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SOME GENERAL PROPERTIES OF THE ESTONIAN NEGATION SYSTEM

I. Introduction. Traditional grammars seldom contain subdivisions describing negation as a grammatical category. Statements concerning negation are usually scattered over various parts of the grammar or introduced *ad hoc* into more detailed studies of some subpart of it, where the effect of the negation is obvious. In the present paper, however, negation is conceived as a coherent system, having a structure of its own. It is this structure that will be our subject matter. Thus, we are not going to enumerate the outside effects of the negative verb form in a sentence, which, by the way, are quite well known in general outline¹, but rather we shall investigate some fundamental, perhaps elementary features of the cause itself. Within the framework of this general goal we pose a more limited problem: which part of the Estonian negation system belongs to the base structure, which part to the surface (transformational) structure of an eventual generative grammar?

We expect the reader to have the patience to go through the following simple and slightly ridiculous examples which constitute the main data of our analysis. Translations of these examples are given in four languages. We feel that in order to resolve the problem stated above, we may, to some extent, rely on similarities and differences observed between Estonian, Russian, French, German and English negation.

- (1) Est. *Geoloogid leiavad mõnikord kulda*
Russ. 'Иногда геологи находят золото'
Fr. 'Quelquefois les géologues trouvent de l'or'
Engl. 'Sometimes the geologists find gold'
Germ. 'Manchmal finden die Geologen (das) Gold'
- (2) Est. *Mõnikord geoloogid ei leia kulda*
Russ. 'Иногда геологи не находят золота'

¹ Obvious examples of such outside effects are the Estonian subject and object rules, which are strongly modified by the presence of the negative verb form. (Many interesting observations on this can be found for instance in L. Rannut, *Täis- ja osaalus tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles*. — Keel ja Kirjandus 1964, nr. 1, p. 32 ff. and K. Kont, *Käändsõnaline objekt läänemeresoome keeltes*, Tallinn 1963, p. 110 ff.). These and several other outside effects of the negation have already been assigned to the transformational component, where they clearly belong. See R. T. Harms, *Estonian Grammar*, The Hague 1962, p. 128 ff.

- Fr. 'Quelquefois les géologues ne trouvent pas d'or'
 Engl. 'Sometimes the geologists do not find gold'
 Germ. 'Manchmal finden die Geologen das Gold nicht'
- (3) Est. *Mõnikord ei leia mitte keegi kulda*
 Russ. 'Иногда никто не находит золота'
 Fr. 'Quelquefois personne ne trouve d'or'
 Engl. 'Sometimes nobody finds gold'
 Germ. 'Manchmal findet niemand Gold'
- (4) Est. *Mõnikord ei leia mitte keegi mitte midagi*
 Russ. 'Иногда никто не находит ничего'
 Fr. 'Quelquefois personne ne trouve rien'
 Engl. 'Sometimes nobody finds anything'
 Germ. 'Manchmal niemand findet etwas'
- (5) Est. *Mitte keegi ei leia mitte iialgi mitte midagi*
 Russ. 'Никто никогда ничего не находит'
 Fr. 'Personne ne trouve jamais rien'
 Engl. 'Nobody ever finds anything'
 Germ. 'Niemand jemals findet etwas'

II. Verb negation and non-verb negations. Concentrating at first on the Est. examples we note that except (1) all the others contain at least one negative element. It is evident, however, that "the amount of negation" in (2)—(5) is gradually increasing, (5) for instance being actually saturated with negation. Strictly speaking, (2) contains a negative verb form, (3) contains the same as (2) + a negative pronoun, (4) contains the same as (3) + a negative pronoun and (5) contains the same as (4) + a negative adverb.

Overlooking for a moment the absence of the particle *pas* in Fr. (3)—(5) we may say that just the same gradation characterizes our Russ. and Fr. examples, but not exactly the Engl. and Germ. ones, where the negative verb form is present in (2) but not in (3)—(5). Furthermore, there is only a single overtly negative form in any of the Engl. and Germ. examples.

We take it for granted that this difference has nothing to do with the real "amount of negation" in the Engl. and Germ. examples as compared with the Est., Russ. and Fr. ones. All the corresponding examples are certainly "equally negative". E. g. the Est. (5) with its four overtly negative forms is just "as negative" as the Engl. (5) with its single overtly negative form.

Now compare (2) and (3). The Est., Russ. and Fr. examples have a negative verb form in (2) and a negative pronoun + a negative verb form in (3). The Engl. and Germ. examples have a negative verb form in (2) and a mere negative pronoun in (3). But as all (3) are obviously "equally negative" and as it is just only the pronoun that is overtly negative in all cases, the most evident guess would be that the negative verb form in Est., Russ. and Fr. (3) really does not add any negativity to the negative pronoun. This reasoning probably has not all the properties of a valid proof, but we hope to show that as

an hypothesis it works well and is indeed the only hypothesis that yields reasonable results.²

Compare now (1) and (3). In order to make the Engl. and Germ. (3) "as affirmative" as (1), all we need to do is to replace the negative pronoun by a simple noun or by a non-negative pronoun, and the result would be a grammatical affirmative sentence:

- (7) *Nobody finds...* *The geologist [He] finds...*
 Niemand findet... *Der Geologe [Er] findet...*

But the result of a similar substitution in Est., Russ. and Fr. would not yield an affirmative sentence (in Fr., indeed, not even a grammatical one):

- Mitte keegi ei leia...* *Geoloog [Ta] ei leia...*
 Никто не находит... *Геолог [Он] не находит...*
 Personne ne trouve... * *Le géologue [Il] ne trouve (d'or).*

The mere replacement of the negative verb form by an affirmative one will give us ungrammatical sentences in Est. as well as in Russ. and Fr.:

- (8) * *Mitte keegi leiab...* * *Никто находит...* * *Personne trouve...*

The way of widening this observation on (4) and (5) should be obvious. From all this we conclude that the negative verb form in such Est., Russ. and Fr. sentences as (3)—(5) is simply a meaningless by-product of any non-verb negation in the sentence, an automatic effect of the non-verb negation, which adds no negativity at all. If we want to remove the effect as we tried in (8), we cannot do it without removing the cause as well. And we cannot wipe out the cause, as we tried in Est., Russ. and Fr. (7), without removing the effect. The two negative forms in Est., Russ. and Fr. (3) do not negate two different members of the sentence (the subject noun phrase and the verb) but a single one, which is the subject noun phrase. The agreement-like character of the negative verb form in Est., Russ. and Fr. (3) (as well as in (4) and (5)) is obvious. There is no such agreement in English and German.

The character of the negative verb form in (2), however, is quite different. All (2) are equally negative and all (2) contain a single negative form, which is the verb. As there is no other negative form in any (2), this verb form cannot agree with anything and hence it must be an independent negation. In order to make (2) "as affirmative" as (1), it is sufficient to replace the negative verb form by an affirmative one and the result will be a grammatical affirmative sentence in all languages concerned. In (2) then, the verb negation is meaningful and independent in all cases. But whenever we insert a negative pronoun or an adverb somewhere in (2), the negative verb form will

² There are, of course, two other possible suppositions: 1. The same burden of negativity that is carried by the single negative pronoun in Engl. and Germ. is somehow shared by the negative pronoun and the negative verb form in Est., Russ. and Fr.; 2. All the negativity that is carried by the negative pronoun in Engl. and Germ. is carried by the negative verb form in Est., Russ. and Fr. Anyone not satisfied with the course taken above may try these two hypotheses. There is little hope that anything sensible will come out of it.

lose its meaning and independent character in Est., Russ. and Fr. and must disappear altogether in Engl. and Germ.

The obvious conclusion is that the base structure, where the meaning of the sentences is formed, is identical in all cases. The main feature of this structure is that it is either the verb that is negated or a non-verb element (a noun phrase or adverb). The verb negation and the non-verb negations are mutually exclusive. This fact is quite apparent in Engl. and Germ. but somewhat disguised in Est., Russ. and Fr., and disguised by a clearly transformational rule of the surface structure, which in no way affects the meaning of the base string.³ Simplifying, this rule claims that whenever there is at least one non-verb negation in an Est., Russ. or Fr. sentence, the verb must take the negative form. In the Engl. or Germ. transformational component there is simply no such rule.

It would be quite pointless to argue that the negative verb form in such Est., Russ. and Fr. sentences as

(9) *Mitte keegi ei tule* 'Никто не придет' 'Personne ne vient'

means something different than the affirmative verb form in the corresponding Engl. or Germ. sentences:

'Nobody comes' 'Niemand kommt'

The negative verb form in Est., Russ. and Fr. (9) does not mean anything. The negative element simply must be present in the verb to form an acceptable sentence in Est., Russ. and Fr.⁴

One might raise some argument as to the difference between, say, the Est. and Engl. viewpoints concerning the question: Can anybody who is non-existent, perform anything or not? It is rather natural that a would-be action or process that has no actor to perform it or no cause to evoke it, is non-existent. Engl. and Germ. obviously take it for granted, Est., Russ. and Fr. somewhat redundantly restate it once more.

The linguistic facts considered so far were concerned with the basic difference of the verb and non-verb negation. Our conclusions might lead to the supposition as if the Engl. and Germ. negation systems were a bit more economical and less redundant than the Est., Russ. and Fr. ones. This supposition may be true or false. It will, however, be neutralized, at least in our present framework, the moment we turn

³ This is in accordance with recent developments in the transformation theory, notably with the principle that transformations do not affect the meaning, formed in the base. This sound principle has been defended in detail by J. J. Katz and P. Postal in *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, accepted in general outline by N. Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, and welcomed with some relief by several linguists in the field; cf. for example R. B. Lees, *Turkish Nominalizations*. — *Foundations of Language*. *International Journal of Language and Philosophy* 1965, Vol. 1, p. 112; W. Motsch, *Grammar and Semantics*. — *Ibid.*, p. 122 ff.; J. Lyons, *Review of J. J. Katz and P. Postal, op. cit.* — *Journal of Linguistics* 1966, Vol. 2, p. 119 ff.

⁴ As additional evidence for the mutual exclusiveness of the verb and non-verb negations we may call attention to a peculiarity of Fr., where this mutual exclusiveness is perhaps less apparent than in Engl. or Germ., but more apparent than in Est. or Russ. Note that if in Est. and Russ. the real verb negation and the agreement-like negative form of the verb do not differ outwardly, then in Fr. there is an overt difference. Fr., in fact, has two separate negative verb forms: one with the particle *pas* for the real verb negation, as in *Ils ne trouvent pas...* 'Nad ei leia...', the other, without *pas* as in *Personne ne trouve...* 'Mitte keegi ei leia...', which is simply the agreement of the verb with the non-verb negation *personne* 'mitte keegi'. The French language, then, presents a case of formal difference indicating the two different causes of the negative verb form.

to the mutual relations between different non-verb negations themselves.

III. Mutual relations between non-verb negations. Without bothering about the grammar-independent definitions, we rely on the assumption that a negative verb form is always easily recognizable. This being so we may say that the non-verb negations in Est. are just those elements that cannot combine with the affirmative verb form. All our previous examples of negative pronouns and adverbs were non-verb negations in this sense. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same is true for Russ. and Fr. For Engl. and Germ. the same statement is true in reversed form. In these languages the non-verb negations are just those elements that cannot combine with the negative verb form. Armed with this "practical discovery procedure" (which, in case of Est., Engl. and Germ. at least is not as reliable as it might seem) we can approach the problem of the relations between several non-verb negations, in the sense of their mutual exclusiveness in a sentence. For Est., Russ. and Fr. the problem is as trivial as it may be. From the possibility of inserting several negative pronouns and adverbs one after another into a sentence, as in (3)—(5) it follows that in these languages the non-verb negations are not mutually exclusive. However, the same conclusion is not so apparent in Engl. and Germ. Indeed — and probably to the great bewilderment of schoolchildren learning English in various parts of the continent of Europe (and, possibly, throughout the world), it is often stated that the Engl. negative pronouns and adverbs are mutually exclusive. A sentence like

(10) **Nobody never finds nothing nowhere*

is of course shockingly ungrammatical though its word-by-word translation into Est. (as well as into Russ. and Fr.) is all right. But the grammatical version of (10)

Nobody ever finds anything anywhere,

which contains only one overtly negative element is again just as negative as its Est. counterpart with 5 overtly negative elements. Without any substitution tricks we conclude that the non-verb negations are not mutually exclusive — neither in the Est. base structure, where it is evident, nor in the base structure of Engl. This basic similarity is somewhat disguised in Engl. by the existence of two parallel forms for any non-verb negation — one overt, the other covert (*nobody: anybody, nothing: anything, never: ever*, etc.). Both members of such pairs are equally negative. But there is in Engl. a clearly transformational rule that in no way affects the basic meaning: whenever an overt non-verb negation is chosen, all the others must be covert. There is simply no such rule in Est., where the base structure of the non-verb negation is carried over to the surface without any change. Here it is Est., that has a transformational rule less than Engl., the "economy" is on its side. The general "economy balance", which was violated by the inclusion of the negative verb-agreement transformation, lacking in Engl., into the Est. transformational grammar, seems to be re-established. Details aside, the same argument can be widened to Germ. on the one hand and to Russ. and Fr. on the other. With these considerations we do not suggest that a reliable syntactic "economy measure" can certainly be found. But neither is such a possibility excluded. As a first very crude approximation one might try the ratio of the number of base and

transformational rules. Anyway, such an attempt would evolve scores of highly controversial questions which have little to do with our limited problem. Instead, we shall turn now to the next section, which is

IV. The inner structure of the non-verb negation. Note that our simple "practical discovery procedure" for finding out which are the non-verb negations, sufficient as it may be for Russ. and Fr. is obviously defective for Est. It is suitable indeed for a sentence like

(11) *Mitte miski ei klapi* 'Nothing fits' ('All is wrong'),

which is unambiguous and cannot be made affirmative by the mere replacement of the negative verb form by an affirmative one.

(12) **Mitte miski klapi*

is ungrammatical, and thus *mitte miski* 'nothing' is unambiguously a non-verb negation. But take a sentence like

(13) *Miski ei klapi*,

which can be understood in two ways: 'Nothing fits', and then it is quite equal to (11), or 'Something does not fit' ('Something is wrong'). In this last interpretation (13) may freely be turned affirmative by the mere replacement of the negative verb form by an affirmative one:

(14) *Miski klapi* 'Something fits'

Such a phenomenon can be observed in the case of almost any Est. negative pronoun and with almost any negative adverb:

mitte keegi = 'nobody'	mitte miski = 'nothing'	mitte kunagi = 'never'
keegi = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'nobody'} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{'somebody'} \end{array} \right.$	miski = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'nothing'} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{'something'} \end{array} \right.$	kunagi = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'never'} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{'sometimes'} \end{array} \right.$
	etc.	

Similar, though not quite analogous fluctuation is present in Engl. A pronoun like *anything* which we had every right to interpret as a covert form for a negative pronoun in sentences like *Nobody ever found anything...* appears undeniably as a non-negative indefinite pronoun in sentences like

(15) *Should anything happen, phone me directly*⁵

Things of that kind are not observed in Russ. or Fr.: *ничего* and *rien* are certainly not used where *что-нибудь* or *quelque chose* are used. Does it mean that the boundaries of the categories "Negative pronoun" and "Indefinite non-negative pronoun" are somewhat blurred in Est. and Engl., but not, for example, in Russ. and Fr.? By no means. These categories, or rather, the distinctive syntactic features of "negativity" and "indefiniteness" are quite distinct in all these languages, only their phonological realizations overlap sometimes. Such a statement seems preferable to the usual one claiming that indefinite pronouns are used for negative pronouns. In Est., for instance, the overlapping is due to the fact that every negative pronoun has two equal variants,

⁵ This example is drawn from L. Kivimägi, O. Mutt, J. Silvet, L. Võsa-mäe, *Inglise keele grammatika*, Tallinn 1962, p. 93.

the choice of which is free: the reinforced one, with the negative particle *mitte*, the other without *mitte*. The latter may coincide with the indefinite affirmative pronoun which has a single variant. This does not contradict the distinctness of the categories or features of "negativity" and "indefiniteness", which are inevitable for the smooth functioning of the grammar.

All that has been said about the reinforcing role of the negative particle *mitte* in respect of pronouns can be repeated in case of adverbs. Analogous ambiguities may occur here:

(16) *Kunagi pole see enam nii*

can be understood in two ways: 'Once it will be different' or 'It will never be the same again'.⁶ With reinforcing *mitte* the adverb *kunagi* '(n)ever' will become unambiguous and then only the second interpretation is possible. There is at least one negative adverb that has no overlapping counterpart among the indefinite non-negative adverbs, and that is the word *iialgi* 'never'; therefore the sentence

(17) *Iialgi pole see enam nii* 'It will never be the same again'

is unambiguous and

(18) **Iialgi on see jälle nii*

ungrammatical. Nevertheless, even *iialgi* can be reinforced by *mitte*.

We have seen that a non-verb negation is either a negative pronoun (reinforced or not) or a negative adverb (reinforced or not). But there is one more possibility of inserting negation into a non-verb member of a sentence. A negative noun phrase need not necessarily be a negative pronoun, it may also contain a simple non-negative noun, determined by a negative pronoun as in

(19) *Mitte mingi reegel ei luba seda* 'There is no rule that would allow it'.

In such cases the pronoun is not really a "pro-noun", but rather a "pro-adjective". For the somewhat strange term "pro-adjective" we use the term "determiner" as applied to all adjectives which are restricted to the attributive function only and hence cannot be deduced from the node "Predicative". *Mitte mingi* 'adjectival no', *mitte ükski* 'not a single', etc. are thus negative determiners. Again, all that has been said about the reinforcing role of the particle *mitte* in regard to negative pronouns and adverbs, can be repeated here, and analogous ambiguities can be observed.

(20) *Mingi reegel ei luba seda*

can be understood just the same way as (19), but also: 'There is a certain rule that does not allow it'.

As a universal property of determiners and pronouns we may add that within a noun phrase they are mutually exclusive. Either a noun phrase is a pronoun or contains a determiner, but it cannot contain both at the same time, such phrases as **mingi keegi* '*some somebody'

⁶ It is certainly true that the stress-patterns in all our ambiguous cases are or may be different. It might be added that the word-order permutations differ as well. It seems, however, that the suprasegmental features and the word-order permutations, even if combined, are not strong enough to avoid ambiguity completely. They indicate the more likely interpretation and thus its probability may rise considerably, without ever reaching absolute certainty.

being ungrammatical in Est. as in other languages. It follows, of course, that the non-verb negations, juxtaposed as they may be on the level on noun phrases, are mutually exclusive within a noun phrase.

Returning for a final remark on the verb negation proper, we note that the same reinforcing, but otherwise meaningless particle *mitte* that can combine with every non-verb negation, plays its reinforcing role in the verb negation as well. In the sentence

(20) *Ta ei liigu mitte* 'It does not move'

it carries a somewhat more absolute, perhaps a bit archaic flavour without changing the meaning in any important way. The use of the reinforcing *mitte* in the verb negation is less common, possibly just because it has no ambiguity-avoiding task here.

To sum up all that has been said so far, we repeat that

1. A negative sentence in Estonian contains either the verb negation or (one or more) non-verb negations.
2. The verb and non-verb negations are mutually exclusive.
3. The non-verb negations are not mutually exclusive.
4. A non-verb negation is either a negative noun phrase or a negative adverb.
5. A negative noun phrase is either a negative pronoun or contains a negative determiner.

6. Negative pronouns and negative determiners within a noun phrase are mutually exclusive.

As regards the conclusions (1)–(6) the Estonian negation system does not differ in any important respect from the corresponding system in Russian, French, English, or German. There are good grounds to assign these properties of the Estonian negation to the base-structure.

On the other hand, Estonian negation has important peculiarities which are in part shared by some of the other languages discussed, but never by all of them:

7. A non-verb negation is accompanied by a negative verb form (as in Russian and French).

8. A non-verb negation, as well as the verb negation may take a meaningless reinforcing negative element.

Many more peculiarities of the same type as 7. and 8. could be added. As our study is confined only to the general design of the system, we shall not go into these details here. We conclude, however, that as such peculiarities as 7., 8. have no universality, and furthermore, as they do not affect the meaning of the sentence, they are to be assigned to the transformational component of the grammar.

To give these conclusions a more concise form, we present a small set of rules, illustrating the position of negation in a transformational grammar. The rules are followed by an informal commentary.

V. Some rules.

Rewriting rules

1. $S \rightarrow \text{NGROUP} \wedge \text{VP}$
(S = Sentence, NGROUP = Noun Group, VP = Verb Phrase)
2. $\text{NGROUP} \rightarrow \text{NP} \wedge \text{SUBM}$
(NP = Noun Phrase, SUBM = Subject Marker)

3. $VP = (EI) V (ADV_{univ}) (NGROUP)$ 4. $NGROUP \rightarrow NP \wedge OBM$

(EI = Verb Negation. EI must be regarded as a non-terminal symbol, which has to be further modified. V = Verb, ADV_{univ} = Universal Adverbial, OBM = Object Marker. In a fuller grammar both SUBM and OBM must of course be expanded further into two alternative subject and object types, which impose strong restrictions on the choice of the verb.)

5. $ADV_{univ} \rightarrow TIME$ (TIME = Adverb of Time)6. $NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (DET)N \\ PRON \end{array} \right\}$ (DET = Determiner, N = Noun,
PRON = Pronoun)7. $N \rightarrow [+N]$ 8. $DET \rightarrow [+DET] [\pm neg]$ 9. $PRON \rightarrow [+PRON] [\pm neg]$ 10. $TIME \rightarrow [+TIME] [\pm neg]$ 11. $V \rightarrow [+V]$

($[+N]$ = the category of Noun, turned into a positively specified syntactic feature, inherent to all members of the category "Noun". $[+DET]$, $[+PRON]$, $[+TIME]$, $[+V]$ are to be understood in an analogous manner. $[\pm neg]$ represents the alternative features "negative" and "non-negative" inherent to determiners, pronouns, and adverbs.)

Lexicon

tööline,	$[+N]$
tasu,	$[+N]$
oota,	$[+V]$
mingi,	$[+DET] [\pm neg]$
keegi,	$[+PRON] [\pm neg]$
kunagi.	$[+TIME] [\pm neg]$

Transformations

I. Negative agreement (obligatory)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} [+neg] \dots V \\ V \dots [+neg] \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} [+neg] \dots EI \wedge V \\ [EI \wedge V] \dots [+neg] \end{array} \right]$$

II. Negative reinforcement (facultative)

$$\alpha \left[\begin{array}{l} [+PRON] \\ [+DET] \end{array} \right] [+neg] \rightarrow \textit{mitte} \alpha \left[\begin{array}{l} [+PRON] \\ [+DET] \end{array} \right] [+neg],$$

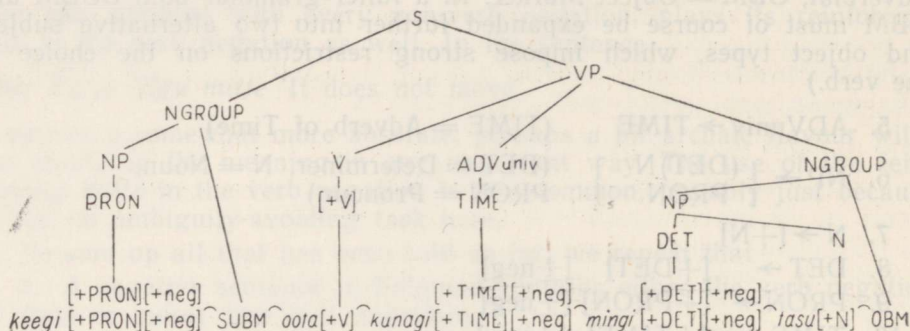
where α is a lexical item.

Our tiny illustrative grammar is defective as well as redundant in several respects. For various improvements and refinements we refer to N. Chomsky, *op. cit.*, repeating here only the general principles of the functioning of the grammar.

The base of the grammar contains context-free rewriting rules and a lexicon. The lexicon is a list of lexical entries. Each lexical entry consists (of the phonological representation) of the lexical item and relevant syntactic features. Rewriting rules generate derivations, terminating with strings that consist of grammatical formatives (SUBM, OBM, EI, in our case) and substrings of distinctive features. A substring

of features (which in our grammar is a single feature in case of [+N] and [+V]) can be replaced by a lexical entry, if the substring is identical with the set of syntactic features of some entry.⁷

According to this principle our grammar will generate among many others such derivations and "preterminal" strings as



To this base-structure the negative agreement transformation must apply and the reinforcement transformation may apply, leading after further modifications (which we shall not consider here) to such sentences as

- (21) *Keegi ei oota kunagi mingit tasu*
Mitte keegi ei oota kunagi mingit tasu
Mitte keegi ei oota mitte kunagi mingit tasu
Mitte keegi ei oota mitte kunagi mitte mingit tasu

which all mean 'Nobody ever expects any compensation'. Numerous other derivations are possible, leading to such sentences as *Keegi ootab tasu* 'Somebody is expecting compensation', *Tööline ei oota tasu* 'The worker is not expecting compensation', *Tööline ootab mingit tasu* 'The worker is expecting some compensation', etc., etc. The output of our grammar will never be ambiguous. Such sentences as *Tööline ei oota mingit tasu* 'The worker is not expecting some compensation' or 'The worker is not expecting any compensation' are accounted for by two different derivations, containing [-neg] for *mingi* in the first case and [+neg] in the second case. Note also, that no special rules are needed to account for the mutual exclusiveness of the verb and non-verb negations. It will be made apparent by the "filtering" effect of the transformational component.⁸ If the principle of the mutual exclusiveness is violated, transformations will be blocked somewhere or at least the terminal strings will contain non-terminal symbols, as in **Keegi Ei ei oota mingit tasu* '*Nobody NOT is expecting any compensation'. In earlier versions of generative grammars this filtering effect was unnecessarily duplicated by the clumsy context-restricting conditions in the rewriting rules.

To conclude this highly negative discussion on a more positive note, we should like to call attention to the fact that not all that seems to be a negation, and indeed, has been interpreted as such⁹, is really the proper negation in the linguistic sense adopted here. Thus, we must

⁷ Adapted from N. Chomsky, *op. cit.*, § 2.

⁸ See N. Chomsky, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ff.

⁹ Cf. K. E. Zimmer, Affixal Negation in English and Other Languages, Supplement to *Word* 1964, Vol. 20, as well as any traditional grammar where derivational affixes are considered, e. g. J. Aavik, *Eesti õigekeelsuse õpik ja grammatika*, Tartu 1936, § 650, p. 284.

be ready to meet the particle *mitte* again outside the negation system, notably in prefixal phrases like *mitte-eesti elanikkond* 'non-Estonian population', *mittesöödav seen* 'inedible mushroom', *mitteloetav käekiri* 'illegible handwriting', etc. Other instances of such "seemingly" negative elements are the prefix *eba-* as in *ebakindel* 'uncertain', and the *-mata*, *-matu* forms as in *Probleem on lahendamata* 'The problem is unsolved', *Probleem on lahendamatu* 'The problem is insolvable'. Differently from all the proper non-verb negations, such instances of "seemingly" negative affixation are quite neutral in respect of the verb negation — not only in Estonian but in other languages as well.¹⁰ For example, the English prefixal phrases with *non-* and *un-* (*in-*), as negative as they may look, can freely occur with or without the negative verb form. As this difference seems to be rather universal, it certainly deserves closer study, which may lead to a more explicit differentiation between negation proper and another category, perhaps better called "grammatical antonymization".

ХЕННО РАЯНДИ (Таллин)

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ОБЩИЕ СВОЙСТВА СИСТЕМЫ ОТРИЦАНИЯ ЭСТОНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

В статье выдвигаются следующие положения: отрицание в эстонском языке относится или к глаголу, или к неглагольным элементам предложения. Собственно глагольное и неглагольное отрицания взаимно исключают друг друга. Различные неглагольные отрицания не исключают друг друга на уровне предложения, но внутри именной группы отрицательные местоимения различных типов взаимно исключаются. Эти факты имеют универсальный характер и принадлежат к базовому компоненту порождающей грамматики. Тот факт, что эстонское неглагольное отрицание требует отрицательной формы глагола, автор приписывает трансформационному компоненту. Этим же объясняет он распространенную систему факультативного усиления всякого отрицания.

В заключение приведен иллюстративный фрагмент трансформационной порождающей грамматики.

¹⁰ See E. S. Klima, *Negation in English. — The Structure of Language. Readings in the Philosophy of Language*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1964, particularly p. 291 ff., where the term "Negative" is retained, but the difference noted and investigated.