

## Spatial Case Meanings in Samoyedic Languages

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Uralic cases are famous for a very important role which spatial meanings play in them. The significance of these meanings is reflected, for example, in the fact that they are very often grammaticalized, i.e. that in many cases they are obligatorily expressed either by adpositions or by cases. Uralic languages in general demonstrate two ways of such grammaticalization. First, a given spatial meaning can be expressed by a declined postposition which then becomes a case itself. Perhaps the most striking example of this kind are Komi languages. Some dialects of them have developed an additional system of spatial cases – approximative II and others (see [Nekrasova 2002]) - which 35 years ago were still considered to be postpositions (see [Batalova 1975]). Thus, the process of grammaticalization of declined postpositions into new spatial cases is very active in some Uralic languages. However, there is another possibility to express spatial meanings by means of grammar. For instance, some “old” cases can develop new spatial meanings. To this type of languages belong, for example, Nenets and Nganasan. In this languages the dative and the instrumental cases have locative functions:

(1) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 297]<sup>1</sup>:

депту-”	турку-Ø	<u>бы-тэ</u>	пöмтү-”ö-”
goose-PL	lake-NOM.SG	<u>water-DAT.SG</u>	sit-PRAES-3PL

‘Geese sat on the water of the lake.’

(2) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 87]:

биэ-тэну	<u>турку-тэну</u>	комбу-”	ани”ка-”
wind-LOC.SG	<u>lake-INSTR/LOC.SG</u>	wave-NOM.PL	big-NOM.PL

‘By wind there are big waves on the lake.’

(3) Forest Nenets, [Koshkareva 2005, pp. 135-136]:

касса ню-Ø-й	нюча	текуша-н	тана-й-”
man child-NOM.SG-POSS.1SG:SG	small	<u>pine-DAT.SG</u>	climb-REFL-REFL.3SG

‘My son climbed a small pine.’

(4) Forest Nenets [Jazyki 2003, p. 77]:

тяха-н	<u>лаңк-хана</u>	ңымты-Ø	тайна	тяңа-Ø
river-GEN.SG	<u>bank-INSTR/LOC.SG</u>	sit-3SG	there	cry-3SG

‘(He) is sitting on a bank of the river and is crying there.’

On the other hand, Nenets and Nganasan have very “active” spatial cases demonstrating also non-spatial meanings, marking actants of some verbs and being involved in distributive and comparative constructions:

(5) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 92]:

мың	тамтү-дүо-му”	эмэ-Ø	кубу-Ø	сэҗоляҗкэ-Ø
1PL.NOM	buy-PST-1PL	this-NOM.SG	fell-NOM.SG	five-NOM.SG

баса-мэны  
rouble-PROL.SG

‘We bought this fell for five roubles.’

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<sup>1</sup> Examples taken from [Tereshenko 1979] are glossed by me – M.U.

(6) Forest Nenets [Koshkareva 2005, p. 190]:

чики җашкай-м-т-ы                      нешаҗ-а'ай-Ø                      дева'ко-мна  
this child-ACC.SG-POSS.2SG:SG    human-AUG-NOM.SG    orphan-PROLAT.SG  
пади-л-май-туҗ  
nickname-INCH-PP-SG.3.O:3PL.S  
'People nicknamed this child Devaku (orphan).'

(7) Forest Nenets [Koshkareva 2005, p. 190]:

җоп    нянь-куйи-Ø                      я'җя    матан җамоль-шту-ту'  
one bread-DIM-NOM.SG    day    during eat-НАВ-SG.3.O:3PL.S  
нянь пеля-кули-мана  
bread пиеце-ЧАТ-PROLAT.SG  
'(They) eat one piece of bread during the day, one person eats one piece.'

(8) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 89]:

җүлязә-Ø    тә-гәгә                      мерәгә-й"    чалити-ти-Ø  
wolf-NOM.SG    domestic reindeer-ABL.SG    fast-GEN.PL    run-PRAES-3SG  
'A wolf runs faster than a reindeer.'

Futhermore, in Nenets and Nganasan cases with locative meanings are involved in some aspectual oppositions. Thus, for example, example (9) is telic, and (10) is atelic:

(9) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 237]:

бәну-дүо-де-Ø                      нүо-Ø                      ма-тә                      кунда-"а-Ø  
get.tired-PST-PP<sub>PERF</sub>-NOM.SG    child-NOM.SG    tent-DAT.SG    sleep-praes-3sg  
'A tired child fell asleep in the tent.'

(10) Nganasan [Tereshenko 1979, p. 237]:

бәну-дүо-де-Ø                      нүо-Ø                      ма-тәну                      кундуа-ту  
get.tired-PST-PP<sub>PERF</sub>-NOM.SG    child-NOM.SG    tent-INSTR/LOC.SG    sleep-SG.3.S:3SG.O  
'A tired child is sleeping in the tent.'

Finally, it is an interesting fact that the situation in a closely related Selkup language is quite different. This language has quite a rich system of spatial cases including locative, allative, illative etc. (see [Kuznetsova et al. 1980]), so the core cases "have no need" to express spatial meanings. Thus, from this point of view Selkup is more like Komi languages than Nenets and Nganasan. On the other hand, Selkup demonstrates the "internal vs external" case opposition (having illative case vs allative) which also arises in Nganasan (dative I vs dative II – see [Tereshenko 1979, pp. 83-84]).

So, we can see that Samoyedic languages demonstrate a heterogenous picture of spatial meanings expression. We are planning to present this picture from the synchronic point of view and to analyse its origin diachronically.

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