
*The Dative Use of the Adessive Case
in Estonian:¹
A Corpus-Based Study*

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1. Introduction

Though it is called a “local case” (*kohakäüne*) in traditional grammar,² the Estonian adessive does not occur in the function of locative adverbial as frequently as one would expect from the definition of “local case”. Rather, the use typical of the Estonian adessive is what the present author calls the “dative use” (Matsumura 1992, 1994, 1995). It refers to a seemingly non-homogenous class of occurrences of the adessive case, which as a whole are reminiscent of the equally variegated function of the dative case in German, especially that part of the German dative that is called “freier Dativ” (free dative) in traditional grammar. The Estonian adessive case occurring in the dative function in this sense will be referred to as “adessive-dative” in the present paper.³

Before going into the corpus data, an overview of the dative use of

the Estonian adessive would be in place. As is pointed out by Matsumura (1994:227-232), it seems that (i) there are two major series of related constructions occurring with the adessive-dative and that (ii) the prototypical possessive sentence (the *habeo*-construction in the traditional terminology) lies at the intersection of these two types of adessive constructions.

Sentence (1a) is a prototypical instance of possessive construction: (i) the nominal syntagm⁴ in the adessive case denotes a human possessor, (ii) the possessum is a material object, and (iii) the nominal syntagm expressing the possessum bears the new information (i.e. occurs typically in the sentence-final position).

- (1) a. *Tal on kass.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg cat.NOM
'She has a cat'
- b. *Tal on nälg.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg hunger.NOM
'She is hungry'
- c. *Tal on külm.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg cold.NOM
'She is cold'

Sentence (1b), where the possessum — *nälg* 'hunger' — is a physiological state of the human body, is a less typical case of a possessive sentence, though it can still be rendered into a possessive sentence in many languages (cf. French: *j'ai faim*; German: *ich habe Hunger*). Sentence (1c), where an adjective occurs in place of a noun denoting the possessum, is hardly an expression of a possessive relation: the experiencer syntagm in the adessive, *tal*, corresponds to a dative syntagm in many languages (cf. German: *mir ist kalt*; Russian: *мне холодно*).

Sentences (2a), despite its structural similarity to (1a), is less of a possessive sentence than (1a) with regard to informational structure: what is new in this sentence is her cat being at home rather than her having a

cat. The case is much more obvious with sentences (2b) and (2c), where the sentences are not about the location of an object, but about the state of someone or something that is closely associated with the person denoted by the adessive syntagm:

- (2) a. *Tal on kass kodu-s.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg cat.NOM home.INE
'Her cat is at (her) home'
- b. *Tal on kõht täis.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg stomach full.NOM
'Her stomach is full'
- c. *Tal on ema haige.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg mother.NOM sick.NOM
'Her mother is sick'

Note that sentences (2a)(2b)(2c) can all be paraphrased, with considerable accuracy, by replacing the adessive syntagm with a genitive syntagm. Compare the sentences in (2) with those in (3):

- (3) a. *Ta kass on kodu-s.*
3sg.GEN cat.NOM be.3sg home.INE
'Her cat is at (her) home'
- b. *Ta kõht on täis.*
3sg.GEN stomach.NOM be.3sg full.NOM
'Her stomach is full'
- c. *Ta ema on haige.*
3sg.GEN mother.NOM be.3sg sick.NOM
'Her mother is sick'

Adessive syntagms that are semantically near equivalents to the genitive attribute may also occur in intransitive sentences like (4), where the predicate verb is not the copular verb *olema*. Compare (4) with (5):

- (4) a. *Tal valuta-b pea.*
3sg.ADE ache.3sg head.NOM
'She has a headache'
- b. *Tal sur-i laps.*
3sg.ADE die.PAST.3sg child.NOM
'Her child died'
- (5) a. *Ta pea valuta-b.*
3sg.GEN head.NOM ache.3sg
'She has a headache'
- b. *Ta laps sur-i.*
3sg.GEN child.NOM die.PAST.3sg
'Her child died'

Note, however, that the adessive syntagm cannot be replaced by a genitive attribute, if an adjective — *külm* 'cold' — occurs instead of a noun:

- (6) *Tal hakka-s külm.*
3sg.ADE start.PAST.3sg cold.NOM
'She began to feel cold'

The semantic communion between the adessive and the genitive is also observed in some transitive sentences, where the adessive syntagm relates to the direct object. Compare (7) and (8):

- (7) a. *Tal põletati talu maha.*
3sg.ADE burn.INDEF.PAST farm.NOM down
'Her farmhouse was burnt down'
- b. ... *ma alanda-n teil üüri, ...* (M014)
1sg.NOM lower.1sg 2pl.ADE rent.PAR
'I will lower your rent'
- (8) a. *Ta maja põletati maha.*
3sg.ADE house.NOM burn.INDEF.PAST down
'Her farmhouse was burnt down'

- b. *Ma alanda-n teie üüri.*
1sg.NOM lower.1sg 2pl.GEN rent.PAR
'I will lower your rent'

There is yet another type of adessive constructions in which the adessive syntagm refers to an infinitive in *-da* and serves as its "semantic subject":

- (9) a. *Tal on soov kodus olla.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg wish.NOM at home be.INF2
'She has a wish to be at home'
- b. *Tal on mugav kodus olla.*
3sg.ADE be.3sg comfortable.NOM at home be.INF2
'It is comfortable for her to be at home'

Note the structural similarity sentences (9a) and (9b) bear to sentences (1a) and (1c), respectively: it is apparent that sentences of the type (9) are derivatives of the prototypical possessor/experiencer construction.

Another type of construction in which the adessive syntagm expresses the semantic subject of the infinitive are impersonal sentences with an intransitive verb like (10). Note that intransitive sentences of this type have a modal meaning as a rule:

- (10) a. *Tal tul-i kuhugi minna.*
3sg.ADE come.PAST.3sg somewhere go.INF2
'She had to go somewhere'
- b. *Tal õnnestu-s ülikooli astu-da.*
3sg.ADE succeed.PAST.3sg university.ILL enter.INF2
'She was lucky enough to enter the university'

The adessive syntagm relating to an infinitive as its semantic subject also occurs with certain transitive verbs. A typical case is a causative sentence like (11a), where the adessive syntagm denotes the causee. Certain

verbs with a non-causative meaning may also occur in this construction as is shown by (11b):

- (11) a. *Jaan lase-b tal vene keele-s*
 Jaan.NOM let.3sg 3sg.ADE Russian language.INE
vasta-ta.
 answer.INF2
 'Jaan makes/lets her answer in Russian'
- b. *Jaan aita-b tal vene keele-s*
 Jaan.NOM help.3sg 3sg.ADE Russian language.INE
kirjuta-da.
 write.INF2
 'Jaan helps her write in Russian'

In summary, there are two types of adessive-dative constructions. In the one type, the adessive syntagm relates to a noun or an adjective as the possessor/experiencer, and in the other type, it relates to an infinitive as its semantic subject. It seems that the prototypical possessive sentence like (1a) lies at the intersection of the two types of adessive-dative constructions.⁵

2. Discussion of the corpus data

2.1 Statistics

Table 1 is a breakdown in terms of syntactic/semantic function of all the occurrences of the adessive case in the 36,700-word e-text of written Estonian.⁶ It shows the relative infrequency of the occurrence of the adessive case in the locative meaning: the locative use accounts for merely a quarter of occurrences of the adessive case, whereas 45 percent fall into the category of adessive-dative.⁷

Table 1: The Use of the Estonian Adessive

| | Occurrences | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------|
| Adessive-Dative | 458 | 45 % |
| Temporal | 255 | 25 |
| Locative | 251 | 25 |
| Instrumental/Manner | 52 | 5 |
| Total | 1016 | 100 % |

2.2 The adessive as adverbials of time, place and instrument / manner

Let us first examine briefly those adessive syntagms that occur in adverbial functions, *i.e.* as the adverbial of place, time or instrument/manner. The general impression is that which semantic group a particular adessive adverbial belongs to depends largely on the inherent lexical meaning of the noun occurring in the adessive case.

Thus the adessive forms of nouns with an inherent temporal meaning such as *aasta* 'year', *suvi* 'summer', *päev* 'day', *hommik* 'morning', etc., are usually temporal adverbials; the adessive forms of nouns like *tänav* 'street', *kallas* 'shore', *õu* 'courtyard', *muru* 'grass', *laud* 'desk', etc. are usually adverbials of place; and the adessive forms of nouns like *abi* 'help', *jõu* 'force', *mõju* 'influence', *põhjus* 'reason', *komme* 'custom, manner', *mood* 'fashion, manner', *viis* 'way, manner', etc. are usually adverbs of instrument/manner.

(12) Locative:

- a. *Laia-l tänava-l ol-i palju*
 wide.ADE street.ADE be.PAST.3sg many
vanaaegse-id kollase-id maju, ... (M054)
 old-time.pl.PAR yellow.pl.PAR house.pl.PAR
 'On the Lai Street there were a lot of old yeellow houses'

- b. *Alguse-s seis-in ukse-l, ...* (M127)
beginning.INE stand.PAST.1sg door.ADE
'At first I stood at the door'

- c. *Ma käi-si-n ujumiskursus-te-l ...* (M014)
1sg.NOM visit.PAST.1sg swimming course.pl.ADE
'I attended swimming classes'

In (12a) the adessive syntagm — *Laiäl tänaval* 'on the Lai Street' — denotes the place where the old yellow houses were located. The adessive syntagm in (12b) — *ukse-l* 'at the door' — denotes an object in the immediate vicinity of which I was standing. Both can be regarded as typical expressions of place. Though the adessive syntagm in (12c) — *ujumiskursustel* 'on swimming classes' — is not inherently an expression of place, it may be interpreted as such in this particular context, because the predicate verb *käima* 'to visit' usually expects an adverbial of place.

(13) Temporal:

- a. *Sa käi-d iga-l suve-l Sonda-s.*
2sg.NOM visit.2sg each.ADE summer.ADE Sonda.INE
'You visit Sonda every summer' (M055)
- b. *Hommiku-l ol-i Evi ase märg.*
morning.ADE be.PAST.3sg Evi.GEN bed.NOM wet.NOM
'Evi's bed was wet in the morning' (M020)
- c. *Ent talve tuleku-l küsi-si-n*
but winter.GEN coming.ADE ask.PAST.1sg
ema käe-st uuesti ... (M073)
mother.GEN from anew
'But as the winter came, I asked my mother again'

The adessive expressions *igal suvel* '(lit.) on every summer' in (13a) and *hommikul* '(lit.) on morning' are typical cases of the adverbial of time. The adessive expression *talve tulekul* '(lit.) on winter's coming' in

(13c) is not inherently a temporal expression, but in this particular context it is most likely to be interpreted as one meaning 'at the time of the winter's arrival'.

(14) Instrument/Manner:

- a. ... *kui [ta] seitsme-le lapse-le laulu*
as 3sg.NOM seven.ALL child.ALL song.PAR
klaveri-l ette mängi-s ... (M041)
piano.ADE forth play.PAST.3sg
'When he played the song on the piano for the children, ...'
- b. ... *ja ütles talle mesimagusa-l hääle-l ...*
and tell.PAST.3sg 3sg.ALL honey-sweet.ADE voice.ADE
'... and said to her in a honey-sweet voice' (M061)
- c. ... *pea-n oma-l jõu-l ilma tema*
must.1sg own.ADE force.ADE without 3sg.GEN
abi-ta lindiasja lahenda-ma. (M073)
help.ABE ribbon-issue.GEN solve.INF1
'I have to solve the ribbon issue on my own without her assistance'
- d. ... *hakka-s ta Monika-ga kõue*
begin.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM Monika.COM thunder.GEN
kombe-l mürista-ma (M069)
manner.ADE thunder.INF1
'she began to roar against Monika like thunder'
- e. ... *äkki varise-s loss kolina-l kokku.*
suddenly fall.PAST.3sg castle.NOM clatter.ADE down
'suddenly the castle collapsed with a thud' (M017)

The category of instrumental/manner adverb seems to be least homogenous.⁸ If the referent of the noun is a concrete object, e.g., *klaver* 'piano', *peo* 'palm', then its adessive form tends to be interpreted as expressing an instrument as in (14a). The same is also true of nouns with a

less concrete referent: *mesimagusal häälel* '(lit.) on honey-sweet voice' in (14b) and *omal jõul* '(lit.) on (her) own force' in (14c). As is illustrated by (14d), the adessive forms of certain nouns seem to be on their way to becoming postpositions: *abil* 'by the help of' (< *abi* 'help'), *kombel* 'in the manner of' (< *komme* 'manner'), *viisil* 'in the way of' (< *viis* 'way'), and so on. The adessive forms of onomatopoeic nouns like *kolin* 'clatter', *nohin* 'snuffle', *sosin* 'whisper', *õhin* 'ardor', etc., are also fairly common adverbials of manner as (14e) shows.

2.3 The adessive-dative

As we have pointed out in the synoptic description of the adessive-dative presented in the introductory section, the Estonian adessive-dative occurs most typically as the possessor syntagm in a possessive sentence, where the possessum can be a great variety of nouns as is shown by the examples in (15):

- (15) a. ... *meil* *ol-i* *suur* *korter.* (M005)
1pl.ADE be.PAST.3sg big.NOM apartment.NOM
'we had a big apartment'
- b. ... *tal* *on* *kaks* *jalga* ... (M063)
3sg.ADE be.3sg two.NOM leg.PAR
'it has two legs'
- c. ... *mul* *on* *hea* *onu,* ... (M050)
1sg.ADE be.3sg good.NOM uncle.NOM
'I have a good uncle'
- d. ... *tal* *on* *kopsupõletik!* (M105)
3sg.ADE be.3sg lung-inflammation.NOM
'she suffers from pneumonia'
- e. ... *ema-l* *on* *töötaju,* ... (M024)
mother.ADE be.3sg work-mood.NOM

'Mother is in the mood to do work'

Apparently, the possessive sentence is a special case of the adessive construction with the verb *olema*, in which the adessive syntagm ranges semantically from the possessor in a possessive sentence to the experiencer in an experiencer construction: compare (15a) and (16e). The sentences in (16) show that the transition from the possessor construction to the experiencer construction is gradient: there are a lot of intermediate cases between the possessor construction and the experiencer construction and no clear-cut boundary seems to exist between them:

- (16) a. *Mul* *ol-i* *kahekordselt* *kahju* ... (M017)
1sg.ADE be.PAST twice damage.PAR
'I was sorry for two reasons'
- b. *Võib-olla* *ol-i* *tal* *kiire,* ... (M077)
may-be be.PAST.3sg 3sg.ADE hurry.NOM
'Perhaps she was in a hurry'
- c. *Mul* *ol-i* *kuidagi* *paha* ... (M025)
1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg somehow bad.NOM
'somehow I didn't feel well'
- d. *Meil* *ol-i* *Arvo-ga* *surmigav.* (M084)
1pl.ADE be.PAST.3sg Arvo.COM bored to death.NOM
'Arvo and I were bored to death'
- e. *Aga* *kas* *neil* *talve-l* *siin* *puuri-s*
but QUES 3pl.ADE winter.ADE here cage.INE
külm *ei* *ole?* (M112)
cold NEG be
'But aren't they cold here in the cage during the winter?'

Since *kahju* 'damage, harm' is perhaps a noun (it is not clear whether *kahju* here is the nominative singular form of the noun *kahju* or the partitive singular form of the doublet noun *kahi*), sentence (16a) is very

much like a possessive sentence, though semantically its interpretation as a possessive sentence is somewhat strange. The same seems true of (16b) with the noun/adjective *kiire*, but the case is less obvious with (16c) and (16d), where *paha* and *surmigav* are more likely to be adjectives than they are nouns.

In what follows, I assume that the possessor/experiencer distinction in the adessive construction under discussion is a matter of degree, rather than an absolute one, and use the name “possessor/experiencer construction” as a general term to refer to the adessive-dative construction exemplified by (15) and (16).

It is well-known that the possessive construction occurs in certain variants. Firstly, it may occur with an additional element, often an inessive adverbial, which denotes the location or the condition the possessum is in as in (17) and (18):

- (17) a. *Aga minu-l ei ol-nud kodu-s*
but 1sg.ADE NEG be.NUD home.INE
üh-t-ki raamatu-t, ... (M103)
one.PAR.EMPH book.PAR
‘But I didn’t have even a book at home’
- b. *Alguse-s ol-i-d vanaema-l jala-s*
beginning.INE be.PAST.3pl grandma.ADE foot.INE
soome sussi-d, ... (M120)
Finnish slipper.pl.NOM
‘Grandma wore Finnish slippers first’
- c. *Mul ol-i Sompa-s kaks*
1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg Sompa.INE two.NOM
tähtsa-t töö-d ... (M122)
important.PAR work.PAR
‘I had two important jobs in Sompa’
- d. ... *temal ol-i kaasas ema, ...* (M117)
3sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg together monther.NOM

‘she was (there) with her mother’

- (18) a. ... *mu-l on kohv valmis.* (M085)
1sg.ADE be.3sg coffee.NOM ready
‘as for me the coffee is ready’
- b. ... *tal ol-i valge kleit selja-s ...*
3sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg white.NOM dress.NOM back.INE
‘she had a white dress on’ (M051)
- c. *Kas kõiki-de-l on kott kaasas?* (M080)
QUES all.pl.ADE be.3sg bag.NOM together
‘Do you all have your bag with you?’

Note that the additional element may be a participle:

- (19) a. *Kes su-l on sur-nud?* (M072)
who.NOM 2sg.ADE be.3sg die.NUD
‘Who has died (on you)?’
- b. ... *ema-l on kiri läbi loe-tud ...*
mother.ADE be.3sg letter.NOM through read.TUD
‘Mother has read the letter through’ (M051)
- c. ... *mu-l on lapse-d kooli saade-tud.*
1sg.ADE be.3sg child.pl.NOM school.ILL send.TUD
‘I have snet my children to school’ (M024)

Secondly, the possessor/experiencer construction may occur with an infinitival syntagm. Here the adessive syntagm is interpreted to be the “semantic subject” of the infinitival syntagm. As expected, the possessor/experiencer continuum is clearly observable here. On the possessor pole, the semantic relation between the noun and the infinitive is typically that of a verb and its direct object as in (20a), (20b) and (20c), but it can be otherwise as (20d) and (20e) show:

(20) a. ... *kas sa arva-d, et mul on*
 QUES 2sg.NOM think.2sg that 1sg.ADE be.3sg

raha jala-ga sega-da! (M053)
 money.PAR leg.COM mix.INF2

'do you think that I have money to blend with my leg!'

b. *Mul ei ole midagi selga panna, ...* (M088)
 1sg.ADE NEG be anything.PAR back.ILL put.INF2

'I don't have anything to wear (*lit.*, put on the back)'

c. *Mul ol-i seekord hästi palju pesta, ...*
 1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg this-time well much wash.INF2

'I had quite a lot to wash this time' (M052)

d. ... *ei ol-nud mu-l aega enam*
 NEG be.NUD 1sg.ADE time.PAR any more

tema-ga seal rääki-da, ... (M068)
 3sg.COM there speak.INF2

'I didn't have time to talk with her there any more'

e. ... *mul pole südan-t te-da kõrvale jätta ...*
 1sg.ADE be.NEG heart.PAR 3sg.PAR aside leave.INF2

'I don't have the cruelty to neglect him' (M014)

In sentence (21a), which means that the mother's whereabouts were known to the father, the experiencer interpretation sounds more natural for the adessive syntagm *isal* than the possessor interpretation. The same is true of sentence (21b), where a subordinate clause occurs instead of a noun.

(21) a. ... *isa-l ol-i-d tead-a ema*
 father.ADE be.PAST.3pl know.INF2 mother.GEN

peidukoha-d ... (M101)
 hiding place.pl.NOM

'Father knew where Mother was hiding'

b. ... *mul ol-i hästi teada, kus*
 1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg well know.INF2 where

isa töökoht asu-b, ... (M054)
 father.GEN work-place.NOM be-located.3sg

'I knew well where my father had a job'

There is yet another variant of the possessor/experiencer construction with an infinitival syntagm: (22a) and (22b). In this type of possessor/experiencer construction, the sentence consists of an adessive syntagm and an adjectival syntagm, where the former is to be interpreted as expressing an experiencer and serving as the semantic subject of the infinitive.

(22) a. ... *mul ol-i kodu-s kõhe olla.*
 1sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg home.INE uneasy.NOM be.INF2

'it was uncomfortable for me to be at home' (M070)

b. ... *tal ol-i se-da väga*
 3sg.ADE be.PAST.3sg DEM.PAR very

raske anda, ... (M128)
 difficult.NOM give.INF2

'it was very difficult for her to give it away'

As for the sentences in (23), we notice that, though they are considerably far removed from the typical possessor/experiencer construction in their internal structure (word order, etc.), their affinity to the possessor/experiencer construction is undeniable:

(23) a. ... *lasteaed ol-i mei-l*
 kindergarten.NOM be.PAST.3sg 1pl.ADE

kodu lähedal, ... (M012)
 home.GEN near

'our kindergarten was close to our house'

b. *Ema ja isa ol-i-d mu-l*
 mother.NOM and father.NOM be.PAST.3pl 1sg.ADE

Tallinna jaama-s vastas ... (M117)
Tallinn.GEN station.INE opposite

'I was met by Mother and Father at the Tallinn railway station'

c. *Imelik kord on teil kooli-s!* (M070)
strange.NOM order.NOM be.3sg 2pl.ADE school.INE

'What a strange order you have at your school!'

All the adessive syntagms we have dealt with so far, *i.e.* (15) – (23), occur in sentences whose predicate verb is the verb *olema*. There are also adessive-dative constructions whose predicate verb is an intransitive verb other than *olema*.

(24) a. ... *Liliani-l jä-i äkki kurk*
Lilian.ADE remain.PAST.3sg suddenly throat.NOM

haige-ks. (M057)
ill.TRA

'Lilian's throat suddenly began to ache'

b. *Isa-l valuta-b hullusti pea.* (M102)
father.ADE ache.3sg madly head.NOM

'Father's head aches terribly'

c. ... *lõuna paiku tõus-is mul pisike*
noon.GEN around rise.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE little.NOM

palavik... (M105)
fever.NOM

'toward noon my temperature rose a little'

It should be noted that the adessive syntagms in (24), especially in (24a) and (24b), are reminiscent of the "possessive dative" in German (e.g., *mir schmerzt der Kopf* 'I have a headache'). The name "possessive dative" comes from the fact that the dative syntagm in such a sentence in German can generally be rendered into the genitive syntagm with a possessive meaning. This is in principle also true of the Estonian adessive syntagm occurring in this type of construction.⁹

Also possible is the experiencer construction with an infinitival syntagm, as is exemplified by (25). Note that no paraphrase using a genitive syntagm is possible for the adessive syntagm if it denotes an experiencer:

(25) a. *Rakvere-s hakka-s mu-l varsti igav.* (M127)
Rakvere.INE start.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE soon bored.NOM

'In Rakvere I soon began to feel bored'

b. ... *läks Arvo-l natuke lõbusa-ma-ks.* (M109)
go.PAST.3sg Arvo.ADE a little merry.COMP.TRA

'Arvo became a bit more cheerful'

There are transitive variants of the "possessive dative" construction of the type (24). If the adessive expressions in (24a) and (24b) refer to the subject syntagm and express the possessor of its referent, the adessive syntagms in (26) refer to the direct object and express the latter's possessor. The transitive construction may also occur in the indefinite person (*umbisik*) as in (27).

(26) a. ... *ema hoid-is mu-l käe-st kinni ...*
mother.NOM hold.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE hand.ELA fast
'Mother held me tightly by the hand' (M008)¹⁰

b. *Ma kleebi-n nad su-l ise vihiku-sse.*
1sg.NOM paste.1sg3pl.NOM 2sg.ADE self notebook.ILL
'I will paste them in the notebook for you myself' (M033)

c. ... *ma alanda-n teil üüri, ...* (M014)
1sg.NOM lower.1sg 2pl.ADE rent.PAR
'I will lower your rent'

d. *Ta pes-i lapse-l käe-d*
3sg.NOM wash.PAST.3sg child.ADE hand.pl.NOM

puhta-ks. (EKG064)
clean.TRA

'She washed the child's hands'

e. *Küll me selle mõtte tal*
indeed 1pl.NOM DEM.GEN idea.GEN 3sg.ADE

pea-st aja-ma. (EKS.I.058)
head.ELA drive.INF1

'Certainly we have to drive that idea out of his head'

(27) a. *Heljo-l varasta-ti kott ära.* (M080)
Heljo.ADE steal.INDEF.PAST bag.NOM away

'Heljo had her bag stolen'

b. *Ega mul pee-ta-gi sünnipäeva, ...*
and-NEG 1sg.ADE hold.INDEF.EMPH birthday.PAR
'No birthday party is going to be held for me at all' (M036)

Akin to the experiencer construction with an infinitive like (22) are modal sentences like (28). Here the role of the adessive syntagm as the semantic subject of the infinitive (*infiniittarindite tegevussubjekt*) is more in the foreground than it is in (22):

(28) a. *Enam pol-nud mu-l vaja*
any more be.NEG.NUD 1sg.ADE necessary

klassi otsi-da. (M094)
class.PAR look for.INF2

'It was no longer necessary for me to look for the classroom'

b. ... *mul tul-i öel-da ainult üks*
1sg.ADE come.PAST.3sg say.INF2 only one.NOM

lause... (M047)
sentence.NOM

'I had only to say one sentence'

c. *Emade-l ei sobi oma laste-le nõnda*
mother.pl.ADE NEG suit own child.pl.ALL so

öel-da. (M024)
say.INF2

'It isn't good for mothers to say such a thing to their children'

The function of the adessive syntagm as the semantic subject of the infinitive becomes central in transitive sentences like (29). In sentences (29a) and (29b), which are usually regarded as causative sentences, the adessive syntagm denotes the causee:

(29) a. ... *Maimu käski-s mu-l vaarika-d*
Maimu.NOM order.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE raspberry.pl.NOM

kiiresti ära süü-a,... (M064)
quickly away eat.INF2

'Maimu ordered me to eat the raspberries up quickly'

b. *Õun-te ülesostja lask-is vanaema-l*
apple.pl.GEN buyer.NOM let.PAST.3sg grandma.ADE

näida-ta ja rääki-da,... (M127)
show.INF2 and speak.INF2

'The buyer of apples let the old woman show (him the apples) and talk'

c. *Kas su isa luba-b mu-l*
QUES 2sg.GEN father.NOM allow.3sg 1sg.ADE

tulla? (M043)
come.INF2

'Will your father allow me to visit you?'

d. *Aita-si-me ta-l korteri-t remonti-da.*
help.PAST.1pl 3sg.ADE apartment.PAR repair.INF2

'We helped him repair the apartment' (EKS.I.054)

e. ... *ema ei keela-nud mu-l minna...* (M073)
mother.NOM NEG forbid.NUD 1sg.ADE go.INF2

'Mother didn't forbid me to go'

It should be pointed out that the Estonian adessive-dative may sometimes be employed in a way reminiscent of the "ethical dative" in German (e.g. *er ist mir ein guter Freund* 'he is indeed a good friend of mine'):

(30) a. *Aga ta on mu-l väga hea laps, ...*
 but 3sg.NOM be.3sg 1sg.ADE very good.NOM child.NOM
 'But he is very good child (for me)' (M128)

b. *Ole-d mu-l kena sõber küll!*
 be.2sg 1sg.ADE fine.NOM friend.NOM indeed
 'You are my good friend indeed' (Matsumura 1994)

Unlike the German free dative, the Estonian adessive-dative may occur with nouns having a non-human referent. The adessive-dative with a non-human referent occurs 22 times (2 percent) in the present corpus: 17 occur in the possessive construction and five in other constructions. The two types are exemplified by (31) and (32), respectively.

(31) a. ... *raadio-l ol-i uhke võõrapärane*
 radio.ADE be.PAST.3sg superb.NOM foreign.NOM
nimi "Philips." (M068)
 name.NOM
 'the radio set had a superb foreign name *Philips*'

b. ... *iga-l loosi-l ol-i tempel*
 each.ADE lottery-ticket.ADE be.PAST.3sg stamp.NOM
ja number peal. (M053)
 and number.NOM on top
 'each lottery ticket had a stamp and a number'

(32) a. ... *kaas ol-i poti-l kõvasti peal.* (M086)
 lid.NOM be.PAST.3sg pot.ADE hard on top
 'the lid was firmly placed on the pot'

b. *Ta võtt-is poti-l kaane pealt ...* (M086)
 3sg.NOM take.PAST.3sg pot.ADE lid.GEN from on top
 'She lifted the lid of the pot'

c. *Paraku läks minu rattal*
 regrettably go.PAST.3sg 1sg.GEN bicycle.ADE

kumm katki. (Matsumura 1994)
 tire.NOM broken
 'Unfortunately my bicycle had a flat tire'

3. Relationship between the Major Categories

The distinction between the four major categories in the use of the adessive case seems, in many cases, to derive from the difference in the inherent meaning of the noun occurring in the adessive case. Generally speaking, the adessive form of a noun denoting a human being is usually understood as adessive-dative; the adessive form of a noun with a temporal meaning is likely to be interpreted as an adverbial of time; the adessive form of a noun which denotes a point or an expanse in space is likely to be a locative adverbial; and the adessive forms of the remaining types of nouns are likely to be understood in various other ways, esp. as adverbials of instrument/manner.

The distinction between the categories are far from being clear-cut. In this section, we will see how the adessive-dative and the locative adverbial overlap with each other on the one hand and how the locative and the temporal adverbials overlap with each other on the other.

It is well-known (Erelt et al. 1993: 62) that the adessive forms *meil* and *teil* in certain constructions are understood in the locative meaning: 'at our place, in our house, in our country, etc.' and 'at your place, in your house, in your country, etc.':

(33) a. *Meil on uusi ettevõtmisi.* (EKG 062)
 1pl.ADE be.3sg new.pl.PAR enterprise.pl.PAR
 'We have new enterprises'

b. *Teil on tööpuudus.* (EKG 062)
 2pl.ADE be.3sg work.shortage.NOM
 'You have job shortages'

- c. *Meil ei jätku kõigi jaoks*
 1pl.ADE NEG continue all.pl.GEN for
ruumi. (EKG 062)
 room.PAR
 'We don't have enough room for all'

- d. *Miks teil öö läbi tuli*
 why 2pl.ADE night.GEN through fire.NOM
põle-s? (EKG 062)
 burn.PAST.3sg
 'Why did you have the light on all night?'

The use of *meil* of this type is amply attested in the corpus data:

- (34) a. *Selle-st päeva-st peale hakka-s ta*
 DEM.ELA day.ELA after start.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM
meil käi-ma, ... (M043)
 1pl.ADE visit.INF1
 'From this day onward she started to visit us'
- b. *Ema rõõmusta-s: "Kui ilus*
 mother.NOM rejoice.PAST.3sg how beautiful.NOM
meil nüüd on! ..." (M023)
 1pl.ADE now be.3sg
 'Mother rejoiced: "How beautiful it is in our house now! ..."'
- c. ... *kui Ülo vanaema mei-l kooli-s*
 as Ülo.GEN grandma.NOM 1pl.ADE school.INE
saiu käi-s müü-ma-s, ... (M099)
 white bread.pl.PAR visit.PAST.3sg sell.INF1.INE
 'When Ülo's mother came to our school to sell white bread, ...'
- d. *Iga-l aasta-l korralda-ti mei-l*
 each.ADE year.ADE arrange.INDEF.PAST 1pl.ADE
kooli-s jõulupuu, ... (M081)
 school.INE Christmas tree.NOM
 'Every year a Christmas tree was prepared at our school'

Actually, *meil* may sometimes be semantically ambiguous: in (34c) and (34d), for example, can just as well be interpreted in the dative meaning as in the locative meaning.

Interestingly, this phenomenon is also observed in syntagms in the adessive singular. For example, the adessive syntagms *Annal* in (35a) and *minul* in (35b) are most likely to be understood in the locative meaning:

- (35) a. *Pühapäeviti, kui me tädi Anna-l külas*
 on Sundays as 1pl.NOM aunt Anna.ADE on a visit
ol-i-me, ... (M037)
 be.PAST.1pl
 'Every Sunday, when we were on a visit to Aunt Anna'
- b. *Lõpuks jä-i pilk peatu-ma*
 in the end remain.PAST.3sg glance.NOM stop.INF1
minul... (M047)
 1sg.ADE
 'In the end her eyes were fixed upon me'

The semantic distinction between the locative and the temporal adverbials is not always absolute. There is good reason to assume that *väljamüügipäev* 'bargain day' and *sünnipäev* 'birthday' are equally temporal in inherent meaning, but it seems that the semantic interpretation of their adessive forms depends on the context: though the adessive syntagm *väljamüügipäeval* in (36a) is, as expected, understood in the temporal meaning ('on the day of the bargain'), the adessive syntagm *sünnipäeval* in (36b) is understood preferably in the locative meaning ('at the birthday party'):

- (36) a. *Väljamüügipäeva-l läks vanaema*
 bargain-sale-day.ADE go.PAST.3sg grandma.NOM
juba varakult seltsimajja ... (M114)
 already early village club.ILL
 'On the day of the bargain sale Grandma went to the village club early in the morning'

b. *Otsusta-si-n, et ma ei söö*
decide.PAST.1sg that 1sg.NOM NEG eat

sünnipäeva-l midagi, ... (M037)
birthday.ADE anything.PAR

'I decided to eat nothing at the birthday party'

Certain adessive expressions which are inherently neither local nor temporal in meaning may be understood in the local or temporal meaning. For the adessive expressions *katsetel* and *proovil* in (37), for example, the locative interpretation ('at the location of the exam/rehearsal') and the temporal interpretation ('at the time of the exam/rehearsal') seem to be equally possible:

(37) a. ... *siis ta laula-b katse-te-l teis-te-st paremini.* (M041)
then 3sg.NOM sing.3sg test.pl.ADE other.pl.ELA

'then she will sing better than the others in the exam'

b. ... *üks suur tüdruk, ke-da*
one.NOM big.NOM girl.NOM who.PAR

ol-i-n proovi-l näi-nud, ... (M047)
be.PAST.1sg trial.ADE see.NUD

'... a big girl I had seen at the rehearsal'

The semantic duality of this kind may sometimes be disambiguated contextually. In (38a) the adessive syntagm *loteriil* is understood in the locative meaning only ('at the lottery'), whereas the adessive syntagm *talve tulekul* in (38b) is understood in the temporal meaning only ('at the time of the arrival of the winter'):

(38) a. *Varem ma pol-nud loterii-l*
earlier 1sg.NOM be.NEG.NUD lottery.ADE

käi-nud, ... (M052)
visit.NUD

'I had never been at the lottery before'

b. *Ent talve tuleku-l küsi-si-n*
but winter.GEN coming.ADE ask.PAST.1sg

ema käe-st uuesti ... (M073)
mother.GEN from anew

'But as the winter came, I asked my mother again'

What we perceive as the distinction between major categories in the use of the Estonian adessive case then seems to be a reflection of the interaction between the inherent meaning of the noun in the adessive form and the context in which the noun occurs. The most important contextual factor seems to be the semantics of the predicate verb.

Even if we were to group the temporal and locative use together and regard them as the primary function of the Estonian adessive case, we must admit that one out of two occurrences of the Estonian adessive is not used in its primary function, because about half of the occurrences of the adessive syntagm are instances of the adessive-dative.

It is likely that there is a linguistic change going on in the syntax and semantics of the Estonian adessive case: the form is gaining more and more of the abstract meaning typical of the dative case in many languages at the expense of the locative-temporal meaning.

4. Verbs occurring with the adessive-dative

Rätsep (1978) and Kulper (1980) together name 107 verbs that can occur with the adessive-dative, of which 82 are intransitive verbs.¹¹ As the intransitive verbs in the Rätsep-Kulper list do not seem to pose any particular problem for our present study, I will leave them as such without further discussion (see APPENDIX III for the list of 82 intransitive verbs).

The Rätsep-Kulper list contains 24 transitive verbs, which are all from Rätsep (1978). They can be divided into two groups:

Group I: "Causative" Verbs (4.1.)

Group II: Other transitive verbs (4.2.)

4.1 “Causative” verbs (group I)

These are verbs occurring in the “causative” construction discussed as (29) above. Ten transitive verbs from Rätsep (1978) belong here. They all occur with an infinitival syntagm (or a verbal noun) and the adessive-dative¹² functions as the semantic subject of the infinitival syntagm.

Of the ten verbs, eight verbs — *aitama* ‘to help’, *keelama* ‘to forbid’, *käskima* ‘to order’, *laskma* ‘to make, let’, *lubama* ‘to allow’, *paluma* ‘to request, ask’, *soovitama* ‘to recommend’ and *võimaldama* ‘to enable’ — occur with the *da*-infinitive:

(39) *aitama* ‘to help’

Ann *aita-s* *Villemi-l* *kapsa-id*
Ann.NOM help.PADT.3sg Villem.ADE cabbage.pl.PAR
nuia-ta. (R189)
cudgel.INF2
‘Ann helped Villem cudge cabbageheads’

(40) *keelama* ‘to forbid’

Mees *keela-s* *sõbra-l* *külla*
man.NOM forbid.PAST.3sg friend.ADE on a visit
tulla. (R196)
come.INF2
‘The man forbade a friend to visit him’

(41) *käskima* ‘to order’

Kooliõpetaja *käski-s* *Arno-l*
school-teacher.NOM order.PAST.3sg Arno.ADE
hoolas *olla*. (R196)
diligent.NOM be.INF2
‘The teacher told Arno to be diligent’

(42) *laskma* ‘to make, let’

Valvur *lask-is* *vangi-l* *põgene-da*. (R196)
guard.NOM let.PAST.3sg prisoner.ADE flee.INF2
‘The guard let the prisoner run away’

(43) *lubama* ‘to allow’¹³

Pererahvas *luba-s* *külalis-te-l*
household.NOM allow.PAST.3sg guset.pl.ADE
tantsi-da. (R189)
dance.INF2
‘The host family allowed the guests to dance’

(44) *paluma* ‘to request, ask’

Direktor *palu-s* *sekretäri-l*
director.NOM request.PAST.3sg secretary.ADE
asja *selgita-da*. (R189)
matter.PAR clarify.INF2
‘The director asked the secretary to clarify the issue’

(45) *soovitama* ‘to recommend’

Peeter *soovita-s* *Jüri-l* *meistri*
Peeter.NOM recommend.PAST.3sg Jüri.ADE master.GEN
poole *pöördu-da*. (R196)
toward turn.INF2
‘Peeter recommended Jüri to turn to the master craftsman’

(46) *võimaldama* ‘to enable’

Isa *võimalda-s* *las-te-l*
father.NOM enable.PAST.3sg child.pl.ADE
kooli-s *käia*. (R189)
school.INE visit.INF2
‘The father made it possible for the children to go to school’

The following three verbs can occur with the elative form of the *ma*-infinitive:

(47) *keelama* 'to forbid'

Mees keela-s sõbra-l külla
 man.NOM forbid.PAST.3sg friend.ADE on a visit
tule-ma-st. (R200)
 come.INF2.ELA
 'The man forbade a friend from visiting him'

(48) *segama* 'to interfere'

See seletus ei sega-nud
 DEM.NOM explanation.NOM NEG interfere.NUD
ajakirjanduse-l kära tõst-ma-st. (R200)
 journalism.ADE noise.PAR raise.INF2.ELA
 'This explanation didn't stop journalists from raising their voice'

(49) *takistama* 'to prevent'

Vihm takista-s inimes-te-l tee-d
 rain.NOM prevent.PAST.3sg person.pl.GEN way.PAR
jätka-ma-st. (R200)
 continue.INF1.ELA
 'The rain prevented the people from continuing their way'

The verb *segama* 'to interfere' may also occur with the deverbal noun in *-mine*:

(50) *segama* 'to interfere'

See seletus ei sega-nud
 DEM.NOM explanation.NOM NEG interfere.NUD
ajakirjanduse-l kära tõst-mis-t. (R200)
 journalism.ADE noise.PAR raise.MINE.PAR
 'This explanation didn't stop journalists raising their voice'
 [cf. (48)]

There are eight "causative" verbs attested in my corpus data: (51)-(58).

They all occur with the *da*-infinitive. It is interesting to note that these eight verbs are a proper subset of the ten verbs cited above as (39)-(50). The two verbs occurring in Rätsep (1978) that fail to be attested in the corpus are *segama* 'to interfere, mix' and *võimaldama* 'to enable'.

(51) *aitama* 'to help'

... see palavus aita-s mul
 DEM.NOM heat.NOM help.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE
välja tööta-da väikese kurja plaani
 out work.INF2 small.GEN evil.GEN plan.GEN
vanaema vastu. (M122)
 grandma.GEN against
 'the heat helped me make up a small evil plan against Grandma'

(52) *keelama* 'to forbid'

... ema ei keela-nud mu-l minna ... (M073)
 mother.NOM NEG forbid.NUD 1sg.ADE go.INF2
 'Mother didn't forbid me to go'

(53) *käskima* 'to order'

... Maimu käski-s mu-l
 Maimu.NOM order.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE
vaarika-d kiiresti ära süü-a, ... (M064) [(29a)]
 raspberry.pl.NOM quickly away eat.INF2
 'Maimu ordered me to eat the raspberries up quickly'

(54) *laskma* 'to let'

Õun-te ülesostja lask-is
 apple.pl.GEN buyer.NOM let.PAST.3sg
vanaema-l näida-ta ja rääki-da, ... (M127) [(29b)]
 grandma.ADE show.INF2 and speak.INF2
 'The buyer of the apples let the old woman show (him the apples) and talk'

(55) *lubama* ‘to allow’

Kas su isa luba-b mu-l
 QUES 2sg.GEN father.NOM allow.3sg 1sg.ADE
tulla? (M043) [= (29c)]
 come.INF2

‘Will your father allow me to visit you?’

(56) *paluma* ‘to request’

[*ta*] *palu-s end ema-l*
 3sg.NOM request.PAST.3sg self.PAR mother.ADE
kosti-le võtta. (M026)
 food.ALL take.INF2

‘[he] asked Mother to receive him as a boarder’

(57) *soovitama* ‘to recommend’

Ja soovita-s ema-l viia
 and recommend.PAST.3sg mother.ADE take.INF2
mind kontrolli-ks röntgeni-sse. (M104)
 1sg.PAR control.TRA X-ray.ILL
 ‘And [he] recommended Mother to take me to an X-ray
 examination’

(58) *takistama* ‘to prevent’

... *ei takista-nud see ema-l*
 NEG prevent.NUD DEM.NOM mother.ADE
vaimusilma-s näha mind... musitseeri-ma-s. (M040)
 mind-eye.INE see.INF2 1sg.PAR play music.INF1.INE
 ‘that did not prevent Mother from imagining my playing
 music’

The best explanation of this coincidence is that the “causative” construction with the causee in the adessive case is established in Estonian syntax in such a way that it occurs with a strictly delimited class of transitive verbs.

4.2 Other transitive verbs (group II)

These are transitive verbs occurring in the “possessive dative” construction discussed above as (26) and (27). 15 verbs from Rätsep (1978) belong here. With a few possible exceptions (*proovima* ‘to test’, *rakendama* ‘to apply’, etc., where the adessive syntagm is semantically locative rather than dative), the adessive-dative occurring with these transitive verbs denotes the possessor of the referent of the direct object.

(59) *asendama* ‘to replace’

Kuulmine asenda-b neil
 hearing.NOM replace.3sg DEM.pl.ADE
olendi-te-l nägemismeel-t. (R122)
 creature.pl.ADE vision.PAR

‘The hearing replace the vision in these animals’

(60) *avastama* ‘to discover’

Arst avasta- Peetri-l kasvaja. (R163)
 doctor.NOM discover.PAST.3sg Peeter.ADE tumor.GEN

‘The doctor discovered that Peter had a tumor’

(61) *diagnoosima* ‘to diagnose’

Arst diagnoosi-s Peetri-l
 doctor.NOM diagnose.PAST.3sg Peeter.ADE
tuberkuloosi. (R163)
 tuberculosis.GEN

‘The doctor diagnosed Peeter as tuberculosis’

(62) *hoidma* ‘to hold’¹⁴

Peeter hoid-is õllekannu-l sanga-st. (R185)
 Peeter.NOM hold.PAST.3sg tankard.ADE handle.ELA

‘Peeter held the tankard by the handle’

(63) *katsutama* 'to experiment'

Okupandi-d katseta-si-d vangi-de-l
 occupant.pl.NOM experiment.PAST.3pl prisoner.pl.ADE
tsüklongaasi. (R122)
 cyclone-gas.PAR

'The invaders experimented cyclone gas on prisoners'

(64) *kontrollima* 'to check'

Arst kontrolli-s koer-te-l
 doctor.NOM check.PAST.3sg dog.pl.ADE
preparaati. (R124)
 preparation.PAR

'The doctor check the preparation on dogs'

(65) *kustutama* 'to erase, extinguish'

Peeter kustuta-s kavalehe-l
 Peeter.NOM erase.PAST.3sg program-leaf.ADE
viimase punkti. (R175)
 last.GEN point.GEN

'Peeter canceled the last item on the program'

(66) *leidma* 'to find'

Arst leid-is Peetri-l kasvaja. (R175)
 doctor.NOM find.PAST.3sg Peeter.ADE tumor.GEM

'The doctor found Peeter had a tumor'

(67) *märkama* 'to notice'

Kunstnik ol-i seda ilme-t
 artist.NOM be.PAST.3sg DEM.PAR air.PAR
märga-nud suurnike-l. (R122)
 notice.NUD tycoon.pl.ADE

'The artist noticed tycoons had such an air'

(68) *pigistama* 'to squeeze'

See asjaolu ei eksita Peetri-t
 DEM.NOM case.NOM NEG prevent Peeter.PAR
kõig-i-l kät-t pigista-ma-st (R128)
 all.pl.ADE hand.PAR squeeze.INF1.ELA

'That circumstance didn't prevent Peeter from shaking hands with everyone'

(69) *proovima* 'to test'

Timukas proovi-s vangi-de-l
 hangman.NOM test.PAST.3sg prisoner.pl.ADE
oma osavus-t. (R124)
 own skill.PAR

'The executioner tested his own skill on prisoners'

(70) *rakendama* 'to apply'

Nad rakenda-si-d looma-de-l kunstlikku
 3pl.NOM apply.PAST.3pl animal.pl.ADE artificial.PAR
valiku-t. (R122)
 choice.PAR

'They applied artificial selection on animals'

(71) *tekitama* 'to produce, cause'

Uuriija tekita-s hiire-l kasvaja. (R163)
 researcher.NOM cause.PAST.3sg mouse.ADE tumor.GEN

'The researcher caused a tumor in a mouse'

(72) *täheldama* 'to observe, watch'

Kunstnik tähelda-s seda joon-t
 artist.NOM observe.PAST.3sg DEM.PAR feature.PAR
talumees-te-l. (R122)
 peasant.pl.ADE

'The artist observed such a feature in peasants'

(73) *vahetama* 'to exchange'

Ema vaheta-s lapse-l riide-d. (R163)
 mother.NOM exchange.PAST.3sg child.ADE clothe.pl.NOM
 'The mother changed the child's clothes'

Nine group II transitive verbs are attested in the corpus: (74)-(82). It is interesting to note that Rätsep's inventory of group II verbs, *i.e.* (59)-(73), differs from the group II verbs attested in the corpus to the extent that they share only one verb, namely *hoidma*. Compare:

(74) *ajama* 'to drive'

... *mul aja-s südame täis, et*
 1sg.ADE drive.PAST.3sg heart.GEN full that
ta puuduta-s "Estonia-t" ... (M042)
 3sg.NOM touch.PAST.3sg Estonia.PAR
 'It made me angry (*lit.* it drove my heart full) that she mentioned Estonia theater'

(75) *alandama* 'to lower'

... *ma alanda-n teil üüri, ...* (M014) [= (26c)]
 1sg.NOM lower.1sg 2pl.ADE rent.PAR
 'I will lower your rent'

(76) *hoidma* 'to hold'

... *ema hoid-is mu-l käe-st*
 mother.NOM hold.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE hand.ELA
kinni ... (M008) [= (26a)]
 fast
 'Mother held me tightly by the hand'

(77) *kleebima* 'to paste, stick'

Ma kleebi-n nad su-l ise
 1sg.NOM paste.1sg 3pl.NOM 2sg.ADE self

vihiku-sse. (M033) [= (26b)]
 notebook.ILL

'I will paste them in the notebook for you myself'

(78) *nägema* 'to see'

[*ta*] *ol-i ... näi-nud väikese-l*
 3sg.NOM be.PAST.3sg see.NUD small.ADE
tüdi Marta-l pruuni villas-t kleiti
 aunt Marta.ADE brown.PAR woolen.PAR dress.PAR
selja-s ... (M106)
 back.INE

'she had seen then small aunt Marta wearing a brown woolen dress'

(79) *pidama* 'to hold'

Ega mul pee-ta-gi sünnipäeva, ... [= (27b)]
 and-NEG 1sg.ADE hold.INDEF.EMPH birthday.PAR
 'No birthday party is going to be held for me at all' (M036)

(80) *tegema* 'to make'

Ma tee-n nad sul ise valmis. (M033)
 1sg.NOM make.1sg 3pl.NOM 2sg.ADE self ready
 'I will make them ready for you'

(81) *varastama* 'to steal'

Heljo-l varasta-ti kott ära. (M080) [= (27a)]
 Heljo.ADE steal.INDEF.PAST bag.NOM away
 'Heljo had her bag stolen'

(82) *võtma* 'to take'

Kas isa sul püksi-d maha
 QUE father.NOM 2sg.ADE trouser.pl.NOM down
ka võtt-is? (M018)
 also take.PAST.3sg

'Did your father also take off the trousers of you?'

Note incidentally that the only group II verb which EKG uses to illustrate the construction in question, namely *pesema* 'to wash', fails to occur with an adessive-dative in Rätsep's list or in the corpus:

- (83) *Ta pes-i lapse-l käe-d*
 3sg.NOM wash.PAST.3sg child.ADE hand.pl.NOM
puhta-ks. (EKG064)
 clean.TRA
 'She washed the child's hands'

This surprising contrast between the two sets of transitive verbs occurring with the adessive-dative leads us to infer that the adessive-dative construction is not established for the group II verbs in the sense that the "causative" construction is for the group I verbs.

APPENDIX I: The Estonian Case System

Traditionally, the Estonian standard grammar recognizes 14 cases for the noun:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| [1] Nominative (<i>nimetav</i>): | kirik | 'a church' |
| [2] Genitive (<i>omastav</i>): | kiriku | 'of a church' |
| [3] Partitive (<i>osastav</i>): | kiriku-t | 'a church' |
| [4] Illative (<i>sisseütlev</i>): | kiriku-sse | 'into a church' |
| [5] Inessive (<i>seesütlev</i>): | kiriku-s | 'in a church' |
| [6] Elative (<i>seestütlev</i>): | kiriku-st | 'out of a church' |
| [7] Allative (<i>alaleütlev</i>): | kiriku-le | '(on)to a church' |
| [8] Adessive (<i>alalütlev</i>): | kiriku-l | 'on a church' |
| [9] Ablative (<i>alaltütlev</i>): | kiriku-lt | 'from a church' |
| [10] Translative (<i>saav</i>): | kiriku-ks | '(change) into a church' |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| [11] Essive (<i>olev</i>): | kiriku-na | 'as a church' |
| [12] Terminative (<i>rajav</i>): | kiriku-ni | 'up to a church' |
| [13] Abessive (<i>ilmaütlev</i>): | kiriku-ta | 'without a church' |
| [14] Comitative (<i>kaasütlev</i>): | kiriku-ga | 'with a church' |

The six forms from [4] through [9] are traditionally called 'local cases' (*kohakääänded*). The first three of them — illative, inessive and elative — refer to the interior of something and are called 'interior local cases' (*sisekohakääänded*), and the latter three — allative, adessive and ablative —, which refer to the surface or the vicinity of something, are called 'exterior local cases' (*väliskohakääänded*). E.g.:

(i) Interior Local Cases

- | | |
|---|------------|
| a. <i>Vanaema lähe-b kiriku-sse.</i> | [illative] |
| grandma.NOM go.3sg church.ILL | |
| 'Grandma goes to church (<i>lit.</i> , into the church)' | |
| b. <i>Vanaema on kiriku-s.</i> | [inessive] |
| grandma.NOM be.3sg church.INE | |
| 'Grandma is at church (<i>lit.</i> , in the church)' | |
| c. <i>Vanaema tule-b kiriku-st.</i> | [elative] |
| grandma.NOM come.3sg church.ELA | |
| 'Grandma comes (back) from (the) church' | |

(ii) Exterior Local Cases

- | | |
|---|------------|
| a. <i>Noormees lähe-b põllu-le.</i> | [allative] |
| young man.NOM go.3sg field.ALL | |
| 'The young man goes to the field' | |
| b. <i>Noormees tööta-b põllu-l.</i> | [adessive] |
| young man.NOM work.3sg field.ADE | |
| 'The young man is working in the field' | |

c. *Noormees tule-b põllu-lt.* [ablative]
 young man.NOM come.3sg field.ABL
 'The young man comes (back) from the field'

APPENDIX II: The Treatment of the Adessive-Dative in *Eesti keele grammatika* (1993)

Eesti keele grammatika (EKG), the newly-published authoritative descriptive-normative grammar (Erelt et al. 1993), treats the adessive-dative rather briefly under the name of *lokatiivne valdajamäärus* 'locative adverbial of possessor' (henceforth LAP) (pp.63-64). This is, to my knowledge, the most detailed description of the dative use of the Estonian adessive to be found in grammar books.

EKG subclassifies the adessive-dative expressions in terms of the types of predicate syntagms with which they occur:

1) "Situational and modal predicates": the LAP expresses an experiencer in most cases:

Mul on igav siin olla.
 1sg.ADE be.3sg tedious.NOM here be.INF2
 'I am bored to be here'

Meil hakka-s külm.
 1pl.ADE start.PAST.3sg cold.NOM
 'We began to feel cold'

Sukelduja-l tul-i õhu-st puudu.
 diver.ADE come.PAST.3sg air.ELA shortage.PAR
 'The diver was running out of air'

Teil ei tarvitse homse pärast mure-t tunda.
 2pl.ADE NEG need tomorrow.GEN because of
 worry.PAR feel.INF2

'You don't have to worry about tomorrow'

Lolli-de-l vea-b.
 fool.pl.ADE be in luck.3sg
 'Fools have luck'

2) "Experiencer constructions" and "possessive/existential sentences": the LAP denotes an experiencer or a possessor.

Tal on kolm poega.
 3sg.ADE be.3sg three.NOM son.PAR
 'She has three sons'

Neil leidu-b kõike.
 3pl.ADE be found.3sg all.PAR
 'They have everything'

Külalis-te-l puudu-s viisakus.
 guest.pl.ADE lack.PAST.3sg politeness.NOM
 'The guests were not very polite'

Neil on märgata väsimuse tundemärke.
 3pl.ADE be.3sg notice.INF2 fatigue.GEN symptom.pl.PAR
 'They show signs of fatigue'

3) With an infinitive (or other non-finite form of the verb): the LAP denotes the semantic subject of the latter:

Ta käsk-is Roosi-l lilli korja-ta.
 3sg.NOM order.PAST.3sg Roosie.ADE flower.pl.PAR
 collect.INF2
 'She ordered Roosie to collect flowers'

Ta palu-s mul parandus-i teha.
 3sg.NOM request.PAST.3sg 1sg.ADE correction.PAR
 make.INF2

'She asked me to make corrections'

Õige elurütm võimalda-s tal
right.NOM life-rhythm.NOM enable.PAST.3sg 3sg.ADE

tööta-da.
work.INF2

'The right life rhythm enables her to work'

Eeskirja-d takista-si-d meil suur-i
regulation.pl.NON prevent.PAST.3pl 1pl.ADE big.pl.PAR

tegu-sid teha.
deed.pl.PAR make.INF2

'The regulations prevented us from carrying out big plans'

Eeskirja-d takista-si-d meil suur-i
regulation.pl.NON prevent.PAST.3pl 1pl.ADE big.pl.PAR

tegu-sid tege-ma-st.
deed.pl.PAR make.INF1.ELA

'ibid.'

Eeskirja-d takista-si-d meil
regulation.pl.NON prevent.PAST.3pl 1pl.ADE

suur-te tegu-de tege-mis-t.
big.pl.GEN deed.pl.GEN make.MINE.PAR

'ibid.'

4) With some predicate syntagms, the LAP is semantically equivalent to a genitive syntagm.

a) Intransitive sentences:

Ruthi-l läks mees mine-ma.
Ruth.ADE go.PAST.3sg man.NOM go.INF1

'Ruth's husband has gone'

Tal on püksi-d jala-s.
3sg.ADE be.3pl trouser.pl.NOM leg.INE

'She wears pants'

Meil seisa-b ees raske katsumus.
1pl.ADE stand.3sg in front difficult.NOM trial.NOM

'There's an ordeal in front of us'

cf. *Ruthi mees läks mine-ma.*
Ruth.GEN man.NOM go.PAST.3sg go.INF1

Tema jala-s on püksi-d.
3sg.GEN leg.INE be.3pl trouser.pl.NOM

Meie ees seisa-b raske katsumus.
1pl.GEN in front stand.3sg difficult.NOM trial.NOM

b) Transitive sentences:

Ta pes-i lapse-l käe-d
3sg.NOM wash.PAST.3sg child.ADE hand.pl.NOM

puhta-ks.
clean.TRA

'She washed the child's hand'

cf. *Ta pes-i lapse käe-d*
3sg.NOM wash.PAST.3sg child.GEN hand.pl.NOM

puhta-ks.
clean.TRA

Though EKG in a footnote mentions the use of the adessive-dative which is reminiscent of the ethical dative (*ethischer Dativ*) in German — cf. (26)—, it does not seem to include this type of LAPs into any of the above-mentioned four categories:

Sa ole-d mul tubli.
2sg.NOM be.2sg 1sg.ADE good.NOM

'You are good (for me)'

Siin on autori-l kaks viga.
here be.3sg author.ADE two.NOM error.PAR

'Here are two errors on the part of the author'

Siin on ta sul kaks viga
 here be.3sg 3sg.NOM 2sg.ADE two.NOM error.PAR

tei-nud.
 make.NUD

'Here he has made two mistakes upon you'

Like the German "freier Dativ", the Estonian adessive-dative does not seem to be necessarily dependent upon the predicate verb the way the dependency model of syntax would expect. It also seems that the adessive-dative oftentimes does not belong to the predicate syntagm the way the constituency model of syntax would expect. It is, so to speak, an element "floating" in the sentence in such a way that it may only sometimes be associated with a particular constituent dependency-wise, constituency-wise or just semantically (e.g., the causee in a causative construction or the adessive syntagm occurring in sentences of the type 4) above).

APPENDIX III: List of Verbs Occurring with the Adessive-Dative

The following is an alphabetical list of the 82 intransitive verbs mentioned either in Rätsep (1978) or in Kulper (1980) as capable of occurring with the adessive-dative. Each verb is accompanied by one or more illustrative sentences. The examples marked by (R) are taken from Rätsep (1978) and those marked by (K) are from Kulper (1980).

| | |
|--------------|---|
| algama | Tal <i>algasid</i> peavalud. (K) |
| andma | Peetril <i>annab</i> lugu mäletada. (R) |
| arenema | Tal <i>arenes</i> tuberkuloos. (K) |
| avanema | Tal <i>avanes</i> võimalus omalt poolt kaasa aidata. (K) |
| ebaõnnestuma | Peetril <i>ebaõnnestus</i> võõrast lahti saada. (R) |
| haihtuma | Tal <i>haihtus</i> viimanegi lootus, et veel kunagi oma kodumaad näeb.(K) |

| | |
|------------|--|
| hajuma | Tal <i>hajus</i> viimanegi lootus, et veel kunagi oma kodumaad näeb. (K) |
| hakkama | Heinol <i>hakkas</i> igav. (R) |
| heljuma | Mul <i>heljusid</i> rõngad silmade ees. (K) |
| hõõguma | Kuulajatel <i>hõõgusid</i> vaimustusest silmad. (K) |
| ilmnema | Solistidel <i>ilmnes</i> häädusvigu. (R) |
| ilmuma | Kirjanikul <i>ilmus</i> teine romaan. (R) |
| jaguma | Sipelgal <i>jagub</i> südidust. (R) |
| jooksuma | Mul <i>jooksevad</i> pisarad. (K) |
| juhtuma | Tal <i>juhtus</i> õnnetusi. (K) |
| jätkuma | Sipelgal <i>jätkub</i> südidust. (K) |
| jääma | Mul <i>jäi</i> kodune töö tegemata. (K) |
| kaduma | Tal <i>kadus</i> üks king jalast. (K) |
| kasvama | Tal <i>kasvas</i> palavik pidevalt. (K) |
| katkema | Mul <i>katkes</i> kannatus. (K) |
| kihelema | Tal <i>kiheles</i> selg väljakannatamatult. (K) |
| kiikuma | Mul <i>kiikusid</i> varjud silmade ees. (K) |
| kipitama | Mul <i>kipitab</i> keelel kurikaval küsimus. (K) |
| kippuma | Tal <i>kippus</i> aga praegugi nutt tulema. (K) |
| kiskuma | Tal <i>kiskusid</i> lõuapärad krampi. (K) |
| koitma | Poisil <i>koidab</i> . (K) |
| korduma | See väide <i>kordub</i> mitmel autoril. (R) |
| korjuma | Mune <i>korjus</i> mul suur hulk. (R) |
| kripeldama | Mul <i>kripeldab</i> kurgus. (K) |
| kujunema | Mul <i>kujunes</i> omalaadne mänguoskus. (K) |
| kuluma | Tal <i>kulus</i> tööle jõudmiseks pool tundi. (K) |
| kõlama | Mul <i>kõlas</i> see teade ikka veel kõrvus. (K) |
| kõlkuma | Tal <i>kõlkus</i> käsivarrel suur kott. (K) |
| käima | Mul <i>käis</i> külm värin üle selja. (K) |
| külmetama | Tal <i>külmetavad</i> varbad. (K) |
| lasuma | Direktoril <i>lasus</i> tohutu suur vastutus. (K) |

| | |
|------------|--|
| leiduma | Noortel <i>leidub</i> julgust edasi minna. (R) |
| luhtuma | Tal <i>luhtus</i> kõik. (K) |
| lõppema | Tal <i>lõppes</i> jõud jalgadest. (K) |
| lõntsuma | Tal <i>lõntsisid</i> sabas Taavit ja toimetaja. (K) |
| maksma | Peetril <i>ei maksa</i> enam häbeneda. (R) |
| meeldima | Jaanil <i>meeldib</i> naerda. (R) |
| minema | Poisil <i>läks</i> arvutamine sassi. (R) |
| muutuma | Mul <i>muutub</i> nähtavaks too kurb, külm loor. (K) |
| mõikama | Poisil <i>mõikab</i> . (K) |
| näkkama | Jaanil <i>näkkas</i> . (R) |
| olema | Tal <i>on</i> palavik. (K) |
| piisama | Sipelgal <i>piisab</i> südidust. (K) |
| pruukima | Peetril <i>ei pruugi</i> häbeneda. (R) |
| purunema | Tal <i>purunes</i> side staabiga. (K) |
| puuduma | Peetril <i>puudusid</i> andmed. (R) |
| põlema | Kuulajatel <i>põlesid</i> vaimustusest silmad. (K) |
| püsima | Kõigest hoolimata <i>püsis</i> tal ikka hea tuju. (K) |
| rippuma | Tal <i>rippus</i> kaelas medaljon. (K) |
| saama | Tal <i>sai</i> jõud jalgadest otsa. (K) |
| siginema | Tal <i>sigines</i> äkki keset kahjutunnet muie näole. (K) |
| sobima | Naistel <i>sobib</i> suusatada. (R) |
| sugenema | Rahval <i>sugenes</i> arvamine, et metsa ei tasu minna. (R) |
| surema | Tal <i>surid</i> vanemad. (K) |
| sähvatama | Mul <i>sähvatas</i> mõte läbi pea. (K) |
| säilima | Kõigest hoolimata <i>säilis</i> tal ikka hea tuju. (K) |
| särama | Tüdrukul <i>särasid</i> heameelest silmad. (K) |
| sügelema | Tal <i>sügeles</i> selg väljakannatamatult. (K) |
| sündima | Tal <i>sündis</i> tütar. (K) |
| süttima | Poiss ei pannud tähelegi, kui tal riided <i>süttisid</i> . (K) |
| tarvitsema | Tal <i>tarvitses</i> ainult juurde minna, kui rahvas pudenes laiali. (K) |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| tekkima | Tal <i>tekkis</i> küsimus. (K) |
| tolknema | Tal <i>tolknes</i> kaelas medaljon. (K) |
| tuikama | Tal <i>tuikas</i> meelekohtades. (K) |
| tulema | Tal <i>tuli</i> üks king jalast. (K) |
| tõmbuma | Tal <i>tõmbusid</i> lõuapärad krampi. (K) |
| tõusma | Tal <i>tõusis</i> palavik. (K) |
| täituma | Peetril <i>täitus</i> juhataja kohal viis aastat. (R) |
| tärkama | Eugenil <i>tärkas</i> ideid. (R) |
| ununema | Peetril <i>ununes</i> raamat koju. (R) |
| valmima | Kirjanikul <i>valmis</i> uus romaan. (K) |
| vedama | Tal <i>vedas</i> kaardimängus. (K) |
| voolama | Mul <i>voolavad</i> pisarad. (K) |
| väsima | Tal <i>väsisisid</i> jalad nii ruttu. (K) |
| õnnestuma | Mul <i>õnnestus</i> teda unustada. (K) |
| õõtsuma | Mul <i>õõtsusid</i> varjud silmade ees. (K) |
| äparduma | Tal <i>äpardus</i> kõik. (K) |

ABBREVIATIONS

IN THE GLOSSES:

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| ABE | abessive | ABL | ablative |
| ADE | adessive | ALL | allative |
| COM | comitative | COMP | comparative form |
| COND | conditional | DEM | demonstrative |
| ELA | elative | EMPH | emphatic particle |
| GEN | genitive | ILL | illative |
| IMP | imperative | INDEF | indefinite person |
| INE | inessive | INF1 | infinitive in <i>-ma</i> |
| INF2 | infinitive in <i>-da</i> | MINE | nominalizing suffix |

| | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| NEG | negation particle | NOM | nominative |
| NUD | past active participle | PAR | partitive |
| PAST | past tense | QUES | interrogative particle |
| REL | relative word | TRA | translative |
| ESS | essive | TER | terminative |
| TUD | past passive participle | VA | present active participle |
| pl | plural | | |
| 1sg | first person singular | 2sg | second person singular |
| 3sg | third person singular | 1pl | first person plural |
| 2pl | second person plural | 3pl | third person plural |

SOURCES

| | |
|-----|--|
| EKG | M. Erelt et al. 1993. |
| EKS | <i>Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat.</i> |
| K | M. Kulper. 1980. |
| M | H. Mänd. 1983. <i>Väikesed võililled.</i> |
| R | H. Rätsep. 1978. |
| SP | P. Saagpakk. 1982. |

NOTES

1. The Estonian language (*eesti keel*) is a Baltic-Finnic language in the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic family. It has more than one million speakers, over ninety percent of whom live in the Estonian Republic, where it is the sole official language or "state language" (*riigikeel*).
2. For the Estonian case system, see Appendix I.
3. The functional parallelism between the Estonian adessive and the German free dative has also been pointed out by Klaas (1988) and Oinas (1993).

4. We use the term "syntagm" to refer to any syntactic unit intermediate between word and sentence or a phrase in the non-technical sense.
5. Erelt et al. (1993: 63-64) offers an alternative description, for a detailed summary and appraisal of which see Appendix II.
6. The electronic version of pp. 3-128 of the book *Väikesed võililled* by Heljo Mänd, Eesti Raamat, 1983. The examples taken from this text are marked with M followed by a page number in the parentheses, e.g. (M033). Some of the examples are taken from other sources, whose abbreviations are listed at the end of the paper.
7. A few conventions are employed when counting the number of the occurrences of the adessive case: (i) attributive adjectives occurring in the adessive case because of the head-modifier concord are not regarded as independent occurrences of the adessive case; (ii) if two or more adessive syntagms form a coordinate structure, then the coordination as a whole is regarded as one occurrence of the adessive case.
8. The 52 adessive expressions grouped under the "adverbial of instrument/manner" here are semantically rather heterogenous, and it is probably possible to classify them into subcategories. Because this group of adessive expressions is rather small compared with the other three categories, we are not going to subclassify them in the present paper.
9. Compare sentences in (7) and (8) in the introduction.
10. Note the minimal pair contrast between (26a) and the sentence below, which is also from the corpus.

Ema hoid-is minu käe-st kinni ... (M014)
 mother.NOM hold.PAST.3sg 1sg.GEN hand.ELA fast
 'Mother held my hand tightly'

11. Compound verbs (*liitverbid*) are not regarded as separate verbs here. Thus *korda minema* 'to to come off', for example, is counted as an instance of the simple verb *minema* 'to go'.
12. According to Rätsep (1978), the adessive-dative occurring with these verbs may sometimes alternate with the direct object.

Mees keela-s sõpra külla tulla. (R196)
 man.NOM forbid.PAST.3sg friend.PART on a visit come.INF2

'The man forbade a friend to visit him'

Komandör *käski-s* *sõduri-t* *tule-d*
commander.NOM order.PAST.3sg soldier.PAR fire.pl.NOM
kustuta-da. (R189)
extinguish.INF2

'The commander ordered a soldier to extinguish the fires'

Muusika *ei* *lask-nud* *Peetri-t* *maga-da.* (R189)
music.NOM NEG let.NUD Peeter.PAR sleep.INF2

'The music didn't allow Peeter to sleep'

Pererahvas *ei* *luba* *külalis-i* *tantsi-da.* (R189)
household.NOM NEG allow guest.pl.PAR dance.INF2

'The host family do not allow the guests to dance'

Direktor *palu-s* *sekretüri* *asja*
director.NOM request.PAST.3sg secretary.PAR matter.PAR
selgita-da. (R189)
clarify.INF2

'The director asked the secretary to clarify the issue'

13. This verb may also be used as a transitive verb of group II:

Haav *ei* *luba* *mul* *pingutus-t.* (R122)
wound.NOM NEG allow 1sg.ADE strain.PAR

'The wound don't allow me to strain'

14. The adessive syntagm may alternate with the genitive syntagm:

Peeter *hoid-is* *õllekannu* *sanga-st.* (R126)
Peeter.NOM hold.PAST.3sg tankard.GEN handle.ELA

'Peeter held the handle of the tankard'

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