 20; Erelt 2017: 118–119). These verbs form finite and non-finite verb constructions and are thus called compound verbs, for example *sööma hakkama* ‘start eating’, *keema minema* ‘start boiling’ etc. (*ibid*).

In article [P2] a small overview of the progressive aspect was given, as it was not a frequently used form in the study material. Progressive aspect may occur as a regular present or past tense form, but more remarkable is the construction

consisting of the verb *olema* ‘be’ + verb ending *-mas*, for example *Külalised on lahkumas* ‘Guests are leaving’ (Erelt 2017: 120).

Quantitative aspect in Estonian consists of iterativity (expressed by adverbs of manner *sageli* ‘often’, *aeg-ajalt* ‘from time to time’ etc), distributivity, frequentativity (repeated action which is expressed by suffix *-le*, for example *hüplema* ‘jump around’) (Erelt 2017: 126–127). Estonian grammar (Erelt, Kasik, Metslang et al. 1993: 22–23) distinguishes between dynamic (durative *viima* ‘take, bring’ and momentaneous *välgatama* ‘flash’), punctual (*süttima* ‘catch fire’) and durative situations. Dynamic situation is divided into continuative (*Poiss kasvas meheks* ‘A boy grew into a man’) and iterative (*Poiss loopis kive* ‘A boy was throwing stones’).

The overview covers only what is considered to be relevant in the context of this thesis. Of course, it is not possible (or necessary) to cover everything, thus the aim is to provide enough background information to facilitate understanding of the research results.

2.3. On some similarities and differences in Latvian and Estonian aspects

By looking at the theoretical framework given in the previous two chapters it can already be seen that Latvian and Estonian have some similarities as well as some level of flexibility with respect to the aspect rules.

There are similarities between Latvian verbal prefixes and Estonian verbal particles in case of the expression of direction or state. For example, Latvian verbal prefix *ie-* meaning from the adverb *iekšā* ‘inside’ as in prefixed verb *ieskriet* ‘run inside’ and the Estonian adverb *sisse* ‘inside’ that forms the particle verb *sisse jooksuma* ‘run inside’.

Also, prefixes and verbal particles are similar in the sense that both can be used in order to express perfectivity. For example, Latvian prefix *ap-* added to the verb *ēst* ‘to eat’ forms the prefixed verb *apēst* ‘eat up’, just like in Estonian the perfective particle *ära* added to the verb *sööma* ‘eat’ forms a particle verb *ära sööma* ‘eat up’.

Although, as a rule, the basic function of the prefix is to give a certain meaning (direction, quantity, beginning etc.) to the verb, there are exceptions, where the prefix lacks a separate meaning and is perceived as an independent verb (biaspectual prefixed verbs), e.g. *pārdot* ‘sell’. The same goes for Estonian language – partitive verbs basically require an object in partitive, unless the verbal particles are added, thereby changing the aspect, e.g. *tundma* ‘feel’ (partitive verb), *ära tundma* ‘recognize’ (particle verb).

In some sense the biaspectual prefixed verbs in Latvian resemble idiomatic particle verbs and expression verbs in Estonian: for example, in case of the Latvian prefixed verb *saprast* ‘understand’ the main verb *prast* ‘know how’ has a slightly different meaning than the prefixed verb. Although they may be somehow similar in their meaning (understanding requires knowing), the two are still

not connected in the aspectual sense. The same goes in Estonian, for example in the expression verb *aru saama* ‘understand’ the main verb *saama* ‘get, acquire’ is in some sense connected (even by looking at the literal meaning of the expression verb – ‘get sense’), but they are also perceived as two separate entities.

In comparison to Estonian, from the point of view of the aspect, case alternation in Latvian is not important, as the object of transitive verbs is usually in accusative (Ahero et al. 1959: 394). In contemporary Latvian, genitive occurs only with some verbs, for example *trūkt* ‘be missing’, *pietikt* ‘be enough’ (Smiltņiece 2015a: 348–349). For verbs like *ilgoties* ‘miss’, *lūgt* ‘ask’ the prepositional phrase *pēc* + NPgen (*ilgoties pēc vasaras* ‘be missing summer’) or accusative (*lūgt padomu* ‘ask for advice’) would be equally possible (Smiltņiece 2015a: 348–349).

An object in genitive remains in contemporary Latvian in case of verb *būt* ‘be’ in negative clause with the possessive meaning (example (12)) (Smiltņiece 2015a: 348–349; Kalnača 2002: 143–144) and as negation in an existential clause (example (13)) (Kalnača & Lokmane & Metslang 2019). There used to be a case alternation in Latvian, when accusative marked total object and genitive – partial object (Kalnača 2002: 143–144) but it is not present in contemporary Latvian and the genitive case is considered to appear only mainly in the older fiction (Kalnača 2011: 68).

- (12) Man nav **laika.**
 I.DAT NEG.be.3 time.GEN
 ‘I don’t have time’

- (13) Šajā upē **zivju** nav
 this.LOC river.LOC fish.GEN.PL NEG.be.3
 ‘There are no fish in this river’ (Kalnača & Lokmane & Metslang 2019: 61)

Latvian native speakers who study Estonian language consider the object case alternation to be one of the most difficult topics to acquire (Mela 2007: 100). It can only be assumed that if the genitive-accusative alternation in Latvian had been preserved to the present day, it would have been easier for Latvians to grasp the idea of the object case variation when acquiring Estonian. The case alternation can be considered as the greatest difference between the Estonian and Latvian languages, in terms of aspect.

3. MATERIAL AND METHOD

The material used for the research is translation-based material consisting of eight Latvian works of fiction and their Estonian translations (see Sources). The author of the dissertation created a self-made parallel corpus. The eight books were scanned, converted into a text format and then, using an alignment program, made into a corpus that contains approximately 540,000 words in each language. The reason for using fiction texts and creating a parallel corpus is that there is no suitable public corpus of Latvian-Estonian parallel texts available now⁵. The selection of works was random, but it was ensured that they would be published in different time and written by different authors to obtain the widest possible corpus. The personal language use of the authors (vocabulary) must be taken into consideration.

The choice of research material varies from article to article: in article [P1] four works are used (Ezera 1972, Ikstena 1998, Zālīte 2013, Želve 2011) and in article [P3] and [P4] six (Rozītis 1957, Ezera 1972, Ezera 1977, Bels 1977, Skujiņš 1984, Ikstena 1998). In the article [P2], in addition to the Latvian-Estonian translation, two works of Estonian fiction (Rannap 1967; Henno 2005) and their Latvian translations were used as research material. However, it should be noted that the focus of the dissertation is on Latvian-Estonian translation as the majority of the articles were dedicated to it. The opposite direction has been discussed only briefly (in the article [P2]) and to make much more specific conclusions a larger and more extensive study should have been conducted.

The corpus was used for obtaining examples for the empirical study, but the description of the functions of the prefixes were based on three sources: Old Latvian Grammar (Ahero et al. 1959), New Latvian Grammar (Vulāne 2015), and Latvian linguist Emīlija Soida's monograph „Word Formation“ (*Vārddarīnāšana*) (2009). There were some difficulties in determining the functions of verbal prefixes used, as there is no one definite approach. Sources mentioned above do not always agree when defining the prefix functions, i.e. sometimes one source provides one explanation, the other – another one. In addition to that the examples (prefixed verbs) from the research material may in turn have a third function that none of the sources mention. Also, due to verb polysemy, there are several explanations (functions) of the verbal prefixes at the same time. Sometimes prefixed verbs that occur in the research material have no explanation of the proposed function in any source. When the verbal prefix function could not be determined with the help of these sources, the Latvian General Dictionary (TEZ) was used as an additional source. In addition, the analysis of the material followed the principle that if any prefixed verb searched was listed in the dictionary (TEZ) as a dialect or outdated, it was not being analyzed in the context of this thesis.

⁵ The parallel corpus made for the current thesis is also not publicly available and is only used privately by the author and co-authors.

The research method helped to distribute the prefixes being studied. Namely, if the prefixed verbs analyzed were not mentioned in the sources and it was difficult to determine which meaning the prefix had, then the Estonian equivalent was sometimes helpful. It happened with those prefixed verbs that have obtained a new meaning (prefixed verb differs semantically from basic verb), for example *piekrist* ‘agree’ (Estonian: *nõustuma* ‘agree’) and non-prefixed verb *krist* ‘fall’ (Estonian *kukkuma* ‘fall’).

The only material that can currently be relied on are bilingual Estonian–Latvian (EELV) and Latvian–Estonian (LVET) dictionaries. However, certain types of difficulties inevitably arise with dictionaries. The Latvian–Estonian dictionary may present a verb with multiple prefixes, suggesting that they are similar (synonyms) or the difference is barely noticeable, due to which the significance of the meaning of the prefix is not separately explained. Neither does the Estonian–Latvian dictionary help with the acquirement of Latvian verbal prefix functions. One can look up the Estonian simple verb or particle verb, but it does not ensure the explanation why one should use one or the other prefix in Latvian. Besides, there are cases when the Latvian equivalent of the Estonian verb is presented without the prefix. The Latvian General dictionary (TEZ) in the case of the prefixed verb gives the explanation of the prefixed verb, not the prefix itself. There may occur cases when another prefixed verb is used to explain the first one (e.g. *izēst* ‘eat up’ → *apēst* ‘eat up (all of the food that is in the bowl)’).

The author of the thesis chose the material for contrastive analysis and decided which translations (examples, sentences) were suitable for analysis and which were not. For example, if the translation was too different from the original sentence, then it was not included in the analysis. It also must be borne in mind that the work of fiction represents written language and the translated texts have been edited. The language of the works may not reflect the contemporary everyday language, and the vocabulary of each author is subjective. Also, the translation may have been subject to substantial revision. It may also be very likely that the editor does not know the source language, so the editing process is rather based on how the text fits into the grammar and syntax rules of the Estonian language.

The empirical material is analyzed using the **contrastive method**, which is a comparison of two (or more) languages in some specific structure (morphology, grammar, phonetics, syntax, etc.), whether they are related or not (LTSV 2011: 79). This method seeks to identify similarities and differences between the languages studied (LTSV 2011: 79), even though the differences might seem more noticeable than the similarities (Krzeskowski 1990: 9).

To investigate the equivalent of a language phenomenon in another language, it is necessary to define what is the *equivalent*, especially if the target language being studied does not have a specific phenomenon that exists in the source language (Jørgensen 1982: 13; 59). Consequently, it is questionable whether it can be investigated at all, since the equivalence requires the same structure

(*ibid* 1982: 13; 59). In the context of this dissertation it is certainly considered that one-to-one matches for the prefix(es) cannot always be found in Estonian.

The current thesis uses the directional analysis (see more Jørgensen 1982: 57–58), where one language (Latvian) is treated as the main language and other (Estonian) as the target language, in order to answer the question of what the correspondence of a phenomenon in one language is in the other language. According to Gerhard Nickel (1971: 5) if „[...] formal equivalence can be established relatively easily, it is a most difficult problem to set up any kind of functional-semantic equivalence“. It should be borne in mind that if this sort of analysis were made between languages that share the prefixal system (for example Latvian and Lithuanian) then the results and the problems appearing (if any) would be completely different.

Because of the complexity of the prefixed verbs in semantic and syntactic sense it could easily be possible that there are different lexical variations in Estonian corresponding to the prefixed verbs. Meaning that „[...] one-morpheme word in one language may correspond to a compound word in another language or complex word in one language may correspond to a simple word in another language [...]“ (Krzeskowski 1990: 74).

The sentences containing prefixed verbs were extracted from the research material and were compared with the corresponding Estonian translations. When analyzing the material, the entire sentence (less often the previous / next sentences) in which the prefixed verb is located were considered. This is because the sentences containing the prefixed verb may be short (e.g. part of the dialogue) or the prefixed verb alone may not convey the meaning of the whole sentence – especially because of polysemy and homonymy of the verbs (see section 4.2.).

In order to set some reasonable limit to the results, it was decided to limit the research to **46 verbs**. In addition to the prefixed verbs analyzed in the four articles, it was decided to do an additional analysis for the summary of the thesis. The author took all the prefixed verbs that were discussed in the articles and looked up all the other possibilities that the corresponding main verb could be derived with. This resulted in a total of **389 prefixed verbs** which were accordingly analyzed for this dissertation.

It should be noted that the verbs were chosen randomly, so no specific system should be searched for. As can be seen from the list of the verbs analyzed (APPENDIX 1) most of the verbs are motion verbs, at the same time there are verbs that appear only with 1–4 prefixes.

In the four publications the emphasis is more on prefixed verbs; therefore, non-prefixed verbs were included in the dissertation results section as well. Examples of motion verbs have been searched with adverbs corresponding to prefixes, while non-motion verbs have been restricted, for objective reasons, to single examples of the main verb.

Collecting the material has been one of the most difficult parts of the study. Despite the large amount of source material, some prefixed verbs only occur in few examples. The prefixed verbs might be significantly better represented in

everyday language, but because of the subjectivity of each author's work, it cannot be assumed that the author would necessarily *have* to use the word needed for analysis. An example is the prefixed verb *pielidot* 'fly to, next to something' (the main verb *lidot* 'fly'), which by all assumptions does not seem very unusual or uncommon, yet there is not a single example in eight books that were used for the research. This brings us to the fact, that the size of the corpus may play an important role – in the case of a large-scale corpus, among other language norms and structures, the writer's personal style is less noticeable (Mikhailov & Cooper 2016: 3). The corpus used in this study can be considered rather small. This is also one of the reasons why some prefixed verbs may have only one or two meanings, although due to verb polysemy they may be much more ambiguous.

There are yet very many examples of some verbs and collecting them all is time consuming and even unnecessary, for example if the prefixed verb has a very specific meaning and a few examples are enough to confirm the Estonian equivalent. This is typical for the prefixed verbs such as *izdoties* 'succeed' (Estonian: *õnnestuma*), *pagūt* 'manage (in time)' (Estonian: *jõudma* (*midagi teha / kuhugi*)), *saprast* 'understand' (Estonian: *aru saama, mõistma, taipama*) etc.

Another problem with the collection of examples was what type of verb to study. If only motion verbs are selected (as in [P3]), the prefix carries just the directional meaning. This can give the impression that these are the only functions of the prefix and that the prefixes are systematic and regular. However, if verbs are chosen from theoretical sources (Ahero et al. 1959; Soida 2009; Vulāne 2015), most verbs may not appear in the research material at all. If one chooses to analyze verbs by works, for example, all the prefixes that appear in one (or more) books, the problem may be that although there are many different verbs, they appear only in one or two examples. This makes analysis difficult and the drawing of the conclusions even more so.

In glossing, two principles are followed: if the prefix is semantically separable from the verb (as opposed to the non-prefixed verb) and carries, for example, the meaning of direction, end of action, beginning, etc., glossing is preceded by the tag „PREF“. However, if the prefix has formed a new verb, the corresponding verb is used for glossing, without the prefix being noted⁶.

The results obtained from the contrastive analysis of the research material may help to develop necessary study materials and strategies for foreign language teaching (Jørgensen 1982: 19). As regards the current dissertation, this study has been a great tribulation both in terms of analysis (trying to find some system) and in the development of a possible Latvian-Estonian dictionary of prefixed verbs. Namely, the results do not provide immediate practical skills for language learners to use, and the important factors in the compilation of the dictionary

⁶ In order to maintain a coherent system, glossing does not distinguish between the type of function of the prefix used with a particular verb, because if the meaning of a direction could be indicated by an adverb, then for example the momentary or partial activity (unless this feature is specifically mentioned in Estonian), may not.

include not only the examples needed for the respective prefixes, but also the description of when the verbal prefix has no equivalent in Estonian.

All verbs and prefixed verbs are provided in the form of a dictionary at the end of the thesis (see APPENDIX 1). The basic equivalents of the prefixes are also presented in the tables (APPENDIX 2). The dictionary allows seeing if and how the meaning of the main verb changes in Estonian when the Latvian verb is derived with different prefixes – 1) when and if the meaning of the main verb is preserved, but additional meaning referring to the prefix function is added, 2) when polysemy or homonymy appears. Also, one can see if the prefixed verb has a completely different meaning from the main verb in Estonian. It should be noted here that the equivalent of the function of the prefix may not always be represented in the form of an infinitive, e.g. if the function of the prefix is to express perfectivity then it is very possible that in Estonian it is expressed only by total object (without adverbs or adverbials). It should be noted that the dictionary is informative rather than applied. For a complete dictionary examples should also be presented.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of a combination of two analyses – 1) information obtained from the four articles and 2) an additional study, which was made to obtain a greater view of the research subject and material. It should be noted that the articles were written in different times, and understandably the material and conclusions have evolved.

The presentation of the results in this chapter is slightly different than in the articles. In articles [P1] and [P3], the emphasis is put on how different verbs are derived by the same prefix and thus the meaning of the prefix varies. Conversely, article [P4] looks at how the meaning of one verb changes when it is derived with different prefixes. In both cases, the aim is still to look at what is similar and different in both the Latvian meaning and the Estonian equivalent. The article [P2] differs from the rest in that it does not focus on either a particular prefix or a specific verb. In general, in article [P2] all the results are given in a very systematic way – we chose exactly the one-to-one examples, thus forming translation pairs, for example, if Estonian has total object then Latvian has prefixed verb and vice versa, if Latvian has prefixed verb then Estonian has total object etc. For the purposes of article [P2], it must be noted that we did not deal with exceptions, polysemy, or forms that cannot be directly inverted so that the equivalents work in both directions.

The results of this chapter also give a few examples of the non-prefixed verbs. This is not addressed at all in the articles. The articles mention the non-prefixed verb only indirectly, for example, stating what the equivalent would be if there were no prefix in that sentence. Perhaps this has been a rather hypothetical statement. Thus, the non-prefixed verbs are considered here in this chapter. Not all 46 verbs though, because of the terms of the volume. However, since many verbs are similar in meaning (e.g. motion verbs), the same conclusions can be drawn.

In article [P3], the notion that the transitivity of a verb plays an important role in determining Estonian equivalents, particularly in the context of the perfective aspect is discussed. However, since in Latvian the transitive verbs use mainly only one case (accusative), the focus is still only on the verb and the prefix. In the case of Estonian, as it can be inferred from the theoretical material, transitivity, namely the object case, often plays a major role in the treatment of the perfect aspect and the lexical aspect. Therefore, in Article [P4], two motion verbs were also selected separately, one transitive (*iet* ‘go, walk’) and the other intransitive (*vest* ‘carry, take’) to indicate the importance of transitivity.

It seemed that broad conclusions could not be drawn from two prefixes (Article [P1] and [P3]) and five verbs (Article [P4]), so it was decided that in addition to the articles, the variants of all the prefixed verbs covered by the articles should be viewed. Of course, several parts of the results overlap with parts of the articles. The additional research made it possible to see how extensions play a role in spatiality (adpositional phrases and destination and departure

adverbials). The articles [P1] and [P3] confirm the fact that when a prefix joins a motion verb, its adverbial meaning is reflected in Estonian. However, only further research revealed that the equivalent of the prefix cannot be an adposition phrase or a destination adverbial (as it was concluded in the article [P1])), but only adverb or verb semantics reflect the direction expressed by the prefix.

The article [P4] gave rise to the idea of looking at how the verb changes when derived with different prefixes. Since there were only five verbs used in the article, there was naturally a need to look at what happens to other verbs. Thus, in a further study, a dictionary of Latvian prefixes (APPENDIX 1) was formed, confirming the statement in Article [P4] that the further the verb's relation from the movement verb, the fewer prefixes it is derived with and the meaning of the prefix becomes more abstract. When the meaning of the prefix becomes very abstract the Estonian equivalent for the prefixed and non-prefixed verb might be the same (e.g. verbs *mācīt* 'teach', *mācīties* 'learn'). Also, the verbs with abstract meaning might occur with a single prefix (e.g. *ienīst* 'hate', *atrisināt* 'solve' etc.).

Thus, this summary of results focuses on this distribution, whether the verbs addressed are transitive (subsection 4.1.1) or intransitive (4.1.2). Next, it was considered important what types to divide the verb into. As mentioned previously, there was no specific preference for verbs, so to make it easier, it was decided to divide verbs according to whether they are motion verbs or not. The second group does not observe any specific distribution, but simply assumes that they are not traditional verbs of motion. In the traditional sense, the verbs of movement in this work are those which join all or almost all prefixes, which carry the meaning of the adverb, for example, intransitive *iet* 'go, walk', *braukt* 'drive', *nākt* 'come', *lidot* 'fly', *skriet* 'run' and transitive *vilkt* 'pull', *mest* 'throw', *likt* 'put', *bāzt* 'thrust' etc. Inevitably, it is not possible to limit directionality so specifically because there are verbs that are not considered motion verbs, but with certain prefixes still express motion: *rakstīt* 'write', *saukt* 'shout, call' etc.

The current study is based on the following theoretical principles:

- a prefix makes the verb perfective and changes or modulates the lexical meaning of the verb with the direction meaning, beginning of the action, quantity or quality (Ahero et al. 1959: 567; Kalme & Smiltnece 2001: 220; Soida 2009: 228; Kalnača 2014: 93).
- in some cases, prefixes have a purely formal relation or an associative relation to the main verb (Staltmane 1959: 607–631; Soida 2009: 231–232) but are still considered to be a formation of prefix and a main verb.

Of the 46 Latvian verbs studied, only eight were present with all 11 prefixes: *iet* 'go', *laist* 'let', *mest* 'throw', *ņemt* 'take', *rakstīt* 'write', *skriet* 'run', *sviest* 'throw' and *vilkt* 'pull'. As assumed, these are mainly motion verbs.

Six verbs appeared with only one prefix, in case of which the prefix either gives a 1) temporal meaning: *čivināt* 'chirp' (*iečivināties* 'chirp (for abit)'),

makškerēt ‘fish’ (*pamakškerēt* ‘fish (for a while)’), 2) spatial meaning: *korķēt* ‘cork’ (*atkorķēt* ‘uncork’) or 3) perfective meaning: *kārdināt* ‘tempt, seduce’ (*iekārdināt* ‘tempt, seduce’), *nīst* ‘hate’ (*ienīst* ‘hate’), *risināt* ‘solve’ (*atrisināt* ‘solve’). Most of the verbs were derived with the prefixes *sa-*, *ie-*, and *iz-*, the least with *pār-* and *ap-* (see Table 2).

Table 2. The number of the prefixed verbs derived with the prefixes that were analyzed in the research material

Verbal prefix	Nr of prefixed verbs
<i>sa-</i>	46
<i>ie-</i>	44
<i>iz-</i>	43
<i>no-</i>	38
<i>at-</i>	37
<i>pa-</i>	37
<i>uz-</i>	33
<i>pie-</i>	33
<i>aiz-</i>	29
<i>pār-</i>	25
<i>ap-</i>	24
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The equivalents of the Latvian verbal prefix functions in Estonian can only be found in a few specific cases. It depends mainly on the semantics of the verb, whether it is a motion verb, and if it is transitive. The means of expressing verbal prefix function(s) depends on how „transparent“ the prefix function is in Latvian – whether the prefix is interchangeable with an adverb, whether it is semantically supported by the adverbials (noun phrase, prepositional phrase). Also, it is important what the difference between the non-prefixed verb and the prefixed verb in Latvian is, since it influences the equivalents in Estonian.

The results are divided into two broad groups: first (4.1.) we look at the Latvian non-prefixed verb and prefix equivalents in Estonian and second (4.2.) an overview of how the prefixed verb polysemy and homonymy influences the meaning of the prefix and the determination of the Estonian equivalents. First, transitive (4.1.1) and secondly intransitive (4.1.2) non-prefixed and prefixed verbs and their Estonian equivalents are considered. Each of the subchapters deals first with motion verbs and then the non-motion verbs. The advantage of motion verbs is that the similarity of the prefix to the adverb plays a major role here in Latvian, but much attention has also been paid to how the prefix is

supported by extensions (prepositional phrase, destination and departure adverbials). If it is a non-motion verb, there are other means of expressing the prefix functions in Estonian. This is because the prefix itself no longer has much of an adverb meaning, so understandably now there are other tools in Estonian for that: this includes verbal particles, adverbs, compound verbs, phrasal verbs, momentaneous verbs, and sometimes even pronouns, and in the case of transitive verbs object case. Thirdly (4.1.3), the cases where it can be said that the meaning of the prefix is not transmitted into Estonian are discussed.

4.1. Latvian non-prefixed verb and prefixed verb equivalents in Estonian

Because of the different aspectual system in Latvian and Estonian, it is important to distinguish whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, since object case plays an important role in expressing perfectivity in Estonian. In order to understand how the function of a verbal prefix influences the equivalent in Estonian it is necessary to examine what the meaning of a verb without a prefix is and what are the possible equivalents in Estonian (if there are any). As mentioned previously, it is also important whether the verb is a motion verb, because it insures the probability of the specific equivalent in Estonian (adverb). To determine the equivalents in Estonian, it is also important to take into consideration the prefix meaning in Latvian.

This chapter is divided into following subchapters: transitive non-prefixed and prefixed verb equivalents in Estonian (4.1.1) and intransitive non-prefixed and prefixed verb equivalents in Estonian (4.1.2.). Each chapter starts with the motion verbs, which are followed by the non-motion verbs. The last subchapter (4.1.3) describes the situations when verbal prefixes (prefixed verbs) have no equivalents in Estonian.

4.1.1. Latvian transitive non-prefixed and prefixed verb equivalents in Estonian

4.1.1.1. Motion verbs

The analysis of the study material shows that in case of motion verbs it is possible to form certain constructions, where the prefixed verb is supported by extensions (adverb, prepositional phrase, noun phrase) that express direction or destination (Table 3). If the prefixed verb (PV) is used without an adverb(ial) extension, then the equivalent in Estonian is either an adverb (ADV) or a simple verb (V) that holds the directional meaning in its semantics (1). If the object is not mentioned then the equivalent in Estonian is an adverb, and/or a prepositional phrase (PP) is used (2). If the extension is a prepositional phrase, then the equivalent is either the same prepositional phrase or a noun phrase (NP) (3), if the extension

is a noun phrase, then the Estonian equivalent is also a noun phrase (sometimes with an adverb) (4) and if the extension is an adverb, then the equivalent is also an adverb or a prepositional phrase (5). If the prefixed verb is used together with the infinitive (INF), then an infinitive is also used in Estonian (6).

It is important to emphasize that in case of motion verbs the extensions are quite important because they support the direction expressed by the prefix. However, the extensions are not the match of the prefix. For example, a prepositional phrase cannot be an equivalent of the prefix but is the equivalent of the Latvian prepositional phrase. The direction expressed by the prefix is reflected in Estonian only when these extensions are not included (i.e. when there is only a prefixed verb). The moment the extension is added in Latvian, it is expressed in Estonian the same way, and the prefix becomes somewhat invisible. In that case the perfectivity expressed by the prefix is only visible with transitive verbs – in the total object.

Table 3. Latvian transitive prefixed verb constructions and their Estonian equivalents

Nr.	Transitive prefixed verb construction	Example	Estonian equivalent	Example
1.	PV + O	14a, 20a	V + TO + ADV	14b, 20b
		15a	V + TO	15b
2.	PV + \emptyset	21a	V + \emptyset + ADV	21b
	PV + \emptyset + PP	14a	V + \emptyset + PP	14b
3.	PV + O + PP	23a	V + TO + PP	23b
		26a	V + TO + NP	26b
4.	PV + O + NP	22a	V + TO + NP	22b
5.	PV + O + ADV	24a	V + TO + ADV	24b
		25a	V + TO + PP	25b
6.	PV + INF + O	27a	V + TO + INF	27b

The same prefix may have different meanings and often in the Estonian language these different meanings can be seen. In example (14a) the prefix *aiz-* has the same meaning as the adverb *ciet* ‘close’ (*aizvērt* ‘close’) and as the prepositional phrase *aiz* + NPgen (*aizbāzt* ‘put behind something’). In article [P3] (Tālberga 2017: 235–236) it was concluded that when a prefix has the adverbial meaning then the Estonian equivalent is usually the same adverb (composing the particle verb), as in the first part of the example (14b) the correspondence of the prefixed verb *aizvērt* ‘close’ is the particle verb *kinni panema* ‘close’ (verb *panema* ‘put’ + adverb *kinni* ‘close’) (14b). The second verbal prefix meaning is not explicitly marked but is only suggested by the extension – prepositional phrase NPgen + *taha* ‘behind’ (14b). To avoid repetition, the object (book) is not

mentioned in the second part of the sentence. In case of a transitive verb that is complemented by a prepositional phrase the perfectivity of the action is expressed in Estonian by the total object whereas the directional meaning is expressed by the corresponding postpositional phrase (Tälberga 2017: 235–236).

- (14a) Alise **aizver** grāmatu un **aizbāž** aiz
 Alise PREF-close.PRS.3 book.ACC and PREF-stuff.PRS.3 PREP
spilvena.
 pillow.GEN
 ‘Alise **closes** the book and **stuffs** [the book] behind the pillow.’ (Ezera 1977)

- (14b) Alise **pane** raamatu **kinni** ja **topib**
 Alise close.PRS.3SG book.GEN close and stuff.PRS.3SG
padja taha.
 pillow.GEN POSTP
 ‘Alise **closes** the book and **stuffs** [the book] behind the pillow.’ (Ezera 1984)

Another possibility is that the directional meaning of the prefix is expressed in Estonian by a verb that has the directional or state meaning in its semantics, e.g. in the prefixed verb *atvērt* ‘open’ (15a) the prefix *at-* has the meaning of the adverb *valā* ‘open’, but in Estonian the verb *avama* ‘open’ (15b) already has the meaning ‘open’ in its semantics. The perfectivity of the action is expressed by the total object (plural nominative).

- (15a) Laura **atver** acis.
 Laura.NOM open.PRS.3 eye.PL.ACC
 ‘Laura **opens** her eyes.’ (Zālīte)

- (15b) Laura **avab** silmad.
 Laura.NOM open.PRS.3SG eye.PL.NOM
 ‘Laura **opens** her eyes.’ (Zālīte)

Estonian tends to use synthetic (one-word component) and analytical (two or more-word component) verbs with the same meaning, for example, *lahkuma* – *ära minema* ‘go away, leave’, *nõustuma* – *nõus olema* ‘agree’ etc. (Eslon, Paeoja 2015). According to the study material, when a verbal prefix has directional meaning there are cases when the prefixed verb is translated into Estonian by both analytical and synthetic forms. For example, the prefixed verb *atvērt* ‘open’ can be translated by a particle verb that consists of the verb *tegema* ‘do’ + the adverb *lahti* ‘open’, or the synthetic verb *avama* ‘open’ (example 15b). Or the prefixed verb *aizvērt* ‘close’ can be translated by a particle verb that consists of the verb *panema* ‘put’ + the adverb *kinni* ‘close’ (example 14b) or the verb *sulgema* ‘close’ (Tälberga 2017: 240). In this research no separate attention was paid to whether one form would be used more than the other – this is pure

Estonian phenomenon that does not depend on the prefixed verb, but rather from the preference of the translator.

- atvērt* ‘open’ – 1. *lahti tegema* ‘open’ (analytical form)
 2. *avama* ‘open’ (synthetic form)
aizvērt ‘close’ – 1. *kinni panema* ‘close’ (analytical form)
 2. *sulgema* ‘close’ (synthetic form)

Let us now look at what happens when a verb has no prefix. Interestingly, the Latvian non-prefixed verb *vērt* ‘open’⁷ only has the meaning of direction *close* when the corresponding adverb *ciet* ‘close’ is listed (example (16a), forming the construction *non-prefixed verb* + *adverb* as *vērt ciet* ‘close’ (close shut). If, however, the verb is alone without the prefix, it always means ‘opening’ (example (17a)). In Estonian, in both cases, the *nonprefixed verb* + *adverb* and prefixed verb is translated using either the verbal particles *kinni* ‘close’ (16b) or *lahti* ‘open’ or the semantics of the verb *sulgema* ‘close’ or *avama* ‘open’ (17b). The only difference is that in the case of the nonprefixed verb, the Estonian language still uses the total object (example (17b)), but in case of the construction *non-prefixed verb* + *adverb*, it is partial object (example (16b)).

- (16a) Bet vīrietis bija druku iesnaudies, vilciena
 but man be.PST little fallen_asleep.PTCP train.GEN
 pienākšanu nepamanīja un pamodās tikai tad, kad
 arriving.ACC notice.PST.3 and wake_up.PST.3 only then when
 vadītājs jau vēra vagona durvis ciet.
 driver already close.PST.3 wagon.GEN doors.ACC close
 ‘But the man had fallen asleep, did not notice the train arriving, only to wake up when the driver **was** already **closing** the doors.’ (Ezera 1977)

- (16b) Kuid mees oli tukastama jäänud, ei mārganud
 but man be.PST snooze.NOM stay.PTCP NEG notice.PST
 rongi saabumist, ārkas alles siis, kui
 train.GEN arriving.PART wake_up.PST.3SG only then when
 vedurijuht tōmbas juba ukši kinni.
 engine_driver pull.PST.3SG already door.PL.PART close
 ‘But the man had fallen asleep, did not notice the train arriving, only to wake up when the driver **was** already **closing** the doors.’ (Ezera 1984)

⁷ It seems to be impossible to translate the non-prefixed verb into English, as it appears only to have the translations already with the spatial / directional meaning, as in *atvērt* / *vērt vāļā* ‘open’ and *aizvērt* / *vērt ciet* ‘close’.

- (17a) Valmierā ik rudeni durvis **vēra** trīs
Valmiera.LOC every fall.ACC doors.ACC open.PST.3 three
zēnu un viena meiteņu skola
boy.PL.GEN and one girl.PL.GEN school
‘Every autumn, three boys’ and one girls’ school **opened** its doors in Valmiera
[...]
- (17b) Valmieras **avasid** igal sügisel uksed kolm
Valmiera.INE open.PST.PL3 every fall.ALL door.PL.NOM three
poeglaste ja üks tūtāraste kool
boy.PL.GEN and one girl.PL.GEN school
‘Every autumn, three boys’ and one girls’ school **opened** its doors in Valmiera
[...]

It may be assumed that the equivalent of the prefixed verb is a verb and total object (and/or adverb), but the non-prefixed verb equivalent is the partial object. For example, the non-prefixed verb *bāzt* ‘thrust’ itself does not mark the direction – in this sense it is supported by the noun phrase (noun in locative) and refers to continuous action (18a). In Estonian, the equivalent of the Latvian noun phrase is a noun in illative whereas the imperfectivity of the action is expressed rather by direct object (plural partitive) (18b). However, it appears that even in case of a non-prefixed verb the Estonian equivalent might also be total object. In the example (19a) a Latvian non-prefixed verb refers to continuous activity. In Estonian on the other hand the same action is perceived as perfective, hence the total object (genitive) (19b) is used instead of partial object (partitive). The reason for this might be seen in the context – one action is followed by another, hence both actions cannot be performed at the same time. In Latvian, it would be possible to add the prefix (*ie-*) as a perfective action, but the non-prefixed verb precisely emphasises the continuous action. This proves that the Estonian syntax plays an important role to determine the equivalents for the prefixed / non-prefixed verbs. Also, it may be possible that the Estonian clause deals with two separate situations, one followed by another, but in Latvian it is perceived as one.

- (18a) Tagad cietumā **bāž** taisni labākos cilvēkus [...]
now prison.LOC stuff.PRS.3 straight best.PL.ACC people.PL.ACC
‘Right now, the best people are **stuffed** in prison [...]
- (18b) Praegu **topitakse** vanglasse just kõige paremaid
now stuff.IMPER prison.ILL right most best.PL.PART
inimesi [...]
people.PL.PART
‘Right now, the best people are **stuffed** in prison [...]

- (19a) Iedoma vairāk nekas, – Marija nepiekrita un
 imagiantion else nothing Marija NEG.agree.PST.3 and
bāza tuklo roku turzā pēc
 shove.PST.3 fat.ACC hand.ACC cone.LOC PREP
 jaunas konfektes
 new.GEN candy.GEN
 ‘Imagination, nothing else – Mary disagreed and **started shoving** her fat hand into a cone for a new candy.’ (Ezera 1972)
- (19b) Ettekujutus muud midagi arvas Marija ja
 imagination else nothing think.PST.3SG Marija and
pistis oma tõntsaka käe torbikusse
 shove.PST.3SG own.GEN fat.GEN hand.GEN cone.ILL
 uue kompveki järele.
 new.GEN candy.GEN POSTP
 ‘Imagination, nothing else – Mary thought and **shoved** her fat hand into a cone for a new candy.’ (Ezera 1990)

If the prefixed verb appears without extensions (noun phrase, prepositional phrase) and without the object then only the spatial function of the prefix is expressed in Estonian – by affixal adverb. If the object is mentioned, then the perfectivity in Estonian is expressed by total object. For example, in the case of prefixed verb *iztīt* ‘unwrap’ (20a), in addition to perfectivity the prefix *iz-* has the meaning of the adverb *laukā* ‘out’. The spatial function in Estonian is expressed by particle verb – the verb *māhkima* ‘wrap’ + the adverb *lahti* ‘open’. However, the perfectivity of the prefix is expressed by total object (genitive). In example (21a)⁸ the object is absent (the previous sentence (20a) gives the clue, what the object is), but the motion/direction of the prefix is still expressed by the adverb (21b). Both sentences also include the non-prefixed examples the verb *tīt* ‘wrap’ + adverb *atpakaļ* ‘back’, which in Estonian is again expressed by a particle verb – the verb *māhkima* ‘wrap’ + the adverb *tagasi* ‘back’. In Latvian the non-prefixed verb refers to the imperfective action and since the object is not mentioned, the Estonian equivalents do not separately mark the imperfectivity. Furthermore, because of the preceding information, the action can even be perceived as perfective.

⁸ Example 21a is the sentence following example 20a in the study material.

- (20a) Babuška katru olu rūpīgi **iztina**,
 Babushka each.ACC egg.ACC carefully PREF-wrapp.PST.3
 tad pārliecinājās, ka ola vesela, un
 then make_sure.PST.3 that egg healthy and
tina atkal atpakaļ.
 wrapp.PST.3 again back
 ‘Babushka carefully **unwrapped** each egg, then made sure that the egg was healthy, and **wrapped** it back again.’ (Zālīte)
- (20b) Baabuška **māhkis** iga muna hoolikalt
 Babushka wrapp.PST.3SG each.GEN egg.GEN carefully
 ükskaaval **lahti**, siis veendus, et muna
 one_by_one open then make_sure.PST.3SG that egg
 terve, ning **māhkis** uuesti tagasi.
 healthy and wrapp.PST.3SG again back
 ‘Babushka carefully **unwrapped** each egg, then made sure that the egg was healthy, and **wrapped** it back again.’ (Zālīte)
- (21a) **Iztina**, paskatījās, **tina** atpakaļ.
 PREF-wrapp.PST.3 PREF-look.PST.3 wrapp.PST.3 back
 ‘**Unwrapped**, looked for a moment, **wrapped** back.’ (Zālīte)
- (21b) **Māhkis** **lahti**, vaatas, **māhkis** tagasi.
 wrapp.PST.3SG open look.PST.3SG wrapp.PST.3SG back
 ‘**Unwrapped**, looked for a moment, **wrapped** back.’ (Zālīte)

In article [P1] (Zagorska 2016: 238) it was concluded that besides the particle verb the spatial meaning of the prefix *ie-* may be expressed in Estonian also by the construction *verb + substantive in illative*. Further investigation of the study material has provided clarifying conclusions that the nominal case may be an equivalent only of the same type of grammatical form in Latvian. This means that the meaning of the prefix can be expressed either by verbal particles or verb semantics only, but not by extensions like noun phrase or prepositional phrase. Therefore, in this case the spatial meaning of the prefix (example (22a)) is not separately expressed in Estonian (22b), it is supported by the noun phrase. However, because of the transitivity of the verb the perfective meaning of the prefix is expressed in Estonian by the total object (genitive).

- (22a) Tētis **iebāž** galvu lodziņā [...]
 dad PREF-thrust.PRS.3 head.ACC window.LOC
 ‘Dad **thrusts** his head into the window.’ (Zālīte)
- (22b) Isa **pistab** pea aknasse [...]
 dad thrust.PRS.3SG head.GEN window.ILL
 ‘Dad **thrusts** his head into the window.’ (Zālīte) (example from [P1])

Since most of the verbal prefixes have the corresponding preposition, in Estonian the prepositional phrase is translated, not the directional function of the prefix. Only the perfective meaning of the prefix has the equivalent in Estonian through total object. For example, if the verb extension is the prepositional phrase *ap* + NPgen (23a), then its equivalent in Estonian is the postpositional phrase NPgen + *ümber*, but the equivalent of the prefixed verb is the verb *panema* ‘put’ with total object (genitive) (23b). So, the spatial meaning of the prefix is not separately expressed in Estonian, it is done rather by the postpositional phrase.

(23a) Viņš otru roku **aplika** ap Adelīnas
 he other.ACC hand.ACC PREF-put.PST.3 PREP Adelīna.GEN
 sprigano augumu [...]
 perky.ACC body.ACC
 ‘He **put** his other hand around Adelina's perky body [...]’ (Rozītis)

(23b) Ta **pani** teise kāc Adelīna
 he put.PST.3SG other.GEN hand.GEN Adelīna.GEN
 õhetava ülakeha ümber [...]
 flushing.GEN body.GEN POST
 ‘He **put** his other hand around Adelina's flushing body [...]’ (Rozītis)

In Latvian, some of the prepositions have adverbs with the same meaning, e.g. for the preposition *ap* it is the adverb *apkārt* ‘around’, which also supports the substantive in the dative (24a). In Estonian, some of the adverbs may appear also as adpositions, so in order to determine which is which the broader context is essential, for example, an adposition will always appear next to the noun, whereas an adverb may be separated from the verb (Erelt, Kasik, Metslang et al. 1995: 33). Therefore, in Estonian example (24b) the adverb *ümber* ‘around’ supports the adverbial – a substantive in allative. If in Latvian the difference between extensions is seen more clearly – the preposition *ap* ‘around’ (23a) and the adverb *apkārt* ‘around’ (24a), then in Estonian the difference between a postposition and an adverb is seen by the noun case – the substantive before the postposition *ümber* ‘around’ is in genitive (23b), but in the case of an adverb – in allative (24b).

Still, if the prefixed verb is used with the adverb in Latvian, it is not quite clear which one is translated into Estonian – the prefix or the adverb. Giving the example (23b) the situation in the example (24b) might be the same – the perfectivity of the prefix is expressed by the total object (genitive), but the adverb *ümber* ‘around’ is the translation of the adverb *apkārt* ‘around’.

- (24a) Ingus **aplika** sievai apkārt roku [...]
 Ingus PREF-put.PST.3 wife.DAT around hand.ACC
 ‘Ingus **put** the hand around [his] wife [...]’ (Ezera 1977)

- (24b) Ingu **pani** kāe naisele ūmber [...]
 Ingus put.PST.3SG hand.GEN wife.ALL around
 ‘Ingus **put** the hand around [his] wife [...]’ (Ezera 1984)

Another possibility is that the equivalent of the prefixed verb extension (adverb) is a postpositional phrase. For example, the equivalent of the adverb *klāt* ‘near’ (25a) in Estonian is the postpositional phrase NPgen + *ligi* ‘near’ (25b). The perfectivity of the prefix is expressed only by total object (genitive).

- (25a) Ingus viņu apkampa un **pievilka** sev klāt.
 Ingus she.ACC hug.PST.3 and PREF-pull.PST.3 self.DAT close
 ‘Ingus hugged her and **pulled** closer to himself.’ (Ezera 1977)

- (25b) Ingu pani kāe talle ūmber ja
 Ingus put.PST.3SG hand.GEN she.ALL around and
tõmbas ta enda ligi.
 pull.PST.3SG she.GEN self.GEN POST
 ‘Ingus hugged her and **pulled** closer to himself.’ (Ezera 1984)

If the prefix does not have the exact same preposition, then another prepositional phrase is used. Since the prefix *iz-* does not have a corresponding preposition in the colloquial Latvian (Ahero et al. 1959: 353) nor does Latvian have ablative case (Smiltniece 2015a: 349), the direction *ārā* ‘out’ denotes the prepositional phrase *no* + NPgen (26a). The equivalent of the prepositional phrase in Estonian is the noun phrase (substantive in elative), but the perfectivity of the prefix is expressed by the total object (genitive) (26b). In both Latvian and Estonian an additional adverb is possible – in Latvian *izvilkt laukā* ‘pull out’ and in Estonian *võtma välja* ‘take out’, but since in both cases the point from which the object is moved is named (in Latvian the prepositional phrase and in Estonian the noun in elative), the adverbs are not mandatory.

- (26a) Viņa **izvilka** no jakas kabatas spoguli
 she PREF-pull.PST.3 PREP jacket.GEN pocket.GEN mirror.ACC
 un uzpūta tam dvašu.
 and PREF-blow.PST.3 it.DAT breath.ACC
 ‘She **pulled** a mirror out of [her] jacket pocket and blew a breath on it.’ (Ikstena)

- (26b) Ta **võttis** jakitaskust peegli
 she take.PST.3SG jacket_pocket.ELA mirror.GEN
 ja puhus sellele hingeõhku.
 and blow.PST.3SG it.ALL breath.PART
 ‘She **took** a mirror out of [her] jacket pocket and blew a breath on it.’
 (Ikstena)

Instead of the prepositional and noun phrase the infinitive can also mark the destination of the action. For example, in the prefixed verb *uzlikt* ‘put on something’ the function of the prefix is to express the direction – the adverb *virsi* ‘on top’ (27a), but if the extension is an infinitive, then the directional function is not separately expressed in Estonian (27b). Here the full context is important. The context surely presupposes that the object is ‘placed on something (e.g. stove)’, and although the perfectivity of the action is expressed in Estonian by total object (genitive), still the direction of the prefix is not.

- (27a) **Uzliku** vārīt putru
 PREF-put.PST.1SG boil.INF porridge.ACC
 ‘I **put** the porridge to boil’ (Ezera 1972)

- (27b) **Panin** pudru keema.
 put.PST.1SG porridge.GEN boil.INF
 ‘I **put** the porridge to boil’ (Ezera 1990)

In summary, in Estonian in the case of transitive verbs where Latvian prefix has a directional meaning, the perfectivity of action is determined mainly by the direct object (total object). The additional spatial meaning of the prefix is supported by adverbs and adverbials. The adverbs and adverbials are transferred into Estonian, mainly leaving the task of expressing the perfective meaning of the prefix to direct object. If the non-prefixed verb is supported by an adverb, the same adverb is used in Estonian. However, it is possible that according to the rules of Estonian (depending on the verb or grammatical form) the equivalent of the non-prefixed verb in Estonian can also be total object. It can be seen in Latvian that the non-prefixed verb strongly denotes the imperfective nature of the activity, i.e. by the adverb used instead of the prefix, but also by adverbials. In Estonian translations, only in case of transitive verbs, it is possible to perceive the imperfectivity of a non-prefixed verb (with partial object), but not always.

4.1.1.2. Non-motion verbs

In case of transitive non-motion verbs, when the prefix has other aspectual meanings (beginning of action, momentary etc) or the prefix expresses only completed action (perfectivity), it is more difficult to determine the equivalent of the prefix in Estonian. The prefix itself cannot be replaced by any other lexeme

nor is it supported by a specific adverb, which would influence the Estonian equivalent.

The study material shows that some of the means of expressing the meaning of the prefix of a transitive non-motion verb in Estonian may be:

1. object case
2. perfective particle
3. adverb of manner
4. pronoun
5. compound verb
6. phrasal verb

• Object case

The total object as the equivalent of the prefix may occur, when the prefix itself has only perfective meaning. For example, in the case of the verb *risināt* ‘solve’ (28a) the action is perceived as continuous and the Estonian equivalent is partial object (28b). It is also possible that the adverb of time (Latvian *tagad* ‘now’, Estonian *praegu* ‘now’) may influence the imperfectivity. However, the prefix *at-* (29a) refers to action as being complete (perfective) (Soida 2009). In the article [P2] (Tālberga & Mandel 2017: 247) it was concluded that the perfective meaning of the prefix *at-* is expressed in Estonian by total object (genitive in singular) (29b).

(28a) Tagad es savā gleznā **risinu**
 now I own.LOC painting.LOC solve.PRS.1SG
 tādas problēmas, kas mani gadiem
 that.PL.ACC problem.PL.ACC that me.ACC year.PL.DAT
 mocījušas.
 torture.PTCP.PL
 ‘Now, in my painting I am **solving** [such] problems that have plagued me for years.’ (Rozītis)

(28b) Praegu **lahendan** ma oma maalis
 now resolve.PRS.1SG I own.GEN painting.INE
sääraseid **probleeme**, mis on mind juba
 that.PL.PART problem.PL.PART that be.PRS.3 me.PART already
 aastaid piinanud.
 year.PL.PART torture.PTCP
 ‘Now, in my painting I am **solving** [such] problems that have plagued me for years.’ (Rozītis)

(29a) [...] Rūdolfš steigšus **atrisināja** briestošo
 Rūdolfš quickly PREF-solve.PST.3 emerging. PTCP.ACC
 konfliktu
 conflict.ACC
 ‘[...] Rudolf quickly **solved** the emerging conflict.’ (Ezera 1972)

- (29b) [...] **lahendas** Rūdolf kiiresti paisuva
 solve.PST.3SG Rūdolfs quickly emerging. PTCP.GEN
 konflikt. GEN
 conflict.GEN
 ‘[...] Rudolf quickly **solved** the emerging conflict.’ (Ezera 1990)
 (example from [P2])

Even if in Latvian the prefix refers to the perfective/completed action, the quantity of the object may influence the Estonian equivalent. For example, in the prefixed verb *uztaisi* ‘make’ the prefix *uz-* indicates that the activity is completed (Ahero et al. 1959) (30a). Since the object (coffee) refers to an uncertain amount of substance, in Estonian it is required that the object be partial (30b). This means that the Latvian clause emphasizes the action and puts the emphasis on the verb – the speaker requires the subject (Anna) **to make** [some] coffee, so the coffee becomes ready, but does not mention how much coffee should be made. Estonian, however, by using the partial object emphasizes the uncertain amount of the object – **to make some coffee**.

- (30a) Anda, **uztaisi** kafiju!
 Anda.VOC PREF-make.IMP.2SG kohv.ACC
 ‘Anda, **make** [some] coffee!’ (Zālīte)

- (30b) Anda, **tee** kohvi!
 Anda.NOM make.IMP.2SG kohv.PART
 ‘Anda, **make** some coffee!’ (Zālīte)

In Estonian, total object is also one of the possibilities of expressing the perfective aspect of the Latvian biaspectual verbs. It has been suggested by Ahero et al. (1959) that in the verb *pārdot* ‘sell’ the prefix expresses a ‘change of place’, Paegle (2003: 132) says that is it one of those verbs that are not used without the prefix in this meaning, and Kalnača (2015: 537) considers the verb to be biaspectual, i.e. the perfective meaning is distinguished only by the context. As it turns out, the Estonian equivalents are the ones that show the difference of whether this prefixed (biaspectual) verb is perfective or imperfective – in case of imperfective verb and where the number of items being sold is not mentioned, the object is partial (partitive) (example 31b), but in perfective meaning where the number of objects (**one** of the best ships) is mentioned the object is total (genitive) (32b).

- (31a) Te **pārdeva** karnevāla maskas vēdekļus,
 here sell.PST.3 carnival.GEN mask.PL.ACC fan.PL.ACC
 krāsainā, serpentīna rullīšus un papīra
 colored.GEN serpentine.GEN roll.PL.ACC and paper.GEN
 lampionus
 lamp.PL.ACC
 ‘Carnival masks, fans, colored serpentine rolls and paper lamps were **sold** here’ (Skujiņš)
- (31b) Siin **müüdi** karnevalimaske, lehtvikuid,
 here sell.IMPER carnival_mask.PL.PART fan.PL.PART
vārvilisi serpentīnirulle ja paberist
 colored.PL.PART serpentine_roll.PL.PART and paper.ELA
lampe
 lamp.PL.PART
 ‘Carnival masks, fans, colored serpentine rolls and paper lamps were **sold** here’ (Skujiņš)
- (32a) Bez tām vēl Noass **pārdeva** vienu
 PREP those.DAT more Noass sell.PST.3 one.ACC
 no saviem labākajiem kuģiem
 PREP own.PL.DAT best.PL.DAT ship.PL.DAT
 ‘In addition, Noass **sold** one of his best ships [...]’ (Skujiņš)
- (32b) Peale selle **müüs** Noass veel ühe
 PREP that.GEN sell.PST.3SG Noass more one.GEN
oma parema laeva [...]
 own.GEN best.GEN ship.GEN
 ‘In addition, Noass **sold** one of his best ships [...]’ (Skujiņš)

• Perfective particle

If a prefix refers to completed action (33a), the equivalent in Estonian may also be perfective particle (33b). In some cases, the prefix cannot lose its spatial meaning completely, but it may still somehow be perceivable. For example, the prefix *no-* in the prefixed verb *nomazgāt* ‘wash off’ refers to the perfectivity, but the general context might help with the explanation of the prefix – the dirt is washed *off* the dishes (the prefix *no-* has the same meaning as adverb *nost* ‘off’). The research showed that in case of prefixed verb *nomazgāt* ‘wash’ the Estonian equivalent of the prefix *no-* is also the adverb *maha* ‘off’ (*maha pesema* ‘wash off’), but it appears to depend on the context (the semantics of the object). Example (33b) illustrates a case where the adverb *maha* ‘off’ is not suitable for the current object (*nõud* ‘dishes’), therefore instead the perfective particle *ära* is used.

(33a) Bet trauki? Es **nomazgāšu**.
 but dish.PL I PREF-wash.FUT.1SG
 ‘But what about dishes? I’ll **wash** them.’ (Ezera 1977)

(33b) Aga nōud? Ma **pesen āra**.
 but dish.PL I wash.PRS.1SG PP
 ‘But what about dishes? I’ll **wash** them.’ (Ezera 1984)

• Adverbial

The extended adverbial *tukšu* ‘empty’ (accusative of *tukšs* ‘empty’) may not be necessary in the Latvian clause (34a), since the prefix already expresses the completed activity and the state. Here one can see that the adverbial *tukšu* ‘empty’ comes directly from the meaning of the prefix – *izdzert tukšu* ‘drink up (empty)’. In Estonian (example 34b) the extension of the verb is precisely the same adverbial (adjective *tühi* ‘empty’ in translative), which is also not necessary in the given context.

(34a) Viņš **izdzer** glāzi līdz dibenam tukšu [...]
 he PREF-drink.PRS.3 glass.ACC until bottom.DAT empty.ACC
 ‘He **drinks** the glass to the bottom empty [...]’ (Zālīte)

(34b) Ta **joob** klaasi põhjani tühjaks [...]
 he drink.PRS.3SG glass.GEN bottom.TERM empty.TRAN
 ‘He **drinks** the glass to the bottom empty [...]’ (Zālīte)

• Pronoun

There may be a situation, when the spatial function of the prefix is expressed in Estonian by a pronoun. For example, one of the functions of the prefix *at-* is to express direction ‘towards the speaker / addressee’ referring to the adverb *šurp* ‘here’ (Vulāne 2015: 280), e.g. *atrakstīt* ‘write’ (35a). In Estonian, the equivalent of the prefix is an adverbial *mulle* ‘to me’ (pronoun *mina* ‘I’ in allative) (35b). What is remarkable is the fact that the pronoun itself is not given in the Latvian clause, rather it is generated in the translation in order to express the direction. Here it is safe to say that the spatial meaning of the prefix has not been brought into Estonian the traditional way. The perfective meaning of the prefix is again expressed through the total object (genitive).

(35a) Es gaidīju, ka tu **atrakstīsi** kādu
 I wait.PST.1SG that you.SG PREF-write.FUT.2SG some.ACC
 vēstulīti.
 letter.ACC
 ‘I was waiting for you to **write** (me) a letter [...]’ (Rozītis)

(35b) Ootasin, et sa **kirjutad** mulle kirjakese..
 wait.PST.1SG that you.SG write.PRS.2SG me.ALL letter.GEN
 ‘I was waiting for you to **write** me a letter [...]’ (Rozītis)

- **Compound verb**

The Estonian compound verb is used as an equivalent to the prefix that expresses the beginning of action, for example, the Estonian equivalent of the prefixed verb *iesaukt* ‘give a nickname’ is the compound verb *kutsuma hakkama* ‘give a nickname’ (phase verb *hakkama* ‘start’ + verb *kutsuma* ‘call’) (Zagorska 2016: 240–241). Prefixes tend to change intransitive verbs into transitive, herefore the intransitive verb *degt* ‘burn’ may become transitive, for example by adding the prefix *ie-*, as *iedegt* ‘light, kindle’ (36a).⁹ In Estonian, however, by using the causative verb *panema* ‘put’ the compound verb *põlema panema* ‘light up’ is formed (36b). It should be noted that this is also one of the analytical verbs that have the parallel synthetic form – *süütama* ‘light up’.

(36a) Kokzars **iededza** sveci, [...]
 Kokzars PREF-light.PST.3 candle.ACC
 ‘Kokars **lighted** up the candle [...]’ (Bels)

(36b) Kokzars **pani** küünla **põlema** [...]
 Kokzars put.PST.3SG candle.GEN burn.INF
 ‘Kokars **lit** up the candle [...]’ (Bels)

- **Phrasal (expression) verb**

More often phrasal verbs occur as one of the prefixed verb translations, probably in order to give some nuance to the regular equivalent, e.g. *apēst* ‘eat up’ (37a), which is mainly translated in Estonian as the particle verb *ära sööma* ‘eat up’, but also appears as an expression verb *nahka pistma* (literally: thrust under the skin) (37b). The other possibility is that the prefixed verb itself forms a phraseological unit together with an additional noun, which happens to have the same exact equivalent in Estonian, e.g. Latvian *izlaist (garu)* ‘die’ (literally: ‘let the spirit out’) and Estonian *hinge heitma* ‘die’ (literally: ‘throw the spirit’). Sometimes the expression verb has the same meaning in both languages: *atmest (ar roku)* ‘give up’ and Estonian *käega lööma* ‘give up’, where both are considered phraseological units, because literally they mean ‘throw with a hand’.

(37a) Aitas tāpat to sienu **apēdis!**
 sheep.PL anyway that.ACC hay.ACC PREF-eat.FUT.3
 ‘Sheep will **eat** the hay anyway!’ (Zālīte)

(37b) Lambad **pistavad** selle heina niigi **nahka!**
 sheep.PL thrust.PRS.3PL this.GEN hay.GEN anyway skin.ILL
 ‘Sheep will **eat** the hay anyway!’ (Zālīte)

⁹ The main verb *degt* is actually a homonym and can mean 1. burn (intransitive), 2. lit (transitive), but in this research only the examples of the intransitive main verb *degt* ‘burn’ are used.

Prefixed verbs that have obtained the expression-like meaning just like their equivalent in Estonian, for example prefixed verb *apieties* ‘handle, use’ has a different meaning than the main verb *iet* ‘go’, but its Estonian translation is an idiomatic particle verb *ümber käima* ‘handle’ (lit. go around). So, the Latvian prefix *ap-* has formally the same spatial adverbial meaning *apkārt* ‘around’ as the Estonian verbal particle *ümber* ‘around’.

In the case of verbs that have some other (non-directional) meaning the meaning of the prefix may or may not be expressed in Estonian. Since the sentence has no directional adverb supporting the meaning of the prefix, there appear to be other means for the expression of that meaning – either only by total object, or by adverb of manner. In several cases it is important to see the meaning of the prefix in the context, where it cannot be expressed in Estonian, due to other grammatical norms (mood, partial object) or even phrases.

4.1.2. Latvian intransitive non-prefixed and prefixed verb equivalents in Estonian

Intransitive verbs are different from the transitive, because in Estonian in case of transitive verbs the end of action is indicated by the total object, while intransitive verbs will leave the interpretation open. In article [P1] it was already discovered, that if a prefixed verb is not supported by the adverbial (noun phrase), i.e. the destination of the action is not mentioned, then the Estonian equivalent is a particle verb (verb + affixal adverb), but if the destination is mentioned (by adverbial), then the same adverbial is also used in Estonian. However, the perfectivity of the action in case of an intransitive verb is not separately marked.

4.1.2.1. Motion verbs

Table 4 presents the constructions of the intransitive prefixed verb (motion verbs) and their possible Estonian equivalents. The constructions may look very similar to those with transitive prefixed verbs, minus the object. Similarly to transitive verbs, if only an intransitive prefixed verb is used, the direction expressed by the prefix must still somehow be expressed in Estonian – therefore the equivalent for the prefixed verb is a verb + an adverb (of the same directional or state meaning as the prefix) or a simple verb that holds the adverbial meaning in its semantics (1). If the extension is a noun phrase, then the Estonian equivalent is also a noun phrase or a noun phrase and an adverb (2). If the extension is a prepositional phrase, then the equivalent is either the same prepositional phrase, a noun phrase, or an adverb (3). If the prefixed verb is supported by the adverb, the equivalent in Estonian is an adverb (4).

Table 4. Latvian intransitive prefixed verb constructions and their Estonian equivalents

Nr.	Intransitive prefixed verb construction	Example	Estonian equivalent	Example
1.	PV	39a	V + ADV	39b
		40a	V	40b
		48a	V + NP	48b
2.	PV + NP	41a	V + NP	41b
		46a	V + ADV + NP	46b
		47a	V + PP	47b
3.	PV + PP	42a	V + PP	42b
		44a	V + NP	44a
		45a	V + NP + ADV	45b
4.	PV + ADV	46a	V + ADV	46b

If a directional adverb is used along with an intransitive non-prefixed verb – the verb *braukt* ‘drive’ and the adverb *ārā* ‘out’ (38a), then the adverb is also translated into Estonian (38b), thus forming a particle verb (the verb *sõitma* ‘drive’ + the adverb *välja* ‘out’). In this case the imperfect activity expressed in Latvian by the non-prefixed verb refers in Estonian to perfective action (due to ambiguity it may also be imperfective). This means that in case of a transitive verb, the object case may influence the perception of imperfective action through partiality, but in the case of an intransitive verb there is no separate marker for that. In comparison, the prefixed verb *izbraukt* ‘drive out’ (39a) refers to the perfective action whereas the Estonian equivalent is still the same particle verb – the verb *sõitma* ‘drive’ + the adverb *välja* ‘out’. While in example (39b) the time adverbials (Sundays and Saturdays) may refer to the action as being perfective, then in case of example (38b) the action would rather be perceived as perfective.

- (38a) Arī Austras ģimene jau sēdēja uz vezumiem
 also Austra.GEN family already sit.PST.3 PREP cargo.PL.DAT
 un **brauca** **ārā** pa vārtiem
 and drive.PST.3 out PREP gate.PL.DAT
 ‘Austra’s family, too, was already sitting on the cargo and **driving out** of the gate.’ (Skujņš)

(38b) Ka Austra perekond istus juba koormatel
 also Austra.GEN family sit.PST.3SG already cargo.PL.ADE
 ja **sõitis** väravast **välja**.
 and drive.PST.3SG gate.PL.ELA out
 ‘Austra’s family, too, was already sitting on the cargo and **driving out** of the gate.’ (Skujinš)

(39a) Svētdienās un sestdienās Ģirts **izbrauca**
 sunday.PL.LOC and saturday.PL.LOC Ģirts PREF-drive.PST.3
 ārpus pilsētas kopā ar draugiem.
 out town.GEN together PREP friend.PL.DAT
 ‘On Sundays and Saturdays, Ģirts **drove out** of the town together with friends’ (Bels)

(39b) Laupäeviti ja pühapäeviti **sõitis** Ģirts
 sunday and saturday drive.PST.3SG Ģirts
 koos sõpradega linnast **välja**.
 together friend.PL.COM town.PL.ELA out
 ‘On Sundays and Saturdays, Ģirts **drove out** of the town together with friends’ (Bels)

The spatial meaning of the prefix may also be expressed by a simple verb that holds the meaning of the prefix in its semantics, for example the prefixed verb *atbraukt* ‘drive back/ to arrive’ (40a) is translated into Estonian by the verb *tulema* ‘come’ (40b), so the verb itself refers to the spatial reference of the prefix.

(40a) Kad tu atkal **atbrauksi**, Rūdolf?
 when you.SG again PREF-drive.FUT.2SG Rudolf.VOC
 ‘When will you **come by** again, Rudolf?’ (Ezera 1972)

(40b) Millal sa jälle **tuled**, Rūdolf?
 when you.SG again come.PST.2SG Rudolf.NOM
 ‘When will you **come by** again, Rudolf?’ (Ezera 1990)

When the prefix is supported by an adverbial (noun phrase) referring to the same destination, again the direction in Estonian is expressed by the same adverbial, but the perfectivity of the prefix is not. For example, one of the directional meanings of the prefix *uz-* is the same as the meaning of the adverb *augšā* ‘up’ (41a), yet it is not expressed by any other means than the context – in the Estonian translation there is a verb *lendama* ‘fly’ with the direction of substantive in illative (41b). This means that the perfectivity of the prefix is not expressed in Estonian and the direction is perceived only because of the adverbial.

(41a) Nauda **uzlidoja** gaisā [...]
 money PREF-fly.PST.3 air.LOC
 ‘Money **flew up** in the air [...]’ (Skujiņš)

(41b) Raha **lendas** õhku [...]
 money fly.PST.3SG air.ILL
 ‘Money **flew in the air** [...]’ (Skujiņš)

The same happens with a prepositional phrase. When a prefix has the same meaning as the extension (prepositional phrase *pie* + NPgen) (42a), the Estonian equivalent is the postpositional phrase NPgen + *juurde* (42b). The directional and perfective meaning of the prefix is not separately expressed. Basically, this means that if the prefix is absent, the Estonian sentence is the same – the simple verb *jooksma* ‘run’ + postpositional phrase.

(42a) Eleonora sabijusies **pieskrēja** pie Keizara
 Eleonora startle.PTCP PREF-run.PST.3 PREP Keizars.GEN
 ‘Startled, Eleonora **ran** to the Keizars [...]’ (Ikstena)

(42b) Eleonora **jooksis** ehmunult Keizarsi juurde
 Eleonora run.PST.3SG startle.PTCP Keizars.GEN POST
 ‘Startled, Eleonora **ran** to the Keizars [...]’ (Ikstena)

To emphasize imperative action, Estonian uses adverbs of time and manner, such as *aeglaselt* ‘slowly’, *pikkamööda* ‘gradually’ etc. (Erelt 2017: 116). In the present study, it was found that even if the Latvian sentence contains such an adverb, e.g. *lēnām* ‘slowly’, in Estonian it does not make any difference whether the activity in Latvian is perceived as continuous (example (43a)) or completed (example (44b)). The non-prefixed verb and prefixed verb are translated the same way: verb + adverb of manner + destination (PP; NP). This means that in Estonian both phrases are perceived as imperfect (due to the adverb of manner), but in Latvian the prefixed verb in example (44a) still indicates the end of the activity, despite the adverb of manner. The Estonian equivalent of the Latvian prepositional phrase *uz* + NPacc (43a) is a postpositional phrase NPgen + *poole* (43b), but the equivalent of the prepositional phrase *līdz* + NPdat (44a) is a substantive in terminative (44b). In Estonian (in example 43b), it would be possible to include the perfective particle *välja* (44c) in contemporary Estonian, in order to express the achievement of the goal (arriving at the gate). It can therefore be assumed that the adverb of manner is more important, i.e. it influences the perception of the action.

(43a) Laura lēnām **gāja** uz Zalkti.
 Laura slowly go.PST.3 PREP Zalktis.ACC
 ‘Slowly, Laura **was walking** to lake Zalktis’ (Ezera 1972)

- (43b) Laura **sammus** pikkamisi Nastikjärve poole
 Laura go.PST.3SG slowly Adder_lake.GEN POSTP
 ‘Slowly, Laura **stepped** toward lake Zalktis’ (Ezera 1990)
- (44a) Vilis lēnām **aizsoļoja** līdz vārtniem.
 Vilis slowly PREF-walk.PST.3 PREP gate.PL.DAT
 ‘Vilis slowly **made his way** to the gate’ (Ezera 1977)
- (44b) Vilis **sammus** pikkamisi vāravani
 Vilis walk.PST.3SG slowly gate.TERM
 ‘Vilis slowly **made his way** to the gate’ (Ezera 1984)
- (44c) Vilis **sammus** pikkamisi vāravani **vālja**¹⁰
 Vilis walk.PST.3SG slowly gate.TERM PERF
 ‘Vilis slowly **made his way** to the gate’

The third possibility of a prefixed verb with an extension (prepositional phrase) (45a) is expressed in Estonian by a particle verb (the verb *tulema* ‘come’ + the adverb *välja* ‘out’) (45b). This is like the example (26a)/(26b), where the verb and noun phrase (substantive in elative) were used to express the movement *out*. Here the equivalent of the Latvian prepositional phrase *no* + NPgen is the noun phrase – substantive in elative, but the perfectivity is expressed by the adverb *välja* ‘out’.

- (45a) viņš pēkšņi **iznāca** no sava stūra
 he suddenly PREF-come.PST.3 PREP own.GEN corner.GEN
 ‘[...] he suddenly **came out** of his corner [...]’ (Ikstena)
- (45b) ta **tuli** oma nurgast **välja**
 he come.PST.3SG own.GEN corner.ELA out
 ‘[...] he suddenly **came out** of his corner [...]’ (Ikstena)

If the adverb is presented together with the prefixed verb (first part of the example (46a)), then the Estonian translation is a particle verb (the verb *minema* ‘go’ + *ära* ‘away’) (see the first part of the sentence in example (46b)). However, if the extension of the prefixed verb is an adverbial (substantive in locative) (second part of the (46a)) instead of the adverb, then the Estonian equivalent of a prefixed verb is also a particle verb (see the second part of example (46b)). In both cases, the prefixed verb is translated as a particle verb *ära minema* ‘go away’. The second part of the sentence could even omit the adverb *ära* ‘away’ in Estonian, since in the same way as in Latvian, there is already a destination confirmed by the noun phrase. At the same time, the Estonian adverb could not be missing from the first part of the sentence.

¹⁰ The modified example by the author of the thesis.

- (46a) *viŋš* **aiziet** projām,
 he PREF-go.PRS.3 away
aiziet *kopā* ar sievu savā dzīvē
 PREF-go.PRS.3 together PREP wife.ACC own.LOC life.LOC
 ‘[...] he **goes away, goes away** with his wife into his life [...]’ (Bels)
- (46b) *poeg* **lāheb** **āra**
 son go.PRS.3SG away
lāheb *koos* *naisēga* **āra** oma ellu
 go.PRS.3SG together wife.COM away own.GEN life.ILL
 ‘[...] son **goes away, goes away** with his wife into his life [...]’ (Bels)

In article [P1] (Zagorska 2016: 238) it was concluded that the spatial meaning of the prefix *ie-* (47a) may be expressed in Estonian also by the construction *substantive + postposition* *sisse* 'in' (47b). The further investigation of the study material has provided clarifying conclusions, that the adpositional phrase is the equivalent of the noun phrase (substantive *zupa* 'soup' in locative). The perfective meaning of the prefix is not separately expressed, it is drawn from the context.

- (47a) [...] un zupā **iekrita** asara.
and soup PREF-fall.PST.3 tear.NOM
‘[...] and a tear **fell** into the soup.’ (Ezera 1972)
- (47b) [...] ja pisar **langes** supi sisse
and tear.NOM fall.PST.3SG soup.gen into
‘[...] and a tear **fell** into the soup.’ (Ezera 1990) (example from article [P1])

The spatial function (direction) of the prefix may in some cases be expressed in Estonian by a noun. For example, one of the meanings of the prefix *pār-* is to express that something ‘returns to its original starting point’ (Ahero et al. 1959; Soida 2009; Vulāne 2015) (48a). The study material shows that this directional meaning of the prefix *pār-* is mostly expressed by the adverb *tagasi* ‘back’, but in some cases instead of the adverb by a noun phrase, e.g. substantive *kodu* ‘home’ in illative – *koju* ‘home’ (48b). The noun itself is not mentioned in Latvian, hence it can be considered as the equivalent of the prefix in Estonian.

- (48a) Gan jau **pārnāks**, nekur nepazudīs [...]
 PREF-come.FUT.3 nowhere NEG.disappear.FUT.3
 ‘He will **come home**, he won't disappear [...]’ (Ezera 1972)
- (48b) Küll **tuleb** koju, ei ta kuhugi kao [...]
 come.PRS.3SG home.ILL NEG he nowhere disappear.PRS
 ‘He will **come home**, he won't disappear [...]’ (Ezera 1990)

(49a)	Laikam	pirmīt	nevajadzēja	šaubīties	un
	probably	previously	NEG.need_to.PST.3	doubt.INF	and
	svārstīties,	bet	patiešām	vēl	pabraukt ,
	fluctuate.INF	but	really	still	PREF-drive.INF
	acis	rāda [...]			where
	eye.PL	show.PRS.3			

‘There was no need to doubt nor fluctuate previously, but **drive** a little bit where the eyes are showing [...]’ (Ezera 1977)

- (49b) Vist poleks ennist tohtinud kahelda
probably NEG previously allow.PTCP doubt.DINF
ega kõhelda, vaid tõepoolest veel pisut
nor fluctuate.DINF but really still a_little_bit
sõita ükskõik kuhu
drive.DINF where_ever
‘[He] shouldn’t have doubted nor fluctuated previously, but **driven** a little bit
wherever [...]’ (Ezera 1984)

4.1.2.2. *Non-motion verbs*

57

1. compound verb
2. particle verb
3. momentaneous verb
4. phrasal verb

• **Compound verb**

In case of intransitive verbs, when the prefix expresses the beginning of action, the equivalent in Estonian can be a compound verb. In Latvian (50a) in the prefixed verb *aizdegties* ‘catch fire, ignite’ the prefix *aiz-* refers to the beginning of action and the Estonian equivalent of the prefixed verb is a compound verb *põlema minema* ‘catch fire’ (50b).

(50a) Augustam bija astoņi gadi, Noasam deviņi,
 Augusts.DAT be.PST.3 eight year.PL Noass.DAT nine
 kad, kaltējot seru, **aizdegās** rija.
 when dry.PTCP grain.ACC catch_fire.PST.3 barn
 ‘Augusts was eight years old, Noass was nine, when the barn **caught fire**
 during the drying of the grain.’ (Skujiņš)

(50b) Augusts oli kaheksa-aastane, Noass üheksane,
 Augusts be.PST.3SG eight_year_old Noass nine
 kui viljakuivatamisel rehi **põlema läks.**
 when grain_dry.PTCP.ALL barn burn.INF start.PST.3SG
 ‘Augusts was eight years old, Noass was nine, when the barn **caught fire**
 during the drying of the grain.’ (Skujiņš)

In comparison, the Estonian equivalent of the non-prefixed verb *degt* ‘burn’ (51a) is a simple verb *põlema* ‘burn’ (51b). It should be mentioned that in Latvian, when the prefix expresses the beginning of action it is also possible to use in parallel the analytical verb that would consist of the verb *sākt* ‘start’ + main verb (Soida 2009: 244), which in this sense very much resembles the Estonian compound verb.

(51a) Gaitenī **dega** uguns.
 hallway.LOC burn.PST.3 light.NOM
 ‘There was a light in the hallway.’ (Skujiņš)

(51b) Koridoris **põles** tuli.
 hallway.INE burn.PST.3SG light.NOM
 ‘There was a light in the hallway.’ (Skujiņš)

- **Particle verb**

The prefix itself can still hold a spatial/directional meaning while directly expressing perfectivity. In the example (52a) the verb *degt* ‘burn’ is derived by adding the prefix *no-* which refers to perfectivity – lexically the adverb *zemē* ‘the ground’ is the locative form of *zeme* ‘ground’, but the meaning of the prefix is still considered to be perfective/completed (Soida 2009: 252). In Estonian the verbal particle *maha* ‘the ground’ (52b) also refers semantically to the same meaning, but as well as the prefix in this context expresses perfective/completed action.

(52a) Pličos **nodega** pirts [...]
 Pliči.LOC PREF-burn.PST.3 sauna
 ‘The Pliči sauna **burned down**’ (Ezera 1972)

(52b) Nurul **põles** saun **maha** [...]
 Nuru.ALL burn.PST.3SG sauna.NOM PP
 ‘The Nuru sauna **burned down**’ (Ezera 1990)

- **Momentaneous verb**

In case the prefix expresses momentaneous activity, the equivalent in Estonian may be a momentaneous verb. In Estonian, momentaneous verbs are derived by the suffix *-ata* (*-ahta-*) and express „a single rapid action“ (Viitso 2003: 77), although sometimes also the beginning of a state, like *seisatama* ‘stop (for a moment)’ (Kasik 2015: 143). In the study material the prefixed verb *iekliegties* ‘exclaim’, *iesaukties* ‘shout, to exclaim’ are translated into Estonian as *kiljatama* ‘shout’, *hüüatama* ‘exclaim’, respectively (Zagorska 2016: 241–242). Later research has shown that regular verbs (*hüüdma* ‘shout’, *karjuma* ‘scream’, *kisendama* ‘scream’) are more common equivalents for these types of prefixed verbs, which might be explained by the fact that momentaneous verbs are used in more specific cases and the regular verb is more common or they are used in order to avoid repetition of the same type of verbs.

In article [P1] (Zagorska 2016: 241) it was mistakenly concluded that in case of prefixed verb *iečivināties* ‘chirp’ the meaning of the prefix (i.e. [...] a process which is rapidly fulfilled in a short (limited) time [...] (Soida 2009: 245)) would be expressed in Estonian by verb *sādistama* ‘chirp’. However, when compared to the non-prefixed verb (53a), it appears that the equivalent in Estonian is actually the same verb that was used in case of the prefixed verb (53b). Meaning, that the instantaneous meaning of the prefix *ie-* is not separately expressed in Estonian and whether there is non-prefixed or prefixed verb, the equivalent is the same.

- (53a) Ticiet man tā tiešām bija – viņa **čivināja**,
 believe.IMP.2PL me.DAT so really be.PST.3 she tweet.PST.3
 viņš dūdoja [...]
 he coo.PST.3
 ‘Believe me, it really was so – she **tweeted**, he cooed [...]’ (Želve)
- (53b) Uskuge mind, see oli tēsti nii naine
 believe.IMP.2PL me.PART that be.PST.3SG really so woman
sādistas, tema kudrutas [...]
 tweet.PST.3SG he coo.PST.3SG
 ‘Believe me, it really was so – she **tweeted**, he cooed [...]’ (Želve)

• Phrasal (expression) verb

According to the research, for a prefixed verb to have a phrasal verb as an equivalent in Estonian, the prefixed verb itself must have an idiomatic meaning. In example (54a) there is a prefixed verb *ieturēties* ‘fortify oneself’ that is derived from the verb *turēt* ‘hold, secure’ (or reflexive form *turēties* ‘hold to’). So, by adding the prefix *ie-* in Latvian an expression-like prefixed verb is formed. The Estonian translation of the prefixed verb is *keha kinnitama* ‘nosh’, where the noun *keha* ‘body’ and the verb *kinnitama* ‘fix, secure’ form an expression verb as well. It should be noted that also the prefixed verb *iestiprināties* ‘fortify oneself’ which is derived from the verb *stiprināt* ‘strengthen’ has the same meaning and the same translation in Estonian.

- (54a) Nu, ēd, pan Voicehovski, ēd,
 well eat.IMP.2SG sir Voicehovski.VOC eat.IMP.2SG
ieturies, nu, ko tu tā sēdi?!
 fortify_yourself.IMP.2SG well what you.SG so sit.2SG
 ‘Well, pan Voicehovskis, eat, **fortify yourself**, well, what are you sitting like this?’ (Ezera 1977)
- (54b) No sōō, pan Wojciechowski, sōō, **kinnita**
 well eat.IMP.2SG sir Wojciechowski eat.IMP.2SG fortify.IMP.2SG
keha, noh, mis sa sedasi istud!
 body.NOM well what you.SG so sit.2SG
 ‘Well, pan Wojciechowski, eat, **fortify your body**, well, what are you sitting like this?’ (Ezera 1984)

In the case of verbs that have other (non-directional) meaning the equivalent of the prefixed verb may sometimes be expressed in Estonian – either by a noun phrase, a compound verb, an adverb of manner, or a momentaneous verb. As the results have shown so far, it does not only depend on the prefix itself but also the Estonian verb, syntax and aspect are important in order to determine the possible equivalents.

The study material shows that in several cases the prefix in Estonian is not expressed at all. The next chapter is dedicated to the examples, trying to explain also why this is so. Again, it should be emphasised that these are some of the variations.

4.1.3. The lack of equivalents of the Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian

According to the analysis of the study material, there are several cases when the prefix (prefixed verb) does not have specific equivalent(s) in Estonian. It mainly happens:

- 1) if the verb in Estonian is a partitive verb and therefore the direct object does not change case, i.e. the verb is not aspectually bounded.
- 2) the prefixed verb is extended by an adverb or adverbial (prepositional phrase, noun phrase) that differs from the semantics of the prefix, hence the meaning of the prefix remains unreflected, because in Estonian the extensions are more important.
- 3) when the prefix expresses quantity of the action – something is done in either great amounts (e.g. prefix *sa-*) or the opposite – in small amounts (especially with the prefix *pa-*).
- 4) with some verbs¹¹: *mācīties* ‘learn’, *mācīt* ‘teach’, *cept* ‘bake’, *mazgāt* ‘wash’, *pūt* ‘rot’.

In the research material the verb *nīst* ‘hate’ (55a) is derived only by using the prefix *ie-*, as the prefixed verb *ienīst* ‘hate’. In Estonian, the verb *vihkama* ‘hate’ (55b) is a partitive verb (ASP), meaning that it appears only with the partitive and never with total object (Tamm & Vaiss 2019: 162). In Latvian, the prefix carries the function of completion (Soida 2009: 252), but it is not reflected in Estonian, because the semantics of the verb do not allow any limitation of activity, that is, whether or not there is or isn’t a prefix, in Estonian the equivalent is the same simple verb. According to Daiga Deksnē (2015: 109) in Latvian there are verbs that are used only with one specific prefix, whereas non-prefixed verb is either also used or commonly not used at all. As a native speaker, the author of this thesis finds that the prefixed verb *ienīst* ‘hate’ seems more common than the non-prefixed verb *nīst* ‘hate’.

¹¹ The conclusion is based on the verb comparison with different prefixes – the Estonian translations mainly do not differ from each other in case of different types of prefixes, i.e. in Latvian the prefixes modulate the meaning of the main verb in some specific aspectual manner, but the Estonian translation does not reflect these specifics of the prefix (with some exceptions), hence the main verb is used instead. However, only the perfective meaning of the prefix may in some cases be expressed through the total object, but not the additional meaning.

- (55a) [...] **nīsti** savus ienaidniekus un nolādi
 hate.IMP.2SG own.PL.ACC enemy.PL.ACC and curse.IMP.2SG
 tos, kas tevi vajā [...]
 those.ACC who you.SG.ACC pursue.PRS.3
 ‘.. **hate** your enemies and curse those who pursue you [...]
- (55b) [...] **vihka** oma vaenlasi ja nea
 hate.IMP.2SG own.PL.GEN enemy.PL.ACC and curse.IMP.2SG
 neid, kes sind kiusavad [...]
 those.PART who you.SG.ACC bully.PRS.3
 ‘.. **hate** your enemies and curse those who are bullying you [...]

In article [P4] it was discussed that the derivations of the Latvian verb *just* ‘feel’ *sajust* ‘feel’ (physical) and *izjust* ‘feel’ (emotional) have no Estonian equivalents in directly expressing the difference between the two prefixed verbs. In case of the prefixed verb *sajust* ‘feel’ we can talk about the prefix *sa-* having pure perfectivity meaning, but the prefix *iz-* modulates the lexical meaning. The non-prefixed verb has the continuous meaning (see example (56a)), but in Estonian the verb *tundma* ‘feel’ is a partitive verb (example (56b)), hence no differences between the nonprefixed and prefixed verbs are noticeable.

- (56a) Veldze **juta** nevarīgas dusmas pati uz
 Veldze feel.PST.3 helpless.PL.ACC anger.PL.ACC self PREP
 sevi, [...]
 self.ACC
 ‘Veldze **was feeling** helpless anger at herself, [...]
- (56b) Veldze **tundis** jōetut viha iseenda vastu, [...]
 Veldze feel.PST.3 helpless.PART anger.PART self.GEN POSTP
 ‘Veldze **was feeling** helpless anger at herself, [...]

If the prefixed verb is extended by the prepositional phrase or adverb that has different semantics than the prefix itself, then the extension (rather than the prefix) is translated into Estonian. For example, the prefix *at-* in example (57a) refers to the spatial adverb *atpakaļ* ‘back’, but the extension is the prepositional phrase *pie* + NPgen. The Estonian equivalent is a postpositional phrase NPgen + *juurde*, but the directional meaning of the prefix is not reflected (the equivalent is just a simple verb *tõukama* ‘push’) (57b). According to this example, the prepositional phrase seems more important in translation than the verbal prefix and two directional adverbs cannot be used together.

(57a) Māti ar dēliem **atgrūda** pie
 mother.ACC PREP son.PL.DAT PREF-push.PST.3 PREP
cerīnu krūma.
 lilac.PL.GEN bush.GEN
 ‘Mother with [her] sons were **pushed [back]** next to the lilac bush’ (Rozītis)

(57b) Ema koos poegadega **tōugati** sirelipõõsa
 mother.GEN PREP son.PL.COM push.IMPER lilac_bush.GEN
juurde
 POSTP
 ‘Mother with [her] sons were **pushed** next to the lilac bush’ (Rozītis)

Also, if the adverb is mentioned in the Latvian sentence, it is translated into Estonian, even if it creates another form. In example (58a) the clause contains an adverb *laukā* ‘out’ that is semantically independent from the prefix. In the Estonian sentence the adverb rather than the meaning of the prefix is translated – the prefix *pa-* refers to the quantity of the action as being short or brief (just like the previously discussed example (49a) where the adverb of manner *pisut* ‘briefly’ was used in Estonian). Instead, because the Latvian example contains the spatial adverb, in the Estonian translation the adverb *välja* ‘out’ forms a particle verb (the verb *pistma* ‘thrust’ + the adverb *välja* ‘out’) (58b). At the same time if the adverb is replaced with an adverbial (the noun *istaba* ‘room’ in locative) (example (59a)), in Estonian the verb stays the same and instead of the adverb, there is a noun phrase (substantive in illative) (59b), proving that in example (59b) the adverb is translated, not the prefix. This means that the meaning of the prefix is not transferred into Estonian.

(58a) Ezis **pabāž** laukā purniņu.
 hedgehog PREF-thrust.PRS.3 out muzzle.ACC
 ‘The hedgehog **thrusts** the muzzle out [for a moment]’ (Zālīte)

(58b) Siil **pistab** koonu välja.
 hedgehog thrust.PRS.3SG muzzle.GEN out
 ‘The hedgehog **thrusts** the muzzle out’ (Zālīte)

(59a) [...] Vija **pabāza** degunu istabā
 Vija PREF-thrust.PST.3 nose.ACC room.LOC
 ‘[...] Vija **thrusted** her nose into the room’ (Ezera 1972)

(59b) [...] ja **pistis** nina tuppa.
 and thrust.PST.3SG nose.GEN room.ILL
 ‘[...] and [Vija] **thrusted** her nose into the room’ (Ezera 1990)

There are some cases when the prefixal meaning is either not expressed or cannot be separately expressed in Estonian, for example, of doing something

very much or making something in a large quantity, like in the case of the prefix *sa-* in the verb *saēsties* ‘eat (a lot)’ (60a). In Estonian the quantity is not expressed, instead only the simple verb *sööma* ‘eat’ is used (60b). The partitive case of the object does refer to the uncertain amount (there can be a lot of cakes or some cakes), but it does not reflect the large quantity expressed by the prefix.

- (60a) Varētu aiziet uz Turku kafejnīcu
 could.COND PREF-go.INF PREP Turkish.PL.GEN cafe.ACC
saēsties kūkas [...]
 PREF-eat.INF cake.PL.ACC
 ‘[I] could go to a Turkish cafe to **eat** a lot of cakes [...]’ (Skujiņš)

- (60b) Võiksin minna tūrgi kohvikusse
 could.COND.1SG go.DINF Turkish.GEN cafe.ILL
kooke **sööma**..
 cake.PL.PART eat.INF
 ‘I could go to a Turkish cafe to **eat** cakes [...]’ (Skujiņš)

In the case of the prefixed verb *iemācīties* ‘learn’ (perfective), there is no distinction between the partial and total object, again because of the Estonian grammar. Namely, where in Latvian the prefix clearly refers to perfective action (acquisition of the languages) (61a), in Estonian partial object is used (61b). This can be explained by the fact that the number of languages is not mentioned or that not all languages can be learned (totality of the object). The perfective particle *selgeks* ‘clear’ could be added to the verb in order to emphasize finality/totality, but it was never used in the research material for this prefixed verb.

- (61a) Viņš atgādināja Eduardu – viegli **iemācījās**
 he resemble.PST.3 Edwards.ACC easily PREF-learn.PST.3
 valodas rēķināja sarežģītus uzdevumus,
 language.PL.ACC solve.PST.3 difficult.PL.ACC task.PL.ACC
 lasīja gudras grāmatas.
 read.PST.3 smart.PL.ACC book.PL.ACC
 ‘He resembled Edwards – [he] easily **learned** languages, solved difficult tasks, read smart books.’ (Skujiņš)

- (61b) Tema meenutas Eduardsi – **õppis** kergesti
 he resemble.PST.3 Edwards.ACC learn.PST.3 easily
keeli, lahendas keerulisi ülesandeid,
 language.PL.PART solve.PST.3 difficult.PL.PART task.PL.PART
 luges tarku raamatuid.
 read.PST.3 smart.PL.PART book.PL.PART
 ‘He resembled Edwards – [he] **learned** languages easily, solved difficult tasks, read smart books.’ (Skujiņš)

If a transitive verb may in some cases determine the perfectivity through the object, then for intransitive verbs there might be no additional markers in Estonian, for example the verb *mācīties* ‘learn’ (62a) refers to continuous action (to learn / to study to become somebody) and the prefixed verb *izmācīties* ‘learn’ (to become somebody through learning, to already have the knowledge/practise) (63a) refers to completed/accomplished action. Both clauses (62a, 63a) include the goal-point ‘learn to become somebody’, which is expressed by the prepositional phrase *par* + NPacc, the prefix *iz-* refers to the achieved goal. In Estonian, in both cases (62b, 63b) a noun phrase (noun in translative) supports the goal-point, the perfectivity expressed by the prefix is not indicated in the example (63b) and the equivalent of the prefixed verb is the simple verb *õppima* ‘learn’.

(62a) Ar kādu puiku? – Nu ar to, kas
 PREP what.ACC boy.ACC well PREP that.ACC who
 pilsētā mācās par tēlu cirtēju.
 city.LOC learn.PRS.3 PREP statue.PL.GEN cutter.ACC
 ‘Which boy? – Well, the one who **studies** in the city to become a sculptor.’
 (Skujņš)

(62b) Millise poisiga? Noh, sellega, kes
 what.GEN boy.COM well that.COM who
 linnas kujuraiujaks õpib.
 city.INE sculptor.TRAN learn.PRS.3SG
 ‘Which boy? – Well, the one who **studies** in the city to become a sculptor.’
 (Skujņš)

(63a) Viesturs izmācījās par traktoristu [...]
 Viesturs PREF-learn.PRS.3 PREP traktor_driver.ACC
 ‘Viesturs **learned** to become a tractor driver [...]’ (Skujņš)

(63b) Viesturs õppis traktoristiksi [...]
 Viesturs learn.PRS.3SG traktor_driver.TRAN
 ‘Viesturs **learned** to become a tractor driver [...]’ (Skujņš)

The verbal particle may not always coincide with the actual meaning of the prefix. For example, in the case of the prefixed verb *ielauzt* ‘break’ (example (64a)) the prefix *ie-* refers to the action as being partial (Soida 2009). If the action were completed, the prefix *no-* would be used (*nolauzt* ‘break off’). In Estonian, the perfective particle *ära* (as particle verb *ära murdma* ‘break off’) refers to the action as completed (64b). So, the partial action of the prefix is not expressed in Estonian.

(64a) Kādā treniņā Irēne bija ielauzusi nagu [...]
 one.LOC training.LOC Irēne be.PST.3 PREF-break.PCPT nail.ACC
 ‘In one of the training sessions, Irene had **broken** her nail [...]’ (Bels)

- (64b) Ühel treeningul Irēne küüne ära murdnud [...]

one.ALL training.ALL Irēne nail.GEN PP break.PCPT

'In one of the training sessions, Irene had **broken** her nail [...]' (Bels)

There are also verbs that might or might not have bounders (adverbs or adverbials) in Estonian. The completeness of the activities expressed by the prefix e.g. *pakrist* 'fall', *pagrūst* 'push, nudge' (65a) are reflected in Estonian as a simple verb (65b). Therefore, in this case, the prefix *pa-* is not expressed in Estonian. However, if the verbs are derived by using the prefix *no-* with the adverb *nost* 'off' or the adverbial *zemē* 'to the ground' (locative of *zeme* 'ground'), the equivalent in Estonian is of course the verbal particle *maha* 'off' (illative of *maa* 'ground').

- (65a) Erika viņu tik strauji pagrūda, ka tas

Erika he.ACC so fast PREF-push.PST.3 that it

pakrita [...]

PREF-fall.PST.3

'[...] Erika **pushed** him so fast that he **fell** [...]' (Rozītis)
- (65b) Erika tōukas teda nii jāsult, et ta kukkus [...]

Erika push.PST.3SG he.PART so suddenly that he fall.PST.3SG

'[...] Erika **pushed** him so fast that he **fell** [...]' (Rozītis)

In summary, in situations where the meaning of the prefix is not expressed in Estonian, it should be firstly noted that Estonian has partitive verbs which, despite being transitive, require an object to be partial. Therefore, partitive verbs are not aspectually bounded and the meaning/function of the prefix is not perceived. Secondly, even if the verb is a movement verb, if the sentence also uses an adverb or prepositional phrase that differs from the semantics of the prefix, the latter must always be transferred into Estonian. In this case, the prefix is irrelevant. Sometimes the aspect expressed by the prefix is not expressed at all in Estonian.

From this it can be concluded that similarities/correspondences can mainly be determined for movement verbs. When the prefix has the meaning of another aspect, there is a great deal of variation in Estonian, and sometimes there are even no equivalents.

4.2. The effect of Latvian prefixed verb polysemy and homonymy in the determination of Estonian equivalents

An important topic in the study of Latvian verbal prefixes is the polysemy and homonymy of verbal prefixes and verbs. Polysemy is considered to be one of the barriers in the study of prefixed verbs (Deksne 2015: 100). The meaning of a polysemic (ambiguous) verb depends only on the context. The material in this

study shows that the different meanings of Latvian prefixes are best seen in the Estonian equivalents, as the different words appear there. It turns out that, generally, one of the meanings is specifically related to the semantics of the main verb, i.e. the semantics of the main verb remains part of the semantics of the prefixed verb, but on the other hand it is completely abstract, meaning that the prefixed verb is individualized, one cannot see the relation of the prefixed verb with the main verb or the connection is very vague, hence the prefixed verb forms rather an expression-like form.

Polysemy is one of the reasons why it is difficult to determine the equivalents of prefixed verbs in Estonian. The prefixed verb may have two or more meanings. For example, with the verb *dzert* ‘drink’, the prefixed verb marks quantity or spatial meaning (66a), or individualised meaning (67a): *nodzert* 1. ‘drink (a little sip)’ or ‘drink from top of’, 2. (*kāzas*) ‘have a wedding’. In the case of example (66a) the prefixed verb *nodzert* may have two meanings – either quantity (a little) that is supported by the object (*small sip*) or the spatial meaning as the adverb *nost* ‘off’ (as in ‘*from the top of the beaker*’).

In both cases in Estonian neither the quantity nor the spatial meaning has been translated, instead the opposite – the total object (object in genitive) refers to the perfectivity/totality of the action (54b). Only the semantics of the adjective itself ‘small’ is what refers to the quantity.

- (66a) Pacēla menzūru pie mutes un
 PREF-lift.PST.3 beaker.ACC PREP mouth.GEN and
nodzēra mazu malku.
 PREF-drink.PST.3 small.ACC sip.ACC
 ‘[He] lifted the beaker to his mouth and **drank** a small sip. (Ezera 1977)

- (66b) Ta tōstis mensuuri suu juurde ja
 he lift.PST.3SG beaker.GEN mouth.GEN PREP and
jõi vāikese lonksu.
 drink.PST.3 small.GEN sip.GEN
 ‘He lifted the beaker to his mouth and **drank** a small sip. (Ezera 1984)

In the second example (67a) the prefix forms an expression ‘have a wedding’ (literally: drink a wedding), and in Estonian the basic verb (*dzert* ‘drink’) is not translated, instead a construction/phrase is formed – *pidama* ‘do / have’ + *pulmi* ‘wedding’ (67b).

- (67a) Abi **nodzēra** kāzas.
 both.NOM PREF-drink.PST.3 wedding.PL.ACC
 ‘Both **had** a wedding’ (Skujiņš)

- (67b) Noored **pidasid** **pulmi**.
 youngster.PL.NOM have.PST.3PL wedding.PL.PART
 ‘Youngsters **had** a wedding’ (Skujiņš)

It should be noted that another meaning of the Latvian prefixed verb *nodzert* is to ‘spend (all money) on drinking alcoholic beverages’ (TEZ) where the prefix *no-* has the meaning of the adverb *nost* ‘off’, as in ‘drink every penny’. In this situation the Estonian equivalent would be the idiomatic particle verb that also consists of the exactly the same verbal particle *maha* ‘off’ as in *maha jooma* ‘drink away’.

Some of the polysemic examples and their Estonian translations (equivalents) are:

- *uzsaukt* (main verb *saukt* ‘shout, call’)
 1. *hüüdma* ‘shout, call’ (simple verb)
 2. *välja tegema* ‘have a drink on me’ (idiomatic particle verb)
- *pārmest* (main verb *mest* ‘throw’)
 1. *viskama* ‘throw something over something’ (NPgen + *üle*) (simple verb and postpositional phrase)
 2. *ette heitma* ‘reprimand’ (idiomatic particle verb)
- *iesaukt* (main verb *saukt* ‘shout, call’)
 1. *kutsuma* (ILL, *sisse*) ‘call inside’ (simple verb + illative or particle verb)
 2. *kutsuma hakkama* (*kedagi kellekski*) ‘start calling somebody; give a nickname’ (compound verb)
- *uzklier* (main verb *klier* ‘shout, scream’)
 1. *karjuma* ‘shout’ (NPgen + *peale*) (simple verb + postpositional phrase)
 2. *karjuma* (*korra*) ‘shout (for a moment)’, *kāhvatama* ‘shout’ (verb + adverbial or momentaneous verb)

In some cases, the Latvian prefixed verb has a mandatory extension – either a noun phrase (example (68a)) or an adverb (example (69a)), that helps to determine the concrete meaning and thus determining the Estonian equivalent, whether it’s a regular particle verb *üles jooksmas* ‘run up’ (68b) or an idiomatic particle verb *otsa kihutama* ‘run over’ (69b).

- (68a) Jakas piedurknēm plīvojot, meitene **uzskrēja**
 jacket.GEN sleeve.PL.DAT wave.PTCP girl PREF-run.PST.3
 kalnā
 hill.LOC
 ‘With her jacket sleeves waving, the girl **ran up** the hill [...]’ (Ezera 1972)

- (68b) Pluusivarrukate lehvides **jooksis** tüdruk mäest
 jacket_sleeve.PL.GEN wave.PTCP run.PST.3SG girl hill.ELA
 üles
 up
 ‘With her jacket sleeves waving, the girl **ran up** the hill [...]’ (Ezera 1990)

- (69a) [...] vienmēr gadīsies kāds idiots, kāds Piņģerots,
 always happen.FUT.3 some idiot some Piņģerots
 kas jums **uzskries** viršū
 who you.PL.DAT PREF-run.FUT.3 over
 ‘[...] there will always be some idiot, like Piņģeros, who will **run** you **over**.’
 (Bels)
- (69b) [...] alati juhtub mõni idioot, mõni Piņģerots,
 always happen.PRS.3SG some idiot some Piņģerots
 kes **kihutab** teile **otsa**
 who run.PRS.3SG you.PL.ALL over
 ‘[...] there will always be some idiot, like Piņģeros, who will **run** you **over**.’
 (Bels)

In case of homonymy, the first prefixed verb is derived from the main verb – *palikt* ‘put something under’ (70a) and the other verb is conjugated exactly the same, but in semantics is a completely different verb – *palikt* ‘stay’ (71a). The first prefixed verb is derived from the main verb *likt* ‘put’, and the prefix *pa-* adds a directional meaning – adverb *apakš(ā)* ‘below’ (70a) and is supported by its prepositional phrase *zem* + NPgen. The second prefixed verb has a completely independent meaning, the verb is intransitive and the prefixal meaning is not transparent (71a). In the case of Estonian equivalents, the difference can be seen clearly – in the first case (70b) the main verb is preserved in the Estonian translation by the verb *panema* ‘put’ and the meaning of the prefix is supported by the prepositional phrase NPgen + *alla*. The perfectivity is expressed by object case (total object), which means that without the prefix the only thing that would change, would be the object case (partitive).

- (70a) [...] es zem dibena **paliku** savu
 I PREP bottom.GEN PREF-put.PST.1SG own.ACC
 „ideju bloku“ [...]
 idea.PL.GEN notebook.ACC
 ‘[...] I **put** my „idea notebook“ under [my] bottom [...]’ (Želve)
- (70b) [...] ma **panin** istumise alla oma
 I put.PST.1SG bottom.GEN POSTP own.GEN
 „ideede päeviku“
 idea.PL.GEN notebook.GEN
 ‘[...] I **put** my „idea notebook“ under [my] bottom [...]’ (Želve)

In the case of the second verb (71a) it can be seen clearly that also in Estonian it is a completely different verb – *jääma* ‘stay’ (71b).

(71a) [...] es **palikšu** viena nežēlīgajā badā un
 I stay.FUT.1SG alone cruel.LOC hunger.LOC and
 ziemā [...] winter.LOC

‘[...] I will **stay** alone during cruel hunger and winter [...]’ (Ikstena)

(71b) [...] mina **jään** üksi julma nälja ja
 I stay.PRS.1SG alone cruel.GEN hunger.GEN and
 talve kätte [...] winter.GEN hand.ILL

‘[...] I will **stay** alone during cruel hunger and winter [...]’ (Ikstena)

Polysemic verbs can be a source of confusion for language learners if it is not clear whether it is a derivative of a verb or an independent verb. As mentioned in chapter 2, one of the ways to understand that the prefixed verb is independent is that it is possible to add another prefix. Hence, the verb *palikt* ‘stay’ can be derived with another prefix – as *atpalikt* ‘be left behind’ (72a). The equivalent of the prefix is the adverb *maha* ‘off’, thus forming the particle verb *maha jääma* ‘be left behind’ (72b).

(72a) Viņas bija ļoti kaunīgas, bet baidījās arī
 they be.PST.3 very shy.PL.NOM but fear.PST.3
atpalikt no kolonnes [...] no
 PREF-stay.INF PREP column.GEN

‘They were very shy and feared to **fall behind** the column [...]’ (Skujiņš)

(72b) Nad olid üpris häbelikud ja kartsid
 they be.PST.3PL quite shy.PL.NOM and fear.PST.3PL
 kolonnist **maha** **jääda** [...] column.ELA off stay.DINF

‘They were quite shy and feared to **fall behind** the column [...]’ (Skujiņš)

In conclusion, the polysemic prefixed verbs can be confusing because the correct meaning is only expressed in a context. The material shows that it is through Estonian that these differences / meanings are best distinguishable.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the study was to find out what are the possible equivalents of the Latvian verbal prefixes in the Estonian language. It is known that Estonian does not have verbal prefixes and therefore the main goal of the study was to determine that if verbal prefixes give some aspectual or lexical meaning to the verb in Latvian, then how and if this meaning is expressed in Estonian. Hence the research questions of the study were:

- What are the possible equivalents of the Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian, i.e. what means (lexical-grammatical, syntactic, analytical, semantic) can be used to express the respective verbal prefix function?
- In what cases do Latvian verbal prefixes not have equivalents in Estonian?

The dissertation is based on four articles and an additional research conducted to support the results obtained from the articles. Material used for the study is a parallel text corpus that consists of eight Latvian fiction works and their Estonian translations. It was ultimately up to the author of the dissertation to choose which examples of the selected prefixed verbs to analyze, i.e. whether a particular example was suitable or not.

The method used for the study is a contrastive analysis, where the Latvian sentence containing a prefixed verb is contrasted to its Estonian translation. A total of 46 Latvian verbs and 389 corresponding prefixed verbs were analyzed. At the end of the dissertation there is a list of all the prefixed verbs analyzed in a form of a dictionary (APPENDIX 1). The dictionary shows when the equivalent is found in Estonian (e.g. in a form of verbal particles, simple verbs, or adverbials etc). Also, an overview of the basic equivalents of the prefixes analyzed in this study are presented in the tables (APPENDIX 2).

There were a number of distinctions that were revealed to be important in the context of this study in order to answer the research questions:

1. Whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. In the Estonian language, the transitivity of the verb plays a greater role in defining the aspect than in the Latvian language. Often the Estonian equivalent of the function of the prefix can only be expressed by total object.
2. Whether the verb is a motion verb or not. In the case of a motion verb, it is more likely that the meaning of the prefix joining the verb is strongly related to the meaning of the corresponding adverb, which means that the adverb in Estonian is also reflected (in the particle verb) or its meaning is supported by extensions.
3. For motion verbs it is important if the destination is mentioned. This observation has been made in Articles [P1] and [P3], that when a destination is mentioned in Latvian, the direction expressed by the prefix is not indicated separately in Estonian. However, if the destination is not mentioned, the

- equivalent in Estonian is the particle verb. That is, the direction expressed by the verbal prefix must always be expressed somehow in Estonian.
4. With how many prefixes can a verb be derived. As it appears in the article [P4] and later, the farther the verb moves from the meaning of motion, the fewer prefixes it can be derived with and the more likely it is that the meanings of the prefix become more and more abstract. This, however, means that it becomes more difficult to distinguish between Estonian equivalents. In some cases, the fewer prefixes the verb has, the more specific the prefixed verbs can become, and may even lose the difference with the non-prefixed verb (*ienīst* ‘hate’) or take on a whole new meaning (*saprast* ‘understand’). There are verbs that are derived with only one prefix and then the difference between the non-prefixed and the prefixed verb is only perceptible in Estonian through total object (*atrisināt* ‘resolve’).
 5. Whether the prefixed verb has an independent meaning in Latvian. What is meant here by independent meaning is that either the prefix has lost its connection to the main verb (*palikt* ‘stay’) or it is perceptible very indirectly (*aizdot* ‘borrow’, *pārdot* ‘sell’). However, the prefixed verb itself is independent, which means that it can be derived with other prefixes (*izpārdot* ‘sell out’). Here, for a comment, it is in Estonian that the independent meaning of the prefixed verb is noticed, namely in Estonian different words from the Latvian main verb are used.
 6. Whether the prefixed verb is polysemic or homonymous. The key here is to observe the whole context, because only that determines the correct meaning. In most cases the polysemic prefixed verb has different meanings of the verb in Estonian, which is usually reflected by the fact that if the prefix has concrete meaning (*palikt kaut ko zem kaut kā* ‘put something under something’) then the Estonian verb has the same meaning as well (*panema midagi millegi alla* ‘put something under something’), but if the prefixed verb is different from the main verb (*palikt mājās* ‘stay at home’, then Estonian has a different verb (*jääma koju* ‘stay at home’).
 7. If an adverb is used with a non-prefixed verb in Latvian, this adverb will also be translated into Estonian, although it may sometimes render the activity considered to be imperfect in Latvian (*braukt ārā* ‘drive out’) perfect in Estonian (*välja sõitma* ‘drive out’). Or if the prefixed verb is used with an adverb semantically different from the prefix (*pabāzt laukā* ‘thrust out for a bit’), it expresses only the spatial meaning in the Estonian (*pistma välja* ‘thrust out’).
 8. Adverbs can be used in both languages, but they are not always needed, especially if the destination or departure point is already mentioned: for example, Latvian *izvilkt no kabatas (ārā)* ‘pull out of the pocket’ and Estonian *võtma taskust (välja)* ‘take out of the pocket’.
 9. Some of the prefixes with certain verbs are perceived as synonyms in Latvian, so in Estonian it is impossible to make a distinction between the prefixes regardless of the context, e.g. *aizdegt / iedegt* ‘light, burn’, *aizdegties / iedegties* ‘light up’. However, the prefixal meaning (beginning

of action) is expressed in Estonian either by the compound verb (*põlema panema* ‘light up, set on fire’) or verb semantics (*süütama* ‘light up, set on fire’).

10. The partitive verbs in Estonian do not change in aspect – the object is always in partitive. So, it does not matter what kind of prefix is used with the verb and what function it has in Latvian, the equivalent in Estonian will be the same simple verb.
11. There are verbs in Latvian, which are influenced by the *Aktionsart* in a way as their Estonian counterparts are not. There are certain verbs that do not express the prefixal meaning in Estonian: *mācīties* ‘learn’, *mācīt* ‘teach’, *cept* ‘bake’, *mazgāt* ‘wash’, *pūt* ‘rot’. The meaning of the prefix should be added and explained as the context.

The author of the dissertation is of the opinion that the results of the research provide a sufficient overview of the Latvian verbal prefix possible equivalents in the Estonian and is a good starting point for further research.

6. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Läti verbiprefiksite vastetest eesti keeles

Väitekirjas uuritakse läti verbiprefiksita ja nende funktsioonide võimalikke väljendusviise eesti keeles. Lähtudes oma läti keele õpetamise praktikast, on käesoleva väitekirja autor täheldanud, et eesti emakeelega õppijate jaoks on läti keele õppimise juures üks kõige raskemini omandatavaid teemasid just läti verbiprefiksita ehk verbi eesliited. Autor omistab sellele kaks peamist põhjust: 1) eesti keeles verbiprefiksita puuduvad ja sellest lähtuvalt ei taju keeleõppija üldjuhul seda, kas ja kuidas tuleb prefiksita kasutada; 2) ei leidu asjakohaseid õppematerjale, mille abil teada saada, millal ja milliste verbidega tuleb prefiksita kasutada (läti keele võõrkeelena õpikutes on prefiksitaile pööratud liiga vähe tähelepanu ning kahjuks ei anna ka kakskeelsed sõnastikud verbiprefiksita kasutamise kohta üldjuhul piisavalt palju teavet ega näiteid).

Õpetades läti keelt eesti keele baasil, on väitekirja autor pidanud läti verbiprefiksita funktsioone seletama eesti keele kontekstis ning, kuigi mõnel puhul on küll võimalik eesti keelega paralleelse tuua (nt osadel juhtudel on märgata prefiksita sarnasust perfektiivus- või afiksaaladverbidega), pole eesti keeles siiski vasteid alati võimalik määratleda. Lähtudes eelnimetatud probleemistikust, on **väitekirja eesmärgiks** leida vastused järgmistele küsimusele:

- Millised on läti verbiprefiksita võimalikud vasted eesti keeles, nimelt, milliseid keelelisi vahendeid (nt leksikaalgrammatilisi, süntaktilisi, analüütilisi, semantilisi) võib selleks kasutada?
- Millistel juhtudel puuduvad läti verbiprefiksita eesti keeles vasted?

Väitekirja koosneb viiest peatükist ja neljast publikatsioonist (kolm on ingliskeelsed ja üks eestikeelne). Väitekirja esimeses peatükis tutvustatakse uurimuse eesmärgi, terminoloogiat, samal teemal varasemalt tehtud uurimusi ja nelja artikli kokkuvõtet. Teises peatükis käsitletakse teoreetilist raamistikku, kus tutvustatakse verbiprefiksita ja -aspekti mõistet laiemas kontekstis ning spetsiifilisemalt läti ja eesti keeles. Kolmandas peatükis kirjeldatakse materjali ja meetodit. Neljandas peatükis esitatakse uurimuse tulemused ja diskussioon. Viiendas peatükis on väitekirja kokkuvõte.

Keeleteadlased on arvamisel, et **verbiprefiksita** on arenenud ruumilisest tähendusest ja on seetõttu oma tähenduselt väga sarnased eessõnade ja määr sõnadega, säilitades samal ajal osaliselt neid ruumilisi tähendusi tänapäevani, näiteks saksa keeles *auftrinken* 'ära jooma', vene keeles *омчмynum* 'eemalduma' (Forsyth 1970: 18; Comrie 1976: 89, Klimas 1991). Siiski on prefiksitaile tekkinud lisatähendused, kus mõnel juhul nähakse ruumilist tähendust kas väga ebamääraselt või üldse mitte (Dewell 2015).

Prefiksita seostatakse tavaliselt perfektiiivse tähendusega, kus imperfektiiivsele (prefiksita verbile) vastandatakse perfektiiivne verb (prefiksverb), moodustades nii-öelda aspektipaari, nagu vene keeles *читать* 'lugema' – *прочитать* 'läbi

lugema' (Forsyth 1970: 19) või leedu keeles *daryti* 'tegema' – *padaryti* 'ära tegema' (LG 2006: 236). Sel juhul võib prefiksit nimetada „tühjaks“, kuna see muudab verbi perfektiiivseks, kuid ei muuda ega mõjuta verbi leksikaalset tähendust (Forsyth 1970: 19).

On olemas imperfektiivseid verbe, millest ei saa moodustada perfektiiivseid vorme (nt vene keeles *ожидать* 'ootama'), perfektiiivseid verbe, millel ei saa olla imperfektiivseid vorme (nt vene *рухнуть* 'kokku varisema'), ja kaheaspektilisi verbe (nt vene *жениться* 'abielluma'), kus perfektiiivse või imperfektiivse vormi kindlakstegemiseks on vajalik laiem kontekst (Forsyth 1970: 32–33). Samuti on juhtumeid, kus verb ei esine ilma prefiksiteta, nt leedu keeles *pasakoti* 'jutustama', või põhiverbi leksikaalne tähendus erineb prefiksverbist, nt *priklausyti* 'sõltuma' vs. *klausyti* 'kuulama' (LG 2006: 236).

Aspektist kõneldes tuuakse peamiselt näiteks vene keel, kuna sellel on hästi väljaarendatud verbiaspekti süsteem (Forsyth 1970; Comrie 1976). Aspekti kõrval mainitakse alati leksikaalset aspekti ehk *aktionsart*'i, kuna üritatakse neid lahus hoida. Kui aspekti korral tõmmatakse tavaliselt piir perfektiiivse ja imperfektiivse aspekti vahel, siis *aktionsart* muudab, teisendab tegevuse teostamise viisi, sel juhul räägitakse teelisusest, iteratiivsusest, punktuaalsusest, duraatiivsusest jne (Comrie 1976).

Prefiksid on tavaliselt verbist lahutamatud, s.t need liituvad verbi ette ja eraldi üksustena ei eksisteeri (nt läti, leedu, vene keeles), või need võivad olla verbist lahus (nt uurali keeltes, saksa keeles), kus neid nimetatakse verbi partikliteks (*verbal particles*) (Kiefer & Honti 2003; Behrens 2003; Dewell 2015).

Eesti keeles verbiprefikseid ei ole, selle asemel kasutatakse muid verbi aspekti väljendamisviise, nt lause konteksti, ajamäärusi, käändeobjekti, abimäärsõnu jne. Just abimäärsõnad (afiksaaladverbid) on need, mida tihtipeale peetakse verbiprefikslike vasteteks, kuna ka need suudavad väljendada tegevuse lõpetatust (nt abimäärsõna *ära*) või mõjutada verbi leksikaalset tähendust (nt *üles sõitma*, *alla viskama* jne) (Rätsep 1978; Erelt 2017; Metslang 2003; Metslang 2017). Nii eesti kui ka soome keeles on sihiliste verbide puhul võimalik tegevuse resultatiivsust väljendada üksnes objektikäandega (sihitisega), kuid tihtipeale tuleb vormihomonüümia tõttu eesti keeles lisada ka tegevuse piiritletuse/lõpetatuse markeerimiseks veel abimäärsõnu, nt *Ta ehitas maja valmis* (Sulkala 1996; Erelt et al. 2000; Erelt 2017). Sihitute verbide puhul jääb aga eesti keeles tegevuse lõpetatuse tõlgendus lahtiseks, nt *Ta sõitis Brüsselisse* (Erelt 2017).

Läti keeles on 11 verbiprefiksiti (*aiz-*, *ap-*, *at-*, *ie-*, *iz-*, *no-*, *pa-*, *pār-*, *pie-*, *sa-*, *uz-*), mille peamiseks funktsiooniks on mingil moel enamasti muuta verbi leksikaalset tähendust, näiteks andes suunatähenduse, kus prefiksil on sama tähendus nagu kohamäärsõnal (nt prefiksita verb *skriet* 'jooksma' vs. prefiksverb *ieskriet* 'sisse jooksma'), tegevuse alguse tähendus (nt *degt* 'põlema' vs. *iedegt* 'süütama'), kvantitatiivne tähendus, kui prefiks viitab ajaliselt piiratud tegevusele (nt *stāvēt* 'seisma' vs. *pastāvēt* 'seisma (natuke)') või kvalitatiivsele tähendusele, kui prefiks viitab sellele, et tegevust sooritatakse liiga palju (nt *ēst* 'sööma' vs. *pārēsties* 'üle sööma') jne (Ahero et al. 1959: 567; Kalme & Smiltnece 2001: 220; Soida 2009: 228; Kalnača 2014: 93). Kuid prefiksid ei pruugi alati olla nii

reeglipärased, jälgida tasub ka seda, kas prefiksverb ei ole leksikaliseerunud, nimelt kas prefiks ei moodusta koos verbiga iseseisvat sõna, näiteks verbi *pärdot* 'müüma' puhul ei nähta enam otsest seost põhiverbiga *dot* 'andma', vaid prefiks on verbiga niivõrd kokku sulanud, et tekkinud on uus sõna (Paegle 2003; Kalnača 2015). On juhtumeid, kui prefiksverb on põhiverbist niivõrd erineva tähendusega, et verbide vahel ei nähta enam mitte mingit seost, vrd prefiksita verb *baudīt* 'nautima' ja *pārbaudīt* 'kontrollima'.

Mõlema keele õppijad võivad esmapilgud teatud sarnasusi läti ja eesti keeles märgata ja pole ka üllatus, et mitme keeleteadlase arvates on verbiprefiksitate vasteteks eesti keeles peamiselt afiksaaladverbid ja ühendverbid (Mägiste 1937; Vaba 2010; Ernštreits & Kļava 2014). Kuid nii nagu läti keeles ei viita prefiksidad ainult suunale või perfektiiivsusele, nii ei puuduta eestikeelset aspekti ainult käändevaheldus (täis- ja osasihitis) ja ühendverbid. See uurimus näitabki, kuivõrd variatiivsed võivad olla läti verbiprefiksidad ja nende vasted eesti keeles.

Väitekirjas on kasutatud tõlkepõhist **uurimismaterjali**, mis koosneb kaheksast läti keelsest ilukirjandusteosest ja nende eestikeelsetest tõlgetest. Uurimismaterjal on koondatud läti-eesti ilukirjandustekstide paralleelkorpuseks, mis sisaldab umbes 540 000 sõnet kummaski keeles. Ilukirjandustekstide kasutamise põhjenduseks on see, et puudub sobiv ja avalik läti-eesti paralleeltekstide korpus.

Uurimismaterjali näidete saamiseks on kasutatud nimetatud korpust, kuid prefiksitate funktsioonide kirjeldamisel on tuginetud kolmele allikale: vanale läti kirjakeele grammatikale (Ahero et al. 1959), uuele läti grammatikale (Vulāne 2015) ning läti keeleteadlase Emīlija Soida monograafias „Vārddarināšana“ („Sõnamoodustus“, 2009) käsitletud prefiksitate tähenduste kirjeldamisele. Juhul, kui allikatest pole selgunud verbiprefiksi funktsioon konkreetse verbi puhul, on neljanda allikana kasutatud läti üldsõnastikku (TEZ).

Meetodina on kasutatud **kontrastiivset analüüsi**, mille puhul võrreldakse prefiksverbi sisaldavat läti keelset lauset sellele vastava eestikeelse tõlkega. Väitekirja kontekstis on arvestatud sellega, et prefiksi(te)le ei pruugi alati eesti keeles üks ühele vasteid leida.

Väitekirja **uurimistulemused** on esitatud nii, et need koosnevad neljas publikatsioonis käsitletud verbide analüüsi kokkuvõttest ja eraldi väitekirja katuspeatüki jaoks tehtud lisaanalüüsist. Täiendav uurimistöö on tehtud uuritavast materjalist parema ülevaate saamiseks. Väitekirja lõpus on esitatud kaks lisa: esimene on uurimuse tarbeks vaadeldud 46 verbi ja nendega tuletatud 389 prefiksverbi loetelu koos eestikeelsete tõlkevastetega, teine lisa esitab iga 11 verbi prefiksi võimalikud vasted eesti keeles uurimuses analüüsitud verbide põhjal.

Artiklid võib sisuliselt jaotada kolmeks osaks: esimene [P1] ja kolmas [P3] keskendub eraldi verbiprefiksitatele (vastavalt *ie-* ja *aiz-*), teine [P2] keskendub perfektiivsele ja imperfektiivsele verbiaspektile nii läti kui ka eesti keeles võrdlevalt, kuid neljas [P4] artikkel keskendub viie verbi tuletamisele erinevate prefiksitatega. Esimene [P1] artikkel erineb kolmandast [P3] selle poolest, et esimeses on vaadeldud ühe prefiksi kõiki funktsioone (suund, kvantiteet, kvaliteet, lõpetatus), kuid kolmandas artiklis on keskendutud üksnes prefiksi suunatähendusele. Teine [P2] artikkel eristub sellega, et lisaks läti-eesti suunale on vaadeldud

ka eesti-läti suunda. Neljas [P4] artikkel on ainus, kus materjali vaadeldakse mitte prefiksita, vaid verbide kaupa (viie verbi kõikvõimalikud tuletised). Järgnevalt on esitatud iga artikli lühikokkuvõte.

Artikkel [P1] „Expressing the Latvian verb prefix *ie-* in Estonian“ (2016) käsitleb läti verbiprefiksi *ie-* väljendamist eesti keeles. Kõigist 11 läti verbi-prefiksist on valitud prefiks *ie-*, kuna sellel on kõige vähem funktsioone, nimelt viis. Tuginetud on Soida (2009) loodud prefiksi *ie-* funktsioonide jaotusele, kus prefiks väljendab suunda (kuhugi sisse), tegevuse algust, ajaliselt piiratud tegevust (midagi tehakse korra), osalist tegevust (midagi tehakse natukene) ja lõpetatud tegevust. Materjalina on kasutatud nelja läti ilukirjandusteost ja nende eestikeelseid tõlkeid.

Artikkel [P2] „On the imperfective and perfective aspect in Estonian and Latvian“ („Imperfektiivsest ja perfektiivsest aspektist eesti ja läti keeles“, 2017, kaasautor Aive Mandel) võrdleb ehk kõrvutab kõige traditsioonilisemal viisil imperfektiivse ja perfektiivse aspekti väljendumist eesti ja läti keeles – nimelt eesti keeles keskendutakse sihitisele ja afiksaaladverbidele ning läti keeles prefiksverbidele ja prefiksita verbidele. Arvestades artikli [P1] tulemusi, on eesmärgiks vaadata, kas vasted toimivad ka teistpidi (tõlkesuunal eesti-läti). Materjalina on kasutatud kolme läti ilukirjandusteost ja nende eestikeelseid tõlkeid ning kaht eesti ilukirjandusteost ja nende läti-keelseid tõlkeid. Analüüsiks (näideteks) kasutati peamiselt sihilisi verbe lihtminevikus (+ üks tuleviku näide). Põgusalt on käsitletud eesti progressiivi (*mas*-teguõna vorm, mida kasutatakse hetkelise tegevuse väljendamiseks). Märkus tööjaotusest: väitekirja autor tegeles mõlemas keeles näidete kogumise, läti keele teoreetiliste lähtekohtade kirjeldamise ja näidete analüüsiga.

Artikkel [P3] „Estonian equivalents of the Latvian verb prefix *aiz-*“ (2017) käsitleb läti verbiprefiksi *aiz-* vasteid eesti keeles. Võrreldes prefiksiga *ie-* [P1], millel on ainult üks suunatähendus (adverb *iekšā* ‘sisse’), on prefiksil *aiz-* neid kolm: adverb *prom* ‘ära, minema’, *ciet* ‘kinni’ ning *priekšā* ‘ette’. Arvestades artikli mahtu ei ole uuritud prefiksi *aiz-* teisi funktsioone, vaid keskendutud on üksnes suunatähendusele. Analüüsiks on kasutatud kuut läti ilukirjandusteost ja nende eestikeelseid tõlkeid.

Artiklis [P4] „Läti verbiprefiksita vastetest eesti keeles viie verbi näitel“ (kaasautor Merle Vare) on erinevalt artiklitest [P1] ja [P3] tehtud uurimus mitte verbiprefiksita, vaid verbide kaupa. Analüüsimiseks võeti viis verbi: *iet* ‘minema’, *vest* ‘viima’, *dot* ‘andma’, *prast* ‘oskama’ ja *just* ‘tundma’. Uurimuse eesmärk oli teada saada, kuidas muutub põhiverbi tähendus, kui sellele lisada erinevaid prefikseid. Analüüsiks on kasutatud kuut läti ilukirjandusteost ja nende eestikeelseid tõlkeid. Ainus artikkel neljast, mille tulemused on esitatud ka kvantitatiivselt – loetletud on prefiksverbide arv prefiksita ja verbide kaupa. Märkus tööjaotusest: väitekirja autor tegeles näidete kogumise, teoreetiliste lähtekohtade kirjeldamise ja analüüsiga.

Väitekirja katuspeatükis on tulemuste esitus veidi erinev kui artiklites. Artiklites [P1] ja [P3] on rõhk sellel, kuidas ühe prefiksi tähendus varieerub, kui seda tuletatakse erinevate tegusõnadega. Vastupidiselt vaadeldakse artiklis [P4],

kuidas ühe verbi tähendus muutub, kui seda tuletatakse erinevate prefiksiga. Mõlemal juhul on eesmärk ikkagi vaadata seda, mis on läti ja eesti vaste poolest sarnane ja erinev. Artikkel [P2] erineb ülejäänutest selle poolest, et see ei keskendu ei konkreetsele prefiksile ega konkreetsele tegusõnale. Üldiselt antakse artiklis [P2] kõik tulemused väga süstemaatiliselt: valisime täpselt ühele näited, moodustades seeläbi tõlkepaarid, näiteks kui läti keeles on prefiks-verb, siis prefiksi väljendatud lõpetatuse vasteks on eesti keeles täissihitis ja vastupidi – kui eesti keeles on täissihitis, siis sellega väljendatud tegevuse lõpetatus või resultatiivsus on läti keeles väljendatud prefiksiga jne. Artikli [P2] puhul tuleb märkida, et me ei ole käsitlenud ei erandeid ega verbide polüseemiat.

Katuspeatüki tulemustes esitatakse samuti mõned näited prefiksita verbidest. Artiklites pole seda üldse käsitletud. Artiklites mainitakse prefiksita verbe ainult kaudselt, näiteks kui konkreetses lauses prefiksit poleks, siis pakutakse milline oleks võimalik vaste. Eks see on olnud üsna hüpoteetiline avaldus. Näiteid kõigist 46 põhiverbist (prefiksita verbidest) ei esitata siiski mahu tõttu, kuid kuna mitmed verbid on tähenduslikult sarnased (nt liikumisverbid), saab neist teha samu järeldusi.

Artiklis [P3] on eestikeelsete vastete määramisel oluline roll verbi sihilisusel, eriti perfektivse aspekti kontekstis. Läti keeles kasutatavad sihilised verbid peamiselt ainult üht käänet (akusatiivi). Kuid nagu teoreetilisest materjalist võib järeldada, mängib eesti keele puhul perfektivse ja leksikaalse aspekti käsitlemisel suurt rolli ka sihilisus, nimelt objektikäänne. Seetõttu valiti artiklis [P4] eraldi kaks liikumisverbi, üks sihitu (*iet* 'minema') ja teine sihiline (*vest* 'viima'), et näidata sihilisuse olulisust.

Otsus laiendada uurimismaterjali ja analüüsi tuli sellest, et kahest prefiksist (artikkel [P1] ja [P3]) ja viiest tegusõnast (artikkel [P4]) ei saa teha laiapärgjalisi järeldusi, vaid vaadelda tuleks ka kõigi artiklites käsitletud prefiksverbide variante teiste prefiksiga. Loomulikult kattuvad mitmed tulemused artiklites esitletutega.

Artikli [P4] puhul tekkis mõte uurida, kuidas muutub verb, kui seda tuletada erinevate prefiksiga. Kuna artiklis kasutati ainult viit tegusõna, siis tuli muidugi vaadata lisaks, mis juhtub ka teiste verbidega. Nii moodustati edasises uurimuses läti prefiksiga sõnastik (lisa 1), mis kinnitas artiklis [P4] toodud väidet, et mida vähem on verbil seost liikumisega, seda vähem on võimalusi moodustada verbist prefiksiga tuletisi ja prefiksi tähendus muutub abstraktsemaks. Need muutuvad nii abstraktseks, et mõnede sõnade puhul ei nähta eesti keeles vahet (nt tegusõnad *mācīt* 'õpetama', *mācīties* 'õppima') või on verbe, mis esinevad ainult üksikute prefiksiga (nt *ienīst* 'vihkama', *atrisināt* 'lahendama' jne.).

Katuspeatükis esitatakse tulemused eelkõige selle järgi, kas käsitletavad verbid on sihilised või sihitud. Järgmisena peeti oluliseks, millistesse tüüpidesse verbid jagada. Artiklite puhul polnud verbide valikul konkreetset eelistust, nii et katuspeatüki puhul otsustati tulemuste esitamise lihtsustamiseks verbid jaotada vastavalt sellele, kas nad on liikumisverbid või mitte. Käesolevas väitekirjas on liikumisverbid tegusõnad, mis liituvad kõigi või peaaegu kõigi prefiksiga, mis kannavad kohamäärsõna tähendust, näiteks sihitud *iet* 'minema', *braukt* 'sõitma', *nākt* 'tulema' ja sihilised *vilkst* 'tõmbama', *mest* 'viskama', *likt* 'panema' jne.

Paratamatult pole võimalik suunatähendust nii konkreetset piirata, kuna on verbe, mida ei peeta liikumisverbideks, kuid teatud prefiksitega väljendavad siiski liikumist nt *raksti* 'kirjutama'.

Tulemused jagatakse kahte laiemasse rühma: esiteks vaadeldakse läti keele prefiksita verbide ja prefiksverbide vasteid eesti keeles (4.1.) ja teiseks antakse ülevaade sellest, kuidas prefiksverbi polüseemia ja homonüümia mõjutavad prefiksi tähendust ja eestikeelsete vastete määramist (4.2.). Esimeses alapeatükis on vaadeldud eraldi sihilisi (4.1.1) ja sihituid (4.1.2) prefiksita verbe ja prefiksverbe ning nende eestikeelseid vasteid. Kõik alapeatükid käsitlevad kõigepealt liikumisverbe ja seejärel mitte-liikumisverbe. Liikumisverbide eeliseks on see, et läti keeles mängib suurt rolli prefiksi sarnasus kohamäärsõnadega, kuid palju tähelepanu on pööratud ka sellele, kuidas prefiksit toetavad laiendid (kaassõnafrasisid, siht- ja lähtekohamäärus). Kui tegemist on mitte-liikumisverbiga, on prefiksi funktsioonide väljendamiseks eesti keeles ka muid võimalusi kui ühendverbide kasutamine. Selle põhjuseks on asjaolu, et prefiksil endal pole enam määrsõna tähendust või on see väga nõrgalt tajutav, nii et nüüd on selle jaoks eesti keeles ka muid vahendeid, nt ajamäärsõnad, liitverbid, fraasiverbid, momentaanverbid, mõnikord isegi asesõnad ning eraldi sihiliste verbide puhul ka objektikäne. Kolmandas alapeatükis (4.1.3) käsitletakse juhtumeid, kus prefiksi tähendust ei edastata eesti keeles.

Uurimisküsimustele vastamisel ilmnesid mitmed asjaolud, mis olid selle uurimuse kontekstis olulised:

1. Kas verb on sihiline või sihitu. Eesti keeles mängib aspekti määratlemisel verbi sihilisus suuremat rolli kui läti keeles. Sageli saab prefiksi eestikeelne vaste olla ainult täissihitis (1).

- (1) [...] Rūdolfš steigšus **atrisināja** briestošo
 Rūdolfš kiiresti PREF-lahendama.PST.3 paisuv.ACC
 konfliktu
 konflikt.ACC
 '[...] **lahendas** Rūdolf kiiresti paisuva konflikti.' (Ezera) (näide artiklist [P2])

2. Kas verb on liikumisverb või mitte. Liikumisverbi puhul on tõenäolisem, et verbile liituva prefiksi tähendus on tugevalt seotud sellele vastava määrsõna tähendusega, näiteks kannab näites (2) prefiks *iz-* sama tähendust nagu määrsõna *vaļā* 'lahti'. Prefiksi eestikeelne vaste on samatähenduslik määrsõna (osa ühendverbist).

- (2) **Iztina**, paskatījās, **tina** atpakaļ.
 PREF-mähkima.PST.3 PREF-vaatama.PST.3 mähkima.PST.3 tagasi
 'Mähkis lahti, vaatas, mähkis tagasi.' (Zālīte)

3. Liikumisverbide puhul on oluline, kas mainitud on sihtkoht. See tähelepanek ilmnes juba artiklite [P1] ja [P3] kirjutamise käigus: kui läti keeles on sihtkoht mainitud, siis prefiksiga väljendatud suunda eesti keeles eraldi ei näidata (4). Kui sihtkohta aga ei mainita, on eestikeelne vaste ühendverb (3). See tähendab, et verbi prefiksiga väljendatud suund peab alati olema kuidagi eesti keeles väljendatud (sihtkoha nimetamine või ühendverb).

- (3) Meitene **aizskrēja**, gaišajām bizītēm
 tüdruk.NOM PREF-jooksma.PST.3 hele.PL.DAT pats.PL.DAT
 noplīvojot.
 lehvima.PTCP
 ‘Tüdruk **jooksis minema**, nii et heledad patsid lehvisid. (Ezera 1972 / 1990)
 (näide artiklist [P3])

- (4) Trijās līnijdroškās visi **aizbrauca** uz
 kolm.LOC troska.PL.LOC kõik.PL.NOM PREF-sõitma.PST.3 PREP
 mežu.
 mets.ACC
 ‘Kolme troskaga **sõitsid** kõik metsa. (Skujiņš) (näide artiklist [P3])

4. Mitme prefiksiga verbi tuletada saab. Artiklist [P4] ja ka hilisemast uurimusest ilmneb, et mida kaugemale liigub verb liikumise tähendusest, seda vähemate prefiksitega saab seda tuletada ja seda tõenäolisemalt muutuvad prefiksi tähendused üha abstraktsemaks. See aga tähendab, et eestikeelseid vasteid on keerulisem eristada. Mõnel juhul aga, mida vähem verbe on prefiksil, seda täpsemateks võivad prefiksverbid muutuda ja prefiksita ja prefiksverbi vahel ei ole ehk erinevust näha ka läti keeles (nt *nīst* ‘vihkama’, *ienīst* ‘vihkama’) või omandada täiesti uue tähenduse (nt *prast* ‘oskama’, *saprast* aru saama, mõistma). On verbe, mida saab tuletada ainult ühe prefiksiga. Sel juhul võib juhtuda nii, et prefiks annab verbile üksnes perfektivse tähendusega ja eesti keeles on seda väljendatud täissihitise abiga (nt *risināt* ‘lahendama’, *atrisināt* ‘lahendama’).

5. Kui prefiksverbil on läti keeles iseseisev tähendus. Siin peetakse silmas seda, et prefiksverb on kaotanud tähendusliku seose põhiverbiga (*palikt* ‘jääma’) või on see seos väga kaudselt tajutav (*aizdot* ‘laenama’, *pārdot* ‘müüma’). Prefiksverb ise on aga sõltumatu, mis tähendab, et seda saab omakorda tuletada teiste eesliidetega (*izpārdot* ‘välja müüma’). Siinkohal on just eestikeelse vastete järgi võimalik märgata prefiksverbi iseseisvat tähendust, nimelt eesti keeles on läti-keelse põhiverbi vastega võrreldes täiesti erinevad sõna (vrd *dot* ‘andma’, *likt* ‘panema’).

6. Kas prefiksverb on polüseemiline või homonüümne. Siinkohal on oluline jälgida kogu konteksti, sest ainult see määrab õige tähenduse. Enamasti on polüseemilisel ja homonüümsel läti prefiksverbil eesti keeles tähenduslikult erinevad vasted: kui prefiksil on näiteks suunatähendus, siis on eestikeelses vastes sama

tähendus kajastatud, nt **palikt** *kaut ko zem kaut kā* ‘**panna** midagi millegi alla’ (näide (5)), kuid kui prefiksverb erineb põhisõnast, siis on ka eesti keeles läti põhiverbist erinev verb, nt **palikt** ‘jääma’ (näide (6)).

- (5) [...] es zem dibena **paliku** savu
 ma PREP tagumik.GEN PREF-panema.PST.1SG oma.ACC
 „ideju bloku“ [...]
 idee.PL.GEN vihik.ACC
 ’[...] ma **panin** istumise alla oma „ideede päeviku“ [...]’ (Želve)

- (6) [...] es **palikšu** viena nežēlīgajā badā un
 ma jääma.FUT.1SG ūksi julm.LOC nālg.LOC ja
 ziemā [...]
 talv.LOC
 ’[...] mina **jään** ūksi julma nälja ja talve kätte [...]’ (Ikstena)

7. Kui läti keeles kasutatakse prefiksverbiga koos kohamäärsõna, siis tõlgitakse see kohamäärsõna ka eesti keelde. Kui prefiksverbi kasutatakse prefiksist semantiliselt erineva määrsõnaga, on eesti keeles edasi antud ainult selle määrsõna, mitte prefiksi tähendus, nt *pabāzt laukā* ‘korraks välja pistma’ aga tõlgitud kui ‘välja pistma’ (näide (7)).

- (7) Ezis **pabāž** laukā purniņu.
 siil PREF-pistma.PRS.3 välja koon.ACC
 ‘Siil pistab koonu välja’ (Zālīte)

8. Mõlemas keeles võib koos verbidega kasutada määrsõnu, kuigi siht- ja lähtepunkti juba väljendatakse lähtekohamäärusega: *izvilkt no kabatas (ārā)* ‘taskust (välja) võtma’.

9. Mõningaid läti prefikseid tajutakse teatud verbidega koos esinedes sünonüümidenä, nii et ka eesti keeles on sõltumata kontekstist sellistel prefiksitel väga raske vahet teha, nt *aizdegt/iedegt* ‘põlema panema, süütama’, *aizdegties/iedegties* ‘süttima’. Prefiksist tähendust ehk tegevuse algust väljendab eesti keeles aga kas ahelverb (*põlema panema*) või verbi semantika (*süütama*).

10. Eesti keeles on partitiivverbide puhul objekt alati partitiivis (kui pole lisatud afiksaaladverbe). Seega võib juhtuda, et ükskõik, kas ja mis funktsiooniga prefiksist verbiga kasutatakse on eesti keeles vasteks lihtverb, nt prefiksita verb *just* ‘tundma’ viitab kestvale, pikaajalisele tegevusele (näide (8)), kuid prefiksverb *sajust* viitab lühikesele füüsilisele tunnetamisele (näide (9)), aga eesti keeles on mõlemal juhul vasteks partitiivverb ‘tundma’.

- (8) Veldze **juta** nevarīgas dusmas pati uz
 Veldze tundma.PST.3 jōuetu.PL.ACC viha.PL.ACC ise PREP
 sevi, [...]
 enda.ACC

'Veldze **tundis** jōuetut viha iseenda vastu [...]' (Ezera 1977/1984)

- (9) [...] viņš **sajuta** smagu, valganu
 tema.NOM PREF-tundma.PST.3 raske.ACC niiske.PART
 zemes garšu [---]
 muld.GEN maitse.ACC

'[...] ta **tundis** mulla rasket niisket maitset [...]' (Bels) (näide artiklist [P4])

11. Sarnaselt eelmisele näitele võib esineda olukordi, kui läti keeles on prefiksi ülesandeks varieerida verbi leksikaalset tähendust, kuid eesti keeles seda eraldi ei väljendata. Uurimismaterjalis tuli ilmsiks sellised verbid nagu *mācīties* 'õppima', *mācīt* 'õpetama', *cept* 'küpsutama', *mazgāt* 'pesema', *pūt* 'mädanema'. Prefiksi tähendus tuleks eesti keeles eraldi lisada ja seda kontekstis selgitada, kui on seda üldse võimalik teha.

- (10) Ar kādu puiku? – Nu ar to, kas
 PREP milline.ACC poiss.ACC noh PREP see.ACC kes
 pilsētā **mācās** par tēlu cirtēju.
 linn.LOC õppima.PRS.3 PREP kuju.PL.GEN raiuja.ACC
 'Millise poisiga? – Noh, sellega, kes linnas kujuraiujaks **õpib**.' (Skujiņš)

- (11) Viesturs **izmācījās** par traktoristu [...]
 Viesturs PREF-learn.PRS.3 PREP traktor_driver.ACC
 'Viesturs **õppis** traktoristiks [...]' (Skujiņš)

- (12) Viņš atgādināja Eduardu viegli
 tema.NOM meenutama.PRS.3 Eduards.ACC kergesti
iemācījās valodas, rēķināja sarežģītus
 PREF-õppima.PRS.3 keel.PL.ACC lahendama.PRS.3 keeruline.PL.ACC
 uzdevumus, lasīja gudras grāmatas.
 ülesanne.PL.ACC lugema.PRS.3 tark.PL.ACC raamat.PL.ACC
 'Tema meenutas Eduardsi – **õppis** kergesti keeli, lahendas keerulisi ülesandeid, luges tarku raamatuid.' (Skujiņš)

12. Tegevuse hetkelisust või tegevuse algust väljendatakse üksikute verbidega (tihti liitub koos prefiksiga ka enesekohane lõpp, moodustades tsirkumfiksi), nt *iekliēgties* 'karjatama, hüüatama', *iezibēties* 'vilksatama, sähvatama', mida eesti keeles saab vastavalt väljendada momentaanverbidega. Prefiksi *pa-* hetkelisuse tähendust üldjuhul eesti keeles eraldi ei märgita, nt *pamakšķerēt* 'õngitsema', *paiet* 'minema'. Samamoodi, kui prefiks väljendab, et midagi tehakse väga palju,

on üldjuhul eesti keeles vasteks lihtverb, näiteks *saēsties* ‘sööma’ (näide (13)), kuid võib olla lisatud ka hulgamäärsõna, näiteks *sadzerties*’ (rohkesti) jooma’.

- (13) Varētu aiziet uz Turku kafejnīcu
võima.COND PREF-minema.INF PREP türgi.PL.GEN kohvik.ACC
saēsties kūkas [...]
PREF-sööma.INF kook.PL.ACC
‘Võiksin minna türgi kohvikusse kooke **sööma** [...]’ (Skujiņš)

Uurimusest selgub, et kuna läti keeles on verbiprefiksrite süsteem üsna lai ja keeruline, on ka arusaadav, miks võib eesti keeles leida prefiksitele mitmeid erinevaid vasteid. Tõenäoliselt on suunatähendus ainus, mille puhul võib konkreetset rääkida sarnasustest: siis, kui läti prefiks omistab verbile suunatähenduse, kannab ta samal ajal kohamäärsõna tähendust ning eesti keeles on just see suunatähendus ka näha – kas samatähendusliku kohamäärsõna, kaassõnafraasi või kohamääruse abil. Kui prefiksi funktsiooniks on väljendada tegevuse algust, on eesti keeles selleks konkreetne vaste – tegevuse algust väljendav ahelverb –, või kui väljendatakse hetkelisust, on eesti keeles vasteks momentaanverb jne. Mida enam kaugeneb prefiksi tähendus suunatähendusest ja muutub verbiga liitudes abstraktsemaks, seda ebakonkreetssem on ka vaste eesti keeles.

Väitekirja autor on seisukohal, et uurimistöö tulemused annavad piisava ülevaate läti prefiksverbide võimalikest vastetest eesti keeles ning on hea lähtepunkt edasiseks uurimiseks.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in the glosses

1, 2, 3	person
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
COND	conditional
COM	comitative
DAT	dative
DINF	da-infinitive
ELA	elative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
IMPER	impersonal
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
POST	postposition
PART	partitive
PP	perfective particle
PREF	prefix
PREP	preposition
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
TRAN	translative
VOC	vocative

Abbreviations used in the text, tables and appendixes

ADV	adverb
GEN	genitive
LIT	literally
NP	noun phrase
PO	partial object
PP	prepositional phrase
PV	prefixed verb
TO	total object
V	verb

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APPENDIX 1.

Latvian – Estonian prefixed verb dictionary

In some cases, the prefixed verb is complemented by a lexeme that clarifies or gives a context to the meaning of the verb, thus forming a phrase with the prefixed verb. These words are given in the brackets, in italics.

1. bāzt ‘thrust’ – toppima, pistma

aizbāzt	pistma, toppima (NPgen + taha/vahele)
iebāzt	toppima (ILL), pistma
izbāzt	vālja pistma, vālja sirutama
nobāzt	pistma (ILL), toppima (peitu)
pabāzt	pistma, ajama (NPgen + alla), kūunitama
piebāzt	tāis toppima, toppima (vastu + NPpart)
piebāzties	riivama
sabāzt	toppima, panema, pistma (ILL), kokku panema
uzbāzties	ligi tikkuma, peale tūkkima

2. braukt ‘drive’ – sõitma

aizbraukt	minema/āra sõitma; sõitma (ILL / NPgen+ taha)
apbraukt	sõitma (ELA + mōōda), ringi āra sõitma
atbraukt	kohale jõudma, tagasi jõudma, naasma, tulema (siia)
iebraukt	sõitma (ILL), saabuma
izbraukt	vālja sõitma (ELA), sõitma ALL, vālja ajama (auto)
nobraukt	1. sõitma (ELA + maha, alla), tiiru tegema 2. puudutama
pabraukt	1. sõitma (natukene) 2. mōōda sõitma
pārbraukt	1. tagasi tulema/jõudma, koju tulema/sõitma 2. üle minema (teisele poole)
sabraukt	1. sõitma kokku (ILL), koonduma, 2. sõitma (mitu subjekti kokku)
uzbraukt	3. otsa sõitma, alla ajama 1. üles sõitma, sõitma (ILL) 2. otsa sõitma

3. cept ‘bake’ – küpsetama, praadima

izcept	küpsetama (valmis)
saccept	praadima (suures koguses), läbi praadima, pruuniks praadima
uzcept	praadima (panni, pliidi peal)

4. čivināt ‘chirp’ – sädistama, sāutsuma

iečivināties	sädistama
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5. degt ‘burn’ – põlema

aizdegt	sūūtama, põlema panema
aizdegties	sūttima, põlema minema

iedegt	1. süütama, põlema panema
	2. päevitama
iedegties	põlema hakkama, põlema minema, põlema lõõma, süttima
nodegt	maha põlema
sadegt	põlema, ära põlema, tuhaks põlema
uzdegt	süütama
uzdegties	süttima

6. dot 'give' – andma

aizdot	laenama, laenuks andma
atdot	andma, tagasi andma, ära andma, loovutama
atdoties	anduma
iedot	andma (kätte) (TO)
izdot	välja andma, reetma
izdoties	õnnestuma, korda minema, välja kukkuma
nodot	reetma, üles andma
padot	ulatama, andma
padoties	1. alla andma, alistuma, alluma 2. õnnestuma (kellelgi midagi teha)
pārdot	müüma, ära müüma
- izpārdot	ära müüma (välja müüma)
piedot	1. andeks andma, andestama 2. andma (juurde), lisama
sadot	virutama, põrgut tegema, läbi sugema
sadoties	käest kinni võtma, kätt andma
uzdot	esitama, tegema ülesandeks
uzdoties	end nimetama (kellekski), end ütlema olevat

7. dzert 'drink' – jooma

apdzert	(prātu) oimetuks jooma
atdzerties	ahneli jooma
iedzert	jooma, terviseks jooma, napsi jooma, sisse võtma, lonksu rüüpama
izdzert	jooma tühjaks, ära jooma, jooma
nodzert	1. jooma, maha jooma 2. (kāzas) pulmi pidama
padzert	jooma (ära)
padzerties	jooma (võtma lonksu)
piedzert	(kõrvale) jooma
piedzerties	täis jääma, maani purjus olema
sadzerties	jooma rohkesti, purjus olema
uzdzert	peale jooma

8. ēst 'eat' – sööma

apēst	sööma (ära), nahka pistma
ieēst	sööma (natukene), midagi sisse sööma
izēst	sööma, ära sööma, tühjaks sööma
noēst	ära sööma (pealt)
paēst	sööma (kesksõnana – söönud), kõht täis, täis sööma
pārēsties	(liiga) sööma

pieēsties	kõhu täis sööma
saēst	(ära) sööma, nārima, uuristama
saēsties	sööma (palju)

9. grūst ‘push’ – lūkkama

atgrūst	(<i>va/ā</i>) lahti lūkkama, valla tõukama, (tagasi) tõukama
atgrūsties	(end) eemale tõukama
iegrūst	lūkkama, suruma (ILL)
izgrūst	suruma, pressima (ELA), välja lūkkama
nogrūst	maha lūkkama (ABL)
pagrūst	lūkkama, müksama, tõukama, (<i>priekšā</i>) ette lūkkama
piegrūst	lūkkama (NPgen + āarde), müksama
piegrūsties	puutuma
sagrūst	toppima (ILL)
sagrūsties	tõuklema
uzgrūsties	otsa kihutama

10. gūt ‘get, to achieve’ – saama, saavutama

aizgūt	laenama (laenamise teel midagi endale omistama)
apgūt	omandama (õppima midagi)
atgūt	tagasi saama
atgūties	toibuma
iegūt	omastama, omandama, saavutama
pagūt	jõudma

11. iet ‘go, to walk’ – minema, kõndima, käima, sammuma

aiziet	minema/ära minema; minema (ILL / NPgen + taha)
atiet	vāljuma, lahkuma
apiet	minema (NPgen + ūmber)
apieties	kāituma, ūmber kāima
ieiet	minema (ILL; sisse), astuma, sisenema
iziet	minema, vāljuma, vālja minema, lahkuma, āra minema
noiet	põhja vajuma, alla minema
paiet	1. kõndima (veidi) 2. kõndima (ILL, ALL) 3. (<i>garām</i>) mõöduma, mõõda minema
paieties	kõndima
pāriet	üle minema (millele; milleks), minema (üle + NPgen), mõöduma, ūletama
pieiet	ligi/ligemale minema, liginema, astuma, minema (NPgen + juurde)
saiet	minema, mahtuma (ILL)
saieties	kokku sobima
uziet	1. leidma, peale sattuma 2. tõusma, ūles minema

12. just ‘feel’ – tundma

iejusties	sisse elama, end tundma, kohanema
izjust	tundma, tajuma, kogema, läbi elama
sajust	tundma, tajuma, tunnetama, taipama, tunda saama
sajusties	end tundma, tundma

13. kārdināt ‘tempt’ – ahvatlema, vōrgutama

iekārdināt ahvatlema, kiusatusse viima

14. kliegt ‘shout, to yell’ – karjuma

atkliegt vastu karjuma
iekliegties kiljatama, hüüdma, hüüatama, kisendama, karjuma, karjatama
izkliegt (välja) kisendama, kuulutama, pasundama, rөөkima, hüüdma
nokliegt hüüdma, karjuma
nokliegties hüüdma, kisama
pakliegt hüüdma (korraks)
pārkliegt üle karjuma (kellestki)
piekliegt tāis karjuma
sakliegties hüüdma, hōiklema
uzkliegt 1. karjuma (NPgen + peale)
 2. karjuma (korraks), kāhvatama

15. korķēt ‘cork’ – korkima

atkorķēt lahti korkima, korki pealt vōtma

16. krist ‘fall’ – kukkuma

aizkrist 1. kukkuma (NPgen + taha)
 2. kinni langema/vajuma
 3. (*balss*) sumbuma
apkrist maha kukkuma
atkrist kukkuma (tahapoole), langema tagasi, āra langema, āra jāāma
iekrīst kukkuma (NPgen + sisse; ILL), langema, vajuma
izkrīst välja kukkuma, maha kukkuma
pakrist kukkuma, langema
piekrīst nōustuma, nōus olema, mōōnma
sakrist kokku langema (ILL), kōssi vajuma
sakristies lohku vajuma
uzkrist langema, kukkuma, peale langema

17. laist ‘let’ – laskma

aizlaist laskma (ILL, ALL), minema sōitma, minema (ILL)
aizlaisties minema/āra lendama; lendama (NPgen + taha, ILL; ALL)
aplaist 1. nakatama
 2. ringi laskma, ringi vaatama, pilgu ringi libistama, vaatama
atlaist lahti laskma
atlaisties laskuma (ILL), heitma (pikali)
ielaist laskma sisse, laskma (ILL)
ielaisties 1. astuma (kōnelustesse)
 2. lendama (ILL)
izlaist laskma (ILL), välja laskma, maha laskma (autost), välja jātma, tōmbama, heitma
izlaisties laskuma, heitma, lesima, pikutama, kāest āra olema
nolaist (alla, maha) laskma, langetama
nolaisties (alla) laskuma, laotuma
palaist laskma (lahti)

pārļāist	libistama (ūle + NPgen)
pārļāisties	lendama (ūle + NPgen)
pielāist	1. (<i>uguni</i>) tuli otsa panema
	2. külge ājama
	3. tāis tegema
salaist	1. laskma (ILL)
	2. (<i>dēļt</i>) vussi ājama
uzļāisties	laskuma (ALL)

18. ļāuzt ‘break’ – murdma

atļāuzt	ļāhti kangutama, ļāhti muukima
ielāuzt	murdma (āra), purustama
ielāuzties	sisse murdma, tungima (ILL)
izļāuzt	maha lõhkuma, ūles kiskuma, āra murdma
izļāuzties	murduma, vālja murdma
nolāuzt	āra murdma, murdma
palāuzties	vastu punnima
pārļāuzt	murdma
pielāuzt	nõusse saama
salāuzt	murdma, purustama, katki murdma, āra murdma
uzļāuzt	sisse murdma, puruks murdma

19. lidot ‘fly’ – lendama

aizlidot	minema/āra lendama; lendama (NPgen + taha / ILL; ALL)
atlidot	lendama + siia, saabuma, kanduma, kostma
aplidot	ringi kāima
ielidot	lendama (ILL)
izlidot	lābi lendama, vālja lendama
nolidot	lendama (maha)
palidot	lendama (suutma)
pārļidot	lendama (ūle + NPgen)
salidot	lendama (ILL) (mitme objekti kohta)
uzlidot	lendama (ūles, ILL)

20. likt ‘put’ – panema, asetama

aizlikt	panema (NPgen + taha)
aplikt	panema (ūmber + NPgen), piirama, katma
atlikt	1. ūle jāāma, jāāma
	2. (<i>atpakaļ</i>) tagasi panema
ielikt	panema, paigutama, seadma (ILL)
izlikt	vālja laduma
izlikties	teesklema, nāima
nolikt	panema (ILL, ALL), maha panema
palikt	1. panema (NPgen + alla)
	2. jāāma (kuhugi)
	3. saama (seisund), (<i>vieglāk</i>) hakkama (kergem)
- atpalikt	maha jāāma
- izpalikt	āra jāāma
pielikt	panema (NPgen + juurde, āārde), lisama

salikt	panema (kokku), kokku võtma, kokku liitma, kokku seadma, laduma, ära panema, seadma
salikties	minema, kujunema
uzlikt	panema (NPgen + peale), asetama (ILL; ALL)

21. mācīt ‘teach’– õpetama

iemācīt	õpetama (selgeks)
izmācīt	õpetama, koolitama
pamācīt	õpetama, hoiatama
pārmācīt	õpetama, karistama
piemācīt	pead tarkust täis toppima
samācīt	õpetama (halbu asju)

22. mācīties ‘learn, to study’– õppetama

iemācīties	õppima (selgeks / ära)
izmācīties	õppima (kelleks)
pamācīties	õppima, võtma nõu
pārmācīties	pingutama end õppimisega üle

23. makšķerēt ‘fish’– kalal kāima, õngitsema

pamakšķerēt	õngitsema (veidi)
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24. mazgāt ‘wash’– pesema

apmazgāt	pesema, kasima
izmazgāt	(puhtaks) pesema, ära pesema
nomazgāt	maha pesema, puhtaks pesema, üle pesema (auto), ära pesema
nomazgāties	end pesema

25. mest ‘throw’– viskama

aizmest	minema viskama, ära viskama, viskama
atmest	1. (<i>ar roku</i>) käega lööma 2. heitma, maha jätma
apmest	viskama (ümber + NPgen), ringi tegema (NPgen + ümber), ümber võtma
apmesties	1. ümber pöörama 2. (maha) istuma, end sisse seadma, peatuma
iemest	viskama (sisse, ILL)
iemesties	1. tekkima, tulema 2. pesa tegema (parasiidide poolt) 3. lööma (valu)
izmest	1. viskama (välja), tühjaks viskama, minema viskama 2. märkima, lausuma, hüüdma
izmesties	1. välja tormama 2. end alasti võtma
nomest	maha heitma, viskama, maha viskama, minema viskama, ära viskama
nomesties	laskuma (põlvili, käpuli)
pamest	1. maha jätma 2. viskama, heitma (NPgen + alla)

pärmest	1. viskama (NPgen + üle)
	2. ette heitma
piemesties	1. külge hakkama
	2. maha istuma
samest	pilduma (ILL), sisse panema, tõmbama (kühmu)
samesties	1. hakkama (kahju, palav, külm, häbi, hirm)
	2. minema (kirjuks, mustaks, haledaks, nõrgaks)
	3. olema kõveras, kiskuma (kõverasse), end keerdu väänama, sõlme minema
	3. (<i>bail</i>) peale tulema (hirm)
	4. muutuma (komistavaks)
uzmest	viskama (ALL), heitma, viskama (TO), tõmbama küüri
uzmesties	tekkima (nt kananahk)

26. näkt ‘come’– tulema

atnākt	tulema (siia, tagasi), jõudma kohale
ienākt	1. sisse tulema, sisenema (ILL)
	2. (<i>prātā</i>) pähe tulema
iznākt	1. välja tulema (ELA)
	2. välja tulema, saama, õnnestuma
nonākt	jõudma (kuhugi)
panākt	1. tulema, astuma
	2. saavutama, järele jõudma, (savu) oma tahtmise saada
panākties	(<i>pretī</i>) vastu tulema
pārākt	tulema (koju), naasma
pienākt	saabuma (rong, hetk, lõpp), kätte jõudma
pienākties	omane olema
sanākt	1. kokku tulema, kogunema,
	2. välja tulema, õnnestuma
uznākt	1. (<i>virsi</i>) (peale) tulema, peale sattuma, sattuma
	2. (<i>augšā</i>) üles minema
	3. saabuma

27. ņemt ‘take’– vōtma

aizņemt	vōtma (enda alla), katma, täitma
aizņemties	laenama, laenu vōtma
apņemt	ümber vōtma
atņemt	vōtma (üle), üle lōōma
ieņemt	vōtma, asuma (ametisse), asetuma
izņemt	vōtma (ELA), välja vōtma
noņemt	vōtma (ELA + alla, maha)
paņemt	vōtma
pārņemt	1. vōtma vōimust üle
	2. tundma, valdama, vallutama,
	3. enda kätte haarama
pieņemt	vastu vōtma
pieņemties	(<i>spēkā</i>) tugevnema, kasvama, kõvenema, hoogu vōtma
saņemt	1. saama (kätte midagi)
	2. kinni haarama

saņemties	ennast(end) kokku vōtma
uzņemt	vastu vōtma, vōtma
uzņemties	enda peale vōtma

28. nīst ‘hate’ – vihkama, pelgama, viha pidama

ienīst	vihkama
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29. prast ‘know how’ – oskama

izprast	mōistma, aru saama, lahti mōtestama
noprast	aru saama, taipama
pieprast	oskama (omama oskust/ametit)
pārprast	valesti aru saama, vāāriti mōistma
saprast	aru saama, mōistma, taipama

30. pūt ‘rot’ – mādanema

iepūt	mādanema (veidi, mādanema minema)
sapūt	mādanema (āra)

31. rakstīt ‘write’ – kirjutama

aizrakstīt	kirjutama (kellelegi kuhugi)
aprakstīt	1. kirjeldama 2. kirjutama tāis (kritseldama)
atrakstīt	kirjutama (siia, mulle, kelleltki on kiri)
ierakstīt	kirjutama (sisse, ILL), kirja panema, nimekirja panama, registrisse panema
izrakstīt	vālja kirjutama (rohtu)
izrakstīties	1. kirjutama end vālja (ELA) 2. kirjutama (pikalt-laialt)
norakstīt	maha kirjutama, maha kandma
parakstīt	alla kirjutama (paberile, dokumendile, nime)
parakstīties	alla kirjutama
pārrakstīt	ūmber kirjutama
pierakstīt	ūles kirjutama, ūles mārķima, lisama, juurde kirjutama
sarakstīt	kirjutama (mōne teose), sikedama
sarakstīties	kirjavahetust pidama
uzrakstīt	kirjutama (TO), kritseldama

32. risināt ‘solve’ – lahendama

atrisināt	lahendama (āra)
atrisināties	lahenema (āra)

33. saukt ‘call, to shout’ – hūūdma, nimetama

aizsaukt	kutsuma (ILL)
apsaukt	tagasi kutsuma, āra kutsuma, hūūdma, korrale kutsuma
atsaukt	tagasi kutsuma
atsaukties	hūūatama, hūūdma, vastama
iesaukt	1. kutsuma (sisse) 2. kutsuma hakkama (kedagi kellekski)
iesaukties	hūūatama, hūūdma, hōikama, pahvatama

izsaukt	välja kutsuma, esile kutsuma
izsaukties	hüüdma
nosaukt	nimeks panema, nimetama
pasaukt	hüüdma, kutsuma
piesaukt	(vārdā) nimetama välja kutsuma (kurja)
sasaukt	kokku kutsuma, kutsuma
sasaukties	hõikama
uzsaukt	1. hüüdma, hõikama, hüüatama 2. välja tegema

34. skriet ‘run’ – jooksuma

aizskriet	minema jooksuma; jooksuma (NPgen + taha / ILL, ALL)
apskriet	tiiru tegema, läbima, ringi käima
atskriet	tagasi jooksuma, tagasi jõudma, kohale kihutama, saabuma
ieskriet	jooksuma (ILL; sisse), käima (NPela + läbi), astuma, tormama
ieskrieties	joostes hoogu võtma
izskriet	välja jooksuma, läbi jooksuma, tormama, välja tormama, välja libisema
noskriet	maha jooksuma (distant), jooksuma, veerema, valguma
paskriet	jooksuma (mõne sammu, mõnda aega)
pārskriet	1. üle käima, üle jooksuma 2. minema teisele poole
pieskriet	jooksuma (NPgen + juurde), ligi jooksuma
saskriet	kokku jooksuma, kogunema, tõttama
saskrieties	põrkuma kokku
uzskriet	1. üles jooksuma, jooksuma, sattuma 2. otsa kihutama

35. soļot ‘walk, to march’ – sammuma, marssima, kõndima, astuma, tulema, käima

aizsoļot	sammuma (NPgen + poole, TERM)
iesoļot	sammuma (ILL, ALL)
nosoļot	sammuma (distanti)

36. stāties ‘take a stand’ – astuma, seisatama, seisma jääma

aizstāties	astuma ette (ALL)
apstāties	peatuma, seisatama, seisma jääma
iestāties	1. astuma (seltsi, kooli) 2. saabuma, tekkima (vaikus)
izstāties	välja astuma
nostāties	seisma jääma, rivistuma
sastāties	kogunema, asetuma
uzstāties	esinema

37. stiprināt ‘strengthen’ – tugevdama, karastama, jõudu ammutama

apstiprināt	kinnitama (fakti, tõde)
apstiprināties	kindlaks tegema, leidma kinnitust
iestiprināt	tugevdama (ILL)
iestiprināties	keha kinnitama
nostiprināt	kinnitama, tugevdama, toestama
nostiprināties	kosuma (tervis)

pastiprināt tugevdama
 pastiprināties tugevnema
 piestiprināt kinnitama (NPgen + külge)

38. sviest 'throw'– viskama

aizsviest minema viskama, viskama (NPgen + taha, ILL, ALL)
 apsviest ringi pöörama
 apsviesties ringi/ümber pöörama, teisiti pöörduma
 atsviest 1. heitma (tagapooles)
 2. vastama, (vastu) sähvama
 iesviest viskama (sisse, ILL)
 izsviest välja viskama, minema kihutama (ELA), viskama
 nosviest maha paiskama/pillama/viskama, ära viskama, viskama (ELA)
 pasviest viskama (NPgen + alla), heitma
 pārsviest viskama (üle + NPgen)
 piesviest viskama (NPgen + juurde)
 sasviesties kalduma (kõrvale)
 uzsviest 1. (*virsi*) peale viskama,
 2. (*augšā*) paiskama õhku

40. taisīt 'make'– tegema, valmistama

aiztaisīt kinni panema, sulgema
 attaisīt lahti tegema, avama
 iztaisīt tekitama, valmistama, tegema
 notaisīt ära määrima
 pataisīt tegema (milliseks)
 pārtaisīt ümber tegema
 pietaisīt tāis tegema
 sataisīt tegema, kokku panema
 sataisīties ennast kokku võtma, minema ehtima
 uztaisīt tegema, valmistama

41. tīt 'wrap'– mähkima, kerima

aptīt mähkima (ümber + NPgen)
 attīt lahti harutama, lahti tegema
 ietīt mähkima (sisse, ILL)
 ietīties mähkuma (ILL)
 izītīt lahti mähkima, lahti harutama
 notīt kinni mähkima
 notīties kaduma (jalga laskma), uttu tõmbama
 pārtīt (*atpakaļ*) tagasi kerima
 satīt mähkima (ILL), keerama (rulli), kokku kerima
 satīties mähkuma
 uzītīt kerima, keerama (ILL)

42. turēt 'hold'– hoidma, pidama

aizturēt kinni hoidma, kinni pidama
 atturēt tagasi hoidma, kinni hoidma
 atturēties hoiduma (millestki)

ieturēties	keha kinnitama, sōōma, einestama
izturēt	kannatama, vastu pidama
izturēties	suhtuma, kāituma
noturēt	pidama (kedagi/midagi millekski)
noturēties	vastu pidama, pūsima
paturēt	(sev) jātma (endale)
pieturēt	kinni hoidma, kinni pidama, peatuma, peatama
pieturēties	pūsima, kinni hoidma
saturēt	sisaldama
uzturēt	pidama, ūlal hoidma

43. vērt 'open' – avama

aizvērt	kinni panema, sulgema
aizvērties	sulguma, kinni vajuma
atvērt	lahti tegema, avama
atvērties	avanema
pavērt	lahti tegema, avanema
pavērties	1. avanema, paokile minema 2. otsa vaatama
pievērt	korraks sulgema
pievērties	pilukile tōmbuma

44. vest 'take, carry' – viima

aizvest	minema viima; vedama (midagi/kedagi ILL, ALL, NPgen+ taha)
atvest	tooma (kaasa/tagasi/kohale)
ievest	viima (sisse, ILL), juurde tooma
izvest	viima (vālja + NPela)
novest	viima (alla)
pavest	1. vōrgutama (āra) 2. viima (lūhikest distantsi)
pārvest	tooma (tagasi, siia, koju)
pievest	viima (NPgen + juurde), tooma
savest	1. vedama, tooma (kokku) 2. (<i>kārtībā</i>) korda seadma 3. (<i>strīdā</i>) tūlli ajama
uzvest	viima (ūles)
uzvesties	kāituma

45. vilkt 'pull' – vedama, tōmbama

aizvilkt	1. vedama (kedagi ILL, ALL) 2. (<i>ciet</i>) kinni tōmbama 3. (<i>priekšā</i>) ette tōmbama / vedama
aizvilkties	(<i>ciet</i>) varjama, kattuma
apvilkt	ūmbritsema (traataiaga)
atvilkt	tagasi tōmbama, tōmbama, āra tōmbama, tassima
atvilkties	(<i>līdzi</i>) end kaasa vedama
ievilkt	sisse tōmbama, vedama (sisse)
izvilkt	vālja tōmbama, vōtma (ELA)
izvilkties	vedama end (kuskilt vālja, kuhugi)

novilk	võtma (ELA), ära tõmbama
pavilk	tõmbama (veidi)
pārvilk	üle tõmbama, kiskuma (üle + NPgen), katma
pārvilkties	end (koju) vedama
pievilk	ligi kiskuma, tõmbama külge, kinni, kaasa, järele vedama
savilk	1. (<i>krampī</i>) kiskuma (krampi), (<i>dūrē</i>) tõmbama (rusikasse) 2. (<i>seju grimasē</i>) muigutama
uzvilk	1. selga panema, jalga panema 2. tõmbama, vedama, vinnastama

46. zibēt ‘flash, to glitter’ – vilksatama, vilkuma, vālkuma

aizzibēt	(<i>garām</i>) mööda kihutama
iezibēties	vilksatama, vālkuma, sähvatama, helkima lööma
nozibēt	(<i>garām</i>) vālkuma, vālgatama (koraks)
pazibēt	1. vālgatama, vilkuma, vilksatama 2. (<i>atmiņā</i>) meelde tulema
uzzibēt	vālgatama koraks

APPENDIX 2.

The equivalents of the 11 Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian

The equivalents of Latvian verbal prefixes in Estonian are given for each of the 11 prefixes based on 46 verbs studied. Due to the limited number of verbs analyzed, it should be kept in mind that not all of the possible meanings of prefixes are represented.

The results are presented in the form of a table: the left column presents the Latvian verbal prefix meaning with one or more examples, and the right column presents the corresponding Estonian equivalent (i.e. translation of the Latvian prefixed verb). This is an overview of the results, presenting all the possible different equivalents. Still, the concrete situation when the verbs will be used always depends on the context. Also, since verbal prefixes and prefixed verbs may be polysemous, the same prefixed verb may belong to several divisions.

Verbal prefix meanings are based on the Ahero et al. (1959), Soida (2009) and Vulāne (2015) description and Latvian General Dictionary (TEZ). The goal of the research was no to propose a new Latvian verbal prefix system or division, but to see what equivalents can be possible according to the division that is already proposed by the sources mentioned previously.

Prefix *aiz-*

In the spatial meaning, the equivalents of the prefix *aiz-* in Estonian are adverbs of place or state (*minema* ‘away’, *ära* ‘away’, *kohale* ‘in place’, *ette* ‘in front’, *kinni* ‘close’, *mööda* ‘past, by’) or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. postpositional phrase NPgen + *taha* ‘behind’, noun phrase (noun in terminative, illative or allative).

Table 5. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *aiz-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>prom</i> ‘away’	adverb <i>minema</i> ‘away’, <i>ära</i> ‘away’
<i>aizbraukt</i> ‘drive away’	<i>minema sõitma</i> or <i>ära sõitma</i> ‘drive away’
b) <i>ciet</i> ‘close’	adverb <i>kinni</i> ‘close’ or verb semantics
<i>aiztaisūt</i> ‘close’	<i>kinni panema</i> or <i>sulgema</i> ‘close’
c) <i>priekšā</i> ‘in front’	adverb <i>ette</i> ‘in front’
<i>aizvilkt</i> ‘pull in front’	<i>ette tõmbama</i> ‘pull in front’
d) <i>garām</i> ‘past, by’	adverb <i>mööda</i> ‘past, by’
<i>aizzibēt</i> ‘fly by’	<i>mööda kihutama</i> ‘chase by’
2. goal or destination	simple verb (+ preposition or adverbial)
<i>aiziet</i> ‘go’	<i>minema</i> ‘go’
<i>aizrakstīt</i> ‘write’	<i>kirjutama</i> ‘write’ (+ total object)
3. beginning of the action	compound verb or verb semantics
<i>aizdegt</i> ‘light up’	<i>põlema panema</i> , <i>süütama</i> ‘light up’
4. individualized	verb semantics or verb + adverbial
<i>aizdot</i> ‘lend’	<i>laenama</i> or <i>andma laenuks</i> ‘lend’
<i>aizņemties</i> ‘borrow, take a loan’	<i>laenama</i> or <i>võtma laenu</i> ‘borrow, take a loan’

Prefix *ap-*

In the spatial meaning, the meaning of the prefix *ap-* is expressed by adverbs of place or state (*ringi* ‘around’, *üumber* ‘around’, *mööda* ‘past, by’, *maha* ‘off’) or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the postpositional phrase NPgen + *üumber* ‘around’.

Table 6. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *ap-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
<i>apkārt</i> ‘around’	adverb <i>ringi</i> ‘around’
<i>apviest</i> ‘throw around’	<i>ringi pöörama</i> ‘turn around’
	adverb <i>üumber</i> ‘around’
<i>apņemt</i> ‘embrace’	<i>üumber võtma</i> ‘embrace’
	adverb <i>mööda</i> ‘past, by’
<i>apbraukt</i> ‘pass by’	<i>mööda sõitma</i> ‘pass by’
	adverb <i>maha</i> ‘down, on the ground’
<i>apkrist</i> ‘fall over’	<i>maha kukkuma</i> ‘fall down’
	verb semantics
<i>apvilkt</i> ‘encircle’	<i>ümbritsema</i> ‘encircle’
2. the end of the action	compound verb or verb semantics
<i>apstāties</i> ‘stop’	<i>seisma jääma</i> or <i>peatuma, seistama</i> ‘stop’
	particle verb or phrasal verb
<i>apēst</i> ‘eat up’	<i>sööma (ära)</i> ‘eat up’ or <i>nahka pistma</i> ‘eat up’ (lit. to put into the skin)
3. partial action	simple verb + partitive
<i>apmazgāt</i> ‘wash’	<i>pesema, kasima</i> ‘wash’
4. individualized	simple verb
<i>apgūt</i> ‘acquire’	<i>omandama</i> ‘acquire’
	phrasal verb
<i>apstiprināties</i> ‘confirm’	<i>kindlaks tegema, leidma kinnitust</i> ‘confirm’

Prefix *at-*

Estonian equivalents of the prefix *at-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*tagasi* ‘back’, *kohale* ‘over’, *lahti*, *valla* ‘open’, *maha* ‘off’, *vastu* ‘against’, *kõrvale*, *eemale* ‘away, aside’, *üle* ‘over’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. adverbial *siia* ‘here’, postpositional phrase NPgen + *vastu* (or prepositional phrase *vastu* + NPpart) or noun in illative.

Table 7. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *at-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>atpakaļ</i> ‘back’	adverb <i>tagasi</i> ‘back’
<i>atdot</i> ‘give back’	<i>tagasi andma</i> ‘give back’
	adverb <i>kohale</i> ‘over’
<i>atvest</i> ‘bring over’	<i>kohale tooma</i> ‘bring over’
b) <i>vaļā</i> ‘open’	adverb <i>lahti</i> ‘open’ or verb semantics
<i>attaisīt</i> ‘open’	<i>lahti tegema</i> or <i>avama</i> ‘open’
c) <i>nost</i> ‘off’	adverb <i>kõrvale</i> ‘away’
<i>atgrūst</i> ‘push aside’	<i>kõrvale lükkama</i> ‘push aside’
	adverb <i>eemale</i> ‘aside’
<i>atgrūsties</i> ‘push oneself off’	<i>end eemale tõukama</i> ‘push oneself away’
	adverb <i>maha</i> ‘off’
<i>atpalikt</i> ‘fall behind’	<i>maha jääma</i> ‘stay behind’
	adverb <i>üle</i> ‘over’
<i>atņemt</i> ‘take away’	<i>võtma (üle)</i> , <i>üle lööma</i> ‘take away, take over’
d) <i>preff</i> ‘against’	adverb <i>vastu</i> ‘against’
<i>atkliegt</i> ‘shout back’	<i>vastu karjuma</i> ‘shout back’
e) <i>šurp</i> ‘here’	adverb <i>siia</i> ‘here’
<i>atlidot</i> ‘come by flying’	<i>lendama</i> ‘fly’ (+ <i>siia</i> ‘here’)
	simple verb (+ adverbial, pronoun)
<i>atrakstīt</i> ‘write’	<i>kirjutama</i> ‘write’ (<i>siia</i> ‘here’, <i>mulle</i> ‘to me’)
2. the end of the action	verb + total object
<i>atrisināt</i> ‘solve’	<i>lahendama</i> ‘solve’
3. quantity	adverbial <i>ahnelt</i> ‘greedily’
<i>atdzerties</i> ‘drink too much’	<i>ahnelt jooma</i> ‘drink greedily’
4. individualized	simple verb
<i>atgūties</i> ‘recover’	<i>toibuma</i> ‘recover’
	particle verb
<i>atkrist</i> ‘be cancelled’	<i>ära langema</i> , <i>ära jääma</i> ‘be cancelled’
	phrasal verb
<i>atmest (ar roku)</i> ‘give up’	<i>käega lööma</i> ‘give up’ (lit. throw with a hand)

Prefix *ie-*

In Estonian, the main equivalent of the prefix *ie-* is verbal particle *sisse* ‘inside’ or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. postpositional phrase NPgen + *sisse*, substantive in the illative or allative.

Table 8. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *ie-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
<i>iekšā</i> ‘inside’	verbal particle <i>sisse</i> ‘in’ or verb semantics
<i>ieiet</i> ‘go inside’	<i>sisse minema</i> or <i>astuma</i> , <i>sisenema</i> ‘go inside’
2. beginning of the action	compound verb or verb semantics
<i>iedegties</i> ‘light up’	<i>põlema minema</i> or <i>süttima</i> ‘light up’
	phrase
<i>ieskrieties</i> ‘start running’	<i>joostes hoogu võtma</i> ‘start running’
3. momentary action	momentaneous verb or simple verb
<i>ilesaukties</i> ‘exclaim’	<i>hüüatama</i> , <i>hüüdma</i> ‘exclaim’
	compound verb or simple verb
<i>iezibēties</i> ‘sparkle’	<i>helkima lööma</i> or <i>vilksatama</i> ‘sparkle’
4. partial action	simple verb or phrase
<i>iedzert</i> ‘drink (a bit)’	<i>jooma</i> ‘drink’ or <i>napsi võtma</i> ‘tipple’
5. the end of the action	simple verb (+ total object)
<i>iedot</i> ‘give’	<i>andma</i> ‘give’
<i>iemācīties</i> ‘learn’	<i>õppima</i> ‘learn’
	simple (partitive) verb
<i>ienīst</i> ‘hate’	<i>vihkama</i> ‘hate’
6. individualized	simple verb or phrasal verb
<i>ieturēties</i> ‘fortify oneself	<i>sööma</i> ‘eat’, <i>einestama</i> ‘have a meal’ or <i>keha kinnitama</i> ‘nosh’ (lit. strengthen a body)

Prefix *iz-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *iz-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*välja* ‘out’, *läbi* ‘through’, *lahti* ‘open’, *maha* ‘off’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by noun phrase in elative or ablative.

Table 9. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *iz-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>āra, laukā</i> ‘out’	adverb <i>välja</i> ‘out’ or verb semantics
<i>iziet</i> ‘go out, leave’	<i>välja minema</i> or <i>lahkuma, väljuma</i> ‘go out, leave’
	adverb <i>maha</i> ‘off’
<i>izlauzt</i> ‘take out, remove’	<i>maha lõhkuma</i> ‘knock down’
b) <i>cauri</i> ‘through’	adverb <i>läbi</i> ‘through’
<i>izlidot</i> ‘fly through’	<i>läbi lendama</i> ‘fly through’
c) <i>vaļā</i> ‘open’	adverb <i>lahti</i> ‘open’
<i>iztīt</i> ‘unwrap’	<i>lahti mähkima</i> ‘unwrap’
2. quantity	simple verb (+ adverbial)
<i>izrakstīties</i> ‘write a lot’	<i>kirjutama</i> ‘write’ (+ <i>pikalt-laialt</i> ‘elaborately’)
3. momentary	simple verb
<i>izsaukties</i> ‘exclaim’	<i>hüüdma</i> ‘exclaim’
4. the end of the action	simple verb
<i>izcept</i> ‘bake’	<i>küpsetama</i> ‘bake’ (+ total object)
<i>izmācīties</i> ‘learn (to become somebody)’	<i>õppima (kellekski)</i> ‘learn (to become somebody)’
	phrasal verb
<i>izmazgāt</i> ‘wash, clean out’	<i>puhtaks pesema</i> ‘wash, clean out’
4. individualized	simple verb or idiomatic particle verb
<i>izturēt</i> ‘endure, stand’	(<i>välja</i>) <i>kannatama</i> or <i>vastu pidama</i> ‘endure, bear up’
	verb semantics or phrasal verb
<i>izdoties</i> ‘succeed, work out’	<i>õnnestuma, korda minema, välja kukkuma</i> ‘come off’

Prefix *no-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *no-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*maha* ‘off’, *ära* ‘off’, *alla* ‘down’, *kinni* ‘close’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by noun in elative/ablative or illative/allative.

Table 10. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *no-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>nost</i> ‘off’	adverb <i>maha</i> ‘off’
<i>nogrüst</i> ‘push off’	<i>maha lükkama</i> ‘push off’
	adverb <i>ära</i> ‘off’
<i>nolauzt</i> ‘break off’	(<i>ära</i>) <i>murdma</i> ‘break off’
	adverb <i>kinni</i> ‘close’
<i>noüt</i> ‘twine around’	<i>kinni mähkima</i> ‘swaddle’
b) <i>lejā/lejud</i> ‘down’	adverb <i>alla</i> ‘down’
<i>novest</i> ‘lead down’	<i>alla viima</i> ‘lead down’
2. to cover a distance / time period	simple verb (+ adverbial of distance)
<i>nolidot</i> ‘fly’	<i>lendama</i> ‘fly’
3. the end of the action / completed	adverb <i>maha</i> ‘off’
<i>nodegt</i> ‘burn down’	<i>maha põlema</i> ‘burn down’
	simple verb or perfective particle <i>ära</i>
<i>nomazgāt</i> ‘wash (clean)’	(<i>ära</i>) <i>pesema</i> ‘wash (clean)’
4. momentary	simple verb
<i>nokliegties</i> ‘shout’	<i>hüüdma, kisama</i> ‘shout’
5. partial action	phrasal verb or simple verb
<i>noprast</i> ‘understand, foresee’	<i>aru saama, taipama</i> ‘understand, to foresee’
6. quantity	simple verb
<i>noņemties</i> ‘be engaged in something’	<i>tegelema</i> ‘be engaged in something’
7. individualized	verb semantics or particle verb
<i>nodot</i> ‘betray’	<i>reetma</i> or <i>üles andma</i> ‘betray’
	phrasal verb or simple verb
<i>noprast</i> ‘understand, guess’	<i>aru saama</i> or <i>taipama, aimama</i> ‘understand, guess’
	phrasal verb
<i>noitlies</i> ‘flee’	<i>jalga laskma</i> ‘take a hike’, <i>uttu tõmbama</i> ‘flee’

Prefix *pa-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pa-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*mööda* ‘past, by’, *lahti* ‘open’, *alla* ‘down’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. postpositional phrase NPgen + *alla*, or noun in illative.

Table 11. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pa-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>garām</i> ‘past, by’	adverb <i>mööda</i> ‘past, by’ or verb semantics
<i>paiet</i> ‘pass by’	<i>mööda minema</i> or <i>mööduma</i> ‘pass by’
b) <i>vaļā</i> ‘open’	adverb <i>lahti</i> ‘open’
<i>palaist</i> ‘release’	<i>lahti laskma</i> ‘release’
c) <i>apakšā</i> down’	adverb <i>alla</i> ‘down’
<i>parakstīties</i> ‘sign, give a signature’	<i>alla kirjutama</i> ‘sign, give a signature’
2. the end of the action	simple verb
<i>pakrist</i> ‘fall’	<i>kukkuma</i> ‘fall’
	simple verb (+ total object)
<i>paņemt</i> ‘take’	<i>võtma</i> ‘take’
3. quantity	simple verb
<i>padzerties</i> ‘drink a bit’	<i>jooma</i> ‘drink’
	adverb <i>pisut</i> ‘a little bit’
<i>pabraukt</i> ‘drive a bit’	<i>sõitma (pisut)</i> ‘drive a bit’
4. emphasizing adjective action / increasing activity	verb semantics
<i>pastiprināt</i> ‘reinforce, strengthen’	<i>tugevdama, karastama</i> ‘reinforce, strengthen’
5. individualized	idiomatic particle verb
<i>padoties</i> ‘give up’	<i>alla andma</i> ‘give up’
	verb semantics (verbal particle)
<i>pavest</i> ‘seduce’	<i>(ära) võrgutama</i> ‘seduce’

Prefix *pār-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pār-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*tagasi* ‘back’, *üle* ‘over’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. postpositional phrase *üle* + NPgen.

Table 12. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pār-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>atpakaļ</i> ‘back’	adverb <i>tagasi</i> ‘back’ or verb semantics
<i>pārbraukt</i> ‘come back, return’	<i>tagasi tulema</i> or <i>naasma</i> ‘come back, return’
b) <i>pāri</i> ‘over’	adverb <i>üle</i> ‘over’
<i>pārskriet</i> ‘run across’	<i>üle jooksmata</i> ‘run across’
2. return to the starting point	noun phrase <i>koju</i> ‘home’
<i>pārnākt</i> ‘come back’	<i>koju tulema</i> ‘come back home’
3. to repeat something	adverb <i>ümbes</i> ‘over’
<i>pärrakstīt</i> ‘re-write’	<i>ümber kirjutama</i> ‘re-write’
4. to beat/ to use force over	adverb <i>üle</i> ‘over’
<i>pärkliegt</i> ‘outyell’	<i>üle karjuma</i> ‘outyell’
5. to fall apart	simple verb
<i>pārlauzt</i> ‘break’	<i>murdma</i> ‘break’
6. to be mistaken	adverb <i>valesti</i> ‘wrong’, <i>vääriti</i> ‘wrong’
<i>pārprast</i> ‘misunderstand’	<i>valesti aru saama, vääriti mõistma</i> ‘misunderstand’
7. too much	adverb <i>liiga</i> ‘too much’
<i>pārēsties</i> ‘overeate’	<i>sööma (liiga palju)</i> ‘overeate’
8. individualized	verb + total object or particle verb
<i>pārdot</i> ‘sell’	<i>müüma (ära)</i> ‘sell’
	idiomatic particle verb
<i>pārmest</i> ‘reproach’	<i>ette heitma</i> ‘reproach’

Prefix *pie-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pie-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*juurde* ‘near’, *ligi* ‘near’, *kinni* ‘close’, *külge* ‘beside’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. postpositional phrase NPgen + *juurde*, NPgen + *külge*, NPgen + *äärde*.

Table 13. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *pie-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
<i>klāt</i> ‘near, close’	adverb <i>juurde</i> ‘near’
<i>piegrüst</i> ‘push closer’	<i>juurde puistama</i> ‘push closer’
	adverb <i>ligi</i> ‘near’ / <i>ligemale</i> ‘near’
<i>pieiet</i> ‘walk up to’	<i>ligi / ligemale minema</i> ‘walk up to’
	adverb <i>kinni</i> ‘close’
<i>pieturēties</i> ‘hold on to’	<i>kinni hoidma, püsima</i> ‘hold on to’
2. to do something a lot	perfective particle <i>täis</i> ‘full’
<i>pie dzerties</i> ‘get drunk’	<i>täis jääma</i> ‘get drunk’
3. end of the action / fullness	simple verb or perfective particle <i>täis</i> ‘full’
<i>piebāzt</i> ‘fill up’	(<i>täis</i>) <i>toppima</i> ‘fill up’
4. quantity	adverb <i>korra</i> ‘for a moment’
<i>pievērt</i> ‘close for a moment’	<i>sulgema korra</i> ‘close for a moment’
5. a little bit	simple verb
<i>pieprast</i> ‘know how to’	<i>oskama</i> ‘know how to’
6. to add something	adverb <i>kõrvale</i> ‘additional’
<i>pie dzert</i> ‘drink something additionally’	(<i>kõrvale</i>) <i>jooma</i> ‘drink something additionally’
7. individualized	idiomatic particle verb
<i>pieņemt</i> ‘accept’	<i>vastu võtma</i> ‘accept’
	phrasal verb or simple verb
<i>pie dot</i> ‘forgive’	<i>andeks andma</i> or <i>andestama</i> ‘forgive’
<i>pie nākt</i> ‘arrive, reach’	<i>kätte jõudma</i> or <i>saabuma</i> ‘arrive, reach’

Prefix *sa-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *sa-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*kokku* ‘together’, *lohu* ‘into an indented state’, *kõssi* ‘into a slump’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. noun phrase in illative/allative.

Table 14. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *sa-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
<i>kopā</i> ‘together’	adverb <i>kokku</i> ‘together’
<i>sasaukt</i> ‘call together’	<i>kokku kutsuma</i> ‘call together’
	adverb <i>kõssi</i> ‘into a slump’, <i>lohu</i> ‘into an indented state’
<i>sakristies</i> ‘fall into a slump’	<i>lohu vajuma</i> ‘fall into a slump’
	verb semantics
<i>sastäties</i> ‘gather’	<i>kogunema, asetuma</i> ‘gather’
2. goal	simple verb
<i>saņemt</i> ‘receive’	<i>saama</i> ‘receive’ (+ total object)
3. end on the action	perfective particle <i>ära</i> ‘off’, <i>tuhaks</i> ‘to ashes’, adverb <i>läbi</i> ‘through’
<i>sadegt</i> ‘burn up’	<i>ära põlema, tuhaks põlema, läbi põlema</i> ‘burn up’
	simple verb
<i>sapūt</i> ‘decay’	<i>mādanema</i> ‘decay’
4. quantity (too much)	adverb <i>rohkesti</i> ‘a lot’
<i>sadzerties</i> ‘drink a lot’	<i>jooma rohkesti</i> ‘drink a lot’
	simple verb
<i>saēsties</i> ‘eat a lot’	<i>sööma</i> ‘eat’
5. interaction	simple verb
<i>sasaukties</i> ‘call / shout to each other’	<i>hõikama</i> ‘call out’
	adverb <i>kokku</i> ‘together’
<i>saieties</i> ‘match’	<i>kokku sobima</i> ‘match’
	phrase
<i>sarakstūties</i> ‘keep up a correspondence’	<i>kirjavahetust pidama</i> ‘keep up a correspondence’
6. individualized	verb semantics
<i>saturēt</i> ‘consist of’	<i>sisaldama</i> ‘consist of’
	particle verb or simple verb
<i>sanākt</i> ‘come off’	<i>välja tulema</i> or <i>õnnestuma</i> ‘come off’

Prefix *uz-*

The Estonian equivalents of the prefix *uz-* are mainly adverbs of place and manner (*üles* ‘up’, *peale* ‘on top of’), or the meaning of the prefix can be included in verb semantics. The directional meaning is supported by the adverbials that extend the verb, e.g. noun phrase in illative/allative.

Table 15. Estonian equivalents of the prefix *uz-*

Verbal prefix meaning & example	Estonian equivalent
1. adverb	
a) <i>augšā</i> ‘up’	adverb <i>üles</i> ‘up’
<i>uziet</i> ‘go up’	<i>üles minema</i> ‘go up’
b) <i>viršū</i> ‘on top of’	adverb <i>peale</i> ‘on top of’
<i>uzdzert</i> ‘drink on top of’	<i>peale jooma</i> ‘drink on top of’
	perfective particle <i>otsa</i>
<i>uzgrūsties</i> ‘bump into’	<i>otsa kihutama</i> ‘bump into’
2. momentary action	momentaneous verb + adverb <i>korra</i> ‘for a moment’
<i>uzzibēt</i> ‘lighten up for a moment’	<i>vālgatama korra</i> ‘lighten up for a moment’
	momentaneous verb/verb semantics
<i>uzdegties</i> ‘light up’	<i>süttima</i> ‘light up’
3. beginning of action	simple verb or particle verb (+ total object)
<i>uzņemt</i> ‘accept, receive’	<i>(vastu) võtma</i> ‘accept, receive’
4. end of the action	simple verb
<i>uzrakstīt</i> ‘write’	<i>kirjutama, kritseldama</i> ‘write’ (+ total object)
5. individualized	verb semantics or idiomatic particle verb
<i>uzturēt</i> ‘maintain, support’	<i>pidama</i> or <i>ülal hoidma</i> ‘maintain, support’
	verb semantics
<i>uzstāties</i> ‘perform’	<i>esinema</i> ‘perform’

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