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1. Introduction

1.1 The Mari language(s) and the Turkic languages of the Volga Region

Mari – Cheremis in older sources – is a Uralic language spoken primarily in European Russia on the shores of the Volga, with a sizable diaspora found in the Ural Mountains, and especially in the Republic of Bashkortostan. Genealogically, its traditional classification is *Uralic > Finno-Ugric > Finno-Permic > Finno-Volgaic > Volgaic* (e.g. **Wagner-Nagy & Tamm & Miestamo 2015: 8**), though Finno-Volgaic and Volgaic are no longer considered valid branches of the language family by many newer surveys (e.g. **Kulonen 2002: 108**).

Mari is a pluricentric language with two distinct literary norms, Meadow Mari and Hill Mari. Both literary standards have official status and are taught in schools. Meadow Mari is by far the dominant variety. In the 2010 All-Russia population census, 365,127 people claimed to be Mari speakers and 23,062 people explicitly identified themselves as speakers of Hill Mari (**Federal'naya sluzhba gosudarstvennoy statistiki 2011**). Both language forms are considered endangered (**Moseley 2010**). The differences between the two literary norms are perceptible, but not overwhelming. As an anecdotal illustration of the distance between the two variants, Sergey Chavayn's 1905 poem *Oto* 'The Grove' is given here in the Meadow Mari original and in a Hill Mari translation, as well as in an English translation:

Meadow Mari (Chavayn 1988: 17)	Hill Mari (Chavayn 1988: 18)	English (Chavayn 1988: 23)
Ik tāmāk oto ulo memnan elāšte, Šoga tudo oto kugu jer serāšte.	Ik olak otā ulā māmnan elāšte, Šalga tē otā kogo jār kāmde māšte.	A peaceful wood grows in my native land, on a large lake's cool and verdant bank.
Tušto ladāra deč ladāra pušenje kuškeš. Tušto motor deč motor saska šočeš.	Kuškeš tēšāken pušāngān kogožā. Šačeš tēšāken kækčāžā jažožā.	Among the trees is e'en the darkest shade, the sweetest fruit grow on a sunny glade...
Tušto, užar lāštaš longāšte, šūšpāk mura, Tudo oto gāč jerāške jandar pamaš joga.	Tēšte, ēžar ukšet loštā, šāžbāk māralta. Dā tē otā gāč jārāš ire βad jogalta.	Amongst green leaves sweet nightingale sings. Into the lake run cold, glistening springs.
Tušto šudāžat užargōrak. Tušto peledāšāžat sālīnārak	Tēšte šudāžat ēžargōrak, Tēšte peledāšāt sālīnārak.	Ay, in that wood the grass is ever green, there are the fairest flowers ever seen!
Tudo otām māj jōratem, Tušto pušenje ruāšām māj βursem.	Mān tē otām jaratem pišok, Tēšte pušāngā rošām βārsem sook.	I love this peaceful wood from all my heart, and curse the hand that'll try those trees to cut!

Figure 1: A Meadow Mari poem with Hill Mari and English translations

While the dominant contact language today is, without a doubt, Russian, Mari has been subject to intense Turkic contact over the centuries (e.g. **Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 219**; **Pomozi 2004c: 217**). Many scholars place Mari in the so-called *Volga-Kama Sprachbund* (e.g. **Helimski 2003: 159**; **Wintschalek 1993**), which includes both Turkic and Uralic languages. According to one definition, a *sprachbund*, or *linguistic area*, is “a geographical region containing a group of three or more languages that share some structural features as a result of contact rather than as a result of accident or inheritance from a common ancestor” (**Thomason 2001: 99**). In addition to Mari, the core members of this areal grouping are the (*Uralic > Finno-Ugric > Finno-Permic > Permic*) Udmurt language, as well as three Turkic languages: Tatar, Bashkir, and Chuvash. An ample body of lexical and structural features shared by some or all of these languages can be easily found. One such example is the productive (**Alhoniemi 1985: 158**) derivational suffix *-lāk*, used in Mari (among other functions) to create abstract nouns from adjectives. It is also found in both Turkic and Uralic languages of the Volga Region. In Udmurt it is

considered a Tatar loan element; Mari could have adopted this suffix from Tatar, Chuvash, or both (Saarinen 1997b: 390). The suffix is without question ultimately of Turkic origin and is found in Turkish as well.¹

Mari ²	<i>taza</i> ‘healthy’	<i>tazalâk</i> ‘health’
Udmurt ³	<i>taza</i> ‘healthy’	<i>tazalik</i> ‘health’
Tatar ⁴	<i>tâza</i> ‘healthy’	<i>tâzatâq</i> ‘health’
	<i>sâb</i> ‘healthy’	<i>sâbtâq</i> ‘health’
Bashkir ⁵	<i>hâb</i> ‘healthy’	<i>hâbtâq</i> ‘health’
Chuvash ⁶	<i>siv(ă)</i> ‘healthy’	<i>sivlăx</i> ‘health’
Turkish ⁷	<i>sağ</i> ‘healthy’	<i>sağlık</i> ‘health’

Figure 2: *-lâk* and its cognates

In addition to these five core members, two additional Uralic languages are considered peripheral members of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund, especially varieties of these languages that have been under considerable Turkic influence: (Uralic > Finno-Ugric > Finno-Permic > Permic >) Komi and (Uralic > Finno-Ugric > ?Finno-Volgaic > ?Volgaic >) Mordvin. The Uralic (Samoyedic) Nenets language and the Mongolic Kalmyk language have also been suggested as peripheral members of the grouping (Décsy 1973: 136–137), though their inclusion seems dubious from a historical perspective. It has furthermore been suggested that, historically speaking, Proto-Hungarian and Alan – the ancestor of the modern Ossetian, an Indo-European language that has survived in the Caucasus – once had an affinity with this language area (Helimski 2003: 160). One Indo-European language that must undoubtedly also be taken into consideration when considering the Volga-Kama Sprachbund is Russian, the dominant language of the region today.

The rough modern geographic distribution of a selection of these languages can be seen in Figure 3. This map shows the political subdivisions of the Russian Federation associated with the speaker communities in question. These only match the actual settlement areas of the speakers of these languages to some extent.

¹ Another definition of the term *sprachbund* states that a sprachbund is an area that contains a language boundary, but is surrounded by at least one isogloss (cf. Katz 1975: 16). By this definition, this suffix is not a permissible sprachbund feature, as it is also found in Turkic languages outside of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund. The same applies to many of the features the languages of this geographic area share, including the auxiliary constructions at hand. These particular terminological discussions will not be considered any further here.

² (cf. Riese et al. 2014–)

³ “таза 1. terve, [...] тазалык terveys” (Maksimov et al. 2008: 476)

⁴ “CAУ gesund; unversehrt [...] САУЛЫК I. Gesundheit [...] ТАЗА 1. gesund [...] ТАЗАЛЫК Gesundheit” (Dawletschin et al. 1989: 209, 228)

⁵ “һау здоровый; [...] һаулык здоровье; [...]” (Akhmerov et al. 1958: 623)

⁶ “сывă, сыв terve; [...] сывлăх terveys, [...]” (Moisio et al. 2007: 167)

⁷ “sağ² 1. lebend(ig) 2. gesund, [...] sağılık 1. Gesundheit” (Steuerwald 1987: 402–403)

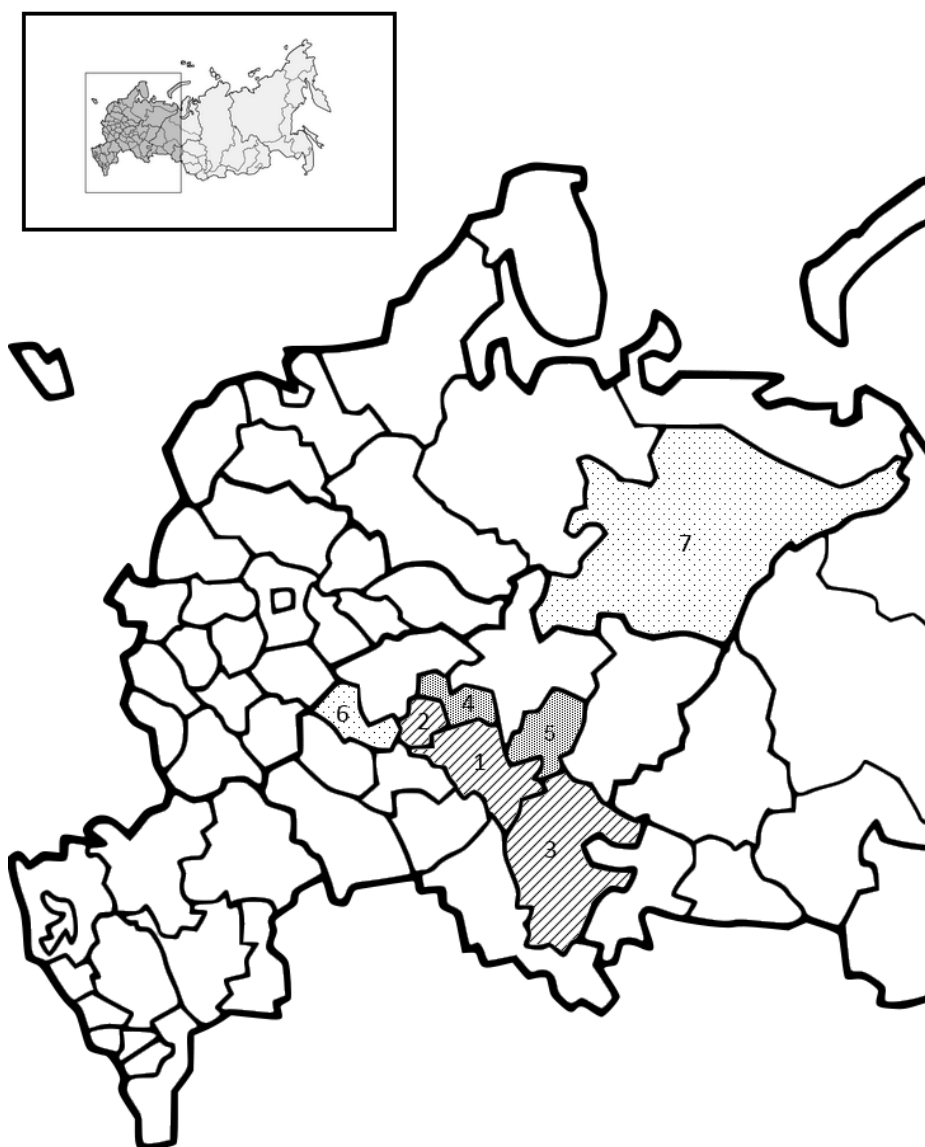


Figure 3: The Volga-Kama Sprachbund in Russia⁸

The political subdivisions shown here are:

Turkic core members (diagonal lines):

- 1) Tatarstan (Tatar)
- 2) Chuvashia (Chuvash)
- 3) Bashkortostan (Bashkir)

Finno-Ugric core members (dark dots):

- 4) Mari El (Mari)
- 5) Udmurtia (Udmurt)

Finno-Ugric peripheral members (light dots):

- 6) Mordovia (Mordvin)
- 7) Komi (Komi)

While there are two literary norms of Mari, dialectologists conventionally distinguish between four Mari dialect groups: Meadow, Eastern, Hill, Northwestern (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1993: 254**, **Luutonen 1997: 186**, **Ivanov 1981: 98**), which in turn can be divided into many subdialects (e.g. **Bereczki 1992–1994: I:**

⁸ Based on [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Russia - blank_map \(2008-01\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Russia_-_blank_map_(2008-01).svg).

17–29). Eastern Mari and Northwestern Mari have no literary forms and no official status – speakers of these varieties use the Meadow or Hill Mari literary norms if they write in Mari at all. The following two maps give a more detailed overview as to where these four main dialect groups of Mari are spoken relative to administrative units, major cities, and major rivers.

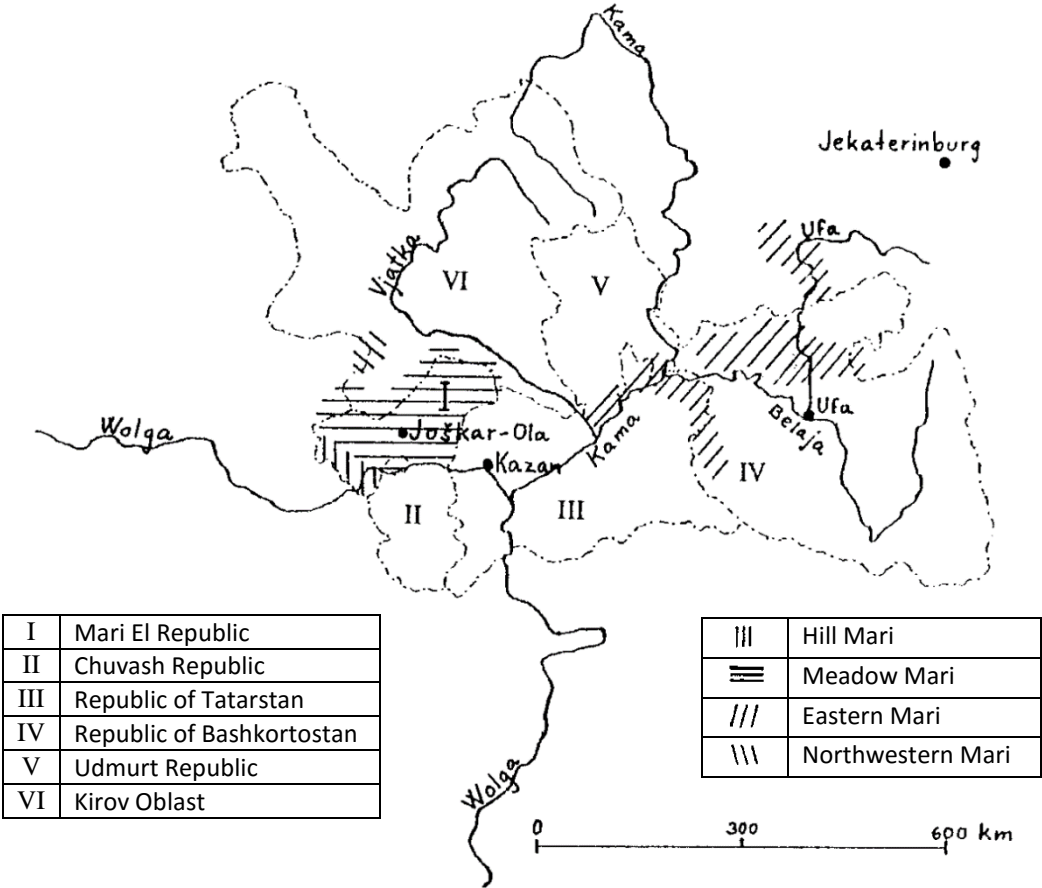


Figure 4: Dialects of Mari (Alhoniemi 1993: 254)

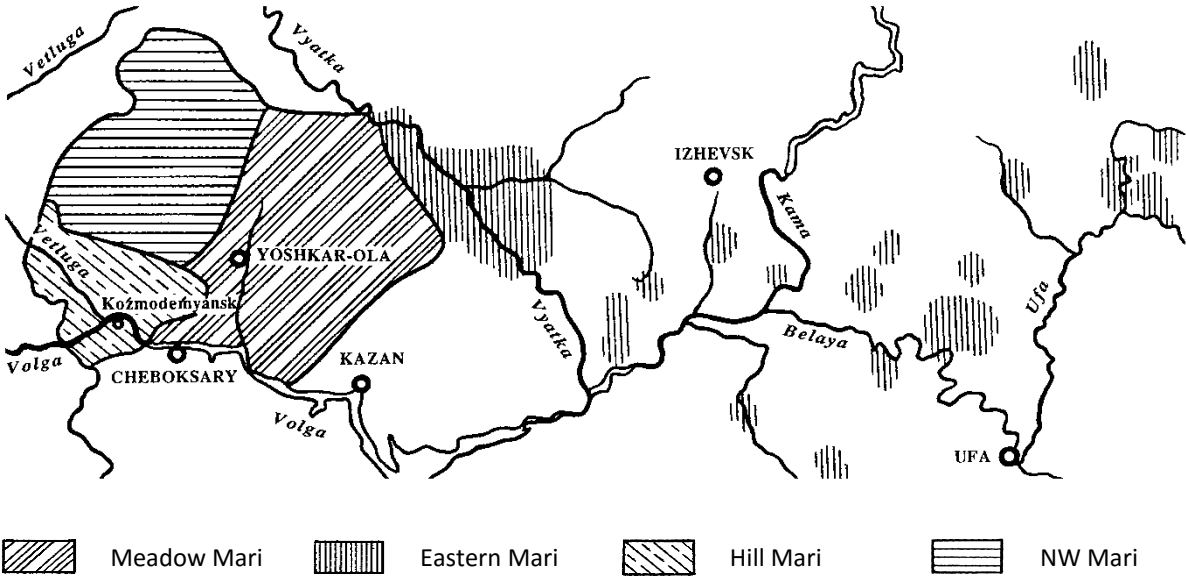


Figure 5: Dialects of Mari (Luutonen 1997: 186, in turn based on Kovedyayeva 1976: 15)

In addition to the random divergence one might expect within a speaker community, historically differing contact situations play a role in Mari dialectology as well. Different varieties of Mari have been influenced by different Turkic languages to a different extent (cf. **Isanbayev 1989–1994: I: 28**).⁹ Thus, a quick review of the Turkic contact languages and how their respective contact situation with Mari emerged, is necessary.

Three Turkic languages are in contact with Mari at the present time: Tatar, Bashkir, and Chuvash. While “Tatar and Bashkir are closely related Volga Kipchak languages” (**Berta 1998: 283**), Chuvash is “radically different from all its relatives” (**Kornfilt 2009: 519**) and is “the only recent representative of the Bolgar Turkic subgroup” (**Schönig 1997–1998: I: 121**). For a long time Bolgar Turkic was the dominant contact language of Mari, and it was historically the first Turkic language that can unambiguously be placed in the Volga-Kama area. Archaeological evidence shows that the Bolgars, migrating from the south, reached the southern borders of contemporary Tatarstan (specifically, Bolshiy Tarkhany, on the right bank of the Volga) “around the end of the 8th, and the Kama at the end of the 9th, century” (**Róna-Tas 1988: 761**). While “toponyms indicate that [the Mari] once lived to the west of their present-day habitations” (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 219**), one can safely assume that the Maris were already present in the general region at this time. The Jordanes Chronicle places the Maris in the region as early as the year 551 (**ibid.**), assuming that the *Sremnisc* (cf. Chermis) mentioned there are indeed the Maris.

In spite of the rather clear evidence that the Bolgars were in geographic proximity at such an early point in time, it continues to be a matter of debate when intensive cultural and linguistic contacts between Bolgars and Uralic speakers began. This debate dates back to the 1920s, when the Finnish scholars Martti Räsänen and Yrjö Wichmann respectively claimed that Bolgar influence on Mari began in the 9th (**Räsänen 1923: 94**) or the 13th (**Wichmann 1924: 53**) century. Their respective claims are both supported in more recent publications (e.g. **Isanbayev 1989–1994: I: 28**; **Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 16**), and the linguistic evidence is, in fact, ambiguous (cf. **Róna-Tas 1988: 769–771**). It is equally uncertain when Kipchak Turkic supplanted Bolgar (by means of the Tatarization of the Bolgars) as the dominant contact language, with estimates ranging from the 13th century (**Isanbayev 1989–1994: I: 28**) to the early 15th century (**Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 16**).¹⁰

The debates regarding the exact historical dates all relate to the absolute time frame. The relative time frame is unambiguous: there is no doubt that the Bolgar influence preceded the Kipchak influence, and that it was more pervasive. This is especially reflected in the geographic distribution of the respective contact phenomena. As regards vocabulary, “the Chuvash loanwords are older than the other layers [...], they have [...] become deeply rooted in the common lexicon” (**Saarinen 1997a: 195**), while “Tatar loanwords have a strong position only in the eastern dialect group of Mari” (**ibid.**). A diverse set of morphological elements of Chuvash origin can be found in all varieties of Mari: for example, the clitic in *-ak* (*-ok* in Hill Mari) (**Saarinen 1997b: 393**) or the so-called comparative case (not to be confused with the comparative degree) with the suffix *-la* (*-la* ~ *-lä* in Hill Mari) (**ibid.**; **Hesselbäck 2005: 140**). The latter is especially remarkable, as the borrowing of a case suffix by one language from another is considered quite rare (e.g. **Bereczki 1979: 66**). Borrowed inflectional affixes are typical of “strong

⁹ “[...] при определении возраста заимствованных слов принято учитывать степень их территориально-диалектного распространения: [...]”

¹⁰ “Der Beginn der intensiven Kontakte mit den Tataren kann erst in einen Zeitraum nach 1236 gelegt werden, da die Tschermissen erst nach der Tatarisierung der benachbarten Bulgar-Türken mit diesem Volk in Berührung kamen, ungefähr in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jhdts.”

cultural pressure” and are assigned to category 4 (of 5) on Thomason and Kaufman’s *borrowing scale* (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74–76).

In spite of the ubiquity of Bolgar/Chuvash influence on Mari, a greater Chuvash influence can be observed in Hill Mari. This is not surprising, given that speakers of Hill Mari and Chuvash continue to share the right bank of the Volga and thus live in close proximity to each other (and are separated from Meadow Mari speakers by the Volga). In addition to the aforementioned layer of Bolgar/Chuvash loanwords shared by all varieties of Mari, Hill Mari has an inventory of younger Chuvash loanwords (Ivanov 1981: 87).¹¹ Alho Alhoniemi mentions Chuvash as a factor in the development of a distinct phoneme inventory in Hill Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 16–17).¹² The Hill Mari neccessive infinitive ending *-mâla* ~ *-malä*¹³ can be explained as a Chuvash calque (Saarinen 1997b: 394). The indefinite prefix *ta-* ~ *tä-* is a Chuvash loan element (Bereczki 1984: 311) that does not occur outside of Hill Mari (Hesselbäck 2005: 95).

Meanwhile, a stronger influence of the Kipchak languages can be detected in the varieties of Mari spoken on the left bank of the Volga, especially in the varieties spoken by the Eastern Mari diaspora in Bashkortostan (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 26), which emerged as a result of the eastward migration of Maris in the 17th century (Pomozi 2004a: 96). Structural features borrowed by Meadow and Eastern Mari, but not Hill Mari, include the Tatar superlative marker *en* (Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 134) and the indefinite prefix *ala-* (Bereczki 1984: 311; Hesselbäck 2005: 94).

As this overview implies, the Turkic influence on Mari has been extensively studied, but the relevant research has mostly been limited to the fields of lexicology, phonology, and morphology – i.e. the disciplines that have historically been the backbone of comparative Uralic linguistics. Several monographs have been written about Turkic loanwords in Mari (e.g. Räsänen 1920; Räsänen 1923; Isanbayev 1989–1994) and the diffusion of different loanword layers has been analysed and compared (e.g. Saarinen 1997a; Saarinen 2010). The development of the vowel systems in the languages of the Volga Region has been studied (e.g. Johanson 2000), as has the loaning of suffixes from Turkic languages into Mari and the distribution of Turkic loan translations in Mari (e.g. Saarinen 1997b; Hesselbäck 2005). The comparative study of syntax and semantics is still at a rather nascent stage.

1.2 Mission statement

In the very first sentence of his 1960 review of what he calls *paired verbs*, Mikhail Chkhaidze notes an abundance of verbal predicates in the Mari language (Chkhaidze 1960: 3).¹⁴ He speaks of (verbal) pairings in which the second verb loses its original semantics completely (*ibid.*: 20),¹⁵ or at least experiences a weakening of these (*ibid.*).¹⁶ It is undoubtedly true that a literal translation of the second component of the verbal pairings he speaks of into English without comment would produce

¹¹ “§ 68. Курык марий наречий лексикыж дене моло диалект деч шуко шотышто ойыртемалтеш. Ты ойыртом кум амаллан көра лектын: [...] 3) пошкудо чуваш йылмын влиянийжылан көра.”

¹² “Länsimarin konsonanteista ovat /f χ t’/ kuitenkin harvoin esiintyviä, suhteellisen nuoria foneemeja. Niitä on tšuvassilaisissa lainoissa sekä deskriptiivis-onomatopoeettisessa sanastossa, esim. [...]”

¹³ The realization is determined by vowel harmony.

¹⁴ “Марийские предложения избылиуют глагольными сказуемыми.”

¹⁵ “спаривание с полной утратой основного значения второго глагола”

¹⁶ “спаривание с частичным ослаблением основного значения второго компонента”

confounding results, as is illustrated by the following example taken from the novel *Elnet* by the Mari national poet Sergey Chavayn:

(1 – Mari – Chavayn 1967: 211)

‘Лучо вашкерак иктым темен пу, йўын колтем, иезуит-влак манмыла, ad majorem dei gloriam.’

lučo	baške	-rak	iktâ	-m		tem	-en	pu	-∅,
better	quick	-COMP	one	-ACC		fill	-CVB	give	-IMP.2SG
adv		-deg	nm	-case		v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

jü	-ân	kolt	-em,
drink	-CVB	let.go	-1SG
v	-adv	v	-pers

ijezuit	-βlak	man	-mê	-la,	ad	majorem	dei	gloriam.
Jesuit	-PL	say	-PTCP.PASS	-COMP	***			
n	-num	v	-adj	-case	***			

‘Better fill one up for me (lit. filling give) quickly; I’ll drink it down (lit. drinking send), as the Jesuits say, ad majorem dei gloriam.’

More interesting than the lexical semantics that have been lost here, however, are the functional semantics that have been gained. In the first pairing, one communication partner asks the other to “filling give” one (glass of vodka, presumably), using the Mari verb *puaş* ‘to give’ to indicate that the activity in question has a beneficiary¹⁷ – no personal pronoun (“(for) me”) is used, as one would expect in English. In the second pairing, the speaker voices an intention to “drinking let go/send” the assumed shot of vodka. This pairing can only be translated in a meaningful manner if the core semantic content of *koltaş* ‘to let go; to send’¹⁸ is mostly ignored and a different primary function is attributed to the word. In this particular sentence, it transfers some of its characteristics – namely, the fact that it refers to a purposeful and defined (i.e. telic) action (**Comrie 1976: 44**) – to the first verb of the pairing. This information is *aspectual*, a term that will be discussed below. In both cases, the second verb can be considered an *auxiliary verb* – a verb that serves as a functional element encoding some sort of grammatical information. The concept of auxiliary verbs will be discussed in Section 2.2.3 (page 45).

Alho Alhoniemi’s Finnish-language grammar of the Mari language (**Alhoniemi 1985**), which thanks to its German translation (**Alhoniemi 1993**) is still the most extensive and modern resource on Mari grammar at least marginally accessible to the international linguistic community, calls the mechanism found in the second verbal pairing above an *aspectual converb construction*, and explains it as follows (no explanation for the first verbal pairing can be found in this grammar):

[The converb in -n] is used to create the so-called aspectual converb construction. It contains a verb that, as the syntactic main verb, gives the activity an aspectual colouring; the gerund [converb] contains the semantic content of the construction. Many verbs are used as aspect givers. In the aspectual converb construction, they lose their lexical meaning either entirely or at least partially. Some studies cite as many as 40 such verbs [...] (**Alhoniemi 1985: 143–144**)¹⁹

¹⁷ For usage notes on *puem*, see Section 4.1.41 (page 141).

¹⁸ For usage notes on *koltem*, see Section 4.1.19 (page 133).

¹⁹ “Se esiintyy muodostamassa ns. aspektuaalista konverbirakennetta. Siinä syntaktisena pääverbinä on tekemiselle aspektuaalisen sävyn antava verbi; gerundimuoto ilmoittaa rakenteen semanttisen merkityksen.

Alhoniemi lists 39 different verbs as aspect givers, but only for four of them does he include comments on their actual function in such constructions. In all other cases, he only states the verb's original lexical meaning. All in all, five example sentences are given.

At the same time, Alhoniemi's grammar dedicates 16 pages to derivational suffixes, which can also encode aspectual information. The meaning of each suffix is given, as are a number of examples as well as information on the suffix's productivity and on its respective usage in the language's two literary standards.

10) M²⁰ H²¹ -It (1st conj.²²) [V → V], reflexive-translative; frequentative: M *muškâltaš*, H *mâškâltaš* 'to wash oneself' (: M *muškaš*, H *mâškaš* 'to wash'), M *počâltaš*, H *pačâltaš* 'to open (intr.)' (: M *počasš*, H *pačasš* 'to open something'), M *ońčâltaš*, H *anžâltaš* 'to examine' (: M *ońčasš*, H *anžasš* 'to look'). Weakly productive. (Alhoniemi 1985: 161)²³

Given the ubiquity of what Alhoniemi calls converb constructions in Mari, and considering the functional similarity between derivational suffixes and verbal aspect givers that suggests itself at times,²⁴ this imbalance seems somewhat arbitrary. It is not, however, atypical of publications on Uralic languages – morphological phenomena can be said, and have been said, to systematically receive more attention than syntactic phenomena.

While the study of syntax has steered most theoretical linguistics over the last few decades, relatively little progress has been made in our understanding of the Uralic sentence. Data-oriented surveys are rare: [...] The lag may be due, in part, to the enormity of the task of understanding the masses of morphophonology typical of most Uralic languages, some of which has been clarified only recently; but it is also doubtless due to the Anglocentricity, then Eurocentricity, of much of the early work in modern syntactic theory. (Abondolo 1998: 33)

The structures at hand are an areal phenomenon of the Volga basin and are almost universally²⁵ considered to stem from Turkic influence (Bereczki 1984: 311–312). They can be found in Tatar (e.g. Schönig 1984), Bashkir (e.g. Grashchenkov 2011: 64), Chuvash (e.g. Isanbayev 1978), and all across the Turkic language family (e.g. Shluinskiy 2014; Grashchenkov 2011). They have also been borrowed by Udmurt (e.g. Kel'makov 1975; Karakulova 1987; Horváth 2012; Pischlöger 2001), and in some marginal cases also by Erzya (Bereczki 1984: 312). This “un-Uralicness” is, however, not a valid justification for the comparative neglect of these structures. Obvious foreign elements in languages can quickly develop a life of their own. The aim of this dissertation is to analyse their idiosyncratic life

Aspektuaalisesti käytetään varsin useita verbejä. Aspektuaalisessa konverbirakenteessa ne menettävät joko kokonaan tai ainakin osaksi leksikaalisen merkityksensä. Eräissä tutkimuksissa on mainittu jopa n. 40 tällaista verbiä”

²⁰ Meadow Mari – see Section 1.1 (page 7).

²¹ Hill Mari – see Section 1.1 (page 7).

²² See Section 2.1.1 (page 22).

²³ “10) I L -It (I konj.) [V → V], refleksiivis-translatiivinen; frekventatiivinen: I *muškâltaš*, L *mâškâltaš* ‘peseytyä’ (: I *muškaš*, L *mâškaš* ‘pestä’), I *počâltaš*, L *pačâltaš* ‘aueta’ (: I *počasš*, L *pačasš* ‘avata’), I *ońčâltaš*, L *anžâltaš* ‘tarkastella’ (: I *ońčasš*, L *anžasš* ‘katsoa’). Heikosti produktiivinen.”

²⁴ The Mari-Russian Dictionary published in 10 volumes between 1990 and 2005 explicitly equates the perfective converb construction *pomâžalten koltaj* (< *pomâžaltaš* ‘to wake somebody up’) with the verbal derivation *pomâžaltaraš* formed from the same stem (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *помыжалташ II > помыжалтен колташ*) – though no explicit information on the aspectual function of either the auxiliary or the derivational suffix is given.

²⁵ For a critical view, see (Honti 2005) and (Honti 2013), where the possibility of parallel developments is considered.

in Mari in greater detail than has been done to date, with a more modern set of tools than has been utilized in previous studies of this phenomenon. Questions that will be asked include:

- The set of verbs that can occur as auxiliaries seems to be a closed one, but it is not well-defined in existing sources. Some of these verbs are clearly used more often than others, but can the more common ones be said to be “productive”, i.e. capable of combining with any other verb or any verbal stem within semantic constraints? Are the less commonly used auxiliaries only used in a finite number of set combinations that can be considered loan translations from Turkic languages? To what extent can one speak of “grammaticalization” when viewing converb constructions and to what extent of “lexicalization”?
- Is there any dialectal variance regarding the usage, understandability, and acceptability of auxiliaries? If so, are these differences better explained as internal developments or as contact-induced? While these converb constructions are clearly a Turkic trait, and while it is widely known that Mari has historically been subject to strong Turkic influence, Turkic influence on Mari has not been uniform – different varieties of Mari have been influenced by different Turkic languages to different degrees. Given a diffuse contact situation, one would not expect the influence of Turkic languages on a particular feature of Mari to be uniform, even disregarding internal developments. As research into the Turkic influence on Mari that goes beyond phonology and the lexicon has been superficial up to now, the regional variance of this feature is only poorly understood.
- What do verbs marked as “aspectual auxiliaries” in different sources actually indicate – is it really only aspect (a concept defined in many different ways) or rather aktionsart, modality, tense, path, valence, or something else altogether? In many cases, it seems obvious that sources are conflating or confusing these concepts. To bring order into chaos, it will be necessary to look at the realization of these concepts systematically in Mari and in the relevant contact languages.

These questions will be addressed using three basic approaches: elicitation and consultation of native speakers of different varieties, study of dialect text collections from the late 19th/early 20th century, and a corpus-based quantitative analysis. The last can safely be said to be the most innovative aspect of this undertaking. Uralic studies have a long history as an “archive-based science” due to political circumstances during the Cold War that prevented Western scholars from carrying out fieldwork in the former Soviet Union and to the practical reality that many recorded Uralic languages and language variants have recently gone extinct. Nonetheless, (semi-automatic) corpus *analysis* is a nascent field. While digital text collections for Uralic languages do exist, materials in existence for the “small” Uralic languages (i.e. those other than Finnish, Hungarian, and Estonian) have not been made searchable in non-trivial manners. In the past few years I have created a corpus infrastructure allowing a Mari text collection to be searched for syntactic patterns. I will present this tool in great detail in the methods section of this thesis.

1.3 Context

This dissertation is not my first monograph on Mari converb constructions. My master’s thesis “Mari Converb Constructions – Interpretation and Translation”,²⁶ submitted to the University of Vienna in early 2010, aimed to create an overview of how this mechanism is handled in existing literature –

²⁶ Available online at othes.univie.ac.at/9975/1/2010-05-06_8971060.pdf

dictionaries, textbooks, grammar books, and scientific research – and analysed the overlap and discrepancies between explanations given. It was first and foremost a meta-analysis of existing materials and it did yield a number of interesting results. I recently had the opportunity to include a condensed version of these results in a peer-reviewed publication (**Bradley 2015a**); those aspects of my preliminary work still relevant to this undertaking will be reviewed in due course.

Shortly after I handed in my master’s thesis, the Austrian Science Fund FWF approved funding for the three-year project *Mari-English Dictionary* (P22786-G20), which began on 1 January 2011. This grant facilitated the launch of the website www.mari-language.com, a web portal aimed at making the Mari language accessible to the international community, by providing qualitative resources in a digital format free of charge. In 2013 the Finnish Kone Foundation approved the project *The Mari Web Project: Phase 2*, a direct continuation of the preceding undertaking. This three-year project began on 1 May 2014 and will conclude on 30 April 2017.




 www.mari-language.com: ENGLISH МАРЛА ПО-РУССКИ	
Main page	
<h2>Пагален ўжына!</h2>	
<p>Welcome to www.mari-language.com. Mari is a Finno-Ugric (Uralic) language spoken by several hundred thousand people in the Volga and Ural regions of the Russian Federation. This website aims to provide essential linguistic materials for both students of the Mari language and native speakers, free of charge on the Internet. The following resources are now ready for use:</p>	
<p>Dictionary</p>  <p>dict.mari-language.com</p>	<p>A Mari-English dictionary with 42,560 headwords and 82,740 subentries, including 10,750 set phrases.</p>
<p>Textbook</p>  <p>omj.mari-language.com</p>	<p>This Mari textbook is an English-language version of the 1990/1991 Russian-language textbook <i>Марийский язык для всех</i>, Volumes I & II, that is being extensively adapted for the needs of self-learners. The first volume of the textbook is readily available; the second half is currently being written. Comprehensive audio materials accompanying the textbook are available as well.</p>
<p>Keyboard & Fonts</p>	

Figure 6: www.mari-language.com in 2015

Resources published or to be published on this website include:

- A Mari-English dictionary (**Riese et al. 2014–**), first published in July 2014, which currently covers some 42,560 headwords and 82,740 subentries, including 10,750 set phrases. (dict.mari-language.com).
- The English-language textbook *Онай марий йылме: A Comprehensive Introduction to the Mari Language* (**Riese et al. 2010–**), which aims to make Mari accessible to autodidactic learners

who have no access to a Mari-speaking teacher. The first 20 chapters of the textbook were first published in 2010; we are planning to publish an updated version of the textbook covering 40 chapters in 2017. (omj.mari-language.com)

- A section aiming to assist Maris and students of Mari in using the Mari language in computing: how to type in Mari, what fonts to use, etc. This resource was published in 2010. (tech.mari-language.com)
- A morphological analyser and a morphological generator that help users (and more advanced applications) to deconstruct and construct complex Mari word forms. Demos of these applications were published in 2010; a more advanced new implementation of the morphological analyser was released in 2014. (morph.mari-language.com)
- A tool transcribing and transliterating between different writing systems used in Mari, published in 2014. (transcribe.mari-language.com)
- A rudimentary searchable corpus, published as a demo in 2015. (corpus.mari-language.com)
- A learner's grammar of Mari, which we hope to publish in 2017. (grammar.mari-language.com)
- Materials on the second Mari literary norm, Hill Mari.²⁷ We are aiming for a publication date in 2017 here as well. (hill.mari-language.com)

These resources – as well as the contacts established and the knowledge gained while co-creating them – have been a great asset in this doctoral project. Whereas the aims of a doctoral thesis naturally diverge greatly from those of materials seeking to make a language accessible to language learners, I am hoping that a kind of feedback effect will occur: namely, that the insights gathered in this project can be integrated into the materials on our website. Insights on specific lexical items can be integrated into the dictionary and insights into grammatical processes into our grammar, and both can be incorporated into our textbook.

This hope might seem contrary to the tenets of descriptive science. The field of linguistics is subject to an identity crisis of sorts: while it is traditionally classified as part of the humanities, it exhibits many traits typical of the natural sciences. When we examine language, we are investigating a natural phenomenon and are trying to describe it in as rational and accurate a manner as possible. As linguists, we are bound to the same rules physicists and biologists must adhere to when we make our claims and establish our hypotheses: we must back our claims up with data and our hypotheses must be falsifiable. In this sense, this thesis will aim to adhere to methodology more typical of the natural sciences than of the humanities. One basic principle of natural sciences is, however, not easily applicable when working with an extant language and is constantly violated by our endeavours – namely, that interference into a system under observation is not permissible. If one of our declared aims is the popularization of the language we study, this principle cannot be satisfied. Also, a purely descriptive approach cannot be utilized, for example, in a textbook aiming to teach a foreign language. In the context of this dissertation, I seek to use this identity crisis as an asset: while I have used my contacts in the Mari scene to find native speakers willing to participate in elicitation efforts and consultations, I seek to be purely descriptive in the conclusions I draw and test the hypotheses I have formed based on the information provided by native speakers on the corpus.

²⁷ See Section 1.1 (page 7).

1.4 Writing systems

Both Meadow Mari and Hill Mari use variants of the Cyrillic alphabet differing slightly from the Russian alphabet and also differing slightly from each other. Recent orthographic dictionaries demarcating the rules of the literary standard are available for both Meadow Mari (**Ivanov et al. 2011**) and Hill Mari (**Vasikova 1994**). Latin orthographies are used in some colloquial contexts, but are not officially recognized. Uralic sources traditionally use the so-called Finno-Ugric Transcription (or UPA – Uralic Phonetic Alphabet). Some publications request the usage of the ISO 9:1995 Transliteration (not transcription) for non-Latin examples. IPA – the International Phonetic Alphabet – while widely used by linguists around the globe has only been sparsely used for Mari. This situation is typical of the Uralic languages spoken in Russia.

The state of affairs regarding Turkic languages of Russia is even more complicated. Literary Tatar, for example, used the Arabic script until 1927, then Latin-based orthographies until 1939, and since then the Cyrillic alphabet (**Berta 1998: 285**). Post-Soviet attempts to reintroduce a Latin-based orthography were rendered moot by a 2002 decision of the Russian constitutional court declaring that all state languages of the Russian Federation must be written in the Cyrillic alphabet (**Spolsky 2004: 2**). Turkology has its own idiosyncratic transcription systems equivalent in usage (but not in nature) to UPA in Uralic studies.

This complex situation makes the choice of writing systems in scientific studies of these languages difficult. Scholars of Mari (or Tatar, etc.) cannot avoid becoming properly acquainted with contemporary Cyrillic orthographies, and we have used Cyrillic in all materials found on our website www.mari-language.com. However, I do not wish to restrict access to my work to scholars of the languages in question, especially in a thesis that analyses cross-linguistic aspects. In this dissertation I thus chose to use a Latin-based writing system for languages that use Cyrillic orthographies.

Because it is the best codified Latin-based standard for Mari, I decided to use a wide UPA transcription in this thesis. My transcription follows principles established by a number of relatively recent high-impact publications dealing with Mari (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1985; Bereczki 1990; Alhoniemi & Saarinen 1983–1994**); I have applied similar principles for other languages with Cyrillic orthographies. When sentences are interlinearized, each sentence is given in its entirety in the Cyrillic orthography, but the interlinearization utilizes UPA. For languages that use a Latin writing system, I adhere to the literary orthography. When using non-English terms within paragraphs, I generally only give a transcription and mark the relevant word in *italics*, followed by a translation in ‘single quotes’. (I also use italics to indicate newly introduced English-language terms.) When the spelling of a term is relevant, the orthographic realization is given in <square brackets> and the phonological transcription between /slashes/ (without the usage of italics).

While my transcriptions are generally phonological and not phonetic, there are some cases where the phonological relevance of the information I provide might be questioned. For example, when the standing of a phoneme is uncertain, as is the case regarding Russian <ы> [i] – which is considered an allophone of the phoneme /i/ by some scholars, but an independent phoneme /i/ by others (cf. **Cubberley 2002 63–65**) – I err on the side of caution and do not abstract. That is to say, I transcribe ы as /i/, even if some scholars might consider this unnecessary in a phonological transcription. For a detailed overview of the transcription systems used for the most commonly cited individual languages

covered in this thesis²⁸ and for software that carries out these transcriptions automatically, see the documentation of my transcription software at transcribe.mari-language.com, and (Bradley 2016c).

When original quotations are given in footnotes where my text features an English translation, no transcriptions are provided. In my bibliography and in references to it, I provide authors' names in a (non-UPA) English-based Romanization, but give the rest of the reference (except for the place of publication) in Cyrillic orthography, including authors' names. For example:

[Yakimova, E. S. et al.] Якимова, Э. С.; Крылова, Г. С.; Зорина, З. Г. 1990–1991: *Марийский язык для всех* (I–II), Марийское книжное издательство, Yoshkar-Ola.

I also use English-based Romanizations in reference to proper names and place names – hence, I refer to <Йошкар-Ола> as *Yoshkar-Ola*, rather than UPA *Joškar-Ola*. If I know that a specific author uses a non-English-based Romanization of their name in the Latin alphabet, I use this variant.

While the choice of a writing system can be a divisive and almost controversial matter at times, it need not actually be one in the modern day and age, at least not in the case of Mari (or Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, etc.). Most of the writing systems mentioned are highly transparent and their usage is generally systematic. A phonological transcription of Mari – be it UPA or IPA – is trivial in most cases; only in very few instances are phonologically relevant features not marked orthographically. As a consequence, automatic transcription and transliteration via software is easy to implement. I have created a transcription and transliteration interface, found at transcribe.mari-language.com, which can automatically transcribe texts from any of the writing systems discussed above into any one of the others. We have integrated this software into our dictionary interface, which allows users to browse and search our dictionary in UPA and IPA, even though we did all our work using Cyrillic orthography. This can be seen in Figure 7. If you are reading this thesis in a digital format, you can copy/paste examples given in UPA into this interface and have them transcribed or transliterated into a writing system that better suits your needs.

²⁸ As of May 2016, the website offers transcription mechanism for Mari (Meadow and Hill), Tatar, and Russian. I hope to add transcription mechanisms for Udmurt, Komi, Erzya, Moksha, Bashkir, and Chuvash in the immediate future.

<u>Cyrillic</u>	<u>UPA</u>	<u>IPA</u>
<p>таган {noun}</p> <p>1. heel (of foot, footwear) ♦ кем таган {noun} boot heel ♦ кугу таган {noun} large heel ♦ күкшö таган {noun} high heels</p> <p>2. horseshoe ♦ имне таган {noun} horseshoe ♦ таганым кыраш (-ем) {verb II} to shoe (a horse)</p> <p>3. metal plate (at heel of shoe)</p> <p>~ USAGE AS A MODIFIER ~ ♦ таган пуда {noun} horseshoe nail ♦ таган мучаш {noun} horseshoe tip</p>	<p>tagan {noun}</p> <p>1. heel (of foot, footwear) ♦ kem tagan {noun} boot heel ♦ kugu tagan {noun} large heel ♦ күкшö tagan {noun} high heels</p> <p>2. horseshoe ♦ imn'e tagan {noun} horseshoe ♦ taganēm kârem {verb II} to shoe (a horse)</p> <p>3. metal plate (at heel of shoe)</p> <p>~ USAGE AS A MODIFIER ~ ♦ tagan puda {noun} horseshoe nail ♦ tagan muč'aš {noun} horseshoe tip</p>	<p>tagan {noun}</p> <p>1. heel (of foot, footwear) ♦ kem tagan {noun} boot heel ♦ kugu tagan {noun} large heel ♦ kykʃø tagan {noun} high heels</p> <p>2. horseshoe ♦ imɲe tagan {noun} horseshoe ♦ taganɯm kɯrem {verb II} to shoe (a horse)</p> <p>3. metal plate (at heel of shoe)</p> <p>~ USAGE AS A MODIFIER ~ ♦ tagan puda {noun} horseshoe nail ♦ tagan muč̥aʃ {noun} horseshoe tip</p>

Figure 7: One entry, three writing systems: Cyrillic,²⁹ UPA,³⁰ IPA³¹

When not stated otherwise, Mari examples given in this thesis follow the Meadow Mari literary norm. Hill Mari examples will be indicated as such. When two variants are separated by a slash – e.g. *jodâš* / *jadâš* ‘question’ – the first form given (here *jodâš*) is Meadow Mari and the second (here *jadâš*) is Hill Mari.

1.5 Interlinear glosses

I have adhered to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (**Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology 2008**) to the greatest degree possible in this thesis, and in creating the software that is introduced in it. To avoid unnecessary ambiguity, I have consistently included part-of-speech information as a third tier in the interlinear glosses, under the morphemes in the source language and the glosses. I frequently use ovals as a means of emphasis in glosses and underlining in the free translation when relevant. If my source includes a translation of the sentence in question in a language other than English, I provide this translation in a footnote. For example:

(2 – Mari – Smirnov-Semenger 2009)																										
‘Вученат, да тольым[.]’																										
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">βuć</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-en</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-at</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">da</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">tol'</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-ê</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-m.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">wait</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-PST2</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-2SG</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">and</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">come</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-PST1</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-1SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">v</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-tense</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-pers</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">co</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">v</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-tense</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">-pers</td> </tr> </table>	βuć	-en	-at	da	tol'	-ê	-m.	wait	-PST2	-2SG	and	come	-PST1	-1SG	v	-tense	-pers	co	v	-tense	-pers					
βuć	-en	-at	da	tol'	-ê	-m.																				
wait	-PST2	-2SG	and	come	-PST1	-1SG																				
v	-tense	-pers	co	v	-tense	-pers																				
‘You waited, and I came.’ ³²																										

A complete overview of all the abbreviations used in this thesis, in both the gloss tier and the part-of-speech tier, can be found in Appendix A (page 279) and A (page 279) respectively.

²⁹ www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?linked=taran&spal=2

³⁰ www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?linked=taran&spal=2&ort=1

³¹ www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?linked=taran&spal=2&ort=2

³² “Ждала, и я пришёл” (*ibid.*: 231)

I use the symbol \emptyset in morpheme division to indicate that the lack of a suffix communicates grammatical information and I indicate what information this is in the glossing. The motivation here is purely practical; no statement regarding the notion of a zero morpheme is intended.

1.6 Structure of this dissertation

Chapter 1 (page 7) serves as an introduction to this thesis. Section 1.1 (page 7) provides some basic facts about the Mari language, its genealogical classification, and its contact languages. Section 1.2 (page 12) introduces the main objectives of the thesis. Section 1.3 (page 15) presents the context in which I carried out this project. Section 1.4 (page 18) discusses the writing systems used in the thesis and Section 1.5 (page 20) introduces my glossing methods.

Chapter 2 (page 24) discusses the theoretical framework of this endeavour from the perspective of both linguistic typology and the study of Mari and its contact languages. Section 2.1 (page 24) introduces some typological and structural properties of Mari relevant to the study at hand. Section 2.2 (page 35) discusses basic terminology and basic concepts that are of importance to this undertaking. Section 2.3 (page 69) analyses the usage of the converb in *-n* used in the structures under consideration in Mari. Section 2.4 (page 78) discusses the principles of loan translations, grammaticalization, and lexicalization. Section 2.5 (page 81) reviews the proliferation of the structures under consideration in Mari and its contact languages and beyond.

Chapter 3 (page 84) explains the methods used. Section 3.1 (page 84) contains a review of preliminary work carried out on the research topic at hand. Section 3.2 (page 84) documents my efforts to create a corpus infrastructure (a corpus and software allowing it to be searched in non-trivial manners) to enable a quantitative study of the features under consideration in a wide range of texts. Section 3.3 (page 119) introduces dialect text collections that were also included in this survey.

Chapter 4 (page 130) presents the core results of this survey with respect to the individual auxiliaries and path verbs used in Mari in Section 4.1 (page 130) and also includes a listing of verbs I excluded from my review in Section 4.2 (page 256).

Chapter 5 (page 260) summarizes the results of the previous section, reviewing the findings through the lens of the semantic categories discussed in the earlier sections of the thesis in Sections 5.1 (page 260) through 5.5 (page 268). Section 5.6 (page 269) discusses the regional variance and historical development of the structures at hand, while Section 5.7 (page 270) discusses their productivity. Finally, Section 5.8 (page 274) includes an overview of all the auxiliaries and path verbs covered in tabular format and can serve as a cross reference to earlier sections of the thesis.

The appendices (page 279) include the following: in Appendix A (page 279) a list of glossing abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses, in Appendix B (page 279) a list of part-of-speech abbreviations used in the glosses, in Appendix C (page 280) the bibliography, in Appendix D (page 296) some data used by my software, in Appendix E (page 309) my current curriculum vitae, in Appendix F (page 315) a German-language abstract, and in Appendix G (page 316) an English-language abstract.

Supplementary materials related to this thesis can be found at source.mari-language.com.

1.7 Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes to the Austrian Science Fund FWF for funding the project *Mari-English Dictionary* (P22786-G20) and to the Kone Foundation for funding *The Mari Web Project: Phase 2*. The framework created in these projects has been absolutely essential for this thesis. Likewise, my current position at the Institute of Uralic / Finno-Ugric Studies of the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich has enabled me to continue intensive research on the subject of this dissertation. I am very grateful to my colleagues there, especially to Professor Elena Skribnik, who has provided invaluable assistance and guidance.

I would like to thank Nele Lond, Tatyana Yefremova, Nadezhda Krasnova, Elina Guseva, Emma Yakimova, Anna Wolfauer, and Elena Skribnik for providing authentic example sentences in their respective native tongues whenever I needed them and for proofreading quotations in those languages.

I am also grateful to Christian Pischlöger, who, in addition to sharing insights he gained while studying phenomena relevant to my thesis in Udmurt, helped me ensure that my bibliography is as up-to-date as possible. Furthermore, he consulted with native speakers of Udmurt, including Valey Kel'makov – a scholar who studied phenomena similar to those under consideration in my thesis in Udmurt. He, and his consultants, facilitated a more satisfying comparison with Udmurt.

In the same vein, I have greatly profited from my conversations on our shared area of research with Christopher Culver and am grateful for all the literature he has suggested to me over the years. Likewise, Ekaterina Georgieva's advice on Udmurt, Tiina Klooster's advice on Kamas, and Hèctor Alòs Font's advice on Chuvash – and their willingness to check my language data and my glosses – is much appreciated.

Gerson Klumpp, Rogier Blokland, Jussi Ylikoski, and Beáta Wager-Nagy all provided me with very useful feedback on my endeavours, for which I am in their debt. Monika Schötschel went beyond the call of duty when I asked her for feedback and painstakingly proofread the draft I sent her. I am thankful to her for this; any mistakes found in the final version presumably happened after her corrections and are definitely my responsibility. Florian Jark, upon reading my manuscript, had numerous helpful suggestions to make as well.

Ute Fritscher, our department's secretary, helped me out on numerous occasions with administrative matters. We are fortunate to have such a competent and helpful person preventing us from getting lost in a jungle of bureaucracy.

When I showed my students my work in progress in one of my classes, Brigitte Huber caught an embarrassing typo. I am grateful to have students like her who pay attention to details in class.

I am thankful to Laura Bradley for drawing three pictures for this thesis considerably more competently than I could have.

Niko Partanen and Jyri Lehtinen gave me useful advice regarding the usage of different map-making tools. It was not possible to take advantage of all their expertise on various map-making applications, as I decided to use just one of these applications, but I greatly appreciate the information they provided.

Elina Ahola, Jorma Luutonen, Arto Moisio, and Sirkka Saarinen at the University of Turku provided me and my colleagues with numerous essential resources in digital format over the years. I am grateful for the uncomplicated and productive cooperation.

I am thankful that Chilli, my cat, never destroyed any documents essential to this undertaking, even though doing so would have clearly been within her range of abilities and interests.

Finally, I would like to thank Verna Pelkonen.

She knows what she did.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Typological and structural properties of Mari

This section reviews a few well-established parameters of Mari grammar that, in some way, turn out to be relevant to the study of the feature at hand. These include Mari conjugation classes, word order, the realization of negation, deverbal verbal suffixes, transitivity, grammatical tense, and animacy. The relevance of these features may not be immediately obvious in some cases and thus may only reveal itself over the course of further examination. While this section is primarily concerned specifically with Mari, cross-linguistic perspectives are given when (and only when) they are relevant and necessary.

2.1.1 Conjugation classes

Every Mari verb belongs to one of two conjugation classes. This dichotomy exists in both literary standards. In the literature these are called either the first and second conjugations or the *am* and *em* conjugations, after their respective distinct endings in the first person indicative present (**Alhoniemi 1985: 105**).³³ The verbal stem of second conjugation verbs ends in an unstressed vowel (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 229**),³⁴ whereas first conjugation verbs have verbal stems ending in consonants or in the vowels *-u* and *-ü*.³⁵

The precise mechanics of the development of these two inflectional patterns – discernible in most forms, both finite and non-finite – have not been adequately explained. In all probability the difference is due to the conspiracy of several factors – phonetic, morphological, and functional. (ibid.)

The electronic word list of Mari published in digital form by linguists at the University of Turku (**Luutonen et al. 2007**), covering both Meadow Mari and Hill Mari, contains 2406 first conjugation verbs and 4548 second conjugation verbs for Meadow Mari, and 1091 and 2267 respectively for Hill Mari. In both language standards, second conjugation verbs appear to outnumber first conjugation verbs by a factor of roughly 2:1. While Kangasmaa-Minn's contemplations on the historic origin of these conjugation classes are valid, there are no deterministic, salient factors assigning verbs to one conjugation class or the other. On the surface, this seems random and unpredictable most of the time.

Modern lexical sources on Mari (e.g. **Galkin et al. 1990–2005; Moisio 1992; Vasil'yev & Uchayev 2003; Riese et al. 2014–; Ivanov et al. 2011; Vasikova 1994; Savatkova 2008**), following the international tradition, use the infinitive as the dictionary form. Unfortunately, the infinitive ending *-aš*, used in both conjugation classes, deletes final unstressed vowels, obscuring the conjugation class. The verbal stems *tol-* 'to come' and *tolo-* 'to steal' both have the infinitive *tolaš*. To avoid confusion, lexical sources

³³ "Verbit jakaantuvat taivutukseltaan kahteen eri konjugaatioon, joita nykyisin kieliopissa kutsutaan ensimmäiseksi ja toiseksi konjugaatioksi. Tieteellisessä kirjallisuudessa ensimmäisestä konjugaatiosta on yleisesti käytetty myös nimitystä *am-*, toisesta taas *em-* konjugaatio; nimitykset perustavat konjugaatioiden erilaisiin ind. pres. y. 1. p:n päätteisiin."

³⁴ "[...] the membership of a verb stem to one conjugation or another will be indicated by stem-final *â*: presence of this segment indicates the *em*-conjugation class; its absence indicates the *am*-conjugation."

³⁵ See [www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?ord=1&letter=ш \(-am\)](http://www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?ord=1&letter=ш (-am)) for a complete list, excluding stems ending in */-j/*, which can be found at [www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?ord=1&letter=ш \(-ям\)](http://www.univie.ac.at/maridict/site-2014/dict.php?ord=1&letter=ш (-ям)).

indicate the conjugation class in some way. I do so by using superscript Roman numerals: *tolaš^I* refers to the first-conjugation verb ‘to come’ and *tolaš^{II}* to the second-conjugation verb ‘to steal’. As the conjugation classes have distinct endings in most forms, including the first person indicative present – *tolam* ‘I come’, *tolem* ‘I steal’ – dictionaries not covering the literary languages (e.g. **Moisio & Saarinen 2008**; **Beke et al. 1997–2001**; **Paasonen & Siro 1948**; **Vasil’yev 1928**; **Riese et al. 2014–³⁶**) use the first person singular forms as the dictionary form, in the Greek and Latin tradition.

2.1.2 Word order

The finite verb typically occurs in the clause-finite position in Mari, immediately preceded by adverbial complements (**Bereczki 1990: 74**),³⁷ making Mari what would generally be called a SOV – Subject-Object-Verb – language. Other arrangements are possible, but are considered stylistically marked; aberrations from this normal word order can be used to express pragmatic factors (**Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: II: 14**).³⁸ Mari exhibits many other traits³⁹ typical of so-called *head-final* languages, in which “the head follows its complement(s)” (**Tallerman 2011: 293**): it uses postpositions rather than prepositions (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 287–293**), possessors generally precede the possessed noun in possessive constructions (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1966–1969: I: 21**),⁴⁰ and attributive adjectives precede nouns (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 98**).⁴¹ Head-final languages like Mari can also be called *left-branching* languages (**Payne 2006: 194**), based on the fact that constituent structure trees (**Tallerman 2011: 149**) – a popular tool in graphically representing the syntax of a clause – grow to the left in head-final languages. Such languages include Japanese and Turkish (**ibid.: 121**), while English (**ibid.: 120**) is head-initial/right-branching. The dominant word order in most contemporary Slavic languages, including Russian, is SVO, whereas Turkic languages such as Turkish, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Turkmen, Uyghur, etc. – and, for the purpose of this survey most importantly, Chuvash, Tatar, and Bashkir (cf. also **Landmann 2015: 123**) – are left-branching, head-final SOV languages like Mari (**Dryer 2013c**). Within Uralic languages, there is a clear east-west division: Finnish, Estonian, Saami, Erzya and Komi, for example, are SVO-languages, whereas Mari, Udmurt, Mansi, Khanty, Nenets, Enets, Selkup, and Nganasan are SOV-languages (**ibid.**). While conflicting evidence can be found,⁴² SOV word order is generally assumed for Proto-Uralic (**Abondolo 1998: 33**),⁴³ and relics of structures typical of SOV languages can be found in Uralic languages where SVO word order dominates today: for example, postpositions dominate over prepositions throughout the language family, regardless of word order (**Dryer 2013b**).

³⁶ If one sets the interface to output data in IPA or UPA.

³⁷ “Tipikusnak vehető a SOAdV szórend, [...]”

³⁸ “В поэтическом стиле, а также при логическом выделении глагол в марийском языке может занимать и не конечное положение в предложении.”

³⁹ cf. (**Tallerman 2011: 123**).

⁴⁰ “[...] the genitive precedes the head word or in rare cases is placed immediately after.”

⁴¹ “Выступая в роли определения, имена прилагательные предшествуют определяемым словам и примыкают к ним.”

⁴² Juha Janhunen traces the Proto-Uralic verbal endings back to personal pronouns (**Janhunen 1982**). A morphologization of this sort would imply a language in which personal pronouns followed the finite verb, i.e. a language that has VSO word order, for example, typical of contemporary Welsh and Arabic, but not seen in Uralic languages at all at present (**Dryer 2013c**). It is of course possible that a contemporary SVO language went through both a SOV stage and a VSO stage in its development, explaining relics of both word orders in its present-day structure.

⁴³ “The archetypal Uralic sentence has often been characterized as ‘SOV’ [...]”

2.1.3 Negation

Mari generally uses a negative auxiliary (or negation verb) in verbal negation in the main clause.

(3 – Mari – Berczki 1990: 53)					
'[И]лем[.]'				'[О]м иле[.]'	
il	-em.	om	ile	-∅.	
live	-1SG	NEG.1SG	live	-CNG	
v	-pers	v	v	-conn	
'I live.' ⁴⁴		'I do not live.' ⁴⁵			

The negative auxiliary has a defective paradigm, e.g. it has no infinite forms, but it can be conjugated (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 232**).⁴⁶ It has forms in the simple past tense I (**ibid.**),⁴⁷ and in the imperative and desiderative moods (**Alhoniemi 1985: 126–129**). The negative auxiliary never occurs alone in its basic form,⁴⁸ but rather co-occurs with (i.e. precedes) a so-called connegative form, which is always homophonous with the imperative second person singular (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 232**).⁴⁹ Negative auxiliaries are used in many (but not all) Uralic languages, for example in Finnish, Saami, Komi, Enets, Nenets, and Nganasan (**Dryer 2013a**).

A negative auxiliary is postulated for Proto-Turkic, but if such a verb existed, only traces remain in the modern languages (**Robbeets 2014: 411**).⁵⁰ Modern Turkic languages employ a negation suffix in standard negation. This structural difference between Mari and its generally typologically close Turkic neighbours will reveal itself to be relevant to the topic at the core of this thesis.

(4 – Tatar/Bashkir ⁵¹ – Landmann 2014a: 52 & Landmann 2015: 53)					
'[К]өт[!]				'[К]өтмә[!]	
köt	-∅!	köt	-mä	-∅!	
wait	-IMP.2SG	wait	-NEG	-IMP.2SG	
v	-mood.pers	v	-neg	-mood.pers	
'Wait!' ⁵²		'Don't wait!' ⁵³			

⁴⁴ "élek"

⁴⁵ "nem élek"

⁴⁶ "Another auxiliary is the negative verb *o-*, which has a defective and heterogenous paradigm. In the present tense it has the present-tense marker *-k* (~ *-g-*) and conjugates like an *am* verb; [...]"

⁴⁷ See Section 2.1.4 (page 26), also for a discussion of the negation of the simple past tense II.

⁴⁸ There are special forms of the negation verb that can stand on their own (**Alhoniemi 1985: 116**).

⁴⁹ "The negative verb never stands alone but always together with the connegative of the main (lexical) verb. The connegative is always homophonous with the s2 imperative."

⁵⁰ "Both the Western and Eastern branches of Turkic preserved traces of an original Proto-Turkic negative verb **e-*."

⁵¹ These forms are identical in Tatar and Bashkir.

⁵² "warte"

⁵³ "warte nicht"

(5 – Chuvash – Landmann 2014b: 52)

‘[К]айрәм[.]’

kaj	-r	-äm.
go	-PST	-1SG
v	-tense	-pers

‘I went [...]’⁵⁴

‘[К]аймарәм[.]’

kaj	-ma	-r	-äm.
go	-NEG	-PST	-1SG
v	-neg	-tense	-pers

‘I did not go [...]’⁵⁵

It should be noted that a negative auxiliary that precedes the connegative form, as found in Mari, could be seen as a deviation from the prototypical behaviour of SOV languages (cf. **Greenberg 1963: 67**). One would generally expect auxiliaries to follow their complements in such languages. Auxiliaries other than the negation verb follow the more prototypically head-final pattern. For example, the verb *tüŋalaš*¹ ‘to begin’ is used as a future auxiliary (cf. **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: түңалаш**)⁵⁶ and is preceded by its complement.

(6 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Йочам шочмеке, тудын дене марла кутыраш түңалам.’

joča	-m	šoč	-meke	tudô	-n	dene	marla	kutâr	-aš	tüŋal	-am.
child	-1SG	be.born	-CVB.PRI	3SG	-GEN	with	in.Mari	talk	-INF	start	-1SG
n	-poss	v	-adv	pr	-case	po	adv	v	-inf	v	-pers

‘When I have a child, I’ll speak Mari with it.’

The negation verb in Mari seems to be more tightly bound to the connegative form than its counterpart in other Uralic languages. One can easily find examples in which pronouns or adverbs occur between the negation verb and the connegative form in Finnish, for example:

(7 – Finnish – Semrau 1983: 80)

‘Eivätkö he ole täällä?’

ei	-vät	=kö	he	ole	-∅	täällä?
NEG	-3PL	=INT	3PL	be	-CNG	here
v	-pers	=enc	pr	v	-conn	adv

‘Aren’t they here?’⁵⁷

In the rare cases where the negation verb is separated from the connegative form in Mari, additional factors seem to be in play. For example:

⁵⁴ “ich bin gegangen”

⁵⁵ “ich bin nicht gegangen”

⁵⁶ “(в сочет. с инфинитивом выражает будущее время)”.

⁵⁷ “Sind sie nicht hier?”

(8 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пукшышо > имне пукшышо)

‘Ида гына ман, [...]’

ida	gāna	man	-∅,	[...]
NEG.IMP.2PL	only	say	-CNG	
v	pa	v	-conn	

‘Don’t you say, [...]’⁵⁸

Whereas *gāna* is treated as an independent lexical item in literary Mari and is listed as a word in dictionaries (e.g. **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: гына**), its pronunciation depends on its environment: the initial consonant, consistently <r> /g/ in orthography, is pronounced as /k/ or /g/, depending on the final sound of the word it follows (**Ivanov 2000: 90**).⁵⁹ This “word” is a clear Tatar loan element (**Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 145**), and the same phenomenon can be observed in Tatar. In literary Tatar, it even has four forms, also orthographically: <кына> /qāna/, <гына> /ḡāna/, <кенә> /kenä/, <генә> /genä/ (**Ersen-Rasch 2009: 44**). Not only does the realization of the consonant depend on the preceding word in Tatar, but also the vowel-harmonic realization of the two vowels in the word. Given these phenomena, it is safe to assume that this element is, in both Tatar and Mari, actually a clitic: “a bound word-form – i.e. a word-form that is prosodically dependent on a host” (**Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 322**).⁶⁰ Suffixes widely acknowledged by grammars as clitics and realized as bound word forms in orthography as well, can easily be found attached to the negation verb:

(9 – Mari – native speaker Elina Guseva)

‘Ачамлан тидын нерген ома т шүлө.’

а́ча	-m	-lan	tidē	-n	nergen	o	-m	=at	šülö	-∅.
father	-1SG	-DAT	this	-GEN	about	NEG	-1SG	=and	=and	breathe -CNG
n	-poss	-case	pr	-case	po	v	-pers	=enc	v	-conn

‘I’m not even going to hint at this to my father.’

I will postulate at this point that by default the negation verb can only be separated from the connegative form by clitics and that examples where this rule does not hold demand an explanation. This will become relevant as a metric of grammaticalization and lexicalization (“chunking”).⁶¹

The verb *ulaš* ‘to be’ has special negated forms that result from a meld of the negation verb with the connegative form *ul*: *omāl* ‘I am not’ (< *om ul*), etc. (**Alhoniemi 1985: 117**).

2.1.4 Grammatical tenses

Mari grammar has six distinct past tenses according to most descriptions. Two of these are formed by means of morphology and four via periphrasis – i.e. syntax. A particle – *āl’e* in some tenses, *ulmaš* in

⁵⁸ “Не говорите, сегодня, рассказывают, на Оршинском лугу участникам ночного явился леший.”

⁵⁹ “[...] нине шомак-влакат пырля каласалтме мутышт дене ассимиляций отношенийыш логалыт [...] к ~ з алмашталтмашым: [...] уш кына [...] тый гына, т.м. [...]”

⁶⁰ For a discussion of clitics that form prosodic units with the words they precede or follow, see (**Ivanov 2000: 130–131**) – though this account does not mention *gāna*.

⁶¹ See Section 2.4 (page 74).

others – is placed after a morphologically formed tense – the present tense in some cases, the simple past tense II in others. Figure 8 below gives an overview:

	Present	Simple past I ⁶²	Simple past II	Compound past tense I	Compound past tense II	Compound past tense III	Compound past tense IV
1SG	<i>tolam</i>	<i>tol'âm</i>	<i>tolânam</i>	<i>tolam âl'e</i>	<i>tolam ulmaš</i>	<i>tolânam âl'e</i>	<i>tolânam ulmaš</i>
2SG	<i>tolat</i>	<i>tol'âč</i>	<i>tolânat</i>	<i>tolat âl'e</i>	<i>tolat ulmaš</i>	<i>tolânat âl'e</i>	<i>tolânat ulmaš</i>
3SG	<i>toleš</i>	<i>tol'o</i>	<i>tolân</i>	<i>toleš âl'e</i>	<i>toleš ulmaš</i>	<i>tolân âl'e</i>	<i>tolân ulmaš</i>
1PI	<i>tolâna</i>	<i>tolna</i>	<i>tolâнна</i>	<i>tolâna âl'e</i>	<i>tolâna ulmaš</i>	<i>tolâнна âl'e</i>	<i>tolâнна ulmaš</i>
2PI	<i>tolâda</i>	<i>tolda</i>	<i>tolânda</i>	<i>tolâda âl'e</i>	<i>tolâda ulmaš</i>	<i>tolânda âl'e</i>	<i>tolânda ulmaš</i>
3PI	<i>tolât</i>	<i>tol'âč</i>	<i>tolânât</i>	<i>tolât âl'e</i>	<i>tolât ulmaš</i>	<i>tolânât âl'e</i>	<i>tolânât ulmaš</i>

Figure 8: The six past tenses of Mari, affirmative, of the verb *tolas̄* 'to come' (Alhoniemi 1985: 110–113)

The simple past I “derives historically from the p[roto-]U[ralic] past-tense markers” (Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 229), while the simple past II is “historically a construction consisting of the gerund [converb] and the present-tense forms of *ula[s̄]* ‘to be’” (ibid.). A dichotomy between two morphologically formed past tenses can also be found in other Uralic languages of European Russia: Udmurt (Csúcs 1998: 289), Komi (Hausenberg 1998: 316), and Erzya (but not Moksha) (Zaicz 1998: 200). In Udmurt and Komi, the secondary past tense forms are likewise derived from non-finite verbal forms – from participles (Csúcs 1998: 289; Hausenberg 1998: 316).

The Mari, Udmurt, and Komi forms have been likened to, and etymologically connected with, the evidentiality-based distinction between past tenses in Turkic languages (cf. Leinonen 2000: 421; Fedotov 1972). In languages that have evidentiality as a grammatical category, “every statement must specify the type of source on which it is based – for example, whether the speaker saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence, or learnt it from someone else” (Aikhenvald 2006a: 1).

While it seems quite probable that the secondary past tense forms in Uralic languages trace their roots to the ubiquitous evidentiality-marking past tense forms in Turkic languages, and while evidentiality is undoubtedly a factor in speakers’ choice of past tense forms, evidentiality alone cannot explain the respective usage of the different tenses in contemporary Mari. The exact functions and distributions of these would warrant a doctoral thesis of their own. Information provided in various sources is not always consistent and is not easily verified in language practice. The simple past tense I is said to be the tense of “immediate observations of happenings or actions” (Alhoniemi 1985: 121)⁶³ and to indicate “great vivacity” and “clarity” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 184),⁶⁴ or to mark a “rapidly occurring and rapidly completed activity” (Uchayev 1995: 150).⁶⁵ It is also supposedly used “to indicate activities that occur in succession” (ibid.),⁶⁶ and to “on occasion indicate long-lasting activities that have, however, been completed by the moment of speech” (ibid.).⁶⁷ It is also associated with a lesser time depth; more recent events are said to be denoted with this tense (Pengitov et al. 1961: 184).⁶⁸ The simple past tense II, on the other hand, is said to denote “the result of activities completed in the past”, with the

⁶² Nomenclature based on (Riese et al. 2010–). Here, too, great terminological discord exists in the sources.

⁶³ “1. preteriti on tapahtumisen tai tekemisen välittömän havainnoinnin tempus.”

⁶⁴ “Прошедшее I-ое часто употребляется, [sic] для большей живости, ясности передаваемого.”

⁶⁵ “Тудо писын лийше да пытаралтше действийым каласен пуа, [...]”

⁶⁶ “Поче-поче лийше действийым каласкален пуаш кучылталтеш.”

⁶⁷ “Южгунам кужун шуйнышо, но ойлымо марте пытаралтше действий каласалтеш, [...]”

⁶⁸ “Прошедшее I-ое выражает такое действие, которое происходило недавно, в непосредственной близости к моменту речи: [...]”

effects of said activity persisting to the moment of speech in some, but not all, cases (*ibid.*: 186).⁶⁹ The simple past tense II is called the “non-witnessed past” (*Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 229*) used in reference to things not directly observed or that happened a long time ago (*Pengitov et al. 1961: 188*).⁷⁰ It is also said to denote long-lasting activities, making it equivalent to the imperfective aspect in Russian⁷¹ – see Section 2.2.4 (page 47) – although as mentioned above, this meaning has been attributed to the simple past tense I as well.

Examples can be found where one tense or the other does, indeed, seem to indicate time depth, evidentiality, or aspect, and where the usage of the tenses does not seem to be interchangeable.

(10 – Mari – Smirnov-Semenger: 2009)

‘Вученат, да тольым[.]’

βuć	-en	-at
wait	-PST2	-2SG
v	-tense	-pers

da
and
co

tol'	-ə	-m.
come	-PST1	-1SG
v	-tense	-pers

‘You waited, and I came.’⁷²

(11 – Mari – rejected by native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

* ‘Вучышыч, да толынам.’

βućə	-š	-əć
wait	-PST1	-2SG
v	-tense	-pers

da
and
co

tol	-ən	-am.
come	-PST2	-1SG
v	-tense	-pers

Often, one is tempted to conclude that “this pragmatic opposition is neutralized, i.e. the two tenses are interchangeable” (*Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 229*). Whether this is actually true or whether linguists have simply failed to accurately and reliably delimit the boundary between these two forms is debatable. An extensive corpus-based analysis would be necessary to get a better picture of the usage patterns determining the employment of these cases, especially from a dialectal and diachronic perspective.

With respect to the compound tenses, compound past tense I is said to denote long-lasting, repeated, and non-delimited past activities that can also serve as a backdrop for other activities. The compound past tense II is similar in usage, but differs as regards evidentiality: it is used in reference to circumstances not directly observed (*Alhoniemi 1985: 121–122*).⁷³ Compound past tenses III and IV –

⁶⁹ “Основное значение прошедшего II-го – это выражение результата совершившегося в прошлом действия. [...] В приведенных примерах действия, выраженные прошедшим II-ым временем, совершились до момента речи, результат их ощутим (имеется) и в настоящее время, в момент речи. Но не всегда формы прошедшего II-го непосредственно связаны с моментом речи, соотносительны с настоящим временем.”

⁷⁰ “[...] оно указывает на такое действие или состояние в прошлом, очевидцем которого говорящий не был. [...] Прошедшее II-ое обозначает также давно прошедшее действие.”

⁷¹ Прошедшее II-ое обозначает длительное, продолжительное действие и может соответствовать несовершенному виду русского языка.

⁷² “Ждала, и я пришёл” (*Smirnov-Semenger 2009: 231*)

⁷³ “1. liittoimperfekti ilmaisee yleensä menneeseen aikaan kuuluvaa jatkuvaa tai toistuvaa rajoittamatonta tekemistä. Liittoimperfektilä ilmaistaan usein myös samanaikaisuutta jonkin toisen menneen ajan tekemisen

referred to as pluperfect forms in some sources⁷⁴ – denote activities that preceded other activities and are subject to the same dichotomy as the compound past tenses I and II: one refers to direct observations, the other to inferences (*ibid.*: 122).⁷⁵ The functional relationship between the compound past tenses III and IV, and converbial constructions allowing relative temporal expressions – see Section 2.2.2 (page 40) – is unclear.

As mentioned above, the simple past tense II has its roots in a periphrastic construction, and in fact the periphrastic forms can still be found in some dialects, especially in the plural (**Alhoniemi 1985: 111–112**).⁷⁶ The affirmative forms of this tense trace their roots back to the converb in *-n* – see Section 2.3 (page 69) – followed by the personal forms of the verb *ulas^ʃ* ‘to be’ in all forms but the third person singular (in that exception, the past-tense form is formally identical to the converb). This idiosyncratic nature of the third person singular can be explained by the fact that Mari uses forms of *ulas^ʃ* ‘to be’ as a copula in general, but not in the indicative present third person singular. Here, a copula is possible (**Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: I: 29**),⁷⁷ but not usual (*ibid.*).⁷⁸ In literary Meadow Mari, the periphrastic nature prevails in the negated forms of this tense, which are negated by placing the negative forms of the verb *ulas^ʃ* – see Section 2.1.3 (page 26) – after the converb. The negative forms are not subject to morphologization (**Alhoniemi 1985: 117**)⁷⁹ – at least in Meadow Mari.

	Simple past tense II	Gerund in <i>-n</i> + copula	Negation
1SG	<i>tolânam</i>	<i>tolân ulam</i>	<i>tolân omâi</i>
2SG	<i>tolânat</i>	<i>tolân ulat</i>	<i>tolân otâi</i>
3SG	<i>tolân</i>	<i>(tolân)</i>	<i>tolân ogâi</i>
1PL	<i>tolâнна</i>	<i>tolân ulâna</i>	<i>tolân onal ~ ogânal</i>
2PL	<i>tolâнда</i>	<i>tolân ulâda</i>	<i>tolân odal ~ ogâdal</i>
3PL	<i>tolânât</i>	<i>tolân ulât</i>	<i>tolân ogâtâi</i>

Figure 9: Morphologized and periphrastic forms of the simple past tense II (Alhoniemi 1985: 110–116)

2.1.5 Declension and animacy

Reference materials on Meadow Mari generally list up to nine productive case suffixes (e.g. **Uchayev & Yefremov 1998: 132**; **Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: I: 204–205**; **Bereczki 1990: 31**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 45**). The suffixed forms of two nouns are as follows:

kanssa. Tällä muodolla osoitetaan yleensä välitöntä havaintoa, [...] 2. liittoperfekti eroaa ensimmäisestä siinä suhteessa, että sen avulla esitetty tapahtuma perustuu tavalla tai toisella välillisempään tietoon kuin ensimmäisen liittoperfektin avulla välitetty sanoma, [...]”

⁷⁴ “предпрошедшее” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 193**) – my colleagues and I rejected this term as it misleadingly implies that these tenses constitute the standard way to refer to actions that precede past actions, when in fact Mari tends to employ converbial and postpositional constructions for this purpose.

⁷⁵ “1. liittoperfektin ilmaisema tekeminen tapahtuu yleensä ennen toista menneen ajan tapahtumaa; 1. liittoperfekti on tavallisesti käytössä välitöntä havaintoa kerrottaessa, [...] 2. liittoperfekti eroaa ensimmäisestä siinä suhteessa, että sen avulla esitetty tekeminen perustuu välilliseen tietoon.”

⁷⁶ “2. preteriti on muodostunut instruktiivisen *n*-gerundin pohjalle. Gerundimuoto sellaisenaan toimii y. 3. p:n muotona. Muiden persoonien muodot ovat itse asiassa gerundimuodon ja *ulas^ʃ* ‘olla’ -verbin preesensmuotojen yhteensulautumia. Monissa murteissa etenkin monikossa esiintyy 2. preteritissä vieläkin liittomuotoja tyyppiä *purân ulâna* ‘olemme purreet’, *purân ulâda* ‘olette purreet’.”

⁷⁷ “3. л. ед. ч. т́удо улéш” (The accent marks indicate stress.)

⁷⁸ “В 3. л. ед. ч. настояще-будущего времени глагол-связка улáш не употребляется.”

⁷⁹ “Preesensissä ja ja [sic] 2. preteritissä käytetään siis *o*-vartaloista kieltoverbiä; 2. preteritin muodoissa on persoonissa taipuva osa itse asiassa *ulas^ʃ* ‘olla’ -verbin preesensin kieltomuoto, esim. *omâi* < *om ul.*”

Case	Animate noun	Inanimate noun
Nominative	<i>ajdeme</i> 'person'	<i>pört</i> 'house'
Genitive	<i>ajdemân</i> 'of a person'	<i>?pörtân</i> 'of a house'
Dative	<i>ajdemâlan</i> '(to) a person'	<i>pörtlan</i> '(to) a house'
Accusative	<i>ajdemâm</i> 'a person (as object)'	<i>pörtâm</i> 'a house (as object)'
Comparative	<i>ajdemâla</i> 'like a person'	<i>pörtla</i> 'like a house'
Comitative	<i>ajdemâge</i> 'including a person'	<i>pörtke</i> 'including the house'
Inessive	<i>?ajdemâšte</i> 'in a person'	<i>pörtâštö</i> 'in a house'
Illative	<i>?ajdemâš(ke)</i> 'into a person'	<i>pörtâš(kö)</i> 'into a house'
Lative	<i>?ajdemeš</i> 'in ~ into a person'	<i>pörteš</i> 'in ~ into a house'

Figure 10: Mari cases⁸⁰

Usage restrictions regarding animacy are ascribed to different case suffixes. Reference materials on contemporary Mari deny the usage of animate nouns in the local cases (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 33**)⁸¹ – inessive, illative, and lative – or at least describe it as rare (e.g. **Uchayev 1995: 42**).⁸² In actual practice, usage examples of animate nouns in local cases can be easily found even in the works of the most renowned Mari authors, but it is true that this usage is comparatively uncommon. The personal pronouns seem to have no forms at all in the local cases. Of greater interest in the context of this thesis is a usage restriction generally not described in materials on modern Mari: in her survey of the semantic distribution of the genitive in Mari, Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn states that “inanimate nouns are also restricted in that they infrequently occur in genitive forms” (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1966–1969: I: 31**). She adds that that genitive marking of inanimate nouns “happens more often in the literary language than in the folklore texts” (*ibid.*). Indeed, genitive forms of inanimate nouns can be easily found in contemporary literary Mari. However, some remnants of the tendency she describes prevail. Compare, for example, the following sentences:

⁸⁰ Based on (**Riese et al. 2010–2012**).

⁸¹ “Существительные неодушевленные имеют формы всех падежей, как субъектно-объектных, так и пространственных. Существительные одушевленные имеют формы лишь субъектно-объектных падежей; [...]”

⁸² “Одушевленный лўм мут-влак. Нуно пространственно-местный падежлаште южгунам веле вашлиялтыт, мутлан: [...]”

(12 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Пашаш кайымешке, мый кечывал кочкишым ямдылем.’

paša	-š	kajê	-meške	mêj	kečêβal	kočkâš	-âm	jamdêl	-em.
work	-ILL	go	-CVB.FUT	1SG	noon	food	-ACC	prepare	-1SG
n	-case	v	-adv	pr	adj	n	-case	v	-pers

‘Before going to work, I’ll prepare lunch.’

‘Мый йолташ ўдырем дене, кече лекмешке, ола мучко коштым.’

mêj	joltaš	ūdâr	-em	dene	keče	lek	-meške	ola	mučko	košt	-ê	-m.
1SG	friend	girl	-1SG	with	sun	rise	-CVB.FUT	city	all.around	walk	-PST1	-1SG
pr	adj	n	-poss	po	n	v	-adv	n	po	v	-tense	-pers

‘I walked around town with my girlfriend till the sun came up.’

‘Эвикан каласымешкыже (каласымешке), пашам она тўнал.’

eβika	-n	kalasê	-meškê	(-že)	paša	-m	ona	tūnal	-∅.
Evika	-GEN	say	-CVB.FUT	(-3SG)	work	-ACC	we.will.not	start	-CNG
n	-case	v	-adv	(-poss)	n	-case	v	v	-conn

‘Before Evika tells us to, we will not start our work.’

The converb in *-meške* – see Section 2.2.2 (page 40) – is a so-called *varying-subject converb* – see Section 2.3.1 (page 69). This means that the subject of the converb can either be the same as the subject of the main clause (as is the case in the first example above) or it can differ from it (as is the case in the second and third examples). When the converb’s subject differs from the subject of the main clause, its subject must be indicated in some way. Either the nominative or the genitive form of the subject can precede the converb. When the genitive form is used, the converb can also take a possessive suffix – though its usage is optional. As a trend, inanimate nouns seem to occur in the nominative in this situation, and animate nouns in the genitive. I could observe this tendency in the corpus – see Section 3.2 (page 84) – and it was confirmed by my consultants. This dichotomy will become especially relevant in conjunction with the converb in *-n* used in the structures this thesis analyses – see Section 2.3 (page 69) – as this converb cannot take possessive suffixes and does not allow its agent to be indicated with genitive forms.

2.1.6 Deverbal verbal suffixes

A number of deverbal derivational suffixes, with varying degrees of productivity, are found in Mari. They can be roughly separated into two categories: (1) those that realize valence-changing operations, and (2) those with which grammars associate “aspectual meaning”. The classification of individual suffixes can be difficult.

With regard to the first category, valence can be defined as “information about the semantic roles and syntactic functions of a verb (or sometimes another word-class)” (Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 345); a valence-changing operation is an operation that changes verb’s valence. Well-known valence changing operations include the passive where “the agent is backgrounded in that it is no longer the subject” (ibid.: 237) and the causative where “a new participant is added to a verb” (ibid.: 241); both of these functions can be realized through productive derivational suffixes in Mari.

(13 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

Йоча-влак тиде пашам ыштат.

joća	-βlak	tide	paša	-m	êšt	-at.
child	-PL	this	work	-ACC	do	-3PL
n	-num	pr	n	-case	v	-pers

'The children are doing this work.'

Паша ышталтеш.

paša	êšt	-alt	-eš.
work	do	-PASS	-3SG
n	v	-deriv.v	-pers

'The work is being done.'

(14 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

Йоча шочын.

joća	šoć	-ân	-∅.
child	be.born	-PST2	-3SG
n	v	-tense	-pers

'A child was born.'

Мый ик эргым шочыктенам.

māj	ik	ergâ	-m	šoć	-âkt	-en	-am.
1SG	one	son	-ACC	be.born	-CAUS	-PST2	-1SG
pr	nm	n	-case	v	-deriv.v	-tense	-pers

'I gave birth to one son.'

While the suffixes used in these examples are classified as derivational suffixes in western sources on Mari (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1985: 160; 162; Berczki 1990: 72–73**), they are classified as part of the verbal paradigm in Russian-language and Mari-language sources. The suffix *-alt* – which has a range of applications that far exceeds the passive – is defined as the suffix of the *vozvratnij zalog* ‘reflexive voice’ (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 161; Uchayev 1995: 129**), and *-kt* as the suffix of the *ponuditel’nij zalog* ‘causative voice’ (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 164; Uchayev 1995: 131**). The terminological choices made by the respective authors cannot be evaluated without discussing the exact definition of a derivational suffix and the exact nature of a verbal paradigm, a lengthy task that cannot be carried out here. It should be noted that less productive suffixes with similar functions are, in contrast to these two highly productive suffixes, treated as “[derivational] suffixes indicating voice”⁸³ in the same sources (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 226**).

The second category of derivational suffixes includes those with which grammars associate “aspectual meaning” (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 221; Uchayev 1995: 160**).⁸⁴ As is the case with the phenomenon frequently called “aspectual converb construction”, it is debatable whether these suffixes truly mark aspect or something else. Naturally, this depends on the definition of “aspect” one wishes to employ –

⁸³ “Суффиксы, образующие глаголы с залоговым значением”

⁸⁴ “Суффиксы, образующие глаголы с видовым значением”, “Суффиксан видовой класс-влак”

a question that is discussed in Section 2.2.4 (page 47). Suffice it to say that suffixes of this type do not change the valence of a verb, but rather indicate a difference in how an activity is carried out: for a long time, for a short time, repeatedly, only once, etc. In the following example, a frequentative derivational suffix indicates that an activity is carried out repeatedly or on different objects:

(15 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

Кечывалым нуно пакчаште түрлө пашам ыштылыт.

kečǎβal	-ǎm	nuno	pakčǎ	-šte	tǔrlö	paša	-m	ǎštǎ	-l	-ǎt
noon	-ACC	3PL	garden	-INE	different	work	-ACC	do	-FREQ	-3PL
n	-case	pr	n	-case	adj	n	-case	v	-deriv.v	-pers

‘At noon they do different tasks in the garden.’

2.1.7 Transitivity

The distinction between transitive verbs – verbs that take direct objects (**Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 344**) – and intransitive verbs – those that do not (**ibid.: 332**) – is generally rather salient in Mari. Transitive verbs are in many cases derived from intransitive verbs using the derivational suffixes mentioned above – e.g. the causative / transitive marker *-kt* – and intransitive verbs from transitive verbs – e.g. the intransitive / reflexive / passive / impersonal marker *-alt* (cf. **Alhoniemi 1985: 160–165**). In some cases, both the transitive and the intransitive verbs that are each other’s counterparts are historically derived from the same stem by derivational suffixes – in the following case the unproductive suffixes *-t* and *-n* (**ibid.**) – but the original stem is no longer segmentable in the contemporary language:

(16 – Mari – native speaker Elina Guseva)

‘Тудо көршөкым шалатен.’

tudo	köršök	-ǎm	šalat	-en	-∅
3SG	pot	-ACC	break.TR	-PST2	-3SG
pr	n	-case	v	-tense	-pers

‘(S)he broke the pot.’

‘Көршөк шаланен.’

köršök	šalan	-en	-∅
pot	break.INTR	-PST2	-3SG
n	v	-tense	-pers

‘The pot broke.’

I will comment more explicitly on the transitivity of verbs when it is relevant to the topic at hand.

2.2 Basic terminology

Much as the usage of a writing system or a metalanguage can be a sensitive topic – see Section 1.4 (page 18) – the choice of terminology can be a divisive issue in linguistics. One and the same phenomenon is often described with a wide range of labels; the same label is often used to describe a wide range of phenomena. Terminological differences can be indicative of the linguistic schools to

which scholars adhere, whether knowingly or not. In an attempt to limit the headaches caused by this problem, I will set out the nomenclature I use in this thesis, citing the sources upon which it is based, while at the same time acknowledging nomenclatures used by other scholars for the same, or similar, phenomena. I hope to thus ensure that my terminology is consistent and transparent.

2.2.1 Paired verbs, complex predicates, serial verbs, etc.

In his 1960 monograph on the topic, Mikhail Chkhaidze seeks to introduce the term *sparennij glagol* ‘paired verb’ (Chkhaidze 1960: 11),⁸⁵ and bemoans the prevalent terminological discord (ibid.: 12).⁸⁶ In a later (English-language) article, he states that the term “implies a combination of two verbs, meaningfully united, in which the first verb has an unalterable form of an adverbial participle [i.e. converb] [...], whereas the second verb is conjugated, the actual meaning of a given pair of verbs, taken together, not being as a rule equal to the simple sum of the meanings of the elements involved, [...]” (Chkhaidze 1968: 285). This definition is quite similar to definitions found for terms such as *phraseme*, *idiom*, *phraseological unit*, or Russian *frazologizm* in sources on (lexical) semantics, for example: “The meaning of the whole is more than or different from the sum of its parts” (Moon 1988: 108). The principle of “compositional” and “non-compositional meaning” can also be found in sources on morphosyntax (e.g. Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 323; 336), where compositionality is defined as a metric relevant in delimiting the (ambiguous) dividing line between inflection and derivation (cf. ibid.: 94–95): generally speaking, the absence of non-compositional meaning is symptomatic of inflection, not derivation.

Chkhaidze uses the term *modifier* for the second element of what he calls paired verbs (Chkhaidze 1968: 287), and compares their usage with prefixes in languages such as Russian.⁸⁷ He uses the different manners in which the concepts of “winning” and “losing” are expressed in Russian and Mari as an example – in both languages, both concepts are expressed by modifying the concept of “playing” in one way or another:

(17 – Mari – Chkhaidze 1978: 36)																															
‘[M]одын налын[.]’	‘[M]одын колтен[.]’																														
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>mod</td> <td>-ən</td> <td>nal</td> <td>-ən</td> <td>-∅</td> </tr> <tr> <td>play</td> <td>-CVB</td> <td>take</td> <td>-PST2</td> <td>-3SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-adv</td> <td>v</td> <td>-tense</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table>	mod	- ən	nal	- ən	- ∅	play	-CVB	take	-PST2	-3SG	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>mod</td> <td>-ən</td> <td>kolt</td> <td>-en</td> <td>-∅</td> </tr> <tr> <td>play</td> <td>-CVB</td> <td>let.go</td> <td>-PST2</td> <td>-3SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-adv</td> <td>v</td> <td>-tense</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table>	mod	- ən	kolt	- en	- ∅	play	-CVB	let.go	-PST2	-3SG	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers
mod	- ən	nal	- ən	- ∅																											
play	-CVB	take	-PST2	-3SG																											
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers																											
mod	- ən	kolt	- en	- ∅																											
play	-CVB	let.go	-PST2	-3SG																											
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers																											
‘[S/he] won.’ ⁸⁸	‘[S/he] lost.’ ⁸⁹																														

⁸⁵ “Термин «спаривание», «спаренные глаголы» мы вводим впервые.”

⁸⁶ “терминологический разнобой”; also “terminological disarray” in (Chkhaidze 1968: 285)

⁸⁷ While this comparison is without a doubt valid here and in many other cases, one should not discount the bias introduced in linguistic surveys by metalanguages/languages spoken by authors on a native level. This issue will be revisited repeatedly in due course – e.g. in Sections 2.2.4 (page 45) and 2.2.5 (page 54).

⁸⁸ “gewann”

⁸⁹ “verlor”

(18 – Russian – Chkhaidze 1978: 36)

‘[В]ыиграл[.]’

vi-	igra	-l	-∅
out-	play	-PST	-MASC
pre-	v	-tense	-gen

‘[He] won.’

‘[П]роиграл[.]’

pro-	igra	-l	-∅
past-	play	-PST	-MASC
pre-	v	-tense	-gen

‘[He] lost.’

Chkhaidze separates paired verbs into four rough categories (cf. also **Chkhaidze 1960: 20**), and gives examples of each.

I: “equally-paired verbs [...] whose members retain their full lexical meaning” (**Chkhaidze 1968: 294**) – pairings of this sort are touched upon in Section 2.2.5 (page 56), but are not discussed in great detail in this thesis.

(19 – Mari – Chkhaidze 1968: 294)

‘пурен лекташ’

pur	-en	lekt	-aš
enter	-CVB	go.out	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to call on (lit. entering[ly] come out)’

II: “the main semantic weight is shifted to the second verb [...], the first verb expressing a concomitant action” (**ibid.**) – i.e. the converb is a subordinate adverbial. Adverbial subordination is discussed in Section 2.2.2 (page 40), but is nonetheless not of primary relevance to my research topic.

(20 – Mari – Chkhaidze 1968: 295)

‘[В]оштыл каласа[.]’

boštâl	-∅	kalas	-a.
laugh	-CVB	speak	-3SG
v	-adv	v	-pers

‘[S\he] laughingly speaks[.]’

III: “combinations the second member of which is partly modified, its lexical meaning being partially weakened and instead a new grammatical meaning acquired” (**ibid.: 295**) – the second verb in pairings Chkhaidze assigns to this category seems to indicate directionality – see Section 2.2.5 (page 56) – or the presence of a beneficiary – see Section 2.2.6 (page 68).

(21 – Mari – Chkhaidze 1968: 295)

‘шупшын пурташ’

šupš	-ân	purt	-aš
pull	-CVB	put.in	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to draw in [...] (lit.: pulling[ly] put in)’

IV: “paired verbs the second member of which has in the given combination completely lost its lexical meaning and instead has acquired a grammatical meaning by expressing the category of a subjective assessment of the course of the action expressed by the first verb” (*ibid.*: 295–296) – this category concerns itself with aspect (in the widest sense), a topic that is discussed in Section 2.2.4 (page 47).

(22 – Mari – Chkhaidze 1960: 20)

‘мален колташ’

mal	-en	kolt	-aš
sleep	-CVB	let.go	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to fall asleep’⁹⁰

While these divisions are valid, they are not entirely satisfying, as they concern themselves more with what lexical semantics the verbs in the second position have lost, rather than what functional semantics they have gained.

With respect to terminology, Chkhaidze’s laudable efforts to insert clarity into “terminological disarray” (Chkhaidze 1968: 285) cannot really be declared a success – rather, it seems as though he inadvertently added one further term to it. There have been Hungarian-language publications on (or mentioning) *páros igék* ‘paired verbs’ in Uralic languages (Honti 2005; Driussi 2003; Horváth 2012; Bereczki 2002) and even one English-language publication on *paired verbs* or *serial verbs* in Mari (Driussi 1992/1993), all of which give Chkhaidze’s works as a source and provide definitions based on his. Locally, however, the term did not prevail. Valey Kel’makov (e.g. Kel’makov 1975) and Margarita Karakulova (e.g. Karakulova 1987) have used this term in reference to Udmurt, citing Chkhaidze (or rather, Kel’makov cites Chkhaidze, and Karakulova cites Kel’makov). Contemporary Russian-language and Mari-language reference materials and articles on Mari (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: I: 13; Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 5; Savatkova 2008: 6; Pengitov et al. 1961: 202; Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: I: 77; Uchayev & Yefremov 1998: 53; Uchayev 1995: 162; Isanbayev 1978) seem to almost universally use the term *sostavnoj glagol* ‘compound verb’ for these pairings (though it is not always clear whether the range of pairings covered by these terms covers all pairings Chkhaidze spoke of, especially as the terms are not generally well-defined in the sources, if at all). In Turkological sources the term *složnij glagol* ‘complex verb’ finds wide usage (e.g. Tybykova 1966), in newer publications often within quotation marks (e.g. Shluinskiy 2014: 2). This term is used sporadically in sources on Mari as well (e.g. Narbum et al. 1956: 6). Other terms used by even older sources concerned with the phenomena addressed by Chkhaidze include the Russian *sostavnoje skazujemoje* ‘compound predicate’ (Pengitov 1955: 15) and *parnij glagol* ‘paired verb’ (Vasil’jev 1926), and the Mari *mužāran kojāš mut* ‘paired verb’ and *kok mutan kojāš mut* ‘two-worded verb’ (Mukhin & Elekseyn 1935: 48). Christian Pischlöger also refers to the historical usage of a number of terms such as German *zusammengesetzte Verben* ‘compound verbs’ and *erweiterte Prädikate* ‘expanded predicates’, Hungarian *kettős igék* ‘paired verbs’ and *összetett igék* ‘complex verbs’, and English *complex predicates* (Pischlöger 2013: 1). László Honti also mentions the term *verb pairs* (Honti 2013: 109). Chkhaidze himself also makes reference to Russian *složno-verbal’nije glagoli* ‘complex-verbal verbs’ and *složno-sostavniije glagoli* ‘complex-compound verbs’ (Chkhaidze 1978: 36), and mentions the usage of the terms *complex verbal units* in Soviet Indology and talk of *resultative verbs* in Sinology (Chkhaidze 1968:

⁹⁰ “УСНУТЬ”

285). Ivan Tarakanov, in reference to these structures in Udmurt, speaks of *analitičeskije glagol'nije obrazovanija* ‘analytical verbal formations’ in Russian (Tarakanov 2013) and of *analytische Verbalbildungen* ‘id.’ in German (Tarakanov 1980). The Turkologist Lars Johanson refers to *postverbal constructions* (Johanson 2000: 168); Angelika Landmann speaks of *Verbalkompositionen* ‘verbal compositions’ (Landmann 2014a: 96; Landmann 2014b: 88; Landmann 2015: 98).

It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of Russian sources speak of complex/compound verbs, rather than of predicates – implying that these pairings are viewed more from the perspective of derivation than of syntax. The fact that aspectual forms are formed by derivation in Russian is presumably an important factor here.

Disregarding for the moment the question of whether such handling is appropriate or not, many of the terms stated here, if properly defined, would be perfectly acceptable as part of an arbitrarily chosen nomenclature. However, the question arises of whether the phenomena discussed above are the only things in Mari that could be referred to as a paired, complex, compound, or serial verb. In fact, a number of publications aim to proactively avert confusion of this sort by adding that given pairings are compound verbs “with an aspectual meaning” (e.g. Pengitov et al. 1961: 202),⁹¹ but this note instantly puts us face-to-face with the next terminological question, which will be discussed below: Are we really dealing with aspect, and aspect only, in constructions marked with this label in the sources? Verbal pairings in which the second element clearly has a function other than marking aspect (even under the most liberal interpretation of the term) found under this label in otherwise qualitative materials – see Section 2.2.5 (page 56) for some examples – indicate that this is not the case.

With respect to references to paired, complex, compound, or serial verbs with no further disambiguation, Mari allows the juxtaposition of two verbs, inflected in the same form (be it a finite or non-finite one), without a coordinating element joining them. In orthography, the two verbs, which share a subject, are connected with a hyphen. It would seem intuitive that pairings of this sort – as illustrated in Example 23 – could also be referred to as “paired verbs”, and they in fact are in the newest orthographical dictionary of Mari (Ivanov et al. 2011: 19).⁹² For example:

(23 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пукшаш-йўкташ)

[M]ланде мемнам пукша-йўкта[.]’

mlande	memnam	пукш	-a-	jükt	-a
land	1PL.ACC	feed	-3SG	give.to.drink	-3SG
n	pr	v	-pers	v	-pers

‘The land nourishes us (lit. feeds us, gives us to drink).’⁹³

The term *parnije glagoli* ‘paired verbs’ is used in reference to structures of this type in materials on Komi as well (e.g. Beznosikova 1989: 62). The terminological discord that haunted Chkhaidze is alive and well.

A further argument against the usage of the concrete term “serial verb” in this context is that notable general linguists and typologists use it with a radically different meaning. Alexandra Aikhenvald defines a serial verb construction as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any

⁹¹ “Составные глаголы с видовым значением”.

⁹² “94. Мужыран глагол-влак”.

⁹³ “земля нас кормит”

overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort” (Aikhenvald 2006b: 1). She specifically states that “gerund constructions composed of two predicates, one of which is marked as a dependent verb[...] do not in fact qualify as serial verb constructions” (ibid.: 60); her colleague Robert M. W. Dixon states (in the same volume) that serial verb constructions “are found in perhaps one-third of the languages of the world (there appear to be none in Europe or north or central Asia, and rather few in North America or Australia)” (Dixon 2006: 338).

2.2.2 Converbs and converb constructions

Mikhail Chkhaidze makes an explicit distinction between what he calls *paired verbs* and *converbs*: “They [paired verbs] are not to be confused with the so-called converbs that denote different temporal and modal constructions in Turkology (Gabain 1974: 119 ff.)” (Chkhaidze 1978: 36).⁹⁴ His reference to Annemarie von Gabain’s grammar of Old Turkic is not entirely transparent, as the cited chapter concerns itself with converbs as a morphological category rather than with *converb constructions* (see below) as a syntactic structure – i.e. converbs, as defined by Gabain, occur in temporal and modal constructions, rather than denote them. Of converbs she says: “There is another group of verbal forms which never serve as finite verbal forms; they are not real nouns, i.e. they do not occur as subjects or accusative-objects; they do not take possessive or plural endings. Their functions are those of predicative determination, sentence adjuncts, and sentence introduction. A (logically) main verb that is connected with a (formally finite) descriptive or modal auxiliary verb occurs in this non-nominal form” (Gabain 1974: 119).⁹⁵ She then introduces the Old Turkic converb in **-p* (ibid.: 120), Kipchak reflexes of which are in many cases the functional equivalent to the Mari converb in *-n* – see Section 2.3 (page 69). Much like the Mari converb in *-n*, the Kipchak converb in *-p* is used in what Chkhaidze would undoubtedly call *paired verbs*:

(24 – Tatar – Poppe 1963: 96)

‘[Я]раланган аю акырып жибәрде дә егылды.’

järaŋ	-an	-yan	äjuw	äqär	-äp	žibär	-de	-∅	dä	jäyät	-dê	-∅.
injure	-PASS	-PTCP.PERF	bear	roar	-CVB	send	-PST	-3SG	and	fall	-PST	-3SG
v	-deriv.v	-adj	n	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	pa	v	-tense	-pers

‘[T]he wounded bear roared (lit. roaring sent) and fell down[.]’

(25 – Bashkir – Landmann 2015: 101)

‘Кыззар көлөп ебәрзе.’

qäð	-ðar	köl	-öp	jebär	-ðe	-∅.
girl	-PL	laugh	-CVB	send	-PST	-3SG
n	-num	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The girls broke out laughing (lit. laughing sent).’

⁹⁴ “Nicht zu verwechseln sind sie mit den sog. Konverbien, die in der Turkologie verschiedene temporale und modale Konstruktionen bezeichnen (v. Gabain 1974.119 ff.)”

⁹⁵ “Es gibt eine andere Gruppe von Verbformen, die niemals als finite Verbformen dienen; sie sind keine echten Nomina, d. h. sie bilden weder Subjekt noch Akk.-Objekt, können keine Possessiv- noch Plural-Endungen annehmen. Ihre Funktionen sind die von Prädikatsbestimmungen, Satzbestimmungen und Satzeinleitungen. Ein (logisches) Hauptverb, das mit einem (formal finiten) Deskriptiven oder Modalen Hilfsverb verbunden ist, steht in einer dieser nicht-nominalen Formen.”

Other sources on these phenomena base their terminology on the term *converb*. Gábor Bereczki speaks of *Konverbgefüge* ‘converbial structures’ (Bereczki et al. 2013: 22) in Mari; Lars Johanson of *converb segments* (Johanson 1995: 314) in Turkic. Alho Alhoniemi’s definition of *aspectual converb constructions* – or rather, *aspektuaali[nen] konverbirakenne[...]* (Alhoniemi 1985: 143) in Finnish and *aspektuelle Konverbkonstruktion* (Alhoniemi 1993: 135) in the German translation – roughly correspond to Chkhaidze’s category IV – see Section 1.2 (page 12) for Alhoniemi’s definition. It should be noted, however, that he does not otherwise speak of converbs (or aspect) at all. He credits Raija Bartens for this term (Bartens 1979: 143); she in turn refers to John Krueger’s Chuvash Manual (Krueger 1961: 162 ff.). Like Gabain, Krueger uses the term to denote a morphological category:

One of the unique features of Chuvash grammar is the use of a grammatical form which we shall call converbs. These are formations which are like verbs, because they derive from verb stems, but do not refer to any person, number or tense. They serve to denote that the action referred to stands in a certain relationship to the action of the main or finite verb. Thus, they function like English gerunds or present participles. The thought is held in abeyance by use of a converb until the concluding verb. Hence, we may call them verb forms of a suspensory nature denoting secondary action coordinate to or complementary to the main action. They may not end a statement. In English, we would say “He went downtown, bought a suit, drank some coffee and returned home.” In Chuvash, this idea would be rendered approximately as “Having gone downtown, bought a suit and having drunk some coffee, he returned home.” (Krueger 1961: 162, emphasis his)

This definition is in line with definitions used by other scholars. Martin Haspelmath credits the Finnish linguist Gustaf John Ramstedt with coining the term in 1903 (Haspelmath 1995: 46; Ramstedt 1903), and himself defines a converb as “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath 1995: 3), i.e. a verbal adverb, just as a participle is a verbal adjective. In Anglophone tradition, such a form would be called an adverbial participle (ibid.: 45). Gerson Klumpp, citing Haspelmath’s definition and following his lead, defines converbs as a class of infinite verbal forms that are obligatorily followed by another verb (Klumpp 2002: 113).⁹⁶ Uralic sources generally use the term *gerund* for such forms (e.g. Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 232) – or rather, *gerundi* in Finnish (e.g. Alhoniemi 1985: 141–149), *Gerundium* in German (e.g. Alhoniemi 1993: 133–140), *gerundium* in Estonian (e.g. Kokla 1986: 81), *dejepričastije* in Russian (e.g. Pengitov et al. 1961: 250–271), and *határozói igenév* ‘adverbial participle’ in Hungarian (e.g. Bereczki 1990: 73; Beke 1911: 157⁹⁷). Consequently, the terms *gerund* and *converb* can be considered interchangeable in the context of a description of Mari – or rather, the choice of one term or the other is somewhat arbitrary. This makes Alhoniemi’s usage of the term *converb construction* somewhat questionable: converb is simply a term used by other scholars for forms that he calls gerunds.

Martin Haspelmath, by his own admission, “prefer[s] a narrower definition” of the term *converb* than is used by other scholars (Haspelmath 1995: 4). For the sake of simplicity, and because his definition is adequate for Uralic languages and all relevant contact languages, I will continue using the Haspelmathian definition of the term. For a more detailed discussion of different definitions employed by different scholars, see (Bickel 1998).

⁹⁶ “Nach unserer Auffassung sind *Konverben* eine Klasse infiniter Verbalformen, denen obligatorisch eine weitere Verbform folgt. Konverben treten somit ausschließlich in *Konverbkonstruktionen* auf.”

⁹⁷ Labelled “határozó igenév” here.

The four tenets of Haspelmath's definition of converbs are:

- *non-finite*: In the examples he uses to introduce the term, “[t]he converbs [...] lack specifications for tense(-aspect) and mood as well as for agreement with their arguments, and are thus *non-finite*” (Haspelmath 1995: 4). Haspelmath notes that Vladimir Nedjalkov does not consider non-finiteness a factor in his definition of the term (e.g. Nedjalkov 1995), and states that “[t]he notion of finiteness itself is not unproblematic[...] [...] Most notably, verb forms may lack tense and mood specifications, but still have subject agreement. [...] Another way in which the finite/non-finite distinction may be blurred is when the converb is marked for possessor agreement with its subject. Not uncommonly, non-finite verb forms do not allow the subject to be expressed in the usual way and require a possessive construction instead.” (Haspelmath 1995: 5). While Haspelmath's definition is narrower than Nedjalkov's, it is wider than Gabain's – see above – as her definition did not allow for possessive affixes (Gabain 1974: 119). As will be illustrated, some (but not all) Mari converbs do in fact take possessive suffixes.
- *verb form*: “A converb is a verb form that is part of the inflectional paradigm of verbs. Thus, a converb cannot be easily analysed as a verb plus a complementizer or subordinator” (Haspelmath 1995: 4).
- *adverbial*: “Converbal constructions are generally not arguments but modifiers, and they generally modify verbs, clauses or sentences, but not nouns or noun phrases” (Haspelmath 1995: 7). As Haspelmath again admits, the term “adverbial” is sometimes problematic, because in some cases subordinate constructions are not clearly adverbial, as there is “the so-called *clause-chaining* construction, which is used to convey a sequence of successive events” (ibid.). He adds, though, that “it is not easy to make a clear-cut distinction between temporal adverbial subordination and clause-chaining. [...] So it is not absurd to think of clause-chaining constructions [...] as successive adverbial subordination of a special type” (ibid.: 8). A clear-cut distinction is indeed difficult in Mari (and other languages of the region); this problem will be addressed in Section 2.3.1 (page 69).
- *subordination*: “The term *subordinate* is used here in the sense of ‘embedded’, or ‘incorporated into the superordinate clause’, contrasting with coordinate clauses, which are not part of another, superordinate clause” (ibid.: 8).

Haspelmath sets converbs apart from (adjectival) participles (ibid.: 18), verbal nouns / masdars (ibid.: 4), and infinitives – which, while sharing some properties of converbs, “are not used primarily for adverbial subordination ... their primary use is in complement clauses” (ibid.: 28). While a clean distinction between these theoretical concepts is possible, in many cases the linguistic reality is more complicated. One and the same grammatical form can express several of these functions. For example, the English *-ing*-form can occur as a converb, a participle, an infinitive, or a verbal noun (i.e. it is quadrifunctional):

(26 – English – Nedjalkov 1995: 106, emphasis mine)

‘Crying, the girl entered the room.’ [converb, adverbial]

‘A crying girl entered the room.’ [participle, adnominal]

‘The girl started crying (≈ to cry).’ [infinitive, complement clause]

‘The girl’s crying irritates me.’ [verbal noun]

As will be shown in Section 2.3.1 (page 69), the converb in *-n* is a monofunctional, canonical converb (cf. Nedjalkov 1995: 104); non-adverbial usages of it are marginal and unproductive.

Haspelmath’s definition of the term *converb* has been cited and followed by a number of surveys of “converb constructions” in Uralic languages in general (e.g. **Ylikoski 2000**) and in specific Uralic languages (e.g. **Klumpp 2002** for Kamas; **Valijärvi 2008** for Selkup). The manner in which the terms *converb* and *converb construction* are used, does not, however, yield a satisfactory framework for the analysis of what Chkhaidze called “paired verbs”. Mari grammars speak of five distinct gerunds (i.e. converbs – this term will be used from now on, even when sources refer to gerunds). Four of these have relatively well-defined primary purposes and if there are any secondary usages, these are relatively straightforward. Ignoring for the moment the converb in *-n*, which is of central importance in this thesis – its various functions will be discussed in Section 2.3 (page 69) – these four converbs are as follows:

- The converb in *-šâla*, the converb of simultaneous actions, which is used to denote activities that occur simultaneously with the activity denoted by the superordinate verb (**Alhoniemi 1985: 147**).⁹⁸

(27 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Пашаш кайышыла, кевытыш пурышым.’

paša	-š	kajê	-šâla,	keβât	-âš	purê	-š	-êm.
work	-ILL	go	-CVB.SIM	shop	-ILL	enter	-PST1	-1SG
n	-case	v	-adv	n	-case	v	-tense	-pers

‘When going to work I went to the store.’

- The converb in *-meš(ke)*, the converb of future actions, which is used to denote activities that follow the activity denoted by the superordinate verb – or rather, temporal limits by which the activity denoted by the superordinate verb will be/must be/was completed. In its secondary function, the converb denotes an action instead of which the action denoted by the superordinate verb must be carried out (**ibid.**).⁹⁹

⁹⁸ “Gerundia käytetään pääverbin kanssa samanaikaista tekemistä ilmaisevana temporaalisena adverbialina.”

⁹⁹ “Se ilmaisee ajallisen rajan, mitä ennen pääverbin tekeminen tapahtuu, [...] Sen avulla muodostetaan ‘sen sijaan että’ -rakenne, [...]”

(28 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Школыш кайымешке, Вачи коваж дене ялыште илен.’

škol	-əš	kajə	-meške,	βači	koβa	-ž	dene	jal	-əšte	il	-en	-∅.
school	-ILL	go	-CVB.FUT	Vachi	grandmother	-3SG with	village	-INE	live	-PST2	-3SG	
n	-case	v	-adv	n	n	-poss po	n	-case	v	-tense	-pers	

‘Until he started school, Vachi lived with his grandmother in the countryside.’

‘Жапым яра эртарымешке, пакчаш кае да аватлан полшо.’

žap	-əm	jara	ertarə	-meške,	pakčə	-š	kaje	-∅	da	aβa	-t	-lan	polšo	-∅.
time	-ACC	idly	spend	-CVB.FUT	garden	-ILL	go	-IMP.2SG	and	mother	-2SG	-DAT	help	-IMP.2SG
n	-case	adv	v	-adv	n	-case	v	-mood.pers	co	n	-poss	-case	v	-mood.pers

‘Instead of spending your time idly, you should go in the garden and help your mother.’

- The converb in *-mek(e)*, the converb of prior actions, which is used to denote activities that precede the activity denoted by the superordinate verb (**ibid.:** 146).¹⁰⁰

(29 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Урокым ыштымеке, Эчан телевизорым ончыш.’

urok	-əm	əštə	-meke,	ečan	televizor	-əm	ońčə	-š	-∅.
homework	-ACC	do	-CVB.PRI	Echan	television	-ACC	watch	-PST1	-3SG
n	-case	v	-adv	n	n	-case	v	-tense	-pers

‘After doing his homework Echan watched television.’

- The converb in *-de ~ -te*, the negative converb, which is used as an adverbial complement denoting something that does not occur (**ibid.:** 145).¹⁰¹

(30 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Кочде, кум кечым чыташ лиш.’

koč	-te,	kum	kečə	-m	čət	-aš	lij	-eš.
eat	-CVB.NEG	three	day	-ACC	endure	-INF	be.possible	-3SG
v	-adv	nm	n	-case	v	-inf	v	-pers

‘You can go three days without eating.’

While it would be hasty to classify the four converbs listed here as trivial, the study of their usage and distribution is more closely tied to questions of temporal structuring than to those of aspect, aktionsart, etc. which is the focus of this thesis. Haspelmath’s and Klumpp’s definitions encompass all of these examples equally well. In fact, Haspelmath’s definition with its reliance on subordination encompasses them more clearly than it does Chkhaidze’s category IV paired verbs, as those can occur in a monoclausal sentence with a complex predicate rather than a sentence consisting of a superordinate and subordinate clause. The one Mari example found in the previously cited survey of

¹⁰⁰ “Gerundia käytetään adverbialina, joka ilmaisee, minkä jälkeen pääverbin tekeminen tapahtuu.”

¹⁰¹ “Se esiintyy tapahtumatta jäävää tekemistä ilmaisevana adverbialina.”

converb constructions co-edited by Haspelmath uses the converb in *-meke* (Nedjalkov 1995: 107), and is a clear case of temporal structuring. Clearly, the definitions found for “converb construction” in general linguistic sources are too broad for the study of what some Uralic sources have called “converb constructions”. I will thus avoid the term from this point on.

2.2.3 Auxiliary verbs and light verbs

In his survey of verbal pairings in Tatar, Claus Schönig, following Turkological traditions, approaches the matter from the other side: not from the perspective of the first, non-finite verb, but rather from the side of the verbs that follow, which he refers to as *Hilfsverben* – auxiliaries (Schönig 1984). Similar terminology has been used in other publications: German *Hilfsverbverbindungen* ‘auxiliary construction’ (e.g. Pischlöger: 2001), Russian *vspomogatel’nye glagoli* ‘auxiliary verbs’ (e.g. Pengitov et al. 1961: 202), Mari *polšăšo glagol* ‘auxiliary verb[s]’ (e.g. Uchayev 1993: 141; Uchayev 1995: 162). Bernd Heine, while acknowledging countless other delimitations of the term, defines an auxiliary as “a linguistic item covering some range of uses along the Verb-to-TAM [tense, aspect, mood] chain” (Heine 1993: 70) – though the range of functional meanings an auxiliary can carry is in fact wider (e.g. negation in many Uralic languages). Maggie Tallerman distinguishes between “lexical verbs”, with “a much heftier semantic content (=meaning)”, and auxiliaries, which are “sometimes called [...] ‘helping’ verb[s]” (Tallerman 2011: 76), and which “represent[...] the same type of grammatical information as is represented on verbs, e.g. tense, aspect, person/number etc.” (ibid.: 292). Gregory Anderson states that an *auxiliary verb*, by his definition, “is here considered to be an item on the lexical verb–functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories, most typically aspectual and modal categories, but also not infrequently temporal, negative polarity, or voice categories” (Anderson 2006: 4–5). Auxiliary verbs must be distinguished from superficially similar *light verbs*, which, while also having a less “hefty” semantic content than lexical verbs, co-occur with nouns rather than with verbs: their usage is typical in constructions that are “semantically largely non-compositional collocations containing a predicate noun which is the syntactic object of a semantically low-content inflected verb, such as *to have a look* or *to take a decision*” (Ronan 2014: 15).

Both light verbs, and auxiliary verbs, are subject to *semantic bleaching* – a principle which is compatible with Chkhaidze’s contemplations on the different degrees to which the core semantics of verbs are lost in what he calls verbal pairings – see Section 2.2.1 (page 36) – and also with Schönig’s frequent observations on “the original meaning breaking through” (or not) in auxiliary constructions (e.g. Schönig 1984: 50).¹⁰² We can expect various auxiliaries in Mari to fall within a spectrum, depending on how empty of lexical semantics they are. The simple past tense II, formed by the juxtaposition of a converb in *-n* with present-tense inflected forms of the auxiliary *ulaš* ‘to be’, can be considered one extreme point here (also illustrated by the fact that grammars universally consider it part of the verbal paradigm, rather than a derived or even analytical form). This has in fact had an effect on morphology as well: in literary Meadow Mari (but not in all dialects), the inflected forms of the auxiliary have been morphologized and become affixes – see Section 2.1.4 (page 28), and Section 2.4 (page 78) for a wider discussion of the principle of grammaticalization.

¹⁰² “Durchschlagen der Vollverbbedeutung”

This “second-verb-based” approach is appealing in that the set of verbs that can occur in this position and lose at least some of their core semantics seems to be a closed one, even if the exact extent and composition of this set is still to be re-evaluated.¹⁰³ This was not a foregone conclusion: in the Northern Australian Jaminjung language, for example, preverbs – which seem to carry out functions quite similar to the auxiliaries at hand in Mari – have been found to be an open class (**Schultze-Berndt 2003**). Given the limited set of verbs that have been encountered in the second position in Mari, however, and the seemingly open set of verbs¹⁰⁴ that seem to occur in the first position (at least in conjunction with some auxiliaries), it seems more logical to base an analysis of this feature on the second verb, henceforth called the auxiliary.

Furthermore, this nomenclature remains vague as to what the auxiliary actually expresses – auxiliary verbs can express aspect, but not only this. I will thus delimit the research topic of my thesis as *auxiliary constructions* (using the converb in *-n*). I will refer to the first element of these pairings as the converb, or simply as the first element – though this definition is, of course, not valid cross-linguistically. The second element will be labelled the auxiliary. Although I have used it in earlier publications, I will avoid using the term *modifier*, as it is too ambiguous. Figure 11 below gives a graphical overview.

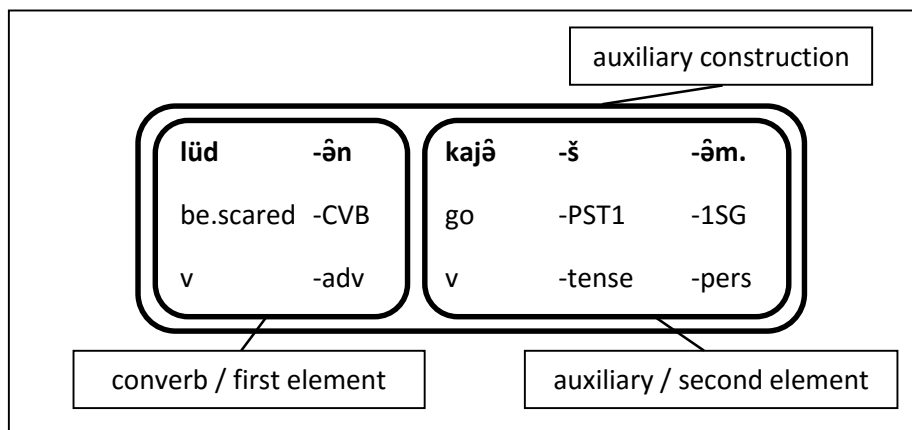


Figure 11: Elements of an auxiliary construction (based on Example 17).

The grammaticalization of lexical verbs as auxiliaries has been extensively studied cross-linguistically (e.g. **Heine & Kuteva 2002**). I will consult general linguistic sources when discussing individual auxiliaries in Mari, to offer a cross-linguistic perspective beyond the immediate contact languages.

It should be noted that not all auxiliaries in Mari co-occur with the converb in *-n*. The negative auxiliary – see Section 2.1.3 (page 26) – demands the so-called connegative form. The verb *tūŋalaš¹* ‘to begin’, when used as a future auxiliary, governs the infinitive (cf. **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тўналаш**). A discussion of modal auxiliaries, many of which couple with the infinitive, can be found in (**Isanbayev 1982**). There is a very small number of auxiliaries, such as *kertaš¹* ‘to be able to’, where there is some alternation: they sometimes co-occur with the converb in *-n* and sometimes with the infinitive. There seem to be definite semantic differences depending on the usage – in this particular case, the converb

¹⁰³ As discussed in Section 1.2 (page 12), Alho Alhoniemi speaks of roughly 40 verbs that can occur in the second position according to some sources (**Alhoniemi 1985: 143–144**). In my earlier work I found examples of 64 verbs used as auxiliaries (**Bradley 2015a: 150**).

¹⁰⁴ I encountered 1581 different verbs in the first position of allegedly relevant pairings when writing my master’s thesis.

seems to be the neutral variant, while the usage of the infinitive seems to indicate the skilful execution of a task (cf. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: керташ).

(31 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: керташ)

‘Каен кертат[.]’

kaj	-en	kert	-at.
go	-CVB	be.able.to	-2SG
v	-adv	v	-pers

‘You can go.’¹⁰⁵

‘[Т]үрлаш керттыт[.]’

türl	-aš	kert	-ât.
embroider	-INF	be.able.to	-3PL
v	-inf	v	-pers

‘They embroider well.’¹⁰⁶

The alternation between the converb in *-n* and other verbal forms as the complement will be discussed for the relevant auxiliaries when they are reviewed on an individual basis.

2.2.4 Aspect and aktionsart

Roman Jakobson’s presumably most famous statement, that “[l]anguages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey” (Jakobson 1959: 236, emphasis his), is essential to remember when considering the principle of *aspect* – in fact, this quote follows a paragraph in which he considers the handling of aspect when translating from English into his native Russian. The study of aspect has its roots in the study of Slavic languages, for the simple reason that the formal marking of something called aspect (which will be defined below) is generally obligatory – it is an inherent feature of verbs in Slavic languages (Löbner 2013: 42) and thus hard to escape. The Oxford English Dictionary only attests the first usage of *aspect* in English in its linguistic sense in 1853 (Binnick 1991: 135–136); it seems to be a clear loan translation from Slavic languages – e.g. Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Croatian *vid* ‘look, view’. It had already been used in respect to Slavic languages by Meletius Smotrytsky in the 17th century (*ibid.*: 139). It is worth remembering that the study of aspect has its roots in Slavic studies when evaluating surveys of non-Slavic languages of Russia – the terminology used is based on Russian and in some cases, interpretations are without a doubt biased by Russian.

While this characteristic of Slavic grammar makes aspect a more salient feature to Slavophone scholars than it is to others, it would be fallacious to assume that languages lacking the same stringent rules regarding aspect marking on verbs lack means to communicate the principle when necessary. It has for example been observed that languages like German (cf. Filip 1999: 267–278) and Finnish (cf. *ibid.*: 278–284) express semantic concepts roughly equivalent to verbal aspect in Slavic languages through distinctions found in their nominal systems. While aspect does not seem to be fundamental to the human understanding of language, it does seem to be fundamental to human language. The field of

¹⁰⁵ “ты можешь уйти”

¹⁰⁶ “хорошо вышивают.”

creole studies has supplied evidence for this. A *creole language* is “a mixed language that is the native language of a speech community. Like *pidgins*, creoles develop in contact situations that typically involve more than two languages; also like pidgins, they typically draw their lexicon, but not their grammar, primarily from a single language, the *lexifier* language. [...] Crucially, the creators of a creole (unless it is a nativized pidgin) are not bilingual in their interlocutors’ languages” (Thomason 2001: 262). In spite of the postcolonial stigma that creole languages have a “simple” structure (if any) (Mühleisen 2002: 185), these fully functioning languages have developed their own grammars; these grammars include mechanisms for aspect marking. The particle *a* in Jamaican Patois, an English-lexified creole (not to be confused with Jamaican English), is used to mark progressiveness, which “expresses the state of a dynamic condition that continues uniformly, such as some activity being done or some process going on” (Löbner 2013: 153). The genesis of aspect marking systems in creole languages has developed into a fruitful subdiscipline of creole studies (cf. Singler 1990).

(32 – Jamaican Patois – Bailey 1966: 46)

‘Dem [ena] laaf afta mi.’

dem	en	-a	laaf	afta	mi
3PL	PST	-PROG	laugh	after	me
pr	pa	-pa	v	pre	pr

‘[T]hey were laughing at me[.]’

The questions remain, however, of what aspect actually is and of how it is delimited from other semantic concepts. This is of special relevance given the long-standing debate in Turkology of whether auxiliary constructions mark aspect or *aktionsart* (German ‘kind of action’, pluralized as *aktionsarten*) (Schönig: 1).¹⁰⁷ Sebastian Löbner states that aspect “concerns the way in which the situation expressed and the time referred to are related to each other. Aspect determines whether the predication is about an event in time (perfective aspect) or about a time related to a situation (imperfective, perfect and prospective aspects)” (Löbner 2013: 157). Bernard Comrie defines aspect as “the grammaticalisation of expression of internal temporal constituency” (Comrie 1985: 8). Neither Löbner nor Comrie use the term *aktionsart* as part of their nomenclatures. Walter Porzig, whom Schönig cites (Schönig: 14), provided a clear distinction between aspect and *aktionsart* in the first half of the twentieth century: he defined aspect as the viewpoint from which a happening is considered: that of a process or that of an event. Basically, either viewpoint is possible (Porzig 1927: 152).¹⁰⁸ In contrast to this, *aktionsart* refers to the manner in which an activity is carried out (*ibid.*).¹⁰⁹

The following two pairs of example sentences illustrate the difference between aspect and *aktionsart*, as understood by Porzig. According to Porzig’s nomenclature, the difference between the sentences in Example 33 is aspectual, while the difference between the sentences in Example 34 is one of *aktionsart*:

¹⁰⁷ “Die Frage, welche Funktion die Hilfsverbverbindungen im Tatarischen – wie überhaupt in den Türkischen – erfüllen, ist Thema vieler Untersuchungen, vor allem der sowjetischen Turkologie. Hier haben sich im Laufe der Zeit zwei gegensätzliche Standpunkte herausgebildet: der eine Teil der an der Debatte Beteiligten sieht in den Hilfsverbverbindungen Träger aspektueller Werte, die anderen betrachten sie als Markierer von Aktionsarten.”

¹⁰⁸ “Der Aspekt [...] ist der Gesichtspunkt, unter dem ein Vorgang betrachtet wird, nämlich ob als Verlauf oder als Ereignis. Grundsätzlich sind bei jedem Vorgang beide Gesichtspunkte möglich.”

¹⁰⁹ “Die Aktionsart ist die Art, wie eine Handlung oder ein Vorgang verläuft.”

(33 – English)

'Sandra was coming in the door when the phone rang.'

'Sandra came in the door when the phone was ringing.'

(34 – English)

'The doctor loved Clara.'

'The doctor fell in love with Clara.'

In Example 33, the difference between the two sentences is one of framing – of indicating what is in the background and what is in the foreground. The usage of the past progressive (“was coming”, “was ringing”) and simple past (“rang”, “came”) respectively does not make any statement about the manner in which the telephone rang or in which Sandra came in the door. It simply communicates which of these actions serves as a backdrop for the other. The distinction between simple, progressive, and perfect forms in English incidentally illustrates the general vagueness that surrounds principles such as aspect in linguistic literature: while the difference is clearly aspectual, the past progressive and simple past forms are often (especially in teaching materials) referred to as tenses, not aspects. Tense, which “locate[s a] situation in time” (Löbner 2013: 157), can only have three meaningful values: past, present, and future – and remoteness distinctions along this axis (cf. Dahl & Velupillai 2013b). As English makes no such distinctions (ibid.), the difference between different past tense forms in English can be assumed to be aspectual.

Meanwhile, in Example 34, the two sentences denote objectively different circumstances. Falling in love is a so-called telic action: it has a terminal point built into it, after which the activity in question is complete, and automatically terminated (cf. Comrie 1976: 44).

Ronny Boogaart subsumes *aspect* and *aktionsart* under the term *aspectuality* (Boogaart 2004: 1165), stating that “[t]he two categories are treated together since both of them concern temporal characteristics of states of affairs as expressed in language.” (ibid.). His usage of the terms is similar to Porzig’s. He states that “aspect indicates whether a state of affairs is seen either from an external viewpoint, as completed (perfective aspect), or from an internal viewpoint, as ongoing (imperfective aspect)” (ibid.: 1166), while *aktionsart* “is used to refer to a typology of states of affairs (event, state, etc.)” (ibid.: 1165). He uses the following three sentences to illustrate the difference between the two concepts:

(35 – English – Boogaart 2004: 1165)

[a] 'He died.'

[b] 'He was dead.'

[c] 'He was dying.'

Sentences [a] and [b] differ as regards their *aktionsart*: [a] represents an event, while [b] represents a state. Meanwhile, [a] and [c] both represent an event, but differ as regards framing (i.e. aspect): both refer to the same circumstances, but while [a] sees it from an external, completed viewpoint, [c] sees it from an internal, ongoing viewpoint.

Other scholars base the distinction on other criteria: not semantics, but the realization. With respect to the historic usage of the terms, Östen Dahl and Viveka Velupillai say: “Especially in Slavic linguistics, the term ‘Aktionsart’, or its counterpart in other languages (such as *sposob dejstvija* in Russian), is used

for phenomena that straddle the borderline between grammar and lexicon, notably various derivational processes by which verbs with specific aspectual meanings may be created. [...] With a more liberal definition of aspect, such processes would be called ‘derivational aspect’” (Dahl & Velupillai 2013a). Some sources distinguish between *grammatical aspect* and *lexical aspect*: “[t]he intuition behind this terminology seems to be that Aktionsart is a lexical property of, most notably, verbs [...], whereas aspect is expressed grammatically – usually by means of inflection, but sometimes by means of aspectual grammatical constructions, such as the English progressive [...]” (Boogaart 2004: 1166). However, “[t]here are [...] quite a few problems attached to distinguishing between Aktionsart and aspect as pertaining either to the lexicon or to the grammar” (ibid.: 1167), for example “the fact that some distinctions that do seem to indicate Aktionsart[...] are, in many languages, expressed by grammatical means” (ibid.).

As mentioned above, the salience of aspect in Slavic languages ensures them a prominent position in the study of this feature. Bernard Comrie’s seminal 1976 introduction to the study of verbal aspects gave two Russian verbal forms as its very first examples (Comrie 1976: 1). However, a clear division between *aspect* and *aktionsart* cannot be assumed to hold in Russian, regardless of what definition is employed. Comrie explicitly decided to avoid the term *aktionsart* due to confusion surrounding its exact definition and chose instead to follow a holistic view when addressing the phenomena under consideration here (ibid.: 7)¹¹⁰ – *aspect*, as seen by Comrie, is similar to what Boogaart called *aspectuality*. In the case of Russian, verbs – in all finite and non-finite forms – are either explicitly *imperfective* (*nesoversšennij*, in German *unvollendet*) or *perfective* (*soversšennij*, in German *vollendet*) (Brosch et al. 1996: 28–29). The duality fails for only a very small number of verbs that can either be used imperfectively or perfectly alike, or that can only be used imperfectively or perfectly and have no counterpart. Generally, however, verbs have an aspectual counterpart,¹¹¹ which is formed through different means: the perfective verb is derived from the imperfective verb through an affix or vice versa, the stress shifts from one syllable to another, or suppletive forms are used.¹¹² The aspectual divide is so intrinsic to Russian that even the most modern loanwords in Russian have imperfective and perfective forms, e.g. *guglit* ‘to google (imp.)’ and *poguglit* ‘to google (perf.)’.¹¹³ Figure 12 below illustrates the manner in which Russian verbs form pairs – note that the infinitive ending *-t’* and the reflexivity marker *-śa* follow derivational suffixes.

¹¹⁰ “In view of the confusion that can be caused by these two rather different senses of *aktionsart*, this term will not be used in the present book.”

¹¹¹ Or several aspectual counterparts, but for the time being, I will ignore at least some of the more complex aspects of Russian morphosyntax.

¹¹² Here we can see how the terms *grammatical aspect* and *lexical aspect* fail in a cross-linguistic survey: the same semantic concept is realized by grammatical markers in some cases and by the choice of a different lexeme in others.

¹¹³ Seen for example at pogugli.com/, the Russian counterpart of the website imgtfy.com/.

Method	Example		
	Imperfective	Perfective	Translation
Perfective is prefixed	<i>delat'</i>	<i>sdelat'</i>	to do
Perfective is suffixed	<i>prigat'</i>	<i>prignut'</i>	to jump
Imperfective is suffixed	<i>vstavat'</i>	<i>vstat'</i>	to stand up
Different stress	<i>osi'pat'</i>	<i>o'sipat'</i>	to strew
Suppletion	<i>govorit'</i>	<i>skazat'</i>	to speak
Imperfective = perfective	<i>organizovat'</i>	<i>organizovat'</i>	to organize
No perfective	<i>žit'</i>	-	to live
No imperfective	-	<i>sostojat'sja</i>	to take place

Figure 12: Russian aspect pairs (based on Brosch et al. 1996: 31–33)

With respect to usage, in many cases Porzig's definition of aspect holds. For example, there are a number of so-called signal words (or phrases) that necessitate the usage of imperfective or perfective forms, e.g. *často* 'often' and *inogda* 'sometimes' for the imperfective aspect (Brosch et al. 1996: 29) or *nakonec* 'finally' and *čerez tri časa* 'after three hours' for the perfective (ibid.: 30). When the usage of one form or another is prompted by the context in this manner, we are clearly dealing with a manner of framing. Note, however, the usage of the aspectual pair *sdavat'* (imperfective) and *sdat'* (perfective) in the following two examples:

(36 – Russian – Wheeler et al. 2007: 452–453)			
'с[давать] экзамен'			
sda	-va	-t'	ekzamen
pass(?)	-IMPF	-INF	exam.ACC
v	-deriv.v	-inf	n.case
'to <u>take</u> , sit an examination'			

'[O]н сдал только латынь[.]'			
on	sda	-l	tol'ko latiń
3SG.MASC	pass	-PST	only Latin.ACC
pr	v	-tense	adv n.case
'[H]e only <u>passed</u> in Latin[.]'			

The difference between taking an exam and passing an exam is certainly not one of framing. Yet, the difference between these so-called aspectual partners – they are given as such in any dictionary of Russian – communicates the difference between trying to pass an exam and actually passing it.

The fuzzy boundary between these semantic concepts in Russian is not problematic for the usage of the term *vid* 'aspect' with respect to Russian itself. Much as some auxiliaries in English can have either a temporal or a modal function (e.g. *shall*: temporal in 'We shall see.', modal in 'Citizens shall provide proof of identity.'), we can simply accept that this particular mechanism has a broad semantic scope in this particular language. The Russian fuzziness does, however, become problematic when it colours scholars' approach to cross-linguistic data. For example, Ol'ga Akhmanova's dictionary of linguistic terminology equates the Russian word *vid* with the German words *Aspekt* and *Aktionsart*, without commenting on the difference between these terms (Akhmanova 1966: 75) – to Claus Schönig's obvious annoyance (Schönig 1984: 14). It also suddenly seems dubious that auxiliary constructions in

Mari are referred to as “compound verbs with an aspectual meaning” (e.g. **Pengitov et al. 1961: 202**)¹¹⁴ in Russian sources on Mari when it has been shown that Russian tradition does not distinguish between these categories, and casts the handling of auxiliaries in lexical sources in doubt. The binary distinction in Russian, which is very accurate in form but very fuzzy in semantics, is used in attempts to convey the difference between a simple verb and auxiliary constructions using said verb as a converb. Consider, for example, the range of auxiliary constructions using the converb *âšten* of the verb *âštaš* ‘to do’ found in the largest Mari-Russian dictionary to date that are translated into Russian with the perfective verb *sdelat’* ‘to do’: *âšten koltaš* (lit. doing send/let go), *âšten kudaltaš* (lit. doing throw), *âšten kâškaš* (lit. doing throw), *âšten luktaš* (lit. doing take out), *âšten nalaš* (lit. doing take), *âšten optaš* (lit. doing put), *âšten puas* (lit. doing give), *âšten pâtaras* (lit. doing complete), *âšten šuas* (lit. doing throw), *âšten šuktaš* (lit. doing complete), *âšten šândaš* (lit. doing put) (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ышташ**). It seems unlikely that all of these constructions are fully synonymous and that they are completely interchangeable (and in fact other translations and disambiguating notes are given after *sdelat’* ‘to do’). Rather, it seems as though a complex range of means of expression are seen through the lens of another language with radically differing mechanisms (as is admittedly necessary in the creation of a dictionary).

With respect to the question of whether the auxiliaries express aspect or aktionsart – and, of course, *which* aspects and aktionsarten they express – Claus Schönig concludes that it is difficult to bring the reasoning put forth by authors describing auxiliaries in Turkic languages as aspect markers in line with the understanding of aspect given in his sources (**Schönig 1984: 22**).¹¹⁵ When considering the “nomenclatorial muddle”,¹¹⁶ he quotes the Turkologist Fuat Ganiyev: “often, aspect is not distinguished from aktionsart” (**Ganiyev 1969: 76**).¹¹⁷ Much as it would be ill-advised to assume that the principles of Russian grammar must hold cross-linguistically, it would also be imprudent to assume that the principles of Turkic grammar must hold in Mari – despite the massive influence that Turkic has had on Mari. Be that as it may, Schönig’s aktionsart-based approach seems intuitive as a starting point, and I will follow an “aktionsart-conscious” approach when analysing the individual auxiliaries used in Mari, while not categorically excluding the possibility of aspectual functions (according to Schönig’s nomenclature).

Bernard Comrie’s survey of verbal aspect mentioned above (**Comrie 1976**) – which, by his definition, encompasses concepts on both sides of the aspect/aktionsart-divide employed by Porzig and adopted by Schönig – offers a good framework for distinguishing the individual cross-linguistically valid values to look out for. The first basic distinction he introduces is between the *perfective*, which “looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation” (**ibid.: 4**), and the *imperfective*, which “looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end” (**ibid.**).

¹¹⁴ “Составные глаголы с видовым значением”.

¹¹⁵ “Wie uns der kurze Überblick über die Werke von Autoren, die in Hilfsverbindungen Träger aspektueller Eigenschaften sehen, gezeigt hat, stoßen wir bei einer solchen Auffassung auf erhebliche Schwierigkeiten, die Merkmale, die von den Verbindungen bezeichnet werden, mit Definitionen von Aspekt, wie sie beispielsweise von Porzig, Rundgren und anderen gegeben werden (s. Abschnitt III.1.), in Einklang zu bringen.”

¹¹⁶ “das so entstehende nomenklatorische Wirrwarr”.

¹¹⁷ “[...] зачастую не ограничивается Аспект (вид) от Aktionsart’а (способ действия).”

He notes that perfective forms can be *ingressive* (in other sources *inchoative* or *inceptive*) and “indicate the beginning of a situation” (**ibid.:** 19) or *resultative* (or *completive*), “i.e. indicating the successful completion of a situation” (**ibid.:** 20).

(37 – English – Comrie 1976: 19, 20–21)

‘And suddenly he [...] understood what was happening.’ (ingressive)

‘I succeeded in persuading him.’ (resultative)

These distinctions are *phasal*: “In such cases, a particular phase of a situation is singled out or focused upon. This may be the beginning of the situation [...] or its end” (**Boogaart 2004: 1172**). Other sources here speak of *initial-transformative* and *final-transformative* phases or aktionsarten (e.g. **Schönig 1984: 34–35; Winkler 2001: 60**). Claus Schönig, moreover, introduces the principle of *exhaustiveness* (**Schönig 1984: 55**).¹¹⁸ Exhaustive statements constitute an important subcategory of final-transformative statements. According to his definition, exhaustiveness occurs when “the specified action is realized to the fullest possible extent and thus also extends to all possible subjects and objects, whether or not they are indicated” (**ibid.:** 55–56).¹¹⁹

(38 – Tatar – Landmann 2014a: 97)

‘Ашап бетердегезме?’

äša	-p	beter	-de	-gez	=me?
eat	-CVB	finish	-PST	-2PL	=INT
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	=enc

‘Have you eaten up?’¹²⁰

Comrie notes that “perfectivity is by no means incompatible with overt expressions of the duration of a situation” (**Comrie 1976: 22**), and cites the usage of the term *delimitative* when a perfective situation occurs over a definite period of time (**ibid.**):

(39 – Russian – Comrie 1976: 22)

‘Он постоял там час.’

on	po-	stoja	-l	-∅	tam	čas.
3SG.MASC	PERF-	stand	-PST	-MASC	there	hour.ACC
pr	pre-	v	-tense	-gen	adv	n.case

‘[H]e stood there for an hour[.]’

He continues to present a typical, more detailed subdivision of imperfectivity:

¹¹⁸ “Exhaustivität”

¹¹⁹ “[...] die spezifizierte Tätigkeit im vollen möglichen Ausmaß verwirklicht wird und sich so auch auf alle möglichen Subjekte und Objekte, ob bezeichnet oder nicht, erstreckt.”

¹²⁰ “Habt ihr fertig gegessen?”

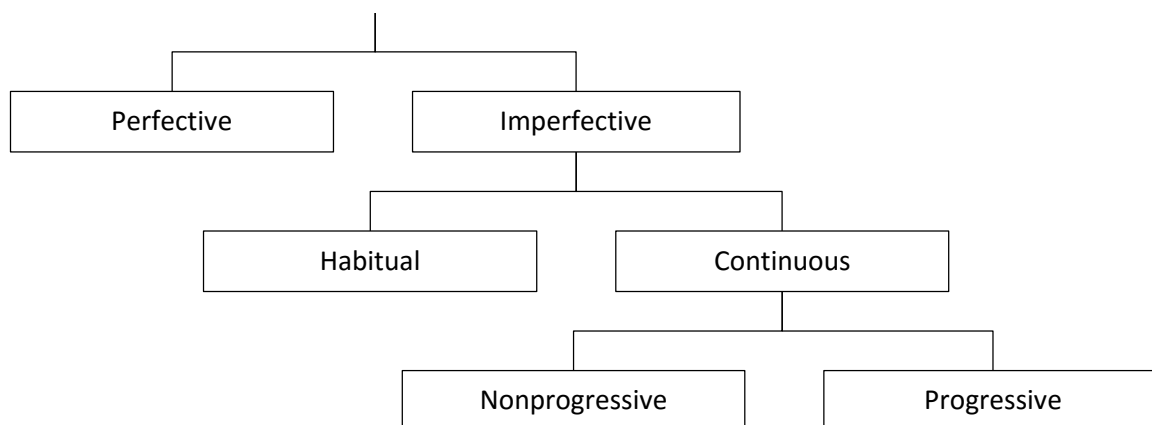


Figure 13: Classification of aspectual oppositions (Comrie 1976: 25)

Habituals “describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (*ibid.*: 27–28). The English “used to”-forms are habitual past tense forms. Comrie notes that many sources consider habituals equivalents of *iteratives* (*frequentatives* in other sources) – forms denoting “the repetition of a situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation” (*ibid.*: 27). This is not a valid conflation: while there are auxiliaries that are both habitual and iterative (for example, German *es pflegen* ‘to have the habit (lit. to nurse it)’), habituals can be iterative, but need not be. Iteratives can be habitual, but need not be.

(40 – English)

- ‘My father used to tell me a story every day.’ (habitual, iterative)
- ‘My father used to have a bushy moustache.’ (habitual, not iterative)
- ‘The professor coughed five times.’ (not habitual, iterative)
- ‘The professor coughed loudly.’ (not habitual, not iterative)

Comrie defines *continuousness* negatively as “imperfectivity that is not habitual” (*ibid.*: 26). He recursively defines *progressiveness* as “the combination of progressive [continuous?] meaning and nonstative [dynamic] meaning” (*ibid.*: 35, insertions in brackets mine). Stative verbs, such as English *to know*, “do[...] not involve change” (Boogaart 2004: 1168), and are not compatible with the progressive – only dynamic verbs, which do involve change (*ibid.*), are:

(41 – English)

- ‘I thought about that.’ (non-progressive, dynamic)
- ‘I was just thinking about that.’ (progressive, dynamic)
- ‘I knew the answer.’ (non-progressive, stative)
- * ‘I was knowing the answer.’

While the graphical representation of these different subdivisions might imply otherwise, the different types of imperfectivity are not necessarily incompatible with one another. For example, progressive and habitual forms can be combined in English:

(42 – English)

'My father used to be reading the newspaper whenever I got home from school.'

In addition to his taxonomization of the perfective and imperfective, Comrie also discusses the “inherent aspectual [...] properties” of lexical items (**Comrie 1976: 41**). The concepts he introduces here are from the domain Porzig and Schönig called aktionsart. He talks about *durativity*, which “simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (or at least, is conceived of as lasting for a certain period of time)”, and *punctual* (in other sources *momentary*) situations which “by definition[have] no internal structure” (**ibid.**).

(43 – English)

'I stood there for an hour.' (durative)

'The bomb exploded.' (punctual)

A valid and important subclass of durativity is *graduality*, where gradual (or incremental) situations indicate “duration or repetition together with transformation” (**Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 78**):

(44 – English)

'The music faded away.'

A further useful subclass of durativity not included in Comrie's survey is *continuativity*: continuative statements indicate “an event continuing to happen” (**Binnick 1991: 146**):

(45 – English)

'Keep going.'

Comrie does, however, distinguish between *telic* situations, which are defined by a “terminal point” (**Comrie 1976: 44**), and *atelic* situations, which “can be protracted indefinitely or broken off at any point” (**ibid.**).

(46 – English)

'John is singing.' (atelic)

'John is making a chair.' (telic)

The four so-called Vendler classes (cf. **Boogaart 2004: 1168–1169**) can serve as an illustration of some of these distinctions. The Vendler classes are “time schemata implied by the use of English verbs” (**Vendler 1957: 144**):

[a] *state*: have, love, hate, know, believe

[b] *activity*: walk, swim, push, pull

[c] *accomplishment*: paint a picture, make a chair, read a novel, grow up, recover

[d] *achievement*: recognize, realize, spot, lose, find, reach the summit, stop/start (**Boogaart 2004: 1168**)

Examples of these classes:

(47 – English Boogaart – 2004: 1168)

[a] 'He was dead.'	(atelic, stative, durative)
[b] 'He ate.'	(atelic, dynamic, durative)
[c] 'He died.'	(telic, dynamic, punctual)
[d] 'He ate an apple.'	(telic, dynamic, durative)

After a systematic review of all auxiliaries used in Mari in Section 4.1 (page 130), the different concepts introduced here will be revisited in Section 5.4 (page 265). For the sake of simplicity, I will employ Comrie's holistic usage of the term *aspect* to cover all the different concepts discussed in this chapter.

2.2.5 Motion events

Leonard Talmy's typological classification of motion events aims to demonstrate "the existence and nature of certain semantic categories such as 'Motion event', 'Figure', 'Ground', 'Path', 'Co-event', 'Precursion', 'Enablement', 'Cause', 'Manner', 'Personation', etc." (Talmy 2007: 167). He defines the principle of a *motion event* as follows:

To begin with, we treat a situation containing motion or the continuation of a stationary location alike as a 'Motion event' (with a capital 'M'). The basic Motion event consists of one object (the 'Figure') moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or 'Ground'). It is analysed as having four components: besides 'Figure' and 'Ground', there are 'Path' and 'Motion'. The 'Path' (with a capital 'P') is the path followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. 'Motion' (with a capital 'M') refers to the presence per se of motion or locatedness in the event. [...] In addition to these internal components, a Motion event can be associated with an external 'Co-event' that most often bears the relation of 'Manner' or of 'Cause' to it. (Talmy 2007: 66; cf. also Talmy 1985)

Luna Filipović gives the following definitions of the basic components listed by Talmy:

Motion: Presence of motion

Figure: The moving object

Ground: The reference-point object with respect to which the Figure moves

Path: The course followed by the Figure with respect to the Ground (Filipović 2007: 17)

When analysing the realization of these concepts in different languages, Talmy makes a rough distinction between what he calls verb-framed and satellite-framed systems (Talmy 2007: 153). Talmy's doctoral advisor Dan I. Slobin follows his lead and illustrates the difference between a satellite-framed system – English – and a verb-framed system – Spanish – graphically:

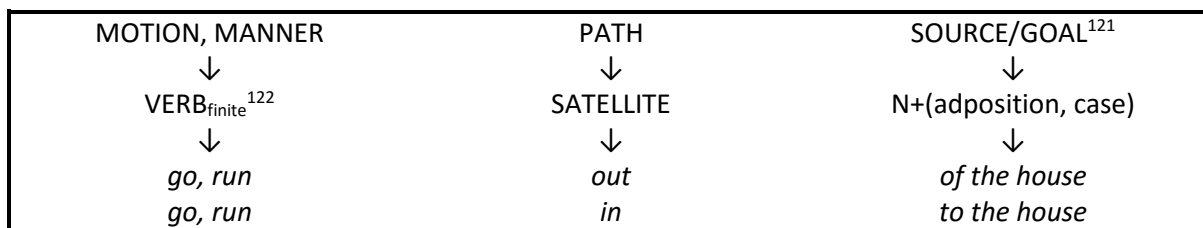


Figure 14: English motion events: satellite-framed (Slobin 2000: 109)

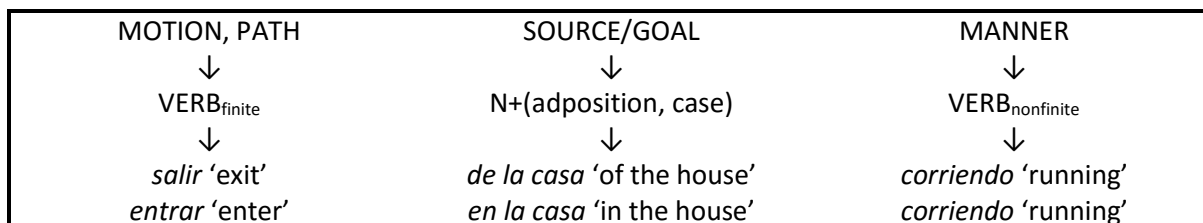


Figure 15: Spanish motion events: verb-framed (Slobin 2000: 109)

In satellite-framed languages like English, the path preferentially is defined by a “satellite” of the verb, while verb-framed languages like Spanish preferentially indicate the path with the main verb of the clause (Slobin 2000: 108). The satellite, in this nomenclature, “is the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (Talmy 2007: 139), and “can be either a bound affix or a free word, [and] is thus intended to encompass all of the following grammatical forms, which traditionally have been largely treated independently of each other: English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, Latin or Russian verb prefixes, [...]” (ibid.).

When distinguishing between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages, Talmy and Slobin are by their own admission more describing tendencies than clear-cut distinctions. Slobin speaks of *manner verbs* (e.g. *run, fly*) and *path verbs* (e.g. *enter, exit*)¹²³ depending on what semantic concepts verbs express (Slobin 2000: 113). Satellite-framed languages prefer to use manner verbs as the main verb, while verb-framed languages prefer to use path verbs as the main verb (ibid.: 108). The strength of this preference differs from language to language. While Russian seems to be strictly satellite-framed and Spanish seems to be strictly verb-framed (ibid.: 113), English is subject to considerable variance, with both satellite-framed and verb-framed constructions being widely used:

(48 – English)

‘The mouse ran into the hole.’ (satellite-framed construction)

‘The mouse came running into the hole.’ (verb-framed construction)

Admitting that he is describing trends rather than deterministic rules, Slobin labels (all) Germanic, Slavic, and “Finno-Ugric” languages as satellite-framed, but Turkish as verb-framed like Spanish (ibid.: 109). This classification of Finno-Ugric as satellite-framed has been picked up by other authors (e.g. Asbury et al. 2008: 21; Filipović 2007: 19), and by Talmy himself (Talmy 2007: 72) – though no sources

¹²¹ SOURCE/GOAL seems to be Slobin’s counterpart to Talmy’s *Ground*.

¹²² The subscript “finite” seems like shorthand notation to me: obviously, the verb need not be finite if it does not occur in the position of a predicate, e.g. “I saw the dog running out of the house.”

¹²³ Talmy uses the term *Deictic verb* (Talmy 2007: 95) instead, but this term seems unnecessarily narrow for the purpose at hand: while path verbs can indicate a movement in reference to the deictic centre (*come, go*), some can also use an absolute/topological frame of reference (*ascend, descend*).

are given to support this claim. It suggests itself that Slobin based his assertion on personal correspondence with colleagues, personal familiarity with some Uralic languages, and/or sources on individual Uralic languages, rather than on a systematic survey of all languages of this phylum. This is understandable, if not inevitable, given the state of research: Surveys exist on motion events in individual Uralic languages (e.g. **Pajusalu et al. 2013** for Estonian; **Sivonen 2010** for Finnish), and comparative studies of a limited scope have been carried out for a select few Uralic languages (**Söder 2001** for Hungarian, Northern Khanty, Northern Saami; **Lander et al. 2013** for verbs of aquamotion in Finnish, Komi-Zyrian, Nganasan, Selkup, and Udmurt, and numerous non-Uralic languages). There is, however, no typological contrastive review of the verbalization of motion events in Uralic in general.

Slobin’s statement seems intuitively accurate in reference to many Uralic languages. The many path-marking verbal prefixes found in the Ugric languages – Hungarian, Mansi, Khanty – are unambiguous satellites (cf. **Honti 1999: 86–91**). Estonian (see below) makes extensive use of satellites as well, as does Finnish. Satellite framing indeed seems to be the prototypically Uralic approach to motion events.

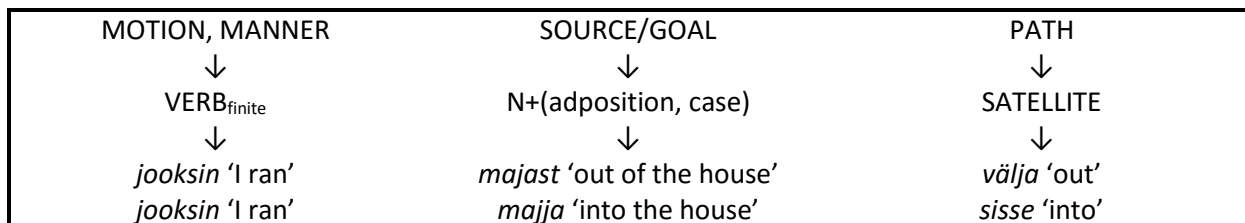


Figure 16: Estonian directional construction¹²⁴

Slobin’s classification of Slavic languages as satellite-framed is hard to doubt as well. Talmy explicitly states that his definition of the term *satellite* also covers Russian verb prefixes (**Talmy 2007: 139**).

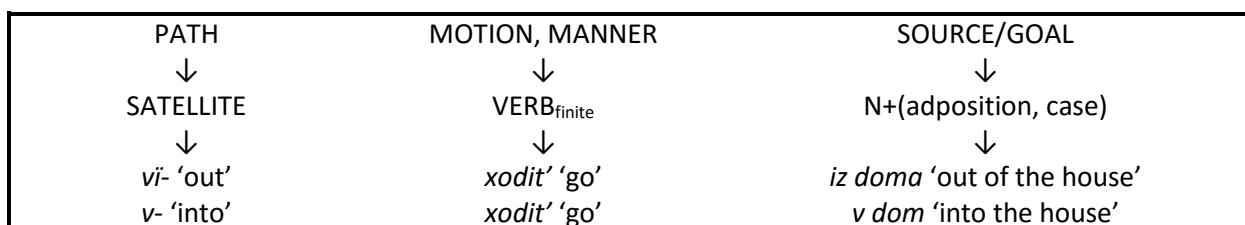


Figure 17: Russian directional construction¹²⁵

Likewise, Slobin’s classification of Turkish as verb-framed seems intuitive. His work group made use of a picture storybook in their survey of verb- and satellite-framing in a number of languages (English, German, Dutch, Russian, French, Spanish, Turkish, Hebrew): children aged 3 to 11 and adult speakers were asked to describe the fairy tale-type plot presented in the book. One and the same event was described by speakers of English as an owl *flying out* of a hole in a tree, but by speakers of verb-framed Turkish as follows:

¹²⁴ Own creation, language data approved by Estonian native speaker Nele Lond.

¹²⁵ Own creation, language data approved by Russian native speaker Anna Wolfauer.

(49 – Turkish – Slobin 2000: 112)

‘[A]ğaç kovuğunun içinden bir baykuş çıkıyor.’

ağaç	kovuğ	-u	-nun	iç	-i	-nden	bir	baykuş
tree	hole	-3SG	-GEN	inside	-3SG	-ABL	one	owl
n	n	-poss	-case	n	-poss	-case	nm	n

çık	-ıyor	-∅.
exit	-PRS.CONT	-3SG
v	-tense	-pers

‘The bird flew (lit. exited) out of the hole in the tree.’

The path, expressed by the satellite *out* in English, is expressed by the verb in Turkish. The manner is not expressed here, but is rather left to context – i.e., it is treated as optional information that can be expressed if need be. In this particular case, this information is rather light, semantically speaking, as *flying* is a natural manner of movement for an owl, much like *swimming* could be considered the natural manner of movement for a fish, *floating* for a raft, etc. It suggests itself that this predetermination is a factor in the omission of this information.

If the manner of a motion is given, Turkish makes use of a converb.

(50 – Turkish – Schroeder 2009: 186)

‘Koşarak eve girdi.’

koş	-arak	ev	-e	gir	-di	-∅
run	-CVB	house	-DAT	enter	-PST	-3SG
v	-adv	n	-case	v	-tense	-pers

‘S/he ran into (lit. entered running) the house.’

While there are some differences regarding the word order, the same general strategy is employed by the Turkic languages of the Volga area:

(51 – Tatar – ABBYY 2014: залететь)

‘[К]ош тәрәзәдән очып керде[.]’

qoş	täräzä	-dän	oş	-op	ker	-de	-∅.
bird	window	-ABL	fly	-CVB	enter	-PST	-3SG
n	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The bird flew in (lit. flying entered) through the window.’¹²⁶

(52 – Bashkir – Miščenko 2014: 1)

‘Кәрим тәзрәнән һикереп сықты.’

kärim	tädrä	-nän	hiker	-ep	sêq	-tê	-∅.
Kärim	window	-ABL	jump	-CVB	exit	-PST	-3SG
n	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘Kärim jumped out (lit. jumping exited) of the window.’¹²⁷

¹²⁶ “птица залетела в окно”.

¹²⁷ “Кәрим выпрыгнул из окна”.

(53 – Chuvash – Skvorcov & Skvorcova 2002: вылететь)

‘[ч]ёкеç йăвинчен вёçсе тухрё.’

čëkeš	jäv	-in	-čën	věš	-se	tuχ	-r	-ě.
swallow	nest	-3SG	-ABL	fly	-CVB	exit	-PST	-3SG
n	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The swallow flew out of (lit. flying exited) its nest.’¹²⁸

Given the sense of familiarity any scholar of Mari will feel when reviewing Turkic verb-framed constructions, it immediately suggests itself that when Slobin classified Uralic (or Finno-Ugric) languages collectively as satellite-framed, he went a step too far. A review of motion events in Mari – and in other Uralic languages that have been influenced by Turkic – seems called for.

While motion events are not explicitly discussed in the relevant reference materials, implicit information on these can be found in a somewhat surprising place: in discussions on aspect. When introducing what he calls *aspectual converb constructions*, Alho Alhoniemi lists a total of 39 verbs he considers prospective aspect givers – i.e. auxiliaries – stating explicitly that the list is surely not exhaustive (Alhoniemi 1985: 144).¹²⁹ He translates the verbs’ core semantics, but only comments on the auxiliary usage of four of the listed verbs. Three other verbs found in his listing are particularly noteworthy; they are marked in grey in the following table:

βolaš ‘to descend’	kāškaš ‘to throw’	sitaraš ‘to provide (as needed)’
βoltaš ‘to lower’	lektaš [!] ‘to go; to appear’	šińčaš [!] ‘to sit down’
βozaš [!] ‘to lie down’	luktaš [!] ‘to lead out’	šińčaš ‘to sit’
ertaraš ‘to spend (time)’	mijaš ‘to go, to come’	šogalaš [!] ‘to stand up’
ertaš ‘to pass’	nalaš [!] ‘to take’	šogaltaš ‘to stand sth.’
ilaš ‘to live’	ońčaš ‘to look’	šogaš ‘to stand’
kajaš ‘to go (away)’	optaš ‘to pile sth. up’	šuaš [!] ‘to reach’
kijaš ‘to lie’	puaš ‘to give’	šuaš ‘to throw’
kodaš [!] ‘to stay’	pāštaš ‘to put’	šuktaš ‘to carry out; to make it’
kodaš ‘to leave sth.’	pātaraš ‘to finish sth.’	šōndaš ‘to put’
koltaš ‘to send’	pātaš ‘to end’	temaš [!] ‘to fill up’
koštaš [!] ‘to go (habitually)’	puraš ‘to go in’	temaš ‘to fill sth. up’
kudaltaš ‘to throw’	purtaš ‘to bring in’	tolaš [!] ‘to come’

Figure 18: Alhoniemi’s aspectual markers (Alhoniemi 1985: 144)¹³⁰

I have not found any plausible indication that these three verbs are ever used to mark aspect, even under the most liberal interpretations of the term. Rather, when these verbs occur in the second position of verbal pairings with the converb in *-n*, it is in sentences like the following:

¹²⁸ “ласточка вылетела из гнезда”.

¹²⁹ “luettelo ei varmaankaan ole tyhjentävä”.

¹³⁰ “βolaš ‘pudota’, βoltaš ‘pudottaa’, βozaš ‘laskeutua’, ertaraš ‘kuluttaa aikaa’, ertaš ‘kulua, mennä ohi’, ilaš ‘elää’, kajaš ‘mennä’, kijaš ‘maata’, kodaš (I konj.) ‘jäädä’, kodaš (II konj.) ‘jättää’, koltaš ‘lähettää’, koštaš ‘kulkea’, kudaltaš ‘heittää’, kāškaš ‘heittää’, lektaš ‘tulla esiin’, luktaš ‘tuoda esiin’, mijaš ‘mennä, tulla’, nalaš ‘ottaa’, ońčaš ‘katsoa’, optaš ‘latoa’, puaš ‘antaa’, pāštaš ‘panna’, pātaraš ‘lopettaa’, pātaš ‘loppua’, puraš ‘mennä sisään’, purtaš ‘viedä sisään’, sitaraš ‘tyydyttää’, šińčaš (I konj.) ‘istuutua’, šińčaš (II konj.) ‘istua’, šoyalaš ‘nousta seisomaan’, šoyaltaš ‘asettaa seisomaan’, šogaš ‘seistä’, šuaš (I konj.) ‘saapua’, šuaš (II konj.) ‘heittää’, šuktaš ‘saattaa perille’, šōndaš ‘asettaa’, temaš (I konj.) ‘täyttyä’, temaš (II konj.) ‘täyttää’, tolaš ‘tulla’”

(54 – Mari – native speaker Elina Guseva)

‘Карме умшаш чоҥештен пурыш.’

karme	umša	-š	čõgešt	-en	purā	-š	-∅.
fly	mouth	-ILL	fly	-CVB	go.in	-PST1	-3SG
n	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The fly flew into (his/her) mouth.’

The second verb of the pairing marks the path; the structure shown here is fully equivalent to the Turkic structures discussed above: it is simply a verb-framed depiction of a motion event. The structure can be summarized as follows:

SOURCE/GOAL	MOTION, MANNER	PATH
↓	↓	↓
N+(adposition, case)	VERB _{nonfinite}	VERB _{finite}
↓	↓	↓
pört kātš ‘out of the house’ pörtāš ‘into the house’	kuržān ‘running’ kuržān ‘running’	lektaš ¹ ‘to go out’ puraš ¹¹ ‘to go in’

Figure 19: Mari directional constructions expressing path and manner¹³¹

It seems perplexing that Alhoniemi would conflate such a distinct semantic concept with what he labels to be aspect, but he is hardly alone in doing so.

A peculiar form of Mari word formation is represented by the so-called paired verbs. The first component of paired verbs is always an adverbial participle, while the second one takes on the time and mood markers as well as the personal endings. In most cases the second component partially or completely loses its independency and changes the verb’s aspect, as Hungarian verbal prefixes do, e.g. M čõgešten kaj[em],¹³² H čõgešt[e]n ke[em] ‘to fly away’ (M čõgeštem, H čõgeštem ‘to fly’; M kajem, H keem ‘to go’); M šortān koltem, H mäg[ə]r[e]n koltem ‘to break out in tears’ (M šortam, H mäg[ə]rem ‘to cry’; M, H koltem ‘to send’); [...] (Bereczki 1990: 73)¹³³

While the auxiliary in the second pairing in the quote above is aspectual, the second verb of the first pairing is clearly a path verb. It should be noted that the verb *kajaš¹¹* ‘to go’, here used as a path verb, can have an aspectual meaning (cf. **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**), but it does not here, as Bereczki’s Hungarian translation admits. A similar equation of prospective Mari auxiliaries with Hungarian verbal prefixes can be found in earlier Hungarian-language accounts of these structures in Mari, including the earliest description of them with which I am familiar, published by József Budenz in 1865 (**Budenz 1865**). In this article he notes that with respect to the structures at hand, Mari agrees with the Chuvash and [sic]

¹³¹ Own creation, language data approved by Mari native speaker Elina Guseva.

¹³² Bereczki on occasion uses the indicative present third person singular as the lexicon form for Mari verbs, which is not in line with any established tradition for Mari. As this form is the lexicon form in Hungarian, such occurrences can be considered slips of the pen.

¹³³ “A cseremisiz szóképzésnek egy sajjá[t]os formáját képviselik az ún. páros igék. A páros igék első komponense mindig határozói igenévi alakban áll, a második komponens kapja meg az idő és módjeleket, valamint a személyragokat. Az esetek túlnyomó többségében a második komponens részben vagy teljesen elveszti önállóságát, s olyképpen módosítja az ige aspektusát, mint a magyar igekötők, pl. k. čõgešten kaja, ny. čõgestan keä ‘elrepül’ (k. čõgeštem, ny. čõgeštem ‘repül’; k. kajem, ny. keem ‘megy’); k. šortān koltem, ny. mäg[ə]ran koltem ‘elsírja magát’ (k. šortam, ny. mäg[ə]rem ‘sír’; k., ny. koltem ‘dob, küld’); [...]”

the Turkic languages in particular (*ibid.*: 87),¹³⁴ and provides numerous usage examples in which individual verbs are likened to Hungarian verbal prefixes (*ibid.*: 87–90). While Budenz’ account is impressively detailed given the time-frame, he makes no distinction between the aspectual and directional function of Hungarian verbal prefixes.

A similar conflation of concepts can be found in Russian-language publications. Countless verbal pairings containing a path verb in the second position are placed under the label of “aspectual” constructions in reference materials. The article on the verb *čoneštaš* ‘to fly’ in the largest Mari-Russian dictionary published to date marks all the following verbal pairing with the symbol //, which according to the dictionary’s introduction indicates “compound verbs with different aspectual meanings” (*Galkin et al. 1990–2005: I: 13*):¹³⁵

Mari verbal pairing	Russian translation	Idiomatic English translation
<i>čonešten bolaš</i> ‘flying descend’	<i>sletat</i> ‘from-fly’	‘to fly down’
<i>čonešten kajaš</i> ‘flying go (away)’	<i>uletat</i> ‘away-fly’	‘to fly away’
<i>čonešten kūzaš</i> ‘flying rise’	<i>vzletat</i> ‘up-fly’	‘to fly up’
<i>čonešten kânelaš</i> ‘flying get up’	<i>vzletat</i> ‘up-fly’	‘to fly up’
<i>čonešten lektaš</i> ‘flying leave’	<i>viletat</i> ‘out-fly’	‘to fly out’
<i>čonešten mijaš</i> ‘flying come/go’	<i>podletat</i> ‘closer-fly’	‘to fly up to sth.’
<i>čonešten puraš</i> ‘flying enter’	<i>vletat</i> ‘in-fly’	‘to fly in’
<i>čonešten tolaš</i> ‘flying come’	<i>priletat</i> ‘to-fly’	‘to come flying’
<i>čonešten ertaš</i> ‘flying go through’	<i>proletat</i> ‘through-fly’	‘to fly by/through’

Figure 20: Path verbs labelled as aspectual markers (*Galkin et al. 1990–2005: чонешташ*)

A number of explanations for this phenomenon suggest themselves. The Mari-Russian dictionary cited here was compiled by over a dozen different editors over the span of decades. It cannot be assumed that all those involved had the same understanding of the terms defined in the dictionary’s introduction at all times. And yet, it is peculiar that a somewhat indifferent approach towards the dividing line between aspectual auxiliaries on the one hand and path verbs on the other is so widespread. The Russian translations of the Mari verbal pairings given in Figure 20 above hint at another explanation: path is marked by verbal prefixes in Russian, much as aspect is in many cases. In fact, the very same verbal prefixes, often associated with specific prepositions (*Tolskaya 2007: 347*), occur as path markers and as aspectual markers in Russian. Some usage examples of different verbal prefixes, both as markers of aspect and as path markers, are shown in Figure 21:

	As aspect marker			As path marker
	Imperfective	Perfective		
<i>s-</i>	<i>delat</i> ‘to do’	<i>sdelat</i>	<i>letat</i> ‘to fly’	<i>sletat</i> ‘to fly down’
<i>vi-</i>	<i>pit</i> ‘to drink’	<i>vipit</i>		<i>viiletat</i> ‘to fly out’
<i>za-</i>	<i>platit</i> ‘to pay’	<i>zplatit</i>		<i>zaletat</i> ‘to fly out’
<i>pro-</i>	<i>bit</i> ‘to hit’	<i>probit</i>		<i>proletat</i> ‘to fly by’
<i>u-</i>	<i>videt</i> ‘to see’	<i>uvidet</i>		<i>uletat</i> ‘to fly away’
<i>vz-</i>	<i>volnovat</i> ‘to worry’	<i>vzvolnovat</i>		<i>vzletat</i> ‘to fly up’
<i>na-</i>	<i>pisat</i> ‘to write’	<i>napisat</i>		<i>naletat</i> ‘to fly up to’

Figure 21: Russian verbal prefixes: usage examples

¹³⁴ “(e sajártság modorában[...] különösen a csuvas és török nyelvekkel egyez a cseremisiz)”

¹³⁵ “составные глаголы с различными видовыми значениями”

It is not at all unusual for motion-marking elements – be they adpositions, spatial adverbs, or verbs of motions – to be grammaticalized as markers of more abstract semantic categories, such as tense, aspect, mood (TAM), etc., and this has been extensively studied cross-linguistically (e.g. **Devos & van der Wal 2014**). Examples can easily be found in the “western” Uralic languages as well. Verbal prefixes with directional meaning are used to mark aktionsarten in Hungarian, as is illustrated in these examples:

(55 – Hungarian – Forgács 2007: 245)

'elszakít'			'eltörök		
el-	szak	-ít	el-	török	
away-	part	-CAUS	away-	break	
adv-	n	-deriv.v	adv-	v	
'to tear apart' ¹³⁶			'to break apart' ¹³⁷		

Margarita Kuznecova has compared the Hungarian verbal prefix *el-* used above with aspectual auxiliaries and path verbs in Mari (**Kuznecova 1999**).

Meanwhile, the verb meaning ‘to come’ has acquired the function of a necessitive marker in both Finnish and Estonian:

(56 – Finnish – Kangasniemi 1992: 100)

'Meidän tulee muistaa, että synnillä leikkiminen on vaarallista leikkiä.'

meidän	tule	-e	muista	-a,	että				
1PL.GEN	come	-3SG	remember	-INF	that				
pr	v	-pers	v	-inf	co				
synni	-llä	leikki	-minen	on	vaara	-llis	-ta	leikki	-ä.
sin	-ADE	play	-NMLZ	is	danger	-ADJ	-PART	game	-PART
n	-case	v	-deriv.n	v	n	-deriv.adj	-case	n	-case

'We must remember that playing with sin is a dangerous game.'

(57 – Estonian – Penjam 2006: 167)

'Meil tuleb töö lõpetada.'

mei	-l	tule	-b	töö	lõpeta	-da.
1PL	-ADE	come	-3SG	work	finish	-INF
pr	-case	v	-pers	n	v	-inf

'We have to finish the job.'

In fact, one need not look any further than English to find examples of elements originally used to denote motion being used as TAM markers:

¹³⁶ “zerreißen”

¹³⁷ “zerbrechen”

(58 – English)

'Help! Help! I am going to drown!'

'You bastard, you ate up all the cookies.'

Especially given the predominance of aspect/path-duality in Russian – the main reference language for many linguists working with Mari – it seems almost understandable that path-marking elements have been interpreted as TAM-marking elements in Mari, even in the complete absence of evidence that they have any such functions. It is not, however, acceptable for the purpose of this thesis.

I will now take a step back and analyse how motion events are verbalized in Mari. To readers not fully acquainted with both Mari and Russian, the entry on the verb *tolasʹ* 'to come' in the Mari-Russian dictionary mentioned above can be daunting. It spans over seven pages in the print edition (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: VII: 132–138) and gives 28 distinct aspects of meaning as translations. While a novice's assumption might be that the Mari verb is ridiculously ambiguous or that the Russian lexicon is ridiculously detailed, the explanation for this phenomenon lies rather in the different manner in which motion events are verbalized in these two languages. The following excerpt from the entry illustrates this point (forms that would unnecessarily complicate the picture have been excluded):

1. [...] <i>prixodit'</i> [...]	'to come (walking)'
2. [...] <i>prijexat'</i> [...]	'to come (by vehicle/horse)'
3. [...]	
4. [...] <i>priletet'</i> [...]	'to come (flying)'
5. [...]	
6. [...] <i>priplit'</i> [...]	'to come (swimming)'
7. [...]	

Figure 22: *tolasʹ* (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: толаш I), with English translations of the Russian translations

As can be seen in this illustration, the (admittedly pre-selected) Russian translations all feature the prefix *pri-*. This is not a coincidence. The stems of Russian verbs of motion intrinsically mark a manner of transport, but not the path (cf. Wade 2002: 150): *xodit'* 'to go (on foot)', *jexat'* 'to travel' (i.e. drive, ride), *letet'* 'to fly', *plit'* 'to swim'. As mentioned above, path is marked with a number of verbal prefixes (and through prepositions used in the complements); the prefix *pri-* indicates an 'arrival' (ibid.: 156), and is consequently the actual optimal translation for the Mari verb *tolasʹ* (and the English verb 'to come' – a path verb in otherwise mostly satellite-framed English). Given that the Mari verb is a path verb, and strictly satellite-framed Russian avoids path verbs as a rule, it is understandable why a one-to-one translation of the verb in question did not come naturally.

Mari does of course have means of marking manner. While the verb *tolasʹ* indicates path but not manner, the verb *čorještašʹ* 'to fly' is the exact opposite: it indicates manner, but not path. Both of these verbs can be used on their own as predicates in simple clauses, leaving the dimension they do not mark to context. To mark both path and manner, the manner-marking verb, in the form of the converb in *-n*, is followed by a path verb, creating the structure illustrated in Example 54 above. Path verbs can indicate the path in absolute/topological terms (e.g. *to descend*, *to ascend*), or in relationship to the deictic centre (e.g. *to come*, *to go*). Figure 23 summarizes the possibilities; Example 59 below shows the different options covered by this table in sentences.

	Path [+/-]	Manner [+/-]
<i>tolaš</i> ¹ 'to come'	+	-
<i>čoneštaš</i> ¹¹ 'to fly'	-	+
<i>čonešten tolaš</i> ¹ 'to come flying'	+	+

Figure 23: Marking path and manner in Mari

(59 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Турня-влак чонештат.’

turña	-βlak	čonešt	-at.
crane	-PL	fly	-3PL
n	-num	v	-pers

‘Cranes are flying.’

‘Уна-влак толыт.’

una	-βlak	tol	-ât.
guest	-PL	come	-3PL
n	-num	v	-pers

‘The guests arrive.’

‘Шокшо эл гыч кайык-влак чонештен толыт.’

šokšo	el	gâč	kajâk	-βlak	čonešt	-en	tol	-ât.
hot	land	from	bird	-PL	fly	-CVB	come	-3PL
adj	n	po	n	-num	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘Birds come flying from warmer countries.’

One factor that has been disregarded so far, but must be considered as well is transitivity – see Section 2.1.7 (page 35). In pairings of this sort, both elements seem, as a rule, to agree in transitivity. Only intransitive path verbs co-occur with intransitive manner verbs, and only transitive path verbs with transitive manner-marking verbs.

The question arises at this point of whether I want to refer to the path verb in the second position of verbal pairings as an auxiliary. This choice comes considerably less naturally than in the case of the presumed aspectual markers discussed above: the path verb is not quite as “semantically bleached”. Both it and the converb mark one semantic criterion each: manner and path respectively. Given the more “equal pairing” we have here, it would appear somewhat arbitrary to label the second verb an auxiliary. Slobin’s term *path verb* seems safer, especially as the semantic function of these verbs is considerably less obscure than it is in those discussed above. When this term is used in the thesis at hand, it is implied that I am dealing with path verbs that can couple with a manner-marking converb in *-n*; to the best of my knowledge, the only path verb in Mari that does not do this is *pörtâlaš*¹ ‘to return’. Due to the absence of a distinction between aspectual auxiliary constructions and directional constructions in the sources under consideration, however, this dissertation does contain some references to sources that list directional constructions as auxiliary constructions.

How obligatory the path verb is in such cases is unclear. The following two examples indicate that the usage of the path verb *kajaš*¹¹ ‘to go (away)’, marking the directionality “away”, is in this case optional. (One might also expect the motion-marking converb to be optional, as it is syntactically optional, and especially as the manner – *flying* – could be considered the natural way for birds to move – i.e. the information is of little pragmatic importance. However, the manner verb seems to be omitted less frequently than the path verb.) It is as yet unclear whether there is a difference in meaning between the sentences – and what the difference might be, if it exists.

(60 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Кайык-влак шокшо вельш чонештен каят.’

kajə̀k	-βlak	šokšo	βel	-əš	čənešt	-en	kaj	-at
bird	-PL	hot	area	-ILL	fly	-CVB	go	-3PL
n	-num	adj	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘Birds fly off to warmer lands.’

(61 – Mari – native speaker Anatoly Kuklin)

‘[Идым] тылзын турня-влак шокшо вельш чонештат.’

idə̀m	tə̀lzə	-n	turňa	-βlak	šokšo	βel	-əš	čənešt	-at
threshing.floor	month	-INS	crane	-PL	hot	area	-ILL	fly	-3PL
n	n	-case	n	-num	adj	n	-case	v	-pers

‘Cranes fly off to warmer lands in September.’¹³⁸

Further investigation will be necessary here.

It should be noted that not all verbal pairings denoting a movement follow the very productive pattern established here. Note, for example, the following pairings, where both verbs represent the category of path-marking verbs:

(62 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Ўдырем толын пурыш.’

üdər	-em	tol	-ə̀n	purə	-š	-∅.
daughter	-1SG	come	-CVB	go.in	-PST1	-3SG
n	-poss	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘My daughter came in.’

‘Айвика ойлыш, пуйто тудо Парижыш миен толын.’

ajβika	ojlə	-š	-∅	pujto	tudo	pariž	-əš	mij	-en	tol	-ə̀n	-∅.
Ayvika	say	-PST1	-3SG	that	3SG	Paris	-ILL	go	-CVB	come	-PST2	-3SG
n	v	-tense	-pers	co	pr	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘Ayvika said that she went to Paris.’

¹³⁸ www.kmatsum.info/mari/mardic/mar4Tt.html: “В сентябре журавли улетают в тёплые края”

As can be said of many verbal pairings, these pairings are clear Turkic loan translations – see Section 2.4 (page 78): *tolân puraš*¹³⁹ ‘to come in (lit. to coming enter)’ < Chuvash *kilse kër* ‘id.’ (Bereczki et al. 2013: 279),¹³⁹ *mijen tolaš*¹⁴⁰ ‘to go, to visit (lit. to going come)’ < Chuvash *pîrsa kil* ‘id.’ (ibid.: 142).¹⁴⁰ I cannot observe an abstract pattern governing the usage of these pairings. The converb in *-n* – Section 2.3.1 (page 69) – and the Chuvash converb in *-sa ~ -se* (cf. Landmann 2015: 87) can denote activities anterior to the superordinate verb; pairings of this sort could be considered cases of the serialization of events. Alternatively, these pairings could be reviewed under the lens of compositional strategies widely employed in the Volga-Kama area: Turkic and Uralic languages of the region alike form so-called *dvandva* compounds (cf. Csúcs 1998: 295), where the juxtaposition of two nouns creates a class label covering the two cited nouns and possibly other items that fall into the same category, e.g. Tatar *äbi* ‘grandmother’ + *bâba* ‘grandfather’ > *äbi-bâba* ‘ancestors’ (cf. Asylgarayev et al. 2007: әби; баба; әби-баба), Bashkir *ata* ‘father’ + *äsäj* ‘mother’ > *ata-äsäj* ‘parents’ (cf. Landmann 2015: 129; 139), Chuvash *jiväs* ‘tree’ + *kuräk* ‘grass’ > *jiväs-kuräk* ‘plants, vegetation’ (cf. Skvorcov & Skvorcova 2002: дерево; трава; растение), Mari *kümâž* ‘dish’ + *sovla* ‘spoon’ > *kümâž-sovla* ‘tableware’ (cf. Riese et al. 2014–: кумыж; совла; кумыж-совла), Udmurt *jm* ‘mouth’ + *ņjr* ‘nose’ > *jmņjr* ‘face’ (cf. Csúcs 1998: 295; Maksimov et al. 2008: 630), Komi *paś* ‘fur coat’ + *ķem* ‘footwear’ > *paśķem* ‘clothing’ (cf. Beznosikova et al. 2003: шуба; обувь; одежда). Verbal pairings such as Mari *mijen* ‘going’ + *tolaš* ‘to come’ > *mijen tolaš* ‘to visit’ (and its Chuvash counterpart *pîrsa kil*) could be interpreted as verbal compounds created by a similar strategy.

Regardless of their exact interpretation, though, I am inclined to consider these verbal pairings as individual phraseological expressions historically and semantically distinct from the productive constructions I am studying, and have thus generally excluded them from this survey.

While textual data on Mari paints a picture of an unequivocally verb-framing language, it would be interesting to see how results attempting to reproduce Dan Slobin’s work detailed above with speakers of different dialects of Mari line up with different age groups. Even more alluring is the prospect of carrying out research into the vocalization of motion events in other Uralic languages of Russia that have been subject to substantial Turkic influence: Udmurt, Erzya, Selkup, Kamas.¹⁴¹ While these languages do not seem to have as fleshed-out a verb-framing system as Mari does, individual examples can be found that can be interpreted as Turkic-style verb-framed vocalization of motion events:

(63 – Kamas – Klumpp 2002: 137)

[M]än ü?mäle? šobjam ma?əni[.]’

män	ü?mä	-le?	šo	-bja	-m	ma?əni
1SG	run	-CVB	arrive	-PST	-1SG	house.LAT.1SG
pr	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	n.case.poss

‘I came running (running arrived) home.’¹⁴²

¹³⁹ “Lehnübersetzung: [...] tscher. *tolân purem* ‘зайти’ (eig. ‘kommend hineingehen’) ← tschuw. *kilse kër*- id.”

¹⁴⁰ “Lehnübersetzung: [...] tscher. *mijen tolam* ‘сходить, съездить куда-л.’ (eig. ‘gehend kommen’) ← tschuw. (Ašm. 9:189) *pîrsa kil*- id.”

¹⁴¹ As Kamas is extinct, elicitation-based research is obviously not an option in its case.

¹⁴² “minä juosten tulín kotia (ich kam nach Hause gelaufen)”

(64 – Northern Selkup – Valijärvi 2008: 169)

[N]a nätäät tümmyntötyt tĩmpylä[.]’

na	nätä	-t	tüm	-myntötyt	tĩmpy	-lä
that	girl	-PL	come	-NARR.3PL	fly	-CVB
pr	n	-num	v	-mood.pers	v	-adv

‘Those girls came flying.’

Erzya and Udmurt (especially the Besermyan variety, which has been under considerable Turkic influence – cf. **Teplyashina 1970: 35–36**) examples can be found in Sections 4.1.1 (page 131), 4.1.12 (page 149), and 4.1.23 (page 177). Especially considering the vast dialectal difference regarding the prevalence of auxiliary constructions in Udmurt (cf. **Kel’makov 1975; Horváth 2013: 114**), it seems likely that a variational study might yield interesting results.

2.2.6 Benefactive and autobenefactive

A benefactive construction can be defined as a device used to express that a “given state of affairs [...] advantageously affects some participant that is not its patient” (**Zúñiga 2011: 330**). When this beneficiary is the agent, one can speak of an autobenefactive construction (**Kittilä & Zúñiga 2010: 4**).

(65 – English)

‘I baked him a cake.’

‘I baked myself a cake.’

In Mari, the verb *puš*¹¹ ‘to give’ is used as an auxiliary to express the presence of a beneficiary in situations where a pronoun would be used in English:

(66 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: чыштыраш)

‘Ачай, пычалым налын пу.’

а́ча	-j,	пə́чал	-ə́m	nal	-ə́n	pu	-∅.
father	-VOC	rifle	-ACC	buy	-CVB	give	-IMP.2SG
n	-case	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

‘Daddy, buy me (lit. buying give) a rifle.’¹⁴³

According to Boris Serebrennikov and Nikolay Isanbayev, this structure is uncommon in Mari when compared to Tatar and Chuvash (cf. **Serebrennikov 1960: 198; Isanbayev 1978: 84**), but the verb in question is hardly rare as an auxiliary in Mari, and my consultant classified numerous prospective benefactive usages I suggested to her as grammatical.

A verbal benefactive strategy of this sort using a verb meaning ‘to give’ is quite common in the languages of the world; languages using this strategy are spread across the globe (**Creissels 2010: 40**). Some, but by no means all, that employ this strategy also use a ‘take’ verb as an auxiliary in autobenefactive constructions (**ibid.: 57**). Attestations exist from “Mongolic, Turkic, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Austroasiatic languages” (**ibid.**). Autobenefactive ‘take’ has in fact been observed in the Turkic languages of the Volga Region (**ibid.: 58**).

¹⁴³ “Папа, купи мне ружьё”

(67 – Tatar – Landmann 2014a: 96)

‘Адресымны язып алыгызчы.’

adres	-âṁ	-nâ	jâz	-âp	â†	-âṽâz	=śâ.
address	-1SG	-ACC	write	-CVB	take	-IMP.2PL	=WEAK
n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-mood.pers	=enc

‘Please write down my address (for yourself).’¹⁴⁴

(68 – Bashkir – Landmann 2015: 100)

‘Минең адресымды язып алығыз.’

min	-eŋ	adres	-âṁ	-dâ	jâḍ	-âp	â†	-âṽâḍ.
1SG	-GEN	address	-1SG	-ACC	write	-CVB	take	-IMP.2PL
pr	-case	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

‘Write down my address (for yourself).’¹⁴⁵

(69 – Chuvash – Landmann 2014b: 90)

‘Сирён адреса ҫырсa илтём.’

sirён	adres	-a	śir	-sa	il	-t	-ëm.
2PL.GEN	address	-ACC	write	-CVB	take	-PST	-1SG
pr	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘I wrote down your address (for myself).’¹⁴⁶

For a discussion of the usage of the relevant Mari verbs, see Section 4.1.41 (page 210) for *puaş* / *puaş*^{ll} ‘to give’ and Section 4.1.30 (page 189) for *nalaş* / *näläş*^l ‘to take’. Furthermore, the verb *oñčäktäş* / *anžäktäş*^{ll} ‘to show’ – Section 4.1.36 (page 199) – can be considered a benefactive marker of sorts as well, used when beneficiaries not only benefit from an action, but have the action illustrated to them in some manner as well.

2.3 The converb in -n

This section will focus on the converb in -n, which is at the core of the structures discussed in the previous section.

2.3.1 Usages

The converb in -n is quite polyfunctional. It can occur in many syntactic positions and carry out many semantic functions.

- Forms of the converb in -n can be used as adjective attributes. This usage seems to be comparatively rare, and converbs used in this manner can be considered lexicalized

¹⁴⁴ “Schreiben Sie (sich) bitte meine Adresse auf.”

¹⁴⁵ “Schreiben Sie (sich) meine Adresse auf.”

¹⁴⁶ “Ich habe (mir) Ihre Adresse aufgeschrieben.”

(Alhoniemi 1985: 142)¹⁴⁷ – i.e. it is not productive in this function, and it thus would not be appropriate to define this form as a participle.

(70 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шужаш > шужен ий)

‘шужен ий’

šuž	-en	ij
starve	-CVB	year
v	-adj	n

‘year of famine (lit. starving year)’¹⁴⁸

- Converbs in *-n* can be used as free adverbials indicating either the manner in which an action is carried out, the means by which an activity is carried out, the cause of an activity, or an activity carried out simultaneously by the subject of the main verb (Alhoniemi 1985: 142).¹⁴⁹

(71 – Mari – native speakers Emma Yakimova and Anatoly Kuklin)

‘Понго когылетым йӱратен кочкам.’

pongo	kogôl’	-et	-ễm	jörat	-en	kočk	-am.
mushroom	pie	-2SG	-ACC	love	-CVB	eat	-1SG
adj	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-v.pers

‘I love to eat (lit. loving eat) your mushroom pies.’

‘Кайык кылмен колен.’

kajêk	kễlm	-en	kol	-en	-∅.
bird	freeze	-CVB	die	-PST2	-3SG
n	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The bird froze to death (lit. freezing died).’¹⁵⁰

‘Кочкын шинчена.’

kočk	-ễn	šĩńć	-ena.
eat	-CVB	sit	-1PL
v	-v.adv	v	-v.pers

‘We are sitting and eating (lit. eating sitting).’

- The converb in *-n* can be used in clausal subordination. An *embedded clause* or *subordinate clause* is “any clause which is not the main clause [in a complex sentence]” (Tallerman 2011: 292), where the *main clause*, or *matrix clause*, is “the clause to which the clause below is subordinate” (*ibid.*). Depending on the semantics of the verb that occurs as a converb (e.g. its

¹⁴⁷ “Niissä tapauksissa, joissa *n*-gerundi esiintyy pääsanansa edellä käyväenä adjektiiviattribuuttina, on kyse leksikaalistumista, [...]”

¹⁴⁸ “голодный год; год, скудный хлебом, продуктами питания”.

¹⁴⁹ “[...] se esiintyy kuitenkin irrallisena adverbiaalina; [...] Silla ilmaistaan hyvin monenlaisia semanttisia suhteita. Se voi ilmaista tapaa, keinoa, syytä tai ehtoa; [...] Gerundilla ilmaistu tekeminen voi ensinnäkin olla samanaikaista pääverbillä ilmaistun tekemisen kanssa.”

¹⁵⁰ www.kmatsum.info/mari/mardic/mar3Kk.html: “Птица погибла от мороза.”

telicity) and the wider context, the subordinate clause can be either simultaneous to the superordinate verb or anterior – i.e. precede it.

(72 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Библиотекаштыс кнйгам налын, мый мӧнгыш каем.’

bibliotekâ	-šte	kniga	-m	nal	-êñ,	mâj	möngê	-š	kaj	-em.
library	-INE	book	-ACC	take	-CVB	1SG	home	-ILL	go	-1SG
n	-case	n	-case	v	-adv	pr	n	-case	v	-pers

‘After taking out a book at the library, I’ll go home.’

It can be difficult to draw the line between an embedded clause and a free adverbial in the case of Mari, and Alhoniemi’s grammar in fact does not do so. It is only noted that the converb can indicate an action that precedes the action denoted by the main verb (Alhoniemi 1985: 142),¹⁵¹ which seems typical of the usage of the converb in *-n* in clausal subordination. In respect to Turkic languages Lars Johanson speaks of “converb segments, minimally consisting of a verb form, but expandable to full-fledged clauses” (Johanson 1995: 313) – the difference between a simple adverbial subordination, and an embedded subordinate clause could be seen as the distinction between converb segments that have been expanded and those that have not.

A superficial distinction between free adverbials and embedded clauses that suggests itself might be that the clause-final converb in an embedded clause does not necessarily have to immediately precede the finite verb of the main clause, and indeed prescriptive materials on literary Mari dictate that free-standing converbial constructions are to be delimited by a comma (Ivanov et al. 2011: 40).¹⁵² However, subordinate clauses – in which the clause-final converb has, for example, an object – can immediately precede the finite verb of the main clause, and no comma occurs in this situation in literary Mari (ibid.: 41).¹⁵³ Hence, this distinction fails.

(73 – Hill Mari – Alhoniemi 1985: 143¹⁵⁴)

ТыдыӀ пӕшӕм быштен толеш.

Тӕдӕ	päšä	-m	əšt	-en	tol	-eš.
3SG	work	-ACC	do	-CVB	come	-3SG
pr	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘(S)he will come when (s)he has done the work.’

Alhoniemi notes that it is not unusual for the agent of the converb in *-n* not to conform with the grammatical subject of the main clause. The actual agent of the converb can precede the converb in the nominative, but it can also be omitted and expressed through context. The subject cannot be overtly marked by a possessive suffix (Alhoniemi 1985: 142).¹⁵⁵ While, technically speaking, this is

¹⁵¹ “Mutta instruktiivinen gerundi esiintyy monesti myös pääverbiin nähden aikaisempaa tekemistä ilmaisevana adverbialina, [...]”

¹⁵² “Деепричастиян савыртыш ден тудын деч вара шогышо рашемдыме мут коклаште иктаж вес член уло гын, деепричастиян савыртыш запятой дене ойыралтеш: [...]”

¹⁵³ “Рашемдыме мут ончылно, пеленжак, шогышо деепричастий да деепричастиян савыртыш запятой дене огыт ойыралт: [...]”

¹⁵⁴ “Hän tulee tehtyään työn.”

¹⁵⁵ “Mutta yleisiä ovat myös ne rakenteet, joissa gerundin tekijää ei subjekti ilmaise. Gerundin tekijä voi jäädä erikseen ilmaisematta, mutta on myös konteksteja, joissa gerundilla on erillinen, ilmi pantu agentti. Se on aina

correct, the statement merits further investigation, and possibly qualification. Cross-linguistically, depending on “the co-referentiality of the subjects of the converb and the superordinate verb[, ...] three types of converbs are distinguished: *same-subject* converbs (where the converb subject and the subject of the superordinate verb are always co-referential), *different-subject* converbs (where the converb subject and the subject of the superordinate verb are never co-referential [...]), and *varying-subject* converbs (these occur both in same-subject [...] and in different-subject constructions [...])” (Nedjalkov 1995: 110). It is clear that the same-subject usage dominates in the case of the converb in *-n*, while other converbs in Mari – see Section 2.2.2 (page 40) – are clearer cases of varying-subject converbs, especially those that allow the overt marking of a subject using a possessive suffix – see Section 2.1.5 (page 31). It has been observed cross-linguistically that languages like “modern Russian, where converbs do not have a valence position for the subject” (ibid.), “notwithstanding the efforts of grammarians” (Weiss 1995: 258) do in some special cases allow sentences “where an existing overt subject does not control the converb” (ibid.) – namely, in the case of *part-whole relationships*:

(74 – Russian – Weiss 1995: 258)

‘Слушая его, у меня горели глаза и щёки.’

slušaj	-a	jevo,	u	meña	gore	-l	-i	glaza	i	śoki.
listen	-CVB.PRS	3SG.MASC.ACC	at	1SG.GEN	burn	-PST	-PL	eyes.PL	and	cheeks.PL
v	-adv	pr	pre	pr	v	-tense	-pers	n	co	n

‘(On) listening to him, my eyes and cheeks were burning.’

Likewise, it is easy to find examples in Mari using the converb in *-n* where the subject of the converbial clause and the main clause enjoy a part-whole relationship.

(75 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шўм I > шўм вургыжын)

‘Чалемаш тўналше ава салтак эргыжым шўм вургыж вуча.’

čal	-em	-aš	tūrjal	-še	aβa	saltak	ergā	-žā	-m	šūm	βurgāž	-∅	βuč	-a.
grey	-TRANS	-INF	start	-PTCP.ACT	mother	soldier	son	-3SG	-ACC	heart	worry	-CVB	wait	-3SG
adj	-deriv.v	-inf	v	-adj	n	adj	n	-poss	-case	n	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘The mother, her hair having started to turn grey, is anxiously (lit. heart worrying) waiting for her son the soldier.’¹⁵⁶

(76 – Mari – Alhoniemi 1985: 142–143)

‘Тудын оралтыжым ончен, шўм коршта ыле.’

tudā	-n	oraltā	-žā	-m	ońć	-en,	šūm	koršt	-a	ā’ē.
3SG	-GEN	building	-3SG	-ACC	look	-CVB	heart	hurt	-3SG	PST
pr	-case	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	n	v	-pers	pa

‘One’s heart hurt when looking at his/her building.’¹⁵⁷

Other examples seem to be comparatively rare. As mentioned above, in contrast to other converbs, the converb in *-n* cannot take possessive suffixes. The typical manner of marking an animate subject in a different-subject converbial construction – see 2.1.5 (page 31) – is thus not possible. The typical manner of marking an inanimate subject in such a construction by having a noun in the nominative

nominatiivimuotoinen. Gerundiin voi eri funktioissa liityä poss.suffiksikin, mutta se on luonteeltaan determinatiivinen eikä ilmaise agenttia.”

¹⁵⁶ “Поседевшая мать с тревогой ждёт своего сына-солдата.”

¹⁵⁷ “Hänen rakennustaan katsellessa sydäntä särki.”

precede the converb is however possible (and my consultant was only willing to accept sentences of this type with inanimate objects as grammatical):

(77 – Mari – Alhoniemi 1985: 142–143)

‘Таче тушко шонгыжо, изиже олымбал темын погыненыт.’

taće	tuško	šongǵə	-žo,	izi	-že	olǵmbal	tem	-ǵn	poǵǵn	-en	-ǵt.
today	there	old	-3SG	small	-3SG	bench	fill.up.INTR	-CVB	gather	-PST2	-3PL
adv	adv	n	-poss	n	-poss	n	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘Young and old are gathering there today, the bench filling itself’¹⁵⁸

- As discussed in Section 2.2.5 (page 56), the converb can mark the manner of movement in a motion event.
- The converb in *-n* is used in combination with auxiliary verbs in auxiliary constructions, as previously discussed in Sections 2.2.3 (page 45), 2.2.4 (page 47), and 2.2.6 (page 68). In addition to the semantic categories previously discussed, certain modal auxiliaries – i.e. verbs “which express such concepts as permission, necessity or ability” (Tallerman 2011: 77) – are used in conjunction with the converb in *-n*. This is again a Turkic feature: it is typical for modal auxiliaries denoting permission, necessity or ability to combine with converbs in Turkic languages (cf. Johanson 2009: 498). Relevant modal verbs will be reviewed in the complete listing of auxiliaries below.

(78 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Таче мыйын шинчам коршта, лудын ом керт.’

taće	mǵj	-ǵn	širǵa	-m	koršt	-a,	lud	-ǵn	o	-m	kert	-∅.
today	1SG	-GEN	eye	-1SG	hurt	-3SG	read	-CVB	NEG	-1SG	be.able.to	-CNG
adv	pr	-case	n	-poss	v	-pers	v	-adv	v	-pers	v	-conn

‘My eyes hurt today; I cannot read.’

2.3.2 Word order and interpretation

When the most neutral word order – see Section 2.1.2 (page 25) – is followed, the converb precedes the superordinate verb in all the usages detailed above. This is in line with what one would expect in a head-final language. Deviations from this word order for the sake of emphasis or for stylistic reasons are permissible, but the flexibility offered by Mari syntax differs depending on the usage. The same principle has been observed in Bashkir (cf. Mišcenko 2014: 4). Because “reduction of word order freedom should be considered as one factor in a grammaticalization process” (Lehmann 1995: 120) – see Section 2.4 (page 78) – differences in the flexibility of word order in individual constructions might have profound implications.

- Subordinate clauses with a clause-final converb in *-n* and converbs used as free adverbials, enjoy relatively great flexibility with respect to their placement. They need not immediately precede the superordinate verb and can even follow it. The following examples show the non-prototypical placement of subordinate clauses.

¹⁵⁸ “Tänään sinne kerääntyi vanhoja ja nuoria penkki täyteen (= penkki täyttynen).”

(79 – Mari – Ivanov et al. 2011: 40–41)

‘Лектеш уремыш пöрт гыч кочай, тоям кучен[.]’

lekt	-eš	urem	-âš	pört	kâč	kočaj,	toja	-m	kuč	-en.
go	-3SG	street	-ILL	house	from	old.man	stick	-ACC	hold	-CVB
v	-pers	n	-case	n	po	n	n	-case	v	-adv

‘An old man comes out into the street from the house, holding a stick.’

‘Изи памаш гыч йыргыктен, эңер куржеш куштен[.]’

izi	pamaš	kâč	jârgâkt	-en,	eңer	kurž	-eš¹⁵⁹	kušt	-en.
small	spring	from	purl	-CVB	river	run	-3SG	dance	-CVB
adj	n	po	v	-adv	n	v	-pers	v	-adv

‘Purling from a small spring, the river runs, dancing.’

- When the converb in *-n* is used in combination with modal auxiliaries denoting ability – in the following example *kertaš¹* – it can follow the auxiliary which it precedes when neutral word order is followed. This transposition seems to indicate an emphasis of sorts.

(80 – Mari – Ivanov 2010)

‘Пүрымаш деч от керт утлен[.]’

pürê	-maš	teč	o	-t	kert	-∅	utl	-en.
be.destined	-NMLZ	from	NEG	-2SG	be.able.to	-CNG	escape	-CVB
v	-deriv.n	po	v	-pers	v	-conn	v	-adv

‘You cannot escape destiny.’

It should be noted that the same mechanism exists in Russian “in reverse”: As Russian is a right-branching/head-initial SVO language, by default complements follow their heads. This neutral word order in Russian corresponds to the marked word order in Mari. Deviations from the default word order are possible in Russian as well; this marked word order corresponds to the neutral word order in Mari.

¹⁵⁹ The verb *куржеш* /kuržeš/ is superordinate to both converbs in this sentence.

(81 – Russian – native speaker Elena Skribnik)

‘He могу сказать.’

ne	mog	-u
NEG	be.able	-1SG
part	v	-pers

skaza	-t’.
say	-INF
v	-inf

‘I can’t say.’ (neutral)

‘Сказать не могу.’

skaza	-t’
say	-INF
v	-inf

ne	mog	-u.
NEG	be.able	-1SG
pa	v	-pers

‘Oh I can’t say.’ (emphasized)

In Mari, a further deviation from the usual word order can be observed in negated sentences in dialectal texts. While the placement of the converb between the negation verb and the connegative form *kert* – cf. Section 2.4 (page 78) – does not seem to be permissible in modern Mari (no occurrences in the corpus), examples of this structure can be found in the dialect text collections:

(82 – Northwestern Mari (Отирово, during First World War) – Beke 1957–1995: I: 24)

‘[O]-yeš šar dâk a-k tò:lân kert.’

o-γ	-eš	šar	-∅
NEG	-3SG	shit	-CNG
v	-pers	v	-adv

dâk	a-k	-∅
if	NEG	-3SG
co	v	-pers

tò:l	-ân
come	-CVB
v	-adv

kert	-∅.
be.able	-CNG
v	-conn

‘If it [a horse] does not shit [between the drawbars of a wagon], he [a soldier] cannot come [home from war].’¹⁶⁰

- When the converb in *-n* is used with other auxiliaries – i.e. those indicating aktionsart or directionality – the same displacement of the converb does not seem to be permissible. I could not find any examples of this in my corpus, and my Mari consultant rejected artificially created examples of this sort as ungrammatical. The only elements that frequently occur between the converb and the auxiliary in these cases are clitics and the negative auxiliary – see Section 2.1.3 (page 26). Some peculiarities surround the usage of the negation verb in auxiliary constructions; these will be discussed in Section 2.4 (page 78).

2.3.3 Morphology and etymology

Alho Alhoniemi calls the converb in *-n* the *myönte[n]en instruktiivi[n]en gerundi[...]* ‘affirmative instructive gerund’ (Alhoniemi 1985: 141). He also associates various adverbial meanings that could be considered instructive with the genitive case, which also has the ending *-n* (ibid.: 48–50). Denominal *-n* (genitive, instructive) and deverbal *-n* (the converb in *-n*) are assumed to be

¹⁶⁰ “Wenn das Pferd eines Eingerückten (eig. eines Mannes, der in den Krieg gezogen ist), [sic] zwischen die Deichseln des Wagen mistet, kehrt dieser [aus dem Krieg] heim. Mistet es nicht dorthin, kann er nicht wiederkommen.” (Beke 1957–1995: I: 25)

etymologically connected (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1966–1969: I: 12**). Hence, a brief historical review of forms in *-n* in Mari seems appropriate.

A genitive ending **-n* can be reconstructed for Proto-Uralic; reflexes of this ending are found in different branches of the language family, e.g. Finnish *kalan* < *kala* ‘fish’, Southern Saami *guolen* < *guole* ‘id.’, Selkup *logan* < *loga* ‘fox’, Mordvin *keveñ* < *kev* ‘stone’,¹⁶¹ and Mari *kolâñ*¹⁶² < *kol* ‘fish’ (**Collinder 1960: 282–284**). Instructive forms in *-n* that have adverbial functions are common throughout the language family as well: Finnish *hyvin* ‘well’ < *hyvä* ‘good’, Hungarian *ketten* ‘as two’ < *kettő* ‘two’, Erzya-Mordvin *kavtoñ-kavtoñ* ‘in twos’ < *kavto* ‘two’, Udmurt *pidjñ* ‘on foot’ < *pid* ‘foot’, and Mari *pisâñ* ‘quickly’ < *pise*¹⁶³ ‘quick’ (**Galkin 1986: 14**). In Finnish, a language that has both genitive and instructive forms in *-n*, considerable syncretism has occurred. However, while genitive and instructive forms are identical in the singular, they are not so in the plural, e.g. *jalka* ‘foot’ > *jalan*¹⁶⁴ ‘of the foot; on foot’ (genitive and indicative singular), but *jalkojen* ‘of the feet’ (genitive plural), *jaloin* ‘with feet’ (instructive plural) (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1991**).¹⁶⁵ Some reference materials on Finnish thus do include the instructive as a separate case, but often only give plural forms (e.g. **Pomozi 2004b: 176**). In Mari as well, genitive and instructive forms are, morphologically speaking, usually – but not always – identical. This will be discussed below.

The parallel development of these forms in Uralic languages has been a matter of great debate in Uralic studies for a long time (cf. **Ravila 1941: 71 ff.**; **Wiklund 1927: 327**; **Kettunen 1956**; **Mark 1925: 228ff.**; **Hakulinen 1961: 74**; **Hajdú 1985: 230**; **Tauli 1956**; **Galkin 1986: 14**). A popular interpretation is that both the genitive and instructive forms trace back to an original **-n*, and that “the instructive then acquired its special sense as a result of its association with the verb, whereas the genitive was linked with the noun” (**Hakulinen 1961: 74**). Regardless of the suffixes’ prehistories, in modern Mari genitive and instructive forms are almost always formally equivalent. Alho Alhoniemi subsumes the instructive and genitive usages of the ending *-n* in his 1985 grammar without comment (**Alhoniemi 1985: 49–50**); the later German-language edition of the grammar explicitly states that the assumption is being made that the instructive and genitive forms are etymologically connected (**Alhoniemi 1993: 50**).¹⁶⁶ The only situation in which suffixation methods differ is when the suffix in *-n* co-occurs with the comparative (or gradation) marker *-rak*: while the genitive marker would follow the comparative marker, the instructive marker can (but does not have to) precede it: *saj* ‘good; the good one’¹⁶⁷ > *sajrak* ‘better (adj.); the better one’ > *sajâñrak* ~ *sajrakâñ* ‘better (adv.)’, but only *sajrakâñ* ‘of the better one’ (**Riese et al. 2010–**¹⁶⁸). The instructive forms have different adverbial meanings, e.g. *saj* ‘good’ > *sajâñ* ‘well’,

¹⁶¹ However, Collinder expresses doubts regarding the origin of the Mordvin genitive: “It is uncertain whether the *-ñ* of Mordvin has developed from **-n*. (The change **-n* > *-ñ* has taken place regularly after a fore-tongue vowel, but not after a back-tongue vowel.)” (**Collinder 1960: 284**).

¹⁶² The *â* is epenthetic (cf. **Âkimova et al. 1990–1991: I: 20**).

¹⁶³ The shift *e* > *â* is regular: unstressed final vowels are reduced before suffixes in Mari (cf. **Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: I: 15**).

¹⁶⁴ The change from *-lk-* to *-l-* is due to consonant gradation, a regular process in Finnish morphophonology.

¹⁶⁵ “[...] melkein adverbiksi kangistunut yksikön instruktiivi taas on tunnistettavissa monikkokokeen avulla: *jalan* : *jaloin* – *jalan* : *jalkojen*. Vastaavanlainen genetiivin ekspansio on havaittavissa myös muissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä, useimmissa saamen murteissa ja mordvassa.”

¹⁶⁶ „Die Zusammenstellung basiert auf der Annahme, daß die instruktivischen *n*-Formen gleichen Ursprungs wie die Genitivformen sind.”

¹⁶⁷ The dividing line between nouns and adjectives is fuzzier in Mari than it is in English; most adjectives can be used freely as nouns.

¹⁶⁸ Chapter 12. I have not given an exact page number, as we are in the process of preparing a new edition and have not yet prepared the layout.

jol ‘foot; leg’ > *jolān* ‘on foot’, *rušarña* ‘Sunday’ > *rušarñan* ‘on Sunday’, *kumât* ‘three’ > *kumâtān* ‘in a group of three’, etc. (cf. **Riese et al 2014–2015**).

In contrast to the aforementioned sources, the Chuvash linguist Mikhail Fedotov describes instructive *-n* in Mari as a Chuvash loan element, contrasting it with numerous adverbs formed with the suffix *-ăn / -ĕn* in Chuvash (cf. **Fedotov 1990: 117–118**). While there seems to be more evidence for a Uralic origin of the Mari morpheme, it is without a doubt possible that its usage was influenced by Chuvash, and that individual adverbials with this suffix are Chuvash loans.

The suffix *-n* used to create all these forms can be attached to verbal stems (**Kangasmaa-Minn 1966–1969: I: 12**); the resulting form is the converb in *-n* (**Alhoniemi 1985: 141 ff.**). For first conjugation verbs – see Section 2.1.1 (page 24) – the ending of this converb is *-ăn* and for second conjugation verbs, it is *-en* (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 252**). The systematically different endings in the two conjugation classes can possibly be explained by different stress patterns (**Itkonen 1962**), but this will not be discussed further here.

	First conjugation	Second conjugation
Infinitive	tolaš	tolaš
Verbal stem	tol-	tolo-
Converb in <i>-n</i>	tolān	tolen

Figure 24: Converbs in *-n* of *tolaš* ‘to come’ and *tolaš* ‘to steal’

For a number of first conjugation verbs with polysyllabic stems, the simple stem with no ending can occur as the converb, e.g. *ošem-* ‘to turn white’ > *ošem* ~ *ošemăn* ‘turning white’ (**Alhoniemi 1985: 142**). It is not clear which factors determine the choice between the short and long forms. One source claims that this phenomenon affects the third syllable – i.e. occurs in the case of disyllabic stems – when the stem ends in the derivational suffixes *-an*, *-al*, *-ešt*, *-em*, *-ed*, *-št*, or *-ž* (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 252**).¹⁶⁹ This seems valid as a rule of thumb – it doubtlessly occurs in the case of longer stems and can also frequently be observed in the case of stems ending in *-alt* or *-lt* – but exceptions can be found with the short form of other stems.

(83 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ўпшычаш > ўпшыч шукташ)

‘[Ў]пшыч шуктеныт.’

ўпшăĕ ¹⁷⁰	-∅	šukt	-en	-ăt.
smell	-CVB	succeed.in	-PST2	-3PL
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘They sniffed it out.’¹⁷¹

It is also not yet clear if the usage of the short form is restricted by factors external to the stem, i.e. the syntactic position of the converb. Preliminary consultations with Mari native speakers suggest that this is not the case.

¹⁶⁹ “Выпадение суффикса происходит в позиции третьего слога у глаголов с основой на [...]”

¹⁷⁰ The verbal stem here is *ўпшăĕĕ*, but the consonant cluster *ĕĕ* is simplified in syllable-final position.

¹⁷¹ “[В]ынюхали.”

2.4 Loan translations, grammaticalization, and lexicalization

A loan translation, or calque, is “a new word or phrase constructed by taking a foreign word or phrase as a model and translating it morpheme-by-morpheme” (Trask 1996: 21). Examples of calques in English are the phrase *it goes without saying*, from French *ça va sans dire* (ibid.), and the word *black market*, from German *Schwarzmarkt* (Campbell 2004: 81). A number of specific auxiliary constructions of the types discussed above are explicitly labelled as loan translations in Gábor Bereczki’s etymological dictionary of Mari: *kâlden šândaš*¹⁷² ‘to tie up (lit. to tying place)’ < Chuvash *šixsa lart* ‘id.’ (Bereczki et al. 2013: 56),¹⁷² *ijân kajaš*¹⁷³ ‘to swim away (lit. to swimming go)’ < Chuvash *išse kaj* ‘id.’ (ibid. 2013: 22).¹⁷³ While auxiliary constructions might have first found their way into Mari by the means of loan translations, the present-day mechanisms cannot be reduced to loan translations. The auxiliary *šândaš*¹⁷⁴ ‘to place’ can be found in numerous pairings with obvious Russian loanwords or modern internationalisms, e.g. *maskirovatlen šândaš*¹⁷⁴ ‘to camouflage (lit. to camouflaging place)’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *маскироватлаш > маскироватлен шындаш*)¹⁷⁴ < Russian *maskirovat* ‘id.’ < (after 1700) German *maskieren* ‘to mask’ < French *masquer* (Vasmer et al. 1986: II: 578).¹⁷⁵ The verb *kajaš*¹⁷⁶ ‘to go’ can seemingly connect with any intransitive verb of motion that indicates a manner of transport.¹⁷⁶ Both of these verbs seem to have developed a life of their own as auxiliaries, or to put it in more scientific terms, have been subject to grammaticalization.

Grammaticalization is “the attribution of a grammatical character to a formerly independent word’, where an independent word with independent meaning may develop into an auxiliary word and, if the process continues, end up as a grammatical marker or bound grammatical morpheme” (Campbell 2004: 292). When a language gains new morphemes through this process, one can speak of *morphologization* (Joseph 2003), and if “lexical items [are] reduced to grammatical items without entirely losing their status as words” (Trask 1996: 143), the term *syntactization* is apt (cf. Givón 1979: 207). As an example, syntactization is the process by which the English verb of motion *go* established itself as a tense-marking auxiliary in its progressive form *going*. A metric of grammaticalization of this sort suggested by Joan Bybee is frequent repetition: “[f]requency of use leads to weakening of semantic force by habituation – the process by which an organism ceases to respond at the same level to a repeated stimulus” (Bybee 2003: 604).

When English *going* used in this function, it can, together with the particle *to* that follows it in this construction, be reduced to *gonna* in colloquial English. Note that this reduction is only possible when *going to* is used in this grammatical sense. When *going to* is used in its original directionality-marking sense, no reduction is possible. English native speakers’ introspection can be used to objectively measure if grammaticalization has happened in this specific case.

¹⁷² “Lehnübersetzung: tscher. *kâlden šândem* ‘anbinden’ (eig. ‘bindend setzen, stellen’) ← tschuw. *šixsa lart*- id.”

¹⁷³ “Lehnübersetzung: Das tscheremissische Konverbgefüge *ijân kajem* ‘wegschwimmen, fortschwimmen’ (eig. ‘schwimmend gehen’) ist eine Lehnübersetzung von tschuw. *išse kay*- id.”

¹⁷⁴ “замаскировать”

¹⁷⁵ “Через нов.-в.-н. *maskieren* – то же (с 1700 г.; см. Шульц – Баслер 2, 84) или непосредственно из франц. *masquer*.”

¹⁷⁶ I cannot provide an example with a modern Russian loanword or internationalism here as I know of no instances of either that would meet these semantic constraints.

'I'm gonna buy a new car.'

* 'I'm gonna the beach.'

The form *gonna* can in actuality be considered a lexicalization which happened as a consequence of the aforementioned grammaticalization. Lexicalization can be considered “the unification, or univerbation, of a syntactic phrase or construction into a single word” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 48). The term *chunking*, defined as “the process behind the formation and use of formulaic or prefabricated sequences of words” (Bybee 2010: 34) can serve as an umbrella term for grammaticalization and lexicalization in cases where it is hard to decide with what one is dealing.

When looking for similar examples of idiosyncratic behaviour in the realm of auxiliary constructions in Mari, I found four lexemes in the modern Mari lexicon that trace their roots back to auxiliary constructions. In all four cases the final *-n* of the converb has been assimilated (by place of articulation) by the initial consonant of the former auxiliary becoming either *-m* or *-ŋ*. The realization of the word in pronunciation (and in consequence orthography) underlines a particularly close bond between the converb and the auxiliary. In three cases the converb has also undergone further simplification.

- *kambozaš^l* ‘to fall’ < *kajen bozaš^l* (lit. ‘to going lie down’)¹⁷⁷
- *nanğajaš^{ll}* ‘to take (somewhere)’ < *nalân kajaš^{ll}* (lit. ‘to taking go’)¹⁷⁸
- *namijaš^{ll}* ‘to bring’ < *nalân mijaš^{ll}* (lit. ‘to taking come’)¹⁷⁹
- *pureŋgajaš^{ll}* ‘to fall; to drown’ < *puren kajaš^{ll}* (lit. ‘to entering go’)¹⁸⁰

A similar development affecting the converb of a verb meaning ‘to take’ and a verb of motion in Turkic languages: Tuvan, Turkmen, and Bashkir dialects (cf. Schönig 1984: 10).

In all four cases in Mari, examples of the original pairing can also be found in the contemporary literary language (though they were rejected as ungrammatical by my consultant), i.e. sentences in which the converb occurs as an independent word in constellation with the relevant auxiliary. The two forms also seem to co-occur in dialectal texts – see Section 3.3 (page 119) – often within one text recorded from one consultant, in close proximity to one another.

¹⁷⁷ (cf. Driussi 2003: 50; Riese et al. 2014–)

¹⁷⁸ (cf. Alhoniemi 1986: 102; Bereczki et al. 2013: 42; Riese et al. 2014–)

¹⁷⁹ (cf. Alhoniemi 1986: 102; Riese et al. 2014–)

¹⁸⁰ (cf. Riese et al. 2014–)

(85 – Eastern Mari (Чураево, 1900) – Paasonen & Siro 1939: 2)

‘[K]uβaj, mom naŋɟajet?’

kuβa	-j,	mo	-m	naŋɟaj	-et?
old.woman	-VOC	what	-ACC	take.somewhere	-2SG
n	-case	pr	-case	v	-pers

‘What are you taking away, old woman?’¹⁸¹

‘[K]ombâm nalân kaja seđe kuβa.’

kombâm	-m	nal	-ân	kaj	-a	seđe	kuβa.
goose	-ACC	take	-CVB	go	-3SG	this	old.woman
n	-case	v	-adv	v	-pers	pr	no

‘She took the goose away, that old woman.’¹⁸²

The question arises of whether the choice between the lexicalized and “analytical” forms is an arbitrary orthographic one. The lexicalization of these words does, however, have a tangible effect on syntax. As was discussed in Section 2.1.3 (page 26), the negative auxiliary, by default, immediately precedes the connegative form of the word that is to be negated. Because it is the auxiliary that is negated, this means that the negative auxiliary has to vie for this position with the converb. Compare the negation of the same verbal pairing, in its “analytical” and lexicalized form: in the “analytical” construction, the converb precedes the negation verb; in the case of the lexicalized form, the former converb can no longer be separated from the former auxiliary. Compare the following two examples:

(86 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: каяш > каен возаш)

‘[Ч]уч гына каен ом воч.’

џуџ	kāna	kaj	-en	o	-m	воџ	-∅.
barely	just	go	-CVB	NEG	-1SG	lie.down	-CNG
adv	pa	v	-adv	v	-pers	v	-conn

‘I almost fell (lit. barely do not fall).’¹⁸³

(87 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘[Ч]уч гына шым камвоч.’

џуџ	kāna	∅	-š	-ām	камвоџ	-∅.
barely	just	NEG	-PST1	-1SG	fall	-CNG
adv	pa	v	-tense	-pers	v	-conn

‘I almost fell (lit. barely did not fall).’

Given the fact that chunking – unlike the choice of an orthographic form in a text – is a gradual process, this peculiarity of the lexicalized form suggested itself to me as a metric by which well-established converb constructions can be identified, regardless of their realization in writing. Examples can indeed

¹⁸¹ “Mütterchen, was bringst du fort?” (ibid.)

¹⁸² “Die Gans nahm sie und es geht jenes Weib.” (ibid.)

¹⁸³ “[...] сам я чуть не упал.”

be found where the converb, though written as an independent word, appears between the negation verb and the connegative form.

(88 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: курныжланаш; тототлаш; шалаташ > шалатен кудалташ)

‘Ида курныжланен шинче!’

ida	kurnāžlan	-en	šínće	-∅!
NEG.IMP.PL	be.greedy	-CVB	sit	-CNG
v	v	-adv	v	-conn

‘Don’t be greedy (lit. don’t being greedy sit)!’¹⁸⁴

‘Ит тототлен шого.’

it	tototl	-en	šogo	-∅.
NEG.IMP.SG	jabber	-CVB	stand	-CNG
v	v	-adv	v	-conn

‘Don’t jabber around (lit. don’t jabbering stand).’¹⁸⁵

‘Тыге колхозым изиш ышт шалатен кудалте.’

tāge	kolhoz	-ām	iziš	ā	-š	-t	šalat	-en	kudalte	-∅.
so	collective.farm	-ACC	barely	NEG	-PST1	-3PL	destroy	-CVB	throw	-CNG
adv	n	-case	adv	v	-tense	-pers	v	-adv	v	-conn

‘And like this, the collective farm was almost destroyed (lit. they barely did not destroying throw).’¹⁸⁶

Preliminary consultation sessions with Mari native speakers revealed a complicated picture: my consultants strongly disagreed with each other regarding whether sentences of this type are grammatical. As my consultants are representatives of different dialect groups, this suggests the possibility that this phenomenon is subject to dialectal variance (although the possibility of idiolectal differences cannot be excluded either).

2.5 Auxiliary constructions and the Volga-Kama Sprachbund and beyond

While the general consensus is that many auxiliary constructions in Uralic languages (in the case of Mari, those using the converb in *-n*) are of Turkic origin, the circumstances of their borrowing and their exact origin are debatable. In the case of Udmurt, it seems fairly clear that aspectual auxiliary constructions were borrowed at a later time from Kipchak Turkic. This is supported by the supposed complete absence of this mechanism in Udmurt’s sister language Komi (Isanbayev 1978: 60)¹⁸⁷ – Chuvash influence on the Permic languages was dominant before Proto-Permic separated into its

¹⁸⁴ “Не хищничайте!”

¹⁸⁵ “Не трещи тут.”

¹⁸⁶ “Так колхоз чуть не развалили.”

¹⁸⁷ “Что касается составных глаголов удмуртского языка, то они, по общепринятому мнению, появились под непосредственным влиянием татарского языка. Отсутствие подобных образований в близкородственном коми языке не позволяет говорить об участии в этом процессе чувашского влияния.”

contemporary languages; hence a feature borrowed from Chuvash would be expected in Komi as well (cf. **Róna-Tas 1988: 760**).¹⁸⁸

The Mari situation is more complex, with some scholars ascribing the emergence of aspectual auxiliary construction in Mari to Chuvash influence (e.g. **Serebrennikov 1960: 255**)¹⁸⁹ and some to Kipchak influence (e.g. **Chkhaidze 1967: 258**).¹⁹⁰ An argument for the earlier Chuvash origin is the fact that it can be found in all varieties of Mari (**Bereczki 2002: 225**).¹⁹¹ An argument for a later Kipchak origin is the usage of some verbs as auxiliaries in Tatar and Mari, but not in Chuvash (**Isanbayev 1978: 60**),¹⁹² which will be reviewed in due course. Naturally, both Chuvash and Kipchak might have played a role in the development of this system in Mari: the most likely interpretation is that the mechanism was originally borrowed from Chuvash and that its exact realization was moulded over the centuries under Kipchak influence. This prospect is a motivation to attempt to view dialectal differences within this mechanism through the lens of the complex contact situation detailed above; and in fact the Mari linguist Nikolay Isanbayev attempted to do this for 32 different aspectual auxiliaries used in Mari (**Isanbayev 1978: 62–87**). I will integrate his findings into my review of the individual auxiliaries.

While the constructions at hand are Turkic in origin, the morphological building blocks generally are not.¹⁹³ This is not surprising. According to Thomason and Kaufman's *borrowing scale*, syntactic and lexical features will move more quickly from one language to another than morphological elements, even assuming a "good typological fit" (**Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74–76**). It should be noted, though, that there is no one-to-one relationship between converbs in Chuvash and Tatar on the one hand and in Mari on the other: the converb in *-n* has established itself as a "catch-all converb" of sorts, corresponding to two distinct converbs, each with distinct functions, in those languages (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 88; Hesselbäck 2005: 152–154**). In Chuvash there is a so-called "subordinate converb" in *-a ~ -e* that "denotes an action completely subordinated to the main action" (**Krueger 1961: 162**) and a "coordinate converb" in *-sa ~ -se*, which "is of extremely frequent occurrence in Chuvash" and which "denotes the first of two (or more) actions of equal value" (**ibid.: 163**). In Tatar (and Bashkir) a converb in *-a ~ -ä*¹⁹⁴ "denotes single or repeated events simultaneous with the event of the superordinate verb" (**Berta 1998: 295**), while the converb in *-p* "denotes actions which begin before the main action and continue with the latter" (**Poppe 1963: 76**). The Chuvash converb in *-sa ~ -se* and the Tatar converb in *-p* are used in the auxiliary constructions under examination here (**Hesselbäck 2005: 157; Isanbayev**

¹⁸⁸ There are isolated accounts of these mechanisms occurring in Komi (e.g. **Igushev & Lyashev 1976**), but I have not seen convincing data supporting this interpretation. Moreover, it seems questionable whether the data on which these claims are based has been analysed appropriately. Thus, after consulting with scholars of Permic languages, I decided not to take these accounts into consideration.

¹⁸⁹ "[...] оказывает усвоенная в результате влияния чувашского языка система составных глаголов."

¹⁹⁰ "Устанавливается также, что удмуртский и марийский языки заимствовали (скалькировали) систему спаренных глаголов у языков тюркского корня, прежде всего татарского и башкирского, в течение последних нескольких столетий, [...]"

¹⁹¹ "Mivel a jelenség az egész cseremisiz nyelvterületen egységes képet mutat [...] s ebben a korban csak a csuvas hatás jöhet szóba, [...]"

¹⁹² "Прямыми свидетельствами влияния татарского языка на формирование и развитие составных глаголов марийского языка служат отдельные типы составных глаголов с модальными значениями в марийском и татарском языках, которые отсутствуют в чувашском, [...]"

¹⁹³ Some individual auxiliaries are themselves loanwords. The etymology of individual auxiliaries will be reviewed in due course.

¹⁹⁴ After vowel stems, it is realized as *-i ~ -äj* (**ibid.**).

1978). Cognates of this particular Tatar converb are used to varying degrees in similar constructions throughout the Turkic language family (cf. Grashchenkov 2011; Schönig 1984: 292–393).

(89 – Tubalar [Altai, Siberian Turkic] – Shluinskiy 2014: 292, 24)

‘[P]ala jablaka t’ep turdi.’

pala	jablaka	t’e	-p	tur	-di	-∅.
child	apple	eat	-CVB	stand	-PST	-3SG
n	n	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The child ate apples for a while.’¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ “Ребенок некоторое время ел яблоко.”

3. Methodology

This chapter briefly lays out the tools and sources I have employed in gathering data on the individual auxiliaries and on general properties of auxiliary constructions of different types.

3.1 Preliminary work

When compiling my 2010 master's thesis "Mari Converb Constructions – Interpretation and Translation",¹⁹⁶ I primarily carried out an extensive "meta-analysis" of a number of resources that concern themselves, either primarily or peripherally, with auxiliary constructions in Mari. I had seen that Alho Alhoniemi's assertion that roughly 40 verbs are cited as auxiliaries by relevant sources (**Alhoniemi 1985: 143–144**) is valid, but suspected that the number itself might not be correct. Different sources explicitly cite a number of auxiliaries in this range (e.g., **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**: 39 auxiliaries; **Beke 1911: 160–162**: 21 auxiliaries; **Pengitov et al. 1961: 203–217**: 32 auxiliaries; **Chkhaidze 1960: 35–58**: 47 auxiliaries; **Isanbayev 1978: 62–87**: 35 auxiliaries; **Uchayev 1995: 163**: 36 auxiliaries; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005**: 39 auxiliaries; **Moisio 1992**: 27 auxiliaries). However, it is only the *number* of verbs given that roughly line up, not the actual verbs themselves. When carrying out an exhaustive review of all the qualitative sources available to me at the time, I found a total of 134 different verbs explicitly marked as aspectual auxiliaries, of which 64 seemed valid to me as auxiliaries of some type (cf. **Bradley 2015a: 150**).

There were several explanations for the startling gap between Alhoniemi's total and mine. One was that some of the sources I took into consideration – especially lexical ones – mislabelled many phraseological expressions that clearly do not utilize the relevant mechanisms as aspectual constructions. Another reason was the conflation of the marking of aspect with the marking of the path of a motion event by most sources – including Alhoniemi's grammar – as discussed above. At the time I found 38 verbs that I believed to be plausible aspectual auxiliaries and 29 that seemed like plausible path verbs in directional constructions. While I have come to re-evaluate many of my conclusions over the years, some of the findings I made at that time have remained valid as raw material for a more extensive survey. I have integrated data on individual auxiliaries into this thesis when I still considered it to be relevant. I have also added information taken from a number of sources that were not at my disposal five years ago.

A severe limitation of the data garnered for my master's thesis is that it only relates to the Meadow Mari literary norm. I have now attempted to evaluate whether the statements made about literary Meadow Mari also hold for other varieties of the language.

3.2 From a morphological analysis to an annotated corpus

In the last few years I have been working on a corpus infrastructure for Mari that will make a large body of texts accessible to users. An operational demo of this tool can be found at corpus.mari-language.com; accounts of the development process at different stages can be found in (**Bradley 2011**) and (**Bradley 2015b**). For a corpus to be maximally useful, it has to be searchable in non-trivial manners – for example, by syntactic structures. The amount of annotation needed to make this

¹⁹⁶ Available online at thes.univie.ac.at/9975/1/2010-05-06_8971060.pdf; the most critical findings can be found in (**Bradley 2015a**).

possible differs greatly from language to language. Corpora of morphology-poor English (e.g. **Davies 2008**–) can rely exclusively on part-of-speech tagging, where individual words of English strings are classified by their word class to achieve this goal. For example, a linguist researching the proliferation of the split infinitive (“to boldly go”) could simply search for the lexeme “to”, followed by an adverb, followed by a verb, to find examples of this structure. In languages like Mari where words have more internal structure, however, a morphological analysis is indispensable. This section will introduce my morphological analyser, and will illustrate how it was cross-integrated with other resources to create the desired corpus interface.

The morphological analyser can be found as a stand-alone application at morph.mari-language.com (> ‘Analyzer’); I have placed the annotated source code of all resources detailed here at source.mari-language.com. My applications are realized using the PHP programming language; the lexical base – i.e. the Mari-English dictionary (**Riese et al. 2014**–), found at dict.mari-language.com, is contained in an SQL database. I will only discuss the applications from an abstract point of view – i.e. I will explain how the software carries out its tasks, but I will not comment on, or provide excerpts of, the source code.

It should be noted that I designed my morphological analyser from a theory-neutral perspective: my aim was solely to create a semi-automatic¹⁹⁷ morphological analysis to facilitate other research projects. I make no claim that the modelling I use is in any way representative of the psychological representation of Mari morphology for native speakers. Many of the abstractions made and categorizations used in creating this software – e.g. the handling of participle/verbal noun endings as derivational suffixes in Section 3.2.6 (page 99) and the suffix types discussed in Section 3.2.2 (page 89) – are based on concrete practical needs at hand and should not be understood to have language-historical significance.

As the corpus infrastructure uses Cyrillic orthography (though content can be displayed in an automatically generated UPA or IPA transcription), this section provides Mari data in Cyrillic where necessary, with UPA transcriptions between /slashes/ where possible. When discussing matters where the orthographic realization is trivial, only transcriptions are provided.

If one lets the stand-alone application analyse a word or sentence – for illustrative purposes, *мӧнгыштем* /mõngãštem/ ‘in my home’ – the output looks as follows:

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

мӧнгыштем Analyze

мӧнгыштем

мӧнгы	-шт	-em
<i>mõngö</i>	<i>-штE</i>	<i>-em</i>
<i>home</i>	-INE	-1SG
<i>av/no/po</i>	-case	-poss

Figure 25: Morphological analysis of a single word (edited screenshot from morph.mari-language.com)

The tiers of the interlinearization are as follows:

¹⁹⁷ The analysis is semi-automatic in that the analyser returns all morphologically valid interpretations of the word forms encountered in a text, but does not have any disambiguation mechanism. Users must themselves decide which interpretation of a word form is valid in the context at hand.

- мӧнгыштем (/mõŋgãštem/): the unglossed word, as it occurs in the input.
- мӧнгы (/mõŋgã/), -шт (/št/), -ем (/em/): the individual morphs, as they are realized in the word in question.
- мӧнгӧ (/mõŋgõ/), -штЕ (/štE/), -ем (/em/): the base form of the morphemes in question. For lexemes, this is the stem; the base forms of affixes are contained in the software’s database – see Appendix D.a (page 296). The upper-case E indicates a vowel-harmonic vowel: e, o, or õ, depending on the last full vowel to which this suffix is attached.
- *home*, -INE, -1SG: the gloss. For lexemes, these are taken from the lexical base. In the case of polysemous words,¹⁹⁸ the first translation given in the lexicon is displayed; all translations are displayed as a tool tip if users hover the mouse cursor (see below). The glossing abbreviations for suffixes are taken from the the software’s database, the contents of which follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules as best as possible.
- av/no/по, -case, -poss: the part of speech. Here again, information on lexemes is taken from the lexical base (and as the lexeme in question can be used as either an adverb, a noun, or a postposition, multiple variants are given), whereas information on suffixes is taken from the the software’s database.

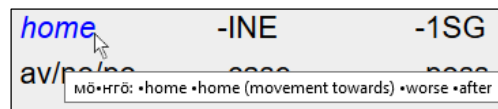


Figure 26: Tool tip showing all translations of a lexeme in the lexicon (screenshot from morph.mari-language.com)

No free translation is given, as creating this automatically is not technically feasible at this time.

The example above was admittedly straightforward. In practice, the analyser will frequently encounter forms that are ambiguous in one way or another. The following more representative example shows the analysis of the sentence “Шога tudo ото кугу ер серыште.” /šoga tudo oto kugu jer serãšte/ ‘That grove stands on the shore of a large lake’ (Chavayn 1988: 17). The period ending the sentence is placed after the preceding word in the interlinearization, but is otherwise ignored by the analysis – a strategy applied to punctuation marks in general. The circled numbers are not part of the output, but were added to allow easier reference to individual words of the glossing:

¹⁹⁸ but not homonyms – here, the interpretations using homonymous forms are handled separately by the software.

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

Analyze

Шора						серыште.	
Шора						сер	-ыште
шoгa	1					cep	-umE
plough						shore	-INE
no						no	-case
Шора						серыште	
Шор	-a	тудо	ото	кугу	ер	серыш	-те
шoгo	-a	тудо	ото	кугу	ер	серыш	-umE
stand	-3SG	(s)he	grove	big	lake	letter	-INE
vb2	-pers	pa/pr	no	ad/no	no	no	-case
						серыште	
						серыш	-те
						серыш	-umE
						plot.of.land	-INE
						no	-case

Figure 27: Morphological analysis of a sentence (edited screenshot from morph.mari-language.com)

The morphological analyser does not have any disambiguation mechanisms at this point. When it encounters a lexically or/and morphologically ambiguous form – such as (1) *шoгa* /šoga/ and (6) *серыште* /serâšte/ – all interpretations that would be valid given the morphological model and the lexical base are returned (in this case, the second interpretation – ‘stand’, -3SG – is correct in the case of (1), and the first interpretation – ‘shore’, -INE – in the case of (6)). In addition, when words are ambiguous with respect to their part of speech – as (2) *тудо* /tudo/ and (4) *кугу* /kugu/ are – all possible classifications are given.

The morphological model used by this tool was originally based on standard reference materials on Mari (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1985**; **Bereczki 1990**; **Pengitov et al. 1961**; **Yakimova et al. 1990–1991**); I elaborated it over the years by analysing countless texts and by consulting native speakers about critical matters, especially when compiling the textbook *Онй марий йылме: A Comprehensive Introduction to the Mari Language* (**Riese et al. 2010–**). The rest of this section will illustrate how this morphological model is stored and processed by my software and how it was integrated into the corpus infrastructure I will use in the next section. I will not generally give sources for individual claims regarding Mari morphology here, unless a source is of special relevance.

3.2.1 An inventory of inflectional suffixes

I aimed for the morphological analyser to be able to handle productive Mari morphology, both inflectional and derivational, in its entirety. As, for practical reasons, the analyser must handle inflectional morphology before it can handle derivational morphology, my description will limit itself to inflectional morphology at first. Derivational morphology will be discussed in Section 3.2.6 (page 99).

The analyser has access to a table containing 102 different suffixes (or suffix combinations)¹⁹⁹ that I classified as productive inflectional suffixes. The table can be found in its entirety in Appendix D.a (page 296); an excerpt is given here:

id	type	suffix	class	gloss	pos	conj
1	N	рак	«comp»	COMP	deg	0
2	T	н	«case-g1»	GEN	case	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
4	N	лан	«case-g3»	DAT	case	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
7	N	ге•	«case-g1»	COM	case	0
8	S	штн	«case-g2»	INE	case	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
12	E	м	«poss»	1SG	poss	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
14	3	жн	«poss»	3SG	poss	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
19	H	влак	«plur»	PL	num	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
38	A	т	{tmp}	3PL	pers	2
39	l	∅	{imp}	IMP.2SG	mood.pers	0
40	O	жн	{imp}	IMP.3SG	mood.pers	0
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
51	X	ыч	{tmp}	PST1.2SG	tense.pers	1
52	N	ш ыч	{tmp}	PST1 2SG	tense pers	2
53	V	н	{tmp}	PST1.3SG	tense.pers	1
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 28: Inflectional suffixes (excerpt)

The columns of the table are:

- *id*: A unique key required by the software to unambiguously access a row in the table, but of no further importance to users.
- *type*: The suffixation type, i.e. by what manner a suffix is connected to the base word.²⁰⁰ This factor will be discussed in Section 3.2.2 (page 89) below.
- *suffix*: The actual suffix, without a possible labile epenthetic reduced vowel (which depends on the suffixation type). The letter *H* represents a vowel-harmonic vowel (either *e*, *o*, or *ö*); a bullet point • indicates that a suffix is stressed (which can in some cases be morphologically relevant – see below; the same convention is also used in the lexical base); a vertical bar | indicates a morpheme boundary within the given form (i.e. the suffix, as handled by the computer, in actuality consists of two suffixes – when there is a vertical bar in this column, there must also be vertical bars in the columns *gloss* and *pos*, so that the number of morphemes lines up in all tiers). The vertical bar is only used by the software in the background – in the output seen by users, every morpheme is displayed in a column of its own.

¹⁹⁹ As there are no productive prefixes in Mari, I could restrict myself to handling suffixes in creating a morphological analyser.

²⁰⁰ I am avoiding the word “stem” here in most cases as suffixes are often not connected directly to the stem, but to other suffixes connected to the stem.

- *class*: What class a suffix is with respect to its combinability with other suffixes and its permissibility in different arrangements – see Section 3.2.5 (page 95), where the meaning of the «guillemets» and {braces} will also be discussed.
- *gloss*: The information displayed or saved in the gloss tier (see above) of the output.
- *pos*: The part-of-speech information displayed or saved in the part-of-speech tier (see above) of an interlinear gloss.
- *conj*: Some deverbal suffixes are only attached to verbal stems of the first or second conjugation class – see Section 2.1.1 (page 24). If this value is 1 or 2 (rather than the usual 0), this means that the suffix in question only connects to verbal stems of this conjugation class.

3.2.2 Suffix types

All suffixes handled by the software, without exception, fall into one of eleven categories depending on how they are attached to base words. Every category is identified by a single-letter abbreviation in the *type* field. The critical mass of suffixes belong to four types – E, A, T, N – and are attached to base words according to fairly straightforward principles in most cases (exceptions are discussed below). Only comparatively few suffixes fall into the remaining classes – H, S, O, 3, I, V, X.

Peculiarities of the Mari Cyrillic orthography create the illusion of greater complexity than actually is present in Mari morphology. This will be discussed in the following section. The following is a brief review of the suffix classes, based on an example, using only transcription:

E – for example, the possessive suffix of the first person singular /-(e)m/ ‘my ...’. It is /-m/ after stressed /-e/ and /-a/, and /-em/ in all other cases. Unstressed final /-e/, /-o/, and /-ö/ of the base word is deleted by this suffix. The morphological analyser considers the /e/ part of the base form (see above) of the suffix.

A – for example, the clitic /-(a)t/ ‘also ..., and ...’. It is /-t/ after stressed /-a/, and /-at/ in all other cases. Unstressed final /-e/, /-o/, and /-ö/ of the base word is deleted by this suffix. The morphological analyser considers the /a/ part of the base form (see above) of the suffix.

T (for “thematic vowel”) – for example, the genitive /-(â)n/ ‘of ...’. It is /-ân/ if the base word ends in a consonant, and /-n/ if the base word ends in a vowel. Unstressed final /-e/, /-o/, and /-ö/ in the base word is reduced and becomes /-â/. The morphological analyser does not consider the thematic vowel as part of the base form (see above) of the suffix.

N (for “no thematic vowel”) – for example, the dative /-lan/ ‘to ...’. It is always /-lan/, regardless of the base word. Unstressed final /-e/, /-o/, and /-ö/ in the base word is reduced and becomes /-â/. Verbal stems are in some cases simplified when N-suffixes are attached to them; this will be discussed in the next section.

H (for “hyphen”) – for example, the plural /-βlak/. It is attached to the unaltered base word with a hyphen, e.g. /i•mńe/ ‘horse’ > /i•mńe-βlak/ ‘horses’.

S – for example, the inessive /-štE/. It behaves exactly like a T-suffix, unless the base word ends in /-š/. Here, a haplology can optionally occur, and the sound combination /-šâš-/ is shortened to /-š-/ , e.g. /kredalmaš/ ‘battle’ > /kredalmašâšte/~kredalmašte/ ‘in a battle’.

Q (for “obstruents”) – for example, the imperative second person plural /-za/ ~ /-sa/. It behaves like a N-suffix (including stem simplifications discussed in the following section), but the initial consonant is subject to orthographically marked alternation: it is voiced after vowels and sonorants, but voiceless after obstruents, e.g. /tol-/ ‘to come’ > /tolza/ ‘come!’, /pušt-/ ‘to kill’ > /puštša/ ‘kill!’.²⁰¹

3 – the possessive suffix third person singular /-(â)žE/ ~ /-šE/ ~ /-(â)ž/: This suffix behaves like an O-suffix, but is subject to two additional complications. Firstly, the variants /-âžE/ and /-âž/ are used if the base word ends in /-š/, though the variant /-šE/ can be encountered as well (and should be accepted by the analyser): /uš/ ‘mind’ > /ušâžo/ ~ /ušâž/ ~ /uššo/ ‘her/his mind’. Secondly, after vowels, one can encounter a short form /-ž/, especially before additional suffixes and/or postpositions: /pasu/ ‘field’ > /pasužo/ ~ /pasuž/ ‘her/his field’. The short form can also be attached to base words ending in /-š/, as /-âž/: /serâš/ ‘letter’ > /serâšâže/ ~ /serâšâž/ ~ /serâšše/ ‘her/his letter’.

I – imperative second person singular: this verbal form is usually identical to the verbal stem, though it is subject to the stem simplifications that will be discussed in the following section. Furthermore, stem-final /uo/ is obligatorily shortened to /u/ – e.g. /puo-/ ‘to give’ > /pu/ ‘give!’ – while stem-final /je/, /jo/, and /jö/ can optionally be shortened to /j/ – e.g. /kaje-/ ‘to go’ > /kaje/~ /kaj/ ‘go!’

V – third person singular of the first simple past tense for first-conjugation verbs. This ending is usually a vowel-harmonic vowel /-E/ attached to the unaltered stem: /lekt-/ ‘to leave’ > /lekte/ ‘s/he left’, /kočk-/ ‘to eat’ > /kočko/ ‘s/he ate’, /lüd-/ ‘to be afraid’ > /lüdö/ ‘s/he was afraid’. However, if the stem ends in /-l/ or /-n/, the final consonant is replaced with a palatal /-l’/ and /-ń/ respectively: /nel-/ ‘to swallow’ > /nel’e/ ‘s/he swallowed’, /man-/ ‘to say’ > /mańe/ ‘s/he said’.

X – other forms of the first simple past tense for first-conjugation verbs, for example first singular /-âġm/. This suffix is usually attached directly to the stem: /lekt-/ ‘to leave’ > /lektâġm/ ‘I left’, etc. If the stem ends in /-l/ or /-n/, palatalization occurs: /nel-/ ‘to swallow’ > /nel’âġm/ ‘I swallowed’, /man-/ ‘to say’ > /mańâġm/ ‘I said’.

3.2.3 Orthographical peculiarities, stem changes, vowel harmony

Irregularities occur in orthography due to the different manner in which the phonemes /j/, /l’/, and /ń/ are indicated depending on the vowel that follows them (if any). This section will focus on alternations in their orthographical realization that can occur as a result of suffixation, as the morphological analyser has to account for these. Orthographical peculiarities occurring word-initially or stem-internally will not be taken into consideration here, but are explored in greater detail in the documentation of my transcription software at transcribe.mari-language.com.

While the phonemes /j/, /l’/, and /ń/ have prototypical orthographical realizations <й>, <ль>, and <нь> respectively, the phonemes in question (and the vowels following them) are realized in an idiosyncratic manner when they precede the vowels /a/, /u/, /e/, and /i/:

²⁰¹ In pronunciation, this alternation affects suffixes starting with /z/ ~ /s/, /ž/ ~ /š/, /g/ ~ /k/, /d/ ~ /t/. The alternation between /g/ ~ /k/ and /d/ ~ /t/ is not orthographically marked: here, the voiced variant is consistently used (<г> and <д> respectively). As a consequence, such suffixes are classified as N-suffixes in the software.

	(Standard)	... /a/	... /u/	... /e/	... /i/
/j/ + ...	й...	я	ю	е	йи
/l/ + ...	л...	ла	лу	ле	ли
/l'/ + ...	ль...	ля	лю	ле	ли
/n/ + ...	н...	на	ну	не	ни
/n'/ + ...	нь...	ня	ню	не	ни

Figure 29: Orthographical realization of /j/, /l'/, /n'/, /l/ and /n/ given for the sake of comparison

When a vowel is added (as part of a suffix) to a base word, deleted from the base word (by a suffix), or reduced (preceding a suffix), the orthographic realization of the sounds can change, e.g. *вуй* /βuj/ 'head' > *вuem* /βujem/ 'my head'. The pronunciation of syllable-initial (in this example postvocalic) <e> as /je/ necessitates the usage of a different grapheme to indicate postvocalic /e/: <э>, e.g. *кү* /kü/ 'stone' > *күэм* /küem/.

The fact that the orthography generally distinguishes between /n/ ~ /n'/ and /l/ ~ /l'/ respectively, but not when these sounds are followed by /e/ (or /i/), further complicates the matter: When an /e/ is reduced to /ə/, or deleted and replaced with /a/, previously orthographically unmarked palatalness becomes visible; when an /-e/ belonging to a suffix follows an /n'/ or /l'/ belonging to the base word, previous orthographically marked palatalness becomes invisible. As a result, there are orthographically identical forms with distinct pronunciations that have distinct (also orthographically) inflected forms: *неле* /nele/ 'difficult' > *нелат* /nelat/ 'also difficult', *неле* /nel'e/ 's/he swallowed' > *нелят* /nel'at/ 's/he swallowed and ...'.

The following table illustrates how suffixes of the four most common types are connected to different base words. Word stress is indicated in the transcription with a bullet point • where it is relevant for morphology – but only there. Non-trivial forms are marked in grey.

Word	Eng.	E: -em /-em/ (Possessive 1SG)	A: -am /-at/ (Clitic 'also')	T: -н /-n/ (Genitive)	N: -лан /-lan/ (Dative)
<i>лүм</i> /lüm/	<i>name</i>	<i>лүмем</i> /lümem/	<i>лүмат</i> /lümat/	<i>лүмын</i> /lümən/	<i>лүмлан</i> /lümlan/
<i>вуй</i> /βuj/	<i>head</i>	<i>вuem</i> /βujem/	<i>вуют</i> /βujat/	<i>вуйын</i> /βujən/	<i>вуйлан</i> /βujlan/
<i>сугынь</i> /sugəñ/	<i>blessing</i>	<i>сугынем</i> /sugəñem/	<i>сугынят</i> /sugəñat/	<i>сугынын</i> /sugəñən/	<i>сугыньлан</i> /sugəñlan/
<i>лаке</i> /la•ke/	<i>hole</i>	<i>лакем</i> /lakem/	<i>лакат</i> /lakat/	<i>лакын</i> /lakən/	<i>лакылан</i> /lakəlan/
<i>кудо</i> /ku•do/	<i>hut</i>	<i>кудем</i> /kudem/	<i>кудат</i> /kudat/	<i>кудын</i> /kudən/	<i>кудылан</i> /kudəlan/
<i>рүдө</i> /rü•dö/	<i>centre</i>	<i>рүдем</i> /rüdem/	<i>рүдат</i> /rüdät/	<i>рүдын</i> /rüdən/	<i>рүдылан</i> /rüdəlan/
<i>имне</i> /i•mñe/	<i>horse</i>	<i>имнем</i> /imñem/	<i>имнят</i> /imñat/	<i>имнын</i> /imñən/	<i>имньлан</i> /imñəlan/
<i>когыльо</i> /ko•gəł'o/	<i>pie</i>	<i>когылем</i> /kogəł'em/	<i>когылят</i> /kogəł'at/	<i>когылын</i> /kogəł'ən/	<i>когыльлан</i> /kogəł'əlan/
<i>күртньө</i> /kü•rtñö/	<i>iron</i>	<i>күртнем</i> /kürtñem/	<i>күртнят</i> /kürtñat/	<i>күртнын</i> /kürtñən/	<i>күртньлан</i> /kürtñəlan/
<i>паша</i> /paša/	<i>work</i>	<i>пашам</i> /pašam/	<i>пашат</i> /pašat/	<i>пашан</i> /pašan/	<i>пашалан</i> /pašalan/
<i>арня</i> /arña/	<i>week</i>	<i>арням</i> /arñam/	<i>арнят</i> /arñat/	<i>арнян</i> /arñan/	<i>арнялан</i> /arñalan/
<i>тенге</i> /tenge•/	<i>ruble</i>	<i>тенгем</i> /tengem/	<i>тенгеат</i> /tengeat/	<i>тенген</i> /tengen/	<i>тенгелан</i> /tengelan/
<i>куэ</i> /kue•/	<i>birch</i>	<i>куэм</i> /kue•em/	<i>куэат</i> /kueat/	<i>куэн</i> /kuen/	<i>куэлан</i> /kuelan/
<i>пасу</i> /pasu/	<i>field</i>	<i>пасуэм</i> /pasuem/	<i>пасуат</i> /pasuat/	<i>пасун</i> /pasun/	<i>пасулан</i> /pasulan/
<i>ю</i> /ju/	<i>magic</i>	<i>юэм</i> /juem/	<i>юат</i> /juat/	<i>юн</i> /jun/	<i>юлан</i> /julan/
<i>күтү</i> /kütü/	<i>herd</i>	<i>күтүэм</i> /kütüem/	<i>күтүат</i> /kütüat/	<i>күтүн</i> /kütün/	<i>күтүлан</i> /kütülan/
<i>изу</i> /izi/	<i>little</i>	<i>изуэм</i> /iziem/	<i>изуат</i> /iziat/	<i>изин</i> /izin/	<i>изилан</i> /izilan/
<i>пальто</i> /pal'to•/	<i>coat</i>	<i>пальтоэм</i> /pal'toem/	<i>пальтоат</i> /pal'toat/	<i>пальтон</i> /pal'ton/	<i>пальтолан</i> /pal'tolan/

Figure 30: Suffix types E, A, T, N

The different manner in which suffixes are attached to different base words can introduce ambiguity. Note how the four suffix types discussed above are attached to two words respectively that are distinct in their base forms, but in some cases can become equal after a suffix is attached to them (ambiguous forms are marked in grey):

Word	Eng.	E: <i>-em</i> /-em/	A: <i>-am</i> /-at/	T: <i>-н</i> /-н/	N: <i>-лан</i> /-lan/
юмо /ju•mo/	god	юмем /jumem/	юмат /jumat/	юмын /jumân/	юмылан /jumâlan/
юм /jum/	horsehair worm	юмем /jumem/	юмат /jumat/	юмын /jumân/	юмлан /jumlan/
лүм /lüm/	name	лүмем /lümem/	лүмат /lumat/	лүмын /lümân/	лүмлан /lümlan/
лүмӧ /lü•mõ/	sore	лүмем /lümem/	лүмат /lumat/	лүмын /lümân/	лүмылан /lümâlan/
шү /šü/	bristle	шүэм /šuem/	шүат /šuat/	шүн /šun/	шүлан /šulan/
шүэ /šue•/	anthill	шүэм /šuem/	шүэат /šueat/	шүэн /šuen/	шүэлан /šuelan/
он /oŋ/	breast	онем /oŋem/	онат /oŋat/	онын /oŋân/	онлан /oŋlan/
она /oŋa/	board	онем /oŋem/	онат /oŋat/	онан /oŋan/	оналан /oŋalan/
шоло /šo•lo/	intestine	шолем /šolem/	шолат /šolat/	шолын /šolân/	шолылан /šolâlan/
шольо /šo•l'o/	little brother	шолем /šol'em/ ²⁰²	шолят /šol'at/	шольын /šol'ân/	шольылан /šol'âlan/
шерге /še•rge/	expensive	шергем /šerge•m/	шергат /šergat/	шергын /šergân/	шергылан /šergâlan/
шерге /šerge•/ ²⁰³	comb	шергем /šerge•m/ ²⁰⁴	шергеат /šergeat/	шерген /šergen/	шергелан /šergelan/

Figure 31: Ambiguity introduced by suffixation

A number of loanwords from Russian (including internationalisms) behave idiosyncratically in that they end in unstressed *-e* or *-o*, but these vowels are not reduced or deleted by any suffixes. Relevant words include: all words ending in *-ье* (e.g. *двоеборье* /dvojebo•rje/ 'double event', *платье* /pla•t'je/ 'dress'); all words ending in *-Vo*, where V is an arbitrary vowel (e.g. *радио* /ra•dio/ 'radio', *видео* /vi•deo/ 'video'); all words ending in *-Co* where vowel harmony would have required an unstressed final *-e* (e.g. *вето* /ve•to/ 'veto' rather than **вете* /ve•te/, *танго* /ta•ngo/ rather than **танге* /ta•nge/) (cf. Ivanov et al. 2011: 10).

Word	Eng.	E: <i>-em</i> /-em/	A: <i>-am</i> /-at/	T: <i>-н</i> /-н/	N: <i>-лан</i> /-lan/
<i>радио</i> /ra•dio/	radio	<i>радиоэм</i> /radioem/	<i>радиоат</i> /radioat/	<i>радион</i> /radion/	<i>радиолан</i> /radiolan/
<i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebo•rje/	double event	<i>двоеборьем</i> /dvojebořjem/	<i>двоеборьеат</i> /dvojebořjeat/	<i>двоеборьен</i> /dvojebořjen/	<i>двоеборьелан</i> /dvojebořjelan/
<i>вето</i> /ve•to/	veto	<i>ветоэм</i> /vetoem/	<i>ветоат</i> /vetoat/	<i>ветон</i> /veton/	<i>ветолан</i> /vetolan/

Figure 32: Unstressed final vowels that are not reduced

Further complications surround N-suffixes (that as a rule start with a consonant) in verbal conjugation. While they behave equivalently to suffixes used in nominal declension when attached to second-conjugation stems that end in unstressed vowels, a number of orthographically marked stem alterations (mostly simplifications) occur when they are attached to stems of first-conjugation verbs. These ensure that the rules of Mari onomastics (cf. Ivanov 2000: 96) are not broken: the consonant clusters that would occur without the stem changes would not be valid. The following table shows stem changes that occur, using the converb of prior action – see Section 2.2.2 (page 40) – with the ending as an example:

²⁰² These two forms, while pronounced in distinct manners, are realized in the same manner orthographically. The possessive suffix first person singular can be realized as a T-suffix in the case of some kinship terms like this one, but the form given in the table is valid: *шолем* /šol'em/~*шольым* /šol'âm/ 'my little brother'.

²⁰³ These two forms have distinct pronunciations, but are realized in the same manner orthographically.

²⁰⁴ These two forms are identical in both orthography and pronunciation.

Change	Verb	Stem	> Altered stem	Converb of prior action
čk > č̣	kočkaš' 'to wash'	kočk-	koč̣-	koč̣mek(e)
ňč > č̣	šičaš' 'to sit down'	šič-	šič̣-	šič̣mek(e)
kt > k	lekaš' 'to leave'	lekt-	lek-	lekmek(e)
šk > ṣ̌	muškaš' 'to wash'	mušk-	muṣ̌-	muṣ̌mek(e)
z > č̣	bozaš' 'to lie down'	boz-	boč̣-	boč̣mek(e)

Figure 33: Stem changes

Vowel harmony is not always trivial. Generally, vowel-harmonic suffix vowels are determined by the last full vowel of the base word, where a full vowel is anything other than *ы* /*â*/, and final unstressed *-e* / *-o* / *-ö*. The last full vowel of a word also tends to be the stressed vowel (cf. **Alhoniemi 1985: 7**). Depending on the last full vowel, the suffix vowel is:

Last full vowel	Suffix vowel
/a/, /e/, /i/	-e
/o/, /u/	-o
/ö/, /ü/	-ö

Figure 34: Vowel harmony

If there is no full vowel in a word (e.g. in *йыжын* /jâ•žâŋ/ 'joint'), the stress falls on the first syllable and the suffix vowel is *-e*. In compounds the word stress falls on, and vowel-harmonic suffix vowels are determined by, the last element, even if it contains no full vowels. For example, the vowel-harmonic suffix vowel (e.g. in the possessive suffix third person singular, here /-žE/ ~ /-šE/) in a suffix attached to the compound *йол* /jol/ 'foot, leg' + *йыжын* /jâ•žâŋ/ 'joint' > *йолйыжын* /joljâ•žâŋ/ 'knee joint' is *-e* (i.e. *йолйыжынже* /joljâ•žâŋže/ 'her/his knee joint'), and not *-o*, while the non-compound *шонгылык* /šo•ŋgâlâk/ 'old age (lit. oldness)' demands a vowel-harmonic *-o* (i.e. *шонгылыкшо* /šo•ŋgâlâkšo/ 'her/his old age'). Compounds of this sort can be easily identified by the unexpected stress. From the point of view of a software application, the following simplification can be made: when *ы* /*â*/ is stressed – information contained in the lexical base – the software should treat it as a full vowel that demands a vowel harmonic *-e*.

Last full vowel	Suffix vowel
/a/, /e/, /i/, /â•/	-e
/o/, /u/	-o
/ö/, /ü/	-ö

Figure 35: Vowel harmony revisited

When the software attempts to extract suffixes from an inflected form – as discussed in the following chapter – and the suffix contains a vowel-harmonic vowel, its realization as encountered in the text determines which base forms from the lexical base the analyser accepts. For example, when the analyser attempts to extract the possessive suffix third person singular from *йолйыжынже* /joljâžâŋže/ 'her/his knee joint', the base form *йолйыжын* is only accepted as the lexical base specifies that it contains a stressed *ы* /*â*/: /joljâ•žâŋ/. A hypothetical base form * /joljâžâ•ŋ/ would have been permissible as well, but not * /jo•ljâžâŋ/. Meanwhile, when the suffix is extracted from *шонгылыкшо* /šoŋgâlâkšo/ 'her/his old age', only /šo•ŋgâlâk/ is permissible as a base form, but not * /šoŋgâ•lâk/ or * /šoŋgâlâ•k/.

3.2.4 Extracting a suffix

The previous sections illustrated how suffixes are attached to base words from the analysis software’s perspective. The morphological analyser in actuality has to perform the reverse task: reconstructing possible base forms by extracting a suffix from it. This is not a deterministic task, due to the ambiguity discussed above: an inflected form can stem from multiple base forms. Consider, for example, the following five words ending in *-нем* in orthography, that all have been marked with a possessive suffix first person singular /-(e)m/ – an E-suffix – but that have radically different base forms (the bullet point • indicates a stressed vowel):

Inflected form	Base form
<i>чонем</i> /čonem/ ‘my soul’	< <i>чон</i> /čon/ ‘soul’
<i>вулнем</i> /βulnem/ ‘my tin’	< <i>вулно</i> /βu•lno/ ‘tin’
<i>сугынем</i> /sugânem/ ‘my blessing’	< <i>сугынь</i> /su•gâň/ ‘blessing’
<i>агуртнем</i> /agurtňem/ ‘my spool’	< <i>агуртньо</i> /agu•rtňo/ ‘spool’
<i>турнем</i> /turnem/ ‘my tour’	< <i>турне</i> /turne•/ ‘tour’

Figure 36: Different endings in base form, same ending in inflected form

Without knowing the base form, the software can, if it assumes that it is analysing a base form that has a possessive suffix first person singular attached to it, only create a list of *possible* base forms. For example (the bullet point • indicates a vowel the analyser must assume to be stressed; the currency sign ¤ a vowel it must assume to be unstressed):

<i>сугынем</i> /sugânem/ ~ /sugâňem/ ²⁰⁵	>	<i>сугын</i> /sugân/
		<i>сугыно</i> /sugâno¤/
		<i>сугынь</i> /sugâň/
		<i>сугыньо</i> /sugâňo¤/
		<i>сугыне</i> /sugâne•/ ~ /sugâňe•/

Figure 37: Possible base forms of *сугынем* /sugânem/ ~ /sugâňem/ after extracting the possessive suffix 1SG

Only the third option returned – *сугынь* /sugâň/ ‘blessing’ – is a valid Mari word form, but the software can only make this assertion using a lexical base – see Section 3.2.9 (page 106).

The two inflected forms *шергелан* /šergelan/ and *шергылан* /šergâlan/ demonstrate the importance stress can have for the analysis mechanism: when the software extracts the N-suffix /-lan/, the ending of the dative, it respectively reconstructs the base forms *шерге* /šerge•/ ‘comb’ (with a stressed final vowel) and *шерге* /šerge¤/ ‘expensive’ (with an unstressed final vowel²⁰⁶). While there is no orthographic distinction between these two base forms, there is one with regard to stress – a feature that is marked in the lexical base.

As for unmarked palatalness, when a potential reconstructed base contains the letter combinations *не* /ne/ ~ /ňe/ or *ле* /le/ ~ /l'e/, the annotation used by the software indicates whether the consonant is either obligatorily palatal, obligatorily not palatal, or potentially either. When the A-Suffix /-(a)t/ ‘also ...’ is extracted from the words *нелат* /nelat/ and *нелят* /nel'at/, in both cases a potential base form is *неле*. In the first case, the annotation indicates that *л* is pronounced as /l/; in the second case, the

²⁰⁵ The pronunciation /sugâňem/ is correct, but at this point the software cannot know this.

²⁰⁶ In the case of polysyllabic words, the software cannot reliably determine exactly where the stress must fall. For the needs of the analyser, it is only important to know whether the final syllable is stressed or not – hence I have used the symbol ¤ to indicate an unstressed syllable rather than a bullet point •.

annotation indicates that *ɹ* is pronounced as /l'/. In neither case does the annotation make a statement about the first syllable *ne*, which could according to the rules of Mari orthography be pronounced as /ne/ or /né/ (the first variant is correct). As the first syllable is not affected by any morphological processes, its pronunciation is not relevant to the analysis mechanism.

A complete overview of which base forms the software considers possible when extracting suffixes of different types is given in Appendix D.d (page 299). This overview is the basis of the extraction mechanisms implemented in the morphological analyser.

I could make some simplifications when establishing these rules based on the lexicon at my disposal: there is no need for analysis mechanisms to account for sound combinations that never occur in Mari vocabulary. For example, there are no verbal stems in Mari ending in /-Vk/. Hence, if a prospective form of the imperative second person singular ending in /-Vk/ is encountered, it can be assumed to be the result of a stem simplification: /lek/ > /lekt-/ 'to leave', /luk/ > /lukt-/ 'to lead out', etc.

3.2.5 Arrangement of inflectional suffixes and extracting multiple inflectional suffixes

The previous section and the accompanying appendix illustrate the mechanisms by which individual suffixes can be extracted. The software must be capable of extracting multiple suffixes, but should only accept valid suffix arrangements. The “peculiar variation of morpheme order to be found in Mari plural markers (Pl), case endings (Cx) and possessive suffixes (Px)” (Luutonen 1997: 13) has for a long time raised scholars' interest, and was extensively and quantitatively studied by Jorma Luutonen (*ibid.*). For the sake of a morphological analyser, it is sufficient to establish which arrangements are permissible (i.e. to be accepted by the software).

(90 – Mari – cf. Luutonen 1997: 12)					
'муныжым'			* 'мунымжо' [Accusative: Px-Cx]		
munə	-žə	-m	munə	-m	-žo
egg	-3SG	-ACC	egg	-ACC	-3SG
n	-poss	-case	n	-case	-poss
'his/her egg [ACC]'					

* 'муныжышто'			'муныштыжо' [Inessive: Cx-Px]		
munə	-žə	-što	munə	-stə	-žo
egg	-3SG	-INE	egg	-INE	-3SG
n	-poss	-case	n	-case	-poss
'in his/her egg'					

'муныжлан'			'муныланже' [Dative: Px-Cx ~ Cx-Px]		
munə	-žə	-lan	munə	-lan	-že
egg	-3SG	-DAT	egg	-DAT	-3SG
n	-poss	-case	n	-case	-poss
'to his/her egg'					

There seems to be no variation regarding the respective arrangement of the accusative suffix /-(ə)m/ and possessive suffixes, and the arrangement of the inessive suffix /-(ə)štə/ and possessive suffixes:

The accusative suffix always follows possessive suffixes, while the inessive suffix always precedes possessive suffixes. Moreover, both arrangements are possible in the dative: its suffix /-lan/ can either precede or follow the possessive suffix (**ibid.:** 12). The value *class* in the inventory of inflectional suffixes – see Section 3.2.1 (page 87) and Appendix D.a (page 296) – is used to determine the permissible positions for individual suffixes. For the suffixes used in the examples above, the values are:

Px 3SG: «poss»
 Accusative: «case-g1»
 Inessive: «case-g2»
 Dative: «case-g3»

The analyser is equipped with a list of possible suffix arrangements, which is given below, and follows a simple item-and-arrangement approach. Every arrangement shows which suffix classes can be connected to which base words (*n* for nominals, *v* for verbs, *po* for postpositions, *x* for words of any word class other than verbs) in which order. Suffix classes given in «guillemets» can occur optionally; suffix classes in {braces} must occur exactly once. (The class {tmp} represents tense / mood / person suffixes; one suffix of this type must occur in a finite verbal form.)

```
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g1»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g2»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«shILL»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «gen»«comp»«enc»
v + {tmp}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {imp}«wenc»
v + {pxinfcvb}«comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
v + {npxinfcvb}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {con}«comp»«p3»«enc»
po + «comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
x + «comp»«p3»«enc»
```

Figure 38: Permissible arrangements of inflectional suffixes

The analyser only accepts interpretations of words that are compatible with one or more of the valid arrangements known to the computer. As the value «case-g2» only occurs in one arrangement and is followed by the value «poss», possessive suffixes may not precede «case-g2»-suffixes – such as the inessive.

For illustrative purposes, I will demonstrate how the analyser can determine that the complex word form *сугынем-влакланат* /sugânem-βlaklanat/ ~ /sugâñem-βlaklanat/ is valid and returns a correct interlinear gloss.

When the analyser encounters a word form, it first checks to see if it is contained in the lexical base – see Section 3.2.9 (page 106) – in its entirety (it is not), and independently²⁰⁷ attempts to extract all inflectional suffixes known to the software. Every time the software manages to extract a suffix, it saves the result on a “task list” (which is not publicly displayed, but to which I have access as the

²⁰⁷ That is to say, even if the software finds a form in the lexical base, it still attempts to extract further suffixes.

developer) in which relevant data for all possible interpretations of a word are saved in tabular format for further analysis. (The first entry in this table is always the word as it occurs in the text, with no suffixes extracted from it.) The software processes elements on the task list one by one, placing new items on it whenever further suffixes are extracted. The first entries placed on the task list are:

No.	Unglossed part ("Rump")	Glossed part				
		Morph	Base form	Gloss	Part of speech	Class
1	сугынем-влакланат	-	-	-	-	-
2	сугынем-влаклана	-т	-ет	-2SG	-poss	«poss»
3	сугынем-влаклана	=т	=ат	-and	=enc	«enc»
4	сугынем-влаклан	=ат	=ат	-and	=enc	«enc»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 39: First items on task list

The “unglossed part” represents the rump of the word that is left after the extraction of a suffix or suffixes. The “glossed part” represents information on the section of the word that has already been prospectively analysed. The first four fields of the glossed part correspond to the tiers of an interlinear gloss discussed above (and is data which will eventually be displayed if and when the analyser obtains a valid result); the last field contains the value or values from the *class* field in the suffix inventory, and is used to cross-reference the suffix arrangement with the list of possible suffix arrangements given below.

When the analyser reaches item 2 in the task list – *сугынем-влакланат* /sugânem-βlaklana/ ~ /sugâñem-βlaklana/ + possessive suffix second person singular – the analyser again checks to see if this form is contained in the lexical base (it is not). It also attempts to extract additional suffixes from the rump, but no longer takes all suffixes into consideration: as this interpretation contains a representative of the class «*poss*», only suffixes of classes found to the left of «*poss*» in at least one of the valid suffix arrangements are now relevant:

```

n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g1»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g2»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«shILL»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «gen»«comp»«enc»
v + {tmp}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {imp}«wenc»
v + {pxinfcvb}«comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
v + {npxinfcvb}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {con}«comp»«p3»«enc»
po + «comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
x + «comp»«p3»«enc»

```

Figure 40: Permissible arrangements of inflectional suffixes after extraction of «*poss*»

This excludes, for example, all finite verb forms, but includes a number of non-finite forms – those that can take possessive suffixes and belong to the class {*pxinfcvb*}. As postpositions can take possessive suffixes, a postposition would be possible as a base word too at this point. However, item 2 on the task list produces no valid results; neither does item 3. The analysis of item 4 proves more fruitful: as the

class «enc» is at the very right of all suffix arrangements in which it appears, a larger inventory of suffixes remains relevant to the analyser. Among many other options, the analyser can extract the dative suffix *-лан /-lan/*, a suffix of the class «case-g3»:

No.	Unglossed part ("Rump")	Glossed part				
		Morph	Base form	Gloss	Part of speech	Class
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
4	сугынем-влаклан	=ат	=ат	-and	=enc	«enc»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
27	сугынем-влак	-лан =ат	-лан =ат	-DAT -and	-case =enc	«case-g3»«enc»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 41: Task list: extraction of second suffix

When analysing line 27, the software first determines that the unglossed part is not in the lexical base as a nominal (the suffix combination «case-g3»«enc» is only valid in connection with nominal base words) and then proceeds to extract further suffixes. At this point, the range of suffixes to be considered is considerably narrower again:

```

n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g1»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g2»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«shILL»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «gen»«comp»«enc»
v + {tmp} «comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {imp} «wenc»
v + {pxinfv} «comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
v + {npxinfevb} «comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {con} «comp»«p3»«enc»
po + «comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
x + «comp»«p3»«enc»

```

Figure 42: Permissible arrangements of inflectional suffixes after extraction of «case-g3»«enc»

Only the classes «comp» (the comparative degree), «gen» (the genitive²⁰⁸), «plur» (plural suffixes), and «poss» (plural suffixes) are still relevant for further analysis. The software eventually extracts the plural suffix *-влак /-βlak/*:

No.	Unglossed part ("Rump")	Glossed part				
		Morph	Base form	Gloss	Part of speech	Class
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
27	сугынем-влак	-лан =ат	-лан =ат	-DAT -and	-case =enc	«case-g3»«enc»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
39	сугынем	-влак -лан =ат	-влак -лан =ат	-PL -DAT -and	-num -case =enc	«plur»«case-g3»«enc»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 43: Task list: extraction of third suffix

²⁰⁸ As genitive forms can be nominalized, the genitive suffix can co-occur with other case suffixes (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 50).

Only very few suffix classes remain compatible with the extracted pattern «*plur*»«*case-g3*»«*enc*»:

```
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
```

Figure 44: Permissible arrangements of inflectional suffixes (cropped) after extraction of «*plur*»«*case-g3*»«*enc*»

Suffixes of the classes «*comp*», «*gen*», and «*poss*» are still permissible. The possessive suffix first person singular /-(e)m/, belonging to the class «*poss*», can be extracted from the rump.

```
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
```

Figure 45: Permissible arrangements of inflectional suffixes (cropped) after extraction of «*poss*»«*plur*»«*case-g3*»«*enc*»

The software can reconstruct five possible base forms: *сугын* /sugân/, *сугыно* /sugânoʃ/, *сугынь* /sugâň/, *сугыньо* /sugâňoʃ/, *сугыне* /sugâne•/ ~ /sugâňe•/ – see Figure 37 above (page 94). The software actually finds one of these forms in the lexical base as a noun: *сугынь* /sugâň/ ‘blessing’. At this point, the software declares the following interpretation valid, and displays it in the output:

сугынем-влакланат				
сугын'	-ем	-влак	-лан	-ат
сугынь	-ем	-влак	-лан	-ат
<i>blessing</i>	-1SG	-PL	-DAT	-and
но	-poss	-num	-case	-enc

Figure 46: /sugâňem-βlaklanat/ ‘also to my blessings’ (edited screenshot from morph.mari-language.com)

The apostrophe in the gloss tier (<H'>) indicates that the palatal pronunciation of the preceding consonant is in this case not orthographically marked.

3.2.6 Derivational morphology

It would be not meaningful or feasible to create a list of permissible arrangements for derivational suffixes. Multiple suffixes of the same type (e.g. deverbial verbal derivational suffix) can co-occur, with the ordering of suffixes subject to considerable flexibility.²⁰⁹ Note the co-occurrence of the causative / transitive marker /-kt/ and the intransitive / reflexive / passive / impersonal marker /-alt/ – see Section 2.1.7 (page 35) – in opposite order in the following two words:

²⁰⁹ This is not to say that the arrangement is arbitrary, random, or free. There are semantic differences depending on the ordering of derivational suffixes.

(91 – Mari – Riese et al. 2014–: рўдалтыкташ (-ем); ончыкталташ (-ам))

'рўдалтыкташ'			'ончыкталташ'				
rüd	-alt	-âkt	-aš	oñčâ	-kt	-alt	-aš
wear.out	-REF	-CAUS	-INF	see	-CAUS	-REF	-INF
v	-deriv.v	-deriv.v	-inf	v	-deriv.v	-deriv.v	-inf
'to wear something out'			'to be depicted'				

The recursive usage of derivational suffixes is possible as well:

(92 – Mari – Ivanov et al. 2011: 353–354)

'ыр[а]ш'		>	'ырыкт[а]ш'		>	'ырыктыкт[а]ш'			
âr	-aš		ârê	-kt	-aš	ârê	-ktê	-kt	-aš
warm.up	-INF		warm.up	-CAUS	-INF	warm.up	-CAUS	-CAUS	-INF
v	-inf		v	-deriv.v	-inf	v	-deriv.v	-deriv.v	-inf
'to warm up [INTR]'			'to warm something up'			'to make someone warm something up'			

Given this flexibility surrounding derivational suffixes, the analyser accepts derivational suffixes attached to stems from the lexical base in arbitrary arrangements, as long as their part-of-speech restrictions are followed: for example, a deverbal nominal suffix can only be attached to verbal stems and the word created by it must be treated as a nominal by the software.

As is the case for inflectional morphology – see Section 3.2.1 (page 87) – the software has access to a tabular overview of the suffixes I have defined as productive. My productivity assessments were initially based on Alho Alhoniemi's assessment of the productivity of various derivational suffixes (Alhoniemi 1985: 154–165). I have excluded some suffixes Alhoniemi mentions as he, in my opinion, overestimated their productivity – for example, the adjective derivation suffix /-(a)n/, which Alhoniemi describes as productive (Alhoniemi 1985: 158), but which does not seem to be productive in literary Meadow Mari, at least. Words containing non-productive derivational suffixes can (or must) be assumed to be covered by the lexical base – see Section 3.2.9 (page 106). The 17 suffixes I classified as productive are:

id	type	suffix	gloss	pos	s_pos	t_pos
1	N	шH	PTCP.ACT	adj	v	n
2	N	мH	PTCP.PASS	adj	v	n
3	N	дымH	PTCP.NEG	adj	v	n
4	N	шаш	PTCP.FUT	adj	v	n
5	N	маш	NMLZ	deriv.n	v	n
6	N	дымаш	NMLZ.NEG	deriv.n	v	n
7	A	н	POSS	deriv.adj	n	n
8	T	сH	ADJ	deriv.adj	n	n
9	N	ла се	PL ADJ	num deriv.adj	n	n
10	N	дымH	PRIV	deriv.adj	n	n
11	N	лык	ABSTR	deriv.n	n	n
12	A	лт	REFL	deriv.v	v	v1
13	T	ктH	CAUS	deriv.v	v	v2
14	A	н	TRANS	deriv.v	n	v1
15	E	м	TRANS	deriv.v	n	v1
16	A	н дH	TRANS CAUS	deriv.v deriv.v	n	v2
17	E	м дH	TRANS CAUS	deriv.v deriv.v	n	v2

Figure 47: Productive derivational suffixes

In contrast to the overview of inflectional suffixes, this table does not have the fields *class* (as these suffixes are not cross-referenced with lists of permissible arrangements) and *conj* (as none of these suffixes are “conjugation class-sensitive” – all deverbal suffixes connect to stems of either conjugation class). The fields *s_pos* and *t_pos* indicate the part-of-speech restrictions of derivational suffixes discussed above, classifying the category of the base (source) word, and of the derived (target) word, respectively (e.g. a deverbal nominal has the values *s_pos* = *v* and *t_pos* = *n*). The abbreviation *n* signifies all nominal forms: nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns.

My classification of suffixes as “derivational” rather than “inflectional” – an exceedingly difficult matter from a theoretical perspective (cf. **Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 81–113**) – was purely dictated by practical needs. This is best exemplified by the fact that the software treats participle endings as deverbal nominal derivational suffixes, rather than as part of the inflectional paradigm (though the glossing provided in the output does not identify them as derivational suffixes – it is purely “in the background” that they are treated as derivational suffixes). This is due to the fact that participles often are inflected as nouns, and also can have derivational suffixes attached to them, e.g. /töčâš^{||}/ ‘to try’ > active participle /töčâšö/ ‘trying; person trying (to do something)’ > /töčâšö-βlak/ ‘people trying (to do something)’; /šiňčâš^{||}/ ‘to know’ > negative participle /šiňčâ-dâme/ ‘unknown’ > abstract noun /šiňčâ-dâmâ-lâk/ ‘lack of knowledge’. The software does not allow derivational suffixes to follow inflectional suffixes. The easiest way to circumvent this issue was to simply define participles as derived forms, rather than inflectional – regardless of how dubious this might seem from a theoretical point of view.

Line 9 is of special note: the ending /-lase/ is complex (as indicated by the morpheme boundary, indicated here by a vertical bar |), consisting of the (inflectional) plural suffix /-la/ followed by the derivational suffix /-se/ – i.e. a violation of the general rule of thumb that derivational suffixes are closer to the stem than inflectional suffixes (cf. **Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 95**), a rule violated frequently in the Volga-Kama languages (cf. **Bereczki 1984: 309**) – encountered in phrases such as the following:

(93 – Mari – Riese et al. 2014–: пролетарий)

‘[Ч]ыла элласе пролетарий-влак, ушныза!’

ċăla	el	-la	-se	proletarij	-βlak,	ušnā	-za!
all	land	-PL	-ADJ	proletarian	-PL	unite	-IMP.2PL
adj	n	-num	-deriv.adj	n	-num	v	-mood.pers

‘[W]orkers of the world, unite!’

The classification of this complex form as a derivational suffix allows the software to accept this specific form, while still as a rule not accepting derivational suffixes after inflectional suffixes.

Lines 16 and 17 represent complex suffixes as well: Alhoniemi classifies the verbal derivational suffix /-dE/²¹⁰ ~ /-tE/ as “partly productive”.²¹¹ The suffix seems to be fully productive in combination with the denominal verbal suffixes /-ŋ/ (line 14) and /-m/ (line 15) – thus, these suffix combinations are treated as productive suffixes by the software.

The analysis mechanisms take derivational morphology into consideration when the lexical base is accessed. For example, if the software analyses the complex word form *ужалалтдымылыкыштышт* /užalalttâmêlâkâštâšt/ ‘in their devotion’, the mechanisms detailed above manage to extract two inflectional suffixes before they are left (in one interpretation) with a rump from which no further inflectional suffixes can be extracted:

No.	Unglossed part (“Rump”)	Glossed part				
		Morph	Base form	Gloss	Part of speech	Class
1	ужалалтдымылыкыштышт	-	-	-	-	-
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
10	ужалалтдымылык	-ышты -шт	-штE -шт	-INE -3PL	-case -poss	«case-g2»«poss»
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 48: Two inflectional suffixes extracted from /užalalttâmêlâkâštâšt/

The suffix combination «case-g2»«poss» only matches one of the patterns for arrangements of inflectional suffixes:

n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«~~case-g2~~»«~~poss~~»«p3»«ene»

Figure 49: Permissible arrangements with rump /užalalttâmêlâk/

Given this suffix arrangement, only nominal base words – nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns – are permissible. The software checks to see if a word *ужалалтдымылык* /užalalttâmêlâk/ can be found in the lexical base, and indeed finds it with the meaning ‘devotion’ – as the lexical base contains numerous complex words derived by productive derivational morphology. In spite of having at this point found a valid interpretation of the word, the software continues analysing it – the morphological analyser attempts to return all valid interpretations of a word.

The software attempts to extract all suffixes that have the *t_pos* value *n*: i.e., all nominal suffixes, and manages to extract the denominal nominal suffix *-лык* /-lâk/ (used to produce abstract nouns), leaving

²¹⁰ Given in sources as -ð /-d/, but as it creates verbs of the second conjugation, and these as a rule have verbal stems ending in an unstressed final vowel, the indication of a vowel-harmonic vowel is appropriate – and for the software, necessary.

²¹¹ “Osittain produktiivinen.”

the rump *ужалалтдыме* /uʒalalttəmə/. As the *s_pos* value of this suffix is also *n*, the software knows that this rump must also be nominal.

The software finds this rump in the lexical base as well (as ‘devoted’), but continues to attempt to extract more suffixes with a *t_pos* value *n*. It next succeeds in extracting the deverbal nominal suffix *-дыме* /-dəmE/ ~ /-təmE/ – the ending of the passive participle – leaving the rump *ужалалт* /uʒalalt-/.²¹² As the suffix has the *s_pos* value *v*, the software knows that this must be a verbal form, and as the rump (under this interpretation) ends in a consonant, it also knows that it must be a verb of the first conjugation – see Section 2.1.1 (page 24).

This rump is also contained in the lexical base (as ‘to be sold’ – and, figuratively, ‘to sell oneself’), but the software now attempts to extract verbal suffixes that produce verbs of the first conjugation – i.e. suffixes with the *t_pos* value *v1*. It manages to extract the reflexive marker *-алт* /-alt/, leaving the rump *ужале* /uʒale-/ – due to the final unstressed vowel identifiable as a verb of the second conjugation.²¹³ This stem can again be found in the lexical base, with the meaning ‘to sell’. No further suffixes can be extracted.

The figure below illustrates the output returned by the analyser. As every derived form is contained in the lexicon, interpretations with “different depths” are returned, but the interpretation with maximum depth, which extracts all derivational suffixes and reconstructs the verbal stem, was created irrespective of the derived forms in the lexicon.

²¹² It also succeeds in extracting the denominal nominal suffix *-дыме* /-dəmE/ ~ /-təmE/, but under this interpretation, the rump *ужалалт* /uʒalalt/ must be nominal and this branch of the analysis turns out to be a dead end.

²¹³ The analyser also returns the possibility of a first-conjugation verbal rump *ужал* /uʒal-/, but as no such stem is contained in the lexical base and as no further suffixes can be extracted from it, the analyser eventually ignores it.

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

ужалалтдымылыкыштышт

ужалалтдымылыкыштышт

ужалалтдымылык	-ышты	-шт		
<i>ужалалтдымылык</i>	<i>-ымE</i>	<i>-ым</i>		
<i>devotion</i>	-INE	-3PL		
по	-case	-poss		

ужалалтдымылыкыштышт

ужалалтдымы	-лык	-ышты	-шт	
<i>ужалалтдыме</i>	<i>-лык</i>	<i>-ымE</i>	<i>-ым</i>	
<i>devoted</i>	-ABSTR	-INE	-3PL	
ad	-deriv.n	-case	-poss	

ужалалтдымылыкыштышт

ужалалт	-дымы	-лык	-ышты	-шт
<i>ужалалт</i>	<i>-дымE</i>	<i>-лык</i>	<i>-ымE</i>	<i>-ым</i>
<i>be on sale</i>	-PTCP.NEG	-ABSTR	-INE	-3PL
vb1	-ad	-deriv.n	-case	-poss

ужалалтдымылыкыштышт

ужал	-алт	-дымы	-лык	-ышты	-шт
<i>ужале</i>	<i>-алт</i>	<i>-дымE</i>	<i>-лык</i>	<i>-ымE</i>	<i>-ым</i>
<i>sell</i>	-REF	-PTCP.NEG	-ABSTR	-INE	-3PL
vb2	-deriv.v	-ad	-deriv.n	-case	-poss

Figure 50: Extraction of multiple derivational suffixes

3.2.7 Reduplication, compounds

When the software encounters hyphenated forms that it cannot analyse as a whole, it attempts to analyse the components separated by the hyphen individually. This allows the software to handle reduplicated forms, and the juxtaposition of inflected word forms:

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

йога-йога

йога-йога

йог	-а-	йог	-а
<i>його</i>	<i>-а</i>	<i>його</i>	<i>-а</i>
<i>flow</i>	-3SG	<i>flow</i>	-3SG
vb2	-pers	vb2	-pers

Figure 51: Reduplication – /joga-joga/ ‘it flows and flows’ (Yakimova et al. 1990–1991: II: 101)

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

кидет-йолет

кидет-йолет

кид	-ет-	йол	-ет
<i>кид</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>йол</i>	<i>-em</i>
<i>hand</i>	-2SG	<i>foot</i>	-2SG
но	-poss	но	-poss

Figure 52: Juxtapositioned inflected forms – /kidet-jolet/ ‘your extremities’ (Alhoniemi: 168)²¹⁴

If one or more of the forms are ambiguous, the analyser returns all possible combinations. For example, here, the first word could either mean ‘to hear’ or ‘to die’ (the second interpretation is correct):

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

колаш-илаш

колаш-илаш

кол	-аш-	ил	-аш
<i>кол</i>	<i>-аш</i>	<i>иле</i>	<i>-аш</i>
<i>hear</i>	-INF	<i>live</i>	-INF
vb1	-inf	vb2	-inf

колаш-илаш

кол	-аш-	ил	-аш
<i>коло</i>	<i>-аш</i>	<i>иле</i>	<i>-аш</i>
<i>die</i>	-INF	<i>live</i>	-INF
vb2	-inf	vb2	-inf

Figure 53: Ambiguous juxtapositioning – /kolaš-ilaš/ ‘to live and die’ (Riese et al. 2014–: колаш-илаш (-ем)-(-ем))

3.2.8 Proper nouns, numerals, “giving up”

If the analyser still fails to interpret a form, it assumes that upper-case words are proper nouns and returns a transliteration of the name as a gloss. As the analyser at this point does not have a list of established names, it is not capable of extracting grammatical information from names. It cannot, for example, determine that *Майран* /Majran/ is the genitive form of a popular female given name *Майра* /Majra/, while *Эчан* /Ečan/ is the nominative form of a popular male given name rather than the genitive form of a name * *Эча* /Eča/.

When the analyser encounters a numeral expressed in numeric format, it returns the same numeral as the gloss. If the number is an ordinal number – in written Mari indicated by the ordinal ending *-we* /-še/ ~ *-wo* /-šo/ ~ *-wö* /-šö/ – the Mari ordinal marker is replaced by English *-th*, *-rd*, *-st*, *-nd*.

²¹⁴ “raajasi”

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

Эчан, Ануш, Леонард Нимой, Магдебург, 2016, 2016-шо

Эчан,	Ануш,	Леонард	Нимой,	Магдебург,	2016,	2016-шо
Эчан	Ануш	Леонард	Нимой	Магдебург	2016	2016-шо
<i>Эчан</i>	<i>Ануш</i>	<i>Леонард</i>	<i>Нимой</i>	<i>Магдебург</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>2016-шо</i>
<i>Echan</i>	<i>Anush</i>	<i>Leonard</i>	<i>Nimoy</i>	<i>Magdeburg</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>2016th</i>
па	па	па	па	па	nm	nm

Figure 54: Proper nouns, a cardinal number, and an ordinal number

If the analyser still cannot come up with a valid interpretation of a word at this point – it cannot find it in the lexical base, it cannot reconstruct a stem that is in the lexical base using its analysis mechanisms, it does not assume it is a proper noun due to its capitalization, and it is not a numeral – it returns three asterisks *** to indicate a word it could not process.

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

ad majorem dei gloriam

ad	majorem	dei	gloriam
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***

Figure 55: Unanalysable forms

3.2.9 The lexical base

My work group’s Mari-English dictionary (Riese et al. 2014–) with its 42,560 headwords, found at dict.mari-language.com, serves as the lexical base for my software. We ensured that orthographically unmarked features that might be relevant to users and software applications are marked systematically. Their necessity for the analyser is primarily discussed in Section 3.2.3 (page 90).

These features include:

- Word stress is indicated by bullet points placed after stressed vowels: *ше•рге* /še•rge/ ‘expensive’ vs. *шерге•* /šerge•/ ‘comb’, *йолйы•жын* /joljâ•žəŋ/ ‘knee joint’ vs. *шо•нгылык* /šo•ŋgəlâk/ ‘old age’.
- Palatalness, when it is not orthographically marked, is indicated by an apostrophe: *и•мн’е* /i•mńe/ ‘horse’ vs. *ни•не* /ni•ne/ ‘these’.
- Part-of-speech data is included in the lexical base.

3.2.10 Pre-glossed words

While Mari morphology is generally extremely predictable, there are irregular forms that, while transparent to speakers and scholars of Mari, cannot be processed with the mechanisms detailed so far. For example:

- The negative auxiliary – see Section 2.1.3 (page 26) – has a defective paradigm. It does not have an infinitive (and the analyser thus cannot access its verbal stem); the various inflected

forms of the negative auxiliary are contained in the lexical base. Nevertheless, the verbal stem, tense / mood marker, and personal marker can in many cases be easily identified by a human reader, as the following example illustrates (where the same mood and person markers occur attached to the stem of a regular verb in the affirmative sentence, but attached to the stem of the negative auxiliary in the negated sentence).

(94 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

<p>‘Луднем.’</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">lut</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">-ne</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">-m.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>read</td> <td>-DES</td> <td>-1SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-mood</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table> <p>‘I want to read.’</p>	lut	-ne	-m.	read	-DES	-1SG	v	-mood	-pers	<p>‘Ынем луд.’</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">ê</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">-ne</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">-m</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">lut</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">-∅.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NEG</td> <td>-DES</td> <td>-1SG</td> <td>read</td> <td>-CNG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-mood</td> <td>-pers</td> <td>v</td> <td>-conn</td> </tr> </table> <p>‘I do not want to read.’</p>	ê	-ne	-m	lut	-∅.	NEG	-DES	-1SG	read	-CNG	v	-mood	-pers	v	-conn
lut	-ne	-m.																							
read	-DES	-1SG																							
v	-mood	-pers																							
ê	-ne	-m	lut	-∅.																					
NEG	-DES	-1SG	read	-CNG																					
v	-mood	-pers	v	-conn																					

- The verb /ulašʲ/ ‘to be’ is subject to a stem change in the simple past I – see Section 2.1.4 (page 28) – where the stem /ul-/ becomes /êl’-/. (The palatalization of /l/ > /l’/ is a regular process in the past tense; the vowel change is irregular.)

(95 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

<p>‘Улам.’</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ul</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">-am.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>be</td> <td>-1SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table> <p>‘I am.’</p>	ul	-am.	be	-1SG	v	-pers	<p>‘Ыльым.’</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">êl’</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">-ê</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">-m.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>be</td> <td>-PST1</td> <td>-1SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-tense</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table> <p>‘I was.’</p>	êl’	-ê	-m.	be	-PST1	-1SG	v	-tense	-pers
ul	-am.															
be	-1SG															
v	-pers															
êl’	-ê	-m.														
be	-PST1	-1SG														
v	-tense	-pers														

- Unlike other nominals, pronouns can be subject to unpredictable stem changes; case suffixes can be attached to pronominal stems in unpredictable manners. Compare the dative forms of pronouns with those of nouns that are structurally similar:

Nominative	Translation	Dative <i>-lan</i>
<i>lu•do</i>	duck	<i>ludêlan</i>
<i>tu•do</i>	s/he	<i>tutlan</i>
<i>βuj</i>	head	<i>βujlan</i>
<i>mêj</i>	I	<i>mêlam</i> ²¹⁵

Figure 56: Regular and irregular dative forms

While all of these irregular, unpredictable forms are contained in the lexical base, their handling there is not optimal for the needs of morphological analysis. The form of the negative auxiliary /ênem/ is translated as ‘I do not want to’, rather than as ‘NEG -DES -1SG’, as in the interlinear gloss. The consistent handling of the desiderative marker /-ne/, both in positive forms and when attached to the negative auxiliary, would be desirable, especially to allow optimal searchability – see Section 3.2.13 (page 114). For this purpose, the analyser has access to a table of 92 “pre-glossed words” for which the morpheme division is provided in full, with all the tiers contained in the analyser’s output. The table can be found in its entirety in Appendix D.e (page 306), an excerpt is given here:

²¹⁵ The *-m* is a possessive suffix.

nr	lex	div	orig	gloss	pos
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
7	мый	мый	мый	1SG	pr
8	мыла•м	мы -ла -м	мый -лан -ем	1SG -DAT -1SG	pr -case -poss
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
76	ы•льым	ыл -ьым	ул -ым	be -PST1.1SG	v1 -tense.pers
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
82	ыне•м	ы -не -м	ы -не -м	NEG -DES -1SG	v -mood -pers
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
92	эн	эн	эн	SUP	pa

Figure 57: Pre-glossed words (excerpt)

When the analyser encounters any of the lexemes in this list, it uses the data from this table in the output:

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

ЫНЕМ

Ы	-не	-м
<i>ы</i>	<i>-не</i>	<i>-м</i>
NEG	-DES	-1SG
vb	-mood	-pers

Figure 58: The analyser's output for /ənem/ 'I do not want to ...'

In addition to forms that were inflected in irregular manners, this list of pre-glossed words also contains some uninflected function words (i.e. words that convey grammatical information rather than lexical information), such as personal pronouns and the superlative particle эн /en/ 'the most ...', with the grammatical values that should be returned in interlinear glosses.

Enter the word or sentence you wish to analyze:

мый	тый	тудо	ме	те	нуно
мый	тый	тудо	ме	те	нуно
<i>мый</i>	<i>тый</i>	<i>тудо</i>	<i>ме</i>	<i>те</i>	<i>нуно</i>
1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr

Figure 59: Output for personal pronouns

3.2.11 Assembling a corpus

When assembling an illustrative corpus that I could make publicly accessible, I was faced with two major obstacles: I could only use texts that (1) actually exist in digital format and (2) are either not subject to copyright or for which I was explicitly given usage rights by the copyright holders. It was possible to use the following resources in this illustrative corpus, which can be found at corpus.mari-language.com. The column "Eng.?" indicates whether an English counterpart of the respective

resource is available. The following section will illustrate how these resources are administered by the corpus infrastructure.

No.	Name	Citation	Type	Tokens	Eng.?
1	Онай мари йылме	(Riese et al. 2010–)	textbook	2,508	yes
2	Элнет	(Chavayn 1967)	novel	63,918	no
3	The New Testament	(Raamatunkäännösinstituutti 2007)	religious text	127,717	yes
4	Mari-Russian dictionary	(Galkin et al. 1990–2005)	dictionary	585,431	no
5	Mari-English dictionary	(Riese et al. 2014–)	dictionary	214,523	yes
-	Sum	-	-	994,097	-

Figure 60: Content of the illustrative corpus (published at corpus.mari-language.com)

The following are a few notes on these texts, which in their entirety contain almost a million word forms (tokens):

- Resource 1: These 2,508 tokens are the texts from the first 20 chapters of my work group’s textbook. I have provided English translations of the individual sentences and have sanitized the glosses by processes explained in the following chapter.
- Resource 2: As Sergey Chavayn died in 1937, the copyright on this novel has expired. There is no English translation yet.
- Resource 3: Representatives of the Finnish Raamatunkäännösinstituutti (Bible Translation Institute), which is responsible for this Bible translation, gave me explicit permission to use this resource for non-commercial purposes. The 17th century King James Version – chosen because it is also not subject to copyright and is in addition the English Bible translation with which users are most likely to be familiar – is available as an English counterpart through the corpus interface.
- Resources 4, 5: All example sentences from these two dictionaries are included. As the Mari-Russian dictionary was one of our sources in creating our dictionary, there is considerable overlap between them.

This corpus is by no means representative (cf. **Atkins & Rundell 2008: 222**), and does not currently contain any metadata that would enable comparative variational studies – be they dialectal, historical, or sociolinguistic. All resources are in literary Meadow Mari (though Resource 4 contains example sentences of lexemes labelled as “dialectal” or “colloquial” – but no further information is given on their distribution) and were written over the course of the last century. While biographical data is available on the authors of Resources 1 and 2, none is available for Resource 3 – the translators are not named in the book – and example sentences for the lexical sources Resources 4 and 5 are taken from a diverse range of resources, and are sporadically and vaguely sourced, if at all. However, the scope of this illustrative corpus is sufficient to allow users to find usage examples even of comparatively rare structures. In future, it would be desirable to expand this infrastructure by including texts with more metadata and by extending the analysis mechanisms to the Hill Mari literary language, as well as including Hill Mari texts. Some of the latter are already at my disposal in digital format, for example the recently released Hill Mari translation of the New Testament (**Raamatunkäännösinstituutti 2014**). It might also be possible to include manually annotated dialectal texts – see Section 3.3 (page 119).

Elina Ahola of the University of Turku kindly provided me with another text collection that I could feed into my corpus infrastructure and use as a resource in the study at hand.²¹⁶ As the copyright situation surrounding her texts is unclear, I cannot release this resource to the public, but can use individual example sentences from it in my research. Her text collection consists of numerous Mari-language plays – though here, too, I lack the metadata that would allow these resources to serve as the foundation of a variational study. Some of them have been translated into Finnish by Arto Moisio,²¹⁷ but I have not fed these translations into the corpus infrastructure.

No.	File name	Tokens
1	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/Akpars_pjesa.txt	15,136
2	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/Akpatyr.txt	9,914
3	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/Boltush.txt	10,566
4	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/Cotkar_legenda.txt	688
5	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/EHyremyshvot.txt	6,715
6	Arton_käänt_näyt_alkutekstist-4.08/Iku.txt	6,149
7	maridraamaa/A.Ivanova_Arale myjym volgydo Jumem (Poeticheskij drame).doc	6,693
8	maridraamaa/A.Petrov_Pial deke kajyme korno.doc	17,800
9	maridraamaa/A.Volkov_Majruk (Drame).doc	15,047
10	maridraamaa/G.Gordeev_Kunam kudyrcho kudyrta (Kojdarchyk).doc	13,086
11	maridraamaa/Ju.Bajguza_Porsyn lungaltysh (Drame).doc	9,937
12	maridraamaa/K.Korshunov_Shum parym (Drame).doc	13,876
13	maridraamaa/L.Jandakov_Opkyn (Tragikomedij).doc	8,133
14	maridraamaa/M.Rybakov_Mokmyr (Kojdarchyk fantastmagorij).doc	14,788
15	maridraamaa/V.Abukaev-Engak_Osh keche jymalne (Drame).doc	12,132
16	maridraamaa/V.Bojarinova_Osh jukso.doc	10,381
17	maridraamaa/V.Domrachev_V.Sapaev_Erge (Drame).doc	6,047
18	maridraamaa/V.Regezh-Gorohov_Kande kajyk (Drame).doc	16,359
19	maridraamaa/Z.Dolgova_Shudo sheshke.doc	8,691
20	maridraamaa/A.Александров-Арсак - Шочмо ял.doc	13,701
21	maridraamaa/Алан Эчук - Эх, пурымаш.doc	7,070
22	maridraamaa/В.Григорьев - Эныремышвот.doc	8,956
23	maridraamaa/В.Дмитриев-Ози - Азыр.doc	3,781
24	maridraamaa/В.Юксерн_Чоя рывыж.doc	7,349
25	maridraamaa/С.Николаев - Комиссар-влак.doc	14,377
26	maridraamaa/Ю.Галютин - Модыш гыч лодыш.doc	13,850
-	Sum	271,222

Figure 61: Content of Elina Ahola's corpus (unpublished)

3.2.12 Feeding and editing the corpus

I have not yet created or adapted a content management system for the corpus infrastructure allowing easy management of resources within a text collection. For the time being, texts have to be manually uploaded into the database in tabular format. Where they are available, English translations can be included in the tabular data that is uploaded into the infrastructure.

²¹⁶ Alternatively, one could say that I provided her with a search interface that allowed her to access her texts in a more efficient manner. I am grateful for the symbiotic relationship my work group has with scholars at the University of Turku.

²¹⁷ Published online at www.macastran.fi/suomennettua/Sankarten_jalkeen.pdf.

Book	Chapter	Block	Meadow Mari	English
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
Оңай марий йылме	3: Кумшо урок: Эчан ден кочаже	3: Кумшо урок: Эчан ден кочаже - 13	Эчан: - Нуно кастене толыт.	Echan: They're coming in the evening.
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
Оңай марий йылме	17: Ялысе суртышто	17: Ялысе суртышто - 1	Эвай кугыза ден ватыже Пүнчерьялыште илат.	Evay and his wife live in Püncheryal
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
New Testament	Matthew 1	Matthew 1:1	Авраам тукум Эргын, Давид тукум Эргын Иисус Христосын тукумвожшо:	The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.
New Testament	Matthew 1	Matthew 1:2	Авраам деч Исаак шочын, Исаак деч Иаков, Иаков деч Иуда ден иза-шольыж-влак шочыныт,	Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren;
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Figure 62: Resources before they are fed into the infrastructure

After a text or text collection is entered into the corpus, the analysis tool introduced above runs over the individual strings in the resource and glosses them as best as possible.

Corpus Tool Demo

Cyrillic | UPA | IPA
[Instructions]

Admin login:

[Search]

The following items are in your database:

- Оңай марий йылме
- Элнет
- New Testament
- Марийско-русский словарь
- Mari-English Dictionary

Figure 63: Corpus tool, main page (corpus.mari-language.com)

To review the computer-generated glosses, users can pick a resource from the list of items in the database displayed on the main page and then choose an individual chapter. In some cases the computer-generated analysis will already be optimal:

3: Кумшо урок: Эчан ден кочаже - 13				
Эчан: - Нуно кастене толыт.				
Эчан: -	Нуно	кастене	толыт.	
Эчан	нуно	кастене	тол	-ыт
<i>Эчан</i>	<i>нуно</i>	<i>кастене</i>	<i>тол</i>	<i>-ыт</i>
<i>Echan</i>	3PL	<i>in.the.evening</i>	<i>come</i>	-3PL
па	рг	ad	vb1	-pers
<i>Echan: They're coming in the evening.</i>				

Figure 64: Оңай марий йылме, Chapter 3, String 13: no ambiguity

pushing the appropriate button. (This button can also be used if users by accident disambiguate a word in the string incorrectly.) For all the words that the software considers ambiguous, authorized users can determine the correct interpretation by pushing the *[pick]*-button beside the correct interpretation. Users can also manually edit the analysis of an individual word by clicking the *[edit]*-button. If users do this for *Пўнчерьялыште* /Püñčerjalâšte/, the software displays the following dialogue field:

Figure 67: Manually editing the analysis of the word *Пўнчерьялыште* /Püñčerjalâšte/ ‘in Püñcheryal’

If authorized users are unsure about the correct glossing abbreviations, they can use the analyser’s independent user interface at morph.mari-language.com as a frame of reference: by entering the same inflected form of a lexeme that can be assumed to be in the lexical base – in this case, for example, *Йошкар-Олаште* /Joškar-Olašte/ ‘in Yoshkar-Ola’:

Figure 68: morph.mari-language.com serving as a frame of reference

Users can copy data from the different tiers into the dialogue field mentioned above, adapting it to fit the situation at hand:

Figure 69: *Пўнчерьялыште* /Püñčerjalâšte/ ‘in Püñcheryal’ – manually glossed

Users can save the manual glossing locally – i.e. only the token that was chosen to edit – or for all occurrences of the word form *Пүнчеръялыште* /Pünčerjalâšte/ in the chapter at hand, in the book at hand, or in the entire database. The last option should only be chosen if users are absolutely certain that the word form under consideration could not ever be glossed any other way under any circumstances.

Once the changes have been saved, the manually improved interlinearization looks as follows:

17: Ялысе суртышто - 1

Эвай кугыза ден ватыже Пүнчеръялыште илат. [\[edit\]](#)

[edit] Эвай	[edit] кугыза	[edit] ден	[edit] ватыже		[edit] Пүнчеръялыште	[edit] илат.		
Эвай	кугыза	ден	ваты	-же	Пүнчеръял	-ыште	ил	-ат
<i>Эвай</i>	<i>кугыза</i>	<i>ден</i>	<i>вате</i>	<i>-жЕ</i>	<i>Пүнчеръял</i>	<i>-штЕ</i>	<i>иле</i>	<i>-ат</i>
<i>Evay</i>	<i>old.man</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>wife</i>	<i>-3SG</i>	<i>Püncheryal</i>	<i>-INE</i>	<i>live</i>	<i>-3PL</i>
na	no	co	no	-poss	pn	-case	vb2	-pers

Evay and his wife live in Püncheryal. [\[edit\]](#)

[\[\(re\)analyze sentence\]](#)

Figure 70: *Онэй марий йылме*, Chapter 17, String 1 – manually disambiguated and corrected

Users can also choose to have the content displayed in an automatically generated UPA or IPA transcription:

17: Jalêse surtêšto - 1

Еβaj kugêza den βatêže Pünčerjalâšte ilat. [\[edit\]](#)

[edit] Еβaj	[edit] kugêza	[edit] den	[edit] βatêže		[edit] Pünčerjalâšte	[edit] ilat.		
Еβaj	kugêza	den	βatê	-že	Pünčerjal	-âšte	il	-at
<i>Еβaj</i>	<i>kugêza</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>βate</i>	<i>-že</i>	<i>Pünčerjal</i>	<i>-šte</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>-at</i>
<i>Evay</i>	<i>old.man</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>wife</i>	<i>-3SG</i>	<i>Püncheryal</i>	<i>-INE</i>	<i>live</i>	<i>-3PL</i>
na	no	co	no	-poss	pn	-case	vb2	-pers

Evay and his wife live in Püncheryal. [\[edit\]](#)

[\[\(re\)analyze sentence\]](#)

Figure 71: *Онэй марий йылме*, Chapter 17, String 1 – automatic UPA transcription

I have sanitized all the texts taken from our textbook *Онэй марий йылме* in the fashion illustrated here. Other texts in the two text collections have not been sanitized like this.

3.2.13 Searching the corpus

Users can search the entire text collection or an individual resource within it by clicking the *[Search]*-button on the appropriate page. The search mask allows users to search within the different tiers of the glosses (“unglossed”, “morpheme”, “base form”, “gloss”, “part of speech”) and allows users to specify whether they are interested in exact matches (“equals”), partial matches (“matches partially”), a matching beginning of a word (“begins with”), or a matching ending (“ends with”). Users can choose these options from drop-down menus. Note that a search in reference to tiers that are divided by morpheme only refers to one morpheme, not the word as a whole – e.g. if one searches for an occurrence of the dative by searching for “gloss”, “equals”, “-DAT”, the software also finds cases where the dative co-occurs with other suffixes.

Corpus Tool Demo - Search

Cyrillic | UPA | IPA

[Instructions] | [Analyzer]

base form equals negated
next word ▼

base form equals negated
next word ▼

base form equals negated
next word ▼

base form equals negated
next word ▼

base form equals negated
next word ▼

Figure 72: Corpus tool, search mask (corpus.mari-language.com > [Search])

Users can make very simple searches by only entering data in the first line of this search mask and ignoring the other lines. The search interface only takes those lines into consideration into which the user has entered data. By searching for “base form”, “equals”, “фотокорреспондент”, users can find all occurrences of the lexeme *фотокорреспондент* /*fotokorrespondent*/ ‘photojournalist’ in the corpus.

This search returns three hits. The possibility of searching for patterns is considerably more interesting and considerably less trivial. As a relatively simple example, I will take postpositional constructions with the postposition *верч* /*berč*/ ‘because of, due to; for’, which is subject to some alternation with respect to its government: it sometimes follows the nominative, sometimes the genitive, and sometimes the dative. It is not entirely clear by which factors the usage of the dative is triggered.²¹⁸

(96 – Mari – Riese et al 2014–: верч(ын))							
‘чер верч’	‘тидлан верч’						
<table style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-table;"> <tr><td>čer</td></tr> <tr><td>illness</td></tr> <tr><td>n</td></tr> </table>	čer	illness	n	<table style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-table;"> <tr><td>tit</td></tr> <tr><td>this</td></tr> <tr><td>n</td></tr> </table>	tit	this	n
čer							
illness							
n							
tit							
this							
n							
<table style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>berč</td></tr> <tr><td>because.of</td></tr> <tr><td>po</td></tr> </table>	berč	because.of	po	<table style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>berč</td></tr> <tr><td>because.of</td></tr> <tr><td>po</td></tr> </table>	berč	because.of	po
berč							
because.of							
po							
berč							
because.of							
po							
‘due to illness’	‘because of this’						

To search for all occurrences of *верч* /*berč*/ with the dative, users can in the first line specify that they are looking for the base form “верч” and then in the drop-down menu underneath this line specify that their query should also cover the “previous word”. (Other options in this drop-down menu are: “in same word”, “next word”, “later in sentence”, “earlier in sentence”, “anywhere in sentence”). Then, in the following line, users can specify that they are (in word preceding *верч*) looking for the gloss “-DAT” (possibly preceded or followed by other suffixes – the search simply determines if this gloss is contained in the preceding word at all):

²¹⁸ Alternation between the nominative and genitive in combination with postpositions is a more usual phenomenon in Mari, and is of less acute interest.

base form	▼	equals	▼	верч	<input type="checkbox"/> negated
previous word ▼					
gloss	▼	equals	▼	-DAT	<input type="checkbox"/> negated

Figure 73: Searching for -DAT + *верч* /*βerč̣*/.

This search returns 45 results. Alternatively, users can tick the checkbox “negated” in the second line, which means that they are looking for cases in which the word preceding *верч* does *not* contain a dative suffix.

base form	▼	equals	▼	верч	<input type="checkbox"/> negated
previous word ▼					
gloss	▼	equals	▼	-DAT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> negated

Figure 74: Searching for *верч* /*βerč̣*/ preceded by anything but a dative form

This search returns 758 results.

When searching for more complicated factors, the user interface of the stand-alone application found at morph.mari-language.com can serve as a frame of reference, helping users to determine exactly what pattern they should enter into the search interface. For example, if one wishes to search for the pattern “negation verb + converb in *-n*²¹⁹ + conneegative form” discussed in Section 2.4 (page 78), one can enter one example of the relevant structure into the interface found there and then create a search query based on the structure at hand. An instance of this is Example 88 (page 81), which translated to ‘Don’t be greedy’ – with the correct interpretation of the individual words marked by hand:

²¹⁹ Only the converb in *-n* is glossed simply as *-CVB*; the other converbs have more complex glosses: *-CVB.SIM*, *-CVB.FUT*, *-CVB.PRI*, *-CVB.NEG*. By searching for “gloss”, “equals”, “-CVB”, users can search for the converb in *-n* exclusively. By searching for “gloss”, “matches partially”, “-CVB”, users can look for *all* converbs.

	курныжланен			шинче!	
	курныжлан	-ен	-∅	шинче	-∅
	курныжлане	-ен	-∅	шинче	-∅
Ида	<i>be.greedy</i>	-PST2	-3SG	<i>sit</i>	-IMP.2SG
ида	vb2	-tense	-pers	vb2	-mood.pers
ида	курныжланен			шинче!	
NEG.IMP.2PL	курныжлан	-ен		шинче	-∅
vb.mood.pers	курныжлане	-ен		шинче	-∅
	<i>be.greedy</i>	-CVB		<i>know</i>	-IMP.2SG
	vb2	-adv		vb2	-mood.pers
				шинче!	
				шинче	-∅
				шинче	-∅
				<i>sit.down</i>	-PST1.3SG
				vb1	-tense.pers
				шинче!	
				шинче	-∅
				шинче	-∅
				<i>know</i>	-CNG
				vb2	-conn
				шинче!	
				шинче	-∅
				шинче	-∅
				<i>know</i>	-CNG
				vb2	-conn

Figure 75: Analysis of the sentence /Ида курныжланен ши́нче!/
Ида курныжланен ши́нче!

The relevant pattern that can be derived from this output is: a gloss that matches partially with *NEG* (the form *ида* /*ida*/ would not be found if one searched for a complete match, as the gloss for this morpheme is *NEG.IMP.2PL*), followed by a gloss *-CVB* in the next word, followed by a gloss *-CNG* in the word after that.

gloss	matches partially	NEG	<input type="checkbox"/> negated
next word			
gloss	equals	-CVB	<input type="checkbox"/> negated
next word			
gloss	equals	-CNG	<input type="checkbox"/> negated

Figure 76: A search pattern based on the example above

This query returns 271 hits. Most of these results are false positives – i.e. they are found by the search mechanism in spite of not containing the relevant pattern, primarily because the ambiguity left in the corpus by the automatic analysis of the materials. A manually disambiguated corpus would return considerably fewer false positive results, assuming users search for a well-defined pattern. The wider the search pattern, the more false positive results. *NEG* finds many negative morphemes other than the negation verb that are not relevant – this particular issue would remain even after manual disambiguation of the data, but could be ameliorated by assigning a separate gloss to the negation verb to distinguish it from other negative morphemes. More specific queries are less likely to return false positive results – but are also more likely to miss something relevant.

3.3 Other text collections

The historical depth of written records of Mari is limited. The first known Mari text was a translation of the Lord's Prayer sent to Nicolaes Witsen from Russia at some point between 21 July 1698 and 5 July 1699 (cf. **Sebeok 1974: 309**); the first Mari grammar, a modern facsimile of which is available (**Sebeok & Raun 1956**), was published in 1775.

Materials collected between the 17th century and the middle of the 19th century, while important to the historical study of Mari, are limited in their scope and diversity. The dialectal text collections that constituted the foundation of the study of Mari by foreign scholars for a large part of the 20th century were gathered by Finnish, Hungarian, and Mari scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These text collections continue to be of monumental importance for the study of Mari. They represent the local vernaculars of speakers of all four dialect groups as well as an earlier stage of the Mari language than contemporary literary Mari. Thus, they are an invaluable resource in the diachronic study of Mari and for the study of Mari dialectology.

As these texts have not yet been digitized,²²⁰ they have not been integrated into the corpus infrastructure detailed above for the time being. Integrating the texts would be challenging even if these texts were available in an editable digital format. Both the lexical base and the morphological analyser would be insufficient tools in their current state. It might make more sense to interlinearize the texts manually and then to make them searchable through the corpus interface, rather than to try to adapt the morphological analyser to handle non-normalized dialectal texts. As this monumental task is completely beyond the scope of my possibilities at the moment, I will have to restrict myself to using the texts at hand in the old-fashioned manner: by searching them for the relevant features by eye.

While the language represented by the text collections differs radically from the modern literary norms at times, the compilation of accompanying dictionaries for many of the relevant resources makes them easier to handle. The dialect text collections taken into consideration for the thesis at hand are as follows (preceded by abbreviations which will be used to refer to them in later sections), roughly in chronological order:

- **POR: (Genetz 1895)**: These texts were collected by Volmari Porkka (and local helpers) between September 1885 and April 1886 in the Meadow Mari speaking town of Morki, and in surrounding villages. They were edited and released by Arvid Genetz after Porkka's untimely death in 1889 (**ibid.: VII**). The 58 pages of text (excluding the German translations found in the latter half of the book) include fairy tales, prayers, proverbs, riddles, incantations, and songs (e.g. **ibid.: 1; 15; 22; 24; 30; 34**).²²¹ This book is the earliest source of the University of Turku's *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* (**Moisio & Saarinen 2008: II**), an extensive dialect dictionary of Mari based on multiple text collections.
- **GEN: (Genetz 1889)**: These Eastern Mari texts are the earliest account of this language variety. The 80 pages of text (excluding the German translations found in the latter half of the book) contain fairy tales, riddles, incantations, prayers, songs, and dance tunes (**ibid.: 81; 135; 142**;

²²⁰ I have scanned them for my own purposes and hope to have them published online if and when the copyright situation can be clarified. For them to become optimally usable, however, they would have to be subjected to optical character recognition and edited extensively.

²²¹ "Märchen", "Gebete", "Sprichwörter", "Räthsel [sic]", "Zaubersprüche", "Lieder"

148; 158; 179).²²² This source was also taken into consideration in the aforementioned *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* (**Moisio & Saarinen 2008: III**).

- **PAAS: (Paasonen & Siro 1939):** This volume (251 pages, excluding introductory pages with Roman page numbers) contains Eastern Mari texts collected by Heikki Paasonen in present-day Bashkortostan in April-July 1900 and edited after his death by Paavo Siro (**ibid.: VII**). German translations are provided. The texts cover topics such as fairy tales, prayers, incantations, proverbs, riddles, and songs (**ibid.: III**).²²³ An accompanying dictionary exists (**Paasonen & Siro 1948**).
- **WICH: (Wichmann 1931):** This book (479 pages) contains materials collected by Yrjö Jooseppi Wichmann (1868–1932) and his wife Julie between October 1905 and August 1906. While their travels were ultimately cut short due to the political turmoil plaguing Russia at the time, they nevertheless managed to collect materials from all four dialect groups. Texts cover topics such as rural economy, proverbs, customs, celebrations, superstitions, reformed “pagan” religious customs, riddles, fairy tales, and songs (**ibid.: 477–478**).²²⁴ These materials were also used as a source for the University of Turku’s *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* (**Moisio & Saarinen 2008: IV–V**).
- **JEV: (Alhoniemi & Saarinen 1983–1994):** These four volumes contain texts (212 + 313 + 237 + 447 = 1209 pages, including introductions) collected by the Mari teacher and folklorist Timofej Jevsevjev (1887–1937) and presented to the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsinki in the years 1908–1929. The texts have all been translated into German. While the content was collected over a wider geographic area, the texts are rendered in the variant of (Meadow) Mari spoken in Morki (**ibid.: IV: 7**), a town 5 kilometres from Jevsevjev’s native village of Azjal (**Wichmann 1931: IX**). The four volumes deal respectively with fairy tales, legends, and folk tales (**Alhoniemi & Saarinen 1983–1994: I**),²²⁵ omens, interpretations of dreams, proverbs, mocking verses, and riddles (**ibid.: II**),²²⁶ prayers and incantations (**ibid.: III**),²²⁷ and songs (**ibid.: IV**).²²⁸ These texts were not taken into consideration in the creation of the *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* because the annotation is not sufficiently exact for the purposes of a dialect dictionary aiming to accurately represent the pronunciation of words in different language varieties (**Moisio & Saarinen 2008: I**). The proximity of Jevsevjev’s Mari to the modern Meadow Mari literary language, however, makes resources on contemporary literary Meadow Mari usable for this text collection.
- **BEK: (Beke 1957–1995):** These are four volumes (692 + 467 + 515 + 540 = 2214 pages, excluding introductory pages with Roman page numbers) of texts collected from Mari-speaking prisoners of war during the First World War by the Hungarian linguist Ödön Beke (**ibid.: I: XV**). The texts are accompanied by Hungarian and German translations, represent all four dialect groups, and cover a wide range of topics: riddles, beliefs, customs, fairy tales, narratives,

²²² “Märchen”, “Räthsel [sic]”, “Zaubersprüche”, “Gebet”, “Lieder”, “Tanzlieder”

²²³ “Märchen”, “Gebete”, “Zaubersprüche”, “Sprichwörter”, “Rätsel”, “Lieder”

²²⁴ “Wirtschaft, Bauernregeln”, “Sitten, gebräuche und feste”, “Aberglaube”, “Aus dem religiösen leben [sic] der reformierten heiden [sic]”, “Sprichwörter”, “Rätsel”, “Märchen”, “Lieder”

²²⁵ “Märchen, Sagen und Volkserzählungen”

²²⁶ “Vorzeichen, Traumdeutungen, Sprichwörter, Spottverse und Rätsel”

²²⁷ “Gebete und Zaubersprüche”

²²⁸ “Lieder”

omens, superstitions, proverbs, songs (e.g. **ibid.: I: 689–691**),²²⁹ incantations (e.g. **ibid.: II: 13**),²³⁰ games (e.g. **ibid.: III: 513**),²³¹ wedding customs, and apiculture (e.g. **ibid.: IV: 538**).²³² An accompanying dictionary has been published in recent years (**Beke et al. 1997–2001**).

I was not able to take all dialect text collections into consideration – partly due to the insufficient metadata available and partly due to my own time constraints. The following resources should also be taken into consideration in future dialectal surveys of Mari²³³: (**Ramstedt 1902; Lewy 1925–1926; Beke 1931; Beke 1934; Beke 1938; Beke 1951; Wichmann 1953; Alhoniemi & Saarinen: 1978**).

The increasing focus on more modern language in recent decades and the reintroduction of native Mari consultants into the study of Mari by foreign scholars that the fall of the Iron Curtain facilitated has led to a curious situation in some studies of Mari published in recent years. There almost seems to be a sharp dichotomy between the traditional dialect texts and literary texts published in recent decades. This is due to the fact that the time period after 1929 (when Timofej Jevsevjev sent his last texts to Helsinki) or 1937 (when the critical mass of the Mari intelligentsia was executed) is comparatively poorly accessible to the scholarly community. First of all, fewer texts were composed during and after the Stalinist purges and, secondly, those that were created and have been preserved are often not easy to obtain, and almost exclusively adhere to literary norms and thus do not facilitate a dialectal survey.

Recent efforts by the National Library of Finland promise to ameliorate this situation to some extent in the near future: a wide range of materials found in various libraries has been scanned and made accessible at the address uralica.kansalliskirjasto.fi (**National Library of Finland 2013–**). Scanned materials include numerous issues of newspapers from the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, some of which are from peripheral locations that in many cases are close to collection points of the text collections discussed above.

²²⁹ “Rätsel”, “Glaube und Sitten”, “Märchen und Erzählungen”, “Vorzeichen, Aberglaube”, “Sprichwörter”, “Lieder”

²³⁰ “Beschwörungen”

²³¹ “Spiele”

²³² “Hochzeit”, “Bienenzucht”

²³³ I have digitized these resources for my own purposes as well.

Name	Place of publication ²³⁴	Year	Number of issues
Госстрахованьы вэрц	Козьмодемьянск	1936	1
Йамде лий	Йошкар-Ола	1938	6
Коммун корно	Мишкино	1936	38
Кыралшы	Козьмодемьянск	1926	18
Лэньин корны	Козьмодемьянск	1933	4
		1935	8
		1940	2
Майак	Бирск	1921	2
Марий пролэтар	Звенигово	1935	29
Сай корно верч	Йошкар-Ола	1935	4
Совет умландарымаш	Бирск	1921	1
Социализм верч	Ронга	1939	73
Социализм корно	Екатеринбург	1938	24
Тул	Елабуга	1920	5
Чодрам-транспортлан!	Йошкар-Ола	1933	14

Figure 79: Newspaper issues found in the archives of the National Library of Finland in the autumn of 2015 (National Library of Finland 2013–)

These resources need to be handled with care in a dialectal, diachronic study of Mari. Because they are literary texts following set (now obsolete) orthographies, their value for the study of phonetics and phonology is negligible. The location of the editorial office says little if anything about the origin of the journalists and editors; stylistic guidelines were presumably followed in the composition of the texts.

In spite of the obvious drawbacks these texts have when compared to the earlier text collections, they are without a doubt useful in lexicological research, the study of syntactic structures, semantics, etc. It would be quite feasible eventually to integrate them into the corpus infrastructure discussed above, as the literary norms they follow are compatible (though not identical) with the modern norms. Currently the digitized materials are not yet accessible in an adequate format to make this possible. For the study at hand, I will manually consult these texts when questions arise about developments in Mari between the time of the text collections and today.

The table on the next page gives a comprehensive overview of the geographic locations covered by the individual sources at my disposal. I assigned the individual collection points to dialects using Arto Moisio and Sirkka Saarinen's *Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch* (Moisio & Saarinen 2008: IX), Ivan Ivanov's *Marij dialektologij* (Ivanov 1981: 28; 52; 72; 89), and Gábor Bereczki's *Grundzüge der tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 17–29; 150–152). There is some discrepancy between these sources with respect to dialectal subdivision: while Gábor Bereczki considers the varieties of Mari spoken around Yoshkar-Ola to belong to the “western” dialect (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 21), the other sources consider those spoken in northwestern Mari El and in the border regions of the Kirov Oblast to be Meadow Mari varieties (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: IX; Ivanov 1981: 28). I will follow Moisio's, Saarinen's, and Ivanov's lead here.

I obtained the geographic coordinates by comparing the (sometimes Russian, sometimes Mari) data given in these sources with maps of the regions in question, both modern,²³⁵ Soviet, and from the time of the Russian Empire.²³⁶ The Russian, Meadow Mari, and Hill Mari Wikipedias were helpful in this task

²³⁴ I will use contemporary Russian names of settlements, in Cyrillic orthography, here and in the remainder of this chapter, to facilitate easier cross-referencing with other sources.

²³⁵ maps.google.com/, maps.yandex.com/, wikimapia.org/

²³⁶ e.g. upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/1822_Костромская_Губерния.jpg

as well. Finding the exact geographic locations was challenging at times, as both town names and borders have changed radically since the time of the Russian Empire and some of the settlements no longer exist. I assumed that the following references of the sources correspond to the following modern Russian names (collection points not listed here still have the same name today as they did historically):

- *Arba* ~ *Arwuj* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Арба
- *Archipkino* ~ *Kut'una* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Четнаево²³⁷
- *Boššije Molamasy* ~ *Kuyo Molamas* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Большие Маламасы
- *Čichajdarovo* ~ *Kukšâyorem* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Чихайдарово
- *Elasy* ~ *Jolasal* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Еласы
- *Ismency* ~ *Esmekplak* ~ *Nürsola* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Исменцы
- *Jušuttur* ~ *Üšüt'tür* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Юшуттур
- *Karmankino* ~ *Mort'al* ~ *Morkâjal* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Карманкино
- *Krasnyj Ključ* ~ *Joškar Pamaš* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Красный Ключ
- *Kubersola* ~ *Küwersola* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Куберсола
- *Kuŷi-län-sola* ~ *Вершино-Сумокъ* (Wichmann 1931: XI) > Березово²³⁸
- *Kušnur* ~ *Kükšnur* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Кушнур
- *Matakovo* ~ *Izi Malmâž* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151–152) > Мамаково
- *Mikrjakovo* ~ *Mikräk* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Микряково
- *Nižňaja Sjuksa* ~ *Šükšâ* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Сюкса
- *Ot'ugovo* ~ *Ot'âksala* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Отюгово
- *Petrušin* ~ *Pečan-Počiŋga* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Петрушино
- *Pokšta* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Покшта
- *Sabume* ~ *Sawujal* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Сабуял
- *Sarsi* ~ *Sarsađe* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Сарсы
- *Srednij Jadykbiljak* ~ *Oskansola* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 152) > Средний Ядыкбеляк
- *Starajaš* ~ *Jäš* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Старояшево
- *Staro-Orjebaš* ~ *Tošto Orjamičaš* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 150) > Старый-Орьебаш
- *Staryj Noňyger* ~ *Toštojal* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Старый Ноньгеръ
- *Šindyrjaly* ~ *Šändərjäl* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Шиндыръялы
- *Šuarmučaš* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Шуармучаш
- *Turšomučakš* ~ *Turšomŷčas* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Туршемучаш
- *Unža* (Moisio & Saarinen 2008: IX) > Шоруньжа (Mari Унчо)
- *Vysokovo* ~ *Nermâčaš* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Высоково
- *Zamjatino* ~ *Kâtkânâr* (Bereczki 1992–1994: I: 151) > Замятино
- *Большая Кильмезь* ~ *Kül'mü-ž* (Wichmann 1931: IX) > Кильмезь
- *Свердловск* (National Library of Finland 2013–) > Екатеринбург
- *Чертаково* (Wichmann 1931: XI) > Чаломкино²³⁹

²³⁷ cf. wikimapia.org/9829213/ru/Архипкино

²³⁸ cf. ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Введенский_Вершино-Сумский_монастырь,
[ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Березово_\(Микряковское_сельское_поселение\)](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Березово_(Микряковское_сельское_поселение))

²³⁹ cf. [aboutmari.com/wiki/Чаломкино_\(Салымсола\),_деревня](http://aboutmari.com/wiki/Чаломкино_(Салымсола),_деревня)

The following is a tabular overview of these collection points, sorted from southernmost to northernmost within the individual groups. This, in turn, is followed by maps showing their exact location.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Map data © 2015 Google; a digital copy of this map can for the time being be found at www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=zt1QG6887CuA.kOr3mNLbJGB8.

Dialect	#	Locality	Geographic coordinates	(Genetz 1895)	(Genetz 1889)	(Paasonen & Siro 1939)	(Wichmann 1931)	(Alhoniemi & Saarinen 1983–1994)	(Beke 1957–1995)	(National Library of Finland 2013–)
Eastern ★	1	Бирск	55.420878, 55.551718				X			X
	2	Красный Ключ	55.435274, 56.213809						X	
	3	Мишкино	55.531669, 55.963116							X
	4	Чураево	55.627631, 55.579728			X	X			
	5	Елабуга	55.759754, 52.026853							X
	6	Старояшево	56.035982, 55.339740						X	
	7	Старый-Орьебаш	56.091514, 54.720604						X	
	8	Сарсы	56.224963, 57.989899						X	
	9	Старый Ноныгерь	56.346252, 50.712844						X	
	10	Мамаково	56.359923, 50.862063						X	
	11	Азиково	56.787597, 51.417698				X			
	12	Сабуял	56.981766, 49.865090						X	
	13	Екатеринбург	56.847490, 60.606738							X
	14	Нижний потам	56.873499, 58.074513		X					
	15	Кильмезь	56.943831, 51.064056				X			
	16	Карманкино	56.975951, 51.296695						X	
	17	Сюкса	57.084166, 49.793812						X	
	18	Петрушино	57.186851, 49.809359						X	
Meadow ■	19	Звенигово	55.974058, 48.017480							X
	20	Исменцы	55.980747, 48.220891						X	
	21	Большие Маламасы	56.037911, 48.011937						X	
	22	Кушнур	56.182530, 48.288598						X	
	23	Азъял	56.400482, 48.910684				X	X		
	24	Морки	56.431470, 48.997666	X						
	25	Шоруньжа	56.462025, 49.511200	X						
	26	Юшуттур	56.606360, 48.724945						X	
	27	Чихайдарово	56.607430, 47.895373						X	
	28	Ронга	56.704283, 48.517323							X
	29	Шуармучаш	56.785214, 48.241745						X	
	30	Куберсола	56.860085, 48.350081						X	
	31	Упша	56.872439, 47.733852				X			
	32	Туршемучаш	56.874858, 47.542796						X	
	33	Сернур	56.935574, 49.141963				X			
	34	Люмпанур	56.967890, 46.848112				X			
	35	Средний Ядыкбеляк	56.970107, 48.851746						X	
NW ◆	36	Отюгово	57.530455, 48.105087						X	
	37	Арба	57.639872, 47.219152						X	
	38	Покшта	57.851678, 48.75016						X	
Hill ●	39	Березово	56.152998, 46.193890				X			
	40	Еласы	56.167375, 46.465345				X		X	
	41	Чермышево	56.190587, 46.504201				X			
	42	Микряково	56.202144, 46.244051						X	
	43	Шиндырьялы	56.208294, 46.68143						X	
	44	Чаломкино	56.218702, 46.50395				X			
	45	Замятино	56.236864, 46.500275						X	
	46	Высоково	56.250447, 46.518709						X	
	47	Четнаево	56.263478, 46.610768						X	
	48	Козьмодемьянск	56.334676, 46.564156							X

Figure 80: Collection points in relevant text collections

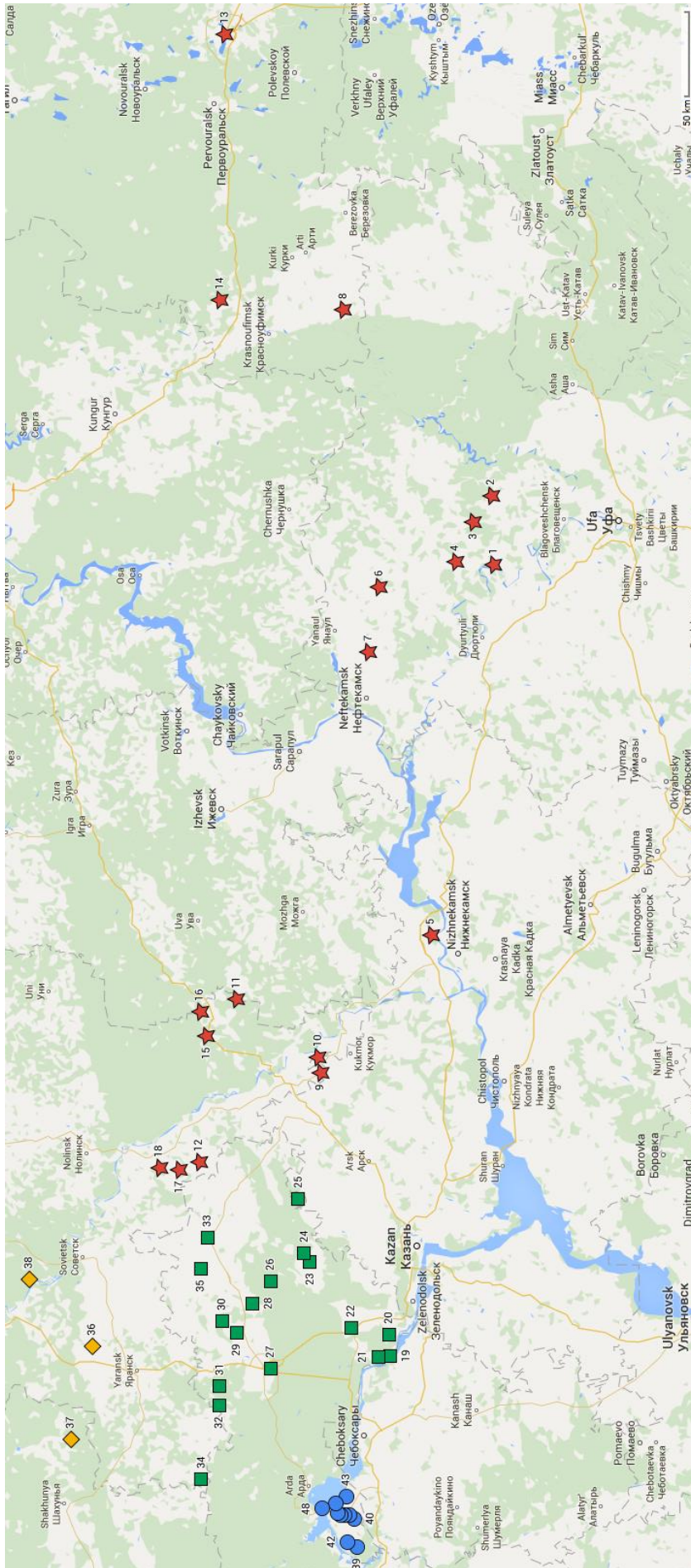


Figure 81: Map of collection points (all dialects)

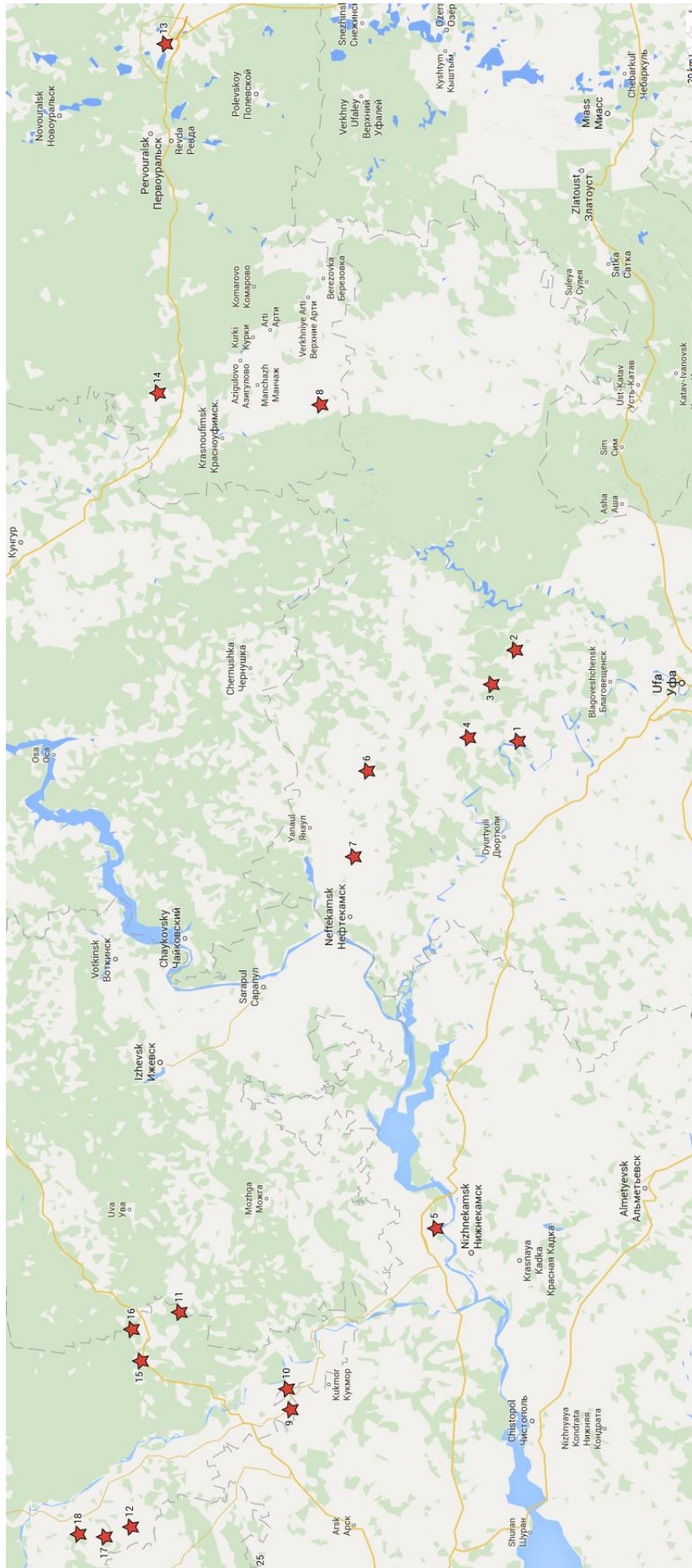


Figure 82: Map of Eastern Mari collection points

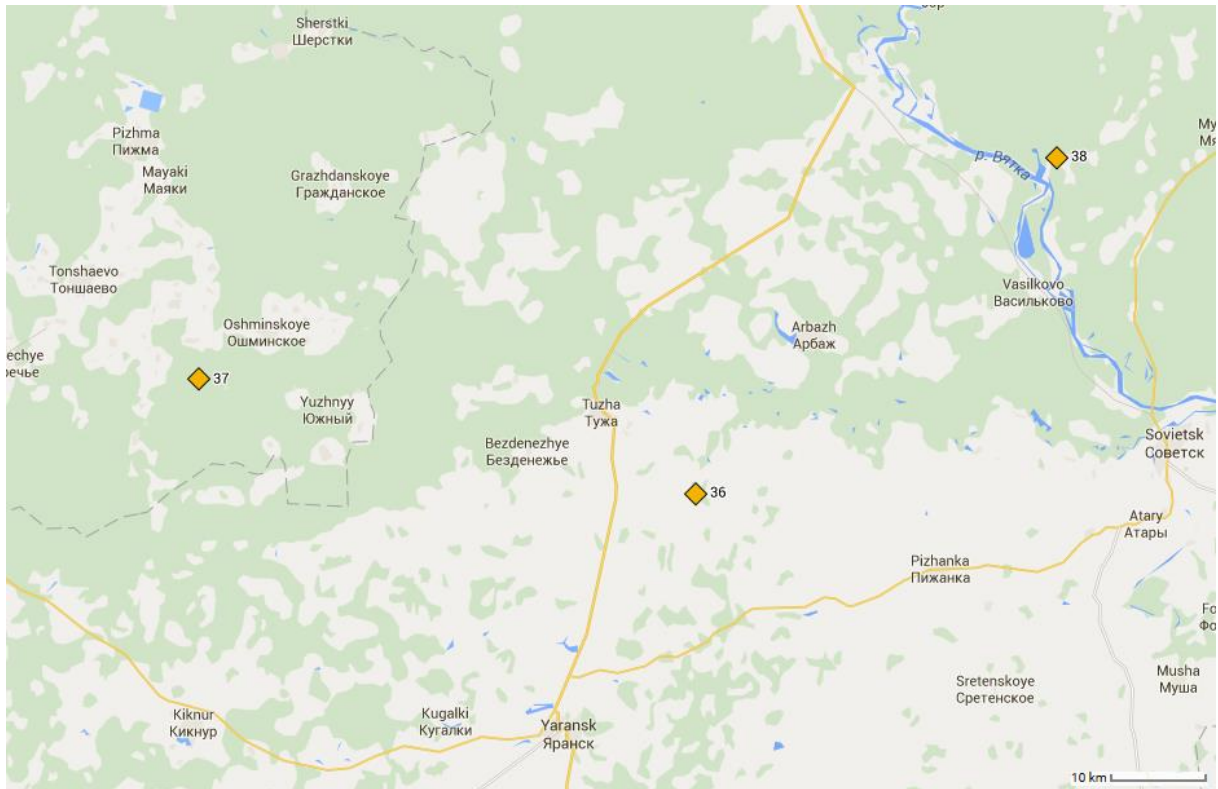


Figure 84: Map of Northwestern Mari collection points

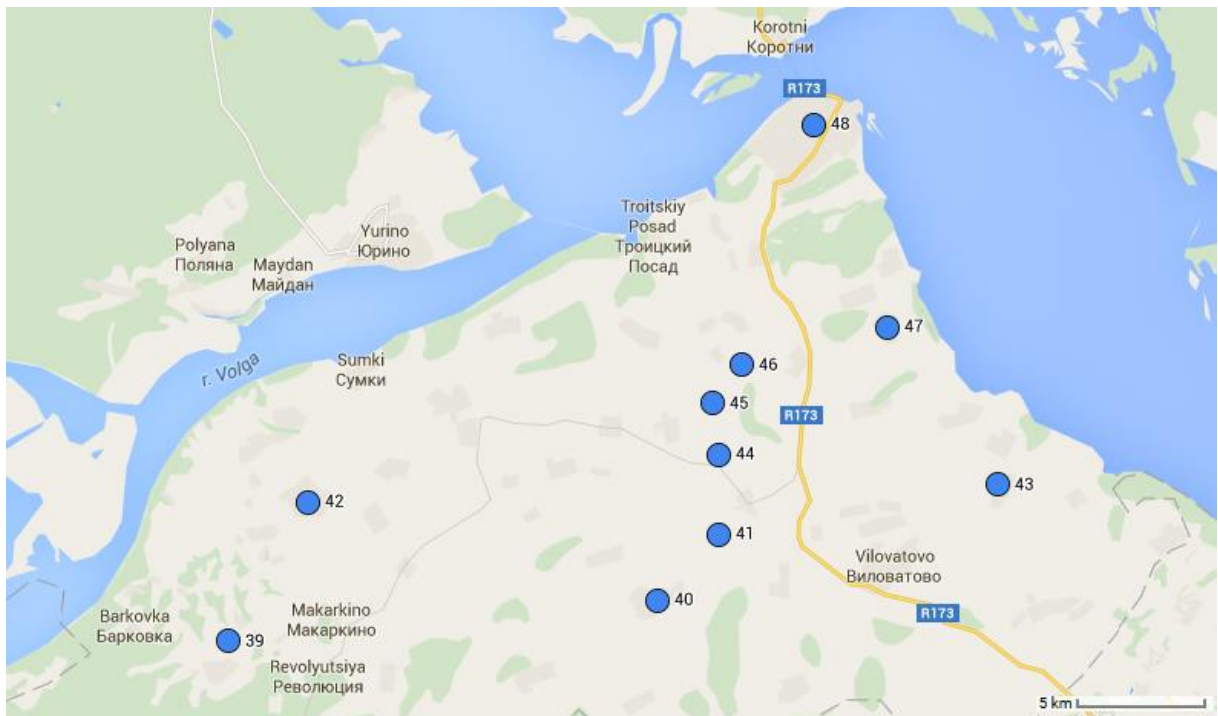


Figure 85: Map of Hill Mari collection points

4. Results

4.1 Individual auxiliaries and path verbs

This section contains an alphabetical listing of all verbs that, in my estimation, one could consider auxiliaries or path verbs. The alphabetical ordering followed in this section is:

a >ä >b >β~v >č~ć >d~δ >e >ə >ê~î >f >g~γ >χ >
i >j >k >l >m >n >ń >ŋ >o >ö >p >r >
s >z >š >ž >t >u >ü

The entry for each individual verb consists of the following elements:

- The Meadow Mari and Hill Mari lexeme, the conjugation class marked with a Roman numeral, and a brief translation of the lexeme's basic meaning. If a lexeme does not exist in one of the two varieties, a dash is entered instead of a word, e.g. “- / čučaš¹ ‘to strike (a target)’” for a lexeme found only in Hill Mari.
- An overview of general information found on the verb in question, its counterparts in contact languages, and general cross-linguistic tendencies in relevant sources, with critical questions reviewed using the corpus and consultations with native speakers.
- References to some occurrences found in the dialect text collection – see Section 3.3 (page 119) – from the four major dialect groups.
- A listing of verbs used with the auxiliary/path verb in relevant reference materials (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005**; **Vasil'yev & Uchayev 2003**; **Chkhaidze 1960**; **Isanbayev 1978**; **Serebrennikov 1960**; **Riese et al. 2014**–; the corpus) on contemporary literary (Meadow) Mari. This list should not be considered exhaustive, and I was not able to provide any data on the frequency of individual pairings.
- A “profile” for every individual verb, containing the most basic facts about it: Its transitivity; the transitivity of the verbs it is connected to; its function; notes on its distribution and productivity in relevant languages and varieties; the number of verbs with which I found it connected in the lexical sources and grammars; the number of additional verbs with which I found it connected in the corpus; its counterparts in the relevant languages; its etymology (here, proto-languages are marked using the following abbreviations: PU = Proto-Uralic, PFU = Proto-Finno-Ugric, PFP = Proto-Finno-Permic, PFV = Proto-Finno-Volgaic).²⁴¹

It should be noted that references to literary sources, the corpus, and the dialect text collections simply represent the body of usage examples I was able to find and do not give an exhaustive picture of the respective verb's range of applications. Especially with respect to the dialects, the language sample with which I was able to work was quite small in individual cases, and the reader should not assume that absence of evidence (e.g. of the usage of a certain verbs in a certain dialect) indicates actual absence.

For information on contact languages, I referred to scholarly articles on the phenomenon at hand whenever possible. When this was not an option, I referred to grammars on the language in question.

²⁴¹ As discussed in Section 1.1 (page 7), Volgaic and Finno-Volgaic are contentious classifications. They are, however, assumed to exist by most of the etymological sources I have cited.

When I could not garner any information from these sources, I turned to dictionaries on the particular languages involved to see if they contained pairings using the verb under consideration. These dictionaries are available in digital format; users can search them for pairings of a converb and a specific verb. In some cases I have thus not cited page numbers, as usage examples are scattered throughout the dictionary.

When using non-English definitions for a verb’s function as an auxiliary or path verb, I have provided the original citation in a footnote. I did not do this for the translation of individual lexemes and pairings taken from my sources.

References to dialect texts are given in a shorthand format, utilizing the abbreviations introduced in Section 3.3 (page 119). For example, “BEK: I: 22⁽³⁶⁾” refers to Ödön Beke’s text collection (**Beke 1957–1995**), Volume I, Page 22. The uppercase number in parenthesis refers to the collection points summarized in Figure 80 (page 125): 36 refers to the Northwestern Mari collection point *Отюгово* with the geographical coordinates 57.530455, 48.105087.

Some of the raw data I used in compiling these profiles can be found at source.mari-language.com: namely, a tabular overview of all 5370 distinct pairings of converbs and auxiliaries/path verbs I found in sources on literary Meadow Mari (including the corpus). While the data contained in that table is included in this dissertation, the tabular format might facilitate further comparisons I have not yet made – e.g. by searching for correlations or oppositions between the combinability of different auxiliaries with different verbs.

#			βolaš ²	βoltaš ²	βončaš ²	βozaš ¹	čarnaš ²	četaš ²	čumēraš ²	ertaraš ²	ertšaš ²	ilaš ²	kajaš ²	kānelaš ¹	kšškaš ²	kijaš ²	kodaš ¹	kodaš ²	koltaš ²	kondaš ²	koštaš ¹	kuštaš ²	
1	aβaltaš ²	‘to grasp’																					
2	aβaš ²	‘to cut (crops)’																					
3	aβāralaš ¹	‘to surround’																			1		
4	aβāraltaš ¹	‘to be surrounded’															1						
5	aβāraš ²	‘to surround’																			1		
6	aβārkalaš ²	‘to surround’																					
7	aβāzlaš ²	‘to taste’																1					
8	ačalaš ²	‘to repair’																					
9	adaptirovatlaltaš ¹	‘to adapt (intr.)’																					
10	adašaš ²	‘to lose one’s way’																					1
11	agaš ²	‘to rob’											1					1					1
12	ajargaš ²	‘to become agitated’									1												
13	ajartaš ²	‘to poison’																					1
14	ajlaš ²	‘to take up’																					
15	ajmanaš ²	‘to injure oneself’																					
16	ajnaš ²	‘to sober up’																					
17	aklaš ²	‘to evaluate’																					
18	alaklaš ²	‘to slander’																					1

Figure 86: Excerpt from a tabular overview of pairings found in literary sources, available at source.mari-language.com

4.1.1 *βolaš* / *βalaš*¹ ‘to descend, to come down, to sink’

Mikhail Chkhaidze lists this verb as a “half-modifier” (Chkhaidze 1960: 57).²⁴² Alho Alhoniemi’s list of verbs used in what he calls converb constructions includes this verb (Alhoniemi 1985: 144), as does

²⁴² “полумодификатор[...]”

József Budenz' summary on verbal pairings in Mari (**Budenz 1865: 87**). The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that it, in combination with a converb, indicates “a direction from above down” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: волаш**).²⁴³ Nikolay Isanbayev gives the same interpretation, adding that it is coupled with intransitive verbs, and that the verb's Tatar counterpart *töšüb* and Chuvash counterpart *an* have much the same function (**Isanbayev 1978: 70**). Bashkir *töšöb* seems to behave in an analogous fashion (cf. **Akhmerov et al. 1958**). Gábor Bereczki et al. define *jogen bolaš* ‘to flow down (lit. flowing descend)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 33**).

Meadow Mari: <i>bolaš</i> ²⁴¹	Hill Mari: <i>balas</i> ²⁴¹	Tatar: <i>töšüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>an</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jogen bolaš</i>	<i>jogen balas</i>	<i>ǰǰǰp töšüb</i>	<i>juχsa an</i>	flowing descend	to flow down
<i>kuržǎn bolaš</i>	<i>kǰrgǎž balas</i>	<i>ǰǰǰrǰp töšüb</i>	<i>čupsa an</i>	running descend	to run down
<i>čǰgešten bolaš</i>	<i>čǰgešten balas</i>	<i>ošǰp töšüb</i>	<i>věsse an</i>	flying descend	to fly down
<i>muńčalten bolaš</i>	<i>katajen balas</i>	<i>šubǰp töšüb</i>	<i>jarǰsa an</i>	sliding descend	to slide down
<i>nuškǎn bolaš</i>	<i>aǰal'anen balas</i>	<i>ürmǰlǰp töšüb</i>	<i>šusa an</i>	crawling descend	to crawl down
<i>pǰrdǎn bolaš</i>	<i>pǰrdǎn balas</i>	<i>tǰǰǰrǰp töšüb</i>	<i>kussa an</i>	rolling descend	to roll down
<i>tǰršten bolaš</i>	<i>tǰrgešten balas</i>	<i>sikerep töšüb</i>	<i>sikse an</i>	jumping descend	to jump down

Figure 87: *bolaš* / *balas*²⁴¹ ‘to descend’ marking downward path (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 70)

These usage notes apply to Hill Mari as well. With respect to Meadow Mari, I initially found this verb coupled with 16 different lexical items in pairings marked as auxiliary constructions in lexical sources. While I was able to find the path verb coupled with three other lexical items in the corpus (e.g. *jorten bolaš* ‘to trot down’), the critical mass of usage examples is in combination with a small number of verbs. I am still inclined to consider it productive within semantic constraints, as the number of intransitive verbs that can meaningfully be assigned a downwards direction is limited.

Isanbayev adds that in Eastern dialects, the verb can occur as a marker of sudden, unexpected activities in some pairings, and that the same thing can be observed in their Tatar counterparts: Eastern Mari *tolǎn bolaš* ~ Tatar *kilep töšüb* ‘to drop in unexpectedly’, Eastern Mari *mijen bolaš* ~ Tatar *bǰrǰp töšüb* ‘to show up somewhere unexpectedly’ (**Isanbayev 1978: 70**)²⁴⁴ – cf. also Bashkir *kilep töšöb* ‘to drop in unexpectedly’ (**Akhmerov et al. 1958: 258**). My Meadow Mari consultant was, as expected, not familiar with this function of the verb in question.

Valey Kel'makov notes that the Udmurt counterpart to this verb, *vaškǰnj* ‘to descend, to come down’, occurs in combination with converbs, but does not comment on its usage in these (**Kel'makov 1975: 103**). I was able to find a usage example of this verb as a path verb in Besermyan Udmurt, a language variety spoken in northern Udmurtia that has notable Tatar influence (cf. **Teplyashina 1970: 35–36**).

²⁴³ “[...] направления сверху вниз”

²⁴⁴ “В восточномарийских говорах составные глаголы с модификатором *волаш* могут иногда обозначать, как и соответствующие татарские глаголы, внезапное и неожиданное действие, ср.: *толын волаш* «приехать неожиданно, нагрнуть» — тат. *килеп т[ө]ш[ү]*; *миен волаш* «прибыть неожиданно (туда), нагрнуть» — тат. *барып т[ө]ш[ү]*.”

(97 – Besermyan Udmurt – Serdobol’skaya et al. 2012: 20)

‘Бу вылтй пичи пи уяса ваське.’

[v]u	vâl	-ti	pići	pi	uja	-sa	[v]ašk	-e.
water	surface	-PROL	small	boy	swim	-CVB	descend	-3SG
n	n	-case	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘Down the river swims (lit. swimming descends) a little boy.’²⁴⁵

Examples of a verb meaning ‘to descend’ being grammaticalized in some fashion to indicate a downwards path can be found in numerous languages of the world, including Ewe (Niger-Congo) and Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan) (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 117).

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: III: 294 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 325 ⁽¹²⁾ PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 7 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 31 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 89 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 121 ⁽⁴⁾ WICH: 386 ⁽¹⁾ WICH: 460 ⁽¹⁾
M	BEK: I: 550 ⁽²⁶⁾ BEK: II: 52 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 106 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 132 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 162 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 230 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 117 ⁽³⁵⁾ JEV: I: 112 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 88 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 360 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čaknaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to move back’	<i>lâdârgaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to sag’	<i>sümârlaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to collapse’
<i>čorještaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to fly’	<i>mijaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to go, to come’	<i>tolaš</i> ^l	‘to come’
<i>jogaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to flow’	<i>muñčaltaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to slide’	<i>törštaltaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to jump’
<i>jortaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to trot’	<i>nalaš</i> ^l	‘to take’	<i>törštaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to jump’
<i>koraš</i> ^{ll}	‘to scratch, to cut’	<i>nuškaš</i> ^l	‘to creep’	<i>uraš</i> ^l	‘to fall’
<i>kudalaš</i> ^l	‘to ride’	<i>pördaš</i> ^l	‘to turn (intr.)’		
<i>kuržaš</i> ^l	‘to run’	<i>sirlaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to fall, to cave in’		

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Path marker ‘down’ • Aspectual marker for suddenness, unexpectedness
Distribution etc.	As a path marker in Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, Besermyan Udmurt, with comparable grammaticalization found elsewhere (e.g. Mandarin, Ewe). As an aspectual marker in Eastern Mari, Tatar, Bashkir.
Literary pairings	Sources: 16 Corpus: 3 Total: 19
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vaškijnj</i> Tatar: <i>töšüb</i> Bashkir: <i>töšöb</i> Chuvash: <i>an</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>walka</i> - ‘to go down, to walk down’, cognates include Estonian <i>valgu</i> - ‘to drain away’, Upper Lozva (Northern) Mansi <i>wäyl</i> - ‘to step down’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 554; Bereczki et al. 2013: 315)

Figure 88: Profile of *bolaš* / *balas*^{ll} ‘to descend, to come down, to sink’

4.1.2 *boltaš* / *baltaš*^{ll} ‘to lower, to let down, to bring down’

This verb is cited as a transitive counterpart to *bolaš* / *balas*^{ll} ‘to descend’ – see Section 4.1.1 (page 131) – in a number of sources (Chkhaidze 1960: 57; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Budenz 1865: 87). Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *töšörüb* ‘to lower’ and Chuvash *antar* ‘id.’; Isanbayev 1978: 70); Bashkir *töšöröb* seems to have the same range of usage (cf. Akhmerov et al. 1958). I have seen no usage examples of Udmurt *vaškijtnj* ‘id.’ as a path verb coupled with a converb.

²⁴⁵ “Вниз по реке плывет мальчик.”

Meadow Mari: <i>boltaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>baltaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>töšörüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>antar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>šupšân boltaš</i>	<i>šâpšân baltaš</i>	<i>törtöp töšörüb</i>	<i>turtsa antar</i>	pulling lower	to pull down
<i>šüdâren boltaš</i>	<i>šadâren baltaš</i>	<i>söjrap töšörüb</i>	<i>sětërse antar</i>	dragging lower	to drag down
<i>šüken boltaš</i>	<i>šâken baltaš</i>	<i>etep töšörüb</i>	<i>têkse antar</i>	pushing lower	to push down
<i>pördâkten boltaš</i>	<i>pördâkten baltaš</i>	<i>tägärâtep töšörüb</i>	<i>kustarsa antar</i>	rolling lower	to roll sth. down
<i>numal boltaš</i>	<i>namal baltaš</i>	<i>kütârep töšörüb</i>	<i>jâtsa antar</i>	carrying lower	to carry down

Figure 89: *boltaš* / *baltaš*¹¹ ‘to lower’ as a path marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 70)

I initially found 8 pairings using this path verb with a converb in lexical sources. Another 8 pairings can be found in the corpus, e.g. *lüjen boltaš* ‘to shoot something down’. It seems to be productive within very narrow semantic constraints: the path verb is connected to transitive verbs that can meaningfully be assigned the path ‘down(wards)’.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 58 ⁽⁹⁾
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>asâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to trot’	<i>pördâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šupšâlaš</i> ¹	‘to pull’
<i>βüdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lead’	<i>pütâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šüdâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to drag’
<i>lüjaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shoot’	<i>rüzaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shake (tr.)’	<i>šükaš</i> ¹¹	‘to push’
<i>mučâštaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to unfasten’	<i>šândaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to place’	<i>üštâlaš</i> ¹	‘to sweep’
<i>nalaš</i> ¹	‘to take’	<i>šijaš</i> ¹	‘to thresh’		
<i>numalaš</i> ¹	‘to carry’	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹	‘to pull’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker ‘down’		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir		
Literary pairings	Sources: 8	Corpus: 8	Total: 16
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vaskjtjnĵ</i>	Tatar: <i>töšörüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>töšöröb</i> Chuvash: <i>antar</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>βolaš</i> / <i>βalaš</i> ¹¹ ‘to descend’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-t</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165; Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 47)		

Figure 90: Profile of *boltaš* / *baltaš*¹¹ ‘to lower, to let down, to bring down’

4.1.3 *boňčaš* / *banžaš*¹¹ ‘to cross, to go over/through’

The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this verb, in combination with a converb, indicates “movement through some kind of space or object” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *вончаш*; cf. also Budenz 1865: 89).²⁴⁶ I could find the following five examples in lexical sources, with counterparts in Tatar and Chuvash (Udmurt *vĵanĵ* ‘to cross’ does not seem to be used like this²⁴⁷):

²⁴⁶ “[...] указывает на направленность движения через какое-либо пространство или предмет [...]”

²⁴⁷ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

Meadow Mari: <i>bońčasʹ</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>banžasʹ</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>ütüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>kaś</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ijân bońčasʹ</i>	<i>in banžasʹ</i>	<i>jözöp ütüb</i>	<i>işse kaś</i>	swimming cross	to swim across
<i>kuržân bońčasʹ</i>	<i>kârgâž banžasʹ</i>	<i>jögöröp ütüb</i>	<i>čupsa kaś</i>	running cross	to run across
<i>nuškân bońčasʹ</i>	<i>aβalʹanen banžasʹ</i>	<i>şuβâşâp ütüb</i>	<i>upalense kaś</i>	crawling cross	to crawl across
<i>töršten bońčasʹ</i>	<i>targešten banžasʹ</i>	<i>sikerep ütüb</i>	<i>sikse kaś</i>	jumping cross	to jump over
<i>toşkal bońčasʹ</i>	<i>taşkal banžasʹ</i>	<i>âtlap ütüb</i>	?	stepping cross	to step over

Figure 91: *bońčasʹ / banžasʹ*¹¹ ‘to cross, to go over/through’ marking path ‘across’

Further pairings from the corpus are: *kelân bońčasʹ* ‘to wade across and *čöŋešten bońčasʹ* ‘to fly across’. The path verb seems to be freely combinable with converbs within very narrow semantic constraints: it is connected to intransitive verbs that can be assigned the path ‘over/across’ in a meaningful manner. I was not able to elicit a transitive counterpart to this verb from my consultants. Given that it was difficult to suggest a context in which such a path marking might be necessary, this is not surprising.

Examples of a verb meaning ‘to cross’ being grammaticalized in some fashion (e.g. as an adposition) to indicate a path across something can be found in numerous languages of the world, including Thai (Tai-Kadai), Tamil (Dravidian), Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan) (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 102–103).

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	JEV: IV: 374 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čöŋeštašʹ</i> ¹¹	‘to fly’	<i>kuržašʹ</i>	‘to run’	<i>törštašʹ</i> ¹¹	‘to jump’
<i>ijašʹ</i>	‘to swim’	<i>nuškašʹ</i>	‘to creep’		
<i>kelašʹ</i>	‘to wade’	<i>toşkalašʹ</i>	‘to step’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker ‘across’		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir. Grammaticalization of verb with this meaning to indicate path across observed in Thai, Tamil, Mandarin		
Literary pairings	Sources: 5	Corpus: 2	Total: 7
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vjžanj</i>	Tatar: <i>ütüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>üteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kaś</i>
Etymology	< PFU *wanča- ‘to cross over’, cognates include Udmurt <i>vjžanj</i> ‘id.’, Sosva (Northern) Mansi <i>uns-</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 557; Bereczki et al. 2013: 316)		

Figure 92: Profile of *bońčasʹ / banžasʹ*¹¹ ‘to cross, to go over/through’

4.1.4 *bozašʹ / bazašʹ*¹ ‘to lie down; to fall’

For the relationship of this auxiliary with *şinčaşʹ / şanzäšʹ* ‘to sit down’ – Section 4.1.48 (page 222) – and *şogalašʹ / şagalasʹ* ‘to stand up’ – Section 4.1.51 (page 228) – see Section 5.1 (page 260).

The verb *bozašʹ / bazašʹ*¹ ‘to lie down; to fall’ is widely described as an aspectual auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 87; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Beke 1911: 161; Moisio 1992: 32; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 53–54); it is only connected to intransitive verbs (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 76). I could find 85 pairings utilizing this auxiliary in my sources, and another 4 in the corpus.

Some sources assign two distinct meanings to it. Boris Serebrennikov claims this verb almost always maintains its original meaning of ‘to lie down’ when used in verbal pairings (Serebrennikov 1960: 195),²⁴⁸ but this assertion does not seem appropriate in light of the data.

The big Mari-Russian dictionary describes it as a marker for “the finality and instantaneousness of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **возаш I**),²⁴⁹ as does Nikolay Isanbayev – adding that the activity is (in these cases) “not connected with a movement from above down, though it is sometimes carried out in a lying position” (Isanbayev 1978: 77).²⁵⁰ In actuality, the lying position is taken up in the course of this action. It does not seem to be customary for the Tatar verb *jātuβ* ‘to lie down; to lie’ to be used in this function – the verbs *kitüβ* ‘to go away’ and *töšüβ* ‘to go down’ are used instead in the examples given by Isanbayev. This might be due to the fact that Tatar *jātuβ* is more polysemous, meaning both ‘to lie’ and ‘to lie down’, and in line with its atelic meaning ‘to lie’ is used as a durative marker (cf. **ibid.**: 75). Serebrennikov describes the Turkic counterparts to this Mari verb as apparently “poorly developed”²⁵¹ as auxiliaries (Serebrennikov 1960: 195). Gábor Bereczki et al. consider *mijen bozaš* ‘to fall (lit. going fall)’ and *puren bozaš* ‘to fall (lit. entering fall)’ as Chuvash loan translations (Bereczki et al. 2013: 142; 203), though it is questionable whether *bozaš* truly serves as an auxiliary in these examples. I could not find any indication of the Udmurt verb *vjdjnĵ* ‘to lie down’ being used as an auxiliary or path verb.²⁵²

Meadow Mari: <i>bozaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>bazaš</i> ¹	Chuvash: <i>ük</i>	Translation	
			Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kuptârgen bozaš</i>	<i>kâptârgen bazaš</i>	<i>χutlansa ük</i>	wrinkling lie.down	to wrinkle up
<i>čêrlanen bozaš</i>	<i>cerlänen bazaš</i>	<i>čirlese ük</i>	becoming.ill lie.down	to fall ill
<i>poñžalt bozaš</i>	<i>poñğâžalt bazaš</i>	-	waking.up lie.down	to wake up (suddenly)
<i>sabârnen bozaš</i>	<i>sârnâl bazaš</i>	<i>šavrâpsa ük</i>	turning lie.down	to turn over
<i>lüdân bozaš</i>	-	-	being.scared lie.down	to take fright
<i>jamdälalt bozaš</i>	<i>jämdälält bazaš</i>	<i>χărasa ük ~ seχërlense ük</i>	preparing lie.down	to get ready
<i>šapalgen bozaš</i>	<i>ošem bazaš</i>	-	turning.pale lie.down	to go pale

Figure 93: *bozaš* / *bazaš*¹ ‘to lie down; to fall’ as an aspectual marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 77)

Most of these (telic) pairings share the attribute that an object, concept, or property is added to the subject in the process: wrinkles, an illness, fear, paleness, etc.

Isanbayev notes that pairings of this sort are more widespread in Chuvash than in Mari and Tatar and that a number of Chuvash pairings cannot be found in the other two languages: *savănsa ük* ‘to rejoice’, *χĵpsa ük* ‘to take alarm’, *χĵpalansa ük* ‘to become anxious’, *salansa ük* ‘to be worn out’, *χavšasa ük* ‘to take fright’, etc. (Isanbayev 1978: 77). However, numerous pairings that are used in Mari do not seem

²⁴⁸ “Вспомогательный глагол *возаш* ‘лечь’ сильно отличается от других марийских вспомогательных глаголов тем, что он почти совершенно не утрачивает своего буквального значения. Все сложные глаголы, имеющие в своем составе этот вспомогательный глагол, связаны с понятием ‘ложиться’, ‘падать на землю’, например: [...]”

²⁴⁹ “законченность и мгновенность действия”

²⁵⁰ “[...] не связанного с движением сверху вниз, хотя совершающегося иногда в лежачем положении: [...]”

²⁵¹ “В тюркских языках этот класс, по-видимому, не получил полного развития.”

²⁵² The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

to be used in Chuvash. The auxiliary seems to be reasonably common in both Mari and Chuvash, though the usage situations do not overlap perfectly.

The second meaning assigned to this verb in combination with a converb is that of a path verb indicating “a momentary [!] action from above down” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *возаш I***).²⁵³ Isanbayev likens the verb to Tatar *töšüb* ‘to descend’ and Chuvash *an* ‘id.’ in this meaning (**Isanbayev 1978: 76**) – the counterparts to Mari *bolaš / balas*^{ll} ‘to descend’, see Section 4.1.1 (page 131) – but also, and based on the usage examples more fittingly, to Tatar *jātuβ* ‘to lie down’ and Chuvash *ük* ‘id.’ (**ibid.**). The difference between *bolaš / balas*^{ll} ‘to descend’ on the one hand and *bozaš / bazaš*^l ‘to lie down; to fall’, seems to be that the latter entails telicity: the usage of this verb as a modifier indicates that something reaches the ground and stops moving. This can be understood to be the “momentary” aspect mentioned by the big Mari-Russian dictionary and it indeed prevails in all usage examples given by Isanbayev:

Meadow Mari: <i>bozaš</i> ^l	Hill Mari: <i>bazaš</i> ^l	Tatar: <i>jātuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>ük</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>bolan bozaš</i>	<i>balen bazaš</i>	-	-	descending lie.down	to fall
<i>kürlân bozaš</i>	<i>karalt bazaš</i>	-	<i>vëšerëñse ük</i> ~ <i>tatälsa ük</i>	tearing lie.down	to tear off
<i>lektân bozaš</i>	<i>läktän bazaš</i>	-	<i>pïrsa ük</i>	leaving lie.down	to fall out
<i>mučäšten bozaš</i>	-	-	<i>šuśsa ük</i>	come undone lie.down	to break loose
<i>šalanen bozaš</i>	<i>šälänen bazaš</i>	<i>sibelep jātuβ</i>	<i>salänsa ük</i>	breaking lie.down	to break up
<i>šujnalt bozaš</i>	<i>šäpšält bazaš</i>	<i>suzätäp jātuβ</i>	<i>täsälsa ük</i>	stretch lie.down	to sprawl out
<i>šarlen bozaš</i>	<i>šärlen bazaš</i>	<i>žäjelep jātuβ</i>	-	spreading lie.down	to spread out
<i>šälän bozaš</i>	<i>šälän bazaš</i>	<i>jäšerenep jātuβ</i> ~ <i>posop jātuβ</i>	-	hiding lie.down	to hide oneself

Figure 94: *bozaš / bazaš*^l ‘to lie down; to fall’ as a path marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 76–77)

An examination of the corpus revealed that this verb frequently co-occurs with the intransitive / reflexive / passive / impersonal derivational suffix *-alt*: *todälalt bozaš*^l ‘to break off’ < *todälas*^l ‘to break something’, *süretlalt bozaš*^l ‘to be drawn’ < *süretlas*^{ll} ‘to draw something’, etc. In some cases it co-occurs with the derivational suffix optionally attached to stems that were already intransitive: e.g. *sarlen bozaš*^l ~ *sarlalt bozaš*^l ‘to spread out’ < *šarlas*^{ll} ‘to spread (intr.)’. My consultant was not able to assign any specific function to the derivational suffixes in these cases and seemed inclined to consider the underived and derived verbs synonymous here. The frequent co-occurrence with the auxiliary under consideration seems to be coincidental.

Examples of a verb meaning ‘to fall’ being grammaticalized in some fashion to indicate a downwards path can be found in a number of African languages, e.g. Ijaw (Niger-Congo) (cf. **Heine & Kuteva 2002: 133**).

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: III: 430 ⁽¹⁸⁾ BEK: IV: 377 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 423 ⁽²⁾ WICH: 24 ⁽¹⁵⁾ PAAS: 22 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 92 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 225 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 251 ⁽⁴⁾ WICH: 139 ⁽³³⁾
M	BEK: I: 79 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 127 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 161 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 182 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 183 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 244 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 267 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 280 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 282 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 608 ⁽²¹⁾ BEK: I: 642 ⁽²¹⁾ BEK: II: 50 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 92 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 116 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 152 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 160 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 328 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 66 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 80 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 93 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 134 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 151 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 155 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 160 ⁽³⁵⁾ WICH: 15 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 45 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 1 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 7 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 8 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 28 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 33 ⁽²⁴⁾ JEV: I: 70 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 74 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 78 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 80 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 86 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 96 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 130 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 134 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 158 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 168 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 194 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 198 ⁽²³⁾
NW	BEK: I: 22 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 51 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 60 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 62 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

²⁵³ “направленность однократного действия сверху вниз”

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aŋârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to breathe in CO’	<i>kürlaš¹</i>	‘to tear off (tr. & intr.)’	<i>ruštaš¹</i>	‘to get drunk’
<i>bakša¹</i>	‘to be made (sleeping place)’	<i>laptârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be trodden down’	<i>rüdaŋaš¹</i>	‘to rust’
<i>biŋnaltaš¹</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>leβedaltaš¹</i>	‘to cover oneself’	<i>sabârnalaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>bolaš¹¹</i>	‘to descend’	<i>lektäš¹</i>	‘to go, to leave’	<i>sabârnaltaš¹</i>	‘to turn over (intr.)’
<i>boltaš¹¹</i>	‘to lower’	<i>läβâžgaš¹¹</i>	‘to wither’	<i>sabârnaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>čaraŋaš¹</i>	‘to bare oneself’	<i>läplanaš¹¹</i>	‘to calm down’	<i>sirlaš¹¹</i>	‘to fall, to cave in’
<i>čerlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to fall ill’	<i>lijaš¹</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>sümârlaš¹¹</i>	‘to collapse’
<i>čâmaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to tighten’	<i>lodemaltaš¹</i>	‘to deepen (intr.)’	<i>süretlaltaš¹</i>	‘to be painted’
<i>čâmaltaš¹</i>	‘to be drawn tight’	<i>luktaš¹</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>šalanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be scattered’
<i>čumaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (one’s legs)’	<i>luñčârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be exhausted’	<i>šapalgaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow pale’
<i>jamdâlaltaš¹</i>	‘to prepare (intr.)’	<i>lušaltaš¹</i>	‘to be whipped’	<i>šarlaltaš¹</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’
<i>jarâmaltaš¹</i>	‘to come apart’	<i>lüdaš¹</i>	‘to fear’	<i>šarlaš¹¹</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’
<i>jarnaš¹¹</i>	‘to become tired’	<i>l’âptârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to subside’	<i>šelaltaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>jâmaš¹¹</i>	‘to be blinded’	<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	‘to go, to come’	<i>šelaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’
<i>joŋlaš¹¹</i>	‘to faint’	<i>mučâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to come unfastened’	<i>šelâštaltaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>jöraltaš¹</i>	‘to fall’	<i>ojrlaš¹¹</i>	‘to go apart’	<i>šememaš¹</i>	‘to turn black’
<i>kadârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>öpkeläš¹¹</i>	‘to repent’	<i>šâlaš¹</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’
<i>kajaš¹¹</i>	‘to go (away)’	<i>pečkaltaš¹</i>	‘to crack (intr.)’	<i>šujnaltaš¹</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’
<i>kareštaltaš¹</i>	‘to be fastened’	<i>pâžaltaš¹</i>	‘to fall off’	<i>šujnaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’
<i>katlaltaš¹</i>	‘to crack (intr.)’	<i>počâltäš¹</i>	‘to open (intr.)’	<i>šungaltaš¹</i>	‘to fall’
<i>katlaš¹¹</i>	‘to break off (intr.)’	<i>pomâžaltaš¹</i>	‘to wake up (intr.)’	<i>šürträš¹¹</i>	‘to stumble’
<i>kâñirtaš¹¹</i>	‘to lean on one’s elbows’	<i>punaltaš¹</i>	‘to curl up’	<i>tašlaš¹¹</i>	‘to overflow’
<i>kolaš¹¹</i>	‘to die’	<i>puraš¹¹</i>	‘to enter (intr.)’	<i>todâlaltaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>komeštaltaš¹</i>	‘to be covered with a crust’	<i>purgedäš¹</i>	‘to dig’	<i>tolaš¹</i>	‘to come’
<i>kugârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to twist (intr.)’	<i>pügaltaš¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>törgaltaš¹</i>	‘to tear off (intr.)’
<i>kuptârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to wrinkle (intr.)’	<i>pürdaltaš¹</i>	‘to be curtained’	<i>tuješkaš¹¹</i>	‘to get sick’
<i>kuškedaltaš¹</i>	‘to tear (intr.)’	<i>püremaltaš¹</i>	‘to be pleated’	<i>turtaš¹</i>	‘to huddle up’
<i>küñčaltaš¹</i>	‘to be dug’	<i>pütâraltaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>tüŋaš¹</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
		<i>pütârnaltaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>uraltaš¹</i>	‘to be covered’
		<i>rašemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to specify’	<i>užargaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn green’
		<i>rudnaš¹¹</i>	‘to come untied’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual marker for momentary telic actions in which an object, concept, or property is often added to the subject Path marker indicating movement downwards and settling on a surface 		
Distribution etc.	As an aspectual marker, in Mari and Chuvash. As a path marker in Mari and Chuvash, possibly marginally in Tatar and Bashkir. Grammaticalization of verbs meaning ‘to fall’ as path markers has been observed in African languages as well.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 85	Corpus: 4	Total: 89
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>viđinj</i>	Tatar: <i>jâtuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>jâtâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>ük</i>
Etymology	< PFP * <i>wač3-</i> ‘to go down, to sink, to fall’, cognates include Udmurt <i>vaškijnj</i> ‘to descend, to come down’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 808; Bereczki et al. 2013: 317)		

Figure 95: Profile of *Bozaš* / *βazaš¹* ‘to lie down; to fall’

4.1.5 *čarnaš* / *cärnäš¹¹* ‘to stop, to cease’

The only reference I found to this verb being used in the structures under consideration is in an article by József Budenz, where it is illustrated with four examples (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89). In addition to this, three verbal pairings with this verb in the second position were labelled as auxiliary constructions in the lexical sources:

Meadow Mari: <i>čarnaš</i> ^{ll}	Hill Mari: <i>cärnäš</i> ^{ll}	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kušten čarnaš</i>	-	dancing stop	to stop dancing
<i>lüšken čarnaš</i>	-	making.noise stop	to stop making noise
<i>pelet čarnaš</i>	<i>pelet cärnäš</i>	blooming stop	to stop blooming

Figure 96: *čarnaš* / *cärnäš*^{ll} ‘to stop, to cease’ marking completion

I found this verb coupled with 7 other verbs in the corpus. In those examples, there is considerable alternation with respect to the complement of this phasal verb. It can equally be the accusative of the passive participle – which is also used as a verbal noun with a wide range of functions (cf. **Bradley 2016a**) – and the converb in *-n*. The participle is used considerably more frequently, but the converb is by no means uncommon.

(98 – Mari – Corpus > New Testament > Acts 4:31; Corpus > New Testament > Mark 15:20)

‘Кунам нуно кумалмым чарненыт, [...]’

kunam	nuno	kumal	-mê	-m	čarn	-en	-ât,	[...]
when	3PL	pray	-PTCP.PASS	-ACC	stop	-PST2	-3PL	
co	pr	v	-adj	-case	v	-tense	-pers	

‘And when they had prayed, [...]’

‘Игылтын чарнымекышт, [...]’

igêlt	-ân	čarnê	-meškê	-št,	[...]
mock	-CVB	stop	-CVB.FUT	-3PL	
v	-adv	v	-adv	-poss	

‘And when they had mocked him, [...]’

I was not able to determine concrete factors determining the choice of a complement either by comparing usage examples in the corpus or by consulting native speakers. The forms seem to be usable interchangeably. While there might be subtle cognitive differences between the usage of one form and that of the other, I currently do not have a satisfying explanation for these. In both modern texts and dialectal ones, the verb *čarnaš* / *cärnäš*^{ll} seems to frequently occur as a converb of future actions in *-meš(ke)* or a converb of prior actions in *-mek(e)* – see Section 2.2.2 (page 40) – in pairings of this sort. It is also not possible for me at the present time to provide an explanation for this phenomenon:

(99 – Meadow Mari (Кушнур, during First World War) – Beke 1957–1995: I: 472)

‘βara: ^djomolde:n t’šarnêmeke ù·ðêrê:n at’šaze [...]’

βara:	^djomolδ	-e:n	t’šarnê	-meke	[...]
then	pray	-CVB	stop	-CVB.PRI	
adv	v	-adv	v	-adv	

‘After (they) have finished praying, [...]’²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ “Wenn sie mit dem Beten fertig sind (eig. nachdem sie mit dem B. aufgehört haben), [...]” (Beke 1957–1995: I: 473)

The verb in question is derived from the transitive verb *čaraš / cāräs¹¹* ‘to stop (something)’ by means of the unproductive intransitive derivational suffix *-n* (cf. **Alhoniemi 1985: 164**), and is, as a rule, intransitive: it does not accept accusative objects; accusative-marked passive participles as shown above seem to be an exception. Its parent is transitive and takes accusative objects of all sorts. The verb *čaraš / cāräs¹¹*, in contrast to the derived verb, does not seem to accept the converb in *-n* as a complement. It does, however, accept the infinitive. When it is used in combination with a verb, it seems to be in reference to stopping another party from carrying out an act, rather than stopping oneself from carrying out an act. Here, too, the factors determining the choice of a complement are not trivial.

(100 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кушмо; тулдымо)

‘[a]к кушмым чараш’

ak	kuš	-mê	-m	čar	-aš
price	grow	-PTCP.PASS	-ACC	stop	-INF
n	v	-adj	-case	v	-inf

‘to stop prices from rising’²⁵⁵

‘[...] учёныйлан лекцийым лудаш чареныт, [...]’

[...]	učonij	-lan	lekcij	-êm	lud	-aš	čar	-en	-ât,	[...]
	scholar	-DAT	lecture	-ACC	read	-INF	stop	-PST2	-3PL	
	n	-case	n	-case	v	-inf	v	-tense	-pers	

‘[...] the scholar was stopped from giving (lit. reading) lectures, [...]’²⁵⁶

I could not find any evidence that the semantic counterparts of *čarnaš / cārnäš¹¹* in the other languages of the region are used in auxiliary constructions.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 209 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 224 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 256 ⁽⁷⁾ PAAS: 3 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 43 ⁽⁴⁾
M	BEK: I: 472 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: I: 474 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: I: 493 ⁽²²⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>vīstupatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to speak publicly’	<i>lüškaš¹¹</i>	‘to make noise’	<i>pördaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>čoklaš¹¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>muškaš¹</i>	‘to wash’	<i>šoltas¹¹</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’
<i>igältas¹</i>	‘to mock’	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’		
<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow (tr.)’	<i>peledas¹</i>	‘to blossom’		

²⁵⁵ “остановить рост цен”

²⁵⁶ “[...] учёному запретили читать лекции, [...]”

Transitivity	Intransitive (but can take accusative forms of the passive participle as a complement)		
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs		
Usage	• Indicates finality – bringing a generally atelic action to its end.		
Distribution etc.	No data		
Literary pairings	Sources: 3	Corpus: 7	Total: 10
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>dugdijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>tuqtatuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tuqtatǎβ</i> Chuvash: <i>čarǎn</i>
Etymology	< <i>čaraš</i> / <i>cārǎš</i> ¹¹ ‘to stop (something)’ by means of the unproductive intransitive derivational suffix <i>-n</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164). The parent word is in turn a Chuvash loanword (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 391) – cf. modern Chuvash <i>čar</i> (Skvorcov et al. 1985: чар).		

Figure 97: Profile of *čarnaš* / *cārǎš*¹¹ ‘to stop, to cease’

4.1.6 *čĕtaš* / *cĕtǎš*¹¹ ‘to endure, to bear’

The case for this verb’s standing as an auxiliary is weak, but worth reviewing. None of my sources explicitly name this verb as an auxiliary, but one pairing in a dictionary with this verb in the second position is marked as an auxiliary construction:

(101 – Mari – Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 257)			
‘шинчен чыташ’			
šĭńč -en	čĕt -aš		
sit -CVB	endure -INF		
v -adv	v -inf		
‘to remain sitting’ ²⁵⁷			

I found two other cases in the corpus where this verb co-occurs with the converb in *-n*. As in the example above, the original semantics of the verb seem to be intact in all of the examples I could find: the subject of the verb can endure continuing the activity in question. It is from a Eurocentric perspective noteworthy, however, that a verb with these meanings governs the converb rather than the infinitive, as is the case with other verbs denoting an ability of sorts. I do not have any data at this point about the usage of its counterparts in other languages and I have not found any usage examples from Hill Mari.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

*kuanaš*¹¹ ‘to be happy’ *šĭńčaš*¹¹ ‘to sit’ *užaš* ‘to see’

²⁵⁷ “усидеть”

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs			
Usage	• ‘to manage to, to continue to’			
Distribution etc.	No data			
Literary pairings	Sources: 1	Corpus: 2	Total: 3	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>čidanj</i>	Tatar: <i>šädaβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>sädaβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>čät</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 406)			

Figure 98: Profile of *čätaš* / *čätäš*^{II} ‘to endure, to bear’

4.1.7 *čumâraš* / *čämâraš*^{II} ‘to gather (in a pile)’

To the best of my knowledge, only József Budenz refers to this verb when reviewing the verbal pairings under consideration (Budenz 1865: 89), illustrating its usage with one example. I have encountered a number of verbal pairings in which it, as in Budenz’s example, seems to indicate that the object of the transitive verb is collected at a central location: *pogen čumâraš* ‘to put together (lit. gathering gather)’, *udâren čumâraš* ‘to rake together (lit. raking gather)’, *üžân čumâraš* ‘to call together (lit. inviting gather)’ (Riese et al. 2014–: чумыраш (-ем)). It seems rather marginal as a path verb, but it does seem to be usable.

I have not seen any indication that its counterparts in other languages of the region are used in a similar fashion.²⁵⁸

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 10 ⁽⁹⁾
M	POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

nalaš^I ‘to take’ *poktaš*^{II} ‘to drive’ *udâraš*^{II} ‘to strike’
pogaš^{II} ‘to gather’ *pužaš*^{II} ‘to ruin’ *üžaš*^I ‘to invite’

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs			
Usage	• Path marker indicating that the object is gathered in one central location			
Distribution etc.	No data			
Literary pairings	Sources: 1	Corpus: 5	Total: 6	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>oktjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>tuplaβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tuplaβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>puštar</i>
Etymology	Zero derivation of <i>čumâr</i> ‘whole, entire’, a Chuvash loanword (Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 109).			

Figure 99: Profile of *čumâraš* / *čämâraš*^{II} ‘to gather (in a pile)’

4.1.8 - / *čučaš*^I ‘to strike (a target)’

This word, used in numerous dialects but not in the Meadow Mari literary language (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 107, Galkin et al. 1990–2005: чучаш II), has the following meaning when coupled with a converb in Hill Mari according the big Mari-Russian dictionary: “to manage to do something” (Galkin

²⁵⁸ The apparent lack of pairings using *oktjnj* ‘to gather’ in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

et al. 1990–2005: чучаш II).²⁵⁹ It seems to be comparable to the auxiliary *šuktaš / šoktaš*^{II} ‘to manage; to lead to’ – see Section 4.1.57 (page 241).

(102 – Hill Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: чучаш II)

‘[a]нжал чучаш’

anžal	-∅	čuč	-aš
look	-CVB	strike	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to manage to look’²⁶⁰

‘«Ох!» вел манын чучы Танилә тымькы.’

«Ох!»	βel	man	-ən	čuč	-ə	-∅	Tanilä	təməkə.
oh	only	say	-CVB	strike	-PST1	-3SG	Tanilä	after.this
in	adv	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	n	adv

‘After this, Tanilä only managed to sigh (say “oh”)’²⁶¹

‘Лүлтäl чучым мьнь таварем вел.’

lültäl	-∅	čuč	-ə	-m	məñ	taβar	-em	βel
raise	-CVB	strike	-PST1	1SG	1SG	axe	-1SG	only
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	pr	n	-poss	adv

‘I only managed to pick up the axe.’²⁶²

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

N/A

²⁵⁹ “в сочет. с деепр. успевать (успеть) делать (сделать) что-либо”

²⁶⁰ “успеть посмотреть”

²⁶¹ “После этого Танила успел только охнуть.”

²⁶² “Я только топор успел поднять.”

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs?			
Usage	• “to manage to”			
Distribution etc.	Hill Mari only			
Literary pairings	Sources: N/A	Corpus: N/A	Total: N/A	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ?	Chuvash: ?
Etymology	Either < PFP *čāčā- ‘to hit’ (uncertain reconstruction) or an own development in Mari (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 617; Bereczki et al. 2013: 11)			

Figure 100: Profile of - / čučāš' ‘to strike (a target)’

4.1.9 ertaraš / ertäräs^{II} ‘to carry (something) out, to conduct’

Nikolay Isanbayev states that auxiliary constructions with this verb “are formed from a small range of transitive and intransitive verbs and indicate the prolonged execution of the action over some time period” (Isanbayev 1978: 72).²⁶³ Other sources also mention this verb as an auxiliary (Budenz 1865: 89; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: әртараш; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Chkhaidze 1960: 36; 56; Pengitov et al. 1961: 213; Uchayev 1995: 163), but give no additional information. Isanbayev also notes that auxiliaries with this verb are represented more broadly in Mari and in Chuvash than in Tatar (Isanbayev 1978: 72). Gábor Bereczki et al. define *ilen ertaraš* ‘to live (for a while) (lit. living carry.out)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 24). I could find no indication that Udmurt *ortčjtjnj* ‘to carry (something) out’ is used in auxiliary constructions in the sources, but further investigation might be in order here – very few pairings using this verb seem to be plausible.²⁶⁴

Meadow Mari: <i>ertaraš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>ertäräs^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>ütärüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>irtter</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>malen ertaraš</i>	<i>amalen ertäräs</i>	<i>joqtap ütärüb</i>	<i>šivärsa irtter</i>	sleeping carry.out	to sleep (for a while)
<i>koštän ertaraš</i>	<i>kaštän ertäräs</i>	<i>jöröp ütärüb</i>	<i>šürese irtter</i>	walking carry.out	to walk (for a while)
<i>kuržtal ertaraš</i>	<i>kārgāžtal ertäräs</i>	<i>šābāp ütärüb</i>	<i>čupsa irtter</i>	running.about carry.out	to run about (for a while)
<i>mutlanan ertaraš</i>	<i>popen ertäräs</i>	<i>söjläšep ütärüb</i>	<i>süpältetse irtter</i>	speaking carry.out	to speak (for a while)
<i>bučen ertaraš</i>	<i>βāčen ertäräs</i>	-	<i>kětse irtter</i>	waiting carry.out	to wait (for a while)
<i>ilen ertaraš</i>	<i>älän ertäräs</i>	-	<i>purānsa irtter</i>	living carry.out	to live (for a while)
<i>kijen ertaraš</i>	<i>kien ertäräs</i>	-	<i>virtsä irtter</i>	lying carry.out	to lie (for a while)
<i>čerlanan ertaraš</i>	<i>cerlänen ertäräs</i>	-	<i>čirlese irtter</i>	falling.ill carry.out	to be ill (for a while)

Figure 101: ertaraš / ertäräs^{II} ‘to carry (something) out, to conduct’ as an aspectual marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 72)

Numerous alleged usage examples of this verb are in my opinion misclassified, such as the following one – where the second verb has a direct object and thus cannot be considered an auxiliary verb

²⁶³ “Составные глаголы с названными модификаторами образуются от небольшого круга переходных и непереходных глаголов и обозначают завершение действия, продолжающегося в течение некоторого промежутка времени: [...]”

²⁶⁴ Christian Pischlöger, Valey Kel'makov, personal correspondence.

(unless one were to assign a valency-changing operation to it – which I am not inclined to do). Rather, the first verb of the pairing serves as an adverbial complement to the second verb:

(103 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: эртараш)

[...] каныш кечым пӧртыштӧ шинчылт эртараш.’

[...]	kanəš	kečə -m	pört	-əštö	šinčəlt	-∅	ertar	-aš.
	rest	day -ACC	house	-INE	sit.around	-CVB	spend	-INF
	n	n -case	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-inf

[...] to spend the free day sitting around at home.’²⁶⁵

Given this, the auxiliary seems to be quite unproductive. Only 18 pairings can be found in the lexical sources, with another 9 valid pairings found in the corpus.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: III: 420 ⁽¹⁸⁾
M	BEK: I: 261 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 570 ⁽²¹⁾ BEK: III: 50 ⁽³⁵⁾ WICH: 105 ⁽³¹⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>boštəlaš¹</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>koštaš¹</i>	‘to go’	<i>pördəlaš¹</i>	‘to roll (intr.)’
<i>bučəš¹¹</i>	‘to wait’	<i>kuržtəlaš¹</i>	‘to run’	<i>pürdəš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>čərlənaš¹¹</i>	‘to fall ill’	<i>kutəraš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>služitəlaš¹¹</i>	‘to serve’
<i>dokladivətəlaš¹¹</i>	‘to report’	<i>məlaš¹¹</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>zanimətəlaš¹¹</i>	‘to study’
<i>əštəš¹¹</i>	‘to do’	<i>muñərtəlaš¹</i>	‘to dawdle’	<i>šinčəš¹¹</i>	‘to sit’
<i>iləš¹¹</i>	‘to live’	<i>muraš¹¹</i>	‘to sing’	<i>šinčəltəlaš¹</i>	‘to sit around’
<i>juvatəlaš¹</i>	‘to dawdle’	<i>mutlənaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>šogəš¹¹</i>	‘to stand’
<i>kəčəlaš¹</i>	‘to search’	<i>nerəš¹¹</i>	‘to doze’	<i>šogəltəlaš¹</i>	‘to stand’
<i>kijaš¹¹</i>	‘to lie’	<i>počənaš¹</i>	‘to wriggle’	<i>šortəš¹</i>	‘to cry’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual marker for durative actions		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, to a lesser degree Tatar, Bashkir		
Literary pairings	Sources: 18	Corpus: 9	Total: 27
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>ortčitjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>ütkä rüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>ütkä rəβ</i> Chuvash: <i>irtter</i>
Etymology	< <i>ertəš</i> / <i>ertəš¹¹</i> ‘to go by’ by means of the (originally Chuvash) causative derivational suffix <i>-ar</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 160) – though the word was presumably loaned with the derivational suffix from Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: I: 172–173)		

Figure 102: Profile of *ertəraš* / *ertərəš¹¹* ‘to carry (something) out, to conduct’

4.1.10 *ertəš* / *ertəš¹¹* ‘to go by; to go through’

While this verb is cited as an auxiliary or path verb in numerous sources (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 89**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**, **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Serebrennikov 1960: 200**), its exact function is a matter of debate. A number of sources ascribe an aspectual meaning to it and it has been stated that this verb marks “the rapid completion of an action” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 213**; cf. also **Isanbayev 1978: 71–72**).²⁶⁶ Other sources do not see it as an aspectual auxiliary, primarily viewing it as a path marker

²⁶⁵ “[...] выходной день придётся просидеть дома?”

²⁶⁶ “[...] значение быстрой законченности действия [...]”

<i>jogaš^{II}</i>	‘to flow’	<i>kuralaš^I</i>	‘to plough’	<i>oškâlaš^I</i>	‘to step’
<i>jortaš^{II}</i>	‘to trot’	<i>kuržaš^I</i>	‘to run’	<i>pualaš^I</i>	‘to blow’
<i>kajaš^{II}</i>	‘to go (away)’	<i>kuškaš^I</i>	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>šujnaltaš^I</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’
<i>kelaš^I</i>	‘to wade’	<i>küdârtaš^{II}</i>	‘to thunder’	<i>šupšaš^I</i>	‘to pull’
<i>koñčaš^{II}</i>	‘to appear’	<i>lijaš^I</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>šüdâraš^{II}</i>	‘to drag’
<i>korajaš^I</i>	‘to move away (intr.)’	<i>muñčaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to slide’	<i>šüşkaš^{II}</i>	‘to whistle’
<i>kudalaš^I</i>	‘to ride’	<i>numalaš^I</i>	‘to carry’	<i>türedaš^I</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>kudalâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to take somewhere’	<i>nuškaš^I</i>	‘to creep’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs, possibly marginally with transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker ‘through; by’		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir		
Literary pairings	Sources: 10	Corpus: 16	Total: 26
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>ortčjn^j</i> ²⁶⁸	Tatar: <i>ütüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>üteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>irt</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: I: 172)		

Figure 104: Profile of *ertaš* / *ertäš^{II}* ‘to go by; to go through’

4.1.11 *ilaš* / *äläš^{II}* ‘to live’

According to the large Mari-Russian dictionary this verb, in combination with a converb, indicates the “duration of an activity” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: илаш**, cf. also **Moisio 1992: 67**, **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Serebrennikov 1960: 200**).²⁶⁹ The same function has been assigned to the Hill Mari verb (**Savatkova 2008: 384**). Mikhail Chkhaidze lists this verb as a “half-modifier” and gives a few examples, but does not comment any further on its usage (**Chkhaidze 1960: 38–39**). Nikolay Isanbayev states that “verbal pairings with the auxiliary at hand are formed from some transitive and intransitive verbs of different lexical content and express duration, continuity of an action or status” (**Isanbayev 1978: 75**)²⁷⁰ – as do auxiliary constructions with Chuvash *purân* ‘to live’ and Tatar *toruβ* ‘to stand; to stand up; to live’ (**ibid.**), as well as Bashkir *toroβ* ‘id.’ (cf. **Landmann 2015: 99**). Isanbayev considers verbal pairings of this sort slightly more common in Mari and Chuvash than in Tatar and notes that there is little overlap between the exact pairings used in the languages (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 75**). It should also be noted that Tatar *toruβ* and Bashkir *toroβ* are highly polysemous: the words also mean ‘to stand’, among other things, and many Mari auxiliary constructions corresponding to pairings with these Turkic verbs make use of other auxiliaries.

²⁶⁸ Dialectally *orčjn^j*.

²⁶⁹ “[...] употребляется для выражения длительности действия”

²⁷⁰ “Составные глаголы с названными модификаторами образуются от некоторых переходных и непереходных глаголов различного лексического содержания и выражают длительность, непрерывность действия, состояния: [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>ilasʹ</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>äläšʹ</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>toruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>purǎn</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>äšten ilaš</i>	<i>äšten äläš</i>	<i>ešläp toruβ</i>	<i>ěšlese purǎn</i>	doing live	to work, to toil
<i>lüdân ilaš</i>	<i>lüdân äläš</i>	<i>šürläp toruβ</i>	<i>sixlansa purǎn</i>	fearing live	to be afraid
<i>üšanen ilaš</i>	<i>äñänen äläš</i>	<i>äšanäp toruβ</i>	-	believing live	to rely on
<i>bozen ilaš</i>	<i>siren äläš</i>	<i>jâžäšäp toruβ</i>	-	writing live	to correspond
<i>kelšen ilaš</i>	<i>kelšen äläš</i>	<i>tätutašäp toruβ</i>	-	agreeing live	to live in harmony
<i>jöraten ilaš</i>	<i>jaraten äläš</i>	-	<i>saväšsa purǎn</i>	loving live	to love (constantly)
<i>kočkân ilaš</i>	<i>kačkân äläš</i>	-	<i>tărănsa purǎn</i>	eating live	to live off
<i>kargašen ilaš</i>	<i>soredäl äläš</i>	-	<i>tavlašsa purǎn</i>	quarrelling live	to be at odds
<i>tunâkten ilaš</i>	<i>tâmden äläš</i>	-	<i>věrentse purǎn</i>	teaching live	to be a teacher
<i>šonen ilaš</i>	<i>šanen äläš</i>	-	<i>šuxašlasa purǎn</i>	thinking live	to ponder
<i>tülen ilaš</i>	<i>tülen äläš</i>	-	<i>tülase purǎn</i>	paying live	to pay (regularly)

Figure 105: *ilasʹ / äläšʹ* 'to live' as an aspectual marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 75)

With 30 pairings using this verb labelled as auxiliary constructions in my sources and another 92 valid pairings found in the corpus, this verb seems to be considerably more productive as an auxiliary than has been assumed in previous surveys.

Valey Kel'makov states that the Udmurt verb *uljni* 'to live' "expresses the incompleteness, duration, processual nature of an action or its periodicity" (Kel'makov 1975: 96).²⁷¹ Gábor Bereczki et al. classify this as a Bolgar loanword in Permic and provide a supposed example from Ižva Komi (Bereczki et al. 2013: 24). The interpretation of this data seems questionable,²⁷² and it seems more reasonable to assume a later Tatar loanword in Udmurt.

Verbs meaning 'to live' have been grammaticalized as continuous or habitual markers in numerous languages of the world, such as Kikuyu (Niger-Congo), Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan), and West African Pidgin English (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 196–197).

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 123 ⁽⁹⁾ BEK: IV: 136 ⁽¹⁶⁾ BEK: IV: 141 ⁽¹⁶⁾ BEK: IV: 144 ⁽¹⁶⁾ BEK: IV: 146 ⁽¹⁶⁾ BEK: IV: 214 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 296 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 328 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 406 ⁽²⁾ PAAS: 6 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 7 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 8 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 25 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 35 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 72 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 239 ⁽⁴⁾ WICH: 411 ⁽¹⁾ WICH: 423 ⁽¹⁾ GEN: 56 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 57 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 60 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 61 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 65 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 67 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 76 ⁽¹⁴⁾
M	BEK: I: 416 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: I: 464 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: I: 500 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: II: 228 ⁽³⁵⁾ WICH: 33 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 18 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 40 ⁽²⁵⁾ BEK: III: 117 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 186 ⁽³⁵⁾ JEV: I: 40 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 48 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 50 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 124 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 14 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 20 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 24 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 278 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 286 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 300 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 302 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 378 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 388 ⁽²³⁾
NW	BEK: I: 7 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>ajargašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to become agitated'	<i>čerlanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to fall ill'	<i>jöratašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to love'
<i>aňärgašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to breathe in CO'	<i>čätašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to tolerate'	<i>jöslanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to suffer'
<i>aralašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to defend'	<i>čolgäžasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to shine'	<i>juvatälasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to dawdle'
<i>azaplanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to be worried'	<i>čumärasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to pile up (tr.)'	<i>jüasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to drink'
<i>boranašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to prosper'	<i>endägašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to suffer'	<i>kačkalanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to boast'
<i>bozašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to write'	<i>äštašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to do'	<i>kalasašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to say'
<i>božäläsʹ</i> ¹¹	'to be ashamed'	<i>äštedälasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to do'	<i>kargašašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to quarrel'
<i>bučasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to wait'	<i>indäraltašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to suffer'	<i>kelšašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to agree; to appeal'
<i>bujlatašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to head'	<i>indärašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to torment'	<i>käčkaltašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to be harnessed'
<i>θursašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to scold'	<i>jogälanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to be lazy'	<i>kälmasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to freeze (intr.)'
<i>čeberlanašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to turn red'	<i>joläštaltašʹ</i> ¹¹	'to be tied'	<i>kočkasʹ</i> ¹¹	'to eat'

²⁷¹ "[...] выражает незаконченность, длительность, процессуальность действия или его периодичность, [...]"

²⁷² Niko Partanen, personal correspondence.

<i>kodaš¹</i>	‘to stay’	<i>ōraš¹</i>	‘to be surprised’	<i>šāltaš¹¹</i>	‘to hide (tr.)’
<i>kōjdaraš¹¹</i>	‘to mock’	<i>pagalaš¹¹</i>	‘to respect’	<i>šāranaš¹¹</i>	‘to bask’
<i>kolāštaš¹</i>	‘to listen’	<i>pajdalenaš¹¹</i>	‘to use’	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	‘to think’
<i>korštaš¹¹</i>	‘to hurt’	<i>pāzāraltāš¹</i>	‘to be crushed’	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	‘to count’
<i>kōranaš¹¹</i>	‘to envy’	<i>pāzāraš¹¹</i>	‘to push’	<i>šujkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to extend (tr.)’
<i>kredalaš¹</i>	‘to fight’	<i>pāzārnaltaš¹</i>	‘to be pressed’	<i>šuktaš¹¹</i>	‘to manage’
<i>kuanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be happy’	<i>pāzārnaš¹¹</i>	‘to be pressed’	<i>šūzaš¹¹</i>	‘to get hungry’
<i>kučāš¹¹</i>	‘to hold’	<i>pāznaš¹¹</i>	‘to huddle up’	<i>šūčāndaš¹¹</i>	‘to make sooty’
<i>kumalaš¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>poj daraš¹¹</i>	‘to enrichen’	<i>targaš¹¹</i>	‘to tire (intr.)’
<i>kurθalanaš¹¹</i>	‘to sleep around’	<i>puraš¹</i>	‘to chew’	<i>tatulasāš¹¹</i>	‘to be reconciled’
<i>kusaraltaš¹</i>	‘to move (intr.)’	<i>purlaš¹</i>	‘to bite’	<i>temaš¹</i>	‘to fill up (intr.)’
<i>kūraš¹</i>	‘to pick’	<i>pušnaš¹¹</i>	‘to calm down (intr.)’	<i>tāršaš¹¹</i>	‘to strive’
<i>lijaš¹</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>pužaltaš¹</i>	‘to be broken’	<i>tolaš¹¹</i>	‘to steal’
<i>lūdaš¹</i>	‘to fear’	<i>pužlaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>tolašaš¹¹</i>	‘to try’
<i>lūdāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to frighten’	<i>pūknaš¹¹</i>	‘to mould’	<i>torgajaš¹¹</i>	‘to deal in’
<i>maitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to suffer’	<i>pūneštaltaš¹</i>	‘to get stuck’	<i>tōčaš¹¹</i>	‘to try’
<i>malāš¹¹</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>pūrdāš¹¹</i>	‘to curtain’	<i>tunemaš¹</i>	‘to learn’
<i>merčāš¹¹</i>	‘to become weak’	<i>rakatlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to take pleasure’	<i>tunāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to teach’
<i>māndārlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to live without worries’	<i>rangaš¹¹</i>	‘to be terribly hungry’	<i>turgāmlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be in a hurry’
<i>muāš¹</i>	‘to find’	<i>ruaš¹¹</i>	‘to chop’	<i>tūknaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (intr.)’
<i>mužāraṅaš¹</i>	‘to get married’	<i>satulaš¹¹</i>	‘to trade’	<i>tūlaš¹¹</i>	‘to pay’
<i>nalaš¹</i>	‘to take’	<i>sāraš¹¹</i>	‘to get angry’	<i>tūlārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to get CO poisoning’
<i>oḡgāraš¹¹</i>	‘to grieve’	<i>sōḡgaš¹¹</i>	‘to make noise’	<i>tūnaš¹¹</i>	‘to be in need’
<i>oḡlaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>sumaš¹¹</i>	‘to sharpen’	<i>tūzataš¹¹</i>	‘to decorate’
<i>ondalaš¹¹</i>	‘to deceive’	<i>šalanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be scattered’	<i>umālaš¹¹</i>	‘to understand’
<i>oñčāš¹¹</i>	‘to look’	<i>šarnaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to remember’	<i>ušnaš¹¹</i>	‘to join (intr.)’
<i>orlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to suffer’	<i>šarnaš¹¹</i>	‘to remember’	<i>užalaš¹¹</i>	‘to sell’
<i>osallanaš¹¹</i>	‘to do evil’	<i>šādeškaš¹¹</i>	‘to be angry’	<i>ūčāšaš¹¹</i>	‘to compete’
<i>ozalanaš¹¹</i>	‘to rule’	<i>šāḡārnaš¹¹</i>	‘to jostle’	<i>ūšanaš¹¹</i>	‘to believe’
<i>ošemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to whiten’	<i>šālaš¹</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’		

Transitivity	Intransitive (rarely transitive)		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual marker indicating duration, continuity		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Udmurt. Productive in Mari. Similar processes for example in Nahuatl, languages of Africa.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 30	Corpus: 92	Total: 122
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>uljnj</i>	Tatar: <i>toruθ</i>	Bashkir: <i>toroθ</i> Chuvash: <i>purān</i>
Etymology	< PU * <i>elä</i> - ‘to live’, cognates include Finnish <i>elää</i> ‘id.’, Udmurt <i>uljnj</i> ‘id.’, Komi <i>ovnj</i> ‘id.’, Hungarian <i>él</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 73; Bereczki et al. 2013: 23–24)		

Figure 106: Profile of *ilaš* / *äläš¹¹* ‘to live’

4.1.12 *kajaš* / *keäš¹¹* ‘to go (away); to leave’

This verb is classified as an aspectual auxiliary by all notable sources (e.g. Budenz 1865: 88; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Beke 1911: 160; Uchayev 1995: 163; Moisio 1992: 95; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 43–46; Serebrennikov 1960: 192–193), and is quite common as an auxiliary. I found 263 different pairings using it in the lexical sources and another 69 pairings in the corpus.

As is the case in many other sources, the large Mari-Russian dictionary ascribes two distinct functions to this verb when used in combination with a converb (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *каяш*). The first function given is as an indicator of “movement away from the speaker” (*ibid.*).²⁷³ A minor correction is necessary here in my opinion: while it undoubtedly functions as an indicator of a movement “away” (and seems to be fully productive in combination with intransitive verbs), the reference point does not

²⁷³ “[...] удаления предмета от говорящего”

actually need to be the speaker, and frequently is not so in occurrences in the lexical sources and the corpus.

The counterparts to this verb in Tatar, Bashkir, and Chuvash (*kitüβ*, *kiteβ*, *kaj*), are used analogously (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 63**; **Landmann 2015: 102**). Gábor Bereczki et al. define numerous pairings using this verb as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 42**; cf. also **ibid.: 22; 32; 33; 83; 123; 203; 315; 318**).

Meadow Mari: <i>kajaš</i> ²⁷⁴	Hill Mari: <i>keäš</i> ²⁷⁴	Tatar: <i>kitüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kaj</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ijân kajaš</i>	<i>in keäš</i>	<i>jögöröp kitüβ</i>	<i>išse kaj</i>	swimming leave	to swim away
<i>jogen kajaš</i>	<i>jogen keäš</i>	<i>ošöp kitüβ</i>	<i>juχsa kaj</i>	flowing leave	to flow away
<i>kuržân kajaš</i>	<i>kârgâž keäš</i>	<i>küşenep kitüβ</i>	<i>věšse kaj</i>	running leave	to run away
<i>čongešten kajaš</i>	<i>čongešten keäš</i>	<i>töšöp kitüβ</i>	<i>kašsa kaj</i>	flying leave	to fly away

Figure 107: *kajaš / keäš*²⁷⁴ 'to go (away); to leave' as a path marker (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 63**)

While the usage of path verbs is poorly described and presumably comparatively uncommon in Udmurt and Erzya, examples of the analogous verbs in these languages used in this function can be found (cf. also **Kel'makov 1975: 95** for more Udmurt examples).

(105 – Udmurt – Bereczki 1984: 312)

‘лобзъыса кошкыны’

lobžj	-sa	koškj	-nj
fly	-CVB	leave	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to fly away’²⁷⁴

(106 – Erzya – Bereczki 1984: 312)

‘Варака ливтязь тусь вивев.’

varaka	livt'a	-ž	tu	-š	viř	-ev.
crow	fly	-CVB	leave	-PST1.3SG	forest	-LAT
n	v	-adv	v	-tense.pers	v	-case

‘The crow flew off to the forest.’²⁷⁵

Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva speak of the grammaticalization of verbs meaning ‘to go’ as *andative* markers (i.e. deictic markers indicating movement away from a reference point) and give examples, among others, from Gurenne (Niger-Congo), Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan), and numerous creoles (**Heine & Kuteva 2002: 155–156**).

The second main usage assigned to this verb in these structures by numerous sources is aspectual. The big Mari-Russian dictionary states that the verb “in combination with converbs of verbs indicating a change in status or position of a body in space forms auxiliary constructions with a meaning of completeness of an action with a nuance of ingressiveness, unexpectedness” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005:**

²⁷⁴ “wegfliegen (eigtl. fliegend weggehen)”

²⁷⁵ “die Krähe flog weg in den Wald”

каяш).²⁷⁶ SMYa²⁷⁷ defines the auxiliary in a similar manner, but adds that it can only be connected to intransitive stems, and speaks rather of a “nuance of momentariness of carrying out [an action]” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 203).²⁷⁸ In this function Tatar *kitüβ*, Bashkir *kiteβ*, and Chuvash *kaj* are also used in the same manner (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 62; Landmann 2015: 102). While the sources collectively speak of “completeness” as the facet dominant over “ingressiveness”, the pairings encountered with this auxiliary – and cited by Isanbayev – indicate that ingressiveness is a more important facet of meaning than is implied by the sources.

Meadow Mari: <i>kajaš</i> ^{ll}	Hill Mari: <i>keäš</i> ^{ll}	Tatar: <i>kitüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kaj</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>bolgalt kajaš</i>	<i>balgalt keäš</i>	<i>bätqâp kitüβ</i>	<i>šutälsa kaj</i>	shining go	to light up
<i>päčkemäšalt kajaš</i>	<i>päckemäšält keäš</i>	<i>qâranğätanâp kitüβ</i>	<i>tëttëmlense kaj</i>	growing.dark go	to get dark
<i>joškargen kajaš</i>	<i>jakšargen keäš</i>	<i>qâzarâp kitüβ</i>	<i>çêrelse kaj</i>	turning.red go	to go red
<i>ošem kajaš</i>	<i>ošem keäš</i>	<i>âğarâp kitüβ</i>	<i>šurâçsa kaj</i>	turning.white go	to go white
<i>šemem kajaš</i>	<i>šimem keäš</i>	<i>qâratâp kitüβ</i>	<i>çuralsa kaj</i>	turning.black go	to go black
<i>kakargen kajaš</i>	<i>käkârgen keäš</i>	<i>kügârep kitüβ</i>	<i>kävakatsa kaj</i>	turning.blue go	to go blue
<i>ažgânen kajaš</i>	<i>aznen keäš</i>	<i>qotorop kitüβ</i>	<i>alçassa kaj</i>	getting.furious go	to get furious
<i>šâdešken kajaš</i>	<i>šâdešken keäš</i>	<i>âšutanâp kitüβ</i>	<i>šilense kaj</i>	getting.angry go	to get angry
<i>šokšešt kajaš</i>	<i>šokšešt keäš</i>	<i>qâzâp kitüβ</i>	<i>çêrülense kaj</i>	warming.up go	to fly into a passion
<i>lüdân kajaš</i>	-	<i>qurâqâp kitüβ</i>	<i>çârasa kaj</i>	fearing go	to take fright
<i>jaklešt kajaš</i>	<i>jaklešt keäš</i>	<i>tâjenep kitüβ</i>	<i>šusa kaj</i>	sliding go	to slip
<i>sümârlen kajaš</i>	<i>sâmârlen keäš</i>	<i>jâğâtâp kitüβ</i>	<i>šëmêrêlse kaj</i>	falling go	to fall
<i>šonğem kajaš</i>	<i>šonğem keäš</i>	<i>qârtajâp kitüβ</i>	<i>vatälsa kaj</i>	aging go	to grow old (suddenly)
<i>šarlen kajaš</i>	<i>šârlen keäš</i>	<i>žâjelep kitüβ</i>	<i>sarälsa kaj</i>	spreading go	to flood

Figure 108: *kajaš / keäš*^{ll} ‘to go (away); to leave’ as an aspectual marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 62–63)

Valey Kel’makov states that Udmurt *koškijñj* ‘to go (away)’ indicates “a sudden and intense appearance or amplification of a process” (Kel’makov 1975: 96).²⁷⁹

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 2 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 5 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 6 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 7 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 8 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 11 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 13 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 16 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 18 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 19 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 21 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 22 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 23 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 26 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 29 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 31 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 33 ⁽⁴⁾
M	BEK: I: 72 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 76 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 84 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 88 ⁽³²⁾ WICH: 36 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 71 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 1 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 29 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 35 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 38 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 41 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 42 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 45 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 2 ⁽³⁷⁾ , BEK: I: 14 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 24 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 30 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 31 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 32 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 38 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 40 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 41–42 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 63 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	WICH: 2 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>agaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to rob’	<i>aptâranâš</i> ^{ll}	‘to be shy’	<i>ažgânaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to get furious’
<i>almaštaltaš</i> ^l	‘to be replaced’	<i>azaplanaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to be worried’	<i>baštaltaš</i> ^l	‘to change (intr.)’
<i>ağâšâremaš</i> ^l	‘to become narrow’	<i>azaš</i> ^{ll}	‘to spread (intr.)’	<i>belaltaš</i> ^l	‘to spill (intr.)’

²⁷⁶ “в сочетании с деепричастной формой глаголов, обозначающих изменение в состоянии или положении тела в пространстве, образует составные глаголы со значением законченности действия с оттенком начинательности, неожиданности”

²⁷⁷ I will use this abbreviation for this resource’s Russian title, *Современный марийский язык* ‘Contemporary Mari Language’, in this section.

²⁷⁸ “с оттенком моментальности совершения”

²⁷⁹ “Обозначает внезапное и интенсивное проявление или усиление процесса, [...]”

<i>belas¹</i>	'to spill (intr.)'	<i>jortalas¹</i>	'to fall'	<i>luktedas¹¹</i>	'to take out'
<i>verbovatlaltaš¹</i>	'to enlist'	<i>joras¹¹</i>	'to go out'	<i>lupšaltaš¹</i>	'to be whipped'
<i>beselaḡas¹</i>	'to cheer up (intr.)'	<i>jōrlas¹</i>	'to fall down'	<i>lupšas¹¹</i>	'to whip'
<i>besemas¹</i>	'to change (intr.)'	<i>jūdas¹¹</i>	'to go senile'	<i>luškaš¹¹</i>	'to grow weak'
<i>beseštaš¹</i>	'to change (intr.)'	<i>jūdāḡas¹¹</i>	'to go senile'	<i>luškemas¹¹</i>	'to weaken (tr.)'
<i>βijaḡas¹</i>	'to grow stronger'	<i>jūkšaš¹¹</i>	'to cool down'	<i>luškēdemaš¹</i>	'to become weak'
<i>βijnaltaš¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'	<i>jūlas¹¹</i>	'to burn (intr.)'	<i>lūdas¹</i>	'to fear'
<i>βijnaš¹¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'	<i>jūraš¹</i>	'to rain'	<i>lūḡgaltaš¹</i>	'to rock (intr.)'
<i>βolas¹¹</i>	'to descend'	<i>kadārgas¹¹</i>	'to bend (intr.)'	<i>lūškaltaš¹</i>	'to get all worked up'
<i>βolgaltaš¹</i>	'to shine'	<i>kadārgālas¹</i>	'to bend (intr.)'	<i>lūškaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'
<i>βolgādemaš¹</i>	'to lighten up (intr.)'	<i>kakargaš¹¹</i>	'to go blue'	<i>malas¹¹</i>	'to sleep'
<i>βolgāžaš¹</i>	'to break (day)'	<i>kalasaš¹¹</i>	'to say'	<i>māškālas¹¹</i>	'to mock'
<i>βoñčas¹¹</i>	'to cross (through)'	<i>kažlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be exposed to the wind'	<i>mokleštaš¹</i>	'to be dislocated'
<i>βoranaš¹¹</i>	'to prosper'	<i>kataltaš¹</i>	'to break off (intr.)'	<i>molemaš¹</i>	'to change (intr.)'
<i>βozaš¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>katlas¹¹</i>	'to break off (intr.)'	<i>mučāštaš¹</i>	'to come unfastened'
<i>βožālas¹</i>	'to be ashamed'	<i>kelas¹</i>	'to wade'	<i>mučāštaš¹¹</i>	'to come unfastened'
<i>βūdas¹¹</i>	'to lead'	<i>kāčālas¹</i>	'to search'	<i>muñčaltaš¹¹</i>	'to slide'
<i>βūdāžḡas¹¹</i>	'to get damp'	<i>kāñelas¹</i>	'to get up'	<i>muraltaš¹</i>	'to be sung'
<i>čaknaš¹¹</i>	'to move back'	<i>kāškalaltaš¹</i>	'to gush, to pour'	<i>muškāltaš¹</i>	'to wash oneself'
<i>čalemaš¹</i>	'to go grey'	<i>kočkaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>mutlanaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'
<i>čarpeštaš¹</i>	'to split (intr.)'	<i>kodaš¹</i>	'to stay'	<i>nalas¹</i>	'to take'
<i>čeβergas¹¹</i>	'to turn red'	<i>kodaš¹¹</i>	'to leave (tr.)'	<i>nelemaš¹</i>	'to become heavy'
<i>čāḡaltaš¹</i>	'to itch'	<i>kogargaš¹¹</i>	'to be scalded'	<i>nijaltaš¹¹</i>	'to pat'
<i>čāḡgāžaš¹</i>	'to shine'	<i>kogartaš¹¹</i>	'to scald'	<i>nōltaltaš¹</i>	'to rise'
<i>čātārnaltaš¹</i>	'to tremble'	<i>kolāštaš¹</i>	'to listen'	<i>nōltaš¹¹</i>	'to lift'
<i>čātārnaltaš¹</i>	'to quiver'	<i>koraltaš¹</i>	'to be scratched'	<i>nulalas¹</i>	'to lick'
<i>čoḡeštaš¹¹</i>	'to fly'	<i>koranaš¹</i>	'to move away (intr.)'	<i>nulas¹¹</i>	'to lick'
<i>čučas¹</i>	'to seem'	<i>koras¹¹</i>	'to scratch, to cut'	<i>numalas¹</i>	'to carry'
<i>čurijlanaš¹¹</i>	'to blush'	<i>koškaš¹¹</i>	'to dry (intr.)'	<i>nuzālgas¹¹</i>	'to be scratched'
<i>čūktaltaš¹</i>	'to light up'	<i>kožmakaltaš¹</i>	'to liven up'	<i>nuškaš¹</i>	'to creep'
<i>dokladivatlaš¹¹</i>	'to report'	<i>kuas¹¹</i>	'to row; to shovel'	<i>oβaras¹¹</i>	'to rise, to puff up'
<i>dūrlas¹¹</i>	'to buzz'	<i>kučas¹¹</i>	'to hold'	<i>oβartaš¹¹</i>	'to inflate (tr.)'
<i>elnaš¹¹</i>	'to tire (intr.)'	<i>kudalaš¹</i>	'to ride'	<i>ojaras¹¹</i>	'to clear up (intr.)'
<i>erāktas¹¹</i>	'to clean'	<i>kudaltaš¹¹</i>	'to throw (out)'	<i>ojārlas¹¹</i>	'to go apart'
<i>ertaltaš¹¹</i>	'to pass by'	<i>kugemaš¹</i>	'to increase (intr.)'	<i>ojlas¹¹</i>	'to talk'
<i>ertaras¹¹</i>	'to carry out'	<i>kuklas¹¹</i>	'to uproot'	<i>oñčālas¹</i>	'to look'
<i>ertaš¹¹</i>	'to go by'	<i>kuktežaltaš¹</i>	'to get entangled'	<i>oñčāltaš¹¹</i>	'to overtake'
<i>eskaš¹¹</i>	'to blow (wind)'	<i>kumāktaltaš¹</i>	'to overturn (intr.)'	<i>oḡaras¹¹</i>	'to tune'
<i>ālāžas¹</i>	'to flare up'	<i>kuptārgas¹¹</i>	'to wrinkle (intr.)'	<i>optaltaš¹</i>	'to be put'
<i>āras¹¹</i>	'to warm up (intr.)'	<i>kuralas¹</i>	'to plough'	<i>optas¹¹</i>	'to put, to pile up'
<i>āštaš¹¹</i>	'to do'	<i>kuržaš¹</i>	'to run'	<i>orolas¹¹</i>	'to guard'
<i>ijaš¹</i>	'to swim'	<i>kusnaš¹¹</i>	'to move; to relocate'	<i>ošemas¹</i>	'to turn white'
<i>ijnaš¹¹</i>	'to drag along'	<i>kuškaš¹</i>	'to grow (intr.)'	<i>oškedaš¹¹</i>	'to step'
<i>ilanaš¹¹</i>	'to take root'	<i>kuškedaš¹</i>	'to tear (intr.)'	<i>oškālas¹</i>	'to step'
<i>iraltaš¹</i>	'to be offended'	<i>kuškedaš¹¹</i>	'to tear (intr.)'	<i>ōpkelas¹¹</i>	'to repent'
<i>iraš¹¹</i>	'to destroy'	<i>kuštālemaš¹</i>	'to become lighter'	<i>ōras¹</i>	'to be surprised'
<i>izemaš¹</i>	'to decrease'	<i>kužemaš¹</i>	'to lengthen (intr.)'	<i>ōrmalḡas¹¹</i>	'to be astonished'
<i>išaltaš¹</i>	'to be pressed'	<i>kūčākemaš¹</i>	'to grow shorter'	<i>ōrtkaš¹¹</i>	'to be scared'
<i>jakleštaš¹</i>	'to slip, to slide'	<i>kūkšemdaš¹¹</i>	'to raise'	<i>ōrtkānaš¹¹</i>	'to panic'
<i>jamdālaltaš¹</i>	'to prepare (intr.)'	<i>kūñčas¹¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>paldaras¹¹</i>	'to acquaint'
<i>jaḡḡaraltaš¹</i>	'to be heard'	<i>kūras¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>paldārtaš¹¹</i>	'to reveal'
<i>jāčkeštaš¹</i>	'to be strained'	<i>kūrāltaš¹</i>	'to tear off (intr.)'	<i>palemdaš¹¹</i>	'to mark'
<i>jāḡḡāžaltaš¹</i>	'to shine'	<i>kūrlas¹</i>	'to tear off (tr. & intr.)'	<i>pečkaltaš¹</i>	'to crack (intr.)'
<i>jāḡḡāžaš¹</i>	'to sparkle'	<i>kūzas¹¹</i>	'to climb'	<i>peledaltaš¹</i>	'to bloom'
<i>jāmas¹¹</i>	'to be blinded'	<i>kūžgemaš¹</i>	'to thicken (intr.)'	<i>peḡḡādemdaš¹¹</i>	'to fasten'
<i>jodaš¹</i>	'to ask'	<i>laštārgas¹¹</i>	'to be flattened'	<i>pāčkemāšaltaš¹</i>	'to grow dark'
<i>jogaš¹¹</i>	'to flow'	<i>leβas¹¹</i>	'to melt (intr.)'	<i>pāžaltaras¹¹</i>	'to throw (forcefully)'
<i>joktaras¹¹</i>	'to pour (tr.)'	<i>lektas¹</i>	'to go, to leave'	<i>pātas¹¹</i>	'to end (intr.)'
<i>jomaš¹</i>	'to disappear'	<i>lāβārgas¹¹</i>	'to bend (intr.)'	<i>počāltaš¹</i>	'to open (intr.)'
<i>joḡgaltaš¹</i>	'to resound'	<i>lāβāžḡas¹¹</i>	'to wither'	<i>počkalaš¹</i>	'to shake off (tr.)'
<i>joḡḡādemas¹</i>	'to clear up (intr.)'	<i>lijaš¹</i>	'to be; to become'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'
<i>joḡḡālgas¹¹</i>	'to faint'	<i>logalaš¹</i>	'to touch'	<i>poḡānaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (intr.)'
<i>joḡlas¹¹</i>	'to faint'	<i>loḡaltaš¹</i>	'to wave (intr.)'	<i>poktas¹¹</i>	'to drive'
<i>jortas¹¹</i>	'to trot'	<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>pomāžaltaš¹</i>	'to wake up (intr.)'
<i>joškargaš¹¹</i>	'to turn red'			<i>porβolaš¹¹</i>	'to sink into the ground'

<i>porsānaltaš¹</i>	‘to become silky’	<i>sūsanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be in a fever’	<i>šūtaš¹¹</i>	‘to pierce’
<i>pōrdaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>sūsārnaš¹¹</i>	‘to break free’	<i>šūtlaš¹¹</i>	‘to be punctured’
<i>pōrtālaš¹</i>	‘to return (intr.)’	<i>zoritlaš¹¹</i>	‘to ravage’	<i>tajnaltaš¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’
<i>pualaš¹</i>	‘to swell’	<i>šalanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be scattered’	<i>tajnaš¹¹</i>	‘to stoop’
<i>pudeštaltaš¹</i>	‘to burst’	<i>šapalgaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow pale’	<i>tajnāštaš¹</i>	‘to stagger’
<i>pudeštaš¹</i>	‘to burst (intr.)’	<i>šaraltaš¹</i>	‘to be spread’	<i>takārtaš¹¹</i>	‘to trample down’
<i>puđāranaš¹¹</i>	‘to mix (intr.)’	<i>šarlaš¹¹</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’	<i>tarβanaš¹¹</i>	‘to move (intr.)’
<i>puđārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>šarnaltaš¹</i>	‘to be remembered’	<i>tarβanālaš¹</i>	‘to move (intr.)’
<i>puñčēžaltaš¹</i>	‘to be twisted’	<i>šelaltaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>tašlaš¹¹</i>	‘to overflow’
<i>puraš¹¹</i>	‘to enter (intr.)’	<i>šelaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’	<i>tergaš¹¹</i>	‘to check’
<i>purgāžaltaš¹</i>	‘to be swept together’	<i>šememaš¹</i>	‘to turn black’	<i>tārlaš¹¹</i>	‘to get better’
<i>puškādemaš¹</i>	‘to soften (intr.)’	<i>šenaš¹</i>	‘to rummage’	<i>todālaltaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>pušlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to evaporate’	<i>šergalaš¹</i>	‘to throw open’	<i>tolaš¹</i>	‘to come’
<i>pužlaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>šergaš¹¹</i>	‘to look over’	<i>tolkānaltaš¹</i>	‘to be agitated’
<i>pūčkaš¹</i>	‘to cut’	<i>šergeštaš¹</i>	‘to rise in price’	<i>torlaš¹¹</i>	‘to move away (intr.)’
<i>pūčkāltas¹</i>	‘to cut oneself’	<i>šergāltas¹</i>	‘to come undone’	<i>toškaš¹¹</i>	‘to trample’
<i>pūgārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend down’	<i>šādeškaš¹¹</i>	‘to be angry’	<i>tōrštaš¹¹</i>	‘to jump’
<i>pūžaltaš¹</i>	‘to sweat’	<i>šālaš¹</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>tōrštālaš¹</i>	‘to jump’
<i>rašemaš¹</i>	‘to become distinct’	<i>šāndaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to place’	<i>tugaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>roñčaltaš¹</i>	‘to come unwound’	<i>šāndālaš¹</i>	‘to put, to set’	<i>tulaš¹¹</i>	‘to bolt’
<i>roñčāltas¹</i>	‘to come unwound’	<i>šārpeštaš¹</i>	‘to splinter (intr.)’	<i>tūŋalaš¹</i>	‘to begin’
<i>rualtaš¹¹</i>	‘to grab’	<i>šāžaltaš¹</i>	‘to splash (intr.)’	<i>tūŋgārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to become stiff’
<i>rudaltaš¹</i>	‘to come untied’	<i>šodāgaltas¹¹</i>	‘to rumble’	<i>tūredas¹</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>rūžgaltas¹</i>	‘to make a noise’	<i>šogaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to stand’	<i>tūrgaltas¹</i>	‘to rise, to whirl’
<i>sabaltaš¹</i>	‘to strike against’	<i>šogaltālaš¹</i>	‘to put, to stand’	<i>tūzlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to stand in beauty’
<i>sabārkalas¹¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šokšemas¹</i>	‘to get warm’	<i>uemas¹</i>	‘to be renewed’
<i>sabārnaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>šokšestaš¹</i>	‘to warm oneself’	<i>ulnaš¹¹</i>	‘to tire (intr.)’
<i>sabārnālaš¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>šolāštaš¹</i>	‘to steal’	<i>umas¹¹</i>	‘to ripen (intr.)’
<i>sajemas¹</i>	‘to get better’	<i>šongemas¹</i>	‘to age (intr.)’	<i>umālas¹¹</i>	‘to understand’
<i>sakaš¹¹</i>	‘to hang up’	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	‘to count’	<i>uraš¹</i>	‘to fall’
<i>salāmaltaš¹</i>	‘to blaze’	<i>šujaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (tr.)’	<i>urāltas¹</i>	‘to fall’
<i>saremas¹</i>	‘to turn yellow’	<i>šujnaltas¹</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>ušaš¹¹</i>	‘to join (tr.)’
<i>seŋaš¹¹</i>	‘to defeat, to win’	<i>šulas¹¹</i>	‘to melt (intr.)’	<i>ušeštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to remind’
<i>seskemaltas¹</i>	‘to give off sparks’	<i>šungaltas¹</i>	‘to fall’	<i>ušnas¹¹</i>	‘to join (intr.)’
<i>sāraš¹¹</i>	‘to get angry’	<i>šupšaš¹</i>	‘to pull’	<i>užargaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn green’
<i>sijlaltas¹</i>	‘to be treated’	<i>šupsālaltas¹</i>	‘to be stretched’	<i>užaš¹</i>	‘to see’
<i>sirlaš¹¹</i>	‘to fall, to cave in’	<i>šupsāltas¹</i>	‘to be laid’	<i>užataš¹¹</i>	‘to accompany’
<i>solaltas¹¹</i>	‘to wave’	<i>šūβedas¹¹</i>	‘to spit’	<i>utaš¹¹</i>	‘to become superfluous’
<i>solaš¹¹</i>	‘to mow’	<i>šūdāras¹¹</i>	‘to drag’	<i>ūdaš¹¹</i>	‘to sow’
<i>surgaltas¹</i>	‘to ring out’	<i>šūkalaš¹</i>	‘to push’	<i>ūšanaš¹¹</i>	‘to believe’
<i>susārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be injured’	<i>šūraltas¹¹</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’	<i>ūštaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>susārtas¹¹</i>	‘to wound’	<i>šūškaltas¹¹</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>ūštālaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>sūmārlas¹¹</i>	‘to collapse’	<i>šūškaš¹¹</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>ūžaš¹</i>	‘to invite’

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs, sporadically with transitive verbs
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Path marker ‘away’ • Aspect marker for ingressiveness and completeness with nuance of unexpectedness, coupled with verbs denoting a change in state or position
Distribution etc.	In both functions Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, Udmurt. In Mari productive in both functions. As a path marker also in Erzya.
Literary pairings	Sources: 263 Corpus: 69 Total: 332
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>koškjnĭ</i> Erzya: <i>tujems</i> Tatar: <i>kitüb</i> Bashkir: <i>kiteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kaj</i>
Etymology	Uncertain. Possibly < PFV * <i>käwe-</i> ‘to go’ and a cognate of, e.g., Finnish <i>käy-</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 654–655; Bereczki et al. 2013: 42).

Figure 109: Profile of *kajaš* / *keäš¹¹* ‘to go (away); to leave’

4.1.13 *kāñelaš* / *kañäläš¹* ‘to get up’

Only Ödön Beke explicitly refers to this verb (Beke 1911: 161). Three pairings with this verb in the second position are marked as auxiliary constructions in lexical sources:

Meadow Mari: <i>kâñelaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>kəñäläš</i> ¹	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>čöñešten kâñelaš</i>	<i>čöñgešten kəñäläš</i>	flying get.up	to take wing
<i>töršten kâñelaš</i>	<i>targešten kəñäläš</i>	jumping get.up	to jump up
<i>äläž kâñelaš</i>	<i>aläž kəñäläš</i>	coming.to.life get.up	to return from the dead

Figure 110: *kâñelaš / kəñäläš* ‘to get up’ marking path ‘up’

While the third pairing is best understood to denote two consecutive actions, the first 2 pairings contain *kâñelaš / kəñäläš*¹ clearly denoting an upward path.

I could find numerous usage examples of these pairings in the corpus (especially the pairing *äläž kâñelaš* ‘to return from the dead’, which is exceedingly common in the New Testament), but was not able to find any other pairings using this verb in the second position. This might be due to the fact that there are not many movements that can meaningfully be combined with the semantics expressed by this verb when used as a path verb. The number of pairings is too small to allow a comparison with *küzaš / kuzäš*¹¹ ‘to climb, to rise’ – see Section 4.1.23 (page 177).

As the Tatar, Bashkir, and Chuvash translations of this lexeme are all highly polysemous (Tatar *toruβ* ‘to stand; to live; to stand up’, Bashkir *toroβ* ‘id.’, Chuvash *tär* ‘to stand; to stand up’), it is hard to speak of “counterparts” in these languages. I could not find any evidence that Udmurt *sultjnj* ‘to stand up’ is used in this manner.²⁸⁰

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

*čöñeštaš*¹¹ ‘to fly’ *äläžaš*¹ ‘to flare up’ *törštaš*¹¹ ‘to jump’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker ‘up’, starting from a sitting/lying position		
Distribution etc.	Mari, but only in combination with very few verbs		
Literary pairings	Sources: 3	Corpus: 0	Total: 3
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>sultjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>toruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>toroβ</i> Chuvash: <i>tär</i>
Etymology	?		

Figure 111: Profile of *kâñelaš / kəñäläš* ‘to get up’

4.1.14 *kertaš / kerdäš*¹ ‘to be able to’

The big Mari-Russian dictionary translates this modal auxiliary as “to be able to; to be in the condition, to have the ability, to do something” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *керташ I*; cf. also Moisiö 1992: 32; Savatkova 2008: 90).²⁸¹ It differs from *moštaš / mäštaš*¹ ‘to be able to’ – see Section 4.1.29 (page 188) –

²⁸⁰ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

²⁸¹ “мочь, смочь; быть в состоянии, в силах что-либо делать, сделать”

in that the latter verb seems to be used primarily in reference to acquired, learned abilities, while *kertaš / kerdäš*²⁸² can be used in quite a wide range of situations²⁸².

As was mentioned in Section 2.2.3 (page 45), this auxiliary generally co-occurs with the converb in *-n*, but can also co-occur with the infinitive. The big Mari-Russian dictionary translates it, in combination with the infinitive, as “to be able to; to carry out some kind of activity well; expert of” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: керташ I).²⁸³

(107 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: керташ)

‘[M]урен кертат[.]’

mur	-en	kert	-at.
sing	-CVB	be.able.to	-2SG
v	-adv	v	-pers

‘You can sing.’²⁸⁴

‘[Г]армонь шокташ кертыт[.]’

garmoñ	šokt	-aš	kert	-eš.
accordion	play	-INF	be.able.to	-3SG
n	v	-inf	v	-pers

‘(S)he is a master accordion player.’²⁸⁵

As previously discussed, it is typical of modal auxiliaries denoting permission, necessity, or ability to combine with converbs in Turkic languages (cf. Johanson 2009: 498); this applies to the Kipchak languages of the Volga-Kama Region as well – but not to Chuvash. Tatar *ǰluβ* ‘to take; to be able to’ and Bashkir *ǰlǰβ* ‘id.’ govern the converb in *-a ~ -ǰ* (Landmann 2014a: 93; Landmann 2015: 95); Chuvash *pultar* ‘to be able to’ governs the infinitive in *-ma ~ -me* (Landmann 2014b: 74). Udmurt *bjgatjnj* ‘to be able to’ governs the infinitive in *-nj* (cf. Kirillova et al. 2008: быгатыны).

In the dialect text collections

With the converb in *-n*:

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 15 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 17 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 20 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 25 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 27 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 28 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 45 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 70 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 72 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 26 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 27 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 30 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 33 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 9 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 14 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 24 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 34 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 38 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 39 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 40 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 50 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 61 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	WICH: 3 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

With infinitive:

²⁸² A similar distinction exists between *savoir* and *pouvoir* in French, and *osata* and *voida* in Finnish.

²⁸³ “уметь; хорошо выполнять какое-либо действие; мастер на что”

²⁸⁴ “можешь петь”

²⁸⁵ “мастер играть на гармонии”

E	-
M	BEK: I: 115 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 136 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 145 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 208 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 224 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 228 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 232 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 243 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 325 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 327 ⁽³²⁾
NW	BEK: I: 7 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

N/A²⁸⁶

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modal auxiliary “to be able to” with a wide range of applications in which the subject can or cannot carry out an activity due to abilities, conditions, etc. 			
Distribution etc.	With converb in Mari, Tatar, Bashkir. Fully productive.			
Literary pairings	Sources: N/A	Corpus: N/A	Total: N/A	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>bjgatɨnj</i>	Tatar: <i>ǎluβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>ǎlǎβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pultar</i>
Etymology	<p>< PU *<i>kārte</i>- ‘to hold, to stand, to bear’, cognates include Finnish <i>kärsi</i>- ‘to suffer, to endure’, Northern Saami <i>gierdat</i> ‘id.’, Mordvin <i>kiřd’ems</i> ‘to hold; to suffer, to endure’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 515–516; Bereczki et al. 2013: 52).</p>			

Figure 112: Profile of *kertaš / kerdäš* ‘to be able to’

4.1.15 *kǎškaš / kǎškǎš*^{ll} ‘to throw; to scatter’

Like its near-synonyms *kudaltaš / -ll* ‘to throw; to abandon’ – Section 4.1.22 (page 175) – and *šuaš / šuaš*^{ll} ‘to throw’ – Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – this verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. **Beke 1911: 162; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163**). Nikolay Isanbayev states that it connects with “a small group of transitive and intransitive verbs that denote a repeated or relatively long-lasting activity” (**Isanbayev 1978: 86**).²⁸⁷ A total of 40 pairings in the sources and another 13 in the corpus make this auxiliary uncommon, but not rare.

With respect to the meaning of the auxiliary constructions formed, Isanbayev distinguishes between two groups: those denoting the “energetic and impetuous execution of a repeated activity”,²⁸⁸ and those denoting the “stormy and uncontrolled execution of an activity or appearance of a condition”,²⁸⁹ and describes Tatar *tǎštaβ* ‘to throw’ and Chuvash *tǎk* ‘to scatter’ as adequate counterparts in both meanings (**ibid.**); Bashkir *tǎštaβ* ‘to throw’ is used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Landmann 2015: 102**). SMYa makes the same distinction, but speaks of “purposeful actions”²⁹⁰ rather than “repeated actions” in reference to the first category (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 206**).

²⁸⁶ As this auxiliary is fully productive and very common, pairings using it are not listed in lexical sources and assembling a list of pairings from the corpus would be too time-consuming.

²⁸⁷ “[...] от небольшой группы переходных и непереходных глаголов, выражающих неоднократное или относительно продолжительное действие, [...]”

²⁸⁸ “[...] энергичное и стремительное совершение неоднократного действия.”

²⁸⁹ “[...] бурное и бесконтрольное совершение действия или проявление состояния; [...]”

²⁹⁰ “а) быстрое, стремительное совершение целенаправленного действия.”

Meadow Mari: <i>kāškaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>kāškāš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>tāštaθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tāk</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>θursen kāškaš</i>	<i>θārsen kāškāš</i>	<i>tirgāp tāštaθ</i>	<i>vārśsa tāk</i>	scolding throw	to scold
<i>kural kāškaš</i>	<i>kāral kāškāš</i>	-	<i>suxalasa tāk</i>	ploughing throw	to plough quickly
<i>kāren kāškaš</i>	<i>šin kāškāš</i>	<i>qārāp tāštaθ</i>	<i>vatsa tāk</i>	beating throw	to beat
<i>kūrāšt kāškaš</i>	<i>kārān kāškāš</i>	<i>botartap tāštaθ</i>	<i>šursa tāk</i>	tearing throw	to tear up
<i>solen kāškaš</i>	<i>salen kāškāš</i>	-	<i>šulsa tāk</i>	mowing throw	to mow quickly

Figure 113: *kāškaš* / *kāškāš^{II}* ‘to throw; to scatter’ marking an energetic and impetuous execution (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 86)

With regard to Isanbayev’s and SMYa’s second group, there seem to be considerably fewer pairings where the Tatar and Chuvash words function as counterparts to the Mari auxiliary here. The dividing line between these categories does not seem to be a clear one, however.

Meadow Mari: <i>kāškaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>kāškāš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>tāštaθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tāk</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kutāren kāškaš</i>	<i>popen kāškāš</i>	<i>sōjlāp tāštaθ</i>	<i>kalasa tāk</i>	talking throw	to say (too much)
<i>āšten kāškaš</i>	-	<i>ešlāp tāštaθ</i>	-	doing throw	to do (something wrong)
<i>tumanlen kāškaš</i>	<i>θārsen kāškāš</i>	-	-	quarrelling throw	to make a row
<i>θursedāl kāškaš</i>	<i>soredāl kāškāš</i>	-	-	arguing throw	to quarrel
<i>kargašen kāškaš</i>	-	<i>tirgānep tāštaθ</i>	<i>jatlassa tāk</i>	arguing throw	to have a falling out

Figure 114: *kāškaš* / *kāškāš^{II}* ‘to throw; to scatter’ marking a stormy and uncontrolled action (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 86)

In contrast to the two near-synonyms *kudaltaš* / -^{II} ‘to throw; to abandon’ and *šuaš* / *šuaš^{II}* ‘to throw’ mentioned above, Mikhail Chkhaidze, who calls *kāškaš* / *kāškāš^{II}* a “half-modifier”, sets this verb apart by stating that it “is usually used when indicating the scattering of many objects in all directions” (Chkhaidze 1960: 55).²⁹¹ This facet does seem to be present in some cases; my consultant agreed with Chkhaidze’s interpretation. For example, the verb *kudašaš^I* ‘to take off, to remove (clothing)’ can be coupled with all three auxiliaries: *kudaš²⁹² kāškaš*, *kudaš kudaltaš*, *kudaš šuaš* (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **күдашаш**). In the examples provided in the Mari-Russian dictionary, the latter two pairings are used in reference to a hat knocked off someone’s head and wet fur coats quickly removed respectively, while the example provided for the first pairing refers to (several) items of clothing that the speaker rips from his body (*ibid.*). In numerous other cases, however, this explanation does not hold, e.g. in the case of the auxiliary constructions formed from *āštaš^{II}* ‘to do’: *āšten kāškaš*, *āšten kudaltaš*, *āšten šuaš* (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **ышташ**). My consultant could not discern a specific difference between these pairings: if one exists, it is not trivial, and would require further investigation.

For the usage of Udmurt *kuštjnj* in auxiliary constructions, see *šuaš* / *šuaš^{II}* – Section 4.1.56 (page 239).

Cross-linguistically, verbs meaning ‘to throw’ have been observed to be grammaticalized as perfect markers, for example in Diyari (Pama-Nyungan), Palaung (Austroasiatic), Fore (New Guinea), Korean, Japanese (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 297–298).

²⁹¹ “[...] обычно употребляют тогда, когда имеется в виду разбрасывание многих предметов врассыпную.”

²⁹² The form *kudaš* is the short form of the converb *kudašān* of this verb – see Section 2.2.3 (page 44).

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 58 ⁽⁹⁾ PAAS: 29 ⁽⁴⁾
M	BEK: I: 644 ⁽²¹⁾ BEK: I: 645 ⁽²¹⁾ BEK: I: 104 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 197 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 549 ⁽²⁶⁾ BEK: II: 144 ⁽³⁵⁾ WICH: 63 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 64 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 92 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>amârtâlaš¹</i>	‘to soil’	<i>kutâraš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>puraš¹</i>	‘to chew’
<i>bombitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to bomb’	<i>küraš¹</i>	‘to pick’	<i>pužaš¹¹</i>	‘to ruin’
<i>θursaš¹¹</i>	‘to scold’	<i>kürâštaš¹</i>	‘to pick’	<i>rončâš¹¹</i>	‘to unwind (tr.)’
<i>θursedâlaš¹</i>	‘to argue’	<i>ločkaš¹¹</i>	‘to lash’	<i>rozmitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>θužgâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to stir up’	<i>luktaš¹</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>rožgaš¹¹</i>	‘to smash up’
<i>čumaš¹¹</i>	‘to kick’	<i>luktedaš¹¹</i>	‘to take out’	<i>ruaš¹¹</i>	‘to chop’
<i>erâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to clean’	<i>lupšaš¹¹</i>	‘to whip’	<i>saβârkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>âštaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’	<i>nalaš¹</i>	‘to take’	<i>solaš¹¹</i>	‘to mow’
<i>âštâlaš¹</i>	‘to do’	<i>namijaš¹¹</i>	‘to bring’	<i>somâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to weed’
<i>kargašaš¹¹</i>	‘to quarrel’	<i>numalaš¹</i>	‘to carry’	<i>šudalaš¹</i>	‘to scold’
<i>kâraš¹¹</i>	‘to beat’	<i>nüžaš¹¹</i>	‘to rub’	<i>šürdâlaš¹</i>	‘to scold’
<i>kormâžtaš¹¹</i>	‘to squeeze’	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>todâštaš¹</i>	‘to break (tr.)’
<i>kuaš¹¹</i>	‘to row; to shovel’	<i>ojlâštaš¹</i>	‘to babble’	<i>tumanlaš¹¹</i>	‘to quarrel’
<i>kudašaš¹</i>	‘to take off’	<i>orlaš¹¹</i>	‘to abuse’	<i>turžaš¹</i>	‘to crumple’
<i>kuklaš¹¹</i>	‘to uproot’	<i>padâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to crush’	<i>udâraš¹¹</i>	‘to strike’
<i>kuralaš¹</i>	‘to plough’	<i>peleštaš¹¹</i>	‘to state’	<i>üčašaš¹¹</i>	‘to compete’
<i>kural-üdaš¹¹</i>	‘to cultivate’	<i>pudârtaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>üštâlaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>kuškedaš¹</i>	‘to tear’	<i>pudârtâlaš¹</i>	‘to break (tr.)’		

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual marker for energetic, impetuous, stormy, and uncontrolled execution of a usually purposeful action, possibly hinting at scattering of objects 			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash			
Literary pairings	Sources: 40	Corpus: 13	Total: 53	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kuštjnĭ</i>	Tatar: <i>tâštaβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tâštaβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tăk</i>
Etymology	< PFP *kiškă- ‘to pour, to strew’, cognates include Northern Saami <i>goaikut</i> ‘to drip’ and Komi <i>kištĭnj</i> ‘to pour’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 667; Bereczki et al. 2013: 62)			

Figure 115: Profile of *kâškaš* / *kâškâš¹¹* ‘to throw; to scatter’

4.1.16 *kijaš* / *kiäš¹¹* ‘to lie (to be in a horizontal position)’

This auxiliary is used in 56 pairings in the sources, and in another 44 in the corpus. SMYa states that this verb forms auxiliary constructions “from some transitive and intransitive verbs and adds a durative meaning” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 216; cf. also Chkhaidze 1960: 38; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Serebrennikov 1960: 200).²⁹³ Nikolay Isanbayev likens the Mari verbal pairings to those in Tatar with *jâtuβ* ‘to lie’ and those in Chuvash with *virt* ‘id.’, and adds that the auxiliary indicates “continuity” (Isanbayev 1978: 75).²⁹⁴ However, he speaks of the unequal distribution of verbal pairings with this auxiliary in Mari dialects (ibid.: 76) and notes that “[t]hey are especially widely used in the varieties of the Eastern dialect, where they are also attached to verbs of motion” (ibid.).²⁹⁵ My Hill Mari consultant

²⁹³ “[...] от небольшой группы переходных и непереходных глаголов, выражающих неоднократное или относительно продолжительное действие.”

²⁹⁴ “непрерывность”

²⁹⁵ “Особенно широко они употребляются в говорах восточного наречия, в которых они образуются и от глаголов движения: [...]”

accepted pairings using this verb as grammatical, but it seems quite likely that she accepted them under a literal interpretation of the verb.

The apparent greater frequency of such verbal pairings in the Kipchak languages (Tatar, Bashkir) when compared to Chuvash seems to be a likely explanation for this unequal distribution. In spite of this evidence, though, Gábor Bereczki et al. describe *bučen kijaš* ‘to wait (lit. waiting lie)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 319).

Meadow Mari: <i>kijaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>kiäš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>jātuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>virt</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>bozen kijaš</i>	<i>siren kiäš</i>	<i>jâzâp jātuβ</i>	-	writing lie	to write (systematically)
<i>bučen kijaš</i>	<i>βâčen kiäš</i>	<i>kötöp jātuβ</i>	<i>kětse virt</i>	waiting lie	to wait
<i>orolen kijaš</i>	<i>orolen kiäš</i>	<i>sâqtaβ jātuβ</i>	-	watching lie	to guard
<i>modân kijaš</i>	<i>madân kiäš</i>	<i>ujnaβ jātuβ</i>	-	playing lie	to play
<i>kočkân kijaš</i>	<i>kačkân kiäš</i>	<i>âšap jātuβ</i>	-	eating lie	to eat (systematically)
<i>üşanen kijaš</i>	<i>añänen kiäš</i>	<i>âšanâp jātuβ</i>	-	hoping lie	to hope
<i>jogen kijaš</i> ²⁹⁶	<i>jogen kiäš</i>	<i>âγâp jātuβ</i>	<i>juχsa virt</i>	flowing lie	to flow
<i>šijân kijaš</i>	<i>šin kiäš</i>	<i>suyâp jātuβ</i>	-	threshing lie	to thresh (for a long time)
<i>čerlanen kijaš</i>	<i>cerlänen kiäš</i>	-	<i>šimarlansa virt</i>	being.ill lie	to be ill (for a long time)
<i>neren kijaš</i>	<i>neren kiäš</i>	-	<i>tělërse virt</i>	dozing lie	to slumber
<i>jogâlanen kijaš</i>	<i>jalaχajlanen kiäš</i>	<i>irenep jātuβ</i>	<i>χašarsa virt</i>	being.lazy lie	to be lazy
<i>počañ kijaš</i>	<i>pačañ kiäš</i>	<i>âβnaβ jātuβ</i>	<i>jâšalansa virt</i>	rolling lie	to loll about
<i>šarlen kijaš</i>	<i>šärlen kiäš</i>	<i>žäjelep jātuβ</i>	<i>sarälsa virt</i>	spreading lie	to spread

Figure 116: *kijaš* / *kiäš*¹¹ ‘to lie’ as a durative marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 75–76)

The big Mari-Russian dictionary adds that the activity is carried out in one place (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *кияш*).²⁹⁷ In many cases this facet appears to set this auxiliary apart from other durative markers, as will be discussed in Section 5.1 (page 260).

Valey Kel’makov describes the Udmurt verb *kijl’jnj* ‘to lie’ as a marker for the “processual nature, incompleteness of an action” (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 97)²⁹⁸ – which seems to be in line with the Tatar usage of the equivalent auxiliary.

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 5 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 30 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aralaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to defend oneself’	<i>dokladivatlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to report’	<i>jâgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rub’
<i>bolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to descend’	<i>doložitlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to report’	<i>jâlgâžšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sparkle’
<i>bolgaltasš</i> ¹¹	‘to shine’	<i>eŋaš</i> ¹¹	‘to smoulder’	<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to flow’
<i>bozasš</i> ¹¹	‘to write’	<i>âraš</i> ¹¹	‘to warm up (intr.)’	<i>jogâlanasš</i> ¹¹	‘to be lazy’
<i>bučasš</i> ¹¹	‘to wait’	<i>âštâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>jüaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drink’
<i>čabalanasš</i> ¹¹	‘to fuss, to rush about’	<i>grabitlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rob’	<i>jüštâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bathe’
<i>čerlanasš</i> ¹¹	‘to fall ill’	<i>gruzitlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to load’	<i>kajaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go (away)’
<i>čuzlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hum’	<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>kanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rest’

²⁹⁶ Eastern Mari only

²⁹⁷ “[...] выражает длительность действия, происходящего в одном месте”

²⁹⁸ “[...] процессуальность, незаконченность действия, [...]”

<i>kañârgâžâš¹</i>	'to stretch one's limbs'	<i>orlanaš¹¹</i>	'to suffer'	<i>šâštalgaš¹¹</i>	'to become yellowish'
<i>kočkaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>orolaš¹¹</i>	'to guard'	<i>šijaš¹</i>	'to thresh'
<i>kojaš¹</i>	'to be visible'	<i>peregaltaš¹</i>	'to stay good'	<i>šogaltaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to stand'
<i>kolaš¹¹</i>	'to die'	<i>pâžgaš¹¹</i>	'to hiss'	<i>šokšeštaš¹</i>	'to warm oneself'
<i>korgâktaš¹¹</i>	'to snore'	<i>počanaš¹</i>	'to wriggle'	<i>šolaš¹</i>	'to boil (intr.)'
<i>koštaš¹</i>	'to go'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>šujnaltaš¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'
<i>kredalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>pošaš¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'	<i>šujnaš¹¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'
<i>kučaltaš¹</i>	'to get caught'	<i>pošârnaš¹¹</i>	'to have nightmares'	<i>šurgaš¹¹</i>	'to be noisy'
<i>kuržtalaš¹</i>	'to run'	<i>pördalaš¹</i>	'to roll (intr.)'	<i>šužaš¹¹</i>	'to get hungry'
<i>küpaš¹¹</i>	'to swell'	<i>pörtâlaš¹</i>	'to return (intr.)'	<i>šüjaš¹</i>	'to rot'
<i>lodârlanaš¹¹</i>	'to loaf, to idle'	<i>purgedaš¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>šülaš¹¹</i>	'to breathe'
<i>loktâlaš¹</i>	'to spoil'	<i>püčkaš¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>šüşkaš¹</i>	'to shove'
<i>lökaš¹¹</i>	'to drink greedily'	<i>rüdaŋaš¹</i>	'to rust'	<i>temaš¹¹</i>	'to fill (tr.)'
<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>rüžgaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'	<i>tolaš¹</i>	'to come'
<i>lukeštaltaš¹</i>	'to wind, to curve'	<i>sogâššaš¹¹</i>	'to wage war'	<i>tolašaš¹¹</i>	'to try'
<i>luktaš¹</i>	'to lead out'	<i>solaš¹¹</i>	'to mow'	<i>torgajaš¹¹</i>	'to deal in'
<i>luštârtaš¹¹</i>	'to weaken (tr.)'	<i>zavoditlaš¹¹</i>	'to start, to wind up'	<i>toškaltaš¹¹</i>	'to be trampled'
<i>lünğaltaš¹</i>	'to rock (intr.)'	<i>zanimatlaš¹¹</i>	'to study'	<i>tuješkaš¹¹</i>	'to get sick'
<i>lüškaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'	<i>zapravitlaš¹¹</i>	'to fill up (tr.)'	<i>udârkalaš¹¹</i>	'to strike sharply'
<i>lüžgâraš¹¹</i>	'to rustle'	<i>zařaditlaš¹¹</i>	'to load (tr.)'	<i>užargaš¹¹</i>	'to turn green'
<i>modaš¹</i>	'to play'	<i>zvonitlaš¹¹</i>	'to ring'	<i>üčašaš¹¹</i>	'to compete'
<i>muškaš¹</i>	'to wash'	<i>zvonitlâlaš¹</i>	'to ring'	<i>üdaš¹¹</i>	'to sow'
<i>neraš¹¹</i>	'to doze'	<i>šalanâlaš¹</i>	'to be scattered'	<i>üpšaltaš¹</i>	'to (emit a) smell'
<i>okaš¹¹</i>	'to read'	<i>šarlaltaš¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'	<i>üşanaš¹¹</i>	'to believe'
<i>oñčaš¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šarlaš¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'		
<i>oraltaš¹</i>	'to accumulate (intr.)'	<i>šâlaš¹</i>	'to hide (intr.)'		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual marker for durativity, continuity		
Distribution etc.	Mari (esp. Eastern), Tatar, Bashkir, Udmurt, Chuvash (limited)		
Literary pairings	Sources: 56	Corpus: 44	Total: 100
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kijl'ïnj</i>	Tatar: <i>jâtuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>jâtâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>vîrt</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>kujz-</i> 'to lie', cognates include Udmurt <i>kijl'ïnj</i> 'id.' and Sosva (Northern) Mansi <i>χuj-</i> 'id.' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 197; Bereczki et al. 2013: 62–63)		

Figure 117: Profile of *kijaš* / *kiäš¹¹* 'to lie'

4.1.17 *kodaš* / *kodaš¹¹* 'to stay'

Nikolay Isanbayev states that verbal pairings with this verb “are formed from intransitive and transitive verbs and denote the completion of an action, with an implication of the onset of a result” (Isanbayev 1978: 78; cf. also Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *кодаш* I; Beke 1911: 161; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 49–50).²⁹⁹ SMYa defines it in a similar fashion, but notes that it is coupled with (only) some intransitive verbs and describes the result as “evident” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 212).³⁰⁰ In fact, the verbs coupled with this modifier are overwhelmingly intransitive – transitive verbs tend to be coupled with this verb’s transitive counterpart, *kodaš* / *kodaš¹¹* ‘to leave something’ – see Section 4.1.18 (page 162) – which has a very similar function as an auxiliary. Boris Serebrennikov notes that the verb is sometimes used in combination with verbs “the execution of which is accompanied by an acoustic result” (Serebrennikov 1960: 195),³⁰¹ e.g. *šüsken kodaš* ‘to whizz (lit. whistling stay)’ (ibid.).

²⁹⁹ “Составные глаголы этого класса образуются от непереходных и переходных глаголов и обозначают законченность действия с оттенком возникновения результата: [...]”

³⁰⁰ “[...] придает им значение законченности действия с оттенком возникновения очевидного результата.”

³⁰¹ “Иногда употребляется с глаголами, обозначающими действия, завершение которых сопровождается акустическим результатом, [...]”

Tatar *qâtuβ* ‘to stay’, Bashkir *qâťâβ* ‘id.’, and Chuvash *jul* ‘id.’ seem to work in an analogous fashion to *kodaš* / *kodaš*¹ (Isanbayev 1978: 78; Landmann 2015: 101). Gábor Bereczki et al. equate the usage of this verb to the usage of its Chuvash counterpart and speak of Chuvash loan translations in Mari (Bereczki et al. 2013: 68).

Meadow Mari: <i>kodaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>kodaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>qâtuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>jul</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jomân kodaš</i>	<i>jamân kodaš</i>	<i>juyatâp qâtuβ</i>	<i>šukalsa jul</i>	disappearing stay	to disappear
<i>ojârlen kodaš</i>	<i>ajârlen kodaš</i>	<i>âjârâtâp qâtuβ</i>	<i>târsa jul</i>	going.apart stay	to be left behind
<i>utlen kodaš</i>	<i>âtlen kodaš</i>	<i>qotolop qâtuβ</i>	<i>χâtâlsa jul</i>	escaping stay	to escape
<i>ondalalt kodaš</i>	<i>altalalt kodaš</i>	<i>âmsânâp qâtuβ</i>	<i>ultalan jul</i>	being.deceived stay	to be deceived
<i>malen kodaš</i>	<i>amalen kodaš</i>	<i>joqtap qâtuβ</i>	<i>šivârsa jul</i>	sleeping stay	to oversleep
<i>šîńćen kodaš</i>	<i>šânzen kodaš</i>	<i>utârâp qâtuβ</i>	<i>larsa jul</i>	sitting stay	to remain seated
<i>šižân kodaš</i>	-	<i>sizep qâtuβ</i>	<i>asârχasa jul</i>	feeling stay	to notice
<i>šâlân kodaš</i>	<i>šâlân kodaš</i>	<i>qâšâp qâtuβ</i>	-	hiding stay	to conceal oneself

Figure 118: *kodaš* / *kodaš*¹ ‘to stay’ marking a completed action (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 78)

Isanbayev notes that in Mari and Chuvash, the auxiliary can in some pairings indicate “the completeness, excessiveness of the manifestation of an event” (Isanbayev 1978: 78).

Meadow Mari: <i>kodaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>kodaš</i> ¹	Chuvash: <i>jul</i>	Translation	
			Literal	Idiomatic
<i>koštân kodaš</i>	<i>kaštân kodaš</i>	-	going stay	to have a long walk
<i>ojlasen kodaš</i>	<i>popen kodaš</i>	-	talking stay	to have a long talk
<i>modân kodaš</i>	<i>madân kodaš</i>	<i>vil’asa jul</i>	playing stay	to play for a long time
<i>ońćen kodaš</i>	<i>anžen kodaš</i>	<i>pâχsa jul</i>	seeing stay	to see a lot ³⁰²
<i>kočkân kodaš</i>	<i>kačkân kodaš</i>	<i>šise jul</i>	eating stay	to eat a lot

Figure 119: *kodaš* / *kodaš*¹ ‘to stay’ marking completeness, excessiveness (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 78–79)

Valey Kel’makov notes that the Udmurt counterpart to this verb, *kij’jnj*, occurs in auxiliary constructions, but does not comment on its usage in these (Kel’makov 1975: 103).

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 41 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβâraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be surrounded’	<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>kijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lie’
<i>aralaltaš</i> ¹	‘to defend oneself’	<i>išaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be pressed’	<i>kočkaš</i> ¹	‘to eat’
<i>βelaltaš</i> ¹	‘to spill (intr.)’	<i>jarsaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become free’	<i>kojaš</i> ¹	‘to be visible’
<i>βolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to descend’	<i>ješaraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be added’	<i>koraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be scratched’
<i>βolgaltaš</i> ¹	‘to shine’	<i>jâmaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be blinded’	<i>koštaš</i> ¹	‘to go’
<i>βüdâlaltaš</i> ¹	‘to wrap up (intr.)’	<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to flow’	<i>kuanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be happy’
<i>čaraŋaš</i> ¹	‘to bare oneself’	<i>jomaš</i> ¹	‘to disappear’	<i>kučaltaš</i> ¹	‘to get caught’
<i>čâtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tolerate’	<i>jongaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sound’	<i>kuklaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be cleared’
<i>čučaš</i> ¹	‘to seem’	<i>katlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to break off (intr.)’	<i>kumalaš</i> ¹	‘to pray’
<i>ertaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go by’	<i>kelgemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be imprinted’	<i>lakemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to form pits’
<i>gul’ajaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go for a walk’	<i>kânelaš</i> ¹	‘to get up’	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	‘to be; to become’

³⁰² One of my consultants strongly preferred a literal interpretation of this pairing and the following one: “to stay, observing something”, and “to stay, eating”.

<i>lodaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be marked’	<i>pajdalanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to use’	<i>šińčas</i> ¹¹	‘to sit’
<i>lodemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to deepen (intr.)’	<i>palemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be marked’	<i>šižas</i> ¹	‘to feel’
<i>logalaš</i> ¹	‘to touch’	<i>pečataltaš</i> ¹	‘to be published’	<i>šogalaš</i> ¹	‘to stand up’
<i>lojgaltaš</i> ¹	‘to sway (intr.)’	<i>pernaš</i> ¹¹	‘to strike against (intr.)’	<i>šogaltâlaš</i> ¹	‘to put, to stand’
<i>lojgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sway (intr.)’	<i>pižas</i> ¹	‘to stick (intr.)’	<i>šogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stand’
<i>lüdâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to frighten’	<i>punaltaš</i> ¹	‘to curl up’	<i>šokaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be sifted’
<i>lünğaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>pustaņaš</i> ¹	‘to become empty’	<i>šoktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be heard; to play’
<i>malaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sleep’	<i>pužaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be broken’	<i>šolaš</i> ¹	‘to boil (intr.)’
<i>močâlaņaš</i> ¹	‘to fray (intr.)’	<i>püčkâltaš</i> ¹	‘to cut oneself’	<i>šortaš</i> ¹	‘to cry’
<i>modaš</i> ¹	‘to play’	<i>pütârnaltaš</i> ¹	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>šujnaltaš</i> ¹	‘to stretch out (intr.)’
<i>mondaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be forgotten’	<i>pütârnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to curl (intr.)’	<i>šüşkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to whistle’
<i>muraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be sung’	<i>saklanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to beware of’	<i>takârtaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be trodden’
<i>muraš</i> ¹¹	‘to sing’	<i>solnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be heard’	<i>tâlanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wish’
<i>nalaš</i> ¹	‘to take’	<i>surgaltaš</i> ¹	‘to ring out’	<i>toškaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be trampled’
<i>neraš</i> ¹¹	‘to doze’	<i>sümâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to demolish’	<i>toštemaš</i> ¹	‘to become old’
<i>nöltaltaš</i> ¹	‘to rise’	<i>sümârlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to collapse’	<i>turlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to settle (intr.)’
<i>ojârlaš</i> ¹	‘to go apart’	<i>süretlaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be painted’	<i>türgaltaš</i> ¹	‘to rise, to whirl’
<i>ojlasaš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>šarnaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be remembered’	<i>urnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be covered’
<i>ondalaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be deceived’	<i>šarnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to remember’	<i>užaš</i> ¹	‘to see’
<i>ońčas</i> ¹¹	‘to look’	<i>šâlaš</i> ¹	‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>utaraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be saved’
<i>ońčâktaltaš</i> ¹	‘to appear’	<i>šâņaš</i> ¹¹	‘to fit (intr.)’	<i>utaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become superfluous’
<i>öraš</i> ¹	‘to be surprised’	<i>šińčas</i> ¹	‘to sit down’	<i>utlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to escape’

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs, very sporadically with transitive verbs
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual modifier for completed actions with implication that an evident result remains Aspectual modifier for complete, excessive manifestation of an event
Distribution etc.	As marker for completed actions, Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, possibly Udmurt. As marker for excessive manifestation, only in Mari and Chuvash.
Literary pairings	Sources: 65 Corpus: 34 Total: 99
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kij’jnj</i> Tatar: <i>qâtuβ</i> Bashkir: <i>qâťâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>jul</i>
Etymology	< *PU *kaδ’a- ‘to let, to leave, to stay’, cognates include Estonian <i>kaduma</i> ‘to be lost’, Udmurt <i>kij’jnj</i> ‘to stay’, Hungarian <i>hagy-</i> ‘to leave’, Nganasan <i>kousa</i> ‘to stay’. Same origin as Mari verb <i>kodaš / kodaš</i> ¹¹ ‘to leave something’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 115–116; Bereczki et al. 2013: 67–68).

Figure 120: Profile of *kodaš / kodaš*¹ ‘to stay’

4.1.18 *kodaš / kodaš*¹¹ ‘to leave something’

This verb is the transitive counterpart of *kodaš / kodaš*¹ ‘to stay’ – see Section 4.1.17 (page 160) – in its lexical meaning, and auxiliary constructions formed with it are “very close to [auxiliary constructions] of the previous group – they indicate the completion of an action, with an implication of the onset of a result and are only formed from transitive verbs” (Isanbayev 1978: 79; cf. also Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *кодаш* II; Moio 1992: 104; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 49–50).³⁰³ SMYa states that the auxiliary connects to “some”³⁰⁴ transitive verbs (Pengitov et al. 1961: 212). Tatar *qâtdârub* and Chuvash *ħâvar* seem to be used in a similar manner, though Nikolay Isanbayev notes that the (intransitive) verb *qâtuβ* is used instead of it in some cases (Isanbayev 1978: 79). Gábor Bereczki et al. see the usage of this verb and that of its Chuvash counterpart as equivalent and speak of Chuvash loan translations in Mari (Bereczki et al. 2013: 68; cf. also *ibid.*: 83). Valey Kel’makov gives some usage examples of Udmurt *kel’ťjnj* ‘to leave something’ used as an auxiliary that are consistent

³⁰³ “[...] очень близки к составным глаголам предыдущей группы — они обозначают законченность действия с оттенком достижения результата и образуются только от переходных глаголов: [...]”

³⁰⁴ “некоторых”

with the usage of its counterparts in Mari, Tatar, and Chuvash, but he makes no further comments on the verb's semantics as an auxiliary (Kel'makov 1975: 103).

Meadow Mari: <i>kodaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>kodaš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>qâtdâruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>χăvar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>monden kodaš</i>	<i>monden kodaš</i>	<i>onotop qâtdâruβ</i>	<i>mansa χăvar</i>	forgetting leave	to forget
<i>tojen kodaš</i>	<i>tajen kodaš</i>	<i>bâsâp qâtdâruβ</i>	-	hiding leave	to hide
<i>üşandaren kodaš</i>	<i>âhândären kodaš</i>	<i>âmsândârâp qâtdâruβ</i>	-	assuring leave	to give hope
<i>šâltten kodaš</i>	<i>šâltten kodaš</i>	<i>jomop qâtdâruβ</i>	-	concealing leave	to conceal
<i>kalasen kodaš</i>	<i>kelesen kodaš</i>	-	<i>kalasa χăvar</i>	saying leave	to instruct
<i>üden kodaš</i>	<i>üden kodaš</i>	-	<i>aksa χăvar</i>	sowing leave	to sow

Figure 121: *kodaš* / *kodaš^{II}* 'to leave sth.' marking a completed action (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 79)

Boris Serebrennikov describes the group of auxiliary constructions formed with this verb as “curiously similar”³⁰⁵ to those formed with the auxiliary *šândaš* / *šândäš^{II}* ‘to put, to place’ (Serebrennikov 1960: 194) – see Section 4.1.47 (page 219). He continues that “[t]he initial difference between [verbs with *šândaš* / *šândäš^{II}* on the one hand and those with *kodaš* / *kodaš^{II}* on the other] consisted, it seems, in that in the first case the result of the action was viewed as more enduring [...]. However, this distinction has in the present day, apparently, almost disappeared, and the meaning of these classes is sometimes rather difficult to differentiate” (ibid.).³⁰⁶ My consultant suggested that the difference between *kodaš* / *kodaš^{II}* and the other verbs under consideration lies more in what the subject of the action does after the action is carried out: the usage of *kodaš* / *kodaš^{II}* implies that the subject leaves after the action is carried out.

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 11 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 12 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 18 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 19 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 22 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 33 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 48 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 7 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 46 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 48 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 28 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 29 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 31 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 38 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 42 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 43 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 52 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 53 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 54 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	WICH: 2 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβâzlaš^{II}</i>	‘to taste’	<i>joktaraš^{II}</i>	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>kudašaš^{II}</i>	‘to take off’
<i>agaš^{II}</i>	‘to rob’	<i>jolâštaš^{II}</i>	‘to tie up’	<i>kuralaš^{II}</i>	‘to plough’
<i>almaštâlaš^{II}</i>	‘to replace’	<i>jomdaraš^{II}</i>	‘to lose, to misplace’	<i>kürlaš^{II}</i>	‘to tear off (tr. & intr.)’
<i>amârtâlaš^{II}</i>	‘to soil’	<i>jonlâktaraš^{II}</i>	‘to stun’	<i>küştaš^{II}</i>	‘to order’
<i>anâklaš^{II}</i>	‘to economize’	<i>jülaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to burn (tr.)’	<i>lebedaš^{II}</i>	‘to cover’
<i>aralaš^{II}</i>	‘to defend’	<i>kalasaš^{II}</i>	‘to say’	<i>lâplandaraš^{II}</i>	‘to calm down (tr.)’
<i>βisaš^{II}</i>	‘to weigh’	<i>kargaš^{II}</i>	‘to curse’	<i>lobâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to sway’
<i>βolgaltaraš^{II}</i>	‘to illuminate’	<i>kâraš^{II}</i>	‘to beat’	<i>lodemdaš^{II}</i>	‘to outline’
<i>βoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to lower’	<i>kâzândaraš^{II}</i>	‘to interest’	<i>loktasš^{II}</i>	‘to hex’
<i>βozaš^{II}</i>	‘to write’	<i>kâškalaš^{II}</i>	‘to pour out (tr.)’	<i>loktâlaš^{II}</i>	‘to spoil’
<i>ertaš^{II}</i>	‘to go by’	<i>kâškaš^{II}</i>	‘to throw’	<i>luktedaš^{II}</i>	‘to take out’
<i>âštaš^{II}</i>	‘to do’	<i>kondaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring’	<i>lupšalaš^{II}</i>	‘to whip’
<i>jamdâlaš^{II}</i>	‘to prepare (tr.)’	<i>korkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to scratch, to furrow’	<i>lupšaltaraš^{II}</i>	‘to swing (tr.)’
<i>jarnaš^{II}</i>	‘to believe, to trust’	<i>kučaš^{II}</i>	‘to hold’	<i>lupšaš^{II}</i>	‘to whip’
<i>jastaraš^{II}</i>	‘to unload’	<i>kučâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to hand’	<i>lüdâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to frighten’
<i>jâštaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide (tr.)’	<i>kudaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to throw (out)’	<i>lûjaš^{II}</i>	‘to shoot’

³⁰⁵ “необычайно близок”

³⁰⁶ “Первоначальное различие между 6-м и 7-м классами составных глаголов состояло, очевидно, в том, что в первом случае результат действия рассматривался как более продолжительный, [...]. Однако это различие в настоящее время, по-видимому, почти утрачено, и значение этих классов иногда разграничить довольно трудно, [...]”

<i>lūmdaš¹¹</i>	‘to name’	<i>počkaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to shake off’	<i>šāltaš¹¹</i>	‘to hide (tr.)’
<i>lūmdālaš¹</i>	‘to call names’	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>šāndaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to place’
<i>l’apkaš¹¹</i>	‘to chatter’	<i>pomāžaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to wake up (tr.)’	<i>šāndaš¹</i>	‘to put, to set’
<i>māskālaš¹¹</i>	‘to mock’	<i>poñāžaš¹</i>	‘to singe’	<i>šārpeštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to splinter (tr.)’
<i>mondaš¹¹</i>	‘to forget’	<i>puas¹¹</i>	‘to give’	<i>šogaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to stand’
<i>muñčas¹¹</i>	‘to lay (eggs)’	<i>purtas¹¹</i>	‘to bring in’	<i>šolaš¹¹</i>	‘to throw’
<i>muraš¹¹</i>	‘to sing’	<i>puštaš¹</i>	‘to kill’	<i>šortaraš¹¹</i>	‘to drive to tears’
<i>mūlas¹¹</i>	‘to bury’	<i>pūčkedaš¹¹</i>	‘to cut’	<i>šuaš¹¹</i>	‘to throw; to desert’
<i>namijaš¹¹</i>	‘to bring’	<i>rožgaš¹¹</i>	‘to smash up’	<i>šūdaš¹¹</i>	‘to order’
<i>naŋgajaš¹¹</i>	‘to take, to lead’	<i>ruaš¹¹</i>	‘to chop’	<i>šūraš¹¹</i>	‘to strain, to filter’
<i>nāšlas¹¹</i>	‘to thrash’	<i>sabaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend (tr.)’	<i>šūškālaš¹</i>	‘to slaughter’
<i>nultaš¹¹</i>	‘to gnaw’	<i>sabāralaš¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>tarβataš¹¹</i>	‘to move (tr.)’
<i>numalaš¹</i>	‘to carry’	<i>sajlaš¹¹</i>	‘to elect’	<i>tojaš¹¹</i>	‘to hide, to bury’
<i>nūžaš¹</i>	‘to flog’	<i>sakalaš¹¹</i>	‘to hang up’	<i>toškaš¹¹</i>	‘to trample’
<i>nūžaš¹¹</i>	‘to rub’	<i>sakaš¹¹</i>	‘to hang up’	<i>tōpkaš¹¹</i>	‘to beat’
<i>ojāraš¹¹</i>	‘to separate’	<i>saklaš¹¹</i>	‘to protect’	<i>tučas¹</i>	‘to hit’
<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>sdatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to hand over’	<i>tunāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to teach’
<i>onđalaš¹¹</i>	‘to deceive’	<i>seraš¹¹</i>	‘to write’	<i>tuškaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to dip, to shove’
<i>oñčāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to show’	<i>solaš¹¹</i>	‘to mow’	<i>tūkaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (tr.)’
<i>optalaš¹</i>	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>sugāñlaš¹¹</i>	‘to bless’	<i>tūkālaš¹¹</i>	‘to lock’
<i>optaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>sulaš¹¹</i>	‘to redeem something’	<i>tūlaš¹¹</i>	‘to pay’
<i>optāšlaš¹¹</i>	‘to set a snare’	<i>suralaš¹¹</i>	‘to lock up’	<i>tūŋalaš¹</i>	‘to begin’
<i>oskorbitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to insult’	<i>susārtaš¹¹</i>	‘to wound’	<i>udāralaš¹</i>	‘to strike’
<i>palemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to mark’	<i>sūβāzaltaš¹</i>	‘to be peeled’	<i>uraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to strew’
<i>peraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to clap’	<i>sūmāralaš¹</i>	‘to bring down’	<i>uraš¹¹</i>	‘to bury’
<i>peregaš¹¹</i>	‘to preserve’	<i>sūretlaš¹¹</i>	‘to draw, to paint’	<i>urgaš¹¹</i>	‘to sew’
<i>petāraš¹¹</i>	‘to close (tr.)’	<i>zaveššatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to bequeath’	<i>užalaš¹¹</i>	‘to sell’
<i>pādalaš¹</i>	‘to protect’	<i>zapravitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to fill up (tr.)’	<i>utaraš¹¹</i>	‘to save’
<i>pāzārāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to press’	<i>zarađitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to load (tr.)’	<i>utāktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to put aside’
<i>pāštaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to place’	<i>zoritlaš¹¹</i>	‘to ravage’	<i>ūdaš¹¹</i>	‘to sow’
<i>pižāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to fasten’	<i>šalatālaš¹</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’	<i>ūšanaš¹¹</i>	‘to believe’
<i>počāltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to develop (tr.)’	<i>šapašlaš¹¹</i>	‘to stock’	<i>ūšandaraš¹¹</i>	‘to assure’
<i>počkalaš¹</i>	‘to shake off (tr.)’	<i>šelaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’	<i>ūštaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual modifier for completed actions with implication that an evident result remains 		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Udmurt?		
Literary pairings	Sources: 82	Corpus: 65	Total: 147
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kel’ŋinj</i>	Tatar: <i>qātdāruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>qātdārāβ</i> Chuvash: <i>χāvar</i>
Etymology	<p>< *PU *kaδ’a- ‘to let, to leave, to stay’, cognates include Estonian <i>kaduma</i> ‘to be lost’, Udmurt <i>kij’ŋinj</i> ‘to stay’, Hungarian <i>hagy-</i> ‘to leave’, Nganasan <i>kousa</i> ‘to stay’. Same origin as Mari verb <i>kodaš</i> / <i>kodaš¹</i> ‘to stay’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 115–116; Bereczki et al. 2013: 67–68).</p>		

Figure 122: Profile of *kodaš* / *kodaš¹* ‘to leave something’

4.1.19 *koltaš* / *koltaš¹¹* ‘to let go; to send’

With 317 different verbal pairings marked as auxiliary constructions in my sources and another 58 in the corpus, this verb seems to find the widest usage of all auxiliaries, at least as regards the range of verbs with which it is coupled. It is universally classified as an auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 88; Moisio 1992: 108; Beke 1911: 162; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: колташ; Serebrennikov 1960: 190–191; Savatkova 2008: 99).

Mikhail Chkhaidze claims that this auxiliary is coupled “with the most diverse verbs” (Chkhaidze 1960: 40)³⁰⁷ and notes that its usage outweighs that of other comparable auxiliaries by a factor of 3:1 (ibid: 39).³⁰⁸ Nikolay Isanbayev makes the to me unclear assertion that this auxiliary is “in principle attached to semantically homogenous verbs” (Isanbayev 1978: 63).³⁰⁹ SMYa states that the verb is connected to “some transitive and intransitive verbs” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 204).³¹⁰

Isanbayev distinguishes between three fundamental usage situations of this auxiliary. In all of these Tatar *žibärüb* ‘to send; to let go’ and Chuvash *jar* ‘id.’ (ibid.: 63–65) are counterparts of the Mari verb; Bashkir *jebäreβ* ‘id.’ (cf. Landmann 2015: 101) seems to behave in an analogous fashion. Valey Kel’makov assigns two functions to the Udmurt verb *ležjnj* ‘id.’ as an auxiliary: that of a marker of the “completion of a prolonged action” and that of a marker of the “intensity and completion of the initial phase of an action” (Kel’makov 1975: 96);³¹¹ these functions seem to roughly line up with the first two given by Isanbayev for this verb’s Mari counterpart, as detailed below.

Verbal pairings of this type seem to be ubiquitous in the Volga-Kama Region. Gábor Bereczki et al. at least partially credit Chuvash for the emergence of these structures in Mari, defining *joktaren koltaš* ‘to let something down a stream (lit. pouring send)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 33).

The first function defined by Isanbayev for this auxiliary is that as a marker for “a single momentary action, often hinting at unexpectedness” (Isanbayev 1978: 63).³¹² SMYa here speaks of “the meaning of a single completion of an activity” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 204).³¹³

Meadow Mari: <i>koltaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>koltaš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>žibärüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>jar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βelen koltaš</i>	<i>βilen koltaš</i>	<i>tügep žibärüb</i>	<i>täksa jar</i>	spilling send	to spill
<i>kušket koltaš</i>	<i>käšket koltaš</i>	<i>jertep žibärüb</i>	<i>šursa jar</i>	tearing send	to rip
<i>käčkâral koltaš</i>	<i>səgäräl koltaš</i>	<i>qäšqärâp žibärüb</i>	<i>käškärsa jar</i>	shouting send	to cry out
<i>nelân koltaš</i>	<i>nelän koltaš</i>	<i>jotop žibärüb</i>	<i>šätsa jar</i>	swallowing send	to swallow
<i>lüjen koltaš</i>	<i>lüen koltaš</i>	<i>ätâp žibärüb</i>	<i>perse jar</i>	shooting send	to take a shot
<i>jülaten koltaš</i>	<i>jäläten koltaš</i>	<i>qâbâzâp žibärüb</i>	<i>čertse jar</i>	burning send	to burn
<i>soβen koltaš</i>	<i>sabēn koltaš</i>	<i>šâbâp žibärüb</i>	<i>šapsa jar</i>	slapping send	to give a slap
<i>čūmal koltaš</i>	<i>čämäl koltaš</i>	<i>tibep žibärüb</i>	<i>tapsa jar</i>	kicking send	to kick
<i>šūkal koltaš</i>	<i>šäkäl koltaš</i>	<i>törtöp žibärüb</i>	<i>tértse jar</i>	pushing send	to shove
<i>sümâren koltaš</i>	-	<i>âβdarâp žibärüb</i>	<i>tünterse jar</i>	bringing down send	to topple

Figure 123: *koltaš* / *koltaš^{II}* ‘to let go; to send’ as a momentary / unexpectedness-marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 63–64)

The second group Isanbayev speaks of are ingressive auxiliary constructions that “denote the beginning of an action with a hint at unexpectedness and momentariness” (Isanbayev 1978: 64; cf. also Pengitov et al. 1961: 204).³¹⁴

³⁰⁷ “спаривается с самыми различными глаголам”

³⁰⁸ “Если сравнить его с другими целеустремленными модификаторами — с *налаш*, *пуаш*, *пыташ*, *пытараш* и т. д., то частота употребления *колташ* по сравнению с ними выразится в пропорции 3:1.”

³⁰⁹ “[...] образуются в основном от семантически однородных глаголов [...]”

³¹⁰ “[...] от некоторых переходных и непереходных глаголов [...]”

³¹¹ “а) завершенность длительного действия, [...] б) интенсивность и завершенность начального этапа действия; [...]”

³¹² “[...] однократно-мгновенное действие, часто с оттенком неожиданности; [...]”

³¹³ “а) значение однократной законченности действия.”

³¹⁴ “[...] обозначающие начало действия с оттенком неожиданности и мгновенности [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>žibärüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>jar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>boštâl koltaš</i>	<i>baštâl koltaš</i>	<i>kölöp žibärüβ</i>	<i>kulsa jar</i>	laughing send	to burst out laughing
<i>kuštalten koltaš</i>	<i>kuštalten koltaš</i>	<i>bijep žibärüβ</i>	<i>tašalasa jar</i>	dancing send	to start to dance
<i>muralten koltaš</i>	<i>mâralten koltaš</i>	<i>žêrtap žibärüβ</i>	<i>jurlasa jar</i>	singing send	to break into song
<i>šortân koltaš</i>	<i>mägären koltaš</i>	<i>jêrtap žibärüβ</i>	<i>jêrse jar</i>	crying send	to burst into tears
<i>šüşkalten koltaš</i>	<i>šiskalten koltaš</i>	<i>sâzyârâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>šăxârtsa jar</i>	whistling send	to begin to whistle
<i>küdârten koltaš</i>	<i>χadârten koltaš</i>	<i>kükrâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>kêmsêrtetse jar</i>	thundering send	to begin to thunder
<i>urmâžalten koltaš</i>	<i>urmâž koltaš</i>	<i>uŭap žibärüβ</i>	<i>ulase jar</i>	howling send	to begin to howl
<i>šupšân koltaš</i>	<i>šâpšân koltaš</i>	<i>köjratêp žibärüβ</i>	<i>turtsa jar</i>	smoking send	to light up

Figure 124: *koltaš* / *koltaš*¹¹ ‘to let go; to send’ primarily denoting ingressiveness (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 64)

In combination with (transitive) verbs of motion, Isanbayev notes that the verb can denote “movement away from the speaker” (*ibid.*: 64).³¹⁵ The same correction is necessary here that was necessary in reference to the intransitive verb *kajaš* / *keäš*¹¹ ‘to go (away); to leave’ – see Section 4.1.12 (page 149): the reference point need not necessarily be the speaker.

Meadow Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>žibärüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>jar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>joktaren koltaš</i>	<i>joktaren koltaš</i>	<i>âyzâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>juxtarsa jar</i>	pouring send	to let down a stream
<i>ojâren koltaš</i>	<i>ajâren koltaš</i>	<i>âjârâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>ujârsa jar</i>	separating send	to divorce
<i>luktân koltaš</i>	<i>lâktân koltaš</i>	<i>šâyârâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>kâlarsa jar</i>	taking out send	to let out
<i>pokten koltaš</i>	<i>pokten koltaš</i>	<i>qubatap žibärüβ</i>	<i>χâvalasa jar</i>	driving send	to drive away
<i>pörtâlten koltaš</i>	<i>pörtâlten koltaš</i>	<i>qâjtarâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>tavârsa jar</i>	returning send	to send back
<i>užaten koltaš</i>	<i>âžaten koltaš</i>	<i>ozatâp žibärüβ</i>	<i>âsatsa jar</i>	accompanying send	to see off
<i>pördâkten koltaš</i>	<i>pördâkten koltaš</i>	<i>tägârâtep žibärüβ</i>	<i>kustarsa jar</i>	rolling send	to set rolling
<i>mučâštaren koltaš</i>	<i>mâčâšlen koltaš</i>	<i>šišep žibärüβ</i>	<i>vêšse jar</i>	releasing send	to unchain

Figure 125: *koltaš* / *koltaš*¹¹ ‘to let go; to send’ denoting movement away (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 64)

SMYa defines a further function for this auxiliary: its authors state that in some verbal pairings this auxiliary “carries out the role of an embellishing word and in its meaning is similar to the diminutive suffix *-al*” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 204**).³¹⁶ Alho Alhoniemi assigns a “diminutive-caressing”³¹⁷ meaning to this derivational suffix (**Alhoniemi 1985: 163**). SMYa provides its readers with two examples

³¹⁵ “[...] значение движения от говорящего лица; [...]”

³¹⁶ “в) в некоторых составных глаголах глагол *колташ* выполняет роль украшающего слова и по значению приближается к ласкательному суффиксу *-ал*, [...]”

³¹⁷ “deminutiivis-hellittelevä”

illustrating this function of the auxiliary, but even with these, it is difficult to pinpoint this aspect exactly. To my knowledge, no other relevant source has discussed it.

(108 – Mari – Pengitov et al. 1961: 204)

‘Шаренгер энгер серже дене төр йоген колта [...].’

šareŋer	eŋer	ser	-že	dene	tör	jog	-en	kolt	-a	[...]
Sharenger	river	shore	-3SG	with	together	flow	-CVB	let.go	-3SG	
n	n	n	-poss	po	adv	v	-adv	v	-pers	

‘The river Sharenger flows, filled to the shore, [...]’³¹⁸

‘Орѣн вате [...] тувырым чиен колтен.’

orjeŋ	bate	[...]	tuβâr	-âm	čij	-en	kolt	-en	-∅
bride	woman		dress	-ACC	put.on	-CVB	let.go	-PST2	-3SG
n	n		n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The young married woman put on her dress [...]’³¹⁹

Without discussing specific facets of this verb’s usage as an auxiliary, Isanbayev notes the unequal distribution of pairings using these auxiliaries in the Volga-Kama Region: there are numerous pairings in Mari that have counterparts using the equivalent auxiliary in Tatar but not in Chuvash, and numerous ones that have counterparts with the equivalent auxiliary in Chuvash but not in Tatar. He notes that those pairings that line up in Mari and Chuvash are in particular found “in the dialects of speakers living in immediate proximity to Chuvash” (Isanbayev 1978: 64–65).³²⁰

Meadow Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ³¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>koltaš</i> ³¹¹	Tatar: <i>žibärüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>jar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>monden koltaš</i>	<i>monden koltaš</i>	<i>onotop žibärüβ</i>	-	forgetting send	to forget
<i>jükšemden koltaš</i>	<i>jualten koltaš</i>	<i>subâtâp žibärüβ</i>	-	growing.cold send	to become cold
<i>šüβal koltaš</i>	<i>šäβäl koltaš</i>	<i>tököröp žibärüβ</i>	-	spitting send	to spit out
<i>βijaŋden koltaš</i>	<i>βiäŋgden koltaš</i>	-	<i>väjłatsa jar</i>	strengthening send	to strengthen
<i>optalten koltaš</i>	<i>opten koltaš</i>	-	<i>vërse jar</i>	barking send	to begin to bark
<i>šaralten koltaš</i>	<i>šärälten koltaš</i>	-	<i>sarsa jar</i>	stretching send	to stretch out
<i>poŋâžaltaren koltaš</i>	<i>poŋâžaltaren koltaš</i>	-	<i>vărătsa jar</i>	waking.up send	to wake up (by accident)
<i>šuen koltaš</i>	<i>šuen koltaš</i>	-	<i>vărăntarsa jar</i>	throwing send	to fling
<i>kočkân koltaš</i>	<i>kačkân koltaš</i>	-	<i>šise jar</i>	eating send	to eat up

Figure 126: *koltaš* / *koltaš*³¹¹ ‘to let go; to send’: unequal distribution (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 64–65)

³¹⁸ “Река Шаренгер течет, наполненная до края берегов, как зеркало, сверкает на солнце.”

³¹⁹ “Молодуха надела длинное полотняное платье с украшениями.”

³²⁰ “[...] в диалектах, носители которых живут в непосредственной близости с чувашоком, [...]”

Isanbayev also notes that in contrast to Chuvash and Tatar, the verbs with which this auxiliary is used in Mari are often themselves already (morphologically) derived. He speaks of the “dual expression of momentariness” (*ibid.*: 65)³²¹ using the (productive) momentary derivational suffixes *-al* (cf. **Alhoniemi 1985: 163**) and *-alt* (cf. *ibid.*: 160):

- *ćumas*^{II} ‘to kick’ > *ćumalaš*^I ‘to kick (once)’ > *ćumal koltaš*^{II} ‘id.’
- *šūkaš*^{II} ‘to shove’ > *šūkalaš*^I ‘to shove (once)’ > *šūkal koltaš*^{II} ‘id.’
- *kuštaš*^{II} ‘to dance’ > *kuštaltaš*^{II} ‘to dance (a bit)’ > *kuštalten koltaš*^{II} ‘to start to dance’
- *šüşkaš*^{II} ‘to whistle’ > *šüşkaltaš*^{II} ‘to whistle (once)’ > *šüşkalten koltaš*^{II} ‘to begin to whistle’

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 5 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 10 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 11 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 19 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 26 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 31 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 40 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 62 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 68 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 1 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 3 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 4 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 5 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 12 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 15 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 18 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 21 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 48 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 12 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 41 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 47 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 48 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 51 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 52 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 57 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 60 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aptâranas</i> ^{II}	‘to be shy’	<i>ćućaš</i> ^I	‘to seem’	<i>jūlataš</i> ^{II}	‘to burn (tr.)’
<i>bagāžalaš</i> ^I	‘to cry out’	<i>ćumalaš</i> ^I	‘to kick’	<i>jūraš</i> ^I	‘to rain’
<i>bagāžaš</i> ^I	‘to yell’	<i>ćuriktaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to torment’	<i>kajaš</i> ^{II}	‘to go (away)’
<i>baštaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to change (tr.)’	<i>ćućaštaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to prepare (a trap, gun)’	<i>kalasaš</i> ^{II}	‘to say’
<i>belas</i> ^{II}	‘to spill (tr.)’	<i>ćūčkaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to dance; to shake’	<i>karalaš</i> ^I	‘to open wide (tr.)’
<i>beseštaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to alter’	<i>dūrlaš</i> ^{II}	‘to buzz’	<i>karaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to open wide’
<i>bijanđas</i> ^{II}	‘to develop (tr.)’	<i>eñdaš</i> ^{II}	‘to scorch’	<i>kataš</i> ^{II}	‘to break off (tr.)’
<i>biñnas</i> ^{II}	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>eñđaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to mumble’	<i>kečkāžalaš</i> ^I	‘to moan’
<i>biiktaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to run, to direct’	<i>ertaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to carry out’	<i>kečkāžaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to moan’
<i>bitaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to penetrate’	<i>ālāžaš</i> ^I	‘to flare up’	<i>kelāštaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to adapt’
<i>bolgaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to illuminate’	<i>ālāžtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to kindle’	<i>kelšaš</i> ^{II}	‘to agree; to appeal’
<i>bolgaltaš</i> ^I	‘to shine’	<i>āngajlandaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to put in order’	<i>kepsāltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to hobble’
<i>boltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to lower’	<i>āngajtaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to direct’	<i>kāčkāralaš</i> ^I	‘to shout’
<i>borandaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to do successfully’	<i>āraš</i> ^{II}	‘to warm up (intr.)’	<i>kāčkāraltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to cry out’
<i>boranđaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to do successfully’	<i>āreslaš</i> ^{II}	‘to christen’	<i>kāraš</i> ^{II}	‘to beat’
<i>boranđas</i> ^{II}	‘to organize’	<i>āzgaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to buzz’	<i>kāškalaš</i> ^I	‘to pour out (tr.)’
<i>bozas</i> ^{II}	‘to write’	<i>āštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to do’	<i>kočkaš</i> ^I	‘to eat’
<i>boštālalaš</i> ^I	‘to smile’	<i>ilaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to eke out a living’	<i>kodālaš</i> ^I	‘to escort’
<i>boštālaš</i> ^I	‘to laugh’	<i>iraltaš</i> ^I	‘to be offended’	<i>kogartaš</i> ^{II}	‘to scald’
<i>božālaš</i> ^I	‘to be ashamed’	<i>išāktas</i> ^{II}	‘to press’	<i>kojaš</i> ^I	‘to be visible’
<i>burgāžaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to worry (intr.)’	<i>jābārtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to be happy’	<i>kokāraltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to cough’
<i>bursas</i> ^{II}	‘to scold’	<i>jāčkeštaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to strain’	<i>kolaš</i> ^{II}	‘to die’
<i>būčkaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to pat on the back’	<i>jāgaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to stroke’	<i>koltaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to let go’
<i>būdālaš</i> ^I	‘to wrap’	<i>jāñāsaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to moan’	<i>koranđas</i> ^{II}	‘to remove’
<i>ćakaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to step back’	<i>jāñgārtataš</i> ^{II}	‘to ring, to call’	<i>koraš</i> ^{II}	‘to scratch, to cut’
<i>ćaknaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to be moved back’	<i>jāñāmaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to moan’	<i>kordālaš</i> ^I	‘to drive away’
<i>ćaktaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to push back’	<i>jodaš</i> ^I	‘to ask’	<i>kormāžtalaš</i> ^I	‘to press’
<i>ćamanaš</i> ^{II}	‘to pity’	<i>jogaš</i> ^{II}	‘to flow’	<i>koštaš</i> ^I	‘to go’
<i>ćābāštalaš</i> ^I	‘to pinch’	<i>joktaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>kožaš</i> ^{II}	‘to drive (away)’
<i>ćākaš</i> ^{II}	‘to shove’	<i>jonāžaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to be heard’	<i>kožgataš</i> ^{II}	‘to drive; to stir’
<i>ćāmaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to tighten’	<i>jongaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to fill (tr.)’	<i>kožgatālaš</i> ^I	‘to drive; to stir’
<i>ćāmaltas</i> ^{II}	‘to be drawn tight’	<i>jortaš</i> ^{II}	‘to trot’	<i>kōranaš</i> ^{II}	‘to envy’
<i>ćātāraltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to shudder’	<i>jumāltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to pray’	<i>kuanaš</i> ^{II}	‘to be happy’
<i>ćštārnaltaš</i> ^I	‘to quiver’	<i>jūaš</i> ^I	‘to drink’	<i>kučaš</i> ^{II}	‘to hold’
<i>ćijaš</i> ^{II}	‘to put on’	<i>jūkšemdaš</i> ^{II}	‘to grow cold’	<i>kučāktas</i> ^{II}	‘to hand’
<i>ćolgāžaltaš</i> ^I	‘to shine’	<i>jūkšāktaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to cool (tr.)’	<i>kudalaš</i> ^I	‘to ride’
<i>ćolgāžaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to flash’	<i>jūktaš</i> ^{II}	‘to give to drink’	<i>kudaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to throw (out)’
<i>ćošaš</i> ^{II}	‘to dash off’	<i>jūlaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to burn (tr.)’	<i>kumaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to blink’

³²¹ “двойное выражение значения однократности”

<i>kumaš¹¹</i>	‘to close one’s eyes’	<i>nugâdemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to thicken (tr.)’	<i>pürgalaš¹</i>	‘to spurt’
<i>kumdaŋdaš¹¹</i>	‘to widen (tr.)’	<i>nulalaš¹</i>	‘to lick’	<i>püšestaraš¹¹</i>	‘to sharpen’
<i>kupâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to let go mouldy’	<i>numaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to make carry’	<i>püškâlaš¹</i>	‘to sting’
<i>kuptârtaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to pucker, to purse’	<i>núslaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to sob’	<i>pütâralaš¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>kuptârtas¹¹</i>	‘to wrinkle (tr.)’	<i>ojâraš¹¹</i>	‘to separate’	<i>raškaltaš¹</i>	‘to strike (lightning)’
<i>kuržaš¹</i>	‘to run’	<i>ojganaš¹¹</i>	‘to be sad’	<i>rbezemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to rejuvenate’
<i>kusaraš¹¹</i>	‘to move; to translate’	<i>ojgâraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to worry (intr.)’	<i>rešatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to solve’
<i>kuškedaš¹</i>	‘to tear’	<i>ojgâraš¹¹</i>	‘to grieve’	<i>rokmaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to neigh’
<i>kuškâžtaš¹¹</i>	‘to put on a horse’	<i>ojlaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>rongedaš¹</i>	‘to belch’
<i>kuštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to dance’	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>rualas¹</i>	‘to chop’
<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	‘to dance’	<i>ojojlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to groan’	<i>rudas¹¹</i>	‘to untie’
<i>kuštâlemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to lighten (intr.)’	<i>oňčalaš¹</i>	‘to look’	<i>rüzaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to shake (tr.)’
<i>kutâralaš¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>oňčaš¹¹</i>	‘to look’	<i>sabaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to strike fire’
<i>kutâraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>oňârešlaš¹¹</i>	‘to neigh’	<i>sabâralaš¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>kutâras¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>optalaš¹</i>	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>sabârnaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>küdârtaltaš¹¹</i>	‘perform courtship rituals’	<i>optaltaš¹</i>	‘to be put’	<i>sabârnas¹¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>küdârtaš¹¹</i>	‘to thunder’	<i>optaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to bark’	<i>sagânaš¹¹</i>	‘to yearn for’
<i>kültkaš¹¹</i>	‘to beat (heart)’	<i>optaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>sajemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to make better’
<i>küzâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to raise’	<i>oškâlaš¹</i>	‘to step’	<i>sdatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to hand over’
<i>küštaš¹¹</i>	‘to order’	<i>ökânaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to repent’	<i>seraš¹¹</i>	‘to write’
<i>laštârtas¹¹</i>	‘to flatten’	<i>ökânaš¹¹</i>	‘to repent’	<i>sâmâstaraš¹¹</i>	‘to charm’
<i>lâdârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to sag’	<i>öndalaš¹</i>	‘to embrace’	<i>sigâralaš¹</i>	‘to yell’
<i>lijaš¹</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>öraš¹</i>	‘to be surprised’	<i>sigâraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to yell’
<i>loktaš¹¹</i>	‘to hex’	<i>örgalaš¹</i>	‘to butt’	<i>sijlaš¹¹</i>	‘to treat, to entertain’
<i>lomâžas¹</i>	‘to moo’	<i>örmalgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be astonished’	<i>sistaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to beckon’
<i>ludaš¹</i>	‘to read’	<i>pastâraš¹¹</i>	‘to drive away’	<i>soḃaš¹¹</i>	‘to clap’
<i>lugaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to mix (tr.)’	<i>pastârkalas¹¹</i>	‘to drive (animals)’	<i>solaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to wave’
<i>luktaš¹</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>peleštaš¹¹</i>	‘to state’	<i>solnaš¹¹</i>	‘to be heard’
<i>lupšalaš¹</i>	‘to whip’	<i>peñâžalaš¹</i>	‘to groan’	<i>sörḃalaš¹¹</i>	‘to ask for something’
<i>lupšaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to swing (tr.)’	<i>peñâžaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to groan’	<i>surgaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to shake (tr.)’
<i>lupšaš¹¹</i>	‘to whip’	<i>peraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to clap’	<i>sümâraš¹¹</i>	‘to demolish’
<i>luškemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to weaken (tr.)’	<i>peras¹¹</i>	‘to hit’	<i>sūsanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be in a fever’
<i>luškâdemaš¹</i>	‘to become weak’	<i>pâl’gâžaš¹</i>	‘to smile coquettishly’	<i>zavoditlaš¹¹</i>	‘to start, to wind up’
<i>lûdaš¹</i>	‘to fear’	<i>pâžâralaš¹</i>	‘to push’	<i>zakazatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to order’
<i>lûdâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to frighten’	<i>pâškâraš¹¹</i>	‘to snort’	<i>šabaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to strew’
<i>lûjaš¹¹</i>	‘to shoot’	<i>pidaš¹</i>	‘to tie’	<i>šalaš¹</i>	‘to urinate’
<i>lûngaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to rock (tr.)’	<i>pisemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to speed up (tr.)’	<i>šalataš¹¹</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’
<i>lûngaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to swing (intr.)’	<i>počâš¹</i>	‘to open (tr.)’	<i>šaraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’
<i>lûngas¹¹</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>počâltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to develop (tr.)’	<i>šaraš¹¹</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’
<i>magâralaš¹</i>	‘to make sounds’	<i>počkaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to sting’	<i>šarnaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to remember’
<i>magâraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to make sounds’	<i>počkaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to shake off’	<i>šelaš¹</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’
<i>magârâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to drive to tears’	<i>podâlaš¹</i>	‘to sip, to gulp’	<i>šeledaš¹¹</i>	‘to chop’
<i>malaš¹¹</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>poktaš¹¹</i>	‘to drive’	<i>šergâltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to perform, to sing’
<i>maltaš¹¹</i>	‘to lull to sleep’	<i>pomâžaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to wake up (tr.)’	<i>šergâltas¹¹</i>	‘to fill (with sound)’
<i>manaš¹</i>	‘to say’	<i>pomâžaltaš¹</i>	‘to wake up (intr.)’	<i>šâdeštaš¹</i>	‘to get angry’
<i>modaš¹</i>	‘to play’	<i>pomâžaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to wake up (tr.)’	<i>šândaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to place’
<i>mokleštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to dislocate’	<i>pongaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to knock down’	<i>šârgâžalaš¹</i>	‘to smile’
<i>moktaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to praise’	<i>pördâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šârgâžaš¹</i>	‘to smile’
<i>moktanaš¹¹</i>	‘to boast’	<i>pörtâltas¹¹</i>	‘to return (tr.)’	<i>šâžâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to splash (tr.)’
<i>mondaš¹¹</i>	‘to forget’	<i>pualaš¹</i>	‘to blow’	<i>šijaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to blow (wind)’
<i>mučâštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to unfasten’	<i>pualtaš¹¹</i>	‘to winnow; to blow’	<i>šinčalaš¹</i>	‘to neigh’
<i>muraltaš¹</i>	‘to sing’	<i>puas¹¹</i>	‘to give’	<i>šižaš¹</i>	‘to feel’
<i>muraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to sing’	<i>pudeštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to blow up (tr.)’	<i>šogaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to stand’
<i>muškaš¹</i>	‘to wash’	<i>pudârtaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>šokšemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to insulate’
<i>muškândaš¹¹</i>	‘to hit with one’s fist’	<i>pukšaš¹¹-jûktaš¹¹</i>	‘to nourish’	<i>šoktaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be heard; to play’
<i>mügâralaš¹</i>	‘to roar’	<i>puňčalaš¹</i>	‘to wring out’	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	‘to be heard; to play’
<i>mügâraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to roar’	<i>purlaš¹</i>	‘to bite’	<i>šolaš¹¹</i>	‘to throw’
<i>nalaš¹</i>	‘to take’	<i>purtas¹¹</i>	‘to bring in’	<i>šonaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to think’
<i>namijaš¹¹</i>	‘to bring’	<i>puštâlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to worry (intr.)’	<i>šortaš¹</i>	‘to cry’
<i>nelaš¹</i>	‘to swallow’	<i>pužaktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to drive out’	<i>šuas¹</i>	‘to arrive’
<i>neraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to have a nap’	<i>pužaras¹¹</i>	‘to plane’	<i>šuas¹¹</i>	‘to throw; to desert’
<i>neraš¹¹</i>	‘to doze’	<i>pužkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to ruin’	<i>šujaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (tr.)’
<i>nijaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to pat’	<i>püčkaš¹</i>	‘to cut’	<i>šujdaraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (tr.)’
<i>nöltalaš¹</i>	‘to raise’	<i>pügârnaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend down (intr.)’	<i>šujdaraš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch (tr.)’
		<i>pûjalaš¹</i>	‘to wink’	<i>šukemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to multiply (tr.)’

<i>šulaš¹</i>	‘to cut’	<i>temdalaš¹</i>	‘to push’	<i>udāralaš¹</i>	‘to strike’
<i>šupšalaš¹</i>	‘to kiss’	<i>tārtāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to roll (tr.)’	<i>ueštaš¹</i>	‘to yawn’
<i>šupšaš¹</i>	‘to pull’	<i>toškalaš¹</i>	‘to step’	<i>ukšīnčāš¹</i>	‘to vomit’
<i>šupšālaltaš¹</i>	‘to be stretched’	<i>tōčāš¹¹</i>	‘to try’	<i>urāktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to cause to fall’
<i>šupšālaš¹</i>	‘to pull’	<i>tōpkāš¹¹</i>	‘to beat’	<i>urāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to cause to fall’
<i>šuraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to stick in’	<i>tōrštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to jump’	<i>urāltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to cause to fall’
<i>šuraš¹¹</i>	‘to pound’	<i>tōrštaš¹¹</i>	‘to jump’	<i>urmāžaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to howl’
<i>šūaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to rinse’	<i>tučāš¹</i>	‘to hit’	<i>urmāžaš¹</i>	‘to howl’
<i>šūbalaš¹</i>	‘to spit; to charm’	<i>tunāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to teach’	<i>uškalaš¹¹</i>	‘to be jealous’
<i>šūkalaš¹</i>	‘to push’	<i>turgāžlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be worried’	<i>uštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to join (tr.)’
<i>šūlaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to breathe’	<i>turžaš¹</i>	‘to crumple’	<i>užalaš¹¹</i>	‘to sell’
<i>šūraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’	<i>tuškaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to dip, to shove’	<i>užaltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to accompany’
<i>šūraš¹¹</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’	<i>tuškaš¹¹</i>	‘to model’	<i>užaš¹</i>	‘to see’
<i>šūrdāš¹¹</i>	‘to scold’	<i>tūbārtaš¹¹</i>	‘to embarrass’	<i>užataš¹¹</i>	‘to accompany’
<i>šūrdālaš¹</i>	‘to scold’	<i>tūčāš¹¹</i>	‘to flick’	<i>utaraš¹¹</i>	‘to save’
<i>šūškaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>tūkaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (tr.)’	<i>üčāšaš¹¹</i>	‘to compete’
<i>šūškaš¹¹</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>tūkaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (tr.)’	<i>üdaš¹¹</i>	‘to sow’
<i>šūtaš¹¹</i>	‘to pierce’	<i>tūknaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (intr.)’	<i>ügāñčāš¹</i>	‘to hiccup’
<i>taβaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to stamp’	<i>tūlaš¹¹</i>	‘to pay’	<i>üštaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>tajnaltaš¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>türβāñčāš¹</i>	‘to sneeze’	<i>üštālaš¹</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>tajnaš¹¹</i>	‘to stoop’	<i>tütāraš¹¹</i>	‘to fumigate’	<i>üžaš¹</i>	‘to invite’
<i>tarβataš¹¹</i>	‘to move (tr.)’	<i>učīklaš¹¹</i>	‘to rock (tr.)’		
<i>tarlaš¹¹</i>	‘to hire’	<i>udālaš¹</i>	‘to pray’		

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aspectual marker for momentariness, hinting at unexpectedness • Aspectual marker for ingressiveness, hinting at unexpectedness and momentariness • Path marker indicating movement away from a reference point in combination with transitive verbs of motion • “Diminutive marker” 			
Distribution etc.	As aspectual marker, accounts from Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. As “diminutive marker”, only accounts from Mari, no data on productivity or regional variance.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 317	Corpus: 58	Total: 375	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>ležinj</i>	Tatar: <i>žibärüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>jebäreβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>jar</i>
Etymology	?			

Figure 127: Profile of *koltaš* / *koltaš¹¹* ‘to let go; to send’

4.1.20 *kondaš* / *kandaš¹¹* ‘to bring’

The big Mari-Russian dictionary states that this verb, when coupled with a converb, marks an “action that is aimed towards the speaker” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **кондаш**; cf. also Budenz 1865: **88**; Moisiej 1992: **112**; Chkhaidze 1960: **58**). The verb can indeed be found coupled with a number of transitive verbs in lexical sources and in the corpus, denoting movement towards a reference point (not necessarily the speaker). It seems to be productive within semantic constraints: it can be coupled with transitive verbs that can be meaningfully assigned the path ‘to’. Tatar *kiterüb* ‘to bring’ and Bashkir *kiltereβ* ‘id.’ seem to be used in a similar manner. In Chuvash, *kil* ‘to come’ seems to connect with transitive verbs as well when used as a path verb – see *tolaš* / *tolaš¹* ‘to come’, Section 4.1.62 (page 248).

Meadow Mari: <i>kondaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>kandaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>kiterüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>(kil)</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>pokten kondaš</i>	<i>pokten kandaš</i>	<i>quâp kiterüβ</i>	<i>χăvalasa kil</i>	driving bring	to drive to
<i>šupsân kondaš</i>	<i>šâpšân kandaš</i>	<i>söjrâp kiterüβ</i>	<i>jätsa kil</i>	pulling bring	to pull to
<i>joktaren kondaš</i>	<i>joktaren kandaš</i>	<i>âÿâzâp kiterüβ</i>	<i>šiv ilse kil</i>	pouring bring	to bring to (by water)

Figure 128: *kondaš* / *kandaš*¹¹ ‘to bring’ as a path marker

Udmurt *vajjnĭ* ‘to bring’ seems to be used in a fashion analogous to its Mari, Tatar, and Bashkir counterparts as well (cf. **Kel’makov 1975: 103**). This is noteworthy as the usage of path verbs, unlike the usage of aspectual auxiliaries, has not been studied in detail in Udmurt to the best of my knowledge.

(109 – Udmurt – Kel’makov 1975: 103)

‘к[ы]ск[ы]са вай[ы]н[ы]

kĭskĭ	-sa	vajj	-nj
pull	-CVB	bring	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to pull to’³²²

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	WICH: 32 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	BEK: I: 30 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 36 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 42 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβâralaš</i> ¹	‘to surround’	<i>numalaš</i> ¹	‘to carry’	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹	‘to pull’
<i>aβâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’	<i>optaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>šüdâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to drag’
<i>βüdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lead’	<i>pâštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to place’	<i>užataš</i> ¹¹	‘to accompany’
<i>čaktaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to push back’	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>üžaš</i> ¹	‘to invite’
<i>joktaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>poktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive’	<i>üžâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to summon’
<i>kučâš</i> ¹¹	‘to hold’	<i>pördâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’		
<i>nalaš</i> ¹	‘to take’	<i>šândaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to place’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Directionality marker indicating movement towards a reference point		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir. In Chuvash, the verb <i>kil</i> ‘to come’ carries out this function		
Literary pairings	Sources: 16	Corpus: 3	Total: 19
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vajjnĭ</i>	Tatar: <i>kiterüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>kiltereβ</i> Chuvash: <i>(kil)</i>
Etymology	< PU * <i>kanta</i> ‘load, burden; to carry’, cognates in Finnish <i>kantaa</i> ‘to carry’, Mordvin <i>kandoms</i> ‘id.’, possibly Upper Lozva (Northern) Mansi <i>χünt-</i> ‘id.’ cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 124; Bereczki et al. 2013: 73)		

Figure 129: Profile of *kondaš* / *kandaš*¹¹ ‘to bring’

³²² “приволочь, притащить”

4.1.21 *koštaš / kaštaš*¹ ‘to go; to wander’

Nikolay Isanbayev states that pairings using this verb are formed “from some intransitive and transitive verbs and express a prolonged action, often occurring in different places” (Isanbayev 1978: 69).³²³ The 170 distinct pairings found in my sources indicate that this auxiliary is quite widely used. It is listed as an auxiliary by numerous sources (e.g. Moisiej 1992: 118; Beke 1911: 160; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кошташ I; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Savatkova 2008: 84; Chkhaidze 1960: 38; Pengitov et al. 1961: 216–217; Serebrennikov 1960: 200), all of which define it (if at all) in a fashion similar to Isanbayev.

Isanbayev likens the verb to Tatar *jörüb* ‘to go’ and Chuvash *šüre* ‘id.’, but notes that Chuvash uses different auxiliaries in many cases where the Tatar and Mari usage of the auxiliaries line up (Isanbayev 1978: 69). Gábor Bereczki et al. refer to *puren koštaš* ‘to visit (lit. entering go)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 203). Bashkir *jöröb* ‘id.’ seems to be used in a similar fashion as its Mari, Chuvash, and Tatar counterparts are (cf. Landmann 2015: 99). Valey Kel’makov assigns two distinct meanings to the Udmurt verb *mjnjnj*: “in combination with converbs of verbs denoting the transition from one state to another, it expresses gradualness and consistency of this transition” (Kel’makov 1975: 99),³²⁴ – a facet I have not observed in regard to the Mari verb under consideration – and “in combination with converbs of verbs of directed motions [it expresses] incompleteness and duration of this movement” (ibid.: 100).³²⁵ It seems to be a durative marker of sorts in all languages of the region – however, whether or not the Udmurt auxiliary fully lines up with its counterparts in other languages seems uncertain.

³²³ “[...] от некоторых переходных и непереходных глаголов и выражают длительное действие, происходящее часто в разных местах, [...]”

³²⁴ “а) в сочетании с деепричастиями от глаголов, обозначающих переход из одного состояния в другое, выражает постепенность, последовательность этого перехода, [...]”

³²⁵ “б) в сочетании с деепричастиями от глаголов направленного движения – незавершенность, длительность этого движения, [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>koštaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>kaštaš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>jörüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>šüre</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>boštâl koštaš</i>	<i>baštâl kaštaš</i>	<i>kölöp jörüβ</i>	<i>kulsa šüre</i>	laughing go	to laugh
<i>oñčen koštaš</i>	<i>anžen kaštaš</i>	<i>qârap jörüβ</i>	<i>pâχsa šüre</i>	looking go	to look after
<i>užân koštaš</i>	<i>užân kaštaš</i>	<i>kürep jörüβ</i>	<i>kursa šüre</i>	seeing go	to see
<i>kâçal koštaš</i>	<i>kâçal kaštaš</i>	<i>ezlâp jörüβ</i>	<i>širasa šüre</i>	searching go	to seek for
<i>moktanen koštaš</i>	<i>makten kaštaš</i>	<i>mâqtanâp jörüβ</i>	<i>kappajsa šüre</i>	boasting go	to swagger
<i>numal koštaš</i>	<i>namal kaštaš</i>	<i>kütârep jörüβ</i>	<i>jâtsa šüre</i>	carrying go	to drag
<i>čijen koštaš</i>	<i>čien kaštaš</i>	<i>kijenep jörüβ</i>	<i>tâχansa šüre</i>	putting on go	to wear
<i>šalaten koštaš</i>	<i>šälâten kaštaš</i>	<i>târatâp jörüβ</i>	<i>salatsa šüre</i>	spreading go	to distribute
<i>čöņešten koštaš</i>	<i>čöņešten kaštaš</i>	<i>ošop jörüβ</i>	<i>vêšse šüre</i>	flying go	to fly
<i>ijân koštaš</i>	<i>in kaštaš</i>	<i>jözöp jörüβ</i>	<i>juχsa šüre</i>	swimming go	to swim
<i>baņen koštaš</i>	<i>orolen kaštaš</i>	<i>küzâtep jörüβ</i>	-	guarding go	to trace
<i>jodâšt koštaš</i>	<i>jadâšt kaštaš</i>	<i>soranâp jörüβ</i>	-	questioning go	to beg
<i>boštâliten koštaš</i>	<i>baštâliten kaštaš</i>	<i>köldöröp jörüβ</i>	-	making laugh go	to make laugh
<i>modân koštaš</i>	<i>madân kaštaš</i>	<i>ujnap jörüβ</i>	-	playing go	to play
<i>šonen koštaš</i>	<i>šanen kaštaš</i>	<i>ujtap jörüβ</i>	-	thinking go	to ponder
<i>šâlân koštaš</i>	<i>šälân kaštaš</i>	<i>qâšâp jörüβ</i>	-	hiding go	to be in hiding
<i>taβalen koštaš</i>	-	<i>dâβtap jörüβ</i>	-	challenging go	to lay claim to
<i>tularten koštaš</i>	<i>svatajen kaštaš</i>	<i>qodatâp jörüβ</i>	-	proposing go	to match up

Figure 130: *koštaš* / *kaštaš¹* ‘to go; to wander’ marking durativity, execution in different places (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 69)

Isanbayev adds that in Mari “the meaning of duration, continuance sometimes experiences dual expression” (Isanbayev 1978: 70)³²⁶ – through this auxiliary and the deverbal derivational suffixes *-kal* ~ *-gal* (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 161), *-l* (cf. *ibid.*: 163–164), *-ed* (cf. *ibid.*: 160), *-edâl* (cf. *ibid.*), *-št* (cf. *ibid.*: 161). Alho Alhoniemi describes all of these suffixes as frequentative.

- *bozaš¹¹* ‘to write’ > *bozkalaš¹¹* > *bozkalen koštaš¹*
- *kudalaš¹* ‘to drive’ > *kudalâštaš¹* > *kudalâšt koštaš¹*
- *puraš¹¹* ‘to enter’ > *puredaš¹¹* > *pureden koštaš¹*
- *âštaš¹¹* ‘to do’ > *âštâlaš¹* > *âštâl koštaš¹*

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 5 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 6 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 10 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 14 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 18 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 31 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 50 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 58 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 12 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 24 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 26 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 28 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 9 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 35 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 36 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 52 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 54 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>adašaš¹¹</i>	‘to lose one’s way’	<i>batraklaš¹¹</i>	‘to work as a farmhand’	<i>čâldârijlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to pose’
<i>agaš¹¹</i>	‘to rob’	<i>bakaš¹¹</i>	‘to strain oneself’	<i>čijaš¹¹</i>	‘to put on’
<i>ajartaš¹¹</i>	‘to poison’	<i>baņaš¹¹</i>	‘to guard’	<i>čöņeštaš¹¹</i>	‘to fly’
<i>alaklaš¹¹</i>	‘to slander’	<i>bagâžâš¹¹</i>	‘to yell’	<i>čöņeštâlaš¹</i>	‘to fly’
<i>algaštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to entice’	<i>boñčâš¹¹</i>	‘to cross (through)’	<i>čumaš¹¹</i>	‘to kick’
<i>almaštâlaš¹</i>	‘to replace’	<i>bozkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to write, to scribble’	<i>čumârkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’
<i>amârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to get dirty’	<i>boštâlaš¹</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>čužgaš¹¹</i>	‘to hum’
<i>amârtâlaš¹</i>	‘to soil’	<i>boštâltaš¹¹</i>	‘to make laugh’	<i>erâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to clean’
<i>aņârgaš¹¹</i>	‘to breathe in CO’	<i>božâlaš¹</i>	‘to be ashamed’	<i>ertaš¹¹</i>	‘to go by’
<i>aņârtâlaš¹</i>	‘to fool’	<i>bučâš¹¹</i>	‘to wait’	<i>eskeraš¹¹</i>	‘to observe’
<i>aptâranaš¹¹</i>	‘to be shy’	<i>büdaš¹¹</i>	‘to lead’	<i>âzgaš¹¹</i>	‘to buzz’
<i>azaplanaš¹¹</i>	‘to be worried’	<i>čâgâltaš¹</i>	‘to itch’	<i>âštaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’
<i>atašlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to lead a loose life’	<i>čâkaš¹¹</i>	‘to shove’	<i>âštâlaš¹</i>	‘to do’

³²⁶ “[...] значение длительности, продолжительности действия иногда получает двойное выражение [...]”

<i>grabitlaš¹¹</i>	'to rob'	<i>kutârkalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>pernâlaš¹</i>	'to hit against'
<i>gul'ajaš¹¹</i>	'to go for a walk'	<i>kutârtaš¹¹</i>	'to incite'	<i>peznaš¹¹</i>	'to become estranged'
<i>xuliganitlaš¹¹</i>	'to behave like a hooligan'	<i>kutlaš¹¹</i>	'to congratulate'	<i>pâštaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'
<i>ijalanaš¹¹</i>	'to ravage'	<i>küčâš¹¹</i>	'to request'	<i>pidedaš¹¹</i>	'to tie'
<i>ijaš¹</i>	'to swim'	<i>küdâklaš¹¹</i>	'to cluck'	<i>piktaš¹¹</i>	'to strangle'
<i>ilaš¹¹</i>	'to live'	<i>kûraš¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'
<i>ilâštaš¹</i>	'to live'	<i>kûzaš¹¹</i>	'to climb'	<i>pogkalaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'
<i>indâraltaš¹</i>	'to suffer'	<i>kûtaš¹¹</i>	'to herd'	<i>poktaš¹¹</i>	'to drive'
<i>jačâš¹¹</i>	'to beg'	<i>lektâš¹</i>	'to go, to leave'	<i>polšaš¹¹</i>	'to help'
<i>jaŋâšâš¹¹</i>	'to pester'	<i>l'ârgâktaš¹¹</i>	'to laugh happily'	<i>purâš¹</i>	'to chew'
<i>jažarlanaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep around'	<i>lijaš¹</i>	'to be; to become'	<i>purâš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'
<i>jâbârtaš¹¹</i>	'to be happy'	<i>loktâlaš¹</i>	'to spoil'	<i>purâš¹¹-lektâš¹</i>	'to come and go'
<i>jodaš¹</i>	'to ask'	<i>lomâžaš¹</i>	'to moo'	<i>puredaš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'
<i>jodâštaš¹</i>	'to question'	<i>lôkaš¹¹</i>	'to drink greedily'	<i>puredâlaš¹</i>	'to enter'
<i>jogâlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be lazy'	<i>lugaš¹¹</i>	'to mix (tr.)'	<i>purgedâš¹</i>	'to dig'
<i>jolkolanaš¹¹</i>	'to be lazy'	<i>lugkalaš¹¹</i>	'to mix (tr.)'	<i>püžbüdaŋaš¹</i>	'to become sweaty'
<i>jomaš¹</i>	'to disappear'	<i>luktaš¹</i>	'to lead out'	<i>pütârnâlaš¹</i>	'to curl (intr.)'
<i>jöslanaš¹¹</i>	'to suffer'	<i>lûdaš¹</i>	'to fear'	<i>rañčâš¹¹</i>	'to grumble'
<i>jubatâlaš¹</i>	'to dawdle'	<i>lûdâktaš¹¹</i>	'to frighten'	<i>râŋgâžaš¹</i>	'to stiffen (intr.)'
<i>julaš¹¹</i>	'to bewitch'	<i>lûdâktâlaš¹</i>	'to frighten'	<i>ruâš¹¹</i>	'to chop'
<i>jüâš¹</i>	'to drink'	<i>lûjaš¹¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>ruštaš¹</i>	'to get drunk'
<i>jülaš¹¹</i>	'to burn (intr.)'	<i>lûjkalaš¹¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>saßârnâlaš¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>kačâlanaš¹¹</i>	'to court'	<i>lûmdâlaš¹</i>	'to call names'	<i>sakaš¹¹</i>	'to hang up'
<i>kačâmarijlanaš¹¹</i>	'to court'	<i>lûmâlaš¹¹</i>	'to glue'	<i>sarlanaš¹¹</i>	'to wage war'
<i>kadârgâlaš¹</i>	'to bend (intr.)'	<i>lûškaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'	<i>satašaš¹¹</i>	'to stray'
<i>kalaskalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>l'apitlaš¹¹</i>	'to chatter'	<i>sataštaraš¹¹</i>	'to drive off a path (tr.)'
<i>kalimitlaš¹¹</i>	'to moonlight'	<i>l'apkaš¹¹</i>	'to chatter'	<i>sâraš¹¹</i>	'to get angry'
<i>kanâš¹¹</i>	'to rest'	<i>malaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep'	<i>sijlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be entertained'
<i>kargaš¹¹</i>	'to curse'	<i>manaš¹</i>	'to say'	<i>solaš¹¹</i>	'to mow'
<i>katatlaš¹¹</i>	'to ride, to drive'	<i>meŋâralanaš¹¹</i>	'to be slow'	<i>solkalaš¹¹</i>	'to swing'
<i>keržaltaš¹</i>	'to grasp'	<i>merčâš¹¹</i>	'to become weak'	<i>solkedâlaš¹</i>	'to hunt'
<i>kâčâlaš¹</i>	'to search'	<i>mâškâlaš¹¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>sonarlaš¹¹</i>	'to hunt'
<i>kâčâltâlaš¹</i>	'to find fault'	<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	'to go, to come'	<i>soptârijlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be untidy'
<i>kâččkaš¹¹</i>	'to harness'	<i>modâš¹</i>	'to play'	<i>sörbalaš¹¹</i>	'to ask for something'
<i>kâččkâraš¹¹</i>	'to shout'	<i>moktanaš¹¹</i>	'to boast'	<i>sumaš¹¹</i>	'to sharpen'
<i>kâraš¹¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>motorlanaš¹¹</i>	'to flaunt oneself'	<i>sûsanaš¹¹</i>	'to be in a fever'
<i>kârkedâlaš¹</i>	'to knock'	<i>muñčaltaš¹¹</i>	'to slide'	<i>šabašitlaš¹¹</i>	'to moonlight'
<i>kâžganaš¹¹</i>	'to envy'	<i>muraš¹¹-kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to sing and dance'	<i>šagârlanaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep around'
<i>kijaš¹¹</i>	'to lie'	<i>murâktâlaš¹</i>	'to make noise with'	<i>šajtanlanaš¹¹</i>	'to use cunning'
<i>kijâltâš¹</i>	'to lie around'	<i>nalâš¹</i>	'to take'	<i>šalataš¹¹</i>	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>klopotajaš¹¹</i>	'to solicit'	<i>nerâš¹¹</i>	'to doze'	<i>šarkalaš¹¹</i>	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>klûklaš¹¹</i>	'to cluck'	<i>numalaš¹</i>	'to carry'	<i>šarnaš¹¹</i>	'to remember'
<i>koßârtataš¹¹</i>	'to swagger'	<i>numalâštaš¹</i>	'to carry, to lug'	<i>šeklanaš¹¹</i>	'to look after'
<i>kočkaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>oßaraš¹¹</i>	'to rise, to puff up'	<i>šelaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>kogargaš¹¹</i>	'to be scalded'	<i>oßdalanaš¹¹</i>	'to be rowdy'	<i>šerjaš¹</i>	'to rummage'
<i>kojaš¹</i>	'to be visible'	<i>ojganaš¹¹</i>	'to be sad'	<i>šeraš¹</i>	'to comb'
<i>kojâšlanaš¹¹</i>	'to flaunt'	<i>ojgâraš¹¹</i>	'to grieve'	<i>šergaš¹¹</i>	'to look over'
<i>kolâštaš¹</i>	'to listen'	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šâdeškaš¹¹</i>	'to be angry'
<i>koraŋaš¹</i>	'to move away (intr.)'	<i>ojlâštaš¹</i>	'to babble'	<i>šâlaš¹</i>	'to hide (intr.)'
<i>kožgataš¹¹</i>	'to drive; to stir'	<i>okmaklanaš¹¹</i>	'to fool around'	<i>šâltaš¹¹</i>	'to hide (tr.)'
<i>kožgatâlaš¹</i>	'to drive; to stir'	<i>okšaklaš¹¹</i>	'to limp'	<i>šândâlaš¹</i>	'to put, to set'
<i>kôranaš¹¹</i>	'to envy'	<i>ondalaš¹¹</i>	'to deceive'	<i>šâŋâšârlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be malicious'
<i>kredalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>oñčâlaš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šîñčâš¹¹</i>	'to sit'
<i>kuanaš¹¹</i>	'to be happy'	<i>oñčâš¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šîñčârlaltaš¹</i>	'to put into chains'
<i>kučâš¹¹</i>	'to hold'	<i>oñčâktaš¹¹</i>	'to show'	<i>šîšlanaš¹¹</i>	'to spy on'
<i>kučedalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>oñčâktâlaš¹</i>	'to show'	<i>šojâštaš¹</i>	'to tell lies'
<i>kudalâštaš¹</i>	'to run around'	<i>oñčâltâš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>kugešnaš¹¹</i>	'to take pride'	<i>oradâlanaš¹¹</i>	'to behave wildly'	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>kurßalanaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep around'	<i>orlanaš¹¹</i>	'to suffer'	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>kuržtalaš¹</i>	'to run'	<i>orolaš¹¹</i>	'to guard'	<i>šužaš¹¹</i>	'to get hungry'
<i>kusaraltaš¹</i>	'to move (intr.)'	<i>ozalanaš¹¹</i>	'to rule'	<i>šüdâraš¹¹</i>	'to drag'
<i>kusnâlaš¹</i>	'to move, to relocate'	<i>öraš¹</i>	'to be surprised'	<i>šüktaš¹¹</i>	'to let rot'
<i>kuškâžaš¹</i>	'to saddle'	<i>örgalaš¹</i>	'to butt'	<i>šûraŋaš¹</i>	'to curry favour'
<i>kutâraš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>palemdaš¹¹</i>	'to mark'	<i>žalovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to complain'
		<i>paremdâš¹¹</i>	'to treat'	<i>žuliklanaš¹¹</i>	'to cheat'

<i>taɞalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to challenge’	<i>toʃkaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to trample’	<i>uʃdâmâłanaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to be foolish’
<i>tarłaltaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to be hired’	<i>töčaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to try’	<i>užalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to sell’
<i>temaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to fill up (intr.)’	<i>törłaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to make flat’	<i>užalkalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to sell’
<i>temłalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to offer’	<i>törštâłalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to jump’	<i>užaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to see’
<i>tergaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to check’	<i>tularłaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to propose’	<i>užaʃ-kolaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to see and hear’
<i>târšaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to strive’	<i>tuʃkalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to attach (tr.)’	<i>užataʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to accompany’
<i>tolaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to come’	<i>tüknâłalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to bump (intr.)’	<i>üdaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to sow’
<i>tolaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to steal’	<i>türbâñčaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to sneeze’	<i>üpsâñčaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to smell (tr.)’
<i>tolašaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to try’	<i>türedaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to cut; to harvest’	<i>üşanaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to believe’
<i>torgajaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to deal in’	<i>udâraʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to strike’	<i>üžaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to invite’
<i>torłanaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to interfere’	<i>umâłtaralaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to explain’		
<i>tortaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to separate (tr.)’	<i>upšalaʃ</i> ¹¹	‘to put on (a hat)’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual auxiliary denoting durativity and implying that the action is carried out in different places		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Udmurt. Productive in Mari.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 160	Corpus: 107	Total: 267
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>mjnjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>jörüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>jöröb</i> Chuvash: <i>šüre</i>
Etymology	Possibly a cognate of Udmurt <i>kjstaskjnj</i> ‘to wallow’ (cf. Bereczki 1990: 107)		

Figure 131: Profile of *koštaʃ / kaštaʃ* ‘to go; to wander’

4.1.22 *kudaltaʃ / -*¹¹ ‘to throw; to abandon’

Like its near-synonyms *kâškaʃ / kâškâʃ*¹¹ ‘to throw; to scatter’ – Section 4.1.15 (page 156) – and *šuuaʃ / šuuaʃ*¹¹ ‘to throw’ – Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – this (Meadow Mari) verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Beke 1911: 162**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**). For its differentiation from its near-synonyms, see Section 4.1.15 (page 156).

SMYa states that the auxiliary is connected to a “small number of transitive and intransitive verbs” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 205**).³²⁷ With 60 distinct pairings found in my sources, it seems to be moderately productive, but not exceedingly so.

Nikolay Isanbayev states that this verb, as well as Tatar *tâštav* ‘to throw’ and Chuvash *păraç* ‘id.’, form auxiliary constructions “from some transitive and intransitive verbs and indicate a single resultative action, hinting at its impetuous execution” (**Isanbayev 1978: 84**).³²⁸ The big Mari-Russian dictionary states that pairings with the verbs have “a meaning of unexpectedness, suddenness, rapidity, or resoluteness of an action” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кудалташ**).³²⁹ Mikhail Chkhaidze claims that this auxiliary is “more frequently [used] with a verb of sensory perception (verba sentiendi); it only emphasizes this feeling, completes the picture” (**Chkhaidze 1960: 47**).³³⁰

Isanbayev notes that there are numerous pairings where only the Mari and Tatar, or Mari and Chuvash, constructions line up (**Isanbayev 1978: 84**) and that numerous constructions with these auxiliaries occur only in one of the three languages he was comparing (**ibid: 85**). Gábor Bereczki et al. consider

³²⁷ “[...] образует составные глаголы от небольшого числа переходных и непереходных глаголов [...]”

³²⁸ “[...] от немногих переходных и непереходных глаголов и обозначают однократное результиативное действие с оттенком стремительного его совершения: [...]”

³²⁹ “[...] значением неожиданности, внезапности, быстроты или же решительности действия; [...]”

³³⁰ “[...] чаще с глаголом чувственного восприятия (verba sentiendi), он лишь подчеркивает это чувство, довершает образ, [...]”

püčkân kudaltaš ‘to cut off (lit. cutting throw)’ a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 208). For the usage of Udmurt *kuštjnj* in auxiliary constructions, see Section 4.1.56 (page 239).

Meadow Mari: <i>kudaltaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>tâštaθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>păraχ</i>	Translation	
			Literal	Idiomatic
<i>šüβal kudaltaš</i>	<i>tököröp tâštaθ</i>	<i>sursa păraχ</i>	spitting throw	to spit out
<i>püčkân kudaltaš</i>	<i>qâjâp tâštaθ</i>	<i>tatsa păraχ</i>	cutting throw	to cut off
<i>konden kudaltaš</i>	<i>kiterep tâštaθ</i>	-	bringing throw	to bring
<i>nüštäl kudaltaš</i>	<i>seŋerep tâštaθ</i>	-	blowing.one’s. nose throw	to blow one’s nose
<i>üštäl kudaltaš</i>	<i>seberep tâštaθ</i>	-	sweeping throw	to sweep out
<i>türet kudaltaš</i>	<i>qârqâp tâštaθ</i>	-	cutting throw	to cut off
<i>örân kudaltaš</i>	-	<i>tělense păraχ</i>	being.surprised throw	to be astonished
<i>čerlanen kudaltaš</i>	-	<i>čirlese păraχ</i>	being.ill throw	to fall ill
<i>monden kudaltaš</i>	-	-	forgetting throw	to forget (suddenly)
<i>jomdaren kudaltaš</i>	-	-	losing throw	to lose (suddenly)
<i>lüdân kudaltaš</i>	-	-	fearing throw	to take fright
<i>ruštân kudaltaš</i>	-	-	getting.drunk throw	to get drunk (suddenly)
<i>šâdešken kudaltaš</i>	-	-	getting.angry throw	to get angry (suddenly)
<i>čarnen kudaltaš</i>	-	-	stopping throw	to come to a halt

Figure 132: *kudaltaš* / -¹¹ ‘to throw; to abandon’ denoting single, resultative, actions (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 84–85)

The Hill Mari cognate of this verb, *kâdaltaš*¹¹ ‘to put in the oven’ has a more narrow lexical meaning than the Meadow Mari verb, and according to my consultant is not used in auxiliary constructions. In Hill Mari, pairings with *šuaš* / *šuaš*¹¹ – see Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – seem to predominate.

Cross-linguistically, verbs meaning ‘to throw’ have been observed grammaticalized as perfect markers, for example in Diyari (Pama-Nyungan), Palaung (Austroasiatic), Fore (New Guinea), Korean, Japanese (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 297–298).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 22 ⁽⁴⁾
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aptâranaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be shy’	<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>nöltalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to raise’
<i>boltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lower’	<i>kormâžtalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to press’	<i>nüštalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to blow one’s nose’
<i>božâlas</i> ¹¹	‘to be ashamed’	<i>kudašaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take off’	<i>nüžaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rub’
<i>θursaš</i> ¹¹	‘to scold’	<i>küraš</i> ¹¹	‘to pick’	<i>ojlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’
<i>čarnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stop (intr.)’	<i>kürâštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pick’	<i>optalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pour (tr.)’
<i>čerlanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to fall ill’	<i>lijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be; to become’	<i>optaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be put’
<i>čâgânłanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to balk’	<i>luktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lead out’	<i>ökânaš</i> ¹¹	‘to repent’
<i>čâgânłanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to balk’	<i>lupšalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to whip’	<i>öraš</i> ¹¹	‘to be surprised’
<i>čumalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to kick’	<i>lüdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to fear’	<i>örkanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be lazy’
<i>âštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>lüjaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shoot’	<i>peras</i> ¹¹	‘to hit’
<i>jâβârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be happy’	<i>mondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to forget’	<i>puštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to kill’
<i>jomdaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to lose, to misplace’	<i>nalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take’	<i>püčkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to cut’
<i>jörataš</i> ¹¹	‘to love’	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>rončas</i> ¹¹	‘to unwind (tr.)’
<i>kelšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to agree; to appeal’	<i>naŋgajaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take, to lead’	<i>rualaš</i> ¹¹	‘to chop’

<i>ruaš^{II}</i>	‘to chop’	<i>šalataš^{II}</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’	<i>šüşkâlaš^I</i>	‘to slaughter’
<i>rudaš^{II}</i>	‘to untie’	<i>šâdeškaš^{II}</i>	‘to be angry’	<i>todâlaš^I</i>	‘to break (tr.)’
<i>ruštaš^I</i>	‘to get drunk’	<i>šijaš^I</i>	‘to thresh’	<i>türedalaš^I</i>	‘to cut’
<i>saβaš^{II}</i>	‘to bend (tr.)’	<i>šižaš^I</i>	‘to feel’	<i>türedaš^I</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>saβâraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šupšâlaš^I</i>	‘to pull’	<i>udâralaš^I</i>	‘to strike’
<i>sâraš^{II}</i>	‘to get angry’	<i>šûbalaš^I</i>	‘to spit; to charm’	<i>užalaš^{II}</i>	‘to sell’
<i>solaš^{II}</i>	‘to mow’	<i>šüdâralaš^I</i>	‘to pull off’	<i>üštaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>sûmâralaš^I</i>	‘to bring down’	<i>šükalaš^I</i>	‘to push’	<i>üštâlaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual auxiliary denoting single resultative action, possibly hinting at impetuous execution, unexpectedness, suddenness, rapidity, resoluteness; when coupled with verbs of sensory perception, possibly emphasizing the denoted feeling 		
Distribution etc.	Mari (not Hill Mari), Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 64	Corpus: 2	Total: 66
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kuštijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>tâštaβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tâštaβ</i> Chuvash: <i>păraχ</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>kudalaš</i> / <i>kâdalaš^I</i> ‘to ride, to drive, to run’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-t</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165 ; Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 282). <i>kudalaš</i> / <i>kâdalaš^I</i> maybe < *PFP <i>kuttz-</i> and a cognate of Komi <i>kotęrtnj</i> ‘to run’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 679 ; Bereczki et al. 2013: 83–84)		

Figure 133: Profile of *kudaltaš* / ^{II} ‘to throw; to abandon’

4.1.23 *küzaš* / *kuzaš^{II}* ‘to climb, to rise’

Mikhail Chkhaidze includes this intransitive verb in his listing of half-modifiers (**Chkhaidze 1960: 58**). József Budenz mentions it and illustrates its usage with two examples (**Budenz 1865: 87**). Other than that, I have not encountered this verb’s usage in combination with a converb discussed in any of my sources. It does, however, occur coupled with 8 different verbs in lexical sources and with 17 other verbs in the corpus. It seems to be a productive path marker, coupled with intransitive verbs to indicate an upwards movement. Tatar *menüβ* ‘to climb, to rise’, Bashkir *meneβ* ‘id.’, and Chuvash *χăpar* ‘id.’ seem to be used in an analogous fashion.

Meadow Mari: <i>küzaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>kuzaš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>menüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>χăpar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>čöŋešten küzaš</i>	<i>čöŋgešten kuzaš</i>	<i>ošop menüβ</i>	<i>věšse χăpar</i>	flying rise	to fly up
<i>kuržân küzaš</i>	<i>kârgâž kuzaš</i>	<i>jögöröp menüβ</i>	<i>čupsa χăpar</i>	running rise	to run up

Figure 134: *küzaš* / *kuzaš^{II}* ‘to climb, to rise’ marking upwards path

Valey Kel’makov notes that the Udmurt counterpart to this verb, *tubjnj* ‘to rise, to climb’, occurs in pairings with converbs, but does not comment on its usage in these (**Kel’makov 1975: 103**). Its usage as a path verb has been observed in Besermyan Udmurt:

(110 – Besermyan Udmurt – Serdobol'skaya et al. 2012: 20)

‘Чорыг уяса тубиз вылэ.’

[č]orâg	uja	-sa	tâb	-i	-z	vâl	-e.
fish	swim	-CVB	rise	-PST1	-3SG	surface	-ILL
n	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	n	-case

‘The fish swam up (lit. swimming rose) to the surface.’³³¹

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čoręštaš^{II}</i>	‘to fly’	<i>lojgaš^{II}</i>	‘to sway (intr.)’	<i>pütârnaš^{II}</i>	‘to curl (intr.)’
<i>jačêlanaš^{II}</i>	‘to grow sluggishly (intr.)’	<i>nôltaltaš^I</i>	‘to rise’	<i>pütârnaš^I</i>	‘to curl (intr.)’
<i>jogaš^{II}</i>	‘to flow’	<i>nuškaš^I</i>	‘to creep’	<i>sopkaš^{II}</i>	‘to tramp’
<i>kadârgaš^{II}</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>oĕargaš^{II}</i>	‘to swell up’	<i>šarlaš^{II}</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’
<i>köpčaaš^{II}</i>	‘to swell’	<i>oĕgeštaltaš^I</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’	<i>tôrštaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to jump’
<i>kudalaš^I</i>	‘to ride’	<i>oškâlaš^I</i>	‘to step’	<i>tôrštaš^{II}</i>	‘to jump’
<i>kuržaš^I</i>	‘to run’	<i>pördaš^I</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>türgaš^{II}</i>	‘to rise, to swirl’
<i>kuškaš^I</i>	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>pütâraltaš^I</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>udârkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to strike sharply’
		<i>pütârnaltaš^I</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’		

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs
Usage	• Path marker ‘up’
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, (Besermyan) Udmurt
Literary pairings	Sources: 8 Corpus: 17 Total: 25
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>tubjnĭ</i> Tatar: <i>menüĕ</i> Bashkir: <i>meneĕ</i> Chuvash: <i>ĕăpar</i>
Etymology	According to Gábor Bereczki et al., possibly a cognate of Hungarian <i>kúszik</i> ‘to climb’, Erzya <i>kužems</i> ‘id.’ and Moksha <i>kucams</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Bereczki et al. 2013: 103). Due to the irregular occurrence of <i>k</i> preceding a velar vowel in Hungarian, the UEW does not take this etymology into consideration (<i>ibid.</i>), though it seems plausible that the Mari and Mordvin words are cognates.

Figure 135: Profile of *küzaš / kuzaaš^{II}* ‘to climb, to rise’

4.1.24 *küzâktaš / kuzâktaš^{II}* ‘to raise’

Like its intransitive counterpart *küzaš / kuzaaš^{II}* ‘to climb, to rise’ – see Section 4.1.23 (page 177) – this transitive verb is included in Mikhail Chkhaidze’s list of half-modifiers (Chkhaidze 1960: 58) and is mentioned by József Budenz, who illustrates its usage with three examples (Budenz 1865: 87). It is not otherwise mentioned in any of my sources. Like its counterpart, it does occur in some pairings: three pairings found in lexical sources and one further pairing in the corpus. It seems to be a path verb connected with transitive verbs indicating an upward movement. It is hard to assess its productivity as the scope of transitive verbs that can be meaningfully assigned this path is limited.

³³¹ “Рыба поплыла наверх (букв. на поверхность).”

I have not found any indication that Tatar *kütärüb* ‘to raise’, Bashkir *kütäreβ* ‘id.’, Chuvash *šěkle* ‘id.’, and Udmurt *žutjnj* ‘id.’ are used in an analogous fashion.³³² Chuvash *χăpar* ‘to climb, to rise’, though intransitive, seem to be used in combination with transitive verbs on occasion, e.g. *jătsa χăpar* ‘to carry up (lit. carrying rise)’ (cf. **Skvorcov et al. 1985: xănap**).

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	BEK: II: 176 ⁽³⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

numalaš^I ‘to carry’ *šupšaš*^I ‘to pull’
pördäktäš^{II} ‘to turn (tr.)’ *šüdäraš*^{II} ‘to drag’

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs			
Usage	• Path marker ‘up’			
Distribution etc.	No data			
Literary pairings	Sources: 3	Corpus: 1	Total: 4	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>žutjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>kütärüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>kütäreβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>šěkle</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>küzaš</i> / <i>kuzäš</i> ^{II} ‘to climb, to rise’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-kt</i> (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 312; Alhoniemi 1985: 165).			

Figure 136: Profile of *küzäktäš* / *kuzäktäš*^{II} ‘to raise’

4.1.25 *lektaš* / *läktäš*^I ‘to go (out), to leave’

This verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 87; Moisio 1992: 146; Beke 1911: 161; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Savatkova 2008: 132; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 50–51; Serebrennikov 1960: 196–197; Pengitov et al. 1961: 209–210**); with 100 different pairings found in my sources and 67 more in the corpus, it is among the more commonly used auxiliaries. Nikolay Isanbayev states that it is connected with intransitive and transitive verbs and likens it to Tatar *šăγub* ‘to go (out), to leave’ and Chuvash *tux* ‘id.’ (**Isanbayev 1978: 65**); Bashkir *săγăβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used in an equivalent fashion as well (cf. **Landmann 2015: 102**). Valey Kel’makov describes Udmurt *potjnj* ‘id.’ as an auxiliary and gives a few examples of its usage that line up with descriptions of its counterparts in the other languages of the region, but does not comment on its exact function (cf. **Kel’makov 1975: 101**).

While pairings with a verb of this meaning are commonplace in all languages of the region, Gábor Bereczki et al. define *jogen lektaš* ‘to flow out (lit. flowing leave)’, *ludân lektaš* ‘to read (for a while) (lit. reading leave)’, *mijen lektaš* ‘to go out (lit. going leave)’, *ońčen lektaš* ‘to examine (for a while) (lit. looking leave)’, *puren lektaš* ‘to drop in (for a while) (lit. entering leave)’, and *urgen lektaš* ‘to stitch (lit. sewing leave)’ specifically as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 33; 123; 142; 173; 299**).

Isanbayev assigns a total of five different functions to this verb in combination with a converb. The large Mari-Russian dictionary cites the same five functions, defining them in almost exactly the same

³³² The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

terms (cf. **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: лекташ**). The first function given is that of a marker of “[e]xhaustiveness of an action from beginning to end, its manifestation in full” (**Isanbayev 1978: 65**).³³³ All examples he cites in this function are transitive. It is not generally possible to give idiomatic translations for these pairings in English that are distinct from the base lexeme.

Meadow Mari: <i>lektaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>läktäš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>šäyuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βisen lektaš</i>	<i>βisen läktäš</i>	<i>ülšäp šäyuβ</i>	<i>višse tuχ</i>	measuring leave	to measure
<i>ludân lektaš</i>	<i>lâdân läktäš</i>	<i>uqâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>vulasa tuχ</i>	reading leave	to read through
<i>koren lektaš</i>	<i>âdâren läktäš</i>	<i>sâzâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>turtsa tuχ</i>	drawing leave	to draw
<i>lokšič lektaš</i>	<i>loksâc läktäš</i>	<i>junâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>vartasa tuχ</i>	hewing leave	to hew
<i>seŋen lektaš</i>	<i>sângen läktäš</i>	<i>žinep šäyuβ</i>	<i>šënterse tuχ</i>	winning leave	to beat all
<i>redaktirovatlen lektaš</i>	<i>redaktirujen läktäš</i>	<i>redäqacijälâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>redakcilese tuχ</i>	editing leave	to edit
<i>analizirovatlen lektaš</i>	<i>analizirujen läktäš</i>	<i>änälizlap šäyuβ</i>	<i>tiškërse tuχ</i>	analysing leave	to analyse

Figure 137: *lektaš / läktäš* ‘to go (out), to leave’ denoting exhaustiveness, manifestation in full (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 65**)

The second function cited by Isanbayev, for which he also only gives transitive examples, is that of a marker of an “[a]ction encompassing a multitude of items or people, and an action spreading over the entire surface of an item” (**Isanbayev 1978: 65**).³³⁴ It seems questionable to me that this function can be easily delimited from the previously stated function.

Meadow Mari: <i>lektaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>läktäš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>šäyuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jodâšt lektaš</i>	<i>jadâšt läktäš</i>	<i>sorap šäyuβ</i>	<i>ijtsa tuχ</i>	questioning leave	to question
<i>oñčen lektaš</i>	<i>anžen läktäš</i>	<i>qârap šäyuβ</i>	<i>pâχsa tuχ</i>	looking leave	to look through
<i>palemnden lektaš</i>	<i>pâlemnden läktäš</i>	<i>bilgelâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>pallâ tusa tuχ</i>	marking leave	to mark
<i>šotlen lektaš</i>	<i>šotlen läktäš</i>	<i>sânap šäyuβ</i>	<i>šutlasa tuχ</i>	counting leave	to count
<i>solen lektaš</i>	<i>salen läktäš</i>	<i>šâbâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>šulsa tuχ</i>	mowing leave	to mow
<i>somâlen lektaš</i>	<i>samlen läktäš</i>	<i>utap šäyuβ</i>	<i>šumlasa tuχ</i>	weeding leave	to weed
<i>ošemnden lektaš</i>	<i>ošemnden läktäš</i>	<i>âγartâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>šuratsa tuχ</i>	whitening leave	to whiten

Figure 138: *lektaš / läktäš* ‘to go (out), to leave’ indicating that spread of an action (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 65–66**)

As a third point, Isanbayev states that the Mari, Tatar, and Chuvash auxiliaries in combination with intransitive verbs “indicate suddenness or unexpectedness of an action” (**Isanbayev 1978: 66**).³³⁵ He notes that while the Chuvash verb *tuχ* ‘to go (out), to leave’ corresponds to the Mari and Tatar auxiliary in some pairings, the verb *kaj* ‘to go (away)’ is used in some cases instead (**ibid.**).

³³³ “1. Исчерпанность действия от начала до конца, проявление его в полном объеме: [...]”

³³⁴ “2. Действие, охватывающее множество предметов или лиц, и действие, распространяющееся на всю поверхность предмета; [...]”

³³⁵ “3. При некоторых непереходных глаголах модификаторы [...] указывают на внезапность или неожиданность действия; [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>lektaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>läktäš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>šäyuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>lijän lektaš</i>	-	<i>buġap šäyuβ</i>	<i>pulsa tuχ</i>	becoming leave	to come about
<i>mijen lektaš</i>	<i>mien läktäš</i>	<i>bârâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>pîrsa tuχ</i>	going leave	to wind up somewhere
<i>tolân lektaš</i>	<i>tolân läktäš</i>	<i>kilep šäyuβ</i>	<i>kilse tuχ</i>	coming leave	to appear
<i>katalġ lektaš</i>	<i>kätlen läktäš</i>	<i>kitelep šäyuβ</i>	-	breaking leave	to break off
<i>kuškedalt lektaš</i>	<i>käškedalt läktäš</i>	<i>jârâtâp šäyuβ</i>	-	tearing leave	to tear off
<i>kürâštalt lektaš</i>	<i>käraštalt läktäš</i>	<i>jârtâtâp šäyuβ</i>	-	tearing leave	to be torn to bits
<i>šelân lektaš</i>	<i>šelân läktäš</i>	<i>jârâtâp šäyuβ</i>	-	splitting leave	to crack

Figure 139: *lektaš* / *läktäš¹* ‘to go (out), to leave’ indicating suddenness, unexpectedness (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 66)

The fourth function cited by Isanbayev is that of a marker of an “[a]ction continuing in full over the course of a certain period of time” (Isanbayev 1978: 66).³³⁶ The examples he gives for this function are both transitive and intransitive. This function seems to be disproportionately common in Mari, and disproportionately uncommon in Chuvash.

Meadow Mari: <i>lektaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>läktäš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>šäyuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>malen lektaš</i>	<i>amalen läktäš</i>	<i>kunâp šäyuβ</i>	-	sleeping leave	to spend the night
<i>šiñčen lektaš</i>	<i>šanzen läktäš</i>	<i>utârâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>larsa tuχ</i>	sitting leave	to serve one’s time
<i>olten lektaš</i>	<i>olten läktäš</i>	<i>jâġâp šäyuβ</i>	-	heating leave	to heat (all winter)
<i>dežuritlen lektaš</i>	<i>dežuren läktäš</i>	-	-	being.on.duty leave	to carry out one’s duty
<i>baġen lektaš</i>	<i>orolen läktäš</i>	-	-	guarding leave	to guard (for a period)
<i>kutâren lektaš</i>	<i>ġâtâren läktäš</i>	-	-	talking leave	to talk (the night) away

Figure 140: *lektaš* / *läktäš¹* ‘to go (out), to leave’ indicating execution over a delimited period (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 66)

The fifth function cited by Isanbayev is that of a path marker: “[o]n verbs of motion, and some other intransitive verbs, the modifiers [...] denote an action aimed outwards from inside of something” (Isanbayev 1978: 66).³³⁷ Kel’makov cites two Udmurt pairings in which *potġnj* ‘to go (out), to leave’ is used as a path verb: *bġġsa potġnj* ‘to run out (lit. running leave)’, *lobsa potġnj* ‘to fly out (lit. flying leave)’ (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 101).

Meadow Mari: <i>lektaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>läktäš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>šäyuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jogen lektaš</i>	<i>jogen läktäš</i>	<i>âġâp šäyuβ</i>	<i>juχsa tuχ</i>	flowing leave	to flow out
<i>ijân lektaš</i>	<i>in läktäš</i>	<i>jözöp šäyuβ</i>	-	swimming leave	to swim out
<i>kuržân lektaš</i>	<i>kâġgâž läktäš</i>	<i>jögöröp šäyuβ</i>	<i>čupsa tuχ</i>	running leave	to run out
<i>muñčalten lektaš</i>	<i>katajen läktäš</i>	<i>tâġärep šäyuβ</i>	<i>kussa tuχ</i>	sliding leave	to slide out
<i>nuškân lektaš</i>	<i>abal’anen läktäš</i>	<i>ürmäläp šäyuβ</i>	<i>šusa tuχ</i>	crawling leave	to crawl out
<i>töršten lektaš</i>	<i>târgešten läktäš</i>	<i>sikerep šäyuβ</i>	<i>sikse tuχ</i>	jumping leave	to jump out
<i>čögešten lektaš</i>	<i>čögešten läktäš</i>	<i>ošöp šäyuβ</i>	<i>vešse tuχ</i>	flying leave	to fly out

Figure 141: *lektaš* / *läktäš¹* ‘to go (out), to leave’ indicating path ‘out’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 66–67)

³³⁶ “4. Действие, продолжающееся в полном объеме в течение какого-то промежутка времени: [...]”

³³⁷ “5. При глаголах движения и некоторых других непереходных глаголах модификаторы [...] выражают действие, направленное изнутри чего-нибудь; [...]”

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 34 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 35 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 36 ⁽³³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβ̄zlaš¹¹</i>	'to taste'	<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>rońćaltaš¹</i>	'to come unwound'
<i>amalkalaš¹¹</i>	'to deal with'	<i>kutāraš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>rualaš¹</i>	'to chop'
<i>analizirovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to analyse'	<i>kūraš¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>rūzaš¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'
<i>atlaš¹¹</i>	'to cut up'	<i>kūrāštaltaš¹</i>	'to break (intr.)'	<i>saβ̄ārnas¹¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>baŋas¹¹</i>	'to guard'	<i>lijaš¹</i>	'to be; to become'	<i>seŋas¹¹</i>	'to defeat, to win'
<i>beńćajaltaš¹</i>	'to get married'	<i>lokšínćaš¹</i>	'to hew'	<i>sołaš¹¹</i>	'to mow'
<i>β̄isaš¹¹</i>	'to weigh'	<i>lońćālaš¹¹</i>	'to divide into layers (tr.)'	<i>somālaš¹¹</i>	'to weed'
<i>β̄iskalaš¹¹</i>	'to measure'	<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>šalataš¹¹</i>	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>β̄olgaltas¹</i>	'to shine'	<i>malaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep'	<i>šarnaltas¹¹</i>	'to remember'
<i>ćaknaš¹¹</i>	'to move back'	<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	'to go, to come'	<i>šarnaš¹¹</i>	'to remember'
<i>ćāβ̄ālaltaš¹</i>	'to have a wash'	<i>mućāštaš¹¹</i>	'to come unfastened'	<i>šeklanaš¹¹</i>	'to look after'
<i>ćāβ̄ālaš¹</i>	'to have a wash'	<i>mugāl'gaš¹¹</i>	'to protrude'	<i>šelaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>ćāβ̄ālgaš¹¹</i>	'to have a wash'	<i>mugārgaš¹¹</i>	'to bulge out'	<i>šeŋas¹</i>	'to rummage'
<i>ćāβ̄āltaš¹¹</i>	'to bathe'	<i>mugārtaš¹¹</i>	'to spill food from one's mouth'	<i>šeraš¹</i>	'to comb'
<i>ćāmaltaš¹</i>	'to be drawn tight'	<i>muńćaltaš¹¹</i>	'to slide'	<i>šergalaš¹</i>	'to throw open'
<i>ćāpćas¹¹</i>	'to trickle'	<i>muzārgaš¹¹</i>	'to leave a scar'	<i>šergaš¹¹</i>	'to look over'
<i>ćātaš¹¹</i>	'to tolerate'	<i>muškāltaš¹</i>	'to wash oneself'	<i>šāmlaš¹¹</i>	'to research'
<i>ćātārnaltaš¹</i>	'to quiver'	<i>nalaš¹</i>	'to take'	<i>šāndālaš¹</i>	'to put, to set'
<i>ćijaš¹¹</i>	'to put on'	<i>nerestaš¹</i>	'to germinate (intr.)'	<i>šāŋas¹¹</i>	'to fit (intr.)'
<i>ćoŋeštaš¹¹</i>	'to fly'	<i>nergelaš¹¹</i>	'to systematize'	<i>šāranas¹¹</i>	'to bask'
<i>ćorgāktas¹¹</i>	'to purl'	<i>nijalaš¹</i>	'to soften bast'	<i>šārćalaltaš¹</i>	'to be covered with drops'
<i>ćujgas¹¹</i>	'to twist, to wind'	<i>numalaš¹</i>	'to carry'	<i>šārćas¹¹</i>	'to appear (sweat)'
<i>ćūŋgeštaltaš¹</i>	'to hatch'	<i>nuškaš¹</i>	'to creep'	<i>šārgāktas¹¹</i>	'to purl'
<i>dežuritaš¹¹</i>	'to be on duty'	<i>ńamaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>šāzaltaš¹</i>	'to splash (intr.)'
<i>erāktas¹¹</i>	'to clean'	<i>oβ̄aras¹¹</i>	'to rise, to puff up'	<i>šātaš¹¹</i>	'to germinate (intr.)'
<i>ergaš¹¹</i>	'to reap'	<i>ojārlaš¹¹</i>	'to go apart'	<i>šīńćas¹</i>	'to sit down'
<i>ertaras¹¹</i>	'to carry out'	<i>ojaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šīńćas¹¹</i>	'to sit'
<i>āštaltaš¹</i>	'to be done'	<i>okaš¹¹</i>	'to read'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>ijaš¹</i>	'to swim'	<i>oltaš¹¹</i>	'to light'	<i>šolaš¹</i>	'to boil (intr.)'
<i>ilalaš¹</i>	'to eke out a living'	<i>ońćalaš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šonaltaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>ilaš¹¹</i>	'to live'	<i>ońćas¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>išaltaš¹</i>	'to be pressed'	<i>ošemdaš¹¹</i>	'to whiten'	<i>šonkalaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>jarāmaltas¹</i>	'to come apart'	<i>oškālaš¹</i>	'to step'	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>jarāmlaš¹¹</i>	'to separate (tr.)'	<i>ōrtkaš¹¹</i>	'to be scared'	<i>šulaš¹¹</i>	'to melt (intr.)'
<i>jodāštaš¹</i>	'to question'	<i>palemdaš¹¹</i>	'to mark'	<i>šūtaš¹¹</i>	'to pierce'
<i>jogaš¹¹</i>	'to flow'	<i>pećataltas¹</i>	'to be published'	<i>tarβ̄anaš¹¹</i>	'to move (intr.)'
<i>jońćas¹¹</i>	'to ooze'	<i>peras¹¹</i>	'to hit'	<i>tašlas¹¹</i>	'to overflow'
<i>jońćeštaltaš¹</i>	'to ooze'	<i>pāzārgaš¹¹</i>	'to be pressed'	<i>tergaš¹¹</i>	'to check'
<i>joŋgas¹¹</i>	'to sound'	<i>pāžaltaš¹</i>	'to fall off'	<i>tārlaš¹¹</i>	'to get better'
<i>jūas¹</i>	'to drink'	<i>pātaras¹¹</i>	'to finish (tr.)'	<i>toškaš¹¹</i>	'to trample'
<i>jūštālaš¹</i>	'to bathe'	<i>pošaš¹¹</i>	'to pump'	<i>tōrgaltaš¹</i>	'to tear off (intr.)'
<i>kalaskalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>pōrdaš¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'	<i>tōrštaltaš¹¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>kaltas¹</i>	'to break off (intr.)'	<i>pudeštaš¹</i>	'to burst (intr.)'	<i>tōrštaš¹¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>kelaš¹</i>	'to wade'	<i>pudārgaš¹¹</i>	'to break (intr.)'	<i>tulaš¹¹</i>	'to bolt'
<i>kāćkaš¹¹</i>	'to harness'	<i>puńćalaltaš¹</i>	'to be squeezed'	<i>tunemaš¹</i>	'to learn'
<i>kijaš¹¹</i>	'to lie'	<i>puraš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'	<i>tūredaš¹</i>	'to cut; to harvest'
<i>koćkaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>puzārgaš¹¹</i>	'to bulge out'	<i>tūrgaltaš¹</i>	'to rise, to whirl'
<i>kolāštaš¹</i>	'to listen'	<i>pužaraltaš¹</i>	'to be planed'	<i>tūrgaš¹¹</i>	'to rise, to swirl'
<i>koraš¹¹</i>	'to scratch, to cut'	<i>pūćkaš¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>tūsaš¹¹</i>	'to endure'
<i>koštaš¹</i>	'to go'	<i>radamlaš¹¹</i>	'to analyse'	<i>udāralaš¹</i>	'to strike'
<i>kudalaš¹</i>	'to ride'	<i>ratlaš¹¹</i>	'to analyse'	<i>umāltaras¹¹</i>	'to explain'
<i>kudaltaš¹¹</i>	'to throw (out)'	<i>redaktirovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to edit'	<i>urgaš¹¹</i>	'to sew'
<i>kuržaš¹</i>	'to run'	<i>roβ̄altaš¹</i>	'to beat against'	<i>užaš¹</i>	'to see'
<i>kuškaš¹</i>	'to grow (intr.)'				
<i>kuškedaltaš¹</i>	'to tear (intr.)'				

užataš^{ll} ‘to accompany’ *utlaš^{ll}* ‘to escape’ *üštâlaš^l* ‘to sweep’
utaraltaš^l ‘to be saved’ *üpšâñčâš^l* ‘to smell (tr.)’

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicating that a (transitive) verb is carried out from beginning to end, that it encompasses a multitude of items or people, or that it covers the entire surface of an item • Indicating suddenness and unexpectedness of an action • Indicating that an action takes place over the course of a delimited time period • Path marker ‘out’ (productive) coupled with intransitive verbs
Distribution etc.	In the first and fourth usages, accounts from Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. As marker of suddenness, accounts from Mari, Tatar, Chuvash (to a lesser extent). As a marker of an action occurring over the course of a delimited time period, primarily Mari, to a lesser extent in Tatar, rarely in Chuvash.
Literary pairings	Sources: 100 Corpus: 67 Total: 167
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>potjnj</i> Tatar: <i>šâyuβ</i> Bashkir: <i>sâγâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>tuχ</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>läkte</i> - ‘to leave, to go out’, cognates in Finnish <i>lähteä</i> ‘to leave’, Udmurt <i>lijktjnj</i> ‘to come’, Komi <i>loknj</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al. 1988–1991: I: 109; Bereczki et al. 2013: 239–240).

Figure 142: Profile of *lektaš / läktäš^l* ‘to go (out), to leave’

4.1.26 *lijaš / liäš^l* ‘to be; to become’

This verb is not described as an auxiliary in any of my sources, but 3 pairings using it are marked as auxiliary constructions. I could find a further 4 pairings in the corpus. All of these pairings seem to be relatively common. Of the total of 7 pairings I was able to find, 5 denote a sensory perception or a cognitive process – knowing, remembering, looking after, believing – and in combination with this auxiliary seem to indicate the onset of this perception or process – i.e., it serves as an ingressive marker.

- *šarnaš^{ll}* ‘to remember’ > *šarnen lijaš^l* ‘to bear in mind’
- *šeklanaš^{ll}* ‘to look after’ > *šeklanan lijaš^l* ‘to beware of’
- *šiñčâš^{ll}* ‘to know’ > *šiñčen lijaš^l* ‘to know for the future’
- *üşanaš^{ll}* ‘to believe’ > *üşanen lijaš^l* ‘to become certain’

I am not familiar with any evidence that this word’s counterpart in other languages – Udmurt *lujnj* ‘to be; to become’,³³⁸ Tatar *buluβ* ‘id.’, Bashkir *bulâβ* ‘id.’, Chuvash *pul* ‘id.’ – are used in an analogous fashion.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	BEK: I: 47 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

jamdâlaš^{ll} ‘to prepare (tr.)’ *šarnaš^{ll}* ‘to remember’ *üşanaš^{ll}* ‘to believe’
kodaš^l ‘to stay’ *šeklanaš^{ll}* ‘to look after’
palaš^{ll} ‘to know’ *šiñčâš^{ll}* ‘to know’

³³⁸ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	• Ingressiveness marker			
Distribution etc.	No data			
Literary pairings	Sources: 3	Corpus: 4	Total: 7	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>lujnj</i>	Tatar: <i>buluβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>bulǎβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pul</i>
Etymology	< PU * <i>le-</i> 'to be, to become, to live', cognates include Finnish <i>lienee</i> '(s)he might be', Hungarian <i>lenni</i> 'to be', Udmurt <i>lujnj</i> 'to be; to become' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 243–244; Bereczki et al. 2013: 114–115)			

Figure 143: Profile of *lijaš / liäš* 'to be; to become'

4.1.27 *luktaš / lâktaš* 'to take out'

This verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 87–88; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Beke 1911: 161; Uchayev 1995: 163; Moio 1992: 154; Serebrennikov 1960: 196–197; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 50–51; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *лукташ*). Nikolay Isanbayev states that auxiliary constructions using it “are formed only from a few transitive verbs” (Isanbayev 1978: 67).³³⁹ With 93 different pairings found in lexical sources and another 46 in the corpus, this claim seems questionable: while the auxiliary is indeed mostly connected with transitive verbs only, it is considerably more productive than Isanbayev states.

Isanbayev likens this Mari verb to Tatar *šâyaruβ* 'to take out' and Chuvash *kălar* 'id.' (Isanbayev 1978: 67); Bashkir *sâyarâβ* 'id.' can be found in auxiliary constructions as well (cf. Akhmerov et al. 1958). Valey Kel'makov gives usage examples (but no usage notes) for Udmurt *pottjnj* 'id.' that are consistent with the usage of its Mari counterpart as an auxiliary (cf. Kel'makov 1975: 101). Gábor Bereczki et al. see *püčkân luktaš* 'to cut out (lit. cutting take.out)' and *urgen luktaš* 'to sew (a certain quantity) (lit. sewing take.out)' as Chuvash loan translations (Bereczki et al. 2013: 208; 299).

Isanbayev states that pairings with this verb “express the completion, exhaustiveness of an action, the achievement of which requires passing through an entire cycle of this process” (Isanbayev 1978: 67),³⁴⁰ noting that pairings of this sort are only encountered in Mari and Tatar, but not in Chuvash (*ibid.*). SMYa simply calls it a marker of completion and exhaustiveness (Pengitov et al. 1961: 210). In many cases, auxiliary constructions denote that an item (e.g. a product) or abstract concept (e.g. a thought) is created in the process of the action.

Meadow Mari: <i>luktaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>lâktaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>šâyaruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kălar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>šonen luktaš</i>	<i>šanen lâktaš</i>	<i>uĵtap šâyaruβ</i>	<i>turtsa kălar</i>	thinking take.out	to think up
<i>šotlen luktaš</i>	<i>šotlen lâktaš</i>	<i>ĵisaplap šâyaruβ</i>	<i>šutlasa kălar</i>	counting take.out	to work out
<i>kükten luktaš</i>	<i>kükten lâktaš</i>	<i>pešerep šâyaruβ</i>	<i>pěšjerse kălar</i>	baking take.out	to bake
<i>âšten luktaš</i>	<i>âšten lâktaš</i>	<i>ešläp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>tusa kălar</i>	doing take.out	to make
<i>šolten luktaš</i>	<i>šolten lâktaš</i>	<i>qâjnatâp šâyaruβ</i>	-	boiling take.out	to boil thoroughly

Figure 144: *luktaš / lâktaš* 'to take out' denoting completion, exhaustiveness, creation (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 67)

³³⁹ “[...] образуются только от пар входных глаголов [...]”

³⁴⁰ “[...] выражают завершение, исчерпанность действия, для достижения которого требуется прохождение через весь цикл этого процесса, [...]”

This verb and its counterparts in other languages can also “indicate a movement from the inside” (Isanbayev 1978: 67).³⁴¹ In its function as a path verb, it serves as a transitive counterpart to the intransitive verb *lektaš* / *läktäš* ‘to go (out), to leave’ – see Section 4.1.25 (page 179).

Meadow Mari: <i>luktaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>lâktaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>šâyaruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kălar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>išen luktaš</i>	<i>turtangden lâktaš</i>	<i>qâsâp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>χesse kălar</i>	pressing take.out	to press out
<i>künčên luktaš</i>	<i>kapajen lâktaš</i>	<i>qâzâp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>čavsă kălar</i>	digging take.out	to dig out
<i>peren luktaš</i>	<i>seben lâktaš</i>	<i>bârep šâyaruβ</i>	<i>sikterse kălar</i>	hitting take.out	to knock out
<i>pokten luktaš</i>	<i>pokten lâktaš</i>	<i>quβâp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>χăvalasă kălar</i>	driving take.out	to drive out
<i>šupšân luktaš</i>	<i>šâpšân lâktaš</i>	<i>târtâp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>turtsă kălar</i>	pulling take.out	to pull out
<i>šüdâren luktaš</i>	<i>šadaren lâktaš</i>	<i>söjrâp šâyaruβ</i>	<i>sětërse kălar</i>	dragging take.out	to drag out

Figure 145: *luktaš* / *lâktaš*¹ ‘to take out’ indicating path ‘out’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 67)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 1 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 16 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 43 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 49 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 61 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 3 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 33 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aralaš</i> ¹¹	‘to defend’	<i>koptârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to deform’	<i>pâzârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to push’
<i>ašnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to keep, to nurse’	<i>koraš</i> ¹¹	‘to scratch, to cut’	<i>počkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shake off’
<i>bozaš</i> ¹¹	‘to write’	<i>koreštaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to cross out’	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’
<i>bozkalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to write, to scribble’	<i>kožaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive (away)’	<i>poktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive’
<i>βursaš</i> ¹¹	‘to scold’	<i>kožgataš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive; to stir’	<i>poktâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive off’
<i>βûdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lead’	<i>kožgatâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive; to stir’	<i>pôrdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lathe’
<i>čâβâltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bathe’	<i>körgâhčâš</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’	<i>pualaš</i> ¹¹	‘to blow’
<i>čâβâštalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pinch’	<i>kuaš</i> ¹¹	‘to weave’	<i>puaš</i> ¹¹	‘to blow’
<i>čâβâštâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pinch’	<i>kučâš</i> ¹¹	‘to hold’	<i>puđârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to break (tr.)’
<i>čâkaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shove’	<i>kuklaš</i> ¹¹	‘to uproot’	<i>pukšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to feed’
<i>čâkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shove’	<i>kuškedaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tear’	<i>pukšaš</i> ¹¹ - <i>jüktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to nourish’
<i>čumalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to kick’	<i>küeštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bake’	<i>pulaštaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to confuse someone’
<i>čumaš</i> ¹¹	‘to kick’	<i>küktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>puhčalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wring out’
<i>čumârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>künčâš</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’	<i>puhčâš</i> ¹¹	‘to wring out’
<i>čünğaš</i> ¹¹	‘to peck’	<i>kürâš</i> ¹¹	‘to pick’	<i>purgedaš</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’
<i>erâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to clean’	<i>kürâštâš</i> ¹¹	‘to pick’	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring in’
<i>esaplaš</i> ¹¹	‘to intend to’	<i>leβâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to melt (tr.)’	<i>puzârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to press out’
<i>âštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>lupšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to whip’	<i>püčkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to cut’
<i>âžgârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shout’	<i>muaš</i> ¹¹	‘to find’	<i>püktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hatch (tr.)’
<i>χlopotatlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to make an effort’	<i>mugârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to spill food from one’s mouth’	<i>pürgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to spurt’
<i>iralaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>muškaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wash’	<i>pütârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>išaš</i> ¹¹	‘to press’	<i>nalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take’	<i>rončâš</i> ¹¹	‘to unwind (tr.)’
<i>iškâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wedge’	<i>namaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>ropkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to knock’
<i>jamđâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to prepare (tr.)’	<i>numalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to carry’	<i>sabaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bend (tr.)’
<i>jodâštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to question’	<i>numaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to make carry’	<i>sabâktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to publish’
<i>joždaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to ruin’	<i>ojârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to separate’	<i>sakaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hang up’
<i>jöraš</i> ¹¹	‘to felt’	<i>ondalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to deceive’	<i>seraš</i> ¹¹	‘to write’
<i>jüktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to give to drink’	<i>ončâš</i> ¹¹	‘to look’	<i>surgâktâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shake (tr.)’
<i>kačatlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pump’	<i>optaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>šabâktâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive away’
<i>katkalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>öndalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to embrace’	<i>šarâhčaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to eject’
<i>kâčalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to search’	<i>pastârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive away’	<i>šerğaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rummage’
<i>kârâš</i> ¹¹	‘to beat’	<i>pečâatlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to print’	<i>šergašlas</i> ¹¹	‘to put a ring on’
<i>koβâltaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to tear out’	<i>peraš</i> ¹¹	‘to hit’	<i>šâgâremdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to make more cramped’
<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>pâzârâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to push’	<i>šijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to thresh’
<i>koptaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to strip off’			<i>šolâštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to steal’

³⁴¹ “[...] указывают на движение изнутри: [...]”

<i>šoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>šūkalaš^I</i>	‘to push’	<i>tūkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to touch (tr.)’
<i>šonaš^{II}</i>	‘to think’	<i>šūkaš^{II}</i>	‘to push’	<i>tūtāraš^{II}</i>	‘to fumigate’
<i>šonkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to think’	<i>šūlaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to breathe’	<i>udāralaš^I</i>	‘to strike’
<i>šotlaš^{II}</i>	‘to count’	<i>taptaš^{II}</i>	‘to forge’	<i>udāraš^{II}</i>	‘to strike’
<i>šōraš^{II}</i>	‘to unwind (tr.)’	<i>temdaš^{II}</i>	‘to push’	<i>urgas^{II}</i>	‘to sew’
<i>šupšaš^I</i>	‘to pull’	<i>temdāštaš^{II}</i>	‘to push’	<i>užataš^{II}</i>	‘to accompany’
<i>šupšālaš^I</i>	‘to pull’	<i>tongāktaš^{II}</i>	‘to throw out’	<i>utaraš^{II}</i>	‘to save’
<i>šuraltaš^{II}</i>	‘to stick in’	<i>törgaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to tear off (tr.)’	<i>ūštaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>šuraš^{II}</i>	‘to pound’	<i>tulaš^{II}</i>	‘to pump’	<i>ūštālaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>šūbalaš^I</i>	‘to spit; to charm’	<i>tunāktaš^{II}</i>	‘to teach’	<i>ūžaš^I</i>	‘to invite’
<i>šūdāralaš^I</i>	‘to pull off’	<i>turgāktaš^{II}</i>	‘to boil out (tr.)’	<i>ūžāktaš^{II}</i>	‘to summon’
<i>šūdāraš^{II}</i>	‘to drag’	<i>tutānaš^{II}</i>	‘to stammer’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicating completion, exhaustiveness, creation of an object or concept • Path marker ‘out’ 		
Distribution etc.	As marker for completion, Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Udmurt, Chuvash (to a somewhat lesser extent). As a path marker, Mari, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, Udmurt.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 93	Corpus: 46	Total: 139
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pottjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>šāyaruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>sāyarāβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kālar</i>
Etymology	?		

Figure 146: Profile of *luktaš* / *lāktaš^I* ‘to take out’

4.1.28 *mijaš* / *miäš^{II}* ‘to come, to go’

While this verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 88; Moisiu 1992: 169; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш; Uchayev 1995: 163; Savatkova 2008: 155; Chkhaidze 1960: 36**), I only encountered 20 distinct pairings using it in my sources and another 23 in the corpus. It seems to be rather uncommon when compared to some other auxiliaries.

Nikolay Isanbayev likens the Mari auxiliary to Tatar *bāruβ* ‘to go’ and Chuvash *pīr* (**Isanbayev 1978: 68**); Bashkir *bārāβ* seems to be used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Landmann 2015: 100**). I am not familiar with a functional counterpart to these verbs in Udmurt.

SMYa refers to this verb as a marker of “duration of an activity with a hint at the gradual increase of its effect” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 215–216**).³⁴² Isanbayev contrasts this verb with the radically more common *tolaš* / *tolaš^I* ‘to come’ – see Section 4.1.62 (page 248) – stating that it and its counterparts form auxiliary constructions “from some intransitive and transitive verbs and indicate a gradual increase, development of an action in the direction of its limit, but [in contrast to those with *tolaš* / *tolaš^I* ‘to come’] not from the past to the present, but from the past towards the future” (**Isanbayev 1978: 68**).³⁴³ This distinction was not transparent to me or my consultant, for whom pairings using these auxiliaries seemed synonymous.

³⁴² “[...] длительности действия с оттенком постепенного нарастания эффекта его.”

³⁴³ “[...] от некоторых непереходных и переходных глаголов и обозначают постепенное нарастание, развитие действия в сторону своего предела, но не от прошлого к настоящему, а от прошлого к будущему: [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>mijaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>miäš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>bâruθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pîr</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βijaŋden mijaš</i>	<i>βiäŋgden miäš</i>	<i>köšäjtep bâruθ</i>	<i>väjłatsa pîr</i>	strengthening go	to strengthen gradually
<i>kuškân mijaš</i>	<i>kuškân miäš</i>	<i>üsep bâruθ</i>	<i>atalansa pîr</i>	growing go	to grow up
<i>kugemân mijaš</i>	<i>kogoeman miäš</i>	<i>zurajâp bâruθ</i>	<i>aslansa pîr</i>	increasing go	to increase gradually
<i>izemân mijaš</i>	<i>iziemân miäš</i>	<i>βâyajâp bâruθ</i>	<i>větelse pîr</i>	decreasing go	to diminish
<i>pâten mijaš</i>	<i>pâten miäš</i>	<i>betep bâruθ</i>	<i>pětse pîr</i>	ending go	to expire
<i>lijân mijaš</i>	<i>lin miäš</i>	<i>butâp bâruθ</i>	<i>pulsa pîr</i>	becoming go	to become gradually

Figure 147: *mijaš* / *miäš*¹¹ ‘to come, to go’ denoting gradual increase, development (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 68)

Furthermore, this verb and its counterparts can occur as a path verb and “indicate the approach up to a certain limit” (Isanbayev 1978: 68).³⁴⁴ In this function too, it seems to be coupled with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

Meadow Mari: <i>mijaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>miäš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>bâruθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pîr</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ijân mijaš</i>	<i>in miäš</i>	<i>jözöp bâruθ</i>	<i>išse pîr</i>	swimming go	to swim up to
<i>kuržân mijaš</i>	<i>kârgâž miäš</i>	<i>jögöröp bâruθ</i>	<i>čupsa pîr</i>	running go	to run up to
<i>nuškân mijaš</i>	<i>aβal’anen miäš</i>	<i>ürmälâp bâruθ</i>	<i>upälense pîr</i>	crawling go	to crawl up to
<i>pokten mijaš</i>	<i>pokten miäš</i>	<i>quβâp bâruθ</i>	<i>χâvalasa pîr</i>	driving go	to drive up to
<i>küñčen mijaš</i>	<i>kapajen miäš</i>	<i>qâžâp bâruθ</i>		digging go	to dig up to
<i>türet mijaš</i>	<i>târet miäš</i>	<i>urap bâruθ</i>	<i>virsa pîr</i>	mowing go	to mow up to

Figure 148: *mijaš* / *miäš*¹¹ ‘to come, to go’ indicating path up to a certain limit (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 68–69)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 5 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 10 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 14 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 1 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>βijaŋdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to develop (tr.)’	<i>kükšemaš</i> ¹	‘to rise’	<i>rümbalgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grow dark’
<i>βozaš</i> ¹	‘to lie down’	<i>küñčas</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’	<i>šinčas</i> ¹	‘to sit down’
<i>βozaš</i> ¹¹	‘to write’	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	‘to be; to become’	<i>šočas</i> ¹	‘to be born’
<i>čöŋeštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to fly’	<i>lünğaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>šuktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to manage’
<i>âštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>nalaš</i> ¹	‘to take’	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹	‘to pull’
<i>ijaš</i> ¹	‘to swim’	<i>nuškaš</i> ¹	‘to creep’	<i>taβaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stamp’
<i>izemaš</i> ¹	‘to decrease’	<i>oškedaš</i> ¹¹	‘to step’	<i>toškalaš</i> ¹	‘to step’
<i>izemdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to reduce’	<i>oškâlaš</i> ¹	‘to step’	<i>törštaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to jump’
<i>jöraš</i> ¹¹	‘to go out’	<i>petâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to close (tr.)’	<i>törštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to jump’
<i>kâččalaš</i> ¹	‘to search’	<i>pâtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to end (intr.)’	<i>türedaš</i> ¹	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>kâlmaš</i> ¹¹	‘to freeze (intr.)’	<i>pižaš</i> ¹	‘to stick (intr.)’	<i>ušnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to join (intr.)’
<i>kudalaš</i> ¹	‘to ride’	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>ušnâlaš</i> ¹	‘to join (intr.)’
<i>kugemaš</i> ¹	‘to increase (intr.)’	<i>poktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive’	<i>užataš</i> ¹¹	‘to accompany’
<i>kuržaš</i> ¹	‘to run’	<i>polšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to help’		
<i>kuškaš</i> ¹	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>pördaš</i> ¹	‘to turn (intr.)’		

³⁴⁴ “[...] указывают на приближение к определенному пределу, [...]”

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual marker denoting duration of an action, gradual intensification or increase in its effect Path up to a certain limit 			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash			
Literary pairings	Sources: 20	Corpus: 23	Total: 43	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: <i>bǎruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>bǎrǎβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pīr</i>
Etymology	< PU *mene- 'to go', cognates include Finnish <i>mennä</i> 'id.', Hungarian <i>megy</i> 'id', Udmurt <i>mīnjnj</i> 'id.' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 272; Bereczki et al. 2013: 141–142)			

Figure 149: Profile of *mijaš* / *mīäš*^{II} 'to come, to go'

4.1.29 *moštaš* / *māštaš*^I 'to be able to'

This modal auxiliary with the meaning “to be able to, to know how to do something” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **мошташ** I; cf. also Moisio 1992: 172; Savatkova 2008: 165)³⁴⁵ seems, in contrast to *kertaš* / *kerdäš*^I 'to be able to' – see Section 4.1.14 (page 154) – to be used primarily in reference to acquired, learned abilities. Like *kertaš* / *kerdäš*^I, this auxiliary primarily co-occurs with the converb in *-n* – see Section 2.2.3 (page 45) for a general discussion of this topic. Isolated examples can be found where it co-occurs with the infinitive. According to my consultant, the usage of the infinitive stresses the skilful execution of an action, as is the case when the infinitive co-occurs with *kertaš* / *kerdäš*^I.

As applied in the case of *kertaš* / *kerdäš*^I, here too Mari adheres to the general tendency that modal auxiliaries denoting permission, necessity, or ability combine with converbs in Turkic languages (cf. Johanson 2009: 498). Tatar *belüb* 'to know; to be able to' and Bashkir *beleβ* 'id.' govern the converb in *-a* ~ *-ä* (Landmann 2014a: 93; Landmann 2015: 95); Chuvash is again an outlier with Turkic, with *pěl* 'id.' governing the infinitive in *-ma* ~ *-me* (Landmann 2014b: 74).

In the dialect text collections

With the converb in *-n*:

E	BEK: III: 280 ⁽¹⁷⁾ GEN: 12 ⁽¹⁴⁾
M	BEK: II: 86 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 164 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 166 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 48 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 197 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 248 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 249 ⁽³⁵⁾ POR: 45 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 46 ⁽²⁴⁾ JEV: IV: 136 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 138 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 158 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 226 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 358 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 400 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	WICH: 1 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

With the infinitive:

E	BEK: III: 286 ⁽¹⁷⁾ BEK: III: 362 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 370 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 371 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 396 ⁽¹⁸⁾ BEK: III: 504 ⁽¹⁸⁾
M	BEK: I: 72 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 74 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 118 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 119 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 176 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 178 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 311 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 359 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 467 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: II: 104 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 32 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 42 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 238 ⁽³⁵⁾ WICH: 31 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 152 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 360 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 88 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 100 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 188 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 302 ⁽²³⁾
NW	BEK: I: 32 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

N/A

³⁴⁵ “уметь, суметь что-либо сделать (делать)”

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs			
Usage	• Modal auxiliary “to be able to, to have learned to”			
Distribution etc.	With converb in Mari, Tatar, Bashkir. Fully productive			
Literary pairings	Sources: N/A	Corpus: N/A	Total: N/A	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: <i>belüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>beleβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pěl</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>mačta-</i> ‘to be able to, to know’, cognates include Finnish <i>mahtaa</i> ‘to be able to’, Estonian <i>mahtuma</i> ‘to fit, to have room’, Mordvin <i>maštoms</i> ‘to be able to, to know to’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 265; Bereczki et al. 2013: 145)			

Figure 150: Profile of *moštaš* / *māštaš*¹ ‘to be able to’

4.1.30 *nalaš* / *näläš*¹ ‘to take’

Nikolay Isanbayev states that “[i]n the Tatar and Chuvash languages, [auxiliary constructions] of this type are spread to a much greater extent than in Mari” (Isanbayev 1978: 84).³⁴⁶ However, the classification of this verb as an auxiliary is unambiguous (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Moisio 1992: 179; Beke 1911: 161; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *налаш* I; Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 42–43; Serebrennikov 1960: 192) and with 245 distinct pairings mentioned in my sources coupled with another 39 in the corpus, it is indeed one of the more widely used auxiliaries. It is unclear to what extent Isanbayev’s statement is appropriate.

SMYa implies that this auxiliary is mostly connected with transitive verbs (cf. Pengitov et al. 1961: 211), which seems to be accurate. Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *âtuβ* ‘to take’ and Chuvash *il* ‘id.’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83; Schönig 1984: 51); Bashkir *âtâβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used in an analogous fashion (cf. Landmann 2015: 100). Valey Kel’makov cites two functions for Udmurt *baštjnĵ* ‘id.’ as an auxiliary that roughly line up with those cited for Mari and Turkic verbal pairings with its counterparts (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 102).

Gábor Bereczki et al. define *jodân nalaš* ‘to obtain by request (lit. asking take)’ as a Chuvash loan translation, but consider Tatar influence on this construction a possibility as well (Bereczki et al. 2013: 32). They identify *kočkân nalaš* ‘to eat up (lit. eating take)’, *ludân nalaš* ‘to read (for a while) (lit. reading take)’, *oňčen nalaš* ‘to look around (lit. looking take)’, and *püčkân nalaš* ‘to cut off (lit. cutting take)’ as Chuvash loan translations, without providing alternative interpretations (ibid.: 66; 123; 174; 208).

As discussed in Section 2.2.6 (page 68), verbs with the meaning ‘to take’ are in many languages of the world, including the Turkic languages of the Volga-Kama Region, used as autobenefactive markers, indicating that an action is carried out to the benefit of the agent. Isanbayev states that this Mari verb, as well as its Turkic counterparts, form auxiliary constructions “from transitive and intransitive verbs belonging to different semantic groups and indicate a completed action carried out to the subject’s benefit” (Isanbayev 1978: 83).³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ “В татарском и чувашском языках составные глаголы этой группы распространены намного больше, чем в марийском.”

³⁴⁷ “[...] образуются от переходных и непереходных глаголов, входящих в различные семантические группы, и обозначают законченное действие, совершаемое в пользу субъекта: [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>nalaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>näläš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>âtuθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>il</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>koštal nalaš</i>	<i>kaštal näläš</i>	<i>sosop âtuθ</i>	<i>ässa il</i>	ladling take	to scoop
<i>purlân nalaš</i>	<i>pârêl näläš</i>	<i>qâbâp âtuθ</i>	<i>širtsa il</i>	biting take	to bite off
<i>kürlân nalaš</i>	<i>karən näläš</i>	<i>jârtâp âtuθ</i>	<i>tatsa il</i>	tearing take	to tear off
<i>palen nalaš</i>	<i>pâlen näläš</i>	<i>belep âtuθ</i>	<i>pallasa il</i>	knowing take	to find out
<i>umâlen nalaš</i>	<i>ângâlen näläš</i>	<i>âŋtap âtuθ</i>	<i>änlansa il</i>	understanding take	to unravel
<i>šupšân nalaš</i>	<i>šâpšân näläš</i>	<i>târtâp âtuθ</i>	<i>tataltarsa il</i>	pulling take	to pull out
<i>solen nalaš</i>	<i>salen näläš</i>	<i>šârtâp âtuθ</i>	<i>šulsa il</i>	mowing take	to mow

Figure 151: *nalaš* / *näläš¹* ‘to take’ as an autobenefactive marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83)

Isanbayev states that other auxiliary constructions with these modifiers “express an action taking place in a short period of time” (Isanbayev 1978: 83).³⁴⁸

Meadow Mari: <i>nalaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>näläš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>âtuθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>il</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kaŋašen nalaš</i>	<i>käŋgäšen näläš</i>	<i>kiŋäšläšep âtuθ</i>	<i>kanašlasa il</i>	advising take	to consult
<i>θoštâl nalaš</i>	<i>θaštâl näläš</i>	<i>kölöp âtuθ</i>	<i>kulsa il</i>	laughing take	to have a laugh
<i>košteden nalaš</i>	-	<i>jöröp âtuθ</i>	<i>šürese il</i>	going take	to walk (a while)
<i>šâltalen nalaš</i>	<i>θârsen näläš</i>	<i>šeltâlep âtuθ</i>	<i>χâtârsa il</i>	rebuking take	to tell off
<i>malen nalaš</i>	<i>amalen näläš</i>	<i>joqtap âtuθ</i>	<i>šivârsa il</i>	sleeping take	to take a nap

Figure 152: *nalaš* / *näläš¹* ‘to take’ as a momentary marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83–84)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 10 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 11 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 12 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 19 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 26 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 33 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 8 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 17 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 21 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 47 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	WICH: 3 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aθaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to grasp’	<i>čoklaš¹¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>kañârgâžaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch one’s limbs’
<i>aθaš¹¹</i>	‘to cut (crops)’	<i>čüčkaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to dance; to shake’	<i>kaŋašaš¹¹</i>	‘to advise’
<i>aθâralaš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>čüŋgaš¹¹</i>	‘to peck’	<i>kargaš¹¹</i>	‘to curse’
<i>aθâraš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>erâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to clean’	<i>kargašaš¹¹</i>	‘to quarrel’
<i>aθâzlaš¹¹</i>	‘to taste’	<i>eskeraš¹¹</i>	‘to observe’	<i>karnâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch oneself’
<i>agaš¹¹</i>	‘to rob’	<i>êŋlaš¹¹</i>	‘to understand’	<i>kataš¹¹</i>	‘to break off (tr.)’
<i>ajlaš¹¹</i>	‘to take up’	<i>êreslaš¹¹</i>	‘to christen’	<i>kâčalaš¹¹</i>	‘to search’
<i>aklaš¹¹</i>	‘to evaluate’	<i>âzgaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to buzz’	<i>kâčkâraš¹¹</i>	‘to shout’
<i>aralalaš¹¹</i>	‘to defend’	<i>âštaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’	<i>kâškâltaš¹¹</i>	‘to throw’
<i>aralaš¹¹</i>	‘to defend’	<i>fotografirovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to photograph’	<i>kočkaš¹¹</i>	‘to eat’
<i>θaštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to change (tr.)’	<i>gürgâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to rumble’	<i>kogartaraš¹¹</i>	‘to scald’
<i>θisaš¹¹</i>	‘to weigh’	<i>jačaš¹¹</i>	‘to beg’	<i>kogartaš¹¹</i>	‘to scald’
<i>θiskalaš¹¹</i>	‘to measure’	<i>jaŋâšaš¹¹</i>	‘to pester’	<i>kojdaraš¹¹</i>	‘to mock’
<i>θozaš¹¹</i>	‘to write’	<i>jaraš¹¹</i>	‘to take up’	<i>kojâšlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to flaunt’
<i>θoštâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>jatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to abuse’	<i>kolâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to listen’
<i>θožâltaraš¹¹</i>	‘to embarrass’	<i>jârlaš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>koptaraš¹¹</i>	‘to strip off’
<i>θursaš¹¹</i>	‘to scold’	<i>jodaš¹¹</i>	‘to ask’	<i>kormâžtaš¹¹</i>	‘to squeeze’
<i>θursedâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to argue’	<i>jodâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to question’	<i>kozârtâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to scold’
<i>θüčkaš¹¹</i>	‘to pat on the back’	<i>joktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>koštalaš¹¹</i>	‘to ladle’
<i>θüðâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to wrap’	<i>jomaklaš¹¹</i>	‘to tell stories’	<i>koštaš¹¹</i>	‘to go’
<i>čâmanaš¹¹</i>	‘to pity’	<i>joŋâštaš¹¹</i>	‘to grind’	<i>koštaš¹¹</i>	‘to dry (tr.)’
<i>čâšmalas¹¹</i>	‘to fence in’	<i>joštkaš¹¹</i>	‘to whip’	<i>koštedaš¹¹</i>	‘to go, to travel’
<i>čâgâltâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to tickle’	<i>jumâltaš¹¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>kožgataš¹¹</i>	‘to drive; to stir’
<i>čâštârâktaš¹¹</i>	‘to shake (tr.)’	<i>kanaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to rest’	<i>kožgatâlaš¹¹</i>	‘to drive; to stir’

³⁴⁸ “[...] выражает действие, происходящее в течение небольшого промежутка времени: [...]”

<i>kredalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>optaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to pile up'	<i>sulaš¹¹</i>	'to redeem something'
<i>kritikovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to criticize'	<i>oradālanas¹¹</i>	'to behave wildly'	<i>sūbāzas¹¹</i>	'to hull'
<i>kučedalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>ōndalaš¹</i>	'to embrace'	<i>sūbāzlas¹¹</i>	'to hull, to peel'
<i>kučāltas¹</i>	'to use'	<i>palas¹¹</i>	'to know'	<i>sūretlas¹¹</i>	'to draw, to paint'
<i>kudašas¹</i>	'to take off'	<i>pečas¹¹</i>	'to fence in'	<i>zanimatlas¹¹</i>	'to study'
<i>kuškedaš¹</i>	'to tear'	<i>pečālas¹¹</i>	'to fence in'	<i>zvonitlas¹¹</i>	'to ring'
<i>kuštaltaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>perkalaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>šapāras¹¹</i>	'to speak'
<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>pādalaš¹</i>	'to protect'	<i>šarnas¹¹</i>	'to remember'
<i>kutāralas¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>pāštaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'	<i>šeklanaš¹¹</i>	'to look after'
<i>kutāraltas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>pātaraš¹¹</i>	'to finish (tr.)'	<i>šelāštaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>kutāras¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>počkaltaras¹¹</i>	'to sting'	<i>šeras¹</i>	'to comb'
<i>kutārkalas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>počkaltas¹¹</i>	'to shake off'	<i>šāltalaš¹¹</i>	'to reproach'
<i>kūdārtatas¹¹</i>	'to thunder'	<i>počkaš¹¹</i>	'to shake off'	<i>šāmataš¹¹</i>	'to comfort'
<i>kūpas¹¹</i>	'to swell'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>šāmlas¹¹</i>	'to research'
<i>kūras¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>poñāžas¹</i>	'to singe'	<i>šānas¹¹</i>	'to test'
<i>kūrlas¹</i>	'to tear off (tr. & intr.)'	<i>pongālas¹¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>šijas¹</i>	'to thresh'
<i>kūrtānālas¹¹</i>	'to cover with iron'	<i>pōlas¹¹</i>	'to divide (intr.)'	<i>šīñčas¹¹</i>	'to know'
<i>lastāklas¹¹</i>	'to lean through'	<i>pōrdalaš¹</i>	'to roll (intr.)'	<i>šišlanas¹¹</i>	'to spy on'
<i>lābārtaš¹¹</i>	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>pōrdaltaras¹¹</i>	'to roll (tr.)'	<i>šīžas¹</i>	'to feel'
<i>lāštašlas¹¹</i>	'to leaf through'	<i>pōrdaš¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'	<i>šoktas¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>ločkaš¹¹</i>	'to lash'	<i>pōrdāktālas¹</i>	'to roll (tr.)'	<i>šoltkas¹¹</i>	'to rattle'
<i>lodaš¹¹</i>	'to mark'	<i>puas¹¹</i>	'to give'	<i>šonaltas¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>lodāmandas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>pudāratas¹¹</i>	'to stir (tr.)'	<i>šonas¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>logaltaš¹¹</i>	'to hit'	<i>pudāratālas¹</i>	'to stir (tr.)'	<i>šonkalas¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>lokšīñčas¹</i>	'to hew'	<i>pudārtaš¹¹</i>	'to break (tr.)'	<i>šortas¹</i>	'to cry'
<i>loñčālas¹¹</i>	'to divide into layers (tr.)'	<i>puñčalas¹</i>	'to wring out'	<i>šotlas¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>loṅas¹</i>	'to winnow'	<i>purāštaš¹</i>	'to bite'	<i>šuas¹</i>	'to whittle'
<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>purgedas¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>šudalas¹</i>	'to scold'
<i>luktas¹</i>	'to lead out'	<i>purlas¹</i>	'to bite'	<i>šulas¹</i>	'to cut'
<i>luktedas¹¹</i>	'to take out'	<i>pužaras¹¹</i>	'to plane'	<i>šupšas¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lupšalas¹</i>	'to whip'	<i>pūčkaš¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>šupšālas¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lupšaltaras¹¹</i>	'to swing (tr.)'	<i>pūčkedaš¹¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>šupškedaš¹¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lupšas¹¹</i>	'to whip'	<i>pūgārnas¹¹</i>	'to bend down (intr.)'	<i>šupškedālas¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lūjas¹¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>pūrdas¹¹</i>	'to curtain'	<i>šurgas¹¹</i>	'to be noisy'
<i>lūjāltas¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>pūtāralas¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>šūdāšlas¹¹</i>	'to hoop'
<i>lūṅgāktas¹¹</i>	'to swing (tr.)'	<i>pūtāras¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>šūkas¹¹</i>	'to push'
<i>lūškaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'	<i>pūtārkalas¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>šūras¹¹</i>	'to strain, to filter'
<i>lūštaš¹¹</i>	'to milk'	<i>radamlas¹¹</i>	'to analyse'	<i>šūrdas¹¹</i>	'to scold'
<i>malas¹¹</i>	'to sleep'	<i>raškemdaras¹¹</i>	'to clarify'	<i>šūrdālas¹</i>	'to scold'
<i>modas¹</i>	'to play'	<i>robedas¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>tabaltas¹¹</i>	'to stamp'
<i>moktas¹¹</i>	'to praise'	<i>roñčas¹¹</i>	'to unwind (tr.)'	<i>tamlas¹¹</i>	'to taste'
<i>mučāštaras¹¹</i>	'to unfasten'	<i>ropkas¹</i>	'to knock'	<i>tanlas¹¹</i>	'to compare'
<i>mugāmatālas¹</i>	'to mutter'	<i>rualas¹</i>	'to chop'	<i>tanlālas¹</i>	'to choose'
<i>muraltas¹¹</i>	'to sing'	<i>rualtas¹¹</i>	'to grab'	<i>tarbatālas¹</i>	'to move (tr.)'
<i>muškas¹</i>	'to wash'	<i>ruas¹¹</i>	'to chop'	<i>temdāštas¹</i>	'to push'
<i>mutlanas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>rudas¹¹</i>	'to untie'	<i>tergas¹¹</i>	'to check'
<i>neraltas¹¹</i>	'to have a nap'	<i>ruāktas¹¹</i>	'to have cut'	<i>tābārtatas¹¹</i>	'to tap one's feet'
<i>nergelaš¹¹</i>	'to systematize'	<i>rūčkalaš¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'	<i>tāndaš¹¹</i>	'to investigate'
<i>nijaltas¹¹</i>	'to pat'	<i>rūčkaltas¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'	<i>toβālas¹¹</i>	'to approve of'
<i>nijaltkalas¹¹</i>	'to stroke'	<i>rūpšas¹¹</i>	'to rock (tr.)'	<i>todālas¹</i>	'to break (tr.)'
<i>nōrtas¹¹</i>	'to wet'	<i>rūzas¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'	<i>toškāštaš¹</i>	'to shift one's feet'
<i>nōšlas¹¹</i>	'to thrash'	<i>sabārlas¹¹</i>	'to fence in'	<i>tototlas¹¹</i>	'to jabber'
<i>nulalas¹</i>	'to lick'	<i>sabārkalas¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>tōpkas¹¹</i>	'to beat'
<i>nulas¹¹</i>	'to lick'	<i>sajlas¹¹</i>	'to elect'	<i>tōrgaltas¹¹</i>	'to tear off (tr.)'
<i>nūžas¹</i>	'to flog'	<i>sejas¹¹</i>	'to defeat, to win'	<i>tōrštālas¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>nūžāldas¹¹</i>	'to scrape'	<i>seras¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>tuβālas¹¹</i>	'to separate (fighting people)'
<i>ñamāzlas¹¹</i>	'to gnaw at'	<i>sānas¹¹</i>	'to test'	<i>tumanlas¹¹</i>	'to quarrel'
<i>ñāktas¹</i>	'to skin'	<i>snimatlas¹¹</i>	'to photograph'	<i>tunemas¹</i>	'to learn'
<i>ojāras¹¹</i>	'to separate'	<i>soβkalas¹¹</i>	'to applaud'	<i>turgāžlanas¹¹</i>	'to be worried'
<i>ojārkalas¹¹</i>	'to separate (tr.)'	<i>sogāšas¹¹</i>	'to wage war'	<i>turžas¹</i>	'to crumple'
<i>ojaltas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>solaltas¹¹</i>	'to wave'	<i>turtāktālas¹</i>	'to wrinkle (tr.)'
<i>ojlas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>solas¹¹</i>	'to mow'	<i>tusaras¹¹</i>	'to direct (one's eyes)'
<i>oñčalas¹</i>	'to look'	<i>somālas¹¹</i>	'to weed'	<i>tužas¹</i>	'to scream'
<i>oñčas¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>sopkalas¹¹</i>	'to slap'	<i>tūkālas¹¹</i>	'to lock'
<i>oñčāštaš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>srōpkas¹¹</i>	'to eat noisily'		

<i>tülaš^{ll}</i>	'to pay'	<i>udârkalas^{ll}</i>	'to strike sharply'	<i>üčäsaš^{ll}</i>	'to compete'
<i>türedaš^l</i>	'to cut; to harvest'	<i>ueštaš^l</i>	'to yawn'	<i>üpsänčäš^l</i>	'to smell (tr.)'
<i>tüslaš^{ll}</i>	'to observe'	<i>umälaš^{ll}</i>	'to understand'	<i>üštaš^l</i>	'to sweep'
<i>udälaš^l</i>	'to pray'	<i>umälkalaš^{ll}</i>	'to inquire'	<i>üštedaš^{ll}</i>	'to sweep'
<i>udäralaš^l</i>	'to strike'	<i>užašlaš^{ll}</i>	'to divide (tr.)'	<i>üštälaš^l</i>	'to sweep'
<i>udäraš^{ll}</i>	'to strike'	<i>utaraš^{ll}</i>	'to save'	<i>üžaš^l</i>	'to invite'

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs, sporadically intransitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autobenefactive marker indicating that an action is carried out to the agent's benefit • Momentary marker indicating that action takes place over a short time period 			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Udmurt. Supposedly less productive in Mari than in Tatar or Chuvash.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 245	Corpus: 39	Total: 284	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>baštijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>ätuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>ätäβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>il</i>
Etymology	?			

Figure 153: Profile of *nalas̄ / näläs̄* 'to take'

4.1.31 *namijaš / nälän miäs̄^{ll}* 'to bring'

This verb, itself originally the verbal pairing *nalän mijaš* '(lit. taking come)' (cf. **Alhoniemi 1986: 102**), is not mentioned as an auxiliary or path verb explicitly in any of the sources, but 2 pairings using it that are marked as auxiliary constructions can be found in lexical sources. I found a further 4 pairings in the corpus in which the verb is used in an analogous fashion. In all of these pairings, this verb, connected with a transitive verb, seems to be a path verb indicating movement up to a certain limit – i.e. it serves as a transitive counterpart to *mijaš / miäs̄^{ll}* 'to come, to go' – Section 4.1.28 (page 186) – in its function as a path verb.

(111 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: эстакаде)

'Ик вагонеткым тематат, эстакаде деке шүкен намият.'

ik	vagonetk	-äm	tem	-at	=at,	estakade	deke	šük	-en	namij	-at.
one	wagon	-ACC	fill-up	-3PL	=and	viaduct	to	push	-CVB	bring	-3PL
nm	n	-case	v	-pers	=enc	n	po	v	-adv	v	-pers

'They fill up one wagon and push it up to the viaduct.'³⁴⁹

I have seen no indication that Tatar *äläp baruβ* 'to bring (lit. taking go)', Bashkir *äläp baräβ* 'id.', Chuvash *ilse pür* 'id.', and Udmurt *nujnj* 'to bring'³⁵⁰ are used as path verbs that are coupled with converbs.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 210 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 258 ⁽⁷⁾ PAAS: 24 ⁽⁴⁾
M	BEK: II: 90 ⁽³⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

³⁴⁹ "Одну вагонетку наполняют, и, толкая, доставляют к эстакаде."

³⁵⁰ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel'makov in personal correspondence.

<i>bozaš^{ll}</i>	'to write'	<i>kućaš^{ll}</i>	'to hold'	<i>šükaš^{ll}</i>	'to push'
<i>büdaš^{ll}</i>	'to lead'	<i>optaš^{ll}</i>	'to put, to pile up'	<i>üžaš^l</i>	'to invite'

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker indicating movement towards a reference point		
Distribution etc.	Only accounts from Meadow Mari		
Literary pairings	Sources: 2	Corpus: 4	Total: 6
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>nujnj</i>	Tatar: <i>alâp baruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>alâp barâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>ilse pîr</i>
Etymology	< <i>nalân mijaš</i> '(lit. taking come)' (cf. Alhoniemi 1986: 102).		

Figure 154: Profile of *namijaš* / -' 'to bring'

4.1.32 *naŋgajaš* / *näŋgeäš^{ll}* 'to take (somewhere)'

This verb was originally itself the verbal pairing *nalân kajaš* '(lit. taking go)' (cf. **Alhoniemi 1986: 102; Berezcki et al. 2013: 42**). Mikhail Chkhaidze includes it in his list of half-modifiers (**Chkhaidze 1960: 58**); it is otherwise not explicitly referred to as an auxiliary or path verb by my sources. A total of 15 different pairings using it that are labelled as auxiliary constructions can be found in my sources; I found another 12 plausible pairings in the corpus. The verb seems to serve as a path verb, a productive transitive counterpart to *kajaš* / *keäš^{ll}* 'to go (away)' – see Section 4.1.12 (page 149) – indicating a movement away from a reference point in combination with transitive verbs.

Meadow Mari: <i>naŋgajaš^{ll}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>näŋgeäš^{ll}</i>	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βüden naŋgajaš</i>	<i>βiden näŋgeäš</i>	leading take	to lead away
<i>numal naŋgajaš</i>	<i>namal näŋgeäš</i>	carrying take	to carry away
<i>pokten naŋgajaš</i>	<i>pokten näŋgeäš</i>	driving take	to drive away
<i>pördäkten naŋgajaš</i>	<i>pördäkten näŋgeäš</i>	rolling take	to roll away
<i>üžän naŋgajaš</i>	<i>üžän näŋgeäš</i>	inviting take	to call aside
<i>šüdâren naŋgajaš</i>	<i>šädâren näŋgeäš</i>	dragging take	to drag away

Figure 155: *naŋgajaš* / *näŋgeäš^{ll}* 'to take (somewhere)' marking path 'away' (cf. Chkhaidze 1960: 58)

Tatar *âlâp kitüb* 'to take (somewhere) (lit. taking go)', Bashkir *âlâp kiteβ* 'id.', and Chuvash *ilse kaj* 'id.' all seem to be used as path markers in combination with converbs (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007; Akhmerov et al. 1958; Skvorcov et al. 1985**). For the Tatar pairing, I could find usage examples in which this pairing was in turn used in a fashion more or less analogous to the manner in which the Mari verb in question is used.

(112 – Tatar – **Asylgarayev et al. 2007: куалау**)

'куалап алып китү'

kuata	-p	ał	-âp	kit	-üβ
drive	-CVB	take	-CVB	go	-INF
v	-adv	v	-adv	v	-inf

'to drive away' (cf. *pokten naŋgajaš*)

I am not familiar with a counterpart to these pairings in Udmurt.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	WICH: 69 ⁽³³⁾
NW	BEK: I: 45 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>buksirovatlaš^{II}</i>	'to tow'	<i>numalaš^I</i>	'to carry'	<i>šupšâktaš^{II}</i>	'to transport'
<i>θüdaš^{II}</i>	'to lead'	<i>oβâlaš^{II}</i>	'to bewitch'	<i>šüdâraš^{II}</i>	'to drag'
<i>ćumaš^{II}</i>	'to kick'	<i>ondalaš^{II}</i>	'to deceive'	<i>šükaš^{II}</i>	'to push'
<i>iraš^{II}</i>	'to destroy'	<i>pogaš^{II}</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>tarataš^{II}</i>	'to motivate to'
<i>joktaraš^{II}</i>	'to pour (tr.)'	<i>poktaš^{II}</i>	'to drive'	<i>tütârâktaš^{II}</i>	'to fumigate'
<i>korandâš^{II}</i>	'to remove'	<i>pördâktaš^{II}</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>udâraš^{II}</i>	'to strike'
<i>kučâš^{II}</i>	'to hold'	<i>puaš^{II}</i>	'to blow'	<i>užataš^{II}</i>	'to accompany'
<i>luktaš^I</i>	'to lead out'	<i>šândâš^{II}</i>	'to put, to place'	<i>üštâlaš^I</i>	'to sweep'
<i>muškaš^I</i>	'to wash'	<i>šolâštaš^I</i>	'to steal'	<i>üžaš^I</i>	'to invite'

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path marker 'away'		
Distribution etc.	Mari and Tatar, no data on other languages		
Literary pairings	Sources: 15	Corpus: 12	Total: 27
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: <i>alâp kitüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>alâp kiteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>ilse kaj</i>
Etymology	< <i>nalân kajaš</i> 'lit. taking go' (cf. Alhoniemi 1986: 102; Bereczki et al. 2013: 42)		

Figure 156: Profile of *nangajaš* / *nangeäš^{II}* 'to take'

4.1.33 *ojâraš* / *ajâraš^{II}* 'to separate'

This transitive verb is included in Mikhail Chkhaidze's list of half-modifiers (Chkhaidze 1960: 58) and is mentioned (with one usage example) by József Budenz (Budenz 1865: 89), but it is not listed as an auxiliary or path verb by other sources. In addition to 6 pairings marked as auxiliary constructions in lexical sources, I found two pairings in the corpus that are consistent with the function illustrated by Chkhaidze: one of a path marker that is coupled with transitive verbs to indicate that the object of the verb is split off or apart by the action. It seems productive within very narrow semantic constraints: it is connected with transitive verbs that can lead to the object being split or split off.

Meadow Mari: <i>ojâraš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>ajâraš^{II}</i>	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>šelân ojâraš</i>	<i>šelân ajâraš</i>	splitting separate	to cleave
<i>püčkân ojâraš</i>	<i>päčkân ajâraš</i>	cutting separate	to divide
<i>kušket ojâraš</i>	<i>kâšket ajâraš</i>	tearing separate	to tear off
<i>purlân ojâraš</i>	<i>pârâlân ajâraš</i>	biting separate	to bite apart

Figure 157: *ojâraš* / *ajâraš^{II}* 'to separate' marking path 'off, apart' (cf. Chkhaidze 1960: 58)

I have not encountered occurrences of Tatar *âjârûβ* 'to separate', Bashkir *âjârâβ* 'id.', Chuvash *ujâr* 'id.', or Udmurt *visjanj* 'id.'³⁵¹ used in combination with converbs.

³⁵¹ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel'makov in personal correspondence.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: III: 328 ⁽¹²⁾
M	JEV: III: 144 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>kuškedaš^l</i>	‘to tear’	<i>püčkedaš^{ll}</i>	‘to cut’	<i>šoktaš^l</i>	‘to sift’
<i>purlaš^l</i>	‘to bite’	<i>rualaš^l</i>	‘to chop’	<i>šotlaš^{ll}</i>	‘to count’
<i>püčkaš^l</i>	‘to cut’	<i>šelaš^l</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’		

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs			
Usage	• Path verb, indicating that object is split or split off as a result of the action			
Distribution etc.	Only data from Mari			
Literary pairings	Sources: 6	Corpus: 2	Total: 8	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>visjanj</i>	Tatar: <i>âjârûb</i>	Bashkir: <i>âjârâb</i>	Chuvash: <i>ujâr</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 271)			

Figure 158: Profile of *ojâraš* / *ajâraš^{ll}* ‘to separate’

4.1.34 *ojârlaš* / *ajârlaš^{ll}* ‘to go apart’

This verb was suggested as a possible path verb by one of my Mari consultants. While it is not mentioned in any of my reference materials and while no pairings using this verb are marked as auxiliary constructions in my sources, her suggestion was borne out by six different pairings in the corpus: this verb does seem to act as an intransitive counterpart to *ojâraš* / *ajâraš^{ll}* ‘to go apart’ – see Section 4.1.33 (page 194) – indicating that its subject is split or split off as a result of an action.

Meadow Mari: <i>ojârlaš^{ll}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>ajâraš^{ll}</i>	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>šelân ojârlaš</i>	<i>šelân ajârlaš</i>	breaking go.apart	to break apart
<i>lektân ojârlaš</i>	<i>läktân ajârlaš</i>	going go.apart	to go apart
<i>kürlân ojârlaš</i>	<i>karälân ajârlaš</i>	tearing go.apart	to tear apart

Figure 159: *ojârlaš* / *ajârlaš^{ll}* ‘to go apart’ marking path ‘off, apart’

I have not encountered occurrences of Tatar *âjârâtuβ* ‘to go apart, Bashkir *âjârâtâb* ‘id.’, Chuvash *ujrâl* ‘id.’, or Udmurt *visjaškijnj* ‘id.’ used in an analogous manner.³⁵²

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>jarâmaltaš^l</i>	‘to come apart’	<i>katlaš^{ll}</i>	‘to break off (intr.)’	<i>lektaš^l</i>	‘to go, to leave’
<i>kajaš^{ll}</i>	‘to go (away)’	<i>kürlaš^l</i>	‘to tear off (tr. & intr.)’	<i>šelaš^l</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’

³⁵² The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Path verb, indicating that subject is split or split off as a result of the action		
Distribution etc.	Only data from Mari		
Literary pairings	Sources: 0	Corpus: 6	Total: 6
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>visjaškij</i>	Tatar: <i>ǰjǰrǰtuθ</i>	Bashkir: <i>ǰjǰrǰtǰθ</i> Chuvash: <i>ujǰǰl</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 271); the derivational suffix <i>-l</i> setting it apart from its transitive counterpart <i>ojǰraš</i> / <i>ajǰraš</i> ^{II} ‘to separate’ is Chuvash as well (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 444).		

Figure 160: Profile of *ojǰraš* / *ajǰraš*^{II} ‘to go apart’

4.1.35 *ońčas* / *anžas*^{II} ‘to look’

Nikolay Isanbayev states that pairings using this verb and Tatar *qǰraθ* ‘to look’ and Chuvash *pǰχ* ‘id.’, “are formed from a large number of transitive and intransitive verbs of different lexical content and indicate a test of an action, an attempt at its execution” (**Isanbayev 1978: 87**; cf. also **Moisio 1992: 199**; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ońчаш**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 35; 54–55**).³⁵³ SMYa adds that the action is carried out “with the goal of acquainting oneself with the result” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 214**).³⁵⁴ Bashkir *qǰraθ* ‘to look’ seems to be used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Landmann 2015: 101**), as does Udmurt *uńkij* (cf. **Chkhaidze 1967: 256**). It seems dubious to refer to this verb as an auxiliary; it generally seems more appropriate to speak of a facet of this verb’s lexical meaning in which it governs a converb in all languages under consideration. Valey Kel’makov does not include the Udmurt verb in his survey of auxiliary constructions in Udmurt (cf. **Kel’makov 1975**); Gábor Bereczki et al. explicitly state that these structures – in the authors’ eyes a Chuvash influence in Mari – while formally identical with auxiliary constructions, are not auxiliary constructions (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 173**; cf. also **ibid: 123**).

Meadow Mari: <i>ońčas</i> ^{II}	Hill Mari: <i>anžas</i> ^{II}	Tatar: <i>qǰraθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pǰχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>bozen ońčas</i>	<i>siren anžas</i>	<i>jǰzǰp qǰraθ</i>	<i>śirsa pǰχ</i>	writing look	to try to write
<i>ludǰn ońčas</i>	<i>lǰdǰn anžas</i>	<i>uqǰp qǰraθ</i>	<i>vulasa pǰχ</i>	reading look	to try to read
<i>końkǰn ońčas</i>	<i>kańkǰn anžas</i>	<i>ǰśap qǰraθ</i>	<i>sise pǰχ</i>	eating look	to taste
<i>ilen ońčas</i>	<i>ǰlen anžas</i>	<i>torop qǰraθ</i>	<i>purǰnsa pǰχ</i>	living look	to try to live

Figure 161: *ońčas* / *anžas*^{II} ‘to look’ in the meaning of ‘to try to’ (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 87**)

The large Mari-Russian dictionary assigns a second meaning to this verb in combination with the converb in *-n*: “in the form of the second person imperative [it expresses] a caution, a warning, a threat”.³⁵⁵ The examples given to illustrate this function do not point to a great difference between the Mari verb under consideration and the English verb *to try*.

³⁵³ “[...] образуются от большого круга переходных и непереходных глаголов различного лексического содержания и обозначают пробу действия, попытку его совершения: [...]”

³⁵⁴ “[...] с целью ознакомления с его результатом.”

³⁵⁵ “14. в форме 2 л. ед.ч. повел.накл. употр. для выражения предостережения, предупреждения, угрозы”

(113 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ончаш)

‘Толын ончо!’

tol	-ən	ońčo	-∅!
come	-CVB	look	-IMP.2SG
v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

‘Oh you try to come!’³⁵⁶

Anna Savatkova assigns a different meaning to this verb as an auxiliary in Hill Mari. She calls *anžaš*^{ll} ‘to look’ a marker of “actions carried out in a short time period” (Savatkova 2008: 15):³⁵⁷ *ašten anžaš* ‘to do (lit. doing look)’, *lādən anžaš* ‘to read (lit. doing read). Though this prospect must be explored, it would be erroneous to assume a clear-cut dialectal difference here without additional data, rather than differing translations of similar structures. In other cases, Savatkova translates verbal pairings with this verb as the sources on Meadow Mari discussed above have – with the meaning of ‘to try’ – while at the same time, Meadow Mari examples can be found in the large Mari-Russian dictionary that are translated into Russian more in line with Savatkova’s interpretation.

(114 – Hill Mari – Savatkova 2008: 358)

‘шүден анжаш’

šüd	-en	anž	-aš
order	-CVB	look	-INF
v	-adv	v	-inf

‘to try to order’³⁵⁸

(115 – Meadow Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ларткыкташ)

‘[...] изиш вучалтен ончаш лийым.’

[...]	iziš	βuč	-alt	-en	ońč	-aš	lij	-ê	-m.
	a.bit	wait	-MOM	-CVB	look	-INF	be ³⁵⁹	-PST1	-1SG
	adv	v	-deriv.v	-adv	v	-inf	v	-tense	-pers

‘[...] I decided to wait a bit.’³⁶⁰

My native speaker consultant believed that there is no justification for a clear dividing line between these two aspects of meaning – both of them tend to be there; the manner in which individual pairings were translated in the lexical sources seems mostly arbitrary.

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 21 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 30 ⁽⁴⁾
M	JEV: I: 188 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: II: 72 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 88 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 138 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 20 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 148 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 150 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 318 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: IV: 378 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

³⁵⁶ “Попробуй приди!”

³⁵⁷ “[...] выражает действия, совершаемые в короткий промежуток времени; [...]”

³⁵⁸ “попытаться заказать”

³⁵⁹ In combination with the infinitive ‘to decide’.

³⁶⁰ “[...] я [...] решил немного подождать.”

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβázlaš¹¹</i>	'to taste'	<i>kuštaltaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>sörbalaš¹¹</i>	'to ask for something'
<i>baštaltaš¹¹</i>	'to change (tr.)'	<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to grow (tr.)'	<i>zavoditlaš¹¹</i>	'to start, to wind up'
<i>βisaš¹¹</i>	'to weigh'	<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>zakazatlaš¹¹</i>	'to order'
<i>βiskalaš¹¹</i>	'to measure'	<i>kutāraš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>zapravitlaš¹¹</i>	'to fill up (tr.)'
<i>βitaraš¹¹</i>	'to penetrate'	<i>kutārkalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>zařaditlaš¹¹</i>	'to load (tr.)'
<i>βozaš¹</i>	'to lie down'	<i>künčaltaš¹¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>zvonitlaš¹¹</i>	'to ring'
<i>βozaš¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>leβāktas¹¹</i>	'to melt (tr.)'	<i>šāmlaš¹¹</i>	'to research'
<i>βozkalaš¹¹</i>	'to write, to scribble'	<i>lijaš¹</i>	'to be; to become'	<i>šāndaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'
<i>βoštālalaš¹</i>	'to smile'	<i>loñčālas¹¹</i>	'to divide into layers (tr.)'	<i>šātāktaraš¹¹</i>	'to sprout (tr.)'
<i>βučaltaš¹¹</i>	'to wait'			<i>šogaš¹¹</i>	'to stand'
<i>βučaš¹¹</i>	'to wait'	<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>šoktaš¹</i>	'to sift'
<i>βučāktas¹¹</i>	'to make wait'	<i>lūjaš¹¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>čaraš¹¹</i>	'to stop (tr.)'	<i>lūngaltaš¹¹</i>	'to swing (intr.)'	<i>šonaltaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>čakaš¹¹</i>	'to shove'	<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	'to go, to come'	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>čātaltaš¹¹</i>	'to be patient'	<i>muraš¹¹</i>	'to sing'	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>čātaš¹¹</i>	'to tolerate'	<i>muškaš¹</i>	'to wash'	<i>šunaš¹¹</i>	'to treat (guests)'
<i>čijaš¹¹</i>	'to put on'	<i>mužedaš¹</i>	'to tell fortunes'	<i>šupšalaš¹</i>	'to kiss'
<i>čiktaš¹¹</i>	'to dress'	<i>mutlanaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šupšāštaš¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>čoñčaš¹¹</i>	'to tell off'	<i>nalas¹</i>	'to take'	<i>šūkaš¹¹</i>	'to push'
<i>diskovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to harrow'	<i>nangajaš¹¹</i>	'to take, to lead'	<i>šūškaš¹¹</i>	'to whistle'
<i>āštaš¹¹</i>	'to do'	<i>nijaltaš¹¹</i>	'to pat'	<i>šūtaš¹¹</i>	'to pierce'
<i>gruzitlaš¹¹</i>	'to load'	<i>nijaltkalaš¹¹</i>	'to stroke'	<i>tamlaš¹¹</i>	'to taste'
<i>ilaš¹¹</i>	'to live'	<i>nōltalaš¹</i>	'to raise'	<i>taŋasaš¹¹</i>	'to contend'
<i>jačāgaš¹¹</i>	'to beg'	<i>nulalaš¹</i>	'to lick'	<i>taŋastaraš¹¹</i>	'to compare'
<i>ješaŋaš¹</i>	'to settle down to married life'	<i>numalaš¹</i>	'to carry'	<i>tarβataš¹¹</i>	'to move (tr.)'
		<i>ñuzāklaš¹¹</i>	'to drag oneself along'	<i>tarβatālaš¹</i>	'to move (tr.)'
<i>jodaš¹</i>	'to ask'	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>temdalaš¹</i>	'to push'
<i>jōrataš¹¹</i>	'to love'	<i>oškālaš¹</i>	'to step'	<i>temdāštaš¹</i>	'to push'
<i>jūaš¹</i>	'to drink'	<i>ōndalaš¹</i>	'to embrace'	<i>temlaš¹¹</i>	'to offer'
<i>kajaš¹¹</i>	'to go (away)'	<i>peraltaš¹¹</i>	'to clap'	<i>tergaš¹¹</i>	'to check'
<i>kalasaš¹¹</i>	'to say'	<i>pāštaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'	<i>tāršaš¹¹</i>	'to strive'
<i>kaŋašaš¹¹</i>	'to advise'	<i>pižaš¹</i>	'to stick (intr.)'	<i>tārtāktas¹¹</i>	'to roll (tr.)'
<i>karšaš¹¹</i>	'to resist'	<i>počaš¹</i>	'to open (tr.)'	<i>tolaš¹</i>	'to come'
<i>kerāltas¹</i>	'to stick into (intr.)'	<i>podālaš¹</i>	'to sip, to gulp'	<i>tolašaš¹¹</i>	'to try'
<i>kāčalaš¹</i>	'to search'	<i>pōrdāktālaš¹</i>	'to roll (tr.)'	<i>torgajaš¹¹</i>	'to deal in'
<i>kāraš¹¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>prinimatlaš¹¹</i>	'to take up (a post)'	<i>tōčaš¹¹</i>	'to try'
<i>kāškaš¹¹</i>	'to throw'	<i>pualaš¹</i>	'to blow'	<i>tunāktas¹¹</i>	'to teach'
<i>kāžganaš¹¹</i>	'to envy'	<i>pudāratālaš¹</i>	'to stir (tr.)'	<i>turžaš¹</i>	'to crumple'
<i>kočkaš¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>puraš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'	<i>tusaraš¹¹</i>	'to direct (one's eyes)'
<i>kolāštaš¹</i>	'to listen'	<i>purgedaš¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>tūkaltas¹¹</i>	'to touch (tr.)'
<i>kondaš¹¹</i>	'to bring'	<i>purlaš¹</i>	'to bite'	<i>tūlaš¹¹</i>	'to pay'
<i>kormāžtalaš¹</i>	'to press'	<i>pūseštaraš¹¹</i>	'to sharpen'	<i>tūŋalaš¹</i>	'to begin'
<i>koštaš¹</i>	'to go'	<i>pūžaltas¹</i>	'to sweat'	<i>tūslaš¹¹</i>	'to observe'
<i>kōranaš¹¹</i>	'to envy'	<i>pūtāraš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>udāraš¹¹</i>	'to strike'
<i>kučaltaš¹¹</i>	'to hold'	<i>rūčkalaš¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'	<i>upšalaš¹</i>	'to put on (a hat)'
<i>kučaš¹¹</i>	'to hold'	<i>saβāralaš¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>ušaš¹¹</i>	'to join (tr.)'
<i>kučedalaš¹</i>	'to fight'	<i>saβārkalaš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>užaš¹</i>	'to see'
<i>kučāktas¹¹</i>	'to hand'	<i>sijlaš¹¹</i>	'to treat, to entertain'	<i>ūčašaš¹¹</i>	'to compete'
<i>kučāltas¹</i>	'to use'	<i>sistaltas¹¹</i>	'to beckon'	<i>ūpšāñčaš¹</i>	'to smell (tr.)'
<i>kudaltaš¹¹</i>	'to throw (out)'	<i>sōraš¹¹</i>	'to promise'	<i>ūžaš¹</i>	'to invite'

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	• 'to try (to)', hinting at momentariness			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Productive.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 80	Corpus: 68	Total: 148	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>učkijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>qāraβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>qāraβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pāχ</i>
Etymology	< PFP *ańčs- 'to see, to look', cognates include Udmurt <i>adžijnj</i> 'to see' and Komi <i>ažžijnj</i> 'id.' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 607; Bereczki et al. 2013: 173)			

Figure 162: Profile of *ońčas* / *anžaš¹¹* 'to look'

4.1.36 *ońčâktaš* / *anžâktaš*^{II} ‘to show’

Of all my sources, only one mentions this verb as an auxiliary, but gives no notes on its usage (**Uchayev 1995: 163**). However, 6 distinct pairings using the verb are marked as auxiliary constructions in my sources; I was able to find another 13 plausible pairings in the corpus. In these, it seems to serve as a benefactive marker – see Section 2.2.6 (page 68) – denoting that the action is carried out to the advantage of a participant that is not the patient. Some aspects of the core semantics seem to be preserved, setting it apart from the far more commonly used benefactive marker *puaš* / *puaš*^{II} ‘to give’ – Section 4.1.41 (page 210): beneficiaries do not simply benefit from the action, but have the action illustrated to them in some manner. In this sense, it is similar to the German verbal prefix *vor-*: *tanzen* ‘to dance’ > *vortanzen* ‘to dance (to an audience)’, *singen* ‘to sing’ > *vorsingen* ‘to sing (a song) to someone’, *machen* ‘to do’ > *vormachen* ‘to demonstrate’, etc.

Tatar *kürsätüb* ‘to show’ and Chuvash *kätart* ‘id.’ seem to be used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007; Skvorcov et al. 1985**). I have no data on the usage of Bashkir *kürhäteβ* ‘id.’. The usage of Udmurt *vožmatjnj* ‘id.’ in a comparable manner seems plausible and worth exploring.³⁶¹

Meadow Mari: <i>ońčâktaš</i> ^{II}	Hill Mari: <i>anžâktaš</i> ^{II}	Tatar: <i>kürsätüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>kätart</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ludân ońčâktaš</i>	<i>lâdân anžâktaš</i>	<i>uqâp kürsätüb</i>	<i>vulasa kätart</i>	reading show	to read to
<i>modân ońčâktaš</i>	<i>madân anžâktaš</i>	<i>ujnap kürsätüb</i>	<i>vil’asa kätart</i>	playing show	to play for
<i>muralten ońčâktaš</i>	<i>mâralten anžâktaš</i>	<i>žârtap kürsätüb</i>	<i>jurlasa kätart</i>	singing show	to sing for
<i>počân ońčâktaš</i>	<i>pačân anžâktaš</i>	<i>âšâp kürsätüb</i>	<i>uśsa kätart</i>	opening show	to reveal

Figure 163: *ońčâktaš* / *anžâktaš*^{II} ‘to show’ as a benefactive marker

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	JEV: III: 54 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>bozaš</i> ^{II}	‘to write’	<i>muraltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to sing’	<i>šoktaš</i> ^{II}	‘to be heard; to play’
<i>âštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to do’	<i>peŋgâdemdaš</i> ^{II}	‘to fasten’	<i>taβaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to stamp’
<i>kondaš</i> ^{II}	‘to bring’	<i>počaš</i> ^I	‘to open (tr.)’	<i>tuškaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to dip, to shove’
<i>kuštaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to dance’	<i>sakaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to hang up’	<i>tuštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to ask (riddles)’
<i>ludaš</i> ^I	‘to read’	<i>seraš</i> ^{II}	‘to write’	<i>üşandaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to assure’
<i>luktaš</i> ^I	‘to lead out’	<i>süretlaš</i> ^{II}	‘to draw, to paint’		
<i>modaš</i> ^I	‘to play’	<i>šelaš</i> ^I	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’		

³⁶¹ Christian Pischlöger, Valey Kel’makov, personal correspondence.

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Benefactive marker, indicating that the action is carried out for the sake of illustration		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 6	Corpus: 13	Total: 19
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vožmaṭiñj</i>	Tatar: <i>kürsätüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>kürhäteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kätart</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>oñčäs</i> / <i>anžäs</i> ³⁶¹ 'to look' by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-kt</i> (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 458; Alhoniemi 1985: 165).		

Figure 164: Profile of *oñčäktäs* / *anžäktäs*³⁶¹ 'to show'

4.1.37 *optaš* / *optaš*³⁶² 'to put, to set'

This verb is, in its lexical meaning, an iterative counterpart to the verb *päštaš* / *pištäs*³⁶¹ 'to put, to place' – see Section 4.1.38 (page 202). Like that verb, it indicates that an object is placed into a lying position, but in contrast to it, it indicates the placement of more than one object (cf. **Chkhaidze 1960: 46**).

In its function as an auxiliary as well, Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to *päštaš* / *pištäs*³⁶¹ 'to put', but states that *optaš* / *optaš*³⁶² and its counterparts Tatar *qujuβ* 'to put, to set' and Chuvash *tultar* 'to fill; to stack' express a "[m]eaning of completeness of a repeated action with a hint of intensity and rapidity of its fulfilment, its execution on a large scale" (**Isanbayev 1978: 78**; cf. also **Chkhaidze 1960: 46–47; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163**).³⁶² SMYa adds that auxiliary constructions with this auxiliary are formed "only from some intransitive verbs" (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 210**).³⁶³ With 58 pairings in sources marked as auxiliary constructions and another 18 plausible pairings found in the corpus, it does seem to be less productive than some other auxiliaries.

Meadow Mari: <i>optaš</i> ³⁶²	Hill Mari: <i>optaš</i> ³⁶²	Tatar: <i>qujuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tultar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>küeštän optaš</i>	<i>küešt optaš</i>	<i>pešerep qujuβ</i>	<i>pěserse tultar</i>	baking put	to bake
<i>pogen optaš</i>	<i>pogen optaš</i>	<i>žäjäštäräp qujuβ</i>	-	collecting put	to clean up
<i>numal optaš</i>	<i>namal optaš</i>	<i>täšäp qujuβ</i>	<i>jätsa tultar</i>	carrying put	to bring
<i>äštäl optaš</i>	<i>äštäl optaš</i>	<i>jäsap qujuβ</i>	-	doing put	to do
<i>kural optaš</i>	<i>käral optaš</i>	-	<i>suxalasa tultar</i>	ploughing put	to plough

Figure 165: *optaš* / *optaš*³⁶² 'to put, to set' marking intensity, rapidity, large-scale execution (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 78**)

Bashkir *qujätβ* 'id.' seems to be used in a similar manner (cf. **Landmann 2015: 102**); Udmurt *poniñj* 'id.' is according to Valey Kel'makov used to indicate the "resultativity of an action" (**Kel'makov 1975: 100**)³⁶⁴ – though none of these verbs seem to have the same frequentative dimension that the Mari verb under consideration has. Gábor Bereczki et al. consider *püčkän optaš* 'to cut into pieces (lit. cutting put)' a Chuvash loan translation (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 208**).

Like the durative auxiliary *koštaš* / *kaštaš*³⁶¹ 'to go; to wander' – Section 4.1.21 (page 172) – this auxiliary has been observed to co-occur with frequentative derivational suffixes, for example:

³⁶² "Значение законченности многократного действия с оттенком интенсивности и быстроты совершения, выполнения его в большом объеме [...]"

³⁶³ "[...] лишь от нескольких переходных глаголов [...]"

³⁶⁴ "[...]результативность действия [...]"

- *pužaš^{II}* ‘to ruin’ > *pužkalaš^{II}* > *pužkalen optaš^{II}*
- *šelaš^I* ‘to break’ > *šelâštaš^I* > *kudalâšt optaš^{II}*
- *püčkaš^I* ‘to cut’ > *püčkedaš^{II}* > *püčkeden optaš^{II}*
- *âštaš^{II}* ‘to do’ > *âštâlaš^I* > *âštâl optaš^{II}*

In many cases, the frequentative derivational suffix seems to be optional in combination with the auxiliary: *püčkân optaš^{II}* ~ *püčkeden optaš^{II}* ‘to cut’, *âštâl optaš^{II}* ~ *âšten optaš^{II}* ‘to do’, etc.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	WICH: 61 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 8 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 21 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čumâraš^{II}</i>	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>nalaš^I</i>	‘to take’	<i>rončâš^{II}</i>	‘to unwind (tr.)’
<i>âštaš^{II}</i>	‘to do’	<i>nöšlaš^{II}</i>	‘to thrash’	<i>rožgaš^{II}</i>	‘to smash up’
<i>âštâlaš^I</i>	‘to do’	<i>nöštâlaš^I</i>	‘to knead’	<i>ruaš^{II}</i>	‘to chop’
<i>gruzitlaš^{II}</i>	‘to load’	<i>numalaš^I</i>	‘to carry’	<i>sabâralaš^I</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>jamdâlaš^{II}</i>	‘to prepare (tr.)’	<i>nüžaš^I</i>	‘to flog’	<i>sabâraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>jonâštaš^{II}</i>	‘to grind’	<i>nüžaš^{II}</i>	‘to rub’	<i>solaš^{II}</i>	‘to mow’
<i>kâraš^{II}</i>	‘to beat’	<i>ojêraš^{II}</i>	‘to separate’	<i>šalataš^{II}</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’
<i>kočkaš^I</i>	‘to eat’	<i>oralaš^{II}</i>	‘to pile (tr.)’	<i>šaraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’
<i>kondaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring’	<i>osêlaš^{II}</i>	‘to divide (tr.)’	<i>šelâštaš^I</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’
<i>kormâžtaš^{II}</i>	‘to squeeze’	<i>örgaš^I</i>	‘to butt, to gore’	<i>šijaš^I</i>	‘to thresh’
<i>koštaš^{II}</i>	‘to dry (tr.)’	<i>padâštaš^{II}</i>	‘to crush’	<i>šujnâktâlaš^I</i>	‘to extend (tr.)’
<i>kuralaš^I</i>	‘to plough’	<i>padâštâlaš^I</i>	‘to crush’	<i>šulaš^I</i>	‘to cut’
<i>kurâklaš^{II}</i>	‘to stack’	<i>pajlaš^{II}</i>	‘to divide (tr.)’	<i>šupšâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to transport’
<i>kusarkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to move (tr.)’	<i>počkaš^{II}</i>	‘to shake off’	<i>šüraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’
<i>kuškedaš^I</i>	‘to tear’	<i>pogaš^{II}</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>šüşkâlaš^I</i>	‘to slaughter’
<i>küeštaš^I</i>	‘to bake’	<i>posnalaš^I</i>	‘to sort’	<i>târtâktâlaš^I</i>	‘to roll (tr.)’
<i>künčâš^{II}</i>	‘to dig’	<i>pualtaš^{II}</i>	‘to winnow; to blow’	<i>todâštaš^I</i>	‘to break (tr.)’
<i>küraš^I</i>	‘to pick’	<i>puraš^I</i>	‘to chew’	<i>tojaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide, to bury’
<i>ločkaš^{II}</i>	‘to lash’	<i>puštaš^I</i>	‘to kill’	<i>töpkaš^{II}</i>	‘to beat’
<i>ludaš^I</i>	‘to read’	<i>pužaš^{II}</i>	‘to ruin’	<i>tugâštaš^I</i>	‘to break apart (tr.)’
<i>luktaš^I</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>pužkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to ruin’	<i>tüjaš^{II}</i>	‘to chop’
<i>luktedaš^{II}</i>	‘to take out’	<i>püčkaš^I</i>	‘to cut’	<i>türedaš^I</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>lupšaš^{II}</i>	‘to whip’	<i>püčkedaš^{II}</i>	‘to cut’	<i>udâraš^{II}</i>	‘to strike’
<i>lüjêltaš^I</i>	‘to shoot’	<i>pütêraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>užašlaš^{II}</i>	‘to divide (tr.)’
<i>lüjkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to shoot’	<i>radamlaš^{II}</i>	‘to analyse’		
<i>l’apkaš^{II}</i>	‘to chatter’	<i>robedaš^I</i>	‘to beat’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual marker indicating the repeated (frequentative) completion of an action, hinting at intensity, rapidity, large-scale execution		
Distribution etc.	Mari only		
Literary pairings	Sources: 58	Corpus: 18	Total: 76
Counterparts	Udmurt: -	Tatar: -	Bashkir: - Chuvash: -
Etymology	According to Arto Moisio and Sirkka Saarinen from PFU (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 464), but I was not able to corroborate this claim based on other etymological resources.		

Figure 166: Profile of *optaš* / *optaš^{II}* ‘to put, to set’

4.1.38 *pâštaš* / *pištäš*^{ll} ‘to put, to place’

In its lexical meaning this verb is used when something is placed in a lying position, while the superficially similar verbs *šândaš* / *šândäš*^{ll} ‘to put, to place’ – see Section 4.1.47 (page 219) – and *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš*^{ll} ‘to put, to set, to stand’ – see Section 4.1.52 (page 230) – are used when objects are placed in a sitting and standing position respectively. All of these verbs are used as auxiliaries; their similarities and differences will be discussed in Section 5.1 (page 260). Similarities and differences between this verb and its frequentative counterpart *optaš* / *optaš*^{ll} ‘to put, to set’ – see Section 4.1.37 (page 200) – are discussed in the entry on that verb.

The verb *pâštaš* / *pištäš*^{ll} ‘to put, to place’ is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. **Beke 1911: 161**; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пышташ**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 46–47**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**). With 69 pairings labelled as auxiliary constructions in my sources and another 35 plausible pairings found in the corpus, it is reasonably common, but not nearly as common as *šândaš* / *šândäš*^{ll} ‘to put, to place (in a sitting position)’. Nikolay Isanbayev states that auxiliary constructions with this verb and with Chuvash *çur* ‘to put, to place’ and Tatar *sâtuβ* ‘id.’ (though the Tatar auxiliary is comparatively uncommon) “are formed from transitive verbs and indicate the completeness of a single action, its execution by some kind of deadline, and sometimes for storage” (**Isanbayev 1978: 77**).³⁶⁵ SMYa adds that this auxiliary is used in combination with “verbs denoting psycho-physical processes” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 210**).³⁶⁶ This usage constraint does not seem very transparent.

Isanbayev notes that pairings with Tatar *sâtuβ* ‘to put, to place’ express “finality or unexpectedness of an action” (**Isanbayev 1978: 77**).³⁶⁷ Bashkir *hâtâβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used in line with its Tatar counterpart (**Landmann 2015: 102**). I am not familiar with an appropriate Udmurt counterpart to these verbs.

Meadow Mari: <i>pâštaš</i> ^{ll}	Hill Mari: <i>pištäš</i> ^{ll}	Chuvash: <i>çur</i>	Translation	
			Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βisen pâštaš</i>	<i>βisen pištäš</i>	<i>višse çur</i>	weighing put	to weigh
<i>katen pâštaš</i>	<i>käten pištäš</i>	<i>katsa çur</i>	breaking put	to break off
<i>muškân pâštaš</i>	<i>mâškân pištäš</i>	<i>śusa çur</i>	washing put	to wash
<i>nalân pâštaš</i>	<i>nälân pištäš</i>	<i>ilse çur</i>	buying put	to buy (for storage)
<i>pogen pâštaš</i>	<i>pogen pištäš</i>	<i>tirpejlese çur</i>	collecting put	to put away
<i>šotlen pâštaš</i>	<i>šotlen pištäš</i>	<i>susa çur</i>	counting put	to count
<i>jamdâlen pâštaš</i>	<i>jâmdâlen pištäš</i>	<i>çatërlese çur</i>	preparing put	to prepare (in advance)
<i>âšten pâštaš</i>	<i>âšten pištäš</i>	<i>tusa çur</i>	doing put	to do (in advance)

Figure 167: *pâštaš* / *pištäš*^{ll} ‘to put, to place’ marking completeness, execution by a deadline, etc. (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 77**)

Isanbayev notes that in some pairings “the real meaning of the modifier continues to make itself felt” (**Isanbayev 1978: 78**).³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ “[...] образуются от переходных глаголов и обозначают законченность однократного действия, выполнение его к какому-либо сроку, иногда — про запас.”

³⁶⁶ “[...] глаголов, обозначающих психо-физические процессы, [...]”

³⁶⁷ “[...] законченность или неожиданность действия: [...]”

³⁶⁸ “В некоторых составных глаголах реальное значение модификатора продолжает ощущаться: [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>pāštaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>pištäš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>sātuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>χur</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>leβet pāštaš</i>	<i>leβet pištäš</i>	-	<i>vitse χur</i>	covering put	to cover
<i>luktän pāštaš</i>	<i>lāktän pištäš</i>	<i>šâyarâp sātuβ</i>	<i>kälarsa χur</i>	taking.out put	to lay out
<i>saβâren pāštaš</i>	<i>sâren pištäš</i>	<i>äjländerep sātuβ</i>	<i>šavârsa χur</i>	turning put	to turn over
<i>pidän pāštaš</i>	<i>pidän pištäš</i>	-	<i>kākarsa χur</i>	tying put	to bind
<i>šalaten pāštaš</i>	<i>šäläten pištäš</i>	<i>târatâp sātuβ</i>	<i>salatsa χur</i>	spreading put	to scatter

Figure 168: *pāštaš* / *pištäš*¹¹ 'to put, to place' preserving some of its lexical meaning (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 78)

Outside of the Volga-Kama Region, verbs with the meaning 'to put' have, for example, been grammaticalized as completive (i.e. resultative) / terminative markers in a number of languages of Papua New Guinea (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 248).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 31 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 31 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 33 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 46 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 36 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 53 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aćalaš</i> ¹¹	'to repair'	<i>leβedaš</i> ¹	'to cover'	<i>rońćaš</i> ¹¹	'to unwind (tr.)'
<i>aparaš</i> ¹¹	'to leave fallow'	<i>lodaš</i> ¹¹	'to mark'	<i>rualaš</i> ¹	'to chop'
<i>bintovatlāš</i> ¹¹	'to bandage'	<i>lodemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to outline'	<i>saβâralaš</i> ¹	'to turn (tr.)'
<i>baštaltāš</i> ¹¹	'to change (tr.)'	<i>lukânlaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>saβâraš</i> ¹¹	'to turn (tr.)'
<i>βiktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to run, to direct'	<i>luklaš</i> ¹¹	'to measure (linen)'	<i>sajlaš</i> ¹¹	'to elect'
<i>βisaš</i> ¹¹	'to weigh'	<i>luktaš</i> ¹	'to lead out'	<i>solaš</i> ¹¹	'to mow'
<i>βoltaš</i> ¹¹	'to lower'	<i>luktedaš</i> ¹¹	'to take out'	<i>sôraš</i> ¹¹	'to promise'
<i>βozaš</i> ¹¹	'to write'	<i>luńćartaš</i> ¹¹	'to weaken (tr.)'	<i>sugârilaš</i> ¹¹	'to bless'
<i>βüädälaš</i> ¹	'to wrap'	<i>lupšalaš</i> ¹	'to whip'	<i>sümâralaš</i> ¹	'to bring down'
<i>ćäkaš</i> ¹¹	'to shove'	<i>lupšaltaraš</i> ¹¹	'to swing (tr.)'	<i>sümâraš</i> ¹¹	'to demolish'
<i>ćiktaš</i> ¹¹	'to dress'	<i>lüjaš</i> ¹¹	'to shoot'	<i>šalataš</i> ¹¹	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>ćumaltaraš</i> ¹¹	'to stretch out (one's legs)'	<i>lümâlaš</i> ¹¹	'to glue'	<i>šaraltaš</i> ¹¹	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>ćumâraš</i> ¹¹	'to pile up (tr.)'	<i>mundârtälaš</i> ¹	'to wind'	<i>šaraš</i> ¹¹	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>ćumârtāš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>muškaš</i> ¹	'to wash'	<i>šelaš</i> ¹	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>äštaš</i> ¹¹	'to do'	<i>nalaš</i> ¹	'to take'	<i>šeledaš</i> ¹¹	'to chop'
<i>jamdälaš</i> ¹¹	'to prepare (tr.)'	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring'	<i>šältaš</i> ¹¹	'to hide (tr.)'
<i>jarnaš</i> ¹¹	'to become tired'	<i>nöltalaš</i> ¹	'to raise'	<i>šizaš</i> ¹	'to feel'
<i>ješaraš</i> ¹¹	'to add'	<i>nöltäš</i> ¹¹	'to lift'	<i>šonaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to think'
<i>jâmâktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to blind'	<i>nöšlaš</i> ¹¹	'to thrash'	<i>šonaš</i> ¹¹	'to think'
<i>jörâktaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring down'	<i>nüžaš</i> ¹¹	'to rub'	<i>šotlaš</i> ¹¹	'to count'
<i>kataš</i> ¹¹	'to break off (tr.)'	<i>osälaš</i> ¹¹	'to divide (tr.)'	<i>šujaš</i> ¹¹	'to stretch out (tr.)'
<i>katkalaš</i> ¹¹	'to break (tr.)'	<i>padäštäläš</i> ¹	'to crush'	<i>šujdaraš</i> ¹¹	'to stretch (tr.)'
<i>keläštaraš</i> ¹¹	'to adapt'	<i>päggârtaš</i> ¹¹	'to knock down'	<i>šujnâktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>kâraš</i> ¹¹	'to beat'	<i>päzâralaš</i> ¹	'to push'	<i>šujnâktaš</i> ¹¹	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring'	<i>päzâraš</i> ¹¹	'to push'	<i>šungaltaraš</i> ¹¹	'to topple'
<i>korańdaš</i> ¹¹	'to remove'	<i>päžaltaraš</i> ¹¹	'to throw (forcefully)'	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹	'to pull'
<i>kualaš</i> ¹	'to weave'	<i>pidaš</i> ¹	'to tie'	<i>šüdâralaš</i> ¹	'to pull off'
<i>kućâktaš</i> ¹¹	'to hand'	<i>poćaš</i> ¹	'to open (tr.)'	<i>temdalaš</i> ¹	'to push'
<i>kudašaš</i> ¹	'to take off'	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>todälaš</i> ¹	'to break (tr.)'
<i>kugârtaš</i> ¹¹	'to make curl up'	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring in'	<i>todâštaš</i> ¹	'to break (tr.)'
<i>kumâktaš</i> ¹¹	'to overturn (tr.)'	<i>puštaš</i> ¹	'to kill'	<i>tojaš</i> ¹¹	'to hide, to bury'
<i>kuralaš</i> ¹	'to plough'	<i>pućkedas</i> ¹¹	'to cut'	<i>tüńćâktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to weaken'
<i>kural-üdaš</i> ¹¹	'to cultivate'	<i>pügaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>türedaš</i> ¹	'to cut; to harvest'
<i>küzâktaš</i> ¹¹	'to raise'	<i>pütâralaš</i> ¹	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>türlaš</i> ¹¹	'to embroider'
		<i>pütâraš</i> ¹¹	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>üdaš</i> ¹¹	'to sow'

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual marker indicating the single completion of an action, its execution by a deadline, often the fact that an action is carried out in advance, as a preparation for the future 			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar (with somewhat different semantics), Bashkir (cf. Tatar). Accounts of verbs meaning 'to put' as auxiliaries in similar meaning from Papua New Guinea.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 69	Corpus: 35	Total: 104	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: <i>sâtuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>hâfâβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>χur</i>
Etymology	< PFW * <i>pis(e)-tä</i> 'to place, to stick in', cognates include Finnish <i>pistää</i> 'to poke, to stick' and Estonian <i>pistma</i> 'id.' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 733; Bereczki et al. 2013: 186)			

Figure 169: Profile of *pâštāš* / *pištāš*³⁶⁹ 'to put'

4.1.39 *pâtaraš* / *patărăš*³⁷⁰ 'to finish'

This transitive phasal verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *пытараш*; Moisiu 1992: 258; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 52; Savatkova 2008: 229). With 203 pairings in the sources and another 62 in the corpus, it is among the more frequently used and seems to be highly productive. Nikolay Isanbayev, comparing it with its intransitive counterpart *pâtaš* / *patăš*³⁷¹ 'to end' – Section 4.1.40 (page 207) – states that it is connected with transitive verbs, and that it indicates “a meaning of complete exhaustiveness of an action” (Isanbayev 1978: 81).³⁶⁹ He likens it to Tatar *beterüβ* 'to finish' and Chuvash *pëter* 'id.' (*ibid.*; cf. also Schönig 1984: 55–57); Bashkir *bötöröβ* 'id.' (cf. Landmann 2015: 100) and Udmurt *bjdtjnĵ* 'id.' (cf. Kel'makov 1975: 99) seem to be used in an analogous fashion.

Meadow Mari: <i>pâtaraš</i> ³⁷¹	Hill Mari: <i>patărăš</i> ³⁷¹	Tatar: <i>beterüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pëter</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kočkân pâtarāš</i>	<i>kačkân patărăš</i>	<i>âšap beterüβ</i>	<i>śise pëter</i>	eating finish	to eat up
<i>jüân pâtarāš</i>	<i>jün patărăš</i>	<i>ešep beterüβ</i>	<i>ësse pëter</i>	drinking finish	to drink up
<i>jülaten pâtarāš</i>	<i>jêlaten patărăš</i>	<i>jândârêp beterüβ</i>	<i>śuntarsa pëter</i>	burning finish	to burn up
<i>olten pâtarāš</i>	<i>olten patărăš</i>	<i>jâŷâp beterüβ</i>	<i>χutsa pëter</i>	heating finish	to heat
<i>čünŷen pâtarāš</i>	<i>čangen patărăš</i>	<i>śuqâp beterüβ</i>	<i>sâχsa pëter</i>	pecking finish	to peck up
<i>korkalen pâtarāš</i>	<i>âdâren patărăš</i>	<i>sâzŷatâp beterüβ</i>	<i>čërse pëter</i>	drawing finish	to cover with lines
<i>lüdâkten pâtarāš</i>	<i>lüdâkten patărăš</i>	<i>qurqâtâp beterüβ</i>	<i>χâratsa pëter</i>	frightening finish	to alarm
<i>mokten pâtarāš</i>	<i>makten patărăš</i>	<i>mâqtâp beterüβ</i>	<i>îrlasa pëter</i>	praising finish	to praise highly

Figure 170: *pâtaraš* / *patărăš*³⁷¹ 'to finish' marking exhaustiveness and intensity (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 81)

SMYa speaks of this verb as a marker of the “completeness and intensity of a course of action” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 208).³⁷⁰ Boris Serebrennikov elaborates on the completeness or exhaustiveness mentioned by other authors, stating that the verb in question “expresses an action which generally ends in the complete destruction or annihilation of the object of the action, a violation of its integrity, or a strong change in quality” (Serebrennikov 1960: 191).³⁷¹ The exact appropriate interpretation (“destroying” is only on occasion an appropriate one) depends on the context: whether the object is

³⁶⁹ “[...] значение полной исчерпанности действия, [...]”

³⁷⁰ “[...] значение законченности и интенсивности протекания действия, [...]”

³⁷¹ “[...] выражает действие, которое обычно заканчивается полным разрушением или уничтожением объекта действия, нарушением его целостности или сильным изменением качества.”

subjected to the action in its entirety or whether an action is carried out on all possible objects. Compare the following two example sentences:

(116 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тунемаш > тунем пытараш; руаш II > руэн пытараш)

‘Кыдалаш школым тунем пытаренам.’

kādalaš	škol	-ām	tunem	-∅	pātar	-en	-am.
middle	school	-ACC	study	-CVB	finish	-PST2	-1SG
adj	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘I graduated from (lit. studying finished) middle school.’³⁷²

‘Опричник кашак эн сай еным руэн пытарат.’

opričnik	kašak	en	saj	jeŋ	-ām	ru	-en	pātar	-at.
oprchnik	band	SUP	good	person	-ACC	chop	-CVB	finish	-3PL
n	n	pa	adj	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘The oprichniks (czar’s bodyguards) are exterminating (lit. chopping finishing) all the best people.’³⁷³

In the first example, the action of studying is carried out to its full extent, on only one object – one specific school. In the second example, the auxiliary indicates that the act of extermination extends to all potential objects within the given context.

The grammaticalization of a verb meaning ‘to finish’, ‘to complete’, ‘to end’ (both transitive and intransitive) as completive (i.e. resultative) markers seems to be very common in the languages of the world, with examples found, among others, in Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), Lingala (Niger-Congo), Yabem (Austronesian), Palaung (Austroasiatic), Bari (Nilo-Saharan), Spanish (Indo-European), Siroi (Trans-New Guinea). It seems to be a very common process in pidgins and creoles (cf. **Heine & Kuteva 2002: 134–137**).

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	WICH: 48 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 8 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 17 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 29 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	BEK: 1: 28 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	WICH: 2 ⁽⁴⁰⁾

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβārkašaš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>βelkašaš¹¹</i>	‘to spill (tr.)’	<i>čijaltālaš¹¹</i>	‘to paint’
<i>ačalaš¹¹</i>	‘to repair’	<i>βistaraš¹¹</i>	‘to drive on’	<i>čijaš¹¹</i>	‘to put on’
<i>agaš¹¹</i>	‘to rob’	<i>βitaraš¹¹</i>	‘to penetrate’	<i>čoklaš¹¹</i>	‘to pray’
<i>ajartaš¹¹</i>	‘to poison’	<i>βozaš¹¹</i>	‘to write’	<i>čoŋaš¹¹</i>	‘to build’
<i>algaštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to entice’	<i>βozkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to write, to scribble’	<i>čumaš¹¹</i>	‘to kick’
<i>almaštaraš¹¹</i>	‘to replace’	<i>βoštālaš¹¹</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>čuriktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to torment’
<i>almaštālaš¹¹</i>	‘to replace’	<i>βudakaŋdaš¹¹</i>	‘to cloud’	<i>čūŋgaš¹¹</i>	‘to peck’
<i>amātaš¹¹</i>	‘to soil’	<i>βursaš¹¹</i>	‘to scold’	<i>deklamirovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to recite’
<i>amārtālaš¹¹</i>	‘to soil’	<i>βužgāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to stir up’	<i>erāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to clean’
<i>aŋārtaraš¹¹</i>	‘to give off CO’	<i>βüčkaš¹¹</i>	‘to pat on the back’	<i>ergaš¹¹</i>	‘to reap’
<i>bintovatlāš¹¹</i>	‘to bandage’	<i>βüdülaš¹¹</i>	‘to wrap’	<i>āštaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’
<i>βarkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to mix’	<i>βüdotāzaŋdaš¹¹</i>	‘to cover in calluses’	<i>āštālaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’

³⁷² “Я окончил среднюю школу.”

³⁷³ “Опричники истребят самых лучших людей.”

<i>igâltaš¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>lomâžanđas¹¹</i>	'to get ashes on something'	<i>pulaštaraš¹¹</i>	'to confuse someone'
<i>indâraš¹¹</i>	'to torment'	<i>loričâlas¹¹</i>	'to divide into layers (tr.)'	<i>puraktaraš¹¹</i>	'to raise dust'
<i>jamdâlas¹¹</i>	'to prepare (tr.)'	<i>lökas¹¹</i>	'to drink greedily'	<i>puras¹</i>	'to chew'
<i>jarnâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to exhaust'	<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>purgedas¹</i>	'to dig'
<i>jastaraš¹¹</i>	'to unload'	<i>lugaš¹¹</i>	'to mix (tr.)'	<i>puškâdemdas¹¹</i>	'to soften (tr.)'
<i>jataras¹¹</i>	'to humiliate'	<i>luktaš¹</i>	'to lead out'	<i>puštaš¹</i>	'to kill'
<i>jatlas¹¹</i>	'to abuse'	<i>lumaŋdas¹¹</i>	'to cover with snow'	<i>puštedaš¹¹</i>	'to ruin'
<i>jâgâžtaraš¹¹</i>	'to bother'	<i>luňčârtaraš¹¹</i>	'to weaken (tr.)'	<i>pužaš¹¹</i>	'to ruin'
<i>jâklandaraš¹¹</i>	'to pester'	<i>luňčârtaš¹¹</i>	'to weaken (tr.)'	<i>putajaš¹¹</i>	'to entangle'
<i>jâmâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to blind'	<i>lupšaš¹¹</i>	'to whip'	<i>putajkalaš¹¹</i>	'to entangle'
<i>jodâštaš¹</i>	'to question'	<i>ludâktaš¹¹</i>	'to frighten'	<i>püčkedaš¹¹</i>	'to cut'
<i>joktaraš¹¹</i>	'to pour (tr.)'	<i>ludâktâlas¹</i>	'to frighten'	<i>püjaš¹¹</i>	'to dam'
<i>jomdaraš¹¹</i>	'to lose, to misplace'	<i>lujâltaš¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>püškâlas¹</i>	'to sting'
<i>jörâktaš¹¹</i>	'to extinguish'	<i>lujkalaš¹¹</i>	'to shoot'	<i>püžaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to make sweat'
<i>jörtas¹¹</i>	'to extinguish'	<i>lūmdâlas¹</i>	'to call names'	<i>pütârkaš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'
<i>jöslandaraš¹¹</i>	'to torment'	<i>lūmlas¹¹</i>	'to name'	<i>robedaš¹</i>	'to beat'
<i>julas¹¹</i>	'to bewitch'	<i>lūštaš¹¹</i>	'to milk'	<i>roňčas¹¹</i>	'to unwind (tr.)'
<i>jumaŋdaraš¹¹</i>	'to worship'	<i>l'apkaš¹¹</i>	'to chatter'	<i>rožgaš¹¹</i>	'to smash up'
<i>jüas¹</i>	'to drink'	<i>mâskâlas¹¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>ruaš¹¹</i>	'to chop'
<i>jülatas¹¹</i>	'to burn (tr.)'	<i>močâlanđas¹¹</i>	'to fray'	<i>rumbâkaŋdas¹¹</i>	'to cloud'
<i>kaθanlas¹¹</i>	'to stack'	<i>modaš¹</i>	'to play'	<i>rüdas¹¹</i>	'to wear out'
<i>kalaskalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>moktaš¹¹</i>	'to praise'	<i>sakalaš¹¹</i>	'to hang up'
<i>kargaš¹¹</i>	'to curse'	<i>mondaš¹¹</i>	'to forget'	<i>sakaš¹¹</i>	'to hang up'
<i>katkalaš¹¹</i>	'to break (tr.)'	<i>muraš¹¹</i>	'to sing'	<i>sdatlaš¹¹</i>	'to hand over'
<i>kâčâlas¹</i>	'to search'	<i>müjaŋdas¹¹</i>	'to cover with honey'	<i>seraš¹¹</i>	'to write'
<i>kâras¹¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>nalas¹</i>	'to take'	<i>sâratas¹¹</i>	'to anger'
<i>kâškaš¹¹</i>	'to throw'	<i>naŋgajaš¹¹</i>	'to take, to lead'	<i>sârâktâlas¹</i>	'to anger'
<i>kâškâltaš¹</i>	'to throw'	<i>nečkeštaraš¹¹</i>	'to coddle'	<i>skirdovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to stack'
<i>kleitlaš¹¹</i>	'to glue'	<i>nelaš¹</i>	'to swallow'	<i>služitlaš¹¹</i>	'to serve'
<i>kôčkaš¹¹</i>	'to eat'	<i>nočkemdas¹¹</i>	'to moisten'	<i>solaš¹¹</i>	'to mow'
<i>kogartâlas¹</i>	'to scald'	<i>nodaš¹</i>	'to beat'	<i>somâlas¹¹</i>	'to weed'
<i>kokâras¹¹</i>	'to cough'	<i>nojâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to tire (tr.)'	<i>sulaš¹¹</i>	'to redeem something'
<i>koltas¹¹</i>	'to send; to let go'	<i>nulaš¹¹</i>	'to lick'	<i>susârtaš¹</i>	'to wound'
<i>koltâlas¹</i>	'to send'	<i>nultaš¹¹</i>	'to gnaw'	<i>süretlaš¹¹</i>	'to draw, to paint'
<i>korkalaš¹¹</i>	'to scratch, to furrow'	<i>numalaš¹</i>	'to carry'	<i>zapravitlaš¹¹</i>	'to fill up (tr.)'
<i>koštaš¹</i>	'to go'	<i>numaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to let be carried away'	<i>zâraditlaš¹¹</i>	'to load (tr.)'
<i>koštaš¹¹</i>	'to dry (tr.)'	<i>nüžas¹</i>	'to flog'	<i>zoritlaš¹¹</i>	'to ravage'
<i>kotârânđas¹¹</i>	'to let catch mangle'	<i>ňâktaš¹</i>	'to skin'	<i>šalataš¹¹</i>	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>körgâňčas¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>ňâmârtaš¹¹</i>	'to knead'	<i>šalatâlas¹</i>	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>kredalâktaš¹¹</i>	'to make fight'	<i>ňumâštaš¹</i>	'to gnaw at'	<i>šarkalaš¹¹</i>	'to spread out (tr.)'
<i>kuqas¹¹</i>	'to row; to shovel'	<i>oθartaš¹¹</i>	'to inflate (tr.)'	<i>šelâštaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>kučâlas¹¹</i>	'to use'	<i>ojlas¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šeraš¹</i>	'to comb'
<i>kudalâštaš¹</i>	'to run around'	<i>olmâktaš¹¹</i>	'to repair'	<i>šâmlas¹¹</i>	'to research'
<i>kuktaš¹¹</i>	'to tangle up'	<i>oltaš¹¹</i>	'to light'	<i>šijas¹</i>	'to thresh'
<i>kuktâlas¹</i>	'to tangle up'	<i>oňčas¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šogalaš¹¹</i>	'to plough'
<i>kuktâštaš¹</i>	'to tangle up'	<i>oňčâštaš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šoktaš¹</i>	'to sift'
<i>kuralas¹</i>	'to plough'	<i>optaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to pile up'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>kuškedaš¹</i>	'to tear'	<i>orkestrovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to orchestrate'	<i>šolâštaš¹</i>	'to steal'
<i>kuštârânđas¹¹</i>	'to litter'	<i>orlas¹¹</i>	'to abuse'	<i>šonas¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>kutâras¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>örâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to surprise'	<i>šonkalaš¹¹</i>	'to think'
<i>küeštaš¹</i>	'to bake'	<i>padâštaš¹¹</i>	'to crush'	<i>šortaš¹</i>	'to cry'
<i>küňčas¹¹</i>	'to dig'	<i>pečatlaš¹¹</i>	'to print'	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>küras¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>pižâktâlas¹</i>	'to hook'	<i>šudalaš¹</i>	'to scold'
<i>kürâštaš¹</i>	'to pick'	<i>povtoritlaš¹¹</i>	'to repeat'	<i>šuâltaš¹</i>	'to scatter (tr.)'
<i>küsâlas¹¹</i>	'to borrow'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>šuktaš¹¹</i>	'to manage'
<i>laθârtaš¹¹</i>	'to make muddy'	<i>pördalas¹</i>	'to roll (intr.)'	<i>šupšalaš¹</i>	'to kiss'
<i>laθârtâlas¹</i>	'to make dirty'	<i>pördaš¹¹</i>	'to lathe'	<i>šupšaš¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lapajas¹¹</i>	'to soil'	<i>puaš¹¹</i>	'to blow'	<i>šupšâktaš¹¹</i>	'to transport'
<i>laštârtâlas¹</i>	'to crush'	<i>pudeštaraš¹</i>	'to blow up (tr.)'	<i>šuras¹¹</i>	'to pound'
<i>leβedaš¹</i>	'to cover'	<i>pudâratâlas¹</i>	'to stir (tr.)'	<i>šurkalaš¹¹</i>	'to pull'
<i>lodaš¹¹</i>	'to mark'	<i>pudârtaš¹¹</i>	'to break (tr.)'	<i>šüβâltaš¹¹</i>	'to wet with saliva'
<i>lokšîňčas¹</i>	'to hew'	<i>pudârtâlas¹</i>	'to break (tr.)'	<i>šüdâras¹¹</i>	'to spin (yarn)'
<i>loktaš¹¹</i>	'to hex'	<i>puedaš¹¹</i>	'to distribute'	<i>šükaŋdas¹¹</i>	'to litter'
<i>loktâlas¹</i>	'to spoil'				

<i>šūktaraš^{II}</i>	‘to insult’	<i>törlataš^{II}</i>	‘to fix’	<i>türedaš^I</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>šūraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’	<i>tugəštaš^I</i>	‘to break apart (tr.)’	<i>türłaš^{II}</i>	‘to embroider’
<i>šūraš^{II}</i>	‘to harrow’	<i>tuməštəlaš^I</i>	‘to patch’	<i>udəlaš^I</i>	‘to pray’
<i>šüşkaš^I</i>	‘to shove’	<i>tunemaš^I</i>	‘to learn’	<i>udəraš^{II}</i>	‘to strike’
<i>šüşkəlaš^I</i>	‘to slaughter’	<i>turžaš^I</i>	‘to crumple’	<i>udərkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to strike sharply’
<i>šütkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to make holes in’	<i>turtəktəlaš^I</i>	‘to wrinkle (tr.)’	<i>ukširčəš^I</i>	‘to vomit’
<i>takərtəš^{II}</i>	‘to trample down’	<i>tügataš^{II}</i>	‘to wear out (tr.)’	<i>uraš^{II}</i>	‘to bury’
<i>tergaš^{II}</i>	‘to check’	<i>tüjaš^{II}</i>	‘to chop’	<i>urgaš^{II}</i>	‘to sew’
<i>tərmalaš^{II}</i>	‘to harrow’	<i>tülaš^{II}</i>	‘to pay’	<i>užalaš^{II}</i>	‘to sell’
<i>todəštaš^I</i>	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>tüləktəš^{II}</i>	‘to levy’	<i>užaš^I</i>	‘to see’
<i>tolaš^{II}</i>	‘to steal’	<i>tülərtaraš^{II}</i>	‘to distract’	<i>üdaš^{II}</i>	‘to sow’
<i>toškaš^{II}</i>	‘to trample’	<i>tünčəktaraš^{II}</i>	‘to weaken’	<i>üştaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual modifier denoting completeness, exhaustiveness, intensity of an action, covering an object in its entirety or all possible objects 		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Productive in Mari. The grammaticalization of a verb with this meaning is common across the globe.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 203	Corpus: 62	Total: 265
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>bjdtjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>beterüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>bötöröb</i> Chuvash: <i>pěter</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>pətaš / pətəš^{II}</i> ‘to end’ by means of the (originally Chuvash) causative derivational suffix <i>-ar</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 160) – though the word was presumably loaned with the derivational suffix (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 588)		

Figure 171: Profile of *pətaraš / pətärəš^{II}* ‘to finish’

4.1.40 *pətaš / pətəš^{II}* ‘to end’

Like its transitive counterpart *pətaraš / pətärəš^{II}* ‘to finish’ – see Section 4.1.39 (page 204) – this intransitive phasal verb is widely labelled as an auxiliary in the sources (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 89**; **Beke 1911: 161**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 52**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Serebrennikov 1960: 191–192**; **Savatkova 2008: 230**; **Pengitov et al. 1961: 207–208**; **Moisio 1992: 258**). With 200 pairings found in my sources and another 24 in the corpus, it seems to be reasonably common and to some extent productive.

The large Mari-Russian dictionary calls this verb an auxiliary “for the expression of finality, completeness, as well as a hint of intensification, excessiveness of an action or its spread to everything, everyone” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пыташ**).³⁷⁴ Nikolay Isanbayev, equating it to Tatar *betüb* ‘to end’ and Chuvash *pět* ‘id.’ (though noting and illustrating that there are numerous pairings where Mari and Tatar, but not Chuvash, align), observes that it is coupled with intransitive verbs and that it denotes “the complete exhaustiveness of an action or an extreme extent, the ultimate degree of manifestation of a state” (**Isanbayev 1978: 81**; cf. also **Schönig 1984: 55–57**),³⁷⁵ Bashkir *bötöb* ‘id.’ (cf. **Landmann 2015: 100**) and Udmurt *bjrjnj* ‘id.’ (cf. **Kel’makov 1975: 98–99**) seem to behave in a similar manner.

³⁷⁴ “9. употр. как всп.гл. для выражения законченности, завершённости действия, а также оттенка усиления, чрезмерности действия или распространения его на все, на всех”

³⁷⁵ “[...] полную исчерпанность действия или крайнюю степень, предельную полноту проявления состояния: [...]”

Meadow Mari: <i>pâtaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>pätäs</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>betüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pět</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jogen pâtaš</i>	<i>jogen pätäs</i>	<i>âvâp betüβ</i>	<i>juχsa pět</i>	flowing end	to flow out
<i>jülen pâtaš</i>	<i>jâlen pätäs</i>	<i>jânâp betüβ</i>	<i>šunsa pět</i>	burning end	to burn down
<i>šolân pâtaš</i>	<i>šolân pätäs</i>	<i>qâjnap betüβ</i>	<i>věrese pět</i>	boiling end	to boil away
<i>šûjân pâtaš</i>	<i>šûn pätäs</i>	<i>šerep betüβ</i>	<i>šërse pět</i>	rotting end	to rot away
<i>kajen pâtaš</i>	<i>ken pätäs</i>	<i>kitep betüβ</i>	<i>kajsa pět</i>	going end	to leave (everybody)
<i>kolen pâtaš</i>	<i>kolen pätäs</i>	<i>ülep betüβ</i>	<i>vilse pět</i>	dying end	to die out
<i>nören pâtaš</i>	<i>nören pätäs</i>	<i>šâtanâp betüβ</i>	<i>jěpense pět</i>	getting.wet end	to be drenched
<i>lüdân pâtaš</i>	<i>lüdân pätäs</i>	<i>qurqâp betüβ</i>	-	fearing end	to be terrified
<i>pužlen pâtaš</i>	<i>pâžlen pätäs</i>	<i>bozoloβ betüβ</i>	-	going.bad end	to go bad (everything)
<i>küpen pâtaš</i>	<i>küpen pätäs</i>	<i>šešenep betüβ</i>	-	swelling end	to swell up
<i>šongem pâtaš</i>	<i>šongem pätäs</i>	<i>qârtajâp betüβ</i>	-	aging end	to age a lot

Figure 172: *pâtaš* / *pätäs*¹¹ ‘to end’ marking exhaustiveness, spread to everyone (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 81)

The “spread to everything, everyone” mentioned by the Mari-Russian dictionary is a facet that appears depending on context and can be illustrated by the following two contrastive examples:

(117 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *нояш > ноен пыташ; колаш II > колен пыташ*)

‘[Ч]ылт ноен пытышна.’

čait	noj	-en	pâtâ	-š	-na.
completely	tire	-CVB	end	-PST1	-1PL
adv	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘We were completely exhausted.’³⁷⁶

‘Йолташ-влак чылан колен пытеныт.’

joltaš	-βlak	čâlan	kol	-en	pât	-en	-ât
comrade	-PL	all	die	-CVB	end	-PST2	-3PL
n	-num	adv	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘All (my) comrades died.’³⁷⁷

In the first example, the atelic action of tiring is made telic and exhaustive by means of the auxiliary under consideration. In the second example, through the use of the same auxiliary the already telic action of dying is expanded to indicate that all possible participants were involved in the action.

The grammaticalization of a verb meaning ‘to finish’, ‘to complete’, ‘to end’ (both transitive and intransitive) as completive (i.e. resultative) markers seems to be very common in the languages of the world, with examples found, among others, in Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), Lingala (Niger-Congo), Yabem (Austronesian), Palaung (Austroasiatic), Bari (Nilo-Saharan), Spanish (Indo-European), Siroi (Trans-New Guinea). It seems to be a very common process in pidgins and creoles (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 134–137).

³⁷⁶ “[...] совсем измотались.”

³⁷⁷ “Все мои товарищи погибли.”

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 15 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 12 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 61 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 63 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 64 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 7 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>almaštaltaš</i> ¹	'to be replaced'	<i>kogargâlaš</i> ¹	'to be scalded'	<i>mamâkanaš</i> ¹	'to get downy'
<i>amârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to get dirty'	<i>kogâl'gaš</i> ¹¹	'to coarsen (intr.)'	<i>mekšanaš</i> ¹	'to rot'
<i>amârgâlaš</i> ¹	'to get dirty'	<i>kolaš</i> ¹¹	'to die'	<i>močâlaņaš</i> ¹	'to fray (intr.)'
<i>andâgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become weak'	<i>korkalaltaš</i> ¹	'to be scratched'	<i>mondaltaš</i> ¹	'to be forgotten'
<i>aņârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to breathe in CO'	<i>kozâraņaš</i> ¹	'to roughen (intr.)'	<i>mortaņaš</i> ¹	'to decay'
<i>aņaš</i> ¹¹	'to be thirsty'	<i>košargaš</i> ¹¹	'to become sharp'	<i>muzâraņaš</i> ¹	'to leave a scar'
<i>ðarnaltaš</i> ¹	'to be mixed'	<i>koškaš</i> ¹¹	'to dry (intr.)'	<i>mutajaltaš</i> ¹	'to get confused'
<i>ðarnaš</i> ¹¹	'to be mixed'	<i>koštârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to roughen (intr.)'	<i>mûjaņaš</i> ¹	'to become sweet'
<i>ðaskalaltaš</i> ¹	'to get dirty'	<i>kõranaš</i> ¹¹	'to envy'	<i>narâhčalgas</i> ¹¹	'to turn yellow'
<i>ðelaš</i> ¹	'to spill (intr.)'	<i>kõrgašanaš</i> ¹	'to become hollow'	<i>nečkeštaš</i> ¹	'to be spoiled'
<i>ðoštâlaš</i> ¹	'to laugh'	<i>kuanaš</i> ¹¹	'to be happy'	<i>nojaš</i> ¹¹	'to become tired'
<i>ðüdotâzaņaš</i> ¹	'to be covered with calluses'	<i>kudalaš</i> ¹	'to ride'	<i>nõraš</i> ¹¹	'to become wet'
<i>ðûraņaš</i> ¹	'to become bloody'	<i>kuktajaltaš</i> ¹	'to get tangled up'	<i>nuzâlgaš</i> ¹¹	'to be scratched'
<i>čagâraņaš</i> ¹	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>kuktaltaš</i> ¹	'to get tangled up'	<i>nuznaņaš</i> ¹	'to grow poor'
<i>čalemaš</i> ¹	'to go grey'	<i>kunâžanaš</i> ¹	'to become untidy'	<i>nûžaltaš</i> ¹	'to rub off (intr.)'
<i>čatnaš</i> ¹¹	'to crack (intr.)'	<i>kuptârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to wrinkle (intr.)'	<i>nâmârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become soft'
<i>čebergaš</i> ¹¹	'to turn red'	<i>kuptârgâlaš</i> ¹	'to wrinkle (intr.)'	<i>oltaltaš</i> ¹	'to be lit'
<i>čerlanaš</i> ¹¹	'to fall ill'	<i>kuralaltaš</i> ¹	'to be ploughed'	<i>oralgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become hoarse'
<i>čõņeštaš</i> ¹¹	'to fly'	<i>kuržaš</i> ¹	'to run'	<i>orlanaš</i> ¹¹	'to suffer'
<i>čumârgâlaš</i> ¹	'to mat together'	<i>kuškaš</i> ¹	'to grow (intr.)'	<i>ošemas</i> ¹	'to turn white'
<i>elnaš</i> ¹¹	'to tire (intr.)'	<i>kuškedaltaš</i> ¹	'to tear (intr.)'	<i>õraš</i> ¹	'to be surprised'
<i>ezâlaš</i> ¹¹	'to be overdone'	<i>kuškedlaš</i> ¹¹	'to tear (intr.)'	<i>õrdaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow fat'
<i>ijaņaš</i> ¹	'to freeze (intr.)'	<i>kuštâraņaš</i> ¹	'to be littered'	<i>õrtkaš</i> ¹¹	'to be scared'
<i>indâraltaš</i> ¹	'to suffer'	<i>kûñčaltaš</i> ¹	'to be dug'	<i>õrtkânaš</i> ¹¹	'to panic'
<i>itârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become conceited'	<i>kûpaš</i> ¹¹	'to swell'	<i>pâškemaltaš</i> ¹	'to be tied into a knot'
<i>jabâgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become emaciated'	<i>kûpnaš</i> ¹¹	'to swell'	<i>pižaš</i> ¹	'to stick (intr.)'
<i>jagâlgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become smooth'	<i>kûrâltaš</i> ¹	'to tear off (intr.)'	<i>pojaš</i> ¹¹	'to get rich'
<i>jaņgargaš</i> ¹¹	'to get dirty'	<i>kûrâštaltaš</i> ¹	'to break (intr.)'	<i>pošaš</i> ¹¹	'to spread (intr.)'
<i>jarnaš</i> ¹¹	'to become tired'	<i>kûžgemaš</i> ¹	'to thicken (intr.)'	<i>põršanaš</i> ¹	'to be covered with hoarfrost'
<i>ješanaš</i> ¹	'to settle down to married life'	<i>labâraņaš</i> ¹	'to get muddy'	<i>puajaš</i> ¹	'to be lignified'
<i>jâgaltas</i> ¹	'to be rubbed'	<i>labârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to get muddy'	<i>pučas</i> ¹¹	'to evaporate'
<i>jâgâžgaš</i> ¹¹	'to disdain'	<i>lapajaltaš</i> ¹	'to get dirty'	<i>puðâranas</i> ¹¹	'to mix (intr.)'
<i>jâksânaš</i> ¹¹	'to disdain'	<i>laptârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to be trodden down'	<i>puðârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to break (intr.)'
<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	'to flow'	<i>leðaš</i> ¹¹	'to melt (intr.)'	<i>puðârgâlaš</i> ¹	'to break (intr.)'
<i>jomaš</i> ¹	'to disappear'	<i>lektas</i> ¹	'to go, to leave'	<i>pulašaltaš</i> ¹	'to get confused'
<i>joraņaš</i> ¹	'to get covered in sores'	<i>lâðâžgaš</i> ¹¹	'to wither'	<i>punaltaš</i> ¹	'to curl up'
<i>joškargaš</i> ¹¹	'to turn red'	<i>lâðârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to sag'	<i>puneštaltaš</i> ¹	'to get tangled up'
<i>jõraš</i> ¹¹	'to go out'	<i>lâštašanaš</i> ¹	'to grow leaves'	<i>punâškaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow mouldy'
<i>jõrlaš</i> ¹	'to fall down'	<i>lâžgajaš</i> ¹¹	'to tear (intr.)'	<i>puñčezaltaš</i> ¹	'to be twisted'
<i>jõslanaš</i> ¹¹	'to suffer'	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	'to be; to become'	<i>purakanaš</i> ¹	'to get dusty'
<i>juštârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become crumbly'	<i>lokšínčaltaš</i> ¹	'to be hewn'	<i>puras</i> ¹¹	'to enter (intr.)'
<i>jülaš</i> ¹¹	'to burn (intr.)'	<i>loktâlaltaš</i> ¹	'to go bad'	<i>puredaš</i> ¹¹	'to enter (intr.)'
<i>kaðaras</i> ¹¹	'to die'	<i>lomâžanaš</i> ¹	'to get dirty with ashes'	<i>purkanaš</i> ¹	'to become loose'
<i>kaðâskaš</i> ¹¹	'to dry up'	<i>lozârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to get soaked'	<i>pušanaš</i> ¹	'to start smelling'
<i>kajaš</i> ¹¹	'to go (away)'	<i>ložasaņaš</i> ¹	'to get flour all over oneself'	<i>pužlaš</i> ¹¹	'to break (intr.)'
<i>kakargaš</i> ¹¹	'to go blue'	<i>lugaltaš</i> ¹	'to be mixed'	<i>putajaltaš</i> ¹	'to get tangled up'
<i>kakargâlaš</i> ¹	'to go blue'	<i>lumajaš</i> ¹	'to be covered with snow'	<i>püčkedaltaš</i> ¹	'to be cut off'
<i>kakšijemas</i> ¹	'to lose weight'	<i>luñčârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to be exhausted'	<i>pügârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend down'
<i>kareštaltaš</i> ¹	'to be fastened'	<i>luškaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow weak'	<i>püknaš</i> ¹¹	'to mould'
<i>katkalaltaš</i> ¹	'to break off (intr.)'	<i>luštârgaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow weak'	<i>püžaltaš</i> ¹	'to sweat'
<i>kâlmaš</i> ¹¹	'to freeze (intr.)'	<i>lüdaš</i> ¹	'to fear'	<i>pütâraltaš</i> ¹	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>kâraltaš</i> ¹	'to be beaten'	<i>lümaņaš</i> ¹	'to be covered with scabs'	<i>pütârnaltaš</i> ¹	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>kogargaš</i> ¹¹	'to be scalded'			<i>pütârnaš</i> ¹¹	'to curl (intr.)'
				<i>rožanaš</i> ¹	'to become holey'

<i>rotkálgasʹ</i>	‘to rot’	<i>šâreškašʹ</i>	‘to wither’	<i>târlasʹ</i>	‘to get better’
<i>rúčkaltasʹ</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>šârpeštaltasʹ</i>	‘to splinter (intr.)’	<i>toḅaḅasʹ</i>	‘to get tangled’
<i>rüdaḅasʹ</i>	‘to rust’	<i>šâžasʹ</i>	‘to drizzle’	<i>toḅâlaltasʹ</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>rükasʹ</i>	‘to age (intr.)’	<i>šolasʹ</i>	‘to boil (intr.)’	<i>toḅâštaltasʹ</i>	‘to break (intr.)’
<i>sabaltasʹ</i>	‘to strike against’	<i>šoldârgasʹ</i>	‘to crack (from dryness)’	<i>tolasʹ</i>	‘to come’
<i>saplanašʹ</i>	‘to become uneven’	<i>šongemasʹ</i>	‘to age (intr.)’	<i>toškaltasʹ</i>	‘to be trampled’
<i>sargajaltasʹ</i>	‘to turn yellow’	<i>šoraḅasʹ</i>	‘to become filthy’	<i>toštemasʹ</i>	‘to become old’
<i>sârasʹ</i>	‘to get angry’	<i>šortasʹ</i>	‘to cry’	<i>törgaltasʹ</i>	‘to tear off (intr.)’
<i>sirlasʹ</i>	‘to fall, to cave in’	<i>šualgasʹ</i>	‘to be soaked’	<i>tugâštaltasʹ</i>	‘to be broken’
<i>soknasʹ</i>	‘to grow infirm’	<i>šulasʹ</i>	‘to melt (intr.)’	<i>tuješkašʹ</i>	‘to get sick’
<i>surgaltasʹ</i>	‘to ring out’	<i>šunaḅasʹ</i>	‘to be soiled with clay’	<i>tungârgasʹ</i>	‘to be covered with bark’
<i>susârgasʹ</i>	‘to be injured’	<i>šurkaltaltasʹ</i>	‘to be pricked’	<i>turžaltasʹ</i>	‘to become crumpled’
<i>susârgâlasʹ</i>	‘to be injured’	<i>šuzâšʹ</i>	‘to get hungry’	<i>tüganasʹ</i>	‘to wear out (intr.)’
<i>sümârlasʹ</i>	‘to collapse’	<i>šüčaḅasʹ</i>	‘to become sooty’	<i>tülâžgasʹ</i>	‘to grow weak’
<i>süretlaltasʹ</i>	‘to be painted’	<i>šüjasʹ</i>	‘to rot’	<i>tünčâgasʹ</i>	‘to grow weak’
<i>šalanasʹ</i>	‘to be scattered’	<i>šütkalaltasʹ</i>	‘to be perforated’	<i>tünḅasʹ</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>šalanâlasʹ</i>	‘to be scattered’	<i>šütlasʹ</i>	‘to be punctured’	<i>tüngâlgasʹ</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>šelâštaltasʹ</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>žaritlaltasʹ</i>	‘to fry (intr.)’	<i>tüngârgasʹ</i>	‘to become stiff’
<i>šelâštašʹ</i>	‘to break (intr. & tr.)’	<i>tagâl’gasʹ</i>	‘to get greasy’	<i>ulnasʹ</i>	‘to tire (intr.)’
<i>šelâstedaltasʹ</i>	‘to crack (intr.)’	<i>takârgasʹ</i>	‘to be trodden’	<i>urâltasʹ</i>	‘to fall’
<i>šememasʹ</i>	‘to turn black’	<i>tal’aḅasʹ</i>	‘to become dirty’	<i>üjaḅasʹ</i>	‘to become oily’
<i>šâlasʹ</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>tâgâdemasʹ</i>	‘to crumble (intr.)’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Aspectual auxiliary denoting exhaustiveness, extreme extent, involvement of all possible participants		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Productive in Mari. The grammaticalization of a verb with this meaning is common across the globe.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 200	Corpus: 24	Total: 224
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>birjñj</i>	Tatar: <i>betüḅ</i>	Bashkir: <i>bötöḅ</i> Chuvash: <i>pět</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: I: 426) and/or Tatar (cf. Moisiso & Saarinen 2008: 588)		

Figure 173: Profile of *pâtasʹ* / *pätâšʹ* ‘to end’

4.1.41 *puasʹ* / *puasʹ* ‘to give’

As discussed in Section 2.2.6 (page 68), verbs meaning ‘to give’ are in many languages of the world used as benefactive markers denoting that an action advantageously affects some participant that is not its patient (cf. also Heine & Kuteva 2002: 151); this includes Mari *puasʹ* / *puasʹ* ‘to give’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83; Serebrennikov 1960: 198–199; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 42–43; Pengitov et al. 1961: 211–212), Udmurt *šotñj* ‘id.’ (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 102), Tatar *birüḅ* ‘id.’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83; Schönig 1984: 51), Bashkir *bireḅ* ‘id.’ (cf. Landmann 2015: 100), and Chuvash *par* ‘id.’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83). With 141 pairings in the sources and another 33 in the corpus, the Mari verb seems to be productive as an auxiliary.

Meadow Mari: <i>puasʹ</i>	Hill Mari: <i>puasʹ</i>	Tatar: <i>birüḅ</i>	Chuvash: <i>par</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ludân puasʹ</i>	<i>lâdân puasʹ</i>	<i>uqâp birüḅ</i>	<i>vulasa par</i>	reading give	to read (to ...)
<i>bozen puasʹ</i>	<i>siren puasʹ</i>	<i>jâzâp birüḅ</i>	<i>širsa par</i>	writing give	to write (to ...)
<i>bisen puasʹ</i>	<i>bisen puasʹ</i>	<i>ülšâp birüḅ</i>	<i>višse par</i>	measuring give	to measure (for ...)
<i>konden puasʹ</i>	<i>kanden puasʹ</i>	<i>iltep birüḅ</i>	<i>lešse par</i>	bringing give	to bring (to ...)
<i>ojlen puasʹ</i>	<i>popen puasʹ</i>	<i>söjlâp birüḅ</i>	<i>kalasa par</i>	saying give	to tell (...)
<i>umâltaren puasʹ</i>	<i>âḅgâldaren puasʹ</i>	<i>âḅtatâp birüḅ</i>	<i>ânlantarsa par</i>	explaining give	to explain (to ...)
<i>šotlen puasʹ</i>	<i>šotlen puasʹ</i>	<i>sânap birüḅ</i>	<i>šutlasa par</i>	counting give	to count (for ...)

Figure 174: *puasʹ* / *puasʹ* ‘to give’ as a benefactive marker (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83)

While pairings of this sort are ever-present in all languages under consideration, Gábor Bereczki et al. define *ludân puaş* ‘to read out (lit. reading give)’, *muân puaş* ‘to find something for someone (lit. finding give)’, *püčkân puaş* ‘to allot (land) to someone (lit. cutting give)’, and *urgen puaş* ‘to sew something for someone (lit. sewing give)’ as Chuvash loan translations (Bereczki et al. 2013: 123; 148; 208; 299). Boris Serebrennikov states that such pairings are less common in Mari than they are in Tatar or Chuvash (cf. Serebrennikov 1960: 198).

Numerous sources do not actually describe this verb as a benefactive marker, but rather as an aspectual auxiliary (e.g. Moio 1992: 242; Alhoniemi 1985: 144). For example, the large Mari-Russian dictionary calls it a marker of “the completion of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **пуаш II**)³⁷⁸ – but illustrates its usage with examples where it is clearly a benefactive marker. According to Boris Serebrennikov, “[i]n Tatar [auxiliary constructions] with the auxiliary verb [*birüb* ‘to give’], corresponding to the Mari verb [*puaş / puáš*!], have taken another additional meaning: they sometimes express rapidity, disjointedness, a short duration of the activity, [...]. A similar meaning can be observed in Mari as well”.³⁷⁹ Nikolay Isanbayev states that this verb indicates “a completed action carried out in the interest of a different person or addressed to a different person” (Isanbayev 1978: **83**)³⁸⁰ – indicating that the aspectual reading described by Serebrennikov can be considered secondary. However, examples can be found where a benefactive reading of the auxiliary does not seem appropriate and it seems to have only an aspectual value.

(118 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: витараш > витарен пуаш)																					
‘Эчанат имньыжым лупш дене витарен пуыш.’																					
ečan	=at	imníâ	-žâ	-m	lupš	tene															
Echan	=and	horse	-3SG	-ACC	whip	with															
n	=enc	n	-poss	-case	n	po															
				<table border="1"> <tr> <td>βitar</td> <td>-en</td> <td>puâ</td> <td>-š</td> <td>-∅.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pierce</td> <td>-CVB</td> <td>give</td> <td>-PST1</td> <td>-3SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>v</td> <td>-adv</td> <td>v</td> <td>-tense</td> <td>-pers</td> </tr> </table>			βitar	-en	puâ	-š	-∅.	pierce	-CVB	give	-PST1	-3SG	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers
βitar	-en	puâ	-š	-∅.																	
pierce	-CVB	give	-PST1	-3SG																	
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers																	
‘Echan whipped his horse severely.’ ³⁸¹																					

The Tatar origin of this facet would suggest a greater proliferation of it in Meadow and Eastern Mari compared to Hill Mari. The available data does not, however, support this interpretation at this point. Anna Savatkova defines this verb as an aspectual, rather than benefactive, auxiliary in her Hill Mari-Russian dictionary (cf. Savatkova 2008: 214).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 27 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 32 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 34 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 7 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 11 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 38 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 56 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

³⁷⁸ “[...] завершённость действия”

³⁷⁹ “В татарском языке составные глаголы с вспомогательным глаголом *бирергэ* ‘давать’, соответствующим марийскому глаголу *пуаш*, получили еще дополнительное значение: они иногда выражают быстроту, отрывочность, кратковременность действия, [...] . Подобное значение в марийском языке также прослеживается, [...]”

³⁸⁰ “[...] законченное действие, совершаемое в интересах другого лица или адресованное другому лицу: [...]”

³⁸¹ “Эчан сильно ударил плёткой своего коня.”

<i>ačalaš¹¹</i>	'to repair'	<i>luktedaš¹¹</i>	'to take out'	<i>sāneštaraš¹¹</i>	'to decorate'
<i>amalkalaš¹¹</i>	'to deal with'	<i>lupšalaš¹</i>	'to whip'	<i>sobaš¹¹</i>	'to clap'
<i>baraš¹¹</i>	'to mix (tr.)'	<i>lupšaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to swing (tr.)'	<i>solaltaš¹¹</i>	'to wave'
<i>biiktaraš¹¹</i>	'to run, to direct'	<i>lupšaš¹¹</i>	'to whip'	<i>sūretlaš¹¹</i>	'to draw, to paint'
<i>bisaš¹¹</i>	'to weigh'	<i>l'apkaš¹¹</i>	'to chatter'	<i>zavoditlaš¹¹</i>	'to start, to wind up'
<i>bistaraš¹¹</i>	'to drive on'	<i>māškālaš¹¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>zapravitlaš¹¹</i>	'to fill up (tr.)'
<i>bitaraš¹¹</i>	'to penetrate'	<i>muāš¹</i>	'to find'	<i>zaraditlaš¹¹</i>	'to load (tr.)'
<i>bolgaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to illuminate'	<i>muraltaš¹¹</i>	'to sing'	<i>zvonitlaš¹¹</i>	'to ring'
<i>boltaš¹¹</i>	'to lower'	<i>muraš¹¹</i>	'to sing'	<i>šelaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>bozaš¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>muškaš¹</i>	'to wash'	<i>šeledaš¹¹</i>	'to chop'
<i>čertitlaš¹¹</i>	'to draw, to trace'	<i>muškāndaš¹¹</i>	'to hit with one's fist'	<i>šelāštaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>čijaltaš¹¹</i>	'to paint'	<i>mužedaš¹</i>	'to tell fortunes'	<i>šāndaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'
<i>čiktaš¹¹</i>	'to dress'	<i>nalaš¹</i>	'to take'	<i>šāžāktaš¹¹</i>	'to splash (tr.)'
<i>čōṇaš¹¹</i>	'to build'	<i>namijaš¹¹</i>	'to bring'	<i>šojaklaš¹¹</i>	'to tell lies'
<i>čūmalaš¹</i>	'to kick'	<i>naṅgajaš¹¹</i>	'to take, to lead'	<i>šokaltaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>čūktaš¹¹</i>	'to turn on, to light'	<i>nergelaš¹¹</i>	'to systematize'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'
<i>deval'virovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to devalue'	<i>nulalaš¹</i>	'to lick'	<i>šoktāktaš¹¹</i>	'to make noise'
<i>deklamirovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to recite'	<i>nūžaš¹¹</i>	'to rub'	<i>šolaš¹¹</i>	'to throw'
<i>dirizirovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to conduct'	<i>nāktaš¹</i>	'to skin'	<i>šoltaš¹¹</i>	'to boil (tr.)'
<i>dokazatlaš¹¹</i>	'to demonstrate'	<i>ojāraš¹¹</i>	'to separate'	<i>šoltkaš¹¹</i>	'to rattle'
<i>emlaš¹¹</i>	'to treat, to cure'	<i>ojlaltaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šotlaš¹¹</i>	'to count'
<i>eṇdaš¹¹</i>	'to scorch'	<i>ojlaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>šujaš¹¹</i>	'to stretch out (tr.)'
<i>erāktaš¹¹</i>	'to clean'	<i>olmāktaš¹¹</i>	'to repair'	<i>šuktaš¹¹</i>	'to manage'
<i>ārāktaš¹¹</i>	'to warm (tr.)'	<i>oñčaš¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>šulaš¹</i>	'to cut'
<i>āštaš¹¹</i>	'to do'	<i>oñčāktaš¹¹</i>	'to show'	<i>šuralaš¹</i>	'to stick in (tr.)'
<i>āštālaš¹</i>	'to do'	<i>optaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to pile up'	<i>šūbalaš¹</i>	'to spit; to charm'
<i>igāлташ¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>pajlaš¹¹</i>	'to divide (tr.)'	<i>šūraltaš¹¹</i>	'to spread (tr.)'
<i>jongaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to fill (tr.)'	<i>pečatlaš¹¹</i>	'to print'	<i>šūraš¹¹</i>	'to spread (tr.)'
<i>jōraš¹¹</i>	'to felt'	<i>peltaš¹¹</i>	'to melt (tr.)'	<i>žaritlaš¹¹</i>	'to fry (tr.)'
<i>kalasaš¹¹</i>	'to say'	<i>penḍaš¹¹</i>	'to hit'	<i>tabaltaš¹¹</i>	'to stamp'
<i>kalaskalaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>penḡādemdaš¹¹</i>	'to fasten'	<i>takārtaš¹¹</i>	'to trample down'
<i>kataš¹¹</i>	'to break off (tr.)'	<i>perasš¹¹</i>	'to hit'	<i>taptaš¹¹</i>	'to forge'
<i>kāčalaš¹</i>	'to search'	<i>pāštaš¹¹</i>	'to put, to place'	<i>temaš¹¹</i>	'to fill (tr.)'
<i>kāčkaš¹¹</i>	'to harness'	<i>pidasš¹</i>	'to tie'	<i>temlaš¹¹</i>	'to offer'
<i>klopotajaš¹¹</i>	'to solicit'	<i>pižāktaš¹¹</i>	'to fasten'	<i>tergaš¹¹</i>	'to check'
<i>kojdarasš¹¹</i>	'to mock'	<i>počasš¹</i>	'to open (tr.)'	<i>tālmačlaš¹¹</i>	'to interpret'
<i>koltaltaš¹¹</i>	'to let go'	<i>počkaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to sting'	<i>todaš¹</i>	'to weave'
<i>kondalaš¹</i>	'to bring'	<i>počkaš¹¹</i>	'to shake off'	<i>topkaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to hit hard'
<i>kondaš¹¹</i>	'to bring'	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>tototlaš¹¹</i>	'to jabber'
<i>kučasš¹¹</i>	'to hold'	<i>poñāžasš¹</i>	'to singe'	<i>tōpkaš¹¹</i>	'to beat'
<i>kučāktaš¹¹</i>	'to hand'	<i>pongaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to knock down'	<i>tōrlaš¹¹</i>	'to make flat'
<i>kudašaš¹</i>	'to take off'	<i>pōlaš¹¹</i>	'to divide (intr.)'	<i>tōrlataš¹¹</i>	'to fix'
<i>kuktāštaš¹</i>	'to tangle up'	<i>pōrdaš¹¹</i>	'to lathe'	<i>tuškaltasš¹¹</i>	'to dip, to shove'
<i>kurežaš¹</i>	'to tell a lie'	<i>putlaš¹¹</i>	'to recommend a girl as a wife'	<i>tuškaš¹¹</i>	'to model'
<i>kurāktaš¹¹</i>	'to tell a lie'	<i>pūčkaš¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>tuštaš¹¹</i>	'to ask (riddles)'
<i>kurāktālaš¹</i>	'to tell lies'	<i>pūčkedaš¹¹</i>	'to cut'	<i>tuštālaš¹</i>	'to ask (riddles)'
<i>kusaraš¹¹</i>	'to move; to translate'	<i>pūškālaš¹</i>	'to sting'	<i>tūčasš¹¹</i>	'to flick'
<i>kuštaltaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>pūtāralaš¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>tūṇalaš¹</i>	'to begin'
<i>kuštaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>radamlaš¹¹</i>	'to analyse'	<i>tūredaš¹</i>	'to cut; to harvest'
<i>kūkšemaš¹¹</i>	'to raise'	<i>rašemaš¹¹</i>	'to specify'	<i>udārkalaš¹¹</i>	'to strike sharply'
<i>kūzāktaš¹¹</i>	'to raise'	<i>raškaltaraš¹¹</i>	'to be loud'	<i>uemdaš¹¹</i>	'to renew'
<i>lāptāmandaš¹¹</i>	'to dance'	<i>raškaltaš¹¹</i>	'to strike (lightning)'	<i>umāltaraš¹¹</i>	'to explain'
<i>loktālaš¹</i>	'to spoil'	<i>rualaš¹</i>	'to chop'	<i>urgaš¹¹</i>	'to sew'
<i>loñčālaš¹¹</i>	'to divide into layers (tr.)'	<i>rudaš¹¹</i>	'to untie'	<i>urgāktaš¹¹</i>	'to have sewn'
<i>loṇaš¹</i>	'to winnow'	<i>sabāktaš¹¹</i>	'to publish'	<i>užašlaš¹¹</i>	'to divide (tr.)'
<i>loṇdaš¹¹</i>	'to move apart (tr.)'	<i>sakaltaš¹¹</i>	'to hang up'	<i>ut'uzitlaš¹¹</i>	'to iron'
<i>ludaš¹</i>	'to read'	<i>sakaš¹¹</i>	'to hang up'	<i>ūdaš¹¹</i>	'to sow'
<i>luktaš¹</i>	'to lead out'	<i>seraš¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>ūšanaš¹¹</i>	'to believe'

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefactive marker denoting that an action is carried out to the advantage of a participant that is not the patient • Aspectual marker indicating completion, rapidity, short duration 			
Distribution etc.	As a benefactive marker, Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, and numerous languages across the globe. Productive in Mari. As an aspectual marker, Tatar (to a greater extent), Mari. Apparently not productive in Mari in this meaning.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 141	Corpus: 33	Total: 174	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>śotijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>birüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>bireβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>par</i>
Etymology	?			

Figure 175: Profile of *puaš* / *puaš*^{II} ‘to give’

4.1.42 *puraš* / *pâraš*^{II} ‘to come in, to enter’

The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this path verb, in combination with a converb, denotes “the direction of an action inwards” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *нрраш II*; cf. also Budenz 1865: 88; Chkhaidze 1960: 48–49; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Moisio 1992: 247; Savatkova 2008: 222; Serebrennikov 1960: 199).³⁸² Nikolay Isanbayev adds that it is in principle attached to intransitive verbs (exceptions will be discussed below) and likens it to Tatar *kerüb* ‘to come in, to enter’ and Chuvash *kër* ‘id.’ (Isanbayev 1978: 71). Bashkir *ineβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used in a similar fashion (cf. Akhmerov et al. 1958); Valey Kel’makov illustrates (but does not discuss) the usage of Udmurt *pirijnj* ‘id.’ as a path verb (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 101). With 27 pairings in the sources and 9 additional ones found in the corpus, it seems to be productive within semantic constraints: it is combined with intransitive verbs that can be assigned the path ‘in(to)’ in a meaningful manner.

Gábor Bereczki et al. compare verbal pairings using this verb in Mari and Chuvash, and state that everything speaks for Chuvash loan translations here – and that a number of pairings of this sort can be found in Udmurt as well (Bereczki et al. 2013: 203; cf. also *ibid*: 33).

Meadow Mari: <i>puraš</i> ^{II}	Hill Mari: <i>pâraš</i> ^{II}	Tatar: <i>kerüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>kër</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kuržân puraš</i>	<i>kârgâž pâraš</i>	<i>jögöröp kerüb</i>	<i>tarsa kër</i>	running come.in	to run in
<i>muñčalten puraš</i>	<i>katajen pâraš</i>	<i>tägärep kerüb</i>	<i>kussa kër</i>	sliding come.in	to slide in
<i>nuškân puraš</i>	<i>aβal’anen pâraš</i>	<i>šubâššep kerüb</i>	<i>šusa kër</i>	crawling come.in	to crawl in
<i>töršten puraš</i>	<i>targešten pâraš</i>	<i>sikerep kerüb</i>	<i>sikse kër</i>	jumping come.in	to jump in
<i>čoržešten puraš</i>	<i>čoržešten pâraš</i>	<i>ošop kerüb</i>	<i>věšse kër</i>	flying come.in	to fly in

Figure 176: *puraš* / *pâraš*^{II} ‘to come in, to enter’ indicating path ‘in’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 71)

Isanbayev notes that in isolated cases, the path verb in question co-occurs with transitive verbs (Isanbayev 1978: 71): *nalân puraš* ‘to take in (lit. taking enter)’ etc. As in the case of *ertaš* / *ertäš*^{II} ‘to go by; to go through’ – see Section 4.1.10 (page 145) – the syntactic interpretation of such pairings is ambiguous.

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 3 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 6 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 14 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 25 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 33 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 30 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 44 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 66 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 3 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 45 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 11 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 38 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 44 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 50 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

³⁸² “[...] направленность действия внутрь; [...]”

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čaknaš^{II}</i>	‘to move back’	<i>kuržaš^I</i>	‘to run’	<i>pördaš^I</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>čoņeštaš^{II}</i>	‘to fly’	<i>künččas^{II}</i>	‘to dig’	<i>seņas^{II}</i>	‘to defeat, to win’
<i>iškälaltaš^I</i>	‘to be wedged’	<i>lektaš^I</i>	‘to go, to leave’	<i>šeņas^I</i>	‘to rummage’
<i>jodaš^I</i>	‘to ask’	<i>lodemaltaš^I</i>	‘to deepen (intr.)’	<i>šägärnaš^{II}</i>	‘to jostle’
<i>jogaš^{II}</i>	‘to flow’	<i>mijaš^{II}</i>	‘to go, to come’	<i>šäņaš^{II}</i>	‘to fit (intr.)’
<i>joñčestaltaš^I</i>	‘to ooze’	<i>muñčaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to slide’	<i>šuras^{II}</i>	‘to pound’
<i>jortaš^{II}</i>	‘to trot’	<i>nalaš^I</i>	‘to take’	<i>šukas^{II}</i>	‘to push’
<i>kelaš^I</i>	‘to wade’	<i>numalaš^I</i>	‘to carry’	<i>šüşkältaš^I</i>	‘to crowd (intr.)’
<i>kerältaš^I</i>	‘to stick into (intr.)’	<i>nuškaš^I</i>	‘to creep’	<i>šütaš^{II}</i>	‘to pierce’
<i>kočkaš^I</i>	‘to eat’	<i>oškälaš^I</i>	‘to step’	<i>tolaš^I</i>	‘to come’
<i>körgäñčas^I</i>	‘to dig’	<i>pogänaš^{II}</i>	‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>törštaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to jump’
<i>kudalaš^I</i>	‘to ride’	<i>pošaš^{II}</i>	‘to pump’	<i>törštaš^{II}</i>	‘to jump’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Path verb ‘in(to)’		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 27	Corpus: 9	Total: 36
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pirjñj</i>	Tatar: <i>kerüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>ineβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kër</i>
Etymology	< PFP * <i>purz-</i> ‘to go in’, cognates include Udmurt <i>pirjñj</i> ‘id.’ and Komi <i>pirñj</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 408; Bereczki et al. 2013: 202–203)		

Figure 177: Profile of *puras* / *pâraš^{II}* ‘to come in, to enter’

4.1.43 *purtaš* / *pârtaš^{II}* ‘to bring in, to enter’

The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this transitive path verb, in combination with a converb, denotes “the direction of an action into something, into the limits of something” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *нытраш*; cf. also Budenz 1865: 88; Moisio 1992: 248; Chkhaidze 1960: 48–49; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Serebrennikov 1960: 199; Savatkova 2008: 223).³⁸³ This makes it a relatively straight-forward transitive counterpart to its parent, the intransitive verb *puras* / *pâraš^{II}* ‘to come in, to enter’ (cf. Chkhaidze 1960: 48–49) – see Section 4.1.42 (page 213). Nikolay Isanbayev, noting that it is only connected with transitive verbs, likens it to Tatar *kertüb* ‘to bring in, to enter’ and Chuvash *kërt* ‘id.’ (Isanbayev 1978: 71). Bashkir *indereβ* ‘id.’ appears to occur in an analogous function (cf. Akhmerov et al. 1958); Valey Kel’makov mentions the co-occurrence of Udmurt *pirtjñj* ‘id.’ with converbs (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 95); it seems to be usable as a path marker.³⁸⁴

Meadow Mari: <i>purtaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>pârtaš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>kertüb</i>	Chuvash: <i>kërt</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>βüden purtaš</i>	<i>βiden pârtaš</i>	<i>žitäkläp kertüb</i>	<i>šavätsa kërt</i>	leading bring.in	to lead in
<i>pokten purtaš</i>	<i>pokten pârtaš</i>	<i>quβäp kertüb</i>	<i>χävalasa kërt</i>	driving bring.in	to drive in
<i>kâren purtaš</i>	<i>šin pârtaš</i>	<i>bäreβ kertüb</i>	<i>šapsa kërt</i>	beating bring.in	to beat in

Figure 178: *purtaš* / *pârtaš^{II}* ‘to bring in, to enter’ marking path ‘in’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 71)

A total of 17 pairings using this verb in the second position could be found in the sources and I was only able to find 2 additional pairings in the corpus. I am still inclined to consider this verb productive within narrow semantic constraints: it is coupled with transitive verbs that can be meaningfully assigned the path ‘in(to)’.

³⁸³ “[...] направленность действия внутрь чего-либо, в пределы чего-либо”

³⁸⁴ Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov, personal correspondence.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: III: 332 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 333 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 339 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: IV: 76 ⁽⁹⁾ BEK: IV: 96 ⁽⁹⁾ BEK: IV: 196 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 212 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 220 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 229 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 233 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 254 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 448 ⁽⁸⁾ PAAS: 13 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 22 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 221 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 223 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 231 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 243 ⁽⁴⁾
M	BEK: II: 54 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 56 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 142 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 182 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 196 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 216 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 228 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 312 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 117 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 134 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 150 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 170 ⁽³⁵⁾ JEV: III: 16 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 94 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 106 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 120 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 136 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβârāš</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>šüdârāš</i> ¹¹	‘to drag’
<i>θüdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lead’	<i>numalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to carry’	<i>šükalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to push’
<i>ćumalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to kick’	<i>ondalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to deceive’	<i>šükaš</i> ¹¹	‘to push’
<i>kâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to beat’	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>tulaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pump’
<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>poktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive’	<i>üžaš</i> ¹¹	‘to invite’
<i>kožaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drive (away)’	<i>pütârāš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’		
<i>nalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take’	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pull’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path verb ‘in(to)’		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 17	Corpus: 2	Total: 19
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pjrtjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>kertüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>indereβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kěrt</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>puraš</i> / <i>pârāš</i> ¹¹ ‘to come in’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-t</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165; Bereczki et al. 2013: 203)		

Figure 179: Profile of *purtaš* / *pârtaš*¹¹ ‘to bring in, to enter’

4.1.44 *sabârnaš* / *sárnäš*¹¹ ‘to turn (intr.)’

This verb is not taken into consideration as an auxiliary by most sources. Mikhail Chkhaidze states that it, as an auxiliary, “indicates a reflexive-resultative character of an action” (**Chkhaidze 1960: 56**).³⁸⁵ While the large Mari-Russian dictionary simply calls Meadow Mari *sabârnaš* a marker of “the conclusion of an action” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: савырнаш**), it gives more information on its Hill Mari cognate (cf. **Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 611**) *sárnäš*: this verb is, as an auxiliary, assigned the meanings of “the spread of an action onto a number of objects” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: сәрнәш**),³⁸⁶ and “the direction of a movement around something” (**ibid.**).³⁸⁷ The 11 pairings found in the sources and an additional 10 pairings in the corpus indicate that these aspects of meaning can be attested in Meadow Mari as well: pairings with this verb seem to indicate that an action is carried out in a geographically dispersed area, and/or on several objects. The English adverbial particle *around* has a similar polysemy – cf. for example *to ask around* (multiple objects) and *to run around* (movement around something). The verb seems to be more productively coupled with the converb in *-n* when it serves as a path verb, in which function it seems to be coupled only with intransitive verbs.

Gábor Bereczki et al. define *mijen sabârnaš* ‘to go and come back (lit. going turn)’ and *orícen sabârnaš* ‘to look around (lit. looking turn)’ as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 142; 174**). The Chuvash verb *šavrän* ‘to turn (intr.)’ does indeed seem to be used in a fashion more or less analogous to the Mari verb (cf. **Skvorcov et al. 1985: çаврән**), as does, at least sporadically, the Tatar verb *äjlänüb*

³⁸⁵ “[...] он указывает на возвратно-довершительный характер действия, [...]”

³⁸⁶ “1) распространения действия на ряд предметов”

³⁸⁷ “2) направление движения вокруг чего-либо”

'id.' (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007**). I have no information on the usage of Bashkir *äjläneβ* 'id.' and Udmurt *berjtskijnj* 'id.' as auxiliaries or path verbs.³⁸⁸

Meadow Mari: <i>saβârnaš</i> ^{ll}	Hill Mari: <i>sârnaš</i> ^{ll}	Tatar: <i>äjlänüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>śavrän</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ońćen saβârnaš</i>	<i>anžen sârnaš</i>	-	<i>păχsa śavrän</i>	looking turn	to look around
<i>kuržtal saβârnaš</i>	<i>kârgâžtal sârnaš</i>	<i>jögöröp äjlänüβ</i>	<i>čupsa śavrän</i>	running turn	to run around
<i>koštân saβârnaš</i>	<i>kaštân sârnaš</i>	<i>jöröp äjlänüβ</i>	-	going turn	to walk around
<i>čögešten saβârnaš</i>	<i>čögešten sârnaš</i>	<i>ošöp äjlänüβ</i>	<i>věsse śavrän</i>	flying turn	to fly around

Figure 180: *saβârnaš* / *sârnaš*^{ll} 'to turn (intr.)' marking multiple objects, movement around something

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 380 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 390 ⁽²⁾
M	POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾ JEV: III: 52 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 84 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 138 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 144 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 166 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>βolaš</i> ^{ll}	'to descend'	<i>kuržaš</i> ^l	'to run'	<i>ońčas</i> ^{ll}	'to look'
<i>čögeštaš</i> ^{ll}	'to fly'	<i>kuržtalaš</i> ^l	'to run'	<i>pördaš</i> ^l	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>káčalaš</i> ^l	'to search'	<i>kuštaltaš</i> ^{ll}	'to dance'	<i>šonaš</i> ^{ll}	'to think'
<i>káčkâraš</i> ^{ll}	'to shout'	<i>kuštaš</i> ^{ll}	'to grow (tr.)'	<i>tergaš</i> ^{ll}	'to check'
<i>koštaš</i> ^l	'to go'	<i>lijaš</i> ^l	'to be; to become'	<i>tângaš</i> ^{ll}	'to hop on one leg'
<i>kudalaš</i> ^l	'to ride'	<i>mijaš</i> ^{ll}	'to go, to come'	<i>tolaš</i> ^l	'to come'
<i>kudalâštaš</i> ^l	'to run around'	<i>ońčalaš</i> ^l	'to look'	<i>üdaš</i> ^{ll}	'to sow'

Transitivity	Intransitive
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indicating movement around something in combination with intransitive verbs Indicating that an action has multiple objects
Distribution etc.	Mari, Chuvash, Tatar
Literary pairings	Sources: 11 Corpus: 10 Total: 21
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>berjtskijnj</i> Tatar: <i>äjlänüβ</i> Bashkir: <i>äjläneβ</i> Chuvash: <i>śavrän</i>
Etymology	< <i>saβârnaš</i> / <i>sârnaš</i> ^{ll} 'to turn (something)' by means of the unproductive intransitive derivational suffix <i>-n</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164). The parent word is in turn a Chuvash loanword (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 611) – compare modern Chuvash <i>śavär</i> 'to turn (something)'.

Figure 181: Profile of *saβârnaš* / *sârnaš*^{ll} 'to turn (intr.)'

4.1.45 *seŋaš* / *səŋgäs*^{ll} 'to win'

This verb is only cited as an auxiliary by two sources. Mikhail Chkhaidze states that in auxiliary constructions it "indicates the attainment of a goal through overcoming certain difficulties" (**Chkhaidze 1960: 55**).³⁸⁹ The Mari-Russian dictionary, in addition to its core semantics, assigns the lexical meaning of "to be able to, to be in the condition to, to have the possibility of doing something" (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: сeŋаш**)³⁹⁰ – a function in which it apparently governs the converb in *-n* (no

³⁸⁸ Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel'makov (personal correspondence) were not familiar with this verb's being used as an auxiliary.

³⁸⁹ "[...] указывает на достижение цели через преодоление определенной трудности, [...]"

³⁹⁰ "3. мочь, смочь, быть в состоянии, иметь возможность что-либо сделать"

counterexamples could be found in the corpus), in line with the Turkic tendency that modal auxiliaries denoting permission, necessity, or ability combine with converbs, which was discussed in the entry on *kertaš / kerdäš* ‘to be able to’ – Section 4.1.14 (page 154). It also states that this verb can form auxiliary constructions “with different meanings” (*ibid.*).³⁹¹ The 7 pairings found in the sources and the 27 found in the corpus indicate that this auxiliary is productive as a modal auxiliary coupled with transitive verbs, having the meaning ‘to manage to’ (i.e. to be able to do something in defiance of expectations, overcoming hardships, etc.), but forms some isolated pairings from transitive and intransitive verbs with strongly idiosyncratic meanings.

Meadow Mari: <i>seŋaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>səŋgäs</i> ¹¹	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>umâltaren seŋaš</i>	<i>ângâldaren səŋgäs</i>	explaining win	to manage to explain
<i>petâren seŋaš</i>	<i>pitâren səŋgäs</i>	closing win	to manage to close
<i>ĉâren seŋaš</i>	<i>câren səŋgäs</i>	stopping win	to manage to stop
<i>ilen seŋaš</i>	<i>âlen səŋgäs</i>	living win	to survive
<i>kutâren seŋaš</i>	<i>ĉâtâren səŋgäs</i>	talk win	to outtalk
<i>ojlen seŋaš</i>	<i>popen səŋgäs</i>	saying win	to convince

Figure 182: *seŋaš / səŋgäs*¹¹ ‘to win’ as a modal auxiliary ‘to manage’, and idiosyncratic pairings

I have found no indication that this verb’s translations in other languages of the region – Udmurt *vormjnj* ‘to win’,³⁹² Tatar *žinjüβ* ‘id.’, Bashkir *jeŋeβ* ‘id.’, Chuvash *šën* ‘id.’ – are used as auxiliaries.

The modal value of this verb as an auxiliary is similar to that of the more frequently used *šuktaš / šoktaš*¹¹ ‘to manage; to lead to’ – see Section 4.1.57 (page 241) – though the latter can also be used in combination with intransitive verbs.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	BEK: I: 228 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 252 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: I: 256 ⁽³²⁾ BEK: II: 140 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 13 ⁽³⁵⁾ JEV: III: 22 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 28 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 32 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 126 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: III: 130 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>ĉaplanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become famous’	<i>kuralaš</i> ¹¹	‘to plough’	<i>pukšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to feed’
<i>ĉaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to stop (tr.)’	<i>kusaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to move; to translate’	<i>puraš</i> ¹¹	‘to chew’
<i>ĉâtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tolerate’	<i>kutâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>šöraš</i> ¹¹	‘to unwind (tr.)’
<i>emlas</i> ¹¹	‘to treat, to cure’	<i>muñĉaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to slide’	<i>šuktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to manage’
<i>âštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>nörtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wet’	<i>tunemaš</i> ¹¹	‘to learn’
<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>ojlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>tünjalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to begin’
<i>kâĉkâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to shout’	<i>oñĉâltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to overtake’	<i>umâlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to understand’
<i>kâĉkârlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to squabble’	<i>patârlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wrestle’	<i>umâltaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to explain’
<i>kodaš</i> ¹¹	‘to leave (tr.)’	<i>peleštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to state’	<i>üĉašaš</i> ¹¹	‘to compete’
<i>koštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go’	<i>petâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to close (tr.)’	<i>üdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sow’
<i>kuĉaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hold’	<i>pâtaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to finish (tr.)’		
<i>kuĉedalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to fight’	<i>pudârtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to break (tr.)’		

³⁹¹ “4. в сочет. с деепр. формой употр. для образования составных в знач. гл. с различными значениями”

³⁹² The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs, sporadically with intransitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modal auxiliary “to manage to” • Forming idiosyncratic pairings in which the action denoted by the converb is carried out in a successful manner in some way 			
Distribution etc.	Only accounts from Mari. In meaning “to manage”, productive in combination with transitive verbs.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 7	Corpus: 27	Total: 34	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vormiñi</i>	Tatar: <i>žinjüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>jeneβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>šĕn</i>
Etymology	< Chuvash (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 109)			

Figure 183: Profile of *señaš* / *səngäš*¹¹ ‘to win’

4.1.46 *sitaraš* / *sitäräs*¹¹ ‘to gather, to provide’

While this verb is acknowledged as an auxiliary by numerous sources (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Moisio 1992: 277; Beke 1911: 161; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ситараш; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163), it is relatively uncommon, with 20 pairings found in the sources, but only another 9 found in the corpus. Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *tujuβ* ‘to be filled’ and Chuvash *tăran* ‘id.’ and *tultar* ‘to fill; to stack’ (Isanbayev 1978: 82–83) – the same verbs with which he equates the Mari verbs *temaš* / *temäs*¹¹ ‘to be filled’ – see Section 4.1.60 (page 245) – and *temaš* / *temäs*¹¹ ‘to fill something up’ – see Section 4.1.61 (page 246). He calls it a marker of “carrying out an action up to a sufficient degree, to a defined limit” (ibid.).³⁹³ Mikhail Chkhaidze says that it shows that an action “is carried out in a sufficient (moderate) quantity, volume, or quality” (Chkhaidze 1960: 56).³⁹⁴ SMYa adds that it is coupled with transitive and intransitive verbs (cf. Pengitov et al. 1961: 213).

Meadow Mari: <i>sitaraš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>sitäräs</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>tujuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tăran</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kolăšt sitaraš</i>	<i>kolăšt sitäräs</i>	<i>išetep tujuβ</i>	<i>itlese tăran</i>	listening supply	to listen to one’s heart’s content
<i>kredal sitaraš</i>	<i>kredäl sitäräs</i>	<i>suyăšăp tujuβ</i>	<i>šapăšsa tăran</i>	fighting supply	to have had enough of fighting
<i>kuanen sitaraš</i>	<i>ăvarten sitäräs</i>	<i>quβanăp tujuβ</i>	-	being.happy supply	to rejoice
<i>modăn sitaraš</i>	<i>madăn sitäräs</i>	<i>ujnap tujuβ</i>	<i>vil’asa tăran</i>	playing supply	to play for a long time
<i>šojăšt sitaraš</i>	<i>šajăšt sitäräs</i>	-	<i>sujsa tultar</i>	telling.lies supply	to tell many lies
<i>kutăren sitaraš</i>	<i>χătăren sitäräs</i>	<i>söjlăšep tujuβ</i>	-	talking supply	to have a good long talk
<i>šortăn sitaraš</i>	<i>măgăren sitäräs</i>	<i>jătap tujuβ</i>	<i>makărsa tultar</i>	crying supply	to have a good cry

Figure 184: *sitaraš* / *sitäräs*¹¹ ‘to gather, to provide’ indicating an action carried out to a limit (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 83)

This auxiliary’s usage is somewhat similar to the usage of *temaš* / *temäs*¹¹ ‘to be filled’ and *temaš* / *temäs*¹¹ ‘to fill something up’. In contrast to these auxiliaries, however, *sitaraš* / *sitäräs*¹¹ ‘to gather, to provide’ does not seem to indicate whose expectations are met or exceeded by an action – the subject’s or a third party’s. There seems to be some overlap between verbs used with these auxiliaries:

³⁹³ “[...] значение доведения действия до достаточной степени, до определенного предела.”

³⁹⁴ “[...] осуществляется в достаточном (умеренном) количестве, объеме или качестве: [...]”

e.g. *kočkân sitaraš^{II}* ~ *kočkân temaš^I* ‘to eat one’s fill’, *jükten sitaraš^{II}* ~ *jükten temaš^{II}* ‘to still someone’s thirst’. My consultant considered these pairings to be synonymous respectively.

In some isolated cases in the corpus, the auxiliary in question can be found coupled with the infinitive rather than with the converb. My consultant could not assign any specific meaning to this alternative usage and seemed to consider these usages “accidental”.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 178 ⁽⁷⁾
M	BEK: II: 222 ⁽³⁵⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>ilaš^{II}</i>	‘to live’	<i>küräštaš^I</i>	‘to pick’	<i>pogkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’
<i>jumältaš^{II}</i>	‘to pray’	<i>luktaš^I</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>säräktäš^{II}</i>	‘to anger’
<i>jüktaš^{II}</i>	‘to give to drink’	<i>maläš^{II}</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>zapravitläš^{II}</i>	‘to fill up (tr.)’
<i>kočkaš^I</i>	‘to eat’	<i>modäš^I</i>	‘to play’	<i>šaβaš^{II}</i>	‘to strew’
<i>koläštaš^I</i>	‘to listen’	<i>muraš^{II}</i>	‘to sing’	<i>šändälaš^I</i>	‘to put, to set’
<i>kondaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring’	<i>numalaš^I</i>	‘to carry’	<i>šijaš^I</i>	‘to thresh’
<i>kuanaš^{II}</i>	‘to be happy’	<i>oňčaš^{II}</i>	‘to look’	<i>šojäštaš^I</i>	‘to tell lies’
<i>kučäš^{II}</i>	‘to hold’	<i>optaš^{II}</i>	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>šortaš^I</i>	‘to cry’
<i>kutäraš^{II}</i>	‘to talk’	<i>podälaš^I</i>	‘to sip, to gulp’	<i>šülaš^{II}</i>	‘to breathe’
<i>künčäš^{II}</i>	‘to dig’	<i>pogaš^{II}</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’		

Transitivity	Transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	• Indicates that an action is carried out sufficiently, excessively			
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash			
Literary pairings	Sources: 20	Corpus: 9	Total: 29	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>tjrmjñj</i>	Tatar: <i>tjuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tujäβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>täran, tultar</i>
Etymology	< <i>sitaš</i> / <i>sitäs^{II}</i> ‘to suffice’ by means of the (originally Chuvash) causative derivational suffix <i>-ar</i> (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 160) – though the word was presumably loaned with the derivational suffix from Chuvash (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 628) – compare modern Chuvash <i>šit</i> ‘to suffice’, <i>šiter</i> ‘to supply’ (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 123–124).			

Figure 185: Profile of *sitaraš* / *sitäräs^{II}* ‘to gather, to provide’

4.1.47 *šändäš* / *šändäs^{II}* ‘to put, to place’

For the relationship of this auxiliary with *päštaš* / *pištäs^{II}* ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.38 (page 202) – and *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš^{II}* ‘to put, to set, to stand’ – Section 4.1.52 (page 230) – see Section 5.1 (page 260).

A total of 243 pairings in the sources and another 48 in the corpus make *šändäš* / *šändäs^{II}* one of the most common and productive auxiliaries; it is classified as an auxiliary by most of my sources (e.g. **Beke 1911: 161**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Moisio 1992: 407**; **Pengitov et al. 1961: 204–205**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 39–42**; **Savatkova 2008: 372**). Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *qujuβ* ‘to put, to place’ and Chuvash *lart* ‘id.’ (**Isanbayev 1978: 74**) – though he also equates this Tatar verb with Mari *optaš* / *optaš^{II}* ‘to put, to set’ (**ibid.: 77**) – see Section 4.1.37 (page 200) – and *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš^{II}* ‘to put, to place, to stand’ (**ibid.: 80**), indicating that Tatar does not have the same separation between “standing position”, “sitting position”, and “lying position” that Mari and Chuvash have in this context.

Bashkir *qujǎb* ‘id.’ seems to be used as an auxiliary as well (cf. **Landmann 2015: 102**); Valey Kel’makov lists Udmurt *puktjnj* ‘id.’ as a verb that is used as an auxiliary in Udmurt, but does not comment on its usage (**Kel’makov 1975: 103**). Gábor Bereczki et al. consider *urgen šāndaš* ‘to sew up (lit. sewing put)’ a Chuvash loan translation (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 299**).

Isanbayev states that auxiliary constructions using this verb are “in principle formed from transitive verbs of different semantics and denote the single execution of an action, sometimes with a hint at the unexpectedness of its execution or the intensity of its manifestation” (**Isanbayev 1978: 74**).³⁹⁵ Boris Serebrennikov states that auxiliary constructions with this verb “indicate an action that is carried out with the establishment of an evident result associated with the emergence of a more or less prolonged state” (**Serebrennikov 1960: 194**).³⁹⁶ The large Mari-Russian dictionary speaks of auxiliary constructions “with the meaning of completion of an action, with a hint at its transition into a state” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шындаш**).³⁹⁷

Meadow Mari: <i>šāndaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>šāndaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>qujuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>lart</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>leβet šāndaš</i>	<i>leβet šāndaš</i>	<i>jǎbǎp qujuβ</i>	<i>vitse lart</i>	covering put	to cover
<i>kālden šāndaš</i>	<i>kālden šāndaš</i>	<i>bǎjlǎp qujuβ</i>	<i>šixsa lart</i>	tying put	to tie up
<i>kāčken šāndaš</i>	<i>kācken šāndaš</i>	<i>žigep qujuβ</i>	<i>külse lart</i>	harnessing put	to harness
<i>petāren šāndaš</i>	<i>pitāren šāndaš</i>	<i>biklǎp qujuβ</i>	<i>piterse lart</i>	closing put	to close
<i>pügen šāndaš</i>	<i>äjēn šāndaš</i>	<i>bögöp qujuβ</i>	<i>avsa lart</i>	bending put	to bend
<i>temen šāndaš</i>	<i>temen šāndaš</i>	<i>tutārǎp qujuβ</i>	<i>tijese lart</i>	filling.up put	to fill up
<i>jodān šāndaš</i>	<i>jadān šāndaš</i>	-	-	asking put	to ask (suddenly)
<i>jūān šāndaš</i>	<i>jūn šāndaš</i>	-	-	drinking put	to drink (a lot)
<i>kučēn šāndaš</i>	<i>kāčēn šāndaš</i>	-	-	grabbing put	to grab (suddenly)
<i>počān šāndaš</i>	<i>pačān šāndaš</i>	-	-	opening put	to throw open
<i>sorlǎklen šāndaš</i>	<i>sermāclen šāndaš</i>	-	-	bridling put	to bridle

Figure 186: *šāndaš* / *šāndaš*¹¹ ‘to put, to place’ denoting single execution, transformation, etc. (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 74**)

Isanbayev notes that the auxiliary *qujuβ* is also coupled with intransitive verbs in Tatar (**Isanbayev 1978: 74–75**) and that numerous Mari pairings have no counterparts in the other languages under consideration (**ibid.: 74**).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 18 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 30 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 34 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 37 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 51 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 54 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 21 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 28 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 35 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>avbaltas</i> ¹¹	‘to grasp’	<i>amǎktas</i> ¹¹	‘to let become mouldy’	<i>vajalas</i> ¹¹	‘to hem’
<i>avǎralas</i> ¹	‘to surround’	<i>amǎrtas</i> ¹¹	‘to soil’	<i>bakšas</i> ¹	‘to make (a sleeping place)’
<i>avǎras</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’	<i>aŋǎsǎremdas</i> ¹¹	‘to make narrow’	<i>vbaptas</i> ¹¹	‘to tangle up’
<i>ačalas</i> ¹¹	‘to repair’	<i>aptǎratas</i> ¹¹	‘to confuse’	<i>vaštaltas</i> ¹¹	‘to change (tr.)’
<i>aklas</i> ¹¹	‘to evaluate’	<i>ašlas</i> ¹¹	‘to link’	<i>vaštaltǎlas</i> ¹	‘to change (tr.)’
<i>algaštaras</i> ¹¹	‘to entice’	<i>bintovatlas</i> ¹¹	‘to bandage’		

³⁹⁵ “[...] в основном от переходных глаголов различной семантики и обозначают однократное законченное действие, иногда с оттенком неожиданности его совершения или интенсивности проявления: [...]”

³⁹⁶ “[...] обозначают действие, завершившееся установлением очевидного результата, связанного с возникновением более или менее длительного состояния, [...]”

³⁹⁷ “[...] со значением законченности действия, с оттенком перехода его в состояние”

<i>belas</i> ¹¹	'to spill (tr.)'	<i>káčkaš</i> ¹¹	'to harness'	<i>nöltalaš</i> ¹¹	'to raise'
<i>ðintālas</i> ¹¹	'to screw into'	<i>káčkārālas</i> ¹¹	'to shout'	<i>nöltaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to rise'
<i>boltaš</i> ¹¹	'to lower'	<i>kālalaš</i> ¹¹	'to close, to lock'	<i>nöltas</i> ¹¹	'to lift'
<i>bozas</i> ¹¹	'to write'	<i>kāldaš</i> ¹¹	'to tie up'	<i>nōrtaš</i> ¹¹	'to wet'
<i>ðūdālas</i> ¹¹	'to wrap'	<i>kālmāktas</i> ¹¹	'to freeze (tr.)'	<i>nugāðdemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to thicken (tr.)'
<i>ðūraᅇlas</i> ¹¹	'to tie up'	<i>kāñeltaš</i> ¹¹	'to wake up (tr.)'	<i>numalaš</i> ¹¹	'to carry'
<i>čāraklaš</i> ¹¹	'to prop in'	<i>kāraš</i> ¹¹	'to beat'	<i>nūžaš</i> ¹¹	'to rub'
<i>čāšmalaš</i> ¹¹	'to fence in'	<i>kleitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to glue'	<i>nūžaš</i> ¹¹	'to rub'
<i>čākaš</i> ¹¹	'to shove'	<i>kočkaš</i> ¹¹	'to eat'	<i>obšivatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to plate'
<i>čākmalaš</i> ¹¹	'to fence in'	<i>komdāštaš</i> ¹¹	'to cover'	<i>ojāraš</i> ¹¹	'to separate'
<i>čāmaltaras</i> ¹¹	'to tighten'	<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring'	<i>ojlaš</i> ¹¹	'to talk'
<i>čāmaš</i> ¹¹	'to tighten (tr.)'	<i>koptitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to smoke'	<i>olmāktas</i> ¹¹	'to repair'
<i>čāmāktas</i> ¹¹	'to tighten (tr.)'	<i>koraš</i> ¹¹	'to scratch, to cut'	<i>oltaš</i> ¹¹	'to light'
<i>čijaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to paint'	<i>kormāžtalaš</i> ¹¹	'to press'	<i>oñčālas</i> ¹¹	'to look'
<i>čijaš</i> ¹¹	'to put on'	<i>kormāžtaš</i> ¹¹	'to squeeze'	<i>optaš</i> ¹¹	'to put, to pile up'
<i>čiktaš</i> ¹¹	'to dress'	<i>kozāraᅇdaš</i> ¹¹	'to roughen (tr.)'	<i>oralas</i> ¹¹	'to pile (tr.)'
<i>čoᅇas</i> ¹¹	'to build'	<i>kuas</i> ¹¹	'to row; to shovel'	<i>osālas</i> ¹¹	'to divide (tr.)'
<i>čūmāraš</i> ¹¹	'to pile up (tr.)'	<i>kučāš</i> ¹¹	'to hold'	<i>ošemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to whiten'
<i>čūmārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>kudašaš</i> ¹¹	'to take off'	<i>ōndalaš</i> ¹¹	'to embrace'
<i>čūktaš</i> ¹¹	'to turn on, to light'	<i>kugārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to make curl up'	<i>ōrgalaš</i> ¹¹	'to butt'
<i>diskovatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to harrow'	<i>kuktaš</i> ¹¹	'to tangle up'	<i>ōtāklaš</i> ¹¹	'to iron'
<i>distillirovatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to distil'	<i>kupaᅇdaš</i> ¹¹	'to turn into a swamp'	<i>padāštaš</i> ¹¹	'to crush'
<i>el'dārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to make happy'	<i>kuptārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to wrinkle (tr.)'	<i>paitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to solder'
<i>erāktas</i> ¹¹	'to clean'	<i>kurmāžtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>pečāš</i> ¹¹	'to fence in'
<i>ālāžtaš</i> ¹¹	'to kindle'	<i>kusaraš</i> ¹¹	'to move; to translate'	<i>pečātlaš</i> ¹¹	'to print'
<i>āštaš</i> ¹¹	'to do'	<i>kuškāžāktas</i> ¹¹	'to put onto a horse'	<i>peltaš</i> ¹¹	'to melt (tr.)'
<i>gladitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to iron'	<i>kuštaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow (tr.)'	<i>peᅇᅇāðdemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to fasten'
<i>gruzitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to load'	<i>kuštāraᅇdaš</i> ¹¹	'to litter'	<i>peras</i> ¹¹	'to hit'
<i>ijaᅇdaš</i> ¹¹	'to freeze (tr.)'	<i>kūbarlaš</i> ¹¹	'to bridge'	<i>petāras</i> ¹¹	'to close (tr.)'
<i>iktešlas</i> ¹¹	'to merge (tr.)'	<i>kūeštaš</i> ¹¹	'to bake'	<i>petārāktas</i> ¹¹	'to make close'
<i>izemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to reduce'	<i>kūñčāš</i> ¹¹	'to dig'	<i>pāzārālas</i> ¹¹	'to push'
<i>išaš</i> ¹¹	'to press'	<i>kūrtnālas</i> ¹¹	'to cover with iron'	<i>pāzārāktas</i> ¹¹	'to press'
<i>išāktaras</i> ¹¹	'to press'	<i>kūzāktas</i> ¹¹	'to raise'	<i>pāštaš</i> ¹¹	'to put, to place'
<i>išāktas</i> ¹¹	'to press'	<i>kūžgemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to thicken (tr.)'	<i>pidaš</i> ¹¹	'to tie'
<i>iškālas</i> ¹¹	'to wedge'	<i>laβārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to make muddy'	<i>pižāktas</i> ¹¹	'to fasten'
<i>ištaraš</i> ¹¹	'to press'	<i>lakirovatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to varnish'	<i>počāš</i> ¹¹	'to open (tr.)'
<i>jamdālas</i> ¹¹	'to prepare (tr.)'	<i>laklaš</i> ¹¹	'to varnish'	<i>podālas</i> ¹¹	'to sip, to gulp'
<i>jamdālkalaš</i> ¹¹	'to prepare'	<i>laptārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to flatten'	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (tr.)'
<i>jandalaš</i> ¹¹	'to glaze'	<i>lazārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to soak (tr.)'	<i>poldāštaš</i> ¹¹	'to button up'
<i>jāgaš</i> ¹¹	'to rub'	<i>laštārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to flatten'	<i>pošaras</i> ¹¹	'to fasten a load'
<i>jālgāžtaš</i> ¹¹	'to polish'	<i>leβedaš</i> ¹¹	'to cover'	<i>pošaš</i> ¹¹	'to pump'
<i>jātārjaš</i> ¹¹	'to clean'	<i>leβāktas</i> ¹¹	'to melt (tr.)'	<i>pōlas</i> ¹¹	'to divide (intr.)'
<i>jātāraᅇdaš</i> ¹¹	'to clean'	<i>l'āptārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to squash'	<i>pōrdāktālas</i> ¹¹	'to roll (tr.)'
<i>jodaš</i> ¹¹	'to ask'	<i>lodaš</i> ¹¹	'to mark'	<i>prežalaš</i> ¹¹	'to fasten'
<i>joktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to pour (tr.)'	<i>loktālas</i> ¹¹	'to spoil'	<i>puaš</i> ¹¹	'to blow'
<i>jolāštaš</i> ¹¹	'to tie up'	<i>lomāžaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to moo'	<i>pudalaš</i> ¹¹	'to nail'
<i>joškartas</i> ¹¹	'to redden'	<i>lopkaš</i> ¹¹	'to eat up'	<i>pudalkalaš</i> ¹¹	'to nail'
<i>jōrataš</i> ¹¹	'to love'	<i>lōkaš</i> ¹¹	'to drink greedily'	<i>punaš</i> ¹¹	'to twine'
<i>julaš</i> ¹¹	'to bewitch'	<i>luktaš</i> ¹¹	'to lead out'	<i>puñčālas</i> ¹¹	'to wring out'
<i>južgataš</i> ¹¹	'to cool (tr.)'	<i>luktedaš</i> ¹¹	'to take out'	<i>puraktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to raise dust'
<i>jūas</i> ¹¹	'to drink'	<i>lupšalaš</i> ¹¹	'to whip'	<i>puralaš</i> ¹¹	'to build a framework'
<i>jūkšemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow cold'	<i>lūmālas</i> ¹¹	'to glue'	<i>purgāžtaš</i> ¹¹	'to sweep'
<i>jūaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to burn (tr.)'	<i>manaš</i> ¹¹	'to say'	<i>purlaš</i> ¹¹	'to bite'
<i>kaβanlaš</i> ¹¹	'to stack'	<i>marinovatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to pickle'	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring in'
<i>kadārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>maskirovatlaš</i> ¹¹	'to mask'	<i>pužaraš</i> ¹¹	'to plane'
<i>kalajlas</i> ¹¹	'to cover with tin'	<i>meᅇᅇālas</i> ¹¹	'to stake off'	<i>pūgaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'
<i>kalasaš</i> ¹¹	'to say'	<i>molemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to change (tr.)'	<i>pūgārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'
<i>karalaš</i> ¹¹	'to open wide (tr.)'	<i>mondaš</i> ¹¹	'to forget'	<i>pūjalaš</i> ¹¹	'to dam'
<i>karaš</i> ¹¹	'to open wide (tr.)'	<i>muškaš</i> ¹¹	'to wash'	<i>pūjaš</i> ¹¹	'to dam'
<i>karkalaš</i> ¹¹	'to tie up'	<i>nalaš</i> ¹¹	'to take'	<i>pūrdaš</i> ¹¹	'to curtain'
<i>keᅇšāltas</i> ¹¹	'to hobble'	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring'	<i>pūremdaš</i> ¹¹	'to pleat'
<i>keralaš</i> ¹¹	'to drive in (tr.)'	<i>naᅇᅇᅇaš</i> ¹¹	'to take, to lead'	<i>pūsemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to sharpen'
<i>keras</i> ¹¹	'to pass through (tr.)'	<i>nelaš</i> ¹¹	'to swallow'	<i>pūseštaraš</i> ¹¹	'to sharpen'
<i>kerāltāktas</i> ¹¹	'to drive in (tr.)'	<i>neñčāš</i> ¹¹	'to glue'	<i>pūškālas</i> ¹¹	'to sting'
<i>kerᅇaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>nerāñčāš</i> ¹¹	'to model'	<i>pūtārālas</i> ¹¹	'to turn (tr.)'

<i>pütâraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šínčâr^{II}</i>	‘to chain up’	<i>tüčäs^I</i>	‘to close (tr.)’
<i>radamläš^{II}</i>	‘to analyse’	<i>šojäštäs^{II}</i>	‘to block out’	<i>tükâläš^{II}</i>	‘to lock’
<i>rešajas^{II}</i>	‘to solve’	<i>šoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>tünğäš^{II}</i>	‘to bend (tr.)’
<i>rualäš^I</i>	‘to chop’	<i>šupšaläs^I</i>	‘to kiss’	<i>türedäs^I</i>	‘to cut; to harvest’
<i>rümbâkaṅğäs^{II}</i>	‘to shroud in twilight’	<i>šupšäs^I</i>	‘to pull’	<i>türğäs^{II}</i>	‘to rise, to swirl’
<i>saβarläš^{II}</i>	‘to fence in’	<i>šupšäläs^I</i>	‘to pull’	<i>tür^{II}</i>	‘to embroider’
<i>saβâraläs^I</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šuraläs^I</i>	‘to stick in (tr.)’	<i>tüzatäs^{II}</i>	‘to decorate’
<i>saβâraltäs^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šuraš^{II}</i>	‘to pound’	<i>tütâr^{II}</i>	‘to cloud’
<i>saβâraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’	<i>šüβaläs^I</i>	‘to spit; to charm’	<i>udâraläs^I</i>	‘to strike’
<i>sajlas^{II}</i>	‘to elect’	<i>šüdäš^{II}</i>	‘to hoop’	<i>udâraš^{II}</i>	‘to strike’
<i>seräs^{II}</i>	‘to write’	<i>šükaläs^I</i>	‘to push’	<i>upšaläs^I</i>	‘to put on (a hat)’
<i>sälneštaraš^{II}</i>	‘to decorate’	<i>šüraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread (tr.)’	<i>uraltäs^{II}</i>	‘to strew’
<i>sârataš^{II}</i>	‘to anger’	<i>šüşkäš^I</i>	‘to shove’	<i>uraš^{II}</i>	‘to bury’
<i>smolaläs^{II}</i>	‘to tar’	<i>žaritläš^{II}</i>	‘to fry (tr.)’	<i>urgäs^{II}</i>	‘to sew’
<i>sorlâklaš^{II}</i>	‘to bridle’	<i>takârtaš^{II}</i>	‘to trample down’	<i>urgâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to have sewn’
<i>sukâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring to the knees’	<i>temäs^{II}</i>	‘to fill (tr.)’	<i>urzaš^{II}</i>	‘to cover with one’s hands’
<i>suraläs^{II}</i>	‘to lock up’	<i>temdäläs^I</i>	‘to push’	<i>ušaš^{II}</i>	‘to join (tr.)’
<i>surguč^{II}</i>	‘to apply sealing wax’	<i>târmaläs^{II}</i>	‘to harrow’	<i>ušâktäläs^I</i>	‘to connect (tr.)’
<i>šüretläš^{II}</i>	‘to draw, to paint’	<i>todaš^I</i>	‘to weave’	<i>uškalaš^{II}</i>	‘to join (tr.)’
<i>zâraditläš^{II}</i>	‘to load (tr.)’	<i>tojaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide, to bury’	<i>üdaš^{II}</i>	‘to sow’
<i>zubritläš^{II}</i>	‘to learn by rote’	<i>toraš^{II}</i>	‘to move apart (tr.)’	<i>üşanaš^{II}</i>	‘to believe’
<i>šabaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to strew’	<i>torkaläs^{II}</i>	‘to move apart (tr.)’	<i>üştaläs^I</i>	‘to put on a belt’
<i>šaraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’	<i>toškalaš^I</i>	‘to step’	<i>üştaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to put a belt on’
<i>šememdäs^{II}</i>	‘to blacken’	<i>toškaš^{II}</i>	‘to trample’	<i>üştaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>šeraš^I</i>	‘to comb’	<i>törläš^{II}</i>	‘to make flat’	<i>üştäläs^I</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>šâğaläs^{II}</i>	‘to fix up’	<i>törlatäs^{II}</i>	‘to fix’		
<i>šältaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide (tr.)’	<i>tumâštaš^{II}</i>	‘to patch’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Denotes single execution, with a number of other facets at times: unexpectedness, intensity of manifestation, evident result, resulting prolonged change of state 		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt (?), Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 243	Corpus: 48	Total: 291
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>puktĭnj</i>	Tatar: <i>qujuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>qujǎβ</i> Chuvash: <i>lart</i>
Etymology	According to Gábor Bereczki et al. derived from <i>šínčäs</i> / <i>šanzäs^I</i> ‘to sit down’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-t ~ -d</i> (cf. Bereczki et al. 2013: 230 ; Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165). The UEW gives a Finno-Volgaic etymology for this word (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 759) that is explicitly rejected by Bereczki et al.		

Figure 187: Profile of *šândäs* / *šändäs^{II}* ‘to put’

4.1.48 *šínčäs* / *šanzäs^I* ‘to sit down’

This verb is classified as an auxiliary by most sources (e.g. **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Moisio 1992: 377**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шинчаш I**); it can be found in 131 distinct pairings in the lexical sources and another 27 pairings in the corpus, making it fairly productive.

Nikolay Isanbayev fails to distinguish between this telic first-conjugation verb and the second-conjugation verb *šínčäs* / *šanzäs^{II}* ‘to sit’ – see Section 4.1.49 (page 225) – the atelic counterpart and cognate of this verb (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 73**) and speaks simply of a verb *šínčäs* / *šanzäs* ‘to sit; to sit down’. The conflation of these two verbs – which, while cognates, belong to different conjugation classes in contemporary Mari and are considered separate lexical items (cf. **Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 431–432**; **Bereczki et al. 2013: 236**) – is especially problematic as they, when used as auxiliaries, have quite different functions: roughly speaking (details are given below), *šínčäs* / *šanzäs^I* ‘to sit down’ marks a completed, transformative action, while *šínčäs* / *šanzäs^{II}* ‘to sit’ marks a durative action. Isanbayev does distinguish between two distinct functions of *šínčäs* / *šanzäs*, the first of which represents *šínčäs*

/ *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit’ and the second of which represents *šínčəs* / *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit down’. In what follows, I will consider the two halves of Isanbayev’s entry as references to the respective appropriate verb.

The confusion in Isanbayev’s article is understandable in light of the fact that the Turkic languages of the Volga-Kama Region do not have separate lexical items to express the telic concept “to sit down”, and the atelic concept “to sit”; the distinction between these must be derived from context: Tatar *utâruβ* ‘to sit; to sit down’, Bashkir *ultârâβ* ‘id.’, Chuvash *lar* ‘id.’. As auxiliaries, Tatar *utâruβ* ‘to sit; to sit down’ and Bashkir *ultârâβ* ‘id.’ seem to primarily function as durative markers (cf. **Schönig 1984: 241; Yuldashev 1965: 78**), while Chuvash *lar* ‘id.’ is labelled as a marker of both durative and complete actions (cf. **Landmann 2014b: 89; Skvorcov et al. 1985: лар**). That is to say, Chuvash *lar* as an auxiliary serves as a counterpart to both Mari *šínčəs* / *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit down’ and *šínčəs* / *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit’, while Tatar *utâruβ* ‘to sit; to sit down’ and Bashkir *ultârâβ* ‘id.’ serve only as counterparts to *šínčəs* / *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit’. Gábor Bereczki et al. define *mijen šínčəs* ‘to take a seat (lit. going sit.down)’, *puren šínčəs* ‘to take places (lit. entering sit.down)’, and *θolen šínčəs* ‘to come down (birds) (lit. descending sit.down)’ as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 142; 203; 315**), though *šínčəs* does not seem to be an auxiliary in these construction.

According to SMYa, the Mari verb forms auxiliary constructions “from intransitive verbs denoting a change in status and gives them the meaning of a single completion of an action” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 205**).³⁹⁸ Isanbayev speaks of auxiliary constructions “denoting the impetuous completeness of an action” (**Isanbayev 1978: 73**).³⁹⁹ Mikhail Chkhaidze compares this verb to *šogalaš* / *šagalaš*¹¹ ‘to stand up’ – Section 4.1.51 (page 228) – and *θozaš* / *θazaš*¹¹ ‘to lie down; to fall’ – Section 4.1.4 (page 135): all three verbs, in their lexical meaning, show that the subject takes up a certain position (sitting, standing, lying respectively); this facet seems to be preserved in many pairings (cf. **Chkhaidze 1960: 53**). This topic will be discussed in greater detail in Section 5.1 (page 260).

Meadow Mari: <i>šínčəs</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>šənzäs</i> ¹¹	Chuvash: <i>lar</i>	Translation	
			Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jören šínčəs</i>	<i>jören šənzäs</i>	<i>süpsě lar</i>	going.out sit	to go out
<i>lijən šínčəs</i>	<i>lin šənzäs</i>	<i>pulsa lar</i>	becoming sit	to become
<i>joškargen šínčəs</i>	<i>jakšargen šənzäs</i>	<i>χěrelse lar</i>	turning.red sit	to turn red
<i>malen šínčəs</i>	<i>amalen šənzäs</i>	<i>šívārsa lar</i>	sleeping sit	to coagulate (blood)
<i>šarlen šínčəs</i>	<i>šārlen šənzäs</i>	<i>sarālsa lar</i>	spreading sit	to flood
<i>temān šínčəs</i>	<i>temān šənzäs</i>	<i>tijense lar</i>	filling.up sit	to fill up
<i>košken šínčəs</i>	<i>košken šənzäs</i>	<i>χārsa lar</i>	drying sit	to dry up
<i>kadārgen šínčəs</i>	<i>kādārgen šənzäs</i>	<i>pārānsa lar</i>	bending sit	to bend

Figure 188: *šínčəs* / *šənzäs*¹¹ ‘to sit down’ denoting single completion (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 73–74**)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 1 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 10 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 16 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 28 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 27 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 29 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 34 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 44 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 49 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 50 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 51 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 55 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 58–59 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 72 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 18 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 40 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	BEK: I: 46 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 54 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 60 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

³⁹⁸ “[...] от непереходных глаголов, выражающих изменение в состоянии, и придает им значение однократной завершенности действия.”

³⁹⁹ “[...] обозначающие стремительную завершенность действия.”

<i>aḅāraltaš¹</i>	'to be surrounded'	<i>kuškāžaš¹</i>	'to saddle'	<i>pünāškaltas¹</i>	'to be obstinate'
<i>amas¹¹</i>	'to become mouldy'	<i>küemaltas¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>pürdaltas¹</i>	'to be curtained'
<i>aptāranas¹¹</i>	'to be shy'	<i>kūñčaltas¹</i>	'to be dug'	<i>püžaltas¹</i>	'to sweat'
<i>azas¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'	<i>küremaltas¹</i>	'to form a crust'	<i>pütāraltas¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>ḅerlanas¹¹</i>	'to settle (intr.)'	<i>kūzas¹¹</i>	'to climb'	<i>pütārnaltas¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>ḅijnaltas¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'	<i>kūžgemaš¹</i>	'to thicken (intr.)'	<i>pütārnas¹¹</i>	'to curl (intr.)'
<i>ḅolas¹¹</i>	'to descend'	<i>lakemaš¹</i>	'to get stuck'	<i>ruštaš¹</i>	'to get drunk'
<i>ḅolgaltaš¹</i>	'to shine'	<i>laptārgas¹¹</i>	'to be trodden down'	<i>rūdaḅas¹</i>	'to rust'
<i>ḅolḡademas¹</i>	'to lighten up (intr.)'	<i>leḅedaltas¹</i>	'to cover oneself'	<i>saḅārnaltas¹</i>	'to turn over (intr.)'
<i>ḅožaḅas¹</i>	'to take root'	<i>lektas¹</i>	'to go, to leave'	<i>saḅārnas¹¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>ḅüädälaltas¹</i>	'to wrap up (intr.)'	<i>lāplanas¹¹</i>	'to calm down'	<i>saremas¹</i>	'to turn yellow'
<i>čagāremaltas¹</i>	'to be covered with candle snuff'	<i>lāpšārgas¹¹</i>	'to grow quiet'	<i>sālnēštaš¹</i>	'to be adorned'
<i>čaraḅas¹</i>	'to bare oneself'	<i>lijaš¹</i>	'to be; to become'	<i>sāras¹¹</i>	'to get angry'
<i>čarnas¹¹</i>	'to stop (intr.)'	<i>lodemaltas¹</i>	'to deepen (intr.)'	<i>sukaltas¹¹</i>	'to kneel down'
<i>čēbergas¹¹</i>	'to turn red'	<i>loktāltas¹</i>	'to go bad'	<i>sukas¹¹</i>	'to kneel down'
<i>čāknaltas¹</i>	'to jostle'	<i>lozārgas¹¹</i>	'to get soaked'	<i>šarlas¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'
<i>čāknas¹¹</i>	'to draw close'	<i>löčas¹¹</i>	'to swell'	<i>šelāštaš¹</i>	'to break (intr. & tr.)'
<i>čāmaltaš¹</i>	'to be drawn tight'	<i>lumas¹</i>	'to snow'	<i>šememas¹</i>	'to turn black'
<i>čijaš¹¹</i>	'to put on'	<i>luñčārgas¹¹</i>	'to be exhausted'	<i>šālas¹</i>	'to hide (intr.)'
<i>čumārgas¹¹</i>	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>lūmaḅas¹</i>	'to be covered in scabs'	<i>šāmaras¹¹</i>	'to cloud over'
<i>čüčārnas¹¹</i>	'to squat'	<i>l'āptārgas¹¹</i>	'to subside'	<i>šāreškaš¹¹</i>	'to wither'
<i>ijaḅas¹</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'	<i>malaš¹¹</i>	'to sleep'	<i>šāštalgas¹¹</i>	'to become yellowish'
<i>izemas¹</i>	'to decrease'	<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	'to go, to come'	<i>šočas¹</i>	'to be born'
<i>išaltas¹</i>	'to be pressed'	<i>močālaḅas¹</i>	'to fray (intr.)'	<i>šongemas¹</i>	'to age (intr.)'
<i>jagālgas¹¹</i>	'to become smooth'	<i>muzārgas¹¹</i>	'to leave a scar'	<i>šulas¹¹</i>	'to melt (intr.)'
<i>jaraš¹¹</i>	'to take up'	<i>nalaš¹</i>	'to take'	<i>šūjas¹</i>	'to rot'
<i>jāmas¹¹</i>	'to be blinded'	<i>narāñčemas¹</i>	'to turn yellow'	<i>šülākaḅas¹</i>	'to grow sad'
<i>joškargas¹¹</i>	'to turn red'	<i>nelemas¹</i>	'to become heavy'	<i>šüškāltas¹</i>	'to crowd (intr.)'
<i>jōras¹¹</i>	'to go out'	<i>ojaras¹¹</i>	'to clear up (intr.)'	<i>takārgas¹¹</i>	'to be trodden'
<i>kadārgas¹¹</i>	'to bend (intr.)'	<i>ošemas¹</i>	'to turn white'	<i>taptālgas¹¹</i>	'to become compact'
<i>kakargas¹¹</i>	'to go blue'	<i>pengādemas¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>tašlas¹¹</i>	'to overflow'
<i>karulanas¹¹</i>	'to resist'	<i>pengādemdaltas¹</i>	'to be attached'	<i>tatāltas¹</i>	'to be loaded'
<i>kaškaš¹¹</i>	'to mould'	<i>peškādemas¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>temas¹</i>	'to fill up (intr.)'
<i>kažlanas¹¹</i>	'to be exposed to the wind'	<i>petāraltas¹</i>	'to close (intr.)'	<i>tāḡāltas¹</i>	'to block up (intr.)'
<i>kerāltas¹</i>	'to stick into (intr.)'	<i>petārnaltas¹</i>	'to close (intr.)'	<i>tāḡālas¹¹</i>	'to crowd (intr.)'
<i>kāldaltas¹</i>	'to be tied up'	<i>pārnas¹¹</i>	'to press against (intr.)'	<i>tāmākaltas¹</i>	'to calm down (intr.)'
<i>kālmas¹¹</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'	<i>pāznaltas¹</i>	'to huddle up'	<i>tolas¹</i>	'to come'
<i>kāñelas¹</i>	'to get up'	<i>pižaš¹</i>	'to stick (intr.)'	<i>toḅḡalgas¹¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'
<i>kleitlaltas¹</i>	'to be glued'	<i>počāltas¹</i>	'to open (intr.)'	<i>tōḅaḅas¹</i>	'to become hilly'
<i>kogāl'gas¹¹</i>	'to coarsen (intr.)'	<i>podālas¹</i>	'to sip, to gulp'	<i>tōremas¹</i>	'to level off (intr.)'
<i>komeštaltas¹</i>	'to be covered with a crust'	<i>pogānas¹¹</i>	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>tōrštaltas¹¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>koraḅas¹</i>	'to move away (intr.)'	<i>pojaš¹¹</i>	'to get rich'	<i>tōrštaš¹¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>kozāraḅas¹</i>	'to roughen (intr.)'	<i>pōršaḅas¹</i>	'to be covered with hoarfrost'	<i>tuḅārgas¹¹</i>	'to curdle'
<i>koškaš¹¹</i>	'to dry (intr.)'	<i>pualas¹</i>	'to swell'	<i>turlas¹¹</i>	'to settle (intr.)'
<i>kugemas¹</i>	'to increase (intr.)'	<i>puanas¹</i>	'to be lignified'	<i>turtas¹</i>	'to huddle up'
<i>kugārgas¹¹</i>	'to twist (intr.)'	<i>pudāranas¹¹</i>	'to mix (intr.)'	<i>tüčāltas¹</i>	'to close (intr.)'
<i>kuktaltas¹</i>	'to get tangled up'	<i>pudārgas¹¹</i>	'to break (intr.)'	<i>tükāltas¹</i>	'to lock oneself in'
<i>kumdaḅas¹</i>	'to widen (intr.)'	<i>puras¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'	<i>tūnas¹¹</i>	'to be in need'
<i>kuplanas¹¹</i>	'to turn into a swamp'	<i>puzārgas¹¹</i>	'to bulge out'	<i>tūḅas¹</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'
<i>kurmāžgas¹¹</i>	'to warp (intr.)'	<i>putajaltas¹</i>	'to get tangled up'	<i>tūḅḡalgas¹¹</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'
<i>kuškaš¹</i>	'to grow (intr.)'	<i>pūjalaltas¹</i>	'to be dammed up'	<i>tūḅḡargas¹¹</i>	'to become stiff'
		<i>pūktaš¹¹</i>	'to hatch (tr.)'	<i>uemas¹</i>	'to be renewed'
		<i>püneštaltas¹</i>	'to get stuck'	<i>uraltas¹</i>	'to be covered'
				<i>urgaltas¹</i>	'to be sewn'

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Denotes single completion, possible impetuous, possible obtainment of a sitting position		
Distribution etc.	Mari (all varieties), Udmurt?, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 131	Corpus: 27	Total: 158
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pukšjñj</i>	Tatar: <i>utâruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>ultârâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>lar</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>saŋca-</i> ‘to stand’, cognates include Finnish <i>seisoa</i> ‘to stand’, Mordvin <i>št’ams</i> ‘to stand up’, Sosva (Northern) Mansi <i>tūst-</i> ‘to place, to stand’. Same origin as <i>šičăš</i> / <i>šanzăš</i> ⁴¹¹ ‘to sit’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 431–432; Bereczki et al. 2013: 236).		

Figure 189: Profile of *šičăš* / *šanzăš*⁴¹¹ ‘to sit down’

4.1.49 *šičăš* / *šanzăš*⁴¹¹ ‘to sit’

For the relationship of this atelic verb with its telic counterpart and cognate *šičăš* / *šanzăš*⁴¹¹ ‘to sit down’ and the handling of these verbs in the sources, see Section 4.1.48 (page 222).

This verb is defined as an auxiliary by numerous (but not all) sources (e.g. Chkhaidze 1960: 38; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163). It occurs in 58 pairings in the sources and in a further 53 in the corpus. Nikolay Isanbayev likens this verb to Tatar *utâruβ* ‘to sit; to sit down’ and Chuvash *lar* ‘id.’ (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 73). Bashkir *ultârâβ* ‘id.’ (cf. Landmann 2015: 99) and Udmurt *pukšjñj* ‘to sit’ (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 102) seem to be used in an analogous fashion.

The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this verb is used in auxiliary constructions conveying the “duration of an action”⁴⁰⁰ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шинчаш II). Isanbayev notes that it is mostly coupled with intransitive verbs and speaks of auxiliary constructions “indicating the duration of an action that is generally carried out in a sitting position”⁴⁰¹ (Isanbayev 1978: 73). In fact, however, the number of transitive verbs that co-occur with this auxiliary is quite large, casting the transitivity restriction in doubt.

While counterexamples can be found, a sitting position does seem to be implied by this verb in many cases. This presence of the verb’s original lexical meaning in many pairings might be a factor in why it was not included in some notable sources (e.g. Pengitov et al. 1961). A sitting position has been mentioned as at least a side facet of this auxiliary in Tatar (cf. Schönig 1984: 241) and Udmurt (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 102). The implied position in which an action is carried out does seem to be a factor setting this verb apart from other durative markers, as will be discussed in Section 5.1 (page 260).

Meadow Mari: <i>šičăš</i> ⁴¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>šanzăš</i> ⁴¹¹	Tatar: <i>utâruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>lar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kočkân šičăš</i>	<i>kačkân šanzăš</i>	<i>ăšap utâruβ</i>	<i>šise lar</i>	eating sit	to dine
<i>kaŋašen šičăš</i>	<i>kăngăšen šanzăš</i>	<i>kiŋăšlăšep utâruβ</i>	<i>kanašlasa lar</i>	advising sit	to consult
<i>mutlanen šičăš</i>	<i>popen šanzăš</i>	<i>söjlăšep utâruβ</i>	<i>puplese lar</i>	speaking sit	to talk
<i>ojgăren šičăš</i>	<i>ojgăren šanzăš</i>	<i>köjônöp utâruβ</i>	<i>χujχărsa lar</i>	grieving sit	to grieve
<i>jogen šičăš</i>	<i>jogen šanzăš</i>	<i>ăgăp utâruβ</i>	-	flowing sit	to flow
<i>šužen šičăš</i>	<i>šužen šanzăš</i>	<i>ăšăgăp utâruβ</i>	-	getting.hungry sit	to go hungry

Figure 190: *šičăš* / *šanzăš*⁴¹¹ ‘to sit’ as marking duration, sitting position? (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 73)

⁴⁰⁰ “[...] составные глаголы продолжительности действия”

⁴⁰¹ “[...] обозначающие длительность действия, совершаемого обычно в сидячем положении.”

Globally speaking, there are numerous accounts of verbs meaning ‘to sit’ grammaticalized as continuous or durative markers, for example from Yolngu (Pama-Nyungan), Jola (Niger-Congo), Mamvu (Nilo-Saharan), Khwe (Khoen), and Korean (cf. **Heine & Kuteva 2002: 276–278**).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 24 ⁽⁴⁾
M	-
NW	BEK: I: 46 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>amaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become mouldy’	<i>kurnāžlanas</i> ¹¹	‘to be greedy’	<i>počas</i> ¹	‘to open (tr.)’
<i>baŋas</i> ¹¹	‘to guard’	<i>kusaras</i> ¹¹	‘to move; to translate’	<i>pōrdaš</i> ¹	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>bašeštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to answer’	<i>kutāras</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>pōrdāktas</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>veselitlas</i> ¹¹	‘to have a good time’	<i>lodaš</i> ¹¹	‘to mark’	<i>puaš</i> ¹¹	‘to give’
<i>bozkalas</i> ¹¹	‘to write, to scribble’	<i>ludaš</i> ¹	‘to read’	<i>pudalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to nail’
<i>božālas</i> ¹	‘to be ashamed’	<i>lupšaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be whipped’	<i>pušeštaš</i> ¹	‘to give off a smell’
<i>bučaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wait’	<i>lupškedālas</i> ¹	‘to brandish’	<i>pušlanas</i> ¹¹	‘to evaporate’
<i>bučas</i> ¹¹	‘to wait’	<i>lūdaš</i> ¹	‘to fear’	<i>pūgārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bend down’
<i>čātāras</i> ¹¹	‘to shudder’	<i>lūngaltaš</i> ¹	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>pūtārkalas</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>čolgāžas</i> ¹	‘to shine’	<i>lūngaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>serkalas</i> ¹¹	‘to write’
<i>čūngaš</i> ¹¹	‘to peck’	<i>lūškaltaš</i> ¹	‘to get all worked up’	<i>šapāras</i> ¹¹	‘to speak’
<i>duraklanas</i> ¹¹	‘to fool about’	<i>lūškaš</i> ¹¹	‘to make noise’	<i>šarlas</i> ¹¹	‘to spread (intr.)’
<i>dūrgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to buzz’	<i>l’apitlas</i> ¹¹	‘to chatter’	<i>šergaš</i> ¹¹	‘to look over’
<i>dūrlas</i> ¹¹	‘to buzz’	<i>l’apkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to chatter’	<i>šāras</i> ¹¹	‘to bare one’s teeth’
<i>āštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>magāras</i> ¹¹	‘to make sounds’	<i>šojāštaš</i> ¹	‘to tell lies’
<i>gūrlas</i> ¹¹	‘to rumble’	<i>malaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sleep’	<i>šolas</i> ¹	‘to boil (intr.)’
<i>jajlas</i> ¹¹	‘to occupy’	<i>mārlas</i> ¹¹	‘to purr’	<i>šonas</i> ¹¹	‘to think’
<i>jāgālas</i> ¹¹	‘to beg’	<i>modaš</i> ¹	‘to play’	<i>šonkalas</i> ¹¹	‘to think’
<i>jālgāžas</i> ¹	‘to sparkle’	<i>muras</i> ¹¹	‘to sing’	<i>šoneštaltaš</i> ¹	‘to foam up (intr.)’
<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to flow’	<i>mutlanas</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>šoneštaš</i> ¹	‘to foam (intr.)’
<i>jolgas</i> ¹¹	‘to shine’	<i>mūgāraltas</i> ¹	‘to roar’	<i>šopšaš</i> ¹	‘to wind (threads)’
<i>juβatālas</i> ¹	‘to dawdle’	<i>mūgāras</i> ¹¹	‘to roar’	<i>šotlas</i> ¹¹	‘to count’
<i>južgas</i> ¹¹	‘to move hurriedly to and fro’	<i>neras</i> ¹¹	‘to doze’	<i>šurgaltas</i> ¹	‘to resound’
<i>jūas</i> ¹	‘to drink’	<i>nijaltkedālas</i> ¹	‘to stroke’	<i>šužas</i> ¹¹	‘to get hungry’
<i>jūlas</i> ¹¹	‘to burn (intr.)’	<i>niještaš</i> ¹	‘to prepare bast’	<i>šūdāras</i> ¹¹	‘to spin (yarn)’
<i>kanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to rest’	<i>nojaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become tired’	<i>šūleštaš</i> ¹	‘to gasp’
<i>kaŋašaš</i> ¹¹	‘to advise’	<i>nolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become inflamed’	<i>talgas</i> ¹¹	‘to be agitated’
<i>karčas</i> ¹¹	‘to call (corncrake)’	<i>nōštālas</i> ¹	‘to knead’	<i>tōčas</i> ¹¹	‘to try’
<i>kargašaš</i> ¹¹	‘to quarrel’	<i>ňuslas</i> ¹¹	‘to sob’	<i>tunemas</i> ¹	‘to learn’
<i>kāčālas</i> ¹	‘to search’	<i>oβaras</i> ¹¹	‘to rise, to puff up’	<i>turtas</i> ¹	‘to huddle up’
<i>kāčkāras</i> ¹¹	‘to shout’	<i>ojgāras</i> ¹¹	‘to grieve’	<i>tūñčāgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grow weak’
<i>kālmas</i> ¹¹	‘to freeze (intr.)’	<i>ojlasaš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>tūpčas</i> ¹¹	‘to ascertain’
<i>kočkaš</i> ¹	‘to eat’	<i>ojlas</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>tūrlas</i> ¹¹	‘to embroider’
<i>kojaš</i> ¹	‘to be visible’	<i>oñčas</i> ¹¹	‘to look’	<i>ūngārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grow weak’
<i>kolāštaš</i> ¹	‘to listen’	<i>ōras</i> ¹	‘to be surprised’	<i>ūpšaltaš</i> ¹	‘to (emit a) smell’
<i>kugārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to twist (intr.)’	<i>pajlas</i> ¹¹	‘to divide (tr.)’	<i>ūpšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to give off a smell’
<i>kupnas</i> ¹¹	‘to be covered by algae’	<i>peleštālas</i> ¹	‘to talk’		
		<i>pālnas</i> ¹¹	‘to become frail’		

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs		
Usage	• Denotes duration of an action, possibly that it is carried out in a sitting position		
Distribution etc.	Mari (all varieties), Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Accounts of 'to sit' grammaticalized in a similar manner exist on numerous languages of Africa, Asia, and Australia.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 58	Corpus: 53	Total: 111
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pukijñj</i>	Tatar: <i>utäruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>ultäräβ</i> Chuvash: <i>lar</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>saŋca-</i> 'to stand', cognates include Finnish <i>seisoa</i> 'to stand', Mordvin <i>št'ams</i> 'to stand up', Sosva (Northern) Mansi <i>tūšt-</i> 'to place, to stand'. Same origin as <i>šinčäs</i> / <i>šanzäs</i> 'to sit down' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 431–432; Bereczki et al. 2013: 236).		

Figure 191: Profile of *šinčäs* / *šanzäs* 'to sit'

4.1.50 *šinčältaš* / *šanzältäs* 'to sit around'

This verb, a frequentative derivation of the verb *šinčäs* / *šanzäs* 'to sit' (cf. Moio & Saarinen 2008: 686; Alhoniemi 1985: 161) – Section 4.1.49 (page 225) – is only labelled as an auxiliary by the large Mari-Russian Dictionary, which claims it forms auxiliary constructions “with the meaning of duration of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шинчылташ).⁴⁰² A total of 6 pairings with the verb can be found in the lexical sources, and another 9 in the corpus. It should be noted that all verbs occurring with this auxiliary also co-occur with the verb's parent. Given this, it seems debatable whether this verb should really be considered an auxiliary in its own right – perhaps it would be more appropriate to regard pairings using it as frequentative derivations of pairings employing *šinčäs* / *šanzäs* 'to sit':

- *l'apkaš* 'to prattle' > *l'apken šinčäs* 'to prattle about' > *l'apken šinčältaš*
- *šonkalaš* 'to consider' > *šonkalen šinčäs* 'to ponder' > *šonkalen šinčältaš*
- *ludaš* 'to read' > *ludän šinčäs* 'to read (for a while)' > *ludän šinčältaš*
- *mutlanaš* 'to talk' > *mutlanen šinčäs* 'to converse' > *mutlanen šinčältaš*

My consultant was in agreement with this interpretation.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>äštaš</i> 'to do'	<i>l'apkaš</i> 'to chatter'	<i>nämärtälaš</i> 'to knead'
<i>jäpšaš</i> 'to scold'	<i>l'äptärgaš</i> 'to subside'	<i>ojläštaš</i> 'to babble'
<i>karaš</i> 'to open wide (tr.)'	<i>modaš</i> 'to play'	<i>šajtanlanaš</i> 'to use cunning'
<i>kutärkalaš</i> 'to talk'	<i>mutlanaš</i> 'to talk'	<i>šonkalaš</i> 'to think'
<i>ludaš</i> 'to read'	<i>nečäs</i> 'to glue'	<i>šotlaš</i> 'to count'

⁴⁰² “[...] со значением длительности действия”

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs			
Usage	• Marks long-lasting action – or, is frequentative derivation of <i>šínčáš</i> / <i>šanzäš</i> ¹¹ ‘to sit’; carrying all values of that auxiliary			
Distribution etc.	Mari			
Literary pairings	Sources: 6	Corpus: 9	Total: 15	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ?	Chuvash: ?
Etymology	< <i>šínčáš</i> / <i>šanzäš</i> ¹¹ ‘to sit’ by means of the reflexive-transitive / frequentative derivational suffix <i>-lt</i> (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 686; Alhoniemi 1985: 161).			

Figure 192: Profile of *šínčáltaš* / *šanzältäš*¹ ‘to sit around’

4.1.51 *šogalaš* / *šagalaš*¹ ‘to stand up’

For the relationship of this auxiliary with *bozaš* / *bažaš*¹ ‘to lie down; to fall’ – Section 4.1.4 (page 135) – and *šínčáš* / *šanzäš*¹ ‘to sit down’ – Section 4.1.48 (page 222) – see Section 5.1 (page 260).

The telic verb *šogalaš* / *šagalaš*¹ ‘to stand up’ is derived from the atelic verb *šogaš* / *šalgaš*¹¹ ‘to stand’ – Section 4.1.53 (page 232) – by means of the productive momentary derivational suffix *-al* (cf. **Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 695; Alhoniemi 1985: 163**). Mari, thus, makes a distinction between ‘to stand up’ and ‘to stand’ that is not generally found in the Turkic languages of the region, where one word is used to express both concepts and the distinction is based on context: Tatar *toruβ* ‘to stand up; to stand; to live’ (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007: топу**), Bashkir *toroβ* ‘id.’ (**Akhmerov et al. 1958: топор**), and Chuvash *tär* ‘to stand up; to stand’ (cf. **Skvorcov et al. 1985: рӓр**). The polysemous nature of these Turkic verbs makes it difficult to establish a 1:1 relationship between Mari and Turkic auxiliaries here. Chuvash *tär* serves as both a marker of “the execution of movement or the duration of an action” (**ibid.**);⁴⁰³ its durative usage is discussed in the entry on *šogaš* / *šalgaš*¹¹ ‘to stand’. The Tatar and Bashkir verbs generally serve as durative markers and are discussed in the entry on *šogaš* / *šalgaš*¹¹ ‘to stand’ and *ilaš* / *äläš*¹¹ ‘to live’ – see Section 4.1.11 (page 147). In addition to these verbs, there are the verbs Tatar *bäsuβ* ‘to stand up’ and Bashkir *baθäβ* ‘id.’ that are also used as auxiliaries and in this function seem to be more in line with the Mari word under consideration here (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007; Akhmerov et al. 1958**).

Udmurt, like Mari, distinguishes between ‘to stand’ and ‘to stand up’: *sijljinj* ‘to stand’, *žutskijnj* ‘to stand up’. Valey Kel’makov mentions that the verb *žutskijnj* ‘to stand up’ co-occurs with converbs, but does not himself consider it an auxiliary and does not further discuss the pairings that can be found (**Kel’makov 1975: 95**).

The Mari verb in question is classified as an auxiliary by numerous sources (e.g. **Moisio 1992: 379; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Serebrennikov 1960: 195–196; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шогалаш I; Savatkova 2008: 329–330; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 52–53**); it occurs in 81 different pairings in the sources and in an additional 32 pairings in the corpus. Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to the Tatar and Chuvash verbs discussed above, but notes that numerous pairings using this auxiliary are unique to Mari (**Isanbayev 1978: 79–80**). It does, indeed, seem inappropriate to equate the Mari verb in question to Tatar *toruβ* ‘to stand up; to stand; to live’ in most cases. While Tatar *bäsuβ* ‘to stand up’ is closer to this Mari verb in its usage, it is comparatively rare. While Chuvash *tär* ‘to stand up; to stand’ can serve as a counterpart to the Mari auxiliary in many pairings, its range of applications seems to be wider.

⁴⁰³ “19. с деепр. др. глагола выступает в роли вспом. глагола с общим значением завершения движения или продолжительности действия: [...]”

Nevertheless, Gábor Bereczki et al. define *mijen šogalaš* ‘to approach someone / something (lit. going stand.up)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (Bereczki et al. 2013: 142).

SMYa states that the Mari verb under consideration forms auxiliary constructions “from some intransitive and transitive verbs and gives them the meaning of a single completion of an action” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 207).⁴⁰⁴ According to Isanbayev, it is mainly combined with intransitive verbs and indicates “the completeness of an action that is sometimes carried out in a standing position” (Isanbayev 1978: 79).⁴⁰⁵ As the action marked with this auxiliary tends to be telic, the standing position is achieved through the action. Isanbayev’s assertion that the auxiliary is predominantly combined with intransitive verbs is true to some extent in my opinion – while it is more commonly used with intransitive verbs, pairings with transitive verbs are not rare, as can be seen in the list below.

Meadow Mari: <i>šogalaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>šagalaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>băsuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tăr</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>tolân šogalaš</i>	<i>tolân šagalaš</i>	<i>kilep băsuβ</i>	<i>kilse tăr</i>	coming stand.up	to come
<i>puren šogalaš</i>	<i>pâren šagalaš</i>	<i>kerep băsuβ</i>	<i>kërse tăr</i>	entering stand.up	to come in
<i>lektân šogalaš</i>	<i>läktân šagalaš</i>	<i>šăyăp băsuβ</i>	<i>tuḡsa tăr</i>	going.out stand.up	to go out
<i>töršten šogalaš</i>	<i>targešten šagalaš</i>	-	<i>sikse tăr</i>	jumping stand.up	to jump up
<i>sabârnen šogalaš</i>	<i>sârnen šagalaš</i>	-	<i>šavrănsa tăr</i>	turning stand.up	to turn
<i>joškargen šogalaš</i>	<i>jakšargen šagalaš</i>	-	-	turning.red stand.up	to turn very red
<i>örmalgen šogalaš</i>	<i>öran šagalaš</i>	-	-	being.astonished stand.up	to be perplexed
<i>pelet šogalaš</i>	<i>pelet šagalaš</i>	-	-	blooming stand.up	to bloom
<i>tünjân šogalaš</i>	<i>təngən šagalaš</i>	-	-	freezing stand.up	to become stiff
<i>lüdân šogalaš</i>	<i>lüdän šagalaš</i>	-	-	fearing stand.up	to be terrified
<i>jamdälalt šogalaš</i>	<i>jämđälält šagalaš</i>	-	-	preparing stand.up	to prepare

Figure 193: *šogalaš* / *šagalaš*¹ ‘to stand up’ marking single completion, standing position (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 79–80)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 21 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 17 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 19 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 46 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grasp’	<i>čaknaš</i> ¹¹	‘to move back’	<i>eŋertaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lean on (intr.)’
<i>aβêralaš</i> ¹	‘to surround’	<i>čaraŋaš</i> ¹	‘to bare oneself’	<i>eŋertaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lean on’
<i>aβêraš</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’	<i>čarnaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stop (intr.)’	<i>âraš</i> ¹¹	‘to warm up (intr.)’
<i>aptâranaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be shy’	<i>čarnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stop (intr.)’	<i>ijanaš</i> ¹	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>baštaltaš</i> ¹	‘to change (intr.)’	<i>čêbergaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn red’	<i>ilanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take root’
<i>βijnaltaš</i> ¹	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>čêgânaš</i> ¹¹	‘to balk’	<i>jamdälaltaš</i> ¹	‘to prepare (intr.)’
<i>βijnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>čêgânlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to balk’	<i>jêmaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be blinded’
<i>βiktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to aim at’	<i>čijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put on’	<i>jêrlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’
<i>βolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to descend’	<i>čumârgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>joškargaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn red’

⁴⁰⁴ “[...] придает им значение однократной завершенности действия.”

⁴⁰⁵ “[...] в основном от непереходных глаголов и обозначают законченность действия, совершающегося иногда в положении стоя.”

<i>kaθāskaš¹¹</i>	‘to dry up’	<i>nōltaš¹¹</i>	‘to lift’	<i>šāštaŋaš¹</i>	‘to become yellow’
<i>kaðārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>oðargaš¹¹</i>	‘to branch out’	<i>šočaš¹</i>	‘to be born’
<i>kajaš¹¹</i>	‘to go (away)’	<i>ōraš¹</i>	‘to be surprised’	<i>šoǰāštaš¹¹</i>	‘to block out’
<i>karaš¹¹</i>	‘to open wide (tr.)’	<i>ōrmalgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be astonished’	<i>šoŋeštałtaš¹</i>	‘to foam up (intr.)’
<i>kāñelas¹</i>	‘to get up’	<i>ōrtkaš¹¹</i>	‘to be scared’	<i>šuaš¹</i>	‘to arrive’
<i>kāñertaš¹¹</i>	‘to lean on one’s elbows’	<i>paškartaš¹¹</i>	‘to raise with a stick’	<i>šujnaš¹¹</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’
<i>kārgestaš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>peledaltaš¹</i>	‘to bloom’	<i>šuktaš¹¹</i>	‘to manage’
<i>koranjaš¹</i>	‘to move away (intr.)’	<i>peledaš¹</i>	‘to blossom’	<i>šulaš¹¹</i>	‘to melt (intr.)’
<i>koškaš¹¹</i>	‘to dry (intr.)’	<i>pāznaš¹¹</i>	‘to huddle up’	<i>tārlaš¹¹</i>	‘to get better’
<i>kučaš¹¹</i>	‘to hold’	<i>pāštaš¹¹</i>	‘to put, to place’	<i>tolaš¹</i>	‘to come’
<i>kudašaš¹</i>	‘to take off’	<i>pižaš¹</i>	‘to stick (intr.)’	<i>tomłanaš¹¹</i>	‘to steam’
<i>kuškaš¹</i>	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>toškalaš¹</i>	‘to step’
<i>kūaš¹</i>	‘to ripen (intr.)’	<i>pogānaš¹¹</i>	‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>tōrštałtaš¹¹</i>	‘to jump’
<i>kūemaltaš¹</i>	‘to harden (intr.)’	<i>pošaš¹¹</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’	<i>tōrštaš¹¹</i>	‘to jump’
<i>kūzaš¹¹</i>	‘to climb’	<i>pōršaŋaš¹</i>	‘to be covered with hoarfrost’	<i>tuaraltaš¹</i>	‘to get unharnessed’
<i>kūžgemaš¹</i>	‘to thicken (intr.)’	<i>pudārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to break (intr.)’	<i>turtas¹</i>	‘to huddle up’
<i>lektas¹</i>	‘to go, to leave’	<i>puraš¹¹</i>	‘to enter (intr.)’	<i>tuškaltas¹¹</i>	‘to dip, to shove’
<i>lābāžgaš¹¹</i>	‘to wither’	<i>putajaltaš¹</i>	‘to get tangled up’	<i>tūbārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to mature (intr.)’
<i>lāštaŋaš¹</i>	‘to grow leaves’	<i>pūjalaltaš¹</i>	‘to be dammed up’	<i>tūknaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch (intr.)’
<i>lāštašłaltaš¹</i>	‘to grow leaves’	<i>radamłaltaš¹</i>	‘to stand in a row’	<i>tūnaš¹¹</i>	‘to be in need’
<i>lijaš¹</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>ratłanaš¹¹</i>	‘to form a row’	<i>tūŋaš¹</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>lōzaŋaš¹</i>	‘to ripen (intr.)’	<i>rualaltaš¹</i>	‘to be chopped off’	<i>tūŋgāłgaš¹¹</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>lūdaš¹</i>	‘to fear’	<i>sabārnaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>tūŋgārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to become stiff’
<i>mijaš¹¹</i>	‘to go, to come’	<i>sāłneštaš¹</i>	‘to be adorned’	<i>tūzłanaš¹¹</i>	‘to stand in beauty’
<i>mondaš¹¹</i>	‘to forget’	<i>stroitłaltaš¹</i>	‘to draw up in a line’	<i>tūtkānaš¹¹</i>	‘to be petrified’
<i>nalaš¹</i>	‘to take’	<i>sūretłaltaš¹</i>	‘to be painted’	<i>uemaš¹</i>	‘to be renewed’
<i>nelaš¹</i>	‘to swallow’	<i>šāłas¹</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>ueštaš¹</i>	‘to be renewed’
<i>nōłtalaš¹</i>	‘to raise’	<i>šāštałgaš¹¹</i>	‘to become yellowish’	<i>umaš¹¹</i>	‘to ripen (intr.)’
<i>nōłtaltaš¹</i>	‘to rise’			<i>užargaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn green’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs, sometimes transitive verbs		
Usage	• Marks single completion of an action, sometimes that a standing position is achieved by the action		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar (to a lesser extent), Bashkir (to a lesser extent), Chuvash (to a lesser extent; auxiliary has other functions)		
Literary pairings	Sources: 81	Corpus: 32	Total: 113
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>žutskijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>bāsuθ</i> (<i>toruθ</i>)	Bashkir: <i>baθāθ</i> (<i>toroθ</i>)
Etymology	< <i>šogaš</i> / <i>šalgaš¹¹</i> ‘to stand’ by means of the productive momentary derivational suffix <i>-al</i> (cf. Moisiej & Saarinen 2008: 695; Alhoniemi 1985: 163)		

Figure 194: Profile of *šogalaš* / *šagalaš¹* ‘to stand up’

4.1.52 *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš¹¹* ‘to put, to set, to stand’

For the relationship of this auxiliary with *pāštaš* / *pištāš¹¹* ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.38 (page 202) – and *šāndaš* / *šāndāš¹¹* ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.47 (page 219) – see Section 5.1 (page 260).

SMYa states that *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš¹¹* is used as an auxiliary to form pairings from transitive verbs and conveys the “meaning of completion of an action” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 207; cf. also Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шогалташ; Chkhaidze 1960: 52–53; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163).⁴⁰⁶ Nikolay Isanbayev adds that it is used when the action is “carried out in a standing position” (Isanbayev 1978: 80).⁴⁰⁷ A correction is necessary here: it is not the subject of pairings using this auxiliary that is in a standing position, but the object that is often placed into a standing position through the action; in my

⁴⁰⁶ “[...] значение законченности действия.”

⁴⁰⁷ “[...] со значением законченности действия, совершающегося в положении стоя, [...]”

opinion no statement is made about the position the subject is in when carrying out the action. The verb is used in 22 pairings in the sources and in another 15 in the corpus. This makes it rather uncommon, especially in comparison with its aforementioned near-synonyms.

Isanbayev likens this verb to Tatar *qujuβ* ‘to put, to place’ and Chuvash *tārat* (**ibid.**). He likewise equates this Tatar verb with Mari *optaš* / *optaš*¹¹ ‘to put, to set’ (**ibid.:** 77) – see Section 4.1.37 (page 200) – and *šāndaš* / *šāndaš*¹¹ ‘to put, to place’ (**ibid.:** 74) – it seems as though Tatar does not have the same separation between “standing position”, “sitting position”, and “lying position” that Mari and Chuvash have here. Bashkir *qujāβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used as an auxiliary as well (cf. **Landmann 2015: 102**). Udmurt *ponjnj* ‘to put, to place’ is according to Valey Kel’makov used to indicate the “resultativity of an action” (**Kel’makov 1975: 100**).⁴⁰⁸

Gábor Bereczki et al. define *kučen šogaltaš* ‘to detain, to stop (lit. grabbing set.up)’ as a Chuvash loan translation (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 83**).

Meadow Mari: <i>šogaltaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>šagaltaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>qujuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tārat</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>saβāren šogaltaš</i>	<i>sārāl šagaltaš</i>	<i>borop qujuβ</i>	<i>šavārsa tārat</i>	turning set.up	to turn
<i>purten šogaltaš</i>	<i>pārten šagaltaš</i>	<i>kertep qujuβ</i>	<i>kērtse tārat</i>	bringing.in set.up	to bring in
<i>jolāšten šogaltaš</i>	<i>jalšten šagaltaš</i>	<i>bājläp qujuβ</i>	<i>kākarsa tārat</i>	tying.up set.up	to tie up
<i>kāčken šogaltaš</i>	<i>kācken šagaltaš</i>	<i>žigep qujuβ</i>	<i>külse tārat</i>	harnessing set.up	to harness
<i>sajlen šogaltaš</i>	<i>ajāren šagaltaš</i>	<i>sājtap qujuβ</i>	-	electing set.up	to elect
<i>āšten šogaltaš</i>	<i>āšten šagaltaš</i>	<i>ešläp qujuβ</i>	<i>tusā tārat</i>	doing set.up	to do

Figure 195: *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš*¹¹ ‘to put, to place, to stand’ denoting completion, standing (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 80)

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 43 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 45 ⁽³³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβāraš</i> ¹¹	‘to surround’	<i>āštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>ojāraš</i> ¹¹	‘to separate’
<i>aηārtaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to give off CO’	<i>jolāštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tie up’	<i>pidaš</i> ¹	‘to tie’
<i>aptārataš</i> ¹¹	‘to confuse’	<i>jolāštaedaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tie up’	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring in’
<i>βiktaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to run, to direct’	<i>kerāš</i> ¹	‘to pass through (tr.)’	<i>radamlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to analyse’
<i>boltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lower’	<i>kāčkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to harness’	<i>saβāraš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>βoraηdaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to do successfully’	<i>kāheltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wake up (tr.)’	<i>sajlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to elect’
<i>čaktaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to push back’	<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>stroitlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to construct’
<i>čaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to stop (tr.)’	<i>kučaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hold’	<i>šojāšlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to conceal’
<i>čiktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to dress’	<i>kuštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grow (tr.)’	<i>tarlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hire’
<i>čōηaš</i> ¹¹	‘to build’	<i>kūnčaš</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’	<i>ūjlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grease’
<i>čūmāraš</i> ¹¹	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>luktaš</i> ¹	‘to lead out’	<i>ūšanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to believe’
<i>čūmārtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’		
<i>eηertaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to lean on (tr.)’	<i>nōltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to lift’		

⁴⁰⁸ “[...] результативность действия [...]”

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Indicates a completed action that possibly places an object in a standing position		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 22	Corpus: 15	Total: 37
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>poniñj</i>	Tatar: <i>qujuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>qujǎβ</i> Chuvash: <i>tǎrat</i>
Etymology	< <i>šogalaš</i> / <i>šalgalaš</i> ⁴¹¹ 'to stand up' by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix -t (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 695 ; Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165)		

Figure 196: Profile of *šogaltaš* / *šagaltaš*¹¹ 'to put, to place, to stand'

4.1.53 *šogaš* / *šalgas*¹¹ 'to stand'

This verb is widely classified as an auxiliary by the critical mass of my sources (e.g. **Moisio 1992: 380**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шораш I**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 37–38**; **Savatkova 2008: 332**); 260 pairings in the sources and 115 additional pairings in the corpus make it one of the most common and productive auxiliaries.

Nikolay Isanbayev likens this Mari verb to Tatar *toruβ* 'to stand up; to stand; to live' and Chuvash *tǎr* 'to stand up; to stand', though noting that the Chuvash verb is used comparatively less frequently (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 72**). As discussed in the entry on the Mari verb *šogalaš* / *šalgalaš*¹¹ 'to stand up' – see Section 4.1.51 (page 228) – the polysemy of the Turkic verbs introduces ambiguity into their usage not found in Mari. Bashkir *toroβ* 'to stand up; to stand; to live' seems to be used in the same manner as its Tatar cognate (cf. **Yuldashev 1965: 78**). Valey Kel'makov states that Udmurt *sijlñj* 'to stand' is not an auxiliary and that earlier works classifying it as such are mistaken (cf. **Kel'makov 1975: 95**); Christian Pischlöger in turn disagrees with Kel'makov's disqualification of this verb as an auxiliary (cf. **Pischlöger 2013: 2**). Gábor Bereczki et al. consider *ludân šogaš* 'to read (constantly or from time to time) (lit. reading stand)', *oňčën šogaš* 'to observe (lit. looking stand)', *puren šogaš* 'to enter (lit. entering stand)', and *bučën šogaš* 'to wait (lit. waiting stand)' as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 123; 174; 203; 319**).

According to SMYa, this verb forms auxiliary constructions "from many transitive and intransitive verbs and gives them the meaning of duration of an action" (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 215**).⁴⁰⁹ Boris Serebrennikov states that auxiliary constructions with this verb "always denote a prolonged, and sometimes a repeated action" (**Serebrennikov 1960: 200**).⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ "[...] от многих переходных и непереходных глаголов и придает им значение длительности действия."

⁴¹⁰ "[...] обозначают всегда длительное, иногда многократное действие, [...]"

Meadow Mari: <i>šoḡaš</i> ¹¹	Hill Mari: <i>šalgaš</i> ¹¹	Tatar: <i>toruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tär</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>bozen šoḡaš</i>	<i>siren šalgaš</i>	<i>jâzâp toruβ</i>	<i>širsä tär</i>	writing stand	to write (regularly)
<i>ludân šoḡaš</i>	<i>lâdân šalgaš</i>	<i>uqâp toruβ</i>	<i>vulasa tär</i>	reading stand	to read (regularly)
<i>oñčen šoḡaš</i>	<i>anžen šalgaš</i>	<i>qârap toruβ</i>	<i>päḡsa tär</i>	looking stand	to watch
<i>kolâšt šoḡaš</i>	<i>kolâšt šalgaš</i>	<i>išetep toruβ</i>	<i>itlese tär</i>	listening stand	to listen (long)
<i>puren šoḡaš</i>	<i>pâren šalgaš</i>	<i>kerep toruβ</i>	<i>kërse tär</i>	coming.in stand	to come in
<i>tolân šoḡaš</i>	<i>tolân šalgaš</i>	<i>kilep toruβ</i>	<i>pîrsa tär</i>	coming stand	to come
<i>koštân šoḡaš</i>	<i>kaštân šalgaš</i>	<i>jöröp toruβ</i>	-	going stand	to stroll
<i>kojân šoḡaš</i>	<i>kajân šalgaš</i>	<i>kürenep toruβ</i>	<i>kurânsa tär</i>	being.visible stand	to be visible
<i>bućen šoḡaš</i>	<i>βâćen šalgaš</i>	<i>kötöp toruβ</i>	<i>kětse tär</i>	waiting stand	to lie in wait
<i>kokâtelanen šoḡaš</i>	<i>koktelänen šalgaš</i>	<i>ikelänep toruβ</i>	<i>ikkelense tär</i>	hesitating stand	to oscillate
<i>jogen šoḡaš</i>	<i>jogen šalgaš</i>	<i>äyâtâp toruβ</i>	-	flowing stand	to run, to flow
<i>bujlâten šoḡaš</i>	<i>bujlâten šalgaš</i>	<i>bâšqarâp toruβ</i>	-	heading stand	to direct
<i>šižtâren šoḡaš</i>	<i>šižtâren šalgaš</i>	<i>kisâtep toruβ</i>	-	giving.notice stand	to give notice
<i>konden šoḡaš</i>	<i>kanden šalgaš</i>	<i>kiterep toruβ</i>	-	bringing stand	to bring (regularly)
<i>šukemân šoḡaš</i>	<i>šukem šalgaš</i>	<i>kübâjep toruβ</i>	-	multiplying stand	to increase

Figure 197: *šoḡaš* / *šalgaš*¹¹ ‘to stand’ marking durativity, sometimes iterativity (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 72–73)

Isanbayev notes that “[i]n the Mari and Tatar languages [auxiliary constructions] with the [auxiliaries] at hand can also have the opposite meaning – that of temporal limitation” (Isanbayev 1978: 73).⁴¹¹ In Tatar and Bashkir this meaning is associated with the imperative (cf. Landmann 2014a: 99; Landmann 2015: 100); the Mari examples given by Isanbayev also use the imperative.

(119 – Mari – Isanbayev 1978: 73)

‘[П]уэн шого[.]’

pu	-en	šoḡo	-∅.
give	-CVB	stand	-IMP.2SG
v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

‘Give (lit. giving stand) it to me for a moment.’

The relationship between this auxiliary, and other durative markers, is not trivial, and will be discussed in Section 5.1 (page 260).

Verbs meaning ‘to stand’ have been grammaticalized as continuous markers in numerous languages, including Bulgarian, Italian, and Spanish (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 280–282).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 7 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 15 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 17 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 18 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 19 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 23 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 29 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 15 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 21 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 42 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	BEK: I: 20 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 46 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 47 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

⁴¹¹ “В марийском и татарском языках составные глаголы с названными модификаторами могут иметь и обратное значение — значение временной ограниченности: [...]”

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aβāraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be surrounded’	<i>ālāžtaš¹¹</i>	‘to kindle’	<i>koltaš¹¹</i>	‘to send; to let go’
<i>aβāraš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>ārāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to warm (tr.)’	<i>kondaš¹¹</i>	‘to bring’
<i>ajmanaš¹¹</i>	‘to injure oneself’	<i>āštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be done’	<i>koranjaš¹¹</i>	‘to move away (intr.)’
<i>almaštaš¹¹</i>	‘to replace’	<i>āštaš¹¹</i>	‘to do’	<i>koranjašaš¹¹</i>	‘to remove’
<i>amalkalaš¹¹</i>	‘to deal with’	<i>fotografirovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to photograph’	<i>koškaš¹¹</i>	‘to dry (intr.)’
<i>aṇāšāremaš¹¹</i>	‘to become narrow’	<i>gladitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to iron’	<i>koštaš¹¹</i>	‘to go’
<i>aptāranaš¹¹</i>	‘to be shy’	<i>golosovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to vote’	<i>kožgaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’
<i>aralalaš¹¹</i>	‘to defend’	<i>gūžlaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to make a noise’	<i>kožgataš¹¹</i>	‘to drive; to stir’
<i>aralaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to defend oneself’	<i>gūžlanaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’	<i>kredalaš¹¹</i>	‘to fight’
<i>aralaš¹¹</i>	‘to defend’	<i>gūžlaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’	<i>kučaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to get caught’
<i>artāraš¹¹</i>	‘to increase (tr.)’	<i>iktešlaš¹¹</i>	‘to merge (tr.)’	<i>kučāš¹¹</i>	‘to hold’
<i>atālanaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>ilanaš¹¹</i>	‘to take root’	<i>kučēdalaš¹¹</i>	‘to fight’
<i>atlaš¹¹</i>	‘to cut up’	<i>izemaš¹¹</i>	‘to decrease’	<i>kudašaš¹¹</i>	‘to take off’
<i>baṇaš¹¹</i>	‘to guard’	<i>izemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to reduce’	<i>kugemaš¹¹</i>	‘to increase (intr.)’
<i>bašeštaš¹¹</i>	‘to answer’	<i>jaldārataš¹¹</i>	‘to polish’	<i>kugemdaš¹¹</i>	‘in increase (tr.)’
<i>baštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to change (intr.)’	<i>jamdālaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to prepare (intr.)’	<i>kumdaṇdaš¹¹</i>	‘to widen (tr.)’
<i>baštaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to change (tr.)’	<i>jamdālaš¹¹</i>	‘to prepare (tr.)’	<i>kumālaṇaš¹¹</i>	‘to be happy’
<i>besemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to alter’	<i>jandareštaš¹¹</i>	‘to refine’	<i>kumālaṇdaš¹¹</i>	‘to make happy’
<i>βānēmaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be covered with pits’	<i>jaras¹¹</i>	‘to take up’	<i>kuškaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow (intr.)’
<i>βijaṇaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow stronger’	<i>jarāmlaš¹¹</i>	‘to separate (tr.)’	<i>kuštālemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to lighten (intr.)’
<i>βijaṇdaš¹¹</i>	‘to develop (tr.)’	<i>ješaraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be added’	<i>kužemaš¹¹</i>	‘to lengthen (intr.)’
<i>βiktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to run, to direct’	<i>ješaraš¹¹</i>	‘to add’	<i>kutāraš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’
<i>βiskalaš¹¹</i>	‘to measure’	<i>jāβārtāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to delight’	<i>kūdārtaš¹¹</i>	‘to thunder’
<i>βitras¹¹</i>	‘to report’	<i>jālgāžas¹¹</i>	‘to sparkle’	<i>kūdārtālaš¹¹</i>	‘to thunder’
<i>βolgaltas¹¹</i>	‘to shine’	<i>jāmas¹¹</i>	‘to be blinded’	<i>kūeštaš¹¹</i>	‘to bake’
<i>bozas¹¹</i>	‘to write’	<i>jodaš¹¹</i>	‘to ask’	<i>kūras¹¹</i>	‘to pick’
<i>boštālalaš¹¹</i>	‘to smile’	<i>jogaš¹¹</i>	‘to flow’	<i>kūtas¹¹</i>	‘to herd’
<i>božālaš¹¹</i>	‘to be ashamed’	<i>joktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>leβedaš¹¹</i>	‘to cover’
<i>bučāš¹¹</i>	‘to wait’	<i>jolgaš¹¹</i>	‘to shine’	<i>lektaš¹¹</i>	‘to go, to leave’
<i>βudāmatālaš¹¹</i>	‘to mumble’	<i>joṅgaltas¹¹</i>	‘to resound’	<i>lāžgaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’
<i>βujlataš¹¹</i>	‘to head’	<i>joškargaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn red’	<i>lāžgāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’
<i>βūdas¹¹</i>	‘to lead’	<i>jōslanaš¹¹</i>	‘to suffer’	<i>lijaš¹¹</i>	‘to be; to become’
<i>čaknaš¹¹</i>	‘to move back’	<i>jualtaraš¹¹</i>	‘to cool (tr.)’	<i>lišemaš¹¹</i>	‘to approach’
<i>čaktaraš¹¹</i>	‘to push back’	<i>juarlaš¹¹</i>	‘to romp’	<i>logalaš¹¹</i>	‘to touch’
<i>čaplanaš¹¹</i>	‘to become famous’	<i>juβatālaš¹¹</i>	‘to dawdle’	<i>loktālaš¹¹</i>	‘to spoil’
<i>čaraklaš¹¹</i>	‘to prop in’	<i>jumāltas¹¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>lomāžaš¹¹</i>	‘to moo’
<i>čaras¹¹</i>	‘to stop (tr.)’	<i>jūksemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to grow cold’	<i>loṇčālaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be stratified’
<i>čēbergaš¹¹</i>	‘to turn red’	<i>jūlas¹¹</i>	‘to burn (intr.)’	<i>loṇāltas¹¹</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’
<i>čēngesaš¹¹</i>	‘to argue’	<i>kadārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>lōzanaš¹¹</i>	‘to ripen (intr.)’
<i>čēngēštaš¹¹</i>	‘to argue’	<i>kajaš¹¹</i>	‘to go (away)’	<i>ludaš¹¹</i>	‘to read’
<i>čāβāštālaš¹¹</i>	‘to pinch’	<i>kalaskalaš¹¹</i>	‘to talk’	<i>luktaš¹¹</i>	‘to lead out’
<i>čāgānaš¹¹</i>	‘to balk’	<i>kanaš¹¹</i>	‘to rest’	<i>luṇčārgaš¹¹</i>	‘to be exhausted’
<i>čāmaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be drawn tight’	<i>karaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be opened wide’	<i>lupšaš¹¹</i>	‘to whip’
<i>čāmas¹¹</i>	‘to tighten (tr.)’	<i>kargašaš¹¹</i>	‘to quarrel’	<i>luškādemas¹¹</i>	‘to become weak’
<i>čātāraš¹¹</i>	‘to shudder’	<i>karšaš¹¹</i>	‘to resist’	<i>lūdaš¹¹</i>	‘to fear’
<i>čijaš¹¹</i>	‘to put on’	<i>kelāštāraltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be adjusted’	<i>lūṅgaltas¹¹</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’
<i>čoklas¹¹</i>	‘to pray’	<i>kelgemdaš¹¹</i>	‘to deepen (tr.)’	<i>lūṅgaš¹¹</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’
<i>čolgāžaš¹¹</i>	‘to shine’	<i>kelšaš¹¹</i>	‘to agree; to appeal’	<i>lūškaltas¹¹</i>	‘to get all worked up’
<i>čūčaš¹¹</i>	‘to seem’	<i>keržaltas¹¹</i>	‘to grasp’	<i>lūškaš¹¹</i>	‘to make noise’
<i>čūmāraš¹¹</i>	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>kāčālaš¹¹</i>	‘to search’	<i>lūžgaš¹¹</i>	‘to rustle’
<i>čūčāktālaš¹¹</i>	‘to drip (tr.)’	<i>kāldaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to be tied up’	<i>l’apkaš¹¹</i>	‘to chatter’
<i>čūktaltaš¹¹</i>	‘to light up’	<i>kālmaš¹¹</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’	<i>mešajaš¹¹</i>	‘to prevent’
<i>diktovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to dictate’	<i>kāras¹¹</i>	‘to beat’	<i>mežalaš¹¹</i>	‘to establish boundaries’
<i>distillirovatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to distil’	<i>kārgēštaš¹¹</i>	‘to surround’	<i>modaš¹¹</i>	‘to play’
<i>dokladīvatlaš¹¹</i>	‘to report’	<i>kāžgaš¹¹</i>	‘to whisper’	<i>molemaš¹¹</i>	‘to change (intr.)’
<i>doložitlaš¹¹</i>	‘to report’	<i>koβārtatālaš¹¹</i>	‘to swagger’	<i>muaš¹¹</i>	‘to find’
<i>dūrlaš¹¹</i>	‘to buzz’	<i>kočkaš¹¹</i>	‘to eat’	<i>mugāl’gaš¹¹</i>	‘to protrude’
<i>emlaš¹¹</i>	‘to treat, to cure’	<i>kodaš¹¹</i>	‘to stay’	<i>muraš¹¹</i>	‘to sing’
<i>erāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to clean’	<i>kogāl’gaš¹¹</i>	‘to coarsen (intr.)’	<i>murāktaš¹¹</i>	‘to make sing’
<i>eskeras¹¹</i>	‘to observe’	<i>kojas¹¹</i>	‘to be visible’	<i>muškaš¹¹</i>	‘to wash’
<i>ālāžaš¹¹</i>	‘to flare up’	<i>kokātelanaš¹¹</i>	‘to hesitate’	<i>mužedaš¹¹</i>	‘to tell fortunes’
<i>ālāžtaraš¹¹</i>	‘to kindle’	<i>kolāštaš¹¹</i>	‘to listen’	<i>mutajaš¹¹</i>	‘to delay’

<i>mutlanaš¹¹</i>	'to talk'	<i>puraš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'	<i>šužaš¹¹</i>	'to get hungry'
<i>mügāraltāš¹</i>	'to roar'	<i>purtaš¹¹</i>	'to bring in'	<i>tajnaš¹¹</i>	'to stoop'
<i>mügāraš¹¹</i>	'to roar'	<i>puzârġaš¹¹</i>	'to bulge out'	<i>takârtaš¹¹</i>	'to trample down'
<i>nalaš¹</i>	'to take'	<i>puškâdemdaš¹¹</i>	'to soften (tr.)'	<i>tal'anġaš¹</i>	'to become dirty'
<i>namijaš¹¹</i>	'to bring'	<i>pušlanaš¹¹</i>	'to evaporate'	<i>talâšnaš¹¹</i>	'to grow stronger'
<i>nangajaš¹¹</i>	'to take, to lead'	<i>pužaraš¹¹</i>	'to plane'	<i>tanâklaš¹¹</i>	'to testify'
<i>narâh'çalgaš¹¹</i>	'to turn yellow'	<i>pügârtaš¹¹</i>	'to bend (tr.)'	<i>tarataš¹¹</i>	'to motivate to'
<i>neh'čas¹¹</i>	'to glue'	<i>pûraš¹¹</i>	'to be destined'	<i>tašlaš¹¹</i>	'to overflow'
<i>neraš¹¹</i>	'to doze'	<i>pûrdaš¹¹</i>	'to curtain'	<i>temaš¹</i>	'to fill up (intr.)'
<i>nijaltkalaš¹¹</i>	'to stroke'	<i>pûrgaš¹¹</i>	'to spurt'	<i>temaš¹¹</i>	'to fill (tr.)'
<i>nolaš¹¹</i>	'to become inflamed'	<i>pûtâraš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>temdaš¹¹</i>	'to push'
<i>nôltaš¹</i>	'to rise'	<i>pûtârkalaš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>tergaš¹¹</i>	'to check'
<i>nôltaš¹</i>	'to rise'	<i>radamlaltaš¹</i>	'to stand in a row'	<i>teskarlanaš¹¹</i>	'to be obstinate'
<i>nôltaš¹¹</i>	'to lift'	<i>revizovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to inspect'	<i>târšaš¹¹</i>	'to strive'
<i>numalaš¹</i>	'to carry'	<i>roh'çaltaš¹</i>	'to come unwound'	<i>tolaš¹</i>	'to come'
<i>oβaraš¹¹</i>	'to rise, to puff up'	<i>ruâštaš¹</i>	'to chop'	<i>tolkânġaš¹</i>	'to be agitated'
<i>oβargaš¹¹</i>	'to swell up'	<i>rûdaš¹¹</i>	'to wear out'	<i>toraš¹¹</i>	'to move apart (tr.)'
<i>odargaš¹¹</i>	'to branch out'	<i>rûzaltaš¹</i>	'to rock (intr.)'	<i>torgajaš¹¹</i>	'to deal in'
<i>ojâraltaš¹</i>	'to be chosen'	<i>rûzaš¹¹</i>	'to shake (tr.)'	<i>torlaš¹¹</i>	'to move away (intr.)'
<i>ojâraš¹¹</i>	'to separate'	<i>sabaltaš¹</i>	'to strike against'	<i>tortaš¹¹</i>	'to separate (tr.)'
<i>ojârlaš¹¹</i>	'to go apart'	<i>sabâktaltaš¹</i>	'to be published'	<i>toškâštaš¹</i>	'to shift one's feet'
<i>ojârtemaltaš¹</i>	'to differ'	<i>sabâraš¹¹</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	<i>tototlaš¹¹</i>	'to jabber'
<i>ojlâštaš¹</i>	'to babble'	<i>sajemaš¹</i>	'to get better'	<i>tôrlaš¹¹</i>	'to make flat'
<i>oñ'ças¹¹</i>	'to look'	<i>sajemdaš¹¹</i>	'to make better'	<i>tôrlataš¹¹</i>	'to fix'
<i>oñ'çâktaš¹¹</i>	'to show'	<i>sbežanġdaš¹¹</i>	'to refresh'	<i>tôrštâlaš¹</i>	'to jump'
<i>oñ'çâktâlaš¹</i>	'to show'	<i>seġaš¹¹</i>	'to defeat, to win'	<i>trenirovatlaš¹¹</i>	'to train'
<i>oñ'çâštaš¹</i>	'to look'	<i>seraš¹¹</i>	'to write'	<i>tulaš¹¹</i>	'to pump'
<i>optaš¹¹</i>	'to bark'	<i>sâlneštaraš¹¹</i>	'to decorate'	<i>tunemaš¹</i>	'to learn'
<i>orolaš¹¹</i>	'to guard'	<i>sâlneštaš¹</i>	'to be adorned'	<i>tunâktaš¹¹</i>	'to teach'
<i>ôraš¹</i>	'to be surprised'	<i>sirlaš¹¹</i>	'to fall, to cave in'	<i>tûbârgaš¹¹</i>	'to mature (intr.)'
<i>ôr'ças¹¹</i>	'to breed (intr.)'	<i>sitaraš¹¹</i>	'to gather, to provide'	<i>tûbârtaš¹¹</i>	'to embarrass'
<i>ôrmalgaš¹¹</i>	'to be astonished'	<i>sôralgaš¹¹</i>	'to grow prettier'	<i>tûlaš¹¹</i>	'to pay'
<i>palaš¹¹</i>	'to know'	<i>surgaltaš¹</i>	'to ring out'	<i>tûn'çâġgaš¹¹</i>	'to grow weak'
<i>paldaraš¹¹</i>	'to acquaint'	<i>zavisitlaš¹¹</i>	'to depend on'	<i>tûn'çâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to weaken'
<i>peledaltaš¹</i>	'to bloom'	<i>zakazatlaš¹¹</i>	'to order'	<i>tûnġaš¹</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'
<i>peledaš¹</i>	'to blossom'	<i>šagalemdaš¹¹</i>	'to reduce (tr.)'	<i>tûrgaltaš¹</i>	'to rise, to whirl'
<i>peġġâdemaš¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>šaraš¹¹</i>	'to spread out (tr.)'	<i>tûrgaš¹¹</i>	'to rise, to swirl'
<i>peġġâdemdaš¹¹</i>	'to fasten'	<i>šarlaš¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'	<i>tûzġaš¹¹</i>	'to grow stronger'
<i>perkalaš¹¹</i>	'to hit'	<i>šarnaš¹¹</i>	'to remember'	<i>tûzlanaš¹¹</i>	'to stand in beauty'
<i>pâdalaš¹</i>	'to protect'	<i>šarnâktaš¹¹</i>	'to remind'	<i>tûtârġaš¹</i>	'to grow misty'
<i>pârnaltaš¹</i>	'to be too tight'	<i>šeklanaš¹¹</i>	'to look after'	<i>tûtkaš¹¹</i>	'to cover, to curtain'
<i>pâzârtaš¹¹</i>	'to push'	<i>šelaltaš¹</i>	'to break (intr.)'	<i>uβertaraš¹¹</i>	'to announce'
<i>pâtaras¹¹</i>	'to finish (tr.)'	<i>šergâltaš¹</i>	'to come undone'	<i>udâraš¹¹</i>	'to strike'
<i>pâtaš¹¹</i>	'to end (intr.)'	<i>šâmlaš¹¹</i>	'to research'	<i>uemaš¹</i>	'to be renewed'
<i>pižaš¹</i>	'to stick (intr.)'	<i>šâštalgaš¹¹</i>	'to become yellowish'	<i>uemdaš¹¹</i>	'to renew'
<i>poçâltaraš¹¹</i>	'to develop (tr.)'	<i>šikšaš¹</i>	'to give off smoke'	<i>ulnâktaraš¹¹</i>	'to tire (tr.)'
<i>poçâltaš¹</i>	'to open (intr.)'	<i>ših'ças¹¹</i>	'to know'	<i>umaš¹¹</i>	'to ripen (intr.)'
<i>podderživatlaš¹¹</i>	'to support'	<i>šižaš¹</i>	'to feel'	<i>umâlaš¹¹</i>	'to understand'
<i>podâlaš¹</i>	'to sip, to gulp'	<i>šižtaraš¹¹</i>	'to give notice'	<i>uraš¹¹</i>	'to bury'
<i>pogaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>šojâštaš¹¹</i>	'to block out'	<i>urlâktaš¹¹</i>	'to spread discord'
<i>pogânaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>šoktaš¹¹</i>	'to be heard; to play'	<i>ušaš¹¹</i>	'to join (tr.)'
<i>pojdaraltaš¹</i>	'to become rich'	<i>šolaš¹</i>	'to boil (intr.)'	<i>ušeštaraš¹¹</i>	'to remind'
<i>pojdaras¹¹</i>	'to enrichen'	<i>šoltaš¹¹</i>	'to boil (tr.)'	<i>ušnaltaš¹</i>	'to be connected'
<i>polâškalaš¹¹</i>	'to help'	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	'to think'	<i>ušnaš¹¹</i>	'to join (intr.)'
<i>polšaš¹¹</i>	'to help'	<i>šonkalaš¹¹</i>	'to think'	<i>ušnâlaš¹</i>	'to join (intr.)'
<i>pôrdaš¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'	<i>šortaš¹</i>	'to cry'	<i>užargaš¹¹</i>	'to turn green'
<i>pôršaġaš¹</i>	'to be covered with hoarfrost'	<i>šuas¹</i>	'to arrive'	<i>užaš¹</i>	'to see'
<i>puas¹¹</i>	'to give'	<i>šujaš¹¹</i>	'to stretch out (tr.)'	<i>utaraš¹¹</i>	'to save'
<i>puas¹¹</i>	'to blow'	<i>šujnaš¹¹</i>	'to stretch out (intr.)'	<i>utâreštaš¹</i>	'to get excited'
<i>pučas¹¹</i>	'to evaporate'	<i>šukemaš¹</i>	'to multiply (intr.)'	<i>ûçâšaš¹¹</i>	'to compete'
<i>pudârataš¹¹</i>	'to stir (tr.)'	<i>šukemdaš¹¹</i>	'to multiply (tr.)'	<i>ûmâltaš¹¹</i>	'to shade'
<i>puedaš¹¹</i>	'to distribute'	<i>šuktaš¹¹</i>	'to manage'	<i>ûpšaltaš¹</i>	'to (emit a) smell'
<i>puraš¹</i>	'to chew'	<i>šupšaš¹</i>	'to pull'		
		<i>šurgaltaš¹</i>	'to resound'		

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs			
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denotes durative, possibly iterative action. • In imperative indicates that an action should be carried out for a limited time period only. 			
Distribution etc.	Durative / iterative in Mari, possibly Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash (to a lesser extent). Productive in Mari. Similar grammaticalization has occurred in Romance languages, Bulgarian. Special meaning in imperative in Mari, Tatar, Bashkir.			
Literary pairings	Sources: 260	Corpus: 115	Total: 375	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>šiljnj</i>	Tatar: <i>toruβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>toroβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tär</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>salkə</i> - ‘to stand’, cognates include Hungarian <i>áll</i> ‘to stand’, Udmurt <i>šiljnj</i> ‘id.’, Komi <i>sulavnj</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 431; Bereczki et al. 2013: 239).			

Figure 198: Profile of *šogaš* / *šalgaš*^{II} ‘to stand’

4.1.54 *šogâltaš* / *šalgâltaš*^I ‘to stand around’

This verb is not classified as an auxiliary by sources other than the big Mari-Russian Dictionary, according to which it is used to form auxiliary constructions “with the meaning of duration of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шогылташ).⁴¹² A total of 8 pairings using this verb can be found in the sources and another 28 pairings in the corpus.

The definition given for this auxiliary’s function in the big Mari-Russian dictionary is exactly the same definition given for the verb *šogaš* / *šalgaš*^{II} ‘to stand’ (cf. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шораш I) – see Section 4.1.53 (page 232) – of which this verb is a frequentative derivation.⁴¹³ Of the 8 verbs co-occurring with this auxiliary in the lexical sources, 4 can also be found coupled with *šogaš* / *šalgaš*^{II}. The question arises of whether this verb truly has an independent standing as an auxiliary; perhaps pairings using it are simply frequentative derivations of auxiliary constructions using *šogaš* / *šalgaš*^{II}:

- *l’apkaš*^{II} ‘to prattle’ > *l’apken šogaš*^{II} ‘to prattle about’ > *l’apken šogâltaš*^I
- *aptâranas*^{II} ‘to be shy’ > *aptâranen šogaš*^{II} ‘to be shy’ > *aptâranen šogâltaš*^I
- *juvatâlas*^I ‘to dawdle’ > *juvatâl šogaš*^{II} ‘to dawdle about’ > *juvatâl šogâltaš*^I
- *muškaš*^I ‘to wash’ > *muškân šogaš*^{II} ‘to wash’ > *muškân šogâltaš*^I

My consultant agreed with the latter assessment.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>ačalaš</i> ^{II}	‘to repair’	<i>baraš</i> ^{II}	‘to mix (tr.)’	<i>jâŋâsaš</i> ^{II}	‘to moan’
<i>amârtâlas</i> ^I	‘to soil’	<i>θiskalaš</i> ^{II}	‘to measure’	<i>jârâmlaš</i> ^{II}	‘to moan’
<i>aptâranas</i> ^{II}	‘to be shy’	<i>ârâktâlas</i> ^I	‘to heat up (tr.)’	<i>juvatâlas</i> ^I	‘to dawdle’
<i>aptâranâlas</i> ^I	‘to be shy’	<i>âštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to do’	<i>julanaš</i> ^{II}	‘to run in a circle’

⁴¹² “[...] со значением длительности действия”

⁴¹³ It is also the exact same wording used to describe the function of *šîŋčâltaš* / *šanzâltaš*^I ‘to sit around’ (cf. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шинчылташ) as an auxiliary and very nearly the wording used to describe the function of *šîŋčaš* / *šanzäš*^{II} ‘to sit’ (cf. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шинчаш II). The relationship between these auxiliaries is discussed in the entries on *šîŋčaš* / *šanzäš*^{II} and *šîŋčâltaš* / *šanzâltaš*^I.

<i>jūkšaš^{II}</i>	‘to cool down’	<i>nūžaš^I</i>	‘to flog’	<i>rueštaš^I</i>	‘to chop, to fell’
<i>kojāšlanaš^{II}</i>	‘to flaunt’	<i>oñčaš^{II}</i>	‘to look’	<i>zavoditlaš^{II}</i>	‘to start, to wind up’
<i>kopšālanaš^{II}</i>	‘to show off’	<i>optaš^{II}</i>	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>šajβijlanaš^{II}</i>	‘to sleep around’
<i>lūjkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to shoot’	<i>permaklanaš^{II}</i>	‘to fool about’	<i>šujnālaš^I</i>	‘to be stretched’
<i>l’apkaš^{II}</i>	‘to chatter’	<i>pōrdaš^I</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’	<i>tolašaš^{II}</i>	‘to try’
<i>mučāštarālaš^I</i>	‘to unfasten’	<i>puraš^{II}</i>	‘to enter (intr.)’	<i>tōčaš^{II}</i>	‘to try’
<i>muškaš^I</i>	‘to wash’	<i>pužaraš^{II}</i>	‘to plane’	<i>tūrgaš^{II}</i>	‘to rise, to swirl’
<i>mutlanaš^{II}</i>	‘to talk’	<i>rudkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to untie’	<i>ūštaš^I</i>	‘to sweep’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marks long-lasting action – or as frequentative derivation of <i>šogaš</i> / <i>šalgaš^{II}</i> ‘to stand’, carrying all values of that auxiliary 		
Distribution etc.	Mari		
Literary pairings	Sources: 8	Corpus: 28	Total: 36
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ? Chuvash: ?
Etymology	< <i>šogaš</i> / <i>šalgaš^{II}</i> ‘to stand’ by means of the reflexive-transitive / frequentative derivational suffix <i>-lt</i> (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 696; Alhoniemi 1985: 161).		

Figure 199: Profile of *šogāltaš* / *šalgāltaš^I* ‘to stand around’

4.1.55 *šuaš* / *šoaš^I* ‘to arrive, to reach’

With 81 pairings in the sources and another 33 in the corpus, this verb is reasonably common as an auxiliary; it is defined as one by most sources (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 88; Beke 1911: 160–161; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Serebrennikov 1960: 197–198; Uchayev 1995: 163; Moisio 1992: 391; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шуаш II; Chkhaidze 1960: 51–52; Savatkova 2008: 346**). Nikolay Isanbayev likens this verb to Tatar *žitüβ* ‘to arrive, to reach’ and Chuvash *šit* ‘id.’ (**Isanbayev 1978: 80**); Bashkir *jeteβ* ‘id.’ and Udmurt *vujnj* ‘id.’ seem to be used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Landmann 2015: 101; Kel’makov 1975: 98**). Gábor Bereczki et al. define *ilen šuaš*⁴¹⁴ ‘to live (up to a certain event) (lit. living arrive)’ and *küān šuaš* ‘to ripen (lit. ripening arrive)’ as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 24; 99**).

According to Isanbayev, auxiliary constructions with this verb are “formed in principle from intransitive verbs denoting a lengthy process and indicate the attainment through the action of a certain limit or object” (**Isanbayev 1978: 80**).⁴¹⁵ SMYa speaks of “the aspectual meaning of development of an action towards a certain limit” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 208**).⁴¹⁶ In numerous examples from the corpus, Russian translations of sentences using this verb utilize the verb *uspet* ‘to manage, to succeed’. The verb *šuktaš* / *šoktaš^{II}* ‘to manage; to lead to’ – see Section 4.1.57 (page 241) – a causative derivation of this verb, seems to be more widely used in this meaning, also in combination with intransitive verbs. My consultant could not sense any concrete difference between these two auxiliaries in cases where both occur with the same converb.

⁴¹⁴ The verb *šuaš* is identified as a second-conjugation verb in the source, which would suggest that the following verb – *šuaš^{II}* ‘to throw’ – was intended. This can be considered a typographical error.

⁴¹⁵ “[...] образуются в основном от непереходных глаголов, выражающих длительный процесс, и обозначают достижение действием определенного предела или объекта: [...]”

⁴¹⁶ “[...] видовое значение развития действия до известного предела, [...]”

(120 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кошкаш > кошкен шуаш)

‘Мыйын ночнок вургемемат кошкен шуо.

māj	-ān	nočko	βurgem	-em	=at	košk	-en	šu	-o	-∅.
1SG	-GEN	wet	clothing	-1SG	=and	dry	-CVB	arrive	-PST1	-3SG
pr	-case	adj	n	-poss	=enc	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘My wet clothing managed to dry (lit. drying arrived).’⁴¹⁷

Meadow Mari: <i>šuaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>šoaš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>žitüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>šit</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ajnen šuaš</i>	<i>arlen šoaš</i>	<i>ājnāp žitüβ</i>	<i>urālsa šit</i>	sobering.up arrive	to sober up
<i>izemān šuaš</i>	<i>iziemān šoaš</i>	<i>βāqānāp žitüβ</i>	<i>vētelse šit</i>	decreasing arrive	to become small
<i>kuškān šuaš</i>	<i>kuškān šoaš</i>	<i>ūsep žitüβ</i>	<i>üsse šit</i>	growing arrive	to grow up
<i>kūzen šuaš</i>	<i>kuzen šoaš</i>	<i>menep žitüβ</i>	<i>χāparsa šit</i>	climbing arrive	to climb up
<i>mijen šuaš</i>	<i>mien šoaš</i>	<i>bārāp žitüβ</i>	<i>pīrsa šit</i>	going arrive	to go to
<i>pokten šuaš</i>	<i>pokten šoaš</i>	<i>quβaβap žitüβ</i>	<i>χāvalasa šit</i>	driving arrive	to drive to
<i>tolān šuaš</i>	<i>tolān šoaš</i>	<i>kilep žitüβ</i>	-	coming arrive	to come to
<i>törlanen šuaš</i>	<i>törlänen šoaš</i>	<i>tözālep žitüβ</i>	<i>türlense šit</i>	healing arrive	to recover
<i>āren šuaš</i>	<i>āren šoaš</i>	<i>žātānāp žitüβ</i>	<i>āšānsa šit</i>	warming.up arrive	to warm up

Figure 200: *šuaš* / *šoaš*¹ ‘to arrive, to reach’ indicating attainment of a limit (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 80)

The grammaticalization of a verb meaning ‘to arrive at, to reach’ as an ability marker indicating success has also been observed in Mandarin Chinese – there seemingly without the constraint regarding transitivity found in Mari (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 46).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 4 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 7 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 12 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 13 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 14 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 28 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 29 ⁽⁴⁾ PAAS: 32 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 40 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 49 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 56 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 57 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 59 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 68 ⁽³³⁾ POR: 1 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 11 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 25 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 10 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 34 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 46 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>adaptirovatlaltaš</i> ¹	‘to adapt (intr.)’	<i>ertaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go by’	<i>kugemaš</i> ¹	‘to increase (intr.)’
<i>ajnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sober up’	<i>āraš</i> ¹¹	‘to warm up (intr.)’	<i>kuškaš</i> ¹	‘to grow (intr.)’
<i>βaštaltaš</i> ¹	‘to change (intr.)’	<i>āškālgas</i> ¹¹	‘to get accustomed to’	<i>kūaš</i> ¹	‘to ripen (intr.)’
<i>βeselaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to cheer up (intr.)’	<i>formirovatlaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be formed’	<i>küemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to harden (intr.)’
<i>βijaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to grow stronger’	<i>ilanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to take root’	<i>kūzaš</i> ¹¹	‘to climb’
<i>βijnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>laβārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to get muddy’
<i>βolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to descend’	<i>izemaš</i> ¹	‘to decrease’	<i>lektaš</i> ¹	‘to go, to leave’
<i>βolgaltaš</i> ¹	‘to shine’	<i>jagālgas</i> ¹¹	‘to become smooth’	<i>lāβārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bend (intr.)’
<i>βoranaš</i> ¹¹	‘to prosper’	<i>jamdālaltaš</i> ¹	‘to prepare (intr.)’	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	‘to be; to become’
<i>βožaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to take root’	<i>jarnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to become tired’	<i>lodemaltaš</i> ¹	‘to deepen (intr.)’
<i>βüädālnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be covered’	<i>jastaraltaš</i> ¹	‘to be unloaded’	<i>löčāš</i> ¹¹	‘to swell’
<i>βülnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to come to ruin’	<i>jastaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to unload’	<i>lözaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to ripen (intr.)’
<i>čaraŋaš</i> ¹	‘to bare oneself’	<i>jemāžaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to bear fruit’	<i>mamākaltaš</i> ¹	‘to become fluffy’
<i>čatkataŋaš</i> ¹	‘to become neat’	<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to flow’	<i>mijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go, to come’
<i>čāpčāš</i> ¹¹	‘to trickle’	<i>jükšaš</i> ¹¹	‘to cool down’	<i>nōraš</i> ¹¹	‘to become wet’
<i>čolgaštaš</i> ¹	‘to grow bolder’	<i>jūlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to burn (intr.)’	<i>ojārlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go apart’
<i>čūmārgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>kajaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go (away)’	<i>oralaltaš</i> ¹	‘to accumulate (intr.)’
<i>emlaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be treated’	<i>kindaŋaš</i> ¹	‘to ripen’	<i>örtlanaš</i> ¹¹	‘to get well’
<i>ernaltaš</i> ¹	‘to be cleaned’	<i>kolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to die’	<i>paremaš</i> ¹	‘to recover’
<i>ernaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be cleaned’	<i>koškaš</i> ¹¹	‘to dry (intr.)’	<i>peledaš</i> ¹	‘to blossom’

⁴¹⁷ “Моя мокрая одежда успела высохнуть.”

<i>peŋgâdemaltaš¹</i>	'to become stronger'	<i>saskaŋaš¹</i>	'to be covered with fruit'	<i>temaš¹</i>	'to fill up (intr.)'
<i>peŋgâdemaš¹</i>	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>sâlneštaš¹</i>	'to be adorned'	<i>tânâslanaš¹¹</i>	'to become peaceful'
<i>pâčkemâštaš¹</i>	'to grow dark'	<i>šalanaš¹¹</i>	'to be scattered'	<i>tâplanaš¹¹</i>	'to grow silent'
<i>pâtaraltaš¹</i>	'to be finished'	<i>šarlaš¹¹</i>	'to spread (intr.)'	<i>târlaš¹¹</i>	'to get better'
<i>pâtaš¹¹</i>	'to end (intr.)'	<i>šarnaš¹¹</i>	'to remember'	<i>tolaš¹</i>	'to come'
<i>počâltaš¹</i>	'to open (intr.)'	<i>šememaš¹</i>	'to turn black'	<i>tomlanaš¹¹</i>	'to steam'
<i>pogânaš¹¹</i>	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>šâštedaltaš¹</i>	'to become waxen'	<i>toplanaš¹¹</i>	'to dry out (soil)'
<i>poktaš¹¹</i>	'to drive'	<i>šâtaš¹¹</i>	'to germinate (intr.)'	<i>tôrlaltaš¹</i>	'to be repaired'
<i>pomâžaltaš¹</i>	'to wake up (intr.)'	<i>šîŋčalgaš¹¹</i>	'to be salted'	<i>tôrlanaš¹¹</i>	'to heal (intr.)'
<i>pörtâlaš¹</i>	'to return (intr.)'	<i>šîŋčaš¹</i>	'to sit down'	<i>tunemaš¹</i>	'to learn'
<i>pučas¹¹</i>	'to evaporate'	<i>šonaš¹¹</i>	'to think'	<i>tûŋčâgagaš¹¹</i>	'to grow weak'
<i>puraš¹¹</i>	'to enter (intr.)'	<i>šuaraltaš¹</i>	'to be tempered'	<i>tûzagaš¹</i>	'to grow stronger'
<i>pužlaš¹¹</i>	'to break (intr.)'	<i>šulaš¹¹</i>	'to melt (intr.)'	<i>tûzlanaš¹¹</i>	'to stand in beauty'
<i>pūžaltaš¹</i>	'to sweat'	<i>šûjaš¹</i>	'to rot'	<i>ulnaš¹¹</i>	'to tire (intr.)'
<i>rudaltaš¹</i>	'to come untied'	<i>žaritaltaš¹</i>	'to fry (intr.)'	<i>umaš¹¹</i>	'to ripen (intr.)'
<i>ruštaš¹</i>	'to get drunk'	<i>talâšnaš¹¹</i>	'to grow stronger'	<i>umâlaš¹¹</i>	'to understand'
<i>rûmbalgaš¹¹</i>	'to grow dark'	<i>taptaltaš¹</i>	'to be forged'	<i>ušnaš¹¹</i>	'to join (intr.)'
<i>sabârnaš¹¹</i>	'to turn (intr.)'	<i>taptâlgaš¹¹</i>	'to become compact'	<i>utlaš¹¹</i>	'to escape'

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Marks attainment of an object or reaching a goal, 'to succeed'		
Distribution etc.	Mari (all varieties), Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Outside of the area, Mandarin Chinese.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 81	Corpus: 33	Total: 114
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vujŋj</i>	Tatar: <i>žitüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>jeteβ</i> Chuvash: <i>šit</i>
Etymology	< PFP * <i>saye-</i> 'to come, to arrive', cognates include Finnish <i>saada</i> 'to get, to receive', Mordvin <i>sams</i> 'to come', Komi <i>sunj</i> 'to arrive, to meet' (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 429–430; Bereczki et al. 2013: 250–251)		

Figure 201: Profile of *šuaš* / *šoaš¹* 'to arrive, to reach'

4.1.56 *šuaš* / *šuaš¹¹* 'to throw'

Like its near-synonyms *kudaltaš* / -¹¹ 'to throw; to abandon' – Section 4.1.22 (page 175) – and *kâškaš* / *kâškâš¹¹* 'to throw; to scatter' – Section 4.1.15 (page 156) – this verb is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Moisio 1992: 391; Savatkova 2008: 353; Chkhaidze 1960: 47–48; Pengitov et al. 1961: 206). For its differentiation from its near-synonyms, see Section 4.1.15 (page 156).

This verb occurs in 57 distinct pairings in the sources, and in another 7 pairings in the corpus. It seems to be partly, but not exceedingly productive. Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *âryâtuβ* 'to throw' and Chuvash *pâraχ* 'id.', though he considers the Tatar auxiliary limited in usage when compared to the more productive Mari auxiliary (Isanbayev 1978: 85). He compares the same Chuvash verb to Mari *kudaltaš* / -¹¹ (ibid.: 84). Observing that the Tatar verb is comparatively less productive than its counterparts in Mari and Chuvash, he notes that the Mari auxiliary is more productive in varieties of Mari that have been subject to greater Chuvash influence – Hill Mari and the Volzhsk dialect of Meadow Mari (ibid.: 86). I have not encountered any usages of Bashkir *âryâtâβ* in auxiliary constructions. Valey Kel'makov labels Udmurt *kuštjnj* 'id.' as a marker of "the meaning of exhaustiveness of an action" (Kel'makov 1975: 101).⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ "[...] значение исчерпанности действия [...]"

According to Isanbayev, this verb and its counterparts are used to form auxiliary constructions “from transitive verbs and express, like [auxiliary constructions with *kudaltaš* / -^{II}], a single resultative action, hinting at its energetic, impetuous execution” (Isanbayev 1978: 85).⁴¹⁹ The large Mari-Russian Dictionary calls it a marker of “suddenness, rapidity, or completeness of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *шыаш* IV).⁴²⁰

Meadow Mari: <i>šuaš</i> ^{II}	Hill Mari: <i>šuaš</i> ^{II}	Tatar: <i>âryâtuθ</i>	Chuvash: <i>păraχ</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kušket šuaš</i>	<i>kăšket šuaš</i>	<i>jârtâp âryâtuθ</i>	<i>tatsa păraχ</i>	tearing throw	to tear up
<i>udâral šuaš</i>	<i>âdâral šuaš</i>	<i>sâzâp âryâtuθ</i>	-	striking throw	to strike out
<i>bozen šuaš</i>	<i>siren šuaš</i>	<i>jâzâp âtuθ</i>	<i>širsa păraχ</i>	writing throw	to write quickly
<i>âšten šuaš</i>	<i>âšten šuaš</i>	<i>ešlâp âtuθ</i>	<i>tusa păraχ</i>	doing throw	to do quickly
<i>karen šuaš</i>	<i>kâren šuaš</i>	-	<i>karsa păraχ</i>	opening.wide throw	to throw open
<i>kural šuaš</i>	<i>kâral šuaš</i>	-	<i>suxalasa păraχ</i>	ploughing throw	to plough quickly
<i>lûjen šuaš</i>	<i>lûen šuaš</i>	-	<i>persa păraχ</i>	shooting throw	to shoot
<i>puštân šuaš</i>	<i>puštân šuaš</i>	-	<i>šapsa păraχ</i>	killing throw	to kill
<i>solen šuaš</i>	<i>salen šuaš</i>	-	<i>šulsa păraχ</i>	mowing throw	to mow quickly
<i>šupšâl šuaš</i>	<i>šâpšâl šuaš</i>	-	<i>šâlsa păraχ</i>	pulling throw	to tear out

Figure 202: *šuaš* / *šuaš*^{II} ‘to throw’ marking rapid, impetuous execution etc. (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 84–85)

Cross-linguistically, verbs meaning ‘to throw’ have been observed grammaticalized as perfect markers, for example in Diyari (Pama-Nyungan), Palaung (Austroasiatic), Fore (New Guinea), Korean, Japanese (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 297–298).

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>bołtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to lower’	<i>lupšalaš</i> ^I	‘to whip’	<i>ruaš</i> ^{II}	‘to chop’
<i>bozaš</i> ^{II}	‘to write’	<i>lupšaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to swing (tr.)’	<i>rudaš</i> ^{II}	‘to untie’
<i>čumalaš</i> ^I	‘to kick’	<i>lûjaš</i> ^{II}	‘to shoot’	<i>rüzaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to shake (tr.)’
<i>eŋdaš</i> ^{II}	‘to scorch’	<i>nalaš</i> ^I	‘to take’	<i>saβâralaš</i> ^I	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>âštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to do’	<i>naŋgajaš</i> ^{II}	‘to take, to lead’	<i>saβâraš</i> ^{II}	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>gladitlaš</i> ^{II}	‘to iron’	<i>nüštalaš</i> ^I	‘to blow one’s nose’	<i>solaš</i> ^{II}	‘to mow’
<i>joŋgaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to fill (tr.)’	<i>nüžaš</i> ^{II}	‘to rub’	<i>sümâralaš</i> ^I	‘to bring down’
<i>jöralaš</i> ^I	‘to be suitable’	<i>nâgârtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to flatten’	<i>sümâraš</i> ^{II}	‘to demolish’
<i>jörâktaš</i> ^{II}	‘to bring down’	<i>ojâraš</i> ^{II}	‘to separate’	<i>šalataš</i> ^{II}	‘to scatter (tr.)’
<i>karaš</i> ^{II}	‘to open wide (tr.)’	<i>peraš</i> ^{II}	‘to hit’	<i>šândaš</i> ^{II}	‘to put, to place’
<i>kataš</i> ^{II}	‘to break off (tr.)’	<i>pâžaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to throw (forcefully)’	<i>šolaš</i> ^{II}	‘to throw’
<i>kondaš</i> ^{II}	‘to bring’	<i>pâtaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to finish (tr.)’	<i>šupšâlaš</i> ^I	‘to pull’
<i>kudašaš</i> ^I	‘to take off’	<i>poŋgaltaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to knock down’	<i>šüβalaš</i> ^I	‘to spit; to charm’
<i>kuklaš</i> ^{II}	‘to uproot’	<i>pualaš</i> ^I	‘to blow’	<i>šüdâralaš</i> ^I	‘to pull off’
<i>kumâktaš</i> ^{II}	‘to overturn (tr.)’	<i>pudeštaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to blow up (tr.)’	<i>šükalaš</i> ^I	‘to push’
<i>kuralaš</i> ^I	‘to plough’	<i>pudârtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>temdalaš</i> ^I	‘to push’
<i>kuškedaš</i> ^I	‘to tear’	<i>puštaš</i> ^I	‘to kill’	<i>todâlaš</i> ^I	‘to break (tr.)’
<i>kürļaš</i> ^I	‘to tear off (tr. & intr.)’	<i>püčkaš</i> ^I	‘to cut’	<i>törgaltaš</i> ^{II}	‘to tear off (tr.)’
<i>lokšîñčaš</i> ^I	‘to hew’	<i>roñčaš</i> ^{II}	‘to unwind (tr.)’	<i>tuaraš</i> ^{II}	‘to unharness’
<i>luktaš</i> ^I	‘to lead out’	<i>rualaš</i> ^I	‘to chop’	<i>tükaš</i> ^{II}	‘to touch (tr.)’

⁴¹⁹ “[...] от переходных глаголов и выражают, как и составные глаголы предыдущей группы, однократное результирующее действие с оттенком энергичного, стремительного его совершения.”

⁴²⁰ “[...] со значением внезапности, быстроты или завершенности действия”

tüñčäktaraš^{II} ‘to weaken’ udâraš^{II} ‘to strike’
 udâralaš^I ‘to strike’ üštâlaš^I ‘to sweep’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Denotes single resultative action, hints at energetic, impetuous, sudden, rapid execution		
Distribution etc.	Mari (all varieties, but to greater extent in Hill Mari and some dialects of Meadow Mari), Udmurt, Tatar (to a lesser extent), Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 57	Corpus: 7	Total: 64
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>kuštijnj</i>	Tatar: <i>âryätuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>âryätâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>păraχ</i>
Etymology	According to Arto Moisio and Sirkka Saarinen from PFU (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 726), but I was not able to corroborate this claim based on other etymological resources.		

Figure 203: Profile of *šuaš* / *šuaš^{II}* ‘to throw’

4.1.57 *šuktaš* / *šoktaš^{II}* ‘to manage; to lead to’

This verb is classified as an auxiliary by most of my sources (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 88–89**; **Moisio 1992: 393**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Serebrennikov 1960: 197–198**; **Savatkova 2008: 347**); with 71 pairings in the lexical sources and 82 additional ones in the corpus, it seems moderately common. Nikolay Isanbayev likens it to Tatar *žitkerüβ* ‘to lead to’ and Chuvash *šiter* ‘id.’, and refers to it as a transitive counterpart (itself transitive, and coupled with transitive verbs) of *šuaš* / *šoaš^I* ‘to arrive, to reach’ (**Isanbayev 1978: 80**) – the verb from which it is derived by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix *-kt* (cf. **Bereczki et al. 2013: 251**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 165**) – see Section 4.1.55 (page 237). Bashkir *jetkereβ* ‘to lead to’ seems to be used as an auxiliary in a similar function (**Akhmerov et al. 1958**). Valey Kel’makov describes and illustrates the usage of Udmurt *vuttijnj* ‘id.’ in a manner analogous to its counterparts in other languages (cf. **Kel’makov 1975: 98**). Gábor Bereczki et al. define *ilen šuktaš* ‘to live (up to a certain event) (lit. living manage)’, *ludân šuktaš* ‘to read (up to a certain place) (lit. reading manage)’, *urgen šuktaš* ‘to finish sewing (lit. sewing manage)’, and *bučen šuktaš* ‘to wait till ... (lit. waiting manage)’ as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 24; 123; 299; 319**).

SMYa states that this auxiliary is used to indicate “the execution of an action up to a certain limit” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 209**).⁴²¹ The large Mari-Russian Dictionary speaks of a marker of “the completeness of an action, the achievement of a goal” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шукташ I**).⁴²²

Meadow Mari: <i>šuktaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>šoktaš^{II}</i>	Tatar: <i>žitkerüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>šiter</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>nalân šuktaš</i>	<i>nälân šoktaš</i>	<i>âłâp žitkerüβ</i>	<i>ilse šiter</i>	taking manage	to take
<i>namijen šuktaš</i>	<i>kanden šoktaš</i>	<i>iltep žitkerüβ</i>	<i>jätsa šiter</i>	bringing manage	to bring
<i>konden šuktaš</i>	<i>kanden šoktaš</i>	<i>kiterep žitkerüβ</i>	<i>šavätsa šiter</i>	bringing manage	to bring
<i>kükten šuktaš</i>	<i>kükten šoktaš</i>	<i>pešerep žitkerüβ</i>	<i>pišterse šiter</i>	cooking manage	to cook
<i>âšten šuktaš</i>	<i>ašten šoktaš</i>	<i>ešläp žitkerüβ</i>	<i>tusa šiter</i>	doing manage	to complete

Figure 204: *šuktaš* / *šoktaš^{II}* ‘to manage; to lead to’ denoting that a limit, goal is reached (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 80**)

In many cases, however, this auxiliary seems to be more modal than aspectual. In addition to the aspectual meaning, Mikhail Chkhaidze mentions “a hint of success” and that “[this verb] expresses

⁴²¹ “[...] доведения действия до известного предела.”

⁴²² “[...] завершённости действия, достижения цели”

[whether] the subject of an action managed or did not manage (manages or does not manage) the signified deed” (Chkhaidze 1960: 52).⁴²³ One of the lexical meanings assigned to it by the Mari-Russian dictionary is “to manage; to be able to do something (in time, in a timely manner)” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **шукташ I**)⁴²⁴ – i.e. to be able to do something in defiance of expectations, overcoming hardships, etc. In this function as well, the verb governs the converb in *-n*, with no counterexamples found in the corpus. This is in line with the general Turkic tendency that modal auxiliaries denoting permission, necessity, or ability combine with converbs, as discussed in the entry on *kertaš / kerdäš* ‘to be able to’ – Section 4.1.14 (page 154). The auxiliary seems to be fully productive in this meaning and can also be coupled with intransitive verbs.

In the dialect text collections

E	BEK: IV: 193 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 202 ⁽⁷⁾ BEK: IV: 402 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 405 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 411 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 422 ⁽²⁾ BEK: IV: 424 ⁽²⁾ GEN: 43 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 51 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 52 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 58 ⁽¹⁴⁾ GEN: 67 ⁽¹⁴⁾
M	BEK: I: 505 ⁽²²⁾ BEK: II: 28 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 36 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 50 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 74 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 90 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 92 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 98 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 100 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 106 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 108 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: II: 112 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 135 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 154 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 186 ⁽³⁵⁾ BEK: III: 332 ⁽¹²⁾ BEK: III: 366 ⁽¹²⁾ WICH: 70 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 88 ⁽³¹⁾ WICH: 89 ⁽³¹⁾ WICH: 91 ⁽³¹⁾ WICH: 93 ⁽³¹⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 26 ⁽²⁴⁾ JEV: I: 36 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 134 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: I: 150 ⁽²³⁾ JEV: II: 54 ⁽²³⁾
NW	BEK: I: 52 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 54 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 56 ⁽³⁶⁾ BEK: I: 57 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aćalas</i> ¹¹	‘to repair’	<i>jăgăžtaras</i> ¹¹	‘to bother’	<i>manaš</i> ¹	‘to say’
<i>aklaš</i> ¹¹	‘to evaluate’	<i>jöras</i> ¹¹	‘to go out’	<i>mondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to forget’
<i>amărgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to get dirty’	<i>jüaš</i> ¹¹	‘to drink’	<i>muaš</i> ¹	‘to find’
<i>anărtaras</i> ¹¹	‘to give off CO’	<i>kajaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go (away)’	<i>mućašlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to complete’
<i>anărtas</i> ¹¹	‘to give off CO’	<i>kalasaš</i> ¹¹	‘to say’	<i>muškaš</i> ¹	‘to wash’
<i>aralaš</i> ¹¹	‘to defend’	<i>kalaskalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to talk’	<i>nalaš</i> ¹	‘to take’
<i>aruemdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to clean’	<i>kelăštaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to adapt’	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’
<i>ažgăndaras</i> ¹¹	‘to infuriate’	<i>kerăštas</i> ¹	‘to stick into’	<i>nojăktaras</i> ¹¹	‘to tire (tr.)’
<i>baŋaš</i> ¹¹	‘to guard’	<i>kăldaš</i> ¹¹	‘to tie up’	<i>nöltalaš</i> ¹	‘to raise’
<i>baštaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to change (tr.)’	<i>kolaš</i> ¹	‘to hear’	<i>olmăktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to repair’
<i>bolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to descend’	<i>kolaš</i> ¹¹	‘to die’	<i>oňćaš</i> ¹¹	‘to look’
<i>bolgaltaras</i> ¹¹	‘to illuminate’	<i>komplektovatlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to complete’	<i>ošemdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to whiten’
<i>bozas</i> ¹	‘to lie down’	<i>kondaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring’	<i>palaš</i> ¹¹	‘to know’
<i>bozas</i> ¹¹	‘to write’	<i>koranăš</i> ¹	‘to move away (intr.)’	<i>paremdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to treat’
<i>bućaš</i> ¹¹	‘to wait’	<i>köndaras</i> ¹¹	‘to persuade’	<i>peleštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to state’
<i>ćebergaš</i> ¹¹	‘to turn red’	<i>kućaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hold’	<i>peras</i> ¹¹	‘to hit’
<i>ćăkaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to shove’	<i>kugemdaš</i> ¹¹	‘in increase (tr.)’	<i>păštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to put, to place’
<i>ćoŋaš</i> ¹¹	‘to build’	<i>kuržaš</i> ¹	‘to run’	<i>pătaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to finish (tr.)’
<i>ćumăraš</i> ¹¹	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>kusnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to move; to relocate’	<i>pižaš</i> ¹	‘to stick (intr.)’
<i>evakuirovatlaš</i> ¹	‘to be evacuated’	<i>kuškaš</i> ¹	‘to grow (intr.)’	<i>poćaš</i> ¹	‘to open (tr.)’
<i>emlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to treat, to cure’	<i>kuštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grow (tr.)’	<i>podălaš</i> ¹	‘to sip, to gulp’
<i>erăktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to clean’	<i>küeštaš</i> ¹	‘to bake’	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’
<i>ernaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be cleaned’	<i>küktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>pogkalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to gather (tr.)’
<i>ertaras</i> ¹¹	‘to carry out’	<i>künćaš</i> ¹¹	‘to dig’	<i>pualaš</i> ¹	‘to swell’
<i>eskeras</i> ¹¹	‘to observe’	<i>lebedaš</i> ¹	‘to cover’	<i>puaš</i> ¹¹	‘to give’
<i>ăŋlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to understand’	<i>lektaš</i> ¹	‘to go, to leave’	<i>puras</i> ¹¹	‘to enter (intr.)’
<i>ărăktaš</i> ¹¹	‘to warm (tr.)’	<i>lăbărtas</i> ¹¹	‘to bend (tr.)’	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to bring in’
<i>ăštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	‘to be; to become’	<i>pužaraš</i> ¹¹	‘to plane’
<i>gul’ajasaš</i> ¹¹	‘to go for a walk’	<i>luanăš</i> ¹	‘to ossify’	<i>rualtaš</i> ¹¹	‘to grab’
<i>iktešlas</i> ¹¹	‘to merge (tr.)’	<i>ludaš</i> ¹	‘to read’	<i>rüdălas</i> ¹¹	‘to be central to’
<i>ilanas</i> ¹¹	‘to take root’	<i>lugaš</i> ¹¹	‘to mix (tr.)’	<i>sabărnas</i> ¹¹	‘to turn (intr.)’
<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>luktaš</i> ¹	‘to lead out’	<i>sakaltaš</i> ¹¹	‘to hang up’
<i>jamdălaltaš</i> ¹	‘to prepare (intr.)’	<i>lüdăktălaš</i> ¹	‘to frighten’	<i>zařaditlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to load (tr.)’
<i>jamdălaš</i> ¹¹	‘to prepare (tr.)’	<i>l’apkaš</i> ¹¹	‘to chatter’	<i>zoritlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to ravage’

⁴²³ “[...] оттенок успеваемости, выражает — успел или не успел (успеет или не успеет) субъект действия выполнить означенное дело.”

⁴²⁴ “1. успевать, успеть; суметь сделать что-либо (в срок, своевременно)”

<i>šalataš^{II}</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’	<i>šonaš^{II}</i>	‘to think’	<i>tülaš^{II}</i>	‘to pay’
<i>šaraš^{II}</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’	<i>šotlaš^{II}</i>	‘to count’	<i>tünčəktaraš^{II}</i>	‘to weaken’
<i>šarkalaš^{II}</i>	‘to spread out (tr.)’	<i>tarβataš^{II}</i>	‘to move (tr.)’	<i>tüŋalaš^{II}</i>	‘to begin’
<i>šarnaš^{II}</i>	‘to remember’	<i>tarβatəlaš^{II}</i>	‘to move (tr.)’	<i>tüplandaraš^{II}</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>šeklanaš^{II}</i>	‘to look after’	<i>tarlaš^{II}</i>	‘to hire’	<i>türlaš^{II}</i>	‘to embroider’
<i>šəlaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>temaš^{II}</i>	‘to fill (tr.)’	<i>učəraš^{II}</i>	‘to find, to catch’
<i>šəltaš^{II}</i>	‘to hide (tr.)’	<i>temlaš^{II}</i>	‘to offer’	<i>uditlaš^{II}</i>	‘to contend’
<i>šəndaš^{II}</i>	‘to put, to place’	<i>tərmalaš^{II}</i>	‘to harrow’	<i>uməlaš^{II}</i>	‘to understand’
<i>šijaltaraš^{II}</i>	‘to blow (wind)’	<i>təršaš^{II}</i>	‘to strive’	<i>uməltaraš^{II}</i>	‘to explain’
<i>šikšaltaš^I</i>	‘to dash, to rush’	<i>togdajaš^{II}</i>	‘to guess’	<i>urgaš^{II}</i>	‘to sew’
<i>šinčas^{II}</i>	‘to know’	<i>tolaš^I</i>	‘to come’	<i>ušaš^{II}</i>	‘to join (tr.)’
<i>šizaš^I</i>	‘to feel’	<i>törlandaraš^{II}</i>	‘to arrange’	<i>užalaš^{II}</i>	‘to sell’
<i>šiztaraš^{II}</i>	‘to give notice’	<i>trenirovatlaš^{II}</i>	‘to train’	<i>užaš^I</i>	‘to see’
<i>šogalaš^I</i>	‘to stand up’	<i>tunemaš^I</i>	‘to learn’	<i>utaraš^{II}</i>	‘to save’
<i>šogaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to put, to stand’	<i>tunəktas^{II}</i>	‘to teach’	<i>utlaš^{II}</i>	‘to escape’
<i>šoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>turtaš^I</i>	‘to huddle up’	<i>üdaš^{II}</i>	‘to sow’
<i>šonaltaš^{II}</i>	‘to think’	<i>tükəlaš^{II}</i>	‘to lock’	<i>üšəňčas^I</i>	‘to smell (tr.)’

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indicates that a (transitive) action is carried out up to a certain limit, reaching a certain goal ‘to manage to, to succeed in’ 		
Distribution etc.	Mari (all varieties), Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. In Mari at least, productive in its meaning ‘to manage to, to succeed in’.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 71	Corpus: 82	Total: 153
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>vuttjñj</i>	Tatar: <i>žitkerüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>jetkereβ</i> Chuvash: <i>šiter</i>
Etymology	Derived from <i>šuaš</i> / <i>šoaš^I</i> ‘to arrive’ by means of the causative / transitive derivational suffix <i>-kt</i> (cf. Bereczki et al. 2013: 251; Alhoniemi 1985: 165).		

Figure 205: Profile of *šuktaš* / *šoktaš^{II}* ‘to manage; to lead to’

4.1.58 *šütaš* / *šütäš^{II}* ‘to pierce’

The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this verb, in combination with a converb, “expresses the execution of an action as a result of which an opening, crack, or cavity is formed” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шӱташ I**; cf. also **Moisio 1992: 403; Chkhaidze 1960: 58**).⁴²⁵ This makes it a path verb of sorts. With 6 pairings in the sources and only one additional pairing in the corpus, it seems to be fairly rare.

Meadow Mari: <i>šütaš^{II}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>šütäš^{II}</i>	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>purəñ šütaš</i>	<i>pärəñ šütäš</i>	chewing pierce	to chew through
<i>jülaten šütaš</i>	<i>jəlaten šütäš</i>	burning pierce	to burn through
<i>purget šütaš</i>	<i>pärget šütäš</i>	digging pierce	to dig through
<i>pudərtəl šütaš</i>	<i>pədərtəl šütäš</i>	breaking pierce	to break through

Figure 206: *šütaš* / *šütäš^{II}* ‘to pierce’ marking perforation of an object

Some examples can be found where Tatar *tišuβ* ‘to perforate’ and Bashkir *tišəβ* ‘id.’ are used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007; Akhmerov et al. 1958**). I have seen no indication that Chuvash *tärəntar* ‘to stick into’ and Udmurt *bjškaltjñj* ‘to pierce’ are used as path verbs in combination with converbs.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ “[...] выражает совершение действия, в результате которого образуется отверстие, щель, углубление”

⁴²⁶ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	JEV: I: 160 ⁽²³⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>čüŋgalaš^l</i>	‘to peck’	<i>puđärtâlaš^l</i>	‘to break (tr.)’	<i>purlaš^l</i>	‘to bite’
<i>jüaltaš^{ll}</i>	‘to burn (tr.)’	<i>puraš^l</i>	‘to chew’		
<i>jülatas^{ll}</i>	‘to burn (tr.)’	<i>purgedaš^l</i>	‘to dig’		

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Path verb ‘through’, marking perforation of an object		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir		
Literary pairings	Sources: 6	Corpus: 1	Total: 7
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>biškaltıñj</i>	Tatar: <i>tişuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tişëβ</i> Chuvash: <i>tărăntar</i>
Etymology	< Tatar (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 755)		

Figure 207: Profile of *šütaš / šütäs^{ll}* ‘to pierce’

4.1.59 *šütlaš / šütläs^{ll}* ‘to wear through’

This verb is not defined as an auxiliary or path verb in any source, but occurs in 3 pairings in the sources and one additional pairing in the corpus. In all of these, it serves as an intransitive counterpart to its transitive parent *šütaš / šütäs^{ll}* ‘to pierce’ – see Section 4.1.58 (page 243): it couples with intransitive verbs to indicate that the subject is perforated or pierced by an action, making it a path verb of sorts.

Meadow Mari: <i>šütlaš^{ll}</i>	Hill Mari: <i>šütläs^{ll}</i>	Translation	
		Literal	Idiomatic
<i>jâgalt šütlaš</i>	<i>šäräl šütläš</i>	being.rubbed wear.through	to rub through
<i>jülen šütlaš</i>	<i>jâlen šütläš</i>	burning wear.through	to burn through
<i>rüdañ šütlaš</i>	<i>ärdäñ šütläš</i>	rusting wear.through	to rust through
<i>šüjân šütlaš</i>	<i>šün šütläš</i>	rotting wear.through	to rot through

Figure 208: *šütlaš / šütläs^{ll}* ‘to wear through’ marking perforation (cf. Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 55; 180; 280)

I could find some examples in which Tatar *tişelüb* ‘to wear through’ and Bashkir *tişeleβ* ‘id.’ are used in an analogous fashion (cf. **Asylgarayev et al. 2007; Akhmerov et al. 1958**). I have not encountered any usage examples of Udmurt *pašaškıñj* ‘to develop holes’ being used in an analogous manner⁴²⁷ and I am not familiar with a Chuvash counterpart to these verbs.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>jâgaltas^l</i>	‘to be rubbed’	<i>jülas^{ll}</i>	‘to burn (intr.)’	<i>rüdañaš^l</i>	‘to rust’
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⁴²⁷ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

*šüjaš*¹ 'to rot'

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Path verb 'through', marking perforation of an object		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir		
Literary pairings	Sources: 3	Corpus: 1	Total: 4
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>pašaskıñj</i>	Tatar: <i>tišelüb</i>	Bashkir: <i>tišeleβ</i> Chuvash: ?
Etymology	< Tatar (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 755); the derivational suffix <i>-l</i> setting it apart from its transitive counterpart <i>šütaš</i> / <i>sütläš</i> ¹¹ 'to wear through' is Tatar as well (ibid.).		

Figure 209: Profile of *šütlaš* / *sütläš*¹¹ 'to wear through'

4.1.60 *temaš* / *temäš*¹ 'to be filled'

While this verb is widely labelled as an auxiliary (e.g. **Budenz 1865: 89**; **Beke 1911: 161**; **Alhoniemi 1985: 144**; **Galkin et al. 1990–2005: темаш I**; **Uchayev 1995: 163**; **Chkhaidze 1960: 58**), only 12 pairings using it are labelled as auxiliary constructions in my sources. Even taking the additional 3 pairings found in the corpus into consideration, it does not seem to be exceedingly common or productive.

Nikolay Isanbayev likens this verb and its counterparts (Tatar *tujuβ* 'to be filled', Chuvash *tăran* 'id.'), to pairings using the more productive auxiliary *pătaš* / *pătäš*¹¹ 'to end' – see Section 4.1.40 (page 207) – stating that “they represent the maximal completion of the execution of an action” (**Isanbayev 1978: 82**).⁴²⁸ SMYa speaks of “the meaning of an action up to a known limit” (**Pengitov et al. 1961: 214**).⁴²⁹ The usage of Bashkir *tujăβ* 'id.' seems to line up with that of its counterparts (cf. **Akhmerov et al. 1958**); I have seen no indication that Udmurt *tjrmjñj* 'id.' is used as an auxiliary.⁴³⁰ Gábor Bereczki et al. define *kočkân temaš* 'to eat one's fill (lit. eating be.filled)' and *puren temaš* 'to crowd into (lit. entering be.filled)' as Chuvash loan translations (**Bereczki et al. 2013: 66; 203**).

Meadow Mari: <i>temaš</i> ¹	Hill Mari: <i>temäš</i> ¹	Tatar: <i>tujuβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tăran</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>kočkân temaš</i>	<i>kačkân temäš</i>	<i>ăšap tujuβ</i>	<i>śise tăran</i>	eating fill.up	to eat one's fill
<i>jüân temaš</i>	<i>jün temäš</i>	<i>ešep tujuβ</i>	<i>ěsse tăran</i>	drinking fill.up	to drink one's fill
<i>modân temaš</i>	<i>madân temäš</i>	<i>ujnap tujuβ</i>	<i>vil'asa tăran</i>	playing fill.up	to play (some time)
<i>koštân temaš</i>	<i>kaštân temäš</i>	<i>jöröp tujuβ</i>	<i>sürense tăran</i>	going fill.up	to go for a ride
<i>malen temaš</i>	<i>amalen temäš</i>	<i>joqtap tujuβ</i>	<i>šivărsa tăran</i>	sleeping fill.up	to sleep one's fill
<i>oñčên temaš</i>	<i>anžen temäš</i>	<i>qărap tujuβ</i>	<i>păksa tăran</i>	looking fill.up	to have a good look
<i>ăšten temaš</i>	<i>ăšten temäš</i>	<i>ešlăp tujuβ</i>	<i>ěšlese tăran</i>	doing fill.up	to work enough

Figure 210: *temaš* / *temäš*¹ 'to be filled' denoting completion, satiation (cf. **Isanbayev 1978: 82**)

The similarities to *pătaš* / *pătäš*¹¹ noted by Isanbayev are in my opinion rather superficial. In contrast to the “object-centric” *pătaš* / *pătäš*¹¹, “subject-centric” *temaš* / *temäš*¹ 'to be filled' can be attached to both transitive and intransitive verbs. The completion it denotes is more the satisfaction of (or the exceeding of) a need, desire, or potential experienced by the subject than the exhaustion of an object or of all possible objects. For example, while *kočkân pătaš*¹¹ 'to eat up (lit. eating end)' is used to indicate the exhaustion or depletion of the object (all food that can be eaten in the context at hand is eaten),

⁴²⁸ “[...] они обозначают предельную полноту совершения действия.”

⁴²⁹ “[...] значение действия до известного предела.”

⁴³⁰ The apparent lack of these pairings in Udmurt was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel'makov in personal correspondence.

the pairing *kočkân temaš*¹ ‘to eat one’s fill (lit. eating be.filled)’ is used to indicate the satiation of the subject’s hunger.

A number of the sources cited above (Isanbayev 1978: 82; Pengitov et al. 1961: 214; Chkhaidze 1960: 58) fail to distinguish between this intransitive verb and the transitive verb *temaš / temäš*¹¹ ‘to fill’ – two verbs that share the same etymology and have the same infinitive, but belong to distinct conjugation classes in contemporary Mari – see Section 4.1.61 (page 246) for *temaš / temäš*¹¹. The sources in question speak of one auxiliary, but give usage examples using both. The relationship between these two auxiliaries is not the same relationship that can be found between other intransitive / transitive pairs of auxiliaries – e.g. *kodaš / kodaš*¹ ‘to stay’ – Section 4.1.17 (page 160) ~ *kodaš / kodaš*¹¹ ‘to leave something’ – Section 4.1.18 (page 162), *puraš / pâräš*¹¹ ‘to come in, to enter’ – Section 4.1.42 (page 213) ~ *purtaš / pârtaš*¹¹ ‘to bring in, to enter’ – Section 4.1.43 (page 214): the difference seems to lie not simply in the transitivity of the verbs with which it can be coupled (both can be coupled with transitive verbs), but in whose expectations or desires are satisfied or satiated: the subject’s or the object’s. This can be illustrated by the following 2 pairings: *jüân temaš*¹ ‘to drink one’s fill (lit. drinking be.filled)’ ~ *jükten temaš*¹¹ ‘to still someone’s thirst (lit. giving.to.drink fill)’.

The relationships of this auxiliary with *sitaraš / sitäräš*¹¹ ‘to gather, to provide’ – see Section 4.1.46 (page 218) – is discussed in the section on that verb.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	POR: 47 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>θursaš</i> ¹¹	‘to scold’	<i>kočkaš</i> ¹ - <i>jüaš</i> ¹	‘to eat and drink’	<i>oñčas</i> ¹¹	‘to look’
<i>jâgâžgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to disdain’	<i>kolâštaš</i> ¹	‘to listen’	<i>puraš</i> ¹¹	‘to enter (intr.)’
<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	‘to flow’	<i>koštaš</i> ¹	‘to go’	<i>šinčas</i> ¹¹	‘to sit’
<i>jüaš</i> ¹	‘to drink’	<i>malaš</i> ¹¹	‘to sleep’	<i>šortaš</i> ¹	‘to cry’
<i>kočkaš</i> ¹	‘to eat’	<i>modaš</i> ¹	‘to play’	<i>tolaš</i> ¹	‘to come’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive and transitive verbs		
Usage	• Denotes that an action satisfies or exceeds a need, desire, or potential		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash		
Literary pairings	Sources: 12	Corpus: 3	Total: 15
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>tjrmjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>tujuβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tujâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>târan</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>temä</i> ‘full; to stuff, to fill’, cognates include Hungarian <i>töm</i> ‘to stuff, to fill’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 520; Bereczki et al. 2013: 272). Same etymology as <i>temaš / temäš</i> ¹¹ ‘to fill something up’ (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 790).		

Figure 211: Profile of *temaš / temäš*¹ ‘to be filled’

4.1.61 *temaš / temäš*¹¹ ‘to fill something up’

Like its intransitive counterpart *temaš / temäš*¹ ‘to be filled’ – see Section 4.1.60 (page 245) – this transitive verb, as an auxiliary coupled with transitive verbs, is widely described as an auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Chkhaidze 1960: 58; Uchayev 1995: 163; Galkin et al. 1990–

2005: темаш II), but only comparatively rarely used: with 9 pairings found in my sources and an additional 4 in the corpus, I cannot consider it common or productive.

Nikolay Isanbayev compares this verb and its counterparts (Tatar *tutâruβ* ‘to fill’ and Chuvash *tultar* ‘id.’) to pairings using the more productive auxiliary *pâtaras̄ / pätäräs̄* ‘to finish’ – see Section 4.1.39 (page 204) – noting that these pairings are only common in Chuvash (but not in Mari and Tatar) and stating that “they represent the maximal completion of the execution of an action” (Isanbayev 1978: 82).⁴³¹ SMYa refers to “the meaning of an action up to a known limit” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 214).⁴³² Bashkir *tultârâβ* ‘id.’ seems to be used analogously to its counterparts (cf. Akhmerov et al. 1958); I have seen no indication that Udmurt *tjrmjtjn̄j* ‘id.’ is used as an auxiliary in the sources, but further investigation might be in order here, as some plausible pairings can be formed using this verb.⁴³³ The difference between these auxiliaries seems to be that whereas *pâtaras̄ / pätäräs̄* ‘to finish’ is used primarily to indicate the exhaustion of an object or all possible objects, this verb is used to indicate the satisfaction of an expectation. Compare, for example, *bozen pâtaras̄* ‘to finish writing (lit. writing finish)’ ~ *bozen temas̄* ‘to write a lot / enough (lit. writing fill)’.

Meadow Mari: <i>temas̄</i> ^{II}	Hill Mari: <i>temäs̄</i> ^{II}	Tatar: <i>tutâruβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>tultar</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>konden temas̄</i>	<i>kanden temäs̄</i>	<i>kiterep tutâruβ</i>	-	bringing fill	to bring a lot
<i>opten temas̄</i>	<i>opten temäs̄</i>	<i>töjöp tutâruβ</i>	<i>tijese tultar</i>	putting fill	to load
<i>joktaren temas̄</i>	<i>joktaren temäs̄</i>	-	<i>täksa tultar</i>	pouring fill	to pour a lot
<i>âšten temas̄</i>	-	<i>ešläp tutâruβ</i>	<i>ešlese tultar</i>	doing fill	to do a lot
<i>bozen temas̄</i>	-	<i>jâzâp tutâruβ</i>	<i>širsa tultar</i>	writing fill	to write a lot
<i>purten temas̄</i>	<i>pârtten temäs̄</i>	<i>kertep tutâruβ</i>	<i>kértse tultar</i>	entering fill	to fill up

Figure 212: *temas̄ / temäs̄*^{II} ‘to fill something up’ denoting completion, satiation (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 82)

The relationships of *temas̄ / temäs̄*^{II} ‘to fill something up’ with the auxiliaries *temas̄ / temäs̄* ‘to be filled’ – Section 4.1.60 (page 245) – and *sitaras̄ / sitäräs̄*^{II} ‘to gather, to provide’ – Section 4.1.46 (page 218) – are discussed in the sections on those verbs.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>bozas̄</i> ^{II}	‘to write’	<i>kâškaš</i> ^{II}	‘to throw’	<i>purtaš</i> ^{II}	‘to bring in’
<i>ertaras̄</i> ^{II}	‘to carry out’	<i>kondaš</i> ^{II}	‘to bring’	<i>šübedas̄</i> ^{II}	‘to spit’
<i>âštaš</i> ^{II}	‘to do’	<i>optaš</i> ^{II}	‘to put, to pile up’	<i>šüşkaš</i> ^I	‘to shove’
<i>joktaras̄</i> ^{II}	‘to pour (tr.)’	<i>pogaš</i> ^{II}	‘to gather (tr.)’		
<i>jüktaš</i> ^{II}	‘to give to drink’	<i>pukšaš</i> ^{II}	‘to feed’		

⁴³¹ “[...] они обозначают предельную полноту совершения действия.”

⁴³² “[...] значение действия до известного предела.”

⁴³³ Christian Pischlöger, Valey Kel’makov, personal correspondence.

Transitivity	Transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive verbs		
Usage	• Denotes that an action satisfies or exceeds a need, desire, or potential		
Distribution etc.	Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash (to a greater extent)		
Literary pairings	Sources: 9	Corpus: 4	Total: 13
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>tjrmj̄t̄nj̄</i>	Tatar: <i>tutârũβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>tultârâβ</i> Chuvash: <i>tultar</i>
Etymology	< PFU * <i>temə</i> ‘full; to stuff, to fill’, cognates include Hungarian <i>töm</i> ‘to stuff, to fill’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 520; Bereczki et al. 2013: 272). Same etymology as <i>temaš</i> / <i>temäš</i> ¹ ‘to be filled’ (cf. Moisió & Saarinen 2008: 790).		

Figure 213: Profile of *temaš* / *temäš*¹ ‘to fill something up’

4.1.62 *tolaš* / *tolaš*¹ ‘to come’

This verb is widely classified as an auxiliary (e.g. Budenz 1865: 88; Moisió 1992: 303; Beke 1911: 160; Alhoniemi 1985: 144; Uchayev 1995: 163; Chkhaidze 1960: 43–46; Serebrennikov 1960: 193–194; Savatkova 2008: 271–272); with 132 pairings in the sources and another 59 pairings in the corpus, it is comparatively common, and seems to be reasonably productive. It has been likened and compared to the less frequent auxiliary and path verb *mijaš* / *miäš*¹¹ ‘to come, to go’ – see Section 4.1.28 (page 186). The distinction between these two auxiliaries is discussed in the section on that verb.

Nikolay Isanbayev states that this verb is connected with intransitive verbs and on occasion also with transitive verbs, and distinguishes between two distinct functions that are illustrated below. He likens it to Tatar *kilüβ* ‘to come’ and Chuvash *kil* ‘id.’ (Isanbayev 1978: 67). Bashkir *kileβ* ‘id.’ (cf. Landmann 2015: 101) and Udmurt *ljkt̄nj̄* ‘id.’ (cf. Kel’makov 1975: 100) seem to be used in an analogous fashion – the Udmurt verb apparently only in that of a path verb.⁴³⁴ Isanbayev does note that aspectual pairings used in Mari, Tatar, and Chuvash only line up in some cases (Isanbayev 1978: 67), while there is greater overlap between the usage of the respective verbs as path verbs (ibid.: 68). Gábor Bereczki et al. consider *ońčen tolaš* ‘to verify (lit. looking come)’, *jogen tolaš* ‘to come flowing (lit. flowing come)’, and *mijen tolaš* ‘to go and come back (lit. going come)’ as Chuvash loan translations (Bereczki et al. 2013: 174; 33; 142), though the latter example seems to be more a case of serialized events than of an auxiliary construction.

The first function of this verb in verbal pairings given by Isanbayev is that of a marker of “the gradual development of an action towards its completion, sometimes the development of an action from the past to the present” (Isanbayev 1978: 67–68).⁴³⁵ The large Mari-Russian dictionary speaks of a marker of “duration (graduality) of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *толаш* I).⁴³⁶ SMYa speaks of “the meaning of duration of an action with the hint of a gradual increase of its strength and effect” (Pengitov et al. 1961: 215).⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Christian Pischlöger, Valey Kel’makov, personal correspondence.

⁴³⁵ “[...] постепенное развитие действия в сторону своего завершения, иногда развитие действия от прошлого к настоящему.”

⁴³⁶ “[...] длительности (постепенности) действия”

⁴³⁷ “[...] значение длительности действия с оттенком постепенного нарастания силы и эффекта его.”

Meadow Mari: <i>tolaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>tolaš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>kilüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kil</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>pâten tolaš</i>	<i>pâten tolaš</i>	<i>betep kilüβ</i>	<i>pětse kil</i>	ending come	to come to an end
<i>pâčkemâšalt tolaš</i>	<i>päckemašält tolaš</i>	<i>qâranyâtâp kilüβ</i>	<i>tëttëmlense kil</i>	growing.dark come	to grow dark
<i>üšandaren tolaš</i>	<i>äñändären tolaš</i>	<i>äšandarâp kilüβ</i>	-	assuring come	to encourage
<i>aralen tolaš</i>	<i>peregen tolaš</i>	<i>jâqtaβ kilüβ</i>	-	defending come	to support
<i>kaseštân tolaš</i>	-	<i>kišegep kilüβ</i>	-	falling come	to grow dark
<i>šuân tolaš</i>	<i>kün tolaš</i>	<i>ölgöröp kilüβ, žitešep kilü</i>	-	ripening come	to mature
<i>kuškân tolaš</i>	<i>kuškân tolaš</i>	<i>üsep kilüβ</i>	-	growing come	to develop
<i>βalgalt tolaš</i>	<i>βalgalt tolaš</i>	-	<i>šutâlsa kil</i>	shining come	to dawn
<i>küčâkem tolaš</i>	<i>kätäkem tolaš</i>	-	<i>këskelse kil</i>	growing.shorter come	to grow shorter

Figure 214: *tolaš* / *tolaš¹* ‘to come’ marking duration, gradual increase of effects (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 68)

Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva compare the usage of Tatar *kil* as a “progressive” (i.e. gradual) marker in auxiliary constructions with the usage of Spanish *venir* ‘to come’ in combination with the present participle (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 69).

The second meaning Isanbayev assigns to this verb is one as a marker of “movement directed towards the speaker” (Isanbayev 1978: 68).⁴³⁸ The large Mari-Russian dictionary simply speaks of a marker for “the approach (return) of someone or something” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **толаш I**).⁴³⁹ The reference point need not necessarily be the speaker. As a path verb, the verb in question seems to be fully productive.

Meadow Mari: <i>tolaš¹</i>	Hill Mari: <i>tolaš¹</i>	Tatar: <i>kilüβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>kil</i>	Translation	
				Literal	Idiomatic
<i>ijân tolaš</i>	<i>in tolaš</i>	<i>jögöröp kilüβ</i>	<i>čupsa kil</i>	swimming come	to come swimming
<i>čöŋešten tolaš</i>	<i>čöŋešten tolaš</i>	<i>ošop kilüβ</i>	<i>věšse kil</i>	flying come	to come flying
<i>pördân tolaš</i>	<i>pördän tolaš</i>	<i>tägärâp kilüβ</i>	<i>jâvalansa kil</i>	rolling come	to come rolling
<i>kusnen tolaš</i>	<i>banžen tolaš</i>	<i>küšenep kilüβ</i>	<i>kašsa kil</i>	relocating come	to move (here)

Figure 215: *tolaš* / *tolaš¹* ‘to come’ indicating movement to a reference point (cf. Isanbayev 1978: 68)

Heine and Kuteva’s account of the grammaticalization of verbs meaning ‘to come’ covers this function as well: they speak of the grammaticalization of such verbs as *venitive* markers (i.e. deictic markers indicating movement towards a reference point) and give examples, among others, from Fijian (Austronesian), Lahu (Sino-Tibetan), Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan), Hausa (Afro-Asiatic), Tok Pisin (English-based creole) (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 70–71).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 33 ⁽⁴⁾
M	POR: 7 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 16 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 17 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 20 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 28 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 31 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 32 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 35 ⁽²⁵⁾
NW	BEK: I: 2 ⁽³⁷⁾ , BEK: I: 24 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 32 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 34 ⁽³⁶⁾
H	-

⁴³⁸ “[...] движение, направленное в сторону говорящего.”

⁴³⁹ “[...] приближения (возвращения) кого-чего-либо”

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aḅāralaš</i> ¹	'to surround'	<i>kurkalaš</i> ¹¹	'to run (on four legs)'	<i>pūsemaš</i> ¹	'to be sharpened'
<i>aralaltaš</i> ¹	'to defend oneself'	<i>kuržas</i> ¹	'to run'	<i>pūsemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to sharpen'
<i>aralaš</i> ¹¹	'to defend'	<i>kuržtalaš</i> ¹	'to run'	<i>pūšeštaš</i> ¹	'to be sharpened'
<i>asāktaš</i> ¹¹	'to trot'	<i>kusaraltaš</i> ¹	'to move (intr.)'	<i>razoritlaltaš</i> ¹	'to be ruined'
<i>baštaltaš</i> ¹	'to change (intr.)'	<i>kusaraš</i> ¹¹	'to move; to translate'	<i>roñčāлтаš</i> ¹	'to come unwound'
<i>baštaltaš</i> ¹¹	'to change (tr.)'	<i>kusnaš</i> ¹¹	'to move; to relocate'	<i>rualaš</i> ¹	'to chop'
<i>ḅelaltaš</i> ¹	'to spill (intr.)'	<i>kuškaš</i> ¹	'to grow (intr.)'	<i>saḅaltaš</i> ¹	'to strike against'
<i>ḅesemaš</i> ¹	'to change (intr.)'	<i>kuškedaš</i> ¹	'to tear'	<i>saḅārnaš</i> ¹¹	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>ḅijaṅaš</i> ¹	'to grow stronger'	<i>kūčākemaš</i> ¹	'to grow shorter'	<i>sajemaš</i> ¹	'to get better'
<i>ḅijaṅdaš</i> ¹¹	'to develop (tr.)'	<i>kūkšemaš</i> ¹	'to rise'	<i>sajemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to make better'
<i>ḅiktaraš</i> ¹¹	'to run, to direct'	<i>leḅedaltaš</i> ¹	'to cover oneself'	<i>seṅaltaš</i> ¹	'to be defeated'
<i>ḅolgaltaš</i> ¹	'to shine'	<i>leḅedaš</i> ¹	'to cover'	<i>seṅaš</i> ¹¹	'to defeat, to win'
<i>ḅolgaš</i> ¹¹	'to shine'	<i>lektaš</i> ¹	'to go, to leave'	<i>sālnēštaš</i> ¹	'to be adorned'
<i>ḅoraṅaš</i> ¹	'to prosper'	<i>lāpkaš</i> ¹¹	'to walk slowly'	<i>sāraš</i> ¹¹	'to get angry'
<i>ḅūdaš</i> ¹¹	'to lead'	<i>lijaš</i> ¹	'to be; to become'	<i>služitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to serve'
<i>čaknaš</i> ¹¹	'to move back'	<i>lišemaš</i> ¹	'to approach'	<i>sūsaraš</i> ¹¹	'to unfasten'
<i>čatkanjaš</i> ¹	'to become elegant'	<i>lišemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to move closer (tr.)'	<i>šagalemaš</i> ¹	'to decrease (intr.)'
<i>čatkataṅaš</i> ¹	'to become neat'	<i>lōzaṅaš</i> ¹	'to ripen (intr.)'	<i>šarlaš</i> ¹¹	'to spread (intr.)'
<i>čāknaš</i> ¹¹	'to draw close'	<i>lūštaš</i> ¹¹	'to milk'	<i>šergāлтаš</i> ¹	'to come undone'
<i>čāmaltaš</i> ¹	'to be drawn tight'	<i>mijaš</i> ¹¹	'to go, to come'	<i>šāgāremdaš</i> ¹¹	'to make more cramped'
<i>čonještaš</i> ¹¹	'to fly'	<i>molemaš</i> ¹	'to change (intr.)'	<i>šālaš</i> ¹	'to hide (intr.)'
<i>čūdemaš</i> ¹	'to dwindle'	<i>mondaltaš</i> ¹	'to be forgotten'	<i>šāmalanaš</i> ¹¹	'to thicken'
<i>doložitlaš</i> ¹¹	'to report'	<i>nalaš</i> ¹	'to take'	<i>šāṅdaraltaš</i> ¹	'to fit (intr.)'
<i>ernaš</i> ¹¹	'to be cleaned'	<i>naledaš</i> ¹¹	'to take'	<i>šāṅdaraš</i> ¹¹	'to fit in (tr.)'
<i>ālažāš</i> ¹	'to flare up'	<i>namijaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring'	<i>šižaš</i> ¹	'to feel'
<i>āštaltaš</i> ¹	'to be done'	<i>nojaš</i> ¹¹	'to become tired'	<i>šongemaš</i> ¹	'to age (intr.)'
<i>āštaš</i> ¹¹	'to do'	<i>nōltaltaš</i> ¹	'to rise'	<i>šuaraltaš</i> ¹	'to be tempered'
<i>āštālaš</i> ¹	'to do'	<i>nōltaš</i> ¹	'to rise'	<i>šuāš</i> ¹	'to arrive'
<i>ijaš</i> ¹	'to swim'	<i>numalaš</i> ¹	'to carry'	<i>šujaš</i> ¹¹	'to stretch out (tr.)'
<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	'to live'	<i>nuškaš</i> ¹	'to creep'	<i>šukemaš</i> ¹	'to multiply (intr.)'
<i>izemaš</i> ¹	'to decrease'	<i>oñčalaš</i> ¹	'to look'	<i>šukemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to multiply (tr.)'
<i>izemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to reduce'	<i>oñčaš</i> ¹¹	'to look'	<i>šuktaltaš</i> ¹	'to be carried out'
<i>jabāgaš</i> ¹¹	'to become emaciated'	<i>oralaltaš</i> ¹	'to accumulate (intr.)'	<i>šuktaš</i> ¹¹	'to manage'
<i>jamdālaltaš</i> ¹	'to prepare (intr.)'	<i>oškedaš</i> ¹¹	'to step'	<i>šulaš</i> ¹¹	'to melt (intr.)'
<i>jamdālaš</i> ¹¹	'to prepare (tr.)'	<i>oškālaš</i> ¹	'to step'	<i>šužaš</i> ¹¹	'to get hungry'
<i>ješaraltaš</i> ¹	'to be added'	<i>pečāš</i> ¹¹	'to fence in'	<i>šūdāraš</i> ¹¹	'to drag'
<i>ješaraš</i> ¹¹	'to add'	<i>peledaltaš</i> ¹	'to bloom'	<i>takārtaš</i> ¹¹	'to trample down'
<i>jogaš</i> ¹¹	'to flow'	<i>peledaš</i> ¹	'to blossom'	<i>talāšnaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow stronger'
<i>jomaš</i> ¹	'to disappear'	<i>peṅgādemaš</i> ¹	'to harden (intr.)'	<i>taptaš</i> ¹¹	'to forge'
<i>joṅgaltaš</i> ¹	'to resound'	<i>peṅgādemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to fasten'	<i>tašlaš</i> ¹¹	'to overflow'
<i>jortaš</i> ¹¹	'to trot'	<i>pernedālaš</i> ¹	'to strike against'	<i>temaltaš</i> ¹	'to fill up (intr.)'
<i>juḅanaš</i> ¹¹	'to dawdle'	<i>petāraš</i> ¹¹	'to close (tr.)'	<i>temaš</i> ¹¹	'to fill (tr.)'
<i>juṅgaš</i> ¹¹	'to pace'	<i>pāčkemāšaltaš</i> ¹	'to grow dark'	<i>tergaš</i> ¹¹	'to check'
<i>kareštaltaš</i> ¹	'to be fastened'	<i>pāzāraš</i> ¹¹	'to push'	<i>todāštaš</i> ¹	'to break (tr.)'
<i>kaseštaš</i> ¹	'to fall (night)'	<i>pāzārgaš</i> ¹¹	'to be pressed'	<i>tōrgaš</i> ¹¹	'to gallop'
<i>kelāštaraltaš</i> ¹	'to be adjusted'	<i>pātaraltaš</i> ¹	'to be finished'	<i>tōrlanaš</i> ¹¹	'to heal (intr.)'
<i>kelgemaš</i> ¹	'to deepen (intr.)'	<i>pātaraš</i> ¹¹	'to finish (tr.)'	<i>tōrlaš</i> ¹¹	'to make flat'
<i>kelšaš</i> ¹¹	'to agree; to appeal'	<i>pātaš</i> ¹¹	'to end (intr.)'	<i>tugāštaš</i> ¹	'to break apart (tr.)'
<i>kāčalaš</i> ¹	'to search'	<i>pisemaš</i> ¹	'to speed up (intr.)'	<i>tunemaš</i> ¹	'to learn'
<i>kāldaltaš</i> ¹	'to be tied up'	<i>počāлтаš</i> ¹	'to open (intr.)'	<i>tunāktaš</i> ¹¹	'to teach'
<i>kāšaš</i> ¹¹	'to pinch'	<i>pogaš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (tr.)'	<i>turlaš</i> ¹¹	'to settle (intr.)'
<i>kodaš</i> ¹¹	'to leave (tr.)'	<i>pogānaš</i> ¹¹	'to gather (intr.)'	<i>turtaš</i> ¹	'to huddle up'
<i>koñčāš</i> ¹¹	'to appear'	<i>pojdarāš</i> ¹¹	'to enrichen'	<i>tūlāžgaš</i> ¹¹	'to grow weak'
<i>koraṅdaš</i> ¹¹	'to remove'	<i>poktaš</i> ¹¹	'to drive'	<i>tūrlemaš</i> ¹	'to become different'
<i>košargaš</i> ¹¹	'to become sharp'	<i>polšaš</i> ¹¹	'to help'	<i>tūzataš</i> ¹¹	'to decorate'
<i>koštaš</i> ¹	'to go'	<i>porḅolaš</i> ¹¹	'to sink into the ground'	<i>uemaš</i> ¹	'to be renewed'
<i>kučedalaš</i> ¹	'to fight'	<i>pōrdaš</i> ¹	'to turn (intr.)'	<i>uemdaš</i> ¹¹	'to renew'
<i>kudalaš</i> ¹	'to ride'	<i>pōrtālaš</i> ¹	'to return (intr.)'	<i>ujnaš</i> ¹¹	'to be dragged along'
<i>kudalāštaš</i> ¹	'to run around'	<i>pulačlaš</i> ¹¹	'to stack'	<i>umaš</i> ¹¹	'to ripen (intr.)'
<i>kugemaš</i> ¹	'to increase (intr.)'	<i>puraltaš</i> ¹	'to be entered'	<i>uraltaš</i> ¹	'to be covered'
<i>kumdaṅaš</i> ¹	'to widen (intr.)'	<i>purtaš</i> ¹¹	'to bring in'	<i>ušnaltaš</i> ¹	'to be connected'
<i>kumdaṅdaš</i> ¹¹	'to widen (tr.)'	<i>pužlaš</i> ¹¹	'to break (intr.)'	<i>ušnaš</i> ¹¹	'to join (intr.)'

uštaraš^{II} ‘to join (tr.)’ *utaraš^{II}* ‘to save’ *üžäš^I* ‘to invite’
užataš^{II} ‘to accompany’ *üşandaraš^{II}* ‘to assure’

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs, rarely transitive verbs		
Usage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspectual auxiliary marking durative action with gradual increase of strength and effect (i.e. graduality) Path verb marking movement towards a reference point 		
Distribution etc.	As a path verb found in Mari (all varieties), Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash. Seemingly not used as an aspectual auxiliary in Udmurt. In Mari, it seems to be productive in both functions. Outside the region, the function as an aspectual auxiliary is possibly comparable to the usage of Spanish <i>venir</i> ‘to come’ in combination with present participle. The function of a verb meaning ‘to come’ as a marker of movement towards a reference point (venitive) seems to be common across the globe.		
Literary pairings	Sources: 132	Corpus: 59	Total: 191
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>ljktjnj</i>	Tatar: <i>kilüβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>kileβ</i> Chuvash: <i>kil</i>
Etymology	< PU * <i>tule-</i> ‘to come’, cognates include Finnish <i>tulla</i> ‘id.’, Nenets <i>toš</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 535; Bereczki et al. 2013: 278–279)		

Figure 216: Profile of *tolaš* / *tolaš^I* ‘to come’

4.1.63 *tolaš* / -^{II} ‘to try, to strive’

With the exception of the large Mari-Russian dictionary, this (Meadow Mari) verb is only labelled as an auxiliary by one source, which does not give any details on its usage (Uchayev 1995: 163). The large Mari-Russian dictionary states that this verb, in combination with a converb, forms auxiliary constructions “with a modal value of disparagement, disrespect or insignificance, inadequacy, low standard of an action or status” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: *толаш*),⁴⁴⁰ and gives 4 usage examples. The rare occurrences of this verb as an auxiliary in the corpus – 18 pairings in addition to those cited in the dictionary – support this interpretation. However, in some pairings encountered in the Mari-Russian dictionary, the Russian translation of the sentence contains the verb *pītat’ša* ‘to try, to strive’ – that is to say, the lexical meaning of this verb can easily be read into the pairing. Compare the following two examples, where the translation of the first in the dictionary does not contain the Russian verb *pītat’ša* ‘to strive’, but the translation of the second does:

⁴⁴⁰ “[...] с модальным значением принижения, неуважения или незначительности, недостаточности, невысокого уровня действия или состояния”

(121 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пылышын; шўркалаш)

‘У семым пылышын колын веле тунем толашеныт.’

u	sem	-ẫm	pâlâš	-ẫn	kol	-ẫn	bele
new	melody	-ACC	ear	-INS	hear	-CVB	just
adj	n	-case	n	-case	v	-adv	adv

tunem	-∅	tolaš	-en	-ẫt.
study	-CVB	try	-PST2	-3PL
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘The new motifs were only learned (lit. learning tried) by ear.’⁴⁴¹

‘Ала-могай шинча эмым шўркален толашышт[.]’

ala-	mogaj	šĩńća	em	-ẫm
some-	what.kind	eye	medicine	-ACC
pa-	adj	n	n	-case

šũrkal	-en	tolašâ	-š	-t.
spread	-CVB	try	-PST1	-3PL
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘They tried to apply (lit. spreading tried) some kind of eye medicine.’⁴⁴²

In its lexical meaning, the verb in question tends to govern the infinitive: *ijaš tolašaš* ‘to try to swim’ etc. According to my consultant, the usage of the infinitive implies that the subject makes an active effort to carry out an action, while the usage of the converb implies a haphazard, unskilled execution of an action. This interpretation is compatible with usage examples found in the corpus.

This verb, both in its lexical meaning and in its function as an auxiliary, is a near-synonym of *tõćaš / čaćaš* ‘to try, to attempt’ – see Section 4.1.64 (page 253). I could not determine any concrete difference between them, and my consultant considered them synonymous in all functions. I have seen no indication that words with similar semantics in other languages of the region (e.g. Tatar *târâšub* ‘to endeavour’; Tatar *omtoʁub* ‘to try, to strive’; Bashkir *târâšub* ‘to try’; Chuvash *tărăš* ‘id.’; Udmurt *turttĩnj* ‘to strive, to seek to’; and Udmurt *tĩršĩnj* ‘to try, to seek’⁴⁴³) are used in auxiliary constructions.

The Hill Mari cognate of this Meadow Mari verb *talašaš* ‘to hurry up’ has a different lexical meaning, and according to my consultant is not used in auxiliary constructions.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	WICH: 106 ⁽³¹⁾
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>aňârgaš</i> ¹¹	‘to breathe in CO’	<i>mužedaš</i> ¹	‘to tell fortunes’	<i>šukemdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to multiply (tr.)’
<i>ašnaš</i> ¹¹	‘to keep, to nurse’	<i>ojâraš</i> ¹¹	‘to separate’	<i>šupšaš</i> ¹	‘to pull’
<i>bozaš</i> ¹	‘to lie down’	<i>pajlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to divide (tr.)’	<i>šupškedaš</i> ¹¹	‘to pull’
<i>âštaš</i> ¹¹	‘to do’	<i>pũrdaš</i> ¹¹	‘to curtain’	<i>šũrkalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to smear’
<i>ilaš</i> ¹¹	‘to live’	<i>pũžaltaš</i> ¹	‘to sweat’	<i>tunemaš</i> ¹	‘to learn’
<i>kâčalaš</i> ¹	‘to search’	<i>šijaš</i> ¹	‘to thresh’	<i>uditlaš</i> ¹¹	‘to contend’
<i>ludaš</i> ¹	‘to read’	<i>šonještaltaš</i> ¹	‘to foam up (intr.)’	<i>uškalaš</i> ¹¹	‘to be jealous’

⁴⁴¹ “Новые мотивы выучивали только на слух”

⁴⁴² “Пытались намазывать каким-то лекарством для глаз”

⁴⁴³ The apparent lack of pairings using *turttĩnj* or *tĩršĩnj* was confirmed by Christian Pischlöger and Valey Kel’makov in personal correspondence.

*üdaš*¹¹ 'to sow'

Transitivity	Generally intransitive, rarely transitive		
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs		
Usage	• Marks the insignificance, inadequacy, speaker's contempt for the execution of an action; 'to try to ...'		
Distribution etc.	Not used in Hill Mari; no data on other languages		
Literary pairings	Sources: 4	Corpus: 18	Total: 22
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ? Chuvash: ?
Etymology	< Tatar (cf. Moisio & Saarinen 2008: 801–802), cf. modern Tatar <i>tâtaşuβ</i> 'to quarrel' – a meaning the Mari verb has preserved, at least marginally. ⁴⁴⁴		

Figure 217: Profile of *tolašaš* / -¹¹ 'to try, to strive'

4.1.64 *töčäš* / *čäčäš*¹¹ 'to try, to attempt'

Like its synonym *tolašaš* / -¹¹ 'to try, to strive', Section 4.1.63 (page 251) – my consultant characterized the verbs as equivalent both in their lexical meaning and in their usage as auxiliaries – this verb is not generally defined as an auxiliary. It is only mentioned by the big Mari-Russian Dictionary, which states that it “indicates the execution of an action not in the proper manner; translated with the words *anyhow, barely*” (**Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тӧчаш**).⁴⁴⁵ The dictionary provides 4 usage examples; I could find another 7 valid pairings in the corpus. As is the case with *tolašaš* / -¹¹ 'to try, to strive', the translations given in the dictionary sometimes contain the Russian verb *pîtat'sa* 'to try, to strive' – i.e. the potential auxiliary's lexical meaning is rendered in the translation. Compare the following two examples, where the translation of the first in the dictionary does not contain the Russian verb *pîtat'sa* 'to strive', but the translation of the second does:

(122 – Mari – Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пылышын; урлык-тукым)											
'Тунем тӧчышым.'											
tunem	-∅	töčäš	-š	-äm.							
study	-CVB	try	-PST1	-1SG							
v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers							
'I studied somehow (lit. <u>studying</u> tried).' ⁴⁴⁶											

'Южгунам Савли кува эргыжлан ойлен тӧчен: [...]'											
južgunam	saβli	kuβa	ergä	-ž	-lan	ojl	-en	töč	-en	-∅:	[...]
sometimes	Savli	old.woman	son	-3SG	-DAT	say	-CVB	try	-PST2	-3SG	
adv	n	n	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers	
'Sometimes, Savli's wife <u>tried to tell</u> (lit. <u>telling</u> tried) her son: [...]' ⁴⁴⁷											

Also in line with its near-synonym, this word generally governs the infinitive when it is used in its lexical meaning of 'to try': *umälaš töčäš* 'to try to understand' etc. As in the case of its near-synonym, my consultant characterized the usage of the imperative as an indication that the subject makes an active

⁴⁴⁴ Also see www.christopherculver.com/languages/uralic/mari/mari-tolasesm-tatar-talash.html.

⁴⁴⁵ “[...] обозначает совершение действия не должным образом; передаётся словами кое-как, еле”

⁴⁴⁶ “Я кое-как учился”

⁴⁴⁷ “Иногда жена Савли пыталась говорить сыну: [...]”

effort to carry out an action, while the usage of the converb implies a haphazard, unskilled execution of an action. Here, too, the interpretation is compatible with usage examples found in the corpus.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

<i>θursaš^{II}</i>	‘to scold’	<i>ojlaš^{II}</i>	‘to talk’	<i>šândâktaš^{II}</i>	‘to have inserted’
<i>ilaš^{II}</i>	‘to live’	<i>purtaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring in’	<i>šoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’
<i>jülaš^{II}</i>	‘to burn (intr.)’	<i>seraš^{II}</i>	‘to write’	<i>tunemaš^I</i>	‘to learn’
<i>karšaš^{II}</i>	‘to resist’	<i>šâltalaš^{II}</i>	‘to reproach’		

Transitivity	Generally intransitive, rarely transitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	• Marks the improper execution of an action; ‘to try to ...’			
Distribution etc.	No data			
Literary pairings	Sources: 4	Corpus: 7	Total: 11	
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ?	Chuvash: ?
Etymology	?			

Figure 218: Profile of *töčäš / čäčäš^{II}* ‘to try, to attempt’

4.1.65 *ulaš / âlaš^I* ‘to be’

As discussed in Section 2.1.4 (page 28), this verb was grammaticalized – in the contemporary literary norms even morphologized – as the marker of a tense form, the simple past tense II. This makes this verb the most grammaticalized of all the auxiliaries under consideration. Alhoniemi’s claim, which is mentioned there, that the periphrastic forms can still be found in the plural is borne out by the corpus: with one exception, all occurrences of the periphrastic simple past tense II are in the plural.

The other languages of the region also have past tenses going back to periphrastic constructions with a non-finite verbal form, but in all the other languages, the non-finite form used was a participle, not a converb (cf. Berczki 1984: 309).

In the dialect text collections

E	PAAS: 9 ⁽⁴⁾
M	WICH: 48 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 49 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 50 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 55 ⁽³³⁾ WICH: 63 ⁽²³⁾ WICH: 64 ⁽²³⁾ POR: 2 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 3 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 4 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 6 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 7 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 8 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 9 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 10 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 12 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 13 ⁽²⁴⁾ POR: 15 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 35 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 37 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 40 ⁽²⁵⁾ POR: 49 ⁽²⁴⁾
NW	BEK: I: 26 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 27 ⁽³⁶⁾ , BEK: I: 28 ⁽³⁶⁾ , etc.
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

N/A

Transitivity	Intransitive			
Couples with ...	Transitive and intransitive verbs			
Usage	• Forms the simple past tense II			
Distribution etc.	In Mari, fully productive in all varieties, morphologized in literary Meadow Mari (positive forms only) and literary Hill Mari (positive and negative forms). In Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Udmurt, formation of a past tense based on a participle.			
Literary pairings	Sources: N/A	Corpus: N/A	Total: N/A	
Counterparts	Udmurt: <i>lujnj</i>	Tatar: <i>buluβ</i>	Bashkir: <i>bulǎβ</i>	Chuvash: <i>pul</i>
Etymology	< PU *wole- ‘to be, to become’, cognates include Estonian <i>olema</i> ‘to be’, Hungarian <i>vol-</i> , <i>val-</i> , <i>vagy-</i> ‘id.’, Komi <i>vęvnyj</i> ‘id.’ (cf. Rédei et al.: 1988–1991: I: 580; Bereczki et al. 2013: 293–294)			

Figure 219: Profile of *ulaš* / *ǎlaš* ‘to be’

4.1.66 *utaš* / -II ‘to become superfluous’

This verb is not generally labelled as an auxiliary. However, the Mari-Russian dictionary states that in colloquial speech it “expresses the complete satisfaction, satiation, enjoyment, fatigue of the subject itself through an action, in the meaning: to do something in abundance, in plenty, to one's heart's content, and also a large quantity, excessiveness in the manifestation of an action” (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **ураш** I).⁴⁴⁸ The dictionary illustrates its usage with 4 pairings. I was not able to find any additional pairings in the corpus.

Meadow Mari: <i>utaš</i> ^{II}	Translation	
	Literal	Idiomatic
<i>boštǎl utaš</i>	laughing become.superfluous	to laugh oneself silly
<i>kǎlmen utaš</i>	freezing become.superfluous	to be chilled to the bone
<i>ojgǎren utaš</i>	worrying become.superfluous	to worry oneself sick
<i>šuzhen utaš</i>	starving become.superfluous	to be famished

Figure 220: *utaš* / -II ‘to become superfluous’ marking excessiveness or abundancy (cf. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: **ураш** I)

Given the dictionary’s classification of this meaning as colloquial, the question of its dialectal distribution becomes especially interesting. The rarity of its usage, however, makes this difficult to investigate.

While a lexeme *utaš*^{II} ‘to become superfluous’ exists in Hill Mari, my consultant claimed it is not used in this manner in Hill Mari.

I am not familiar with counterparts to this verb in the other languages of the region.

In the dialect text collections

E	-
M	-
NW	-
H	-

In sources on literary language, paired with ...

⁴⁴⁸ “3. разг. в сочет. с деепр. формой глагола выражает полное удовлетворение, пресыщение, наслаждение, утомление действием самого субъекта в значении: делать (сделать) что-либо вдоволь, вволю, влать, а также большое количество, излишество в проявлении действия, передаётся возвратными глаголами с приставками на-, из-, об-”

<i>boštālaš^l</i>	'to laugh'	<i>ojgāraš^{ll}</i>	'to grieve'
<i>kālmaš^{ll}</i>	'to freeze (intr.)'	<i>šužāš^{ll}</i>	'to get hungry'

Transitivity	Intransitive		
Couples with ...	Intransitive verbs		
Usage	Denotes satisfaction, satiation, fatigue, etc. of the subject		
Distribution etc.	Only in “colloquial” Mari; not used in Hill Mari		
Literary pairings	Sources: 4	Corpus: 0	Total: 4
Counterparts	Udmurt: ?	Tatar: ?	Bashkir: ? Chuvash: ?
Etymology	Zero derivation of <i>uto</i> ‘excessive, surplus’, in turn a Chuvash loanword – compare modern Chuvash <i>itā</i> ‘odd number’, <i>itla</i> ‘excessive, surplus’ (cf. Fedotov 1996: II: 475–476).		

Figure 221: Profile of *utaš* / -^{ll} ‘to become superfluous’

4.2 Rejected auxiliaries

The following verbs, given here with their lexical meanings, were described as auxiliaries in one of my sources (or occurred in the position of an auxiliary in a pairing labelled as an auxiliary construction, or were in some other manner implied to be auxiliaries), but do not in my opinion meet the necessary criteria to be considered either an aspectual auxiliary or a path verb. In most cases, the verbal pairings labelled as auxiliary constructions were instances of the converb in *-n* occurring as an adverbial complement – see Section 2.3.1 (page 69) for an overview of all verbal pairings with the converb in *-n*; only those pairings where the second verb can be considered an auxiliary or a path verb were taken into consideration in Section 4.1 (page 130). In some cases, the decision of whether to include a verb in the set of auxiliaries or to exclude it was not a trivial one: a case could presumably be made that some of these verbs serve as path markers.

- *ašnaš* / *äšnäš^{ll}* ‘to keep, to nurse’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шылташ > шылтен ашнаш; Chkhaidze 1960: 58)
- *boñčāktaraš* / -^{ll} ‘to convey’ (Budenz 1865: 89)
- *boštaraš* / -^{ll} ‘to convey’ (Budenz 1865: 89)
- *boštālaš* / *baštālaš^l* ‘to laugh’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 109)
- *čākaš* / *cikāš^{ll}* ‘to shove, to thrust’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кондаш > конден чыкаш; погаш > поген чыкаш)
- *čijaš* / *čičāš^{ll}* ‘to put on (clothes)’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: алмашташ > алмаштен чияш)
- *eņertaš* / -^{ll} ‘to lean on (intr.)’ (e.g. Bereczki et al. 142; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш > миен энерташ)
- *äštaš* / *äštāš^{ll}* ‘to do’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 20; 86; 166)
- *jamdālaš* / *jāmdälāš^{ll}* ‘to prepare’ (e.g. Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 62; 179; 252)
- *jarnaš* / *jārnāš^{ll}* ‘to become tired’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ярнаш)
- *jodaš* / *jadaš^l* ‘to ask’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шөраш > шөрен йодаш)
- *jogaš* / *jogaš^{ll}* ‘to flow’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 261; 265; 280)
- *jomaš* / *jamaš^l* ‘to disappear’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: колаш II > колен йомаш)
- *jörāktaš* / *jörāktāš^{ll}* ‘to overturn’ (Budenz 1865: 87; Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 179)
- *jōrlaš* / -^l ‘to fall, to collapse’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шүртняш > шүртнен йөрлаш)
- *jōrtaš* / *jōrtāš^{ll}* ‘to extinguish’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 164)
- *jūraš* / *juraš^l* ‘to rain’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 265)

- *kalasaš / kelesäs^{ll}* ‘to say’ (e.g. Beke 1911: 161; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кўшташ > кўштен каласаш)
- *kamvozaš / kenvozaš^l* ‘to fall, to drop’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шўртняш > шўртнен камвозаш)
- *kečāš / kečās^{ll}* ‘to hang’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 115)
- *kelāštaraš / -^{ll}* ‘to adapt’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 88)
- *keļšaš / keļšās^{ll}* ‘to agree’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ойлаш > ойлен келшаш; Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 88)
- *kerāлтаš / kerāлтās^l* ‘to pierce into’ (e.g. Chkhaidze 1960: 58; Bereczki et al. 2013: 142; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мияш > миен керылташ; толаш I > толын керылташ)
- *keržaltaš / -^l* ‘to grasp, to seize’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мияш > миен кержалташ; толаш I > толын кержалташ)
- *kijāктаš / -^{ll}* ‘to store’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: аралаш > арален кийыкташ)
- *kolaš / kolaš^{ll}* ‘to die’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: колаш II)
- *kolāštaš / kolāštāš^l* ‘to listen’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 271)
- *kondāštaš / kandāštāš^l* ‘to transport’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: вўдаш > вўден кондышташ)
- *koraŋaš / karaŋaš^l* ‘to move away (intr.)’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 271)
- *košartaš / kašartaš^{ll}* ‘to sharpen’ (Uchayev 1995: 163)
- *koštāктаš / kaštāктаš^{ll}* ‘to drive, to lead’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: вўдаш > вўден коштыкташ; намиаш > намиен коштыкташ; шындаш > шынден коштыкташ)
- *kōndaraš / -^{ll}* ‘to persuade’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 199)
- *kučāš / káčās^{ll}* ‘to grab’ (e.g. Beke 1911: 161; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: уграш > урген кучаш)
- *kučāктаš / káčāктаš^{ll}* ‘to hand over’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тушкалташ I > тушкалтен кучыкташ)
- *kudalaš / kādalaš^l* ‘to ride; to drive; to run (on four legs)’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кушкыжаш > кушкыж(ын) кудалаш; Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 105)
- *kuržaš / kārġāžāš^l* ‘to run’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: чакнаш > чакнен куржаш; шылаш > шылын куржаш)
- *kuržtalaš / kārġāžtalaš^l* ‘to run around’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: модаш > модын куржталаш)
- *kuštaš / kuštāš^{ll}* ‘to grow (tr.)’ (e.g. Bereczki et al. 2013: 173; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пукшаш-йўкташ > пукшен-йўктен кушташ)
- *kutāraš / χātāraš^{ll}* ‘to speak’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ужаш I > ужын кутыраш)
- *laptārtaš / l’apcartāš^{ll}* ‘to flatten’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 205)
- *lektedaš / läktedāš^l* ‘to come out’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пуредаш > пуреден лектедаш)
- *maltaš / amaltaš^{ll}* ‘to lull to sleep’ (Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 181)
- *modaš / madaš^l* ‘to play’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шылаш > шылын модаш; Vasil’jev & Uchayev 2003: 94)
- *muāš / moāš^l* ‘to find’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кычалаш > кычал муаш; шонаш > шонен муаш)
- *nalāктаš / nālāктāš^{ll}* ‘to make take’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тындаш > тынден налыкташ)

- *obartaš / abartaš^{II}* ‘to inflate’ (Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 164)
- *ojlaš / -^{II}* ‘to talk’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кўшташ > кўштен ойлаш)
- *oňćalaš / anžalaš^I* ‘to look, to glance’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: толаш I > толын ончалаш; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 282)
- *oňćštaš / -^I* ‘to look’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: савырнылаш > савырныл(ын) ончышташ)
- *optalaš / optalaš^I* ‘to pour (tr.)’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кондаш > конден опталаш)
- *oškālaš / -^I* ‘to step’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: ужаташ > ужатен ошкылаш; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 47)
- *peleštaš / peleštāš^{II}* ‘to state’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шөраш > шөрен пелешташ; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 137)
- *pernaš / -^I* ‘to strike against’ (Bereczki et al. 142; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш > миен пернаш; толаш I > толын пернаш)
- *petāraš / pitārāš^{II}* ‘to close (tr.)’ (Budenz 1865: 88; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: олташ > олтен петыраш)
- *pāznaš / pāznaš^{II}* ‘to huddle up’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш > миен пызнаш)
- *pātaraltaš / pātārāltāš^I* ‘to end (intr.)’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пытаралташ)
- *pidaš / pidāš^I* ‘to tie’ (Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 84)
- *pižaš / pižāš^I* ‘to stick (intr.)’ (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш > миен пижаш; толаш I > толын пижаш)
- *pižāktaš / pižāktāš^{II}* ‘to fasten’ (Budenz 1865: 89; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 165)
- *poćaš / paćaš^I* ‘to open (tr.)’ (Budenz 1865: 88; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 165)
- *pogaš / pogāš^{II}* ‘to gather (tr.)’ (Budenz 1865: 89)
- *pogānaš / pogānaš^{II}* ‘to gather (intr.)’ (Budenz 1865: 89)
- *pureŋgajaš / pāren keāš^{II}* ‘to fall; to drown’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шўртняш > шўртнен камвозаш)
- *puštaš / puštaš^I* ‘to kill’ (e.g. Beke 1911: 161; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: тошкаш > тошкен пушташ)
- *sakaš / säkäš^{II}* ‘to hang up’ (e.g. Galkin et al. 1990–2005: пикташ > пиктен сакаш; пунаш > пунен сакаш)
- *sitaš / sitāš^{II}* ‘to suffice’ (Budenz 1865: 89)
- *šalanaš / šälänāš^{II}* ‘to be scattered’ (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89)
- *šalataš / šälätāš^{II}* ‘to spread (tr.)’ (e.g. Budenz 1865: 89; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кыраш > кырен шалаташ)
- *šāndālaš / šāndālāš^I* ‘to set, to arrange’ (e.g. Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 205)
- *šīñćaktaš / šānzāktāš^{II}* ‘to make sit’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шужыкташ > шужыктен шинчыкташ)
- *šortaš / -^I* ‘to cry’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мўгыраш > мўгырен шорташ; Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 134)
- *šualtaš / -^I* ‘to reach, to get to’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шуалташ II)
- *šuktaltaš / šoktaltaš^I* ‘to be carried out’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шукталташ)
- *šunġaltaš / -^{II}* ‘to fall’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: шўртняш > шўртнен шунгалташ)
- *šuralaš / šārālaš^I* ‘to jab in’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кондаш > конден шуралаш)
- *šüleštaš / -^I* ‘to gasp, to pant’ (Vasil’yev & Uchayev 2003: 131)
- *šūškaš / šāškāš^I* ‘to shove, to thrust’ (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: погаш > поген шўшкаш)

- *toškalaš / taškalaš^l* 'to step' (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: толаш I > толын тошкалаш)
- *toškâštaš / taškâštaš^l* 'to shift one's feet' (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: юватылаш > юватыл(ын) тошкышташ)
- *törlaš / törläš^{ll}* 'to make flat' (Vasil'yev & Uchayev 2003: 108)
- *törštaš / targešaš^{ll}* 'to jump' (Vasil'yev & Uchayev 2003: 87)
- *tuškaltaš / tâškaltaš^{ll}* 'to poke, to stick' (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кондаш > конден тушкалташ)
- *tüčäš / čüčäš^l* 'to close, to shut (tr.)' (Budenz 1865: 88)
- *tüknaš / täknäš^l* 'to touch (intr.)' (Bereczki et al. 142; Galkin et al. 1990–2005: мяш > миен тўкнаш; толаш I > толын тўкнаш)
- *tüŋaš / täŋäš^l* 'to become stiff' (Galkin et al. 1990–2005: кылмаш > кылмен тўнғаш)
- *utâktaraš / -^{ll}* 'to put aside' (Vasil'yev & Uchayev 2003: 245)

5. Summation of results and conclusions

This chapter will review the findings of Chapter 3 (page 84) through the lens of the theoretical framework detailed in Chapter 2 (page 24). As discussed in Section 2.3.1 (page 69), the co-occurrence of the converb in *-n* with a superordinate verb can be the realization of myriad structures:

- the converb can be a free adverbial
- the converb can be the predicate of an embedded or subordinate clause
- the converb can mark the manner of movement in a motion event – cf. also Section 2.2.5 (page 56) – while the syntactically superordinate verb serves as a path verb
- the converb can occur in auxiliary constructions – cf. also Sections 2.2.3 (page 45) – where the auxiliary can convey different grammatical values:
 - benefactive or autobenefactive – cf. Section 2.2.6 (page 68);
 - aspectual – cf. also Section 2.2.4 (page 47);
 - modal

After discussing the specific issue of an auxiliary’s lexical meaning not being completely lost in auxiliary constructions in Section 5.1 (page 260), this chapter will present a “top-down” discussion of the categories listed above (disregarding free adverbials and clausal subordination), reviewing which verbs are used in combination with converbs as:

- path verbs – Section 5.2 (page 263);
- benefactive or autobenefactive auxiliaries – Section 5.3 (page 265);
- aspectual auxiliaries – Section 5.4 (page 265);
- modal or temporal auxiliaries – Section 5.5 (page 268)

Each section will start with an interlinearized usage example of the structure at hand that serves purely illustrative purposes.

It should be noted that the distinction between the individual categories can be difficult, also in the case of individual verbal pairings. One of the values listed here does not necessarily exclude the other values: for example, numerous aspectual auxiliaries also can occur as path verbs in directional constructions; the usage of a verb as a path verb in a directional construction can entail a secondary aspectual meaning. As a result, a number of verbs will occur several times in this chapter in the discussion of different semantic categories. The listing of a verb as a marker of one value should not be understood to exclude other values.

After the discussion of these individual categories, this chapter will also feature a discussion of the regional variance and historical development of the structures at hand in Section 5.6 (page 269), a discussion on the productivity of individual structures in Section 5.7 (page 270), and finally, an overview of all auxiliaries and path verbs in Section 5.8 (page 274).

5.1 “The original meaning breaking through” in auxiliary constructions

Numerous verbs denoting that a subject places an object in a (standing, sitting, lying) position, that a subject itself takes up a (standing, sitting, lying) position, or that a subject is in a (standing, sitting, lying) position, can be found in the Mari language. The following is a graphical representation of prototypical verbs (i.e. excluding derived forms and verbs with additional semantic facets) of this type, where the

verb above the arrow represents a transitive verb and the verb below the arrow represents the corresponding intransitive verb:

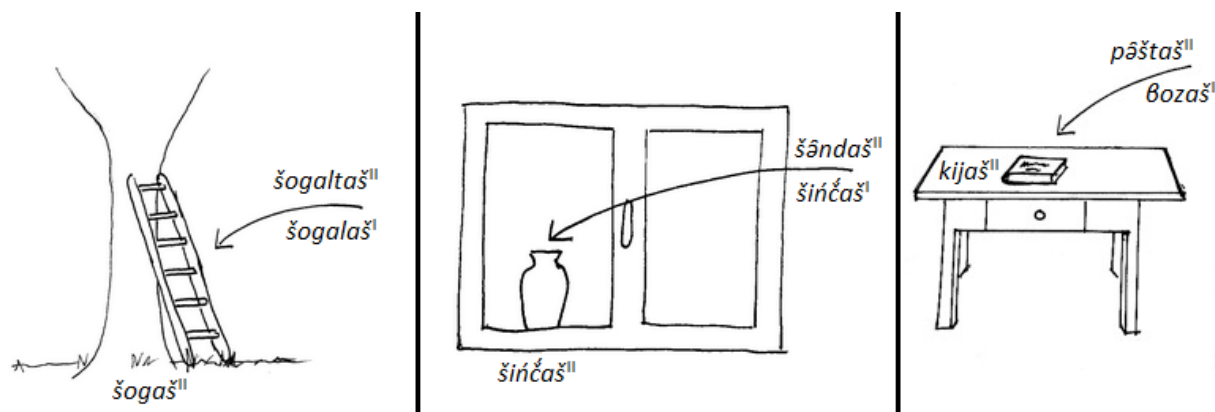


Figure 222: Illustrations of standing, sitting, and lying positions (Meadow Mari only)

A tabular view:

	Motion / Transformation		No motion / transformation
	Transitive	Intransitive	
	Triplet (1)	Triplet (2)	Triplet (3)
Standing position	šogaltaš / šagaltaš ^{II} 'to put, to set, to stand' Section 4.1.52 (page 230)	šogalaš / šagalaš ^I 'to stand up' Section 4.1.51 (page 228)	šogaš / šalgaš ^{II} 'to stand' Section 4.1.53 (page 232)
Sitting position	šāndaš / šāndaš ^{II} 'to put, to place' Section 4.1.47 (page 219)	šīnčaš / šānzāš ^I 'to sit down' Section 4.1.48 (page 222)	šīnčaš / šānzāš ^{II} 'to sit' Section 4.1.49 (page 225)
Lying position	pāštaš / pištaš ^{II} 'to put, to place' Section 4.1.38 (page 202)	bozaš / bazaš ^I 'to lie down; to fall' Section 4.1.4 (page 135)	kijaš / kiāš ^{II} 'to lie' Section 4.1.16 (page 158)

Figure 223: Standing, sitting, and lying positions

The triplets (1), (2), and (3) of the verbs found in each column in Figure 223 seem to have quite similar functions as auxiliaries:

- (1) šogaltaš / šagaltaš^{II} 'to put, to set, to stand', šāndaš / šāndaš^{II} 'to put, to place', and pāštaš / pištaš^{II} 'to put, to place' all couple with transitive verbs and are momentariness and resultativity markers.
- (2) šogalaš / šagalaš^I 'to stand up', šīnčaš / šānzāš^I 'to sit down', bozaš / bazaš^I 'to lie down; to fall' all couple with intransitive verbs and are momentariness and resultativity markers.
- (3) šogaš / šalgaš^{II} 'to stand', šīnčaš / šānzāš^{II} 'to sit', and kijaš / kiāš^{II} 'to lie' all couple with intransitive verbs and denote durativity.

In his survey of auxiliary verbs in Tatar, Claus Schönig subsumes verbs of similar groups with the justification that “the differences [between them lie] almost exclusively on the level of the original meaning breaking through” (Schönig 1984: 73).⁴⁴⁹

The categorization of verbs denoting these concepts in Tatar is not quite equivalent to the Mari categorization due to the absence of a distinction between intransitive verbs denoting movement into a position and intransitive verbs denoting that something is in a position – i.e. between triplets (2) and (3) – in Tatar: *toruβ* ‘to stand; to stand up’, *utâruβ* ‘to sit; to sit down’, *jâtuβ* ‘to lie; to lie down’ (cf. *ibid.*: 35). Disregarding this difference between Tatar and Mari and assuming the existence of three groups in Mari, Schönig’s simplification fails (for Mari at least) in the case of a number of highly idiomatic expressions where the usage of one of the auxiliaries in a group is obligatory without any connection to the verb’s original lexical semantics being evident. For example:

- *šonaš^{II}* ‘to think’ > *sonen pâštaš^{II}* ‘to decide (lit. thinking put)’
- *jôrataš^{II}* ‘to love’ > *jôraten šândaš^{II}* ‘to fall in love (lit. loving put)’
- *ojâraš^{II}* ‘to separate’ > *ojâren šogaltaš^{II}* ‘to choose (lit. separating put)’

In many cases, however, my survey revealed one and the same verb coupled with two or even three of the verbs belonging to one of the triplets.

The following verbs co-occurred with all verbs of triplet (1):

<i>βoltaš^{II}</i>	‘to lower’	<i>kondaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring’	<i>purtaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring in’
<i>čiktaš^{II}</i>	‘to dress’	<i>luktaš^I</i>	‘to lead out’	<i>sabâraš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (tr.)’
<i>čumâraš^{II}</i>	‘to pile up (tr.)’	<i>namijaš^{II}</i>	‘to bring’	<i>sajlaš^{II}</i>	‘to elect’
<i>čumârtaš^{II}</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>nôltaš^{II}</i>	‘to lift’		
<i>âštaš^{II}</i>	‘to do’	<i>pidaš^I</i>	‘to tie’		

The following verbs co-occurred with all verbs of triplet (2):

<i>βijnaltaš^I</i>	‘to stretch out (intr.)’	<i>lektaš^I</i>	‘to go, to leave’	<i>šâlaš^I</i>	‘to hide (intr.)’
<i>βolaš^{II}</i>	‘to descend’	<i>lijaš^I</i>	‘to be; to become’	<i>tolaš^I</i>	‘to come’
<i>čaraŋaš^I</i>	‘to bare oneself’	<i>mijaš^{II}</i>	‘to go, to come’	<i>turtaš^I</i>	‘to huddle up’
<i>jâmaš^{II}</i>	‘to be blinded’	<i>puraš^{II}</i>	‘to enter (intr.)’	<i>tûŋaš^I</i>	‘to freeze (intr.)’
<i>kadârgaš^{II}</i>	‘to bend (intr.)’	<i>sabârnaš^{II}</i>	‘to turn (intr.)’		

The following verbs co-occurred with all verbs of triplet (3):

<i>βučaš^{II}</i>	‘to wait’	<i>ludaš^I</i>	‘to read’	<i>šarlaš^{II}</i>	‘to spread (intr.)’
<i>jâlgâžaš^I</i>	‘to sparkle’	<i>lûŋgaltaš^I</i>	‘to rock (intr.)’	<i>šolaš^I</i>	‘to boil (intr.)’
<i>jogaš^{II}</i>	‘to flow’	<i>lûškaš^{II}</i>	‘to make noise’	<i>šužaš^{II}</i>	‘to get hungry’
<i>kanaš^{II}</i>	‘to rest’	<i>modaš^I</i>	‘to play’	<i>ûpšaltaš^I</i>	‘to (emit a) smell’
<i>kočkaš^I</i>	‘to eat’	<i>neraš^{II}</i>	‘to doze’		
<i>kojaš^I</i>	‘to be visible’	<i>oŋčaš^{II}</i>	‘to look’		

My consultations with a native speaker imply that except for the highly idiomatic pairings mentioned above, Schönig’s interpretation of “the original meaning breaking through” serves as a valid distinction between the different verbs within a triplet: any difference she felt between the pairings with the three individual verbs was in the position in which an action is carried out or into which the subject or object of an action moves, rather than in aspect.

⁴⁴⁹ “Bei den nontransformativen Hilfsverbverbindungen liegen die Unterschiede fast ausschließlich auf der Ebene des Durchschlagens der Vollverbbedeutung, so daß eine Einzelbehandlung dieser Formen unsinnig erscheint.”

Some facet of “the original meaning breaking through” can also be observed in the case of numerous other auxiliaries that, with respect to their aspectual value, seem quite similar to other auxiliaries. This can account for the co-existence of numerous auxiliaries denoting fairly similar aspectual values that, at first glance, might seem excessive to an observer.

5.2 Path marking

(123 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Эчан пушенге гыч тӧрштен волен.’

ečan	pušenge	gāč	töršt	-en	βol	-en	-∅.
Echan	tree	from	jump	-CVB	descend	-PST2	-3SG
n	n	po	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘Echan jumped down (lit. jumping descended) from the tree.’

The usage of path verbs in combination with manner-marking converbs, initially discussed in Section 2.2.5 (page 56), is poorly described in existing sources, and can also be viewed through the lens of “the original meaning [of the second verb in a verbal pairing] breaking through”, discussed in the previous section. Mikhail Chkhaidze speaks of “lexical meaning being partially weakened” (Chkhaidze 1968: 295) when he describes path verbs. Nikolay Isanbayev on the other hand speaks of verbs maintaining rather than losing part of their meaning – on one occasion, for example, noting that verbs “partially retain their lexical meaning” (Isanbayev 1978: 63).⁴⁵⁰ While it is clear that a larger degree of a verb’s lexical semantics are preserved than is the case in aspectual auxiliary constructions, it seems clear that the structures used to express motion events in Mari are an innovation that occurred under the influence of Turkic languages, as discussed in Section 2.2.5 (page 56).

Of the verbs reviewed above, those included in the following table can in my opinion be classified as path verbs and can be coupled with converbs in *-n* more or less productively – the set of verbs that can occur as manner-marking converbs is subject to semantic constraints. Verbs contained in grey cells are also used as aspectual auxiliaries, at least dialectally. Generally speaking, any verb with the appropriate transitivity – with exceptions, in Mari (but not to the same extent in Tatar or Chuvash) intransitive path verbs couple with intransitive manner-marking converbs while transitive path verbs couple with transitive manner-marking converbs – seems to be usable with the path verb in question as long as the relevant path can be assigned to it in a meaningful manner.

It should be noted that some of the path verbs indicate direction in relation to the deictic centre (i.e. movement to or from a reference point), while others indicate the direction in relation to topological coordinates (i.e. up/down/etc. in an absolute sense). As Mari does not seem to make a distinction between these kinds of path verbs, it seems valid to subsume these two categories.

⁴⁵⁰ “[...] частично сохраняют свое лексическое значение [...]”

Path	Intransitive	Transitive
down(wards)	<i>bolaš / balas^{II}</i> 'to descend' Section 4.1.1 (page 131)	<i>boltaš / baltaš^{II}</i> 'to lower' Section 4.1.2 (page 133)
in, into	<i>purraš / pârraš^{II}</i> 'to come in, to enter' Section 4.1.42 (page 213)	<i>purtaš / pârtaš^{II}</i> 'to bring in, to enter' Section 4.1.43 (page 214)
up(wards)	<i>küzaš / kuzas^{II}</i> 'to climb, to rise' Section 4.1.23 (page 177)	<i>küzâktaš / kuzâktaš^{II}</i> 'to raise' Section 4.1.24 (page 178)
up to	<i>mijaš / miäs^{II}</i> 'to come, to go' Section 4.1.28 (page 186)	<i>namijaš / nälän miäs^{II}</i> 'to bring' Section 4.1.31 (page 192)
away	<i>kajaš / keäs^{II}</i> 'to go (away); to leave' Section 4.1.12 (page 149)	<i>nanğajaš / nanğeäs^{II}</i> 'to take' Section 4.1.32 (page 193)
apart	<i>ojârlaş / ajârlaş^{II}</i> 'to go apart' Section 4.1.34 (page 195)	<i>ojâraš / ajâraš^{II}</i> 'to separate' Section 4.1.33 (page 194)
through	<i>šütlaš / šütläs^{II}</i> 'to wear through' Section 4.1.59 (page 244)	<i>šütaš / šütäs^{II}</i> 'to pierce' Section 4.1.58 (page 243)
out	<i>lektaš / läktäs^I</i> 'to go (out), to leave' Section 4.1.25 (page 179)	<i>luktaš / lâktaš^I</i> 'to take out' Section 4.1.27 (page 184)
(coming)	<i>tolaš / tolaš^I</i> 'to come' Section 4.1.62 (page 248)	<i>kondaš / kandaš^{II}</i> 'to bring' Section 4.1.20 (page 170)
across, over	<i>boňčas / banžas^{II}</i> 'to go over/through' Section 4.1.3 (page 134)	-
past, by	<i>ertaš / ertäs^{II}</i> 'to go by; to go through' Section 4.1.10 (page 145)	-
up	<i>kâñelaš / kâñäläs^I</i> 'to get up' Section 4.1.13 (page 153)	-
down	<i>bozaš / bazas^I</i> 'to lie down; to fall' Section 4.1.4 (page 135)	-
around	<i>saβârnaš / sârnäs^{II}</i> 'to turn' Section 4.1.44 (page 215)	-
together	-	<i>čumâraš / čâmâras^{II}</i> 'to gather (in a pile)' Section 4.1.7 (page 142)

Figure 224: Path verbs that couple with the converb in *-n*; grey cells represent verbs that are also aspectual auxiliaries

The etymological relationship between an intransitive path verb and a transitive path verb varies from pairing to pairing: transitive *boltaš / baltaš^{II}* 'to lower' and *purtaš / pârtaš^{II}* 'to bring in, to enter' are derived from their intransitive counterparts by means of the partially productive causative suffix *-t ~ -d* (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 164–165). Transitive *küzâktaš / kuzâktaš^{II}* 'to raise' is derived from its intransitive counterpart using the fully productive causative suffix *-kt* (cf. *ibid.*:163). The transitive verbs *namijaš / nälän miäs^{II}* 'to bring' and *nanğajaš / nanğeäs^{II}* 'to take' were originally verbal pairings (in fact, in the case of the first verb, the two verbs only melded into one in Meadow Mari) consisting of the converb in *-n* of the verb *nalaš / näläs^I* 'to take' and their intransitive counterparts (Alhoniemi 1986: 102). In two cases, the intransitive verb has been derived from its transitive counterpart by means of a derivational suffix *-l* not described in Alhoniemi's grammar. In two cases, there is no or at least no clear etymological connection, and in other cases there is no transitive or intransitive counterpart to an intransitive or transitive path verb.

For a more detailed account of the verbalization of motion events in Uralic, see (Bradley 2016b).

5.3 Benefactive and autobenefactive markers

(124 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Авай, мылам тиде курчакым налын пу!’

aβa	-j,	mâ	-la	-m	tide	kurčak	-êṃ	nal	-êṃ	pu	-∅!
mother	-VOC	1SG	-DAT	-1SG	this	doll	-ACC	buy	-CVB	give	-IMP.2SG
n	-case	pr	-case	-poss	pr	n	-case	v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

‘Mom, buy me (lit. buying give) this doll!’

The following three verbs occur in benefactive and autobenefactive constructions – see Section 2.2.6 (page 68):

- *puáš / puáš^{ll}* ‘to give’ – Section 4.1.41 (page 210) – benefactive
- *oňčâktaš / anžâktaš^{ll}* ‘to show’ – Section 4.1.36 (page 199) – benefactive (illustrating)
- *nalaš / näläs^l* ‘to take’ – Section 4.1.30 (page 189) – autobenefactive

The first and last auxiliary, in addition to their (auto)benefactive usage, have (momentary) aspectual values.

5.4 Aspect, aktionsart, phase

(125 – Mari – native speaker Tatyana Yefremova)

‘Пашатым кунам ыштен пытарет?’

paša	-t	-êṃ	kunam	êšt -en	pâtar -et?
work	-2SG	-ACC	when	do -CVB	finish -2SG
n	-poss	-case	adv	v -adv	v -pers

‘When will you be done (lit. doing finish) with work?’

The following verbs, in my opinion, serve as auxiliaries marking the named categories, which were previously discussed in Section 2.2.4 (page 47). Auxiliaries are sorted depending on whether they are primarily coupled with intransitive verbs, with transitive verbs, or with either.

Where appropriate, I have provided some key words describing additional facets expressed by the verb in question in verbal pairings. More information on these keywords can be found in the sections on the individual auxiliaries.

5.4.1 Ingressive (inchoative, inceptive) / initial-transformative

Ingressive forms are perfective forms that “indicate the beginning of a situation” (Comrie 1976: 19).

Coupled mainly with intransitive verbs:

- *βolaš / βalaš^{ll}* ‘to descend’ – Section 4.1.1 (page 131) – + unexpected, path ‘down’
- *kajaš / keäš^{ll}* ‘to go (away); to leave’ – Section 4.1.12 (page 149) – + complete, path ‘away’

Coupled with either:

- *koltaš / koltaš^{ll}* ‘to let go; to send’ – Section 4.1.19 (page 164) – + momentary, path ‘away’
- *lijaš / liäš^l* ‘to be; to become’ – Section 4.1.26 (page 183)
- *oňčas / anžas^{ll}* ‘to look’ – Section 4.1.35 (page 196) – + momentary, ‘to try to’

5.4.2 Resultative (completive) / final-transformative

Resultative forms are perfective forms that indicate “the successful completion of a situation” (Comrie 1976: 20).

Coupled mainly with intransitive verbs:

- *bozaš / bazaš^l* ‘to lie down; to fall’ – Section 4.1.4 (page 135) – + added property, path ‘down’
- *kodaš / kodaš^l* ‘to stay’ – Section 4.1.17 (page 160) – + evident result, excessive
- *šínčas / šanzas^l* ‘to sit down’ – Section 4.1.48 (page 222) – + sitting position
- *šogalaš / šagalaš^l* ‘to stand up’ – Section 4.1.51 (page 228) – + standing position

Coupled mainly with transitive verbs:

- *kodaš / kodaš^{ll}* ‘to leave something’ – Section 4.1.18 (page 162) – + subject leaves
- *pāštaš / pištäs^{ll}* ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.38 (page 202) – + lying position, in advance
- *puaš / puaš^{ll}* ‘to give’ – Section 4.1.41 (page 210) + benefactive
- *šāndaš / šandäs^{ll}* ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.47 (page 219) – + sitting position
- *šogaltaš / šagaltaš^{ll}* ‘to put, to set, to stand’ – Section 4.1.52 (page 230) – + standing position
- *šuaš / šuaš^{ll}* ‘to throw’ – Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – + energetic, impetuous, sudden

Coupled with either:

- *čarnaš / čarnäs^{ll}* ‘to stop, to cease’ – Section 4.1.5 (page 138) – + ending atelic action
- *kāškaš / kākäs^{ll}* ‘to throw; to scatter’ – Section 4.1.15 (page 156) – + impetuous, “scattered”
- *kudaltaš / -^{ll}* ‘to throw; to abandon’ – Section 4.1.22 (page 175) – + impetuous, sudden

5.4.3 Exhaustive

Exhaustive statements are perfective/resultative forms where “the specified action is realized to the fullest possible extent and thus also extends to all possible subjects and objects, whether or not they are indicated” (Schönig 1984.: 55–56).⁴⁵¹

Coupled mainly with intransitive verbs:

- *pātaš / pätäs^{ll}* ‘to end’ – Section 4.1.40 (page 207) – + all participate
- *šuaš / šuaš^l* ‘to arrive, to reach’ – Section 4.1.55 (page 237) – + attainment of a goal
- *utaš / -^{ll}* ‘to become superfluous’ – Section 4.1.66 (page 255) – + sufficient, excessive

Coupled mainly with transitive verbs:

- *luktaš / lāktaš^l* ‘to take out’ – Section 4.1.27 (page 184) – + creation of an object, path ‘out’
- *pātaraš / pätäräs^{ll}* ‘to finish’ – Section 4.1.39 (page 204) – + all possible objects

⁴⁵¹ “[...] die spezifizierte Tätigkeit im vollen möglichen Ausmaß verwirklicht wird und sich so auch auf alle möglichen Subjekte und Objekte, ob bezeichnet oder nicht, erstreckt.”

- *seŋaš / səŋgäš*^{ll} ‘to win’ – Section 4.1.45 (page 216) – + ‘to manage to’
- *temaš / temäš*^{ll} ‘to fill something up’ – Section 4.1.61 (page 246) – + sufficient (for third party)

Coupled with either:

- - / *čučaš*^l ‘to strike (a target)’ – Section 4.1.8 (page 142) – + ‘to manage to’
- *sitaraš / sitäräš*^{ll} ‘to gather, to provide’ – Section 4.1.46 (page 218) – + sufficient, excessive
- *temaš / temäš*^l ‘to be filled’ – Section 4.1.60 (page 245) – + sufficient (for the subject)
- *šuktaš / šoktaš*^{ll} ‘to manage; to lead to’ – Section 4.1.57 (page 241) – + ‘to manage to’

5.4.4 Delimitative

Delimitive forms are used when a perfective situation occurs over a defined period of time (cf. **Comrie 1976: 22**).

Coupled mainly with transitive verbs:

- *nalaš / näläš*^l ‘to take’ – Section 4.1.30 (page 189) – + autobenefactive

Coupled with either:

- *ertaraš / ertäräš*^{ll} ‘to carry (something) out, to conduct’ – Section 4.1.9 (page 144)
- *lektaš / läktaš*^l ‘to go (out), to leave’ – Section 4.1.25 (page 179) – + sudden, path ‘out’

5.4.5 Durative

Durative forms are imperfective forms that refer “to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (or at least, is conceived of as lasting for a certain period of time)” (**Comrie 1976: 41**).

Coupled with either:

- *ilaš / əläš*^{ll} ‘to live’ – Section 4.1.11 (page 147) – + continuous, lasting very long
- *kijaš / kiäš*^{ll} ‘to lie’ – Section 4.1.16 (page 158) – + continuous, lying position
- *koštaš / kaštaš*^l ‘to go; to wander’ – Section 4.1.21 (page 172) – + many locations
- *šiňčaš / šənzäš*^{ll} ‘to sit’ – Section 4.1.49 (page 225) – + sitting position
- *šogaš / šalgaš*^{ll} ‘to stand’ – Section 4.1.53 (page 232) – + standing position

5.4.6 Continuative

Continuative forms are imperfective, durative forms that indicate “an event continuing to happen” (**Binnick 1991: 146**).

Coupled with either:

- *čĕtaš / cətäš*^{ll} ‘to endure, to bear’ – Section 4.1.6 (page 141)

5.4.7 Iterative (frequentative)

Iterative or frequentative forms are imperfective forms that denote “the repetition of a situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation” (**Comrie 1976: 27**).

Coupled mainly with transitive verbs:

- *optaš / optaš^{II}* ‘to put, to set’ – Section 4.1.37 (page 200) – + intense, rapid, large scale
- *sabərnaš / sərnäš^{II}* ‘to turn’ – Section 4.1.44 (page 215) – + multiple objects, path ‘around’

Coupled with either:

- *šínčãltaš / šãnzaltãš^I* ‘to sit around’ – Section 4.1.50 (page 227) – + sitting position
- *šogãltaš / šalgãltaš^I* ‘to stand around’ – Section 4.1.54 (page 236) – + standing position

5.4.8 Gradual (incremental)

Gradual or incremental forms are imperfective, durative forms that indicate “duration or repetition together with transformation” (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 78).

Coupled mainly with intransitive verbs:

- *tolaš / tolaš^I* ‘to come’ – Section 4.1.62 (page 248) – + path ‘coming’

Coupled with either:

- *mijaš / miãš^{II}* ‘to come, to go’ – Section 4.1.28 (page 186) – + path ‘to (a limit)’

5.5 Modal, temporal, and miscellaneous values

(126 – Mari – native speaker Emma Yakimova)

‘Тый мылам полшен кертат?’

tãj	mã	-la	-m	polš	-en	kert	-at?
2SG	1SG	-DAT	-1SG	help	-CVB	be.able.to	-2SG
pr	pr	-case	-poss	v	-adv	v	-pers

‘Can you help (lit. helping can) me?’

The following verbs do not fall neatly into any of the previously discussed categories, but are connected with converbs in *-n* in non-trivial manners:

- *kertaš / kerdãš^I* ‘to be able to’ – Section 4.1.14 (page 154) – ‘to be able to (general)’
- *moštaš / mãštaš^I* ‘to be able to’ – Section 4.1.29 (page 188) – ‘to be able to (acquired ability)’
- *ulaš / ãlaš^I* ‘to be’ – Section 4.1.65 (page 254) – past tense
- *tolašaš / -^{II}* ‘to try, to strive’ – Section 4.1.63 (page 251) – improper, inadequate execution
- *tõčãš / čãčãš^{II}* ‘to try, to attempt’ – Section 4.1.64 (page 253) – improper, inadequate execution

Presumably owing to the fact that auxiliary verbs denote temporal and modal values in large European languages, these values can be considered “classical” auxiliary values: verbs denoting these values are more commonly described as auxiliary verbs in reference materials than other auxiliaries are.

5.6 Regional variance, historical development

While radical differences can be observed with respect to the proliferation of auxiliary constructions in different dialects of Udmurt (cf. **Kel'makov 1975**; **Horváth 2013: 114**), this does not seem to apply in the case of Mari. The basic structures I have detailed in this thesis are widely used in all varieties; differences between the mechanisms in different varieties seem to be superficial and to be restricted to individual auxiliaries. Nevertheless, they offer some important insights into the development of the mechanisms under consideration as a whole.

As discussed in Section 2.5 (page 81), there has been some debate about the origin of auxiliary constructions in Mari. While they are almost universally considered a structural borrowing from Turkic, scholars disagree about which Turkic language(s) were of critical importance in this. Mikhail Chaidze claims that “the Udmurt and Mari languages borrowed (calqued) the system of [auxiliary constructions] from languages of the Turkic type, first and foremost Tatar and Bashkir, over the course of the last few centuries” (e.g. **Chkhaidze 1967: 258**).⁴⁵² This claim seems highly dubious. As discussed in Section 1.1 (page 7), Chuvash (historically Bolgar) influence on Mari runs much deeper than Kipchak influence – with respect to the time frame and by extension also to the dialectal scope of the influence. While Tatar influence is mostly concentrated in varieties of Mari spoken further to the east, Chuvash (Bolgar) influence on Mari is ubiquitous. The fact that these constructions are so widely used in varieties of Mari that otherwise show a dearth of Tatar influence strongly suggests a Chuvash (Bolgar) source of the mechanisms in general. A further argument for this is the structural convergence of Mari – including Eastern varieties – with Chuvash in cases where there is less or no convergence with Tatar, e.g. in the case of verbs with the following meanings:

- ‘to lie down’ – Section 4.1.4 (page 135)
- ‘to carry (something) out’ – Section 4.1.9 (page 144)
- ‘to live’ – Section 4.1.11 (page 147)
- ‘to stay’ – Section 4.1.17 (page 160)
- ‘to put, to place (in a lying position)’ – Section 4.1.38 (page 202)
- ‘to sit’ – Section 4.1.48 (page 222)
- ‘to throw’ – Section 4.1.56 (page 239)

Moreover, while the critical mass of auxiliaries in Mari is derived from Uralic (or at least Finno-Ugric or Finno-Permic) roots, numerous Chuvash loanwords in Mari are used as auxiliaries – in all varieties of Mari – in a manner that seems in line with the Chuvash usage of the auxiliary in question, for example *ertaraš / ertäräš^{II}* ‘to carry (something) out, to conduct’ – Section 4.1.9 (page 144) – and *pātaš / pātäš^{II}* ‘to end’ – Section 4.1.40 (page 207).

In spite of the overwhelming evidence indicating an earlier borrowing of the structures at hand from Chuvash, it seems equally likely that the usage of individual auxiliaries was moulded over the centuries by Kipchak in Eastern varieties of Mari, while it continued to be subjected to Chuvash influence in Western varieties. This can serve as an explanation for the usage of *kijaš / kiäš^{II}* ‘to lie’ – Section 4.1.16 (page 158) – and *ḃolaš / ḃalaš^{II}* ‘to descend, to come down, to sink’ – Section 4.1.1 (page 131) – as aspectual markers in Eastern Mari, but not in Western varieties. This is in agreement with the usage of

⁴⁵² “Устанавливается также, что удмуртский и марийский языки заимствовали (скалькировали) систему спаренных глаголов у языков тюркского корня, прежде всего татарского и башкирского, в течение последних нескольких столетий, [...]”

these verbs' counterparts in Kipchak. On the other hand, the wider application of the verb *šuaš / šuaš*¹¹ 'to throw' – Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – in both Hill Mari and the Volzhsk dialect of Meadow Mari is in line with the usage of this verb's Chuvash counterpart, implying more intensive contact here as well.

5.7 Productivity

For most of the auxiliaries under consideration, the number of pairings encountered in the corpus greatly exceeded the number of pairings found in lexical sources. With 5370 distinct pairings found in the sources I took under consideration, it does not seem appropriate to speak of individual loan translations in the case of most auxiliaries – they have clearly taken up a life of their own in Mari.

A further indicator for the productivity of auxiliaries in Mari, already observed by Mari scholars (e.g. **Sibatrova 2016**), is their ability to combine with Russian loanwords that clearly postdate the critical phases of Turkic influence on Mari, at least in some cases. I could find usage examples of the following auxiliaries (the value they express is given as well) with the listed Russian lexemes – 124 pairings using 32 different auxiliaries:

*čarnaš / čärnäš*¹¹ 'to stop, to cease' – Section 4.1.5 (page 138) – resultative (completive)

- *vistupatlaš*¹¹ 'to speak publicly'

*ertaraš / ertäräš*¹¹ 'to carry (something) out, to conduct' – Section 4.1.9 (page 144) – delimitative

- *dokladivatlaš*¹¹ 'to report'
- *služitlaš*¹¹ 'to serve'
- *zanimatlaš*¹¹ 'to study'

*ilaš / əläš*¹¹ 'to live' – Section 4.1.11 (page 147) – durative

- *maitlaš*¹¹ 'to suffer'
- *zoritlaš*¹¹ 'to ravage'

*kajaš / keäš*¹¹ 'to go (away)' – Section 4.1.12 (page 149) – ingressive (inchoative, inceptive), path 'away'

- *dokladivatlaš*¹¹ 'to report'

*käškaš / käškäš*¹¹ 'to throw; to scatter' – Section 4.1.15 (page 156) – resultative (completive)

- *bombitlaš*¹¹ 'to bomb'

*kijaš / kiäš*¹¹ 'to lie' – Section 4.1.16 (page 158) – durative

- *verbovatlaltaš*¹¹ 'to enlist'
- *dokladivatlaš*¹¹ 'to report'
- *doložitlaš*¹¹ 'to report'
- *grabitlaš*¹¹ 'to rob'
- *gruzitlaš*¹¹ 'to load'
- *zavoditlaš*¹¹ 'to start, to wind up'
- *zanimatlaš*¹¹ 'to study'
- *zapravitlaš*¹¹ 'to fill up (tr.)'
- *załaditlaš*¹¹ 'to load (tr.)'
- *zvonitlaš*¹¹ 'to ring'

*kodaš / kodaš*¹ 'to stay' – Section 4.1.17 (page 160) – resultative (completive)

- *gul'ajaš*¹¹ 'to go for a walk'
- *pečatlaltaš*¹ 'to be published'

kodaš / kodaš^{II} ‘to leave something’ – Section 4.1.18 (page 162) – resultative (completive)

- *oskorbitlaš^{II}* ‘to insult’
- *sdatlaš^{II}* ‘to hand over’
- *zaveššatlaš^{II}* ‘to bequeath’
- *zapravitlaš^{II}* ‘to fill up (tr.)’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zoritlaš^{II}* ‘to ravage’

koltaš / koltaš^{II} ‘to let go; to send’ – Section 4.1.19 (page 164) – ingressive (inchoative, inceptive)

- *rešatlaš^{II}* ‘to solve’
- *sdatlaš^{II}* ‘to hand over’
- *zavoditlaš^{II}* ‘to start, to wind up’
- *zakazatlaš^{II}* ‘to order’
- *koštaš / kaštaš^I* ‘to go; to wander’
- *grabitlaš^{II}* ‘to rob’
- *gul’ajas^{II}* ‘to go for a walk’
- *χuliganitlaš^{II}* ‘to behave like a hooligan’
- *kalimitlaš^{II}* ‘to moonlight’
- *šabašitlaš^{II}* ‘to moonlight’
- *žalovatlaš^{II}* ‘to complain’
- *žuliklanaš^{II}* ‘to cheat’

lektaš / läktäš^I ‘to go (out), to leave’ – Section 4.1.25 (page 179) – delimitative, path ‘out’

- *analizirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to analyse’
- *dežuritlaš^{II}* ‘to be on duty’
- *pečatlaltaš^I* ‘to be published’
- *redaktirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to edit’

luktaš / lăktaš^I ‘to take out’ – Section 4.1.27 (page 184) – exhaustive, path ‘out’

- *χlopotatlaš^{II}* ‘to make an effort’
- *kačatlaš^{II}* ‘to pump’
- *pečatlaš^{II}* ‘to print’

nalaš / nălăš^I ‘to take’ – Section 4.1.30 (page 189) – autobenefactive, delimitative

- *fotografirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to photograph’
- *kritikovatlaš^{II}* ‘to criticize’
- *snimatlaš^{II}* ‘to photograph’
- *zanimatlaš^{II}* ‘to study’
- *zvonitlaš^{II}* ‘to ring’

naŋajaš / naŋeäš^{II} ‘to take’ – Section 4.1.32 (page 193) – path ‘away’

- *buksirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to tow’

oňčaš / anžaš^{II} ‘to look’ – Section 4.1.35 (page 196) – ingressive (inchoative, inceptive), momentary

- *diskovatlaš^{II}* ‘to harrow’
- *gruzitlaš^{II}* ‘to load’
- *prinimatlaš^{II}* ‘to take up (a post)’
- *zavoditlaš^{II}* ‘to start, to wind up’
- *zakazatlaš^{II}* ‘to order’
- *zapravitlaš^{II}* ‘to fill up (tr.)’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zvonitlaš^{II}* ‘to ring’

optaš / optaš^{II} ‘to put, to set’ – Section 4.1.37 (page 200) – iterative (frequentative)

- *gruzitlaš^{II}* ‘to load’

pāštaš / pištaš^{II} ‘to put, to place’ – Section 4.1.38 (page 202) – resultative (completive)

- *bintovatlaš^{II}* ‘to bandage’

pātarāš / pātārāš^{II} ‘to finish’ – Section 4.1.39 (page 204) – exhaustive

- *bintovatlaš^{II}* ‘to bandage’
- *deklamirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to recite’
- *kleitlaš^{II}* ‘to glue’
- *orkestruvatlaš^{II}* ‘to orchestrate’
- *pečatlaš^{II}* ‘to print’
- *povtoritlaš^{II}* ‘to repeat’
- *sdatlaš^{II}* ‘to hand over’
- *skirdovatlaš^{II}* ‘to stack’
- *služitlaš^{II}* ‘to serve’
- *zapravitlaš^{II}* ‘to fill up (tr.)’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zoritlaš^{II}* ‘to ravage’

pātaš / patāš^{II} ‘to end’ – Section 4.1.40 (page 207) – exhaustive

- *žaritaltaš^I* ‘to fry (intr.)’

puāš / puāš^{II} ‘to give’ – Section 4.1.41 (page 210) – benefactive, resultative (completive)

- *čertitlaš^{II}* ‘to draw, to trace’
- *deval’virovatlaš^{II}* ‘to devalue’
- *deklamirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to recite’
- *dirižirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to conduct’
- *dokazatlaš^{II}* ‘to demonstrate’
- *pečatlaš^{II}* ‘to print’
- *zavoditlaš^{II}* ‘to start, to wind up’
- *zapravitlaš^{II}* ‘to fill up (tr.)’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zvonitlaš^{II}* ‘to ring’
- *žaritlaš^{II}* ‘to fry (tr.)’
- *ut’užitlaš^{II}* ‘to iron’

sitarāš / sitārāš^{II} ‘to gather, to provide’ – Section 4.1.46 (page 218) – exhaustive

- *zapravitlaš^{II}* ‘to fill up (tr.)’

šāndaš / šāndaš^{II} ‘to put’ – Section 4.1.47 (page 219) – resultative (completive)

- *bintovatlaš^{II}* ‘to bandage’
- *koptitlaš^{II}* ‘to smoke’
- *paitlaš^{II}* ‘to solder’
- *pečatlaš^{II}* ‘to print’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zubritlaš^{II}* ‘to learn by rote’
- *žaritlaš^{II}* ‘to fry (tr.)’

šińčas / šānzāš^I ‘to sit down’ – Section 4.1.48 (page 222) – resultative (completive)

- *kleitlaltaš^I* ‘to be glued’

šínčáš / šanzäš^{II} ‘to sit’ – Section 4.1.49 (page 225) – durative

- *veselitlaš^{II}* ‘to have a good time’

šogalaš / šalqalaš^I ‘to stand up’ – Section 4.1.51 (page 228) – resultative (completive)

- *stroitlaltaš^I* ‘to draw up in a line’

šogaltaš / šaqaltaš^{II} ‘to put, to place, to stand’ – Section 4.1.52 (page 230) – resultative (completive)

- *stroitlaš^{II}* ‘to construct’

šogaš / šalgaš^{II} ‘to stand’ – Section 4.1.53 (page 232) – durative

- *diktovatlaš^{II}* ‘to dictate’
- *distillirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to distil’
- *dokladivatlaš^{II}* ‘to report’
- *doložitlaš^{II}* ‘to report’
- *fotografirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to photograph’
- *gladitlaš^{II}* ‘to iron’
- *golosovatlaš^{II}* ‘to vote’
- *podderživatlaš^{II}* ‘to support’
- *revizovatlaš^{II}* ‘to inspect’
- *zavisitlaš^{II}* ‘to depend on’
- *zakazatlaš^{II}* ‘to order’
- *trenirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to train’

šogâltaš / šalqâltaš^I ‘to stand around’ – Section 4.1.54 (page 236) – iterative (frequentative)

- *zavoditlaš^{II}* ‘to start, to wind up’

šuaš / šuaš^I ‘to arrive, to reach’ – Section 4.1.55 (page 237) – exhaustive

- *adaptirovatlaltaš^I* ‘to adapt (intr.)’
- *formirovatlaltaš^I* ‘to be formed’
- *žaritlaltaš^I* ‘to fry (intr.)’

šuaš / šuaš^{II} ‘to throw’ – Section 4.1.56 (page 239) – resultative (completive)

- *gladitlaš^{II}* ‘to iron’

šuktaš / šoktaš^{II} ‘to manage; to lead to’ – Section 4.1.57 (page 241) – exhaustive

- *evakuirovatlaltaš^I* ‘to be evacuated’
- *gul’ajaš^{II}* ‘to go for a walk’
- *komplektovatlaš^{II}* ‘to complete’
- *zařaditlaš^{II}* ‘to load (tr.)’
- *zoritlaš^{II}* ‘to ravage’
- *trenirovatlaš^{II}* ‘to train’

tolaš / tolaš^I ‘to come’ – Section 4.1.62 (page 248) – gradual (incremental), path ‘(coming)’

- *doložitlaš^{II}* ‘to report’
- *razoritlaltaš^I* ‘to be ruined’
- *služitlaš^{II}* ‘to serve’

Joan Bybee’s suggestion of frequency as a metric for grammaticalization, discussed in Section 2.4 (page 78), serves as a further argument for the productivity of many of the auxiliaries considered in this dissertation. While it is without a doubt possible to read a verb’s original semantics into pairings using it in many situations, the verbs that I have classified as auxiliaries nevertheless seem to appear with disproportionate frequency when compared to their semantic counterparts in languages in which similar grammaticalization has not occurred – e.g. Russian or English. This becomes increasingly obvious when one compares translations into Mari from Russian. For example, the New Testament

includes numerous usages of *ilas*⁴⁵¹ ‘to live’ in combination with a converb where it is possible – but not necessary – to interpret the semantics of ‘living’ into the sentence. Here, Russian Bible translations (assuming that these rather than the original Greek texts served as the basis of the translation) as a rule do not include the verb *žit* ‘to live’:

(127 – Mari – Corpus > New Testament > Mark 1:6)

‘Тудо шурнышырчыкым да ир мүкшын мүйжым кочкын илен.’

tudo	šurnâšârčâk	-âm	da	ir	mükš	-ân	müj	-žê	-m	kočk	-ân	il	-en	-∅.
3SG	locust	-ACC	and	wild	bee	-GEN	honey	-3SG	-ACC	eat	-CVB	live	-PST2	-3SG
pr	n	-case	co	adj	n	-case	n	-poss	-case	v	-adv	v	-tense	-pers

‘[H]e did eat [(lit. eating lived)] locusts and wild honey[.]’⁴⁵³

Combined with the sheer number of distinct verbal pairings (5370) I have found in the research project at hand, these factors convince me that the mechanisms at hand are “living and breathing” components of contemporary Mari grammar, rather than individual loan translations from Turkic languages. Nevertheless, further research with consultants of different dialect groups would be desirable to analyse the proliferation of different structures in the spontaneous speech of native speakers of different varieties of Mari – and also of native speakers of Udmurt. With respect to the verbalization of motion events, discussed in Section 2.2.5 (page 56), it would be instructive to replicate the research work carried out by Dan I. Slobin (cf. **Slobin 2000**) on English, German, Dutch, Russian, French, Spanish, Turkish, and Hebrew, in regard to Mari and Udmurt dialects, with speakers of different generations to determine whether there are dialectal and generational differences pertaining to the proliferation of Turkic-style “verb-framed” structures in these languages.

5.8 Overview of auxiliaries and path verbs

The tabular overview found on the following pages gives a number of core data points for all auxiliaries and path verbs taken into consideration in this thesis:

- The lexeme, in Meadow Mari and Hill Mari. If it is not found in the relevant variety, the respective field is empty.
- The lexical meaning of the lexeme.
- A link to the section and page number in which the auxiliary or path verb is discussed in great detail.
- The transitivity – *t* for transitive, *i* for intransitive – of the auxiliary verb (or path verb) – abbreviated as *aux* – and of the converb – abbreviated as *cvb* – that are connected to it in the critical mass of verbal pairings.
- The function of the verb as an auxiliary and/or path verb.
- The number of pairings found using the verb in question in the second position – in the lexical sources (Lex.), the corpus (Corp.), and in total (Tot.).
- The counterparts of the lexeme in question in Udmurt, Tatar, Bashkir, and Chuvash.

It should be noted that in order to keep the data presented here transparent, it was necessary to simplify much of the information provided. More data on the individual auxiliaries can be found in the sections discussing them individually; more data on the realization of individual categories can be

⁴⁵³ Russian (Synodal Translation) “[...] и ел акриды и дикий мед.”

found earlier in this section. To maximize the amount of data I could give for each verb, the following pages are in landscape orientation.

In total, I found 5370 distinct pairings of converbs and auxiliaries/path verbs in my lexical sources, and in my corpus – see Section 3.2 (page 84). A listing of the pairings using each individual auxiliary/path verb can be found in Section 4.1 (page 130), or at source.mari-language.com in tabular format.

As was the case in Section 4.1 (page 130), the following alphabetical ordering is used:

<i>a</i>	> <i>ä</i>	> <i>b</i>	> <i>β ~ v</i>	> <i>č ~ č̣</i>	> <i>d ~ δ</i>	> <i>e</i>	> <i>ə</i>	> <i>â ~ î</i>	> <i>f</i>	> <i>g ~ γ</i>	> <i>χ</i>	>
<i>i</i>	> <i>j</i>	> <i>k</i>	> <i>l</i>	> <i>m</i>	> <i>n</i>	> <i>ń</i>	> <i>ŋ</i>	> <i>o</i>	> <i>ö</i>	> <i>p</i>	> <i>r</i>	>
<i>s</i>	> <i>z</i>	> <i>š</i>	> <i>ž</i>	> <i>t</i>	> <i>u</i>	> <i>ü</i>						

Lexeme		Lex. Meaning	Section	Transit. of ...		Function	Pairings			Counterparts			
Meadow	Hill			aux	cvb		Lex.	Corp.	Tot.	Udmurt	Tatar	Bashkir	Chuvash
θolaš ^{II}	θalaš ^{II}	'to descend'	4.1.1.1 (p. 131)	i	i	path: 'down' aspect: ingressive	16	3	19	vaskijnj	töšüb	töšöb	an
θoltaš ^{II}	θaltaš ^{II}	'to lower'	4.1.1.2 (p. 133)	t	t	path: 'down'	8	8	16	vaskätijnj	töšörüb	töšöröb	antar
θoňčoš ^{II}	θoňčoš ^{II}	'to go over'	4.1.1.3 (p. 134)	i	i	path: 'across, over'	5	2	7	vjžanj	ütüb	üteb	kaš
θozaš ^{II}	θazaš ^{II}	'to lie down'	4.1.1.4 (p. 135)	i	i	aspect: resultative path: 'down'	85	4	89	vjđijnj	jätüb	jätäb	ük
čarnaš ^{II}	čärnäš ^{II}	'to stop'	4.1.1.5 (p. 138)	t	t + i	aspect: resultative	3	7	10	dugajinj	tuqataruβ	tuqataräb	čärän
čätaš ^{II}	čätäš ^{II}	'to endure'	4.1.1.6 (p. 141)	t	t + i	aspect: continuative	1	2	3	čičanj	šädaβ	šädaβ	čät
čümäraš ^{II}	čämäraš ^{II}	'to gather'	4.1.1.7 (p. 142)	t	t	path: 'together'	1	5	6	oktijnj	tuplaβ	tuplaβ	puštar
-	čučas ^I	'to strike'	4.1.1.8 (p. 142)	t	t + i	aspect: exhaustive 'to manage to'	N/A	N/A	N/A	?	?	?	?
ertaraš ^{II}	ertäräš ^{II}	'to carry out'	4.1.1.9 (p. 144)	t	t + i	aspect: delimitative	18	9	27	ortčijnj	ütkäürüb	ütkäreβ	irtter
ertaš ^{II}	ertäš ^{II}	'to go by'	4.1.1.10 (p. 145)	i	i	path: 'past, by'	10	16	26	ortčijnj	ütüb	üteβ	irt
ilaš ^{II}	äläš ^{II}	'to live'	4.1.1.11 (p. 147)	i	t + i	aspect: durative	30	92	122	ulijnj	toruβ	toroβ	purän
kajaš ^{II}	keäš ^{II}	'to go (away)'	4.1.1.12 (p. 149)	i	i	aspect: ingressive path: 'away'	263	69	332	koškijnj	kitüb	kiteβ	kaj
käneläš ^{II}	käneläs ^I	'to get up'	4.1.1.13 (p. 153)	i	i	path: 'up'	3		3	sultijnj	toruβ	toroβ	tär
kertaš ^I	kerdäš ^I	'to be able to'	4.1.1.14 (p. 154)	i	t + i	modality: ability	N/A	N/A	N/A	bigatijnj	älüb	äläb	pultar
käškaš ^{II}	käškäs ^{II}	'to scatter'	4.1.1.15 (p. 156)	i	t + i	aspect: resultative	40	13	53	kuštijnj	täštaβ	täštaβ	täk
kijaš ^{II}	kiäs ^{II}	'to lie'	4.1.1.16 (p. 158)	i	t + i	aspect: durative lying position	56	44	100	kij'ijinj	jätüb	jätäb	virt
kodaš ^I	kodaš ^I	'to stay'	4.1.1.17 (p. 160)	i	i	aspect: resultative	65	34	99	kij'ijnj	qätuβ	qätäb	jul
kodaš ^{II}	kodaš ^{II}	'to leave sth.'	4.1.1.18 (p. 162)	t	t	aspect: resultative	82	65	147	ke'ijinj	qätärüβ	qätäräb	xävar
koltaš ^{II}	koltaš ^{II}	'to let go; to send'	4.1.1.19 (p. 164)	t	t + i	aspect: ingressive aspect: momentary path: 'away'	317	58	375	ležijnj	žibärüb	Jebäreβ	jar
kondaš ^{II}	kandäš ^{II}	'to bring'	4.1.1.20 (p. 170)	t	t	path: '(coming)'	16	3	19	vajijnj	kiterüb	kiltereβ	?
koštaš ^I	kaštaš ^I	'to go; to wander'	4.1.1.21 (p. 172)	i	t + i	aspect: durative many locations	160	107	267	mijnj	jörüb	jöröb	šüre
kudaltaš ^{II}	-	'to throw'	4.1.1.22 (p. 175)	t	t + i	aspect: resultative	64	2	66	kuštijnj	täštaβ	täštaβ	päraχ
küzaš ^{II}	kuzäš ^{II}	'to climb, to rise'	4.1.1.23 (p. 177)	i	i	path: 'up(wards)'	8	17	25	tubijnj	menüb	meneβ	xäpar
küzäktäš ^{II}	kuzäktaš ^{II}	'to raise'	4.1.1.24 (p. 178)	t	t	path: 'up(wards)'	3	1	4	žutijnj	kitärüb	kitäreβ	šäkle
lektaš ^I	läktäš ^I	'to go (out)'	4.1.1.25 (p. 179)	i	t + i	aspect: delimitative path: 'out'	100	67	167	potijnj	šäyuβ	säyäb	tux
lijaš ^I	liräš ^I	'to be; to become'	4.1.1.26 (p. 183)	i	t + i	aspect: ingressive	3	4	7	lujinj	buluβ	buläb	pul

<i>luktaš</i>	<i>lāktāš</i>	'to take out'	4.1.27 (p. 184)	t	t	t	aspect: exhaustive path: 'out'	93	46	139	<i>potīņj</i>	<i>šāyaruš</i>	<i>sāyarāš</i>	<i>kālar</i>
<i>mijaš</i>	<i>mīāš</i>	'to come, to go'	4.1.28 (p. 186)	i	t + i	t + i	aspect: gradual path: 'up to'	20	23	43	?	<i>bāruš</i>	<i>bārāš</i>	<i>pir</i>
<i>moštaš</i>	<i>māštaš</i>	'to be able to'	4.1.29 (p. 188)	i	t + i	t + i	modality: ability	N/A	N/A	N/A	?	<i>belūš</i>	<i>beleš</i>	<i>pēl</i>
<i>nalaš</i>	<i>nālāš</i>	'to take'	4.1.30 (p. 189)	t	t	t	aspect: delimitative autobenefactive	245	39	284	<i>baštīņj</i>	<i>ātuš</i>	<i>ātāš</i>	<i>il</i>
<i>namijaš</i>	<i>nālan miāš</i>	'to bring'	4.1.31 (p. 192)	t	t	t	path: 'up to'	2	4	6	<i>nuņj</i>	<i>alāp baruš</i>	<i>alāp barāš</i>	<i>ilse pir</i>
<i>nanġaġjaš</i>	<i>nānġeāš</i>	'to take sth.'	4.1.32 (p. 193)	t	t	t	path: 'away'	15	12	27	?	<i>alāp kitūš</i>	<i>alāp kiteš</i>	<i>ilse kaj</i>
<i>oġāraš</i>	<i>oġāraš</i>	'to separate'	4.1.33 (p. 194)	t	t	t	path: 'apart'	6	2	8	<i>visiņj</i>	<i>āġāruš</i>	<i>āġārāš</i>	<i>ujār</i>
<i>oġāraš</i>	<i>oġāraš</i>	'to go apart'	4.1.34 (p. 195)	i	i	i	path: 'apart'	0	6	6	<i>visiāskīņj</i>	<i>āġārātuš</i>	<i>āġārātāš</i>	<i>ujārl</i>
<i>oñāš</i>	<i>oñāš</i>	'to look'	4.1.35 (p. 196)	t	t + i	t + i	aspect: ingressive	80	68	148	<i>učkīņj</i>	<i>qāraš</i>	<i>qārāš</i>	<i>pāḡ</i>
<i>oñčāktāš</i>	<i>oñčāktāš</i>	'to show'	4.1.36 (p. 199)	t	t + i	t + i	benefactive	6	13	19	<i>vožmatīņj</i>	<i>kūrsātūš</i>	<i>kūrhāteš</i>	<i>kātart</i>
<i>optaš</i>	<i>optaš</i>	'to put, to set'	4.1.37 (p. 200)	t	t	t	aspect: iterative	58	18	76	?	?	?	?
<i>pāštaš</i>	<i>pištaš</i>	'to put, to place'	4.1.38 (p. 202)	t	t	t	aspect: resultative lying position	69	35	104	?	<i>sātuš</i>	<i>hātāš</i>	<i>ḡur</i>
<i>pātarāš</i>	<i>pētārāš</i>	'to finish'	4.1.39 (p. 204)	t	t	t	aspect: exhaustive	203	62	265	<i>biđtīņj</i>	<i>beterūš</i>	<i>bötöröš</i>	<i>pēter</i>
<i>pātaš</i>	<i>pētāš</i>	'to end'	4.1.40 (p. 207)	i	i	i	aspect: exhaustive	200	24	224	<i>biġīņj</i>	<i>betūš</i>	<i>bötöš</i>	<i>pēt</i>
<i>puāš</i>	<i>puāš</i>	'to give'	4.1.41 (p. 210)	t	t	t	aspect: resultative benefactive	141	33	174	<i>soṭīņj</i>	<i>birūš</i>	<i>bireš</i>	<i>par</i>
<i>puraš</i>	<i>pāraš</i>	'to come in'	4.1.42 (p. 213)	i	i	i	path: 'in, into'	27	9	36	<i>piġīņj</i>	<i>kerūš</i>	<i>ineš</i>	<i>kēr</i>
<i>purtaš</i>	<i>pārtaš</i>	'to bring in'	4.1.43 (p. 214)	t	t	t	path: 'in, into'	17	2	19	<i>piġtīņj</i>	<i>kertūš</i>	<i>indereš</i>	<i>kért</i>
<i>sabāmaš</i>	<i>sārnāš</i>	'to turn'	4.1.44 (p. 215)	i	t + i	t + i	aspect: iterative path: 'around'	11	10	21	<i>berġiškīņj</i>	<i>āġlanūš</i>	<i>āġlāneš</i>	<i>šavrān</i>
<i>seġaš</i>	<i>səġāš</i>	'to win'	4.1.45 (p. 216)	t	t	t	aspect: exhaustive 'to manage to'	7	27	34	<i>vorġīņj</i>	<i>žīņtūš</i>	<i>jeġeš</i>	<i>šēn</i>
<i>sitaraš</i>	<i>sitārāš</i>	'to provide'	4.1.46 (p. 218)	t	t + i	t + i	aspect: exhaustive	20	9	29	<i>tjirmīņj</i>	<i>tujuš</i>	<i>tujāš</i>	<i>tāran, tultar</i>
<i>šāndaš</i>	<i>šāndaš</i>	'to put, to place'	4.1.47 (p. 219)	t	t	t	aspect: resultative sitting position	243	48	291	<i>pukġīņj</i>	<i>qujuš</i>	<i>qujāš</i>	<i>lart</i>
<i>šīnčāš</i>	<i>šānzāš</i>	'to sit down'	4.1.48 (p. 222)	i	i	i	aspect: resultative sitting position	131	27	158	<i>pukšīņj</i>	<i>utāruš</i>	<i>ultārāš</i>	<i>lar</i>
<i>šīnčāš</i>	<i>šānzāš</i>	'to sit'	4.1.49 (p. 225)	i	t + i	t + i	aspect: durative sitting position	58	53	111	<i>pukīņj</i>	<i>utāruš</i>	<i>ultārāš</i>	<i>lar</i>

šínčáltas ^š	šanzaltás ^š	'to sit around'	4.1.50 (p. 227)	i	i	t + i	aspect: iterative sitting position	6	9	15	?	?	?	?
šogalas ^š	šogalas ^š	'to stand up'	4.1.51 (p. 228)	i	i	i	aspect: resultative standing position	81	32	113	šutskijnj	básuð (toruð)	baððað (torað)	tár
šogaltaš ^š	šogaltaš ^š	'to put, to stand'	4.1.52 (p. 230)	t	t	t	aspect: resultative standing position	22	15	37	poninj	qujuð	qujðð	tárat
šogaš ^š	šalgaš ^š	'to stand'	4.1.53 (p. 232)	i	i	t + i	aspect: durative standing position	260	115	375	sjlnj	toruð	torað	tár
šogáltas ^š	šalgáltas ^š	'to stand around'	4.1.54 (p. 236)	i	i	t + i	aspect: iterative standing position	8	28	36	?	?	?	?
šuas ^š	šoaš ^š	'to arrive'	4.1.55 (p. 237)	i	i	i	aspect: exhaustive	81	33	114	vujnj	žitüð	jetað	šit
šuas ^š	šuaš ^š	'to throw'	4.1.56 (p. 239)	t	t	t	aspect: resultative	57	7	64	kuštijnj	šnyātuð	šnyätðð	párox
šuktaš ^š	šoktaš ^š	'to manage'	4.1.57 (p. 241)	t	t	t + i	aspect: exhaustive 'to manage to'	71	82	153	vuttijnj	žitkerüð	jetkereð	šiter
šútaš ^š	šütas ^š	'to pierce'	4.1.58 (p. 243)	t	t	t	path: 'through'	6	1	7	bjškaltijnj	tišuð	tišað	tárántar
šútaš ^š	šütas ^š	'to wear through'	4.1.59 (p. 244)	i	i	i	path: 'through'	3	1	4	pasaskijnj	tišeluð	tišeleð	?
temaš	temäš	'to be filled'	4.1.60 (p. 245)	i	i	t + i	aspect: exhaustive	12	3	15	tjrmijnj	tujuð	tujðð	táran
temaš ^š	temäš ^š	'to fill sth. up'	4.1.61 (p. 246)	t	t	t	aspect: exhaustive	9	4	13	tjrmijtijnj	tutäruð	tultärðð	tultar
tolaš	tolaš	'to come'	4.1.62 (p. 248)	i	i	i	aspect: gradual path: '(coming)'	132	59	191	ljktijnj	kiliüð	kileð	kil
tolašas ^š	-	'to try, to strive'	4.1.63 (p. 251)	i	i	t + i	improper execution	4	18	22	?	?	?	?
tóčas ^š	čáčas ^š	'to try, to attempt'	4.1.64 (p. 253)	i	i	t + i	improper execution	4	7	11	?	?	?	?
ulaš	álaš	'to be'	4.1.65 (p. 254)	i	i	t + i	tense: past	N/A	N/A	N/A	lujnj	buluð	bulðð	pul
utaš ^š	-	'to become superfluous'	4.1.66 (p. 255)	i	i	i	aspect: exhaustive	4	0	4	?	?	?	?

Figure 225: Overview of auxiliaries and path verbs

A. Glossing abbreviations

1	first person	ILL	illative	PRI	prior
2	second person	IMP	imperative	PROG	progressive
3	third person	IMPF	imperfective	PROL	prolative
ABL	ablative	INE	inessive	PRS	present tense
ACC	accusative	INF	infinitive	PST	past tense
ACT	active	INS	instructive	PST1	simple past 1
ADE	adessive	INT	interrogative	PST2	simple past 2
ADJ	adjective	INTR	intransitive	PTCP	participle
CAUS	causative	LAT	lative	REF	reflexive
CNG	connegative	MASC	masculine	SG	singular
COMP	comparative	MOM	momentary	SIM	simultaneous
CONT	continuous	NARR	narrative	SUP	superlative
CVB	converb	NEG	negation	TR	transitive
DAT	dative	NMLZ	nominalizer	TRANS	translative
DES	desiderative	PART	partitive	VOC	vocative
FREQ	frequentative	PASS	passive	WEAK	weakening clitic
FUT	future	PERF	perfect		
GEN	genitive	PL	plural		

B. Part-of-speech abbreviations

adj	adjective	gen	gender	pa	particle
adv	adverb	in	interjection	pers	person
case	case	inf	infinitive	po	postposition
co	conjunction	mood	mood	poss	possessive affix
conn	connegative	n	noun	pr	pronoun
deg	degree	neg	negation affix	pre	preposition
deriv	derivational affix	nm	numeral	tense	tense
enc	enclitic	num	number	v	verb

C. Sources

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D. Data used by morphological analyser

a. Inflectional suffixes

id	type	suffix	class	gloss	pos	conj
1	N	рак	«comp»	COMP	deg	0
2	T	н	«case-g1»	GEN	case	0
3	T	н	«gen»	GEN	case	0
4	N	лан	«case-g3»	DAT	case	0
5	T	м	«case-g1»	ACC	case	0
6	N	ла	«case-g3»	COMP	case	0
7	N	ге•	«case-g1»	COM	case	0
8	S	штн	«case-g2»	INE	case	0
9	S	шкн	«case-g2»	ILL	case	0
10	T	ш	«shILL»	ILL	case	0
11	E	ш	«case-g2»	LAT	case	0
12	E	м	«poss»	1SG	poss	0
13	E	т	«poss»	2SG	poss	0
14	3	жн	«poss»	3SG	poss	0
15	3	жн	«p3»	3SG	poss	0
16	N	на	«poss»	1PL	poss	0
17	N	да	«poss»	2PL	poss	0
18	T	шт	«poss»	3PL	poss	0
19	N	влак	«plur»	PL	num	0
20	N	ла	«plur»	PL	num	0
21	N	шамыч	«plur»	PL	num	0
22	N	мыт	«plur»	PL.SOC	num	0
23	A	т	«enc»	and	enc	0
24	A	к	«enc»	STR	enc	0
25	N	ла	«enc»	STR	enc	0
26	T	с	«enc»	STR	enc	0
27	A	м	{tmp}	1SG	pers	1
28	E	м	{tmp}	1SG	pers	2
29	A	т	{tmp}	2SG	pers	1
30	E	т	{tmp}	2SG	pers	2
31	E	ш	{tmp}	3SG	pers	1
32	A		{tmp}	3SG	pers	2
33	T	на	{tmp}	1PL	pers	1
34	E	на	{tmp}	1PL	pers	2
35	T	да	{tmp}	2PL	pers	1
36	E	да	{tmp}	2PL	pers	2
37	N	ыт	{tmp}	3PL	pers	1
38	A	т	{tmp}	3PL	pers	2
39	I	∅	{imp}	IMP.2SG	mood.pers	0
40	O	жн	{imp}	IMP.3SG	mood.pers	0
41	O	за	{imp}	IMP.2PL	mood.pers	0
42	T	шт	{imp}	IMP.3PL	mood.pers	0
43	N	не м	{tmp}	DES 1SG	mood pers	0
44	N	не т	{tmp}	DES 2SG	mood pers	0
45	N	не же	{tmp}	DES 3SG	mood pers	0
46	N	не на	{tmp}	DES 1PL	mood pers	0
47	N	не да	{tmp}	DES 2PL	mood pers	0

48	N	не шт	{tmp}	DES 3PL	mood pers	0
49	X	ым	{tmp}	PST1.1SG	tense.pers	1
50	N	ш ым	{tmp}	PST1 1SG	tense pers	2
51	X	ыч	{tmp}	PST1.2SG	tense.pers	1
52	N	ш ыч	{tmp}	PST1 2SG	tense pers	2
53	V	н	{tmp}	PST1.3SG	tense.pers	1
54	N	ш ∅	{tmp}	PST1 3SG	tense pers	2
55	N	на	{tmp}	PST1.1PL	tense.pers	1
56	N	ш на	{tmp}	PST1 1PL	tense pers	2
57	N	да	{tmp}	PST1.2PL	tense.pers	1
58	N	ш да	{tmp}	PST1 2PL	tense pers	2
59	X	ыч	{tmp}	PST1.3PL	tense.pers	1
60	N	ш т	{tmp}	PST1 3PL	tense pers	2
61	T	н ам	{tmp}	PST2 1SG	tense pers	1
62	E	н ам	{tmp}	PST2 1SG	tense pers	2
63	T	н ат	{tmp}	PST2 2SG	tense pers	1
64	E	н ат	{tmp}	PST2 2SG	tense pers	2
65	T	н ∅	{tmp}	PST2 3SG	tense pers	1
66	E	н ∅	{tmp}	PST2 3SG	tense pers	2
67	T	н на	{tmp}	PST2 1PL	tense pers	1
68	E	н на	{tmp}	PST2 1PL	tense pers	2
69	T	н да	{tmp}	PST2 2PL	tense pers	1
70	E	н да	{tmp}	PST2 2PL	tense pers	2
71	T	н ыт	{tmp}	PST2 3PL	tense pers	1
72	E	н ыт	{tmp}	PST2 3PL	tense pers	2
73	A	ш	{pxinfcvb}	INF	inf	0
74	A	ш лан	{pxinfcvb}	INF DAT	inf case	0
75	N	ман	{npxinfcvb}	INF.NEC	inf	0
76	T	н	{npxinfcvb}	CVB	adv	1
77	E	н	{npxinfcvb}	CVB	adv	2
78	N	де•	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.NEG	adv	0
79	N	дөгөч	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.NEG	adv	0
80	N	меке	{pxinfcvb}	CVB.PRI	adv	0
81	N	мек	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.PRI	adv	0
82	N	мешке	{pxinfcvb}	CVB.FUT	adv	0
83	N	меш	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.FUT	adv	0
84	N	шыла	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM	adv	0
85	N	шемла	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.1SG	adv.pers	0
86	N	шетла	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.2SG	adv.pers	0
87	N	шыжла	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.3SG	adv.pers	0
88	N	шынала	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.1PL	adv.pers	0
89	N	шыдала	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.2PL	adv.pers	0
90	N	шыштла	{npxinfcvb}	CVB.SIM.3PL	adv.pers	0
91	N	мыла	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT	inf	0
92	N	мемла	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.1SG	inf.pers	0
93	N	метла	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.2SG	inf.pers	0
94	N	мыжла	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.3SG	inf.pers	0
95	N	мынала	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.1PL	inf.pers	0
96	N	мыдала	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.2PL	inf.pers	0
97	N	мыштла	{npxinfcvb}	INF.FUT.3PL	inf.pers	0
98	H	я	«wenc»	WEAK	enc	0
99	H	ян	«wenc»	WEAK	enc	0
100	I	∅	{con}	CNG	conn	0
102	I	∅	{npxinfcvb}	CVB	adv	1

b. Suffix arrangements

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n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g1»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«plur»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«poss»«p3»«plur»«case-g3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g1»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«poss»«case-g3»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g2»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«shILL»«p3»«enc»
n + «comp»«gen»«plur»«case-g3»«poss»«p3»«enc»
n + «gen»«comp»«enc»
v + {tmp}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {imp}«wenc»
v + {pxinfcvb}«comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
v + {npxinfcvb}«comp»«p3»«enc»
v + {con}«comp»«p3»«enc»
po + «comp»«poss»«p3»«enc»
x + «comp»«p3»«enc»

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c. Derivational suffixes

id	type	suffix	gloss	pos	s_pos	t_pos
1	N	шH	PTCP.ACT	adj	v	n
2	N	мH	PTCP.PASS	adj	v	n
3	N	дымH	PTCP.NEG	adj	v	n
4	N	шаш	PTCP.FUT	adj	v	n
5	N	маш	NMLZ	deriv.n	v	n
6	N	дымаш	NMLZ.NEG	deriv.n	v	n
7	A	н	POSS	deriv.adj	n	n
8	T	сH	ADJ	deriv.adj	n	n
9	N	ла се	PL ADJ	num deriv.adj	n	n
10	N	дымH	PRIV	deriv.adj	n	n
11	N	лык	ABSTR	deriv.n	n	n
12	A	лт	REFL	deriv.v	v	v1
13	T	кH	CAUS	deriv.v	v	v2
14	A	н	TRANS	deriv.v	n	v1
15	E	м	TRANS	deriv.v	n	v1
16	A	н дH	TRANS CAUS	deriv.v deriv.v	n	v2
17	E	м дH	TRANS CAUS	deriv.v deriv.v	n	v2

d. Extraction mechanisms

Abbreviations used in the following tables:

C	consonants (<i>б в г д ж з й к л м н н п р с т ф х ц ч ш щ</i>)
C?	consonants that can be followed by <i>ь</i> (<i>б в д ж з л м н п р с т ф ч ш</i>)
C#	palatalizable consonants (<i>л н</i>)
C€	non- <i>й</i> non-palatalizable consonants (all but <i>й, л, н</i>) + <i>у ю</i>
C!	non- <i>й</i> consonants that cannot be followed by <i>ь</i> (<i>г к н х ц щ</i>)
C\$	all consonants but <i>ш</i>
J+	all consonants but <i>й + у ю ю</i>
J?	(unstressed) harmonic vowels, preceded by <i>й</i> if not <i>е</i> (<i>е/йо/йө</i>)
J\$	all consonants but <i>л</i>
K\$	consonants other than <i>к, ч, ш</i> (i.e., possible results of verbal stem simplification), <i>й</i>
L	any letter but <i>ь, ъ</i>
H	(unstressed) harmonic vowels (<i>е/о/ө</i>)
H!	(unstressed) harmonic <i>о</i> or <i>ө</i>
O	obstruent consonant (<i>б в г д ж з к п с т ф х ц ч ш щ + (ь)</i>)
P	palatalization + (unstressed) harmonic vowel (<i>е/ьо/ьө</i>)
P?	(if after <i>н, л</i> : palatalization +) (unstressed) harmonic vowel (<i>е/ьо/ьө</i>)
R	reducible vowels (<i>е о ө</i>)
S	sonorant consonants (<i>й л м н н р + (ь)</i>) + <i>у ю</i>
V	vowels (<i>а е ё и о ö у ү ы э ю я</i>)
V!	vowels other than <i>ы, е, о, ö</i> (<i>а ё и у ү э ю я</i>)
•	stress (on preceding vowel)
⊘	lack of stress (on preceding vowel)
%	no palatalization (on preceding consonant)
*	incorrect base form
-	verbal stem

i. E (e.g. possessive suffix first person singular /-(e)m/ 'my ...')

Process	Example(s)
...ам > ...а	олам /olam/ > ола /ola/ 'city'
...ям > ...я	колям /kol'jam/ > коля /kol'a/ 'mouse'
...эм > ...эн	куэм /kueм/ > куэ /kue•/ 'birch' *ку /ku/ *куо /kuo•-/ күтүэм /kütüeм/ > *күтүэ /kütüe•/ күтү /kütü/ 'herd' *күтүө /kütüö•-/ агуэм /aguем/ > *агуэ /ague•/ *агу /agu/ агуо /aguo•-/ 'to bend'
...йем > ...йе	фойем /fojem/ > фойе /foje/ 'lobby'
...ьем > ...ье	двоеборьем /dvojebořjem/ > двоеборье /dvojebořje/ 'double event'

<p>...Vem > ...Vŭ ...Ve• ...VJ?</p>	<p><i>пӱем</i> /püjem/ <i>тӱем</i> /tüjem/ <i>туем</i> /tujem/</p>	<p>> <i>пӱӱ</i> /püj/ 'tooth' *пӱе /püje•/ *пӱӱӱ /püjӱ•/ > *тӱӱ /tüj/ <i>тӱе</i> /tüje•/ 'camel' *тӱӱӱ /tüjӱ•/ > *туӱ /tuj/ *туе• /tüje•/ <i>туӱо</i> /tujox/ 'sickly'</p>
<p>...C!em > ...C ...CH ...Ce•</p>	<p><i>ӱӱкем</i> /jükem/ <i>ӱӱгем</i> /jogem/ <i>ӱӱкем</i> /örkem/</p>	<p>> <i>ӱӱк</i> /jük/ 'voice; sound' *ӱӱкӱ /jükӱ•/ *ӱӱке /jüke•/ > *ӱӱг /jogem/ <i>ӱӱго</i> /jogox/ 'lazy' *ӱӱге /joge•/ > *ӱӱк /örk/ *ӱӱкӱ /örkӱ•/ <i>ӱӱке</i> /örke•/ 'offence'</p>
<p>...C?em > ...C? ...C%H ...Cь ...CP ...Ce•</p>	<p><i>чонем</i> /čonem/ ~ /čońem/ <i>вулнем</i> /βulnem/ ~ /βulńem/ <i>сугынем</i> /sugânem/ ~ /sugâńem/ <i>агуртнем</i> /agurnem/ ~ /agurnem/ <i>турнем</i> /turnem/ ~ /turnem/</p>	<p>> <i>чон</i> /čon/ 'soul' *чоно /čonox/ *чонь /čoń/ *чоньо /čońox/ *чоне /čone•/ ~ /čońe•/ > *вулн /βuln/ <i>вулно</i> /βulnox/ 'tin' *вульн /βulń/ *вульньо /βulńox/ *вульне /βulne•/ ~ /βulńe•/ > *сугын /sugân/ *сугыно /sugânox/ <i>сугынь</i> /sugâń/ 'blessing' *сугыньо /sugâńox/ *сугыне /sugâne•/ ~ /sugâńe•/ > *агуртн /agurn/ *агуртно /agurnox/ *агуртнь /agurnń/ <i>агуртньо</i> /agurnńox/ 'spool' *агуртне /agurne•/ ~ /agurnńe•/ > *турн /turn/ *турно /turnox/ *турнь /turnń/ *турньо /turnńox/ <i>турне</i> /turne•/ 'tour' ~ * /turnńe•/</p>

ii. A (e.g. clitic /-(a)t/ 'and')

Process	Example(s)
...Вят > ...Вя ...й ...J?	<p><i>шоят</i> /ʃojat/ > <i>шоя</i> /ʃoja/ 'lie' *<i>шой</i> /ʃoj/ *<i>шойо</i> /ʃojox/</p> <p><i>поят</i> /rijat/ > *<i>пия</i> /rija/ <i>пий</i> /rij/ 'dog' *<i>пие</i> /rijex/</p> <p><i>туят</i> /tujat/ > *<i>туя</i> /tuja/ *<i>туй</i> /tuj/ <i>туйо</i> /tujox/ 'sickly'</p>
...Сят > ...Ся ...Сь ...СР	<p><i>колят</i> /kol'a/ > <i>коля</i> /kol'a/ 'mouse' *<i>коль</i> /kol'/ *<i>кольо</i> /kol'ox/</p> <p><i>сугынят</i> /sugəñat/ > *<i>сугыня</i> /sugəña/ <i>сугынь</i> /sugəñ/ 'blessing' *<i>сугыньо</i> /sugəño/</p> <p><i>агуртнят</i> /agurtñat/ > *<i>агуртня</i> /agurtña/ *<i>агуртнь</i> /agurtñ/ <i>агуртньо</i> /agurtño/ 'spool'</p>
... J+am > ... J+a ... J+ ... J+H	<p><i>олат</i> /olat/ > <i>ола</i> /ola/ 'city' *<i>ол</i> /ol/ *<i>оло</i> /olox/</p> <p><i>нерат</i> /nerat/ > *<i>нера</i> /nera/ <i>нер</i> /ner/ 'nose' *<i>нере</i> /nerex/</p> <p><i>йылмат</i> /jəlmət/ > *<i>йылма</i> /jəlma/ *<i>йылм</i> /jəlm/ <i>йылме</i> /jəlmex/ 'tongue; language'</p>
...ьеат > ...ье	<i>двоеборьеат</i> /dvojebořjeat/ > <i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...Vват > ...VV	<i>радиоат</i> /radioat/ > <i>радио</i> /radio/ 'radio'
...уат > ...u	<i>уизат</i> /iziat/ > <i>узи</i> /izi/ 'little'
...Рам > ...R•	<i>тенгеат</i> /tengeat/ > <i>тенге</i> /tenge•/ 'rouble'

iii. Т (e.g. genitive /-(â)ŋ/ 'of ...')

Process	Example(s)
...V!H > ...V	<i>олан</i> /olan/ > <i>ола</i> /ola/ 'city'
...ьен > ...ье	<i>двоеборьен</i> /dvojebořjen/ > <i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...CRH > ...CR•	<i>тенген</i> /tengeŋ/ > <i>тенге</i> /tenge•/ 'rouble'
...VRH > ...VR	<i>радион</i> /radion/ > <i>радио</i> /radio/ 'radio'
...ьын > ...ь ...P	<i>сугынын</i> /sugâhîŋ/ > <i>сугынь</i> /sugâhî/ 'blessing' * <i>сугыньо</i> /sugâhîoŋ/
	<i>агуртнын</i> /agurtîŋ/ > * <i>агуртнь</i> /agurtî/ <i>агуртньо</i> /agurtîoŋ/ 'spool'
...лын > ...L ...LH	<i>нерын</i> /nerân/ > <i>нер</i> /ner/ 'nose' * <i>нере</i> /nerex/
	<i>мелын</i> /telân/ > * <i>мел</i> /tel/ <i>меле</i> /telex/ 'winter'

iv. N (e.g. dative /-lan/ 'to ...')

Process	Example(s)
...Слан > ...С	<i>нерлан</i> /nerlan/ > <i>нер</i> /ner/ 'nose'
...V!лан > ...V!	<i>күтүлан</i> /kütülan/ > <i>күтү</i> /kütü/ 'herd'
...ьен > ...ье	<i>двоеборьелан</i> /dvojebořjelan/ > <i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...ьлан > ...ь	<i>сугыньлан</i> /sugâhîlan/ > <i>сугынь</i> /sugâhî/ 'blessing'
...CRH > ...CR•	<i>тенгелан</i> /tengelân/ > <i>тенге</i> /tenge•/ 'rouble'
...VRH > ...VR	<i>радиолан</i> /radiolan/ > <i>радио</i> /radio/ 'radio'
...ьылан > ...P	<i>агуртнылан</i> /agurtîhlan/ > <i>агуртньо</i> /agurtîoŋ/ 'spool'
...йылан > ...J?	<i>туйылан</i> /tujêlan/ > <i>туйо</i> /tujox/ 'sickly'
...Jшылан > ...JшH	<i>мелылан</i> /telêlan/ > <i>меле</i> /telex/ 'winter'

v. H (e.g. plural /-βlak/)

агуртньо-влак /agurtîo-βlak/ 'spools' > *агуртньо* /agurtîo/ 'spool'

vi. S (e.g. inessive /-štE/ 'in ...')

Process	Example(s)
...V!штH > ...V ...Vш	олаште /olašte/ > ола /ola/ 'city' *олаш /olaš/ йöратымаште /jöratêmašte/ > *йöратыма /jöratêma/ йöратымаш /jöratêmaš/ 'love'
...ьештH > ...ье	двоеборьеште /dvojebořješte/ > двоеборье /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...VRштH > ...VR	радиошто /radiošto/ > радио /radio/ 'radio'
...CRштH > ...CR• ...CRш	тенгеште /tengešte/ > тенге /tenge•/ 'rouble' *тенгеш /tengeš/ макинтошто /makintošto/ > *макинто /makinto•/ макинтош /makintoš/ 'mackintosh'
...ьыштH > ...ь ...P ...ьыш	сугынышто /sugâñâšto/ > сугынь /sugâñ/ 'blessing' *сугыньо /sugâñoŋ/ *сугыньо /sugâñâš/ агуртнышто /agurtñâšto/ > *агуртнь /agurtñ/ агуртньо /agurtñoŋ/ 'spool' *агуртныш /agurtñâš/ оньышто /oñâšto/ > *онь /oñ/ *оньо /oñoŋ/ оньыш /oñâš/ 'tall tale'
...ьыштH >LH ...ьыш	нерыште /nerâšte/ > нер /ner/ 'nose' *нере /nerex/ *нерыш тельыште /telâšte/ > *тел /tel/ теле /telex/ 'winter' *тельыш тандыште /tañdâšte/ > *танд /tañd/ *танде /tañdex/ тандыш /tañdâš/ 'extent'

vii. O (e.g. imperative second person plural /-za/ ~ /-sa/)

Process	Example(s)
...Sза > ...S	толза /tolza/ > тол /tol-/ 'to come'
...Оса > ...O	пуштса /puštса/ > пушт /pušt-/ 'to kill'
...J+ыза > ...J+H	ыштыза /âštêza/ > ыште /âštex-/ 'to do'
...ьыза > ...P?	вульыза /βul'êza/ > вульо /βul'oŋ-/ 'to get dark'
...йыза > ...J?	кайыза /kajêza/ > кае /kajex-/ 'to go'

viii. 3 – possessive suffix third person singular

Process	Example(s)
...SжН > ...S	<i>лүмжӧ</i> /lümžö/ > <i>лүм</i> /lüm/ 'name'
...V!жН > ...V	<i>олаже</i> /olaže/ > <i>ола</i> /ola/ 'city'
...V!ж > ...V	<i>олаж</i> /olaž/ > <i>ола</i> /ola/ 'city'
...OшН > ...O	<i>мутшо</i> /mutšo/ > <i>мут</i> /mut/ 'word'
...бежН > ...бе	<i>двоеборьеже</i> /dvojebořježe/ > <i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...беж > ...бе	<i>двоеборьеж</i> /dvojebořjež/ > <i>двоеборье</i> /dvojebořje/ 'double event'
...VRжН > ...VR	<i>радиожо</i> /radiožo/ > <i>радио</i> /radio/ 'radio'
...VRж > ...VR	<i>радиож</i> /radiož/ > <i>радио</i> /radio/ 'radio'
...CRжН > ...CR•	<i>тенгеже</i> /tengeže/ > <i>тенге</i> /tenge•/ 'rouble'
...CRж > ...CR•	<i>тенгеж</i> /tengež/ > <i>тенге</i> /tenge•/ 'rouble'
...шыжН > ...ш ...шН	<i>йӧратымашыже</i> /jöratêmašêže/ > <i>йӧратымаш</i> /jöratêmaš/ 'love' * <i>йӧратымаше</i> /jöratêmašex/
	<i>толшыжо</i> /tolšêžo/ > * <i>толш</i> /tolš/ <i>толшо</i> /tolšo/ 'coming'
...шыж > ...ш ...шН	<i>йӧратымашыж</i> /jöratêmašêž/ > <i>йӧратымаш</i> /jöratêmaš/ 'love' * <i>йӧратымаше</i> /jöratêmašex/
	<i>толшыж</i> /tolšêž/ > * <i>толш</i> /tolš/ <i>толшо</i> /tolšo/ 'coming'
...быжН > ...P	<i>агуртныжо</i> /agurtňžo/ > <i>агуртньо</i> /agurtňo/ 'spool'
...быж > ...P	<i>агуртныж</i> /agurtňž/ > <i>агуртньо</i> /agurtňo/ 'spool'
...CšыжН > ...CH	<i>тельже</i> /telêže/ > <i>теле</i> /tele/ 'winter'
...Cšыж > ...CH	<i>тельж</i> /telêž/ > <i>теле</i> /tele/ 'winter'

ix. I – imperative second person singular

Process	Example(s)
...й > ...й- ...J?-	<i>лий /lij/</i> > <i>лий /lij-/</i> 'to be; to become' * <i>лие /lije-/</i> <i>кай /kaj/</i> > * <i>кай /kaj-/</i> <i>кае /kaje-/</i>
...VE > ...Ve	<i>кае /kaje/</i> > <i>кае /kaje-/</i> 'to go'
...CH > ...CH-	<i>ыште /əšte/</i> > <i>ыште /əšte-/</i> 'to do'
...у > ...у- ...уо-/-	<i>му /mu/</i> > <i>му /mu-/</i> 'to find' * <i>муо /muo-/</i> <i>пу /pu/</i> > * <i>пу /pu-/</i> <i>пуо /puo-/</i> 'to give'
...ӱ > ...ӱ-	<i>ӱӱ /jü/</i> > <i>ӱӱ /jü-/</i> 'to drink'
...KŞ > ...KŞ-	<i>пушт /pušt/</i> > <i>пушт /pušt-/</i> 'to kill'
...к > ...кт-	<i>лек /lek/</i> > <i>лект /lek-/</i> 'to leave'
...ч > ...ч- ...чк- ...нч- ...з-	<i>шоч /šoč/</i> > <i>шоч /šoč-/</i> 'to be born' * <i>шочк /šočk-/</i> * <i>шонч /šoňč-/</i> * <i>шоз /šoz-/</i> <i>коч /koč/</i> > * <i>коч /koč-/</i> <i>кочк /kočk-/</i> 'to eat' * <i>конч /koňč-/</i> * <i>коз /koz-/</i> <i>шич /šič/</i> > * <i>шич /šič-/</i> * <i>шичк /šičk-/</i> <i>шинч /šiňč-/</i> 'to sit down' * <i>шиз /šiz-/</i> <i>воч /voč/</i> > * <i>воч /voč-/</i> * <i>вочк /vočk-/</i> * <i>вонч /voňč-/</i> <i>воз /voz-/</i> 'to lie down'
...ш > ...ш- ...шк-	<i>шупш /šupš/</i> > <i>шупш /šupš-/</i> 'to pull' * <i>шупшк /šupšk-/</i> <i>муш /muš/</i> > * <i>муш /muš-/</i> <i>мушк /mušk-/</i> 'to wash'

x. V – first simple past tense, third person singular, first conjugation

Process	Example(s)
...VE > ...й-	<i>лие /lije/</i> > <i>лий /lij-/</i> 'to be; to become'
...йН! > ...й-	<i>койо /kojo/</i> > <i>кой /koj-/</i> 'to appear'
...С€Н > ...С€-	<i>лекте /lekte/</i> > <i>лект /lek-/</i> 'to leave'
...С#Е > ...С#-	<i>нале /nale/ ~ /nal'e/</i> > <i>нал /nal-/</i> 'to take'
...С#ьН! > ...С#-	<i>тольо /tol'o/</i> > <i>тол /tol-/</i> 'to come'

xi. X – first simple past tense, other persons (e.g. first /-âṁ/)

Process	Example(s)
...йым > ...й-	лийым /lijâṁ/ > лий /lij-/ 'to be; to become'
...Сёым > ...Сё-	лектым /lektâṁ/ > лект /lek-/ 'to leave'
...С#бым > ...С#-	тольым /tol'âṁ/ > тол /tol-/ 'to come'

e. Pre-glossed words

nr	lex	div	orig	gloss	pos
1	ида•	ида	ида	NEG.IMP.2PL	v.mood.pers
2	ит	ит	ит	NEG.IMP.2SG	v.mood.pers
3	и•те	ите	ите	NEG.IMP.2SG	v.mood.pers
4	ме	ме	ме	1PL	pr
5	мемна•м	мем -на -м	ме -на -м	1PL -1PL -ACC	pr -poss -case
6	мемна•н	мем -на -н	ме -на -н	1PL -1PL -GEN	pr -poss -case
7	мый	мый	мый	1SG	pr
8	мыла•м	мы -ла -м	мый -лан -ем	1SG -DAT -1SG	pr -case -poss
9	мылане•м	мы -лан -ем	мый -лан -ем	1SG -DAT -1SG	pr -case -poss
10	мыланна•	мы -лан -на	ме -лан -на	1PL -DAT -1PL	pr -case -poss
11	ну•но	нуно	нуно	3PL	pr
12	оге•ш	ог -еш	ог -еш	NEG -3SG	v -pers
13	огыда•	ог -ыда	ог -ыда	NEG -2PL	v -pers
14	огыда•л	ог -ыда -л -∅	ог -ыда -ул -∅	NEG -2PL -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
15	о•гыл	ог -∅ -ыл -∅	ог -∅ -ул -∅	NEG -3SG -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
16	о•гым	ог -ым	ог -ым	NEG -1SG	v -pers
17	огына•	ог -ына	ог -ына	NEG -1PL	v -pers
18	огына•л	ог -ына -л -∅	ог -ына -ул -∅	NEG -1PL -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
19	о•гыт [1]	ог -ыт	ог -ыт	NEG -3PL	v -pers
20	о•гыт [2]	ог -ыт	ог -ыт	NEG -2SG	v -pers
21	о•гытыл	ог -ыт -ыл -∅	ог -ыт -ул -∅	NEG -3PL -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
22	ода•	о -да	о -да	NEG -2PL	v -pers
23	ода•л	о -да -л -∅	о -да -ул -∅	NEG -2PL -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
24	ок	ок -∅	ок -∅	NEG -3SG	v -pers
25	ом [1]	о -м	о -м	NEG -1SG	v -pers
26	о•мыл	о -м -ыл -∅	о -м -ул -∅	NEG -1SG -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
27	она• [1]	о -на	о -на	NEG -1PL	v -pers
28	она•л	о -на -л -∅	о -на -ул -∅	NEG -1PL -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
29	от	о -т	о -т	NEG -2SG	v -pers
30	о•тыл [1]	о -т -ыл -∅	о -т -ул -∅	NEG -2SG -be -CNG	v -pers -v -conn
31	те	те	те	2PL	pr
32	тенда•м	тен -да -м	те -да -м	2PL -2PL -ACC	pr -poss -case
33	тенда•н	тен -да -н	те -да -н	2PL -2PL -GEN	pr -poss -case
34	тидде•ч	тид -деч	тиде -деч	this -from	pr -po
35	тидде•чын	тид -дечын	тиде -дечын	this -from	pr -po
36	тидла•н	тид -лан	тиде -лан	this -DAT	pr -case
37	тудде•к	туд -дек	тудо -дек	3SG -to	pr -po
38	тудде•ке	туд -деке	тудо -деке	3SG -to	pr -po
39	тудде•н	туд -ден	тудо -ден	3SG -with	pr -po
40	тудде•не	туд -дене	тудо -дене	3SG -with	pr -po
41	тудде•ч	туд -деч	тудо -деч	3SG -from	pr -po
42	тудде•чын	туд -дечын	тудо -дечын	3SG -from	pr -po
43	тудла•н	туд -лан	тудо -лан	3SG -DAT	pr -case
44	ту•до	тудо	тудо	3SG	pr

45	тый	тый	тый	2SG	pr
46	тыланда•	ты -лан -да	те -лан -да	2PL -DAT -2PL	pr -case -poss
47	тылане•т	ты -лан -ет	тый -лан -ет	2SG -DAT -2SG	pr -case -poss
48	тыла•т	ты -ла -т	тый -лан -ет	2SG -DAT -2SG	pr -case -poss
49	шкаланда•	шк -алан -да	шке -лан -да	REFL -DAT -2PL	pr -case -poss
50	шкалане•м	шк -алан -ем	шке -лан -ем	REFL -DAT -1SG	pr -case -poss
51	шкалане•т	шк -алан -ет	шке -лан -ет	REFL -DAT -2SG	pr -case -poss
52	шкала•нже	шк -алан -же	шке -лан -же	REFL -DAT -3SG	pr -case -poss
53	шкаланна•	шк -алан -на	шке -лан -на	REFL -DAT -1PL	pr -case -poss
54	шкала•нышт	шк -алан -ышт	шке -лан -шт	REFL -DAT -3PL	pr -case -poss
55	шканда•	шк -ан -да	шке -лан -да	REFL -DAT -2PL	pr -case -poss
56	шкане•м	шк -ан -ем	шке -лан -ем	REFL -DAT -1SG	pr -case -poss
57	шкане•т	шк -ан -ет	шке -лан -ет	REFL -DAT -2SG	pr -case -poss
58	шка•нже	шк -ан -же	шке -лан -же	REFL -DAT -3SG	pr -case -poss
59	шканна•	шк -ан -на	шке -лан -на	REFL -DAT -1PL	pr -case -poss
60	шка•нышт	шк -ан -ышт	шке -лан -шт	REFL -DAT -3PL	pr -case -poss
61	шке	шке	шке	REFL	pr
62	шкена•м	шке -на -м	шке -на -м	REFL -1PL -ACC	pr -poss -case
63	шкена•н	шке -на -н	шке -на -н	REFL -1PL -GEN	pr -poss -case
64	шкенда•м	шкен -да -м	шке -да -м	REFL -2PL -ACC	pr -poss -case
65	шкенда•н	шкен -да -н	шке -да -н	REFL -2PL -GEN	pr -poss -case
66	шке•ндым	шкен -д -ым	шке -д -м	REFL -2SG -ACC	pr -poss -case
67	шке•ндын	шкен -д -ын	шке -д -ын	REFL -2SG -GEN	pr -poss -case
68	шке•нжым	шкен -жы -м	шке -же -м	REFL -3SG -ACC	pr -poss -case
69	шке•нжын	шкен -жы -н	шке -же -н	REFL -3SG -GEN	pr -poss -case
70	шке•ныштын	шкен -ышт -ын	шке -ышт -ын	REFL -3PL -GEN	pr -poss -case
71	шым [1]	∅ -ш -ым	ы -ш -ым	NEG -PST1 -1SG	v -tense -pers
72	шыч	∅ -ш -ыч	ы -ш -ыч	NEG -PST1 -2SG	v -tense -pers
73	ы•л'е	ыл -'е	ул -Е	be -PST1.3SG	v1 -tense.pers
74	ыльда•	ыл -ьда	ул -да	be -PST1.2PL	v1 -tense.pers
75	ыльна•	ыл -ьна	ул -на	be -PST1.1PL	v1 -tense.pers
76	ы•льым	ыл -ьым	ул -ым	be -PST1.1SG	v1 -tense.pers
77	ы•льыч [1]	ыл -ьыч	ул -ыч	be -PST1.2SG	v1 -tense.pers
78	ы•льыч [2]	ыл -ьыч	ул -ыч	be -PST1.3PL	v1 -tense.pers
79	ынеда•	ы -не -да	ы -не -да	NEG -DES -2PL	v -mood -pers
80	ыне•ж	ы -не -ж	ы -не -же	NEG -DES -3SG	v -mood -pers
81	ыне•же	ы -не -же	ы -не -же	NEG -DES -3SG	v -mood -pers
82	ыне•м	ы -не -м	ы -не -м	NEG -DES -1SG	v -mood -pers
83	ынена•	ы -не -на	ы -не -на	NEG -DES -1PL	v -mood -pers
84	ыне•т	ы -не -т	ы -не -т	NEG -DES -2SG	v -mood -pers
85	ыне•шт	ы -не -шт	ы -не -шт	NEG -DES -3PL	v -mood -pers
86	ы•нже	ын -же	ын -же	NEG -IMP.3SG	v -mood.pers
87	ы•нышт	ын -ышт	ын -ышт	NEG -IMP.3PL	v -mood.pers
88	ыш	ы -ш -∅	ы -ш -∅	NEG -PST1 -3SG	v -tense -pers
89	ышда•	ы -ш -да	ы -ш -да	NEG -PST1 -2PL	v -tense -pers
90	ышна•	ы -ш -на	ы -ш -на	NEG -PST1 -1PL	v -tense -pers
91	ышт	ы -ш -т	ы -ш -т	NEG -PST1 -3PL	v -tense -pers
92	эн	эн	эн	SUP	pa

f. Glossing abbreviations

1	first person	LAT	lative
2	second person	NEC	necessitive
3	third person	NEG	negative
ABSTR	abstract noun	NMLZ	nominalizer
ACC	accusative	PASS	passive
ACT	active	PL	plural
ADJ	adjective	POSS	possessive
CAUS	causative	PRI	prior action
CNG	connegative	PRIV	privative
COM	comitative	PST1	simple past 1
COMP	comparative	PST2	simple past 2
CVB	converb	PTCP	participle
DAT	dative	REFL	reflexive
DES	desiderative	SG	singular
FUT	future	SIM	simultaneous action
GEN	genitive	SOC	sociative
ILL	illative	STR	strengthening particle
IMP	imperative	SUP	superlative
INE	inessive	TRANS	translative
INF	infinitive	WEAK	weakening particle

g. Parts-of-speech abbreviations

adj	adjective	pa	particle
adv	adverb	pers	person marker
case	case	po	postposition
conn	connegative	poss	possessive suffix
deg	degree	pr	pronoun
deriv	derivational suffix	tense	tense marker
enc	enclitic	v	verb
inf	infinitive	v1	verb (conjugation class 1)
mood	mood marker	v2	verb (conjugation class 2)
n	noun/nominal	x	(any non-verbal word class)
num	numeral		

E. Curriculum vitae

JEREMY BRADLEY, PH.D.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Data

Born in Vienna, Austria, 6 November 1984

Nationality: USA

Contact Data

e-mail: jeremy.moss.bradley@univie.ac.at

Webpage: www.mari-language.com

Skype: jeremy.moss.bradley

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Employment

2014– Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (Germany), assistant professor

2014– University of Vienna (Austria), system administrator

2014–2015 Kone Foundation (Finland), postdoctoral researcher

2010–2014 University of Vienna (Austria), external lecturer

2009–2013 University of Vienna (Austria), scientific assistant

2007–2009 University of Vienna (Austria), language tutorg

2004–2008 Austria Sprachendienst (Austria), freelance translator of marketing texts

FESSEL-GfK (Austria), freelance translator of market research materials

Language Knowledge

Native: English, German

Competent: Estonian, Mari, Russian, Finnish

Basic Knowledge: Hill Mari, Hungarian, Mansi, Khanty, Komi, Livonian, Tatar, Latin

Teaching Experience

2014–	University of Munich:	‘Einführung in die Finnougristik I-II’ [‘Introduction to Finno-Ugric Studies I-II’] ‘Übung Grundzüge der Sprachwissenschaft’ [‘Exercise Course: Introduction into Linguistics’] ‘Multimediale Ressourcen’ [‘Multimedia Resources’] ‘Seminar: Forschungsschwerpunkte der Finnougristik’ [‘Seminar: Finno-Ugric Research Areas’] ‘Workshop: Corpus linguistics’ ‘Marisch I-II’ [‘Mari I-II’]
2016	University of Hamburg:	Tatarisch und der Wolga-Kama Sprachbund
	University of Tartu:	‘Transcriptions, transliterations, orthographies’
2015	University of Vienna:	‘Arealtypologie des Wolga-Kama-Areals’ [‘Areal Typology of the Volga-Kama Region’]
	University of Tartu:	‘Areal Typology of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund’
2014	University Szeged:	‘Workshop: Scientific writing’ ‘Language course: Meadow Mari’
	University of Tartu:	‘Introduction to Tatar’
2013	University of Hamburg:	‘Die Sprachwissenschaft als Naturwissenschaft’ [‘Linguistics as a Natural Science’]
2010–2014	University of Vienna:	‘Marisch I-IV’ [‘Mari I-IV’]
2007–2009	University of Vienna:	‘Estnisch I-IV’ [‘Estonian I-IV’] (language tutor)

Projects

- 2014–2017 Kone Foundation, ‘Mari Web Project: Phase 2’ (postdoctoral researcher)
- 2011–2013 University of Vienna, ‘Mari-English Dictionary’ (postdoctoral researcher)
- 2010–2013 University of Mainz, ‘European Language Diversity for All’ (programmer)
- 2010–2012 Universities of Helsinki, ‘Biological Evolution and the Diversification of Languages’ (consultant)
- 2009–2010 University of Vienna, ‘Typology of Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages’ (doctoral researcher)

Education

- 2012 Doctor of Technical Sciences (Computer Science) at the Vienna University of Technology
Thesis: ‘Computergesteuerte Hilfe für deutschsprachige Aphasiker und Aphasikerinnen’ [‘Electronic Assistance for German-speaking People with Aphasia’]
Graduated with Distinction
- 2010 Master of Arts (Finno-Ugric Linguistics) at the University of Vienna
Thesis: ‘Mari Converb Constructions: Interpretation and Translation’
Graduated with Distinction
- 2009 Master of Social Sciences (Computer Management) at the Vienna University of Technology
Thesis: ‘Providing Electronic Assistance for Autodidacts of Agglutinative Languages’
Graduated with Distinction
- 2008 Bachelor of Philosophy (Finnish Studies) at the University of Vienna
Graduated with Distinction
- 2007 Master of Science (Medical Computer Science) at the Vienna University of Technology
Thesis: ‘Fuzzy Logic and Supervaluationism’
Graduated with Distinction
- 2006 Bachelor of Science (Medical Computer Science) at the Vienna University of Technology
Graduated with Distinction
- 2005– Studies at the Vienna University of Technology, the University of Vienna and the Medical University of Vienna
- 2004 Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland
- 2004 Finished schooling

Articles

2016

A Corpus-Based Analysis of Syntactic Structures – Postpositional Constructions in Mari, Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 111, pp. 257–278, Budapest, Hungary [to appear]

Verb-Framed Motion Events in Uralic, Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen 63, Helsinki, Finland [to appear]

Transcribe.mari-language.com: Automatic transcriptions and transliterations for Mari, Tatar, Russian, and more, Proceedings of IWCLUL 2016, Szeged, Hungary [to appear]

2015

(with Christian Pischlöger) Udmurt-Russian-English Dictionary & English-Udmurt Dictionary, in: *Марым, лeся* [It seems, however ...] – *Udmurt for Beginners*, Игорь Ганеев, Юрий Перевозчиков, pp. 154–187 & 198–204, «Удмуртия» издательство [Publishing House “Udmurtia”], Izhevsk, Russian Federation

Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari), Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg, Germany

Corpus.mari-language.com: A Rudimentary Corpus Searchable by Syntactic and Morphological Patterns, Septentrio Conference Series 2015: 2, pp. 57–68, Septentrio Academic Publishing, University of Tromsø, Tromsø, Norway [published online at septentrio.uit.no/index.php/SCS/article/view/3468]

Mari Converb Constructions – Interpretation and Translation, in: *New Trends in Nordic and General Linguistics*, Martin Hilpert, Jan-Ola Östman et al. (eds), pp. 141–161, Lingua & Litterae, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany

2012

Syntactic Ambiguity amidst Contextual Clarity – Reproducing Human Indifference to Linguistic Vagueness, in: R. Seising, V. Sanz (eds): *Soft Computing in Humanities and Social Sciences*, pp. 257–266, Springer, Berlin, Germany

2011

(with Timothy Riese) *Acquisition of ‘Small’ Finno-Ugrian Languages and the Mari Web Project*, in: P.A. Кудрявцева et al. (eds): *Языки, литература и культура народов полиэтнического Урало-Поволжья* [*Languages, Literature and Culture of the Multi-ethnic Ural-Volga Region*], pp. 208–216, Марийский государственный университет [Mari State University], Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation

«Mari web project» и его марийский морфоанализатор [*The ‘Mari Web Project’ and its morphological analyser*], in: Т.В. Юзыкайн et al. (eds): *Языки меньшинств в компьютерных технологиях: опыт, задачи и перспективы* [*Minority Languages in Computer Technology: Experiences, Challenges and Prospects*], pp. 82–89, Министерство культуры, печати и по делам национальностей Республики Марий Эл [Ministry of Culture, Media and Ethnic Affairs of the Republic of Mari El], Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation

2009

Fuzzy Logic as a Theory of Vagueness: 15 Conceptual Questions, in: R. Seising (ed.): *Views on Fuzzy Sets and Systems from Different Perspectives*, pp. 207-228, Springer, Berlin, Germany

2006

(with Rudolf Seising) *Is Soft Computing in Technology and Medicine Human-Friendly?*, in: B. Gabrys, R. J. Howlett, L. C. Jain (eds): *Knowledge-Based Intelligent Information and Engineering Systems – 10th International Conference, KES 2006, Bournemouth, UK, October 9-11, 2006. Proceedings, Part III*, pp. 366-373, Springer, Berlin, Germany

(with Rudolf Seising) *From Vague or Loose Concepts to Hazy and Fuzzy Sets – Human Understanding Versus Exact Science*, in: B. Gabrys, R. J. Howlett, L. C. Jain (eds): *Knowledge-Based Intelligent Information and Engineering Systems – 10th International Conference, KES 2006, Bournemouth, UK, October 9-11, 2006. Proceedings, Part III*, pp. 374-382, Springer, Berlin, Germany

The Gap between Scientific Theory and Application: Black and Zadeh – Vagueness and Fuzzy Sets, in: K. Demirli, A. Akgunduz (ed.): *Proceedings of the 2006 Conference of the North American Fuzzy Information Processing Society (NAFIPS-06)*, Montréal, Canada

Self-Published Materials

2014

(with Timothy Riese, Elina Guseva) *Mari-English Dictionary*, Vienna, Austria
[dict.mari-language.com]

2012

(with Timothy Riese, Tatiana Efremova, Laura Bradley, Viktoria Eichinger, Katalin Blaskó) *Mari at the University of Vienna*, 10 December 2012, Vienna, Austria
[www.mari-language.com/about/mari_in_vienna.html]

2010

(with Timothy Riese, Emma Yakimova, Galina Krylova) *Онай мари йылме: A Comprehensive Introduction to the Mari Language*, www.mari-language.com, Vienna, Austria [www.mari-language.com/book/book_en.html]

(with Timothy Riese) *The Mari Web Project*, Vienna, Austria [www.mari-language.com/]

Selected Seminars and Conference Participations

2015

A Corpus-Based Analysis of Syntactic Structures – Postpositional Constructions in Mari, 12th International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies, August 2015, Oulu, Finland

2013

(Fighting) the Linguistic Decline and Isolation of the Mari Language, Linguistics Society of America 2013 Annual Meeting (poster presentation), 6 January 2012, Boston, Massachusetts, USA

2012

Марийский веб-проект Венского университета (www.mari-language.com): современное состояние [The University of Vienna's Mari Web Project (www.mari-language.com): Current Situation], Марийский язык в компьютерных технологиях [The Mari Language in Computer Technology], 6 December 2012, Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation

Mari Converb Constructions – Interpretation and Translation, International Conference of Nordic and General Linguistics 11, April 2012, Freiburg, Germany

2011

Hands-on training seminar: Archives, Technology and Tools for Kola Saami, October 2011, Lovozero, Russian Federation

2010

www.mari-language.com, 11th International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies, August 2010, Piliscsaba, Hungary

Electronic Simplification of German Newspaper Texts, 12th International Conference on Computers Helping People with Special Needs (keynote speech), August 2010, Vienna, Austria

F. Zusammenfassung (Deutsch)

Die sogenannten Konverbkonstruktionen (oder Hilfsverbverbindungen) sind ein allgegenwärtiges Phänomen in der marischen Sprache – einer uralischen Sprache, die zwischen der Wolga und dem Uralgebirge gesprochen wird. In Konstruktionen dieser Art bilden zwei Verben eine Einheit: eine infinite (gerundiale/konverbiale) Form und ein frei konjugierbares Hilfsverb. In diesen Paarungen bildet die syntaktisch subordinierte infinite Form oftmals den lexikalischen Kern der Paarung, während das syntaktisch superordinierte Hilfsverb der Paarung nur einen grammatikalischen Wert schenkt. Diese Werte können aspektueller Natur (*jöraten šāndaš* '(wört.) liebend stellen' > 'sich verlieben'), direktonaler Natur (*čōnešten kajaš* '(wört.) fliegend weggehen' > 'wegfliegen') oder benefaktivischer Natur (*umāltaren puāš* '(wört.) erklärend geben' > '(etwas) jemandem erklären') sein.

Es ist zwar seit jeher bekannt, dass diese ursprünglich türkischen Strukturen durch den intensiven Kontakt mit den Turksprachen des Wolgagebiets – in erster Linie Tschuwaschisch und Tatarisch und ihre jeweiligen Vorformen – in der marischen Sprache Fuß gefasst haben. Bis dato hat es aber keine befriedigenden Erklärungen gegeben zum Stand der Grammatikalisierung dieser Strukturen, zu den Funktionen der einzelnen Hilfsverben, zu der dialektalen Distribution einzelner Paarungen, etc. Diese Dissertation stellt einen Versuch dar, diese Situation zu verbessern: mithilfe einer eigens für dieses Unternehmen entwickelten Korpusinfrastruktur wurde versucht, das Verhalten einzelner Hilfsverben klarzustellen; ihre dialektale Verteilung wurde mit der Verteilung einzelner Konverbkonstruktionen in den relevanten Kontaktsprachen verglichen. Auf diese Weise wurde ein klareres Bild zur Realisierung verschiedener semantischer Kategorien (Aspekt, Direktonalität, Benefaktiv) im Marischen erstellt, und neues Material zur Erforschung der historischen Kontaktsituation zwischen den verschiedenen Sprachen des polyethnischen Wolgabeckens erzeugt.

G. Abstract (English)

So-called converb constructions (or auxiliary constructions) are a ubiquitous feature of the Mari language, a Uralic (Finno-Ugric) language spoken on the banks of the Volga. In constructions of this type, two verbs form a unit in which the first verb is in an infinite (converbial/gerundial) form and the second one serves as an auxiliary verb that is conjugated freely. Pairings of this type can only be meaningfully understood and translated if one knows that the syntactically subordinate first verb carries the main lexical content of the pairing, while the syntactically superordinate second verb adds a grammatical value of some sort: aspectual (*jöraten šândaš* '(lit.) loving place' > 'to fall in love'), directional (*čöŋešten kajaš* '(lit.) flying leave' > 'to fly away'), benefactive (*umâltaren puáš* '(lit.) explaining give' > 'to explain (something) to someone').

While it has long been known that these originally Turkic structures have been loaned into Mari through intensive contact with Turkic languages of the Volga Region – first and foremost Chuvash and Tatar and their respective ancestral forms – the exact scope of these mechanisms, the stage of their grammaticalization, the exact function of individual auxiliaries, and the dialectal distribution of individual pairings have not been studied in a satisfying manner. This dissertation is an attempt to rectify this situation: using a corpus infrastructure that was developed for the undertaking at hand, I have endeavored to clarify the usage of individual auxiliaries; moreover, I have sought to map out their dialectal distribution and to compare data garnered here with auxiliary constructions in the relevant contact languages. This has allowed me to create a comprehensive picture of the realization of different semantic categories (aspect, directionality, benefactivity) in Mari and to create materials for a more comprehensive study of the historical contact situation between the different languages of the polyethnic Volga Basin.