THE ESTONIAN *JÄÄDA* AND LIVONIAN *ĪEDÕ*: EXPRESSIONS OF REMAIN AND CHANGE IN VARIOUS GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Miina Norvik and Külli Prillop
University of Tartu

Abstract. The present article studies the usage of the Estonian verb *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* in various grammatical constructions. Although in both languages they can be attested to convey REMAIN and CHANGE, there are differences in their use depending on the construction. Apart from Estonian, the Livonian *īedõ* is shown to function as a general change-of-state predicate. Whereas previously the Estonian *jääda* has been associated with negative change and continuation, this study demonstrates that, in more general terms, one could speak about unexpectedness or difference from the majority, and remaining in an activity or state for some time. The linguistic data originates from various corpora, in the case of Livonian also from collections of texts. In order to investigate the historical development, the Old Written Estonian data was also included in the study. We propose that originally the verb expressed 'remain, stay behind'. The corresponding meaning is present in most of the constructions expressing location; in Old Written Estonian such instances constituted ¾ of all examples.

Keywords: change-of-state, continuation, grammatical constructions, Livonian, Estonian, Old Written Estonian

1. Introduction

For the present article, we studied the semantic functions and syntactic behaviour of the Estonian verb *jääda*[1] and its Livonian cognate *īedõ*. The Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* have counterparts in all the Finnic languages, e.g. Finnish *jäädä*, Votic *jäävvä*, Olonets Karelian *jiäjä*, Veps *jäda*, and Ludic *d'iädä*. The Proto-Finnic root

---

1 Finnic languages make a distinction between M-infinitives and T-infinitives (see Laanest 1975). Although in Estonian the M-infinitive is used as the base form of verbs, here the T-infinitive is preferred because it is more comparable with Livonian and other Finnic languages that use the T-infinitive as the base form.

jā̈- can be regarded as originating from the Proto-Indo-Iranian root *ǵeǵhē-* (see ETY). Typically, the abovementioned Finnic verbs are attested to mean 'remain, stay', 'remain, stay behind' (example 1), or 'become' (2).

(1)   a.   Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 70)
          perīmīez   **īend**   **kuodāj**
          master   ĪE:APP   at_home

      b.   Estonian (p.k. – personal knowledge)
          peremees   **jäänud**   **koju**
          master   JÄÄ:APP   at_home

          'The master stayed at home.'

(2)   a.   Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 14)
          läpš   **īeb**   **rujāks**
          child   ĪE:3SG   ill:TRA

      b.   Estonian (p.k.)
          laps   **jääb**   **haigeks**
          child   JÄÄ:3SG   ill:TRA

          'The child will become ill.'

The Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* have been previously studied, but their usage in the two cognate languages has not been compared systematically, and thus there is a need for clarifications and (further) discussion. Pajusalu and Tragel (2007) analysed change-of-state predicates in Estonian and argued that the Estonian *jääda* primarily conveys continuation ('remain') and change ('become'), provided that the change is negative. They associated negativity with three domains: (i) a decrease in quantity; (ii) an activity or purpose that becomes more passive; (iii) the deterioration of a state (as judged by the the participant undergoing a change). The domains were shown to intertwine, e.g. falling ill (2) was associated with all three negative domains (for more detail, see Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 306). In turn, positivity was seen as an increase in quantity, an activity that becomes more active, and the improvement of a state. Norvik (2014) discussed change-of-state expressions in Livonian and concluded that the Livonian *īedõ* functions as a general change-of-state predicate, and can be used to convey negative (2a) and positive (3) change. Apart from Livonian, the Estonian *terveks jääda* only expresses 'remain healthy' (4); the reading 'get well' (as in Livonian example 3) is not possible.

(3) Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 41)

ta kakš nädīļt vȯ'ļ ma'ggõn,

si'z	*ku*	*ta*	***ei***	***tierrõks***
then	when	s/he	ĪE:PST.3SG	healthy:TRA

'It was only after s/he had been lying down for two weeks before s/he became well.'

(4) Estonian (etTenTen [www.sebe.ee])

sõiduautot	*juhtinud*	*inimene*	***jäi***	*avariis*
car:PRT	drive:APP	person	JÄÄ:PST.3SG	accident:INE

terveks
healthy:TRA

'The driver of the passenger vehicle was not injured (lit. 'remained healthy') in the accident.'

The main concepts discussed in this article are CHANGE and REMAIN. Following Frawley (1992: 190), change can be defined as a transition from one state to another or crossing the boundary between two states. The main attention is given to the new state (Radden and Dirven 2007: 274), or as put by Creissels (2014: 610) "noun phrases in [a] transformative role refer to the final state of a participant undergoing a transformation". For instance, in (2) the final state is predicted to be that of being ill, and in (3) and (4) being healthy. Creissels considers transformatives (X becomes Y) as contextual variants of the equatives (X is Y).

The concept REMAIN is associated with instances where a particular situation continues to persist. Typically the subject remains in a certain location, situation, or state; see (1) and (4). Those instances of 'remain' that refer to a location (as in 1), especially enable a reading of 'remain, stay behind'. Furthermore, the period of remaining in a state can be specified by temporal adverbs (one could add e.g. 'for five minutes', or 'for a week'). However, 'remain' can also be connected to 'become'. As illustrated by Huumo (2007: 87) using the Finnish *jäädä*, instances such as (1) express *fictive change*: the entity remains in a certain location and thus rejects the alternative, which would be to leave the location (for a general background of fictive change, see Talmy 2000: 101). In the current paper, the corresponding cases are still referred to as REMAIN to distinguish them from more clear-cut instances of CHANGE. As will be shown however, it is often the case that readings of 'remain' and 'become' are both relevant, because one can remain in a steady state after a change has occurred.

With some reservations, the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* are in the current paper associated with change, even if the participant does not undergo any change, but the circumstances surrounding them change. Example (5) is one such case: the size of the apartment does not actually change (although it is presented as such), rather the family has grown.

(5)   Estonian (etTenTen [elamugrupp.ee])
      et maja ostab reeglina suurem pere siis,
      *kui   korter   **on   väikseks   jäänud***
      when   apartment   be.3SG   small:TRA   JÄÄ:APP
      'A bigger family usually buys an house when their old apartment has become small.'

As demonstrated in (1) through (5), usage of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* can be associated with various meanings and constructional polysemy; (3) and (4) also point to differences between the uses of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ*. Regarding this, our aim was to compare these cognate verbs by discussing their various meanings and the similarities/differences in their use. For this purpose, we considered their syntactic behaviour and made use of the distinction between positivity and negativity situation, but we will show that the distinction between usual/expected and unusual/unexpected situation could be of primary importance. We also comment on the possible development of the various usages. Occasionally parallels will be drawn with the usage and development of the corresponding verb in Finnish and other Circum-Baltic contact languages (e.g. German, Latvian, Russian, and Swedish).

The linguistic material analysed in this article originates from: (i) the etTenTen corpus –which includes contemporary Estonian; (ii) the Corpus of Old Written Estonian (COWE) – mainly representative of 17th century Estonian; (iii) various sources of Livonian – in general the sources represent 20th century language. Old Written Estonian was included in the study so that the historical development of *jääda* could be investigated. As Estonian and Livonian are closely related languages, the Old Written Estonian data was assumed to show us something about the development of the Livonian *īedõ*.

2. Verbs expressing CHANGE and REMAIN in a broader context

2.1. Semantic counterparts in the neighbouring Circum-Baltic languages

In other Circum-Baltic languages one also finds examples of verbs expressing both 'remain' and 'become', e.g. the German *bleiben* (see examples 6a and 6b, respectively), Latvian *palikt* (see 7a and 7b, respectively), Russian *ostat'sja*, Polish *zostać*, and Swedish *bli*. However, depending on the language, there are various restrictions on their use. For instance, use of the Latvian *palikt* to mean 'become' is common in spoken Latvian; see example (7b) that originates from a witness report in a newspaper. In literary Latvian, it is advised to use the verb *kļūt* 'become' instead; and the verb *palikt* only to mean 'remain'. For comparison, a German would use the future copula/ auxiliary *werden* to express a change in such cases as in (7b) (for more information, see Schlücker 2004).

(6)   German (Schlücker 2004: 260–261)

   a. *Alle setzen sich hin,*

   nur *Peter*   **blieb**   **stehen**.
   only Peter   remain.PST.3SG   stand:INF

   'Everybody sat down but Peter remained standing.'

   b. *Plötzlich* **blieb**   *Peter*   **stehen**.
   suddenly   remain.PST.3SG   Peter   stand:INF

   'Suddenly Peter stopped.'

(7)   Latvian (Zvejnieks 2016)

   a. *Kaut arī kūrorta ēka bija netīra,*

   ūdens   *ap*   *to*   *tomēr*   **palika**   **tīrs**.
   water.M   around   this.ACC   still   remain:PST.3SG   clean.M

   'Although the building was dirty, the water surrounding it remained clean.'

   b. *"Pēc raksta avīzē pagāja divas vai trīs dienas,*

   un   *pagalms*   **palika**   **tīrs",**   *apliecināja ...*
   and   yard.M   remain:PST.3SG   clean.M   confirm:PST.3SG

   '"After the article appeared in the newspaper, two or three days passed and the yard was clean (lit. 'the yard became clean')", confirmed … .'

The etymological dictionaries of the Germanic languages usually give 'remain', 'stick', and 'cling to something' as the original meanings of *bleiben*, *bli*, and related verbs (see HKW, EWN); the meaning 'become' is regarded as a later development (e.g. see Hellquist 1993 for the Swedish *bli*). However, as mentioned earlier (see Section 1) instances of REMAIN could be associated with fictive change, which means that the meaning 'become' was probably already present originally. As Schlücker (2004) pointed out, the Gothic **leiben* and **bileiben* also originally meant 'remain, stay behind' and thus could be associated with change-of-state rather than a steady state. As she puts it, "if somebody or something remains behind this presupposes that there are other entities which in contrast do not take part in the state asserted but which realise a state contrary to that state" (Schlücker 2004: 261). That the German *bleiben* is used with *sein* (not *haben*) as an auxiliary is further evidence of the veracity of this claim: i.e. in German, *sein* is used with intransitive eventive verbs, whereas *haben* is used with verbs denoting a state or process (*ibid.*). The meanings 'remain' and 'become' have also been shown to be historically connected in the case of other Indo-European languages, e.g. for the Polish *zostać*, see Wiemer (2004: 298–299). In this article, it will be argued that the meaning 'remain, stay behind', which in essence is connected to change, could also be the original meaning of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ*.

2.2. Syntactic behaviour

The underlying constructions in various Circum-Baltic languages reveal differences in the marking of their constituents. For example:

i.   Whereas the Estonian and Livonian examples (2) to (5) contain the predicative adjective in the translative case, the Latvian examples (7a) and (7b) are in the nominative case.
ii.   In Latvian, for expressing a profession the adpositional construction with *par* is used (8) (Kalnača 2013: 638), in Swedish, the predicative nominal constituent remains in the nominative case (9). (The Estonian and Livonian counterparts are discussed in Section 3.2.3)
iii. The Russian verb *ostat'sja* can take the instrumental form with predicative adjectives and predicative nominals; see examples (10a) and (10b), respectively.

(8)   Latvian (Filmas 2011)
*Beigu   beigās   viņš   **palika***   **par   skolotāju***
finally   he   become:PST.3SG   PP   teacher:ACC

un   samierinājās.
and   accept:REFL.PST.3SG

'Finally he became a teacher and accepted this.'

(9)   Swedish (Holmes and Hinchliffe 2003: 453)
*han   **blev**   **president***
he   become.PST.3SG   president

'He became the president.'

(10)   Russian (p.k.)
a.   *my   **ostalis'**   **svobodnymi***
we   remain:PST.PFV.1PL   free:PL.INSTR

'We remained free.'

b.   *my   **ostalis'**   **druz'jami***
we   remain:PST.PFV.1PL   friend:PL.INSTR

'We remained friends.'

In Russian, the instrumental case is associated with expressing temporary and non-inherent states (e.g. professions, periods of one's lifetime); it is often used to express a change-of-state. The nominative case in Russian, is typically used for permanent and inherent states (e.g. BEING, IDENITY). However, there is some variation in the use of the instrumental and nominative cases conveying future time reference (Clancy 2010: 19, 98–99). Whereas Stassen (2001) also applied the distinction between permanent, inherent states (expressed by the nominative) and temporary, non-inherent states (expressed by the translative case) on Estonian, Erelt and Metslang (2003: 167) maintained that in Estonian one could speak about "a more general opposition – prototypical vs. non-prototypical encoding of non-verbal predication". For instance, they presented examples (11a) and (11b) to claim that although both are possible, the nominative case in (11b) can be regarded as the non-marked option and the translative as its marked counterpart. As in Russian, the prototypical function of the translative (similar to the instrumental case) is to express the result of change (*ibid.*).

(11)   Estonian (Erelt and Metslang 2003: 167)
  a. *Kaja*   **on**   *Eesti*   ***suursaadikuks***   *Inglismaal.*
     Kaja   be.3SG   Estonia:GEN   ambassador:TRA   England:ADE

  b. *Kaja*   **on**   *Eesti*   ***suursaadik***   *Inglismaal.*
     Kaja   be.3SG   Estonia:GEN   ambassador   England:ADE

Ajanki (2014) states that the Finno-Ugric translative suffix **kse* originally functioned as a functive, i.e. conveyed the meaning that a participant appears as someone or something, and its use to express change was a later development. The Erzya Mordvin examples in (12) illustrate both usages (Creissels 2014: 624). Regarding instances of REMAIN in Estonian (4) and Livonian, but also the Russian examples in (10), one could ask whether the use of the translative case (or in Russian, the instrumental case) could be also associated with a functive reading[2]. Although this could be possible, it is more plausible that the presence of fictive change determines the choice of translative/instrumental.

(12)   Erzya Mordvin (Grünthal 2003: 185)
  a. *Son*   ***roboti***   ***vračoks.***
     s/he   work.3SG   doctor:TRA
     'S/he works as a doctor.'

  b. *Ekšeś*   ***vel'avtś***   ***kel'meks.***
     weather.DEF   change.REFL.PASS.PST   cold:TRA
     'The weather became cold.'

As follows, the aim is to study the semantic functions and syntactic behaviour of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ*. Occasionally parallels will be drawn with the usage of corresponding verbs in the Circum-Baltic languages mentioned above.

---

2   Although a functive reading could also be associated with the essive case (see Ajanki 2014), uses of the essive are not discussed in the current paper, as neither the Estonian *jääda* nor the Livonian *īedõ* can be combined with it. For use of the essive in Livonian, see Viitso (2016); for use of the essive in Estonian, see Metslang and Lindström (2017).

3. The Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ*: similarities and differences in their semantics and syntax

3.1. Overview of the data sets

Data sets were compiled separately for contemporary Estonian, Old Written Estonian, and Livonian.

The linguistic data on contemporary Estonian mainly originated from the etTenTen corpus. To estimate the frequencies of constructions containing *jääda*, we took a random sample consisting of 500 sentences and calculated 95% confidence intervals for the observed frequencies. For analysing semantic functions, we searched for additional examples in the corpora, as otherwise there was not enough data to describe some less frequent constructions and their usages.

The data on Old Written Estonian (OWE) came from the Corpus of Old Written Estonian (COWE) and more precisely from the following sources of Old Written Northern Estonian: Wanradt-Koell's catechism (1535); Georg Müller's sermons (1600–1608); Heinrich Stahl's *Hand-vnd Haußbuch* (1632–1638); and *Leyen Spiegel* (1641–1649). In these sources, the verb *jääda* occurs a total of 415 times. More recent sources were considered only when a particular construction was not present in these sources. The frequencies of OWE constructions are given in percentages, as the example sentences collected did not constitute a random sample. Moreover, it is important to note that the authors of these sources were Germans whose level of Estonian varied. For instance, Müller's knowledge of Estonian is generally considered better than that of his contemporaries (see Prillop 2009). Nonetheless, the authors are discussed separately only if there are important statistical differences.

The Livonian examples are from various sources of written and spoken language (e.g. AEDKL[3], Kettunen 1925, Mägiste 1964, and Setälä 1953). In total, the data set consisted of 273 sentences that contained *īedõ*. The earliest examples date back to 1888, and the latest ones to 2010. In the case of Livonian, only percentages were calculated.

---

3   AEDKL stands for the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages of the University of Tartu; the archives also contain recordings of Livonian (the earliest recording of Livonian originates from 1968).

Table 1. Data sets of *jääda* verb constructions in contemporary Estonian (Est.) and Old Written Estonian (OWE), and *īedõ* verb constructions in Livonian (Liv.).

Construction	Est.		OWE		Liv.	
	Tokens	% (95% confidence interval)	Tokens	%	Tokens	%
SUBJ V LOC/ADV	176	31.0–39.6	313	75.4	85	31.1
SUBJ V (LOC) mINF	69	10.9–17.1	10	2.4	28	10.3
SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$/NP$_{tra}$	147	25.4– 33.6	38	9.2	138	50.5
NP$_{ela}$ V (LOC) SUBJ	10	1.0–3.6	0	0	1	0,4
(LOC) V SUBJ and (NP$_{dat/ade}$) V SUBJ	37	5.3–10.1	44	10.7	16	5,9
SUBJ V AdjP$_{nom}$	5	0.3–2.3	0	0	4	1.5
SUBJ V mINF$_{abe}$ and SUBJ V tINF	56	8.5–14.3	10	2.4	1	0.4
Sum	**500**		**415**		**273**	

3.2. The semantic functions of different constructions

3.2.1. SUBJ V LOC/ADV

In contemporary Estonian, the construction SUBJ V LOC/ADV constituted 31.0–39.6% of all examples, which made it the most frequently occurring *jääda* -construction. In Old Written Estonian, it constituted most (75.4%) of all examples. In Livonian, the corresponding construction was the second most frequent construction (31.1% of all uses) after the translative construction (see Subsection 3.2.3).

LOC in the construction **SUBJ V LOC** stands for NP$_{loc}$ or AdpP expressing a concrete location (examples 13 and 14), or an abstract location and a physical state (15 and 16). The latter instances can be easily linked with instances of the **SUBJ V ADV** (see 17 to 20).

(13) Estonian (etTenTen [naistekas.delfi.ee])

    aga   *mis*   **koju**   **jäi,**   *oli*   *tungraud*
    but   what   at_home   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   be:PST.3SG   lifting_jack

    'But [one thing] that stayed behind (lit. 'remained at home'), was the lifting jack.'

(14)   Estonian (etTenTen [sport.postimees.ee])
    14. katse järgsel ülesõidul
    jäi   tee   äärde
    JÄÄ:PST.3SG   road:GEN   side:ILL
    neljandat kohta hoidnud Breen

    'After the 14th stage, during the transport phase, the 4th placed driver
    Breen retired from the race.'

(15)   OWE *usu sisse* (belief:GEN into) *jääda* 'start believing' (lit. 'remain into
    belief')

(16)   Est. *mõttesse* (thought:ILL) *jääda* 'start thinking' (lit. 'remain into
    thought')

Whereas in example (13) the preceding and current situations did
not differ (the lifting jack was at home and remained at home), in (14)
the context enables one to conclude that the car stopped and thus a
change occurred. However, the main emphasis is on the final result,
i.e. a car remaining somewhere (as opposed to others that are still in
the competition). The instances presented in (15) and (16) also seem to
emphasise remaining in a mental state as a result of change.

Examples (13) and (14) can be also associated with the meaning
'remain, stay behind', which tended to be present in most of the cases
where location was expressed (regardless of the corpus). As such a
reading also appeared to be the most typical in the case of OWE exam-
ples of SUBJ V LOC/ADV, and the frequency of the construction
in OWE was the highest (75.4%), we suggest this to be the original
meaning of the verb *jääda*. This is in line with the proposed meaning of
the German *bleiben* as well (see Subsection 2.1; but also see examples
(23) and (24)).

Examples (17) through (20) are instances of **SUBJ V ADV** that
contain an adverb in the post-verbal position. In relation to the
preceding situation, (17) expresses REMAIN and examples (18) through
(20) convey CHANGE. Whereas (18) and (19) contain *jääda* and *īedõ* to
convey negative and passive change respectively, the Livonian example
(20) is an instance of increased agitation, which in Estonian would be
expressed using the verb *minna* 'go' (see also Subsection 3.2.3).

(17)   Estonian (etTenTen [naistekas.delfi.ee])
aga mis longus olid
jäid   longu   ka   edasi
JÄÄ:PST.3PL   slumpe:ILL   also   further

'But the ones that were slumped stayed slumped.'

(18)   Estonian (Dreamdate 2015)
neil tuhmusid hinged /.../
*ja   ninad   **jäid   norgu***
and   nose:PL   JÄÄ:PST.3PL   slumpe:ILL

'Their souls faded and their heads slumped.'

(19)   Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 57)
*se   laskimi   **ei   vagiž***
this   shooting   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   silent

'The shooting fell silent.'

(20)   Livonian (Setälä 1953: 116)
*se   pi'ņ   **ma'rrõ   īend***
this   dog   agitation.ILL   JÄÄ:APP

'The dog became agitated.'

Although in the case of Estonian the notions *passivity* and *negativity* often explain the choice of *jääda* (see 17 and 18), one also finds cases that cannot be explained using these notions, e.g. (21). Furthermore, negativity does not presuppose change as a negative situation can also continue (17), and the result of change can also be neutral (21) or positive. The data especially showed that examples containing phrasal verbs (combinations of a main verb and an adverb particle) tended to express positive rather than negative change; see (22).

(21)   Estonian (etTenTen [paper.maaleht.ee])
*vaadake,   et   kast **jääks**   püstloodi*
check:IMP.2PL   that   box   JÄÄ:CND.3SG   upright_position:ILL

'Check that the box would be in the upright position.'

(22) Estonian (etTenTen [toompark.pri.ee])
      Sega niikaua,
      kuni   *hakklihasegu* ***jääb***   ***kokku***
      until   minced_meat   JÄÄ:3SG   together

      üheks   *palliks.*
      one:TRA   ball:TRA

      'Mix until the mixture of minced meat sticks as one ball.'

There were also usages such as (23a) that conveyed permanent loca-
tion and can be regarded as close to meaning 'be situated'. Although
there were no instances in Livonian, the usage of the Latvian *palikt*
'remain' (23b) suggests that it could be possible in Livonian. Such
instances fall under the MOVING-EGO METAPHOR (for more detail, see
Lakoff 1993: 218), where the observer or so-called ego moves in space
and time. The German example (24) reveals that the same metaphor
bleiben was also used in 19th century texts; however, in contemporary
German one would use a compound verb: *liegen bleiben* or *zurück*
bleiben 'stay behind'. In any case, such usages can be associated with
the proposed original meaning of 'remain, stay behind'.

(23)   Estonian (etTenTen [issuu.com])
     a. *Suurem osa pealinna randu*
         jääb   ***mere***   ***äärde***
         remain:3SG   sea.GEN   side:ILL

     b. Latvian (p.k.)
         paliek   ***pie***   ***jūras***
         remain.3SG   by   sea.GEN

         'Most of the beaches of the capital are located by the seaside.'

(24) German (Neigebaur 1842: 438)
      das   *Dorf*   ***bleibt***   ***Rechts***
      DEF.ART   village   remain:3SG   right

      'The village is located on the right.'

The Livonian data set also contained examples of *jääda* to convey
the emergence of something, as in (25). In Estonian, the verbs *tekkida*
'emerge' or *ilmuda* 'appear' would be used instead (for more about
'appear' and 'emerge', see Subsection 3.2.4).

(25)   Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 40)

rǭ'	*īeb*	*mǭ*	*pǟlõ*
money	JÄÄ:3SG	earth:GEN	on:ALL

'The money emerges on the ground.'

3.2.2. SUBJ V (LOC) mINF

Examples with the structure SUBJ V (LOC) mINF in contemporary Estonian constituted 10.9–17.1% of the usages of the *jääda* -verb. In OWE, the percentage of these constructions was less than 3%. In the Livonian data set, the construction constituted 10.3% of all cases.

The construction SUBJ V (LOC) mINF differs from the construction SUBJ V LOC/ADV (discussed in Section 3.2.1) only by involving one further constituent: the M-infinitive that expresses an activity (state or process). According to Erelt (2014: 188), the primary reading of *jääda* + M-infinitive should be that of 'remaining in an activity' or 'beginning an activity'. Pajusalu and Orav (2008: 109, 117), coded instances of *jääda* + M-infinitive as primarily expressing 'remaining' and LOCATION, while maintaining that another option would be to code them as expressing the semantic domain GOAL.

In the current study, the main distinction was again made between instances of REMAIN and CHANGE. The Estonian and Livonian data sets contained examples that conveyed (i) continuation of an earlier situation (26); and (ii) entering into a new state, with the main emphasis on that new state (27). As with the examples of SUBJ V LOC/ADV, it was also the case that SUBJ V (LOC) mINF context (i.e. an earlier situation) enabled one to differentiate between the two readings. For instance, without context *īeb paikõl istām* and *jäid pingi juurde seisma* could either be associated with REMAIN or CHANGE. Moreover, as with SUBJ V LOC/ADV, reading SUBJ V (LOC) mINF as the persistence/continuation of an earlier situation was preferred when remaining was somehow different from the general situation, e.g. by expressing 'staying, remaining behind' or the non-occurrence of an expected change (26). In (28), it is also explicitly said with respect to whom the situation is different (i.e. *Kaidist* 'from Kaidi').

(26)   Livonian (AEDKL[F0447-01])

ä'b	*lǟ*	*īeb*	*paikõl*	*istām*
NEG	go.CNG	ĪE:3SG	place:ILL	sit:mINF

'[s/he] does not leave, remains seated.'

(27) Estonian (etTenTen [algernon.ee])
    Milvi ja Marika astusid roosipõõsaste vahelt välja

ja	***jäid***	***pingi***	***juurde***	***seisma***.
and	JÄÄ:PST.3PL	bench.GEN	near	stand:mINF

    'Milvi and Maarika stepped out from the rose bushes and stopped by the bench.'

(28) Estonian (etTenTen [happy.net.ut.ee])
    Ma olen nüüd 2 hommikut järjest

Kaidist	***koju***	***magama***	***jäänud***.
Kaidi:ELA	at_home	sleep:mINF	remain:APP

    'Two straight mornings I have stayed at home in bed sleeping, while Kaidi left.'

For comparison, Pajusalu and Tragel (2007: 298) associated the constructions with M-infinitive that express a state or passive activity (e.g. *seista* 'stand', or *istuda* 'sit') either with REMAIN (see examples 26 and 28) or CHANGE (27), whereas in the case of active verbs (e.g. *tantsida* 'dance'), the only possible interpretation was claimed to be 'remain' and to imply change-of-state, the verb *hakata* 'begin' has to be used. However, the data set contained examples such as (29) that expressed change, i.e. that a situation is different from the previous one (listening to speeches). The emphasis was again on remaining in an activity for some time and that the activity is somehow different or unexpected compared to others (see also (14) and (27)).

(29) Estonian (etTenTen [www.suri.ee])
    Lõppesid viimased kõned, /.../ venelased läksid laiali,

mugrlilased	***jäid***	***palee-esisele***
Finno-Ugric_people:PL	JÄÄ:PST.3PL	palace_front:ALL

väljakule	***tantsima***.
square:ALL	dance:mINF

    'The last speeches were over, /…/ the Russians dispersed, whereas the Finno-Ugric people stayed and danced on the square in front of the palace.'

The OWE examples were mainly from 17th century texts, which contained 10 examples of the SUBJ V (LOC) mINF. Still, one cannot extrapolate as much in one's conclusions, as in three examples the distinction between REMAIN and CHANGE was not clear-cut; the remaining

seven examples were instances of *seisma jääda* 'stop'. With regard to the expression of CHANGE by means of *seisma jääda*, one can draw parallels with German. Namely, the corresponding construction *blieb stehen* can also be used to convey 'stop' (7). For comparison, in Latvian and Russian a synthetic form is preferred to convey CHANGE, e.g. a Latvian would use *apstāties* and a Russian *ostanavlivat'sja* to translate *seisma jääda* 'stop'.

3.2.3. SUBJ V AdjP*tra*/NP*tra*

The construction SUBJ V AdjP_tra/NP_tra containing *jääda* constituted 25.4% to 33.6% in the contemporary Estonian, which makes it the second most frequent *jääda*-construction after SUBJ V LOC/ADV (see subsection 3.2.1). In Livonian, the corresponding construction even proved to be the most frequent: 50.5%. In Old Written Estonian, such constructions formed only 9.2% of all instances.

In the data sets, the construction **SUBJ V AdjP_tra** was used to express CHANGE (30 and 31) and REMAIN (32 and 33).

(30) Estonian (etTenTen[alkeemia.ee])

    *ühel   päeval   Anne   **jäi**   **rasedaks***
    one   day   Anne   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   preagnant:TRA

    'One day Anne became pregnant.'

(31)   Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 23)

    *se   neist   **um**   **īend**   **murgalizõks***
    this   girl   be.3SG   ĪE:APP   sad:TRA

     'The girl became sad.'

(32)   Estonian (etTenTen[www.poogen.ee])

    Ta küüris kõvasti,
    *kuid   pesu   **jäi**   **määrdunuks**.*
    but   laundry   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   dirty:TRA

    'S/he scrubbed hard but the laundry remained dirty.'

(33) = (4) Estonian (EnTenTen[www.sebe.ee])

> sõiduautot   juhtinud   inimene   **jäi**
> car:PRT   drive:APP   person   JÄÄ:PST.3SG
>
> *avariis*   **terveks**
> accident:INE   healthy:TRA
>
> 'The driver of the passenger vehicle wasn't injured (lit. 'remained healthy') in the accident.'

Pajusalu and Tragel (2007: 297) as well as Erelt (2013: 217) made use of the notion of *unexpectedness* when explaining the reading 'remain' (in a particular situation). For example, it can be perceived as unexpected that the laundry remains dirty after one has scrubbed it (32) and that a person does not get injured in an accident (33). Still, in the present article we argue that the usage of *jääda* in both cases (REMAIN as well as CHANGE) can be explained by the situation being somehow exceptional/unusual/unexpected. For instance, becoming pregnant (30) in a way also means becoming different from the majority and remaining in that state for a while. Furthermore, although the situation that is unexpected/unusual/different is often negative, especially in the cases of CHANGE (31), there are instances that cannot be regarded as negative (30) (see also discussion in 3.2.1).

In Estonian, the verb *jääda* can be found with the meaning 'become' in cases where "things happen", e.g. in (34) no effort is made to make the place free. For an occupied country to become free, in turn, a purposeful action is needed. This is why a different verb (*saada*) has to be used in Estonian to convey change-of-state (*jäi vabaks* in (35a) can only mean 'remained free'). Pajusalu and Tragel (2007: 302) define the corresponding usage of the Estonian *saada* as follows: "(of animate reference) positive change resulting from purposeful human action" (35b).

(34) Estonian (etTenTen[www.saaremaa.ee])

> *1930. aastal lahkus Kaarma õpetaja Herbert Lieberg koguduse teenis-tusest ja*
>
> *see*   *koht*   **jäi**   **vakantseks**.
> this   place   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   vacant:TRA
>
> 'In 1930, the vicar of the Kaarma congregation Herbert Lieberg left and this place became free.'

(35)   Estonian (p.k.)

    a. *Eesti*   **jäi**   **vabaks**.
       Estonia   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   free:TRA
       'Estonia remained free.'

    b. *Eesti*   **sai**   **vabaks**.
       Estonia   become:PST.3SG   free:TRA
       'Estonia became free.'

Apart from Estonian, in Livonian there does not seem to be any semantic restrictions on the use of the verb *īedõ* for REMAIN and CHANGE. For instance, in (36) the Livonian *īedõ* is used to convey a positive result of human action. In Latvian, as well, the verb *palikt* can be used to express purposeful human action (cf. example 7b in Section 2.1). Moreover, the verb *īedõ* also occurs in cases that in Estonian are covered by the scope of other verbs, e.g. *minna* 'go', *saada* 'get; become', e.g. in cases such as (37) that express the so called increased agitation (see Pajusalu and Tragel 2007: 299; cf. also example 20 in Section 3.2.1).

(36)   Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 32)

    na'ggõrd   **īebõd**   **pū'dõks**   un   **sieldõks**
    turnip:PL   ĪE:PST.3SG   clean:TRA   and   clear:TRA

    'Turnips will become clean and clear.'

(37)   Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 114)

    si'z   *ēbrikš*   **īend**   **kõzīzõks**,
    then   spider   ĪE:APP   angry:TRA
    irgõnd pū'gõ (kärmõst) i'lzõ

    'Then the spider became angry and started to hang the fly by the neck.'

Additionally, there are cases that involve change in some surrounding circumstances; see (38). Namely, the dress is still the same size, but the one who wears it has gained or lost weight (cf. also example 5 in Section 1).

(38)   Estonian (p.k.)

    kleit   **jäi**   **suureks**
    dress   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   big:TRA

    'The dress became big.'

The following examples illustrate the functions of the construction **SUBJ V NP_tra**. In Estonian the corresponding construction tended to occur with the meaning 'remain'; see (39) and (40). Even in cases such as (41), where the resulting state is clearly different from the previous state (holding the position of a general practitioner vs. being a doctor's assistant), the focus is on remaining in the resulting state rather than on the change-of-state. Furthermore, it seems that it is also associated with location (the position can change, but not the location).

(39) Estonian (p. k.)

    poisid   **jäävad**   **poisteks**
    boy:PL   JÄÄ:3PL   boy:PL:TRA

    'Boys will be (lit. 'remain') boys.'

(40) Estonian (etTenTen[www.rada7.ee])

    aga   **jäägu**   *see*   *siinkohal*   **üllatuseks**
    but   JÄÄ:JUSS.3SG this   here   surprise:TRA

    '… but let it be a surprise in this case.'

(41) Estonian (etTenTen[www.med24.ee])

    Andke praksis ära ja
    jääge   *oma*   *kolleegile*   **abiarstiks**.
    JÄÄ:IMP.2PL own:GEN colleague:ALL doctor's_assistant:TRA

    'Give up your medical practice and continue (lit. remain) as a doctor's assistant.'

In Livonian, the construction SUBJ V NP_tra could be found with the meaning 'remain' (42) as well as 'become' (43). Furthermore, cases such as (43) clearly express the change-of-state (i.e. becoming an hawk) rather than remaining in the resulting state (cf. Estonian example 41).

(42) Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 71)

    võidag   **īeb**   *pa*   **võidagõks**
    butter   ĪE:3SG   PP   butter:TRA

    'Butter remains butter.'

(43) Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 44)

pȯis	**līend**	**pa**	**kullõks**
boy	ĪE:APP	PP	hawk:TRA

'The boy turned into a hawk.'

Examples (42) and (43) also contain the preposition *pa*. Its occurrence is explained with the influence of the Latvian *par*[4] -construction (cf. example 8), which is used to convey the meaning 'become' in connection with professions and states (Grünthal 2003: 190, 192). Thus, in Livonian, the expression of CHANGE-OF-STATE gets double-marked as the translative case occurs as well (see 42 and 43). Whereas previously no clear pattern for occurrence of *pa* has been presented (see e.g. Grünthal 2003), the Livonian data set collected for the purposes of the present study demonstrates that *pa* is used in the construction SUBJ V NP$_{tra}$. This reveals a clear parallel between Latvian and Livonian as, for instance, the marking of the construction SUBJ V AdjP does not tend to conatin *pa/par* in Latvian (see Livonian examples 31, 36, 37 and Latvian example 7). The Livonian data set contained only one example of SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$ with *pa*, whereas there were 41 examples of SUBJ V NP$_{tra}$ containing *pa* and only four corresponding examples that did not contain *pa*.

(44) Latvian (Sportacentrs 2016)

Puika	*vienā*	*mirklī*	**palika**	**par**	**vīrieti**.
boy	one.LOC	moment.LOC	become:PST.3SG	PP	man:ACC

'The boy turned into a man in no time.'

As mentioned above, in OWE, constructions SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$/NP$_{tra}$ that contain the verb *jääda* constituted less than 10% of the examples. Moreover, into this type we also subsumed the instances that contained the NP or AdjP in the nominative case instead of the translative, probably as a result of German influence. The fact that we are dealing with German influence could be supported by the fact that in Stahl's texts there were 14 instances (out of 18) that contained the nominative instead of the translative (see example 45), but in Müller's texts – that were written in somewhat better Estonian – there were only five such cases (out of 20). Furthermore, the incorrect forms

---

4   The written standard uses the preposition *par* in constructions expressing change (see example 44). In the Talmian dialects of Latvia, i.e. in the so-called Livonian dialects, the form *pa* is used, which also explains the use of *pa* in Livonian (Grünthal 2003: 192).

appeared in Müller's earlier sermones, when his language skills were less developed. Thus, Müller's texts seem to suggest that the nominative is a mistake and the *jääda* -constructions containing translative existed in the 17th century Estonian, although the construction itself was relatively infrequent.

(45)   Old Written Estonian (COWE[Stahl_LSI, 354])
      sihs ollet sinna Jummalast /
      ninck   **jeht**   **temma**   **Laps**
      and   JÄÄ:2SG   he:GEN   child

      'You are from God and you will remain his child.'

It is possible that development of the verb *jääda* as a change-of-state predicate and the increase in the frequency of the construction are connected. Namely, in the 17th century texts there are not many cases of *jääda* clearly expressing CHANGE. As shown in subsection 2.1, there is evidence also in other languages that the reading 'become' could be of later development although originally the verb expressed at least fictive change. Besides, in OWE, instead of *haigeks jääma* 'fall ill' one finds usages such as *haigus tuleb meie peale* 'lit. the sickness comes on us', *nad langevad tõve sisse* 'lit. they fall into sickness', *ta saab haigeks* 'lit. s/he gets ill'; instead of *magama jääma* 'fall asleep' the synthetic form *uinuma* is used. Still, as pointed out above, for some reason, SUBJ V NP$_{tra}$ in Estonian does not express CHANGE but REMAIN (example 45 offers further proof for that).

3.2.4. NP$_{ela}$ V (LOC) SUBJ

In contemporary Estonian, the construction NP$_{ela}$ V (LOC) SUBJ containing *jääda* appeared to be relatively rare: it constituted 1.0% to 3.6% of all instances in the etTenTen corpus. The Livonian data set contained one example, whereas the Old Written Estonian data set did not contain any examples.

The corresponding examples explicitly reveal the source (an object, creature, situation), which brings about a result (see examples 46 and 47) or states the existence of a greater entity from which a part is left or removed (48). The final result is typically characterised by an adjective (see *piisasuurused* 'droplet-sized' in (46)). Whereas an attribute can be missing, there are no cases that would contain AdjP$_{nom}$ in the subject position.

(46) Estonian (EnTenTen[reisiajakiri.goamaailm.ee])

vihmast   ***jäävad***   *meie*   *riietele*
rain:ELA   remain:3PL   our:GEN clothes:PL:ALL

piisasuurused   *hallid*   *plekid*
droplet_size:PL   gray:PL   stain:PL

'Rain will leave droplet-sized grey stains on our clothes.'

(47) Livonian (Kettunen 1925: 28)

sīepierāst ku amstõ, mis ta vȯ'ļ järā rikkõn

täm'   *sidāmõ*   ***vȯ'ļ***   *īend*   *mingi*   *tē'd*
s/he:GEN heart.ILL be.PST.3SG ĪE:APP some   star

'From everything that s/he broke down, a star had remained in his/her heart.'

(48) Estonian (etTenTen[www.naisteleht.ee])

majast   ***jäid***   *mustad*   *seinad*
house:ELA   remain:PST:3PL black:PL   wall:3PL

'Only the walls were left from the house.'

As examples (46) to (48) reveal, the construction NP_ela V (LOC) SUBJ containing the verb *jääda* is not a change-of-state construction: in (46), *vihm* 'rain' does not develop a new quality, but it causes something to happen; in (48) a house does not transform into walls, but the walls are what are left. For comparison, the Estonian *saada* and Livonian *sọ̄dõ* in the corresponding construction reveal change-like cases; see (49) and (50). Still, as maintained in ISK (2004), the elative construction is used to convey the development of some new quality rather than a true change-of-state.

(49) Estonian (p.k.)

Temast   ***sai***   *kirjanik.*
s/he:ELA   become:PST.3SG   writer

'S/he became a writer.'

(50) Livonian (Stalte 2011: 63)

Pȯisõst   ***sōb***   *vist*   *miermīez.*
boy:ELA   become:3SG   maybe   seaman

'The boy will probably become a seaman.'

The OWE data set that mainly covered the 16th and 17th century did not reveal any occurrences with *jääda* in the elative construction. The elative construction was present, but it contained the verb *saada* 'get; become'. It is only at the end of the 18th century / beginning of the 19th century that the first examples containing *jääda* appear. The expression of CHANGE-OF-STATE by means of the elative construction (as in 49) is claimed to be of later development than the translative construction, both in the case of Estonian (see Tragel and Habicht 2012: 1386) as well as Finnish (Jokela and Nummila 2015: 92). However, whereas the data set collected by Tragel and Habicht allowed them to date the *saada* -construction to the 19th century, our data also revealed example (51) that originates from the 17th century.

(51) Old Written Estonian (COWE[1637-Stahl_HHII, 36])

üx	*nair*	*sest*	*surmast*	***on***	***sahnut*** –
one	laugh	this:ELA	death:ELA	be.3SG	become:APP

'Death has become a mockery.'

The infrequent occurrence of the construction could also be explained by the general principle in languages according to which it is more common to mark GOAL than SOURCE (see e.g. Dirven and Verspoor 2004: 85). In Livonian for instance, the elative construction can be shown to be rare with the verb *īedõ* (47), but also *sõdõ* (50) and *līdõ* (future copula) (see more in Norvik 2014: 129–131).

3.2.5. (LOC) V SUBJ and (NP$_{dat/ade}$) V SUBJ

The construction (LOC) V SUBJ expresses existential relations (52 and 53) and the construction (NP$_{dat/ade}$) V SUBJ expresses possessive relations (54) (see also Huumo 2007). The confidence interval for the examples originating from the etTenTen corpus is 5.3% to 10.1%. In the OWE corpus, about 10.7% of all the examples could be associated with existential and possessive relations. The OWE examples stood out as the vast majority of cases only consisted of V and SUBJ, as in (53). In the Livonian data set, the corresponding constructions constituted 5.9% of all occurences.

(52)   Estonian (etTenTen[Ilukirjandus])

*Pärast   kirsika   lahkumist   **jäi***
after   Kirsika: GEN   leaving:PRT   JÄÄ:PST.3SG

suur   tühjus.
big   emptyness

'After Kirsika left, I felt very empty (lit. 'I remained with a big emptiness').'

(53)   Old Written Estonian (COWE[1601-Myller36,6])

*Keick   **ieeb***   *kui   se   enne   on   olnut*
all   JÄÄ:3SG   as   this   before   be.3SG   be:APP

'All will remain as it has always been.'

(54)   Estonian (etTenTen[SLÕhtuleht_2009])

Kanadalased   on   väga   tipus,
*eksootilistele   rahvastele   **jäävad**   tagumised   kohad.*
exotic:PL:ALL   nations:PL:ALL   JÄÄ:3PL   inferior:PL   standing:PL

'Canadians are on top; exotic nations are left with inferior standings.'

Examples (52) to (54) can be primarily associated with the meaning 'remain', i.e. something remains (from something else) somewhere (as a result of something) and continues to persist. The possessive relations, as in (54), include cases that (i) reveal a possessed entity that begins or continues to be possessed by the possessor, (ii) involve a possessor that leaves an entity for another person (Huumo 2007: 89–90). Example (54) is an instance of the first type, provided one regards it as an example of an abstract possession.

The Livonian data set also included instances that express an emergence of an entity, which did not exist before; see (55). In Estonian, the usage of the verb *jääda* in such cases would not express emergence, but only change in location (56). For translating (55) into Estonian, one would need to use a separate verb *tekkida* 'appear, emerge' (see similar example in 3.2.1).

(55)   Livonian (Setälä 1953: 124)

sei tuoiz umārz jerā,
ei   *tuoi   sōra   pā'zõ*
ĪE:PST.3SG   other   horn   head:ILL

'[S/he] ate the other apple and the second horn grew.'

(56)   Estonian (p.k.)
    Sõi teise õuna ära,
    jäi   *teine*   *sarv*   *pähe (kinni).*
    JÄÄ:PST.3SG   other   horn   head:ILL (fast)

    '[S/he] ate the other apple and the second horn stuck fast to his/her head.'

In addition, the Livonian *īedõ* is also used to express 'beginning of a state', as in (57). Whereas in spoken Latvian, one could use the corresponding verb *palikt* 'remain, stay; become' to denote change-of-state, in Estonian the verb *hakata* 'begin' would be used. Thus, the more general meaning of the Livonian *īedõ* is proven once again.

(57)   Livonian (Mägiste 1964: 24)
    tä'mmõn   **um**   **īend**   *irm*
    s/he:DAT   be.3SG   JÄÄ:APP   fear

    'S/he became afraid.'

3.2.6. SUBJ V AdjP$_{nom}$

This construction appeared to be rare in all three data sets: in the etTenTen corpus it constituted less than 2.3% of occurrences of *jääda*-verbs; in Livonian 1.5%; and, in Old Written Estonian there were no examples.

It can be asserted that the construction SUBJ V AdjP$_{nom}$ is mainly used to describe the quality of the subject after it has emerged, see (58) and (59). For instance, the dough will be as thick as sour-cream only when the necessary components are mixed together as only then there is something that can be called dough. The same construction containing a different verb (*tulla* 'come') has been analysed by Erelt (2005: 23), who explained that examples such as (60) stress the result. Thus, there is no transition from one state to another. The fact that the entity expressed by the subject did not exist beforehand makes the construction similar to the existential constructions discussed in subsection 3.2.5.

(58)   Estonian (etTenTen[www.nami-nami.ee])
    tainas   **jääb**   *hapukoorepaksune*
    dough   JÄÄ:3SG   sour_cream_thick

    'The dough will be as thick as sour cream.'

(59) Livonian (AEDKL[F1035-01])
    *si'z   ta   **īeb**   immõrgoutlimi*
    then   it   ĪE:3sg   round

    'Then it will be round.'

(60) Estonian (Erelt 2005: 23)
    *See   raamat   **tuli**   hea.*
    this   book   come:pst.3sg   good

    'The book became good.'

As (61) reveals, it is also possible that the entity existed already beforehand. For instance, it may have had a different quality and that quality might also remain unspecified. As regards (61), one can conclude that there was some kind of a surface, but it was unenamelled.

(61) Estonian (etTenTen[ww.vivacolor.ee9])
    *lakitud   pind   **jääb**   ühtlane*
    enamelled   surface   JÄÄ:3sg   even

    'The enamelled surface will be even.'

The construction SUBJ V AdjP$_{nom}$ tends to contain Estonian *jääda* or Livonian *īedõ* in the present tense; see (58), (59) and (61). For comparison, the Swedish *bli* (originally 'remain') can be found in similar instances where it functions as a future copula, leaving the meaning 'become' in the background (see Dahl 2000). However, no such development can be posited to the Estonian *jääda* or Livonian *īedõ*. With regard to Livonian, the language contains a well-grammaticalised future copula *līdõ* (see Norvik 2015), which places a situation in the future. Furthermore, the usage of *īedõ* in (59) stresses the continuation of a state after it has been achieved rather than futurity. The same concerns Estonian examples (58) and (61). It can be argued that remaining in a permanent situation is additionally supported by the usage of the nominative case as the nominative predicative is usually associated with permanent characteristics, whereas the translative case is more likely to stress the result of change (for details, see subsection 2.2).

3.2.7. SUBJ V tINF or mINF_{abe}

All three data sets contained examples of SUBJ V mINF_{abe} expressing a state which will not be achieved, or an activity that does not take place, see (62) to (64). Erelt (2013: 87) considers such instances as cases of retrospective; Pajusalu and Tragel (2007: 298–299) introduce them as instances that convey opposition "between a statement and an earlier assumption". Again, the focus is on the remaining in a state. The etTenTen corpus contained 8.2 to 14.3% of such examples; the instances in the OWE data constituted 2.4% of all occurrences; and, in Livonian, there was only one example. The fact that the M-infinitive abessive form is rare in Livonian becomes apparent in the work by Ernštreits (2010) as well. He demonstrated that Livonian tends to use other constructions that involve the prefix *äb-* 'not'. For comparison, all examples from OWE originate from Stahl and have an equivalent German (there are parallel texts) with the prefix *un-* 'not', e.g. *vngegessen bleiben* 'remain uneaten'.

(62) Estonian (etTenTen[postimees.ee])

Mõistagi   ***jäi***   *seadus* *sellisena* ***vastu***   ***võtmata***.
of_course   JÄÄ:PST.3SG   law   like_this   AFADV   take:mINF.ABE

'Of course the law was not adopted as it was.'

(63) OWE (COWE[Stahl_LSI, 340])

sihs   *piddi*   *se*   *Rahwas*   ***söhmatta***   ***jehma***
then   must.PST.3SG   this   people   eat:mINF.ABE   JÄÄ: mINF.

'Then, the people had to survive without food.'

(64) Livonian (Stalte 2011: 89)

Vanād   ***eit***   ***parāntõmõt***.
old_one:PL   ĪE:PST.3PL   fix:mINF.ABE

'The old ones were not fixed.'

One can view the examples of SUBJ V mINFabe together with instances of SUBJ V tINF, e.g. Estonian *jääb teha* (JÄÄ:3SG do:tINF) 'remains to be done', see (65). Such examples add a modal meaning to the sentence, i.e. that the activity expressed by T-infinitive remains to be carried out (cf. Penjam 2008). No corresponding examples occurred in the OWE or Livonian data set. This would suggest that such a modal development is a later development.

(65)   Estonian (etTenTen[postimees.ee])

see   **jääb**   kohe   kindlalt   mehe   **tasuda**
this   JÄÄ:3SG   now   definitely   man.GEN   pay:tINF
'This definitely remains for the man to be paid.'

4. Conclusions

The aim of the present article was to study the semantic functions and syntactic behaviour of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* that, broadly speaking, could be found with the meanings 'remain' and 'become'. In the case of Estonian, the linguistic material that was analysed mainly originated from the etTenTen corpus. In addition, sources of Old Written Estonian (from the 16th and 17th century) were included in order to consider the development of the verb *jääda* in various constructions. The Livonian data originated from the spoken and written sources covering the period from 1888 to 2010.

The Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* were found in the following constructions: (i) SUBJ V LOC/ADV; (ii) SUBJ V (LOC) mINF; (iii) SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$/NP$_{tra}$; (iv) NP$_{ela}$ V (LOC) SUBJ; (v) (LOC) V SUBJ and (NP$_{dat/ade}$) V SUBJ; (vi) SUBJ V AdjP$_{nom}$; and, (vii) SUBJ V mINF$_{abe}$ and SUBJ V tINF (the SUBJ V tINF was attested only in contemporary Estonian). The analysis revealed that the constructions represented by the structures in (i) and (iii) are the most common in both languages (in Livonian the construction SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$/NP$_{tra}$ even constituted 51%).

One of the central tasks, however, was to discuss the meanings that could be associated with the various constructions. With regard to the constructions in (i) to (iii), the readings 'remain' as well as 'become' turned out to be possible. It was shown that, in most cases, the broader context enables the determination of which meaning is primary. The other constructions primarily expressed the sense 'remain'. The importance of the meaning of 'remain' was stressed in all cases as it was explained that the usage of the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* always involves the reading 'continue to be in the state at least for some time'.

Although, in Estonian, the constructions SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$/NP$_{tra}$ and SUBJ V LOC/ADV could be often associated with negativity, as shown previously, it was argued in the article that, in more general terms, one could speak about unexpectedness/difference from the majority. The

fact that if something is different from the norm it is often also negative was regarded to explain the negativity -reading. In the case of Livonian, the usage of *īedõ* could not be explained in terms of negativity as opposed to positivity. Furthermore, the examples occurring in the data revealed that the Livonian *īedõ* is relatively general in its meaning. Namely the Livonian verb *īedõ* was also used in cases that are covered by another change-of-state predicate in Estonian (e.g. *minna* 'go'), or by a verb with a more specific meaning (e.g. *tekkida* 'emerge', *ilmuda* 'appear'). Moreover, in Livonian, the construction SUBJ V NP$_{tra}$ was frequently attributed with the meaning 'become', whereas in Estonian the corresponding cases mostly conveyed 'remain'.

Concerning the various constructions and the meanings that the Estonian *jääda* and Livonian *īedõ* could convey, it was argued that they could go back to the meaning 'remain, stay behind', 'remain' > 'become' being a later development. A similar development is also proposed for other languages, e.g. German. The 'remain, stay behind' meaning was shown to be present, particularly in cases identifying a specific location. At the same time, it was accepted that the occurances of 'remain, stay behind' can be considered instances of fictive change: an entity does not change the location and thus rejects the alternative, which would be to leave the location. Thus, the expression of change is inherently connected with the verbs *jääda* and *īedõ* and the development into a general change-of-state predicate (as has happened in Livonian) could be expected.

The research also revealed areal contacts between Livonian and Latvian. In the case of spoken Latvian, the verb *palikt* with the meaning 'remain; become' was also shown to be in general usage (at least in the case of spoken language), as was the case with the Livonian *īedõ*. Furthermore, the occurrence of the preposition *pa* in the SUBJ V NP$_{tra}$ -construction in Livonian was shown to have an exact parallel in Latvian (the corresponding particle is *par*). In the case of SUBJ V AdjP$_{tra}$, *pa* hardly ever occurred; nor does the corresponding construction contain *par* in Latvian. In the case of OWE, the usage of the nominative case instead of the translative case for the construction SUBJ V AdjP/NP was regarded as a German language influence.

Acknowledgements

Addresses:
Miina Norvik
Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics
University of Tartu
Jakobi 2–445
51014 Tartu, Estonia
E-mail: miina.norvik@ut.ee

Külli Prillop
Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics
University of Tartu
Jakobi 2–445
51014 Tartu, Estonia
E-mail: kulli.prillop@ut.ee

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – numbers, ABE – abessive, ACC – accusative, ADE – allative, ALL – allative, APP – active past participle, ART – article, CND – conditional, CNG – connegative, DAT – dative, DEF – definite, ELA – elative, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, INE – inessive, INSTR – instrumental, JUSS – jussive, LOC – locative, M – masculinum, mINF – M-infinitive, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, PASS – passive, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, PRT – partitive, PST – past, PP – preposition, REFL – reflexive, SG – singular, tINF – T-infinitive, TRA – translative

Sources

AEDKL = Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages. [Tartu Ülikooli eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiiv]. Available online at <http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/>. Accessed on 6.12.2016.

COWE = Corpus of Old Written Estonian. Available online at <http://www.murre.ut.ee/vakkur/Korpused/>. Accessed on 6.12.2016.

Dreamdate (2015) Available online at <https://www.facebook.com/409145235904756/photos/pb.409145235904756.-2207520000.1464958143./535076706644941/?type=3&theater >. Accessed on 9.07.2016.

etTenTen corpus. Available online at <http://www.keeleveeb.ee/>. Accessed on 6.12.2016.

Filmas Nosaukums (2011) Available online at <http://www.gign.lv/forum/topic/53508-filmas-nosaukums/>. Accessed on 9.07.2016.

Kettunen, Lauri (1925) *Untersuchung über die livische Sprache I: Phonetische Einführung. Sprachproben.* Tartu: Postimees.

Mägiste, Julius (1964) *Liiviläisiä tekstejä.* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 276). Helsinki.

Neigebaur, Joh. Ferd. (1842) *Handabuch für Reisende in Griechenland. Erster Theil.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

Setälä, Eemil N. (1953) *Näytteitä liivin kielestä* (Mémoires de La Société Finno-Ougrienne, 106). Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Stalte, Kōrli (2011) *Jelzi sõnā: ābēd jā īrgandõks lugdõbrōntõz.* Tartu: Jemākīel seļtš, Līvõ Kultūr sidām.

Sportacentrs (2016) Available online at <http://sportacentrs.com/>. Accessed on 9.07.2016.

Zvejnieks (2016) Available online at <http://klab.lv/users/zvejnieks/>. Accessed on 9.07.2016.

References

Ajanki, Rigina (2014) "The grown-up siblings: history and functions of western Uralic **kse*". *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 62, 1–3, 241–282.

Clancy, Steven J. (2010) *The chain of being and having in Slavic* (Studies in Language Companion Series, 122.) Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Creissels, Denis (2014) "Functive phrases in typological and diachronic perspective". *Studies in Language* 38, 3, 605–647.

Dahl, Östen (2000) "Verbs of becoming as future copulas". In Östen Dahl, ed. *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 351–364. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dirven, René and Marjolijn Verspoor (2004) *Cognitive exploration of language and linguistics*, 2nd ed. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Erelt, Mati (2005) "Source-marking resultatives in Estonian". *Linguistica Uralica* 41, 1, 20–29.

Erelt, Mati (2013) *Eesti keele lauseõpetus. Sissejuhatus. Öeldis* (Tartu ülikooli eesti keele osakonna preprindid 4.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

Erelt, Mati (2014) *Eesti keele lauseõpetus. Komplekslause.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

Erelt, Mati and Helle Metslang (2003) "Case marking of the predicative in Estonian". *Linguistica Uralica* 39, 3, 166–174.

Ernštreits, Valts (2010) *Liivi kirjakeele kujunemine* (Dissertationes Philologiae Uralicae Universitatis Tartuensis, 8). Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

ETY = Iris Metsmägi, Meeli Sedrik, and Sven-Erik Soosaar (2012) *Eesti etümoloogia-sõnaraamat.* Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

EWN = Philippa, Marlies, Frans Debrabandere, and Arend Quak, eds. (2003) *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands, A-E.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Frawley, William (1992) *Linguistic semantics*. Hillsdale and New Jeresy: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grünthal, Riho (2003) *Finnic adpositions and cases in change*. Helsinki: Société Finno-ougrienne.

Hellquist, Elof (1993) *Svensk etymologisk ordbok. Första bandet, A-N.* 3. uppl. Malmö: Gleerup.

HKW = *Duden, Das Herkunftswörterbuch. Etymologie der deutschen Sprache*, 5. Auf., Bd. 7. Berlin, Mannheim, Zürich: Dudenverlag, 2013.

Holmes, Philip and Ian Hinchliffe (2003) *Swedish: a comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

Huumo, Tuomas (2007) "Force dynamics, fictive dynamicity and the Finnish verbs of 'remaining'". *Folia Linguistica* 41, 1–2, 73–98.

ISK = Auli Hakulinen, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, and Irja Alho (2004) *Iso suomen kielioppi* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 950). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Available online at <http://scripta.kotus.fi/visk/etusivu.php>. Accessed on 6.12.2016.

Jokela, Hanna and Kirsi-Maria Nummila (2015) "Become-constructions in Finnish and Estonian – diachronic and contrastive perspectives". *Linguistica Uralica* 51, 2, 81–99.

Kalnača, Andra (2013) *Latviešu valodas gramatika*. J. Grigorjevs and D. Nītiņa, red. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts.

Laanest, Arvo (1975) *Sissejuhatus läänemeresoome keeltesse*. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.

Lakoff, George (1993) "The contemporary theory of metaphor". In A. Ortony, ed. *Metaphor and thought*, 2nd ed., 202–251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Metslang, Helle and Liina Lindström (2017) "Essive in Estonian". In Casper de Groot, ed. *Uralic essive and the expression of impermanent state*. (Typological Studies in Language 119.), 57–91. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Norvik, Miina (2014) "Change-of-state predicates and their use in expressing the future: the case of Livonian". *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 5, 1, 117−148.

Norvik, Miina (2015) *Future time reference devices in Livonian in a Finnic context*. (Dissertationes Linguisticae Universitatis Tartuensis, 25.) Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Pajusalu, Renate and Ilona Tragel (2007) "Word and construction as units of categorization: the case of change predicates in Estonian". In Andrea C. Schalley and Drew

Khlentzos, eds. *Mental states. Vol. 2: Language and cognitive structure*, 289–310. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Pajusalu, Renate and Heili Orav (2008) "Supiinid koha väljendajana: liikumissündmuse keelendamise asümmeetriast". *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat* 53, 104−121.

Penjam, Pille (2008) *Eesti kirjakeele* da- *ja* ma-*infinitiiviga konstruktsioonid*. (Dissertationes Philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis, 23.) Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Prillop, Külli (2009) "Järgsilpide *o* ja *u* varieerumine ning traditsioonid vanas kirjakeeles". *Keel ja Kirjandus* 8−9, 595−607.

Radden, Günter and René Dirven (2007) *Cognitive English grammar*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Schlücker, Barbara (2004) "On the event structure of German *bleiben*". In Cécile Meier, Matthias Weisgerber, eds. *Proceedings of the Conference "sub8 – Sinn und Bedeutung"*, 259–272. Universität Konstanz, Germany. Available online at <http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/oai/container/index/docId/4778#page=259>. Accessed on 28.04.2017.

Stassen, Leon (2001) "Nonverbal predication in the Circum-Baltic languages". In Östen Dahl, Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm, eds. *The Circum-Baltic languages 2: Grammar and typology*, 569–590. Amsterdam and Philadephia: John Benjamins.

Talmy, Leonard (2000) *Toward a cognitive semantics.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Tragel, Ilona and Külli Habicht (2012) "Grammaticalization of the Estonian *saama* 'get'". *Linguistics* 50, 6, 1371–1412.

Viitso, Tiit-Rein (2016) "The essive in Livonian". *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 7, 1, 145–175.

Wiemer, Björn (2004) "The evolution of passives as grammatical constructions in Northern Slavic and Baltic languages". In Walter Bisang, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, and Björn Wiemer, eds. *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*, 271–221. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Kokkuvõte. Miina Norvik ja Külli Prillop: Eesti *jääda* ja liivi *īedõ*: ᴘüsɪᴍɪsᴇ ja ᴍᴜᴜᴛᴜsᴇ väljendamine erinevates grammatilistes konstruktsioonides. Artiklis analüüsitakse eesti *jääda*- ja liivi *īedõ*-verbi kasutust erinevates grammatilistes konstruktsioonides. Kuigi mõlemas keeles on 'jääda'-verbil nii püsimise kui ka muutuse väljendamise funktsioon, võib konstruktsiooniti täheldada mitmeid erinevusi. Ühtlasi selgub, et liivi *īedõ* on laia kasutusvaldkonnaga üldise tähendusega muutusverb, mille vaste eesti keeles (lisaks *jääda*-verbile) võib olla ka *saada*, *minna* või *tekkida/ilmuda*. Kui eesti keeles on verbi *jääda* varem seostatud ennekõike negatiivse muutuse ning püsimisega, näidatakse siinses artiklis, et veelgi üldisemalt võiks *jääda* puhul rääkida olukorra erandlikkusest või ootamatusest ning selles püsimisest. Analüüsitav näitematerjal pärineb erinevatest korpustest, liivi keele puhul ka tekstikogumikest. Ajaloolise arengu kohta oletuste tegemiseks on võrdlusmaterjali

kogutud ka eesti vana kirjakeele korpusest. Ilmneb, et algselt on tegemist 'maha jäämist' tähistanud verbiga – nimetatud tähendus on ennekõike esil kohta väljendavates konstruktsioonides, mis näiteks vanas kirjakeeles moodustasid enamiku kasutusjuhtudest.

Võtmesõnad: muutus, püsimine, grammatilised konstruktsioonid, liivi keel, eesti keel, eesti vana kirjakeel