

A survey of the origins of directional case suffixes in European Uralic

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§1. Introduction

The Uralic language family is quite famous for its extraordinarily rich case systems. However, although the three major languages – Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian, spoken by about 90 per cent of the total of about 22 million Uralic speakers – do have more than a dozen morphological cases, most of the lesser-known Uralic languages come along with a considerably smaller number of cases, ranging from e.g. the seven or eight cases of Mari to six of those in North Saami and no more than three in North Khanty. Regardless of the total number of cases, all Uralic languages have at least one case form specialized in coding (prototypically animate) Recipient and (prototypically inanimate) Goal *sensu lato*. Even within individual branches of closely-related languages, the number of such cases varies from one or two to as many as four, five or in some varieties even six, which often means division of work according to animacy or humanness (e.g. possibility of possession), physical properties of the landmarks and the degree of telicity of the motion with respect to the landmark.

This paper is supplementary to the joint paper “Remarks on the coding of Goal, Recipient and Vicinal Goal in European Uralic” by Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation). While Kittilä and Ylikoski present a synchronic survey of the use of most such cases and comparable postpositions in the European Uralic languages, this paper provides a decidedly diachronic view of the various directional cases in these languages, labeled with names such as “datives”, “allatives”, “latives”, “illatives”, “sublatives”, “terminatives” and “approximatives” in various grammatical traditions. As

it turns out, the Uralic means of coding Recipients and more spatial semantic roles often vaguely labeled as Directions are closely intertwined due to the predominantly spatial origins of the Recipient-marking cases throughout the language family. On the other hand, it is not unusual that such cases belong to subsystems of other etymologically related local cases. From a diachronic point of view, the wealth of local cases across the Uralic family provides a continuum of constantly developing cases whose diachronic explanations range from the most recent and transparent grammaticalization processes to less and less easily reconstructable details of the prehistory of the Uralic family. However, as we take a closer look at some of the less obvious origins of these cases, we can also note that some traditional explanations suffer from shortcomings that ultimately go back to the early stages of Uralistics in the Neogrammarian period, i.e. long before the current cross-linguistic knowledge about the functional aspects of language history. Fortunately, the knowledge obtained from the most recent developments in the Uralic languages, in line with the grammaticalization processes known across languages, enable us to critically evaluate some of the traditional but poorly founded explanations that are still the received view of the Uralic historical morphology.¹

This paper addresses the relevance of the present Uralic data and data obtained from other language families to our understanding of the historical development of case markers, as well as synchronic and diachronic interrelations of the various semantic roles marked by directional cases across languages, and further the need of re-evaluating some of the traditional practices of the Uralic historical morphology in light of synchronic knowledge about the possibilities and limits of case marking strategies and their historical development. As the present study is confined to the development of the European part of the Uralic family, a fuller evaluation of the earliest phases of Uralic falls outside the scope of this paper.

The structure of the paper is as follows: After a brief introduction to the taxonomy of the Uralic languages and the position of directional cases and postpositions within the Proto-Uralic morphosyntax (§1), §2 provides a short synchronic overview of the directional cases in European Uralic. The main body of the paper is §3 in which the origins of the European Uralic directional case suffixes are surveyed in decreasing order of straightforwardness of explaining the subject matter, beginning with the case markers clearly going back to earlier postpositions (§3.1), next scrutinizing the most original case suffixes of Proto-Uralic – to be winnowed out of the plethora of alleged directional or “lative” cases of the earliest proto-language stages – (§3.2), then turning to cases with somewhat opaque, yet possibly postpositional origins (§3.3), and finally to a kind of outlier group mainly consisting of the so-called terminative cases (§3.4). In conclusion, §4 draws the threads together and provides a general overview of the topic by relating both the most established views of Uralistics as well as the recent revisions of such views to our current, general linguistic knowledge of the development local cases in other languages and language families. On the other hand, it will also be seen (§4.1) that the history of the twenty-six European Uralic directionals discussed in §2 and §3 offer new insights to the more typological (yet not very extensive) studies on the development of case markers. Finally (§4.2), awareness of diachronic

¹ Characterizations such as the *received* (or *common* or *traditional*) view in this paper refer to more or less unanimous convictions concerning the history of Uralic languages as mostly presented in the major compendiums edited by Sinor (1988) and Abondolo (1998). In spite of occasionally distancing from such views, the present study does not by any means aim to challenge traditional Uralistics any more than what is deemed necessary with regard to the history of case markers to be discussed.

processes among and surrounding directional cases and adpositions also adds to our synchronic understanding of the mutual relations of the various semantic roles they encode.

§1.1. The genetic classification of the Uralic languages

In viewing the many directional case suffixes and postpositions of the present-day European Uralic languages from a diachronic perspective, it is instructive to be aware of the various views concerning the genetic make-up of the whole Uralic language family, including the Samoyed branch and the so-called Ob-Ugric (Khanty and Mansi) languages of Siberia. Although there is a complete unanimity on the members of the Uralic family, opinions on the mutual relations of individual branches differ. The most traditional, binarily branching classification (Figure 1) goes back to the end of the 19th century, and it is still being supported by many scholars. On the other hand, in the past couple of decades this view has also been re-evaluated with well-founded scepticism and a number of competing views has been presented (e.g. Figures 2 and 3). This also affects the time-depth of various proto-languages, as the estimates for Proto-Uralic vary as much as between 7,000 and 2,000 BC.²

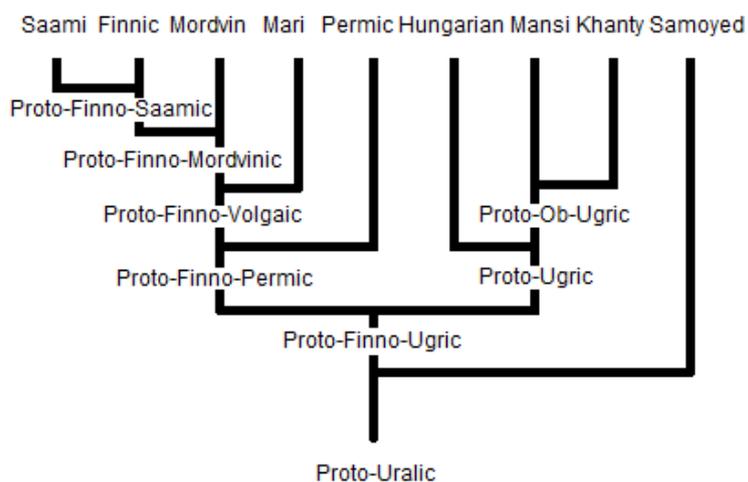


Figure 1. The most traditional taxonomy of the Uralic languages (cf. e.g. Donner 1879: 157; Janhunen 2001: 39)

² Figures 1–3 are provided as a courtesy of Jaakko Häkkinen. In addition to the geographical reasons for limiting the topic of the synchronic study (Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation) to the European Uralic languages, the exclusion of Asian Uralic (Samoyed, Khanty and Mansi) also fits the genetic classification of Michalove (2002) who presents four primary branches of Uralic: Finno-Permic and Hungarian in Europe, and Ob-Ugric and Samoyed in Asia. On the other hand, not unlike the most traditional view of the so-called Ugric branch consisting of Hungarian and the Siberian Ob-Ugric branch (Khanty and Mansi), the genetic affinity of Ob-Ugric has also been disputed (see e.g. Salminen 2002, 2007), and the same goes for the obscure origins of the case suffixes in Khanty and Mansi branches (Honti 1998: 343–345); it is not possible to present a more detailed study of their origins within the confines of the present paper. It may be noted that although about one-fourth of the speakers of Tundra Nenets reside in the Nenets Autonomous District of Arkhangelsk Oblast in the northeasternmost fringes of Europe, Tundra Nenets as a whole is the only transcontinental language of the Samoyed branch of Siberia and is not considered a representative of European Uralic in this study.

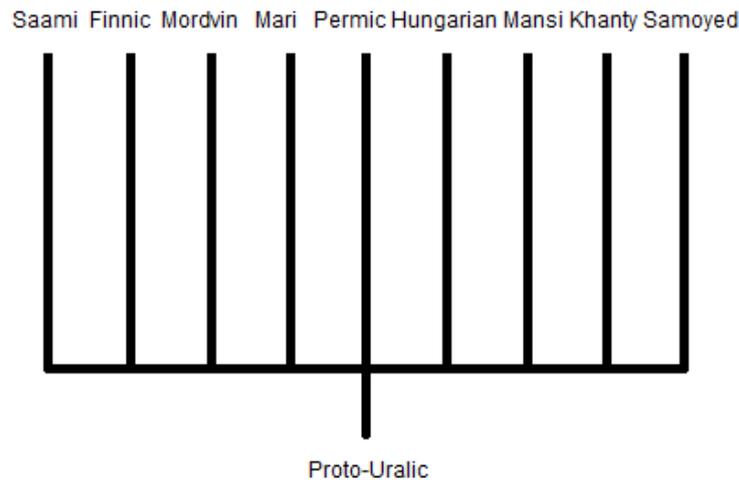


Figure 2. The Uralic languages according to Salminen (1999: 20)

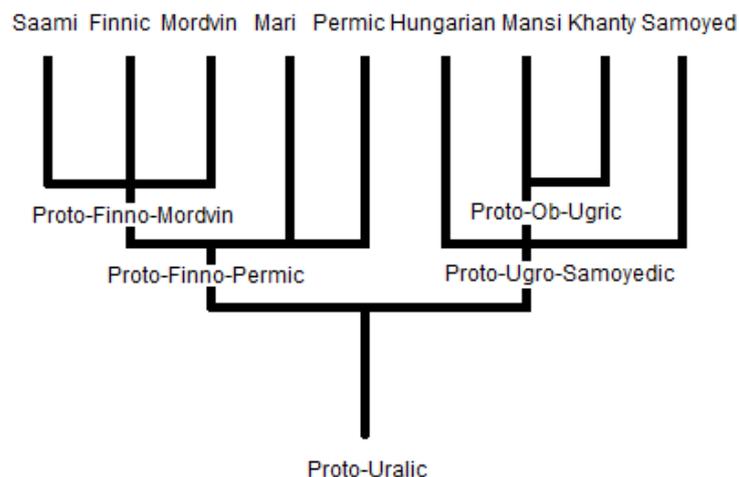


Figure 3. The Uralic languages according to Häkkinen (2007: 63–81)

As can be perceived from the lack of consensus on the number and interrelations of the main branches of Uralic, this may also have consequences for analyses and reconstructions of the history of case-marking in the individual branches and the whole of language family, although as we go deeper into the reconstructions of proto-languages, the role and possibilities of morphology tends to diminish at the expense of historical phonology and word etymology. Indeed, it will be seen below that the competing views do not necessarily have major effects on the topic of this paper, as most of the directional cases of modern-day languages are found in only one of the indisputable major branches of the family each. On the other hand, even the most traditional paradigm has admitted the possibility of regarding occasional similarities between genetically distant branches as a result of convergence, and many such views certainly fit into the alternative models as well, as they, on the whole, tend to stress the role of areal contacts in explaining phenomena that have earlier been considered as evidence of multiple proto-language stages (see e.g. Salminen 2002, 2007). In any case, the independence of the nine individual branches listed in Figure 2 is an undisputable fact comparable to those of Indo-European such as Germanic, Romance, Slavic and Albanian – also

with disputed interrelations; on the other hand, the varying degrees of internal cohesion of the Uralic branches can also be compared to those within the Indo-European family.

§1.2. Proto-Uralic morphosyntax: cases and postpositions

According to the common view presented in Table 1, the Proto-Uralic case system was fairly moderate and quite like that of Proto-Indo-European.³

Table 1. Proto-Uralic case system (mostly adapted from Janhunen 1982: 30)

		sg.	pl.
(a)	nominative	∅	-t
	genitive	-n	-j
	accusative	-m	-j
(b)	locative	-na	
	separative	-ta	
	lative	-ŋ, -k, -n ?	

In contrast to the virtually unanimous view concerning the five other cases (Table 1), reconstructions of the Proto-Uralic case system vary mostly with regard to the identity and number of directional or so-called lative cases. The most commonly reconstructed forms include *-ŋ, *-k and *-n, although even more latives, such as those in *-ń, *-j, *-s and *-ć have also been proposed. On the other hand, there appear to be no functional reasons to postulate too many such cases in the remotest past of the Uralic, as there have been hardly any attempts to shed light to the mutual semantic relations of even two of the proposed latives of the earliest proto-languages and one sometimes gets the impression that elements such as *-ŋ, *-k, *-n and *-j are to be understood as inexplicable allomorphs of a single lative case. Rather, from a functional perspective also provided by the present-day Uralic languages, it is more reasonable to assume that there may have been only one directional case in Proto-Uralic, and this topic will be discussed at length in the following sections. The tripartite subsystem of semantic, local cases (b) was complemented by postpositions and postposition-like relational nouns, and many of the latter type can still be materially reconstructed for Proto-Uralic.

Judging from the present-day composition of Uralic adpositional phrases, it seems that the postpositional complement was in the genitive *-n, which means that the postpositional phrase was structurally identical to possessive NPs [N-n N(-case)]. In fact, the reconstructed vocabulary of Proto-Uralic does not include a single morphologically opaque and uninflected adposition, but only relational noun stems to which more than one local cases were attached; compare e.g. the possessive NP (1) to the PP (2):

³ Although the descendants of Uralic and Indo-European proto-languages have largely developed in different directions, the main difference between Proto-Uralic and Proto-Indo-European case system seems to have been as small as the lack of an instrumental case in Proto-Uralic. In Table 1 and throughout the article, suffix allomorphy conditioned by vowel harmony, a typical feature of many Uralic languages, is omitted for the sake of clarity.

- (1) **emä-n süli-nä* [mother-GEN lap-LOC] ‘in the lap (i.e. arms) of the mother’
 (2) **lumi-n üli(i)-nä* [snow-GEN on-LOC] ‘on (top of) the snow’

All of the oldest postpositionals have spatial meanings, and even as such, they have quite strict, “geometrical” meanings such as **ül(i)-* ‘place up or above’ and **al(a)-* ‘place under or below’ (for reasons that became evident in §3.2 and §3.3, the lative suffix is presented as **-ŋ*):

- (3) **ül(i)-nä* ‘on-LOC’ **ül(i)-tä* ‘on-ABL’ **üli-ŋ* ‘on-LAT’
 (4) **al(i)-na* ‘under-LOC’ **al(i)-ta* ‘under-ABL’ **ala-ŋ* ‘under-LAT’

Other Proto-Uralic relational nouns include at least **eðe-* ‘place in front of’, **pälV-* ‘place inside of’ and **miŋä-* ‘place behind’ (see e.g. UEW 6, 71–72, 276–277, 364, 573–574), and a system of three local cases and the possibility of combining them with such nouns has been an effective means to express various aspects of location. The legacy of this kind of system has survived in a number of tripartite systems of local cases, postpositions and adverbs throughout the language family.

§2. The directional cases in European Uralic

§2.1. The inventory of the directional cases

For a more detailed synchronic description of a large part of the topic of this paper, the reader is referred to Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation) who discuss the least marked coding of Goal *sensu stricto*, Recipient and the so-called Vicinal Goal (‘to the vicinity of’) in most of the literary standards of European Uralic. For the purposes of the present diachronic survey, however, it is appropriate to approach the topic by taking into account other, less central directional cases as well. The inventory of directional cases presented by Kittilä and Ylikoski is thus amended by broadening both semantic and sociolinguistic perspectives to the directional cases *sensu lato* in not only standardized but also colloquial varieties of the Uralic languages of Europe (§2.2–§2.4). Regardless of the exclusion of Asian Uralic (Samoyed, Khanty and Mansi), the subject matter of the following pages consists of as many as twenty-six more or less independent directional cases, presented in the following list that also shows the proportions of such cases in comparison to the total number of morphological cases in the respective languages (the most relevant section numbers indicated in parentheses):⁴

⁴ The linguistic forms discussed in this study are presented in the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet (or Finno-Ugric transcription system) used predominantly for the transcription and reconstruction of Uralic languages. Consequently, the outward appearance of some of the data (of Mari, Mordvin and Permic languages) slightly differs from that presented by Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation) where the Cyrillic orthographies of present-day literary East Mari, Erzya and Udmurt were transliterated according to ISO 9.

- Finnic (here represented by Olonetsian, Finnish, Estonian, Veps, Livonian): 2–4 / total of 8–22 cases
 - Common Finnic illative **-hen* (§3.3.2)
 - Common Finnic (except Livonian) allative *-(l)le*; Karelian adessive-allative *-lla* (§3.1)
 - Veps approximative *-nnoks* (§3.1)
 - Veps terminative *-hesai* (§3.4)
 - Estonian terminative *-ni* (§3.4)
 - Livonian dative *-n* (§3.4)
- Saami (represented by Lule, North and South Saami): 1 / 6–9
 - Common Saami illative **-sen* (§3.3.2)
- Mordvin (Erzya, Moksha): 2–3 / ~12
 - Common Mordvin dative *-heń* (Erzya) ~ *-ńd'i* (Moksha) (§3.1)
 - Common Mordvin lative **-ŋ* (§3.2)
 - Common Mordvin illative *-s* (§3.3.2)
- Mari (East and West Mari): 2 / 9
 - Common Mari illative *-ške* (§3.3.2)
 - Common Mari dative *-lan* (§3.3.1)
- Permic (Komi, Permyak, Udmurt): 4–6 / 15–22
 - Common Permic illative *-ö* (Komi, Permyak) ~ *-e* (Udmurt) (§3.2)
 - Common Permic dative *-ly* (Komi, Udmurt) ~ *-lö* (Permyak) (§3.3.1)
 - Common Permic approximative *-lań* (§2.3, §3.3.1)
 - Common Permic terminative *-öd'z* (Komi, Permyak) ~ *-oź* (Udmurt) (§3.4)
 - Komi (emerging) approximative-illative *-lańö* (§2.3)
 - Permyak (dialectal) superlative *-(v)vö* (§2.3)
 - Permyak (dialectal) superterminative *-v(v)öd'z* (§2.3)
 - Udmurt (dialectal) allative *-he* (§2.3)
- Hungarian: 5–6 / ~22–25
 - illative *-ba* (§3.1)
 - sublative *-ra* (§3.1)
 - allative *-hoz* (§3.1)
 - dative *-nak* (§3.1)
 - terminative *-ig* (§3.4)
 - affamilative *-ni* (§2.4)

In turning our attention to the history of the above body of case markers, this is done gradually, still partly adding to the synchronic discussion in the brief account of the so-called terminative and approximative cases (§2.2) with semantic features making them belong to a sphere slightly different from that most relevant in differentiating between Goal *sensu stricto* and Recipient (Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation), and then in the form of panchronic description of the most recently emerged sets of local cases found in non-standard variants of Permic (§2.3) and a partly similar set in Hungarian dialects (§2.4).

§2.2. *Terminative and approximative cases*

In addition to the data presented and discussed by Kittilä and Ylikoski, the many directional cases of Estonian, Veps and Hungarian as well as the three Permic languages Komi, Permyak and Udmurt also include so-called *terminative* ‘until; up to’ cases, which slightly constrict the anticipated use of the more basic directional cases (“allatives”, “illatives”, “latives” and “sublatives”) in these languages. The Permic languages also possess a case in *-lań*, labeled as *approximative* ‘toward; to the direction of’ but having a meaning completely different from its namesakes “approximatives I and II” in Veps (see Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation). Examples of the terminatives include Estonian *maja-ni*, Veps *pert-hesai*, Komi and Permyak *kerka-öd'ź* (~ Udmurt *korka-oź*) and Hungarian *ház-ig* [house-TERM] ‘up to the house’, and the approximative can be exemplified by the Komi *kerka-lań* and Udmurt *korka-lań* ‘toward the house’.⁵ The addition of the terminatives and approximatives makes Veps and Permic languages possess four morphological cases that refer to the direction of motion or transfer in the widest possible sense (including e.g. Recipients); in Hungarian, the number of such cases is as high as five (or even six, see §2.4).⁶

§2.3. “Tertiary” cases in Permic

Although the Uralic languages abound with so many morphological cases that those developed after the Proto-Uralic are not usually characterized as secondary cases (as is often done with analogous Indo-European developments), one could even speak of tertiary cases when looking at the most recent case markers that have developed only in certain varieties of the three present-day Permic languages, i.e. long after the common Permic cases that can be mostly characterized as secondary to those of the Proto-Uralic (e.g. the common Permic dative in *-ly/-lö* and the approximative in *-lań* not reconstructable for Proto-Uralic). Subsequent offsprings of the Permic branch witness the emergence of as many as three different subsystems of tertiary cases.

⁵ Although without apparent parallels in the Indo-European languages of Europe, Uralic terminatives and approximatives cases can, incidentally, be described verbatim the way Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004: 274) characterizes the use of the “terminative allative” and “directional allative” that likewise supplement the allative in Basque:

The *goal, destinative, or terminative allative* (*-raino*) conveys the meaning ‘up to’ in the spatial domain, as in *etxe-raino* [house-TER.SG] ‘up to the house’. It indicates a telic motion event, that is, the trajector reaches his/her final destination. ... The *directional allative* (*-rantz, -runtz, -rontz*) indicates the notion ‘toward’ in the spatial domain, as in *etxe-rantz* [house-DIR.SG] ‘toward home’. This locational case profiles the directionality of the motion event. The trajector moves toward a specific destination but it is not specified whether or not he/she reaches the place he/she is moving toward.

To further quote Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004: 282): “What crucially distinguishes these two cases from the allative is that, on top of profiling the goal, they also profile the path, or to be more precise, some of the components of the path.” This means that the various terminative cases profile the endpoint of the path, and the Permic approximative profiles the approximate direction (Ibarretxe-Antuñano: “directionality”) of the path. Note, however, that the Basque “terminative allative” and “directional allative” are morphologically dependent from the allative case (*-ra*), whereas the Uralic terminatives and approximatives are fully independent cases.

⁶ As the Permic local cases will be further discussed below (§3.2 and §3.3.1), it is notable that unlike the terminatives in Estonian, Veps and Hungarian, those of Permic also have a separative counterpart labeled as egressive, indicating and highlighting the starting point of the path, e.g. Komi *kerka-śań*, Udmurt *korka-śen* ‘all the way from the house’. The seventh type of local cases in Permic consists of the prolicative ‘through’ cases; they will be seen (in Table 2) but not further discussed in sections that follow.

In general, the Permic languages Komi, Permyak and Udmurt share nearly identical case systems of 15–17 cases. As described by Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation), the common Permic case system includes not only a system of local cases proper, but also a tripartite system of possessive cases. While the origin of these cases goes back to the dim history of Proto-Permic and will be discussed in more detail below, it seems appropriate to first take a panchronic glance at two postpositional series consisting of the postpositional stems *vyl-* ‘on, above’ (Common Permic) and *diń-* ‘at, the vicinity of’ (Udmurt) followed by most of the basic local case markers in these languages. Some northern dialects of Udmurt and southern dialects of Permyak have experienced grammaticalization processes that have resulted in two of the most transparent examples of the development of local case markers in the Uralic languages.

In the southern dialects of Permyak, a set of five postpositions with the stem *vyl-* has lost its morphological independence and the postpositional phrases such as *pyzan vyl-ö* [table on-ILL] and *pyzan vyl-ödź* [table on-TERM] have yielded two more directional cases, the so-called superlative *pyzavö* ‘onto the table’ and superterminative *pyzavödź* ‘all the way up to the table’ (for details, see e.g. Batalova 1982: 91–98; Baker 1985: 66–68, 175–191; Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 42–43).

Secondly, Northern Udmurt dialects have acquired at least two new local (vicinal) cases as a result of the suffixation of the postpositions *dińe* ‘to the vicinity of’ and *dińyn* ‘in the vicinity of’, as postpositional phrases such as *nyl diń-e* [girl at-ILL] and *nyl diń-yn* [girl at-INE] have given rise to inflectional forms *nylńe* ‘to (the vicinity of) the girl’ and *nylńyn* ‘at (the vicinity of) the girl’ (Fuchs 1954: 135–136; Teplyashina 1981: 28).⁷ However, although Teplyashina (1981) presents as many as six cases originating in *diń-*, most if not all of the attested authentic instances of such developments are limited to the formations in *-ńe* (directional) and *-ńyn* (static) seen above, and it is thus unclear whether the other postpositions of the *diń-* set (e.g. *dińys* ‘from the vicinity of’) really have undergone similar development (Baker 1985: 172–174).

A third, likewise marginal set of local cases in Permic is the apparently newly emerged use of the Komi approximative case suffix *-lań* (‘toward’; mentioned in §2.2) as an element to which all six other local case suffixes are attached (see Baker 1985: 230–231; Nekrasova 1990; Cypanov 2007: 253–254; similar formations have been observed in Permyak as well). Quite like the Permyak cases with *-ń-* discussed above, the use of the Komi cases with *-lań-* is mostly limited to directional (“illative”) and static (“inessive”) ones; other formations occur only sporadically. Moreover, these formations seem to have quite similar functions of referring to the vicinity of something (e.g. “illative” *jag-lań-ö* [pine.forest-APPR-ILL] ‘to the vicinity of the pine forest’, “inessive” *jag-lań-yn* [pine.forest-APPR-INE] ‘in the vicinity of the pine forest’). The original “approximative” meaning of the plain *-lań* ‘toward’ has thus given way to more discrete markers of vicinity so that even the directional “approximative-illative” in *-lańö* has partly acquired a function different from that of *-lań* (e.g. *jaglań* ‘to the direction of the pine forest’ vs. *jaglańö* ‘to a place in the direction of the pine forest’).

As the internal uniformity of Permic is roughly equivalent to that of, e.g., the Scandinavian languages, all the claimed local cases of Permic can be condensed into the pattern seen in Table 2 in which the most productive morphemes are in bold.

⁷ The postpositions in *diń-* are thus semantically equivalent to the more standard *dor-* postpositions as seen in the expression *nyl dore* ‘(Gabriel was sent...) to the girl’ presented by Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation).

Table 2. Local case formatives in the Permic languages Komi, Permyak and Udmurt

	Direction	Location	Source	Endpoint	Intermediate point	Starting point	Approximate Direction
Local	-ö / -y	-yn	-yś	-ödź / -oź	-öd / -eti	-śań / -yśen	-lań
Possessive	-ly	-lön / -len	-lyś				
Surface	-(v)vö	-(v)vyn	-(v)vys	-(v)vödź	-(v)vöt	?-vy(v)śań	
Vicinal	-ńe	-ńyn	(?-ńys)	(?-ńoź)	(?-ńit'i)	(?-ńyśen)	
Approx.	-lańö	-lańyn	-lańys	-lańödź	-lańöd	-lańśań	

To be sure, there is no variety of Permic in which all of the five sets of local cases – or even four of them – would coexist, but in principle, this kind of “nominal inflection galore” (Kibrik 2002) could be possible, as the semantic functions of the cases in question do not overlap each other.⁸ However, Table 2 efficiently captures the main features of what is characteristic of many Uralic local case systems: Firstly, they are indeed ordered *systems* of three to six distinctions that can be classified according to orientation (e.g. direction as opposed to source and static location) on the one hand, and according to the relations of motions and locations to their frame of reference on the other. Secondly, directional (and, to a lesser extent, static) cases are more common and more established in comparison to those expressing source. Thirdly, in line with the present global understanding of grammaticalization processes, most of the new case forms originate in postpositions that have agglutinated to their complements. Fourthly, however, part of the new series of cases can be understood as composites of previously independent cases.

§2.4. “Familial local cases” in Hungarian

In addition to the three tripartite series of local cases in Hungarian (see Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation), certain northern and eastern dialects of the language also possess a fourth series labeled as “familial local cases” (*családi helyragok*) in Hungarian grammatical tradition; the semantic functions of the familial cases *-ni*, *-nott* and *-nól* are quite close to the functions of the so-called allative (*-hoz* ‘to the vicinity of’), adessive (*-nál* ‘in the vicinity of’) and ablative (*-tól* ‘from the vicinity of’). Unlike the Permic tertiary cases seen above, the Hungarian cases seem to have a long and obscured history that will be discussed in §3.1. To give a short synchronic description, it suffices to say that the characterization “familial local case” denotes case markers that are used to refer to locations in relation to families. As families consist of human beings, the most natural reading for such locations includes the feature [-coincidence], i.e. the vicinity of a family in the sense of “vicinal locations” discussed in Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation).

As the Hungarian language as a whole also possesses a less marked set of vicinal local cases (the allative, adessive and ablative mentioned above), the familial local cases are often described as carrying a meaning largely identical to that of the associative plural (*-ek-*) forms of vicinal cases in *-hoz*, *-nál* and *-tól*. In light of these highly specified functions, it is understandable that the familial cases are formed somewhat unproductively, only from proper nouns denoting human beings as well

⁸ For even larger systems especially in Northeast Caucasian languages, see e.g. Comrie & Polinsky (1998) and Kibrik (2002).

as occupational names in which many of the most common Hungarian family names such as *Kovács* ‘Smith’ originate (Table 3).⁹

Table 3. Synonymy of the familial local cases and vicinal case associative plural forms in northern and eastern dialects of Hungarian

Vicinal cases in	allative	adessive	ablative
associative plural (-ék-)	<i>Kovács-ék-hoz</i>	<i>Kovács-ék-nál</i>	<i>Kovács-ék-tól</i>
	‘to the Smith’s’	‘at the Smith’s’	‘from the Smith’s’
Familial local cases	affamiliative	apudfamiliative	abfamiliative
	<i>Kovács-ni</i>	<i>Kovács-nott</i>	<i>Kovács-nól</i>
	‘id.’	‘id.’	‘id.’

§3. European Uralic directional case suffixes by their origins

The following subsections present a survey of the European Uralic directional cases according to various types of their origins. A large part of them have more or less transparent origins in postpositional phrases (§3.1), whereas only a few of the most opaque cases can simply be explained as inheritances from the Proto-Uralic case system (§3.2). On the other hand, some of the directional cases belong to local case subsystems that are often referred to as “*l*-cases” and “*s*-cases” by which is meant that the etymologies of the case series fall, in a sense, in between the most transparent and most opaque suffixes in sharing the elements *-l-* and *-s-* to which more primary case endings seem to have attached, as our view of the origins of directional cases naturally depends on the explanations given to these elements (§3.3). Finally, there are a few cases that seem rather solitary and obscure in diachronic perspective, and interestingly, most of them are terminative cases of various languages (§3.4).

Before commencing with the actual morphemes, a couple of terminological preliminaries are in order:

The reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic case system included at least one case form labeled as a *lative*, and it was remarked in §1.2 that reconstructions of the Uralic case system(s) vary mostly with regard to the identity and number of such cases. Despite the widespread use of the term *lative* – going back to the 19th century – in Uralistics, it has never been defined explicitly. The historical descriptions of Uralic languages abound with various such cases to the extent that, in a way or another, “latives” have been claimed to lie behind every one of the twenty-six European Uralic directional cases to be discussed below. However, there is only one somewhat productive directional case form of present-day European Uralic that is actually labeled as such (the Mordvin *lative* to be discussed in §3.2). Moreover, even though the number of proposed *latives* in a given proto-language may be three or even more and their mutual semantic differences are nevertheless virtually always left unexplained (see e.g. Korhonen 1996: 174–175, 204–205), the term is best understood in a rather vague sense synonymous to the designation *directional* mostly used in this paper, covering in principle all kinds of linguistic elements carrying the feature [+direction], be they

⁹ The familial local cases are apparently the only Uralic local cases without established individual designations, but they can also be given the unambiguous labels seen in Table 3.

markers of Goal *sensu stricto*, Recipient or Endpoints (such as the terminative cases discussed in §2.2 and §3.4), for example.

As already seen in §2.3 and §2.4, Uralic local cases often consist of sets of three or more cases with a partly common origin in noun-like postpositions. On the other hand, §3.3 discusses somewhat similar sets with more obscure origins, the “*l*-cases” and “*s*-cases” found in most branches of European Uralic. The practice of using labels of the type “*X*-cases” is also quite spread in Uralistics, so that it is possible to use labels such as “*v*-cases”, “*ń*-cases” and “*lań*-cases” in referring to the whole sets of the Permic cases seen in §2.3, for example. This characteristic of Uralic languages has given rise to another concept that is also used in the following sections: the term *coaffix* is used in Uralistics to refer to an element that occurs as a common material part of many similar morphological wholes. To give concrete examples, in the series of Permic possessive cases seen in Table 2, the three possessive case markers *-ly*, *-lön/-len* and *-lyś* all include the coaffix *-l-*, and the Permyak surface cases *-(v)vö*, *-(v)vyn*, *-(v)vys*, *-(v)vödž*, *-(v)vöt* share the coaffix *-(v)v-*. The elements *-l-* and *-(v)v-* can be viewed as coaffixes irrespective of our knowledge of their origins – the Permyak *-(v)v-* goes evidently back to the postpositional stem *vyl-* ‘on, above’ (§2.3) but the etymology of *-l-* is far from obvious (§3.3.1). Quite often, however, a coaffix originates in a previously independent morpheme. Although seldom explicitly defined (and not always limited to case affixes), the term is used in both synchronic and diachronic senses to refer to “common constant elements” to which primary case markers are attached (Bartens 1993: 25; Rédei 1996: 257). As such elements are not to be perceived as inflectional or derivational morphemes of their own, the term *coaffix* is best used in a diachronic sense of referring to phonological elements as parts of larger yet synchronically unitary inflectional morphemes. In other words, when speaking of “*X*-cases” (or Permic *l-* and *(v)v-* cases of the above examples), *X* is the coaffix belonging to case markers that share or have shared the common phonological element(s) *-X-*.

§3.1. Directional cases originating in postpositions

It is universally well known that case suffixes, and especially semantic ones, often originate in postpositions. Some of the most obvious manifestations of this tendency in Uralic were already seen in §2.3, as the series of dialectal “*v*-cases” in Permyak was shown to derive from the postpositional stem *vyl-* ‘on, above’, and the Udmurtian “*ń*-cases” from *diń-* ‘the vicinity of’. These developments could well serve as textbook examples of grammaticalization, but in reality, linguistic textbooks often resort to analogous origins of the Hungarian case system instead. Indeed, except for the superessive in *-n*, all of the cases in the three tripartite series of local cases in standard Hungarian seem to go back to postpositions and ultimately to local case forms of relational nouns. The most commonly cited example (e.g. Anttila 1989: 149; Blake 2001: 165; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 111; Lehmann 2002: 75; Creissels 2009: 616, 620) are the default local cases sharing the coaffix *-b-* that is etymologically related to morphemes such as *bel-* ‘inner’ and *belül* ‘inside’ (< Proto-Uralic **pälV-* ‘place inside of’; see §1.2). In the same vein, the element *-r-* in the sublative and delative are explained as originating in **roy* ‘vicinity’ or **raŋV* ‘surface’. The vicinal cases in *-hoz*, *-nál* and *-tól* do not have a common material origin but seem to stem from three different relational nouns whose reconstructed meanings refer vaguely to some kinds of vicinal relations, e.g. the allative *-hoz* < **kućV* ‘side’. (For details, see e.g. Benkő 1991: 289ff; as the main focus here is on the morphological make-up of the Hungarian local cases, the reader is referred to Kittilä & Ylikoski (in preparation) for a more comprehensive description of the semantic functions of these cases.)

As mentioned in §2.4, the three series of local cases are dialectally supplemented by the set of familial local cases with the coaffix *-n-*. It is quite possible that this *-n-* is identical to that of the dative in *-nak* and they all go back to a relational noun **nVjV* ‘vicinity’ (Honti 2003, 2006). All of the Hungarian cases now mentioned are presented as a whole in Table 4 (including the terminative to be discussed in §3.4).¹⁰

Table 4. Hungarian local cases

Direction		Location		Source	
illative	<i>-ba</i>	inessive	<i>-ban</i>	elative	<i>-ból</i>
sublative	<i>-ra</i>	superessive	<i>-n</i>	delative	<i>-ról</i>
allative	<i>-hoz</i>	adessive	<i>-nál</i>	ablative	<i>-től</i>
affiliative	<i>-ni</i>	apudfiliative	<i>-nott</i>	abfiliative	<i>-nól</i>
dative	<i>-nak</i>				
terminative	<i>-ig</i>				

It can be seen in Table 4 that all of the separative cases share the suffix-final element *-l*; it also occurs in separative postpositions and adverbs and has cognates in the ablative cases of the Khanty and Mansi languages of Siberia as well. In the same manner, the superessive element *-n* that originates in the Proto-Uralic locative case **-na* is also present in the inessive marker (*-ba-n*), but the directional cases in the left-hand column of the table do not share common markers of directionality, unless one wants to see a zero morpheme in *-ba-Ø*, *-ra-Ø*, *-ni-Ø* and even *-hoz-Ø*. Anyhow, the suffixes *-ba*, *-ra* and *-ni* – like many other Uralic directional cases – are usually explained as having had one of the lative cases of earlier stages; for Hungarian, the most accepted explanations refer to Proto-Uralic latives in **-k* and **-j* (see e.g. Benkő 1991: 288ff.; Kulonen 1993: 81ff.). The dative marker *-nak* has been related to the one in **-k*.

After discussing the Hungarian and Permic local cases with postpositional origins, little remains to be added with regard to the mechanisms by which the dative case suffix of the Mordvin languages Erzya (*-ńeń*) and Moksha (*-ńd'i*) has emerged. On the basis of many identical morphological and syntactic features, *-ńeń* and *-ńd'i* quite evidently have a common origin, although often described mainly with reference to Moksha whose suffix is a bit more transparent with regard to its postulated origin, the genitive *-ń* (< **-n*) followed by a postposition based on the relational noun *t'e(j)*.¹¹ In Mordvin, the directional postposition most likely has had a lative ending **-ŋ* (§3.2), and the coalescence of the genitive *-ń* and **t'eŋ* has resulted in formations *-ńeń* and *-ńd'i*.¹²

¹⁰ Even though the origin of the element *-n-* has been under some debate, according to the most recent and careful explanations (Honti 2003, 2006) these suffixes go back to a postpositionally used relational noun **nVjV* ‘vicinity’ in which many Ob-Ugric (Khanty and Mansi) case suffixes also originate. However, as the comparative material is quite scarce, the development of grammatical morphemes often includes irregular changes, and the Ugric affinity (= Hungarian, Khanty and Mansi) as a whole is one of the most debated issues in the taxonomy of the Uralic languages (§1.1), even the most cautious explanations must be taken with a grain of salt.

¹¹ The origin of the relational noun *t'e(j)* ‘vicinity’ goes ultimately back to the Proto-Uralic **tūŋi* ‘base (of a tree)’ that was mentioned already in §2.3 as the origin of the Permic postpositions in *dīń-* that has yielded the Udmurt dialectal cases *-ńe* and *-ńyn*.

¹² Cf. also the corresponding definite declension forms **-ńt' + *t'eŋ > -ńt'eń* (Erzya) and *-t'i* (Moksha).

The Mordvin dative is mainly a marker of Recipients, but it also expresses Vicinal Goal as defined and described by Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation). Even then, the dative nearly always refers to the vicinity of animates although its use does not presuppose a possessive relation typical of Recipients proper. In a manner similar to the agglutination of the Udmurt directional *-ñe* and (to a lesser extent) the locational *-ñyn* that has left the rest of the cognate postpositions (see §2.3) intact, the Mordvin dialects have preserved postpositional forms *t'ej-sa* (inessive, ‘in the vicinity of’), *t'ej-sta* (elative, ‘from the vicinity of’) and *t'ej-s* (illative, ‘to the vicinity of’) even though the corresponding lative form **t'e-ŋ* has lost its independence.¹³

Directional case markers originating in earlier postpositions are also found in the Finnic branch of the Uralic family. The most obvious instances of such development can be seen in Veps, the language with the highest number of cases (22) within Finnic. For the purposes of the present and subsequent discussion of Finnic local cases in general, it is instructive to provide comparative data on the expressions relevant here. As it turns out, the origin of the set of vicinal cases as well as that of the terminative case in Veps is revealed by the functionally and etymologically corresponding constructions in the more conservative Finnish language (Table 5).¹⁴

Table 5. Veps local cases and their Finnish equivalents as exemplified by the noun *lumi* ‘snow’

Direction	Location	Source
illative	inessive	elative
<i>lume-he</i> (Veps)	<i>lume-s</i>	<i>lume-späi</i>
<i>lume-en</i> (Finnish)	<i>lume-ssa</i>	<i>lume-sta</i>
‘into the snow’	‘in the snow’	‘from the snow’
allative	adessive	ablative
<i>lume-le</i>	<i>lume-l</i>	<i>lume-lpäi</i>
<i>lume-lle</i>	<i>lume-lla</i>	<i>lume-lta</i>
‘onto the snow’	‘on the snow’	‘off the snow’
approximative II	approximative I	egressive
<i>lume-nnoks</i>	<i>lume-nno</i>	<i>lume-nnopäi</i>
(<i>lume-n luo(kse)</i>)	(<i>lume-n luona</i>)	(<i>lume-n luota</i>)
‘to the vicinity of the snow’	‘in the vicinity of the snow’	‘from the vicinity of the snow’
terminative		
<i>lume-hesai</i>		
(<i>lume-en saakka</i>)		
‘up to the snow’		

¹³ A further proof of the postpositional origin of the dative is that in addition to the more predictable dative case forms, the inflectional paradigm of personal pronouns possess functionally equivalent formations based on the mere *t'e-* stem followed by possessive suffixes; cf. the Erzya examples *moñeñ ~ t'eñ* [(1SG.)DAT.1SG] ‘to me’, *toñet' ~ t'et'* [(2SG.)DAT.2SG] ‘to you’, *soñenze ~ t'enze* [(3SG.)DAT.3SG] ‘to him/her’.

¹⁴ The Veps element *-päi* in all separative cases goes back to the adverb *päin* ‘(from) the direction of’, and the reason for such morphological and semantic restructuring has obviously been the loss of earlier separative element *-ta* through apocope. For example, the Proto-Finnic ablative **lumelta* ‘off the snow’ has been kept apart from the adessive *lumel* (< **lumella* ‘on the snow’) by amending the element *-päi* to it; in other words, Veps separative case forms such as *lume-lpäi* ‘off the snow’ are etymologically identical with *lumelta päin* ‘from the direction (on top) of the snow’ in the more conservative Finnish. For the emergence of these local and other originally postpositional cases (including the terminatives to be discussed in §3.4) in Veps and the rest of Finnic, see Oinas (1961) and Tikka (1992).

Before turning to the origins of the common Finnic local cases including the directional cases allative (shortly below) and illative (§3.3.2), it can be noticed that more detailed comparative evidence from intermediate Finnic languages shows indisputably that the origin of the Veps “second approximative” *-nnoks* ‘to the vicinity of’ and the whole series of vicinal cases lies in a set of postpositions cognate to the Finnish *luo(kse)*, *luona* and *luota* (< **loo-* originally followed by the primary Uralic local cases seen in Table 5). (The Veps terminative in *-hesai* has a postposition-like but not truly postpositional origin that will be described in §3.4.)

In comparison to the local cases discussed this far, it has been less apparent to earlier scholars that also the so-called external or *l*-cases of the Finnic languages (see the second row of Table 5 above) have developed from case-marked relational nouns. As described at length by Aikio and Ylikoski (2007; in preparation), it was customary for more than a century (since Budenz 1886 and Setälä 1890) to relate the coaffix *-l-* to the Finnic oikonym suffix *-la* (e.g. *seppä* → *Seppälä* ‘the house of the smith; Smith’), that seems cognate with various derivational affixes in other Uralic branches, which also led scholars to compare the Finnic *l*-cases with similar cases in Permic and Mari, even though the emergence of actual case markers has usually been explained as results of independent, convergent development. However, in spite of the phonological similarity of various case markers with the derivational element *-l-*, their semantic relationships remain rather vague, as the morphemes hardly seem to have more in common than some kind of loosely defined local function. It may be remarked that the established view has not gone without criticism earlier either, although alternative proposals such as Alvre’s (1986) attempt to explain the development of the Finnic *l*-cases on the basis of a Finno-Ugric lative **-l* mostly gives an impression of methodological desperation.

Our new understanding of the history of the Finnic case system makes it necessary to consider the origins of the Permic cases with *-l-* separately in §3.3.1. Instead, the Finnic cases can be compared to the *v*-cases of southern Permyak dialects (§2.3), as both the internal reconstruction and comparison of the Finnic cases to their functional counterparts in other branches of Uralic reveal that the most original semantic functions of the *-l-* cases are identical to those of the Permyak *v*-cases and the “*r*-cases” in Hungarian (§3.1 above), i.e. expressing location on – and movement to and from – a *surface*, cf. the Finnish allative *pöydä-lle* [table-ALL], Permyak superlative *pyzan-vö* (< *pyzan vyl-ö* [table on-ILL]) and Hungarian sublative *asztal-ra* [table-ALL] ‘onto the table’. As the obvious origin of the Permyak cases, the common Permic postpositional stem *vyl-*, clearly goes back to the Uralic **ül(i)-*, it is most remarkable that such postpositions are used not only in Permic but also in Saami, Mordvin, Mari and Samoyed languages in largely identical functions, whereas in Finnic, the postpositional use of the corresponding *yl-* words is almost exclusively limited to the so-called prolativ postpositions such as Finnish *yli(tse)* ‘over’. The explanation for this is that the direct descendants of the original postpositions (mentioned in §1.2 and §2.3) survived only in the western dialects of Finnish and even then, not as postpositions proper but as adverbs with restricted functions of referring to clothing.¹⁵ The fact that *ylle*, *yllä* and *yltä* have regained ground as stylistically marked postpositions (‘above’) seems to be an accidental innovation of the literary Finnish of the 19th century, most likely influenced by the analogous set *alle* ‘to under’, *alla* ‘under’ and *alta* ‘from under’.

The set of *l*-cases seems to have developed already in Proto-Finnic, as they are shared by all but the southernmost outlier of the Finnic branch, Livonian, that also shows lexical traces of the

¹⁵ I.e., these words express whether someone has a piece of clothing on (*yllä*) or it is put on (*ylle*) or taken off (*yltä*).

earliest stages of *l*-cases (see Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation, §3.2.4). As the agglutination of the postpositions seems to have taken place about two millennia ago, it is understandable that the present-day cases have both formal and functional properties that make their origin less evident. As regards their formal development, it suffices to say that the suffixation of independent postpositions is by definition irregular and cannot even in theory be based on any sound law; a regular development could only have resulted in **ül*-postpositions being retained as independent words. However, it is necessary to posit only three irregular but phonologically and phonotactically natural changes: 1) loss of the articulatorily marked and weak vowel **ü*, 2) loss of the genitive ending **-n* in the adessive and the allative, and 3) adjustment to vowel harmony; the other developments such as the assimilations **ln > *ll* and **nl > *ll* as well as the vowel lowering **i > *e* are regular phonological changes (Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 33; in preparation). The assumed development can be seen in Table 6. It appears quite clear that the emergence and exact shaping of the three *l*-cases was influenced by the historically older set of “*s*-cases” (see §3.3.2); the reason for the survival of *yli(tse)* ‘over’ as an independent postposition is certainly the lack of a corresponding local case in the Finnic case system, whereas in Permyak, the so-called prolicative *-öt* ‘through’ served as a model to the superprolicative case marker *-(v)vöt* ‘over’ (see §2.3).

Table 6. The phonological development of **ül*-postpositions into *l*-cases (from Pre-Finnic to Finnish)

	Direction (allative)	Location (adessive)	Source (ablative)
Pre-Finnic:	<i>*lume-n ülij</i>	<i>*lume-n ülnä</i>	<i>*lume-n ültä</i>
1) loss of <i>*ü</i>	<i>*lumenlen</i>	<i>(*lumenlnä)</i>	<i>(*lumenltä)</i>
2) loss of <i>*-n-</i>	<i>*lumenlen</i>	<i>*lumelnä</i>	<i>*lumeltä</i>
3) vowel harmony	<i>lumelle(n)</i>	<i>lumella</i>	<i>lumelta</i>
	‘onto the snow’	‘on the snow’	‘off the snow’

During the past couple of thousand years, the semantic functions of the *l*-cases have expanded to the extent that the most original meanings can nowadays often be expressed more explicitly by a new postpositional series in **pääl-*, as the local uses of *l*-cases are no longer restricted to expressions involving a surface or other related location on or above something. They are also used to some degree in referring to more vague vicinal locations and, especially with many place-names, to the most unmarked local relations with reference to the locations they denote. Moreover, the three *l*-cases have become the default means of expressing possessive relations (see e.g. Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation), which makes the allative in *-(l)le* function as a “dative” case throughout the Finnic languages (excepting Livonian, for which see §3.4 below). As a whole, the new, secondary functions of the *l*-cases are rather natural outcomes of their original local meanings; one can compare them with the many abstract, grammatical uses of the English *on* and *over* or French *sur*,

for instance.¹⁶ Thus, the postpositional origin of the Finnic Recipient marker is structurally identical to that of the Hungarian and Mordvin datives discussed above.¹⁷

Considering the high proportion of recent cases with more or less transparent postpositional backgrounds, it appears probable that analogous origins can also be posited for some of the less transparent case markers that will be discussed in the following sections.

§3.2. Directional cases descending from the Proto-Uralic case system

The history of the concept of “lative” within Uralistics would merit a study of its own, but as space does not allow such an enterprise in the present context, it is possible to make only some general remarks about the background of the topics that will be discussed below.¹⁸ It was seen in Table 1 in §1.2 that the reconstructions of the Proto-Uralic case system usually include about three case markers that have been labeled as so-called latives, the most common reconstructions being **-ŋ*, **-k* and **-n*. Although some of the present-day Uralic languages do have as many as six different directional cases, they occur only in languages with more than twenty cases in total and their independent statuses are further substantiated by their clearly separate semantic functions. As regards the directionals of the Proto-Uralic stage, however, the reconstructions of the case system do not usually have more than five other cases (including the zero-marked nominative), and especially in the absence of proposed semantic differentiation between various latives, one would expect that the number of directional cases has been fairly moderate. Even so, numerous case suffixes of the present-day Uralic languages have been explained on the basis of numerous latives, some of which are alleged to have existed in Proto-Uralic or nearly synonymous Proto-Finno-Ugric (Uralic without the Samoyed branch) or in some of the later, more hypothetical intermediate proto-languages. On the one hand, a suffix may be explained as a combination of two different lative suffixes, or on the other, as a combination of a lative (or several latives) and some other suffix (e.g. the many directionals and other local cases with the coaffix *-s-*; see §3.3.2).

¹⁶ From a purely quantitative perspective, a comparative study of 1966 instances of the North Saami *ala* ‘onto’ and *alde* ‘(from) above, on’ (< Proto-Uralic **üli-ŋ*, **ül-tä*) and their Finnish equivalents revealed that more than two thirds of the actual usage of the Saami postpositions can be translated into Finnish quite naturally with the *l*-cases, and similar observations can be made by comparing the Finnic cases with the cognate postpositions in Permic and Samoyed as well (Aikio & Ylikoski 2007).

¹⁷ In Karelian, the allative has later coalesced with the adessive in *-lla*, which makes the markers of Recipient and certain types of Goal go materially back to the Uralic static postposition **ülnä* ‘on, above’.

¹⁸ Both of the two anonymous reviewers of an earlier draft of this article made rightful remarks on the obscurity of the present section. Unfortunately, regardless of my attempts to clarify my argumentation, much of the obscurity stems from the subject matter itself and seems unavoidable in the limited confines of this paper, as many of the alleged “latives” have continuously been presented and cited – rather than discussed by presenting analytical considerations pro and con – *ad hoc*. Even though most of the allegations have gained considerable support, they are never fully presented in the few systematic reconstructions of the case systems of proposed proto-languages. Furthermore, it is symptomatic to note that even a single author such as Mikko Korhonen, one of the most endorsed specialists of his time, only vaguely referred to the views such as the “well known and generally accepted reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugric case system and case suffixes” including the lative in “**-n* (*-k?*)” (1996: 222 [1992]) in spite of having himself earlier stated – *inter alia* – that the Proto-Uralic “lative is usually reconstructed with three markers: **-n*, **-j* and **-k*” (1996: 197 [1981]) and almost simultaneously (1996: 199 [1981]) that “[i]t is generally claimed that in Proto-Finno-Ugric and Proto-Uralic there were six cases” of which only one was a lative, “the *-n/k* lative” – yet never with references to other well-known reconstructions such as the lative in **-ŋ* presented by Janhunen (1982: 30) cited in Table 1 in §1.2 above. The history of the concept of lative will be scrutinized in more detail in Aikio and Ylikoski, (in preparation) and Ylikoski (in preparation).

As discussed in more detail by Aikio and Ylikoski (2007: 57–60; in preparation), the fundamental problem of the “lative paradigm” in Uralistics lies in the fact that many of the comparisons presented are semantically quite arbitrary and there have been very few serious attempts to show any functional connections between the various suffixes and the purported latives underlying them. In other words, the Uralic concept of latives can be characterized as a kind of a *deus ex machina* that is often used to explain away case suffixes too problematic to be viewed as results of regular sound changes, which is of course typical of grammatical morphemes altogether. It is also remarkable that only a few of the multitude of reconstructed latives are based on direct evidence provided by the topic of the present paper, the directional cases of the contemporary languages or even the extinct idioms attested. For the present purposes, there are only two European Uralic case forms to be discussed, the Mordvin lative in $-v < (*)-\eta$ and the Permic illative in $-\ddot{o}$, $-e$.

In addition to the dative discussed in the previous section, the Mordvin languages Erzya and Moksha possess two other directional cases, the illative $-s$ (see §3.3.2) and the so-called lative $-v$. The most common form of the lative, $-v$, has also dialectal allomorphs $-j$ (Erzya), $-i$ and $-u$ (Moksha), but the most revealing variant occurs in a north-eastern dialect of Erzya where the original Uralic $*\eta$ has been preserved, making the Proto-Mordvin lative in $*-\eta$ identical to that of Proto-Samoyed, as seen in the directional postpositions of the present-day Samoyed languages of Siberia (e.g. Forest Nenets *ńiη* ‘onto’). In fact, this identity can be considered as the most explicit basis for a Proto-Uralic status of $*-\eta$, which thus makes this element the most plausible reconstruction of any of the claimed Proto-Uralic lative cases (Setälä 1915: 23; Janhunen 1998: 469; Bartens 1999: 76). The sound correspondence between Mordvin and Samoyed suffixes is so regular that there should not remain need for additional evidence, but once reconstructed, the lative $*-\eta$ can consequently be assumed to lie behind many other directional formations as well; for example, directional postpositions such as North Saami *ala* ‘onto’ have earlier been reconstructed with a lative $*-k$, but in the absence of compelling evidence in favor of $*-k$ (see below) it is at least as plausible to presume that the most original form $*\ddot{u}li-\eta$ (from which also the above-mentioned Forest Nenets *ńiη*) has not been unnecessarily replaced by another lative.

The semantic functions of the Mordvin lative and its semantic functions and relations to the apparently younger illative $-s$ are in line with the view that the lative is a remnant of an earlier proto-language. Although the exact division of labor between these cases has not been studied in great depth (but see Alhoniemi 1985), the case status of the lative has at times been questioned, as lative forms cannot be formed for all nouns but mainly for those denoting places, i.e. referents that function inherently as Directions *sensu stricto* (and not as prototypical, animate Recipients, for instance). Another way to look at this is Alhoniemi’s (1985: 5) observation that the lative is used to refer to “two-dimensional” Directions (e.g. *Moskovo-v* ‘to Moscow’), whereas the illative refers to “three-dimensional” Directions (*kudo-s* ‘to the room’). A restriction like this is reminiscent of corresponding phenomena in other languages where nouns (proper and common alike) denoting places tend to be more conservative with respect to case marking (Creissels 2009: 612–613); for example, cf. the use of the plain accusative in Latin *Romam* ‘to Rome’ instead of the more expected *ad Romam*.

The other Uralic directional case that seems to originate in a comparatively early stage is the illative of the Permic languages. As already essentially seen in preceding sections (e.g. Table 2), the illative ending of the present-day languages is $-\ddot{o}$ / ∂ / in Komi and Permyak and $-e$ / e / in Udmurt. The illative has traditionally been described as a descendant of an earlier lative, here $*-k$, although there are no visible traces of a consonant of any kind in the accounts of the whole Permic branch

(see e.g. Rédei 1988: 382; Bartens 2000: 85). As a matter of fact, it deserves to be explicated that the only piece of “evidence” with which the lost pre-Permic lative has been identified as **-k* is based on a unique remark made by M. A. Castrén on the Izhma dialect of Komi in 1844, and even his words – about an *h*-like “aspiration” instead of any kind of plosives – have been considered ambiguous and open to alternative interpretations (Castrén 1844: 20; Itkonen 1967: 249). Therefore it would not be at all impossible to consider an alternative explanation in which the Permic illative can be equated with the Proto-Uralic **-ŋ* preserved in e.g. the Mordvin lative just discussed. Put concretely, this assumption would account for the full etymological correspondence of forms such as the Komi postpositions *ul-ö* [under-ILL] and *vyl-ö* [on-ILL] to the Erzya *alo-ŋ* [under-ILL] (and dialectal Finnish *ala*) or Forest Nenets *ni-ŋ* [on-LAT] (and North Saami *ala*), respectively. (See also §3.3.1 and §3.3.2)

In sum, it appears that the most original Uralic directional cases of present-day European Uralic are the Mordvin lative in *-v < (*)-ŋ* and the Permic illative in *-ö, -e*. Traces of their common predecessor, the Proto-Uralic directional case marker **-ŋ*, can also be found in (perhaps all) other branches of Uralic either in directional postpositions just mentioned or as suffix-final elements of secondary directional cases discussed already in §3.1 and in the following sections.

§3.3. Directional cases with etymologically obscure coaffixes

§3.3.1. Mari and Permic cases with *-l-*

In addition to the newest and most transparent (§3.1) as well as the oldest and most opaque directional case markers (§3.2), all European Uralic languages but Hungarian have a number of local cases that have been etymologized as consisting of a coaffix *-l-* or **-s-* and more original local case suffixes attached to them (e.g. Finnic and Saami inessive **-sna < *-s- + Proto-Uralic locative *-na*, Permic ablative *-lys < *-l- + Proto-Permic elative -ys*). From a synchronic point of view, such coaffixes are quite like the ones seen in §2 and §3.1, e.g. the Hungarian coaffixes *-b-*, *-r-* and *-n-* that all go back to **b-*, **r-* and **n-* initial postpositions, and it was also seen (§3.1) that a careful study of formerly obscure coaffixes may reveal their exact (and, most predictably, postpositional) origins, as the Finnic *l*-cases can be related to Uralic **üli-* ‘on, above’.

The two coaffixes to be discussed below have not received satisfying explanations to date. As illustrated in the paper by Kittilä and Ylikoski, both the Finnic and Permic branches possess three cases in which a coaffix *-l-* is followed by elements that resemble other local cases in these languages. These cases are quite similar semantically as well, as the Permic cases are mainly used to express possessive relationships, which is also one of the main domains of the Finnic cases. Furthermore, as the Mari dative in *-lan* looks and behaves very much like the dative *-ly* in the Permic branch, these suffixes may be best discussed together; Table 7 gives a simple overview of the position of Permic and Mari datives in relation to other local and possessive cases in the two geographically adjacent branches (for more details, see Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation).

Table 7. Local and possessive case suffixes in Permic and Mari (For more details, see Kittilä & Ylikoski, this volume)

		Direction	Location	Source
Udmurt		-(j)e/-y (illative)	-yn	-yś
		-ly (dative)	-len	-lyś
Permic Komi		-ö (illative)	-yn	-yś
		-ly (dative)	-lön	-lyś
Permyak		-ö (illative)	-yn	-iś
		-lō (dative)	-lön	-liś
Mari		-ške (illative)	-šte	(postposition <i>gyč</i>)
		-lan (dative)	-n	(postposition <i>deč</i> , dialectally <i>-leč</i>)

It has been customary to view the Mari dative *-lan* on a par with not only the Permic dative *-ly* but also the Finnic allative *-(l)le*, occasionally accompanied by the reminder that the some dialects of Mari also possess an ablative case *-leč* (see e.g. Alhoniemi 1993: 61; *-leč* is used instead of the postposition *deč* seen in Table 6 of Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation). However, the Finnic *l*-cases have also retained their original local semantics that quite unambiguously point to the Uralic **iili-* ‘on, above’ as their origin. As was seen above (§2.3, §3.1), the cognate of the Finnic coaffix *-l-* has not been agglutinated in Permic except for certain Permyak dialects where the *vyl-* ‘on, above’ set of postpositions has lost its morphological independence only recently; the same goes for Mari (cf. Western Mari *wəl-* ‘id.’). The Permic and Mari element(s) *-l-* must thus have different origins, which in itself does not necessarily need to depart from that of the received view where the Permic and Mari cases have been explained as cognate to the Finnic oikonym suffix *-la* (mentioned in §3.1) and a motley crew of other nominal and adverbial derivatives in *-l(V)* – the mutual relations of Finnic, Permic and Mari cases have always been explained quite loosely, mostly with reference to convergent development in these three branches that have never been considered as having formed a single genetic sub-branch to the exclusion of the rest of the language family (e.g., Ravila 1958: 13; Itkonen 1966: 265–266; Rédei 1996: 259–260).

Without going further into difficulties and possibilities of explaining the origin of the *-l-* element in Permic and Mari here, it can be mentioned that an alternative etymology of *-l-* has been cautiously suggested by Aikio and Ylikoski (2007: 52) who state that it is typologically most natural to explain the development of such possessive cases as deriving them from some kind of postpositions with local functions. A candidate for such a source would be a Uralic postpositional stem akin to the Finnic **loo-* that lies behind the Veps “*n*-cases” and Finnish *luo*-postpositions (see Table 5 of §3.1 above). No cognates for this stem are known outside Finnic and Saami, but if the Permic and Mari cases were to reflect earlier postpositions, such postpositions would by definition have disappeared as postpositions in these languages. From a semantic point of view, a possible local (vicinal) origin of the Permic and Mari cases could be compared not only to the Veps cases but also to the Russian preposition *u* ‘at (the vicinity of)’ that is also used to express possession, a feature occasionally considered as an example of Uralic substrate influence.¹⁹

¹⁹ It may be added that at least for the Permic cases, another potential source of *-l-* could well have been the postpositional stem **läs-* ‘near’, otherwise known to exist only in Finnic, Mari, Samoyed and possibly Hungarian (Helimski 1999).

Regardless of the problems of identifying the ultimate origin of the element *-l*, the Permic dative in *-ly* and that of Mari in *-lan* are best approached as parts of the local case systems of the respective languages. As depicted in Table 7, the Permic “*l*-cases” include the primary case endings *-V*, *-Vn* and *-Vś*. Without going to the origins of the static and separative cases here, the origin of the Permic dative has always been paralleled with that of the illative, and there seems to be no reason for opposing views. However, this means that the arguments presented above (§3.2) in connection with the origin of the Permic illative also apply for the dative: It is by no means obvious that the original directional case marker behind the present-day vowel-final morphemes has been **-k* (the received view to date; e.g. Baker 1985: 146), but it is at least as plausible to consider the velar nasal **-ŋ* instead.²⁰

The history of the Permic *l*-cases is not without further problems, however. In §2.2 and §2.3, the three local cases of Table 7 were accompanied with the approximative *-lan* ‘toward; to the direction of’ which also was seen to function as a kind of coaffix in as many as six newly emerged “approximate local cases” in Komi.²¹ When it comes to Mari with the dative in *-lan*, the origin of the apparently directional formant *-n* – or, in fact, the whole suffix – has been regarded as identical with the Permic *-lan*, but opinions differ on whether there has been a change **-n > -ń* in Permic or **-ń > -n* in Mari (see e.g. Berezcki 1988: 342; 1994: 47; Bartens 2000: 84). The semantic functions of these cases are nevertheless quite disparate (approximative ‘towards’ vs. dative ‘to; for’), and it is even more difficult bridge this gap as the historical morphology of the two Mari languages suffers from the rather unrevealing internal unity of the Mari branch, as well as its chronological remoteness from the other branches of Uralic. However, in light of the revised view that the original directional case marker behind the present-day vowel-final Permic dative (*-ly*) and illative (*-ö*, *-e*) may as well be the velar nasal **-ŋ* instead of **-k*, it might not be too presumptuous to introduce the idea that the suffix-final nasal of the Mari dative (*-lan*) could go back to the Proto-Uralic **-ŋ* as well; due to the absence of examples of a velar nasal in word-final position, the change **-ŋ > -n* has not been considered a sound law in the history of Mari, but this would fit the picture quite well (see Berezcki 1994: 48–49). The proposal presented here would also lend support to the role assigned to the very **-ŋ* in the reconstructions of the earliest phases of Finnic, Saami and Mordvin illatives in **-sin* discussed immediately in the following section.

²⁰ The minor variation of the vowel quality in the illative and dative markers (<y> /i ~ u/ vs. <ö> /ə ~ ʌ/ vs. <e> /e/) can be understood in light of the fact that the vowels in the illative have originated through secretion (from original stem vowels), whereas the vowels of the dative marker may stem from the original form of what is now the coaffix *-l*, be that the derivational suffix **-la*, either of the postpositions proposed above or something completely different (Sammallahti 2009).

²¹ However, it is at least here where a single lative in **-ŋ* or **-k* does not suffice to explain all directional cases, and the picture is further complicated by the Komi and Permyak non-local case labeled as consecutive (*-la*) which has a purposive function of referring to objects for which someone has gone or come, e.g. *mun-ö va-la* [go-3SG water-CONSEC] ‘goes for water’. Quite surprisingly, the only etymology given for *-la* is the view that its origin is identical to that of the dative *-ly*, e.g. the same coaffix *-l* plus the lative **-k*. Although the vowel difference remains unexplained, this view is supported at least by the fact that the narrow semantic function of the Komi-Permyak consecutive is one of the many functions of the Udmurt dative (Bartens 2000: 88, 97). For the approximative, however, another explanation is needed, and the most common one is that the very *-l* is followed by a lative **-n* or **-ń* (see e.g. Baker 1985: 146; Rédei 1988: 382–383; Bartens 2000: 83–84, 87). The exact nature of such latives in the Uralic languages – and their relation to the Proto-Uralic genitive **-n* – has been a matter of much debate and cannot pursued further in the present context (see e.g. Korhonen 1996: 222–224), but both the form and function of the Permic approximative make it evident that it must be kept etymologically separate from the dative and consecutive that can apparently be connected not only with each other but with the most unmarked local directional, the illative, as well.

§3.3.2. Finno-Volgaic cases with *-s(-)

One of the most complicated issues in the history of Uralic case morphology is the origin of a number of local cases with the coaffix *-s-. The so-called *s*-cases are found in four geographically adjacent branches of the Uralic: Finnic, Saami, Mordvin and Mari. Even though the most traditional taxonomy of the Uralic family (Figure 1 in §1.1) has been contested with well-founded arguments, the relative uniformity of *s*-cases can be regarded as one of the strongest arguments in favor of the so-called Proto-Finno-Volgaic, an intermediate proto-language of these four branches. The directional *s*-cases, or illatives, have quite similar functions in all of the branches, but their material origins are less clear and apparently less uniform than those of their static and separative counterparts, all presented in Table 8 that depicts the case suffixes in the most conservative variants of each branch.²²

Table 8. The so-called *s*-cases of the Finno-Volgaic languages

	Direction (illatives)	Location (inessives)	Source (elatives)
Finnish (Finnic)	-(h)V(n) (< *-hen < *-sin)	-ssa (< *-sna)	-sta (< *-sta)
South Saami (Saami)	-n, -sse (< *-sen < *-sin)	-sne (< *-sna)	-ste (< *-sta)
Erzya (Mordvin)	-s	-so (< *-sna)	-sto (< *-sta)
East Mari (Mari)	-ške (< *-s-+ *-k ?)	-šte (< *-sna)	–

These default local cases of Finnic, Saami, Mordvin and Mari share a sibilant *-s-* (or its later developments *-š-* and *-h-* (> Ø)) followed by quite similar elements in each language, most of which can be assigned to the original Proto-Uralic local cases seen in Table 1. The elatives *-sta*, *-ste* and *-sto* are quite obviously related to the Proto-Uralic separative **-ta*, and the static cases likewise embody the locative **-na*.

As regards the origins of the directional *s*-cases and the origin of the element **-s-* in itself, the received view treats the illatives as a conglomerate of various lative cases of an unknown number of proto-languages, bolstered up with epenthetic vowels between or after clustering consonantal morphemes. According to the common view (e.g. Korhonen 1996: 203–205), the original function of the element **-s-* can be seen in the Mordvin languages where the illative case marker is merely *-s* which is thought to stem from an identical lative suffix **-s* in Proto-Finno-Volgaic. However, such a lative has otherwise been regarded as having lost its directional function – and all semantic functions whatsoever – to the degree that it has merely provided a platform to which other, more original local case suffixes have been attached. Even though Finnic and Saami languages possess some directional adverbs ending with a plain *-s* (e.g. Finnish *ylös* ‘up’, *alas* ‘down’ ~ Lule Saami *bajás*, *vuolus* ‘id.’), the multitude of the present-day illative markers in Finnic and Saami quite evidently stem from the reconstructed forms **-hen* and **-sen* of the respective proto-languages, both of which can be further reconstructed as **-sin* in pre-Finno-Saami proto-languages (e.g. Proto-Uralic as well as the more controversial Proto-Finno-Volgaic or Proto-Finno-Mordvinic; cf. Sammallahti 1998: 66, 203; 2009). The element *-n* in **-sin* has traditionally been viewed as one more lative, this one going back to the Proto-Uralic (see Table 1) and supposedly also preserved in

²² In spite of the partial absence of the element **-s-* in Finnic and Saami illatives and inessives, their internal reconstruction makes it evident that **-s-* underlies all of these endings.

present-day suffixes such as the Finnic allative *-lle(n)*, Mari dative *-lan* and Permic approximative *-lań* discussed in previous sections (esp. §2.3, §3.1 and §3.3.1). On the other hand, the Mari illative *-ške* has been explained as the Proto-Finno-Volgaic lative **-s* followed by a Proto-Uralic lative **-k* and ultimately a secondary epenthetic vowel.²³

In spite of the established status of the view that all of the *s*-cases mentioned are based on a Finno-Volgaic lative, this tradition suffers from several serious shortcomings. Detailed treatment of this topic must be left to another context (Ylikoski, in preparation), but it can be noted here that the classical view seems to result from the partly unconscious canonization of early authorities such as Setälä (1890) whose original proposals were, in fact, presented with due caution without neglecting the need for further studies. More than in the 19th century, linguists of today would back up such hypotheses with parallels from other languages, but the traditional view scarcely fits our present typological knowledge of attested developments of local cases.²⁴

The relatively few attempts to provide functional explanations for the proposed developments (e.g. Korhonen 1996) must be considered quite meager, as the argumentation suffers from circular intra-Uralic reasoning that fails to pay attention to the fact that the attested examples of various phenomena known as case-stacking or *Suffixaufnahme* (e.g. Plank 1995, Sadler & Nordlinger 2006) have only vague similarities with the developments hypothesized in the predecessors of the present-day Uralic languages. In European Uralic, the only truly productive way of stacking case markers one after another seems to be related to the use of genitive cases in constructions (“orphaned secondaries”, Plank 1995: 91) where genitive-marked nouns function as hosts to other, usually more concrete cases such as the dative in Udmurt word form *Udmurti-len-ez-ly* [Udmurtia-GEN-DEF-DAT] ‘to that (e.g. people or flag) of Udmurtia’ (see Alhoniemi 1993: 51 for similar constructions in Mari). However, this is quite different from hypothetical “latives” that are claimed to have lost all of their original semantic functions. As to the standard explanation given for the Finno-Volgaic *s*-cases, it is even more remarkable that the problem of presenting the ultimate origin of the lative **-s* is virtually always ignored, and the same goes for the challenge of describing the division of labor

²³ The picture of *s*-cases is further complicated by another case suffix, as the present-day Mari also possesses a case labeled as “lative”. Despite its name, the Mari lative suffix *-(e)š* hardly deserves to be characterized as a directional case marker, as none of its multifaceted functions includes concrete movement or transfer in place (or even in the sphere of possession). Rather, the idea of its “directionality” seems to be based on the use of the lative in a variety of syntactic contexts that belong to the secondary grammatical functions of some of the directional cases in other Uralic languages. Such functions include expressions such as *pel ak-eš užal-aš* [half price-LAT sell-INF] ‘to sell at (“to”) half price’ and *sar-eš kol-aš* [war-LAT die-INF] ‘to die in (“to”) a war’ (for more examples, see e.g. Alhoniemi 1993: 55–56). Even though many of these functions may be related to those typical of the primary functions of directional cases (as also suggested by the cross-linguistic data discussed by Rice & Kabata 2007), there are no tenable reasons for regarding the Mari lative as a directional case on this basis only.

As regards the etymological relations between the lative *-(e)š* and illative *-ške*, the former has been regarded as the cognate of the Mordvin illative *-s* and thus also a direct descendant of the Proto-Volgaic **s*-lative, but hardly any formal or functional arguments have been presented to explain the emergence of the new illative as the only truly directional **s*-case in Mari. The illative *-ške* has also a shorter variant *-š*, but this is considered a relatively recent development, and the lative and illative markers differ with respect to the vowels preceding them.

²⁴ Almost no parallels have ever been presented in defense of the traditional view, and apparently the only support comes from within the Uralic studies, as Bartens (1999: 78) refers to the fact that the locative and separative case markers of the Samoyed languages have coaffixes whose reconstructions (**-kø-/*-ntø-*) are formally identical to the reconstructed forms of the Proto-Samoyed dative markers. However, such a homonymy does certainly not need to imply that the elements actually share a common origin (cf. Ylikoski, in preparation).

among as many as three (if not more) directional cases in the Proto-Finno-Volgaic period.²⁵ Even though the lative explanation of the *s*-cases has not remained completely without competitors, occasional attempts to relate the element **-s-* to various derivational morphemes have been mostly ignored without further discussion; however, it must be admitted that none of the alternative proposals (e.g. Tauli 1956: 206–207; Collinder 1962: 159) seem to be very compelling either.

Perhaps the most natural explanation for the *s*-cases would lie in obsolete postpositions that survived as the enigmatic coaffix *-s-* only, and in fact, the earliest attempts to explain the origin of the Finnish *s*-cases referred to the Finnic postpositional stem *sisä-* ‘inside’ (Lönnrot 1841: 35–37; Reguly 1864: 301). However, although occasionally characterized as “internal local cases” in opposition to the so-called external local (*l-*)cases in Finnic, the *s*-cases in question must simply be regarded as the default local cases and even the only local cases in Saami, Mordvin and Mari (see Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation). Therefore it remains unclear whether the coaffix-to-be has had a specific meaning of its own. Anyhow, there seems to be little reason to interpret the origin of the coaffix *-s-* as a directional case in Proto-Finno-Volgaic. The best indication of such a possibility would be the Mordvin illative *-s*, but quick glances at the secondary local case series of other languages (§2.3, §2.4 and §3.1) show that it is the directional cases that tend to be materially lightest (i.e. most reduced) and thus closest to the postpositional stems behind the present-day suffixes (cf. e.g. the Hungarian illative *-ba-Ø* and allative *-ra-Ø*). In other words, it is possible to think that the Mordvin illative marker is only a shortened form of a suffix etymologically identical to the other illatives.

As the Finnic and Saami illatives seem to go back to a common source **-sin* (Sammallahti 2009), also the Mordvin languages possess a couple of directional adverbs where the illative element *-s* (*-z-*) is followed by likewise additional elements that may be historically identical to those of Finnic and Saami (Bartens 1999: 115; Ylikoski, in preparation). In fact, formations such as *kozo* ‘whither’ and *tozo* ‘thither’ and especially their dialectal lative-like variants *kozon* and *tozon* suggest that the most original form of the Finnic and Saami illative markers **-sin* can ultimately be reconstructed as **-sVŋ* (cf. the etymologies proposed for the Permic and Mari datives in the previous section). It has been seen in previous sections that the languages discussed do not show compelling evidence for postulating three or more distinct Proto-Uralic latives, and as the most common reconstructions point to nasals (**-ŋ*, **-n*, **-ń*) and velars (**-ŋ*, **-k*) it seems tempting to try to minimize their amount – and thus provide a typologically more plausible view of the Proto-Uralic morphosyntax – by reconsidering the importance of a velar nasal **ŋ* in the intersection of various alternatives (see also Bartens 1999: 115; Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 11, 33, 35).

Most relevant here is that the coaffix *-s-*, regardless of its unknown origins, is amalgamated with earlier local case suffixes, and the relatively straightforward history of static and separative cases is accompanied by less transparent past of directional cases. The origin of the Finno-Volgaic illatives and other *s*-cases must thus be regarded unsolved or at best unclear (Ylikoski, in preparation). In any case, these four branches of the Uralic do share an interesting innovation that has mostly replaced the use of the primary Uralic local cases, although the latter are still used as

²⁵ For a concrete example, Korhonen (1996: 204–205) presents a pre-Finnic local case system as having three distinct lative forms **pesä-s*, **pesä-k* and **pesä-n* (← **pesä* ‘nest’) without problematizing their possible semantic differences in any way. Incidentally, he also introduces the description of the emergence of various *s*-cases in a laconic, nearly biblical manner – “Initially, there was the *s* lative (**pesä-s*).” – surprisingly with no attempt to relate the history of *s*-cases to pre-Finno-Volgaic proto-languages in which the lative **-s* has never been reconstructed.

unproductive local case suffixes in many postpositional constructions and adverbs in these languages as well.

Finally, it may be noted that the Finno-Volgaic illatives and other *s*-cases have predominantly local and not possessive functions. Even though the Recipient-marking cases of the Uralic languages are often clearly related to directional local cases, illatives with **-s-* have such “dative” functions only in Saami (Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation). As discussed in §3.1, the Recipient-marking cases in Finnic and Mordvin are quite recent developments that originate in directional postpositions based on the Uralic stems **üli* ‘on, above’ and **tiji* ‘base’, respectively. The origin of the Mari dative (*-lan*) is more obscure (§3.3.1). Thus, these four branches to some degree share the directional local cases with the element **-s-*, but none of their default cases for marking the Recipient. However, it appears quite impossible to say at the present stage of research whether the cognates of the Saami illative have previously had dative-like functions in the predecessors of the present-day Finnic, Mordvin or Mari. Judging from the most natural order of development (from concrete to abstract, e.g. location to possession) in Uralic and other languages, together with the use of the Saami illative as the default case of marking both Goal *sensu stricto* and Recipients constitutes an exception in the morphosyntactic profile of European Uralic, it still seems more probable that the new illative – along with other **s*-cases – has expanded its function to the domain of possession only in Saami, perhaps under the influence of the likewise local-and-possessive functions of the more recent *l*-cases in the neighbouring Finnic languages (Ylikoski, in preparation).

§3.4. Directional cases with deviate origins: obvious and obscure past of terminative cases

After the most expected types of directional cases that appear to originate in postpositions (§3.1) or descend from the primary Proto-Uralic case markers (§3.2), as well as those with less transparent but still rather postposition-like “coaffixal” origins (§3.3), the last group to be discussed consists of the few cases whose common denominator cannot be defined in terms of diachronic morphology but synchronic semantics instead. This outlier group consists of the four distinct terminative cases of European Uralic (§2.2), conceivably amended by the Livonian dative (*-n*) with which the neighboring Estonian terminative (*-ni*) has been compared.

As already shortly mentioned in §3.1, the Veps terminative in *-hesai* is one of the most recent and transparent directional cases of the Finnic branch. To give a bit more natural example here, *škol-hasai* [school-TERM] ‘up to the school’ is etymologically comparable to its Finnish semantic equivalent *koulu-un saakka* [school-ILL as.far.as] where the Finnic illative is followed by the particle *saakka* ‘as far as’. The formative *-ha-* of the Veps terminative is the cognate of the Finnish illative *-(h)Vn* (< **-sen*). It is also quite apparent that the Veps *-sai* is comparable to Finnish *saakka* (dialectally also *saaden* etc.), and the more detailed information on the corresponding morphemes within the Finnic as a whole makes it quite evident that the Veps *-sai* goes back to the postposition-like particle **saaðen* ‘as far as’ (< converbal form of *saa-* ‘come’). Such particles occur with local cases, and most frequently with directional ones, which has resulted in the amalgamation of the morphology and semantics of the illative *-he* and **saaðen* (‘to’ + ‘as far as’ = ‘until’). Interestingly, it can be noted again that in spite of other constructions – static and separative – on a par with the directionals, it is only the most frequent, i.e. directional, expression that has led to the emergence of a new bound case marker; the combination of the Finnic elative **-sta* and **saaðen* has resulted only in a handful of adverbs such as the Veps *penessai* ‘since childhood’ < Proto-Finnic **peene-stä saaðen* [small-ELA as.far.as].

The origin of the Veps terminative fits perfectly the cross-linguistic picture presented by Creissels (2009: 619) who states that terminatives are “commonly encoded by means of an adposition governing the allative case, or a complex case marker resulting from the addition of an extension to an allative marker”. His examples include Basque *-ra_{ALL}-ino* and Azerbaijani *-(y)A_{DAT}-cAn* that are fully in line with the Veps *-ha_{ILL}-sai*. However, this view is not compatible with the standard explanations concerning the rest of the Uralic terminative markers that are, admittedly, much less transparent and thus open to more speculative proposals. To begin with Hungarian, the terminative marker *-ig* is traditionally explained as a one more successor of Proto-Uralic lative cases; some authors consider it as a direct descendant of the lative in **-k*, whereas others regard the element *-ig* as consisting of not only **-k* but also a Proto(-Finno)-Ugric lative in **-j* that would account for the present-day vowel *-i-* (see e.g. Benkő 1991: 288, 293–294; Kulonen 1993: 86–87). The Hungarian terminative does not have apparent cognates in other languages, however, and as long as the suggested latives are to be understood as vaguely directional cases, the lative hypotheses seem to lack any semantic grounds whatsoever. As regards phonological arguments, the prevailing view suffers from the fact that the very latives **-k* and **-j* have likewise been used to explain not only the “zero morphemes” in the case markers *-ba-Ø*, *-ra-Ø*, *-ni-Ø*, but also the element /k/ in the dative *-nak* (§3.1). It ought to be evident that the present realization of the lative **-k* as both (1) voiced and (2) voiceless plosives and even as (3) zero call for good explanations that have not, however, been presented to date. On the other hand, it would be too daring to present concrete alternative explanations, as no obvious candidates (e.g. particles comparable to the Finnic **saaðen* ‘as far as’) are in sight either.

The standard explanation for the origin of the Permic terminative (Komi-Permyak *-öd'ž*, Udmurt *-ož*) brings into the picture one more lative: as the present-day suffixes seem to go back to Proto-Permic **-Vd'ž*, a one-level-deeper reconstruction is the Proto-Finno-Ugric affricative lative in **-č* that is also thought to have yielded various local adverbs in other branches of the Uralic (see e.g. Wichmann 1924: 162; Baker 1985: 141–142; Bartens 2000: 87). Again, however, the Permic terminative and the directional adverbs of other languages are connected to each other only formally, but not in any way semantically; the claimed cognates of the Permic terminative include not only directional but many other kinds of local adverbs. As a matter of fact, the lative **-č* is never mentioned in general descriptions of the Proto-Uralic nominal paradigm (such as Table 1) despite its established role as the explanation of the Permic terminative. Because of this and the cross-linguistic knowledge mentioned above, it is worth noting that the currently dominant explanation was first preceded by a proposal that the Permic terminative goes back to the illative form of the relational noun stem meaning ‘front’; cf. Komi *vod'ž-ö*, Permyak *od'ž-ö* and Udmurt *až-e* (Budenz 1879: 444–445). Although later rejected (Wichmann 1924) and nearly forgotten, this explanation finds also support in Estonian where the local case forms of the cognate of the Permic *(v)od'ž* (Estonian *ots* ‘end, tip’) has resulted in terminative-like adverbs such as *otsa* in expressions like *saab otsa* [get.3SG end.ILL] ‘runs down, wears out, expires’, *mäe otsa* [hill.GEN end.ILL] ‘up to the hill’.

The last of the four terminatives in European Uralic is the Estonian *-ni*. Not unlike *-hesai* in the sister language Veps, *-ni* is a rather young case marker that has at best faint cognates in other Finnic languages. Curiously, despite its newness the Estonian terminative still lacks an unambiguous, commonly accepted etymology. Nevis (1988) summarizes and elaborates on most of the previous research, and ends up supporting the view that the nasal /n(n)/ is a kind of coaffix related to a number of Finnic adverbs (e.g. Estonian *sinna* ‘thither’; Finnish *sinne* ‘id.’, *tänne* ‘hither’). Nevis

and many of his predecessors interpret the present-day *-ni* as a successor of **-nnik* including the Proto-Finnic lative **-k*, which, in a manner symptomatic of the reconstructed latives of the Uralic languages, has “lost its final **-k* before the thirteenth century” (ibid. 186), i.e. before written records of Estonian or any of the Finnic languages. On the other hand, it has been noted long ago that the present-day morphosyntax of the terminative suggests a possibly postpositional origin: unlike older, common Finnic cases such as the allative (e.g. *selle-le päeva-le* [this-ALL day-ALL] ‘for this day’ where the modifier agrees with its head) a terminative noun phrase takes its modifier in the genitive case just like the corresponding modifiers of adpositions (*selle päeva-ni* [this.GEN day-TERM] ‘up to this day’, cf. postpositional phrases such as *selle päeva jaoks* [this.GEN day.GEN for] ‘for this day’).²⁶ However, no suitable postpositional etymology of *-ni* has been identified (Kettunen 1956: 11; Nevis 1988: 188).

The very last directional case to be discussed is the dative *-n* in Livonian, the southernmost language of the Finnic branch. As its name indicates, it is mainly used to mark Recipients and does not have any purely local functions (cf. Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation). The origin of this suffix has long been a subject of debate, and proposed explanations include references to the Proto-Uralic genitive (**-n*), locative (**-na*) and latives (**-n ~ *-ń*) as well as to the functionally analogous dative *-m* in Latvian. Even though none of the proposals are quite satisfactory, the most plausible explanation to date is presented by Nevis (1989) who points out that the dative, not unlike the undisputedly postpositional comitative of the language, does not exhibit otherwise common noun case agreement for modifiers but the modifier stands in the genitive case. Backed up by the formal similarity of the Livonian dative *-n* and the terminative *-ni* in the neighboring Estonian, he takes the lack of agreement as evidence of the common origin of the two directional cases.

However, the semantic gap between the Estonian terminative (*-ni* ‘up to’) and Livonian dative (*-n* ‘to, for’) remains rather wide and probably cannot be explained away only by referring to the vague similarity of their directional functions (Nevis 1989: 102). Since the origins of both of these cases remain somewhat open, there seems to be room for one more hypothesis which also finds support from our cross-linguistic knowledge of terminative cases going back to directional case markers with emphatic extensions such as the Veps illative ‘to’ adjusted by *-sai* ‘as far as’. The synchronic similarity of the Estonian illative and terminative has not escaped the notice of earlier scholars (see Nevis 1988), but it seems to have gone unnoticed that the nasal /n/ could well be related to that of the Finnic illative **-hen*. Incidentally, the Estonian illative has not only lost its final /n/ but almost completely merged into vowel stems during the very same period (approximately the first millennium AD) between Proto-Finnic and documented Estonian in which the terminative *-ni* has emerged. Even though the present-day terminative has its modifiers in the genitive, in earlier Estonian the illative case was occasionally used instead, and expressions such as *to-he Peiwä-ni* [that-ILL day-TERM] ‘until that day’ (*Wastne Testament* 1686, *passim*) are strikingly reminiscent of the corresponding use of the illative in the more conservative Finnish (*tuo-hon päivä-än* (*saakka*) [that-ILL day-ILL (as.far.as)] ‘id.’). In other words, the Estonian *-ni* could in principle go back to the illative case that was augmented by a morpheme (if not only a paragogic vowel) now manifested as *-i*.

²⁶ Cf. the comitative in *-ga* (e.g. *selle päeva-ga* [this.GEN day-COM] ‘with(in) this day’) with its undisputed origin in the postposition *kaas*.

§4. Discussion and conclusion

The preceding sections have provided a survey of the origins of the 26 directional cases that can be found in the six major branches of Uralic languages spoken in Europe. Of these, only a minority has indisputable cognates in other branches, and at least some of them must be understood as results of parallel yet independent developments in different branches in different periods (e.g. the Finnic allative and southern Permyak superlative cases both going back to the Proto-Uralic postposition **üli-ŋ* ‘onto’, §3.2). While the presentation of the data has been mostly based on the established views of mainstream Uralistics, some details have been reconsidered and revised in light of our current knowledge of the emergence of new case markers and especially the development of local cases in other languages and language families. However, as references to more typological studies of the topic have been made in a rather implicit manner, it is of interest to take a more focused look at this issue as well, by reciprocally taking into account the Uralic data just presented. In concluding this paper, two major themes merit particular attention in adding to our understanding of the historical development of cases not only in Uralic but in languages across the world. §4.1 discusses some of the basic tenets concerning the emergence of case markers from postpositions and other possible sources, and §4.2 provides a more specific look at the ways in which diachronic processes among and surrounding the directional cases discussed also help us to see and understand synchronic interrelations of the various semantic roles they encode.

§4.1. Explaining the emergence of case markers: remarks on the basic tenets of Uralists and others

Although the current textbooks of historical linguistics, and grammaticalization in particular, take it for granted that case affixes usually arise from adpositions (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003: 110–111), this view, however plausible it might be, seems not to be based on many comprehensive cross-linguistic studies on the topic. The pioneering work was presented by Kahr (1976) whose data from dozens of “Uralic, Altaic, Caucasian and Indo-European languages” led to the following hypothesis:

New case forms enter the nominal morphology through the suffixation of postpositions, and such a development is possible only if the unmarked order in the noun phrase is (modifier and/or quantifier) noun (postposition). (Kahr 1976: 110)

Kahr (ibid.) also boldly gives this hypothesis a universal status by further underlining that “the source of new case affixes is limited to adpositions”. Even though both linguistic typology and grammaticalization studies have become established subfields of linguistic research after 1976, this hypothesis has remained untested in a scale characteristic of present-day typology. In fact, it appears that comparable article-size cross-linguistic explorations into the same topic have been published only recently, and even then, the data come almost exclusively from the languages of the Old World (most importantly Heine 2009, Kulikov 2009; for local cases also Creissels 2009). The general picture that emerges from these studies shows that new case affixes (usually suffixes) surely tend to arise from adpositions (postpositions). Nonetheless, it deserves to be noted that contrary to the commonplace generalization that agglutinating postpositions plainly turn into case suffixes (e.g. the literature mentioned here; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 110–111; Heine 2009: 460, 462–463; Kulikov 2009: 440), it would be more accurate to say that the postposition phrase as a whole

becomes a noun in a new case form. For example, the initial element *-ń-* of the Mordvin datives *-ńeń* and *-ńd'i* as well as the *-n(n)-* of the Veps vicinal cases originate in the genitive markers with which the following *t-* and *l-*initial postpositions have been fused (§3.1). On the other hand, it can be seen that many of the source elements in question have survived as independent morphemes in syntactic functions where they do not function as postpositions proper (e.g. the material equivalents of the Finnish allative *-lle* in adverbial phrases such as *takki ylle* ‘(put) the jacket on’ and the Erzya dative in the pronominal forms such as *t'e-ń* [DAT-1SG] ‘to me’ seen in Note 13).

It may be that the lack of systematic research on this topic partly derives from the fact that the Indo-European family, the cradle of historical linguistics, is not generally seen as a cradle of new case affixes, but rather to the contrary as a language family showing a predominant tendency to lose its Proto-Indo-European inheritance as regards nominal morphology (e.g. Hewson & Bubenik 2006). In fact, this state of affairs may also provide a sociohistorical explanation for some of the traditional tenets of historical Uralistics, as the basis of Uralistics was also laid in the 19th century when there was not yet much comparable data from other language families with large case inventories, including many new case markers with obvious transparent origins. Against this background it seems that the traditional Uralistics has been, in a sense, free to resort to alternative explanatory models whose use has later been established to the extent that the claimed characteristics of the Uralic family have included the idea that earlier stages of Uralic proto-languages have had not only a wide variety of directional or “lative” cases but also an ability to amalgamate these cases with other cases without any obvious restrictions (§3.2 and §3.3.2; see e.g. Korhonen 1996: 145–152 *et passim*).

However, it was already mentioned (in §3.2) that it does not seem reasonable to even implicitly reconstruct case paradigms in which the proposed directional cases (e.g. **-n* ~ **-ń*, **-k*, **-ŋ*, **-j*, **-s*, **-ć*, **-l*) – with hitherto unexplained semantic differences – would impermissibly override all the expectations that can be derived from the data provided by the present-day languages in which the number of directional cases is three or more only if the language possesses at least ten other cases. Hence, the only five non-directional Proto-Uralic cases (see §1.2) were quite unlikely accompanied by more than two directional cases, and although the present survey is based on the European part of the Uralic family only and all attempts to revise the Proto-Uralic case system must thus be left to a more comprehensive account of the whole family, the data from European Uralic nevertheless suggest that the most important distinction to be made is that between markers of Recipient and Goal *sensu stricto* (Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation), and this may have been the pattern earlier as well, if at least two directional cases are to be reconstructed in Proto-Uralic. However, the most visible traces of Proto-Uralic directionals in the European Uralic data presented in the previous sections can only hint that the case marker **-ŋ* may have coded Goal *sensu stricto* in Proto-Uralic about the same way as its most obvious descendants, the Mordvin lative in *-ŋ* and the Permic illative in *-ö*, *-e*, still do (§3.2).

Indo-European languages are not completely without secondary cases either, and interestingly, it is the very Indo-European family that has been shown to develop new cases and case markers also from sources other than postpositions. The best known developments of secondary cases seem to go back to postpositions, though. For instance, the origin of the Ossetic adessive in *-yl* (Iron) ~ *-bæl* (Digor) is fully analogous to that of Finnic and the newly emerged superessive case in southern Permyak (§2.3 and §3.1), as its unagglutinated cognates in other languages include English *over*, Latin *super* and Sanskrit *upari* (see e.g. Thordarson 2009: 153–154). As summarized in Kulikov (2009), Old Lithuanian cases such as the illative *mīšk-an(à)* (< **mīšką + na*) ‘into the forest’ and

allative *mìšk-óp(i)* (< **mìškq* + *piě*) ‘to(wards) the forest’ have developed in a similar manner, and cases of postpositional origins can also be found in Tocharian and southern Indo-Aryan languages such as Sinhala. Better still, Kulikov provides a fresh look and a broader perspective on this topic and makes it clear that new cases may also result from splits of previously allomorphic markers of a single case in distinct declensions, and some of the Indo-European cases have also emerged from denominal adjectival and adverbial derivations (e.g. in Ossetic and Armenian).

Perhaps the most important thing to note in this context is Kulikov’s (2009: 447–448) account on the origins of many ergative markers, as they are often “recruited from the set of demonstrative pronouns or articles (which in turn typically go back to pronouns)”. Although developments like this are widely attested in languages of both Caucasus and Australia, it is quite understandable that Eurocentric scholars of Indo-European and Uralic have not paid much attention to the fact that at least ergatives may radically differ from more peripheral semantic cases not only in the synchronic but also the diachronic perspective. Therefore it seems important to emphasize that all that has been said about adpositions as the main source of case markers applies mostly to semantic, adverbial cases but not necessarily to core syntactic cases. Many markers of core cases do, of course, also originate in previously more peripheral adverbial cases such as instrumentals and locatives (→ ergatives) as well as datives and other directional cases (→ accusatives) (see e.g. Heine 2009: 467; Kulikov 2009: 441), and in Uralic languages, some object markers such as the Finnic partitive and Saami accusative plural go back to the Proto-Uralic separative or ablative case *-*ta*.

However, one of Kulikov’s subtypes of case origins, labeled as “multilayer case marking”, seems to be based only on the traditional yet poorly founded views about the origins of Uralic cases such as the so-called -*s*- cases discussed in §3.3.2 above where it was remarked that it is questionable whether the bi- and tripartite sets of such cases in Saami, Finnic, Mordvin and Mari can be explained with reference to a hypothetical Proto-Finno-Volgaic lative *-*s* for which no etymology has ever been presented. Therefore, it may be better to disregard multilayer case marking as an established subtype of case origins for the time being, although the Komi approximative cases with the coaffix -*lań*- (§2.3) may be potential candidates to fit the proposed model.

Kulikov (2009: 456) is definitely right in stating that “one of the factors that determine the evolutionary type of a language is the areal rather than genetic relationship”. Nevertheless, this seems to apply to Indo-European more than Uralic, for example. The development of Baltic secondary cases such as those of Old Lithuanian has occasionally been attributed to Uralic influence (e.g. Kulikov *ibid.*), and most of the other secondary cases of Indo-European have emerged in languages with close contacts to Turkic, Dravidian and Northeast Caucasian languages. However, it seems that the development of new cases in the language families around Indo-European can most often be explained by endogenous factors instead. As for Uralic, for example, apparently the most important preconditions are constantly fulfilled by the inherited features characteristic of most Uralic languages of today: comparatively agglutinative morphology together with dependent-head word order.²⁷ The combination of these factors seems to provide an ideal environment for postpositions to agglutinate (in Finnic and Hungarian possibly further enhanced by word-initial stress), and it seems that these conditions have been met in the above-mentioned varieties of Indo-European as well. One more reason for the multitude of cases in Uralic seems to lie in the inherited

²⁷ The interdependence of the existence of postpositions and many cases resp. prepositions and few if any cases in a language can be nicely seen by comparing the WALS maps for the features “Order of adposition and noun phrase” (Dryer 2008) and “Number of cases” (Iggesen 2008).

multipartite system of primary local cases and case-marked postpositionals to be agglutinated, which means that whenever new Uralic local cases are about to emerge, the primary cases are able to serve as a model for analogy, and it is then quite natural that the new cases may immediately come in threes (Finnic and Hungarian) or even in sixes (Permic), especially as many of the Uralic postpositions carry noun-like case marking and a series of three or more local postpositionals is thus only a few steps from a whole new series of potentially agglutinating case-markers.²⁸

§4.2. *Semantic functions of directional cases in light of their historical development*

Finally, the development of the directional cases surveyed also offers illuminating insights into our understanding of the mutual relations of the semantic roles they encode. Not much can be said about the lone approximative case of the Permic languages (§2.2), and as regards the terminative cases discussed in §2.2 and §3.4, it seems that their semantic functions are by and large the sum of their origins, as far as their etymology can be readily reconstructed. However, the transparent origin of the Veps terminative (< illative ‘to’ + a postposition-like particle ‘as far as’) can – along with the corresponding cases of other language families (Basque and Turkic) – only serve as a functional model in attempting to unearth the origins of more opaque terminatives in other Uralic languages. The most interesting perspectives are thus provided by the multifaceted interplay between directional cases that code Goal *sensu stricto* and Recipients as well as the role labeled as Vicinal Goal (‘to the vicinity of’) in Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation) where these three roles are defined in more detail.

As can be seen in previous sections and even more explicitly in the paper by Kittilä and Ylikoski, Goal *sensu stricto* and Recipient constitute the two most important directional roles marked with morphological cases in European Uralic. While some languages (Finnic, Hungarian and Mordvin) use not only one but two cases to express various semantic shades of Goal *sensu lato* – and even more cases if we subsume also the semantic functions of the vicinal, terminative and approximative directionals under the concept of Goal *sensu lato* – there is only one case form to code Recipient in each of the languages of European Uralic (as well as Asian Uralic, for that matter).²⁹ Mari, Permic, Hungarian and Livonian, have datives of their own especially for this function (and none of the non-possessive functions of directional cases), whereas in the rest of the Finnic, Mordvin and Saami the Recipient-marking cases are also used to code Goal *sensu stricto* or Vicinal Goal; as all of the latter three cases have different origins, their similarities can at best be considered as an areal feature that adds to the conglomerate nature of the three northwesternmost

²⁸ On the other hand, the survival of the original Uralic **iil*-postpositions in Finnic almost exclusively in the so-called prolativ postpositions such as Finnish *yli(tse)* ‘over’ suggests that while the three other **iil*-postpositions have developed into case suffixes (§3.1), *yli(tse)* was preserved as an independent postposition, as the tripartite structure of the primary Uralic local case series (§1.1) and the *s*-cases (§3.3.2) provided an analogical model for the development of only three new local cases, but not a “superprolative” comparable to that of Permyak *-(v)vöt* ‘over’ analogous to the prolativ *-öt* ‘through’ mentioned in §2.3 (Table 2) and §3.1.

²⁹ For possibilities of more than one Recipient-marking cases, see Crowley (1982: 195, 199–200) and Newman (1996: 85–86) for the “areal dative” in Paamese (Austronesian) and Daniel et al. (2010) for similar differences found in nearly all Northeast Caucasian languages (except Udi). As for the Paamese areal dative, it is said to differ from the dative proper in that it refers to a transfer only to a physical domain pertaining to the Recipient. In the same vein Khalilova (2009: 88, 326–327) describes the Khwarshi (Northeast Caucasian) apudlative case – otherwise, as the name says, a case of Vicinal Goal – as denoting “non-permanent (temporary) transfer, (e.g. ‘to give someone something for a while’)” (cf. the use of the Hungarian allative discussed by Kittilä and Ylikoski, in preparation, §3.2.1).

branches of Uralic. Also the non-local markers of Recipients of the present-day European Uralic are regarded as originating in more or less local cases. However, the illative of the Saami languages is the only European Uralic directional case that is the most unmarked expression of both Goal *sensu stricto* and Recipient, which shows that there is a strong tendency to keep the markers of Goal and Recipient apart from each other. Hence, it is very understandable that the Recipient-marking cases often seem to go back to expressions more or less similar to the few cases of Vicinal Goal in languages with the highest number of cases altogether (§3.1).

It is argued in Kittilä and Ylikoski (in preparation) that in comparison to Goal and Recipient, Vicinal Goal is a highly marked role in that it is a combination of the semantic features [-coincidence] and [-possession]. On the other hand, the corresponding features of Goal [-coincidence, +possession] and Recipient [-coincidence, +possession] have less in common with each other than with Vicinal Goal [-coincidence, -possession], so that from a diachronic point of view it can be observed that a transition from a marker of Vicinal Goal to that of Recipient (or Goal *sensu stricto*, for that matter) is, in principle, only a single step into the direction of less marked semantics. Provided that the European Uralic markers of Recipient are always case suffixes whereas markers of Vicinal Goal only seldom, in languages with extraordinarily large case inventories, the overall picture that emerges is the following: If a postposition of Vicinal Goal – or other directional postposition that is functionally secondary to the least marked case of Goal – loses its independence and becomes a case suffix, its morpho-semantic status is rather marked and a grammaticalization path is open for such a morpheme to develop into the direction of Recipient-marking cases generally labeled as datives. In a nutshell, this is what seems to have happened in the history of the Mordvin dative (§3.1) and the Finnic allative (§3.1), presumably also with the Hungarian dative (§3.2), and possibly yet not that apparently, with the datives in Permic and Mari as well (§3.3.1).

On the other hand, as the role of Recipient is by far the most unmarked directional role normally assigned to human participants, it is quite understandable that the sole directional case of the Saami languages is able to carry the role as well (cf. English *to*). Furthermore, the observations presented here can also be compared to those of Creissels and Mounole (in preparation) who remark that the marked status of humans in the conceptualization of spatial relationships is in many languages manifested in the possibility of using local case marked human nouns to refer to the usual residence of the person in question, i.e. to “an element of the personal sphere that at the same time has a particularly intimate link with the individual and occupies a fixed position in space”. Although this phenomenon does not seem to be that common in European Uralic, its relation to the location-possession continuum seen in the development of Uralic directionals is altogether obvious (cf. also the so-called familial local cases of Hungarian mentioned in §2.4).

The final point to be made here is also related to a remark made by Creissels and Mounole (in preparation) who note that the development of static Locative expressions in Basque is rather conservative as opposed to the expressions of Goal and Source, and the same goes to some extent for Hungarian. The development of Uralic local cases may shed some light to this issue. With a possible exception of Mari (§3.3.1), every Uralic language with more than ten morphological cases has at least one directional case that originates in a postposition. Quite often such cases develop within a larger subsystem of new local cases, but the history of the Mordvin and Hungarian datives (§3.1) as well as that of the northern Udmurt allative in *-ñe* (‘to the vicinity of’, §2.3), Komi approximative-illative *-lanö* (‘to (the place in) the direction of’, §2.3) and the Veps terminative *-hasai* (‘up to’, §3.4) suggest that the directional cases tend to be in the vanguard of the agglutination of local cases in general, and this might also be reflected in the fact that the directional

members of local case series are most often materially lighter (i.e. phonologically short) – and thus more difficult to explain and consequently prone to more speculative etymologies – in comparison to static and separative cases (see e.g. the tables presented in Kittilä & Ylikoski, in preparation).

It has been seen above that the Uralic languages offer good possibilities to develop several new local cases at a time, but nevertheless, it is especially the Recipient-marking cases – datives – that do show a tendency to lead their own life independent of their directional origins. Consequently, it appears that it is much more difficult to identify or reconstruct the most original Uralic marker of Recipient than the original marker of Goal (*-ŋ; see §3.2 and §4.1) which, conceivably, may or may not have marked Recipient as well. Moreover, remembering the terminative and approximative cases as well, the directional cases of European Uralic clearly show a general tendency to develop and live a bit faster than other spatial expressions, not to speak of the grammatical cases nominative, genitive and accusative whose Proto-Uralic reconstructions and continuity are virtually never questioned.

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