

The grown-up siblings: history and functions of Western Uralic *kse

In this paper, it is claimed that the case suffix *kse, known as translative, dates back to the Finnic-Mordvin proto language, where it functioned as a functive. It is illustrated using synchronic data from Finnic-Mordvin languages that the functions of *kse do not display an inherent feature of directionality ‘into’, or in other terms, lative. It is even possible that the suffix was neutral with respect to time stability, as it is in contemporary Erzya. Further, it is assumed that since the Northern Finnic languages have acquired a new stative case, the functive labelled essive *nA, formerly applied as an intralocal case, the functions of *kse have changed in these languages: *kse has become mainly the marker of a transformative, with an inherent feature of dynamicity.

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I. Introduction

The translative suffix *kse is included among the specific morphological features of the Finnic-Saami-Mordvin languages. According to Jaakko Häkkinen (2013: 196), it is one of the features that permit the assumption that there has been a shared Western Uralic (WU) proto-language. There are many areas in Uralic morphosyntax that are still understudied, with the

present one, however, not belonging to these. The *kse element has been a target of interest for several linguists, and thus, there is quite a large body of previous research concerning its use and development. The aim of the present treatise is to show that the theme is, however, worthy of re-evaluation. In line with Ante Aikio and Jussi Ylikoski (2007: 60), this paper focuses on the history of the morpheme, paying more attention to its functions. The case endings displaying functions such as those of *kse suffixes have been recently studied also in a wider typological context by Martin Haspelmath and Oda Buchholz (1998), as well as by Denis Creissels (2013). The present paper utilizes the theoretical tools offered by typological linguistics.

The functions of *kse in the Finnic-Mordvin languages are partly shared, but there is also variation, making it a very fruitful subject for a comparative approach. In the present study, it is assumed that the synchronic data drawn from Erzya, Estonian, Livonian and Finnish are able to illustrate all the core functions that the inflectional suffix *kse might have had in the previous stages of the languages. It is of course possible that with additional data, the picture might become more fine-grained, and this is the direction that future research should take.

The functions of the inflectional suffix *kse in the contemporary Finnic-Mordvin languages have been studied in detail at least in Finnish by Eero Voutilainen (2011), and partly in Erzya by Rigina Turunen (2011). The suffix in Estonian has gained attention as well at least in the works of Kristiina Pai (2001) and Mati Ereht & Helle Metslang (2003). The grammatical descriptions of smaller Finnic languages include the antecedents of the suffix in their case paradigms. Because of the clear contact-induced change the suffix *kse has undergone in Livonian due to Latvian influence,¹ it is not necessary to discuss the functions of the Livonian translative-comitative here, but see Grünthal 2003.

In this paper it is suggested that the suffix *kse was applied as a case suffix also in the Western Uralic period, and thus dates back to that stage of the proto-language. The main hypothesis of the present paper is that *kse was inherently a derivational suffix that has been reanalysed as a functive, equative or similative, as well as a suffix expressing purpose. It still has these functions in Erzya, and to varying extents in the sister languages as well. If the suffix has a cognate in Samoyedic, as suggested by Juha Janhunen (1989: 301), the relationship between case ending and derivational suffix must be reconsidered. Jaakko Häkkinen (2013: 196) agrees that in terms of phonology, Proto-Samoyedic *-tâ corresponds perfectly to

a Uralic *ksi translative. He adds, however, that Proto-Samoyedic *t may also originate from many other phonemes, and the correspondence might also be a consequence of coincidence. To my mind, it is methodologically questionable to refer to coincidences, and hopefully further research will shed light on the issue in more detail.

In line with the main hypothesis of this paper, it is assumed that the suffix does not have an inherent feature of directionality ‘into’, or in other terms, lative. It is even possible that it has been neutral with respect to time-stability, as it is in contemporary Erzya. Further, it is assumed in the present treatise that as the Northern Finnic languages have acquired a new stative case, the functive labelled *essive* *nA, formerly applied as an intralocal case, the functions of *kse have changed in these languages: it has become mainly the marker of a transformative, with an inherent feature of dynamicity.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Firstly, the typological background for the discussion is sketched. Secondly, the achievements and suggestions of previous research are dealt with, and the main arguments against the lative hypothesis are presented. Thirdly, functions of translatives are discussed with broader data from contemporary languages, and the functional space of the *kse suffixes is described. In the end, the development of *kse is discussed.

The data employed in this paper is from multiple sources. Data representing Erzya is from Šatko journals, from the electronic corpus of Research Unit for Volgaic Languages at the University of Turku. Finnish data is from Eero Voutilainen’s (2011) master thesis, which is based on a massive corpus of authentic data, but Google has also been used to search to find authentic examples from the Internet. The examples originating from Internet sources are not necessarily written in standard Finnish, but reflect also colloquial Finnish. Examples from other languages are from varying sources, always indicated before the example.

2. Typological background: *kse as a functive

A functive involves the notion of function or role, secondary predicate, which is the same as Haspelmath & Buchholz’s (1998) definition for *role phrases*: they express the role or function in which a participant appears, ‘as an N’. The examples in Table 1 illustrate functives in English, Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish. The original sentences were in English;

the Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish ones are translations. Hungarian was chosen here because of its multiple encoding strategies, not to demonstrate a diachronic relationship between the suffixes. All sentences were translated by native speakers². It must be noted that the word order of the constituents could vary.

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--|
| a. | English | John is working as a teacher . |
| | Hungarian | János tanár-ként dolgozik. |
| | Erzya | J. tonavtića-ks važodi. |
| | Estonian | John töötab õpetaja-na . |
| | Finnish | J. työskentelee opettaja-na . |
| b. | English | I got these books as a gift . |
| | Hungarian | Ezeket a könyveket ajándék-ba kaptam. |
| | Erzya | Nét' knígaťneń kažńe-ks sajiń. |
| | Estonian | Ma sain need raamatud kingi-ks . |
| | Finnish | Sain nämä kirjat lahja-ksi . |
| c. | English | I mentioned this as an example . |
| | Hungarian | Ezt pélða-ként említettem. |
| | Erzya | Téń ńevtevk-eks ľedšťija. |
| | Estonian | Tõin selle näite-ks . |
| | Finnish | Mainitsin tämän esimerkki-nä . |
| d. | English | I am talking to you as your friend . |
| | Hungarian | Barát-ként mondom neked. |
| | Erzya | Jalga-ks kortan tońeť. |
| | Estonian | Räägin sinuga kui sõber . |
| | Finnish | Puhun sinulle ystävä-nä . |
| e. | English | We were given ham as a first course . |
| | Hungarian | Előétel-nek nekünk sonkát adtak. |
| | Erzya | Vašeńce-ks makšš' teńek vétčina. |
| | Estonian | Eelroa-ks meile anti sinki. |
| | Finnish | Alkupaloi-ksi meille annettiin kinkkua. |
| f. | English | I used my sweater as a pillow . |
| | Hungarian | A pulóveremet párna-ként használtam. |
| | Erzya | Pulońerem putija pralkso-ks . |
| | Estonian | Kasutasin oma kampsunit padja-na . |
| | Finnish | Käytin paitaani tyyny-nä . |

Table 1: Examples of functives in English, Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish

When there are multiple patterns used to encode the functive, the case marking, or the choice of analytic construction such as in Estonian in Example d, depends also on the verb in the corresponding sentence. The role of the verb and the construction type is discussed to some extent below, but definitely should be studied in more detail elsewhere.

The grammatical category of the functive is rather fuzzy. Creissels (2013) shows that there are many grammatical functions that often get the same formal encoding as functive in the world's languages. In his cross-linguistic study it was observed that in many languages at least some of the functions (functive, similative, equative, transformative) were encoded by one and same formal element. There are languages in which all these functions get the same formal encoding; Erzya would belong to these, but there are many languages that employ the same suffix only in some of the functions. The boundaries are language-dependent. The categories that tend to receive the same formal encoding are the following ones:

- 1) Functive: 'as an N', 'function in a role'
- 2) Equative: 'identification of an entity with reference to relatively stable properties'
- 3) Transformative: 'into an N' (contextual variant of equative)
- 4) Similative: 'like an N', 'in the same way as an N'

The formal devices vary from language to language, and the constructions may be either analytic ones or grammatical morphemes. It is also possible that a specific function may be optionally encoded using some other formal device, and some examples are given also in this paper.

The separate WU languages employ their *kse translatives varyingly also with regards to the frequency of functions. In Erzya, similative is a frequent function of the Erzya translative, see Example 1. In Finnish, the functions of similative as well as equative seem at first glance to be absent, but this is not the case, as will be shown below. Translative-encoded NPs occur as equatives in Estonian, as in Example 2. All of the Finnic-Mordvinic languages employ their translatives in the transformative function, as illustrated with Finnish in Example 3.

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

Function: similitive

- (1) *ardo-m-sto miń čolěď-ińek tundo-ń narmuń-ńe-ks, /.../*
 drive-INF-ELA we warble-1PST.1PL spring-GEN bird-DIM-TRA
 ‘While driving we warbled like small spring birds.’

Estonian (Raud 1998: 33)³

Function: equative

- (2) *kas kirikuõpetaja-ks on ikka seesama Moosel?*
 Q priest-TRA be.3SG still the.same M.
 ‘Is the same Moosel still (working) as the priest?’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 15)

Function: transformative

- (3) *lainaussäänö-t on teh-ty samanlais-i-ksi*
 borrowing.rules-PL be.3SG make-PTCP.PST.PASS similar-PL-TRA
 ‘Borrowing rules have been made similar/harmonized.’

Creissels’ (2013) observations on the functions often related to each other as far as their formal encoding is regarded, did not cover the functions of reason and purpose. These seem, however, to be some of the functions that translatives – the language-specific cases encoding comparative concepts of functives, equative, similitives and transformative – have in the Uralic languages, e. g. in Nenets (Jalava, forthcoming).

The function of purpose is clearly attested not only the question words for ‘why’, but also in Finnish non-finite verb structures, see Example 4. In Finnish, there are also other non-finite verb constructions in which translative occurs, see VISK § 453, § 513. A common feature of the non-finite verb forms is that the translative suffix *kse does not display transformative or lative-like functions, not even together with the semantics of specific verbs.

Finnish (<<http://kiloklubi.fi>>)

- (4) *Syö-n elää-kse-ni, syödä-kse-ni*
 eat-1SG live-TRA-1SG.PX
e-n elä syödä-kse-ni
 NEG-1SG live.CNG eat-TRA-1SG.PX
 ‘I eat to live but don’t live to eat.’

3. Translatives in the case systems of Finnic-Mordvin languages

The case ending *kse belongs to the core paradigms of the Finnic-Mordvin languages, with a good type and token frequency which makes it easy to approach with large amount of empirical data available. The occurrence of the *kse suffix in the grammatical systems of separate languages demonstrates the problems that arise when cases labelled with the same term, but having different functions, are compared (see, Haspelmath 2010). Translative *kse occurs in all Finnic languages, and it can be included in the productive cases. In Finnic languages, with the exception of southern Finnic, such as Livonian and Estonian dialects, there is a case labelled *essive*, deriving from the ancient locative marker *nA. In those languages where the *essive* is productive, it is a rival for translative: the functional space of the two cases partly overlaps. In Erzya, where the *nA case definitely does not exist as a *functionive*, translative fulfils the functions typical for *nA cases in Finnic languages. At least according to EK 2000: 79 and my data, the possessive suffixes are not employed in nominals inflected in Erzya translative, and it has no definite or plural declension.

In Livonian, the *kse case is labelled as *instrumental* because of its contemporary functions, which differ from the functions of the *kse cases in other languages. This is, however, the result of a later development (see Grünthal 2004). The Livonian case *kse is still also employed in functions typical of translatives; see Example 6, in which it is a *transformative*.

Livonian (Norvik 2013b: 154)

- (6) *aš ta īdāks āigast vjib bāz rjkt un bāz na'grāmət nu'opī'lā*
 siz tām vēl'i-d sā-bād pa rištingā-ks
 then s/he.GEN brother-PL get-3PL PREP human-TRA
 'If s/he can go without talking and laughing for nine years,
 then his/her brothers will turn into human beings.'

Table 2 illustrates the Western Uralic case system, provided in Aikio & Ylikoski (2007: 12). As it shows, the translatives have cognates in the Saami languages as well, but in these languages they are observed only in adverbs, not as productive cases. The historical development of the case systems is dealt with below, with emphasis placed on translatives and *essives*.

Case	Suffix	Saami languages	Finnic languages	Mordvin languages
nominative	*-∅ (pl. *-t)	+	+	+
genitive	*-n	+	+	+
accusative	*-m	+	+	+
essive	*-nA	+	+	-
translative	*-ksi	(+)	+	+
partitive/ ablative	*-tA	+	+	+
lative	*-ŋ (? ~ *-k, *-n)	(+)	(+)	+
prolative	*-ko	(+)	-	+
inessive	*-snA	+	+	+
elative	*-stA	+	+	+
illative	*-s ~ *-sin	+	+	+
comitative	*-jnV	+	+	+
abessive	*-ptak	+	+	-

Table 2: Reconstructed case endings in the Saami, Finnic and Mordvin languages. The symbol (+) indicates that the ending is found only in adverbs or relic forms, but not as a productive part of the case system. Table is adapted from Ylikoski & Aikio (2007: 12)

Karl Kont (1955) divides the Finnic languages into two groups according to whether or not they display two functives, a stative and a dynamic one. In other words, there are languages which employ essive as a stative functive and translative as a dynamic functive. In Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps, translative cases are employed to encode both dynamic and stative functions. The Mordvin languages, Erzya and Moksha, behave similarly in this respect. In Finnish, Karelian, Ingrian and Votic, as well as to some extent Standard Estonian, the translative and essive cases share the functional domain in a way that translatives occur in constructions that are employed to encode dynamic relations and essives in those that encode stative relations that are prone to change or temporary. In other words, in

Kont's southern group, *kse is employed as an equative and transformative, whereas in the northern group, it is used only as a transformative, while the *nA cases encode the functions of equative. This division into two groups illustrated in Figure 2.

Finnic-Mordvin

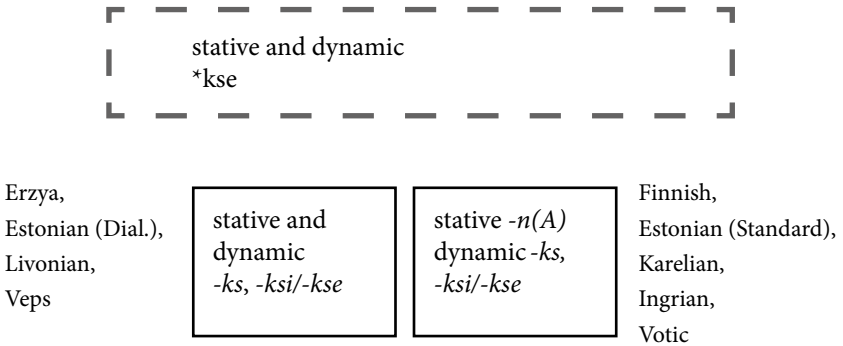


Figure 2: Translatives in the Finnic-Mordvin languages from the perspective of time-stability

In Votic, however, translatable may also be used to express the situation or the state in which something is, see Example 7 (Ariste 1968: 30). This feature resembles the functions of Votic essive: it is employed also in stative expressions, which is typical of the languages of the southern group.

Votic (Ariste 1968: 31)

- (7) *taht-e* *eL-La* *keikkę-a* *ülepä-ssi*
 want-1PST.3SG be-INF all-PRT superior-TRA
 'he wanted to be superior to everyone.'

A similar kind of nominative-oblique switch in class membership and property predication is also typical of other northeastern European languages, including Russian (Stassen 2001; see discussion in Turunen 2011). The languages that have essives, see Figure 2, for encoding equative (or temporary but stative nonverbal predicate) do not generally employ their translatives as a main device for this function, with translatable occurring instead in change-of-state constructions, see Figure 3.

Stative verb + Nominative	Stative verb + Essive	Dynamic verb + Translative
<i>Ole-n opettaja.</i>	<i>Ole-n opettaja-na.</i>	<i>Tule-n iloise-ksi.</i>
be-1SG teacher	be-1SG teacher-ESS	become-1SG glad-TRA
'I am a teacher.'	'I am a teacher (now).'	'I become happy.'

Contemporary state	Change of state
Time-stable	Less time-stable

Figure 3: The Nominative-Essive-Translative switch in Finnish (adapted from Turunen 2011)

On the contrary, those languages that do not have essives employ suffixes developed from *kse to encode both static and dynamic functions. Example 8 is from Estonian, although Estonian has some usage of essive as well, see also Lehiste (1972: 216); Erelt & Metslang (2003).

Estonian (presentation at a conference, 13.6.2014)

- (8) *Ol-i-te hea-de-ks kuulaja-te-ks!*
 be-1PST-2PL good-PL-TRA listener-PL-TRA
 'You were a good audience!'

In this section, it was shown that the existence of translative and essive as cases for encoding functives is observed only in some of the Finnic-Mordvin languages, as there are languages which employ translative also to encode stative functives. It seems to me that the southern group, with only one functive *kse, represents an older stage. According to this view, essive as a case of stative functive is of younger origin, having developed in the northern Finnic languages. The view is supported by the fact that there are many constructions in Finnish in which translative *kse does not display any dynamic functions. It also evident that essive was not originally a case expressing functive, but a case encoding concrete location (Janhunen 1982: 30). Below we will deal in more detail with the historical development of *kse, and it will be claimed that it has originally been a functive, neutral with respect to time-stability, in similar manner as can be observed in contemporary Erzya, as well as Estonian dialects and Veps.

3.1. The Finnish case system revisited

In the descriptions of the Finnish case system, there has been a tradition of separating the local cases from the others, represented below, adapted from Eero Voutilainen (forthcoming).

	Directionality Separative	Inclusive	Lative
Quality			
Internal	elative <i>lasi-sta</i> ‘from the glass’	inessive <i>lasi-ssa</i> ‘in the glass’	illative <i>lasi-in</i> ‘into the glass’
External	ablative <i>kato-lta</i> ‘from the roof’	adessive <i>kato-lla</i> ‘on the roof’	allative <i>kato-lle</i> ‘onto the roof’
“General”	(elative) [changing] <i>poliisi-sta</i> ‘from police’	essive [being] <i>poliisi-na</i> ‘as police’	translative [changing] <i>poliisi-ksi</i> ‘(in)to police’

Table 3: The Finnish local cases (see e.g. Siro 1964: 29–30; Voutilainen forthcoming)

The so-called general local cases are the focus of the present paper. This category includes essive and translative, as well as the non-local separative use of elative illustrated in Table 3 above. Voutilainen (2011: 3) suggests that the notion of locality does not adequately suit the function of translative expressions, in spite of a few lexicalized local adverbs. Furthermore, he claims that the same problem is evident in the use of essive. To overcome this descriptive inadequacy, Voutilainen (forthcoming) presents a new preliminary categorization for the Finnish cases based on **dynamicity** and **stativity**, see Figure 4.

Voutilainen (2011) offers plenty of examples in which translative encoding does not allow any lative-like interpretation. Example 9 seems to contain a translative of reason, expressing why someone goes to a flat viewing, and in Example 10, translative expresses purpose. In Example 11, the expression in translative is identifiable as encoding a manner of doing something. Example 12 seems to me to contain the function of purpose or reason.

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 79)

- (9) *käy-t=kö koskaan ihan vaan huvi-kse-si*
 go-2SG=Q ever just only fun-TRA-2SG
asuntonäyttely-ssä
 flat.viewing-INE
 ‘Do you ever go just for fun to a flat viewing?’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 89)

- (10) *lapse-t järjest-i-vät arpajaise-t*
 child-PL arrange-1PST-3PL lottery-PL
pakolaisäiti-en hyvä-ksi
 refugee.mother.PL-GEN good-TRA
 ‘The children arranged a lottery to benefit refugee mothers.’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 79)

- (11) *Siltanen pela-a ammatti-kse-en NHL:n Edmonton Oilersi-ssa*
 S. play-3SG profession-TRA-3SG.PX NHL-GEN E.O. -INE
 ‘Siltanen plays as a professional for the Edmonton Oilers in the NHL.’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 89)

- (12) *asevoim-i-en päivä-n kunnia-ksi julkais-tu artikkeli*
 army-PL-GEN day-GEN honour-TRA publish-PST.PTCP article
 ‘an article published in honour of the day of the army’

As regards the historical development of the translative, Voutilainen’s observations support the view that the translative should not be regarded synchronically or historically as a case closely related to latives. I will return to this question after having provided more examples.

Translative in the Finnish case system

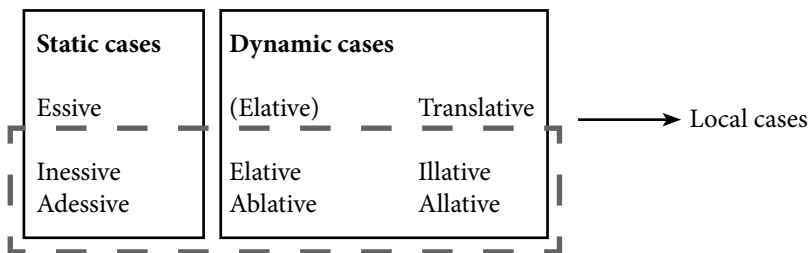


Figure 4: Voutilainen (forthcoming): Finnish dynamic and static adverbial cases

3.2. Functives as non-verbal predicates

In the present paper, I suggest using the term *functive*, following Creissels (2013), to describe the cases such as translative *kse and essive *nA in the Finnic-Mordvin languages. There is a special morphosyntactic context in which functives function as predicates. Payne (1997: 114) calls these predicate nominal clauses, into which belong clauses expressing equation and proper inclusion. Payne (1997: 120) also treats predicate adjectives under the predicate nominal category. In the Uralic languages, in these clause types, there is either no verbal predicate at all, or a copula, such as ‘be’ or ‘become’ (see Turunen 2010: 56). The clause types involved in non-verbal predication in Erzya, Finnish and Votic are illustrated in Table 7.

Non-verbal predication and expressions of present and future

	Erzya	Finnish	Votic
Present	<i>(mon) ava-n</i> (I) woman-1SG ‘I am a woman’	<i>ole-n äiti</i> be-1SG mother ‘I am a mother’	<i>minu bratko</i> I.GEN brother <i>on rēbakkə</i> be.3SG fisherman ‘my brother is a fisherman’
Future	<i>uġa-n ava(-ks)</i> be-1SG woman(-TRA) ‘I will be a woman’	<i>tule-n</i> become-1SG <i>äidi-ksi</i> mother-TRA ‘I will be a mother’	<i>minu siso lē-B utšitelä</i> I.GEN sister be-3SG teacher ‘My sister will be a teacher’
	<i>karma-n</i> be.FUT-1SG <i>ava(-ks)</i> woman(-TRA) ‘I will be a woman’	<i>minu-sta</i> I-ELAT <i>tule-e äiti</i> become-3SG mother ‘I will be a mother’	<i>minu siso</i> I.GEN sister <i>lē-B utšitelä-n</i> be-3SG teacher-ESS ‘My sister will be a teacher’
			<i>tämä nē-B papi-ssi</i> he become-3SG priest-TRA ‘He will become a priest’
			<i>tämä nēB</i> (s)he become-3SG <i>tämä najžə-n</i> (s)he wife-ESS ‘She will become his wife’

Table 4: Functives and expression of tense in Erzya, Finnish and Votic

In the light of the data collected from the worlds' languages, the Finnic languages are very simple: the employment of copula is obligatory in all tenses and persons. The Mordvin languages are, on the contrary, very complex (for further reading, see Stassen 1999 and Turunen 2010). Table 4 illustrates, however, that the variation occurring in encoding 'becoming something' is remarkable in the Finnic languages, and it is plausible that the lack of inflectional future has led to the emergence of multiple solutions. In Finnish, the verb *tule-* 'come' has acquired the meaning 'become', and its nominal arguments display case marking: either the non-verbal predicate is in translative (*tulen äidi-ksi*) or the subject is in elative (*minu-sta tulee äiti*). This distinction between two types of change-of-state constructions is typical of Finnic languages: the goal-marking clauses involve a translative predicative (represented as NP_{Nom} V NP_{Tra}), and in the source-marking clauses the source is marked with the elative case (NP_{Ela} V NP_{Nom}) (Erelt 2005; Norvik 2013b).

Example 13, adapted from Norvik (2013b: 140), illustrates a goal-marking clause from Veps. It also shows that Veps makes use of the same *l̄e-verb as Votic (see Table 7) and on the history and functions of *l̄e-, see Norvik 2013b: 132. In Veps, the case marking in the goal-marking constructions is in translative. In Votic, the case marker essive can occur with *l̄e-* 'will be', but translative cannot. Translative occurs with another verb for becoming, *nĕ-*. Votic *l̄e-* and the non-verbal predicate occurring with it in nominative form an equative sentence in future tense. Both Votic and Finnish display translatives only in transformative functions with verbs that are dynamic (with some exceptions, see below).

Veps (Norvik 2013b: 140)

- (13) *Nece li-nne-b hüvä-ks tradicija-ks*
 this be-POT-3SG good-TRA tradition-TRA
i vedoväge-ks lapsi-le, kudambad sa-ba vaiše "viž"-arvsana-n.
 'This will become a good tradition and motivation
 for the children who only get As.'

In the traditional descriptions of Finnish grammar, a clear difference has been made between the clause types *ole-n äiti* (be-1SG mother.NOM) 'I am a mother' on the one hand, and *tule-n äidi-ksi* (be-1SG mother-TRA) 'I will be a mother' and *ole-n äiti-nä* (be-1SG mother-ESS) 'I am (as) a mother' on the other. The nominative-encoded non-verbal predicate *äiti* is labelled as *predikatiivi* 'predicative' (the term is a noun), while translative- and essive-

encoded nominal arguments are labelled as *predikatiiviadverbiaali* ‘predicative adverbial’. My suggestion is that the confusion is due to fact that there is no inflectional future tense in Finnish. The constructions refer to a) stative relation and b) dynamic relation and future tense. This difference is expressed in Finnish not only by marking the second nominal argument but also by changing the verbal copula from stative *olla* ‘be’ to dynamic *tulla* ‘come, become’. The dynamicity is thus doubly expressed by the copula and translative suffix. Depending on the context, the only semantic difference between the clause types *olen äiti* and *tulen äidiksi* is tense. Thus, there is no clear difference in the function of the nominative- and translative-encoded second nominal arguments of these types of clauses, but a proper label for both of them would be *nominaalinen predikaatti*, or in English *non-verbal predicate*.

Further, I suggest that the employment of Finnish *tulla* ‘come, become’ in the function of an auxiliary expressing future has affected the employment of translative in other constructions with the same verb. Namely, in Finnish, the employment of *tulla* ‘come’ is in the first place associated with semantic content such as ‘come to place X’. It is possible that the expressions where translative encodes time limit, such as in Example 14, might also have originally been translatives with the function of purpose (see below), which were then reanalysed together with the verb as an expression of time limit. In other words, in expressions such as that in Example 14, the original interpretation might also have been ‘I will come home because of Christmas’. Thus, the interpretation of time limit, such as that illustrated in Example 15, might have developed only later, when translative had first been reanalysed as an expression of time and not reason in constructions such as Example 14. This theory is supported e. g. by the fact that the non-finite construction of Finnish, illustrated in Example 4 above, is clearly related to the function of purpose.

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (14) *tule-n koti-in joulu-ksi*
 come-1SG home-ILL Christmas-TRA
 ‘I will come home because of/for/until Christmas.’

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (15) *tule-n koti-in aamu-ksi*
 come-1SG home-ILL morning-TRA
 ‘I will come home by morning.’

4. The emergence of *kse as a case suffix

In the search for the diachronic background of *kse as a case suffix, two developmental paths have been suggested, labelled here as the *lative theory* and the *derivation theory*.

Firstly, the less complex option is supplied by the lative theory. According to this approach, translatives have their origin in compounded latives, the ancient Uralic lative suffixes of the form *k and *s. The theory is supported by the facts that coaffixes are typical in the Uralic languages, and that of the functions of translatives, transformative partly overlaps with or is at least related to lative functions. This view has been supported by e. g. Szinyei (1910: 77), Bereczki (1988: 323), Riese (1993: 59), Bartens (1999: 77–78) and most recently Creissels (2013). Hakulinen (1978: 101) suggests that it emerged from two latives, but in the footnote on the following page (102), he admits that the explanation involving two latives is methodologically suspicious.

As shown by Mikko Korhonen (1981: 230), the dynamic function of ‘into a location X’ is found in some Saami adverbs as well: there are adverbial expressions such as South Saami *luk’sâ* ‘into the south’, compared with *lulle* ‘south’. In the Saami languages, such lative-like expressions seem to date back to words consisting of three syllables, which can also be seen in the quality of the second vowel. On the other hand, in Inari Saami, the same adverbs display consonant gradation, which hints that the words originally consisted of only two syllables, and thus, of latives of the type *-s. Erkki Itkonen (1966b: 273) has considered these adverbs in the Saami languages to be mixtures of the original *s lative and translatable. Interestingly, Korhonen’s viewpoint on the diachronic relationship between *s lative and *kse translatable is opposite to the general view: he summarizes that it is due to Finnic-Mordvin systems, in which latives and translatives form separate case suffixes, while other researchers have not considered that the *s lative could have developed from the *kse translatable. This suggests that Korhonen’s viewpoint is that the translatable is the original one, and lative a later development. (Ibid.)

Secondly, according to the derivation theory, the inflectional suffix *kse – the case ending labelled translatable – is related to the identical derivational suffix *kse. This view was presented by Arvid Genetz (1890: 167–168). He points out that there are no traits of local (lative) meaning in Mordvin, Livonian, Estonian or Votic. In fact, over the last century

not much has been added to what Genetz wrote. His view is supported by Bubrih (1953: 60, 62, 63), Kont (1955: 164), Serebrennikov (1967: 26–27), Häkkinen (1985: 82), Saarinen (2001: 245) and Turunen (2011). Laanest (1975: 107) adds that it is possible that translative belongs to the same three-dimensional paradigm of separative-inclusive-lative cases, and that its attachment to this paradigm is from the period when essive already had its function as a functive. According to Laanest (*ibid.*), this makes the assumption that translative has developed from two latives very unlikely. The inflectional suffix occurs only in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, but the derivational suffix *kse occurs not only in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, but also in the Permic, Saami and Samoyedic languages, due to which it has (logically) been suggested that it might be of Uralic origin (Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 58; Lehtinen 2007: 67–68; Häkkinen 1985: 82). Lehtinen (*ibid.*) has suggested that it is even possible that the suffix already functioned as a case ending in Proto-Uralic. This study aims to uncover the background of *kse in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, while the previous stages of development still wait to be studied.

The following arguments support the derivational theory:

- i. The difference between derivational and inflectional suffixes in the Finno-Ugric languages may be quantitative rather than qualitative, and there are examples of derivational suffixes having become inflectional. (Laakso 2005: 102.)
- ii. The lative-like words such as Finnish *luokse* and *taakse* contain a glottal stop (*taakse* < **tayaksek*); the *k suffix reconstructed in the end is regarded as an old lative suffix. Similar kinds of adverbs can be attested in Karelian. The adverbs *kauaksi* and *ulommaksi* alternate with the forms *kauas* and *ulommas*, all sharing the function of lative. There are not many examples of employing (apparent) translatives in concrete local lative functions, and the distribution of concrete local, lative like functions is also concise. (Genetz 1890: 167–168; Laanest 1975: 106, Häkkinen 1985: 82.)
- iii. Lative -ka/-k + some other suffix, that is, lative as a coaffix, is not typical for Uralic languages. Suffixes made through the fusion of two case suffixes are not typical in the worlds' languages. (Serebrennikov 1967: 27; Aikio & Ylikoski 2007.)

- iv. The Mordvin languages display many *ks*-derivations which are totally identical in form to translative inflected nouns, such as *surks* ‘ring’ and *sur-ks* ‘finger-TRA’, *čevks* ‘log for a shingle’ and *čev-ks* ‘shingle-TRA’, *kefks* ‘bracelet’ and *ked-ks* ‘hand-TRA’ (e. g. Kont 1955: 167; Serebrennikov 1967: 27). Reanalysis of the suffix may have happened easily in constructions in which the derivational suffix occurs.
- v. In the Mordvinic languages, Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps, the translative case is used to encode both dynamic and stative predicative adverbials (Kont 1955). The suffix does not have an inherent semantic property of dynamicity but can be regarded as neutral in this respect.
- vi. Latinate theory suffers from methodological weaknesses, as already pointed out by Hakulinen (1968: 102). Aikio and Ylikoski (2007) claim that actually the creation of new derivational suffixes or case suffixes can hardly take place merely through unmotivated conjunction of two (or more) existing case endings. As they write, such a development would be quite an extraordinary morphosyntactic innovation and postulating that such an innovation has taken place in a reconstructed proto-language ought to require extraordinary evidence as well.
- vii. The frequently suggested latinate suffixes include at least *-n, *-ń, *-ŋ, *-k, *-j, and *-s. The variety of different directional case endings, or so-called ‘latives’, reconstructed is simply too large, as suggested by Aikio & Ylikoski (2007).

In this paper, it is claimed that the suffix *kse is easily reanalysable as an equative, functive and similitive. In the sense of Harris and Campbell (1995: 30, 61), it is suggested that reanalysis is possible if there are two or more different interpretations of a construction that is/are novel. To my mind, Häkkinen (1985: 82) states the idea of the original functions of *kse clearly in the following argument: translative *kse emerged from the derivational suffix *kse with the meaning ‘being/functioning as something’ or ‘changing into something’. The assumed explanation has already been provided for Finnish by Genetz (1890: 167) and then Uotila (1945: 335): the ending could be equated with a homonymous derivational suffix *-ksi ‘material for X’: cf. e. g. Finnish *aida-kse-t* ‘stakes (for building a fence)’ ← *aita* ‘fence’.

The same can be demonstrated with contemporary Erzya data, namely how the reanalysis of derivational suffix *kse might have happened. The case fulfils the conditions and illustrates a process of reanalysis affecting only the semantic interpretation and the function of the construction, not the form. It is plausible that reanalysis has taken place in different constructions simultaneously: in stative clauses, the suffix has been reanalysed as equative ('being an N **temporarily**', 'being/functioning as an N/in the role of an N') as well as simulative ('being **like** an N'), the interpretation of which is closely related to the functive in stative nonverbal predicate clauses. It is not hard to imagine that a clause like in Example 10, with the derived lexeme *surks* ← *sur* 'finger' can be interpreted in all these ways, depending on the context, even including the function of reason:

- (16) *T'ē surks.*
 'This is a ring.'
- Reason 'This is to be put on the finger (= a ring);
 'This is for the finger (= a ring).'
 - Equative 'This is now a ring.'
 - Functive 'This is (used) as a ring.'
 - Simulative 'This is like a ring'

Of course, this explanation must be abandoned if Janhunen's (1989: 301) suggestion that the suffix derives from Proto-Uralic and is cognate with the Proto-Samoyed marker of the predestinative declension *-tə- is proved to be correct. For examples from Tundra Nenets -*də*-, see Salminen (1998: 539). As Aikio and Ylikoski (2007: 58) summarize, the suffix labelled as predestinative, when occurring in genitive forms, also comes functionally close to Finnish (Finnic-Mordvin) translatives, see Example 17:

Nenets (Tereshchenko 1965: 291; cited through Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 58)

- (17) *tyuku^o wæsakoh nye nyúm nyed^onta me^oda*
 'he took that old man's daughter **as a wife for him**'

5. The functions of *kse in contemporary Finnic-Mordvin languages

In this section, the functions of *kse in the contemporary languages will be inspected in detail. Firstly, in Figure 5, a summary of the functions is provided. It is suggested that translatives have at least the functions in the contemporary Finnic-Mordvinic languages as presented in Figure 5. The definitions of the functions are based on Creissels' (2013) definitions (see above), except for the functions of reason and purpose.

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 89, 113) state that the semantic interpretation of an argument is a function of the logical structure in which it occurs and the predicating element defines the interpretation. In other words, the lexical-semantic properties of predicates have an important impact on grammatical relations (e.g. Witzlack-Makarevich 2011: 100). Thus, states of affairs are basic, and participant roles are derived. Translative-encoded noun phrases occur in many kinds of constructions. Consequently, the semantic content of the translative suffix varies depending on the properties of the construction and its core element, the predicate verb. The verbs' lexical properties as well as clause level constructions have central role in marking the arguments and complements, as illustrated

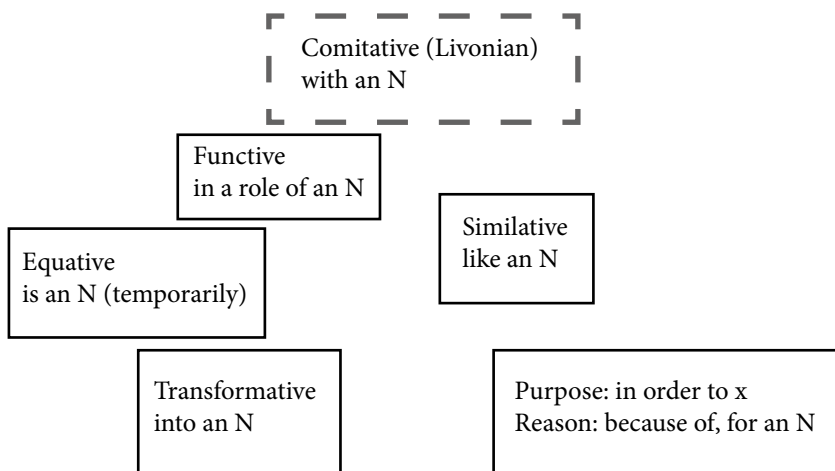


Figure 5: Semantic-functional interpretation of the Finnic-Mordvinic translatives

recently with regard to Estonian (Metslang 2013: 23–26.) The core functions of translatives, illustrated in Figure 5, illustrate an attempt to define their functions after having undressed the constructions from the specific lexical-semantic properties of their lexical elements, namely verbs, nouns and adjectives (see also EK 2000: 86–87), but in this area, more research should be made. Namely, it is likely that functional-semantic properties of *kse suffixes could be better defined in terms of the meanings of constructions.

The functions of translative-encoded NPs are examined with regards to their occurrence in clause-level constructions. According to this division, translative-encoded NPs occur in non-verbal predication and secondary predication, and as predicative complements and depictives (see de Groot's project's forthcoming volume on Uralic *essive*). Translative-encoded NPs can occur as either nonverbal predicates or secondary predicates, or in other words, translative-encoded NPs are themselves predicates or part of the predicate. Thus, a nominal element encoded in translative fulfills a role atypical for a nominal, which may explain partly the atypical behaviour of translative suffixes: in Erzya, the translative-encoded NPs do not get plural inflection, neither definite declension. Finnish descriptions of grammar, however, have not regarded translative-encoded nonverbal predicates as predicates but as *predicative adverbials*. In the present study, it was suggested in section 3.2 that the Finnish translative-encoded NPs should, however, be labelled with better known terms, also shifting the definition of translative-encoded NPs into a direction that makes them similar to other nonverbal predicates in Finnish.

In the following, I will go through some examples of each of the functions translatives have in the contemporary languages, concentrating on the kinds of constructions which best illustrate that *kse is used in functions not actually related to lative-like functions. In other words, I will give mostly examples in which *kse functions as an equative, functive or similitive, or expresses purpose or reason.

5.1. Translative with stative copula in Finnish: similitives and functives

There are some petrified expressions in Finnish in which translative occurs together with the stative copula *ole-* 'be'. My hypothesis is that these expressions (NP.NOM+*olla*-COP+NP-TRA) preserve the older functions of translative, which were lost after the development of *essive* *nA. In other

words, the grammaticalization of *nA from a concrete local case into a functive has reshaped the domain profoundly. In the petrified expression, as illustrated in Example 12, translative encodes the NP in a role or as likely, it functions as a marker of a similitive. Example 19 from Estonian is analysed as similitive by Kibbermann and Madisson (2014).

Finnish (<www.facebook.com>)

- (18) *Hyvä-äjuhannus-ta!* *Ol-kaa* *ihmis-i-ksi,*
 good-PRT mid.summer be-IMP.2PL human-PL-TRA
äl-kää-kä *paleltu-ko!*
 NEG.IMP-IMP.2PL=and freeze-IMP
 ‘Happy midsummer! Behave as/like human beings, and don’t freeze!’

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 27)

- (19) *See ol-gu ta-lle õpetuse-ks /.../*
 it be-IMP.3SG (s)he-ALL lesson-TRA
 ‘This shall be like a lesson for him/her’/.../

In Finnish Example 20, the interpretation of translative is similitive, very closely related to functive. Example 20 originates from a very well-known psalm, which is a translation. The sentence also contains an argument in allative (*tei-lle* ‘for you’), which can be considered an obligatory element of the construction. Translatives in Livonian and Estonian are employed in a very similar manner, as illustrated by the Bible translations in Examples 21–22.

Finnish (Psalm book from 1886, Psalm 21)

- (20) *ja tää on tei-lle merki-ksi*
 and this be.3SG you-ALL sign-TRA
 ‘and this is as a sign for you’

Courland Livonian (Mark 13:04) (cited though Norvik 2013a)

- (21) *Kīt mādđōn, kuna se lī-b ja mis*
 Tell.IMP we.DAT when this will.be-3SG and what
lī-b tādkō-ks, ku se ama sā-b tāutōt?
 will.be-3SG sign.INS when this all get-3SG fulfil.PTCP
 ‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what will be the sign when all this gets fulfilled?’

Estonian (Piibel.net) (cited though Norvik 2013a)

- (22) *Ütle mei-le, millal see kõik tule-b ja mis*
 tell.IMP we-ALL when this all come-3SG and what
on tunnustähe-ks /.../?
 ‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what will be the sign /.../?’

In Example 23, there is a stative verb *elä-* ‘live’, with the translative-encoded noun *herra* ‘lord’. This can also be considered a highly petrified expression in Finnish, as the noun cannot be changed to some other lexeme, and the translative-encoded noun *herro-i-ksi* is always inflected in plural, even when the subject is in singular. Remarkably, the interpretation of the clause allows us to assume that the translative-encoded noun is applied as a similitive. A similar expression occurs in Erzya, as illustrated in Example 24.

Finnish (<<http://www.suomifutis.com/>>)

- (23) *entinen Real Madrid -pelaaja elä-ä herro-i-ksi*
 former Real Madrid player live-3SG lord-PL-TRA
 ‘The former real Madrid player lives like lords.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (24) *Sinst vešeme-st ul-i, katka-st=kak bojaro-ks*
 3PL.GEN all-DEF be-3SG cat-3PL=too lord-TRA
eř-i-ť – vańks sivel-dē jarś-i-ť.
 live-PRS-3PL pure meat-ABL eat-3PL
 ‘They have everything, even their cats live like lords, they eat pure meat.’

There are also other stative expressions in Finnish in which only some lexemes can occur with translative encoding. These expressions include the following: *jokin on hyvä-ksi ~ paha-ksi ~ haita-ksi ~ vaara-ksi* ‘something is for good, bad, harm, danger’. It is interesting that in this expression type, the NP can be inflected in elative, if not in translative: *jokin on hyvä-stä ~ paha-sta* ‘something is for good ~ bad’. (VISK § 456.) Elative encoding as semantically equal variant for a lative-like case seems controversial, but it is less problematic if we assume that translative is not related to latives. Of course, the variation and changes in valence patterns should be studied in detail in the future.

All the Finnic-Mordvin languages also share the expression ‘speak in language X’, illustrated by Example 19–21, in which the language is encoded in translative. In these expressions, translatives seem to encode the

manner or mode of doing something (e. g. Bartens 1999: 99), but it can also be considered a similitive. This means that in Erzya, as illustrated in Example 1 above, translative is employed in the expression ‘I sing like a bird’, and to my mind, in a similar manner also in expression *erža-ks korta-n* ‘I speak like an Erzya’. In Finnish, the origin could be the same, i. e. ‘speak like an N’, which can be compared to the expression ‘live like lords’, see Example 23 above. Notably, if the same content is expressed with a longer structure including the word *kieli* ‘language’, translative can no longer be applied. This seems natural if the origin of the expression is in simile construction. If the expression contains the word for language, ‘in some language’, the word for language is inflected in Erzya in inessive (*eržan kel-se*) and in Finnish in adessive (*suomen kiele-llä*).

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (25) *On=ko kirja suome-ksi?*
 is=Q book Finnish
 ‘Is the book in Finnish?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (26) *Ul-i ištamo val: ”udača”.*
 be-3SG such word successful
Ruz-ks=kak son teke, erža-ks=kak.
 Russian-TRA=too 3SG like.that Erzya-TRA=too
 ‘There is a word: udača. It is the same in Russian and in Erzya.’

Central Ludic (Norvik 2013b: 151)

- (27) *Kui rod'i lūd'i-kse? – „Nadu“!*
 how be.born.3SG Central.Ludic-TRA sister.in.law
 ‘How would it be in Central Ludic? – “Nadu”!’

In some stative constructions, the interpretation of Finnish translative is functive, see Examples 28 and 29. In these expressions one might expect essive encoding, which is generally the case applied in stative clauses. Example 30 illustrates similar expression ‘to be as a gift’ in Erzya.

Finnish (<www.bodylehti.fi>)

- (28) *Erityisesti halua-n kiittä-ä valmentaja-a-ni Jerry Ossi-a,*
 especially want-1SG thank-INF coach-PRT-1SG.PX J. O. -PRT
joka on ol-lut suure-ksi avu-ksi.
 who be-2SG be-PST.ACT.PTCP great-TRA help-TRA
 ‘Especially I wish to thank my coach Jerry Ossi, who has been (as) a great help.’

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (29) *Kuva on lahja-ksi.*
 picture be.3SG gift-TRA
 ‘The picture is (as) a gift.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (30) *Sěhte pokš kažne-ks feń ul'-i*
 SUP big gift-TRA 1SG.DATbe-PRS.3SG
Petrozavodskoje-v pačkođema-zo.
 P-ILL arrival-3SG.PX
 ‘The biggest gift for me will be his arrival in Petrozavodsk.’

It was suggested above that the semantics of translatives are construed in relation to a construction containing a verb, the meaning of which defines the characteristics of the translatable as well (see e. g. Sinha & Kuteva 1995). In the following, some ditransitive constructions that consist of a semantically full verbal predicate and a secondary nominal argument in translatable are dealt with. Firstly, there are at least two Finnic-Mordvinic constructions in which the verbs are cognates and the secondary nominal argument is encoded in translatable. The constructions with the verbs Finnish *jakaa*, Erzya *javoms* ‘divide into something’ are illustrated in Examples 31–32.

Finnish (<<http://keskustelu.afterdawn.com>>)

- (31) *Miten jaka-a os-i-ksi/ editoi-da mp3:s-i-a?*
 how divide-INF part-PL-TRA edit-INF mp3-PL-PRT
 ‘How to divide into parts/edit mp3?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (32) *Lija jon-do, a eřavi javo-ms*
 other side-ABL NEG must divide-INF
ejkakš-těneń vadřa-ks di beřańe-ks,
 child-DEF.GEN.PL good-TRA and bad-TRA
meže-š eřš-i něje-ń škola-těne-se.
 what-DEF happen-3SG now-ADJZ school-PL.DEF-INE
 ‘On the other hand, one should not divide the children into good and bad, a thing that happens in contemporary schools.’

The other etymologically shared verb with this valence pattern is Finnish *lukea*, Erzya *lovnoms* ‘to read/consider (as) something’, see Examples 33 and 34. Votic, too, employs its translative with this verb, see Example 35. In Finnish, however, translative is not the case typically used with this verb, but it is a possible one. According to SSA, the employment of the verb *lukea* to encode ‘consider’ is probably of Russian influence (SSA *lukea*). In Finnish, the argument is more generally in illative.

Finnish (<www.makuja.fi>)

- (33) *Myös kurpitsa lue-taan oikeastaan hedelmä-ksi.*
 also pumpkin read-PASS actually fruit-TRA
 ‘Also pumpkin is actually considered a fruit.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (34) *Še ška-rie moñ kudo-m*
 it time-TEMP 1SG.GEN house-1SG
loviž velf vadřaks, (...)
 consider-PST.PTCP very good-TRA
 ‘At that time, my house was considered a very good one.’

Votic (Markus and Rozhanskiy, forthcoming)

- (35) *tämä nuge-B minnu-a nōre-ssi*
 3SG consider-3SG 1SG-PRT young-TRA
 ‘(S)he considers me young.’

There are also many constructions in which etymologically different verbs occur, however with the same encoding of the secondary nominal argument: *sams inže-ks/tulla vieraa-ksi* ‘come for a visit’, actually ‘come as a guest’, *maksoms/kažne-ks/antaa* or *saada lahja-ksi* ‘to give/to receive as a gift’, *lemdems Nina-ks/kutsua Niina-ksi* ‘call (someone) Nina’. Notably, many of these do not contain any semantic content related to lative. These shared constructions will be dealt with in more detail in Voutilainen & Ajanki (forthcoming), Examples 36 and 37 illustrate feel + NP-TRA constructions in Finnish and Erzya.

Finnish (<www.uusipori.fi>)

- (36) *Kati tuns-i itsensä usein*
 K. feel-1PST.3SG herself often
väsynee-ksi, pää-tä särk-i, masens-i.
 tired-TRA head-PRT ache-1PST.3SG depress-1PST.3SG
 ‘Kati often felt (herself) tired, her head was aching, she was depressed.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (37) /.../ *di maŋ-it pŕa-st vejke-vejke-ńeń eŕavikse-ks.*
 /.../ and feel-3PL head-3PL one-one-ALL necessary-TRA
 ‘and they feel (themselves) necessary to each other.’

One verb with a valence pattern in translative has gained quite a lot of attention in Finnish, namely *jäädä* (see discussion in Huumo 2005; Leino 2005). The Erzya verb *kadovoms* shares the same meaning ‘to be left as an N, to stay as an N’. It seems to me that the Finnish translative only reflects the original function of *kse as a case that has been neutral with respect to time-stability, as it is nowadays in Erzya. Example 38 is enlightening also with regard to the time-oriented functive expression ‘as a child, when he was a child’, which in Erzya triggers translative encoding. Example 40 illustrates the employment of translative in Estonian with the verb that is cognate with the Finnish one.

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (38) *Sergej Filippovič poŕaka ejkakšo-ks kado-v-ś urozo-ks: /.../*
 S. F. infant-TRA leave-REFL-1PST.3SG orphan-TRA
 ‘S. F. was left as an orphan as an infant.’

Finnish (<www.iltasanomat.fi>)

- (39) *Moni lapsi jä-i orvo-ksi*
 many child to.be.left-1PST.3SG orphan-TRA
Latvia-n turma-ssa.
 Latvia-GEN accident-INE
 ‘Many a child was left as an orphan in the accident in Latvia.’

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 44)

- (40) *Nüli nii, et silmaaugu-d terve-ks jää-ksi-d /-/-.*
 skin.IMP so that eye.hole-PL whole-TRA remain-COND-3PL
 ‘Skin so that the eyeholes will remain whole!’

Interestingly, the verb *īedō* is the most general change-of-state verb in Livonian, see Example 10. Also in Estonian, the cognate *jääda* can be used for expressing negative/passive change (Norvik 2013a: 146–147). As shown above, translative encoding is also related to change-of-state constructions. Norvik (ibid.) notes that in Example 41, the sense ‘become’ is supported by the preposition *pa*, which is a loan from Latvian. According to Norvik (p. c.), this may reflect the fact that the translative marker is no

longer enough in itself to express change, which is understandable also due to its multiple functions.

Courland Livonian (Setälä 1953: 135; cited through Norvik 2013a: 128)

- (41) *ni mulki nai ie-nd pa kovāla-ks*
 now fool women remain-PTCP PREP smart-TRA
 'now the fool woman became smart'

Most occurrences of Erzya obligatory NP arguments in translative are functives rather than transformatives, and there are constructions in Finnish as well in which the translative has traditionally been interpreted as a dynamic case. In Erzya, the translative-encoded secondary predicates and complements of the following verbs can be regarded as functives: perception verbs *ńejams* 'to see as an N', *mařams* 'to feel like an N', *tonavńńems* 'study as/to be an N', *važoděms*, *robotams* 'to work' *kadoms*, *kadovoms* 'to leave, to be left as an N' *lovoms* 'to consider to be an N', *ńemđems* 'to call an N'. If we do not assume lative origin, it is also easier to understand the following kind of variation in valence patterns. In Erzya the verb *ńejavoms* triggers either translative or elative (Bartens 1999: 98–99), see Example 42. Semantically, the difference between lative-like functions and elative (ablative) -like functions is remarkable, if not opposite.

Erzya (Bartens 1999: 98)

- (42) *son ńejav-ś viška ejkakšo-ks/-sto*
 3SG see-REFL-1PST.3SG small child-TRA/ELA
 '(s)he looked like a small child'

5.2. Finnish ditransitive constructions displaying translative-essive variation

There are several secondary predicates that can be encoded in Finnish using both translative and essive (VISK § 1260). The hypothesis presented in this paper is that the existence of constructions that display free essive-translative variation may be due to the historical background of *kse, when it was employed also in stative functions. The Finnish constructions in which variation occurs are those which have as their core element the verbs *kokea* 'experience', as in Examples 43–44, *mainita* 'mention', as in Examples 45–46 and *nähdä* 'see, consider', shown in Examples 47–48. In these constructions, the essive- or translative-encoded NPs are secondary predicates, obligatorily belonging to the valence patterns of the verbs.

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (43) *Ihmise-t koke-vat yhteiskunna-n levottomaksi, /.../*
 people-PL experience-3PL society-GEN restless-TRA
 ‘The people experience that society is restless.’

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (44) */.../ he koke-vat se-n vieraana*
 they experience-3PL it-GEN strange-ESS
oma-lla elämismaailma-lla-en.
 own-ALL living.world-ALL-3PL.PX
 ‘they experience it as strange with regard to the world they live in’

Finnish (<www.wikipedia.fi>)

- (45) *Nauportus mainitaan kuitenkin heidän*
 N. mention-PASS however their
tärkeänä kauppapaikka-na-an.
 important-ESS market.place-ESS-3PL.PX
 ‘Nauportus is mentioned as their important marketplace.’

Finnish (<www.erilaistenoppijoidenliitto.fi>)

- (46) *Yksi äideistä mainitsee tärkeäksi*
 one mother-PL-ELA mention-3SG important-TRA
tukihenkilökseen kollega-n työpaikalta.
 support.person-TRA-3SG.PX colleague-GEN work.place-ELA
 ‘One of the mothers mentions as an important supportive
 person her colleague at the workplace.’

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (47) *Näen aiheelliseksi puuttua häneen toimintaansa.*
 see-1SG justified-TRA intervene-INF 3SG-GEN activity-ILL-3SG.PX
 ‘I regard it as justified to intervene in his/her activities.’

Finnish (<www.vauva.fi>)

- (48) */.../ mutta en näe kyseistä*
 but NEG-1SG see.CNG particular-PRT
instituutio-ta tarpeelliseksi.
 institution-PRT necessary-ESS
 ‘(...) but I do not regard the institution as necessary.’

Furthermore, there are two closely related constructions, in which the secondary argument is encoded either in essive and translative, but in these constructions the difference also reflects semantic distinctions between the constructions, see Examples 49 and 50.

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (49) *Tuulikki ol-i myös=kin hakijo-i-sta pätev-in*
 Tuulikki be-1PST.3SG also=too applicant-PL-ABL competent-SUP
sekä pappi-na että teologi-na.
 also priest-ESS and theologian-ESS
 ‘Tuulikki was also the most competent among the
 applicants, both as a priest and as a theologian.’

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (50) *Hän-en mukaansa Väyrynen on ehdottomasti*
 (s)he-GEN according.3SG.PX Väyrynen be.3SG absolutely
kokene-in ja pätev-in
 experienced-SUP and competent-SUP
tasavalla-n presidenti-ksi.
 republic-GEN president-TRA
 ‘According to him/her, Väyrynen is (/would be)
 absolutely the most experienced and the most competent
 person to be the president of the republic.’

According to VISK (§ 1260), the NP in essive in Example 49 expresses a function in which the subject referent already functions, while the NP in translative in example 50 expresses a function in which the subject referent does not necessarily function, but with this construction, the suitability of the subject referent for the function in question is evaluated. This resembles the constructions found in Erzya folklore, in which translative-encoded nonverbal predicates are thus conjugated: the predicate is a non-finite verb, the present tense participle *but'i sajiksat, sajemak* ‘if you are (suitable to be) a taker, then take me’ (Serebrennikov 1967: 166).

5.3. Erzya and Finnish expressions of order in translative

Translative encoding also typically occurs in Erzya and Finnish in adverbials expressing order. The word *mejelčeks* is applied as a clause level adverbial and it occurs often with its semantic opposite *vašenčeks* ‘first’, also used as a clause-level adverbial. Both words are applied also as obligatory arguments in constructions with reference to order, i. e. ‘to become first/last’. When functioning as a clause-level adverbial, translative inflection can be regarded as neutral with respect to time stability. In Example 51 there are two occurrences of translative. In Erzya, the construction *kučoms kazńeks* ‘to be sent as a gift’ contains optional complement ‘as a

gift' in translative, and in my opinion translative functions here as a functional. Finnish Example 52 illustrates a similar kind of construction with the expression 'as a gift'.

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (51) *Mejeľće-ks mon kutmord-iń ćora-ťńeń di śukpńa-ń*
 last-TRA 1SG hugg-1PST.1SG man-DEF.PL.GEN and thank-GEN
jovta-m-ga alt-iń tenst kućo-ms kazńe-ks eś kńiġa-n.
 tell-INF-PROL give-1PST.1SG they.DAT send-INF gift-TRA own book-1SG
 'As for the last thing, I hugged the men and, saying thanks,
 gave them my own book to be sent as a gift.'

Finnish (<<http://munpoikanimun.blogspot.fi>>)

- (52) *Mi-tä itse halua-isi-t baby shower lahja-ksi?*
 what-PRT self want-COND-2SG baby shower gift-TRA
 'What would you yourself like to receive as a baby shower gift?'

6. The developmental path of translative *kse

Ylikoski (forthcoming) suggests that although it is typologically less common, the development of similative morphemes is related to future markers in the Saami languages. The use of the non-finite in *-nláhkai* as a marker of purposives and future events has spread to its use as a marker of similative. Thus, Ylikoski supposes the following development of *-nláhkai*: purpose → future → similative. He writes (2013: 24):

Even in the absence of known parallels for a diachronic pathway from similative to future meanings, with or without a purposive intermediate stage, it is obvious that the future constructions (...) ultimately stem from the most original similative meaning of *-nláhkai* and the postposition *láhkai*. Not only do the occurrences of *-nláhkai* future have connotations of deontic and dynamic modalities, but they specifically refer to states of affairs that are already in the process of taking place or accomplished in the immediate future.

In the present treatise, it has been claimed that *kse translatives do not originate from latives, but rather from a derivative suffix. The hypothesis gets support from Ylikoski's observations on the Saami languages. Accordingly, the following developmental path is suggested for Finnic-Mordvin, see Figure 6. The hypothesis is that as the suffix is employed in

future tense clauses, it acquires the semantic content of change (a state that is not valid now but will be valid in the future).

purpose → future → CHANGE → similative

Figure 6. Developmental path of *kse

Fortescue's (2010) scale of SAME-LIKE-DIFFERENT shows the relationship of equative and similative constructions: permanently being the same usually triggers nominative encoding in Finnic-Mordvin languages, but being the same temporarily (in Creissels' terms, equative) is marked by cases such as essive and translative. If somebody is not the same as an N, (s)he might be very much like an N (similative), or perhaps acting in the function of an N at the moment (functive). Transformatives are future-tense equatives (Creissels 2013). It seems at first glance that the function of purpose is not so easily related to the other functions of *kse, but Ylikoski's observations on Saami provide a parallel developmental path.

Last, the question should then be answered as to how characteristic the function of purpose is for *kse. As illustrated in Finnish examples 4, 8, 9 and 11, purpose is one of the core functions of Finnish translative. In the Finnic-Mordvin languages, the question word 'why' is also made through translative encoding, e. g. Finnish *miksi*, Erzya *meks*. Estonian Examples 53–56 and Erzya Examples 57–59 also illustrate purpose.

Estonian (<www.epl.delfi.ee>)

- (53) *Palju õnne sünnipäeva-ks, Nelson Mandela!*
 lot happiness.PRT birthday-TRA N. M.
 'Many congratulations on (your) birthday, N. M.!'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 113)

- (54) */--/ tema ehita-b kratt-i sootuks muu-ks eesmärgi-ks, /--/*
 3SG buil-3SG kratt-PRT totally another-TRA purpose-TRA
 '(s)he builds 'kratt' for a totally different purpose'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 28)

- (55) *Nad /--/ ei paota-nud suu-d isegi haiguta-mise-ks, /--/*
 3PL NEG crack-PTCP mouth-PL even yawn-VN-TRA
 'They did not crack their mouths even in order to yawn'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 41)

- (56) „Mis *tei-l* *täna* *lõuna-ks* *ol-i?*“
 what 2PL-ALL today lunch-TRA be-1PST.3SG
 ‘What did you have for lunch today?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (57) *Pralkso-ks*, *efavi-ńđeraj*, *sa-ink* *vana*
 pillow-TRA must-COND.PRS.3SG take-1PST.2PL>3SG look
te tašto šuba-ńf, – *ńevf-ś* *Elyuva...*
 this old fur-DEF.GEN show-1PST.3SG Elyuva
 ‘As a pillow, if it is necessary, you took, you see,
 this old fur coat, Elyuva showed.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (58) *Časo-ška-ń* *jutaž*, *ťele-ks* *ľembe-ste*
 moment-COMP-GEN pass-PST.PTCP winter-TRA warm-ELA
oršńe-ž, ...
 dress-PST.PTCP
 ‘After a while, warmly dressed for the winter, ...’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (59) *Moń te ška-s jala šumord-i seđeje-m, me-ks*
 1SG this time-ILL always grief-PRS.3SG heart-1SG what-TRA
kevksťe-ms=kak teťa-ń eziń čarķođe,
 ask-INF=too father-GEN NEG.1PST.1SG understand.CNG
ulif-araś kilangs jarmako-nzo, ...
 there.is-there.is.not on.the.road money-3SG.PX
 ‘Then my heart always grieves, why did I not even understand
 to ask father whether he has money for the road, (...)’

7. The emergence of essive and its consequences for the functions of *kse

My hypothesis is that the core functions of Finnic-Mordvinic *kse must have previously been broader than they are in modern Finnish, covering also the area of stative nonverbal predication. The development of essive *nA has reshaped the domain profoundly and the original functions of *kse can still be seen in some constructions, many of which have been regarded as marginal or petrified expressions, see Examples 11 and 12. In Example 5, translative encoding is applied in a very similar manner as in

Erzya: it encodes the NP in a role, that is, it is a functive, or in a temporal state, which means that it is an equative. In Example 6, the interpretation of Finnish translative can be functive or even similative.

In the Finnic languages, the essive cases originate from the Proto-Uralic intra-local case, locative *nA. The employment of essive for expressing temporality and location in local adverbs and postpositions, instead of the contemporary local case endings, reflects the original function of the suffix (e. g. Hakulinen 1979: 103). It seems that the development of translative *kse into a pure transformative is connected to the development of the local case systems. In other words, the employment of new local cases has triggered a development whereby the old cases have acquired new, more grammatical functions, such as essive or partitive in Finnish. Figure 7 illustrates the emergence of stative non-verbal and secondary predicate inflected in -nA, labelled essive in Finnish, and its consequences to development of stative and dynamic functive *kse: *kse has lost ground, giving way to *nA.

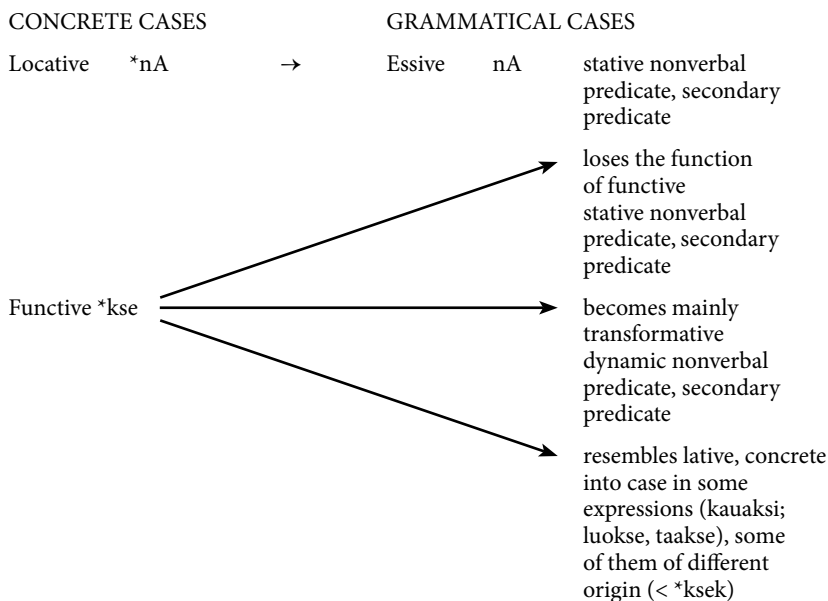


Figure 7: Sketch of the development of the Finnish case system, with emphasis on essive and translative

Laanest (1975: 107) suggests that essive *nA, which occurs in Finnish, Karelian Votic and some Estonian dialects, may already have had the functions it still has when still being used a locative. He goes on to explain that this view is supported by corresponding situation observed in the functions of cases in the Permic languages and Hungarian. In Veps, essive has become phonologically identical to genitive, and in Livonian to Dative, and it has thus disappeared from these languages. The hypothesis of this paper is opposite to Laanest's view in that I have suggested that translative was the case used for functive in the Finnic-Mordvin period. However, variation and multiple encoding strategies for functive can be observed in contemporary languages, and there are no reasons to assume that it would have not been the case earlier as well.

To summarize, in this paper it has been claimed that in Finnic-Mordvin period the inflectional suffix *kse has presumably been used in a wider context, which became more concise when essive *nA adopted new functions as a stative nonverbal predicate and secondary predicate in the northern group of Finnic languages. The inflectional suffix *kse has developed from a derivational suffix, through reanalysis in constructions where it has been interpreted as a suffix expressing purpose. Expressions of purpose may develop a semantic content of future reference, and in Saami, a similar expression has developed through future time reference (Ylikoski, forthcoming). The functions of purpose and transformative are close to each other, but so are also the functions of functive and transformative, as well as equative and transformative. The constructions have presumably affected each other, and as the functions are semantically closely related, the similarity in formal encoding is plausible.

Previously it has been suggested that the functions of the Erzya translative may have developed further due to Russian influence, e. g. by Bartens (1999: 99), referring to Koljadenkov (1954; 1959), and why not also in other smaller Finnic languages under Russian pressure. The question of the role of contacts seems, however, be complicated. If and when *kse has also previously had more stative functions, it is not impossible but rather plausible that its occurrence in stative copula constructions is of native origin. It is, however, remarkable that the Erzya translative occurs in a specific type of copula clause in the function of equative or a as relatively empty suffix, especially in translations. This hints that the construction type has acquired more usage due to a Russian model – but the basis may still be its own, demonstrating again a case where the causes of a change

may be multiple, in the terms of Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 57), language-internal and language-external, as well as in the terms of Farrar & Jones (2002), even extra-linguistic.

Translative is special compared to the other cases in the sense that it is not inflected in definite declension or in plural. Bartens (1999: 99) has suggested that because of this feature, the Erzya translative is closer to an adverbial than to a real case ending: the lack of inflection in the typical nominal declension really makes it such. Thus, it is as well possible that the Mordvinic translative *kse has been employed as some kind of a predicative element – a question to be addressed in the future.

REANALYSIS of the derivational suffix *kse

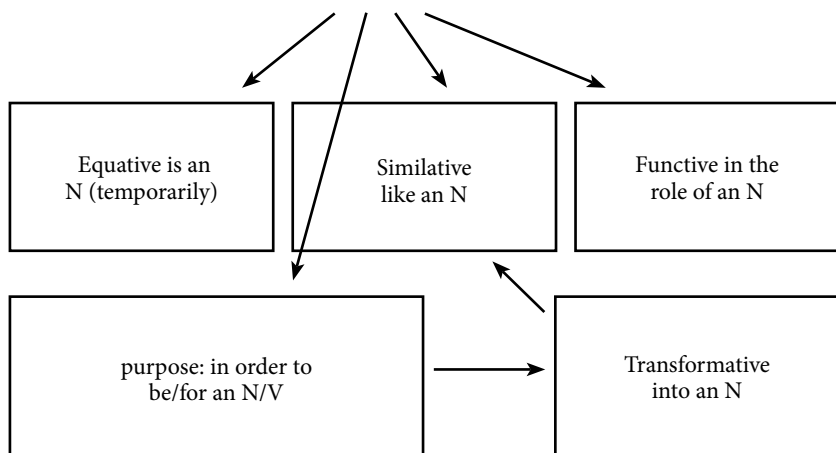


Figure 8: Sketch of the development of the inflectional suffix *kse (contemporary Finnic-Mordvinic translatives)

Rigina Ajanki
Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies,
P.O. Box 3, FI-00014 University of Helsinki
<rigina.ajanki@helsinki.fi>

Notes

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ACT	active	NEG	negative verb
ADJZ	adjectivizer	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	NP	noun phrase
CNG	connegative	PASS	passive
COMP	comparative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	PREP	preposition
COP	copula	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PROL	prolative
DEF	definite	PRS	present tense
DES	desiderative	PRT	partitive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
ELA	elative	PTCP	participle
ESS	essive	PX	possessive suffix
FREQ	frequentative	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SUP	superlative
ILL	illative	TRA	translative
IMP	imperative	Q	question marker
INE	inessive	V	verb
INF	infinitive	VN	verbal noun

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