ПРОЕКТЫ

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THE TYPOLOGY OF URALIC ESSIVE

The project

"The Typology of Uralic Essive" is a research project carried out by an international group of about twenty five linguists (see below). The aim of the research project is to arrive at an adequate description and typology of Uralic Essive. The study of Uralic Essive contributes to several fields in linguistics, as for instance to a better understanding of a rather unique case marker, the description of various Uralic languages, the typology of case marking, secondary predication, and linguistic typology and theory.

On the basis of a typological linguistic questionnaire the group of linguists made in February 2013 a start to describe the use of the Essive markers in the Uralic languages. The investigation takes the form as starting point and then describes its function. The questionnaire is based on descriptions and discussions in the linguistic literature of data from the six languages with an Essive. If an Uralic language under investigation does not have an Essive, the forms/constructions will be described, where other languages may use the Essive.

The results of the project will be published in a book length publication containing descriptions per language or dialects and chapters discussing typological and theoretical issues. The data will be made available from a website.

Uralic Essive

Several languages of the Uralic language family have a marker which is usually referred to as the Essive case, generally defined in the following fashion: Essive carries the meaning of a temporary location or state of being, often equivalent to the English "as a (child)". The Essive seems to be a unique property of Uralic languages, since descriptions of any other language in the world do not mention the existence of an Essive as a case marker. Other languages mostly use adpositions, complementizers, or do not use a marker at all. A first investigation of the Essive in Uralic on the basis of linguistic descriptions reveals that the following six languages have the Essive case: Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Karelian, Sami, and Votic. Relics of an Essive or alternative use of the Translative in the sense of the Essive are found in: Erzya, Khanty, Mansi, Moksha, Livonian, Selkup, and Vepsian. The investigation, however, also reveals that information about the distribution of the Essive is very scarce and brought up the following points:

– The status of the Essive in Uralic is not unproblematic. First of all, the Essive is not a type of case such as the Accusative or Locative which mark referential nominals, but rather a predicative marker.

– The Essive in Uralic is the mainly a marker of nominal or adjectival secondary predicates. With the exception of Finnish and Estonian, it does not apply to non-verbal main predications.

– The constituents marked by the Essive form a sub-class of or they partially overlap the class of depictives. They can be set apart from converbal depictives which do not allow the Essive (interestingly, there are many examples of converbs in Finnic taking other cases).

– The Translative, also a marker of secondary predications, may take up the Essive interpretation.

– The Essive-phrase often allows for a manner interpretation, that is why several languages allow the co-ordination of the Essive with a converb. Languages may even have minimal pairs of genuine Essive opposed to Essives with a manner interpretation.

– How to accommodate the Essive in the case systems of the Uralic languages? The name suggests that the Essive is a spatial case. Moreover, the Essive in Fennic originates from Proto-Uralic locative *-na*. There is no straightforward explanation for the development of the Locative into the Essive.

– The distribution of the Essive differ widely between the six languages.

Essive, predicates, and complements

It seems that Finnish has the widest application of the Essive as for the genuine case of essive (1), but also for an adjectival depictive (2-3), complement (4), and is found in some fixed forms (5):

Finnish

1. Heikki   on   Jämsässä   lääkäri-<u>na</u>
   Heikki   is   in Jämsä   doctor-ESS
   'Heikki is (working as) a doctor in Jämsä'.

2. Pekka lähti   iloise-<u>na</u>   luennolle.
   Pekka went   cheerful-ESS   lecture.ALL
   'Pekka went to the lecture cheerful'.

3. Syön   puuron   kuuma-<u>na</u>
   I will eat   porridge   hot-ESS
   'I will eat the porridge hot'.

4. Pidän   poikia   älykkäi-<u>nä</u>.
   I hold   boys   intelligent-ESS
   'I consider the boys intelligent'.

5. Essive is functioning as locative in postpositions and closed sets of adverbs
   talo-n   taka-<u>na</u>
   house-GEN   behind-ESS
   'behind the house'

When we compare Finnish to Estonian, Estonian applies the Essive in examples such as Finnish (1-2). In the case of a complement, as (4), Estonian employs the Translative (see (8)).

Estonian

6. Peeter   töötab Itaalias   koka-<u>na</u>.
   Peter   works in Italy   cook-ESS
   'Peter works as a cook in Italy'.

7. Mary   läks   loengule   rõõmsa-<u>na</u>.
   Mary   went   to lecture   cheerful-ESS
   'Mary went to the lecture cheerful'.

8. Ma   pean   neid   poisse tarka(-de)-<u>ks</u>.
   I   consider   these   boys intelligent(-PL)-TRANS
   'I consider these boys intelligent'.

Hungarian in sharp contrast employs a different marker in all three constructions: the Essive in (9), the adverbial marker *–Vn* in (10), and the Dative marker in (11):

Hungarian

9. Pál   idegenvezetö-<u>ként</u>   dolgozik   Görögországban.
   Paul   tour operator-ESS   works   in Greece
   'Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece'.

10. Mari   nyers-<u>en</u>   ette   meg   a   halat.
    Mary   raw-ADV   ate   up   the   fish
    'Mary ate the fish raw'. [lit. *rawly*]

11. Okos-<u>nak</u>   tartom   a   fiú-t.
    clever-DAT   I hold   the   boy-ACC
    'I consider the boy clever'.

The data of this three languages suggest that depictives (nominal and adjectival) and complements are relevant notions for a study of Essive in Uralic. It also suggest to have a look into the use of the Essive and Translative and the status of the Essive being a case or rather a predicative marker.

Uralic languages which do not have a distinct Essive often employ the Instrumental, as for instance:

Komi:
12. Peter   lečit̯is'-ön   udžal-ö   Tallinn-yn
    Peter   doctor-INSTR   work- PRES.3SG   Tallinn-INESS
    'Peter works as a doctor in Tallinn'.

Also the benefactive declension in Northern Samoyedic (BEN+PX of the genitive series) can fulfil a similar function:

Forest Enets
13. čiki   enči   biđi-đu-ń   tođa-r-iđʔ
    this   person   friend-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG   bring-PASS-R.3SG
    'This person was brought as a friend for me'.

Essive and Translative

The Translative, also a marker of secondary predications may take up the Essive interpretation. The difference between Essive and Translative may be formulated as follows:

− Essive carries the meaning of a temporary location or state of being, often equivalent to the English "as a (child)".

− Translative indicates a change in state of a noun, with the general sense of "becoming *X*" or "change to *X*"

Livonian, Erzya and Moksha employ the Translative in the genuine Essive constructions as in the examples (12) and (13). Note, however, that the *–ks* marker may also function as Comitative in Livonian and as a Direction in Erzya and Moksha.

Livonian
14. Īd   aigast ma   vo'l'   puoipse   oppattaj-<u>ks</u>
    One   year   I   was   in Pope   teacher-COM/TRANS
    'For one year I was in Pope as a teacher'.
Mordvin
15. kudo-<u>ks</u> / kudə-<u>ks</u>
    house-TRANS
    'to the house/as the house'

Secondly, note that Estonian employs the Translative on predicative complements, where Finnish uses the Essive. Semantically, the predicative complement in "I consider the boy <u>clever</u>" expresses a state and not a transition into a state, for which the Essive should be more appropriate than the Translative.

Other languages with Translative are Finnish, Karelian, Vepsian, Votic, Selkup, Hungarian, and Mansi.

Interestingly, in Skolt Saami the Essive is also used when conveying a change in state, as in:

Skolt Saami

16. te'l   E′mmel   muu′tti   si′jjid lå′dden: paa′rnid
    then   God.SG.NOM   change.PST.3SG   3PL.ACC bird.ESS   boy.PL.ACC
čuânjan   da   niõđid   njuhččân
goose.ESS and   girl.PL.ACC   swan.ESS
'then God changed them into birds: the boys (he turned) into geese and the girls (he turned) into swans'

The data also suggest to have a look at the distribution of the Essive and the Translative in the various languages. The following typology arises:

	STATE	CHANGE
Hungarian	Essive	Translative
Mordvin	Translative	Translative
Skolt Saami	Essive	Essive

Essive and Manner
Languages may be ambiguous between depictive and manner, as for instance Hungarian in contrast with Finnish:
Hungarian (ambiguous depictive/manner)
17. János   mérges-<u>en</u>   ment el.
    John   angry-sx   went away
    'John went away angry / angrily'.

Finnish (unambiguous depictive)
18. Pekka lähti iloise-<u>na</u>   luennolle.
    Pekka went cheerful-ESS   lecture.ALL
    'Pekka went to the lecture cheerful'.

The Essive-phrase often allows for an adverbial interpretation, that is why several languages allow the co-ordination of the Essive with an adverbial phrase.

Essive and temporal expressions
The Essive may also be used in temporal expressions as for instance in Votic
Votic
19. nämä   nejssa   лauko–pā̈-n   лammittę-ma sauna
    3PL   start:PRS.3PL   Saturday-ESS   heat-SUP   sauna:PART
'They will make sauna on Saturday'.
20. sęa   ajkę-n   mejle tšülä-se   tuл-ti   saksęлajzę-d
    war:GEN   time-ESS   1PL:ALL village-ILL   come-IMPF.3PL German-PLNOM
'During the war the Germans came to our village'.

Research domain
The points mentioned above generally define the area in which the Essive could be studied:
– referential vs. predicational
– secondary vs. main predication
– spatial vs. non-spatial
– temporal vs. non-temporal

– depictive vs. manner
– Essive vs. Translative

List of participants in the project

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	Estonian	Helle Metslang	University of Tartu
	Estonian	Liina Lindström	University of Tartu
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	Veps	Riho Grünthal	University of Helsinki
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