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## "FREE" WORD ORDER: FINNISH VS. ESTONIAN AND HUNGARIAN

### 1. There could be a principle that governs the difference between the Finnish and Estonian Word Order

There could be a simple principle that governs the difference between the ordering of clause constituents in Finnish and Estonian. This was the conclusion the author of the present paper made some years ago relying on a very personal experience. He, a native speaker of Estonian, was asked to submit a review on Kalevi Wiik's book "Viron vokaalisointu" (Vowel Harmony in Estonian) to the quarterly "Virittäjä". Having worked on the original manuscript in Estonian for quite a long time, he had the Estonian text memorized while making himself acquainted with the translation of the text into Finnish, made by a native speaker of Finnish. Now, the first attempt for the author to read the text was a failure because of an unlogical ordering of otherwise familiar words. However, the problem disappeared and the ordering became logical once the reader recognized that one should read the Finnish text in a Finnish rather than in an Estonian manner.

The observed effect is rather intriguing. Traditionally, the close cognates, Estonian and Finnish, are classified both as languages with "Free" Word Order in which the actual sequencing of constituents depends on discourse characteristics rather than strictly syntactic rules. Very often the discourse characteristics of sentences are dealt with as a universally given pragmatic non-linguistic entity free of specific language dependent constraints. However, the momentary drastic change from the "Free" Word Order grammar of Estonian to the "Free" Word Order grammar of Finnish seems to emphasize the alternative assumption that, at least in some languages, the discourse characteristics of a sentence should be viewed as language-dependent rather than universal, i.e. that, in those languages, one should speak of specific strict linguistic discourse grammatical constraints of syntax.

Indeed, some overt differences between the two "Free" Word Orders are rather drastic. For instance, let us compare some statistical data from the analyses of Finnish and Estonian text samples based on one and the same method. Originally, Hakulinen, Karlsson, Vilkuna (1980 : 145) found the following percentages for constituent orderings in the Finnish clauses appearing in connected texts, cf. (1):

(1) SVX — 49%; XVS — 11%; SXV — 1%; XSV — 3%; VSX — 2%; SV — 7%; VS — 2%; V — 0%; XV — 8%; VX — 10%

In a parallel work, Tael (1990 : 7) found the following percentages for constituent orderings in the Estonian clauses appearing in connected texts, cf. (2): (2) SVX — 25%; XVS — 24%; SXV — 3%; XSV — 2%; VSX — 3%; SV — 3%; VS — 3%; V — 2%; XV — 16%; VX — 10%

In Finnish, SV-orderings (SVX+XSV+XVS+SV) overweigh VS-orderings (XVS+VSX+VS) by 61% to 16%. In Estonian, however, SV-orderings are in a rough balance with VS-orderings by 33% to 30%.

To provide a pretheoretical generalization, Estonian seems to adhere to the Verb Second pattern of Word Order to a much higher degree than Finnish. For instance, two nominal constituents before a clause-internal finite verb are quite acceptable in Finnish but rather excluded in Estonian, cf. (3), (4), and (5):

(3) F *Juhani kirjan löysi hyllyltä* 'It is John that found the book on the shelf'  
John book-GEN found shelf-off

(4) E \**Jaan raamatu leidis riiulilt*  
John book-GEN found shelf-off

(5) E *Raamatu leidis riiulilt Jaan* 'It is John that found the book on the shelf'  
Book-GEN found shelf-off John

Note, however, that the Verb Second pattern cannot be used to state the difference between Estonian and Finnish in strict terms. For instance, on the one hand, there is a Verb Second pattern Object—Verb—Subject, although a rather marked one, in Finnish, cf. (6):

(6) F *Mariaa rakastaa Juhani* 'It is John that loves Mary' or 'As for Mary, she  
Mary-PART loves John is loved by John'

On the other hand, in contrast to the principles of the Verb Second pattern, a finite verb may appear as the final constituent of an Estonian clause, cf. (7):

(7) E *Jaan Marit armastab* 'John does love Mary'  
John Mary-PART loves

Rather than using the strictly syntactic terms like *Subject* and *Object* (that are reserved for "Fixed" Word Order) we start with the discourse distinction Logical Subject Position (one constituent) vs. Logical Predicate Position (one or more following constituents) and pose a Grammaticalized Logical Subject (GLS) Position for Finnish and a Grammaticalized Logical Predicate (GLP) Position and, within GLP *Position* a Grammaticalized Logical Predicate Nucleus Position (GLP-Nucleus) for Estonian and Hungarian. In section 2 we try to introduce the difference between a "Fixed" and a "Free" Word Order in a principled way by defining them as a proposition-grammatical (esoteric) and a discourse-grammatical (exoteric) option of language specific constraints on Word Order, respectively. In section 3 we proceed to the main hypothesis about GLS Position in Finnish and GLP/GLP-Nucleus Position in Estonian. In sections 4 and 5, the hypothesized GLS-Prominence in Finnish and GLP-Prominence in Estonian are related to the observed facts about the languages. In section 6, an interesting pattern of correspondence between Estonian and Hungarian is observed.

## 2. "Fixed" vs. "Free" Word Order

Let us start from an assumption that, in a language, discourse characteristics of a sentence may be grammatical constraining strictly the choice of existing Word Order patterns. In other words, let us oppose the view that discourse characteristics of a sentence cannot be more than a mere pragmatic (non-linguistic) description of Word Order patterns that either are constrained by other principles (usually by those of propositional structure) or left uncon-



strained. Consequently, the difference between the languages with "Fixed" Word Order like English and "Free" Word Order like Finnish or Estonian may be traced back to some fundamental choice in grammaticalization.

Let us assume that every sentence presents two fundamental functions. On the one hand, let us distinguish the Esoteric function of a sentence. Here a sentence is a unit of its own that denotes a proposition. On the other hand, let us distinguish the Exoteric function of a sentence. Here a sentence is a unit of communication that provides information and forms a link in a chain of sentences. The point is that the two functions may be viewed as pointing to different patterns of sentence partitioning. Esoterically, a sentence splits into a number of parts — the predicate and its arguments, e.g. (8):

(8) *John* argument *loves* predicate *Mary* argument

However, exoterically, a sentence splits into two parts — the Logical Subject and the Logical Predicate, e.g. (9):

(9) *John* logical subject *loves* *Mary* logical predicate

Now, the "Fixed" Word Order may be viewed as the choice of a grammaticalized Esoteric partitioning into propositional units. Indeed, the basis of the notions like SOV, SVO, VSO, etc. is a reference to more than two units of equal status, in particular, to the notion of O as different from the notion of V and comparable to the notion of S. Here, any communicationally motivated replacement of a constituent is accompanied by a change in the morphological/lexical composition of the constituents, i.e. a new different Esoteric structure, e.g. (10) and (11), (12) and (13):

(10) *John loves Mary*

(11) *Mary is loved by John*

(12) *A car is in the street*

(13) *There is a car in the street*

On the contrary, the "Free" Word Order may be viewed as the choice of a grammaticalized Exoteric partitioning into two major communicational units, Logical Subject and Logical Predicate. Here, within the binary structure of a Logical Subject—Logical Predicate there are different ordering patterns for one and the same set of constituents without any difference in their morphological/lexical composition, cf. (14) and (15), (16) and (17):

(14) E *Jaan armastab Marit* 'John loves Mary'

John loves Mary-PART

(15) E *Marit armastab Jaan* 'Mary is loved by John'

Mary-PART loves John

(16) F *Auto on kadulla* 'A car is in the street'

Car is street-on

(17) F *Kadulla on auto* 'There is a car in the street'

Street-on is car

### 3. Grammaticalized Logical Subject vs. Grammaticalized Logical Predicate

Let us assume that in a "Free" Word Order language the actual Word Order pattern of a sentence is defined on an unordered set of constituents by distributing them over the old Logical Subject—the new Logical Predicate structure.

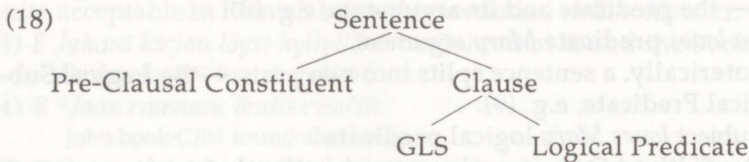
Let us assume that, within a sentence, the Logical Subject—Logical Predicate structure forms a clause to which a Pre-Clausal Constituent may be attached.

Let us assume that there are two alternative fundamental strategies for distributing the unordered set of constituents over a clause.

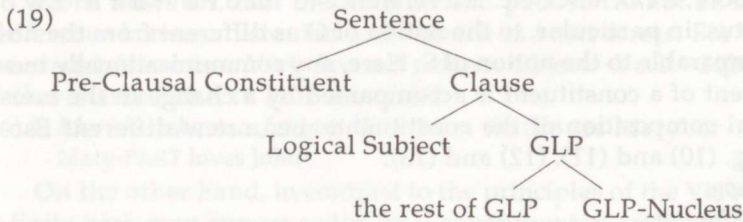
In both cases there is one constituent with a specific value of an anchor for other constituents. In a Grammaticalized Logical Subject language, the anchor, the Grammaticalized Logical Subject (GLS), appears in a clause initial position before the Logical Predicate.

In a Grammaticalized Logical Predicate language, the anchor, the Grammaticalized Logical Predicate Nucleus (GLP-Nucleus) appears after the Logical Subject within the Grammaticalized Logical Predicate either in a clause central or final position.

Finnish, a Grammaticalized Logical Subject language, should show the following Word Order structure, cf. (18):



Estonian, a Grammaticalized Logical Predicate language, should show the following Word Order Structure, cf. (19):



#### 4. Finnish

The claim about the GLS-Prominence in Finnish relies on the model of Finnish Word Order by Vilkuna 1989. The essentials of her model are shown in the following scheme (Vilkuna 1989 : 37), cf. (20):

(20)

K	T	V-field
<i>Mitä</i>	<i>Mikko</i> <i>sinä</i>	<i>pesee usein astioita</i> <i>teet?</i>
<i>Illalla</i>	<i>Mikkoa</i>	<i>Pesen astioita</i>
<i>Ei</i>	<i>täällä</i>	<i>Oli hauska tavata</i>
<i>Minä</i>	<i>siitä</i>	<i>rupesi harmittamaan</i>
<i>Olisihan</i>	<i>sitä</i>	<i>ketään ole</i>
		<i>ennenkin olen päättänyt</i>
		<i>poiskin voimut lähteä</i>

In our terms, K is Pre-Clausal Constituent, T is GLS, and V-field is Logical Predicate, cf. (21):

(21)

Pre-Clausal Constituent	GLS	Logical Predicate
<i>Mitä</i>	[[ <i>Mikko</i> ]] [[ <i>sinä</i> ]]	<i>pesee usein astioita</i> <i>teet?</i> [ <i>Pesen astioita</i> ] [ <i>Oli hauska tavata</i> ]
<i>Illalla</i>	[[ <i>Mikkoa</i> ]]	<i>rupesi harmittamaan</i>
<i>Ei</i>	[[ <i>täällä</i> ]]	<i>ketään ole</i>
<i>Minä</i>	[[ <i>siitä</i> ]]	<i>ennenkin olen päättänyt</i>
<i>Olisihan</i>	[[ <i>sitä</i> ]]	<i>poiskin voimut lähteä</i>



As for the Finnish GLS (Vilkuna's T), it acts as the pivot to which other constituents of the sentence are related. Typically, the GLS of a Finnish sentence may be established relying on the lexical/morphological characteristics of its constituents only, without reference to the exact discourse context of the sentence. For a list of constituents of a Finnish clause, there is one single Word Order pattern of central relevance and it is characterized by a certain constituent in the GLS position, e.g. the GLS *Juhani* for the list *Juhani, rakastaa* and *Mariaa* in (22):

- (22) [[*Juhani*] *rakastaa Mariaa*] 'John loves Mary'  
John loves Mary-PART

A GLS defined by the lexical/morphological characteristics of the constituents is either a default GLS or an unmarked GLS. A default GLS is triggered by the argument structure of the sentence, the established GLS being a particular argument in a particular grammatical form. Usually, a default GLS is a Nominative Subject NP, cf. (23):

- (23) [[*Mikko*] *pesee usein astioita*] 'Mikko often washes the dishes'  
Mikko washes often dishes-PART

However, with certain argument structures, a default GLS may be a NP of another Case as well, cf. (24)–(27):

- (24) [[*Mikkoa*] *väsytti koko hanke*] 'Mikko felt tired of the whole undertaking'  
Mikko-PART tired whole undertaking

- (25) [[*Minun*] *on kylmä*] 'I am cold'  
I-GEN is cold

- (26) [[*Minusta*] *tulee lääkäri*] 'I'll become a doctor'  
I-from comes doctor

- (27) [[*Minulla*] *on kissa*] 'I have a cat'  
I-on is cat

No default GLS available, an unmarked GLS may be triggered by the whole constituent structure. Here the established GLS is of variable status (argument, circumstance, etc.) and/or of variable grammatical form. An unmarked GLS of a variable status is there, e.g. with passive verbs, cf. the argument in (28) and the adverbial in (29):

- (28) [[*Kirjoja*] *jaetaan toisessa kerroksessa*] 'Books are distributed on the second floor'  
Books-PART one-distributes second-in floor-in

- (29) [[*Toisessa kerroksessa*] *jaetaan kirjoja*] 'On the second floor, one distributes books'  
Second-in floor-in one-distributes books-PART

An unmarked GLS of a variable form is there, e.g. with environmental verbs, cf. the locative NP in (30) and adverb in (31):

- (30) [[*Vuorilla*] *sataa*] 'It is raining on the mountains'  
Mountains-on rains

- (31) [[*Täällä*] *sataa*] 'It is raining here'  
Here rains

No default or unmarked GLS available, the lexical/morphological characteristics of the constituents trigger a clause structure with the GLS position unfilled, cf. (32)–(33):

- (32) [*Kirjoita minulle*] 'Write me!'  
Write I-onto

- (33) [*Pesen astioita*] 'I'm doing the dishes'  
Wash-I dishes-PART

Under specific circumstances, the discourse characteristics of the sentence may cause a setting in which the established GLS is different from the one

expected relying on the lexical/morphological characteristics only. To be concrete, a marked GLS is established in order to fix an existential setting for the Logical Predicate to follow, cf. (34)—(35):

- (34) [[*Tietä*] *reunustavat pensaat*] 'The road is lined by bushes'  
Road-PART line bushes

- (35) [[*Syntaksista*] *puhuu Anna*] 'It is Anna that will talk about syntax'  
Syntax-from speaks Anna

As for the Finnish Pre-Clausal Constituent (Vilkuna's K), it is present in a sentence if there are reasons for the constituent to be excluded from the clause consisting of GLS (Vilkuna's T) and Logical Predicate (Vilkuna's V-field). A source for Pre-Clausal Constituent in Finnish could be Logical Scope restrictions; some Pre-Clausal Constituents could be interpreted as operating on the complex of a GLS and Logical Predicate. First, there are verbs carrying clitics, cf. (36)—(38):

- (36) *Pesikö* [[*Mikko*] *astiat*]?' 'Did Mikko wash the dishes?'  
Washed-QUEST Mikko dishes

- (37) *Pesihän* [[*Mikko*] *astiat*] 'Mikko did wash the dishes'  
Washed-EMPH Mikko dishes

Second, there are question words, cf. (38):

- (38) *Mitä* [[*sinä*] *teet*]?' 'What are you doing?'  
What-PART you do

Third, there are emphatic verbs, cf. (39)—(40):

- (39) *Tulee* [*hän*] 'Oh yes, he'll come'  
Comes he

- (40) *Ei* [[*täällä*] *ketään ole*] 'No, there's no one here'  
Not (a verb of negation) here anybody-PART is

However, some Finnish Pre-Clausal Constituents could be viewed as resulting from a conflict between the lexico-morphologically based choice of GLS and the discourse characteristics of constituents. On the one hand, some Pre-Clausal Constituents (in Vilkuna 1989 of the type K: TOP, i.e. of the paraphrase 'as for...') could be interpreted as constituents applying for the Logical Subject status that is, however, presented by GLS instead, cf. (41)—(42):

- (41) *Venetsiasta* [[*minä*] *matkustin junalla Roomaan*] 'From Venice I travelled  
Venice-from I travelled train-on Rome-into by train to Rome'

- (42) *Illalla* [[*Mikkoa*] *rupesi harmittamaan*] 'In the evening, Mikko  
Evening-on Mikko-PART began annoy began feeling annoyed'

On the other hand, some Finnish Pre-Clausal Constituents (in Vilkuna 1989 of the type K: FOCTOP, i.e. of the paraphrase 'it is...') could be interpreted as constituents that should act as GLS but are 'new' in discourse to the extent that they cannot act as a Logical Subject, cf. (43)—(44):

- (43) *Juhani* [[*Mariaa*] *rakastaa*] 'It is John that loves Mary'  
John Mary-PART loves

- (44) *Minä* [[*siitä*] *ennenkin olen päättänyt*] 'It is me that has always decided it'  
I it-from before-too have decided

## 5. Estonian

The claim about the GLP-Prominence in Estonian relies on a model of Estonian Word Order shown in the following scheme, cf. (45):



(45) Pre-Clausal Constituent	Logical Subject	GLP	
		the rest of GLP	GLP-Nucleus
	[ <i>Mikk</i>	[ <i>peseb tihti</i>	[ <i>nõusid</i> ]]
	[ <i>Mikk</i>	[ <i>peseb nõusid</i>	[ <i>tihti</i> ]]
	[ <i>Eile</i>	[ <i>otsis tüdruk raamatut</i>	[ <i>sahthlist</i> ]]
	[ <i>Poiss</i>	[ <i>leidis raamatu</i>	[ <i>üles</i> ]]
	[ <i>Raamatu</i>	[ <i>leidis üles</i>	[ <i>poiss</i> ]]
	[ <i>Siin</i>	[ <i>ei häiri Jaani</i>	[ <i>miski</i> ]]
<i>Kas</i>	[ <i>Mikk</i>	[ <i>pesi nõud</i>	[ <i>puhtaks</i> ]]
<i>Ei</i>	[ <i>siin</i>	[ <i>häiri Jaani</i>	[ <i>miski</i> ]]
<i>Kahjuks</i>	[ <i>Jaani</i>	[ <i>armastab</i>	[ <i>Marit</i> ]]

According to these lines, in Estonian the GLP, and within the GLP, the GLP-Nucleus is at the end of the sentence. In a sentence, the GLP and the GLP-Nucleus are fixed relying on the textual characteristics of its constituents. Depending on the exact discourse context, for a list of constituents of an Estonian sentence there is a wide range of different Word Order patterns rather than one single basic pattern, cf. (46)–(49):

- (46) [*Jaani [armastab [Marit]]*] 'It is Mary that John loves' or 'John loves Mary'  
John loves Mary-PART
- (47) [*Marit [armastab [Jaani]]*] 'It is John that loves Mary' or 'Mary is loved by John'  
Mary-PART loves John
- (48) [*Jaani [Marit [armastab]]*] 'It is loving that John does with Mary'  
John Mary-PART loves
- (49) [*Marit [Jaani [armastab]]*] 'It is being loved that Mary does with John'  
Mary-PART John loves

In addition, compare (50) and (51), (52) and (53) as well as (54) and (55):

- (50) [*Mikk [peseb tihti [nõusid]]*] 'Mikk often washes the dishes'  
Mikk washes often dishes-PART
- (51) [*Nõusid [peseb tihti [Mikk]]*] 'The dishes are often washed by Mikk'  
Dishes-PART washes often Mikk
- (52) [*Põõsad [ääristavad [teed]]*] 'It is the road that is lined with bushes'  
Bushes line road-PART
- (53) [*Teed [ääristavad [põõsad]]*] 'It is with bushes that the road is lined'  
Road-PART line bushes
- (54) [*Kogu ettevõtmine [väsitab [Mikku]]*] 'For Mikk, the whole undertaking was tiresome'  
Whole undertaking tired Mikk-PART
- (55) [*Mikku [väsitab [kogu ettevõtmine]]*] 'Mikk was tired of the whole undertaking'  
Mikk-PART tired whole undertaking

In contrast to the Finnish GLS that is a single constituent, an Estonian GLP may be a complex of constituents with an obligatory Logical Head (GLP-Nucleus) and optional 'Logical Modifiers'. As for a GLP-Nucleus, a good candidate is an argument constituent, cf. (56)–(57):

- (56) [*Poiss [leidis [raamatu]]*] 'The boy found a book' or 'It was a book that the boy found'  
Boy found book-GEN
- (57) [*Raamatu [leidis [poiss]]*] 'It was a boy who found the book' or 'The book was found by a boy'  
Book-GEN found boy

Similarly, a good candidate for a GLP-Nucleus is a circumstantial adverbial constituent, cf. (58):

- (58) [*Eile [otsis tüdruk raamatut [sahthlist]]*] 'Yesterday, it was in the drawer that the girl was looking for the book'  
Yesterday sought girl book-PART drawer-from the girl was looking for the book'

However, a commenting adverbial never appears as a GLP-Nucleus, cf. (59)—(60):  
 (59) [*Jaan [armastab kahjuks [Marit]]*] 'Unfortunately, John loves Mary'  
 John loves unfortunately Mary-PART

(60) \**[Jaan [armastab Marit [kahjuks]]]*  
 John loves Mary-PART unfortunately

As indicated in section 1, problematic to the Verb Second model is the Estonian polarity focus pattern in which the GLP-Nucleus is filled by the finite verb, cf. (61):

(61) [*Poiss [raamatu [leidis]]*] 'The boy did find the book'  
 Boy book-GEN found

However, a finite verb in the GLP-Nucleus position does not appear very often. In discourse contexts calling for a verb as a GLP-Nucleus, an extensive use is made of lexical complexes of a verb and a copy particle that repeats primitively the core meaning of the verb, e.g. *leidma* 'to find' and *üles* 'up'. Now, the GLP-Nucleus position may be filled by the copy particle, the verb remaining at the beginning of the GLP, cf. (62)—(63):

(62) [*Poiss [leidis raamatu [üles]]*] 'The boy found the book'  
 Boy found book-GEN up

(63) [*Raamatu [leidis poiss [üles]]*] 'The book was found by the boy'  
 Book-GEN found boy up

Note that the use of the copy particle is lexically rather than grammatically conditioned as the copy particle may appear outside the GLP-Nucleus, cf. (64):

(64) [*Poiss [leidis üles [raamatu]]*] 'It was a/the book that the boy found'  
 Boy found up book-GEN

Logical scope relations seem to motivate a Pre-Clausal Constituent position at the beginning of Estonian sentences. An Estonian Pre-Clausal Constituent is to be interpreted as a constituent that has a logical scope over the following clause (Logical Subject and GLP including GLP-Nucleus). The Pre-Clausal Constituent is the obligatory choice for sentential complementizers, cf. (65)—(66):

(65) *Kas [Mikk [pesi nõud [puhtaks]]]?* 'Did Mikk wash the dishes?'  
 Whether Mikk washed dishes clean

(66) *Kui [Jaan [armastab [Marit]]]!* 'If it is the case that John loves Mary!'  
 If John loves Mary-PART

Usually the Estonian negation particle *ei* precedes and is next to the verb to be negated. However, in the case of the large scale propositional negation, the particle appears as the Pre-Clausal Constituent and is separated from the verb, cf. (67):

(67) *Ei [siin [hääri Jaani [miski]]]* 'It is not the case that here anything disturb John'  
 Not here disturb John-PART something

Optionally, a question phrase may appear as the Pre-Clausal Constituent, cf. (68)—(69):

(68) *Millal [Mikk [peseb [nõusid]]]?* 'When does Mikk wash the dishes?'  
 When Mikk washes dishes-PART

(69) [*Millal [peseb Mikk [nõusid]]]?* 'When does Mikk wash the dishes?'  
 When washes Mikk dishes-PART

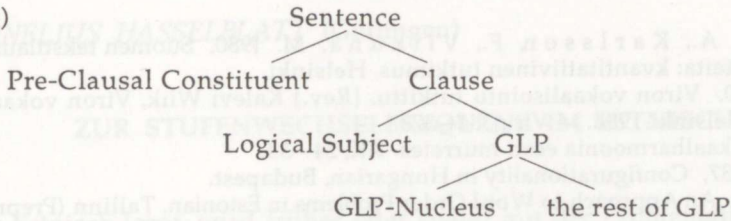
## 6. Estonian versus Hungarian: Right GLP-Nucleus versus Left GLP-Nucleus

In the end, let us point to an interesting correspondence between the "Free" Word Order of Estonian and the "Free" Word Order of Hungarian, another



Finno-Ugric Language, as presented in the model by É. Kiss 1987. As for the "Free" Word Order patterns in Estonian and Finnish, we have argued for two different discourse-grammar options of GLP-Prominence and GLS-Prominence. However, as for the "Free" Word Order patterns in Estonian and Hungarian the same option of GLP-Prominence should apply. Here the difference between the two "Free" Word Orders should derive from the different location of GLP-Nucleus within GLP. In Estonian, GLP-Nucleus is at the right edge of the GLP, cf. (19). In Hungarian, GLP-Nucleus is at the left edge of the GLP, cf. (70):

(70)



As for some concrete correspondences, cf. (72)—(79):

- (71) E [*Jaan [armastab [Marit]]*] 'It is Mary that John loves'  
John loves Mary-PART
- (72) H [*János [[Máriát] szereti]*] 'It is Mary that John loves'  
John Mary-ACC loves
- (73) E [*Marit [armastab [Jaan]]*] 'It is John that loves Mary'  
Mary-PART loves John
- (74) H [*Máriát [[János] szereti]*] 'It is John that loves Mary'  
Mary-ACC John loves
- (75) E [*Poiss [leidis raamatu [üles]]*] 'The boy did find the book'  
Boy found book-GEN up
- (76) H [*A fiú [[meg]találta a könyvet]*] 'The boy did find the book'  
The boy-PERF found the book-ACC
- (77) E [*Poiss [leidis üles [raama.tu]]*] 'It was the book that the boy found'  
Boy found up book-GEN
- (78) H [*A fiú [[a könyvet] találta meg]*] 'It was the book that the boy found'  
The boy the book-ACC found

7. The differences in word order in Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian can be summed up in the following statement. Finnish has a Grammaticalized Logical Subject, whereas Estonian and Hungarian manifest a Grammaticalized Logical Predicate and within it the Nucleus of the Grammaticalized Logical Predicate.

In Finnish the GLS-type of "Free" Word Order means that if the immediate constituents of a sentence are determined lexically and morphologically, the order of immediate constituents is also determined in general, including the immediate constituent in the GLS position. In case of the GLP-type of "Free" Word Order in Estonian and Hungarian, the list of lexically and morphologically determined immediate constituents alone does not provide the actual order of immediate constituents, first of all that of the immediate constituent in the GLP-Nucleus position. To find out the actual order it is necessary to know the pragmatic functions of immediate constituents more precisely. In other words, in case of the GLS-type of "Free" Word Order in Finnish it is reasonable to speak of different contextually unmarked word order pat-

terns, but not in case of the GLP-type of "Free" Word Order in Estonian and Hungarian.

The differences in word order in Estonian and Hungarian can be summed up as follows. In Estonian the GLP-Nucleus is on the right hand side of the GLP, i.e. at the end of the sentence as a clearly emphasized immediate constituent, whereas in Hungarian the GLP-Nucleus is on the left hand side of the GLP, i.e. within the sentence as a clearly emphasized immediate constituent.

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#### «СВОБОДНЫЙ» ПОРЯДОК СЛОВ В ФИНСКОМ, ЭСТОНСКОМ И ВЕНГЕРСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

В конце 1980-х годов увидели свет обстоятельные работы о «свободном» порядке слов в предложении как в финском языке (Vilkuna 1989), так и в венгерском (É. Kiss 1987). В статье сделана попытка показать, что несмотря на близкое родство эстонского и финского языков «свободный» порядок слов эстонского предложения скорее венгерского типа.

Рассмотрев разницу между финским и эстонско-венгерским типами порядка слов в предложении, автор утверждает, что в финском языке проявляется грамматикализованный логический субъект (GLS), в эстонском и венгерском — грамматикализованный логический предикат (GLP), а внутри него — ядро.

Финский «свободный» порядок слов типа GLS означает, что если в предложении лексически и морфологически определены его непосредственные составляющие, в общем случае определяется и их порядок в предложении, в том числе и непосредственное составляющее, попавшее в положение GLS. Что касается эстонского и венгерского «свободного» порядка слов типа GLP, то на основе перечня лексикально и морфологически определенных непосредственных составляющих предложения еще нельзя установить их действительный порядок в предложении, особенно того его члена, который попадает в положение ядра GLP — для этого необходимо знать прагматические функции непосредственных составляющих предложения. Иными словами, по поводу «свободного» порядка слов типа GLS в финском языке говорить о двух контекстуально не маркированных моделях порядка слов есть смысл, а в связи со «свободным» порядком в эстонском и венгерском языках типа GLP — нет.

Относительно разницы между эстонским и венгерским порядком слов в предложении автор утверждает: в эстонском языке ядро GLP находится на правом краю GLP, т.е. в конце предложения — как явно выделенное непосредственное составляющее предложения; в венгерском же языке — на левом краю GLP, т.е. явно выделенное внутри предложения его непосредственное составляющее.