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PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ESTONIAN OF THE
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ESTONIAN: TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES V

edited by
Mati Erelt

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SOME NOTES ON THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE VERB *pidama* IN ESTONIAN

Mati Erelt

University of Tartu

1. Two *pidama*-verbs

The Explanatory Dictionary of Estonian (EKS) tells us that there are two *pidama*-verbs in contemporary Estonian. One of them occurs mostly in the meanings 'keep, hold, regard, etc.', e.g.

- (1) Ta suudab veel mõõka käes **pidada**.
'He can still hold the sword in his hand'.

Kurjategijat **peeti** üksikkambris.
'The criminal was kept in solitary confinement'.

Ta ei suutnud naeru tagasi **pidada**.
'He couldn't help laughing'.

Ta **pidas** mind kellekski teiseks.
'He took me for someone else'.

The other *pidama*-verb is first and foremost a modal verb expressing necessity (2) or has a closely related meaning that has developed from the modal meaning, as in sentence (3).

- (2) Te **peate** ära minema.
'You must leave'.
- (3) Ma **pidin** õhtul kinno minema, aga mõtlesin ümber.
'I was to go to the cinema in the evening, but I changed my mind'.

From the diachronic point of view it is a single verb, whereas the modal meaning has definitely developed from the non-modal meaning. The synchronic treatment of *pidama* as two different verbs is supported by the fact these verbs have different markers

for the imperfect. The imperfect marker of the modal sense is *-i-*; the non-modal sense has the marker *-s(i)-*:

‘keep, hold etc.’

‘must, have to’

<i>ma pida-si-n</i>	<i>me pida-si-me</i>	<i>ma pid-i-n</i>	<i>me pid-i-me</i>
<i>sa pida-si-d</i>	<i>te pida-si-te</i>	<i>sa pid-i-d</i>	<i>te pid-i-te</i>
<i>ta pida-s</i>	<i>nad pida-si-d</i>	<i>ta pid-i</i>	<i>nad pid-i-d</i>

The split of the *pidama*-verb took place only in the North Estonian dialect area and in the standard language, which is based on the latter because the late imperfect marker *-si-* is a North Estonian feature. In South Estonian the imperfect has the *i*-marker in all the verbs (cf. Laanest 1975: 152), and therefore there is no good reason to speak about two *pidama*-verbs.

We will leave aside the relationship between the modal and non-modal senses of *pidama* and will focus only on the modal *pidama*-verb and its developments.

2. Modal and postmodal meanings of the verb *pidama*

The verb *pidama* is a modal verb that encompasses both domains of modality: agent-oriented¹ (i.e. dynamic and deontic) and epistemic domains. In addition to these meanings the verb *pidama* has at least three postmodal meanings: intentional (volitive), avertive, and quotative meanings.² The following example sentences illustrate these meanings.

Modal *pidama*

(4) agent-oriented necessity

a. dynamic necessity

Ma **pean** mütsi pähe panema, sest väljas on juba külm.

¹ The term ‘agent-oriented modality’ is used here in the sense proposed by Bybee and Fleischman (1995: 6): “Agent-oriented modality encompasses all modal meanings that predicate conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action referred to by the main predicate, e.g. obligation, desire, ability, permission and root possibility.”

² Volitive and quotative meanings have sometimes been considered as subtypes of modality as well, see e.g. Palmer 1986.

'I'll have to put my hat on because it's already cold outside'.

- b. deontic necessity

Sa **pead** varsti koju minema.

'You must go home soon'.

- (5) epistemic necessity

Ta **peab** küll rumal olema, et niisuguse võimaluse kasutamata jättis.

'He must be stupid if he didn't use this opportunity'.

Postmodal *pidama*

- (6) intention

Ma **pidin** täna linna minema, aga mõtlesin ümber.

'I was to go to town today, but I changed my mind'.

- (7) avertive

Ta **pidi** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

'He was struck dumb by the surprise'.

- (8) quotative

Juta **pidi** haige olema.

'Juta was said to be ill'.

2.1. Agent-oriented necessity

The verb *pidama* expresses both dynamic and deontic modality. Dynamic necessity is the agent's need to do something caused by some characteristics of the agent himself or some external circumstances (but not the will of the speaker or some other person). Deontic necessity refers to an agent-external need that is realized as obligation. The source of the obligation is usually the speaker, but it may be some social or ethical norm as well. Both kinds of agent-oriented modality are directed into the future; both assume intentional action on the part of the agent. Dynamic necessity implies that the action will be performed in the future; in the case of deontic necessity it remains open, however. If someone needs to go to the toilet, then he or she will go there. On the other hand, if someone is forced to go to the toilet, then this person may do it (if he or she really has the need to urinate), but he or she need not go there (if he or she has no need to urinate).

Deontic modality differs from dynamic modality in that in the former agent-orientation is not that strong any more. The agent need not be expressed explicitly, as in the sentence *Lamp peab esikus põlema* 'The light must be on in the entrance hall', where the agent can be treated as an implicit person, who is responsible for the light being on (cf. Uuspõld 1989: 170).

As deontic modality has developed from dynamic modality, then it is not surprising that there is no clear-cut line between the two agent-oriented modalities, and many sentences allow both interpretations. The corpus examples of the verb *pidama* confirm this.

(9) dynamic necessity

Minult oodatakse mingite imenippide paljastamist, aga siin **pean** käed üles tõstma.

'I'm expected to disclose some magic tricks, but here I have to give up'.

Võidu saavutamiseks oli ainult üks võti: **pidin** riskima ja üritasin sooritada tapva ründelöögi enne teda.

'There was only one key to success: I had to take risks, and I tried to execute the lethal attack before him'.

(10) obligation

Raudtee parandamine nõuab ühist hoolt, millesse oma toeka panuse **peab** andma ka vabariigi tööstus.

'The repair of the railway requires joint care, where the republic's industry has to make a substantial contribution'.

(11) dynamic necessity / obligation

Peame olema valmis vastu astuma mis tahes agressioonile. See on meie kõigi ühine soov ning seda nõuab meilt ka ühiskond.

'We must be ready to stand up against any aggression. That's our common wish, and society expects it from us'.

Agent-oriented *pidama* occurs in various tense forms. In addition to the indicative, the agent-oriented *pidama* may occur in the conditional as well, in that case expressing less strong obligation, as in (12):

- (12) Valitsus **peaks** arvestama sellega, et põlevkivi hinna järsk tõus tõstab kohe ka elektrienergia hinda ..

'The government should reckon that a steep increase in the price of oil shale will immediately raise also the electricity rate ..'

2.2. Epistemic necessity = inferential evidentiality

In the case of epistemic modality there is a proposition and not a predicate in the scope of modality. The speaker believes that the event is certain or highly probable. I agree with van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 85) in that epistemic necessity belongs to the subtype of evidentiality termed 'inferential'. It is one of the three subtypes of evidentiality, the others being attested and reported evidentiality (Willett 1988).³ Inferential evidentiality is the subtype of evidentiality that identifies the evidence as based on reasoning.

If the verb *pidama* expresses inferential evidentiality it is either in the indicative, as in (13) or (14), or in the conditional, as in (15) and (16). The epistemic-evidential interpretation is more evident if the evidence on the basis of which the conclusion is drawn is explicit in the sentence, as in (13). The fact that the subject is inanimate and the action expressed by the infinitive is non-intentional need not make the sentence unambiguously epistemic. As noted, in the case of deontic modality, too, the explicit subject may be inanimate, and the infinitive may express a state or a non-intentional process, as in the previous example sentence *Lamp peab esikus põlema*.

- (13) Ta **peab/pidi** küll rumal olema, kui ta sellest kohast loobub/loobus.

'He must/must have been stupid if he gives/gave up this position'.

³ Estonian is a language that has a special grammatical morpheme *-vat* for the expression of reported or quotative evidentiality (diachronically the marker of the partitive case of the present participle): *Ta olevat haige* 'He is said to be sick'.

- (14) Need loomad **peavad/pidid** rebased olema.
 'These animals must be/must have been foxes'.
- (15) Elamuseadusandlust tuntakse üldiselt halvasti, ehkki see on meil massitiraažis ilmunud ja **peaks** olema kättesaadav igale asjast huvitatule.
 'Generally people do not know housing legislation although many copies have been published and should be available to anyone interested'.
- (16) Juhan **peab / peaks** varsti tulema.
 'Juhab must/should come soon'.

The (present) conditional form of the verb *pidama* indicates that the event is probable but not certain.

In most cases it is the third person because usually there is no need to make inferences about the direct participants in the speech act on the basis of indirect evidence although it is, in principle, possible.

According to the common view, if an expression has both an agent-centred and epistemic meaning, the latter has developed from the former (cf. e.g. Heine *et al* 1991: 177). The transition from deontic to epistemic necessity has often been described as the result of metaphor. For example, according to Bybee *et al* (1994: 201): "Metaphorical change involves a shift to a different domain – in this case from the domain of social obligation and necessities applied to an agent, to the epistemic domain that speaks of the necessary conditions under which a proposition can be true." Estonian provides no arguments against this explanation.

2.3. Intention and avertive

It has been observed in many languages that agent-oriented modality verbs can develop into verbs with an intentional meaning, and, as intention is directed into the future, then they may further develop into future auxiliary verbs (cf. e.g. Bybee *et al* 1991). Similar shifts can be observed in the development of the *pidama*-verb. In some cases intentional implication of agent-

oriented necessity has developed into the main meaning of the verb *pidama*, as in the following sentence (17).

- (17) Rahvusvaheline filmikriitikute žürii tegi oma otsuse juba laupäeva lõunaks, sest žürii president **pidi** Pariisi oma naise sünnipäevale lendama.

'The international jury of film critics made its decision already by Saturday noon because the president of the jury had to (a. intended; b. was forced) fly to Paris to attend the birthday party of his wife'.

However, the verb *pidama*, to be more precise, its imperfect forms have not developed into a future auxiliary⁴ but a verb that carries an avertive meaning, as in:

- (18) Jüri **pidi** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

'Jüri was dumb struck by the surprise'.

- (19) Kulda ja kalliskive oli nii palju, et laev **pidi** nende raskuse all põhja minema.

'There was so much gold and so many gems that the ship was about to sink because of their weight'.

- (20) Ta **pidi** oma kohast ilma jääma

'He was about to be left without his position'.

A similar semantic change has occurred in the south-western and Häme dialects of Finnish (cf. Laitinen 1992).

The term *avertive* was suggested by Kuteva (1999), who uses it for the following grammatical device: *was on the verge of V-ing but did not*. Kuteva claims that the term avertive includes no less than three semantic components: *imminence* – a temporal phase just before the verb situation is to take place, *pastness* – the verb situation takes place before the moment of speech, and *counterfactuality* – the verb situation is negated. Such constructions have of course been described earlier but by means of different terms. When describing a similar meaning of the

⁴ The other agent-oriented verb expressing modality *saama* 'become' has developed into a future auxiliary but without the intentional stage (see Metslang 1994).

Finnish verb *pitää*, Laitinen (1992) uses the term *inceptual meaning*; Törnudd-Jalovaara (1988) uses the term *propensive aspect* for the same meaning in connection with the Swedish verb *skulle*. Kuteva (1998), too, used another term earlier – *evasive*.

Kuteva (1998: 116; 1999: 36), by the way, provides an Estonian example of the avertive, namely, the construction containing the verb *olema* ‘be’ in the conditional mood followed by the past participle form of the main verb:

- (21) Laps **oleks** (peaaegu) **maha** **kukkunud**.
 child be.COND (nearly) down fall.PAST.PART

Kuteva does not mention the *pidi*-avertive in Estonian. Actually, Kuteva leaves the modal verbs out as a possible source of the avertive, claiming that only the following lexical verb constructions exist in the world’s languages as the beginning points of grammaticalization (Kuteva 1998, 1999): a) verb phrases with the verb ‘be’; b) volitional-purposive verb phrases; c) verb phrases involving the verb ‘err/sin/fail/miss’, d) verb phrases involving the verb ‘have’.

Actually, the use of the imperfect form of the verb *pidama* in the avertive meaning is quite common in Estonian. However, this construction does not reflect the first degree of grammaticalization because it does not need any contextual support from the counterfactual but from a clause.

The avertive meaning does not include the intentional component, and it is clearly manifested if the infinitive is a verb that expresses the state or a non-intentional process.

Kuteva has also treated the relationship between the avertive and the concept of *proximative*. So far the latter term has not been used in Estonian linguistics although the Estonian grammarians are quite familiar with the phenomenon. The proximative is a grammatical device that stands for *a temporal phase located close before the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb* or, to put it shortly, it carries the meaning of *imminence* (Heine 1992, Kuteva 1998, 1999). In Estonian the proximative is mostly expressed by the verb *olema* ‘be’ in combination with the inessive form of the *ma*-infinitive, e.g.

(22) Me **olime** juba **lahkumas**, kui Jüri kohale jõudis.

‘We were about to leave when Jüri arrived’.

The only and prevalent semantic feature of the proximative is imminence (Kuteva 1998: 127). The proximative does not point to the time when the event takes place, nor does it indicate whether the event takes/took place or not. The proximative can be used both in the present and non-present. Thus, for instance, the following example is possible (23):

(23) Me **oleme** (kindlasti) juba **lahkumas**, kui Jüri kohale jõuab.

‘Surely we’ll be about to leave when Jüri arrives’.

On the other hand, only the past form carries the avertive meaning. Replacing the imperfect by the present loses the meaning of imminence. The same is true of the *pidama*-avertive. An avertive *pidama*-construction in the imperfect becomes clearly deontic in the present. For example, sentence (24) can be interpreted only in this way that there is an intention to do something that will act as a surprise for Jüri and it will make him dumb struck.

(24) Jüri **peab** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

‘Jüri must be dumb struck by the surprise’.

2.4. Quotative evidentiality

The verb *pidama* may express also non-inferential, quotative evidentiality, as in:

(25) “Nad jagasid linnas väikeseid lipikuid ka inimestele ja ma kuulsin, et praegugi **pidi** neid mitmes kohas maas vedelema,” ütles abiprefekt.

“‘They distributed little slips of paper in town also to people and I heard that even now some of them must be lying around in various places’” said the deputy prefect’.

In this sentence, too, the indicative imperfect form of the *pidama*-verb conveys quotativity. This form has lost its past meaning and has become the auxiliary of the (lexicalized and at the same time

grammaticalized) quotative. It is indicated by the fact that it can be replaced by the form of the morphological quotative:

- (26) Praegugi **pidi** neid mitmes kohas maas **vedelema**.

= Praegugi **vedelevat** neid mitmes kohas maas.

'Even now some of them are reported to be lying around on the ground in various places'.

In some dialects (mainly in the North Estonian dialect area) and in the older written language also the indicative present of the *pidama*-verb was used in the quotative meaning, e.g.

- (27) Ärg ei **pia** viina aisu sallima (Jõe; cf. Must 1987: 257)

'It is said that the ox does not like the smell of vodka'

Sie viga **pidäb** jäämä ka lapsesse (Kuu; cf. Must 1987: 257)

'It is said that this fault may remain also in the child'

[pääsuke] **piab** püha lind olema (Khk; cf. Kask 1984: 269)

'It is said that the swallow is a holy bird'

- (28) Kas see tõssi on, et wallaskalla mõnnikord sure ealega **peab** mõurama (Kreutzwald 1849, cf. Kask 1984: 245)

'Is it true that sometimes the whale is said to roar in a loud voice'

It has been assumed that this usage can be explained by the German influence (Kask 1984: 70), cf. *Er soll krank sein – Ta peab ('pidavat') haige olema* 'He must be ill'. This usage is uncharacteristic of contemporary Standard Estonian – the evidential present can only be inferential and not quotative, cf. 2.2.

In addition to the imperfect, the *pidama*-quotative may occur also in those forms where quotativity is conveyed by the main verbs, i. e. *vat*-quotative (historically the partitive case of the present participle), the *da*-infinitive, in some dialects also the *ma*-infinitive.⁵

- (29) See [auto] **pidavat** kolmeaastase garantiiga olema.

'This car is said to have a three-year warranty'.

⁵ About the expressive possibilities of the quotative see especially Airila 1935 and Kask 1984.

(30) Ta **pidada** oskama kõiki pillisid mängida (Jõh, vt Kask 1984: 270)

'He is said to be able to play any musical instrument'

(31) Paabakoi **piämä** kõnelema (Kod, Kask 1984: 268)

'It is said that a parrot can talk'

The corpus of the standard language provided no examples of the use of the indicative (plu)perfect and the single past participle of the *pidama*-verb in the quotative function, which are the common means of rendering quotativity'. In such sentences as

(32) Ta (**on/oli**) **pidanud** aastaid end ravima.

'He has/had had to treat himself for years'.

one can find reported evidentiality that is caused by the compound tense form. However, the *pidama*-verb has retained the meaning of agent-oriented modality. It seems that the use of the (plu)perfect is impossible in the case of a non-intentional process, where agent-oriented interpretation is impossible, cf. (33) and (34).

(33) Ta **pidi/pidavat** rumal olema.

'He is said to be stupid'.

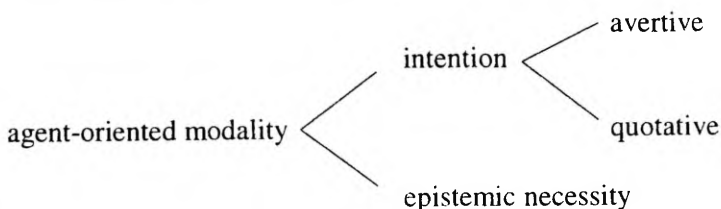
(34) ?Ta (**oli**) **pidanud** rumal olema.

'He is said to have been stupid'.

It is difficult to provide a convincing explanation how the *pidi*-form developed into the auxiliary verb of the quotative. It seems that Laitinen's explanation is plausible. According to Laitinen, the source of the quotative evidentiality is the non-implicative interpretation of *pidi* (Laitinen 1992: 258–259). Talking about the agent's intentions (unless it is the first person) assumes that the person has heard about it from someone else. This assumption has later developed into an independent meaning. This history of the origin of the quotative interpretation is supported by the fact that both the intentional (and the developed avertive) meaning and the quotative meanings are expressed by one form, i.e. the imperfect.

3. Summary

Thus, in Estonian the modal verb *pidama*, which originally expressed agent-oriented modality, developed, on the one hand, into an auxiliary-like verb expressing epistemic modality or inferential evidentiality and, on the other, into an auxiliary-like verb that expresses quotative evidentiality and the avertive meaning through the intermediate intentional stage. The following schemes illustrates these developments:



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MÄRKMEID *PIDAMA*-VERBI GRAMMATIKALISEERUMISE KOHTA EESTI KEELES

Mati Erelt

1. Kaks *pidama*-verbi

Tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles on kaks *pidama*-verbi. Üks neist esineb tähendustes ‘hoidma ja arvama’, nt

(1) Ta suudab veel mõõka käes **pidada**.

Kurjategijat **peeti** üksikkambris.
 Ta ei suutnud naeru tagasi **pidada**.
 Ta **pidas** mind kellekski teiseks.

Teine on ennekõike kohustatust väljendav modaalverb (2) või siis kannab sellele lähedast, modaalsest tähendusest kujunenud tähendust, nagu lauses (3).

(2) Te **peate** ära minema.

(3) Ma **pidin** õhtul kinno minema, aga mõtlesin ümber.

Diakrooniliselt on tegemist üheainsa verbiga, kusjuures modaalne tähendus on mõistagi kujunenud mittemodaalsest tähendusest. *Pidama* käsitlemist sünkroonilises plaanis kahe eraldi verbina toetab asjaolu, et neil verbidel on erinevad lihtmineviku tunnused – modaalne tähenduse korral on imperfekti tunnuseks *-i-*, mittemodaalse tähenduse korral aga *-s(i)-*. *Pidama*-verbi vormiline kahestumine on toimunud ainult Põhja-Eesti murdealal ja sellel baseerub kirjakeeles, sest hilistekkeline imperfekti-tunnus *-si-* on põhjaeestiline nähtus. Lõuna-Eestis on imperfekt kõikide verbide puhul *i*-tunnuseline ja seetõttu pole vormilist õigustust rääkida kahest *pidama*-verbist.

2. *Pidama*-verbi modaalised ja mittemodaalsed tähendused

Verb *pidama* kuulub nende modaalverbide hulka, mis hõlmavad nii tegijakesket (s.o dünaamilist ehk võimelisusmodaalsust ja deontilist ehk lubatusmodaalsust) kui ka episteemilist (ehk tõenäosus-) modaalsust. Peale nende tähenduste on verbil *pidama* veel vähemalt kolm postmodaalset tähendust: kavatsuse tähendus, avertiivne ja kvotatiivne tähendus.

Modaalne *pidama*

(4) agendikeskne vajalikkus

a. dünaamiline vajalikkus

Ma **pean** mütsi pähe panema, sest väljas on juba külm.

b. deontiline vajalikkus

Sa **pead** varsti koju minema.

(5) episteemiline vajalikkus

Ta **peab** küll rumal olema, et niisuguse võimaluse kasutamata jättis.

Postmodaalne *pidama*

(6) kavatsus

Ma **pidin** täna linna minema, aga mõtlesin ümber.

(7) avertiiv

Ta **pidi** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

(8) kvotatiiv

Juta **pidi** haige olema.

2.1. Agendikeskne vajalikkus

Verb *pidama* väljendab nii dünaamilist kui ka deontilist modaalsust. Dünaamiline vajalikkus on agendi enda omadustest või mingitest välistest asjaoludest (kuid mitte kõneleja või kellegi muu tahtest) johtuv agendi vajadus teha midagi. Deontiline vajalikkus osutab agendivälisele vajadusele, mis realiseerub kohustusena. Kohustuse allikas on harilikult kõneleja, kuid see võib olla ka mõni ühiskondlik norm. Mõlema agendikeskse modaalsuse tüübid on suunatud tulevikku, mõlemad eeldavad agendi tahtlikku toimimist, kuid kui dünaamilisest vajalikkusest järeldub teo sooritamine tulevikus, siis deontilise vajalikkuse puhul puhul jääb see lahtiseks. Kui kellelgi on vaja pissile minna, siis ta ka läheb. Kui aga kedagi kohustatakse pissile minema, siis ta võib minna (kui tal tõesti on pissihäda) aga ei pruugi minna (kui tal pissihäda ei ole). Deontiline modaalsus erineb dünaamilisest sellegi poolest, et esimese agendikesk-sus ei ole enam nii tugev. Agent ei pruugi ilmtingimata olla eksplitsiitselt väljendatud, nagu lauses *Lamp peab esikus põlema*, kus agendina on käsitatav implitsiitne isik, kellest lambi põlemine oleneb (vt Uuspõld 1989: 170).

Kuivõrd deontiline modaalsus on kujunenud dünaamilisest, siis on ootuspärane, et nende kahe vahel puudub selge piirjoon ja osa lauseid võimaldab mõlemat tõlgendust. Seda kinnitavad ka verbi *pidama* korpusnäited.

(9) dünaamiline vajalikkus

Minult oodatakse mingite imenippide paljastamist, aga siin **pean** käed üles tõstma.

Võidu saavutamiseks oli ainult üks võti: **pidin** riskima ja üritasin sooritada tapva ründelöögi enne teda.

(10) kohustus

Raudtee parandamine nõuab ühist hoolt, millesse oma toeka panuse **peab** andma ka vabariigi tööstus.

(11) dünaamiline vajalikkus / kohustus

Peame olema valmis vastu astuma mis tahes agressioonile. See on meie kõigi ühine soov ning seda nõuab meilt ka ühiskond.

Agendikeskne *pidama* esineb eri ajavormides. Peale indikatiivi võib agendikeskne *pidama* olla ka konditsionaalis, väljendades sel juhul nõrgemat kohustust, nagu lauses (12):

- (12) Valitsus **peaks** arvestama sellega, et põlevkivi hinna järsk tõus tõstab kohe ka elektrienergia hinda ..

2.2. Episteemiline vajalikkus = järelduslik evidentsiaalsus

Episteemilise modaaluse mõjupiirkonnas on propositsioon, mitte predikaat. Kõneleja usub, et sündmus on kindel või väga tõenäoline. Olen samal seisukohal mis van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 85), et episteemiline vajalikkus on nn järeldusliku evidentsiaalsuse alltüüp.

Järelduslikku evidentsiaalsust väljendav *pidama* on kas indikatiivis, nagu lauseis (13) ja (14), või konditsionaalis, nagu lauseis (15) ja (16). Selgemini tuleb episteemilis-evidentsiaalne tõlgendus esile siis, kui tõendid, mille põhjal järeldus tehakse, on lauses eksplitsiitselt väljendatud nagu see on lauses (13).

- (13) Ta **peab/pidi** küll rumal olema, kui ta sellest kohast loobub/loobus.
 (14) Need loomad **peavad/pidid** rebased olema.
 (15) Elamuscadusandlust tuntakse üldiselt halvasti, ehkki see on meil massitiraazis ilmunud ja **peaks** olema kättesaadav igale asjast huvitatule.
 (16) Juhan **peab / peaks** varsti tulema.

Verbi *pidama* konditsionaali (oleviku)vorm osutab, et sündmus on tõenäoline, kuid mitte kindel.

Enamasti on tegu 3. isikuga, sest kõneaktis vahetult osalejate kohta on harva vaja teha järeldusi kaudsete tõendite põhjal, ehkki võimatu see pole.

Üldlevinud seisukoha järgi on juhul, kui väljendil on nii agendikeskne kui ka episteemiline tähendus, viimane kujunenud esimesest (vt nt Heine *et al* 1991: 177). Üleminekut deontiliselt vajalikkuselt episteemilisele peetakse sageli metafoori tulemuseks (vt nt Bybee *et al* 1994: 201) ja see võib kehtida ka eesti keele puhul.

2.3. Kavatsus ja avertiiv

Paljude keelte puhul on täheldatud, et agendikeskset modaalust väljendavad verbid võivad areneda kavatsust väljendavateks verbideks ning kuivõrd kavatsus on suunatud tulevikku, siis võivad nad edasi areneda tuleviku abiverbideks (vt nt Bybee *et al* 1991). Umbes samasuguseid nihkeid on näha ka *pidama*-verbi arengus. Agendikeskse vajalikkuse

kavatsusimplikatsioon on kujunenud mõnel juhul *pidama*-verbi põhitähtsuseks, nagu lauses (17).

- (17) Rahvusvaheline filmikriitikute žürii tegi oma otsuse juba laupäeva lõunaks, sest žürii president **pidi** (a. 'kavatses'; b. 'oli sunnitud') Pariisi oma naise sünnipäevale lendama.

Pidama-verbist, täpsemalt selle imperfektivormidest ei ole siiski edasi kujunenud mitte tuleviku abiverb, vaid verb, mis kannab avertiivset tähendust, nagu lauseis:

- (18) Jüri **pidi** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.
(19) Kulda ja kalliskive oli nii palju, et laev **pidi** nende raskuse all põhja minema.
(20) Ta **pidi** oma kohast ilma jääma

Analoogiline tähendusmuutus on toimunud ka soome keele edela ja Häme murdeis (vt Laitinen 1992).

Termin *avertiiv* pärineb Kutevalt (1999), kes mõistab selle all vormi, mis kannab tähendust 'verbisündmus oli peaaegu toimumas, kuid ei toimunud'. Kuteva (1998: 116; 1999: 36) on toonud avertiivi näidete hulgas näite ka eesti keelest, nimelt konstruktsiooni *olema*-verbi konditsionaalivorm + põhiverbi mineviku partitsiip:

- (21) Laps **oleks** (peaaegu) **maha kukkunud**.

Pidi-avertiivi olemasolu eesti keeles Kuteva ei maini ning üldse jätab Kuteva modaalverbi avertiivi võimalike allikate seast välja. Tegelikult on eesti keeles *pidama*-verbi imperfekti kasutamine avertiivses tähenduses väga tavaline, kusjuures selline konstruktsioon ei ole sugugi enam grammatikalisel esimesel astmel, kuna see ei vaja kontekstide vastandava *aga*-lause näol.

Avertiivne tähendus ei sisalda tahtelist komponenti ning ning ta tulebki selgelt esile just siis, kui infinitiiv on seisundit või mittetahtelist protsessi väljendav verb. Avertiivne tähendus on ainult minevikuvormil. Imperfektivormiline avertiivne *pidama*-tarind muutub olevikus selgelt deontiliseks. Nt lauset (24) saab tõlgendada ainult nii, et kavatsetakse teha midagi, mis paneb Jüri üllatuma ja üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

- (24) Jüri **peab** üllatusest pikali kukkuma.

2.4. Kvotatiivne evidentsiaalsus

Verb *pidama* võib väljendada ka mittejärelenduslikku, kvotatiivset evidentsiaalsust, nagu lauseis:

- (25) “Nad jagasid linnas väikeseid lipikuid ka inimestele ja ma kuulsin, et praegugi **pidi** neid mitmes kohas maas vedelema,” ütles abiprefekt.

Esitatud lauses annab kvotatiivsust samuti edasi *pidama*-verbi indikatiivi imperfekti vorm, mis on kaotanud oma mineviku tähenduse ja muutunud kvotatiivi abiverbiks. Seda näitab tema asendatavus põhiverbi morfoloogilise kvotatiivi vormiga:

- (26) Praegugi **pidi** neid mitmes kohas maas **vedelema**.
= Praegugi **vedelevat** neid mitmes kohas maas.

Murretes (peamiselt põhjaeestis) ja vanemas kirjakeeles kasutati kvotatiivses tähenduses ka *pidama*-verbi indikatiivi preesensit. Nt

- (27) Ärg ei **pia** viina aisu sallima (Jõe; vt Must 1987: 257)
Sie viga **pidab** jäämä ka lapsesse (Kuu; vt Must 1987: 257)
[pääsuke] **piab** püha lind olema (Khk; vt Kask 1984: 269)
(28) Kas see tõssi on, et wallaskalla mõnnikord sure ealega **peab** mõu-
rama (Kreutzwald 1849, vt Kask 1984: 245)

Sellise kasutuse taga on oletatud saksa mõju (Kask 1984: 70), vrd *Er soll krank sein / Ta peab ('pidavat') haige olema*. Tänapäeva eesti kirjakeelele on see kasutus võõras – evidentsiaalne olevik saab olla ainult järelenduslik, mitte kvotatiivne, vt 2.2.

Peale imperfekti võib kvotatiivne *pidama* olla ka neis vormides, mis põhiverbi korral annavad edasi kvotatiivsust, s.o *vat*-kvotatiiv, *da*-infinitiv, murdeti veel ka *ma*-infinitiv:

- (29) See [auto] **pidavat** kolmeaastase garantiiga olema.
(30) Ta **pidada** oskama kõiki pillisid mängida (Jõh, vt Kask 1984: 270)
(31) Paabakoi **piämä** kõnelema (Kod, Kask 1984: 268)

Minu kasutada olnud kirjakeele korpuses puuduvad aga näited *pidama*-verbi indikatiivi pluperfekti ja perfekti ning pelgalt mineviku partitsiibi kasutuse kohta kvotatiivses funktsioonis, mis on põhiverbi puhul tavalisi kvotatiivsuse edasiandmise vahendeid. Sellistes lausetes, nagu

- (32) Ta (**on/oli**) **pidanud** aastaid end ravima.

on küll tegu liitajast tingitud vahendatud teatelaadiga, kuid *pidama*-verb on säilitanud agendikeskse modaalsuse tähenduse. Mittetahtelise prot-

sessi puhul, kus agendikeskne tõlgendus puudub, tundub (plu)perfekti kasutamine olevat võimatu, vrd (33) ja (34):

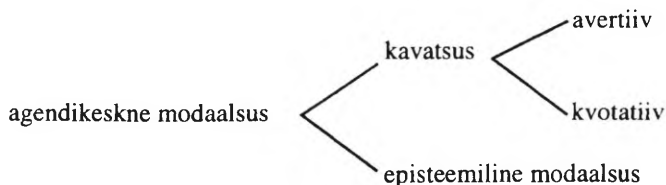
(33) Ta **pidi/pidavat** rumal olema.

(34) ?Ta (**oli**) **pidanud** rumal olema.

Pidi-vormi kujunemise kohta kvotatiivi abiverbiks on raske anda ühest seletust. Võrdlemisi usutavana tundub Laitineni seletus, kes näeb kvotatiivse evidentsiaalsuse allikat *pidi* mitteimplikatiivses tõlgenduses (Laitinen 1992: 258–259). Agendi (kui see pole 1. isik ise) kavatsusest rääkimine eeldab, et selle kohta on kelleltki teiselt midagi kuuldud. Sellest eeldusest ongi hiljem kujunenud iseseisev tähendus. Kvotatiivse tõlgenduse seesugust tekkelugu toetab asjaolu, et nii kavatsusliku (ja sellest kujunenud avertiivse) tähenduse kui ka kvotatiivse tähenduse vormistajaks on kujunenud üks ja sama vorm, s.o imperfekti vorm.

3. Kokkuvõte

Niisiis, esialgu ainult agendikeskset modaalsust väljendavast modaalverbist *pidama* on eesti keeles kujunenud ühelt poolt episteemilist modaalsust ehk järelduslikku evidentsiaalsust väljendav abiverbi taoline verb, teiselt poolt aga ilmselt kavatsuse tähenduse vaheastme kaudu kvotatiivset evidentsiaalsust ning avertiivset tähendust väljendav abiverbi taoline verb. Skemaatiliselt:



LEXICALIZATION AND GRAMMATICALIZATION – OPPOSITE PHENOMENA?

**About some lexicalized verb forms
of Old Written Estonian**

Külli Habicht

University of Tartu

Introduction

The past twenty years have witnessed a lively discussion of grammaticalization, and its essence has been explained on the basis of examples from various languages. On the other hand, lexicalization has attracted considerably less attention. Both processes reflect the genesis and spread of linguistic innovation. In a broader sense both lexicalization and grammaticalization can be regarded as types of linguistic change. The former enriches the vocabulary, that is, a multi-morphemic semantically transparent word form turns into a grammatically indivisible lexical unit with a new meaning. The latter, however, enriches grammar – lexical substance gives rise to new inflectional markers or grammatical constructions.

According to Ilse Wisner, lexicalization begins on the discourse level and then continues by metonymy or metaphor in the direction of semantic differentiation (Wisher 1997b). The same author has treated grammaticalization as a three-phase chain, where in the first, analytic phase the implicit meaning is generalized and some semantic components disappear until the expression becomes a part of the sentence. The second, synthetic phase changes an adposition into a clitic or an affix, accompanied by phonological reduction. The latter may, in its turn, trigger the third or incorporating phase, where motivation and form disappear (Wisher 1997b). Researchers of grammaticalization have also emphasized that the grammaticalization of a lexical unit is not

an autonomous process, but it depends on the development of the syntax and discourse grammar of a language (Klamer 2000: 88).

Both kinds of linguistic change are characteristic of typologically different languages. One could, however, discuss what kind of lexicalization and grammaticalization processes are typical of a certain language. The present article will address this problem, as well as the relation between grammaticalization and lexicalization, on the basis of the material of Old Written Estonian, proceeding from the linguistic competence of the present time. In a broader sense, lexicalization is any process of semantic differentiation in the vocabulary of a language. In a narrower sense, lexicalization is a historical process, where an earlier grammatical marker or derivational affix, that is, a bound morpheme gives rise to an independent lexical unit (Matthews 1997: 206).

It is often quite difficult to draw a line between grammar and lexis. However, it is important that this line should exist (at least conventionally) from the standpoint of the grammatical tradition, to be more precise, from the standpoint of defining parts of speech and also parts of the sentence. Not everything is unambiguously clear in the transitional area from lexis to grammar and the other way round. Here we will reach the problem of the relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization. Some parts of the grammar of a language are constantly replenished by the lexis, and the lexis is enriched by those word forms that are detached from the paradigm and become semantically independent. The natural development of a language is cognitively motivated, however, linguistic influences that are manifested through translations may give rise to such lexicalization and grammaticalization processes that deviate from the natural development. This is the way how an abrupt change occurs. The German-influenced texts of Old Written Estonian reveal many examples, where the authors (translators) had to fill in the conceptual gaps in the language, which could be done by providing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the foreign expression.

The essence of lexicalization

The lexicalization process has been defined in various ways. Some researchers claim that it is a form of de-grammaticalization, in the course of which a grammatical construction loses its function and degenerates into a lexical unit (Wischer 1997a). It could be regarded as a grammar-centred approach, but it seems that what is more important is that language is able to produce lexical items with an independent meaning. Therefore, it would be more justified to treat grammaticalization as a more strictly ruled continuation of lexicalization (Keller 1995: 227). In other words, one has to take into consideration the position of the word in syntactic constructions and the constraints and regularities that are valid there.

It is also important to delimit the scope and content of the concept. In a broader sense lexicalization means the genesis of any lexical item with an independent meaning from previously more grammatical substance; in a narrower sense lexicalization stands in opposition to grammaticalization, denoting a process in the course of which grammatical morphemes give rise to lexical morphemes. However, it seems that in both cases one can speak to a certain extent about similar mechanisms – in the case of lexicalization an icon becomes a symbol, and there is a conventional relationship between form and content (Keller 1995: 167–168). The same is true of grammaticalization. Metaphor and metonymy both act as a basis for linguistic transfer (see e.g. also Heine *et al.* 1991; Heine 1997; Bybee *et al.* 1994). The only differences lie in the fact on which level the rules operate, whether on the level of the lexicon or grammar. In certain cases both processes may take place simultaneously, and previous lexicalization may serve as a prerequisite for grammaticalization (Wischer 1997b). Tiina Onikki (Onikki 1997) emphasized this view in her article dealing with adverbs of state in Finnish, and the analysis of the development of adpositions in Old Written Estonian enabled us to draw the same conclusion. An item undergoing grammaticalization must go through the step of detaching itself from the full lexical morphological paradigm,

and in the meanwhile it becomes a lexical item in order to establish adpositional usage in a certain morphosyntactic environment. In the case of many adpositions in Standard Estonian the semantic detachment of a word from creates a basis for its use in a new morphosyntactic environment, e.g. *ase mele tulema* 'come in place of sb' – *tuleb tema ase mele* 'he comes in place of him'; *käes olema* 'be in sb's hands' – *aeg on meie käes* 'time is in our hands'. It means that the adpositional use is preceded by adverbialization (see Habicht 2000).

In the course of lexicalization a composite linguistic item loses its compositeness – its meaning stops being a sum of its constituents. An expression becomes conventional and loses some of its transparency, motivatedness, iconicity, thus becoming closer to a conventional lexical symbol (<http://rosetta.helsinki.fi/hn/lkk111/111s9806.htm>).

Lexicalization as increased semantic freedom is a stepwise process – at any moment language has some words that are going through the initial stage of this process, where the detachment of the meaning has just started, and the word form is extensively used also in its original transparent meaning and the expected syntactic function. On the other hand, there is some historical material that from the synchronic point of view is not transparent or morphologically analyzable anymore because there is no motivated relationship between the meaning and form of the base word. A language may retain, for example, some archaic forms as lexicalized units for a very long time as – rudiments of earlier grammatical morphemes that from the synchronic point of view exist only as part of the uninflected word. For example, in Standard Estonian rudiments of possessive suffixes are manifested in many adverbs (*iganes* 'ever', *eales* 'ever', *iseäranis* 'especially', *koguni* 'even', etc. One can also find a large number of words that contain forms of the lost instructive case, for example, *omapäi* 'on one's own', *paljajalu* 'barefoot', *kinnisilmi* 'with closed eyes', *avasüli* 'with open arms', etc.

Relationship between lexicalization and grammaticalization

Although lexicalization is often treated as an opposite to grammaticalization, a number of researchers make an attempt to regard them as links of a single development chain, where the lexicon and grammar supplement each other by means of lexicalization and grammaticalization processes. During the first stage of lexicalization the meaning of the word form becomes more specific and polysemy decreases. In syntax such conventionalization is called collocation; its distribution differs from the free distribution of its constituents. During the second stage the meaning that proceeds from the constituents becomes outdated and the morpheme-to-morpheme interpretation does not provide adequate information about the meaning of the word. The semantic development may have undergone abstraction or concretization processes, metaphoric or metonymic transfers. During the third stage new suffixes are abstracted on the basis of the compound word (e.g. it is thought that the noun suffix *-us* in Balto-Finnic languages may have derived from the independent word *vuosi* ‘period’; the English adverb suffix *-ly*, however, was derived from the stem *like*. During the last stage the original meaning of the word gets blurred, and the new lexical item distances itself from its etymology. For example, it is quite difficult to guess that the verb *paaduma* ‘harden; become indifferent, unconcerned’ is derived from the word *paas* ‘limestone’ (<http://rosetta.helsinki.fi/hn/lkk111/111s9806.htm>).

Theoretically and in the long-term perspective there should be some good examples to prove this development – some lexical units become particles, clitics, affixes, and finally grammatical markers. They may become idiomatic through the emergence of collocations, thus already belonging to vocabulary. When following the development of Estonian as a relatively young written language, it is difficult to find such examples that have passed through the entire development cycle. It is much more common that the development involves only some central phase of the cycle that is based on the semantic shift of the form within the syntactic and pragmatic limits of the language. One could

perhaps conclude that the realization of a 'perfect' chain requires a longer time interval than offered by the 450-year tradition of written Estonian.

When looking at the outcome of lexicalization and grammaticalization processes, then in both cases one is dealing with the usage of a lexical word that has become detached from the morphological paradigm. The background of the process is semantic transfer, an aspiration for increased figurativeness. Most linguists who have studied this topic (see e.g. Heine, Claudi, Hünemeyer 1991) point to the importance of metaphor and metonymy. The grammaticalization process results in the usage of a grammatical word that has been transferred into a new environment on the basis of analogy supported by semantic transfer. The lexicalization process is usually accompanied by transition of a lexical word form to the class of uninflected words, usually caused by the increased freedom of meaning. At this one can witness an important semantic change – additional figurativeness or a new semantic shade. The difference, however, lies in the fact that in the grammaticalization process the emerged item is more grammatical than the base unit, and usually it is not an independent word. In the course of lexicalization, however, the syntactic independence of the word is retained although the meaning becomes more specific and opaque than that of the base form.

Typical grammaticalization processes of Standard Estonian concern the development of adpositions from various forms of declinable words followed by the development of case endings. Among verb forms we can observe the development of both modal verbs and auxiliary verbs. Similar tendencies can be observed in many languages of the world. Elizabeth C. Traugott has included in the main grammaticalization phenomena also the development of adverbs into sentence adverbs and from there on into discourse particles (Traugott 1995; Traugott 1999).

Lexicalization, however, is a phenomenon that is more unsystematic and more difficult to generalize. The process may be affected by the morphosyntactic possibilities of the language, the example of other languages, and the language-internal logic of semantic development. It is clear that the possibilities of lexicalization are more open and diverse and, accordingly, more

difficult to typologize than in the case of grammaticalization – there are more possibilities for the emergence of a new meaning of a form than for its fixing in some morphosyntactic function. In the case of grammaticalization the development proceeds from the specific to the generic, which is easier to typologize than the detachment of meaning that occurs in the course of lexicalization.

In both cases we are dealing with the enrichment of the possibilities of linguistic expression on the basis of some concrete word form. It is true that in this respect grammaticalization goes further, to a more abstract level, because the new and modified use is transferred as a means of expressing the grammatical relationship. It seems that in both processes semantic independence is supported by its frequent use in the form that has so many multiple semantic interpretations that it allows a semantic transfer and that will be finally interpreted as independent. Therefore, it is likely that only the word forms in semantic cases, which have developed various semantic functions, are suitable for lexicalization. The situation is more complicated in the case of conjugable words although it seems that the vast majority of lexicalized verb forms originate from secondary verb morphology, that is, from nonfinite forms. However, there are also some morphologically unmarked finite forms that have given rise to rhetorical particles that have developed along similar lines in various languages, e.g. *vaata* 'look' (Finnish *katsopas!*, *katsos!*, *kas! kato!*; German *sieh!*; English *look!*), *pea* (German *halt!*, English *stop!*, *halt!*) and others. The following analysis shows that in the latter case it is not easy to draw a line between lexicalization and grammaticalization.

Thus, one might say that by comparison with lexicalization the grammaticalization chain is one step longer. In the case of grammaticalization the semantic differentiation (emergence of the specific) is important, followed by generalization, that is, the emergence of the typical.

Lexicalization is characterized by semantic differentiation of the form, that is, the emergence of an individual meaning. There is no generalization due to analogy, however.

	Meaning	Destination	Syntactic independence
Grammaticalization	general	grammar	non-independent
Lexicalization	individual	lexicon	independent

Aim and sources of the present study

The present study proceeds from the broader interpretation of the concept of lexicalization and provides examples of the lexicalization of verb forms.

The study examines those cases of lexicalization in Older Written Estonian that are of interest because of the duration, stepwise character, and possible foreign influences in the lexicalization process. The focus is on

- the relationship between lexicalization and grammaticalization;
- the typology of the lexicalization process and its stepwise character using the example of lexicalization chains that originated from the verb in Standard Estonian;
- lexicalized verb forms in Older Written Estonian and semantic change in time.

An attempt is made to establish some regularities concerning the verb forms that have most frequently triggered the lexicalization process. The material under discussion is limited to cases of typical semantic lexicalization, where verb forms give rise to adjectives, nouns, or adverbs. Such a possibility proceeds from the syntactico-semantic properties of the nonfinite forms of the verb characteristic of many languages. Older Written Estonian, which was influenced by German, is no exception here.

Various verb forms reveal different typological problems. One group of problems is related to participles that can universally function as adjectives. It is so also in German, which has influenced Older Written Estonian – lexicalization may have been caused by the translation of the German participial form with the Estonian participial form, which in this case also renders similar figurative conceptual scope, e.g. Est *minev* – Ger *vergangen*, Est *äravalitsetud* – Ger *außerwählt*. Some of such lexicalized forms with adjectival use may be moved by means of meaning transfer to nouns, that is, to designate a person, thing,

phenomenon, or idea that carries this feature. For participles and the *-mata* form the lexicalization chain is as follows: verb form belonging to the paradigm → adjective → noun.

However, it is evident that one can speak about the lexicalization of a regular form only after a certain semantic shift has taken place – not every adjectivally used participial form becomes semantically independent.

The increased freedom of word forms is a stepwise process, where the low degree of lexicalization reveals only a slight semantic change by comparison with the original meaning. The high degree, however, enables us to claim that the etymological link has become opaque (as e.g. in the adverb *paraku* 'unfortunately', where the association with the verb *parandama* 'repair; improve' is not transparent in contemporary language).

The material of the present article was collected from the North Estonian religious texts from the first half of the 17th century: the sermons by G.Müller (henceforth, M) and two church handbooks by Heinrich Stahl (henceforth, ST) *Hand- vnd Haußbuches Für die Pfarherren / vnd Haußväter Ehstnischen Fürstenthumbs* I–IV 1632–1638 (henceforth, HH) and *Leyen Spiegel* I–II 1641–1649 (henceforth, LS).

Below the lexicalized forms are presented in alphabetical order, and, if necessary, explanations of modern meanings are provided.

PRESENT IMPERATIVE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR verb → interjection (discourse particle)

In the case of pragmatic particles that were lexicalized from the nonfinite forms of the verb one has to think to what extent their development reveals the co-influence of grammaticalization and lexicalization. On the one hand, from the point of view of the origin of the linguistic means that are characteristic of spoken language, one is dealing with a manifestation of typical grammaticalization because the categorial change is accompanied by emergence of a new unit in discourse grammar. In that case grammaticalization also presumes semantic independence of the form, which, in its turn, can be regarded as a lexicalization

phenomenon. Thus, in the above-mentioned chain of semantic change grammaticalization and lexicalization go hand in hand.

A similar development of particles in connection with verbs of sense perception has been observed in Finnish, where the words *kuulepas*, *katsos*, *kappas* have no other function in the text than urging the speaker to continue talking. Depending on the context these expressions can be interpreted as affective exclamations (Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 105–106). Elizabeth C. Traugott observed the development of the English discourse particles *indeed*, *in fact*, and *besides*. She brought out the following stages: 1) decategorization, 2) bonding within the phrase, 3) phonological reduction, 4) generalization of meaning, 5) increase in pragmatic function, 6) subjectification (the particles become increasingly associated with speaker attitude) (Traugott 1995). All of them with the exception of number two are characteristic of the development of discourse particles in Estonian verbs as well.

katsu ‘look’

It is an archaic verb that is often used in the older written language. In the sermons by Müller it appears in the form *katze*, e.g.

Katze, kuy mina sen heele sest terwetust kulsin, hüppis se laps rõhmu kahs minu Hiwo siddes (M 1/11)

‘Look, when I heard this greeting voice, the child jumped with joy in my womb’

katsu is rather common in the lexicalized form; it is a fixed phrase with a figurative meaning, where *katso* is not anymore associated with the original meaning of the verb *vaatama* but has become an address formula similarly to the verb *vaatama* ‘look’, e.g.

Ninck katzo / üx hehl taiwast alla pajatis / se on münno armas poick

Vnd sihe / eine stimme vom Himmel herab sprach / Das ist mein lieber Sohn (ST, HH III, 19)

‘And look / a voice from heaven spoke / that is my dear son’

From the point of view of grammar those examples are more interesting, where *katsu* has extended its use from the second person singular to the other forms as well, for example, the second person plural, that is, formally it has become a particle, e.g.

Katzo / Minna ollen se teile enne üttelnut

Sihe / Ich hab's euch zuvor gesagt (ST, HH III, 146)

'Look, I have told this to you before'

or

Katzo / sesinnane sah' pantut ohex langmissex / ninck üllestousmissex paljo rahwalle Israelli siddes

Sihe / Dieser wird gesetzt zu einem Fall / vnd Aufferstehen vieler in Israel (ST, HH III, 16)

'Look, it will be shown as a fall / and a rise for many Israeli people'

In this case one could speak about the higher degree of lexicalization. In "Leyen Spiegel" by Stahl *katsu* occurs 13 times in this lexicalized meaning, e.g.

tehxin minna omma wohde Pörgko sisse / katzo / sihs ollet sinna kahs sehl

bettet ich mir in die Helle / siehe / so bistu auch da (ST, LS, 623)

'I would like to do my bed in hell / look / then you'll be there too'

The verb has lost its original meaning also in the combination *katsu siis*, being used as a rhetorical particle, e.g.

wedda enne se Palcki om~ast Silmast / ninck katzo sihs / eth sa se Pindo omma Wenna Silmast weddat

zeuch zuvor den Balcken auß deinen Auge / vnd besihe dann / daß du den Splitter auß deines Bruders Auge ziehest (ST, LS, 694)

'First remove the beam from your own eye / and then see to it / that you'll remove the the splinter from the eye of your brother'

In Contemporary Standard Estonian this stem is not used in the meaning 'to look, to see'; *katsu* itself is not used as a discourse particle either. In Finnish, however, the same word form *katso* has undergone a similar development, being phonetically simplified in spoken language (*kato*). The steps in the grammatical change from verb to particle are as follows: 1) There is the imperative form *katso*; its grammatical form and lexical meaning determine its usage; 2) Alongside this usage, another one has emerged: that of making someone aware of something that is subsequently offered as an explanation to a previous utterance. This secondary usage has influenced the form of the item. It has lost a phoneme (*katso* → *kato*), and the right to gain a sentence stress. Syntactically its distribution is that of a discourse particle (Hakulinen, Seppänen 1992: 547–548).

pea 'keep; stop'

The lexicalization of this rare form in the old written language may have been triggered by a figurative use of the polysemous verb *pidama* 'keep; stop', which in this rhetorical particle is close to the meaning *oota* 'wait'. The verb *oota*, which according to the same logic has given to the contemporary language the particle *oot*, had not become a particle in the old written language as yet.

The use of particlized *pea* could be illustrated by means of the following example:

*ninck jotas temma / ninck pajatas nende töisede kahs: **Pidda**
/ katzkem / kas Elias tullep / ninck temma maha wottap
Vnd träncket ihn / vnd sprach mit den andern: **Halt** laß
sehen ob Elias komme / vnd ihn herab neme (ST, HH III,
236)*

'And quenched his thirst / and he told the others: halt / let us
see / whether Elias Will come / and take him off'

The German pragmatic particle follows the same logic both by its content and form. It is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a translation loan or an expression that existed in popular language. However, it seems that in the text by Stahl we can observe some German influence in the choice of the form. It is re-

markable that the link with the concrete finite form is lost: Stahl uses the form *pidda* with the first person plural, which clearly indicates that it is a particlized use. In all the example sentences *pea* occurs in direct speech, thus imitating spoken language. In contemporary spoken Estonian, too, *pea* is used as a particle.

vaata

There are three occurrences of the rhetorical particle *vaata* in Müller, twice in the archaic form *walata* and once in the form *wata*.

Ninda paiatab kaas se Engel nente Kariatzede wasta:
Walata *Mina kuluta teile üx suhr rõhmu* (M 2/7)
 ‘So the angel also speaks to the shepherds: Look, I’ll bring you great joy’

In “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl there are 80 occurrences of this rhetorical particle, e.g.

Wata / *minna leckitan teije jure Prophetit / ninck tarckat / ninck kirjatundijat*
Siehe / *ich sende zu euch Propheten / vnd Weisen / vnd Schrifftgelährten* (ST, LS, 55)
 ‘Look, I’ll send to you prophets / and wise men / and literates’

The form *vaata* is an especially good example of lexicalization because, for example, in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl it occurs 30 times in the direct lexical meaning while the clearly lexicalized form is used 76 times, e.g.

Wata / *kui köwwast nemmat sünno pehle kaibawat*
Siehe *wie hart sie dich verklagen* (ST, HH III, 224)
 ‘Look how hard they are complaining about you’
Kus Iesus nende kaks rehckis wata sihs tullu üx pehmees
Da Iesus solches mit ihnen redet / Sihe / da kam der
Obersten einen (ST, HH III, 143)
 ‘While Jesus was talking to them / look / then there came a chief’

The example sentences prove that the use has moved away from the direct lexical meaning. It is rather a rhetorical address formula, where the meaning that directly urges into action is missing. The background of the transfer is cognitively understandable – the imperative form of a verb directed at visual perception has become to mark intense address to the hearer/reader. Also, formally *vaata* has acquired an anticipated use, becoming associated in addition to the second person also, for example, with the second person plural.

In contemporary Estonian this particle has shortened, being used both in written and spoken language in the form *vaat*. There is also a shorter form *vat* in the spoken language, which corresponds to the phonetic simplification process that is universally characteristic of grammaticalization. It is important from the point of view of the origin of the discourse particle that it is positioned at the beginning of the turn, which is illustrated by texts in the old written language.

It is possible that the use of the previously discussed rhetorical particles illustrates a peculiar intensifying stylistic device that has been introduced into Standard Estonian after the German example.

1. PRESENT IMPERATIVE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

verb → adverb

paraku 'unfortunately'

It is likely that *paraku* 'unfortunately' may have become lexicalized into an independent modal adverb by means of the spoken collocation *paraku(t) jumal* 'God help', which occurs both in the older written language as well as in the texts by Müller and Stahl. The latter is a peculiar verb form that occurs only a few times in the documented sources of the history of the literary language, therefore the etymologization of the word is problematic. The meaning of the stem *para(ta)-* corresponds to the contemporary verb *parandama* 'improve'; opinions concerning the base form, however, differ. Mägiste's etymological dictionary suggests that *parandama* (*paratkohen* < *parant-kohen*) should be the base form (Mägiste 1982: 1933). The Estonian–

German dictionary by Wiedemann, however, proposes the defective verb *pargama*; in his words some forms are used in the sense *parandama* ‘improve’ (Wiedemann 1973: 770).

The oldest written language reveals the beginning of the lexicalization of the verb form – it is the collocation *paraku jumal* ‘may God help’, e.g.

*Se on küll tõssi / **parrako Iummal!** Eth meije se Aja ellanut olleme*

*Es ist zwar war / **leider Gottes!** Daß wir die Zeit erlebt haben* (ST, LS, 686)

‘It is true /may God help / that we have witnessed this period’

This combination is rare, but the German equivalents *leider*, *leider Gottes* in the texts by Stahl indicate that it may have been a formula used in popular language. The equivalent *bessers Gott* alone points to a possible German translation influence in the origin of the lexicalization. From the point of view of Standard Estonian it is a peculiar verb that has a defective paradigm both in the older and contemporary written language, being preserved only in lexicalized combinations – in addition to the form *paraku* ‘unfortunately’ one can find also the infinitive *parata* (*pole parata*, *mis parata*, *ei saa parata*) ‘cannot help but’. At the same time it is interesting that already Stahl provides the German equivalent *leider* ‘unfortunately’, which is the meaning of this modal adverb also in contemporary Estonian.

2. PARTICIPLES

2.1. V-PARTICIPLE FORMS

verb → adjective → noun

In various languages participial forms can be used, if necessary, in the function of the adjective or the noun. The term ‘participle’ itself points to the status between two parts of speech – the verb and the adjective. Below I am going to discuss such cases of semantic adjectivization and substantivization of participles, where, on the one hand, the participle form is preserved, but the meaning has changed in comparison with the original verb form.

Syntactic adjectivization and substantivization as regular grammatical phenomena will not be discussed. It is common that the extension of meaning takes place on the basis of the already emerged adjectival use. It can be used then as a noun, as a designator of substance, that is, the property gives rise to its carrier, as in the case of the words *nägev* 'seeing, visible', *ilmanägev* 'invisible', *kuulev* 'hearing, hearer'.

elav 'alive'

The lexicalized *v*-participle form of the verb *elama* 'live' has the meanings of both 'living, animate' and 'lively'. The former meaning, which is closer to the lexical meaning of the verb, is predominant in the old written language. It has given rise to the nominal use – designation of a person. Already Müller has many examples of the adjectival use, e.g.

Eike ninda, kuy nüith se Vnny, üche ellawa Inimeße, nic-k eb mitte sen Inimeße Henge päle tulleb (M 14/3)

'Like this when now sleep descends on a living being and not his soul'

In the texts by Stahl, too, the adjectival use of the form *elav* is prevalent, e.g.

omma lohtusse pannema se ellawa lummala pehle / ke nende lessedade kaitzja ninck kochtomoistija on

ihre hoffnung stellen auff den Lebendigen GOTT / der der Witwen Schützer vnd Richter ist (ST, LS, 108)

'to put his hope on the living God, who is the protector and judge of these widows'

The form is somewhat less common in the substantival form, whereas both in Müller and Stahl the main use is associated with the collocation *elavad ja surnud* 'the quick and the dead', e.g.

Agkas kus IEsus sahp tullema sündima needt ellawat ninck surnut

Aber wenn er wird kommen zu richten die Lebendigen vnd die Todten (ST, LS, 394)

'But where Jesus will come to judge the quick and the dead'

However, there are also some other contexts that clearly illustrate the nominal use, e.g.

*Sest temma on sest mahst neist **ellawast** errakisktut
Denn er ist auß dem Lande der **Lebendigen** weggerissen*
(ST, HH III, 243)

‘Because he is torn away from the land of the living’

In contemporary standard language the adjective *elav* is used in the meanings ‘alive, cheerful, busy; intensive, energetic; expressive; real, genuine’ – thus, as lexicalization continued, the participle form developed various new senses.

hukkaminev ‘mortal, transient’

Only Stahl uses this adjective as the Estonian equivalent to the ecclesiastical term. It is likely that the choice of this form may have been prompted by analogy with other forms because the German equivalent would rather suggest the use of a *lik*-suffixed adjective.

*Sest mea sihn sahp külwatut **huckaminnew** / se sahp sehl
ülleßtousma ilmahuckaminnew
Denn was hie gesäet wird **Verweßlich** / das wird dort
aufferstehen Vnverweßlich* (ST, LS, 442)

‘Because what is sown here as transient/ will resurrect over there as immortal’

This lexicalized form is not used in contemporary Estonian.

ilmahukkaminev ‘immortal’

This German-influenced lexicalized verb form is also used only by Stahl to designate an essential ecclesiastical term, e.g.

*Ke meile ello ninck **ilmahuckaminnewa** ollemisse sahtnut
on
Der vns leben vnd **vnvergengliches** wesen ans Liecht bracht
hat* (ST, LS, 89)

‘The one who has sent us life and immortal existence’

Only the adjectival form of this word is used in the old written language. The word is not used in contemporary language.

ilmanägev ‘invisible’

This word is evidently a German loan translation, the German negative prefix *un* was translated into Estonian by means of the direct equivalent *ilma* ‘without’. This word, too, may occur in old texts both as an adjective, e.g.

*Sest iummäl on neile sedda nöitnut seekahs / eth lummala
ilmanegkew Olleminne*

*den~ Gott hat es ihnen offenbaret / damit / daß Gottes
vnsichtbares Wesen* (ST, LS, 616)

‘Because God has shown it to them in that it that he is invisible’

and an even more abstract noun that has a substance of its own, e.g.

*Ke meije mitte wallatame se negkewa pehle / erranis se ilma
negkewa pehle*

*Vns/ die wir nicht sehen auff das sichtbare / sondern auff
das vnsichtbare* (ST, LS, 477)

‘We who do not look at the visible, but especially at the invisible’

This lexicalized verb form is not used in contemporary Estonian.

kuulev ‘hearer’

Considering the sentence context, this *v*-participle form has come into use in the function of the noun although it is very difficult to draw a line between the nominal and adjectival use in the examples of *kuulev* ‘hearing’. Evidently it is a direct translation of the German present participle into Estonian.

This kind of use of the *v*-participle form of the verb *kuulma* ‘hear’ is not widespread. It occurs twice in “Leyen Spiegel” (“Hand- vnd Haußbuch” does not have any occurrences of this sense), but the example sentences clearly indicate that it is

a designation of the person who represents the corresponding feature, e.g.

*Röhmustaket hendes teije kurret / Christus sahp teid omma
sörme kahs lihckotama / ninck kuhlwx tegkema
Frewet euch ihr Tauben / Christus wird euch mit seinem
finger rühren / vnd hörend machen (ST, LS, 42)
'Be joyful you the deaf / Christ will move you with his
finger / and turn you into hearers'*

This lexicalized verb form is not used in contemporary Estonian.

minev 'previous, last'

Müller reveals three occurrences of *minev* 'going, passing' as an adjective, e.g.

*Men~ewal Pöhapeiwall ollet teye kulnut, eth se Pöha Risti
Kirck laulab (M 8/1)
'Last Sunday you heard that the Church of the Holy Cross
was singing'*

In "Leyen Spiegel" by Stahl there is only one occurrence of the word in this meaning, e.g.

*kudt Christus minnewa Pöha pehwa Evageliumme siddes
meid opnut
wie Christus im vergangenem Sontags Evangelio vns geleret
(ST, LS, 261)
'as Christ taught us the gospel last Sunday'*

"Hand- vnd Haußbuch" does not have any occurrences of this use.

In this connection *minev* reveals increased freedom that has been preserved to this day. The form of the word shows that it is a popular use. It is not a direct translation equivalent because the direct translation equivalent of the German verb form is 'passed'.

nägev 'visible; seer'

This lexicalized form is not used in contemporary Estonian, and one might assume that this use is a translation loan from German. This claim is supported by the fact that one cannot find any such

conceptual designations in the sermons by Müller, which revealed a more popular level of use than the church handbooks by Stahl. Nor are they to be found in 16th century texts. It is also interesting to note that Stahl uses the word *nägev* in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” in the sense ‘seer’ in the function of the noun, e.g.

*ninck ep sai kolmal pehwal **negkewax** / ninck ep söi mitte /
ninck ep jöi mitte*

*vnd war drey tage nicht **sehend** / vnd aß nicht / vnd tranck
nicht* (ST, HH III, 167)

‘and did not become a seer in the course of three days / nor
did he eat / or drink’

In “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl *nägev* occurs four times in the sense ‘visible, seeable’, e.g.

*Ke meije mitte wallatame se **negkewa** pehle / erranis se ilma
negkewa pehle*

*Vns/ die wir nicht sehen auff das **sichtbare** / sondern auff
ads vnsichtbare* (ST, LS, 477)

‘We who do not look at the visible, but especially at the
invisible’

In this example the words *nägev* ‘visible’ and *ilmanägev* ‘invisible’ have acquired the status of independent substance, which reveal increased semantic freedom.

*Sest mea **negkew** on / se on ajalick / mea agkas ilmanegkew
on / se on igkawenne*

*Denn was **sichtbar** ist / das ist Zeitlich / was aber vnsichtbar
ist / das ist Ewig* (ST, LS, 477)

‘Because what is visible is / that is temporary / but what is
invisible / that is eternal’

A certain degree of insecurity in finding Estonian equivalents to German participial forms or adverbs points to the fact the corresponding lexicalized verb forms of the older written language may have been influenced by German.

palav ‘hot’

The use of this word had become fully lexicalized by the period of the old written language. The word occurs both as an adjective and a noun. The sermons by Müller reveal ten occurrences as the adjective and two occurrences as the noun, e.g.

*eth taema paliu willetzust piddab nægkema, suhrest tuischkusest Ilmast, suhrest Saost ninck wichmast, **Pallawast** ninck Külmas* (M 23/8)

‘because of this he has to experience much misery, a blizzard, heavy rain, heat and cold’

The word *palav* ‘hot’ reveals that the development from the verb *palama*, which meant ‘to burn’ in South Estonian, had taken place before the 17th century. Müller does not have any occurrences of the verb *palama*, however, *palav* ‘hot’ occurs as the adjective and in the above example it occurred, for example, as a noun.

One notices that in the works by Stahl *palav* is more frequently used as a noun than as an adjective. It seems that one should look for the reasons for this use in the absence of the corresponding abstract derivative, e.g.

*needt Elementit sahwat suhre **pallawa** kahs errasullama*
*Die Element aber werden für **Hitze** schmelzen* (ST, HH III, 148)

‘these elements will melt up in intense heat’

Here we are dealing with an old lexicalization that has been preserved as the adjective in the written language, whereas the association with the verb that gave rise to lexicalization has faded away.

tulev ‘coming, upcoming’

*Nühdt ommat needt Prophetit sest **tullewast** Messiassest*
ninck Ilma önnistegkijast enne kuhlutanut/

*Nun haben die Propheten von dem **zukünftigen** Messia vnd Heyland der welt zuvor verkündiget* (ST, LS, 276)

‘Now the Prophets have forecast the coming Messiah and Saviour’

The previous sentence shows an anticipated adjectival use of the *v*-participle. However, it is also typical that once the lexicalization chain has started, a nominal meaning will follow, e.g.

Meile ep olle sihn mitte üx jehwa Lind / erranis otzime se tullewa / öhe Kodda

Wir haben keine bleibende Stat / sondern suchen die zukünfftige / ein Hauß (ST, LS, 179)

‘We have no permanent city in this place / but we are looking for the coming house’

In “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl the lexicalized form *tulev* ‘coming’ occurs four times as the adjective, e.g.

se moistus wasto se uscko pannep / tullewa asja pehl ep tahap temma lohtma

Vernunft wider den Glauben ficht / auffz künfftig wil sie trawen nicht (ST, HH II, 142)

‘Reason fights against faith / it does not wish to place any hope on what will come’

and in “Leyen Spiegel” it occurs 12 times as a noun and 11 times as an adjective, e.g.

ep Ollew / ep Tullew / ep Körk ep Maddal

weder Gegenwertiges / noch Zukünfftiges / weder Hohes noch Tieffes (ST, LS, 523)

‘neither being / nor coming / neither high nor low’

It could well be a popular use because the German equivalents *künftig* and *zukünftig* do not indicate morpheme-to-morpheme direct translation. The word *tulev* ‘coming’ is used in this sense in contemporary written Estonian as well.

tuttav ‘familiar; acquaintance’

The *v*-participle form proceeds from the archaic verb *tutma*, which is semantically associated with the contemporary verb *tundma* ‘know’, e.g.

keick nuchtlusset / kus nemmat meije pehle tullewat /
tuttawat meile mitte röhm / erranis murre olla

Alle Züchtigung / wen sie da ist / **düncket** sie vns nicht
Frewde / sondern Trawrigkeit seyn (ST, LS, 213).

‘all the punishments /when they fall upon us / is not joy for
us / but sorrow’

In the sermons by Müller *tuttav* occurs 14 times as the adjective, e.g.

*Et se Pöha Rysti Kirck alckmesest sest Ilmast, sen suhre
ninck röhmisa lowlo Pöha on pöhitzenut, on sest **tuttaw** et
meddy eßimeßebele wanambille on toiwutut* (M 2/1)

‘that this Church of the Holy Cross, since the beginning of
the world, has celebrated the great and joyful Christmas, is
known because it was promised to our forefathers’

The word *tuttav* occurs 12 times as the adjective in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl and eight times in “Leyen Spiegel”, e.g.

*Minna ollen üx heh Karjane / ninck tunnen münno om~at /
ninck ollen **tuttaw** münno ommal*

*Ich bin ein guter Hirte / vnd erkenne die meinen / vnd bin
bekandt den meinen* (ST, LS, 447)

‘I’m a good shepherd and know mine / and am familiar with
mine’

However, *tuttav* may have become lexicalized in the nominal use as well. There are two occurrences of the nominal use in Müller, e.g.

*Erralota sina kz mitte sinu Söbrade ninck **tuttwade** pæle* (M 28/7)

‘Do not count on your friends and acquaintances either’

Both “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” and “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl reveal three examples of the nominal use of *tuttav*, e.g.

ninck otzisit temma nende sugkulissede ninck tutwade jures
Vnd suchten ihn vnter den gefreundten vnd bekandten (ST,
 HH III, 23)

‘And they looked for him at the places of his relatives and acquaintances’

In contemporary Estonian the association with the verb *tutma*, which fell into disuse, is opaque. However, the study of the old texts makes it clear where the lexicalization chain of the word *tuttav* ‘familiar; acquaintance’ started.

2.2. NUD-PARTICIPLE FORMS

verb → adjective → noun

The use of past participles as adjectives is a common feature shared by Indo-European and Balto-Finnic languages. Proceeding from Estonian and German, one might say that the discussed instances of lexicalization revealed less German impact than expected. As a rule, the German past participle is not used as the adjective if the verb is intransitive. Examples from old written Estonian show, however, that intransitivity/transitivity is not a relevant feature. The following examples of the *nud*-participle include only those lexicalizations that proceeded from intransitive verbs. Direct German grammatical influence is absent.

ainusündinud ‘only-begotten’

It is a concept that belongs to religious terminology. The concept is quite common in the older written language, and it occurs as a declinable word lexicalized from the past participle. The word occurs also in contemporary religious texts.

Müller has two occurrences of this lexicalized verb form, e.g.

*Et taema omast suhrest rochkest armust meyle oma Ayno
sündinut Poya on andnut* (M 1/12)

‘that he has given out of his ample grace his only-begotten son to us’

“Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl has 36 such occurrences and “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” has four, e.g.

*Ninda on se Iummal se Ilma armastanut / eth temma omma
ainosündinut Poja andis*

*Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet / daß er seinen eingebornen
Sohn gab* (ST, LS, 624)

‘So has God loved the world / that he gave his only-begotten son’

Because at that time the tradition of writing words solidly or separately revealed considerable variation, one can find also cases where this word is written as two words, e.g.

*lebbi Christum meije Issanda / sünno aino sündinut poja
durch Christum vnsern HERREN / dein Eingebornen Sohn*
(ST, HH II, 177)

‘through Christ Our Lord / your only-begotten son’

“Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl reveals a peculiar instance, where this concept appears in the nominal function, e.g.

*Ninck andis erra se ainosündinut / kus tem-a se towotusse
sahnut olli*

*Vnd gab dahin den eingebornen / da er schon die
Verheissung empfangen hatte* (ST, HH IV, 187)

‘and gave away the only-begotten / when he had been given this promise’

poolsumud ‘half-dead’

It is a highly picturesque expression that occurs only in Müller’s sermons and must have a popular origin, e.g.

*Semprast peab vx wayne Inimene hend pohl surnux
hebbedama, kuy meye sesama nendte wöyra Rachwa sust
piddame kulma* (M 11/9)

'Therefore a poor human has to put himself to utmost shame when we have to hear the same thing from the mouth of a foreign people'

This lexicalized verb form is preserved in contemporary Estonian as well.

uussündinud 'newborn'

There are 15 instances of *uussündinud* 'newborn' as the adjectival attribute in Müller, e.g.

Et meidt lumal meddy armas Taywane Issa, lebby Ihesum Chrm, Taema Vwesündinut Poya, meydt tahax keickest kuriast errapeestada (M 2/10)

'That Lord, our dear Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, His Newborn Son, would like to save us from all evil'

There are 20 occurrences of this word in "Leyen Spiegel" by Stahl, and he, like Müller, declines, in accordance with the tradition of the older written language, the attributive part separately, e.g.

sihs peame meije se uhesündinut lapsokesse öigke uscko sees kinnihackama

so sollen wir das Newgeborne Kindlein im Glauben ergreifen (ST, LS, 97)

'Then we must keep this newborn child in faith'

This word is unknown in contemporary language.

2.3. TUD-PARTICIPLE

verb → adjective → noun

äravalitsetud 'chosen, selected'

It is an important conceptual designation in religious texts meaning 'being chosen' by Lord. This religious term occurs ten times in Müller in the adjectival function, e.g.

Ke tahab nente Errawallitsetuth lumala Lapsede paele kaibada (M 15/9)

'Who wants to complain about the chosen Children of God'

and once as the noun, e.g.

*Minckprast eb peax tæma syß ülle meidt, kudt taema
errawallitzetuth, üche mele hee piddama (M 6/7)*
'why should he then not be glad at us as his chosen people'

The same term occurs 13 times in "Leyen Spiegel" as the noun, e.g.

*Kes tahap needt lum~ala errawallitzetut hucka pannema
Wer wil die Außerwehlten Gottes verdammen (ST, LS; 560)*
'Who wants to condemn those who were chosen by Lord'

and seven times as the adjective, e.g.

*Sihs olleme meije nühdn ennamb teps Lapset sest weehast /
erranis lummala errawallitzetut Lapset*
So sind wir nun nicht mehr Kinder des Zornes / sondern
GOTTes außerkorne Kinder (ST, LS, 234)
'Then we are not only children of evil / but the children
chosen by Lord'

The verb *äravalitsema* 'choose', which gave rise to the above-mentioned lexicalized forms, is used in the texts by Stahl. As a phrasal verb it is a translation loan from German.

From the point of view of contemporary language it is an archaic form.

üleantud 'ungodly; mischievous'

The form *üleantud* occurs nine times in the sermons by Müller, e.g.

*eth tæma omat Armat Lapset Issalicko kombel nuchtleb, se
wallatum~a ninck üleantuth Ello neist kaukel erraayab (M
27/2)*
'that he punishes his own dear children paternally and keeps
them away from ungodly life'

In "Leyen Spiegel" by Stahl the word occurs in the form *üleannetu*, which is also the contemporary form. As *üleannetu* occurs only once in Stahl, one might assume that may not have

belonged to his vocabulary but may have been taken from an earlier manuscript.

*needt ep tachtsit Ierusalemis nende ülleannetudde
Tappiade jures*

die wolten zu Ierusalem bey den Gottlosen Mördern (ST, LS, 400)

'they did not want in Jerusalem at these godless murderers'

Texts in the old written language enable us to assume that in 17th century texts the word had a more negative meaning than nowadays when it means 'mischievous'. The previous example sentences allow us to infer that *üleannetu* used to mean 'ungodly'. This seems to be a popular use because the German verb forms *überantworten*, *übergeben* do not suggest a German-influenced semantic shift.

3. MATA-FORM (supine abessive)

verb → adjective → adverb

There are many lexicalized *mata*-forms in old written Estonian; they were especially frequently used to render the German concepts with the negative content expressed by *un-*. In older written Estonian the corresponding conceptual designations often reveal a double negative after the example of foreign influences because the prefix *un-* was translated into Estonian by means of *ilma* 'without', and *-mata* formally repeats the same function. Because such conceptual designations are especially common in the texts by Stahl, it is not expedient to devote a separate entry to each of them. Thus, the German-influenced lexicalized *mata*-forms are discussed at the end of this subsection.

Contemporary Estonian, too, uses the participial forms of the *mitte*-prefixed headwords, or the *mata*-constructions in the case of the past participles, as the negative equivalents to the affirmative participial constructions (EKG 1993: 265). In the following lexicalized cases the *tu*-suffix is now common, which is the only productive adjectival suffix among deverbal affixes (Kasik 1996: 147). The majority of derivatives are formed from transitive verbs, and they refer to the object. It is rarer for

a transitive verb to form a *tu*-caritive that refers to the subject. Subject-referring *tu*-deverbals are formed from intransitive verbs as well (Kasik 1996: 147–148).

This pattern of conceptual designation is productive in the old written language, which is proved by the large number of the corresponding lexicalizations. The transitivity/intransitivity of the base verb is not a relevant feature – although the majority of verbs that underlie lexicalization are transitive, there are also examples of intransitive verbs, e.g. *lõppema* ‘end’ – *ilmalõpmata*, *äralõpmata* ‘endless’, *tüdima* ‘get bored’ – *ilmatüdimata* ‘unboring’, *kõlbama* ‘fit’ – *ilmakõlbmata* ‘unfit’, *heituma* ‘get scared’ – *ilmaheitmata* ‘fearless’.

(ilma) jumalakartmata ‘ungodly’

The sermons by Müller do not reveal any lexicalized forms of the verb *kartma* ‘fear’. They are quite common, however, in the texts by Stahl, where *jumalakartmata* ‘ungodly’ may occur both as the adjective and the noun. It is interesting that the nominal use, based on the adjectival use, is even more common. “Leyen Spiegel” reveals 48 occurrences of *jumalakartmata* ‘ungodly’ as the noun and five occurrences as the adjective, e.g.

*Erra lasse ommas meeles heh olla / mea needt **Iummala-kartmatta** hennesse ette wotwat*

*Laß dir nicht gefallen der **Gottlosen** fürnemmen / denn sie werden nimmermehr fromm* (ST, LS, 639)

‘Do not approve what the ungodly undertake’

This form occurs eight times in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” as the noun and five times as the adjective. On one occasion a double negative form was added probably due to the German influence although this sentence, translated from German, does not reflect it, e.g.

*eth temma Poick kaks nende **Ilma Iummalakartmatta** ehs surnut*

*daß sein Sohn auch für die **Gottslosen** gestorben* (ST, LS, 555)

‘that his son dies also for the ungodly’

The following examples illustrate the grammatical difficulties that arise in connection with this form, where Stahl has difficulty in agreeing the word in number and case, e.g.

*Neist **Iummalakartmatta** Surmast ütlep Syrach
Vom Tode der **Gottlosen** sagt Syrach (ST, LS, 646)
‘Syrach says about the death of the ungodly’*

*Semperrast lassep Iummal kuhlutama keickel rahwal / ninck
kahs neile **Iummalakartmattalle** pattuselle
Daher lesset GOtt Predigen allen Völckern / auch den
Gottlosen Sündern (ST, LS, 68)
‘Therefore God lets preach to all the people / and also to the
ungodly sinners’*

The latter example sentence illustrates the adjectival use of the form *jumalakartmata* ‘ungodly’.

ilmajällesjätmata ‘incessantly, endlessly’

The archaic lexicalized form of this periphrastic verb occurs only in the works by Stahl. There are five adverbial occurrences in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” and ten in “Leyen Spiegel”, e.g.

*Nühdt on suhr rahwo **ilmajellesjetmatta** / keickel wainul on
nühdt otz
Nun ist gros fried **ohn vnterlaß** / all fehd hat nun ein Ende
(ST, LS, 71)
‘Now there is great lasting peace / all the feud is now over’*

(ilma)kartmata ‘ungodly; without fear’

This lexicalized *mata*-form, too, occurs only in the works by Stahl, and it has a very low frequency (a single occurrence as a noun in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch”), e.g.

*ninck wallatama / kui neile **Ilmakartmattal** maxetut sahp
vnd schawen / wie es den **Gottlosen** vergolten wird (ST, HH
IV, 214)
‘and look / how the ungodly will be paid for their sins’*

and once as an adjective, e.g.

Ium~al ep kesckip keddakil / ilma kartmatta olla
Gott heist niemand Gottloß sein (ST, HH IV, 202)
 ‘God does not order anybody / to be ungodly’

In “Leyen Spiegel” *ilmakartmata* occurs twice as an adverb of manner, e.g.

Ke agkas münd kuhlep / sahپ ilmakartmatta ellama
Wer aber mir gehorchet / wird sicher bleiben (ST, LS, 633)
 ‘But the one who hears me / may live without fear’

and *kartmata* ‘ungodly, lit. without fear’ occurs once as an adjective, e.g.

Temma tullep ilmale sest kartlickust Neitzist / ninck maxap
se kahs meddi kartmatta ello
Er wird gebohren von der gehorsamen lungfrawen / vnd
büsset damit vnsern vngehorsam (ST, LS, 67)
 ‘He is born from this godly virgin / and pays with it for our
 ungodly life’

(**ilma**) **kogemata** ‘accidentally’

Apparently, it is a lexicalized *mata*-form of the verb *kogema* ‘experience’, which is to preserved to this day in written language in the meaning of the adverb of manner. The word has a similar function in the old written language.

In the sermons by Müller it occurs five times in the combination *ilma kogemata* ‘without experiencing’:

Nuit eb olle se (:a. R.:) mitte ilma kogkematta sündinut (M 1/6)
 ‘Now it has not happened accidentally’

Stahl, on the other hand, has erroneously associated this form with the verb stem *koguma* ‘collect, gather’.

In “Leyen Spiegel” the form *kogumata* ‘without collecting’ occurs eight times, e.g.

*ninck seisap ni heckitzelt ninck **kogkomatta** kesckil nende sehhas*

*vnd stehet so geschwinde vnd **vnvermutlich** mitten vnter ihnen* (ST, LS, 441)

‘and stands so suddenly and accidentally among them’

and the anticipated form *ilmakogemata* occurs only once, e.g.

*Agkas temma ep tullep **ilmakogkomatta***

*Aber er kommet nicht **ohn gefehr*** (ST, LS, 556)

‘But he does not come accidentally’

ilmalöpmata ‘endlessly’

This conceptual designation occurs eight times in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl in the meaning of both the adverb of degree and time. The former sense is illustrated by the following example:

*kumba sees needt Erraneatut Tulle kahs **ilmajelleßjetmatta** / **ilmalöpmatta** / ninck ilmaotzata pihnatut sawwat*

*darinnen die Verfluchten mit Fewr ohn vnterlaß / **ohn auffhören** / vnd ohne Ende gepeiniget werden* (ST, LS, 631)

‘where these cursed ones will be tortured incessantly / without stopping / endlessly / with fire’

The following example sentence illustrates the meaning of the adverb of time:

*taiwane Issa / kennest meije **ilmalöpmatta** keick hehdt rickalist sahme*

*Him~lischer Vater / von dem wir **ohn vnterlaß** alles gutes gantz* (ST, HH II, 210)

‘Heavenly father / from whom we receive endlessly everything in good supply’

This lexicalized verb occurs 13 times in “Leyen Spiegel”; there is one occurrence of the form in the function of the attributive noun, e.g.

*ke andma sahþ öhel igkalickul omma tegkude perrast / Nimmata/ kihtusse ninck auwo / ninck **ilmalöpmatta** ello*

*welcher geben wird einem jeglichen nach seinen Wercken.
Nemlich Preiß vnd Ehre / vnd **vnvergengliches** Wesen* (ST, LS, 254)

‘the one who will give everyone according to his deeds /
namely / honour and glory / and eternal life’

(ilma) nägemata ‘invisible’

There are six occurrences of this German-influenced lexicalized form in “Leyen Spiegel” and only one occurrence in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch”, e.g.

*Sest mea nehhaxe / se on ajalick / mea agkas **ilma negkematta** on / se on igkawenne*

*Dann was sichtbar ist / das ist Zeitlich / was aber **vn sichtbar** ist / das ist Ewig* (ST, LS, 304)

‘Then what is visible is temporal / what is invisible / that is eternal’

Stahl uses this expression both together with the adposition *ilma* ‘without’ and without it, e.g.

*Se on / taiwas ninck mah / mea nehhaxe / ninck mea **neggematta** / on lebbi temma techtut*

*Das ist / Himmel vnd Erde / sichtbares / vnd **vn sichtbares** ist durch ihn gemachet* (ST, LS, 89)

‘That is / heaven and earth / that is visible / and what is invisible / was created by him’

The German influence can be detected where the prefix *un-* is translated by means of the preposition *ilma* ‘without’, which is redundant in Estonian because the abessive case of the supine already expresses absence or lack of a property or state.

ilmauskmata ‘heathen, pagan’

It is also a religious conceptual designation that is expressed in the older written language as the lexicalized *mata*-form. It is used both as an adjective, e.g.

*sest temma on wegkiw nende **ilmausckmatta** Lapsede sees
dann er ist mechtig in den Kindern des **Vnglaubens** (ST, LS,
326)*

‘Because he is powerful among the heathen children’

and an independent noun, e.g.

*ninck katzo hehste / eth sin~a mitte wöhra Kohrma weddat
nende **Ilmausckmatta** kahs*

*vnd siehe ja wol zu / das du nicht am frembden Ioch ziehest
mit den **Vngläubigen** (ST, LS, 589)*

‘And see to it that you shall not draw a foreign yoke together
with the heathens’

(ilma) teadmata ‘stupid; unknown; secretly, in secret’

Already the text of Müller’s sermons provides examples, where the form *teadmata* is lexicalized. It is a peculiar case, where the *mata*-form may occur depending on the position in the sentence as an adjective or an adverb. The following example illustrates the adjectival use:

*Næed Ar: R: nedsarnset ilma **tædmatta** wayset rumalat
Pagkanat olleme meye olnuth (Müller 18/1)*

‘These, we have been those foolish poor pagans’

The adverbial use of *teadmata* points to the meaning of manner, e.g.

*Eth meddy Wainlaßet, kumb paliu omat, ny hæsti salla kuy
kz **tædmata**, ke suhre kawaluß kz otzwat (M 20/2)*

‘That our enemies, of which there are many, both secretly
and unknowingly, who are searching cunningly’

In “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl there is a single occurrence of *teadmata* in the meaning ‘in secret, concealed’:

eth se teadmatta / mil tundil temma tulla sahp

*Weil es **vnwissend** / zu welcher Stunde er kommen werde
(ST, LS, 21)*

‘that it is unknown / at which hour he will be able to come’

“Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl has five such examples; one of them illustrates the adjectival use, e.g.

*Minna johxen agkas ninda / mitte kudt öhe **tehdmatta** asja pehle*

*Ich lauffe also / nicht als aufs **vngewisse** (ST, HH III, 35)*

‘I’m running but so / not towards an unknown thing’

In four sentences *teadmata* is used adverbially mainly in the combination *teadmata olla* ‘be unaware’, e.g.

*Meije en tahame teile lasckma **tehdmatta olla** / armat weljat /*

*Wir wollen euch **nicht verhalten** / lieben Brüder (ST, HH IV, 189)*

‘We do not want you to be unaware / dear brothers’

ilmatänamata ‘unthankful, ungrateful’

The word *tänamata* occurs as a lexicalized adjective only in the texts by Müller. There are seven occurrences of this meaning, e.g.

*Nedtsarnset **ilma tæñ-amatta** Inimeßet erramottelke mitte, eth lumal neile sesama tahab anda (M 30/5)*

‘May those ungrateful people not think that God wishes to give them the same’

Stahl does not use this lexicalized verb form in his texts. The fact that the word occurs only in the sermons by Müller may indicate that it is a form used in popular language.

ilmatüdimata ‘tireless, indefatigable’

The older written language does not reveal many examples where *tüdimata* is lexicalized. The adjectival use of this form is attested already in the sermons by Müller, e.g.

*Ia nedt Inimeßet omat ny **ilma tüddimatta** loiußet (M 23/2)*

‘And these people are tireless animals’

The lexicalized form is absent in the texts by Stahl.

(ilma)võimata ‘impossible, absolutely impossible’

It is an interesting case of lexicalization, which is manifested only in the texts by Stahl. The lexicalization proceeds from the verb *võima* ‘be able to’, and the adjectivally used *mata*-form follows a productive pattern in Stahl – *ilma* + verb stem + *mata*, e.g.

Iummala jures ep olle üchtekit assi ilmawoimatta
bey GOtt ist kein ding vnmüglich (ST, LS, 62)
 ‘By God nothing is impossible’

In “Leyen Spiegel” Stahl uses three times the expression without *ilma*, which is similar to the contemporary use, e.g.

Christus woip meid awwitama / temmal ep olle üchtekit assi woimatta

Christus kan vns helfen / Ihm ist kein ding vnmüglich (ST, LS, 182)

‘Christ can help us / for him nothing is impossible’

It is interesting to note that in the course of the development of the written language the old German-influenced expression with the initial *ilma* has become shortened, and the current form used in spoken language is *ilmvõimatu* ‘absolutely impossible’, the stylistic value of which has changed by comparison with the form of the old written language. In the series of *ilm*-initial adjectives and adverbs in the contemporary language this initial component carries an augmentative connotation (cf. also *ilmkuulmatu* ‘absolutely unheard of’, *ilmlõpmata* ‘endless’, *ilmotsata* ‘endless’, *ilmsüüta* ‘innocent’).

ilmaväljapajatamata ‘without speaking, tremendous, huge’

In “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” by Stahl there are three occurrences of the German-influenced augmentative combination *ilma välja-pajatamata* as the adjective, e.g.

Ilmaweljapajatomatta om~at siinno hehtegkemisset / kumbat sinna münnul teht

Vnaußsprechliche sind deine guttachten / die du mir erzeigest (ST, HH IV, 64)

‘Your good deeds are tremendous / those that you extend to me’

In “Leyen Spiegel”, too, the adjectival use is common, e.g.

Erranis se waim issi hajap meije asjat keicke parrambast ilmaweljapajatomatta egkamisse kahs

Sondern der Geist selbst vertrit vns gewaltiglich mit vnaußsprechlichem Seufftzen (ST, LS, 486)

‘But the spirit itself organizes our things the best through deep sighing’

ilmaäralugemata ‘countless’

In the sermons by Müller *ilmaäralugemata* occurs once in a quantifying phrase, designating an indefinite large amount. The texts by Stahl do not reveal this lexicalized form.

Syß pidda meye tunnistama, eth ny mitto tuhande, ia ilmaerrallugkematta tuhande Inimeste sæas, eb olle vxkit Inime-ne leututh, ke sen Surma wasta on woynuth seista (M 8/5)

‘Then we have to admit that among the crowd of thousand and countless thousand people, there is no person who has been able to fight against death’

(ilma)(ära)mōōtmata ‘unlimited’

There are eight occurrences of the expression *ilma äramōōtmata* in Müller, e.g.

Ia lumala Armull eb olle üchtekit Otza echk Pochia, sest tema Arm on ilma erramoitmata (M 34/8)

‘And God’s grace has no end or bottom because his grace is unlimited’

The expression *ilmamōōtmata* ‘unlimited’ occurs also in the texts by Stahl although it is rare (four occurrences in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch”). The verb *mōōtma* ‘measure’, however, occurs only

three times, which allows to conclude that at a certain stage of development the lexicalized forms have a higher frequency of use than the corresponding verb, e.g.

***Ilmamöhtmatta** on sünno arm / Issand Iesu*

***Vnvermeßlich** ist deine Güte / HERR Iesu (ST, HH IV, 64)*

‘Your grace is unlimited / Jesus the Lord’

There are three occurrences of *ilmamöhtmatta* ‘unlimited’ in “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl, e.g.

*Ninda on kahs tem~a Arm **ilmamöhtmatta** / ilmaotzatta / ilmaweljäpajatomatta suhr*

*Also ist auch seine Liebe **vnermäblich** / vnendlich / vnaußsprchlich groß (ST, LS, 509)*

‘So is his love unlimited / endless / tremendous’

ilma ärapajatomata ‘unspokenly’

There are 11 occurrences of *ärapajatomata* as the adjective in Stahl, e.g.

*On nüit lumall meile oma Poya Lebbi se keicke suhremb ande ninck armu neuthnut, minckperrast eb peax taema syß meile mitte andma, mea **ilma errapaiatomatta** wehemb on (M 4/13)*

‘And now God has shown the greatest gift and love through his son, why should he not give it to us then what is unspokenly less’

At the same time *ilma ärapajatomata* occurs also as an augmentative adverb of degree, e.g.

*Waidt enne sedda, ninck kaas perrast, omat ny paliu **ilma errapaiatomatta** Sadda tuhat korda Inimeßet, ke Adamist omat sündinut, kekit eb olle sen Surma woynut tallidta (M 8/5)*

‘But before it, and again after, there are myriads of people, who were born of Adam, and none of them had power over his death’

Stahl uses instead of *ilmaväljapajatomata* the variant that was provided above.

kuulmata ‘disobedient’

In this meaning the *mata*-form occurs once in “Leyen Spiegel” by Stahl:

*Erranis omma ainussündinut Poja / mitte ke **kuhlmatta**
ninck wallato / erranis ke wagka olli / ninck omma Issa
sanna kuhlis*

*Sondern seinen eingebornen Sohn / nicht der **vngehorsam**
vnd muthwillig / sondern der gehorsam war (ST, LS, 576)*

‘Especially his only-begotten son / not the one who is
disobedient and mischievous / who was especially pious /
and obeyed the words of his father’

It is evident that *kuulmata* ‘disobedient’ is a word used in popular language because it has been recorded in Estonian dialects as well.

tutmata ‘strange, unknown’

Stahl’s “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” reveals a single occurrence of the lexicalized form of the archaic verb *tutta*, e.g.

*Kui needt **tutmatta** / ninck doch tutwat*

*Als die **vnbekanten** / vnd doch bekant (ST, HH III 46)*

‘When they were unknown / and still known’

äralõpmata ‘endlessly’

It is a lexicalized form that is quite widespread in the old written language. There are six occurrences in the sermons by Müller, e.g.

*Iumal Ißa on Igkew ninck keicke Wægkew, ilma algkmatta
ninck **erralõpmatta** (M 12/8)*

‘God the father is eternal and omnipotent, without a
beginning and end’

This example sentence illustrates the augmentative temporal meaning; at the same time this expression may designate degree as well, e.g.

ninck Iumala wiha ülle nente Pan-itzede on hirmus ninck suhr, ia **ilma erralopmatta** (M 28/15)

‘And God’s anger at the sinners is terrible and great, and endless’

The series of *ilma*-initial lexicalized conceptual designations is productive in the texts by Stahl – thus, a large number of words have an independent lexical meaning, e.g. *ilmakõlbmata* ‘unsuitable’, *ilmaheitmata* ‘fearless’, *ilmanägemata* ‘invisible’, *ilmapööramata* ‘a person who has not turned away from sin’, *ilmarikmata* ‘innocent’, *ilmaäralahutamata* ‘inseparably’.

GERUNDIAL FORMS

verb → adverb

The lexicalization of gerundial forms conform well to the general typological picture concerning the semantic detachment of nonfinite forms of the verb. It is interesting to note, though, that in the next two cases the German translation equivalents do not provide any morphological example.

elades ‘in one’s lifetime; never, ever’

In the older written language *elades* has a weakly lexicalized adverbial meaning ‘in one’s lifetime, during one’s life’ (the genitival agent still indicating verbality), which serves as a logical continuation of the meaning of concurrence in the categorical meaning of the gerundial form of the verb, e.g.

*Kiuwsab sind nüith se Kurrat sinu suhre ni~ck hirmsa Pattude prast, mea sina keicke sinu **ellades** ollet technut* (M 18/3)

‘Now the devil is tormenting you for your great and terrible sins that you have committed in your life’

The use of the form *elades* in Müller serves as a fore-step for the detachment of the meaning ‘ever, never’, but here the association

with the verb form is still preserved. In Stahl, too, *elades* occurs mainly in the relatively weakly lexicalized meaning ‘in one’s lifetime’, e.g.

*Sünno ellades pidda Ium~ala meeles ninck süddames
Dein **lebenlang** habe Gott für Augen vnd im Hertzen* (ST,
HH IV, 201)

‘In your lifetime keep God in your mind and heart’

At the same time the word form *elades* begins to reveal another shade of meaning ‘ever, never’, which is lexicalized somewhat further and is more categoric. It is known in the contemporary language as well, which is illustrated by the following sentence:

*Kus nemmat kahs keick sünnust hend pahandawat / tahan
minna doch **ellades** hend pahandama*

*Wenn sie auch sich alle ärgern an dir / so wil ich mich doch
an dir **nimmermehr** ärgern* (ST, HH III, 210)

‘Where they two are all angry at you / I will never want to
get angry’

or

*teije ep ollete **ellades** iixpeines / teije jures ommat kahs
needt Pöhat Englit*

*ihr seydt **nimmer** allein / Ihr habet auch die Heiligen
Engelein bey euch* (ST, LS, 306)

‘You are never alone / these two holy angels will be with
you’

In contemporary Estonian this lexicalized gerundial form is used in the meaning ‘never, ever’. This meaning was manifested already in the texts in the oldest written language.

silma nähes ‘noticeably’

The lexicalized gerundial form *silma nähes* occurs only in the texts by Stahl. It occurs only once in “Hand- vnd Haußbuch”, e.g.

*Ninck temma wottis sedda / ninck söi nende **silma nehhes**
Vnd er nams / vnd aß **für** ihnen* (ST, HH III, 68)

‘And he took it / and ate it under their eyes’

and five times in “Leyen Spiegel”, e.g.

*Kumbatakit agkas towotap temma neile / eth temma
sesamma **silma nehhes** Taiwast leckitama tahap*

*Doch aber verheisset er ihnen / daß er denselben **sicht-
barlich** von Himmel senden wolle (ST, LS, 491-492)*

‘But he promised to them / that he wants to send it evidently
from heaven’

*Se töise Tücki sees sahme meije tehda / kui Christus **silma
nehhes** Taiwa lehnut*

*Im andern Stück vernemmen wir / wie Christus **zusehens** gen
Himmel gefahren (ST, LS, 516)*

‘In the other piece we learned / how Christ had gone to
heaven visibly’

The different German equivalents that render the form in “Leyen Spiegel” indicate that it is not a direct translation loan from German. This lexicalized form is outdated from the point of view of contemporary Standard Estonian.

Summary

Thus, the question whether lexicalization is an opposite phenomenon to grammaticalization depends on delimiting the scope of the corresponding concepts. In a narrower sense one can really claim that it is so; in a broader sense, however, lexicalization and grammaticalization can be regarded as links in a single chain of changes.

Like grammaticalization, lexicalization, too, is a universal stepwise process of semantic change, which enriches the expressive means of a language. On the one hand, it is a language-internal development, where the analogy of the existing lexicalized forms starts to take effect, on the other, considering the tradition of the older written language, one should also reckon with the possible German influence in the lexicalization of some forms via translated texts, e.g. in the case of *ilma*-initial *mata*-forms that are especially common in the texts by Stahl.

It seems that the main difference between grammaticalization and lexicalization is the destination of the development and the purpose of using the new linguistic unit. The processes have the same motive – extension of the expressive means of the language on the basis of the existing stems and forms. Even the beginning of the development chain is similar – in both cases an individual member of some productive morphological paradigm is transplanted into a detached meaning on the basis of a smaller or greater transfer. That is not surprising, taking into account the metaphorical nature of language. The next step depends on whether some existing grammatical structure of the language can set an example for the emergence of a grammatical element (analogy-based generalization) or the word that has undergone a semantic shift remains in use in an individualized lexical meaning and is not abstracted into a grammatical means. Both processes are accompanied by categorial change – from a noun or verb into an adposition or an adverb.

However, the final result of the processes is different – in the case of lexicalization a typically multi-morphemic unit gives rise to an indivisible whole, that is, degrammatization. On the other hand, in the case of grammaticalization there appears a special morphosyntactic-semantic category, in the course of which new grammatical structures emerge, which implies regrammatization (Onikki 1997: 101).

One might also ask whether the development of a fully inflected word into an uninflected word, which is characteristic of lexicalization in Standard Estonian, is actually not a manifestation of grammaticalization. In fact, a usage tradition emerges that is in a certain sense more grammatical than the original word form and conforms to other types of constructions. Nevertheless, particlization can be regarded as a lexicalization stage in a greater chain of grammaticalization. The decisive factor could be the circumstance that if a new unit is an independent lexical word, it is lexicalization because it results in a lexical unit with a separate meaning (the meaning being not the sum of its constituent parts) that is moving towards morphological indivisibility. Its usage is not restricted to fixed

grammatical constructions. Otherwise we are dealing with the case where the lexicalization process is developing into grammaticalization, which was illustrated in the previous analysis by the development of the so-called rhetorical particles.

Generally, secondary verb forms are lexicalized – they are mostly the nonfinite forms that show a weak link with the category of the verb: *v-*, *nud-*, *tud-*particle, *mata*-form, *des-gerund*.

In this respect the so-called rhetorical discourse particles *vaata* 'look', *katsu* 'look', *pea* 'keep; stop' are different. They were lexicalized from the form of the present imperative second person singular and were generalized into the other persons as well while their grammatical meaning faded away, that is, they entered the grammaticalization process. It is the expressiveness that may have been the reason why the corresponding forms are not perceived anymore as associated with a certain person.

One could conclude that the presumption of lexicalization is that it is an untypical, non-prototypical but nevertheless frequent form. Nonfinite verb forms include already originally more typological features of declinable words than that of verbs and therefore they are more receptive to new categorial meanings. Having first of all picked up the function of some other part of speech without any major semantic transfer, they will more easily develop some figurative meanings that are associated with that part of speech.

One part of lexicalized forms that can be found in the texts of the oldest written language have been preserved in the standard language to this day (*vaata* 'look', *pea* 'keep; stop', *paraku* 'unfortunately', *minev* 'previous, last', *tulev* 'coming, upcoming', *tuttav* 'familiar; acquaintance', *palav* 'hot', *elav* 'alive', *ainusündinud* 'only-begotten', *poosurnud* 'half-dead', *kogemata* 'accidentally', *teadmata* 'stupid; unknown; secretly, in secret', *silma nähes* 'noticeably', *elades* 'in one's lifetime; never, ever'). Others have become archaisms (*tänamata* 'unthankful, ungrateful', *tüdimata* 'tireless, indefatigable', (*ilma*)*äralugemata* 'countless', *kuulmata* 'disobedient', *äralõpmata* 'endlessly'). Still others have fallen into disuse (*katsu* 'look', *nägev* 'visible; seer', *ilmanägev* 'invisible', *kuulev* 'hearer', *hukkaminev* 'mortal, transient', *ilmahukkaminev* 'immortal', *uussündinud* 'newborn',

äravalitsetud ‘chosen, selected’, *üleantud* ‘ungodly; mischievous’, *ilmajällesjätmata* ‘incessantly, endlessly’, *ilma-nägemata* ‘invisible’, *ilmajumalakartmata* ‘ungodly’, *ilmausk-mata* ‘heathen, pagan’, *ilmakartmata* ‘ungodly; without fear’, *ilmaäralõpmata* ‘endlessly’, *ilmaärapajatamata* ‘unspokenly’, *ilmaväljapajatamata* ‘without speaking, tremendous, huge’). There are also some forms that have been preserved to this day only in the lexicalized form – the corresponding verb forms are not retained in the written language, e.g. *tuttav* ‘familiar; acquaintance’, *palav* ‘hot’, *paraku* ‘unfortunately’.

A study of the general meaning of the lexicalized forms shows that the ratio of everyday vocabulary and religious terminology is almost equal although the original material is constituted by religious texts. Everyday vocabulary reveals such lexicalized forms had existed before and thus were not translated after the German example, e.g. *minev* ‘previous, last’, *palav* ‘hot’, *tulev* ‘coming, upcoming’, *elades* ‘in one’s lifetime; never, ever’, *silma nähes* ‘noticeably’. One also notices that augmentatives are numerous, which points to the German influence, e.g. *ilma-lõpmata* ‘endlessly’, *ilmaväljapajatamata* ‘without speaking, tremendous, huge’, *ilmaäralugemata* ‘countless’, *ilmaäramõõr-mata* ‘unlimited’, *ilmaärapajatamata* ‘unspokenly’, *äralõpmata* ‘endlessly’. It is not surprising that there are many conceptual designations that belong to religious terminology, which cannot have existed in the old vulgar language, e.g. *hukkaminev* ‘mortal, transient’, *ilmahukkaminev* ‘immortal’, *ainusündinud* ‘only-begotten’, *uussündinud* ‘newborn’, *äravalitsetud* ‘chosen, selected’, *(ilma)jumalakartmata* ‘ungodly’, *ilmauskmata* ‘heathen, pagan’, *ilmatänamata* ‘unthankful, ungrateful’.

Thus, lexicalization can be regarded as a semantic change that results in the emergence of a new conceptual whole. Older Written Estonian reveals five lexicalization chains that proceed from the verb:

- 1) VERB in the form of the present imperative of the second person singular → DISCOURSE PARTICLE (*katsu* ‘look’, *pea* ‘keep; stop’, *vaata* ‘look’);
- 2) VERB in the form of the present imperative of the third person singular → ADVERB (*paraku* ‘unfortunately’);

- 3) VERB in the form of the participle → ADJECTIVE → NOUN
 (*elav* 'alive', *hukkaminev* 'mortal, transient', *ilmahukkaminev* 'immortal', *ilmanägev* 'invisible', *kuulev* 'hearer', *minev* 'previous, last', *nägev* 'visible; seer', *palav* 'hot', *tulev* 'coming, upcoming', *tuttav* 'familiar; acquaintance', *ainusündinud* 'only-begotten', *poolsurunud* 'half-dead', *uus-sündinud* 'newborn', *äravalitsetud* 'chosen, selected', *üleantud* 'ungodly; mischievous');
- 4) VERB in the form of the supine abessive → ADJECTIVE → ADVERB (*(ilma)jumalakartmata* 'ungodly', *ilmajällesjätmata* 'incessantly, endlessly', *(ilma)kartmata* 'ungodly, without fear', *(ilma)kogemata* 'accidentally', *ilmalõpmata* 'endlessly', *(ilma)nägemata* 'invisible', *ilmauskmata* 'heathen, pagan', *(ilma)teadmata* 'stupid; unknown; secretly, in secret', *ilmatänamata* 'unthankful, ungrateful', *ilmatüdimata* 'tireless, indefatigable', *(ilma)võimata* 'impossible, absolutely impossible', *ilmaväljapajamata* 'without speaking, tremendous, huge', *ilmaäralugemata* 'countless', *(ilma) (ära) mõõtmata* 'unlimited', *ilma ärapajamata* 'unspokenly', *kuulmata* 'disobedient', *tutmata* 'strange, unknown', *äralõpmata* 'endlessly');
- 5) VERB in the form of the gerund → ADVERB (*elades* 'never, ever', *silma nähes* 'noticeably').

The above-mentioned lexicalization chains are somewhat different because the ones that are mentioned in the first and second places indicate the transition of lexicalization into the grammaticalization stage. A similar development of the discourse particles has taken place in many different languages. However, in the case of participial and gerundial forms we are dealing with the semantic attachment of the grammatical forms or the lexicalization process that depends on the morphosyntactic possibilities of a language. Nevertheless, our material enables us to conclude that the more grammaticalized is a form (cf the development chain of the rhetorical discourse particles), the more typical is the phenomenon. The general patterns of lexicalization may be similar in languages. However, in each individual case of lexicalization it is impossible to find direct analogies in contact

or related languages. The grammatical possibilities and the logic of semantic development seem to be more important.

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LESIKALISEERUMINE JA GRAMMATIKALISEERUMINE – KAS VASTANDNÄHTUSED?

Eesti vana kirjakeele leksikaliseerunud verbivormidest

Küllü Habicht

Grammatikaliseerumisest on viimase kahekümne aasta jooksul palju räägitud ja selle olemust on avatud eri keelte näidete varal, samal ajal kui leksikaliseerumine on pälvinud märksa vähem tähelepanu. Mõlemad protsessid kajastavad keelelise uuenduse teket ja levikut. Nii leksikaliseerumist kui ka grammatikaliseerumist võib laiemas tähenduses käsitleda keelemuutustena, mille käigus esimesel juhul rikastub sõnavara, st mitmemorfeemsest tähenduslikult läbipaistvast sõnavormist tekib grammatiliselt liigendamatu, uue tähendusega leksikaalne üksus. Teisel juhul rikastub aga grammatika – leksikaalsest ainesest tekib uusi muutetunnuseid või grammatilisi konstruktsioone.

Mõlemad keelemuutuse liigid on omased tüpoloogiliselt erinevatele keeltele. Arutleda võib aga selle üle, missugused on mingile keelele tüüpilised leksikalisatsiooni- või grammatikalisatsiooniprotsessid. Selle ning grammatikaliseerumise ja leksikaliseerumise seose üle püüti eelnevas artiklis eesti vanema kirjakeele materjalile toetudes ja tänapäevast keelepädevust aluseks võttes arutleda.

Vaatluse all olid näited vanema eesti kirjakeele leksikaliseerumisuhtumitest, mis olid huvipakkuvad ennekõike leksikalisatsiooniprotsessi kestuse, astmelisuse ja võimaliku võõrmõjulisuse seisukohast. Järgiti:

- leksikaliseerumise ja grammatikaliseerumise vahekorda;
- leksikaliseerumisprotsessi tüpoloogiat ja astmelisust eesti kirjakeele verbist alguse saanud leksikalisatsiooniahelate näitel;
- vanema eesti kirjakeele leksikaliseerunud verbivorme ja nende tähenduse muutumist ajas.

Sõnavormide iseseisvumine on astmeline protsess, kus madalal leksikalisatsiooniastmel on toimunud algse tähendusega võrreldes vaid väike semantiline muutus, kõrgemal astmel aga saab rääkida juba etümoloogilise seose läbipaistmatuks muutumisest (nagu nt adverbi *paraku* puhul, mille seos *parandama*-verbiga pole tänapäevakeeles läbinähtav).

Käesoleva artikli materjal oli koondatud 17. sajandi esimese poole põhjaeestikeelsetest kiriklikest tekstidest: G. Mülleri jutlustest (eespool M) ja Heinrich Stahli (eespool ST) kahest kirikuraamatust “Hand- vnd Haußbuches Für die Pfarherren / vnd Haußväter Ehstnischen Fürstenthumbs” I–IV 1632–1638 (eespool HH) ning “Leyen Spiegel” I–II 1641, 1649 (eespool LS).

Vastus küsimusele, kas leksikaliseerumine on grammatikaliseerumise vastandnähtus, sõltub vastavate mõistete mahu piiritlemisest. Kitsamas tähenduses võib seda tõesti väita, laiemas tähenduses saab aga leksikaliseerumist ja grammatikaliseerumist käsitada ühe muutuseahela osadena.

Nagu grammatikaliseerumise, nii on ka leksikaliseerumise puhul tegemist keeles universaalselt toimiva astmelise tähendusmuutuse protsessiga, mille tulemusel rikastuvad keele väljendusvõimalused. Ühelt poolt on tegemist keelesisese arenguga, kus hakkab mõjuma olemasolevate leksikaliseerunud vormide analoogia, teisalt ei saa eesti vanema kirjakeele traditsiooni arvestades tähtsusetuks pidada ka tõlketekstide kaudu tulnud saksa keele mõju mõne vormi leksikaliseerumisel, nt ilmaalguliste *mata*-vormide puhul, mida leidub eriti rohkesti Stahli tekstides.

Grammatikaliseerumise ja leksikaliseerumise põhiliseks erinevuseks näib olevat just arengu lõpp-punkt ja tekkinud uue keeleüksuse kasutusesmärk. Motiivid on neil protsessidel samad – keele väljendusvõimaluste avardamine olemasolevate tüvede ja vormide baasil. Arenguahela alguski on sarnane – mõlemal juhul siiratakse mingi produktiivse vormiparadigma üksikliige tähenduse väiksema või suurema ülekande alusel iseseisvunud tähendusse. Keele metafoorsel iseloomu arvestades on see igati ootuspärane. Edasine sõltub juba sellest, kas mõni keeles olemasolev grammatiline struktuur pakub eeskuju grammatilise elemendi

tekkeks (sellisel juhul toimub analoogiapõhine üldistumine) või jääb tähendusnihke läbi teinud sõna kasutusele individualiseerunud leksi-kaalses tähenduses ja seda ei abstraheerita grammatikavahendiks. Mõlema protsessiga kaasneb kategooriavahetus – noomenist või verbist adpositsiooniks või adverbiks.

Protsesside lõpptulemus on aga erinev – leksikaliseerumise puhul on selleks tüüpiliselt mitmemorfeemilisest üksusest liigendamatu terviku teke, st degrammatiseerumine, grammatikaliseerumise puhul aga toimub eristumine eriliseks morfosüntaktilis-semantiliseks kategooriaks, mille käigus sünnib uusi grammatilisi struktuure, mis tähendab taasgrammatiseerumist (Onikki 1997: 101).

Leksikaliseerunud on üldiselt verbivormid, mis kuuluvad sekundaarsete hulka – enamasti on need verbi kategooriaga nõrgalt seotud käändelised vormid: *v-*, *nud-*, *tud-*kesksõna, *mata-*vorm, *des-*gerund.

Teistlaadsed on selles suhtes nn retoorilised diskursusepartiklid *vaata*, *katsu*, *pea*, mis on leksikaliseerunud käskiva kõneviisi oleviku ainsuse 2. pöörde vormist ja üldistunud grammatilise sisu tuhmudes muudeseigi pööretesse, st siirdunud grammatikalisatsiooniprotsessi.

Võib järeldada, et leksikaliseerumise eelduseks on vormi kuulumine ebatüüpiliste, mitteprototüüpsete, kuid sellegi poolest sagedasti kasutatavate hulka. Käändelised verbivormid sisaldavad juba algselt rohkem mõne käändsõnaliigi kui verbi omadusi ja on seetõttu ka altimad vastu võtma uusi kategoriaalseid tähendusi. Olles kõigepealt ilma suurema tähendusülekandeta siirdunud mõne muu sõnaliigi funktsiooni, võtavad nad seal kergemini omaks ka selle sõnaliigiga seonduvaid ülekandelisi tähendusi.

Üks osa vanima kirjakeele tekstides leidunud leksikaliseerunud vorme on kirjakeeles tänaseni säilinud (*vaata*, *pea*; *paraku*; *minev*, *tulev*, *tuttav*, *palav*, *elav*; *ainusündinud*, *poolsumud*; *kogemata*, *teadmata*; *silma nähes*, *elades*), teised on tänapäevaks vananenud (*tänamata*, *tüdimata*, (*ilma*)*äralugemata*, *kuulmata*, *äralõpmata*) ja kolmandad on kasutuselt kadunud (*katsu* 'vaata', *nägev*, *ilmanägev*, *kuulev*, *hukkaminev*, *ilmahukkaminev*; *uussündinud*, *äravalitsetud*, *üleantud*; *ilmajällesjätmata*, *ilmanägemata*, *ilmajumalakartmata*, *ilmauskmata*, *ilmakartmata*, *ilmaäralõpmata*, *ilmaärapäjatamata*, *ilnavälja-pajatamata*). Leidub ka vorme, mis on tänapäevani säilinud ainult leksikaliseerununa – vastavaid verbitüvesid kirjakeel säilitanud pole, nt *tuttav*, *palav*, *paraku*.

Kui vaadata leksikaliseerunud vormide tähendust, torkab silma, et n-ö igapäevase ja usuterminoloogiasse kuuluva leksika osatähtsus on käsitletud materjali hulgas peaaegu võrdne, ehkki algmaterjaliks olid religioosse sisuga tekstid. Igapäevases sõnavaras leidub kindlasti keeles varem olemas olnud ja mitte saksa keele eeskujul tõlgitud leksikalisee-

runud vorme, nt *minev, palav, tulev, elades, silma nähes*. Silma torkab augmentatiivide suur hulk, mille puhul võib täheldada juba saksa mõju, nt *ilmalõpmata, ilma väljapajatatamata, ilma äralugemata, ilma äramõõtmata, ilma ärapajatatamata, äralõpmata*. Ootuspäraselt rohkesti leidub ka usutermioloogiasse kuuluvaid mõistetähistusi, mida vanas rahvakeeles ei saanud olemas olla, nt *hukkaminev, ilmahukkaminev, ainusündinud, uussündinud, äravalitsetud, (ilma) jumalakartmata, ilmauskmata, ilma tänamata*, ja mille tekkel võib eeldada saksa keele mõju.

Verbist lähtunud leksikalisatsiooniahelaid on eesti vanema kirjakeele sõnavara põhjal otsustades viis:

1. VERB käskiva kõneviisi oleviku ainsuse 2. pöörde vormis → DISKURSUSEPARTIKKEL (*katsu, pea, vaata*);
2. VERB käskiva kõneviisi oleviku ainsuse 3. pöörde vormis → AD-
VERB (*paraku*);
3. VERB partitsiibi vormis → ADJEKTIIV → SUBSTANTIIV (*elav, hukkaminev, ilmahukkaminev, ilmanägev, kuulev, minev, nägev, palav, tulev, tuttav; ainusündinud, poolsurnud, uussündinud; äravalitsetud, üleantud*);
4. VERB supiini abessiivi vormis → ADJEKTIIV → ADVERB ((*ilma*)-*jumalakartmata, ilma jällesjätmata, (ilma)kartmata, (ilma)kogemata, ilmalõpmata, (ilma)nagemata, ilmauskmata, (ilma)teadmata, ilma tänamata, ilmatüdimata, (ilma)võimata, ilma väljapajatatamata, ilma äralugemata, (ilma)(ära)mõõtmata, ilma ärapajatatamata, kuulmata, tutmata, äralõpmata*);
5. VERB gerundi vormis → ADVERB (*elades, silma nähes*).

Ülal toodud leksikaliseerumise ahelad on mõnevõrra erinevad, kuna esimesena ja teisena nimetatud näitavad juba leksikalisatsiooni üleminekut grammatikaliseerumistasadiumi. Diskursusepartiklite samalaadne areng on toimunud paljudes eri keeltes. Partitsiibi- ja gerundivormide puhul on aga tegemist grammatiliste vormide tähendusliku iseseisvumise ehk leksikaliseerumisprotsessiga, mis sõltub keele morfosüntaktilistest võimalustest. Eelneva materjali põhjal võib siiski järeldada, et mida grammatikaliseerunum on vorm (vt retooriliste diskursusepartiklite tekkeahel), seda tüüpilisema nähtusega on tegemist. Leksikaliseerumise üldised mallid võivad keeltes sarnasena olemas olla, kuid iga üksiku leksikalisatsioonijuhtumi puhul pole siiski võimalik arengut mõjutanud keeltest või sugulaskeeltest otseseid analoogiaid leida – olulisemad näivad olevat keele enese grammatilised võimalused ja tähenduste arengu loogika.

ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES IN ESTONIAN

Reet Kasik

University of Tartu

1. Causative situation

The linguistic expressions that are termed as causatives can be studied in a number of ways. Causative sentences (1c–e) describe a situation that consists of two component events: a cause (1a) and an effect (1b).

(1a) *Ukse kell helises*

‘The doorbell rang’

(1b) *Mari ärkas*

‘Mari woke up’

(1c) *Mari ärkas, sest ukse kell helises*

‘Mari woke up because the doorbell rang’

(1d) *Ukse kella helin põhjustas selle, et Mari ärkas*

‘The ringing of the doorbell caused Mari to wake up’

(1e) *Ukse kell äratas Mari*

‘The doorbell woke up Mari’

The two-part predicate CAUSE (X,Y) serves as the departure point for describing a causative structure (see e.g. Jackendorff 1983: 174–179). The first argument of the predicate is the causer and the second argument is the causee. The predicate CAUSE includes permitting causativity LET (X,Y), which implies that the causer could potentially hamper the occurrence of the event but chooses not to and allows it to take place.

(2) *Mari laskis uksekella heliseda*

‘Mari let the doorbell be ringing’

Some languages express active and passive causativity by means of the same structure; other languages have their own possibilities to express passive (permitting) causativity. In Estonian, for example, morphological causatives (*liigutama* ‘to move’, *helistama* ‘ring’, *lõpetama* ‘finish’) express only active causativity;

the analytic construction with the *laskma*-verb, however, may express both causing (3b) and permitting (3a) causativity:

(3a) *Mari laskis vaasil maha kukkuda*

‘Mari let the vase drop’

(3b) *Mari laskis toatüdrukul vaasi maast üles tõsta*

‘Mari had the chambermaid pick the vase up’

Causative sentences stand in an implicative relation to the corresponding non-causative sentences. Sentence (1e) implies that Mari woke up; sentence (2) implies that the doorbell rang. Actually, the non-causative sentence (effect) serves as the linguistic departure point (the expression with the simpler structure). One can describe causativity as causativization (see e.g. Itkonen 1996: 219–220), i.e. it is a syntactic process that is directed towards the verb, which changes the valency of the verb and the argument structure. It is possible to causativize both intransitive (4) as well as transitive (5) syntactic structures. An intransitive structure designates a one-part (one-argument) situation PRED (X); a transitive structure denotes a two-part (two-argument) situation PRED (X, Y). Causativity adds another new argument to the situation. If the sentence that serves as the starting point expresses an action or situation either with one or two participants, then the basic meaning of the causative is that the argument that was added to the structure causes this action or situation.

(4a) *Turistid jooksevad*

‘The tourists are running’

(5a) *Turistid uurivad kaarti*

‘The tourists are studying the map’

(4b) *Giid jooksub turiste*

‘The guide makes the tourists run’

(5b) *Giid paneb turistid kaarti*

uurima

‘The guide makes the tourists study the map’

There is no consensus about what constitutes the first argument of the causal predicate. Linguists discuss whether the causer is the agent or the process. A typical causal situation involves consequences that were caused by a person who was acting

deliberately (see examples 4b and 5b). However, not everything that happens is caused deliberately, and there may be non-human causes as well. Active and passive causativity and the role of the causer serves as the basis for distinguishing the following types of causal expressions:

(6a) *Jaamaülem katkestas rongiliikluse*

'The stationmaster stopped the rail traffic'

(6b) *Raudteele loobitud puud katkestasid rongiliikluse*

'The trees that had been thrown on the railway stopped the rail traffic'

(6c) *Puude loopimine raudteele katkestas rongiliikluse*

'The throwing of trees on the railway stopped the rail traffic'

(6d) *Raudteele kukkunud puud katkestasid rongiliikluse*

'The trees that had fallen on the railway stopped the rail traffic'

(6e) *Laisk jaamaülem laskis rongiliikluset katkeda*

'The lazy stationmaster let the rail traffic stop'

According to Jackendorff (1983), the causal relationship involves two processes, of which one – the source process – gives rise to the other – the resulting process (6c). What is happening is not caused or permitted by the person in the agent role but by his action (6a, b) or inaction (6e). Causality and agentiveness merge as a single causer. According to Lakoff (1987: 54–55), one of the criteria for a prototypical causative is that there is an agent who does something. If the agent functions as the subject, its direct action (source process) is not mentioned. It is impossible to learn from example (6a) what the stationmaster actually did to stop rail traffic: whether he gave an oral command, pressed a button, or threw some trees on the rail tracks. In examples (6b) and (6c), too, there is an implicitly acting agent. In the surface structure, however, the factor causing the change in the state of the object is the predicate of the source situation (6c) or the other argument performing the role of the instrument (6b), which function as the subject. In example (6d) the subject is also an instrument, but the

source event, represented by the instrument, is natural, without an obligatory agent.

In Estonian passive or permissive causativity can be expressed only by a human causer. Permission, that is avoiding the hindering is a human activity to such a degree that its linguistic expression requires an obligatory animate subject. In example (6e) one may think that the actual reason for the resulting situation (stopping of the rail traffic) is the source event (the stationmaster's inaction) or instrument (the stationmaster's laziness). However, these can be expressed only by a causal adverbial (6f, g); the *laskma* ('let') -verb takes a human in the function of the subject:

(6f) *Jaamaülem laskis oma tegevusetusega rongiliiklusel katkeda*

'The stationmaster with his inaction let the rail traffic stop'

(6g) *Jaamaülem laskis laiskusest rongiliiklusel katkeda*

'The stationmaster let the rail traffic stop out of laziness'

The other argument of the causal predicate, which Jackendorff (1983) calls causee, has also some distinct features. Its semantic role is that of the experiencer or the patient. The resulting process can be expressed by the corresponding result clause (*Mari ärkab* 'Mari wakes up'; *Rongiliiklus katkeb* 'The rail traffic stops'), an important feature of which is the change in the state of the experiencer or the patient that acts as the causee. This change of state need not be resultative (cf. example (2) *uksekell heliseb* 'the doorbell is ringing'). Also, the second criterion for the prototypical causative states that there is a Patient who/that undergoes the change (Lakoff 1987). The causee that is the grammatical subject of the resultative clause act as the direct or indirect object in the causative clause. According to Comrie (1989: 179) there is a general tendency that the subject of an intransitive verb may become the direct object (7) and the subject of a transitive verb may become the indirect object (8) of a causative clause.

(7a) *Lumi sulab*

'The snow is melting'

(8a) *Mari näeb vastuseid*

'Mary can see the answers'

- | | |
|--|--|
| (7b) <i>Päike sulatab lume</i>
'The sun melts the snow' | (8b) <i>Pinginaaber näitab Marile</i>
<i>vastuseid</i>
'The deskmate shows the
answers to Mari' |
|--|--|

One of the problems that arises in connection with the result event of the causative construction is the aspect. A causative action (9a, 10a) may result in a change process (9b) or a final state of a change process (9c, 10b, c):

- (9a) *Mari avab ust / ukse*
 door:PRTV / door:GEN
 'Mari is opening the door / opens the door'
- (9b) *Uks avaneb*
 'The door opens'
- (9c) *Uks on lahti*
 'The door is open'
- (10a) *Narrimine kurvastab Marit*
 'Teasing makes Mari sad'
- (10b) *Mari kurvastab*
 'Mari is sad'
- (10c) *Mari on kurb*
 'Mari is sad'

Examples (9b) and (9c) have different meanings; examples (10b) and (10c), however, have the same meaning, depending on whether the causative construction is telic (9a) or atelic (10a). Such an interpretation of causativity implies that in addition to the traditional deverbal causative derivatives one has to take into account the denominal causatives as well. In the first case the result can be expressed by a verbal predicate, in the second case as a nominal predicate. The Finnish linguist Leena Kytömäki interprets causativity and the possibilities of forming causatives in such a broader sense (Kytömäki 1978: 132–136). According to her, the result situation may be expressed in addition to the change verb also by an existential, habitual, locative, or predicative clause. The fact that causative structures express at the same time action and change distinguishes causative verbs

and constructions from other transitive verbs (*lugema* 'read', *viskama* 'throw', *tundma* 'feel').

2. Expression of causativity

Causative structures can be divided into syntactic (analytic), morphological, and lexical causatives on the basis of the formal relationship between the causative predicate and its non-causative equivalent (Comrie 1989: 167–170). A lexical causative and its non-causative equivalent do not share any formal relation, e.g. many languages have suppletive pairs *tapma* 'kill' and *surema* 'die'. Most languages have lexical causatives, but they are unproductive.

Analytic and morphological causatives are productive, that is, their formation is regular. The relation between a prototypical causative and its non-causative equivalent is morphological – the causative form is formed from a non-causative verb or noun by means of an affix, e.g. the Estonian verb suffix *-(s)ta*: *põlema* 'burn' > *põletama* 'burn', *lõppema* 'end' > *lõpetama* 'finish', *kurb* 'sad' > *kurvastama* 'make sb sad, become sad', *vihane* 'angry' > *vihastama* 'make sb angry, get angry'.

(11a) *Koosolek* *lõpe-b*

meeting:NOM end-PRS

'The meeting ends'

(11b) *Juhataja* *lõpe-ta-b* *koosoleku*

chairman:NOM end-CAUS-PRS meeting:GEN

'The chairman closes the meeting'

(12a) *Mari on kurb*

'Mari is sad'

(12b) *Narrimine* *kurva-sta-b* *Mari-t*

teasing:NOM sad-CAUS-PRS Mari-PRTV

'Teasing makes Mari sad'

There are also opposite derivational relations, where the causative is a simple verb and the non-causative is derived from the latter. This direction of derivation is productive, for example, in Russian, where reflexive and automative verbs are derived

from causative verbs by means of the suffix *-sja*: *lomatj* 'break (sth)' > *lomatsja* 'break'. Some anticausatives can be found in Estonian as well: *pöörama* 'turn' > *pöörduma* 'turn', *määrima* 'smear' > *määrduma* 'become dirty', *sulgema* 'close sth' > *sulguma* 'close', *avama* 'open sth' > *avanema* 'open'.

- (13a) *Uks* *ava-ne-s*
 door:NOM open-TRANSL-PST
 'The door opened'

- (13b) *Jaan* *ava-s* *ukse*
 Jaan:NOM open-PST door-GEN
 'Jaan opened the door'

There are languages, where both the causative and the non-causative members of the pair have their own suffix, so that it is impossible to claim that one has been derived from the other. One can find such word pairs also in Estonian: *purustama* 'break (sth)' – *purunema* 'break', *rahustama* 'calm (sb)' – *raahunema* 'calm down, *lõhestama* 'split (sth)' – *lõhenema* 'split', *kivistama* 'petrify (sth)' – *kivinema* 'petrify'.

- (14a) *Poiss* *puru-sta-s* *akna*
 boy:NOM break-CAUS-PST window:GEN
 'The boy smashed the window'

- (14b) *Aken* *puru-ne-s*
 window:NOM break-TRANSL-PST
 'The window broke'

There are also converted or zero-derived causatives, which means that the same verb can be used both causatively and anti-causatively. Only the number of arguments shows in which meaning the verb is used. One such verb in English is *open*:

- (15a) *The door opened*

- (15b) *John opened the door*

Estonian has no such simple verbs; there are, however, some suffixed verbs of emotion that can be used with different argument structures: *ehmatama* 'frighten', *viastama* 'make/get

angry', *rõõmustama* 'make/be glad', *kurvastama* 'make/be sad', *külmetama* 'be cold'.

(16a) *Mari ehmatas*
'Mari got frightened'

(16b) *Jüri ehmatas Marit*
'Jüri frightened Mari'

The prototypical analytic causative structure (17b) has two predicates; one of them (*panema* 'make, force', lit: 'put') expresses causativity and the other (*sulama* 'melt') expresses the result and acts as the predicate of the corresponding non-causative construction.

(17a) *Lumi sula-b*
snow:NOM melt-PRS
'The snow is melting away'

(17b) *Päike pane-b lume sula-ma*
sun:NOM put-PRS snow:GEN melt-maINF
'The sun makes the snow melt'

The selection of the verb that expresses causativity may express the intensity of causation: *Võimlemisõpetaja sunnib* (lit: 'forces') / *ajab* (lit: 'drives') / *pane-b* (lit: 'puts') *lapsed jooksmale*. 'The physical education teacher makes the children run'.

3. Causative structures in Estonian and Finnish

The article focuses on analytic causative constructions in Estonian. It will analyze their relation with regular morphological causatives in Estonian and Finnish as well as the meaning, reasons for use, and the syntactic structure of analytic causative constructions. The aim is to explain the grammaticalization of verbs that express causation.¹

Traditional grammar often regards derivational affixes as lexical morphemes because by comparison with grammatical markers and inflectional endings the majority of derivational

¹ I am grateful to Professor Mati Ereht for the useful comments on the first version of the article.

affixes are semantically transparent. However, the meaning of affixes is much more general than that of independent lexemes or root words – usually they denote some rather abstract semantic categories or functions. Derivatives are grouped semantically on the basis of the functional meaning that is added to the lexical meaning of an affixed stem. The lexical meaning of the stem and the functional meaning of the derivational affix shape the derivational meaning. If the same semantic content is conveyed analytically with a two-word phrase, then it means that both the lexical meaning and the functional meaning are expressed verbally. It can be demonstrated well enough by comparing verb derivation in Estonian and Finnish.

Although the Estonian and Finnish verb formation systems have, in principle, similar structures, the Estonian structure is simpler, and in Estonian verb derivatives are used on a smaller scale than in Finnish (for a more detailed discussion see Kasik 1997). The same meanings that are expressed in Finnish by grammatical means are often rendered analytically in Estonian – by means of a multi-word phrase. Krista Ojutkangas (1997) has analyzed the translation of verbs of change into Estonian. Her material includes 55 cases, where to a Finnish derivative of change corresponds an Estonian analytic expression consisting of a verb and its extension. On 19 occasions the verb *minema* ‘go’ was used to express the deep predicate (functional meaning) (*Nenät kostuvat* > *Ninad lähevad märjaks* ‘The noses go wet’. The verb *saama* ‘become, get’ was used 14 times (*Kesäasunto on valmistumassa* > *Suvemaja on valmis saamas* ‘The summer home is about to be completed’), and *jääma* ‘remain, become’ was used on nine occasions (*Huone hiljenee* > *Tuba jääb vaikseks* ‘The room becomes silent). These examples indicate that the analytical constructions that correspond to the Finnish derivatives are not free lexical word combinations but have a definite structure, the semantic formatives of which are rendered by certain lexemes.

Finnish causative verbs can be rendered in Estonian in principle in two ways:

- (a) by means of causative derivatives: fin *kasvattaa* > est *kasvatada* ‘grow (sth)’, fin *herättää* > est *äratada* ‘wake’,

fin *opettaa* > est *õpetada* 'teach', fin *lopettaa* > est *lõpetada* 'finish';

(b) by means of an analytic construction:

fin *aurattaa* > est *ajada naerma* 'make (lit: 'drive') sb laugh', fin *itkettää* > est *ajada nutma* 'make (sb) cry', fin *suututtaa* > est *ajada vihale* 'make (sb) angry;

fin *sulattaa* > est *panna sulama* 'cause (lit: 'put') to melt', fin *sytyttää* > est *panna põlema* 'light', fin *liikuttaa* > est *panna liikuma* 'cause to move'.

The formation of morphological causatives is not fully productive in the Estonian derivational system – sometimes the analytic construction is the only possibility of expressing causativeness, for which there is no matching morphological causative (*ajada* / *panna nutma* 'make (lit: 'drive' / 'put') sb cry', *panna seisma* 'make (lit: 'put') sth stop', *panna magama* 'put (sb) to bed' (lit: 'to sleep'). If causativity can be expressed both analytically and morphologically, then the constructions seldom have the same meaning, cf.

(18a) *Aednik kasva-ta-b kurke*
gardener:NOM crow-CAUS-PRS cucumber:PL:PRTV
'The gardener grows cucumbers'

(18b) *Aednik pane-b kurgi-d kasva-ma*
gardener:NOM put-PRS cucumber-PL growe-maINF
'The gardener plants the cucumbers'

Sometimes it is impossible to use the parallel analytic construction because the meaning of the morphological causative has become conventionalized or idiomatized:

(19a) *Ema kasva-ta-b last üksi*
mother:NOM crowe-CAUS-PRS child:PRTV alone
'Mother raises the child alone'

(19b) **Ema pane-b lapse üksi kasva-ma*
mother:NOM put-PRS child:GEN alone growe-maINF
'Mother will make the child grow alone'

Comrie (1989: 165) points out the semantic differences between the lexical and analytic causatives. The lexical causatives express immediate, contact causation; analytic causatives, however, express indirect, non-contact causation. In the case of immediate causation the initiator is a participant in the event and often handles the patient (causee) physically, and the causative event under discussion takes place at one and the same moment. In the case of indirect causation an intermediary, another agent, may be added, who initiates the action, or the action may take place as a result of a chain of actions. In this respect morphological causatives are similar to lexical causatives.

(20a) *Kojamees põletas maja maha*

'The street cleaner burnt down the house'

(20b) *Kojamees põhjustas maja mahapõlemise*

'The street cleaner caused the burning-down of the house'

Indirect causation can be separated into two processes taking place at different times, which is impossible in the case of morphological and lexical causatives.

(21a) *Kojamees põhjustas maja mahapõlemise pühapäeval, unustades laupäeval sauna voolu alla*

'The street cleaner caused the burning-down of the house on Sunday, having forgotten to switch off the power in the sauna on Saturday'

(21b) **Kojamees põletas pühapäeval maja maha, unustades laupäeval sauna voolu alla*

'The street cleaner burnt the house down on Sunday, having forgotten to switch off the power in the sauna on Saturday'

Examining in this light the Estonian causative *ajama* and *panema* constructions shows that, on the one hand, their meaning resembles the blended meaning of morphological causatives, on the other, they are similar to the analytic constructions with an independent verb of causation. In Estonian it is also possible to express analytically immediate, contact causation, which cannot be separated into two different processes.

- (21c) **Kojamees pani pühapäeval maja põlema, unustades laupäeval sauna voolu alla*

‘The street cleaner set the house afire on Sunday, having forgotten to switch off the power in the sauna on Saturday’

Some analytic and morphological causative constructions are interchangeable with slight changes in meaning, cf.

- (22a) *Päike sulatab lume*

‘The sun melts the snow’

- (22b) *Päike paneb lume sulama*

The sun makes (lit: ‘puts’) the snow melt’

- (23a) *Jutustaja naerutas kuulajaid*

‘The storyteller made the audience laugh’

- (23b) *Jutustaja ajas kuulajad naerma*

‘The storyteller made (lit: ‘drove’) the audience laugh’

- (24a) *Jutt vihastas kuulajat*

‘The story made the listener angry’

- (24b) *Jutt ajas kuulaja vihale*

‘The story made (lit: ‘drove’) the listener angry’

Interchangeability does not imply that the derivational and analytic structures have identical meanings. They may be used in the same context, and they constitute a single event that is temporally inseparable. The derivative has the meaning of a process with a clearer temporal duration while the analytic construction can be interpreted inchoatively – as the beginning of a process. It means that the initiator’s role carries different shades of meaning – in the case of the analytic construction it only initiates the process, provides the initial impulse; however, in the case of a derivative the initiator participates in the course of the entire process of change, cf.

- (25a) *Sekretär põletas dokumente (kaks tundi kabineti kaminas)*

‘The secretary burnt the documents (for two hours in the fireplace of the office)’

(25b) *Sekretär pani dokumendid põlema* (ja läks ise selleks ajaks, kui dokumendid põlesid, kõrvaltuppa kohvi jooma)

'The secretary set the documents afire (and went to the adjoining room to drink coffee for the time when the documents were burning)'

Translation into Finnish supports this interpretation. Although Finnish morphological causatives are often translated into Estonian analytically, the Estonian analytic constructions need not be translated into Finnish by causative verbs. For example, the causative *panema* ('put') -constructions in the novel "The Beauty of History" by Viivi Luik were translated into Finnish by means of morphological causatives only on single occasions; usually the analytic construction was used in the translation as well. The following examples come from the University of Turku corpus *Studia comparativa linguarum orbis Maris Baltici* (SCLOMB).

(26a) *Kiiduavaldused panevad värisema kõik asjad, mis puhvetis on*

(26b) *Suosionosoitukset saavat kaiken astiakaapissa olevan tärisemään*

'The ovations make all the things in the cupboard tremble'

(27a) *praelõhna, mis paneb möödaminejaid ninasõõrmeid liigutama*

(27b) *tuoksu, joka panee ohikulkijan värähtämään sieraimiaan*

'the smell of roasted meat that makes the passers-by move their nostrils'

The semantic difference between the Estonian morphological and analytic causative constructions is related to the degree of grammaticalization of the linguistic unit that expresses causality. The derivational affix *-ta-* is fully grammaticalized, but the causative verb in the analytic phrase may have retained a greater or smaller part of its lexical independence. If causation and the caused event can be separated into two processes that took place at different times, then it indicates that the verb of causation (e.g.

põhjustama 'cause') is lexically independent. It is not always possible to draw a distinct line between the lexical and grammatical functions of a verb form that expresses causality. A word form is grammaticalized gradually, e.g. in examples (22)–(24) the verbs *panema* 'put' or *ajama* 'drive' are not used in their original concrete meanings. However, the lexical meaning of moving / making sth move is present against the background of the causative construction, and it influences the interpretation. Also, the analytic construction includes an independent intransitive verb (*sulama* 'melt', *naerma* 'laugh'), which also retains the relation with the spontaneous process that occurs if the initial impulse is given. In the case of denominal derivatives the synonymousness of the analytic construction and the derivative is more evident. For example, both *vihastama* 'make angry' and *vihale ajama* 'make (lit: drive) angry' have an inchoative shade of meaning because the result situation is not expressed by a verbal but a nominal predicate, and therefore such combinations do not have a continuous process. It was the state (being angry) that was caused and not the process.

The Finnish verb formation system allows to express mediated causality morphologically as well. Such derivatives are called curatives. Descriptions of verb formation single out curative derivatives from morphological causatives into a separate group. It was often held (especially in earlier grammars) that the criterion for distinction is transitivity / intransitivity of the base verb. According to this view, causative derivatives denote the causation of the intransitive process as expressed by the base word; curative verbs, however, denote the causation of the transitive activity as expressed by the base word. Leena Kytömäki (1978) has studied the morphological causative and curative verbs in great detail. She has emphasized the role of the subject of the base verb – also a derivative formed from a transitive verb is causative if the causee is an experiencer from the semantic point of view (cf. e.g. *nägema* 'see' > *näitama* 'show'). One criterion of the curative expressions is that the causee (the subject of the base verb) has to be an active doer, a semantic agent. The other important criterion is the subject role of the curative expressions themselves. It must also be an intentional doer, an agent.

Thus, verbs or verb constructions with two arguments are clearly causative. One argument is the causer and the other argument is the patient (*Metsamees langetab puid* 'The lumberjack is felling trees' – *Puud langevad* 'The trees are falling') or the experiencer (*Jüri kurvastab Marit* 'Jüri makes Mari sad' – *Mari on kurb* 'Mari is sad'). At this the subject of the causative verb or causer need not be an intentional doer (cf. *Päike sulatab lume* 'The sun melts the snow away' – *Lumi sulab* 'The snow is melting'). Verb constructions with three arguments are clearly curative. One of them is the intentional, active causer, the second one is the agent, and the third one is either the experiencer or the patient (*Kaupunginhallitus sulatutti lumen palkkaamillaan työmiehillä* 'The city government had the hired workers melt the snow' – *Työmiehet sulattivat lumen* 'The hired workers melted the snow' – *Lumi sul* 'The snow melted away'). In the Finnish verb formation system the derivation of curative verbs with two active argument roles (causer and agent) is productive. The examples below have been taken from the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.

- (28) *Kun poliisi, oikeuslaitos tai media ei pysty auttamaan, kirjoita tai kirjoituta kirja* (HS 6.6.2000)
 'If the police, court or media cannot help, then write a book or have it written'
- (29) *Stadionin rakennuttajan ja omistajan Helsingin kaupungin suoraan tukea rakennuskustannuksiin oli 32 miljoonaa markkaa* (HS 6.6.2000)
 'The direct support of the City of Helsinki, who was the client (lit: 'the one who orders to the built') and owner of the stadium, amounted to 32 million marks'
- (30) *Mitä siivous siis maksaisi, jos teettää työn firmalla* (HS 6.6.2000)
 'What will be the cost of cleaning if you have this job done by a company'

- (31) *Venäläinen huollattaa Suomessa autonsa ja ostaa elintarvikkeitä* (HS 29.6.2000)
 'A Russian has a car maintained in Finland and buys some foodstuffs'
- (32) *Yleisradio on tutkituttanut Juhani Wiion johdolla vaaliohjelmien tasapainoisuutta* (HS 18.8.2000)
 'Yleisradio has asked to examine under the supervision of Juhani Wiio whether the election broadcasts are balanced'

It is impossible to form curative derivatives in Estonian because curative derivation assumes recursion – another causative suffix is attached to the causative verb. In the Estonian word formation system there is no regular recursion in any derivational patterns – in an Estonian word a derivational suffix with the same or a similar meaning may occur only once (Kasik 1995). Estonian uses only analytical means to express situations with two agents in the active role.

- (33a) *Ülemus käskis sekretäril andmed kataloogist välja otsida*
 'The boss asked the secretary to find the data in the catalogue'
- (33b) *Ülemus pani sekretäri andmeid kataloogist välja otsima*
 'The boss made the secretary find the data in the catalogue'
- (33c) *Ülemus ajas sekretäri andmeid kataloogist välja otsima*
 'The boss sent the secretary to find the data in the catalogue'
- (33d) *Ülemus laskis sekretäril andmed kataloogist välja otsida*
 'The boss had the secretary find the data in the catalogue'

A comparison of the sentences shows that one can interpret them differently. One possible interpretation is to see two different actions – one is performed by the boss and the other by the secretary. According to the other interpretation, there is a single process that has two active participants in different roles, the end result being that the data will be found in the catalogue.

The interpretations differ in that in the first case the first finite verb form is analyzed as a lexical verb and in the second case as an auxiliary. The first interpretation unites two clauses,

both of them expressing an independent action. In the syntactic process one clause is inserted as a secondary verb phrase of the other, similarly to the sentence *Ema käskis lastel tuppa tulla* (*Ema käskis* + *Lapsed tulid tuppa*) 'Mother told the children to come indoors (Mother commanded + The children came indoors)'. In the case of the second interpretation there is a single event – something happened because someone caused (gave an impulse) another person to do it. The verb *laskma* 'let' seems to be the most grammaticalized one of the four used verbs. Since the verb *käskima* 'command' expresses mainly a verbal action, then it is easy to interpret the predicate verb of example (33a) as a speaking verb with an independent lexical meaning in its core sense. The verbs *panema* 'put' and *ajama* 'drive' in examples (33b) and (33c) are more grammaticalized in comparison with the former. The core lexical sense of both verbs could be described as a physical change in the location of an object (*Mari pani paberi lauale / ajas koera õue* 'Mari put the (sheet of) paper on the table / drove the dog out'). An expression with a place extension (*panna / ajada keegi kuhugi* 'to put / drive sb somewhere') instead of an action extension (*panna / ajada keegi midagi tegema* 'make (lit: 'put') / have (lit: 'drive') sb do sth') is definitely more abstract, however, the link with moving the object is still transparent in examples (33b) and (33c). The link is indicated also by the possibility that both extension types may occur simultaneously.

(33e) *Ülemus pani / ajas sekretäri kontorisse andmeid kataloogist välja otsima*

'The boss sent (lit: 'put / drove') the secretary to the office to find the data in the catalogue'

On the other hand, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to establish the lexical meaning of the verb *laskma* 'let' in example (33d) (cf. *Mari laskis koera õue* 'Mari let the dog out'). Nor is a lative extension possible in the causative *laskma*-construction.

Lakoff (1987) emphasizes that it is characteristic of causativity that the agent's action (causing event) and the situation change (resulting event) make up a single process, they are united in time and space. There is a good reason to speak

about causativity (and also about curativity) in the narrower, prototypical meaning if all the arguments are participants in a single situation, and the analytic causative phrase that expresses the situational nucleus (predicate) forms a single lexical unit. The nominal/infinitive component, which expresses the resulting situation, carries the core sense of this lexical unit. The verbal (finite) component that expresses causativity has lost lexical properties and has been reduced in a certain sense to an auxiliary verb, which primarily expresses the categorial and grammatical markers of the periphrastic verb chain.

4. Grammaticalization of causal verbs

Grammaticalization means that a lexical word begins to behave as a functional word, for example, a verb of motion begins to express temporal, causal, aspectual, or modal relations (*tuleb minna* 'one has (lit: 'comes') to go, *ajab nutma* '(it) makes (lit: 'drives') one cry'). A word is abstracted from expressing entities or their properties to expressing various relations. The relations with other words become more close both paradigmatically (in the language system) and syntagmatically (in the phrase structure). An unbound lexical morpheme (independent noun, verb) is gradually becoming a bound grammatical morpheme, which belongs to a small category of grammatical words (adpositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, affixes). The development of grammaticalization has been depicted as the shrinking of the domain and autonomy of a linguistic element up to the point a linguistic unit becomes a part of a morphosyntactic paradigm (see e.g. Hopper & Traugott 1993).

Researchers have also emphasized that grammaticalization is a gradual process with a smooth change from a lexical meaning to a grammatical meaning. The stepwise process can be treated diachronically, as a historical change, or synchronically, as a scale or gradation between lexical and grammatical units. The scale of grammaticalization is multidimensional and multi-layered. Different grades of the same development spiral coexist friendly, and it is not always possible to draw a line between their functions. At first a new analysis often occurs on the syntagmatic

level, and similar structures are generated by analogy, whereby it is gradually fixed as a paradigmatic part of the grammatical system (Hopper & Traugott 1993). For example, the case form of a word may develop into a postposition (*käes* 'in hand', *kõrval* 'next to'), or an independent verb (*tulema* 'come; have to', *pidama* 'keep; must, have to') may evolve into a modal verb, retaining the original meaning as part of its polysemy.

There is no category of causative auxiliary verb in Estonian grammar although in certain constructions some verbs have a clearly grammatical function. The descriptive grammar of Estonian (EKG 1993: 20) mentions among periphrastic verbs some catenative verbs that are formed with causative verbs, e.g. *panema* 'put; make', *ajama* 'drive', *laskma* 'let', *lööma* 'hit', *vajutama* 'press', *keerama* 'turn', but they are not discussed in greater detail. Next the article will focus on the usage of the Estonian verbs *ajama* 'drive', *panema* 'put; make', and *laskma* 'let' in causative constructions, that is, in such phrases as *ajab naerma* 'makes (sb) laugh', *paneb jooma* 'makes (sb) drink', *laseb teha* 'lets do (sth)'.

A characteristic feature of such verb constructions is that they take different subjects, unlike phrases of the type *lubab minna* 'allows to go', which may take the same or different subjects, cf.

(34a) *Ma luban selle töö täna ära teha* (Mina luban + Mina teen)

'I promise to complete this job today (I promise + I'll do it)'

(34b) *Ma luban sul minna* (Mina luban + Sina lähed)

'I let you go (I allow + You'll go)'

In the case of the constructions with *ajama* 'drive', *panema* 'put; make', and *laskma* 'let' the deep structure always contains two subjects, the first of which – the subject of the grammaticalized verb – does not participate in the resulting event (expressed by the infinitive); it is the initiator of the action, the one who sets things in motion, the one who provides an impulse. The doer of the main action marked by the infinitive verb is usually an

adessive indirect object (35) or a direct object in the partitive (35) or genitive (36–37).

- (35) *Ostja lask-is müüja-l / müüja-t*
 customer:NOM let-PST shop assistant-ADESS / PRTV
riidetüki üle mõõd-a
 cloth:GEN re-measure-daINF
 'The customer asked the shop assistant to re-measure the cloth'

- (36) *Ostja pani müüja riidetükki üle mõõtma*
 'The customer made (lit: 'put') the shop assistant re-measure the cloth'

- (37) *Ostja ajas müüja nutma*
 'The customer made (lit: 'drove') the shop assistant cry'

4.1. ajama 'drive'

The usage of the verb *ajama* 'drive' will be studied only in those sentence types that describe a resulting event. Such cases as *juttu ajama* 'talk', *asju ajama* 'attend to some business', *ratast käekõrval ajama* 'push one's bike', *habet ajama* 'shave', etc. will remain beyond the scope of this study although it is possible to interpret the verb *ajama* 'drive' as a grammaticalized verb in such word combinations as well (for a more detailed discussion see Kasik 1999). At present the following sentence types will be under discussion:

- (38a) *Peremees aja-s poisi-d (kuuri)*
 owner:NOM drive-PST boy-NOM:PL (shed:ILL)
pu-id ladu-ma
 firefood-PRTV:PL stack-maINF
 'The owner sent the boys (to the shed) to stack up firewood'
- (38b) *Tuul ja vihm aja-si-d*
 wind:NOM and rain:NOM drive-PST-3PL
matkajad sooje-ma-lt riietu-ma
 hiker-NOM:PL warm-COMP-ADV clothe-maINF
 'The wind and rain made the hikers put on warmer clothes'

- (38c) *Närvesööv töö* ***aja-b*** *naise-d*
 nerve-racking job: NOM drive-PRS woman-NOM:PL
vahetpidamata midagi söö-ma
 all the time something eat-maINF
 'The nerve-racking job makes the women eat something all the time'
- (39a) *Kloun* ***aja-s*** *lapse-d* ***naer-ma***
 clown:NOM drive-PST children-NOM:PL laugh-maINF
 'The clown made the children laugh'
- (39b) *Esineja* *hää* ***aja-s*** *mitu*
 performer:GEN voice:NOM drive-PST several
kuulajat nut-ma
 hearer-PRTV cry-maINF
 'The performer's voice made several members of the audience cry'
- (39c) *Juba selle-le mõtlemine* ***aja-b*** *te-da*
 even it-ALL thinking drive-PRS he-PRTV
iivelda-ma
 sicken-maINF
 'Even thinking about it makes him sick'
- (40a) *See tüdruk ol-i juba mitu poissi*
 this girl:NOM be-PST already several boy:PRTV
hullu-ks aja-nud
 ceazy-TRANSL drive-PFV
 'This girl had driven several boys crazy already'
- (40b) *Miniseelik* ***aja-s*** *vastutulija-d*
 miniskirt:NOM drive-PST passers-by-NOM:PL
elevi-le
 excitement-ALL
 'The miniskirt excited the passers-by'
- (40c) *Teis-te* *sagimine* ***aja-b*** *te-da*
 other-GEN:PL bustle:NOM drive-PRS he-PRTV
närvi
 nerve:ILL
 'The bustle of the others makes him nervous'

- (41a) *Mees* *aja-s* *käe-d* *laiali*
 man:NOM drive-PST arm-PL:NOM outspread
 'The man spread out his arms'

In examples (38) the resulting event is an active action expressed by the infinitive of a transitive or intransitive verb (*Poisid laovad* (*kuuris*) *puid* 'The boys are stacking up firewood (in the shed)'; *Matkajad riietuvad soojemalt* 'The hikers put on warmer clothes'; *Naised söövad vahetpidamata midagi* 'The women are eating something all the time'). In examples (39) the resulting event is a physico-emotional process expressed by an intransitive verb (*Lapsed naeravad* 'The children are laughing'; *Mitu kuulajat nutab* 'Several members of the audience are crying'; *liveldab* 'I'm feeling sick'. In examples (40) the emotional state is expressed by the nominal predicate (*Poisid on hullud* 'The boys are crazy'; *Vastutulijad on elevil* 'The passers-by are excited'; *Ta on närvis* 'He is nervous').

In example (38) the causee is the agent (*poisid* 'boys', *matkajad* 'hikers', *naised* 'women'); in examples (39) and (40) it is the experiencer marked with the feature /animate/ (*lapsed* 'children', *kuulajad* 'members of the audience', *tema* 'he', *vastutulijad* 'passers-by'). Also the independent lexical meaning of the verb *ajama* 'drive' includes orientation to an animate being (cf. *Ajab lambad karjamaale* 'He drives sheep to the pasture'); this feature will be retained in the grammaticalized meaning. Example (41) presents a special case, where the causee is a neutral with the feature /inanimate/, and the resulting situation is a position expressed by an adverb (*Käed on laiali* 'The arms are spread out'). Actually, sentences of this type are reflexive – the action of the verb *ajama* 'drive' is directed at the doer himself although a body part of the doer may serve as an argument of the resulting situation, cf. *Ta ajas end sirgu* 'He straightened up (himself)'; *Ta ajas (endal) selja sirgu* 'He straightened up (his) back'.

The causer that occurs as the subject is a person in variant (a) (*peremees* 'owner', *kloun* 'clown', see *tüdruk* 'this girl', *vastutulija* 'passer-by'), an inanimate instrument in variant (b) (*tuul ja vihm* 'wind and rain', *hää* 'voice', *miniseelik* 'miniskirt')

and source event in variant (c) (*töö* 'job', *mõtlemine* 'thinking', *sagimine* 'bustle').

Of these ten sentence types the verb *ajama* 'drive' can be interpreted as having been subjected to grammaticalization in sentence variants (b) and (c) because the lexical meaning of the verb *ajama* 'drive' presumes an active agent as one argument (*Kes ajab?* 'Who drives?'). An action or instrument may only act as the cause of the resulting event but not as the performer of an independent driving act. A person acts as the subject in sentence variants (a), however, only in example (38a) the verb *ajama* 'drive' can be interpreted as a lexical verb. Although in this sentence, too, the situation as a whole has a causative nature, it does not meet the requirements of the prototypical causative because it cannot be interpreted as a single situation. In example (38a) one can distinguish two separate processes, one of them is included as a clause in the other – the owner's action is identifiable. It is true that a causative construction is characterized by the fact that 'the agent does something', but in the case of a genuine causative the agent's action is not brought out but merges together with the resulting event into a single causative situation (as e.g. in the causative verbs *langetama* 'fell', *äratama* 'wake up', *lõpetama* 'finish', *õpetama* 'teach'). In addition, the lexical meaning of the verb *ajama* 'drive' is associated with an optional lative place (*kuhu?* 'Where to?'). The grammaticalized verb *ajama* 'drive' cannot take this argument.

Examples (39a) and (40a), however, meet the requirements of the prototypical causative. According to the conventional interpretation the subject is not perceived as an intentional doer (agent) but rather an instrument, similarly to examples (39b) and (40b). But for example (38a) the subject in examples (38)–(41) can be interpreted as the cause of the resulting situation. The verb *ajama* 'drive' is grammaticalized (in the categorial meaning CAUSE) if the causer that acts as the subject is a semantic instrument or a source event. If the causer acts as the agent, then the border of the lexical and grammaticalized meaning is unclear – especially if there is an argument that expresses the destination as well.

The Tartu Corpus of Standard Estonian contains a large number of examples with causative constructions of the verb *ajama* 'drive'. They are grouped by the second member of the causative construction, the form of the lexeme that expresses the resulting event.

In all cases the causee is in the form of the direct object, however, it may not be represented explicitly if the expression is impersonal.

A verb in the *ma*-infinitive:

*Kiitus **ajab** su pea ringi käima*

'Praise will make you dizzy'

*Aina /---/ enese sundimine, see **ajabki** suitsetama*

'Constant /---/ self-compulsion, that makes you smoke'

*Silmad nii udused, et neisse vaadates **ajas** haigutama*

'The eyes so hazy that looking into them made me yawn'

An adverbial of state in the illative:

*Dickens on viimane piir, mida ta tabada suudab, Hesse **ajab** ta ahastusse*

'Dickens is the final limit that he can grasp, Hesse makes him desperate (lit: 'drives him into desperation')

*Kui üks õpetaja ütleb teie ja teine sina, **ajab** see noore inimese lihtsalt segadusse*

'If one teacher uses the formal 'you' and another uses the informal 'you', it will make make a young person simply confused' (lit: 'drive into confusion')

*Vahel vanaema kurtis emale, et kool **ajab** inimesed hukka*

'At times granny complained to the mother that school would ruin people' (lit: 'drives into disaster')

*Maidu armastus on niisugune hull armastus, mis /---/ kõik plaanid **sassi ajab***

'Maidu's love is such a crazy love that /---/ will disrupt all the plans'

An adverbial of state in the allative:

*Ma tean, ja ometi **ajab** mind vihale*

'I know it, and yet it makes me angry' (lit: 'drives me onto anger')

Siin on nii suitsune, oksele ajab

'It's so smoky here that it makes me puke' (lit: 'drives onto vomit')

Alles siis, kui ta oli ajanud näitlejad meeleheitele, arvas ta leidnud olevat ..

'Only after he had made the actors desperate (lit: 'drive onto desperation') did he think that he might have found ..

An adverbial of state in the translative:

Fotoalbumis on pilte, mis ajavad kadedaks

'There are some photos in the album that make (lit: 'drive') you envious'

Ning kirja sisu ajas paljudel lihtsalt südame pahaks

'And the content of the letter frustrated many people' (lit: 'drives their heart sick')

See ajas ärevaks ühispanga juhtkonna

'And it made (lit: 'drove') the management of the Union Bank anxious'

4.2. panema 'put'

The verb *panema* 'put; make' will also be examined only in those sentence types, where it is possible to identify a resulting situation. The expressions with other meanings will not be discussed, e.g. *rõhku panema* 'put emphasis (on sth)', *imeks panema* 'wonder', *kinni panema* 'close, shut', *riidesse panema* 'get dressed', *ajama panema* 'leave in a hurry', *minema panema* 'leave in a hurry'. The usage of the verb *panema* 'put; make' will be studied in the following sentence types:

- (42a) *Mees pane-b suitsu põle-ma*
 man:NOM put-PRS cigarette:GEN burn-maINF
 'The man lights a cigarette'

- (42b) *Raha pane-b maailma liikuma*
 money:NOM put-PRS world:GEN move-maINF
 'Money makes the world go round'

- (42c) *Juhtme-te ühendamine pane-b pommi*
 wire-GEN:PL joining:NOM put-PRS bomb:GEN
plahvata-ma
 explode-maINF

‘Joining the wires will make the bomb explode’

- (43a) *Perenaine pane-b tüdruku või-d*
 landlady:NOM put-PRS girl:GEN butter-PRTV

tege-ma

make-maINF

‘The landlady makes the girl make some butter’

- (43b) *Piits pane-b orja-d kiiremini*
 whip:NOM put-PRS slave-NOM:PL faster

liiku-ma

move-maINF

‘The whip makes the slaves move faster’

- (43c) *Koduigatsus pane-b na-d*
 homesickness:NOM put-PRS they-NOM:PL

tegutse-ma

act-maINF

‘Homesickness makes them act’

- (44a) *Laps pane-b vanema-d imesta-ma*
 child:NOM put-PRS parents-NOM:PL wonder-maINF

‘The child makes the parents wonder’

- (44b) *Need sõnad panevad mu nutma*

‘These words make (lit: ‘put’) me cry’

- (44c) *Lugemine pane-b mu-l pea*
 reading:NOM put-PRS I-ADESS head:GEN

valuta-ma

ache-maINF

‘Reading gives me a headache’

- (45a) *Päike pane-b jäälille-d sädele-ma*
 sun:NOM put-PRS frostwork-PL glitter-maINF

‘The Sun makes the frost work glitter’

- (45b) *Korrapärane söötmine paneb sead läikima*

‘Regular feeding makes (lit: ‘puts’) the pigs shiny’

The verb *panema* ‘put’ sets conditions to the resulting event that are different from the verb *ajama* ‘drive’. A resulting event can be expressed mainly by the infinitive of a verb. In examples (42)

the resulting event is a process expressed by an intransitive verb. In examples (43) the resulting event is an active action expressed by a transitive or an intransitive verb, in examples (44) it is a physico-emotional process expressed by an intransitive verb, and in examples (45) it is a physical state expressed by an intransitive verb.

In examples (42) the causee is an inanimate patient (*suits* 'smoke', *maailm* 'world', *pomm* 'bomb' to which something happens, in examples (43) it is the agent who does something (*tüdruk* 'girl', *orjad* 'slaves', *nad* 'they', in examples (44) it is the experiencer who feels something (*vanemad* 'parents', *mina* 'I'), in examples (45) it is a neutral that is in a certain state (*jäälilled* 'frost work', *sead* 'pigs'). Due to the nature of the lexical meaning of the verb *panema* 'put; make' its usage is not limited to animate causees – one can drive (somewhere) only an animate being, but one can put (i.e. place) all kinds of things (somewhere). This feature has been transferred also to the grammaticalized verb *panema* 'put; make'. Therefore it may give an impulse as a grammaticalized initiator, unlike the verb *ajama* 'drive', not only to the actions of persons (examples 43 a–c) but also to processes (examples 42 a–c). Instead of the experiencer its body part may act as the causee, too (example 44c).

The causer as the subject is a person in variant (a) (*mees* 'man', *perenaine* 'landlady', *laps* 'child'), an inanimate instrument in variant (b) (*raha* 'money', *piits* 'whip', *sõnad* 'words', *päike* 'the Sun'), and a source event in variant (c) (*ühendamine* 'joining', *koduigatsus* 'homesickness', *lugemine* 'reading', *söötmine* 'feeding').

The lexical verb *panema* 'put', which is synonymous with the verb *asetama* 'place' takes an obligatory argument in the sense of lative place (*kuhu?* 'Where to?'), which has disappeared in the grammaticalized meaning. Despite the identifiable resulting event one cannot consider the following sentence as prototypically causative: *Kutsar paneb lapse poni selga istuma* 'The coachman placed the child to sit on the pony's back'. Here one can identify two different situations (*Kutsar pani lapse poni selga* + *Laps istub poni seljas* 'The coachman placed the child on the back of the pony + The child is sitting on the back of the

pony'). The absence of a lative extension makes it possible to interpret the constructions with *panema* 'put; make' differently from the constructions with *ajama* 'drive' as causative also in those cases when the resulting situation is an action or process and the causer performs the role of the agent (examples 42a and 43a). Sentence type (43a), where both the causer and the causee perform the role of the agent, expresses actually a curative action. If the resulting situation is a physico-emotional process that happens to a person, then the person that acts as the causer performs, similarly to the verb *ajama* 'drive', the semantic role of the instrument and not the agent (example 44a). However, if the resulting situation is the causee's physical condition in the role of the neutral (examples 45b–c), then it is impossible to make up sentences with an animate causer. It is possible to say *Hea toit paneb sead läikima* 'Good food makes the pigs shiny', but not e.g. **Talitaja paneb sead läikima* 'The pigperson makes the pigs shiny'. A person as the subject presumes a physical activity to change the condition of the neutral (cf. *Talitaja hõõrub sead läikima* 'The pigperson rubs the pigs shiny' or *Talitaja paneb tugeva hõõrumisega sead läikima* 'The pigperson makes the pigs shiny by hard rubbing'. It is not enough to cause without concretization.

The verb *panema* 'put' can be analyzed in the grammaticalized categorial meaning CAUSE if the resulting situation is an action or a process. The causer as the subject of the sentence may be a source event, its agent, or instrument. If the resulting situation is a state, then the causer may be a source event or instrument but not an agent. The features of examples (43b), (43c) and (44a–c) coincide with the usage of the verb *ajama* 'drive' in the grammaticalized meaning, and in those sentences the constructions of both the verbs *ajama* 'drive' and *panema* 'put' can be used.

The causative constructions of the verb *panema* 'put; make' in the Tartu Corpus of Standard Estonian reveal that the resulting situation is mostly expressed by the *ma*-infinitive, and the causee appears as the direct object. However, it may be also impersonal and not expressed explicitly:

*Sulev Luik Robespierre'ina /---/ **paneb** end **kuulama** nagu alati*

'Sulev Luik in the role of Robespierre /---/ makes (lit: 'puts') you listen to him as usual'

*Mind ennast **paneb** nende näituste juures **imestama** üks seik*

'There is a circumstance that makes (lit: 'puts') me wonder in connection with these exhibitions'

*See **paneb** südame **valutama***

'It causes a heartache' (lit: 'puts my heart to ache')

*Samas **paneb** nähtu ja kuuldu **tõmbama** paralleele tänapäevaga*

'At the same time what was seen and heard makes (lit: 'puts') you draw parallels with the present time'

*Pankade moratooriumidega alanud protsessid **panid** ka suuremad kalad õhku **ahmima***

'The processes that began together with the moratoriums on banks made (lit: 'put') also the bigger fishes gasp for air'

*See küsimus **pani** vastaja Alduri poole **vaatama***

'This question made (lit: 'put') the respondent look towards Aldur'

The resulting situation may be expressed by a deverbal in the allative, but only in the meaning of the action or process and not in the meaning of the state:

Uus linnapea **pan-i** politsei töö-le
New:NOM mayor:NOM put-PST police:GEN work:ALL
'The new mayor made the police work'

*Võib lausa öelda, et juudid **panid** preili Eurovisiooni **dieedile***

'One might even say that the Jews put the miss Eurovision on a diet'

4.3. laskma 'let'

The verb *laskma* 'let' has also many meanings and usage contexts. Only one of them, however, will be discussed below – the verb *laskma* 'let' with the infinitive of another verb, that is, the construction with the structure *laseb teha* 'have (sth) done' because it is the only context of the verb *laskma* 'let', where one can see the resulting situation and causativity. Helle Metslang (2000) has observed how the imperative form of the same verb *lase* has given rise to the grammaticalization of the particle *las*

'let', which bears a modal meaning directed at the agent (*Las ma räägin* 'Let me speak'; *Las Ott tuleb siia* 'Let Ott come over here').

Differently from the verbs *ajama* 'drive' and *panema* 'put; make', the verb *laskma* 'let' as a causer requires an obligatory doer or, that is, a person. For the purpose of this article the following sentence types are of interest:

- (46) *Peremees lase-b maja-l lagune-da*
 owner:NOM let-PRS house-ADESS crumble-daINF
 'The owner lets the house crumble'

- (47) *Mees lask-is fotograafi-l enda-st*
 man:NOM let-PST photographer-ADESS he-ELAT
pilti teh-a
 photo:PRTV make-daINF
 'The man had the photographer take a photo of him'

- (48) *Tädi lase-b te-id kõiki*
 aunt:NOM let-PRS you-PRTV:PL all:PRTV
tervita-da
 greet-daINF
 'Aunt sends her best regards to all of you'

- (49) *Tüdruk lask-is kä-te-l käi-a*
 girl:NOM let-PST hand-PL-ADESS go-daINF
 'The girl let her hands work fast'

The meanings of the particle *las* 'let' (Metslang 2000) are related to the meanings of the causative verb *laskma* 'let'. For example, of the two basic meanings of the particle *las* 'let', as brought out by Helle Metslang, the *las* that expresses dynamic modality (*Las ma räägin* 'Let me speak') is comparable to the causative meaning in example (46), and the *las* that expresses deontic modality (*Las Ott tuleb siia* 'Let Ott come over here') is comparable to the causative meaning in example (47).

Example (46) is a case of permitting causativity. The cause is not a semantic agent but bears the resulting situation passively. The causee may be a patient as (46) but also an agent (50) or an

experiencer (51), and the resulting event is expressed by a verb of activity (50), process (46), or state (51).

(50) *Isa lase-b lapse-l mängi-da*
 father:NOM let-PRS child:ADESS play-daINF
 'Father allows the child to play'

(51) *Isa lase-b lapse-l maga-da*
 father:NOM let-PRS child:ADESS sleep-daINF
 'Father lets the child sleep'

Something happens to the causee or he himself does something, and the causer does not hamper this process although he could do it. The causee is in the adessive, elative, genitive, or partitive. The Tartu Corpus of Standard Estonian contains, for example, the following sentences:

Ta laseb mereveel tõusta rinnuni
 'He lets the seawater rise up to his chest'

Mees laseb ajavoolul ennast kanda
 'The man lets the stream of time carry him'

Ta laseb ennast rahvavoolust kaasa viia
 'He lets the flow of people take him along'

Tädi Olga ei lase ennast uuest ümbrusest segada
 'Aunt Olga does not let the new environment disturb her'

Ta laseb ekraanile koguneda paksu tolmu kihi
 'He lets a thick layer of dust gather on the screen'

Nad ei laseks siia päikest paista
 'They wouldn't let the Sun shine here'

Ta ei lase seletusest ühtki sõna kaotsi minna
 'He doesn't let a single word of the explanation get lost'

Example (47) deals with curative causativity. Both the causer and the causee perform active roles. The resulting situation is expressed by the transitive activity verb (*teha* 'do'), which has two arguments; the first one (*fotograaf* 'photographer') performs the role of the agent, and the second one (*pilt* 'photo') takes the role of the patient. The subject of the verb *laskma* 'let' (*mees* 'man') is also an active intentional participant, who causes the

action of the agent. The curative situation expressed by the *laskma*-construction differs from example (43a) in that in example (43a) the impulse given by the causer (*perenaine* 'landlady') is more clearly directed at the initiation of the resulting event, in example (47), however, it is directed at the occurrence of the resulting event. If all the argument roles are represented in a sentence, then the causee is usually in the adessive, but, similarly to Finnish sentences with curative derivatives, in the corresponding Estonian structures, too, the causee is often not explicitly mentioned. If the absence of the causee in the constructions with *ajama* 'drive' and *panema* 'put; make' referred to the impersonality of the resulting event, then in the curative constructions with *laskma* 'let' the concrete causee is always implicitly present because there is an action verb in the infinitive. Although example (52) does not point out who performs the caused action, the unidentified animate person is tacitly performs the action.

- (52) *Nad lask-sid end kiriku-s*
 they:NOM let-PST they:PRTV church-INESS
laulata-da
 marry-daINF
 'They had a church wedding'

The Tartu Corpus of Standard Estonian includes, for example, the following curative constructions with the verb *laskma* 'let':

Mees laskis rätsepal endale uue ülikonna õmmelda

'The man had (lit: 'let') the tailor make a new suit'

Jüri laseb Maarjal vett tassida nagu päris maanaisel

'Jüri has (lit: 'lets') Maarja carry water like a real countrywoman'

Naaber laskis majale uue katuse panna

'The neighbour had (lit: 'let') a new roof installed for the house'

Üks aiapidaja oli lasknud sepikojas oma käru parandada

'A gardener had (lit: 'let') his wheelbarrow repaired in the smithy'

Ema oli tõstnud Jaani ja Harri autosse ja lasknud neile väikese sõidu teha

'Mother had lifted Jaan and Harri into the car and had had (lit: 'let') a ride made for them'

Vanalell laskis sõnumi rootsi keelest tõlkida

'Old uncle had (lit: 'let') the message translated from Swedish'

Piia lasi Merle täpselt kodu ukse ette sõidutada

'Piia had (lit: 'let') Merle driven right to the doorstep of their home'

Actually, there is nothing that would not allow us to interpret the above sentences in the meaning of 'passive permission, non-hampering'. The subject of these sentences can be interpreted semantically both as an active and passive causer or experiencer. The second interpretation means that the causee (*rätsep* 'tailor', *Maarja*, or the explicitly non-represented doer) performs the action that is expressed in the sentence on his own initiative, without being hampered by the experiencer designated by the subject of the sentence. Textually, such sentences are usually not ambiguous. The interpretation depends on the nature of the main activity, and it seems that one is dealing with certain 'naïve logical decisions'. For instance, example (53) can apparently be interpreted curatively, so that the subject of the sentence performs the semantic role of the active causer; on the other hand, most people are likely to interpret example (54) as passive bearing with the subject in the role of the experiencer.

(53) *Ta laskis töömeestel maja katust parandada*

'He had (lit: 'let') the workmen repair the roof'

(54) *Ta laskis suurematel poistel endale kere peale anda*

'He allowed (lit: 'let') the bigger boys to give him a threshing'

Some sentences remain ambiguous without context. Usually it is impossible for a person to bring about intentionally the influx of light into a big window (55a), but one can make waitresses run for oneself or let them act without disturbing them as they wish. The Finnish translation of example (55b), however, clearly refers to an intentional impulse, like those that an artist, for example, can evoke in one's painting or a person recollecting his thoughts. Also examples (56) and (57) can be interpreted in two ways as recollections (the sentences were taken from the SCLOMB corpus).

- (55a) *Ta laseb ettekandjatel sebida ja valgusel läbi suure akna sisse tungida, nii nagu nad seavad ja nii nagu see tungibki* (ILU, 164)
- (55b) *Hän panee tarjoilijat häärdäämään ja valon työntymään läpi ison ikkunan niin kuin tarjoilijoilla on tapa häärtää ja valolla työntyä*
 'He made the waitresses bustle around and let light enter the room through a big window, and in the way they bustle around and in the way that it enters the room'
- (56) *Mälu abiga laseb kes tahes, kasvõi I.B.Singer ise, Varssavil endisena surnuist üles tõusta, avab tuhaks ja tolmuks saanud elutubade ja kohvikute uksed, täidab ruumid südametuksete ja elusaatustega* (ILU, 678)
 'With the help of memory anybody, even I.B. Singer himself, may let Warsaw rise from the dead, open the doors of the living rooms and cafés that were reduced to dust and ashes, fulfil the rooms with heartbeats and fates'
- (57) *Tema pea on täis värviliste ajakirjade klantspilte, panna, mida ta salaja häbelikult ja himukalt endale mälu keerdkäikudest ilmuda laseb* (ILU 478)
 'His head is full of glossy photos of colourful magazines, the junk that he lets pop up shyly and with gusto from the labyrinths of his memory'

A specific shade of meaning seems to be attached also in those cases, where the resulting event that is expressed by the infinitive is a verbal action (example 48). The causee (sayer) as the intermediary of the text of the subject (causer) is actually the author of the entire text and is not expressed in the surface structure. Below are some additional examples from the SCLOMB corpus:

Professor lase-b teata-da, et tema loeng jääb täna ära

Professor:NOM let-PRS say-daINF that (--)

'The professor lets you know that that his lecture will be cancelled today'

Ta lase-b öel-da, et mees enam kunstiga ei tegele
 He:NOM let-PRS say-daINF that (--)

'He lets you know that the man does not practise art any more'

Differently from example (47) example (48) is unambiguous – the subject cannot be interpreted as passive. In these sentences the predicate verb *laskma* 'let' has a distinct directive meaning and can be replaced by other directive verbs (*palub* 'asks', *käsib* 'commands, tells'). Nevertheless the sentences with the verb *laskma* 'let' cannot be interpreted as intertwinement of two different situations like the synonymous sentences (58a) and (58b) with the verbs *paluma* 'ask' and *käskima* 'command'.

(58a) *Tädi palub (mul) teid kõiki tervitada* (*Tädi palub + Mina tervitan*)

'Aunt asks (me) to give her best regards to all of you (Aunt asks + I give the best regards)'

(58b) *Tädi käsib (mul) teid kõiki tervitada* (*Tädi käsib + Mina tervitan*)

'Aunt asks (me) to give her best regards to all of you' (Aunt commands + I give the best regards)'

Generally the verb *laskma* cannot be used for the expression of active non-curative causativity similarly to the verbs *panema* 'put; make' and *ajama* 'laskma'. Causativity assumes that the action subject (causee) of the main verb is passive – in the role of the experiencer or the patient (Kytömäki 1978). If the causee is the agent, then we are dealing with a curative construction. If the verb *laskma* 'let' forms a causative construction with an intransitive process verb and the causee is not the agent but the patient, then the subject of the verb *laskma* 'let' is not in the active role of the causer but acts as a passive permitter, cf.

(59a) *Perenaine pane-b / aja-b supi*
 housewife:NOM put-PRS / drive-PRS soup:GEN
kee-ma
 boil-maINF

'The housewife brings the soup to the boil'

(59b) *Perenaine laseb supil keeda*

‘The housewife lets the soup boil’

And yet there is an area, where the meaning of the verb *laskma* ‘let’ is very close to causativity – namely, if the causee is an instrument used by the causer (sentence 49), then the causer can be interpreted as the agent but the causee cannot. Such sentences are often associated with body parts and their functions, cf. *laseb suul käia* ‘lets his mouth move’, *laseb kätel käia* ‘lets his hands move’. Also tool names in the role of the instrument, which are so to say extensions of one’s hand, yield constructions that can be interpreted in a similar manner, cf. *lasi haamril üha kiiremini käia* ‘let the hammer work faster and faster’, *laskis sullepeal peatumatult üle paberi libiseda* ‘let the fountain pen slide unstopped across the paper’. The following examples were taken from the Tartu University Corpus of Standard Estonian:

Mõlikult laskis noormees oma pilgul üle suvise isamaa käia

‘The young man let his look pass thoughtfully over the summertime native country’

Ootaja laskis silmadel libiseda üle kabineti seinte

‘The waiting person let his eyes slide over the office walls’

Tüdruk piidles meest, kes oli nüüd särgigi seljast heitnud ja oma higisel päevitunud kehal halastamatus valguses plinkida laskis

‘The girl was looking surreptitiously at the man who had now thrown off even the shirt and was letting his sweaty suntanned body blink in the merciless light’

Emand Fatima laskis pilgul euroopalikul vaatepildil puhata

‘Madam Fatima let her look rest on the European-style scene’

Oli see nüüd nimme või pooltahti, aga igatahes laskis Paulus seepeale ühel teisel kuljusel või kellukesel tasakesi heliseda

‘Was it now deliberately or half-intentionally, but anyhow Paulus then let another little bell ring quietly’

If it is possible to derive a causative verb from a principal verb in the infinitive, then the suffixed causative and the analytic *laskma*-causative are synonymous (*laskis libiseda* ‘let (sth) slide’ = *libistas* ‘slid’, *laskis heliseda* ‘let (sth) ring’ = *helistas* ‘rang’).

If it is impossible to derive a causative verb (*käia* 'walk', *plinkida* 'blink', *puhata* 'rest'), then the analytic construction with *laskma* 'let' will be the only possibility to express causativity. However, the causee performing the role of the instrument is a much 'more independent' actor in these *laskma*-constructions than in the case of the other causative constructions with a similar meaning (cf. *pani käed käima* 'set his hands in motion', *libistas silmadega* 'slid his eyes'). Therefore, some sentences that resemble sentence (49) are rather close to permitting causativity (cf. sentence 46). One should also point out that some 'means' are more independent than others are farther away from causatives by their meaning. For example, example (60a) can be replaced by example (60b), but example (61b) looks rather strange:

(60a) *Ta laskis täringul üle laua veereda*

'He let the dice roll across the table'

(60b) *Ta veeretab täringut üle laua*

'He was rolling the dice across the table'

(61a) *Ta laskis autol värava ette veereda*

'He let the car roll to the front of the gate'

(61b) **Ta veeretab auto värava ette*

'He rolled the car to the front of the gate'

5. Conclusion

The comparison of the usage of three grammaticalized verbs enables us to draw the following conclusion. In the case of causative constructions with the verb *laskma* 'let' the causer performs the role of the agent or the experiencer. In causative constructions with the verb *ajama* 'drive' the causer is either a source event or its argument in the role of the instrument. In causative constructions with the verb *panema* 'put; make' the causer may be a source event, agent, or instrument. If the causer is the agent of the source event, then the constructions with *laskma* 'let' and *panema* 'put; make' differ in meaning depending on the nature of the resulting event. If the causee is a process and the resulting event is a process, then the constructions with the

verb *panema* 'put; make' express active causativity (42a), but the constructions with *laskma* 'let' express permitting causativity (46). If the causee is an agent like the causer, then the constructions with both *panema* 'put; make' and *laskma* 'let' are curative and interchangeable. In the construction with *laskma* 'let' the agent that acts as the causee may not be expressed explicitly; the same argument is obligatory in a construction with *panema* 'put; make' that has a curative meaning. Also, the curative construction with *panema* 'put; make' may be associated with an inchoative meaning.

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ANALÜÜTILISED KAUSATIIVID EESTI KEELES

Reet Kasik

1. Kausatiivse struktuuri kirjeldamise lähtekohaks on kahekohaline predikaat CAUSE (X, Y). Predikaadi esimeseks argumendiks on mõjutaja, teiseks mõjutatav. Predikaat CAUSE hõlmab ka lubavat kausatiivsust LET (X, Y), mis tähendab, et mõjutaja võiks takistada mingi teise sündmuse toimumist, aga ei tee seda, vaid laseb sel toimuda.

Kausatiivistumine on verbile suunatud süntaktiline protsess, mis muudab verbi valentsi ja argumendistruktuuri. Kausatiivistada võib nii intransitiivseid kui ka transitiivseid süntaktilisi struktuure. Intransitiivne struktuur tähistab ühe osalisega (argumendiga) situatsiooni PRED (X), transitiivne struktuur kahe osalisega (argumendiga) situatsiooni PRED (X, Y). Kausatiivsus toob situatsiooni juurde ühe uue argumendi.

Üksmeelt ei ole selles, mis on kausaalse predikaadi esimeseks argumendiks. Põhiliselt arutletakse selle üle, kas põhjustajaks on agent või protsess. Tüüpilises kausaalses situatsioonis on tegemist tahtlikult tegutseva inimese põhjustatud tagajärgedega. Siiski kõike, mis toimub, ei põhjustata tahtlikult ja põhjused võivad olla ka mitteinimlikud. Aktiivse ja passiivse kausatiivsuse ning põhjustaja semantilise funktsiooni järgi võib eristada järgmisi kausaalsete väljenduste tüüpe:

- (1) Puude loopimine raudteele katkestas rongiliikluse
- (2) Jaamaülem katkestas rongiliikluse
- (3) Raudteele loobitud puud katkestasid rongiliikluse
- (4) Raudteele kukkunud puud katkestasid rongiliikluse
- (5) Laisk peremees laskis majal laguneda

Lauses (1) on seisundimuutust esile kutsuva tegurina vormistatud subjektiks lähtesituatsiooni predikaat, lauses (2) selle situatsiooni agendirollis argument, lauses (3) instrumendirollis olev argument. Lauses (4)

on subjektiks samuti instrument, aga lähtesündmus, mida instrument esindab, on looduslik, ilma obligatoorse agendita. Lause (5) esindab passiivset, lubavat kausatiivsust, mida eesti keeles on võimalik väljendada ainult elus subjektiga.

Kindlate tunnustega on ka kausaalse predikaadi teine argument, mõjutatav. Semantiliselt on see kogeja (*Uksekell äratab Mari > Mari ärkab*) või patsient (*Metsamees langetab puud > Puud langevad*). Tulemprotsess on väljendatav vastava mittekausatiivse tulemuslausega (*Rongiliiklus katkeb. Maja laguneb.*), mille oluline tunnus on mõjutatavana esineva kogeja (*Mari*) või patsiendi (*puud*) seisundi muutus.

2. Kausatiivsed struktuurid võib jaotada süntaktilisteks (analüütilisteks), morfoloogilisteks ja leksikaalseteks kausatiivideks vastavalt sellele, milline on kausatiivse predikaadi ja selle mittekausatiivse vaste vormiline suhe. Leksikaalsel kausatiivil ja selle mittekausatiivsel vastel ei ole vormilist seost, nt paljudes keeltes esinevad supletiivsed paarid *tapma* ja *surema*.

Tüüpiline morfoloogiline kausatiiv ja selle mittekausatiivne vaste on samatüvelised. Kausatiivverb moodustatakse mittekausatiivsest verbist või noomenist afiksi abil (*Koosolek lõpeb < Juhataja lõpetab koosoleku; Mari on kurb < Narrimine kurvastab Marit*) või vastupidi (*Uks avanen < Jaan avas ukse*). Kummalgi paarikul võib olla oma liide (*Aken purunen < Poiss purustas akna*) või võib sama verbi kasutada nii kausatiivseks kui mittekausatiivseks (*Mari ehmatas < Jüri ehmatas Marit*).

Tüüpilises analüütilises kausatiivstruktuuris on kaks verbi, millest üks väljendab kausatiivsust (põhjustamist) ja teine tagajärge ning on siis vastava mittekausatiivse konstruktsiooni predikaat (*Lumi sulab < Päike paneb lume sulama*).

Siinses artiklis vaatlen eesti keele analüütilisi kausatiivitarindeid. Analüüsin nende vahetunde regulaarsete morfoloogiliste kausatiividega eesti ja soome keeles ning eesti keele analüütiliste kausatiivtarindite tähendust, kasutamise põhjusti ning süntaktilist struktuuri. Eesmärgiks on selgitada kausatiivsust väljendavate verbide grammatikaliseerumist.

3. Samu tähendusi, mida soome keeles väljendatakse grammatiliste vahenditega, antakse eesti keeles sageli cdasi analüütiliselt – mitmesõnalise fraasiga. Krista Ojutkangase (1997) uurimuse järgi vastab soome muutustuletisele eesti keeles sageli verbist ja selle laiendist koosnev analüütiline väljendus. 55 näitest on muutust tähistava süvapredikaadi (funktsionaalse tähenduse) väljendamiseks kasutatud 19 korda *minema*-verbi (*Nenät kostuvat > Ninad lähevad märjaks*), 14 korda *saama* (*Kesä-asunto on valmistumassa > Suvemaja on valmis saamas*) ja 9 korda *jääma* (*Huone hiljenee > Tuba jääb vaikseks*).

Ka soome kausatiivverbe võib eesti eesti keeles edasi anda kahel viisil:

(a) kausatiivsete tuletistega:

kasvattaa > kasvatada, herättää > äratada, opettaa > õpetada, lopettaa > lõpetada

(b) analüütilise tarindiga:

naurattaa > naerma ajada, itkettää > nutma ajada, suututtaa > vihale ajada

sulattaa > sulama panna, sytyttää > põlema panna, liikuttaa > liikuma panna

Soome keeles on võimalik tuletada morfoloogiliselt ka kolme argumentiga nn kuratiivkausatiive. Kausatiivsetel verbidel või verbitarinditel on kaks argumenti: üheks argumentiks on põhjustaja ja teiseks argumentiks patsient või kogeja (*Metsamees langetab puid – Puud langevad; Uksekell äratab Mari > Mari ärkab*), kusjuures kausatiivverbi subjekt ehk põhjustaja ei tarvitse olla tahtlik tegutseja (vrd *Päike sulatab lume – Lumi sulab*). Kuratiivsetel verbitarinditel on kolm argumenti: üks on tahtlik, aktiivne põhjustaja, teine on agent ja kolmas on kogeja või patsient (*Kaupunginhallitus sulatutti lumen palkkaamillaan työmiehillä – Työmiehet sulattivat lumen – Lumi sulii*). Soome keele verbimoodustussüsteemis on kahe aktiivse argumentirolliga (põhjustaja ja agent) kuratiivverbide tuletamine produktiivne. Eesti keeles kuratiivtuletisi moodustada ei saa. Situatsioone, millel on kaks aktiivses rollis tegijat, väljendatakse eesti keeles ainult analüütiliselt.

Ülemus käskis sekretäril andmed kataloogist välja otsida

Ülemus pani sekretäri andmeid kataloogist välja otsima

Ülemus ajas sekretäri andmeid kataloogist välja otsima

Ülemus laskis sekretäril andmed kataloogist välja otsida

Neid lauseid on võimalik tõlgendada erinevalt. Üks tõlgendusvõimalus on näha siin kahte erinevat tegevust – üht sooritab ülemus, teist sekretär. Teise tõlgenduse järgi on tegemist ühe kausaalse tegevusega, millel on kaks erinevas rollis aktiivset osalist ja mille lõpptulemus on see, et andmed on kataloogist välja otsitud. Tõlgendus sõltub sellest, kas analüüsida esimene finitiivne verbivorm iseseisvaks või abiverbiks.

4. Analüüsin järgnevalt eesti keele verbide *ajama, panema* ja *laskma* kasutust kausatiivsetes tarindites nagu *ajab naerma, paneb jooma, laseb teha*. Selliste verbitarindite üks tunnuseid on, et nad on alati erisubjektilised, erinevalt näiteks *lubab minna* -tüüpi tarinditest, mis võivad olla kas sama- või erisubjektilised. Vrd

Ma *luban* selle töö täna ära *teha* (Mina luban + Mina teen)

Ma *luban sul minna* (Mina luban + Sina lähed)

ajama, *panema* ja *laskma*-tarindi puhul on aga alati tegemist süvastruktuuris kahe subjektiga, kellest esimene – grammatikaliseerunud verbi subjekt – ise ei osale tulemsündmuses (mida väljendatakse infinitiiviga), ta on selle tegevuse põhjustaja, liikvele lükkaja, impulsi andja. Infinitiiviga märgitud põhitegevuse sooritaja on tavaliselt adessiivadverbiaal või objekt.

Ostja laskis **müüjal** / **müüjat** riidetüki üle mõõta

Ostja pani **müüja** riidetükki üle mõõtma

Ostja ajas **müüja** nutma

4.1. AJAMA

Vaatlen *ajama*-verbi kasutust vaid siisugustes lausetüüpides, kus on võimalik tuvastada tulemsündmust.

(6a) Peremees ajas poisid (kuuri) puid laduma

(6b) Tuul ja vihm ajasid matkajad soojemalt riietuma

(6c) Närvesööv töö ajab naised vahetpidamata midagi sööma

(7a) Kloun ajas lapsed naerma

(7b) Esineja hääl ajas mitu kuulajat nutma

(7c) Juba sellele mõtlemine ajab teda iiveldama

(8a) See tüdruk oli juba mitu poissi hulluks ajanud

(8b) Miniseelik ajas vastutulijad elevile

(8c) Teiste sagimine ajab teda närvi

(9a) Vastutulija ajas käed laiali

Lausetes (6) on tulemsündmuseks infinitiiviga väljendatud aktiivne tegevus, lausetes (7) intransitiivse verbiga väljendatud füsioloogilis-emotsionaalne protsess ja lausetes (8) seisundiadverbiaaliga väljendatud emotsionaalne seisund. Mõjutatav on alati isik. Lause (9), kus mõjutatav on vormiliselt mitte-isik (*käed*), on tegelikult enesekohane – *ajama*-verbi tegevus on suunatud tegijale endale, kuigi tulemsituatsiooni argumendiks võib olla tegija kehaosa, vrd *Ta ajas end sirgu* – *Ta ajas (endal) selja sirgu*.

Neist kümnest lausetüübist on *ajama*-verb lausevariantides (b) ja (c) grammatikaliseerunud kui (a)-lausetes, sest täistähenduslik *ajama*-verb eeldab ühe argumendina agent (Kes ajab?). (a)-lausetes on subjektiks isik, aga vaid lauses (6a) on *ajama*-verb tõlgendatav leksikaalsena.

Lauses (6a) on eristatavad kaks eri protsessi, millest üks on lausena sisestatud teisesse: peremehe tegevus on identifitseeritav. Lisaks seostub *ajama*-verbi leksikaalse tähendusega fakultatiivselt sihtkoht (kuhu?). Grammatikaliseerunud *ajama*-verbil sellist argumendivõimalust ei ole.

Laused (7a) ja (8a) on kahetähenduslikud. Subjekti võib tõlgendada tahtliku tegutsejana (agendina) midagi tegemas, aga vähemalt niisama loomulik on tõlgendada seda instrumendina, analoogiliselt lausetega (7b) ja (8b). Välja arvatud lause (6a), on seega subjekt lauseis (6)–(9) tõlgendatav tulemsituatsiooni põhjuseks. *Ajama*-verb on grammatikaliseerunud (kategooriatähenduses PÕHJUSTAMA), kui lause subjektina esinev põhjustaja on semantiliselt instrument või lähtesündmus. Kui põhjustaja on agent, siis pole leksikaalse ja grammatikaliseerunud tähenduse piir kuigi selge – eriti veel siis, kui lauses on ka sihtkohta väljendav argument.

4.2. PANEMA

Vaatlen *panema*-verbi samuti vaid niisugustes lausetüüpides, kus on võimalik tuvastada tulemsituatsiooni.

- (10a) Mees paneb suitsu põlema
- (10b) Raha paneb rattad käima
- (10c) Juhtmete ühendamine paneb pommi plahvatama
- (11a) Perenaine paneb tüdruku võid tegema
- (11b) Piits paneb orjad kiiremini liikuma
- (11c) Koduigatsus paneb nad tegutsema
- (12a) Laps paneb vanemaid jätkuvalt imestama
- (12b) Need sõnad panevad mu nutma
- (12c) Lugemine paneb mul pea valutama
- (13b) Päike paneb jäälilled sädelema
- (13c) Korrapärane söötmine paneb sead läikima

Panema-verb esitab tulemsündmusele teistsuguseid tingimusi kui *ajama*-verb. Tulemsündmust saab väljendada põhiliselt vaid verbi infinitiiviga.

Leksikaalsel *panema*-verbil on obligatoorne sihtkoha-argument (kuhu?), mis grammatikaliseerunud tähenduses on kadunud. Seetõttu ei saa pidada prototüüpselt kausatiivseteks seda tüüpi lauseid, nagu *Kutsar p-aneb lapse poni selga istuma*. Siin on identifitseeritavad kaks eri situatsiooni (*Kutsar paneb lapse poni selga* + *Laps istub poni seljas*). Latiivse laiendi puudumine võimaldab aga tõlgendada *panema*-tarindeid erinevalt *ajama*-tarinditest kausatiivsetena ka juhtudel, kui tulemsituatsiooniks on tegevus või protsess ja põhjustaja on agendi rollis (laused 10a ja 11a).

Lausetüüp (11a), kus nii mõjutaja kui ka mõjutatav on agendi rollis, väljendab tegelikult kuratiivset tegevust. Kui tulemsituatsioon on isikuga toimuv füsioloogilis-emotsionaalne protsess, siis on mõjutajana esinev isik nagu *ajama*-verbi puhulgi semantiliselt instrumendi, mitte agendi rollis (lause 12a). Kui aga tulemsituatsiooniks on eluta neutraali füüsiline seisund (laused 13b–c), siis elus mõjutajaga laused võimalikud ei ole. On küll võimalik öelda *Hea toit paneb sead läikima*, mitte aga nt **Talitaja paneb sead läikima*. Isik subjektina eeldab neutraali seisundi muutmiseks füüsilist tegevust (vrd *Talitaja hõõrub sead läikima*), konkretiseerimata põhjustamisest ei piisa.

panema-verb on analüüsiv grammatikaliseerunud kategooriatähenduses PÕHJUSTAMA, kui tulemsituatsiooniks on tegevus või protsess. Põhjustajaks võib lause subjektina olla lähtesündmus, selle agent või instrument. Kui tulemsituatsiooniks on seisund, siis võib põhjustajaks olla lähtesündmus või instrument, mitte aga agent. *Ajama*-verbi kasutusega grammatikaliseerunud tähenduses langevad kokku vaid laused (12) tunnused, ja neis lausetes ongi kasutavad nii *ajama*- kui *panema*-tarindid.

4.3. LASKMA

Erinevalt *ajama*- ja *panema*-verbist eeldab *laskma*-verb põhjustajana teadlikku tegutsejat.

- (14) Peremees laseb majal laguneda
- (15) Mees laskis fotograafil endast pilti teha
- (16) Tädi laseb teid kõiki tervitada
- (17) Tüdruk laskis kätel käia

Lauses (14) on tegemist lubava kausatiivsusega. Põhjustaja ei ole semantiliselt agendi, vaid kogeja rollis. Mõjutatav võib olla agent, kogeja või patsient ja tulemsündmust väljendab protsessi- või tegevusverb. Mõjutatavaga toimub midagi või ta teeb midagi ja põhjustajaks olev kogeja ei takista seda protsessi. Mõjutatavat väljendab adessiiv- või elatiivadverbiaal või sihtis.

Lauses (15) on tegemist kuratiivse kausatiivsusega. Nii mõjutaja kui ka mõjutatav on aktiivsed rollid. Tulemsituatsioon on väljendatud transitiivse tegevusverbiga (*teha*), millel on kaks argumenti, neist esimene (*fotograaf*) on agendi ja teine (*pilt*) patsiendi rollis. *laskma*-verbi subjekt (*mees*) on samuti aktiivne tahtlik osaline, kes põhjustab agendi tegevuse. Lausest (11a) erineb *laskma*-tarindiga väljendatav kuratiivne situatsioon selle poolest, et lauses (11a) on põhjustaja (*perenaine*) poolt antav impulss selgemalt suunatud tulemsündmuse algatamisele, lauses (15) aga

tulemsündmuse toimumisele. Kui lauses on esindatud kõik argumendirollid, siis on mõjutatav harilikult adessiivis, aga nagu soome kuratiivtuletistega lauseis, on ka eesti vastavates struktuurides see osaline sageli eksplitsiitselt nimetamata.

(18) Nad lasksid end kiriklikult laulatada

Miski tegelikult ei takista tõlgendamast ka lause (15) sarnaseid lauseid 'passiivse lubamise, mittetakistamise' tähenduses. Nende lausete subjekti on semantiliselt võimalik tõlgendada nii aktiivsena kui passiivsena: põhjustajana või kogejana. Teine tõlgendus tähendab, et mõjutatav (*fotograaf*) teeb lauses väljendatud tegevust omaalgatuslikult, ilma et lause subjektiga tähistatav kogeja seda takistaks. Tekstuaalselt sellised laused enamasti siiski kahemõttelised ei ole. Tõlgendus sõltub põhitegevuse iseloomust ja siin näib olevat tegemist teatud "naiivloogiliste otsustustega". Näiteks lause *Ta laskis töömeestel maja katust parandada* on ilmselt tõlgendatav kuratiivselt, nii et lause subjekt on semantiliselt aktiivse põhjustaja rollis, seevastu lause *Ta laskis suurematel poistel endale kere peale anda* on arvatavasti enamiku meelest tõlgendatav passiivse talumisena, subjektiga kogeja rollis.

Eri tähendusvarjund paistab lisanduvat ka juhul, kui infinitiiviga väljendatud tulemsündmuseks on verbaalne tegevus (lause 16). Mõjutatav (st ütleja) on subjekti (põhjustaja) teksti vahendajana tegelikult kogu teksti autor ja jääb ise pindstruktuuris väljendamata.

Erinevalt lausest (15) ei ole lause (16) subjekt tõlgendatav passiivse kogejana. Öeldisverb *laskma* on neis lauses selgelt direktiivses tähenduses ja asendatav teiste direktiivsete verbidega (*palub, käsib*). Sellegipoolest ei ole *laskma*-verbiga laused tõlgendatavad kahe erineva situatsiooni põimumisena, nagu samatähenduslikud *paluma*- ja *käskima*-verbiga laused, sest *laskma*-verb üksi ei ole piisav tegevussituatsiooni väljendamiseks (**Tädi laseb*):

(18) Tädi palub (mul) teid kõiki tervitada (Tädi palub + Mina tervitan)

(19) Tädi käsib (mul) teid kõiki tervitada (Tädi käsib + Mina tervitan)

laskma-verbi ei ole üldjuhul võimalik kasutada aktiivse mittekuratiivse kausatiivsuse väljendamiseks analoogiliselt *panema*- ja *ajama*-verbiga. Kausatiivsus eeldab, et põhiverbi tegevussubjekt (mõjutatav) on passiivne: kogeja või patsiendi rollis. Kui mõjutatav on agent, siis on tegemist kuratiivse tarindiga. Kui *laskma*-verb moodustab kausatiivse tarindi koos intransitiivse protsessiverbiga ja mõjutatav pole agent, vaid patsient, siis esineb *laskma*-verbi subjekt mitte põhjustaja aktiivses rollis, vaid lubaja passiivses rollis, vrd

(20) Perenaine paneb /ajab supi keema

(21) Perenaine laseb supil keeda

On siiski üks valdkond, kus *laskma*-verbi tähendus on väga lähedal kausatiivsusele – nimelt kui mõjutatav on instrument, mida põhjustaja juhib (lause 17), siis on põhjustaja tõlgendatav agendina, mõjutatav aga mitte. Sageli on sellised laused seotud kehaosade ja nende funktsioonidega, vrd *laseb suul käia*, *laseb kätel käia*. Ka tööriistanimetused instrumendi rollis, n-ö oma käe pikendused annavad analoogiliselt tõlgendatavaid konstruktsioone, vrd *laskis haamril üha kiiremini käia*, *laskis sulle peal peatumatult üle paberi libiseda*.

Võrreldes käsitletud kolme grammatikaliseerunud verbi kasutust ja tähendusi, võib teha järgmise kokkuvõtte. Kausatiivsete *laskma*-tarindite puhul on põhjustajaks isik agendi või kogeja rollis. Kausatiivsetes *ajama*-tarindites on põhjustajaks kas lähtesündmus või selle instrumendi rollis argument. Kausatiivsetes *panema*-tarindites võib põhjustaja olla lähtesündmus, agent või instrument. Kui põhjustajaks on lähtesündmuse agent, siis on *laskma*-tarindite ja *panema*-tarindite tähendus erinev sõltuvalt tulemsündmuse iseloomust. Kui mõjutatav on patsient ja tulemsündmuseks on protsess, siis väljendavad *panema*-tarindid aktiivset kausatiivsust, *laskma*-tarindid aga lubavat kausatiivsust. Kui mõjutatav on agent nagu mõjutajagi, siis on nii *panema*- kui ka *laskma*-tarindid kuratiivsed ja vastastikku asendatavad. *Laskma*-tarindis võib mõjutatavana esinev agent jääda eksplitsiitselt väljendamata, kuratiivse tähendusega *panema*-tarindis on see argument obligatoorne. Ka võib kuratiivse *panema*-tarindiga seostuda inhoatiivne tähendusvarjund.

ON SOME PECULARITIES OF THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE

Ago Künnap

University of Tartu

Looking for **possessive suffixes** or at least their traces in Estonian, we do not find many. In the following we leave out of the observation a considerably Finnish-related Estonian dialect of the northern coast in which the incidence of possessive suffixes was expected in every respect, although there are not so many of them any more. In his monograph dealing with Finnic possessive suffixes Julius Mark (1925) indicated in the chapter dedicated to the Estonian language that the most frequent in the spoken Estonian language were the traces of the third person singular possessive suffix (3Px). (1) First of all they are the few adverbially used words which in northern dialects (NE) end in *-sa*, *-se* and in southern dialects (SE) *-a*, *-e*: NE *laiutasa*, SE *laiuta* 'by (its) width' (cf. Finnish *laajuuttansa*, *laajuuttaan*); NE *üheldasa*, *üheldase*, SE *ühelda* 'equally, together, side by side'; NE *loalasa* 'by the permission' (F *luvallansa*); NE *varsinasa* 'with their stems' (F *varsinensa*), SE *koguna*, *kogona* 'fully, completely' (F *kokonaan*) et al. Here, in accordance with Mark, the meaning of the possessive suffix is reflexive. (2) Further he found some traces of the 3Px in the form of *-s* in some case forms, fixed as adverbs: *iseäranis*, *iseeranis* 'particularly' (F *erinänsä* 'separately'), *iganes*, *iganis* 'ever' (F *ei ikänänsä* 'never'), *kogunes*, *kogunis* 'altogether' (F *kokonansa*) et al. (3) And finally, he presented as traces *-sa*, *-se*, *-s*, that follow the stem of a pronoun NE *ene-*, *en-*, SE *hene-*, *hen-* (cf. F *hän* 's/he'). As a result a reflexive pronoun emerges from which only oblique cases are used: NE genitive *enese*, *enesa* 'of oneself', allative *enesele* 'to oneself' etc., SE (in Hupel's orthography) genitive *hennese*, allative *hennesele* etc. (Mark 1925: 57–58.)

Mark found the same words with 3Px traces also in older Estonian texts (58). He has come across a trace of 3Px in

Estonian folk songs only in one case and this, at that, was erroneously used in the meaning of the second person: *Mina hulgun uksillasa, Ja weeren wärawillasa, Kõnnin kalmu kansillasa* 'I am wandering at your doors, And rolling at your gates, Walking on the covers of your grave' (Mark 1925: 60–61). In folk songs there are a few possessive suffixes for the first and second persons but these, too, have often been used for designating persons different from the original. By Mark such an erroneous use of possessive suffixes is caused by the force of the metre, but their original meanings have become obscure. (58–62.)

Juhan Peegel has investigated the morphology of Estonian folk songs together with the traces of possessive suffixes (Peegel 1966 and 1974). But Julius Mägiste has expressed very cautious views about the incidence of the traces of possessive suffixes in Estonian folk songs (translated from Estonian): "It remains to be found out in the future if at least partly in the final syllables, regarded as containing *n*-type possessive suffixes they are not barely prosodic filler syllables ... Without denying that *-n(n)a*, *-ne* etc. is, in the course of movement of folk songs, just an obscured trace of an original possessive suffix, I would like to draw attention to an option that, on the other hand, it could have appeared as a filler syllable from, e.g., a rare *n* in the popular language essive-locative (*aidastana*), in South Estonian from the *n(na)*-ending inessive and even from the particle ending *eL* *-(gi)na* ... or even from the word *nii* (> *ni* unemphasised) as a conjunction in Southeast Estonian. Mark ... has written a summary of possessive suffixes of Estonian folk songs ... and coordinated these systematically with Finnish possessive suffixes. Considering what was just said about an option of a filler syllable in the Estonian folklore language, one should be cautious about the language-historical analysis, presented by Mark, until the problem of the filler syllable has not eventually been cleared up." (Mägiste 2000: 154). Mägiste's position is very convincing.

From among other Finnic languages of the southern group it is Livonian in which Mark found practically rather similar equivalents to the Estonian word forms of subgroups (2) and (3) with the trace of 3Px, namely *-s*, *-z*, *-š*, e.g. (2) *igā'niz* 'ever', (3) *eñtš* 'oneself' (Mark 1925: 54–56). The Vote language is

close to the Finnish-related Estonian dialect spoken on the northern coast and uses possessive suffixes relatively extensively, among them also in such word forms which overlap with the word forms of Estonian subgroups (2) and (3), e.g. (2) *ühsnā* 'alone, only', (3) *enellēs* 'for oneself' (64–70).

Mägiste in his monographic investigation (Mägiste 2000) has explicitly observed the rudiments of possessive suffixes in adverbs and other particles of the Old Written Estonian of the period of 1520–1739 (i.e. until the publishing of the first edition of the Bible), including, when necessary and possible, data about spoken Estonian and other Finnic languages, first of all about Livonian and Finnish. As a result he discovered over 40 keywords from Old Written Estonian in which one can suppose the incidence of 3Px with the trace mainly in the form *-s*. Based on the latter it is possible to assume that Mark's subgroup (2) has considerably been supplemented. I am going to give examples from Mägiste's list. The keywords will be presented in the form Mägiste has used, coupled with Mägiste's reconstructions, also accompanied by Livonian and Finnish equivalents if submitted. So then e.g. *aga, aigas* etc. 'but' < **aikahensak*; *äri/tes, -ti, -te, eriti* 'especially'; *ikka(s), ikke* 'always' < **ikähensäk*; *järge(s), järgest(e)* 'ever more' < **järkeðänsäk ~ *järkehensäk*; *kooldes* 'rather, on the contrary' < **kojoltansak*; *kummuli(s), -ste* 'upside down' < **kum(m)oillansak ~ *kum(m)oillensak*, cf. Livonian *kumālis*; *paraigas, praegu* etc. 'now' < **paraikaðansak ~ *paraikoiðansak*; *pitkultes, -ti, SE piuta* 'lengthwise'. Mägiste considers it as correct to reconstruct 3Px here with the consonant **-k* word-finally. Therefore he regards as particularly reliable these South Estonian 3Px traces in which **-k* is found to have preserved in the form of a laryngeal plosive stop, e.g. *jälle* 'again' < **jälyellehek, pörghella* 'now'.

The incidence of possessive suffixes in Estonian (and Livonian) is such that there is every ground to seriously question whether Estonian (and Livonian) ever use them to the same extent as Finnish, for instance, i.e. whether the so-called full paradigm of possessive suffixes has been in general use. The Finnish-related dialect of the northern coast earlier occupied a considerably larger area than today, also, in the course of time,

many Finns had migrated to Estonia, as far as to the southern areas of the country (see Künnap 2001b; Suhonen 2000: 369–370). Both the dialect mentioned and the Finnish language the migrants spoke could give rise to the spread of some implementation (which could have been erroneous if compared to its original source) of possessive suffixes over the otherwise possessive-suffixless Estonia. This possibility is barely a hypothesis. However, independent of this supposition there is something peculiar about the possessive suffixes or their traces in spoken Estonian (at least in their part not advocating for a onetime general use of a full paradigm of possessive suffixes in Estonia).

My attention is attracted by the fact that Mark called the meaning of possessive suffix of Estonian word forms in the subgroup (1) reflexive. The term may not be quite exact or exhaustive, but there is something of the kind here because the possessive suffix does not substantially indicate the third person. The word form *enese* etc. 'oneself' of subgroup (3) is undoubtedly reflexive. The word forms of subgroup (2) cannot apparently be called reflexive, however, no direct reference to the third person is substantial here either. In the following my attention is attracted by the medial conjugation of Finnic languages that is sometimes called reflexive. Lauri Posti presented its all-round analysis (Posti 1980). In Common Estonian the examples to illustrate it are *kuulukse* 'they say, is said', *näikse* 'is seen, it seems', *tunnukse* 'it can seem'. At the end of these forms Posti reconstructs personal suffixes in the singular **-sen*, in the plural **-set* (112). Tibor Mikola has referred to the remarkable common feature in Finnic and Samoyed languages, namely that originally by the means of the same personal suffixes the third person of the North Samoyed reflexive conjugation with the marker **j* could be formed: sing. **-tVn*, pl. **-tVt* (in Samoyed languages **t* corresponds to Finno-Ugric **s*), e.g. Forest Nenets *taeβa-j-* 'he arrives', *taeβ-ja-t* 'they arrive' (Mikola 1988: 255–256).

I have considered the phenomenon under observation one of the many peculiar common features of Finnic-Samoyed languages that are lacking in other Finno-Ugric languages, although incidentally they may be found in Lapp (Saami) and

Mordvin languages (recently Künnap 2000: 49–50). These exceptional common features seem to indicate that Mongoloid Samoyeds have replaced their earlier language of Paleosiberian type by the Europoid Finno-Ugrians' Finnic(-Lapp) type language (see Künnap 2001a). In this case the means of the formation of the third person of the Finnic medial (reflexive) conjugation is very old. The semantic relationship between medial (reflexive) adverbial forms provided with the possessive suffix and the respective medial (reflexive) conjugation forms in spoken Estonian (and Livonian) is conceivable. The etymological relationship between the possessive suffix and the personal ending is obvious. Clearly, to the same etymological and evidently also semantic unit belongs the stem *ene-* etc. (< **sen*, cf. *Fhän* 's/he') of the Estonian (as well as Livonian and Votic) reflexive pronoun. The above data about Estonian, Livonian and North Samoyed indicate that the incidence of certain personal element in sub-groups (1), (2) and (3) of spoken Estonian word forms is not accidental, and certainly not an accidentally preserved trace of the 3Px of the full paradigm of the supposed onetime Estonian possessive suffixes. It is rather a purposeful implementation of a certain personal element just in these word forms (as is in Livonian). Here the personal element under observation has a peculiar function, different from the way of expressing the third person and more extensive as well as more primal.

To understand the latter I refer, by way of illustration, to the Estonian negation particle *ei* 'no, not', which has also been tended to be taken as the third person form, preserved from the onetime full paradigm of the negative auxiliary *e-*, generalised into a universal negation particle. I have attempted to show that it need not necessarily be so, but that the verbal noun form of the negative auxiliary *ei* (< **e-jä* or **e-βi* < **e-pi*) could have always been used as a universal negation particle. It may have obtained the function of the third person there, but then only where the full paradigm of the negative auxiliary *e-* has come into use (e.g. *F* sing. 1P *e-n*, 2P *e-t*, 3P *ei*). (See Künnap 1999a: 59.) Similarly, another explanation is possible, namely that the pronominal element **sen* could obtain the function of the suffix of the third person and only where the full paradigm of personal suffixes of

nouns and/or verbs came into use (e.g. F sing 1Px *-ni*, 2Px *-si*, 3Px *-nsA* ~ *-Vn* < **-hen* < **-zen* < **-sen*).

In the following I am going to observe **simple tenses of negative verb forms** of the Estonian indicative mood that have been formed by the *e-* (*i-*) stemmed negation word. Or, more exactly, how they are used in Estonian oldest written records. In the most recent publication containing the oldest texts, i.e. from the 13th–16th cc. (Ehasalu et al. 1997) it is hard to come across typical present-day usage in which the main verb in the present tense were without an ending, thus in the form of a bare word stem. However, there are a few: Katekismus *eb pidda ... möeda olema* ‘it need not ... have gone by’, *eb pidda ... wöyma* ‘he should not ... be able’ (68), *eb taha* ‘he does not want’ (72), *meye emme wöy* ‘we cannot’ (72), Boierus *ei ole ... täydethut* ‘is not ... filled’ (89).

On the other hand, there are a succession of such present forms as Kiri *ep pehep* ‘does not have to’ (64), *en thoheme* ‘we must not’ (64), *meye eb hedta yeme* ‘we won’t be in trouble’ (73), Liivimaa talurahva õigus *ep woip ... sahte* ‘he cannot ... send’ (77), Völcker *Sina ei pehat* ‘you must not’ (84), *Sina ei peat sama* ‘you must not get’ (84, 86), Boierus *Ey mötlate* ‘you do not think’ (90, 92), Auerbach *ey woyme* ‘we cannot’ (95). Besides, the negation word *ep* is used for expressing the past with preterite main verb: Katekismus *eb ... oly* ‘he was ... not’ (68), *eb tachtis ... otada* ‘he did not want ... to wait’ (70–71).

Things are not essentially different in the 17th c., e.g. in Müller and Göseken, who must have been quite good experts of Estonian. The edition which offers a selection of the oldest written records of the Estonian written language (Saareste, Cederberg 1925–1931), on the one hand, presents a rather modern usage of the present tense (*ei* is sometimes replaced by *ep* ~ *eb*), e.g., Müller *eb olle ... mitte tarvis* ‘it is ... not needed’ (6). We notice it also with other authors of the period who use modern present tense forms, e.g. Rossihnius *ei ole mitte* ‘it is not’ (32), Gutsclaff *minna ... ei wõi ... mitte tehda* ‘I ... cannot ... know’ (105), *Ei pea teije teggema* ‘you must not do’ (137), Saleman *Ep nuchtle* ‘he does not punish’ (143), Adrian Virginius

ei woi teije 'you cannot' (175), Forselius *ep pea mit-te ... ol-lemma* 'it need not ... be' (240).

The present-day normal dialectal use partly corresponds to the 17th c. preterite forms with the negation word *es ~ is*, e.g. Müller *iz lasze minna mitte saddada* 'I did not let rain' (by Osmo Ikola, see Ikola 1962), Rossihnius *nemmat is taha mitte tulla* 'they did not want to come' (Saareste, Cederberg 1925–1931: 33), Gutsclaff *is tunne temma ... mitte* 'he did not know' (105), *is sah* 'he could not get' (127). It is particularly common in South Estonian texts, e.g. Adrian Verginius *es lasse* 'he did not let' (175), Kaarel XI matuselaul *Es tija sinna mitt* 'you did not know' (265). When narrating about the past, it also offers respective modern language expressions, e.g. Rossihnius *ei olle ... mitte tulnut* 'he has ... not come' (32), Stahl *ep woinut ... mitte teha* 'he could not ... do' (40), Vigaeus *ep ole mitte ... annut* 'he has not ... given' (75), Gutsclaff *Sinna ei olle mitte hoidnut* 'you have not held' (126), Saaremaa käsikiri *se ep ole ... mitte olnut* 'it has not ... been' (131), Rahvalaul *ep ... tulnut* 'he did not ... come' (253).

At the same time there is a mass of such present forms as Stahl *ep peap ... hucka minema* 'it must not ... perish' (71), *nemmat ep lohtwat* 'they do not hope' (47), Möllenbeck *eb mina ... san nehda* 'I will not ... see' (58), Saleman *ep ma ... errajehn* 'I do not ... stay away' (64), Vigaeus *nemmat ep tunnewat* 'they do not know' (71), *se ep peap mitte* 'it must not' (78), Gutsclaff *ei peat Sinna* 'you must not' (110), Saaremaa käsikiri *eb sahme meije* 'we cannot' (136), Giläus *Sinna ep hohlet* 'you do not care' (146), Göseken *ep sahp* 'he cannot' (150), Saleman *Ep tahhap* 'he does not want' (157), Ristimise sõnad *se ep woip ... tulla* 'it cannot ... come' (159).

There are also many such preterite forms in which *ep ~ eb* occurs together with the preterite verb form like Stahl *nemmat ep piddit ... tohma* 'they did not have ... to bring' (46), Vigaeus *nemmat Ke ... ep mitte tachtsit kulta* 'they who ... did not want to hear' (71), Hamorinus *eb sai temma mitte* 'he could not' (136), Brockman *ep kaotis* 'he did not lose' (141), 1689 *ep kartis* 'he was not afraid' (184). Against all expectations are the cases in which *es ~ is* is used to express the present tense, e.g. Vigaeus *es*

peap ... piddama 'he does not have to ... keep' (72). Beside this we come across some cases in Müller and Göseken with the *es ~ is* used in connection with the past but the way that the verb is in the preterite tense, e.g. Müller *is piddi ... tundma* 'he did not have ... to feel', Göseken *mina is olin* 'I was not' (examples from Ikola, see Ikola 1962).

A glance at four Estonian grammars from the 17th c. did not discover the treatment of negative forms in Stahl and Gutsclaff, but did in Göseken and Hornung. Göseken wrote that *en* and *es* sometimes deprive the verb of its termination: instead of *en tahhan* and *eb löijab* there are *en tahha* 'I do not want' and *eb löija* 'he does not find'. Also *ewat*: instead of *ep langesewat* and *ep werrisewat* there are *ewat lange* 'they do not fall' and *ewat werrise* 'they do not tremble'. (Göseken 1660: 70.) Hornung's presentation is as follows: pres. sing. 1P *Minna ei olle*, 2P *Sinna ei olle*, 3P *Temma ei olle*, pl. 1P *Meie ei olle*, 2P *Teie ei olle*, 3P *Nemmad ei olle*, pret. sing. 1P *m. ei olnud*, 2P *s. ei olnud*, 3P *t. ei olnud* ('contr. olnd'), pres. perf. sing. 1P *m. ei olle olnud*, 2P *s. ei olle olnud*, 3P *t. ei olle olnud* (Hornung 1693: 74–75). In the present paper I do not intend to observe various markers of different persons of the negation words, however, I would note that rather consistent use of the first person sing. *en* and third person pl. *ewat* in Göseken's Grammar are not generally found in the texts and their (dialectal) origin is not so clear either (the Finnish-based northern coastal dialect, the area where also Tallinn was situated?).

In accordance with the 15th–17th cc. authors we get an impression that the negative words *ep ~ eb* and *es ~ is* do not often express the tense form, i.e., they are temporally indifferent so that it is the task of the verb to express the tense. I mean such models which (generalised and modernised) 1. *es olen* 'I am not' and 2. *ep olin* 'I was not'. Besides the expression of the person both in *ep ~ eb*, *es ~ is* and in *ei* is also the task of the verb – as models (also generalised and modernised) 1.1. *ep olen*, 1.2. *es olen*, 1.3. *ei olen* and 2.1. *ep olin*, 2.2. *es olin*. This impression may be summarised so that in the written records of the Estonian language of that period the negation word of the *e-* (*i-*) stem is just a particle, often carrying only the function of negation which,

independent of the final component following the stem (*-p ~ -b, -s, -i*) is indifferent to the categories of tense and person. I would only draw attention to the fact that Vigaeus has, in comparison with the modern usage, introduced some forms of the upside down system of the formation of tenses: *ep* is used with the preterite and *es* with the present verb forms, additional examples *teje ep mitte ollite* 'you were not' and *es piddap ... piddama* 'he does not have ... to keep' (72); thus it reminds a kind of system of the above models of 2.1. *ep olin* and 1.2. *es olen*.

What conclusions can be drawn from all said above? I daresay that it is not quite clear how simple tenses of negative verb forms in the onetime Estonian indicative were used. The data about the modern Estonian usage or its dialects or even Finnish are not of much help: the only actual indication about the onetime Estonian language consists in its written records whatever we suppose them to be. But we can suppose a lot. There are suppositions that already in the 15th–16th cc. a certain tradition had been developed in the Estonian written language in which case the texts followed that were circulating in manuscripts (see e.g. Ehasalu et al. 1997: 31). If it really was so, the texts of "primary writer(s)" could successively have been copied whereat these texts apparently, for the copyists themselves, could have differed from the actual usage of Estonians but possessed a definite nimbus, typical of written word through ages, being prestigious for copyists as an authentic written source and a tradition worth following. Particularly so if copyists themselves were somewhat poor or unconfident as to their knowledge of the language. But it could also be that we ourselves are "copy-writers" whose present-day usage of Estonian, s.-c. kindred languages and many others are regarded as categorical imperative that we cannot ignore or "copy". (Suppositions about a onetime unified Finnic, Finno-Ugric or Uralic proto-language can be left aside because of their utter hypotheticality.) Without such prejudices old Estonian written texts appear in a different light. (Naturally, I have some doubts concerning my ideas because there lacks such use of the negative verb forms in the old Estonian folk song texts.)

Finally, I am going to observe the problem of the Estonian ***a*-plural**. Commonly the Estonian *a*-plural has been regarded as a variety of the *i*-plural. In the third volume of this series I wrote the following, “The Estonian ***a*-plural** has been regarded as a variety of the *i*-plural. Concerning the age of the *a*-plural obviously not only such single derivations as *püksatu* ‘without pants’, *tükati* ‘partly’ ... have a say in this matter but also the rare cases we find in dialectal forms ... L, V *juta(kas)* ‘talkative’, ... T *kivastik* ‘stony place’ K *kondakas* ‘bony’, ... V *kõivastik* ‘birchwood’, T, V *patane* ‘sinful’ ... Hardly can all these instances be explained as proceeding from the *a*-plural, as, for example, “juttudekas”, “kividestik”, “kontidekas”, “kõivudestik” etc. Neither can the sound analogy in the plural *pat(t)a(-)* → *patune* > *patane* ‘sinful’ be regarded reliable. It is rather an ancient peculiarity of Estonian, occurring in such obvious *a*-plural forms as well as in the derivations of the type *patane* whatever the origin.” (Künnap 1999b: 90). Cf. common Estonian partitive pl. *patte* ‘sins’, *patune* ‘sinful’. In recent years both Paul Alvre and Johanna Laakso have supposed relatively complicated explanations for the emergence of the Estonian *a*-plural, in which appear influences of analogy etc. (Alvre 1989: 122 ff.; Laakso 1998). On the other hand, a most well-founded and reliable explanation can be found in Karl Pajusalu’s considerations (Pajusalu 2000).

In the conclusion of his paper Pajusalu writes, “The unexpected low vowel in non-initial syllables occurs in a large variety of forms in the southern group of Finnic languages. One centre of change lies on the western border of the language group under discussion and includes Livonian, the North Estonian insular and western dialects, and the north-western subdialects of South Estonian. The area is characterised by an extensive reduction of vowels in non-initial syllables, and, in contrast, the low vowel has become generalised in certain noun and verb stems and adverbial forms and also as a vowel determining the morpho-semantic function of the suffixes. Another area is located on the eastern border of the southern group of Finnic languages, where the eastern dialects of South Estonian, the eastern dialects of North Estonian, and the western dialects of Votic show

a lowering of the original *o*, in the way that resembles Russian, and a lowering of the back *ę*. Unlike the western areas, South Estonian and the western dialects of Votic, this *a* corresponds in several forms to **oi* or **ęi*, including all the plural cases. It alternates with *e* in words with front vowels, and with back *ę* in words with back vowels. Here it is a phonetic variation, on which *a* has become fixed in certain formal categories.” (Pajusalu 2000: 165).

Considering the *a*-plural Pajusalu notes in his paper, “A low vowel instead of the expected mid-vowel in the entire plural paradigm. This occurs in the eastern part of South Estonian and in West Votic ... [...] A low vowel instead of the expected mid and high stem vowel in the partitive plural, e.g. ... *patta* ‘sins, part plur’ ... Such forms occur in an especially wide area both in the North Estonian dialects from Saaremaa to the eastern dialect ... and in western Votic. [...] Lowering of the mid stem vowel in **inen*-suffixed nouns, e.g. ... South Estonian ... *patane* ‘sinful’ < **pattoinen*. In these forms, which are rather old [my spacing – A. K.], the change could also have been linked to the lowering of the stem vowel.” (164–165). Pajusalu also asserts, “Vowel alternation *a ~ e* in unstressed syllables is common in a large number of languages belonging to different language families.” (158). Besides the comparison with Russian above, Pajusalu has earlier supposed some westward Germanic influence on bringing about a reduction of vowels in non-initial syllables of Estonian dialects (Pajusalu 1998: 36).

Thus the change *õ, o > a* in Estonian dialects allows to suppose something more extensive and interlinguistic, typical of a vast area. Namely, linguists have supposed that the development of the Russian vowel system has been symbiotic with that of Mordvin languages (see first Osnovy 1974: 162). And more so – Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman regard the change *o > a* or *ə* as a Finno-Ugric substratum in Slavic languages, typical of southern and central dialects of Russian (including standard language), Belorussian, Slovenian, western and eastern dialects of Bulgarian (Thomason, Kaufman 1988: 244). Kalevi Wiik, in his turn, considers the change *ə, o > a* as a Finno-Ugric/Uralic substratum in Germanic languages (see e.g. Wiik 1997: 258–259, 277). In the case of such a spatial and

temporal background the *a*-plural and the derivations of the type *patane*, at least as a tendency of phonetic development, is a really sufficiently ancient phenomenon and in the group of Finnic languages it is typical of the Estonian language, in the first place, and, as far as the Estonian *a*-plural is concerned, extending on a certain scale to the immediate neighbourhood – to Western Vöte.

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EESTI KEELE MÕNEST ISEÄRASUSEST

Ago Künnap

Kui me otsime eesti keelest **possessiivsufikseid** või vähemalt nende jälgi, ei ole kuigi palju leida. Julius Mark on osutanud, et kõneldavas eesti keeles leiduvad vaid 3. isiku possessiivsufiksi jäljed ning ainult sellistes adverbiaalsetes väljendites, nagu *laiutasa* ja *iseäranis*, samuti refleksiiv-pronoomenis *enese*. Possessiivsufiksitate jälgi eesti rahvalauludes on põhjalikumalt käsitletud Juhan Peegel. Julius Mägiste on olnud possessiivsufiksitate jälgede esinemise osas eesti rahvalauludes väga ettevaatlikul seisukohal. Tema arvates vajab veel lähemat lõplikku selgitamist, kas *n*-algulised possessiivsufiksitate oletatavad jäljed rahvalauludes pole vähemalt osaliselt kõigest prosoodilised täitesilbid. Possessiivsufiksitate esinemus eesti (ja liivi) keeles on selline, et on alust tõsiselt kahelda, kas eesti (ja liivi) keel on kunagi üldse kasutanud neid samas ulatuses kui näiteks soome keel, st kas possessiivsufiksitate nõ täisparadigma on olnud üldkasutusel. Soomepärase eesti rannikumurre võttis varem enda alla tunduvalt ulatuslikuma ala kui tänapäeval, samuti elas Eestis läbi aegade rohkesti sisserännanud soomlasi, seda kuni Lõuna-Eestini. Nii sellest murdest kui ka sisserändajate soome keelest võis üle possessiivsufiksitate Eesti levida possessiivsufiksitate mõningat, sealhulgas lähteallika seisukohast ekslikku kasutust. Nimetatud võimalus on loomulikult vaid hüpotees.

Võtan edasi vaatluse alla eesti keele kindla kõneviisi **eitava kõne lihtajad**, mis on moodustatud *e-* (*i-*) tüvelise eitussõna abil. Õieti nende kasutamise eesti keele vanimates kirjanekutes. XV–XVII sajandi autorite järgi sünnib selline mulje, et eitussõnad *ep ~ eb* ja *es ~ is* ei väljendagi sageli aega, so on aja suhtes indiferentsed, nii et aja väljendamine jääb sellistel juhtudel verbi ülesandeks. Ma pean siin silmas selliseid mudeleid, nagu (üldistatult ja tänapäevastatult) 1.1. *ep olen*, 1.2. *es olen*,

1.3. *ei olen* ja 2.1. *ep olin*, 2.2. *es olin*. Selle mulje võib kokkuvõtlikult ümber sõnastada ka nii, et tollastes eesti keele kirjapanekutes on *e-(i)-*tüveline eitussõna sageli vaid eitusfunktsiooni kandev partikkel, mis – sõltumata tüvele järgnevast lõppkomponendist (*-p*, *-b*, *-s*, *-i*) – on indiferentne aja- ja isikukategooria suhtes. Mida peab kõigest eespool esitatust järeldama? Julgen arvata, et asi tollase eesti keele kindla kõneviisi eitava kõne lihtaegadega pole kaugeltki selge. Ega aita siin ei tänapäeva eesti keele või tema murrete ega soome keele andmed: ainuke tegelik näit kunagisest eesti keelest on tema kunagised kirjapanekud, mida me neist ka ei arvaks. (Oletused kunagisest ühtsest läänemeresoome, soome-ugri või uurali algkeelest jätan ma nende ülima hüpoteetilisuse tõttu kõrvale.)

Lõpuks võtan ma veel vaatlusele eesti keele ***a-mitmuse*** küsimuse. Tavaliselt on eesti *a*-mitmust peetud *i*-mitmuse teisendiks. Viimastel aastatel on nii Paul Alvre kui ka Johanna Laakso välja pakkunud suhteliselt keerukad eesti *a*-mitmuse tekkeseletused, kus tulevad mängu analoogiamõjud jmst. Põhjendatuima ja usutavaima seletuse on hiljuti andnud Karl Pajusalu, kes osutab sellele, et eesti murretes on toimunud järgsilpide vokaalides muutus \bar{o} , $o > a$. Sel teel on tekkinud ka *a*-mitmus. Muutust $o > a$ võrdleb Pajusalu sama muutusega vene keeles. Varem on ta oletanud läänepoolset germaani mõju eesti murrete järgsilpide vokaalide reduktsiooni esilekutsujana. Seega aimub eesti murretes toimunud muutuse \bar{o} , $o > a$ taga midagi laialdasemat ja interlingvistilist, ulatuslikule arcaalile omast. Nimelt on oletatud, et vene keele vokaalisüsteemi areng on toimunud sümbioosis mordva keelte omaga. Ja veelgi enam. Sarah Grey Thomason ja Terrence Kaufman peavad muutust $o > a$ või \bar{a} , mida tunneb lisaks vene keelele rida teisigi slaavi keeli, soome-ugri substraadiks. Kalevi Wiik loeb aga uurali/soome-ugri substraadiks muutust \bar{a} , $o > a$ germaani keeltes. Sellise ruumilise ja ajalise tausta korral on eesti *a*-mitmus vähemalt häälikulise arengu tendentsina küllaltki vana nähtus ning iseloomulik läänemeresoome keelte rühmas eelkõige just eesti keelele mõningase ulatusega lähedasse naabrusse – läänevadjasse.

VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES IN NARRATIVE

Liina Lindström

University of Tartu

1. Introduction

Many of the world's languages manifest a tendency in narrative texts to use declarative sentences, in which the predicate is positioned at the beginning of the sentence (the first part of the sentence), followed by the subject. In Scandinavian languages this phenomenon has been called *narrative inversion*. Although the phenomenon is widespread across very different languages, at present there is no survey describing in which languages and in what way the verb-initial clauses are related to the narrative. One of the reasons is the fact that the information concerning the relation between verb-initial clauses and narratives is sketchy for many languages. Few studies have focused at the same time on the narrative text type and word order. Moreover, in many languages verb-initial clauses are statistically peripheral and have therefore been neglected.

The aim of this article is to study the use of verb-initial clauses in Estonian narrative, to make cross-linguistic comparisons using data from many languages, and to look for possible explanations.

The article deals only with declarative clauses. Other clause types, where verb-initial clause type may be grammatical (the imperative, inverted question, etc.), remain beyond the scope of this study.

2. Verb-initial clauses in Estonian narratives

Word order in Estonian, especially in spoken language, reveals remarkable heterogeneity. Typologically Estonian is primarily an SVO language, where at least the written language manifests a tendency towards the V2 rule (Tael 1988: 40).

In Estonian, verb-initial clauses are common in fairy tales, jokes, and folk tales, that is, in folkloric texts, but they are used in contemporary oral narratives as well.

Three types of texts were studied:

- 1) Spoken Estonian (SE). The texts are spoken narratives in the Corpus of Spoken Estonian recorded in 1997–1999. They are part of everyday conversations, that is, they were narrated to friends and acquaintances. The speakers are mostly young people. Personal narratives prevail; the narrator is at the same time a participant in the events and renders his or her personal impressions.
- 2) Written anecdotes (WA). The jokes originated from the web site www.zzz.ee/jokebook. They have been posted relatively casually on the web site (with spelling mistakes) mainly by young people.
- 3) Spoken Võru (SVõ). The Võru dialect is quite different from Standard Estonian. Due to its geographical position it was for a long time in contact with Russian and Latvian. The texts in the Võru dialect were recorded in the 1960s. Longer narrative segments were selected, which include many locality-specific folk tales. The speakers are old people.

In all these groups more verb-initial clauses were used in narratives than previously recorded in word-order statistics of Estonian (cf. Tael 1988, Huumo 1994). Table 1 presents a statistical comparison of verb-initial clauses in narrative and non-narrative texts (V1 = verb-initial, S1 = subject-initial, X1 = other).

**Table 1. Occurrences of verb-initial clauses in texts
(percentage of clauses)**

Narrative texts	V1	S1	X1	Total
Standard Estonian spoken narratives (SE)	32% 172	39% 210	29% 155	100% 537
Võru spoken narratives (SVõ)	43% 221	29% 150	28% 141	100% 512
Standard Estonian written anecdotes (WA)	42% 219	35% 179	23% 118	100% 516

Non-narrative texts	V1	S1	X1	Total
Written newspaper texts (Tael 1988)	18%	31%	43%	92%
Spoken Central Estonian dialect (Võik 1990)	21% 126	39% 240	40% 248	100% 614

Thus, 42-43% of all clauses were verb-initial in spoken narratives of Võru dialect and in written anecdotes and 32% in spoken narratives of Standard Estonian. In non-narrative written newspaper texts 18% of clauses were verb-initial; in spoken texts the percentage was 21.

It is important to note that subject-verb order (SV) is generally more characteristic of spoken texts; verb-subject order (VS) is relatively rare. Table 2 shows that VS order is more typical of written texts – it is somewhat less characteristic of written anecdotes (probably because of their greater spontaneity) and more characteristic of written newspaper texts. The data in the table do not take into account the position of verb extensions (object, predicative, adverbial) in the clause.

Table 2. Occurrences of SV, VS and V order in texts (%)

Narrative texts	SV	VS	V
Standard Estonian spoken narratives (SE)	46	11	43
Võru spoken narratives (SVõ)	37	16	46
Estonian written anecdotes (WA)	42	21	37
Non-narrative texts			
Written newspaper texts (Tael 1988)	34	30	28
Spoken Central Estonian dialect (Võik 1990)	47	11	42

2.1. Narrative structure

Narrative has its own internal structure that was described by Labov & Waletzky (1967) on the basis of narrated stories by African-Americans and later supplemented by Labov (1972). In their view, a typical narrative usually consists of the following parts.

1. *Abstract* is a short summary of what the speaker intends to talk about.
2. *Orientation* presents the time, place, characters, and situation concerning the events of the narrative.
3. *Complication* expresses the course and activity of the events.
4. *Evaluation* points to the specific nature of the situation, its complexity. It conveys the narrator's feelings and attitude towards the described event.
5. *Resolution* solves the unusual situation that developed in the complication section.
6. *Coda* returns to the moment of speaking and relates the narrative to the present.

Thus, the most characteristic part of the narrative – action – is conveyed in the sections *complication* and *resolution*. A number of researchers (e.g. Luraghi 1995: 363–364) have referred to the complication and resolution parts as *foregrounded information* “information referring to chronologically ordered events that represent the gist of narrative” and the less important sections as *non-foregrounded* or *backgrounded information* “information which is not chronologically ordered”, which in the terminology of Labov & Waletzky (1967) includes *abstract*, *orientation*, *evaluation*, and *coda*.

Below I have used mostly the terms ‘foregrounded information’ and ‘backgrounded information’, but, if necessary, I have specified them with the terminology used by Labov & Waletzky (1967).

2.2. The function of verb-initial clauses in Estonian narratives

Verb-initial clauses are not evenly distributed in narratives but are mostly used to express foregrounded information, that is, to describe the storyline. To a lesser extent (mostly in the Võru dialect) verb-initial clauses were used in the orientation part that contains backgrounded information.

Verb-initial clauses in Estonian narratives can be divided into two: 1) subjectless clauses; 2) clauses with inversion of the subject and the predicate. These clauses perform different functions.

1) Subjectless clauses. In these cases, the subject of the clause is missing and the verb occurs in the first position. This is the statistically prevalent reason for using verb-initial clauses. The most common word-order pattern is predicate + extension or VX (X = object, adverbial, or predicative). This type of word order amounted to 16% in SE, 22% in SVõ, and 20% in WA clauses. The main reason for the omission of the subject was ellipsis, which is possible because the semantic agent whose action is followed in the narrative remains the same for a long time (see Example 1).

Clauses with VX order are characteristic first and foremost of foregrounded information – the *complication* and *resolution* parts of the narrative. Of all the clauses describing *complication* VX order amounted to 37% in the SVõ corpus and 22% in SE; the respective percentage for *resolution* was 27% in SVõ and 21% in SE. By comparison, *orientation* had 10% of VX clauses in both corpora, abstract had 0% in SVõ and 3% in SE. *Evaluation*, which is partly intertwined with *complication* (in Example 1 below, line c can be regarded as *evaluation*), includes slightly more VX clauses than the other sections containing backgrounded information – 17% in SVõ, 10% in SE.

(1) SE (a)

ostis	siis	viimase	suure	triikimislaua,
buy-PST	then	last-GEN	big-GEN	ironing board-GEN

‘then she bought the last large ironing board’

(b)

tuli	koju,
come-PST	home-ILL

‘came home’

(c)

oli	lõpp	õnnes,
be-PST	end	happyness-INE

‘was very happy’

(d)

pakkis lahti,
 pack-PST open
 'unpacked it'

(e)

pani üles,
 put-PST up
 'set it up'

In a typical case such verb-initial clauses perform a linking function in the narrative. One is dealing either with the cause-effect relation or actions that immediately succeed one another, thus being an episode in the narrative (i.e. actions constituting one stage of the storyline). Such clauses belong together and make a whole; ellipsis of the subject links the clauses both notionally and grammatically (pointing to the fact that the agent remains the same, see Example 1). Such clauses form an intonational whole as well – a paratone that usually ends with an abrupt falling tone and a long pause (for the concept of the paratone see Brown & Yule 1983: 101).

Many subjectless clauses include only the predicate (SE 12%, SVõ 12%, SVõ 12%, WA 10% of all the clauses). In these clauses, too, one is dealing with ellipsis of the subject. Typically, in the case of clauses that contain only the verb, the verb expresses reporting (Example 2a), thinking, seeing, or hearing (Example 2b). These clauses are followed by the report that refers to someone's (including the speaker's) words, thoughts, and feelings in the given situation.

As for the position of V clauses, the different parts of the narrative do not reveal such notable differences as in the case of clauses with VX order. V clauses occur in parts of the narrative that contain both foregrounded and backgrounded information. It is evident that the report often relates to the backgrounded information in the narrative, for example, the evaluation which refers among other things to the narrator's thoughts and feelings in the situation, etc (Labov 1972: 373–373).

(2) (a) SE

ütlesin et
 say-IMPF-SG1 that
 'I said that'

(b) SVõ

kaenova et
 look-PPCL-PL3 that

2) Inversion of subject and predicate. The other type of verb-initial clauses includes those clauses where the subject is present, but nevertheless the verb occupies the first position, e.g.

(3) SE

tulen=	s	mina	uesti	politseisse	kviitungiga.
V		S	A	A	A
come-	then	I	again	police	check-CMT
SG1				station-ILL	

'I come again to the police station with the receipt'

Such clauses usually have a familiar subject (agent), often a pronoun (as *mina* 'I' in Example 3). The subject phrase does not express any new information in the clause, nor is it abstract. Thus, the inverted order is not caused by those properties of the subject that usually bring about the inversion of the subject and predicate in Estonian (Tael 1988: 12; Huumo 1994: 35). Nor can it be explained by the V2-principle (Tael 1988: 40), which is especially important in written Estonian – the predicate verb occupies the first position, not the second.

For example, the following short narrative (4) includes two verb-initial clauses with inversion of the subject and the predicate, a and d, where *mina* 'I' is the subject of the clause, that is, the subject is given and pronominal.

(4) (a)

lähén	tead=	sis	mina	kurat
go-SG1	PART	then	I	PART

'I go you know'

(b)

ja vaatan= et (.)
 and look-SG1 that
 'and see that'

(c)

vaatan= et tead
 look that PART
 'see that you know'

(d)

sendmail on jumalast ära surnud (...)
 sendmail be-SG3 PART away die-PPCL
 'sendmail is totally dead'

(e)

ja **tegin** mina jälle sendmailile restardi
 and do-SG1-PST I again sendmail-ALL restart-GEN
 'and I restarted sendmail again'

(f)

ja kõik läks jälle käima
 and everything go-PST-SG3 again go-INF
 'and everything began to work again'

The use of this kind of verb-initial clause is not obligatory in the narrative, and is far from statistically prevalent – statistically it could be regarded as a peripheral phenomenon. For example, the SE corpus included all in all 4% of verb-initial clauses (23 clauses), SVõ 11% (57 clauses), WA 13% (65 clauses).

From the point of view of narrative texts, however, such clauses are not peripheral at all. In contemporary narratives such predicate-initial clauses occupy stressed positions, for example, at the beginning of the events of the narrative and at the beginning of the more important stages of the development of events. According to the terminology of Labov and Waletzky (1967), such clauses are positioned in the beginning of *complication* and *resolution*. If *complication* is intertwined with *evaluation*, V1 clauses may be positioned in the beginning of each new *complication*.

Therefore, one might think that one of the functions of these clauses is the division of the narrative. Such clauses point to the more important events; they highlight the more important actions in the narrative marking changes. Usually these clauses are positioned at the beginning of a paratone, which is a very important structural unit in the monologic text.

In example 4 such a clause is the first narrative clause (a), where the events begin. The second predicate-initial clause with inversion of the subject and the predicate, (e) is positioned at the beginning of the *resolution* part of the narrative; thus, it occupies a very important position from the point of view of the text.

There are some other attendant phenomena that point to the special role of such verb-initial clauses.

1. The particle *siis/siss/sis/s* 'then', which points to temporal succession. It is a very common particle in narratives. Its main meaning is 'thereafter', and its main functions are to point to temporal succession and to classify the events. Usually *siis* 'then' opens a paratone or a clause. However, in V1 clauses *siis* (usually its shortened variant *sis* or *s*) moves backward in the clause and occupies the position after the predicate or the subject¹. This has happened in clause (4a).

2. The use of the historical present. The historical present is a use of the present tense where the present refers to past events. In example (4) the historical present is used in clauses a–c. D. Schiffrin and N. Wolfson, who studied the use of the historical present in English narratives, claim that, in addition to the effect of making the events more palatable to the hearer, this device is used for the division of the narrative. The fact that the historical present is used is not in itself so important as the alternation of the present and the past in the narrative. The alternation of two tense forms helps to separate the more important events from each other (Wolfson 1979, Schiffrin 1981). The dividing function

¹ This use of *siis* 'then' is treated here as a particle expressing temporal continuation and not as an adverb (or the adverbial) because this kind of *siis* 'then' may occur in the same clause with any other adverbial of time, and in that case the use of *siis* is not deictic.

can be observed also in the specimen narrative (4); clauses (a)–(d) constitute a single event and are in the historical present; clauses (e)–(f) constitute the other event that resolves the situation and is presented in the simple past.

It is characteristic of Estonian narratives, especially contemporary spoken narratives and anecdotes, that the first clause of the storyline (often verb-initial) is in the historical present. In longer narratives with a more complicated structure, which in addition include a large number *commentaries*, each new episode may begin with such a narrative clause. In these narratives the past may be associated with the *evaluation*, that is, with *commentaries*.

3. One can observe the tendency in verb-initial clauses that the subject, which is positioned later in the clause because of inversion, is stressed. It means that if the subject is a pronoun, usually the long form is used (e.g. *mina* ‘I’ instead of *ma*). If the subject is the third person, a full noun phrase is used instead of pronoun although the referent is familiar (e.g. *mees* ‘the man’ instead of *ta* ‘he’). This applies first and foremost to contemporary spoken narratives and anecdotes.

4. It is surprising how often V1 clauses are associated with the use of verbs of motion. It is likely that the reason may lie in the nature of verbs of motion, which denote active action. A motion verb also conveys *direction* to the action and the starting point of an action (Example 5). The verb *hakkama* ‘begin, start’ performs the same function.

(5) SVõ

no=	s	lätsi	ma	siss	kaema
PART	then	go-PST-SG1	I	then	look
talle	noid	närtsa=	ja,		
he-ALL	DEM-PL	rag-PL-PRT	and		

‘so, I went to look for the rags for him’

Thus, a narrative that includes clauses with the verb-initial inverted order is accompanied by some other devices, the combined effect of which is to make these clauses special in the narrative.

In the Võru dialect one can observe, in addition to the previous use, the use of verb-initial clauses in the part of the narrative that contains backgrounded information – according to Labov's terminology, in the *orientation*. The aim of the *orientation* is to introduce the characters, the place of the event, and circumstances (Labov 1972: 364). Here one is dealing with existential sentences. Example 6 is the beginning of a longer narrative, where the first clause (a) introduces the entire narrative (*abstract* according to Labov's (1972) terminology). The next clause introduces *orientation*.

(6) SVõ (a)

aga (.)	oll' (.)	syss	ütskõrd	olnu	niisugunõ
but	be-PST	then	once	be-PPCL	such

juhus et,
occasion that

'but once there was such an occasion that'

(b)

oll'e (.)	vanamiis	õ (...)	rihe (.)	rihetarõh	olnuq
be-PST	old man	um	barn	barnroom-INE	be-PPCL

'an old man was in a drying barn'

The second clause (6b) can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, this clause introduces the entire situation – the information expressed by the entire clause is new in the dynamism of given-new information. On the other hand, this clause resembles clauses 4a and 4e, where the fronted verb emphasizes the activity and divides the text into units.

One should point out, however, that in the Võru dialect existential sentences usually have XVS order, which is common in Estonian (Tael 1988: 11). Therefore, in this clause type verb-initiality can be explained by narrativity.

It seems that in the case of anecdotes, too, these two functions – introduction and division – often go hand in hand. It is likely that it may be caused by the specific character of the anecdote as a text genre. Usually anecdotes are highly compressed short texts, and their characters are usually stock

characters, who could be regarded as already familiar to the listener because of their frequency in anecdotes. Therefore, in the case of anecdotes the dividing function is evidently more important than the function of introducing the situation and the characters (see example 7a, b).

(7) WA (a)

Läinud kord mees jahile.
 go-PPCL once man hunting-ALL
 'Once a man went hunting'

(b)

Oli teine mitu päeva kodust ära
 be-PST other several day-PRT home-ELA away
 'He was away from home for a number of days'

aga saaki ei midagi.
 but game-PRT not anything
 'but he didn't catch anything'

Thus, in Estonian, verb-initial clauses are used in narrative as follows:

- 1) to link events that belong together: subjectless clauses in SE, SVõ, WA;
- 2) to segment a narrative, to highlight the action: VI clauses with the inversion of the subject and the predicate in SE, (SVõ), WA;
- 3) to introduce the situation and the character: existential sentences in SVõ, (WA).

3. Verb-initial clauses in other languages

An attempt has been made to collect data about the spread of narrative inversion in other languages. I am primarily interested in whether verb-initial clauses have spread in various languages because of language contacts or whether it is a more universal phenomenon. Also, the paper makes an attempt to compare the use of verb-initial clauses in various languages with Estonian.

3.1. Finno-Ugric languages

The data concerning the spread of narrative inversion in other Finno-Ugric languages is sketchy. According to M. Vilkuna, this phenomenon is manifested in Komi (Example 8) and in old Finnish texts: "... verb-initial variants are frequent in folktales but also occur in everyday narrative in "listing of events". This is also found in Finnish folktales, although, as already mentioned, verb-initiality is more likely to be used for contrasting in present-day language, a feature at least to some degree shared by Sami." (Vilkuna 1998: 192)

(8) Komi (Vilkuna 1998: 192)

[Mitruk kas prepared his net to get a fish.]

Pukalö Mitruk beregyn i vitts'ys'ö ts'erily's' šedöm.

sit:3SG (name) shore:INE and wait:3SG fish:ABL get:PART

'Mitruk sits on the shore and waits for the fish to catch.'

However, there are no specific data about the function of verb-initial clauses in the narrative.

Typologically both Komi and Finnish are now regarded as SVO languages (Vilkuna 1998). However, historically the Finno-Ugric (Uralic) languages have been regarded as SOV languages (see e.g. Campbell 1990: 68–70). However, it seems that narrative inversion is not limited to SVO languages alone because Mari reveals an example of its use in a SOV language (Julia Kuprina, personal communication, Example 9). One should take into account that the SVO order is common in Mari, too.

(9) Mari (Cheremis) (example from J. Kuprina)

Keä moren shyrgy mychky dä trük anzha...

go:3SG rabbit on the way suddenly see:3SG

'The rabbit goes along the way and suddenly sees...'

One might suspect that actually the phenomenon is even more widespread in Finno-Ugric languages. However, data is lacking because word order in narrative has not been studied in greater detail.

3.2. Indo-European languages

The use of verb-initial clauses in narrative has been observed in a number of Indo-European languages: in the old Indo-European languages (Latin, Greek, Hittite), Germanic languages, and Russian. At the same time there is no data, for example, about the contemporary Romance languages. In one group of the Indo-European languages – in insular Celtic –verb-initial word order happens to be the principal word order (Tallerman 1998: 22).

Latin

Latin is a language with a free word order that shows an SOV tendency (Luraghi 1995: 373). Verb-initial clauses are possible (Luraghi 1995: 373):

- a) in descriptions of places;
- b) in descriptions of conditions holding at the time of a certain event, referred to later on in the discourse (i.e. accompanying circumstances). In this case, the initial verb is in the imperfect;
- c) in presentative sentences;
- d) in sentences that refer to foregrounded events which are presented as taking place suddenly or unexpectedly. In this case, the initial verb is either in the perfect, or in the historical present.

In cases (a), (b) and (c), initial verbs are connected with non-foregrounded information; furthermore, (a) and (b) are similar, because both types of description provide the setting for subsequent discourse.

Of these (b)–(d) are similar to Estonian.

According to Luraghi, presentative sentences are mainly used at the beginning of a passage (Example 10). These sentences can be compared to existential sentences in the narratives in the Võru dialect (see Example 6); they are rare in contemporary Estonian spoken narratives. In the Võru dialect, too, the verb-initial clauses that are positioned in the beginning of the narrative

(orientation) are associated with the verb *olema* 'be' and the introduction of the situation or characters.

(10) Latin

Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent:

there-were-IMPF altogether routes two by-which by-routes
homeland-ABL to-leave they-could-IMPF

It seems that verb-initial clauses that contain foregrounded information (example 11) are more similar to the use of verb-initial clauses in SE and WA. The verb at the beginning of the sentence may be in the historical present. According to Luraghi (1995: 371), such sentences refer to rapidly developing events that follow one another. It seems that in Latin, too, such sentences have the function of dividing the narrative: "Typically, such sequences begin with an initial verb just after some non-foregrounded information has been introduced." (Luraghi 1995: 371).

(11) Latin

Consequuntur hunc centuriones eius cohortis quae in statione erat: paulisper una proelium sustinet.

they-follow-PRES this-ACC centurions of-that of-cohort
which on guard it-was-IMPF shortly together fight they-bear
'All the centurions of the cohort on guard follow him and together for a short time they bear the brunt of the battle.'

Greek

According to Luraghi, word order is free in Greek. It is difficult to identify the main type of word order or the more frequent type of word order. In Greek verb-initial clauses are used in the following cases (Luraghi 1995: 379):

- a) descriptions of places;
- b) in descriptions i.e. accompanying circumstances. The tense used in such cases is the imperfect;
- c) sentences that provide confirmatory information as to the validity of the statement;
- d) in presentative sentences;

- e) sentences which convey foregrounded information and in which the aorist or the historical present are used.

It seems that variant e of using verb-initial clauses in Greek is different from Latin and Estonian – it has a linking function rather than a dividing function. Clause-initial verbs link an event with the previous events, see example 12 (Luraghi 1995: 378):

(12) Greek

kaì autoì eboleúnto ei autoû meínantes tà skeuophóra entaûtha ágointo è: apóinen epì tò stratópedon.

and they decided-IMPF if there remaining the baggage there they-should-bring or they-should-go to the camp

édoksev auto:ís apiénai:

it-seemed-good-PRET to-them to-go

‘So they took counsel for themselves as to whether they should remain where they were and bring the baggage train thither, or return to their camp. **It seemed best** to them to leave,’

Uses a and b seem to be similar to Latin, use d resembles both SVõ and Latin.

Russian

Russian, like other Slavic languages, is an SVO language with free word order (Siewierska & Uhlířová 1998). Unfortunately, no information has been available to me about verb-initial clauses in Russian. It has been claimed that East Slavic languages reveal a greater tendency towards verb-initial word order, which is common also in spoken language. This tendency, however, is typically associated with folkloristic and poetic texts (Siewierska & Uhlířová 1998). Examples concerning the use of verb-initial clauses can be found both in fairy tales and anecdotes. The following specimen of an anecdote (Example 13) can be found at the address <http://www.lora.ru>.

(13) Russian

Подходит новый русский к ксероксу,
‘A New Russian goes to the copier’

делает копию какого-то документа.
‘makes a copy of some kind of document’

The word order in Russian anecdotes is very similar to that in Estonian anecdotes – the main function of verb-initial clauses is division. The most typical place for a verb-initial clause is the first clause. Therefore, it can be characterized as a clause that introduces the characters and circumstances (cf. Example 7). In a typical case the characters are stock characters who do not need any introduction, so it seems that the dividing function must be the most important function in these clauses.

Germanic languages

It seems that verb-initiality is especially widespread in Germanic languages. Verb-initial clauses have been found in old Germanic languages (Old Norse, Old English) as well as in contemporary German, Swedish, Icelandic, Dutch, and Yiddish. All the Germanic languages, with the exception of English, are V2 languages, that is, “in declarative main clauses the finite verb, main or auxiliary, typically appears in the second position of the clause.” (Holmberg & Rijkhoff 1998: 78).

The examples from Old Norse (14), Dutch (15), and Icelandic (16) are verb-initial clauses with foregrounded information that resemble the corresponding Estonian examples (see Example 3). All the examples contain the verb ‘come’, which is a prototypical action verb in the narrative. In Dutch, narrative inversion is accompanied by the use of the historical present.

(14) Old Norse (Hopper 1987: 472–473)

Koma	Þeir	at kveldi	til	eins	bónda
came	they	at evening	to	a	farmer’s [house]

fá	fi	Þar	náttstað.
and	made	there	nightplace

'Toward evening they came to a farmer's house and made their camp there.'

(15) Dutch (Holmberg & Rijkhoff 1998: 92)

Komen we thuis, staat Peter voor de deur!
 come we home stands Peter in front of the door
 'When we came home, we found Peter standing in front of the door!'

(16) Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1990: 41)

Kom Ólafur seint heim.
 came Olaf late home
 'Olaf came home late.'

According to Sigurðsson, narrative inversion in Icelandic is more widespread in earlier texts than nowadays, and it is especially rare in spoken language (Sigurðsson 1990: 46). In Icelandic (similar to Estonian), narrative inversion is widespread mainly in principal clauses, where the subject is a personal pronoun (mainly the first and second person personal pronoun, Sigurðsson 1990: 45).

Hopper (1979) described the use of verb-initial clauses in Old English, where the verb-initial clause is usually positioned in the beginning of a narrative paragraph, followed by a series of clauses with the OV order. According to Hopper, the verb-initial clause is usually positioned in the beginning of a new narrative episode (Hopper 1979: 221). This use is very similar to the Estonian examples, where an episode begins with a clause with VSX order, followed by clauses with V(X) order (cf. Example 4).

The Swedish example (17) and the data about the use of verb-initial clauses come from Mats Eriksson (1997). He studied spoken narratives in the speech of 10-to-15-year-old Swedish children. He found that, in addition to modified repetition (as in example 17b), inversion performs some other functions in the narrative as well. It links the events that belong together for some reason and are described by two narrative clauses (Eriksson 1997: 128).

(17a) Swedish (Eriksson 1997: 128)

så stod han där å lasta .h på cement (---)

'then he was standing there and stacked on the cement'

.hh **lasta** han på cement

stacked on the cement

In Swedish, similarly to Estonian, narrative inversion is used in more prototypical parts of the narrative (*complication* and *resolution*). Eriksson claims that it is especially common that such clauses are positioned in the *resolution* (Eriksson 1997: 129).

Eriksson found that while *sen* 'then' emphasizes chronological order and keeps the elements of the story apart, narrative inversion emphasizes the causal relation, keeping the elements of the story together (Eriksson 1997: 129). Thus it seems that narrative inversion in Swedish and Estonian has different functions. In Estonian, narrative inversion is used in the beginning of a new episode in order to divide the narrative into segments. In Swedish, on the other hand, it links events that belong together. In Estonian, subjectless verb-initial clauses perform this function, see Example 1.

Thus, one can say that narrative inversion is widespread in a large number of Indo-European languages. According to the available data, it is especially widespread in Germanic languages.

Silvia Luraghi supposed that VSO order was a separate word order type, in addition to SOV order, already in Proto-Indo-European: "This variant must not have been infrequent, since it has become the basic word order in at least one branch of the Indo-European family, the Celtic group." (Luraghi 1995: 355). Also, according to her data, most Indo-European languages have verb-initial representative and existential sentences with the predicate verb 'be' (Luraghi 1995: 381).

The present survey has shown that in many Indo-European languages, especially in Germanic languages, verb-initial clauses are widespread in those parts of the narrative that include foregrounded information. They perform two main functions in these languages: 1) narrative-dividing function (e.g. in Old

English, Russian, Latin), and/or 2) the linking function of those elements of the narrative that belong together (e.g. Swedish, Greek). Unfortunately, the existing data are sketchy and a more detailed study may reveal some important information.

From the point of view of Estonian it is important that verb-initial clauses are used in those languages that are geographically close to us (Germanic languages, Russian). We might assume that narrative inversion is the result of an ancient influence of Indo-European languages on Estonian (Finno-Ugric languages), and the presence of this phenomenon in Estonian can be explained by language contacts. Also, the similarity of the functions of verb-initial clauses in Indo-European languages and Estonian may point to language contacts. The presentation of foregrounded information in those sentences and the dividing function are especially clearly manifested in Germanic languages (with the exception of Swedish), Latin, and Russian.

3.3. Other languages

Narrative inversion is not limited to only Indo-European languages and languages that have been in contact with Indo-European languages (Finno-Ugric languages). Verb-initial clauses have been associated with the narrative also in Biblical Hebrew (Myhill 1992), in the Mayan languages of Tzotzil and Chorti (Myhill 1992), in the Austronesian language Agutaynen (Queakenbush 1992), 19th-century Malay (Myhill 1992), and Kartvelian languages (Testelec 1998). The examples below come from the Kartvelian languages and Hebrew.

Kartvelian languages (South-Caucasian languages): Svan, Mingrelian, Georgian

(Old) Georgian, Mingrelian and Svan may be classified as free SOV/SVO languages, with SOV prevailing in isolated sentences and statistically (Testelec 1998: 236).

Testelec (1998: 241): "In conjoined clauses with coreferential subjects, V1SX1V2X2 order is frequent in narrative texts. The figures denote the clauses to which the constituents belong."

(18) Mingrelian

Ginočqwid-d	papa-k	diakon-isi	nopulo	'wil-ua
decide-	priest-	deacon-	secretly	kill-MSD
AOR.3SG.SBJ	ERG	GEN		

do **duučq-d** dara<-ua
and begin-AOR.3SG.SBJ watch-MSD

'The priest decided to murder the deacon and began to keep watch over him secretly.'

Semitic languages

Biblical Hebrew and other Semitic language have a VSO basic word order (Hetzron 1992). The word order in narrative clauses is verb-initial as well (see Example 19).

(19) Biblical Hebrew (Myhill 1992: 267)

va-yo7mer 7elohim: 'ydhi 7or' **va-yhi** 7or;
and-said-IMPF God is light and-was light

va-yar7 7elohim 7et ha-7or ki tov
and-saw-IMPF God ACC the-light that good

va-yavdel 7elohim beyn ha-7or u-veyn ha hoshex,
and-divided God between the-light and-between darkness

4. Typological approach

If some phenomenon is widespread in many genetically unrelated languages, one might assume a much broader typological tendency. John Myhill (1992), too, made an attempt to describe the link between verb-initial clauses and the narrative.

John Myhill (1992: 265) established a correlation between verb-initial clauses and temporally sequenced clauses (= foregrounded information, narrative storyline): "... in all languages with over 60% VS order overall, VS order is statistically correlated with temporally sequenced clauses, while SV word order is associated with unsequenced clauses. In languages with less than 40% VS order, there does not seem to be any correlation between sequencing and word order; in languages

with between 40% and 60% VS order, if there is a correlation, it will be relatively weak. Thus far, this correlation has only been investigated in languages which are strongly verb-object (VO), having this order more than 90% of the time; it is not clear what will be found in languages with a higher incidence of OV order."

He adds that generally in languages with relatively high VS incidence, temporally sequenced clauses have the verb before any other constituent (Myhill 1992: 272), that is, they are verb-initial. Myhill's claims are based on five languages: Early Biblical Hebrew, Tzotzil, Chorti, 17th century Spanish, Rumanian.

So, according to Myhill, verb-initial clauses in the narrative text are typical of VSO languages. Such VS languages are, for example, Biblical Hebrew (a Semitic language) and Tzotzil (an American Indian language).

Myhill's typology (like all typologies) is based on statistics. Therefore, this typology does not explain the use of verb-initial clauses in languages with an SOV tendency (Mingrelian, Mari), where the VS order is statistically rare. Nor does this typology explain the use of verb-initial clauses in Estonian, especially in spoken language. As noted at the beginning of the article, VS order can be found only in 11% of the clauses in the SE corpus, 16% in SVõ, and 21% in WA (Table 2).

5. Discussion

As noted, word order typology does not answer the question why verb-initial clauses are used in narrative texts in highly different languages of the world, including Estonian. At the same time clauses with such a word order perform some functions that are very important from the point of view of the narrative (dividing function, linking function). Therefore, it would be expedient to examine the reasons why this word order tendency is widespread in the narrative text type.

Narrative is a text type with rather clear-cut characteristic features. William Labov (1972: 359–360) defined narrative as follows: "[Narrative is a] method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred."

Narrative has an internal structure that is followed when narrating stories (Labov & Waletzky 1967, Labov 1972, see also 2.1). The action plays a very important role in a narrative: a narrative is a text that conveys an activity that has occurred in someone's past.

O. Önnarfors, who studied the use of verb-initial declarative clauses in German narratives, explains verb-initiality as follows: "by being in the first position, the verb, which is after all the crucial indicator of the event described, is prominent, presenting the event as a kind of extra-linguistic 'topic' to which the content of the V1-clause is a comment." (Reis 2000: 96). I fully agree with Önnarfors' claim that the verb is foregrounded in verb-initial clauses.

The beginning of the clause is a highly sensitive position. B. Harold claims that the function of the clause-initial part of the sentence is a specific function that organizes the following discourse. It is characteristic of the languages and has clear-cut sub-functions (topic, shift, contrast, listing, topic resumption, etc.) (Harold 1995). If the predicate verb is shifted to the beginning of the sentence, it will become emphatic and more conspicuous.

The foregrounded verb highlights the action and change in the narrative, thus, what is most important in the narrative – because it is the predicate verb that carries the basic meaning of the action. At the same time it has the function of organizing what comes next. Harold uses the terms 'dividing' or 'listing' to describe the function of the verb in VSO languages: "Listing here is organizing by the use of subdivisions of a larger entity; it does not imply that the larger event is conceptualized as a list of actions" (Harold 1995: 151).

Harold's 'listing' would encompass also the dividing function that has been found in many languages. The foregrounded verb points to an action, its beginning or continuation. It helps to differentiate between the foregrounded and backgrounded information. At the same time the verb-initial clauses link the events/clauses that belong together because they are located next to each other and form a notional whole – may

serve as a basis for the above-mentioned linking function (e.g. Greek, Swedish).

In languages with a non-verb-initial word order verb-initiality is more marked than in those languages where it is at the same time the basic word order. Due to markedness the dividing function may be more salient than in verb-initial languages. One could cite as examples Old English and Estonian, where verb-initial (VS order) clauses are positioned at the beginning of episodes/passages and thus divide both the events into more important episodes, thus separating them from the backgrounded information.

Because of markedness verb-initial word order may have become in effect a stylistic device in the narrative. For example, in contemporary Estonian (SE, WA) such clauses mark quite clearly that 'the story begins here' or 'here is a turn in the events'.

It is likely that in Estonian, narrative inversion is closely related to the same phenomenon in Indo-European languages. However, as this phenomenon is quite peripheral (at least statistically) in the Indo-European languages as well (except Celtic languages), then one might assume that language-internal functional motivation is more important than language contact. The narrative is a text type that is manifested in all languages, and in all languages there is a need to emphasize an action, especially such actions that are important from the point of view of the storyline. Therefore it is not surprising that the phenomenon occurs in a large number of different languages and still exists statistically peripherally in Estonian.

Thus, language contact may have given rise to verb-initial clauses in Estonian, but functional motivation resulting from the text type acted as a contributing factor. Functional motivation may serve as the basis that makes the borrowing of peripheral linguistic phenomena possible.

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSES

SVõ – Võru spoken narratives

SE – Standard Estonian spoken narratives

WA – Estonian written anecdotes

A – adverbial

S – subject

V – predicate

X – other constituent (object, predicative, adverbial)

1 – 1st person ending

2 – 2nd person ending

3 – 3rd person ending (unless given, the third person is default)

NOM – nominative (unless marked, the nominative is default)

GEN – genitive

PRT – partitive

ILL – illative

INE – inessive

ELA – elative

ALL – allative

ADE – adessive

ABL – ablative

CMT – comitative

ACC – accusative

ERG – ergative

AOR – aorist

DEM – demonstrative pronoun

IMPERF – imperfect

IMP – imperative

INF – infinitive

PART – particle

PL – plural

PPCL – past participle

PRES – present tense (unless indicated, the present is default)

PRET – preterite

PST – past tense

PTCL – participle

SG – singular (unless indicated, sg is default)

SBJ – subject

TRANSCRIPTION

- (.) short pause
- (...) long pause
- = latching
- falling intonation
- , fall not to low

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VERBIALGULISED LAUSED NARRATIIVIS

Liina Lindström

Paljudes maailma keeltes on tendents kasutada narratiivsetes tekstides deklaratiivlauseid, mille predikaat on lause alguses (esimene lauseliige) ning subjekt tagapool. Skandinaavia keelte uurimisel on seda nähtust nimetatud narratiivseks inversiooniks. Sama nähtust esineb ka eesti keeles.

Olen uurinud lähemalt kolme kolme tüüpi tekste:

- 1) eesti suulise kõne korpuse aastatel 1997–1999 lindistatud suulised narratiivid, mis on pärit argivestlustest (SE);
- 2) Interneti naljanurgast www.zzz.ee/jokebook pärit kirjalikud, ent redigeerimata kujul kirja pandud anekdoodid (WA);
- 3) võrumurdelised suulised narratiivid, mis on kogutud 1960. aastatel (SVõ).

Kõigis neis kolmes rühmas kasutati narratiivides verbialgulisi lauseid rohkem, kui seni eesti keele põhjal tehtud sõnajärjestatistikest ilmneb (vt tabel 1).

Eestikeelsetes narratiivides kasutatud verbialgulised laused võib jagada kaheks: 1) subjektita lauseteks; 2) subjekti ja predikaadi inversiooniga lauseteks. Need laused on oma funktsioonilt erinevad.

1. Subjekti puudumine on statistiliselt valdav verbialguliste lausete kasutamise põhjus. Kõige levinum sõnajärjemall on predikaat + laiend ehk VX (X = sihtis, määrus või öeldistäide). Subjekti puudumise peamine põhjus on subjekti ellips, mis on võimalik seetõttu, et agent, kelle tegevust narratiivis jälgitakse, jääb pikka aega samaks (vt näide 1). VX-järjega laused ongi iseloomulikud eelkõige narratiivi komplikatsiooni- ja lahendusosale.

Üldjuhul on sellised verbialgulised laused narratiivis siduva funktsiooniga – tegemist on põhjuse-tagajärje seoses või vahetus ajalises järgnevuses olevate tegevustega, mis kokku moodustavad ühe narratiivi episoodi. Subjekti ellips seob osalaused nii sisuliselt kui ka gramma-

tiliselt kokku, osutades sellele, et tegija jääb samaks. Need laused moodustavad ka intonatsioonilise terviku – lausungi (*paratone*), mis lõpeb tavaliselt tugeva toonilanguse ning pika pausiga.

Subjektita lausete hulgas on üsna palju neidki, mis koosnevad ainult predikaadist, ent nende paiknemises ei ole narratiivi eri osade vahel nii suuri erinevusi kui VX-järgjega lausete puhul. Need laused on enamasti seotud referaadiga.

2. Teine tüüp verbialgulisi lauseid on sellised, kus subjekt on lauses küll olemas, ent ikkagi on verb lauses esimeses positsioonis (vt näiteid 3, 4a, 4e). Seda tüüpi V1-lausete kasutamine ei ole narratiivis obligatoorne, ammugi mitte statistiliselt domineeriv. Statistiliselt võib seda pidada lausa perifeerseks nähtuseks, näiteks SE korpuses oli subjekti sisaldavaid verbialgulisi lauseid kokku 4% (23 lauset), SVõ 11% (57 lauset), WA (65 lauset) 13% lausetes.

Narratiivse teksti seisukohalt sellised laused aga perifeersed ei ole. Tänapäeva narratiivides paiknevad taolised predikaadialgulised laused narratiivis rõhulistel, tähtsatel kohtadel, nt narratiivi tegevustiku algul ning tegevustiku arengu tähtsamate etappide algul. Labovi ja Waletzky (1967) narratiivstruktuuri mõisteid kasutades on need laused tavaliselt narratiivi komplikatsioon- ja lahendusosa algul. Kui narratiivis on komplikatsiooniosa hinnanguosaga hakitud, võivad V1-laused paikneda iga uue komplikatsiooniosa alguses.

Seetõttu võib arvata, et nende lausete üks funktsioone on narratiivi liigendamine. Nende lausetega osutatakse sündmustiku tähtsamatele punktidele: tõstetakse esile narratiivi seisukohalt olulisemaid, muutusi sisaldavaid tegevusi. Ühtlasi paiknevad need laused üldjuhul lausungi algul.

Kokkuvõtvalt võib öelda, et vaadeldud tekstide hulgas kasutati verbi-
algulisi lauseid narratiivis järgmiselt:

- 1) kokkukuuluvate sündmuste sidumiseks – subjektita laused: SE, SVõ, WA, näide 1;
- 2) narratiivi liigendamiseks, tegevuse esiletõstmiseks – subjekti ja predikaadi inversiooniga V1-laused: SE, (SVõ), WA, näited 3, 4a ja 4e, 7a;
- 3) situatsiooni ja tegelaste esitlemiseks – eksitantsiaallaused: SVõ, (WA), näide 6.

Narratiivne inversioon on levinud ka paljudes teistes keeltes: soome-ugri keeltest on näiteid komi (näide 8) ja mari (näide 9) keele kohta; indoeuroopa keeltest on näiteid ladina (näited 10, 11), vanakreeka (näide 12),

vene (13), vananorra (14), hollandi (15), islandi (16) ja rootsi keele (17) kohta.

Paljudes indo-euroopa (eriti germaani) keeltes on verbialgulised laused levinud just esiplaani-informatsiooni (*foregrounded information*) sisaldavates narratiiviosades ning neil on keeltes kaks põhifunktsiooni: 1) narratiivi liigendav funktsioon (nt vanainglise, vene ja ladina keeles); ja/või 2) narratiivi kokkukuuluvaid elemente siduv funktsioon (nt rootsi ja kreeka keeles).

Narratiivne inversioon ei piirdu ainult indo-euroopa keeltega ja nendega kontaktis olnud keeltega (nt soome-ugri keeled). Predikaadialgulisi lauseid on narratiiviga seostatud veel vanaheebrea keeles (Myhill 1992), maia keeltes (Myhill 1992), austroneesia keeltes (Quakenbush 1992) ning kartveli keeltes (Testelec 1998).

Kui sama nähtus on levinud väga paljudes keeltes, mis pole omavahel suguluses, siis võib oletada, et tegemist on hoopis laiemal tüpoloogilisel tendentsiga. Tüpoloogiliselt on verbialguliste lausete seost narratiiviga üritanud kirjeldada John Myhill (1992). Myhill leiab, et kui mingis keeles on VS-järgelise lauseid üle 60%, siis on seal ka narratiivsed laused VS-järgelise (ning tavaliselt verbialgulised); kui VS-järgelise lauseid on alla 40%, siis sellist korrelatsiooni narratiivsete lausete keeles ei ole.

Myhilli tüpoloogia ei seleta verbialguliste lausete kasutamist SOV-tendentsiga keeltes (mingreli, mari), milles VS-järg on statistiliselt harv. Samuti ei seleta see tüpoloogia verbialguliste lausete kasutamist eesti keeles, eriti suulises keelekasutuses, sest nagu juba artikli alguses öeldud, on VS-järgelise vaid 11% SE korpuse lausetest, 16% SVõ ning 21% WA lausetest (tabel 2).

Seega ei anna sõnajärjetüpoloogia vastust küsimusele, miks kasutatakse paljudes väga erinevates maailma keeltes, sealhulgas eesti keeles, narratiivsetes tekstides verbialgulisi lauseid. Samas on sellise sõnajärgelise lausetel keeltes funktsioone, mis on narratiivi seisukohalt väga olulised (liigendusfunktsioon, sidumiskontaktfunktsioon). Seega oleks ilmselt mõistlik selle sõnajärjetendentsi leviku põhjusi otsida narratiivsetest tekstitüüpist endast.

Lause algus on lauses väga tundlik koht. Bruce Harold (1995) on lausealgulise lauseliikme funktsiooni pidanud eriliseks järgnevat diskursust organiseerivaks funktsiooniks, mis on omane kõigile keeltele. Kui predikaatverb tuuakse lause algusesse, muudetakse see rõhuliseks ja tuuakse paremini esile.

Verbi esiletõstmise kaudu tõstetakse narratiivis esile tegevust, muutumist, seega narratiivi seisukohalt kõige tähtsat. Verbi esiletõstmine osutab tegevusele, selle algamisele või jätkumisele. See aitab eristada

narratiivi esiplaani- ja taustainformatsiooni. Ühtlasi seovad verbialgulised laused kokku ühtekuuluvad sündmused/laused, kuna need paiknevad järjestikku ja moodustavad sisulise terviku – see võib olla eespool mainitud sidumisfunktsiooni aluseks (nt kreeka keel, rootsi keel).

Keeltes, mis ei ole verbialgulise põhisõnajärga, on verbialgulisus markeeritum kui neis keeltes, kus see on ühtlasi põhisõnajärg. Markeerituse tõttu võib neis liigendusfunktsioon paremini välja joonistuda kui verbialgulistes keeltes. Näiteks võib tuua vanainglise keele ja eesti keele, kus verbialgulised (VS-järga) laused paiknevad narratiivi episoodide/lõikude alguses ja liigendavad nii sündmustiku olulisemateks episoodideks, eristades esiplaani-informatsiooni taustainformatsioonist.

Tõenäoliselt on narratiivne inversioon eesti keeles seotud sama nähtusega indo-euroopa keeltes, ent kuna see nähtus on küllalt perifeerne (vähemalt statistiliselt) ka indo-euroopa keeltes endis, võib arvata, et keelekontaktidest olulisem on funktsionaalne motiveeritus. Narratiiv on tekstitüüp, mis on olemas kõigis keeltes ning kõigis keeltes on narratiivis vajadus rõhutada tegevust, eriti selliseid tegevusi, mis on sündmusliini seisukohalt olulised. Seetõttu on ootuspärane, et nähtus esineb väga paljudes eri tüüpi keeltes ning on statistiliselt perifeersena siiski jätkuvalt olemas ka eesti keeles.

ADJECTIVAL MODIFICATION IN ESTONIAN AND ESTONIAN SIGN LANGUAGE

Merilin Miljan

Estonian Institute of Humanities

...we can say that what is natural to mankind is not oral speech but the faculty of constructing a language, i.e. a system of distinct signs corresponding to distinct ideas. (Saussure 1996 [1916]: 39)

0. The purpose of this article is to bring within the purview of linguistics a less known language, the sign language used by the Estonian deaf. Despite the fact that Estonian Sign Language (ESL) exists in reality, it has scarcely been studied in linguistic terms. General knowledge of the rules that govern the combining of signs into sentences in ESL is limited and, even though people for whom sign language is their first language, or the primary means of communication, *do* know how to sign, a detailed description of these rules and of the whole language is needed.¹ This is so not only in order to work out the teaching methodology for ESL, but also because data about every single language, whether signed or spoken, contribute to the study of languages in general.

Since 1960 – when the American linguist William Stokoe (1993 [1960]) presented his seminal work *Sign Language Structure: An Outline of the Visual Communication System of the American Deaf* – research on different sign languages across the world has shown that the signs of a sign language are something

¹ Although in his MA thesis on ESL (unpublished) Vahur Laiapea gives an overview of the main structural features of ESL, there is still no thorough description of it. See Laiapea (1992a, 1993). Regina Toom has been the author of several exercise books (e.g. 1990, 1999) and of two glossaries (1989, 1990).

more than gestures without internal structure. Also, the "gestures" that are used in the communication systems of deaf people have turned out to form real languages, "which are just as rich, just as complete, and just as productive as the spoken languages" (Lillo-Martin 1990: 86).

For this reason, sign languages have gained more and more attention with reference to the search for language universals, and it has been understood that questions on the nature and fundamental properties of human language could only be answered by widening the scope of study to sign languages as well. Bernard Comrie has written in the conclusion to his book *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*:

[i]n seeking explanations for universals of spoken language, one obvious question that might arise is the extent to which these universals can be explained in terms of the medium employed. Thus, clearly many universals of phonetic structure are determined or facilitated by the structure of the human vocal tract, and the nature of human auditory perception. It is conceivable that certain other universals of spoken languages might in turn correlate with properties of the medium, rather than, necessarily, with the human linguistic faculty at a more abstract level. Fortunately, we do here have a standard of comparison, namely various sign languages, which use a radically different medium. (Comrie 1981: 221)

In this article, I confine myself to comparing adjectival modification in Estonian and in Estonian Sign Language (ESL). The former, Estonian, is under focus since it is the host language to ESL, and while being the language of the majority and the written language to the users of ESL, its presumable or possible influence deserves to be studied. As for the latter, ESL, I would like to emphasise that this article is a report on work in progress and presents the first results of an attempt to describe ESL from the typological perspective.

1. Some general remarks about what sign language is

It differs from other languages in one major respect of its features: it does not rely on spoken words. (Kyle & Woll 1985).

Sign languages are complex visual-spatial languages used by deaf communities. There are many such languages, e.g. American Sign Language (ASL), French Sign Language (FSL), Japanese Sign Language (JSL), Swedish Sign Language (SSL), etc. Sign languages have their own historic origins around the world, develop along their own individual lines, and use different signs and sentence structure. Even if the same spoken language is used by different societies, e.g. English, the differences between sign languages used by deaf communities in these societies may vary to the extent of precluding mutual comprehension,² as happens between American Sign Language (ASL) and British Sign Language (BSL) (Crystal 1987: 220).

Similarly to a spoken language, when a sign language becomes widely used it may undergo strong dialectical and regional variations. This can be observed, for example, in the case of American Sign Language, which is used by over half a million deaf people and to many of whom it is a native language. The major factors contributing to variation are geographical, although the age at which the sign language is learned plays a crucial role, as well as the home environment (whether or not the parents are deaf), and the educational background of the signer.

A further important variable is the extent to which the sign language has been influenced by the language of the majority (spoken language) in the society. In Estonia, for example, the variation in signing ranges from those varieties which seem to show little influence of Estonian to those that have been

² In fact, this is a rather strong statement, as Kyle and Woll (1985: 162-172) point out. Although the extent of the mutual intelligibility is still unclear, communication is possible across different sign languages - perhaps due to the simplified language use and the willingness to communicate.

markedly shaped by the properties of it, especially by word order.³ Still, ESL appears to display a relative homogeneity. This is probably due to the fact that in Estonia there was only one school for the deaf, the Porkuni Deaf School, for a long time.⁴

Sign languages use hand, face, head, or other body movements in a three-dimensional space as the physical means of communication. Signs can be articulated with one hand or two. In a two-handed sign, a distinction should be drawn between the active and the passive hand, or the strong and the weak hand. Also, signing can be right-dominant whereby the signer uses his/her right hand as the strong hand and the left hand as the weak hand, or left-dominant (here the signer tends to use his/her left hand as the strong hand and the right as the weak hand).

The space of signing is bounded by the top of the head, the back, the space extending to elbow width at the sides, and to the hips; different points on the body serve as locations for hand configurations. It should be emphasised that hand configurations form only ONE component of sign languages (this refutes the argument that sign languages are "gestural" languages), since facial expressions such as eyebrow movement and lip-mouth movement are not only used for conveying attitude and referring to objects by size, but also have a crucial part at the grammatical level, performing syntactic, indexic, or conversation regulatory (discourse) functions, (as well as morphological functions (cf. Davies 1985)). (For a full discussion of non-manual markers, see Engberg-Pedersen 1990, Vogt-Svendsen 1990, Baker-Shenk 1985, Aarons et al. 1992, Ebbinghaus & Hessmann 1996). In a word, "a string of manual signs can mean different things depending on the non-manual marking that accompanies it" (Aarons 1994: 41).

³ A further distinction should be made between Signed Estonian and the natural (Estonian) sign language. The former serves to visualize Estonian in signs, especially in the communication between a deaf and hearing person, while the latter has developed independently of Estonian and exploits the signing space for conveying grammatical information.

⁴ For a further account of sign language in Estonia and its development, see Laipea (1992b: 73-74).

2. Methods

The methodology to be employed in the present study is primarily inductive and data-driven. The data for this study come from two main sources. The main set comes from videotaped recordings of six deaf native signers of ESL between the ages of 12 and 35 who are reporting some past event or experience, recounting their favourite book or film, or signing a fairy-tale. These recordings are from the period 1990–1994, recorded by Vahur Laiapea who was collecting data for his Master's dissertation on ESL and by Ave Paat (then Ave Laiapea).

The tapes were transcribed using a system of written Estonian glosses in capital letters determined by the most frequently associated Estonian word. In this paper, Estonian glosses are presented in English according to the convention of international sign language research (see Sutton-Spence & Woll 1999). Glosses are given at the level of detail required for the present analysis, not in their full complexity (e.g. eyegaze, head tilt, etc. are not indicated, if not carrying crucial information).

A minor set of data comes from working with several deaf informants who were asked specific questions in order to check the validity of hypotheses on ESL. This set of data was collected in the form of notes in which ESL signs were recorded using the same system as described above.

Throughout this paper, ESL examples consist of two lines. Since the language under study is on videotape, examples are presented in a literal translation of the original language containing both lexical and grammatical information in the first line. The second line is a translation into English.

3. Adjectival modification in Estonian and in ESL

3.0. Adjectives are a set of lexical items distinguished on morphological and syntactic grounds from nouns and verbs. Semantically, adjectives serve to describe properties or qualities.

Estonian is the language in which no separate class can be established for adjectives on the basis of morphological criteria. The adjective class in Estonian can be defined only in terms of

semantic and syntactic criteria: adjectives express quality and answer to the question *which?*; in a sentence, they occur as an attribute or a predicative. While Estonian adjectives show a great affinity for nouns by sharing many grammatical properties with them, e.g. they generally agree with the head noun in case and number, they are, according to Wetzer's (1992) terminology, "nouny".

As for Estonian Sign Language (ESL), the preliminary findings suggest that the adjective class can be established only on semantic grounds in this language. The data of the present study display no morphological or syntactic criteria for distinguishing signs that function as adjectives from signs functioning as nouns.⁵ Yet, one of the criteria for distinguishing a small set of adjectives in ESL from nouns might be that some "adjectival" signs are mutable in the sense that they may undergo aspectual modulations. That is, on the basis of semantic factor time stability, signs expressing temporary, non-stable states or properties (e.g. sign for SICK) may be modified by simultaneous inflections of aspect (e.g. SICK/OFTEN-SICK, etc.), whereas in the case of signs which encode more permanent, stable properties (e.g. YOUNG, CLEVER, BRAVE) aspectual modulations are not appropriate. The possibility for certain signs to undergo aspectual modulations implies that in ESL some "adjectives" display an orientation towards verbs, i.e. they are "verby" (cf. Wetzer 1992). In the case of verbs, aspectual modulations tend to show whether an action is complete, habitual or continuous.

In fact, Rissanen regards these signs for predicates that denote either stative or temporary qualities in Finnish Sign Language (Laipea 1992a: 2111–2113). Also, in the case of Swedish Sign Language (SSL), Bergman (1983: 9) writes that so far there has been no reason to presume that SSL has the adjective class.

⁵ In comparison, Rodda & Grove (1987: 145) write that in American Sign Language (ASL) "nouns can be formed into adjectives (e.g. CHINA-CHINESE) by using a fast, tense movement. Verbs may be formed into gerunds or adjectives, and consistently applied rules similarly control the figurative extension of the signs for concrete concepts."

Furthermore, recent studies on the morphosyntactic structures of German Sign Language (GSL) suggest that GSL has only one word class: the verb class (Erlenkamp 2000).

In this paper the term 'adjectival sign' or simply 'adjective' in the case of ESL refers to signs which *function* as adjectival modifiers in a noun phrase. The traditional defining characteristic of adjectives is followed in the descriptions of Estonian. The remainder of the article deals with descriptive adjectives that are used attributively.

3.1. Estonian is typologically consistent in displaying overwhelmingly pre-nominal modification in its noun phrase. That is, Estonian modifying adjectives normally occur in pre-nominal positions. As an illustration, see example (1) where the adjectival modifier precedes its head (both are in *italics*):

- (1) *Väike poiss luges paksu*
 small-NomSg boy-NomSg read-3SgImp big-PartSg
raamatut.
 book-PartSg
 'a/the small boy (was) read(ing) the big book.'
 (Erelt et al. 1993: 115).

Post-nominal modification also occurs, but it tends to have a restricted use. The post-nominal position serves to foreground, to add emphasis on the modifier and thus mainly appears in works of fiction and in emphatic speech (Erelt et al. 1993: 115). Consider the following example:

- (2) *Meri, suur ja sügav, ei*
 sea-NomSg large-NomSg and deep-NomSg not
anna oma saladusi välja.
 give:3SgPr its secret-PartPl out
 'The sea, large and deep, will not reveal its secrets'
 (Erelt et al. 1993: 115).

Post-nominal modification usually includes more than one lexical item, as can be seen from the example (2) above. In fact, in most cases post-nominal modification comprising only one adjective is not possible (Erelt et al. 1993: 116), cf.:

- (3) * Tema *käed*, *valged*, andsid...
 his hand-NomPl white-NomPl give-3PlImp
 'His hands, which were white, gave...'
 (Erelt et al. 1993: 116).

However, one-item adjectival post-modification occurs together either with the pro-nominal head, with a proper noun, or a word such as *ema* 'mother,' *isa* 'father,' *õde* 'sister,' etc., especially in the vocative (Erelt et al. 1993: 116):

- (4) Sina, *õnnetu*, *oled* *tõesti* *palju*
 You-NomSg unhappy-NomSg be-2SgPr really much
kannatanud!
 suffer-PParticiple
 'You, unhappy one, have really suffered a lot!'
- (5) Malle, *armas*, *anna* *mulle*
 Malle dear-NomSg give-ImperativeSg me:AllatSg
andeks!
 forgiveness:TranslSg
 'Malle, dear, forgive me!' (Erelt et al. 1993: 116).

As can be seen from the examples above, the neutral position for Estonian modifying adjectives is the pre-nominal one. In the pronominal position, modifying adjectives agree with the head noun in number and in ten cases of the total of fourteen cases. In the post-nominal position, they agree in all cases.

3.2. Estonian Sign Language, according to the data of the present study, embraces three different ways of adjectival modification in the noun phrase as will be illustrated in this subsection.

One of the types of adjectival modification involves the incorporation of the modifier into the articulation of the sign itself. This is particularly the case with modifiers of size. For example, in (6) the hands articulate the sign for BASKET and at the same time modify it to indicate the approximate size of the item, viz., the BASKET is big:

- (6) BASKET-BIG
 '(a) big basket.'

Figures 1 and 2 serve to illustrate this kind of modification: in Figure 1 the signer articulates a sign for BASKET (the former, (a), shows the first part of the sign, the latter, (b), the second part of the same sign, the arrows indicate the movement which the sign involves); in Figure 2 (see next page), the sign for BIG-BASKET is shown, cf.:



Figure 1.a. The sign for BASKET: the first part of the sign, 'the bottom of the basket'.

Figure 1.b. The sign for BASKET: the second part of the same sign.

Size modifiers themselves may undergo modification. The latter is conveyed by non-manual markers, e.g. smallness is emphasised by squinting eyes, whereas bigness by wide-open eyes. That is, '(a) very big basket' would be articulated as all one sign simultaneously accompanied by non-manual element, viz. wide-open eyes (see Figure 3, next page).

In comparison, Estonian would require a noun phrase consisting of three separate elements for expressing such a phrase as 'väga suur korv'.



Figure 2. The sign for
BIG-BASKET.



Figure 3. The sign for
VERY-BIG-BASKET.

The second type of adjectival modification in ESL noun phrases revealed by the data of the present study is a modification usually referred to as bracketing in sign linguistics. In the case of bracketing, the adjectival modifier *both* precedes the head noun, or the base sign, and follows it. As an example, see (7) where the sign for noun EGG, being modified by the adjective WHITE, is further modified by the sign for TINY (in *italics*) occurring both in the pre- and post-nominal position:

- (7) HEN LAY *TINY* WHITE EGG *TINY*
'(the) hen laid (a) tiny white egg'.

Thirdly, adjectival modification can also be *either* pre-nominal, as in (8):

- (8) *eye-brows:* -----*raised*
eyes: -----*wide-open*
hands: RED TOMATO (COST HOW-MANY)
'How much do the red tomatoes cost?'

or post-nominal, as in (9):

- (9) REMEMBER BOOK **BIG** READ WAS
'[The girl] remembered (the) big book she had read.'

4. Discussion

In the preceding chapter we saw that the ways and means of adjectival modification available for a spoken language are outnumbered by the options a sign language can use. Respectively, Estonian utilizes one type of modification in the case of which modifying adjective either precedes or follows the head (see examples (1), (2)). ESL, in comparison, exploits at least three different types of adjectival modification: a modification which involves the incorporation of the modifier into the articulation of the sign itself (see example (6)), the modification called bracketing (example (7)), and either pre- or post-modification (examples (8) and (9), respectively).

The number of options for adjectival modification is clearly contingent on the medium that a language employs. That is, Estonian as an oral language can modify the head in a phrase only sequentially (pre- or post-modification), whereas ESL, as well as other sign languages, which use a three-dimensional signing space for articulation, can incorporate the modifier into the base sign. Furthermore, it is possible to modify a base sign simultaneously, as Kyle and Woll (1985: 157) point out in the case of British Sign Language (BSL). As for ESL, this option was not displayed in the present data. Simultaneous (adjectival) modification comprises the articulation of the base sign with one hand and the modifier with the other. As an illustration, see example (10) from BSL where the base (noun) sign BOY is articulated with the non-dominant left hand on hold while the adjectival modifier SMALL is signed with the dominant right hand (indicating topic) (Kyle & Woll 1985: 157):

- (10) *Left hand:* BOY-----
 Right hand: SMALL
 ‘(a) small boy.’

It goes without saying that simultaneous modification and the modification which incorporates the modifier into the base sign

are characteristic of sign languages alone, thus correlating with the medium employed.⁶

At the same time, both spoken and sign languages share either pre- or post-modification. In the case of sign languages, it has been pointed out that a general tendency for modifiers is to follow their heads. For instance, in German Sign Language things, persons and places that are usually referred to by noun signs occurring as central elements in the noun phrase (i.e. the head) are *followed* by their modifiers, as stated by Prillwitz et al. (1985: 89).

In British Sign Language, however, the choice between pre- and post-modifiers is regarded as optional: "there appear to be no rules governing the use of one or the other," as Kyle and Woll (1985: 157) observe. They (ibid.) add that "[s]ome researchers have suggested that the basic order is base sign + modifier, and that modifier + base sign phrases occur because of the influence of English." Kyle and Woll (1985: 157) also mention that there is not enough evidence to support this particular theory.

In Estonian Sign Language, the general tendency for adjectives to occur either pre- or post-nominally could be explained by the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive modification. Following Givon,

[r]estrictive modifiers *restrict the domain* of the noun in terms of specific identification. They thus have the potential of being contrastive. Non-restrictive modifiers, on the other hand, tend to supply information that is *habitually known* as part of the normal characterisation of the individual in question. They thus have the potential of forming a compound lexical noun together with their head noun. (Givon 1990: 473)

I am inclined to think that it is this pragmatic principle that controls the word order variation of adjectival modifiers in ESL,

⁶ Of course, one can count the suprasegmental means for modification in some spoken languages, e.g. in Estonian it is possible to modify adjectives themselves suprasegmentally: *suuuv korv* '[very] big basket' instead of the lexical modification *väga suur korv* 'very big basket'.

rather than the influence of Estonian.⁷ If it were only the influence of the pre-modifying adjectives of the Estonian language on the adjectival modification of ESL, the occurrence of adjectival modifiers either pre- or post-nominally should appear more chaotic. The data of the present study display some general tendencies. The following examples illustrate adjectival modification in the *pre-nominal* position (indicated in bold) see also examples (7) and (8) above, where WHITE and RED, respectively, precede their heads:

(11) **WARM SHAWL SQUARE**

(PUT-OVER-SHOULDERS)

'[Marina] put (a) warm shawl over her shoulders'

(12) **WARM WATER (NEED)**

'[I] need some warm water'

The general tendency that emerges from the examples above reveals the (high) potential of a pre-nominal adjective to create a generic reference. In example (8), the preceding adjective RED appears to modify its head noun/base sign non-restrictively: here RED is used to denote a characteristic quality and is presupposed rather than conveyed as informative or new data. The same applies to examples (7), (11) and (12) where the pre-modifying adjective does not seem to convey any specific, narrowing information.

In contrast, adjectives occurring in the post-nominal position show a tendency to establish a specific reference. Consider the following examples where the modifying adjective (in bold) follows its head, or the base sign:

(13) **REMEMBER BOOK BIG READ WAS**

'[The girl] remembered (the) big book she had read'

(14) **CAPE OLD-FASHIONED PUT-ON**

'[Marina] put (an) old-fashioned cape on'

⁷ Note that the examples in the present study originate from the natural (Estonian) sign language.

(15) MAN STRANGE TWO-COME

'Two strange men came'

(16) GIRL BEAUTIFUL PUT-MASCARA-ON-EYELASH[PL]

'(The) beautiful girl is putting on mascara.'

In (13), above, the function of the post-nominal adjective BIG is to restrict the information: what is meant is a particular big book. Also, the adjective OLD-FASHIONED in (14), following the base sign CAPE, serves to supply narrowing, specific information rather than presupposed or generic one, (viz. 'old-fashioned capes'). The same contrasting function or quality of adjectives in post-nominal positions emerges from examples (15) and (16). In both of these the modifiers convey specific, new data about their head as opposed to habitually known information. Thus, the placement flexibility of adjectival modification in ESL seems to amount to the principle of information processing of "going from the generic to the specific" (Givon 1984: 225), which is analogous to the structural contrast between "given" and "new" information (for discussion of information structure, see Halliday 1994, Lambrecht 1994: 5).

In Estonian, conversely, adjectives in the post-nominal position do not carry a restrictive quality, as Ereht et al. (1993: 115) write. They only state, similarly to a predicative, something about its head cf.:

- (17) *Esimesed pikad püksid sai*
 first-NomPl long-NomPl trousers-NomPl get:3SgImp
Tiit seitsmeaastaselt.

Tiit at the age of seven

'Tiit got his first long trousers at the age of seven.'

- (18) *Püksid, liiga pikad ja laiad,*
 trousers-NomPl too long-NomPl and loose-NomPl
tegid poisi naeruväärseks.
 make-3PIImp boy-GenSg (look)ridiculous-TranslSg
 'The trousers which were loose and too long made the boy
 look ridiculous' (Ereht et al 1993: 115).

It is the task of pre-modifying adjectives to function either restrictively or non-restrictively (Erelt 1986: 61). The post-nominal position generally remains reserved for modifying adjectives that are emphasized and foregrounded because of stylistic purposes (Erelt 1986: 61, Saareste 1948: 90–91). Adjectives occurring post-nominally could be placed into the pre-nominal position, but then they would fail to convey that particular kind of expressiveness and emotionality as the post-nominal position provides (Mihkila et al. 1974: 255). For this reason, it is common to modifying adjectives to appear post-nominally in poetry. In folk songs and proverbs, post-nominal adjectival modification is a prevailing feature (for a detailed description of adjectival post-modification, see, e.g., Erelt 1986: 61–65, Saareste 1948). Thus, the post-nominal position of adjectives in Estonian is usually perceived as marked in contrast to the unmarked, neutral pre-nominal position. This is not the case in Estonian Sign Language.

Nevertheless, further data should be analysed in order to find out the possible influence of Estonian on ESL, and to be sure that the pragmatic principle presented in connection with adjectival modification in ESL holds true.

5. Conclusion

This article on comparison between adjectival modification in Estonian and in Estonian Sign Language (ESL) from the typological perspective reports work in progress rather than facts implying a closure. The preliminary findings show that despite the completely different medium employed, there are types of adjectival modification which both spoken and sign languages, i.e. Estonian and ESL, respectively, have in common. However, the radically different medium used for articulation also determines the differences. While Estonian can utilize only pre- or post-nominal adjectival modification, ESL can exploit in addition to this the type of modification that involves the incorporation of the modifier into the articulation of the sign itself.

With regard to the pre- or post-nominal adjectival modification, we noticed that differently from Estonian where

modifying adjectives normally occur in the pre-nominal positions, adjectives in ESL display a placement flexibility: pre-modifying adjectives appeared to reveal a tendency to create generic reference, whereas post-modifying adjectives appeared to establish a specific or a unique reference. This tendency was associated with the information processing principle analogous to the information structure contrast between “given” and “new” information rather than with the influence of Estonian which would presuppose that the basic order in ESL is base sign plus modifier.

ABBREVIATIONS

Allat	Allative
Imp	Imperfect
Nom	Nominative
Part	Partitive
Perf	Perfect
Pl	Plural
PParticiple	Past Participle
Pr	Preesens
Sg	Singular
Transl	Translative
2Sg	2 nd Person Singular
3Sg	3 rd Person Singular
3Pl	3 rd Person Plural

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ADJEKTIIVTRIBUUT EESTI KEELES JA EESTI VIIPEKEELES

Merilin Miljan

Käesoleva artikli põhieesmärgiks on tuua keeleteaduse vaatevälja väheuuritud keel, nimelt eesti kurtide omavahelises suhtluses tekkinud visuaal-motoorne keel – eesti viipekeel. Kuna eesti viipekeel on tihedasti seotud eesti keelega, seda eelkõige seetõttu, et eesti keel on eesti viipekeele kasutajatele nii enamuse kui ka kirjakeeleks, siis võrreldakse kahte nii erinevat meediumi kasutavat keelt tüpoloogilisest aspektist.

Kirjutises vaadeldakse adjektiivtribuuti mõlemas nimetatud keeles, et tuua välja adjektiivse modifikatsiooni erinevad võimalused ja ka eesti keele võimalikud mõjud eesti viipekeelele.

Rakendatud meetod on peamiselt induktiivne ja ainekust lähtuv. Eesti viipekeele osas on materjaliks ajavahemikus 1990–1994 videolintidele salvestatud kurtide (kelle esimeseks ja esmaseks suhtlemisvahendiks on viipekeel) viibeldud juhtumused, muinasjutud, lood lemmikraamatust või -filmist.

Käesolevas kirjutises on põhitähelepanu pööratud adjektiivse modifikatsiooni erinevatele võimalustele eesti keeles ja eesti viipekeeles. Näidatakse, et kui eesti keeles saab adjektiivtribuut esineda kas ainult põhja ees või järel, st keelelemendid on allutatud ajalisele (linearsele) järjestusele, siis eesti viipekeeles, mis kasutab kolmemõõtmelist ruumi artikulasiooniks, on võimalusi rohkem. Lisaks ees- ja järeltäiendile kasutatakse ka täiendit, mis artikuleeritakse või inkorporeeritakse põhiviipesse (vt näide (6), illustratsioonid 1 ja 2), seda just suurust märkivate adjektiivide puhul. Osutatakse sellelegi, et näiteks briti viipekeeles esineb veel simultaanne (st samaaegselt toimuv) adjektiivne modifikatsioon (vt näide (11)), mille puhul mittedomineeriv käsi artikuleerib substantiivse põhja, samal ajal kui domineeriv käsi viipect adjektiivtribuudi.

Kuigi nii eesti keeles kui ka eesti viipekeeles esineb omadussõnaline ees- ja järeltäiend, on eesti keeles adjektiivtribuudi neutraalasend põhja ees. Eesti viipekeeles aga viibeldakse adjektiivtribuut kord substantiivse põhja ette, kord järelasendisse. Kasutatud materjal lubab väita, et eesasendis olevad adjektiivtribuudid kalduvad olema mitterestriktiivsed, st neile ei ole omane (oluliselt) piirata põhjaga tähistatud mõiste mahtu. Järelasendis esinevatele adjektiivtribuutidele tundub aga olevat iseloomulik spetsiifilisema osutuse loomine, st nad kalduvad (oluliselt) piirama põhjaga tähistatud mõiste mahtu. Selline adjektiivtribuutide

kasutus näib pigem alluvat informatsiooni esitamise pragmaatilisele printsiibile, mis on analoogiline info liigendatusele “uueks” ja “vanaks” infoks, kui eesti keele mõjule. Vastasel korral tuleks eeldada, et eesti viipekeeles on adjektiivatribuudi neutraalasend põhiviipe järel.

ESTONIAN AND ENGLISH: A LEXICOGRAPHER'S VIEW. II

Enn Veldi

University of Tartu

The article focuses on the trustworthiness of translation equivalents in two existing Estonian-English bilingual dictionaries. Partial equivalence is a serious challenge for dictionary makers. Cross-linguistically, anisomorphism is much more common than isomorphism. As is known, "anisomorphism can be manifested by any component of the lexical meaning, in any degree and dimension" (Zgusta 1971: 296). On the other hand, even in those cases where there seems to exist full equivalence between languages, for example, in scientific terminology, the lexicographer may fail to come up with the accurate translation equivalent. On the one hand, Estonian and English share many lexical similarities, which makes the lexicographer's job easier (see Veldi 2000). On the other, the article will show that international words are a potential minefield that requires careful attention.

The analyzed words were selected from the *Estonian-English Dictionary* by Paul Saagpakk (1992; henceforth *Saagpakk*) and *The Contemporary Estonian-English Dictionary* by Andres Aule (2001; henceforth *Aule*). Unfortunately, at the time of writing this article only the letters A–J of the latter dictionary were available to the author, which is about one sixth of the material. Therefore, most examples had to be chosen from the beginning of the alphabet. On the other hand, there was a good reason to include some material from the latter dictionary. Namely, the lexicographer points out in the preface that his priority was "systematicity and quality of equivalents" (Aule 2001: 5).

1. Divergence and convergence

Divergence is “the rendering of a word in one language by two or more words in the other language” (Hartmann and James 1998: 45). Convergence, in contrast, is “the rendering of two or more words in one language by a single word in the other language” (*ibid.*: 29).

For example, the Estonian word *grillvorst* has two meanings: 1) *grillimisvorst* ‘grilling sausage, sausage for grilling’, and 2) *grillitud vorst* ‘grilled sausage, barbecued sausage’. As *Saagpakk* does not have this entry, let us look up the entry in *Aule*.

Aule

grillvorst grilled sausage, broiled sausage (*Am.*); roast sausage; [*vabas õhus grillitud ka*] barbecued sausage

It appears that the lexicographer ignored the first sense of the word (*grillimisvorst*). All the provided equivalents concern the second meaning (i.e. *grillitud vorst*). Even the term *roast sausage* means ‘roasted sausage’, cf. *roast chicken* ‘chicken cooked in an oven or over a fire’. Actually, at the time of buying this type of sausage, it is usually sausage for grilling and not grilled sausage; we will grill or barbecue it later. In order to find some supplementary evidence to my claim, I searched for examples in the CobuildDirect Corpus, which contains 56 million words of contemporary written and spoken English (<http://titania.cobuild.collins.co.uk>). The enquiry turned up three examples of *grilling sausage*. It also appeared that the German word *bratwurst* is another appropriate equivalent of *grillvorst*. *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998, henceforth *NODE*) defines *bratwurst* as follows:

NODE

bratwurst

noun [mass noun] a type of fine German pork sausage that is generally fried or grilled.

The next two examples concern international scientific vocabulary. Here English reveals divergence in comparison with

Estonian. Both *Saagpakk* and *Aule*, however, ignore the difference.

Saagpakk

eksogeenne (*väljaspool tekkiv, väljastekkinud*) exogenous
endogeenne (*biol.; geol.*) endogenous

Aule

eksogeenne *biol.; geol. [välistekkeline, välis-]* exogenous
endogeenne *biol.; geol. [sisetekkeline, sise-]* endogenous

The entry *exogenous* in The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998, henceforth NODE) shows that the term is used in biology and psychiatry.

NODE

exogenous

adjective of, relating to, or developing from external factors. Often contrasted with endogenous.

- *Biology* growing or originating from outside an organism: *an exogenous hormone*.
- *chiefly Psychiatry* (of a disease, symptom, etc.) caused by an agent or organism outside the body: *exogenous depression*.
- Relating to an external group or society: *exogenous marriage*.

However, we can also notice that the subject label *geology* is missing. Actually, it is so because the geological term is *exogenic*.

NODE

exogenic

adjective *Geology* formed or occurring on the surface of the earth. Often contrasted with endogenic.

The same distinction applies to the Estonian term *endogeenne*. The corresponding English biological term is *endogeneous*, but the geological term is *endogenic*.

The next example illustrates meaning extension and narrowing.

Saagpakk

jänki (*P.-Am Ühendriikide elaniku pilkenimetus*) (*fam.*)
Yankee; ~t tegema (*E. sl.*) to remain in a country without a permit

Aule

jänki [*USA ameeriklane*]: Yankee, Yank (*kõnek.*); [*jänkid kollektiivselt ka*] Yankeedom (*harv.*)

This entry calls for a historical comment. Therefore, I consulted the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1999, henceforth *OED*).

*OED***Yankee, n.**

1.a. *U.S.* A nickname for a native or inhabitant of New England, or, more widely, of the northern States generally; during the War of Secession applied by the Confederates to the soldiers of the Federal Army.

b. By English writers and speakers commonly applied to a native or inhabitant of the United States generally; an American.

In Estonian the word *jänki* is used in a broader sense than in American English. From the Estonian and the European perspective, it denotes an American. In the US, however, *Yankee* denotes an inhabitant of New England or someone from the northern states. However, it would be offensive to apply the word *Yankee* to anyone who comes from the South and appreciates southern values.

2. Neglected synonyms

In the case of loanwords the lexicographer is tempted to prefer the phonetically similar equivalent and may easily forget about other synonyms. The next word is a recent English loanword in Estonian.

Aule

blisterpakend [*mullpakend*] blister pack(age)

Here the lexicographer was unaware that the term *blister pack* has a synonym – *bubble pack*, cf.

NODE

blister pack

noun another term for bubble pack.

The following example, however, illustrates the situation where one lexicographer was misled by phonetic similarity.

Saagpakk

alpinism Alpinism, mountaineering

alpinist (*kõrgeile mägedele ronija*) Alpinist, mountaineer

Aule

alpinism alpinism

alpinist alpinist

In this case Estonian has two pairs of synonyms: *alpinism* and *alpinist* are international words and *mägironimine* (*mägi* ‘mountain’ + *ronimine* ‘climbing’) and *mägironija* are native compounds. This fact is documented, for example, in *ÕS 1999*, where *alpinism* is explained as *mägironimine* and *mägironimine* as *alpinism*.

In English, however, the terms *alpinism* and *alpinist* are rather rare. The preferred terms are *mountaineering* and *mountaineer*.

NODE

mountaineering

noun [mass noun] the sport or activity of climbing mountains.

mountaineer

noun a person who takes part in mountaineering.

- rare a person living in a mountainous area.

The CobuildDirect Corpus did not have any occurrences of *alpinism* and *alpinist*. In contrast, it had numerous examples of *mountaineering* and *mountaineer*. My spellchecker did not recognize the words *alpinism* and *alpinist* either.

There are, however, some dictionaries that include the terms *alpinism* and *alpinist*. Usually they point out, however, that the meaning is restricted to mountain climbing in the Alps. Below is the entry *alpinism* from the *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary on CD-ROM* (1999, henceforth *RHWUD*).

RHWUD

al· pin· ism, n. (often cap.)

mountain climbing, esp. in the Alps.

[1880–85; < F *alpinisme*. See ALPINE, -ISM]

It is also interesting to point out that according to *RHWUD* the term *mountaineering* is about a hundred years older in English than *alpinism*.

NODE, for example, provides only *alpinist*, which carries the label *chiefly dated*.

NODE

alpinist

noun *chiefly dated* a climber of high mountains, especially in the Alps.

In this case the term *mountaineering* should be used as the preferred equivalent, and if *alpinism* is provided at all it will require an explanatory gloss.

3. Neglected heteronyms

English as a world language has a large number of transplanted varieties (for an overview see Görlach 1989). The transplanted varieties reveal extensive heteronymy. Manfred Görlach defines heteronymy as “equivalence of two terms (in meaning or reference) in two related linguistic systems (especially geographical varieties; English vs Scots, BrE vs AmE)” (Görlach 1999: 127). Recent years have witnessed an improved coverage of World English in English monolingual dictionaries (see also Veldi 2001). British and American English are now much better covered in monolingual dictionaries than ever before, and the role of such varieties as Australian, Canadian, and South African

English has increased, too. It goes without saying that the lexicographer has to cover the most important heteronyms in bilingual dictionaries and supply them with geographic labels. Therefore, let us explore some entries in *Saagpakk* and *Aule*.

Saagpakk

baaridaam barmaid (at a nightclub), (*Am.sl.*) B-girl

baarimeeskelner barman, (*Am*) bartender

baarinaiskelner barmaid

Aule

baaridaam barmaid

baarimees barman, bartender (*Am.*)

baarmen barman

Here the lexicographers failed to realize that in American English *bartender* is gender-neutral and thus acts as an the equivalent of both the male *barman* and the female *barmaid*. Moreover, the Estonian words *baarimees* and *baarmen* are synonyms, therefore their treatment should be uniform. In order to illustrate this point, let us explore the entry *bartender* in *The Cambridge International Dictionary of English on CD-ROM* (2000, henceforth *CIDE*):

CIDE

bartender *esp. US noun [C], US barkeeper, esp. UK male*

barman (*plural -men*), *female barmaid*

someone who serves drinks in a bar

Most of the bartenders who work here are students.

The previous example shows that convergence is not only a cross-linguistic problem, but it may be manifested in different varieties of one language as well. *CIDE* also shows that *barkeeper* is another possible equivalent that could be considered for inclusion.

Let us explore some more examples of heteronymy. The sixth edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2000, henceforth *OALD6*) tells us that the British term for *pliit* is *cooker* and the corresponding American terms are *range* and *stove*. Thus, the entries *elektripliit* and *gaasipliit* could be labelled in the following way:

elektripliit (*Br*) electric cooker, (*Am*) electric stove, (*Am*) electric range

gaasipliit (*Br*) gas cooker, (*Am*) gas stove, (*Am*) gas range

If an oven is included, the appliance may be called *electric oven* and *gas oven*. The existing bilingual dictionaries, however, treat these entries as follows:

Saagpakk

elektripliit electric stove, electric oven, (*suur pliit*) electric range

gaasipliit gas stove, gas ranger, gas cooker

Aule

elektripliit electric cooker

gaasipliit gas stove, gas cooker (*Br.*)

It is also interesting to explore the biological nomenclature from this perspective. It is not surprising that names of plants and animals reveal heteronymy, too. Recent years have witnessed a new interest in the coverage of such words in general-purpose dictionaries. *NODE* points out, for example, that

“An especially important feature of the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* is the coverage of animals and plants. In-depth research and a thorough review have been carried out for animals and plants throughout the world and, as a result, a large number of entries have been included which have never before been included in general dictionaries” (*NODE*: X).

The bilingual dictionaries under discussion do not provide Latin binomial names, therefore, one has to look them up in other source where they are provided. Let us explore some examples.

jääkaur *Gavia immer*

Saagpakk

jääkaur loon, great northern diver

Aule

jääkaur *zool.* great northern diver

NODE

great northern diver

noun a diving waterbird with a black streamlined head, breeding in northern North America, Greenland, and Iceland.

- *Gavia immer*, family Gaviidae.

North American name: common loon.

In this case *Saagpakk* provides both the American and the British term without any geographic labels. *Aule*, on the other hand, does not provide the American term *common loon*.

jääkoskel *Mergus merganser*

Saagpakk

jääkoskel (zool.) goosander

Aule

jääkoskel zool. common merganser

NODE

goosander

noun (pl. same or **goosanders**) a large Eurasian and North American merganser, the male of which has a dark green head and whitish underside.

- *Mergus merganser*, family Anatidae.

North American name: common merganser.

Here *Saagpakk* provides only the British term. *Aule*, on the other hand, provides only the American term without any geographical label.

4. False friends

“False friends are words in two different languages which are graphically or phonetically very similar but have different meanings and can therefore be easily confused by foreign language learners” (Gornbahn-Orme and Hausmann 1991: 2882).

As noted, Estonian and English share a large number of international words. Although on the surface level such words are

similar, their meanings are often different. The following word is a classic example of false friends.

Saagpakk

dekaad (*aastakümme, kümmekond, kümnepäevak*) decade

Aule

dekaad [*kümnepäevak vm. 10 ühikust koosnev rühm*] decade

In Estonian the word *dekaad* means a period of ten days, cf.

ÕS 1999

dekaad *kümme päeva, kümnepäevak*

The English word *decade*, however, means a period of ten years, cf.

NODE

decade

noun **1** a period of ten years.

• a period of ten years beginning with a year ending in 0

The next example illustrates the problem of partial false friends (for the concept of total and partial false friends see Gorbahn-Orme and Hausmann 1989: 2882–2883).

Saagpakk

boiler (*paak kuuma vee saamiseks*) (*tehn.*) boiler

Aule

boiler *tehn.* boiler

elektriboiler *tehn.* electric boiler

gaasiboiler gas boiler

At first sight everything looks great. Judging by these dictionary entries there seems to be a one-to-one correspondence between the Estonian and English terms. Actually, this is not the case, cf.

ÕS 1999

boiler *veesoojendi*

Now let us look at the entry *boiler* in *OALD6*, *CIDE*, and the *English-Estonian Dictionary* by Johannes Silvet (1989–1990, henceforth *Silvet*).

OALD6

boiler (also **furnace** especially in AmE) noun a container in which water is heated to provide hot water in a building or to produce steam in an engine

CIDE

boiler noun [C]

a device that heats water by burning gas or oil, esp. to provide heating and hot water in a house

Our central heating boiler has broken down – we'll need to call a plumber.

A boiler is also the part of a steam engine where water is heated to provide power.

Silver

boiler *s.* keetja; keedunõu; keetel; katel, boiler ? ~ **fur** katlakivi; ~ **suit** türp, tööülikond

It appears that the English word *boiler* often means *katel* and is associated with central heating as in *central heating boiler* 'keskküttekatel'. In order to avoid confusion, the term *water heater* is the preferred equivalent to the Estonian *boiler*. The word *elektriboiler* can be translated as *electric water heater* and *gaasiboiler* is a *gas heater*.

5. Searching for better equivalents

Some words are more difficult to translate than others. The following example illustrates the point.

Saagpakk

aldis (*mõjualune millelegi*) subject (to), liable (to); ~ *olema millelegi* to be subject to, to be exposed to

Aule

aldis subject, liable; predisposed (*form.*); [*vastuvõtlik*] susceptible; [*er. negatiivsele*] prone; [*sageli teataval viisil käituv v. käituda sooviv*] inclined, apt; [*teatavale poole v. midagi tegema kalduv*] tending; [*vabamas kasutuses: valmis midagi tegema*] ready ? [**millelegi**] ~ [to sth.]; [...] -prone; ~[**midagi tegema**] liable [to do sth.]; predisposed [to do

sth.]; prone [to do sth.]; inclined / apt [to do sth.]; ready [to do sth.] ? **vigastustele aldis** injury-prone, prone to injuries

My impression of reading the entry *aldis* in *Saagpakk* was that the suggested equivalents are marginal and not very helpful. *Aule* repeats *Saagpakk*'s equivalents and adds a number of new equivalents. Some of them are helpful, others are not. The helpful ones are *susceptible*, *ready (to do sth)*, and *prone to injuries*, *injury-prone*. On the whole, it seems that the lexicographer is beating around the bush by heaping up near-synonyms in the hope of covering all the possible equivalents.

Moreover, the dictionary article shows redundancy. The same information is repeated twice from two different perspectives. In the first part of the dictionary article the square brackets contain semantic information, in the second part, preceded by diamonds, they contain grammatical information. Therefore, we have to explore corpus examples and see if we can come up with better equivalents.

A simple enquiry from the text corpus of the Institute of Estonian Language (www.eki.ee) provided excerpts with twenty-five occurrences of the word *aldis*. The examples can be divided into three groups:

1) *aldis* + noun in the allative case;

noun in the allative case + *aldis*

aldis kõigele uuele

aldis uuendustele

aldis...otsingutele

aldis vaheldusele

aldis välisinvesteeringutele

perverssetele ja ootamatutele kontrastidele aldis

traditsioonidele aldis

aldis populistlike lahenduste pakkujaile

aldis...ilusatele rõivastele

aldis vigastustele

riskile vähem aldis (2)

2) *aldis* + *ma*-infinitive

aldis kaasa lööma

aldis oma muljeid jagama

aldis looma suhteid nii laste kui täiskasvanutega
aldis oma iidoleid ülistama
aldis kuulama oma partei paremäärmuslikku tiiba
aldis alanduma
aldis vastastikku vaidlema
aldis minema kaasa kõikvõimalike massihullustega
aldis nagu kõik armunud uskuma

3) *aldis* as the second component of compounds
koostööaldis (3)

I then consulted various dictionaries as well as the CobuildDirect Corpus Sampler in the hope of finding better English equivalents. As a result, I could establish two important English equivalents:

receptive (to sth)

OALD6

She was always receptive to new ideas (OALD6)

open (to sth)

...that is becoming most open to new ideas, new thinking...
(CobuildDirect Corpus)

The compound *koostööaldis* can be translated by means of *cooperative*, e.g.

...authorities are being more cooperative in their efforts to...
(CobuildDirect Corpus)

Maastik (2000), by the way, provides another compound with

-aldis – ohualdis liik ‘vulnerable species’.

Strangely enough, my explorations showed that *subject to sth*, which both dictionaries provide as the first equivalent, is practically useless.

The next example illustrates a case where the lexicographers failed to realize the semantic potential of the word *odour*.

Saagpakk

higihais stench of perspiration

Aule

higihais, higilehk smell of sweat, stink / stench of sweat

higilõhn smell of sweat

Here the dictionary makers did not realize that one of the English Estonian equivalents of the Estonian word *hais* is (Br) odour / (Am) odor. This important sense becomes apparent when we study the definition of *odour*.

OALD6

odour (BrE) (AmE) **odor** (formal) a smell, especially one that is unpleasant *a fishy / mushy / pungent odour ? the stale odour of cigarette smoke ? (figurative) the odour of suspicion*

NODE

odour (US odor)

noun a distinctive smell, especially an unpleasant one: *the odour of cigarette smoke*.

This meaning is evident also in the following entries to be found in a multilingual environmental dictionary (Maastik 2000):

hais odour, odor Am, smell, malodor Am

haisuhäiring odour (Am odor) nuisance, odour (Am odor) trouble, odour (Am odor) load

haisulävi odour (Am odor) threshold, threshold odour (Am odor)

haisutõrje odour (Am odor) control

Therefore, both dictionary makers failed to notice that *higihais* is also *body odour*, cf.

NODE

body odour

noun [mass noun] the unpleasant smell of a person's unwashed body.

One might think that it is relatively easy to find equivalents for scientific terms, where "equivalence implies interlingual correspondence of designations for identical concepts" (Hartmann and James 1998: 51). In practice, however, one can encounter numerous inaccuracies. Even such an anatomical term as *häbemepilu* (*rima pudendi*) (Lepp *et al.* 1974: 513) shows variation in the dictionaries under discussion.

Saagpakk

häbemepilu (*anat.*) vulva

Aule

häbemepilu *anat.* vaginal orifice

I re-checked the concept according to its Latin name; it appeared that the English equivalent of *rima pudendi* is *pudendal cleft* (*Terminologia anatomica* 1998: 66)

6. Concluding remarks

Trustworthiness of translation equivalents is a serious problem in bilingual dictionaries. Estonian-English dictionaries are not an exception in this respect. Due to various reasons the existing dictionaries are far from perfect. The article shows that there is ample room for improvement. The empirical basis of bilingual dictionaries must be put on a solid foundation (see Kromann *et al.* 1989). One can only hope that the situation will improve gradually. In the meanwhile, it is of utmost importance to educate dictionary users. The dictionary users must be taught how to develop a critical attitude towards dictionaries and how to enhance the value of the existing dictionaries by making their own improvements and additions.

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EESTI JA INGLISE KEEL LEKSIKOGRAAFI PILGU LÄBI. II

Enn Veldi

Artikkel käsitleb tõlkevastete usaldusväärsust eesti–inglise tõlkesõnaraamatutes. Keeltevaheline anisomorfism (täpse vastavuse puudumine, osaline vastavus) on palju levinum kui isomorfism (vastavus). Seepärast on leksikograafi kõige olulisem probleem leida tõlkevasteid nendele tähendustele, kus täpne vastavus puudub. Samas võib leida küllalt selliseid näiteid, kus leksikograaf ei suuda anda täpseid tõlkevasteid ka siis, kui need on olemas (nt oskussõnavara puhul). Eesti ja inglise keelel on küllaltki palju leksikaalseid sarnasusi. Teiselt poolt on rahvusvahelised sõnad tihti veaohhtlikud, sest tähendused võivad olla eri keeltes nihkunud.

Artikli näitematerjal põhineb kahel eesti–inglise sõnaraamatul. Need on Paul Saagpaku *Eesti–inglise sõnaraamat* (1982) ja Andres Aule *Tänapäeva eesti–inglise sõnaraamatu* esimene köide (tähed A–J, 2001). Näitematerjali analüüsimisel olid abiks ükskeelsed eesti ja inglise sõnaraamatud ja keelekorpused.

Artikli esimene osa käsitleb divergentsi ja konvergenti. Esimesel puhul vastab ühele eestikeelsele sõnale kaks või rohkem inglise sõna; teisel puhul on olukord vastupidine, s.o kaks või enam inglise sõna antakse edasi ühe eestikeelse sõnaga. Näiteks on sõnal *grillvorst* eesti keeles kaks tähendust: 1) *grillimisvorst*. 2) *grillitud vorst*. Saagpaku sõnaraamatus sõna *grillvorst* puudub. Aule sõnaraamatus toodud tõlkevasted *grilled sausage*, *broiled sausage* (Am.); *roast sausage*; [vabas õhus grillitud ka] *barbecued sausage* kajastavad kõik sõna teist tähendust: esimene tähendus *grillimisvorst* kajastamist ei leia. Tegelikult on inglise keeles olemas vasted ka sõna esimesele tähendusele: need on *grilling sausage* ja *bratwurst*. Viimasena mainitud saksa laensõna tähistab nii *praevorsti* kui *grillvorsti*.

Artikli teine osa käsitleb sünonüümide kajastamist. Laensõnade puhul on leksikograafil kiusatus eelistada häälikuliselt sarnast tõlkevastet; muud võimalused võivad aga sootuks ununeda. Nii on Aulel *blister-pakendi* vaste *blister pack(age)*, ununenud on aga teine vaste *bubble pack*. Häälikuliselt sarnane sõna võib teises keeles olla harva esinemusega. Eesti keeles on *alpinism* / *mägironimine* ja *alpinist* / *mägironija* sünonüümpaarid. Inglise keeles kasutatakse aga sõnu *alpinism* ja *alpinist* harva, soovitatavad terminid on *mountaineering* ja *mountaineer*.

Ometi on Saagpakul *Alpinism* ja *Alpinist* esimesel kohal. Aule on aga vasted *mountaineering* ja *mountaineer* sootuks unustanud.

Artikli kolmas osa käsitleb heteronüümide kajastamist kakskeelses sõnaraamatus. Heteronüümia on terminite vastavus kahes omavahel seotud keelesüsteemis, nt Briti ja Ameerika inglise keele vahel (vt Görlach 1999: 127). Viimastel aastakümnetel on maailmainglise keele (*World English*) kajastamine ükskeelsetes inglise keele sõnaraamatutes oluliselt paranenud. Leksikograafil on vaja olulisemad heteronüümid ära tuua ka kakskeelses sõnaraamatus. Eesti keeles tähistab *baaridaam* naissoost isikut ja *baarmen* meessoost isikut. Nii on ka Briti inglise keeles (*barmaid* ja *barman*), kuid Ameerika inglise keeles keeles tähistab *bartender* nii *baaridaami* kui *baarmeni*. Nii Saagpakk kui Aule annavad *bartender* ainult meessoost isiku puhul, kuid tuleks anda ka naissoost isiku puhul. Toodud näide puudutab keelesisest konvergentsi/divergentsi (Ameerika ja Briti inglise keele vahel).

Rahvusvaheliste sõnade hulgas on arvukalt neidki, mille tähendus on eesti ja inglise keeles erinev. Nii tähendab eesti keeles *dekaad* 'kümme päeva', inglise keeles tähendab *decade* aga 'kümme aastat'. Kummalisel kombel pole kumbki leksikograaf sellest erinevusest teadlik. Osalised valesõbrad ehk virvasõnad on ka eesti *boiler* ja inglise *boiler*. Kattumine on ainult osaline. Eesti *boiler* on *veesoojendi* (seega inglise *water heater*), inglise *boiler* on aga eelkõige *katel*, nt *central heating boiler* 'keskküttekatel'.

Artikli viimane osa käsitleb võimalusi täpsemate tõlkevastete otsimiseks. Põhisõnavara hulka kuuluvate sõnade puhul tasub uurida keelekorpusetes leiduvaid näiteid. Vaatluse all oli eesti sõna *aldis* võimalikud ingliskeelsed vasted. Saagpaku poolt pakutud vasted on marginaalsed ja nendest on vähe abi. Aule on käsitlust laiendanud ning lisanud mitmeid olulisi vasteid (*susceptible*, *ready (to do sth)*, *prone to injuries*, *injury-prone*). Samas on Aule lisanud ka mitmeid marginaalseid vasteid. Analüüs näitas, et mitmed väga olulised vasted jäid leksikograafil siiski üles leidmata (nt *aldis uutele ideedele* – *receptive to new ideas*, *open to new ideas*). Artikli viimane näide käsitleb anatoomilise termini *häbemepilu* ingliskeelset vastet. Termini ladinakeelne nimetus on *rima pudendi*. Saagpaku vaste on *vagina*, Aule poolt pakutud vaste on *vaginal orifice*. Selgus, et õigus pole kummalgi leksikograafil. Rahvusvahelise anatoomianomenklatuuri kohaselt on *häbemepilu* ingliskeelne vaste hoopis *pudendal cleft*.

Artikkel lõpeb tõdemusega, et olemasolevad eesti–inglise sõnaraamatud pole mitmetel põhjustel kaugeltki usaldusväärsed. Seepärast tuleb kasutajatel suhtuda sõnaraamatutesse kriitiliselt ning vajadusel lisada oma parandused ja täiendused.

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