SETTING THE BOUNDARIES: PARTITIVE VERBS IN ESTONIAN VERB CLASSIFICATIONS

Anne Tamm, Natalia Vaiss

Abstract. The paper examines a class of Estonian transitive verbs referred to as 'partitive verbs': verbs that appear with partitive-marked objects. This class is more heterogeneous than previously assumed. Firstly, there are verbs that cannot have total (accusative) objects. Secondly, there are verbs that can have total objects in lexically restricted combinations. Thirdly, some verbs combine freely with a boundary-marking element. Finally, there is a group of less studied verbs that normally represent unbounded situations but nevertheless allow total object marking if the context highlights the boundary of a situation or result. We clarify the conditions of partitive verbs appearing with total objects, hoping to enhance Estonian L2 instruction and lexicography.*

Keywords: aspect, telicity, boundedness, resultativity, transitivity, object, second language, lexicography, Estonian

1. Introduction

Finnic languages provide several challenges from the viewpoint of second language learning and acquisition (see e.g. Suni 2012). One of them is definitely the object case alternation (see e.g. Erelt 2007: 109), which appears in various forms in most Uralic languages. For Estonian L2 learners, it is also identified as one of the pitfalls (e.g., Pool 2007). As in Finnish (Spoelman 2013: 81–90), the difficulties are caused by the multiple factors that contribute to the target-like choice between partitive and total objects, such as negative or affirmative clauses, quantitative boundedness of the object, and the aspect of the clause. Additional obstacles arise due to the lexical meaning and syntactic characteristics of verbs, voice, and finiteness of the clause (cf. Vaiss 2004, Tamm 2012, Metslang 2017, Ogren 2018).

The term *aspect verbs* refers to verbs that allow the alternation of the object case, as in *Mari küpsetas koogi* [cake.ᴛᴏᴛ] 'Mary baked a cake' versus *Mari küpsetas kooki* [cake.ᴘᴀʀ] 'Mary was baking a cake'. The non-partitive alternating case – the morphological genitive or nominative, or the syntactic accusative – is referred to as *total* (ᴛᴏᴛ) and the object bearing it as the *total object* in this paper. The term *partitive verbs* refers to verbs that restrict their object case marking to partitive. For instance, the verb *armastama* 'love', as in *Mari armastas õunakooki* [apple_pie.ᴘᴀʀ] 'Mary loved apple pie', does not allow the total object **Mari armastas õuna-koogi* [apple_pie.ᴛᴏᴛ] 'Mary loved apple pie'.

The notions of aspect and a boundary are relevant. Some verbs can allow a boundary or an endpoint of a situation in their lexical meaning, as in the example above with *küpsetama* 'bake'. Other verbs cannot express a temporal boundary and are confined to partitive objects, such as *armastama* 'love' above.

For a learner, it is not always clear if the lexical meaning of the verb contains a boundary. Partitive verbs that express emotions, such as *armastama* 'love' or *vihkama* 'hate', or relationships, such as *uskuma* 'believe', are easily understood as stative verbs that lack an endpoint. However, activity verbs (*aitama* 'help', *nõudma* 'demand, require', *külastama* 'visit', *julgustama* 'encourage' etc.) are more problematic, since they occasionally, albeit rarely, allow an endpoint. The conditions for allowing the endpoint may be unclear for a learner.

We concentrate on the lexical property of 'softness' versus 'hardness' of partitive verbs following Birute Klaas. Soft partitive verbs can occasionally appear with total objects if there is an element that adds a result or a boundary to the situation (also referred to as a telicising element). Klaas (1999: 55–59) provides various examples of soft partitive verbs and endpoints or boundaries: e.g., the translative complement of the verb *ihuma* 'sharpen': *Mees ihu-s noa terava-ks* [man.ɴᴏᴍ sharpen-ᴘsᴛ.3sɢ knife.ᴛᴏᴛ sharp-ᴛʀᴀ] 'the man sharpened the knife', the illative complement of the verb *veeretama* 'roll': *Mees veereta-s kivi-d kraavi* [man.ɴᴏᴍ roll-ᴘsᴛ.3sɢ rock-ᴛᴏᴛ.ᴘʟ ditch.ɪʟʟ] 'the man rolled the rocks into the ditch', and also aspectual particles or resultative complements such as *ära* 'completely', *lõpuni* 'to the end', *valmis* 'ready', *välja* 'out' etc.

We adopt the terms *soft* and *hard* to refer to the two basic behavior types of partitive verbs and propose a hierarchy that depends on a) how 'hard' or 'soft' the partitive verbs are and b) what the conditions of 'softness' are. The 'hardest' partitive verbs (1a) are the most rigid in terms of the restrictions on the verb frames and object cases they co-occur with, and the 'softest' ones (2b) come close to aspect verbs (Table 1).

Table 1. The scale of partitive verbs

Subgroup	Type	Examples
1a	Genuinely hard partitive verbs	*armastama* 'love'
1b	Hard partitive verbs that form another lexical item with a lexicalized boundary element	*tundma* 'know, feel'/ *ära tundma* 'recognize'
2a	Framed soft partitive verbs	*ihuma* 'sharpen', *veeretama* 'roll'
2b	Contextual soft partitive verbs	*õppima* 'learn'

The main focus of this study is subgroup 2b, the contextual soft partitive verbs. Learners are uncertain if these verbs are soft partitive verbs or a kind of aspect verb. Subgroup 2b contains verbs such as *õppima* 'learn', which normally patterns with partitive objects, as in (1), and appears predominantly with partitive objects in text corpora as well (ENC 2017).

(1) *Õde*   *õppi-s*   ***luuletus-t***.
    sister.NOM   learn-PST.3SG   poem-PAR
    'My sister was learning a/the **poem**.'

Unless some endpoint of the event is explicitly expressed, the object of this verb is marked with the partitive. However, an endpoint can be added, for instance, with the particle *ära* 'completely', or a resultative phrase, forming phrasal verbs, such as *pähe õppima* 'learn by heart', or *selgeks õppima* 'learn to acquire, learn to master'. In those cases, the object is total (2).

(2) *Õde*   *õppi-s*   ***luuletuse*** *ära /* *pähe /*   *selge-ks*.
    sister.NOM   learn-PST.3SG   poem.TOT   PRT   by_heart / clear-TRA
    'My sister learned a/the **poem** (by heart).'

Without an explicit set endpoint or result and out of context, however, these verbs are considered unnatural with a total object (3).

(3) ??*Õde*   *õppi-s*   ***luuletuse.***
    sister.NOM   learn-PST.3SG   poem.TOT
    'My sister learned **a/the poem** (by heart).'

While the verbs of this type occur with partitive objects unless some clear boundary or result is explicitly expressed, corpus data show that the overt expression of such extra elements is not always necessary (4).

(4) *Muide,*   *õppi-si-n*   *raamatu-st*   ***ühe***   ***ilusa***
    by.the.way   learn-PST-1SG   book-ELA   one.TOT   nice.TOT
    meetodi   *teatud*   *šifriklassi*   *lahtimuukimise-ks*. (ENC)
    method.TOT   certain   class.of.code.GEN   deciphering-TRA
    'By the way, I learned from the book **a nice method** for deciphering a certain code class.'

In (4), the object phrase contains a numeral, determiner, or quantifier (*ühe* 'one') and an adjective (*ilusa* 'nice'). The total object expresses discourse-new information. The source of knowledge is expressed by an elative phrase (*raamatust* 'from a book'). The reason for learning the method is encoded by a translative phrase, *teatud šifriklassi lahtimuukimiseks* 'in order to decipher a certain code class'.

These elements are not boundary-marking complements of the verb, but their presence is relevant. We can demonstrate this by manipulating the corpus example and by removing the context, as in (5).

(5) ??*Õppi-si-n*   ***meetodi.***
    learn-PST-1SG   method.TOT
    'I learned a/the **method**.'

In sum, without context, the partitive verb *õppima* 'learn' is odd with a total object as demonstrated above by examples (3) and (5). Therefore, we can conclude that it is not the inherent semantic properties of the object that license the total object – it is rather discourse context. The combination with *meetod* 'method' in (6) and (7) behaves exactly as the combinations with *luuletus* 'poem' in (1) and (2).

(6) *Õppi-si-n*   ***meetodi-t***.
learn-PST-1SG   method-PAR
'I was learning a/the **method**.'

(7) *Õppi-si-n*   ***meetodi***   *ära / selgeks*.
learn-PST-1SG   method.TOT   PRT / clear-TRA
'I (have) learned a/the **method**.'

What is the new insight in the present paper? In a nutshell, we try to clarify the lexical conditions of boundary formation and propose two classes of partitive verbs, both with distinct subgroups. Hard partitive verbs, group 1a, such as *armastama* 'love', *eelistama* 'prefer', *vihkama* 'hate' or *uskuma* 'believe' do not occur with total objects, at least not in common written or oral speech contexts. Other hard partitives, group 1b, such as *tundma* 'feel, know', allow total objects if they have a lexically restricted aspectual particle or an idiomatic counterpart. For instance, the form *tundma* 'feel, know' can appear with *ära* 'completely' to instantiate a restricted lexical meaning with *ära tundma* 'recognize'.

Soft partitive verbs (group 2a), such as *veeretama* 'roll', can have total objects when they combine with boundary-marking, resultative, or telicising elements in a transparent and productive way, as in *välja/õue veeretama* 'roll out(side)'. These elements are aspectual particles, as well as resultative or goal phrases (Rätsep 1978, Erelt et al. 1993, Vaiss 2004, Tamm 2012, Metslang 2017).

A subgroup of soft partitive verbs (contextual soft partitive verbs, group 2b), including *õppima* 'learn', may have a total object also in restricted environments without any boundary (resultative, telicising) elements, as in (4). In Section 2 we discuss our methods, and in Section 3 we detail the learners' problems with the choice of object case. The lexical aspect of partitive verbs and conditions for occurring with total objects are discussed in Section 4. Section 5 presents the tests that single out the class that behaves like *õppima* 'learn', which can appear with the total object without an explicit boundary. Section 6 is a discussion, with a conclusion in Section 7.

2. Terms, methods, and materials

As a point of departure for the terminology on Estonian cases, verb classes, aspectual terms such as *boundedness*, *result*, *perfectivity* and *telicity*, we follow Zeno Vendler (1957), Helena Sulkala (1996), Helle Metslang (2001), and Huno Rätsep (1978) (as discussed in Vaiss 2004 and Tamm 2012).

The material of the present article is from a database that records the object case behavior of Estonian transitive verbs (see Vaiss et al. 2016). The database is under construction in the lexicographical system EELex, using SketchEngine, based on the materials of the Estonian National Corpus (ENC 2013, and later, ENC 2017).

The database contains information about the 500 most frequent transitive simplex verbs from the ENC 2013. The most frequent database verb, *saama* 'get', surfaces 3,280,150 times in the corpus. The least frequent one among the 500, *tõstatama* 'raise', occurs 9,551 times. The database includes grammatical information, object case patterns, sample clauses, typical verb-object collocations, main idiomatic expressions, and combinations with verbal particles. Based on the database, a learner's dictionary is under development. The key target group of the dictionary is B2–C1 level Estonian language users.

This paper draws upon the materials of the database and the dictionary in constructing the examples. For the purpose of our study, 195 verbs, labeled as candidates for the partitive verb list, are selected from the 500 most frequent transitive verbs in the corpus (see Appendix).

In order to provide an idea of the corpus frequency of total objects with the contextual soft partitive verbs, group 2b, we conducted an additional corpus study with SketchEngine. Firstly, we downloaded the first 1000 results with the search key word *õppima* 'learn'. We eliminated the clauses that were identical copies, adding new ones that came up next with SketchEngine to replace the removed items. Secondly, we divided the examples into transitive and objectless uses of *õppima* 'learn'. Thirdly, we excluded the clauses where the morphological form of the object was ambiguous between partitive and total. We then excluded negative clauses, which always have partitive objects, and embedded clauses, if the object case did not depend on the verb 'learn' only. We registered the number of the clauses with partitive and total objects, and the number of clauses where the total objects appeared with an aspectual particle or other syntactically explicit boundary elements.

3. The object case alternation as a problem for a learner

The challenge of the Estonian object case is partly a language-specific categorisation phenomenon that can enhance learning for those whose L1 shares similar linguistic properties, e.g., Finnish (cf. Kaivapalu 2005). Even if the source language has object case alternation, the exact encoding rules may differ and pose additional problems for learners of Estonian.

Aspect – a category that describes the internal temporal properties of events – is reflected in object case encoding in Estonian. Therefore, differences in the tense and aspect systems of various source languages may lead to a wide range of difficulties in learning the choice of the Estonian object case. The combination of lexical and grammatical aspects in Estonian is likely to be a problem for all learners because of its complex nature.

Currently, the main target group of Estonian L2 instruction is Russian L1 speakers. Russian has grammaticalised aspect, which equips its speakers with a language-internal cue for predicting the Estonian object case in affirmative clauses with quantitatively bounded objects. However, earlier Estonian scholars (Kont 1963, Rätsep 1978, Tauli 1980) were wary of using the terms *perfective* and *imperfective*, which are commonly applied as international terms for describing Russian aspect

(*soveršennyj – nesoveršennyj vid*, respectively). *Resultativity*, *coursivity* and *terminativity* were regarded as better descriptive terms for the object case phenomena.

Since Östen Dahl and Fred Karlsson (Dahl, Karlsson 1976, Dahl 1985) drew close parallels between the Slavic perfective-imperfective distinction and the Finnish accusative-partitive object case alternation, the perfective-imperfective distinction has been more frequently applied to Estonian clausal as well as lexical aspect (Metslang 1994, Sulkala 1996, Metslang 2001, Vaiss 2004, Tamm 2012). Boundedness was a term that appeared first in Metslang (1991) and Erelt et al. (1993). The source for this term was Pentti Leino (1991), as well as works of Dahl (1981, 1985) and the volume on aspect by Casper de Groot and Hannu Tommola (1984).[1] The notion of a 'boundary' still remains a central term in discussions of Estonian aspect. What constitutes the boundary or result in the lexical semantics of a verb is a relevant factor for learning target-like object case encoding.

The occurrence of some partitive verbs with total objects is linked to various kinds of boundaries that stem from a variety of factors. Such boundary marking elements or resultative elements appear in some verb subcategorization frames (e.g., Rätsep 1978); boundaries can be provided by aspectual particles (e.g., Metslang 2001), or various properties of the objects (e.g., Metslang 2013, Metslang 2017). The verb's contribution to the aspectual composition of the clause and therefore also to object case encoding depends on many factors. Lexical aspect, however, is a key to interpreting clausal aspect and encoding the object case. We assume that dividing verbs into classes on the basis of their behavior is a better strategy for learners than learning the object case of particular verbs item-by-item. This insight has motivated our study.

4. Lexical aspect, partitive verbs, and total objects

What are the verb classes that shape the conditions for object case encoding? The case of objects depends partly on the inherent aspect of verbs. Firstly, sources acknowledge that there are partitive verbs that never occur with total objects (e.g., *eelistama* 'prefer'); secondly, there are other partitive verbs that can have total objects in combinations but are still mainly partitive verbs (*aita-s sõpra* [help-PST.3SG friend.PAR] 'helped a friend' versus *aita-s sõbra üle tee* [help-PST.3SG friend.TOT over street.GEN] 'helped a friend to cross the street'). Their typical aspectual semantics lacks an inherent endpoint. Most common partitive verbs are listed and classified in terms of their semantics (e.g., Erelt et al. 1993: 49–50).

Metslang provides a functionalist account of aspect types, verbs, and object case. The aspect of a transitive clause depends primarily on the lexical aspect of the verb, according to which verbs can be divided into three main types: 1) imperfective verbs (*armastama* 'love', also referred to as partitive verbs), 2) perfective verbs (*leidma* 'find', *ära arvama* 'guess'), and 3) aspect verbs (*ehitama* 'build') (Metslang 2017: 264).

Rätsep covers 6000 verbs, and if combinations of lexical patterns and verb forms are counted separately, the number of verbs totals 12 000 (Rätsep 1978: 259). As in various later approaches, such as the approach of Beth Levin (1993), these patterns reflect a tight relationship between the syntactic pattern and semantic content. The lexical factor that defines partitive verbhood in Rätsep is the presence

of a certain type of complement, N+part [a nominal in the partitive case], in the verb entry. Lexical items with the complement N+part occur in 179 patterns (see the exact list in Tamm 2012: 86). The lexical factors that relate to the case alternation in Rätsep but do not strictly determine the case can be found in another complement type, N+ngp, which stands for a complement that can be in one of the three morphological object cases: nominative, genitive, or partitive. Yet another type of verbs has a dual pattern, with related patterns: N+part and N+ngp. Dual patterns connect the two patterns, which are lexically related but aspectually and syntactically diverging, such as the verb *veeretama*, 'roll' with a frame that includes a goal or an endpoint (*välja/õue/ära veeretama* 'roll something out/into the courtyard/away') in Rätsep (1978: 222). This is a regular pattern for soft partitive verbs. However, Rätsep (1978: 212) also reports that he only includes the patterns that appear in context-neutral environments. Here we make a step further, clarifying the patterns of discourse dependent clauses.

Metslang (2001) proposes Estonian aspectual classes of verbs on the basis of how they combine with a verbal particle and what the relations between the particles and object case are. In addition, she discusses discourse properties of the objects, focusing on the verbal particle *ära*, the patterns verb + object and verb + object + particle (or a goal complement). The partitive object and aspectual imperfectivity co-occur in clauses where a verb appears without the particle *ära* (in the pattern verb + object). On the other hand, the total object and perfectivity tend to appear when the simplex verb occurs in a combination, e.g., with the particle *ära* (in the pattern verb + object + particle), and the object is discourse-old information (see the table summarising the interplay between discourse, particles and case in Tamm 2012: 92). If the object is discourse-new, the clause does not have the particle: *õppima* 'learn' resembles this case. Our goal is to identify the verbs with this kind of behavior.

5. Problems and possibilities

5.1. Dealing with the aspect-morphosyntax mismatches in dictionaries

The problem of representing the lexical factors that determine the Estonian object case encoding is an evergreen topic in Estonian linguistic works, but some works discuss its importance in practical lexicography as well (Veldi 1994: 438–439, Tamm 2004a). We distinguish two groups of partitive verbs based on the conditions under which they occur with total objects (see Table 1 above). Here is a short guide to the subsections to come. Group 1 is the hard partitives with two subgroups (Section 5.2). These verbs are partitive on the basis of aspectual lexical semantics. They express states and some achievements (Vendler 1957, Smith 1991). Group 1a is a group without any lexical or idiomatic opposite aspectually bounded counterpart. In contrast, group 1b verbs have an aspectually opposite, lexically restricted and often idiomatic counterpart with a boundary-marking element in the lexicon. Group 2, on the contrary, contains frames with free combinations of verbs and boundary elements (Section 5.3.1). In one subgroup, 2b, total objects emerge even without any overtly expressed boundary (Section 5.3.2).

5.2. Group 1: Hard partitives

In Group 1, which is referred to as hard partitive verbs, the verbs do not appear with total objects: they are mostly atelic, unbounded, irresultative, imperfective, stative verbs. The verbs of subgroup 1a denote states that typically express emotions or relations, such as *vihkama* 'hate', *eelistama* 'prefer'. Alternatively, achievement verbs may restrict their objects' case to partitive, as the change in the theme or patient is not necessarily observable, as in *informeerima* 'inform', *haavama* 'harm', or *solvama* 'offend'. These genuinely hard partitive verbs have no idiomatic or lexically restricted and aspectually opposite counterparts in the lexicon; some more examples: *armastama* 'love', *austama* 'respect', *eeldama* 'assume', *eelistama* 'give preference, prefer', *eitama* 'deny', *huvitama* 'interest', *häirima* 'disturb', *kahtlustama* 'suspect'.

Some simplex verbs (subgroup 1b) have an aspectually opposite counterpart in the lexicon, but the complex counterpart (as in *ära tundma* 'recognize') covers a different range of meanings compared to the simplex verb or has an idiomatic meaning. We use the shorthand *hard partitives with an idiomatic counterpart* for them. They are typically idiomatic – not free – combinations: *arvama* 'think' versus *ära arvama* 'guess' or *välja arvama* 'exclude'. For instance, the verb *tundma* is a partitive verb meaning 'feel' or 'know' and, marginally, 'recognize, distinguish'. The sense 'know' is illustrated in (8).

(8) **Tunne-n palju-sid   inimesi   ja   või-n**
    know-1SG numerous-PAR.PL man.PAR.PL and can-1SG
    öelda – keegi   pole   täiuslik. (ENC)
    tell.DINF nobody   NEG.be.CNG perfect.NOM
    'I **know many people**, and I can say that nobody is perfect.'

In (9) with *ära* and a total object, there is an aspectual shift, but the lexical meaning is also narrower, lacking the elements of 'feel' and 'know'. The combination *ära tundma* means 'recognize, distinguish'.

(9) **Kõik   riisika-d   tunne-b   ära** *selle   järgi, et*.. (ENC)
    all.TOT milk.cap-TOT.PL recognize-3SG PRT this.GEN PSTP that
    'A **milk-cap** can be **recognized** because of its..'

The meaning of the verb in (9) does not match the meanings of the verb in (8) but only those illustrated in (10).

(10) .. **tunne-n lapsi**   *hääle*   *järgi paremini kui   nägupidi*. (ENC)
     know-1SG child.PAR.PL voice.GEN PSTP better   than facewise
     'I **can distinguish children** better by their voices than by their faces.'

The simplex verbs and particle combinations display a different polysemy pattern in subgroup 1b. If the verb has a lexical, semantically restricted, conventionalized or idiomatic counterpart with a particle, then it cannot be used with a total object without that particle, because the omission of the particle or a complement would lead to the loss of the intended non-aspectual, lexical meaning as well (*tunne-n lapse-d [recognize-1SG children-TOT]). In some cases, one of the lexical senses is aspectually 'hard' and the other 'soft'. This is the case of 'trust', where the hard

partitive sense *usaldama* 'trust, have faith in' as in *usalda-n lapsi* [trust-1SG child. PAR.PL]) 'I trust the children' has a soft partitive counterpart, another lexical sense that occurs with a dative-allative argument, *usaldama* 'entrust, confide', as in *usalda-s laste-le saladuse* [entrust-PST.3SG children-ALL secret-TOT] 'confided a secret to his/her children'. Omitting the obligatory complement that belongs to the lexical meaning 'entrust, confide' leads to the loss of this lexical meaning and aspectual 'softness' (*usalda-s lapse-d* [trust-3SG.PST children-TOT]). The first, 'hard partitive' lexical sense has the antonym: *usaldama* 'trust' – *ebausaldama* 'mistrust'. The second, 'soft partitive' lexical sense does not pair with the same antonym; i.e., one cannot 'mistrust' a secret to one's children. This difference shows that aspectual properties that determine object case belong to particular lexical verb senses rather than to particular transitive verbs.

In sum, many hard partitive verbs can, as lexical forms, appear with an aspectual particle or an idiomatic, lexically restricted resultative phrase. A learner's dictionary can represent the pairs as separate lemmas.

5.3. Group 2: Soft partitives

5.3.1. Group 2a verbs need a bounding element to appear with a total object

This group of partitive verbs can be termed as *frame soft partitive verbs*, because they allow a freely and productively occurring complement and aspectual particles. When 2a verbs appear with a total object, there is a syntactically overt complement, as in *puhkama/voodile aitama* 'help to rest/to the bed'. Alternatively, there is a semantically transparent combination with an aspectual particle (*alla aitama* 'help down'). Some purely perfectivizing, bounding uses of the particle *ära* appear in free combinations as in *külastama* 'visit' – *ära külastama* 'be done with visiting', *jälgima* 'watch' – *ära jälgima* 'finish the job of watching', and *tervitama* 'greet' – *ära tervitama* 'perform the greeting act'. Although the most productive particle is *ära*, the inventory of transparent particles contains various particles other than *ära*, such as *alla* 'down', *üle* 'over', when they represent free combinations (see Tamm 2004b for details).

Grosso modo, these verbs enter into two different verb frame alternations: combinations with a free aspectual particle (11), or causative frames with a result (12) (cf Metslang 2001, Levin 1993). Examples (11)–(12) illustrate soft partitive verbs in corpus clauses.

(11) **Kass**   *aida-ti*   *puu*   *otsa-st*   **alla**. (ENC)
     cat.TOT   help-PST.IPS tree.GEN.SG top-ELA down
     'The **cat** was helped **down** from the top of the tree.'

(12) **62aastane** **mees**   *aida-ti*   *viie-ks.kuue-ks*
     62.aged   man.TOT help- IPS.PST five-TRA.six-TRA
     minuti-ks   **diivani-le** **puhka-ma**. (ENC)
     minute-TRA sofa-ALL   rest-MINF
     'The **62-year-old man** was helped **to the sofa in order to rest** for five or six minutes.'

In addition, there are several other phrases that may provide a boundary or a result: prepositional (13) and postpositional phrases (14), or terminative case-marked phrases (15).

(13) *Mari   lükka-s   raamatu   **üle   laua**.*
M.NOM   push-PST.3SG   book.TOT   over   table.GEN
'Mary pushed the book across the table.'

(14) *Mari   lükka-s   raamatu   **laua   taha**.*
M.NOM   push-PST.3SG   book.TOT   table.GEN   behind
'Mary pushed the book behind the table.'

(15) *Mari   lükka-s   riiuli   **laua-ni**.*
M.NOM   push-PST.3SG   shelf.TOT   table-TER
'Mary pushed the shelf up to the table.'

In this partitive verb class, the endpoint of the event is not necessarily related to the thematic object of the verb. Independent endpoints can be introduced by resultative phrases, where a change is predicated of the argument that is simultaneously a subject in one and a non-thematic object in another clause. Examples (16)–(17) illustrate endpoints introduced by translative marked adjectives and nouns: *uniseks* 'sleepy' and *pannkoogiks* 'as flat as a pancake', respectively.

(16) *Mari   luge-s   **silma-d   unise-ks**.*
M.NOM   read-PST.3SG   eye-TOT.PL   sleepy-TRA
'Mary read until her eyes were sleepy.'

(17) *Mari   trampi-s   **õllepurgi   pannkoogi-ks**.*
M.NOM   stamp-PST.3SG   beer_can.TOT   pancake-TRA
'Mary stamped on the beer can until it was flat like a pancake.'

In many examples of resultative phrases, it is clear that there is no incremental thematic relationship between the verb and the object (cf Dowty 1991), as in (18), where the lungs are not the thematic object of the verb 'breathe' in (18).

(18) *Mees   hinga-s   **kopsu-d   tühja-ks**.*
man.NOM   breathe-PST.3SG   lungs-TOT.PL   empty-TRA
'The man breathed his **lungs empty**.'

Eyes are not an incremental theme argument of reading either in (16). The verbs in (16)–(18) must be just suitable to be understood as the causes of the results: sleepy eyes as caused by reading, a pancake-like flat beer can as caused by stamping on it, and empty lungs as caused by breathing out. Eyes are not being read; the thematic object of reading is typically some written text. Cans are not thematic objects of stamping (with feet) in Estonian, as in *trambi-b jalgu* [stamp-3SG foot.PAR.PL] 'is stamping (with) his feet'. Not lungs but rather air can be conceived of as the thematic object of breathing, as in *hinga-b õhku* [breathe-3SG air.PAR] 'is breathing (in) some air'.

Therefore, the boundedness of the object or the boundedness of the verb do not necessarily contribute to the endpoint of the event with this verb class; being a verb that expresses an activity as a cause of another event is sufficient for creating an environment with a total object. Some approaches discuss such combinations in

168

terms of regular lexical rules (Levin 1993), others as constructions (Goldberg 1995). There is thus a verb class where the boundedness of the object or the boundedness of the verb do not directly matter for total case marking. In any case, the frames that express causes and results are productive in Estonian and constitute a distinct source for total objects with partitive verbs. Moreover, it is relevant to note that such patterns are relatively independent of transitivity and rather dependent of causality. They appear with transitive ('read', 'push') as well as typically intransitive verbs that occur transitively only with cognate objects or a semantically restricted class of thematic objects (e.g., 'sleep', 'smile', 'laugh', 'breathe', 'walk', 'stamp with feet').

As opposed to the polysemy patterns in verb group 1b, where the simplex verbs and complex combinations display a different polysemy pattern, the polysemy of the simplex verbs and combinations in this verb class is unrestricted. All central senses of the simplex verb can be retained in the combinations. Reading, pushing, stamping and breathing retain their central meaning in the examples above. Also, in the combinations with the particle *ära*, the lexical meaning of the verb is retained, as in *külastama* 'visit' – *ära külastama* 'be done with visiting', *jälgima* 'watch'– *ära jälgima* 'finish the job of watching', *tervitama* 'greet'– *ära tervitama* 'perform the greeting (part of a ceremony)', *tänama* 'thank'– *ära tänama* 'thank (as part of a ritual)', *kiitma* 'praise' – *ära kiitma* 'finish praising', *nautima* 'enjoy' – *ära nautima* 'be done with enjoying', *takistama* 'hinder' – *ära takistama* 'finish hindering'. Only the opposite aspectual meaning is added. The addition of the boundary elements or resultative complements is not restricted to a subset of verb senses as in group 1b. Any of the senses, if aspectually and pragmatically suitable, can be encompassed in the bounded construction.

5.3.2. Group 2b verbs require discourse support to appear with a total object

Other soft partitive verbs may have a total object without any syntactic boundary marking elements at all – example (4) with the verb *õppima* 'learn' in Section 1 illustrates this class. Such contextually restricted soft partitive verbs, which we refer to as 2b, may have no lexically encoded need for telicising frames or aspectual particles to support the appearance of the total objects. Rather, they need contextual or discourse related support, and we call them *contextual soft partitive verbs*. Most of them can have a frame with a boundary, but they do not always require its explicit presence in the clause. Typically, they encode a change of state, but without a supporting context, total objects can be odd. Examples of this class are *õppima* 'learn', *lugema* 'read', *vaatama* 'watch', *kuulma* 'hear', *õpetama* 'teach', *nõudma* 'demand', *näitama* 'show', *kurtma* 'complain', *leevendama* 'mitigate', *kirjeldama* 'describe', *kritiseerima* 'criticize' etc.

Corpus frequencies of the total objects with such verbs without the syntactic realization of boundary elements are relatively low. The following pie chart represents the proportions between the types of syntactic behavior of *õppima* 'learn' on a sample of 1000 corpus examples: objectless clauses (n = 544), clauses with partitive (n = 282) and total objects (n = 54) (Figure 1). (Ambiguous examples (n = 120) were excluded; see Section 2.)
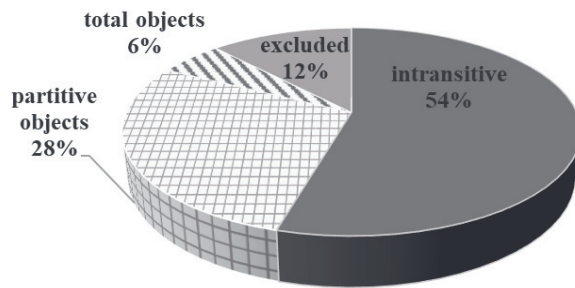
Figure 1. Proportions of objectless, affirmative partitive and total object clauses from 1000 corpus clauses with the verb *õppima* 'learn'

The next pie chart represents the proportions between the two behavior categories of *õppima* 'learn' with total objects: with (n = 49) and without (n = 5) an explicit boundary (Figure 2).
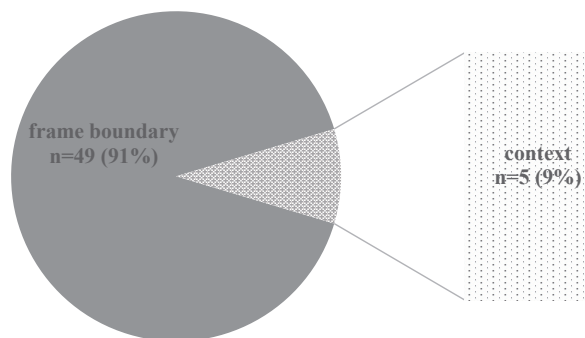

Figure 2. Syntactic overtness of the boundary with total objects (*õppima* 'learn')

In the occurrences without an explicit boundary, there were contexts such as in example (19), and also combinations with various quantifiers, such as *mitu* 'many, how many' or *hulk* 'an amount of, a bunch of'.

(19) *Kuldnokk*   *õppi-s*   ***Nokia meloodia***. (ENC)
     starling.NOM   learn-PST.3SG   N.GEN ringtone.TOT
     'A starling learned the ringtone of Nokia.'

We found only five sentences containing a total object but lacking an explicit boundary in the sample of 1000 sentences with the verb. For more examples for the present article, we examined more sentences. Examples (20) and (21) illustrate the verb *õppima* 'learn' in clauses where the total object is preceded by an adjective or ordinal numeral (*esimene* 'the first'), as in (20), or a cardinal numeral or determiner *ühe* 'one' (21).

(20) *Umbes*   *4-aastaselt,*   *naabri*   *pulma-s,*
     approximately   at.the.age.of.four   neighbor.GEN   wedding-INE
     õppi-s   *ta*   ***esimese luuletuse***. (ENC)
     learn-PST.3SG   s/he   first.TOT   poem.TOT
     'At around 4 years of age, in the wedding of her neighbor, she learned her **first poem**/for the first time by heart.'

(21) *Meil   arva-takse endiselt, et   õpi-d   elu   jooksul*
we.ADE think-IPS still   that learn-2SG life.GEN during
ühe   eriala   *ja   see   kanna-b sind   elu*
one.TOT specialization.TOT and it.NOM carry-3SG you.PAR life.GEN
lõpu-ni. (ENC)
end-TER
'Here, you often find people still thinking that one needs to acquire **one specialization** and that keeps you safe through your whole lifetime.'

Corpus examples show that one contextual element is sufficient to support the appearance of a total object. Therefore, we composed the tests with these elements so that native speakers as informants can use them to identify this class of verbs. Informants or testers can check if a certain verb is acceptable with any of the test environments and the total object to classify it as a 2b verb. Tests help us to verify that the corpus examples are natural examples or natural production, instead of results of automatic translation or unintentionally truncated clauses. The need for such tests exists even with abundant material from corpora of texts generated by humans only, since the texts may contain typos, omissions, repetitions, and other human mistakes. In our practice, one of the coauthors selected the candidates for the partitive verbs (the list of these verbs is presented in Appendix), and the other coauthor tested the listed verbs with the tests in Section 5.4. We have developed the main principles of the testing, and we have also observed that verbs pattern differently according to which of the tests brings about a total object. On the one hand, the tests will have practical use for listing the difficult verbs for the learner's dictionary and textbooks. Which verbs can never appear with partitive objects? What are the conditions under which some partitive verbs emerge with total objects? On the other hand, further testing may lead to patterns that inform us about the nature of the lexical semantics of Estonian verbs.

The tests that provide a natural environment for group 2b verbs with a total object are illustrated in Section 5.4. The tests involve the following contexts: 1) an explicit quantifier with the object (cf Ogren 2018: 48–49), 2) adjectives or various kinds of specifications and qualifications preceding the object, 3) an aim, goal, or reason, 4) a source or origin, 5) focus and contrast, and 6) impersonalisation with a topical, thematic argument at the beginning of the sentence.

5.4. The conditions of group 2b for emerging with a total object

1) An explicit quantifier in the object phrase provides a suitable environment for the occurrence of total objects of this class of typically partitive verbs (22a), (22b). The bracketed additions provide a typical possible continuation of the test clauses.

(22a) *Sina   õppi-si-d   **ühe   soneti***   (*, mina   kaks*).
2SG   learn-PST-2SG one.TOT sonnet.TOT 1SG   two.TOT
'You learned **a/one sonnet** (, I learned two).'

(22b) ***Mitu***   *sonetti   õppi-si-d?*
how.many.TOT sonnet.PAR learn-PST-2SG
'**How many** sonnets did you learn?'

2) An explicit qualifier that qualifies the object referent is another environment where total objects emerge more readily.

(23a) *Sina õppi-si-d* **Petrarca soneti** (*, mina Dante oma*).
2SG learn-PST-2SG Petrarca.GEN sonnet.TOT 1SG Dante.GEN own
'You learned a sonnet by Petrarch (, I learned a sonnet by Dante).'

(23b) *Sina õppi-si-d* **oma soneti** (*, mina enda oma*).
2SG learn-PST-2SG own sonnet.TOT 1SG own own
'You learned your sonnet (, I learned mine).'

An explicit qualifier that adds a characterization of the properties of the object referent is typically an adjective, frequently *terve* 'whole, entire'. In (24), the sister did not learn just any kind of poem by heart but a long one. What is at issue here is difficulty: hence the emphasized size or volume of the referent of the noun.

(24) *Õde õppi-s* **pika luuletuse**.
sister learn-PST.3SG long.TOT poem.TOT
'My sister learned a **long poem** by heart.'

3) An aim or reason. Telicity and boundedness are typically related to aims and goals, and total objects emerge in telic environments (e.g. causation, or a result), because in those environments the referent of the object is fully traversed, consumed or changed in the course of an event (cf Dowty 1991). The aims and reasons that are related to the emergence of total objects with the group of verbs at hand are not necessarily related to the traversal, consumption, or a change of the object in a direct way. An example of this is in (25), where an occasion is an aim in itself, unrelated to the boundaries of the object (emadepäevaks 'for Mother's Day').

(25) *Õppi-si-n* **emadepäeva-ks soneti**.
learn-PST-1SG mother's_day-TRA sonnet.TOT
'I learned a **sonnet for Mother's Day**.'

4) The source or origin. The contextual environment where an object is introduced in the discourse as an entity that stems or emerges as a whole from a source provides the third test for typically partitive verbs that appear with total objects without a particle or a resultative frame, illustrated in (26).

(26) *Õppi-si-n* **raamatu-st soneti**.
learn-PST-1SG book-ELA sonnet.TOT
'I learned a **sonnet from a book**.'

5) Focus on the object's identity and contrast. Focusing on the object's identity in contrast is the fifth environment where the encoding of total objects emerges with these verbs, as in (27).

(27) *Mina õppi-si-n* **luuletuse** (*, sina soneti*).
1SG learn-PST-1SG poem.TOT 2SG sonnet.TOT
'I learned a **poem** by heart (, and you learned a sonnet).'

These five tests emphasize the discourse-newness of the object referent or some properties of it, and they often present the objects as focus. Lexical items such as verbs and particle verbs impose discourse constraints on their arguments

(Bende-Farkas 2001, Metslang 2001). The objects of this class of verbs are typically discourse marked (mostly focal), or there is focus elsewhere in the clause, as discussed below.

6) Impersonal constructions as in (28a), (28b) form the sixth environment where a subgroup of normally partitive verbs can appear with the total case marking on the theme argument.

(28a) *Sonett*   *õpi-ti.*
      sonnet.TOT   learn-PST.IPS
      'A/the **sonnet** was learned.'

(28b) *Õpi-ti*   *sonett*.
      learn-PST.IPS   sonnet.TOT
      'It was a/the **sonnet** (e.g. not a haiku) that was learned.'

In (28b), the theme argument is discourse-new and in focus, whereas in (28a) it is not.

6. The hierarchy from partitive to aspect verbs for learners

We have demonstrated with the tests and corpus examples that making more fine-grained distinctions between the Estonian partitive verbs is justified. One of the coauthors selected the candidates for the partitive verbs (see Appendix), while the other coauthor tested the listed verbs with the tests to see if they allow a total object. The results will be presented in the next article. The terms *hard partitive verbs* and *soft partitive verbs* are useful for distinguishing between verbs that, intuitively, always appear with partitive objects and those that typically have partitive objects, but sometimes appear with total objects, respectively.

In our proposal, verbs in **group 1** (**the hard partitives**) cannot have total objects. Some of them are **genuinely hard partitives (subgroup 1a)**, since the event they denote cannot have an inherent endpoint, and they cannot denote an event that could cause a change of state or another event with a clear result. They do not relate temporal structure with any changes in the object referent: *uskuma* 'believe', *lootma* 'hope', *armastama* 'love', *kahtlustama* 'suspect', *imetlema* 'admire', *vihkama* 'hate', *austama* 'admire, honor', *põlgama* 'despise', *kartma* 'be afraid of', *väärima* 'be worthy (of)', *häirima* 'disturb', *mäletama* 'to remember', *eeldama* 'presuppose', *järeldama* 'infer', *mõjutama* 'influence, sway', *mäletama* 'remember', or *jätkama* 'continue'. We have also distinguished a subgroup of hard partitive verbs that pose problems for learners because of their idiomatic nature, **hard partitive simplex verbs with an idiomatic counterpart or a particle** (**subgroup 1b**). These verbs have a lexically restricted perfective-bounded counterpart. These simplex – complex pairs, or "V – *ära*/particle V" pairs, display a different spectrum of lexical senses: *segama* 'disturb; mix' versus *ära/kokku segama* 'mix together', or *tundma* 'feel, know' versus *ära tundma* 'recognize'.

Learners can access the forms only while trying to decode the meaning, so they encounter the simplex verb strings with both object cases. A dictionary can provide a principled distinction.

In other cases (**subgroup 2a**), however, the pairs are not separate lexical units but free combinations, such as the verb *veeretama* 'roll' – *välja/õue/ära veeretama* 'roll out/into the courtyard/away'. In terms of lexical meaning, this pair is parallel in a way that the previous ones are not. They verge on contextual soft partitive verbs (group 2b) but not aspect verbs, which is evident with verbs such as *aitama* or *abistama* 'help'. It is also possible that for some lexicographic-pragmatic goals, including the particle verbs of group 2a among 1b or as a separate class altogether is more useful – in terms of lexical semantics, they clearly diverge from each other. We include the *veeretama* 'roll' type under group 2a according to the principle of transparency of the combinations. Group 2a verbs can freely combine with resultative phrases or boundary-marking aspect particles (especially *ära*), *tervitama* 'greet'– *ära tervitama* 'perform the greeting (part of a ceremony)', *tänama* 'thank'– *ära tänama* 'thank (as part of a ritual)', *kiitma* 'praise' – *ära kiitma* 'finish praising'. Unlike verb group 1b, there is no shift in the lexical meaning of the verb: the combinations of verbs and their complement frames are free. Whether they emerge with the particle and a total object depends rather on understanding the verb and its subject as a causer and a controller of a meaningful change in a situation. Group 2a can be referred to as **framed soft partitive verbs**.

A subset of soft partitive verbs can be singled out as **subgroup 2b** and referred to as **contextual soft partitive verbs**. Their total objects can appear in clauses without any boundary elements: *õppima* 'learn', *lugema* 'read', *vaatama* 'watch', *kuulma* 'hear', *õpetama* 'teach', *nõudma* 'demand', *näitama* 'show', *kurtma* 'complain', *leevendama* 'mitigate', *kirjeldama* 'describe', *kritiseerima* 'criticize', etc. In this, they resemble aspect verbs (*küpsetama* 'bake'), which have aspectual object case alternation but can be bounded as well (*valmis küpsetama* 'bake'). However, group 2b verbs differ from aspect verbs, which by definition allow for object case alternations independently of boundary elements. We have established on the basis of corpus data and the tests that we used that, crucially, the verbs in class 2b only appear with total objects in discourse restricted environments. Typically, the object is in focus. We examined the following restricted environments: a quantifier with the object, adjectives or various kinds of specifications and qualifications, an aim or reason, a source or origin, contrast or focus, and impersonal constructions.

We defined these environments in detail to compose lexical semantic tests that can be used for elicitation with native speakers of Estonian when the corpus produces total objects with partitive verbs (e.g. raw automatic translations that assign a generic accusative to all objects, typos, misspellings, non-native text production, etc). These verbs are a serious problem for a learner, because the conditions that contribute to the realization of the total object are not transparent without explicit instruction complemented with a clear, predictive verb classification.

Partitive verbs are thus different in terms of how hard or soft they are in terms of the conditions that hold for allowing alternation. For learners, a hierarchy reflecting how hard or soft the partitive verbs are may be of help. This knowledge can be integrated into a larger hierarchy including other transitive verbs as well; for instance, in the form presented in (29).

(29) genuinely hard partitive verbs (1a) > hard partitive verbs with an idiomatic counterpart (1b) > framed soft partitive verbs (2a) > contextual soft partitive verbs (2b) > aspect verbs > perfective (punctual) verbs

At the two outer ends of the hierarchy of partitive verbs, the hardest partitive verbs occur with partitive objects, and the softest ones come closest to aspect verbs. In other words, the verbs that are at the left end of the hierarchy are lexically most restricted in their behavior in terms of object case alternation, while the partitive verbs on the right end are the least restricted in terms of having a total object. Among partitive verbs, verbs such as *õppima* 'learn' display the most possibilities in the hierarchy, and verbs such as *eeldama* 'presuppose' are constrained to objects that are partitive.

7. Conclusions

Estonian has differential object case marking of partitive and total (non-partitive), which partly depends on lexical aspect. The task of lexicography is to represent the lexical semantic properties that contribute to the object case encoding.

We have focused on one class of Estonian verbs, referred to as *partitive verbs*, which are not commonly attested with a total object. We have shown that some of these verbs can – and others cannot – appear with a total object. The latter are referred to as hard and the former as soft partitive verbs in earlier literature on Estonian.

We have defined further factors that determine the partitive verbs' behavior. We have identified and clarified two larger areas of unresolved issues that have stood in the way of a consistent classification in learner dictionaries: 1) the distinction between soft and hard partitive verbs and 2) the distinction between soft partitive verbs and aspect verbs.

We have distinguished new subclasses in hard and soft partitive verbs: 1) hard partitive verbs that emerge as a separate lexical entity when appearing with total objects (e.g., *välja arvama* 'exclude', group 1b) and 2) soft partitive verbs that may occasionally appear with total objects in clauses without any aspectual particles or resultative complements (*õppima* 'learn', group 2b) much like aspect verbs do. We suggest that the total objects of the 2b verbs are discourse-dependent. We have proposed classification tests that emphasize the special discourse properties of the objects of this verb group. One of the most relevant results of this paper is the list of conditions where some soft partitive verbs can appear with total objects without any resultative elements or aspectual particles.

We have proposed a "softness" hierarchy that reflects the restrictions on the emergence of the partitive verbs with total objects, and that can help Estonian L2 learners in answering questions such as: Which verbs can never appear with partitive objects? What are the conditions under which some partitive verbs emerge with total objects? Since we have tested the verbs listed in Appendix to see if they allow a total object, our next plan is to present the patterns that have emerged. One interesting pattern is information structural in nature: the group 2b verbs appear without any overt boundaries if the total object is fronted, focused or contrasted. In addition, the learners' difficulties with partitive verb classes, as well as the best ways of presenting them in learners' dictionaries and textbooks requires more research.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	PAR	partitive
ADE	adessive	part	partitive
ALL	allative	PL	plural
DINF	*da*-infinitive	PRT	particle
ELA	elative	PST	past
ENC	source of example: ENC 2013	PSTP	postposition
	or ENC 2017	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	TER	terminative
INE	inessive	TOT	total object (morphologically,
IPS	impersonal		genitive/nominative)
MINF	*ma*-infinitive	TRA	translative
N	substantive	V	verb
ngp	nominative, genitive or partitive		

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Appendix. The candidates for partitive verbs in the database (195)

abistama 'help', *aimama* 'suspect, get an idea of', *aitama* 'help', *armastama* 'love', *arutama* 'discuss', *arutlema* 'discuss', *arvama* 'guess', *austama* 'respect', *demonstreerima* 'show', *edendama* 'improve, promote', *edestama* 'outstrip, outnumber', *eeldama* 'assume, presuppose', *eelistama* 'prefer', *eitama* 'deny', *ennustama* 'predict', *eristama* 'define, distinguish', *esindama* 'represent', *esitlema* 'present', *harjutama* 'practice', *helistama* 'make a call, ring', *hoiatama* 'warn', *hooldama* 'care for, service', *huvitama* 'interest', *häbenema* 'be ashamed', *häirima* 'disturb', *hüppama* 'jump', *imestama* 'wonder', *imetlema* 'admire', *informeerima* 'inform', *iseloomustama* 'characterise', *istuma* 'sit (in jail)', *jaksama* 'be able to, endure', *jalutama* 'walk', *juhatama* 'guide, give directions', *juhendama* 'instruct', *juhtima* 'command, drive', *julgustama* 'encourage', *jõudma* 'be able to, endure', *jälgima* 'watch, follow', *järeldama* 'conclude', *järgima* 'follow', *jätkama* 'continue', *kaaluma* 'weigh', *kaebama* 'complain', *kaema* 'look', *kahjustama* 'damage', *kahtlustama* 'suspect', *kajastama* 'reflect', *kandma* 'wear, bring', *kannatama* 'suffer', *karistama* 'punish', *karjuma* 'shout', *kartma* 'be afraid of', *kasutama* 'use', *katsetama* 'experiment, try out', *katsuma* 'try; touch', *kaunistama* 'decorate', *kavatsema* 'plan', *kiirendama* 'speed up', *kiirustama* 'hurry up', *kiitma* 'praise', *kirjeldama* 'describe', *kogema* 'experience', *kohtama* 'meet, run into', *kohustama* 'oblige, obligate', *kommenteerima* 'comment', *kontrollima* 'control', *kordama* 'repeat', *kostma* 'say; answer', *kritiseerima* 'criticise', *kujutama* 'imagine, shape, portray', *kurtma* 'complain', *kuulama* 'listen', *kuulma* 'hear', *kõndima* 'go, walk', *käima* 'go', *käsitlema* 'deal with', *käskima* 'command', *külastama* 'visit', *leevendama* 'mitigate', *levitama* 'distribute, spread around', *lihtsustama* 'simplify', *liigutama* 'move, shift', *lootma* 'hope', *lubama* 'promise', *lugema* 'read', *lükkama* 'push', *mainima* 'mention', *maitsma* 'taste, try', *meenutama* 'remind, remember', *motiveerima* 'motivate', *mõistma* 'understand, grasp', *mõjutama* 'influence, sway', *mõtlema* 'think', *mäletama* 'remember', *mängima* 'play', *märkama* 'notice', *möönma* 'admit', *naeratama* 'smile', *nautima* 'enjoy', *nentima* 'mention, admit', *nõudma* 'insist, command', *nägema* 'see', *näitama* 'show, demonstrate', *ohustama* 'threaten, pose a threat', *oletama* 'suppose', *omama* 'own', *ootama* 'wait', *oskama* 'know (how to do sth)', *otsima* 'seek', *pakkuma* 'offer', *paluma* 'ask, beg', *petma* 'cheat', *pidama* 'keep', *pidurdama* 'brake', *pooldama* 'advocate, be on someone's side', *proovima* 'try out', *pruukima* 'use', *puhkama* 'rest', *puudutama* 'touch', *põdema* 'suffer from, be sick', *põhjendama* 'justify', *raiskama* 'waste', *rakendama* 'implement', *rõõmustama* 'please, make happy', *ründama* 'attack', *saavutama* 'achieve', *segama* 'mix; bother', *soodustama* 'favor, encourage', *soosima* 'favor, please, to do favors', *soovima* 'wish', *soovitama* 'recommend', *sundima* 'force', *surema* 'die', *suutma* 'be able to, endure', *sõimama* 'curse, swear', *säilitama* 'preserve, maintain', *süüdistama* 'blame', *tahtma* 'want', *taipama* 'figure out, understand', *tajuma* 'perceive', *taluma* 'endure, put up with something', *tarbima* 'use, consume', *tarvitama* 'use (regularly)', *tasuma* 'pay', *teadma* 'know', *teadvustama* 'to be/become aware of something', *teavitama* 'inform', *tervitama* 'welcome', *teenima* 'serve', *teenindama* 'serve', *toetama* 'support', *toonitama* 'emphasize', *tormama* 'rush, speed (in a particular way)', *tugevdama* 'strengthen', *tulistama* 'shoot', *tundma* 'know, feel', *tunnetama*

'feel, perceive', *tunnistama* 'admit; witness', *tunnustama* 'acknowledge, recognize, approve', *tutvustama* 'present, introduce, acquaint', *tõdema* 'acknowledge, reckon', *tõlgendama* 'interpret', *tõotama* 'vow', *täheldama* 'notice, observe', *tähendama* 'mean', *tähistama* 'celebrate; mark', *täiendama* 'supplement, improve', *tänama* 'thank', *unistama* 'create by dreaming', *usaldama* 'trust', *uskuma* 'believe', *vaatama* 'look', *vaatlema* 'look, observe', *vabandama* 'apologize', *vaevama* 'bother, torment', *vahtima* 'stare', *vajama* 'need', *valdama* 'own, occupy', *valgustama* 'illuminate, light up', *valitsema* 'rule', *valvama* 'guard', *vastama* 'answer', *veenma* 'convince', *vigastama* 'injure', *vihkama* 'hate', *võrdlema* 'compare', *väitma* 'argue', *vältima* 'avoid', *väärima* 'be worthy', *väärtustama* 'value', *õigustama* 'justify', *õpetama* 'teach', *õppima* 'study', *ähvardama* 'threaten', *üritama* 'try, attempt, give it a try'

PIIRIDE SEADMISEST: PARTITIIVVERBID EESTI VERBIKLASSIFIKATSIOONIDES

Anne Tamm[1], Natalia Vaiss[2,3]

Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary[1],
The Institute of the Estonian Language[2], Tallinn University[3]

Artiklis vaatleme eesti keele transitiivverbide klassifikatsioonides partitiivverbideks liigitatud verbe, keskendudes nn pehmetele partitiivverbidele. Kasutusnäidetest ilmneb, et pehmete partitiivverbide näol on tegemist heterogeensema verbiklassiga, kui on eelnevate uurimuste alusel järeldatud. Täiustame seniseid klassifikatsioone eesmärgiga täpsustada verbide esitust eesti keele õppesõnaraamatuis. Eristame partitiivverbide klassi, mis tüüpjuhtudel väljendavad tulemuseta ja piiritlemata situatsioone, ent esinevad siiski ka totaalobjektiga, kui diskursuse kontekst tõstab esile situatsiooni piirid ja tulemuse.

Märksõnad: aspekt, teelisus, piiritletus, resultatiivsus, transitiivsus, sihitis, teine keel, leksikograafia, eesti keel

Anne Tamm (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary) has published widely on bilingual lexicography, verb classes, object case, aspect, and evidentiality.
4 Reviczky Street, 1088 Budapest, Hungary
tamm.anne@gmail.com

Natalia Vaiss (The Institute of the Estonian Language, Tallinn University) has published on object case alternation and aspect in Estonian in comparison with Russian, bilingual education, and lexicography.
Roosikrantsi 6, 10119 Tallinn, Estonia
natalia.vaiss@gmail.com