

HEINI HIENONEN (Oulu—Helsinki)

THE IMPLICATIONAL SEMANTIC MAP FOR VEPS INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Abstract. This article discusses the Veps indefinite pronouns and corresponding pro-forms in the spirit of linguistic typology. It aims at an overview of the semantics of the Veps indefinite pronouns in the light of the semantic map methodology. The implicational map model outlined by Haspelmath (1997) is applied to describe the functions and mutual relationship between Veps indefinite pronoun series. The current paper demonstrates that, on the other hand, the given method can be successfully applied to Veps and, on the other hand, it helps in the description of a subtle semantic system. The distributional schema sketched in this work provides an illustrative picture of the semantic properties of the Veps indefinite pronouns and facilitates cross-linguistic comparison between Veps and other languages.

Keywords: Veps, language typology, indefinite pronoun, semantic map, distributional schema.

1. Introduction

The current article is methodologically largely based on the typological study of indefinite pronouns by Martin Haspelmath (1997) (see more in Dahl 1999; Klein 1999; Wouden 2000) and his results are scrutinized in the evidence of Veps data. Haspelmath's study represents an entirely new type of approach to this often overlooked part of grammar and, consequently, is seminal for other works dealing with the same topic. In the following we shall apply Haspelmath's results to the Veps language, including the semantic maps model and its elaboration, the implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions. The main goal of the article is to shed light on a particular subgroup of Veps pronouns, which have been inadequately described until recently. However, some scholars have tackled our topic. Paul Alvre (1982; 1985; 2002), for instance, made good remarks on the indefinite pronouns of the Finnic languages, including the Veps. The demonstrative pronouns in Veps have been treated in a detailed study of Larjavaara (1986).

The few existing grammatical descriptions of Veps (e.g. Ahlqvist 1859; Hämäläinen, Andrejev 1934; Kettunen 1943; Зайцева 1981; Zaiceva 1995)

comment on the pronominal system of the language but do not analyse it thoroughly. These grammars mainly focus on the morphology and syntax of the pronouns, whereas semantics is not really considered.

The present study rests upon the evidence of published Veps text samples. The principal part of the data are the old Veps dialect samples, which represent non-standardized Veps language and were collected approximately one hundred years ago. In the following, we shall not aim at an overview on the dialectal distribution of the ascribed phenomena. Nevertheless, the data have been drawn from all three Veps main dialect areas: Southern Veps (Kettunen 1925) and Northern and Central Veps (Näyhteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951). Some data are also drawn from the Veps dictionaries (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972; Zaiceva, Mullonen 1995; Зайцева, Муллонен 2007). The original dialect transcriptions are simplified according to the orthography of the modern Veps literary language.

According to Haspelmath (1997 : 16), indefinite pronouns show a remarkably low degree of diachronic stability. Therefore, it is important to make use of contemporary Veps in addition to the dialect samples. The modern Veps samples include the Veps translation of the Gospel of Mark (Markan evangeliin 1992) and 13 issues of the newspaper "Kodima". However, at a later stage of a larger project concerning the Veps indefinite pronouns the data will be supplemented with modern spoken Veps samples. In principle, the glossings follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The present tense of a verb, the nominative case and singular of a noun are not encoded. Abbreviation CON stands for a connegative form of a finite verb.

2. The definition of indefinite pronouns

In this article we use the term indefinite pronoun in its broader sense 'pro-forms' (Haspelmath 1997 : 10). Thus, it does not include only pronouns but also proadverbs and broadly speaking corresponds to the indefinite, negative and free-choice subcategories of the Veps quantitative pronoun system (Hienonen 2009; cf. Hakulinen, Vilkkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Hienonen, Alho 2004 : 726). The so-called universal quantitative pronouns, the mid-scalar quantitative pronouns, the very rare indefinite pronouns with the marker *koje-*, the bare interrogatives, the demonstrative proadjectives, as well as the lexical indefinite expressions, are left outside the scope of our article.

In his typological study of indefinite pronouns, Haspelmath (1997 : 8–9) formulates a cross-linguistically applicable definition for the concept of indefinite pronoun. For practical reasons, this definition has to be both formal and functional. When it comes to the synchronic formal structure, languages astoundingly resemble each other typologically. However, there is extremely interesting variation in the different meanings and functions of the pronoun series (Haspelmath 1997 : 2).

Firstly, from a formal point of view indefinite pronouns are grammatical elements, pronouns. In natural languages they are always derived, marked forms. Indefinite pronouns typically occur in series which have one member for each of the so-called major ontological categories, such as person, thing, time etc. Usually indefinite pronouns consist of a stem indicating this category plus a formal element which is common to the whole

indefinite pronoun series. In this article we shall refer to this element as an indefiniteness marker.¹ The marker is either an affix or a particle, and it may consist of several, even four parts. When the marker is an affix, it is typically an extrafix. Therefore, case inflections are placed inside the indefiniteness marker (Haspelmath: 1997 : 21–24).

In Veps all indefinite pronouns except the pronoun *eraz* are derived from an interrogative pronoun and followed by an indefinite marker, which is typically an affix borrowed from Russian. However, it must be noted that these Russian loan elements can be found in all eastern regions of the Finnic languages (Alvre 1982 : 45; 2002 : 161). According to Haspelmath (1997 : 184), borrowing indefinite markers usually happens only in languages that are under very strong influence of another language. Comparing Veps to other languages Finnish, for instance, has both interrogative- and relative-based indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997 : 26–27, 292–293). As regards Veps indefinite pronouns, only the stem might be inflected in case and number but the marker always stays uninflected. The case affixes are placed inside the marker, as expected.

Secondly, from a functional point of view it is typologically possible to distinguish nine core functions (e.g. meanings and/or contexts) of the indefinite pronouns. These core functions are: 1) specific, known to the speaker, e.g. *S o m e b o d y c a l l e d w h i l e y o u w e r e a w a y : g u e s s w h o !*, 2) specific, unknown to the speaker, e.g. *I h e a r d s o m e t h i n g , b u t I c o u l d n ' t t e l l w h a t k i n d o f s o u n d i t w a s*, 3) non-specific, irrealis, e.g. *P l e a s e t r y s o m e - w h e r e e l s e*, 4) polar question, e.g. *D i d a n y b o d y t e l l y o u a n y t h i n g a b o u t i t ?*, 5) conditional protasis, e.g. *I f y o u s e e a n y t h i n g , t e l l m e i m m e d i a t e l y*, 6) indirect negation, e.g. *I d o n ' t t h i n k t h a t a n y b o d y k n o w s t h e a n s w e r*, 7) direct negation, e.g. *N o b o d y k n o w s t h e a n s w e r*, 8) standard of comparison, e.g. *I n F r e i b u r g t h e w e a t h e r i s n i c e r t h a n a n y w h e r e i n G e r m a n y* and 9) free choice, e.g. *A n y b o d y c a n s o l v e t h i s s i m p l e p r o b l e m* (Haspelmath 1997 : 2–4).

3. The semantic maps model

Below we shall apply the semantic maps model, which has been created to illustrate the patterns of multifunctionality of grammatical morphemes. The basis of the method is cross-linguistic comparison. A semantic map is a geometrical, usually two-dimensional way to illustrate functions in so-called semantic space. The functions are connected like nodes in a network, and the closeness between the nodes can be shown not only by spatial adjacency, but also by a line that connects the nodes. The formation of the functions on the map is claimed to be universal (Haspelmath 2003 : 211–213).

With the semantic map approach it is possible to express the semantic similarity between different uses, and further, to make testable predictions about what a possible linguistic system could be. In addition, the approach enables to view and predict diachronic changes (Haspelmath 1997 : 60–63). Diachronically, indefinite pronouns and their functions are extremely unstable, and thus they are very different even in languages closely related to each other (Haspelmath 1997 : 16).

¹ The term is taken from Haspelmath (1997), who originally took it from Veyrenc (1964), *indicateur d'indétermination*.

4. The implicational map for functions of indefinite pronoun series

Semantic maps can also be used to make statements about implicational universals. If for instance two different meanings or functions on the map are signalled by the same marker, the semantic map predicts that all the other uses or functions between those two have the same marker. Haspelmath proposes that all the main cross-linguistic implicational generalizations about the distributions of indefiniteness markers can be expressed in an implicational map, shown in Figure 1. Thus, the map is supposed to represent any existing grammatical system. On the map, the nine core functions (see above) are arranged in two dimensions in a way that the functions expressed by the same grammatical meaning in at least one language are adjacent (Haspelmath 1997 : 62–64).

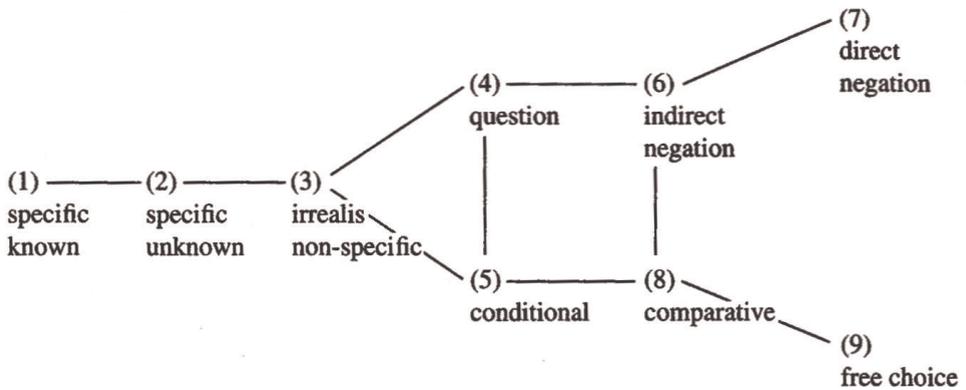


Figure 1. An implicational map for functions of indefiniteness pronoun series (Haspelmath 1997 : 64).

However, not all combinations are possible. First, in the centre of the map (e.g. in the area of the functions 4, 5, 6 and 8) there are no combinations with fewer than three functions. Secondly, the functions 9 and 8 never combine with the function 1 (Haspelmath 1997 : 77).

The distributions of the series of different languages can be shown in the so-called distributional schemas. Figure 2 shows the distributional schema of Finnish which has three main series of indefinite pronouns: *-kin-*, *hyvänsä-* and *-kaan-* series. The *-kin-* series contains for instance pronouns such as *joku*, *jokin* and *jompikumpi*, *-kaan-* series pronouns such as *kukaan* and *mikään* and the *hyvänsä-* series pronouns such as *kuka/mikä hyvänsä* (Haspelmath 1997 : 293; cf. Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen, Alho 2004 : 726).

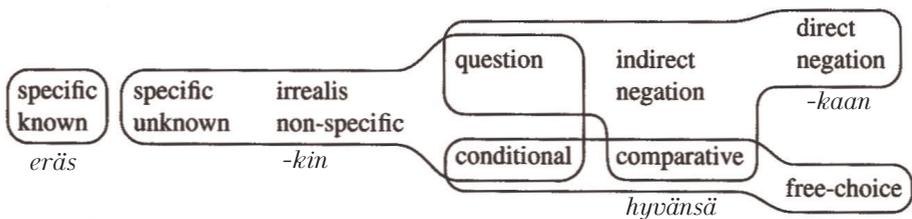


Figure 2. The Distributional Schema of Finnish (Haspelmath 1997 : 293).

Figure 3 represents the distributional schema of Russian which has seven major series of indefinite pronouns: *кое-*, *-то*, *-либо*, *-нибудь*, *бы то ни было*, *ни-* and *любой/угодно*. The *-кое-* series contains for example the pronouns *кое-кто* and *кое-что* and the *-то*-series e.g. the pronouns *кто-то* and *что-то* (cf. Haspelmath 1997 : 273).

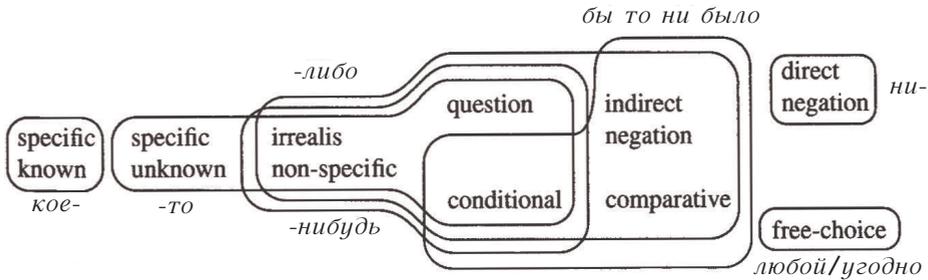


Figure 3. The Distributional Schema of Russian (Haspelmath 1997 : 273).

5. The distributional schema of Veps

Figure 4 represents the distributional schema of Veps indefinite pronouns outlined on the basis of the data. First of all, the environments of all the separate Veps indefinite pronouns (e.g. pro-forms) have been considered. Secondly, it has been verified that all the pronouns of the same pronoun series have the same distribution of functions.

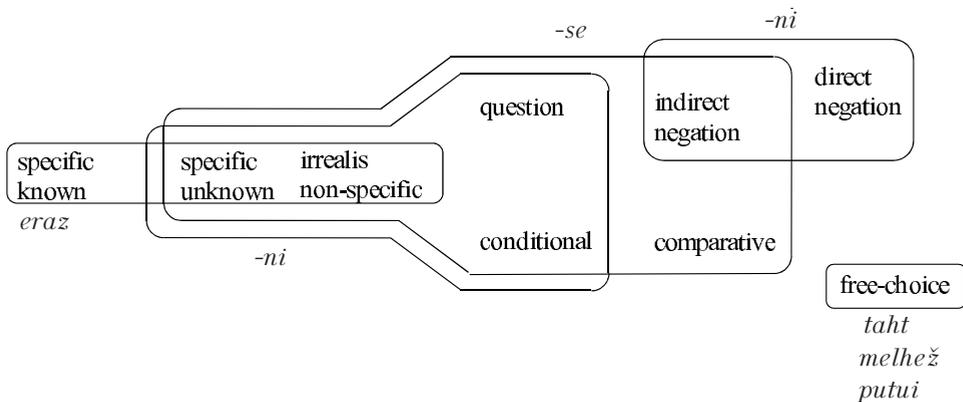


Figure 4. The Distributional Schema of Veps.

In principle, the implicational map can easily be applied to Veps. The members of the pronoun series have congruent distributions, and the distributions of the functions are continuous. Furthermore, the middle of the map is congruent, because it has no combinations of fewer than three functions. And finally, functions 9 and 8 are not combined with function 1.

In comparison to other languages, the distributional schema of Veps is similar to the schema in Finnish as the map is divided by quite a few series. In Finnish there are three and in Veps four groups (*-ni*, *-se*, *ni-* and

taht/melhez/putub), while Russian has seven core groups and several marginal series (Haspelmath 1997 : 65).

In the following section we shall take a closer look at the distributions of the Veps indefinite pronoun series.

5.1. *Eraz*

The pronoun *eraz* does not belong to the four main series of Veps indefinite pronouns. The derivational base of *eraz* 'some; other' is presumably the word *erä* '(separate) part; share; catch', and the component *s* is presumably an affix which has not essentially changed the meaning of the base (SSA 1 : 108; Ojansuu 1922 : 105; SKES 40–41). Typologically this kind of derivational base is not common (Haspelmath 1997 : 26–29). In the Veps data *eraz* is basically extremely common, but it is worth noting that in the Southern Veps sample it occurs only once (more on the pronoun, see also Ahlqvist 1859 : 77; Hienonen 2009 : 27–30; 89–90; Hämäläinen, Andrejev 1934 : 30; Kettunen 1943 : 410; Zaiceva 1995 : 105; Зайцева 1981 : 172; Zaitseva 2001 : 55).

The Veps *eraz* is used in the functions 1–3 as indicated in Figure 4. Hence, compared to the Finnish pronoun *eräs* the Veps *eraz* is more versatile in its contexts. An illustration of specific known context is shown in (1).

- (1) *E-n ota, minä e r a s e - n spol'ubi-n,*
 NEG-1SG take.CON I some-GEN have (a passion)-1SG
e r a s e - n mehe-le ota-n
 some-GEN husband-ALL take-1SG

'I don't take (her), I have a passion for someone [specific known], I will marry someone [specific known]' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 457)

The most frequent function in which *eraz* occurs is the non-specific, irrealis function. An example is given in (2).

- (2) *I večerinko-i-d nen-i-d teh-tas kaks koume,*
 and party-PL-PART this-PL-PART make-PASS two three
e r a z tege-b i nell'
 some make-3SG and four

'And these parties are held two or three, some [non-specific] might hold even four' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 209)

5.2. The *-ni*-series

The first one of the actual indefinite pronoun series in Veps is the *-ni*-series. The indefiniteness marker *-ni* is borrowed Russian (Ojansuu 1922 : 103; Gilojeva 2001 : 43; cf. Alvre 1985 : 24; 2002 : 162). The same marker is commonly attested in Karelian Proper and Ludic language (Gilojeva 2001 : 43). The Russian origin of the construction is illustratively seen in example (3) as the stem *ken* is a Veps interrogative pronoun but the indefiniteness marker *-nibud* is identical with the Russian one (see more on the *-ni*-pronouns also in Ahlqvist 1859 : 77; Hienonen 2009 : 30–36; 90–92; Kettunen 1943 : 417–419; Зайцева 1981 : 172; Zaitseva 2001 : 56; Zaiceva 1995 : 104–105).

- (3) *k e n - n i b u t n e v e s t a - n p o l e - s p ä i a k*
 who-INDF bride-GEN side-ELA woman
 'some woman from the bride's side' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 341)

In Veps *-ni* occurs in a larger set of indefinite pronouns that are listed here: *ken-ni* 'someone; somebody; some; anyone; anybody', *konz-ni* 'some, any time', *kudamb-ni* 'some', *kus-ni* 'somewhere', *kut-ni* 'somehow', *kuverž-ni* 'some amount', *mi-ni* 'something; anything', *mis-ni* 'somewhere', *mitte-ni* 'some; something; anything' and *mit-ni* 'somehow'. These pronouns are frequent in the issues of "Kodima" representing contemporary written Veps, whereas in other samples they are fairly rare.

Summing up the different functions of the *ni*-series, it can be seen that these pronouns cover the four functions 2, 3, 4 and 5 (cf. Figure 4 above). The specific unknown context is illustrated in (4).

- (4) *k u z i ž e - n t a g a - p ä i t u l e - b m i t t e - n i s a r n a l i n e o l i i*
 spruce-GEN behind-ELA come-3SG some-INDF fairy-tale creature
 'Some [specific unknown] fairy-tale creature comes out from behind the spruce' (Kodima 1999/11–12 : 2)

The *-ni*-series is most typically used in the non-specific, irrealis contexts, as illustrated in (5). However, this can be partly explained by the fact, that in general interrogative and conditional sentences are not very frequent in the data.

- (5) *m ä n e s ä j a u g o - i - š p ä i k u n a - n k i*
 go.IMP.2SG you foot-PL-ELA where-INDF
 'Get out of the way somewhere [non-specific]' (Kettunen 1943 : 419)

The conditional protasis function (e.g. 6) is particularly typical in the Gospel of Mark (Markan evangeliu 1992).

- (6) *K u k e n - n i t a h t o i - b e l ä - d a m i n u - n m ö d h e ,*
 if who-INDF want-3SG live-1INF I-GEN along
s e u n o h t a - g - h a i č e - z e - n p o l - h e
 it forget-IMP-3SG self-POSS.3SG-GEN side-ILL
 'If anyone wants to live like me, he must forget himself' (Markan evangeliu 1992 : 8:34)

Given that the Veps affix *-ni* is borrowed from Russian, one would assume that its use is identical in both languages. However, a brief comparison between the Veps, the Finnish and the Russian schemas shows that the series *-ni* in Veps, *-kin* in Finnish and *-to* in Russian have identical distributions. Moreover, unlike the Russian *-нубудь*-series, the Veps *-ni*-series is used in the specific unknown function.

5.3. The *-se*-series

The second indefinite pronoun series in Veps is the *-se/-ne*-series based on the historical demonstrative pronoun *se* that is attested in other Finnic languages. Functionally the use of Veps *-se* semantically corresponds to Russian indefiniteness marker *-to* and, consequently, shows functional borrowing (cf. Alvre 1982 : 53) (see more on the *-se*-pronouns also in Alvre

1985 : 23; Hienonen 2009 : 36–42; 92–95; Hämäläinen, Andrejev 1934 : 30; Зайцева 1981 : 172; Zaitseva 2001 : 56; Zaiceva 1995 : 104; Larjavaara 1986 : 307–323).

The members of the Veps *-se*-series include such pronouns as *ken-se* 'someone, somebody', *kus-se* 'somewhere', *kuverž-se* 'some amount', *mi-se* 'something' ja *mitte-se* 'some'. Interestingly, the *-se*-pronouns are fairly rare in the dialectal samples, but in contemporary Veps they occur more often to some extent. The increasing numbers of the pronouns with the markers *-se* and *-ni* indicates that during the past one hundred years certain changes have taken place in the Veps indefinite pronoun system. However, the importance of different data applied should be born in mind.

Basically, the *-se*-series has a very wide semantic distribution as demonstrated in Figure 4 above and is possible in the functions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. The specific, unknown context is illustrated by example (7).

- (7) *lekařsizar valo-i mi-l'se minu-n pä-n*
 nurse pour-IMPF.3SG what-ADE-INDF I-GEN head-GEN
 'The nurse poured something [specific unknown] on my head' (Kodima 2004/11: 4)

An illustration of irrealis, non-specific function is given in (8).

- (8) *Ke-lle-se kebnе-mb anda-soi matematik, ke-lle-se*
 who-ALL-INDF easy-CMPR give-REFL mathematics who-ALL-INDF
venäkel' i literatur
 Russian language and literature
 'Some [non-specific] might find mathematics easier, some Russian language and literature' (Kodima 1999/11-12: 1)

An example of the indirect negation is shown in (9).

- (9) *Iisus ei tahtoi-nd, miše ken-se vo-iži*
 Jesus NEG want-2PTCP that who-INDF can-COND.3SG
ted-išta-da nece-n pol-he
 know-FACT-1INF this-GEN side-ILL
 'Jesus did not want anyone to know it' (Markan evangelii 1992 : 9:30)

The following sentence (10) illustrates the comparative function.

- (10) *ned-ki o-ma pare-mba-d, mi kene-l-se toiže-l*
 those-ENCL be-3PL good-CMPR-PL what who-ADE-INDF other-ADE
 'Even those are better than anyone else (has)' (Kodima 2001/1: 1)

Further, according to the latest Russian-Veps dictionary (Зайцева, Муллонен 2007 : 190) the specific known function is possible as well (e.g. 11), but that could also be a question of inexact translation.

- (11) *tat to-i lidna-späi mi čč-i-d-se lahjo-i-d*
 dad bring-IMPF.3SG town-ELA what-PL-PART-INDF present-PL-PART
 'Отец привёз из города кое-какие подарки' 'Dad brought some presents from the town' (Зайцева, Муллонен 2007 : 190)

The distributional schemas show illustratively that although the Veps indefiniteness marker *-se* is a loan from the Russian indefiniteness marker *-to*, the functions of the series are considerably different. Unlike in Russian,

the Veps *-se*-series is also possible in the indirect negation and comparative functions. Conclusively, it is used within a considerably larger semantic space than its Russian equivalent that presumably served as a model for functional borrowing.

5.4. The *ni*-series

The indefiniteness marker *ni-* is taken from the Russian negation system by direct borrowing. The same marker is also known in many other Finno-Ugric languages (Savijärvi 1986 : 52) (see more on the *ni*-pronouns also in Ahlqvist 1859 : 77; Alvre 1985 : 25; Hienonen 2009 : 67–75; Hämäläinen, Andrejev 1934 : 30; Kettunen 1943 : 419–420; Зайцева 1981 : 299; Zaitseva 2001 : 56; Zaiceva 1995 : 104).

The members of the *ni*-series are as the following: *ni-ken* 'no one; nobody; anyone; anybody', *ni-konz* 'never', *ni-kudamb* 'not any; no', *ni-kus* 'nowhere', *ni-kut* 'no way; (not) at all', *ni-kuverž* 'not at all', *ni-mi* 'nothing' and *ni-mitte* 'not any; no'. In our data, the pronouns *ni-ken* and *ni-mi* occur very often, whereas for example *ni-kudamb* and *ni-mitte* are fairly rare.

According to the data, the *ni*-series covers the two functions 6 and 7. Consequently, the distribution of Veps *ni*-series is wider than the distribution of Russian *ni*-series and demonstrates semantic extension as a part of the borrowing process. The more common function of the two functions in Veps is definitely the direct negative, such as (12).

- (12) *Uko-l da aka-l ei ol-nu ni-kus ni-ke-da*
 man-ADE and woman-ADE NEG be-2PTCP INDF-where INDF-who-PART
 'The man and the woman did not have anyone anywhere' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 72)

Many of the indirect negation example sentences here are so-called implicitly negative impressions (see Haspelmath 1997 : 33), such as in (13).

- (13) *Hän kel'd-i he-i-d ot-ma-späi*
 he forbid-IMPF.3SG they-PL-PART take-3INF-ELA
iče-ze-nke ni-mi-d ä
 self-POSS.3SG-COM INDF-what-PART
 'He forbid them to take anything with them' (Markan evangeliin 1992 : 6:8)

5.5 The *taht/melhež/putub*-series

The last Veps indefinite pronoun series has three different indefiniteness markers of which one is of nominal and two of verbal origin. The indefiniteness marker *taht* 'want' is grammaticalized from a verbal phrase and it goes back to a Finnic verb **tahtaa* (Alvre 1985 : 23; Gilojeva 2001 : 40–41; Hienonen 2009 : 77–79; Kettunen 1943 : 420; Ojansuu 1922 : 100). The indefiniteness marker *melhež* 'mind-ILL-3SG' 'pleases; to be pleased with something' is historically an inflectional form of the noun *mel'* 'mind' consisting of the stem, the illative case and the possessive suffix (Alvre 1982 : 53; 1985 : 23; Hienonen 2009 : 79; Kettunen 1943 : 420). The indefiniteness marker *putub* 'touch-3SG', *putui* 'touch-IMPF.3SG' 'happens/happened' is grammaticalized from a productive verb form (Alvre 1985 : 23; Hienonen 2009

: 80–81; Kettunen 1943 : 420). All these indefiniteness markers can be combined with the interrogative pronouns *ken*, *mi* and *mitte*. Furthermore, they can be combined with adverbs. The most notable difference between these units is that *putui* and *putub* may occur as predicates whereas *taht*, for instance, no longer reflects productive verb inflection.

Typologically the 'want/pleases' type is one of the four main source constructions from which the grammaticalization of indefinite pronouns started. The indefiniteness marker 'want' has presumably arisen from a clause with the meaning 'You may take what you want'. The clause from which the marker 'pleases' has arisen, is with the meaning 'You may take what it pleases you to take'. Due to the hypothesized source constructions, these markers are suffixes. The *putub*-type could be compared to the 'no matter'-type which is grammaticalized from clauses with the meaning either 'it does not matter wh-' or 'it's all the same wh-' (Haspelmath 1997 : 130–141). Given the close relationship with productive verb inflection, it would be more accurate to compare the Veps pattern with Finnish *mitä sattuu* 'what happens' construction that, nevertheless, cannot be done in this occasion.

The description of other indefinite pronoun series showed that they are typically used in many functions and easily adopt different semantic properties. Unlike the other groups discussed above, the *taht/melhež/putub*-series is always used in just one function, which is free choice (examples 14–16). Therefore, the distribution of the Veps *taht/melhež/putub*-series is exactly the same as the distribution of Russian *любой/угодно*-series, so it is possible in the free choice function only. Compared to it, the corresponding Finnish *hyvänsä*-series (cf. Figure 2 above), for example, can be used in the conditional and comparative functions, as well.

- (14) *kaike-n pakitš-i-n raffa-s mi-da putui*
all-GEN ask-IMP-1SG people-INE what-PART INDF
surimo-i-di taukno-i-d
grits-PL-PART and barley-PL-PART

'I was asking people for any groats or pearl barley all the time' (Näytteitä äänis- ja keskivepsän murteista 1951 : 538)

- (15) *tänna voi-b tul-da ken taht*
here can-3SG come-1INF who INDF

'Anyone can come here' (Зайцева, Муллонен 2007 : 223)

- (16) *heita-n ajanda-n, laske ken melhež aja-b*
stop-1SG driving-GEN let.IMP.2SG who INDF drive-3SG

'I will stop driving, let anyone drive' (Kettunen 1943 : 420)

Conclusions

The article deals with the semantics of the Veps indefinite pronouns or pro-forms in the spirit of linguistic typology. The research rests firmly upon the evidence of text samples of two different periods. Thus, the statements of the semantic properties are made by examining the real linguistic usage. The study shows that the implicational map for indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997) is also applicable to the functions of Veps indefinite pronoun series. The advantages of the method are to illustrate the semantic

properties of the Veps indefinite pronouns and to facilitate cross-linguistic comparison between Veps and other languages. In conclusion, the distributional schema of Veps proves that, despite the points in common with the Russian and Finnish schemas, there is a clearly distinctive indefinite pronoun system in Veps.

Address:

Heini Hienonen
University of Oulu and
University of Helsinki
E-mail: heini.hienonen@kolumbus.fi

Abbreviations

1INF — first infinitive, 1SG — first person singular, 2SG — second person singular, 2PTCP — second participle, 3INF — third infinitive, 3PL — third person plural, 3SG — third person singular, ADE — adessive, ALL — allative, CMPR — comparative, COM — comitative, CON — connegative form of a finite verb, COND — conditional, ELA — elative, ENCL — enclitic, FACT — factive, GEN — genitive, ILL — illative, IMP — imperative, IMPF — imperfect, INCH — inchoative, INDF — indefiniteness marker, INE — inessive, NEG — negative, PART — partitive, PASS — passive, PL — plural, POSS — possessive, REFL — reflexive.

R E F E R E N C E S

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ХЕЙНИ ХИЕНОНЕН (Оулу—Хельсинки)

НЕОПРЕДЕЛЕННЫЕ МЕСТОИМЕНИЯ В ВЕПСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Статья посвящена неопределенным местоимениям, или «про-формам», в вепсском языке в свете лингвистической типологии. Целью исследования было изучение семантики вепсских неопределенных местоимений с использованием методологии семантических карт. Автор применила метод имплицативной карты для неопределенных местоимений, созданный М. Хаспельматом (1997) для анализа их функций, и доказала, что его метод применим и в вепсском языке. Составленная «дистрибутивная схема вепсского языка» дает четкое и наглядное описание семантических черт неопределенных местоимений. Кроме того, она облегчает контрастивное сравнение вепсского с другими языками.