

MATI ERELT (Tartu), HELLE METSLANG (Tartu)

SOME NOTES ON PROXIMATIVE AND AVERTIVE IN ESTONIAN*

Abstract. Estonian has both the verbal grammatical category of the proximate and the avertive, which could be treated as the unmarked and marked categories of the prospective. The proximate is mainly expressed either by means of the partly grammaticalized verbs *ähvardama* 'threaten', *tahtma* 'want', *tootama* 'promise', etc. (*Puder ähvardas põhja kõrbeda* 'the porridge threatened to boil away'), which is similar to many other European languages, or by means of the *mas*-construction (*Vene väed on Gori lahkumas* 'the Russian forces are about to leave Gori'). In Estonian the avertive is morphologically not linked with proximativity. It is noteworthy from the typological perspective that the avertive auxiliary stems from the imperfect form of the verb *pidama* 'must, have to', which expresses agent-oriented modality (*Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma* 'he was to lose his job'). The development occurred through the intermediate intentional stage, which in addition to the avertive gave rise to the quotative (*Praegugi pidi neid mitmes kohas maas vedelema* 'even now they are reported to be lying about on the ground in various places').

Keywords: Estonian, morphosyntax, grammaticalization, typology, proximate, avertive.

1. Introduction

Recently, linguists have paid considerable attention to two closely related categories — the proximate and the avertive — and discussed their essence, manifestations, and grammaticalization paths in various languages. The presence of these categories has been noted in Estonian, too, and the present article focuses on some of their manifestations and grammaticalization paths.

The proximate is a gram denoting a temporal phase located close before the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb or, to put it briefly, imminence (e.g. Kuteva 1998). For example,

- (1) *Puder tahab põhja kõrbeda*
porridge wants bottom.ILL burn:dINF
'The porridge is likely to boil dry'

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The proximative has been treated at great length especially by Heine 1992; 1994, and Kuteva 1998; 2001. They claim that the term itself was coined by König 1993.¹ In earlier treatments the same phenomenon was called *prospective* (e.g. Comrie 1976 : 64–65) or *immediate future* (Comrie 1985 : 95).

The proximative refers to the pre-phase of an event. It is a purely aspectual notion because it does not point to the time when the event should take place; nor does it indicate whether the event takes/took place or not. Being in the pre-phase (*imminence*) is the only essential semantic characteristic of the proximative (Kuteva 1998 : 127). The proximative can be used both in past and non-past contexts, cf. (1) and (2), and sentences (3) and (4) are acceptable, too.

- (2) *Puder tahtis põhja kõrbeda*
porridge wanted bottom.ILL burn:dINF
'The porridge was close to boiling dry'
- (3) *Puder tahtis põhja kõrbeda,*
porridge wanted bottom.ILL burn:dINF
kuid siiski ei kõrbenud
but nevertheless NEG burn:PST.PTCP
'The porridge was close to boiling dry but didn't'
- (4) *Puder tahtis põhja kõrbeda ja kõrbeski*
porridge wanted bottom.ILL burn:dINF and burn:PST:CLC
'The porridge was close to boiling dry and actually did so'

In addition to the proximative, linguists have noted the existence of a cross-linguistically similar gram, which T. Kuteva (1998) at first described for lack of a better term as ANA gram (action narrowly averted) and later as *avertive* (Kuteva 1999); its meaning was summarized as 'was on the verge of V-ing but did not'. For example,

- (5) Bulgarian (example from Kuteva 1999 : 30)
Vazata šteše da se sčupi
Vase.the want.3SG.PAST CONJ.PTCL REFL break.3SG.PRS
'The vase nearly broke down'

According to Kuteva 1998, the ANA gram involves no less than three semantic domains:

- a. aspectuality (*imminence* — a temporal phase just before the verb situation is to take place);
- b. temporality (*pastness* — verb situation takes place before the moment of speech);
- c. modality (*counterfactuality* — verb situation is negated).

Only the past forms carry the avertive meaning. Replacing the past by the present loses the meaning of imminence. The counterfactual meaning of the avertive rules out the possibility to express factuality by means of context and the need to express counterfactuality by means of context, but

¹ Actually, the same term has been used for the same phenomenon earlier as well. For example, in Finnic studies Osmo Ikola used this term for describing a similar meaning of the 5th infinitive in Finnish (Ikola 1971 : 48; 1974 : 67, cf. also Ylikoski 2003).

the possibility to express the latter remains. If the contextual expression of counterfactuality is nevertheless obligatory, as T. Kuteva (1999 : 35–36) thinks in the case of the Russian avertive, where the avertive construction is always followed by a special marker for a particular type of context, namely the adversative conjunction *no* 'but' (6), then this fact shows a fairly early stage of grammaticalization of the avertive construction in Russian.

(6) Russian (example from Kuteva 1999 : 35)

Delo bylo pošlo, no potom ostanovilos
matter be.3SG.PAST.N start.going.3SG.PAST.N but afterwards stop.3.SG.PAST
'The (whole) affair nearly got going but (then) it stopped' / 'The (whole)
affair was just about to get going but (then) it stopped'

T. Kuteva pointed out the following lexical verb constructions as the beginning points of grammaticalization developments involving the ANA gram:

- 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'

The avertive may develop into the proximative, that is, a purely aspectual category, as is the case, for example, in Turkish (Kuteva 1998 : 147); however, usually the proximative has another source, too.

The proximative and the avertive share the meaning of imminence of the pre-phase of a situation. It enables us to regard them as sub-categories of a same category. Actually, the term *prospective* is a suitable common denominator for the proximative and the avertive. The proximative is the non-marked prospective, and the avertive is the marked prospective. The prospective as the expresser of the pre-phase in its turn stands in contrast to the expresser of the post-phase of a situation (Ereht 2009). The retrospective expresses the state at the moment of reference as a result of a prior event (a state presupposing a prior event). In Estonian the state of the actor is expressed by the *nud*-participle, e.g. *Poiss on üllatunud* 'the boy is surprised' while the state of the object of the action is expressed by the *tud*-participle, e.g. *Aken on avatud* 'the window is open'. The participle behaves in the retrospective construction like an adjective, and thus the construction has some properties of the predicative construction. The retrospective construction has been called adjectivization (Rajandi 1999/1968) — the *nud*-construction was called active and the *tud*-construction passive adjectivization. The retrospective is also known as the resultative (Типология результативных конструкций 1983; Плунгян 2003 : 298). The retrospective differs from the perfect and the pluperfect, which express an event preceding the moment of reference, the result of which reaches the moment of reference in the present or the past, e.g. *Poiss on/oli koju läinud* 'the boy has/had gone home', *Ust on/oli parandatud* 'the door has/had been repaired'. The perfect and the pluperfect may coincide formally with the present and imperfect forms of the retrospective; e.g. *Aken on avatud* 'the window is open' can be interpreted either as a retrospective state or a perfective event.

The following treatment will show that Estonian has both the proximative and avertive verbal grams, whereas they have totally different

sources. Moreover, the lexical source of avertive does not belong to any constructions mentioned by T. Kuteva. Her claim concerning the Estonian avertive does not hold water.

2. Proximative in Estonian

Estonian has two kinds of proximative verbal grams:

a. constructions with grammaticalized (partly auxiliarized) volitional verbs *ähvardama* 'threaten', *tahtma* 'want', *tootama* 'promise' + *da*-infinitive of the main verb, e.g. (7)–(9), with the verb of beginning *hakkama* 'begin', e.g. (10), and with the verbs *kippuma* 'tend to do sth', *kibelema* 'be itching to do sth', *tikkuma*, *tükkima* 'tend to do sth' and others + *ma*-infinitive of the main verb, e.g. (11);

b. infinitival constructions *olema* 'be' + *mas*-form (inessive of the *ma*-infinitive) of the main verb, e.g. (12); in the case of *minek* 'going' / *minema* 'go' and *tulek* 'coming' / *tulema* 'come' one can also find the adpositional or the adessive construction with the verbal noun: *olema* + VN.GEN *peal/äärel* 'on the verge of' / VN:ADESS, e.g. (13), (14), (15).

- (7) *Tuhala Nõiakaev on tänavu juba kaks korda ähvardanud*
 Tuhala Witch's Well is this_year already two times threaten:PST.PTCP
keema hakata, kuid mõlemal korral on heitlik ilm
 boil:MINF begin:DINF but on both occasions the fickle weather
seda takistanud (NEWS)
 has hindered it
 'This year the Tuhala Witch's Well has threatened already twice to start boiling, but on both occasions the fickle weather has hindered it'
- (8) *Mul tahab see [mulgipuder] alati*
 I:ADE wants this [Mulgi porridge] always
põhja kõrbed (NEWS)
 bottom.ILL burn:DINF
 'In my case this [Mulgi porridge] has always wanted to burn away'
- (9) *Tasuta interneti leviala tõotab pealinnas tasapisi*
 free Internet.GEN area promises capital:INE gradually
laieneda (NEWS)
 expand:DINF
 'The free W-Fi area promises to expand gradually in the capital'
- (10) *Väsimust, jõuetust peeti halvaks märgiks, see tähendas*
 Fatigue, powerlessness were regarded as a bad sign this meant
sageli, et inimene kas juba on või hakkab
 often that person either already is or begins
haigeks jääma (NEWS)
 ill:TRNSL fall:MINF
 'Fatigue, powerlessness were regarded as a bad sign; it often meant that a person either was already ill or was about to fall ill'
- (11) *Uute eramute müümine kipub soiku jääma* (NEWS)
 new private_houses.gen sale tends come to a halt'
 'The sale of new private houses tends to come to a halt'

- (12) *Vene väed on Gori lahku mas* (NEWS)
 Russian troops are Gori:ELA leave:MINF:INE
 'The Russian forces are about to leave Gori'
- (13) *Üks neist vigastatuist on mineku peal,*
 one these.ELA injured:PL:ELA is going.GEN on
kui mitte läinud juba (NEWS)
 if not left already
 'One of the injured is likely to die if not dead already'
- (14) *Roland ise on aga hulluks mineku äärel* (NEWS)
 Roland himself is but insane:TRNSL going.GEN on_the_verge
 'Roland himself is on the verge of going insane'
- (15) *Tulekul on metsaseaduse muudatused* (NEWS)
 coming:ADE are forest_act:GEN changes
 'Changes in the forest act are coming soon'

The previous examples show that the verb can also be in the present without losing its proximative meaning (imminence), which indicates that one is not dealing with avertivity.

Sometimes the adverbials *peaaegu* (*et*) or *äärepealt* 'almost, nearly' are added to the proximative verb construction, which, on the one hand, stress imminence but, on the other hand, bring in counterfactuality, that is, they show that the event did not take place, e.g.

- (16) *Uskumatult kaunis armastuslugu, mis ähvardab*
 unbelievably beautiful love_story what threatens
peaaegu katki jäädä, aga lõpeb siiski õnnelikult (FICT)
 almost broken remain:DINF but ends still happy
 'An unbelievably beautiful love story, which almost threatened to break off but still ends happily'
- (17) *Vastuolu kristliku elu ja kodanliku lugupeetavuse*
 conflict Cristian.GEN life.GEN and bourgeois.GEN respect.GEN
vahel on peaaegu kadumas (NEWS)
 between is almost disappear:MINF:INE
 'The conflict between Christian life and bourgeois respect is almost disappear'

However, these adverbials can also be used separately from the proximative construction, e.g. (18)–(20). These adverbials have in addition to the meaning of imminence also the meaning of counterfactuality, which is proved by the impossibility to add any context of factuality to such sentences, cf. (21) a and b. Such adverbials do not imply the past; therefore, their meaning (imminence + counterfactuality) remains somewhere between the proximative (imminence) and the avertive (imminence + counterfactuality + past). Adverbials as non-grams remain beyond the scope of the present study.

- (18) *Mandri külje all on ka Manilaid, teel Kihnule*
 Close to the mainland is also Manilaid way:ADE Kihnu:ALL
peaaegu et riivatakse seda maatükki (NEWS)
 almost that brush:IMPS this:PTV piece_of_land.PTV
 'Close to the mainland is also Manilaid; en route to Kihnu one almost brushes against this piece of land'

- (19) *Väidetavalt oligi Kadrioru staadion eileks*
 reportedly was:CLC Kadriorg.GEN stadium yesterday:TRNSL
peaaegu välja müüdüd (NEWS)
 almost out sold
 'Reportedly the Kadriorg stadium had been almost sold out by yesterday'
- (20) *Allan suutis minu kakaotopsile muidugi äärepealt*
 Allan was_able I.GEN cup_of_chocolate:ALL naturally almost
peale astuda (FICT)
 on step:dINF
 'Allan was naturally able to almost step on my cup of hot chocolate'
- (21) a. *peaaegu et riivatakse, kuid siiski ei riivata*
 almost that brush:IMPS but nevertheless neg brush:IMPS
 'One almost brushes against sth but does not actually brush against it'
- b. **peaaegu et riivatakse, kuid siiski riivatakse*
 almost that brush:IMPS but nevertheless brush:IMPS
 'one almost brushes against sth but nevertheless brushes against it'

Recently there has been some interest in the use of the verbs *threaten* and *promise* in many European languages as auxiliaries taking an infinitive extension. B. Heine and T. Kuteva (2006 : 80—83) have suggested a four-stage grammaticalization chain of the German verb *drohen* from a lexical verb to an auxiliary (22)—(25). As an auxiliary, *drohen* takes a non-human subject in stage three and a human subject in stage four. Studies based on the history of standard languages prove the correctness of this sequence and the spread of this process in many European languages, and its origin from Paris as the cultural centre of the 13th century into other written languages. It has been assumed that the construction has either an evidential (Diewald, Smirnova 2006) or epistemic meaning (Vliegen 2006). The original lexical meaning has bleached out.

- (22) Ger *Karl droht seinem Chef, ihn zu verklagen*
 'Karl threatens his boss to take him to court'
- (23) Ger *Uns droht nun eine Katastrophe*
 'We are now threatened by a disaster'
- (24) Ger *Das Hochwasser droht die Altstadt zu überschwemmen*
 'The flood risks flooding the old town'
- (25) Ger *Mein Mann droht krank zu werden*
 'My husband risks falling ill / threatens to fall ill'

In Estonian *ähvardama* 'threaten' and *tõotama* 'promise' are used in accordance with stages three and four (26), (27), (28) (Metslang 2009; Märtsen 2009).² The previous observations about different languages show that the menacing auxiliary develops faster and spreads more widely than the promising one. German has revealed some examples of stage three of 'promise' (29).

² According to Heine, Miyashita 2008 : 89, the Estonian *ähvardama* has reached only stage three in its development. It could well be that they used unreliable sources for their study.

- (26) *Suurvesi ähvardab vanalinna üle ujutada*
 high_water threatens old_town.PTV over flood:dINF
 'The high water threatens to flood the old town'
- (27) *Mu mees ähvardab haigeks jääda*
 I.GEN man threatens ill:TRNSL fall:dINF
 'My husband runs the risk of falling ill'
- (28) *Angerjakasvatus töötab kujune da kasumlikuks*
 eel_farming promises become.dINF profitable:TRNSL
ettevõtmiseks (diary Postimees 07.03.2007)
 business:TRNSL
 'Eel farming promises to become a profitable business'
- (29) Ger *Die Aktienkurse versprechen zu steigen* (Vliegen 2006 : 74)
 'The stock prices promise to rise'

The material of Finnish dictionaries and Google searches resulted in the meanings of *uhata* 'threaten' according to stage three but not stage four (30). No data could be found about the auxiliary use of the verbs *luvata* and *lupailla* 'promise'.

- (30) Fin *USA:n ja E-Korean vapaakauppasopimus*
 USA-GEN and South_Korea:GEN free-trade_agreement
uhkaa kariutua (diary Helsingin Sanomat 31.3.2007)
 threatens run_aground:dINF
 'The free-trade agreement between the USA and South Korea threatens to run aground'

Although from the perspective of subject selection *ähvardama* 'threaten' appears to be more grammaticalized than *töötama* 'promise', as an auxiliary *ähvardama* has retained its negative presupposition, but *töötama* 'promise' has not retained its positive presupposition. Cf. (31) and (32).

- (31) ?*Mu mees ähvardab terveks saada*
 I.GEN man threatens well:TRNSL get:dINF
 'My husband threatens to get well'
- (32) *Kuressaares töötab bussiga sõitmine poole*
 Kuressaare:INE promises bus:COM traveling half.GEN
kallimaks minna (NEWS)
 expensive:COMP:TRNSL go.dINF
 'In Kuressaare bus fares threaten to double'

In Estonian one of the main grammatical means of expressing proximativity is the combination of the verb *olema* 'be' with the inessive form of the *ma*-infinitive of the main verb (12). The proximative meaning is manifested first and foremost in punctual verbs (including those expressing change of state), such as *plahvatama* 'explode', *lõppema* 'end', *algama* 'begin', *lahkuma* 'leave', *uinuma* 'fall asleep', etc. In durative non-agentive verbs expressing gradual change the *mas*-construction expresses progressiveness, that is, in the event itself and not being in its pre-phase, e.g. (33) and (34), and that is why this construction has been regarded as the progressive construction (Ereht 1985; Metslang 1993; EKG II 32–33). In agentive durative verbs the *mas*-construction has a locative interpretation, e.g. (35).

Nevertheless, recently the *mas*-construction with these verbs has started to be used also in the proximative meaning, e.g. (36).

- (33) *Laps on uinumas*
 child is fall_asleep:MINF:INE
 'The child is about to fall to sleep'
- (34) *Sissetulekud on vähenemas*
 income:PL are decrease:MINF:INE
 'Income is on the decrease'
- (35) *Maret on suusatas*
 Maret is ski:MINF:INE
 'Maret went skiing'
- (36) *Eesti Vabariigi Valitsus on peatselt arutamas*
 Estonian republic.GEN government is presently discuss:MINF:INE
põlevkivisektori keskkonnamaksude tõstmise kava
 oil-shale_sector.GEN environmental_taxes:GEN raising.GEN plan.PTV
järgnevas 15 aastaks (Google)
 next:TRNSL 15 year:TRNSL
 'The government of the Republic of Estonia is about to discuss the plan to raise environmental taxes in the oil-shale sector for the next fifteen years'

3. Avertive in Estonian

T. Kuteva (1998 : 116; 1999 : 36) claimed that in Estonian avertivity is marked by the past form of the conditional, that is, by the construction of the verb *olema* 'be' in the conditional mood followed by the main verb in the past participle form:

- (37) *Laps oleks maha kukkunud*
 child be:COND down fall:PST.PTCP
 'The child would have fallen on the ground'

Unfortunately, T. Kuteva is wrong. Example (37) and similar examples lack the meaning of imminence, which is obligatorily characteristic of the avertive. They may be interpreted but not necessarily so as referring to the immediate future. Here we have definitely only the meaning of irreality of the conditional (counterfactuality) and the past meaning of the past participle. Among other things, it is confirmed by the possibility to add various non-imminent temporal adverbials, such as *aasta pärast* 'in a year's time' and *kunagi* 'sometime', to sentences of this kind. For example,

- (38) *Laps oleks kunagi ikka maha kukkunud*
 child be:COND sometime anyway down fall:PST.PTCP
 'The child would have fallen on the ground sometime anyway'
- (39) *Ta oleks aasta pärast ülikooli astunud*
 s/he be:COND year.GEN after university.ILL enter:PST.PTCP
 'He would have entered university in a year's time'

A clear manifestation of imminence presupposes the addition of adverbials, such as *peaaegu (et)* 'almost, nearly', *äärepealt* 'almost, nearly', as in examples (40) and (41).

- (40) *Hollywoodi näitleja Tom Hanks oleks üksiku saare
Hollywood.gen actor Tom Hanks be:COND lone.GEN island.GEN
filmi tehes peaaegu et ära surnud (Google)
film.PTV make:GER almost that VPTCL die:PST.PTCP*
'Tom Hanks, a Hollywood actor, would have almost died while making
a film about a desert island'
- (41) *Maailma esimene naiskosmonaut oleks äärepealt
world.GEN first woman_astronaut be:COND almost
orbiidile jäänud (Google)
orbit:ALL remain:PST.PTCP*
'The world's first woman astronaut would have almost remained in
orbit'

The construction of the past conditional has the same properties as T. Kuteva (1998 : 138–141) claims to have in the case of the Old Bulgarian construction *xotěti* (PAST) + infinitive in its counterfactual stage en route to the avertive construction. It expresses an event that is asserted to be subsequent to some reference moment in the past, which is potential/realizable but does not taking place. In Bulgarian the counterfactual *xotěti*-construction has developed into the avertive while the Estonian construction *oleks* + past participle has not reached this stage as yet.

However, if the construction suggested by T. Kuteva is not included among avertive constructions, then the claim by T. Kuteva (1999 : 35–38) that the appearance of the avertive auxiliary structure in four languages of Northeast Europe (Russian, Finnish, Estonian and Romanian) is the result of areal grammaticalization is not valid either. At least Estonian does not belong to this group.

However, actually the avertive gram does exist in Estonian. The true avertive construction in Estonian is the past form of the verb *pidama* 'must' + *ma*-infinitive (Ereht 2001), e.g. (42).

- (42) *Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma
s/he must:PST own job:ELA without remain:MINF*
'S/he was to lose his/her job'

Replacement of the past does away with the meaning of imminence, and in such cases the *pidama*-verb occurs in its original meaning, that is, it expresses agent-oriented necessity, e.g.

- (43) *Ta peab oma kohast ilma jääma
s/he must:PRS own job:ELA without remain:MINF*
'S/he is to lose his/her job'

Unlike the sentence type in (43), it is not possible to add any non-imminent temporal adverbs to the avertive sentences with *pidi*. Thus, sentence (44) has only the evidential meaning and no avertive meaning.

- (44) *Ta pidi mõne aja pärast
s/he must:PST some.GEN time.GEN after
oma kohast ilma jääma
own job:ELA without remain:MINF*
'After some time he was to lose his job'

The counterfactual meaning rules out the possibility to use the context of factuality, but the context of counterfactuality is possible. Compare sentences (45) and (46), where the former has a non-avertive (modal or quotative) meaning and the latter has an averative meaning.

- (45) *Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma ja jäigi*
 s/he must:PST own job:ELA without remain and remain:CLC
 'He was to lose his job and in fact lost it'
- (46) *Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma, kuid õnneks ei jäänud*
 s/he must:PST own job:ELA without remain but fortunately
 NEG remain:PST.PTCP
 'He was to lose his job, but he didn't'

The averative auxiliary *pidi* has its origins in the imperfect form of the agent-oriented modal verb *pidama* 'must'. T. Kuteva and B. Heine (Kuteva 1998; 1999; Heine, Kuteva 2002) fail to mention modal verbs as possible sources of the averative. It could well be that this kind of source is too rare in order to notice it. However, it is clearly present in Estonian. Not long ago Renate Pustet (2008) observed its existence also in Lakota.

The modal verb *pidama* 'must' (47) in its turn originates from the lexical verb *pidama* with the meaning 'keep; think' (48), (49).

- (47) *Te peate lahkuma*
 you must:2PL leave:MINF
 'You must leave'
- (48) *Kurjategijat peeti üksikkambris*
 criminal:PTV keep:IMPS:PST solitary_confinement:INE
 'The criminal was kept in solitary confinement'
- (49) *Ta pidas mind kellekski teiseks*
 s/he take:PST I:PTV someone:TRNSL else:TRNSL
 'S/he took me for someone else'

The development of the modal meaning was accompanied by the morphological differentiation of the *pidama*-verb in the imperfect. In the case of the non-modal meaning the past is marked by *-s(i)-*; in the case of the modal meaning the marker is *-i-*:

'keep, hold etc.'				'must, have to'			
<i>ma</i>	<i>pidasi-n</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>pidasi-me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>pidi-n</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>pidi-me</i>
I	keep-PST-1SG	we	keep-PST-1PL	I	must-PST-1SG	we	must-PST-1PL
<i>sa</i>	<i>pidasi-d</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>pidasi-te</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pidi-d</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>pidi-te</i>
you	keep-PST-2SG	you	keep-PST-2PL	you	must-PST-2SG	you	must-PST-2PL
<i>ta</i>	<i>pidas</i>	<i>nad</i>	<i>pidasi-d</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pidi</i>	<i>nad</i>	<i>pidi-d</i>
s/he	keep-PST	they	keep-PST-3PL	s/he	must-PST	they	must-PST-3PL

The agent-oriented modal verb *pidama* later gave rise to the epistemic modal verb (50) and non-modal auxiliaries. (See Fig. 1 below.)

- (50) *Need loomad peavad küll rebased olema*
 these animals must:3PL indeed foxes be:MINF
 'In fact, these animals must be foxes'

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. Bybee, Pagliuca, Perkins 1991). Intentional meaning can be observed also 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 (51).

- (51) *Pärit oli ta Albuquerque'st [---], aga viimased 18 aastat elab Hawaiiil.*
 He came from Albuquerque [---], but he has lived the past eighteen years in Hawaii.
P i d i algul minema 5 aastaks aga kuna neile naisega
 must:PST at_first go:MINF 5 year:TRNSL but because they:ALL wife:COM
seal meeldis siis ei plaanigi sealt ära tulla
 there please:PST:3SG then NEG plan:CLC thence VPTCL come.dINF
ilmselt (Google)
 apparently
 'He came from Albuquerque [---], but he has lived the past eighteen years in Hawaii. At first he intended to go there for five years, but as he and his wife liked it there, then apparently they have no plans to leave the place'

However, the verb *pidama*, to be more precise, its imperfect forms have not developed into a future auxiliary³ but into a verb that carries an avertive meaning. The latter is in line with the development of the 'past volition/intention chain' in the development of the avertive as proposed by Kuteva 1998. (At the same time the Estonian avertive did not develop on the basis of verbs expressing directly intention, such as *tahtma* 'want' and *tõotama* 'promise'; they express only unmarked prospectivity). A similar semantic change occurred in the south-western and Häme dialects in Finnish (cf. Laitinen 1992).

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

- (52) *"Nad jagasid linnas väikeseid lipikuid ka inimestele*
 they distributed town:INE small:PL.PTV slip:PL:PTV also people:ALL
ja ma kuulsin, et praegugi pidi neid mitmes kohas
 and I heard that now:CLC must:PST they:PTV several:INE place:INE
maas vedelema," ütles abiprefekt (Google)
 on_the_ground lie:MINF said deputy_prefect
 "'They distributed little slips of paper in town also to people and I heard that even at present some of them must be lying around in various places"
 said the deputy prefect'

In this sentence the indicative past form has lost its past meaning and has become a quotative auxiliary. It is proved by the fact that one can replace it by the form of the morphological quotative:

³ The other agent-oriented verb expressing modality *saama* 'become' has developed into a future auxiliary but without the intentional stage (see Metslang 1994).

- (53) *Praegugi pidi neid mitmes kohas*
 now:CLC must:PST they:PTV several:INE place:INE
maas vedelema
 on_the_ground lie:MINF
 = *Praegugi vedele-vat neid mitmes kohas maas*
 now:CLC lie-QUOT they:PTV several:INE place:INE on_the_ground
 'Even now some of them are reported to be lying around on the ground
 in various places'

It is difficult to provide a convincing explanation how the *pidi*-form developed into a quotative auxiliary. It seems that L. Laitinen's explanation is plausible. According to L. Laitinen, the source of quotative evidentiality is the non-implicative interpretation of *pidi* (Laitinen 1992 : 258–259). As for the intention of the agent (unless it is the first person), one assumes that the person has heard it from someone else. This assumption 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 avertive) meaning and the quotative meanings are expressed by one form — the imperfect.

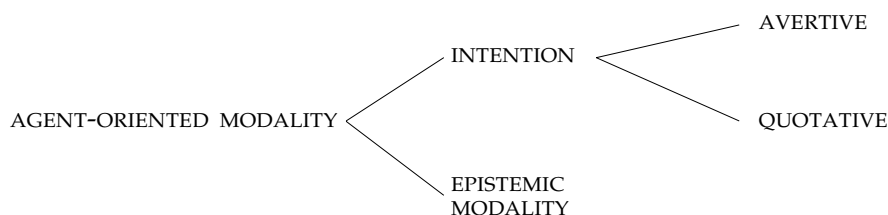


Figure 1. Function shifts of the verb *pidama*.

Conclusions

Estonian has both the verbal grammatical category of the proximative and the avertive, which could be treated as the unmarked and marked categories of the prospective. The proximative is mainly expressed either by means of the partly grammaticalized verbs *ähvardama* 'threaten', *tahtma* 'want', *tõotama* 'promise', etc. (*Puder ähvardas põhja kõrbeda* 'the porridge threatened to boil away'), which is similar to many other European languages, or by means of the *mas*-construction (*Vene väed on Gorist lahku-mas* 'the Russian forces are about to leave Gori'). In Estonian the avertive is morphologically not linked with proximativity. It is noteworthy from the typological perspective that the avertive auxiliary stems from the imperfect form of the verb *pidama* 'must, have to', which expresses agent-oriented modality (*Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma* 'he was to lose his job'). The development occurred through the intermediate intentional stage, which in addition to the avertive gave rise to the quotative (*Praegugi pidi neid mitmes kohas maas vedelema* 'even now they are reported to be lying about on the ground in various places').

Addresses:

Mati Ereht
University of Tartu
E-mail: mati.erelt@ut.ee

Helle Metslang
University of Tartu
E-mail: helle.metslang@ut.ee

Abbreviations

1 — 1st person, 2 — 2nd person, 3 — 3rd person, **ADE** — adessive, **ALL** — allative, **CLC** — clitic, **COM** — comitative, **COMP** — comparative, **COND** — conditional, **CONJ** — conjunction, **dINF** — *da*-infinitive (in Finnish example: A-infinitive), **ELA** — elative, **FICT** — fiction texts in the Corpus of Written Estonian, <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/baaskorpus/>, **Fin** — Finnish, **GEN** — genitive, **Ger** — German, **ILL** — illative, **IMPS** — impersonal, **INE** — inessive, **mINF** — *ma*-infinitive, **N** — neuter, **NEG** — negation, **NEWS** — newspaper texts in the Corpus of Written Estonian, <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/baaskorpus/>, **PL** — plural, **PRS** — present, **PST** — past, **PTCL** — particle, **PTCP** — participle, **PTV** — partitive, **QUOT** — quotative, **REFL** — reflexive, **SG** — singular, **TRNSL** — translative, **VN** — verbal noun, **VPTCL** — verb particle.

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МАТИ ЭРЕЛТ (Тарту), ХЕЛЛЕ МЕТСЛАНГ (Тарту)

ЗАМЕТКИ О ПРОКСИМАТИВЕ И АВЕРТИВЕ В ЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В эстонском языке среди грамматических категорий глагола имеются как проксиматив (*proximate*), так и авертив (*avertive*) — соответственно немаркированная и маркированная категории проспектива (*prospective*). Проксиматив выражает подготовительную стадию ситуации и оформляется главным образом с помощью частично грамматикализованных глаголов *ähvardama* 'угрожать', *tahtma* 'хотеть', *tootama* 'обещать' и т. д. (*Puder ähvardas põhja kõrbeda* досл. 'каша угрожала пригореть'), как и в других европейских языках. Кроме того, проксиматив представлен в виде инфинитной конструкции на *-mas* (*Vene väed on Gorist lahkumas* 'Русские войска готовятся покинуть Гори'). Авертив имеет значение 'событие готово было произойти, но все же не произошло'. Формально он не связан с проксимативом. В типологическом плане заслуживает внимания тот факт, что вспомогательный глагол авертива восходит к модальному глаголу *pidama* 'долженствовать' в форме прошедшего времени *pidi* (*Ta pidi oma kohast ilma jääma* 'Он почти остался без своей работы'). Кроме авертива, эта форма послужила источником и для квотатива (*Praegugi pidi neid mitmes kohas maas vedelema* 'Говорят, что и сейчас они валяются на земле кое-где').