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THE ESTONIAN TRANSLATIVE: A CORPUS-BASED DESCRIPTION¹

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

1. Introduction

1.1. The Data

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

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

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

Heljo Mänd 1983. *Väikesed võililled*.

Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, pp. 3–127.

c. 36,700 words [Abbr. M]

Oskar Luts 1982. *Kevade. Pildikesi koolipõlvest I ja II*.

Tallinn: Perioodika, 13. trükk, pp. 7–72.

c. 18,600 words [L]

L. Lumiste et. al. 1963. *Meie kodumaa*.

Stockholm: Rootsi-Eesti Öpperaamatufond, pp. 120–198.

c. 14,700 words [K]

Maimu Berg 1987. *Kirjutajad. Seisab üksi mäe peal*.

Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, pp. 145–214.

c. 20,000 words [B]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. The Translative Case in Traditional Grammar

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) der Endpunkt oder die Richtung der Umwandlung:

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

(3) der Zustand:

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

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

(4) die Zeitgrenze oder die beabsichtigte Zeitdauer:

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

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

- esite-ks* 'firstly'
teise-ks 'secondly'
kolmanda-ks 'thirdly'
viima-ks 'lastly'

(6) As adverbial constituents of compound verbs:

anna ande-ks 'forgive (me)!'
 give.IMP.2sg

tuttava-ks saa-ma 'to become friends'
 acquaintance.TRA get.INF

hea-ks kiit-ma 'to approve'
 good.TRA praise.INF

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

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

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Subject and Object Complements in English

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. The Subject and Object Complements in Estonian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Syntactic Distribution of the Translative Case

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

3.1. The Subject Complement

3.1.1. The Copular Verb *olema*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2. Intransitive Verbs Other Than the Verb *olema*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

puru-ks.

dust.TRA (L028)

'with a clatter the sauna window broke into pieces'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2. The Object Complement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (28) a. *Tegelikult* muut-si-d just need
actually change.PAST.3pl just DEM. pl.NOM
silma-d näo veel õudsema-ks. (B174)
eye.pl.NOM face.GEN still more terrible.TRA
'in reality those eyes made the countenance even more terrible'
- b. *Ta...* pühk-is prilli-d
3sg.NOM wipe.PAST.3sg eyeglass.pl.NOM
puhta-ks...
clean.TRA (L041)
'he wiped the eyeglasses [clean]'
- c. *Värvi-si-me* ema huulepulga-ga oma
color.PAST.1pl mother.GEN lipstick.COM own
huule-d punase-ks,... (M075)
lip.pl.NOM red.TRA
'we painted our lips red with Mother's lipstick'
- d. *Eesti-s* nõu-ti veel meie
Estonia.INE demand.INDEF.PAST yet 1pl.GEN
maa ühendamis-t ühe-ks kubermangu-ks,...
land.GEN uniting.PAR one.TRA gubernia.TRA (K122)
'in Estonia, a demand was made to unify our territory into one province'
- e. *Jaak* haara-b peekri ja joo-b
Jaak.NOM seize.3sg goblet.GEN and drink.3sg
selle suur-te sõõmu-de-ga tühja-ks.
DEM.GEN big.pl.GEN gulp.pl.COM empty.TRA
(B214)
'Jaak grabbed the goblet and drank it up with a gulp'
-
- b. *kui* sa... mei-st sakslase-d ole-ksi-d
as 2sg.NOM 1pl.ELA German.pl.NOM be.COND.2sg
kasvata-nud,... (B206)
bring up.NUD
'if you had educated us to be Germans,...'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3. Translative Complements and the Number Concord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pan-dud rea-d murelikku-de-ks. (K186)
 put.TUD line.pl.NOM worried.pl.TRA
 'the poet's ideas and the rows wrote down [by him] on the paper became full of concern'

- (IIIb) *Anne on liiga hea naine*
 Anne.NOM be.2sg too good.NOM woman.NOM
selle-ks, et Liisa lapsi enda
 DEM.TRA that Liisa.GEM child.pl.PAR self.GEM
oma-st halvema-te-ks pida-da. (B156) [= (46c)]
 own.ELA worse.pl.TRA regard.INF
 'Anne is too good a woman to consider Liisa's children to be inferior to her own'

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

Other examples of the subject complement in the translative plural:

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

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

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

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

(36) Translative Singular Complements Relating to a Plural Subject

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

(37) Translative Singular Complements Relating to a Plural Object

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

3.4. The Adverbial Uses of the Translative Case

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

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

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

3.4.1. The Translative as an Adverbial of Time

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

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

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

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

Let us compare the two sentences in (39):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.1.1. The Translative of Period of Time

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some idiomatic translative expressions can be included in this category:

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

3.4.1.2. The Translative of Time Limit

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.2. The Translative of Purpose/Use

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kiriku-s laul-mise-ks. (VT171)

church.INE sing.MINE.TRA

'she made a proposal for her singing in the church'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(54) a. *pilte, mi-da päevapiltnik*
 photo.pl.PAR REL.PAR photographer.NOM
ol-i reklaami-ks välja
 be.PAST.3sg advertisement.TRA out
pan-nud. (M059)
 put.NUD

'the pictures that photographer had exhibited for advertisement'

b. *Ta katsu-s üteldagi midagi*
 3sg.NOM try.PAST.3sg say.INF something.PAR
vabanduse-ks,... (L013)
 apology.TRA
 'he tried to say something for excuse'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.4. The Translative Syntagm as a Sentential Adverbial

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

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

- jaani* *rända-ma.* (K185)
Midsummer.PAR wander.INF
'but to the fright of the young lady, the lake began to
move along one night'
- e. *Kahju-ks* *mu* *merisea-d* *on*
harm.TRA 1sg.GEN guinea pig.pl.NOM be.3pl
praegu *haige-d.* (M106)
at the moment ill.pl.NOM
'unfortunately, my guinea pigs are ill right now'
- (58) a. ...*oska-s* *lisa-ks* *eesti*
can.PAST.3sg addition.TRA Estonian
keele-le *korralikult* *saksa*
language.ALL well German
keel-t... (B150)
language.PAR
'in addition to Estonian [he] knew German quite well'
- b. *Nii ol-i* *näite-ks* *elanike*
so be.PAST.3sg example.TRA inhabitant.pl.GEN
arv *rahvaloendus-te* *andme-i-l*
number.NOM census.pl.GEN datum.pl.ADE
Tallinna-s 1871. *aasta-l 33 269,...* (K124)
Tallinn.INE year.ADE
'for example, the population in Tallinn in 1871 was
33 269 according to the censuses'
- c. *Läksi-n* *tänava-le* *ja* *vaata-si-n*
go.PAST.1sg street.ALL and look.PAST.1sg
iga-ks *juhu-ks* *veel kord*
every.TRA case.TRA yet time.NOM
maja *üle.* (M054)
house.GEN over
'I went to the street and watched at the house
once more to make sure'

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

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

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

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

4. The Translative Element in Compound and Collocational Verbs

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

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

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

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

kuid Aita sa-i minu peale
 though Aita.NOM get.PAST.3sg 1sg.GEN upon
pahase-ks... (M077)
 angry.TRA
 'but Aita got angry with me'

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

Taht-si-n lihtsalt terve-ks saa-da,... (M104)
 want.PAST.1sg simply well.TRA get.INF
 'I simply wanted to get well'

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

Liliani-l jä-i äkki kurk
 Lilian.ADE remain.PAST.3sg suddenly throat.NOM
haige-ks. (M057)
 ill.TRA
 'Lilian suddenly fell ill in the throat'

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

(64) *selge-ks tege-ma* 'to make clear' (8 occurrences)

neile, kes taha-vad maailma-le
 DEM.pl.ALL REL.NOM want.3pl world.ALL
selge-ks teha, et... (B178)
 clear.TRA make.INF that
 'to those who want to make clear to the world that...'

(65) *selge-ks saa-ma* 'to understand clearly' (7 occurrences)

... nõud-is..., et ma saa-ksi-n
 demand.PAST.3sg that 1sg.NOM get.COND.1sg
pala selge-ks. (M040)
 piece.GEN clear.TRA
 '[he] demanded that I understand the piece [of music] clearly'

(66) *puhta-ks pühki-ma* 'to wipe clean' (3 occurrences)

Isa on põrand puhta-ks
 father.NOM be.3sg f loor.GEN clean.TRA
pühki-nud,...
 wipe.NUD
 (B191)
 'Father has cleaned the floor [of dust]'

(67) *kindla-ks määra-ma* 'to determine' (3 occurrences)

Asutav Kogu... määra-b kindla-ks
 Constituent Assembly.NOM determine.3sg firm.TRA
riigikorra. (K126)
 state-order.GEN
 'the Constituent Assembly will determine the political system of the state'

(68) *naise-ks võt-ma* 'to take to wife, marry' (3 occurrences)

tema... siis Teele enda-le naise-ks
 3sg.NOM then Teele.GEN self.ALL wife.TRA
võta-b.
 take.3sg (L024) [= (32d)]
 'he will then marry Teele (*lit.* takes Teele as wife)'

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

Palun saa-ge tutvava-ks,... (B197)
 please get.IMP.2pl acquaintance.TRA
 'please get acquainted with each other'

- (70)
- tuttava-ks tege-ma*
- 'to make acquainted with' (2 occurrences)

Ma ole-n tõesti rõõmus, et
 1sg.NOM be.1sg really glad.NOM that
Karl mind teie-ga tutvava-ks
 Karl.NOM 1sg.PAR 2pl.COM acquaintance.TRA
teg-i,...(B200)
 make.PAST.3sg
 'I am glad that Karl introduced me to you'

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

ka Arvo ei võt-nud uut
 also Arvo.NOM NEG take.NUD new.PAR
kodu oma-ks. (M023)
 home.PAR own.TRA
 'Arvo too had a hard time adapting himself to the new home'

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

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

tul-i ilmsi-ks mu sõnavara
 come.PAST.3sg to light 1sg.GEN vocabulary.GEN
nappus... (M085)
 scantiness.NOM
 'it was revealed that my vocabulary was poor'

- (73)
- nõu-ks võt-ma*
- 'to take into one's head, intend' (3 occurrences)

... võtt-is ta nõu-ks talle
 take.PAST.3sg 3sg.NOM plan.TRA 3sg.ALL
abi-ks olla. (L048)
 help.TRA be.INF
 'he thought he could help him (*lit.* took it as his plan to be of help to him)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following example illustrates a three-word collocational verb:

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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