Discovering the assignment

*An Uralic essive typological questionnaire*

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*Published in:*
Uralic Essive and the Expression of Impermanent State

*DOI:*
10.1075/tsl.119

Citation for published version (APA):

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Download date: 16 Feb 2021
Chapter 1
Discovering the assignment: an Uralic essive typological questionnaire

Casper de Groot

Summary

This introductory chapter presents a search into the realm of the essive markers indicating impermanent state in the Uralic languages. It turns out that full or even partial descriptions of the distribution of the essive markers in most Uralic languages are lacking. Overall studies of the essive in Uralic describing similarities and differences among the languages are not available. In order to fill this gap the chapter presents a typological questionnaire which makes the appropriate description and comparison of the distribution of the essive in the various Uralic languages possible.

Keywords: Uralic languages, essive, transitive, typological questionnaire, impermanent state.

1. Expectations
This volume focuses on the distribution of the essive case in a great number of contemporary Uralic languages. It presents large sets of new data and insights into the use of the essive in Uralic within a linguistic typological approach. The descriptions and analyses are presented in such a way that they are accessible to linguists in general, descriptive and theoretical linguists, and specialists in Uralic and/or linguistic typology. All encompassing in-depth analyses of the data within (Uralic) diachronic, comparative, or typological frameworks are outside the scope of this volume. The data and approach do, however, offer many starting points for further investigations.

2. The search
The Uralic language family is famous for their numerous case distinctions. Ten or more cases are found in several languages, such as Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Hungarian, Permic, Mordvin, Mari, Central and Southern Selkup. Other Uralic languages have a smaller number of case distinctions, such as Saami as a whole, Northern Samoyedic, Northern Selkup, Kamas, Livonian, Northern Khanty, and Northern Mansi. The inventories of cases consist of grammatical cases such as nominative, genitive and accusative, from two to nine locational and directional cases, instrumental and temporal cases, and often one or more language specific case such as excessive (Votic), preclusive (Komi) or prosecutive (Nenets). Several specific locational cases have essive (‘being’) as the second part of their designations, such as Hungarian inessive ‘in’, adessive ‘near’, or superessive ‘on’. Hungarian also distinguishes essive as a case, used in a non-locational sense, that of ‘as’ in ‘as a child’. The linguistic literature does not reveal clear information about this case in Hungarian (see de Groot, ch. 14, this volume), but it does about Finnish essive (see Hynönen, ch. 2, this volume). Reference to essive in the linguistic literature is basically always to Finnish and sometimes to Estonian or Saami. The essive is a marker to indicate ‘state’, or as often posited ‘temporal state of being’. A quick comparison between Hungarian and Finnish shows similarities in the distribution of the essive but also significant differences in these two languages. This raises the question which other Uralic languages have an essive case and also the question whether it would be possible to find a unifying characterization of the essive? The first question will not be too difficult to answer, the second question, however, will.
The languages belonging to the Uralic language family are scattered over Eurasia, from the Carpathian Basin and Scandinavia in the west to the Taimyr Peninsula in Northern Siberia. The standard overview of the Uralic language family is given in Table 1.\(^1\)

Table 1. The Uralic languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Individual languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finnic</td>
<td>Finnish, Estonian, Votic, Ingrian, Veps, Karelian, Livonian (extinct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saami</td>
<td>South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Kildin, Ter, Akkala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordvin</td>
<td>Erzya, Moksha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>Mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permic</td>
<td>Komi, Udmurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugric</td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ob-Ugric</td>
<td>Khanty, Mansi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoyedic</td>
<td>Tundra Enets, Forest Enets, Tundra Nenets, Forest Nenets, Nganasan, Selkup, Kamas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An initial survey of the Uralic languages brings the following list of eight languages with an essive, where Saami is represented here by South, North and Skolt.\(^2\)

(1) Finnish
Anna o-n opettaja-na
Anna COP-3SG teacher-ESS
‘Anna is (working as) a teacher (temporarily)’

(2) Estonian
Kurat ilmutab end kassi-na.
devil manifest:3SG self:PRTV cat-ESS
‘The Devil manifests itself as a cat’

(3) Votic
minu sisara on terve-n
1SG sister COP.3SG healthy-ESS
‘My sister is healthy (at the moment)’.

(4) Ingrian
hä pištä lounehe-n vařrí-n
3SG hold.3SG lunch-GEN hot-ESS
‘S/He keeps the lunch hot’.

(5) Veps
kolja-n kod‘he to-i-d‘he
dead-ESS home-ILL bring-PST-3PL
‘They brought him home dead.’

(6) Karelian
Tuatto on voimattoma-nnu.
father COP.3SG powerless-ESS
‘Father is sick/weak (at the moment).’

(7) Saami

---

\(^1\) Introductions to the Uralic languages are e.g. Abondolo ed. (1998), Hajdú (1975), and Sinor ed. (1988). See also Miestamo et al. (2015).

\(^2\) The status of an essive marker in Livonian is less clear. See Viitso (2016) for an attempt to extract the essive from the dative by virtue of its non-dative functions.
a. North
Dalle šaddá luondu nu čáppat, go buot
then become.3SG nature so beautiful when everything
be.3SG white.ESS
‘Nature becomes so beautiful when everything is white.’

b. South
Daam staaavram klaahkine nuhtjem.
DEM.ACC pole.ACC stick.ESS use.1SG
‘I am using this pole as a stick.’

c. Skolt
å‘lmredd liį jeą́kkáá ruõpsseen
horizon.SG.NOM COP.PRS.3SG in.the.evening red.ESS
‘in the evening, the horizon is red’

(8) Hungarian
1944-ben szabadság-os katona-ként volt otthon.
1944-INES free-ADJ soldier-ESS COP.PST.3SG at home
‘In 1944 he was at home as a returnee.

Grammars of most but not all of these languages mention that the essive is used to indicate
impermanent state, i.e. a state which lasts for a period of time. If the essive is not applied, and the
predicate is in the nominative, the clause will yield a permanent reading. Hence differential marking
or minimal pairs of the following type are found in the Uralic languages.

(9) Finnish (Hynönen, ch. 2, this volume)
a. Anna o-n saira-ña. (impermanent state)
Anna COP-3SG ill-ESS
‘Anna is (temporarily) ill.’
b. Anna o-n sairas. (permanent state)
Anna COP-3SG ill.NOM
‘Anna is (chronically) ill.’

The semantics of impermanent and permanent state in the context of Uralic essive can be
given in terms of the distinction between stage-level and individual-level, as Carlson (1977) does to
distinguish between classes of predicates. A stage-level predicate is true of a temporal stage of its
subject. For example, if John is ‘hungry’, then he typically will eat some food. The hunger will last a
certain amount of time and not his entire lifespan. An individual-level predicate is true throughout
the existence of an individual. For example, if John is ‘tall’, this is a property that he has, regardless of
a particular point in time.3

The grammatical context in which the essive indicating impermanent state is used is that of
non-verbal main and secondary predication, as for instance ‘Mary is ill.’ or ‘Peter is working as a
doctor in Leeds.’ With respect to the use of the essive in non-verbal predications, the Uralic
languages show a lot of variation. It may, however, be posited that if a Uralic language with an essive
wishes to express impermanent state in a non-verbal predicate, it will use the essive as a marker on
the non-verbal predicate. Unfortunately, it does not work the other way around, i.e. an essive marker
on a non-verbal predicate will not necessarily indicate an impermanent state. A characterization of
the essive on the basis of the minimal pair in (9) above would thus be a simplification. The Finnish

3 Stassen (2001) discussing differential marking of predicates in Circum-Baltic languages uses
‘temporary situation’ versus ‘time stable’.
examples do illustrate the phenomenon that a language may have a unique marker to distinguish impermanent from permanent state, but not the other way around.

The origin of the essive in the Finnic and Saami languages, but not in Hungarian, goes back to the Proto-Uralic locative case marker *-na. This marker made it until the present in several Uralic languages, although it suffered the same fate as many, many other grammatical elements in the history of the languages in the world. While Proto-Uralic developed into a language family over time, the locative case marker was preserved in its original function in some languages, changed into a marker of some other function in other languages, and entirely disappeared in the remaining languages. Table 2 summarizes the results (Raun 1988: 559, Edygarova, ch. 13, this volume)).

Table 2. The development of the Proto-Uralic locative in the Uralic languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Uralic Locative</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-na</td>
<td>Finnic, Saami</td>
<td>essive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Komi</td>
<td>inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Udmurt</td>
<td>instrumental/inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>superessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khanty</td>
<td>locative/instrumental/essive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tundra Nenets</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There seems to be no straightforward explanation for the question why the grammatical element with the function of location in Proto-Uralic developed into a marker of temporary state in the Finnic and Saami languages. It is, however, conceivable that the locative in either Proto-Uralic or later in Proto-Finnic, that is, after the separation of the Samoyedic and the Ugric languages, was not only used in locative expressions but also in temporal expressions, as for instance ‘in’ in English: ‘Suzan is in the garden.’ (locational) versus ‘Ron is in a meeting.’ (temporal). The temporal use of the original locative marker may have taken over the locational use, partially or entirely. There may also be an alternative scenario that a rise of the necessity to distinguish between an impermanent and permanent state could be the source of the development. Semantically the locative case marker would then be close enough to take over the function of essive. Interestingly, the source of the Hungarian essive is unknown. The form is definitely not related to the Proto-Uralic locative. There must have been a need for an essive in Hungarian. Creissels (2014) offers a number of interesting scenarios for paths of development for markers of functives in the languages of the world. The notion of functive is not a grammatical category but a relatively wide semantic concept with different realizations. Creissels also includes the Finnic and Hungarian essive in one of the scenarios. Should Uralic essive be redefined as a type or class of functive?

When one consults grammars of the Uralic languages to learn more about the essive, another marker pops up regularly, namely, the translative. The translative basically occurs in various kinds of constructions which denote some kind of change and the result of change, as for instance in expressions of the type ‘George turned grey.’ or ‘The illusionist turned the handkerchief into a dove.’, where ‘grey’ respectively ‘dove’ would be marked by the translative. Essive and translative are sometimes presented in a contrastive fashion, as in (10).

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

4 Haspelmath (1997) presents ample evidence that the expression of temporal relations is often similar to that of spatial relations.

5 Hynönen (this volume) claims that the essive in present-day Finnish still contains a locative component.
Translative indicates a change in state, with the general sense of "becoming X" or "change to X".

However, in some languages the translative is found in positions where other languages use the essive, as for instance in Erzya in (11). And conversely, there are also examples of the essive found in positions where one should expect the translative because the expression denotes a change and not a state, as for instance in Skolt Saami in (12).

(11) Erzya (Turunen 2013)
Vaśeńće – Ludmila Viktorovna marto
first-DEF Lyudmila Viktorovna with
miń uf-ń-i-ńek student jalga-ks.
1PL COP-1PST-1PL student friend-TRA
‘The first thing: Lyudmila Viktorovna and I were fellow students.’

(12) Skolt Saami (Feist, ch. 10, this volume)
Jääkk šööddi suu sājja ceerkavstarsten
Jaakko become.PST.3SG 3SG.GEN place.SG.ILL church.warden.ESS
‘Jaako became the church warden in his place’

It must be noted that Erzya does not distinguish an essive, and also that Skolt Saami does not have the translative as a case. There are more Uralic languages, notably the Samoyedic languages, but also Ob-Ugric Mansi, which have one form which serves to mark both state or transition where other Uralic languages have two distinct forms, the essive and translative.

This is a bit confusing from both a semantic and a terminological point of view. The ratio underlying the distinction between the labels essive and translative in Finnic, Saami, and Mordvin is, however, based on the different cognates of the markers: –na for essive and –ks for translative.

Besides, researchers have used categories of more widely spoken languages (e.g., Hungarian or Finnish) when describing minor Uralic languages, as they assumed that these categories are understandable. Table 3 presents an overview of the essive and translative markers of the Uralic languages discussed in this volume.

Table 3. Essive and translative in the various Uralic languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Essive</th>
<th>Translative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-ksi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Votic</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingrian</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-kš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veps</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelian</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-kši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saami South</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saami North</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saami Skolt</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erzya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moksha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>-ként</td>
<td>-vá/-vé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mansi       -ɣ        -ɣ  
Enets (Forest) -Vš       -Vš       
Enets (Tundra) -ae       -ae       
Nenets (Tundra) -ŋæ      -ŋæ       
Nganasan      is’ә      is’ә       (free morpheme) 
Selkup        -t-qo/-n-qo -t-qo/-n-qo 
Kamas         -          -

Note that Mansi, Enets, Nenets, and Nganasan have the same form listed under both categories. They are not genuine essive or translative markers, but rather essive/translative markers. The status of the markers will be discussed in the individual language chapters.

Another issue is the status of the essive and translative, which in the Finnic linguistic tradition are often considered adverbial cases. This goes back to the analysis of constructions of the type: ‘He COP ill-ESS. [He is ill]’, or ‘He (semi-)COP doctor-TRA. [He becomes a doctor]’, where the ill-ESS phrase or the doctor-TRA phrase are considered as a complement of the copula, hence they are adverbial phrases, and consequently the essive and translative are considered adverbial cases. Different from non-verbal predicates are verbs of changing, taking a translative, as e.g. in “The sorcerer turned the hare (into) a mouse-TRA”, which is syntactically an adverbial.

Finally, a search through the linguistic literature and databases reveals that languages may differentiate between impermanent and permanent state in a systematic way, but no other languages than the Uralic languages seem to have an essive as a marker of (impermanent) state, although Meira and Gildea (2009) discuss two forms in Akawaio (Cariban) which are compatible with Uralic essive. They refer to the forms as attributivizer or essive marker, consider:

(13) Akawaio (Meira and Gildea 2009: 109)
   a. juwaŋ kíra-ra
      hunger 3AN-EMPH
      ‘He is hungry (always).’
   b. juwaŋ be maŋ
      hunger ESS 3.COP.IMMED
      ‘He is hungry (now; a fact).’

Different from the Uralic essive are the well-known examples of the opposition of impermanent versus permanent state is the distribution of the copulas *estar* and *ser* in the Ibero-Romance languages and dialects, where *estar* is used in predications indicating impermanent states and *ser* permanent states.\(^6\)

(14) Spanish (Kees Hengeveld p.c.)
   a. Ana está guapa
      Ana COP.3SG pretty
      ‘Ana is/looks pretty’ (contingent property)
   b. Ana es guapa.
      Ana COP.3SG pretty
      ‘Ana is pretty’ (permanent property)

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\(^6\) There is a substantial body of literature on this phenomenon in the Ibero-Romance languages and dialects. See Hengeveld (1991) for an overview of the distribution of *ser* and *estar* in Spanish and Pustet (2003: 49-51) for more properties of *ser* and *estar* and more examples of pairs of copulas related to the permanent vs. impermanent opposition.
The Spanish equivalent of Finnish (9) is significantly different, because it takes two different predicates, namely, *enfermo* ‘ill’ in the impermanent reading, and *enfermiza* ‘sickly’ in the permanent reading, together with two different copulas, as in (15).

\[(15) \quad \text{Spanish (Kees Hengeveld p.c.)} \]

a. Josefina  
   está  
   enfermo / *enfermiza  
   PN  
   COP.3SG  
   ill  
   sickly  
   ‘Josefina is (temporarily) ill.’

b. Josefina  
   es  
   enfermiza / * enfermo  
   PN  
   COP.3SG  
   sickly  
   ill  
   ‘Josefina is (chronically) ill.’

Turning to the labels essive and translative, Haspelmath (2009:514) mentions essive and translative discussing the terminology of case. Two of the four languages referred to are Uralic languages. “Some languages have special cases for predicate nominals, called essive (e.g. Finnish), or predicative (Yukaghir), and also for predicate nominals of verbs of change ‘become something, turn into something’ called mutative (Ainu), or translative (Khanty).” The label essive is found in a few linguistic studies used in other senses than Uralic essive. Daniel & Ganenkov (2009: 674) refer to a zero-marked orientation in Nakh-Daghestanian to indicate absence of movement (essive). Décsy (1990: 69) decided in his reconstruction of Proto-Uralic to use the term ‘essive’ instead of ‘locative’ for motionlessness in contrast to ‘lative’ for motion, where Janhunen (1982: 31) continues to use ‘locative’.7 Comrie et al. (2015: 548) seem to have adopted the notion of essive in the label Apud-essive to indicate ‘temporary transfer’ with verbs of ‘bring and ‘send’ in Bezhta. Different from Uralic essive, the Apud-essive in Bezhta is a marker on the recipient argument of the verb. The recipient would be marked by the lative in Bezhta and some other Tsezic languages to indicate ‘permanent transfer’.

To summarize the state of affairs so far. Several Uralic languages have a unique marker to indicate (impermanent) state usually referred to as the essive case. In spite of the fact that Uralic languages are among the best known language families in the world (Miestamo et al. 2015: 1), full or even partial descriptions of the distribution of the essive markers in the Uralic languages are still lacking. Overall studies of the essive in Uralic describing similarities and differences among the languages are not available. Moreover, due to language barriers most of the partial descriptions are not accessible to linguists in the world. The title of this chapter is ‘Discovering the assignment’ and here we reach the heart of the matter: What is the distribution of the essive in Uralic?

### 3. The method

In order to get a comprehensive answer to the question ‘What is the distribution of the essive in Uralic?’ an initial questionnaire was compiled and a call for participation in an international research group ‘Uralic Essive’ brought the following specialists in the field of the Uralic languages together: Svetlana Edygarova, University of Helsinki; Timothy Feist, University of Surrey; Andrey Filchenko, Tomsk State Pedagogical University; Casper de Groot (Chair), University of Amsterdam; Riho Grünthal, University of Helsinki; Emmi Hynönen, University of Turku; Lotta Jalava, University of Helsinki; Vesa Koivisto, University of East Finland; Marja Leinonen, University of Helsinki; Liina

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7 Haspelmath (2009: 516) also argues for a more transparent system of labelling locational and directional cases in Hungarian and other Uralic languages on the basis of a system where the three directions are consistently expressed by the prefixes *in-, super-, and ad-* while the three orientations are consistently expressed by the stems *–essive, –allative, and –ablative.* Note that ‘essive’ is used here in the sense of motionless, which widely differs from the essive case.
Lindström, University of Tartu; Elena Markus, University of Tartu; Helle Metslang, University of Tartu; Galina Nekrasova, University of Syktyvkar; Fedor Rozhanskiy, University of Tartu; Sirkka Saarinen, University of Turku; Florian Siegl, University of Tromsø; Katalin Sipőcz, University of Szeged; Sándor Szeverényi, University of Szeged; Régina Turunen, University of Helsinki; Beáta Wagner-Nagy, University of Hamburg; and Jussi Ylikoski, University of Tromsø.

On the basis of data from the ten languages with an essive and discussions in a number of seminars, a final version of the questionnaire was formulated (see section 4 below, de Groot 2013). The scope of the questionnaire primarily focuses on the Uralic languages to reveal the most detailed information about the essive. It was decided to confine the research to the Uralic language family because of the fact that no other languages than Uralic languages (seem to) have a unique essive marker. It was also decided to take as many Uralic languages as possible into consideration to get a clear picture of the distribution of the essive over the various languages. Our research takes the form as starting point and then describes its function. If a language under investigation does not have an essive, the forms/constructions are described which are used where other languages may use the essive. This methodological framework looks like that of the St. Petersburg typological school: from form to function, then from function to form.\(^8\) The applicability of the questionnaire to other languages or language families in the world was no primary concern.\(^9\)

The domain in which the essive manifests itself cannot be captured by one linguistic term or characterization: there is a formal element attached to a non-verbal element which can be associated with the semantics of impermanent state. A number of sub-domains can be identified, some of which may be unified on a higher abstract level of description. One such example is non-verbal predication. The essive is typically used to mark nominal and adjectival predicates. However, languages may in the application of the essive make a distinction between primary and secondary non-verbal predication. A distinction may also be made between optional and obligatory secondary non-verbal predicates. A language may employ the essive in all four categories, but also in three, two, or just one. By way of illustration:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(16)} & \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{a. } & \text{John is doctor-ESS} & \text{“John is (working as) a doctor.”} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Mary is sick-ESS} & \text{“Mary is sick.”} \\
\text{c. } & \text{Peter ate the fish raw-ESS} & \text{“Peter ate the fish raw.”} \\
\text{d. } & \text{Julia considered the boys fool-ESS} & \text{“Julia considered the boys fools.”}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

Other sub-domains are those of depictive, oriented adjuncts, manner and circumstance. The relation between these domains and the distribution of the essive shows great variation. Finally, comparatives, simile expressions, temporality and location are domains in which the essive occurs. The questionnaire is based on the distinctions mentioned here. The issues to be described and the instructions are presented in section 4, about the questionnaire.

4. The Uralic Essive Typological Questionnaire

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\(^8\) See Nedjalkov and Litvinov (1995) for their expose on the origin of the St. Petersburg/Leningrad Typology Group, method and considerations. Testelets (2001: 314) gives the following characterization: “The methodological framework of the St.-Petersburg typological school is predominantly empirical and descriptive: their interest is mainly in finding general grammatical notions and features that may be equally employed in all languages and cover various data in a descriptively adequate way. A calculus of types on the basis of initial notions enables the researcher to find all relevant characteristics of a given category in a language under investigation. Explanatory goals may be included, but are not central.”.

\(^9\) In chapter 21 we will return to the applicability of the questionnaire to other languages.
The questionnaire presented here is a questionnaire specifically compiled for the Uralic languages. The adjusted questionnaire which is generally applicable for the languages in the world can be found in the appendix of this volume on page XX.

THE URALIC ESSIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **Case system**
   1.1. What is the case system of \( L \)? Please give the standard inventory of cases.
   1.2. Is the essive one of the cases distinguished? If yes, give one or more examples. Specify the form of the essive, and morphological and or phonological properties.
   1.3. What is the distribution of the essive and parts of speech, i.e. with which parts of speech can the essive be combined: Noun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb? Specify the parts of speech system of the language here. Languages may have four (\( V \), \( N \), \( A \), \( Adv \)) but also less, as for instance seems to be the case in Nenets and Nganasan.
   1.4. Is there more than one essive (as e.g. in Hungarian: -\( ként \) essive-formal; -\( õl/-\( ül \) essive-modal)? If yes, give examples and indicate the difference (here generally and below specifically, if necessary).

2. **Non-verbal predicates – Copula constructions (non-verbal main predications)**
   2.1. Is it possible to use the essive to encode the predicative adjective in non-verbal main predications as e.g.
   
   FIN
   
   Hän on saira-\( na \).
   
   he COP.PRS.3SG sick-ESS
   
   ‘He is sick.’
   
   Make sure that there is a nominal involved functioning as the predicate in the copula construction. It could be argued e.g. for Hungarian (but may be also for the examples from Votic and Finnish above) that the construction is a locative construction where the noun-ESS functions as a depictive (see also 2.6.2 below):
   
   HUN
   
   János orvos-\( ként \) Debrecen-\( ben \) van.
   
   János doctor-ESS Debrecen-INE COP.PRES.3SG
   
   ‘János is in Debrecen as a doctor’ / not: ‘János is a doctor in Debrecen.’

   Note. Please consider both the predicative adjective and predicative nominal in the remainder of this questionnaire.

   2.2. Is it possible to use the essive to encode the predicative nominal in non-verbal main predications as e.g the following standard examples found in the literature:
   
   VOT
   
   El-i-n sõtamõhe-\( nnä \) Tallina-\( za \).
   
   COP-PST-1SG soldier-ESS Tallinn-INE
   ‘I was a soldier in Tallinn.’
   
   FIN
   
   Heikki on Jämsä-ssä lääkäri-\( nä \)
   
   Heikki COP.PRES.3SG Jämsä-LOC doctor-ESS
   ‘Heikki is (working as) a doctor in Jämsä.’

   2.3. Which class of adjectives can be used in non-verbal predications where the predicative adjective is encoded by the essive (see 2.1)? It seems that the class of adjectives is limited to stage level predicates (see the section ‘linguistic terminology’). This issue will come back in 2.7.

   2.4. Which class of nouns can be used in non-verbal predications where the predicative nominal is encoded by the essive (see 2.2). It seems that the class of nouns is limited to those which denote a non-permanent or temporary function or profession. It is
more likely to find the essive on student in “Peter lived as a student in Tartu.” than on doctor in “John lived as a doctor in Tartu.” This issue will come back in 2.7.

2.5.
Restrictions: animateness, person, aspect, tense.

2.5.1.
Is the use of the essive in these constructions sensitive to animateness/inanimateness of the subject?

2.5.2.
Can the construction be used for all person distinctions (1, 2, 3 singular and plural)?

2.5.3.
Is the use of the construction limited to certain aspectual or temporal distinctions (e.g. habitual / pluperfect ‘used to be’, past tense)?

2.5.4.
Can the nominal marked by the essive be definite (if the language has means to mark definiteness), e.g. “He is the director-ESS (+ location).”

2.5.5.
Is the use of the essive sensitive to volitionality/non-volitionality? For instance: “being x deliberately” and “being x without control/will”. This distinction would probably refer to stage level predicates only. (Note that this question may be redundant, see the questions above.)

2.6.
Requirements on non-verbal predications:

2.6.1.
Does the predication require the overt expression of a copula?
Languages may have more than one copula, or elements which are referred to as semi copula, quasi copula, negative existential etc. Please specify if relevant.

The use of copula. Does the language allow zero copula in combination with a non-verbal predicate marked by essive/translative? (This is in fact an alternative way of asking question 2.6.1.). An example from Erzya which needs a time adverbial in non-verbal clauses without a copula (Turunen 2010):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ERZ</th>
<th>To-so-ń</th>
<th>pravto-ks</th>
<th>ńej</th>
<th>Jeleozar</th>
<th>shimnika-ś.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that-INE-GEN</td>
<td>director-TRA</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>Yeleozar</td>
<td>Skhimnik-DEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The leader of that place is now Yeleozar, the Skhimnik.’

2.6.2.
Does the predication require the overt expression of a location, like e.g. in Estonian (Stassen 2001:570):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EST</th>
<th>Ta</th>
<th>oli</th>
<th>seal</th>
<th>noore-na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s/he</td>
<td>COP.PST.3SG</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>young-ESS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘S/he was there (as/when) young.’

See e.g. also the example from Votic and Finnish in 2.2. Is it possible to leave out Tallinaza or Jämsässä?

2.6.3.
Is there number agreement between the Subject and the non-verbal predicate?

2.6.4.
Do the non-verbal predicates take up verbal morphology, i.e. tense and/or person marking elements, as e.g. in Forest Enets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FE</th>
<th>šidi-iś</th>
<th>ribzavod</th>
<th>enči-gi-č</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two-ESSTR</td>
<td>fish.factory</td>
<td>person-3DU-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They were both working for the fishing factory (Lit. they two were fish factory people).’

2.6.5.
Are there other requirements?

2.7.
Is there double – as in Finnish (NOM, ESS), Erzya (NOM, TRANS), or Mari (NOM, INES) – or triple (as in Estonian) encoding of the predicative adjective/nominal and if so, what is the semantic status of the encoding options? E.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EST</th>
<th>a. NN</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>meie</th>
<th>saadik</th>
<th>Londoni-s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN</td>
<td>COP.PRS.3SG</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>ambassador.NOM</td>
<td>London-INE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘NN is our ambassador in London.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. NN</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>meie</th>
<th>saadiku-na</th>
<th>Londoni-s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN</td>
<td>COP.PRS.3SG</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>ambassador-ESS</td>
<td>London-INE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘NN is our ambassador in London.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c. NN</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>meie</th>
<th>saadiku-ks</th>
<th>Londoni-s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
According to Lehiste (1972:216), (a) implies that being ambassador is a permanent (inalienable) characteristic of NN; (b) implies that NN is (temporarily) in London in his capacity as ambassador (he need not be the permanent or regular ambassador in London, or he must be in London occasionally in other capacities); and (c) implies that NN is fulfilling the role of ambassador (in an official capacity, but it is not a permanent characteristic of NN).

According to Stassen (2001), the Nominative in Finnish and Estonian is used in situations that are relatively ‘time-stable’, whereas the essive (or other oblique case) emphasizes the temporary nature of the situation. See, however, Erelt & Metslang (2003) for further distinctions. Metslang (p.c.) considers the use of Nominative in (a) semantically rather unmarked, whereas the essive and translative mark the mentioned semantic nuances. Turunen (2010: 205-231) argues that a similar distinction holds for Erzya (Nominative versus translative). The distinction, however, is not merely based on the use of the different cases, but also involves the application or non-application of a certain copula.

Apart from temporal distinctions, the different marking of the non-verbal predicate may also lead to the following kind of semantic distinctions, as for instance in Votic (Elena Markus & Fedor Rozhanskiy p.c.):

(i) “turning into a state/location” (translative, marked with -ssi)
(ii) “being in a state/location” (essive, marked with -n/-mn/-nna)
(iii) “leaving a state/location” (Excessive, marked with -nt).

2.8. If language L does not use the essive case, does it employ some other case marker or adverbial marker with predicative adjectives or predicative nominals? E.g. in Erzya:

ERZ Mon varma-kś, bod’a.
I wind-TRA grandfather
‘I am like the wind, grandfather.’ (Turunen 2010: 214)

2.9. If the answer to 2.8 is yes, please consider points 2.1 to 2.7 for that language while using some other marker than the essive.

2.10. Can the essive be used with modal verbs as e.g. volitive/desire in Votic and Erzya.

VOT tămă tahto nejśa tămă mehe-n
3SG want.PST.3SG become.INF 3SG.GEN man-ESS
‘He wanted to become her husband.’

VOT kase koto piä-B ęlla vanka-nn
this house should.PRS-3SG be.INF white-ESS
‘This house should be white.’ (= should be painted white)

ERZ Kavalo-kś kajav-id’e lango-zo-m.
Black.kite-TRA attack-2PL.1PST on-ILL-1PL
Ińava-kś sava-n t’enk, meże t’ej-t’ado?
empress-TRA must-1SG 2PL.DAT what do-2PL
‘Like a black kite you attacked me, you want me as an empress, what do you do?’

2.11. If the verb ‘want’ can be used with the essive, is it possible to use the imperative in combination with an essive? E.g. ‘Be the tour operator-ESS in Amsterdam.’, or ‘I want you to be the tour operator-ESS in Amsterdam.’ Is it a real imperative? Is it a wish? Is it future tense?

ERZ (imperative)
Buti ul’-i mel’e-t’, ul’-t’ moňeň odińva-kś,
if be-3SG mind-2SG be-IMP.2SG I.DAT bride-TRA
'If you want to, be my bride.'

2.12. Is there a class of verbs / are sudden verbs relevant to the use of the essive?

3. Secondary predicates – secondary predications

3.1. Is the essive used to encode optional secondary predicates expressing a function or similarity, as e.g. in Hungarian, Forest Enets, Finnish and Veps:

HUN Pál (idegenvezető-ként) dolgoz-ik Görögország-ban.
Paul (tour operator-ESS) work-3SG Greece-INE
‘Paul is working (as a tour operator) in Greece.’

FE Leonid (te ponida-š) mosara-š
Leonid ([reindeer herder]-ESSTR) work-3SG.PST
‘Leonid worked as a reindeer herder.’

FIN Hän lähti koti-in (väsynee-nä).
he leave.PST.3SG home-ILL (tired-ESS)
‘He went home tired.’

VE.C járves om kalad (sageda-n)
lake.INE COP.3SG fish.PAR (dense-ESS)
‘The lake is thick of fishes.’ (MSFOu 86: 150)

3.2. Does the language make a difference in using the essive with intransitive verbs (as in 3.1) and transitive verbs (not ditransitives as in section 4). No difference for the three languages:

HUN A férfi-ak-at (könyvelő-ként) alkalmaz-t-a.
the man-PL-ACC bookkeeper.SG-ESS employ-PST-3SG
‘S/he employed the men (as bookkeepers).’

FIN Syö-n puuro-n (kuuma-na)
et-1SGporridge-ACC hot-ESS
‘I will eat the porridge (hot).’

VE.C riko-i-ba tata-n kaks priha-d,
kill-PST-3SG father-ACC two guy-PL
(kolja-n) kod’-he toid’he
dead-ESS home-ILL bring.PAST.3PL
‘Two guys killed father, they brought [him] home dead.’

3.3. Is the application of the essive limited to nouns and/or adjectives? E.g. Hungarian, unlike Finnish, allows essive –ként on nouns but not on adjectives.

3.4. Is the application of the essive limited to elements which are coreferential with Subjects, Objects, or other functions?

3.5. Is there simultaneity of events designated by the main predicate and the secondary predicate (depictive)? Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004) state that depictives designate states of affairs which hold at the same time as the eventuality encoded by the main predicate. (At the time that I eat the porridge, the porridge is hot).

3.6. Do the constituents marked by the essive form a sub-class of or do they partially overlap the class of depictives? Consider e.g. Hungarian: (i) it has four different types of depictives, one of which is marked by the essive, and (ii) it has forms with essive which may have four different functions one of which is depictive. So the answer is No for Hungarian.

HUNGARIAN
Depictives:
Noun-ESS
Adjective-ADV
Numeral-ADV
Converbs

12
Function Noun-kent:  Depictive  
Circumstantial  
Temporal  
Manner

A test to distinguish between Depictive and Circumstantial is the following. Depictives are within the scope of negation, whereas Circumstantials are not: Mary did not eat the fish raw. (raw is within the scope of negation) As prime minister he did not intervene. (prime minister is outside the scope of negation)

3.7. Can they be set apart from converbal depictives which do not allow the essive?
3.8. Can they be co-ordinated with converbal depictives, as e.g. in Finnish:
FIN vasyne-nā ja jalkojaan oiko-en 
tired-ESS and foot.PL.ACC.PX.3SG stretch-CVB
‘tired and stretching his legs’

3.9. If the essive is not used to encode optional secondary predicates, what marker (if any) is then used? E.g. Hungarian has an alternative construction, using a preposition, or Komi employs the Instrumental:
HUN Pál mint idegenvezető dolgoz-ik Görögország-ban. 
Paul as tour operator work-3SG Greece-INE
‘Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece.’
KOM Peter lečitís’-ôn udžal-ö Tallinn-yn 
Peter doctor-INS work- PRES.3SG Tallinn-INE
‘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:
FE čiki enči’ biđi-du-ń tođa-r-id* 
this person friend-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG bring-PASS-R.3SG
‘This person was brought as a friend for me.’

3.10. Is the application of the essive sensitive to animateness/inanimateness? Languages may use the Comitative with animates and use the Instrument with inanimates. In that respect, the example of Komi in 3.9 is interesting, because Komi has the distinction Animate/Comitative versus Inanimate/Instrument and still uses the Instrument with doctor.
3.11. Can the nominal marked by the essive be definite (if the language has means to mark definiteness), e.g. “He works as the director-ESS (+location).”

4. Predicative complements – ditransitive constructions
4.1. Is the essive used to encode obligatory predicative complements as e.g. in Finnish:
FIN Pidä-n poikia älykkä-i-nä. 
hold-PRES.1SG boy.PL.PAR intelligent-PL-Ess
‘I consider the boys intelligent.’

4.2. If the essive cannot be used to mark predicative complements, which markers are employed then? E.g. Estonian uses the translative, whereas Hungarian employs the Dative:
EST Ma pea-n neid poisse targa-ks 
I hold-PRES.1SG these.PL.PAR boy.PL.PART intelligent-TRA 
/ tarka-de-ks. 
/ intelligent-PL-TRA
‘I consider these boys intelligent.’
HUN  Okos-nak  tart-om  a  fiú-t.
clever-DAT  hold-1SG  the  boy-ACC
‘I consider the boy clever.’

Note that the class of verbs taking a predicative complement is generally very limited. There may be a fixed construction to express them. Also note that the predicative relation may be static (“I consider John a fool”, i.e. John is a fool), or dynamic (“I appointed John chair person”, i.e. John became the chair person). Fool resp. chair person may be marked differently, as for instance in Finnish:
FIN  pidä-n  hän-tä  tyhmä-nä
hold-PRS.1SG  he-PAR  stupid-ESS
‘I consider him stupid.’
FIN  tiedekuntaneuvosto  nimittää  hän-et  dosenti-ksi.
faculty.council  name.PRS.3SG  he-ACC  docent-TRA
‘The faculty council appoints him docent.’

4.3. Is there number agreement between the object and the predicative complement? In Estonian (see above) the number agreement is optional.

5. Adverbials
5.1. Is the essive used to encode adverbials?
EST  Ta  oli  seal  noore-na.
s/he  COP.PST.3SG  there  young-ESS
‘s/he was there (as/when) young.’

What about local adverbs such as far: further / near: closer etc.?

5.2. Do forms with the essive allow for a (manner) adverbial interpretation? Finnish essive is unambiguously depictive.
FIN  (unambiguous depictive)
Pekka lähti  iloise-na  luennolle.
Pekka leave.PST.3SG  cheerful-ESS  lecture.ALL
‘Pekka went to the lecture cheerful.’

5.3. Do adverbial markers allow for the depictive interpretation, as the Hungarian adverbial marker –Vn may be ambiguous between manner and depictive, e.g.
HUN  (ambiguous depictive/manner)
János  mérges-en  ment  el.
John  angry-ADV  go.PST.3SG  away
‘John went away angry / angrily.’

6. Temporality and Location
6.1. Can the essive be used in a temporal sense? Examples from Veps and Votic:
VE.S  lehm  kandō  pühämpäivä-n
cow  calve.PST.3SG  Sunday-ESS
‘The cow calved on Sunday.’
VOT  nämä  nejssa  naukopä-n  nammitte-ma  sauna
3PL  start:3PL  Saturday-ESS  heat-SUP  sauna.PAR
‘They will make sauna on Saturday’.

6.2. Is it possible to add a location? And if so, what will then be the temporal interpretation?

6.3. Can the essive be used in a locational sense, as for instance in Veps?
VE.C  priha-d  vol  edaha-n,  ajeldas
boy-PL  still  far-ESS  drive-3PL
‘The boys are still driving far away.’
6.4. Is the use of essive in a temporal way productive or lexicalized?

7. **Comparative and simile expressions**

7.1. What is the standard expression of comparatives in L? For instance Hungarian:

   HUN Péter János-nál nagy-obb.
   Peter János-ADE big-CMPR
   ‘Peter is bigger than János.’

7.2. Is it possible to use the essive in comparative expressions? Hungarian uses *mint* in a number of constructions. The form *mint* can be used as an alternative for essive marker –*ként*, although there is a semantic difference.

   HUN Péter nagy-obb *mint* János.
   Peter big-CMPR as János
   ‘Peter is bigger than János.’

7.3. A simile is a figure of speech that directly compares two different things, usually by employing the words "like" or "as". Is it possible to use the essive in simile expressions? Hungarian again employs *mint* and Erzya would use the translative, as in:

   HUN szabad *mint* a madár
   free as the bird
   ‘free as a bird’

   ERZ Umarina-ks ton cvet’a-t, od-at. (Turunen 2010: 215)
   Appletree-TRA you flower-2SG young-2SG
   ‘Like an apple tree you are a flower, you are young.’

8. **Essive versus translative**

This section wishes to investigate the distribution of essive and translative in Uralic Languages. Part or all of the required information may already be given above. Please refer to those sections or examples.

The standard definition of essive and translative is 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"

8.1. Essive as essive. The typical example:

   FIN Hään on sairaa-na.
   he COP.PRES.3SG sick-ESS
   ‘He is sick.’

8.2. Translative as translative, as in Hungarian:

   HUN Vér nem válik víz-zé.
   blood NEG change.3SG water-TRA
   (lit: ‘blood does not change into water.’)
   ‘Blood is thicker than water.’

8.3. Translative as essive. May the translative form be used in the sense of essive, as e.g. in Erzya:

   ERZ Mon varma-ks, bod’aj. (Turunen 2010: 214)
   I wind-TRA grandfather
   ‘I am like the wind, grandfather.’

8.4. Essive as translative. May the essive be used in the sense of translative, as e.g. in Skolt Saami (Feist 2015: 249):
then God changed them into birds: the boys (he turned) into geese and the girls (he turned) into swans’

8.5. Examples 8.2 (Hungarian) and 8.4 (Skolt Saami) present examples where the verb selects the translative: (somebody) change (something) (into something else) - TRA.

Different from Hungarian and Skolt Saami, resultative expressions with essive and/or translative may also be constructional. Forest Enets mandatorily requires the verb kaniš ‘go’ and ESSTR to express a result. With verbs other than kaniš an essive-like interpretation will result:

FE d’eri-r d’abu-uš kani
day-PX.2SG long-TRA go.3SG
‘The days get longer.’

9. **Word order and Focus**

- Section 9 aims to investigate whether there is a special or preferred syntactic position for the elements marked by the essive. It seems that Depictives are very good candidates to function as the Focus in an utterance. Focus may have a special position in the clause.
- If it is not possible to investigate these syntactic and/or pragmatic aspects, would it then be possible to specify the distribution of the elements marked by the essive on the basis of scope differences, as e.g. in the frameworks of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) or Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008).
- Consider both bullets, if possible.

**HUNGARIAN**

(i) there is a strong preference for depictives with essive in pre-verbal position, which counts as the Focus position in the clause.

(ii) ... [NEG { ...(Verb...manner ...) NP, NP... depictive ... } ]...circumstantial, temporal ...

- Manner is a modifier of the verb
- Depictive is specified on the level of the verb and its arguments
- Negation has scope over Manner, Verb, Arguments, and Depictive
- Circumstantial and Temporal modifiers are on higher level, i.e. outside the scope of negation

9.1. Considering the examples above, are there specific syntactic restrictions, i.e. a fixed or preferred position in the clause of elements marked by the essive. E.g. Hungarian depictives prefer the preverbal position.

**HUN**

Feri orvos-ként dolgozik Debrecen-ben.
Feri doctor-ESS work.PRS.3SG Debrecen-INE
‘Feri works AS A DOCTOR in Debrecen.’

Hungarian allows alternative word orders, however, with a different pragmatic load. The constituent marked by the essive counts as the focus (most salient or new information) of the utterance here. If some other element would function as the focus, the order of constituents would change, e.g.

**HUN**

Feri orvos-ként Debrecen-ben dolgozik.
Feri doctor-ESS Debrecen-INE work.PRS.3SG
‘Feri works as a doctor IN DEBRECEN.’

Note that conditions may vary between the different applications. Please check them all.

9.2 Is it possible to use the essive in Focus constructions such as cleft constructions (“It was as a soldier that Peter was in Tallinn”).
9.3 Depictives are claimed to be part of the focus domain of the clause. Does this also hold for language L?
9.4 Does language L have specific ways to encode the focus of the clause?

10. Other remarks
10.1 Finite versus non-finite forms of copula in combination with essive. Do they both occur, and if so, what is the distribution, e.g. finite copula + N/A-ESS versus non-finite copula + N/A-NOM?
10.2 Is there other interesting information about the essive and the use of this form in the given language?
10.3 Are there occurrences of the use of the essive (or equivalent) marker which are exceptional and/or difficult to explain?
10.4 Are there gaps or irregularities in the data or in the analyses of the data you cannot account for, i.e. ‘puzzles’? Please specify them here.
10.5 Is the use of the essive limited to fixed or fossilized expressions? If so, give examples.
10.6 Do you know the origin of the essive (or equivalent) marker?
10.7 Do you have any other remarks?

5. The aim
The aim of the volume is to produce a typologically informed description of the use of the essive in Uralic languages and by setting them – syntactically and/or semantically – apart from other forms or constructions. By investigating a significant number of Uralic languages which represent varieties from all branches, the volume presents a collaborated in-depth study of a phenomenon which in linguistic literature has been associated with this language family since its first description.

6. The contents
After this introductory chapter, there are 19 chapters, each dedicated to the description of one individual Uralic language or major dialect. The in-depth studies of the Uralic languages will make explicit statements about the variations in the function of the essive and whether they entail an impermanent state or something else. The chapters all follow the structure of the questionnaire which makes the data – corpus based, elicited, from grammars and/or dictionaries – very accessible and facilitates comparisons between the various languages. The structure of the individual chapters on the various languages is as follows.

1. Introduction
Information about the language (where it is spoken, how many speakers it has, the sources of the data used in writing the chapter), its case system and a general characterization of the uses of the essive (and/or translatitive).
2. Non-verbal predication
The distribution of the essive to encode predicates in non-verbal main predications.
3. Secondary predication
The distribution of the essive to encode optional secondary predicates.
4. Predicative complements
The distribution of the essive to encode obligatory secondary predicates.
5. Adverbials
The use of the essive to encode adverbials (manner, circumstantial) and adverbial markers which may take the essive interpretation.
6. Temporality and location
The use of the essive in temporal or locational sense.
7. Comparative and simile expressions
The use of the essive in comparative and simile expressions.

8. Essive versus translative
This section investigates the distribution of essive in contrast to translative.

9. Word order
Do the elements marked by the essive require a special or preferred syntactic position? Is there a relation with pragmatic highlighting, i.e. focus?

10. Conclusions and final remarks

Chapter 21 presents the typology of the essive and the translative in the Uralic languages. It summarizes the major findings in the individual languages in a comparative way and generalizes over the phenomena found for the Uralic language family.

References


Linguistic Typology, 8-1, 59-131.


