



Tartu Riiklik Ülikool

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ABSTRACTS**

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A b s t r a c t s

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ON BOUNDARY SIGNALS IN ESTONIAN

Mati Hint

In the system of the delimitative media of a language, a particular role is played by boundary signals (border marks, Grenzsignale) that function within the range of the word phonology and help to analyse the syntagmatic current of speech into semantic (meaningful) units - words and morphemes. In some terminology, all specific phenomena of the boundary of a word or morpheme have also been named junctures. The terminological differences are, in our opinion, of no importance.

Within the range of word phonology, the juncture phenomena may be divided into phonetic and structural phenomena.

The phonetic boundary signals are revealed as the modifications of the sound or syllable at the boundary of a word or morpheme. In Estonian, the most important phonetic boundary signal is the word stress, which in most words of Estonian origin lies on the first syllable (in sentence phonology the stress system is likewise an extremely important bearer of delimitative functions). The other phenomena of juncture include the quantitative or qualitative modification of sounds in an initial or final position in a word. An example of quantitative modification is the peculiar quantity of word-initial / k p t / (an intermediate stage of quantity between the first and second quantity degrees). That kind of quantity is not consistently realized in some specific environments: e.g. the initial / k p t / of the second component of a compound word may often be of the length of an intervocalic / k p t / = [G, B, D] (the first degree of quantity).

The qualitative modifications occurring at the grammatical boundary include, for example, the voiced [g, b, d] in an over-refined pronunciation which even here occur in foreign loans, exclusively, and only in a word-initial position.

Therefore those sounds do not possess the status of a phoneme, and not even in the system of that manner of enunciation.

▲ qualitative phonetic boundary signal is likewise the most common allophone of the phoneme / n / = [n] preceding / k /; the usual allophone in this environment is: (konngi = [koŋGi] and kongi = [koŋGi], and others).

Phonetic juncture is realized segmentally and at the same time paradigmatically - the perception of the peculiarity of the segments occurring at the grammatical boundary is based upon the comparison of boundary segments with non-boundary ones in identical phonetic environments.

Structural juncture is realized as a result of the common effect of syntagmatics and paradigmatics; here, too, the source of perception is derived from the comparison of the possibilities of a language system.

The phenomena of structural juncture include unusual phoneme sequences (resp. sound clusters) which as a rule cannot occur within a word or morpheme, occurring solely at the boundary. In Estonian, for example, the consonant sequences / sl / or / ns / of overlong syllables occur almost exclusively at the grammatical boundary: kaslane, paslik, huligaanse, veensin, etc. The same sequences in syllables of the second degree of quantity are met with very rarely, (risla, pähklimänsak), and therefore, in a generalized case, they signalize the existence of a grammatical border. Examples of an even more complicated structure of boundary signals are a long vowel + /nn/ or /ss/ or /nm/ or /mn/: in a sequence of such a structure, the grammatical border passes in front of the second consonant: veennud, mõõnnud, veenma, viimne, virtuossse. ▲ similar identification of the boundary occurs in the case of combinations of a vowel + /rnn/ or /kss/, where the boundary is drawn in front of the last consonant: internne, ortodoksse, etc.

In Estonian, word-initial h may signalize the boundary of a word: as the consonant sequences /Ch/ are alien to Esto-

nian usage, even in loan words, they function as boundary signals (if a word-initial /h/ is pronounced, at all).

In vowel sequences, the syllable boundary generally coincides with the word-boundary: maa-alune, maja-esine, etc.

The means of identifying the grammatical boundary are of a probable, and not of an absolute nature.

The differentiation of all the similar boundary cases by exclusively phonetical and phonological criteria is not possible since not all boundaries are signalized phonetically, and the rest are signalized inconsistently (by intermittently present distinctions). In the theory of boundary signals, we encounter more deeply than ever an intertwining of the statistical aspect of a language with the possibilities inherent in a language system.

The functioning of the boundary signals is affected by the stratified nature of the vocabulary of a language: the efficiency of identifying the boundaries by means of boundary signals may be much greater when we are dealing with our own vocabulary, and not with loan words (which may in turn be subjected to lexical subdivision).

The existence of well-defined allophonic rules in a language serves as a prerequisite for the boundary signals that are realized as phonetic junctures. The existence of morpheme structure rules, in turn, determines the functioning of the boundary signals that are realized as structural junctures.

The common effect of all the boundary signals has to be considered. For example, in the quantitative system of Estonian, the phonetical boundary may also be represented by a syllable of the third degree of length, which in the general case, occurs as a word-initial or morpheme-initial syllable (in inflectional suffixes having grade alternation). On the whole, in the Estonian language the total structure of a word enables us to discern the boundaries since, in fact, the word - and the shorter word in partic-

ular - is a structured unit in which quantity and stress degrees are connected with fixed positions (the semi-long vowel occurring in the second syllable, the stress falling on certain syllables, etc.). A part of Estonian sounds are likewise connected with certain positions and therefore they likewise may signalize which syllable we are dealing with (quite a number of diphthongs occur in an initial syllable, exclusively, palatalization is possible only after a stressed vowel, etc.).

The possibilities of the segmental composition of the initial and non-initial syllables differ very widely from each other, both in principle as well as statistically. This all plays a definite part in the analysis of the speech flow.

In that connection we likewise have to consider negative boundary signals - situations which signalize the absence of a boundary. In Estonian, for example, a great many consonant combinations may only occur between the vowels of the first and the second syllable (ndl, rbl, ntak, etc.).

In the analysis and segmentation of the language we must not attribute too great a significance to the boundary signals. It is certain that in the analysis of the speech flow the main role is enacted by the comprehension of the semantics of the text and by the understanding of the grammatical constructions, the phonological and aphonological boundary signals merely constitute auxiliary means. Therefore, the treatment of boundary signals as a part of a general grammatically defined system of junctures is entirely justified - as is done in generative grammar or in the grammar conception of T.R. Viitso.

The boundary signals play a more significant part in the problem of the automatic perception of speech than in its normal perception.

Nevertheless, the theory of boundary signals is a necessary component in any kind of phonological theory and in any phonological treatment of a language.

The boundary signals of the different strata or styles of the literary language may vary, and there are likewise different boundary signals in the different dialects of a language since in dialects the morpheme structure rules need not be identical. At the same time, the boundary signals of dialects are nearer to the absolute than those of the literary language because the morpheme structure rules in dialects are much stricter than in standard speech, and the adaptation of the loaned vocabulary is of a wider range.

In the comparison of the boundary signals of South-Estonian dialects with those of standard Estonian, the phenomena of vowel harmony are of particular interest. In Standard Estonian /ä, ö, ü, õ/ and in most cases /o/ cannot occur in non-first syllables; therefore the existence of those phonemes means that we are dealing with the first syllable of a word. Thus, in the system of the literary language those vowels represent boundary signals of a phonological value. In the Võru dialect, on the contrary, the /ä ü õ o/ (resp. [ä, ü, õ, o]) of non-first syllables are phenomena of vowel harmony, and therefore they may be regarded as aphonological boundary signals which may independently signalize the existence of a boundary only in the case when the vocalism of the succeeding word is different from that of the preceding one (i.e., when the vowel contour of the following word changes).

ON NOMINATIVE AND PREDICATIVE SEMES IN ESTONIAN

Jaan Kaplinski

Last year I suggested¹ that the set of the semes (autonomous, full meaning-bearers) in any language is not an unordered one: in each pair of semes we have an ordering, e.g. the semes bird and fly have a sense only in combinations a bird flies, a flying bird, etc. but not a fly birds, a birding fly, etc. We have every reasons to believe that such all-embracing ordering of meaning-bearers in all the languages is an important and very primitive phenomenon.

It is interesting to see how the difference between predicative (adjective, verb,...) and nominative (pronoun,...) semes is expressed in the existing languages.

In Estonian we have a set of semes which can function as predicates (or attributes) only in very limited contexts, e.g.:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) See mees on Alfred | ('This man is A.') |
| (2) See on <u>see</u> . | ('This is this.') |

These semes (resp. words) belong to the lowest level of the ordered set of all the semes of Estonian. All the other semes are ambiguous and their predicativity or nominativity is determined by the other member of the pair only.

The Estonian language also possesses some specific morphological means of expressing the difference between predicative and nominative words. As an example we can cite the pairs of verbal nouns with the suffixes -tud, -nud and -tu, -nu as well as -v, -tav, -ja.

The nouns with -tud, -nud are predicative:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (3) Ta on <u>surunud</u> . | ('He is dead.') |
| (4) Ta on <u>tapetud</u> . | ('He is killed.') |

The nouns with -tu, -nu are nominative:

¹ Jaan K a p l i n s k i , Word Classes - Syntactical and Morphological, GGG Annual Meeting, Abstracts, Tartu 1970, pp. 13-18.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| (5) <u>Surnu</u> lebas rannas. | ('The dead person was lying on the shore.') |
| (6) <u>Tapetu</u> istus tugi-toolis. | ('The killed person was sitting in the arm-chair.') |

The words with -tud, -nud cannot stand in the subject position in a sentence:

- (7) *Surnud lebas rannas.
 (8) *Tapetud istus tugitoolis.

are incorrect.

Sentences such as

- (9) Veltveebel on tapetu. ('The sergeant major is the killed person.')

have a very special meaning: the sergeant major must be playing the role of a killed person.

Thus we can say that the element -d in the suffixes -tud, -nud is in fact a special morpheme of predicativity in Estonian (or one of its allomorphs) - a logical conclusion, although rather unorthodox from the point of view of the indo-europeanized Estonian grammar.

The nomen agentis with the ending -ja is in present-day Estonian exclusively nominative, the present participle with the ending -y - exclusively predicative:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (10) Viimane <u>jooksja</u> jõudis finiši. | ('The last runner reached the finish.') |
| (11) <u>Jooksev</u> poiss komistas. | ('The running boy stumbled.') |

The sentences

- (12) *Viimane jooksev jõudis finiši.
 (13) *Jooksja poiss komistas.

are incorrect, although (13) can still occur occasionally as a dialectal or archaic form.

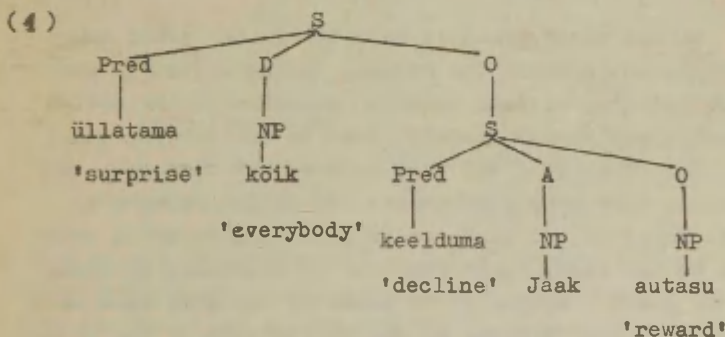
It is worth mentioning that there is a gap in the Estonian verbal noun system: As the nouns with -ja are clearly nominative and the nouns with -v clearly predicative, the present passive participle with -tav is both: süüdistaja means 'accuser', süüdistav 'accusing', but süüdistatav 'accused, defendant' can be an adjective or a substantive.

It was a surprise to me when I actually found in the monumental Estonian grammar by F.J. Wiedemann the now obsolete form süüdistataja 'the accused person, the defendant'. This clearly indicates that the tendency to distinguish the predicative and the nominative has not been very much altered by the massive influence of foreign languages upon Estonian as the nouns with -ja have become exclusively nominative only in the last century.

ON THE SEMANTIC RELATION BETWEEN VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

Reet Kasik

1. According to their semantic relation to the underlying verb, all verbal nouns are divided into two large groups which should obviously be dealt with differently in grammar. One of these groups includes the cases where the meaning of the derivative coincides with that of the underlying verb while the suffix changes only the part of speech, being thus purely a phenomenon of the surface structure. In Estonian this group covers the mine-derivatives, where the derivation changes only the syntactic, but not the semantic qualities of the underlying structure. The underlying structure of the sentence with a mine-construction in it consists of two sentences (i.e. of the semantic representations of these sentences), one of which - the constituent sentence - is embedded into the other - into the matrix sentence - in the position of some argument. As an example let us present the process of the derivation of the sentence Jaagu keeldumine autasust üllatas kõiki 'Jack's declining of the reward surprised everybody'.



Here as one of the arguments of the predicate surprise the constituent sentence Jack declines the reward is used.

In such a position a complex of surface structure rules is automatically applied to the constituent sentence which transform this structure into a nominal construction Jack's declining of the reward. These rules include first of all the transformation which gives the verb of the constituent sentence the nominal shape V_{mine} and, secondly, the transformation, which replaces the nominal subject Jaak with the genitive. Both of these transformations are postlexical. In case of such derivation the suffix -mine has an absolute productivity, but in case of some verbs besides the mine-suffix some other suffixes can occur, such as -k(tulek=tulemine 'coming'), -e(teke=tekkinine 'arising'), -u(vedu=vedamine 'drawing , dragging').

In the same way, i.e. as derived with the surface structure rules, should be treated the nouns which express the single cases of the action. Here the relation between the verb and the noun connected with it derivatively is analogical to that of the verb and the mine-derivative, the underlying verb itself has the meaning of a single case of the action.

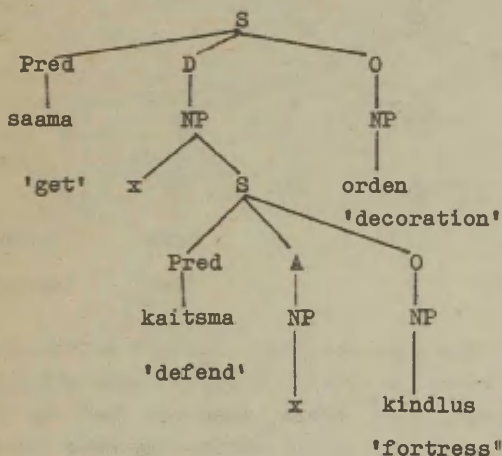
2. The other group is made up of the verbal nouns which do not express the action, but an object or phenomenon standing in some semantic relation to the action (agent, result, instrument, place of the action, etc.).

Ch. Fillmore (1968) has pointed out that each verb tends to have some complements (so called arguments) which stand in the sentence in a certain semantic relation to the verb. This relation is expressed by means of the cases. Evidently by means of the same case relations also the relation of the derivatives to the underlying verb can be characterized. Each verb gives us only as many nominals as it has complements, i.e. according to

the cases which are fixed in its lexical entry as arguments. For example the suffix -ja predominantly derives nouns which are in agentival relation to the underlying verb and therefore it does not give derivatives of such verbs, which have no argument in agentive (*piisaja 'sufficer', *jätkuja 'continuer', *huvitaja 'interester', *avaneja 'opener', etc. are not acceptable derivatives).

The process of the derivation of such nouns should be more-or-less identical with that of the relative clauses, since the paraphrasal nature of the morphological derivative and such a clause is obvious (see Kasik 1970). As an example the sentence Kindluse kaitsja sai ordeni 'The defender of the fortress got a decoration' would be presented. The underlying structure of this sentence can approximately be as follows:

(2)



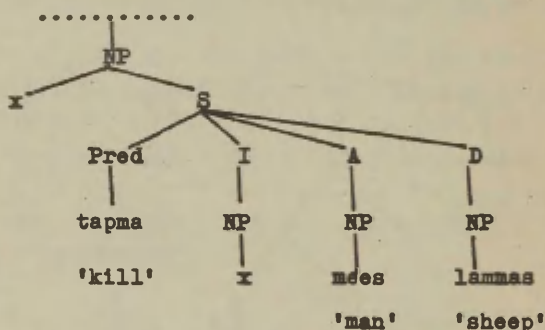
As one of the arguments of the predicate get occurs the index together with a clause and in this clause the same index serves as one of the arguments. The derivative is formed in accordance with the argument under which the index occurs.

Such a process of derivation automatically guarantees that each verb gives only such derivatives as the arguments it has.

The underlying structure is the same as in case of the clause synonymous with the derivative (kaitsja - see, kes kaitseb 'defender - somebody who defends').

In case there is no suitable morphological derivative in the language, such a relative clause is used instead of it. For example in Estonian there is no morphological derivative corresponding to the structure (3) and in the surface structure it can be realized approximately in the following way: See, millega mees tappis lamba 'Something with what the man killed the sheep'.

(3)



Since under the corresponding argument in the underlying structure there is always an empty index which is deleted in the surface structure, then the fact can also be accounted for that such a derivative may have other complements of the corresponding verb from the underlying structure, but in no case the complement which this derivative itself replaces. E.g. the sentence The soldier defends the fortress can be transformed into the defender of the fortress, but the word soldier cannot at the same time be retained as the complement.

3. Such a presentation characterizes the semantic relation between the verbs and the verbal nouns but it is by no means sufficient for generating all verbal nouns. The treatment presented here gives us certain groups of the verbal nouns which have a certain and objectively determined "general meaning". In case of some derivatives this "general meaning" suffices to generate a word, e.g. the structure that connects the features of KAITSMA 'defend' and AGENTIVE generates the word kaitsja 'defender'; LUULETAMA 'write poetry' and FACTITIVE gives the derivative luuletus 'a poem', but in generating the word lendur 'flyer' it is not sufficient to connect in its semantic entry the features FLY and AGENTIVE; in addition we must show that flying is the profession of the given person. The words in the language are often polysemantic. E.g. the word õpetaja 'teacher' denotes every person who teaches, but it also has its specific meaning: a person whose profession is teaching. The number of the additional features in the semantic entry of verbal nouns is practically unlimited, and moreover, in case of each individual word these features are extremely individual; hence the possibility of creating a fully operational model of word-derivation appears to be highly impracticable.

R e f e r e n c e s

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ON THE SEMANTIC INDEFINITENESS OF PROVERBS

Arvo Krikmann

The report aims at calling attention, from the semantical point of view, to some aspects of indeterminacy and ambiguity of proverbs without differentiating what phenomena in this vagueness belong to the lingual base of proverbs and which are specifically proverbial. The points under discussion would be briefly as follows.

1. In principle, three different approaches to proverbial semantics seem to be possible.

(1) The "purely semantical" or "more linguistic" or "virtual" mode: we attempt to interpret proverbs and describe their meanings with the aid of only proverb texts themselves and our intuitive perceptions about the circumstances of "external reality", lingual meanings of words appearing in proverb texts and about the "rules of proverb-making".

(2) The "pragmatico-semantical" or "more folkloristic" approach: we consider only actualizations of proverbs, i.e. the different cases of their real, traditional occurrence in discourse.

(3) The "syntactico-semantical" approach: we try to present, in the form of a systematic classification, semantic descriptions of the whole proverbial repertoire of a particular nation or even a broader international stock accepting, more concretely, either mode (1) or (2).

2. Textual indeterminacy of so-called "proverb types", i.e. "different proverbs": in oral tradition proverbs do not circulate in the shape of ossified clichés but reveal comprehensive variability. The complications springing from that fact will be listed.

3. Should we treat a proverb text as a homogeneous set of verbal signs belonging to one and the same "secondary"

poetic or textual (vs. "primary" non-poetic or "tertiary" metalingual) world, or should we divide the elements of its wording into "formal" or "syntactic" and, on the other hand, "content" elements, and the latter, in turn, into "literal" and "transferred" elements, and, perhaps, equate the "formal" or/and "literal" elements with "primary" lingual or metalingual ones, regarding them as not belonging to poetic devices, or somehow otherwise?

4. Ambiguity (polysemy, "multiple interpretability") of proverbial tropes. Heterogeneity of "parameters" (stages, modes) of tropicalization in proverbs. The problem of "entirely literal" proverbs: do they exist, and so on.

5. Unfixedness of modal qualities of proverbs. Semantic indeterminacy of their so-called "syntactic figures". Grammatical means serving poetic purposes.

(1) The occurrence of three main functions of language in proverbs: proverbs as informators, evaluators and prescriptors. Syntactically explicit nature of informative (alias **denotative**, cognitive) and prescriptive (alias evocative, conative) functions and the implicitness of the evaluative (alias **emotive**, expressive) function. Importance of the "axiologic" interpretation of a proverb for grasping its social and ethical nature.

(2) Difficulties in distinguishing "propositional" modality from, e.g. (a) "deontic" modality: dilemmas is ~ must, obliged, is ~ ought, is ~ permitted, isn't ~ forbidden; (b) "alethic" modality: is as is always, is usually, does exist, may happen, is thinkable; is not as not probable, impossible, etc.

(3) Dilemmas between known and believable, supposable, between is and seems.

(4) Is it appropriate, or is it permissible at all, to equate the typical proverbial "formula-figures" with

logical operations (and to mark them with corresponding signs, e.g. the figure if ... then with the implication, better ... than with the preference, the word or with the disjunction, and so on?

6. Unfixedness of topic- and comment-components (or rather: given- and new-parts) in actualizations of proverbial sentences. Context-free ("structural") and context-bound ("actual") approaches to this problem in linguistics.

7. "Ideological" indeterminacy of a proverb repertoire as a whole, incompatibility and contradiction of proverbial assertions. Vagueness of borderlines between "synonymic", "antonymic" and "simply-disparate" proverbs.

ÜBER ZWEI ASPEKTE DER UNTERSUCHUNG DER VERBENABLEITUNG

Asta Mölder

Bei der Ableitung der neuen Wörter aus den vorhandenen Stämmen muß man zwei Komponenten in Betracht ziehen: den Stamm als Grundlage der Ableitung und das Suffix. Bei der Ableitung der Verben spielen bei der Herausbildung der Bedeutung des abgeleiteten Wortes beide Komponenten eine selbständige Rolle. Deshalb müssen diese zwei Komponenten vom Standpunkt der Bedeutung der Ableitung aus getrennt untersucht werden.

Das Suffix trägt an und für sich keine selbständige Bedeutung, deshalb muß man die Rolle des Suffixes vom Wort als von der Einheit ausgehend untersuchen und muß im Wort diese Kennzeichen finden, derer Vorhandensein vom Suffix abhängen kann.

1. Für die Verben ist eine ganze Reihe semantischer Kennzeichen charakteristisch: Transitivitytät, Kausativität, Reflexivität, Reziprozität, Translativität, Inchoativität, Durativität, Momentanität, Frequentativität. Da die Verben eine Tätigkeit ausdrücken, bezeichnen diese semantischen Kennzeichen der Verben die charakteristischen Züge des Handlungsprozesses. Die Tätigkeit ist z.B. kausal oder nicht, sie ist graduell, beginnend, momentan, dauernd usw. Dabei muß man beachten, daß diese Kennzeichen sowohl abgeleitete als auch einfache Verben bei denen man keine Derivation fixieren kann, charakterisieren, z.B. langema 'fallen', lugema 'lesen'. Bei den Verben, die mit Hilfe eines Suffixes abgeleitet sind, ist nämlich das Suffix dasjenige Element, welches die Tätigkeit charakterisierendes Kennzeichen in sich trägt. So kann das Suffix ein

reflexives Verb in ein kausatives Verb verwandeln (kiikuma - kiigutama 'sich schaukeln - schaukeln'), ein Nichtreziproverb in ein reziprokes Verb (purema - purelema 'beißen - sich beißen').

Ein und dasselbe Kennzeichen kann durch verschiedene Suffixe ausgedrückt werden. So kann man a) die Reziprozität durch die Suffixe -le, -tse und -ne weitergeben (kaklema 'sich schlagen, sich raufen', tülitsema 'sich zanken', söbrunema 'sich anfreunden'), b) die Reflexivität durch die Suffixe -ne, -u, -se, -le (elavnema 'sich beleben', pe'menema 'weich werden', külmuma 'frieren', köhnuma 'mager werden', helisema 'klingen', värisema 'zittern', valulema 'leiden', närvlema 'sich aufregen').

Gewöhnlich sind für ein und dasselbe Verb gleichzeitig mehrere Kennzeichen charakteristisch, z.B. liigutama 'bewegen' - Kausativität, Transitivität; seisatama 'plötzlich stehenbleiben' - Momentanität, Reflexivität; köhnuma 'abmagern' - Reflexivität, Inchoativität, Translativität.

2. An der Bedeutung des abgeleiteten Verbs hat ihren Teil auch die Bedeutung des Wortes, das die Grundlage der Ableitung bildet.

Die Rolle dieses Wortes kann festgestellt werden, wenn man die semantischen Ableitungsverhältnisse untersucht, die zwischen den Wörtern existieren, die miteinander im Derivationsverhältnis stehen.

Bei der Ableitung der Verben können diese semantischen Verbindungen zwischen zwei Verben zum Ausdruck kommen, z.B. lökkama \longleftrightarrow lökkuma 'schieben \longleftrightarrow aufgeschoben werden', vo'kima \longleftrightarrow vaigistama 'schweigen \longleftrightarrow beschwichtigen', lendama \longleftrightarrow lendlema 'fliegen \longleftrightarrow flattern, hin und her fliegen': aber auch zwischen dem Substantiv und dem Verb oder zwischen dem Adverb und dem Verb, d.h. die semantische Eintragung des Verbs enthält die Bedeutung des Substantive oder Adverbs, das zu dem Verb im derivativen Verhältnis steht, z.B. haamer \longleftrightarrow haamerdama 'Hammer \longleftrightarrow hämmern',

hōbe ↔ hōbetama 'Silber ↔ versilbern', tugev ↔ tugev-dama 'stark ↔ stärken', kōssis ↔ kōssitama 'zusammengekauert ↔ zusammengekauert sein', turris ↔ turritama 'struppig ↔ struppig sein'.

Bei der Ableitung des Verbs aus dem Substantiv oder Adverb sind die semantischen Ableitungsverhältnisse zwischen ihnen relevant. Im Estnischen sind die wesentlichen semantischen Ableitungsverhältnisse der denominalen und deadverbialen Verben folgende:

a) Verhältnis eines Mittels (Instrumentes). Das Substantiv, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, bezeichnet ein Mittel der Tätigkeit in der Tätigkeitssituation, die durch ein abgeleitetes Verb ausgedrückt ist, z.B. hōōvel ↔ hōōveldama ~ hōōvliga tōōtama 'Hobel ↔ hobeln ~ mit einem Hobel arbeiten', lasv ↔ laevatama ~ laevaga sōitma 'Schiff ↔ mit einem Schiff befahren ~ mit einem Schiff fahren', puss ↔ pussitama ~ pussiga lõōma 'der Dolch ↔ mit einem Dolch stechen', suusk ↔ suusatama ~ suuskadega sōitma 'der Schi ↔ Schi laufen'.

b) Hinzufügungsverhältnis, wo das Substantiv, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, einen Gegenstand bezeichnet, mit dem in der Tätigkeit, ausgedrückt durch ein abgeleitetes Verb, ein Objekt versehen wird, z.B. pannal ↔ pannaldama ~ pandlaga varustama 'die Schnalle ↔ schnallen ~ mit einer Schnalle versehen', sōrmus ↔ sōrmustama ~ sōrmusega varustama 'der Ring ↔ beringen ~ mit einem Ring versehen', vōre ↔ vōretama ~ vōrega varustama 'das Gitter ↔ vergittern', vōō ↔ vōōtama ~ vōōga varustama 'der Gürtel ↔ umgürten'.

c) Resultatsverhältnis. Das Nomen oder Adverb, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, bezeichnet in der durch ein Verb ausgedrückten Tätigkeitssituation das Resultat der Tätigkeit, z.B. eremiit ↔ eremiidistama ~ eremiidiks muutuma 'der Eremit ↔ Eremit werden', lōhe ↔ lōhestama

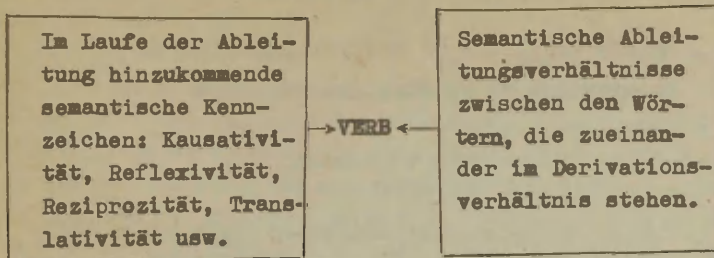
~ löhēt tekitama 'die Kluft ↔ zerklüften', viik ↔ viigitama ~ viike sisse pressima 'die Bügelfalte ↔ aufbügeln', õõs ↔ õõsima ~ õönt valmistama 'die Höhl ↔ höhlen', kikkis ↔ kikitama ~ kikki ajama 'gespitzt ↔ die Ohren spitzen', harali ↔ haralduma ~ harali minema 'gespreizt ↔ sich abzweigen'.

d) Zustandsverhältnis. Das Nomen, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, bezeichnet in der durch ein Verb ausgedrückten Tätigkeitssituation einen Zustand, z.B. piin ↔ piinlame ~ piinas olema 'Qual ↔ sich quälen', semu ↔ semutsema ~ semuna käituma 'der Kamerad ↔ sich als Kamerad benehmen', uhkus ↔ uhkustama ~ uhke olema 'der Stolz ↔ stolz sein', vaga ↔ vagatsema ~ vagana näima 'fromm ↔ fromm tun'.

e) Ortsverhältnis. Das Nomen, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, bezeichnet in der durch ein Verb ausgedrückten Tätigkeitssituation einen Ort, z.B. rand ↔ randuma ~ randa sõitma 'der Strand ↔ landen, anlegen', ladu ↔ ladustama ~ lattu panema 'das Lager ↔ einlagern', paik ↔ paiknema ~ paigas asuma 'der Ort ↔ sich befinden'.

f) Verhältnis des Objekts, wo das Substantiv, das der Ableitung zugrunde liegt, in der durch das Verb ausgedrückten Tätigkeitssituation einen Gegenstand bezeichnet, auf den die Tätigkeit gerichtet ist, z.B. vaik ↔ vaigutama vaiku eraldama 'das Harz ↔ harzen', kupar ↔ kupardama ~ kupraid eemaldama 'die Samenkapsel ↔ riffeln, Flachs kämmen', kala ↔ kalastama ~ kala püüdma 'der Fisch ↔ fischen'.

3. Die Komponenten, die man bei der Ableitung der Verben in Betracht ziehen muß, können durch folgendes Schema ausgedrückt werden:



SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON QUANTIFYING OPERATORS
IN ESTONIAN

Mati Erelt

1. Quantifiers in logic.
2. Linguistic quantification.
 - Differences between logical and linguistic quantifying operators.
 - Logico-semantic representation of sentence and semantic description of linguistic quantifying operators.
3. Some types of linguistic quantifying operators in Estonian.
 - Group operators and "true" quantifiers.
 - Quantifying operators and presuppositions.
 - Quantifying operators and negation.
4. Concluding remarks.

ON THE STRUCTURE OF SYNTACTIC-ANALOGICAL
PARALLELISM IN ESTONIAN ALLITERATIVE VERSE

Helle Niinemägi

1. One of the most characteristic features of style in the alliterative verse of the Finno-Ugric peoples is parallelism, the repetition (identical parallelism) or variation (analogical parallelism) of the elements of the contents or form of a verse in the following verses. This paper will examine the syntactic parallelism of analogy where the syntactic structure of the second verse differs to some extent from that of the main verse. As material, narrative songs from among the oldest epic songs in the collection "Eesti rahvalaulud" are used.¹ The groups of parallelism are divided into pairs of parallelism (main verse + second verse) on which the present analysis is based.

2. In the syntactical analysis we proceed from the assumption that the sentence is hierarhic system which consists of the following levels subordinated to each other.

Level 1 - the highest. Owing to the central position of the verb, this level contains only a predicate-verb.

Level 2 - is subordinated to the 1. level. It contains verbal and nominal elements, determined by the government of the verb: adverbial, object, address, subject, predicative.

The elements of level 3 are subordinated to the elements of the level 2. Here the attribute prevails, the

¹ Eesti rahvalaulud. Antoloogia. I köide, 1. vihk. Toimetanud Ü. Tedre. Tln., 1959.

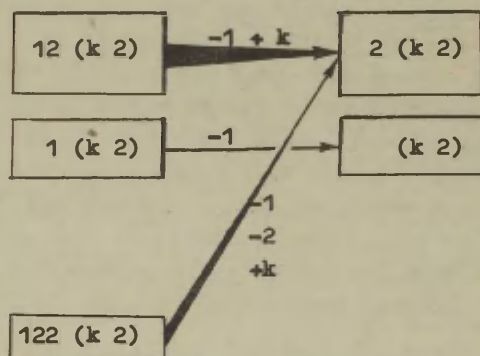
apposition, object, adverbial modifier, predicative occur more rarely.

With the first three levels the classes of the syntactical relations, and, consequently, also the classes of the parts of the sentence are exhausted. The composition of the following levels coincides fractionally with that of level 3 and therefore we designate the third and the following levels by a common symbol k . The functions of the elements of the different levels in the parallelism are different: the main task of the predicate-verb is to bind the structure of the government, while the lower levels convey the main figurativeness of the verse; in between are situated the transitional levels. For that reason the elements of the different levels when passing over from the main verse into the second verse act differently: the elements of the higher levels tend to fall out, the elements of the lower levels are added. This tendency is reflected in the corresponding coefficients and in the structures of the sentence.

3. In the analysis of the verse structure only subordinative relations between the levels will be taken into account whereas their qualitative definition as well as coordination are left aside. Every element will be designated by the number of the corresponding level, the elements of the k -levels which are subordinated inside of the sentence will be added in brackets together with the following main element. According to such marking the structure of the main verse kuu ma nutsin venna kuube will be as follows: 122 (32) or 122 (k 2).

The number of the possible verse-structure is restricted by the metre, the length of the Estonian words, the continuity of syntactical relations (it is impossible to skip a level, to introduce elements of lower levels which are not connected with the higher levels). The semantic peculiarity of parallelism lies in conveying the

basic semantic information in the main verse by means of the aforesaid differences in the dynamics of the elements of the different levels. In the following scheme the most widespread types of the main and second verses and transitions between them are given. In these cases $k = \{ \emptyset, 3 \}$, i.e. in k -position usually an element from level 3 can be found or it is missing altogether.



As an example of the most regular and frequent type of parallelism /12 (k 2) / $-1 + k \rightarrow$ /2 (k 2) / the following pair of parallelism can be put forward

ei ole eite ehtimassa,
vanemad valmistamassa;

Its scheme is $\backslash 122 / - 1 \rightarrow / 22 /$, i.e. in transition from the main verse /122/ to the second verse /22/ the predicate from the first level will be omitted. Another example of the type /122 (k 2) / $- 1 - 2 + k \rightarrow$ / 2 (k 2) /.

Ai ma arstilõ hobose,
tohterõlõ tuhgru ruuna.

More precisely its scheme is /1222/ $- 1 - 2 + 3 \rightarrow$ /2 (32)/; in transition from the main verse (1222) to the second verse /2 (32)/ the subject predicate (level 3) and the subject (level 2) will be omitted, the attribute (level 3) will be added.

ON THE SITUATION ANALYSIS OF THE ESTONIAN VERBS
TULEMA 'COME' - MINEMA 'GO' AND TOOMA 'BRING' -
- VIIMA 'TAKE'

Huno Rätsep

A closer observation of Estonian sentences has lead us to the conclusion that apart from purely formal characteristics, apart from formal sentence patterns, an essential role in the formation of sentences is played by word meanings and the abstract situations that form the basis for them (and through them for the sentence as a whole).

The term situation denotes a certain state or action in reality and an idea or generalization of it. Certain objects participate in the situation and the latter has certain relevant characteristic features.

Natural languages take into account information and present it on several kinds of situations.

Often the text offers some data on the communicative situation where the text is transmitted. A communicative situation is a situation that is presupposed by a certain message during its transmission. In Estonian such components of the communicative situation as the SOURCE OF MESSAGE (the person with whom the message originates), INFORMER (the person who presents the information), RECEIVER (the person to whom the message is transmitted), OBJECT OF MESSAGE (who or what is referred to in the message), TEXT (a code message), CODE (a system of signs), POINT OF DEPARTURE (the location of INFORMER) and DESTINATION (the location of RECEIVER) seem to be essential. To put it briefly

The components of communicative and deep situations are written in capital letters, the names of the components of a communicative situations being underlined.

COMMUNICATION { SOURCE OF MESSAGE, INFORMER, RECEIVER,
OBJECT OF MESSAGE, TEXT, CODE, POINT
OF DEPARTURE, DESTINATION }

Certain grammatical forms and lexical elements offer information on some of these components.

Beside this sort of situation there exists another one which we call deep situation. We are of the opinion that each lexical meaning has a corresponding action or state, the generalization of which is an abstract situation - a deep situation. Deep situations do not exist independently, they are either directly or indirectly connected with various levels of sentence formation. In each deep situation there is one or several components which are essential notions in this action or state and whose peculiarity is determined by their function in the sentence. The deep situation itself is a notion denoting a certain general action or state which in the given case is central and determining. As the components of the deep situation are general notions, they must be considered as classes of notions which may have many members. Deep situation need not constitute the basis for a single word only. It is usually the basis for a whole group of words as it is a case of generalized action or state. Details on deep situation are given in Rätsep 1970.

The verbs minema 'go', tulema 'come' and tooma 'bring', viima 'take' have several different meanings, which may be based on different deep situations. In the following we shall consider them in one of their most common meanings.

minema in the sentences

Kalurid läksid paadiga merele kala püüdma. 'The fishermen went out to sea in a boat to fish'

Vana naine läks üle tänava. 'The old woman went across the street'

Professor läks Tallinna koosolekule. 'The professor went to a meeting in Tallinn'

Paat läheb merele kala püüdma. 'The boat goes out fishing on the sea'

tulema in the sentences

Kalurid tulid paadiga merele kala püüdma. 'The fishermen came out on the sea in a boat to fish'

Vana naine tuli üle tänava. 'The old woman came across the street'

Professor tuli Tallinna koosolekule. 'The professor came to a meeting in Tallinn'

Paat tuleb merele kala püüdma. 'The boat comes out fishing on the sea'

The following deep situation could be offered for both verbs:

MOVING { MOVER, POINT OF DEPARTURE, DESTINATION, PLACE,
INSTRUMENT, AIM, WAY }

where MOVER is the person who moves; POINT OF DEPARTURE - the location of MOVER and/or INSTRUMENT at the beginning of the moving; DESTINATION - the location of MOVER and/or INSTRUMENT at the end of the moving; PLACE - the area within limits of which the moving takes place; INSTRUMENT a vehicle; AIM - an action or state or object for the sake of which the moving takes place; WAY - the area, the way along or through which the moving takes place.

viima in sentences

Peeter viis sõbrale haiglasse šokolaadi. 'Peter took some chocolate to his friend in the hospital'

Üliõpilane viis oma töö professorile lugeda. 'The student took his paper to the professor for reading'

Peremees viis haavatu õuest kööki toibuma. 'The owner of the house took the wounded person from the yard to the kitchen to recover'

Auto viis reisija järgmise linnani. 'The car took the passenger to the next town'

tooma in the sentences

Peeter tõi sõbrale haiglasse šokolaadi. 'Peter brought some chocolate to his friend in the hospital'

Üliõpilane tõi oma töö professorile lugeda. 'The student brought his paper to the professor for reading'

Peremees tõi haavatu õuest kööki toibuma. 'The owner of the house brought the wounded person from the yard to the kitchen to recover'

Auto tõi reisija järgmise linnani. 'The car brought the passenger to the next town'

The deep situation for both verbs could be

CARRYING { CARRIER, RECEIVER, OBJECT OF CARRYING,
INSTRUMENT, PLACE, POINT OF DEPARTURE,
DESTINATION, WAY, AIM }

where CARRIER is the person who carries; RECEIVER - the person to whom something is carried; INSTRUMENT - a vehicle or any other sort of instrument by means of which OBJECT OF CARRYING is carried somewhere; PLACE - the area within the limits of which the carrying takes place; POINT OF DEPARTURE - the location of CARRIER and/or INSTRUMENT and OBJECT OF CARRYING at the beginning of the carrying; DESTINATION - the location of CARRIER and/or INSTRUMENT and OBJECT OF CARRYING at the end of the carrying; WAY - the area or way along, through or over which the moving takes place; AIM - a secondary action or state for the realization of which OBJECT OF CARRYING is carried to DESTINATION.

What is the essential difference between minema 'go' and tulema 'come', on the one hand, and viima 'take' and tooma 'bring', on the other hand? We assume that the difference between the members of either pair is the same in its essence. Only the first pair is noncausative while the latter is causative.

The essential difference in both pairs lies in definite relations between certain components of the communicative situation and the deep situation. In general, data on the components of the communicative situation in the language are rendered in various ways. We have elsewhere (Rätsep 1971) demonstrated how this information is expressed in different manners of communication of the verb. A more detailed analysis of the situative differences of the mentioned verbs follows.

A. (1) Ma lähen poodi. 'I shall go to the shop'

Ma lähen sinu poole. 'I shall go to your place'
(You are neither then nor at present in the shop/ at home)

MOVER = INFORMER (1st person)

PLACE OF RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ~~≠~~ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(2) Ma tulen poodi. 'I shall come to the shop'

Ma tulen sinu poole. 'I shall come to your place'

(Together with you, or you are in the shop/ at home at present or then)

MOVER = INFORMER (1st person)

PLACE OF RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ~~≈~~ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(3) Ma viin lapse haiglasse. 'I shall take the child to the hospital'

Ma viin lapse sinu poole. 'I shall take the child to your place'

Ma viin sulle haiglasse õunu. 'I shall take some apples to you in the hospital'

(You are neither at present nor then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = INFORMER (1st person)

PLACE OF RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person) (at the time of the informing or moving) ~~≠~~ DESTINATION OF CARRYING

(4) Ma toon lapse haiglasse. 'I shall bring the child to the hospital'

Ma toon lapse sinu poole. 'I shall bring the child to your place'

Ma toon sulle haiglasse õunu. 'I shall bring some apples to you in the hospital'

(You are either at present or then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = INFORMER (1st person)

PLACE OF RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF CARRYING

B. (1) Sa lähed poodi. 'You will go to the shop'

Sa lähed minu poole. 'You will go to my place'
(I am neither at present nor then in the shop/ at home)

MOVER = RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of the informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(2) Sa tuled poodi. 'You will come to the shop'

Sa tuled minu poole. 'You will come to my place'
(Together with me or I am at present or then in the shop/ at home)

MOVER = RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of the informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(3) Sa viid lapse haiglasse. 'You will take the child to the hospital'

Sa viid lapse minu poole. 'You will take the child to my place'

Sa viid mulle haiglasse õunu. 'You will take some apples to me in the hospital'

(I am neither at present nor then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF CARRYING

(4) Sa tood lapse haiglasse. 'You will bring the child to the hospital'

Sa tood lapse minu poole. 'You will bring the child to my place'

Sa tood mulle haiglasse õunu. 'You will bring some apples to me in the hospital'

(I am either at present or then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = RECEIVER OF MESSAGE (2nd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF CARRYING

C. (1) Ema läheb poodi. 'Mother will go to the shop'

Ema läheb minu poole. 'Mother will go to my place'

(I am neither at present nor then in the shop/ at home)

MOVER = OBJECT OF MESSAGE (3rd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ✕ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(2) Ema tuleb poodi. 'Mother will come to the shop'

Ema tuleb minu poole. 'Mother will come to my place'

(I am either at present or then in the shop/ at home)

MOVER = OBJECT OF MESSAGE (3rd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ≈ DESTINATION OF MOVING

(3) Ema viib lapse haiglasse. 'Mother will take the child to the hospital'

Ema viib lapse minu poole. 'Mother will take the child to my place'

Ema viib mulle haiglasse õunu. 'Mother will take some apples to me in the hospital'

(I am neither at present nor then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = OBJECT OF MESSAGE (3rd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) ✕ DESTINATION OF CARRYING

(4) Eaa toob lapse haiglasse. 'Mother will bring the child to the hospital'

Ema toob lapse minu poole. 'Mother will bring the child to my place'

Eaa toob mulle haiglasse õunu. 'Mother will bring some apples to me in the hospital'

(I am either at present or then in the hospital/ at home)

CARRIER = OBJECT OF MESSAGE (3rd person)

PLACE OF INFORMER (1st person) (either at the time of informing or moving) \approx DESTINATION OF CARRYING

The same relations are valid in the case of past forms of the verb.

Results of the analysis. The difference in the semantics of the pairs of verbs minema - tulema and viima - tooma lies in differences in the relations of certain components of the deep situations which form the basis for the meanings of the verb and of certain components of the communicative situation. When MOVER resp. CARRIER is INFORMER (1st person) the verbs minema and viima are used if PLACE OF RECEIVER OF MESSAGE either at the time of informing or moving is not identical or close to DESTINATION OF MOVING resp. CARRYING, and the verbs tulema and tooma if it is identical or close to DESTINATION OF MOVING resp. CARRYING. When MOVER resp. CARRIER is RECEIVER OF MESSAGE or OBJECT OF MESSAGE (i.e. 2nd or 3rd person), the verbs minema and viima are used if PLACE OF INFORMER either at the time of informing or moving is not identical or close to DESTINATION OF MOVING resp. CARRYING, and the verbs tulema and tooma if it is identical or close to DESTINATION OF MOVING resp. CARRYING.

Such a differentiation is rather clear in colloquial speech. In stories where the author is INFORMER and the reader RECEIVER, such a differentiation in the location in the author's text has rather often only a stylistic quality. In the case of the verbs tulema and tooma the narrator imagines himself to be in DESTINATION OF MOVING resp. CARRY-

ING. In the case of the verbs minema and viima, however, the narrator removes himself as it were from DESTINATION OF MOVING or CARRYING.

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ON THE des-CONSTRUCTION IN ESTONIAN

Ellen Uuspõld

1. The infinitival des-construction is a free adverbial complement, i.e. its use does not depend on the government of the verb and it may, therefore, extend any verb. Having temporal, causal or other adverbial relations with the predicate of the principal clause, the des-construction denotes a secondary action which is simultaneous with the action expressed by the predicate-verb. These two simultaneous actions may either each have a different agent or the agent may be the same for both of them. When the agent is different from that in the principal clause, it may (as a component of the des-construction) be expressed by a noun in the genitive case. But the use of such a genitival agent-adverbial is rather limited grammatically. A basic restriction: in the cases where the object is connected with the des-form, the construction with the agent-adverbial is not acceptable. Cf., e.g.

- (1) Tüdruk ütles seda kõigi kuuldes.

'The girl said it (in conditions of) everybody's hearing (it).'

- (2) Külaliste saabudes alustas orkester marssi.

'Upon the arrival of the guests the band started (playing) a march.'
and

- (3) *Tüdruk ütles seda kõigi kuuldes tema sõnu.

'The girl said it (in conditions of) everybody's hearing her words.'

- (4) *Võitjate vastu võttes auhinda alustas orkester marssi.

'When the winners received the prize the band started (playing) a march.'

2. Thus the des-construction is mainly used in such situations when both actions have a common agent. The agent is usually expressed by the grammatical subject of the principal clause:

(5) Nõudes sõja lõpetamist marssisid demonstrandid läbi linna.

'Demanding an end to the war, the demonstrators marched through the town.'

(Cf. Demonstrandid nõudsid sõja lõpetamist.

Demonstrandid marssisid läbi linna.

'The demonstrators demanded an end to the war.'

'The demonstrators marched through the town.')

In case of an impersonal principal clause the des-complement may also be interpreted impersonally:

(6) Nõudes sõja lõpetamist, marsiti läbi linna.

'Demanding an end to the war (they) marched through the town.'

(Cf. Nõuti sõja lõpetamist.

Marsiti läbi linna.

'An end to the war was demanded.'

'(They) marched through the town.')

3. The expression of an identical agent by means of the grammatical subject of the principal clause is presented as a rule in traditional grammar-books. In actual usage, however, there occur deviations from this rule. Such sentences with "deviations" are mostly quite unambiguous, for example

(7) Televiisorit vaadates kustus vanaisal piip.

(8) Televiisorit vaadates kustus vanaisa piip.

'Watching TV grandfather's pipe was extinguished.'

Although the grammatical subject in these sentences is piip, it is the word vanaisa which is connected with the des-complement. Such "violations" of the rule are due above all

* In direct translation: 'it was marched'.

to the fact that not all pairs of verbs allow the use of a common subject. So the possibilities for choosing the subject are different from the point of view of the pair of semantic features /⁺animate/. The verbs denoting sensual, intellectual, etc. actions characteristic of living beings (such as nägema 'see', vaatama 'look', kuulma 'hear', kuulama 'listen', teadma 'know', uskuma 'believe', armastama 'love') may occur in connection with an animate subject exclusively. There are verbs which denote the actions of both animate and inanimate subjects (e.g. tooma 'bring', viima 'take', saama 'get', 'receive', 'become', jääma 'stay', 'remain', lähendama 'approximate', mõjustama 'influence') and verbs which may occur in connection with an inanimate subject only (e.g. toimuma 'take place', korduma 'repeat', 'recur', vaibuma 'subside', 'die away', kustumata 'become extinguished', suubuma 'flow', 'discharge (into)', tahkestuma 'dry up', 'solidify'). There is also a group of verbs which never occur in connection with the subject (e.g. piisama 'suffice', iiveldama 'nauseate', koitma 'dawn', häärduma 'grow dim', kahutama 'rime'). Thus the grammatical subject of the principal clause cannot express the common agent in the cases where the des-complement is a verb that may be connected with the animate subject only and the subject of the main clause is inanimate (as in sentences (7) and (8)). As it turns out, there are other possibilities of denoting the animate agent of the action expressed by the des-form (the adverbial vanaisal in sentence (7) and the attribute vanaisa in sentence (8)).

4. The present paper deals with sentences having a des-construction at their beginning, and in which the verb of the construction requires an animate subject, while the subject of the sentence is inanimate. Depending on the predicate-verb, the animate agent connected with the des-construction may in such sentences be expressed by a genitive attribute, partitive object or adverbial which may be in the allative, adessive, inessive or comitative case.

In many instances it is possible to use two different forms as identical variants.

The genitive.

(9) Ülikoolis õppides oli Peetri (~ Peetril) tervis halb.

'(When) studying at the university Peter's health was poor.'

(10) Telegrammi lugedes läksid Peetri (~ Peetril) jalad nõrgaks.

'(When) reading the telegram, Peter's legs went weak.'

(11) Loengule rutates kukkus Peetri (~ Peetril) konsept trepile.

'(When) hurrying to the lecture, Peter's notebook fell onto the staircase.'

(12) Raamatut vaadates äratasid Peetri tähelepanu illustratsioonid.

'(When) looking at the book, some illustrations drew Peter's attention.'

(13) Etendust jälgides köitis Peetri meeli baleriini nõtkus.

'(When) watching the performance, the ballerina's suppleness fascinated Peter's senses.'

See also sentences (7) and (8).

The genitival attribute expressing the agent of the des-construction has usually the ownership relations with the subject of the sentence (sentences (9) - (11)). In the case of such expressions as tähelepanu äratama 'draw (somebody's) attention', meeli köitma 'fascinate (somebody's) senses', sümpaatiat võitma 'gain (somebody's) sympathy' where the verb together with the object forms a phraseological unit, the genitival attribute is a complement of the

* In direct translation: 'Peter's legs became feeble.'

object (sentences (12), (13)). An adverbial in the adessive case may be used as a variant. No such variants exist in sentences of type (12), (13).

The partitive.

(14) Keskkoolis õppides oli Peetrit huvitanud ajalugu.

'(When) learning at secondary school, history had interested Peter.'

(15) Kõnet kuulates valdas juubilari liigutus.

'(When) listening to the speech, the hero of the day was overcome by emotion.'

(16) Tädi juures elades oli Peetrit ärritanud tema pedantsus.

'(When) living at his aunt's place, her pedantry had irritated Peter.'

The agent of the des-construction is expressed by the partitive object in the case of such predicate-verbs as erutama 'excite', ärritama 'irritate', huvitama 'interest', haarama 'possess', valdama 'possess', halvama 'paralyze', heidutama 'intimidate', kangestama 'stiffen', ängistama 'oppress', rõõmustama 'delight', etc.

The allative.

(17) Lapsepõlvele mõeldes meenus Peetrile vana seinakell.

'(When) thinking of (his) childhood, an old wall clock came to Peter's mind.'

(18) Kirja lugedes selgus Peetrile kõik.

'(When) reading the letter, everything became clear to Peter.'

(19) Vahejuhtumile mõeldes tundus Peetrile poisi käitumine kahtlane.

'(When) thinking of the incident, the boy's behaviour seemed suspicious to Peter.'

* In Estonian: 'came to mind to Peter'.

An adverbial in the allative expresses the agent of the des-construction in the case of such predicate-verbs as meeldima 'please', näima 'seem', 'look', paistma 'seem', 'appear', tunduma 'seem', 'appear', meenuma 'come into (one's) mind', selguma 'become clear', viirastuma 'seem as if in a dream', osaks saama 'fall to the lot', silma torkama 'strike the eye', silma puutuma 'catch the eye', etc.

The adessive, when it expresses the agent of the des-construction, is mostly a variant of the genitival attribute and thus a free complement (see sentences (7), (9), (10), (11)) but in the case of some verbs (e.g. olema 'have', tekkima 'come into being', 'arise', juhtuma 'happen', 'occur') such an adessive belongs to the government structure.

(20) Ülikoolis õppides oli Peetril raskusi.

'(When) studying at the university, Peter had some difficulties.'

(21) Aparaaati katsetades juhtus Peetril äpardus.

'(When) experimenting with the apparatus, an accident happened to Peter.'

The illative and comitative express the agent of the des-construction more seldom than the above-mentioned cases. As a variant the adessive must be mentioned:

(22) Professori naeratust nähes tärkas Peetris (~Peetril) lootus.

'(When) seeing the professor's smile, a hope arose in Peter.'

(23) Rekordit taotledes oli Peetriga (~Peetril) õnnetus juhtunud.

'(When) attempting to set a record, an accident had happened to Peter.'

5. When the form expressing the agent of the des-

construction is not an obligatory member of the government structure of the predicate-verb, it may be omitted. The sentence will still be acceptable, e.g.:

(24) Telegrammi lugedes läksid jalad nõrgaks.

'(When) reading the telegram, (his) legs went weak.'

(25) Kirja lugedes selgus kõik.

'(When) reading the letter, everything became clear.'

(26) Aparaaati katsetades juhtus äpardus.

'(When) experimenting with the apparatus, an accident happened.'

(Cf.: Kõnet kuulates valdas liigutus.

'(When) listening to the speech, emotions possessed.')

In such sentences we perceive the impersonal "somebody" as the agent of the des-construction. When the agent is not known from the previous context, the impersonal "somebody" has only one semantic feature /+animate/.

Sentences like

(27) Järve äärde jalutades läks päike looja.

'(When) walking to the lake, the sun was setting.'

(28) Rutates üle Raekoja platsi hakkas kell lööma.

'(When) hurrying across the Town Hall square, the clock began to strike.'

could be acceptable if such an impersonal agent is perceived. In such a case there should be a possibility to express the agent of the des-construction in the sentence. In the given sentences such a possibility is dubious:

(29) ? Järve äärde jalutades läks meil päike looja.

'(When) walking to the lake, the sun was setting (for us).'

(30) ? Rutates üle Raekoja platsi hakkas tal kell
lööma.

'(When) hurrying across the Town Hall square,
the clock began to strike (for him).'

Therefore sentences like (27) and (28) cannot be considered
normal.

SOME DIFFERENCES IN THE VOCABULARY OF TASS REPORTS AND SPORT ARTICLES

Jüri Valge

With the help of statistical analysis we have pointed (Valge, 1971) out earlier that T A S S reports and sport articles represent two quite different subgenres in the newspaper language (from the point of view of the parts of speech). The present treatment seeks to examine more closely the differences between the above-mentioned subgenres.

When compiling frequency dictionaries two basic principles are taken into consideration:

- 1) the frequency of word occurrence,
- 2) the number of themes where the given word occurs.

The last criterion prevents putting the words that are connected with a very limited circle of themes at the top of the list. Such words can quite often be used in some single excerpts but in the majority of the excerpts they are missing.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned principles 150 more frequent words from both subgenres will be compared.

It is possible to point out twelve word groups, different in their functions.

1. Words which have no independent meaning. Here belong conjunctions, pronouns, prepositions and postpositions, as well as adverbs which are used in the position of a postposition.

The words belonging to this group show no thematic differences but they reveal some differences in the sentence construction of the compared subgenres. It appears that in TASS reports analytical forms, contracted sentences and compound sentences are used more often than in

sport articles. The synthetic forms and complex sentences, in turn, are more characteristic of the sport articles.

2. Close in its function to the first group stands a large group of link verbs, c o p u l a t i v e and m o d a l v e r b s as well as verbs with a g e n e r a l m e a n i n g which are represented quite numerously in both of the described subgenres.

E. g. olema 'be', pidama 'must', võtma 'take', andma 'give', saama 'get', mööduma 'pass', kuuluma 'belong' (TASS): olema 'be', hakkama 'begin', jääma 'stay', võima 'can', pidama 'must', jätma 'let', saama 'get', andma 'give', kuuluma 'belong', tooma 'bring', valima 'choose', võtma 'take', etc. (sport).

Perhaps this indicates a more frequent use of infinitival constructions in sport articles.

3. A large group is made up of words connected with a n n o u n c e m e n t . Above all they are typical of TASS reports.

E. g. avaldu 'statement' (communique), teatama 'inform' (announce), ajaleht 'newspaper', avaldama 'declare', teade 'announcement', etc.

Among the words expressing announcement, verbs and nouns denoting s p e a k i n g form a special group.

E. g. märkima (mainima) 'mention', üttelema 'say', rõhutama 'stress', esinema 'perform', ettekanne 'report', kõne 'speech'.

In sport articles these words occur much more seldom (üttelema 'say', rääkima 'speak').

4. Typical of TASS reports are words denoting e v e n t s .

E. g. sündmus 'event', algama 'begin', lõppema 'end', toimuma 'take place'.

5. The task of both subgenres, but especially of the TASS reports is to inform us of the t i m e and p l a c e of the given event. For that purpose nouns as well as adverbs are used.

E. g. aasta 'year', päev 'day', aeg 'time', praegu 'now', siin 'here' etc. (TASS, sport).

The majority of the words denoting place, belong to the TASS reports.

E. g. linn 'town', maja 'house', provints 'province', piirkond 'area' (district), saar 'island'.

6. Words which characterise the event from the point of view of quantity and number. These words occur more often in sport articles.

E. g. miljon 'million', ksks 'two', tuhat 'thousand', üks 'one', etc. (TASS); esimene 'first', üks 'one', kaks 'two', viimane 'last', teine 'second', kolm 'three', neli 'four' etc. (sport).

This group may also include such words as protsent 'per cent', hind 'price', kord 'turn' (TASS) and kord 'turn', hulk 'quantity', koht 'place', meeter 'metre' (sport).

7. The following group of adjectives and adverbs may be called descriptive. Depending on the situation neutral and estimating descriptions are combined.

E. g. uus 'new', endine 'previous', valge 'white', suur 'big', kõrge 'tall', tähtis 'important' (TASS); uus 'new', tugev 'strong', noor 'young', pikk 'long', suur 'big', rohkem 'more', vähe 'few' (sport).

8. A large group of adverbs in sport articles is connected with stressing something. In TASS reports only the word ka 'also' is used in this connection.

E. g. ka 'also', nii 'so', veel 'yet', ainult 'only', siiski 'still', küll 'indeed', eriti 'especially', väga 'very', muidugi 'of course', isegi 'even', vaid 'but' (sport).

9. TASS reports are characterised by a certain group of words denoting purposeful action.

E. g. juhtima 'direct', nõudma 'demand', eesmärk 'purpose', töö 'work', tagajärg 'result', tegema 'do'.

10. Typical of sport articles are verbs denoting movement.

E. g. tulema 'come', minsama 'go', muutuma 'change', tõusma 'rise', sõitma 'go'.

11. Words connected with man, doer (agent).

TASS: inimene 'human (being)', man', töötaja 'worker', elanik 'inhabitant'.

Sport: mees 'man', sakslane 'German', ameeriklane 'American', inimene 'human (being) man'.

In TASS reports usually official names of states are used, but in sport articles they are combined with names of peoples.

Quite a large number of words in sport articles denote parts of the human body (käsi 'hand').

12. The greatest differences between the compared sub-genres lie of course in their specific vocabulary.

The specific vocabulary of TASS reports comprises words denoting state, governing, relations between states, political organizations.

E. g. nõukogu 'council', liit 'union', valitsus 'government', partei 'party', president 'president', peaminister 'prime minister', vabariik 'republic', riik 'state', maa 'country', poliitiline 'political', demokraatlik 'democratic', sotsialistlik 'socialist', kommunistlik 'communist', esindaja 'representative', konverents 'conference', delegatsioon 'delegation', leping 'treaty', kutsuma 'call', maailm 'world', jõud 'power', rünnak 'attack', võitlus 'fight', agressioon 'aggression', rahu 'peace', etc.

The specific vocabulary of sport articles:

meeskond 'team', koondis 'selected team', sport 'sport', turniir 'tournament', mäng 'game', mängima 'play', treener 'trainer' (coach), võistlus 'competition', võistlema 'compete', võistkond 'team', sportlane 'sportsman', jooks 'race',

võit 'victory', võitja 'victor', viik 'draw', kaotus 'loss' (defeat), rekord 'record', kaotama 'lose', etc.

Taking into consideration what has been given above, we can state that in addition to the differences in the specific vocabulary there are some groups of more frequent words the use of which is different in the examined sub-genres of the newspaper language.

Of course, the comparison of 150 more frequent words cannot help to ascertain all the characteristic features of the analysed subgenres but still it can be supposed that what has been said above is valid also in the case of the other part of the text.

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ON i : e ALTERNATIONS IN ESTONIAN

Tiit-Rein Viitso

0. The present paper deals with problems connected with two Balto-Finnic rules that can, for present discussion, be presented in a somewhat simplified form as

(1) $e \rightarrow i / _\#$

(2) $t \rightarrow s / __i (i|e \rightarrow i)$

In Rule (2), $i|$... means "i such that ...".

1. The rules are well-known already in pre-structuralist treatments of Balto-Finnic historical phonetics. Lately these rules, as present in Finnish, have been used as an argument for the assumption that paradigmatic information is necessary to the metatheory. In doing this L. Campbell (1971:196) has accepted the fundamental idea of a convention proposed by N. Chomsky & M. Halle (1968:374) whereby, in any rule such as $A \rightarrow B / X \rightarrow Y$ one of the features in A will be $[+ \text{rule } \underline{n}]$. In our case, Rule (1) will be a feature in the environmental i for Rule (2).

I consider, however, Chomsky & Halle's convention first for a formal device whose purpose is smuggling in ad hoc rules or ad hoc generalizations. Second, the convention has sense only when assuming that grammar assigns to each unit its derivational history, no matter whether it is the entire or late history. But when accepting the assumption, it will produce a converted history. E.g., the rules

(3) $A \rightarrow \underline{B} / X$

(4) $B \rightarrow C / Y \quad (B|A \rightarrow B)$

may misrepresent the actual state of affairs

(5) $A \rightarrow C / \begin{bmatrix} X \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$

(6) $A \rightarrow B / X$

And last, the feature [+ rule n] appears when applied for an environment not as a condition but as a checking procedure.

But as Chomsky & Halle's convention is the only non-contradictory way to cope with the Balto-Finnic rules, then denying the convention means also denying the correctness of the rules.

2. For Estonian, Rule (2) could be illustrated by

(7)	Undeclined form ("Nominative")	Partitive	Plural ("Nominative")
'hand'	käsi	kät	käet
'truth, non-lie'	tõsi	tõt	tõet
'wolf'	susi	süt	soet

Note that in long syllables, i.e. in syllables ending in a consonant or a diphthong, one of the following accents occurs:

(i) plain, (ii) grave, (iii) acute, (iv) compound. The plain accent lengthens the diphthong or the first component of the postvocalic consonant cluster (näen = [näen] 'I see', kolm = [kołm] 'three'). The grave accent lengthens the single postvocalic consonant or the first p, t, k, s, š in a postvocalic consonant cluster (māta = [maṭta] 'to bury', ärkan = [ärkkan] 'I wake up'). The semivowel i is never lengthened. The acute accent eliminates any lengthening (näeme = [näēmè] 'we see', kólmas = [kolmaZ] 'third'). The compound accent is a combination of grave and acute, hence, a weakened form of the grave accent (māta = [mattà] 'you bury!', näete = [näette] 'you (pl.) see'). The phonetic palatalization of alveolars is treated as conditioned by a preceding semivowel i (kũilte = [kuⁱlṭte] 'boar; pl. partitive').

In Estonian, Rule (1) is directly counter-evidenced by virtue of the following three-stem set

(8) 'sister'	õte	õte	õet
'truth, verity'	tõte	tõte	tõet
'weft, tissue'	kute	kute	koet

the underlying i being excluded by words such as

(9) 'aunt'	täti	täti	tätit
'tickle'	kõti	kõti	kõtit
'pap'	puti	puti	putit

In (8), kute is somehow connected with the verb stem kuto (cf. kututa 'to weave', koon 'I weave') and tõte is somehow connected with tõsi in (7). Nevertheless, there is too little reason for postulating an innovational suffix -e in Estonian or considering this set otherwise innovational.

Various Estonian dialects offer even one more argument against Rule (1), cf.

(10) 'knee'	põilv	põlve	põlvet
'knot'	sõilm	sõlme	sõlmet
(11) 'three'	kolm	kolme	kõlmet

In undeclined forms, i appears as traditionally suggested according to the following rules

$$(12) i \rightarrow j / \#C_0 \left\{ \begin{matrix} v_1^1 c_2^3 \\ v_2^2 c_1^2 \end{matrix} \right\} - \# \quad \text{(where by the lower index indicates the minimal and the upper index the maximal number of consonants or vowels)}$$

$$(13) \#C_0 \left\{ \begin{matrix} v_1^1 \\ v_2^2 \end{matrix} \right\} c_1^1 \left\{ \begin{matrix} c_1^2 \\ c_0^1 \end{matrix} \right\} j \# \rightarrow 1236457 \mid c_1^1 \in \{t, s, n, l\}$$

12 3-4 5 67

$$(14) j \rightarrow \frac{1}{2} / _C$$

The situation is similar to that in the Estonian dialects also in Livonian, cf. [s^uõilm] 'knot' vs. [k^uõilm] 'three';

elsewhere in Balto-Finnic the stem for 'three' has rather aberrant suffixation.

3. Hence, for stems with i : e alternation, there must exist a machinery different from the traditional. It is known from previous investigations that the stem-final e is, at least in most cases, epenthetic (cf. Viitso 1969). If stem-final i in (7) and (12) is entirely different from the epenthetic e, then there remains but the possibility of treating i as the phonetic representative of an underlying j.

Hence, we have instead of Rule (1)

(1') $j \rightarrow i / C_ \#$

Rule (1') is preceded, not followed, by the Assibilation Rule

(2') $t \rightarrow s / __ j \#$

4. Rule (1') as established here needs not be valid in each grammar. There are two possible grammars that account for undeclined forms such as in (10):

A. (1')

(12)

(13)

B. (1'') $j \rightarrow i / C_1^1 __ \#$

(13)

In the case of B Rule (1'') and, hence, Rule (12) do not assist in the derivation of (10). As a further evidence for Rule (1'') note my dialect where the following rules are valid:

(1'') $j \rightarrow i / C_1^1 __ \#$

(1⁰) $j \rightarrow \emptyset / C_2 __ \#$

rules precede rules (12) and (13) the sets (10) and (11) are not differentiated in this grammar.

5. The occurrence (+) and non-occurrence (-) of the epenthetic e in j-stems depends (i) on the structure of the suffixal component and (ii) on the ultimate and even the penultimate phoneme that precedes j. The following matrix describes the occurrence of the epenthetic e in stems of the form $C_0V_1C_1^1j$; note that ta is the underlying partitive case suffix and t+n is the underlying plural genitive suffix whereas + in t+n is a suffix boundary.

C_1^1											
t	s	r	l	m	n	k	h	p	v		
-	-	-	+ ¹	+ ¹	+ ²	+	+	+	+	ta	} Suffixes
-	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	t+n	
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Else	

Notes. ¹ $\emptyset \rightarrow e$ if the consonant follows a front vowel.

² $\emptyset \rightarrow e$ if the consonant follows a; historically, however, this is a case of nhj whereby $h \rightarrow \emptyset$ /n__, cf. hani < *hanhj 'goose'.

In stems of the form $C_0V_1C_1^1j$ or $C_0V_1C_2^1j$, the epenthetic e appears if j follows l, m, n, k, v while, in $C_0V_1C_2^1j$ no epenthetic e occurs in the partitive and the plural genitive if j follows t. In stems of the form $C_0V_2^2C_1^2j$, epenthesis does not occur in the partitive and the plural genitive.

6. In formulating rules that account for the elision of j before the epenthetic e, the following sets are of particular interest:

(15) 'cause, inducement'	ajent	ajent\it	ajentit
'shy, timid'	uje	ujet\at	ujetat
'pathological sinking'	vaje	vaj\et	vajet

(16) 'brother'	veli	velje	veljet
'sail'	puri	purje	púrjet

The words ajent and vaje in (15) are abstract terms created in the first half of the present century. Here ajent (and the corresponding verb ajentata 'to induce') is an incorrect derivation, cf. ajata 'to drive' : aetut 'it is driven' (this verb has given spontaneously also a correct derivative aeleta 'to roam'). The word uje (stem: ujeta) is a somewhat modified borrowing from Finnish: as the Finnish ujo would have given in Estonian uju, homonymous with the verb stem uju 'swim', the adjective suffix eta was added to the stem. As in the case of suffixes beginning in e the stem-final vowel is omitted, this word can be considered correct. The same is true for vaje where there is a deverbal suffix beginning in e, cf. vajuta 'to sink'. Nevertheless, these are the only words in Estonian - and only in educated Estonian - where $C_0V_1^1i$ precedes e. Neither of the stems in (16) occurs uniquely throughout the Estonian dialects. In most dialects 'brother' is not veli and in some an a-stem, e.g.

(16')	veli	velja	veljat
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is the case. But, on the other hand, the stem velje is present in all other Balto-Finnic languages. The stem for 'sail', on the contrary, never occurs in other Balto-Finnic languages and in some Estonian dialects without a suffix. Hence, there is in Estonian and, in virtue of the stem velje, in other Balto-Finnic languages at least one case of underlying je. The alternation i : e here is entirely analogical to alternations of i in the following cases:

(17) 'pillow'	pati	patja	pátjat
'fruit, crop'	vili	vilja	viljat
'stove'	ahi,	ahju	áhjut

Here the final vowel is apocoped in undeclined forms according to the general Apocope Rule

$$(18) \text{ } \nabla \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C}_0 \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}_1^1 \text{C}_2 \\ \text{V}_2^2 \text{C}_1 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V} \dots \text{V}_1 \text{C}_1 \end{array} \right\} _ \#$$

Note that this rule must be preceded by Rule (12) as otherwise Rule (13) cannot apply. Rule (18) is followed by a rule identical with Rule (1''):

$$(19) \text{ } j \rightarrow i / \text{C}_1^1 _ \#$$

The rule that drops the partitive suffix must also follow Rule (18).

Hence the rule for *j*-elision is as follows:

$$(20) \text{ } j \rightarrow \emptyset / _ _ +$$

Note, however, that the Estonian dialects where veli is either absent or belongs to (16') and the stem for 'sail' has a suffix beginning in e Rule (10') applies instead of rule (20):

$$(20') \text{ } j \rightarrow \emptyset / _ _ e.$$

The rules of *j*-elision must precede the consonant mutation rules, cf. kärjet 'honeycombs' from the stem kärke or märjem 'more wet' from the stem märka, and the rule

$$(21) \text{ } \text{V}_1^1 \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{V}_1 \text{C}_1 _ + \text{V}$$

cf. kärje 'cry' from the verb karjuta 'to cry, shout'.

7. There is a further piece of evidence for the machinery proposed for the *i* : *e* alternations discussed above. In Permian, more exactly, in Komi, the situation is, in general, contrary to that in Balto-Finnic. There the stem-final *j* is dropped word-finally but is preserved before vocalic suffixes, cf.

(22)	Balto-Finnic	Komi
'snow'	lumi : lum-	lijm : lijmj-
'lap'	süli : sül-	śuv : śuvj-

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ON ACTION SITUATION AND INTRASSENTENTIAL
PRONOMINALIZATION IN ESTONIAN

Ülle Viks

0. The present paper is a supplement to a previous one, "Pronominalization in Estonian elementary sentences" (Viks, 1970).

1. The starting position for the inference of conditions under which intrasentential pronominalization takes place is the predicate verb which is the core of an Estonian elementary sentence (i.e. a sentence containing one verb). The meaning of the predicate verb governs the occurrence of other parts of sentence, and the choice and form of lexical units.

The meaning of the verb relates to some general action situation (action or state) described by the sentence that contains the given verb. In every action situation it is possible to distinguish certain elements that are related to one another through the action expressed by the verb and may manifest themselves in the surface structure as elements of the government structure of the verb (Rätsep, 1970).

2. The situation elements that prove to be essential from the viewpoint of pronominalization are the following:
1) objects participating in the action, or referents,
2) the direction of the action expressed by the verb. These situation elements are closely related to one another. Also essential is the number of places in the government structure of the verb. It shows the possible number of referents in an action situation corresponding to the given verb.

Verbs denoting undirected action (e.g. loojuma 'set (of sun)', magama 'sleep', õitsema 'flower') lack governmental complements (i.e. there is only one place in their gov-

ernment structure). In elementary sentences with such verbs intrasentential pronominalization is ruled out:

Verbs that have a governmental complement usually express a directed action. Three principal directions can be observed for Estonian verbs:

1) action directed at the acting referent himself ($a \rightarrow a$), e.g.

- (1) Mari ahnitseb endale kõik paremad palad.
'Mari grasps for herself all better morsels.'

2) action directed away from the acting referent ($a \rightarrow b$), e.g.

- (2) Ena äratas Antsu kell seitse.
'Mother woke Ants at seven o'clock.'

3) reciprocal action ($a \leftrightarrow b$), e.g.

- (3) Ants ja Jaan vaidlevad teineteisega elavalt.¹
'Ants and Jaan are arguing with each other in a lively manner.'

The direction of an action is not inseparably connected with a particular verb, since most of the verbs can alternately express an action having one or other of the directions. The direction is dictated by the situation described by the elementary sentence containing the corresponding verb. In a specific sentence, the direction is indicated by the presence or absence of a pertinent pronoun (see examples (1), (2), (3)).

3. The direction of the action expressed by the verb defines the number of referents in a given action situation. For the direction $a \rightarrow a$ the number of referents is by one smaller than the number of places in the government structure of the verb. For example, there are two places in the government structure of the verb pesema 'wash': x peseb y 'x is washing y'; but for the direction $a \rightarrow a$ we have a peseb a 'a is washing a'. The NP functioning as a comple-

¹ a denotes the acting referent (the performer of the action, the person being in action); b denotes all the referents other than a.

ment of the verb is co-referent with the subject NP, and consequently reflexive pronominalization must take place:

- (4) Peeter peseb Peetrit. → Peeter peseb ennast.
'Peeter is washing Peeter. → Peeter is washing himself.'

For the direction $a \rightarrow b$, the number of referents in the action situation is equal to that of places in the government structure of the verb, since the action of the acting referent is directed at some other referent: a peseb b 'a is washing b', e.g.

- (5) Ena peseb last. 'The mother is washing a child.'
Pronominalization is ruled out, as there are no co-referent NP's.

There is a certain group of verbs that can only express an action with the direction $a \rightarrow b$, such as äratama 'wake', hülgama (kedagi) 'forsake (somebody)', pärandama (kellelegi) 'bequeath (to somebody)', pölvnema (kellestki) 'descend (from somebody)'.

Reciprocal action ($a \leftrightarrow b$) presupposes the participation of at least two referents in the action situation. The specific number of referents is not defined by the meaning of the verb but by the context where the particular elementary sentence occurs. Characteristic of this direction is that the NP occupying one place of the verb denotes several (two or more) referents being mutually involved in reciprocal action: a ja b pesevad a ja b 'a and b are washing a and b', e.g.

- (6) Mari ja Anne pesevad teineteist.
'Mari and Anne are washing each other.'

Reciprocal sentences are based on a group of underlying structures, each separate underlying structure expressing unidirectional action ($a \rightarrow b$). This statement can be deduced intuitively from the action situation described by a reciprocal sentence. Thus the sentence

- (7) Ants ja Jaan tervitavad teineteist.

'Ants and Jaan are greeting each other.'

is based on the group of underlying structures represented by the sentences

- (8) Ants tervitab Jaani. ($a \rightarrow b$) }
Jaan tervitab Antsu. ($a \rightarrow b$) }
'Ants is greeting Jaan. }
Jaan is greeting Ants.' }

The same referents are repeated in all the underlying structures. a denotes in turn each of the referents in the whole group of the underlying structures, and b combines the rest of the referents in each case. Hence the number of underlying structures is as big as the number of referents in a given action situation. The action expressed by sentence (7) involves two participating referents, and likewise there are two underlying structures. In the situation given by the sentence

- (9) Peeter, Ants ja Jaan tervitavad üksteist.

'Peeter, Ants and Jaan are greeting one another.'

there are three active referents, thus there are three underlying structures:

- (10) Peeter tervitab Antsu ja Jaani. }
Ants tervitab Peetrit ja Jaani. }
Jaan tervitab Peetrit ja Antsu. }

'Peeter is greeting Ants and Jaan. }
Ants is greeting Peeter and Jaan. }
Jaan is greeting Peeter and Ants.' }

Underlying structures are transformed into one sentence expressing reciprocal action, the subject NP of which names all the referents participating in the action and the reciprocal pronoun refers to the reciprocal nature of the action.

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PREDICATES, NOUNS AND REFERRING STRUCTURES

Haldur Öim

1. In generative semantics the standpoint is generally accepted that the only category of content-bearing units that is needed in semantic representations is the category of predicates. The meaning of any sentence (and of any nonelementary unit) is presented in terms of predicates and their arguments. I want to consider here the question of whether such an absolutism of predicates is justified from the empirical point of view. I will try to show that there are some facts of language that do not fit the predicate-argument mechanics but require a quite different treatment. I will also seek to suggest the general lines of one possible treatment of these facts. The above question has been treated already in Dahl, 1971. Dahl considers the question of the relation between nouns and predicates. I will start with an analysis of Dahl's proposals, trying to show their deficiency, and will then present my own point of view in these questions.

2. The view that Dahl defends in his paper is that nouns are not a special kind of predicates but that they have a logical status of their own in the semantic representation, i.e. that they form a separate semantic category representing "another "mode of signifying" than, e.g., verbs". He observes that in complex noun phrases always a relation of "logical priority" holds between its components, a relation that cannot be represented by conjunction only. In such a NP one of the units determines as if a certain universe (= a set) whereas the other units serve to specify the property that singles out a definite subset within this universe/set. This explains e.g. why the meaning of Buddhist Japanese and Japanese Buddhist is

not the same, although they can refer to the same person. And if one wants to characterize an object by a description, one must choose first a suitable universe for the description, and, as a rule, this universe is referred to by a noun: this is the reason why, e.g., in the sentences Peter is a nice fellow, Mary is a beautiful girl the nouns fellow and girl are needed.

On the ground of these and some other facts Dahl offers the hypothesis that nouns function always as names of sets (set constants) and, accordingly, are not to be treated as predicates. The logical form of a (complex) noun phrase would, according to Dahl, be the following:

The subset M of N such that the members of M satisfy the description D

where N is represented by a noun and D is represented by an adjective or a relative clause in the surface structure.

In discussing his proposal Dahl notes, in addition, that when all word-classes of surface structure are treated as manifestations of one category in semantic representation it remains quite unexplained why there should be such things as word-classes at all. Intuitively we feel, for instance, that it is not an accident that we do not say John is a run instead of John runs or That thing is chairing instead of That thing is a chair. And the lists of word-classes that occur in different languages do not differ from one another to such an extent at all as it would be supposed if they were only accidental surface structure phenomena introduced by transformations. Quite the contrary, notes Dahl, the three traditional word-classes, nouns, adjectives and verbs, show up in the most disparate languages and so there is ground to believe that they correspond in some way to natural semantic classes.

Dahl's arguments are quite convincing when he points out that the form $[x + S]_{NP}$ which is used in genera-

tive semantics for presenting the content of noun phrases, is inadequate with respect to many semantic properties of noun phrases, and that the standpoint according to which all content-bearing structures of language can be given in terms of predicates and arguments needs revising. But Dahl's positive proposals, when looked at a little closer, appear to be quite confused.

We may not consider the question of the precise meaning of such terms as "set", "name of a set", "mode of signifying" in generative semantics - apparently, they could be made more precise without much trouble. But there is a question that inevitably rises in the case of Dahl's approach: what is it exactly that Dahl has in view when speaking of nouns and noun phrases? Since he nowhere specifies his use of these terms we have to conclude that he uses them in their surface structure meaning. But in this meaning it is undoubtedly quite unacceptable to say that nouns should be treated as forming a semantic class of their own. In this case it would be necessary to include into this class not only such units as woman, girl, Marxist, chair, with which Dahl itself operates in his examples, but also such units as difference, possibility, restriction, and even run or laugh since in the surface structure they are nouns. As is well known, it is possible to form a corresponding noun from practically every verb and adjective without any remarkable change in basic meaning; consequently, we would be faced with the fact that most of the units occur in semantic representation as members of the class of nouns as well as predicates, and in different classes we should give them quite different descriptions. To my mind, this fact alone suffices to discredit the hypothesis that nouns, taken in their surface structure meaning, should be treated as belonging to a separate semantic class which is opposed to the class of predicates.

But if it is not the case that all surface nouns are

included in the semantic class of "names of sets", then what would be the criterion governing the choice of the appropriate units? Note that the question is here of explicating the semantic nature of not only nouns but of predicates as well. So long as we had to do in semantics with only one category of contentful units, it was not so important to say explicitly what was the real essence of this class, but as soon as there are two (or more) such classes we have to explain their difference, i.e. we have to characterize explicitly the semantic functions of both of them.

Undoubtedly the most natural-looking solution to consider is that among the surface nouns it is possible to single out a group of words which can be regarded as "genuine nouns" - in the sense that they cannot be derived from the units of other word-classes. It is well known how confused this problem is from the formal point of view - remember such notions as "abstract verbs", etc. that are used in transformational grammar in the treatment of the relation between nouns and verbs. But here we have to find a semantic ground for separating the given group of units from predicates. Since one of the most characteristic features of predicates is that they have arguments, it is here that one would begin to look for the difference between the two categories, explaining this, e.g., in the following way: predicates are semantically incomplete, they have certain "empty places" - arguments - to be filled in when the predicates are used in concrete cases (remember that already Frege has characterized predicates in somewhat the same way, saying that they are "ergänzungsbedürftig"); names (genuine nouns), on the other hand, are semantically independent, they do not have "empty places", they do not need completing when used in concrete cases, etc. The reason for such characterization is to single out a group of nouns such as girl, chair, stone, place, stuff, etc. that quite

apparently are not derived from any verb or adjective. For instance, it is wholly natural to speak in the following way:

- (1) I looked through the window and saw a girl. I quite liked the girl.

But not in the following way:

- (2) I looked through the window and saw a sitting (speaking, laughing). I quite liked the sitting (speaking, laughing).

Before we can use the words sitting, speaking or laughing in such contexts as the above, we have to fill in certain "empty places" in their meanings (who is sitting, and where, who is speaking, laughing). On the ground of the above characterization of the difference between nouns and predicates it is also natural that, e.g., such words as idea or difference do not belong to the class of nouns, quite irrespective of whether they are formally derived from some other units or not: any difference is a difference between something, any idea is an idea of someone and about something, i.e. the given words have certain "empty places" and hence are predicates.

But this solution has at least two important defects. First, in the case of this solution the facts about nouns and noun phrases adduced by Dahl remain, in the end, wholly unexplained. These facts - first of all, that between the constituents of a noun phrase there holds a relation of logical priority and that the main constituent of a noun phrase (which is, of course, a noun) determines a certain universe which the other constituents of the corresponding noun phrase serve to specify - hold in the case of all noun phrases, independently of whether the corresponding main unit is a genuine noun or a derived one. Consequently, if one wants to claim that nouns form an independent semantic class, there seem to be no other possibilities than to include all surface nouns into this class.

The second defect of the above solution is connected with the characterization of nouns as units that do not have "empty places" in contrast to predicates that do have such places. This characterization does not hold. As one can see, when looking a little closer, even such words as girl or stone cannot be characterized as not having "empty places", i.e. as words the meanings of which do not need specifying. When we say of a particular object that it is a stone, there still remain many aspects that await specification: of what shape is the stone, of what size is it, what is its color, how hard is it, etc. It cannot be denied that these aspects are connected with the meaning of stone as necessarily as are, e.g., the "who" and "where" aspects connected with the meaning of sitting. Every stone is as necessarily of some shape, size, color etc., as every sitting is done by someone and somewhere. And the concrete content of these aspects is no more determined by the meaning of stone than is the content of the "who" and "where" aspects determined by the meaning of sitting, i.e. the former are as empty as the latter. Why is it, then, that the given aspects of sitting are called arguments (and sitting itself a predicate), but the corresponding aspects of stone are not called so?

As is apparent, the semantic independence of genuine nouns, as demonstrated by the example (1) vrs. (2), is based on some other property than the lack of "empty places". When we look closer, we will see that this independence is in fact connected with a phenomenon that could be called particular reference. In the above examples both girl and sitting are used as referring to particular instances of the corresponding phenomena. And these examples show that the object referred to by girl can be freely conceived as a particular even with its "empty places" unspecified, but the "object" referred to by sitting cannot be so conceived. A sitting can be made

individual, as a rule, only through connecting it with the individual object who is doing this sitting. Note that on the general level, when one speaks about "sitting in general" and not about some particular instance of it, also the word sitting can be used without any specification:

- (3) Sitting is a much more comfortable position than standing.

Accordingly, the observed independence of the words such as girl or stone could be characterized more precisely as the "ability for independent particular reference". And, as we have seen, this ability has nothing to do with the presence or lack of "empty places" in the meanings of the corresponding words.

The above discussion should have made it clear that if one wants to single out in semantic representation a definite class of units - the class of nouns - then it is hard to find any semantically appropriate characterization of this class. On the one hand, when we depart directly from the facts presented by Dahl, we have to include into this class all units that can function as nouns in the surface structure, a solution which clearly is unacceptable in semantics. On the other hand, we found a semantic property which we called the ability of independent particular reference and which characterizes only a definite group of surface nouns, but by means of this property we cannot explain the facts mentioned by Dahl. And further, it should be remembered that all nouns can be used for particular reference, even such ones as idea or sitting, when their corresponding "empty places" are appropriately specified (John's idea to go to bed, Mary's sitting on the bench under the old tree). One may claim, on the ground of this, that the difference between genuine nouns and the others is only one of degree and so there is no ground for separating the genuine nouns so sharply from all other units of language.

3. I think the only reasonable way out of this situation is to admit that from the semantic point of view there are no such classes of units as nouns and predicates. The difference between these notions is not a difference of (classes of) units per se but a difference of functions (or functional positions) into which the concrete units can be put. The function which is presented by nouns - as has become evident also from the foregoing discussion - is the referring function, which is opposed to the predicative function (and, maybe, also to some other functions if these are needed in semantic representations). The distinction between referring and predicative functions is undoubtedly one of the most basic distinctions of semantics. The need for such a distinction is not hard to prove when language is considered in the context of its communicative function. (And note that since language in general is a functional structure, it is natural to suppose that its description should ultimately be based on a set of explicitly distinguished functions.)

The referring position is the position of the unit (or structure) about which something is said or, in formal terms, which is operated upon in the corresponding message, whereas the predicative position is the position of the unit carrying the information that will operate upon the first structure (see Öim, to appear, for the details of such a treatment of predicative expressions). In principle, every unit of language can occur in both referring and predicative positions, although there exist certain constraints in this occurrence (see below). The surface structure word-classes are only certain reflections of these semantic functions. If this is taken into account, then the fact that caused most confusion in the above discussion - that there are such highly regular means for converting the units of one class into the units of other classes (in the given case, for deriving nouns from verbs and adjectives) - ceases to be a puzzling problem.

But the whole solution of the problem cannot, of course, be limited to what is said above. There are many general problems that are raised by such a treatment, the most important of them being the following: if all units of language can in principle occur both in the predicative and in the referring functions (and also in other functions, if there are such to be distinguished), then why are words, nevertheless, divided into word-classes in surface structure - as a rule, every word belongs primarily to a certain word-class and the corresponding representatives of other classes - where they exist - are "derived" from this primary form? For instance, sit is primarily a verb, sitting is a derived form of it; happy is primarily an adjective, happiness is a derived noun; girl is a noun and it seems that there even does not exist any corresponding verb or adjective having the same "basic meaning" as the noun girl.

The explanation of this state of affairs, I think, can - at least partially - be found in connection with the fact that we have already touched upon from a certain aspect. We found that it is possible to single out a group of "genuine nouns", such as girl, stone, etc., and observed that the semantic property that forms the basis of this group is the ability of independent particular reference - we may use them for referring to particulars independently of any other unit. In the case of all other units this property is lacking; in order to use them in this function we have to connect them previously with some unit or expression that already has the given property. But this means that for all these other units logically the primary use is not in the referring function but in the predicative one. Logically, before we can say something about an individual instance of sitting or speaking, we have to say that someone is sitting or is speaking; and on the basis of this it is only natural to discover that such words as sit or speak are primarily not nouns but verbs.

But we can go further and establish a general hierarchy among all units, according to what it is exactly the previous occurrence of which the corresponding unit presupposes. In this way we establish, e.g., the hierarchy boy - run - fast: before we can speak of a particular instance of fastness we have to say of something, e.g., of an instance of running, that it is fast; but before we can say something of an instance of running we have to say that someone, e.g. a particular boy, is running; and here the hierarchy ends since there is no need to say something about something or someone else, before we can speak of a boy as an individual boy.

Now we are able to answer also the question touched upon above: what is the difference between such "empty places" as size, shape, color, etc. in the case of the word stone, and such as "who" and "where" in the case of sitting (i.e. the ones that usually are considered arguments)? This difference lies in the same hierarchy: the meanings of the words denoting concrete sizes or shapes can be individualized only through the reference to the corresponding objects themselves, but in the latter case, e.g. in the case of the words occurring in the "who" position of sitting, such a previous reference to the corresponding activity is not at all presupposed - instead, as we have just seen, the converse relation holds.

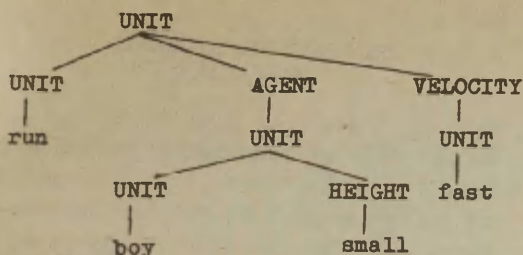
But now it should be noted that these hierarchies have relevance only with respect to the predicative function, not with respect to the referring function taken by itself. They characterize the logical order of predicability of units. When the units are considered from the point of view of the referring position (i.e. as already standing in this position and already having the ability of particular reference), these orderings have no more sense. And, accordingly, there is no more difference also between the size-shape type aspects on the one hand and the so-called arguments on the other. They all stand

in the same general relation to their corresponding main units - this is the relation of "empty places" to the concepts that have them. It is with respect to this position that we can say that, e.g., the aspects size and shape are connected with the meaning of stone exactly in the same way as are the "who" and "where" aspects connected with the meaning of sitting and that there is no ground for giving to the former aspects quite another status than to the others. All structures occurring in the referring position - as the tall boy and the sitting boy as well as the sitting of the boy - have the same basic organization. And it is with respect to these structures that Dahl's observations are valid. There is in such a structure always a main unit (referring to the corresponding "universe"); this unit has a definite list of "empty places" which present the aspects or dimensions with respect to which the meaning of the unit can be made more specific; and there may be certain units - attributes - filling in, i.e. giving the values of (some of) these dimensions. In general, such a structure should be organized recursively since attributes may have in their turn certain attributes (i.e. in other connections the attributes of a main unit may themselves function as main units).

As to the formal presentation of such structures, it is not very clear what would be the most appropriate way of presenting the relation of main units to their attributes through the corresponding dimensions. The most straightforward (or at least the most handy) form would be something of the type used in Fillmore's case structures, his case notions being interpreted as dimensions in our sense. For instance, the structure of the noun phrase

(4) the fast running of the small boy
would be, according to this, something like the following:

(5)



What is implied by the above treatment with respect to the semantic descriptions of whole sentences consists, first of all, in the fact that these descriptions should be given explicitly in terms of referring and predicative functions (i.e. in terms of structures standing in these positions). It is also implied that a way should be found of determining how a referring structure (e.g. the running boy) can be derived from the corresponding predicative structure (the boy is running). Some suggestions as to how this can be done have already been made elsewhere (see Öim, to appear).

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ABBREVIATIONS

- GGG - Tartu Riiklik Ulikool. Eesti keele kateeder.
Generatiivse grammatika grupi aastakoosoleku
teesid, Tartu.
- KMP - Keele modelleerimise probleeme, Tartu.
- KS - Keel ja struktuur. Töid struktuuralse ja mate-
maatilise lingvistika alalt, Tartu.
- СДУ - Советское финно-угроведение, Таллин.

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