

HEINIKE HEINSOO

*MĀ JA PŪD LĒVĀD,
MEID EB LĒ*

THE SUBJECT AND
THE PREDICATE
IN VOTIC

LINGUISTICA

URALICA

SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES / VOLUME 4

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Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus

Tallinn 2010

EESTI TEADUSTE AKADEEMIA
ESTONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

LINGUISTICA URALICA

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Abstracted/indexed in: Bibliographie Linguistique. Linguistic Bibliography (Permanent International Committee of Linguists, Netherlands); MLA Directory of Periodicals (Modern Language Association, USA); LLBA. Linguistics & Language Behavior Abstracts (Sociological Abstracts, USA); EBSCO Publishing Database; Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL); European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH; category B) Arts and Humanities Citation Index (Thomson Reuters); Journal Citation Reports/Social Sciences Edition (Thomson Reuters); Social Sciences Citation Index (Thomson Reuters); Social Scisearch (Thomson Reuters); Elsevier Bibliographic Database SCOPUS.

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The publication of this book was funded by
Estonian Ministry of Education and Research

ISSN 0868-4731
ISBN 978-9985-50-413-0

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PREFACE

This description of Votic syntax is based on the PhD thesis that the author defended at the University of Tartu in 1987. The topic of the thesis "The predicate in the Votic language" had been approved in 1983. When collecting the material the author was immediately confronted with the issue of methodology. The material collected only from texts allows the study of verb morphology but not syntax because it leads to abundant uniform material. After focusing on the relations between the subject and predicate, it soon became evident that the collection of the material must be centred round the verb lexemes. Such a collection method yielded material about the argument structure of each verb. In the course of material collection the author went through all the verb lexemes in the card index of Votic vocabulary, which serves as the database for the manuscript of the Votic dictionary. She wrote down their different argument structures with morpho-syntactic and semantic mark-up on slips of paper. Since the theory of the verb as the sentence nucleus was and still is topical, this method of material collection yielded a maximum amount of material about the occurrence or non-occurrence and form of the subject. Only in respect of agreement it was necessary to collect sentence patterns through the medium of the Russian language. Hence, the syntactic material presented in the present work covers all the dialects of the Votic language and the language written down over a period of more than a century. Fillmore's case grammar has evolved in several directions; however, in its extended form it still serves as the methodological basis of this study.

The title *Mā ja pūd lēvād, meid eb lē* 'Earth and trees will stay, we won't' characterizes the Votic situation, which is similar to the relations between the subject and the predicate.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE AIM AND THE METHOD

Few studies have addressed the syntax of the Votic language. Until recently issues of the syntax of the Votic language had been dealt with only in separate articles (Паюсалу 1961; Сабо 1963; 1964; 1964b; 1967; Szabó 1964; 1967; 1982; 1984; Ariste 1975; 1976; 1981). There has been little if any discussion of the central elements of the sentence — the subject and the predicate. There is enough written material for the study of the syntax of the Votic language — printed materials, the card index of the Votic dictionary in Tallinn, recordings, etc.

The present paper discusses the relations between the subject and the predicate in the Votic language. The analysis is based on the material of all the dialects of the Votic language. Additional material was collected from the Vaipole subdialect of the western dialect, the only dialect in use at present. When dealing with the relations between the subject and the predicate, the author follows the view that the verb controls the sentence syntactically and semantically.

The centre of the sentence is a predicative verb with a full lexical meaning. Accordingly, in the present paper the predicate is regarded as a part of the sentence with a lexical meaning, which can express one of the three basic meanings of the verb — state, process, and action. If the verb misses one of these three meanings, then, as a predicate, it must have some content, which gives it weight to act as the nucleus of the sentence. For this function the copula may have an adjective, noun, or an adverb. Also, verbs of beginning and modal verbs do not form an independent predicate because besides the above-mentioned meaning they do not have any other meaning, and mostly they do not change the sentence pattern determined by the predicative actant. Such verbs constitute one of the compo-

nents of the predicate. They act as the formal predicate, that is, they agree with the subject in person and number. However, the semantic predicate is formed by the predicative actant, which determines the form and the semantic type of the subject. It is the predicate that determines the semantic type and the form of the subject. The subject, on the other hand, influences the predicate by triggering agreement of the predicate. Sometimes there is a contradiction between the subject or the content and the form of the subject; the agentive subject (agent) often determines the agreement of the predicate. In the Votic language the partitive subject is less common than in Estonian and Finnish.

The state predicate determines the subject in the partitive form. Here one is dealing with existential sentences where nothing else but its existence is stated about the subject. The subject may take the partitive form in certain fixed phrases with some process predicates (e.g. meteorological expressions) or with predicates expressing some general occurrence or action. Action predicates may occur with the subject in the partitive only in those cases when they express motion. The predicate of expressions without a subject is always a verb of state or a process. In the case of action predicates the subject may be absent only in those cases of a personified action where the subject is a referent connected with non-human entity. Such predicates can also be regarded as state predicates. The semantic roles of the subject in the partitive include Patient, Experiencer, Existent, and Agent. The example sentences in the card index of the Votic dictionary revealed as many as 39 different predicative verbs that may occur with the subject in the partitive.

The subject is expressed by the first infinitive with the state predicate, and it always expresses one semantic role — Causer. However, Existent with the predicate expresses the state of existence. In the latter type, though, the subject class is restricted. The predicate is a verb in the third person or a copula with an adjective.

The subordinate clause functions as the subject only in the case of the state predicate. The predicate can occur only in the third person or be elliptical — its only constituent is an adjective. The subject is used in the role of Causer. Sentence patterns occurring with state and process predicates reveal a high degree of diversity, and the subject is used in many different patterns with the exception of Agent. Action predicates are simple — they are always finite form of verbs. State predicates can be finite forms of the verb, the copula with an adjective, a noun with an adverb, or some verbs expressing future actions along with a noun, adjective, or an adverb.

The existential verb *ęlla* 'be' has a full meaning, and yet it is, as the copula, semantically empty and needs to be semantically complemented.

The present thesis is the first special study of the central parts of the sentence — the subject and the predicate — in the Votic language. The aims of the thesis are as follows:

- 1) to describe the semantic types of the predicate in the Votic language and their relations to the semantics and the form of the subject;
- 2) to show how the content of the predicate controls the form of the subject;
- 3) to show how the form of the subject controls the form of the predicate;
- 4) to show how the semantic type of the predicate controls the form of the entire sentence.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE SYNTAX OF THE VOTIC LANGUAGE

The first Votic grammar by August Ahlqvist (1856) did not have a section on syntax. Nor did a Votic grammar by Paul Ariste (1948; 1968) have a section on syntax. Various issues of the syntax of Votic were discussed in several graduation theses by students of the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at the University of Tartu (Kaaber 1967; Krjutškova 1979; Volmer 1982). These papers are descriptive and are mainly based on printed texts. The authors did not reveal any syntactic peculiarities of the Votic language; rather, they described those phenomena that are similar to Estonian after the model of the Estonian language. Some student research papers on the Votic language, which deal with syntax, have also been written at Finnish universities (Grotenfelt 1906; Kemppainen 1978).

A comprehensive study of contemporary Votic by Elena Markus and Fjodor Rožanskij includes also a section on syntax (Маркус, Рожанский, forthcoming).

Earlier researchers focused on the ethnographical issues of a declining language. Several papers dealt with the vocabulary and recorded it; morphology was dealt with, too, but syntactic issues were rarely, if at all, discussed. Paul Ariste published some articles in which he studied the behaviour of some syntactic patterns. One of his articles focused on how the active participle as part of the compound predicate agrees with the subject (Ariste 1976). Another

article by Ariste (1981) dealt with the use of the impersonal, which is common in contemporary Votic, instead of the third person plural. The article about the impact of the Russian language on the use of some Votic prepositions belongs to the sphere of syntax (Ariste 1975). Elna Adler-Pajusalu's presentation at a Finno-Ugric conference in Petrozavodsk in 1961 touched upon the intriguing theme of impersonal constructions in Votic. However, the short published abstract does not provide an adequate overview of the apparently profound study (Паюсалу 1961). László Szabó consistently carried out research into various issues of the syntax of the Votic language. The topic was introduced in his dissertation "Очерки по синтаксису водского языка" (A brief overview of Votic syntax (Сабо 1963)), which focused on different problems of syntax. The thesis was completed and defended in Leningrad University in 1963. The thesis has a descriptive character; it addressed five topics: use of possessive suffixes, use of the inner locative cases, functional differences of the accusative case, word order in the simple sentence, and the semantics of the complex sentence. Several more recent articles deal with the compound sentence. Szabó also published a series of articles on various other fields of syntax (Сабо 1964a; 1964b; 1967; Szabó 1964; 1967; 1982; 1984). The only general description of the syntax of the Votic language was provided by Tat'jana Agranat on the basis of the western dialect (Agranat 2007: 118–150). Unfortunately, the latter study suffers from a number of inaccuracies (s. Laakso 2009).

Thus, there is no comprehensive overview of Votic syntax as yet. Only a few diploma (graduation) theses present the treatment of central issues; most of them, however, deal with issues belonging to the periphery of syntax.

The author of the present paper took an interest in this topic primarily because the time when the research was started witnessed an increased interest in the study of syntax. Many new research methods allow looking at the language material from new perspectives. The study of the peculiarities of the syntax of a small Finnic language enables us to fill a gap in our research into syntax. In addition to the treatment of the syntax of standard languages, it is useful to make comparisons with the syntax of a genetically related language, the development of which never reached the level of a standard language.

3. THE MATERIAL ANALYSED

Most of the analysed material comes from the card index of the Votic dictionary at the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages and Dialects at the Institute of the Estonian Language. The collection contains 204,344 word cards. The author worked through the entire material with regard to the occurrence of verb lexemes. She registered all the possible sentence patterns that occur with each predicate verb. Main attention was paid to the semantic role of the subject. In the case of verbs with multiple meanings, the author tried to identify all the possible occurrence patterns. The card index contains about 1,300 verb lexemes with a total of 1,100 different meanings. About 9,000 word cards were analysed. The study includes also the data obtained from Votic-language informants in 1983–1986 and 2006–2010. Additional material was obtained with regard to the syntax of modal verbs and phasal verbs as well as agreement of the subject and the predicate. In fact, it was difficult to obtain additional material about the partitive subject. In the contemporary language, the subject is mostly in the partitive if the predicate verb is *ella* 'be' or if it occurs in constructions where the nominative subject is not acceptable, and, in the opinion of some researchers, such cases do not even fit into the category of the subject. The author also analysed a number of Votic texts published after 1983, which were not covered by the card index, and the existing dictionaries of various dialects (Posti, Suhonen 1980; Kettunen 1986; Tsvetkov 1995). The author has retained the original transcription of the authors – only obvious mistakes were corrected and the original *ɹ* in the words with back vowels has been replaced with *l*.

4. PRINCIPLES OF ANALYSIS

4.1. VERB AS THE CENTRE OF THE SENTENCE

In recent decades many linguists have started to consider the verb as the semantic and syntactic centre or the core of the sentence surrounded by the other elements of the sentence. The verb determines the number of its actants and the form and the content of its arguments. Mati Erelt claimed that subjectless sentences belong to the periphery of grammatical sentences. Sentences without a predicate, however, cannot be regarded as sentences. Each subjectless sentence is a speech act deformed by actualization rules (Erelt 1979: 14).

Proceeding from verb centredness in the sentence, the subject reveals agreement that is similar to the verb; the same is true of the other parts of the sentence. Verbs without a grammatical subject in the surface structure (e.g. meteorological verbs, some causatives expressing human psychological or physiological states, etc.) lack a formal subject. The semantic content of the subject may belong to the surface-structure object, cf. *Fi minä palelen* and *minua paleltaa* 'I'm cold', or the adverbial in *Est mul on külm* 'I'm cold'. The subject is syntactically primary with regard to the other arguments because the nominative reveals number and person agreement of the verbal predicate. The expression of person and number is a common function of the subject and the predicate.

The verbal predicate has a lexical meaning and grammatical markers for the expression of voice, mood, tense, and aspect to a limited degree. On the lexical level the predominance of the finite form of the verb over the noun is expressed by semantic selection. For example, the verb pre-selects the semantic class of the words, which can occur in the position of the noun. In certain verbs the semantic selection is not expressed with similar strength. It is practically missing in the verb of being. The semantics of the verb may also determine the form of the subject — for example, the partial subject of the existential sentence. Certain verbs take only inanimate subjects, and the verb occurs only in the 3rd person. Other verbs demand an animate entity; another group of verbs requires a human entity, and there is also a group of verbs that co-occur only with feminine entities. Wallace Chafe compared the verb with the Sun — everything that happens to the Sun influences the whole solar system; the noun is a planet — its internal changes are important only for itself. Chafe's starting point is the principle that the world of ideas of a person is divided into two spheres: it involves states (situations, qualities) and events and the sphere of the noun, which involves things (physical entities, abstract notions). The verb is central; the noun is peripheral. In every language the verb is present in almost all the marginal utterances although it is mostly accompanied by the noun. The sentence without a verb is a relic of pre-human communication, or the verb disappeared before reaching the surface structure (Chafe 1970: 114).

When describing the verb, one takes into consideration its environment. One has to establish the arguments controlled by the verb. In dependency grammar it is common to describe the number of the arguments of the verb, their word class, and grammatical form. The semantic description takes into consideration the distribution

of semantic (thematic) roles. Thus, it is possible to combine semantic and syntactic descriptions.

4.2. WHAT IS THE PREDICATE?

The term 'predicate' in syntax has no less than twelve meanings, which result from five pairs of features in different combinations. This term is used to denote the formal and the semantic component of the sentence; it denotes the member of the relational and subject-predicate structure, that is, the actual and potential members. The predicate has slots for arguments, or it is a feature without argument slots, which implies any or only certain types of arguments. The attempt to terminologically delimit single meanings on the basis of the given oppositions can be expressed in such terminological pairs as 'predicate/predicator' (Lyons 1977: 434), 'relator/predicate' (Сусов 1973: 31–86) 'predicative sign/predicate' (Богданов 1977: 26–76), 'predicate/predicative' (Ломтев 1979: 70), 'predicate/base predicate' (Степанов 1980: 311–323), 'functor/predicate' (Касевич, Храковский 1983: 13–17). Thus, the predicate is a semantic unit that expresses the feature in the wider meaning of the word and implies a denotative situation. The predicate is the core of the situation and expresses a process (Erelt 1979: 16). Verb predicates are predicates that express situations by means of finite forms of lexical verbs. Most predicates belong to this type. In the most recent treatments of Estonian syntax the predicate has been treated rather narrowly. For example, "the predicate is the principal part of the sentence, which together with the subject forms the nucleus of the sentence. Any finite form of the verb may act as the predicate of the sentence" (EKLÕP 74). According to another definition, "the predicate is the principal part of the sentence that expresses an action or being. The predicate forms the nucleus of the sentence, which expresses the main idea in the sentence; usually it influences the structure of the sentence" (Mihkla, Valmis 1979: 28). The previous definition is syntactic-semantic; however, it is too narrow and somewhat vague. When defining the predicate, semantic criteria should be considered, too. It is necessary to widen the limits of the treatment because not only finite verbs have a semantic content. The section of syntax in the most recent scholarly Estonian grammar (EKG) defines the predicate as follows — usually the predicate is a finite verb (EKG 10). From the semantic perspective, the sentence expresses a situation, and the constituent expressive of the situation type is called the semantic predicate. The predicate acts as the

semantic predicate; in sentences with the predicative, the predicative with the predicate serves as the semantic predicate. The predicative as the semantic predicate constitutes the semantic core of the sentence (EKG 11). Thus, one can differentiate between the semantic predicate and the predicate.

For years Estonian syntax researchers have been discussing whether the predicative is an independent part of the sentence or part of the compound predicate. In the past decades the first opinion has prevailed. On the level of the semantic treatment the predicative is part of the compound predicate because the verb *olema* 'be' has only a grammatical meaning in the non-existentialist use, which is insufficient to form the nucleus of the sentence. For this reason, also nominal units, which complement the verb by ascribing it a semantic meaning, are classified as state predicates. The content type of the subject depends not only on the verb *olema* 'be' but also on the accompanying nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. For example, N+nom cop Adj: *maja on ilus* 'the house is beautiful'; N+nom cop Adv: *taevas on pilves* 'the sky is cloudy'; N+nom cop Adj+iness N+iness: *naine on heas tujus* 'the woman is in high spirits'. Estonian syntax researchers (Erelt 1979: 22 ff.), and scholarly Estonian grammar (EKG 11) have supported this view. This kind of problem is irrelevant in Russian syntax because the copula is absent from the surface structure, and the adjective or the noun functions as the surface predicate. In recent years many attempts have been made to establish a semantic classification of predicates. Helle Metslang and Mati Erelt regard the predicative as a non-verbal predicate. The prototypical non-verbal predicate is a noun or an adjective in the nominative case. The noun expresses class inclusion and the adjective a property (Erelt, Metslang 2003: 173).

The most comprehensive contemporary Finnish grammar defines the predicate as follows: aside from the ordinary finite verbs, the predicates are also various composite forms, verb chains, and verb unions (ISK 830). Apart from the subject, any phrase can occur with the *olla*-verb. Many other adverbials can be used with the predicative and the predicative adverbial in the essive form. In that case the predicate of the sentence can be the *olla*-verb with the predicative, predicative adverbial, or some other adverbial (ISK 831).

The structure of the denotative situation is not always determined by the finite verb (Vfin) or the verb construction, which is the predicate. Under certain circumstances the finite verb may be considered to be a formal predicate because it agrees with the subject in person and number. The nucleus of the situation is an infinitive

predicate actant (Vinf). In this case neither component can be considered to be the predicate. The former has the features of the formal predicate (agreement with the subject, finite form) while the latter has the syntactic-semantic features (it controls the content and the form of the situation participants). It is worthwhile to treat the combination of both verbs (Vfin +Vinf) as the predicate. Such a compound predicate is formed by: 1) verbs expressing a phase (beginning, duration, or end) (PV) together with the infinitive; 2) modal verbs (MV) together with the infinitive; 3) *verba colorativa* (CV), which express intensity of the situation together with the infinitive.

4.3. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT?

In different linguistic theories elements with remarkably different content scopes are termed as subjects. The classification of subjects according to three different methods of segmentation is considered to be classic. One can distinguish between the logical subject, the psychological subject (theme), and the grammatical subject.

Auli Hakulinen and Fred Karlsson provide four phenomena, which have been regarded as the subject in the linguistic literature: 1) the logical subject (Ssem), which in transformational grammar is viewed as the deep-structure subject; 2) the grammatical subject of the surface structure; 3) the psychological subject or the theme, and 4) doer (agentive) or the semantically determined subject (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 158 ff.).

Karel Hausenblas studied the use of the term 'subject' in the linguistic literature and found eight varieties of content scope: 1) the subject as the principal part of the sentence in a two-member sentence; 2) the whole subject group of the sentence, that is, the subject with all its extensions; 3) the first of the two components of the proposition in the traditional Aristotlean logic, the so-called logical subject; 4) the opening segment of an utterance, its theme in the actual division of the utterance, the so-called psychological subject; 5) the doer, the performer of the action; 6) the carrier of the action (with a broader content than the previous one), for example, the carrier of *miä* 'I' state in the construction *mil on tšülmä* 'I'm cold'; 7) the one that exists as the semantic unit of the utterance expressed by different, for example lexical, means; 8) the one which exists as a phenomenon that is indirectly reflected in the utterance (Hausenblas 1971).

Different treatments deal with the subject from different perspectives. The American linguists David Perlmutter, Paul M. Postal (1977),

and David E. Johnson (1977) proceed from the fact that syntactic units, including the subject, are syntactic primitives, and one should study the processes connected with them rather than the syntactic units themselves *ff.*

Wallace Chafe (1982: 277 *ff.*) claimed that the subject is a uniform and universal category, which can be uniquely determined. Charles Fillmore, Edward L. Keenan, and others view the subject as of secondary essence, which should be determined in terms of more elementary qualities and relations (Fillmore 1968; Keenan 1976). As of now, no generally accepted theory with unified terminology can be found to explain the essence of the subject. Keenan showed that the category of the subject cannot be uniquely defined. At the same time he stressed usability and necessity of the notion. When characterizing the subject, Keenan took into consideration three types of qualities of this part of the sentence: 1) semantic qualities, such as agentivity, viability, topicality in the sentence, a wide scope of influence and participation in the semantic selection of the verb; 2) coding qualities, such as the syntactic plane in the sentence, case selection, and agreement relations; 3) behavioural qualities, such as participation in different transformations.

These qualities differ to a larger or smaller degree with regard to different subjects in different languages. Keenan proposed (1976) that the subject should be viewed as a multiple factor — a bundle of qualities with a different composition in different languages. Hakulinen studied typical Finnish subjects according to Keenan's rules and found that the Finnish prototype subject is characterized by the following qualities: it takes the nominative case and triggers agreement. The prototypical subject is animate and shows a tendency to agentivity in the sentence where it occurs; there is also a precondition that the notion of the subject does exist (Hakulinen 1983: 243) Hakulinen considers such a treatment of the subject too narrow. In her opinion it is impossible to judge on the basis of a few of criteria that a certain part of the sentence belongs to the category of the subject. Thus, for example, the partial subject is discarded from the category of the subject.

Mati Erelt characterizes the typical Estonian subject according to three features and makes a distinction between the primary and the secondary subject. In his view, the primary subject has all the three features of the subject. First, the subject indicates the propositional initial structure of the process expressed by the subject. Second, the subject expresses the primary object of a statement. Third, the predicate agrees with the subject in person and number. Thus, the primary

grammatical subject is a part of the sentence that is simultaneously the propositional subject, the communicative subject, and the formal subject. The secondary grammatical subject lacks one of the three features (Erelt 1979: 32 ff.). Here, too, the partial subject of the existential sentence remains beyond the scope of the category of the subject because it has only one feature of the subject — it is the propositional subject. Erelt suggests that the noun in the partitive case could be regarded as the object of the existential sentence. Among Finnish linguists one can also notice the trend to interpret a part of the sentence in the partitive case as a functional category. Hakulinen proposes to view it as the subject in the partitive case, which is characteristic of the existential sentence (Hakulinen 1983: 245). The scholarly grammar of Finnish regards the subject in the partitive as the existential subject, that is, the e-subject (ISK 874). According to the recent scholarly grammar of Estonian (EKG), the subject is typically a nominative noun (phrase) that depends on the predicate verb, so that the predicate determines its possible existence in the sentence and the type of meaning. At the same time it agrees with the predicate verb in number and person, with the exception of those cases where the predicate verb does not change due to the type of speech or mood (EKG 10). The grammatical subject is the primary action subject (i.e. the semantic subject according to other theories). By comparison with other subjects, the action subject is more prominent in the sentence and serves as an actant in the role of the most active component of the sentence. The action subject can occur in the adessive, allative, and sometimes partitive only in Experiencer, Possessor, and existential sentences. The pragmatic subject is the part of the sentence that serves as the communicative starting point, and it usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence (EKG 12 ff).

The status of the subject may sometimes be determined on the basis of the surface case endings (e.g. the noun is in the nominative) and/or on the basis of the fact that the noun agrees with the verb (in person and number). Such factors may be regarded as syntactic, but one could also claim that the subject performs some content function. The latter viewpoint is widespread in present-day linguistics (ISK 870). According to a widespread opinion, the subject is solely a syntactic notion, which at best may have only an indirect link with the content. The status of the subject of the surface structure is connected with more than one content status. The sentence reveals information about the subject; the information about the other units must be in some way separated (Chafe 1982: 299–300).

In the present paper the grammatical subject is treated as a part of the sentence, which triggers links with the predicate. The grammatical subject is in the nominative if the sentence is affirmative (one can also find the first infinitive or a subordinate clause in this function), and it performs the semantic roles characteristic of the subject in the sentence. It can participate actively or passively in the situation, and it can be either animate or inanimate. Thus, the subjects can be very different with regard to their semantic composition. Therefore, the statement that "the subject mainly expresses the doer or the one who is present" (Mihkla, Valmis 1979: 41) is far from adequate.

The limitations to the content of the subject stem from the semantic types of the predicate. The issue will be addressed below.

4.4. SEMANTIC TYPES OF THE PREDICATE

The starting point in treating the semantic relations between the subject and the predicate is to examine the semantic types of the verbs occurring in the function of the predicate. Unfortunately, there is no generally accepted classification of predicates. The semantic classification of predicates must be related to situation types, which are based on linguistically relevant features. First of all, one has in mind those features that are connected with grammatically relevant semantic components. Consequently, the features must be characteristic of not only individual units but several units (grammatical forms, syntactic constructions). These classes must not be formally homogeneous. The classification must show that each class of predicates is a 'semantic class' in the sense that it is established in both syntactic and semantic terms, so that it would result in a bundle of semantic features, which serves a part of syntactic rules (Lakoff 1971).

The predicate is a highly complicated functional-semantic unit, the qualities of which may arise from very different levels. As the predicate is a feature, it exists in time; thus, it has aspectual qualities. As a feature it is connected with the object; so it has also valency qualities. Belonging to being, it has lexical-semantic qualities. Formal qualities are connected with its behaviour in the syntactic structure of the sentence. This kind of multiplicity complicates the elaboration of a typology for a general classification of predicates. Each quality includes many characteristic features, which may serve as a basis for the classification of predicates. The classification of predicates according to the qualities of the aspect is widely known —

the determined/undetermined predicates, according to quantitative valency — absolute/relative predicates, according to role valency — agentive/non-agentive predicates, according to lexical semantics — predicates of physical and psychic action, etc. The most common qualities are aspect and valency.

The three classes of predicates that are widespread today — state, process, and action — originated in the work of Otto Jespersen. Unlike states and processes, actions presume the expression of volition by the subject (Jespersen 1935: 95). S. Dik, Robert Van Valin, and William Foley provide four types of predicates proceeding from two parameters: dynamism / absence of dynamism and controllability: 1) predicates of state-static, uncontrollable; 2) predicates of something taking place — dynamic, controllable; 3) predicates of position-static, controllable (Foley, Van Valin 1977: 37 ff; Dik 1979: 3ff). Zeno Vendler (1967: 97 ff) classified human predicates into different types and established four types of predicates on the basis of aspectual qualities. John Lyons (1977: 483) suggested five types of predicates on the basis of three pairs of features; Wallace distinguished six main types of predicates on the basis of three features (Chafe 1970: 99 ff). Mati Erelt, when describing Estonian syntax, proceeded from the same idea although he simplified the classification so that it coincides with one of the classifications by Jespersen, which was discussed previously. Although the author of the present paper adopted the classification with three basic types of the predicate, some Chafe's types were used as subtypes, and the basic principles of the division into types were adopted from Chafe. These features include 1) the presence or absence of Agent and Patient in the sentence; 2) the possibility to ask the question *What did N do?* or *What happened to N?*; 3) change or absence of change in the described situation. The first feature belongs to the group of valency features; the second is a lexical-semantic feature, and the third is an aspectual feature. This is how Chafe established the following types: state, process, action, process of action, ambivalent state, and ambivalent action. According to the first feature, patients are divided into four groups: 1) patients — states and processes, 2) agentives — actions, 3) agentives — patients (action — process), 4) ambients (without Agent and Patient in the semantic structure). According to the second quality, four types of predicates are distinguished: 1) predicates that cannot be linked to the verbs *happen* and *do* (states, ambient states); 2) predicates that can be linked to the verb *happen* — process; 3) predicates linked to the verb *do* (actions), predicates linked to the two above-mentioned verbs (process of action, ambient

action). According to the third quality, there are two types of predicates: static (state, ambient state) and dynamic (the rest) (Chafe 1970: 113–124).

The Finnish researcher Anneli Pajunen divided verbs into primary verbs and non-primary verbs. She claimed that one set of Finnish verbs is divided into state verbs and event verbs (*tapahtua* 'happen') and another set is divided into state verbs and process verbs. Also, as the central type, she focused upon motion that shares the characteristics of an action as well as an event. There is a structural resemblance between the verbs expressing state, action, and event and the respective situations. As non-primary verbs, she discussed modal verbs and aspectual (phasal) verbs that characteristically do not occur on their own but with the infinitive (Pajunen 2001: 52). Pajunen (2001: 57) claimed that there are ample possibilities for semantic classification to organize the whole verb lexicon. In the situation (proposition) theory of Finnish verbs, Pajunen classifies only a part of verbs as actual state, action, and event (process) verbs and adds a large number of subtypes and additional types.

Erelt (1979: 23) defined the predicate according to the semantic type as follows: "the semantic type of the predicate contains the grammatically relevant types of the lexical meanings of the predicates". All the verbs have the meaning of process. Processes are of two types: dynamic processes and static processes. The former is divided into two subtypes — the active process or an action and the non-active process, briefly called the process. Attempts have been made to classify the static process in several ways, but usually it is summed up as a group of state predicates (Erelt 1979). Consequently, one can distinguish between predicates of action, process, and state. The author of the present paper also proceeded from these three types, which were divided into subtypes depending upon the semantics of the verb and the subject referent.

The predicate expresses the process, and all the other parts of the sentence act as participants in the process — the arguments. The subject is one of the arguments.

4.5. SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE PREDICATE

The subject entails different semantic relations. It was noticed a long time ago that the grammatical subjects do not coincide with regard to their content in different sentences. For example, in the Estonian sentence *inimene töötab* 'a person is working' the grammatical subject *inimene* 'person' expresses a consciously acting animate creature; in

the sentence *naine minestas* 'the woman fainted' the grammatical subject expresses an animate referent who is not a consciously acting creature, but something happens against the person's will or independently from it. In the sentence *aida võtmed ripuvad vöö küljes* 'the keys to the storehouse are hanging from the belt' the subject expresses an inanimate referent, which misses even the smallest action.

There is no one-to-one correspondence between the form of the argument and its semantic function. The subject reveals multiple functionality. There is a certain typical content relation between the predicate and its arguments. The lexeme may have certain potential preconditions for performing a certain semantic function, but they emerge only then when the lexeme has become part of the proposition, an argument for a certain predicate. Each role may be performed by different actants, but one of them is more typical. The most typical position of the agent is that of the subject; the position of Patient is the object, etc. The classification does not rely on the permanent qualities of the object but on how the object appears in a certain situation. Consequently, the arguments are divided into typical semantic roles according to their type of behaviour in the situation.

In 1965 Noam Chomsky's book "Aspects of the Theory of Syntax" generalized the syntactic principles of his generation. At the same time case grammar started to evolve (Fillmore 1968), which presumes that semantic deep cases or roles were adopted for the description of deep structure. Different authors have provided different sets of semantic functions of arguments. It is only natural because it is difficult to find any universal descriptions of the roles that could be valid for all the languages. Erelt (1979: 29) suggested ten roles similarly to Hakulinen and Karlsson (1995: 102 ff.); Paavo Siro (1975) had four roles; Fillmore (1968: 392 ff.) had six, and Chafe (1970) had also six.

In the present study the following typical semantic roles were used to characterize the subject:

Agent (Ag) — a performer of an action in life or quasi-life (*süämikko inehmine sgittaleb* Itš 'an angry person is cursing');

Experiencer (Exp) — a person in a psychic or physiological process or state, an animate object (Votic *täma täp keikkā* Luu 's/he knows everything');

Causer (Caus) — an unintentional direct causer of a resultative event in a causative situation (it differs from Agent not by the fea-

ture animate/inanimate but by the absence of volition) (Votic *tū vāsūtāp minnua* Lii 'the work exhausts me');

Beneficiary (Ben) — an owner or a receiver, an animate object beneficiary (Votic *miä sain pošlkā* Ra 'I received a parcel');

Patient (Pat) — an object at which an action is directed or its state or process (*tšäsi on kipeä* 'the arm/hand hurts');

Instrument (Instr) — means of performing an action (*kūteri püvväp kalla* Luu 'a motor boat is out fishing');

Existence (Ex) — the fact about the existence of which something is stated (*mil on poig* 'I have a son').

Movement of arguments into the subject function depends on a number of factors, first of all on the semantic type of the verb.

Usually, one can state which part of the sentence is the subject of the given verb. When in English the verb is used with Agent and other noun groups, Agent becomes the subject on condition that we do not have any constructions of the passive type (Fillmore 1968: 37). If the verb is intransitive, either Patient or Agent is the subject depending on whether we have a stative or an action verb. In case the verb is causative, the subject is Causer. These generalizations do not depend on any particular language. The rules are not absolute but only generalizations of regularities.

The verb is central and all case relationships originate with the verb. With the cases determinate meaning and type of verb that occurs in the sentence, the assignment of cases to the nouns in the structure becomes a relatively easy task which can be performed with consistency.

It is true that one can predict the subject of each verb. In the case of action verbs, the grammatical subject is often the argument that possesses the feature of action — Agent; in the passive construction the argument is usually subjected to some influence — Patient. Analysis of the semantic functions of the parts of the sentence shows that they reveal a considerable semantic potential. It enables them to perform not only semantic functions (the subject as Agent and Patient) but also many other functions. Uniting the semantic and syntactic level in the language makes it possible to answer several questions. For example, it became evident that the impersonal can be formed only in those sentences that contain Agent or Experiencer (Erelt 1979: 29), and that two subjects cannot be coordinated if they appear in different semantic types (Hakulinen 1972 : 244).

The author of the present study established sentence patterns to analyse the subject and predicate in the Votic language. The grammatical predicate (V) and the semantic predicate (P) constitute the core of the sentence in the description. The grammatical predicate is the finite verb with a full lexical meaning; the semantic predicate is a semantically complemented copula or a verb without a full meaning (e.g. cop N+nom: the semantic predicate is the copula with the noun in the nominative, cop Adv: the semantic predicate is the copula with the adverbial, etc.). Also, the models provide insight into the content and form of the grammatical (Sgr) and semantic predicate (Ssem). The models reflect the grammatical form of the noun and the verb through symbols (e.g. N+Nom: noun in the nominative, cop Adj — copula with the adjective in the nominative). The models also demonstrate the syntactic function expressed by the given morphological class (e.g. N+nom=Sgr: noun in the nominative is the grammatical subject, V+da=O: first infinitive is the object, etc.) and the semantic role it performs (N+nom_{pat}: the noun performs the role of Patient). The symbols in the model sentences usually denote only the subject and the predicate (semantic and syntactic). However, if their form depends on some other components of the sentence, the letters are likewise reflected in the sentence model. For example, Loc: local (expresses location) and Temp: temporal (expresses time) are relevant in the case of existential sentences with the subject in the partitive; Meas: measural is relevant as an indicator of quantity in the case of the composite subject.

CHAPTER 1

SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE PREDICATE

1. THE SUBJECT OF SENTENCES WITH THE STATE PREDICATE

Verbs expressing static processes are called state verbs, and as the predicate they constitute the nuclear state predicate. A static situation is characterized by the absence of temporal change, and use of power is related to the purpose of making a state. Consequently, a state sentence is characterized by: 1) inaction of the subject — the subject is passive and non-agentive; 2) state predicates describe the phenomena that are characteristic of the given stretch of time (Vendler 1967: 101); 3) state continues to exist in time similarly to the process, but it remains homogeneous during its existence and does not develop in time (Lyons 1977: 707); 4) state is a temporary quality of the object, which means that the object could be in some other state after some time. If one interprets the notion of state in the narrow sense, then the state predicate expresses the existence of the subject referent in a certain situation — a state (Chafe 1970: 117). A broader treatment of the state also involves the quality of the subject, membership of a class, etc. The author of the present paper adopted the latter approach. For example, the following sentences are typical state sentences in Votic: *tütöl on plat'ja* 'the girl has a skirt', *mü glemme vël pēnet tütekkēizēD* 'we are still only small girls', etc. The state predicate does not answer the questions *What is happening? What is happening to the subject? What does the subject do?* (Erelt 1979: 25). In the Estonian language state sentences are sentences with the predicate and other sentences where the nucleus is *on* 'is'. The most typical sentence patterns are *N+nom cop N+nom*,

N+nom cop Adj, N+nom cop Adv, N+nom cop N+iness, etc. Many sentences with finite verbs also belong to state sentences. Many predicate verbs connected with inanimate subject referents do not change during their whole existence, and they are not evoked by an actively functioning subject or a functionable subject. According to this classification, they are state predicates.

The state is often a human property, and it is oriented to the person's feelings and perceptions. The first component of the state structure is a perceiving subject, which need not appear as the grammatical subject of the sentence. In the case of predicates expressing the state of inanimate objects, predication is directed either at the entire surrounding reality or at some of its parts.

1.1. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A HUMAN PHYSICAL STATE

Each language has many state verbs with such a meaning. They are mostly connected with the noun, which appears in the role of Experiencer or Patient. However, the animate subject, whose state is directed, need not be the grammatical subject in the syntactic structure of the sentence. In Votic it often functions as an object, and the majority of such state verbs occur in one person. In the 3rd person singular of the active voice they express a situation that cannot be subordinated to human volition and that a human does not directly bring about.

1.1.1. *N+part_{Pat} V_{sg3}, N+part=0*

The group of verbs denoting the sensation of pain is diverse. A characteristic feature of these verbs is that predication is directed at some part of the human body and not at the entire animate referent. For example, one can say that *pea, käsi, hammas valutab* 'sb's head, hand, tooth is aching' but not **mina valutan* 'I'm aching'. Thus, a typical sentence pattern is *N+part_{Pat} V_{sg3}*. In this pattern the sensation of pain is expressed by several polysemantic verbs with different basic meanings. For example, *lomaittä ~ lomittä* 'ache': *tšättä lomitaB* 'sb's hand is aching', *pätä lomitaB* 'sb's head is aching', *lehgeta* 'break, split, here: ache': *pätä lehkāB* 'a splitting headache', *näppiä* 'nip, here: ache': *tänävä nī paha, nī näpīp süäd* 'I feel so bad today, I have such pain inside', *pakottā* 'ache, be in pain': *sermea ku kenz ajatep kevassi, sis tätä kevassi pakoteB* 'if a finger is heavily swollen, it is in great pain', *pissā* 'stick, pang, here: ache': *seltšā, tšültšeä pisāB* 'sb's back, side is aching', *porottā*

'ache': *porotap pātā, ammassa* M 'sb's head, tooth is aching', *repiä* 'tear, here: ache': *ai ku revib ammassa* M 'ouch, I have such a toothache', *süvvä* 'eat, here: ache': *luita sūB* J 'sb's bones are aching', *vaivattā* 'ache': *a enellä süätä vaivatab* Kōr 'but the heart is aching', *mīl vaivatti silmiä* J 'my eyes are aching', *väittä* 'pull, here: ache': *väitäp suonī* Pum 'sb's muscles are aching'.

1.1.2. (N+nom_{Caus}) N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3}, N+nom=S_{gr}, N+part=0

Also, in case the predicate expresses some other physical state of an animate entity, there is usually no subject in the syntactic structure of the sentence. It more rarely appears in the role of an optional Causer, and the slot is mostly filled with an indefinite pronoun because the reason causing the state is unknown to the person. Predication is directed at the whole referent: *ahissā* 'take one's breath away, suffocate', *aikuttā* 'make sb yawn', *hiugeta* 'feel nauseous', *ikossā ~ ikossuttā ~ ikuttāc* 'have hiccups', *janottā* 'be thirsty', *koi-zuttā* 'make sb stretch one's arms', *laihuttā* 'it makes one nauseous', *nukuttā* 'make sleepy', *puissā* 'be in shivers', *pörüttā* 'make dizzy', *raputtā* 'make sb tremble', *riṅgotuttā*, *sirkotuttā* 'make stretch one's arms', *röhtölöittä* 'feel like burping', *tošnittä* 'make nauseous', *tukehuttā* 'suffocate, take one's breath away', *tšülmessā* 'be cold, be in shivers', *ötšütellä* 'make burp', etc.

mitälēp tätä kevvī ahisab, pāp henkiä tšīn Luu 'sth is really suffocating him/her, it is taking his/her breath away', *minua aikutab, vähä makazin* J 'I'm yawning; I did not get much sleep', *minnua ikosēB, tšellä mainiB* R 'I have hiccups, someone is backbiting me', *lehmä taitā janotab* M 'the cow seems to be thirsty', *inemin ku tahob magata, sis tätä koizuttēB* J 'if a human being wants to sleep, it makes him stretch his arms', *miä ömnizē kehnossi seṅin, semperässā minnua laihutab* J 'I ate poorly in the morning, so I feel nauseous now', *minnua süämmeltä mutib nī kevasi, joṭ ehsēttamisēssā* 'I feel so sick I could vomit'; *isullā tätä nukutab* Luu 'when she sits down, it makes her sleepy', *miñnua puisab* M 'I have shivers', *kasta algab jo pörüttā* J 'it is getting to his head already', *minnua pässā pürütti* Luu 'I got dizzy', *mitälēb miñnua riṅgotutab* M 'something makes me stretch my arms (for some reason)', *ai ku kevvī sirkotutab* M 'oh, I really feel like stretching my arms', *ku ivēkaš sūn, röhtölöitäB* Luu 'when I eat yeast, I feel like burping', *miñnua tošnitab* M 'I feel nauseous', *miñnua tšülmēsāB, keṅik raputab* M 'I'm cold, it makes me shiver all over', *minnua tukehutab* Luu 'I feel suffocated', *miñnua mitälēb ötšüttēB* M 'something makes me burp'.

1.1.3. N+part_{Exp/Pat} V_{sg3}, N+part=O

The state may be directed either at some anatomical region of a human being or the whole referent, such as *tšihguttā* 'be itching', *palettā* 'be cold', *väsüttā* 'be tired', etc. *seltšā tšihgutab i miä karzin* Luu 'my back is itching and I scratch', *tšülmä ilma, jalkoi palḡtab* Luu 'the weather is cold, my feet are cold', *minnuu väsütäp tänävä keḡvassi* Luu 'I'm very tired today', *väsütäp nī silmijē* Lii 'my eyes are so tired', *tḡmpāp jalkā* J 'my leg cramps up'.

1.1.4. V_{sg3}

A predicate verb denoting a physical state is often not accompanied by a noun because it is clear that the state involves the entire Experiencer V_{sg3}: *nät ku koizuttāB* Luu 'look how it makes me stretch my arms', *ku on nältšā, sis jutellā: kiukāB* Luu 'when one is hungry, it is said that one is nauseous'.

At other times the state is localized by an adverb, Loc V_{sg3}: *kainonallā tšihguB* Luu 'sb's armpit is itching', *pisäp tšül'tšē* J 'there is a sharp pain in my side', *mil musḡtap silmīz* Luu 'I'm very dizzy, my head is spinning'.

1.1.5. N+nom_{Exp} V, N+nom-S_{gr}

A physical state may also be expressed by the predicate verb with a full paradigm, which is accompanied by the grammatical subject performing the role of Experiencer. Usually the state involves the whole subject referent; more rarely it is an anatomical region of a living being N+nom_{Exp} V: *halissa* 'lie; sleep', *magata, nukkuu* 'sleep': *tämä ain halizeḡB* Luu 'he/she is still sleeping', *makkāb valkād unta* Luu 'he's half asleep', *jürū aikañ püvvät kallā, kala nukkuB* Luu 'you are catching fish during lightning, the fish is asleep'. As for the subject referent of the predicate connected with sleeping, one can speak about volition, but in the following states the subject referent is against one's will: *kannattā, terppiä* 'suffer', *kōḡskella* 'be in agony', *killissä* 'be ticklish', *kurttā* 'ail', *lässiä* 'be ill', *mūkata* 'suffer pain, torments', etc. *tämä kannatti sūria vaivoja* Lii 's/he suffered intense pain', *a tḡizeḡd naizikod vättavad akkunā, kui tämä kōḡskelḡB* J 'but other women are looking through the window how she is in agony', *jutellā: se inemin ain kurtab* J 'it is said that this person is always ill', *meil mennä vōn läsi lehmä* J 'last year our cow was ill', *mukkāb lehmä, ep sā kannḡtac* Itš 'the cow is in pain, it can not calve', *minū*

pā ep terpi varjā löülüä M 'my head cannot stand intense heat (in the sauna)', *lehmä nī keqvassi killīB* Luu 'the cow is so ticklish', *ine-min kilip, sis tämä keqvassi nagraB* Luu 'when a person is tickled, she will laugh aloud'.

1.1.6. N+nom_{Pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The physiological state where predication is directed at some anatomical region has a predicate verb, which is an imitative verb that may often have a different meaning with another subject. The majority of them are used to denote sounds of the natural environment, for example, *kärissä* 'tear, rip', *jürissä* 'rumble; howl; growl', *korissa* 'rattle; growl; rumble', *rutissa* 'crunch', *tärissä* 'rattle', *paukkua* 'crack; bang', *viñkua* 'whine', etc: *āni korizeB* Luu 'sb's voice is hoarse', *miļ kervet ku jürissä* 'how my ears are ringing', *vattsa jürizeB* J 'sb's stomach is rumbling', *nād jo āli kārāB* J 'look how hoarse is his/her voice already', *āni tärizeB* Luu 'sb's voice is hoarse', *ku inehmin sirkottēB, sis keik lūt paukkavaD* M 'when a person stretches his/her arms, all his/her bones are creaking', *taitā on nuri, rutizep tšäsi* M 'it must be the creaking of the arm joint', *eglē milla pā viñku, pā süāmez viñku eglē* 'yesterday my head was spinning, there was a spinning in my head', *kervet šumizevavD* Luu 'my ears are ringing'.

1.1.7. N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj or

N+ad_{Exp} cop, N+nom cop Adj and cop N+nom=P

miļ on nāltšä 'I'm hungry', *papil gli jano* J 'the old man is thirsty', *lahzēl on tšülmä* Lii 'the child is cold', *sis tāz liep kehno* M 'then I feel bad again'.

1.2. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A HUMAN PSYCHIC STATE

Verbs expressing psychic states are mostly connected with human subject referents.

1.2.1. N+nom_{Exp} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

ajatella 'be superstitious', *ghgata* 'bear a grudge', *inoassa ~ inoa ~ inoš* 'hate, loathe', *issōssa* 'feel like eating', *karttā* 'be afraid', *lōpua* 'put up with', *lōttissa* 'hope', *pellätä* 'fear', *sallia* 'tolerate', *suvata* 'love, be fond of', *tuntēa* 'be able to', *tuzgata* 'worry', *tātā* 'know,

recognize, understand', *uskoa* 'believe', *ävetä* ~ *äppässä* 'be ashamed', etc.: *tšen ajattēB*, *se izze end eb uzgo* Luu 'the person who is superstitious does not believe in himself/herself', *täm minū pālē ghkāB* Luu 's/he is bearing a grudge against me', *nī inob gmā nāpuria*, *jod eb vėi tātā silmīz nāhā* J 's/he hates the neighbour so much that s/he cannot stand the sight of him/her', *miä issōn marjā* Luu 'I feel like eating berries', *starikka da staruxg kevvassi suvattī vohoa* J 'the old woman and the man were very fond of their goat', *vanad inemized lugettī*, *tšen tunsī lukkā* Ra 'old people read (charmed with words), who could read', *nōrēb veli tuskāp koton* Lem 'the younger brother is sad at home', *tämä tīb ain keikkā enne minnuā* J 's/he knows everything before me', *koira koirā tīb* Luu 'a dog knows a dog', *meijē l' u b a tīb māssi* Luu 'our Lyuba can already speak Votic', *eb m o s k o v a tšūneliā uzgo* Lem 'Moscow does not believe in tears', *miä tātā ni āpezin*, *etti menti šokat kaunīssi* M 'I was so ashamed of him/her that my cheeks blushed'.

1.2.2. (N+nom_{Caus})N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3}, N+nom=S_{gr}, N+part=0

Predicate verbs expressing psychic states of animate entities may also occur with nouns in the partitive. They perform the semantic role of Experiencer but occur as objects in the syntactic structure of the sentence. The predicate is less often extended by the subject actant, which occurs in the role of Causer (expressing the reason that caused the state). Both Experiencer and Causer are optional arguments of the predicate *imottā* 'feel like eating', *inottā* 'be disgusting', *irmuttā* 'be scared', *nagruttā* 'make sb laugh', etc. *minnuā imotab lohkuā sūōmā* Pum 'I feel like eating fried potatoes', *kase sūtši minnuā inotāB* Luu 'this food is disgusting for me', *χolostēikā issuzimma riheza i niku irmutti* Itš 'we sat in the room with a bachelor and I got scared', *miä vātan tāmā pāle i tāmā minnuā nagrutēB* Sav 'I look at him/her and it makes me laugh'.

1.2.3. N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj V+da_{Caus}, V+da=S_{gr}, cop Adj=P

mīl on itšävā teijēkā pajattā J 'it's boring to talk to you', *tāl on kaissa mettsäs tšävvä* J 's/he was scared to go to the forest', *mīl on tänävā vešelo glla* J 'I'm having fun today'.

1.2.4. N+ad_{Exp} cop N+nom, cop N+nom=P

tälle on žālī J 's/he is sorry', *millä on üvä mēli*, *miä pāzin sōjāsē* Lii 'I'm happy to get into a warm place', *mīl on tuska kattsoā tāmā pāle* J 'it hurts me to look at him/her'.

1.2.5. Loc V_{sg3}

At other times the state is localized by an adverb, *kainonallā tšihguB* Luu 'sb's armpit is itching', *pisäp tšül'tšē* J 'there is a sharp pain in my side', *mil musętap silmiz* Luu 'I'm very dizzy, my head is spinning'.

1.3. ASSESSMENT STATE

1.3.1. Emotional assessment state

1.3.1.1. The semantic subject at which the assessment is directed occurs in the adessive, more rarely in the allative.

1.3.1.1.1. **N+ad_{Exp} V_{sg3}**: *vēB* 'be lucky', *tšäüB mukkā*, *ęnnisUB* 'be lucky', *tekauta* 'succeed', etc. *mil on eloz eb vē* J 'I have no luck in life', *miä levvin rahā*, *mil tšäüB mukkā* J 'I found some money, I'm lucky', *sel ibemizel ain viskāB* J 'this person is always lucky', *męnikkāl ęnnisUB*, *jęka munassa sāp puipū* Luu 'some people are lucky; every egg yields a chicken', *mil tahtaub mitānibut' sōlais* J 'I want something salty', *kui tekkaus*, *sis kuttsuas*: *tulkā omen vīnoikā* Kat. 'if it was successful, then there was an invitation — come tomorrow with (the bridegroom's) vodka'.

1.3.1.1.2. **N+ad_{Exp} V N+nom_{Pat}, N+nom=S_{gr}, less frequently N+all=Exp**: *tšävvä mukkā* 'succeed', *mennä* 'succeed, be a success'. *tällä tšäez läheb jęka tšäsiti* M 'she is good at any type of handicraft', *tū mil tšäi mukkā* J 'the work was a success for me'.

1.3.1.1.3. **N+nom_{Pat} N+ad/all_{Exp} cop Adj, N+nom=S_{gr}, cop Adj=P**: *tämä on mille kalliz* J 's/he is dear to me', *mil sinükā on üvä* Lii 'it is good to be with you', *meil on üvä sopu* J 'we get along well with each other', etc.

1.3.1.1.4. **Adj cop N+ad_{Exp} (V+da_{Pat}), cop Adj=P, V+da=S_{gr}**: *helppo on rahakkāl inemizel elä* J 'a rich person has an easy life', *eb ē lusti nī pall'o pajattā* J 'it's not polite to speak so much'.

1.3.1.2. Assessment is directed at the referent acting as the grammatical subject.

1.3.1.2.1. **N+nom_{Pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}**: *lādiussa*, *soppia*, *tšävvä* 'suit, fit; get along with sb', etc. *üvä inemin keikikā lādiUB* Ra 'a good person gets along with everybody', *miä vętin trenki i mü trenkikā üvvi sopizimma* Luu 'I hired a farm hand and I got along well with him', *kasę sepa mille tšäüB* 'that clothing fits me'.

1.3.1.2.2. **V+da_{Caus} cop Adj, V da=S_{gr}, cop Adj=P**: *ilm sumkā on kerkā häülüä* J 'it's easy to walk without a bag', *tülpeļ vikahteļ on ranķ*

lūvvä J 'it's hard to work with a blunt scythe', *akkunāl on üvä pelad* J 'it's good to play in the yard'.

1.3.1.2.3. $N_1 + \text{nom}_{\text{Pat}}$ cop $N_2 + \text{np}$, $N_1 + \text{nom} = S_{\text{gr}}$, cop $N_2 + \text{np} = P$: *miä sille juttēn*: *se on tetta* Pum 'I tell you — this is the truth'.

1.3.1.2.4. Adj SC_{Caus} , Adj=P, $SC = S_{\text{gr}}$: *üvä, etti tuēD* J 'it's good of you to have come', *varma, što tämä on vohma* Luu 'it's certain that s/he's a fool'.

1.3.2. Assessment state without any emotional connotation

1.3.2.1. V $N + \text{part}_{\text{Pat}}$, $N + \text{part} = S_{\text{gr}}$

tagossāG 'be enough', *tavata ~ tapata* 'be enough, suffice', etc. *rahā tappap platjassi, elloa vard* J 'there is enough money for a dress, for life', *talo poigēle tappāb emit tüit kōlemassā* J 'a peasant has enough work for his whole life (until death)', *dengō mille ep tagossāG* Itš 'I haven't got enough money'.

1.3.2.2. $N + \text{nom}_{\text{Pat}}$ V, $N + \text{nom} = S_{\text{gr}}$

mahsā, seisoa 'cost', *mennä* 'here: hold, have enough room for', *tavata* 'extend', *tätä, duovia* 'predict', *upota* 'hold, have enough room for', etc. Sometimes an expression of quantity is required — an adverb, a pronoun, or a numeral acts as part of the subject. Here and hereinafter, such combinations are regarded as one part of the sentence because the semantic whole is formed by all the constituents together: *munad mahsavat tšümmē rublā* 'the eggs cost ten roubles', *ku kallis seizoB* Lem 'how much does it cost / how much is it?', *sakkī mahup sata killoa* J 'the bag holds 100 kg', *sarkā meni pal'lo, nī pal'lo i tšülvi* Lii 'the field held a lot of grain; so much was sown', *tihut survovad, duovivat suojā ilmā* Pum 'the gnats are abundant, predicting warm weather', *mille ep tehho sinu seittēmin* Luu 'your scolding is lost on me', *ellä emā pahat senat kevvī tehozivad* M 'mother's earlier strong words had a strong effect on me', *tšehz leipāsē tehtī süvä aukko, etti sinne uppois kañnā muna* M 'a deep hole was made in the middle of the bread to place a hen's egg'.

1.3.2.3. SC V_{sg3}

tätä, sōvia 'predict', *tuntua* 'seem', *tähentā* 'mean', etc. *nenä gts ku tšihgup, sis tāp kōllū vīstiä* Luu 'if the tip of one's nose is itching, it predicts a message of death', *ep tähennä pal'lo, ku eb ē tütä* Lii

'it doesn't mean much if there is no work', *ku t̄āb merē s̄ātā*, *siz meri kohizēB* 'if a storm is approaching, the sea is roaring', *ku katti vāl'laittēb m̄āz i grizib rohoa*, *sis s̄ovip tormia* Luu 'if a cat lies down and eats grass, a storm is approaching'.

1.3.2.4. Adj/N, SC, Adj/N=P

t̄esi, *što vihma lēB* J 'it's true that it's going to rain', *üvä*, *etti siä tueD* J 'it's good of you to have come'.

1.4. HUMAN COGNITION STATE

This state is caused by the human ability to perceive. The subject through whose senses reality is transferred need not be mentioned. Both animate and inanimate referents can serve as grammatical subjects.

1.4.1. N+nom_{Pat} V, less frequently N+part_{Pat} V, N+nom, N+part=S_{gr}

kūlua 'be heard', *maistā* ~ *maistaussa* 'taste, have the taste of', *nätšüü* 'seem; be seen', *paissā* 'seem', *tuntua* 'to seem; be seen', etc. *metsās kūlup kolisuz*, *taitā alkoa lehgotā* J 'one can hear some noise in the forest; they must be chopping wood', *taid jo kōli*, *enāb ep kūlu tükkimiš* J 's/he seems to have died already, one can no longer any heartbeats', *ohud maistap hapolle* Lii 'the beer has a sour taste', *pimä maistub azul* Luu 'the milk has the taste of the vessel', *mentī klopit pakko*, *häviziväd*, *eb näü enāb ühtäit kloppia* M 'the bugs fled, disappeared; there is no bug to be seen', *vassā päivā paissi ikilōkka* Luu 'there was a rainbow against the sun', *nōkumin tunnuB* Pum 'one can see the breath'.

1.4.2. (N+ad_{Exp}) V, SC_{Pat}, SC=S_{gr}

näüttäüp silmiz 'seem; look as if', *tuntua* 'seem', etc. *millē näüttäüs silmiz*, *što ēz miñnua keřrājā otšutisā* M 'a beggar seemed to come up to me', *millē tuntu*, *etti elgn läšivä* J 'it seemed to me that I was ill', *tuntu*, *etti nuor vätši pajatti jo venäissi* Pum 'young people seemed to be speaking Russian already'.

1.4.3. Loc V N+all_{Caus} or (Loc) V N+ com_{Caus}

The grammatical subject may be missing, but the place of the state is localized with an adverb: *kassēn haizēp tšājulē* Ra 'it smells of tea

here' *ai kui haizep kalākā* J 'oh, how it smells of fish'. The construction was borrowed from Russian, and it is not productive in Votic.

1.5. POSSESSIVE STATE

The predicate is *ella* 'to be', *lid'dä* 'will be'. The semantic subject appears as an object adverbial in the syntactic structure of the sentence; the grammatical subject is post-posed.

1.5.1. N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+nom_{Exp}, N+nom=S_{gr} V= *on, lē*

tāl gli gmā mašin J 's/he had his/her own car', *meil on pēn tulo* Lii 'we have a small harvest', *tütöl gli emä i tāt* J 'the girl had a mother and a father'.

1.5.2. N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+part_{Exp}, N+part=S_{gr}

tāl gli pal'lo voimā Luu 's/he had a lot of power', *miļ bellu aikā* Pum 'I didn't have time', *miļ lēb aikā* J 'I'll have some time (in future)', *tällä rahoi bēļē* M 's/he has no money', *taitā tāl eb lē lahsī* J 's/he doesn't seem to have (probably will not have) any children', *miļ gli seitsetšümmed vīz vōtta* Ra 'I was 75 years old', *miļ gli kahz vohoa* Luu 'I had two goats'.

1.6. STATE AS POSSESSION OF QUALITY

The referents can be either animate or inanimate.

1.6.1. N+nom_{pat} cop Adj, N+nom=S_{gr}

The predicate consists of the *ella*-verb and an adjective: *platja on rōjakaz* J 'the dress is dirty', *mād on mārännüD* Lii 'the lands are poor', *tšen bellu laiska*, *sis keikē gli gmā* M 'the one who was not lazy has got everything', *naizikko on paksu* M 'the woman is fat'.

1.6.2. The quality as the result of a process: N+nom_{pat} cop V+nud

siļ on āli kussund J 'you have no voice', *tämä on razvattunnu*, *einä on morriunud* Luu 'it has become fatty, the hay has withered', *liha on maottunnu astiaz* J 'the meat is worm-eaten in the vessel', *tämä on pässä vähäizē kerttäünüD* Luu 'she is slightly out of her mind', *ivuseđ on vanunu* 'the hair looks old', etc.

1.6.3. N+nom_{pat} cop Adv, N+nom=S_{gr}, cop Adv=P

verkod lēvād kaloi täännä Luu 'the nets are full of fish', *nahka keik̄*
gli tšimaraz M 'the skin had wrinkled all over', *tēin etts gli avē* J
'the other end is open'.

1.7. FUNCTION STATE

1.7.1. N+nom_{Ex} cop N+nom or N+ess, N+nom_{Ex}=S_{gr}

se gli taikanain, kummal̄ gli poika esimein Luu 'it was a healer who
had a son first', *se gli taikaleipä* M 'it was a magic bread', *vanat*
staruxad glivad babkañ Kat 'old women acted as midwives', *naizē*
betšnikka gli meil mokoma vana marffa M 'our midwife was
an old Marfa', *mēlepad elt̄i ppettajaD: d m i t r i da p a v e l* J 'both
Dmitri and Pavel were teachers'.

1.8. EXISTENCE STATE

1.8.1. Predicate *ella* 'be' (more seldom *lid'd'ä*, *tarkkahūB* 'will be')

1.8.1.1. V N+nom_{Ex}, N+nom=S_{gr}

nüd näütüb üvvī, on polnēi kū Luu 'it's very clear now, there's a full
moon', *t š ä ĩ m e j e g e z on kulta auta* M 'there is a gold mine in
the Käme river', *gli mokoma puinē nappa laūvalla* M 'there was a
wooden bowl on the table'.

1.8.1.2. V N+np_{Ex}, N+np=S_{gr}

gli kanamunā i vgi Luu 'there were some hen's eggs and some butter',
saunaz on viñkā Luu 'there was some smoke in the sauna', *med'dē*
tšüläs sōmalaisīd beļlu Lii 'there were no Finns in our village', *gli mokomā*
iššä M 'there were such fathers', *ko lēp sēsarī i vell'i, keikkilē antaš*
Kōr 'if there are brothers and sisters, then everybody is given some-
thing', *mettsās tarkkahub marjā* J 'if there happen to be berries in the
wood', *meres tarkkaus kallā* J 'if there happened to be fish in the sea'.

1.8.1.3. V N+part_{Exp}, N+part=S_{gr}

on gluī, a vīnā eb ē Luu 'there is some beer, but there is no vodka',
eb ē vozduhā Luu 'there is no air', *on vēl aikā* J 'there is some time

left', *ku on t̄aria, pannaš t̄aria* Lii 'if there is some kvass, one drinks kvass', *meid eb lē* Luu 'we won't be (in the future)', *keikkega lēp pal'lo* Luu 'there will be a lot of everything (in the future)'.

1.8.1.4. V V+da_{Exp}, V+da=S_{gr}

et tē tūtä, eb lēne i süvvä Luu 'if you don't work, there will be nothing to eat', *eb lē juvva* J 'there will be nothing to drink'. If necessary, the type could be regarded as a possessive situation, where Beneficiary is missing in the surface structure: (*meil*) *eb lē süvvä* 'there will be nothing to eat'.

1.8.2. N+nom_{Exp} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The predicate may be some other verb than *ella*, e.g. *hulkkua, vāl'ait-tā* 'lie about', *līkossa* 'soak', *elussa* 'live', *mennä* 'go, make progress', *rippua* 'hang', *ležiä* 'lie', *seisoa* 'stand', etc. *lahsie igruškat kuzalē hulkkuvad evvež* Luu 'the children's toys are lying about somewhere outside', *siäl eltī mettsäz mettsäsigā avvad, keik siäl näväd elussivad* Luu 'there were dens of wild boars in the forest; that's where all of them lived', *rattī vettimed rippuvad vüözä* Lem 'the barn keys are hanging from the belt', *prokostilla ležib einä* J 'the hay is lying in swathes', *milla sgvad likkēvad* M 'my clothes are soaking wet', *muna kauga seizop, sis pillauB* Luu 'if an egg is not eaten soon enough, it will go bad'.

The main information here is that there is an emphasis on the presence of the subject referent; the form of its existence is not important. It is only natural that it is difficult to distinguish verbs of this semantic group from verbs of quality (1.9) and verbs expressing state of the environment. This is why in this collection of examples the lists of predicates of this type are rather short. Only those sentences are presented that clearly show that the meaning of the predicate is only existential.

1.8.3. Ambient state: N+nom=P, V Adj=P, V Adv=P

The grammatical subject is missing, and the predicate is expressed by the verb of being together with the noun, an adjective, or an adverb. *gli valkā, pimiä* Luu 'it's light/dark', *on pakkain* 'it's freezing cold', *varjuz on üvä* 'it's good in the shade', *siäl on vilu* J 'it's chilly there', *tševäl viel on tšülmä, om pimie* Pum 'it's still cold in spring: it's still dark', *gli nī tšülmä, što süä värizi* Luu 'it was so cold that my heart was trembling', *epko eis sekkia* Itš 'if only it were not dark', *gli valkā* J 'it was light', *egle gli pilvez* J 'it was cloudy yesterday', etc.

1.9. STATE OF AN INANIMATE SUBJECT REFERENT

Here belong the predicates that cannot be classified as process predicates. Semantically this group consists of various verbs. To this group belong verbs that express sounds of the environment, everything that the human being sees and hears in the surrounding environment. The group also includes verbs that express states characteristic of inanimate referents.

1.9.1 N+nom_{pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The state as a quality of an inanimate subject referent. It is different from the other predicates expressing the state of the inanimate subject in that the feature expressed by the finite verb is a permanent quality of the subject referent. *lumi kannatap* Kõ 'the snow can bear; *krāsittä* 'colour': *matara on sammale*, *krāsitab mokomassi burdovoissi* Lii 'the bedstraw is a moss, it makes it red', *peļe* 'to burn': *kūsi ja āpa alko*, *ku peļevad*, *siz antavat pallo kipunā* Luu 'spruces and aspen logs, when burning, give a lot of sparks', *parahoda mēb mašinākā* Luu 'the ship is propelled by an engine', *laske* läpi: *kūsipū vettä tširessi eb lask läpi* Luu 'the spruce did not let water through quickly', *silmät peļevat pāzā* Pum 'sb's eyes are burning in the head', *peļettä*: *peļtikas peļetab i tēb rakod* Luu 'a nettle stings and gives blisters', *pisellä*: *kūzē nigļet pissēvāt tšāššiä* M 'spruce needles are pricking my hands', *savvuttā*, *savvuš* 'emit smoke': *druba savvub* Luu 'the chimney is smoking', *ep tempā plitta*, *mikālēp savvutab* M 'the cooking stove does not draw well; the smoke is coming in for some reason', *tarttuvēin tauti*, *tarttūp teļzēļe inemizelē* J 'an infectious disease, infects another person', *ūsi sänki torkib* J 'the new stubble field is prickly', *truba üvässi veitāb* Lii 'the chimney is drawing well', *sepa tōrešta pelššāb* M 'the fabric does not stand humidity'.

Many of these verbs are polysemantic, and in the case of an animate subject referent they express an action and a situation in nature.

1.9.2. The state in nature N+nom_{pat}

keļļetā 'sth is turning yellow', *kukkia ~ kukittsā* 'bloom', *aissā* 'smell', *pöllütā* 'pollinate', etc, *porotšellā elkotsēb ümpār troitsā* M 'buttercups bloom around Whitsuntide', *rüis kukitsēb*, *pöllüb* Lii 'the rye is blooming; it is pollinating, *nūskā*, *vāt ku svedgad aišsās üvvi* M 'smell how good the flowers smell'.

The sounds of nature are expressed by predicates consisting of sound-imitative verbs: *durissa* 'clatter', *dūmissā* 'thud', *elissā* 'ring',

elähtäs 'ring once', *jürissä* 'thunder', *klagissa* 'chatter (of teeth)', *klop-sahtässa* 'bang (of a door)', *kolissa* 'rattle', *kohissa* 'roar', *komissa* 'murmur', *korissa* 'be hoarse (of sb's voice)', *kohua* 'roar (of the sea)', *krapiässa* 'rustle', *kripissä* 'creak (of a door)', *kritissä* 'squeak, creak', *krupsä* 'crunch, be crunchy', *krutissa* 'crunch', *kärätä* 'be hoarse', *kloksä* 'rattle', *lotissa* 'shake, thud', *pamastä* ~ *pamahtä* 'bang', *pamissa* 'murmur (of the sea)', *paukkä* ~ *paukkua* 'bang', *plakksia* 'clap; flap', *prakissa* 'crackle', *rutissa* 'crunch', *šarissa* 'crackle', *šohisa* 'swish, rustle', *šumisa* 'buzz', *tšulpahtässa* 'splash', *tärissä* 'rattle', *viņka* 'squeak, whine', *vuhata* 'whisper', *vuhissa* 'whoosh, whizz', *vulissa* 'bubble, babble, guggle', etc. *ku epen johzep, siz mā dumizeB* Luu 'when a horse runs, the ground is thudding', *rattād durizevad* 'the carriage wheels are rattling', *mettsä elizeB* Pum 'the forest is echoing (with sth)', *uhsi klopsahti* Luu 'the door banged', *lukko kloksahti avē* Luu 'the lock clicked open', *tūli vuχχāb i komizeB* M 'the wind is sighing and murmuring', *ranta kōhub i lainēd lūvād vassā rantā* Luu 'the coast is murmuring and the waves are lashing against the shore', *ai ku kripizevat stūliD* M 'ouch, the chairs are so creaky', *uhs kritizeB* Lii 'the door creaks', *tämä ain krupsap ku sūd* Luu 'it always crunches when you eat', *lumi krutizeB* Lii 'the snow is crunching', *ni kevvassi inemized jōstī, mā alla lotizi* Luu 'people run so heavily; the ground was thudding', *ranta pamizep, tāp tormia* Lem 'the beach is roaring; it means a storm', *alko paukuB* M 'a log is crackling', *seilit plakku- vad* Lem 'the sails are flapping', *tuli präkizeB* M 'the fire is crackling', *vihma šarizeB* Luu 'the rain is pattering', *kuivad lehot šohizevad* Luu 'dry leaves are rustling', *tšainikka šumizeB* Pum 'the teapot is whispering', *oi ku mettsä vuhhāB, ku vihmatūtšä tuēB* Luu 'how the forest is roaring when a rain cloud is approaching'. This semantic group is numerous; different informants may use the verbs differently, and the same verb can denote very different sounds (Heinsoo 2003).

1.9.3. Meteorological state

1.9.3.1. Vsg3

kajengeB, kojjōB 'it's dawn', *jätütäB* 'it's freezing cold', *jürizeB* 'it's thundering', *kahutab, porotab* 'it's freezing', *pilvitüb* 'it's cloudy', *tuiskāB, pörütäB* 'there is drifting snow', *tulāB* 'the wind is blowing', *punētib, kūmitab* 'it's red everywhere', *sinetäB* 'it's blue everywhere', *povvetaB* 'it's drought', etc. Most predicates allow an optional subject argument although this subject does not contain any semantic information because the latter can be predicted on the basis of the

predicate verb: *kojjōB, t̄āb üvvā ilmā* Luu 'if you can see afar, it is a sign of good weather', *ku enne jürtsiä jürizeB, on t̄šülmä t̄šesä* Luu 'if there is thunder before St George's Day, the summer will be cold', *keṽvī jātütāB* J 'it's very cold', *mitänibut' kūmitāB* Itš 'the sky is red for some reason', *a vet' kuilē povvetaB* J 'what a drought', *kui üli tē pōrütāB, siz lēp kagrā vōsi* M 'if the wind blows drifting snow over the road, there will be a good year for growing oats'. *jürizeB* with a personified subject may also act as an action predicate (3.1.4).

1.9.3.2. N+nom_{Pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

Occasionally one can also find N+part_{Pat} V, N+part=S_{gr}: *möllätä* 'roar', *tuizgata* 'blow drifting', *valā* 'pour': *kū paissi* Lem 'the moon was shining', *päivüttä paisāB* Pum 'the sun is shining', *tūli mällāB* Pum 'the wind is roaring', *nät ku tuiskāb līva* Luu 'look how the wind is blowing drifting sand', *vihmā niku paṅgessa valāB* Luu 'it's raining cats and dogs' etc.

1.9.3.3. V N+part_{Pat}, N+part=0

annab vihmā Luu 'it's raining', *viskāb vihmoid* Luu 'it's going to rain (lit. it's throwing rain)', *ai kui nüd annab märtšā lunta* 'look how heavy is the rain (wet snow)', etc. This group includes many transitive predicates, which together with potential action subjects form sentences with action predicates. In such cases the predicates express state.

1.10. BEGINNING AND ENTERING A STATE

At the moment of beginning some predicates do not express any state, but they predict its coming. These predicates have nothing in common with predicates expressing the beginning of such a state, which have a phasal verb denoting beginning (4.2.1). In such cases state at the moment of speaking denotes only the arrival of a state. In most cases the predicate implies future and the most typical phrases include *tulla* + N+nom and *tulla* Adj. There are several shades of meaning: 'get', 'be (in the future)', 'come', 'start', etc.

1.10.1. N+ad_{Exp} V N+nom

tuli mehelē irmu sūr Kat 'the man got very scared', *tuli valgtikko* Kat 'dawn was coming' *millē tuli süä* Luu 'I got angry (lit. anger came to me)', *miļ tuli nī tuska* J 'I became worried', *minullē tuli üvä mēli*

Luu 'I cheered up', *voī nī tuli hātā nāilē* M 'this is how they got into trouble', *tulēb ohtogo* Luu 'evening is falling', *sis tuēb rahka ku ahjo om vēnū* Luu 'one will get curds if the stove is not hot enough'.

1.10.2. N+ad_{Exp} V Adj

miī tuli pahāB Pum 'I felt worse', *nūd jo varai tūp pimmiā* M 'now it gets dark early', *tāl jo tuli tšülmä* J 's/he felt cold already', *miī tuli sōjā* Lii 'I warmed up'.

2. THE SUBJECT OF SENTENCES WITH THE PROCESS PREDICATE

Process verbs are non-active dynamic verbs. As the predicative nucleus of the sentence they constitute process predicates in the sense that they are dynamic and change in time. Each moment of the process represents one of its phases, and their sum denotes the full scope of their meaning. Some process verbs are directed at achieving a certain state and reach this state at the end of the process. Other processes are dynamic during the whole time of their existence, but in this case the resulting state is predictable. A process is different from an action in the sense that the former does not presume any conscious use of energy by the actor (Lyons 1977: 483). Chafe ascribes three features to the process predicate, which have been used as a starting point in the present paper: 1) process predicates are dynamic and express a change of the state, a transfer to a new state; 2) the nominal argument accompanying the predicate performs the role of Patient; 3) predicates answer the question *what happened to N?* (Chafe 1970). Process predicates can be divided into two groups according to the character of the energy necessary for the realization of the referent: 1) passive processes where the subject referent is not the source of energy necessary for realizing the necessary process; 2) active processes where the subject referent is the source of energy, though not the performer. This classification takes into account only the role of the subject role in the process and not duration.

2.1. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A PHYSICAL PROCESS

2.1.1. N+nom_{Exp} V, seldom N+part_{Exp} V

The predicate expresses all the physical processes directed at the animate subject referent. Verbs denoting birth and death *süntüä*, *tēkkauta* 'be born', *antā ętsad*, *hukkauta*, *kōlla*, *loppua*, *taugęta* 'die',

kurissua, tukęhtua 'be strangled': *pikkęng lahsi süntüje m̄ p̄l̄e* Itš 'a little child was born into this world', *lahzęd evät tekkaunnu* Lem 'the child was not born; there were no children', *zv̄eri tauk̄ęB a žīvatta hukkaub* Luu 'a wild animal dies, but a domestic animal passes away (different verbs are used to denote the death of domestic and wild animals)', *kōlęb inehmin, a žīvatta hukkaub* M 'humans die, but a domestic animal passes away (different verbs are used to denote the death of humans and domestic animals)', *pallo lahsi puisętā, tšen izze tēB, męnikęs sihhe i lopuB* Luu 'many abortions are performed by people themselves; the person who does it, sometimes dies from it', *tāmā üh̄ę kęrrā vā hōkuzi i anti ętsad* Lii 's/he took the last breath and died'. Some other processes related to functioning include *hōkua, hęngätā, hęņkiä, end'estä, entšiä* 'breathe', *hęzmętę* 'breathe heavily', *kazvā ~ kazvoa* 'grow', *lihottua* 'become fat', *menessüä ~ menessüssäg* 'start to suffer from ill health', *avahtüssa, harkahtā* 'wake up suddenly', *sitüä* 'sober up', *laihtua* 'faint', *gorbissua* 'become a hunchback', *varmissua* 'get strong', etc. *poika kęvassi kazvi tširē* Luu 'the boy grew very quickly', *miä kazvin, varmissuzin* M 'I grew, I got strong', *terveh lehmä, a ku läshivä, sīs tāmā jo menessüb* Itš 'a healthy cow, but when it is ill, it will get weak', *jo vanassi mēn — gorbisun* J 'I'm getting old already — I'm becoming a hunchback', *tāmā laihtu i lanķęz mällę* Lii 's/he fainted and fell down', *lehm tukęhtu tšüttšęz* J 'the cow was suffocated by the tether', *mē vāhākķizę sīvü* M 'go and sober up a little', *naię avahtü üllël* Luu 'the woman woke up', etc.

2.1.2. N+nom_{Pat} V, N+part_{Pat} V

In most sentences expressing a physical process predication is directed at the subject referent denoting some anatomical region of the human being. Consequently, the grammatical subject appears in the role of Patient. In more rare cases it may be missing and predication is directed at the object referent: *ülęt siz rissauvad, kęns sūt sōlassa* Luu 'the lips will develop herpes then when (you) eat salty', *kęns sūt tūmi marjā, tšęli talmauzi* Lii (lit.) 'when you eat bird cherries, your tongue would get bloated', *p̄l̄e luęętęp, sız lump-paup sē veri* Lii '(when) s/he utters the magic words, the bleeding will stop', *inehmine sęķęni, müttujęvat tälle silmäd* Itš 'the person went blind, his/her eyes got weak', *vāhākķizę silmäd märttüziväd* M 'the eyes closed a little', *nahka tšiskaub* Luu 'the skin is peeling off', *paizęgotti kęikę vatsā* M 'it made the whole stomach puff up'.

Polysemantic verbs as process predicates also form fixed combinations where the role of Patient is performed by a word denoting

a body part: *sirkņeņssa* 'brighten up': *mē makāmā, jot pā sillā sirkņeņsisiz* Luu 'go to bed in order to clear you head', *tšertüü* 'turn inside out (of eyes)': *tänän nī vāsūzin, ķeik silmät tšertüzivät tēizippäi* M 'I got so tired today; my eyes turned inside out'. Many processes are directed at referents that denote the limbs, especially when describing accidents: *vāntā* 'sprain', *vāntīssā* 'sprain', *vikaussa, nikaštua ~ nikahtua ~ nikahtūssa* 'sprain', *murtua* 'break': *milta jalka murtu* Luu 'I broke my leg', *nikahtu tšäsi, nī tāz lugettī* J 'when my arm was sprained, it was again charmed with words', *millä vilkekaus tšäsi* Luu 'my arm was hurt'. The group includes also predicates that do not denote any accident: *murehtua ~ mūrahtua, surra* 'die; get numb': *tšäsi libo jalka murehtūB, Ra jalka sureB* M 'sb's arm/hand or foot/leg gets numb', *kohmehtussa: tšäet kohmehtussā* Ra 'sb's hands get numb (with cold)'.

Process predicates of one group do not limit the scope of the subject referent. Predication can be directed at the whole of the animate subject referent or at some part of it: *vāzüttā: vāzütän ķeik silmät siinnua öttēza* M 'I waited for you for a long time (= my eyes got tired while I was waiting for you)', *vässüü: vet' tšēli eb vāzü* Luu 'and yet the tongue never gets tired', *venunēs : lahz on venunēnnu pitšepessi* J 'the child has grown taller', *paizettua: napuškad ęllā nahgā pāl, vāhän paizetūB* Lii 'there are pimples on the skin; it is slightly swollen', *tšülmettüä : inemin tšülmettü* Luu 'the person caught cold', *louzata: pātā vaivatti a nüd jo lousazi* Lii 'sb's head is aching, but it is getting better already'.

2.1.3. V_{sg3} N+ngp_{Pat} N+ngp=0

The predicates denoting a physical process directed at the animate subject referent can be expressed by verbs in the third person. In such expressions the grammatical subject is missing: *ajā* 'obstruct; swell', *kohottā* 'get swollen': *viskāp tuskatāiD, kui gōra tuęB* Kōr 'lice of sorrow appear when sorrow comes', *tšülmeš visķes koko seltšā mü paissēD* J 'the cold caused abscesses all over the back', *viskāp napušķeīD* Lii 'pimples appear', *veřap süāmeš vālissā tšin* J 'sometimes it seizes the heart', *paizęgoitti ķeikę vatsā* M 'the whole stomach swelled up', *ajateę utareęD* Lii '(after calving) the udder swells up', *ajat puikō tšättē, ajab i neizeę vaivattamā* Luu 'if a splinter lodges in his/her hand, it swells up and starts to ache', *kohotti rintoję alussęD, pahhā tēp süämmele* M 'the stomach puffed up; I feel sick', *millę jo ellitti jalgaD* Lii 'it already made my feet sore', *kohotti villī* M 'a blister appeared'.

2.2. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A PSYCHIC PROCESS

2.2.1. N+nom_{Exp} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The grammatical subject marks a perceivable referent *ajatella*, *dūmata* 'think', *leppiää* 'calm down', *mēltiää* 'become wiser', *hoksata* 'notice', *nähä* 'see', *kūlla* 'hear', *sūttua* 'become angry', *rapsastā* 'flinch', *unostā* 'forget', *äliütā* 'occur to somebody, have the sense to do something', *ihassua* 'fall in love', *antā māhua* 'make mistakes', etc.: *ep̄en nell'äld jalgalt kompasuB a inemin sgnald annab māhu* Luu 'a horse stumbles with four legs, but a human being makes mistakes with words', *miä ku tätä tänävä höütütin, tämä höütti kevassi* Lii 'when I frightened her today, she was very frightened', *lahs kaugā eb lepü* Luu 'it takes long to calm the child down', *miä vähäizē mēltüzin* Luu 'I became a little wiser', *tšen nätsi lahzglđ esimeizē ampā, senelē annetti podarka* Pum 'the person who saw the first tooth of a child was given a present', *i v a n a sūttu naizē pālē* M 'Ivan got angry at his wife', *inemin nī kevassi süäntü, keik süä meni lehtši* Luu 'the person got so angry that his/her heart broke', *tämä ihassu siχχē inemissē* Luu 's/he fell in love with this person', *švēd unosti šl'äpī k a p o r ö s ē* M 'the Swede left his cap in Kaporje', *miä hoksezin što utšit'el'a on takan* Luu 'I noticed that the teacher was behind me', *tällä mēli meni mettsā* M 'he went out of his mind', *se eb älü räkkā nenännalt pühtšiä* J 'it does not occur to him/her to blow the nose'.

2.2.2. (N+ad_{Exp}) V_{sg3} (N+nom_{Pat}) or (V+da_{Pat}) or (SC)_{Pat} N+nom, V+da, SC=S_{gr}

johtua mēlē, johub mēlē: miļ johtu mieliesie, etti d'ad'a tšähsi laskega ghjat tšäes vällā Pum 'I remembered that uncle had told me to let go of reins', *vot siz i tämä johtu mēlē* Luu 'so then I remembered it', *eb johu keñzaid mēlē mennä* J 'sb never remembers to go', *ep kuinid johu mēlē juglla* M 'so I cannot recall how to say it'.

Some predicate verbs denoting activities of the senses are used in one person. The semantic subject in the adessive appears in the role of Experiencer. If the grammatical subject belongs to the syntactic structure of the sentence, it occurs in the nominative, the first infinitive, or as a subordinate clause.

2.3. PREDICATE EXPRESSING SOME OTHER PROCESS

Process is related to an animate subject referent.

2.3.1. N+nom_{pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

An animate subject referent applies strength to realize the process, but the result does not depend on his/her will. The process is pleasant for the person and serves as the aim of the person's action: *leütā* 'find', *veittā* 'win', *ajā üli* 'outsmart', *tagossāc* 'catch', *tarkata* 'hit', etc. For example, *tämä ajab minū üli* J 's/he outsmarts me', *ühellā kertā pojukkeizegd löütivād lekarstvōd* Itš 'once the boy found the medicines', *ja sis talvēl jēgerit sātī karū jälled* Luu 'and then in winter the hunters found the bear's footprints', *pappi sai rātē enellēz* J 'the priest became the owner of the kerchief', *ku ep tarkkā krūgāsē, tāz viskāb* Ra 'if you don't hit the circle, we will throw again', *katti tagossi sūrē irē* Itš 'the cat caught a big mouse', *nuori vātši veitti vanad* Pum 'young people won old people'.

2.3.2. Undesirable result

The process has an undesirable result; however, its realization does not depend on the will of an animate referent but is the result of his/her action. In some other context most such predicates could occur as action predicates. For example: *miä ku leikazin tšäē, tuli sūr rāna* Luu (process) 'when I cut my hand, there was a big wound', *miä leikkān saksijēkā sittsā* Luu (activity) 'I am cutting chintz with scissors'. Chafe called many such predicates as action-process predicates (Chafe 1970: 119). These predicates express accidents, involuntary sounds, and other unpleasant processes.

2.3.2.1. N+nom_{Caus} V N+part_{pat}

krāpata 'scratch', *leikata* 'cut (into)', *lüvvä* 'hit (against)', *murtā* 'break; sprain', *revätä* 'injure', *revittä* 'rupture', etc. *miä lgin kevvī tšäē* M 'I hurt my arm badly', *repāzin tšäē naglāsē* M 'I injured my hand against a nail', *raṅkkā tūtā tetši*, *ravitti enē* Luu 'sb worked so hard that put his/her health at risk', *pēletit sū rokākā* J 'you burned your mouth with soup'.

In the case of transitive predicates the grammatical subject performs the role of Causer, and the resultative event is directed at some anatomical region of the human being, more rarely at the whole

animate referent. In such predicates the causing subject referent includes a part of Patient and acts simultaneously as Causer, Patient, and Experiencer.

2.3.2.2. N+nom_{Caus} V N+part_{Pat}

koirisuttā, pilata 'spoil', *mešaittā* 'disturb', *maragoittā, padžgata, rōjanta, vēlata* 'smear', *muglia, murjataG* 'crinkle up', *māsātā* 'mess up', *käkissä* 'crush'; less frequently *roittā* 'mess up', *tękuttā* 'drop', *tūlpässä* 'blunt', etc. *siä murjazit keittši sevad* Itš 'you crinkled all the clothes', *emä suvvamizēkē koirisutab lahzē* M 'mother spoils the child with pampering', *emä ize pilli lassa* M 'mother herself spoiled the child', *issus šlāpī pāle — keikkinā kākissi* J 'sb had sat on the cap and crushed it altogether', *miļ on sādus üvā paikkezikko, tšennī eb mešait tsirjā lukkā* J 'I have a nice place in the garden; I can read a book undisturbed', *lahz maragoitti tšerūlākā t'etretī* J 'the child stained the notebook with ink', *lahz on rōjannut tšäet sitākā* J 'the child has dirtied his/her hands with manure', *miä kukertī kōrmā mālē* Itš 'I upset the load', *tękutin silmā* M 'I let a stitch run', *elä teŗrākā krāpi, ato tūlpäsät kurassē* M 'don't scratch with a sharp blade, or you will blunt the nose'.

Transitive predicates where the grammatical subject performs the role of Causer and the resulting event is not directed at Causer but at some other object: *kukertā* 'upset, to tip over'.

2.3.2.3. N+nom_{Pat} V

Intransitive predicates where the grammatical subject performs the role of Patient: *autūssa* 'develop a rash', *ahissua* 'be stuck between, be sandwiched between', *karvneš* 'become hairy', *kompassua ~ kompassussa* 'stumble', *rōjauta* 'dirty oneself', *vīpüä* 'be late; miss', *uppoa* 'drown', *umaltua* 'get drunk', etc. *ku lahz autūs, krāpitti kankazēš kurasēkē i pantī pāl* Luu 'when a child developed a rash, a linen cloth was scraped with a knife, and it was put on the rash', *miä ahissuzin kahhē uhzē vällī* M 'I was stuck between two doors', *vōsikā šokad alkevet karvneš* Lii 'sb's cheeks become hairy with years', *ai ku miä kompassuzin, tšut vikoitti tšäē* J 'gosh how I stumbled, I almost hurt my arm', *starik livessü trappuult, tšut ko pātā eb lehkennu* Luu 'the old man stumbled on the stairs and almost smashed his head', *pojokkein rōjauz nekkēsē* M 'the boy dirtied himself with soot', *miä vīpüzin pojezdā* Luu 'I missed the train', *i v a n a vajo sohhēsē* M 'Ivan sank into the swamp', *hukod maistelivad glutta, ettevät pāstü kottō, umaltuzivad* M 'the old men tasted some beer so that they could not go home; they got drunk'.

2.3.3. Action is unrelated to the volition of the animate subject referent

The realization of the process its action is unrelated to the volition of the animate subject referent.

2.3.3.1. N+nom_{Ben} V (N+ngp_{Pat}) N+nom=S_{gr}, N+ngp=0

sāvva 'get, receive', *rahā sai naiņ* M 'the woman got the money', *miä sain pošlkā* J 'I received a parcel', *sain rauhā, nämä menivät poiz* Luu 'I got peace; they left', *pojukkēizēd löütivād lekarstvov* J 'the kids found the medicines'; *katti tagossi sūrē irē* Itš 'the cat caught a big mouse'.

2.3.3.2. N+nom_{Pat} V

jättä 'leave', *püttua* 'be caught', etc. *švētā kunikaz gli jättännü sinne šl'āpī* Luu 'the Swedish king had left his hat there', *tämä sähēsē püttu* J 'he was caught in the storm', *lahzēd jäivät kottō* J 'the children were left at home', *kuhē poig jäi, tšennī ep tā* J 'where the boy was left, nobody knows', *mū pāzimmā rihēzē* Luu 'we got into the house', *tüttō sai mehelē* J 'the girl married'.

2.4. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A CHEMICAL OR A PHYSICAL PROCESS

The processes take place in the surrounding environment. The change of the state of the subject referent and movement in the direction of the final state is clearly perceived.

2.4.1. N+nom_{Pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

apeṭa ~ *apata* 'turn sour', *emeṣtua* ~ *emeḥtāc* 'become mouldy', *höürüä* 'steam', *hütüä* 'congeal', *imettüä* 'turn insipid', *jahtua* 'cool down', *jättüä* 'freeze, turn into ice', *kahneṭtua*, *keveņeṣsa* ~ *keviṣsua* 'harden; go stale', *kassua* 'become wet', *keittäüssä* 'boil soft', *kūmeṭa* 'be heated up', *kohota* ~ *kohoneṣsa* 'rise', *kuivassua* 'dry up', *mürähtä* ~ *lännütāc* 'turn sour', *märtšenessä*, *mätānessä* 'rot', *mureņeṣsa* 'crumble', *muteņeṣ* 'become muddy', *nīssüä* 'become wet', *peḷea* 'burn', *rōseṭtua* 'get rusty', *sulā* 'melt', *süttüṣ* ~ *süttüä* 'catch fire', *sōjeņeṣ* 'warm up', *sītüä* 'get ride of smoke (in a sauna)', *seizottua* 'clear', *tšērüssä* 'turn sour', *turvota* 'swell up', *tšühseä* 'bake', *tšävvä* 'be brewing (of beer)', *varissua* 'heat up', etc.: *leipä eb üvvi apannu* M 'the bread did not go sour properly', *tōreṣ paikkas keik tširēs*

gmestüb J 'in a wet place everything gets mouldy soon', *peräld vihmā pglloṭ hōürüveD päivā paissēz* J 'after rain the fields are steaming in the sunshine', *razvę hüvüB* Luu 'fat congeals', *sēmen imetüb* J 'the seeds turn insipid', *suppi jahtu* Pum 'the soup cooled down', *jät-tüziväd meļpat šokaD* Luu 'the cold nipped both (my) cheeks', *leipā kahņgtup ku vanassi mēB* Lii 'bread goes stale in time', *kūmeṭa* 'heat up': *tšivet kūmeņevad* M 'the stones are heating up', *taitšina kohoneB* Luu 'the dough is rising', *kui jürizeB*, *sīs pīmā mürähtäB* Ra 'when it thunders, the milk goes sour', *lina-nūtti tširēpā mätānep ku kaņivo* Luu 'linen thread rots faster than hemp', *savi taid oņ kuivannu ku mureņeB* J 'clay has probably dried up when it crumbles', *vesi mutteņeB* Ra 'water turns muddy', *a med'dē tšülä peļi* PR 'but our village was in flames', *rauta märjässä rōsętuB* Luu 'iron gets rusty with moisture', *nī eļi üvä ruoppa*, *panin suheġe*, *nī suli* Pum 'the porridge was so good that when I put it into my mouth, it melted', *eļki tširē sūtüb* J 'straw catches fire easily', *vesi pliteļ sōjeņeB* J 'the water is warming up on the stove', *sauna sītū* Luu 'the smoke disappeared from the sauna', *lā tšihvā vesi seizotub* M 'let the hot water settle', *vēzā vill'a turpōB* M 'grain swells in water', *virre jo tšäüb* J 'the wort is already brewing', etc.

2.4.2. V_{sg3}

A predicate verb rarely occurs in a sentence without a subject N+part_{pat} *vāhtoa jo aġab* J 'it's foaming already'.

2.5. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A PROCESS IN NATURE

2.5.1. N+nom_{pat} V, seldom N+part_{pat} V, N+nom and N+part=S_{gr}

grastā 'germinate; come up, sprout', *ittissä ~ ittäüs ~ ittā* 'germinate', *kazvā ~ kazvoa* 'grow', *kellissua* 'turn yellow', *kohota* 'come up', *lahgota* 'open', *laskeġa ~ lassa* 'come into bud; bloom', *māttua* 'be overgrown', *räühtüä* 'wither', *rohottua* 'turn green', *tšāntüä päle* 'ear', *tšārpästā* 'open, come into bud', etc. *rüiz jo ġrasti*, *lahtši laivod* M 'rye has already come up', *jüvä ittiz* J 'the grain germinated', *abrikossid ep kazvo med'dē māl* J 'apricots do not grow in our country', *ahoļ müd ep kazvo*, *ku savi kukkā* J 'nothing else but white goosefoot grows in the fallow', *kase kahtši on jo kēllissunnu* Ra 'this birch has turned yellow already', *laivod üvvi kohonevad* M 'the crop is coming up nicely', *le'lot kukkivad* Itš 'flowers are blooming', *svedgad öllä makkāvad*, *a ömnize tāz lahkuavad* M 'at night the flowers sleep, but they open

again the morning', *nüd jo sireni lazgep kukkā* Pum 'now lilac is already about to come into bloom', *sēmened jo lahtšivad rozgaD* M 'the seeds have already germinated', *jeki mātub i merē rannad māt-tuveD* Luu 'the river overgrows and the seashores will be overgrown', *koivu mēp pupuškal* Luu 'the birch is coming into bud', *kahtši trāpāstāB jo J* 'the birch is already coming into bud', *gzra tšāniup pālē* M 'barley is earing', *tšako kukub nī kaugā kunniz gzra ep tšāni pālē* M 'the cuckoo cuckoos as long as the barley does not start earing'.

2.6. PREDICATE EXPRESSING A METEOROLOGICAL PROCESS

2.6.1. V_{sg3}

(*taivas*) *pilvissēB* 'the sky is cloudy': *issUB* '(the sun) is setting', *jürähtāB* 'it thunders once', *kajengeB* 'it's getting light, it is dawn', *pilvissūB* 'it's cloudy', *pimeneB* 'it's getting dark', *selittāB*, *sirkeņeB* 'it's clearing up', *tūnisūB* 'sth is dying down', *tilkab* 'it's drizzling', *valkeņeB* 'it's getting light', etc. *a ku išsup pilvē alla, lēp vihmā* M 'but if it gets cloudy, it will start raining', *tuņp sā*, *pilvissūje* Itš 'the weather will be bad; it got cloudy', *kui siā lahgotēd eined mālē, ku nī pilvittēB J* 'how can you leave the hay on the ground when it is so cloudy', *pimeneb jo, ū tuņB J* 'it's getting dark, night is falling', *päivā kajeni* M 'dawn was breaking', *egle selitti J* 'it cleared up yesterday', *ūssi tās sirkeņeB* Lii 'by night it will clear up again', *ain tilkab J* 'it's drizzling and drizzling', *perrā tormi tūnissūB J* 'it becomes calm after a storm', *ōmiz vaŗrai valkeņeB* Itš 'it gets light early in the morning'. All these predicates may occur with the subject. Some predicates with a personified subject may also be action predicates (3.1.4). There are predicates without obligatory arguments. Usually predication is directed at the surrounding environment, or one can implicitly restore the subject referent belonging to the predicate.

2.6.2. N+nom_{pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

kohota ~ kohonēs 'rise', *laskęuta*, *vērrā* 'here: set (of the sun)', *lanęęta* 'descend', *laskęuta* 'set', *laskęssa* 'sink', *ņeissa* 'rise', *sammua* 'die', *sulā* 'melt', *seissettua* 'die down', *süntiüā* 'be born', *tšertīssā*, *tšāntiüā* 'turn', etc. *meri jātüb J* 'the sea is frozen', *tūli kohonēB M* 'the wind is rising', *päivā neizeņb (kohonēB) ülez, pakkain, tūli kevisUB* Luu 'the sun rises, frost, the wind is getting stronger', *päivā laskęub jumalallē* Luu 'the sun is setting', *kū laskaub* Sav 'the moon is setting', *ku utu laskēb māl, lēb üvā ilma* Luu 'when the mist settles, the weather will

be good', *ilma leppiäB* I 'the weather is getting milder', *õmnikossa päivä ngizēB* Luu 'the sun rises in the morning', *jā ngizēB*, (*kohhōb ülez*) Luu 'ice is rising', *päivä sammub* Luu 'solar eclipse (lit. the sun dies)', *kū sammub* Luu 'lunar eclipse (lit. the moons dies)', *sōt sulavad*, *mād valuvad* J 'swamps are melting, the lands are flooded', *tūli sēisēttu* M 'the wind died down', *ku kū sünnüp*, *siz on ūs kū* Luu 'when the moon is born, then there is a new moon', *tūli tšiertiz vassā päivälīē* Pum 'the wind turned against the sun', *sā vajeltub* 'the weather is changing', *päiv vēreB* J 'the sun is setting'. If the process is directed at some concrete referent, it appears as the grammatical subject. The subject is necessary in the case of polysemantic verbs. These predicates obtain the meaning of a meteorological process only with a noun argument.

2.6.3. V N+np_{Pat}

satā 'come down as', *tiputtā ~ siputtā* 'drizzle', *liüvvä*, *ampua* 'strike, (of lightning)', etc. *ihtši keṽvī tulta* M 'there was intense lightning', *ku terässä lūB, jutēllā: kagra valmissūB* J 'when there is heat lightning, it is said: the oats are ripening'. In the case of a personified subject some predicates of this type function as action predicates (3.1.4).

2.6.4. V N+ngp, N+ngp=O

kohotti tūlē M 'the wind picked up'.

2.7. PREDICATE EXPRESSING TRANSFORMATION OF A STATE

2.7.1. Predicate expressing something more general

The predicate expresses something more general, such as emergence, occurrence, preservation, duration, or disappearance.

2.7.1.1. N+nom_{pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

aikauta ~ aikaussa 'get, happen, occur, take place', *alkā* 'emerge, appear', *appiussa* 'happen', *ilmahtua ~ ilmūssa* 'appear, emerge', *jgutua* 'get', *kulua* 'pass, run out', *loppua ~ leppūssaG* 'end, finish', *mennä ettsā* 'run out of', *mūtissa* 'change', *näüttā* 'appear, occur', *tarkata* 'happen', *tarttua* 'happen', *vettaussa* 'arise, emerge', *ävitä* 'disappear', etc. *kui siä ēd aikaunnu kassē* Lii 'how did you get here', *nūd jo alkās pikkaraizēd ēunad* M 'look, small apples are there already', *milla appiuz üvä inemin vassā pūttua* Luu 'I happened to

meet a good person', *kui tšezäl vari päiv, ni ilmūssa pārmaD* J 'if there is a warm day in summer, horseflies will appear', *i siz miä eittūzin, dūmazin, kuhē inemīn jętu* M 'and then I got frightened, I thought where the person might be now', *aika kulub* J 'time is passing', *ku tū lopuB, siz on loppijäized* Luu 'when the work is done, there will be a party', *rahad leppuvad näil ķęikil* M 'they all run out of money', *meil mentī rahad ģttsā* M 'we ran out of money', *täl-le tuli nī paha mēli, litsās müttiz* Luu 's/he got so upset that his/her look changed', *mie juttęęn, kui millę näütti* Pum 'I'll tell how it occurred to me', *emintimā senel päivā tarkkazi rehtelkakkuja tehā* M 'stepmother happened to make pancakes that day', *štop paha päivā ep tarttuiz* Lem 'make sure there will be no accidents', *kussa rohossa vęttauz mato i millę jalkāsę nıglaz* M 'a snake emerged from somewhere in the grass and bit my leg', *miļ ävizivād rahad* Und 'I lost my money', *miļ ģikeķa silmä äviz* M 'I lost sight in my right eye'.

2.7.1.2. N+np_{Pat} V, N+np=S_{gr}

The occurrence of the grammatical subject is possible in the partitive, especially in negative sentences. *jävvä* 'remain, stay', *lissäüssä* 'add', *mennä* 'go (of time)', *näüttä* 'come (of frost)', *püttua* 'happen; get', *süntiüä* 'come about, happen', *tapahtūssa* 'occur, happen', *tavata* 'happen', *tekkauta* 'happen', etc. *g a t t š i n ā pōļģš tōže jāi sitā sōmę kansā* Luu 'also some Finnish people from Gachina stayed' *rōska jāi kaskęsę* M 'the twig (intended for punishment) stayed in the birch', *tšellä jāi lahsaita, siz mehelē juļtī* Kat 'those who had children left, then the husband was told', *nütte miä prāviuzin i painua lissäüz* Luu 'now I got well and gained weight', *vesi algab lissäüssä* 'there will be more water', *eb mennü sitā tševättä, ku sinne paįkkāsęę eb uponnu lehmā* Pum 'there was no spring without a cow drowning there', *aika tširępā meneB* Lem 'time goes faster', *siz näütep tšülmā, a hunta eb ģ* Luu 'then frost will come, but there will be no snow', *tämä on niku muiz mēliz, pajatab, mitā pütub* Ra 's/he must be out of his/her mind, s/he speaks whatever comes to his/her mind', *tütöl süntüvāt platjat šolķķęzęD* Luu 'the girl is getting silk dresses', *ilm sūt mittäitši ep sünnü* J 'nothing happens without a reason', *eb ģ tšülä tšüzümissä, mitā tallō tapahtūB* Luu 'the village people have no right to ask about what is happening in the house', *ķęikķęa veip tapahtua pittšāz madgaz* Luu 'everything can happen on a long journey', *tšen mittäid ep tē, senelē mittäid ep tapahtu* M 'nothing happens to a person who does nothing', *einā ku kaugā on māz, tappāb vihmā, einā mēb musassi* Luu 'if the hay is on the ground

for a long time, when there is rain, the hay turns black', *tšel mitä tekkkaus, siš tšäüzi vättämā arvoī* M 'the plots were handed out by drawing lots, one went to cast a lot'.

2.7.2. Predicate expressing movement

The predicate clearly expresses movement in the direction of some state; the content of the process may also be a simple constant movement, and one cannot predict the final result of the process. Process verbs of this type are numerous (more than a hundred).

2.7.2.1. N+nom_{pat} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

alata 'slow; sink; drop', *avgutua ~ avvaussa* 'open', *erähtä* 'fall', *ete-nessä* 'come along; progress', *hajjua ~ hajjussa* 'crumble', *higessua* 'become wet or steamy', *isuta* 'shrink', *kallissua* 'incline', *karissa* 'drop, fall', *katkeä ~ katkēssa ~ katkea* 'break, snap', *kenassua* 'turn pretty', *kukertua* 'go upside down, fall over', *kulua* 'wear out', *kuŕraussa* 'warp', *lančkēssa* 'fall, drop', *litšenessä* 'approach', *līgahtā* 'shift, go out of place', *likkua* 'move', *lousaussa* 'unravel; untie (a knot)', *laskēssa* 'lower, sink', *laukēssa* 'break, fall apart', *lüheneš* 'shorten', *mennä turhā* 'mess up', *murjaussa* 'crease up, wrinkle up, become wrinkled', *pilauta* 'break down', *punęttua* 'turn red', *purskauta* 'unravel', *ratkęuta* 'break, tear', *sassiussa* 'be messed up, be entangled', *tekkua* 'fall', *temmata kokkō* 'shrink', *tultaussa* 'dry in the wind', *veniüä* 'stretch', etc. *vesi keikkinä alani* M 'the water sank altogether', *avęuzivad vāräjäd* Kat 'the gates went open', *sił tū eteneB* J 'your work is progressing', *murja muna hajjüb* Luu 'a mealy potato crumbles', *akkunat higessuvad, táb vihmā* Luu 'the windows are turning steamy, it's a sign of rain', *peŕrā pešsua meni aivō kočkō kofta, issüz* M 'the jacket totally shrank after washing', *kui tuęp sūr sā, siz laiva kallisub* Luu 'if there is a heavy storm, the ship will careen', *omena karizep pūssa* Luu 'an apple falls from the tree', *ęli lai hukkeęin, a nüt ku kenassu* J 'she was skinny, but now has turned so pretty', *rihi ęli laskęnu* 'the house had sunk', *talvi litšeneB* Luu 'winter is coming', *kala enžüb, šokkalüd likkuvad* Pum 'the fish is breathing; the gills are moving', *solmi lousauzi* Lii 'the knot was disentangled', *talvę pōlę päived lühenessä* J 'towards winter the days get shorter', *i v a n a l rataz murtū* M 'Ivan's wheel broke down', *nītīt kečvvi punnazivad* M 'threads got very entangled', *verkot keęig ratkęuzivad* 'the nets were totally torn up', *lahzeļ tokku ammaz* Luu 'the child's tooth fell out', *kase sepa venüb* Lii 'this fabric stretches'.

2.7.3. Processes which are aimed at reaching the state

The processes which are aimed at reaching the state expressed by an adjective, adverb, or a noun.

2.7.3.1. N+nom_{Pat} V Adj+transl, N+nom_{Pat} V Adv, N+nom_{Pat} V N+transl, N+nom=S_{gr}, V Adj+transl, V Adv, V N+transl=P

tšämmelel̄ meni nahka ghussi Pum 'the skin of the fist wore thin', *ni äppēB, etti mentī šokat kaunīssi* M 'sb is so ashamed that his/her cheeks turned red', *ilmad mentī sōjēssi* J 'the weather got warm', *a ühskert pagla meni kattši* Po 'but once the ribbon broke', *tekkauz abrassi* M 'it is getting brittle', *tekkauz nōrēssi* M 'sb grew young', *nītūt tuttī rohoizēssi* J 'the grasslands turned green', *lampād jāti slāboissi* J 'the sheep became weak', *ühs tüttō jāi raskāssi, sūrē vatsākā jāi* J 'a girl got pregnant, she had a big stomach', *tämä kazvi sūrēssi, ŋēisi varmassi mehessi* M 'he grew up, became strong man', *ilmē mūtup parēpassi* J 'the weather is getting better'. The verbs of the process predicate include *mennä, mūtua, tulla, sāvva, tekkautua, jāvä, ŋēissa*, etc. This type is known also in Estonian (EKK: 396).

2.7.3.2. V Adj+transl, V Adj+transl=P

mēb rohoizēssi M 'it's getting green'. Constructions without subjects are rare. The example shows that the process happens in nature.

3. THE SUBJECT OF SENTENCES WITH AN ACTION PREDICATE

Action predicates express actions that are performed. Chafe suggested a simple rule, which helps distinguish between sentences with an action predicate and sentences with a process predicate. The former answers the question *what did N do?* where *N* stands for a noun. The performer of the action is a purposefully acting subject referent (agent or actor) whose will has an impact on the carrying out of the action, but an action subject does not always make the sentence an actor's sentence. The performer of the action need not be an agent that is always an animate subject referent. The performer of the action may also be an inanimate referent that is potentially able to act. Nothing depends on the will of the referent, which applies some energy with the aim of making the action occur (Erelt 1978: 28; Chafe 1970: 118).

3.1. AGENT AS SUBJECT

Many verbs belong to this group. The present study takes into consideration only those verbs where the agent acts consciously, which means that the agent makes efforts to carry out namely this activity and where an action is the aim of the agent's behaviour (differently from 2.3). It is often difficult to make a distinction between a process or a state predicate with an animate subject referent and an action predicate. In such cases one can carry out a test, which characterizes how the performance of an action takes place for the subject. Agent sentences can be tested; according to W. Brennenstuhl, eight questions can be answered in the affirmative. An agent sentence is a sentence where it is possible to answer eight questions in the affirmative (Brennenstuhl 1976). In the case of Estonian only six questions are required (Erelt 1979: 28).

- 1) Can the sentence be extended by the word purposefully?
- 2) Is the construction *the subject decided to V+da* acceptable?
- 3) Is the construction *I considered the Subject to V+da* acceptable?
- 4) Is the construction *the Subject planned to V+da* acceptable?
- 5) Is the construction *the Subject V with the purpose of ...* acceptable?
- 6) Is it possible to form the imperative?

It is characteristic of the agent sentence that the agent may be absent from the surface structure, namely,

- 1) the agent is incorporated, that is, included in the predicate: *ahasin jo jupkā Lii* 'I took the skirt in', *mitä siä nī keṽvassi ahneṣed, kuhē sillē tätä nī pal'lo piäb Lii* 'why do you work like mad; why do you need so much', etc.;
- 2) the predicate is in the imperative: *ajakā vätši shotkā!* M 'make the people come to the meeting', *elä ahata sū selällä!* M 'do not yell at the top of your voice!' etc.;
- 3) the predicate is in the impersonal, which in itself presumes that the predicate demands a human subject referent: *ühezä taloza hulkuttī* Itš 'there was a party in one farmstead', *vad'dā läpätä Kõr* 'they are chatting in Votic', etc.

3.1.1. N+nom_{Ag} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The agent is a non-human animate referent.

3.1.1.1. For describing acoustic events

ahattä: üppi ahatab 'an owl hoots', *karu ahatap keṽvī* M 'the bear is roaring loudly', *miä tätä ṣermēkā eṇ kerttännü, a tämä minü pälē*

ahatab M 'I haven't laid a finger on her/him, but he/she is yelling', *brakko bräkizeB* M 'a corncrake is singing', *gpein furzgab* J 'the horse gives a snort', *mil on nasmorkē, miä furzgan* J 'I have a runny nose, I'm snivelling', *tämä gōgotti niku ang* J 'she was cackling like a goose', *mettso gūgutab* M 'a capercaillie is cooing', *taivazvoho hohotab* Luu 'a snipe is bleating like a sheep', *taivzvooho hühütäB* Lii 'a snipe is bleating like a sheep', *open irnab* M 'a horse neighs', *konna korizeB* Luu 'a frog croaks', *kana klokaB* M 'a hen clucks', *tunnetko siä tšagō vittä kukuttä?* Lii 'can you make the sound of a cuckoo?', *tedri kul'kutab* Ra 'a black grouse coos', *sorzat krägattavad* M 'ducks quack', *konnad vēs krökkevad* Luu 'the frogs are croaking in the water', *laulab, niku lintu lirizeB* J 'sb sings, warbles like a bird', *kittsi mäkätäB* R 'a goat baas', *karu märizeB* M 'a bear growls', *lahz märizep tšättšüz* M 'a child is whimpering in the cradle', *katti mäükub* Luu 'a cat meows', *lampät mäkitä* Ra 'sheep baa', *ärtšä mörizeB* Ra 'an ox moos', *lehmä mükiB* Lii 'a cow moos', *piukab lintu* M 'a bird peeps', *kana raikatab* M 'a hen cackles', *kukke rāgab* M 'a cock crows', *lammas rāgab* M 'a sheep bleats', *varež rāgap, sis sōjā lēB* Kat 'when a crow crows, it will be warm', *katti rāgub* Itš 'a cat caterwauls', *kana seittēB* Kōr 'a hen cackles', *naizikko ain seitti mēssä* Pum 'the wife used to bicker with her husband', *einä širkka širizeB* Luu 'a grasshopper chirps', *mato šihizeB* Luu 'a snake hisses', *ep tā üvvä, harakka tšakateB* J 'no good will come, a magpie is chattering', *säski viŋgub* J 'the gnat buzzes', *tūli viŋgub* Luu 'the wind is howling', *tšimo keřvā tüvenä vuhhāB* Itš 'the bee is buzzing by my ear', *sā tueB, tül vuhhāB* J 'a storm is approaching, the wind is roaring', *koira urnāB* Lem 'the dog is growling', *katti urnab* Kōr 'a cat purrs', *vattsa algēb urnā* Luu 'my stomach starts to rumble', *sittabömböräin uhizeB* Pum 'a dung beetle buzzes'. This group of verbs can also be viewed as state predicates (quality), but one is dealing with volition of a living being. A verb often denotes an animal sound, and some verbs are used to characterize human speech.

3.1.1.2. Actions characteristic of animals

Many such verbs can also characterize human actions: *kuttissa* 'spawn', *kālia* 'lick', *kokkia* 'peck; tap', *ampua* 'sting', *imiä* 'suck', etc.

märehtiä 'ruminant', *peťkia* 'kick', *poikissa* 'give birth, calve', *puz-gęta* 'gore', *tuhertä* 'tread', etc. *mügra ajab māta, pilāp keik pēntareD* R 'a mole digs up the ground; it ruins all the garden beds', *kala kuttib* Luu 'fish is spawning', *koira kälip tšippāta* Luu 'a dog is licking his wounds', *jeka aikę tikka kokip pūd* R 'a woodpecker always pecks a tree', *tšimolain ammub* Luu 'a bee stings', *säski imeb vertä*

Luu 'a gnat sucks blood', *seinäs toukka tēb javvoa* *Luu* 'woodworms bore the wall', *unilintu süöp seppi* *Pum* 'moths eats clothes', *kana laski puipuD* *Luu* 'a hen hatched the chicken', *lehmä märehTiB* *Luu* 'a cow ruminates', *epēn pēdgiB* *Luu* 'a horse kicks', *lampāt poikīvaD* *Lii* 'sheeps lamb', *borana puzgiB* *J* 'a ram butts its head', *kukke tuherTap kañnā* *M* 'the cock is treading the hen', *mussa mato eb niglā* *Luu* 'a black snake does not bite'. Some of them add an emotional connotation to the sentence; in the case of some verbs there is no difference whether the subject referent is a human being or not.

3.1.2. N+nom_{Ag} V, N+nom=S_{gr}, rarely N+part_{Ag} V, N+part=S_{gr}

The agent is a human subject referent. It is a semantically varied group covering all the conscious spiritual and physical actions of human beings.

3.1.2.1. Verbs of speaking

Verbs of speaking with different emotional shades of meaning: *bolpattā*, *boltaittā* 'chat', *emitellä* 'talk dirty', *hēikeḷē* 'shout', *ilmottā* 'let know', *jutella* 'say', *kläkissä* 'blather', *lopissa* 'chat', *maimia* 'backbite', *pajattā* 'tell', *rāgāhtā* 'shout', *sanoa* 'say', *tšūsüä* 'ask', etc. *mūdra inemin pall'o boltaitaB* *Luu* 'a weird person chats a lot', *elä bolbata*, *elä bälize* *Kō* 'stop babbling', *süämikkō inehmine seḷḷeḷeb i emittēB* *Itš* 'the angry person scolds and talks dirty', *mitä siä lopizeD* *Luu* 'what are you babbling there', *nüd enäpä m i h a l a ep koinatteḷē* *Pum* 'now Michail does not swear'.

3.1.2.2. Work actions

emmella 'sew', *eḷḷšia* 'angle', *glādittā* 'iron', *hakateḷ* 'chop', *hiuttā* 'scour', *ilata* 'clean', *lūvvā* 'mow the grass', *tšūlvā* 'sow', *tšüntā* 'plough', etc. *mēz empeḷi upēkaD* *M* 'the man sewed simple boots', *miä eḷḷḷi pall'o kallō* *Itš* 'I angled a lot of fish', *miä seppē glāditin utjukākā* *M* 'I ironed clothes with an iron', *miä tänävā kokō päivā hakeḷzin jātā* *Luu* 'today I cut ice all day long', *miä illān einiä* *Luu* 'I was taking the hay in', *tāmā ni üvässi einā lüöB* *Pum* 's/he cuts the grass so well'.

3.1.2.3. Verbs of motion, N+nom_{Ag} V, N+nom=S_{gr}, less frequently N+part_{Ag} V, N+part=S_{gr}

tulla 'come', *tšävvä* 'go', *kopittua* ~ *korjaussac* 'gather', *gendia* 'lurk', *harkata*, *tallata* 'step; walk', *halissa* 'stroll; prowls', *levata* 'go; roam',

johsā 'run', *kontīssa* 'saunter', *mennä* 'go', etc. *lahsī tšävi j g g g - p e r ä l ē škoulū* Luu 'the child went to school in Jõgõperä', *shotkā korjaujē vätšiiä* Itš 'people gathered to a meeting', *mitä siä gendid nurkēš nurkkā?* J 'why are you lurking there in the corners?', *mitä siä halizēD*, *mē parepi makkāmā* Lii 'why are you lurking there, you'd better go to bed', *miä harkkän üli kanavā, ku on lad'da, ni üppän* Luu 'I step across the ditch; if it is wide, I jump', *vīmin kert harkkāb minū jalg üli ted'dē tšünnüsē* J 'this is the last time I step across your threshold'.

3.1.3. Restrictions to the subject referent

Sometimes the verb sets more restrictions to the subject referent than the condition that the referent must be animate and human.

3.1.3.1. The subject referent is of feminine gender

mennä mehelē 'get married (find a husband)', *sünnüttä* 'give birth', etc. *a tüttö meni mehelle, sīz gli vāvü* Luu 'but the daughter got married, then had a son-in-law', *ihana lahsi — niku māma sünnütti* Luu 'stark naked like when mother gave birth to him/her', etc.

3.1.3.2. The subject referent is of masculine gender

nad'dussac 'get married, marry', *tēinē poika nad'dujē* Itš 'the second son has already got married', etc.

3.1.3.3. The subject referent represents some occupation

ripittä 'give communion': *pappi ripitti lahzeD* Ra 'the priest gave communion to the children', *svätittä* 'consecrate': *pappi svätitti vettä* M 'the priest consecrated the water', *laulottā* 'hold a funeral service': *tšerikkos pappi laulotab pokoinikkā* J 'the priest will hold a funeral service to the deceased in the church', etc.

3.1.4. N+nom_{Ag} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

The subject referent is personified: *jumala tšäi tšivviä mō* M 'God tread on stones', *jumala tšäzzib ī l i ā l ē ampua tullēkā* M 'God tells Elijah to strike a bolt of lightning', *vesi-emä on järvez, se upotab vätšiiä* M 'the water sprite is in the lake, it drowns people', *naizelta saunaza paskapōl lahzē vajelti* M 'the devil substituted the sauna woman's baby for another baby in the sauna', *domovikka tšukkāb*

opezē kolodā allā M 'the ghost pushes the horse under the manger', *kui vihmā sīb ja päivā paisaB*, *siz jutēllā: jumal pahākā tappēB* Luu 'when it's raining and the sun is shining, it is said: god is fighting with a fiend', *viholline on ajannu epezē ūl vāhtō* Ra 'the evil had made the horse froth at night', *i jumala vetti keikē eunappū vällā* Lem 'and God froze the entire apple tree', *pata kattilā sēimāb*, *a meļepad on musaD* Luu 'it's a case of the pot calling the kettle black', *älä vilizā suoza*, *suo ķervad rad'doB* Pum 'don't whistle in the swamp, the swamp will deafen your ears', *tuli sota ja tappo heijed vällā* Kuk 'a war started and killed them'. This group includes common subject referents with a religious content, as well as mythological referents, proverbs, and phrasal expressions.

The predicates connected with meteorological beliefs also belong to this group. Several natural phenomena were regarded as being of divine origin: *jumala jürizeB* J 'God thunders', *jo kollāb jumala* M 'God is already thundering', *jumala vihmā anti* J 'God gave some rain'.

3.2. ACTION SENTENCES WITHOUT AGENT

3.2.1. N+nom_{Caus} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

This group includes transitive verbs where an inanimate referent does something that an animate referent could also do. The verbs of this group must be distinguished from state verbs, which express the quality of an inanimate subject referent (1.9.1) and from some transitive process verbs.

argettā 'frighten', *ävittā* 'destroy', *ehittā* 'dress up', *häilüttā* 'wave', *karguttā* 'wake up', *langettā* 'lower; fell', *likusēl* 'move', *lēhkoa* 'break', *longettā* 'slant; bend', *lūvvā* 'hit; here: nip (of cold)', *rad'doa* 'knock down', *radgata* 'tear into pieces, tear up', *raizgata* 'here: break', *repiā* 'tear', *sammuttā* 'blow out', *sasia* 'entangle', *süvvā* 'eat', *tappā* 'kill', etc. *jürü argetti lahzē* J 'the lightning frightened the child', *ōmnikkō tšülm ävitti kapusā taimēD* J 'the morning cold destroyed the young cabbages', *pūd ehittävād entā leholla* Ja 'trees are dressed up in leaves', *tūli häilütāp pūta* M 'the wind is shaking a tree', *jürizemin kargutti lahzē ülez* J 'thunder woke the child up', *tūli likusēp pud'dē ladvoĵ* J 'the wind is shaking the tree tops', *mēt tūlēšē*, *tuli lēhgob ülēD* M 'if you go into the wind, it will break your lips', *āni on nī vinkā*, *ku ķerved lēhkāB* Luu 'his voice is so shrill, it will destroy your ears', *tūli longutep puid* J 'the wind bends the trees', *tšülmä lei villā* J 'the cold damaged the grain', *rage rad'dē elkoD* M 'the hail knocked the flowers down', *sūr pala sū ratkāB* M 'bite off more than you can chew', *tūli on raizgennu*

katō arjā J 'the wind has damaged the ridge of the roof', *vesi sūb jeggē kaltoiD* J 'the water is eroding the river banks', etc.

Most predicate verbs denote breaking, destruction of something, or destruction by natural forces. They may also occur with animate referents. Another set of verbs are used figuratively, and they are personified (*pūd ehittäväD...*, *vesi sūb* etc.).

3.2.2. N+nom_{Instr} V, N+nom=S_{gr}

Here one is dealing with personification where the performer of an action is an instrument, a tool that a human agent, who is the actual performer of the action, commands with his will : *ajā* 'drive', *ampua* 'strike (of lightning)', *lastata* 'load', *lōvvia* 'tack', *pehmittä* 'soften', *pūtā* 'catch', *seilata* 'sail', *tšüntä* 'plough', *varissa* 'heat', etc. *laiva ajab mertä mü* J 'the ship is sailing at sea', *tuisku ajap talveļ sūrēd angeD* J 'the wind blows snow into big drifts in winter', *jürü tāmā ampu surmässā Luu* 'lightning struck him/her dead', *porttu on paikka, kuza laivat purkavat ja lastāvad Luu* 'a harbour is a place where ships unload and load', *aluz lōviB, eglē koko päivā lōviz Luu* 'the vessel is tacking, yesterday it tacked all day long', *adra pehmitti māta üväsi Lii* 'the plough softened the soil nicely', *kūteri pūvvāp kallā Luu* 'the motor boat is catching fish', *seilattī aluseD meijē merel Luu* 'the sailboats were sailing at sea', *aņkkuri tšünnāb māta ja annap perāl Luu* 'the anchor ploughs the land and gives way', *kutsutā lēttsu, rautā mika varisgB J* 'it's called bellows that heats the iron', etc.

3.3. SENTENCES WITHOUT A SUBJECT REFERENT

3.3.1. V_{sg3}

In the case of action verbs the subject referent may be absent from the surfaces structure because one may have been reluctant to say something openly or to express the doer for the same reason. In several cases when the same verb has a subject, the subject is a god (for meteorological processes see 2.6.3, for personified actions see 3.1.4). Such belief-related predicates connected may occur either with or without a subject. When they occur without a subject, they could be viewed as state predicates: *rīgaš tšūditāB Luu* 'the barn is haunted', *niku pelehtēB Luu* 'this place seems to be haunted', *laivas pelehtēB Luu* 'the ship is haunted'. At the same time, the supposed causer of the phenomenon or the doer of the action may appear as a subject: *pelehūs pelehtēB Luu* 'the ghost haunts', *peltšāzivād etti pokoinikka tšūditāB Kat* 'sb was afraid that that deceased haunted'.

3.3.2. V N+com_{Instr}

jutellā, što alusē lētab = tukkāb livākā Luu 'it is said that the drifting sand will bury the ship', *lainēkā i virrākā ūmperi tātā ajab livā* Luu 'waves and the current drive the sand around it', *nitiid upotti vēkā* J 'the grassland was flooded', etc. Evidently, one can witness here some influence of the Russian language. It is evident that the Russian impersonal pattern has served as an example.

3.3.3. V_{sg2}, V_{pl3}

The subject referent is missing because the predicate verb is used generically. The predicate is in the 2nd person singular or the 3rd person plural: *sis tševāl äesäd i sis kertād, plūgākā tšünnād* Kat 'then in spring you harrow, then you repeat the action, plough with a plough', *se on niku umpi-auta, sitä et täütä, niku ilma pghjā* Luu 'it is like a bottomless hole, you cannot fill it, it seems to be without a bottom', *ku razvā sulataD, ni jāvād inaraD* Luu 'when you melt the fat, you will have scratchings', *sāt sūrē sünni, ku vohmā moikkād ja nagraD* Luu 'there will be a big sin over you if you ridicule and laugh at a fool', *vill'a gli rīgā tüven napurikkoz, sīn hot' ku kaugā näitä kuivā i tapa* M 'the grain was in ricks at the barn, here one could dry and thrash it as long as you wish', *mitä sāvāt, sitä ampuvad* Lii 'what they catch, they kill', *pühänä tšerikkō valmissuivad i govetteivad* Itš 'during a fast, they prepared go to church and fasted', *ilmassi kuzzaid evät sūtä* Luu 'a person is nowhere fed without money'.

4. VERBS WITH AN INCOMPLETE MEANING AS FORMAL PREDICATES

4.1. MODAL VERBS AS THE FORMAL PREDICATE

Besides the propositional meaning, the sentence has also a modal meaning. As for the category of modality, there is no general agreement among linguists. Opinions differ with regard to modality and predicativeness, the relations between modality and the expressive emotional meaning, and between modality and negation. Attempts to extend the boundaries of the category of modality have led to the situation where the opposites on the negative-affirmative scale and different emotional-expressive shades of meaning have been included in the category of modality.

Traditionally, two types of modal meanings are singled out. Each sentence has an objective modal meaning, which expresses the rela-

tionship between the message and reality (possibility, probability). Subjective modality expresses the speaker's attitude to the utterance with regard to its truthfulness; it is not characteristic of each sentence. Objective and subjective modality are two aspects of modality that complement each other and are intertwined. There are different linguistic means to express subjective modality — intonation, a specific syntactic pattern, word order, word repetition, a modal word, etc. Subjective modality is expressed by modal verbs and modal adverbs. Different types of modal verbs are usually established on the basis of conceptual categories. They express obligation, moral obligation, possibility, probability, and conviction. The multiplicity of modal meanings can be explained by the fact that the 'part' (referent) of reality reflected in our consciousness does not appear as a material but an ideal, abstract object. In the case of subjective-modal relations such ideal objects are meanings of modal verbs, which give the sentence the meaning of conviction/non-conviction.

The semantic-syntactic peculiarity of a sentence with a modal verb is that the verbs carrying the main syntactic-semantic load are subordinated to modal verbs. Modal verbs control the basic verb and do not denote an action; they do not affect the process or the state but its potentiality. The subordinated verb takes the form of the infinitive. The relations between the modal and the basic verb are characterized by double government: the verb expressing a potential action controls the verb expressing an actual action which in its turn subordinates the object. Consequently, the predicate contains two verbs that are not equal syntactically because they cannot change their places (Мартынов 1982: 25 ff.).

In Estonian syntax there has been a tradition to regard the following verbs as modal verbs: *võima* 'can; may', *tohtima* 'may, be allowed', *tarvis olema* 'need', *vaja olema* 'need', *pidama* 'must; have to' (Valgma, Remmel 1968: 114). Huno Rätsep established the syntactic-morphological criteria for distinguishing modal verbs: 1) modal verbs do not select the subject; 2) one cannot form agent nouns from them; 3) they cannot be placed after the infinitive or a verb that requires an infinitive. The verbs with such characteristics include *võima* 'can; may', *pidama* 'must; have to', *näima* 'seem', *paistma* 'seem; look', *tunduma* 'seem; feel'. These five verbs require only the form of the verb that carries the actual meaning and appear in the sentence pattern caused by the verb. According to Rätsep, the verb *tuleb* 'must; has to', which is used in one person, is not a modal verb because it presumes the sentence pattern N+da, which prohibits the presence of the subject and always requires an animate subject of the action (Rät-

sep 1978: 36 ff.). In Estonian modal verbs are verbs with the meaning of epistemic or deontic inevitability (EKG 185 ff.). Pille Penjam (2008: 32 ff.) studied Estonian modal verbs in relation to constructions of the *ma-* and *da-*infinitives. She studied the first infinitive as part of the compound predicate and analysed the verbs *võima* 'may; can', *saama* 'can; be able to', *tohtima* 'may, be allowed to' (Penjam 2008: 124 ff.). In Estonian the verbs *võima* 'may; can', *pidama* 'must; have to', *andma* 'give', *kippuma* 'tend to', and rarely *saama* 'can; be able to' express epistemic possibility and probability (Uuspõld 1989: 472 ff.).

In Finnish treatments of syntax one can see two types of modal verbs. Paavo Siro and Aarni Penttilä use a syntactic definition of modal verbs. These researchers regard as modal those verbs the infinitive object of which shares its subject with the verb of the main sentence (Penttilä 2002: 620; Siro 1964: 89 ff.; Siro 1984: 130). According to Siro, modal verbs include the so-called verbs of temporal dimension *ehtii*, *ennättää*, *kerkiää*, *joutaa* 'be able to'; verbs of daring *kehtaa*, *ilkeää*, *julkeaa*, *tohtii*, and verbs of emotion *hennoo*, *raskii* 'bear a grudge', etc. (Siro 1984: 131).

Thus, modal verbs constitute a group of verbs that require a broad extension of the secondary verb. Siro also identifies modal verbs by their content — modal verbs show the attitude of the subject referent to the matter spoken about, which means that between the subject and the predicate of the 'ordinary sentence' there is a verb expressing possibility, fear, beginning, etc. The former predicate verb takes the role of the infinitive object of the new sentence (Siro 1964: 90 ff.).

Other Finnish researchers treat the category of modal verbs from a narrower perspective. Their treatment proceeds from modal logic (Enkvist 1975) and relies on the semantic qualities of the verb.

In Finnish the verbs *mahtaa*, *saattaa*, *taitaa*, *voida* have an epistemic modal meaning (Matihaldi 1979: 105 ff.). In Votic the fully paradigmatic verbs *sāvva*, *veđ'd'a* and the defective verb *piäB* 'must; have to', which is used in one person, are used in the meaning that something is possible and probable from the perspective of the speaker. For example, the verbs *veđ'd'a* 'may', *sāvva* 'can' have two modal meanings in Votic. They express epistemic possibility.

Also, these modal verbs may express deontic permissibility: *ühz rihi veib glla annettu rentil̄ J* 'a house could have been let' in the meaning 'it is possible that a house could have been let'; *kaneit sēmeneit sāp süvvä J* 'these seeds are edible' in the meaning 'it is possible to eat these seeds'.

Sometimes dynamic modality (ISK 1479) and evidential modality (ISK 1425) are treated as the third type of modality.

Epistemic modal verbs have a meaning that shows explicitly the speaker's subjective opinion about the truthfulness, probability, possibility or untruthfulness of the proposition, especially the fact whether the speaker knows or thinks it to be true or not, considers it a plausible or an improbable fact (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 263).

4.1.1. Verbs expressing epistemic modality

4.1.1.1. N+nom MV V+da, N+nom=S_{mod} and S_{gr}

em veī elā J 'I can (may) not live', *no tšen veīp pittā pulmāta, se piāb* M 'well, those who can marry, will marry', *pāiv veīb lēp tšūlm* J 'the day may be cold', *lahz veīp heittüā* J 'the child may be frightened'. In the meaning of possibility the verbs *ved'd'a* and *sāvva* are used in the expressions with a grammatical subject with the sentence pattern, where the secondary verb expresses an action, process, or a state.

While the meaning of deontic permissibility prevails in *ved'd'a*, the modal verb *sāvva* is more often used epistemically. *sāvva* appears together with an animate referent: N+nom MV V+da *tē pällä et sāg nītā ęssāG* Itš 'you cannot buy them on the way', *miā ōkazin, nūt sām mennā* J 'I had some rest; now I can go', *miā en sā magata* Luu 'I cannot sleep'. Generic use is also common. In such cases the secondary verb denotes actions: *kase sēmene ittāB, sāp tšūlvā* M 'these seeds are germinating, one may sow them', *ķēik sevat sāb ahassā* Lii 'all clothes may be taken in'.

In Estonian the verb *pidama* 'must; have to' in the meaning of epistemic possibility occurs in the past and conditional forms (Uuspõld 1989: 473). In Votic the verb *piāb* 'must' is rarely used to express epistemic probability. In this case the subject expresses an inanimate referent, and it also functions as the grammatical subject (where *piāb* expresses deontic obligation, the modal subject is always in the genitive or in the adessive): *tormi piāp tulla* J 'a storm must come (it looks like a storm is coming)', *se piāb ni ęlla* J 'it must be so'. When *piāb* expresses deontic necessity, the modality subject is always in the genitive or the adessive (see 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.4).

4.1.1.2. MV V+da

The same modal verbs may also occur in generic sentences without a subject: *meijē mettsāz veīb vasaat karrua* J 'in our forest one may encounter a bear', *siel veīb upposā* J 'one can drown there', *veīb alkā kaivoa māmunā* J 'one may/can start picking potatoes'.

4.1.2. Verbs expressing deontic modality

The verbs carrying deontic modality express obligation, permissibility, and necessity. The scale of deontic modality is the modality of permission and obligation (from the possibility to avoidance). Possibility or obligation concerns human actions (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 263).

In the Votic language deontic obligation is expressed by means of the defective verb *piäb* in one person (the sentence pattern N+gen or N+ad MV V+da), permissibility by the verbs *tehtia* 'may, be allowed to' (N+nom MV V+da), *soviB* 'be fit, suit' (MV V+da), *sünnüB* 'is fit, is appropriate' (N+da MV V+da), *keļpāB* 'is fit', (N+ad MV V+da), *sāvva* 'can' (N+nom MV V+da), *veđ'da* 'can, may, be allowed to' (N+nom MV V+da), necessity by the verbs *tarviz* 'need' (N+ad MV V+da), *eB (h)ōli* 'is not needed, need not' (N+ad MV V+da), *kehtāB* 'dares' (MV V+da), *eb norovoita* 'it does not pay' (MV V+da), *tarkkahUB* 'pay' (MV V+da), *mahzAB* 'be worth while, pay' (N+ad MV V+da), *tahteā* 'want' (N+nom MV V+da), *taht(a)UB* 'want; wish, feel like (doing)' (N+ad MV V+da), *hetkīssā* 'want' (N+nom MV V+da), *piäb* 'must' (N+ad MV V+da).

Most of the above-mentioned verbs in the modal meaning have a single-person use, and they follow the sentence pattern N+ad MV V+da (*piäb*, *soviB*, *sünnüB*, *keļpāB*, *on tarviz*, *ep (h)ōli*, *mahzAB*, *tahtauB*).

A modality subject is often missing.

4.1.2.1. MV V+da

soviB, *kehtāB*, *eb norovoita*, *tarkkahUB*, *piäB*: the modality subject, if present, is in the adessive.

More rarely the modality subject appears as the grammatical subject, N+nom VM V+da: *tehtia*, *sāvva*, *veđ'da*, *tahteā*, *hetkīssā*. Only in the case of *piäb* the modality subject may be in the genitive, N+gen MV V+da.

The subject of deontic modality is a purposefully acting person whose actions are guided by obligation, permission, prohibition, or a person who feels the necessity of his action or its absence.

4.1.2.2. (N+ad_{Exp}) MV V+da, N+ad=S_{mod}

piäb 'it is necessary' expresses deontic obligation. *tū piäb ģlla valmiz J* 'the work must be ready', *mil piäp tū ģlla tehtü valmiz J* 'I must complete the work'. In the same sentence the modality subject need not be explicitly expressed.

In negative sentences the modal verb *piäb* also expresses deontic permissibility: *mitä siä siäl ahņessad, ep piä ahņessā* Luu 'why are you grabbing; there is no need to grab'.

The previous usage is possible only in case the modal verb is not extended by the infinitive form of the verb expressing an actual action, that is, the predicate has a full meaning: *mil piäb oluť* Pum 'I need some beer'.

Similarly to all the modal verbs, this verb of deontic modality has a tendency to appear in generic statements: *piäp tšebjettā vikastē lüsi* M 'the scythe handle must be made lighter', *kanasilmäd on, piäb litšipā kattsoa* Luu 'sb is as blind as a hen (is short-sighted), sb must have a closer look', *taitšina piäp sętkoa* Luu 'one must knead the dough'.

sāvva and *veđ'da* often occur in the meaning of permissibility; *sāvva* is more common. Statements with an animate modality subject or generic use are frequent: *herra sai talopoigākā tehā, mitä tahto* Lem 'the gentleman could do anything he wished to the peasant', *täl ep sā peļettā* J 's/he must not smoke', *mehil ep sā itķea* J 'men must not cry', *täl eb vęi mennā, täl eb ē propuskā* J 's/he must not go; s/he has no permission', *vęipko teile tulla?* J 'may I visit your place?'.

The verb *kelpāb* is often used in the meaning of suitability: *milla kelpāp se t'süttö naizęssi ottā* Kuk 'the girl is suitable to be my wife', *kelpāb milla se t'sü itseľ tehā* Kuk 'this job is appropriate for me to do myself', *leipā ep kelpāg antāg i gunā ep kelpāg antāg* Itš 'it is inappropriate to give some bread, and it is inappropriate to give some potatoes'.

sünnüb and *sovib* are less productive when used modally: *kannē sovib ellā* Luu 'this is how one should live' *täl sīn eb sünnü glla* Pont 'it is inappropriate for him/her to be here'.

Among verbs of necessity *on tarviz* and *piäb* 'need' are highly common: *mil on tarviz ęssā uvvet sāppād* J 'I need to buy new boots', *tarviz on lukkā pal'lo* Luu 'one needs to read a lot', *oikea jalka on tarviz ēnstā keņgettā* Kuk 'at first one needs to shoe the right leg' — both the generic use and the use with a modality subject occur N+ad.

piäb has the same meaning when used in the adessive together with a modality subject: *lahsil piäp külletac išsā i emmā* Itš 'children need to obey their mother and father', *mil piäb ležžiā tilaz* Luu 'I need to lie in bed', etc.

hōlia 'need': *sil ep hōli petellä* J 'you need not lie', *ep hōli milla mahsā hänessā* Kuk 'I need not pay for it', *hōlipko sinne mennā?* Lii 'does one need to go there / is it worth going there?', *ep hōli vanępilla ävetä* M 'the parents need not be ashamed', *üvä on, eb ōli škoulū mennā* Luu 'it's good; one needs not to go to school'.

The lexeme with the same meaning *tahtūssa* ~ *tahtoutua* ~ *tahtūssaG* occurs only in one person, and the modality subject is in the adessive: *mīl ep tahtuiz mennä kottō* Kuk 'I wouldn't like to go home / I don't feel like going home', *süvvä tahtūp tāz* Kuk 'sb has an appetite again (sb wants to eat)', *a vet' i levätä tahtauB* J 'but one wants to have some rest, too'. The same pattern applies to the expression verb *tēb mēli* 'have a wish': *mīl ep tē mēli mennä kottō* Kuk 'I don't feel like going home'.

4.1.2.3. MV V+da

The following verbs have a somewhat different shade of meaning (assessment): *kehtāB*, *naravoitāB*, *tarkkahub*, and *mahzāB* 'be worthwhile, pay'. *mahzāB-li mennä mettsā?* J 'is it worthwhile to go to the forest?', *neillä sēmenillä eb mahzā pilata mātā* M 'it's not worthwhile to ruin the land with these seeds', *eb mahzā kasta tūt tehä* J 'it does not pay to do this job / one should not do this job', *kehtāpko tāmākā pajattā* Luu 'is it worthwhile to talk to him/her?', *eb naravoita mettsā mennä* Kat 'one shouldn't go to the forest', *tarkkahub mennä sinne vai ep tarkkahu* J 'is it worthwhile to go there or not?'

4.1.2.4. N+nom MV V+da, N+nom=S_{mod} and S_{gr}

The verbs of wanting presume that there is an animate subject referent in the nominative, the most common verb being *tahtēa*: *miä tahēn neisa läsimā* J 'I must be falling ill', *miä tätä tahon niskā panna* J 'I want to slap him/her', *karjušši tahtē jumalā lüvvä* M 'the shepherd wanted to hit the god'.

The verb *hetkissä* 'want' is less common: *en hetkī mittäit tehä* Luu 'I don't want to do anything', etc.

4.1.2.5. N+gen MV V+da, N+gen-S_{mod}

This pattern is used only with the verb *piāB*: *tütökkeizē piāB mennä* Ra 'the little girl has to go'.

Most modal verbs have still another meaning in addition to the modal meaning, and in that case they form the predicate with an independent meaning (usually state), and they have their own sentence pattern and the subject.

Modal verbs may be morphological predicates in situations that express state, process, or an action.

4.2. PHASAL VERBS AS THE FORMAL PREDICATE

Phasal verbs themselves do not express any action, process, or state, but they combine with verbs that express beginning, duration, or end. Phasal expressions include a phasal verb, which has joined the predicate actant — the name of the situation. It is characteristic of phasal expressions that verbs with the main semantic-syntactic load are controlled by verbs that do not denote any situation but only show its potentiality (Мартынов 1982: 24) The predicate actant, which names the situation, occurs mostly in the form of the infinitive and is post-posed after the phasal verb (Рачков 1983: 168).

Phasal verbs are divided into two groups — universal and non-universal. The former are characterized by a single phasal; the latter have a basic meaning and are used in the phasal meaning only in certain situations.

4.2.1. Verbs of beginning as the formal predicate

4.2.1.1 (N+nom_{Sgr}) PV V+da

The predicate actant is in the form of the first infinitive. The most common verb denoting the beginning of a situation is *alkā* 'begin'. The grammatical subject could be either an animate or an inanimate referent. The verb can be used without a subject, too; for example, verbs denoting meteorological processes or physical and psychic states of human beings, entering into them and their beginning.

The predicate actant expresses a state: *kase sūtši minnuu algab inottā* Luu 'I don't feel like eating this food', *minnuu algab aikot-tässē* Lii 'I feel like yawning already', *kasta algab jo pōrüttā* M 's/he's already getting drunk'. The phasal verbs, having the predicate actant denoting an onomatopoeic or some other state of the surrounding environment, are associated with inanimate subject referents: *tšerikko tšelläd alkāvad elissä* Pum 'the church bells begin to ring', *sireni algap kukitsēga* Pum 'the lilac begins to bloom'.

The predicate actant expresses a process, and it can denote animate and inanimate referents: *epen ku algab väsiä, jutellā: algap tünissüä* Luu 'a horse when it begins to get tired, it is said that it begins to ...', *sütšüzüssä rannad algavad jättüä* Luu 'in autumn beaches begin to freeze', *algab lissäüssä painua* Luu 'one begins to gain weight'. A phasal verb can be added also to a subjectless statement: *nüid algap jo valkenessa* J 'now it's getting light already', *algap pimetä* J 'it's beginning to get dark'.

The phasal verb can also occur in a statement without a subject.

The predicate actant expresses an action. In that case the subject denotes an animate referent: *herrä taka tuli, alki starikkā kepillä seltšä mü lüvvä* Luu 'the gentleman came from behind, began to beat the old man on the back with a stick', *konnad alki krōkkia* Luu 'the frogs started to croak'.

alkā 'begin' is the most common phasal verb with the meaning of beginning in Votic. It occurs in all kinds of phasal expressions without setting any restrictions to the participants in the situation.

vetta 'take, here: begin'. The phasal use of this verb is restricted to actively and consciously acting subject referents in the sentence pattern N+nom_{Ag} PV V+da: *tämä on voimakaz, tämmākā elä veta veitella, ühskgik tam siñnū veitab* M 'he is strong, don't start a fight with him; he will defeat you anyway', *miä tappā vetan, va en tā, kummā tapan* Luu 'I will kill him, but I don't know which of them I will kill'. More rarely the predicate actant is in the *ma*-infinitive: *mēz vetti tütök-käizelt pā ettsimā* J 'the man began to look for the head of the little girl'. The action of the subject may be considered conscious and controllable also in case the secondary verb is a process verb: *miä ävitin sgrmuhsē, tšen veta leütā* Pum 'I lost a ring, someone might find it'.

4.2.1.2. N+nom PV V+ma

neissa 'begin' is also a highly common verb with the meaning of beginning. The predicate actant expresses a state: *tšen neiz läsima* M 'the person who fell ill (= began to be ill)', *a kui tuli tšättē, siz neisti uskomā* Luu 'but when it came, then one started to believe', *perä neisti tātāmā ku l a r i dādā tuēB* Luu 'afterwards one already knew (one started to know) when uncle Lari would come'.

The predicate actant expresses a process: *jo neizēb valkeņemā* J 'it's getting light already', *lēb i valkā, kēz neizēp kazvamā* Luu 'and lightness will come if it starts to grow', *terv keik̄ neiš tšihumā* Lii 'all the tar started to boil'.

The predicate actant expresses an action: *kui miä neizen näitä kazvattamā* 'how am I going to bring them up', *kui miä neizen nešettamā* 'how am I going to support them', *kui miä näitä neizen sätamā* J 'how am I going to accompany them', *švēta nēp setimā* Luu 'the Swede starts the war'.

lādiussa ~ *lādia* 'start, set out/off, be about to'. The verb is mostly used with action predicates: *mō lātizimma pütāmā* J 'we set out to try', *miä lādin menemā* J 'I'm about to go', *mū lādiukka marjāsē* J 'we are setting off to pick some berries'. It is more rarely connected with a state predicate: *lādiun sinūkā üvässi elāmā* Luu 'I'll have a

good life with you', *näväd ęlti rījoz, nüd lādiustī sopimā* Luu 'they had fallen out with each other, but now they started to get along', *vihma lādiup satamā* J 'it's going to rain'.

ruvęta 'begin' is a borrowing from the Izhorian language, and it is characteristic of very few users of the language: *karjušši rupezi pörüttämā* J 'the shepherd began to drive around'.

ültüä 'start' is a relatively unproductive verb of beginning: *lahz ültü peļlamā* M 'the child started to frolic', *tül ültü puhumā* Lii 'the wind started to blow'.

The predicate actant rarely has the form of the *ma*-infinitive. It could well be that one can witness the influence of some other verbs of beginning: *nelläteišimatta vōtta algamma tōle tšäumā, alkai väit-tämā p e t t e r i* Kōr 'at the age of fourteen we went to work, I started to transport wood to Petrograd', *tuhatta kaheša satā esimeizel vuvveļ miä algan eppemā v e l i k k a tšülā škouluz* Jä 'in 1801 I started to attend the Velikino village school'.

The following verbs have another basic meaning. However their phasal use is rather common, and they occur in predicate actants of very different content without forming a phraseological unit.

lähteä 'go, here : start'. Usually the predicate actants denote an action: *tämä lähs kottō tulęmā* J 's/he started to come home', *siz lähetti tulęmā takaz* Luu 'then they started to come back'.

This verb in the meaning of beginning occurs also in some meteorological statements with the sentence pattern (N + part) PV V + *ma*: *lahz vihmä satamā* Luu 'it started to rain', *läheb jürizemā* J 'there will be thunder'.

This verb may also denote the beginning of some process: *rihi lähs peļęmā* J 'the house caught fire', *rōppa lähs tšihumā* Lii 'the porridge started to boil'.

Some other verbs can be used in the meaning of phasal beginning, but usually they form a phraseological unit together with the predicate actant. In such units the imitative verb often denotes beginning, and the predicate actant takes the form of the *ma*-infinitive: *tämä paissu itkęmā* M 's/he burst into tears', *jo krīvisęb ūlit — paraiko laukeb itkęmā* J 'sb is already twisting his/her lips, sb is about to burst into tears'. This kind of use of an imitative verb is also typical of the Estonian language (EKG 20).

4.2.2. Formal predicate expressing duration of a situation

Such predicate verbs are uncommon because they express meanings that are not typical of a phasal verb. The verb *jāvvä* 'stay'

requires the form of the *ma*-infinitive of the predicate actant, N+nom PV V+ma: *mennäs tšerikkō venttsā, a ženihā suku jäivät süömā i jōmā i tanttsimā* M 'sb went to a church wedding, but the bridegroom's family had stayed there to eat and drink and dance', *mū jāimmā kottō ottamā* Luu 'I will stay at home and wait', *lahzēd jātī kottō pellāmā* J 'the children were left behind playing at home'.

In the case of state predicates a verb is used only in those cases where the predicate expresses a state of the subject referent, for example, *igruškad jāvād ain hulkkumā* 'the toys always remain lying about', *mū menimmā vällā, a suppi jāi tšihumā* 'we left but the soup was left boiling' *tuli jāi ģhkumā* Lem 'the fire was left smouldering', *i kuza vīmeizeš jāi ģhkumā, sinneppolē meni meheliš* Lem 'and the girl got married in the direction where the fire had been left smouldering'.

4.2.3. Formal predicate expressing end of a situation

4.2.3.1. N+nom PV V+ma+elat

hülgetā ~ hülgātā 'stop, cease': *siz lahs ko neiz itkēmā, siz uxfatkoikā kolistī, siz lahs hülkēz itkēmaš* P 'when the child burst out crying, pothooks were rattled; the child then stopped crying', *vihma hülki sāttamassa* M 'the rain stopped', *tūli hülki puhumassa* M 'the wind stopped', *hülkē siā pellāmaš!* J 'stop romping about!'

heittä 'stop, discontinue': *lahs heitti idgēmassa* J 'the child stopped crying', *vihm heitti satamassa* J 'the rain stopped', *rōppa heitti tšihumassa* J 'the porridge stopped boiling'.

If the situation expresses an action, and the predicate occurs together with the subject referent with volition, then the action is terminated by the will of the subject referent. The verb *lepēttā* 'end' is used in such statements: *poig lepētti jo eppēmizē* J 'the son has already stopped studying'. Here one is dealing not with a phasal verb but with an independent action verb with a full meaning, which occurs in combination with a verbal noun or a noun. The lexical verb is a verbal noun.

4.3. FORMAL PREDICATE AS A VERB WITH THE SAME MEANING AS PREDICATE ACTANT

It is a small group of verbs characterizing human actions where the main verb, while being the actant in the form of the first infinitive in the construction, expresses a human emotion, such as laughter or tears, or an action, for example, motion, speaking, eating.

The verb, which is the formal predicate, adds an emotional shade of meaning to the main verb. It stresses the intensity of the action

expressed by the verb or decreases it. The verb is the formal predicate; it may also be some other word with the same meaning without any shade of meaning or an imitative word

4.3.1. N+nom_{Ag} IV V+da, N+nom=S_{gr}, V+da = activity verb

ni lolotti pajattā, joī vatsad nagriṁ J 'talked such nonsense that we split our sides laughing', *kuis siä v̄imite v̄azūd? ain lapertēt pajattā* J 'when you get tired, will you be babbling all the time?'; movement: *nät klipsib mennä tšen sakkāssi tallāB* Lem 'look how she is walking with short quick steps', *sille ain bē aikā, lennād mennä* M 'you won't have any time, fly away', *nuorikko rutab mennä iez* Po 'the bride hurries ahead', *nā ku vana mēs kopsutep tanttsia* M 'look how the old man is jumping and dancing'; some other actions: *möllāp tūtā tehä* Ra 'sb is working hard'; eating: *taitā sil on nältš, ku nī žadnoissi glodvit süvve* 'you must be hungry if you devour your food like that?', *grizib süvvä leipä* M 'sb is chewing the bread (food)', *h'ebaitep süvve rokkā* J 'sb is gobbling up the soup', *miä klipin süvvä* J 'I'm nibbling at the food', *nät ku lēhkēp süvvä* Lii 'look how s/he is tucking in', etc.

4.3.2. N+nom_{Exp} IV+da, N+nom=S_{gr}, V+da = the verb denotes a psychic process

mitä siä ahatađ nagrā? Pum 'what makes you guffaw?', *tämä hai-lahtēb nagrā* J 's/he is guffawing', *hīrnub nagrā* M 'sb is laughing like a horse', *hīhittēp starikkojē vittā nagrā* J 'sb giggles like an old man', *miä muhuisin nagrā* M 'I smirked'; *lahs irizeb itkā* J 'the child is whining', *lahs ratkēb itkēa* M 'the child is crying uncontrollably'.

More rarely such a predicate consisting of two verbs is used with an inanimate subject referent, N+nom_{Pat} IV V+da, N+nom=S_{gr} V+da = process: *oi ku kēvvi ropotap tšihhua* M 'oh how intensively it's boiling', *metts lēkotep peļea* J 'the forest is ablaze', *murray tulla mussa pilvi* M 'a black cloud is approaching'.

The formal predicate is often an imitative verb.

In Estonian chain verbs that describe the type of the action form colorative constructions, which consist of an imitative verb and the first infinitive of the base verb (EKG 20); sentence pattern is IV V+da. In Finnish the *a*-infinitive in the base form, which neutrally depicts the same action, is placed before the colorative main verb (ISK 443, 491; Rytkönen 1937); the pattern being V+da: e.g. *miehet nauraa remehtivät...* 'the men laughed out loud' Thus, in Finnish the order of the components is V+da IV.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT IN THE NOMINATIVE

5.1.1. Patient as subject

1. **N+nom_{Pat} V**: 1.1.6 (the predicate expresses a physiological state, which is directed at some anatomical region of the human being); 1.3.1.2.1, 1.3.2.2 (the predicate expresses assessment); 1.4.1 (the predicate expresses a human state related to someone's senses); 1.9 (the predicate expresses a state of an inanimate subject); 2.1.2 (the predicate expresses a physical process happening to a human being, predication is directed at an anatomical region); 2.3.1, 2.3.2.3, 2.3.3.2 (the predicate expresses a process where the subject's force is applied, but it is not in the genitive); 2.4.1 (the predicate expresses a chemical or a physical process in the environment); 2.5 (the predicate expresses a process that takes place in nature); 2.6.2 (the predicate expresses a meteorological process that takes place in nature); 2.7.1.1, 2.7.1.2, 2.7.2.1 (the predicate expresses the emergence or disappearance of some new state).

Patient is an animate (human) subject referent (2.3.1, 2.3.2.3, 2.3.3.2); an inanimate subject referent (mostly a natural object) (1.9.3.2, 2.4.1, 2.5.1, 2.6.2, 2.7.2.1); the subject referent denotes an anatomical region of a human being (1.1.6, 2.1.2); the subject referent may be either animate or inanimate (1.3.2.4, 1.4.1, 2.7.1.1, 2.7.1.2).

2. **N+ad_{Exp} V, N+nom_{Pat}**: 1.3.1.1.2 (assessment state of an animate subject referent in relation to the surrounding reality); 2.7.2.1 (process as the beginning of the state and entering the state). The grammatical subject is not a semantic subject. The semantic subject is Experiencer in the form of the adessive. Patient may be either an animate or an inanimate referent.

3. **N+nom_{Pat} cop Adj, N+nom_{Pat} cop V+nud, N+nom_{Pat} cop Adv**: 1.6 (state as possession of a quality). Patient is an animate or an inanimate referent.

4. **N+nom_{Pat} N+ad/all_{Exp} cop Adj**: 1.3.1.1.3, 1.3.1.1.4. (assessment state of an animate subject referent).

5. 1.6 (assessment state). Patient ±animate.

6. **N +nom_{Pat} V Adj+transl, N+nom_{Pat} V Adv, N+nom_{Pat} V N+transl**: 2.7.3.1 (the predicate expresses transfer into some new state).

If the subject is Patient, the predicate is a finite form of the verb (1, 2); the copula together with an adjective (3, 4); the copula together with a participle (3); the copula with a noun (5); a finite verb together with a noun or with the translative form of an adjective, or with an adverb (6).

5.1.2. Causer as subject

1. **N+nom_{Caus} V**: 3.2.1 (involuntary action).
2. **N+nom_{Caus} N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3}**: 1.1.2 (the animate subject denotes a psychic state); 1.2.2 (psychic state of a human Causer). In both cases Causer is an optional part of the sentence; it can be an animate or an inanimate referent. The verb is in the 3rd person singular. Predication is directed at the nucleus.
3. **N+nom_{Caus} V N+part_{Pat}**: 2.3.2.1 (a process where an involuntary action of a human being causes something; Causer and Patient together form the nucleus); 2.3.2.2 (a process where the situation caused by a human being is directed at some other referent than himself/herself). In the former case Causer is animate; in the latter case ±an animate referent.

5.1.3. Nucleus as subject

1. **N+nom_{Exp} V**: 1.1.5 (an animate subject denotes a physical state); 2.1.1 (a physical process directed at an animate subject referent); 2.2.1 (a psychic process is directed at a human subject referent).
2. **N+nom_{Exp} IV+da**: 4.3.2 (a psychic process with an imitative verb as the formal predicate).

5.1.4. Existence as subject

1. **N+nom_{Ex} cop N+nom, N+nom_{Exp} cop N+ess**: 1.7 (state as a function, Existence ±animate).
2. **N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+nom_{Ex}**: 1.5.1 (state of possession).
3. **V N+nom_{Ex}**: 1.8 (state as Existence). Existence ±animate.

The predicate is a noun in the nominative or the essive case with the copula of *glla* 'be' — verb or some other finite verb with the existential meaning. Existence can occur as the subject only in a state sentence.

5.1.5. Agent as subject

1. **N+nom_{Ag} V**: 3.1 (action, predicates with an animate subject referent).
2. **N+nom_{Ag} IV V+da**: 4.3.1. Agent occurs only with an action predicate.

5.1.6. Instrument as subject

1. **N+nom_{Instr} V**: 3.2.2 (an action sentence where the subject serves as a means of performing the action). Instrument as an inanimate subject referent.

5.1.7. Beneficiary as subject

1. **N+nom_{Ben} V**: 2.3.3.1 (a process that is not connected with volition of an animate subject referent).

In the Votic language such a predicate can be expressed only with a single verb: *sāvva* 'get'.

5.2. GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT IN THE PARTITIVE

5.2.1. Patient as subject

1. **N+part_{pat} V**: 1.4.1 (a state connected with the senses of a human being where an animate or an inanimate referent is in the state); 2.5 (the process predicate expresses process that takes place in nature); 2.7.1.2 (the predicate expresses a process the content of which is emergence or disappearance of a new state).

2. **V N+part_{pat}**: 1.3.2.1 (the predicate expresses an assessment state); 1.9.3.3, 2.6.3 (the predicate expresses a meteorological process).

In the former case the subject referent is mostly inanimate, but it may also be animate; in the latter case it is always inanimate (a natural object).

5.2.2. Existence as subject

1. **N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+part_{Ex}**: 1.5.2 (state of possession).

2. **V N+part_{Ex}**: 1.8 (state as Existence).

In the first pattern Beneficiary is the semantic subject. In both cases the grammatical subject may be either an animate or an inanimate referent.

5.2.3. Nucleus as subject

1. **N+part_{Exp} V**: 2.1.1 (a physical process that is related to a human being).

5.2.4. Agent as subject

1. **N+part_{Ag} V**: 3.1.2 (action predicates: some verbs of motion).

The partitive subject is mostly connected with state and process predicates. The main roles of the partitive are Patient and Existence, that is, the least individualized roles.

5.3. GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT IN THE FIRST INFINITIVE

5.3.1. Causer as the subject

1. **N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj V+da_{Caus}**: 1.2.3 (psychic state of a living being), the predicate is the copula with an adjective, the first infinitive may be any verb describing a human action.
2. **V+da_{Caus} cop Adj**: 1.3.1.1.4, 1.3.1.2.2 (emotional assessment state).

5.3.2. Existence as subject

1. **V V+da_{Ex}**: 1.8.1.4 (state of Existence). The predicate is a verb of existence.

5.4. SUBORDINATE CLAUSE AS THE GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT

5.4.1. Patient as subject

1. **Adj SC_{Pat}**: 1.3.1.2.4, 1.4.2 (a state connected with state; predication is directed at a surrounding action).

5.5. GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT IS ABSENT

5.5.1. Semantic subject is absent

1. **V_{sg3}**: 1.1.3 (the predicate expresses a physical state of a human being), 1.1.3, 1.4.3 (states denoting actions connected with human perception); 2.6.1 (meteorological processes); 1.9.3.1 (a meteorological state); 3.3.1 (a personified action where the acting subject is unknown or its mentioning is undesirable).
2. **V N+transl**: 2.7.3.1 (expresses a process that takes place in nature).
3. **N+nom=P, V Adj=P, V Adv=P**: 1.8.3 (the predicate expresses an ambient state).
4. **V_{fin}**: 3.1 (the predicate is an action verb that is impersonal or in the imperative), 3.3.3 (the predicate is in the 2nd or 3rd person plural and is used as a general person).
5. **V N+com_{Instr}**: 3.3.2 (action sentence).
6. **(N+ad_{Exp}) MV V+da**: 4.1.2.2 (the formal modal verb predicate is used generically).
7. **V SC_{Caus}**: 1.3.1.2.4 (assessment state).

5.5.2. Experiencer as semantic subject

1. **N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3}, N+part=0**: 1.1.2 (the predicate expresses a physical state of a living being); 1.1.3 (the predicate expresses a human physical state); 2.1.1 (the predicate expresses a human physical process).
2. **N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj, N+ad=S_{sem}**: 1.1.7 (the predicate expresses a human physical state); 1.2.3 (the predicate expresses a human psychic state).

In both cases an animate referent acts as the semantic subject.

3. **N+ad_{Exp} cop N+nom**: 1.1.7 (the predicate expresses a human physical state); 1.2.4 (the predicate expresses a human psychic state).
4. **N+ad_{Exp} V_{sg3}**: 2.2.2 (the predicate expresses a process connected with human senses); 1.3.1.1.1 (the predicate expresses an assessment state).
5. **N+ad_{Exp} V N +nom**: 1.10.1 (the predicate expresses the beginning of a state).
6. **N+ad_{Exp} V Adj**: 1.10.2 (the predicate expresses the beginning of a state).

5.5.3. Patient as semantic subject

1. **N+part_{Pat} V_{sg3}, N+part=0, 0=S_{sem}**: 1.1.1 (the predicate expresses a physical state of an animate entity), 2.1.2 (the predicate expresses a human physical process).
2. **N+ngp_{Pat} V_{sg3}**: 2.1.3 (the predicate expresses a physical process).
3. **V_{sg3}**: 2.4.2 (the predicate expresses a chemical or a physical process that takes place in the surrounding environment).
4. **V N+np_{Pat}**: 2.6.3 (the predicate expresses a meteorological process).
5. **V N+ngp**: 2.6.4 (the predicate expresses a meteorological process).

The semantic subject at which the predication is directed is an anatomical region of a human being (1.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3) or an object (2.4.2, 2.6.3) of the surrounding natural environment.

5.5.4. Causer as semantic subject

1. **Loc V N+all_{Caus} or (Loc) V N+ com_{Caus}**: 1.4.3 (the predicate expresses human perception).
2. **V N+nom_{Caus}**: 3.3.2 (the predicate expresses an action).

5.6. TYPES OF PREDICATES

1. **V**: The finite form V is the most common form of the predicate. In addition, the following constructions occur as predicates:
2. **V_{sg3}**: 1.2.2. (N+nom_{CAUS}) N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3} (human psychic state); 1.2.3 (human psychic state); 1.3.1.1.1. N+ad_{Exp} V_{sg3} (emotional assess-

- ment state); 1.2.5. Loc V_{sg3} (human psychic state); 1.5.1. $N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+nom_{Exp}$; 1.5.2. $N+ad_{Ben} V_{sg3} N+part_{Exp}$ (possessive state); 1.9.3.1. V_{sg3} ; 1.9.3.2. $N+nom_{Pat} V_{sg3}$; 1.9.3.3. $V_{sg3} N+part_{Pat}$ (meteorological state); 2.1.3. $N+ngp_{Pat} V_{sg3}$ (physical process); 2.2.2. ($N+ad_{Exp} V_{sg3}$ ($N+nom_{Pat}$) or ($V+da_{Pat}$) or (SC) $_{Pat}$ (psychic process); 2.4.2. V_{sg3} (chemical or a physical process); 2.6.1. V_{sg3} (meteorological process); 3.3.1. V_{sg3} (personified actions);
- 3. V_{sg2}, V_{pl3} :** 3.3.3 (predicate verb used generically);
- 4. cop Adj:** 1.1.7. $N+ad_{Exp}$ cop Adj (human physical state); 1.2.3. $N+ad_{Exp}$ cop Adj $V+da_{Caus}$ (psychic state); 1.3.1.1.3. $N+nom_{Pat} N+ad/all_{Exp}$ cop Adj; 1.3.1.1.4. Adj cop $N+ad_{Exp}$ (emotional assessment state); 1.6.1. $N+nom_{Pat}$ cop Adj (state as possession of quality); 1.8.3. cop Adj (ambient state);
- 5. cop N+nom:** 1.2.4. $N+ad_{Exp}$ cop $N+nom$ (human psychic state); 1.7.1. $N+nom_{Ex}$ cop $N+nom$ (function state); 1.8.3. cop $N+nom$ (ambient state);
- 6. cop Adv:** 1.6.3. $N+nom_{Pat}$ cop Adv (state as possession of quality); 1.8.3. cop Adv (ambient state);
- 7. $N+nom_{Ex}$ cop N+ess:** 1.7.1 (function state);
- 8. V N+transl:** 2.7.3.1. $N+nom_{Pat} V N+transl$ (processes aimed at reaching the state);
- 9. V Adj+transl, ($N+nom_{Pat}$) V Adj+transl:** 2.7.3.1 (processes aimed at reaching the state);
- 10. V Adv:** 2.7.3.1 ($N+nom_{Pat}$) $V Adv$ (processes aimed at reaching the state);
- 11. cop N_2+np :** 1.3.1.2.3. N_1+nom_{Pat} cop N_2+np , $N_1+nom=S_{gr}$ cop (emotional assessment state);
- 12. Adj:** 1.3.1.2.4. Adj SC_{Caus} (emotional assessment state);
- 13. N:** 1.3.1.2.4. N SC_{Caus} (emotional assessment state);
- 14. MV V+da:** 4.1.11. $N+nom MV V+da$; 4.1.2.1. $MV V+da$; 4.1.2.2; 4.1.2.3 ($N+ad$) $MV V+da$ (verbs expressing modality);
- 15. PV V+da:** 4.2.1.1. ($N+nom_{Sgr}$) $PV V+da$ (formal predicate is a verb of beginning);
- 16. PV V+ma:** 4.2.1.2. $N+nom PV V+ma$ (formal predicate is a verb of beginning); 4.2.2. $N+nom PV V+ma$ (formal predicate expresses duration of situation);
- 17. PV V+ma+elat:** 4.2.3. $N+nom PV V+ma+elat$ (formal predicates express the end of the situation);
- 18. IV V+da:** 4.3.1. $N+nom_{Ag} IV V+da$ (the formal predicate is a verb with the same meaning as the predicate actant, infinitive is activity verb); 4.3.2. $N+nom_{Exp} IV+da$ (the formal predicate is a verb with the same meaning as the predicate actant, the verb denotes a physical process).

CHAPTER 2

FORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE PREDICATE IN VOTIC

1. FORM OF THE SUBJECT

1.1. NOMINATIVE OR PARTITIVE

The nominative is the main case of the subject. If the verb has a nominal subject, the latter is almost always in the nominative. This form occurs at the beginning of a sentence as the theme. The verbal predicate agrees with the nominative subject in person and number. This case conforms to most requirements set to the subject. Pentti Leino established five characteristic features of the subject: 1) the grammatical subject is semantically Agent; 2) its morphological form is the nominative; 3) as the theme, it occurs at the beginning of a sentence; 4) syntactically, it controls agreement with the predicate both in person and in number; 5) it is definite, and the essence of the referent is its existence. Leino claims that an ideal subject occurs very rarely. Different subjects reveal different degrees of typicality and do not possess all of the five features. Moreover, the subject of an existential sentence, which often occurs in the partitive case, does not meet any of the conditions. And yet it is regarded as a traditional subject since it does not fall entirely into any of the categories (Leino 1982: 7)

Only a few verbs can occur with a partitive subject. Since the 1950s, Finnish syntacticians have intensively dealt with the subject forms and their occurrence conditions. The use of the partitive as the subject, object, and predicate has been addressed in many studies that have covered all the Finnic languages (Hakanen 1978; Larsson 1983).

According to the traditional theory, the partitive subject is used to express an indefinite quantity. The subject referent must be divisible. The partitive subject may occur in an existential sentence also in case the referent is indivisible. This viewpoint is supported by Karelian (Leskinen 1936: 91; Ojajärvi 1950: 128; Palmeos 1962: 27; Leppik 1962: 171 ff.), Veps (Kettunen 1943: 45; Kettunen, Siro 1935: 35; Zaitseva 2001), Votic (Ahlqvist 1856: 28), Livonian (Sjögren, Wiedemann 1861: 234), Estonian (EKG 42 ff.) and Finnish (ISK 873).

In the opinion of Aulis Ojajärvi (1950: 24), the partitive as the case of the subject and the object is a rather recent phenomenon that has developed furthest in Finnish. It is customary to state that the partitive developed into the case of the subject and the predicative later (Ravila 1944: 123). This circumstance is often pointed out, but it is difficult to trace the path from the development of the subject expressing an indefinite quantity to the subject of an existential sentence (Larsson 1983: 141). There are various hypotheses about the evolution of the partitive into the case of the subject, the object, and the predicative. Some researchers support the theory that the partitive in this position is of local origin (Itkonen 1966: 307; Hakulinen 2000: 535, 562) and developed over time under various circumstances. Björn Collinder (1945: 139) claimed that the use of the partitive in Finnish could be explained by the universal tendency to express partitiveness, as is the case of the German *von* 'from where'. The view is supported by Eemil Nestor Setälä. In his opinion, partitive forms result from ellipsis: *näin lintuja, näin (joukon) lintuja* 'I saw some birds; I saw a group of birds' (Setälä 1883: 26). Some researchers maintain that this use of the partitive could be explained by the influence of the Baltic, Finnic, or the Mordvinian languages (Larsson 1983: 2, 5) or by the influence of Russian on each individual language (Kettunen 1943: 108).

In the 1920s Otto Jespersen suggested the term *existential sentence* (1924: 156). This term denoted a sentence where the subject may occur also in the partitive. Osmo Ikola (1954) initiated a long-term discussion about the occurrence conditions of the partitive subject. During the first decades of the polemics, it was taken for granted that the part of sentence under discussion was the subject. In recent years, however, syntacticians have come to an understanding that the given part of the sentence in the partitive might be something different. Leino (1982) had already earlier shown that the partitive subject of an existential sentence does not meet the conditions established for the subject.

Kalevi Wiik claimed that the existential sentence in Finnish does not have a subject at all, or the part of the sentence in question is

a complement. Wiik stressed the grammatical criteria and supposed that there could be a deep structure that contains abstract transition verbs (Wiik 1974: 25).

Also, the Estonian linguist Mati Ereht thought earlier that the part of the sentence in the partitive is not a subject. He regards it as the object inasmuch as it meets only one condition established for the subject — it is not a communicative subject (the theme). Nor is it a formal subject because it does not agree with the predicate. It has only one feature of the subject — it is a proposition subject, and, thus, it can not be viewed as the subject (Ereht 1979: 32).

The proposal to regard this part of the sentence as the object originates in the wish to unify the category of the subject, but it resulted in a somewhat vague object theory. Pentti Sammallahti underlined the semantic criteria and came to the conclusion that this part of the sentence acts as the predicative — it does not require the existence of a concept marked by a noun and occurs as the rheme (Sammallahti 1981: 10). Norman Denison regarded the sentence with the partitive subject as impersonal since there is no nominative in the sentence. He regarded the partitive form as a predicative subject (Denison 1957: 113).

The Finnish researchers Auli Hakulinen and Fred Karlsson carried out a comprehensive analysis of the subject and concluded that the amount of basic sentences, which could be used for differentiating a typical subject, is highly diverse and, hence, the subject is not homogenous either. Thus, the subject has few prototypical features, and the subject of marginal sentences is semantically and syntactically less subject-like than the subject of central and frequently used sentences (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 163).

In sentences with a partitive subject, the subjectival features of a noun are manifested in their ability to occur also in the nominative case and to form with the predicative the core of the sentence. Nor is the occurrence at the beginning of a sentence an obligatory characteristic. The present thesis proceeds from the principle of verb centeredness and the impact of the lexical meaning of the verb on the form and content of the subject. Word order in a sentence likewise depends on the verb. The lexical meaning of the verb determines, for the large part, the word order of an elementary sentence (Rätsep 1978: 219). The theme is more likely to occur at the beginning of a sentence than the subject.

The subject in the partitive case is also a propositional subject, and, thus, this part of the sentence should not be identified as belonging to another category solely on the basis of its form. Hakulinen

claimed that this part of the sentence should be interpreted as a post-verb participant of the nexus (Hakulinen 1983: 245).

1.2. SUBJECT IN PARTITIVE

The first part of the thesis presented the following semantic types of sentences that may contain the subject in the partitive (the numbers below refer to the first part of the study):

- 1.3. Assessment states
 - 1.4.1. Human cognition state
 - 1.5.2. Possessive state
 - 1.8.1. Existence state
 - 1.9.3.2. Meteorological state
- 2.1.1. Physical process
- 2.5. Process in nature
 - 2.7.1.2. Process expressing transformation of state
- 2.6.3. Meteorological process
- 3.1.2.3. Human action (agent as subject)

Semantic roles of the partitive subject:

- Patient 1.3.2.1, 1.9.3.2, 1.4.1, 2.5, 2.6.3, 2.7.1.2
- Experiencer 2.1.1
- Existence 1.5.2, 1.8.1
- Agent 3.1.2.3

In order to provide an overview of the use of the partial subject in the Votic language, the author analysed the entire catalogue of the Votic language at the Institute of the Estonian Language. The author of the present study copied out all the possible sentence patterns with the subject in the partitive form. The number is not large. There were thirty-eight verbs allowing the partitive subject. Many verbs have similar meanings. Sentence patterns allowing the partial subject were established for each verb.

The established sentence patterns need not always have obligatory extensions. Many sentences are also acceptable without any extensions; sometimes other extensions may be added to the sentence, or there may be some other extension instead of the given extension. An extension connected with a locative case is marked as *Loc* in the sentence pattern; a temporal expression is encoded as *Temp*. *Num* marks a numeral, and *Mod* is a modal verb. If the subject can occur either in the nominative or the partitive, it is marked as *N+np*. If the verb allows only the subject in the partitive, or there is no

material about the possibility of the nominative in this position, the subject is marked as *N+part*. There are also examples of the predicate verb in the negative (*V+neg*).

1.2.1. Assessment state of some object of real life

I. 1. *piäb* 'need'

1.1. *N+ad_{Ben} V N+np_{Pat}*: *mī piäb e l u t t a* Und 'I need some beer'

1.2. *N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Pat} V+neg*: *mī t ä t ä ep piä* Luu 'I don't need it'

1.3. *N+part_{Pat} V+neg*: *boltuška pajatab, m i t ä ep piä* Luu 'the babbler talks about things he is not supposed to discuss', but *tälle piäb üs p l a t' j a* J 'she needs a new dress'.

Differently from the Estonian language this predicate verb may also occur with the nominative subject:

2. (*on*) *tarviz* 'is needed'

2.1. *N+np_{Pat} N+all_{Ben} V*: *v i h m ā on omenoile tarviz* M 'apples need rain', *m i t ä sillē on tarviz?* 'what do you need?', *läsiväle on d o h t e r i a tarviz* 'the sick person needs a doctor'

2.2. *N+part_{Pat} V+neg*: *s i n n u a eb ē tarviz* J 'you are not needed'

3. *tavata* 'be enough, suffice'

3.1. *V N+part_{Pat}*: *tappāp h r ā b r o s t i a hot' tšenē vassā* J 'sb has enough courage to go against anyone'

3.2. *V N+all_{Ben} N+part_{Pat}*: *tappāp mille t i l l ā* J 'there is enough room for me'

4. *tagossāG* 'have enough'

4.1. *N+part_{Pat} N+ad_{Ben} V+neg*: *d e η g ō mī ep tagossāG* Itš 'I haven't got enough money'

5. *kūlua* 'be heard, be audible'

5.1. *N+np_{Pat} N+all_{Ben} V*: *m i t ä sillē kūluB* J 'do you have any news?'

5.2. *V+neg N+part_{Pat}*: *tait jo kōli: ep kūlu t ü k k i m i s̄* J 'sb has probably died already; the pulse is not audible'

6. *nätšüä* 'be seen, be visible'

6.1. *N+np_{Pat} N+ad_{Exp} V Loc*: *m i t ä sil̄ näüp?* M 'what can you see there?'

- 6.2. V+neg N+part: *menid n̄i kaugassi, eb n̄äü j ä l t š i ä t ä*
Und 'sb went so far that one cannot see any traces'
6.3. N+part_{Pat} V+neg: *a l u s̄ a eb n̄äü Lii* 'one cannot see the ship'

1.2.2. Possessive state

The possessor can be an animate as well as an inanimate referent. The predicate is the verb *glla*.

II. 7. *glla* 'have'

- 7.1. N+ad_{Ben} V N+np_{EX}: *naizil̄ on j u t t u a Lii* 'women are talking', *māmal on p ī m ā J* 'mother has milk'
7.2. N+ad_{Ben} V+neg N+part_{EX}: *kummal̄ bglu l a s s a, ep tullu*
Lii 'the ones without a child did not come'
7.3. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{EX} V+neg: *tällä r a h o i bgl̄ M* 's/he has no money'
7.4. V+ko N+part_{EX} N+ad_{Ben}: *oŋko s i l m ī t ted'dē nōrikel̄?*
Lii 'does your young wife have eyes?'

1.2.3. Existence state

III. 8. *glla* 'be, exist'

- 8.1. N+np_{EX}V: *gli k a n a m u n ā i v g i t a Luu* 'there were hen's eggs and butter'
8.2. V N+part_{EX}: *on v̄el a i k ā Luu* 'there is still some time',
ku on t ā r i a, sis pannās̄ t̄aria Lii 'if there is some kvass, one drinks it'
8.3. V+neg N+part_{EX}: *eb ḡ v o z d u h ā Luu* 'there is no air',
eb ḡ a i k ā Lii 'there is no time'
8.4. V Adj+np N+np_{EX}: *gli mikom̄ i š s i ä M* 'there were such fathers', *miltis̄ k a n s ā enne gli, en t̄ā M* 'which people were there earlier, I don't know'
8.5. Adj+part N+part_{EX} V+neg: *a i l̄ l o z ā e l̄ l o a bglu M*
'but life was not beautiful'
8.6. Loc V N+np_{EX}: *saunaz on v i ŋ k ā Luu* 'there is some smoke in the sauna'
8.7. Loc V+neg N+part_{EX}: *mūvval eb gllut t i l̄ l ā Luu* 'there was no room elsewhere'
8.8. Loc N+part_{EX} V+neg: *meijē tšülās̄ s ō m a l a i s i d bglu*
Lii 'there were no Finns in our village'
8.9. Loc V Num N+part_{EX}: *siel gli n e l̄ l̄ ä t š ü m m e d e n - t š e ä J* 'there were forty souls'

9. *lid'dä* 'will be'
 9.1. N+part_{EX} V: *kēz lēb a i k ā, mēm̄mā repimā parkkia* J 'if there is some time, we'll strip off some bark in the park'
 9.2. V N+np_{EX}: *ko lēp s e s a r ī i v e l' l' ī, keikile antas* Kōr 'if there are brothers and sisters, everybody will get something'
 9.3. N+part_{EX} V+neg: *m e i d e b lē* Luu 'we won't be'
 10. *tarkkahūssa* 'be; sth happens to be';
 10.1. Loc V N+part_{EX}: *lafkas tarkkahūp p ī m ā* J 'the shop has some milk'
 10.2. V+neg N+part_{EX}: *ep tarkkahū l i h ā* J 'there is no meat'
 11. *kihīs* 'fizz, swarm'
 11.1. Loc V N+np_{EX}: *tšen gli p e t t e r i z revolutsī aiken, se nātši, mitä siäl kihizi v ä t t š i ä kujgil* J 'those who were in Petrograd during the revolution saw how the streets were swarming with people'

1.2.4. Physical processes related to human beings — birth and death

- IV. 12. *süntüä* 'be born; give birth to'
 12.1. N+ad_{EXP} V N+part_{EXP}: *täl sünnüb vël p o i k ī* J 'she will give birth to more sons'
 12.2. N+part_{EXP} V+neg: *l a h s ī ep sünnü* J 'no children are born'
 13. *taukēssa* 'die'
 13.1. N+np_{EXP} Temp V: *p e r s a i t a välis taukēz* Luu 'sometimes piglets died'

1.2.5. Processes in nature

- V. 14. *kasvā ~ kasvoa* 'grow'
 14.1. N+part_{PAT} V+neg Loc: *a p r i k o s s ī t a ep kazvo med'dē māl* J 'apricots do not grow in our country'
 14.2. Loc N+part_{PAT} V+neg: *ahol m ū d ep kazvo ku s a v i k u k k ā* J 'nothing else but white goosefoot grows on fallow land'

1.2.6. Predicate expressing transformation of a state

- VI. 15. *jätä ~ jävvä ~ jävvä* 'remain, be left (over)'
 15.1. N+np_{PAT} V: *m i t ä jāp, pätä prāvittāz* M 'with that what is left over, one can cure the hangover'
 15.2. Loc V N+np_{PAT}: *g a t t š i n ā poleš tōže jäi sitä sōmē k a n s ā* Luu 'also Finnish people remained in Gachina'

- 15.3. N+ad_{Ben} V N+np_{Pat}: *no tšellä jäi l a H s a i t a* Kat 'those who had children left'
- 15.4. V+neg Adj+part N+part_{Pat}: *eb jänn ühtäit t a l o a* PR 'not a single house was left', *eb m i t ä i d jännü, keik pel'i* PR 'nothing was left, everything burned down'
16. *lissäüssä ~ lisäütüä* 'add'
- 16.1. N+np_{Pat} V: *miä praviuzin i p a i n u a lissäüz* Luu 'I got well and gained weight', *v e t t ä lissäüb* J 'there will be more water'
17. *kopittua* 'gather; gain'
- 17.1. N+part_{Pat} V+neg: *hallissā elid, a m ē l d ep kopittunud* 'they lived until they turned grey but gained no intelligence'
18. *püttua* 'happen, get into'
- 18.1. N+np_{Pat} V: *tšen pajatab m i t ä pütuB, sitä jutellā kerkiä-mēlin* Luu 'if one talks about whatever comes to mind, then one is an airhead'
- 18.2. V Loc N+np_{Pat}: *pütup suheḡ m ā t a* Kōr 'soil gets into one's mouth'
19. *süntüä* 'happen, occur'
- 19.1. Mod N+part_{Pat} V+ neg: *ilm sūd m i t t ä i t š i ep sünnü* J 'nothing happens without a reason'
20. *tapahtūssa ~ tavata* 'happen, occur'
- 20.1. N+np_{Pat} V Loc: *k e i k k e a tapahtūp pittšāz madgaz* M 'anything can happen during a long journey'
- 20.2. N+np_{Pat} Loc V: *ei ō tšülā tšüsümissä, m i t ä tallō tapahtūB* 'the village has no right to ask what happens on the farm'
- 20.3. V N+np_{Pat}: *einä on kaugā mās, tappāb v i h m ā* J 'the hay has been on the ground for a long time, rain may come'
21. *tekauta* 'happen'
- 21.1. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Pat} V: *tšēl m i t ä tekkaus, siš tšäüsi vāt-tamā arvol* J 'those to whom something happened, turned to magic'
22. *mennä* 'go by, pass';
- 22.1. V+neg N+part_{Pat}: *eb mennü sitä t š e v ä t t ä, ko sinne paikkāseḡ eb uponnu lehmä* Pum 'not a single spring went by without a cow drowning there'
23. *tulla* 'come (about)'
- 23.1. V N+np_{Pat}: *tuep t o t k o a, ku puhassan kallā* Luu 'there will be guts when I gut a fish'

1.2.7. The predicate expresses another process that takes place with an inanimate subject referent

VII. 24. *nirissä* 'drip'

24.1. V N+np_{Pat}: *nirizeb v e r t ä* Lii 'blood is dripping'

25. *puhua* 'spurt'

25.1. Loc V N+np_{Pat}: *sōngēs puhu v e r t ä* 'blood gushed from the vein'

1.2.8. Predicate expressing a meteorological process

VIII. 26. *ihtšii* 'strike'

26.1. V Mod N+np_{Pat}: *ihtši keṽvī t u l t a* M 'there was a lightning storm'

26.2. N+np_{Pat} V: *t u l t a ižzeB* M 'lightning strikes'

27. *liivvä* 'strike'

27.1. N+np_{Pat} V Loc: *t e r ä s s ä lūp sirkāssa taivāssa* Luu 'heat lightning bolts out of the blue sky'

28. *mättä* 'here: to pour'

28.1. V N+part_{Pat}: *mokoma tuli sūri rage i mätti r a g e t t a* 'there was a heavy hailstorm and hail was pouring down'

29. *näüttä* 'here: to come (of frost)'

29.1. Temp V N+part_{Pat}: *siz näütāp t š ü l m ā a lunta eb ġ* Luu 'frost will come, but there is no snow'

30. *paissā* 'shine'

30.1. N+np_{Pat} V: *p ä i v ü t t ä paisaB* M 'the sun is shining'

31. *panna* 'put, here: fall (as rain/snow, rain/snow)'

31.1. N+part_{Pat} V: *vod i l u n t a pāB* M 'so it's really snowing'

32. *puhua* 'blow'

32.1. V N+np_{Pat}: *puhup sūria t ū l i a* M 'heavy winds are blowing'

32.2. N+part_{Pat} V: *kane rajukkēd mennāz, sīz ain t š ü l m ā puhuB* M 'after the hailstorms there are very cold winds'

33. *satā* 'come down as (rain, snow, etc.)'

33.1. Mod V N+np_{Pat}: *irmutoissi sāb r a g e t̄ J* 'it's hailing heavily'

33.2. N+np_{Pat} V: *l u n t a satāB* Pum 'it's snowing'

34. *siputtā ~ tiputtā* 'drizzle'
 34.1. Temp V N+np_{Pat}: *koko aika siputti v i h m ā* M 'it's drizzling all the time', *ūl tiputti v i h m ā* J 'it was drizzling at night'
35. *tulla* 'come'
 35.1. Temp V N+np_{Pat}: *egle tuli v i h m ā* Lii 'it rained yesterday'
36. *valā* 'pour'
 36.1. V N+np_{Pat}: *valab vazgessa r a g ė h t a* 'copper-coloured hail is pouring down'

1.2.9. Agent as subject, predicate as an action verb

- IX. 37. *kopittua ~ koppiuta* 'gather, come together'
 37.1. N+part_{Ag} V Meas: *v ä t t š e ä koppius pal'lo* Luu 'a lot of people gathered'
38. *korjaussaG* 'gather';
 38.1. Loc V N+np_{Ag}: *shotkā korjauje v ä t t š i ä* Itš 'a lot of people gathered for the meeting'
39. *tšävvä* 'go'
 39.1. N+np_{Ag} V Loc: *siel tšäüsi jėkkā põļessa v ä t t š i ä* Itš 'people from all places went there'

The author identified 39 verbs that allow a subject in the form of the partitive in Votic. The verbs include some polysemantic verb stems (*tulla*, *süntiüä*, etc.) as well as some homonyms (*kopittua*, *korjaussaG*, etc.). The graduation thesis on the partial subject in Estonian by Krista Varik presented 542 verbs that occur with a subject in the partitive case (Varik 1974). The list of 275 Finnish verbs by Penttilä (2002: 633 ff.) is far from complete. Both lists include equivalents for the Votic verbs (the stems are not always the same, but the verbs have similar meanings). Finnish scholars have realized that Finnish has very few verbs with the subject in the partitive case. In fiction the predicate of 83 per cent of the 1,349 sentences with a partitive subject is a highly frequent verb, such as *olla* 'be' 54.8% (in this study Votic verbs 7, 8, and 9), *tulla* 'come' 8.5% (23, 35), *tapahtua* 'occur', 6.5% (17, 19, 20), *kuulua* 'be heard' 3.7% (5), *näkyä* 'be seen' 2.2% (6), *syntyä* 'be born' 2.1% (12, 19), *esiintyä* 'occur' 1.6%, *aiheutua* 'cause' 1.5%, *sattua* 'happen' (18, 19, 20, 21), *jääädä* 'remain' 1.4% (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 170; Wähämäki 1975). And yet, the list of Votic verbs is by no means complete, and field notes could yield more structures. However, the

analysed material suggests that the speakers of Votic rarely use the partitive subject. For example, a language informant regarded the sentence *vettä nirizeB* 'it's trickling (of water)' as acceptable, but she would prefer the total subject: *vesi nirizeB* 'water is trickling'.

The list of 39 verbs includes some synonyms (1, 2; 18, 19, 20, 21; 26, 27; 33, 34, 35, 36; 37, 38) and some verbs of existence (8, 9, 10, and 11). The largest semantic group consists of structures with meteorological content (26–36); the constructions (14–22) express emergence with a process predicate. The structures with meteorological verbs are often traditional combinations, where a nominative subject is only theoretically possible (32, 33, 34) while, on the other hand, a process verb can become an action verb (25, 26; see 3.1.4) with a nominative subject (Hakanen 2001: 113 ff.). The verbs that have a different meaning in some other context can not occur with a total subject (27, 28, 30). Some of the structures can be regarded as objective (25, 26, 30), but due to the semantic resemblance to other structures, the noun is regarded as the subject. The subject is often an interrogative (2.1, 5.1, 6.1), relative (1.3, 15.1, 18.1, 20.2) or an indefinite pronoun (18.1, 19.1, 20.1). Sometimes it looks as if a noun subject in the nominative case is not used at all with the verb (19.1, 19.2, 20.1). Only a partitive subject occurs with the verb of existence *ella* and *lid'dä* and *tarkkahūssa*. Unlike the Estonian language, the verbs of necessity *piäB* and *on tarviz* can occur with a nominative subject. If one of the components of the subject is a numeral, the noun with a semantic content is always in the partitive case. In sentences with a measural the subject is also in the partitive (37.1). Here the partitive is used because of the measural and not the subject.

1.2.10. Affirmative sentence

A. Sentences with a partitive subject without a modifier

1. N+np_{Pat} V 15.1, 16.1, 18.1, 26.2, 30.1, 33.2
2. V N+np_{Pat} 20.3, 23.1, 24.1, 32.1, 36.1
3. V N+np_{Ex} 8.2, 9.2
4. N+part_{Pat} V 31.1
5. N+part_{Ex} V 8.1
6. N+part_{Ag} V Meas 37.1
7. V N+part_{Ex} 7.2
8. V N+part_{Pat} 3.1, 28.1
9. V Adj+np_{Ex} N+np_{Ex} 8.4

B. Sentences with a partitive subject with an adessive or allative modifier

1. N+np_{Pat} N+ad_{Exp} V 5.1
2. N+ad_{Ben} V N+np_{Pat} 1.1, 15.3
3. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Pat} V 21.1
4. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Ex} V 12.1
5. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Pat} V 21.1
6. N+ad_{Ben} V N+part_{Ex} 12.1
7. V N+all_{Ben} V N+part_{Pat} 3.2

C. Sentences with a partitive subject with a locative modifier

1. N+np_{Pat} V Loc 20.1, 27.1
2. N+np_{Ag} V Loc 39.1
3. N+np_{Pat} Loc V 20.2
4. Loc V N+np_{Ag} 38.1
5. Loc V N+np_{Pat} 15.2, 25.1
6. Loc V N+np_{Ex} 8.6, 11.1
7. Loc V Num N+part_{Ex} 8.9
8. Loc V N+part_{Ex} 10.1
9. V Loc N+np_{Pat} 18.2

D. Sentences with a partitive subject with a temporal modifier

1. N+np_{Exp} Temp V 13.1
2. Temp V N+np_{Pat} V 34.1, 35.1
3. Temp V N+part_{Pat} V 29.1

E. Sentences with a partitive subject with a modal adverbial modifier

1. Mod V N+np_{Pat} 33.1
2. V Mod N+np_{Pat} 26.1

Huno Rätsep found 28 elementary sentences in Estonian that can have a partial subject (Rätsep 1978). In this particular case, one is not dealing with elementary sentences. The sentence patterns include modifiers that are freely linked to the verb. For example, Rätsep did not distinguish sentence patterns with a modal as a free modifier. The occurrence of a partitive subject in affirmative sentences is characterized by three types of conditions: 1) conditions set for the subject referent; 2) conditions set for the government of the verb; 3) conditions related to the pragmatic interpretation of the meaning of the sentence and the predicate.

1.2.11. Conditions set for the subject referent

In the case of a singular subject in the partitive case, the subject referent can denote substance (7.1, 8.1, 8.3, 8.6, etc.), abstraction (3.1, 8.2, 17.1, etc.) or a collection (8.4, 15.2, 37.1, 38.1, 39.1). The subject denotes an indefinite quantity of a divisible concept. In this case the partitive expresses 'a part allowing excess' (Itkonen 1976: 173 ff.). The so-called quantitative indefiniteness is clearly present in sentences with the *ella*-verb as the predicate (7.1, 8.1, 9.1). This is the main function of the partitive; various authors, though, have expressed this idea in differently (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 166; Toivainen 1985: 15; Yli-Vakkuri 1979: 167 ff.; Nemvalts 1976: 404, etc.). Hence, the partitive is a quantifier. A noun may be accompanied by a quantifier that defines the quantity in a more specific manner: *med'd'ē tšüläz ėli ēste vīz vai kūš talloa* M 'earlier there were five or six farms in our village', or it could emphasize quantitative indefiniteness *māmal ėli pīmā* J 'mother had some milk', *māmal ėli vāhāizē pīmā* J 'mother had a little milk'.

A noun in the plural partitive is used as the subject when the referent is divisible or indivisible, or if it is indefinitely quantified (6.2, 7.4, 8.8, 9.2, 12.1, 12.2, 13.1, 14.1, 32.1, 38.1). Nor does the subject in the plural nominative define exact quantity (Erelt 1978: 3; Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 167; Yli-Vakkuri 1979: 184 ff.). A nominative subject expresses only the fact that it is the quantity mentioned in the speech act. The nominative does not allow an excess. These are generally accepted views that could be challenged in single sentences. Some sentence patterns are essentially neutral in terms of quantity (1.1, 2.1, 8.2, 8.4, 9.2). Mati Erelt claimed that there is often no difference between a sentence with a partitive subject and a sentence with a nominative subject.

Valma Yli-Vakkuri regards the singular partitive of a substance word or other indiscrete concept (*vettä*) and the plural partitive of a discrete concept (*ihmisiä*) as quantitatively neutral, for example, process verbs of types VIII. Yli-Vakkuri (1979: 176) holds that nouns that occur in the plural nominative and nouns in the partitive, which are modified by a lexeme with a quantitative meaning (measural, pronoun, etc.), are defined quantitatively.

The possibility of the existence of a partitive subject is determined also by number, content, and the form of other actants of the verb. Usually, a partitive subject can not occur in a sentence containing an object and a predicative (Nykysuomen käsikirja 1979: 129).

The sentence that can have a partitive subject has been referred to as an existential sentence. An existential sentence shows that some-

thing is there, exists, is going to exist, or ceases to exist (Ikola 1972: 5). Thus, the sentence must include 'an element of being', which is determined besides the lexical meaning of the sentence by the sentence pattern and other modifiers of the verb. Sentences with a partitive subject often contain the so-called valency adverbial. According to Siro, an existential sentence consists of a verb and two nominal members — an adverbial in a specific case and the subject. In his opinion, the adverbial occurs in every existential sentence although it may be absent in the surface structure (Siro 1974: 38).

Peep Nemvalts carried out a study of Estonian existential sentences and discovered that three-member sentences are divided into locative, temporal, and possessive sentences (Nemvalts 1978: 26 ff.). Elements of location (C 1–9), time (D 1–3), and possession (B 1–7) are similarly present in Votic sentences with a partial subject. Modifiers can be replaced rather freely. A sentence may include several modifiers.

1.2.12. Semantic-pragmatic relation

Semantic-pragmatic relations of the process expressed by the subject and the verb.

Tuomas Huumo claims that the theory proceeding from the verb and the verb arguments has its limitations for the understanding of the peculiar semantics of the partitive subject. In his opinion, agentivity in the use of the partitive subject is an effect and not the cause. The partitive subject, however, depends on the verb, and it cannot be regarded as being equal to the verb (Huumo 2001: 128 ff).

As noted, an element of being must be primary in the sentence. In Votic the predicate is most likely a state or a process verb (I–VIII), and there are only three instances when the predicate is an action verb (IX 37–39). In Finnish and in Estonian, action verbs occur more frequently as the predicate, and a pre-posed locative expression can reduce the intensity of an action. Here one must distinguish also between the lexical activity of the verb and inactivity of the existential sentence. The sentence may not entail any individualizing adverbials since they highlight the activity of the verb. For example, in Finnish *omenapuut kasvavat hitaasti puutarhassa* 'apple trees grow slowly in the garden' is acceptable while *omenapuita kasvaa hitaasti puutarhassa* 'some apple trees grow slowly in the garden' is ungrammatical (Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 170). In Votic the modal modifier can still occur in meteorological statements (26.1, 33.1). However, the subjectness of the partitive modifier is problematic.

Aimo Hakanen maintains that an existential sentence with a normal stress is characterized by inverted word order, and the sentence is likely to start with an adverbial (Hakanen 1972: 43), which means that an indefinite subject follows the predicate, and the indefinite subject precedes the predicate. Kalevi Wiik explained this circumstance by the fact that in the deep structure the subject of such sentences is the object, and the object always follows a verb (Wiik 1974). The Votic sentence patterns suggest that word order reveals a high degree of variation in such sentences. Inverted word order is prevalent in sentence patterns without a modifier (A). The modifier may occupy any position; it could stand at the beginning of the sentence (B 2, 3, 4; C 4–8; D 2, 3; E 1), between a noun and a verb (B 1; C 3, 9; D 1; E 2), or at the end of the sentence (B 1; C 1, 2). At present the syntactic material is too scanty for drawing any definitive conclusions.

Eva Lindén studied the dependence of word order on definiteness/indefiniteness in Finnish dialects and found a sufficient number of sentences with the subject in the initial position. Lindén concluded that in subordinate existential sentences the subject follows the verb, whereas an existential sentence opens with an adverbial; the position of the subject before the predicate serves to emphasize the adverb. Lindén claimed that in an existential sentence with an initially posed finite verb, inverted word order does not require an indefinite subject (Lindén 1967: 362 ff.). In spoken language indefiniteness is expressed by sentence stress. The written records of the Votic language represent spoken language where sentence stress seems to be the determining factor. According to Karlsson, the predicate is often preceded by partitive subjects that include a pronominal element (Karlsson 1978: 297). This claim is confirmed by all the examples with a pronominal in Votic (2.2, 5.1, 6.1, 9.3, 15.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 20.2, 21.1). Karlsson found that the word order of an existential sentence, similarly to other sentences, depends on thematic reasons; therefore, word order need not always be inverted, as claimed by Hakanen (Hakanen 1972: 43; 1978: 10).

1.2.13. The partitive subject in a negative sentence

- A. 1. N+part_{Pat} V+neg 1.3, 2.2, 6.3, 17.1
2. N+part_{Ex} V+neg 9.3
3. Adj+part N+part_{Ex} V+neg 8.5
4. V+neg Adj+part N+part_{Pat} 15.4
5. V+neg N+part_{Ex} 8.3, 10.2
6. V+neg N+part_{Pat} 5.2, 6.2, 22.1

- B. 1. N+part_{Pat} N+ad_{Ben} V+neg 4.1
2. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Pat} V+neg 1.2
3. N+ad_{Ben} N+part_{Ex} V+neg 7.3
4. N+ad_{Ben} V+neg N+part_{Ex} 7.2
- C. 1. N+part_{Pat} V+neg Loc 14.1
2. Loc N+part_{Ex} V+neg 8.8
3. Loc N+part_{Pat} V+neg 14.2
4. Loc V+neg N+part_{Ex} 8.7
- E. 1. Mod N+part_{Pat} V+neg 19.1¹

The author of the present study was unable to establish a negative sentence pattern for all the verbs. The sample sentences that include only a partial subject also in affirmative speech were underlined above.

Existential sentences with a negative content have only a partial subject both in Estonian and Finnish (ISK 874 ff.; EKG 43).

The partial sentence denotes the absence of the whole marked by the subject word in the nominative case. A negative sentence may also include an indivisible subject in the partitive case. The two restrictions of the affirmative sentence — restriction of verb arguments and semantic-pragmatic restrictions — apply also in negative sentences. These sentence patterns suggest that the partitive subject in a negative sentence is in most cases pre-posed (A 1, 2, 3; B 1, 2, 3; C 1, 2, 3; E 1).

Mati Erelt also referred to the so-called non-existential negation (Erelt 1978: 4). For example, *grušad meiļ evät kazvo* 'Luu '*pears do not grow at our place'.

One can conclude that pears do not grow at our place but apples, cabbages, etc. do. Karlsson claimed that it is unclear when the subject denoting a single item or a whole must be in the partitive case in a negative or a doubting sentence. For example, Finnish *hymypilkahduskaan ei ilmestynyt hänen suupieleensä* 'not a slightest smile appeared in the corner of her mouth' (Karlsson 1963: 46). Here it is difficult to interpret this sentence as non-existential, that is, to claim that something else appeared in the corner of his/her mouth.

In Votic negative sentences with a partial subject could be grouped as follows:

¹ The grouping of patterns (A, B, C, E) is the same as on pages 90–91 in affirmative sentences.

1. negative sentences that do not allow a total subject;
 - a) sentences where only the partial subject can occur in affirmative speech (1.2, 1.3, 2.2, 4.1, 8.2, 8.7, 10.2, 17.1);
 - b) sentences where also a total subject can occur in affirmative speech, but the subject must be partial in negative speech (7.1, 7.2, 8.5, 9.3, 15.4, 22.1);
2. negative and doubting sentences where the partial subject can be replaced by the full subject (5.2, 6.2, 6.3, 8.8, 14.1, 14.2, 19.1).

In order to detect some important differences between sentences with a partial and a total subject, the author studied, in parallel, those sentences where the subject can be either partial or total. Erelt claimed that there were no differences between the sentences. In fact, in either case nothing is said at all about the quantity of the subject referent (Erelt 1978: 3). Examples of the Votic language seem to confirm the claim. The language users prefer the total subject.

1.2.14. Classification of sentences with partitive subject

The sentences with a partitive subject can be divided into two groups:

1. The partitive subject is neutral and little informative with regard to its content (5.1, 6.1, 8.1, 8.4, 9.2, 14.2, 15.1, 15.2, 15.3, 19.1, 20.2, 21.1, 24.2, 25.1, 29.1, 30.1, 32.1, 39.1).
2. The partial subject enriches the content (7.1, 13.1, 18.1, 20.1, 38.1).

In the latter case the partitive subject helps to emphasize that it is an indefinite part of the whole.

For example, in 7.1 the women do not talk about anything specific; they are just chatting; in 13.1 not all but only some of the piglets died. In most cases one can not decide anything about the quantity denoted by the subject on the basis of the partitive subject.

An analysis of sentences, where the verbs *ǝlla* 'be' and *lid'd'ä* 'be (in the future)' act as the nucleus and the subject follows the pattern N+part (8.2 and 9.1) shows that while this pattern has no extension, it reveals a covert adverb: *ku (mil) on (lēb) aikā, tāria...* 'if I have some time, some kvass...' A sentence with a total object would have a different meaning.

1.3. THE SUBJECT IN THE INFINITIVE

The infinitive as the carrier of a nominative or a partitive meaning can occur as the subject. The infinitive subject usually occurs with the verb *glla* 'be'. The author of the present study regards the infinitive in combination with modal verbs as part of the compound predicate because modal verbs as non-content verbs alone cannot form the core of a sentence. Erelt treated the predicative actant following a modal verb as the subject although he, too, regards the category of the part of a sentence as problematic (Erelt 1984: 13 ff.). Only status predicates occur in combination with a first infinitive subject (1.2.3, 1.3.1.1.4, 1.3.1.2.2, 1.8.1.4, 2.2.2).

1.3.1. Predicates expressing a human psychic state

N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3} V+da_{Caus}

minua inotti süvvä sitä sūtsiä J 'the food was disgusting for me to eat', *tätä niku irmutti mennä* Lii 'he was in a way afraid to go' (1.2.2). Leino calls such predicates experiencer-causatives since the predication is oriented towards Experiencer (Leino 1986: 121 ff.). The type is rather productive in Finnish, and in Votic, too, a number of such state verbs can be used with an infinitive subject. A noun subject (1.2.2), or absence of the subject (1.1.3), though, is more common. In Estonian there are practically no constructions of this type. Estonian uses the adessive adverbial of type 1.3.1.1.

N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj V+da_{Caus}

The above-mentioned sentence type is characterized by the absence of a clear semantic orientation. Such a sentence does not clarify whether the process is oriented from a person marked by an adessive adverbial to the action denoted by a first infinitive or the other way round. If one omits the adessive element, the indefiniteness of the form disappears (Erelt 1984: 10): (*miļ*) *on tuska kattsoa tāmā pālē* J 'it hurts (me) to look at him', (*tāl*) *on kaissa mettsäs tšävvä* J (he) is afraid to go the forest' (1.2.3).

V+da_{Caus} cop Adj, cop Adj=P — assessment state

An evaluative referent is explicitly missing in the sentence: *nüd on helppo elā* J 'now it is easy to live', *interesno on pajattā teijekā* J 'it is interesting to talk to you' (1.3.1.4.4).

N+ad/all_{Exp} V_{sg3}, V+da_{Caus} — assessment state

An evaluative referent is present in the sentence: *mīl gnnissu mennä* J 'I managed to go', *tälle näüttib lukğa* Lii 'she likes to read' (1.3.1.1.4).

Types 1.2.3, 1.3.1.1.4, and 1.3.1.2.2 are rather similar, and there might even be no need to distinguish between them. However, the two latter types show an emotional-evaluative nuance of the predicate, whereas the first type denotes a more specific psychic state (of mind).

1.3.2. Existence state

V V+da_{Ex}

eb lēne süvvä i juvva J 'there is (will be) nothing to eat and drink'(1.8.1.4).

Erelt provides in Estonian the same semantic types of the predicate with a first infinitive subject (1984: 10 ff): predicates expressing an emotional or a physiological state, predicates expressing suitability (some modal verbs), predicates expressing necessity or obligation (here treated as modal verbs).

In Votic the first infinitive subject occurs mostly in the role of an optional Causer, and it can be replaced by a noun in the types with a content verb as the predicate (1.2.2, 1.3.1.1.4). If the predicative is formed with a copula together with an adjective (1.3.1.2.2), the first infinitive can be replaced only with a verbal noun. In sentences with a predicate expressing existence, the first infinitive subject is in the role of Existence since the existence of the subject is only stated.

Thus, in the case of the first infinitive the predicate class is restricted — only state verbs can act as predicates.

1.3.3. Predicate expressing a psychic process

(N+ad) V V+da_{Pat}

eb johu kenzaid mēlē mennä J 'never remember to go', *ep kuinīd johu mēlē juğlla* M 'so somehow never remember to tell'.

1.4. SUBORDINATE CLAUSE AS THE GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT

It is an unproductive type comprising only state predicates and rarely process predicates.

A subordinate clause replaces the subject, which is absent from the main clause.

1.4.1. Human cognition state

V SC_{Caus}

kūlup, ku meri kōhub 'one can hear the sea roaring', *tunnup ku kassēn on kalmoi sihad M* 'it looks as if there is not cemetery here', *tuntu, etti nuor vātši pajatti jo venäissi Pum* 'young people seemed to speak in Russian already'. *millē tehop ku on sūr tuska Lii* 'the acute pain is having an effect on me', *ep tähennä pal'lo, ku eb ē tūtā Lii* 'it does not really matter that there is no work', *nenā etts ku tšihguB, sis tāp kōllū vīstiä* 'an itchy tip of one's nose means a message of death' (1.4.2). In this type, the subject as a subordinate clause is an obligatory extension. The predicate is a state verb in one grammatical person that does not allow a nominative subject. The subordinate clause is Causer, which means that it expresses the cause that evoked the state.

1.4.2. Assessment state

Adj SC_{Caus}, Adj=P

tēsi, što vihma lēB J 'it's true, it's going to rain', *üvä, etti siä tuēD J* 'it's good that you'll come' (1.3.1.2.4). In this sentence type the subordinate clause is an obligatory extension. Causer is always the subject, that is, the cause of the situation.

1.4.3. Psychic process

N+ad_{Exp} V SC_{Caus}

mīl johtu mieliesie, etti dād'a tšähsi laskega ehjat tšäeš vällā Pum 'it came to my mind that uncle told me to release the reins' (2.2.2). It is an unproductive type.

2. SUBJECTLESS STRUCTURES IN VOTIC

Votic abounds in subjectless structures. There may be two types of impersonality — formal and semantic impersonality. In the case of formal impersonality the sentence does not include a grammatical subject (S_{gr}). The proposition is oriented towards another part of the sentence — usually the object (O) or object adverbial, which acts as the subject in the deep structure, that is, the proposition subject. This group comprises the majority of subjectless structures. In the case of substantial impersonality, there is no subject in the deep structure either. The predicates of such structures usually express an ambient state or process — the predication is oriented towards the whole surrounding reality or an indefinite part thereof. Structures, the subject referent of which is unknown to a human (predicates pertaining to beliefs) may also be regarded as semantically impersonal.

The core of impersonal structures is a verb that is used in one grammatical person. Verbs with a single grammatical person express the impersonal meaning with the 3rd person form of the personal. Defective finiteness is a semantic phenomenon that does not affect the morphological properties of a conjugable word (EKG 72). These verbs are not related to the human person-agent meaning but express an intransitive action that cannot be subjected to the will of the speaker and are not elicited directly by a human (Peegel 1958: 489). Hakulinen added another relevant characteristic — verbs in one grammatical person cannot occur with a nominative subject (Hakulinen 2000: 558 ff). Thus, Hakulinen regarded also the verbs that occur in combination with a partitive subject as verbs of a single grammatical person. In Votic, however, there are only a few verbs that cannot occur with a nominative subject. The rest of the predicates can occur also with a nominative subject, and, hence, they have not just one grammatical person. The author regards only the verb-predicates that can occur as the subject in structures as verbs with one grammatical person (Heinsoo 2004). Juhan Peegel suggested that those verbs that can occur only in the 3rd person (in the singular and the plural) but have a nominative subject (nature, non-human creature, scenic object) should be called defective verbs (Peegel 1958: 492). Hence, the verbs that occur only in the 3rd person are morphologically always in one grammatical person (Tuomikoski 1983: 216) while only a small proportion of them are syntactically in one grammatical person.

Hakulinen divided structures and verbs in one grammatical person into three groups: 1) passive forms, such *Mies saadaan vaimo ote-*

taan 'a husband is received, a wife is taken'; 2) typically singular verbs and verb constructions in one grammatical person: *Jokaisen täytyy tulla* 'everyone must come, *Lain tule olla lyhyt* 'a law must be short'. These are verbs that call for the genitive of the actor; 3) words and word combinations that are temporarily used without a nominative subject and can also occur in several grammatical persons in the same meaning: *Lasta itketti* 'the child began to cry'; *Silmissä mustenee* 'I feel dizzy' (Hakulinen 2000: 555 ff).

Every group is represented also in Votic: 1) *perrä neistī kuttsumā s a f k i n a* 'later they started to call her Safkina', 2) *miļ piāb mennā* 'I must go, I need to go'. 3) *viskāb vihmā* 'it looks like rain', *minua nukutab* 'I want to sleep', *silmiz musētib* 'I feel dizzy'. Estonian and Votic constructions of the second group have the semantic subject in the adessive. Structures with a genitive are rare in Votic and are influenced by Izhorian. The second group of verbs is semantically very broad. The predicate verb may express natural phenomena, physiological and psychological processes and states of a human being, etc.

Occurrence of singular verbs is a common linguistic phenomenon. Airila studied comparatively Estonian, Hungarian, and Finnish verbs and verb constructions with a single grammatical person and concluded that the Finnish language has a remarkably large number of such constructions, more than in the other two languages (Airila 1928: 2 ff.). Votic, too, has many singular verbs.

2.1. FORMALLY SUBJECTLESS STRUCTURES

The structure of a sentence includes a semantic subject (S_{Sem}), which is not realized as a grammatical subject.

2.1.1. The semantic subject is in the partitive²

2.1.1.1. Predicate expressing a human physical state

$N+part_{Exp} V_{sg3}$

ai ku minua ahisēb — *eb ē vozduhā* Luu 'oh, I'm totally out of breath — there's no air here', *minua ikosutaB* 'something makes me hiccup', *lehmā taitā janotaB M* 'the cow seems to be thirsty'. Here the semantic subject is an animate referent (Exp), but the semantic subject has the (semantic) feature ANIMATE (Exp).

² Below the sentence patterns are numbered in the same way as in Chapter 1.

However, predication may be directed at a subject referent. N+part_{Pat} V: *pätä vaivatab* J 'my head is aching', *tšülmä ilma, jalkoi palgatab* Luu 'the weather is cold; my feet are freezing' (1.1.1, 1.1.2, and 1.1.3).

2.1.1.2. Predicate expressing a psychic state

glin mettsäs i minua niku irmutti Luu 'I was in the forest and kind of got scared', *minua ain nagrutēB* J 'I always feel like laughing' (1.2.2).

The group denoting a physical state is more varied. It comprises about 40 verbs, the majority of which are used only as singular verbs, that is, they have no other meaning than the corresponding state.

2.1.1.3. Predicates expressing a meteorological state

They are characterized by similarity to predicates with a meteorological meaning that have a partitive-like subject (2.6.3). In such structures the proposition is oriented towards the object. V(N+part)_{Pat}: *ai ku nüd annab märtšä lunta* J 'oh, it's snowing so heavily now', *ihtši keŷvī tulta* 'there was heavy lightning'.

In the case of process predicates an entity of the surface structure can act as the semantic subject.

2.1.2. The semantic subject can be in the other grammatical cases of the object

2.1.2.1. Predicate expressing a physical process

N+ngp_{Pat} V

paizgotti keikē vatsā M 'the whole stomach puffed up', *kohotti rintojē alussēD* J 'the area below the chest swelled up', etc.

2.1.2.2. Predicates expressing physical and chemical processes

N+ngp_{Pat} V

apagoitti pīmā J 'the milk turned sour', *vāhtoa jo ajab* J 'it's foaming already', etc.

Thus, formally the core of impersonal structures is a semantic subject, which is an object of the surface structure, state or process verbs that are mostly related to the animate proposition subject (the

entire animate referent, as in 1.1.1, 1.2 or a part thereof, as in 1.1.2, 1.4). Less frequently the subject is an inanimate referent (1.3, 1.5).

2.1.3. The semantic subject is in the adessive

2.1.3.1. Predicates expressing a physical state

N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj, cop Adj=P

lahzēl̄ on tšūlmä Lii 'the child is cold.

N+ad_{Exp} cop N+nom, cop N+nom=P

täl̄ on nältšä J 'he's hungry' (1.1.7).

2.1.3.2. Predicate expressing a psychic state

N+ad_{Exp} cop Adj

millä on üvä mēli Itš 'I'm glad', *tälle on žāli* J 's/he's sorry'.

2.1.3.3. Predicate expressing assessment state

N+ad_{Exp} V

mil vēB J 'I'm lucky', *täl̄ ain viskāB* J 'he's always lucky'.

2.1.3.4. Beginning or entering state

If the structure includes an optional adessive or allative form, one is dealing with a physical or a psychic state of an animate referent.

(N+ad/all_{Exp}) V N+nom

tuli mehelē irmu sūr 'the man got very scared', *millē tuli süä* 'I got angry'.

(N+ad_{Exp}) V Adj

mil̄ tuli sōja 'I warmed up', *täl̄ jo tuli tšūlmä* 's/he was already feeling cold'.

2.1.3.5. Predicate expressing psychic processes

N+ad/all_{Exp} V

tälle tāz johtu mēlē Luu 's/he remembered again'.

The verb is usually accompanied by a subordinate clause that is in the position of a grammatical subject: *miļ johtu mieliesie, etti d'ad'a tšähsi laskęa ęhjat tšäeš vällä* Pum 'I remembered that my uncle told me to let go of reins'.

2.1.3.6. The formal predicate is a modal verb

N+ad MV V+da

miļ piäp tū ęlla tehtü valmiz J 'I must complete the work', *täl ep sã pęļettã* J 'he mustn't smoke', *miļ on tarviz ęssã uvvet sãppãD* J 'I need to buy a pair of new boots', *miļ ep tahtuiz mennã kottõ* Kuk 'I wouldn't like to go home', *täl sãn ep sünnü ęlla* Po 'it's inappropriate to be here', etc.

The verbs of the group change the sentence structure according to the main verb. The situation subject takes the adessive upon becoming a modal subject. The modal subject that occurs in combination with such modal verbs is an animate referent.

2.1.4. Semantic subject in the allative, adessive, or comitative

2.1.4.1. Human cognition state

N+all_{Caus} V

kassen haizęp tšãjulę Ra 'it smells of tea here'.

N+ad_{Caus} V

mualla maistaB sũza Ra 'it tastes like mud'.

N+nom_{Caus} V

ai ku haizęp kalãkã 'oh, it smells of fish' (1.4.3).

This sentence pattern reveals some Russian influence.

2.1.5. Semantic subject in the genitive

N+gen MV V+da, MV V+da=P

tütõkkęizę piãb mennã Ra 'the little girl must go' (4.1.2.4).

The formal predicate is the modal verb *piãb* 'must', 'it's necessary'. This usage of the modal verb is rare. The modal subject is usually in the adessive (4.1.2.2).

2.1.6. The semantic subject is absent

The semantic subject is absent from the surface structure but is present in the deep structure.

2.1.6.1. The predicate is an action verb

The predicate is an action verb in the impersonal, the imperative, or the subject is incorporated (in the 1st and the 2nd person).

V_{in}

ahasin jo jupkā Lii 'I already took the skirt in', *ajakā vātši shotkā* M 'get the people to the meeting', *tšen tāp, ķens kottō tullaz J* 'who knows when they will come home'.

2.1.6.2. Impersonal action predicates

V_{sg2}

Impersonal action predicates in the 2nd person singular or the 3rd person plural: *kuhē tātā hullua vēD J* 'where should one take the lunatic?'

2.1.6.3. The predicate is a modal verb

MV V+da

Predicates with a generically used modal verb: *piäb litšipā kattsoa* Luu 'must have a closer look', *ai ku ahas kanava, sāb mennä üli J* 'what a narrow ditch; we can cross it'.

2.1.6.4. Action predicates that denote beliefs

They belong to the group of action predicates only notionally because the action is personified.

V_{sg3}

kalmois tšūditāB Pum 'it haunts in the graveyard', *rīgas pelehtēB* Lem 'it haunts in the barn'.

The association with the action is caused by the use with the subject: *pokoinikka tšūditāB* 'a dead person haunts'.

2.2. SEMANTICALLY IMPERSONAL STRUCTURES

2.2.1. Predicate expressing a human physical state

V_{sg3}

näpip süäd, tänävä on nī paha Ra 'there is pain in my body; I feel so bad today', *nī keṽassi kivissi* Luu 'there was such a severe pain', *nī keṽassi sattu, jot tulet tultī silmissä* Luu 'it hurt so much that the eyes were like burning', *kainaloalt tšihgub* Kōr 'my armpit is itchy'.

Such verbs are optionally extended by a modal, temporal, or a local expression, etc.

2.2.2. Predicate expressing a meteorological state

V_{sg3}

tänān kahutab Pum 'it's freezing slightly today', *jūriseB* 'it's thundering', *porotab ūl vē* J 'the water is freezes over at night'.

2.2.3 Predicate expressing a meteorological process

V_{sg3}

pimeneb jo, ū tuḡB J 'it's getting dark already; night is falling', *egle selitti* J 'it cleared up yesterday', *tāz ūssi sirkeṅB* Luu 'it will again clear up at night'.

Some meteorological verbs can be used with a subject. Examples include the mythologically motivated use of the subject, as in *jumala jūrāB* M '(god) is thundering' or a subject that does not add any information: *taivas pilvissūB* M 'the sky is clouding over'. The group includes some denominal verbs (*jūriseB, pilvissūB, tilkaB, tuiskāB* etc.) that express both the subject and the predicate from a specific perspective. The verbs of this type are always unambiguous and denote only specific natural phenomena. Airila pointed out that the verb *sataa* 'rain, fall' has multiple meanings — it can occur in combination with different subjects (Airila 1928: 10). The situation is the same in Votic: *vihmā, šlotta, lunta satāB* Pum 'rain, sleet, it's raining'. If a natural phenomenon is described by a verb that has also another use, the subject is highlighted: *pakkain, tūli keṽissūB* Pum 'the frost, the wind is picking up', *päivä sammub* Luu 'eclipse of the sun (= the sun is dying out)'. The previous predicate verbs are already defective conjugable verbs.

Meteorological verbs are typical singular verbs with one grammatical person, and they reveal zero-valency, which means that the use without any arguments is common (Rätsep 1978: 77).

2.2.4. The predicate expresses a meteorological state

The predication is oriented towards the entire surrounding reality.

cop N+nom

on pakkain J 'there's frost', *gli valgetikko* 'it was dawn'.

cop Adj

varjuz on üvā J 'it's good in the shade', *siäl on vilu* 'it's chilly over there', *tševäl viel on tšülmä Po* 'it's still cold in spring'.

cop Adv

egle gli pilvez J 'it was cloudy yesterday'.

The semantic structure with the predicate of an ambient state may include a potential argument — the carrier of the evaluation of the state: *vari* 'hot', *tänān on nī vari J* 'today it's so hot', *mīl on vari* 'I 'm hot'.

In all three cases one is dealing with different states. The function of the person who evaluates the situation of objective reality can be attributed to the non-verbalized subject argument; in the second case the situation is specified; in the third case there is a carrier of a verbalized situation.

A sentence with the ambient state predicate includes a potential argument — the carrier of the assessment of the state.

2.2.5 Subject is an indefinite pronoun

One group of onomatopoeic verbs that denote processes and states occurring in nature can occur without a subject because the subject is indefinite. As for their content, the group is also connected with the structures where the subject is an indefinite pronoun (1.9.3, 2.4). Such constructions often include a modal: (*tämä*) *kevvī läütšāb* Luu 'it splashes a great deal', *aivō kevasi vūmāp peļea J* 'there's a blazing fire', *kuzalē dūmizeB J* 'it's rumbling somewhere'.

Thus, impersonality of a sentence may be formal or notional. Formal impersonality is prevalent; in that case there is no grammatical subject while the proposition is oriented towards another part of the sentence — usually to the object or an object adverbial. The semantic subject may perform the role of Experiencer or Patient. A sentence

that is formally impersonal but semantically personal has no semantic subject in the surface structure. In that case there can be an action predicate, and the sentence has no explicit agent. It is either incorporated, or the predicate occurs in the so-called 4th person, that is, in the impersonal form (Tuomiokoski 1983: 233; Hakulinen, Karlsson 1995: 378). As the impersonal can be formed only from those verbs, the subject of which is a human referent, Agent or Experiencer, there cannot be any semantically subjectless structures. Semantically impersonal structures have no grammatical or semantic subject. The predicates of such structures express a state that encompasses the whole human subject (1.1.3) or a state or a process that is oriented towards the whole surrounding environment (1.8.3, 1.9.3.1, 2.6.1). Subjectless structures can include modal and phasal verbs. Modal verbs often lend a generic meaning to the action predicate: *vęib alkā kaivoa māmunā* J 'one may start picking potatoes', *algap pimetä* J 'it's getting dark'.

3. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PREDICATE AND THE SUBJECT

Agreement is mutual interaction between the parts of the sentence that may be manifested in number, person, gender, and case. Gender agreement is common in Indo-European languages. It is absent in Finno-Ugric languages. Number and person agreement is characteristic of the relationship between the subject and the predicate in all Finno-Ugric languages (Itkonen 1966: 317). The predicate agrees with the subject. The subject triggers the agreement between the subject and the predicate. Agreement can be divided into

- formal or grammatical agreement;
- logical or semantic agreement, notional agreement.

In the case of grammatical agreement, the congruent part of the sentence repeats the grammatical form of the main part of the sentence. In the case of semantic agreement, the congruent part of the sentence follows the meaning of the main part of the sentence (Kálmán 1980: 46 ff.). Logical and grammatical agreement may coincide (Ssg-Psg, Spl-Ppl). If the subject is a collective word that contains semantically more singulars, there is a conflict between formal and semantic agreement.

Notional agreement or *constructio ad sensum* is rather common in different languages. It is common in French, German, English, Latin, and other languages. It is a universal phenomenon that does not reveal any interlinguistic influences (Ravila 1961: 110 ff.). In such

cases formal agreement gives way to logical agreement, and the predicate is in the plural if the subject is a noun with a plural meaning in the singular form. In Hungarian logical agreement is very rare. It is common in the Obi-Ugric languages — it occurs in 89 per cent of the cases if the subject is a collective noun (Kálmán 1980: 48).

Consequently, agreement is a complex phenomenon, which takes into account the content and form of both words in question, as well as some other factors.

Personal agreement of a verb is narrower than number agreement. The former occurs only in the simple forms of the verb while the latter can occur also in compound forms. The agreement between the subject and the predicate is triggered by the subject. In the case of finite verbs, it makes sense to speak of number agreement only in the 3rd person. The subject class is not closed here. Apart from the corresponding personal pronoun, any noun or a word in this function can act as the subject. Historical proof of number agreement of the 3rd person is evidenced by the transfer of the plural marker — *t* from the subject to the personal ending *vat*, *-vät* (Karls-son 1977: 365).

3.1. NUMBER AGREEMENT

In Votic the singular total subject always agrees with the predicate if it is in the singular nominative case and does not denote a collective entity, quantity, measure or number, that is, it is not semantically plural. In the indicative mood of a finite verb in the present tense, the 3rd person singular ending is — *B*; the imperfect and the conditional have no personal marker; the 3rd person singular of the indicative mood of the present tense of the verb *ella* 'be' is *on*.

1. *sis peremmēs katsop suppia* Luu 'then the master inspects the soup'
2. *hān harib ommāssē naissa* Kuk 'he takes care of his wife'
3. *ilma harottāB* J 'the weather is clearing up'
4. *i vattsa ellgis tullu täünnä* Luu 'and the stomach would have become full'
5. *emä meni tülē* Itš 'mother went to work'

The predicate also agrees with a total subject in the plural nominative. Also, in the case of the *ella*-verb, the ending of a finite verb in the indicative and conditional mood is *-vad/-väd*.

6. *ellä pāzgod lenteliväd* Itš 'earlier the swallows used to fly'

7. *peftsad laulettī kokō vuvvē* Luu 'singers used to sing all year long'
8. *k u k k u z i z eltī musā katī kurissajad* Ra 'a black cat had kittens in Kukкуси'

Nowadays, the use of the impersonal of a finite verb in the 3rd person plural is highly common in Votic due to the Russian influence (Ariste 1981: 1 ff.; Szabó 1984: 111 ff.) (example sentences 6, 7).

Thus, in Votic a plural total subject agrees with the predicate (with the exception of the *ella*-verb in some cases). In some Finnish dialects a plural total subject does not agree with the predicate, especially in those cases when there is a subject word in the sentence (Paasonen 1889: 5; Sirelius 1894: 9, Kannisto 1902: 8 ff.; Janhukainen 1954: 372). Agreement in the 3rd person plural is also common in contemporary colloquial Finnish (Mielikäinen 1984: 162 ff.; Karlsson 1977: 371, 378). Predicate agreement with a plural total subject can be found also in Vepsian fairy tales and in some exceptional cases also elsewhere (Kettunen 1943: 64 ff.). Number agreement occurs also in Estonian dialects, mostly when the speaker changes his/her topic of conversation (Neetar 1964b: 131). In Karelian agreement occurs in sentences with inverted word order (Leppik 1960: 208).

The agreement between the subject and the predicate is complicated in the case of subjects that are formally singular but actually comprise several subjects (a numeral or a combination of a numeral and a noun, a collective noun, some indefinite pronouns, etc.). In such cases various factors influence agreement.

3.1.1. Subject as a cardinal numeral

If the subject is a cardinal numeral, most Finno-Ugric languages reveal formal agreement, and the predicate is in the singular despite the fact that the numeral (except for *ühz* 'one') is semantically plural (Kettunen 1943: 51; Itkonen 1982: 79; Leppik 1960: 203; Ikola 1964: 51; Kálmán 1980: 49, ISK 1224; EKG 140). Formal agreement, however, is not absolute. Apart from formal agreement, the number of the predicate is influenced by the logical number of the subject and the species relationships.

9. *i keikki keļmeļ pantī ahjō kursileipā* Luu 'and all three of them put the wedding bread into the oven'
10. *keikki keļmeļ veļtētī lapjā varrēš tšīn* Luu 'all three of them took hold of the spade haft'
11. *menivāt kahsi, xolostoi i tüttärikko* Kõr 'two of them went — a bachelor and a girl'

The above examples reveal logical agreement, but the number of the predicate is influenced by an indefinite pronoun (9, 10) and coordinated extensions (11), which emphasize semantic plurality of the subject, that is, the fact that there are more actors than one.

Finnish researchers have suggested that in the case of number agreement, the number of the predicate depends on the notive species of the subject. If the subject is known, that is, definite in terms of the notive species, the predicate is plural (Karlsson 1960: 104). In Votic examples definiteness of the subject is expressed by the plural extension *keik̄* 'all' or the persons denoted by the numeral will be stated later by individual names. Hence, a plural predicate is something to be expected. Generally, Votic reveals few sentences where the subject is an unextended cardinal numeral; for this reason, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the type.

Combinations of a cardinal and a noun are more frequent.

When analysing parts of the sentence, researchers have treated combinations differently. In several grammars, compiled by contemporary linguists, the combination of a numeral and a noun is presented as one part of the sentence (EKG 28; ISK 1224). As regards agreement, it does not make sense to treat them separately because the species of the noun controls the number of the predicate.

A numeral may be positioned only before an indivisible noun. It can occur in combination with divisible nouns only if the noun acquires a contextually indivisible integral meaning, that is, it becomes countable. Amount of divisible nouns can be expressed by a quantitative word, but a numeral can be added to those words that express quantity or measure. In the former case, the noun is in the partitive and denotes a person or a living being and is extended by a numeral (S = Num N+part). In the latter case the subject is a measure (S = Meas) that entails also a numeral, a noun in the partitive, and the latter expresses an amount of time, length, etc. (Rätsep 1978: 56). In terms of agreement, it is interesting to examine subjects with a different content separately. In existential sentences where the semantic subject is Beneficiary (N+ad = Ben) but the grammatical subject is Existence (N+nom, N+part = Ex), the predicate is always in the plural (Itkonen 1982: 80).

12) *gli tāllä keļmēt poikā* Itš 'he had three sons'

13) *mil gli keļm ovēš* Pum 'I had three horses'

14) *sis gli meilä keļmē lehmā, kahsi siikkā* Itš 'then we had three cows, two pigs'

15) *a pojol gli vīz vōtta* M 'but the boy was five years old'

The same is true of Finnish and the Estonian dialects. Helmi Neetar pointed out in her dissertation that when in Estonian dialects main attention is focused on the number of entities, objects, etc. expressed by the subject, the predicate is in the plural form (Neetar 1964b: 210). The predicate verb *olema* occurs here in the meaning 'have, exist'. If the subject is a combination of a numeral and a noun that denotes animate participants of the situation, one can find formal as well as semantic agreement. Generally, agreement is formal. The predicate can be either pre-posed or post-posed.

16. *glivat kahē sēsarghsē* Kat 'there were two sisters'
17. *ain jutelti, što tultī tšerikossa kahs kumā* M 'it was always said that two godparents came from the church'
18. *välissä tultī vettamā kahsteššemeē ovessa* M 'sometimes they came to fetch the bride with 12 horses'
19. *siz ühtē põlē neisti kēlmēd entšiä i tēispōl kēlmēd entšiä* Luu 'then three people started on one side and three people on the other side'
20. *kahs poikasse uppozivad* Luu 'two young boys were drowned'
21. *kahs vell'iä, üli errē vāttevad i üppiväd, a tēin tēis evät tunne* Kat 'two brothers look and jump over the hen roost, but they do not know each other'
22. *nell'ä mēssä seizovad ühē šl'āpī alla* Kat 'four men are standing under one cap'
23. *i ne kaḡs sēsart tulivat pulmejē, kummad eväd ē rodnjit sēsargD* M 'and the two sisters came to the wedding; they were not blood sisters'

Formal agreement is less common in the following cases:

24. *kahs koñuhā gli* J 'there were two horse herdsman'
25. *tuep kahz naizikko* J 'two women came'
26. *nell'ä mēs ladvald occi* Kuk 'four men took hold of the tree top'
27. *kēik kēlmēd vazikkā on ärtšized* J 'all the three calves were males'

If the subject word denotes an inanimate thing in a passive state, or the subject is a measural, formal agreement is used:

28. *med'dē tšüläz gli ēste vīz vai kūz talloa* Luu 'earlier there were five or six houses in our village'
29. *vīsteššemeē virstā on i t š ä p ä i v ä* Sav 'it's fifteen versts from here to Itšäpäivä'

30. *kassē panķēšē mahup kahstēššēmet kruškā* Pum 'this bucket holds twelve stoups'
31. *vuvveza on kahstēššēmetta kūta* M 'there are twelve months in a year'
32. *meni kahs päivā i valmiz glitši* Luu 'it took two days, and it was ready'
33. *nī siz meni näтелиä kahsi* J 'so two weeks passed by'.
34. *kahz vōtta menivād i siel tuli paha* M 'two years went by and the evil one came'

Neetar observed that in Estonian dialects the singular predicate is possible only if the verb *minema* 'go' is used in the meaning of 'pass, go by', and the noun in the partitive denotes a period of time (1964a: 222). In example 22, the predicate in the plural although this use seems to be rare even in Votic and is influenced by the post-posed predicate.

In Estonian dialects, Finnish, Vepsian, and Karelian the singular predicate is mostly used if the focus is the number of the participants or the location, and the plural predicate is common if the emphasis is on the activity (Sepamaa 1959: 111; Neetar 1964a: 210). If the emphasis is on quantity, in Karelian the subject, which is expressed by a word describing quantity, is shifted to the end of the sentence in order to highlight the meaning (Leppik 1960: 203). However, it seems that if the subject is quantitatively defined, it serves to highlight this very fact because otherwise the sentence could simply contain a plural subject, whereas the action is always of secondary importance in such sentences. The definiteness of the activity of the verb seems to be supported by the circumstance that in Votic the subject denoting an animate object is often accompanied by a plural predicate. And yet, one would expect an active activity, above all, from the agent. When studying Estonian dialects, Neetar found that it is definiteness rather than indefiniteness that is important. In Estonian dialects, the indefinite notive species triggers the use of a singular predicate (Neetar 1964a: 220). In Votic, the notive species seems to be of minor importance.

If the subject is a cardinal numeral or a combination of a cardinal and a noun, in closely related languages the predicate is mostly in singular although plural predicates are used as well. Bela Kálmán identified as many as three types of agreement with such a subject in Hungarian: *Ssg — Psg* (predominant), *Ssg — Ppl* (in old language and vernacular) and *Spl — Ppl* (as a Latin influence in ecclesiastical language). The latter type includes a plural noun modifying the numeral, which is characteristic of Indo-European languages (Kálmán 1980: 49). This type is absent in Votic.

Thus, when it comes to the agreement between the subject expressed by a cardinal and the predicate in Votic, one can claim that the predicate is in the plural if the subject is a measural (29, 30, 31) or in constructions where the subject in the adessive denotes Possessor, and the *ella*-verb occurs in the meaning of existence (12, 13, 14, 15). The predicate is invariably in the plural also if the subject is a numeral that is defined by modifiers, that is, if the plural content of the subject becomes evident (9, 10, 11). In other example sentences, the notive species of the subject is mostly indefinite while the predicate may occur in the singular as well as the plural. Logical agreement is more common (16–19). The post-posed plural predicate usually denotes an activity (25–28).

Göran Karlsson scrutinized the Finnish Bible published in 1642 and found many instances of plural predicates in sentences where the subject denoted indefinite species. In colloquial Finnish mostly singular predicates are used (Karlsson 1960: 102 ff.). Here, however, the language had been influenced by the general tendency of colloquial Finnish to use a singular predicate with a plural subject (Mielikäinen 1982: 44 ff.).

In Votic the selection of number in the case of a numeral subject seems to be determined by the fact whether the plurality of the subject is revealed in the sentence or not.

3.1.2. Subject as a collective noun

Collective nouns denote groups of countable animate or inanimate objects and express a collective or a whole formed by a group of creatures or objects belonging to the same class (Ikola 1961: 89). They are formally singular but notionally plural (ISK 1223) Such words are present in many languages. On the one hand, such nouns express the subject; on the other hand, they are plural and, hence, in the former case they may require a singular predicate and a plural predicate in the latter case. Semantic agreement lies in the semantics of the noun. *Constructio ad sensum* is possible only if the subject that is a collective noun shows that the animate objects belong to the same group. In the case of a subject denoting animate objects of the same group, it is impossible to assume a separate participation of the objects of this class in situations. Thus, collectiveness of the process is self-evident, and the predicate is always in the singular.

35. *tämä tšülä pēli* SR 'this village was burning'

36. *no koko tšülä emijē valkojē kattoikā näüb üvässi* J 'the whole village with its white roofs is well visible'

In the previous examples *tšülä* stands for an administrative entity, a group of buildings. If the word is used in the meaning of villagers, that is, it denotes a group of animate objects, the predicate may be in the plural as well.

Thus, in terms of agreement it is interesting to examine the collective nouns that denote only animate objects and refer simultaneously to a collection as well as to the single objects forming it. Among such words one can find *rahvas* (*rahvaz*, *vätši*) 'people' in Votic as well as in other languages. The following collective nouns are also highly common: *suku* 'family; relatives', *nōrizo* ~ *nōruz* ~ *nōrrahvaz* 'youth; young people', *pari* ~ *pariskunta* 'married couple', *voiska* 'army', *žīvatta* 'livestock', etc.

If the subject denotes a group, the number of the predicate usually depends on whether the word denotes a whole and collective activity or single persons and distributive activity. It becomes evident when analysing the Estonian equivalents of the Votic words *rahvaz*, *vätši* 'people', *suku* 'family; relatives', etc. Nonetheless, it is usually difficult to contrast collectiveness and distributiveness of an activity as long as an activity usually includes both elements.

Most of the above-mentioned collective nouns can occur with a singular as well as a plural predicate. Three types of occurrences are possible:

Ssg — *P* or formal agreement;

Ssg — *Ppl* or logical agreement;

Spl — *Ppl* or formal agreement and logical agreement coincide.

The last type of agreement is rare and a noun in the nominative plural is no longer a collective noun in the traditional meaning, whereas distributive activity of single components is predominant:

37. *kase ęlti mokomad rahvāD, etti tätti tehä pal'lo paħhā* M 'they were the kind of people who were able to do a lot of harm'

38. *esimezessi mentī vanad rahvāt tšerikkōsē* M 'at first old people went to church'

In the examples above the meaning 'people' is clearly distinguishable. A singular predicate, which is usually post-posed, is more common in the case of the productive collective noun *rahvaz* ~ *vätši*:

39. *keik̄ tšüllā vätši tšäüz vāttamā* Po 'all people of the village went to see it'

40. *vätši on sünnikāz* Luu 'people are sinful'

41. *keik̄ rahvas tuęb da viskāB* Pum 'all people come and throw it'

42. *entin rahvaz dūmaš, što siäl on domovikkv* Kõr 'earlier people thought that there was a ghost'
43. *tšülä rahvas koppiup suimēlē* J 'village people assemble for a meeting'
44. *gliko keik vätši tullu* Luu 'have all the people come?'
45. *tulep tšülä vätši õmnikol vette vettamā* Luu 'village people come to fetch water in the morning'

The examples above denote collective actions, which are often emphasized by the indefinite pronoun *keik* 'all' (39, 41, and 44). The adjectival component of the compound predicate occurs also in the singular (40).

The plural predicate may be pre-posed or post-posed:

46. *vot sitä vīsī tultī kase meijē tšülä vätši elāmā* M 'so the people of our village settled down here'
47. *pajattavad nuor vätši venäissi* Pum 'young people already speak Russian'
48. *mentī tšülä vätši, rahvaz vällä rihessä* Pum 'village people left the house'
49. *rahvas pajattavad* J 'people talk'
50. *sitä vīsī jutēltī rahvaz* Luu 'this is what people said'

Semantically, there is no difference from sentences with a singular predicate. Here the action is in most cases collective, though rather indefinite. Less frequently, the semantic plural is specified with modifiers:

51. *keik tšülä vätši, pojot, tüttäret, nuored mehed i vanat tullās vättamā ženihā* Pum 'all the village people, sons, daughters, young people and old people come to see the bridegroom'

The collective noun *suku* is also frequently used with a post-posed singular predicate. Thus, in the case of normal word order, the subject usually seems to trigger the use of formal agreement.

52. *keik suku tulgb ženiḡā* Sav 'the whole family of the bridegroom is coming'
53. *sūr suku siunaz emēa* Lem 'the big family congratulated'
54. *nōtikā suku antī lahjad* Luu 'bride's relatives gave presents'

The plural predicate occurs can be post-posed or pre-posed:

55. *nüt tulevat keik ženiḡā suku viskāmā nōrikēlē denḡoi* K 'now all the relatives of the bridegroom come and throw some money at the bride'

56. *i keĳik suku tullāz viskuaz raħhoi laŭvalē* Sa 'and the whole family comes and throws some money on the table'
57. *i keĳikki suku sitā vīsī isuttī karikkā* Luu 'and thus all the relatives sat down to drink from the cup'

Logical as well as formal agreement can occur also in the case of less common collective nouns:

58. *nōrizo korjaup ģhtogona* Kōr 'young people assemble in the evening'
59. *nuorizo keĳik teĳin teĳizĳlē valēltī paŅĳkā* Kat 'young people poured buckets of water on each other'
60. *kase pariskunta elāvād aivō üŭvī* M 'this married couple is doing very well'

In the case of the collective nouns *voiska* 'army' and *pulmarātu* 'wedding guests; wedding procession', the predicate is usually in the singular while in the compound *šetavätši* 'army' it is in the plural.

61. *vennā voiska se kaivĳ* Luu 'the Russian army dug'
62. *vod med'dē pulmarātu tuli* M 'look, our wedding procession arrived'
63. *šetavätši mennā mōtä* Luu 'the army is passing by'

The collective noun *žīvatta* 'livestock', which is characteristic of Votic, always calls for a plural predicate:

64. *tšēl ēvād mene etezī žīvatta* J 'whose livestock is not coming along'
65. *veĳib ģlla siz ņeĳsevad menemā etezī keĳik žīvatta* Pum 'perhaps all the livestock will then start coming along'

The collective nouns that the predicate verb may agree with semantically and formally denote various groups of people (*vätši*, *rahvaz*, *nōrizo*, *suku*). The collective nouns with a narrower and more specific meaning, which include more specific groups of people (*pulmarātu*, *voiska*), trigger formal agreement with the predicate verb. Usually there is no semantic difference between sentences with plural and singular predicates. A post-posed predicate contributes to formal congruence. Ordinary nouns used in a certain way can also be viewed as collective nouns.

66. *ain pajattās što švētta tuĳb ģmaš šlāppiä i luzikkā i tarelkā i mēkkā ettsimā* M 'they keep talking that the Swedes will come to look for his hat and spoon and plate'
67. *vot i nüüd ģli kūluma, što švētta tuĳb* M 'there was a rumour that the Swedes were coming'

Constructio ad sensum is common in the old Finnish written language, as well as in Finnish dialects (Ikola 1964: 53 ff.). In Estonian dialects, too, the same collective nouns are used with a singular as well as a plural predicate. Estonian has more collective nouns that can semantically trigger agreement (Neetar 1965: 185 ff.). In Vepsian the predicate is more often in the singular although the plural is also possible (Kettunen 1943: 69). In the Valdai dialect of the Karelian language the predicate is more often in the plural (Leppik 1960: 205). In Hungarian logical agreement is rare and occurs only in *plurale tantum* words that are few in number. Logical agreement prevails in the Obi-Ugric languages (Kálmán 1980: 47 ff.). On this basis Paavo Ravila put forward a hypothesis that in the Uralic protolanguage the plural was expressed only by means of the predicate while the subject had no number marker. Number agreement between the subject and the predicate seems to have arisen later in individual languages (Ravila 1941: 96). The plural predicate is used with a collective noun as the subject in Indo-European languages as well.

3.1.3. Subject as the indefinite pronoun *keik̄* ~ *keitt̄si* 'all, everything'

The singular and the plural forms of this pronoun are identical in the nominative. Therefore, the form of the predicate determines the content of the subject:

68. *sifka open — valkeä, mussa i harmā, keik̄ on parvez* M 'pale horse — white black and grey, all together'
 69. *eb mitäid jännü, keik̄ peli* PR 'nothing was left, everything was burning'
 70. *keiḡ jäi mällē* Lii 'everything was left behind'
 71. *keiḡ ellēiz üvä, ku va tätä eb ellēiz* J 'everything would be all right but for this'

The predicate is in the singular if *keik̄* is a generalizing word in the sentence (68, 69) or occurs in an abstract meaning (70, 71).

If the indefinite pronoun as the subject has a specific meaning and denotes several creatures or objects, the predicate is in the plural.

72. *meil on ühs suku, keik̄ mennā gorbā* Lii 'we have one family, everybody is hunched';
 73. *keik̄ ellā vaiť i miä ġn vaiť* Luu 'everybody is silent, and I'm silent'
 74. *keik̄ pglivad, eb jännü ühtäit taloa* Kat 'everything was burning, not a single farm was left'

75. *tšel mitä vaivatti, sīs keik tahottī jumalā jällessä kassā M*
'whatever was aching, everyone wanted to dip themselves in
God's footprint'

When it comes to inanimate objects, *keik* as the subject is usually defined by modifiers (74) that highlight the plural content of the subject. The predicate is plural and the objects in question are animate:

76. *tultī keik Lii* 'everybody came'
77. *tās tarttuzivat keittši tein teizē tšiniC* Itš 'and once again
everybody took hold of each other'
78. *no jēivat i sēivat keitši* Itš 'in fact, everybody drank and ate'
79. *keik ęltī tüttäreD M* 'they were all daughters'
80. *keik ęllāz üvätapezēD, keik on mesimēllezēD* Kat 'is every-
thing all right?'

The relations between the indefinite pronoun *keik* as the subject and the predicate are the same in all the kindred languages (Nee-
tar 1964b: 198; Leppik 1960: 206).

3.1.4. Subject as plurative

While collective nouns are defective with regard to number and are mainly used in the singular, the singular is absent in the paradigm of pluratives. The pluralia tantum are not numerous. The vocabulary of Indo-European languages (Latin, English, French, German, Swedish, and Russian) contains 100–150 such words. In terms of meaning these words often belong to the same sphere. Thus, they arise from logical number and semantic reasons. There is a tendency to use pluratives with singular verbs (Ingo 1978: 33 ff.).

Hence, the pluralia tantum does not any contain information about the fact whether it is singular or plural. Yet, it is revealed by the context.

If a plurative subject is post-posed, and the sentence is modified by an adverbial, that is, if the sentence is an existential question, the predicate is usually in the singular:

81. *ja siz ęli jęuhD J* 'and then there was Christmas'
82. *türmāz on rautarešotkad M* 'a prison has iron bars'
83. *tāl on surmā sęrmikkād, sinizet tšäeD M* 's/he has 'death
gloves', blue hands'

In other cases pluratives agree with the predicate, that is, the predicate is in the plural:

84. *vetšerinad gltī pojol̄ i nōrikel̄* M 'the boy and the bride held farewell nights'
85. *silla jo kätseḍ alkivḍet šišket̄tā* Luu 'your trousers have already started to fray'
86. *pal'lo ted'dē tunnid näüttävād?* J 'what's the time by your watch?'
87. *pulmad lēvād* J 'there will be a wedding'

The subject is in postposition:

88. *koton sōtī, jōtī, gltī rissēḍ* M 'at home they ate and drank, there was a christening'
89. *vassā varjollē rippuvat tunnid* Ja 'a clock is hanging opposite the mirror'
90. *tulep starikka, avḡuzivad vārājād* Kat 'when an old man arrived, the gates opened'

It is not always possible to tell by the context whether the plurative is in the singular or in the plural (84, 87, etc.). Sometimes a plural or a singular numeral disambiguates the interpretation:

91. *ūhet seinā tunnid gltī tšülāz* Luu 'there was one wall clock in the village'
92. *kahḡet kalmod gltī* Luu 'there were two graveyards'

In the case of pluratives formal agreement is predominant. The plural may be also marked by a plural indefinite pronoun *mḡlepad* ~ *neḡlepad* 'both':

93. *neḡlepad vārājād avḡuzivad* Kat 'both gates opened'

3.1.5. Multiple coordinated subjects

In this case the predicate is usually in the plural (Leppik 1960: 201, Itkonen 1982: 80, Neetar 1964a: 157, Kettunen 1943: 63, EKG 29; ISK 1225).

94. *tultī ženihā emā il'i isā, ato rissintsā rissemākā* M 'came the bridegroom's mother or the father or the godfather with godmother'
95. *tüttäreille tōžḡ, panivad isā i emā sukkāsḡ rahhā* M 'also father and mother put some money into the stocking for the sake of the daughter'
96. *ženiḡa i norikkeḡ eri ad'del'no magataz* M 'the bridegroom and bride sleep separately'
97. *i emā i isā blahoslovoitḡttī* Luu 'and father and mother blessed (the child)'

Subjects with only one semantic role can be coordinated (94–97: $S_{gr} = Ag$).

98. *s a v i - e j ā j a l ū t s ā tšülä mentī* 'Savioja and Luuditsa villages went'

Here we have a collective noun that denotes a village as a group of people and not an administrative unit (differently from 35, 36), thus, the agents are coordinated. Inanimate subject referents also agree formally with the predicate, that is, the predicate is in the plural:

99. *hākä ja utu — meļepi mennā ühtē* Ra 'mist and fog — both mean the same'

3.1.6. Sentence with comitative (N+nom_{Sgr} N+com V)

The comitative is an active companion, that is, Agent (N+com=Ag). In this case the predicate is in the singular, but in some cases it may be in the plural as well:

100. *ženixa issu lavvaz kahē družgākā* Luu 'the bridegroom was sitting at the table with two groomsmen'

101. *vähä aikā, siz neizēb nuorikko ženixākā vällä* Po 'after a while the bride and the bridegroom got up and left'

102. *nuorikko ženixākā kummartavad jalkoisē* Po 'the bride and the bridegroom bow low'

103. *rissisä rissimākā mentī ēzä gvvēsē, ženixa nōrikākā mentī peräz* Luu 'the godfather and the godmother went to the inner courtyard, the bridegroom and the bride followed them'

In the case of a passive companion the predicate is in the singular.

N+nom_{Sgr} N+com V, N+com=Instr:

104. *a tämä täsi, što se tüttärikko tšellākā johzēB* Kat 'but s/he knew that this girl runs with a little bell'.

3.1.7. Agreement in compound tenses of the verb

The compound tenses of the verb are formed by means of an auxiliary verb and the past participle and the negative forms by means of a negative verb and the past participle.

In present-day Votic the plural form of the participle is rarely used in the active voice. In the eastern dialects the singular and the plural forms of the participle are different (sg *-(n)nuC*, *-(n)nüC*, pl. *-(nūD)*)

(Ariste 1976: 6 ff.): *et tehtinnük keikkē sūāG* Itš 'sb was not allowed to eat everything', *sāppagad glivat jānūt petājā tüv̄vē* Itš 'the boots had been left at a pine tree'. In the western dialects the past participle is usually the same in the singular and the plural (*-nnu*, *-nnü*): *kui siä ęlet sānnu ni pal'lo marjoita?* Pum 'how did you get so many berries?' *emmä nāhnü mitäiD* Pum 'we did not see anything'. There is some evidence that in earlier times the participle was used in the plural as well: *-(n)nuD*, *-(n)nüD* (Setälä 1964: 38) or *-nut*, *-nüt* (Ahlqvist 1856: 108; Ariste 1976: 15). For example, *emmä lukēnnu* 'we didn't read', but *mō emmä vęttanut* 'we didn't take'.

In the Vaipoo dialect the singular and the plural forms are marked in parallel (sg. *-(n)nu*, *-(n)nü*, the marker has merged with the stem vowel): *no tām on kōllu jo* Luu 'but s/he is already dead, s/he has died already', *ępeęed ęvad ehtinnü vässüä* 'The horses have become tired'. The influence of the Izhorian language led to the distinction between the singular and the plural (pl *-(n)nē(D)*, *-(n)nē(D)*; Mustonen 1883: 151; Ariste 1967: 17 ff.): *kummad ęlti kurissunnēd* Luu 'the ones who had hanged themselves'.

In the Kukkusi dialect the participle endings are *-(n)nuD*, *-(n)nüD*, *-nd*, *-D* in the singular and *-(n)nēD* in the plural (Ariste 1976: 17): *jumal heitä on kazvattanut* Kuk 'god grew them', *missi t'sü munnia että tōnēD?* 'why didn't you bring any eggs?'.

3.1.8. Agreement of compound tenses in affirmative speech

Subject	Auxiliary verb	Participle
Sg	active, sg	active, sg
Pl	active, sg	passive
	active, pl	active, sg
	active, sg	active, sg
	passive	passive
	passive	active, sg
	passive	active, pl

If the subject is in the singular, agreement of the predicate in the form of a compound tense does not pose any problems: *Luu: ęllęizisin hukannu va pōl kopekkā* 'I would have lost just half a kopeck', *ętko nāhnü, että on pētü?* Pum 'have you seen that there had been a party', *susi ęli vēnnü tütterikęizę m a r f ā* M 'a wolf had taken away the little girl Marfa'.

There are six possible types of agreement with the subject in the plural. In the most common type the auxiliary verb is in the third

person singular (*on*), and the participle is passive: *sērostiš on seinād nīssüstü J* 'the walls have become moist from humidity', *minū kazvo-parveđ jo on kōltu aikā Luu* 'people of my age died already long ago'.

If the participle is in the active voice, the auxiliary verb is still in the third person singular: *ah ku ivussęđ on vanunmu pāz* 'oh, how the hair has become shaggy', *vanępad on tullu j ę g ę p e r ä s s ä Luu* 'the parents came from Jōgōperä'.

As it is characteristic of Votic to use the passive instead of the third person plural, either the auxiliary verb or the participle or both are often in the passive. If the auxiliary verb is in the passive form, the participle can be either in the singular as well as the plural (the latter is less common): *ne ęlti ęppenud nahkurissi* 'they learned to become tanners', *ku javod ęllā läpähtünneđ, sis taitšin tuęb vetel Ra* 'if the flour is musty, the dough will be liquid', *mokomad ęlti nītissä tehtü kaputiđ M* 'there were slippers made of yarn', *bēžentsad on tultu v i r o s Luu* 'the fugitives had come from Estonia'. The auxiliary verb as well as the participle may occur in the active, and they differ by number: *talod ęvad mārännüđ J* 'the houses are poor'.

In Finnish dialects it is common that the auxiliary verb is in the plural when the participle is in the plural and the other way round (Karlsson 1966: 23). Since the participle in the passive, and an auxiliary verb in the passive form may be regarded as plural because they replace the third person plural, then three out of the six types of agreement are congruent, two are partially congruent, and in the case of one types, there is no agreement between the compound form and the subject.

The negative compound tense is formed by means of a negative tense and a verb in the form of an active or a passive participle. In Votic the auxiliary verb inflects whereas the main verb is used similarly to affirmative speech. The participle may be in the singular or in the plural; it could be active or passive. In most cases the negative verb agrees in person and number. However, one can also find the form of the third personal singular instead of the third person plural.

Subject	Negative verb	Participle
Sg	sg 3 rd person	sg
Pl	sg3	passive
	pl3	passive
	sg	passive
	sg	pl active
	pl	sg active
	pl	pl active

If a plural subject includes a subject in the passive, the auxiliary verb may be in the singular, as well as in the plural. The plural form of the auxiliary verb allows making a distinction between personal and impersonal sentences: *linnud ennā ep tultu tarrā* J 'birds no longer came to the garden', *rōkopillī evät tehtü* Ra 'reed pipes were not made', *tätä ep suvattu* J 's/he was not loved'.

The participle may occur in the active or passive plural: *eväd ne tšimod tätä niglannūd* Itš 'didn't these bees sting her?', *ne evät pelännüt süntiä* Luu 'they did not fear sin'.

3.2. PERSON AGREEMENT

Person agreement of the verb is narrower than number agreement of the verb. It applies only to the finite form of the verb. Agreement in number affects compound forms as well. Agreement in person is progressive by nature (*miä dūman* 'I think').

In the case of the first and the second person, agreement is triggered by only one possible subject — the personal pronoun of the respective person. The personal endings of the verb are indivisible composite morphemes of number and person. Usually these persons do not reveal agreement because the subject represents a closed class. The personal pronoun may be absent from the surface structure.

In western Votic dialects and in the Kukkusi dialect the end morpheme of the finite verb is — *n*. This ending occurs in the indicative mood of the present and the simple past tenses, as well as in the conditional mood:

1. *miä keitän munakakkua* Kuk 'I'm cooking an egg cake'
2. *miä tapazin ühē švētsilaizēkā ühtē* Lii 'I came across a Swede'
3. *miä pannisin monta turvassa sinna ja männisin ülez* Kuk 'I would put several ladders there and climb up'

In eastern Votic the verb ending — *n* has disappeared, and the stem vowel of the verb has undergone lengthening. In accordance with the phonetic law the verb ending — *n* disappeared in some Estonian dialects as well (Saareste 1955: 94).

4. *miä teitā epētā kui magataG* Itš 'I'll teach you how to sleep'

In western Votic the end morpheme of the first person plural is generally *-mma*, *-mm* and *-mme*, *-mmē* occurs in the Jōgōperä dialect, in the eastern dialect *-mmaG* and *-mmäG* in the indicative and in the conditional mood.

5. *mū keik̄ üvillā mēlillā annimma luvā* Lii 'we all gladly gave permission'
6. *mū sinne menimmäg* Itš 'we went there'

In all the dialect areas the ending of the second person singular is *-D*:

7. *kuhē sie rutad* Lem 'where are you hurrying to?'
8. *no vot lähtšid makkāmā näid unęza kehnoa unD* Itš 'well, you went to bed and had a nightmare'

The ending of the second person plural is *-tta*, *-ttä* or in Jōgōperä it is *-tte*, *-tte*, in eastern Votic *-ttaG*, *-ttäG*:

9. *leikkägā iżze, kui miltizęt palat tahotta* M 'cut a piece for yourself, one that you want'
10. *i tū juttęb, elivętteę mokomad ku mū nūd* Itš 'and you were, he says, were like we now'

There is agreement in person as well as in number in the third person. In the indicative mood of present tenses the end morpheme of the third person is *-B*.

11. *sis peremmēs katsop suppia* Luu 'then the master inspects the soup'
12. *kęs trubassa tūp saŗvu, ülez nęizęB saŗvu* Itš 'when smoke rises from the chimney, the smoke goes up'

In the indicative mood, in the simple past, and in the conditional mood the finite verb has no ending in the third person. In the simple past the ending of the third person is the only marker of the simple past, or sometimes there is a verb stem without a past marker. In the conditional mood, the ending of the third person singular is the marker of the conditional mood.

13. *naizikko rāgähti i juttęli: ep sā* J 'the woman gave a shout and said don't do it'
14. *tämä antaiz millę, a täl eb ę enel* Luu 'she would give me some, but she doesn't have any'.

The third person plural marker is *-vad*, *-väd*. However, because of the influence of the Russian language in the present-day spoken language the impersonal is used in this position (Ariste 1948: 75; Szabó 1984: 111). The impersonal is used in different positions in Finnish dialects position (Nirvi 1947).

15. *keik̄ kęm rōtia ęlti sęaza* M 'all the three military companies were in war'

16. *linnud viliselti puiza* 'birds were singing in the trees'

17. *nämä laulāz üvvi* M 'they sing well'

In Finnic languages the subject usually agrees with the predicate in number and person. There are more complicated cases where there is a conflict between the content and the form with regard to number of the subject. In such cases the number of the predicate is largely determined by word order. In Finno-Ugric languages, the subject usually precedes the predicate. In case progressive agreement turns into regressive agreement by inverted word order, it is possible to ignore formal agreement because it is difficult for the speaker to follow agreement in the opposite direction (Karlsson 1977: 372). This kind of non-agreement is common in linguistics and represents a universal tendency in various languages (Greenberg 1963: 94, Jespersen 1965: 208 ff.).

The syntactic sphere, which is influenced by verb agreement, is narrow. Congruent morphemes are added to one constituent. Several researchers regard agreement as a redundant surface feature that is unnecessary (Jespersen 1933: 337; 1965: 207; Siro 1964: 70; Tuomikoski 1971: 276).

Fred Karlsson considers agreement important as long as it provides the speaker with explicit hints, helps to grasp the message, and contributes to syntactic cohesion within the sentence. In some cases verb agreement has a distinctive function (e.g. if the subject is the indefinite *kõik*). Here one can distinguish the number of people participating in the action by means of the form of the predicate. The plural of the predicate in the case of a cardinal number as the subject shows that the concept of the subject is familiar, etc. Eventually, verb agreement in person and number marks the subject (Karlsson 1977: 380 ff.).

CONCLUSIONS

The main case of the subject is the nominative. In case a verb has a nominal subject, it is always in the nominative. The partitive subject is possible only with a small number of verbs. Most of these verbs share similar semantics. The partitive subject occurs mostly with state predicates (evaluative state, perception-related state, possessive state, and existence state) and process predicates (physical and chemical processes of the surrounding reality, process in nature, meteorological process, and a process denoting emergence or disappearance of something). An action verb may act as the predicate only if it denotes motion. Meteorological constructions constitute a large semantic group. Sentences with partitive subjects may occur without extensions, with an extension in the adessive, allative, and inner locative cases, or an extension with a temporal meaning. The first infinitive as the carrier of the nominative or partitive meaning occurs in sentences with state predicates (psychological, evaluative, and existential states). Usually the subject in the first infinitive occurs in the role of an optional Causer, and it can be replaced by a noun if the predicate is a lexical verb. In case the predicate is a copula with an adjective, the first infinitive can be replaced only by a verbal noun. The subject in the first infinitive performs the role of Existence and occurs together with an existence predicate. A subordinate clause as the subject performs the role of Causer. Votic has many subjectless constructions. Impersonality can be of two kinds — formal and semantic. In the former case the sentence has no grammatical subject, and the proposition is directed at some other part of the sentence. Usually it is directed at an object or an object adverbial, which occurs as the subject in the deep structure of the sentence; thus, it acts as the subject of the proposition. In fact, the majority of subjectless constructions belong to this type. Formal impersonal constructions form predicates with state verbs (describing human physical and psychic states, emotional

or evaluative states related to human cognition, meteorological states, and entering into a state). In case the semantic subject is absent from the surface structure, action predicates can act as nuclei of impersonal constructions. The predicate verb can occur in the impersonal and in the imperative, or it is incorporated in the verb. The same is true when the predicate in the second person singular or in the third person plural denotes a general person. On the other hand, in the case of the semantic impersonal the subject is absent also from the deep structure. The predicate of such sentences expresses a state (human physical and evaluative states, cognition-related states, ambient states, and meteorological states) or a process (meteorological processes or a process as development towards some state).

Also, the form of the predicate (person and number) is controlled by the relations between the subject and the predicate. Agreement between the subject and the predicate can be either formal (i.e. grammatical) or logical (i.e. semantic). In the case of grammatical agreement the agreed member repeats the grammatical form of the principal member. On the other hand, logical agreement implies that the predicate is controlled by the content of the subject. If the grammatical subject is either a numeral or a combination of a numeral and a noun, a collective noun, the indefinite pronoun *keikki* 'all', a plurative, or a multiple subordinated subject, agreement could be either formal or logical. In such cases the agentive predicate generally agrees with the semantically plural but formally singular subject in order to emphasize the activity and purposefulness of the subject referent. Also, the form of the predicate is controlled by its position in the sentence affects its form — progressive agreement is triggered more easily than regressive agreement.

SUMMARY

The study analyses the syntactic material of the Votic language in accordance with the principle that a sentence is centred round the finite verb surrounded by other parts of the sentence — its arguments. A verb is the centre of a sentence both syntactically and semantically. The semantic type of the verb determines the form and the content of the primary argument — the subject.

In Votic predicates may be lexical verbs, which depending on their behaviour in a situation, form predicates of state, process, and action.

The subject is most likely to perform the role of Patient — a non-active subject, the referent of which does not act itself but only participates in the situation. Patient may be an animate subject: *ühel-lä kertā pojukkegizēd löütivād lekarstvōD* Itš 'once the boys found some medicines', *jēgerit sātī karū jälleD* Luu 'hunters found the footprints of a bear'. Usually, Patient is an inanimate referent, and the related verbs related denote a process in the broader sense where a human being does not participate. Such subjects denote natural objects: *mettsä elizeB* Pum 'the forest is echoing (with sth)', *kūsi ja āpa alko ku peļevat, antavat pal'lo kipunā* Luu 'spruce and aspen logs give off many sparks when burning'. An inanimate referent may act as a subject-patient also in a situation involving a human referent. In that case the animate referent occurs in the adessive or the partitive and in the role of Experiencer: *siļ ain tū gnnissu* J 'you were always good at work', *kase sūtši miñnua inotab* M 'this food is disgusting for me'. Patient is often a referent that denotes an anatomical region of a human being. The proposition is not oriented towards the whole animate referent. In such cases there is an implicit Experiencer — a whole animate experiencer, a part of which serves as the target of the state or process: *vet' tšēli eb vāzū* Luu 'the tongue never tires', *pātā vaivatti, a nüid jo lousazi* Lii 'my head was hurting, but now it has got better'.

The semantic cases of an animate subject referent include Agent, Experiencer, and Beneficiary. Agent denotes an active and purposeful animate referent; it can be a human being or some other animate object. Agent can be accompanied only by an action verb: *mitä siä halizeD*, *mē parepi makkāMā* M 'what are you wandering about, you'd better go to bed', *pappi svātitti vettä* M 'the priest blessed the water'. Many predicates, which along with the subject in the role of Agent, are action predicates, can, along with another subject, be state or process predicates. For example, *vättšēä koppius pall'o* Luu 'a lot of people gathered (S = Ag, P = action), *hallissā elid*, *a mēld ep kopit-tunud* J 'he turned grey with age but gained no intelligence' (S = Pat, P = process), *lahz jo makkāB* M 'the child is already asleep' (S = Exp, P = state), *gli sūr sünti ku kumad magattī tēin tēizēkā* Luu 'it was considered to be an unforgivable sin if godparents slept with each other' (S = Ag, P = action).

Experiencer occurs only with predicate verbs denoting a psychic or physical state or a process. Votic is characterized by the tendency that in such sentences the role of Experiencer is attributed to an animate referent that occurs as an object in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Such sentences often do not contain a semantic subject, or it occurs optionally as the cause of a state or a process: *kase sūtši mīnnua inotAB* M 'this food is disgusting for me', *miä vātan tāmā pālē i minnua nagrutēB* Luu 'I look at her and I feel like laughing'.

Beneficiary (Possessor, Recipient) is very rarely present as the subject in the syntactic structure of the Votic language. This position is usually filled by an object adverbial: *tāl on gēmā mašina* J 'he has a car of his own', etc.

Votic has no special possessive word, and it is unproductive also in other Finnic languages.

In Votic one can find a nominal subject (in the nominative or the partitive), an infinitive subject (first infinitive), and a syntactic subject.

In Votic the subject rarely occurs in the partitive case. The partitive case is possible with 38 verbs. Most of them express a state or a process, that is, they occur with an inactive subject. Among action sentences, the partitive case is only possible in predicates denoting motion: *lahsī tšäi j g g e p e r ä l ē škoulū* Luu 'the children went to school to Jögöperä'.

Sentences with a partitive subject are often modified by a temporal, locative, or a beneficiary modifier, and the verb of existence *ella*, *lid'dä* acts as the predicate. This type of the existential sentence is typical of the Finnic languages. The function of the

partitive is to express a quantitative species, but the opposition of the nominative and the partitive often does not express any quantity, that is, there is no difference between the subjects.

However, in the case of some concrete or abstract words as the subject, the partitive is obligatory, and it expresses some shortage or an incomplete quantity. It means that predication does not include the whole subject referent, or the scope of the referent is indefinite: *saunaz on viñkā* Luu 'there is some smoke in the sauna', *naizil̄ on juttua J* 'women have things to talk about'.

If there is no modifier in the surface structure of an existential sentence, it still requires a modifier in the deep structure. Most often the partitive adds a beneficiary shade of meaning to the sentence *ku (mil̄) on (lēb) aikā, tāria Lii* 'if I have some time, kvass...' A subject in the partitive is most common in the role of Patient or Existence.

Existence occurs in typical existential sentences. Patient can often be found in set phrases such as *lunta satāB Pum* 'it's snowing', *eglē tuli vihmā* 'yesterday it rained'. A pronoun often acts as Patient. The partitive subject is unproductive in the Votic language. The first infinitive likewise occurs only in sentences of state that express an evaluative attitude of a human being towards the surrounding environment: *on rañkē lüvvä einā J* 'it's difficult to cut the grass', *kaissa on mennä mettsā Lii* 'it is scary to go to the forest'.

The predicative actant of a modal verb has usually also been regarded as the subject in the form of the first infinitive in the syntax. However, the present study is based on the principles of the semantic syntax, which means that the verb is regarded as the predicate only in case it is simultaneously a propositional predicate, the carrier of an action, process or state. The predicative actant in the first infinitive is part of the predicate. A syntactic subject is required by some evaluative verbs: *tunnuB, etti tuğB sā J* 'a storm seems to be approaching', etc.

The Votic language contains a rather large number of subjectless structures. A large group consists of construction with predicates that denote a psychic or a physical state, and a process of an animate being, which cannot be found in Estonian. A syntactic structure includes the object as the theme. The object acts as the semantic subject of the sentence and performs the role of Experiencer. There are about 50 such predicates in Votic. In these structures the grammatical subject occurs only in the role of an optional Causer. It is often an indefinite pronoun since the cause behind the state or process is unknown.

Another large group of subjectless constructions is made up of structures with a verb denoting a meteorological state or a process as the predicate. A large majority of zero-valency verbs do not have any mandatory arguments *pimeneB* 'it's getting dark', *valkeneB* 'it's getting light', etc. Usually a sentence includes a temporal or a locative modifier. This verb group is known in all the kindred languages, and if such a predicate verb occurs in combination with a subject, it can in most cases be regarded as formal because the semantics of the verb contains a sufficient amount of information about the subject. Hence, there is no need for its explicit expression *selitāB* 'it's clearing up', *taivas selitāB J* 'the sky is clearing up', etc. Meteorological verbs include those verbs that can occur with an agent subject. These structures denote a personified action: *jürrāB* Luu 'it's thundering', an action subject: *jumala jürizeB* Pum '(god) is thundering', or *ižzep tulta M* 'there is lightning' (process), *jumala ihtši tulta* 'the god struck a bolt of lightning' (action), etc.

The semantic subject may be Experiencer in the adessive case. Such structures express physical and psychic states of a human being, describe actions of human senses, or indicate an evaluative attitude of a human being:

miļ eb vē 'I have no luck', *tāl ain gnnisUB* 's/he always does well', *siļ on tšülmä* 'you are cold', etc.

Structures denoting an action can also occur without a subject. However, in such cases, the person is not absent — the acting subject is a human being though it is not explicitly present in the sentence. It exemplifies the general personal use of an action predicate. The predicate is impersonal: *pühān tšäütī tšerikkoZ J* 'people went to the church during the holiday'. Some Finnish researchers have tentatively called this impersonal form the 4th person. Impersonal use occurs also if the predicate is in the 2nd person singular or the 3rd person plural: *vāzūt kevasi ku on pal'lo tūtā J* 'you'll get very tired if you have a lot of work', *siz menevāt saunā* Luu 'then they go to sauna'.

In Votic the predicate usually agrees with the nominative subject. A partitive subject also has an effect on the form of the predicate — in this case the predicate is always in the 3rd person singular. The relations of number and person between the subject and the predicate are largely similar to other languages. In most cases the nominative subject agrees with the predicate in number and person: *emä meni tūlē* Itš 'mother went to work', *ēllä pāzgod lentelivāD* Itš 'swallows used to fly about earlier', *peftsad laulettī koko vuvvē* Luu 'singers used to sing throughout the year'. A special feature of the

Votic language is the use of the impersonal form of a finite verb in the 3rd person plural. Such predicates in the impersonal form can occur with a subject denoting an inanimate referent.

However, this use is more common if the predicate is a copula with an adjective or an adverb: *ivusət ɛlti vanunnu* J 'his hair has become shaggy', *leiväd ɛlti üväd* J 'the bread was good'. Predicates of state consisting of a copula with a noun complement or an independent *ɛlla*-verb in the meaning of being are characterized by partial agreement, which concerns the adjective or the noun but not the copula: *kɛik kɛlmɛd vazikkā on ärtšized* J 'all the three calves were male'.

In the case of agreement, the semantic type of the predicate is of great significance — agentive predicates are more likely to agree with subjects that are singular by their content. Thus, they emphasize the activeness of the subject referent and the purposefulness of its action. The group includes collective nouns, combinations of a numeral and a noun, etc. A collection of individuals or objects is denoted only by words in the singular: *kahs poikassɛ pellazivaD* J 'two boys were playing', *kahs sɛsart tulivat pulmɛjɛ*... M 'two sisters came to the wedding'. The form of the predicate is also influenced by its position in the sentence — progressive agreement is more likely to trigger agreement than regressive agreement *kɛik tšülä vätši tšüüz vättämā* Po 'all the village people went to see it'. Semantic agreement is more common in the case of inverted word order: *kɛik rahvaz tuɛb da viskāB* Pum 'all people come and throw it'. In existential sentences the pluratives do not agree with the predicate *ja siz ɛli jɛulud* J 'and then there was Christmas'. Agreement is common in a nominal sentence: *pal'lo tedd'ē tunnid näüttäväd?* J 'what's the time by your watch?'. Several coordinated nominative subjects likewise agree with the predicate: *ženixa i norikkɛ eri magataz* M 'the groom and the bride sleep separately'.

The semantic relations of the subject and the predicate mostly determine also the relations between the subject and the predicate. A subject in the partitive can occur only with a state or a process predicate. If the predicate is an action verb (verb of motion), the emphasis is not on the active action of the subject referent but on its participation in the situation. A subject in the first infinitive can occur only with state predicates. Nor is the grammatical subject present in sentences with state and process predicates. This is true of real subjectlessness. If a sentence with an action predicate does not include a subject, its use is generic, that is, the deep structure implies one or more human subject referents. Thus, structures with state and process

predicates are more diverse in terms of sentence patterns. These predicates are accompanied by miscellaneous subjects. The composition of action predicates is simpler — an action predicate is a finite form of a verb.

State and process predicates can be formed by a copula in combination with an adjective, noun, and an adverb, as well as by some verbs expressing a future action in combination with a noun or an adjective. The state verb *ella* is semantically empty and calls for the so-called semantic filler. An existential or copulative *ella* 'be' is less likely to agree with the predicate. Action predicates are more likely to agree with the subject that is a collective noun, numeral, or a noun, and they always agree with the indefinite pronoun *keik* 'all, everybody'.

Hence, the central role of the verb is reflected on the syntactic as well as the semantic level. The verb controls the content and the form.

VOTIC VILLAGES

Eastern Votic dialect

Itš — Itšäpäivä; Ma — Mahu

Kukkuzi dialect

Kuk — Kukkuzi

Western Votic dialect

J — Jögöperä; Ja — Jarvigoištsülä; Kat — Kattila; Kõ — Kõrvöttula; Lem — Lem-pola; Lii — Liivtsülä; Luu — Luutsa; M — Mati; Po — Pontizõõ; Pum — Pummala; PR — Peen-Rudja; R — Rajo; Sav — Savvokkala; SR — Suur-Rudja; Und — Undova

ABBREVIATIONS

Ag — Agent; **Adj** — adjective in nominative; **ad** — adessive; **Adv** — adverb; **act** — active; **all** — allative; **Ag** — agent; **Ben** — Beneficiary; **Caus** — Causer; **com** — comitative; **cop** — copula; **Ex** — Existence; **Exp** — Experiencer; **ess** — essive; **gen** — genitive; **iness** — inessive; **instr** — Instrument; **IV** — imitative verb; **Loc** — Locative; **Meas** — measural; **Mod** — modal; **MV** — modal verb; **N** — noun; **ngp** — nominative, genitive, or partitive; **nom** — nominative; **np** — nominative or partitive; **Num** — numeral; **O** — object; **P** — predicate; **part** — partitive; **Pat** — Patient; **Pass** — passive; **pl** — plural; **PV** — phasal verb; **S** — subject; **S_{gr}** — grammatical subject; **S_{sem}** — semantic subject; **SC** — subordinate clause; **sg** — singular; **Temp** — temporal; **transl** — translative; **V** — verb; **V_{fin}** — finite verb; **V+da** — first infinitive; **V+ma** — *ma*-infinitive; **V+neg** — negative form of a verb; **V+nud** — past participle, active; **V_{3pl}** — third person plural; **V_{sg2}** — second person singular; **V_{sg3}** — third person singular

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INDEX OF VOTIC VERB FORMS

The index lists the principal form of the verb, the da-infinitive, together with its English equivalent and page number(s) followed by the other forms of the verb occurring in the examples and the corresponding page numbers. In the case of verbs denoting natural phenomena, psychic and physical states, as well as some modal verbs, some other verb form is provided instead of the da-infinitive, usually the 3rd person singular.

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- seitella* 'scold; cackle':
seitteleb 24, 57; *seitteB*
56
- seittä* 'use to bicker' *seitti*
56
- seketä* 'go blind' *sekeni* 43
- setia* 'start war': *setimä* 69
- setkoa* 'knead' 66
- sinettä* 'be blue': *sinetäb* 40
- siputtä* 'drizzle', 88; *siput-
ti* 88
- sirkeņessa* 'clear up':
sirkeņeb 50, 105
- sirkeņessa* 'brighten up'
44; *sirkeņeisiz* 44
- sirkotella* 'stretch arms':
sirkottēb 31
- sirkotuttä* 'make stretch
one's arms' 29; *sirko-
tutab* 29
- siunata* 'bless': *siunaz* 115
- sitüä* 'get ride of smoke (in
a sauna)' 48; *sitü* 49
- sitüä* 'sober up' 43; *sivü* 43
- soppia* 'suit, fit; get along
with sb' 33; *sopizimma*
33; *soppimä* 70
- soviB* 'be fit, suit' 65, 66; *so-
vib* 66
- sōjengs̄* 'warm up' 48; *sō-
jengB* 49
- sōvia* 'predict' 34; *sōvip* 35
- sulattä* 'melt': *sulataD* 61
- sulä* 'melt' 48, 50; *sulavad*
51; *suli* 49
- surra* 'die; get numb' 44;
surēB 44
- survoa* 'be abundant': *sur-
vovad* 34
- suвата* 'love, be fond of' 31;
ep suvattu 123; *suvatti*
32
- sütüta* 'become angry' 45;
sütü 45
- svätittä* 'consecrate' 58;
svätitti 58
- svätitti* 'blessed' 129
- sünnittä* 'give birth' 58; *sün-
nütü* 58
- süntüä*, 'be born; give birth
to; come about; happen;
- occur; fit; be approp-
riate' 42, 50, 52, 85, 86,
88; *eb sünnü* 66; *ep
sünnü* 52, 85, 86, 103;
sünnüb 85; *sünnüb* 65,
66; *sünnüp* 51; *süntüje*
43; *süntüvät* 52
- süttüs* 'catch fire' 48
- süttüä* 'catch fire' 48; *sütüB*
49
- süvvä*, *süäc* 38, 59, 63, 72,
96, 97, 121; *sejn* 'eat' 29;
seivat 118; *süömä* 32;
sümä 32, 69, 71; *süöp*
57; *süb* 60; *süB* 60; *sün*
29; *süt* 43; *sötü* 119
- süvvä* 'ache' 29; *süb* 29
- süäntüä* 'get angry': *süäntü*
45
- süttä* 'fed': *evät sütä* 61
- šarissa* 'crackle; patter' 40;
šarizeb 40
- šihisä* 'hiss': *šihizeB* 56
- širisä* 'chirp': *širizeB* 56
- šišketä* 'fray' 119
- šohisa* 'swish, rustle' 40;
šohizevad 40
- šumisa* 'buzz' 40; *šumizeb*
'is whispering' 40; *šu-
mizevad* 'are ringing'
31
- tagossāc* 'be enough; have
enough' 34, 83; *ep ta-
gossāc* 34, 83
- tagossāc* 'catch' 46; *tagossi*
46, 48
- tahteä* 'want' 65, 67; *tahņ*
67; *tahob* 29; *tahon* 67;
tahotta 124; *tahottü* 118;
tahte 67; *tahto* 66
- tahtaub*, *tahtauB*, *tahtuB*
'want; wish, feel like
(doing)' 65, 67; 33; *ep
tahtuiz* 67, 103; *tahtüp*
67
- tahtoutua* 'like; want; feel'
67
- tahtūssa*, *tahtūssac* 'like;
want; feel' 67
- taitä* 'seems; must; must
be' 29, 31, 35, 36, 100;
taid 'seems' 35
- tallata* 'step; walk' 57; *tal-
lāb* 72
- talmaussa* 'get bloated':
talmauzi 43
- tanttsia* 'dance' 72; *tanttsi-
mä* 71
- tapahtua* 52; *ep tapahtu* 52;
tapahtuB 52, 86; *tapah-
tup* 86
- tapahtūssa* 'happen, occur'
52, 86
- tapata*, *tavata* 'be enough;
suffice; extend' 34, 83;
tappap 34; *tappāb* 34;
tappāp 'has enough' 83
- tappä* 'kill; fight' 59, 69; *ta-
pan* 69; *tappēB* 59; *tap-
po* 59
- tappä* 'trash': *tapa* 61
- tarkata* 'hit' 46; *ep tarkkā*
46
- tarkata* 'happen' 51; *tark-
kazi* 52
- tarkkahub*, *tarkkahuB* 'be
worthwhile, pay' 65,
67; *ep tarkkahu* 67
- tarkkahūssa* 'be; happen to
be' 85, 89; *ep tarkkahū*
85; *tarkkahub* 37; *tark-
kahüb* 37; *tarkkahüp*
85; *tarkkaus* 'happened
to be' 37
- tarttua* 'happen' 51; *ep tart-
tuiz* 52; *tarttuizivat* 118;
tarttup 39
- tarviz* 'is needed; need' 65,
83, 89, 103, *eb ē tarviz*
83
- taugēta* 'die' 42; *taukēB* 43
- taukēssa* 'die' 85; *taukēz* 85
- tavata* 'happen, occur' 52,
86; *tapazin ühtē* 123;
tappāb 52, 86
- tehōssa* 'have effect'; *tehop*
98; *ep tehō* 34; *tehozi-
vad* 34

- tehä, tehä* 'do, make' 52, 66, 67, 72, 114; *ep tē* 52; *et tē* 38; *evät tehtü* 123; *glla tehtü* 65, 103; *glī tehtü* 122; *tehtī* 34; *tetši* 46; *tēb* 39, 57; *tēB* 43; *tēp* 44
- tekauta* 'happen; succeed; get' 33, 86; *tekkauš* 53; *tekkauš* 54
- tekkauta* 'happen' 52; *evät tekkaunnu* 43; *tekkauš* 33, 86
- tekkautua* 'happen, get' 54
- terppiä* 'suffer' 30; *ep terpi* 31
- tēb mēli* 'have a wish' 67; *ep tē mēli* 67
- tehtia* 'may, be allowed to' 65; *et tehtinnük* 121
- tekkauta* 'be born' 42; *tekkauš* 54
- tekkua* 'fall' 53
- tekkuttä* 'drop' 47; *tekkutin* 47
- temmata* 'draw': *ep tempä* 39; *temmata kokkō* 53; *tempäp* 30
- teukata* 'push': *teukkāb* 58
- tilkkā* 'drizzle': *tilkaB* 50, 105
- tiputtä* 'drizzle' 51, 88; *tiputti* 88
- tokkua* 'fall out': *tokku* 53
- tošnittä* 'make nauseous' 29; *tošnitab* 29
- träpästāB* 'is coming into bud' 50
- tšakattä* 'chatter': *tšakatgB* 56
- tšebjettä* 'be made lighter' 66
- tšertissä* 'turn' 50; *tšiertiz* 51
- tšertüä* 'turn inside out (of eyes)' 44; *tšertüzivät* 44
- tšērüssä* 'turn sour' 48
- tšihkua* 'be itching': *tšihgub* 30, 33, 98, 105; *tšihgup* 34
- tšihguttä* 'be itching' 30; *tšihgutab* 30
- tšihhua* 'boil' 72; *tšihumas-sa* 71; *tšihumä* 69, 70, 71
- tšiskauš* 'is peeling off' 43
- tšulpahtāssa* 'splash' 40
- tšüdittä* 'haunt': *tšüditab* 60, 104
- tšärpästä* 'open, come into bud' 49
- tšähsia* 'tell': *tšähsi* 45, 98, 103; *tšäzzib* 58
- tšävvä* 'go' 32, 57, 88, 96; *tšäi* 58, 129; *tšävi* 58; *tšäimä* 70; *tšäüsi* 86, 88; *tšäüz* 114, 132; *tšäüzi* 53; *tšäüti* 131
- tšävvä* 'be brewing (of beer)' 48
- tšävvä* 'suit, fit; get along with sb' 33; *tšäüB* 49
- tšävvä mukkä* 'succeed' 33; *tšäi mukkä* 33; *tšäüB mukkä* 33
- tšäntüä* 'turn' 50
- tšäntüä päle* 'ear' 49; *ep tšänü päle* 50; *tšänüp päle* 50
- tšühseä* 'bake' 48
- tšülmessä* 'be cold, be in shivers' 29; *tšülmesäb* 29
- tšülmettä* 'catch cold' 44; *tšülmettä* 44
- tšülvä* 'sow' 57, 64; *tšülvi* 34
- tšüntä* 'plough' 57; *tšünnäb* 60; *tšünnäd* 61
- tšüsüä* 'ask' 57
- tuhertä* 'tread' 56; *tuhertap* 57
- tuizgata* 'blow drifting' 41; *tuiskāb* 41; *tuiskāB* 40, 105
- tukehtua* 'be strangled' 43; *tukehtu* 43
- tukehuttä* 'suffocate, take one's breath away' 29; *tukehutab* 29
- tukata* 'bury': *tukkāb* 61
- tulla* 'come; visit; get, be (in the future); start' 41, 54, 57, 66, 72, 87, 88; *ep tullu* 84; *ep tultu* 123; *gliko tullu* 115; *glleis tullu* 108; *on tullu* 122; *on tultu* 122; *tuḡb* 42, 114, 116, 122, 132; *tuḡB* 40, 44, 56, 69, 105; *tuḡD* 34, 35, 98; *tuḡp* 50, 53, 87, 111, 130; *tulḡb* 42, 115; *tulḡmā* 70; *tulḡp* 115, 119; *tulḡvat* 115; *tuli* 41, 42, 52, 59, 69, 87, 102, 112, 116, 130; *tulivat* 111, 132; *tulkā* 'come' 33; *tullās* 115; *tullaz* 104; *tullāz* 116; *tultī* 54, 105, 111, 115, 118, 119; *tūp* 42, 124
- tuntga* 'be able to; can' 31; *evät tunḡ* 111; *tunḡt-ko* 56
- tuntua* 'seem; be seen' 34, 35; *tunnub* 35; *tunnub* 130; *tunnup* 98; *tuntu* 35, 98
- turvota* 'swell up' 48; *turpōB* 49
- tuzgata* 'worry' 31; *tuskāp* 32
- tuvva* 'didn't bring': *että tōnēD* 121
- tulla* 'blow': *tulāb* 40
- tultaussa* 'dry in the wind' 53
- tähentä* 'mean' 34; *ep tähennä* 34, 98
- tärissä* 'rattle' 31, 40; *täri-zeb* 31
- täüttä* 'fill': *et täüitä* 'cannot fill' 61
- tätä* 'know; understand; recognize, mean; predict' 31, 34; *en tä* 48, 69, 84; *ep tä* 56; *tāb* 32, 35, 41, 53; *tāB* 32; *tāp* 24, 34, 40, 98, 104; *tāsi* 120; *tätti* 114; *tätämä* 69
- törkkiä* 'be prickly': *törkib* 39
- tülpässä* 'blunt' 47; *tülpäsät* 47

- tūnissüä* 68; *tūnissüb* 50; *tūnisüb* 50
- uhisa* 'buzz': *uhizgB* 56
umaltua 'get drunk' 47; *umaltuzivad* 47
unostä 'forget' 45; *unosti* 45
upota 'hold, have enough room for' 34; *uppois* 34
upotab 'drowns' 58; *upotti* 61
uppoa 'drown' 47; *eb uponnu* 52; *uppozivad* 111
upposä 'drown' 64
urnä 'rumble; growl; purr' 56; *urnab* 56; *urnāB* 56
uskoa 'believe' 32; *eb uzgo* 32; *uskomā* 69
- vaivattä* 'ache' 29; *vaivatab* 29; *vaivataB* 101; *vaivattamā* 'ache' 44; *vaivatti* 29, 44, 118, 128
vajeltä 'substitute': *vajelti* 58
vajeltub 'is changing' 51
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valmissua 'prepare': *valmissuivad* 61
valua 'be flooded': *valuvad* 51
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varissa 'heat' 60; *varisgB* 60
varissua 'heat up' 48
varmissua 'get strong' 43; *varmissuzin* 43
vasaāt 'encounter' 64
vassä pūttua 'meet' 51
- väl'aittä* 'lie about' 38
väll'aittäb 'lies down' 35
vätta 'look': *vättämā*, *vättamā* 53, 86, 115, 132; *vätan* 32, 129; *vättavad* 30; *vättēvad* look 111
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veđtella 'fight' 69
veđtā 'win' 46; *veđtaB* 69
veđitti 46
veđta 'take, fetch; begin' 69; *elä veđta* 69; *emmä veđtanut* 121; *veđtamā* 111, 115; *veđtab* 69; *veđtan* 69; *veđtap* 44; *veđtētti* 109; *veđtin* 33; *veđtti* 69; *veđti vällä* 59
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vilisä 'whistle': *älä vilizä* 59
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- viskāB* 114, 132; *viskād* 46; *viskeš* 44
viṗüä 'be late; miss' 47; *viṗüzin* 47
vuhata 'whisper; sigh; roar; buzz' 40; *vuhhāb* 40, 56; *vuhhāB* 56; *vuxxāb* 40
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vāntissä 'sprain' 44
- äessä* 'harrow': *äesäd* 61
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ävittä 'lose; destroy' 59; *ävitin* 69; *ävitti* 59
- ötšütellä* 'make burp' 29; *ötšüttēb* 29
- ültüä* 'start' 70; *ültü* 70
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ABBREVIATIONS

- AASF** — Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsinki
- ACUT** — Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, Tartu
- ALHung.** — Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- CIFU I** — Congressus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, Budapest 1963
- CIFU II** — Congressus Secundus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I, Helsinki 1968
- CIFU III** — Congressus Tertius Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I, Tallinn 1975
- CIFU IV** — Congressus Quartus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I–III, Budapest 1978–1981
- CIFU V** — Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I–VIII, Turku 1980–1981
- CIFU VII** — Congressus Septimus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum 1–6, Debrecen 1990
- CIFU VIII** — Congressus Octavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I–VIII, Jyväskylä 1995–1996
- CIFU IX** — Congressus Nonus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum I–VIII, Tartu 2000 — 2001
- DEWOS** — W. Steinitz, Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache 1–15, Berlin 1966–1993
- EEW** — J. Mägiste, Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I–XII, Helsinki 1982–1983
- EK** — Eesti Keel, Tartu
- EKirj.** — Eesti Kirjandus, Tartu
- ESA** — Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat, Tallinn
- ETATÜ** — Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused, Tallinn
- ETATÜS** — Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised. Ühiskonnateaduste Seeria, Tallinn
- FU** — Fenno-ugristica, Tartu (TRÜT)
- FUF** — Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki
- FUFAnz.** — Anzeiger der Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen, Helsinki
- FUV** — B. Collinder, Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages, Hamburg 1977
- JSFOu** — Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
- KK** — Keel ja Kirjandus, Tallinn
- KKIU** — ENSV TA Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituudi Uurimused, Tallinn
- KSz** — Keleti Szemle, Budapest
- LSFU** — Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, Helsinki
- LU** — Linguistica Uralica, Tallinn
- MNy** — Magyar Nyelv, Budapest
- MNyj.** — Magyar Nyelvjárások, Budapest
- MSFOu** — Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
- MSzFE** — A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei I–III, Budapest 1967–1978
- NyÉrt.** — Nyelvtudományi Értekezések, Budapest
- NyK** — Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest
- Nyr.** — Magyar Nyelvőr, Budapest
- SF** — Studia Fennica, Helsinki
- SKES** — Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja I–VII, Helsinki 1955–1981
- SKST** — Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, Helsinki
- SSA** — Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja 1–3, Helsinki 1992–2000
- TESz** — A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára I–IV, Budapest 1967–1984
- TL** — Tietolipas, Helsinki
- TRÜT** — Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised, Tartu
- UAJb.** — Ural-Altische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden
- UAS** — Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Bloomington — The Hague
- UEW** — K. R é d e i, Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I–III, Budapest 1986–1991
- UJb.** — Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin—Leipzig
- UUA** — Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Uppsala
- Vir.** — Virittäjä, Helsinki
- ВЯ** — Вопросы языкознания, Москва
- ЗУдмНИИ** — Записки Удмуртского научно-исследовательского института истории, экономики, литературы и языка, Ижевск
- КЭСК** — В. И. Лыткин, Е. С. Гуляев, Краткий этимологический словарь коми языка, Москва 1970
- ОМД** — Очерки мордовских диалектов, Саранск
- ССКЗД** — Сравнительный словарь комизрянских диалектов, Сыктывкар 1961
- СФУ** — Советское финно-угроведение, Tallinn 1965–1989
- ТМарНИИ** — Труды Марийского научно-исследовательского института языка, литературы и истории, Йошкар-Ола
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