

DEMONSTRATIVE DOUBLING IN SPOKEN ESTONIAN

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Abstract. In spoken Estonian virtually every argument and adjunct phrase in a sentence may in principle be preceded by the corresponding demonstrative. These demonstrative–lexical element pairs have been assigned different syntactic analyses or have not been analysed at all. In the present article it will be argued that all these combinations are instances of the same syntactic construction, which can be interpreted as a doubling construction and which can perform various functions of grammatical, semantic and pragmatic nature. In addition, it will be suggested that this construction is part of a larger syntactic strategy characteristic of the Estonian language.

1. Introduction

Spoken Estonian makes extensive use of a strategy that combines lexical elements with the corresponding demonstratives. The starting-point of the present article is the hypothesis that all these combinations are instances of the same syntactic construction, although traditionally different demonstrative–lexical phrase combinations have been assigned different syntactic analyses or have not been analysed at all. I will refer to these combinations as “demonstrative constructions”.

The data derive from a corpus assembled and transcribed by the Spoken Estonian Research Group at the Chair of General Linguistics at the University of Tartu and are illustrated in example (1)¹. The construction under examination appears in bold type and both the construction as a whole and the demonstrative and the lexical subpart are placed in square brackets. As can be seen from the example, virtually all argument and adjunct phrases can be preceded by the corresponding demonstrative, i.e. by the demonstrative that can function as their proform: argument noun phrases by the demonstrative pronoun/proadjective *see*

¹ The following transcription marks are used: (.) – micropause (0,2 seconds or less); (1.2) – length of the pause in seconds; ' or *sõna* – stress; >...< – accelerated speech; <...> – slow speech; : – lengthened syllable; @...@ – marked intonation; (h) – laughter; \$...\$ – laughter; si- – interrupted word; = – pronounced as one word; [...] – overlapping.

‘this/that’ (1a,b), adjective phrases (modifying as well as predicative) by proadjectives *selline*, *niisugune*, *sihuke(ne)*, *nihuke(ne)*, *siuke(ne)*, *niuke(ne)* etc. ‘such’ (1c,d), adjunct noun phrases, adverb phrases and adpositional phrases by manner-indicating proadverbs *niimoodi*, *niiviisi*, *nii*, *sedasi* ‘like that’ (1e,f), temporal proadverbs *siis* ‘then’ and *nüüd* ‘now’ (1g,h), and locative proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *seal* ‘there’ (1i,j).² The demonstratives usually bear no stress and are either weak forms (*nisuke/niuke/nihuke* pro *niisugune* etc.), or reduced forms (often transcribed as *se*, *nisugune*, *seline*, *nimodi*, *sis* etc.).

- (1) a. *mis=[[selle]=[Morteniga]]³ üldse=saab, [[need]*
 what that-GEN M.-COM at.all become-3SG those
[[hinded]] on ta ka=ä(.) maru halb.
 grades be-3 3SG too terribly bad
 ‘I don’t know what will become of Morten, his grades are terribly bad too.’
- b. *kuna võiks [[see][teie mees]][[seda] [garaaži*
 when can-COND that 2PL-GEN man this-PART garage-GEN
katust]] vaatama tulla.
 roof_{PART} look-SUP come-INF
 ‘When could your man come to take a look at the garage roof?’
- c. *oli vaja [[siukest] @ [intelligentset ja kena]]*
 be-PST-3SG needed such-PART intelligent-PART and nice-PART
poissi=ja, @
 boy-PART=and
 ‘They were looking for an intelligent and nice boy.’
- d. *see on nüüd [[nisukene][kindlam]]*
 this be-3 now such stronger
 ‘This one is stronger.’
- e. *emme ütS et Elsa istus [[nimoodi]*
 mummy say-PST-3SG COMP E. sit-PST-3SG like.that
[[omaette]]=ja.
 on.her.own and
 ‘Mummy said that Elsa sat there on her own.’

² In the Estonian grammatical tradition, the forms *see* ‘this/that’, *selline* ‘such’, *niimoodi* ‘like that’, *nüüd/siis* ‘now/then’, *siin/seal* ‘here/there’ are analysed as demonstrative proforms (Erelt et al. 1995, Erelt 2000). *See* is analysed as a pronoun when it appears alone, and as a proadjective when it precedes a noun; *selline* (as well as its synonyms *niisugune*, *seesugune*, *nisuke*, *sihuke* etc.) is analysed as a proadjective; *niimoodi* (as well as its synonyms *nii*, *sedasi* etc.), *nüüd/siis* and *siin/seal* are analysed as proadverbs, although *nüüd/siis* and *siin/seal* are ambiguous between lexical adverbs and proadverbs (cf. Erelt et al. 1995: 26).

³ In comitative, terminative, abessive and essive noun phrases and coordination structures only the head noun in the former and the last constituent in the latter are in comitative, terminative, abessive or essive case, the nominal modifiers and the other members of the coordination construction being in genitive.

- f. *tegelikult pidi ta tulema [[nimodi][asjana]].*
 actually must-PST-3SG 3SG come-SUP like.that object-ESS
 ‘Actually it was supposed to come as an object.’
- g. *aga [[sis][kell ’kaks kuskil]] läksime ’magama*
 but then o’clock two somewhere go-PST-1PL sleep-SUP
 ‘And around two o’clock we went to sleep.’
- h. *millal te vabanesite [[nüüd][viimane kord]]*
 when 2PL become.free-PST-2PL now last time
 ‘How long have you been in freedom this time?’
- i. *no ma helistan [[sinna] [mobili] peale]]*
 well 1SG call-1SG there-LAT mobile.phone-GEN on-ALL
 ‘I’ll call on the mobile phone then.’
- j. *tulge mulle koju, [[siit] [kodu*
 come-IMP-2SG 1SG-ALL home-ILL here-ELAT home-GEN
juurest]] on viie minuti tee.
 near-ELAT be-3 five-GEN minute-GEN road
 ‘Come to my house, from here it takes five minutes.’

In Estonian linguistics, the demonstrative constructions are traditionally assigned different interpretations. *See* is analysed as a proadjective modifying the noun, whereas *siin* and *seal* are analysed as appositions (Erelt et al. 1993). I am not aware of any syntactic accounts of the combinations *selline*, *niimoodi*, *siis*, *nüüd* + lexical phrase of the same category.

However, all the constructions exemplified in (1) seem to follow a similar pattern: they all consist of a lexical element and the corresponding demonstrative, which is generally a stress-less, weak or reduced form. Consequently, it does not seem unreasonable to hypothesise that they are in fact instances of the same syntactic construction, i.e. that the syntactic relationship between the demonstrative and the lexical element is the same in all these combinations. In order to test this hypothesis, I will attempt to apply a uniform analysis to all the demonstrative–lexical element combinations exemplified in (1). I will proceed in two distinct ways.

On the one hand, I will examine whether the previous analyses proposed for the constructions are adequate and whether they could be extended to all the combinations under examination. In other words, I will examine whether it is appropriate to interpret *see* as a modifier and *siin/seal* as appositions, and whether these interpretations can be extended to the other combinations under examination.

On the other hand, I will attempt to apply to the Estonian data two concepts traditionally not employed in Estonian grammar: “determination” and “doubling”. In order to do this, I will compare the demonstrative constructions with those constructions from other languages to which these concepts have been applied.

In short, I will try to answer the following questions. Can the constructions under examination be assigned a uniform interpretation, and if they can, then should the demonstratives in these constructions be interpreted as (i) modifiers, (ii) determiners, (iii) appositive proforms, or (iv) doubled proforms. Or, in terms of

X-bar theory, should the proform and the lexical element be analysed as (i) specifier and head, (ii) head and complement, or (iii) an adjunction structure. I will examine these possibilities in sections 2 to 5 and present the conclusions in 6.

2. Modification

Modification is the relationship traditionally assigned to the combination *see* + noun, i.e. *see* is analysed as a demonstrative proadjective modifying the noun. However, it seems that in the construction under examination, *see* corresponds neither to the definition of modifiers in general nor to the usual description of modifying demonstratives. As such, it can be distinguished from another use of *see*, which does correspond to the definition of modifiers and to the usual description of modifying demonstratives. The second use is illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. *kas selle pildi peal sinu ema ei*
 Q this-GEN picture-GEN on 2SG-GEN mother NEG
tunnud sind ära või oli selle
 recognise-PSTPRT 2SG-PART ASP or be-PST-3SG that-GEN
pildi peal.
 picture-GEN on
 ‘Was it on this picture that your mother didn’t recognise you or
 was it on that picture?’
- b. *stseen Medüüsi parvelt, tead seda pilti.*
 scene Medusa-GEN raft-ABL know-2SG that picture- PART
 “‘Scene from the raft of the Medusa”, you know that picture?’

In (2), *see* corresponds to the definition of the modifier in that its combination with the noun denotes a hyponym of the noun (cf. Bauer 1994). This is not the case in the construction under examination. For example *see Morten* in (1a) has the same denotation as *Morten* alone. Furthermore, *Morten* cannot be univocally identified as the head of the construction on the basis of the other criteria proposed by Bauer (1994) either. The two elements bear the same inflectional marking and it is difficult to tell whether the inflectional marking on the demonstrative is determined by the lexical element or whether the two elements receive their inflectional marks simultaneously from the verb. Also, both elements have the same distribution as the construction as a whole. In principle, either element in the construction could be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. In conclusion, the lexical element in the construction under examination cannot be unambiguously interpreted as controlling the demonstrative. In fact, formally, both elements could be interpreted as heads, which, according to Burton-Roberts (1994), is a property of the apposition.

The demonstratives exemplified in (2) also correspond to the usual description of demonstrative modifiers. They instruct the hearer to match the referent with some identifiable object, where identifiable means either visible in the situation or

It may seem that the reference of the proadverbs *siin* ‘here’ and *nüüd* ‘now’ is always determined by the extralinguistic context. However, in expressions like *nüüd suvel* ‘now in summer’ and *siin Eestis* ‘here in Estonia’ it is the lexical element that determines the exact reference of the demonstrative. Thus *siin* and *nüüd* function in the same way as the other demonstratives under examination.

Since it is impossible for a demonstrative to modify the meaning of the element from which it receives its reference, *see* and the other demonstratives in the constructions under examination cannot be analysed as modifiers of the lexical element.

Pajusalu (1997) proposes to analyse *see*, *siin* and *seal* as articles. I will examine this possibility in the next section.

3. Determination

In many respects, *see* in the construction under examination is a very probable candidate for an emerging definite article: it is a semantically weakened, phonetically reduced, stress-less, deictically neutral demonstrative. Also, it is located in a position that could be reinterpreted as article position (cf. Lyons 1999: 332).

However, there are several reasons for which it does not seem possible to interpret *see* as a definite article: it does not correspond to the definition of determiners (1.); it does not match the formal description of articles given for example by Lyons (1999) (2.); it cannot be interpreted as a semantic definiteness marker (3.).

1. Van Eijck (1994) defines determiners syntactically as operators that combine with nouns to form noun phrases. In Estonian, nouns do not need to combine with determiners in order to be able to function as noun phrases. Semantically, determiners are defined as functions that combine with noun denotations to form noun phrase denotations, that is, determiner denotations are functions from sets of individuals (noun denotations) to sets of sets of individuals (noun phrase denotations). Again, in the Estonian construction exemplified in (1a,b), the combination demonstrative + noun has the same denotation as the noun alone. In conclusion, *see* does not correspond to the definition of determiners.

2. *See* also lacks many formal characteristics of articles pointed out by Lyons (1999: 36–67). Most importantly, it is not unmarked, since a phrase that contains *see* is certainly more marked than a phrase without *see*. Also, it is not a default form that must occur in a definite noun phrase in the absence of a semantically fuller definite determiner; in Estonian, bare noun phrases can function as arguments and be both definite and indefinite.

3. There still remains the possibility that *see* does not correspond to the formal description of articles for the reason that it is an emerging semantic definiteness marker, which is not yet fully grammaticalised. This is the interpretation proposed by Pajusalu (1997) for *see*, *siin* and *seal*. A similar interpretation has been

proposed for the Finnish *se*, notably in Laury (1997). However, I find these approaches methodologically problematic for several reasons.

Firstly, the status of *see* and *se* as definite articles has been established solely on the basis of semantic and pragmatic considerations. However, being grammatical elements, articles are also characterised by syntactic functions, which should be taken into account as well.

Secondly, determining the pragmatic function of an element involves the danger of circular reasoning. Thus, Laury (1997) considers *se* to be a definite article on the grounds that it serves to mark identifiability (an identifiable noun phrase being “a noun phrase whose referent the speaker assumes the addressee is able to identify” (p. 18)), which in turn is proved by the fact that *se* accompanies identifiable noun phrases. But as Laury herself admits, it is not possible to determine whether a noun phrase is identifiable or not independently of its referential form (of which *se* of course is a part):

“[A]lmost any referent that a speaker might want to speak about can be mentioned in a way that makes it identifiable by relativizing it to a suitable frame. ... Conversely, speakers are not required to verbalize referents in a way that suggests their identifiability to the addressee, even if the addressee is quite familiar with the referent.” (p. 39) “[T]herefore, linguistic identifiability requires a form which (conventionally) suggests that the addressee can identify the referent.” (p. 50)

Hence, in order to determine the identifiability of a noun phrase, the linguist already has to know how, i.e. by which convention, identifiability is expressed in the language in question. Thus, there is the danger that a noun phrase is considered to be identifiable because it contains *se*, and *se* is considered to be an article because it appears in identifiable noun phrases.

Thirdly, even if the identifiability of a noun phrase could be established on independent grounds (e.g. previous mention, situation, common background knowledge etc.), there still remains the possibility that *se* appears in this noun phrase for other reasons, especially if not all identifiable noun phrases are accompanied by *se* and some unidentifiable noun phrases are.

And finally, even if *se* indeed marks identifiability, this is not a sufficient basis for deciding that it is an article, given that syntactic considerations have not been taken into account (cf. my first point).

However, methodological issues aside, there still seem to be several facts that indicate that *see* is not used in order to mark definiteness. For example:

(i) *See* appears in contexts where definite articles and demonstratives usually do not occur, for example in existential sentences (5a) and predicative expressions (5b):

- (5) a. *huvitav=et=seal ee:: et need veed on*
 interesting=COMP=there-ADESS COMP those waters be-3
ikkagi nii puhtad et seal=on=nii=kohutavalt=palju
 PRTCL so pure-PL COMP there-ADESS=be-3=so=awfully=many
ikka=veel=neid kalu=ja.
 PRTCL=still=those-PART fish-PL-PART=and

‘It’s interesting that the water there is still so pure that there are still so many fish.’

- b. *mulle saadeti siin notari juures:*
 1SG-ALL send-PASS-PST here-INESS notary-GEN at-INESS
kinnitatud igasugused dokumendid=ja tõestati
 attest-PSTPRT all.kinds.of documents and prove-PASS-PST
et ma ikka see eestlane olen.
 COMP 1SG PRCL this Estonian be-1SG
 ‘They sent me all kinds of notarially attested documents and proved that I really am an Estonian.’

(ii) Noun phrases accompanied by *see* do not become indefinite when *see* is dropped. For example if *see* were omitted from the example below, *vald* and *kool* would not be understood as ‘some commune’ or ‘some school’, but as ‘the commune’ and ‘the school’:

- (6) *ei no ma ütlen et(.) et kui see vald ikka*
 NEG PRCL 1SG say-1SG COMP COMP if this commune PRCL
maksaks nüüd ikka sulle selle kooli lõpuni
 pay-COND now PRCL 2SG-ALL that-GEN school-GEN end-TERM
 ‘If the commune really paid you until the end of your studies...’

Consequently, a noun phrase can be understood as definite even if it does not contain *see*.

(iii) In some cases, the use of *see* seems to be determined by formal or grammatical factors. Thus in examples (5b) above and (7) below the occurrence of *see* and *too* seems to be determined by the marked position of the following phrase (although not all marked phrases are accompanied by *see*). If *see* were a purely semantically conditioned definiteness marker, this would not be expected.

- (7) *seal on minu arvates kaks või kolm aastat*
 there-ADESS be-3 1SG-GEN guess-GER two or three year-PART
see õpe
 this training
 ‘I guess they study two or three years there.’

The other demonstratives can function as “displacement markers” too:

- (8) a. *meil ned jõululinad on ka päris*
 1PL-ADESS those christmas.table.cloths be-3 too quite
ilusad sellised punased.
 pretty-PL such-PL red-PL
 ‘Our Christmas tablecloths too are very pretty, they’re red.’
- b. *no sii mõni rosin sääl sihen om.*
 PRCL this some raisin there-ADESS inside-INESS be-3SG
 ‘It has just a few raisins in it.’

In example (9) (from Pajusalu 1997), *see* seems to indicate the grammatical role of the following expression:

- (9) *siis ma käisin vaatamas veel väikeses*
 then 1SG go-PST-1SG see-SUP-INESS also small-INESS
saalis seda “Fernando Kapp saatis mulle
 hall-INESS this-PART F. K. send-PST-3SG 1SG-ALL
kirja”.
 letter-GEN
 ‘Then I went to see “Fernando Kapp sent me a letter” in the small hall.’

In (9), the case could not be indicated on the lexical element, since it is a full clause and therefore cannot bear case marking. An alternative would be *ma käisin vaatamas etendust “Fernando Kapp saatis mulle kirja”* ‘I went to see the play...’, but this sounds very formal (note that constructions like *etendus “Fernando Kapp saatis mulle kirja”* are traditionally analysed as appositions).

The other demonstratives, too, seem to be able to transmit their category to the following expression. For example in (10), the proadjective *niuke* indicates that the following Russian phrase *gavarim parusski* ‘let’s speak Russian’ is to be interpreted as a predicative adjective:

- (10) *me saime see leeduka peale=ju. (.) tead*
 1PL get-PST-1PL that Lithuanian-GEN on-ALL=PRTCL know-2SG
umbes niuke=et gavarim parusski onju.
 more.or.less such=COMP gavarim parusski be-3-PRTCL
 ‘A Lithuanian picked us up. You know the kind “gavarim parusski”.’

3.1. See as an emphasis marker

Since the interpretation of *see* as a definiteness marker leaves many of its uses unaccounted for and is in contradiction with some of them, the question arises as to what is the function and syntax of *see* in the construction under examination. One of its functions is certainly to postpone the following expression, as proposed by Hennoste (2001:192–193). This is indicated by repetitions, pauses and slower speech:

- (11) < *aga need* > (0.5) *need sõidutunnid noh need* (0.5)
 but these these driving.lessons well these
teoreetilised tunnid
 theoretic lessons
 ‘But what about the driving lessons, I mean the theory lessons?’

However, often (e.g. in example (6) above) there are no pauses, repetitions or lengthened syllables which would indicate that the speaker is looking for the appropriate expression. Nor can it be said, as was argued above, that *see* is a

demonstrative modifier or a definiteness marker, since the omission of *see* leaves the denotation and the definiteness of the expressions unaffected. However, there is one change that does take place when *see* is omitted: the phrases clearly lose some of their emphasis. Thus it seems natural to suppose that the function of *see* is precisely to highlight the following expression. This interpretation is in accordance with the occurrence of *see* with displaced phrases, since the latter are marked too. Moreover, it can easily be extended to the other demonstratives under examination.

The hypothesis that *see* and the other demonstratives under examination are related to emphasis is further supported by the fact that they tend to accompany stressed expressions (cf. ex. 1). The reverse however is not true: all stressed phrases are not preceded by a demonstrative.

Of course, the fact that *see* is not used in order to mark definiteness does not exclude the possibility that definiteness is a necessary precondition for *see* to be used. However, the following examples suggest that this is not the case:

- (12) a. *meie koolist võeti siis nagu kaks*
 1PL-GEN school-ELAT take-PASS-PST then like two
tükki onju see kaheteistkümnendast see üks Aivar onju
 person-PART right that twelfth-ELAT that one A. right
ja siis nagu mina onju.
 and then like 1SG right
 ‘From our school they took two persons, one boy called Aivar from the twelfth class and me.’
- b. *ainuke kahtlus la- langeb neile kes seda*
 only doubt fall-3SG those-ALL who this-PART
valve alla panid, see mingi kohalik
 surveillance-GEN under-ALL put-PST-3PL this some local
turvafirma seal
 security.firm there-ADESS
 ‘The doubt falls entirely on those who guarded it, some local security firm.’

In (12), one and the same noun phrase appears to be modified or determined simultaneously by a definite and an indefinite element. Combinations like *kuidagi selline imelik* ‘somehow such strange’ or *siin kuskil lähedal* ‘here somewhere near’ (the order may also be reversed: *selline kuidagi* etc.) are frequent too. The fact that such combinations do not result in a semantic contradiction suggests that demonstratives and indefinite proforms are not situated on the same structural level, and thus do not form a paradigm of complementary definite and indefinite determiners/modifiers. If both demonstratives and indefinite proforms were modifiers or determiners, they could not co-occur in the same phrase, either because they would compete for the same structural position, or because their co-occurrence would result in a semantic clash. However, *see* can be in a cataphoric relationship with an indefinite noun phrase, cf.: *see oli mingi kohalik turvafirma*

‘it was some local security firm’. Thus it could be hypothesised that the “non-modifying” *see* and the other demonstratives in (1) are cataphoric proforms, which stand in some sort of appositive relationship to the lexical phrase. According to this hypothesis, *üks* in *see üks Aivar* would modify or determine *Aivar* and *see* would stand in apposition to the phrase as a whole: [*see*] [*üks Aivar*]. If the order of *see* and *üks/mingi* were reversed, *üks/mingi* would modify *see*, and *see* would be in apposition with the noun phrase: [*mingi see*] [*kohalik turvafirma*]. Similarly, *siin kuskil lähedal* ‘here somewhere near’ could be analysed as [*siin*] [*kuskil lähedal*], and *kuskil siin lähedal* as [*kuskil siin*] [*lähedal*]; and *kuidagi selline imelik* ‘somehow such strange’ and *selline kuidagi imelik* could be represented as [*kuidagi selline*] [*imelik*] and [*selline*] [*kuidagi imelik*].

That indefinite proforms can indeed modify demonstratives is suggested by the following example:

- (13) *siit* *kuskilt* *hakkavad*
 here-ABL somewhere-ABL start-3PL
 ‘They start here somewhere.’

According to Erelt et al. (1993: 118), in a phrase consisting of a demonstrative and an indefinite proform the first element is the modifier and the second is the head. However, I propose to analyse demonstratives always as heads and indefinites as modifiers, since for example both *siit kuskilt* and *kuskilt siit* could be interpreted as hyponyms of *siit*. In this sense, *siit kuskilt* is similar to (14), where the indefinite proform *kuskil* ‘somewhere’ would be interpreted as a modifier of the lexical phrase:

- (14) *ta on bussijaama lähedal kuskil.*
 3SG be-3 bus.station-GEN near-ADESS somewhere-ADESS
 ‘It’s somewhere near the bus station.’

The fact that ostensive and anaphoric demonstrative adjectives cannot occur in indefinite expressions could be taken to indicate that they are situated in the same position as indefinite proforms, whereas the demonstratives under examination are not.

The proposed interpretation is also in accordance with the extensive usage of the demonstrative construction for the purposes of hesitation, where the demonstrative seems to “stand for” the expression the speaker is looking for (cf. Hennoste 2001: 192).

In conclusion, I propose to analyse *see* and the other demonstratives under examination as highlighting appositive proforms, the reference of which is determined by the following lexical phrase.⁴ In section 4, I will examine whether the construction under examination can be interpreted as an apposition.

⁴ An alternative interpretation of example (12) and other similar examples is proposed by Pajusalu (2001), who takes both the demonstrative and the indefinite to be determiners and suggests on the basis of their co-occurrence that definiteness and indefiniteness might not be opposite categories – an entity can be definite from one point of view and indefinite from another.

4. Apposition

Apposition is the syntactic relationship traditionally attributed to the combination locative proadverb + lexical phrase.

According to Burton-Roberts (1994), appositions correspond to the following criteria. 1. Elements in apposition should converge in extralinguistic reference. 2. They should be capable of being understood as having the same syntactic function with respect to the same other elements in sentence structure, whereas the elements of a subordination structure have different functions.

The reference of proforms is determined by a lexical element in the discourse or by an entity in the extralinguistic context. Since I have argued that the reference of the proforms under examination is determined by the following lexical phrase it can indeed be said that the proform and the lexical element converge in extralinguistic reference.

Also, as was observed in section 2, both elements in the construction under examination seem to have the same syntactic function with respect to the same other elements in the sentence structure – this was in fact the reason why neither of them could be interpreted as controlling the other.

In conclusion, the demonstrative construction indeed corresponds to the description of appositions.

However, it differs from another type of apposition in the same way as it differs from the combination of a modifying demonstrative and a lexical element. In this type of apposition, the proform is stressed and its reference is determined independently of the associated lexical phrase:

- (15) a. *no siin kõrval on*
 well here-INESS beside-ADESS be-3SG
 ‘There is one right here.’
- b. *miks siin on selline valge.*
 why here-INESS be-3 such white
 ‘Why this one here is like that, white?’

This type of construction seems to correspond better to the definition of apposition since both elements refer to the same entity independently of each other.

In conclusion, the demonstrative construction can in principle be interpreted as appositive, but it differs from a more prototypical apposition. In this sense it resembles doubling constructions, which could be described in the same way. In the next section I will examine whether it is possible to interpret the construction under examination as a doubling construction.

5. Doubling

Before comparing the construction under examination with doubling constructions I will offer some additional evidence which seems to suggest that the

demonstratives under examination cannot indeed be interpreted as modifiers, determiners or appositions.

Although some of the configurations exemplified below occur only marginally, I assume that they can be used as evidence, since no matter how rarely a configuration occurs, the syntax still has to be such as to permit it. I also assume that these configurations are indeed variants of the construction under examination, since here too the reference of demonstratives is determined by the associated lexical phrase.

1. Unlike modifying anaphoric/ostensive demonstratives, the demonstratives in the construction under examination can follow the associated lexical element:

- (16) a. *ma olen **Marge** juures siin praegu.*
 1SG be-1SG Marge-GEN by-INESS here-INESS now
 ‘I’m at Marge’s place right now.’
- b. *vata mõnel inimesel on häste pikad
 look-IMP-2SG some-ADESS person-ADESS be-3 very long-PL
 sõrmed kõveraks läind, **konku** nimmodi.*
 fingers crooked-TRA go-PSTPRT hooked-ILL like.that
 ‘Some people have very long fingers that are deformed, kind of hooked.’

In (16a), the demonstrative proadverb *siin* follows the lexical phrase *Marge juures*, and in (16b), the demonstrative proadverb *nimmodi* follows the lexical phrase *konku*.

In appositions, postposition of the proform seems in principle possible too.

2. The proform and the associated phrase are not always adjacent, as would be expected if the proforms were modifiers, determiners or appositions:

- (17) a. *mis see sis rääkis Elsa.*
 what this then tell-PST-3SG E.
 ‘So what did Elsa say?’
- b. *siit hoiab püsti tagant*
 here-ELAT keep-3SG up back-ELAT
 ‘It sticks up in the back.’
- c. *a=ta nüüd tükk aega ei käinud
 but=3SG now portion time-PART NEG go-PSTPRT
 suvel*
 summer-ADESS
 ‘In the summer he didn’t show up for a long time.’

In (17), the lexical phrases *Elsa*, *tagant* and *suvel* are separated from the corresponding co-referring demonstratives *see*, *siit* and *nüüd* by intervening elements.

3. The proform may precede either the whole phrase or just the head, unlike anaphoric/ostensive demonstratives, true determiners and appositive proforms:

- (18) a. *A: a=se=on ju suhteliselt väikse *selle,**
 but=this=be-3 PRCL relatively small-GEN this-GEN

kirjaga.

print-COM

J: jaa, muidugi ja tal on (.) kaks seda (.)
 yes of.course and 3SG-ADESS be-3 two this-PART

tulpa

column-PART

‘But it’s in relatively small print. – Yes, and it has two columns.’

- b. *kui on täpselt musta selle plekiveeruni*
 if be-3 exactly black-GEN this-GEN metal.border-TERM
 ‘...if it reaches exactly to the black metal border.’

In the first line of (18a), the demonstrative *see* is located between an adjective phrase and the noun that it modifies, and in the second line between a noun and its quantifier. In (18b), *see* is located between an adjective and a noun.

One possibility to account for the availability of this position is to analyse the demonstrative as a modified nominal head and the noun as an adjunct:

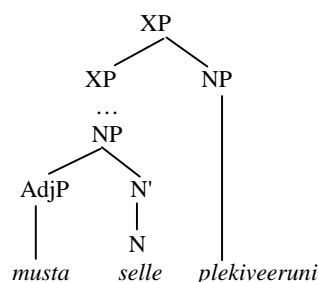


Fig. 1. The structure of the sequence *musta selle plekiveeruni* ‘black-GEN this-GEN metal.border-TERM’.

In section 3, a similar analysis was proposed for sequences like [*mingi see*] [*kohalik turvafirma*] ‘some this local security firm’, [*kuskil siin*] [*lähedal*] ‘somewhere here near’, [*kuidagi selline*] [*imelik*] ‘somehow such strange’.

See can also appear in combination with nominal modifiers: *see must* ‘this black’, *need kaks* ‘these two’. It could be hypothesised that in this case, *see* is a nominal head projecting a noun phrase, whereas the adjective or the quantifier is in the specifier position of an adjoined noun phrase with a null head:

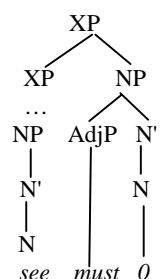


Fig. 2. The structure of the sequence *see must* ‘this black’.

In section 3, a similar analysis was proposed for sequences like [*see*] [*üks Aivar*] ‘this one Aivar’, [*siin*] [*kuskil lähedal*] ‘here somewhere near’ and [*selline*] [*kuidagi imelik*] ‘such somehow strange’.

If the demonstrative in combination with the adjective is ostensive or anaphoric (as in *see* must, mitte *see* ‘this black, not that’), it could be analysed as being in the specifier position of a noun phrase with a null head.

4. The demonstrative and the associated phrase are often separated by a pause (cf. also ex. 3 above):

- (19) *ta võtab need, (0.5) psühholoogia testid, teeb ära*
 3SG take-3SG these psychology-GEN tests do-3SG ASP
 kohe raks ja raks.
 at.once crack! and crack!
 ‘He takes the psychology tests and completes them in a moment.’

R. Laury (1991: 112) notes that the Finnish *se*, too, often occurs at the end of one intonation unit, and the noun phrase follows in a separate intonation unit. She argues that this phenomenon cannot be interpreted as a hesitation and hypothesises that the pattern may originate “when the speaker intends to pronominalise the referent, and then decides the referent is not quite given enough for the addressee to decode it from only a pronoun.” In other words, she proposes that the pronominal demonstrative belonging to the preceding intonation unit is used as a pronoun which is co-referential with the following phrase, and not as a proadjective or a determiner modifying the following phrase. However, in spoken Estonian the same pattern occurs even when the speaker clearly does not intend to use the pronoun alone. This could mean that pronominal demonstratives are intentionally used as appositive pronouns. For example when uttering (19) above the speaker cannot have intended to express his or her idea with the pronoun alone, since there is no antecedent.

Moreover, since the Estonian *see*, contrary to the Finnish *se*, is limited in its ability to refer to humans (cf. Pajusalu 1999:113–114), one would expect to find noun phrases with human referents preceded by the personal pronoun *ta/tema*, if speakers really intended to use only the pronoun in these cases. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, noun phrases referring to humans are uniformly preceded by *see*, even when separated from the latter by a pause:

- (20) *ja sis rääkis kuidas see (.) mees käis seal*
 and then tell-PST-3SG how this man go-PST-3SG there-ADESS
 siis korteris
 then apartment-INESS
 ‘...and then told how the man went to the apartment...’

Also, when *see* is used alone, its inflectional paradigm is fuller than when it modifies a noun or is in coordination or apposition with a noun (cf. footnote 3). Hence, the use of the defective paradigm indicates that the speaker intends to add a lexical phrase. For example, if the phrase *suhteliselt väikse *selle, *kirjaga* in

(18a) had been uttered with the intention to use only the pronoun, *see* would have been in comitative case: *sellega*.

Consequently, if the pause between *see* and the lexical phrase is taken to mean that the demonstrative is used pronominally, then the pronominal use of *see* seems to be intentional.

5. The use of *see* in the construction under examination is similar to its use as a correlate of a complement clause. A complement clause and its demonstrative correlate are interpreted not as a subordination structure, but as an appositive structure, which however differs from the apposition in the strict sense (Erelt et al. 1993:122–123). Hence, they are described in the same way as I have described the construction under examination. The two constructions have other similarities as well:

(i) The clause can be said to determine the meaning of the demonstrative, just as the lexical phrase determines the meaning of the demonstrative in the construction under examination.

(ii) The correlate indicates the grammatical role of the clause in the sentence.

(iii) Another common feature of the two constructions is the position of the associated phrase or clause. Generally, the demonstrative and the associated phrase or clause are adjacent, but when they are separated, both the phrase and the clause can immediately follow the clause in which the correlate appears, cf. example (17) above and example (21) below:

- (21) *on=sul seda: (0.5) tihti juhtunud et sa (.)*
 be-3=2SG-ADESS this-PART often happen-PSTPRT COMP 2SG
kirjutad nii et sa ei tea et sa kirjutad.
 write-2SG so COMP 2SG NEG know COMP 2SG write-2SG
 ‘Has it happened to you often that you write without knowing that you are writing?’

However, the lexical phrases in demonstrative constructions can also occur in positions that are not available for clauses.

(iv) The demonstrative correlate of a clause can also be considered as an emphasis marker. Thus, without the demonstrative correlate the subordinate clause in (22) would be less emphatic:

- (22) *aga ma tahaks lihtsalt öelda `seda=et=ee (0.8) kui=me=niid*
 but 1SG want-COND simply say-INF this-PART=COMP if =1PL=now
vaatame: Eu`roopa poole...
 look-1PL Europe-GEN towards
 ‘I simply wish to say that if we look at Europe...’

(v) The demonstratives in the construction under examination as well as the demonstratives functioning as correlates of clauses can accompany both topicalised and focalised phrases and clauses. For example in German only topicalised complement clauses may occur together with the correlates *es* (Berman et al. 1998). This parallelism may be taken as further evidence of the similar nature of the two constructions.

Selline and *niimoodi*, too, can be correlates of that-clauses:

- (24) a. *nõukogude aeg oli selline et*
 soviet-PL-GEN time be-PST-3SG such COMP
sunniti ju kõik tööle.
 force-PASS-PST PRTCL everybody work-ALLAT
 ‘In soviet times everybody was forced to work.’
- b. *ühed firmad on niimoodi=et et=ee hh (0.8)*
 one-PL firms be-3 like.that=COMP COMP
teevad ainult neid ee kattetöid,
 do-3PL only these-PART covering.works-PART
 ‘Some firms only do the covering work.’

I take the similarities between the two constructions to mean that the relationship of the demonstrative to the associated phrase in the construction under examination is the same as the relationship of a demonstrative correlate to a that-clause. In other words, I take the demonstratives to be appositive correlates of the lexical element and not modifiers or determiners. Also, the abundant use of demonstratives as correlates of clauses could be taken to indicate that the use of proforms as correlates of lexical elements is a characteristic strategy of Estonian, which does not have to be limited to clauses. Hence, the demonstrative construction seems to be part of a more general strategy characteristic of the Estonian language and the existence of a syntactic configuration that differs from modification, determination and apposition has to be posited independently of the data under examination.

6. Another argument in favour of the proposed interpretation is the fact that the combination *see* + noun phrase seems to constitute a single paradigm with the combination personal pronoun + noun phrase, which is traditionally analysed as an apposition:

- (24) a. *meil ühelistel ei olnud*
 1PL-ADESS one-ADJ-PL-ADESS NEG be-PSTPRT
 ‘We, the ones in one-room apartments, didn’t have’ (any heating).
- b. *sa Krista tule istu siia*
 2SG K. come-IMP-2SG sit-IMP-2SG here-ILL
 ‘You Krista come and sit here.’

The two combinations are related by the fact that in the third person, it is the demonstrative *see* and not the personal pronoun *tema/ta* that is combined with the noun. Thus it seems that the first and second person pronouns and the demonstrative *see* form a single paradigm. This conclusion has been reached by many authors and Lyons (1999: 142) notes that the phenomenon is common to many languages, cf.: *Ich Esel!, Du Esel!, Der Esel!, Dieser Esel!, but *Er Esel!*.⁵

⁵ This parallelism has also been taken to indicate that personal pronouns are determiners (cf. e.g. Lyons 1999). However, in Sahkai (2002:24–30) I argue that the possibility to interpret personal pronouns as determiners depends primarily on the presence of the determiner phrase, which seems to be absent from Estonian (cf. the discussion in Sahkai 2002:30–52).

The combination personal pronoun + lexical phrase resembles the demonstrative construction in many respects. Like the demonstratives under examination, personal pronouns can form ordinary appositions with lexical phrases:

- (25) M: *mis=sa loed ema.* (2.2)
 what=2SG read-2SG mother
 E: *ik- (.) IKKA TEIST ÜLIÕP(H)ILASTEST l(h)oen.*
 PRTCL 2SG-ELAT students-ELAT read-1SG
 ‘What are you reading, mother? – About you students of course.’

In the ordinary apposition, the strong and stressed forms of pronouns are used and in the third person, personal pronoun is used instead of the demonstrative.

It can also be said that the exact reference of the first and second person plural pronouns is determined by the associated lexical elements, e.g. the exact reference of *meil* in (24) is determined by *ühelistel*.

However, like *siis* ‘then’ and *nüüd* ‘now’, personal pronouns cannot act as modifiers. This is indicated by the fact that they cannot contrast phrases, i.e. *meil ühelistel* cannot be opposed to *teil ühelistel* ‘2PL one-ADJ-PL-ADESS’.

In conclusion, I propose the following analysis in order to account for the facts presented above: the demonstrative is located in its regular position in the sentence, whereas the associated lexical phrase or clause is adjoined to a higher projection. In the ordinary apposition, on the other hand, the lexical phrase could be adjoined directly to the demonstrative (cf. Josefsson 1999).

Doubling constructions, too, are often analysed in terms of adjunction. Next, I will compare the construction under examination with some doubling constructions.

5.1. The construction under examination in comparison with doubling constructions

I use the term “doubling constructions” to refer to constructions like clitic doubling (26a,b; Uriagereka 1995: 80, 86), left/right dislocation (26c,d; Lyons 1999: 231), relative clauses and questions with resumptive pronouns (26e,f; Rivero 1986: 794, 797). I use the term “doubled element” to refer to the resumptive element (i.e. the proform), and the term “doubling element” to refer to the associated lexical phrase or strong pronoun.

- (26) a. *Lo_i vi a él_i.*
 him I.saw to him
 ‘I saw him.’
 b. *Ya lo creo que la tierra es redonda!*
 EMPH it I.believe that the earth is round
 ‘I do believe the earth is round!’
 c. **That friend of yours**, I really don’t like **him**.
 d. I rather like **him**, **that friend of yours**.
 e. *que cate que merecimientos et que servicio ha*
 that he.consider what merits and what services he.has
fecho et quales_i los_i puede fazer de alli en
 performed and which.ones them he.can perform from there in

adelante

advance

‘Let him consider what merits and services he has performed and which ones he will be able to perform in future.’

- f. *A quién_i lo_i viò?*
to who him he.saw
‘Whom did he see?’

Doubling constructions resemble the demonstrative construction in several respects: (i) they involve a pronoun and a lexical phrase which are co-referential but do not form an apposition in the strict sense, cf. *Lo_i vimos a Juan_i* ‘him_i we saw Juan_i’ (doubling) and *Vimos a él_i, a Juan_i* ‘we saw him, Juan’ (apposition); (ii) they function as topic- and focus-constructions and are characteristic of spoken language; (iii) the pronouns involved are generally weak and their reference may be determined by the doubling phrase; (iv) the pronouns may serve to indicate the grammatical role of the associated phrase.

The Estonian construction differs from clitic doubling in that the involved pronoun is not a clitic. Therefore the construction under examination cannot be assigned a standard clitic doubling analysis, according to which the doubling phrase is generated in regular argument position and the clitic is located in a non-argument position (e.g. in head of clitic phrase (Sportiche 1993) or determiner phrase (Uriagereka 1995)), or which takes clitics to obey morphological rules (Harris 1997, Anderson 1993). Hence, the construction under examination could perhaps be interpreted as a right dislocation construction, since right-dislocated phrases may double clitics, strong pronouns and noun phrases alike.

The most obvious difference between the construction under examination and right dislocation is the fact that in the former, the two constituents are generally adjacent, whereas in the latter, they are generally separated. According to Lyons (1999:232), “languages vary in the looseness they tolerate between the dislocated topic and the sentence”. In fact, there seems to be evidence that Estonian does not tolerate much “looseness” between correlated elements. For example, Estonian subordinate clauses tend to immediately follow their correlate (Erelt et al. 1993: 316). Also, in relatives and questions, Estonian uses resumptive elements exclusively with subjects, so that the wh-phrase and the resumptive pronoun are adjacent, cf.: *mis tekst=se sinna peale peab minema* ‘what text this there-ILL on-ALL must-3SG go-SUP’, but **mis teksti sinna peale peab panema selle* ‘what text-GEN there-ILL on-ALL must-3SG put-SUP this-GEN’; *tema, kes ta tuli* ‘3SG who 3SG come-PST-3SG’, but **tema, keda ma nägin teda* ‘3SG whom 1SG see-PST-1SG 3SG-PART’. This is even more remarkable if considered that in many languages, the resumptive strategy is prohibited with subjects (Rivero 1986:794). In fact, Erelt (1996:16) analyses the resumptive pronouns as clitics indicating person agreement on the wh-phrase.

Consequently, the tendency to juxtapose correlated elements is a more general property of Estonian and thus it could be hypothesised that in Estonian the “dislocated” phrase is located lower than in other languages.

However, the analysis is complicated by the fact that the corpus contains prototypical dislocations as well. Examples (27a,b) are right dislocations and (27c,d) left dislocations (note that in the latter, too, the dislocated phrase and the resumptive element tend to be adjacent):

- (27) a. *tahad 'seda ka võtta seda (.) 'salatit=vä.*
 want-2SG this-PART too take-INF this-PART salad-PART=Q
 ‘Do you want some salad too?’
- b. *see naine oli kõik selle ise välja*
 this woman be-PST-3SG all that-GEN self out-ILLAT
mõelnud selle stoori
 think-PSTPRT that-GEN story-GEN
 ‘The woman had invented the whole story.’
- c. *seda ma tahtsingi küsida, et mm need*
 that-PART 1SG want-PST-1SG-CL ask-INF COMP these
viimased kolm rida, (.) kas see on: (.) tõsine
 last-PL three line-PART Q this be-3 serious
deklaratsioon sul.
 declaration 2SG-ADESS
 ‘That’s what I wanted to ask, these last three lines, is it a serious declaration?’
- d. *see: viis aastat mis ma ära olin: (1.0) sellest ma*
 this five year-PART REL 1SG away be-PST-1SG thisELAT 1SG
sain aru=et (0.8) sul tuleb ikkagi
 get-PST-1SG reason-PART=COMP 2SG-ADESS must-3SG PRCL
kõik endal teha
 everything self-ADESS do-INF
 ‘Those five years that I was away taught me that you have to do everything yourself.’

Left dislocation is described by Erelt et al. (1993:196–197) who propose two alternative analyses: the dislocated phrase either is an independent sentence or stands in apposition to the proform.

As to Estonian right dislocations, they resemble dislocation structures syntactically, but not functionally. In languages where right dislocation is a major syntactic strategy, the sentence external position is the usual topic position, whereas the Estonian right dislocation looks more like an occasional repair strategy. Hence, since right dislocation is not used in order to topicalise elements, there must exist some other mechanism to perform this function. Consequently, it could still be hypothesised that the demonstrative construction is a sentence-internal topic/focus-position.

The right dislocation constructions in (27) also differ from those instances of the construction under examination in which the demonstrative and the lexical phrase are not adjacent, as in (17a). In the former, the dislocated phrase is preceded by another *see* and the reference of the first *see* is determined by an entity in the extralinguistic context or by an antecedent in the discourse, not by the

dislocated phrase. Hence, it is probable that in the dislocation examples the speakers intended to use only the pronoun and later added the noun phrase for the sake of clarity. In cases like (17a), on the other hand, the speaker intends to use the noun phrase already while uttering the demonstrative (if not, the third person pronoun *ta* would have been used instead of *see*).

Another difference between cases like (17a) and the dislocation constructions is that in the former, the lexical phrase has to occur next to the clause in which the associated proform is located, whereas in the left and right dislocation examples above there is no such restriction. Thus in principle it would be possible to say *need viimased kolm rida, ma tahtsingi küsida, et kas see_i on tõsine deklaratsioon sul* ‘these last three lines, that’s what I wanted to ask, is it a serious declaration’, or *see naine oli kõik selle_i ise välja mõelnud, tuli välja, selle stoori_i* ‘the woman had invented all that herself, it appeared, that story’. In the case of complement clauses, the adjacency requirement seems to be operative too, although perhaps less strictly. Hence, the combination of a complement clause and its demonstrative correlate differs from right dislocation in the same way as the demonstrative construction.

In this sense, the construction under examination seems to differ from the dislocation constructions in the same way as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD; 28a) differs from Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD; 28b) in Cinque’s analysis (Cinque 1997); to be precise, the adjacency constraint is not operative in Italian CLLD, but it is in French (Cinque 1997: 111).

- (28) a. *A tuo fratello_i, non gli_i hanno ancora dato il visto.*
to your brother not him they.have yet given the visa
‘Your brother hasn’t been given the visa yet.’
- b. *Tuo fratello_i, invece, lui_i si che aveva sempre fame.*
your brother however him yes that had always hunger
‘Your brother, however, was always hungry.’

Cinque analyses the two constructions in the following way.

In HTLD, the connection between the peripheral phrase and the resumptive pronominal is the same as the one between a full noun phrase and a pronominal in two adjacent sentences in discourse, cf. *John, Mary doesn’t like him/that little bastard.* and *I like John. I do think however that he/that little bastard should be quieter.* A similar analysis of Estonian left dislocations is proposed in Erelt et al. (1993:196). I propose to apply the same analysis to the right dislocation constructions exemplified in (27a,b).

In CLLD, the peripheral phrases are generated in Topic position outside S and they “are superscript coindexed with a categorially identical sentence internal phrase” (Cinque 1997:104). “The categorially identical sentence internal phrase is an empty phrase (which may itself be bound by a clitic pronoun).” (105) Cinque (1997:105) characterises the coindexation relationship in the following way.

“Such superscript coindexing has the effect of building up a ‘chain’ of like categories where the ‘chain’ can be conceived of as the dilation of a single

category. In other words, the chain counts as one argument position in that it contains a single contentive element (the content of the category in TOP) even though such content is 'linked' to two categorial positions: the one in TOP position and the sentence internal empty phrase. [...] all the relevant structural properties (of government, thematic role assignment, etc.) of the sentence internal empty phrase are absorbed by the 'chain', of which the latter is a 'link', and are satisfied by the lexical content of the chain which is located in TOP position. These assumptions have the effect that the sentence peripheral phrase (in TOP position) acts in all relevant respects, that is, with respect to principles occurring at S-structure and LF, as if it actually filled the sentence internal position with which it is associated."

A similar analysis could be applied to the construction under examination, provided it is assumed that in Estonian (i) the topic/focus position is not outside S, (ii) the categorially identical sentence internal phrase is not (always) empty (i.e. it may be filled by a demonstrative), and (iii) it is not bound by a clitic pronoun.

Syntactically, the lexical phrases could be analysed as adjuncts both in the construction under examination and in the dislocation constructions. In her study of Old Spanish doubling constructions, Rivero (1986) assigns identical analysis to dislocation constructions, clitic doubling (since Old Spanish clitics behave syntactically in the same way as strong pronouns), relatives and questions with resumptive elements, and complement clauses with pronominal correlates. In all these cases, doubled proforms are analysed as arguments and doubling phrases as adjuncts on different levels. For example the clitic doubling construction *Priso lo_i al conde_i* 'took him_i to the count_i' 'he took the count' is analysed in the following way (Rivero 1986:787):

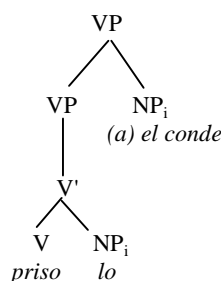


Fig. 3. The structure of the Old Spanish sentence *Priso lo al conde* 'took him to the count' proposed in Rivero (1986:787).

It could be hypothesised that in the demonstrative construction, the lexical phrase is adjoined to the maximal projection immediately above the doubled proform (as in the Old Spanish clitic doubling in fig. 3), whereas in the dislocation constructions the doubling phrase is adjoined to the highest projection. In addition, in the former the two elements form a single semantic unit, whereas in the latter they are related in the same way as two phrases in adjacent sentences. The prenominal *see* in the dislocation constructions can be interpreted as a doubled demonstrative indicating that the associated phrase is displaced.

However, there seems to be one fundamental difference between true doubling constructions and the Estonian construction. Namely, the use of resumptive elements in doubling constructions is usually explained with the need to indicate the grammatical function of the associated phrase. This is true of the Estonian HTLD examples (27c,d), where the second *see* indicates the grammatical role of the peripheral phrase. However, in the demonstrative construction there is no need to indicate the grammatical role of the “dislocated” phrase since it bears all the grammatical markers. Thus the question arises as to what is the role of the demonstrative.

On the other hand, in clitic left/right dislocation, too, the resumptive element agrees in case with a peripheral prepositional phrase or prepositional object (cf. 28a). Similarly, in the Estonian right dislocation examples (27a,b) the dislocated phrase is marked for case. Hence, there is redundancy in case-marking in true dislocation constructions as well. At the same time, in Italian clitic right dislocation the clitic is always optional, even when the dislocated phrase is a direct object (i.e. even when the case is not indicated on the dislocated phrase) (Renzi 1991:147). Consequently, the clitic can be used even if the case is indicated on the lexical phrase, and even if the case is not indicated on the lexical phrase, the clitic may be optional.

On the other hand, in section 3.1. it was argued that the demonstratives under examination, too, can be used in order to indicate the grammatical role of the lexical element (cf. ex. 8, 9, 10, 23).

Consequently, in this respect there seems to be no fundamental difference between doubling constructions and the construction under examination: both display redundant case-marking and can serve to indicate the grammatical role of the associated phrase.

It could be hypothesised that when an element is generated in or moved to an adjoined topic/focus position, the position that it would normally occupy in the sentence structure may or may not be filled by an overt proform. For example, in Estonian, a complement clause may or may not have a pronominal correlate in the regular object position in the sentence. Similarly, the Italian right dislocation constructions may or may not involve a clitic. In the cases under examination, the proform is overt. There may be several reasons for this: the overt proform may indicate that the associated phrase is not located in its regular position, it may serve for purposes of hesitation or indicate the grammatical role of the associated phrase (cf. section 3). There may be other cases in which the lexical phrase is in topic/focus position but the proform is not overt or the correlated position is empty. This is suggested by the fact that there are emphatic phrases that are not preceded by demonstratives.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, it seems that the demonstrative–lexical element combinations under examination can indeed be interpreted as instances of the same construction. They constitute a uniform pattern and display considerable formal, semantic, and

functional similarities. They all consist of a proform, generally a stress-less, weak or reduced form, and of a lexical phrase, which determines the reference of the proform. They are all used for emphasis, hesitation, and in order to indicate the grammatical role of the associated lexical phrase. Furthermore, the analyses traditionally applied to the combinations *see* + lexical phrase and *siin/seal* + lexical phrase (i.e. modification and apposition) do not seem to be wholly adequate; nor can *see*, *siin* and *seal* be analysed as determiners.

I propose to analyse the construction under examination as a doubling construction, in which the demonstrative is located in its regular position in the sentence structure and the lexical phrase is situated in a topic/focus position adjoined to a higher projection. That the lexical phrase is located in a topic/focus position is suggested by the fact that the construction under examination seems to be an important highlighting device in spoken Estonian (more important than for example right dislocation).

As to the differences between doubling constructions and the Estonian data, they derive from more general differences between languages: Estonian (i) tolerates less “looseness” between correlated elements, (ii) seems to possess a sentence internal topic/focus position, (iii) has case-marking, which permits for the doubling element to agree with the doubled element.

The proposed interpretation is further supported by the fact that the construction under examination seems to be part of a more general strategy characteristic of the Estonian language and instantiated also by the abundant use of correlates with complement clauses. Therefore the existence of a syntactic configuration differing from modification, determination and apposition has to be posited independently of the data under examination.

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