Locatives in Mari

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In a series of penetrating studies, Alho Alhoniemi has compiled and analysed the meaning and use of local cases of Mari (see among other [1]). This material provides a sound basis for comparison with 'major' Uralic languages such as Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian. In this paper I will take a modern look at the Mari data. Using new insights concerning the morphology and syntax ([5]) and the semantics ([4]) of local expressions, I shall look at the distribution and meaning of local cases of Mari.

Roughly, locative cases consist of two layers: the inner layer (Layer 1) describes the general location while the outer layer (Layer 2) describes the temporal dynamics. Thus in Finnish elative adds a Layer 1 suffix /s/ ("inside") and a Layer 2 suffix /ta/ ("from"). As is apparent from the following Mari paradigm for /olma/ "apple", the Layer 1 /s/ is found in Mari as well, without contrast (in Finnish /s/ contrasts with /1).

Lative	olmaš	"to the apple"
Illative	olmaš(ke)	"into the apple"
Inessive	olmašte	"in the apple"
ABLATIVE	olmaleč	"from the apple"
Approximative	olmašk∂la	"in direction of the apple"

The current paradigm however differs from Finnish and Hungarian in that the /š/by itself is the anding of the lative though there is reason to believe that the suffix of the lative must be analysed as an empty Layer 2 suffix.

The layering theory can explain certain idiosyncrasies like this one, noted in [2]. The inflection of /olômbal/ takes only layer 2 endings (contrasted here with /kuôô/ "house"). Surprisingly, it has an elative that is otherwise missing.

inessive	kuδâšte	olômbalne
illative	kuδôške	olômbake
lative	kuδeš	olêmbalan
elative		olêmbač(ên)

There are parallels with Finnish and Udmurt.

The simultaneous presence of both a lative and an illative presents interesting semantic questions, since the lative is the case of general goal directed movement. In fact, Mari seems to follow a general pattern of Uralic languages by which goal directionals are used in the absence of factual motion. The lative is synchronically

no longer a general directional case. According to [3] these are the functions of the lative case in Mari.

- 1. Lative: rarely (!).
- 2. Prolative: /čerńila pumayaeš šärlä/ 'the ink is spreading on the paper'
- 3. Illative: /Səlwa wüt koč pašazəwlak *pušeš* šinžən wońżat/ 'the workers are getting *on board of the ship* [and] cross the Selwa'
- 4. Inessive: /alem $kaj\hat{a}\check{s}$ šokšeš/ 'my strength is waning in the heat'
- 5. Transformative: /imńim kuzôkeš puaš/ 'to give a horse as dowry'.
- 6. Sometimes it is selected: /ərwezə alaeš koδen/ 'the son remained *in the city*'.

Specifically, the lative is used to denote a location with verbs that denote change (2, 4). This is quite common in Uralic. Using the layered theory of meaning some more general order can be brought into this list. In the talk I shall present a detailed account of local case meanings in Mari from the perspective of the layering theory.

References

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