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SOME GRAMMATICAL INNOVATIONS
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN AND FINNISH:
FORCED GRAMMATICALIZATION*

Abstract. The term *forced grammaticalization* (*Zwangsgrammatikalisierung*) was introduced by Nicole Nau, concerning the inclusion of articles into the grammars and dictionaries of old written Latvian and Estonian. The development of the standard Estonian offers many similar examples. The present article will discuss some examples of forced grammaticalization in Estonian and Finnish, some background factors of forced grammaticalization, and possible further developments. The study will focus on forced grammaticalization in the old written language (Estonian articles and futures, Finnish futures) and in Standard Estonian in the 20th and 21st centuries (synthetic preterite, synthetic superlative, case forms of the infinitive, and complex verbs). In the case of both groups of innovations the result of the adopted grammatical innovation was based on the material of the same language without prior step-by-step development and a bridging context that could lead to grammaticalization. Also, forced de-grammaticalization will be discussed briefly — hindering the development of particle negation, verbal particles, adpositions, etc. during the puristic standardization of Finnish.

Keywords: Estonian, Finnish, forced grammaticalization, future, article, adposition, preterite, superlative, infinitive, back-formation, standard language.

1. Starting point: forced grammaticalization as abrupt innovation

As is known, grammaticalization, which could be contact-induced or not, is a gradual and step-by-step change process whereby a linguistic form or structure develops from a less grammaticalized entity into a more grammatical one. However, some cases have been reported where a more grammaticalized linguistic unit or structure was adopted than was permitted by the natural development of the linguistic material at a certain point. Nicole Nau pointed out this exceptional inflectional type when discussing the adoption of articles in Old Written Estonian and Latvian and used the term *Zwangsgrammatikalisierung* 'forced grammaticalization' for this phenomenon (see also Heine, Kuteva 2005 : 252). The ethnically German language

reformers of standard Estonian and Latvian adopted as articles the Estonian *see* 'this' and *üks* 'one' and the Latvian *tas* 'this' and *viens* 'one'. Thus, they adopted the polysemy of their native language German ('this' and the definite article, 'one' and the indefinite article), which represents the late stage of multi-stage grammaticalization while it is likely that among the native speakers of Estonian and Latvian the grammaticalization of articles may not have begun as yet. An example can be found in a dictionary published in 1705 where, similarly to German, Latvian nouns were presented with articles: *Der Mann — Tas Wihrs, Das Weib — Ta Seewa* (Nau 1995 : 122).

Evidently, it is far from being the only case in Estonian; the development of the standard/literary language offers many similar examples. Similarly, there is no good reason to assume that forced grammaticalization cannot be found in the development of Finno-Ugric languages. Probably this phenomenon is especially characteristic of missionary linguistics, the mechanisms and background of which await further study. The present article makes an attempt to begin the analysis of this phenomenon by discussing several examples of forced grammaticalization (or abrupt grammaticalization) in Estonian, some background factors of forced grammaticalization, and possible further developments. Also, some Finnish examples will be presented for the purpose of comparison with Estonian.

At first, the present study will focus on forced grammaticalization in the old written language: Estonian articles and futures, Finnish futures, and adpositional objects. The article will then focus on forced grammaticalization in Standard Estonian in the 20th and 21st centuries: synthetic preterite, synthetic superlative, case forms of the infinitive, and complex verbs. Also, forced de-grammaticalization will be discussed briefly — hindering the development of particle negation, verbal particles, adpositions, etc. during the puristic standardization of Finnish.

2. Forced grammaticalization in the old written language

In the 13th—19th centuries the Germans constituted the upper class and the Estonians the lower class in Estonia. The history of Standard Estonian started within the framework of missionary linguistics. The earliest printed texts made their appearance in the 16th century. In the 16th—19th centuries Standard Estonian was developed by German scholars. Estonian scholars took over at the end of the 19th century. In the period of Old Written Estonian (16th—18th c.) the language reformers and users were Germans for whom Estonian was a second language. German and Latin served as the main model for the description and use of Estonian; the majority of the texts in the old written language had been translated from German by sticking closely to the original. Thus, the Estonian standard as developed by Germans was based on their interlanguage (learner language), which revealed many features of an incompletely acquired language. Nevertheless, it was the prestigious variety of Estonian in society during this period. Presumably, Standard Estonian (and common Estonian that developed on its basis) emerged on the basis of a number of varieties: native Estonian dialects, non-native written and spoken Estonian varieties as used by Germans, a probable mixed language of communication in towns between Estonians and Germans, early religious spoken Estonian based on Latin

texts (developed by native Estonians) (Ross 2006). The first half of the 20th century witnessed an accelerated development of Standard Estonian, the language reform being one of the trends. The language reform was intended to fight against German-style features and to promote a Finnish-style more synthetic mode of expression.

Standard Finnish emerged roughly during same period in the sphere of Swedish influence; the reformers of Old Written Finnish were also mostly not native Finns but Swedes who used Finnish as a second language. Finland remained part of the Swedish kingdom until 1809; Swedish was the language of education, administration, culture, science, and literature, and most scholars were Swedes. Nevertheless, native speakers of Finnish had a somewhat more important role in the development of Standard Finnish also during its earlier stages. There were also some Finnish scholars who were bilingual, and the standard language was developed by both non-native and native speakers. Presumably, Finnish was the native language of Agricola, the founder of Standard Finnish. In Finland, too, Standard Finnish, which was used mostly as a religious language, made a great impact on the popular language (Kolehmainen, Nordlund 2011 : 11). The 19th century witnessed puristic language standardization, including avoidance of Swedishisms.

2.1. Old Written Estonian: articles, future constructions

2.1.1. Articles

Use of the articles in Old Written Estonian, especially in the 17th century, followed rather closely the German use, as shown by parallel Estonian and German sentences (1a), (1b).

(1a) *S e   rickus   ruchkitaxe kurjast piddades /*
 ART.DEF richness use:IMPS   evilly held:GER
 kus   ü x   Innimenne omma Süddame
 where ART.INDEF person   own heart.GEN
 s e l   Rickussel   annap
 ART.DEF:ADE richness:ADE gives

(1b) *D e r Reichthumb wird miszbrauchet im Beitz / wann e i n Mensch das Hertz an d e m Reichthumb hanget* (VKKK/Stahl 1641; Habicht 2001 : 32)
 'T h e richness is abused if a person gives his heart to richness'

Use of the articles became more creative over time; German-speaking reformers of the Estonian language tried to establish their own rules of article use and did not always copy article use in German texts. Some usage types are characteristic of different stages of article grammaticalization. The article as a grammatical category clearly existed in the written language of the 17th—18th centuries; more recent language development with an increased focus on mother tongue competence put an end to it. Contemporary Estonian reveals article uses that are typical of initial stages of article development (2), (3). One cannot rule out the possibility that such uses may have existed in native-speaker speech already in earlier centuries, and more recent language development has simply ignored them. One can observe similar processes also in

the development of Finnish (Laury, Nordlund, Pajusalu, Habicht 2001; Pajusalu 1997; Laury 1997; cf. Heine, Kuteva 2006; Kolehmainen, Nordlund 2011).

(2) *Seal   tundub et   n e i d   IT-SPETSE*
    there seems   that those:PRTV IT_specialists.PL.PRTV
    liigub   ikka   väga palju (Keeleveeb, forum)
    move.3SG indeed very many
    'There it seems that there are very many of t h e IT specialists, indeed'

(3) *Meie   juurde tuli   ü k s mees ja küsis   suitsu*
    we.GEN to   come:PST.3SG one   man and ask:PST.3SG smoke.PRTV
    'A man stepped up to us and asked for a cigarette'

2.1.2. Future constructions

Old Written Estonian reveals several future constructions. The most wide-spread construction is a BECOME-type, consisting of the auxiliary verb *saama* 'get, become' and the *ma*-infinitive[1] of the principal verb. This type is thought to have been modelled on the *werden*-future (4a), (4b). In standard High German the *werden*-future has been the predominant type of future since the 16th century; it was promoted especially by Luther (Metslang 1994; 1996b; cf. Dahl 2000).

(4a) *Mea   teije sedda   Issa   s a h - t e   p a l l u - m a*
     what:PRTV you.PL ART.DEF:PRTV father.PRTV become-2PL request-mINF
     münno Nimmi siddes/ sedda   s a h - p   temma
     I.GEN   name   in   this:PRTV become-3SG s/he
     teile   a n d - m a
     you.PL:ALL give-mINF
     'what you r e q u e s t from the Lord in my name, he w i l l g i v e it to you'

(4b) *Was ihr den Vater b i t t e n w e r d e t in meinem Namen/ w i r d er euch g e b e n* (VKKK/Stahl 1641; Habicht 2001 : 169).

However, 20th-century language reformers tried to discourage the use of the *saama*-future as a foreign influence. Nevertheless, the *saama*-future is used also in contemporary Estonian, but it not a regular grammatical tense form and combines mostly with the verb *olema* 'be' and other static verbs. The language of the 21st century has shown some increase in the use of the *saama*-future as a pure future without any additional meanings; the frequency of its use has somewhat increased in newspaper language; one can also find it in more free usage (5). Although *olema* is the predominant lexical verb, some other combinations occur, too, such as *saab toimuma* 'will happen', *saab mängima* 'will play' (6), *saab levima* 'will spread' (Prass 2011).

(5) *Uue   haridusministri   ametiaeg*
    new.GEN education_minister.GEN term

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[1] Non-finite forms of the Estonian verb include the *ma*-infinitive and the *da*-infinitive (e.g. *kirjutama* and *kirjutada*, both meaning 'to write' but with different usage contexts), also the *des*-form or gerund, e.g. *kirjutades* 'writing'. The *ma*-infinitive has several case forms; however, the material of the present article includes only the *ma*-marked form, which is the illative by function.

s a a - b   o l e - m a üks raskemaid   (blog 2007, www.google.com)
become-3SG be-mINF   one difficult:PL.PRTV
'The term of the new education minister w i l l   b e   among the most difficult ones'

(6) *Inglismaa   koondis   s a a - b   m ä n g i - m a*
England.GEN national_team become-3SG play-mINF
järgmises   koosseisus (EKKK, diary Eesti Päevaleht 2007; Prass 2011 : 23)
following:INE line-up:INE
'The English national team w i l l   p l a y in the following line-up'

The *saama*-future did not have a direct source construction in Estonian, which could have served as a basis for grammaticalization of the future. The original meaning of *saama* was 'come'; other Finnic languages reveal similar future forms based on the verb of motion, which is known in future typology as the COME-type (Dahl 2000). However, in Estonian *saama* with the infinitive occurs in a rather narrow sense 'succeed in overcoming a barrier', e.g. *saa-b põgene-ma* (get-3SG escape-mINF) 'manages to escape' (cf. Mägiste 1936; Metslang 1994). On the other hand, the lexical meaning of this verb (barrier + overcome) is too narrow in Estonian to serve as a basis for grammaticalization; nor has it left any traces in the use of the future. Thus, one cannot establish a link between the possible source structure and the future in Estonian; the future was adopted by the language in a ready-made form by skipping some stages of the grammaticalization chain. Figure 1 (Metslang 1997) shows the leap into a future auxiliary in the grammaticalization chain of the verb *saama*. Stage 1 represents the Finnic meaning 'come' of the verb. In stage 2 the *saama*-verb has, on the one hand, the meaning 'become', which serves as the source of the future use; however, in this meaning the *saama*-verb does not occur with the infinitive of another verb. On the other hand, the source construction with the infinitive, which is formally suitable for the expression of future and where *saama* means 'manage', is semantically unsuitable as a direct source of future. Stage 3 before grammaticalization into the future should represent a both formally and semantically suitable structure, where the verb meaning 'become' combines with the infinitive. However, this stage has not been observed in Estonian. The formation of the future skipped it and started immediately with stage 4. Absence of the source structure could be regarded as a cause why the use of the *saama*-future was slowly adopted by native speakers of Estonian.
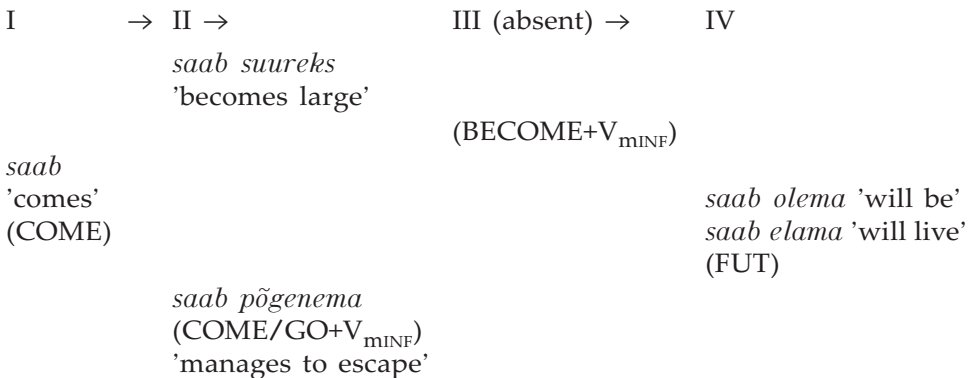
I   → II →   III (absent) →   IV
           saab suureks
           'becomes large'
                                   (BECOME+V$_{mINF}$)
saab
'comes'   *saab olema* 'will be'
(COME)   *saab elama* 'will live'
                                                        (FUT)
           saab põgenema
           (COME/GO+V$_{mINF}$)
           'manages to escape'

Figure 1. **Development stages of *saama*-future.**

In Old Written Estonian the verbs *tahtma* 'want' (7a), (7b) and *pidama* 'must' (8a), (8b) were also used as future auxiliaries (Habicht 2001; Kilgi 2010); their future use was probably inspired by the Low German *wollen* and *sollen* futures. Their background shows natural developments from modality to the future: WANT → FUTURE ja OBLIGATION → FUTURE (cf. Dahl 2000). In this case, too, one is dealing with a grammaticalization leap — a more abstract sense than the present use of the modal verbs was adopted by Old Written Estonian through translations (Habicht 2001 : 171—174).

(7a) *Öcht   t a h a - p   s a h - m a /   ninck se   Peh on*
     evening want-3SG become-mINF and   ART.DEF day is
     otza johnut   Ilmliko seisusse   siddes
     end go_down earthly status.GEN in
     'night i s f a l l i n g, and this day has come to an end in this world'

(7b) *Es   w i l   Abend   w e r d e n   vnd der Tag hat sich geneigt im Welt-*
     lichen Stande (VKKK/Stahl 1641)

(8a) *Ollet   sinna/   ke   p e a - p   t u l l e - m a*
     be:2SG you.SG who must-3SG come-mINF
     'you are the one who m u s t / w i l l c o me'

(8b) *Bistu/ der da   k o m m e n   s o l* (VKKK/Stahl 1641)

2.2. Old Written Finnish: future constructions, adpositional objects

2.2.1. Futures

Old Written Finnish, too, has the future auxiliaries *pitää* 'must' (*pitää tekemän*[2] 'must do') and *tahtoa* 'want' (*tahdon tehdä* 'I want to do'). In this case the future auxiliaries were modelled on the Swedish future constructions with *skola* 'intend' and *vilja* 'will'. However, even the construction *on tekevä* is an archaic and high-style future construction. It consists of the present form of the verb 'be' and the present participle of the main verb; thus, none of the components has a future meaning. In dialects this construction expresses obligation modality, but the future interpretation occurs only in the standard language. It started to develop into the future in the work of Agricola in the 16th century and was fixed in the 1642 translation of the Bible following the pattern of the source languages (Swedish *warder görande(s)* and Latin *facturus est*). Its frequent use in the expression *on tuleva* in Credo (cf. Latin *venturus est*) acted as a contributing factor to the adoption of the future interpretation (Itkonen-Kaila 1993). Thus, in this case the developers of the standard language initiated the shift OBLIGATION → FUTURE, which did not occur in the natural development of the language.
     Both in Estonian and Finnish, means of expressing the future were needed in the translation and writing of religious texts; all of them repre-

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[2] Finnish is characterized by richness of non-finite verb morphology, which includes, for example, the *ma*-infinitive (e.g. *tekemään* 'to do'), the *a*-infinitive (e.g. *tehdä* 'to do') that correspond to the Estonian *ma*- and *da*-infinitives). *tekemän* is an instructive form of the *ma*-infinitive.

sent abrupt innovations following the patterns of the contact languages. The Estonian *saama* and the Finnish *on tekevä* futures occur in the contemporary language; both of them have a restricted sphere of use and are characteristic of high style. At least the Estonian *saama*-future shows that some further development has begun. However, the question remains what caused the disappearance of the other innovative futures (with the auxiliaries 'must' and 'want'). For example, could it be explained by the fact that the support of the contact language disappeared; the leap was too long; rather, the synchronic variation of both the modal and the future meanings of the verb was interpreted as the original modal meaning (Kilgi 2010 : 179); they did not become common enough in texts; there were some other future auxiliaries (such as the Estonian *hakkama* 'begin' and the Finnish Finnish *tulla* 'come').

2.2.2. Adpositional objects

Also, extension of the use of the adpositions *perään* 'after' and *jälkeen* 'after' by means of polysemy copying, which was studied by Leena Kolehmainen (2010), could be regarded as an abrupt innovation. The spatial adpositions *nach* and *efter* had grammaticalized further into markers of grammatical relations in German and Swedish (*sich sehnen nach, vänta efter*). The same development occurred in Finnish during the translation of religious texts in the 16th century (i.e. through translations of the New Testament) — the adpositions *jälkeen* and *perään* 'after' were adopted as markers of grammatical relations, cf. (9a—9d) (examples in Kolehmainen 2010 : 118; 2 Cor. 9:14). Cf. the contemporary Finnish translation of the Bible (8e), where the postpositional construction has been replaced by the partitive *teitä* (you:PRTV).

(9a) Finnish: *Jotca mös ikeuöitzeuet teiden i e l k i n* (Agricola 1548)

(9b) German: *welche verlanget n a c h euch* (Luther 1534)

(9c) Swedish: *Hwilka ock lengta e f f t e r idher* (Gustav Vasa 1541)

(9d) English: *which long a f t e r you* (King James version 1611/1987)

(9e) Finnish: *ja ikävöivät t e i t ä* (Raamattu 1992)

One of the two adpositions *perään* acquired a new function and underwent further grammaticalization. During the intermediate puristic period efforts were made to redirect the usage back to the spatial meaning. In contemporary Finnish N$_{gen}$ *perään* 'after somebody/something' is a rather productive extension with *verba sentiendi* (*haaveilla* 'dream', *haikailla*, *ikävöidä* 'long') and *verba dicendi* (*huokailla* 'groan', *itkeä* 'cry', *voivotella* 'moan'), several adjectives, and nouns. On the other hand, the adposition *jälkeen* did not acquire this new function.

However, it could well be that the beginnings of the functional shift of the adposition *perään* from the sphere of spatial relations to that of government were present also language-internally; for this reason this change possibly cannot be regarded as a leap (Kolehmainen, Nordlund 2011).

Estonian, too, reveals similar government in *igatsema* 'to yearn', *ohkama* 'to sigh' *kellegi/millegi järele* ('after sb/sth'); the previously discussed

example in the Bible retained it (9f), and one might presume a similar functional shift.

(9f) *nad igatsevad teie j ä r e l e* (Piibel 2005)
    'they yearn for you'

2.3. Contact-induced abrupt innovations

The previously described processes are characterized by adoption of ready-made new forms, categories, functions and skipping of some stages of the traditional development chain. Abrupt innovation occurred in the course of use and development of the written/standard language while contact-induced and language-based changes are intertwined. As for mechanisms of contact-induced influence (Thomason 2001 : 129—156), one can find both unconscious negotiation of structural features between the contact languages and conscious decision-making. The innovations are initiated by an influential minority with respect to the native-speaker community, such as reformers and users of the literary language, translators, etc. Channels of dissemination of the innovations include the church (religious texts, the Bible, church services), school, media, fiction, etc. The innovations were introduced into a prestigious language variety: written/literary language, language of religion.

Thus, in the case of forced grammaticalization the general rule of contact-induced language change is valid — in the adopting language the speech form is less grammaticalized than in the source language. However, there need not be a step-by-step development along the natural path where a contact-induced language change adopts a pattern from another language in case it fits into a language, and it develops in accordance with the grammaticalization chain, which follows the language-internal development logic of the adopting language (cf. Heine, Kuteva 2006 : 284—289)

Similar abrupt grammaticalization, where the product of grammaticalization is adopted without going through the process, has been observed in other instances of strong contact-induced influence, too, for example, in pidgin languages (Siegel 2008 : 272—273) and some varieties of English (Ziegeler 2010). Pidgin languages create their grammars from the ready-made patterns and materials of the source language without step-by-step grammaticalization; gradual grammaticalization may occur only in creole languages. In all such cases — in the language development by missionaries, pidgins, and local varieties of a foreign language — the second language adopts categories and patterns that are grammaticized in one's native language (cf. Heine, Kuteva 2005 : 238—239). Also, in the case of missionary linguistics the change could have been transferred in favourable circumstances from the second language of non-native language developers to the native language of indigenous people[3].

Both in Estonia and Finland the early development of the standard language occurred in a situation of multilingualism. However, the development of Finnish witnessed some advantages of native-speaker competence, and for this reason contact-induced grammaticalization was probably more supported by the existing bridging contexts in Finnish (e.g. expres-

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[3] About the influence of the non-native usage to the native usage in the present-day Estonian see e.g. Ehala 2009.

sion of grammatical relations by means of the adposition *perään*); however, there is also a counterexample, e.g. the *on tekevä*-future.

Leena Kolehmainen and Taru Nordlund (2011) generalized the previous studies (especially Heine, Kuteva 2005) and brought out three types of contact-induced grammaticalization: 1) contact-induced 'ordinary' grammaticalization (a category in the donor language begins to develop on the basis of material in the adopting language without an example of the source structure in the donor language); 2) replica grammaticalization (grammaticalization from the same source structure as in the donor language; 3) apparent grammaticalization / polysemy copying / selective copying (ready-made adoption of the corresponding grammatical element or structure from the donor language). The last type corresponds to forced grammaticalization as understood in the present study. Kolehmainen and Nordlund also outlined a method for the analysis of the multiple causation of the grammaticalization by taking into account in addition to sociolinguistic factors the general regularities of grammaticalization, as well as the material of folklore and genetically related languages.

3. Development of Estonian by native linguists: reformed morphology and word-formation

The language reform, which took place in the first decades of the 20th century and was led by Johannes Aavik, introduced into Estonian apart from new vocabulary also several grammatical innovations, which were based on Estonian and tried to add Finnish-like syntheticity to Estonian.

3.1. The synthetic preterite forms in the conditional and the quotative

These forms were built on the basis of the existing analytic forms in the language. For example, the preterite synthetic conditional of the verb *tulema* 'come' is *tul-nu-ks* (come-PST-COND) 'if sb had come'; the usual past tense form is analytic: *ole-ks* (be-COND) *tul-nud* (come-PPTC); the synthetic quotative of the same verb is *tul-nu-vat* (come-PST-QUOT), cf. the analytic form *ole-vat* (be-QUOT) *tul-nud* (come-PPTC). Oskar Loorits proposed them in 1922 and substantiated his claims by elegance of form and the example of dialects and genetically related languages — they seem to reveal an 'instinctive drive' for synthetic forms (Loorits 1923 : 85—86). Contemporary grammars present the synthetic forms as parallel forms of their analytic counterparts. A study of conditional forms (Jõgi 2008) showed that the synthetic forms began to spread in the 1930s; their use then decreased in the 1950s (disapproval of the language reform movement); they started to spread again in the 1970s and 1990s. The contributing factors include frequency of use, generality of meaning, and shortness (*olnuks* 'would have been', *võinuks* 'could have', *saanuks* 'would have', *pidanuks* 'should have').

(10) *Minna   vabal   päeval   tööle   o l - n u - k s*
　　 go:dINF free:ADE day:ADE work:ALL be-PST-COND
　　 suurim narrus   (EKKK, FICT 1970)
　　 big:SUP foolishness
　　 'It w o u l d h a v e b e e n ultimate foolishness to go to work on a day off'

The form that started to spread in the written language has become increasingly common also in more free usage.

3.2. Case forms of the *ma*-infinitive

The language reform also proposed new case forms of the *ma*-infinitive — in addition to the old local and abessive forms, e.g. elative *tege-ma-st* (do-mINF-ELA) 'from doing', abessive *tege-ma-ta* (do-mINF-ABE) 'without doing', also a new translative form *tege-ma-ks* (do-mINF-TRNSL) 'in order to do'. The form expressing final adverbials was adopted, too. However, the other proposed forms, the comitative and the terminative of the same infinitive, the usage possibilities of which are syntactically more restricted in a sentence, did not gain ground (see Uuspõld 1980).

3.3. The synthetic superlative

The morphology of the adjective was supplemented with the short superlative with a new suffix -*im*: *suur-im* (great-SUP) 'greatest', *parim* 'best', *hoolsaim* 'most diligent'. The usual forms were analytic: *kõige suure-m* (most great-COMP) 'greatest'. Here the language reformers followed the model of the Finnish synthetic superlative with the suffix -*in*, e.g. *suur-in* (great-SUP) 'greatest'. The synthetic superlative, too, was put to use in Estonian. The study of language-reform innovations by Virve Raag (1999) documented the course of adoption of the synthetic superlative. By the end of the 1930s the short superlative had become common with words from which it was possible to build this form; the form was consistently used in the 1950s and 1960s; the 1990s witnessed a new rise. The short superlative is used with frequent words: *edukaim* 'the most successful', *parim* 'the best', *kiireim* 'the quickest', *noorim* 'the youngest', *vanim* 'the oldest', *suurim* 'the greatest'.

Thus, the forms suggested by the language reformers include those that started to take root gradually during the language reform and by now have been adopted to some extent not only in the written language but have become widespread. Virve Raag (1999) brought out the following reasons for the success of the forms initiated by the language reform:

- Temporal suitability — the initial period of standardization and stabilization of the standard language by native linguists; the suggestions were made before the publication of large-scale dictionaries;
- The long-time tradition of literary language did not hinder them;
- Aspiration to get rid of the German influence, the example of Finnish;
- The authoritative language bodies (the Academic Mother Tongue Society and the Language Committee of the Estonian Literary Society) supported them;
- Personalities of language reformers and managers, polemics and compromises attracted considerable attention;
- The suggestions of language reformers were put into practice by language managers and editors;
- Estonia is a small country; the innovations were promoted all over Estonia;
- Reception in society was favourable.

From the perspective of stylistics, the innovative forms made texts more graceful; however, grammar became more complicated. The use of the forms is limited; there is a division of labour between the parallel forms.

3.4. Back-formation of complex verbs

The adoption of complex verbs, formed by back-formation, is an innovation of the past decades, which started in technical language but is increasingly gaining ground also in the general language and more free usage. Estonian favours an analytic mode of expression whereby verb extensions carry a high informational load. For this reason, phrasal verbs or verb combinations with separable components are common, such as particle verbs *läbi lugema* 'read through', *ära viskama* 'throw away', *üle hindama* 'overestimate' (11) (see Hasselblatt 1990); expression verbs *nahka panema* 'eat up' (12), *jalga laskma* 'make off'; verb combinations with support verbs, e.g. *tööd tegema* 'do work' (13), *tantsu lööma* 'dance'.

(11) *Ta   h i n d a - s   oma võimeid   ü l e*
    s/he estimate-PST.3SG own ability:PL.PRTV over
    'S/he overestimated his abilities'

(12) *Keegi   o n mu piruka n a h k a p a n - n u d*
    someone is   my pie   skin.ILL   put-PPTC
    'Someone has eaten up my pie'

(13) *Me   t e g - i - m e hilisõhtuni   t ö ö - d*
    we   do-PST-1PL   late_evening:TRM work-PRTV
    'We worked until late'

During the past decades language managers have started to introduce into technical language and then into general languages compound verbs the components of which are inseparable: *õhkjahutama* 'to air-dry', *helisalvestama* 'to sound-record', *sügavkündma* 'to deep-plough', *pealtharima* 'lit. to on-cultivate', *kiirparandama* 'lit. to quick-repair', *ülehindama* 'to overestimate', *iluravima* 'lit. to beauty-treat'. The introduction of complex verbs into Estonian is a result of intentional language development, which is different from Finnish where they emerged in the course of natural development. Back-formation of complex verbs from hypothetical deverbal compound nouns as a word-formation method is on the rise (Vare 2003), e.g. *õhk-jahut-us* (air-dry-N$_s$) 'air-drying' > *õhk-jahuta-ma* (air-dry-mINF) 'to air-dry', *sügav-künd* (deep-plough) 'deep ploughing' > *sügav-künd-ma* (deep-plough-mINF) 'to deep-plough', *rull-uisuta-mine* (roller-skate-N$_s$) 'roller-skating' > *rull-uisuta-ma* (roller-skate-mINF) 'to roller-skate'. Where the predicate of the sentence is a complex verb, it increases the informational load of the verb and changes the word order and rhythm of the sentence (14b), cf. the analytic construction with the support verb (14a).

(14a) *Traktor t e e - b põllu-l   s ü g a v k ü n d i*
     tractor   do-PRS field-ADE deep-plough.PRTV
     'The tractor is doing deep-ploughing in the field'

(14b) *Traktor s ü g a v k ü n n a - b põldu*
     tractor   deep-plough-PRS   field.PRTV
     'The tractor is deep-ploughing the field'

Compound verbs spread with some reluctance in the general language; they emerged first and foremost in those cases where no suitable analytic synonym was available (the preferred choices being analytic combinations, such as *sügavkündi tegema* 'to do deep ploughing', *iluravi tegema* 'to do beauty treatment'). Nevertheless, one can observe gradual adoption of several complex verbs, also in more free usage (Toome 2011), which is a signal of an ongoing typological change.

(15) *Grilli-me, kai-me niisama ringi,   vb   r u l l u i s u t a - m e,*
    grill-1PL   go-1PL just   around perhaps roller_skate-1PL
    vaata-me randa,   tee-me pilte   jne
    look-1PL beach.PRTV do-1pl picture.PL.PRTV and_so_on
    (www.google.com, blog 2010; Toome 2011 : 94)
    'We grill, walk just around, perhaps roller-skate, have a look at the beach, take some pictures, and so on'

4. Forced de-grammaticalization

One can find also some counterexamples in the development of languages — attempts to hinder the ongoing developments. The motivation is mostly to preserve the peculiarity of a language. The Estonian language reform made efforts to revitalize the instructive and to prefer to the older, fusive forms of the partitive plural and the illative singular where parallel forms existed. Similarly to Estonian, the Finnish language development, which is characterized by puristic tendencies, tried to redirect the language from the presumably foreign-like analyticity to syntheticity (cf. Kolehmainen, Nordlund 2011 : 17). The language developers discouraged the development of the article and made efforts to decrease the use of function words, such as adpositions and verb prefixes, and to return to the locative use of the postposition *perään*, etc. Lea Laitinen (2004) showed how the Finnish puristic language management tried to stop or redirect some ongoing changes in the language in the 19th century. A successful undertaking was the retention of the negative auxiliary verb.

The usage of the negation verb varied; it was developing into a particle — a process that had already occurred earlier in Estonian. Finnish texts representing different centuries show that agreement of the negative auxiliary verb with the subject was on the decline; rather, the personal forms of the negative auxiliary tended to vary freely, e.g. *ei* NEG:3SG + *mina* 'I', *en* NEG:1SG + *me* 'we', *et* NEG:2SG + *te* 'you:PL', *ei* NEG:3SG + *he* 'they'. Usage of contemporary Common Finnish shows that the same process is underway once again. The other processes that were regarded as undesirable continue their existence in the language, too.

5. Conclusions and some further issues

The study focused on two groups of innovations, which were introduced into the standard language in the course of its development in a ready-made form without previous step-by-step evolutionary development.

The old written language was developed mostly by people who used it as a second language. They brought a grammaticalization product into

the adopting language, which had occurred in the contact language, by copying polysemy in the contact language between the grammaticalized and pre-grammaticalization interpretations of a speech form. Apparently, Finnish witnessed also some more gradual language-internal developments because of the near-native command of the language by language reformers. The previously presented examples of the old written language reveal skipping of some probable stages in the grammaticalization chain.

However, the activities of the native-speaking language reformers in the 20th—21st centuries have focused on intentional introduction of innovations without considering any specific development chain. On the one hand, the introduction of complex verbs into contemporary Estonian by native-speaking language managers could be regarded as forced introduction of a possible change. On the other hand, the language reform of the standard language a century ago included some abrupt innovations for which no natural development path can be observed in the contemporary language. Such phenomena include synthetic preterite forms of the conditional and the quotative, the synthetic superlative, and case forms of the infinitive. In such cases one cannot regard them as omission of development stages of skipping them; rather, language development depends on subjective creativity of the language reformers.

In the case of both groups of innovations t h e r e s u l t o f t h e a d o p t e d g r a m m a t i c a l i n n o v a t i o n w a s b a s e d o n t h e m a t e r i a l o f t h e s a m e l a n g u a g e w i t h o u t p r i o r s t e p - b y - s t e p d e v e l o p m e n t a n d a b r i d g i n g c o n t e x t t h a t c o u l d l e a d t o g r a m m a t i c a l i z a t i o n **.** The previous statement could be regarded as a refined definition of forced grammaticalization, which covers the two groups of changes in Estonian and Finnish, as well as instances of abrupt grammaticalization in pidgin languages and local varieties of internationally used languages.

It seems that factors that generally favour innovations (Metslang 1996; see also Aikhenvald 2006) are valid also in the cases under discussion. Language-internal factors contributing to the adoption of innovations include, for example, presence of source material: grammaticalization basis (e.g. in the case of articles) or association basis (e.g. the *saama*-future in Estonian), structural suitability for paradigmatics or syntagmatics (which is apparently low in Estonian complex verbs), usage potential, compatibility with the structural tendencies of a language. On the other hand, Estonian reveals a conflict between the tendency to analyticity, which is characteristic of Estonian, and intentional syntheticity promoted by the language reformers and standardizers of the 20th and 21st centuries.

If a device fits into a language, language-external circumstances may favour its adoption. Here one could think of expression needs (e.g. in the case of the future auxiliaries), impact or example of contact languages, readiness for innovation in society, language attitudes (prestige of some language variety, purism, intentional syntheticity in language management), as well as active campaigning and use.

An innovation adopted by abrupt grammaticalization may remain rather stable (grammaticalized to a small degree, e.g. the Finnish *on tekevä* -future), or it may sooner or later start a life of its own and be subject to further gradual grammaticalization (the Estonian *saama*-future). The hindering of

change (e.g. in the case of the Finnish negative auxiliary verb and Estonian articles) will be temporary if the essence of the language remains the same. It seems that both abrupt grammaticalization and forced de-grammatical-ization are subjective and occur in the written/standard language. In the case of more widespread use in the standard language, the innovation may reach more free usage. The spread of these changes to the common language could even shift the typological nature of languages by making both of them increasingly synthetic (at first Finnish and then Estonian).

The emergence of forced innovations and their further destiny poses a number of issues that call for future research. How long must a leap over grammaticalization stages be in order to be regarded as too long? How do innovations come into being? Will they stay? Will they merge with natural developments? Under what conditions will innovations spread to other registers? What is it that supports or hinders permanence? Does abrupt grammaticalization occur also in other registers; does the Internet age contribute to inter-register spread? In order to learn more about forced grammaticalization, one has to follow the contemporary developments and to trace as much as possible the centuries-old processes.

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, ABE — abessive. ADE — adessive, ALL — allative, ART — article, COMP — comparative, COND — conditional, DEF — definite, **d**INF — *da*-infini-tive, ELA — elative, FICT — fiction, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, GER — gerund, ILL — illative, IMPS — impersonal, INDEF — indefinite, INE — inessive, **m**INF — *ma*-infinitive, N — noun, NEG — negation, PL — plural, PPTC — past participle, PRTV — partitive, PST — past, QUOT — quotative, SG — singular, SUP — superlative, SX — suffix, TRM — terminative, TRNSL — translative, V — verb.

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ХЕЛЛЕ МЕТСЛАНГ (Тарту)

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИЕ ИННОВАЦИИ В РАЗВИТИИ ЭСТОНСКОГО И ФИНСКОГО ЯЗЫКОВ: ФОРСИРОВАННАЯ ГРАММАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЯ

Под форсированной (принудительной) грамматикализацией в статье понимается воспринимаемая языком в готовом виде грамматическая инновация, которая базируется на материале самого языка, но не формировалась путем последовательной грамматикализации. Лингвисты в основном иностранного происхождения, которые занимались развитием как эстонского старого литературного языка, так и финского, привносили в них, минуя этапы естественного развития, новые категории и формы, например, конструкции будущего времени (футурума). Лингвисты-эстонцы, развивая эстонский язык нового времени, создавали новые формы (синтетический претерит, синтетический суперлатив) и внедряли образование сложных глаголов возвратным путем. Встречается и принудительная деграмматикализация: лингвисты отказываются от формирующегося в языке изменения (например, переход финского отрицательного глагола в категорию частиц). В обоих языках встречаются примеры того, что нововведение как результат принудительной грамматикализации со временем утрачивается языком, продолжает стабильно существовать в нем или начинает далее развиваться. Механизмы, условия и последствия принудительной грамматикализации нуждаются в обстоятельном изучении.