

Locational demonstratives vs. locational adverbs: a case of Ingrian Finnish¹

Data: an oral text (an interview with a speaker) and elicitation (translation of the Russian sentences in Ingrian Finnish).

Problem:

- (1) *miä läks-i-n pois sie-lt talo-st*
 1SG go-PST-1SG away that-ABL house-EL
 ‘I went out of that house’.
 ‘I went out of there, from the house’.

? Disagreement or adverb?

The same problem occurs in literary Finnish [Laury 1997].

Demonstrative pronouns: proximal *tämä* and distal *se*.

internal	inessive		elative		illative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
proximal	<i>TASS</i>	<i>näis</i>	<i>TÄST</i>	<i>NAIST</i>	<i>TAHA</i>	<i>näis</i>
distal	<i>siin</i>	<i>nies</i>	<i>sint</i>	<i>niest</i>	<i>SINNE</i>	<i>nies</i>
external	adessive		ablative		allative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
proximal	<i>tiäl</i>	<i>näil</i>	<i>tiält</i>	<i>näilt</i>	<i>tiäl</i>	<i>näil</i>
distal	<i>SIEL</i>	<i>niel</i>	<i>SIELT</i>	<i>nielt</i>	(<i>sinne</i>)	<i>niel</i>

Table 1. The locational case forms of the demonstrative pronouns in Ingrian Finnish

Table 1 — spatial meaning. The same locational case forms can be used in non-spatial meaning. Then the agreement is obligatory:

- (2) *höö luati-vot sint / * sie-lt kirja-st*
 3PL talk-3PL that.EL / * that-ABL book-EL
 ‘They are speaking about that book’.

The allative case form of *se* in non-spatial meaning — *siel*.

Form in capital letters is preferred to another.

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e.g., *TASS* is sometimes used instead of *tiäl*:

- (3) *täss pövvä-l o-vat miu-n kirja-t*
 this.IN table-AD be-3PL1SG-GEN book-PL
 ‘My books are on this table’.

Adverbs

here	out of here	here (ILL)
<i>täss / tiäl</i>	<i>tiält</i>	<i>tänne</i>
there	out of there	there (ALL)
<i>siel / siin</i>	<i>sielt</i>	<i>sinne</i>

Table 2. System of Ingrian Finnish adverbs.

- (4) *täss on külmä, a sie-l on jo lämmi*
 this.IN be.3SG cold and that-AD be.3SG alreadywarm
 ‘It is cold here, and there, it is already warm’.

Plural forms

- (5) *ota kirja-t näi-st suur-i-lt pövv-i-lt*
 take.IMP book-PL that.PL-EL big-PL-ABL table-PL-ABL
 ‘Take the books from those big tables’.

For disagreement.

Such sentences are rather occasional, but some speakers consider them acceptable.

“Disagreement” in number

- (6) *sie-l pövv-i-l o-vat siu-n kirja-t*
 that.SG-AD table-PL-AD be-3PL 2SG-GEN book-PL
 ‘Your books are on those tables’.
 lit. ‘There, on the tables, are your books’.

For adverbial interpretation

NP with adjectives

- (7) *sie-l suure-s talo-s elä miu-n pere*
 that-AD big-IN house-IN live.3SG 1SG-GEN family
 ‘My family lives in that big house’.

For adverbial interpretation

With quantifier ‘all’

(8) * *kaiki-l sie-l pövv-i-l on kirja-t*
all-AD that.SG-AD table-PL-AD be book-PL
‘There are books on all that tables’.

(9) *kaiki-l näi-l / *näi-s pövv-i-l*
all-AD that.PL-AD / that.PL-IN table-PL-AD
on kirja-t
be book-PL
‘There are books on all those tables’.

The agreement is obligatory.
For adverbial interpretation

BUT:

(10) ^{ok} *kaiki-s näi-s / nie-s pövv-i-l*
all-IN this.PL-IN / that.PL-IN table-PL-AD
o-vat kirja-t
be-3PL book-PL
‘The books are on all these / those tables’.

Such sentences are considered acceptable by the speakers.
For disagreement.

Conclusion

- The Ingrian Finnish speakers prefer to use an adverbial construction *there, in the room* instead of the pronominal construction *in that room*.
- They choose internal case forms for a proximal demonstrative and external case forms for a distal demonstrative. => These case forms change their meaning: the internal cases are associated with a short distance, while the external cases are associated with a long distance.
- The clear border between internal and external cases is absent, at least in the mind of speakers. => The data of accepted / prohibited sentences shows a regular disagreement. However, this data reflects the system of language that is in the mind of speakers rather than the natural discourse.

Glosses

1 — 1 person
2 — 2 person
3 — 3 person
ABL — ablative
AD — adessive
ALL — allative
EL — elative
GEN — genitive
ILL — illative
IMP — imperative
IN — inessive
PL — plural

PST — past
SG — singular

References

Laury, R. 1997. *Demonstratives in Interaction: The emergence of a definite article in Finnish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.