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in Estonian

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In Estonian standard grammar the nouns occurring in oblique cases as in the following examples, (1), (2), are called the "adverbial attributes" (Estonian *adverbiaalatribuut*) of the nouns following them:¹⁾

- (1) a. *pargi-s jaluta-ja*
park-INNES stroll-nom.suff.²⁾
'one who takes (or is taking) a walk in the park'
b. *elu-st pettu-nu*
life-ELAT get disappointed-nom.suff.
'one who is disappointed in his/her life'
c. *puhkuse-le mine-k*
vacation-ALLAT go-nom.suff.
'(act of) going for a vacation'
d. *lennuki-sse istu-mine*
airplane-ILLAT sit down-nom.suff.
'(act of) sitting aboard the airplane'

* The present article is based on the paper read on July 25, 1985, at the Sixth International Congress of Finno-Ugrists, Syktyvkar, USSR. The Estonian language belongs to the Baltic Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. It is spoken by over one million people, the majority of whom live in Estonia, one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.

1) By 'standard grammar' is meant such works as Mihkla et al. (1974) and Mihkla & Valmis (1979). Adverbial attributes are characterized as "nominal attributes (Estonian *nimisõnaline täiend*) which are like adverbials (Estonian *määrus*) in meaning and form but differ from them in that they do not expand the verb, adjective or adverb, but belong with the noun" (Mihkla et al. 1974: 320).

2) The following abbreviations are used in the present paper:

ABESS	abessive	ILLAT	illative
ABLAT	ablative	INESS	inessive
ADESS	adessive	nom.suff.	nominal suffix
ALLAT	allative	rel.pron.	relative pronoun
COMIT	comitative	TRANSL	translative
ELAT	elative	3.sg	third person singular

- (2) a. *kivi-st maja*
stone-ELAT house 'a stone house'
- b. *abielu-s naine*
marriage-INCESS woman 'a married woman'
- c. *habeme-ga mees*
beard-COMIT man 'a man with a beard'
- d. *ema-ta laps*
mother-ABESS child 'a motherless child'

Despite the apparent similarity, however, there is one crucial difference between the cases in (1) and those in (2). Noun phrases of the type (1) have deverbal nouns as their heads and are associated with verb phrases:

- (3) a. *jaluta-b pargi-s*
stroll-3.sg park-INCESS '(he/she) strolls in the park'
- b. *pettu-b elu-st*
get disappointed-3.sg life-ELAT
'(he/she) gets disappointed in his/her life'
- c. *lähe-b³⁾ puhkuse-le*
go-3.sg vacation-ALLAT '(he/she) goes for a vacation'
- d. *istu-b lennuki-sse*
sit down-3.sg airplane-ILLAT
'(he/she) sits aboard the airplane'

Comparing (1) with (3) one can say that the valency of the verb is transferred to deverbal nouns. In other words, not only the presence but also the morphological form of the "adverbial attribute" is determined by the valency of the head noun in cases like *pargis jalutaja* 'one who takes a walk in the park.' The adverbial attributes of this type should be regarded as *complements* or *Ergänzungen* of the head noun.

The same is not true with the adverbial attributes found in (2). For one thing, noun phrases of this type may have any noun as their head. For another, they are not associated with verb phrases. In function adverbial attributes in (2) show strong affinity with adjectival attributes like *suur* 'big' in *suur maja* 'a big house', *ilus* 'beautiful' in *ilus naine* 'a beautiful woman', *pikk* 'long' in *pikk mees* 'a tall man' and *õnnetu* 'unhappy' in *õnnetu laps* 'an unhappy child.' Noun phrases like those in (2) are thus related to relative clauses:

- (4) a. *maja, mis on kivi-st*
house rel.pron. be-3.sg stone-ELAT
'a house which is (made) of stone'

3) The form *mine-* in (1c) is suppletive.

- b. *naine, kes on abielu-s*
 woman rel.pron. be-3.sg marriage-INNESS
 'a woman who is married (literally: is in marriage)'
- c. *mees, kes on habeme-ga*
 man rel.pron. be-3.sg beard-COMIT
 'a man who is with a beard'
- d. *laps, kes on (ilma) ema-ta*
 child rel.pron. be-3.sg without mother-ABESS
 'a child who is without a mother'

Adverbial attributes of this type, which have nothing to do with the valency of the head noun, should be regarded as *modifiers* or *Angaben* of the head noun.

The standard grammar treats all prenominal⁴⁾ adverbial attributes in the same way without discrimination between complements and modifiers. In what follows we will show that this distinction plays an important role in the formation of one fundamental compound type in Estonian.

There is a class of compounds in Estonian whose first component elements are nominals, i.e., nouns and adjectives, in non-genitive oblique cases. The second component of such a compound is, in general, a deverbal noun, and the compound as a whole is associated with a verb phrase:

- (5) a. *kooli-s/käi-ja* \iff *käi-b kooli-s*
 school-INNESS/go-nom.suff. go-3.sg school-INNESS
 'one who goes to school' '(he/she) goes to school'
- b. *pea-st/arvuta-mine* \iff *arvuta-b pea-st*
 head-ELAT/compute-nom.suff. compute-3.sg head-ELAT
 'mental arithmetic' '(he/she) does mental arithmetic
 (literally: computes out of head)'
- c. *meel-de/tulet-us* \iff *tuleta-b (midagi) meel-de*
 mind-ILLAT/derive-nom.suff. derive-3.sg something mind-ILAT
 'reminder' '(he/she) reminds someone of some-
 thing (literally: brings something
 into mind)'
- d. *kala-l/käi-k* \iff *käi-b kala-l*
 fish-ADESS/go-nom.suff. go-3.sg fish-ADESS
 'going fishing' '(he/she) goes fishing (literally: goes
 on fish)'

4) The distinction drawn between *complements/Ergänzungen* and *modifier/Angaben* applies to postnominal adverbial attributes as well. They are not going to be dealt with here, since they have no direct relevance to the present discussion.

- e. *koha-lt/nihut-us* \iff *nihuta-b (kellegi) koha-lt*
 place-ABLAT/shift-nom.suff. shift-3.sg someone place-ABLAT
 'displacement' 'to displace someone from the post'
- f. *marju-le/mine-k*⁵⁾ \iff *lähe-b marju-le*
 berries-ALLAT/go-nom.suff. go-3.sg berries-ALLAT
 '(act of) going berrying' '(he/she) goes berrying (literally: goes to berries)'
- g. *halva-ks/pan-u* \iff *pane-b (midagi) halva-ks*
 bad-TRANSL/put-nom.suff. put-3.sg something bad-TRANSL
 'disdain' '(he/she) holds something in contempt (literally: puts something as bad)'
- h. *töö-ta/ole-k* \iff *on töö-ta*
 work-ABESS/be-nom.suff. be-3.sg work-ABESS
 'unemployment' '(he/she) is without job'
- i. *käe-ga/löö-mine* \iff *löö-b (millelegi) käe-ga*
 hand-COMIT/hit-nom.suff. hit-3.sg to something hand-COMIT
 '(act of) giving up' '(he/she) gives something up as lost (literally: hits at something with a hand)'

Despite the morphological peculiarity of the first component elements of such compounds, they are given but scant attention in any of the Estonian grammars available to us. Perhaps the idiomatic nature of these compounds is intuitively clear to native Estonians; yet, from a descriptive point of view, an explanation seems to be in order. To make the point clearer, let us give a concrete example. The following is taken from Valgma and Rimmel's grammar *Eesti keele grammatika*:

"Nouns occurring in the other case forms are rarely combined with the noun that follows them; such is the case when two words, as a compound, represent a certain concept which has become common (*kalal/käimine, marjule/minek, tuppa/minek, koju/tulek, tööta/tööline, õlale/võtmine, selga/ladumine*)."⁶⁾ (Valgma & Rimmel 1970:316)

5) See footnote 3.

6) *kala-l/käi-mine* (fish-ADESS/go-nom.suff.) '(act of) going fishing (literally: going on fish)', *marju-le/mine-k* (berries-ALLAT/go-nom.suff.) '(act of) going berrying (literally: going to berries)' (=5f), *tuppa/mine-k* (room-ILLAT/go-nom.suff.) '(act of) going into the room', *koju/tule-k* (home-ILLAT/come-nom.suff.) '(act of) coming home (literally: coming into home)', *töö-ta/tööline* (work-ABESS/worker) 'an unemployed worker (literally: a jobless worker)', *õla-le/võit-mine* (shoulder-ALLAT/take-nom.suff.) '(act of) taking (something) upon one's shoulder', *selga/ladu-mine* (back-ILLAT/pile-nom.suff.) '(act of) piling up (something) on one's back (literally: into the back)'.

While useful in calling attention to the existence of these peculiar compounds, this paragraph fails to adequately explain why the first component elements are in non-genitive oblique cases in some compounds while they are not in others. Compare, for instance, the following pair:

- (6) a. *kodu-s/tööta-ja*
 home-INESS/work-nom.suff.
 'one who works at home'
 b. *kodu/õpetaja*⁷⁾
 home/teach-nom.suff.
 'a private tutor (literally: home teacher)'

An appropriate explanation of the difference in question is found in the traditional theory of word formation. Particular attention should be given to the distinction between *Zusammenbildungen* and *Zusammensetzungen* or between *synthetic* and *primary* compounds,⁸⁾ assuming that they are derived in different ways. Synthetic compounds are nominalizations of verb phrases and thus the compound *koolis/käija* (=5a) 'one who goes to school' has the same underlying structure as the verb phrase *käib koolis* '(he/she) goes to school'. They are both formed on the basis of a head-complement relation: the valency of the verb is transferred to the deverbal noun. The formation of primary compounds, on the other hand, does not involve a head-complement relation. They are simple concatenations of two words. Thus the compound *mets/loom* 'a wild animal' is formed by simply putting two nouns *mets* 'forest' and *loom* 'animal' together, and means 'such an animal (*loom*) as is characterized by its certain relation to the forest (*mets*)'. The explanation of the difference between (6a) and (6b) in the morphology of their first component elements is that *kodus/töötaja* is a synthetic compound, whereas *kodu/õpetaja* is a primary one: the former is related to the verb phrase *tööta-b kodu-s* (work-3.sg home-INESS) '(he/she) works at home', but the latter is a simple combination of *kodu* 'home' and *õpetaja* 'teacher'.

7) Strictly speaking, the form *kodu* may stand for any of the following three cases: nominative singular, genitive singular and partitive singular. However, that it stands for the genitive singular in this particular compound can be inferred from such compounds as *kooli/õpetaja* 'a school teacher', where the first component element *kooli* is the genitive singular of *kool* 'school'.

8) According to Henzen (1965:237) *Zusammenbildungen* are those cases "wo bloße (syntaktische) Wortverbindungen, die für sich noch nicht als Zusammensetzungen betrachtet oder empfunden werden, zur Grundlage von Ableitungen gemacht sind." The terms *synthetic* and *primary compound* are from Marchand (1969:15): "Synthetic compounds are combinations whose second elements are deverbal derivatives from verbs which form a direct syntagma with the determinant [. . .] [T]hey are in reality nothing but derivatives from a verbal nexus."

Let us look at the topic from a different perspective and consider whether all compounds with an oblique-case first component element can be considered synthetic. It is interesting to note that many Estonian grammar books do mention compounds with an oblique-case first component that cannot be considered synthetic:

- (7) a. *töö-ta/tööline*
 work-ABESS/worker
 'an unemployed worker (literally: a worker without job)'
 b. *maa-ta/mees*
 land-ABESS/man
 'a landless peasant (literally: a man without land)'

One should recall that synthetic compounds involve a head-complement relation and have, as a rule, deverbal nouns as their second component elements. The second elements of the two compounds in (7) are not deverbal by any standard: *tööline* 'worker' is denominal its English translation notwithstanding, since it is a derivative of the noun *töö* 'work', and *mees* 'man' is a simplex word unanalyzable in terms of word formation. Nor does any head-complement relation seem to be involved in their formation: they are associated with relative clauses rather than with verb phrases:

- (8) a. *tööline, kes on (ilma) töö-ta*
 worker rel.pron. be-3.sg without work-ABESS
 'a worker who is without job'
 b. *mees, kes on (ilma) maa-ta*
 man rel.pron. be-3.sg without land-ABESS
 'a man who is without land'

This implies that they are formed on the basis of a modifier-head relation.

Compounds like those in (7) do not seem to constitute a large class. Undoubtedly due to their rarity and unproductivity, examples other than the two stock examples cited in (7) are but infrequently found in grammar books. Thus we can conclude that only complements, but not modifiers, can be incorporated into synthetic compounds.

Comparing (1) and (2) on one hand and (5) and (7) on the other, we find that the distinction between complements and modifiers is operative not only in phrases but also in the formation of compounds. In conclusion it can be stated that the distinction between head-complement relations and modifier-head relations is essential to Estonian grammar.

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