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BABY TALK AS A SOPHISTICATED REGISTER: A PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SOUTH ESTONIAN¹

The article gives an overview of the phonological structure of South Estonian babytalk words as compared to the ordinary South Estonian phonology. South Estonian presents a unique case because it reveals a number of complicated phonological oppositions that are similar to Standard Estonian, for example, the distinction of three phonological quantities. In addition, it has several phenomena that are also of interest to phonological theory, such as extensive vowel harmony and a rich repertoire of phonemes, including illabial mid vowels, affricates, and a laryngeal stop. The study shows that South Estonian baby talk cannot be regarded as a simplified register because it includes a large number of intricate phonological features. It can be regarded, however, as a marked register with specific constraints and extensions.

Research data and the main topics of analysis

Historically South Estonian used to be a separate Finnic language which was spoken on the southern and southeastern borders of the Balto-Finnic linguistic area (see Viitso 1998, pp. 97-98; Pajusalu et al 1999, pp. 87-89). Since the 16th century South Estonian has been a literary language, historically known as the language of Tartu (Dorpat); its contemporary variety is the Võro-Seto literary language. South Estonian is divided into four major dialects, which moving from the west to the east are Mulgi, Tartu, Võro, and Seto. The material includes mainly babytalk words and expressions from the archaic eastern part of South Estonian - eastern Võro and central Seto. The data was collected by taping and using questionnaires while doing fieldwork. The collected material was supplemented by dictionary data (EMS, EKMS, VMS) and re-checked with the help of a number of informants in order to exclude words that might belong only to a single idiolect. The material served as the basis for compiling a list of Võro-Seto babytalk words, which contains over 300 items. It is provided in the Appendix. In addition to Võro and Seto baby talk, the data of some other South Estonian dialects will be taken into account, too. Comparisons will be made with other Finnic languages, and the neighbouring Indo-European languages of South Estonian.

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The first part of the analysis describes the main prosodic features of South Estonian baby talk with special emphasis on phonological quantity. The alternation of basic prosodic patterns will be observed in the declension or conjugation of babytalk words when they are used in utterances. The second part of the article focuses on the phonemic structure of South Estonian baby talk. First, the consonants and consonant clusters that are characteristic of baby talk words will be dealt with, followed by an overview of the vowels. The study closes by raising the problem of the relation of baby talk as a register to other registers and the role of baby talk in the preservation or change of the phonological system of a language.

The first important problem in delimiting the material for analysis is the relationship between the language that is used when talking to children and the babytalk words with a specific phonetic structure. The author claims that specific babytalk words have to be regarded as a part of baby talk and not as baby talk in general. After all, babytalk words are used in utterances, as a rule, in conjunction with words of the ordinary language. The babytalk flavor of the utterances is primarily marked by such paralinguistic features as specific intonation, higher pitch, slower speaking rate, etc (cf. Foster-Cohen, 1999, p. 100).

Basic phonological patterns

All the basic phonological word patterns occur in South Estonian baby talk (for the basic prosodic characteristics of Estonian see e.g. Lehiste, 1997, pp. 30-32). All three phonological quantities are represented (see Table 1). The first syllable bears the primary stress; in first-quantity and second-quantity words the third syllable bears the secondary stress; in third-quantity words it may fall also on the second syllable. As a rule, the next secondary stresses fall on odd-numbered syllables, counting from the syllable that carries a secondary stress. Unlike Standard Estonian where long vowels can occur only in the syllable bearing the primary stress, in South Estonian they may occur also in those syllables that bear a secondary stress. All these prosodic regularities are manifested in South Estonian babytalk words as well.

The principal forms of babytalk words (for nouns the nominative, for verbs the imperative second person singular) are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic; however, there are also some words that are trisyllabic and longer. In addition, it is possible to attach the diminutive suffix *-kkene* / *-kkõnõ* (*õ* is the equivalent to *e* in words with back vowels) to the genitive form of nouns, which may make a word even longer, e.g. *kaidokkakkõnõ* 'little potato' (the standard stem being *kardohkakkõnõ*). The first syllable of this suffix always carries a lexical secondary stress. The partitive form of this highly productive diminutive suffix has given rise to the optative ending *-kkeest*, which is attached to the imperative second person, especially in baby talk. It makes the structure of all the forms of this mood more complicated, e.g. *meekkeest* 'be so kind and go' (a detailed discussion of such verb forms can be found in Pajusalu, 1996a, pp. 161-162). There are also some babytalk compounds, e.g. *makkomammu* 'strawberry' (*maas 'kas* in the common language; the apostrophe denotes here and henceforth the palatalization of the preceding consonant(s); *mammu* 'berry' is *mari* in the common language); *mustimammu* 'bilberry' (*must 'kas* in the common language).

Nevertheless, it is noticeable that the basic structure of babytalk words is quite regular. The majority of simple stems are of quantity 1 or quantity 2, their basic structure being (C)VCV or (C)VC₁C₁V, see Table 1. The babytalk word forms with the basic structure

Table 1. Productivity of the basic phonological patterns in South Estonian baby talk.

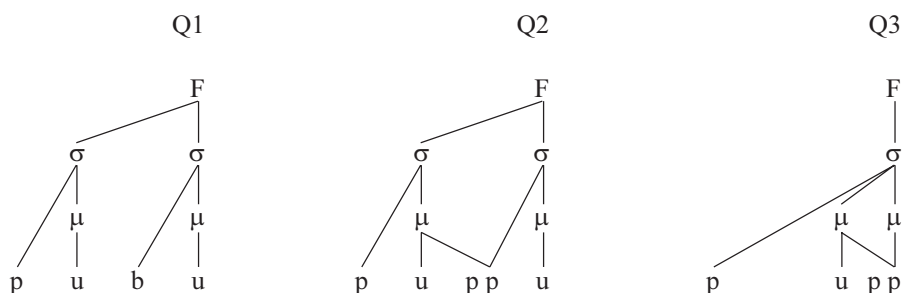
Quantity	Phonological pattern (basic structure, number, percentage)	Total
Q1	V ₁ CV ₁ 1=0.3%; V ₁ CV ₂ 2=0.%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ V ₁ 3=0.9%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ V ₂ 15=4.6%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₁ 14=4.3%; C₁V₁C₂V₂ 35=10.7% ; V ₁ C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ 1=0.3%; V ₁ C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₁ C ₃ C ₃ V ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃ C ₃ V ₃ 1=0.3%	74=22.7%
Q2	V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₁ 15=4.6%; V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₂ 14=4.3%; V ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ V ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₁ 17=5.2%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₂ 9=2.8%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₁ 14=4.3%; C₁V₁C₂C₂V₂ 61=18.7% ; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ V ₁ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ V ₂ 5=1.5%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₃ V ₂ 1=0.3%; V ₁ V ₁ CV ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ C ₁ V ₂ 2=0.6%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ 3=0.9%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ 16=4.9%; V ₁ V ₂ CV ₁ 4=1.2%; V ₁ V ₂ CV ₃ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₁ V ₁ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₁ V ₃ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ V ₃ 5=1.5%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ V ₃ C ₁ V ₁ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₂ C ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₁ C ₃ C ₃ V ₂ 3=0.9%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃ C ₃ V ₂ 2=0.6%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ C ₂ V ₃ 1=0.3%	183=56.1%
Q3	CV ₁ V ₁ 6=1.8%; CV ₁ V ₂ 2=0.6%; V ₁ V ₂ 1=0.3%; VC ₁ C ₁ 5=1.5%; C₁VC₁C₁ 19=5.8% ; C₁VC₂C₂ 23=7.1% ; C ₁ VC ₂ C ₁ 1=0.3%; C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ 1=0.3%; VC ₁ C ₂ C ₃ 1=0.3%; C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ C ₄ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ C ₂ 3=0.9%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ C ₂ 2=0.6%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ V ₁ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ V ₂ V ₂ 1=0.3%; C ₁ V ₁ V ₂ C ₂ C ₂ V ₁ 1=0.3%	69=21.2%

(C)VCV make up more than a fifth of all the registered forms, the forms with the basic structure (C)VC₁C₁V make up two-fifths, thus in almost two-thirds of all the South Estonian babytalk words. In a number of cases we can witness fluctuation between these two most productive patterns, e.g. Q1 *pun'o* ~ Q2 *punn'o* 'tummy', Q1 *pis'i* ~ Q2 *piss'i* 'wee-wee'. Here we can see variable pronunciation of the quantity-carrying consonant; in an intervocalic position this consonant is pronounced either as a single stop or a short geminate. The alternation of a long and short vowel is manifested only as an alternation between Q2 patterns (C)V₁C₁C₁V and (C)V₁V₁C₁V, e.g. *nocc'u* ~ *nooc'u* 'piggy', *vass'o* ~ *vaas'o* 'calf'.

It is noteworthy that the vast majority of words with the maximum third quantity are monosyllabic, their basic structure being (C)VC₁C₁. However, when such words are inflected, in the principal morphological forms quantity 3 alternates with quantity 2, e.g. the nominative Q3 *pupp* 'porridge' with the genitive Q2 *puppu* 'of porridge'. The nominative of such babytalk words may take the alternative genitive form, as is the case with the example word Q3 *pupp* ~ Q2 *puppu* 'porridge'.

Only those words can be of quantity 3 and disyllabic that may be structurally interpreted as compounds, e.g. *hehhuu* ‘wolf’, where both syllables bear separate stresses or which carry a complex morphological meaning, e.g. *tassa!* ‘be quiet!’ (the word can be analyzed as an adverb in the illative form). Trisyllabic and longer babytalk words can be analyzed irrespective of quantity as single-foot prosodic sequences, as complete phrases.

The most productive stem patterns of all the three quantities can be treated as bimoraic or trimoraic feet, which are most frequent in Estonian. Obviously, it is possible to analyze all these main patterns as bimoraic feet (cf. Odden, 1997 and Ehala, 1999), as follows:



Nevertheless, it is surprising that the second-quantity stems are the most frequent ones in baby talk. In ordinary language, the second-quantity stems may be regarded as the most marked and rarest ones. The number of words with the second-quantity principal form is much smaller than the number of first- and second-quantity stems. It is likely that, historically, it may be the most recent link in the opposition of three quantities (as stated by Ehala, 1999). But it is characteristic of both the standard language and South Estonian that newer loanwords have become adapted as second-quantity words, e.g. Q2 *auto* ‘car’, Q2 *lava* ‘lava’, Q2 *siti* ‘city’, and personal names as well, e.g. Q2 *Veera*, Q2 *Linda*, Q2 *Taavi*. It is evident that also the majority of the borrowed babytalk words have come into use as second-quantity words, e.g. Q2 *kakka* ‘doo-doo’, *miil’u* ‘goody’ (< Russian *milyi*), *piilu* ‘duck’ (< Low German *pīle*). On the other hand, there are some ancient words that have become adapted in the same way, e.g. Q2 *c’ukko* ‘a kiss’, cf. Finnish *suukko*, Q2 *ikku* ‘a tear; crying’, cf. Finnish *itku*, Q2 *vell’o* ‘bro’, cf. Finnish *vello*. The second-quantity pattern (C)VC₁C₁V is common also in the adaptation of longer words of ordinary language, e.g. *amm’i* ‘dear’, cf. *armas*, *kappu* ‘cabbage’, cf. *kapstas*, *kinn’u* ‘mitten’, cf. *kinnas*, *pokka* ‘carrot’, cf. *porknas*. It is also common in the case of new words, e.g. *viis’u* ‘telly; TV set’, cf. *televiisor*, and babytalk words that are derived from exclamations and vocalizations, e.g. *avva* ‘bow-wow’, *c’ihha* ‘sneeze’, *ptrucca* ‘horse’. Thus, the most productive prosodic pattern of South Estonian babytalk words can be regarded as marked, similarly to many loanwords, names, and imitatives.

In third-quantity babytalk words, we witnessed a consistent relation between the prosodic and morphological structures of words. Babytalk words more than one foot are possible, but in that case they can be interpreted as forms with a complex morphological structure. A challenge to present this regularity is the fact that in babytalk words the difference between primary grammatical principal forms, such as the nominative and genitive of nouns, often remains unmarked. The nominative and the genitive of the most produc-

tive second-quantity patterns of babytalk words always have the same shape; the same is true of the (C)VV pattern of Q3 words. Statistically, more than half of babytalk words are those where these important principal forms are homonymous. The partitive and the semantic cases are always marked by suffixes and not by stem alternations, which are otherwise exceptionally numerous in South Estonian for a Finnic language. Also the imperative second person singular and the present indicative first and third person singular forms have an identical form, and the infinitive stems have the same form with them. Such homonymy of the principal grammatical forms is unusual in South Estonian, and it is unusual in Standard Estonian as well (cf. Help, 1995). Generations of Estonian linguists have argued which of the aforementioned noun and verb forms should be regarded as morphological base forms (Help, 1987). In the case of South Estonian babytalk words this problem is not raised; it is ensured by the specific phonological structure of words.

Some specific features of consonants of South Estonian baby talk

All the consonants that are common in South Estonian occur also in South Estonian babytalk: *b, c, d, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v*. In addition, there are some speech sounds that are rare in ordinary language, such as the bilabial vibrant spelt here as *ptr*, e.g. *ptrucca* 'horse' (this consonant occurs in Latvian baby talk as well, see Rūie-Draviņa 1977: 239). The voiced stops *b, d, g* occur only in the Setu dialect. However, there, too, they are uncommon in the word-initial position; as a rule, they are pronounced as fully voiced only between the vowels and the voiced consonants. In the other South Estonian dialects a single stop occurs in the voiced environment as a half-voiced lenis stop; in the other positions the stops are voiceless. In the voiced environment the single affricate *c* and the sibilant *s* also become half-voiced. All the consonants, with the exception of the palatal spirant *j*, the laryngeal stop *q*, the spirants *h* and *v*, and the above-mentioned vibrant, may become palatalized. In the eastern dialects of South Estonian, the final segment of the consonant undergoes stronger palatalization, in the western dialects, the initial segment. The alveolar affricate *c* becomes palatal in the course of palatalization. The stops may become geminates, whereas there is a distinctive phonological difference between short and long geminates, which is realized, however, as the second- or third-quantity pronunciation of the word.

As a general feature of baby talk South Estonian reveals frequent occurrence of palatalized consonants; more than half the babytalk words contain them. It is quite regular that consonants are palatalized in front-vowel words, especially before *i*, as is common in South Estonian. But palatalization is common in back-vowel words as well, where it cannot be explained by the influence of vowel quality. The palatalization of consonants does not always follow the rules of ordinary language. It is more similar to the occurrence of interjections and onomatopoeic words, as Rūie-Draviņa (1977, p. 239) has written about Latvian baby talk (the numerous common features shared by Estonian and Latvian baby talk were discussed in greater detail in Pajusalu, 1996b).

South Estonian babytalk words contain a large number of affricates, which is again similar to Latvian, see Rūie-Draviņa (1977, p. 239). That feature cannot be considered adaptive because the affricate is one of the most difficult speech sounds to articulate. The same is true of the laryngeal stop that occurs in South Estonian baby talk. It is more likely that the above-mentioned peculiarities are characteristic of South Estonian affective vo-

cabulary in general. Of the difficult speech sounds the occurrence of only *r* is restricted (again similarly to Latvian baby talk). The collected material does not reveal any instances of the word-initial *r*. In the medial position *r* occurs both in the non-palatalized and palatalized forms, also in consonant clusters in most cases, however, alternating with the form where *r* is assimilated, e.g. *turs'o* ~ *tuss'o* 'obstinate'.

There are a number of consonant alternations where the affricate acts as the so-called affective consonant. Typical alternations include, for example, the alternation of a sibilant and affricate, e.g. *c'üc'o* ~ *sus'o* 'wolf' (*susi* in ordinary language), *c'imm* ~ *s'imm* 'eye' (*silm* in ordinary language), and the alternation of the palatalized affricate, palatal stop, and palatalized dental stop, e.g. *c'iicu* ~ *k'iis'o* ~ *t'iicu* 'kitty'. One can also find the alternation of the laryngeal stop, palatal stop, and the dental stop, e.g. *äqqä* ~ *äkkä* ~ *ättä* 'poo'. The alternating occurrence of the word-initial *h*, e.g. *amm'* ~ *hamm* 'bite; take a bite!' (cf. Estonian *ammusta-* 'to bite') may reflect the tendency to lose of the word-initial *h*, as it has happened in Standard Estonian. On the other hand, sometimes *h* occurs at the beginning of a word as an affective speech sound.

The number of consonant clusters is limited in South Estonian baby talk. It is characteristic that an ordinary-language consonant cluster is simplified, so that the voiceless consonant of the consonant cluster assimilates the voiced ones, e.g. *pokka* 'carrot' < *porknas*, *cukku* 'sugar' < *cukru*. If all the components are voiced, then the final component will assimilate the first one, e.g. *c'imm* 'eye' < *silm*; if all the components are voiceless, the prominent consonant will assimilate the others, e.g. *kappu* 'cabbage' < *kapstas*. Nevertheless consonant clusters are possible in babytalk words as well. More frequent are clusters where the first consonant is voiced and the second one is voiceless, e.g. *c'irc* 'grasshopper', *komppu* 'candy', *t'ilkk* 'winkle'. There are also clusters of voiceless consonants, e.g. *k'ipsu* 'flea'; they may be preceded by a voiced consonant, e.g. *hamps* 'bite'. These forms often reveal a noticeable similarity to onomatopoeic words.

Some specific features of vowels of South Estonian baby talk

Similarly to the South Estonian consonants, all the South Estonian vowels occur in babytalk words: *a, e, i, o, u, ä, ö, ü, y*. These ten vowels can be divided on the basis of their phonetic features into the back vowels *a, o, u*, the front vowels *e, i, ä, ö, ü*, and the mid vowels *o* and *y* (see Pajusalu et al., 2000). The low vowels include *a* and *ä*, the high vowels are *i, ü, y, u*, and the mid-high vowels are *e, ö, o, o*. The round vowels include *u, o, ü, ö*, and the unround ones are *a, ä, e, o, i, y*. In regular vowel harmony the back vowels include *a, o, u, o, y*, the front vowels are *e, ä, ö, ü*, the neutral vowels are *i* and, on a limited scale, also *e* and *o*. In baby talk words *ü* does not occur in non-initial syllables. In addition to short vowels, long vowels occur in stressed syllables. In third-quantity words mid-high vowels are raised, e.g. Q2 *cooga* ~ Q3 *cyyk* 'cradle'. Babytalk words reveal only the *i*-final diphthongs *ai, äi, oi, oi, ui*; on one occasion there is an exceptional vowel sequence *iu*.

The frequency of vowels in babytalk words differs from common South Estonian. According to the corpus of Estonian dialects the most frequent vowel in South Estonian is *a* (23.4 %), but in babytalk words the most frequent vowel is *u* (27.4 %; in common language the frequency of *u* is 10.9 %, and the frequency of *a* is 19.4 % in babytalk words). The high frequency of *u* can be explained by diachronic reasons. One of the most ancient diminutive suffixes of Finnic languages was **oj*, which originally gave rise to a great

number of old Finnic babytalk words (*u*-final patterns are also frequent in Finnish, see Toivainen, 1995, pp. 300-305). Many South Estonian forms originate from **oj*-suffixed words, e.g. *sus'o* 'wolf' (< **susoj*), *c'ill'o* 'tiny', *vell'o* 'brother'. Such words often have a *u*-final equivalent in South Estonian, e.g. *c'uc'u*, *c'illu*. The alternation of *o* and *u* in non-initial syllables is quite characteristic of South Estonian; in North Estonian *o* in non-initial syllables has been replaced by *u*. The fact that the vowel *u* represents the archiphoneme *o*, which was neutral with regard to vowel harmony, is proved by the blocking of *ü*-harmony in babytalk words, where *u* occurs consistently also after the front vowels, e.g. *nän'u* 'bunny', *pääd'u* 'head', *pükkuq* 'trousers'.

However, the very high frequency of *u* cannot be explained only by the pattern that proceeds from **oj* and shapes the vowel system of non-initial syllables because *u* is also very frequent among the vowels of the first syllable (27.6 %). When comparing common language and babytalk words, it is noticeable that the vowel system of babytalk words is generally characterized by a much higher percentage of high vowels (babytalk words 52 %, ordinary language 37.1%) and round vowels (babytalk words 40.8%, ordinary language 23.9%). Such a high percentage of high and round vowels is characteristic of affective vocabulary.

Another important feature of the vowel system of South Estonian is its considerable variation, even in a single regional dialect and idiolect. At this the existence of front and back-vowel variants of the same word is especially typical, e.g. *c'ic'ä* ~ *cyca* 'sister', *c'utt* ~ *c'ütt* 'a little', *c'uc'o* ~ *c'üc'o* 'wolf', *muu* ~ *müü* 'moo-cow', *uppa* ~ *üppä* 'hop!'. Such word pairs are very rare in ordinary language; the opposition of synonymous front- and back-vowel words occurs mostly in onomatopoeia.

Despite the blocking of *ü*-harmony the babytalk words reveal *ö*-harmony, which is uncharacteristic of South Estonian and occurs only in a small area in the northeastern part of the Võru dialect area and in northern Setu (see Wiik, 1988). Sometimes *ö* can be pronounced even in a back-vowel word after a palatalized consonant, being subjected to an unusual syllable harmony in South Estonian, e.g. *kul'ö* 'turkey', *or'ö* 'ram'. In central Setu and the neighbouring Võru subdialects *ö*-harmony is possible only in onomatopoeic and babytalk words. In the case of the *ü*-harmony one must mention that, although it does not occur in babytalk words, it is regular in ordinary words that are used in baby talk. The front and back harmony of illabial vowels, that is, *ä*-harmony and the velar *o*-harmony that is specific to South Estonian, occur consistently in babytalk words, including more recent loanwords, e.g. *nänn'ä* 'mummy', *puppo* 'dolly'. In the case of the *o*-harmony, there is a certain tendency to the generalization of *e*. Unlike common language *e* always occurs in words with *i* in the first syllable, e.g. *k'ile* 'goat', *t'iide* 'kitty', and similarly to *ö* the vowel *e* may appear in a back-vowel word after a palatalized consonant, e.g. *utt'e* 'ewe'.

Concluding remarks

The overview of characteristic phonological features of South Estonian babytalk words has revealed that, both as to its basic prosodic structure and the peculiarities of phonemic structure, South Estonian baby talk is a sophisticated and specifically marked register. At first sight we can assume phonetic simplification to the extent that the longer stems of common language, various ancient Finnic words and the words borrowed from the Indo-European languages, have been adapted to bimoraic single-foot sequences. However, the

second-quantity patterns that are most productive in baby talk are uncommon in ordinary language. They are characteristic of marked vocabulary, such as loanwords and personal names. In inflection one can observe homonymy of the principal grammatical forms and the preference of agglutinative formation patterns. The phonemic structure manifests the intricacy of baby talk. All the South Estonian consonants and vowels are represented. Although there are certain constraints, e.g. the limited occurrence of consonant clusters and diphthongs, many phonemes occur, such as the affricates and labial vowels, which are characteristic of affective and onomatopoeic vocabulary. Vowel harmony reveals, on the one hand, some constraints, for example, concerning *i*-harmony, on the other, there are some extensions, for example, *ö*-harmony, which may point to new developments in the structure of the entire phonological structure. Babytalk vocabulary cannot be treated as baby talk but only as a specifically marked part of it. Baby talk as a whole conveys the phonetic diversity of the entire language; babytalk words bring out the various phonological means that express emotionality.

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Appendix. Glossary of South Estonian babytalk vocabulary

Following the babytalk word the word quantity and the English equivalent is given and then the corresponding word in common South Estonian.

- acc'i- Q2, taccu- Q2 'to step' - astu-
 ad'ah Q1, att'u-taa Q2, t'aa-t'aa Q3 'bye! ta-ta!' - hääd aigu!
 ai(-ai) Q3, aija Q2 'ouch!; it hurts' - hallus
 amm(-amm) Q3, amps'(-amps') Q3, hamm'(-hamm') Q3 'bite; take a bite!' - haukka!
 amm'i- Q2, amps'-, -i Q3, amps'i Q2, hamm'i- Q2, hamps- Q3, hamps'-, -i Q3 'to bite' - haukka-
 amm'i Q2 'dear' - armas
 att'a Q2 'spank' - laps
 att'a(-att'a) Q2 'to spank' - lapsa-
 avva Q2 'bow-wow' - pini
 äide Q2, ääde Q2, nänn'ä Q2 'mum; granny' - imä; vanaimä
 äkk, -ä Q3, äkkä Q2, äqqä Q2, ättä Q2 'bad; disgusting' - halv
 äqäq Q1, äqqä Q2, ätt, -ä Q3, ättä Q2, kakka Q2 'poo, faeces' - sitt
 äqqä- Q2 'to do a poo' - sittu-
 cabi Q1 'pap' - pudi
 cabi- Q1 'to run' - juuske-
 cän'i Q1 'imp; impish' - vallado
 cäro Q1 'curly; curlyhead' - kähhär(pää)
 cääcä Q2 'uncle' - lell
 c'ic'a Q1, c'ic'ä Q1, c'ic'i Q1, cyca Q1 'sister' - sysar; coco
 c'ihh(-cihh) Q3, c'ihha Q2, cuhha Q2 'sneeze' - haivastus
 c'iic'i Q2, c'iicu Q2, k'iis'o Q2, t'iide Q2, t'iicu Q2 'kitty' - kass
 c'iikk, -u Q3, c'iigu Q2, c'ipp', -i Q3, c'ippa Q2, t'ib'i Q1, t'ibo Q1, tud'i Q1, tudu Q1 'chick' - tibu
 c'il'e Q1, c'il'i Q1, c'ill'e Q2, c'ill'i Q2 'lamb' - vuun
 c'ill'a Q2, c'ill'i Q2, c'il'o Q1, c'ill'o Q2, c'ill'u Q2, c'ipp'i Q2 'tiny' - tillokano
 c'imm, -a Q3, s'imm', -i Q3, s'ikka Q2, s'immä Q2 'eye' - silm
 c'ippa Q2, c'iutt Q3, c'utt Q3, c'ücc' Q3, c'ütt Q3 'a little' - veidü
 c'ippu- Q2, sippu- Q2 'to kick' - sipputta-

c'irc', -u Q3 'grasshopper' - rohotirc
 c'ir'i(pill') Q1 'crybaby' - ikk
 c'irr', -a Q3, c'irr'a Q2, cuma Q1 'top' - vurr
 c'ooma Q2 'nanny' - ullikke
 coca(-coca) Q1, coco(-coco) Q1, coico(-coico) Q2, coocu(-coocu) Q2, cooga(-cooga) Q2,
 coogu(-coogu) Q2 'to rock' - hällü-
 cyykk, -a Q3, cooga Q2 'cradle' - häll
 c'uc'u Q1, c'üc'ö Q1, süc'ö Q1, sus'o Q1 'wolf; bogie' - susi
 c'uija Q2 'evil' - kur/i, -ja
 cuiju(-cuiju) Q2 'bye-bye (lulling a child to sleep)!' - makka!
 c'ukka Q2, c'ukko Q2, c'ükko Q2, s'ukko Q2, tpruu Q3, tprucca Q2, tprutta Q2 'horse' -
 hoppon
 c'ukko Q2, c'ukku Q2 'mouth; kiss' - suu, muso
 c'ukku(-c'ukku) Q2 'kiss!' - musotta-
 cukku Q2 'sugar' - cukru
 cull'u(-cull'u) Q2 'dabbling' - culista-
 cuu-cuu Q3, cuuhh-cuuhh Q3 'choo-choo, puff-puff' - soita-
 häbä Q1 'painful, sick' - halus; hädä
 hehhuu Q3, hul'u Q1 'wolf' - susi
 hinc'i- Q2 'to show the teeth' - hirvittä-
 hircu Q2 'mouse' - hiir
 hopp-hopp Q3, opp(-opp) Q3, oppa(-oppa) Q2, uppa(-uppa) Q2, üppä(-üppä) Q2 'hop!
 stand up!' - hüppä!
 hoppo(tta-) Q2, huppa(tta-) Q2, üppä(ttä-) Q2 'to hop' - hüppüttä-
 icce Q2 'kinsman' - hoimlane
 icc'i- Q2, icc'u- Q2 'to sit' - istu-
 ikkiq Q2 'gums' - igemäq
 ikku Q2 'tear; crying' - ikk
 il'u Q1, ill'u Q2 'clean, nice' - illos
 junn', -i Q3 'turd' - julk
 jän'o Q1, jän'ö Q1, nän'i Q1, nän'e Q1, nän'o Q1, nän'u Q1 'bunny' - jänis, jätüs
 kaaga(-kaaga) Q2 'hen; goose' - kana; hani
 kaid'o Q2, kaid'okka Q2, kait', -o Q3, katt'u Q2, katt'un, -i Q2 'potato' - kardohkas
 kakk', -i Q3 'meat' - liha
 kakk, -u Q3 'bread; cake' - leib
 kall'i Q2, kull'a Q2 'dear' - kallis
 kall'i(-kall'i) Q2 'to hug' - kallista-
 kappu Q2 'cabbage' - kapstas
 karo Q1 'bear' - karh
 käd'i Q1, kätt'u Q2, kättu Q2 'hand' - käsi
 k'ibo Q1 'fire' - tuli
 k'ibo Q1, k'ibu Q2 'pain' - halu
 k'ikk'i Q2, k'ikku Q2 'tooth' - hammas
 k'ile Q1 'goat' - kits
 k'inn'u Q2 'mitten' - kinnas
 k'ipsu Q2 'fly' - kärbläne

k'irbu Q2 'flea' - kirp
 kol'o Q1, pääd'u Q2 'head' - pää
 kombu Q2, komppu Q2 'candy' - kompvek
 kottu Q2, pun'o Q1, pun'u Q1, punn'o Q2 'tummy' - kott
 köhh(-köhh) Q3 'cough' - köhä; rüüss
 kukk', -i Q3, kukki Q2 'piggyback' - kukro
 kukk, -u Q3, kukku Q2 'bread; cake; sugar' - leib; cukru
 kukku Q2, pai Q3, paija Q2 'goody' - hüä
 kul'o Q1, kul'ö Q1, kul'u Q1 'dove; turkey' - tuvi; kalkun
 kus'otta- Q1, kuss'utta- Q2 'to lull a child' - rahusta-
 kuss'(-kuss') Q3, kuss'a(-kuss'a) Q2, kuss'u(-kuss'u) Q2, tassa Q3 'hush!' - vakka!
 kucc'a Q2 'doggy' - pini
 lall', -a Q3, lall', -u Q3, lall'u Q2 'foot' - jalg
 lud'i Q1 'spoon' - luic
 luc'i- Q1, nuc'i- Q1, nucu(tta-) Q1 'to suck' - ime-
 lutt'o(tta-) Q2, lutt'u(tta-) Q2 'to nurse' - imettä-
 lutt'u Q2, nänn', -u Q3, tutt, -u Q3, tuttu Q2 'dummy' - lutt
 makkomammu Q2 'strawberry' - maas'kas
 mamm, -a Q3, mamma Q2 'milk; drink' - piim; juuk
 mamm,-u Q3, mammu Q2, mann'a Q2, mann'u Q2 'berry' - mari
 mamma- Q3 'to drink' - juu-
 mamma Q2, memme Q2, 'granny' - vanaimä
 mähu Q1 'nappy' - mähe
 mämm, -i Q3, pupp, -u Q3, puppu Q2, pus'o Q1 'pap' - putr
 mää(-mää) Q3 'sheep' - lammas
 miil'u-maal'u Q2 'goody-goody; to console' - hüä
 miss', -i Q3, mumm, -u Q3, mummu Q2 'bee' - mehiläne
 munn'u Q2 'egg' - muna
 mus'o Q1, muc'u Q1 'kiss' - muso
 must'imammu Q2 'bilberry' - mustkas
 muu(-muu) Q3, müü(-müü) Q3 'moo-cow' - lihm
 mücc'i Q2 'cap' - mücc
 n'ämm', -i Q3, n'ämm, -ä Q2, n'ämm'i Q2, n'ämm'u 'food; tasty' - süük; hüä
 n'ämm'(-n'ämm') Q3 'to eat' - süü-
 nänn', -ä Q3, nänn'ä Q2, nänn'äq Q2, nänn'u Q2, nän'u Q1 'teat, breast' - nisa; rynd
 nänn'ä(ttä-) Q2, nänn'u(tta-) Q2 'to nurse' - imettä-
 n'äppu Q2 'finger' - näpp
 nemmi Q2 'warm' - lämmi
 nibi Q1 'nipple; nose' - nibu; nyna
 ninn'u Q2, ninn'i Q2 'nose' - nyna
 nipp, -u Q3 'tip of the nose' - nynaots
 nooc'o Q2, nooc'u Q2, nooc'u Q2 'piggy' - porss
 nud'o Q1 'baldhead' - nudi(pää)
 nuc'o Q1 'piece of bread' - leväpala
 oico Q2, ois'o Q2, oss'o Q2, oss'ö Q2, uisu 'ram' - oinas
 or'o Q1, or'ö Q1 'barrow' - orikas

opp, -a Q3 'lap' - üsk
 paba Q1 'navel' - naba
 pai(-pai) Q3, pai(tta-) Q3 'goody-goody; to stroke' - tsilitsä-
 palla Q2 'hot' - pallav
 pappuq Q2 'bootees' - pastlaq; kottaq
 pähh Q3, pähhä Q2 'bad, disgusting' - paha
 päpp, -ä Q3, päppä Q2 'bread' - leib
 pekko Q2 'botty, child's bottom' - perse
 pekko Q2 'palm' - pihk
 p'iilu Q2 'duck' - parc
 p'ipp', -i Q3 'milk' - piim
 p'is'i- Q1, p'iss'i- Q2 'to piss' - kuso-
 p'iss', -i Q3 'piss' - kusi
 p'iss'o Q2 'child's external genitals' - häbü; munn
 pojo Q1 'sonny' - poig
 pois'o Q2 'boy' - poiss
 pokka Q2 'carrot' - porknas
 pupp, -e Q3, puppe Q2, puppi Q2 'dolly' - nukk
 pusa Q1, pussa Q2 'louse' - täi
 pus'o Q1, pus'ö Q1 'steer' - härävars, -a
 pusu Q1 'ache' - halu
 pükkuq Q2 'trousers' - püksiq
 setto Q2, vel'o Q1, vell'o Q2 'bro, brother' - veli
 taccu(-taccu) Q2 'step; step!' - astu!
 t'ätt'ä Q2 'daddy' - esä
 teeda Q2 'grandpa' - vanaesä
 tekku Q2 'blanket' - tekk
 t'il/k, -ga Q3, t'ilu Q1, t'itt', -i Q3 'winkle, penis' - munn
 t'ill'o Q2, t'ill'u Q2 'tiny; baby; dolly' - tillokano; latsokono; nukk
 t'itta Q2 'baby' - titt
 tor'o(tta-) Q1 'to boohoo' - töinä-
 tud'i(-tud'i) Q1, tutt'u(-tutt'u) Q2 'bye-byes!' - makka-
 tud'i Q2, tutt'u Q2 'bye-byes, sleep' - uni
 tur'o Q1 'scruff' - tur/i, -ja
 turs'o Q2, tuss', -o Q3, tuss'o Q2 'obstinate' - jonn, jonnik; tusano
 tüd'i Q1, tütt'i Q2 'daughter; girl' - tüdär; tütrik
 uppo Q2, uppu Q2 'apple' - ubin
 utt'i Q2, utt'e Q2, utt'u Q2 'ewe' - utt
 vaas'o Q2, vass'o Q2 'calf' - vas'k
 vaibu Q2 'toe' - varbas
 väkk', -i Q3 'bitter; loathsome' - kippo; lätilä
 vett'u Q2 'wet; water' - likko; vesi
 viis'u Q2 'telly, TV set, ' - televiisor, -i