

TARTU ÜLIKOOLI EESTI KEELE ÕPPETOOLI TOIMETISED 4

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ESTONIAN OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF TARTU 4

ESTONIAN: TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES I

edited by
Mati Erelt

TARTU 1996

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Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastuse trükikoda
Tiigi 78, EE2400 Tartu
Tellimus nr. 248.

PREFACE

Until recently the study of the grammatical structure of Estonian has been largely Estocentric. Several branches of grammar have seen the establishment of local traditions that are not fully compatible with the grammatical conceptions that are spread elsewhere. Moreover, the majority of research concerning Estonian has been written in Estonian. These circumstances have brought about a situation where data about Estonian are scarce in contemporary typological studies. The present collection opens a series of studies with the purpose of making the grammatical description of Estonian 'convertible' We hope that both typology and the study of Estonian will benefit from this approach.

EESSÕNA

Eesti keele grammatilise ehituse uurimine on seni olnud valdavalt eestikeskne. Nii mõneski grammatikaharus on välja kujunenud oma traditsioon, mis päriselt ei haaku mujal levinud grammatika-kontseptsioonidega. Pealegi on enamik eesti keele kohta käivaid töid kirjutatud eesti keeles. Need asjaolud on olnud põhjuseks, miks tänapäeva tüpoloogilistes uurimustes kohtab võrdlemisi harva andmeid eesti keele kohta. Käesolev kogumik avab uurimuste sarja, mille eesmärgiks on muuta eesti grammatikakirjeldus "konverteeritavaks" Me eeldame, et niisugusest lähenemisest tõuseb kasu nii tüpoloogiale kui ka eesti keele uurimisele endale.

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RELATIVE WORDS IN ESTONIAN RELATIVE CLAUSES

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0. The relative clause in Estonian begins with a relative word, which is usually the prosubstantive *kes* 'who' (1) or *mis* 'that, which' (2). In special cases, however, one can find relative pro-adjectives *milline* 'which' and *missugune* 'which', in spoken language sporadically *mäherdune* 'which' (3), local adverbs *kuhu* 'to where', *kus* 'where', *kust* 'from where' (4), the temporal adverb *mil(lal)* 'when' (5), and occasionally even conjunctions *kui* 'if, when' (6), and *et* 'that' (7).

- (1) *see mees, kes siin käis*
it man who here come-impf
'the man who came here'
- (2) *see auto, mille ma ostsin*
it car that-gen I buy-impf-1sg
'the car that I bought'
- (3) *niisugune auto, millise sa ostsid*
such car which-gen you buy-impf-2sg
'the kind of car that you bought'
- (4) *see maja, kus ma elan*
it house where I live-1sg
'the house where I live'
- (5) *Varsti saabub päev, mil(lal) tuleb esitada ettepanek*
soon arrive day when must submit-inf proposal
'Soon the day will arrive when proposal will have to be submitted'
- (6) *Varsti saabub päev, kui tuleb esitada ettepanek*
soon arrive day when must submit-inf proposal
'Soon the day will arrive when proposal will have to be submitted'

- (7) *Ta on selline inimene, et laenab*
 he/she be-3sg such man that borrow-3sg
kõigilt raha
 everybody-pl-abl money-par
 'He/she is the kind of person who borrows money from
 everybody'

The following article will focus only on relative pronouns — prosubstantives *kes* and *mis* and proadjectives *milline*, *missugune* and *mäherdune* as they are more interesting from the point of view of both typology and the literary norm. The data come from the corpus of Estonian at Tartu University, which reflects language usage of the 1980s.

1. *Kes* 'who' and *mis* 'that, which'

Kes and *mis* are the main relative words in Estonian that can be used in place of almost any other relative word (*niisugune auto, millise = mille sa ostsid* 'the kind of car that you bought; *see maja, kus = milles ma elan* 'the house where I live; *ta on selline inimene, et = kes laenab kõikidelt raha* 'he/she is the kind of person who borrows money from everybody'). In connection with these relative pronouns the following problems will be discussed — 1) to what degree are grammars correct in stating that *mis* is used when the antecedent refers to inanimates and *kes* to animates, 2) to what degree is agreement in number observed with these pronouns, 3) to what degree can one find agreement in person.

1.1. Opposition +ANIMATE : -ANIMATE

Grammars state that nowadays the pronoun *kes* is used if the antecedent has the semantic feature +ANIMATE, i.e. if the antecedent refers to a human being or an animal (1). On the other hand, the pronoun *mis* is used if the antecedent has the feature —

ANIMATE, i.e. if the antecedent refers to a physical object (2) or an abstract entity (8).

- (1) *see mees, kes siin käis*
 (2) *see auto, mille ma ostsin*
 (8) *See on kohustus, mis tuleb täita*
 it be-3sg obligation that must-3sg fulfil-inf
 'It's an obligation that has to be fulfilled'

Such statements are, as a rule, accompanied by comments to the effect that organizations are sometimes perceived as human groups and at other times as institutions, and depending on the interpretation in a concrete case the pronoun *kes* (9) or *mis* (10) is used (see Palmeos 1965: 59–60; Valgma–Remmel 1970: 109, 55; Tauli 1980: 244).

- (9) *valitsus, kes suunab riigi poliitikat*
 government who direct-3sg country-gen policy-par
 'the government that directs the country's policies'
 (10) *valitsus, mis moodustati eelmisel kevadel*
 government that form-pass-impf last-ad spring-ad
 'the government that was formed last spring'

The real situation in contemporary written Estonian is somewhat more complicated. In certain cases the use of the pronoun *mis* is fully natural also in cases when the antecedent refers to an animate individual. Example (11) seems to be even more acceptable than (12).

- (11) *kala, mille ma kinni püüdsin*
 fish that-gen I catch-impf-1sg
 (12) *kala, kelle ma kinni püüdsin*
 fish who-gen I catch-impf-1sg
 'the fish that I caught'

In fact, one can expect such a situation as the opposition +ANIMATE : -ANIMATE did not operate well at all in the choice of *kes* or *mis* in Estonian dialects and in the written lan-

guage of the previous and even the beginning of this century (see Palmeos 1965: 59–60).

The corpus included also such examples where the pronoun *mis* was used to refer to an animal, e.g.

- (13) ...*suure hiidkalaga, mille västar seljas...*
big-gen giant-fish-com that-ad spear back-in
‘...with a giant fish that had a spear in its back...’
- (14) ...*parasiite, mille levitamises süüdistatakse*
parasite-pl-par that-gen spreading-in blame-pass
hülgeid
seal-pl-par
‘...parasites for the spread of which seals are blamed’

I would assume, partly on the basis of the corpus material and because of its paucity more on the basis of my own linguistic instinct, that an educated Estonian would proceed from at least two hierarchies in the choice of *kes* or *mis*:

(a) **animacy hierarchy:**

human > higher animals > lower animals > inanimates¹

(b) **individuality hierarchy:**

individual > distributive set > collective set

The pronoun *kes* is always used with individual human referents, *mis* is used in certain environments with animal referents as well, whereas in the case of lower animals the usage of *mis* is freer than in the case of higher animals, cf.

- (15) *sig, kelle/?mille sa tapsid*
pig who-gen/?that-gen you slaughter-impf-2sg
‘the pig that you slaughtered’

¹ Animacy hierarchy in its more complete form would be roughly as follows: 1stp > 2ndp > 3rdp human > higher animals > lower animals > other organisms > inorganic matter > abstracts (cf Siewierska 1991: 106). However, not all links of this hierarchy are important for the choice of *kes* and *mis*.

- (16) *sääsk, kelle/mille sa tapsid*
 gnat who-gen/that-gen you kill-impf-2sg
 'the gnat that you killed'

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

- (17) *mehed, kes/*mis töötasid ehitusel*
 man-pl who/*that work-impf-3pl construction-ad
 'the men who worked at the construction'
- (18) *brigaad, kes/mis töötas ehitusel*
 team who/that work-impf-3sg construction-ad
 'the team that worked at the construction'
- (19) *sääsed, kes/mis lendasid meie ümber*
 gnat who/that fly-impf-3pl we-gen around
 'the gnats that were flying around us'
- (20) *sääseparv, *kes/mis lendas meie ümber*
 gnat-gen-swarm *who/that fly-impf-3sg we-gen around

If the hierarchies allow both possibilities, the choice will be determined by other factors, first and foremost by the meaning of the verb and the semantic role of the argument. For example, in sentence (9) *kes* is likely to have been chosen because the referent operates actively, i.e. as an Agent, in sentence (10) *mis* has been chosen because the referent is a Patient. However, in the case of a human group these circumstances do not determine the choice completely but only furnish a certain preference. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the use of the pronoun, for example, in the following sentences of the corpus:

- (21) *Ta määrati brigaadi, kes pidi kontrollima..*
 he appoint-pass team-ill who must-impf check-inf
 'He was appointed to the team who was to check..'
- (22) *40 ettevõtet, mis valmistavad..*
 40 enterprise-par that produce-3pl
 '40 enterprises that produce..'

- (23) *Žürii, keda juhtis..*
 jury who-par chair-impf
 'The jury that was chaired by..'
- (24) *Komisjon, mille eesotsas oli..*
 committee that-gen front-in be-impf
 'The committee that was chaired by..'

1.2. Number agreement

Modern grammars of Estonian recommend to use a singular pronoun both with a singular and a plural antecedent. However, since the 1933 decision of the language committee of the Estonian Literature Association (Saareste 1933: 304) it is not a categorical requirement. Thus, both (25) and (26) are acceptable although it is generally thought that (25) is more Estonian-like.

- (25) *need mehed, kellele te auto müüsite*
 that-pl man-pl who-all you-pl carsell-impf-2pl
- (26) *need mehed, kelledele te auto müüsite*
 that-pl man-pl who-pl-all you carsell-impf-2pl
 'the men to whom you sold the car'

In those cases where the use of a singular pronoun with a plural antecedent could result in ambiguity (27), the plural form of a pronoun (28) is even recommended (see e.g. Tauli 1980: 244).

- (27) *Peeter ja Jüri, kellele te auto müüsite*
 Peeter and Jüri who-all you carsell-impf-2pl
- (28) *Peeter ja Jüri, kelledele te auto müüsite*
 Peeter and Jüri who-pl-all you car sell-impf-2pl
 'Peeter and Jüri to whom you sold the car'

However, it is possible to avoid such ambiguities only if the pronoun is not in the nominative or partitive as the relative pronoun under discussion has no number in these two cases (29–30).

- (29) *need mehed, kes teilt maja ostsid*
 that-pl man-pl who you-abl house-gen buy-impf-2pl
 'the men who bought your house'
- (30) *need mehed, keda te meile kirjeldasite*
 that-pl man-pl who-par you we-pl-all describe-impf-2pl
 'the men that you described to us'

The corpus data suggest that number agreement is a very rare phenomenon among relative pronouns. Of all the sentences with a plural antecedent (i.e. NP in the plural, a quantifier phrase with a plural meaning or a coordinate construction), where agreement was, in principle, possible (i.e. the pronoun was neither in the nominative nor in the partitive), agreement was observed in a very small number of cases.

	plural antecedent		pronoun			
			singular		plural	
<i>kes</i>	307	100%	305	99.34%	2	0.56%
<i>mis</i>	506	100%	528	98.5%	8	1.5%

Where agreement was present, it was never used for purposes of avoiding ambiguity.

1.3. Person agreement

More recent grammars of Estonian (Tauli 1980: 247, Ereht et al: 313–314) state that if a relative clause modifies a personal pronoun and a relative pronoun serves as the subject of the relative clause, the relative pronoun is usually immediately followed by the same personal pronoun in the nominative.

- (31) *mina, kes ma siin elan*
 I who I here live-1sg

- (32) *sina, kes sa siin elad*
 you who you here live-2sg
- (33) *tema, kes ta siin elab*
 he/she who he/she here live-3sg
- (34) *meie, kes me siin elame*
 we who we here live-1pl
- (35) *teie, kes te siin elate*
 you-pl who you here live-2pl
- (36) *nemad, kes nad siin elavad*
 they who they here live-3pl

Earlier grammars look upon such concord of person as an unnecessary Germanic influence.

Relative pronouns may be followed only by shorter forms of personal pronouns, and in spoken language they function, in fact, as clitics: *kesma* 'who I', *kessa* 'who you', *kesta* 'who he/she', *kesme* 'who we', *keste* 'who you (pl.)', *kesnad* 'who they'. A similar amalgamation has taken place in the interrogative *kes + see* ('who + this'): *Kesse on?* 'Who's there?'

Unfortunately, the corpus of the literary language in its present scope does not enable us to draw fully valid conclusions about such a rare phenomenon as person agreement of the relative pronoun. Nevertheless, it seems that agreement with the personal pronoun of the main clause is prevalent in the modern language. The corpus itself did not contain any examples where agreement was not observed, and only occasional examples could be found elsewhere, e.g. (37).

- (37) *..kuidas siis sina, kes oled eestlane,*
 how then you who be-2sg Estonian
pääsed leinast..
 escape-2sg mourning
 'how can then you, who are an Estonian, escape
 mourning'

However, it became clear that the addition of a personal pronoun after a relative pronoun may also be caused by a) an address-

substantive (38), b) a reflexive pronoun (39), c) or even a full substantive (40).

- (38) *Meie isa, kes sa oled taevas,..*
 we-gen father who you be-2sg heaven-in
 ‘Our Father thou art in heaven..’
- (39) *...Bulōtov on äsja ükski olnud... iseendaga,*
 Bulytov be-3sg just alone be-pptc himself-com
kes ta seisab juba kaduviku lävel
 who he stand-3sg already eternity-gen threshold-ad
 ‘...Bulytov has just been alone... with himself who he is
 standing on the threshold of eternity already’
- (40) *..madrustel, kes nad olid Riiast tulnud..*
 sailor-pl-ad who they be-impf-3pl Riga-el come-pptc
 ‘sailors who they had come from Riga..’

In the case of an address-substantive one can always predict the personal pronoun of the second person in the main clause (41).

- (41) *(Teie,) lugupeetud veteranid, kes te olete*
 you esteem-pptc veteran-pl who you be-2pl
siia tulnud,..
 here come-pptc
 ‘You, esteemed veterans, who you have come here...’

It should be noted that a relative pronoun does not have person agreement of the relative pronoun in such sentences as

- (42) *Sa jäid vaid teatrisõbraks, kes sa*
 you remain-impf-2sg only theater-gen-lover who you
ka tänini oled
 empf this-day-term be-2sg
 ‘You remained only a theater lover who you have been
 to this day’

Here the subject is not *kes sa* ‘who you’ but only the personal pronoun *sa* ‘you’. The relative pronoun *kes* ‘who’, on the other hand, is a subject complement (see also Remes 1992). The juxtaposition of these pronouns is caused by circumstances other than

the above-mentioned rule of agreement, and these circumstances lie beyond our present interest.

Previous treatments have studied only the use of the personal pronoun in connection with the relative pronoun but not the person of the predicate verb in the case of an antecedent that is a personal pronoun. No one has studied the problem if and when the predicate verb remains unmarked (i.e. in the third person present) in the case the antecedent is a first or second person pronoun, i.e. if and when such sentences as (43) are used.

- (43) *Ja seda ütled sa mulle,*
 and it-par say-2sg you I
kes on siin elanud kogu oma elu
 who be-3sg here live-pptc all his/her life
 And you say it to me who has lived here all his/her life'

The corpus was too scanty to answer this question, and therefore only assumptions can be made. The predicate verbs seems to be in the first or second person if the antecedent is the subject and the predicate verb of the relative clause is in the present tense, e.g.

- (44) *Mina, kes (ma) elan siin, tean seda*
 I who (I) live-1sg here know-1sg it-par
 (45) **Mina, kes elab siin, tean seda*
 *I who live-3sg here know-1sg it-par
 (46) *Sina, kes (sa) elad siin tead seda*
 You who (you) live-2sg here know-2sg it-par
 (47) **Sina, kes elab siin tead seda*
 *You who live-3sg here know-2sg it

In case the antecedent is not the subject and/or the predicate verb of a relative clause is in a marked tense form, the use of an unmarked form of the person is as common as the use of a marked form. At this it is more likely in the case of a non-subject antecedent than in the case of a subject correlate that a marked predicate would assume repetition of the personal pronoun at a relative pronoun, cf (48–50) and (51–52).

- (48) *Seda ütled sa mulle, kes elab siin*
 it-par say-2sg you I-all who live-3sg here
- (49) *Seda ütled sa mulle, kes ma elan siin*
 it-par say-2sg you I-all who I live-1sg here
- (50) *?Seda ütled sa mulle, kes elan siin*
 ?it-par say-2sg you I-all who live-1sg here
 ‘You say it to me who live here’
- (51) *Mina, kes on elanud siin kogu oma elu*
 I who be-3sg live-pptc here all my life
- (52) *Mina, kes (ma) olen elanud siin kogu oma elu*
 I who (I) be-1sg live-pptc here all my life
 ‘I who have lived here all my life’

2. Milline, missugune, mäherdune

Relative proadjectives *milline* ‘which’ and *missugune* ‘which’ alternate freely with each other. The pronoun *mäherdune* ‘which’ does not differ from the latter as to its syntactic function, but its use adds the touch of a dialect or spoken language. Our corpus did not contain *mäherdune* as a relative pronoun. Proadjectives function as relatives very rarely in comparison with prosubstantives. Of the 2,223 occurrences of relative pronouns in the corpus the use of proadjectives amounted only to 0.5% (12 occurrences).

The texts reveal three types of usage for the pronouns *milline* and *missugune*:

- (53) *Nii võib ühest bakterist saada 271 miljardit*
 thus may one-el bacterium-el give-inf 271 billion-par
bakterit, milline kogus täidaks pooleliitrise
 bacteria-par which amount fill-con half-liter-gen
nõu
 vessel-gen
 ‘Thus a single bacterium may give 271 billion bacteria,
 which amount would fill a half-liter vessel’
- (54a) *...raal trükib välja just need vastused, millised*
 computerprint-3sg out just those answer-pl which

- sa oma kontrollülesandes oled ette näinud*
 you yourtest-assignment-in be-2sg foresee-pptc
 ...the computer will print out just those answers that you
 have foreseen in your test assignment'
- (54b) *..vali teema, millist tahad*
 choose-imp-2sg topic which-par wish-2sg
 ..choose any topic that you wish'
- (55) *Siin paiknevad Otepää kõrgustiku suuremad*
 here locate-2pl Otepää-gen upland-gen big-comp-pl
allikad, millised on huvipakkuvad..
 spring-pl which-pl be-3sg/pl interesting-pl
 'Here are located the major springs of the uplands of
 Otepää that are of interest..

In sentences (53) and (54) the pronoun is a modifier, in sentence (55) it is the head.

The relative clause in (53) is non-restrictive, and the relative word has no correlate in the principal clause. The relative word, however, has a head in the relative clause that is different from the base of the relative clause. In such sentences the use of a proadjective is the only possibility.

Sentences (54a) and (54b) contain restrictive relative clauses and the pronouns refer directly to the NP attribute — in sentence (a) the modifier is explicit, in sentence (b) it is implicit (*..teema < selline teema*). Such sentences can be described by a transformation that deletes an identical base: *need vastused, millised vastused sa oma kontrollülesandes oled ette näinud..* → *need vastused, millised sa...* A relative pronoun functions as NP in a relative clause, not losing, however, its modifying function. In sentences with identical bases a proadjective can be substituted by a prosubstantive: *need vastused, millised = mis sa oma kontrollülesandes oled ette näinud; ..vali teema, millist = mida tahad* 'those answers that = that you have foreseen in your test assignment; ..choose a topic that = that you wish'

The relative clause in sentence (55) is non-restrictive. As the relative pronoun has no adjectival correlate in the main clause, then there can be no deletion transformation here, and the pronoun does not function as a modifier in the relative clause but as a

clearly substantival head, thus having the function of the pronoun *mis*. Such usage is, for example, similar to the usage of the Russian *kotori*: *Eto dacha, v kotoroj my nochevali* 'It's the summer cottage where we stayed overnight' (Otkupčikova 1984: 60–61). Estonian usage experts have denounced this usage but to no avail. Actually it is not a new development; the card index of the Institute of the Estonian Language contains similar examples from earlier times as well.

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ABBREVIATIONS

abl = ablative	inf = infinitive
ad = adessive	par = partitive
all = allative	pass = passive
com = comitative	pl = plural
el = elative	pptc = past participle
emph = emphatic particle	sg = singular
ess = essive	term = terminative
gen = genitive	tr = translative
ill = illative	? = uncertain or marginal
impf = imperfect	* = ungrammatical
in = inessive	

RELATIIVPRONOOMENITE KASUTUSEST EESTI RELATIIVLAUSES

Mati Erelt

0. Artiklis on käsitletud substantiivsete relatiivpronoomenite *kes* ja *mis* ning adjektiivsete relatiivpronoomenite *milline* ja *missugune* kasutust tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles. Materjali allikaks on Tartu Ülikooli eesti keele korpus, mis kajastab 1980. aastate keelekasutust.

1.1. Grammatikates väidetakse, et *kes* viitab elusale (*see mees, kes eile siin käis*) ja *mis* elutule (*see auto, mille sa ostsid*), kusjuures organisatsioonide puhul on tõlgendusest olenevalt võimalik kord ühe, kord teise pronoomeni kasutus (KOLLEKTIIV: *valitsus, kes suunab riigi poliitikat*; INSTITUTSIOON: *valitsus, mis moodustati eelmisel kevadel*). Korpusest nähtub, et tegelikult on pronoomeni *mis* kasutusvõimalused suuremad — seda saab kasutada ka nt üksikule loomale viitamisel (*kala, mille ma kinni püüdsin*). Tõenäoliselt lähtub kirjakeelne eestlane pronoomeni *kes* või *mis* valikul vähemalt kahest hierarhiast:

(a) **elusushierarhia:**

inimene > kõrgem loom > madalam loom > mitteolend

(b) **individuaalsushierarhia:**

indiviid > distributiivne hulk > kollektiiv

Üksiku inimreferendi korral kasutatakse alati pronoomenit *kes*, looma puhul teatud ümbrustes ka *mis*, kusjuures madalamate loomade puhul on *mis* kasutus vabam kui kõrgemate puhul, vrd *siiga, kelle/?mille sa tapsid – sääsk, kelle/mille sa tapsid*. Kui olendeid on mitu, oleneb *kes* või *mis* kasutus suuresti sellest, kas referentide hulk on distributiivne või kollektiivne, vrd *mehed, kes/*mis töötasid ehitusel – brigaad, kes/mis töötas ehitusel – sääsed, kes/mis lendasid meie ümber – sääseparv, *kes/mis lendas meie ümber*.

Kui hierarhiad lubavad mõlemat võimalust, määravad valiku muud asjaolud, eelkõige verbi tähendus ja argumendi semantiline funktsioon.

1.2. Relatiivpronoomenid *kes* ja *mis* jäävad mitmusliku korrelaadi puhul üldjuhul ainsusesse, nt *need mehed, kellele te auto müüsite*. Ühildumist (*mehed, kelledele*) esineb äärmiselt harva (*kes* 0,5%, *mis* 1,5%). Seda ei kasutata kahemõttelisuse vältimiseks, vaid juhuslikult.

1.3. Uuemates grammatikates väidetakse, et kui relatiivlause kuulub personaalpronoomeni juurde ja relatiivpronoomen on relatiivlause subjekt, siis järgneb viimasele tavaliselt seesama personaalpronoomen nominatiivis, nt *mina, kes ma siin elan*. Varasemates grammatikates on sellisesse isikuühildumisse suhtunud kui tarbetusse germanismi. Korpuse

materjal oli liiga napp usaldatavate järeltuste tegemiseks, kuid tundub nii, et ühildumine pealause personaalpronoomeniga on tänapäeva keeles siiski valdav. Korpuses endas ei leidunud ühtegi näidet mitteühildumise kohta, mujalt õnnestus leida vaid paar näidet, nt *...kuidas siis sina, kes oled eestlane, pääsed leinast..* Selgus seegi, et personaalpronoomeni lisamise relatiivpronoomeni järele võib tingida ka: a) üte, nt *meie isa, kes sa oled taevas*; b) refleksiivpronoomen, nt *kaastundepisarad isendale, kes ta varsti on kannatustest lunastatud*; c) mõnel juhul võib-olla isegi täistähenduslik substantiiv, nt *madrustel, kes nad olid Riiast tulnud*.

1. ja 2. isiku personaalpronoomenist korreelaadi korral võib öeldisverb jääda ka markeerimata vormi (s.o ainsuse 3. pöördesse), nt *...seda ütled sa mulle, kes on siin elanud kogu oma elu*. Öeldisverb on 1. või 2. isiku vormis peamiselt siis, kui korrelaat on subjekt ja relatiivlause öeldisverb olevikus, vrd *mina, kes (ma) elan*; **mina, kes elab*. Kui korrelaat ei ole subjekt ja/või relatiivlause öeldisverb on markeeritud ajavormis, on markeerimata isikuvormi kasutamine niisama normaalne kui markeeritud vormi kasutus.

2. Adjektiivseid relatiivpronoomeneid kasutatakse substantiivsetega võrreldes harva (0,5%). Tekstides esineb pronoomenite *milline* ja *missugune* kolme tüüpi kasutust. Ainuvõimalik on adjektiivpronoomeni kasutus mitterestriktiivsetes relatiivlausestes, kui relatiivsõnal on relatiivlause oma põhi, mis erineb relatiivlause põhjast, nt *Nii võib ühest bakterist saada 271 miljardit bakterit, milline kogus täidaks pooleliitrise nõu*. Üsna levinud on adjektiivpronoomenite kasutus restriktiivses relatiivlausest, kus pronoomen on otseses viiteseoses NP atribuudiga — kas eksplitsiitiga, nt *..raal trükib välja just need vastused, millised sa oma kontrollülesandes oled ette näinud*, või implitsiitiga, nt *...vali teema, millist tahad*. Relatiivpronoomen toimib relatiivlause NPna, kaotamata siiski adjektiivtribuudi funktsiooni. Identse põhjaga lausetes on adjektiivpronooment alati võimalik asendada substantiivse relatiivpronoomeniga. Suhteliselt harva esinevas lausetüübis *Siin paiknevad Otepää kõrgustiku suuremad allikad, millised on huvipakkuvad...* on adjektiivne relatiivpronoomen hakanud täitma (võib-olla vene *kotorõi* eeskujul) puhtsubstantiivset funktsiooni, st toimib mitte atribuudina, vaid põhjana. Keelehoole on sellist kasutust tauninud, kuid paraku edutult.

THE SUPERLATIVE IN LITERARY ESTONIAN IN COMPARISON WITH LITERARY FINNISH

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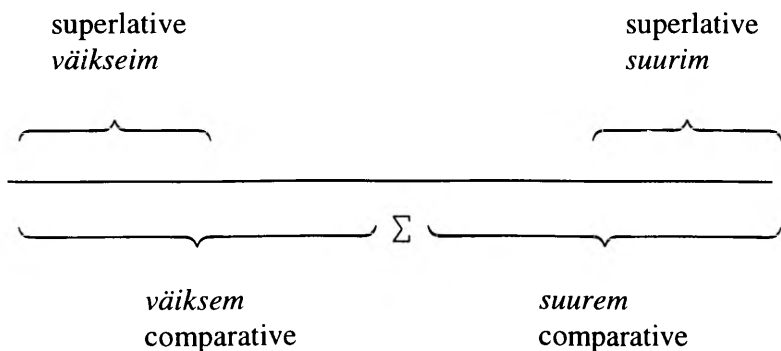
1. Inclusive comparison. There are two types of comparison. Sentence (1) makes only a (quantitative) distinction between the entities. Sentences (2) and (3) make an additional distinction by pointing out the position of the compared entity within a group of entities (*minu sõbrad* 'my friends'). The latter type could be called **inclusive comparison** (cf also Ereht 1986: 96).

- (1) *Jaan on pikem kui Jüri*
Jaan is tall-comp than Jüri
'Jaan is taller than Jüri'
- (2) *Jaan on minu paremaid sõpru*
Jaan is my good-comp-pl-par friend-pl-par
'Jaan is one of my best friends'
- (3) *Jaan on minu kõige parem sõber*
Jaan is my most good-comp friend
'Jaan is my best friend'

It is also possible to make a distinction between **relative** and **absolute** comparison. In the case of relative comparison one is dealing with a locally, temporally or in some other way restricted class (*varesed õunapuu otsas* 'crows on an apple-tree', *minu sõbrad* 'my friends'). Absolute comparison, on the other hand, implies a general class of entities or phenomena (*inimene* 'human being' *liiklusõnnetus* 'traffic accident'), which is perceived by a linguistic community as a certain stereotype. Depending on the position that the compared entity or the group of entities holds within the class — whether it is more than average or belongs to the maximum — we differentiate between the **inclusive comparative** and the **superlative** (the superlative always has an inclusive character).

INCLUSIVE COMPARISON	relative	comparative	<i>minu paremad</i>	<i>sõbrad</i>
		superlative	<i>minu parim</i>	<i>sõber</i>
	absolute	comparative	<i>vanem</i>	<i>inimene</i>
		superlative	<i>suurima</i>	<i>heameelega</i>
			my good-comp-pl	friend-pl
			‘my best friends’	
			my good-sup	friend
			‘my best friend’	
			old-comp	man
			‘elderly man’	
			big-sup-gen	pleasure-com
			‘with utmost pleasure’	

2. Relative inclusive comparative and superlative. The relationship between the relative inclusive comparative and superlative is that of unmarked : marked. The comparative (e.g. *väiksem* ‘smaller’ *suurem* ‘bigger’) implies only a more than average member; the superlative (e.g. *väikseim* ‘the smallest’ *suurim* ‘the biggest’) refers to the maximum within the scope of the comparative:



Before the language reform movement Literary Estonian had no synthetic superlative. It was possible to mark the maximum by means of the analytic *kõige*-superlative. However, it is likely that even this usage may have been a rather special case. In fact, it was much more common to use the unmarked mode of expression, i.e. the (inclusive) comparative, as in (4) or (5).

- (4) *Malemäng on tema armsam ajaviide*
 Chess is his favourite-comp pastime
 'Chess is his favourite pastime'
- (5) *Jaan ja Jüri on minu paremad sõbrad*
 Jaan and Jüri are my good-comp-pl friend-pl
 'Jaan and Jüri are my best friends'

In contrast, Literary Finnish has used since its very beginning in addition to the synthetic comparative (*suurempi* 'bigger') also the synthetic superlative (*suurin* 'the biggest') although it is rather common for the Finnish dialects to have a system of the degrees of comparison without a synthetic superlative (Punntila 1985). Literary Finnish lacks a superlative that would be analogous to the Estonian analytic superlative. The Finnish particles *kaikkein*, *ihan*, *mitä* etc. are not used in comparative constructions, but they can modify the synthetic superlative itself by reinforcing the latter (*kaikkein parhain* 'the most good') or turning a relative superlative into an absolute one (*mitä parhain* 'very good').

In 1915 Johannes Aavik proposed after the example of Finnish that the synthetic superlative be introduced into Estonian (Aavik 1915) to replace (partially) the *kõige*-superlative, which was in his view too long and ugly. Later he argued that the use of the *i*-superlative would allow a higher degree of precision & where one has to do with a clear case of superlativity, the superlative should be used in place of the comparative. Now, 75 years later, the *i*-superlative is really there in Estonian. But how has it changed the Estonian system of comparison, and what is its relationship with the Finnish system? We are going to present some preliminary observations to this effect that are based on the corpus of standard written Estonian at the University of Tartu and the texts of the SCLOMB corpus at the University of Turku (ILU — Estonian original text

and its Finnish translation; HAVU —Finnish original text and its Estonian translation).¹

3. The superlative reform by Aavik was more or less successful only in those cases where the maximum consists of one entity. Sentence (6) is unacceptable in Modern Estonian (if there are more than two friends compared), but (7) and (8) are acceptable.

- (6) *Juku on minu parem sõber*
 Juku is my good-comp friend
 'Juku is one of my best friends'
- (7) *Juku on minu parim sõber*
 Juku is my good-sup friend
 'Juku is my best friend'
- (8) *Juku on minu kõige parem sõber*
 Juku is my most good-comp friend
 'Juku is my best friend'

There are, however, some common fossilized constructions, where the comparative is still used, e.g. *suurem osa* 'the greater part' (cf *suurin osa* in Finnish), *lähemal ajal* 'in the near future' (one would find, though, *kõige lähemal ajal* 'in the nearest future' as well).

If more than one entity is compared with other entities, the weight of the unmarked expression would still be very high. The Tartu corpus shows that the comparative is much more common in certain constructions, e.g. those with a quantifier.

- (9a) *üks paremaid sportlasi* 15
 one good-comp-pl-par athlete-pl-par
 'one of the best athletes'
- (9b) *üks parimaid sportlasi* 1
 one good-sup-pl-par athlete-pl-par
 'one of the best athletes'

¹ From the point of view of morphology the superlative in Estonian is compared by Hannu Remes (1991).

- (10a) *kolm paremat sportlast* 11
 three good-comp-par athlete-par
 'three best athletes'
- (10b) *kolm parimat sportlast* 1
 three good-sup-par athlete-par
 'three best athletes'
- (11a) *Eesti suuremad linnad* 14
 Estonia-gen big-comp-pl city-pl
 'Estonia's major cities'
- (11b) *Eesti suurimad linnad* 9
 Estonia-gen big-sup-pl city-pl
 'Estonia's major cities'

As the use of the superlative is in certain cases impossible because of the contents (for example, sentence (12) is unacceptable because it is simply not true), one could suppose that such quantitative relations are conditioned by objective and not subjective circumstances.

- (12) *Tartu ja Pärnu on Eesti suurimad linnad*
 Tartu and Pärnu are Estonia-gen big-sup-pl city-pl
 'Tartu and Pärnu are Estonia's biggest cities'

However, a cursory look at the materials nevertheless shows that in most cases superlativity is left unmarked not because maximum-interpretation is impossible, but because one has no good reason to emphasize the maximum. Estonians simply prefer to remain unspecific in this respect.

Finnish always uses the superlative for a clear-cut top group. ILU-texts contained a large number of examples, where the Estonian comparative had been replaced by the superlative in the Finnish translation.

- (13) E *teab kõik uuemad anekdooidid*
 knows all new-comp-pl joke-pl
 'he/she knows all the newer jokes'
- F *tietää uusimmat vitsit*
 knows new-sup-pl joke-pl
 'he/she knows the newest jokes'

- (14) E *kes ilusamad salgud kokku korjab*
 who beautiful-comp-pl bunch-pl collects
 F *joka kerää kauneimmat suortuvat*
 who collects beautiful-sup-pl bunch-pl
 'who collects the more beautiful bunches'

The HAVU-texts, on the other hand, included such examples, where the Finnish superlative had been translated into Estonian with the help of a comparative.

- (15) F *syvennyttiin tutkimaan tuoreimpia uutisia*
 absorb-pass to study recent-sup-par news
 E *süveneti värskemaid uudiseid uurima*
 absorb-pass recent-comp-pl-parnews to study
 'they got absorb in the studying of the most recent news'

4. The relationship between the **absolute comparative** and the **superlative** is marked : unmarked as to form and frequency but not meaning as the absolute comparative does not point to a simple excess of the average member but only a slight excess of the average, cf (16) and (17).

- (16) *Üks vanem naine ületas sõiduteed*
 an old-comp female was crossing the street
 'An elderly female was crossing the street'
 (17) *Kaks väiksemat sõidukit põrkasid kokku*
 two small-comp-par vehicle-par collided
 'Two smaller vehicles collided'

The absolute superlative indicates a considerable, ultimate excess of the average. The absolute superlative is always an exaggeration, the purpose of which is not so much to inform the hearer as to provide an emotional evaluation, cf (18) and (19).

- (18) *Pärtel oli jätnud kõige positiivsema mulje*
 Pärtel had made most positive-comp-gen impression-par
 'Pärtel had made a most favorable impression'

- (19) *Ta kasutas kõige harilikumaid sõnu*
 He/she used most common-comp-pl-par words
 'He/she used the most common words'

In most cases one comes across the analytic superlative, but in some expressions it is possible to use the *i*-superlative in the absolute sense as well, cf (20).

- (20) *parimate kavatsustega*
 good-sup-pl-gen intention-pl-com
 'with best intentions'

Unlike the absolute comparative, the absolute superlative is a relatively rare phenomenon in Estonian. It is more common in journalistic writing than in fiction, and it seems to be an Indo-European influence there.

The positive holds an intermediate position between the absolute comparative and the absolute superlative:

<i>suurem</i> 'quite big'	<i>suur</i> 'big'	<i>kõige suurem</i> 'most/very big'

The absolute comparative and the absolute superlative are, as a rule, rather easily distinguishable phenomena. However, there are some examples, where their difference has disappeared, as in (21)–(22).

- (21) *tühisemgi / kõige tühisemgi eksimus*
 slight-comp-emph / most slight-comp-emph error
 'even the slightest error'
- (22) *väiksemgi viga / väikseimgi viga*
 small-comp-emph error / small-sup-emph error
 'even the slightest error'

The absolute comparative is alien to Finnish. Instead, Finnish uses intensive particles and suffixes. The examples of the Estonian absolute comparative that can be found in the texts of ILU had been translated into Finnish by means of the positive degree of the adjective (or by means of other words that are used in place of the adjective), as (23).

- (23) E *ei ole pikemat aega viibinud paikades*
 has not long-comp-par time-par been in places
 F *ei ole pitkään aikaan ollut paikoissa*
 has not long-ill time-ill been in places
 ‘has not been for a long time in places’

The absolute superlative is represented in Finnish mainly by the construction *mitä* plus the superlative. Almost all the examples with *mitä* in HAVU-texts had been translated into Estonian by means of the *kõige*-superlative, as (24).

- (24) F *kehuttiin säätä soveliaaksi*
 was praised weather suitable
mitä erilaisimpiin askareihin
 most different-pl-ill activity-pl-ill
 E *kiideti ilmastikuolusid kohaseks*
 was praised weather conditions suitable
kõige erisugusemate toimetuste tarvis
 most different-pl-gen activity-pl-gen for
 ‘the weather conditions were praised to be suitable
 for most different activities’

On the other hand, the *kõige*-superlatives that had a clearly absolute character in ILU-texts had been translated into Finnish by means of the construction *mitä*+superlative (25) and by means of the construction *aivan*+ superlative (26).

- (25) E *küsimus koosneb kõige harilikematest*
 question consists most common-comp-pl-el
sõnadest
 word-pl-el

- F *kysymys syntyy mitä tavallisimmista sanoista*
 question arises most common-sup-pl-el word-pl-el
 'the question consists of the most common words'
- (26) E *mis tekib kõige tühisemast õhu liikumisest*
 which arises most slight-comp-el air-gen movement-el
- F *jonka aivan vähäpätoisinkin ilman*
 which most slight-emph air-gen
liike synnyttää
 movement causes
 'which arises from the slightest movement of air'

5. The relationship between the *i-* and the *kõige*-superlative in Modern Estonian is illustrated by the following table.

	journalism		fiction	
	A	B	A	B
<i>i</i> -sup	217 68.3%	35 35.3%	37 27.4%	11 13.7%
<i>kõige</i> -sup	96 31.7%	64 64.7%	98 72.6%	69 86.3%
double sup			(1)	
total	312 100%	99 100%	135 100%	80 100%

If we take into account occurrences in the text (A), then in journalistic writing the *i*-superlative is 2.5 times more common than the *kõige*-superlative. In fiction the relation is reversed — the use of the synthetic superlative is nearly three times lower than that of the *kõige*-superlative. It is very likely that in colloquial Estonian the analytic superlative is even more common. However, these ratios would be different if we counted all the textual occurrences of the same lexeme as one unit of counting (B). Thus, the *i*-superlative is less common than the *kõige*-superlative also in journalistic writing, though not as rare as in fiction. In journalism in the case of some highly frequent words one would prefer the shorter, i.e. the *i*-superlative. For example, *parim* 'the best' occurred in the journalistic texts of the Tartu corpus even 104 times but *kõige parem* only 5 times (*suurim* 'the biggest' — 30,

kõige suurem — 8; *tähtsaim* ‘the most important’ — 13, *kõige tähtsam* — 4). In fiction distribution was more even.

There was an occasional example of double superlative in fiction (27).

- (27) *südalinna* *kõige käidavaimais* *kohtades*
 city center-gen most visited-sup-pl-in place-pl-in
 ‘in the most visited places of the city center’

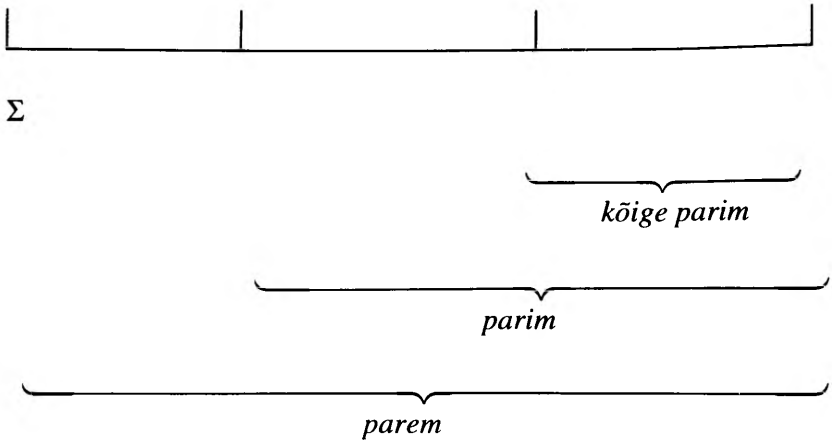
The absence of double superlatives shows that in Estonian the *i*-superlative is usually a sufficiently clear marker of maximality. This is unlike Finnish, where the “vahvikkeellinen superlatiivi” is rather common. For example, of the 82 cases of superlatives in HAVU-texts 19 were “vahvikkeellinen superlatiivi” (relative superlatives with the intensifiers *kaikkein*, *kaikista*, *ihan*, *aivan* etc. or the absolute superlative with *mitä*). Most examples had been translated into Estonian by means of the *kõige*-superlative (i.e. *kõige* plus the comparative), as (28).

- (28) F *Ja paras kaikista on tämä mato*
 and good-sup all-pl-el is that snake
 E *Ja kõige etem on see ussike*
 and most good-comp is this snake
 ‘And the best of all is this snake’

It is likely that double superlatives may be more common in colloquial Estonian. Many of our informants have regarded constructions of the type *kõige parim* ‘most best’ as fully acceptable. In addition, we have found such examples as (29) while observing spontaneous speech as well.

- (29) *kõige vanim mängija*
 most old-sup player
 ‘the oldest player’

Thus, it seems that colloquial Estonian is developing the following scale of (relative) inclusive comparison, which is a step towards the Finnish scale:



Unfortunately, we do not have a corpus of colloquial Estonian as yet to prove this.

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ABBREVIATIONS

comp	comparative	in	inessive
el	elative	par	partitive
emph	emphatic	particle pl	plural
gen	genitive	sup	superlative
ill	illative		

SUPERLATIIVIST EESTI KIRJAKEELES VÕRRELDUNA SOOME KIRJAKEELEGA

Mati Ereht, Matti Punttila

1. **Inklusiivne võrdlus.** Lisaks tavalisele võrdlusele, mille puhul fikseeritakse vaid objektide erinevus, nt *Jaan on pikem kui Jüri*, on olemas **inklusiivne võrdlus**, mis fikseerib peale erinevuse ka võrreldava objekti positsiooni klassi sees, nt *Jaan on minu paremaid sõpru; Jaan on minu kõige parem sõber*. Klassi tüübist olenevalt eristatakse **relatiivset** ja **absoluutset** võrdlust. Relatiivse võrdluse korral on tegu ruumiliselt, ajaliselt või muul viisil konkretiseeritud (juhu)klassiga (*varesed õunapuu otsas, minu sõbrad*), absoluutse võrdluse korral objektide või nähtuste üldklassiga (*inimene, liiklusõnnetus*), mille suhtes on kogu keelekollektiivil välja kujunenud kindel stereotüüp. Olenevalt sellest, millise positsiooni võrreldav objekt või objektirühm klassis hõivab — üle keskmise või maksimumi — eristatakse **inklusiivset komparatiivi** ja **superlatiivi** (superlatiiv on alati inklusiivne).

2. **Relatiivne inklusiivne komparatiiv ja superlatiiv** on markeerimata: markeeritud—vahekorras. Komparatiiv osutab üksnes keskmise ületamisele, superlatiiv näitab maksimumi komparatiivi ala sees.

Eesti kirjakeel ei tundnud enne keeleuuendust sünteetilist superlatiivi (*suurim*). Võimalus maksimumi markeerida oli olemas analüütilise *kõige*-superlatiivi näol, kuid nähtavasti oli selle kasutus pigem eri- kui üldjuhtum. Enamasti kasutati markeerimata väljendusviisi, st (inklusiivset) komparatiivi: *Jaan ja Jüri on minu paremad sõbrad*. Seevastu soome kirjakeeles on selle eksisteerimise algusest peale sünteetilise komparatiivi (*kauniimpi*) kõrval olnud ka sünteetiline superlatiiv (*kaunein*). Eesti analüütilise superlatiiviga analoogilist superlatiivi soome kirjakeeles ei ole. Superlatiivuse väljendamisel tihtipeale kasutatavad partiklid *kaikkein, ihan, mitä* jne ei seostu mitte komparatiiviga nagu eesti keeles, vaid sünteetilise superlatiivi endaga, tugevdades seda (*kaikkein parhain*) või muutes relatiivse superlatiivi absoluutseks (*mitä parhain* 'väga hea, paremast parem').

1915. a tõi Johannes Aavik soome keele eeskujul eesti keelde sünteetilise *i*-superlatiivi. Aavik tahtis (osaliselt) välja vahetada *kõige*-superlatiivi, mis tema meelest oli pikk ja inetu. Hiljem põhjendas ta *i*-superlatiivi kasutuselevõttu ka väljenduse täpsustamisega — seal, kus on tegu selge superlatiivsusega, ei tuleks kasutada mitte komparatiivi, vaid superlatiivi.

Käesolevas artiklis on esitatud mõned tähelepanekud selle kohta, missuguseks on kujunenud praegune eesti võrdlussüsteem ja missugune on selle vahekord soome süsteemiga? Materjalina on kasutatud Tartu Ülikooli eesti kirjakeele korpuse ning Turu Ülikooli SCLOMBi-korpuse tekste.

3. Aaviku superlatiivireform on enam-vähem täielikult läbi läinud vaid neil juhtudel, kui maksimum koosneb ühest, nt *Juku on minu parim sõber* (mitte: *Juku on minu parem sõber*). Kui aga teistele vastandatavaid objekte on mitu, on markeerimata väljenduse osakaal endiselt väga suur. Mõnes konstruktsioonis on komparatiivil tunduv ülekaal (*üks paremaid sportlasi, kolm paremat sportlast*).

Soome keeles kasutatakse selge juhtrühma korral alati superlatiivi: *teab kõik uuemad anekdoodid — tietää uusimmat vitsit*.

4. **Absoluutne komparatiiv ja superlatiiv** on küll vormilt ja sageduselt, kuid mitte semantiliselt markeerimata : markeeritud -vahekorras, kuna absoluutne komparatiiv ei osuta lihtsalt keskmise ületamisele, vaid keskmise vähesele ületamisele. Nt *Üks vanem naine ületas vales kohas sõiduteed; Kaks väiksemat sõidukit pörkasid kokku ja liiklus seisis pikemat aega*.

Absoluutne superlatiiv näitab keskmise väga suurt, ülimalt ületamist. Absoluutne superlatiiv on alati liialdus, mille ülesandeks ei ole niivõrd kuulaja informeerimine, kuivõrd emotsionaalne hinnang. Nt *Pärtel oli jätnud kõige positiivsema mulje* ('nii positiivse kui võimalik, ülimalt positiivse mulje').

Soome keelele on absoluutne komparatiiv võõras. Selle asemel kasutatakse intensiivsuspunkte ja -sufikseid. Absoluutset superlatiivi esindab soome keeles peamiselt *mitä* + superlatiiv-konstruktsioon: *mitä parhain nautinta-aine — kõige parem maiuspala*.

5. ***i-* ja *kõige*-superlatiivi suhe tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles**. Kui arvestada sõnesid, siis ajakirjanduskeeles esineb *i*-superlatiivi 2,5 korda rohkem kui *kõige*-superlatiivi. Ilukirjanduskeeles on suhe vastupidine — lühikese superlatiivi kasutus on ligemale kolm korda väiksem kui *kõige*-superlatiivi kasutus. Väga tõenäoline, et kõnekeeles on suhe veelgi rohkem analüütilise superlatiivi kasuks. Kui aga lugeda sama lekseemi kõik superlatiivsed tekstiesinemused üheks arvestusüksuseks, siis on *i*-superlatiivi ka ajakirjanduskeeles vähem kui *kõige*-superlatiivi. See on tingitud sellest, et mõne ajakirjanduses väga sageli kasutatava sõna puhul eelistatakse lühemat vormi.

Korpuses oli vaid üks juhuslik näide topeltsuperlatiivi kasutamise kohta: *südalinna kõige käidavaimais kohtades*. Eesti kõnekeeles on topeltsuperlatiivid ilmselt tavalisemad. Kahjuks puudub eesti kõnekeele korpus, mille põhjal asjade seisu täpsustada.

SIMILARITIES IN CASE MARKING OF SYNTACTIC RELATIONS IN ESTONIAN AND LITHUANIAN

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0. The present article is an overview of some similarities between Estonian and Lithuanian in the area of case marking in syntactic constructions. As to their origin, they may be regarded as typological phenomena or coincidences that may have resulted from borrowing or co-impact. The article deals with the subject, object, predicative, indirect object, agent and possessor adverbials and quantifier phrases. The main focus is on the relations between Estonian and Lithuanian. Parallels will be drawn, however, from other Indo-European languages (Latvian, Russian, German) and Finnish, if necessary, with the purpose of characterizing the corresponding phenomena from the point of view of areal linguistics. Of the present-day Indo-European spoken languages Lithuanian reveals the most archaic structure, thus providing excellent comparative material for establishing the degree of possible Indo-Europeanization in Balto-Finnic languages. The article is a continuation of the author's study "Common features in Estonian and Lithuanian syntax and their origin" that was published in 1988 (Klaas 1988b).

The morphological marking of the subject, object and predicative in Balto-Finnic languages is connected with the expression of totality-partiality by means of different cases. In Balto-Finnic languages the partial function of the partitive has given rise not only to partiality of the object but also partiality of the subject and to some extent even the predicative (Kont 1967: 196, but see also Kont 1963 and Larsson 1983).

1. Case Variation of the Subject

1.1. Both in Estonian and Lithuanian prototypical subjects are in the nominative case.

- (1) E *Lapsed* *noppisid* *lilli*.
 child-pl-nom pick-impf-3pl flower-pl-par
 Li *Vaikai* *skyné* *géles*.
 child-pl-nom pick-impf-3pl flower-pl-acc
 ‘The children were picking flowers.’

1.2. Under certain conditions partial subjects can be observed both in Estonian and Lithuanian. In Estonian it is in the partitive case; in Lithuanian, however, it is in the genitive. Such sentences reveal, in fact, a peripheral subject type where usage is limited to the existential sentence (EKG II: 42). Existential sentences are peculiar as to their grammar because of possible case alternations and the reversed neutral word order. Both Estonian and Lithuanian belong to the SVX type as to their main pattern (2). In an existential sentence, however, the reversed XVS word order is used (3).

- (2) E *Inimesed* *elavad* *linnas*.
 man-pl-nom live-3pl town-ine
 Li *Žmonės* *gyvena mieste*.
 man-pl-nom live-3pl town-ine
 ‘People live in town.’
- (3) E *Linnas* *elab* *inimesi*.
 town-ine live-3sgman-pl-par
 Li *Mieste* *gyvena* *žmonių*.
 town-ine live-3pl man-pl-gen
 ‘In town there live some people.’

1.2.1. An Estonian or Lithuanian affirmative existential sentence may contain a partial subject if the reference of the subject is quantitatively undefined. It occurs both with mass nouns, e.g. (4)–(5) or plural nouns, e.g. (6)–(7). In fact, there is no agreement among the researchers of Lithuanian and Estonian syntax whether such a constituent is a subject or an object.

- (4) E *Kaevus* *on* *vett*.
 well-ine be-3sg water-par

- Li *Šuliny* *yra* *vandens.*
 well-ine be-3sg water-gen
 'There is some water in the well.'
- (5) E *Leiba* *jātkub* *kōigile.*
 bread-par be-enough-3sg all-pl-all
- Li *Duonos* *pakanka* *visiems.*
 bread-gen be-enough-3sg all-pl-dat
 'There is enough bread for everybody.'
- (6) E *Juhtus* *kummalisi* *lugusid.*
 happen-impf-3sg strange-pl-par thing-pl-par
- Li *Atsitiko* *keistų* *įvykių.*
 happen-impf-3pl strange-pl-gen thing-pl-gen
 'Some strange things happened.'
- (7) E *Kajas* *samme.*
 echo-impf-3sg footstep-pl-par
- Li *Aidėjo* *žingsnių.*
 echo-impf-3pl footstep-pl-gen
 'Some footsteps echoed.'

1.2.2. In Estonian and Lithuanian the subject of a negative existential sentence is always partial, e.g.

- (8) E *Kirja* *laua* *peal* *ei* *olnud.*
 letter-par table-gen on neg be-pptc
- Li *Laiško* *ant* *stalo* *nebuvo.*
 letter-gen on table-gen be-neg-impf-3sg
 'There was no letter on the table.'
- (9) E *Vanemaid* *ei* *olnud* *kodus.*
 parent-pl-par neg be-pptc home-ine
- Li *Tēvu* *nebuvo* *namie.*
 parent-pl-gen be-neg-impf-3pl at home
 'There were no parents at home.'

Sentences with negative predicate verbs may contain a genitive subject in Latvian and Russian as well, e.g.

- (10) La *Karstās* *zemēs* *ziemas* *nav*
 warm-pl-loc and-pl-loc winter-gen be-neg-3sg
 (Larsson 1983: 135).
 'There is no winter in warm lands.'
- (11) R *Hleba* *net* *na* *stole*
 bread-gen neg on table-loc
 'There is no bread on the table.'

2. Case Variation of the object

2.1. In Estonian case selection for the object is dependent on semantic differences that have an aspectual character. According to *An Estonian Grammar* (EKG II: 51) the selection of the object is determined by 1) boundedness of the object's action; 2) quantitative boundedness of the referent. Estonian uses the total object if both the action and the object are bounded. Lithuanian too, uses a total object in the accusative for bounded objects (a thing, set, defined amount). In the case of non-bounded objects (mass, undefined amount) Lithuanian has partial objects in the genitive and Estonian in the partitive.

- (12) E *Lapsed* *jōid* *piima*.
 child-pl-nom drink-impf-3pl milk-par
 Li *Vaikai* *géré* *pieno*.
 child-pl-nom drink-impf-3pl milk-gen
 'The children drank some milk.'
- (13) E *Vend* *kannab* *puid*.
 brother-nom carry-3sg firewood-pl-par
 Li *Brolis* *neša* *malkų*.
 brother-nom carry-3sg firewood-pl-gen
 'The brother is carrying firewood.'

For example, the word *šokolaad(itahvel)* 'a (bar of) chocolate' can be regarded as a bounded object in the following sentence:

- (14) E *Ma* *ostsin* *šokolaadi*.
 I buy-impf-1sg chocolate-gen

Li Aš *nupirkau* **šokoladā.**
 I buy-impf-1sg chocolate-acc
 'I bought the chocolate.'

At the same time as substance *šokolad* 'chocolate' will become a non-bounded object notion, and it is expressed as a partial object:

(14a) E *Ma ostsin* **šokolaadi.**
 I buy-impf-1sg chocolate-par
 Li Aš *nupirkau* **šokolado.**
 I buy-impf-1sg chocolate-gen
 'I bought some chocolate.'

When comparing the use of the object in Estonian and Finnish, one will notice that in the sentences where in Finnish it would be sufficient to mark the object with a case to express boundedness-non-boundedness Estonian would require in addition to the total object in the genitive the use of a perfective particle (*ära* 'away, off, up', *läbi* 'through' *maha* 'down' etc) or an adverbial (*lõpuni* 'till the end' *täielikult* 'completely'), e.g.

(15) E *Tüdruk söi* *supi* *ära.*
 girl-nom eat-impf-3sg soup-gen up
 F *Tyttö söi* *keiton.*
 girl-nom eat-impf-3sg soup-gen
 'The girl ate the soup up.'

Sometimes Estonian, however, uses (especially in spoken language) all the three possible markers of boundedness, e.g.

(16) E *Ma lugesin* ***raamatu***
 I read-impf-1sg book-gen
lõpuni ***läbi.***
 end-term through
 F *Minä luin* ***kirjan.***
 I read-impf-1sg book-gen
 'I read the book until the end.'

According to Helle Metslang "In Finnish it is often enough to characterize the referent quantitatively with the opposition total-ity/partiality, where Estonian would double it by lexical means" (Metslang 1994: 20).

Similarly to Russian the Lithuanian language has good possibilities to express boundedness in a sentence by perfective prefixes, e.g. *ardyti-iš/ardyti* 'to unravel' *augti-už/augti* 'to grow/to grow up' *eiti-nu/eiti* 'to go/to go away' *sodinti-pa/sodinti* 'to plant/to plant in the ground'

- (17) E *Peeter värvis oma auto ära.*
 Peter paint-impf-3sg own car-gen up
 F *Petteri maalasi autonsa.*
 Peter paint-impf-3sg car-gen-3pos
 Li *Petras nu/dažė savo mašiną.*
 Peter paint-ppref-impf-3sg own car-acc
 R *Pëtr pokrasil svoj abtomobil'*
 Peter paint-ppref-past-3sg own-acc car-acc
 'Peter painted his car.'

In Lithuanian a verb would often be sufficient to express boundedness (perfectivity) or non-boundedness (imperfectivity) (LKM: 130B140) B verbs with an imperfective meaning, as a rule, do not take prefixes, whereas perfective verbs are derived from verbs with an imperfective meaning by attaching a prefix. Prefixes, as a rule, do not change the lexical meaning of verbs, thus only marking the sentence as perfective. It is, however, possible in Finnish and Estonian to express boundedness and non-boundedness in a sentence by means of the case of the object only

- (18) E *Poiss kirjutas luuletuse/luuletust.*
 boy-nom write-impf-3sg poem-gen/-par
 F *Poika kirjoitti runon/runoa.*
 boy-nom write-impf-3sg poem-gen/-par
 Li *Vaikynas parašė/rašė eilėrašį.*
 boy-nom write-ppref-impf-3sg/-impf-3sg
 poem-acc

- R *Mal'čik napisal/pisal*
 boy-nom write-ppref-past-3sg/-past-3sg
stihotvoren'e
 poem-acc
 'The boy wrote/was writing a poem.'

Thus the Estonian means of expressing aspect in the sentence (NOUN, VERB) reveal, in fact, a transitional pattern between the Balto-Finnic marking system by using object cases (NOUN) and the Indo-European marking system of verb prefixes (VERB). If Russian expresses aspect in the sentence chiefly by means of prefixes (VERB), then in Lithuanian we can see both (NOUN, VERB). Estonian has made a step towards analytic expression in this category as well by moving away from the ancient Balto-Finnic synthetic pattern.

2.2. Both Estonian and Lithuanian have such verbs that semantically express a non-bounded action, in Estonian they are called partitive verbs. Such verbs take only partial objects. The number of partitive verbs in Estonian is much higher than the number of verbs that require the genitive in Lithuanian. At the same time both languages share a certain common set among the verbs that denote sensory and intellectual cognition that require a partial object (see Klaas 1988b: 46 ff).

- | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------|------------------|
| (19) E | <i>Noored</i> | <i>kuulavad</i> | <i>muusikat.</i> |
| | young-pl-nom | listen-3pl | music-par |
| Li | <i>Jaunimas</i> | <i>klauso</i> | <i>muzikos.</i> |
| | young-nom | listen-3sg | music-gen |
| | 'Young people listen to music.' | | |
| (20) E | <i>Peeter tahab</i> | <i>uut</i> | <i>korterit.</i> |
| | Peter want-3sg | new-par | apartment-par |
| Li | <i>Petras nori</i> | <i>naujo</i> | <i>buto.</i> |
| | Peter want-3sg | new-gen | apartment-gen |
| | 'Peter wants to have a new apartment.' | | |

In Finnish such verbs often enable us to use the total object as well, e.g.

- (21) F *Petteri halua uuden asunnon.*
 Petteri want-3sg new-gen apartment-gen
 'Peter wants to have a new apartment.'

2.3. Estonian sentences with negative predicate verbs have objects in the partitive; in similar Lithuanian sentences objects would be in the genitive. If the main verb is negated, the situation will become accordingly non-bounded and the object will be partial (EKG II: 52).

- (22) E *Ta ei andnud mulle raamatut.*
 He neg give-pptc I-all book-par
 Li *Jis nedavė man knygos.*
 He give-neg-impf-3sg I-dat book-gen
 'He did not give me the book.'
- (23) E *Ema ei äratanud last.*
 Mother-nom neg wake-pptc child-par
 Li *Motina nežadino vaiko.*
 Mother-nom wake-neg-impf-3sg child-gen
 'Mother did not wake the child.'

Partial objects in negative sentences can be observed in Latvian and Russian as well, e.g.

- (24) La *Es to cilvēku nepazīstu*
 (Kont 1967: 5).
 I this-gen person-gen know-neg-1sg
 'I do not know this person.'
- (25) R *Ja ne kupil doma*
 I neg buy-past-1sg house-gen
 'I did not buy the house.'

2.4. The nominative object. According to *An Estonian Grammar* (EKG II: 53) a total object in Estonian will be in the nominative if it depends upon a) a predicate verb in the impersonal passive voice, e.g.

- (26) *Raamat pandi riiulile.*
 book-nom put-impf-p shelf-all
 'The book was placed on the shelf.'

b) a predicate verb in an imperative sentence, e.g.

- (27) Anna **võti** siia!
 give-imp-2sg key-nom here
 'Give the key here!'

- (27a) **Võti** siia anda!
 key-nom here give-inf
 'The key here!'

- (27b) **Võti** siia!
 key-nom here
 'The key here!'

c) a *da*-infinitive that functions as an attribute or a *da*- or *ma*-infinitive that depends on the predicate verb of an imperative sentence or an impersonal sentence, e.g.

- (28) *Ta läks kaubamajja*
 He go-impf-3sg department store-ill
kavatsusega osta ülikond.
 intention-com buy-inf suit-nom
 'He went to the department store with the intention to buy a suit.'

- (29) *Otsustati teha vaheaeg.*
 decide-impf-p do-inf break-nom
 'It was decided to have a break.'

- (30) *Meil tuleb vaheaeg teha.*
 I-ade must-3sg break-nom do-inf
 'We must have a break.'

- (31) *Kohustage teda see*
 oblige-imp-2pl he-par this-nom
ülesanne lõpule viima.
 assignment-nom end-all take-minf
 'Make him complete this assignment.'

According to *A Lithuanian Grammar* (LKG: 467) a nominative object may exist in Lithuanian sometimes on the same conditions as in Estonian, modifying

a) an infinitive in the attributive function, e.g.

- (32) *Ēmé* *noras* *nusiimti* *kepurė.*
 came-impf-3sg wish-nom take off-inf hat-nom
 'There came a wish to take off the hat.'

b) an infinitive that depends on defective verbs in sentences that express obligation, e.g.

- (33) *Reikia* *daržovės* *pasėti.*
 must-3sg vegetables-pl-nom sow-inf
 'One has to sow vegetables.'

c) a dependent of the *padalyvis*-form of a verb (*padalyvis* is an uninflected verb form that expresses the situation or conditions where the action of the main clause takes place. It can occur in the present and past, resembling participles in Estonian), e.g.

- (34) *Kad bent* *kokia* *žuvelė* *pagavus.*
 If at least some-nom fish-nom caught-ptc
 'If at least some fish had been caught.'

Unlike Estonian in Lithuanian the nominative object is not related to imperative sentences. Although Lithuanian grammars do mention the nominative object, they usually emphasize that the nominative object is disappearing from language and it can always be replaced by an object in the accusative.

Nominative objects can be found in Latvian as well, whereas it is the nominative objects in constructions that express indebtedness that have appeared most viable (Larin 1963: 104), e.g.

- (35) *Vaiga* *issukat* *galva.*
 must-3sg comb-inf head-nom
 'The head needs combing.'

Numerous cases of nominative objects have been attested in Old Church Slavonic and in North Russian dialects, e.g. in a 17th century text about Russian proverbs (ibid.: 87):

- (36) *Pravda* *govorit'* — *druzja* *poterjat'*
 truth-nom tell-inf friend-pl-nom lose-inf
 'To tell the truth — to lose friendship.'

Several theories have been proposed to explain the extremely widespread distribution of the nominative object. Valentin Kiparsky, for example, thinks that it is an ancient phenomenon that has survived in the North Russian dialects because of the so-called canning effect of the Volgaic languages (Kiparsky 1969: 19). According to Larin the nominative dependent of the infinitive may belong to the Proto-European substratum, which would explain its concurrent spread in the Baltic and Balto-Finnic languages as well as in the North Russian dialects (Larin 1963: 107).

3. Case Marking of the Agent in Passive Clauses

In Estonian the agent of a passive clause may be a noun in a) the genitive, b) relative or c) a postpositional phrase *Ngen + poolt* 'by'. In Lithuanian the agent of a passive clause is in the genitive.

- (37) E(b/c) *Ta oli* *Jumalast/Jumala* *poolt*
 he be-impf-3sg God-ela/-gen by
unustatud ja inimeste poolt reedetud.
 forget-ptc-p and man-pl-gen by betray-ptc-p
 Li *Jis buvo* *Dievo pamiršta ir*
 he be-impf-3sg God-gen forget-ptc-p and
žmonių išsižadėta.
 man-pl-gen betray-ptc-p
 'He was forgotten by God and betrayed by people.'
- (38) E(a)/c) *Ma kannan* *sinu/sinu* *poolt*
 I wear-1sg you-gen/-gen by
kingitud mūtsi
 present-ptc-p hat-par

Li	<i>Aš nešau</i>	<i>tavo</i>	<i>dovanotājā</i>	<i>kepurē</i>
	I wear-1sg	you-gen	present-ptc-p	hat-acc
	‘I’m wearing the hat that you gave.’			

In Finnish the agent of passive sentences is also in the genitive and it is possible to use the elative. On the other hand, Estonian uses this well-known analytic construction, e.g.

- (39) F *Kirje oli veljen kirjoitettu.*
 letter-nom be-impf-3sg brother-gen write-ptc-p
- E *Kiri oli venna /venna*
 letter-nom be-impf-3sg brother-gen/-gen
- poolt kirjutatud.*
 by write-ptc-p
 ‘The letter was written by the brother.’
- (40) F *Puut olivat myrskystä kaadettuja.*
 tree-pl-nom be-impf-3pl storm-ela break-ptc-p-pl-par
- E *Puud olid tormi/tormist/*
 tree-pl-nom be-impf-3pl storm-gen/-ela/
tormi poolt murtud.
 -gen by break-ptc-p
 ‘The trees had been broken by the storm’

4. Case Variation of the Predicative (Subject and Object Complement)

In Estonian and Lithuanian a prototypical predicative would be in the nominative both in the case of adjectives and substantives. And this is so in the singular as well as in the plural.

- (41) E *Maria on laulja.*
 Maria be-3sg singer-nom
- Li *Maria dainininkė.*
 Maria singer-nom
 ‘Maria is a singer.’
- (42) E *Poiss oli lõbus.*
 boy-nom be-impf-3sg merry-nom

- Li *Vaikinas* *buvo* *linksmas.*
 boy-nom be-impf-3sg merry-nom
 'The boy was merry.'
- (43) E *Naised* *on lauljad.*
 women-pl-nom be-3pl singer-pl-nom
- Li *Moterys* *daininikės.*
 women-pl-nom singer-pl-nom
 'The women are singers.'
- (44) E *Poisid* *olid* *lōbusad.*
 boy-pl-nom be-impf-3pl merry-pl-nom
- Li *Vaikinai* *buvo* *linksmi.*
 boy-pl-nom be-impf-3pl merry-pl-nom
 'The boys were merry.'

4.1. The partial predicative is marginal both in Estonian and Lithuanian. It is used in phrases where a parameter noun is the head, e.g. *liik* 'kind', *laad* 'manner' *tõug* 'breed', *klass* 'class' *sort* 'sort' etc. In the case of the partial predicative the use of cases coincides with that of the subject and the object B it is the partitive in Estonian and the genitive in Lithuanian (for a more detailed discussion see Klaas 1987).

- (45) E *Mees* *oli* *kõrget* *päritolu.*
 man-nom be-impf-3sg noble-par birth-par
- Li *Vyras* *buvo* *aukštos* *kilmės.*
 man-nom be-impf-3sg noble-gen birth-gen
 'The man was of noble birth.'
- (46) E *Traavel* *oli* *araabia* *tõugu.*
 trotter-nom be-impf-3sg Arabian-gen breed-par
- Li *Žirgas* *buvo* *arabų* *veislės.*
 trotter-nom be-impf-3sg Arabian-pl-gen breed-gen
 'The trotter was of the Arabian breed.'
- (47) E *Nahk* *oli* *kollast* *värvi.*
 skin-nom be-impf-3sg yellow-par color-par
- Li *Oda* *buvo* *geltonos* *spalvos.*
 skin-nom be-impf-3sg yellow-gen color-gen
 'The skin was of yellow color.'

It is sometimes possible in Estonian to replace the partitive with the elative. Lithuanian, too, enables us to use in these phrases in addition to the genitive also the construction with the preposition *is* and the genitive that semantically corresponds to the elative in Estonian.

- (48) E *Mees oli kõrgest soost.*
 man-nom be-impf-3sg noble-ela birth-ela
 Li *Vyras buvo iš aukštos kilmės.*
 man-nom be-impf-3sg of noble-gen birth-gen
 'The man was of noble birth.'

4.2. Also the sentence type where the partial predicative is complement of the partial subject is peripheral and little used. According to *An Estonian Grammar* such a predicative should be classified as an attribute (EKG II: 56).

- (49) E *Filme on häid ja halbu*
 movie-pl-par be-3sg good-pl-par and bad-pl-par
 Li *Filmų yra gerų ir blogų*
 movie-pl-gen be-3pl good-pl-gen and bad-pl-gen
 'There are good and bad movies.'
- (50) E *Inimesi on igasuguseid.*
 man-pl-par be-3sg all kind-pl-par
 Li *Žmonių yra visokių.*
 man-pl-gen be-3pl all kind-pl-gen
 'There are all kinds of people.'

4.3. In Estonian it is the complement adverbial of state according to *An Estonian Grammar* the (EKG II:) in the translative or essive that resembles the identifying predicative. The translative conveys a situational change or temporariness. Similarly in Lithuanian it is possible to use an instrumental in the same function.

- (51) E *Peeter on meie õpetaja.*
 Peter be-3sg we-gen teacher-nom
 Li *Petras mūsų mokytojas.*
 Peter we-gen teacher-nom
 'Peter is our teacher.'

- (51a) E *Meie õpetajaks on Peeter.*
 we-gen teacher-tra be-3sg Peter
 Li *Mūsų mokytoju yra/dirba Petras.*
 we-gen teacher-ins be-3sg/work-3sg Peter
 'Our teacher is Peter.'
- (51b) E *Peeter on / töötab meil õpetajana.*
 Peter be-3sg/work-3sg we-ade teacher-ess
 'Peter works with us as a teacher.'

In Russian, too, one can find complements both in the nominative and instrumental, e.g.

- (51) R *Pētr naš učitel'*
 Peter our-nom teacher-nom
 'Peter is our teacher.'
- (51b) R *Pētr rabotaet našim učitelem*
 Peter work-3sg our-ins teacher-ins
 'Peter works as our teacher.'

5. Case Marking in Quantifier Phrases

Quantifier phrases are phrases with a quantifier as their head. Quantifiers are a) cardinal numerals, b) quantity substantives or c) quantity adverbs (EKG II: 140). In Estonian the modifiers of the quantifier are in the partitive, in Lithuanian they are mostly in the genitive. Thus the case selection of a quantifier modifier follows the same regularities that operate in the case of subject-object-predicative. If in Balto-Finnic languages partiality is expressed by the partitive, then in Baltic languages the genitive is used for this purpose (for a more detailed discussion see Klaas 1994b).

5.1. Cardinal numerals as quantifiers. In Estonian the modifier of any cardinal numeral is in the partitive singular, with the exception of *üks* 'one' which is subordinated to the substantive agreeing with the latter in number and case. In Lithuanian the numerals from one to nine are congruous with their head noun in gender, number and case. The numerals starting with ten reveal

government that is similar to Estonian. Differently from Estonian the governmental attribute of a numeral quantifier is in the plural.

- (52) E *Külas elas viisteist peret.*
 village-ine liv-impf-3sg fifteen-nom household-sg-par
 Li *Kaime gyveno penkiolika šeimų.*
 village-ine liv-impf-3sg fifteen-nom household-pl-gen
 'In the village lived fifteen households.'

5.2. Substantive quantifiers express different measures and sizes, adverb quantifiers express quantity and degree. In Estonian their modifiers can be in the partitive, in Lithuanian they are in the genitive.

- (53) E *Laual seisis korv*
 table-ade stand-impf-3sg basket-nom
õunu / klaas vett.
 appl-pl-par / glass-nom water-par
 Li *Ant stalo stovėjo pintinė*
 on table-gen stand-impf-3sg basket-nom
obuolių / stiklinė vandens.
 appl-pl-gen / glass-nom water-gen
 'On the table was a basket of apples / a glass of water.'
- (54) E *Soovime sulle palju õnne.*
 wish-1pl you-all lot success-par
 Li *Linkime tau daug laimės.*
 wish-1pl you-dat lot success-gen
 'We wish you a lot of success.'
- (55) E *Mul on vähe aega.*
 I-ade be-3sg little time-par
 Li *Aš turiu mažai laiko.*
 I have-1sg little time-gen
 'I have little time.'

In Russian the modifiers of quantifiers are in the genitive as well, e.g.

- (56) R *mnogo sčast'ja / butylka moloka /*
 lot success-gen / bottle-nom milk-gen /
dva čeloveka
 two-nom people-gen
 'a lot of success / a bottle of milk / two people'

6. Case Selection in Sentences with Partner Objects

Dependents of transitive verbs that express the addressee in sentences (57) and (58) or the addresser in (59):

- (57) E *Õpetaja kinkis poisile viiuli.*
 teacher-nom present-impf-3sg boy-all violin-gen
 'The teacher gave a violin to the boy.'
- (58) E *Lapsed aitavad emal nõusid pesta.*
 child-pl-nom help-3pl Mother-ade
 dishes-pl-par wash-inf
 'The children help Mother wash the dishes.'
- (59) E *Ma sain vennalt kirja.*
 I get-impf-1sg brother-abl letter-gen
 'I received a letter from my brother.'

can be regarded as a subtype of the indirect object and partner objects (for a more thorough discussion of the indirect object in Estonian see Klaas 1988a). Partnership relations in a sentence also presume the circumstances under which one would establish a partnership, i.e. the second object that is directly linked with the predicate verb. The addressee object also includes a certain number of possessive indirect objects, the so-called possessors of inalienable possession or the notions that are inherently connected with a certain object, whereas the verb has to be a transitive one in sentences that contain indirect objects.

- (60) E *Emal pesi lapsel jalgu.*
 Mother-nom wash-impf-3sg child-ade foot-pl-par
 'Mother washed the child's feet.'

If one tries to interpret the syntactic position of an addressee object, then one will see that one has to do at the same time with an indirect object and an agent/possessive adverbial. An *Estonian Grammar* uses the term possessor adverbial for the latter (EKG II: 62).

Estonian partner objects are morphologically marked by external local cases. Some postpositions can be used as well, e.g. *kätte* 'into the hand', *käes* 'in the hand', *käest* 'from the hand', etc. In Lithuanian mostly the dative but also some adpositions are used for this purpose, for example, *iš* for the expression of addresser relations.

Below we will examine the correspondences in various partnership relations between the Lithuanian dative and the external local cases in Estonian.

6.1. An addresser that participates in a process where something is transferred to someone's physical or intellectual possession (EKG II: 62) is expressed in Estonian by the allative and by the dative in Lithuanian.

- (61) E *Õpetaja kinkis poisile viiuli.*
 teacher-nom present-impf-3sg boy-all violin-gen
 Li *Mokytojas padovanojo berniukui smuiką.*
 teacher-nom present-impf-3sg boy-dat violin-acc
 'The teacher gave the boy a violin.'
- (62) E *Ma tõin teile hea uudise.*
 I bring-impf-1sg you-all good-gen news-gen
 Li *Aš parnešiau jums gerą naujieną.*
 I bring-impf-1sg you-dat good-acc news-acc
 'I brought you good news.'

6.2. Estonian has verbs (they express semantically the partner's influence) that will switch their government if new members are brought in, for example *aitama* 'to help' *segama* 'to disturb' *käskima* 'to command', *keelama* 'to forbid' *soovitama* 'to recommend', *lubama* 'to permit', and others:

- (63) E (a) *Sa segad mind.*
 you disturb-2sg I-par
 'You disturb me.'
- (b) *Sa segad mul õppida.*
 you disturb-2sg I-ade study-inf
 'You disturb my studying.'

The bold part of sentence b) carries a twofold function: 1) it denotes the addressee of the action that is expressed by a finite verb, 2) it denotes the agent of an action that is expressed by the infinitive.

The agent of a secondary action in the dative is characteristic of Lithuanian as well. In Finnish such an object is expressed by cases of the direct object.

- (58) E *Lapsed aitavad emal*
 child-pl-nom help-3pl Mother-ade
nõusid pesta.
 dishes-pl-par wash-inf
- Li *Vaikai padeda motinai*
 child-pl-nom help-3pl Mother-dat
indus plauti.
 dishes-pl-par wash-inf
- F *Lapset auttavat äitiä*
 child-pl-nom help-3pl Mother-par
tiskamaan astioita
 wash-3inf dishes-pl-par
 'The children help Mother wash the dishes.'
- (63) E *Sa segad mul õppida.*
 you disturb-2sg I-ade study-inf
- Li *Tu kliudai man mokyti.*
 you disturb-2sg I-dat study-inf
- F *Sinä häiritset minun opiskeluani.*
 you disturb-2sg I-gen study-par-pos
 'You disturb my studying.'
- (64) E *Ma luban sul minna.*
 I let-1sg you-ade go-inf
- Li *Aš leisiu tau eiti.*

I	let-fut-1sg	you-dat	go-inf
F	<i>Minä sallin sinun lähtea.</i>		
I	let-1sg	you-gen	go-inf
	'I let you go.'		

With its adessive agent Estonian is rather similar to the Indo-European pattern, thus moving away from the Balto-Finnic pattern with the direct object, cf

(58) R	<i>Deti</i>	<i>pomogajut</i>	<i>mame</i>
	child-pl-nom	help-3pl	Mother-dat
	<i>myt'</i>	<i>posudu</i>	
	wash-inf	dishes-acc	
G	<i>Die Kinder</i>	<i>helfen</i>	<i>der Mutter</i>
	child-pl-nom	help-3pl	Mother-dat
	<i>das Geschirr</i>	<i>zu spühlen.</i>	
	dishes-acc	wash-inf	
(63) R	<i>Ty</i>	<i>mešaeš</i>	<i>mne</i>
	you	disturb-2sg	I-dat
			<i>učit'sja</i>
			study-inf
(64) R	<i>Ja</i>	<i>pozvoljaju</i>	<i>tebe</i>
	I	let-1sg	you-dat
			go-inf
G	<i>Ich</i>	<i>empfehle</i>	<i>dir</i>
	I	let-1sg	you-dat
			<i>zu gehen.</i>
			go-inf

6.3. Sentences, where transitive verbs are extended by a possessor of inalienable possession, belong to the category of experiencer-possessor sentences (EKG II: 64). If one has to do with a physical contact and addressness of the process is emphasized, then the indirect object is in the adessive in Estonian. On the other hand, if possessiveness of the extension is emphasized, the indirect object will become a genitive attribute. One can observe similar case alternations (dative/genitive) also in Lithuanian. One has to do with a sentence pattern that is characteristic of Indo-European languages, which is proved by the existing Russian and German analogies. Finnish lacks such a uniform alternation of two cases that one can find in Indo-European and Estonian. Although one can find adessives in Finnish experiencer sentences, ablatives are numerous too. In possessor sentences the genitive is used.

- (60) E *Ema pesi lapsel/lapse jalgu.*
 Mother-nom wash-impf-3sg child-ade/-gen foot-pl-par
- Li *Motina apmazgojo vaikui/vaiko kojās.*
 Mother-nom wash-impf-3sg child-dat/-gen foot-pl-acc
- G *Die Mutter wusch dem Kind die Füße/*
 Mother-nom wash-impf-3sg child-dat foot-pl-acc/
die Füße des Kindes.
 -pl-acc child-gen
- F *Äiti pesi lapselta/lapsen*
 Mother-nom wash-impf-3sg child-abl/-gen
jalat.
 oot-pl-nom
- R *Mama vymyla rebēnku nogi/*
 Mother-nom wash-past-3sg child-dat foot-pl-acc/
nogi rebēnka
 -pl-acc child-gen
 'Mother washed the child's feet.'

6.4. Addresser objects are expressed in Estonian by means of the ablative, in Lithuanian by means of prepositions *iš* and *nuo*.

- (65) E *Ma sain vennalt kirja.*
 I get-impf-1sg brother-abl letter-gen
- Li *Aš gavau iš/nuo brolio laišką.*
 I get-impf-1sg from brother-gen letter-acc:
 'I received a letter from my brother.'

7. Case Marking of Experiencer

7.1. The experiencer of sentences with a state and modal predicate is in the adessive in Estonian, in Lithuanian it is in the dative. Once again one has to do with a pattern of experiencer sentences that is characteristic of the Indo-European languages in the area under discussion as the Russian and German sentence constructions follow the same principles. In Finnish sentences with state and modal predicates the experiencer is in most cases in the

genitive although parallel use of the experiencer in the adessive is possible, though on a limited scale indeed.

- (66) E **Mul** *oli/hakkas külm, kuum, lõbus.*
 I-ade be-impf-3sg cold-nom hot-nom merry-nom
 Li **Man** *buvo/pasidarė šalta, karšta, linksma.*
 I-dat be-impf-3sg col hot merry
 G **Mir** *ist kalt, heiss, lustig.*
 I-dat be-3sg cold hot merry
 F **Minulla/minun oli** *kylmä, kuuma,*
 I-ade/-gen be-impf-3sg cold-nom hot-nom
hauska.
 merry-nom
 R **Mne** *bylo holodno, žarko, veselo*
 I-dat be-past-3sg cold hot merry
 'I felt cold, hot, merry.'
- (67) E **Sul** *läheb hästi.*
 you-ade go-3sg fine
 Li **Tau** *eina gerai.*
 you-dat go-3sg fine
 G **Dir** *geht es gut.*
 you-dat go-3sg this-nom fine
 F **Sinun** *menee hyvin.*
 you-gen go-3sg fine
 R **U tebjja** *vsë idët horošo*
 you-gen everything-nom go-3sg fine
 'You are doing fine.'

7.2. In those experiencer-possessor sentences where it is possible to use an experiencer in the adessive or a possessor in the genitive one has to do with experiencing a certain state: *Emal* (sg-ade) *valutab pea* = *Emä kogeab peavalu* 'Mother has a headache = Mother experiences a headache' On the other hand, the sentence also expresses inalienable possession: *Emä* (sg-gen) *pea valutab* = *Valutab pea, mis on emä oma.* 'Mother's head is aching = The head is aching that belongs to Mother' In the Indo-European languages of the area under discussion it is also possible to select between the experiencer constituent in the dative and the possessor

constituent in the genitive. In addition, *habeo* constructions with nominative subjects are used as well. Finnish prefers the genitive in such experiencer-possessor sentences as well although the adessive is not always excluded either and can be used as a parallel variant.

- (68) E *Emal /Ema* *pea* *valutab.*
 Mother-ade /-gen head-nom ache-3sg
 Li *Motinai /Motinos* *galvą* *skauda.*
 Mother-dat/-gen head-acc ache-3sg
 G *Die Mutter* *hat* *Kopfschmerzen.*
 Mother-nom have-3sg headache-acc
 F *Äidillä/Äidin* *päätä* *särkee.*
 Mother-ade/-gen head-par ache-3sg
 R *U mamy* *golova* *bolit/*
 Mother-gen head-nom ache-3sg/
golova mamy bolit
 head-nom Mother-gen ache-3sg
 ‘Mother has a headache/Mother’s head is aching.’
- (69) E *Tüdrukul/Tüdruku* *jalad* *värisevad.*
 girl-ade/-gen leg-pl-nom tremble-3pl
 Li *Mergaitei/Mergaitės* *kojos* *dreba.*
 girl-dat/-gen leg-pl-nom tremble-3pl
 G *Dem Mädchen* *zittern* *die Füße/*
 girl-dat tremble-3pl leg-pl-nom/
Die Füße des Mädchen zittern.
 -pl-nom girl-gen tremble-3pl
 F *Tytön* *jalat* *tärisevat.*
 girl-gen leg-pl-nom tremble-3pl
 R *U devočki* *nogi* *drožat/*
 girl-gen leg-pl-nom tremble-3pl/
nogi devočki drožat.
 leg-pl-nom girl-gen tremble-3pl
 ‘The girl’s legs are trembling.’

7.3. Estonian does not make a difference in case marking whether the experience is positive or negative. A similar situation can be observed in the Indo-European languages, where the experiencer is

expressed in the same way both in the case of *dativus commodi* (DC) and *dativus incommodi* (DIC). Finnish differs from Estonian in this respect from the Estonian and Indo-European pattern as it uses different cases for the marking of positive and negative experiential processes B adessive-genitive for DC and ablative-genitive for DIC.

- (70) E **Haigel** *kukkusid juuksed peast* (DIC).
 patient-ade fall-impf-3pl hair-pl-nom head-ela
- Li **Ligoniui** *iškrito plaukai* (DIC).
 patient-dat fall out-impf-3pl hair-pl-nom
- G **Dem Kranken** *fielen die Haare aus* (DIC).
 patient-dat fall-impf-3pl hair-pl-nom out
- F **Sairaalta** *lähtivät hiukset* (DIC).
 patient-abl go-impf-3pl hair-pl-nom
- R **U bol'nogo volosy vypali** (DIC)
 patient-gen hair-pl-nom all out-past-3pl
 'The patient's hair fell out.'
- (71) E **Perenaisel** *kõrbes toit põhja* (DIC).
 landlady-ade burn-impf-3sg food-nom bottom-ill
- Li **Šeiminikei** *pietus pridegė* (DIC).
 landlady-dat food-nom burn to bottom-impf-3sg
- F **Emännältä** *paloj ruoka*
 landlady-ade burn-impf-3sg food-nom
pohjaan (DIC).
 bottom-ill
- G **Der Wirtin** *brannte das Essen an* (DIC).
 landlady-dat burn-impf-3sg food-nom to
- R **U hozjajki eda prigorela** (DIC)
 landlady-gen food-nom burn to bottom-past-3sg
 'The landlady's food burnt to the bottom.'
- (72) E **Mul** *läheb hästi* (DC).
 I-ade go-3sg fine
- Li **Man** *sekasi gerai* (DC).
 I-dat go-3sg fine
- F **Minun** *menee hyvin* (DC).
 I-gen go-3sg fine

G	<i>Es</i>	<i>geht mir gut</i> (DC).
	this-nom	go-3sg I-dat fine
R	<i>U menja</i>	<i>vsë idët horošo</i> (DC).
	I-gen	everything-nom go-3sg fine
	'I'm doing fine.'	

In addition, it is possible to use in the languages of the area under discussion the genitive possessive in the case of negative experience, e.g.

(70a)	E	<i>Haige</i>	<i>juuksed</i>	<i>kukkusid</i>	<i>peast.</i>
		patient-gen	hair-pl-nom	fall-impf-3pl	head-ela
	Li	<i>Ligonio</i>	<i>plaukai</i>	<i>iškrito.</i>	
		patient-gen	hair-pl-nom	fall out-impf-3pl	
	F	<i>Sairaan</i>	<i>hiukset</i>	<i>lähtivät.</i>	
		patient-gen	hair-pl-nom	go-impf-3pl	
	G	<i>Die Haare</i>	<i>des Kranken</i>	<i>fielen</i>	<i>aus.</i>
		hair-pl-nom	patient-gen	fall-impf-3pl	out
	R	<i>Volosy</i>	<i>bol'nogo</i>	<i>vypali</i>	
		hair-pl-nom	patient-gen	fall out-past-3pl	
		'The patient's hair fell out.'			
(71a)	E	<i>Perenaise</i>	<i>toit</i>	<i>kõrbes</i>	<i>põhja.</i>
		landlady-gen	food-nom	burn-impf-3sg	bottom-ill
	Li	<i>Šeimininkés</i>	<i>pietus</i>	<i>pridegë.</i>	
		landlady-gen	food-nom	burn to bottom-impf-3sg	
	F	<i>Emännän</i>	<i>ruoka</i>	<i>paloj</i>	<i>pohjaan.</i>
		landlady-gen	food-nom	burn-impf-3sg	bottom-ill
	G	<i>Das Essen</i>	<i>der Wirtin</i>	<i>brannte</i>	<i>an.</i>
		food-nom	landlady-gen	burn-impf-3sg	to
	R	<i>Eda</i>	<i>hozjajki</i>	<i>sgorela.</i>	
		food-nom	landlady-gen	burn to bottom-past-3sg	
		'The landlady's food burnt to the bottom.'			

7.4. Possessive constructions in Estonian existential sentences without an experiencer background are in the adessive:

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ABBREVIATIONS:

LANGUAGES	E = Estonian	La = Latvian
	G = German	Li = Lithuanian
	F = Finnish	R = Russian
NUMBER	sg = singular	pl = plural

PERSON	1, 2, 3 These appear on finite verb forms	
CASE	abl = ablative acc = accusative ade = adessive all = allative com = comitative dat = dative ela = elative ess = essive gen = genitive	ill = illative ine = inessive ins = instrumental loc = locative nom = nominative par = partitive term = terminative tra = translative
VERB FORM	fut = futurum imp = imperative impf = imperfect inf = infinitive, <i>da</i> -infinitive minf = <i>ma</i> -infinitive neg = negation verb p = passive	past = preterite per = perfect pperf = perfect prefix pptc = past participle ptc = present participle
OTHER	N = noun	pos = possessive suffix

ÜHTELANGEVUSI SÜNTAKTILISTE FUNKTSIOONIDE VORMISTUSTES EESTI JA LEEDU KEELES

Birute Klaas

Käesolev artikkel annab ülevaate mõningatest eesti ja leedu keele lausekonstruktsioonide morfosüntaktilistest sarnasustest, mis oma päritolult võivad kuuluda nii tüpoloogiliste ilmingute kui ka laenulise (või koosmõju) taustaga ühtelangevuste hulka. Vaatluse all on piiritlematuse—piiritletuse opositsiooni väljendamine subjekti, objekti ja predikaatiivi vormis, kaudsihitise, agendi, kogeja ja omaja vormistus ning kvantorifraasid.

Peatähelepanu on eesti ja leedu keele suhetel, kuid vajaduse korral tuuakse paralleele ka teiste indoeuroopa keelte (läti, vene, saksa) ja soome keelega, et anda vastavatele ilmingutele areaalingvistiline iseloomustus.

Leedu keel on praegu kõneldavatest indoeuroopa keeltest kõige arhailisema struktuuriga, pakkudes seega suurepäraselt materjali Läänemere areaalis kõneldavate läänemeresoome ja indoeuroopa keelte tüpoloogilisteks kõrvutamisteks. Artikkel kujutab endast järge autori poolt 1988. a. ilmunud uurimusele "Eesti ja leedu keele süntaksi ühisjooned ja nende päritolu" (Klaas 1988b).

Eesti ja leedu keele süntaktiliste funktsioonide vormistuses esinevad järgmised ühisjooned:

1. Totaal- ja partsiaalsubjekti (eesti keeles partitiivis, leedu keeles genitiivis) vaheldus:

Vesi on kaevus.
Kaevus on vett.
Šuliny vanduo (nom).
Šuliny yra vandens (gen).

2. Totaal- ja partsiaalobjekti (eesti keeles partitiivis, leedu keeles genitiivis) vaheldus:

Ta andis mulle raamatu.
Ta ei andnud mulle raamatut.
Jis davė man knygą (ak).
Jis nedavė man knygos (gen).

3. Eesti ja leedu keeles esineb nominatiivis totaalobjekt:

Tuleb köögivili külvata.
Reikia daržovės pasėti.

4. Totaal- ja partsiaalpredikatiivi (eesti keeles partitiivis, leedu keeles genitiivis) vaheldus:

Eva on laulja.
Mees oli kõrget päritolu.
Eva dainininkė.
Vyras buvo aukštos kilmės.

5. Passiivi agendi vormistamine genitiiviga. Eesti keeles võib passiivlause agendi vormistada genitiiv, elatiiv või postpositsioon *poolt*, leedu keeles ainult genitiiv:

Puud olid tormi/tormist/tormi poolt murtud.
Medžiai buvo audros išlaužyti.

6. Kvantori laiendi vormistamine partsiaalkäändega (eesti keeles partitiivi, leedu keeles genitiiviga):

Laual seisis klaas vett.

Ant stalo stovėjo stiklinė vandens.

7. Partnerobjekti vormistamine eesti keeles kohakäänetega, leedu keeles daativiga:

Laped aitavad emal nōusid pesta.

Vaikai padeda motinai indus plauti.

8. Kogaja märkimine eesti keeles adessiiviga, leedu keeles daativiga:

Mul oli/hakkas külm, kuum, lõbus.

Man buvo/pasidarė šalta, karšta, linksma.

9. Kogaja-omajalausetes on nii eesti kui ka leedu keeles võimalik valida adessiivis/daativis kogēja või genitiivis omaja vahel:

*Emal pea valutab. **Em**a pea valutab.*

***Motinai** (daat) galvą skauda. **Motinos** (gen) galvą skauda.*

THE ESTONIAN TRANSLATIVE: A CORPUS-BASED DESCRIPTION¹

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Keywords: Estonian, case, translative, Uralic, corpora

Abstract: This paper is an attempt at a comprehensive description of the syntax and semantics of the Estonian translative on the basis of a 90,000-word collection of electronic text in written Estonian. Some 1,000 attested occurrences of the Estonian translative case are grouped into five major classes: subject complement, object complement, adverbial of time, adverbial of purpose/use, and sentential adverbial. Concrete examples are provided to show how these apparently distinct classes are interrelated among themselves.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Data

The present study is based on the corpus of some 90,000 words consisting of the following four texts:²

¹ This is a thoroughly revised version of the author's earlier paper "Esutonia-go no henkaku (translative) no imi to yooahoo ni cuite" (On the Semantics and Syntax of the Estonian Translative) published in the Japanese language in *Tokyo University Linguistics Papers* (TULIP), Vol.14, 1995, pp. 359–406.

² The texts mentioned here are part of the collection of Estonian e-texts prepared by the author. Each example cited in the paper is provided with an abbreviation indicating its printed source and the page from which it is taken. Thus (M042), for example, means the example is taken from page 42 of the book *Väikesed võililled* by Heljo Mänd. A few of the examples used in the present paper, however, derive from the sources outside the author's corpus: *Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat* [Abbr. EKS], Saagpakk (1992) [SP], Tauli (1980) [VT], and Sakamoto (1992) [SM].

- Heljo Mänd 1983. *Väikesed vöililled*.
Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, pp. 3–127.
c. 36,700 words [Abbr. M]
- Oskar Luts 1982. *Kevade. Pildikesi koolipõlvest I ja II*.
Tallinn: Perioodika, 13. trükk, pp. 7–72.
c. 18,600 words [L]
- L. Lumiste et. al. 1963. *Meie kodumaa*.
Stockholm: Rootsi-Eesti Öpperaamatufond, pp. 120–198.
c. 14,700 words [K]
- Maimu Berg 1987. *Kirjutajad. Seisab üksi mäe peal*.
Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, pp. 145–214.
c. 20,000 words [B]

Two principles are adopted for the identification of the translative syntagm³ for statistic purposes:

(i) Attributive adjectives (or participles) occurring in the translative case as a result of morphological agreement with their heads are not counted as independent occurrences of the translative case.

(ii) If two or more translative phrases form a coordinate structure, they are regarded as a single occurrence of the translative case.

³ The interrogative adverb *miks* 'why' and the postposition *jaoks* 'for the sake of' which occur 76 and 38 times respectively, are not counted as transitive forms in the current study.

Historically, the form *miks* derives from the same root as the interrogative pronoun *mis* 'what', and is analyzed etymologically as interrogative root *mi-* + translative suffix *-ks*. Synchronically, however, this analysis poses a problem, as *mis* has its own translative form *milleks*. Therefore the form *miks* should be excluded from the inventory of translative forms.

The postposition *jaoks* is etymologically the translative form of the noun *jagu* 'part, share'. Though the etymologically-motivated morphological analysis is synchronically less problematic here than in the case of *miks*, the semantic shift it has undergone in its lexical meaning is considerable so it should be regarded as an independent lexical item rather than the translative form of the noun *jagu*.

For example, sentences (1a) and (1b) each contain only one occurrence of the translative syntagm, but sentence (1c) contains two occurrences of it.

- (1) a. *Tartu kõrval teise-ks rahvusliku-ks*
 Tartu.GEN beside second.TRA national.TRA
keskuse-ks kujune-s Tallinn,... (K122)
 center.TRA form.PAST.3sg Tallinn.NOM
 'alongside of Tartu, Tallinn became another center of
 nationalism'
- b. *see jää-b-ki teie ainsa-ks*
 DEM.NOM remain.3sg.EMPH 2pl.GEN only.TRA
kodu-ks ja kodumaa-ks. (B205)
 home.TRA and homeland.TRA
 'this will remain eventually as your only home and
 country'
- c. *isa sa-i aidamehe-ks ja*
 father.NOM get.PAST.3sg granary-keeper.TRA and
ema pere-emand-ks. (K157)
 mother.NOM house-mistress.TRA
 'his father became a granary keeper and his mother a
 housewife'

The total occurrences of the translative case in the four texts are 996: 374 in Mänd (1983), 184 in Luts (1982), 247 in Lumiste et al. (1963), and 191 in Berg (1987).⁴

1.2. The Translative Case in Traditional Grammar

The grammar of Estonian has traditionally lacked a chapter describing the syntax and semantics of individual case forms.⁵ A

⁴ The most frequent translative forms are *lõpuks* 'in conclusion' (38 occurrences) and *viimaks* 'finally' (32 occurrences).

⁵ In Tauli (1980), for example, the description of the translative case is divided among two independent chapters (those translative NPs that are constituents of verbal syntagms and those that are constituents of nominal syntagms) and no attempt is made to interrelate them: no

rare exception is Lavotha's grammar, according to which the translative case in its basic meaning is employed to denote:

die Umwandlung, den Übergang in einen Zustand (den Übergang von einem Zustand in einen anderen) oder das (vorübergehende) Befinden in einem Zustand (Lavotha 1973: 95)

Lavotha (1973:95–96) subdivides the function of the translative case into five categories, which are cited in full as (2) through (6):

(2) der Endpunkt oder die Richtung der Umwandlung:

- a. *soo* *muutu-s* *põllu-ks*
marsh.NOM change.PAST.3sg field.TRA
'the swamp changed into arable land'
- b. *poiss* *kasva-s* *suure-ks*
boy.NOM grow.PAST.3sg big.TRA
'the boy grew up (*lit.*, grew bigger)'
- c. *ilm* *lähe-b* *ilusa-ks*
air.NOM go.3sg beautiful.TRA
'the weather is clearing up (*lit.*, becomes beautiful)'
- d. *ta* *jä-i* *haige-ks*
3sg.NOM remain.PAST.3sg ill.TRA
'she fell ill'

(3) der Zustand:

- ta* *on* *õpetaja-ks* *Tartu-s*
3sg.NOM be.3sg teacher.TRA Tartu.INE
'she is (working as) a teacher in Tartu'

mention is made, for example, of the systematic parallelism between a translative NP in a verbal syntagm and one in a corresponding nominalized construction. This tradition is also followed by the second volume of *Eesti keele grammatika* (Erelt et al. 1993). It is interesting to note that Ahrens (1853) and Wiedemann (1875), which were written long before the establishment of the current framework of Estonian syntax, do contain a section dealing with the function of the translative or "factive" case as it was called in their days. In this respect, Lavotha (1973) is closer to this older framework than to the now dominant one.

(4) die Zeitgrenze oder die beabsichtigte Zeitdauer:

- a. *tule* *õhtu-ks* *koju*
 come.IMP.2sg evening.TRA home
 ‘come home by the evening!’
- b. *lähe-n* *kuu-ks* *aja-ks* *puhkuse-le*
 go.1sg month.TRA time.TRA vacation.ALL
 ‘I am going for a vacation for one month’
- c. *sügis-ks* *saa-b* *töö* *valmis*
 autumn.TRA get.3sg job.NOM ready
 ‘the job will be finished by the autumn’

(5) As adverbials of enumeration (the ordinal numbers):

- esite-ks* ‘firstly’
teise-ks ‘secondly’
kolmanda-ks ‘thirdly’
viima-ks ‘lastly’

(6) As adverbial constituents of compound verbs:

- anna ande-ks* ‘forgive (me)!’
 give.IMP.2sg
- tuttava-ks saa-ma* ‘to become friends’
 acquaintance.TRA get.INF
- hea-ks kiit-ma* ‘to approve’
 good.TRA praise.INF

Of Lavotha’s five categories, the fourth, (5), concerns the translative form of a closed set of words only, and the fifth, (6), is but an observation that some compound verbs have an adverbial element in the translative form. Thus we may safely say that only the first three categories given in Lavotha (1973) concern the function of the translative case in the proper sense.

In what follows, we will examine whether the recognition of these three “subfunctions” suffices for the description of all the 1000 occurrences of the translative case attested in the text corpus.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Subject and Object Complements in English

In English grammar,⁶ the constituent (or clause element) which occurs with the copular verb (linking verb) and relates to the subject is called “subject complement”. The prototypical copular verb in English is the verb *be*. The semantic role of the subject complement is that of attribute and two subtypes of role are distinguished for the attribute: identification as in (7) and characterization as in (8):

- (7) Kevin is *my brother*. [identification]
 (8) a. Kevin is *young*. [characterization]
 b. Kevin is *a student*. [characterization]

Attributes are further subdivided into current (or existing) attributes as in (9) and resulting attributes as in (10). The current attribute usually occurs with verbs used statively, and the resulting attribute with verbs used dynamically:

- (9) a. He seems *unhappy*. [current attribute]
 b. She remained *silent*. [current attribute]
 (10) a. We became *restless*. [resulting attribute]
 b. He fell *ill*. [resulting attribute]

The notion of complement is applied to transitive sentences as well and the element in a transitive sentence that relates to the direct object copulatively is called “object complement”. Thus the relationship between the direct object *them* and the adjective phrase *very pleasant* in (11b) is to be understood analogically with the copular relationship between the subject *they* and the subject complement *very pleasant* in (11a). The same analogy applies to the relationship between the direct object *them* and the noun phrase *her assistants* in (12b) on the one hand, and that between

⁶ This section follows Quirk et al. (1985), Chapter 10, pp. 728–729 (10.8) and pp. 741–742 (10.20).

the subject *they* and the subject complement *her assistants* in (12a) on the other.

- (11) a. They are *very pleasant*. [subject complement]
 b. We find them *very pleasant*. [object complement]
- (12) a. They became *her assistants*. [subject complement]
 b. Carol made them *her assistants*. [object complement]

The stative/dynamic distinction is also applicable to object complements. Thus the object complement *very pleasant* in (11b) is a current attribute, and the object complement *her assistants* in (12b) is a resulting attribute.

2.2. The Subject and Object Complements in Estonian

I assume that the notions of subject complement and object complement together with the semantic distinction between the current attribute and the resulting attribute are applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the description of the Estonian translative case. One should, however, take into consideration the fact that the two languages differ considerably in morphology.

Let us compare the two sentences in (13), which are semantically near equivalents. Sentence (13a) is a typical copular sentence and the verb phrase *turned traitor* here is analyzed as consisting of the copular verb *turned* and the subject complement *traitor*, which is a resulting attribute. Despite the semantic analogy it bears to *turned traitor* in (13a), an analogical analysis for the verb phrase *turned into a traitor* in (13b) would be rather dubious for morpho-lexical reasons: because of its inner morphological structure “preposition + NP”, the syntagm *into a traitor* resists an analysis that would interpret it as a subject complement to the copular verb *turned*.

- (13) a. He turned traitor.
 b. He turned into a traitor.

In English, a morpho-lexical compromise on the part of the verb is necessary in order to include verb phrases like *turned into a traitor* in the class of “copular verb + complement” constructions: if you recognize collocations of the structure “verb + preposition” as quasi-lexical units or “prepositional verbs”,⁷ then the verb phrase *turned into a traitor* in (13b) can be analyzed as consisting of a prepositional copular verb *turned into* and a subject complement *a traitor*.

In Estonian, on the other hand, it is often not easy to tell which translative NPs are complements and which are not complements, i.e. adverbials. Let us compare various translative forms that occur in (14). Few would deny that *punaseks* in (14a) and *puruks* in (14b) are subject complements in the semantic role of resulting attribute. It is, however, less evident whether the other examples in (14) are subject complements. The NP *teerahaks* in (14c) could be interpreted as an adverbial of purpose just as well as a resulting attribute. In (14e), where the predicate verb *minema* ‘to go’ retains its lexical meaning (*läks oma äia tallu* ‘[she] went to her father-in-law’s farm’), the complement interpretation of *teenijaks* is rather difficult: it is more of an adverbial of purpose than a resulting attribute. The NP *naiseks* in (14d) seems to lie between (14c) and (14e), because the predicate verb *minema* here retains a considerable part of its lexical meaning intact: *läheb Jürile naiseks* means ‘(she) goes to Jüri to become his wife’

- (14) a. *Teele läks kõrvu-ni punase-ks.*
 Teele.NOM go.PAST.TRA ear.pl.TER red.TRA
 (L024)
 ‘Teele flushed red to the ears’
- b. *sauna aken läks puru-ks*
 sauna.GEN window.NOM go.PAST.3sg dust.TRA
 (L029)
 ‘the sauna window broke into pieces’
- c. *Kümme rubla lähe-b teeraha-ks,...* (B211)
 ten.NOM ruble.PAR go.3sg journey-money.TRA
 ‘ten rubles will be necessary for travel expenses’

⁷ See Quirk et al. (1985), Chapter 16, pp. 1150–1168 (16.2–16.17)

- d. *Ei see tüdruk Jüri-le naise-ks*
 NEG DEM.NOM girl.NOM Jüri.ALL wife.TRA
lähe. (EKS.III.437)
 go
 ‘this girl will not marry Jüri’
- e. *minu ema Kristiine läks*
 1sg.GEN mother.NOM Kristiine.NOM go.PAST.3sg
oma äia tallu teenijaks. (M120)
 own father-in-law.GEN farm.ILL servant.TRA
 ‘my mother, Kristiine, went to her father-in-law’s farm
 as a maid’

That the degree of complementhood of the translative syntagm seems to depend largely on the semantics of the predicate verb is clearly illustrated by the examples in (15) as well. In (15a), where the verb *kutsuma* is used in the sense of ‘naming’, the NP *Emmi-tädiks* can be regarded as an object complement in the role of resulting attribute. In contrast, one needs a certain amount of reservation to regard the translative NPs *peaministriks* in (15b) and *seltsiks* in (15c) as object complements, because the same lexical verb, *kutsuma*, is used in the sense of ‘inviting; sending for’ in these sentences.

- (15) a. *Lapse-d kutsu-si-d koristaja-t Emmi-*
 child.pl.NOM call.PAST.3pl cleaner.PAR Emmi-
tädi-ks. (EKS.II.621)
 aunt.TRA
 ‘the children called the scrubwoman Aunt Emmi’
- b. *Peaministri-ks kutsu-ti*
 premier.TRA call.INDEF.PAST
Konstantin Päts.
 Konstantin Päts.NOM (K127)
 ‘Konstantin Päts was invited to become prime minister’
- c. *Kutsu-s venna enda-le seltsi-ks.*
 call.PAST.3sg brother.GEN self.ALL company.TRA
 (EKS.II.620)
 ‘(she) invited her brother as an companion’

3. The Syntactic Distribution of the Translative Case

Generally speaking, the Estonian translative occurs in two major syntactic functions: complement (subject complement or object complement) and adverbial (use, purpose, time, etc). We will first see the instances of subject complement (3.1.) and object complement (3.2.), and then those of adverbial (3.4.).

3.1. The Subject Complement

3.1.1. The Copular Verb *olema*

The verb *olema* is an Estonian counterpart of the English prototypical copular verb *be*. The translative complement occurring with *olema* corresponds to the second category (der Zustand) in Lavotha's grammar and is illustrated by (3) above. Translative syntagms of this category occur 81 times (8 percent of the total occurrence) in the corpus data:⁸

- (16) a. *ol-i-n oma õpetaja-le rohkem*
 be.PAST.1sg own teacher.ALL more
jooksupoisi-ks kui õpilase-ks. (M040)
 errand-boy.TRA than pupil.TRA
 'for my teacher I was an errand-boy rather than
 a pupil'
- b. *Ta käi-s ülikooli-s ja*
 3sg.NOM go.PAST.3sg university.INE and
ol-i meie suguvõsa
 be.PAST.3sg 1pl.GEN lineage.GEN
uhkuse-ks. (M050)
 pride.TRA
 'he attended the university and was an honor to our
 relatives'

⁸ It should be noted that though nouns and adjectives are equally common as subject complements to the verb *olema*, only nouns can occur as translative complements.

- c. *Aga järgmise-l päeva-l polnud minu*
 but next.ADE day.ADE NEG. be.PAST 1sg.GEN
must lint enam
 black.NOM ribbon.NOM any more
kelle-le-gi uudise-ks... (M072)
 anyone.ALL.EMPH news.TRA
 ‘on the next day, however, my black ribbon was no
 news to anyone’

The translative complement to the verb *olema* occurs frequently in the sentence-initial position, where it functions as the theme of the sentence.

- (17) a. *Eesti rahusaatkonna juhi-ks*
 Estonian peace-delegation.GEN leader.TRA
ol-i Jaan Poska. (K132)
 be.PAST.3sg Jaan Poska
 ‘the leader of the Estonian delegation to the peace
 negotiations was Jaan Poska’
- b. *õppekeele-ks viimase-s ol-i*
 teaching-language.TRA last.INE be.PAST.3sg
saksa keel. (K175)
 German language.NOM
 ‘the language of instruction in the latter [type of school]
 was German’
- c. *Ühe-ks meie ettevõtmise-ks ol-i*
 one.TRA 1pl.GEN enterprise.TRA be.PAST.3sg
käik Tiigiveski-le,... (M057)
 visit.NOM Tiigiveski.ALL
 ‘one of our adventures was a visit to Tiigiveski Park’

There is yet a third type of construction involving the translative complement and the verb *olema*:

- (18) a. *Praegu ol-i selle-ks*
 now be.PAST.3sg DEM.TRA
tädi Kurnim,... (M028)
 aunt Kurnim.NOM
 ‘right now Aunt Kurnim was such’

- b. *Mu-l ol-i juba sōbratari-ks*
 1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg already girl-friend.TRA
pinginaaber Hilja. (M043)
 neighbor.NOM Hilja.NOM
 ‘Hilja, my “benchmate”, had become a friend by then’

The subject complement to the verb *olema* is almost always in the translative case in nominalized constructions:

- (19) a. *Ma ole-n tüdi-nud tema*
 1sg.NOM be.1sg get-tired.NUD 3sg.GEN
venna-ks olemise-st.
 brother.TRA being.PAR
 ‘I am tired of being his brother’
- b. *need noore-d, kes*
 DEM.pl.NOM young.pl.NOM REL.NOM
siselinna-s usinasti saksa-ks
 inland city.INE dilligently gentleman.TRA
olemis-t harjuta-si-d. (B193)
 being.PAR practice.PAST.3pl.
 ‘those young men who, in inland towns, were trying
 desperately to behave like gentlemen’

3.1.2. Intransitive Verbs Other Than the Verb *olema*

Translative complements occurring with other intransitive verbs than *olema* all seems to be resulting attributes with the exception of those occurring with the verb *jääma* ‘to remain’ (cf. (21) and (22) below). Thus translative complements of this type can be regarded as virtually equivalent to the first category in Lavotha’s grammar (der Endpunkt oder Richtung der Umwandlung), which is illustrated by (2) above.

It should be noted that there are a few intransitive verbs which do take a subject complement in the role of current attribute. However, as the examples on (20) show, subject complements occurring with these intransitive verbs are not generally in the translative case:

- (20) a. *siis näi-s* *hõljumine* *rohkem*
 then look.PAST.3sg floating.NOM more
koomiline *kui graatsiline*. (M043)
 comical.NOM than graceful.NOM
 ‘then the floating looked more comical than graceful’
 [nominative complement]
- b. *Kogu-lt* *tundu-s* *ta*
 size.ABL feel.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM
küll *peenike* *ja nõtke* *nagu*
 indeed slender.NOM and supple.NOM like
noor *tamm*. (B192)
 young.NOM oak.NOM
 ‘her body felt slender and supple like a young oak tree’
 [nominative complement]
- c. *Nii paist-si-d* *silma-d* *palju*
 so appear.PAST.3pl eye.pl.NOM much
suurema-d,...
 bigger.pl.NOM (B174)
 ‘so the eyes appeared much bigger’
 [nominative complement]
- d. *selle*, *mis* *meid l* *ase-b*
 DEM.GEN REL.NOM 1pl.PAR let.3sg
halvema-na *paista*. (M061)
 worse.ESS appear.INF
 ‘that which makes us look worse’
 [essive complement]

The only apparent exception to the above generalization about the morphology of the subject complement to the intransitive verb is the verb *jääma*, whose subject complement occurs in the translative case regardless of whether it is a current attribute as in (21) or a resulting attribute as in (22):

- (21) a. *Öösel jä-i* *Lilian* *päris*
 at night remain.PAST.3sg Lilian.NOM quite
haige-ks... (M057)
 ill.TRA
 ‘Lilian fell really ill during the night’

- b. *Korter* *on* *perekonna-le väikese-ks*
 apartment.NOM be.3sg family.ALL small.TRA
jäänud. (EKS.I.706)
 remain.NUD
 ‘the apartment has become too small for the family’
- (22) a. *Mats* *jä-i* *surma-ni*
 Mats.NOM remain.PAST.3sg death.TER
 bachelor.TRA
poismehe-ks. (EKS.I.706)
 ‘Mats remained single all his life (lit., till death)’
- b. *Näitus* *jää-b* *avatu-ks*
 exhibition.NOM remain.3sg open.TRA
30. novembri-ni. (EKS.I.706)
 30th november.TER
 ‘the exhibition is open (lit., remains open) until
 November 30’

The translative case occurs with an intransitive verbs other than the verb *olema* in 335 instances or 34 percent of the total occurrences of the translative case attested in the data. The four most frequent verbs are *saama* ‘to get, become’ (105 occurrences), *jääma* (68 occurrences), *muutuma* ‘to change into’ (55 occurrences) and *minema* ‘to go’ (36 occurrences). Since the verbs *muutuma*, *kasvama* ‘to grow’, *minema*, *jääma* are represented by (2) above, here we will cite examples of other intransitive verbs in (23):

- (23) a. *Arno* *saa-b* *terve-ks.* (L072)
 Arno.NOM get.3sg well.TRA
 ‘Arno will get well’
- b. *Kõik* *ol-i-d* *täna* *järsku*
 all be.PAST.3pl today suddenly
eestlas-te-ks *saa-nud,...* (B193)
 Estonian.pl.TRA get.NUD
 ‘suddenly everyone had become an Estonian today’
- c. *Tartu* *kõrval* *teise-ks* *rahvusliku-ks*
 Tartu.GEN beside second.TRA national.TRA

- keskuse-ks kujune-s Tallinn,... (K122) [= (1a)]*
 center.TRA form.PAST.3sg Tallinn.NOM
 ‘alongside of Tartu, Tallinn became another center of nationalism’
- d. *selle mehe nimi, kes*
 DEM.GEN man.GEN name.NOM REL.NOM
kõige vanema-ks ela-s,... (L022)
 most older.TRA live.PAST.3sg
 ‘the name of the man who lived to be the oldest’
- e. *ol-i-me jagune-nud nüüd klassi-de-ks...*
 be.PAST.1pl be divided.NUD now class.pl.TRA
 (M048)
 ‘now we were grouped into classes’
- f. *me sula-si-me silmapilk ringi-ks. (M065)*
 1pl.NOM melt.PAST.1pl moment ring.TRA
 ‘in a moment we melt into a circle’
- g. *Ja ema ehmu-s vaikse-ks.*
 and mother.NOM be frightened.PAST.3sg silent.TRA
 ‘and Mother got scared to become silent’
- h. *kui ta-l mõni kleit vana-ks*
 as 3sg.ADE some.NOM dress.NOM old.TRA
kulu-s. (M023)
 wear out.PAST.3sg
 ‘when any of her clothes got worn out (lit. wore out to become old)’
- i. *Kui vesi mu vere-st punase-ks*
 as water.NOM 1sg.GEN blood.ELA red.TRA
värvu-s,... (M011)
 dye.PAST.3sg
 ‘when the water turned red with my blood’
- j. *Kentuki Lõvi silma-d veni-si-d*
 Kentucky Lion.GEN eye.pl.NOM stretch.PAST.3pl
toobipõhja suuruse-ks. (L021)
 mug-bottom.GEN of the size.TRA
 ‘Kentucky Lion’s eyes swelled and became as large as the bottom of a mug’
- k. *Sauna aken lenda-s klirise-des*
 sauna.GEN window fly.PAST.3sg clatter.DES

puru-ks.

dust.TRA (L028)

‘with a clatter the sauna window broke into pieces’

1. *Õlivabriku-te toodang tõus-is*
 oil factory.pl.GEN production.NOM rise.PAST.3sg
nii suure-ks, et... (K139)
 so big.TRA that
 ‘the output of the oil factory grew so much (lit. rose to become so big) that ...’

The translative syntagm is semantically less attribute-like in sentences where the change of state is conceived as volitional on the part of the subject as in (24). In such cases, the difference between an adverbial of purpose and a subject complement in the role of resulting attribute get annuled and the two categories merge:

- (24) a. *siis mina ütlen ka, kelle-ks mina*
 then 1sg.NOM say.1sg also who.TRA 1sg.NOM
taha-n. (L014)
 want.1sg
 ‘then I will tell you what (lit. who) I want to become’
- b. *Ta lubas, et hakka-b kohe*
 3sg.NOM promise.PAST.3sg that start.3sg soon
pärast sõda nukuisa-ks... (M009)
 after war.PAR doll-father.TRA
 ‘he promised to become the doll’s father right after the war game’
- c. *ta õpi-b arsti-ks* (SP1148)
 3sg.NOM study.3sg doctor.TRA
 ‘he is studying so as to become a doctor’

When occurring with the verbs *kõlbama* ‘to be fit for’ and *sobima* ‘to suit’, the translative syntagm may often denote the intended role or use of the referent of the subject NP. Compare also (53) in 3.4.2. for the discussion of translative adverbials occurring with *kõlbama* and *sobima*.

- (25) a. Ta ei kõlba õpetaja-ks. (EKS.II.654)
 3sg.NOM NEG be fit teacher.TRA
 'she is not fit to become a teacher'
- b. **kõstri-ks** sobi-b ta küll. (B150)
 parish clerk.TRA suit.3sg 3sg.NOM indeed
 'surely he will make a good parish clerk'

The translative syntagms in (26) relate to the subject and denote the intended role (or use) of the latter's referent. We will see later that this particular semantic type of translative syntagm is considerably more common with transitive sentences, where it occurs as an object-related element and denotes the intended role (or use) of the referent of the object NP (see the discussion of (32) at the end of 3.2.).

- (26) a. tule mei-le **koka-ks**. (M029)
 come.IMP.2sg 1pl.ALL cook.TRA
 'come to us and work as a cook'
- b. Ei see tüdruk Jüri-le
 NEG DEM.NOM girl.NOM Jüri.ALL
naise-ks lähe. (EKS.III.437) [= (14d)]
 wife.TRA go
 'this girl will not marry Jüri (lit. will not got to Jüri as [his] wife)'
- c. minu ema Kristiine läks
 1sg.GEN mother.NOM Kristiine.NOM go.PAST.3sg
 oma äia tallu **teenija-ks**. (M120)
 own father-in-law.GEN farm.ILL servant.TRA [= (14e)]
 'my mother, Kristiine, went to her father-in-law's farm as a maid'

3.2. The Object Complement

Unlike the subject complement, the object complement seems to occur exclusively in the translative case. It should be noted that Lavotha's grammar fails to recognize this particular function of the

translative case: no examples of the object complement is included in (2) above.

The translative syntagm occurs as an object complement 215 times, which account for 22 percent of the total occurrences of the translative form attested in the data. The three most frequent verbs with an object complement in the translative case are *tegema* 'to make' (58 occurrences), *pidama* 'to regard (*lit.* to hold)' (28 occurrences) and *nimetama* 'to name' (19 occurrences). The sentences in (27) illustrate the use of the translative case with the verb *tegema*, where the translative is used to mark an object complement in the role of resulting attribute:

- (27) a. *See teg-i ema*
 DEM.NOM make.PAST.3sg mother.PAR
mureliku-ks... (M105)
 anxious.TRA
 'that made Mother anxious'
- b. *See ei tee asja*
 DEM.NOM NEG make thing.PAR
muidugi kergema-ks,... (B200)
 of course easier.TRA
 'that will not make the matter easier in any way'
- c. *Te-da tee-b mees-te vaidlus*
 3sg.PAR make.3sg man.pl.GEN dispute.NOM
närvilise-ks,... (B159)
 nervous.TRA
 'the dispute between the men makes him nervous'
- d. *Tee-me ennast mustlas-te-ks,...* (M073)
 make.1pl self.PAR Gypsy.pl.TRA
 'let's dress ourselves as Gypsies'
- e. *Kudas sa tohi-d teis-t*
 how 2sg.NOM may.2sg other.PAR
varga-ks teha? (L042)
 thief.TRA make.INF
 'how can you make a thief out of someone?'

The sentences in (28) illustrate the object complement in the role of resulting attribute occurring with other verbs.⁹

⁹ Along with the translative construction, there is a less frequent relative construction expressing change of state. The intransitive construction involving the relative is illustrated by (I), and the transitive construction by (II).

- (I) a. **noore-st** **Tuglase-st** sa-i linnakooli
 young.ELA Tuglas.ELA get.PAST.3sg town-school.GEN
õpilane. (K195)
 pupil.NOM
 'the young Tuglas became a student in a town school'
- b. *kuidas* **sulase-st** sa-i *omakorda*
 how farm hand.ELA get.PAST.3sg in his turn
peremees... (M048)
 master.NOM
 'how a farm servant later became a landowner'
- c. *Nei-st* sa-i-d siis meie *sõjalaeva-d*
 3pl.ELA get.PAST.pl then 1pl.GEN warship.pl.NOM
"Lennuk" ja *"Vambola"* (K129)
 Lennuk.NOM and Vambola.NOM
 'they then became our first warships Lennuk and Vambola'
- d. **Tüdruku-st** kasva-s kaunis *neiu*. (EKS.II.151)
 girl.ELA grow.PAST.3sg beautiful.NOM maiden.NOM
 'the girl grew up into a beautiful young lady'
- e. **Tema-st** kasva-s peagi kogenud juht. (EKS.II.151)
 3sg.ELA grow.PAST.3sg soon experienced leader.NOM
 'he soon became an experienced leader'
- f. **tema-st** tule-b ükskord hea *õmbleja*. (M106)
 3sg.ELA come.3sg sometime good.NOM seamstress.NOM
 'she will make a good seamstress someday'
- (II) a. *Püüd-is* oma las-te-st kasvata-da tubli-sid
 try.PAST.3sg own child.pl.ELA bring up.INF good.pl.PAR
 ja ausa-id inime-si. (EKS.II.154)
 and honest.pl.PAR person.pl.PAR
 '[she] took pains to educate good and honest people out of
 her children'

- (28) a. *Tegelikult muut-si-d just need*
 actually change.PAST.3pl just DEM. pl.NOM
silma-d näo veel õudsema-ks. (B174)
 eye.pl.NOM face.GEN still more terrible.TRA
 ‘in reality those eyes made the countenance even more terrible’
- b. *Ta... pühk-is prilli-d*
 3sg.NOM wipe.PAST.3sg eyeglass.pl.NOM
puhta-ks...
 clean.TRA (L041)
 ‘he wiped the eyeglasses [clean]’
- c. *Värvi-si-me ema huulepulga-ga oma*
 color.PAST.1pl mother.GEN lipstick.COM own
huule-d punase-ks,... (M075)
 lip.pl.NOM red.TRA
 ‘we painted our lips red with Mother’s lipstick’
- d. *Eesti-s nõu-ti veel meie*
 Estonia.INE demand.INDEF.PAST yet 1pl.GEN
maa ühendamis-t ühe-ks kubermangu-ks,...
 land.GEN uniting.PAR one.TRA gubernia.TRA (K122)
 ‘in Estonia, a demand was made to unify our territory into one province’
- e. *Jaak haara-b peekri ja joo-b*
 Jaak.NOM seize.3sg goblet.GEN and drink.3sg
selle suur-te sõõmu-de-ga tühja-ks.
 DEM.GEN big.pl.GEN gulp.pl.COM empty.TRA
 (B214)
 ‘Jaak grabbed the goblet and drank it up with a gulp’

-
- b. *kui sa... mei-st sakslase-d ole-ksi-d*
 as 2sg.NOM 1pl.ELA German.pl.NOM be.COND.2sg
kasvata-nud,... (B206)
 bring up.NUD
 ‘if you had educated us to be Germans,...

- f. ...*ol-i* *mu-l* *liha* *juba*
 be.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE meat.NOM already
pehme-ks *keede-tud*,... (M121)
 soft.TRA cook.TUD
 'I had the meat cooked [tender] already'
- g. ...*ole-n* *ma* *eksi-nud*, *kui ma* *teid*
 be.1sg 1sg.NOM err.NUD as 1sg.NOM pl.PAR
kõiki *eestlas-te-ks* *kasvata-si-n*. (B204)
 all.pl.PAR Estonian.pl.TRA bring up.PAST.1sg
 'I was wrong that I educated you all to be Estonians'
- h. *vanaisa* *taht-is* *onu*
 grandpa.NOM want.PAST.3sg uncle
Rudolfi-t *targema-ks* *koolita-da*,... (M072)
 Rudolf.PAR wiser.TRA educate.INF
 'Grandfather wanted to educate an intelligent man out of Uncle Rudolf'
- i. *Huule-tädi* *hammusta-s* *oma*
 Huule-aunt.NOM bite.PAST.3sg own
hamba *poole-ks*. (M021)
 teeth.GEN half.TRA
 'Aunt Huule had her tooth broken by biting [something hard] (lit. bit her tooth in half)'
- j. ...*et ehita-da* *lossi* *ümbritse-va-t*
 that build.INF castle.PAR surround.VA.PAR
müüri *kõrgema-ks*. (M017)
 wall.PAR higher.TRA
 'in order to make (lit. build) the wall surrounding the castle higher'
- k. *Tartu* *Ülikool* *vali-s*
 Tartu.GEN university.NOM choose.PAST.3sg
ta *oma* *audoktori-ks*. (K177)
 3sg.GEM own doctor emeritus.TRA
 'the University of Tartu elected him a professor emeritus'

1. *Peaministri-ks määra-ti arst*
 premier.TRA appoint.INDEF.PAST doctor.NOM
ning kirjanik Johannes Vares,... (K142)
 and writer.NOM Johannes Vares.NOM
 ‘Johannes Vares, a doctor and a writer, was
 appointed as Prime Minister’

The object complement in the semantic role of current attribute occurs typically with verbs such as *pidama* ‘to regard (*lit.* to hold)’ as in (29) and *nimetama* ‘to name, call’ as in (30):

- (29) a. *pidasi-n kuulsa-t lapsfilmitähte*
 regard.PAST.1sg famous.PAR child-film-star.PAR
oma sõbra-ks... (M116)
 own friend.TRA
 ‘I thought the famous child movie star to be a friend’
- b. *poiss,... kes eesti keel-t*
 boy.NOM REL.NOM Estonian tongue.PAR
oma emakeele-ks pea-b,... (B210)
 own mother tongue.TRA regard.3sg
 ‘the boy who considers Estonian to be his mother
 tongue’
- c. *Mees, kes pida-s*
 man.NOM REL.NOM regard.PAST.3sg
ennast Jumala poja-ks,... (B146)
 self.PAR God.GEN son.TRA
 ‘the man who thought himself to be God’s son’
- d. *Ainult mina üksinda ol-i-n*
 only 1sg.NOM alone be.PAST.1sg
tähtpäeva tühise-ks pida-nud. (M086)
 memorable day.PAR trifling.TRA regard.NUD
 ‘I alone thought the memorable day to be
 unimportant’
- (30) a. *Ma ole-n uhke selle-le, et*
 1sg.NOM be.1sg proud DEM.ALL that
ennast eestlase-ks tohi-n nimeta-da. (K160)
 self.PAR Estonian.TRA may.1sg name.INF
 ‘I am proud that I can call myself Estonian’

- b. *onu Rudolf nimeta-s mind*
 uncle Rudolf.NOM name.PAST.3sg 1sg.PAR
alati Päikesekiire-ks (M050)
 always sunbeam.TRA
 ‘Uncle Rudolf always called me Little Sunbeam’
- c. *Ole-ks ta mind ainult*
 be.COND. 3sg NOM 1sg.PAR only
kohmaka-ks nimeta-nud,... (M042)
 clumsy.TRA name.NUD
 ‘if he had described me simply as clumsy,...’
- d. *Miks sa se-da solkimise-ks*
 why 2sg.NOM DEM.PAR spoiling.TRA
nimeta-d?
 name.2sg (B184)
 ‘why do you call it “spoiling”?’

Verbs taking an object complement in the role of current attribute seem to be considerably fewer than those taking one in the role of resulting attribute. Other verbs are illustrated in (31):

- (31) a. *mõtlesid neid looma-de-ks*
 think.PAST. 1sg DEM.pl.PAR animal.pl.TRA
ning lindu-de-ks. (M122)
 and bird.pl.TRA
 ‘I thought them (=clouds) to be animals and birds’
- b. *kui Kiir se-da tarviliku-ks*
 as Kiir.NOM DEM.PAR necessary.TRA
arva-b.
 think.3sg (L039)
 ‘if Kiir considers it to be necessary’
- c. *tagasihoidlikkus-t loe-takse ju*
 modesty.PAR read.INDEF EMPH
vooruse-ks,...
 virtue.TRA (M037)
 ‘modesty is considered to be a virtue’

- d. *Kiir tunnista-s selle oma-ks.* (L043)
 Kiir.NOM certify.PAST.3sg DEM.GEN own.TRA
 ‘Kiir acknowledged it to be his’
- e. *oma lapsepõlvemaa-le, mille ta on risti-nud Vargamäe-ks.* (K181)
 own childhood-land.ALL REL.GEN 3sg.NOM
 be.3sg baptize.NUD Vargamäe.TRA
 ‘to the land of his childhood, which he baptized as Vargamäe’
- f. *Miks te-da Praaga-Jüri-ks kutsu-takse?* (M111)
 why 3sg.PAR Praaga-Jüri.TRA
 call.INDEF
 ‘why is he called Praaga-Jüri?’
- g. *Vene keel kuuluta-ti ametliku-ks keele-ks.* (K120)
 Russian language.NOM announce.INDEF.PAST
 official.TRA language.TRA
 ‘Russian was declared to be the official language’

There are transitive syntagms which relate to the object and denote the intended role or use of its referent. Despite their similarity to the adverbial which we will discuss as “translative of purpose/use” in 3.4.2., transitive syntagms of this type can be included in the category of object complement because of the way they relate to the object:

- (32) a. *kaks külalist... and-si-d talle kingi-ks fotoalbumi...* (M036)
 two.NOM guest.PAR give.PAST.1sg 3sg.ALL
 gift.TRA photo-album.GEN
 ‘the two guests gave her a photo album as a present’
- b. *And-is oma tütre mulle naise-ks.*
 give.PAST.3sg own daughter.GEN 1sg.ALL
 wife.TRA (EKS.I.104)
 ‘[he] married her daughter to me (lit. gave her daughter to me as wife)’

- c. *Nuku nime-ks pan-di*
 doll.GEN name.TRA put.INDEF.PAST
Jakob... (M116)
 Jakob.NOM
 ‘the doll was named Jakob (lit. Jakob was given as the doll’s name)’
- d. *tema... siis Teele enda-le naise-ks*
 3sg.NOM then Teele.GEN self.ALL wife.TRA
võta-b.
 take.3sg (L024)
 ‘he will then marry Teele (lit. takes Teele as wife)’
- e. *jõuluõhtu-l ei ole se-da ka*
 Christmas Eve.ADE NEG be DEM.PAR also
kuskilt laenu-ks võtta. (B208)
 from anywhere loan.TRA take.INF
 ‘on Christmas Eve it cannot be borrowed (lit. taken as loan) from anywhere’
- f. *Ta sa-i selle oma*
 3sg.NOM get.PAST.3sg DEM.GEN own
perenaise-lt mehelemineku puhul
 mistress.ABL marriage.GEN on the occasion
kingi-ks. (B174)
 of gift.TRA
 ‘she obtained it from her landlady as a present on her wedding day’
- g. *Tädi tõ-i lapse-le*
 aunt.NOM bring.PAST.3sg child.ALL
kingi-ks nuku. (EKS.II.282)
 gift.TRA doll.GEN
 ‘Aunt brought a doll for the child as a present’
- h. *pakku-si-n ennast abi-ks* (M054)
 offer.PAST.1sg self.PAR help.TRA
 ‘I offered myself as an assistant’
- i. *ta... nõud-is kingi-ks*
 3sg.NOM demand.PAST.3sg gift.TRA
šokolaaditahvli-t. (M035)
 chocolate bar.PAR
 ‘she demanded a chocolate bar for a present’

- j. *Peaministri-ks kutsu-ti*
 premier.TRA call.INDEF.PAST
Konstantin Päts
 Konstantin Päts.NOM (K127) [= (15b)]
 ‘Konstantin Päts was invited to become prime minister’
- k. *Kutsu-s venna enda-le seltsi-ks.*
 call.PAST.3sg brother.GEN self.ALL company.TRA
 (EKS.II.620) [= (15c)]
 ‘[she] invited her brother as an companion’
- l. *Sind ma taha-ksi-n oma*
 2sg.PAR 1sg.NOM want.COND.1sg own
mini-ks. (M106)
 daughter-in-law.TRA
 ‘I ask you to become my daughter-in-law’
- m. *Narva vastu ehita-ti*
 Narva.GEN opposite build.INDEF.PAST
Ivangorod vene võimu
 Ivangorod.NOM Russian power.GEN
eelposti-ks
 outpost.TRA (K152)
 ‘opposite Narva they constructed Ivangorod as an outpost of Russian power’

Object-related translative syntagms of use/role are fairly common compared to subject-related translative syntagms of the semantic type illustrated by (26) above.

3.3. Translative Complements and the Number Concord

The general rules prescribed by the normative grammar that (I) the translative complement is subject to number concord only if it is a noun, and that (II) the adjective complement remains in the singular form regardless of the number of the noun phrase it

relates to, are rarely violated.¹⁰ The sentences in (33) illustrate the phenomenon of number concord between the subject and the subject complement:

¹⁰ Some apparent violations of the general rule of number concord are attested in the corpus text:

- (Ia) *Need* *pühapäeva-se-d* *muusika*
 DEM.pl.NOM Sunday.ADJ.pl.NOM music.GEN
igavlemistunni-d *jä-i-d* *mu*
 boring.hour.pl.NOM remain.PAST.3pl 1sg.GEN
lapsepõlve-s *ühte-de-ks* *vähes-te-ks, kus*
 childhood.INE one.pl.TRA scarce.pl.TRA where
tund-si-n *salajas-t* *kokkukkuuluvus-t*
 feel.PAST.1sg secret.PAR together-belonging.PAR
isa-ga,... (M039)
 father.COM
 'those boring hours of music I had every Sunday were those rare occasions in my childhood when I experienced secret affinity with my father'
- (Ib) *tema* *hea-d* *ol-i-d* *tunnistuse-l*
 3sg.GEN good.pl.NOM be.PAST.3pl certificate.ADE
juba ammu muutu-nud rahuldava-te-ks... (M079)
 already long ago change.NUD fair.pl.TRA
 'the B's in his report card have changed into C's long ago'

The occurrence in the plural form of the adjectival translative complement in sentence (Ia) can be explained as a manifestation of the morphological peculiarity of *väheste-ks*: in this particular meaning, it occurs generally in the plural only (cf. nom.pl. *vähesed*).

The plural form of the adjective *rahuldav* 'fair' in sentence (Ib) can in turn be explained by the fact that *hea* 'good' and *rahuldav* are used as nouns.

- (Iia) *mõlema-d* *ol-i-d* *aadrilaskmise-ks* *eesti*
 both.pl.NOM be.PAST.3sg bloodletting.TRA Estonian
rahva-le. (K147)
 folk.ALL
 'both (= occupation by Germany and then Russia) served as bloodletting for the Estonian nation'

- (33) a. *ma ole-ksi-n onu Kurnimi-ga*
 1sg.NOM be.COND.1sg uncle Kurnim.COM
veel parema-ks sõbra-ks saa-nud,... (M027)
 still better.TRA friend.TRA get.NUD
 ‘I might have become even better friends with Uncle
 Kurnim,...’
- b. *sa-i-me on Kurnimi-ga sõpra-de-ks.*
 get.PAST.1pl uncle Kurnim.COM friend.pl.TRA
 (M027)
 ‘Uncle Kurnim and I bacame friends’

-
- (Iib) *Samuti jä-i-d tuhande-d invaliidi-ks.*
 likewise remain.PAST.3pl housand.pl.NOM invalid.TRA
 (K147)
 ‘in addition there were thousands who became invalid’

The occurrence in the singular form of the translative complement in sentences (IIa) and (Iib) may be justified because both *aadrilaskmine* and *invaliid* are abstract nouns and thus resist pluralization.

- (IIIa) ... *muutuva-d luuletaja mõtte-d ja paberi-le*
 change.3pl poet.GEN idea.pl.NOM and paper.ALL

pan-dud rea-d murelikku-de-ks. (K186)
 put.TUD line.pl.NOM worried.pl.TRA
 ‘the poet’s ideas and the rows wrote down [by him] on the paper
 became full of concern’
- (IIIb) *Anne on liiga hea naine*
 Anne.NOM be.2sg too good.NOM woman.NOM
selle-ks, et Liisa lapsi enda
 DEM.TRA that Liisa.GEM child.pl.PAR self.GEM
oma-st halvema-te-ks pida-da. (B156) [(46c)]
 own.ELA worse.pl.TRA regard.INF
 ‘Anne is too good a woman to consider Liisa’s children to be
 inferior to her own’

Sentences (IIIa) and (IIIb) are the only cases attested in the corpus data which fail to observe the general rule of number concord for the translative form is violated.

Other examples of the subject complement in the translative plural:

- (34) a. *Need ol-i-d rahva*
 DEM.pl.NOM be.PAST.3pl folk.GEN
suur-te-ks pidupäeva-de-ks. (K140)
 big.pl.TRA festival.pl.TRA
 'they (=song festivals) were important festivals for the nation'
- b. *meie ülejäänud jä-i-me*
 1pl.NOM remaining remain.PAST.1pl
reatantsija-te-ks. (M042)
 row-danser.pl.TRA
 'the remainder of us became row-dancers'
- c. *õpetaja-d muutu-si-d vahel*
 teacher.pl.NOM change.PAST.3pl at times
masina-te-ks,... (M049)
 machine.pl.TRA
 'the teachers sometimes changed into machines'

The object complement in the translative plural is illustrated by (35):

- (35) a. *Tee-me ennast mustlas-te-ks,...* (M073) [= (27d)]
 make.1pl self.PAR Gypsy.pl.TRA
 'let us dress ourselves as Gypsies'
- b. *...ei ole-ks keegi pida-nud*
 NEG be.COND anyone.NOM regard.NUD
neid õde-de-ks. (M089)
 3pl.PAR sister.pl.TRA
 'no one would have thought them to be sisters'
- c. *mõtle-si-n neid looma-de-ks*
 think.PAST.1sg DEM.pl.PAR animal.pl.TRA
ning lindu-de-ks. (M122) [= (31a)]
 and bird.pl.TRA
 'I thought them (=clouds) to be animals and birds'

The translative complements in (34) and (35) are all nouns. As the sentences in (36) and (37) indicate, the adjectival complement in the translative generally remains in the singular form even if it relates to a subject or object in the plural:

(36) Translative Singular Complements Relating to a Plural Subject

- a. *Nad ol-i-d saa-nud 20 aasta-t vana-ks.*
 3pl.NOM be.PAST.3pl get.NUD year.PAR
 old.TRA (K137)
 ‘they had become twenty years old’
- b. *Ta käsivarre-d on peenikese-ks jää-nud.* (L071)
 3sg.NOM limb.pl.NOM be.3pl slender.TRA
 remain.NUD
 ‘his arms had become thin’
- c. *lapse-d muutu-vad jonnaka-ks.* (M102)
 child.pl.NOM change.3pl stubborn.TRA
 ‘the children go stubborn’
- d. *...ta silma-d märja-ks äksi-d...* (L064)
 3sg.GEN eye.pl.NOM wet.TRA go.PAST.3pl
 ‘her eyes became wet with tears’

(37) Translative Singular Complements Relating to a Plural Object

- a. *Ta... pühk-is prilli-d puhta-ks...*
 3sg.NOM wipe.PAST.3sg eyeglass.pl.NOM
 clean.TRA (L041) [= (28b)]
 ‘he wiped the eyeglasses [clean]’
- b. *Värvi-si-me ema huulepulga-ga oma huule-d punase-ks,...* (M075) [= (28c)]
 color.PAST.1pl mother.GEN lipstick.COM own
 lip.pl.NOM red.TRA
 ‘we painted our lips red with Mother’s lipstick’

3.4. The Adverbial Uses of the Translative Case

The translative case is used in other functions than subject and object complement. Following the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985), we will refer to the non-complement functions of the translative case by the term “adverbial”

There are three major types of adverbial use of the translative case: adverbial of time (3.4.1.), adverbial of purpose/use (3.4.2.) and sentential adverbial (3.4.4.). The three types of adverbial translative may coexist in one sentence:

- (38) *Meie üllatuse-ks sõit-is ta*
 pl.GEN surprise.TRA go.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM
kolme-ks kuu-ks Saaremaa-le
 three.TRA month.TRA Saaremaa.ALL
lasteaia kasvataja-ks.
 kindergarten.GEN teacher.TRA
 ‘to our surprise, she left for Saaremaa for three months to
 work as a kindergarten teacher’

3.4.1. The Translative as an Adverbial of Time

This category corresponds to the third category in Lavotha’s grammar (die Zeitgrenze oder die beabsichtigte Zeitdauer), which is exemplified by (4) above.

The translative adverbial of time may denote, depending on the semantics of the predicate verb, either the deadline by which something (some activity) is expected to happen (be done), or the period of time for which some activity (phenomenon) is intended (expected) to last. For convenience, the former type of adverbial of time will be referred to as “translative of time limit” and the latter as “translative of period of time.”

Of the 63 instances of the translative of time attested in the corpus data, 44 denote a period of time and 19 a time limit. Note that the idiomatic expression *lõpuks* ‘in conclusion’, which is the translative singular form of the noun *lõpp* ‘end’ and occurs 38

times in the corpus text, is not included here, but will be dealt with in 3.4.4. as a sentential adverbial.

Let us compare the two sentences in (39):

- (39) a. *Ta* *sõit-is* *nädalavahetuse-ks*
 3sg.NOM go.PAST.3sg weekend.TRA
maa-le.
 country.ALL
 'she went to the countryside for the weekend'
 [translative adverbial]
- b. *Ta* *sõit-is* *nädalavahetuse-l*
 3sg.NOM go.PAST.3sg weekend.ADE
maa-le
 country.ALL
 'she went to the countryside on the weekend'
 [adessive adverbial]

The semantic difference between the translative expression *nädalavahetuseks* in (39a) and the adessive expression *nädalavahetusel* in (39b) is evident: by sentence (39a) one understands that she left for the countryside for the weekend just to be back in town as soon as the weekend was over, whereas sentence (39b) simply informs, without any implication about the time of her return from there, that her departure for the countryside happened at the turn of the week. In other words, the sentence with a translative adverbial implies that she was expected to stay in the countryside for a limited period of time only, whereas the sentence with an adessive adverbial leaves the intended or expected length of her stay in the countryside unspecified.

Let us then compare the two sentences in (40):

- (40) a. *Isa* *tule-b* *koju* *kella*
 father.NOM come.3sg home clock.GEN
viie-ks
 five.TRA
 'Father will come home by five o'clock'

- b. *Isa tule-b koju kell*
 father.NOM come.3sg home clock.NOM
viis.
 five.NOM
 ‘Father will come home at five o’clock’

Sentence (40a) is understood as meaning that the father has to be at home at five o’clock for a certain reason (say, he is expecting a guest) and intends to come home in time. In other words, it implies that his coming home is expected to happen within a certain limit of time, i.e. by five o’clock. Sentence (40b), in contrast, simply means that his coming home is expected to take place at five o’clock.

Thus the translative of time is used to indicate that the activity (phenomenon) is definite with respect to time, whereby the temporal delimitation is expressed either in terms of “period of time” (expected/intended duration) or “time limit” (expected/intended deadline).

3.4.1.1. The Translative of Period of Time

Of the three examples of the translative of time in Lavotha (1973) cited as (4) above, (4b) alone belongs to this category. The sentences in (41) are some of the examples of the translative of period of time attested in the corpus text:

- (41) a. *Aita vaata-s hetke-ks*
 Aita.NOM look.PAST.3sg moment.TRA
mulle otsa,... (M062)
 1sg.ALL in the face
 ‘Aita looked at me in the face for a moment’
- b. *Kui tjoija Piina mõne-ks minuti-ks*
 as aunt Piina some.TRA minute.TRA
laua-st lahku-s,... (M084)
 table.ELA leave.PAST.3sg
 ‘when Aunt Piina left the table for a few minutes,...’

- c. *kui...* *Kurt* *tul-i* *mõne-ks*
 as Kurt.NOM come.PAST.3sg some.TRA
päeva-ks Sompa-sse,... (M109)
 day.TRA Sompa.ILL
 ‘when Kurt came to Sompa for a few days,...’
- d. *See* *kujune-s* *linnalapse-le*
 DEM.NOM take shape.PAST.3sg town-child.ALL
elu-ks aja-ks meeldejäeva-ks
 life.TRA time.TRA unforgettable.TRA
elamuse-ks.
 experience.TRA (K183)
 ‘this was to become an unforgettable experience for an urban child all his life’
- e. *aga isa* *keelita-s* *te-da*
 but father.NOM persuade.PAST.3sg 3sg.PAR
jõulu-ks koju jää-ma. (B208)
 Christmas.TRA home remain.INF
 ‘but Father talked him into staying home for the Christmas time’
- f. *Ma* *lähe-n* *ainult* *natukese-ks.*
 1sg.NOM go.1sg only while.TRA
töö-le (M004)
 work.ALL
 ‘I am going to work for a while’
- g. *siis too-vad ööse-ks plaadi-d*
 then bring.3pl night.TRA plate.pl.NOM
koridoritrepi-le. (M020)
 corridor-staircase.ALL
 ‘then they bring the plates and put them on the steps for the night’

The verb *jääma* ‘to remain, stay’ takes the transitive syntagm for the expression of period of time:

- (42) a. *Siia jä-i* *ta* *ühe-ks*
 here remain.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM one.TRA
aasta-ks. (K176)
 year.TRA
 ‘he stayed here for one year’

- b. *Nüüd jä-i-n kaua-ks aja-ks*
 now remain.PAST.1sg long.TRA time.TRA
külalis-te-ta,... (M100)
 guest.pl.ABE
 ‘after that no one visited me (lit. I remained without visitors) for a long time’
- c. *kui ema jä-i*
 as mother.NOM remain.PAST.3sg
kojutulemise-ga kauema-ks,... (M011)
 home-coming.COM longer.TRA
 ‘when Mother took longer time coming home’

Some idiomatic translative expressions can be included in this category:

- (43) a. *Kõik eestlase-d on lahku-nud*
 all Estonian.pl.NOM be.3sg leave.NUD
ajutise-ks... (K148)
 temporary.TRA
 ‘all the Estonians had left [the homeland] temporarily’
- b. *see ammune vale on*
 DEM.NOM ancient.NOM lie.NOM be.3sg
igavese-ks kadu-nud,... (M096)
 eternal.TRA disappear.NUD
 ‘that ancient lie has been forgotten for good’
- c. *Proovi-si-me ka korra-ks istu-da kabiini-s,...*
 try.PAST.1pl also once.TRA it.INF cabin.INE
 (M084)
 ‘we tried to sit in the cabin for a short while’

3.4.1.2. The Translative of Time Limit

Of the three examples of translative of time in Lavotha (1973) cited as (4) above, (4a) and (4c) belong to this category. There are only 19 instances of the translative of time limit attested in the corpus data, so its occurrence is rather rare compared to the translative of period of time, of which 44 occurrences are attested.

- (44) a. *nüüd saa-b vanaisa lõuna-ks*
 now get.3sg grandpa.NOM noon.TRA
lehe kätte. (M123)
 newspaper.GEN hand.ILL
 'now Grandfather will have the newspaper by noon'
- b. *Igaiüks pea-b homse-ks kleepi-ma oma*
 each must.3sg tomorrow.TRA paste.INF own
vihiku-sse sügispildi. (M032)
 notebook.ILL autumn-picture.GEN
 'everybody must have a picture of autumn pasted in
 their notebook by tomorrow'
- c. *mina hoid-si-n põial-t, et*
 1sg.NOM keep.PAST.1sg thumb.PAR that
Lilian jõua-ks õige-ks
 Lilian.NOM reach.COND.3sg right.TRA
aja-ks jaama. (M118)
 time.TRA station.ILL
 'I kept my fingers crossed so that Lilian would arrive at
 the station in time'
- d. *Kella üheksa-ks igatahes vesi*
 clock.GEN nine.TRA anyway water.NOM
veel ei kee-nud. (M85)
 yet NEG boil.NUD
 'anyway the water was not boiling by nine o'clock'

It should be noted that the translative form of a noun with an inherent temporal meaning may sometimes occur in the function of adverbial of purpose/use as in (45):

- (45) a. *Hakka-si-me järgmise-ks päeva-ks püüdliselt*
 start.PAST.1sg next.TRA day.TRA diligently
õppi-ma,... (M070)
 study.INF
 'we started to study hard to prepare for tomorrow'

- b. *onu Rudolf ol-i mulle*
 uncle Rudolf.NOM be. PAST.3sg 1sg.ALL
sünnipäeva-ks "Pambu-Peedu"
 birthday.TRA Pambu-Peedu.GEN
kinki-nud,... (M071)
 present.NUD
 'Uncle Rudolf gave me "Pambu-Peedu"
 for my birthday'
- c. *hakka-si-n proua Konstantinova*
 start.PAST.1sg Mrs. Konstantinova.GEN
tundi-de-ks veelgi paremini õppi-ma,... (M081)
 hour.pl.TRA still better study.INF
 'I started to prepare even more better
 for Mrs. Konstanti- nova's classes (lit. hours)'

3.4.2. The Translative of Purpose/Use

Though it is attested 156 times in the corpus data and thus is more frequent than the temporal meaning (63 occurrences), the translative of purpose/use is not mentioned by Lavotha (1973) at all.

One of the most typical of the translative construction of this category is the one with the translative form of the demonstrative *see* plus a subordinate clause, which is attested 21 times. This construction introduces a subordinate clause of purpose:

- (46) a. *Sellepärast teg-i onu Ruudi*
 therefore do.PAST.3sg uncle Ruudi.NOM
kõik selle-ks, et ülikooli rutem
 all DEM.TRA that university.GEN quicker
lõpeta-da.
 finish.INF (M050)
 'therefore Uncle Ruudi did everything in order to
 graduate from the university more quickly'

- b. *Ma ei õpi keeli*
 1sg.NOM NEG study language.pl.PAR
mitte selle-ks, et nõnda oma
 not DEM.TRA that thus own
tarkus-t näida-ta. (B175)
 intelligence.PAR show.INF
 ‘I am not studying languages in order to show off my intelligence that way’
- c. *Anne on liiga hea naine*
 Anne.NOM be.2sg too good.NOM woman.NOM
selle-ks, et Liisa lapsi
 DEM.TRA that Liisa.GEM child.pl.PAR
enda oma-st halvema-te-ks
 self.GEM own.ELA worse.pl.TRA
pida-da. (B156)
 regard.INF
 Anne is too good a woman to consider Liisa’s children to be inferior to her own’

Also common (28 occurrences) is the use of the translative form of the action nominal in *-mine* as an adverbial of purpose/use:

- (47) a. *...leid-is ta selle kõrval ometi*
 find.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM DEM.GEN besides yet
aega ka kirjanduse harrasta-mise-ks.
 time.PAR also literature.GEN practice.MINE.TRA
 (K158)
 ‘in addition to that, he always found time for his activity as a writer’
- b. *Ta ei leid-nud kuidagi*
 3sg.NOM NEG lind.NUD anyhow
edasi-rääki-mise-ks sõnu. (L019)
 forward-speak.MINE.TRA word.pl.PAR
 ‘he couldn’t find a word to continue his talk’

- c. *Selle-st* *pääse-mise-ks* *läks*
 DEM.ELA escape.MINE.TRA go.PAST.3sg
ta *maapakku.* (K177)
 3sg.NOM exile.ILL
 ‘in order to escape from it, he exiled’
- d. *me* *ole-me* *eesti* *keele*
 1pl.NOM be.1pl Estonian language.GEN
edenda-mise-ks *juba* *mõndagi*
 promote.MINE.TRA already something.
ära *tei-nud.* (B199)
 PAR PTCL do.NUD
 ‘we have already done something for the promotion
 of the Estonian language’
- e. *Selle* *teosta-mise-ks*
 DEM.GEN implement.MINE.TRA
tahe-ti *venesta-da* *kõik*
 intend.INDEF.PAST Russify.INF all.pl.NOM
väikerahva-d... (K120)
 small-people.pl.NOM
 ‘in order to implement it, it was planned to Russify
 all the small nations’
- f. *Revolutsiooni* *mahasuru-mise-ks*
 revolution.GEN suppress.MINE.TRA
pan-di maks-ma *karm*
 put.INDEF.PAST be in force.INF harsh.NOM
sõjaseadus... (K122)
 war-law.NOM
 ‘a stern martial law was enacted in order to suppress
 the revolution’

Action nominals with other suffixes than *-mine* are also used for the same purpose:¹¹

¹¹ No *maks*-form of the verb is attested in the corpus data.

- (48) a. *Tädi Marta ja Lilian*
 aunt Marta.NOM and Lilian.NOM
hakka-si-d kojusõidu-ks asju
 start.PAST.3pl home-going.TRA thing.pl.PAR
pakki-ma... (M116)
 pack.INF
 ‘Aunt Marta and Lilian began to pack their belongings
 for their departure for home’
- b. *Ja soovita-s ema-l viia*
 and recommend.PAST.3sg mother.ADE take.INF
mind kontrolli-ks röntgeni-sse. (M104)
 1sg.PAR control.TRA X-ray.ILL
 ‘and [he] recommended that Mother take me to an
 X-ray examination’
- c. *Püma ja selle saadus-te*
 milk.GEN and DEM.GEN product.pl.GEN
müüg-iks asuta-ti era- ja
 sale.TRA establish.INDEF.PAST private and
ühispiimatalitus-i. (K124)
 cooperative-milk-office.pl.PAR
 ‘private and cooperative milk offices were
 established for the sale of milk and dairy products’
- d. *ema astu-s oma venna*
 mother.NOM step.PAST.3sg own brother.GEN
kaitse-ks energiliselt välja. (M050)
 defense.TRA energetically out
 ‘Mother stepped forward energetically to defend her
 brother’
- e. *Kirikuteener kummarda-b*
 church-servant.NOM bow.3sg
jaatuse-ks... (B147)
 affirmation.TRA
 ‘the church servant bowed to express his consent’

Translative syntagms expressing purpose/use frequently occur in the existential/possessive sentence as in (49). They usually relate to the “subject” of the existential/possessive sentence and

denotes what it is used for. The subject is typically a noun like *aeg* 'time' *raha* 'money', *põhjus* 'reason', *võimalus* 'possibility' etc.:

- (49) a. *Aga Arno-l ei ol-nud nüüd*
 but Arno.ADE NEG be.NUD now
selle-ks aega, et mõtel-da
 DEM.TRA time.PAR that think.INF
niisugus-te-le asja-de-le.
 such.pl.ALL thing.pl. ALL (L022)
 'but Arno had no time to think about such things'
- b. *ei ol-nud raha raamatu-te*
 NEG be.NUD money.PAR book.pl.GEN
ostmise-ks,...
 purchase.TRA (M125)
 'there was no money to buy books'
- c. *Kerge-ks meeleolu-ks ol-i ta-l*
 easy.TRA mood.TRA be.PAST.3sg 3sg.ADE
õigupoolest vähe põhjus-t. (K194)
 in fact little cause.PAR
 'there was little reason for him to feel easy'
- d. *see ol-i ainus võimalus*
 DEM.NOM be.PAST.3sg only possibility.NOM
aja võitmise-ks. (M018)
 time.GEM winning.TRA
 'it was the only possibility to gain time'

The translative of purpose/use may form a nominal syntagm with the preceding noun as in (50):¹²

¹² It is generally not easy to determine whether an NP in an oblique case (N2) forms syntactically a constituent with the preceding NP (N1). Especially difficult are those cases in which N is immediately preceded by a verb. Tauli (1980) considers most of N1 + N2 sequences to be nominal syntagms (i.e., N2 is syntactically dependent on N1). He thus regards the sequence *ettepaneku* (N1) *kirikus laulmiseks* (N2) in the following sentence as an NP in the function of direct object:

- (I) *Ta ol-i tei-nud ettepaneku*
 3sg.NOM be.PAST.3sg make.NUD proposal.GEN

- (50) *Ettevalmistuse-d selle-ks alga-si-d*
 preparation.pl.NOM DEM.TRA begin.PAST.3pl
ärkamisaja-l... (K124)
 awakening-time.ADE
 'preparations for that began during the period of national
 awakening'

There are some adjectives which take the translative of purpose/use as in (51). The correlative construction of the structure “*liiga* ‘too’ + adjective + translative” like (52) is included here as well:

- (51) a. *Eestima on kõige-ks valmis...* (L044)
 Estonia.NOM be.3sg all.TRA ready
 ‘Estonia is ready for anything’
 b. *ol-i-n ülestõusmise-ks jõuetu...* (M103)
 be.PAST.1sg up-rising.TRA powerless.NOM
 ‘I was too weak to get up’
 c. *Teos ei ole avaldamise-ks küps.*
 work.NOM NEG be publishing.TRA mature.NOM
 (EKS.II.799)
 ‘the work is not yet ready for publication’
 d. *koht ja silmapilk ei ol-nud*
 place.NOM and moment. NOM NEG be.NUD

kiriku-s laul-mise-ks. (VT171)
 church.INE sing.MINE.TRA
 ‘she made a proposal for her singing in the church’

The syntactic “bond” between *ettepaneku* and *kirikus laulmiseks* in sentence (I), however, does not seem so strong as that between the same forms in the following sentence, in which the syntagmhood of N1 + N2 is indisputable:

- (II) *Mind huvita-b tema ettepanek*
 1sg.PAR interest.3sg 3sg.GEN proposal.NOM
kiriku-s laul-mise-ks.
 church.INE sing.MINE.TRA
 ‘her proposal for her singing in the church interests me’

selle-ks *kohase-d*. (L027)
 DEM.TRA suitable.pl.NOM
 ‘The place and time was not suitable for it’

- (52) a. *selle-ks* *ole-d* *sa* *veel liiga*
 DEM.TRA be.2sg 2sg.NOM yet too
noor, et sulle se-da seleta-ma
 young that 2sg.ALL DEM.PAR explain.INF
haka-ta. (L056)
 start.INF

‘you are so young that it is futile for me to explain it to you’

- b. *Maaelu-ks* *ole-d* *sa* *liiga*
 country-life.TRA be.2sg 2sg.NOM too much
linnamees. (EKS.III.126)
 town-man.NOM
 ‘you are too urbanized a person to live in the country-side’

The verbs *kõlbama* and *sobima* mentioned in the discussion of the subject complement above — compare (25) — often occur with a transitive adverbial of purpose as well:

- (53) a. *isa* *käsi* *luuvalu* *pärast*
 father.GEN hand.NOM bone-pain.GEN owing to
enam kirjutamise-ks palju ei
 any longer writing.TRA much NEG
kõlva-nud. (K164)
 be fit.NUD

‘because of pains in the bones father's hand did not serve well for the purpose of writing’

- b. *see* *palk* *sobi-b*
 DEM.NOM timber.NOM suit.3sg
istumise-ks (SP856)
 sitting.TRA
 ‘this piece of log is good to sit on’

3.4.3. The Translative of Purpose/Use vs. the Object Complement

As has been already hinted at above — compare sentences (25)(26)(32) in 3.2. —, the object complement in the semantic role of resulting attribute and the translative adverbial of purpose/use are semantically very close to each other. In certain cases it is impossible to draw a distinction between them. Let us have a look at the way the two notions interrelate in concrete examples.

The key to the clarification of the phenomenon lies in sentences like (54):

- (54) a. *pilte, mi-da päevapiltnik*
 photo.pl.PAR REL.PAR photographer.NOM
ol-i reklaami-ks välja
 be.PAST.3sg advertisement.TRA out
pan-nud. (M059)
 put.NUD
 ‘the pictures that photographer had exhibited for advertisement’
- b. *Ta katsu-s üteldagi midagi*
 3sg.NOM try.PAST.3sg say.INF something.PAR
vabanduse-ks, ... (L013)
 apology.TRA
 ‘he tried to say something for excuse’

In terms of syntactic structure, sentences (54a) and (54b) do not differ from sentences like (47b), (48b), etc. Unlike the translative syntagms of the latter type, however, the translative syntagms *reklaamiks* in (54a) and *vabanduseks* (54b) are such that they can also be interpreted as concrete nouns (‘a sample to be used for advertisement’, ‘a word for excuse’) just as easily as they are interpreted as abstract nouns (‘act of advertising’, ‘act of excusing’). When interpreted as a concrete noun, the translative syntagm of this type can be related to the object in the analogy of the object complement in (32), which are cited here as (55):

- (55) a. *Nuku nime-ks pan-di Jakob...*
 doll.GEN.name.TRA put.INDEF.PAST Jakob.NOM
 (M116) [= (32c)]
 ‘the doll was named Jakob (lit. Jakob was given as
 the doll’s name)’
- b. *pakku-si-n ennast abi-ks* (M054) [= (32h)]
 offer.PAST.1sg self.PAR help.TRA
 ‘I offered myself as an assistant’

The same analogy seems to be less easy to apply to translative syntagms in intransitive sentences like (56):

- (56)a. *Kirikuteener kummarda-b*
 church-servant.NOM bow.3sg
jaatuse-ks,... (B147)
 affirmation.TRA [= (48e)]
 ‘the church servant bowed to express his consent’
- b. *need-ki nooguta-vad vastuse-ks*. (B169)
 DEM.pl.NOM.also nod.PAST.3pl reply.TRA
 ‘they too nodded in answer’

The reason for the difficulty of analogy lies probably in the circumstance that it is semantically impossible to interpret action nominals like *jaatus* and *vastus* as concrete nouns denoting a human being in (56): this makes it impossible for the translative syntagms in (56) to relate to the subject in the way the subject complement does in the copulative construction.

On the other hand, the clear contrast between (25) and (53) in the meaning of the translative syntagm occurring with *kõlbama* and *sobima* suggests that the choice between the complement interpretation and the adverbial interpretation depends largely on the inherent meaning of the noun occurring in the translative case: the easier it is for the translative syntagm to be interpreted semantically as a concrete noun, the higher is the prospect of it being interpreted as a subject-related element.

In summary, we may conclude that the existence of sentences like (25), (26), (32), (53), (54), etc., is to be interpreted to suggest that the boundary between the two seemingly distinct categories of

the translative complement and the translative adverbial of purpose/use can be very fuzzy in certain situations.

3.4.4. The Translative Syntagm as a Sentential Adverbial

This category is illustrated by sentences like (57) and (58). It should be emphasized that the boundary between the translative of purpose/use and this category is also fuzzy to the extent that the latter can be regarded as simply representing the subclass of translative adverbials that are semantically rather removed from the prototypical adverbial of purpose/use.

- (57) a. *Nüüd aga ütle-s Milvi Laid*
 now but say.PAST.3sg Milvi Laid.NOM
minu suure-ks imestuse-ks, et... (M041)
 1sg.GEN big.TRA wonder.TRA that
 ‘to my great puzzlement, now Milvi Laid said that...’
- b. *kuid meie mõlema üllatuse-ks ei*
 though 1pl.GEN both.GEN surprise.TRA NEG
haka-nud-ki ema Monika-ga
 start.NUD.EMPH mother.NOM Monika.COM
riidle-ma. (M070)
 quarrel.INF
 ‘but to a great surprise for both of us, Mother didn’t start to quarrel with Monika’
- c. *...otsusta-s minu ema rõõmu-ks*
 decide.PAST.2sg 1sg.GEN mother.GEN joy.TRA
las-ta mu-l koolipeo-l
 let.INF 1sg.ADE school-festival.ADE
esine-da. (M078)
 appear.INF
 ‘to my mother’s delight, [she] decided to let me perform at the school festival’
- d. *Kuid neiu ehmatuse-ks hakka-b-ki*
 however maiden.GEN fright.TRA start.3sg.EMPH
järv ühe-l öö-l enne
 lake.NOM one.ADE night.ADE before

jaani *rända-ma.* (K185)

Midsummer.PAR wander.INF

‘but to the fright of the young lady, the lake began to move along one night’

- e. *Kahju-ks* *mu* *merisea-d* *on*
 harm.TRA 1sg.GEN guinea pig.pl.NOM be.3pl
praegu *haige-d.* (M106)
 at the moment ill.pl.NOM
 ‘unfortunately, my guinea pigs are ill right now’

- (58) a. *...oska-s* *lisa-ks* *eesti*
 can.PAST.3sg addition.TRA Estonian
keele-le *korralikult* *saksa*
 language.ALL well German
keel-t... (B150)
 language.PAR
 ‘in addition to Estonian [he] knew German quite well’
- b. *Nii ol-i* *näite-ks* *elanike*
 so be.PAST.3sg example.TRA inhabitant.pl.GEN
arv *rahvaloendus-te* *andme-i-l*
 number.NOM census.pl.GEN datum.pl.ADE
Tallinna-s 1871. *aasta-l 33 269,...* (K124)
 Tallinn.INE year.ADE
 ‘for example, the population in Tallinn in 1871 was 33 269 according to the censuses’
- c. *Läksi-n* *tänava-le* *ja* *vaata-si-n*
 go.PAST.1sg street.ALL and look.PAST.1sg
iga-ks *juhu-ks* *veel kord*
 every.TRA case.TRA yet time.NOM
maja *üle.* (M054)
 house.GEN over
 ‘I went to the street and watched at the house once more to make sure’

The fourth category in Lavotha’s classification — the special use of the ordinal numbers exemplified by (5) — might be included here:

- (59) a. *Esite-ks ma ei osa-nud*
 first of all 1sg.NOM NEG can.NUD
kääri-de-ga lõiga-ta,... (M032)
 scissor.pl.COM cut.INF
 ‘in the first place, I couldn’t cut [paper] with scissors’
- b. *teise-ks, ma ei tead-nud, kuidas*
 secondly 1sg.NOM NEG know.NUD how
näe-b sügispilt välja. (M032)
 appear.3sg autumn-picture.NOM out
 ‘secondly, I had no idea what a picture of
 autumn should look like’
- c. *kolmanda-ks ei ol-nud Arno ülepea*
 thirdly NEG be.NUD Arno.NOM at all
kuigi suur jutumees. (L014)
 though big.NOM tale-man.NOM
 ‘thirdly, Arno was not a good storyteller at all’

The idiomatic expressions *lõpuks* and *viimaks*, which are among the most frequently used translative forms with their respective occurrences of 38 and 32 in the corpus data, might be included here:

- (60) a. *Kui see siis viima-ks kätte*
 as DEM.NOM then at last hand.ILL
jõud-is,..
 reach.PAST (L026)
 ‘when the time was finally at hand,..’
- b. *Lõpu-ks läksi-me kahekesi Monika*
 in the end go.PAST.1pl together Monika.GEN]
koju.
 home (M070)
 ‘in the end two of us went to Monika’s home alone’

4. The Translative Element in Compound and Collocational Verbs

This category of translative expressions corresponds to the fifth and final category in Lavotha's grammar. Though it is not appropriate to regard translative elements occurring in such verbal collocations as representing a "function" of the translative case, it is convenient to deal with the phenomenon here.

Verbal collocations in question are classified into two types. If the meaning of the collocation is compositionally transparent in semantics, let us call it a "collocational verb", and if it is not, a "compound verb."¹³

The most frequent collocational verbs are listed in examples (61) through (71):

(61) *pahase-ks saa-ma* 'to get angry' (13 occurrences)

<i>kuid</i>	<i>Aita</i>	<i>sa-i</i>	<i>minu</i>	<i>peale</i>
though	Aita.NOM	get.PAST.3sg	1sg.GEN	upon

pahase-ks... (M077)
angry.TRA
'but Aita got angry with me'

(62) *terve-ks saa-ma* 'to get well, recover from illness'
(13 occurrences)

<i>Taht-si-n</i>	<i>lihtsalt</i>	<i>terve-ks</i>	<i>saa-da</i> ,...
want.PAST.1sg	simply	well.TRA	get.INF

'I simply wanted to get well'

(63) *haige-ks jää-ma* 'to fall ill' (10 occurrences)

<i>Liliani-l</i>	<i>jä-i</i>	<i>äkki</i>	<i>kurk</i>
Lilian.ADE	remain.PAST.3sg	suddenly	throat.NOM

haige-ks. (M057)
ill.TRA
'Lilian suddenly fell ill in the throat'

¹³ The name "phrasal verb" (Quirk et al. 1985:1150–1168) might be used for those collocations which we call "compound verbs" here.

- (64) *selge-ks tege-ma* ‘to make clear’ (8 occurrences)
neile, kes taha-vad maailma-le
 DEM.pl.ALL REL.NOM want.3pl world.ALL
selge-ks teha, et... (B178)
 clear.TRA make.INF that
 ‘to those who want to make clear to the world that...’
- (65) *selge-ks saa-ma* ‘to understand clearly’ (7 occurrences)
 ... *nõud-is...*, *et ma saa-ksi-n*
 demand.PAST.3sg that 1sg.NOM get.COND.1sg
pala selge-ks. (M040)
 piece.GEN clear.TRA
 ‘[he] demanded that I understand the piece [of music] clearly’
- (66) *puhta-ks pühki-ma* ‘to wipe clean’ (3 occurrences)
Isa on põranda puhta-ks
 father.NOM be.3sg f loor.GEN clean.TRA
pühki-nud...
 wipe.NUD
 (B191)
 ‘Father has cleaned the floor [of dust]’
- (67) *kindla-ks määra-ma* ‘to determine’ (3 occurrences)
Asutav Kogu... määra-b kindla-ks
 Constituent Assembly.NOM determine.3sg firm.TRA
riigikorra. (K126)
 state-order.GEN
 ‘the Constituent Assembly will determine the political system of the state’
- (68) *naise-ks võt-ma* ‘to take to wife, marry’ (3 occurrences)
tema... siis Teele enda-le naise-ks
 3sg.NOM then Teele.GEN self.ALL wife.TRA
võta-b.
 take.3sg (L024) [= (32d)]
 ‘he will then marry Teele (*lit.* takes Teele as wife)’

- (69)
- tuttava-ks saa-ma*
- ‘to get acquainted with’ (2 occurrences)

Palun saa-ge tuttava-ks... (B197)

please get.IMP.2pl acquaintance.TRA

‘please get acquainted with each other’

- (70)
- tuttava-ks tege-ma*
- ‘to make acquainted with’

(2 occurrences)

Ma ole-n tõesti rõõmus, et

1sg.NOM be.1sg really glad.NOM that

Karl mind teie-ga tuttava-ks

Karl.NOM 1sg.PAR 2pl.COM acquaintance.TRA

teg-i...(B200)

make.PAST.3sg

‘I am glad that Karl introduced me to you’

- (71)
- oma-ks võt-ma*
- ‘to adopt, acknowledge’ (2 occurrences)

ka Arvo ei võt-nud uut

also Arvo.NOM NEG take.NUD new.PAR

kodu oma-ks. (M023)

home.PAR own.TRA

‘Arvo too had a hard time adapting himself to the new home’

The verbal collocations in (72)–(76) are regarded here as compound verbs:

- (72)
- ilmsi-ks tule-ma*
- ‘to come to light’ (3 occurrences)

tul-i ilmsi-ks mu sõnavara

come.PAST.3sg to light 1sg.GEN vocabulary.GEN

nappus... (M085)

scantiness.NOM

‘it was revealed that my vocabulary was poor’

- (73)
- nõu-ks võt-ma*
- ‘to take into one’s head, intend’

(3 occurrences)

... võtt-is ta nõu-ks talle

take.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM plan.TRA 3sg.ALL

abi-ks olla. (L048)

help.TRA be.INF

‘he thought he could help him (*lit.* took it as his plan to be of help to him)’

(74) *ime-ks pane-ma* ‘to wonder’ (3 occurrences)

Mina pan-i-n väga ime-ks, et... (M057)
 1sg.NOM put.PAST.1sg very marvel.TRA that
 ‘I found it very queer that...’

(75) *ande-ks palu-ma* ‘to beg pardon’ (3 occurrences)

... *sund-is ta viimas-t oma*
 compel.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM latter.PAR own
pois-te-lt ande-ks palu-ma. (L047)
 boy.pl.ABL ask.INF
 ‘he forced him (=one who was mentioned last) to
 apologize his pupils’

(76) *ande-ks and-ma* ‘to forgive, pardon’ (1 occurrence)

And-ke mulle ande-ks mu
 give.IMP.2pl 1sg.ALL 1sg.GEN
liigne uudishimu,... (B198)
 excessive.NOM curiosity.NOM
 ‘Forgive me for my excessive curiosity’

The following example illustrates a three-word collocational verb:

(77) *vere-st tühja-ks jookse-ma* ‘to bleed to death’ (1 occurrence)

Lähe-b veel aega, enne kui ma
 go.3sg yet time.PAR before as 1sg.NOM
vere-st tühja-ks jookse-n. (B146)
 blood.ELA empty.TRA run.1sg
 ‘it will take time before I die of bleeding (*lit.* before I
 run empty of blood)’

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have seen c. 1000 examples of the translative case attested in the corpus data, and grouped them into five major categories:

- I Subject Complement (3.1.)
- II Object Complement (3.2.)
- III Translative of Time (3.4.1.)
- IV Translative of Purpose/Use (3.4.2.)
- V Sentential Adverbial (3.4.4.)

We have seen that the five major functions of the translative case are all interrelated in a semantically well-motivated arrangement.

Our classification of the function of the translative case differs from the one given in Lavotha (1973) in that the latter fails to mention the use of the translative case as object complements (II), adverbials of purpose/use (IV) and sentential adverbials (V). In other words, the corpus data clearly show that the Estonian translative case is used for much wider purposes than is claimed by Lavotha (1973).

ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	abessive	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NUD	<i>nud</i> -participle
ADE	adessive	PAR	partitive
ALL	allative	PAST	past tense
COM	comitative	REL	relative pronoun
COND	conditional	TRA	translative
DEM	demonstrative	ESS	essive
ELA	elative	TER	terminative
EMPH	emphatic particle	TUD	<i>tud</i> -participle
GEN	genitive	VA	<i>v</i> -participle
ILL	illative	pl	plural
IMP	imperative	1sg	1st person singular
INDEF	indefinite person (<i>umbisik</i>)	2sg	2nd person singular
INE	inessive	3sg	3rd person singular
INF	infinitive	1pl	1st person plural
MINE	nominalizing suffix <i>-mine</i>	2pl	2nd person singular
NEG	negation particle	3pl	3rd person plural

- B M. Berg (1987): *Kirjutajad. Seisab üksi mäe peal.*
- EKS *Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat.*
- K L. Lumiste et. al. (1963): *Meie kodumaa.*

- L O. Luts (1982): *Kevade*.
 M H. Mänd (1983): *Väikesed võililled*.
 SM Sakamoto (1992)
 SP Saagpakk (1992)
 VT Tauli (1980)

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TRANSLATIIV EESTI KEELES (KORPUSUURIMUS)**Kazuto Matsumura**

Artiklis on kirjeldatud eesti keele translatiivi süntaktilisi ja semantilisi funktsioone 90.000-sõnalise kirjaliku keele tekstikorpuse põhjal. Ligi 1000 registreeritud translatiivi esinemisjuhtu on jaotatud 5 põhirühmaks:

(1) subjektikomplement	416 (42%)
(2) objektikomplement	215 (22%)
(3) ajaadverbiaal	63 (6%)
(4) otstarbeadverbiaal	156 (16%)
(5) lauseadverbiaal (üldlaiend)	146 (14%)
<hr/>	
Kokku:	996 (100%)

Autor väidab, et senistes grammatikakäsitlustes ei ole küllaldaselt tähelepanu pööratud translatiivse süntagma kasutamisele objektikomplementina, otstarbeadverbiaalina ja lauseadverbiaalina. Artiklis tuuakse konkreetseid näiteid kõigi translatiivsete süntagmatüüpide kasutuse kohta ning analüüsitakse nende tüüpide suhteid.

THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE FUTURES IN THE FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGES¹

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1. Future time reference (FTR) as an object of typological research

In recent years the typological research of tense and aspect has occupied an important place among intensified typological investigations of language categories (see, e.g. Dahl 1985, Bybee and Dahl 1989). Also, in the typological project of European languages EUROTYPE (1990–1994) one of the theme groups was “Tense and Aspect”. The typological investigations search for general types and distinctive features both among the categories of languages and their interrelationships and in the framework of each single category. These hitherto investigations have indicated that despite a large variety of languages in the whole world their tense and aspect categories can be reduced to a limited number of basic types, just as the sources of these categories, i.e. lexical and grammatical devices, gradually changing their meaning and function and acquiring a new role in grammar, occur in a limited number of types. The future and other devices of expressing future time reference (FTR) in the predicate have emerged as an essential category.

Two methods — extrinsic and intrinsic — can be differentiated in getting the material for typological research (Csató 1992a). Based on the extrinsic method the data are gathered by means of language descriptions, i.e. in the linguistic literature. This method is represented by Bybee’s extensive investigation about the morphology of world languages (Bybee 1985). The intrinsic method consists in gathering the material with the help of questionnaires from native speakers. Dahl’s investigations about tense and aspect as well as the activities of the EUROTYPE work group,

¹ This work was supported by the Research Support Scheme of the Higher Education Support Programme, grant No.: 516/1995.

coordinated by him, are based on the latter method. Both methods have their own advantages and risks. In the pertaining literature, particularly in grammars of different languages, one can get a systematized survey about any language, at the same time the facts which interest a typologist could have been interpreted in different ways, from various aspects, insufficiently, or could have been ignored altogether. By means of questionnaires the typologist can obtain the information about the facts, necessary for him/her. Being aware of the possibilities of occurrence of a category in languages, the researcher may ask the respondents to produce definite linguistic expressions/phrases or answer various questions. Usually the respondents are supposed to be linguistically knowledgeable. However, the categories under observation may occur in languages in unpredictable ways and conditions, and so they may be overlooked. What cannot be excluded either is that the respondent, owing to his/her language skills and linguistic knowledge, discovers in that language such phenomena, which, in reality, do not exist. Only an extensive questioning could clear it up.

The investigations on tense and aspect in the EUROTYP project centred round three themes: the perfect, the progressive and future time reference (FTR). The book "Tense and Aspect in European Languages" summarizing the results of the research carried out by the theme group, publishes also Dahl's article "The grammar of future time reference in European languages" The article outlines FTR types, sources, ways of development and distribution in Europe, based on about 30 languages. To my knowledge it is the first systematized review about the future types of a vast area. In this material Finno-Ugric languages are represented by Finnish, Hungarian and Estonian. The review has also a wider response as typologists have nowhere in the world yet come across any lexical sources of the future that are lacking in Europe. Earlier investigations on typology (Dahl 1985, Bybee 1985) have, among other phenomena, dealt also with the future.

A survey about the devices of expressing future time (FTR-devices) in Finno-Ugric languages has been compiled by Majtinskaja (1973). Although her article is concerned with Finno-Ugristics, it could, on the other hand, be regarded as a review about the Finno-

Ugric futures from the point of view of extrinsic typology. Majtinskaja has generalized the types of Finno-Ugric futures and quasifutures on the basis of grammars and other kinds of literature on languages. Some data about Finno-Ugric futures and similar to them phenomena can also be found in the works by Serebrennikov (1960, 1963), Györke (1936), Tauli (1966), Mägiste (1936) as well as in the FTR reviews on Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian (Csató 1992a, Tommola 1992a, b) in the framework of the EUROTYP project. I, on my part, have acted as an Estonian informant for the EUROTYP and I have also investigated the FTR devices in Estonian and Finnish (e.g. in Metslang 1994).

The availability of the two abovementioned surveys calls for a new review of the results of the Finno-Ugric investigation as regarded in the light of the present-day typology. The aim and purpose of the given article is to bring forward the problem rather than to present its scientifically correct treatment. Even the choice of the comparable groups — a group of European languages on the one hand and geographically dispersed Finno-Ugric languages on the other, is far from being scientifically impeccable. The methods of these two studies are different. More thorough data about Finno-Ugric languages or their eastward contact languages have not been looked for. (The data about scores and hundreds of the former Soviet Union languages have rarely made their way into typological investigations and, as such, could be of novelty and interest.) However, even the application of the available treatments offers a definite survey when considering, in particular, that all the hitherto known future-types can be found in European languages.

From the typological point of view, as regards the future, primarily three aspects are of interest: the type of the formation (bound or periphrastic), the source (a lexical source — a full verb, e.g. *go*, *want*, or a grammatical source, e.g. the aspect) and the degree of grammaticalization (the stage of development of an expressive device passing into a verb paradigm). Hereby I will observe the sources of the future in Finno-Ugric languages.

The future and its grammaticalization

When alongside of synchronic language phenomena typology is also concerned with their origin then it involves not so much the history of each language separately as a certain generalization of these histories. The theory, generalizing basic features of the development of grammar, is called the theory of grammaticalization. The central conception of the theory, **grammaticalization**, can be regarded either as any processes creating a grammar (wide sense) or a gradual changing of a lexical unit into a grammatical unit (narrow sense) (Dahl 1994).

In languages there is a definite number of tense-aspect categories (expressive devices or grams according to the theory by Dahl and Bybee), more essential among them being e.g. past, present, future, perfective, imperfective, perfect, progressive. They can be produced in two ways: synthetically (bound) or analytically (periphrastic). Typically synthetic is the formation of e.g. the past (*sang*), typically periphrastic is that of the perfect (*has sung*). Based on the hitherto results of investigations both ways of the future-formation are more or less balanced (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 56).

Grammatical categories are formed in two main ways: via grammaticalization (narrow sense) and regrammaticalization². The lexical origin can easily be observed, e.g. in case of several Estonian postpositions (Est. *küljes* 'attached to' originates from the inessive form of the noun *külg* 'side', *juures* 'at' — from the inessive form of the noun *juur* 'root'; *ääres* 'by' — from the inessive form of the noun *äär* 'border'). Finnish has a postposition *kanssa* 'with' which developed from the noun *kansa* 'people', in Estonian the same postposition has further developed into the comitative case ending *-ga*. Via regrammaticalizations the Finno-Ugric verbal suffix *-pa* has given rise to a number of verb forms, in Estonian, for instance, the present participle with the affix *-v*, the

² The term *regrammaticalization* is used here in the narrow meaning explicated by Heine, Claudi and Hünne Meyer (1991: 262) as follows: "A more narrow definition of regrammaticalization would confine the term to forms that have lost a grammatical function and regain that or some other function"

vat-infinitive, the present tense verb inflections *-b* and *-vad*, and the quotative marker *-vat*. The cases of regrammaticalization can be found also in Russian in the present tense form of the perfective aspect in the function of the future (e.g. *Ja prodam moi dom* 'I will sell my house') or a form of the progressive used as the future, occurring, e.g. in English, Maori and Oromo (Dahl 1985: 112). The transitions into the future are gradual, and the transition stages of the same word group or form can simultaneously occur both in its primary and new meaning. The formal side of the direction of the grammaticalization is as follows (Figure 1).

word group → periphrastic expression → morphological expression → morphophonemic expression

Figure 1. The direction of the grammaticalization

A frequently occurring component in a word group gradually loses its independence up to its transition into an auxiliary, i.e. into a grammatical marker of another, semantically full word; further on it can adhere to the semantically full word. Parallel with this, the content of the lexeme in origin, becoming a grammatical element, is also narrowed and generalized. The impetus of the grammaticalization consists in the shifts of meaning. The metaphoric transition is a most essential one of them. Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991) have presented a possible metaphoric transition chain (Figure 2). The modelling of the more abstract relationships is based on the more concrete ones.

PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

Figure 2. The metaphoric transition chain between the semantic categories (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991: 48).

For instance, the transition of the 'go'-verbs into future auxiliaries is based upon the modelling of the process and time relationships on the basis of the local relationships. So the meaning of the Estonian verb *hakkama* 'begin', aiming at a future auxiliary was originally 'seize', denoting an action directed to an object. Thus we can observe the transition chain of the verb *hakkama* as

follows: 'seize' > 'begin' > FUT, or more generally, object > activity > time.

The meaning transition is also gradual. The primary full meaning (A) has or obtains a secondary meaning (b) which gradually comes to the fore, overruling the meaning A, first pushing it out of the focus and eventually out of its semantic field altogether (Figure 3).

A A A A a \emptyset
 \emptyset b B B B B



Figure 3. The transition of the focus between the components of the meaning in the course of the semantic shift (Metslang 1994: 160)

The use of the Estonian verb *hakkama* 'begin' as an FTR-verb (e.g. *hakkab elama* 'starts to live' in the meaning of 'will live') is based on the fact that the primary meaning, the beginning of an action, recedes into the background in some types of use. The following action itself (e.g. living), which, in the primary meaning of the phrase, could only be inferred, comes to the foreground.

The best known device of expressing futurity is an auxiliary which has, in its turn, developed from an ordinary verb. A precondition for changing a verb into an auxiliary is expressing the relationships between situations, i.e. the possibility of modifying a verb by an infinitive. The verb has to be with a narrow schematic meaning. Such verbs have often developed from verbs with a more concrete meaning and so, to make them more abstract, the next step is to transform them into auxiliaries. Usually, languages select their future-auxiliaries from among these verbs which Wiik (1974) has called future verbs: their meaning implies that the action expressed by the subordinate infinite verb takes place later (temporally) than the action expressed by the future verb itself (e.g. a wish to do something, the beginning of or moving to an action precedes the action itself).

Although the future occurs in many languages but being often periphrastic in its form and optional in use, it is less grammati-

calized, on the average, than e.g. the past. In addition to this, there are a lot fewer regular FTR-devices in languages (e.g., in Finnish *tulla*-future, in Estonian *hakkama*-future). They have not been rooted in the verb paradigm and so they are not periphrastic verb forms yet but only on their way from a lexical word group towards a periphrastic verb form. The development logic of the tense category claims that, first of all, the opposition past — non-past is taking shape and only after that the future begins to emerge from the non-past (Metslang 1994: 252–254). This way the pasts are mostly synthetic, during their long way of grammaticalization they have moved quite far away from their original source, and language historians have often been puzzled by their origin. Concerning futures, their origin is yet well recognizable and suitable as a criterion for the classification of futures. Besides, the development of a future may simply be slow.³ Unlike past tenses, generally to be used when speaking about the past, the future as an FTR-device is not so consistent and obligative even in future-languages. There are several areas in the world where the future tense forms are particularly scarce, one of them is in Northern Europe. In his article Dahl supposes that about 2,000 years ago in the Proto-Germanic period in Northern Europe there was a vast futureless area with Germanic, Finno-Ugric, and, possibly, Slavic languages. The material for such a speculation can be found in several Germanic languages and three Finno-Ugric languages belonging to EUROTYPE. Let us recall that by the time mentioned the differentiation of Finno-Ugric languages had been well under way and several predecessors of modern languages were there already.

Thus the categories of modern languages are both the result of bygone processes and the starting-point for forthcoming changes. Therefore it is worthwhile to consider the already grammaticalized futures as well as those which are only halfway there. Languages

³ The different rate of the grammaticalization of language devices can be proved by the process of arising of the comitative case in Estonian during one century, on the one hand, and by the much longer but yet incomplete history of the futures, on the other.

are influenced both by their internal tendencies of the development and external factors. Every language has its genetic heritage and also undergoes the influences of language contacts both of which give rise to specific features, characteristic of the area (cf. e.g. Dahl 1995).

Futures in European languages

The data of EURO-TYP indicate that in modern European languages the FTR-devices of futurity are analytical rather than synthetical (Dahl, forthcoming). The morphological future can be found in Baltic, Turkic and Romance languages, in Irish and Ukrainian; in other languages the future is expressed either by auxiliaries or particles. The origin of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Irish futures is believed to be in the Indo-European futurity which regrammaticalized from a suffix with a modal meaning. The futures of Romance languages developed via grammaticalization from the 'habeo'-construction that became a simple form in Latin already, e.g. *pussedire habet* → *pussediravit* 'he will possess' *dare habes* → *daras* 'you will give' (Ramat 1987: 153). Also the Ukrainian inflectional future, e.g. *pisatime* '(he) will write' is based on a similar construction with the auxiliary *imati* 'have'

Generalizing the meanings of the original structures and naming each type of the verbal meanings on the basis of the verb with the most characteristic meaning we can distinguish the following main types of futures:

1. GO-type (Germanic and Romance languages of Western Europe: English, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese; e.g. English *be going to*);
2. COME-type (the Scandinavian area — Swedish *komma att*-construction, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish *tulla tekemään*; Romansh dialects, Swiss German);
3. SHALL (obligation-modality) -type (Germanic languages of Northern Europe, e.g. English *shall*, the futures originating from the 'habeo'-construction in Southern Europe — in Romance languages, in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian in the Balkans; in Basque, in Ukrainian);

4. WILL-type (Germanic languages in Northern Europe — English *will*, Danish, Norwegian, Frisian, Yiddish; in the Balkans — Modern Greek, Macedonian, Albanian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian);
5. BECOME-type (German *werden*-construction, Yiddish, Estonian *saama*-construction);⁴
6. BUDU-type — the futures in which the suppletive present tense form of the copula has developed into a future auxiliary (Slavic languages, e.g. Russian *ja budu stroit' dom* 'I will build a house');
7. 'take, seize'-type (Hungarian *fog*, Romani);
8. BEGIN-type (Estonian, Swedish dialects, marginally in Finnish);
9. perfectivity-type — the present tense form of a perfective verb expresses the future tense (Slavic languages, e.g. Russian *ja postroju dom* 'I will build a house up to the end').

In aspect languages the future may develop by the branching of the imperfective into different categories.

The sources of futures, retaining an additional shade of meaning also in the future form, can further be classified according to the primary meaning of

- a) movement towards a goal (GO- and COME-futures),
- b) agent-oriented modality (SHALL- and WILL-futures);⁵
- c) change, inchoativity (BECOME-futures),
- d) state (BUDU-future) or
- e) aspectual meaning.

⁴ Heine (1995) argues that the development of the German verb *werden* BECOME → FUT has an intermediate modal chain: BECOME → WILL → FUT.

⁵ According to the data of the typological research, agent-oriented modalities may develop into futures and then the futures may develop into epistemic and speaker-oriented modalities (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 279). In this context, the FTR-use of Finnish conditional and potential is of need of the further explanation.

On the other hand, we can also distinguish intention-based (e.g. English *is going to* -future) and prediction-based futures (e.g. the German *werden*-future).

Finno-Ugric future-constructions⁶

Although in all Finno-Ugric languages there are elements of future, a grammatical future occurs only in few. A morphological future can be found in Hungarian (an archaic future with the affix *end*, *-and*), in Permic languages, in the Mansi dialect. All these have developed via regrammaticalization: the Hungarian future proceeds from a verbal affix expressing a beginning, the futures of Permic and Mansi have developed from an earlier present tense form (Csató 1992: 51; Tauli 1966: 79; Majtinskaja 1973: 81–83). It is noteworthy that the best developed futures occur in Hungarian whose factors of development include the Central European environment and a long literary language tradition. In Hungarian the morphological future has both first fully developed and then become obsolete, the others, *fog*- and *lesz*-futures have effectively grammaticalized (Csató 1992). Not a single Finno-Ugric future has passed all the long way of the direct grammaticalization from the word groups of full semantic meaning to a morphological form, as e.g. in Romance languages.

Numerous, more or less regular, mainly analytical FTR-devices⁷ of Finno-Ugric languages originate from the following semantic sources:

1. Lativ meaning – transition, moving towards a goal (to a position, a state, an action or somebody's possession).

1.1. COME-type. Differently from the general picture in Europe, the FTR-devices occurring in the motion verbs are rep-

⁶ The survey is based on the data from the following publications: Ariste 1968, Majtinskaja 1973, Csató 1992, Györke 1936, Metslang 1994, Mägiste 1936, Schlachter 1969, Serebrennikov 1960, 1963, Tauli 1966, Tommola 1992b. Thanks to Tiit-Rein Viitso for consultation.

⁷ Further on less regular quasi-futures will be called futures for the sake of simplicity.

resented only by the allegedly Swedish-affected COME-type in Finnish (quasi-auxiliary *tulla* 'come', e.g. *tulee olemaan* 'will be', *tulee tapahtumaan* 'will happen') The use of the future is supported by a more abstract use of the same verb as a verb of change (the transition of the meaning COME > BECOME), e.g. *hänesta tulee lääkäri* ('s/he will become a doctor', *hän tulee terveeksi* 's/he will get well')

1.2. BECOME-type. The interpretation of inchoative verbs as FTR-verbs) is spreading in several languages in Northern Europe (Dahl, forthcoming). It can also be found in several Balto-Finnic languages. One of the verbs used in Livonian, Aunus-Karelian and Finnish dialects as an FTR device is the verb **sa-*: in Aunus *soaha*, e.g. *soan andamah* 'I shall give' (Tauli 1966: 81), Based on the German example, the same future has been introduced into literary Estonian, e.g. *saab olema* 'will be' The earlier meaning of the verb **sa-* is 'come' so the chain of the meaning transition will develop COME > BECOME > FUT

As an FTR marker in Aunus-Karelian we come across another inchoative verb *rodiekseh*, e.g. *roimmos andamah* (Tauli 1966: 81). The verb is a Russian loan with the primary meaning 'be born' so the chain of the meaning transition will develop BE BORN > BECOME > FUT.

1.3. BEGIN-type. The beginning of an action (ingressivity) is most widely spread in all branches of Finno-Ugric languages (also in some Samoyedic languages) as a source of the future. In typological investigations this future-type has risen into view only in the case of the above mentioned EURO TYP data from Estonian and Swedish Ostrobothnian dialects.⁸

The use of the verbs denoting the beginning of an action as FTR devices is a general principle to such a degree that the origin of the applicable ingressive verbs may be varied. This way various chains of the meaning transition are developed.

⁸ The typological investigations of tense and aspect have been able to include only about 2% of the languages of the world yet, therefore there are abundant possibilities to elaborate the general picture (Dahl 1995: 12).

SEIZE, TAKE → BEGIN → FUT. The Estonian verb *hakama*, the Livonian *akkõ*, the Hungarian *fog* (*írni fogok* 'I will write'), the Mansi dialectal *põmt* (Majtinskaja 1973: 84), operating as future-verbs now, originally denoted seizing or taking. In old literary Estonian the calque future construction *võtab teha* 'takes to do' was used (see more closely Paul 1984). Ariste (1968: 72) observed a similar construction in Votic.

RISE → BEGIN → FUT. The Votic verb *neisa*, the Izhorian *noiza* (*noizemma kirjoittamaa* 'we will write' — Majtinskaja 1973: 87). The shift in the meaning of RISE → BEGIN allows to suppose an example of the Russian verbs of the similar stem *vstat* 'rise' and *stat* 'begin', The following transition BEGIN → FUT has not taken place in Russian.

COME → BEGIN → FUT. This transition of the meaning takes place in the verb *sua-*, *soa* of Lydian-Karelian (Tauli 1966: 80). In the other Balto-Finnic languages a verb of the same historical origin (**sa-*) has developed into an FTR-verb through the intermediate stage BECOME (see above).

BE → BEGIN. Differently from the other Finno-Ugric languages (see below), in Hungarian the copula *lesz* has developed into a future marker through the ingressive intermediate stage.

Besides there are several BEGIN-futures referred to in the literature. Among Balto-Finnic languages there is still the Vepsic affix *-škande* of the ingressive origin (e.g. *kandoškandob* 'begins to or will disappear' — Mägiste 1936: 84) and the Karelian verb *rubia* (e.g. *rubiaiv pidämäh* 'it will be needed'). In the Kola Lappish the FTR is expressed by the ingressive verb *a_ilke-*. In Volgaic languages there are the Mordvinian verb *karmams* (e.g. Erza-Mordvinian *karmat lovnomo* 'you will read') and the Mari verb *t ηgäl*. In Permic languages similar verbs are the Udmurt *kutisk* and the Zyrian *pond-* (Tauli 1966: 80). In Ugric languages we find verbs of the same group in the Mansi dialect (e.g. *minuχ ittem* 'I shall go' *jemt, patuηkwe*), in Hanti there are the verbs *pit-*, *j Dä*, and in Hungarian the archaic auxiliary *kezd-* (Tauli 1966: 79–81). In Finnish, the marginal uses of the verb *alkaa* 'begin' for FTR occur (Dahl, forthcoming).

2. The meaning of the **state**. The background stative meaning is ascribed to the developing futures of the Finno-Ugric origin with the copula **le-*. In this case the copula 'be' is a suppletive future stem which operates also as an auxiliary for the future.⁹ This phenomenon has a very similar form spread in numerous Finno-Ugric languages; on the other hand, it is amazingly analogous to the Slavic suppletive copula (e.g. the Russian present tense form *est'*, the future form *budet*). The earlier two copulas, **wole-* and **le-* have got linked up in a suppletive paradigm, where in the present tense form **wole-* has a neutral (present, non-modal) meaning and **le-* expresses the future or modal variety of the copula. In the preterite only the **wole-*verb has the meaning 'be', the **le-*stem has the meaning 'become' (Majtinskaja 1973: 88–89).¹⁰ It refers to the possible interpretation where **le-*stem has attained the meaning 'become' and so this future-type, too, belongs to the latives (the chain BE → BECOME → FUT). So the Finno-Ugric suppletive future-copula would differ from its Slavic analog with no data about the meaning of change (Dahl, forthcoming). Thus, on the other hand, **le-*futures of the related languages are internally similar,¹¹ analogous to Slavic *budu-*futures, on the other, and, thirdly, analogous also to the BECOME-type of Northern Europe. Obviously there are the meaning transitions both directly BE → FUT and via the intermediate stage BE → BECOME → FUT and BE → BEGIN → FUT. The futures with the verb **le-* occur in several Balto-Finnic languages:

⁹ According to an alternative treatment there are two different copulas (Viitso).

¹⁰ Thus the **le-*verb has undergone the donut categories' change: the central component of the meaning, the state without any additional meanings, has disappeared, and the verb has begun to be used in its primarily peripheral meanings.

¹¹ K. Majtinskaja (1973: 89) regards the similarity of the use of the **le-*verb as a result of the natural parallel development, not from Proto-Finno-Ugric.

in Karelian (*lienet istumah* 'you will sit'), in Aunus-Karelian (*liennemö sattamah* 'we shall send' in Votic, Vepsic, Izhorian, in the dialects of Estonian islands (Tauli 1966: 82). The future use of this verb is traceable also in Mari and Permic languages. In Hungarian the verb *lesz* has developed into a future verb via an intermediate stage of ingressivity (see above).

3. Agent-oriented modality. Based on the agent-oriented modality the FTR-structures have developed in the languages which are in contact with Germanic languages. The transition of the meaning **THINK** → **WILL** → **FUT** accounts for the fact that in Finnish the verb *aikoa* and *ajatella* 'think' can, in certain cases, operate as FTR-verbs (Tommola 1992b). This phenomenon obviously follows the example of the FTR-structure of the verb *tänker* 'think' (Dahl 1992: 62) in colloquial Swedish. The Norwegian-Lappish structure with the auxiliary *ai'got* takes example by WILL-future. The WILL-type future can also be found in old literary languages of Hungarian, Estonian and Finnish. The SHALL-type (deobligative) future occurs in Lappish (the verb *gâl'gât* — Schlachter 1969: 181), in Finnish (the construction *on tekevä* with the present participle *-va/vä*), in Finnish dialects (with the verb *pitää* 'must'), in Hungarian, in old literary languages of Estonian and Finnish.

4. The meaning of aspect and Aktionsart. The interpretation of perfectivity as the future has spread in numerous languages. In Slavic languages it is referable to Old (Church) Slavonic already (Dahl 1985 and forthcoming). The same phenomenon can be met in the Hungarian verbal prefixes, cf. e.g. *olvasom a levelet* 'I read the letter' and *elolvasom a levelet* 'I read the letter (from the beginning to the end)' (Csató 1992: 49). The features referring to perfectivity bring about the interpretation of the future in the Mordvinian object conjugation, in the Komi Futurum I (Serebrennikov 1960: 82), in the Mansi particle *taχ*, originating from the adverb 'after' (e.g. *it'ipalay ampalt m joχteγn taχ* 'you will come necessarily to me in the evening' — Majtinskaja 1973: 87) and in the Mari semelfactive suffixes (cf. e.g. *šoγem* 'I stand' and *šoγalam* 'I will stand' — Majtinskaja 1973: 89).

Future is based on the present tense and grows out of certain present tense forms. The semantic opposition 'future — non-future' develops in the semantic field of the present tense. This is preceded as well as accompanied by the use of the present tense for the FTR, too. The structural differentiation can also take place, e.g. dividing the field of use of a present tense form: a new formal device develops for the central meaning of the category, i.e. for the present tense meaning, and the old formal device takes over the use of the hitherto peripheral, e.g. future. This kind of the development of the grammatical future as a **residual**, or, metaphorically saying, **donut category** has taken place e.g. in Permic languages and Mansi dialects. Or some affixal present-tense forms attain the interpretation of the future, as in Mordvinian and Mari, or the present-tense form of a verb will be treated as a future copula or auxiliary.

Now let us compare the Finno-Ugric sources of futures with those in European languages (Table 1).

Comparing the types of origin of futures in Finno-Ugric languages with the futures in European languages from other language families than the former, we can classify the types of futures into the following groups:

- 1) the constructions whose distribution is outside the Finno-Ugric family of languages — GO-type;
- 2) the constructions occurring in the languages of other language families and in some Finno-Ugric contact languages from these formerly mentioned families — the futures originating from agent-oriented modality, the Finnish *tulla*-future;
- 3) the constructions occurring on both sides to a certain extent, that can be explained both by a language-internal independent development and by the areal influences — BECOME-constructions, perfectivity future;
- 4) the constructions occurring in some Finno-Ugric language groups having had no mutual contacts for centuries but also in the contact languages of the former. The copula-future occurs only in Slavic and Finno-Ugric languages. The Slavic *budu*-future is observed to have had a relatively recent distribution, beginning with the 13th century Czech language (Leiss 1985). There are two copulas **wole-* and **le-* in Finno-Ugric languages which have

divided their tasks between themselves similarly in different languages: peripheral, modal and future meanings remained to the **le*-copula. It could hardly take place in each language separately. BUDU-/LE-future seems to be a common feature, based on language contacts of the Finno-Ugric—Slavic area.

5) the constructions, occurring most often in all branches of Finno-Ugric languages but almost nowhere else — BEGIN-type. Already Proto-Finno-Ugric (or even Proto-Uralic) seems to have had some elements of the future — polysemy of ingressivity and futurity. Finno-Ugric languages develop their futures from whatever ingressive constructions; also e.g. the Hungarian well-developed futures have an ingressive origin.

Table 1.

**Sources of the futures in the European languages and
in the Finno-Ugric languages**

General meaning	Representing verb	Languages and regions in Europe	Finno-Ugric languages
1. Agent-oriented modality	SHALL	Northern Europe: Germanic languages Southern Europe: Romance languages; Balkan: Bulgarian, Romanian, Ghag Albanian, Basque, Ukrainian	Sami, Hungarian, Finnish, Old Literary Estonian, Old Literary Finnish
	WILL	Northern Europe: Ger- manic languages Balkan: Modern Greek, Macedo- nian, Albanian, Romanian, Serbo- Croatian, Bulgarian	Finnish, Sami, Old Literary Estonian, Old Literary Finnish, Old Literary Hungarian
Lativity, transition: a) moving towards a goal	GO	Western Europe: Germanic languages, Romance languages	
	COME	Scandinavian Germanic languages, Finnish, Swiss German, Swiss Romansh dialects	Finnish
b) inchoativity	BECOME	Circum—Baltic area: German, Swiss German, Yiddish, Estonian	Baltic-Finnic (Livonian, Karelian, Finnish dialects, Estonian)

c) contact	TAKE, SEIZE	Romani, (Hungarian)	c→d
d) ingressivity	BEGIN	Estonian, Swedish dialects, (Finnish)	Occurs in all branches
3. Copula	BUDU, LE-	West and East Slavic, Hungarian	Baltic-Finnic, Mari, Permic languages, Hungarian
4. Perfectivity, semelfactivity		Slavic languages	Hungarian, Mordvinian, Mari, Mansi, Zyrian

Thus, Finno-Ugric languages seem to have been developing their futures for thousands of years already, very slowly, though. The development of the future has been accelerated by external factors, such as the appearance of literary languages (Hungarian, Estonian, Finnish, Komi), and the existence of futures in influential contact languages as in Germanic languages and in Russian. (Even if the latter had no futures 2,000 years ago, later their futures developed relatively fast, possibly thanks to the early development of literary languages.) There are both, the synthetic perfectivity future and the analytical future in Russian. Similar futures can also be found in the Finno-Ugric languages in Russia. However, the analytical futures particularly are loaded by their own semantic source material. Synthetic futures in both groups have arisen mostly via regrammaticalization.

The transitions of meanings developing into the futurity meanings can be summed up in Figure 4.



Figure 4. The transitions of meanings developing into the futurity meaning (based on the data about European and Finno-Ugric languages)

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FUTUURUMITE ARENGUID SOOME-UGRI KEELTES

Helle Metslang

Kuigi väljakujunenud grammatilisi futuurumeid soome-ugri keeltes palju ei leidu, on siiski olemas mitmeid vähem regulaarseid vahendeid predikaadi tulevikuviite vormistamiseks. Põhjalikem ülevaade soome-ugri futuurumitest ja kvaasifutuurumitest pärineb Klara Maitinskajalt (1974). Tulevale ajale viitamise (*future time reference* = FTR) vahendeid eri keeltes on uuritud ka keeletüpoloogia raames, uusim ülevaade on ilmunas Östen Dahlilt Euroopa keelte kohta (Dahl, forthcoming). Futuurum on üldiselt suhteliselt vähe grammatikaliseerunud keelekateooria; futuurumi vormivahendite puhul on üsnagi ilmne, millistest leksikaalsetest või grammatilistest keelevahenditest need on kujunenud. Seetõttu on keeltes leiduvaid futuurumeid võimalik liigitada vastavalt nende lähtekeelenditele. Artikkel tõstatab probleemi soome-ugri futuurumite tüüpidest üldise futuurumitüpoloogia taustal ning üht või teist tüüpi futuurumite võimalikust areaalsest või geneetilisest tingitusest. Esialgse pildi saamiseks võr-

reldakse soome-ugri keelte futuurumeid Euroopa keelte futuurumitega, kuivõrd Euroopas on esindatud kõik maailmas seni täheldatud futuurumitüübid. Võrdlustulemusi üldistab tabel 1.

Tabel 1.

Futuurumi allikad Euroopa keeltes ja soome-ugri keeltes

Üldtäendus	Tüüpverb	Keeled ja alad Euroopas	Soome-ugri keeled
1. Agendikohane modaalsus	SHALL	Põhja-Euroopa: germaani keeled Lõuna-Euroopa : romaani keeled; Balkan: bulgaaria, rumeenia, albaania, baski; ukraina	lapi, ungari, soome; ungari ja eesti vana kirjakeel
	WILL	Põhja-Euroopa: germaani keeled; Balkan: kreeka, makedoonia, albaania, rumeenia, serbokroadi, bulgaaria	soome, lapi; eesti, soome ja ungari vana kirjakeel
2. Latiivsus, üleminek: a) liikumine	GO	Lääne-Euroopa : germaani keeled, romaani keeled	
	COME	Skandinaavia germaani keeled, soome, Šveitsi saksa murded, reto-romaani	soome
b) muutumine	BECOME	Läänemere ümbrus: saksa, Šveitsi saksa murded, jidiš, eesti	läänemeresoome keeled (liivi, karjala, soome murded), eesti
c) kontakt	TAKE, SEIZE	mustlaskeel, (ungari),	c->d
d) algus	BEGIN	eesti, rootsi murded, (soome)	Esineb kõigis keelerühmades
3. Koopula	BUDU, LE-	slaavi keeled, (ungari)	läänemeresoome keeled, mari, permi keeled, ungari
4. Perfektiivsus, semelfaktiivsus		slaavi keeled	ungari, mordva, mari, mansi, komi

Futuurumitähendusse suubuvad tähendusülekanded võtab kokku joonis 4.

Võrdluse tulemusena jagunevad futuuri tüübid järgmistesse rühmadesse:

1) konstruktsioonid, mille levik on väljaspool soome-ugri keelkonda — GO-tüüp;

2) konstruktsioonid, mis esinevad muude keelkondade keeltes ja viimaste mõningates soome-ugri kontaktkeeltes — agendikohase modaalsuse futuurimid, soome *tulla*-futuurum;

3) konstruktsioonid, mida esineb teatud määral mõlemal pool, mis võib olla seletatav nii keelesise iseseisva kujunemisega kui areaalsete mõjutustega — BECOME-konstruktsioon, perfektiivusfutuurum;

4) konstruktsioonid, mida esineb nii mõningates soome-ugri keelte rühmades, mis pole sajandeid omavahel kontaktis olnud, kui nende keelte kontaktkeeltes. Koopulafutuurum esineb ainult slaavi ja soome-ugri keeltes. Slaavi *budu*-futuurumil on jälgitav suhteliselt hiline levik alates XII sajandi tsehhi keelest (Leiss 1985). Kõigis soome-ugri keeltes on kaks koopulat, **wole-* ja **le-*, jaganud ülesanded omavahel üldjoontes ühtmoodi: perifeersed, modaal- ja futuurimitähendused on jäänud **le*-koopulale. Vaevalt et see võis toimuda igas keeles eraldi. BUDU-/LE-futuurum tundub olevat soome-ugri — slaavi areaalne, keelekontaktidel põhinev ühisjoon;

5) konstruktsioonid, mida esineb kõigis soome-ugri keelte harudes, mujal aga peaaegu mitte — BEGIN-tüüp. Tundub, et juba soome-ugri algkeeles on olnud futuuri algeid — ingressiivsuse ja futuursuse polüseemia. Soome-ugri keeled kujundavad oma futuureid mis tahes ingressiivkonstruktsioonidest; ka nt ungari keele kaugelarenenud futuurimid on ingressiivse algupäraga.

Nõnda siis tundub, et soome-ugri keeltes on futuurum juba aastatuhandeid olnud tekkimas, aga väga aegamööda. Futuuri kujunemist on aidanud kiirendada välistegurid, nagu kirjakeele areng (ungari, eesti, soome, komi keel) ja futuuri olemasolu mõjukates kontaktkeeltes, nagu germaani keeltes ja vene keeles. (Kui ka viimased 2000 a. eest futuuri poolest vaesed olid, kujunesid nende futuurimid suhteliselt kiiresti välja, väga võimalik, et tänu kirjakeelte varasele tekkimisele.) Vene keeles on olemas nii sünteetiline perfektiivusfutuurum kui analüütiline futuurum. Samalaadseid futuureid leidub ka meie Venemaa sugulaskeeltes, kuid eriti analüütilised futuurimid täidetakse oma, ingressiivse lähtematerjaliga.

PRONOUN SYSTEMS OF COMMON ESTONIAN AND ESTONIAN DIALECTS IN A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Spoken Estonian is rather uniform and the speech of younger city dwellers reveals relatively few dialect differences. However, the usage of demonstrative pronouns is a feature that quite often makes it possible to pin down the area where an Estonian comes from. At present three different systems of demonstrative pronouns co-exist side by side in Estonia. Common Estonian with a North Estonian background has a single demonstrative pronoun (*see*), South Estonian (first of all the Võru dialect) has three demonstrative pronouns (*sjoo, taa, tuu*), and Common Estonian with a South Estonian background has two demonstrative pronouns (*see, too*).¹ The article will give an overview of these pronoun systems and compare them with the pronouns of our closest neighbors, first and foremost with Russian and Finnish pronouns. A short article does not enable me to provide a complete survey of the use of pronouns in different languages. Therefore, an attempt has been made to focus on the prototypical usage pattern. I have discarded the idea that a language user may actually ignore the prototypical pattern in order to achieve his/her communicative aims.

1. Some general principles

The pronoun system of a language can be divided into a number of subsystems (for example Larjavaara 1990: 33–39). The central

¹ In order to facilitate the discussion, I am going to use the spelling that is used in the corresponding literary language, for South Estonian the new orthography of Võru will be used (Jüvä 1994), although the pronouns may take rather different phonetic shapes in different dialects and contexts.

ones are personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Primary personal pronouns are related to the essence of communication — the existence of pronouns that refer to the speaker and hearer are considered to be universal. Their plural counterparts form different systems in different languages (for example, depending on the person to whom the pronoun of the first person plural refers). Estonian plurals *meie* ‘we’ and *teie* ‘you’ are “usual”, i.e. their usage is roughly similar to other Fenno-Ugric and Indo-European languages. A peculiarity of Estonian is the existence of short and long parallel forms in all the personal pronouns of the literary language as well, thus *mina/ma* ‘I’ and *sina/sa* ‘you (sg.)’, *meie/me* ‘we’ and *teie/te* ‘you (pl.)’

The pronoun of the third person is secondary as far as the role division of dialogue is concerned, it refers to a person who does not participate in the dialogue, and in many languages it may refer to a thing as well. In fact, the third person has been regarded as secondary role deixis, and it has been placed in the semantic space of pronouns on the border between the primary role deixis (*mina* ‘I’ ja *sina* ‘you’) and the demonstrative pronouns (Larjavaara 1990: 35). According to the traditional approach the Estonian *tema/ta* ‘he, she’ (pl. *nemad/nad* ‘they’) are personal pronouns, but in texts they may often refer to a thing as well (see below).

The primary function of a demonstrative pronoun is to refer in a dialogue to those objects of the real world that the speakers can see and/or use around them. In addition to demonstrative (or exophoric) usage, the same pronouns can be used endophorically or text-internally as well. Reference is exophoric if the referred entity is brought into the textual space, it is, however, endophoric when the referred item has been mentioned earlier in the text or there is an intention to do so immediately. In the case of endophoric usage a pronoun has a double reference relation — there exist both the referent of a pronoun in some possible world and the name of the referent in the text. Endophoric reference has been called also anaphoric and the referent has been called an antecedent (e.g. Green 1989: 26–34). However, the author of the present article thinks that the use of these terms narrows down the area of endophoric reference as the name of the referent may follow a pronoun as well. It is true that endophoric reference

reflects to some extent the principles of demonstrative reference, i.e. a proximate pronoun (e.g. the Finnish *tämä*) refers also text-internally in a sense to a more proximate entity. On the other hand, the spatio(-temporal) three-term system of exophoric reference cannot absolutely coincide with the linear system of endophoric reference.

The category of spatiality (proximate/remote) seems to be present in all the demonstrative systems. So far no language has been described where it is missing. There are, in fact, languages with a single demonstrative pronoun, but in that case there are demonstrative adverbs or other lexical means to modify this pronoun so that it could express the semantic aspect proximate/remote. (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 280) Thus such adverbs can be found, for example, also in the demonstrative system of North Estonian (*siin* 'here', *seal* 'there' combinations *see siin* 'the one here', *see seal* 'the one there') although only *see* is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

An overlapping area of exophoric and endophoric reference is the attributive (article-like) use of demonstrative pronouns. *see raamat* can be translated into English depending on the context as 'the book' or 'this book'. However, if the speaker is from North Estonia, then also 'that book'. Neither Russian nor Estonian and Finnish have the category of the article, therefore demonstrative pronouns often fulfill the same function as articles in article-languages. Articles, in their turn, can function in English demonstratively, for example. "The definite article may be used in some circumstances in English with vaguely deictic force: we may say, for example, looking at the car accident, *The Ford didn't stop at the light*. Here the Ford in question is understood to be present to the speaker and the addressee, but no commitment is made concerning how far it may be from either" (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 280).

In the case of endophoric reference it is important in some languages whether the name of the referent has occurred previously in the text (anaphoric reference, e.g. *poiss ja tema sõber* 'the boy and his friend') or it will only follow the pronoun (cataphoric reference, e.g. *Enne kui ta magama läks, tegi poiss kodutööd ära*. 'Before he went to bed, the boy had done his homework'). In

certain cases the pronoun that serves as the correlating word of a relative clause behaves according to its specific rules as well (*Kes jääl korra libiseb, see pidama ei jää*. 'He who slips once on ice will continue doing so').

2. Demonstrative reference

It is thought that Proto-Balto-Finnic had four demonstrative pronouns: *tima*, *taa*, *too* and *se* (Larjavaara 1986: 307). All of them have preserved in South Estonian although their original meaning may have changed in the course of time. *timä* has become first and foremost a pronoun of the third person, and it has a short form *tiä* or *tä(ä)* as well. As genuine demonstrative pronouns function:

- sjoo*, which refers to an entity that is most proximate to the speaker;
- taa*, which refers to an entity that is 1) proximate to the hearer or 2) proximate to the speaker but remoter than one for which *see* is used;
- tuu*, which refers to an entity that is far from both the speaker and the hearer.

So far there are no detailed studies of the three-term pronoun system of South Estonian. Although the three-term system has been described morphologically (e.g. Laanest 1982: 199; Jüvä 1994: 12), the meanings of pronouns have not been explained in these studies. Saareste provides in his dictionary laconic meanings that are based on *see* in the literary language: *too* — 'this over there'; *taa* — 'this here remoter' (Saareste 1962: 748). Controversial conclusions have been made on the basis of written texts. Thus it has been thought that these three pronouns reveal no spatial difference in the Tartu dialect. This viewpoint concerns first of all endophoric (text-internal) reference as the conclusion has been made on the basis of written dialect texts that were transcribed (Meri 1982: 56). On the other hand, it has been claimed on the basis of Setu texts as if the South Estonian pronoun *tuu* corresponded to the Finnish pronoun *se* (Larjavaara 1986: 311).

In the summer of 1995 a number of situations were recorded in Vastseliina parish within the framework of the project "Extended collection of Estonian dialect materials" that was funded by the Estonian National Culture Foundation, where fluent speakers of the Võru dialect were asked to describe various entities (e.g. the yard, fields, items in the farm loft). At the time of recording I took notes where the referred items were located. The informants most often referred to various physical objects around them by using the pronoun *sjoo*. *tuu* occurred as a demonstrative a little less and, as a rule, clearly referred to something that is located at a distance. *tuu* was used when there was a need for an opposition between something remoter and something more proximate (e.g. a remote building and the ones closer to the speaker, a remote farm and one's own farm). *tuu* occurred as non-oppositional if the conversation was about some remote but visible object (e.g. field at a distance).

The usage of *taa* is not so clear. It seems to have two meanings. At first the pronoun *taa* is used to oppose the referred entity both to what is proximate and what is remote. Saareste's definition 'this here remoter' is, in fact, correct in this usage. Thus a landowner who was standing on his staircase used the pronoun *sjoo* to refer to the building that was behind him, the pronoun *taa* to refer to the buildings that were in the yard (the storehouse, cattle shed), and the pronoun *tuu* to refer to the sauna house that was visible at a distance but not in the same yard. A landlady who was standing at the door of a cattle shed used the pronoun *sjoo* to refer to the calf that was standing in front of her and the pronoun *taa* to refer to the walls of the cattle shed. On the other hand, the pronoun *taa* can be used as an addressee-oriented pronoun (like the Finnish pronoun *se*). When looking at photos, for example, the informant used the pronoun *sjoo* when they were in her hand and the pronoun *taa* when they were in the hand of the hearer. One could also find alternations that occurred clearly because of the roles in the dialogue: the recording person asked about the item that she was holding in her hand *a mis sjoo om* 'and what's this', the respondent said (concerning the item held by the partner) *taa om..* 'it's..'

The pronoun *taa* was almost absent in the speech of younger people, nor was its usage uniform among older informants. It

seems that in the Võru dialect the three-term pronoun system is undergoing replacement by the two-term opposition of *see* — *too/tuu*.

Finnish, too, has three demonstrative pronouns, but they do not directly coincide with the South Estonian ones. Generally speaking, the South Estonian *sjoo* has a counterpart in the Finnish *tämä*, which also refers to an entity that is located closest to the speaker. The South Estonian *taa* seems to have an equivalent in the Finnish *se*, which is on the one hand addressee-oriented in Finnish, i.e. it refers to an entity that is proximate to the hearer. On the other hand, it is also simply remoter than *se* and more proximate than *tu*. The South Estonian *tuu* corresponds to the Finnish *tu* in the demonstrative system. (See Larjavaara 1990 for explanation of Finnish pronoun-system.)

North Estonian uses only the pronoun *see*. Between the North Estonian and South Estonian usage lies the common language that has two pronouns. Although there are no detailed studies as yet, one could suppose that it is characteristic of the Tartu city dialect to use the pronoun *too* when one has to make a distinction between a more proximate entity for which *see* is used and a remoter entity. (*See uks selle võtmega lahti ei tule, proovime, kas too tuleb*. 'This door wouldn't open with this key, let's try if that one would open it'). In case an opposition is semantically unnecessary, most Tartuites would use the pronoun *see* to refer to the remoter object as well. The use of *too* in a situation where the opposition is semantically not needed could serve as a criterion whether an interlocutor has the dialectical background or not.

The two-pronoun system of the common language with its South Estonian influences is similar to the Russian pair of pronouns *etot/eta/eto* — *tot/ta/to*. The Russian *eto*, which is of recent origin, refers to a proximate and the ancient pronoun *to* to a remote entity (for a discussion of the history of Russian pronouns see e.g. Vlasto 1986: 127–129, by the way, the obsolete pronoun *sei* 'this, proximate' is noteworthy because its base resembles the Balto-Finnic pronoun *see*, just like the base *to* resembles the Balto-Finnic *too*). However, the Russian *eto* is often the pronoun that is used for demonstrative reference and it can refer to a rather remote object if the opposition "proximate-remote" is not important. In

this sense the Russian pronouns are used in the same way as in the Estonian common language that has a South Estonian background.

3. Endophoric reference

It is true that endophoric or text-internal reference is based on the system of demonstrative reference, but it is impossible to predict exactly which pronouns of the exophoric system of a language are used in its endophoric system. Generally speaking, if in the case of demonstrative reference the distance of an entity from the speaker serves as the central category (though there exist some alternative systems, see Maitinskaja 1969), then the pronouns of endophoric reference are selected in addition to the “location” of the referred entity in the context also depending on the semantic essence of the entity. The classification of entities that was proposed by Lyons (1977: 442–445) is quite suitable for our purposes. According to Lyons first-order entities are physical objects (persons and non-persons), second-order entities are events, processes, states-of-affairs and third-order entities are abstract entities as propositions. First-order *are* rather in time and space, second-order entities *occur* or *take place*, the basic property of entities of the third degree is that they can be right or wrong.

First-order entities, however, are further subdivided in many languages into inanimate — animate or persons — non-persons. In Literary Estonian an animate entity (at least text-internally, in the area of demonstrative reference further research is needed) is generally referred to with the pronoun of the third person *tema/ta*, which is different from, for example, Finnish, where the distinctive feature is person — non-person. In Literary Finnish animals and also infants are referred to with the pronoun *se*, “grownups” with the pronoun *hän* (actually the situation is much more complicated in Finnish dialects and spoken language, where the pronouns *tämä*, *se* and *tu* are used for persons as well, see Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 115–121; Seppänen 1995). Also the Estonian pronoun *tema/ta* has in addition to animateness the semantic component of person as countries and organizations are also generally referred to with the

pronoun *tema/ta* (for more detailed discussion and examples see Pajusalu 1995: 86–87).

In Common Estonian one can refer to inanimate physical objects as well as other inanimate entities, which can sometimes be rather abstract, endophorically both with the pronoun *tema/ta* and *see*. In the current spoken language (but also in the literary language, see examples (1) and (4)) the pronoun *ta* is especially common when referring to objects in the neutral position (relatively unstressed, NP in the nominative or genitive is represented by pronouns). The pronoun *see* is used in a stressed position (see EKG II: 208–209 and Pajusalu 1995: 87–90).

(1)²

(Est) Seepärast tuli tervet kompvækki natuke suus hoida, et paber märjaks saaks. Siis oli **teda** [paberit] hõlbus ära võtta ning..

(Fin) Täytyi pistä tötterö hetkeksi suuhun, että paperi kostui. Sitten **sen** [paperin] irrottaminen kävi helposti..

(Russ) ..prishlosj nemnogo poderzhatj funtik vo rtu, poka ne razmjakla bumaga. Posle tshego **ona** [bumaga] legko otstala..

‘Therefore one had to hold the whole candy for a while in one’s mouth, so that the wrapping would become wet. Then it was easy to remove it [the wrapping] and..

The borderline between exophoric and endophoric reference is not always clear. Although the referred entity has got the corresponding expression in the text and it is present in the physical situation, it can be referred to both endophorically and exophorically. In the case of Estonian it explains a few uses of the pronoun *ta*, where the item is in the hands of the speaker (i.e. it would be common to refer to it with the pronoun *see*), but as the item has been mentioned earlier in the text, still the pronoun *ta* would be

² The examples used have been taken from the SCLOMB corpus at the University of Turku, and mostly the Estonian, Finnish and Russian translations of “Rover Rasmus” by Astrid Lindgren were used. Therefore the example sentences are not word for word translations. Examples of Literary Võru come from the book “Võrokõstõ lugõmise raamat” (A Võru Reader).

used to refer to it (about a pullover held by the speaker: *Ta on angoora* 'It's an angora', see Pajusalu 1995: 89).

Tema/ta is, in fact, a pronoun that refers prototypically to a person. If the preceding text contains both animate and inanimate entities, then in Estonian it is possible (but not obligatory) to distinguish them by using *tema/ta* for animate and *see* for inanimate entities.

Also a second-order entity, i.e. a process or an event, can be referred to with the pronoun *tema/ta* if the former has become concrete in some way. It is understandable that a ballet is for a producer as concrete an object as a painting for a painter although the former is, strictly speaking, a time-consuming event (i.e. the second-order entity), the latter, however, being a material object. Generally non-concretized events and situations can be referred to with the pronoun *see* although occasionally the pronoun *ta* may occur there as well.

Third-order entities are referred to in Estonian with the pronoun *see* although in spoken language the use of the pronoun *ta* cannot be ruled out, e.g. *See/ta on tõsi* 'this/it is true'

In South Estonian it is most common to refer to a person with the pronoun of the third person *timä/t(i)ä*. At this the short form *tiä*, which in Võru often occurs in the form *tä* or *ta*, presents some problems. The latter form differs from the demonstrative pronoun *taa* only by vowel length. This is, however, not a reliable distinctive feature in the case of pronouns that are often subject to coarticulation with the previous or the following words. It seems that there are actually two different pronouns: the demonstrative *taa* bears stress in a text and occurs in the attributive position as well (*taa asi* 'this/that thing'). *ta/tä* that has been influenced by the written language does not function as an attribute and always remains unstressed in a sentence, but it may refer similarly to the common Estonian to an inanimate entity (2). At the same time a person in a stressed position is often referred to with *tuu* (*tuu ütlet* 'he/she said') as well.

(2)

(Võru) ..vanõmbide inemiisi mõttõ käve vahtsõ aasta pääl — määne **tä** [aasta] tulõ, kas õnnistas villä ja eläjidega..

‘..the older people were thinking about the new year — which kind of it will be..’

An inanimate entity is in South Estonian referred to in most cases with the pronoun *tuu* (3), which is, in fact, a pronoun of neutral endophoric reference and in this sense corresponds to the pronoun *se* in literary Finnish.

(3)

(Võru) Kott oll üten võetu, **tuu** [kott] oll pää all, maganu **tuu** [koti] pääl.

‘The bag had been taken along, that [bag] was under the head, he/she is said to have slept on that [bag].’

The usage of the Finnish *se* and the South Estonian *tuu* are also similar in that they are often used to refer to a person.

Different shades of meaning can be rendered in South Estonian, however, by using other demonstrative pronouns as well, but it is difficult to find a good system here. The pronoun system of endophoric reference fluctuates, for example, among speakers of the Võru dialect at times to a considerable degree. On the one hand, reliable informants, too, use literary forms in some positions, e.g. in the sentence type *see on X* ‘this is X’, where the pronoun phonetically belongs to the literary language (not *sjoo* but *see*), and it is unlikely that it belongs also semantically to the South Estonian system. The usage of pronouns *sjoo* and *taa* is also different by persons (and dialect areas). The texts that have been written in the Võru literary language contain, for example, also such sentences as *Kiä taad tiid* ‘Who knows it’ where *taa* is used as a neutral endophoric pronoun in an abstract meaning, where *Kiä tuud tiid* would have been perhaps more common. Broadly speaking, one could, however, say that *taa* and *sjoo* are used in the contemporary Võru dialect rather as attributes and pronouns of exophoric reference than for text-internal noun phrase reference.

Pronouns in Russian do not make a distinction between animateness — inanimateness or person — non-person. Each entity of the first degree is referred to with the pronoun of the third person *on/ona/ono*, which originated as a demonstrative pronoun used for remote reference (Vlasto 1986: 127). In any case the referred entity must have a name, i.e. a counterpart, in the preceding or following text that according to Russian grammar is a word of masculine, feminine or neuter gender. The pronoun gets selected depending upon the gender of the referent word (not the referent itself).

(4)

(Russ) S morja podul veter.. Teper **on** [veter — masc.] snova razguljalsja.

(Est) Merelt hakkas puhuma tuul.. Nüüd sai **ta** [tuul] uut hoogu.

(Fin) Tuuli alkoi puhaltaa mereltä.. **Se** [tuuli] kiihtyi.

A wind started to blow from the sea. Now it gathered new strength.

In Russian events and processes are also referred to with the pronoun of the third person. However, it is so only in case the latter has been given a name earlier, i.e. there is a word to which the pronoun corresponds. In case the referent word is absent, a personal pronoun cannot be used because the latter must have some gender. In that case one would use the demonstrative pronouns *eto* and *to*, which can be used as neutral pronouns of endophoric reference also in the cases where grammatical gender is not relevant. Whether the pronoun *eto* or *to* is used is generally dependent on whether reference is anaphoric or cataphoric. In the first case the pronoun *eto* is used and in the second case *to* (e.g. Popov et al.: 224). The category of anaphora/cataphora is generally not important in the pronoun systems of Estonian and Finnish; but sometimes the choice of pronoun depends on syntactic constraints (see below, for example, the pronoun that functions as a correlate word for a dependent clause). Nor is the use of this category absolute in Russian as *to* can both refer to a previously mentioned but a remote object (Popov ff: 224) and function as a correlating

word of a dependent clause that follows a dependent clause (i.e. anaphorically).

(5)

(Russ) Razve tshto-nibud sravnitsja s **tem**, tshto kto-to iz nih obretet svoi dom?

(Est) Miski asi ei saanud võistelda **sellega**, et keegi nende hulgast saab endale kodu.

(Fin) Mikään ei merkinnyt mitään **siihen** verraten, että joku lapsiparvesta saisi oman kodin.

‘Nothing could compete with this that somebody among them will get a home for himself/herself.’

(6)

(Russ) Ja nashel pjat ere.. Ne govori ob **etom** tolko nikomu.

(Est) Ma leidsin viis ööri.., aga ära **седа** kellelegi räägi.

(Fin) Minä löysin viiden äyrin rahan.., mutta älä kerro **siitä** kenellekään.

‘I found five ore/.../, but do not tell anybody about it.’

In Russian an entity of the third degree is usually referred to with the pronoun *eto*, though in spoken language *ono* is also possible: *eto/?ono pravda* ‘it’s true’

The typical modern Estonian usage of *tema/ta*, when referring to an inanimate object, is rather similar to the Russian usage of pronouns. It would be necessary to find out whether in Estonian one has to do with a Russian influence or the internal logic of the language. It is likewise possible that the internal development of Estonian may have resulted in *ta* being (or becoming) a pronoun of general unstressed anaphoric reference. Actually the pronoun *ta* was originally a demonstrative pronoun, its development into the short form of a personal pronoun is a later phenomenon. At the same time the pronoun *see* lacks a short unstressed form although personal pronouns have got it. Modern spoken Estonian seems to use the pronoun *ta* as a short form of the pronoun *see*. The complete picture is, however, made more complicated by the fact that all of a sudden (at least for the author’s linguistic instinct) an

abstract notion may be referred to with the pronoun *tema* as well (see also Pajusalu 1995: 89).

Both spoken Russian and Estonian use accordingly the pronouns *ono* and *ta* in certain abstract expressions that refer to a situation as a whole. In both languages such kind of reference seems to be uncharacteristic of written language (it should be *see* and *eto* respectively). However, I was able to find also one such example in a fictitious dialogue, where Finnish has the expected pronoun *se*.

(7)

(Est) Kui ma oleksin kodunt põgenenud.. nojah, eks **ta** nõnda olegi..

(Russ) Ubezhal li ja iz domu.. da, da tak **ono** i est..

(Fin) Karannut kotoa, minäkö.. aivan oikein, **se** pitää kyllä paikkansa..

'If I had run away from home...well, that's the way it is..

Finnish uses the pronoun *se* for neutral endophoric reference. Also in examples (1 and 4) it was the Finnish *se* that corresponded to the Estonian pronoun *ta* (i.e. neutral endophoric reference). If, however, the context of the dialogue provides some kind of "spatiality" to endophoric reference, then the use of pronouns follows the same logic as in the case of exophoric reference — *tuo* is a "remoter" entity in relation to the speaker (for example, an expression in the speech of the hearer; something that contradicts what was just said etc), *tämä* is more proximate (a stressed expression in one's own text, an utterance that will immediately follow etc) (Larjavaara 1990: 134). Finnish dialects, however, reveal a much more varied picture.

4. Attributive use

In all the languages under discussion only demonstrative pronouns can be used attributively (in Estonian, too, where in other contexts the pronouns *see* and *tema/ta* would alternate at times rather freely), the system of usage corresponding to that of separately

occurring pronouns. Common North Estonian has only one possibility (*see raamat* 'this book'). Common South Estonian and Russian have two possibilities (Est *see raamat* — *too raamat*; Russ *eta kniga* — *ta kniga* 'this book — that book'). Their usage, however, differs. The difference of the Russian *eto* — *to* in an endophoric text is based on the distinction between an anaphora and a cataphora. The pronoun *eto* is used for anaphoric reference (independently of the remoteness of the object), for cataphoric reference the pronoun *to* is used. It has also been pointed out that "to is sometimes used where English might use a definite article, especially when the pronoun is part of the antecedent to a relative clause: *On tshasto govovil v toi holodnoi manere, v kakoi.* 'He often spoke in the cold manner with which'" (Waole 1992: 135). The Võru dialect and Finnish have three possibilities (SEst *sjoo raamat* — *taa raamat* — *tuu raamat*; Fin *tämä kirja* — *se kirja* — *tuo kirja* 'this book — that book').

(8)

[reference is made to a store that is close to the characters and in the center of interest, Finnish uses the proximal pronoun *tämä*]

(Est) Ent **see paradiis** oli lahti ainult nendele, kellel leidus raha.

(Fin) Mutta **tämä paratiisi** oli avoinna vain sille, jolla oli raha.

(Russ)No **etot rai** byl dostupen lish tomu, kto imel dengi.

'But this paradise was open only for those who had money.'

(9)

[reference is made to a curtain that is in the same room with the character but is at a small distance, Finnish uses the distal pronoun *tuo*]

(Est) Aga **selle kardinaga** oli küll midagi imelikku lahti.

(Fin) Mutta **tuossa oviverhossa** oli jotain omituista.

(Russ)No **s etoi portjeroi** proishodilo tshto-to strannoje.

'But something strange had happened to that curtain.'

(10)

[an endophoric reference is made to a woman who is not present, but who has been talked about, Finnish refers with the neutral pronoun of endophoric reference *se*]

(Est) Ma surun **selle plika** nimismehe juures nurka,..

(Fin) Minä panen **sen piian** nimismiehen luona ahtaalle,..

(Russ) U lensmana ja pripru **etu vrunjju** k stene.

'I'll drive this girl into the corner at the parish cop.'

In the present Võru dialect the attributive use of the three possible pronouns is extremely unstable. Similarly to an independent NP *tuu* is statistically most frequent. I found an example passage (11) in the written variety, where all three occur so that they could also be interpreted in accordance with the "textual" location of the referent words. *Seo seletüs* 'this explanation' (d) denotes the closely preceding birth story of Võru people, *taa võrokõisi ja eestläisi saaminõ* 'this origin of Võru people and Estonians' (a) is the just described theme of the story that is being discussed (i.e. close) but cannot be referred to that concretely. *noid* (plural form of *tuu*) *juttõ* 'those stories' (b) is opposed to the preceding story that is referred to with *seo* (i.e. a remote story), *tuu kõik* 'all that' (c) is also relatively more abstract and remoter in time. Nevertheless, it is evident that the contemporary Võru dialect does not use these pronouns endophorically consistently any more, and the following example serves rather as an exception than a rule.

(11)

(Võru) Võrokõsõ omma väega vana rahvas, /explanation/

(a) **Taad** võrokõisi ja eestläisi saamist seletädäs viil

(b,c) mitut muudu, a **noid** juttõ maksa'ai usku.

Tuu kõik oll väega ammu, üle saa põlvõ tagasi ja

(d) kiäki ei mäletä midägi. **Seo** seletüs om Pekka

(e) Sammallahti perrä kirotõt. **Timä** on Soomõn lapi

(f) keele professor ja **timä** tiid..

(Võrokõstõ lugõmise-raamat 1993: 87)

'Võru people are an old tribe. You know there are several ways to explain the origin of Võru people and Estonians, but those stories are not worth believing. It all happened a long time ago, more than a hundred generations ago and nobody can remember anything. This explanation was written by Pekka Sammallahti. He is Professor of the Lapp language and he knows it..'

In the South Estonian common language with its fluctuating idiolects the attributive use of pronouns enables us to distinguish two more subsystems. The less dialect-like usage does use the pronoun *too* exophorically (especially in a situation where more proximate and remoter entities have to be contrasted) but does not use it endophorically. The more dialect-like usage may use the pronoun *too* endophorically as well (e.g. *Too küsimus on meil veel arutamata* 'We haven't discussed that question as yet' where the question has occurred only in the text itself).

It is another problem when an article-like pronoun is used at all. It is common to all the languages under discussion that exophoric attributive pronouns help to make a distinction between the more proximate and remoter objects in space (though the North Estonian common language with its single pronoun has to make use of pronominal adverbs (*see siin* — *see seal* 'this here — this there') or gestures. It would be more difficult to make up a similar rule for endophoric reference. It is clear that NP with a pronominal attribute refers to an entity that is previously known, but a known entity may in certain cases be left without an attribute. It is likely that optionality is one of the most important differences between an article and an article-like pronoun.

5. The pronoun as a correlating word in the dependent clause

In the languages under discussion there are no different possibilities for the correlating word of a dependent clause. Estonian and Finnish use the pronoun *see* (in Finnish *se*, see examples (5) and (12)). The only possibility in Russian is to use the pronoun *to*, thus differently from Estonian and Finnish a remote pronoun is used.

(12)

(Est) ..taolistel puhkudel suudab ainult üks inimene naeru pida — ja nimelt **see**, kes vett kaela saab.

(Fin) ..ei oikeastaan kukaan voi pidättää nauruansa lukun ottamatta yhtä ainoa ihmistä — **sitä**, joka on saanut vesiryöpyn päälleen.

(Russ) ..v takih slutshajah tolko odin-jedinstvennyi tshelovek mozhet uderzhatsja ot smeha, a imenno **tot**, kto prinimajet dush na sebja.

..in such cases there is only one person who can hold back laughter — and namely the one who'll be showered with water.

South Estonian uses the pronoun *tuu* here, thus a neutral endophoric pronoun, which is similar to Estonian and Finnish.

(13)

(Võru) Arvati, et kiä lihahiitepääväl rõõmus om ja liuglõs, **tuu** om rõõmus terve aasta.

'It was thought that he who is merry on Shrove Tuesday and slides will be merry for the whole year.'

6. Conclusion

It is evident that the discussed pronoun systems are much more complicated than this short overview could describe. In the case of Estonian it is clear that people with different dialect backgrounds use pronouns differently. In the present area of Estonian there exist at least three different pronoun systems (*see, see — too* and *sjoo — taa — tuu*), whereas this classification could be further elaborated on. Literary Finnish uses the three-term pronoun system (*tämä — se — tuo*), but it does not to coincide with South Estonian either lexically or as an abstracted semantic system: the neutral endophoric pronoun being in Finnish the middle member of the system *se*; in the South Estonian system, it is, however the remote *tuu*. The pronoun system of Russian that has a totally different genetic background resembles most of all the South Estonian common language (two demonstrative pronouns, use of the pronoun of the third person to refer to a non-person).

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SCLOMB = Studia Comparativa Linguarum Orbis Maris Baltici. Text Corpus at the University of Turku.

Võrokõstõ lugõmisõ-raamat. 1993. Koolibri, Tallinn.

EESTI ÜHISKEELE JA MURRETE PRONOOMENISÜSTEEMID KONTRASTIIVSES PERSPEKTIIVIS

Renate Pajusalu

Käesolev artikkel püüab anda ülevaate eesti, soome ja vene pronoomeni-süsteemide üldistest omadustest.

Läänemeresoome algkeeles arvatakse olnud neli demonstratiivpronoomeni: *tima*, *taa*, *too* ja *se*. Kõik need on säilinud lõunaeesti keeles, kuigi nende tähendus on muutunud. *timä* (lühike vorm *t(i)ä*) on eelkõige 3. isiku pronoomeni. Tõelised demonstratiivpronoomenid on *sjo*, *taa* ja *tuu* (siinne kirjaviis vastab uue võru kirjakeele ühele kasutusviisile). 1995. aasta suvel Vastseliina kihelkonnas tehtud lindistuste põhjal võib järeldada, et demonstratiivse (eksofoorse) viitamise korral osutab *sjo* lähimale entiteedile, mis on sageli kõneleja käes või mida kõneleja puudutab; *taa* on kuulaja käes olev ese või muidu kuulajakeskne entiteet; mõnikord ka lihtsalt kaugem kui *see* ja lähem kui *taa*; *tuu* viitab kaugemale. Tekstisisese (endofoorse) viitamise korral kasutatakse kõige sagedamini pronoomeni *tuu* (näide 3), kuid ka *taa*'d ja *sjo*'d on võimalik kasutada (näide 11). Ka elututele entiteetidele viidates kasutatakse sageli 3. isiku pronoomeni, eelkõige lühikest varianti *tä* (näide 2).

Lõunaeestilise murdetustaga ühiskeeles, mida erineval määral murdelisi elemente kasutades kõneldakse laialt Lõuna-Eestis (muuhulgas ka Tartus), on kaks demonstratiivpronoomeni: *see* ja *too*. Kadunud on seega *taa*, mis puudub ka paljudel keskealistel Võru murde kõnelejalatel. Kuigi täpsemad uurimused esialgu puuduvad, võib oletada, et *see* võib viidata Tartu kõnekeeles kõigele, mida osutatakse, *tood* kasutatakse siis, kui on

vaja vastandada lähemat ja kaugemat. Mida rohkem kasutatakse pronoomenit *too*, seda murdelisemalt kõneleja räägib. Pronoomenit *too* ilmselt ei kasutata põhjaeestilise taustaga ühiskeeles (näiteks Pärnus ja saartel).

Eesti kõnekeelele on omane ka 3. isiku pronoomeni lühikese variandi kasutamine elutule entiteedile viidates (raadiovestluste põhjal tehtud uurimuse tulemusi vt Pajusalu 1995). Vähemal määral esineb seda nähtust ka kirjutatud keeles (vt näited 4 ja 7), kus *ta* sagedus elutule entiteedile viitamisel sõltub ilmselt õigekeelsuse järgimise määrast (üldteada on ju, et *see* viitab elutule, *ta* elavale entiteedile).

Vene keeles on kasutusel kaks demonstratiivpronoomenit: *eto* ja *to*. *eto* viitab eksofoorselt lähedale, aga ka üldse kõigele, mida osutatakse. *to* viitab kaugemale kui opositsioon lähedane — kaugel on situatsioonis relevantne. Endofoorselt viidatakse kõigele, millel tekstis on korrelaatsõna, kolmanda isiku pronoomeniga *on/ona/ono*, valik nende vahel sõltub korrelaatsõna grammatilisest soost (vt näited 1 ja 4). Kui viidatav entiteet on abstraktne ja sellel ei ole tekstis korrelaatsõna (näiteks olukord tervikuna, mingi lause jms), viidatakse demonstratiivpronoomeniga *eto* (või teatud juhtudel ka *to*) (vt näited 5 ja 6). Vene keele ja lõunaeestimõjulise ühiskeele süsteemid on seega üsna sarnased, kas aga tegemist on keeltevahelise mõjuga või keelte sisemise loogika sarnasusega, seda peaks veel täpsustama.

Soome kirjakeeles on kolm demonstratiivpronoomenit: *tämä* viitab kõneleja suhtes lähemale, *too* kaugemale entiteedile; *se* viitab kuulaja lähedale. Üldjoontes vastab see lõunaeesti kolmelisele pronoomenisüsteemile. Suurim erinevus soome kirjakeele ja lõunaeesti keele vahel on tekstisisises viitamises: soome keeles on neutraalne kasutada kuulajakeskset *se*-pronoomenit, lõunaeesti keeles aga kaugeleviitavat *tuud*. Soome murretes ja kõnekeeles on olukord palju komplitseeritum. Soome keele kohta vt näiteid (8, 9 ja 10).

EXPRESSION OF ASPECTUAL MEANINGS IN FINNISH AND ESTONIAN

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1. Introduction

While working on my doctoral thesis dealing with the semantics of temporal adverbs in the late 1970s, I realized how closely the meanings of temporal adverbs are related to the tense and aspect expressed by the sentence. (Cf. Bertinetto — Delfitto 1992: 3–14, Larjavaara 1990: 327–329) There was plenty of research on tense (especially Ikola has analyzed tense in Finnish), but only a few papers on aspect (esp. Kangasmaa-Minn, Heinämäki, Tommola), and the Finnish grammars merely touched aspect briefly. I probably shared the experiences of aspect researchers elsewhere in the world: the participants of the U.C.L.A. Symposium on Tense and Aspect between Semantics and Pragmatics (1979), who “had encountered and been forced to think about this question in isolation; Tense and Aspect were never part of the curricular fare in graduate schools, never figured in panels and symposia at professional meetings and were practically never mentioned in the theoretical literature” (Hopper 1982: 3). The situation improved in the 1980s, however, and when I was writing a descriptive grammar of Finnish (published by Routledge 1992) with a colleague, we already found discussions of aspect in numerous books and papers.

I will here discuss aspect and related phenomena in Finnish and Estonian on the basis of the existing literature. To describe aspectual meanings, I will start from meaning and try to show how the different aspectual semantic contents are expressed in Finnish and Estonian. This approach resembles the “from meaning to form” descriptive principle proposed by Arto Mustajoki for functional syntax (1993). This principle of description focusses on the cases where a single “meaning” can be expressed in many different ways. This method of description takes into account the speaker.

Because the starting-point is the meaning, all the surface level linguistic means are equally important in terms of description: a given semantic content can thus be expressed using morphologic, syntactic, lexical, derivational or even prosodic means. (Mustajoki 1993: 10–15.) It is naturally impossible in functional description to avoid the problem due to the difficulty of defining semantic categories. It should be recognized, however, that the definition of categories only has the instrumental value of dividing the matter at hand into expedient sub-units. I have kept this in mind while categorizing aspectual meanings.

2. Aspect and aktionart

In language, time is implicitly related to verb phrases: the time expressed by a verb can be placed on a time axis and has a certain duration. The latter fact is particularly related to the concept of aspect. Aspect has been defined by Comrie (1976: 3–5) as follows: “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.”; “Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” According to the report of the most recent Finnish Grammar Committee, “aspect refers to the speaker’s viewpoint towards the temporal organization or outcome of the situation” (KOTM 1994: 168). The latest Estonian grammar defines aspect as a relationship between the development of the situation and the viewpoint expressed in a sentence (EKG 1993: 22–24).

A concept closely associated with aspect is aktionsart. Aspect refers to the duration (quantity) of the process expressed by the verb, while aktionsart refers to the quality of this process. Of these two concepts, however, aspect is considered the primary one, because it defines the limits within which aktionsart may vary (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 431). Estonian grammar, in turn, defines aktionsart as implying the typical development and temporal structuring of the activity (EKG 1993: 22–24). Although Comrie (1976: 6–7) calls both duration and aktionsart aspect, he maintains that aspect is a grammaticalisation of the relevant semantic

distinctions, while aktionsart is a lexicalisation of the same distinctions.

Generally, the concepts of aspect and aktionsart have been used in many different ways in the literature (cf. e.g. Bloomfield 1979: 272, Hockett 1965: 237, Lyons 1968: 313–316, Noreen 1904: 608, Dahl 1981: 80, Itkonen 1966: 278, Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 184, 246, Mägiste 1970: 229, Yli-Vakkuri 1987: 190). It has been difficult to make a distinction between these two concepts, and Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 432–433, see also Langacker 1982: 265–304) even maintains that it is easier to represent the difference between aspect and aktionsart by drawing than to describe it in words. Aspect essentially pertains to the development of the process, while aktionsart is related to its quality. Aspect and aktionsart are both part of the semantics of verbs, but aspect is also regulated by syntactic factors. Aktionsart, in turn, is particularly influenced by the meaning of the stem verb. Aktionsart hence refers to aspect, but does not determine it. (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 441)

According to Comrie (1977: 49–50), the following aktionsarten can be identified: durativity, continuativity, iterativity, punctuality, semelfactivity, progressivity and habituality. Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 433) divides the verbs on the basis of aktionsart into durative verbs (expressing a continuous process) and punctual verbs (expressing activity that is terminated as soon as it has been begun). The subcategories of durativity are continuativity, iterativity and frequentativity. In addition to these, she also mentions inchoativity, progressivity and habituality. In agreement with Penttilä (1963: 533–534), Pihlak attributes dynamic, static, terminative, cursive, resultative and irresultative properties to aspect. He also relates to aspect the phases of activity and action: beginning, middle and end. According to him, aspect can also be approached from the viewpoints of repetition, duration and intensity. (Pihlak 1985: 62–63.) The term phase will be used to refer to a situation at any given point of time in its duration. The following aktionsarten are mentioned in the latest Estonian grammar: the basic categories are dynamic/ static quality and durativity/momentarity, while the more restricted categories

include punctuality, iterativity, continuativity, semelfactivity and progressivity (EKG 1993: 22–23).

Aspect was not a major research topic in the earlier Finnish grammars, perhaps due to the fact that aspect was treated as a problem of verb morphology. The 1980s saw a new interest in the aspect of Finnish, and the starting point of research was usually semantics rather than morphology. It has been noted that aspect as a concept is so multifarious that it cannot be reduced to a simple opposition between imperfectivity and perfectivity. The essential thing in aspect, however, is the opposition between an unlimited duration of an activity and a terminated or otherwise limited activity. (Ikola 1964: 93–99, Leino 1991: 172–178, Heinämäki 1994: 207) In Estonian, too, aspect has previously received little attention. It has mostly been studied in connection with the object and sometimes in relation to prefix-like adverbs. (Kont 1963: 38, Rätsep 1957: 72–77, Rajandi — Metslang 1979: 42–43, Tauli 1968: 216–224, Erelt 1985: 13, 17–18, 20, Pihlak 1985: 62–71, EKG 1993: 22–26, Metslang 1994: 18–19, 41–44)

3. Aspectual means in Finnish and Estonian

According to Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn (1984: 83), there exists no such system of aspect markers in the Finno-Ugric languages as there is in the Slavonic and southern European languages, where aspect is expressed by derivational or morphological means. (Dahl 1985: 70–71, 81–82, Tommola 1990: 349) From the typological point of view, the aspect of the Slavonic languages, which is expressed by means of derivation, is a special case. Aspect exists as a grammatical category in several southern European languages, where the past tenses have different forms in the imperfective and perfective aspects. (Dahl 1985: 81–84) Aspect operates at the level of sentence semantics in the Finno-Ugric languages, and the aspect of the verb is to be looked for in the surrounding nouns. Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 434) therefore points out that the recognition of the role of the transitive verb object in determining the aspect was the first real insight in the Finnish aspect discussion. We can say that aspect is not only a property of the

verb in Finnish and Estonian, but rather a property of the whole sentence. It is therefore more correct to speak of the aspect of a sentence than of a verb.

The aspect in Finnish and in Estonian is analyzed on two semantic oppositions. The situation can be viewed from outside as a single whole, with a beginning, a middle, and an end and without a distinction between the various separate phases that make up the situation. This way of viewing is called the perfective aspect (Comrie 1976: 3, KOTM 1994: 168, EKG 1993: 24). The situation can also be viewed from within without a beginning and an end and by attaching essential attention to the internal temporal structure of the situation. This way of viewing is the imperfective aspect (Comrie 1976: 22–24, KOTM 1994: 168, EKG 1993: 24). In the linguistic literature, the terms state, process and event are often used to refer to situation. Process refers to the internal structure of a dynamic situation and implies a dynamic situation viewed imperfectively. Event refers to a dynamic situation as a single complete whole and implies a dynamic situation viewed perfectly.

Despite the fact that aspect in Finnish and Estonian is a semantic category without regular grammatical expressions (Metslang 1994: 18), aspect is expressed partly by grammatical means (nominative~genitive/partitive forms of the object (Rajandi — Metslang 1979, Leino 1991) or of the measure adverbials, the inessive of the *m*-infinitive). It is also expressed partly by certain lexico-grammatical means (prefix-like adverbs in Estonian, derivative suffixes in both languages) and partly by the semantics of the verb.

3.1. Nominal phrases: Case variation

The formal units of perfectivity and imperfectivity in Finnish and Estonian seem to appear most often in the object (= direct object), being based on the variation of the nominative~genitive/partitive in both languages (1). (Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 183–185, EKLÕP 1974: 147–152, EKG 1993: 25–26) Heinämäki (1984: 173, 1994: 211), in agreement with Leino (1991: 136), regards the

partitive case as the basic, unmarked form of the object in Finnish. The same conclusion was made by Tauli (1968: 216) in Estonian. This simplifies the description of case variation. It is also true that the partitive is the more frequent case of the object. (Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 181–182, Hakulinen — Karlsson — Vilkuna 1980: 125–126) The partitive case is also most frequent in expressions involving emotional overtones (Yli-Vakkuri 1987: 203). Traditionally, the nominative~genitive has been regarded as the basic object case. The presence of a nominative~genitive object, however, depends on many different conditions, and it does not hence seem justifiable to consider the nominative and the genitive as the basic cases of the object. (Cf. Tommola 1990: 353)

- (1) Lapsi lukee **kirjaa**.
 child read-3sg book-par
 Laps loeb **raamatut**.
 child read-3sg book-par
 'The child is reading a book'

Lapsi osti **kirjan**.
 child buy-impf-(3sg) book-gen
 Laps ostis **raamatu**.
 child buy-impf-(3sg) book-gen
 'The child bought a book.'

It must also be remembered that the nominative/genitive variation depends on the syntactic properties of the sentence (Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 186–188, EKG 1993: 83–84), and is therefore not an important matter in connection with aspect in either language.

Aspect may sometimes also be marked with the case variation of the subject (2).

- (2) Vieraita saapui.
 guest-pl-par arrive-impf-(3sg)
Külalisi saabus.
 guest-pl-par arrive-impf-(3sg)
 'Guests arrived.'

Vieraat saapuivat.
 guest-pl-(nom) arrive-impf-3pl
Külalised saabusid.
 guest-pl-(nom) arrive-impf-3pl
 'The guests arrived.'

We should remember that the nominative~genitive/partitive variation in connection with measure phrases works in the same ways as in connection with the object.

(3) Juoksin kahta kilometriä.
 run-impf-1sg two-par kilometre-par
 Jooksin **kaht** kilomeetrit.
 run-impf-1sg two-par kilometre-par
 'I was running two kilometres.'

(4) Juoksin **kaksi** kilometriä.
 run-impf-1sg two-(nom) kilometre-par
 Jooksin **kaks** kilomeetrit.
 run-impf-1sg two-(nom) kilometre-par
 'I ran two kilometres.'

One special feature of both Finnish and of Estonian, however, is the nearly regular occurrence of the partitive object in negative sentences. (Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 182, EKG 1993: 51) Sentences with negation are unbounded situation descriptions (see p. 12) and the partitive objects are therefore expected (5). Exceptions to this are some negated questions with expected affirmative answers (6). The problematic relations between negation and aspect have been discussed by several authors, e.g. Thelin (1990: 69).

(5) **En** lukenut **kirjaa**.
 neg-1sg read-2ptc book-par
 Ma **ei** lugenud **raamatut**.
 I neg read-pptc book-par
 'I didn't read the book.'

- (6) **Eikö** oteta **kasvattilapsi**?
 neg-(3sg)-Q take-a adopted child-(nom)
 Kas me **ei** vōtaks **kasulapse**?
 Q we neg take-con adopted child-(gen)
 'Won't we adopt a child?'

The partitive is possible, but not obligatory, with negative implicative words (eg. fi. *tuskin* e. *vaevalt* 'hardly' fi. *turha* e. *tühja* 'needless') (7).

- (7) *Tuskin* *ostan* *sitā/* *sen*.
 hardly buy-1sg it-par/ it-gen
Vaevalt *ma* *seda/ selle* *ostan*.
 hardly I it-par/it-gen buy-1sg
 'I'll hardly buy it.'

Until recently, the interaction between the nominative~genitive object and the adverbial phrase received too little attention. While discussing sentence models, Rätsep (1978: 221–224) mentions three-case objects, which can be used with certain adverbials. A resultative adverbial of this kind, which can be of various forms, gives the whole sentence a resultative meaning and makes it possible to use a three-case object.

Two concepts closely related to case variation:

a. Telicity and atelicity

The telicity and atelicity of situations are different with regard to their internal structure. A situation which has a built-in terminal end point or which can reach such an end is called telic (8). A situation which has no such terminal point or a possibility to reach one is called atelic (9). Dahl (1981: 81–82) calls telicity where the end-point is or is claimed to be actually reached the P property of telicity and telicity where the end-point can be reached the T property. The nominative~genitive/partitive opposition of the

perfective and imperfective aspect is generally also used to indicate telic (8) and atelic (9) forms.

- (8) Mies rakentaa **huvilan/ huvilaa.**
 man build-3sg cottage-gen/ cottage-par
 Mees ehitab **suvila/ suvilat.**
 man build-3sg cottage-gen/ cottage-par
 'The man will build/is building a cottage.'

- (9) Äiti hemmottelee **poikaa.**
 mother pamper-3sg boy-par
 Ema hellitab **poega.**
 mother pamper-3sg son-par
 'The mother pampers the boy.'

According to Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 440), telicity and atelicity depend on the semantics of the governing verb: stative verbs imply atelicity regardless of the case of the object, while an indivisible partitive associated with an action verb implies atelicity or the T property of telicity. A nominative~genitive object of an action verb implies telicity with both the P and the T property.

Intransitive durative verbs do not always have the P property of telicity (10), but only have the T property (11).

- (10) Kävelin **kotiin asti.**
 walk-impf-1sg home-ill as far as
 Kõndisin **koduni.**
 walk-impf-1sg home-ter
 'I walked as far as home.'

- (11) Kävelin **kotiin.**
 walk-impf-1sg home-ill
 Kõndisin **koju.**
 walk-impf-1sg home-ill
 'I walked home.'

b. Boundedness

Leino (1991: 172–178) was the first to introduce the notion of boundedness into the description of Finnish. Boundedness is, according to Heinämäki (1984: 173, 1994: 208), the most important notion in the analysis of aspect in Finnish. The same notion also seems to be important in Estonian (EKG 1993: 24–26).

Heinämäki shows how bounding works in Finnish: the nominative~genitive object only entails the existence of a bound and not any particular result (12). In other words, the nominative~genitive case signals that the situation description is bounded, but it does not indicate what the bound is. (Heinämäki 1984: 173, 1994: 212–217) The bound can therefore be given explicitly, as in the form of an adverbial phrase or an adverb (13), in the previous context or in the conventional situation (14) (for example, *take to some place*). When the bound is not the normal telic end point, it has to be expressed explicitly (15). We can see that the same thing is done in Estonian.

- (12) Tytti kutoi **sukan.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen
 Tytti kudus **suka.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen
 ‘Tytti knit a sock.’
- (13) Tytti kutois **ukan valmiiksi.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen ready-tra
 Tytti kudus **suka valmis.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen ready
 ‘Tytti finished knitting a sock.’
- (14) Tytti vei **sukan.**
 Tytti take-impf-(3sg) sock-gen
 Tytti viis **suka.**
 Tytti take-impf-(3sg) sock-gen
 ‘Tytti took a sock.’

- (15) Tytti kutoi **sukan puoliväliin.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen halfway-ill
 Tytti kudus **suka poolest saadik valmis.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen half-ela as far as ready
 'Tytti knit a sock halfway.'

Apart from being objects, such bounds can also be measure adverbials in the object case (Leino 1991: 194) in sentences containing either a transitive (16) or an intransitive verb, (17) and (18). A temporal measure phrase (16), a distance phrase (17) and a phrase of destination (18) can function as independent bounds.

- (16) Tytti kutoi **tunnin.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) hour-gen
 Tytti kudus **ühe tunni.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) one-gen hour-gen
 'Tytti knit for an hour.'
- (17) Tytti hiihti **kilometrini.**
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) kilometre-gen
 Tytti suusatas **ühe kilomeetri.**
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) one-gen kilometre-gen
 'Tytti skied one kilometre.'
- (18) Tytti juoksi **rantaan asti.**
 Tytti run-impf-(3sg) shore-ill as far as
 Tytti jooksis **rannani.**
 Tytti run-impf-(3sg) shore-ter
 'Tytti ran to the shore.'

As we have seen, the bounds can be also specifications of implied bounds (19). They are called intrinsic or natural bounds (Heinämäki 1994: 218). The choice of the bound in each case depends on the quality of the bound (19) and (20).

- (19) Maija vie **jakkaraa/ jakkaran keittiöön.**
 Maija take-(3sg) stool-par/ stool-gen kitchen-ill
 Maija viib **taburetti/ tabureti kööki.**
 Maija take-3sg stool-par/ stool-gen kitchen-ill
 'Maija is taking a stool into the kitchen.'

- (20) Maija vie jakkaraa (*jakkaran) tunnin
 Maija take(-3sg) stool-par hour-gen
 keittiöön.
 kitchen-ill
 Maija viib tund aega
 Maija take-3sg hour-(nom) time-par
 taburetti (*tabureti) kööki.
 stool-par kitchen-ill
 'Maija takes the stool for an hour into the kitchen.'

The destination *keittiöön/kööki* 'to the kitchen' is an intrinsic bound to the verb *viedä*, which only specifies the bound implied by the nominative~genitive object. It can therefore also occur with a nominative~genitive object (19). But the temporal bound *tunnin/tund aega* 'for an hour' is an independent one and cannot specify the bound indicated by the nominative~genitive object (20).

Lindstedt (1993: 57) divides the bounds into temporal, material and transformative ones. Of these, the concept of material bound links the Slavonic aspect to the object case variation in Estonian and Finnish.

A bounded description does not allow a further bound (21). As pointed out by Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 435), the nominative~genitive case adverbial of measure serves as a criterion of imperfectivity: it cannot be added to expressions already bounded by the object. We can, however, add to a bounded description an adverbial of time (in the inessive in Finnish, in the comitative or inessive in Estonian), which makes the sentence unbounded again (22). After that, it is possible to add a new durative adverbial of measure that makes the description bounded (23). This chain can naturally be continued (Leino 1991: 194, EKG 1993: 84, Metslang 1994: 145, Smith 1993: 57), but everyday language has no particular need for multi-layered descriptions.

- (21) *Tytti kutoi sukan **tunnin**.
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen hour-gen.
 *Tytti kudus suka **ühe tunni**.
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen one-gen hour-gen.
 '*Tytti knit the sock for an hour.'

- (22) Tytti kutoi sukan **päivässä.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen day-ine
 Tytti kudus suka ühe **päevaga.**
 Tytti knit-impf-(3sg) sock-gen one-gen day-com
 ‘Tytti knit a sock in a day.’
- Tytti hiihti tunnin **päivässä.**
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) hour-gen day-ine
 Tytti suusatas ühe tunni **päevas.**
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) one-gen hour-gen day-ine
 ‘Tytti skied for an hour a day.’
- (23) Tytti hiihti **viikon** tunnin päivässä.
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) week-gen hour-gen day-ine
 Tytti suusatas **nädal** **aega** ühe
 Tytti ski-impf-(3sg) week-(nom) time-par one-gen
 tunni päevas.
 hour-gen day-ine
 ‘Tytti skied for an hour a day for a week.’

To sum up:

The aspect of Finnish and Estonian seems to be marked with nominal phrases: the case variation of the object (1) and sometimes of the subject (2), the absence or presence of destination phrases (8) and measure phrases of duration and distance (16) and (17).

3.2. Lexical semantics

Lexical units can contain aspectual features in their semantics. For example, verbs differ in terms of their “time schemata” (Heinämäki 1994: 208). Semantic properties do not make verbs definitely transitive/intransitive or resultative/irresultative, for example. Despite this, it depends on the semantic properties which kind of a verb fits into a sentence describing a situation.

Some verbs describe situations as being punctual (fi. *löytää* e. *leidma* ‘find’), some others as durative (fi. *lukea* e. *lugema* ‘read’),

ingressive (fi. *alkaa* e. *algama* 'begin') or terminative (fi. *lopettaa* e. *lõpetama* 'finish').

Verbs can also be classified as inherently imperfective (such as fi. *valvoa* e. *valvama* 'stay awake', fi. *ihailta* e. *imetlema* 'admire', fi. *kiinnostaa* e. *huvitama* 'interest', fi. *heiluttaa* e. *lehvitama* 'wave'), perfective (fi. *saavuttaa* e. *saavutama* 'achieve', fi. *keksiä* e. *avastama* 'discover', fi. *ottaa* e. *võtma* 'take') or neutral (fi. *lukea* e. *lugema* 'read' fi. *ommella* e. *õmblema* 'sew' fi. *rakentaa* e. *ehitama* 'build') according to their semantic features. (Kangasmaa-Minn 1984: 87–88)

Verbs can be divided into stative and punctual ones (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 435, EKG 1993: 22). Punctual verbs are dynamic verbs of change, while part of the durative verbs are stative verbs of state and some others dynamic verbs of change.

According to Comrie (1976: 4), it should be borne in mind that there is a difference between the objective situations and the ways the speakers choose to describe them. We can, however, say that punctual verbs are used to describe bounded situations which are inherently limited. Therefore, the punctual verbs do generally not allow another (explicit) bound apart from a nominative~genitive object. Durative verbs denoting a durative activity or process allow an explicit bound, eg. a destination or an adverbial of duration or distance.

The variation of the object case depends on the lexical semantics of both the verb and the object. When assessing aspect, the indivisible object word is of crucial significance (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 439). The only possible case of the object is nominative~genitive when a the punctual verbs occurs together with a countable noun. But if the object is a mass noun, the partitive is also possible with a punctual verb, but with a difference in meaning. As objects of other verbs, mass nouns behave more or less in the way countable nouns do. (Heinämäki 1994: 212, 222–223). Many durative verbs have case variation in their objects. Measure adverbials resemble objects with regard to case variation.

Verb taxonomies that involve lexical semantics of verbs, objects and other possible sentence constituents are very interesting. Vendler's classification (1967) into states, activities, accomplishments and achievements is a well-known taxonomy. Some other

classifications of situation types based on Vendler's model have been made by Steedman (1977), Mourelatos (1978), Dowty (1979) and Sulkala (1981).

3.3. Derivation

In many languages, there are derivational processes influence the aspectual properties of the verbs they operate on. "By definition, derivation creates new lexemes: it would appear to follow that if we keep to the distinction between 'Aktionsart' as pertaining to the lexicon and 'aspect' as pertaining to the grammar, any derivationally expressed category would have to be lexical rather than grammatical." (Dahl 1985: 27)

Many semantic properties, e.g. continuity, iterativity and punctuality, can be expressed by a number of verb derivative suffixes and by certain deverbal nouns.

Derivation can change the aspectual property of a non-derived verb. Particularly punctual and iterative derivational suffixes are used. Although part of the derivation is unsystematic and unproductive in both Finnish and Estonian (Leino 1991: 155), derivation can change the verb from being, for example, durative into being punctual and vice versa.

Part of the derivation in Finnish is considered regular and similar to inflection, and such derivation is close to inflectional morphology. The formation of curatives, for example, is quite close to inflection (Kytömäki 1990: 8–9). The crucial criterion in distinguishing between derivatives and inflectional forms is whether the new form is a lexeme. Kytömäki proposed the interesting idea that the more grammatical the role of the derivative suffix is, the less explanation is required for the meaning of the derivative.

According to Kasik (1992: 25–33), there are notably fewer verb derivatives in Estonian than in Finnish: Estonian verb derivation does not have many features that are absent from the Finnish system of verb derivation, while the Finnish system has several features that are lacking from the Estonian system. The most notable differences between the Estonian and Finnish systems of

verb derivation occur in the structure of the derivatives: apart from a few exceptions (*ata*), the verbal derivative suffixes in Estonian are monosyllabic, and a given suffix can only occur once in a word. Finnish, on the other hand, tolerates long combinations of derivative suffixes, and a given suffix (e.g. *u*, *ta*, *tta*) may occur twice or even three times in a word (*kannatuttaa* 'have somebody/something support something'). Estonian has fewer suffix variants and the Estonian suffixes are more transparent than the Finnish ones. For example, the Estonian derivative suffix *u* corresponds to the Finnish suffixes *u*, *y*, *o*, *utu* and *yty*. Nor is it rare in Estonian to have completely different suffixes within a semantic group. Despite this, the two languages have the same basic suffixes, e.g. the frequentative and continuative suffixes *i*, *u*, *le* and *tse* and the punctual suffix *ata*.

4. Aspects

4.1. Perfective aspect

Perfectivity involves a lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation (Comrie 1976: 21). Hence perfective verb-object syntagmas express the situation in its totality (24). A perfective verb "will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded." (Dahl 1985: 78) As it was earlier said, the nominative~genitive object in itself only entails the existence of a bound, as, for example, with the verbs fi. *ostaa* e. *ostma* 'buy', fi. *herättää* e. *äratama* 'wake up', fi. *tilata* e. *tellima* 'order'

- (24) Outi osti **kirjan.**
 Outi buy-impf-(3sg) book-gen
 Outi ostis **raamatu.**
 Outi buy-impf-(3sg) book-gen
 'Outi bought a book.'

According to Hopper (1982: 15), the perfective aspect essentially functions to sequence events in a chronological order. Metslang (1994: 141) mentions the division of the sentences of narrative text into foreground and background sentences. The foreground consists of a chain of events, and the sentences making up the foreground are typically perfective and dynamic with a simple time and information structure.

In Estonian, a nominative~genitive object is not always sufficient to indicate perfectivity, and a prefix-like adverb, such as *ära* 'off, away', *läbi* 'through' *välja* 'out' *maha* 'down' *üles* 'up' is often additionally used (EKLÖP 1974: 46–47, Tommola 1990: 357. EKG 1993: 25) in connection with such verbs as *sööma* 'eat' (~ *ära sööma*), *jooma* 'drink' (~ *ära jooma*), *maksma* 'pay' (~ *ära maksma*), *lugema* 'read' (~ *läbi lugema*).

- (25) Outi luki **kirjan.**
 Outi read-impf-(3sg) book-gen
 Outi luges **raamatu läbi.**
 Outi read-impf-3sg book-gen through
 'Outi read the book.'

The word used as a nominative-genitive object must be quantitatively limited: a thing/object (*book*), a limited group (*boots*), a limited amount of material (*a bottle of milk*), or a word referring to material in a certain form (*a portion of soup*). The context can also be used to limit the material or group (26). (Rajandi — Metslang 1979: 10–33.)

- (26) Juliale ostettiin jäätelöä.
 Juliale osteti jäätist.
 'They bought Julia ice-cream.'
 Hän söi **jäätelön.**
 she eat-impf-(3sg) ice-cream-gen
 Ta söi **jäätise ära.**
 she eat-impf-(3sg) ice-cream-gen off
 'She ate the ice-cream.'

Because the nominative~genitive object does not show the kind of bound it entails, we can specify the bound explicitly (27). In the presence of such bounds, the sentence is given a causative interpretation.

- (27) Outi luki **kirjan** **kappaleiksi.**
 Outi read-impf-(3sg) book-gen piece-pl-tra
 Outi luges **raamatu** **ribadeks.**
 Outi read-impf-(3sg) book-gen strip-pl-tra
 'Outi read the book into pieces.'

Some verbs (eg. fi. *siirtää* e. *viima* 'move' fi. *kaataa* e. *valama* 'pour') require an explicit bound in the same clause (28) or in the preceding context (14) in addition to the nominative~genitive object. (Heinämäki 1984: 161, Rätsep 1978: 221–223)

- (28) Riitta siirsi **pöydän** **kirjastoon.**
 Riitta move-impf-(3sg) table-gen library-ill
 Riitta viis **laua** **raamatukokku.**
 Riitta move-imperf-(3sg) table-gen library-ill
 'Riitta moved the table into the library.'

As we saw, the bounds can be different: a destination (28) or an indication of the beginning a new state (27).

A suitable bound can also be added explicitly to inherently imperfective verbs (verbs of emotion and attitude, e.g. fi. *rakastaa* e. *armastama* 'love', fi. *hemmotella* e. *hellitama* 'pamper' or atelic verbs such as fi. *auttaa* e. *aitama* 'help' fi. *kehua* e. *kiitma* 'praise', fi. *suudella* e. *suudlema* 'kiss'), the object of which is normally in the partitive. These sentences denote situations that do not have a conventional end-point. (29) When the bound is added, the object is in the nominative~genitive and the verb has a causative interpretation.(30)

- (29) Kansa suuteli tsaarin **poskea.**
 people kiss-impf-(3sg) tsar-gen cheek-par
 Rahvas suudles tsaari **põske.**
 people kiss-impf-(3sg) tsar-gen cheek-par
 'People kissed the Tsar's cheek.'

- (30) Kansa suuteli tsaarin **posken** **turvoksiin.**
 people kiss-impf-(3sg) tsar-gen cheek-gen swollen-ill
 Rahvas suudles tsaari **põse** **paiste.**
 people kiss-impf-(3sg) tsar-gen cheek-gen swollen
 'People kissed the Tsar's cheek so that it swelled.

Because a situation cannot be bounded in two mutually contradictory ways (nominative~genitive object + durative adverbial), measure adverbials in the object case (31) do not attach to a perfective syntagma, whereas adverbials of time in the inessive form (*missä ajassa?* 'in what time') in Finnish and in the comitative or inessive form in Estonian (*kui pika ajaga?* 'in what time') may do so (32). (Hakulinen — Karlsson 1979: 210, EKG 1993: 26)

- (31) *Ratkaisen suuren ongelman **tunnin.**
 solve-1sg great-gen problem-gen hour-gen
 *Lahendan suure probleemi **ühe tunni.**
 solve-1sg great-gen problem-gen one-gen hour-gen
 '*I will solve the problem for an hour.

- (32) Ratkaisen ongelman **tunnissa.**
 solve-1sg problem-gen hour-ine
 Lahendan probleemi **ühe tunniga ~**
 solve-1sg problem-gen one-gen hour-com ~
tunni ajaga.
 hour-gen time-com
 'I will solve the problem in an hour.'

An occasional object can also be added to lexically intransitive verbs, if an explicit bound is added. Because this is a non-conventional description, the explicit bound is obligatory and the verb has a causative interpretation. Structures of this kind are untypical, but not rare in Finnish and Estonian.

- (33) Ilkka juoksi **kengän puhki.**
 Ilkka run-impf-(3sg) shoe-gen through
 Ilkka jooksis **kinga katki.**
 Ilkka run-impf-3sg shoe-gen through
 'Ilkka wore a hole in his shoe by running.'

The perfective aspect can also be expressed by an intransitive verb and an adverbial of measure.

- (34) Matti juoksi viisi kilometriä.
 Matti run-impf-(3sg) five-(nom) kilometre-par
 Matti jooksis viis kilomeetrit
 Matti run-impf-(3sg) five-(nom) kilometre-par
 'Matti ran five kilometres.'

This adverbial of measure in the nominative (*kuinka pitkän matkan?* 'how long a journey') defines the measure of the action. Like the nominative~genitive object, it does not attach any attention to the internal time of the action, but expresses the bound of the situation.

Perfective syntagmas do not generally appear in the *m*-infinitive inessive, which expresses process.

- (35) *Olen ostamassa lipun.
 be-1sg buy-3inf-ine ticket-gen
 *Olen pileti ostmas.
 be-1sg ticket-gen buy-minf-ine
 '*I am buying the ticket.'

An *m*-infinitive inessive can, in certain contexts, also express the perfective aspect (36) in Finnish, but not in Estonian (37) (Heinämäki 1994: 229, Metslang 1994: 125).

- (36) Leena oli Oulussa pitämässä luennon.
 Leena be-impf-(3sg) Oulu-ine keep-3inf-ine lecture-gen

- (37) Leena oli Oulus loengut pidamas.
 Leena be-impf-(3sg) Oulu-ine lecture-par keep-minf-ine
 'Leena was in Oulu to give a lecture.'

The interpretation can be perfective even when the object is in the partitive. In these cases the object is a mass noun (38) or a plural form (39).

- (38) Jaakko **sai** Heliltä **jäätelöä**.
 Jaakko get-impf-(3sg) Heli-abl ice-cream-par
 Jaakko **sai** Helilt **jäätist**.
 Jaakko get-impf-(3sg) Heli-abl ice-cream-par
 'Jaakko got ice-cream from Heli.

- (39) **Löysin** vanhoja **kirjoja**.
 find-impf-1sg old-pl-par book-pl-par
Leidsin vanu **raamatuid**.
 find-impf-1sg old-pl-par book-pl-par
 'I found old books.

A prototypical count noun is bounded in physical space in the way a perfective process is bounded in time. True mass nouns contrast with count nouns in these respects. They are not intrinsically bounded and they cannot be pluralized.

4.2. Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect presents the situation with respect to its internal temporal constituency. According to Metslang (1994: 141–142), the background in narrative text typically consists of imperfective sentences, where the verb and its modifiers make up the theme, while the subject is part of the rheme. The relationships between events are vague, and the temporal relations therefore also vary.

The imperfective aspect can be expressed by both the verb-object syntagma (40) and the intransitive verb and a measure adverbial (41) in the partitive indicating measure (*kuinka pitkää matkaa?* 'how long a journey'). The partitive object/measure adverbial does not entail any bound of the situation. (Heinämäki 1984: 174, EKG 1993: 83) Imperfectivity is only visible when the object is quantitatively bounded. In Estonian, partitive measure adverbials are less common than nominative~genitive ones (EKG 1993: 83).

- (40) Outi kirjoitti runoa.
 Outi write-impf-(3sg) poem-par
 Outi kirjutas luuletust.
 Outi write-impf-(3sg) poem-par
 'Outi was writing a poem.'
- (41) Matti juoksi viittä kilometriä.
 Matti run-impf-(3sg) five-par kilometre-par
 Matti jooksis viit kilomeetrit.
 Matti run-impf-(3sg) five-par kilometre-par
 'Matti was running five kilometres.'

An explicit bound, e.g. distance, can be added to sentences indicating an imperfective aspect, but it does not necessarily change the case of the object (42). On the other hand, an explicit bound is added to a perfective sentence, the object is in the nominative-genitive (43). The aspect of the sentence is perfective in both cases. (Lindstedt 1984: 31–33, Leino 1991: 194, EKG 1993: 26, Metslang 1994: 145)

- (42) Taksi kuljetti Petteriä viisi
 taxi go-D-impf-(3sg) Petteri-par five-(nom)
 kilometriä.
 kilometre-par
 Takso sõidutas Peetrit viis
 taxi drive-D-impf-(3sg) Peeter-par five-(nom)
 kilomeetrit.
 kilometre-par
 'The taxi took Petteri/Peeter five kilometres.'
- (43) Taksi kuljetti Petterin viisi
 taxi go-D-impf-(3sg) Petteri-gen five-(nom)
 kilometriä Oulusta etelään.
 kilometre-par Oulu-ela south-ill
 Takso sõidutas Peetri viis
 taxi drive-D-impf-(3sg) Peeter-gen five-(nom)
 kilomeetrit Oulust lõuna poole.
 kilometre-par Oulu-ela south-gen direction-all
 'The taxi took Petteri/Peeter five kilometres south of Oulu.'
 (See Heinämäki 1984: 163.)

It must be remembered that the inherent aspect of the verb may render the occurrence of a nominative~genitive or partitive object impossible (Kangasmaa-Minn 1984: 84–85). Sometimes, however, the case can be changed by means of adverbials: for example, verbs of cognition and perception whose object is normally in the nominative~genitive (44) may occasionally also take a partitive object in Finnish (45) and (46), while in Estonian they are always in the partitive (47). (Leino 1991: 159–160, Heinämäki 1994: 220, Koponen 1985: 35, EKG 1993: 49–50)

- (44) Tunnen **pojan**. Muistan **pojan**.
 know-1sg boy-gen remember-1sg boy-gen
 'I know the boy.' 'I remember the boy.'
- (45) Tunnen **poikaa** vain **vähän**.
 know-1sg boy-par only (little)
 'I know the boy only slightly.'
- (46) Muistan **poikaa** **pienellä** **lahjalla**.
 remember-1sg boy-par small-ade present-ade
 'I'll remember the boy with a small present.'
- (47) Ma tunnen seda **poissi**.
 I know-1sg it-par boy-par
 'I know that boy.'

Smith (1993: 71) discusses the flexibility of situation types in the framework of a two-component theory of aspect. She points out how, in the context of a certain form, verb constellations receive shifted interpretations. Such shifts occur in the context of adverbials and aspectual viewpoints, for example.

Leino (1991: 164) points out that verbs expressing feeling represent atelic activity rather than a state. A nominative~genitive object and an adverbial make the verb a telic and concretely active action verb.

According to Koponen (1985: 30–31), Estonian usually has a partitive form when the object is in a state (*hoidma* 'hold, care', *säilitama* 'keep', *kaitsma* 'defend', *kandma* 'carry') or undergoes

something that is neither motion, nor change (*kahistama* 'rustle', *kiigutama* 'rock', *kõditama* 'tickle').

Naturally perfective verbs (eg. fi. *löytää* e. *leidma* 'find', fi. *keksiä/löytää* e. *avastama* 'discover', fi. *kuolla* e. *surema* 'die') can also be used as imperfective ones. For example, one can reply as follows to a question *what is the child doing or where is the child now* (48):

- (48) Lapsi on löytämässä uutta maailmaa.
 child be-(3sg) discover-3inf-ine new-par world-par
 Laps on avastamas/ avastab
 child be-(3sg) discover-minf-ine/ discover-3sg
uut maailma.
 new-par world-par
 'The child is discovering a new world.'

The *m*-infinitive inessive can be used in imperfective sentences. (Cf. perfective sentences.)

- (49) Erkki on lippua ostamassa.
 Erkki be-1sg ticket-par buy-3inf-ine
 Erkki on piletit ostmas.
 Erkki be-1sg ticket-par buy-minf-ine
 'Erkki is buying a ticket.'

The duration of the situation (the bound) can be expressed by a measure adverbial in the nominative~genitive case which is placed in an imperfective sentence (50). The aspect then becomes perfective.

- (50) Luen tunteraisen kirjaa.
 read-1sg hour-D-gen book-par
 Loen tunnikesee raamatut.
 read-1sg hour-D-gen book-par
 'I will read a book for an about hour.'

5. Aktionsarten

5.1. Associated with imperfective aspect

5.1.1. Durativity

Durativity, which indicates a situation that is viewed as necessarily lasting for a certain length of time, is generally expressed by imperfective verbs. The opposite of durativity is punctuality (Comrie 1976: 41–42, Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 433). According to Heinämäki (1994: 209), the durative group is not homogeneous, but contains different subgroups: states, activities and processes. What they have in common is that they may also have a non-bounded situation description. Some verb affixes can also indicate a durative aspect, e.g. ones with the suffixes *i* (*vieriä* ‘roll’ *rehkiä* ‘toil’), *O* (*uskoa* ‘believe’ *katsoa* ‘look’), *ele/ile* (*oleilla* ‘spend time’ *elellä* ‘live’), *skele* (*oleskella* ‘stay’, *seisokella* ‘stand’). (Hakulinen 1968: 213, 215, 219, 226)

- (51) Jaakko seisoskelee tiellä.
 Jaakko stand-D-3sg way-ade
 Jaakko seisab teel.
 Jaakko stand-3sg way-ade
 ‘Jaakko is standing on the road.

5.1.2. Habituality

According to Comrie (1976: 24–28), there are many languages where imperfectivity is subdivided into a number of distinct categories, which correspond to part of the meaning of imperfectivity. Habituality is one such category. A feature common to all habituals is that they describe a situation which extends over a relatively long period. The situation referred to is not viewed as an incidental property of the moment but as a characteristic feature of the whole period. If we regard a situation as a characteristic one, we can use habitual forms to describe it. The decision of what a situation is characteristic of is, however, in itself conceptual, rather than linguistic.

Habituality is intrinsically associated to the imperfective aspect. There are no actual markers of habituality in Finnish or Estonian.

Almost any situation can be expressed as habitual, and habituality is therefore combinable with other aktionsarten, especially with prolongation and iterativity. Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 433) does not consider habituality an aktionsart of its own, because it is related to both continuity and iterativity. According to her, habituality expresses the quality of the situation.

The ordinary present tense (52) or the imperfect tense form (53) in an imperfective clause can express habitual aspect. Even a partitive object, when it expresses a "plurality of events" may give rise to a habitual interpretation (54).

- (52) **Pelaan** tennistä. **Soitan** pianoa.
 play-1sg tennis-par play-1sg piano-par
Mängin tennist. **Mängin** klaverit.
 play-1sg tennis-par play-1sg piano-par
 'I play tennis. I play the piano.'

- (53) Ennen **pelasin** tennistä.
 before play-impf-1sg tennis-par
 Varem ma **mängisin** tennist.
 before I play-impf-1sg tennis-par
 'I used to play tennis.'

- (54) Helle lukee **sanomalehtiä**.
 Helle read-3sg newspaper-pl-par
 Helle loeb **ajalehti**.
 Helle read-3sg newspaper-pl-par
 'Helle reads newspapers.'

The lexical expression (fi. *jollakin on/oli tapana*, e. *on kombeks, tavatseb* 'is/was in the habit of') is often used for this purpose.

- (55) **Matilla** **on/** **oli** **tapana**
 Matti-ade be-3sg/ be-impf-(3sg) habit-ess
 ampua hirviä.
 shoot-1inf elk-pl-par
Matil **on/** **oli** **kombeks**
 Matti-ade be-3sg/ be-impf-(3sg) habit-tra
 pötru lasta.
 elk-pl-par shoot-inf
 'Matti is/was in the habit of shooting elk.'

Habituality is also indicated by the verbs *fi. käydä* e. *käima* used together with an adverbial of place or an *m*-infinitive inessive.

- (56) **Lapsi käy** **päiväkodissa/** **uimassa.**
 child go-(3sg) day-care centre-ine/ swim-3inf-ine
Laps käib **lasteaias/** **ujumas.**
 child go-3sg kindergarten-ine/ swim-minf-ine
 'The child goes to the day-care centre/to swim.'

In colloquial speech, even *fi. tykkää* 'like' and *e. armastama* 'love', seem to express habituality.

- (57) **Liisa tykkää** **katsoa** **televisiota.**
 Liisa like-(3sg) watch-1inf TV-par
Liisa armastab **televiisorit** **vaadata.**
 Liisa love-3sg TV-par watch-1inf
 'Liisa likes watching the TV.'

Habituality may also involve iterativity. By combining habituality with other aspectual properties, we can then specify each individual occurrence of the situations which together make up the situation expressed by the habituals. Temporal adverbials expressing repetition and frequency also indicate habituality (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 433, Bertinetto — Delfitto 1992: 5). The event in itself may be imperfective (58) or perfective (59). Iterativity brings about an imperfective double predication even in the latter sentence.

- (58) Siivoan huonetta **lauantaisin**.
 clean-1sg room-par saturday-D
 Koristan tuba **laupäeviti**.
 clean-1sg room-par saturday-D
 'I clean the room on Saturdays.'
- (59) Siivoan **joka lauantai** huoneen.
 clean-1sg each saturday-(nom) room-gen
 Koristan **igal laupäeval** toa ära.
 clean-1sg each-ade saturday-ade room-gen off
 'I clean the room every Saturday.'

Verbs indicating habituality can be formed in Finnish, but not in Estonian, by means of the derivative affix *ele/ile*.

- (60) Pekka autoilee ja Ilkka keräilee
 Pekka car-D-3sg and Ilkka collect-D-3sg
 postimerkkejä.
 post-mark-pl-par
 'Pekka often drives and Ilkka collects stamps.'

5.1.3. Continuity

Continuity is a characteristic feature of a dynamic situation and naturally implies an imperfective aspect. Continuity is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality (Comrie 1976: 33). The present tense and perfect forms of imperfective sentences in themselves express a continuous, non-habitual aspect.

- (61) Outi **vihaa** miestään.
 Outi hate-(3sg) man-par-3pos
 Outi **vihkab** oma meest.
 Outi hate-3sg own-par man-par
 'Outi hates her husband.'

- (62) Outi **on** **vihannut** häntä jo pitkään.
 Outi be-(3sg) hate-2ptc s/he-par already long-ill
 Outi **on** teda juba kaua **vihanud**.
 Outi be-(3sg) s/he-par already long hate-ptc
 'Outi has already hated him for a long time.'

Continuative verbs can also be formed by derivative affixes: in Finnish *elefile* (*katsella* 'look' *lepäillä* 'rest'), *skele*, *skentele* (*istuskella* 'sit about', *syöskennellä* 'eat'), *elehti* (*ajelehtia* 'drift'), *i*, *O* (*vieriä* 'roll', *seisoa* 'stand'), *ksi* (*istuksia* 'sit about' *piileksiä* 'hide'), *ise* (*helistä* 'jingle' *supista* 'whisper') and *U* (*jatkua* 'continue', *tuntua* 'feel') (Hakulinen 1968: 213–216, 218, 222) (63) and in Estonian *ne* (*tühjenema* 'empty', *mädanema* 'rot'), *tse* (*plaanitsema* 'plan' *tegutsema* 'work'), *uta* (*näägutama* 'criticize'), *nda* (*tolgendama* 'loiter'), *rda* (*kohmerdama* 'dawdle'), *lda* (*ihaldama* 'desire') and *ise* (*kohisema* 'roar', *nagisema* 'creak') (Tauli 1973: 147, 150, 156) (64).

Most of the verbs with the *u* suffix in modern Finnish have a continuative-iterative meaning (Kulonen-Korhonen 1985: 295), and most of them are expressive verbs of sound or motion (Räisänen 1988: 28–30).

- (63) Katselen kirjaa ja syöskentelen omenaa.
 look-D-1sg book-par and eat-D-1sg apple-par
 'I'm leafing through a book and eating an apple.'
- (64) Peeter plaanitseb firmat asutada.
 Peeter plan-D-3sg firm-par set-up-inf
 'Peter is planning to set up a firm.'
 Kosk kohiseb.
 rapidsroar-3sg
 'The rapids roar.'

Continuativity can also be expressed in Finnish by the stem reduplication construction, in which a finite verb is followed by its own fourth infinitive partitive with a possessive suffix.

- (65) Marja **juoksi** **juoksemistaan**.
 Marja run-impf-(3sg) run-4inf-par-3pos
 'Marja ran and ran.'

A construction of two descriptive verbs (in Finnish the first infinitive/in Estonian the *da*-infinitive + a finite verb) may also express continuativity.

- (66) Sisko **nauraa** **kihersi**.
 Sisko laugh-1inf giggle-impf-(3sg)
 Sisko **kihistas** **naerda**.
 Sisko giggle-impf-(3sg) laugh-inf
 'Sisko laughed giggling.'

Continuativity is naturally also expressed by various time adverbials of duration.

- (67) Tilanne **aina** paranee.
 situation always improve-3sg
 Olukord **aina** paraneb.
 Situation always improve-3sg
 'The situation always improves.'

5.1.4. Progressivity

Progressivity is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality (Comrie 1976: 33). A distinction should be made between progressivity and durativity, because the former does certainly not emphasize the duration of time. Taking examples of many languages, we find that verbs tend to divide into two classes: those that can indicate progressivity and those that generally can not. We also find that the progressive refers to a temporary state, whereas non-progressive forms imply a more or less permanent state of affairs. In his typological studies, Dahl (1985: 90–95) also analyzed the occurrence of progressive in 64 languages. According to him, the prototype progressive is the expression of ongoing activity, which essentially represents a relationship between a dynamic situation and a moment in time.

According to Metslang (1994: 263–266), the Finnish and Estonian progressives correspond to the general prototype of the progressive. Progressive structures belong to the taxis of si-

multaneity (Metslang 1994: 242–243). Metslang indicates the factors that are favourable for the progressive in Estonian (perfective verbs, verbs of gradual change, unmarked members of the verbal categories, sentences with a rhematic subject, sentences denoting a temporal frame of events, etc.). She also points out that the Finnish progressive has developed somewhat further: it does not keep to the background of the sentence and the text like the Estonian progressive. The Finnish progressive is used more regularly in sentences that express an agentive atelic activity. (Cf. Heinämäki 1980: 383–387, Tommola 1995: 32)

The present tense forms of imperfective verbs can in themselves express the progressive aspect in both languages.

- (68) Poika **juoksee**.
 boy run-3sg
 Poiss **jookseb**.
 boy run-3sg
 ‘The boy is running.’

A construction indicating progressiveness can be formed out of the verb *olla* and the *m*-infinitive inessive of the main verb (69). The content of the construction may also be related to another verb process or situation (Kangasmaa-Minn 1978 : 288), with a *when* sentence, for example.

- (69) Liitto **on hajoamassa**.
 union be-3sg fall-apart-3inf-ine
 Liit **on lagunemas**.
 union be-3sg fall-apart-minf-ine
 ‘The union is falling apart.’

In Finnish the progressive also carries an implication of intention or purpose, because the *m*-infinitive expresses an action that the agent is performing at the moment or has purposely started (70). In this way, the end of the activity is also postponed further into the future. In Estonian, however, the inessive form of *m*-infinitive is not considered progressive when it has an agent (cf.

Tommola forthcoming: 32), but is rather taken to express locality (Erelt 1985: 18, Tommola 1992a: 15–16) (71).

(70) Hannu **on** merellä verkkoja **kokemassa**.
 Hannu be-(3sg) sea-ade net-pl-par test-3inf-ine
 ‘Hannu has gone to the sea to empty the nets.’

(71) Hannu **on** merel võrke **vaatamas**.
 Hannu be-(3sg) sea-ade net-pl-par look-minf-ine
 ‘Hannu has gone to the sea to empty the nets.’

Even when expressing locality, *olla* + *m*-infinitive represents the imperfective aspect (Heinämäki 1980: 387), although the imperfectivity is rather due to the inessive form than the verb.

Progressivity is emerging in Estonian, although the genuine progressive meaning is only used in limited cases. Estonian, however, frequently uses the *m*-infinitive inessive to express imminence. Finnish uses the *m*-infinitive inessive much more frequently, even in a genuinely progressive sense. The real progressive in Estonian is marked: the new form is spreading into the unmarked areas of other grammatical categories. The Finnish progressive is not so marked stylistically and it combines with the marked members of the verb category. (Metslang 1994: 135–136)

The progressive aspect can also be expressed by the verb *olla* + adverbial noun. (Tommola 1992a: 16) The constructions may, however, differ from each other in such a way that the Finnish *olla* + adverbial noun corresponds to the Estonian *m*-infinitive inessive form (72), while the Estonian *olla* + adverbial noun corresponds to the Finnish *olla* + *m*-infinitive inessive (73). The construction may be either active (72) or passive in meaning (74).

(72) Olen **menossa** kauppaan.
 be-1sg go-D-ine shop-ill
 Olen poodi **minemas**.
 be-1sg shop-ill go-minf-ine
 ‘I am going to the shop.’

- (73) Lääkäri on **päivystämässä.**
 doctor be-(3sg) duty-3inf-ine
 Arst on **valves.**
 doctor be-(3sg) duty-ine
 'The doctor is doing emergency duty.'
- (74) Auto on **ajossa.**
 car be-3sg drive-D-ine
 Auto on **sõidus.**
 car be-3sg drive-D-ine
 'The car is away for a job.'

If an adverbial indicating the moment of speaking (e.g. fi. *juuri* e. *just* 'just', fi. *parhailaan* e. *parajasti*, *praegu* 'this very moment' fi. *nyt* e. *nüüd* 'now') is added to a perfective verb, the aspect changes to being progressive (imperfective).

- (75) Juna saapuu **parhailaan** raiteelle kaksi.
 train arrive-3sg (good-sup)-ade-3pos (platform)-all two
 Rong saabub **parajasti** teisele teele.
 train arrive-3sg now second-all way-all
 'The train is just arriving at platform two.'

5.1.5. Iterativity

Iterativity refers to a situation that is repeated. Iterative sentences are imperfective, because they emphasize the event or process itself.

The repetition of a situation can be expressed by deriving (imperfective) frequentative verbs, mainly with the Finnish affixes *ele/ile* (*hypellä* 'jump around', *muistella* 'remember', *arvella* 'guess'), *ntele*, *skele*, *skentele* (*juoksennella* 'run around', *ammuskella* 'shoot' *elehti* (*hyppelehtiä* 'jump about') (Hakulinen 1968: 213, 218–219, 226) and the Estonian affixes *le* (*hüplema* 'skip', *ekslema* 'wander'), *skle* (*mõtisklema* 'ponder') *dle* (*maadlema* 'wrestle'), *tle* (*loetlema* 'enumerate'), *ki~gi* (*määgima* 'bleat'

ähkima 'grunt'), *u* (*välkuma* 'glitter') and *i* (*lökkima* 'thread' *torkima* 'prick'). (Tauli 1973: 148–149, 164–167)

Frequentative verbs are all derived verbs, and their derivative suffixes are highly productive. Frequentative suffixes are generally attached to punctual verbs (e.g. fi. *hypätä* e. *hüppama* 'jump'), which are thereby made durative (eg. fi. *hypellä* e. *hüplema* 'skip'). There are hardly many frequentative stem verbs available for further derivation. (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 441).

(76) Aulin koira hyppelee iloisesti.
 Auli-gen dog jump-D-3sg cheerful-D
 Auli koer hüpleb rõõmsalt.
 Auli-gen dog jump-D-3sg cheerful-D
 'Auli's dog is jumping around cheerfully.'

(77) Südames torkis.
 heart-ine prick-impf-(3sg)
 'My heart hurts.'

Bounding implies replicability, hence the iterative aspect for perfective processes. An imperfective process does not take an iterative aspect, because it is unbounded.

Also, when the object of a clause indicating semelfactive action (78) is changed into the partitive, the action becomes (durative >) iterative (79). Depending on the content, a sentence with a partitive object may also be continuative.

(78) Heikki heittää punaisen pallon seinään.
 Heikki throw-3sg red-gen ball-gen wall-ill
 Heikki viskab punase palli vastu seinä.
 Heikki throw-3sg red-gen ball-gen against wall-gen
 'Heikki throws a red ball at the wall.'

(79) Heikki heittää punaista palloa seinään.
 Heikki throw-3sg red-par ball-par wall-ill
 Heikki viskab punast palli vastu seinä.
 Heikki throw-3sg red-par ball-par against wall-gen
 'Heikki is throwing a red ball at the wall.'

The repetition of a situation can also be expressed with frequency adverbials (e.g. fi. *usein* e. *tihti* 'often' fi. *ajoittain* e. *aeg-ajalt* 'occasionally', fi. *iltais* e. *õhtuti* 'in the evenings', fi. *kaksi kertaa* e. *kaks korda* 'twice' fi. *monta kertaa* e. *mitu korda* 'many times' (EKG 1993: 85)

- (80) **Iltais** paistamme pannukakkuja.
 evening-D bake-1pl pancake-pl-par
Õhtuti küpsetame pannkooke.
 evening-D bake-1pl pancake-pl-par
 'In the evening we often make pancakes.'

Such adverbials of frequency make the aspect imperfective.

- (81) Luen kirjaa tunnin **joka päivä**.
 read-1sg book-par hour-gen every day-(nom)
 Loen **iga päev** tund aega raamatut.
 read-1sg every day-(nom) hour-(nom) time-par book-par
 'I read a book for an hour every day.'

Object case adverbials which have the word *kerta/kord* as one component may be placed in either an imperfective (82) or a perfective (83) sentence, but the result is a perfective sentence in each case.

- (82) Luin kirjaa **kaksi kertaa**.
 read-impf-1sg book-par two-(nom) time-par
 Lugesin raamatut **kaks korda**.
 read-impf-1sg book-par two-(nom) time-par
 'I read a book twice.'

- (83) Luin kirjan **kaksi kertaa**.
 read-impf-1sg book-gen two-(nom) time-par
 Lugesin raamatu **kaks korda läbi**.
 read-impf-1sg book-gen two-(nom) time-par through
 'I read the book twice.'

When adverbials of duration are used in connection with short events, the interpretation is iterative.

- (84) Petteri täytti **kolmekymmentä vuotta**
 Petteri fill-impf-(3sg) thirty-(nom) year-par
 ikävystyttäviä dokumentteja.
 boring-pl-par document-pl-par
 Peeter täitis **kolmkümmend aastat**
 Peeter fill-impf-(3sg) thirty-(nom) year-par
 tüütuid dokumente.
 boring-pl-par document-pl-par
 'Petteri/Peter filled in boring documents for thirty years.'

Some degree of iterativity is also expressed by punctual achievement verbs occurring with a plural partitive subject, such as fi. *saapua* e. *saabuma* 'arrive' (85). This sentence expresses a description of a series of arrivals (Heinämäki 1994: 228).

- (85) Vieraita **saapui** (tunnin).
 guest-pl-par arrive-impf-(3sg) (hour-gen)
 (Tund aega) **saabus** külalisi.
 (hour-(nom) time-par) arrive-impf-(3sg) guest-pl-par
 'Guests arrived (for an hour).'

An iterative and imperfective interpretation is made when a punctual verb has an indivisible partitive object.

- (86) Matti löi suurta naulaa seinään.
 Matti hit-impf-(3sg) big-par nail-par wall-ill
 Matti löi suurt naela seinä.
 Matti hit-impf-(3sg) big-par nail-par wall-ill
 'Matti was hitting a big nail into the wall.'

Action verbs, such as fi. *tikittää* 'tick', fi. *koputtaa* e. *koputama* 'knock' fi. *haukkua* e. *haukuma* 'bark' inherently express regular, continuous repetition.

5.2. Associated with perfective aspect

5.2.1. Punctuality

Punctual events are thought to take place instantaneously and a punctual situation hence does not have any duration or any internal structure. Strictly speaking, there are no special means for indicating the punctuality in Finnish or Estonian, if a situation is viewed as incapable of being analyzed temporarily and if it does not have any duration at all. Some instantaneous derivatives could be said to be regarded as punctual, e. g. fi. *kopauttaa* 'give a knock' e. *praksatama* 'crack' The primary interpretation of several change verbs is punctual, e.g. fi. *kuolla* e. *surema* 'die' fi. *hävitä* e. *kaduma* 'disappear'

I have used here the terms punctuality and punctual in a wider sense to include even momentarity, although the most recent Estonian grammar, for example, considers punctuality a more restricted concept than momentarity.

Punctual situations automatically involve a change of state and are therefore dynamic. Punctuality is inherently bounded, and sentences expressing a punctual event are inherently perfective, bounded descriptions of situations. This is why punctual verbs do not allow a further bound (Heinämäki 1994: 208).

Punctual verbs are often intransitive (87), but when they express semelfactive activity, they may also be transitive (88). The nominative~genitive case of the indivisible object of a transitive sentence generally does not have any grammatical significance, for the case of the object only confirms the aspect instead of determining it (88). (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 437)

(87) Juna **pysähtyi**.

train stop-impf-(3sg)

Rong **peatus**.

train stop-impf-(3sg)

'The train stopped'

- (88) Matti kaatoi **puun.**
 Matti cut-impf-(3sg) tree-gen
 Matti langetas **puu.**
 Matti cut-impf-(3sg) tree-(gen)
 'Matti cut down a tree.'

Punctuality is closely related to semelfactivity. The Finnish derivative suffixes *Ahta* and *Aise* and the Estonian *ata*, for example, which are used to make durative verbs punctual, often also make the verb semelfactive. *Ahta* is generally added to an intransitive verb (89) and *Aise* to a transitive verb (90). Many of the continuative verbs have parallel punctual derivatives (fi. *istua* 'sit' ~ *istahtaa* 'sit down for a moment', *ampua* 'shoot' ~ *ampaista* 'dash off') (Räisänen 1988: 27). Estonian lacks the *Aise* suffix.

- (89) Koira vingahti.
 dog squeal-impf-(3sg)
 Koer vingatas.
 dog squeal-impf-(3sg)
 'The dog gave a squeal.'
- (90) Minna nykäisi narusta.
 Minna tug-impf-(3sg) rope-ela
 Minna tõmbas nööriist.
 Minna tug-impf-(3sg) rope-ela
 'Minna tugged at the rope.'

The *Ahta* and *Aise* suffixes are generally not attached to punctual or stative verbs. The *Ahta* suffix is used of an involuntary non-agentive event and the *Aise* suffix of voluntary action. The *Aise* suffix does not, however, always make the verb punctual, though it makes the expression bounded. For example, *lukaista* 'skim through a text' refers to a relatively fast and superficial reading.

5.2.2. Semelfactivity

Semelfactivity refers to a situation that takes place once and only once. Verbs indicating a perfective aspect and a semelfactive event can be derived from imperfective verbs by the Finnish instantaneous affixes *Aise* (*lukaista* 'skim through' *pesaista* 'wash' *syikäistä* 'spit'), *Ahta* (*haukahtaa* 'yelp', *liikahtaa* 'make a move', *yskähtää* 'give a cough') and *A(hd)UttA* (*heilauttaa* 'swing') (Hakulinen 1968: 212, 223–224) and the Estonian affixes *ata* (*välगतama* 'flash' *naeratama* 'laugh', *haugatama* 'yelp'), *ahta* (*hirnahtama* 'neigh' *värahtama* 'quiver') and *a* (*torkama* 'prick', *krahmama* 'grasp') (Tauli 1973: 145–148).

- (91) Bengt yskähti/ yskäisi.
 Bengt cough-D-impf-(3sg)/ cough-D-impf-(3sg)
 Bengt köhatas.
 Bengt cough-D-impf-(3sg)
 'Bengt gave a cough/coughed.'

- (92) Sydämeen pisti.
 heart-ill prick-impf-(3sg)
 Südames torkas.
 heart-ine prick-impf-(3sg)
 'I felt a twinge in my heart.'

A single occurrence of a situation can also be expressed by the adverb *fi. kerran e. korra, korraks* 'once'

5.2.3. Ingressivity

Ingressivity is closely related to punctuality. Not only activity, but also a state may have a beginning and an end, e.g. *fi. liikahtaa* 'make a move', *fi. seisahtaa e. seisahtada* 'stop moving' Therefore, even the beginning and the end of a state are dynamic and perfective. If an adverbial which includes the semantic feature +POSTERIOR is added to an imperfective (state, activity or action) sentence (Sulkala 1981: 180), the aspect of the sentence

changes to ingressive in Finnish (93) and (94). This type is rare in Estonian, because Estonian usually uses an auxiliary beginning verb to indicate both the beginning of an activity and its continuation (96).

- (93) **Ennen pitkää** sataa.
 before long-par rain-3sg
Kohe sajab.
 soon rain-3sg
 'It will rain before long.'
- (94) **Sitten** Jukka-Pekka juoksi.
 (then) Jukka-Pekka run-impf-(3sg)
Siis Jukka-Pekka jooksis.
 (then) Jukka-Pekka run-impf-(3sg)
 'Then Jukka-Pekka ran.'
- (95) Hän uskoi **heti** kertomukseni.
 s/he believe-impf-(3sg) immediately story-1 pos
 Ta uskusi **kohe** mu juttu.
 s/he believe-impf-(3sg) immediately I-gen story-par
 'S/he believed my story immediately.'
- (96) Ta **jäi** **kohe** mu juttu
 s/he stay-impf-(3sg) immediately I-gen story-par
 uskuma.
 believe-minf
 'S/he believed my story immediately.'

If verbs of cognition and perception have nominative~genitive objects in Finnish, they can have an ingressive interpretation.

- (97) Muistin **sen** pian.
 remember-impf-1sg it-gen soon
 'I remembered it soon.'

The periphrastic *alkaa* 'begin' + *linf*, *ruveta* 'start' *herjetä* 'give up', *puhjeta* 'break out', *jäädä* 'stay', *tulla* (futuurisena) 'will' etc. + *m*-infinitive illative in Finnish and *hakkama* 'start', *asuma* 'be located', *minema* 'go', *tulema* 'come', *jääma* 'stay',

etc. + *ma*-infinitive in Estonian express the beginning of a new situation.

- (98) Nyt **alkaa** sataa/ **rupeaa** satamaan.
 now begin-3sg rain-1inf/ start-3sg rain-3inf-ill
 Nüüd **hakkab** sadama.
 now begin-3sg rain-minf
 'Now it is starting to rain.'

- (99) Pojat **alkoivat** riidellä.
 boy-pl begin-impf-3pl quarrel-1inf
 Poisid **läksid** kaklema.
 boy-pl go-impf-3pl quarrel-minf
 'The boys began to quarrel.'

- (100) **Jään** ootamaan vastaustasi.
 stay-1sg wait-3inf-ill answer-par-2pos
Jään ootama su vastust.
 stay-1sg wait-minf you-gen answer-par
 'I'll stay to wait for your answer.'

In Finnish, the most common verbs expressing beginning are *alkaa* and *ruvetä*. The occurrence of *ryhtyä* is more restricted. Estonian has a greater number of verbs expressing and describing beginning (Raitar 1970: 24–27, EKG 1993: 20, Pihlak 1985: 68), but apart from *hakkama*, they only occur in certain situations and with subjects of certain kinds (Metslang 1994: 167). *Hakkama* is being used more and more as a future auxiliary in Estonian (Tommola 1992a: 135, Metslang — Tommola 1995). Pihlak (1985: 79–85) has classified the verb constructions expressing beginning into four semantic categories: beginning proper, e.g. *hakkama* 'start', *asuma* 'be located', intensive beginning, e.g. *kukkuma* 'fall' *panema* 'put', *pistma* 'stick' (101), imminent beginning, e.g. *tahtma* 'want' (102), and conativity, e.g. *kalduma* 'lean', *kibelema* 'be impatient' (103). Some of these constructions have counterparts in Finnish (102).

- (101) Poiss **kukkus** karjuma ja **pani**
 boy fall-impf-(3sg) holler-minf and put-impf-(3sg)
 jooksuma.
 run-minf
 'The boy began to holler and began to run.'
- (102) Süda **tahab** lõhkeda.
 heart want-3sg break-inf
 Sydän **tahtoo** haljeta.
 heart want-3sg break-1inf
 '(My) heart is about break.'
- (103) Ta **kibeles** rääkima.
 s/he (be impatient)-impf-(3sg) talk-minf
 'S/he began to speak.'

In Finnish, it is possible to derive a (perfective) ingressive verb from an imperfective durative verb, especially by means of the instantaneous derivational suffix *AhtA*, e.g. *istahtaa* 'sit down' or with a further derivational step, using the form *AhtU*, e.g. *seisahtua* 'stop'. According to Räisänen (1988: 57), the derivative suffix *u* makes inchoative *AhtA* verbs punctual (e.g. *seisahtaa* 'stand for a while' > *seisahtua* 'come to a standstill'), but does not affect actual punctual *AhtA* verbs (e.g. *naurata* 'give a laugh').

In Finnish, even the stem verb can thus be ingressive (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 441). Generally, if the stem verb expresses atelic activity (e.g. *nukkua* 'sleep'), the derivative is often ingressive (*nukahtaa* 'fall a sleep'). If, on the other hand, the stem verb is telic, the derivative is punctual (see p. 40). (Cf. Leino 1991: 154–155.) In Estonian, derivative suffixes similar to the Finnish ones only rarely signify beginning, e.g. the *ata* affix (Tauli 1973: 145–148).

- (104) Seisahdan ja katson kelloa.
 stand-D-1sg and look-1sg watch-par
- (105) Seisatan ja vaatan kella.
 stand-D-1sg and look-1sg watch-par
 'I stop (walking) and look at (my) watch.'

If the *m*-infinitive inessive is formed out of an achievement verb, it will indicate a situation due to take place (begin) in the near future.

- (106) Toiveeni ovat täyttymässä.
 hope-(pl)-1pos be-3pl fulfil-3inf-ine
 Mu soovid on täitumas.
 I-gen hope-pl be-(3sg) fulfil-minf-ine
 'My hopes are about to come true.'

In Estonian, however, the object of an achievement verb is in the partitive, because the *m*-infinitive inessive cannot have a nominative-genitive object, while in Finnish the object does not change into the partitive.

- (107) Olin saavuttamassa Merjan, kun
 be-impf-1sg achieve-3inf-ine Merja-gen when
 kaaduin.
 fall-impf-1sg
 Olin Merjat kätte saamas kui
 be-impf-1sg Merja-par hand-ill get-minf-ine when
 kukkusin.
 fall-impf-1sg
 'I was about to catch up with Merja when I fell.'

In Finnish, the verb *olla* and either the fifth infinitive or the first infinitive indicate a situation where an attempt at a beginning failed (108). (Tommola 1992b: 18) In Estonian, the corresponding constructions (Pihlak 1985: 80–82) expressing an imminent beginning consist of a *m*-infinitive inessive and some adverbial, e.g. *peaaegu* 'almost', *äärepealt* 'on the verge, almost' (108). Metslang (1994: 242–243) has classified these expressions into the taxis of simultaneity. If a verb form with a simultaneity taxis denotes a perfective event, it is not the actual event but its preliminary phase that is being thought of (Metslang 1994: 242) (109).

- (108) **Olin** **hukkumaisillani** ~ **olin** **hukkua.**
 be-impf-1sg drown-5inf-1pos be-impf-1sg drown-1inf
Olin **uppumas.** **Pidin** **peaaegu**
 be-impf-1sg drown-minf-ine must-impf-1sg almost
 uppuma.
 drown-minf
 'I was on the point of drowning.'
- (109) **Mies on** **kuolemaisillaan.**
 man be-(3sg) die-5inf-3pos
Mees on **suremas.**
 man be-(3sg) die-minf-ine
 'The man is on the point of dying.'

Even in these constructions, as above (107), Finnish has a genitive object, while Estonian has a partitive object.

- (110) **Olin** **jo** **ostamaisillani** auton,
 be-impf-1sg already buy-5inf-1pos car-gen
kun äkkiä **muutin** **mieleni.**
 when suddenly change-impf-1sg mind-1pos
Olin **juba** **autot ära** **ostmas,**
 be-impf-1sg already car-par off buy-minf-ine
kui äkitselt **mõtlesin** **üंबर.**
 when suddenly think-impf-1sg over
 'I was about to buy a car,
 when I suddenly changed my mind.'
- (111) **Olin** **ostaa** auton.
 be-impf-1sg buy-1inf car-gen
Olin **peaaegu** **autot** **ostmas.**
 be-impf-1sg almost car-par buy-minf-ine
 'I was about to buy a car.'

5.2.4. Terminativity

The nominative~genitive objects of perfective verb phrases already include one kind of terminative meaning.

- (112) Ostin **kirjan.**
 buy-impf-1sg book-gen
 Ostin **raamatu.**
 buy-impf-1sg book-gen
 'I bought a book.'

The terminativity (end of a situation) can be expressed lexically by such verbs as fi. *lopettaa* e. *lõpetama* 'finish', fi. *loppua* e. *lõppema* 'end', fi. *lakata* e. *lakkama* 'stop', fi. *herjetä* 'give up', e. *üle minema*, *üle jääma*, *järele jääma* 'stop' (EKG 1993: 20).

- (113) Sade **lakkaa/ loppuu.**
 rain stop-(3sg)/ end-3sg
 Vihm **lõpeb/ lakkab/ läheb üle/ jääb järele**
 rain stop-3sg/ stop-3sg/ go-3sg over/ stay behind
 'The rain will stop.'

The verbs *lakata/lakkama* and *herjetä* require the elative form of the *m*-infinitive.

- (114) Poika **lakkasi/ herkesi itkemästä.**
 boy stop-impf-(3sg) cry-3inf-ela

 Poiss **lakkas nutmast.**
 boy stop-impf-(3sg) cry-minf-ela
 'The boy stopped crying.'

Fixed expressions, such as *juoksi juoksemisensa* (run-impf-(3sg) run-4inf-(gen)-3pos) 's/he did her/his running', include a terminative meaning in Finnish.

6. Final comments

As we have seen, the verb phrase in a given clause is either perfective or imperfective, although it may have various other aspectual properties at the same time.

A verb process can be presented as being of limited (perfective) or unlimited (imperfective) duration, goal-oriented (telic) or non-goal-oriented (atelic), or resultative or irresultative (Kangasmaa-Minn 1985: 444). I have not discussed resultativity or irresultativity in any detail here, because aspect has previously been mostly discussed from the viewpoint of resultativity and because resultativity does not seem to be so crucial for aspect as boundedness. (Cf. Tommola 1990: 355–356.)

The notion of situation type must include a certain flexibility: speakers may present a situation from more than one point of view. Events, for instance, may be presented as static or as parts of other events or parts of a habitual pattern, with focus on the beginning, end, or middle. States may be presented as dynamic events, or with a focus on their inception.

Durative, continuative and iterative states and actions, when unbounded, are imperfective, but they become perfective when the process is bounded by an object and/or an adverbial. The fact that aspect is shown by the object is typologically quite unique.

Bounding can also be achieved with derivation, contextual features or pragmatic factors. After all, boundedness is considered the most characteristic feature of the perfective aspect.

According to Kangasmaa-Minn (1985: 443), an imperfective sentence can always be made perfective by bounding, while a perfective sentence can only be made imperfective under certain conditions. Smith (1993: 71) discusses the shift in interpretation to a derived situation type, the multiple-event activity. Other derived situation types include inchoatives (derived achievements), habituais (derived statives), and narrow-focussed continuatives (derived activities).

None of the categories I have discussed here have become fully grammaticalized in Finnish or Estonian, although Finnish uses more grammatical means than Estonian. In Finnish, the object shows more case variation in the presence of infinite verb forms, verb constructions expressing aspect are used more often, and verb derivation is more regular and more abundant than in Estonian. Estonian may use completely different syntactic or lexical means to express the same meaning. For example, the Finnish opposition between object cases is often neutralized in Estonian. Estonian has

therefore begun to use prefixal adverbs attached to verbs to express boundedness. The transition from marked object cases to prefixal adverbs signifies a transition from synthetic to analytic ways of expression.

The implications expressed by different grammatical constructions in Finnish must often be explained lexically in Estonian. This can probably be taken as an equalizing allowance for Finnish, which otherwise has such long words. According to Tommola (forthcoming: 32), the progressive in Finnish and Estonian has reached the stage where the purposive and the imminential are grammaticalized. Finnish and Estonian also have aspectually relevant morphologically marked verb classes: frequentatives and punctuals.

Contrastive functional syntax should hence account for both structural and functional equivalence. Functional equivalence refers to the equivalence between the structures of two languages at a more general level: the structures are equivalent in usage. Functional equivalence can be said to occur in different degrees: the use of certain structures may have stylistic, semantic or other restrictions. Different degrees can also be identified in structural equivalence (full equivalence, partial equivalence, full non-equivalence). (Mustajoki 1993: 188–190, 228) While discussing aspectual meanings in Finnish and Estonian, I have tried to keep in mind these principles of functional syntax, although I have not, strictly speaking, proceeded in accordance with the descriptive principles of functional syntax proposed by Mustajoki.

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The following **grammatical abbreviations** are used in the glosses:

NUMBER	sg = singular (not indicated in noun glosses)	
	pl = plural	
PERSON	1, 2, 3	These appear on finite verb forms and on noun forms containing a possessive suffix.
	p. = person	
	pas = passive personal ending	
CASE	nom = nominative	ade = adessive
	gen = genitive	abl = ablative
	par = partitive	all = allative
	ess = essive	abe = abessive
	tra = translative	com = comitative
	ine = inessive	ins = instructive
	ela = elative	ter = terminative
	ill = illative	
VERB FORM		
p = passive		1inf = first infinitive
imp = imperative		2inf = second infinitive
con = conditional		3inf = third infinitive
pot = potential		4inf = fourth infinitive
impf = imperfect		inf = <i>da</i> -infinitive (in Estonian)
minf = <i>ma</i> -infinitive (in Estonian)		
1ptc = first participle = present participle		
2ptc = second participle; pptc = past participle (in Estonian)		
neg = negation verb		
a = negative form of finite verb (occurs with the negation verb)		

OTHER	pos = possessive suffix	sup = superlative
	comp = comparative	cl = clitic
	Q = question (clitic)	
	D = derivational affix (most often suffix)	
	? = uncertain or marginal	* = ungrammatical

A, O, U = archiphonemes A, O, U = vowel harmony pairs *a-ä, o-ö, u-y* (in suffixes and derivative affixes)

ASPEKTUAALSUSE VÄLJENDAMINE SOOME JA EESTI KEELES

Helena Sulkala

1. Sissejuhatus

Viimase viieteistkümne aasta jooksul on lingvistilises kirjanduses märgatavalt lisandunud huvi aspekti ja sellega liituvate probleemide vastu. Käsitlen käesolevas artiklis soome ja eesti aspekti nähtusi olemasoleva kirjanduse põhjal. Olen lähtekohaks valinud tähendused ja püüan näidata, kuidas väljendatakse erinevaid aspektuaalseid tähendusi eesti ja soome keeles. See käsitlusviis on lähedane Arto Mustajoki funktsionaalse süntaksi kirjelduspõhimõttele “tähenduselt vormile”

Kõneleja võib ju sageli valida mitmeid viise ühe tähenduse väljendamiseks. Käesolevas keskendungi juhtudele, kus sama aspektitähendust võidakse keeles väljendada eri viisil, näiteks morfoloogia, süntaksi, derivatsiooni (või prosoodia) vahenditega. Kirjelduses on ühevõrra tähtsad kõik pindtaseme keelelised vahendid. Mainitagu siiski, et funktsionaalse kirjelduse puhul on võimatu vältida raskusi, mis tulenevad semantiliste kategooriate määratlemisest.

2. Aspekt ja tegevuslaad

Lingvistilises kirjanduses on aspekti ja tegevuslaadi defineeritud õige mitmel erineval kombel. Enne 1980. aastaid ei olnud aspekt kuigi keskne teema eesti ja soome keele uurimises, mis oli keskendunud morfoloogiale. Kõige uuemates soome ja eesti keele grammatikates on aspekti määratletud järgmiselt: “Aspektilla tarkoitetaan puhujan näkökulmaa tilanteen

ajalliseen jäsentymiseen tai tuloksellisuuteen.” (Kieli ja sen kieliopit, 1994.) “Aspekt on lauses väljenduv suhe situatsiooni kulgemise ja vaatluspunkt vahel.” (Eesti keele grammatika II, 1993.) On märgatud, et aspekti mõiste on sedavõrd mitmetahuline, et seda ei saa jagada lihtsalt ning kergelt kaheks, imperfektiivsuse ja perfektiivsuse opositsiooniks. Tegevuse või situatsiooni piiritletus või piiritlematus on siiski oluline aspekti positsiooni kuuluv seik.

Aspektiga seostub tihedalt tegevuslaad, mille defineerimine ja suhe aspektiga on valmistanud palju raskusi. Aspekti uurija Bernard Comrie (1976) on seletanud kõnealuste nähtuste suhet järgmiselt: aspekt on relevantsete semantiliste erinevuste grammatikalisatsioon, tegevuslaad aga on samade erinevuste leksikalisatsioon. Soome ja eesti keeles on tegevuslaadi defineeritud muuhulgas nii: teonlaatu tarkoittaa verbillä ilmaistun prosessin laatua ja tämä laatu voi vaihdella aspektin määräämissä rajoissa (Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn 1985). “Eesti keele grammatika” (II, 1993) kohaselt “tegevuslaad iseloomustab tegevuse tüüpilist kulgu ja struktureeritust ajas” Lingvistilises kirjanduses on tegevuslaadi kirjeldamisel kasutatud muuhulgas selliseid termineid nagu duratiivsus, kontinuaatiivsus, iteratiivsus, punktuaalsus, semelfaktiivsus, progressiivsus, habituuaalsus, inhoatiivsus, terminatiivsus, dünaamilisus, momentaansus.

3. Aspekti väljendamise vahendid soome ja eesti keeles

Soome-ugri keeltes ei ole aspekti tähistamiseks sellist morfoloogilist või derivatiivset süsteemi, mis leidub paljudes maailma keeltes. Soome ja eesti keeles ei saagi aspekti pidada ainuüksi verbi kategooriaks, aspekt on siin kogu lause kategooria. Soome ja eesti aspekti võidakse analüüsida kahest vaatenurgast lähtudes: 1) situatsioon on vaatluspunkti seisukohalt terviklik ja situatsiooni algus- ja lõpp-piir võetakse arvesse, aga situatsiooni sisemine kulg ei ole oluline. Niisugust situatsiooni nimetatakse perfektiivseks; 2) situatsioon avaldub vaatluspunkti seisukohalt toimuvana ega võeta seisukohta algus- või lõpp-piiri suhtes. Niisugune situatsioon on imperfektiivne.

Kuigi soome ja eesti aspekt on semantiline kategooria, millel puuduvad regulaarsed grammatilised väljendusvahendid (Metslang 1994), võidakse aspekti väljendada osalt grammatika abil, osalt teatud leksikaalgrammatiliste vahenditega ja osalt verbisemantika abil.

3.1. Substantiivfraasid: käändevaheldus

Perfektiivsuse ja imperfektiivsuse avaldumisvormiks soome ja eesti keeles näib sageli olevat objekti käändevaheldus (*lapsi lukee kirjaa, laps loeb raamatut / lapsi osti kirjan, laps ostis raamatu*), subjekti käändevaheldus (*vieraita saapui, külalisi saabus / vieraat saapuivat, külalised saabusid*) ja määraadverbiaali käändevaheldus (*juoksin kahta kilometriä, jooksin kaht kilomeetrit / juoksin kaksi kilometriä, jooksin kaks kilomeetrit*).

Käändevaheldusega seostub tihedalt kaks mõistet: teelisuus/ateelisuus (Dahl 1981) ja piiritletus (Leino 1991, Heinämäki 1994, Eesti keele grammatika II, 1993). Teeliseks nimetatakse situatsiooni, milles leidub immanentne või saavutatud lõpp-punkt (teeliseuse omadus P: *mies rakentaa huvilan, mees ehitab suvila*) või milles võib saavutada lõpp-punkti (teeliseuse omadus T: *mies rakentaa huvilaa, mees ehitab suvilat*). Situatsiooni, kus selline lõpp-punkt puudub või kus seda ei ole võimalik saavutada (*äiti hemmottelee poikaa, ema hellitab poega*), nimetatakse ateeliseks. Staatilistes verbides sisaldub ateelisuus objekti käändelist olene-mata, partitiivobjekti nõudev tegevusverb aga võib sisaldada ateeliseuse või teeliseuse omadust T. Seevastu nominatiivset/genitiivset objekti nõudev tegevusverb sisaldab nii teeliseuse omaduse P kui ka T.

Nominatiiv ja genitiiv (objekti) käänetena osutavad, et situatsiooni kirjeldus on piiritletud (*Tytti kutoi sukan, Tytti kodus suka*), kuid nad ei väljenda täpselt, mis see piir on. Seetõttu on piiritletust võimalik väljendada eksplitsiitselt, adverbiala abil (*Tytti kutoi sukan valmiiksi/ puoliväliin, Tytti kodus suka valmis/ poolest saadik valmis*). Ka määramäärus võib piiritletust eksplitseerida (*Tytti kutoi tunnin, Tytti kodus ühe tunni*). Piiritletus võib loomu poolest liituda verbi tähendusega, näiteks verbi *viia* tähendusse kuulub koht, kuhu viiakse. Niisiis on võimalik öelda *Maija vie jakkaraa/jakkaran keittiöön, Maija viib taburetti/tabureti kööki*. Kuid sama verbi tähendusega ei liitu immanent-selt ajalist piiritletust, mistõttu aja väljendamisel on võimalik vaid partitiivobjekt (*Maija vie tunnin jakkaraa keittiöön, Maija viib tund aega taburetti kööki*). Märgetagu ka seda, et kord juba piiritletut ei saa enam rohkem piiritleda (**Tytti kutoi sukan tunnin, *Tytti kodus suka ühe tunni*). Seevastu saab piiritletut väljendusest teha piiritlemata (*Tytti hiihti tunnin päivässä, Tytti suusatas ühe tunni päevas*) ja sellest edasi piiritletu (*Tytti hiihti viikon tunnin päivässä, Tytti suusatas nädal aega ühe tunni päevas*).

3.2. Leksikaalne semantika

Ka sõnade semantikaga võib liituda aspektuaalseid omadusi. Näiteks võivad mõningad soome ja eesti verbid kirjeldada punktuaalset (*löytää, leidma*), duratiivset (*lukea, lugema*), ingressiivset (*alkaa, algama*) või terminatiivset (*lopettaa, lõpetama*) situatsiooni. Punktuaalseid verbe kasutatakse sisemiselt piiritletud situatsioonide kirjeldamiseks, niisiis ei saa neile lisada muud eksplitsiitset piiri kui ainult nominatiiv/genitiivobjekti. Duratiivset tegevust või protsessi väljendavad verbid võimaldavad aga kasutada lauses muudki eksplitsiitset piiri.

Semantiliste omaduste põhjal võib verbid liigitada (Kangasmaa-Minn 1984) loomult imperfektiivseteks (*valvoa, valvama*), perfektiivseteks (*saavuttaa, saavutama*) või neutraalseteks (*rakentaa, ehitama*). Objekti käändevaheldus sõltub verbi semantilistest omadustest (punktuaalsus, duratiivsus jne) ja objekti semantikast (jaotatav, jaotamatu, aine, asi).

3.3. Derivatsioon

Kuigi osa soome ja eesti derivatsioonist pole ei süstemaatiline ega produktiivne, on mõlemas keeles selliseid verbiliiteid, mis mõjutavad verbi aspektuaalseid omadusi, näiteks muutes punktuaalse verbi duratiivseks (*Koira hyppää, Koer hüppab > Koira hyppelee, Koer hüpleb*) või vastupidi (*Koira vinkui, Koer vingus > Koira vingahti, Koer vingatas*). Eesti ja soome verbidel on samad põhiliited, kuid eesti keeles on verbiliiteid palju vähem kui soome keeles (Kasik 1992). Erinev on ka tuletusliidete struktuur: kui mõningad erandid (näiteks *ata*) välja arvata, on eesti derivatsioonisufiksud ühesilbilised ega moodusta selliseid liiteahelaid nagu soome keeles (näit. *t+u+tta*).

4. Aspektid

4.1. Perfektiivne aspekt

“Eesti keele grammatika” (II, 1993) järgi on situatsioon perfektiivne (piiritletud) “siis, kui kujuteldav vaatluspunkt jääb situatsioonist välja-poolle. Seega situatsioonil on mingi piir, mis eraldab teda vaatluspunktist. Vaatluspunkti seisukohalt on situatsioon terviklik, ta sisemine kulg ei ole oluline.”

Perfektiivsele aspektile osutab nii eesti kui soome keeles kõige sagedamini nominatiiv/genitiivobjekt, kuid eesti keeles sellest alati ei piisa, tihti kasutatakse lisaks ka perfektiivsusadverbi *ära, välja, maha, läbi, üles*

jne (*Outi luki kirjan, Outi luges raamatu läbi*). Nominatiiv/genitiivobjekti referent peab olema kvantitatiivselt piiritletud: ese, asi, piiritletud rühm, piiritletud hulk ainet (Rajandi — Metslang 1979). Kui objektiks on ainesõna või mitmuslik sõna, võib lause vaatamata partitiivobjektile olla perfektiivne (*Jaakko sai Helilt jäätelöä, Jaakko sai Helilt jäätist, Löysin vanhoja kirjoja, Leidsin vanu raamatuid*). Ka intransiitvlause aspekt võib olla perfektiivne (*Matti juoksi viisi kilometriä, Matti jooksis viis kilomeetrit*).

Nagu varem öeldud, saab lisaks nominatiiv/genitiivobjektile lauses olla ka eksplitsiitne tegevuse piiri väljendaja (*Outi luki kirjan kappaleiksi, Outi luges raamatu ribadeks*). Teatud verbid koguni nõuavad eksplitsiitset tegevuse piiri kas samas lauses või eelnevas kontekstis (*Riitta siirsi pöydän kirjastoon, Riitta viis laua raamatukokku*). Ka intransiitvne verb võib saada nn okasionaalse objekti, kui lausesse on lisatud eksplitsiitne piir (*Ilkka juoksi kengän puhki, Ilkka jooksis kinga katki*).

Et situatsioon ei saa olla piiritletud kahel vastupidisel kombel (nominatiiv/genitiivobjekt + duratiivne adverbiaal), siis ei saa objektisarnased määraadverbiaalid liituda perfektiivsesse süntagmasse. Sel juhul kasutatakse soome keeles inessiivi ja eesti keeles komitatiivi (*Ratkaisin ongelman tunnissa, Lahendasin probleemi ühe tunniga*).

Perfektiivses süntagmas tavaliselt ei esine nn *m*-infinitiivi, kuid soome keeles on see mõnel juhul siiski võimalik (*Leena oli Oulussa pitämässä luennon, *Leena oli Oulus loengu pidamas*).

4.2. Imperfektiivne aspekt

“Eesti keele grammatikas” (II, 1993) nimetatakse situatsiooni imperfektiivseks (piiritlematuks) “sel juhul, kui kujuteldav vaatluspunkt jääb situatsiooni kulu sisse. Vaatluspunkti seisukohalt avaldub situatsioon toimuvana, seisukohta antud situatsiooni algus- või lõpp-piiri suhtes ei võeta”

Imperfektiivsesse süntagmasse (*Luen kirjaa, Loen raamatut*) saab lisada mingi eksplitsiitse piiri (*Luen tunteroisen kirjaa, Loen tunnikese raamatut*), ilma et objekti kääne muutuks.

Loomu poolest imperfektiivsed teadmist ja tundmist väljendavad verbid saavad soome keeles siiski tavaliselt nominatiiv/genitiivobjekti (*Tunnen sen pojan*), eesti keeles kasutatakse sel juhul partitiivobjekti (*Ma tunnen seda poissi*). Ka soome keeles saab kasutada partitiivi, kuid sel juhul tuleb lausesse lisada midagi, mis muudab lause tähendust (*Tunnen poikaa vain vähän*).

Verbide *m*-infinitiivi kasutatakse tavaliselt imperfektiivses süntagmas (*Erkki on lippua ostamassa, Erkki on piletit ostmas*). Ka loomu poolest perfektiivsed verbid võivad mõnikord nii soome kui ka eesti keeles esineda *m*-infinitiivis (*Lapsi on löytämässä uutta maailmaa, Laps on avastamas uut maailma*).

5. Tegevuslaad

5.1. Imperfektiivse aspektiga kaasnevad tegevuslaadid

5.1.1. Duratiivsus

Imperfektiivsed verbid väljendavad duratiivsust, st situatsioon arvatakse kestvat mingi teatud aja. Duratiivsuse vastandiks on punktuaalsus (kestusetus). Mõned soome verbiliited (*i, o, ele/ ile, skele*) väljendavad duratiivset aspekti (*Jaakko seisoskelee tiellä*).

5.1.2. Habituaalsus

Habituaalne on situatsioon, mis katab suhteliselt pika perioodi. Situatsioon viitab sel juhul kogu perioodile iseloomulikule tunnusjoonele. Kummaski keeles pole spetsiaalset vahendit habituaalsuse väljendamiseks, kuid seda võidakse väljendada näiteks tempuste abil (*Pelaan tennistä, Mängin tennist*), leksikaalsete vahenditega (*Matilla on tapana, Matil on kombeks / Lapsi käy uimassa, Laps käib ujumas*) ja sagedusadverbiaalidega (*Siivoan huonetta lauантаisin, Koristan tuba laupäeviti*). Soome keeles võib habituaalsust väljendada ka tuletusliide *ele/ile* (*Ilkka keräilee postimerkkejä*).

5.1.3. Kontinuatiivsus

Kontinuatiivsus on omane dünaamilisele situatsioonile. Seda saab väljendada tempuste abil (*Outi vihaa miestään, Outi vihkab oma meest*), tuletusliidetega (soome keeles *ele/ile, skele, skentele, elehti, i, O, ksi, ise, U* ja eesti keeles *ne, tse, uta, nda, rda, lda, ise*), deskriptiivse koloratiivkonstruktsiooniga (*Sisko nauraa kihersi, Sisko kihistas naerda*) ja kestusadverbiaalidega (*Tilanne aina paranee, Olukord aina paraneb*). Soome keeles osutab kontinuatiivsust lisaks ka reduplikatiivkonstruktsioon (*Pekka juoksi juoksemistaan*).

5.1.4. Progressiivsus

Progressiivsus viitab püsivale seisundile ega rõhuta aja kestust. Progressiivsust saab väljendada imperfektiivse verbi preesensiga (*Poika juoksee, Poiss jookseb*), *m*-infinitiiviga (*Liitto on hajoamassa, Liit on lagunemas*) ja perfektiivsete verbide puhul temporaaladverbiaalidega, mis väljendavad kõnelemishetke (*Juna saapuu parhaillaan raiteelle kaksi, Rong saabub parajasti teisele teele*). Näib, et soome keeles on progressiiv rohkem välja kujunenud kui eesti keeles ja seda kasutatakse agentiivset atelist tegevust väljendavates lausetes reeglipärasemalt (*Hannu on verkkoja kokemassa*). Eesti keeles tõlgendatakse võrke vaatamas kohaväljendiks. Mõlemas keeles saab progressiivsust väljendada ka verbi *olema* ja deverbaalnoomeni abil, kuid ühe keele deverbaalnoomenile võib teises keeles vastata *m*-infinitiiv ja vastupidi (*Olen menossa kauppaan, Olen poodi minemas / Lääkäri on päivystämässä, Arst on valves*).

5.1.5. Iteratiivsus

Iteratiivne on situatsioon, mis ikka ja jälle kordub. Iteratiivsust väljendatakse põhiliselt kas tuletusliidete abil (soome *elefile, ntele, skele, skentele, elehti* ja eesti *le, skle, dle, tle, ki~gi, u, i*) või sagedusadverbiaalidega (*Iltaisin paistamme pannukakuja, Öhtuti küpsetame pannkooke*). Ka partitiivsubjekt võib väljendada iteratiivsust (*Vieraita saapui, Külalisi saabus*), samuti semelfaktiivse või punktuaalse verbi partitiivobjekt (*Heikki heittää punaista palloa seinään, Heikki viskab punast palli vastu seinä*).

5.2. Perfektiivse aspektiga kaasnevad tegevuslaadid

5.2.1. Punktuaalsus

Punktuaalne situatsioon on hetkeline, dünaamiline ja sisaldab endas olukorra muutuse. Punktuaalsus on loomu poolest piiritletud (*Juna pysähtyi, Rong peatus / Matti kaatoi puun, Matti langetas puu / Minna nykäisi narusta*). Punktuaalsusega liitub tihedasti semelfaktiivsus. Nii võivad punktuaalsust väljendavad tuletusliited (soome *Ahta, Aise* ja eesti *ata*) muuta verbi ka semelfaktiivseks.

5.2.2. Semelfaktiivsus

Semelfaktiivne on situatsioon, mis toimub vaid ühekordselt. Peale adverbiaali *kerran*, *korra*–*korra*ks võib semelfaktiivsust väljendada ka tuletusliidete (soome *Aise*, *AhtA*, *A(hd)UttA* ja eesti *ata*, *ahta*, *a*) abil (*Bengt yskähti*, *Bengt köhatas*).

5.2.3. Ingressiivsus

Ingressiivsus viitab situatsiooni või olukorra algamisele. Ingressiivsust saab mõlemas keeles väljendada verbiga *alkaa/hakkama* ja selle sünonüümidega (*Pojat herkesivät riitelemään*, *Poisid läksid kaklema*). Eesti keeles on algamist väljendavate verbide valik (*asuma*, *kukkuma*, *panema*, *pistma*, *tahtma*, *kalduma* jne) palju laiem kui soome keeles, viimases saab taas kasutada tuletusliidet *AhtA* (*istahtaa*, *seisahtaa*). Ingressiivsust väljendatakse ka saavutusverbide *m*-infinitiiviga (*Toiveeni ovat täyttymässä*, *Mu soovid on täitumas*). Soome verbile *olla* + 5. või 1. infinitiivile (*Olin hukkumaisillani* ~ *Olin hukkua*) vastab eesti keeles *m*-infinitiiv ja mingi adverbiaal (*Olin uppumas*, *Pidin peaaegu uppuma*). Ka kõnehetkele järgnevat aega väljendavad adverbid saavad ingressiivsust väljendada (*Ennen pitkää sataa*, *Kohe sajab*).

5.2.4. Terminatiivsus

Perfektiiivne süntagma oma nominatiiv/genitiivobjektiga sisaldabki juba terminatiivse tähenduse (*Ostin kirjan*, *Ostin raamatu*). Terminatiivsust väljendatakse ka verbiga *loppua/lõppema* ja selle sünonüümidega (*Sade lakkaa*, *Vihm läheb üle*). Soome keeles saab terminatiivsust osutada ka infinitiivkonstruktsiooni abil (*juoksi juoksemisensa*).

6. Lõpetuseks

Eeltoodust ilmneb, et kuigi lause aspekt on kas imperfektiiivne või perfektiiivne, võib lauses esineda samaaegselt mitmesugust tegevuslaadiga seostuvat aspektuaalset varieerumist. Kõnelejal on vabadus valida oma vaatenurk kõneldava suhtes: lauses võidakse verbiga väljendatud protsessi esitada piiritletuna, piiritlematuna, teelisenä, ateelisenä, resultatiivsenä või irresultatiivsenä. Kaht viimast nähtust ei ole käesolevas artiklis

puudutatud, sest neile on varasemates aspektuurimustes kõige rohkem tähelepanu pööratud.

Nii soome kui eesti keeles leidub mitmesuguseid, osalt erinevaid vahendeid aspektuaalsete suhete väljendamiseks. Siiski ei ole kummaski keeles ükski eespool esitatud kategooriatest täielikult grammatikaliseerunud. Kui soome keeles väljendab aspektuaalseid nähtusi sagedamini objekti käändevaheldus, sagedamini kasutatakse verbaalkonstruksioone ja verbituletus on reeglipärasem, siis eesti keeles kasutatakse omakorda rohkem leksikaalseid väljendusvahendeid.

Kontrastiivse funktsionaalse süntaksi uurimisel tuleks arvesse võtta nii struktuurne kui ka funktsionaalne ekvivalentsus. Funktsionaalne ekvivalentsus viitab üldises plaanis kahe keele struktuuri ekvivalentsusele: konstruktsioonid on ekvivalentsed kasutuse poolest. Seda mõtet olen püüdnud käesolevat artiklit kirjutades meeles pidada.



ISSN 1406-0183