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STRESS AND QUANTITY IN NORTH SETU (SOUTH ESTONIAN)

Setus are the easternmost South Estonian group whose territory was gulped by the Pskov state of Russians at the beginning of the 13th century and remained in the domain of Russia until 1919. The Setu subdialects belong to the Võru dialect of the South Estonian dialect group. South Estonian is one of the earliest branches of Baltic Finnic. It was only in this millennium that South Estonian began to merge into North Estonian. The direct contacts of Setus with the standard (North) Estonian began only in 1919.

North Setu (NS) is a Setu subdialect, spoken in the former district (*vald*) of Mäe. My data on North Setu come from Maeve Leivo, a colleague of mine at the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages of the Institute of Language and Literature (Academy of Sciences of Estonia). Maeve has very patiently taught me to notice the peculiarities of her native dialect which can so easily be overlooked by an outsider. Nevertheless, she is in no way responsible for the transcription and phonological interpretation of the data.

1. Stress. In NS sentences, like in other Finnic dialects, monosyllables are either stressed or unstressed and every polysyllabic simple word has at least one stress. Monosyllabic conjuncts are usually unstressed, monosyllabic personal, demonstrative and interrogative / relative pronouns and the numeral *üts* 'one, an, a' are stressed when they take the phrase stress, all other nominals (nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns), verbs, adjectives, postpositions and prepositions are usually stressed. Polysyllabic words usually have the primary stress on the 1st syllable and the secondary stress on every nonfinal odd syllable. Nevertheless, as in other Estonian dialects and in standard Estonian, several types of borrowings (international words) and some interjections have the primary stress on a nonfirst syllable. Besides, in NS negative aspect forms of the verb, which originate from a fusion of the former sequences of main verb + the negation verb (**ei?* in the present tense and in the imperative mood and **es* in the imperfect tense), the primary stress is on the final syllable. In trisyllabic and longer negative aspect forms the 1st syllable has the secondary stress.

As the former negation verb forms have developed into inflectional suffixes in NS, NS is unique among Estonian dialects, first, in having inflectional negation suffixes and, second, in having primarily stressed inflectional suffixes.

All the main problems concerning the stress in NS are connected with the syllabic quantity in NS.

2. Quantity. The best known feature of Estonian is its quantity system: most Estonian dialects possess three distinctive syllabic quantities: **Q1**, **Q2**, and **Q3**, whose order reflects the increasing relative duration of stressed syllables. (Nobody has tried to check instrumentally an interesting claim of Väino Klaus (1983) concerning the possibility of similar distinctions in unstressed syllables.) There exists also a tendency towards inverse proportionality between the durations of the 1st and 2nd syllable in disyllabic feet. In addition, the syllables of **Q1** have a rising pitch and those of **Q2** a rising-falling pitch, while syllables of **Q3** have a falling pitch that can be preceded by a short rise. In certain cases, namely for monophthongs in primarily stressed syllables or for consonants that follow a short monophthong of a stressed syllable, the three syllabic quantities are partially realized as three segmental quantities, cf. NS *taçì* : *sāçì* : *sāçe* and *taçì* : *pačkì* : *pačkke*. Besides, certain suffixal morphemes (the enclitic particle *-ke?*, the imperative 2pl suffix *-ke?/-kē?*, the imperative 3 sg&pl affirmative suffix *-ko?*, and the imperative 3 sg&pl negative suffix *-ku-i?*) create additional «segmental» quantities. Table 1 presents examples of all mono- and disyllabic durationally different patterns that contain a prevocalic or a final monophthong + stop sequence.

Table 1. Monophthong and stop sequences

Q1	<i>taçì</i> ¹	<i>pačkì</i> ²	<i>pačkke</i> ³	<i>pačkke</i> ²⁴	<i>pačk</i> ⁵	
Q2	<i>sāçì</i> ⁶	<i>mačkke</i> ⁷				
Q3	<i>sāçkē</i> ²⁸	<i>sāçe</i> ⁹	<i>sāčkke</i> ¹⁰	<i>sāčkke</i> ²¹¹	<i>sāç</i> ¹²	<i>sāčk</i> ¹³

Glosses: ¹ 'ceiling', ² 'packet (genitive)', ³ 'packet (partitive)', ⁴ 'even a/the packet', ⁵ 'packet', ⁶ 'saw (genitive)', 'yield (genitive)', ⁷ 'sleep! (imperative 2pl)', ⁸ 'even a/the saw', ⁹ 'saw (partitive)', ¹⁰ 'yield (partitive)', ¹¹ 'even a/the saw', ¹² 'a/the saw', ¹³ 'a/the yield'.

Diphthongs in patterns containing a prevocalic or final diphthong + stop sequence behave similarly to the long monophthongs in patterns with a monophthong + stop sequence, cf. Table 2. In the same way behave also the short monophthong + sonorant sequences in patterns with short monophthong + sonorant + stop sequences, cf. Table 3.

Tables 1—3 bear evidence against treating the three distinctive quantities as internal properties of segments, e.g. as the phonemic length.

Table 2. Diphthong and stop sequences

Q2	<i>aüçò</i> ¹					
Q3	<i>haüçkē</i> ²²	<i>haüçç</i> ³	<i>aukko</i> ⁴	<i>aüčkē</i> ²⁵	<i>haüç</i> ⁶	<i>aüčk</i> ⁷

Glosses: ¹ 'hole (genitive)', ² 'even a/the pike', ³ 'pike (partitive)', ⁴ 'hole (partitive)', ⁵ 'even a/the hole', ⁶ 'pike', ⁷ 'hole'.

Table 3. Short monophthong and sonorant sequences

Q2	<i>kuřǵü</i> ¹				
Q3	<i>kuřǵ_čke</i> ²	<i>kuřǵ_z</i> ³	<i>kurkko</i> ⁴	<i>kuřǵ_čke</i> ⁵	<i>kuřǵ</i> ⁶ <i>kuřǵ</i> ⁷

Glosses: ¹ 'throat (genitive)', ² 'even a/the crane (bird)', ³ 'crane (partitive)', ⁴ 'throat (partitive)', ⁵ 'even a/the cucumber', ⁶ 'crane', ⁷ 'cucumber'.

2.1. The distribution of **Q1**, **Q2** and **Q3** in NS can be described as follows: (1) **Q1** is the quantity of short stressed syllables (short stressed syllables end in a short monophthong), (2) **Q2** and **Q3** are quantities of long stressed syllables (long stressed syllables end in a long monophthong, diphthong, or at least one consonant), (3) a syllable of **Q1** is obligatorily followed by at least one unstressed syllable, i.e. it cannot compose a foot by itself, (4) a syllable of **Q2** or **Q3** can compose a foot, e.g., a monosyllabic word, or can be followed by one or two unstressed syllables.

All monosyllabic words of **Q2** are either conditional mood forms, cf. *jõz*² 'would drink', *sõz*² 'would eat', *sāz*² 'would receive', *kēz*² 'would boil', *kāüz*² 'would walk' or preterite participles of the impersonal voice, cf. *nužt* 'suck'. Note that the property of syllables of **Q2** to constitute a word makes the North Setu subdialect unique among all other Estonian dialects that possess three distinctive quantities: in the rest of these dialects a syllable of **Q2**, like a syllable of **Q1**, is obligatorily followed by at least one unstressed syllable. Historically, however, the monosyllabic conditional mood forms and the impersonal preterite participles of **Q2** have developed from disyllabic forms, also of **Q2**, via synkopation of the voiceless vowel *i* of the second syllable, e.g. **jõzi*² > *jõz*², **nužit* > *nužt*. The voiceless vowel *i* has arisen from the high vowel devoicing (**u *ü *i* > *u ü i*) before a syllable-final obstruent in an unstressed syllable that was preceded either by a syllable of **Q1** or **Q2** or by an unstressed syllable.

2.2. The NS monosyllabic words of **Q2** support the view that **Q2** and **Q3** can be best explained as conditioned by two phonemic accents, namely, by the light accent /' / and the heavy accent /' / (cf. Tauli 1973). Moreover, they do not contradict the view that syllables of **Q1** and **Q2** both have the light accent (for other Estonian dialects this view has been supported by the case that syllables of **Q1** and **Q2** are both obligatorily followed by at least one unstressed syllable).

3. **Problems of stress and quantity.** The fact that the Estonian three distinctive quantities **Q1**, **Q2**, and **Q3** occur only in stressed syllables makes it necessary to establish carefully (a) all stressed syllables in any word and (b) the interrelation and function of stress and quantity in the phonological system. Below some problems of stress and quantity characteristic of North Setu are dealt with in the framework of the approach applied by Viitso in 1975 and 1981.

3.1. For disyllabic and longer simple words there exists a general unmarked stress pattern that can be expressed by means of the formula

$$P^1U^1(AU)_0^nU_0^1$$

where P, A, and U represent, respectively, syllables with the primary stress, the secondary stress and no stress; the lower indices indicate the minimum and the upper indices the maximum or the only possible number of preceding symbol(s) in the given position. There are, however, cases where the general pattern is either inapplicable or only partially

applicable because of the nonautomatic secondary stress conditioned by certain derivational suffixes, first of all by suffixes *-ik̄* and *-ne/-nē* : *-ze/-zē* : *-s-* (often in different complex suffixes), sometimes by pseudo-suffixes that have arisen as a result of occasional degeneration of a former final component of a compound (e. g. *-k̄* in the NS word *āstāk* 'year').

3.1.1. The occurrence of secondary stress in the 2nd syllable of the weak grade forms of *k̄-*, *ik̄-* and *nik̄-*nouns (e. g. in the nominative plural and the genitive forms), that have a disyllabic nominative singular form whose 1st syllable is of **Q3**, depends on the concrete suffix or pseudo-suffix. (Note that in a weak grade forms of such nouns the 2nd syllable is either (a) secondarily stressed and of **Q2** or (b) unstressed and short, whereas in strong grade forms the 2nd syllable is secondarily stressed and of **Q3**). Cf., e. g., the partial paradigms of three nouns:

	nominative	genitive	partitive	gloss
}	sg <i>ā.stā:k̄</i>	<i>ā.stāga</i>	<i>ā.stā:k̄ka</i>	'year'
	pl <i>ā.stā:gu?</i>	<i>ā.stāgi</i>	<i>ā.stā:k̄ka</i>	
}	sg <i>tū.iri:k̄</i>	<i>tū.ri:gu</i>	<i>tū.iri:k̄ko</i>	'girl'
	pl <i>tū.iri:gu?</i>	<i>tū.iri:k̄ka</i>	<i>tū.iri:k̄ka</i>	
}	sg <i>mē.łsni:k̄</i>	<i>mē.łsni:k̄ku</i>	<i>mē.łsni:k̄ko</i>	'forester'
	pl <i>mē.łsni:gu?</i>	<i>mē.łsni:k̄ka</i>	<i>mē.łsni:k̄ka</i>	

Note that the form *ā.stāgi:de* has the unmarked stress pattern. Actually, the weak grade forms with an unstressed 2nd syllable are influenced by stems whose 2nd syllable is always unstressed, cf.

}	sg <i>hu.ṁmōk̄</i>	<i>hu.ṁmōgo</i>	<i>hu.ṁmōgoṭ</i>	'morning'
	pl <i>hu.mmōgo?</i>	<i>hu.ṁmōgi:de</i>	<i>hu.ṁmōgeṭ</i>	
}	sg <i>ku.raṭ̄</i>	<i>ku.rāde</i>	<i>ku.rādeṭ̄</i>	'devil'
	pl <i>ku.rāde?</i>	<i>ku.rādi:de</i>	<i>ku.rādeṭ̄</i>	

Those weak grade forms whose 2nd syllable is of **Q2** have either preserved or restored the original secondary stress, similarly to nominals that have it on the 3rd syllable, cf.

}	sg <i>ü.māri:k̄</i>	<i>ü.māri:k̄ku</i>	<i>ü.māri:k̄ko</i>	'round (adj)'
	pl <i>ü.māri:gu?</i>	<i>ü.māri:k̄ka</i>	<i>ü.māri:k̄ka</i>	

3.1.2. *ne/-nē* and *uš-*nominals that have in genitive sg a trisyllabic stem (which always ends in *-ze/-zē*) whose 1st syllable is of **Q3** are exceptions to the general stress pattern. All such nominals have the secondary stress on the 2nd syllable at least in the partitive pl form. If in such a word the suffix *-ne/-nē* : *-ze/-zē* is a component of a complex suffix *-lan̄ē/-länē*, *-lin̄ē/-linē*, *-min̄ē/-minē*, the 2nd syllable always has the secondary stress, cf.

}	sg <i>ē.stlā:ne</i>	<i>ē.stlā:ze</i>	<i>ē.stlā:št</i>	'Estonian (n)'
	pl <i>ē.stlā:ze?</i>	<i>ē.stlā:šte</i>	<i>ē.stlā:ize</i>	
}	sg <i>tṭ̄.li:ne</i>	<i>tṭ̄.li:ze</i>	<i>tṭ̄.li:št</i>	'worker'
	pl <i>tṭ̄.lize?</i>	<i>tṭ̄.li:šte</i>	<i>tṭ̄.lī:ze</i>	
}	sg <i>vā.ikkene</i>	<i>vā.ikkeze</i>	<i>vā.ikkešt</i>	'small'
	pl <i>vā.ikkeze?</i>	<i>vā.ikkeste</i>	<i>vā.ikke:ize</i>	

}	sg	<i>ta·rkkuš</i>	<i>ta·rkkuzē</i>	<i>ta·rkkust</i>	'wisdom'
	pl	<i>ta·rkkuzē?</i>	<i>ta·rkkustē</i>	<i>ta·rkku:ize</i>	

Despite the differences in stress pattern and derivational complexity, all *ne-/nē* and *uš*-nominals, whose stem in genitive sg is trisyllabic and begins in a syllable of Q3, behave in their inflection paradigms similarly to *ne-/nē*-nominals whose stem in genitive sg is quadrasyllabic, cf.

}	sg	<i>i·nēmi:ne</i>	<i>i·nēmi:ze</i>	<i>i·nēmi:št</i>	'human being'
	pl	<i>i·nēmi:ze?</i>	<i>i·nēmi:šte</i>	<i>i·nēmi:ize</i>	
}	sg	<i>ke·vājā:ne</i>	<i>ke·vājā:ōze</i>	<i>ke·vājā:št</i>	'spring (adj)'
	pl	<i>ke·vājā:ōze?</i>	<i>ke·vājā:šte</i>	<i>ke·vājā:tše</i>	

This similarity is obviously conditioned by the fact that all *ne-/nē*- and *uš*-nominals with a trisyllabic stem in genitive sg that begins in a syllable of Q3 formerly had two stressed syllables. E.g. the stems *ta·rkkuzē*, *vā·ikkeze*, *ē·stlā:ze* were formerly quadrasyllabic and had a permanent «automatic» secondary stress on the 3rd syllable of the stem, i.e. on the syllable that formerly preceded the suffixes *-ne/-nē* and *-ze/-zē* : *-s-*. The role played by the former stresses is also borne out by such paradigms where *-ne/-nē* and *-ze/-zē* : *-s-* follow the primarily stressed syllable, cf.

}	sg	<i>nā·nē</i>	<i>nā·zē</i>	<i>na·št</i>	'woman; wife'
	pl	<i>nā·ze?</i>	<i>na·štē</i>	<i>na·ize</i>	
}	sg	<i>tē·nē</i>	<i>tē·zē</i>	<i>te·št</i>	'second; other'
	pl	<i>tē·ze?</i>	<i>te·štē</i>	<i>te·ize</i>	

ne-/nē-nominals with a trisyllabic stem in genitive sg whose 1st syllable is either of Q1 or of Q2 only occasionally have the secondary stress on the 3rd syllable and are therefore inflected in a somewhat different way, cf. especially the genitive and partitive plural forms of the following nominals:

}	sg	<i>ho·bēnē</i>	<i>ho·bēzē</i>	<i>ho·bēst</i>	'horse'
	pl	<i>ho·bēzē?</i>	<i>ho·bēzi:de</i>	<i>ho·bēzēt</i>	
}	sg	<i>vī·māne</i>	<i>vī·mādze</i>	<i>vī·māst</i>	'last'
	pl	<i>vī·mādze?</i>	<i>vī·mātsi:de</i>	<i>vī·māstē</i>	

3.1.3. *k̄*-, *ik̄* and *nik̄*-nouns as well as *uš*- and *ne-/nē*-nominals, particularly those whose 1st syllable is of Q3, are important not only from the point of view of descriptive exhaustiveness but also because they raise the problem of how certain inflectional forms that differ from each other in stress pattern, depending, as it were, on the paradigm, are actually handled by speakers. This problem is intimately related to another: what is the general mechanism of inflectional form formation in the case of the so-called morphology of the flectional type: note that only one inflectional form out of the six presented for nouns *ā·štā.k̄*, *tū·iri.k̄* and *mē·tsni.k̄* in 3.1.1 has always an inflectional formative (nominative pl, cf. -?), and there is a formative also in the form *ā·štāgi:de*. (The situation is only slightly different for the nominals *ē·stlā:ne*, *tū·li:ne*, *vā·ikkene* and *ta·rkkuš* in 3.1.2 where there occur inflectional formatives also in partitive sg (-t) and genitive pl (-te)).

3.2. Some very serious problems are created by the negative aspect forms that have the primary stress on the final syllable, cf. Table 4.

Table 4. Negative aspect forms.

pr1—3sg	pr 3pl	ipf 1—3	imp 2sg	gloss
<i>ku.a-i?</i>	<i>ku:äva-i?</i>	<i>ku.ä.š</i>	<i>ku:dagu-i?</i>	'weave, knit'
<i>pi.ä-i?</i>	<i>pi.ä-i?</i>	<i>pi.ä.š</i>	<i>pi:dägu-i?</i>	'must'
<i>tu.tę.e-i?</i>	<i>tu:tęva-i?</i>	<i>tutę.š</i>	<i>tutgu-i?</i>	'come'
<i>vali.?</i>	<i>va:liva-i?</i>	<i>vali.š</i>	<i>va:ligu-i?</i>	'choose'
<i>kēdä-i?</i>	<i>kē:dävä-i?</i>	<i>kēdä.š</i>	<i>kļ:tku-i?</i>	'boil (tV)'
<i>puži.?</i>	<i>pu:živa-i?</i>	<i>puži.š</i>	<i>pu:šk.ku-i?</i>	'butt'
<i>käze-i?</i>	<i>kä:zevä-i?</i>	<i>käzē.š</i>	<i>kä:šk.ku-i?</i>	'order'
<i>salli.?</i>	<i>sa:lliva-i?</i>	<i>salli.š</i>	<i>sa:lkku-i?</i>	'tolerate'
<i>anna-i?</i>	<i>a:nnavä-i?</i>	<i>annä.š</i>	<i>a:nđku-i?</i>	'give'
<i>tijä-i?</i>	<i>tī:jävä-i?</i>	<i>tijä.š</i>	<i>tī:dku-i?</i>	'know'
<i>lövvä-i?</i>	<i>lō:šovvä-i?</i>	<i>lövvä.š</i>	<i>lō:ūdku-i?</i>	'find'
<i>ha:ü.u-i?</i>	<i>ha:üva-i?</i>	<i>ha:ü.ü.š</i>	<i>ha:ūdku-i?</i>	'brood'
<i>mahu-i?</i>	<i>ma:huva-i?</i>	<i>mahü.š</i>	<i>ma:h̄togu-i?</i>	'go in'
<i>pu:hka-i?</i>	<i>pu:hkava-i?</i>	<i>pu:hkã.š</i>	<i>pu:hakku-i?</i>	'blow'
<i>ta:hta-i?</i>	<i>ta:htava-i?</i>	<i>ta:htë.š</i>	<i>ta:htakku-i?</i>	'tread'
<i>u:mblę-i?</i>	<i>u:mblęva-i?</i>	<i>u:mblę.š</i>	<i>u:m̄mętgu-i?</i>	'sew'
<i>ju:h̄to-i?</i>	<i>ju:h̄tova-i?</i>	<i>ju:h̄tō.š</i>	<i>ju:h̄togu-i?</i>	'happen'
<i>vļ:rdö-i?</i>	<i>vļ:rdövä-i?</i>	<i>vļ:rdō.š</i>	<i>vļ:rdögu-i?</i>	'roll'
<i>tū.u-i?</i>	<i>tū:va-i?</i>	<i>tū:ū.š</i>	<i>tōgu-i?</i>	'bring'
<i>sū.ü-i?</i>	<i>sū:vä-i?</i>	<i>sū:ū.š</i>	<i>sōgu-i?</i>	'eat'
<i>kļ.ļ-i?</i>	<i>kļ:vä-i?</i>	<i>kļ:ļ.š</i>	<i>kēgu-i?</i>	'boil (iV)'
<i>sā.a-i?</i>	<i>sā:va-i?</i>	<i>sā:ā.š</i>	<i>sāgu-i?</i>	'get'
<i>jā.ä-i?</i>	<i>jā:vä-i?</i>	<i>jā:ä.š</i>	<i>jāgu-i?</i>	'remain'
<i>kä.ü.u-i?</i>	<i>käüvä-i?</i>	<i>kä:ü.ü.š</i>	<i>kä:ugū-i?</i>	'walk'
<i>ve.ļ.ļ-i?</i>	<i>veļiva-i?</i>	<i>ve.ļ.ļ.š</i>	<i>ve:ļgu-i?</i>	'be able'
<i>nä.ē.e-i?</i>	<i>nä:ēvä-i?</i>	<i>nä:ē.ē.š</i>	<i>nä:k̄ku-i?</i>	'see'

Trisyllabic and quadrasyllabic forms have the secondary stress on the 1st syllable, with can be of **Q1**, **Q2** or **Q3** just as the corresponding primarily stressed 1st syllables in the form of the affirmative aspect. Cf. e. g. *va:liva?* 'they choose' : *va:liva-i?* 'they do not choose', *sa:lliva?* 'they tolerate' : *sa:lliva-i?* 'they do not tolerate' *ta:hta?* 'they tread' : *ta:htava-i?* 'they do not tread'.

3.2.1. What is problematic is the stressedness and, hence, also the quantity of the 1st syllable of disyllabic negative aspect forms. A short 1st syllable is unstressed (cf. *ku.a-i?*, *pi.ä.š*). Part of the long 1st syllables are likely to have the secondary stress and be of **Q3** (cf. *tū.u-i?*, *sū:ū.š*, *u:m̄blę.š*): this solution is called up by the occurrence of the lowered high long vowels *ū*, *ū̄*, *ī* that have arisen from the long mid vowel raising (**ō *ō̄ *ē > ū ū̄ ī*) in primarily stressed syllables of **Q3**; nevertheless, the duration of lowered high long vowels in that position seems to be somewhat shorter than in primarily stressed syllables. Moreover, the corresponding affirmative aspect forms need not be of **Q3**, cf. *tō-zę* 'he brings' : *tū:u-i?* 'he does not bring', *tō-va?* 'they bring' : *tū:va-i?* 'they do not bring'. For the other part of the long 1st syllables, which can be

traced back to the former primarily stressed syllables of **Q2**, there is no evidence to decide whether such long syllables are unstressed or secondarily stressed and of **Q2** (cf. *kēvā-i?*, *salli-?*, *tijā-š*). Actually, both types of pretonic long syllables need an instrumental study.

However, as such difficulties in establishing the stressedness or unstressedness of pretonic syllables are shared also by native speakers, we are, probably, meeting a case where a certain type of originally stressed long syllables has become structurally ambiguous because of the absence of similar unstressed syllables. This case, however, leads to the problem of how such ambiguous forms are morphologically/morphophonologically connected with other members of their paradigms. The significance of the problem is enhanced by relatively complicated fusional processes that have resulted in the existing negative aspect forms: although these fusions can be treated by some ordered list of (actually more or less historical) rules, it is unlikely that the negative form formation is based on a machinery that is explanatory rather than effective.

3.2.2. Another serious problem is that of the function of the primary stress in the negative aspect forms. In other Estonian dialects that have three distinctive quantities stress is best treated as a component of accent, as the three quantities, as far as we know, occur only in stressed syllables. Usually the first stressed syllable has the strongest or the primary stress, the following stresses are weaker or secondary. Alongside with the words beginning with an unstressed syllable, a number of longer international words with several stresses make up exceptions of the rule, either because they have two primary stresses (e.g. *a-špiri-n* 'aspirin') or because they have the primary stress on a nonfirst syllable and one or several secondary stresses on the preceding syllables (e.g. *ko:m̄muni-štli(:)k* 'communist (adj.)', *temo:bilizē-rimi:ne* as words of compound word structure because their primary stress is always connected with inflectional suffixes, even though there is often no clearcut morpheme boundary and sometimes it is only the postvocalic and, hence, at the same time also the posttonic consonant that is indisputably suffixal. Therefore we are forced to admit that the primarily stressed syllables in the negative aspect forms are marked with a specific stress /./ in addition to the heavy accent /'.

4. Conclusions. Although North Setu is unique among Estonian dialects (1) in having monosyllables of **Q2** and (2) in having inflectional forms with the primarily stressed final syllable, nevertheless, the three distinctive quantities **Q1**, **Q2**, and **Q3** in North Setu can be described by means of two pairs of features, viz. (a) a short vs. a long syllable and (b) a syllable marked with the light vs. the heavy syllabic accent:

Q1	a short stressed syllable	
Q2	a long stressed syllable	marked with the light accent /' /
Q3		marked with the heavy accent /./

Stress is a component of accent, except in the negative aspect forms that have the primary stress on the final syllable; in the latter case the final syllable is marked with a specific stress /./ . What remains problematic, is the stressedness of long initial syllables of disyllabic negative aspect forms.

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ТИИТ-РЕИН ВИЙТСО (Таллинн—Хельсинки)

УДАРЕНИЕ И КОЛИЧЕСТВО В СЕВЕРНОСЕТУСКОМ
ГОВОРЕ ЮЖНОЭСТОНСКОГО НАРЕЧИЯ

Северносетусский говор уникален для ареала эстонского языка, он имеет (1) односложные слова в Д2 (т. е. во второй степени слоговой длительности) и (2) инфлексивные формы с главным ударением на конечном слоге (формы отрицательного аспекта основного глагола). Все же три степени длительности Д1, Д2 и Д3 в северносетуском говоре фонологически характеризуются при помощи двух пар признаков: а) краткий / длинный ударный слог, б) слог, маркированный легким / тяжелым слоговым акцентом:

Д1	краткий ударный слог	
Д2	длинный ударный слог	слог, маркированный легким акцентом //
Д3		слог, маркированный тяжелым акцентом /

Ударение является компонентом акцента, за исключением форм отрицательного аспекта, имеющих главное ударение на конечном слоге; в последних конечный слог маркирован специфическим ударением /./ . Проблемной остается еще ударность длинных начальных слогов двусложных форм отрицательного аспекта.