

но-угорских языков (типа венгерских по происхождению арготизмов *ловак* 'лошадь' и *хаз* 'дом') получены восточнославянским арготизмом в XV—XVI вв., а многочисленные включения из мордовского, марийского и незначительные арготизмы из удмуртского, коми, карельского, финского и других языков финно-угорской семьи произошли позднее (XVII—XVIII и особенно XIX вв.).

Учебное пособие снабжено арготическими словарями, включающими финно-угорские по происхождению слова. В «Словарь пензенских шерстобитов» вошла арготическая лексика, записанная как от рус-

ских, так и от мордовских ремесленников-отходников. Второй словарь содержит арготизмы с. Вичутка Пензенской области. В третьем приведены счетные слова костромских бочаров.

Вообще, рецензируемая работа богата фактическим материалом, автор мастерски оперирует им. Книга представляет ценность не только для лингвистов, но и для этнографов. Надо думать, что она займет достойное место как среди работ по финно-угорскому языкознанию, так и среди пособий по социолингвистике.

АДОЛЬФ ТУРКИН (Таллинн)

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Helle Metslang, Temporal Relations in the Predicate and the Grammatical System of Estonian and Finnish. Dissertation at the University of Oulu, Department of Finnish and Lappish, Oulu, Finland, December 9, 1994, Oulu 1994 (Oulun yliopiston suomen ja saamen kielen laitoksen tutkimusraportteja 39). 279 pp.

Helle Metslang, senior researcher at the Grammar Section of the Institute of the Estonian Language, defended her doctoral dissertation at the University of Oulu on December 9, 1994, Mati Erelt (Ph.D.) acting as an opponent. The book presented as dissertation consists of eight articles published 1991—1994, an introduction and a long summary in English with supplements. As the articles have appeared at intervals and the author has made progress meanwhile, a complete unity of content and composition is left to be desired. This makes the reading more difficult, but it does not diminish the scientific value of the thesis.

The main objective of the thesis is the description and comparison of Estonian and Finnish tense systems. The subsidiary object is the typological comparison of the whole grammatical system of Estonian and Finnish.

The author divides the articles and hereby the dissertation into three parts: 1) the description of Estonian and Finnish tense systems from the static aspect, 2) synchronic dynamics of the category of tense in Estonian and Finnish and 3) comparison of Estonian and Finnish language systems. Part three stand clearly apart, but the discrimination between part one and part two is somewhat forcible. Parts one and two together contain

six articles: "Die temporale Bedeutung der Verbalkonstruktionen im Estnischen" (1991), "Ajast ja tema vormist verbitarindeis" (1991), "Viron aika — muoto, merkitys, ikonisuus" (1993), "Verbitarind ajatähendust väljendamas" (1993), "Kas eesti keeles on olemas progressiiv?" (1993), "Eesti ja soome — futuurumita keeled?" (1994).

In describing the tense system the author proceeds from the theory suggested by Hans Reichenbach, discriminating between absolute time (the relation of the time of an event to the moment of speaking) and relative time (the relation of the time of an event to the time of another event). Later the category showing time relation came to be called taxis after Roman Jakobson. The need for such distinction is essential for describing various verb constructions used as predicates. For example, the perfect (*on koristanud*) and the past perfect (*oli koristanud*) are described as absolute-relative tense forms: the past-in-the-present (present state + a past action preceding it) and the past-in-the-past (past state + an action preceding it). By combining the categories of tense and taxis the meanings of compound tense forms, as well as all other verb constructions functioning as predicates are described, including periphrastic verb forms (*jäi koristamata, jättis koristamata, oli*

paranemas, saab olema, etc.) and chain verbs (*peab koristama, hakkab koristama*, etc.). The description of Estonian tense forms is given mainly in the first article. The description of Finnish verb constructions is provided later in the supplement.

The following three articles focus on the isomorphism of tense system and its role in the development of tense system, with emphasis on compound tense forms. According to Metslang the isomorphism of tense system is a situation, where a simple tense form (like the Estonian and the Finnish present and imperfect) expresses a simple temporal meaning, and an analytic form indicates a complex temporal meaning (like the Estonian and the Finnish perfect and past perfect). The occurrence of the isomorphism of tense system is quite frequent in Estonian and Finnish, differently from, for instance, English or Russian, where a simple time relation is expressed by a compound tense form.

Estonian and Finnish compound tense forms originate from the predicative clause, where at first the verbal noun as predicative expressed aspectual meaning (result). Later the predicative construction became a compound tense form (preserving, however, some features of aspectual meaning). The next probable course of development is supposed to have been the replacement of temporal multi-plane relations by the past meaning (the form became non-isomorphic), and finally the form changed into a simple tense form (restoration of isomorphism).

Metslang considers the present day Estonian perfect a clearly isomorphic compound tense form, in which neither the relative past nor the absolute present is sufficiently focused. Compound tense forms can be used by bringing into the focus either the past event plane or the present state plane (cf. *Ma olen seda ülesannet juba tund aega lahendanud. Ta on juba ära läinud*). But in future the perfect is supposed to be confronted with a consistent shift of the focus from present to past. It is stated that in Finnish the perfect form is often used instead of the imperfect form where Estonians still use the imperfect (*Kuningas tuli — Kuningas on tullut*). Thus, Estonian tense system is more isomorphic than Finnish, at least in case of the perfect, due to the fact that the Estonian perfect is less grammaticalized than the Finnish. However, this applies only to the in-

dicative. In marked moods, namely in indirect and conditional moods, the past is one-plane in content also in Estonian, although compound in form in main uses (*olevat koristanud, oleks koristanud*). It is noteworthy that here Estonian is trying to restore isomorphism. In addition to the use of only participle in the meaning of the past of the indirect mood (*Poiss koristanud tuba*), which is spread also in other Finnic languages, the synthetic *nuvat-* and *nüks-* form has come into use in Estonia, being a simple (isomorphic) form for the simple past. Thus, at least at this point the Estonian tense system is more grammaticalized in comparison with the Finnish one. The presentation of the dynamics of the process of grammaticalization and the loss and reappearance of isomorphism in the course of grammaticalization is certainly one of the greatest values of the dissertation. A survey of this process (and Estonian tense system in general) is given in the article "Verbitarind ajatähendust väljendamas".

Two big articles, one about the progressive construction, the other about the future, wind up the treatment of tenses. Both articles meet the international standard, although they might be more compact and have a simpler wording, especially the article about the progressive.

There is no progressive category in the paradigm of the Estonian verb, and it is not likely to appear soon. Where some other languages use the progressive, Estonian uses the simple present. However, there is the *olema* + *V_{mas}* construction in Estonian, which has the progressive meaning. The article is trying to show when this construction is used and what stage its grammaticalization has reached. We learn that this construction is used in the progressive meaning rather regularly in sentences expressing change. In perfective situations, alongside with the progressive meaning, the imminent meaning (an action which is going to happen soon) is concurrent, especially in case of momentary processes, e.g. *Pomm on plahvatamas. Vana mees oli suremas*, but also in, e.g. *Ta oli välja minemas*. This construction has a pure progressive meaning in sentences expressing a gradual change, e.g. *Olukord oli vähehaaval paranevas*.

Elsewhere the progressive meaning becomes evident mainly in sentences with the

rhematic subject, especially in existential sentences, where the meaning of state shifts to the fore ground, regardless the kind of verb: *Staadionil on toimumas meeste kauhshüpe. Taevas on lendamas lennukeid*. However, the use of the progressive here is not obligatory; it is only a parallel variant to the present tense. The fact that the formation of the progressive begins, first of all, in existential sentences is considered quite extraordinary.

The progressive is not yet used in normal Estonian sentences with a rhematic verb denoting an active action. In this use the construction has preserved its starting meaning, e.g. *Ta on ujumas*. Differently from Estonian, the Finnish sentence *Hän on uimassa* has two meanings. It can be the answer to the questions *Missä hän on?* 'Where is he?' and *Mitä hän tekee?* 'What is he doing?'

The other article, "Eesti ja soome — futuurumita keeled?", gives a brief overview of the means for expressing future actions in Estonian and Finnish. There are more grammatical means for expressing future actions in Finnish than in Estonian, and they are used more extensively. Wherever possible, Estonian uses the present tense together with lexical means. However, according to Metslang, the present day Estonian makes use of two types of special future constructions: the *saama*-future and the *hakkama*-future.

The *saama*-future problem has been topical in Estonian linguistics for some time, although this structure is peripheral and its use is rather rare, occurring chiefly together with the verb *olema*. Up to this day, some Estonian linguists have deprecated the *saama*-future as Germanism, without delving into its essence. Metslang discards these deprecations and is rather modest in referring to them. She shows that it is not its similarity to the German analogue that has prevented its wider spread. Nor is it the reason why it should be avoided. The reason is that it came into use ready-made, i.e. grammaticalized from the very beginning, and there are no transition links between the *saama*-future and the constructions that might have been its starting constructions (if grammaticalization had taken place in reality, step by step). Although the language has the basis, this construction has not passed the natural way of grammaticalization. But the language needs it

because the *saama*-construction can express an imperfective action in the future. The present tense cannot do it because it has the future meaning only in case of a perfective action, cf. *Mees ostab auto* (future) — *Mees ostab autot* (present). Neither can the much-advertised verb *tulema* do it because it will also give us the perfective future. Metslang provides the following examples: *Siin saab olema uhke loss* (imperfective future) — *Siia tuleb uhke loss* (perfective future). It only remains to conclude that the unfavourable criticism of *saama*-future should be stopped. If there is anything to criticize at all, it might be the characteristically Finnish *tulema*-future, à la *See tuleb korduma aastast aastasse*, which we do not need. By the way, the analysis of the Finnish *tulla*-future is presented in the thesis very well.

It also becomes clear from Metslang's discussion that although the *saama*-future has not gone through the stages of natural grammaticalization, it still contains certain features of a possible starting construction, which limit its sphere of use. In its prototype meaning *saama* expresses a situation, which is not controlled by an active subject. Therefore, the *saama*-future is formed, first and foremost, from the verbs which have a somewhat passive lexical meaning, especially from the verbs denoting state, like *olema*, *kestma*, *tähendama*, *avalduma*, *ümbritsema*, *omama*, *kõlkuma*, e.g. *Tema arvamus saab mulle palju tähendama*. The meaning of state is also in foreground in existential sentences, where the *saama*-future is often used, e.g. *Sellest konverentsist saab kujunema igaaastane traditsioon*.

Metslang is the first to draw attention to the use of the verb *hakkama* as the auxiliary verb for the future in Estonian, e.g. in sentences like *Konverentsi külalised hakkavad sõõma restoranis*. The starting construction for the *hakkama*-future is a construction, where the verb *hakkama* denotes the beginning of an action and futurity comes as inference, e.g. *Külalised hakkavad sõõma kell kaks*. In case of the *hakkama*-future the meaning of beginning shifts to the background and futurity to the foreground. As the meaning of beginning is still preserved in the background, the *hakkama*-future is not as pure as the *saama*-future, which does not presume any transition for a future action. Another difference between them is that the

hakkama-future prefers verbs of a more active content than the *saama*-future. This also arises from the initial meaning of the verb *hakkama*. Finally, the *hakkama*-future is distinguished from the *saama*-future by a greater possibility to combine with other categories of the verb (impersonal, conditional, negation, etc.). The author does not comment on this, but evidently this is also due to a lesser grammaticalization of the *hakkama*-future.

The final part of the dissertation stands a little apart from the treatment of the category of tense in Estonian and Finnish, but is still its logical continuation. It includes two articles: "Grammatikaliseerumisest eesti ja soome keeles" and "Kielet ja kontrastit" (both 1994). The author's aim was to provide a general typological background, which would explain the differences in expressing the category of tense in Estonian and Finnish. This part is interesting and it offers a lot of new information.

First Finnish is considered as more synthetic and agglutinative than Estonian. As both languages have been analysed from this aspect before, the present analysis may seem less interesting.

The next typological difference as Metslang points out, is the difference in the degree of grammaticalization. Finnish is richer in both synthetic and analytical grammatical means, as well as in grammatical meanings they express. Estonian is noticeably more lexical.

The greater grammaticalization of Finnish is found to be due to eleven circumstances.

1) Finnish forms grammatical meanings, whose grammatical formation in Estonian is either limited or absent (meaning is formed lexically or is not formed at all), e.g. unlike Finnish, the Estonian verb does not have inflections for expressing curativity (*rakenuttaa* — *laseb ehitada*), captivity (*sienestää* — *käib seenel*) and sensitivity (*paheksuu* — *paneb pahaks*).

2) Finnish forms the same meanings with more grammaticalized means, e.g. instead of an Estonian adposition Finnish may have use a case, cf. *lämpömittari on i k k u n a s s a* — *kradiklias on a k n a k ü l j e s*; instead of the Estonian semantic case Finnish may use a grammatical case (cf. Estonian *t e i s t e s t p a r e m* — Finnish *m u i t a p a r e m p i*), etc.

3) Double formation of the same meaning is more frequent in Estonian than in Finnish, e.g. for expressing totality Estonian uses alongside with the objective case also perfective adverbs: *Ta l u g e s r a a m a t u l ä b i*, cf. Finnish *Hän l u k i kirj an*.

4) There is more agreement in Finnish than in Estonian. Differently from Estonian, in Finnish, for example, the negative verb agrees with the subject in person and number; the past participle agrees in number both in declining and in conjugating, and it also declines; in declining the compound numeral, all components take an ending.

5) Grammaticalization of meanings is more detailed in Finnish than in Estonian. The meaning area corresponding to one form in Estonian is divided in Finnish among several forms with special functions, e.g. the inessive of the Estonian *da*-infinitive (*lauldes*) corresponds to both the inessive (*laulaessa*) and the instructive (*laulaen*) in Finnish.

6) There are more grammatical means to choose from in Finnish, e.g. verb inflections, non-finite forms of the verb, inflection particles, grammaticalized constructions, pragmatic particles.

7) Finnish inflections have more syntactic functions and uses.

8) Finnish makes a wider use of marked members of oppositions where Estonian puts up with unmarked members, e.g. marked moods, the passive, the partial subject, the partial object, the plural, etc. (cf. *Lampien p i n n a t l i e k e h t i v ä t* — *Järvede p i n d l ö ö m a s*).

9) Finnish words/word forms can have more meaning carrying morphemes than the Estonian ones, e.g. the Estonian verb does not have more than one or two derivative inflections, whereas the Finnish verb can have up to five.

10) Once a new category is formed, it becomes rooted in Finnish more successfully than in Estonian. As an example, the author refers to the progressive and the future.

11) Finnish has preserved the grammatical means which are lost, have changed or become lexicalized in Estonian, e.g. the interrogative particle *-ko*, the potential, the instructive, possessive suffixes.

The comparison of Estonian and Finnish texts from the point of view of grammaticalization is quite convincing. We learn that in 428 cases the same meaning is formed in

Finnish with the help of the means of the higher degree of grammaticalization, and only in 67 cases vice versa. But as the number of coinciding case is not stated, the relative weight of differences remains unknown.

The article "Kielet ja Kontrastit" gives three more typological differences in addition to the two basic ones discussed above (agglutinating-synthetic/inflecting-analytic and more grammaticalized/less grammaticalized):

1) Finnish is aiming at system-iconicity or isomorphism, i.e. the relationship "one unit of meaning — one form", whereas Estonian is biased towards text-iconicity, i.e. the correspondence of the structure of the text to the denotation structure.

2) In Estonian the difference between centre and periphery, unmarked and marked is greater than in Finnish.

3) There is more secondary grammar in Finnish, i.e. affected grammar based on fundamental grammar.

These two articles confirm once again that in spite of the genetic relationship Estonian and Finnish are structurally rather different. Believing that structural closeness goes automatically with affinity, some linguists

have considered Finnish as paragon for at least a century and a half. Beside bringing profit, this belief has also caused a lot of damage. Mention can be made of Aavik's syntactic innovations, like degermanization of word order, expressing partiality like in Finnish, ignoring phrasal verbs, which, even without doing special research, can be said to have prevented the development of Estonian.

Helle Metslang's dissertation is one of the few studies which might interest people outside Finno-Ugric philology. The right choice of the theme (tense and aspect being one of the research themes in the EURO-TYP project) and the theory (the theory of grammaticalization and iconicity) plus reliable results should serve as premises for it. What diminishes the value of the thesis to some extent is the small text corpus. This may lead the reader to take the statements requiring statistical support as suppositions (e.g. the direction and speed of development, centrality and periphery of a phenomena, "in Estonian there are more/less than in Finnish", etc.). But while the corpus is being compiled, it would be unjust to pay too much attention to this shortcoming.

MATI EREL T (Tallinn)

Silvi Vare, Nimi- ja omadussõnatuletus tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles, Tartu 1994 (Dissertationes Philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis 6).

Die wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin des Instituts für estnische Sprache und Beraterin des Staatlichen Sprachamtes Silvi Vare verteidigte am 21. Dezember 1994 in Tartu ihre Doktor-dissertation zum Thema "Die Ableitung der Substantive und Adjektive in der gegenwärtigen estnischen Schriftsprache". Die Opponenten waren die Philologiedoktoren Paul Alvre und Helmi Neetar.

Die insgesamt 430 Seiten umfassende Dissertation von S. Vare gliedert sich in drei Teile, die früher in der Reihe "Ars Grammatica" des Instituts für Sprache und Literatur als eigenständige Ausgaben erschienen sind: "Läh-tekohti eesti derivatsiooni käsitleks" (Ausgangspunkte bei der Behandlung der estnischen Derivation; 1979), "Nimisõnaliited tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles" (Substantivsuffixe in der gegenwärtigen estnischen Schriftspra-

che; 1981), "Omadussõnaliited tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles" (Adjektivsuffixe in der gegenwärtigen estnischen Schriftsprache; 1984). Die genannten Teile wurde zusammen mit dem Titelblatt, dem Vorwort und der Zusammenfassung in einen gemeinsamen Einband vereinigt.

S. Vare hat sich viele Jahre — beginnend mit ihrer Kandidatendissertation "Lokaal- ja kollektiivsubstantiive tuletavad sufiksids eesti kirjakeeles" (1976; Lokal- und Kollektivsubstantive ableitende Suffixe im Estnischen) und abschließend mit Wortbildungen (Nomina- und Adverbableitung, Komposita) in der wissenschaftlichen Grammatik der estnischen Sprache (1995) — mit der Ableitung der Nomina beschäftigt. Neben diesen sind aus ihrer Feder eine ganze Reihe längerer und kürzerer Artikel über verschiedene Ablei-