

Morphological and Syntactic Features of Caritive Constructions in Ingrian Finnish

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1. Introduction

Ingrian Finnish is a group of closely related dialects of Finnish spoken in the historical Ingermanland, i.e. in the western part of the Leningrad Region. Nowadays, Ingrian Finnish is mostly spoken by the elderly only. I have collected field data on this idiom since 2000 and studied caritive constructions since 2018. My field data on caritive constructions are mainly elicitations collected from about 40 consultants who are native Ingrian Finnish speakers. Ingrian Finnish, like other Baltic Finnic idioms, has a rich inventory of caritive constructions. Morphemes with caritive semantics include the preposition *ilman*, the abessive affix *-ta/-tä*, *-tta/-ttä*, and the affix of caritive adjectives: *-ton/-tön*, *-toin/-töin*. These affixes can be attached not only to nouns, but also to the 3rd infinitive in *-ma/-mä*. Ingrian Finnish caritive constructions are listed in Table 1:

Table 1

	Noun	Verb
Prepositional-Case construction	<i>N-ta</i> <i>ilman+N-ta</i> <i>ilman+Part</i>	<i>V-ma-ta</i> <i>ilman+V-ma-ta</i>
Adjective form	<i>N-ton</i>	<i>V-ma-ton</i>

2. Preposition *ilman* and the abessive in caritive constructions with no 3rd infinitive

In the modern Ingrian Finnish, two constructions are competing: *ilman*+partitive and *ilman*+abessive. The abessive without a preposition is virtually not found; however, there are still a few isolated examples of it in our field materials, see example (2). Many local varieties of Ingrian Finnish and some idiolects have lost the abessive of nouns (the 3rd infinitive abessive being preserved) and nowadays, only the *ilman*+partitive construction is used. This phenomenon is especially characteristic of the Western part of Ingermanland, not only for the Finnish dialects, but also for Votic and Ingrian. In the Central and Northern Ingria, abessive and partitive constructions are used by most speakers, being evaluated by them as completely synonymous:

(1a) *mie män-i-n metsää ilman koira-ta*
1SG go-IPF-1SG forest.ILL without dog-AB
I went to the forest without a dog.

(1b) *mie män-i-n metsää ilman koiraa*
1SG go-IPF-1SG forest.ILL without dog.PART
I went to the forest without a dog.

(2) *poika hatu-tta anto miu-l rahhaa*
boy hat-AB give.IPF.3SG 1SG-ADAL money.PART
The boy without hat gave me some money.

Later in this section, we consider only abessive and partitive constructions with a preposition.

In my field data, the abessive of nouns can be found in the dialects of the parishes of Keltto, Rääpyvä, Tyrö, Skuoritsa, Kolppana, Venjoki, Koprina, and Kupanitsa; however, it completely disappeared from the dialect of the parish of Narvusi in the Western Ingermanland.

In most idiolects, there are morphological constraints on the use of the abessive. Variants with *-tta* and *-ta* may be found in the speech of one consultant, but in subdialects south of the Neva River, *-ta* prevails. The abessive marker hardly combines with nouns ending with *-s* and *-e*, although these constraints are statistical rather than absolute. In monosyllabic nouns and in plural forms of some

declension types, the abessive with marker *-ta* coincides exactly in form with the partitive. In other paradigms, the same marker *-ta* is attached to different declensional stems (that is, the two case forms differ in the stem, whereas the ending is the same, e.g. *hevos-ta* vs. *hevose-ta*). The largest number of examples with the abessive is observed in disyllabic single-stem nouns. See Table 2 for more details:

Table 2

Gloss	Nominative	Partitive	tta-Abessive	ta-Abessive
foot, sg.	jalka	jalkaa	jalatta	jalata
foot, pl.	jalat	jalkoi	jaloitta	jaloita
family, sg.	pere	perettä	*perreettä	*perreetä
document, pl.	tokkeet	<i>tokkeita</i>	*tokkeitta	<i>tokkeita</i>
head, sg.	piä	<i>piätä</i>	*piättä	<i>piätä</i>
tree, pl.	puut	<i>puita</i>	puitta	<i>puita</i>
hand, sg.	käs	kättä	kiäjettä	*kiäjetä
hand, pl.	kiäjet	kässii	käsittä	*käsitä
horse, sg.	hevone	hevosta	*hevosetta	hevoseta
ax, sg.	kirves	kirvestä	kirveettä	*kirveetä

(Matching abessive and partitive forms are shown in italics.)

If possessive affixes are preserved in the consultant's idiolect, they can be attached to both the abessive and the partitive:

(3a) *ilman isä-ttä-is kouluu älä tule!*
 without father-AB-2SG school.ILL PROH.2SG come.CN
 Don't come to the school without your father!

(3b) *ilman isä-jä-is kouluu älä tule!*
 without father-PART-2SG school.ILL PROH.2SG come.CN
 Don't come to the school without your father!

If a NP contains an attribute – e.g. an adjective or a demonstrative that must agree with the head of NP in number and case – then, such NP is marked with a partitive, i.e. both the attribute and the head of such NP must get a partitive case marker:

(4) *tänäpäin hiä tul' ilman ommaa salkkuu*
 today 3SG come.IPF.3SG without own.PART bag.PART
 Today, he came without his bag.

Sometimes, the head of NP can get an abessive case marker; however, in this case, the attribute must be put in the partitive case:

(5) *män-i-n metsää ilman suur-ta koira-ta*
 go-IPF-1SG forest.ILL without big-PART dog-AB
 I went to the forest without a big dog.

In one case, we encountered the opposite situation. In example (6), the abessive marks the attribute, whereas the partitive marks the head of NP:

(6) *ilman oma-tta koiraa hiä ei käy metsä-s*
 without own-AB dog.PART 3SG NEG.3SG walk.CN forest-IN
 He doesn't go to the forest without his dog.

A typologically similar disagreement is noted in Estonian [Erelt et al. 116]:

- (7) *ilma pikema kaalutlemise-ta pöördu-s ta parema-le*
 without longer.GEN reflection-AB turn-IPF.3SG 3SG right-ALL
 Without further reflection, he turned right.

In the Standard Finnish, nouns in the abessive cannot have an attribute [Vilkuna, Iso suomen kielioppi, §1261].

3. Caritive adjectives in *-ton, -toin*

The productivity of this model varies greatly among different consultants. As a rule, all consultants know the adjective *onneton* ~ *onnetoin* ‘unhappy’, but adjectives such as *työtön* ‘unemployed’ or *suolaton* ‘unsalted’ are unknown to all consultants; whereas, for example, the adjectives **kualiton* ‘cabbage-free’ or **sokuriton* ‘sugar-free’ were rejected by all consultants.

In the attribute and predicate positions, caritive adjectives are competed by constructions with the abessive/partitive, caritive adjectives being used to denote the permanent absence of something, and the abessive/partitive construction, the temporary absence:

- (8) *tapa-si-n Maria-n ilman laps-ii*
 meet-IPF-1SG Mary-GEN without child-PL.PART
 I met Maria without children. (*She has children*).
- (9) *eilen haastel-i-n lapse-ttoma-n naise-n kans*
 yesterday talk-IPF-1SG child-CAR-GEN woman-GEN with
 I was talking to a childless woman yesterday.

In the attribute position, caritive adjectives are inflected like common adjectives. In oblique cases, these adjectives have the stem *-ttoma-*; however, in some idiolects, the oblique stem has the form of *-toise-*, which is probably due to the influence of the paradigm *toine* ‘second, another’, see Table 3:

Table 3

	‘unhappy’		‘second’
Nominative	onneton~onnetoin	onnetoin	toine
Genitive	onnettoman	onnetoisen	toisen
Partitive	onnettonta~onnettomaa	onnetoista	toista

A similar phenomenon in the modern Jõgõperä subdialect of the Votic language has been noted in [Markus, Rožanskij 2011].

Caritive adjectives can be also used in the syntactic function of depictive:

- (10) *eklen mie nä-i-n tä-tä tyttö onne-ttoma-n*
 yesterday 1SG see-IPF-1SG this-PART girl.PART happiness-CAR-ESS
 I saw this girl unhappy yesterday.

In our materials, there are an isolated examples of comparative forms and adverbs derived from caritive adjectives: *huolettomampi* ‘more careless’, *huolettomasti* ‘carelessly’.

4. Abessive of the 3rd infinitive in *-ma-ta/-ma-tta*

In Baltic Finnic languages, there are several non-finite forms with defective case paradigms. These forms are traditionally referred to as infinitives. The 3rd infinitive in Ingrian Finnish can take the forms of illative, inessive, elative, and abessive; notably, the abessive and illative forms are used much more often than inessive and elative ones. The abessive of the 3rd infinitive functions as a negative

converb, forming a dependent negative clause. It can be considered as a negative counterpart of the inessive of the 2nd infinitive.

- (11) *istu-n kuuntele-ma-tta isä-n kertomus-ta*
 sit-1SG listen-3INF-AB father-GEN story-PART
 I am sitting there not listening to my father's story.

Interestingly, the inessive of the 2nd infinitive is used in the modern Ingrian Finnish much less frequently than the abessive of the 3rd infinitive, and about half of consultants reject it [Grinevskaja 2018: 45]:

- (12) *miä luve-n kuunnelle-s radioo*
 1SG read-1SG listen.2INF-IN radio.PART
 I am reading while listening to the radio.

Some consultants can replace the inessive of the 2nd infinitive by the inessive of the 3rd infinitive, which brings this construction closer to the abessive construction [Grinevskaja 2018: 46]:

- (13) *miä luve-n kirjaa istu-ma-s divani-l*
 1SG read-1SG book.PART sit-3INF-IN sofa-AD
 I am reading a book while sitting on the sofa.

The abessive form of the 3rd infinitive in *-ma-ta* can also be used with the preposition *ilman*; however, unlike the abessive forms of nouns, the preposition *ilman* is much less common with this form:

- (14) *pani-n käsiala-n ilman luke-ma-tta*
 put-1SG signature-GEN without read-3INF-AB
 I signed it without reading it.

It should be noted that, unlike nouns, the 3rd infinitive has no partitive form.

If a verb in a form ending with *-ma-ta* has dependents, the latter have the same forms as with a finite negative form of the verb; in particular, the direct object is put in the partitive:

- (15) *hiä läks pois sano-ma-tta miu-l sanmaa-kaa*
 3SG go.IPF.3SG away say-3INF-AB 1SG-ALL word.PART-NEG
 He went away without saying me a word.

A dependent clause can be replaced with an independent one; when we do so, the abessive of the 3rd infinitive is replaced by a negative form of the verb. Note that in (16a) the direct object in the dependent clause is expressed by a negative pronoun, like in (16b); although, as a matter of form, the abessive of the 3rd infinitive *kuuntele-ma-tta* contains no negative morpheme.

If the dependent clause includes a negative pronoun, the latter is preserved in both cases:

- (16a) *mie kiruta-n kirje-ttä kettää kuuntele-ma-tta*
 1SG write-1SG letter-PART nobody.PART listen-3INF-AB
 I am writing a letter without listening to nobody.

- (16b) *mie kirutan kirje-ttä, kettää e-n kuuntele*
 1SG write-1SG letter-PART nobody.PART NEG-1SG listen.CN
 I am writing a letter and I am listening to nobody.

In the predicate position, the abessive of the 3rd infinitive can be replaced with the negative form of a copula and the passive past participle:

- (17a) *kissa on syöttä-mä-tta*
 cat be.3SG feed-3INF-AB
 The cat is not fed.
- (17b) *kissa ei ole syöte-tty*
 cat NEG.3SG be.CN feed-PTCP.PASS
 The cat is not fed.

In example (16), the subject of the main clause is coreferent with the subject of the dependent clause; however, it can also be coreferent with the object of the dependent clause, which is usually characteristic of phrases with verbs *jäähä* ‘to be left’ or *olla* ‘to be’:

- (18) *murkina jä-i syö-mä-tä*
 breakfast be_left-IPF.3SG eat-3INF-AB
 The breakfast was left uneaten.
- (19) *vieraa-t tulliit kutsu-ma-tta*
 guest-PL come.IPF.3PL call-3INF-AB
 Guests came uninvited.

The subject of a dependent clause can be marked with a genitive, if it is not coreferent with the subject of the main clause:

- (20) *hiä mö-i talo-n ilman miu-n tietä-mä-ttä*
 3SG sell-IPF.3SG house-GEN without 1SG-GEN know-3INF-AB
 He sold the house without letting me know.

5. Caritive verbal adjectives in *-ma-ton*

Caritive verbal adjectives (negative participles) in *-ma-ton* are used much less frequently than forms in *-ma-ta*. Note that Ingrian Finnish has no agentive participle in *-ma*. They usually function as attributes and inflect in the same way as caritive adjectives in *-ton*:

- (21) *mie elä-n ilman kutsu-ma-ttomii viera-i-ta*
 1SG live-1SG without call-3INF-CAR.PL.PART guest-PL-PART
 I live without uninvited guests.

They are usually derived from transitive verbs, but can also be derived from some intransitive verbs, e.g. *väsymätön* ‘tireless’, *makkaamaton poika* ‘sleepy boy’, *nukkumaton yö* ‘sleepless night’, *kulkematon tie* ‘impassable road’.

The form ending with *-ma-ton* can have dependents, thus forming a dependent clause, and the subject of such clause is usually marked with a genitive, although some consultants can also use an adessive:

- (22) *mie vie-n pois siu-n syö-mä-ttömä-n murkina-n*
 1SG take_away-1SG away 2SG-GEN eat-3INF-CAR-GEN breakfast-GEN
 I’ll take away the breakfast uneaten by you.
- (23) *ot-i-n siu-l/siu-n luke-ma-ttoma-n kirja-n*
 take-IPF-1SG 2SG-AD/2SG-GEN read-3INF-CAR-GEN book-GEN

I took away the book unread by you.

This caritive/negative participle can be used in the syntactic function of depictive:

(24a) *eklen mie nä-i-n häne-t nukku-ma-ttoma-n*
 yesterday 1SG see-IPF-1SG 3SG-ACC fall_asleep-3INF-CAR-ESS
 I saw him sleepy last night. (*I.e. he didn't sleep, that is why he is sleepy.*)

(24b) *eilen mie näk-i-n hän-tä nukku-ma-ton-ta*
 yesterday 1SG see-IPF-1SG 3SG-PART fall_asleep-3INF-CAR-PART
 I saw him sleepy last night.

6. Comparison of caritive constructions in Ingermanland Finnish and in neighboring Baltic Finnic languages

As stated above, not all Ingermanland Finnish subdialects and idiolects have the abessive forms of nouns. In all modern Ingrian and Votic subdialects, the abessive forms of nouns disappeared, although it was still recorded in the middle of the 20th century, see [Laanest 1986: 105; Ariste 1947] both with and without the preposition *ilma*. However, the abessive derived from a *ma*-infinitive is widely used both in Votic and in Ingrian; moreover, in Votic, a construction with the preposition *ilm* has been recorded, see example (25) [Grünberg 2013: 276]:

(25) *ilm minu tääte-me-tt.*
 without 1SG.GEN know-3INF-AB
 without letting me know

In Estonian, only constructions with the abessive are used; and with a *ma*-infinitive, the common construction is that without a preposition. In the Standard Finnish, the abessive derived from nouns is rarely used; a commonly used construction is *ilman*+Partitive, where the preposition *ilman* does not combine with the abessive at all. A summary of non-adjective caritive constructions is given in Table 4:

Table 4

Construction	Ingrian Finnish	Ingrian	Votic	Standard Finnish	Standard Estonian
Abessive	very rare	disappeared	disappeared	rare	common
<i>ilman</i> +Abessive	partially	disappeared	disappeared	absent	common
<i>ilman</i> +Partitive	common	common	common	common	absent
Abessive 3Inf.	common	common	common	common	common
<i>ilma</i> +Abess.3Inf	rare	no data	rare	absent	rare

Therefore, Ingermanland Finnish is closest to the situation in Ingrian and in Votic as in the middle of the 20th century, featuring important differences from both the Standard Finnish and the Standard Estonian.

Glosses

AB – abessive, ACC – accusative, AD – adessive, ADAL – adessive-allative, ALL – allative, CAR – caritive adjective, CN – connegative, ESS – essive, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IN – inessive, INF – infinitive, IPF – imperfect, NEG – negative, PART – partitive, PASS – passive, PL – plural, PROH – prohibitive, PTCP – participle, SG – singular.

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