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## How far out is ‘out’? On the grammatical functions of the Estonian *välja* ‘out’

**Abstract:** Among the typologically agglutinative Finno-Ugric languages, Estonian is in many ways exceptional since it has developed a long way towards the analytic type. One indicator of this is the extensive use of particles and adverbs to indicate grammatical relations such as aspect. Our paper discusses, in a Cognitive Grammar framework, the grammatical functions of the adverb *välja* ‘out’, which is originally an illative (‘into’) case form of the lexical noun *väli* ‘field’. Our study shows how the meanings evolve along a continuum from concrete senses to more abstract ones, and we set out to find motivations for the development. The form *välja* has developed numerous usages as an adverb and a verb particle. Its concrete spatial meaning is that of indicating a relation where a mover exits a (typically three-dimensional) container and moves from its inside to its outside. The abstract functions of this multi-functional gram include the following ones: 1) a change in the cognitive state of an animate participant (e.g., as the result of acquiring information), 2) changes-of-state metaphorically represented as motion out of a container, 3) terminative direction or distance (‘all the way to X’) and 4) perfective aspect. We argue that a crucial factor in the development of these functions is the placement of the conceptualizer’s viewpoint either inside or outside the container which the mover exits. A viewpoint outside the container means that in the initial configuration the mover is hidden from the conceptualizer’s view, and when exiting the container it becomes accessible to the conceptualizer. This meaning motivates abstract functions where *välja* indicates incipient availability or accessibility of the mover. On the other hand, a viewpoint situated inside the container results in the meaning where the mover (that exits the container) escapes from the conceptualizer’s view, or, in abstract expressions, its cognitive dominion. This motivates the use of the gram in many expressions of a change of state, and in particular builds a link to its aspectual functions where it indicates the spatiotemporal extent of an event or an entity by measuring the distance from the starting point of such (concrete or metaphorical) motion.

**Keywords:** Cognitive Grammar, Estonian language, grammaticalization, subjectivity, conceptualization, viewpoint

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# 1 Introduction

Like many grammaticalized items, the Estonian adverb *välja* has a number of functions which extend from spatial ones to more abstract ones. In this study we argue that the grammaticalization of *välja* is, to a great extent, based on subjectivity (in the sense of Langacker 1987: 128–132) and the alternative ways how the conceptualizer may place his or her implicit viewpoint on the situation. In general, the concept of subjective construal in Cognitive Grammar concerns the relationship between the subject of construal (the conceptualizer) and the object of construal, and in particular the degree to which the conceptualizer represents the object of construal by (implicitly) relating it to the *ground*, which is a term referring to the immediate setting of the speech event. For instance, a relationship can be alternatively construed objectively, from an external point of view, as in *Vanessa is sitting across the table from Bob*, or subjectively, from an implicit internal point of view, as in *Vanessa is sitting across the table*, where the conceptualizer places his or her point of view within the designated situation. For the present study, the Cognitive Grammar approach turns out to be particularly useful, since it makes possible a unified account of the ostensibly dispersed functions of the polysemous gram *välja*. It is also crucial to note that in a motion event where the mover leaves the inside of the container such a viewpoint can be situated either inside or outside the container. The selection of the viewpoint can be reflected e.g. in the choice of motion verbs (cf. *She went ~ came out*).

Our analysis of the abstract functions of *välja* demonstrates that the alternating placement of the viewpoint motivates different abstract functions of the gram. Expressions where the viewpoint is *inside* the container-landmark serve as a basis for abstract uses where *välja* indicates a change of state conceptualized as negative (= when exiting the metaphorical container, the trajector exits the conceptualizer's dominion of control), and further to its terminative meaning of measuring a distance ('as far as X'), and, ultimately, aspectual perfectivity. In the two last-mentioned functions, the distance or duration indicated by *välja* is measured from the (often implicit) source location where the conceptualizer's viewpoint is situated. On the other hand, a viewpoint *outside* the container-location is the metaphorical basis for expressions that indicate a change in the cognitive status of the conceptualizer (cf. the English expression *it turned out that . . .*) or a change-of-state conceptualized as positive. In this conceptualization, the mover is inaccessible to the conceptualizer in the initial state, when it is located within the container-landmark, and when it exits the container-landmark, it enters the conceptualizer's cognitive dominion.

We also study the interplay between *välja* and other grammatical elements of the clause: additional grams that co-occur with it (e.g., *kätte* [lit. 'into hand',

a perfectivizing-possessive gram] and *ära* [lit. 'away', perfectivizing gram]), and local case endings. We start from the assumption that multiple elements of the sentence contribute to its overall spatial meaning; for instance when studying expressions of motion we need to pay attention not only to spatial grams but also to other facets of the sentence such as the nature of the moving participant, the verb (motion verb or other), and the landmark(s) with respect to which the motion is specified. We show that *välja* is often used in expressions where it combines with other grammatical elements, and that together these elements create *gram clusters* – complex expressions that indicate multiple facets of the spatial or other paths traversed and often serve to relate the path simultaneously with several domains (e.g. space, time, and possession). We also show that the clausal position and order of the components of such clusters contribute to their function; for instance, *välja* is in many cases understood more concretely when it immediately follows a spatial source expression but more abstractly when placed towards the end of the sentence, occupying a position typical of aspectual grams in general. As our theoretical framework we use cognitive linguistic approaches, mostly Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (CG; Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008) and its central notions. CG assumes that language cannot be separated from the rest of our cognitive systems and therefore needs to be treated as part of our general cognition. In our study, a central role is played by the CG notions *trajector* and *landmark*. CG argues that there is a fundamental asymmetry between the participants of a relationship: one is the most prominent and focal one, called the *trajector*, whereas the other participant has a less focal status and is called the *landmark*. In adpositional expressions, the landmark is indicated by the complement of the adposition and serves as a reference point to which the trajector is related. In the phrase *The tree behind the house*, the tree is the trajector whose location is specified with respect to the house, which serves as the landmark. The function of the preposition *behind* is to designate a spatial relation that prevails between the two participants.

Our discussion proceeds in the following way. In Section 2 we introduce the historical background and the main functions of the gram *välja* in present-day Estonian. In Section 3 we discuss the polysemy of *välja* on the basis of its meaning definitions given in dictionaries. We argue that these dictionary definitions are based on the cognitive content expressed rather than the way of conceptualizing the event, which in our view needs to be taken into account in order to reach a more comprehensive analysis. In Section 4 we examine the terminative and aspectual functions of *välja* and the way of construing the path whose extent the expression profiles. In Section 5 we concentrate on the conceptual nature of the landmark profiled by *välja* and study combinations of *välja* with other grammatical elements that together form gram clusters indicating different facets of the

overall path. Section 6 gives an overview of the distribution of the functions of *välja* in a corpus of written texts (newspapers and fiction). Section 7 sums up the results and concludes the paper.

## 2 Historical background and main functions of *välja*

### 2.1 From a case-inflected noun to a particle

The form *välja* is a short illative form of the noun *väli*, meaning ‘field’ in present-day Estonian. When used as a noun, this element has a normal case inflection in all fourteen cases of the language, but the grammatical function we focus on only concern some of its internal local case forms: to a moderate extent the inessive (‘in’) form *väljas* and the elative (‘from-in’) form *väljast* but most extensively the illative (‘into’) case form *välja*. In contrast, the external local case forms adessive (‘on’) *väljal*, ablative (‘from on’) *väljalt* and allative (‘onto’) *väljale* have not undergone grammaticalization but have the typical referential function of a case-inflected noun (see Karjus 2012 for the grammaticalization of *välja* into an adverb meaning ‘out’ in Estonian, in comparison with reminiscent developments in other languages spoken in the Baltic area). In our study, the main focus is on the illative form *välja*, which in many of its uses has stepped out of the paradigm and undergone grammaticalization into the abstract functions of a gram (a multi-functional grammatical element; cf. Svorou 1994). In such uses it does not fulfill the referential function of designating a referent (a field) but the grammatical function of indicating a relationship, as is typical of nouns that have undergone grammaticalization.

Unlike many grammaticalizing nouns in Estonian (and in other Baltic Finnic languages), *välja* has not developed into the function of an adposition, which is shown by its inability to take a complement in the genitive or the partitive case. Furthermore, in the Baltic Finnic languages many adpositions maintain a partially productive local case inflection and form series based on a three-way case opposition of directionality, e.g., *pea-le* [head-ALL] ‘onto top of’ ~ *pea-l* [head-ADE] ‘on top of’ ~ *pea-lt* [head-ABL] ‘off of’]. As pointed out above, *välja* has a productive case inflection as a noun, but the abstract functions we discuss only concern its illative form, not the other case forms which do not participate in this function. In general, such defective paradigms are not uncommon in Estonian grammaticalized expressions, as well as in adverbs that indicate non-spatial relations such as internal states or occupations. Most typically, it is the elative

(‘from’) case form that is missing from such paradigms; thus, for example, we have an illative expression for an incipient state where one’s ears *get* pricked up (*kõrva-d lähe-vad kikki* [ear-PL go-PRES.3PL pricked.up.ILL]) and an inessive expression for the continuous state where they *are* pricked up (*kõrva-d on kikki-s* [ear-PL be.PRES.3PL pricked.up-INE]), but there is no corresponding elative form to indicate the cessation of such a state (*\*kikki-st*). If one wishes to express the cessative meaning, one needs to use a rephrasing (Tiits 1982: 17–18).

## 2.2 Grammatical function and relation to the system of adpositions

Since the canonical referent of the noun *väli* ‘field’ is a two-dimensional surface, it is understandable that the external case forms are the primary means to indicate a canonical locative relationship. The external local cases are polysemous (cf. Huumo and Ojutkangas 2006), but with a landmark expression indicating a two-dimensional surface, their spatial function is to indicate the meanings ‘on’ (adessive) ‘onto’ (allative) and ‘away from/ off of’ (ablative). In contrast, the internal local cases indicate relationships of containment where the trajector is situated within a three-dimensional landmark. When the landmark is not container-like, the internal case forms have more idiomatic meanings. This might be one reason for the grammaticalization of the internal case forms of *välja*: their spatial function is vague or marginal. In modern Estonian, the internal case forms of the noun *väli* are most naturally understood as relational, whereas the external forms are referential. Consider examples (1)–(3).

(1a) *Ta läks välja-le.*<sup>1</sup>  
 s/he went *väli*-ALL  
 ‘S/he went to the field.’

(1b) *Ta läks välja.*  
 s/he went *väli*.ILL  
 ‘S/he went out.’

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1 The following abbreviations are used in the glossings: ABL = ablative (‘from on’ / ‘from at’), ADE = adessive (‘on’, ‘at’), ALL = allative (‘onto’, ‘to at’), CLIT = clitic, COM = comitative, COMP = comparative, COND = conditional, ELA = elative (‘from in’), GEN = genitive, GER = gerund, ILL = illative (‘into’), IMPER = imperative, IMPERS = impersonal, INE = inessive (‘in’), INF = infinitive, LAT = lative, NEG = negation, PAR = partitive, PL = plural, PRES = present tense, PRT = particle, PRTC = participle, PST = past tense, (number-)SG = Xth person singular, TERM = terminative (case ending or particle), TRA = translative case.

- (2a) *Ta on välja-l.*  
 s/he is väli-ADE  
 ‘S/he is on the field.’
- (2b) *Ta on välja-s.*  
 S/he is väli-INE  
 ‘S/he is out’.
- (3a) *Ta tul-i välja-lt.*  
 S/he come-PST.3SG väli-ABL  
 ‘S/he came in from the field.’
- (3b) *Ta tul-i välja-st.*  
 S/he come-PST.3SG väli-ELA  
 ‘S/he came from out.’

These examples show that the external case forms (ADE, ABL, ALL) are interpreted as referential expressions. Their referent (‘field’) constitutes the landmark in the locative relationship indicated by the case ending. The internal case forms (INE, ELA, ILL), on the other hand, are interpreted in the relative sense of ‘being outside the landmark’ (the static inessive), or ‘moving with respect to the outside of the landmark’ (the illative and the elative). The illative *välja* thus literally means “into the outside [of X]” and the elative *väljast* “from the outside [of X]”. It might seem paradoxical that the *internal* local case forms of the gram are used to indicate a relationship where the trajector is situated *outside* the landmark, and even more paradoxical that motion “into the outside” of such a landmark typically involves motion *out* of the landmark, and, correspondingly, that motion “out of the outside” of the landmark involves motion *into* the landmark. The relationships these forms indicate are thus more complex than they might appear at first sight.

In analyzing grams and other relational elements, a crucial concept is that of the *search domain* (Langacker 1987). In short, the search domain is the area where the trajector is located. Grams indicating a relationship of containment situate their search domain inside the landmark entity, whereas grams indicating an external relationship, such as ‘near’, ‘under’, ‘on’, or ‘behind’, situate it outside the landmark entity. The Estonian *välja* obviously belongs to this last-mentioned group, but at the same time its relation to the landmark differs from that indicated by the other external grams listed above. As pointed out by Ojutkangas (2012) in her study on the Finnish ‘out’ gram *ulko-* (+ case ending), grams meaning ‘out’ require the landmark to be conceptualized as a *potential container* – they specifically contrast the trajector’s position outside the landmark with a potential position within the landmark. Such a feature makes them different from

other external grams, as these do not evoke such an opposition. This difference is especially relevant in the meaning of the directional forms of these grams ('out' vs. the other external grams), which indicate the trajector's motion into or out of the search domain. Among such grams, only the ones meaning 'out' specifically activate the interior of the landmark as the opposite end of the path traversed by the trajector. The other external grams (such as 'at', 'near', 'in front of' or 'behind') leave this concept unspecified. For instance, the directionality indicated by the allative and ablative forms of the Finnish 'near' gram *lähe-ille* [near-ALL] 'to the vicinity of' or *lähe-ltä* [near-ABL] 'from the vicinity of' is canonically not related to the inside of the landmark – when something moves *talo-n lähe-ille* [house-GEN near-ALL] 'to the vicinity of the house', it moves into the search domain situated outside the house but most likely *not* from the inside of the house. In contrast, the Estonian *välja* and its Finnish counterpart *ulos* 'out' [lative] specifically indicate such a meaning, where the motion takes place between the interior and the exterior of the landmark.

In her analysis of the semantics of the Finnish gram *ulko*-[case ending] 'out', Ojutkangas (2012) uses Talmy's (2000) concept of *windowing of attention* and argues that a case-inflected gram in general relates the trajector to two landmarks, which are hierarchically ordered: a primary one and a secondary one. In her terms, the gram *sisä-ille* [inside-ALL] 'into' selects a primary landmark, which is the interior of the container being entered, and a secondary landmark, which is the area outside the container (the source location of the motion). In our analysis, however, we prefer to consider 'inside' and 'outside' as two different search domains defined with respect to the same landmark. Therefore we prefer to use the concepts *primary* and *secondary search domain*. If we apply such an analysis to *välja*, we can conclude that it differs from the other external grams by specifically evoking the interior of the landmark as a secondary search domain. The other external grams are indifferent in this. In our view, such a complex function may be a reason why *välja* (as well as its Finnish counterpart *ulko*-), unlike other external grams, only rarely if ever behaves as a postposition proper (taking a genitive or a partitive complement).

To explicitly indicate the landmark of the relationship 'outside of X' by an adpositional construction, Estonian uses the more complex preposition *välja-spool* [väli-INE-side], similar to the English *outside*, which takes a partitive complement, cf. (4):

- (4) *Turvakaamera-d paikne-vad väljaspool maja.*  
 security.camera-PL locate-PRES.3PL outside house-PAR  
 'The security cameras are located outside the house'.

In addition, Estonian has another construction type that is capable of explicitly indicating the landmark of *välja* – one where the landmark expression itself is in the elative (‘from’) case (example 5). A landmark expression that carries a local case itself is semantically and grammatically more independent of the gram than a genitive or partitive complement of canonical adpositions (Grünthal 2003). This is why Ojutkangas and Huumo (2010) name such constructions *quasi-adpositions*: they resemble adpositional phrases in that they consist of two components, the gram and a landmark expression, but the landmark expression carries a local case ending itself, and this local case ending makes a semantic contribution to the relational meaning of the construction. In Estonian linguistics, such adposition-like elements have been referred to as *affixal adverbs*. When used in combination with verbs, affixal adverbs produce so-called particle verbs. While adpositions take their complement in a certain case (prepositions generally favor the partitive and postpositions the genitive), the complements of affixal adverbs present a wider case variation. The grammatical autonomy of such locative-case marked landmark expressions is reflected by the fact that (unlike the genitive and partitive complements of adpositions) they can be separated from the gram by intervening elements. (Erelt et.al 1993: 21). Among the internal case forms of *väli*, the inessive and the illative but not the elative forms can take a landmark expression in the elative case; consider examples (5)–(7):

- (5) *Ta läks maja-st välja.*  
 s/he went house-ELA *väli*.ILL  
 ‘S/he went out of the house.’
- (6) *Ta on maja-st välja-s.*  
 s/he is house-ELA *väli*-INE  
 ‘S/he is out of the house.’
- (7) \**Ta tuli maja-st välja-st.*  
 s/he came house-ELA *väli*-ELA  
 [intended:] ‘S/he came from outside of the house.’

Why (7) is unacceptable is probably because the directionality indicated by the gram would be in conflict with that indicated by the elative form *majast* – the form *väljast* indicates directionality towards the interior of the landmark (‘out of out’ = ‘into’), while the elative case of the landmark expression indicates the opposite directionality. The meaning intended in (7) can be expressed by the more complex adposition *välja-st-pool-t* [out-ELA-side-PAR], which morphologically resembles the static form *väljaspool* of example (4) above, and also takes a partitive complement. The quasi-adpositional construction illustrated by (5)–(7) also has



metaphorical uses that concern the inessive and the illative but not the elative form of the gram; consider examples (8) and (9) which indicate a non-canonical state of a person (getting / being upset or behaving untypically) via a metaphor where the [normal] self of the person is a container where the person is canonically situated; when becoming upset or behaving untypically, the person leaves (8) or is situated out of (9) this container.

(8) *Ta läks enda-st välja.*

s/he went self-ELA *välja*

'S/he got upset.' [Lit. 'went out of him-/herself']

(9) *Ta on enda-st väli-s.*

s/he is self-ELA *väli*-INE

'S/he is upset / not him-/herself.' [Lit. 'is out of him-/herself'].

Such expressions resemble the English *I am not myself today* analyzed in detail by Lakoff (1996), though in the Estonian expressions the self is explicitly construed as a container (which is indicated by its local case marking) which the person exits when becoming upset. The elative *väljast* does not participate in this metaphor; the reason is probably the same conflict in directionality that makes example (7) unnatural.

### 3 Traditional analyses: *välja* in dictionaries

We now leave behind the internal local case series of *väli* as a whole and take a closer look at the abstract meanings solely expressed by the illative *välja*.<sup>2</sup> In these uses *välja* has left the internal case paradigm, and there are no corresponding uses for the inessive (*väljas*) and elative (*väljast*). We start by looking at dictionary definitions for the meanings of *välja*, which serve as a good starting point for the analysis. However, the dictionary definitions turn out to be relatively dispersed lists of meanings that fail to generalize since they are based on the cognitive content expressed and do not take into account the way in which the relationships are construed, especially concerning the viewpoint selected by the conceptualizer. We then proceed to argue that a more unified account can be achieved by using an approach that takes into account the way of conceptualizing the events.

<sup>2</sup> The data used in this study come from the Corpus of Estonian Literary Language ([www.cl.ut.ee/korpused](http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused))

### 3.1 Dictionary definitions

According to the Explanatory Dictionary of Estonian (*Eesti keele seletav sõnaraamat*, EKSS), the form *välja* has the below-mentioned main meanings when used as an independent adverb; in addition, it is used with many verbs as a verb particle, in which case the meaning of the complex expression is more idiomatic. In this study we focus on the uses of *välja* as an autonomous adverb; a systematic analysis of its all uses as a verb particle would require a study of its own. We also have slightly rephrased the definitions of the dictionary in such a way that the characterizations of the meanings correspond to the Cognitive Linguistic terminology we use (we have introduced the terms *trajector*, *landmark* and *conceptualizer*):

1. The basic meaning of *välja* is to indicate the trajector's motion out of the landmark. The landmark is some kind of a container, but its exact nature varies: it can be a prototypical three-dimensional container, a substance, a mass, a crowd, or a bounded area such as a forest, a garden or a country. The examples discussed above (e.g., 5) illustrate this meaning, so we will not give further examples here.
2. In expressions that indicate the manifestation of psychological states such as feelings and emotions, *välja* can be related to a landmark expression that refers to an animate entity experiencing the psychological state. In such uses this animate landmark (or a cognitive dominion surrounding it) can be represented as a container out of which something moves, flows or emanates, as in examples (10) and (11). Alternatively, the person experiencing the emotion can be construed as the trajector, and the emotion itself as the container-like landmark; example (12).

- (10) *Viska see poiss pea-st välja!*  
 throw that boy head-ELA *välja*  
 'Throw that boy out of your head.' [=Don't think of him any more].
- (11) *Tema-s lõ-i välja isa iseloom.*  
 s/he-INE hit-PST.3SG *välja* father.GEN character  
 'S/he inherited father's character.' [Lit. 'In him/her hit out father's character']
- (12) *Suur-te-st ideaali-de-st on ta nüüdse-ks välja kasva-nud.*  
 great-PL-ELA ideal-PL-ELA is s/he now-TRA *välja* grow-PRTC  
 'For now s/he has grown out of his/her great ideals.'

3. *Välja* can also express a meaning where something becomes visible or accessible to the conceptualizer or to the general public, in either concrete or abstract terms. In such expressions the trajector may be a concrete entity (13) or something abstract (14)–(15), such as information or a mental content.

(13) *Õhtu-l ilmu-si-d välja sääse-d.*  
 night-ADE appear-PST-3PL *välja* mosquito-PL  
 'At night, the mosquitoes appeared.'

(14) *Paku-ti välja uus-i ide-i-d.*  
 offer-PST-IMPERS *välja* new-PL.PAR idea-PL-PAR  
 'New ideas were presented.'

(15) *Ta püüd-is saladus-t välja uuri-da.*  
 s/he try-PST.3SG secret-PAR *välja* investigate-INF  
 'S/he tried to find out the secret.'

4. *Välja* is also used in expressions of a change of state where a state ceases (16), or a person exits a state that can be conceptualized alternatively as negative (17) or positive (18), and in expressions where a person stretches his or her limbs outwards (19).

(16) *Mootor sur-i välja.*  
 engine die-PST.3SG *välja*  
 'The engine died.'

(17) *Haige too-d-i kooma-st välja*  
 ill bring-IMPERS-PST coma-ELA *välja*  
 'The ill person was brought out of the coma.'

(18) *Peeter läks vormi-st välja.*  
 name went shape-ELA *välja*  
 'Peeter lost his shape [gained weight].'

(19) *Siruta-s jala-d välja.*  
 stretch-PST.3SG leg-PL *välja*  
 'S/he stretched out his/her legs.'

5. *Välja* can also indicate the extent of something: how far something moves or extends along a scale (20) or in space (21) or time (22).

- (20) *Lähe-n kas või kohtu-ni välja.*  
 go-PRES.1SG PRT PRT court-TERM *välja*  
 ‘I am even ready to go to the court (of justice).’ [Lit. ‘to go all the way out to the court’].
- (21) *Jõud-si-me suure-le tee-le välja.*  
 get-PST-1PL big-ALL road-ALL *välja*  
 ‘We reached a big road.’
- (22) *Tööta-s südaöö-ni välja.*  
 work-PST.3SG midnight-TER *välja*  
 ‘S/he worked until midnight.’
6. *Välja* has an aspectual function where it indicates telicity of the event, i.e. that the event reaches some kind of an endpoint.
- (23) *Etendus on välja müü-dud.*  
 show is *välja* sell-PRTC  
 ‘The show is sold out.’
- (24) *Arvuta-s tulumaksu täpse-lt välja.*  
 calculate-PST.3SG income.tax exact-ABL *välja*  
 ‘S/he calculated the income tax exactly.’
- (25) *Kaupluse-l kujune-s välja oma klientuur.*  
 shop-ADE form-PST.3SG *välja* own clientele  
 ‘The shop acquired its own clientele.’

### 3.2 Towards a more unified account

This dictionary division of the meanings of *välja* shows how polysemous this gram is. It is also easy to see that there are many metaphorical uses where one participant is conceptualized as a metaphorical container which is left by another participant undergoing a change. Many of the uses of *välja* involve a human participant, which can alternatively be conceptualized as a container (as in examples 10 and 11), or as the participant abstractly moving out of a container. In the latter case, the metaphorical container may be for instance an internal state, as in (17) and (18). In some uses there is an implicit conceptualizer who is observing the container from an external point of view, when the trajector exits the container or the container emits something. In such uses the trajector becomes accessible to the conceptualizer as the result of the change indicated. This kind of an external viewpoint seems to motivate the use of *välja* in examples (13)–(15) (meaning

group 3) – when something comes *out*, it enters the *dominion* of the conceptualizer and becomes available to him. In (13) the mosquitoes enter the conceptualizer's field of vision when they appear from their hiding place, and in (14) and (15) an abstract trajector, which constitutes a mental content, becomes available to the conceptualizer. In (14) this happens as a result of a volitional action by the persons who offer the new ideas 'out' for others to consider. In (15) there is an agentive human participant attempting to get 'out' (make accessible) some kind of information ('the secret'). Though examples (17) and (24) are classified in different meaning groups by the dictionary, it is easy to see that the meaning of accessibility to an external conceptualizer is a feature they share with (13)–(15). For instance in (17) bringing the ill person out of the coma makes her accessible to other people: she gains consciousness and becomes able to communicate with others. In (24) the result of the calculation is information that becomes available to the conceptualizer – note that this example neatly builds a semantic bridge from the 'availability' meaning to the purely aspectual meaning of *välja*: it is only after the calculation has been accomplished that the result is available.

What unites these examples is that the point of view of the conceptualizer is situated outside the concrete or metaphorical container where the trajector is located at the initial stage of the event. When the trajector exits the container, it becomes accessible to the conceptualizer. This meaning is sometimes enhanced by the use of directional verbs, such as 'bring' in (17); at the initial stage of being in the coma, the person is inaccessible to other people, but when he gains consciousness, he metaphorically moves towards them. The opposite directionality is indicated by (18), which expresses a change conceptualized as negative. Here the verb meaning 'go' indicates direction away from the canonical state or control (cf. Huumo and Sivonen 2010 on Finnish 'come' and 'go' expressions of a change of state). The case is similar in (16) where the dying engine moves 'out' by leaving its canonical state. See Figures 1 and 2 below for illustration.

The examples in meaning group 5 are more or less directly related to aspect and to the measuring of an extent: they indicate a distance from a starting point that may remain implicit, and *välja* foregrounds the end point of such a distance. Note that the meaning 'out' it indicates is now very different from the one it has in the usage types discussed above: it is not just the 'outside' of a (possibly implicit) container, but a measure of this 'outside', i.e. *how far* out of the container (or another kind of a starting point), something extends. For instance, in (20) 'going to court' is considered an extreme way of dealing with a certain matter on an implicit scale of possible means not explicitly indicated in the example. Similarly, in (22) working until midnight may be considered extreme – the example foregrounds the temporal distance (duration) from an implicit starting point where the person starts the work until midnight when s/he stopped (or finished) it.

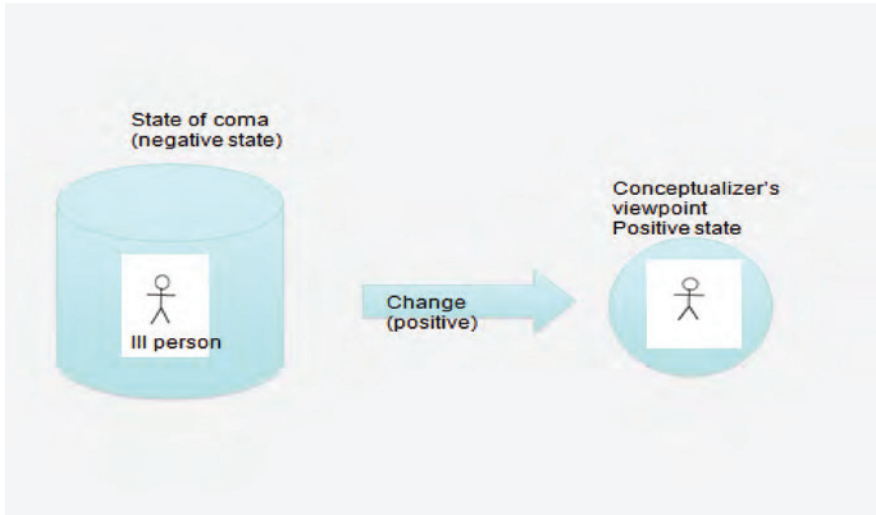


Fig. 1: 'The ill person was bought out from coma.'

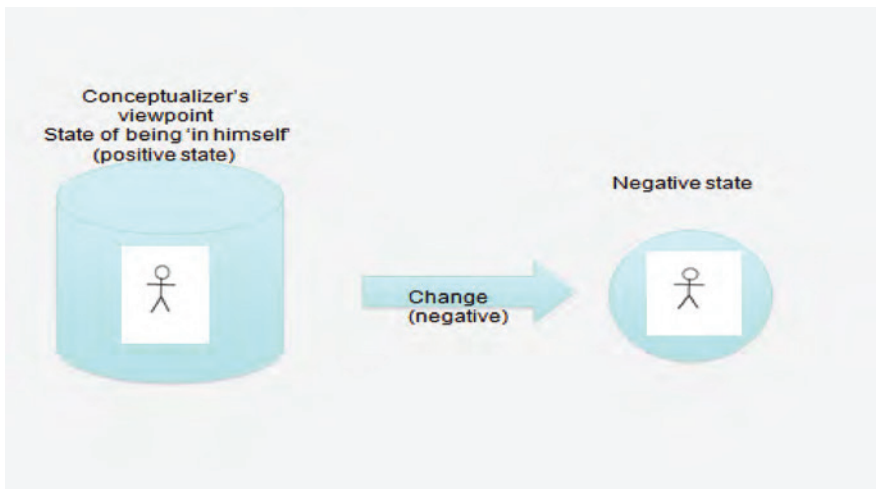


Fig. 2: 'Jüri got upset.' [Lit. went out of himself]

Example (21) differs from the other two examples in this group by indicating an explicit landmark, the road, which is reached by the movers. The spatial position of this landmark is fixed, unlike for instance the time of stopping the work in example (22), which is represented as a variable measured by the *välja* expression. In this respect, example (21) resembles the examples in the dictionary's meaning

group 6, where it is the reaching of the endpoint of a telic event that is highlighted by *välja* – in (23), the selling of the tickets ends when all tickets are sold out, and in (25) the existence of a certain clientele ends the process of its formation. Such an existential meaning is shared by example (24), which, as argued above, can also find motivation in the metaphor where something becomes accessible to the conceptualizer by leaving a container – when the information concerning the income tax is calculated 'out', it becomes accessible to the person performing the calculation, and possibly others as well. As pointed out above, this example shows how different meanings of *välja* may coincide: in (24) *välja* carries both the meaning of abstract motion (into the conceptualizer's cognitive dominion) and the aspectual meaning of completing the calculation.

From the conceptualizer's point of view, an opposite kind of meaning is instantiated by examples (16), (18) and (23). In these examples the trajector undergoes a change which brings it into a (typically noncanonical) state where it is *not* accessible to the conceptualizer. The conceptualizer's focus of attention is the initial location (or container) where the trajector is situated before the change takes place. The end result of the change is a situation where the trajector has reached another state, which puts it metaphorically farther away from the conceptualizer's cognitive or control dominion than the initial state. When moving 'out', the trajector thus recedes from the cognitive dominion of the conceptualizer (instead of entering it as in the examples discussed previously). Though the existence of such opposite meanings for a single gram might seem unmotivated at first sight, it is in fact quite plausible. There are many kinds of motion events where something moves into or out of a container and where we can set the conceptualizer's viewpoint alternatively within or outside the container. A simple example is the use of deictic motion verbs meaning 'come' [motion towards the deictic center] vs. 'go' [motion away from the deictic center], e.g., *The cat came out of the house* vs. *The cat went out of the house*.

It can be argued that such directionality is in fact not part of the meaning of *välja* itself but brought about by other elements of the clause, in particular by the verb that indicates concrete or metaphorical motion out of the container. We can also see that the more abstract functions of measuring a distance (called *terminativity* in more traditional terminology) and ultimately that of indicating telic aspect are based on a similar conceptualization where the conceptualizer's point of view is identified with the initial position of the trajector. The *välja* expression indicates the measure of a distance from this initial position. It is remarkable that the meaning of *välja* in such expressions (meaning groups 5 and 6 in the dictionary classification) does not seem to involve much of its original 'out [of a container]' meaning: in the relevant examples there is often no container out of which something moves. In fact, in examples of Group 5 the landmarks overtly

indicated are GOALS of (abstract or concrete) motion, which the mover reaches at the final stage of the event, but no source location is indicated. In such examples, the use of a gram meaning ‘out’ may even seem unmotivated – out of *what*? For instance, in (20) one goes literally ‘into the court out’, and in (21) ‘to the road out’ – the meaning ‘out’ can only be motivated in relation to the (implicit) initial source location where the point of view of the conceptualizer is situated and where the mover starts its (concrete or abstract) motion.

Furthermore, the aspectual meaning of *välja* involves the construal of a path, the endpoint of which *välja* foregrounds, and it does this in a *relative* sense: the goal specified by *välja* is not merely a goal or an endpoint of a path but also a point of measure for the distance from an implicit source where the conceptualizer’s point of view is situated. Such expressions thus indicate a path, but one of a very special kind. This path involves an inherent perspective and evokes the concept of measuring an extent. In the next section we take a closer look at the construal of such paths and the mutual relationship of the landmark expressions that indicate its endpoints.

Summing up, the above discussion based on the dictionary meanings of *välja* shows that these meanings intertwine and that many uses of *välja* can find multiple motivations. The division of meanings presented in the dictionary is rough and based on the cognitive content indicated by the examples classified into each group. As our analysis shows, there are facets of meaning that cut through the classes proposed by the dictionary. These include, in particular, those facets that are related to the way of conceptualizing the events and to the positioning of an implicit viewpoint over it.

## 4 The construal of a path: from actual to fictive motion

Suitable tools for the analysis of path meanings evoked by the Estonian *välja* can be found in the research tradition of a closely related language, Finnish. In Finnish linguistics, expressions of paths have been studied very much in the spirit of present-day cognitive linguistics by Alhoniemi (1978), who analyzes *terminative* expressions. Terminatives, in his terminology, are locative adverbials that indicate boundaries: how far and from where to where something extends. Terminative expressions differ functionally from canonical expressions of a source or a goal by foregrounding the whole path and its extent, not just its endpoints. This difference shows up as a wide *windowing of attention* (in the sense of Talmy 2000) superimposed by these expressions upon the motion event. For example, a bare



goal expression such as the one in *The girl ran to the school* imposes, in Talmy's terminology, a final windowing on the motion event. It gaps both the source and medial portions of the overall path traversed by the girl. In contrast, a terminative expression such as *The girl ran as far as the school* highlights the overall path and represents the goal not only as an endpoint of the motion but also as a measure for the distance traversed. In Finnish, the terminative reading of locative expressions can be enhanced by the quasi-adpositions *asti* and *saakka* (studied in detail by Päiviö 2007), which translate into English as 'all the way from/to' or 'as far as'. They are neutral with respect to direction and thus combinable both with expressions of an endpoint and expressions of a starting point of the path. Consider (26):

- (26) *Lapsi juoks-i asema-lla (asti).*  
 child run-PST.3SG station-ALL TERM  
 'The child ran (all the way) to the station.'

In (26), the child traverses a path with the station as its endpoint. Without the particle *asti*, a final windowing is applied to the overall path, and the example focuses on the arrival of the child at the station. If the terminative *asti* is there, a more extensive window of attention is applied: in addition to profiling the goal location, the example highlights the distance traversed by the child from an unspecified source location. Even though the source location is not overtly expressed in (26), the terminative particle implies it and foregrounds the distance between it and the goal location. It is easy to see that the function of *asti* is reminiscent of the one of *välja* in the dictionary meaning group 5 (Section 2): in those expressions it is not merely the reaching of the endpoint of the path but also the extent traversed that is highlighted. Note, too, that in the Estonian examples (20) and (22) *välja* combines with locatives inflected in the terminative case, which already indicates extent ('all the way to X'), and not with the actual 'to' cases (the allative 'to-near' or the illative 'into') that are used in canonical goal expressions. In this expression type, the meanings of the terminative case and *välja* are nearly synonymous, and a study of actual usage shows that especially in its terminative use *välja* favors such *gram clusters* – combinations of grams that consist of several elements indicating roughly the same meaning. Such clusters are discussed in more detail in Section 5.

It is also noteworthy that there is remarkable variation in the kind of the path expressions that co-occur with *välja* in actual usage. Only some of them are related to actual motion or change, whereas others represent a path construed *subjectively*, in which case there is nothing actually moving along the path, but the path is occupied for its full length by either a single entity or a multiplicity

of entities or events that take place all along the path. In his study on Finnish terminative expressions, Alhoniemi (1978) proposes a typology of paths based on the way of construing the path that reflects a division between actual motion and different types of subjective motion that involve a scanning effect. The first type, based on actual motion, is what Alhoniemi calls *terminatives of transition*. It is a path traversed by an actually moving entity, such as the one in example (26) above. The second type is what Alhoniemi calls *terminatives of location*. These include expressions that indicate the extent of one (typically elongated) entity that fulfills the path for its full length. Though Alhoniemi does not give examples of canonical fictive motion with motion verbs (such as *The highway goes from Turku to Helsinki*), such expressions would naturally fit this category in his classification. His examples include verbs with meanings such as ‘extend’, ‘lead’, ‘start’ or ‘end’, e.g., (27).

- (27) Niitty ulottu-u metsä-n reuna-sta järve-n ranta-an.  
 meadow extend-PRES.3SG forest-GEN edge-ELA lake-GEN shore-ILL  
 ‘The meadow extends from the edge of the forest to the lakeshore.’

As pointed out in Section 3, the Estonian *välja* has a number of uses that fit the category of terminatives of location. In example (28) *välja* measures the extent of the rock, which is the trajector fulfilling the path. In this example the (vertical) path is construed in the relative sense of measuring a distance from the (surface of) the water; there is no fixed endpoint to the path in the same sense as the lakeshore in Alhoniemi’s example (27).

- (28) Kivi ulatu-b vee-st välja pea neli meetri-t.  
 rock extend-PRES.3SG water-ELA välja almost four meter-PAR  
 ‘The rock extends almost four meters out of the water.’

Alhoniemi’s third type is called *terminatives of occurrence*. It resembles the second type in involving fictive motion but differs from it in that the trajector occupying the path is a multiplicity of entities or an indefinite quantity of a substance; cf. (29).

- (29) Säask-i-ä ol-i suo-lta järve-n ranta-an.  
 mosquito-PL-PAR be-PST.3SG bog-ABL lake-GEN shore-ILL  
 ‘There were mosquitoes all the way from the bog to the lakeshore.’

The construal of the path in (29) resembles the one in Talmy’s (2000: 71) example *There is a house every now and then through the valley*, which, according to Talmy,

utilizes a proximate perspective point and a local scope of attention. The main difference is that Talmy's example does not indicate the endpoints of the path but profiles an open-ended medial path by including the preposition *through*. Talmy's example also has a singular indefinite NP to indicate the multiplicity of entities that fulfill the path, whereas Alhoniemi's Finnish example uses the plural partitive case to indicate indefiniteness and quantitative unboundedness. There are many ways in which these examples resemble each other semantically: the path is fulfilled by a multiplicity of indefinite entities, the verb is static ('be'), and the path is construed subjectively not only with respect to its direction but also with respect to its exact position (the search domain) within the landmark area. This last feature distinguishes (29) from canonical expressions of fictive motion such as (27) where it is the location and extent of the trajector (the meadow) that determine the location and extent of the path. In other words, (27) indicates where the meadow is located, but (29) does not give a predication about the location of some mosquitoes; it introduces the mosquitoes as the (discourse-new) content of a path construed subjectively between the landmarks (the bog and the lakeshore). As Finnish existential subjects<sup>3</sup> in general, the mosquitoes are not the starting point for the construal of the path in example (29) in the sense of Langacker (1991: 382–383; cf. also Chafe 1994 for the term) – Finnish existentials (see Huumo 2003) select the locative expression (the path in this case) as their starting point and introduce a discourse-new entity (here: mosquitoes) into that location.

The Estonian *välja* is also productive in expressions indicating a path of occurrence; consider examples (30) and (31).

- (30) *Kiriku-i-d ehita-s ka, sinu rahva maa-le*  
 church-PL-PAR build-PST.3SG too you.GEN people.GEN land-ALL  
*Rõuge-ni ja Põlva-ni välja.*  
 name-TERM and name-TERM välja

'[He] also built churches on the land of your people all the way to Rõuge and Põlva.' (Internet)

- (31) *Se-l hetke-l võta-ks enda-ga kaasa nad kõik –*  
 that-ADE moment-ADE take-COND self-COM with them all  
*kuni tolle kõige jobu-ma külakolli-ni välja.*  
 PRTC that.GEN most foolish-COMP village.idiot-TERM välja

'At that moment I would happily take them all with me, up to that most foolish village idiot.' (Internet)

<sup>3</sup> The subjecthood of this element is in fact under dispute; see Huumo and Helasvuo (forthcoming) for a detailed discussion.

Example (30) designates an activity of building churches in certain regions of Estonia, as a result of which there exist churches along a path that is construed directionally and represented as extending from an implicit starting point all the way to Rõuge and Põlva. The example is not a pure expression of occurrence in the sense of Alhoniemi (1978), since there is also an event ('building') that takes place along the path; however, the end phase of the event involves churches existing along the continuum in the same way as the mosquitoes in example (29). Example (31) is a non-spatial instance of this path type, where the path is a subjectively construed scale based on some implicit trait of persons, which is used by the speaker to evaluate their suitability for the event indicated (to be taken along, as on a trip). The village idiot is represented as an extreme instance at the negative end of such a scale (cf. Kay 1990), the person least likely to be taken along – if the village idiot is taken along, then probably everyone else is too. This example involves many layers of subjectivity: first, the selection of the criterion used for classifying people, second, arranging the people (mentally) along the scale, and third, scanning along the scale in the direction towards people who are less likely to be taken along. The *välja* expression then indicates how far along the scale the conceptualizer is willing to proceed when accepting people.

Such examples are closely related to the fourth subtype of terminatives in Alhoniemi's classification, which he calls *terminatives of state, event or activity*. As this somewhat clumsy name suggests, these include expressions where the path is occupied by an event or a state that fulfills it and occurs or prevails at each point of the path simultaneously. Since Cognitive Grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987) uses *process* as a cover term for all kinds of verbal meanings, we refer to this type as *terminatives of a process*. Alhoniemi's spatial examples of this category include the following:

- (32) *Pu-i-ta kaatu-i mäe-n harja-lta alka-en rintee-n*  
 tree-PL-PAR fall-PST.3SG hill-GEN top-ABL start-GER slope-GEN  
*puoli-väli-in asti.*  
 half-way-ILL TERM

'There were trees falling from the top of the hill all the way down halfway of the slope.' (i.e. between the two landmarks).

- (33) *Lumi-peite on 30 cm vahva-a lääni-n etelä-raja-lta*  
 snow-cover is 30 cm thick-PAR province-GEN south-border-ABL  
*pohjois-raja-lle.*  
 north-border-ALL

'Snow cover is 30 cm thick from the south border to the north border of the province.'

The terminative path in (32) establishes the spatial boundaries of an event (trees falling), that takes place all along the path. This event has a concrete participant (the trees) which are also scattered along the path in the same way as the mosquitoes in example (29), but in (32) the main focus is not on the entities themselves but on an event (falling) where the entities participate – it is the event that is conceived of as the primary filler of the path. Example (33) indicates the boundaries of a state, the thickness of the snow layer fulfilling the path for its whole length. Again, it is the state of being 30 cm thick and not the existence of the snow as such that is the primary element filling the path.

This path type is also relevant in some uses of *välja*; consider (34):

- (34) *Sheavõi niisuta-b nahka sügava-te*  
 shea.butter moisturize-PRES.3SG skin.PAR deep-PL.GEN  
*kihti-de-ni välja.*  
 layer-PL-TERM välja.

‘Shea butter moisturizes one’s skin all the way to its inner layers’. (Internet)

In (34) the path measures a distance from the surface of the skin to its inner layers, and indicates that shea butter has a moisturizing effect at all skin layers along such a path. In this case, there is also a force-dynamic motivation for the construal of the directionality, as the moisturizing effect proceeds from the surface of the skin (to which shea butter is applied) towards its inner layers. Note that there is also a resemblance between (34) and (30) (the building of the churches): there is an activity or an effect that first proceeds along the path, and as the end result of such an effect the path is fulfilled by something at the final phase of the event.

As can be seen, Alhoniemi’s classification is partly based on the distinction between actual and fictive motion (paths of transition vs. the other types), and, in the latter case, on the nature of the trajector occupying the path – whether this is a single entity (in terminatives of location), an indefinite substance, or a multiplicity of entities (in terminatives of occurrence), or a process (in terminatives of process). It is easy to see that besides the type of terminatives of transition, which is based on the trajector’s actual motion along the path, all other types involve fictive motion and base the construal of the path on a subjective directionality selected by the conceptualizer. For instance, changing the directionality indicated by the locatives (*from X to Y* ⇒ *from Y to X*) would not reflect a change the extralinguistic situation referred to, as it would in an expression of actual motion. Among these other types, terminatives of location are the type that most resembles terminatives of transition: both involve motion verbs and a single entity as their trajector. In contrast, terminatives of occurrence and process show the greatest degree of subjectivity: since the trajector is not a starting point for the construal

of the path but an indefinite, unbounded quantity of entities or an event situated along the path, the construal of the path is subjective not only with respect to the direction but also to its exact location. For instance, when saying *The railroad goes through the forest* the conceptualizer construes the path (*through the forest*) to coincide with the strip of land occupied by the railroad, whereas in *There are mushrooms growing here and there throughout the forest* both the exact location of the path and the direction of the scanning are selected subjectively. Another feature that distinguishes terminatives of location from terminatives of occurrence and process is the choice of the verb, which in terminatives of location typically indicates (factive or fictive) motion, direction, or extent, and thus contributes to the overall sense of directionality. In terminatives of occurrence and process, in contrast, the verb typically indicates no motion or directionality but the existence of entities (terminatives of occurrence) or an event (terminatives of process). This difference contributes to the conceived relationship between the path expression and the verb – the path is most autonomous and setting-like in terminatives of occurrence and process.

Our data show that the Estonian *välja* has uses with all path types. Its general function in expressions that involve a path is to measure a distance on the path from an implicit starting point to another point where the event extends. The selection of the starting point is motivated by the cognitive content of the expression when actual motion is indicated: the starting point is where the trajector starts its motion. In the other path types, where the motion is subjective, the speaker can more freely choose which endpoint of the path to select as the starting point for the scanning. Thus for instance in (31) the scanning starts from that end of the scale where the most agreeable people (to take along) are mentally arranged. The scanning proceeds along the scale, and *välja*, together with the terminative case, measures the extent of the scanning.

## 5 Fixed and relative landmarks and the use of *välja* in gram clusters

### 5.1 *Välja* as indicator of a relative landmark

In expressions of motion, the path traversed by the moving entity is typically related to one or more landmarks, which can be explicitly referred to by locative elements. The use of different locative expressions (e.g. ‘from’ vs. ‘via’ vs. ‘to’) reflects the conceptualizer’s strategy of windowing over the motion event in the sense of Talmy (2000). The speaker can choose between different strategies of

windowing for instance by using locatives that refer to the initial part (SOURCE), the middle part (PATH) or the final part (GOAL) of the route traversed by the moving entity, or a combination of these, e.g. *The crate that was in the aircraft's cargo bay fell [out of the plane] [through the air] [into the ocean]* (Talmy 2000: 266). In terms of semantic prominence, such multiple landmarks in a motion expression are typically understood as equal indicators of autonomous locations. For instance, in *I traveled from Tartu to Tallinn* the source and the goal are both autonomous locations whose spatial position is fixed, and it can be assumed that the focus of the conceptualizer is not fixed to one of these locations constantly but proceeds along the path, following the moving trajectory. However, the examples discussed in the previous section suggest that sometimes the situation is different: one of the landmarks (henceforth referred to as the **fixed landmark**) can have a more autonomous status than the other one (referred to as the **relative landmark**). The relative landmark is understood in the non-autonomous sense of indicating a point of measure for the distance from the fixed landmark. The relative nature of a landmark can be explicitly indicated by lexical material that represents it in a relation to another landmark, as in *I live in a town ten kilometers from Turku*. However, there are also grammatical means to indicate the relative status of a landmark, such as the Finnish *asti* (recall example 26) and the Estonian *välja*. The Finnish *asti* is peculiar in that it can modify both a source and a goal expression, making it a relative landmark. Consider examples (35) and (36):

(35) *Juoks-i-n kirko-lta koulu-lle asti.*  
 run-PST-1SG church-ABL school-ALL TERM  
 'I ran from the church [all the way to the school].'

(36) *Juoks-i-n kirko-lta asti koulu-lle.*  
 run-PST-1SG church-ABL TERM school-ALL  
 'I ran [all the way from the church] to the school.'

In (35) the particle *asti* focuses on the goal landmark ('school'), which is understood in the relative sense of measuring a distance from the church. This example is a natural answer to a question like 'How far did you run from the church?' In (36) the terminative particle follows the source expression which now constitutes the relative landmark and indicates distance to the school ('From how far did you run to the school?'). These examples show that *asti* is direction-neutral: it is compatible with both source and goal expressions, though in actual usage it more commonly occurs with expressions of a goal (Päiviö 2007). The semantic differences between examples (35) and (36) also suggest that in each case the conceptualizer's viewpoint remains in the fixed landmark location, and the locative followed by *asti* constitutes the relative landmark.

In her study, Päiviö (2007) makes the generalization that the main function of *asti* is to indicate a “bounded continuum” between two or more locations (or other kinds of mental spaces). Compared with bare locative expressions, those highlighted by *asti* foreground not only the locations themselves (source or goal) but also the path between them, even if an explicit path expression (‘via’ / ‘through’ etc.) is missing. Consider the contrast between (37a) and (37b), which both have only one locative.

(37a) *Puhu-i-n*            *Helsinki-in*.  
 Speak-PST-1SG name-ILL  
 ‘I spoke [on the phone] to Helsinki.’

(37b) *Puhu-i-n*            *Helsinki-in asti*.  
 Speak-PST-1SG name-ILL TERM  
 ‘I spoke [on the phone] all the way to Helsinki.’

In example (37a), the speaker has spoken on the phone with someone who is in Helsinki. The illative (‘into’) case indicates the direction of the force-dynamic activity, not of actual motion (by the person speaking), and the distance between the speaker’s location and Helsinki is not foregrounded. In contrast, the particle *asti* in example (37b) foregrounds the path between the implicit source location and Helsinki, and requires the path to be fulfilled by something (activity or entities). This results in a reading where the speaker has been in motion towards Helsinki while speaking, and the activity of speaking lasted all the way to Helsinki. In this case, the person spoken to need not be located in Helsinki; the example can be about a conversation with a travel companion on a train or a bus. On the other hand, example (37b) also allows the ‘on the phone’ reading where the person spoken to is in Helsinki, if *asti* is understood with a subjective meaning where it indicates that the distance between the speaker’s location and Helsinki was relatively long. With this reading example (37b) means that Helsinki was a remote place to speak to, not that actual motion took place.

In general, such examples show that compared with fixed landmarks, relative landmarks evoke the concept of a path between two landmarks. A continuum of some kind is thus always established in such expressions. The interpretation concerning the filler of the path between the landmarks varies: there may be canonical motion by a concrete entity, another kind of an activity by a single entity, or a multiplicity of entities scattered along the path; in sum, all path types distinguished by Alhoniemi (1978) allow the use of terminative particles in Finnish as well as in Estonian.



## 5.2 *Välja* in gram clusters

Next consider the uses of *välja* in combination with other grams to establish a relative landmark in the sense introduced above. Up to this point we have discussed the functions of *välja* with respect to the semantics of the clause nucleus, i.e. the verb and its core arguments. But as the examples discussed have also shown, *välja* is often combined with other grams that profile different facets of the path traversed by a mover or scanned through by the conceptualizer. In actual usage, instead of profiling different portions of the path (recall Talmy's examples of initial, medial and final windowing), the other grams *välja* combines with often contribute to the profiling of the final portion of the part. In other words, such expressions involve a number of near-synonymous grammatical elements. Consider (38) (from the Internet) which is a typical instance of a gram cluster including *välja* and other grams:

- (38) *Magas-i-n sügava-lt kuni täiesti tartu-ni välja.*  
 sleep-PST-1SG deep-ABL PRT completely name-TERM *välja*  
 'I was in deep sleep all the way to Tartu.' (Internet)

Example (38) designates a process of sleeping that took place while the speaker was travelling to Tartu in a vehicle that remains implicit. There is no profiling of the initial or medial portions of the path, nor is there any element indicating the vehicle used. Even the verb ('sleep') is not a motion verb. This means that the sense of motion is solely evoked by the clause-final cluster *kuni täiesti tartuni välja*. In this cluster there are altogether four grammatical elements that indicate facets of the endpoint and the extent of the path. These involve the particles *kuni*, *täiesti* and *välja*, and the terminative case ending of the expression *tartu-ni*. Among these, *täiesti* 'completely' is not an actual terminative gram but contributes to emphasize the terminative meaning, which is indicated by the near-synonymous *kuni* and *välja* and the case ending *-ni*. Though in principle the terminative case alone would suffice to indicate such a meaning, a look at actual usage confirms that it in fact often combines with grams that indicate approximately the same meaning. In particular the combination of *kuni* + terminative case + *välja* is quite common in our data, and it seems that these three elements form a conventionalized gram cluster. The overall function of this cluster is to profile the endpoint of the path as a relative landmark, and to foreground the extent of the path. This might be seen as an extreme instance of the oft-observed tendency that linguistic descriptions of motion events more often include expressions of goals than sources. However, the use of *välja* in gram clusters is not restricted to this

particular construction, as it combines rather freely with other grams; consider (39):

- (39) [Siin pole ühtegi räämas majaümbrust ja]  
*hoolimine ulatu-b kauge-le aia taha välja.*  
 caretaking extend-PRES.3SG far-ALL fence.GEN behind.LAT *välja*  
 ‘[There’s not a single unkempt house yard here], the care-taking extends well beyond the fence’. (Internet)

In Alhoniemi’s path typology, example (39) would count as a path of a process, since it describes the extent of the area where an activity (taking care) is taking place. In this example the ‘extent’ meaning is corroborated by the combination of a number of elements: in addition to *välja* there are the allative-case adverb *kaugele* (‘far’), the directional postpositional construction *aia taha* (‘to the behind of the fence’), and the verb meaning ‘extend’. Since both *kaugele* and *aia taha* are directional (‘far beyond the fence’) and do not indicate a goal or a boundary, it remains the function of *välja* to establish an outer boundary for the extent indicated (though the exact location of the boundary is not specified – the implicit landmark is thus purely relative). Example (40) shows that such a path can also be construed vertically.

- (40) *Se-da skeemi viljele-vad nii äriettevõtte-d*  
 That-PAR scheme.PAR cultivate-PRES.3PL as business.enterprise-PL  
*kui ka poliitiku-d ehk täieõiguslik JOKK majandus*  
 as too politician-PL that.is lawful JOKK economy  
*alt kuni üles välja.*  
 from.down PRTC up.LAT *välja*  
 ‘This scheme is cultivated by business enterprises as well as politicians, that is, a lawful JOKK<sup>4</sup> economy from the bottom all the way to the top.’  
 (Internet)

In (40) the metaphorical scale is conceptualized as vertical, extending from the base all the way up (to top political leadership – the example instantiates the common metaphor DOMINANT IS UP), and the speaker states that morally suspicious economic and political activities occur everywhere along the scale. The path construed thus belongs to the type of paths of process, in Alhoniemi’s classi-

<sup>4</sup> JOKK is an abbreviation for (political) activity that is not actually against the law but considered morally unacceptable (< *juridiliselt on kõik korrektne* ‘legally everything is correct’).

fication: the conceptualizer scans through the society conceptualized as extending along a continuum from low-level (e.g. criminal) individuals and enterprises up to the nation's top leadership.

In addition to near-synonymous grams emphasizing terminativity, *välja* can in some cases be found in combination with other grams that designate different facets of the endpoint (goal location) of motion or a more abstract change. In example (41) *välja* is used together with *kätte*, a gram indicating a concrete or metaphorical possessive change (Ojutkangas 2001, Lehismets 2012), where it implies the presence of a person gaining a possession, who is also somehow affected by the event. The information is metaphorically moving away from one's possession, indicated by *välja*, and ends up in other person's possession, indicated by *kätte*. Native speaker's intuition suggests that the gram *kätte* alone would suffice to convey the intended meaning, the gram *välja* being not obligatory here. Nevertheless, the person who wrote (41) has additionally used *välja*, which shows that there are instances of such combinations in actual usage. In (42) the gram *välja* co-occurs with the most abstract Estonian aspect particle *ära* (originally meaning 'away').

(41) *Seetõttu tule-ks tootja-lt välja kätte saa-da*  
 therefore should.COND.3SG producer-ABL *välja* hand.ILL get-INF  
*graafiku-d või tabeli-d eri temperatuuri-de kohta.*  
 schedule-PL or table-PL different temperature-PL.GEN about  
 'Therefore one should get from the producer schedules or tables  
 concerning different temperatures.' (Internet)

(42) *Kui sa nüüd täiesti aus ole-d siis ütle*  
 if you now perfectly honest be-PRES.2SG then say.IMPER  
*välja ära, et ma pole su-lle mitte ühte-gi*  
*välja* away that I be.NEG you-ALL not one.PAR-CLIT  
*pm-i saat-nud*  
 pm-PAR send-PRTC  
 'If you are now perfectly honest, then please tell straightly that I haven't  
 sent you a single pm [a kind of electronic message].' (Internet)

In these examples the (potentially) moving participant is a piece of information the speaker wishes to gain from a person. In (41) *välja* contributes to the overall metaphor where a cognitive change, the disclosure of information about the temperature, is represented as motion: the information moves 'out' of the person who discloses it, and becomes accessible to others (such metaphoric representation of many different types of a cognitive change is very common in Baltic Finnic lan-

guages; for Finnish, see Huumo 2006). The recipient(s) of the information remain implicit, but their relevance in the event is enhanced by the adverb *kätte*, which indicates that the information disclosed will not only be available but will also be received by implicit participants. The grams *välja* and *kätte* thus contribute to the construal of the overall path traversed by the information: first the information moves ‘out of’ the person who discloses it and then into the dominion (‘hand’) of the implicit recipient. In (42) *välja* combines with another perfectivity particle, *ära* (for the functions of this element see Metslang 1997, 2001, 2002), which is the most grammaticalized aspectual particle in Estonian and serves to emphasize the perfectivity of the event: when the person has disclosed the information, it is available to others, and the particle *ära* means that this disclosure amounts to achieving the endpoint of the event.

There are also uses where *välja* combines with the gram *vastu* ‘against’, which also implies the participation of an implicit recipient but unlike *kätte* evokes the sense of directionality which is the opposite of the one indicated by *välja*; consider (43).

- (43) *Kodu-s prae-b ema panni-l midagi uks*  
 home-INE fry-PRES.3SG mother pan-ADE something door  
*on lahti veidi kibe suits tule-b välja*  
 be.PRES.3SG open rather bitter smoke come-PRES.3SG *välja*  
*vastu.*  
 towards.

‘At home mother is frying something on the frying pan, the door is open, a rather bitter smoke is coming out towards [us].’ (Fiction)

In (43) the smoke moves out of the house and constitutes a substance that occupies the path from the inside of the house to its exterior; the example can thus be argued to combine the path types of transition (the smoke is moving) and occurrence (there is smoke at each point along the path). The gram *vastu* ‘towards’; ‘against’ implies the presence of an implicit human participant whose point of view the conceptualizer identifies with: when the smoke exits the house, it moves towards the implicit participant whose position is indicated by *vastu*. Note, too, that in this example *välja* precedes *vastu* and is thus not positioned at the end of the sentence, which seems to be the natural position for the terminative *välja*. This is also reflected in its meaning in the example, which is more concrete, as the smoke actually moves out of the house.

## 6 Distribution of the functions in usage

In order to find out how the functions of *välja* are distributed in actual usage, we conducted a small corpus study on modern literary Estonian. We analyzed 200 occurrences of *välja* in the Corpus of Estonian Literary Language: one hundred occurrences were collected from fiction and one hundred from newspaper texts. We first divided the occurrences into semantic groups based on their meaning, i.e. whether they indicate 1) actual spatial motion (out of a container that is either explicitly referred to or implied; cf. example 10 above); 2) abstract motion such as a change of state metaphorically represented as motion out of a container (examples 17–18), or something becoming available to the conceptualizer (examples 14–15); 3) emanation (example 11); 4) terminative meanings of the extent of an entity (examples 20 and 22), and 5) purely aspectual meanings (example 25). The results in of this division are represented in percentages and in absolute numbers (in brackets) in Figure 3.

It turns out (in Figure 3) that instances of abstract motion are the most common usage group (44.5 % of occurrences), followed by those indicating actual spatial motion (35 %), whereas the meaning groups of emanation (7.5 %), terminative extent (3 %) and perfective aspect (8.5 %) were less frequent. Obviously, terminative and aspectual expressions have much in common semantically and could also be united into a more schematic group, in which case its share would exceed 10 %. Approximately 1.5 % of the occurrences could not be classified in the groups we used and were therefore assigned the label *other*.

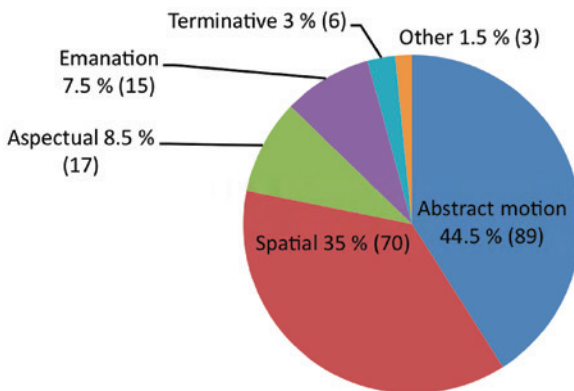
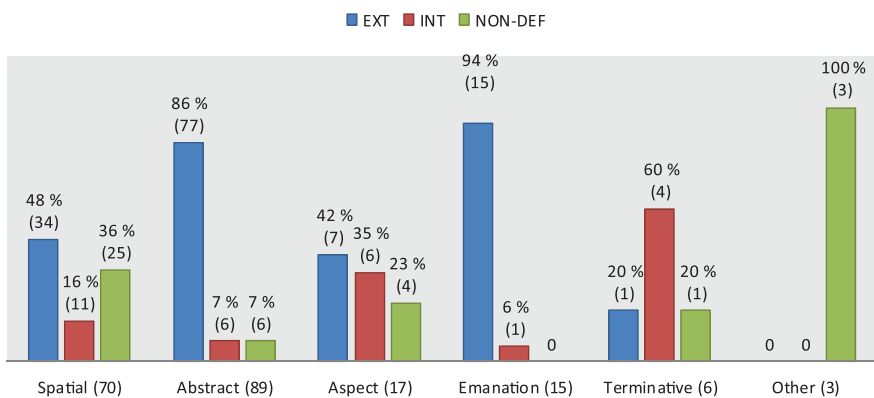


Fig. 3: The semantic distribution of the Estonian expressions of *välja*.

We also studied the positioning of the conceptualizer's point of view with respect to the container that is left by the trajectory, in instances where this was possible; cf. Figure 4.

The numbers in Figure 4 show the numbers of occurrences with an internal, an external, and an indeterminate viewpoint in each semantically distinguished group and in the whole material. The decision concerning the placement of the viewpoint is naturally a somewhat subjective matter, as many clausal elements may contribute to it, in particular deictic elements and viewpoint-related verbs such as 'come' and 'go'. Though the material is far too small to justify statistically reliable conclusions, it is nevertheless worth pointing out that in the spatial group (70 occurrences) there are 11 instances with a viewpoint inside the container, 34 instances with a viewpoint outside the container and 25 instances where the viewpoint is neutral or indeterminate, i.e. there are no elements indicating viewpoint. This shows that the external viewpoint dominates in those instances where a viewpoint can be determined, whereas an internal viewpoint is rather exceptional. In abstract uses and in expressions of emanation, the dominance of an external viewpoint is even clearer: 77 instances of 89 abstract and 15 instances of 16 examples indicating emanation assume an external viewpoint. This is understandable especially in the group of emanation, since the source of an emanation is often not container-like; it can be any kind of an entity capable of emitting some kind of a signal such as radiation. In terminative and aspectual uses, an initial point of view (at the source location of the path) is more common, which means that the point of view is typically placed on the location from which



**Fig. 4:** The location of the conceptualizer's viewpoint in Estonian *välja*-expressions (percentages).

the motion starts, and not on the end location, where the mover ends up. This is compatible with the observation that the endpoint location is construed as relative by including *välja* in the sentence.

In Section 5 we pointed out that *välja* sometimes combines with other grammatical elements, creating complex expressions we call gram clusters, which consist of different grams that indicate multiple facets of the spatial or other kind of a path. The data considered show that this usually happens in expressions indicating a terminative meaning. All terminative uses of *välja* in our data involve a gram cluster, where the typical components, in addition to *välja*, are the particle *kuni* ('until') and the terminative case (-*ni*) of the landmark expression, or both, as in our examples (31) and (38).

Finally, when we consider the windowing of attention over the overall path (of which *välja* profiles a part) we find that it is typical to indicate the source location overtly by a locative source expression (46 of 70 occurrences) in spatial expressions meaning 'out of a container'. This strategy is less common in expressions of emanation (3 of 16 instances), and even rarer (8 of 77 instances) in expressions of abstract uses. In the abstract uses the container that is left by the mover thus typically remains implicit. In terms of windowing, this suggests that it is more typical to window the initial portion of the overall path in spatial expressions than in abstract ones.

## 7 Conclusions

In this paper we have shown how the apparently dispersed functions of the Estonian adverb *välja* are motivated by metaphors that involve motion out of a concrete or abstract container. Our study has demonstrated that in order to understand the semantic bond between these different uses and in particular the development of *välja* into an aspect marker we need to take into account not only the cognitive content expressed but also the way of construing the event from different points of view. We have argued that the non-spatial uses of *välja* can be divided into two main groups, depending on whether the conceptualizer's point of view is located inside or outside the container left by the mover. With the external point-of-view interpretation the mover becomes perceptible or otherwise accessible to the conceptualizer only after it has left the container where it has been 'hiding' at the initial stage of the event. Such a conceptualization motivates further developments where the motion out of a metaphorical container (e.g. an internal state) is conceptualized as becoming existent or accessible, sometimes as reaching one's canonical state. If a motion verb is used in this type, it is often of the type that indicates motion towards a deictic center.

With the inside point-of-view interpretation, the focus of the conceptualizer is within the container which the mover leaves. When leaving the container the mover becomes inaccessible to the conceptualizer. Metaphorical extensions of such expressions include ones where the trajector leaves its canonical state or becomes inaccessible or uncontrollable. In this metaphor, entities that are closer to the conceptualizer or situated within the conceptualizer's cognitive dominion are more accessible and controllable than entities situated further away or outside such a dominion. As this characterization suggests, the change experienced by the mover need not be of an abrupt kind (from the inside of the container to its outside) but sometimes gradual. The distance from the deictic center can vary, and it is in such instances that *välja* takes on a terminative function. The terminative *välja* does not merely indicate 'outness' but measures a distance and establishes an end point for some scale that is conceptualized as originating at the deictic center. The pure aspectual function of *välja* can then be considered a further development of its terminative meaning.

Our study also shows how *välja* combines with other grams that indicate similar or closely related meanings, giving rise to gram clusters that may show a greater or lesser degree of conventionality – for instance, in terminative expressions the combination of *kuni* – terminative case – *välja* is quite typical, but as the examples discussed in Section 4 show, *välja* is also used with other grams that relate the indicated event to domains other than space (e.g., possession or a cognitive exchange of information). What is remarkable in such clusters is that they often occur in expressions where both the initial and medial portions of the overall path are gapped (not overtly expressed) – the Estonian language can thus use up to four near-synonymous grams to indicate the endpoint of a path while the initial and medial portions of the path are not overtly indicated at all. This, as we have argued, is a strong manifestation of the tendency that languages tend to focus on the endpoints of (motion) events rather than to their starting points. This tendency manifests itself not only in the use of locative expressions but also in many expressions of aspect.

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