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SOURCE-MARKING RESULTATIVES IN ESTONIAN*

Abstract. Estonian has two types of resultative clauses — goal-marking (GM) and source-marking (SM) resultative clauses. Both can be either intransitive or transitive. A GM-clause reveals the presence of the referent of the subject or the object before the beginning of the change, which is not the case for an SM-clause. The same verbs are used in both constructions, which allows treating the opposition in these constructions as a diathetic one.

- **0.** In Estonian resultative change of state is mostly expressed by means of a prototypical resultative construction where the resultant state is expressed by the subject predicative (1) or the object predicative (2) in the translative (called the predicative adverbial in Estonian linguistics) (cf. Erelt, Metslang 2003), the bearer of the state is expressed by the subject or the direct object, and the source state is optionally expressed by an elative adverbial, e.g.
- (1) Mart kujunes (kurjategija-st) kangelase-ks Mart developed criminal-EL hero-TR 'Mart grew (from a criminal) into a hero'
- (2) *Meedia kujundas Mardi* (kurjategija-st) kangelase-ks media developed Mart.GEN criminal-EL hero-TR 'The media turned Mart (from a criminal) into a hero'

In addition, Estonian uses the resultative construction for the expression of the change of state, where the elative marks the bearer of the state. The resultant state remains unmarked — in intransitive clauses it is expressed by subject cases, and in transitive clauses it is expressed by object cases, e.g.

- (3) a. *Mardi-st kujunes kangelane*Mart-EL developed hero.NOM
 'Mart grew into a hero'
 - b. *M a r d i s t ei kujunenud k a n g e l a s t*Mart-EL did not developed hero-PRTV

 'Mart did not grow into a hero'

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- (4) a. *Meedia kujundas Mardi-stkangelase/kangelas-t* media developed Mart-EL hero.GEN / hero-PRTV 'The media turned Mart into a hero'
 - b. *Meedia ei kujundanud* Mardi-stkangelas-t media did not developed Mart-EL hero-PRTV 'The media did not turn Mart into a hero'
 - c. *Meedia kujundas* poiste-st kangelased media developed boys-EL heroes.NOM
 'The media turned the boys into heroes'

Traditional Estonian grammar has treated the elative constituent as an adverbial of result (Mihkla, Rannut, Riikoja, Admann, 1974 : 228). Actually, the syntactic element in the subject or object case has been regarded as the subject or the object. Similarly to the existential sentence, in an intransitive clause the elative adverbial is usually placed as a theme at the beginning of the clause. This clause type reveals also another feature of the existential sentence — in negative clauses the subject is in the partitive case (see section 2). However, such clauses have not been regarded as existential sentences or any other clause types that differ from normal clauses.

The same syntactic pattern can be found in Finnish, too:1

- (5) *M e i s t \(\alpha\) tulee \(k u u l u i s i a \simes t a n s s i j o i t a*\) we-EL come famous-PRTV \(\simes\) dancers-PRTV

 'We'll become famous dancers'
- (6) Tämä tekee mei-stä kuuluisi-a ~ tanssijoi-ta it will do we-EL famous-PRTV ~ dancers-PRTV 'He'll turn us into famous dancers'

Finnish linguists have singled out this clause type as different from the normal clause and termed it as tuloslause. The new academic Finnish grammar (Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004) regards the non-elative constituent as the predicative. Previously it had been regarded as something between the predicative and the subject resp. object (e.g. Hakulinen, Karlsson 1979: 98; Vilkuna 1996: 158—159; Siro 1964: 54).

The clause type under discussion has a smooth border with clauses with the elative constituent that denote cause (7) or instrument (8):

- (7) *S e l l e s t tekkis suur pahandus* it-EL resulted great.NOM trouble.NOM 'It resulted in great trouble'
- (8) Laps tegi p a b e r i s t laeva child made paper-EL ship.GEN 'The child made a ship from paper'

The existence of a translative alternative variant serves as a distinctive criterion for the resultative clause (but see also the *tulema*-verb in p 2).

¹ This clause type occurs also in some more distant genetically related languages such as Komi (Nikolai Kuznetsov, personal communication), e.g. *Me-ысъ* [I-EL] *петас* [come out-FUT/SG3] велодысъ [teacher.NOM] 'I'll be a teacher'.

The author of this article calls the clause with the translative predicative as (1) and (2) the *goal-marking resultative clause* (GM-clause) and the clause type with the elative adverbial of result as (3) and (4) the *source-marking resultative clause* (SM-clause). The article deals with the semantic and syntactic differences between these two clause types.

- 1. According to some Finnish linguists (e.g. Hakulinen, Karlsson 1979: 98; Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004), the main difference between the GM- and SM-clauses (however, not using these terms) is that a GM-clause reveals the presence of the subject resp. object referent prior to the beginning of the change, which is not so in the case of an SM-clause. The same is true for Estonian, too. A GM-clause like (9a) seems strange because the use of the translative suggests that the book entitled *Rehepapp* was not good enough in the beginning but became good sometime later. Sentence (9b) is acceptable because it is only natural that a book does not become popular at the moment of publication. An SM-clause, however, is possible in both cases (10a, b). The main meaning of sentence (10a) is that *Rehepapp* was completed as a good book, but (10b) implies that *Rehepapp* had been completed earlier.
- (9) a. ?"Rehepapp" sai hea-ks raamatu-ks
 Rehepapp.NOM became good-TR book-TR
 'Rehepapp became a good book'
 - b. "Rehepapp" sai popula arse-ks raamatu-ks Rehepapp.NOM became popular-TR book-TR "Rehepapp became a popular book"
- (10) a. "Rehepapp-EL sai/tuli hea raamat Rehepapp-EL became good.NOM book.NOM 'Rehepapp became a good book'
 - b. "Rehepapp-EL came/became popular.NOM book.NOM 'Rehepapp became a popular book'

The same concerns the transitive resultative clause. Sentence (11) seems as strange as sentence (9a). It implies that the author somehow revised the book after completing it. However, sentence (12) allows an interpretation that it was completed as a good book, though it is perhaps not as self-evident as in (10a).

- (11) ?Kirjanik tegi "Rehepapi" h e a k s r a a m a t u k s writer made Rehepapp.GEN good-TR book-TR 'The writer turned Rehepapp into a good book'
- (12) Kirjanik tegi "Rehepapp-EL" good.GEN book.GEN 'The writer made a good book out of Rehepapp'

Unlike Finnish an Estonian SM-clause does not allow the use of the adjectival predicative (13). An adjective expressing the resultant state is in the translative (14).

- (13) a. *Poisi-st kasvas s u u r boy-EL grew big.NOM 'Out of the boy grew a big'
 - b. *Poisi-st kasvatati s u u r boy-EL was grown big.NOM 'Out of the boy it was grown a big'
- (14) a. *Poiss* kasvas s u u r e k s boy.NOM grew big-TR
 'The boy grew big'
 - b. *Poiss* kasvatati s u u r e k s boy.NOM was grown big-TR 'The boy was grown big'

On the other hand, in Estonian a non-translative adjective occurs in clauses of the following type:

- (15) a. *Rukis kasvas i l u s* rye.NOM grew beautiful.NOM 'The rye grew beautiful'
 - b. *Rukis kasvatati i l u s* rye.NOM was grown beautiful.NOM 'The rye was grown beautiful'
- (16) a. *See raamat* tuli h e a this book.NOM come good.NOM 'The book turned out well'
 - b. See raamat tehti h e a this book.NOM was made good.NOM 'The book was well made'

In these sentences *rukis* 'rye' and *see raamat* 'the book' point unambiguously to a referent that emerged only as the final result of the process. Thus, as for their implication these clauses are clearly different from those clauses with the translative adjective where one implies that the referent had been there before and only its character underwent a change. In these clauses the adjective was not treated as a predicative but an attribute separated from its head (EKG II 56). Be that as it may, but it fits in nicely with our interpretation of the clauses.

- **2.** The list of verbs that occur in a GM-clause as the main pattern of expressing the change of state is rather long (see Erelt, Metslang 2003). By contrast, the list of those verbs that can be used in both resultative constructions is rather short.² Intransitive verbs are represented by:
- 1) saama 'become', tulema 'come'
- 2) kujunema, arenema 'develop'; kasvama, sirguma, võrsuma 'grow', etc.

Saama 'become' and tulema 'come' have grammaticalized into verbs with the broadest meaning of resultative change of state not indicating the nature of change. At this the saama-verb is the most important one.

² The verbs were found on the list of syntactic patterns by Huno Rätsep (see Rätsep 1978).

Differently from Finnish the *tulema*-verb rarely occurs in this meaning.³ *Tulema* is also the only verb where specific SM- and GM-clauses are often transformationally unrelated although the *tulema*-verb follows both patterns. Verbs of development and especially growing show the nature of the change, too. The most important verb of development is *kujunema* 'develop'; *kasvama* 'grow' predominates among verbs of growing.

Some examples follow:

a. Harju tänavast [street-EL] s a a b Viru tänavale tugev konkurent [competitor.NOM] (NEWS⁴) (\rightarrow Harju tänav [street.NOM] s a a b Viru tänava tugevaks konkurendiks [competitor-TR]) 'Harju Street will become a strong competitor for Viru Street' — Suure tõenäosusega pöördub kuberner [governor.NOM] tagasi Portugali ja saab selle riigi järgmiseks presidendiks [president-TR] (NEWS) 'There is strong likelihood that the governor will return to Portugal and will become the next president of this country' ($\rightarrow Kubernerist$ [governor-EL] s a a b president [president. NOM] 'The governor will be come president'); Dustyst [-EL] tule b suure*pärane isa* [father.NOM] (FICT) 'Dusty will be an excellent father' (→ *Dusty [.NOM] tuleb suurepäraseks isaks [father-TR]) — 1974. aastal t u l i Endla Lipre [.NOM] N. Liidu naiskonna koosseisus Euroopa meistriks [champion-TR] (NEWS) 'In 1947 Endla Lipre became the European champion as member of the Soviet team' (\rightarrow Endla Liprest [-EL] tullingle line team'pa meister [champion.NOM] 'Endla Lipre b e c a m e the European champion'); b. Mäletatavasti kujunes mullusest Saaremaa biennaalist [biennial-EL] suur rahvusvaheline kunstisündmus [art event.NOM] (NEWS) 'As is known, the last year's Saaremaa biennial became a major international art event' (\rightarrow Saaremaa biennaal [biennial.NOM] k u j u n e s kunstisündmuseks [art event:TR] 'The Saaremaa biennial became an art event') — Kohtumine [meeting.NOM] k u j u n e s kuivaks intellektuaalseks sõnasõjaks [war of words-TR] (NEWS) 'The meeting turned into a dry intellectual war of words' (\rightarrow Kohtumisest [meeting-EL] k u j u n e s $s\~ona$ *sõda* [war of words.NOM] 'The meeting turned into a war of words') — ... meeldejäävast põgusast kohtumisest [meeting-EL] a r e n e b püsivam suhe [relationship.NOM] (NEWS) 'A memorable brief meeting will d e v e l o p into a more permanent relationship' (→ Kohtumine [meeting.NOM] a r e n e b püsivamaks suhteks [relationship-TR] 'The meeting will develop into a more permanent relationship') — ... ligikaudu kümnel protsendil haiguse [hepatiidi] põdejaist [patsient-EL] a r e n e b see maksatsirroosiks [cirrhosis of the liver-TR] (NEWS) 'In about ten per cent of the patients [of hepatitis] the disease will develop into cirrhosis of the liver (\rightarrow Sellest [it-EL] a r e n e b maksatsirroos [cirrhosis.NOM] 'It will develop into cirrhosis');

³ In Estonian *saama* has developed into the future auxiliary; in Finnish it is the *tulla*-verb. A more detailed discussion of the development history can be found in Metslang 1994. Despite the fact that the *saama*-verb has become the most important verb of change in SM-clauses, the *tulema*-verb occurs in this sense already in Old Written Estonian (Pille Penjam, personal communication), e.g. ... *kurbdussest* [saddness-EL] *rõõm* [joy.NOM] *jälle* [again] *tulleb* [comes] (Bible 1739: 569).

⁴ The examples labelled NEWS and FICT come from the 1990s subcorpus of the Tartu University Corpus of Standard Estonian; they come from journalistic and fiction texts, respectively.

c. Aga kui ta on ikka maast-madalast jooksnud, k a s v a b tast [he-EL] kindlasti tervisesportlane [health nut.NOM] (NEWS) 'But once he has been running since his early age, he will definitely become a health nut' $(\rightarrow Ta \text{ [he.NOM] } k \text{ a s } v \text{ a } b \text{ tervisesportlaseks [health nut-TR] 'He will}$ b e c o m e a health nut') — ... pahin [rushing sound.NOM] laboratooriumis k a s v a s sekundiga möirgeks [roar-TR] 'In a second the rushing sound in the laboratory turned into a roar' (NEWS) (→ Pahinast [rushing sound-EL] kasvas möire [roar.NOM] 'The rushing sound turned into a roar'); — Ent Sokust [-EL] s i r g u s olümpiavõitja [Olympic champion.NOM] (NEWS) 'But Sokk g r e w into an Olympic champion ($\rightarrow Sokk$ [.NOM] s i r g u s olümpiavõitjaks [Olympic champion-TR] 'Sokk g r e w into an Olympic champion') — Noorema generatsiooni esindusgrupiks [bestknown group-TR] s i r g u s Terminaator [.NOM] (NEWS) 'Terminaator g r e w into the best-known group of the younger generation' ($\rightarrow Termi$ naatorist [-EL] s i r g u s esindusgrupp [best-known group.NOM] 'Terminaator grew into the best-known group of the younger generation').

The following transitive verbs in both clause types:

- 1) tegema 'do; make'
- 2) kujundama, arendama 'develop'; kasvatama 'grow, raise'; käänama 'twist', painutama 'bend', rullima 'roll', vormima 'shape', köitma, siduma 'bind', etc.

Some examples follow:

a. $M\ddot{a}gi\ oli\ l\~ohatud\ puuri\ ja\ l\~ohkelaengute\ abil\ ja\ see\ t\ e\ g\ i\ ronimisest\ [climbing-EL]\ lapsemängu\ [child's\ play.GEN]\ (NEWS)\ 'The\ hill\ had\ been\ detonated\ by\ drilling\ and\ explosives,\ and\ that\ t\ u\ r\ n\ e\ d\ climbing\ into\ child's\ play'\ (\to See\ t\ e\ g\ i\ ronimise\ [climbing.GEN]\ lapsemänguks\ [child's\ play-TR]\ 'It\ t\ u\ r\ n\ e\ d\ climbing\ into\ child's\ play'\ — <math>K\ddot{u}ll\ meie\ juba\ selle\ \ddot{a}ra\ ootame,\ millal\ piilupardi\ Epp\ oma\ Tiiskäpa\ [.GEN]\ tubliks\ meheks\ kasvatab\ ja\ päämeistriks\ [grandmaster-TR]\ t\ e\ e\ b\ (FICT)\ 'We\ can\ wait\ out\ the\ time\ when\ Epp\ the\ Duck\ raises\ her\ Tiiskäpp\ into\ a\ good\ man\ and\ m\ a\ k\ e\ s\ him\ the\ grandmaster'\ (\to Epp\ t\ e\ e\ b\ Tiiskäpast\ [-EL]\ päämeistri\ [grandmaster\ GEN]\ 'Epp\ w\ i\ l\ l\ m\ a\ k\ e\ a\ grandmaster\ out\ of\ Tiiskäpp');$

b. Carl-Cristian Rundman k u j u n d a s Pasha Selinist [-EL] pigem euroopaliku diktaatori [dictator.GEN] (NEWS) 'Rather, Carl-Cristian Rundman t u r n e d Pasha Selin into a European-style dictator' (\rightarrow Rundman kuj u n d a s Pasha Selini [.GEN] euroopalikuks diktaatoriks [dictator-TR] 'Rundman turned Pasha Selin into a European-style dictator') — Jubaaastaga ületas müügimaht 300 000 dollari piiri, mille peale ta kujund a s oma kompanii [company.GEN] kaubanduskonglomeraadiks [trade conglomerate-TR] (NEWS) 'Already in a year the sales volume exceeded 300,000 dollars after which he turned his company into a trade conglomerate $(\rightarrow Ta \ k \ u \ j \ u \ n \ d \ a \ s \ oma \ kompaniist \ [company-EL] \ kaubanduskonglo$ meraadi [trade conglomerate.GEN] 'He t u r n e d his company into a trade conglomerate'); — Kasvatan koerast [dog-EL] medalite valvaja [guard.GEN] (NEWS) 'I'll grow the dog into a guard of the medals' (→ K a s v a t a n koera [dog.GEN] medalite valvajaks [guard-TR] 'I'll grow the dog into a guard of the medals') — Ta on eluaeg ausalt tööd rüganud, mehe maha matnud, kaks [two.NOM] last [child-PRTV] koolitanud ja korralikeks inimesteks [people-TR] k a s v a t a n u d (NEWS)

'She has been honestly toiling all through her life, buried her husband, educated two children and turned them into decent people' ($\rightarrow Ta$ on kahest [two-EL] lapsest [child-EL] korralikud inimesed [people. NOM] k as v a t a n u d 'She has turned two children into decent people'); - Kuid Pipi lõikas pika peene puuoksa, sidus selle ühte otsa nööri, p a i-n u t as nööpnõelast [pin-EL] konksu [hook.GEN] (FICT) 'But Pipi cut a long thin tree branch, tied a string around one and, bent a hook out of a pin' (\rightarrow Pipi p a i n u t as nööpnõela [pin.GEN] konksuks [hook-TR] 'Pipi bent a pin into a hook').

- **3.** As noted, in Estonian linguistics the NP in a grammatical case of an SM-clause has been treated as the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause. In Finnish linguistics, however, it has been treated as a predicative that shares some of its properties with the subject *resp.* the object. The argument in favour of the predicative is that in an SM-clause the NP fulfils the same function of characterization as in a normal clause. In Finnish an additional argument for the predicative is that the syntactic element need not be not only a noun but also an adjective as in sentences (5) and (6). In the case of Estonian this kind of support is missing we could see that an adjective is impossible in an Estonian SM-clause. In the case of negation the partitive form serves as a characteristic of the subject and the object of the NP. This is so both in Finnish (17) and in Estonian (18) (see also Hakulinen, Karlsson 1979: 98; Vilkuna 1996: 159; Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004); additionally, agreement in number occurs in Estonian (19).
- (17) a. *Kankaa-sta tuli t a k k i* fabric-EL came coat.NOM
 'A coat was made from the fabric'
 - b. *Kankaa-sta ei tullut* t a k k i a fabric-EL did not come coat-PRTV 'No coat was made from the fabric'
- (18) a. *Vanemad kasvatasid poja-st t u b l i m e h e* parents grew son-EL good.GEN man.GEN 'The parents turned the son into a good man'
 - b. *Vanemad ei kasvatanud poja-st tu b l i-t m e e s-t* parents did not grow son-EL good-PRTV man-PRTV 'The parents did not turn the son into a good man'
- (19) Poiste-st kasvasid mehed boys-EL grew men.NOM 'The boys grew into men'

As for the use of the partitive subject, an intransitive SM-clause is similar to the existential sentence.

4. One can regard the opposition between GM- and SM-resultative clauses as a diathetic one. Diathesis is the correspondence scheme between the semantic roles and the grammatical relations of the arguments in the clause (Холодович 1970; Erelt 1979 : 38—40; Padučeva 2002). Primary diathesis is one member of diathetic oppositions, and derived diathesis is the other. Derived diathesis can be morphologically marked or unmarked by the verb.

In the first case one is dealing with voice (Холодович 1970); in the second case it is non-voice diathesis. The opposition between SM- and GM-resultative clauses is non-voice diathetic opposition. Scheme 1 shows the diathetic opposition between GM- and SM-resultative clauses on the assumption that the patient-source and the result-goal are relevant semantic roles of the resultative clause (this assumption is based on Goldberg 1995 : 188—192).

Scheme 1

GOAL-MARKING RESULTATIVE

			PATIENT-SOURCE		RESULT-GOAL
INITDANIC			SUBJECT	V	PREDICATIVE
INTRANS. CLAUSE			Ta	sai	näitleja- k s
			'He'	'became'	'an actor [-TR]'
			PATIENT-SOURCE		RESULT-GOAL
TRANS. CLAUSE	SUBJECT	V	OBJECT		PREDICATIVE
	Töö	tegi	ta		näitleja- k s
	'Work'	'made'	'him [.PRTV]'		'an actor [-TR]'

SOURCE-MARKING RESULTATIVE

INTRANS. CLAUSE			PATIENT-SOURCE ADVERBIAL <i>Tema-st</i> 'He [-EL]'	V sai 'became'	RESULT-GOAL SUBJECT näitleja 'an actor [.NOM]'
TRANS. CLAUSE	SUBJECT <i>Töö</i> 'Work'	V tegi 'made'	PATIENT-SOURCE ADVERBIAL tema-st 'him [-EL]'		RESULT-GOAL OBJECT <i>näitleja</i> 'an actor [.NOM]'

Because the opposition between SM- and GM-diathesis is not reflected in the morphological form of the verb, at first glance it is difficult to pinpoint the primary diathesis. However, if one defines markedness more broadly than what is manifested by morphology only (see e.g. Croft 2003 : 87—101), then there is no doubt that the primary diathesis is the GM-resultative construction because it is associated with a larger number of verbs. It can be formed not only by means of nouns but also by means of adjectives; its frequency is higher not only in the case of the same verb but generally, too. Also cross-linguistically this construction type is much more common than the SM-construction.⁵ Replacement of primary diathesis by derived diathesis is accompanied by demotion of the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause into an adverbial and promotion of the predicative into the subject *resp*. direct object.

⁵ The intransitive SM-clause type seems to be rather rare. One can find, however, occasional examples of this kind. According to Petar Kehayov (personal communication), the intransitive SM-resultative can be found in Bulgarian, too. Similarly to Estonian, it occurs only with the noun, and it is much less frequent than the corresponding GM-resultative, e.g. *Ot hezo* [PREP/EL he-ACC] *usnese* [come out-AOR.3SG] *hezoðhuk* [hoodlum.NOM] 'He became a hoodlum'; *Hezoðhuk* [hoodlum. NOM] *ctaha* [turn/become-AOR.3SG] *ot hezo* [PREP/EL he-ACC] 'He became a hoodlum' (emphatic). In German, too, this construction is possible to a certain degree, e.g. *Aus ihm wird ein Arzt* 'He will become a doctor'.

In fact, Estonian reveals some other diathetic oppositions of this kind (though rather peripheral), for example, the opposition that has sometimes called locative alternation in language typology (Van Valin 2001: 61—62), e.g. Ta määris kreemi [DO] kätele [ADVBL] 'She spread some cream on her hands' — Ta määris käsi [DO] kreemiga [ADVBL] 'She spread some cream on her hands'. Diatheses are first and foremost related to the subject and the direct object, that is, to the circumstance that different semantic roles can take the form of the subject or the direct object. In the transitive GMresultative construction as the primary diathesis the direct object expresses the patient. Traditionally such an object has been termed as an affected object. In the transitive SM-resultative construction, however, the direct object expresses the result, and traditional syntax has called this kind of object as the resultative object (see Kont 1963: 10). In intransitive resultative constructions the subject expresses the patient and the result. In the case of the subject linguists have not used similar names to the ones used in the case of the direct object. However, at least the resultative subject would be an appropriate term for treating the resultative constructions in Estonian. Thus, the study of SM-clauses from the perspective of core grammatical relations reveals that the resultative subject is a typological peculiarity of Estonian.

Abbreviations

ACC — accusative; ADVBL — adverbial; AOR — aorist; DO — direct object; EL elative; FUT — future; GEN — genitive; NOM — nominative; PREP — preposition; PRTV — partitive; SG — singular; TR — translative; V — verb.

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МАТИ ЭРЕЛТ (Тарту)

РЕЗУЛЬТАТИВНЫЕ КОНСТРУКЦИИ, МАРКИРУЮЩИЕ ИСХОДНОЕ СОСТОЯНИЕ В ЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В эстонском языке имеются результативные конструкции двух типов — конструкции, в которых маркированным является результат (РМ-конструкции), напр. Poiss kasvas meheks букв. 'мальчик вырос мужчиной'; и конструкции, в которых маркируется исходное состояние (ИМ-конструкции), напр. Poisist kasvas mees букв. 'из мальчика вырос мужчина'. Обе конструкции могут быть интранзитивными или транзитивными. РМ-конструкции предполагают существование обозначаемого субъекта или объекта еще до изменения, ИМ-конструкции такой пресуппозицией не обладают. Поскольку в обеих конструкциях употребляются одни и те же глаголы (saama 'стать', tulema 'быходить' (?) и др.), оппозиция этих конструкций представляет собой оппозицию диатез.