

MATI EREL'T (Tallinn)

ON THE *nud*- AND *tud*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN ESTONIAN

Estonian grammarians seem to agree quite unanimously that besides the gerundival *des*-construction and its negative counterpart the *mata*-construction, constructions with the *nud*- and *tud*-participle can also be considered as separate secondary constructions in Estonian. As far as adverbial constructions are concerned this point does not, however, seem sufficiently well grounded.

The weightiest argument against the *nud*- and *tud*-constructions being treated as separate probably lies in the fact that these constructions can often be complemented with the *des*-form of the verb *olema* 'be' without causing any change in the meaning whatsoever.

- (1) (*Olles*) *Jüri käitumisest nõrdinud, pööras Mari talle selja*
'(Being) indignant at Jüri's behaviour, Mari turned her back on him'
- (2) (*Olles*) *kõik südameilt ära rääkinud, oli tal palju kergem*
'(Having) made a clean breast of it, he felt much more at ease'
- (3) (*Olles*) *edust innustatud, alustas ta uut katsete seeriat*
'(Being) inspired by his success, he started a new series of experiments'
- (4) (*Olles*) *üksi koju jäetud, oli ta algul nukker*
'(Having been) left home alone, she felt sad at first'

This circumstance is usually overlooked in treatments of secondary constructions. Only J. Aavik, who considered it inadvisable to use the *nud*-form in the function of gerundive, suggested that one possibility could consist in replacing it by the construction *olles* + *-nud*: «Here the difficulty could be overcome by adding the word *olles* to the *nud*-participle: *olles lugenud* 'having read', *olles saanud* 'having got' etc., which is a kind of a compound-tense *des*-gerundive, e. g. «*Ta suri, olles näinud oma vastase langemise* 'He died having seen the fall of his enemy'; *Ta räuskas pööraselt, olles kaotanud igasuguse tasakaalu* 'He brawled like mad, having lost all sense of balance'.» (Aavik 1936 : 153).

If *olles* + *-nud* is a compound *des*-gerundive, the corresponding constructions should be termed *des*- rather than *nud*-constructions. The possibility of *olema* being omitted is nothing exceptional. An analogous omission can be observed, for example, in the case of *modus obliquus*:

- (5) *Ta olevat söönud krabisid — Ta söönud krabisid*
'He is said to have eaten crabs'

Olles cannot be inserted in the so-called independent *nud*-construction, i. e. in one with an action subject in the nominative different from that of the main clause (on independent constructions v. Uuspõld 1966):

- (6) *Kusta lahkunud, tunti saunakambris suurt kergendust*
'Kusta having left, everybody in the cottage felt relieved'

But such a construction is actually an absolute construction, i. e. the result of omitting the finite verb *olema* 'be'.

The same holds for the *tud*-construction. The dependent *tud*-construction can be regarded as a gerundival construction, while the so-called independent *tud*-constructions like (7) are really absolute constructions.

(7) *Masin parandatud, sõitis Andres uuesti põllule*

'The machine repaired, Andres drove out on the field again'

It is not always, however, that *olles* + *-nud* and *olles* + *-tud* can be interpreted as past forms of the gerundive. Sentences (2) and (4) really feature compound tenses, whereas (1) and (3) are evidently results of a full adjectivalization of the participle, which allows the constructions to be treated as present-tense gerundival constructions similar to those in (8)–(11):

(8) *(Olles) rõõmust segane, tormas ta välja*

'(Being) crazy with joy, she ran out'

(9) *(Olles) juhtunust segaduses, ei teadnud ta, mida teha*

'(Being) confused by what had happened, he did not know what to do'

(10) *(Olles) kodust kaugel, valdas teda koduigatsus*

'(Being) far from home, he was overcome by homesickness'

(11) *(Olles) ootusest ärevil, ei läbenud ta paigal istuda*

'(Being) excited with anticipation, he could not remain sitting'

Adjectivalization is also seen from the fact that like the adjectival form in (8), the *nud-* and *tud-*forms can be replaced by an essive word form in (1) and (3):

(12) *Rõõmust segasena tormas ta välja*

'Crazy with joy, she ran out'

(13) *Jüri käitumisest nõrdinuna pööras Mari talle selja*

'Indignant at Jüri's behaviour, Mari turned her back on him'

(14) *Edust innustatuna alustas ta uut katsete seeriat*

'Inspired by his success, he started a new series of experiments'

Sentence (2), however, does not admit an essive transformation for here the *nud-*participle belongs to a compound tense form.

(15) **Kõik südamest ära öelnuna oli tal palju kergem*

lit. 'Made a clean breast of it, he felt much more at ease'

As to the passive participle, however, the case is not quite as clear-cut as that. It is hard to find any clear adjectivalization in (4), yet the sentence admits an essive transformation.

(16) *Üksi koju jäetuna oli ta algul nukker*

lit. 'Left home alone, she was sad at first'

Evidently the formation of a passive compound tense always involves an action-to-state transition which is sufficient for an essive transformation, yet does not lead to the formation of a predicative adjective.

Consequently, it is hardly reasonable to single out the Estonian *nud-* and *tud-*constructions as a separate type of secondary constructions. The so-called dependent secondary *nud-* and *tud-*constructions are but special cases (present or past) of the *des-*construction, whereas the so-called independent secondary constructions belong to the category of absolute constructions.

LITERATURE

Aavik, J. 1936, Eesti õigekeelsuse õpik ja grammatika, Tartu.

Uuspõld, E. 1966, Määrusliku *des-*, *mata-*, *nud-*(~*nuna-*) ja *tud-*(~*tuna-*)konstruktsiooni struktuur ja tähendus. — Keele modelleerimise probleeme 1, Tartu, 1–196.

МАТИ ЭРЕЛТ (Таллин)

О КОНСТРУКЦИЯХ С *-nud* И *-tud* В ЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Автор пытается доказать, что синтаксические конструкции эстонского языка, центральным словом в которых выступают причастные формы на *-nud* или *-tud*, не представляют собой особого типа вторичных конструкций, а являются либо временными вариантами конструкции на *-des*, либо абсолютной конструкцией.