Deictic motion verbs and anchoring the direction of motion in Estonian, Finnish and Czech

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to contrast Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs (*minema*/*mennä*, *tulema*/*tulla*, *viima*/*viedä*, *tooma*/*tuoda*) with descriptions of the same motion situations in Czech, which does not have similar pairs of deictic motion verbs. The paper first describes Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs according to the literature and provides a short overview of motion verbs in Czech. The analysis is based on examples selected from two literary texts, one Estonian and one Finnish, and their translations. The comparison concentrates on different means of anchoring the direction of motion, that is, which part of the motion scene is selected as the landmark for translational motion. The paper shows that though Czech verb prefixes can in effect anchor the direction of motion to the speaker or to a location known to the speaker and addressee, the function of these prefixes is not directly comparable with the pairs of deictic motion verbs in Finnish and Estonian.

Keywords: motion verb; deixis; translation; contrastive analysis; Estonian; Finnish; Czech

1. Introduction

In this paper I compare motion situations described by deictic motion verbs in Estonian and Finnish with their translations into Czech. Drawing examples from two literary texts, one Estonian (an excerpt from "Seitsmes rahukevad" by Viivi Luik) and one Finnish ("Kuka murhasi rouva Skrofin?" by Mika Waltari), I compare sentences using deictic motion verbs with their translations into Finnish and Czech or Estonian and Czech, respectively. The choice of texts was limited by the requirement that they be translated into the other two languages, which narrowed down the options, particularly for translations from Estonian to Czech. These texts were suitable for the purpose as they contain quite a few examples of motion narration; not every fictional text necessarily verbalizes translational motion.

Translational motion, meaning motion in which the mover changes location, is described by Talmy (2000b: 25–26) as consisting of a "Figure" moving with respect to a "Ground" as it follows a "Path". The "Motion event" can also be combined with a "Co-event," usually expressing the "Manner" or "Cause" of the motion. These semantic components can be expressed by various means, for example, the Figure by a subject nominal, the Ground and Path elements by adverbials, and the Manner of motion by a verb root or adverbial. Often, one semantic component can be expressed by several lexical or morphological components (Talmy 2000b: 21). Talmy (2000a: 311, 333) also mentions that the Ground can perform an anchoring function not limited to motion situations.

As has been noted by Talmy (2000b) and Slobin (2000), languages pay different amounts of attention to the semantic components of motion scenes. Slobin (1996) also writes about different "thinking for speaking" among speakers of different languages, where speakers are guided by the grammaticized elements of their respective languages to pay attention to certain aspects while leaving others to be inferred. Some semantic components of motion scenes may not be expressed at all. Either they are irrelevant, or they can be inferred from the context. For example, we

may be able to deduce the Manner of motion from the type of Figure (human, animal, vehicle) or from the Ground element (entering another room in a house versus travelling across the country).

According to Talmy (2000b) and Slobin (1997, 2000), languages have strong preferences in this respect: some components of the motion scene are typically expressed in the verb root and some by adverbials or adpositions, while others are typically left aside. Talmy (2000b: 27) remarks that these inclinations are true for characteristic expressions of the respective language: they are colloquial in style, frequent and pervasive. As the verb root is a syntactically necessary element, the semantic component habitually expressed by the verb will necessarily be present (Slobin 2000: 110). The literary fiction and translations analyzed in this article, however, may contain non-characteristic expressions, and the tendencies described by Talmy may appear less pronounced. It is perhaps good to remember that translators usually have several options to choose from, which may differ in their degree of conventionality.

In this paper I compare the expression of motion by the deictic motion verbs *minema* (: *mine- ~ lähe-*) 'go', *tulema* 'come', *viima* 'take/carry (away)' and *tooma* 'bring' in Estonian and *mennä*, *tulla*, *viedä* and *tuoda* in Finnish[1] with Czech, which does not have similar pairs of deictic motion verbs. The main question is how the direction of motion is represented in Czech translation. Other elements of the motion scene are of course also relevant. Fiction and translated texts have previously been used to compare motion verbs in different languages (Slobin 1997, 2005), though not specifically to examine deictic motion verbs.

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[1]   In Estonian the infinitive in *-ma* is used as the dictionary form for verbs (*mine-ma*, *tule-ma*, *vii-ma*, *too-ma*), whereas in Finnish the so-called A-infinitive is used (*men-nä*, *tul-la*, *vie-dä*, *tuo-da*).

2. Deictic motion verbs in Estonian and Finnish

The Estonian verbs *tulema*, *minema*, *tooma* and *viima* can be considered deictic motion verbs (Pajusalu et al. 2004: 53). The two pairs of verbs are parallel, with *tulema* and *minema* expressing motion of the clause subject referent (similarly to English 'come' and 'go'), and *tooma* and *viima* ('bring' and 'take/carry away') are their counterparts for agentive motion, in which the referent of the clause subject is moving in order to change the location of the referent of the clause object. The direction of motion is toward the deictic center in the case of *tulema* and *tooma*, and away from the deictic center in the case of *minema* and *viima*. The deictic center is the location from which we consider the situation; depending on the context, it may be the location of the speaker or a speech-act participant, or some other location. According to Pajusalu et al. (2004: 56, 61) the second pair (*minema*, *viima*) is often used non-deictically, with *minema* as the most neutral motion verb, which can be used to express motion of any kind in whatsoever direction, often accompanied by an expression of goal or purpose. The deictic function of *minema* is revealed when it is used in contrast to *tulema*, as in example (1).

(1) *Nüüd* **läheb** *ta* *koju* [---] *aga* **tulema**
now go:3SG s/he home but come:MA-INF
hakates *jätab* *ehk* *mootorrattasõiduprillid* *maha.*
start:GER.INE leave:3SG perhaps motorcycle_glasses:NOM.PL PERF
'Now he will go home [---] but when coming back he will perhaps forget his motorcycle glasses.'[2] (Luik 1985: 55.)

The deictic center of example (1), from the novel "Seitsmes rahukevad," is situated at the place where the narrator is; her father goes back home to fetch the watch he has forgotten and will then come back to the narrator. He first goes away from the narrator (*minema*), and afterwards

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[2]   As the literary texts I use have not been translated into English, the translations into English are my own, meant only to convey the basic content of the sentences for the purpose of this paper.

he will move toward her: *tulema hakates* means that he starts moving toward her, sets out. The next section will deal with the placement of the deictic center in more detail.

Of the four deictic motion verbs in question, the verbs *minema* and *tulema* in particular have numerous metaphorically based uses for different kinds of abstract motion, and they have also been grammaticalized in some constructions (see Pajusalu et al. 2004; Tragel 2003b). In this paper, I concentrate on translational motion only, though in some cases, it may be difficult to draw a precise line between movement in space and abstract motion. According to Pajusalu et al. (2004: 57) *minema* often appears in cases of transition, whether moving in space or beginning a process.

Finnish deictic motion verbs also form two pairs: *mennä* and *tulla* express motion of the clause subject referent, *viedä* and *tuoda* agentive motion. As in Estonian, the direction of *mennä* and *tulla* is guided by the location of the deictic center (Huumo & Sivonen 2010: 2); otherwise these motion verbs are semantically schematic. The verb *mennä* also has a deictically neutral use, so that apart from moving away from the deictic center, it can also express motion in whatsoever direction, and it is often accompanied by a goal expression. The deictic character of *mennä* can appear contextually through pragmatic opposition with *tulla*. When *tulla* is used, the location of the speech act participants becomes important. The verb *tulla* can also be used without an explicit landmark, as arrival at the goal is already profiled by the verb itself. (Jääskeläinen 2012: 67–68, 70–72.) Larjavaara (1990: 258–262) characterizes *mennä* as the unmarked verb, as opposed to *tulla*: in the meaning of *tulla*, the direction of motion is reversed with respect to the time dimension in the sense that the motion is viewed from the goal point.

The similarities between deictic motion verbs in Estonian and Finnish no doubt relate to their common origin, as can also be observed from the similarity of the verb stems. There are, however, also notable differences. In Estonian, two verbs have merged to form a suppletive paradigm for *minema* (present tense 1SG: *lähen*). In contrast, Finnish has

preserved two separate motion verbs, *mennä* and *lähteä*. The difference between them, when used to describe the translational motion of an animate subject, is one of focus: on the goal or purpose with *mennä*, and on the source or first part of the path with *lähteä*. *Lähteä* expresses leaving a place in some direction when reaching the goal is not relevant (Kaivapalu & Pällin 2012: 309, 316–317).

Another difference in usage is that in Estonian two motion verbs (including two deictic motion verbs) can appear in a serial verb that functions as a single predicate, whereas that does not happen in Finnish, e.g., *lähen toon sulle raamatu* 'I will go and fetch you the book' (Pajusalu et al. 2004: 60; Tragel 2003a). According to Tragel (2003a: 934) the first verb in a serial verb construction retains its deictic properties and the semantics of a translational motion verb at least to some degree, though it can also express the beginning of a process or the intentionality of the agent. Such a construction appeared twice in the material analyzed: *ma lähen käin kodus* 'I will go home', translated into Finnish as *minä käyn vain kotona*, and *mine küsi*, as a translation of the Finnish *mene kysymään* 'go and ask'. Many other differences in the abstract or grammaticalized uses of these verbs in Estonian and Finnish could be found.

3. Positioning the deictic center and the viewpoint

The placement of the deictic center at the location of the speaker is considered prototypical (Radden 1996: 428–431). Another possible placement of the deictic center stems from our ability to see things from another point of view: the location of the addressee or another important location such as the home base of a central character, or at some other time than at the time of the speech act (Radden 1996: 430; Fillmore 1971: 70). Seeing things from a different perspective can also be described as positioning a viewpoint. Radden (1996: 431) uses viewpoint as a more general term covering both deictic anchoring (positioning the viewpoint in respect to the speech act participants) and the "mental" viewpoint taken by the narrator. Larjavaara (1990: 259–262), on the other hand,

considers the positioning of the viewpoint and the deictic use of *mennä* and *tulla* to be two distinct uses of these verbs. Following Radden's conception, I regard viewpoint as a cover term which includes deictic use.

As the examples have been drawn from works of fiction, the viewpoint is usually selected by the narrator. Both texts have a single principal narrator who is also a character in the story. In the case of direct speech, the viewpoint is selected by the speaker who may or may not be the narrator. In example (2), from the Estonian text, the viewpoint of the first occurrence of the verb *tulema* is selected by the narrator who describes the event of a grandmother coming to the door where the narrator can see her. The second occurrence of *tulema*, however, is related to the grandmother, who invites the others to eat.

(2) *Vanaema* **tuli** *uuesti* *ukse* *peale* *ja*
grandmother come:PST.3SG again door:G.SG at:ALL and
kutsus: *"Tulge* *nüid* *süüma!"*
call:PST.3SG come:IMP.2PL now eat:MA-INF
'Grandmother appeared at the door again and called: "Come eat!"'
(Luik 1985: 46.)

The next pair of examples, also from the Estonian novel, describe a route. In (3), in which the verb *tulema* is used, the narrator views the scene from the endpoint. In the first clause of (4), which uses the verb *minema*, the viewpoint moves with the narrator as she covers the route from the source to the goal. According to Huumo and Sivonen (2010: 3), when a dynamic viewpoint follows the motion of the mover, the Finnish *tulla* focuses on the arrival, while *mennä* introduces a broader perspective to the path leading to the goal. A similar interpretation seems applicable for the Estonian examples (3) and (4).

(3) [---] *kuhu* *ma* *ükskord* *ammu* *koos* *vanaemaga*
where:ILL I: NOM once long_ago with grandmother:COM.SG
mööda *keerulisi* *heinamaaradu* **tulin**.
along complicated:PTV.PL hayfield_path:PTV.PL come:PST.1SG
'[---] where I once came with grandma along difficult paths across hayfields.' (Luik 1985: 58.)

(4) *Kui   kodust   otse   üle   jõe,   üle*
when home:ELA.SG   straight across river:G.SG across
*luha   ja   läbi   metsa   **minna**,   siis*
meadow:G.SG and through forest:G.SG go:DA-INF then
tuleb   Tuudaku.
come:3SG Tuudaku
'Going from home across the river, across the meadow and through
the forest, one would arrive in Tuudaku.' (Luik 1985: 60.)

There is one more difference between the use of *tulema* in (3) and *minema* in (4). In (3) the motion verb describes a specific motion event in the past. In (4) the motion on the described path is hypothetical, and the mover could be anyone: the sentence has no overt subject. According to Langacker (1987: 171–172) such motion could be interpreted as subjectively construed by the speaker as she mentally traces the described path.

The use of the verb *tulema* in the second clause of (4) can be seen as an example of what Talmy (2000a: 99–101) calls fictive motion. The goal location, a farm called Tuudaku, is said to "come" as the mover of the previous clause moves along the described path. The usual, objectively construed version of the situation would be that the goal location is static, and the mover comes to it. The Finnish and Czech translations (example (17) in section 5.4) are based on this second view of the situation. Both clauses in (4) describe translational motion, though not actual nor objectively construed.

The notion of viewpoint should be understood to be flexible in terms of size and scope, and not necessarily as a "point." In examples (5) and (6), from the Estonian novel, the yard of the house where the characters are gathered serves as the viewpoint. The watering can is first brought into the yard and later carried away (5 and 6 are separated by a few paragraphs). In this case, the inside and outside of the house serve as 'there' and 'here'; often it is also vice versa in the text. In other cases, the whole house and its grounds, 'home', serves as the deictic center. The deictic center can also be the immediate vicinity of the speaker, such as when the characters are in one room, as in example (2).

(5) *Ta* **tõi** *emale* *vett* *täis*
s/he bring:PST.3SG mother:ALL water:PTV.SG full
kastekannu.
watering_can:G.SG
'He brought mom a watering can full of water.' (Luik 1985: 53)

(6) *Ema* **viis** *kastekannu* *ära.*
mother take:PST.3SG watering_can:G.SG away
'Mom carried the watering can away.' (Luik 1985: 54.)

4. Czech verbs of motion

Czech has a specific class of motion verbs that express manner of motion in the verb root and form pairs of determinate and indeterminate verbs. A distinction is typically made between going on foot and moving in a vehicle, including when the motion is agentive, as can be seen in lines 1, 2, 5 and 6 of Table 1.

TABLE 1. *Czech determinate and indeterminate motion verbs*

	Determinate verbs	Indeterminate verbs	Meaning
1	*jít*	*chodit*	'go on foot'
2	*jet*	*jezdit*	'go by vehicle'
3	*běžet*	*běhat*	'run'
4	*letět*	*létat*	'fly'
5	*nést*	*nosit*	'carry (when going on foot)'
6	*vézt*	*vozit*	'transport (by vehicle)'
7	lézt	lozit	'crawl, climb'
	…		

Determinate verbs typically express a single motion event on a path from a source to a goal. They are often accompanied by an expression of goal or purpose. Indeterminate verbs are typically used for motion that is random or habitual and therefore not happening at one specific time. (Saicová Římalová 2009; Janda & Townsend 2000: 39.)

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Indeterminate verbs occur rarely in the material analyzed, and as this dichotomy does not influence the anchoring of motion, I will not pay much attention to it. Indeterminate verbs occurred when the motion was repetitive (example 7, below) or when the motion was portrayed as continuous (examples 11 and 14). According to Eckert (1991: 93–94) prefixed indeterminate motion verbs in Czech are strongly associated with processes. That is the case in examples (11) and (14).

Motion verbs in Czech are often combined with a prefix, as in examples (8–15) and (17) below. A prefix makes a verb perfective and, in coordination with a prepositional phrase, describes the path. The prefixes *od-* and *vy-* relate the path to the source location or highlight the source part of the path. The prefixes *při-* and *v-*, on the other hand, relate the motion to the goal destination. A prefix can also tell us something about the ground. When a three-dimensional space that can be entered or left is in question, the prefixes *vy-* or *v-* would be used, whereas when relating the path to other types of ground, including people, the prefixes *od-* or *při-* would be used. The prefixes *při-* and *od-* indicate that the motion is to or from a close distance to the ground element. The prefix *vy-* is also used for upward motion; for example, *vylézt* can mean 'crawl out of an enclosed space' or 'climb up'. For downward motion, the prefix *s-*/*se-* can be used, which can also indicate the motion of several figures toward the same goal. The prefix *do-* implies reaching the goal, so *dojít* can mean to 'reach a goal when going on foot'. Other prefixes may specify how the path is shaped or how the ground is crossed. For example, the prefix *pře-* implies crossing a space above or on the ground (e.g., a yard) and *pro-* indicates crossing an obstacle by moving through it (e.g., bushes). The prefix *ob(e)-* is used when the path goes around some portion of the ground. (Kopečný 1962: 114–133; Grepl & Karlík 1998: 115–117; Hirschová 2007: 197; Saicová Římalová 2010: 41.)

Within a clause, it is possible to combine a verb prefix with a semantically non-corresponding prepositional phrase (Hirschová 2007: 197). For example, it is not only possible to combine the goal-oriented prefix

při- with a prepositional phrase that also anchors the motion to the goal location (e.g., *přijdu k tobě* 'I will come to you'), but also with a prepositional phrase anchoring the motion to the source location (e.g., *přijdu z práce pozdě* 'I will come late from work'). In the second case the goal location is deduced from the context. Hirschová (2007: 195) points out that motion verbs prefixed by *po-*, *při-* or *od-* can be used unaccompanied by an overt spatial expression when the spatial meaning is an integral part of the sentence semantics. In such cases the location to which the motion is anchored (e.g., the goal location in the case of *při-* and the source location in the case of *od-*) is understood from the context. Daneš, Hlavsa and Kořenský (1973: 137) mention that for the verb *odejít*, the source location is a potential sentence constituent, which if not overtly expressed, is the location of the speaker. But Panevová (1980: 30) remarks that the source in this case is not necessarily the location of the speaker, as in *Když byl Karel na tomto představení, odešel před koncem* 'When Karel attended this show, he left before the end', where the speaker is not necessarily at the same show. According to Panevová the key factor is that the source location is known, or evident from the context, both to the speaker and the addressee. With motion verbs the meaning of the prefix usually describes the path covered by the figure (Kopečný 1962: 114–133). However, these prefixes also combine with verbs other than motion verbs, rendering the verb perfective and adding semantic features more abstract than the expression of path by motion verbs.

There are also other verbs that can be called motion verbs on a semantic basis, though they do not belong to the set of determined/undetermined verbs (Saicová Římalová 2010: 30–32). Common examples in the material analyzed are *vrátit se* ('return, come back') and *zamířit* ('make for').

The determinate/indeterminate motion verbs form a closed class and differ from other Czech verbs in respect to the imperfective/perfective opposition (Dočekal 2008: 303–304). Both determinate and indeterminate verbs are considered imperfective, but determinate verbs resemble perfectives in some respects, as they typically express a single motion

event reaching a goal (Kopečný 1958: 106). In the negative imperative, only the indeterminate variant can be used (e.g., the positive imperative of *jít* 2SG *jdi* 'go' vs. the negative imperative 2SG *nechoď* 'don't go'), similarly to the use of an imperfective variant of a perfective verb in the negative imperative. A particular feature of determinate verbs is that they form the future tense with the prefix *po-* (e.g., *pojedu* 'I'll go', *poběžíme* 'we'll run', *ponesu* 'I'll carry') and have an imperfective future tense form. Adding a prefix such as *při-*, *od-*, *do-* or *vy-* to an imperfective verb otherwise makes the verb perfective, in which case the present verb form expresses something that will be realized in the future. According to Kopečný (1962: 49–50) this particular future tense form using the prefix *po-* is typical with determinate motion verbs, as well as with some other verbs that can all be interpreted semantically as motion verbs. Indeterminate motion verbs form the periphrastic future tense with the future auxiliary *bud-* (*budu chodit* 'I'll be going on foot', *budu jezdit* 'I'll be going by vehicle').

The prefix *po-* can also be used in the positive imperative of motion verbs, which renders the semantic feature 'alongside/with the speaker, toward the speaker'. Thus *jdi do obchodu* 'go to the shop!', but *pojď do kina* 'come (with me) to the cinema!' (Komárek 1986: 418; Karlík 2012). Here, the difference between using the prefix *po-* and the unprefixed motion verb resembles the distinction made by deictic motion verbs, but this possibility is restricted to the imperative. I will return to its use in section 5.5.

Apart from their central meaning of human motion on foot, the verbs *jít* and *chodit* are used in various other contexts where the manner of motion is not necessarily making steps, including in metaphoric or partly grammaticized contexts. They form the central pair of the closed class of determinate/indeterminate Czech motion verbs. (Saicová Římalová 2010: 73–105.) The verb *jít* ('go on foot') also has a distinctive morphology, with a suppletive stem (3SG present tense *jde*, 3SG past tense masc. *šel*) and a future tense formed with an irregular prefix variant *pů-* (3SG *půjde*), not *po-*. Its imperative is nonetheless formed with *po-* (2SG *pojď*) (Karlík & Migdalski 2012).

5. Comparison of motion verbs in literary fiction

5.1. Motion verbs in the study

The material for this study on the use of Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs, and how their meanings are rendered in Czech, consists of two fictional texts, one Estonian (Luik 1985) and one Finnish (Waltari 1939), along with their translations into the other two languages (Waltari 1994, 2003; Luik 1986, 1989). I searched manually for deictic motion verbs in the texts; in the case of the Finnish text and its Czech translation, the process was facilitated by the use of a corpus (Fárová & Vavřín 2019). The number of examples in the original texts are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. *Number of deictic motion verbs in the Finnish and Estonian data*

Mika Waltari ”Kuka murhasi rouva Skrofin?”		Viivi Luik ”Seitsmes rahukevad” (excerpt)	
mennä	89	*minema*	90
tulla	86	*tulema*	55
viedä	19	*viima*	6
tuoda	6	*tooma*	15

I compared these examples with the corresponding translated sentences in the other two languages. Tables 3–6 summarize how the non-agentive deictic motion verbs were translated. For the Czech data, some translations have been grouped together, so that the tables would not be too fragmented. The two Czech columns show the corresponding determinate and indeterminate variants for the most frequent verbs, *jít – chodit* and *jet – jezdit*.

TABLE 3. *Translations of the Finnish verb* mennä *into Estonian and Czech*

→ EST		→ CZE			
minema	81	***jít*** (no path prefix)	31	*chodit* (no path prefix)	3
astuma	1	*jít* with path prefix (*za-* 4, *vy-* 4, *od-* 4, *v-* 2, *při-* 1)	15	*chodit* with path prefix (*vy-* 2, *s-* 2)	4
Other solutions	7	Other motion verbs (including prefixes *při-* 4, *vy-* 2, *v-* 1, *od-* 1)			21
		Other solutions			15
Total	89				

TABLE 4. *Translations of the Finnish verb* tulla *into Estonian and Czech*

→ EST		→ CZE			
tulema	78	*jít* (no path prefix)	9	*chodit* (no path prefix)	2
Other motion verbs	2	*jít* with path prefix (***při-* 30**, *vy-* 7, *za-* 1, *v-* 1)	39	*chodit* with path prefix (*při-*)	1
Other solutions	6	Other motion verbs (including prefixes *v-* 8, *při-* 1)			20
		Other solutions			15
Total	86				

TABLE 5. *Translations of the Estonian verb* minema *into Finnish and Czech*

→ FIN		→ CZE			
mennä	53	***jít*** (no path prefix)	29	*chodit* (no path prefix)	2
lähteä	12	*jít* with path prefix (*pře-* 4, *od-* 3, *v-* 3, *pro-* 2, *při-* 1, *vy-* 1)	14	*chodit* with path prefix (*pře-*)	1
kulkea	11	*jet* (no path prefix)	8	*jezdit* (no path prefix)	1
Other motion verbs	5	*jet* with path prefix (*od-*)	1	*jezdit* with path prefix (*od-*)	1
Other solutions	9	Other motion verbs (including prefixes *při-* 3, *pře-* 2, *vy-* 2, *od-*, *v-*)			21
		Other solutions			12
Total	90				

TABLE 6. *Translations of the Estonian verb* tulema *into Finnish and Czech*

→ FIN		→ CZE			
tulla	43	*jít* (no path prefix)			7
palata	4	*jít* with path prefix (*při-* 8, *vy-* 3, *v-* 3, *pro-*, *do-*, *za-*, *od-*)	18	*chodit* (with path prefix *pře-*)	2
Other motion verbs	3	*vrátit se*			6
Other solutions	5	Other motion verbs (including prefixes *vy-* 2, *v-*, *při-*, *za-*)			8
		Other solutions			14
Total	55				

The Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs *minema*/*mennä* and *tulema*/*tulla* mirror each other in most cases. Based on this study, the positioning of the viewpoint with deictic motion verbs is nearly always the same. Differences arise mostly in lexical choices and the different scope of use of motion verbs. The Finnish verbs *lähteä* ('leave, go') and *kulkea* ('go, walk') occurred as translations of the Estonian *minema*. In Finnish, the verb *palata* ('return') is sometimes preferred as a translation of the Estonian *tagasi tulema* ('come back'). In only one case was the viewpoint situated at opposite ends of the path, in a translation from Finnish to Estonian.[3]

In the translations into Czech, the most common variants, amounting in each case to roughly one third of the examples, are the translation of *mennä*/*minema* by the unprefixed *jít* ('to go on foot') and *tulla* by the prefixed *přijít*. Translations of the Estonian *tulema* do not show a

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[3]   The exceptional case is a translation of the Finnish sentence *Neiti Pihlaja antoi minulle omat avaimensa, jotta minulla olisi jokin paikka, mihin **tulla**, jos täti osoittautuisi aivan mahdottomaksi*. In Estonian: *Preili Pihlaja andis mulle oma võtmed, et mul oleks mõni koht, kuhu **minna**, kui tädi üsna võimatuks osutuks*. The situation in which the narrator considers leaving her home to live at Miss Pihlaja's place perhaps allows for both viewpoint positions: from the perspective of *neiti Pihlaja / preili Pihlaja* (to whom the narrator may come), or from the perspective of the narrator.

clear tendency. Otherwise, the same path prefixes occur as translations of both *mennä/minema* and *tulla/tulema*.

Tables 7–10 summarize how agentive motion verbs were translated.

TABLE 7. *Translations of the Finnish verb* viedä *into Estonian and Czech*

→ EST		→ CZE	
viima	18	*zavést*	2
Other solutions	1	*odnést + odnášet*	2
		odvést	1
		dovést	1
		donést	1
		vyvézt	1
		nést	1
		Other solutions	10
Total	19		

TABLE 8. *Translations of the Finnish verb* tuoda *into Estonian and Czech*

→ EST		→ CZE	
tooma	6	*přinést*	4
		Other solutions	2
Total	6		

TABLE 9. *Translations of the Estonian verb* viima *into Finnish and Czech*

→ FIN		→ CZE	
viedä	4	*odnést*	3
Other solutions	2	*odvát*	1
		přinést	1
		Other solutions	1
Total	6		

TABLE 10. *Translations of the Estonian verb* tooma *into Finnish and Czech*

→ FIN		→ CZE	
tuoda	11	*přinést*	5
kantaa	1	*přivézt*	3
Other solution	3	*vynést*	1
		nést + nosívat	2
		Other solutions	4
Total	15		

Occurrences of agentive deictic motion verbs are scarce in current material. Their translations are varied, since Czech requires different verbs for carrying objects from one location to another on foot (*odnést*, *přinést*, etc.), for accompanied motion on foot (*přivést*, *odvést*, *dovést*, *zavést*, etc.), and for motion in a vehicle (*zavézt*, *přivézt*, etc.), in which case it does not matter whether the translated object is a person or a thing. The Czech verbs thus express the manner of motion of both the mover and the translated object or person. The Estonian and Finnish *viima*/*viedä* are used both for moving objects and for accompanied motion, when someone is brought to a place by someone else. As for the Czech prefixes, *při-* tends to correlate with *tooma*/*tuoda* and *od-* with *viima*/*viedä*, but *vy-* can be used if the object is taken out of a three-dimensional space, and *za-* when a person is led somewhere, or a thing is delivered somewhere.

It should be noted that in literary translation, one cannot expect the same strategies to always be used in similar cases. The context or style may require an inventive, case-specific approach on the part of the translator. In many cases no motion verb at all is used in the translation. Moreover, observing simply how motion verbs are translated by motion verbs does not reveal much; the broader context has to be taken into consideration in the analysis of motion events and especially deictic motion verbs, where the context of a few sentences is usually important. The verb tallies given above are intended only to illustrate the scope of material that was analyzed. My goal was to observe tendencies in the translation of deictic motion verbs, identifying strategies used in Czech

translations from both Estonian and Finnish. This should neutralize to some degree the impact of the stylistic choices made by the author or translator. Next, I propose an explanation of these tendencies, based on the description of motion verbs given above.

5.2. Anchoring the direction of motion or positioning the viewpoint

Despite the overall differences in the Czech system of motion verbs compared to Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs, in use the result may appear quite similar. In (7) the verb *minema* is used, accompanied by an overt goal expression. The Finnish and Czech translations also utilize a motion verb (*mennä* in the Finnish) accompanied by an overt goal expression. In Czech the verb does not have a path prefix, but manner of motion and repeated motion is expressed by use of an indeterminate verb. The situation in (7) describes a father moving away from his home base, the narrator and the other characters.

(7)

EST   *Kunagi ta*   ***ei***   ***läinud***   *ühte*   *ja*   *samasse*
     never   s/he   NEG   go.PTCP.PST   one.ILL.SG   and   same:ILL.SG
     kohta.
     place.ILL.SG

FIN   *Koskaan hän*   ***ei***   ***mennyt***   *samaan*   *paikkaan.*
     never   s/he   NEG.3SG   go:PTCP.SG:PST   same:ILL.SG   place:ILL.SG

CZE   *Nikdy taky*   ***nejezdil***   *na*   *stejné*
     never   also   NEG:go_by_vehicle:INDET.PST.3SG.M   on   same:AC.SG
     místo.
     place:AC.SG

     'He never went to the same place as before.' (Luik 1985: 42, 1986: 55, 1989.[4])

The situation in (8) is described in the Estonian original and the Finnish translation by deictic motion verbs for both self-propelled and agentive

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4   The Czech translation by Vladimír Macura (1989) has not been published, therefore there is no page number of the example in the Czech translation.

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motion. In Czech the prefix *při-* is used in both cases. None of the three languages use a ground or path expression, apart from the prefix *při-*. The sentence and its context describe the experience of travelling by plane from the perspective of a passenger. The passenger is logically at the goal location of the Czech verbs prefixed with *při-*, and the motion is described from this location in Estonian and Finnish by the deictic motion verbs *tulema* and *tooma* / *tulla* and *tuoda*.

(8)

EST	***Tuleb***	*stjuardess*		*ja*	***toob***	*kanakoiva.*
	come:3SG	stewardess:NOM.SG		and	bring:3SG	chicken_leg:G.SG
FIN	***Tulee***	*lentoemäntä*		*ja*	***tuo***	*kanankoiven.*
	come:3SG	stewardess:NOM.SG		and	bring:3SG	chicken_leg:G.SG
CZE	***Přijde***	*letuška*		*a*	***přinese***	
	go_to:3SG	stewardess:NOM.SG		and	bring_to:3SG	
	kuřecí		*stehýnko.*			
	chicken:ADJ.AC.SG		leg:AC.SG			

'The stewardess will come and bring a chicken leg.' (Luik 1985: 80, 1986: 105, 1989.)

The use of Czech verbs prefixed by *při-* (mostly *přijít*) for the Estonian *tulema* and Finnish *tulla* is quite common. Of the 86 cases of the Finnish verb *tulla*, 32 were translated with *při-*, of which 20 cases were unaccompanied by another overt spatial expression. Of the 56 cases of the Estonian verb *tulema*, only 8 were translated with *při-*, of which 4 cases had no other overt spatial expression.[5]

The correspondence of Czech motion verbs with *při-* to the Estonian *tulema* and Finnish *tulla* is indirect, occurring when the contextual information in Czech concerning the goal location coincides with the location of the viewpoint in Estonian or Finnish. Czech verbs with *při-* can also correspond to the Finnish *mennä* or Estonian *minema*, though such examples were not common. In examples (9) and (10), the motion

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[5]   This difference between Finnish and Estonian is not due to the source language itself, but mainly attributable to the stylistic characteristics of the text (prosaic in the case of the Finnish detective story, poetic in the case of the Estonian novel) and the style of the translator.

in Finnish and Estonian is either not related to the position of the narrator or is directed away from the present location of the addressee, and it goes toward another place (the bank or home). In Czech this overtly specified location is the goal location for the motion expressed by *přijít*. The sentences also mention someone at the bank ('they, 3PL') or at home ('grandmother').

(9)

FIN *Tietysti hänet potkitaan ulos, jos hän*
certainly s/he:ACC kick:PASS.PRS out if s/he:NOM
menee *pankkiin* [---]
go:PRS.3SG bank:ILL.SG

EST *Muidugi saadetakse ta välja, kui ta*
certainly send:IMPS.PRS s/he:NOM out if s/he:NOM
läheb *panka* [---]
go:PRS.3SG bank:ILL.SG

CZE *Samozřejmě že ho vykopnou, když* ***přijde***
certainly that he:ACC kick_out:3PL when go_to:3SG
do banky, [---]
into bank:G:SG
'Of course they will kick him out if he goes to the bank.' (Waltari 1939: 150, 1994: 161, 2003: 140.)

(10)

EST *Kui sa kodu* ***lähad***, *näita*
when you home:ILL.SG go:2SG show:IMP.2SG
vanaemale kah, kuda sa sõidad!
grandmother:ALL.SG also how you ride:2SG

FIN *Kunhan* ***menet*** *kotiin, naytä*
when:ENCL go:2SG home:ILL.SG show:IMP.2SG
mummollekin miten sinä osaat ajaa!
grandmother:ALL.SG.ENCL how you can:2SG ride:A-INF

CZE *Až* ***přijdeš*** *domů, musíš ukázat*
when go_to:2SG home must:2SG show:INF
babičce, jak rajtuješ!
grandmother:DAT.SG how ride:2SG
'When you go home, show your grandma how you ride too!'
(Luik 1985: 66, 1986: 86, 1989.)

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It was also common for the Czech translation to anchor the motion to static surroundings, leaving the viewpoint of the Estonian or Finnish original implicit. In Czech, verb prefixes such as *vy-*, *v-*, *pře-* or *pro-* are used for situations such as leaving or entering a room or house, or crossing a room or yard. When these prefixed verbs are used in the Czech translation, relating the path to the ground is more important than the perspective from which the motion situation is viewed.

If we compare examples (11) and (12), we can see that the source part of the path is explicit in all three languages, but the differing viewpoints of the Finnish originals are not reflected in the Czech. In (11) the other characters are in the place the mover has left, while in (12) they are in the place that has been entered by the mover. (In (11) the policeman leaves behind him the people he had been communicating and collaborating with; in (12) the caretaker enters the place where two other characters already are).

(11)

FIN	*Mutta*	*konstaapeli*	*Ara*	**meni**	*jo*	*ovesta.*
	but	constable:NOM.SG	Ara	go:PST.3SG	already	door:ELA.SG
EST	*Kuid*	*kordnik*	*Ara*	**läks**	*juba*	*uksest*	*välja.*
	but	constable:NOM.SG	Ara	go:PST.3.SG	already	door:ELA.SG	out
CZE	*Ale to*	*už*	*strážník*		*Ara*	**vycházel**	
	but then	already	constable:NOM.SG.M		Ara	go_out.INDET.PST.3SG.M	

ze   *dveří.*
out of   door:GEN.PL

'But Constable Ara was already out the door.' (Waltari 1939: 12, 1994: 13, 2003: 12.)

In the Czech, both translations use the prefix *vy-*, expressing coming out of a three-dimensional space, and the preposition *z* + GEN 'out of'. The difference between the verb forms in (11) and (12), the indeterminate *vycházel* and the determinate *vyšel*, is that the leaving of the three-dimensional space is portrayed as continuous in (11) and as completed in (12).

(12)

FIN *Talonmies*   *itse*   **oli**   **tullut**
caretaker:NOM.SG   him/herself   be:PST.3SG   come:PST.PTCP
pihan   *puolelta.*
yard:GEN.SG   side

EST *Majahoidja*   *ise*   **oli**   **tulnud**
caretaker:NOM.SG   him/herself   be:PST.3SG   come:PST.PTCP
õue   *poolt.*
yard:GEN.SG   side

CZE *Z*   *domu*⁶   **vyšel**   *sám*   *domovník*
from   house:G.SG   go_out.PST.3.SG.M   himself   caretaker:NOM.SG.M
'The caretaker himself came out of the house.' (Waltari 1939: 6, 1994:6, 2003: 6.)

In examples (13) and (14), translated from the Estonian, the path crosses a room or yard. In (13) the narrator is moving to a new place accompanied by another person (*minema* is used), while in (14) the mover is coming to the narrator (*tulema* is used). In Czech the prefix *pře-* is used in both cases, indicating that the path crosses the ground.

(13)

EST **Läksime**   *läbi*   *köögi*   *kitsasse*   *hämarasse*
go:PST.1PL   through   kitchen:G.SG   narrow:ILL.SG   dim:ILL.SG
tuppa [---]
room:ILL.SG

FIN **Menimme**   *keittiön*   *kautta*   *kapeaan*   *hämärään*
go:PST.1PL   kitchen.G.SG   through   narrow:ILL.SG   dim:ILL.SG
huoneeseen [---]
room:ILL.SG

CZE **Přešly**   *jsme*   *kuchyní*   *do*   *těsného*
go_across:PST.PL.F   be.1PL   kitchen:INS.SG   into   narrow:G.SG
šerého   *pokojíku* [---]
dim:G.SG   room:G.SG
'We went through the kitchen to a dim narrow room [---]'
(Luik 1985: 65, 1986: 86, 1989.)

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⁶   The Czech translator has changed the ground expression. In the Finnish original, the mover is coming *from the direction where the yard is.* This expression is difficult to render in run-of-the-mill Czech, which may be why it has been changed to *out of the house.*

(14)

EST	*Juba*	***tuligi***		*Ilves*	*üle*	*õue.*
	already	come:PST.3SG.ENCL		Ilves	across	yard:G.SG
FIN	*Ilves*	***tulikin***		*jo*	*yli*	*pihan.*
	Ilves	come:PST.3SG.ENCL		already	across	yard:G.SG
CZE	*Ale*	*to*	*už*	***přecházel***		*dvůr.*
	But	then	already	go_across:INDET.PST.3SG.M		yard:AC.SG

'Ilves was already coming across the yard' (Luik 1985: 76, 1986: 100, 1989.)

The positioning of the viewpoint or the focus taken as a situation develops can of course be at least to some degree inferred from the context. The reader's attention can shift with a moving figure to a new location, or it can stay focused on the present location, with newcomers appearing there, depending on the development of the story. The reader's interpretation of an unspecified viewpoint may be similar to that of the manner of motion when the motion is expressed by *tulema*/*tulla* or *minema*/ *mennä*: it is usually possible to infer from the context whether the mover is coming or going on foot, in a vehicle, flying or swimming, for example, but it may be of little interest to the reader, as the linguistic expression does not allude to it. The reader might not pause to consider it.

5.3. Anchoring to a moving ground

In a few cases, the Czech translator anchored the motion at the opposite end of the path than the original. In the situation described in (15), the narrator sets out with her father, and when some path has been covered, the father realizes he has forgotten his watch. He walks back home, promising to come back to the narrator, who continues to walk in the original direction. In the example (15), the narrator expresses her concern that they will never make it anywhere.

(15)

EST	*Nüüd*	***läheb***	*ta*	*koju…*	*aga*	***tulema***		***hakates***
	now	go:3SG	s/he	home	but	come:MA:INF		start:GER.INE

jätab   *ehk*   *mootorrattasõiduprillid*   *maha.*
leave:3SG   perhaps   motorcycle_glasses:NOM.PL   PERF

FIN	*Nyt*	*hän*	***menee***	*kotiin…*		*mutta*	***tullessaan***
	now	s/he	go:3SG	home:ILL:SG		but	come:GER.INE.POSS3.SG

unohtaa   *ottaa*   *ajolasit*   *mukaan.*
forget:3SG   take:A-INF   motorcycle glasses:NOM.PL   with

CZE	*Teď*	***půjde***	*domů…*	*a*	*až*	*konečně*	***odejde,***
	Now	go:FUT.3SG	home	and	when	finally	go_from:3SG

zapomene   *si*   *doma*   *zase*   *třeba*   *své*
forget:3SG   REFL.DAT   at_home   again   for_example   his

motoristické   *brýle.*
motorcycle:AC.PL   glasses:AC.PL

'Now he will go home… but when coming back he will perhaps forget his motorcycle glasses.' (Luik 1985: 55, 1986: 73, 1989.)

In Czech the motion that is expressed in the original by *tulema* is anchored at 'home' – the prefix *od(e)-* anchors the motion to the source location – whereas in Estonian and Finnish it is anchored at the deictic center, the narrator's position. The reason for this may be that verb prefixes such as *při-*, *od-*, *vy-* and *v-* usually combine with a static landmark. The movement described by *tulema hakates* is toward a moving landmark, as the narrator continues moving ahead. Moreover, the form of the verb *tulema hakates* portrays the motion of the father toward the narrator as continuous; nothing is said about reaching her.[7]

Similarly, in the Czech translation in (16), a nominalized form of the verb *odejít* (*odchod*), with the prefix *od-*, is used. In the Finnish original the motion is toward and with the mover who is leaving the location.

(16)

FIN	*Palmu*	*otti*	*hattunsa*	*ja*	*viittasi*
	Palmu	take:PST.3SG	hat:NOM:POSS.3	and	beckon:PST.3SG

meidät   ***tulemaan.***
we.ACC   come

---

7   *Hakates* is the gerund form of the verb *hakkama* 'to start' in the inessive.

EST	*Siis*	*võttis*	*Palmu*	*kübara*	*ja*	*viipas*
	Then	take:PST.3SG	Palmu	hat	and	beckon:PST.3SG
	mind	*kaasa.*				
	me.PTV	with				
CZE	*Palmu*	*si*	*vzal*	*klobouk*	*a*	*dal*
	Palmu	REFL.DAT	take:PST:3SG:M	hat	and	give:PST.3SG.M
	nám	*znamení*	*k*	***odchodu.***		
	us:DAT	mark:AC.SG	to	departure:DAT.SG		

'Then Palmu took his hat and beckoned to us to go with him.'
(Waltari 1939: 130, 1994: 140, 2003: 122.)

5.4. Deictic adverbs in Czech translations

Another strategy in Czech translation is to use the deictic directional adverbs *sem* 'here' or *tam* 'there' to express the viewpoint explicitly. Example (17), which has already been discussed above in example (4), makes use of the Czech deictic adverbial *sem* 'here' to express that the viewpoint of the second clause is at the goal location, as the narrator is located at Tuudaku. The verb prefix *do-* expresses arrival "into" a location.

(17)

EST	*Kui*	*kodust*	*otse*	*üle*	*jõe,*	*üle*	*luha*
	when	home:ELA.SG	straight	across	river:G.SG	across	meadow:G.SG
	ja	*läbi*	*metsa*	***minna,***	*siis*	***tuleb***	*Tuudaku.*
	and	through	forest:G.SG	go:DA-INF	then	come:PRS.3SG	Tuudaku
FIN	*Kun*	***mennään***	*kotoa*	*suoraan*	*joen*	*yli*	
	when	go:PASS.PRS	home:ABL	straight	river:G.SG	across	
	ja	*halki*	*metsan,*	***tullaan***	*Tuudakuun*		
	and	through	forest:G.SG	come:PASS.PRS	Tuudaku:ILL.SG		
CZE	*Kdyby*	*se*	***šlo***	*od*	*nás*	*přes*	*řeku,*
	when	REFL.AC	go.PST.3SG	from	we:G.SG	across	river:AC.SG
	přes	*louky*	*a*	*přes*	*les,*	*tak*	*by*
	across	meadow:AC.PL	and	through	forest:AC.SG	then	would
	se	***došlo***	*až*	***sem.***			
	REFL.AC	go_in.PST.3SG	even	here			

'When one would go from home across the river, across the meadow and through the forest, then one would come here.' (Luik 1985: 60, 1986: 79, 1989.)

Deictic adverbs were used six times in the Czech translations: four times in the translation from the Finnish, and twice in the translation from the Estonian.

5.5. Deixis and the imperative

In motion scenes in direct speech using the imperative, the prefix *po-* is used in Czech for motion toward or with the speaker (a further distinction is then made with a prepositional phrase: *se mnou* 'with me', *ke mně* 'to me', or *za mnou* 'follow me'). In (18) the speaker, who is inside, invites another person to come in. In the Czech translation the deictic adverbial *sem* 'here' is used to reinforce the meaning of *pojď*.

(18)

EST   ***Tule***   *sina   ära   sissepoole,   ole   mulle*
      come:IMP.2SG   you   PF   inside:ALL   beIMP2SG   me:ALL
      seltsilisess!
      companion:TRA.SG

FIN   ***Tule***   *sinä   sisään,   olet   minulle   seuraksi!*
      come:IMP.2SG   you   inside:ILL   be:2SG   me:ALL   company:TRA.SG

CZE   ***Pojď***   *sem   ke   mně,   budeš   mi   dělat*
      go:IMP.2SG   here   to   me:LOC   be:FUT.2SG   me.DAT   do:INF
      společnost!
      company:AC.SG
      'Come here to me, keep me company.' (Luik 1985: 65, 1986: 86, 1989.)

If the imperative form with *po-* is in 1PL, as in (19), the only logical interpretation is motion alongside; in this case, it serves as a translation of the Estonian verb *minema*.

(19)

EST   ***Lähme***   *vaatama   tuppa   kah,   mes   toas   on,* [---]
      go:IMP.1PL   look:MA-INF   room:ILL.SG   also   what   room:INE.SG   be.3SG

FIN   ***Mennään***   *katsomaan   mitä   sisällä   on*
      go:PASS.PRS   look:MA-INF.ILL   what:PTV.SG   inside:ADE   be:3SG

CZE   ***Pojďme***   *radši   rovnou   do   světnice,   podíváme   se* [---]
      go:IMP.1PL   better   right   into   room:G.SG   look:FUT.1PL   REFL
      'Let's go inside and have a look [---]' (Luik 1985: 61, 1986: 80, 1989.)

When the unprefixed verb *jít* is used, as in (20), the direction is away from the speaker.

(20)
FIN	***Mene***	*kysymään,*	*jos*	*haluat.*		
	go:IMP.2SG	ask:MA-INF.ILL	if	want:2SG		
EST	***Mine***	*küsi,*	*kui*	*tahad.*		
	go:IMP.2SG	ask:IMP.2SG	if	want:2SG		
CZE	***Jdi***	*se*	*ho*	*zeptat,*	*jestli* *máš*	*chuť.*
	go:IMP.2SG	REFL.AC	he:G	ask:INF	if have:2SG	desire:AC.SG

'Go ask him, if you like.' (Waltari 1939: 36, 1994: 37, 2003: 33.)

The imperative *přijď/přijďte* (which did not appear in the material) would also code motion toward the speaker, but it differs semantically from *pojď/pojďte*. *Přijď ke mně* ('come to me') strongly implies coming to the speaker's home, whereas *pojď ke mně* ('come to me') implies only the speaker's current location. *Přijď za mnou* implies coming to a place where the speaker is static, while *pojď za mnou* indicates motion alongside the speaker. As has been observed above, *při-* anchors the motion to a static goal location. The imperative *pojď/pojďte* can be used with future reference when it expresses motion alongside the speaker, e.g., *pojď se mnou večer do kina* 'come with me to the cinema in the evening'. When the speaker is static, however, *pojď* would be used to request immediate action, in other words motion toward the speaker at coding time (for more on coding and reference time see Fillmore 1971). With future reference, the imperative *přijď/přijďte* would have to be used instead, e.g., *přijď večer* 'come to me / to my place in the evening'.

The prefix *po-* is thus different from path prefixes such as *při-* and *od-* because *po-* is also used for motion toward a moving ground (the speaker). The prefix *po-* in the imperative can be considered a deictic prefix. The difference between the Czech and the Finnish or Estonian in examples (18–20) stems from a different treatment of accompanied motion and whether the motion toward the speaker, to accompany him or her, is given priority over the motion with the speaker to some other place (see also Lewandowski 2014: 49, 51).

6. Conclusion

The perspective from which a motion situation is observed can be considered an integral part of the semantics of a text. This perspective can be foregrounded by using deictic motion verbs such as the Estonian *tulema* and Finnish *tulla*, or in Czech by deictic adverbs or the prefix *po-* in three imperative forms. The use of the verb *minema* in Estonian, *mennä* in Finnish and motion verbs with prefixes *při-* and *od-* in Czech can also be related to deixis and the perspective of the narrator, but specific contextual support is needed in these cases as these devices can also be used non-deictically. As has been mentioned, both Estonian and Finnish researchers consider *minema*/*mennä* to be deictic in contexts where it is contrasted to *tulema*/*tulla*. The Czech prefixes *při-* and *od-* anchor the direction of motion to a location specified in or understood from the context. Such a conclusion aligns with one of the central concepts of Wilkins and Hill (1995: 250), namely, that the deictic component of motion verbs is best described as a pragmatic component of meaning "with respect to use and contextualized understanding."

While Filipović (2007: 113–122) considers *do-*/*od-* to be deictic prefixes in Serbo-Croatian, in Czech it does not seem possible to select two forms (two prefixes, or a prefix contrasted with zero) to reflect the concepts of coming and going. The Czech prefixes *při-* and *od-* may anchor the direction of motion deictically if supported by context, but they can also be used non-deictically. But similarly to Filipović's (2007) description of Serbo-Croatian motion verb prefixes, Czech path prefixes do not all behave alike: *při-*, *od-* and *po-* have more flexibility to combine with prepositional phrases and are often used unaccompanied. In their unaccompanied use in particular, the interpretation of the goal or source location (in the case of *při-* and *od-*) depends on context and often calls for deictic interpretation.

We have also seen in the Czech translations that the perspective from which a motion situation is observed can be implicit. This is the case with the use of prefixes such as *vy-*, *v-*, *pře-*, and *pro-*, which relate the path to

the ground and thus anchor the direction of motion in respect to static surroundings. Czech path prefixes (*při-*, *od-*, *vy-*, *v-*, *do-* and others) are sensitive to the character of the ground. Apart from *po-*, Czech prefixes usually do not anchor motion to a moving ground. This results in differences in translation, as Estonian and Finnish deictic motion verbs can be used with a moving ground.

In my view, the contrastive analysis of fiction and its translations can reveal more about motion and deixis than simply contrasting example sentences with *come* and *go* or their counterparts in different languages in certain contexts, such as motion toward the speaker or addressee at the coding time or reference time, accompanied motion etc. Analyzing narration can enable us to observe different strategies for anchoring the direction of motion where speech act participants are not always prioritized. However, observing motion from the perspective of the speaker or narrator or another perspective he or she has chosen seems to be very common, and this perspective can be foregrounded using specific linguistic forms or by relying on contextual interpretation.

Abbreviations

AC	accusative case	GEN	genitive case
ADE	adessive case	GER	gerund
ADJ	adjective	ILL	illative case
ALL	allative case	IMP	imperative
COM	comitative case	IMPS	impersonal
DA-INF	*da*-infinitive	INDET	indeterminate
DAT	dative case	INE	inessive case
ELA	elative case	INF	infinitive
ENCL	enclitics	INS	instrumental case
F	feminine	LOC	locative case
FUT	future tense	M	masculine

MA-INF	*ma*-infinitive		PRS	present tense
NEG	negation, negative		PST	past tense
NOM	nominative case		PTCP	participle
PASS	passive		PTV	partitive case
PERF	perfective		REFL	reflexive
POSS	possessive suffix		TRA	translative case

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Deiktilised liikumisverbid ja liikumise suuna ankurdamine eesti, soome ja tšehhi keeles

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Artiklis võrreldakse translokatiivse liikumise situatsioone ehk konkreetset liikumist ühest kohast teise, mis on eesti või soome keeles väljendatud deiktilise liikumisverbiga (*tulema* ja *minema*, *tooma* ja *viima*, *tulla* ja *mennä*, *tuoda* ja *viedä*), ning sama situatsiooni väljendumist tšehhi keeles, kus samasuguseid deiktilisi liikumisverbe pole. Võrreldavad situatsioonid pärinevad iluskirjanduslikest tekstidest ja nende tõlgetest, millest üks tekst on originaalis eestikeelne (katkend Viivi Luige romaanist "Seitsmes rahukevad") ja teine on originaalis soomekeelne (Mika Waltari romaan "Kuka murhasi rouva Skrofin?").

Eesti ja soome keeles on kaks paari deiktilisi verbe. Verbe *tulema*/*minema* ja *tulla*/*mennä* kasutatakse, kui liikuja liigub ise. Verbid *tooma*/*viima* ja *tuoda*/*viedä* kirjeldavad agentiivset liikumist ehk situatsioone, kus liikuja kannab objekti või saadab teise isiku teise kohta. Nendest *tulema* ja *tooma*, *tulla* ja *tuoda* puhul liigutakse deiktilise keskuse poole ja/või narratiivi praeguse vaatepunkti poole, ehk sinna, kust situatsiooni on kirjeldatud. Verbidega *minema* ja *viima*, *mennä* ja *viedä* väljendatakse liikumist deiktilisest keskusest või narratiivi praegusest vaatepunktist eemale, kuigi neid kasutatakse ka mittedeiktiliselt.

Tšehhi keele liikumisverbide tüves väljendatakse harilikult liikumise viisi ja seda, kas liikumise situatsioon on ühekordne siirdumine ühest kohast teise või situatsioon on korduv või juhuslik, kuna sihtmärgi saavutamine pole oluline. Prefiksite abil, ning tihti ka koos prepositsioonifraasiga, võidakse kirjeldada liikumise teed. On olemas prefiksid, mis seovad liikumistee lähtepunkti või sihtkohaga, nendest *od-* ja *při-* kirjeldavad eemaldumist ja lähenemist teisele isikule, ja kui lauses ei ole mainitud lähtepunkti/sihtkohta, on see järeldatav kontekstist. Sellistel juhtudel on lähtepunkt/sihtkoht enamasti sama asukoht kui eestikeelse või soomekeelse lause deiktiline keskus või narratiivi tegelik vaatepunkt. Sellest tuleneb, et verbide *tulema*/*tulla* tõlkevasteks on tšehhi keeles tihti *přijít*. Ka verbide *minema*/*mennä* tõlge võib olla sama – *přijít* –, juhul kui tšehhikeelses lauses

on mainitud asukoht, kuhu liigutakse, ja mis pole sama nagu deiktiline keskus eesti- või soomekeelses lauses.

Tšehhikeelses tõlkes seostatakse liikumise suunda pigem staatilise ümbrusega juhtudel, kui originaalis on deiktiline verb: kasutatakse nt prefikseid *vy-* (kui väljutakse ruumist või majast) või *pře-* (kui minnakse üle maapinna). Siis on perspektiiv, kust liikumist vaadeldakse, ainult teksti implitsiitne osa. Paar korda on tõlkes tšehhi keelde kasutatud deiktilisi adverbe, mille abil on võimalik narratiivi perspektiivi edasi anda ja säilitada selle originaal. Spetsiifiline kontekst on imperatiiv, kus tšehhi keeles võidakse kasutada prefiksit *po-*, mis ainsa prefiksina võimaldab liikumistee sidumist liikuva sihtkohaga ja mille funktsioon on selgesti deiktiline.

Kokkuvõttena esitan, et perspektiivi, kust liikumine on vaadeldud, võib käsitleda teksti osana, kuigi see on erineval määral eksplitsiitselt väljendatud. Üsna otseselt väljendavad seda perspektiivi eesti või soome keeles *tulema/tulla*, tšehhi keeles saab seda väljendada imperatiivis prefiksiga *po-*. Teistel juhtudel sõltub selle perspektiivi väljendamine laiemast kontekstist, mida toetavad eesti või soome keeles *minema/mennä* ja tšehhi keeles liikumisverbid prefiksitega *při-* ja *od-*.

Võtmesõnad: liikumisverbid; deiksis; tõlkimine; kontrastiivanalüüs; eesti keel; soome keel; tšehhi keel

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