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CENTRAL EUROPE AS A LANDSCAPE OF CONVERGENCE

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Abstract

The author believes that Central Europe is a region stretching from the Alps – Adriatic Sea as far as the Baltic Sea. (= the Amber road region.)

From a linguistic viewpoint Central Europe is a language union, predominantly affected by the German language. The characteristics of this union are: linguistic purism, the belt of composite languages, the belt of languages with affix sequences, with preverbs, a unification in the rectio system.

1. Initial remarks

When defining Central Europe one comes across a lot of controversy due to a mixture of different viewpoints. The region stretching from the Alps-Adriatic Sea as far as the Baltic area (as well as its sub-regions, e.g. The Alpine-Adriatic area, The Carpathian Basin, the Baltic states) were from time to time defined according to historical-cultural tradition, economical structure, geographical position, religion or political approach. Therefore you can find terms such as "Central Europe" (Zentral-Europa, Mittel-Europa), „East-Central-Europe" or even terms for such temporary regions on the periphery of Eastern-Europe, the composition of which can change occasionally.[1]

As for me I refer to Central Europe as the region stretching from the Alpine-Adriatic region as far as the Baltic areas (Pusztay 1994a,b) and call it the Amber Road region which lies between the German-spread western and Byzantine-Russian eastern civilizations, representing the eastern border of the western cultural circle.

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[1] For orientation in the rich bibliography cf. Lendvai (1997), Ágh (1998) and Herczegh (1998).

The belt has contacts with Scandinavia in the north, the Balkans in the south-east and with Mediterranean cultures in the south. The belt can be further divided into sub-regions, e.g. the Baltic area, the Alpine-Adriatic territory, the Carpathian Basin (the two latter somewhat overlap) and a middle sub-region of Czech-Moravian-Polish areas. The twofoldness of German terminology (Zentral-Europa and Mittel-Europa) can be eliminated if Mittel-Europa would mean the whole belt, whereas Zentral-Europa only a sub-region of it, that of the common territories of the Carpathian Basin and the Alpine-Adriatic area.

This region can be described as follows:

- a belt of so-called small peoples (with the exception of Poland and Hungary);[2]
- a long subordinate position;
- multinational states formed (by force);
- the dispersion of the multinational states in the 1990s;
- national awakening movements from the 1980s;
- the presence of ethnic minorities;
- homogenizing processes in culture and language.

2. A linguistic characterization of the Amber Road region

Central Europe as the belt stretching from the Alpine-Adriatic area until the Baltic area is an integral part of the western Latin-based culture. Linguistically almost on the whole territory the influence of the different historical and regional variations of the German language can be traced back (cf. in the Baltic areas from the 13th century first Low-German /Niederdeutsch/, then High-German /Hochdeutsch/ played an important part; in the Alpine-Adriatic region and in the Carpathian Basin the southern-German, Austrian and Bavarian and Schwabish/Kraut dialects of Hochdeutsch were dominating. The German ethnicity had a decisive role in spreading Western European culture in the whole of Central Europe [as Hinderling (1981) states it in connection with the Baltic parts].

2.1. Language families

Linguistically Europe was and has been defined by the languages of the sub-divisions of the Indo-European and Uralic languages.

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[2] Cf. the population of the given countries: Estonia – 1.4 м, Latvia – 2.4 м, Lithuania – 3.6 м, Poland – 38 м, the Czech Republic – 10 м, Slovakia – 6 м, Hungary – 10 м, Slovenia – 2 м, Croatia 4.3 м. By the number of speakers the languages of the region can be grouped as: middle-big languages (10–50 millions) – Polish, Hungarian; small languages (1–10 millions) – Czech, Slovakian, Slovenian, Croatian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian; small dwarf languages (under 10 thousand) – Livonian (ca. 10 persons). Livonian is considered a dead language by UNESCO. According to reference literature, as well as my personal experiences it is spoken by about 10 people in Livonia (Latvia). A census in Kazakhstan in 2009 found 49 Livonians there, 8 of whom marked Livonian as their mother tongue (Koshman 2013: 34).

Indo-Europeans dominate, cf. Germanic languages are German (Hochdeutsch, earlier Niederdeutsch), Baltic languages (Lithuanian and Latvian, earlier also old-Prussian), western Slavic languages (Polish, Czech, Slovak), southern Slavic languages (Croatian, Slovenian) and to some extent Italian as a neo-Latin language.

Uralic languages are represented by Estonian, Finnish and Livonian of the Finnic branch and Hungarian of the Ugric branch.

2.2. Typology

The different origins of the languages spoken in Central Europe go together with typological differences as Indo-European languages are inflected, while Uralic ones are agglutinative languages. Typological difference strongly limits the frames of interaction. It is a universal experience that in case of languages with a different typology linguistic influences do not affect morphology.

2.3. Areal linguistics

Décsy (1973) categorizes the languages of Europe – with the exception of big languages (German, French, English, Italian and Russian), these being members of the *SAE*-Union, i.e. *Standard Average European*-Bund. Taking into account (also) their geographical location he operates with linguistic unions (*Sprachbund*).[3]

The languages that are of interest for our special observation belong to the following language unions:

- Peipus union (Peipus-Bund – named after the Estonian Peipsi-järv 'P. lake'): **Estonian**, *Votian*, **Livonian**, Latvian;
- Danube union (Donau-Bund): **Czech**, **Slovakian**, *Hungarian*, **Slovenian**, Serbo-**Croatian**.

Haarmann (1976) operates with two linguistic unions for Central Europe: The Baltic-(Baltischer Sprachbund) and the Danube-union (Donau-Sprachbund). He lists Latvian, Livonian, Estonian and Votian in the Baltic-union, while he considers Lithuanian a transitional or a contact language on the periphery of the Baltic-union. As far as the Danube/Danuvian-union is concerned it contains German, Czech, Slovakian and Hungarian.

Stolz (1991) speaks about a Baltic landscape of convergence; Wälchli (2001: 419) uses the term areal continuum.

Stolz considers Estonian, Livonian, Latvian (esp. its *tami* dialect, the distinctive, non-Latgal-dialectal features of which are due to a Livonian influence[4]) the central languages of the Baltic language landscape (*Sprachlandschaft*).

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[3] A "linguistic union" is a conglomerate of languages on a given geographical area, usually of different origins and typology, yet in interaction which produces common linguistic features not present in other unions.

Bednarczuk (1996: 63) extends the borders of the Baltic linguistic union, i.e. besides Votian, Estonian, Livonian, Latvian and Lithuanian and takes north-eastern Polish and Belorussian into consideration.

Mathiassen (1996: 173) includes Russian and Polish beside Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Livonian. He makes an important statement about the essence of the *Sprachbund*, namely that the lack of linguistic relationship is not an absolute sine qua non.

Typologically it was the Baltic-Finnic languages which had more actively affected other languages, yet they have incorporated a lot of loan words from Baltic languages. A reciprocal process of borrowing can be traced back only in the Latvian-Livonian relation. (Mathiassen 1996: 177).

Lewy (1942) uses „area" (*Gebiet*) instead of the term „union". The German and the Hungarian languages belong to the central, word-inflecting group (6 kk.). He states that as a result of the 18th century language renovation Hungarian has been greatly Indo-Germanized (50 kk.).

Considering Hungarian and Czech, Becker (1948) already speaks of a *Sprachanschluß,* i.e. these two languages have become closer to the European linguistic union represented by German (for further details see Balázs 1983).

According to Skalička (1968b) the Danube (or Central-European) linguistic union contains Hungarian, Slovakian, Czech, perhaps – in former terminology – Serbo-Croatian (nowadays Croatian belongs to the union as one of the two individual languages) and German.

Balázs (1983: 28–29) also accepts the classification of Skalička but he adds that common features of the linguistic union did not evoke changes in the inherited common typological and structural features.

Futaky et al. (1978) refuses the idea of the Danube linguistic union, saying that the common features are the results of internal development. Relying on him Honti (2000) also refuses the Danube union.

Mikola (2002: 49–50) stresses that it is mainly vocabulary and phraseology where there are a lot of correspondences within the Danube union.

However some characteristic features such as morphological and morpho-syntactical ones of both linguistic unions are shared (e.g. the short-long quantitative correlation of vowels, a stabile word stress, synthetic nominal declension, the use of preverbs).

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4   In the Latvian tami dialect the marking of feminine nouns disappeared. Cf.

Latvian standard	tami dialect
Anna	*Ann-s* (marked the same way as nouns of masculine gender)
Emma	*Emm-s*
Laime	*Laim-s*
viņš 'he', *viņa* 'she'	*viņč* '(s)he' (for all gender)

(Stolz 1991: 23)

A strong impact of German is inevitable for both unions. The German language is included in the Danube union as a component by Haarmann (1976). Décsy (1973) excludes it, and only Stolz (1991), Décsy and Haarmann exclude it from the Baltic linguistic union.

Carefulness is understandable to some extent as in the interaction German is prevalent, it behaves as a dominant donor language in the whole belt, while it takes over only few elements from other languages of the area.

Alongside with the German impact in the whole of the Central European region there could be some other dominant languages in a given linguistic union, e.g. in the Baltic union it is Latvian which has a focal part, especially going by the effect it has had on Livonian and some Estonian dialects.

3. Central Europe as a landscape of linguistic convergence

On the basis of available studies the characteristic features of the two linguistic unions of the Amber Road region have been shown above. Consequently the northern and southern sub-regions of the belt are linked by the following features:
- the quantitative /long-short/ correlation of vowels;
- stabile word stress;
- synthetic noun declension;
- the presence of preverbs (Pusztay 2003).

I interpret Central Europe from a linguistic viewpoint as a union, predominantly affected by the German language, which can be described with the following features (although not equally shared by the individual languages):
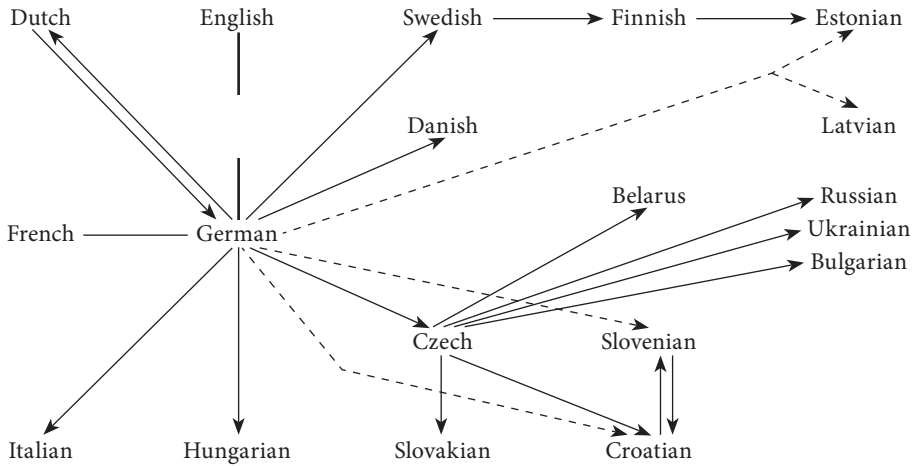- language development based on the mother tongue – linguistic purism;
- the belt of composite languages;
- the belt of languages with affix sequences;
- the belt of languages with preverbs;
- unification in the rectio system.

3.1. Language development on the basis of the mother tongue – linguistic purism

Thomas (1991: 200) attributes a decisive role to the German language in the spread of linguistic purism in Europe as illustrated with the following sketch (s. next page).

In addition to this Estonian has not only taken over elements from Finnish but to a greater extent from German. Similarly German has affected Latvian not discussed by him. Personally, I believe German has influenced Croatian and Slovenian directly as well not just through the mediation of the Czech language, what is supported by the research of Nyomárkay (2004, 2007).

As the forthcoming examples will show German tends to express terms with means of its own as opposed to English which uses mainly Latin-based terminology. This *tendency* of German has developed as a result of a long process.

Dutch   English   Swedish → Finnish → Estonian

Danish   Latvian

French → German   Belarus   Russian   Ukrainian   Bulgarian

Czech   Slovenian

Italian   Hungarian   Slovakian   Croatian

Thomas (1991: 200)

3.2. The belt of composite languages

An identical way of creating compounds proves an identical way of thinking. The pre-requisite of the method is the presence of a dominant language which serves as a role model for the other languages of the region. In the Amber Road belt this dominant language is German, for Finnish it is Swedish and/or German. Such Hungarian-Finnish coincidences as *tej/fog ~ maito/hammas* – cf. German *Milch/zahn* 'milk tooth', *bölcsesség/fog ~ viisauden/hammas* – cf. German *Weisheits/zahn* 'wisdom tooth' are due to Germanic influence. These and similar loan translations are often so-called Europeisms (Hakulinen 1968: 392). Pauley (1980) has collected more than 300 exclusively noun loan translations from Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian. The way of coining new words in Hungarian has changed. While in the 13th century only 4% of them were compounds, in the second half of the 20th century already 35%, the majority of which is based on a foreign, mainly German model (calque) (Benkő 1972: 209).

Dobrovský (1780: 94) expressed his worries as early as the last quarter of the 18th century with regard to the similar tendencies of the Czech language. First he states that newly made Czech words were created on a German model (Dobrovský 1779: 331), then he asks the question: who introduced it as a rule that the Czech had to imitate the Germans when making new words (Dobrovský 1780: 94). Finally Dobrovský (1780: 100) forecasts the consequences for writing: if this tendency goes on they will soon write in German with Czech words instead of writing in Czech.

Croatian language developers used the method of borrowing, the source mainly being Czech (e.g. *vlak* 'train' – cf. Serbian *voz*; *cesta* 'road, way' – cf. Serbian *put* 'id.') (Nyomárkay 2004: 49). Even so in case of loan translations we mainly see the German model (Nyomárkay 2007: 186) but there are some translations which used the Hungarian model, e.g. *domo/bran* hon/véd 'soldier' (Nyomárkay 2004: 49), *igro/kaz játék/szín* 'theatre' (Nyomárkay 2004: 64). Croatian does not like to connect

two nouns (Nyomárkay 2004: 63). Some of the compounds that date back to the period of language reform/renovation sound archaic and are replaced by a possessive structure or modifier, sometimes a loan word, e.g. *štrajkolomac ~ Streikbrecher ~ sztrájktörő* 'strike breaker' (nowadays rather *preklidač štrajka*), *geografija* instead of the earlier *zemljo/pis ~ föld/rajz* 'geography' (Nyomárkay 2004:65).

In the development of the Slovenian literary language the other Slavic languages had an important role, first and foremost Czech and Croatian (Gadányi 1996). However, those examples are of special interest where mainly composite forms or preverb derivatives of the rolemodel Czech and/or Croatian languages coincide with e.g. their Hungarian and more important, with their German counterparts. The following list has been compiled on the basis of the appendix of Gadányi's above mentioned book (the number in front of the example shows the place of the word in the appendix.)

64. *človeko/ljubje*, Hungarian *ember/szeretet*, cf. Croatian *čověko/ljubje*, German *Menschen/liebe*, 'philanthropy' (p. 241),

95. *drevo/delec* Hungarian *fa/munkás*, cf. Czech *dřevo/dělnik*, German *Holz/arbeiter*, 'wood worker' (p. 245),

143. *jeziko/znanstvo*, Hungarian *nyelv/tudomány*, cf. Croatian *jeziko/znanstvo*, German *Sprach/kunde*, or *Sprach/wissenschaft*, 'linguistics' (p. 249),

431. *pred/soba*, Hungarian *elő/szoba*, cf. Croatian *pred/soba*, German *Vor/zimmer*, 'entrance/ hall' (p. 276),

466. *prirodo/znanstvo,* Hungarian *természet/ismeret*, cf. Czech *přírodo/sloví*, German *Natu/rkunde*, 'nature studies' (p. 279),

495. *proti/dokaz*, Hungarian *ellen/bizonyíték*, *ellen/érv*, cf. Czech *proti/důkaz*, German *Gegen/beweis*, 'counter-proof' (p. 282),

498. *proti/slovje*, Hungarian *ellent/mondás*, cf. Croatian *proti/slovje*, German *Wider/spruch* 'controversy, contradiction' (p. 282),

515. *rastlino/pis*, Hungarian *növény/leírás*, cf. Czech *rostlino/pis*, German *Pflanzen/beschreibung*, 'plant description' (p. 284),

540. *roko/pis*, Hungarian *kéz/irat*, cf. Croatian *ruko/pis*, German *Hand/schrift*, 'manuscript' (p. 286),

545. *samo/glas*, Hungarian *magán/hangzó*, cf. Czech *samo/hláska*, Slovenian *samo/glasnik*, cf. Croatian *samo/glasnik*, German *Selbst/laut* 'vowel' (p. 286),

573. *slono/kosten*, Hungarian *elefánt/csont*, cf. Czech *slono/kostní*, German *elfen/beinern,* 'ivory' (p. 289),

637. *straž/mešter*, Hungarian *őr/mester* (cf. archaic *strázsa/mester*), cf. Czech *stráž/mistr*, German *Wacht/meister*, 'sergeant' (p. 295),

721. *veliko/mesten*, Hungarian *nagy/városi*, cf. Czech *velko/městský*, German *groß/städtisch*, 'urban, from a big city' (p. 302),

722. *vero/dostojen*, Hungarian *hitelt érdemlő*, *szavahihető*, cf. Croatian *vjero/dostojan*, German *glaub/würdig*, 'believable, credible' (p. 302),

723. *veselo/igra*, Hungarian *víg/játék*, cf. Czech *vesel/ihra*, German *Lust/spiel* 'comedy' (p. 302),

762. *v/tisk ~ v/tisek*, Hungarian *be/nyomás*, cf. Czech *vý/tisk*, Croatian *u/tisak*, German *Ein/druck*, 'impression' (p. 306),

763. *v/tok*, Hungarian *be/folyás*, cf. Croatian *u/tok*, German *Ein/fluß*, 'influence' (p. 306),

764. *v/vod*, Hungarian *be/vezetés*, cf. Czech *ú/vod*, German *Ein/führung*, 'introduction' (p. 306).

The next examples are presented from the Baltic sub-region, extended with Hungarian and Finnish equivalents (solutions which differ are in brackets.)

- German *Abend/kleid* ‒ (Hungarin *estélyi ruha*) – Estonian *õhtu/kleit* – Latvian *vakar/kleita*, *vakar/tērps* – Finnish *ilta/puku*, 'an evening dress',

- German *Abend/land* ‒ (Hungarian *napnyugati ország*) – Estonian *õhtu/maad*, 'a country in the west/where the sun sets',

- German *Alkohol/verbot* ‒ Hungarian *alkohol/tilalom* – Estonian *alkoholi/keeld* (– Latvian *alkohola aizliegums*) – Finnish *alkoholi/kielto*, 'alcohol prohibition',

- German *Alltags/mensch* ‒ (Hungarian *hétköznapi ember*) – Estonian *argipäeva/inimene* (– Latvian *ikdienišķs cilvēks*) (– Finnish *arkkipäiväinen ihminen*), 'an everyday man',

- German *Amts/bruder* ‒ (Hungarian *kartárs*, *kolléga*) – Estonian *ameti/vend* (– Latvian *amata brālis*) – Finnish *virka/veli*, 'a colleague',

- German *Angst/schweiß* ‒ (Hungarian *hideg verejték*) – Estonian *hirmu/higi* (– Latvian *baiļu sviedri*) (– Finnish *tuskan iki*), 'cold sweat',

- German *Armuts/zeugnis* ‒ (Hungarian *szegénységi bizonyítvány*) – Estonian *vaesus(e)/tunnistus* – Finnish *köyhän/todistus* (– Latvian *nabadzības apliecība*), 'poverty certificate',

- German *Atem/pause* – (Hungarian *lélegzetvételnyi idő*, *szünet*) – Estonian *hingamis/paus* – Finnish *hengähdys/tauko*, 'breathing space',

- German *Augen/blick* – Hungarian *szem/pillantás* – Estonian *silma/pilk* – Finnish *silmän/räpäys* – Latvian *acu/mirklis*, 'wink, glance',

- German *Bewegungs/freiheit* – Hungarian *mozgás/szabadság* – Estonian *liikumis/vabadus* – Finnish *liikkumis/vapaus* (– Latvian *kustības brīvība*), 'freedom of movement',

- German *Bier/bauch* – Hungarian *sör/has* – Estonian *õlle/kõht* – Finnish *olut/maha* – Latvian *alus/vēders*, 'beer belly',

- German *Binde/wort* – Hungarian *kötő/szó* – Estonian *side/sõna* – Finnish *side/sana*, 'linking word',

- German *Blind/darm* – Hungarian *vak/bél* – Estonian *pime/sool* – Finnish *umpi/suoli* (– Latvian *aklā zarna*), 'appendix',

- German *Butter/brot* ‒ (Hungarian *vajas kenyér*) – Estonian *või/leib* – Finnish *voi/leipä* – Latvian *sviest/maize*, 'bread and butter',

- German *Dienst/geheimnis* – (Hungarian *szolgálati titok*) – Estonian *ameti/saladus* – Finnish *virka/salaisuus* (– Latvian *dienesta noslēpums*), 'official secret',

- German *Drei/königs/fest* – (Hungarian *háromkirályok napja*, *Vízkereszt*)' – Estonian *kolme/kuninga/päev* – Latvian *trej/kungu/diena*, 'Epihany',

- German *Druck/fehler* – Hungarian *nyomda/hiba* – Estonian *trüki/viga* – Finnish *paino/virhe* (– Latvian *drukas kļūda*), 'a misprint',

- German *Eck/stein* – Hungarian *sarok/kő*, *sark/kő* – Estonian *nurga/kivi* – Finnish *nurkka/kivi*, *kulma/kivi* – Latvian *stūr/akmens*, 'cornerstone',
- German *Ehe/bruch* – Hungarian *házasság/törés* – Estonian *abuelu/rikkumine* – Finnish *avio/rikos* (– Latvian *laulības pārkāpšana*), 'adultery',
- German *Feuer/gefahr* – Hungarian *tűz/veszély* – Estonian *tule/oht* – Finnish *tulen/vaara* – Latvian *uguns/briesmas*, 'danger of fire',
- German *Feuer/kopf* ‒ (Hungarian *heves ember*, *forrófejű ember*) – Estonian *tuli/pea* (– Finnish *huima/päinen*) – Latvian *karst/galvis* 'hot-headed, quick tempered',
- German *Feuer/stein* – Hungarian *tűz/kő* – Estonian *tule/kivi* (– Finnish *pii/kivi*, *ukon/kivi*), 'fire stone',
- German *Feuer/tod* ‒ Hungarian *tűz/halál* – Estonian *tule/surm* – Finnish *tuli/kuolema*, 'stake, death in a fire',
- German *Feuer/waffe* ‒ Hungarian *tűz/fegyver* – Estonian *tuli/relv* – Finnish *tuli/aseet* – Latvian *uguns/ieroči*, 'firearm',
- German *Finger/übung* – Hungarian *ujj/gyakorlat* – Estonian *sõrme/harjutus*, (*näpuharjutus*) – Finnish *sormi/harjoitus*, 'finger-work',
- German *Fuß/ball* – (Hungarian *labda/rúgás*) – Estonian *jalg/pall* – Finnish *jalka/pallo*, 'football',
- German *Gedanken/gang* – Hungarian *gondolat/menet* – Estonian *mõte/käik* – Finnish *ajatus/kulku* (– Latvian *domu gaita*), 'train of thought, contexture',
- *Gedanken/freiheit* – Hungarian *gondolat/szabadság* – Estonian *mõtte/vabadus* – Finnish *ajatuksen/vapaus* (– Latvian *domu brīvība*), 'freedom of thought',
- German *Gedanken/austausch* – Hungarian *gondolat/csere* – Estonian *mõtte/vahetus* – Finnish *ajatusten/vaihto* (– Latvian *domu apmaiņa*), 'exchange of thoughts',
- German *Gedanken/welt* – Hungarian *gondolat/világ* – Estonian *mõtte/maailm* – Finnish *aate/maailma* (– Latvian *domu pasaule*), 'range of one's ideas, way of thinking', etc.

3.3. The belt of affix-sequence languages

What does an affix sequence mean? It refers to the situation when a basic word can get several affixes or other grammatical morphemes (e.g. a preverb), e.g. Hungarian *el-VÁR-os-i-as-odik* 'becomes city-like/citify'. In the languages of the region studied here it is especially German, Hungarian, Estonian and Latvian which abound in structures like this. E.g. German *ver-VIEL-fält-ig(-en)* 'to multiply/manyfold'. For Hungarian examples see the translations of Estonian and Latvian examples. This phenomenon would be worth a more detailed study; here we must confine ourselves only to calling attention to it.

Estonian examples

Kasik (1996) in her monograph on Estonian word formation analyzes the different means of it. Among her examples there are several cases of the following patterns – although she does not deal with affix sequences.

Verbs derived from a caritive-suffixed form: *karv* 'hair' > *karva-tu* 'hairless' > *karva-tu-sta-ma* 'to remove hair' (*-ma* being the suffix of one of the infinitives); *relv* 'weapon' > *relvi-tu* 'unarmed' > *relvi-tu-sta-ma* 'to disarm' (Kasik 1996: 65).

Transitive verbs derived from denominal intransitive verbs: *halve-(m)* 'worse' > *halve-ne-ma* 'to get worse' > *halve-n-da-ma* 'to make something worse, spoil' (Kasik 1996: 69).

Verbs derived from a denominal nomen: *näide* 'example' > *näit-lik* 'perceptible' > *näit-likku-sta-ma* 'to illustrate' (Kasik 1996: 65).

Nouns derived from denominal verbs and adjectives further derived from these: *õpe* 'teaching' > *õpe-ta-(ma)* 'to teach' > *õpe-ta-ja* 'teacher' > *õpe-ta-ja-lik* 'teacher-like', or *õpe-ta-ja-tar* 'woman teacher' > *õpe-ta-ja-tar-lik* 'woman teacher-like' (Kasik 1996: 157).

Suffix of the feminine: *laul-* 'sing' > *laul-ja* 'singer' > *laul-ja-tar* 'woman singer' (Kasik 1996: 130), and from the previous example: *õpe-ta-ja-tar* 'woman teacher'.

Noun > noun > adjective: *maa* 'land, country' > *maa-stik* 'landscape' > *maa-stikku-line* 'sg belonging to a landscape; *ilm* 'weather' > *ilma-stik* 'weather, climate' > *ilmastikku-line* 'weather as an adj.' (Kasik 1996: 144).

Noun > adjective > noun: *rahu* 'peace, quiet' > *rahu-lik* 'peaceful,quiet' > *rahu-likku-s* 'peacefulness'; *naine* (stem: *naise-*) 'woman' > *naise-lik* 'woman-like, feminine' > *naise-likku-s* 'womanliness, feminineness' (Kasik 1996: 126).

Adjective > noun > adjective > noun: *kange* 'strong' > *kange-lane* (stem: *kange-las-*) 'hero' > *kange-las-lik* 'heroic' > *kange-las-likku-s* 'heroism' (Kasik 1996: 29).

Noun > adverb > adjective: *paik* 'place' > *paigu-ti* 'at places' > *paigu-ti-ne* 'home, local, endemic' (Kasik 1996: 140).

Latvian examples (consultation with Liene Jūrmale, former lector of the Latvian language at the Department of Uralic Studies of the Western Hungarian University, Szombathely 2003)

Noun > adjective > verb: *pilsēta* 'town' > *pilsēt-niecisk(s)* 'urban' > *pilsēt-niecisk-oties* 'becomes urban, citifies'.

Noun > noun > adjective > verb: *dzīve* 'life' > *dzīv-niek(s)* 'animal' > *dzīv-nie-cisk(s)* 'animal adj.' > *pār-dzīv-nie-cisk-oties* 'makes a beast of oneself'.

Noun > adjective > noun: *māksla* 'art' > *māksli-niecisks* 'artistic' > *māksli-niecisk-ums* 'artistry'.

Adjective > verb > noun: *augst(s)* 'tall' > *pa-augst-ināt* 'make taller/higher, raise' > *pa-augst-inā-jums* 'a high point'; *zaļš* 'green' > *ap-zaļ-umot* 'cover with green' > *ap-zaļ-umo-šana* 'the fact of being covered with green'.

3.4. The belt of preverb languages

The Indo-European languages of Central Europe have a developed preverb system. According to the studies Hungarian was the only Uralic language of the area which had the germs of the preverb system as early as the 9th century. The development of the system was due to the influence of neighbouring preverb languages, predominantly that of German (for a case study see Schlachter, Pusztay 1983). Hadrovics (1976: 94) when

comparing the preverbs of Slavic languages and Hungarian finds that on bilingual territories certain Slavic preverbs may have urged the formation of the Hungarian preverb system but have not affected their internal structure and trends of development. Hungarian preverbs show a greater resemblance with Slavic adverbs and separable German preverbs than with non-separable Latin and Slavic ones.

Preverbs are close to adverbs. Originally they had been born of adverbs in lative but during the process of development many nouns (mostly the ones with a suffix of lative) could turn into preverbs.

In my opinion the decisive difference between adverbs and preverbs is that the latter

- take up abstract functions depending on the semantics of the verb and the context;
- cause a change of the verb's meaning.

In the Hungarian sequence *ki-megy a teremből* 'goes out of the room' *ki-megy* has the 'added' meaning of the two components, whereas in the phrase *ki-megy a biztosíték* 'the fuse goes /is blown' we have a new, connotative meaning.

Therefore a verb with a preverb does not only express the sum of the meanings/ functions of the individual components (if so, we should rather speak of adverbial structures) but it contains some extra semantic or grammatical message.

On the preverb system of Uralic languages two studies came out in the past two decades, a short one (Pusztay 1996) and a detailed one (Honti 1999).

In Hungarian a full preverb system has developed. The neighbourhood of preverb languages provided an ideal environment for this. Alongside with natural language development the process was supported by conscious language development and renewal tendencies. German preverbs served as a model. Due to loan translations new meanings have enriched the Hungarian languages, e.g. German *ver-sehen* – 'look after' Hungarian *el-lát*. The equivalent of the Hungarian preverb *el-* in German is mostly *ver-* (see Schlachter, Pusztay 1983). The meanings of Hungarian *lát* and German *sehen* 'see' do not completely overlap. The Hungarian *lát* verb means 'can/able to see', while the German *sehen* has a broader sense, including 'caring for, looking after, seeing to' meanings (cf. the preverb forms of the verb and its derivatives, e.g. *Vor-sehung* 'providence', *nach-sehen* 'to look after, to check', *Nach-sicht* 'understanding', *ver-sehen* 'to provide/ supply with sg').
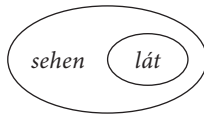
So the pair of *ver-sehen* ~ *el-lát* shows some semantic identity of the components but the extension of meaning in *el-lát* 'provide/supply with' is unquestionably the result of the German *ver-sehen*'s influence.

Among Baltic-Finnic languages it is Estonian which has a preverb system, although there is a debate about terminology.

Livonian has taken over Latvian preverbs but a system of its own seems to be developing (see further remarks).

In Vepse, not discussed here, Russian preverbs (can) join Vepse verbs, e.g. *mända* 'to go': *do-mända* 'to get there, go as far as a given point' etc. (Honti 1999: 92).

In Finnish there appears to be a controversy between reality and its interpretation, i.e. in Finnish there are several complex verbs (so-called *yhdysverbi*), and nouns derived from these verbs which could as well be interpreted as preverb structures. E.g. *alle-kirjoittaa* 'to sign, i,e, 'to **under**write', *alle-kirjoitus* 'signature / i.e. **under**writing', *ulos-käynti* 'exit / i.e. **out**going'.

When comparing Hungarian and Finnish from the aspect of preverbs we can conclude that

- a preverbed Hungarian verb with a meaning can be translated into Finnish with equivalent lexemes (e.g. **le**-*dob* ~ *heittää* **alas** 'throw down');
- a preverbed Hungarian verb with a semantic function (e.g. *Aktionsart*) has a Finnish counterpart as a stem-verb or verb derivational suffix of the same function as the Hungarian preverb (momentary, inchoative), whereas duration is expressed by a verb plus adverbial modifier (e.g. *pitkään* 'long') (Pusztay 1993).

Most Finnish "preverb" verbs have been born as the results of loan translation or from an adverb-verb combination as "logical structures".

In Estonian standard language preverbs (or *afiksaaladverbid* 'affixed adverbs' as Estonian linguists prefer calling them, Rüütmaa 1998: 12–13) and the system of *particles* used by Hasselblatt (1990, 1992) were formed under German influence (cf. Hasselblatt 1990). Hasselblatt has proven on a corpus of 2794 data that 60,1% (1679 items) are loan translations from German, 5,9% (164 items) might presumably be from German. (These two groups constitute nearly two-thirds of the material, the rest 34% (951 items) are their own derivations or so-called logical derivations (Hasselblatt 1990: 205).[5]

Estonian dialects spoken in Latvia have taken over Latvian preverbs.[6]

For example:

- *is*-*pidämä* 'to bear/to stand' (cf. Latvian *iz*-*turēt*),
- *at*-*masma* 'to pay back' (cf. Latvian *at*-*maksāt* where *maksāt* is a loan from Finnic languages),
- *sa*-*paatama* 'to discuss/come to an agreement' (cf. Latvian *sa*-*runāt*),
- *nu*-*laskanu* 'lecherous, depraved' (cf. Latvian *no*-*laidies*),
- *pa*-*laku* 'little delicacy/snack' (cf. Latvian *pa*-*laizīt* 'to taste some titbit/delicacy'),
- *pi*-*paatama* 'to persuade' (cf. Latvian *pie*-*runāt*).

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[5]   At the same time German also abounds in loan translations of Latin preverb verbs: out of the 1255 Latin preverb verbs 700 have a loan translation in German (Carpenter 1973).

[6]   As for Latvian preverbs, they are of Baltic origin, i.e. their etymological counterparts can be found in Lithuanian (Wälchli 2001: 412). Endzelīns thinks the use of Latvian adverbs as preverbs reflects the impact of Livonian and Estonian (Endzelīns 1905–1906: 136–138, based on Wälchli 2001: 411). I personally presuppose a reverse direction as preverbs are known in Indo-European languages but are of a late emergence in Finno-Ugric ones.

An adaptation of preverbs on nouns is also to be observed, e.g. *pa*-*jema* 'stepmother' (cf. Latvian *pa*-*mate*) (Sievers 1971: 20, based on Mägiste 1937).

Livonian which is/was used also on the territory of Latvia in the Riga-bay took over all the 11 preverbs of Latvian. E.g. with the verb *lădõ* 'to go':

- *aiz*-*lădõ* 'go out',
- *ap*-*lădõ* 'go around; treat sb',
- *ie*-*lădõ* 'go into',
- *iz*-*lădõ* 'go out, spread',
- *nuo*-*lădõ* 'go away, go until the end/reach the aim',
- *pa*-*lădõ* 'go past/away, pass sg',
- *pie*-*lădõ* 'go /in traffic/, go onto sg, get down to doing sg',
- *põr*-*lădõ* 'change/shift for sg',
- *sa*-*lădõ* 'come together/assemble',
- *uz*-*lădõ* 'discover sg; bump into sg' (Sievers 1971: 28–29),
- *at*-*tuodõ* 'bring back' (Vääri 1966: 149).

Preverbs were made from adverbs. No wonder Livonian has created structures from its own adverbs, alongside with preverbs of Latvian origin. E.g.

- *jūrõ tūlda* 'arrive, come',
- *jūrõ maksõ* 'pay back',
- *jarà viskõ* 'throw away' (Vääri 1966: 150).

Latvian preverbs usually match adverbial phrases in a Livonian context so a preverb can be substituted with a Livonian adverb, e.g. *tam sa-pand eńtš ārnõd* 'he has packed his clothes' ~ *laz pang nänt amād kubbõ* 'pack/put everything together!' (Sievers 1971: 44); *păva núo-lăeb* 'the sun goes **down**' ~ *păva lăeb mā* 'id.'; *ta iz või nuo-tõmbõ sjedā* 'he could not pull it **out**' ~ *laz tämā tõmbõg sie tamm ulzõ* 'let him pull **out** this oak' etc. (Sievers 1971: 45); *kodai tulnõd* ~ *at-tullen* 'he came home' (Sievers 1971: 47); *ala ānda* ~ *pie-ānda* 'he surrenders' (Sievers 1971: 49); *vastõ võttõ* ~ *sa-võttõ*, *pie-võttõ*, *uz-võttõ* 'accepts, takes over' (Sievers 1971: 53). An adverb can also take over the function of the preverb expressing the quality of the verb, e.g. *ma năb, ku sa uod nei jarā ädāgõn* ~ *ma năb, ku sa uod nei nuo-ädagõn* 'I see that you got so scared' (Sievers 1971: 43).

An adverb of Latvian origin and an own adverb can occur together creating redundant structures. Redundancy often reflects the duel between two systems. Examples: *un kis siz um nuo-urgõn jara* 'and the one who really ran **away**' (Sievers 1971: 56); *nuo-rad'l'õb kakš pădõ jõra* 'he cuts **off** two heads' (Sievers 1971: 57); *ne sa-kuoŕisti kubbõ* 'they came **together**' (Sievers 1971: 56); *sodaväeg at-kieriz tăgiž* 'the army returned' (Sievers 1971: 59); *kᵘoŕrâm ku'bbâ* ~ *sa-kᵘoŕrâm* 'we collect these' (Suhonen 1996: 246). In some cases, however, minute differences can be expressed with choosing either the preverb or the adverb: *jara* 'resultative action', *nuo-* 'finishing sg', e.g. *se sīnt sieb jara* 'that will eat you **up**'; *ni tam nuo-siend lõinagist* 'they **have** eaten the lunch' (Sievers 1971: 72).

The choice of a Latvian preverb or a Livonian adverb in the same function depends / can depend on the conscious attitude of the speaker (Suhonen 1996: 246).

These examples reflect the process of the forming of preverbs, i.e. the shift direct/specific > abstract is visible but this process was blocked by the adaptation of Latvian preverbs.

As a final conclusion one can state that the network of preverb languages in Central Europe has become complete.

3.5. Homogenization in the rectio system

The Fenno-Ugric languages of the Central European region all have the category of threefold direction (*where to – where – where from*) though expressed with different morphological and morpho-syntactic means. They also share an internal and external indication of locus/place (Hungarian goes further by differentiating between having a contact or the lack of contact). The Uralic languages of the region are able to mark shades and details of place with the help of their rich case system, as well as their many postpositions. Cf.

- Hungarian: *asztal-**ra** – asztal-**on** – asztal-**ról*** 'onto the table, on the table, from the table' and *asztal-**tól*** 'from the table'; *ház-**ba** – ház-**ban** – ház-**ból*** 'into the house, in the house, out of the house' and *ház-**tól*** 'from next to the house'; *asztal **alá** – **alatt** – **alól*** 'to under the table, under the table, from under the table' etc.;
- Estonian: *maja-**sse*** 'into the house' – *maja-**s*** 'in the house' – *maja-**st*** 'out of the house'; *laua-**le*** 'onto the table' – *laua-**l*** 'on the table' – *laua-**lt*** 'from the table'; *laua **alla*** 'to under the table' – *laua **all*** 'under the table' – *laua **alt*** 'from under the table'; prepositions are rarer than postpositions (e.g. ***keset** tuba* 'in the middle of the room', ***mööda** tänavat* 'on the road' etc.);
- Livonian: *mẹtsâ* 'to the forest' (the historical marker has disappeared) –*mẹtsà-**z*** 'in the forest' – *mẹtsà-**st*** 'from the forest'; *mō̬-lâ* 'to the countryside to the (main) land' – *mō̬-l* (~ *mō̬-lâ*) 'in the countryside, on the (main)land' – *mō̬-**lD*** 'from the countryside, (main)land'; postpositional structures: *lādan **all*** 'to under the table', *ukš **tagàn*** 'behind the door'; the use of prepositions is rarer, e.g. ***l'eb** lä'B* 'through the window', ***pi't'š'** randâ* 'on/along the shore'.

In the Indo-European languages of the region the role of prepositions plus a case is dominant in marking place, although some case-endings can mark place individually, without a preposition, too. E.g.

- In Latvian locative position is expressed by locative (with no prepositions in this case): *mājā* 'in the house' but also with a lative function, e.g. *ieiet **mežā*** 'go into the forest'. Other cases of place are expressed with a preposition and case combination, e.g. (*iet*) ***uz** veikalu* '(go) into the shop' (accusative), (*braukt*) *pa ceļu* '(go) on the road)' (accusative), (*sveiciens*) ***no** tava drauga* 'greeting from your friend' (genitive), etc.;

- In Lithuanian beside the case system resembling the Latvian one there are certain dialects (also in old-Lithuanian) which use further cases for indicating place (the emergence of these is explained by a Baltic-Finnic impact): illative (*miškañ* 'into the forest'), adessive (*miškiẽp* 'by the forest, next to the forest'), allative (*miškóp* 'to the forest'); locative expresses the locative place concept without prepositions, e.g. *miškè* 'in the forest', *namè* 'in the house', *gãtveje* 'in the street'; other place concepts are expressed by the combination of a preposition and a case, e.g. ***põ*** *knygà* 'under the book' (instrumental), ***iš****bažnýčios* 'from the church' (genitive) etc.;

- In German the concept of place is expressed by the combination of a preposition and a case; for lative and locative the same preposition is used with accusative in the first case and dative in the second one, e.g. – ***in*** *das* (= *ins*) *Haus* 'into the house' – ***in*** *dem* (= *im*) *Haus* 'in the house', ***auf*** *den Tisch* 'onto the table' – ***auf*** *dem Tisch* 'on the table', ***unter*** *den Tisch* 'to under the table' – ***unter*** *dem Tisch* 'under the table'. Ablative can be expressed by one preposition (***von*** *dem* [= *vom*] *Tisch* 'from the table') or the combination of two prepositions with the one denoting direction after the noun (e.g. ***unter*** *dem Tisch* ***hervor*** 'from under the table').

In Uralic languages certain verbs take lative after themselves (e.g. *leave*, *stay*, *die* in sg), while others demand ablative (e.g. *look for*, *find*, *take/buy*). In Indo-European languages after these verbs there will be locative (cf. Baltic languages, Lithuanian: ***miške rādome daug grybų*** 'in the **forest** we found a lot of mushrooms' [locativus], Latvian: *meklēt blusas svešā* ***kažokā*** 'to look for fleas in a stranger's **furcoat**' [locativus], *palikt visu dienu* ***mājā*** 'to stay **at** home the whole day' [locativus], *atrast dimantus* ***taigā*** 'to find a diamond **in the taiga**' [locative] etc.).

The highest level of neutralization can be seen in Hungarian as both the compulsory lative and ablative have become locatives. E.g. ***otthon*** *hagytam*, 'I left it at home', *a* ***helyén*** *maradt*, '(s)he stayed in their place'; ***hol*** *találtad?*, 'where did you find it?', ***hol*** *keresed?* 'Where are you looking for it?' etc. In some rare examples the original rectio has been preserved, supported by an adverb or preverb, e.g. ***bele****hal a sérülésébe*, 'dies **into** his wound', ***oda****hagytam hazámat* 'I left my homeland **to** there' etc. For a detailed discussion of the question cf. Markus, Pomozi (1994, 2004).

The functional change in the case system can be highlighted with the help of Estonian (and partly Livonian), as their case system and case endings coincide with those of the Finnish language but their function and usage are becoming distinct.

The Finnish and German pairs of the next examples show that Estonian (and Livonian) as well as Hungarian more and more divert from the original lative internal indication of locus/place and apply the external and locative marking, therefore draw nearer to German patterns. An interesting result is that due to a foreign influence Estonian and Hungarian get closer to each other.

A random selection of Latvian examples show that the equivalent is either a bifunctional (lative and locative) locative or a locative preposition.

In Hungarian the neutralization of dynamic (i.e. lative or ablative) rectios can be seen, i.e. both rectios have turned into locative, e.g. *marad* + Loc. 'stay' (cf. Finno-Ugric lative), *hagy* + Loc. 'leave' (cf. Finno-Ugric lative), *keres* + Loc. 'look for' (cf. Finno-Ugric ablative), *talál* + Loc. 'find' (cf. Finno-Ugric ablative). The verbs *marad* and *hagy* 'stay' and 'leave' occur with a general locative in our times but the preverb construction has preserved the ancient lative, cf. **oda**-*marad*, **oda**-*hagy*.

In case of other exact/concrete place indications Estonian prefers external markers, so it differs from Finnish and is mostly identical with Hungarian. E.g.

> Estonian: *Õpetaja kirjutab tahvli**le*** (allative);
> Hungarian: *a tanár a táblá**ra** ír* (allative);
> Finnish: *Opettaja kirjoittaa taulu**un**/taulu**lle*** (illative and allative are both
>   possible, allative being the more frequent – Seilenthal 1986: 74) 'the teacher
>   writes on the board'.

> Estonian: *Laps läheb marjuse**le**/seene**le*** (allative);
> Hungarian: *a gyerek elmegy bogyó**t** szedni* (accusative);
> Finnish: *Lapsi menee marja**an**/siene**en*** (illative) 'the child goes to pick ber-
>   ries / i.e. to berries'.

> Estonian: *Auditooriumi ukse**l** oli teade* (adessive);
> Hungarian: *az előadóterem ajtaj**án** hirdetés volt* (adessive);
> Finnish: *Luentosalin ove**ssa** oli ilmoitus* (inessive) (Pusztay 1993: 51 for further
>   bibliography) 'on the door of the lecture room there was an advertisement'.

> Estonian: *tulime koosoleku**lt*** (ablative);
> Hungarian: *a gyűlés**ről** jöttünk* (delative);
> Finnish: *tulimme kok ouk se**sta*** (elative) 'we came from the meeting'.

On the basis of Estonian the types and levels of change can clearly be traced back. Let us begin with the types of change.

A. *Internal local/locus/place case indication > external local case indication*

- *luottaa ~ lootma* 'to trust sb, to rely on sb':
  1. Finnish: *Luotatteko tulevaisuute-**en**?* (illative);
     Estonian: *Kas te loodate tuleviku-**le**?* (allative) (~ *tuleviku pea**le***);
     German: *Glaubt ihr **an die** Zukunft?* (external *where to*?)
     'do you trust in the future?'
     [Hungarian: *Bíztok-e a jövő-**ben**?* (inessive) (Nagy 1996: 60)]
     [Latvian uses the preposition *uz* with a genitive which answers the ques-
         tion *where*, sometimes *where to*, e.g. *uz galda* 'on the table' but *uz-likt
         uz galda* 'puts onto the table (Nītiņa 1998: 141). With an accusative

it expresses a *where to* relation, e.g. *iet uz veikalu* 'to go to the shop', *uz vienu dienu* 'for one day' (Nītiņa 1998: 142), as a preverb. However, it is with a lative, e.g. *uz-iet* 'to ascend, rise', *uz-braukt* 'to drive into sg', *uz-nākt* 'to get up', *uz-dot* 'to mail' (Nītiņa 1998: 136): *vai jūs paļaujaties* **uz** *nākotni?*[7]

2. Finnish: *Minu-**un** voit luottaa.* (illative);
Estonian: *Minu-**le** võid loota.* (allative);
Hungarian: *számíthatsz **rám**.* (allative) 'you can count on me' (Mäger 1983: 36).

B. *The case of Lative > the case of locative* (identity of external/internal location)

- *osallistua ~ osalema* 'take part in sg'
  1. Finnish: *Pojat osallistuvat kilpailui-**hin**.* (illative);
  Estonian: *Poisid osalevad võistluse-**s**.* (inessive);
  German: *Die Jungen nehmen **an dem** Wettbewerb teil.* (external *where*);
  Hungarian: *A fiúk részt vesznek a verseny-**en**.* (superessive) (Nagy 1996: 61);
  Latvian: *Zēni piedalās sacensīb**ās**.* (locative) 'The boys take part in the competition.'

C. *Internal ablative case > internal locative case*

- *syyttää ~ süüdistama* 'to accuse sb'
  1. Finnish: *Naista syytettiin varkaude-**sta**.* (elative);
  Estonian: *Naist süüdistati varguse-**s**.* (inessive) (Nagy 1996: 64);
  Latvian: *Sieviete tika apvainota zādzīb**ā**.* (locative);
  Hungarian: *A nőt lopás-**sal** vádolták.* (instrumental)
  'The woman was accused of theft.'

- *vakuuttaa ~ veenma* 'to convince sb of sg'
  2. Finnish: *…vakuutti kriitisenkin lukijan **siitä**, että…* (elative);
  Hungarian: *A kritikus olvasót is meggyőzte **arról**, hogy…* (sublative);
  Estonian: *…veenis kriitilisegi lugeja **selle-s**, et…* (inessive) (Mäger 1983: 40)
  '…even the critical reader was convinced of…'

D. *Internal lative case > external locative caset*

- *perustua ~ rajanema* 'to be based on sg'
  1. Finnish: *Onni perustuu työ-**hön**.* (illative);
  Estonian: *Õnn rajaneb töö-**l**.* (adessive);
  Hungarian: *A boldogság a munká-**n** alapszik.* (superessive);
  German: *Das Glück basiert **auf der** Arbeit.* (external *where*) (Mäger 1983: 38 – his Estonian example is wrong– *töö-le*, an allative, the correct form is: *töö-l*)
  'Happiness is based on work.'

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[7] I must express my thanks for translating these Latvian sentences to Inga Klēvere, the former Latvian lector of the Department of Uralic Studies, Szombathely.

- *perustua ~ põhinema* 'to be based on sg'
  2. Finnish: *Se perustuu tosiasioi-**hin***. (illative);
     Estonian: *See põhineb faktide-**l***. (adessive);
     German: *Das gründet sich **auf** Fakten*. (external *where*);
     Hungarian: *Ez tények-**en** alapul*. (superessive) (Nagy 1996: 62);
     Latvian: *Tas ir balstīs **uz** faktiem. / Tas balstās faktos*. (locative)
     'This is based on facts.'

The levels/grades of change

The grades and ways of change in rectio are presented through the Estonian language. This however does not mean other languages of the region would not be able to represent this, e.g.

Croatian *interesevati/intereserovati**za*** (< German *sich interessieren **für***) as opposed to the original Slavic instrumental, cf. Russian *интересоваться **чем**-л.* (Hadrovics 1989).

Many times an Estonian verb has a double rectio. The types correspond to the examples of different verbs discussed above:

a. The same direction but a difference in marking external-internal locus/place;
b. Different directions, identity in marking internal locus/place;
c. Different directions and different ways of marking external-internal locus/place.

a. The same direction but a difference in marking external-internal locus/place

a/1) Lative (external ↔ internal relation of place)

1. *Teade mõjus mei-**sse*** (illative) / *mei-**le*** (allative) *rängalt*.
   [cf. Finnish: *Tieto vaikutti mei-**hin** raskaasti*. (illative)
   German: *Die Information hat **auf uns** gewirkt*. (external *where*)
   Hungarian: *A hír hatott **ránk***. (allative) (Nagy 1996: 61)]
   'The news affected us.'

a/2) Locative

1. *Osales autojuhtide kursuse-**l*** (adessive)
   Hungarian: *autóvezetői tanfolyam-**on** vesz részt* (adessive) 'takes part in a driving course'
   a. *osales eeskava-**s*** (inessive) *kahe numbriga*
   b. Hungarian: *két számmal vesz részt a program-**ban*** (inessive) (Mäearu 1996: 93)
   'takes part in the program with two numbers'

2. *Vee-**s*** (inessive) *peegelduvad puud*
   Hungarian: *a vízben tükröződnek a fák* (inessive) 'the tress are reflected in the water'
   a. *näo-**l*** (adessive) / *näo-**s*** (inessive) / *näo-**st*** (elative) *peegeldub tüdimus*

3. Hungarian: *az arcá-**n** unalom tükröződik* (superessive) 'boredom is reflected on his face' (Mäearu 1996: 94)

4. *Faktide-**l*** (adessive) *baseeruv ettekanne*

    Hungarian: *tények-**en** alapuló javaslat* (superessive) 'a suggestion based on facts' – *väekoondis baseerus liitlasriigi-**s*** (inessive)

    Hungarian: *a csapatkötelék a szövetségi államok-**on** alapul* (superessive) (Mäearu 1996: 71) 'the formation is based on allied states'.

b. Different directions but identity in internal place relation

1. *Toitained imenduvad **verre*** (short illative)

    Hungarian: *a tápanyagok felszívódnak a vér-**be*** (illative) 'nutrients absorb into the blood'

    a. *hapupiim imendub soole-**s** hõlpsasti* (inessive)

    Hungarian: *a tejföl könnyen felszívódik a bél-**ben*** 'sour-cream easily absorbs in bowels' (Mäearu 1996: 76)

2. *kandideerib 3. valimisringkonna-**s*** (inessive)

    Hungarian: *a 3. választási körzet-**ben** pályázik*

    'runs as a candidate in constituency no. 3'

    • *kandideerib riigikogu-**sse*** (illative) / ***riigikokku*** (short illative)

    Hungarian: *a parlament-**be** pályázik* 'runs for parliament' (Mäearu 1996: 81).

c. Different directions, at the same time difference in indicating external-internal locus/place

1. *kandideerib 3. valimisringkonna-**s*** (inessive)

    Hungarian: *a 3. számú választási körzet-**ben*** 'runs as a candidate in constituency No.3.'

    • *kandideerib õpetajakoha-**le*** (allative)

    *Hungarian: tanári állás-**ra** pályázik* (Mäearu 1996: 81) 'applies for a teacher's position'

2. *püüab uute-**s** olude-**s*** (inessive) *muganeda*

    Hungarian: *igyekszik alkalmazkodni az új körülmények-**hez*** 'tries his best to adapt to the new circumstances'

    • *laensõnad on muganenud eesti keele-**le*** (allative)

3. Hungarian: *a jövevényszavak idomulnak az észt nyelv-**hez** (*Mäearu 1996: 89) 'loans adapt to the Estonian language'

4. *rajas Pärnu-**s*** (inessive) *kooli*

    Hungarian: *Pärnu-**ban** iskolát alapított* 'he founded a school in Pärnu.'

    • *rajab oma tuleviku juhuse-**le*** (allative)

    Hungarian: *jövőjét a véletlen-**re** alapozza* (Mäearu 1996: 95) 'he builds his future upon pure chance'.

The process of change can be described like this:

1. the starting point is internal lative rectio (illative),
2. a double rectio is being formed (with the types mentioned above); in this phase there is uncertainty emerging,
3. the new rectio gets established, the old one gradually disappears. It is still possible that both survive and the old one gets a new function.

4. A closing remark

As a result of co-existence and mutual influence for over a thousand years a certain Central European linguistic type (of thinking) seems to be emerging which comprises almost all the languages of the region in question. For the time being Polish and Lithuanian seem to stay out of / lag behind in the process of homogenisation. The question is whether the ever increasing influence of the English language seen also in this region will put an end to this process and start/launch a new one.

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