

## THE SENSES OF THE ILLATIVE AND LATIVE CASES IN THE MORDVIN LANGUAGES

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**Abstract.** In this paper, I study the difference between the two GOAL-cases of the Mordvin languages, namely, the illative and the lative. A spatial case system with two productive GOAL-cases but only one case for each of the other spatial relations (i.e., LOCATION, SOURCE, and PATH) is a rare phenomenon in languages. To explain this situation, I study the semantics of the cases. I analyze the senses of the two cases, i.e., I study what meanings are expressed by them, and compare the semantic structures of the cases. Both of the cases are used to express mostly the same senses, but the frequencies of the senses differ between the cases. To explain this, I employ the concept of specificity. Specificity refers to the phenomenon where a relation between Trajector and Landmark is conceptualized as either more or less specific. The comparison of the semantics of the two cases reveals that the illative is used with more and the lative with less specific conceptualizations.

**Keywords:** GOAL-cases, Mordvin languages, cognitive linguistics, conceptualization, semantics, specificity

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### 1. Introduction

In this paper, I concentrate on the typologically curious feature of the spatial case system in the Mordvin languages, namely, the fact that they have two productive spatial GOAL-oriented<sup>1</sup> cases. These are the illative (*kudo-s* (E), *kud-s* (M)<sup>2</sup> ‘(in)to the house’) and the lative (*pakśa-v* (E, M)

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1 In this paper, I will mark semantic structures with small capitals, as is common in cognitive linguistics research.

2 When differentiating between languages in, e.g., examples, I will use “E” for Erzya and “M” for Moksha.

‘(on)to the field’),<sup>3</sup> in a spatial case system that otherwise comprises only one case per relation. The study is based on the cognitive linguistics framework, which gives the tools to analyze and explain the semantics of the cases in question (cf. Section 2.1). I will assess the different senses of the GOAL-cases in each language and analyze the semantic structure of each case. Based on the analysis, I will propose a solution for the existence of two productive GOAL-cases in the Mordvin languages. In particular, the specificity of the situations is conceptualized differently when the two cases are used (cf. Section 3.6). The aim of this paper is not to discuss the differences between the Mordvin languages, although the data shows that they do exist. This topic would require a study of its own in the future.

This paper is an expansion of my MA thesis (Erkkilä 2019), where I studied the senses of the illative and lative cases in Erzya. This study is based on a new dataset and a more rigid application of the methodology. I also present some updates and corrections to my previous results in this paper.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In the remainder of this section, I discuss the spatial case systems of the Mordvin languages and the history of the study of GOAL-cases. In Section 2, I look at the theoretical background and methodology used in this study and discuss my data. In Section 3, I present my analysis of the senses of Mordvin GOAL-cases and discuss the differences between the semantic structures of these cases. In Section 4, I conclude the study and propose some trajectories for further research.

### 1.1. The spatial case system in Mordvin languages

The Mordvin languages have typologically rather typical unidimensional spatial case systems (cf. Creissels 2011), i.e., case systems that do not code any secondary dimensions, like CONTAINMENT and SUPPORT, as, e.g., the Finnic spatial case systems do. The Mordvin spatial case system contains the following cases: the inessive (LOCATION), the elative (SOURCE), the illative (GOAL), the lative (GOAL), and the prolativ (PATH). The expression of PATH with its own case is somewhat rare, but the real peculiarity is the use of two productive GOAL-cases.

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3 Moksha also has the allomorph *-c* in the illative and the allomorphs *-u* and *-i* in the lative; Erzya has the allomorph *-z-* in the illative of the possessive declension.

Even though from the typological perspective the spatial case system is quite typical, except for the second GOAL-case, among Uralic languages, the system seems to be atypical. Among the Uralic languages, there are spatial case systems which code secondary dimensions, e.g., in Hungarian and in the aforementioned Finnic, and systems which are unidimensional but mark additional properties of the relation, e.g., the terminative and the egressive that code LIMIT in addition to GOAL and SOURCE in Permic languages. Such systems are bigger and more fine-grained than the Mordvin system. There are also systems that lack one of the three basic cases, e.g., North Saami and eastern Saami languages where there is a syncretic LOCATION-SOURCE case and Mari languages where SOURCE is coded by a postposition. Many Uralic languages (e.g., southern Finnic languages, Khanty languages, Mansi languages) also lack a distinct PATH-case. The Mordvin spatial case system seems to resemble those of the Samoyed languages most, which usually have a system including cases for LOCATION, SOURCE, GOAL, and PATH. In addition, the western Saami languages have the basic tripartite system and a marginal PATH-case, which brings them close to the Mordvin system (cf. Kittilä, Laakso & Ylikoski 2022). However, two productive GOAL-cases which do not make clear relational distinctions are a unique feature of the Mordvin languages among the Uralic languages.

Nouns in the Mordvin languages have three declensions: basic, possessive, and definite. The spatial case system pertains only to the basic declension. All the spatial cases, except GOAL-cases, are present in all declensions. The lative case is attested only in the basic declension, but in the definite declension, all GOAL-cases are represented by the dative case<sup>4</sup> (see below), except for the definite plural, where the illative is possible in addition to the dative. However, they are formed – in Moksha obligatorily and in Erzya optionally – with the so-called analytical cases (originally case forms of the demonstrative *e-*, *ez-*, Manner 2020: 72–81). The difference between the declensions is shown in the examples (1–3) from Erzya. In (1), *pakša* ‘field’ is inflected in the basic declension (lative), and refers to a generic field, in (2), ‘field’ is inflected in the possessive declension (marked by the possessive suffix after the illative), and it refers to a field that belongs to someone, and in (3),

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4 Bartens (1999) misleadingly calls the dative “allative”. This is a misnomer pertaining to the terminological tradition of Finnic languages.

‘field’ is inflected in the definite declension (dative), and it refers to a certain field.

- (1) Basic declension (Syatko-2008\_1\_25-29.txt)<sup>5</sup>  
*Valske marto pakša-v tuje-mado ikel'-e*  
 morning with **field-LAT** leave-INF3 front-LOC  
*ava-m meř-i (...)*  
 mother-POSS.1SG>SG say-PRS.3SG  
 ‘Before leaving to the field in the morning, my mother says (...)’
- (2) Possessive declension (Syatko-2006\_8\_94-113.txt)  
*Ška-ń juta-ź, mekev čavo pakša-zo-st*  
 time-GEN go-PST.PTCP back empty **field-ILL-POSS.3PL**  
*pečkazo-ń ušmo-t'neń pańe-mado-st mejl'e (...)*  
 tatar-GEN army-GEN.DEF.PL drive.out-INF3-POSS.3PL after  
 ‘After time had passed, [they came] back to their empty fields after their driving out of the Tatar army (...)’
- (3) Definite declension (Syatko/2-2003/1)  
*Šeks agronomo-ńt' sa-iže vasol-o*  
 because agronomist-GEN.DEF take-PST1.3SG>3SG far-LOC  
**pakša-ńt'eń.**  
**field-DAT.DEF**  
 ‘That is why the agronomist took him to the field far away.’

As mentioned above, the dative is used as a GOAL-case in the Mordvin languages. I will, however, exclude it from the analysis in this paper for two reasons. First, the dative of the basic declension is used as a classical dative (cf. Næss 2011): it marks RECIPIENTS, BENEFICIARIES, and AGENTS of passive sentences. In addition, it is used to mark VICINAL GOAL (cf. Kittilä & Ylikoski 2011: 31–35). All these functions except the VICINAL GOAL presuppose an animate/human landmark and are not spatial. In contrast, the basic domain of the illative and lative cases is spatial, even though they have senses that pertain to other cognitive domains as well (PURPOSE, TEMPORAL, RESULT, REASON, and PART, cf.

5 All examples are from MokshEr V.3 corpus, and the code in parentheses refers to the file in the corpus from which the example is taken. The examples have been transcribed from Cyrillic with Finno-Ugric Transcription. Abbreviations used in glossing are explained in the end of the paper.

Section 3). Second, the definite declension, where the dative is used as a spatial case proper, does not make the distinction between the illative and the lative. This leaves the definite dative outside of the scope of the present study.

The spatial case system is supplemented by a rich array of relational nouns (traditionally postpositions and adverbs, cf. e.g. Cygankin 1980: 362–391). Relational nouns express an area relative to the Landmark (cf. Pederson 2019: 98–99). The relational nouns can be divided into two groups according to the spatial cases they take: one group uses the inessive, the elative, and the illative as their LOCATION, SOURCE, and GOAL cases (e.g., *pot-so*, *pot-sto*, *pot-s* [E] ‘in/from inside/to inside’), the other group uses the “locative”,<sup>6</sup> the ablative, and the lative (e.g., *alo*, *al-do*, *alo-v* [E] ‘under/from under/to under’). Both groups use the prolicative as their PATH-case. The only exception attested in my data is the relational noun *lango* (E), *langa* (M) ‘top’ that can take both GOAL-cases with minor modifications in the sense. However, LOCATION and SOURCE are coded only with the inessive and the elative, i.e., *lang-sa*, *lang-sta*, *lang-s*, *lang-u* (M) ‘on/from on/onto/onto’.

## 1.2. Previous research

There have been different views on the analysis of GOAL-cases. The first view is that there is only one GOAL-case in the Mordvin languages. This view has been put forward primarily by older grammars, where the lative is seen as a derivational element<sup>7</sup> (Wiedemann 1865: 32–33 [E], Evsev’ev 1928: 54 [E, M], Koljaděnkov 1954: 36, 1959: 138 [E, M]).

The second view is that both the illative and the lative are cases in their own right. Usually, these descriptions give lists of senses to the cases, and in all cases the illative has more senses than the lative. Such descriptions are Cygankin (1980: 170–172 [E, M]), Cygankin et al. (2000: 85–86 [E]), and Aljamkin (2000: 67–68 [M]). In addition, Bartens (1996: 84–95 [E, M]) can be counted towards this view, even though she discusses semantic roles and not senses.

6 “Locative” is the vowel following the stem of the relational noun expressing a static location.

7 A derivational element homonymous with the lative exists in the Mordvin languages (e.g. Cygankin 1980: 107–108), which might have given rise to this analysis.

The third view is that both the illative and the lative are cases in their own right, and that their distribution is based on something else than the senses they express, e.g., the properties of the Landmark noun, or the relation between the Trajector and the Landmark. This view is put forward in Ahlquist (1861: 18–19 [M]), Budenz (1876: 33 [E]), and Toldova et al. (2018: 167–175 [M]). Toldova et al. mention the following differences between the use of the GOAL-cases in Moksha (translation R. E.):

1. Substances (e.g., *ved'* ‘water’, *urdas* ‘mud’) cannot be marked as GOALS with the lative.
2. Objects that are not typical spatial locations (e.g., *šapka* ‘hat’) are preferably marked as GOALS by the illative.
3. Objects that are frequently used as landmarks in spatial contexts (e.g., *vir'* ‘forest’, *oš* ‘city’) are usually marked as GOALS by the lative, whereas the illative is used with less frequent landmarks (e.g., *sportzal* ‘gym’).
4. The illative is not used with a known (definite) referent, especially with place names.
5. Both cases can be used with verbs denoting ‘staying’, ‘leaving’, etc. (Toldova et al. 2018: 167–174)

Furthermore, they discuss a number of non-spatial senses found with the illative but not the lative in their data (Toldova et al. 2018: 174–175). The differences between the GOAL-cases mentioned by (Toldova et al. 2018) are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1.** The distribution of GOAL-cases (Toldova et al. 2018: 167–174). += used to mark GOAL, – = not used to mark GOAL, (–) = not preferred in marking of GOAL.

	substances	non-typical locations	typical locations	known referents	verbs of staying
illative	+	+	(–)	–	+
lative	–	(–)	+	+	+

Koljaděnkov & Zavodova (1962: 145–146 [E, M]) show an intermediate position between this and the first view, as they list contexts where the lative is used instead of the illative but count the lative only as an allomorph of the illative. Alhoniemi (1985 [M]) also supports a similar

view to that of Koljaděnkov & Zavodova (1962), but he analyzes the syntactic distribution of the cases as well. Alhoniemi (1985) considers the illative and the lative to be separate cases and gives five groups of Moksha words used in the lative (translation R. E.):

1. Buildings, groups of buildings, and parts of buildings, e.g., *lavkav* ‘to the store’.
2. Institutions and public institutions, e.g., *armijav* ‘to the military’.
3. Parts or phenomena of nature understood as space, places in terrain, areas or structures (natural and man-made), and place names, e.g., *meňal’i* ‘to the sky’, *Angl’ijav* ‘to England’.
4. Items that are fastened or loose, e.g., *kept’arňav* ‘to the basket’.
5. Direction, e.g., *kafta päl’i* ‘on two sides’.

He mentions also that the illative is used mostly with words that do not take the lative, i.e., words that do not belong to the abovementioned groups. Finally, Alhoniemi (1985: 50–52) briefly mentions that there are groups of verbs found only with either the illative or the lative.

## 2. Theoretical background and methodology

In this section, I discuss the theoretical background, methodology, and data of this study. First, I discuss some important theoretical prerequisites and issues pertaining to the study, after which I explain the methodology used in the analysis of data.

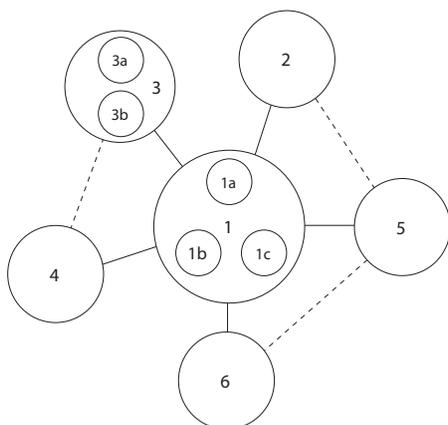
### 2.1. Theory

The study presented here is based on cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics presumes that language is usage-based and encyclopedic. This means that the usage situation and encyclopedic knowledge affect the way language is used. Usage affects the entrenchment and salience of the linguistic element: the more often an element appears in a certain context, the tighter the association between the element and the context becomes, and the more easily that element is chosen to represent the situation (Schmid 2007). Encyclopedic knowledge associated with a linguistic element guides the proper use of the element and activates different associations in the element, so that the use of the element in different contexts can be more easily understood (Langacker 1987:

154–166). Things and relations can be situated in different cognitive domains. A cognitive domain is a dimension of cognitive representation (Cienki 2007: 181–183), i.e., a kind of a background that helps categorizing entities.

In cognitive linguistics, all linguistic elements are presumed to denote either *things* or *relations*. According to Langacker, nouns designate things (Langacker 1987: 183–213). Other elements denote relations. There are two kinds of relations: processes (denoted by verbs, Langacker 1987: 244–274); and atemporal relations, denoted by “adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and similar classes” (Langacker 1987: 214–243). The latter also includes spatial cases, as they are also used to express atemporal relations (cf. Leino 1993: 178–181). There are three components in a relation: *Trajector* (TR) is the thing related, *Landmark* (LM) is the thing related to (Langacker 1987: 217–220), and the relation itself that can be of different types. There can be only one TR, but the number of LMs is not limited. For example, in a transitive clause the AGENT would be the TR, the PATIENT the primary LM, and all adverbials expressing LOCATION, INSTRUMENT, TIME, etc. would be secondary LMs. Actions, both concrete and abstract, have a route along which they proceed. This route is the *trajectory* of an action, along which the TR or the primary LM proceed while the action itself proceeds towards its completion (cf. Zlatev 2007: 330–332).

All linguistic elements are to some extent polysemous. This means that one element can have different but related senses. Traditionally, polysemy is a property of lexical elements, but other elements can also exhibit polysemy. In fact, the less content an element has, the more polysemous it usually is (Tyler & Evans 2003: 37–38, on inflectional elements Janda 2007: 639–641). Polysemous linguistic elements form radial sets or categories. A radial set has a central member and peripheral members. Usually, the most prototypical member of the category is the central member from which the other members are extensions (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007). Polysemy, prototypicality, and radial sets pertain to all levels of language use. For example, spatial cases are polysemous, as they have more than one sense, one of the senses is more prototypical than others, and the senses form a radial set centered around the most prototypical sense. The structure of a radial set is exemplified by the structure of the Erzya prolativ (Erkkilä 2021: 104) in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Radial set (structure of the Erzyan prolativ). The numbers refer to the senses and contextual variants of the prolativ as follows: 1 = PATH (1a = UNRESTRICTED PATH, 1b = TARGET PATH), 2 = PLACE (2a = with a predicate expressing movement, 2b = predicate expressing other types of action), 3 = LOCATION (3a = with an oblong LM, 3b = with other types of LMs), 4 = OPENING, 5 = TEMPORAL (5a = DURATION, 5b = MOMENT), 6 = LIMIT (6a = with a dynamic predicate, 6b = with a static predicate).

## 2.2. Methodology

I use the methodology proposed by Tyler & Evans (2003, see also Shakhova & Tyler 2010). In this methodology, a polysemous linguistic element is analyzed to have senses, which constitute a semantic network associated with the form of the linguistic element, i.e., the GOAL-cases in this study. A sense is always associated with a concept in the mind of the language user (Tyler & Evans 2003: 18–21). Each linguistic element has a primary sense and other senses which are separate but somehow related to the primary sense (Tyler & Evans 2003: 42–50). In the model of Tyler and Evans, the primary sense is always spatial, since they are concerned with English prepositions that are used to express primarily spatial relations. The same presupposition underlies this study. After all, it seems plausible that spatial cases would be first and foremost used to express relations in space. The different senses of a linguistic element are differentiated by one or more of the following criteria:

1. A different (spatial) configuration is expressed, e.g., if the primary sense is used to express directed motion, but the linguistic element is also used to express static location, the expressions of static location are analyzed as a separate sense.
2. A non-spatial sense is expressed, e.g., if the linguistic element expresses the result of an action, this can be considered a separate sense. (Tyler & Evans 2003: 42–45)

The configuration expressed by the linguistic element can differ in a variety of ways. The situation can be viewed from different perspectives, the real-life force dynamics or pragmatic inferences from linguistic prompts and background information can affect the conceptualization (Shakhova & Tyler 2010: 268, 275, for the concepts cf. e.g. Langacker 1987: 120–137 [perspective], Talmy 2000: 409–470 [force dynamics], Grice 1975 [pragmatic inferences]).

Two instances of use of a linguistic element can appear in different contexts, but still express the same sense. Such cases are called contextual variants of one sense (Tyler & Evans 2003: 50–61). In principle, every instance of a linguistic element could be classified as its own contextual variant, but in this paper, contextual variants are posited when the semantics of the predicate differ or the cognitive domain changes without affecting the functional element.

In this paper, the explained method is used to analyze the semantic structure of the GOAL-cases of the Mordvin languages. The aim is to define what the senses of the GOAL-cases are and what are their relations to each other. In addition, the methodology reveals what cannot be considered a separate sense of GOAL-cases. The senses obtained by the methodology are language-specific. GOAL-cases of other languages do express some of the senses described here, but the analysis presented here does not mean that GOAL-cases in general have the meanings described here. The names used of the senses, e.g., TARGET (cf. Section 3.1) are only descriptive shorthand labels for the actual semantic content of the senses, and do not carry any theoretical meaning themselves.

### 2.3. Data

The data is collected from the MokshEr V.3 (2010) corpus created at the Research unit of Volgaic languages at the University of Turku. The corpus contains mostly newspaper texts in Erzya and Moksha languages. The Erzya data was collected only from the Syatko-subcorpus,<sup>8</sup> while the whole corpus was used for Moksha.<sup>9</sup> In total, 800 examples, i.e., 200 examples of productive inflection for each case in each language were collected with the help of AntConc (Anthony 2014). By productive inflection, I mean inflection in nouns, pronouns, and relational nouns, which does not yield lexicalized expressions. The data was restricted to the basic declension forms, as that is the only declension where the lative is present. This paper is based on the data published as Erkkilä (2022). The dataset in Erkkilä (2022) is annotated for LM, predicate, and sense. It also includes the sentential context where the sense is attested as well as a reference to the original file in the corpus.

### 3. The senses of the illative and lative in the Mordvin languages

The GOAL-cases have two major senses defined by their frequency, TARGET and DIRECTION, with many contextual variants and a host of more minor senses with no contextual variants. The frequencies of each sense with each case in each language is shown in Table 2. The senses are organized in Table 2 from most frequent to least frequent. In the Table, major senses and their contextual variants are in cells with dotted line borders and senses and contextual variants discussed in this paper are given in bold.

Even though the variation between illative and lative seems to be mostly tied to the conceptualization of the situation, there is some amount of lexicalization at work in the distribution of the GOAL-cases. Firstly, there is the evident division of relational nouns to those which take the illative and those which take the lative (cf. Section 1.1).

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8 Syatko is a periodical published in Erzyan.

9 The reason for such delimitation of data is practical. When this study was conducted, I had access only to the Syatko-materials.

**Table 2.** Number of instances of the senses in the data.

	illative		lative	
	E	M	E	M
<b>TARGET (proper)</b>	75	77	27	48
<b>TARGET PATH</b>	36	26	45	41
<b>PERCEPTIVE TARGET</b>	16	27	1	0
APPEARING	8	4	0	0
MEASURE	0	1	0	0
<b>DIRECTION (proper)</b>	3	12	28	18
<b>DIRECTION PATH</b>	11	7	78	66
<b>PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION</b>	2	2	11	6
<b>LOCATION</b>	11	12	3	3
<b>PLACE</b>	13	11	1	4
<b>PURPOSE</b>	10	5	6	1
TEMPORAL	8	9	0	2
STAYING	3	5	0	7
RESULT	4	0	0	4
REASON	0	1	0	0
PART	0	1	0	0

Secondly, there are some subgroups of content nouns that seem to practically always take the lative, namely, geographical names (Bernhardt 2019: 56–63) and institutions (cf. Alhoniemi 1985: 51) when the institution itself is in focus, instead of, e.g., the place where it’s situated. This yields such variation as *škola-s* (E, M) ‘to a school (building)’ *škola-v* (E, M) ‘to school (institution)’. The variation between *kudo-s* (E), *kud-s* (M) ‘to (a/the) house’ and *kudo-v* (E), *kudə-v* (M) ‘to home’ can probably be considered as related to the variation present in institutions (cf. Section 3.6 for discussion).<sup>10</sup> This does not, however, mean that the case is lexically determined, as there are plenty of cases where free variation is possible. Rather, the lexicalized instances function as a model for the semantics of the case. For example, if the lative is frequent with words meaning ‘direction’, then this sense can

10 All demonstratives, interrogatives, and indefinites in a GOAL-case in this study are in the lative because of the decision to limit the data to word-final cases. However, the illative is possible with these pronouns, e.g., *to-zo* (E), *to-za* (M) ‘DMST-ILL’.

be associated with the case itself, i.e., the sense becomes salient in the semantic structure of the case.

One very important aspect of the conceptualization of the situation is specificity. Specificity is an umbrella term for different related phenomena that affect how “exact” the relation between TR and LM is conceived by the language users, e. g. how easy it is to locate the TR in relation to the LM, and how accurate this locating is. Specificity is discussed in passing in Sections 3.1–3.4, and in more depth in Section 3.6. In addition, a study analyzing the effects of specificity on the variation between GOAL-cases in Mordvin languages is Erkkilä (2022), which is based on the same dataset as the current study. However, it is important to note that specificity is not an either-or category, but rather it too exhibits prototypicality. Thus, there are more and less prototypical instances of specificity. Furthermore, specificity consists of a rather wide array of different but interrelated parameters, so the specificity of a single linguistic element can vary in different contexts. There is a need for further study on the details of this phenomenon.

Due to space constraints, in the following sections, only those senses and contextual variants that have at least 10 instances in at least one case in at least one language are discussed (i.e., they appear in more than 5% of the data in each case). This means that I will not discuss further the senses of REASON, RESULT, PART, STAYING, and TEMPORAL, nor APPEARING or MEASURE, which are contextual variants of TARGET. Analysis of the semantic structure of APPEARING, STAYING, and TEMPORAL can be found in Erkkilä (2019: 45–49, 52–54). In addition, STAYING, TEMPORAL, and REASON are briefly discussed in Toldova et al. (2018: 174–175), and MEASURE, PART, and RESULT are mentioned in Koljaděnkov & Zavodova (1962: 137–145). These senses and contextual variants will, however, be included in the final discussion of the semantic structures of the GOAL-cases. Naturally, this is not the optimal solution, because the basis of positing these senses and contextual variants is not made explicit. However, the senses are attested with according to the same methodology and principles as the senses that are discussed, and an interested reader can look examples from the dataset (Erkkilä 2022). In-depth analysis of the senses excluded in this paper must unfortunately be left for further study, but I feel that it is important to show that these senses are part of the semantic structure of the cases investigated here, lest the picture of the semantic of the cases be incomplete. I discuss the semantic structure of the senses in the following subsections.

### 3.1. TARGET

The first major sense of the GOAL-oriented case is TARGET. TARGET is attested in Erzya and in Moksha with both cases. The number of instances including all contextual variants (see below) for the illative is 135 in both languages, for the lative 73 (E) and 89 (M). The schema of TARGET includes a directed action and a LM functioning as the endpoint of the action. In addition, a TR moving along the trajectory of the action to the LM is typical, but not obligatory. The situation pictured with TARGET can be in the spatial domain, or, as a metaphorical extension in the cognitive/communicative domain. The configuration in TARGET is the reaching of the endpoint of the action by the TR. TARGET is depicted schematically in Figure 2. The schematic diagram pictures the relation between the TR and the LM. In the diagram, the bold line means the part of a relation in focus, and the box depicts the cognitive domain. Similar diagrams are shown for every sense.

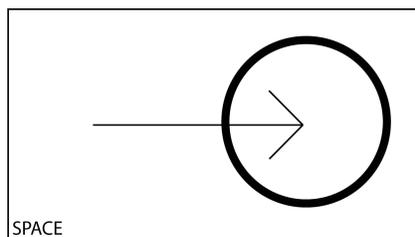


Figure 2. Schema of TARGET.

There are five contextual variants of TARGET in my data, namely, TARGET (proper), TARGET PATH, COMMUNICATIVE OR PERCEPTIVE TARGET (PERCEPTIVE TARGET), APPEARING, and TARGET OF MEASURE (MEASURE). All these contextual variants share the basic semantic structure of TARGET, but differ in the semantics of the predicate and/or the cognitive domain they occur in. Three of them, TARGET, TARGET PATH, and PERCEPTIVE TARGET, are highly productive, as they are attested in both languages and with both cases. APPEARING is attested only with the illative of both languages. MEASURE is attested only once in Moksha. Therefore, the latter two are not discussed further in this paper.

The first contextual variant of TARGET is TARGET (proper). The number of instances of TARGET in the data for the illative are 75 (E) and 77

(M), for the lative 27 (E) and 48 (M). This contextual variant expresses a directed action that is not translocative motion (see below), i. e. it continues until it reaches the LM. Usually, the reaching means that the TR (in intransitive clauses) or the primary LM (in transitive clauses) ends up in the sphere of influence of the (secondary) LM, as in (4).

- (4) M (Moksha-2006\_4\_64-87)  
 (...) *viř-sa sotə-žä ša-da ečkä šuft-s.*  
 forest-INE tie-PST1.3SG>3SG DMST-PART thick tree-ILL  
 (...) he tied it (his horse) in the forest to a very thick tree.'

TARGET can also be expressed by the lative. There is no inherent difference in the TARGET-sense of the illative and the lative, but for lexical reasons there are somewhat more cases with relational nouns, as in (5). The action in (5) leads to a situation where the primary LM is in the sphere of the secondary LM and it is explicated that the action is carried to the end. The notion of specificity manifests itself in (4) and (5) as the concreteness of the LM, and the following ease of locating TR in relation to LM. In (4) LM is a concrete content noun, and thus TR is rather easily located in relation to LM. In (5) the LM phrase expresses a relational area in respect to the actual referent of the LM i. e. *stol* 'table'. This relational area does not facilitate the locating of TR as easily, as the TR can be located anywhere inside the relevant area in contrast to an explicitly delimited location. Admittedly, *al-* 'underside' is more specific than e. g. *udal-* 'behind', but it still is less specific than a content noun with a concrete referent.

- (5) E (Syatko-2006\_9\_94-110)  
*Meň-š at'a-ňt' ked'-ste di tago*  
 get.free-PST1.3SG old.man-GEN.DEF hand-ELA and again  
*eče-š stol' alo-v.*  
 crawl-PST1.3SG table under-LAT  
 'He got free from the old man and crawled again under the table.'

The second contextual variant of TARGET is TARGET PATH. It differs from TARGET in that the predicate expresses translocative motion (cf. Zlatev, Blomberg & David 2010: 394–395). Translocative motion (motion in which the moving entity changes location) includes, for example, such verbs as *mol'ems* (E), *mol'əms* (M) 'go', *jutams* (E) 'go,

wander, travel’, *jotams* (M) ‘go (via, through), cross, move (forward)’, and *ardoms* (E) ‘go, travel, drive’, *ardəms* (M) ‘run, hurry, travel (by horse, transport), ride’. Verbs like *ozams* (E, M) ‘sit (down)’, and *čavoms* (E), *šavəms* (M) ‘hit, beat’ that do include movement, but do not express translocality, are considered here to express TARGET. The semantic difference between TARGET and TARGET PATH is rather marginal, at least in comparison to the other contextual variants of the TARGET-sense.

As discussed in Section 2.2, contextual variants are variants of one sense, i.e., they express the same configuration between TR and LM. Different contextual variants are posited when they express the same sense in different semantic contexts. The difference between TARGET (proper) and TARGET PATH is that the contextual variant TARGET PATH expresses the endpoint of translocative motion, whereas TARGET (proper) expresses the endpoint of other kinds of actions. These contextual variants are separated in this paper because:

1. TARGET PATH forms a coherent semantic group within the TARGET-sense, i.e., a GOAL-case is typically used with a verb of translocative movement to express the endpoint of the movement.
2. TARGET PATH is rather frequent in my data, and thus merits a separate mention.

The division of a sense to contextual variants is, however, always somewhat arbitrary and further research should try to implement more rigid criteria for defining them. The number of instances in the data are 36 (E) and 26 (M) for the illative, and 45 (E) and 41 (M) for the lative.

TARGET PATH can be expressed by both GOAL-oriented cases in both languages. Example (6) shows that the TARGET PATH of the illative is semantically similar to the TARGET-sense. In the example, the illative designates the LM, into whose sphere the action of the TR ends. The action, however, is translocative motion, in contrast to some other kind of directed action present in the contextual variant of TARGET.

(6) M (Moksha-2007\_2\_3-32)

(...)	<i>son</i>	<i>vid’ə-ks</i>	<i>ul’-š</i>	<i>kosmos-sa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>vov</i>
	3SG	real-TRA	be-PST1.3SG	space-INE	and	PCL
	<i>šät’a-š</i>	<i>Moda-t’</i>	<i>lang-s.</i>			
	step-PST1.3SG	Earth-GEN.DEF	top-ILL			

‘(...) he really was in space and actually stepped onto Earth.’

TARGET PATH with the lative is shown in (7). As with TARGET, there is no difference in the semantic structure of the contextual variant between the illative and the lative. In both examples, the LM marked with the lative designates the endpoint of the translocative motion of the TR. The lexical differences of course apply also here, i. e., relational nouns are more frequent with the lative than the illative, but as (7) shows, this is not an obligatory constraint. Example (7), again, shows the effects of specificity on the case marking, as *taiga* ‘taiga’ denotes a vast expanse of space, where there are many possible locations for the TR, thus locating the TR in relation to the LM is rather superficial. (8) is an example of a distinct lexicalization pattern, as *lango-v* ‘top-LAT’ is not the unspecific counterpart of ‘onto’, but rather ‘towards’. This lexicalization pattern of course is also an instance of specificity as direction of action is less specific than endpoint of action (cf. Section 3.2).

- (7) E (Syatko-2006\_11\_130-138)  
 (...) *manit’ jak-iń mik Šibiře-ń **tajga-v.***  
 last.year go-PST1.1SG even Siberia-GEN **taiga-LAT**  
 ‘(...) last year I even travelled to the Siberian taiga.’

The contextual variant of PERCEPTIVE TARGET differs from the two contextual variants above in that the action is situated in the communicative and perceptive domain. This is a metaphorical extension of the original sense. The relation between the TR and the LM still holds, but the condition of the TR or the primary LM ending up in the sphere of the (secondary) LM has been somewhat relaxed. In PERCEPTIVE TARGET, the predicate expresses an action that has to do with (human) communication or perception, e.g., *vanoms* (E), *vanams* (M) ‘look’, *t’erd’ems* (E), *t’erd’ams* (M) ‘call, invite’. In PERCEPTIVE TARGET, there is no actual motion, but the action nonetheless has an endpoint that is reached. The line of vision is conceptualized as a line emitting from the viewer terminating at the target as in (8) (cf. Talmy 2000: 115–116). This contextual variant is attested practically only with the illative (16 [E] and 27 [M] instances), as there is only one instance of this contextual variant in the lative altogether. The LM in this unique case is the place name Sorrento, and as discussed in the beginning of Section 3, place names take the lative as their GOAL-case. It is probable that if a place name functions as LM with PERCEPTIVE TARGET, it always takes the lative as the GOAL-case. The sentence is given in (9).

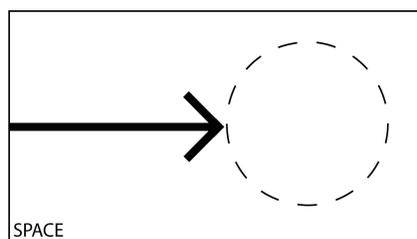
- (8) E (Syatko-2004\_7\_4-29)  
 – *Vaj, nekak, kije\_but'i s-i, – di son*  
 PCL maybe INDF come-PRS.3SG and 3SG  
*val'ma-va varšta-s kuztembe-s.*  
 window-PROL glance-PST1.3SG yard-ILL  
 ‘– Oh, maybe somebody comes (she said) and she looked through the window into the yard.’
- (9) E (Syatko-2006\_11\_46-70)  
 (...) *šormad'-s nil'e t'oža-t stročka-t mež-d'e*  
 write-PST1.3SG four thousand-PL line-PL REL-PART  
*šorma-so pačt'a-s Sorrento-v A. M. Gořkij-nej.*  
 letter-INE inform-PST1.3SG Sorrento-LAT PN-DAT  
 ‘(...) he (Artur Moro) wrote four thousand lines, about which he informed by a letter to A. M. Gor'kij to Sorrento.’

### 3.2. DIRECTION

The second major sense of the GOAL-oriented cases is DIRECTION. Like that of TARGET, the schema includes, a directed action, and a LM functioning as the endpoint of the action. As with TARGET, a TR moving along the trajectory of the action is possible but not necessary. Furthermore, both spatial and cognitive/communicative spheres are possible with DIRECTION. The crucial difference from TARGET is that the focus is not on the endpoint of the action but in the directed action itself.

DIRECTION as a sense is ambivalent between whether the LM is reached or not, and in this it contrasts to TARGET. In DIRECTION, the route along which the action proceeds is in focus, whereas in TARGET, the LM and the completion of the action are in focus. This leads to the situation that, more than other senses, TARGET and DIRECTION form a continuum, and especially with the intermediate cases, there is always some ambiguity about which sense each example represents. This is also represented in my data, where I have drawn the line between DIRECTION and TARGET to a somewhat arbitrary place. I count all verbs expressing directed action in the present tense and without any contextual clues, as well as all instances of verbs of movement that semantically point to the starting point of the movement without any contextual clues as DIRECTION (cf. Erkkilä (2022) for the full data). This does not, however, mean that the results are arbitrary, but rather that more work needs to be

done in separating the minor differences between the main senses of the GOAL-cases. The schema of DIRECTION is shown in Figure 3. As before, the bold line means the part of a relation in focus, and the box depicts the cognitive domain. The dashed line indicates a part of the relation that is backgrounded.



**Figure 3.** Schema of DIRECTION.

In DIRECTION, the endpoint of the action is backgrounded, which is a shift in perspective (cf. Langacker 1987: 124–126). This constitutes a change in the configuration and thus in the sense (Shakhova & Tyler 2010: 268), and can be achieved in a number of ways. The most typical ways are to use a lexical expression of DIRECTION, to use relational nouns adverbially (in such cases they do not express a certain place), or to use a predicate expressing unbounded action (Zlatev, Blomberg & David 2010: 396). The latter can still be divided into two groups: lexically unbounded verbs like *sirgams* (E), *sirkams* (M) ‘leave’, or verbs marked as unbounded by inflection, i.e., activity verbs in the present tense.

DIRECTION has three contextual variants: DIRECTION (proper), DIRECTION PATH, and COMMUNICATIVE OR PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION (PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION). All of the contextual variants are attested with both GOAL-cases in both languages, but DIRECTION (proper) is quite marginal with the illative (3 [E] and 12 [M] instances). The number of instances in the data for the illative in total are 16 (E) and 21 (M), and for the lative 117 (E) and 90 (M). All these three contextual variants share the common spatial configuration but differ in their semantic particulars. The overwhelming difference between the frequencies of illative and lative in DIRECTION-sense is result of specificity. As specificity typically manifests itself as a relation between the TR and LM, where LM facilitates the locating of TR, DIRECTION is fundamentally a non-specific

sense. Since the reaching of the endpoint of the action is left open, the location of the TR in relation to the LM is left unspecified.

The first contextual variant of the DIRECTION-sense is DIRECTION (proper). In this sense, the TR does a directed action towards the (secondary) LM marked with the GOAL-case, but it is left unspecified if the action reaches the endpoint, as in (10) and (11). The action expressed by the predicate can be anything except for translocative motion or perceptive or communicative action. The contextual variant is partly a product of lexicalization, as can be seen in (10), where *jon* ‘side’ can only take the lative ending as its GOAL-case. However, as (11) shows, DIRECTION is attested also with other kinds of words.

(10) E (Syatko/2-2003/1)

(...) *ńevt'-ś*                      *sur-so*                      *pel'-s\_čamo-ž*  
 show-PST1.3SG      finger-INE      half-ILL\_empty-PST.PTCP

*but'ilka-ńt'*                      *gono-v.*  
**bottle-GEN.DEF**                      **side-LAT**

‘(...) he pointed with (his) finger in the direction of the half-emptied bottle.’

(11) M (Moksha-2005\_3-4\_264-265)

*Ardə-m\_bačka*                      *aśśə-ś\_t'i-ś*                                      *i*  
 run-NMLZ\_through      think-PST1.3SG\_do-PST1.3SG                      and

*purda-ś*                      *son*                      *viř-i.*  
 turn-PST1.3SG      3SG      **forest-LAT**

‘While it was running, it thought for some time and turned towards the forest.’

The illative can also express this contextual variant, albeit it is rare in my data. The examples do not differ from those with the lative. In (12), the action expressed by the predicate is unbounded, since *kučəms* ‘send’ does not explicitly express that the primary LM *ćora* ‘son’ ended up in the war. However, the implication of reaching the endpoint of action is quite strong and, therefore, (12) represents non-prototypical DIRECTION. It seems that the rare examples of illative DIRECTIONS are semantically more or less between DIRECTION and some other sense, which is, of course, natural for a radial category.

## (12) M (Varia/B/9)

<i>Ćora-nc</i>	<i>kučə-žä</i>	<i>vojna-s,</i>
son-POSS.GEN.3SG>SG	send-PST1.3PL>3SG	<b>war-ILL</b>
<i>a vojna-ś</i>	<i>sa-ś</i>	<i>t'ä-za.</i>
but war-NOM.DEF	come-PST1.3SG	DMST-ILL

‘They sent her son to war, but the war came here.’

Another example of DIRECTION with the illative is shown in (13), where the action is actually bounded, since *šarfəms* ‘turn, rotate’ expresses a change of the TR from one position to another. Here, however, the action does not necessarily express a situation, where the TR Galya reaches the LM *mešt* ‘chest’, but rather a change of position towards the LM. In (13), the DIRECTION is non-prototypical, since the action is not strictly speaking directed. Examples such as (13) come somewhat close to the PLACE-sense (cf. Section 3.3).

## (13) M (Varia/A/11)

<i>Gal'a vizd'elgəd'-ś,</i>	<i>käd'.lapš-sa</i>	<i>pandə-žä</i>
PN bewilder-PST1.3SG	hand.palm-INE	close-PST1.3SG>3SG
<i>kurə-nc,</i>	<i>pejəd'ə-ž</i>	<i>šarfə-žä</i>
mouth-POSS.GEN.3SG>SG	smile-CNV	turn-PST1.3SG>3SG
<i>prü-nc</i>	<i>Mit'a-ń</i>	<i>mäšt'-s.</i>
head-POSS.GEN.3SG>3SG	<b>PN-GEN</b>	<b>chest-ILL</b>

‘Galya got bewildered, closed her mouth with (her) hand, [and] smiling turned her head towards Mitya’s chest.’

The second contextual variant of the DIRECTION-sense is DIRECTION PATH. DIRECTION PATH corresponds to TARGET PATH, since the predicate expresses a directed translocative motion in both cases. However, in DIRECTION PATH, the predicate expresses a motion that does not necessarily bring the TR into the sphere of the (secondary) LM. More specifically, the focus is on the action itself, and the endpoint has been backgrounded, as it is not considered important. This contextual variant is attested with both GOAL-cases and in both languages, but as with DIRECTION (proper), the lative is more common. The numbers of instances are 11 (E) and 7 (M) for the illative, 78 (E) and 66 (M) for the lative. (14) shows DIRECTION PATH with the lative. In (14), the elliptical predicate *sirgams* ‘leave’ expresses translocative motion that starts towards the LM. It is, however, not specified whether the motion actu-

ally reaches it. The second verb *mol'ems* 'go' points to the same conclusion, as it is marked for unbounded action by the present tense.

(14) E (Syatko-2007\_2\_119-139)

– *Mikaj, a Mikaj, ko-v miň mol'-t'ano? Ko-v*  
 PN INTJ PN INTG-LAT 1PL go-PRS.1PL INTG-LAT  
*sirg-iňek?*

leave-PST1.1PL

– *Koda ko-v? Pet'a at'a-ň kalmolango-v.*  
 INTG INTG-LAT PN grandfather-GEN **grave-LAT**

'– Mikaj, oh Mikaj, where are we going? Where to did we leave? – How so where? To grandfather Petya's grave.'

DIRECTION PATH is much rarer with the illative. In (15), the motion is lexically marked as unbounded with the auxiliary *karmams* 'start', so it is not explicated if the TR actually ends up in the sphere of the LM. Still, the implication is quite strong, as if when you start to fall, then you usually fall all the way. The example is a metaphor about passing out, which strengthens the argument, since it is quite hard to interrupt such an event.

(15) E (Syatko-2004\_1\_3-10)

*Čata-žev-iň di karm-iň pra-mo raužo*  
 sway-INCH-PST1.1SG and start-PST1.1SG fall-INF2 black

*ot'ma-s.*

**chasm-ILL**

'I began to sway and started to fall into a black chasm.'

The final contextual variant of the DIRECTION-sense is PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION. As with PERCEPTIVE TARGET, the predicate appearing with a GOAL-case expressing PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION expresses perceptive or communicative directed action. PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION is a metonymical extension of directed action in the spatial domain to the communicative/perceptive domain. However, since PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION has the same configuration as the other contextual variants of the DIRECTION-sense, i.e., directed action that does not bring the TR to the sphere of the (secondary) LM, it is best viewed as a contextual variant of DIRECTION than as its own sense. The directed action in PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION is in the same way directional as the action in PERCEPTIVE

TARGET (cf. Section 3.1). The number of instances expressing PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION in the data are 2 for the illative in both languages, and 11 (E) and 6 (M) for the lative.

In all of the few instances of PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION with illative, the LM is a rather small thing that can be perceived as a whole, as in (16), where the LM is Tonya and *narədəń vrag* ‘enemy of the state’ (referring to the same individual). A person is of such a size that it can be perceived at once in comparison to e. g. *meńal* ‘sky, heaven’ in (18) below. What differentiates the few instances of illative expressing PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION and the much larger number of illatives expressing PERCEPTIVE TARGET (cf. Section 3.1) is the type of the action expressed by the predicate. In all the four examples the predicate includes the verb *karmams* (E, M) ‘start’ which focuses on the beginning rather than end of the action, thus creating an ambivalence between reaching and not-reaching the LM. However, this use comes rather close to PERCEPTIVE TARGET, and a larger dataset on illatives of perception would be needed for a conclusive analysis of these two categories.

(16) M (Moksha/2002/19)

*A Tońa-ń, škol’ńica-t’, lang-s=ka karma-št’*  
 and PN-GEN schoolgirl-GEN.DEF top-ILL=PCL start-PST1.3PL  
*vanə-ma, koda narədə-ń vragə-ń lang-s.*  
 look-INF2 REL nation-GEN enemy-GEN top-ILL  
 ‘And also at Tonya, the schoolgirl, they started to look like at an enemy  
 of the state.’

The lative, on the other hand, forms a rather clear contextual variant. An example of lexical specification is shown in (17), where the LM is marked for directionality by the relational noun *pel’e* ‘side-LAT’. This example also shows the grammatical marking on the predicate, as the present tense marks the action unbounded. A LM that cannot be perceived as a whole is shown in (18) with the LM *meńal* ‘sky, heaven’, which arguably is too big to be perceived by one look and unbounded. What is common to both of these examples is that they have a predicate that expresses directed action (in the communicative/perceptive domain), and a LM that is not reached (i.e., perceived to its fullest) by the TR.

- (17) E (Syatko-2008\_1\_44-53)

*Son pinge-ń peřt', koda soda-ž, jala*  
 3SG time-GEN through REL know-PST.PTCP still  
*van-i čĩ-ńt' pel'e-v.*

look-PRS.3SG **SUN-GEN.DEF** **side-LAT**

‘As is known, through time it still looks in the direction of sun.’

- (18) M (Moksha-2007\_9\_3-32)

(...) *ańćak kajśǎ-ś mäšt'ǎ-zǎ-nza k'rost da*  
 only toss-PST1.3SG chest-ILL-POSS.3SG cross and  
*šĩřǎm-sta varža-kšńǎ-ś meńǎl'-i.*

leaning-ADLZ look-CONT-PST1.3SG **sky-LAT**

‘(...) she only made a cross on her chest and leaning looked towards the heaven.’

PERCEPTIVE TARGET and PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION are quite close together, so a somewhat arbitrary division is made in the data, similarly to other cases with the DIRECTION-sense and TARGET-sense. A GOAL-case expresses PERCEPTIVE TARGET when the LM or the predicate is lexically marked, so that it does not express the endpoint of an action if the predicate is grammatically marked to express unbounded action, or if the referent of the LM is such that it cannot be perceived as a whole.

There is only a minor difference between PERCEPTIVE TARGET and PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION because in perceptive action, nothing actually moves along the trajectory of the action. However, the minor difference is that in PERCEPTIVE TARGET, the action is successful in locating the perceived LM, or the perceiving is completed, whereas in PERCEPTIVE DIRECTION, these elements are backgrounded and thus irrelevant for the contextual variant.

### 3.3. PLACE

The next sense attested with the GOAL-cases of the Mordvin languages is PLACE. PLACE is far more marginal than the two aforementioned senses, but it nonetheless appears clearly in the data and expresses a distinct configuration. The numbers of instances in the data for the illative are 13 (E) and 11 (M), and for the lative 1 (E) and 4 (M). In contrast to DIRECTION, PLACE is a fundamentally specific sense, since the whole action takes place inside the LM, the TR is, in principle,

always possible to locate in relation to it. This explains the frequency difference between the GOAL-cases in this sense.

Unlike in TARGET and DIRECTION, the configuration in PLACE does not include directed action, but rather the action that should be bounded. The (secondary) LM designates an area inside which the action takes place. ‘Action’ is defined in the broadest possible sense to also include some states capable of progress, but the prototypical cases always exhibit actual progress. The TR is usually present, but it is not obligatory. PLACE is a result of a shift in perspective (focus) from the TR reaching the LM, as in TARGET, to the LM encompassing the whole action of the TR. It also seems to have a connection with DIRECTION, since the focus is not so much on the endpoint, but on the action itself. The schema of PLACE is shown in Figure 4, where the bold line means the part of a relation in focus, and the box depicts the cognitive domain.

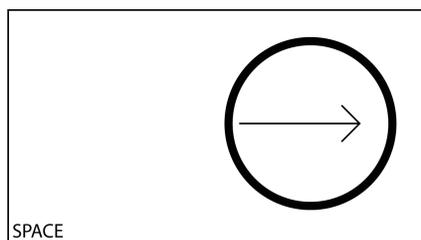


Figure 4. Schema of PLACE.

Consider the two examples demonstrating the PLACE-sense. In (19), the relevant action is expressed by *marams* ‘stack’ and the (secondary) LM of this action is *banka* ‘jar’, which expresses the boundaries inside which the action takes place.<sup>11</sup> The action of stacking takes place inside the LM because both its beginning (the moment the TR starts to get stacked) and end (the moment LM is stacked full of TR) are inside the LM. The action is not directed as the stacking can successively take place in different parts of the LM. In (20), the situation is similar. The action is not directed, and it happens inside the LM, but the sense is strengthened by lexical means, namely, with the relational noun *kel’e-s* ‘width-ILL’. The difference between the configuration in PLACE and

11 Note that this example contains multiple clauses, which all have their own LMs. The TR *šoráfsks* ‘mixture’ is common to all the clauses, however.

TARGET is that in TARGET, the action begins from outside of the LM, whereas in PLACE, the action happens fully inside the boundaries of the LM, as is the case both in (19) and (20).

(19) M (MP-2005\_28-ijul'\_16b)

*Šäl'd'ä šor'afks-t' kel'i käd'gə-sa putə-ms*  
 after.that mixture-GEN.DEF wide container-INE put-INF1  
*tol lang-s, laka-ftə-ms i mara-ms pši-sta*  
 fire top-ILL boil-FAC-INF1 and stack-INF1 hot-ADLZ  
*kl'änčə-ń banka-s.*  
 glass-GEN jar-ILL

‘After that, the mixture must be put in a wide container on the fire, let it boil, and it must be stacked while hot into a glass jar.’

(20) E (Syatko-2008\_6\_44-55)

(...) *kal-ne-t'ńe pikšt'er'd'e-ž srayto-v-št'*  
 fish-DIM-NOM.DEF.PL splash-CNV spread-PASS-PST1.3PL  
*kijakso-ńt' kel'e-s...*  
 floor-GEN.DEF width-ILL

‘(...) the fish were spread splashing all over the floor (to the width of the floor).’

It would probably be possible to distinguish two contextual variants, namely, PROCESS PLACE, in which the predicate would express movement or some other progressive process, and STATE PLACE, in which the action would be more static (e.g., ‘sitting’ or ‘living’), but due to the small amount of data, their exact differences cannot be determined, so I treat the sense as one whole. This suggestion is based on two facts. Firstly, there are more dynamic and more static predicates attested in my data with PLACE-sense (cf. e. g. (20) above and (22) below in Section 3.4). Secondly, the prolative case of Erzya (Erkkilä 2021: 89–94) and the PATH-cases of Komi (Erkkilä & Partanen 2022: 122–124) also have PLACE-senses, which are very similar to the PLACE-sense of the Mordvin GOAL-cases. The PLACE-senses of these PATH-cases show two contextual variants differing in the properties of the predicate, so such contextual variants would also be possible for the PLACE-sense of Mordvin GOAL-cases. The problem is that the current dataset does not allow a detailed analysis of the matter, and thus the verification or falsification of this hypothesis must be left for future research.

### 3.4. LOCATION

LOCATION is a sense where the focus is solely on the endpoint of the action. It expresses a configuration where the action is totally backgrounded, and the TR or primary LM is in contact with or in the sphere of a (secondary) LM. The backgrounding is prototypically done by using the past participle or a form of the second past, originally a compound of a non-finite form and the verb *ul'ems* (E), *ul'əms* 'be' (Bartens 1999: 129–131). This way, the processuality of a verb is backgrounded and the action expressed by the verb is seen as a whole instead of unfolding in time (cf. Langacker 1987: 221). In connection with the reference to past of the verbal form, this leads to the situation where the (secondary) LM is highlighted as the present site of the TR or the primary LM, and the trajectory of the action is only part of the background knowledge of the situation. The schema of LOCATION is shown in Figure 5, where the bold line means the part of a relation in focus, and the box depicts the cognitive domain. The dashed line indicates a part of the relation that is backgrounded. LOCATION is attested with both GOAL-cases in both languages, but it is more common with the illative. The numbers for the illative are 11 (E) and 12 (M). In the lative, there are three instances in both languages. Like PLACE, LOCATION is also fundamentally specific sense, as the TR is situated in the LM, and the situation is static. Therefore, it is quite easy to locate the TR in the LM. This explains the difference in the frequencies of the GOAL-cases in this sense.

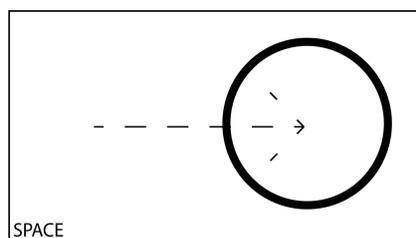


Figure 5. Schema of LOCATION.

In (21), the action is expressed by a past participle. The LM specifies the place where the TR is situated after the action is completed, i.e., a stative relation.

(21) E (Syatko/2-2003/1)

*Gost' oza-vt-il'                    polok                    lang-s,                    Jarsams*  
 guest sit-PASS-PST2.3SG **sleeping.shelf** **top-ILL** food  
*put-il'                    kaštom.lang-s.*  
 put-PST2.3SG **oven.top-ILL**

‘The guest was seated onto the sleeping shelf, food was put on top of the oven.’

LOCATION is closely tied to TARGET, since both their configurations include directed action and a focus on the completion of the action to the sphere of the LM. LOCATION is a product of perspective shift (focus) only on the endpoint of the action. In addition, LOCATION and PLACE have some similarities, as in both the (secondary) LM has a bigger role than the action in the configuration. Especially the rare cases of state predicates in PLACE yield highly similar semantics in comparison with LOCATION. For example, in (22), the predicate *kel'gst'avoms* ‘fit’ expresses a state and the secondary LM *žep* ‘pocket’ the area inside which this state takes place, or rather in the negative context does not take place. The difference between PLACE and LOCATION in such cases is that in PLACE, the predicate has a processual action, i.e., it unfolds in time (see above), whereas in LOCATION, this processuality is backgrounded.

(22) E (Syatko/5-2003/1)

*Maks-tano ist'amo řeps, Kona a kel'gst'av-i žep-s.*  
 give-PRS.1PL such turnip that NEG fit-PRS.3SG **pocket-ILL**  
 ‘We give such a turnip that does not fit in the pocket.’

### 3.5. PURPOSE

PURPOSE is a sense that expresses an intended outcome of the action of the TR. It is attested in both languages with both cases, but it is somewhat more frequent in Erzya than in Moksha. PURPOSE is attested 10 (E) and 5 (M) times with the illative, and 6 (E) and 1 (M) times with the lative. This might be due to the fact that Moksha has a case (traditionally called causative, cf. Toldova et al. 2018: 174) that expresses PURPOSE of an action. In PURPOSE, the LM expresses the entity that motivates the action. PURPOSE is a sort of intermediary sense between the spatial and mental domain, as the LM is in the physical domain, but it affects the mental state of the TR. The configuration PURPOSE has a TR and a

LM that motivates the action of the TR. The predicate expresses some sort of directed action that enables the acquisition of the LM. The LM has a dual position in the configuration since it first affects the mental state of the TR so that the action is performed and subsequently acts as the spatial endpoint of the action. The schema for PURPOSE is shown in Figure 6. In the figure the black dot depicts the fact that the endpoint of the action is not a thing per se, but rather the motivation of the action itself.

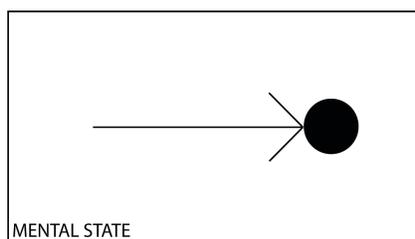


Figure 6. Schema of PURPOSE.

In (23), the LM *pang-s* ‘for mushroom’ expresses the reason for the proposed action by the TR (expressed by the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun). In addition, the example includes a second LM *vi’e-v* ‘to the forest’, which tells the location where the reason is situated. This shows that the LM in the illative cannot express the TARGET-sense, and thus that TARGET and PURPOSE are distinct senses, as they can appear in the same utterance.

(23) E (Syatko/9-2003/2)

–	<i>Ma’ra-t,</i>	<i>šabra,</i>	–	<i>t’e</i>	<i>ist’a</i>	<i>moñeñ</i>	<i>šejeř-i,</i>
	hear-PRS.2SG	neighbor		DMST	so	1SG.DAT	scream-PRS.3SG
	<i>ad’a</i>	<i>valske</i>		<i>vi’e-v.</i>	<b><i>Pang-s.</i></b>		<i>A?</i>
	PCL	tomorrow		forest-LAT	<b>mushroom-ILL</b>		PCL
	<i>Koda,</i>	<i>ul’-i</i>		<i>mel’e-t’?</i>			
	INTG	be-PRS.3SG		mind-POSS.2SG			

‘‘You hear, neighbor’’, he screams like that to me, ‘‘come tomorrow to the forest. For mushrooms. So? Do you want to?’’

PURPOSE does have similarities with the other senses. The general tendency of GOAL-cases occurring with directed action is present in PURPOSE as well, and more specifically the focus on the endpoint of the action is shared by PURPOSE and TARGET. It is thus possible to say that

PURPOSE is an extension of TARGET, where the pragmatics of volitional AGENTS doing things for a reason is included into the configuration.

### 3.6. Discussion

I have discussed five senses of the Mordvin GOAL-cases. I have focused on the similarities between the cases, but there are also some differences between the uses of the cases. Mostly, they can be seen in the frequencies each case is attested with certain senses, e.g., TARGET is more frequent with the illative than the lative, and DIRECTION is more frequent with the lative than the illative, but in some senses (e.g., TEMPORAL) and contextual variants (e.g., PERCEPTIVE TARGET), the illative is practically the only choice of a GOAL-case. These differences are best explained by the differences in conceptualization of situations, as discussed below.

In addition to the five discussed senses, there are five senses that were attested in my data, but left outside of closer analysis due to space constraints. These senses are:

1. TEMPORAL, which expresses the endpoint of an action in time (Erkkilä 2019).
2. STAYING, which expresses where something stays, is left, etc. (Erkkilä 2019). The use of GOAL-cases is motivated because the (secondary) LM marked with a GOAL-case functions as the endpoint of a mental action of the TR (cf. Huumo 2006: 55–57)
3. RESULT, which expresses the endpoint of a causal chain (cf. e.g. Croft 1991: 149–182).
4. REASON, which expresses the mental state that causes an action. REASON does not have any endpoint-related semantics, and thus it is a bit surprising as a meaning of the GOAL-cases. The matter should be studied further.
5. PART, which expresses the final state of events of dividing. PART is rather close to RESULT in its semantics, but it has its own configuration between the TR and the LM that is based on force-dynamic changes (see Section 2.2), namely, that after the action is finished, the TR is divided into the number of parts expressed by the LM.

The list shows that four of the five senses have semantics tied to endpoints in different cognitive domains, namely, the temporal, mental, and causal domain.

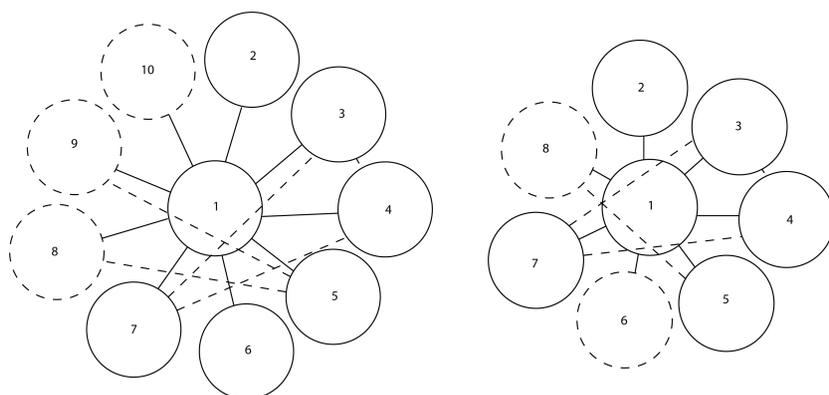
The question still remains that which of these senses is the central sense for each case. By combining the criteria put forward in Tyler & Evans (2003: 45–50) and some typological tendencies (Rice & Kabata 2007), it is possible to conclude that the central sense for the illative in the Mordvin languages is TARGET. In addition it should be remembered that the primary sense is, according to Tyler & Evans (Tyler & Evans 2003: 42–45), always spatial which means that PURPOSE, TEMPORAL, RESULT, REASON, and PART as non-spatial senses cannot be considered as the primary sense. There is a lot of supporting evidence, of which numbers 1–3 are the main evidence taken from the theoretical framework this study is based on (Tyler & Evans 2003), and 4 and 5 are secondary evidence that are mentioned to reinforce the analysis:

1. TARGET includes a directed route of action that finishes in the sphere of the LM, i.e., the LM as the locus of the final state is in focus. The same relation is to be found in LOCATION, STAYING, PURPOSE, and RESULT, with minor semantic adjustments. PLACE and TEMPORAL could be added as extensions of the same relation. This shows that TARGET includes a relation between the TR and the LM that is involved in most of the senses of the illative (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003: 48).
2. In the spatial sphere, TARGET is in opposition with the senses of the spatial cases, i.e., SOURCE, LOCATION, and PATH (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003: 48–49). This is, however, true also for DIRECTION.
3. The other senses can be explained as extensions of TARGET (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003: 49–50). In the case of DIRECTION, the opposite would also be possible, but the senses with endpoint focus would still be easier to explain as extensions of TARGET, so analyzing TARGET as the central sense keeps the semantic structure of the illative simpler. The other senses with endpoint focus are not plausible central senses as they are restricted to environments with certain types of predicates (LOCATION, STAYING), or are non-spatial (PURPOSE, RESULT, TEMPORAL) and thus impossible as central senses. Finally, it is simpler to explain both DIRECTION and PLACE as extensions of TARGET, that to explain that either DIRECTION or PLACE would first extend to TARGET and from there to the other sense. This would be necessary as DIRECTION and PLACE do not have almost any commonalities.

4. Rice & Kabata (2007) have shown that typologically GOAL-marking morphemes (ALLATIVES in their terminology) start their grammaticalization from TARGET-type semantics and extend from there to other senses.
5. TARGET is most frequent sense in the data, and frequency correlates with prototypicality (cf. Taylor 2019: 133–134).

In principle, the same analysis applies for the lative, although it expresses less senses than the illative and most senses are very marginal. In addition, the number of examples of DIRECTION is greater with the lative than the illative. However, four of the five pieces of evidence (points 1–4) support the choice of TARGET as the central sense of the lative. If the lative is analyzed as having the same semantic structure as the illative, the question remains what the difference between the cases is. Lexicalization patterns cannot explain everything, as the cases are in free variation in some contexts. Nonetheless, I propose an analysis, where the cases have exactly the same semantic structure and the differing use of the cases is explained differently. The semantic structure is shown in Figure 7 for each case, where all their senses and relations between them are pictured. The figure shows that each GOAL-case has a central sense and that the other senses are its extensions. In addition, non-central senses have connections to each other based on conceptual similarities and these function to give coherence to the whole semantic structure of the GOAL-cases.

Along the lines of analysis of the third view of previous studies (see section 1.2), namely, that both the illative and the lative are cases in their own right and that their distribution is based on something else than the senses they express, I propose that the difference of the cases is the conceptualizing of the relation between the TR and the LM as either including or lacking specificity. Specificity manifests itself in different ways. The clearest example are the lexicalization patterns. The lative is used with lexemes that express a less specific relation between a TR and a LM from the point of view of a human. For example, geographical names and institutions are always inflected in the lative and this is because when a human-sized TR goes into such a place, it interacts only with a minor part of the whole (see also Toldova et al. (2018: 171–172) for the effect of referential status in the case marking in Moksha).



**Figure 7.** Semantic structure of the GOAL-cases: illative (left) and lative (right). Solid lines show extensions from the central sense and dashed lines other connections between the senses. Circles in dashed line mark senses with less than five examples. 1 = TARGET, 2 = DIRECTION, 3 = LOCATION, 4 = PLACE, 5 = PURPOSE, 6 = TEMPORAL, 7 = STAYING, 8 = REASON, 9 = RESULT, 10 = PART.

The place of the TR is unspecified in comparison to the LM. Secondly, specificity is manifested in the frequencies of the senses. TARGET, PLACE, LOCATION, and PURPOSE are more frequent with the illative because the relation they entail includes a specific LM in the sense that it is brought to the foreground by the configuration. On the other hand, DIRECTION is more frequent with the lative than with the illative, as in it the LM is backgrounded. Also, when the LM is known (e.g., by encyclopedic knowledge), it is unspecified as a referent because there is no need to focus on it. The clearest example of this is the variation of the GOAL-cases with the word ‘house’ to yield ‘to the house’ (illative) and ‘to home’ (lative). As ‘home’ is a general property of people in a modern society, there is no need to draw attention to the LM when speaking about it, whereas a house can be of special interest in the discourse.

It is important to notice that specificity as a part of conceptualization does not mean only definiteness. Koljaděnkov (1954: 46) says that the illative conveys the sense of definiteness, but this explains only some of the variation, as, e.g., place names take almost exclusively the lative as their GOAL-case, even though they denote highly definite LMs (cf. Bernhardt 2019: 56–63). In fact, the inflection of ‘house’ and of geographical names shows that in some cases, a definite LM is unspecified. This is because specificity pertains to the salience of a referent in the

mind of a speaker. Unique referents tend naturally to be salient, because their existence as single entities is part of the encyclopedic knowledge of the speaker. Specificity in the sense defined here has a bigger domain than definiteness, as actions can be specific (e.g. acted to completion) or unspecific (e.g. the completion is not explicated), whereas definiteness is a property of nouns.

I hypothesize that the differentiation according to specificity is based on the evolution of the Mordvin GOAL-cases. In the system inherited from Proto-Uralic, the lative was the neutral GOAL-case and it probably could be used to express any sense that was expressed at the time by a GOAL-case. As the new case, the illative, started to gain ground, the contexts where the lative was mostly used were relational nouns inflected with it. Relational nouns are inherently unspecific, since they designate an area in relation to the LM (cf. Levinson 2003: 74, Carlson 2010). This led to the birth of the specificity distinction. This hypothesis should, however, be studied further to verify or discard it.

#### 4. Conclusions

In this paper, I have analyzed the semantic structure of the two spatial GOAL-cases in the Mordvin languages, the illative and the lative. By analyzing the different senses of the cases, I have shown that both cases in both languages have almost identical semantic structures. The illative can express ten senses and the lative eight in total in the Mordvin languages. The central sense of both cases is TARGET. My analysis shows that as the semantic structures of the cases are highly similar, the difference between the use of the cases must lie somewhere else. This difference is in the conceptualization of the relation between the TR and the LM in regard to the presence of specificity. The illative is used more often when the relation is specific, and the lative is used more often when the relation is unspecific.

This study left some unanswered questions, which would merit some further research. First of all, a bigger data set should be used to get more data of the most marginal senses left unanalyzed in this paper. This would help to assess the semantics of these senses and to clarify the semantic structure of the GOAL-cases even further. Secondly, the differences between the two Mordvin languages should be studied in depth.

Thirdly, a study on the evolution of the Mordvin spatial case paradigm should be conducted to clarify how exactly the semantic oppositions of the current system have come to be. Finally, a statistical analysis of the use of the GOAL-cases could verify the importance of specificity touched upon in this paper.

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I wish to thank Arja Hamari, Mariann Bernhardt and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on the manuscript. I also wish to thank Alma Tuokko for proofreading the Estonian abstract and Patrick O'Rourke for proofreading the main text. The analysis of data has been done as a part of the project Descriptive grammar of Mordvin (University of Helsinki) funded by Kone foundation, and a previous version of this paper has been presented in the Pre-CIFU conference in 2020.

## Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – person, ADLZ – adverbializer, CNV – modal converb in *-ž*, CONT – continuative (derivation), DAT – dative, DEF – definite declension, DIM – diminutive, DMST – demonstrative pronoun, ELA – elative, FAC – factitive (derivation), GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, INCH – inchoative (derivation), INDF – indefinite, INE – inessive, INF1 – infinitive in *-ms*, INF2 – infinitive in *-mo/e/a*, INF3 – infinitive in *-mado/-mda*, INTJ – interjection, INTG – interrogative, LAT – lative, LM – Landmark, LOC – locative (in relational nouns), NOM – nominative, NMLZ – nominalizer, PART – partitive (ablative), PASS – passive (derivation), PCL – particle, PL – plural, PN – personal name, POSS – possessive declension, PROL – prolative, PRS – present tense, PST – past, PST1 – first past tense, PST2 – second past tense, PTCP – participle, REL – relational pronoun, SG – singular, TR – Trajector, TRA – translative, > – in verbal inflection: subject on the left and object on the right; in nominal inflection: possessor on the left and possessee on the left.

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**Kokkuvõte. Riku Erkkilä: Illatiivi ja latiivi tähendused mordva keeltes.**

Käesolevas töös uurin erinevusi mordva keelte kahe sihikääne ehk illatiivi ja latiivi vahel. Kohakäänete süsteem, kus on kaks produktiivset sihikäänet, kuid ainult üks kääne teiste kohasuhete väljendamiseks, on maailma keeltes tavaliselt haruldane nähtus. Selle olukorra selgitamiseks uurin käänete semantikat. Analüüsin, milliseid tähendusi käänded väljendavad, ja võrdlen käänete semantilisi struktuure. Mõlemaid käändeid kasutatakse enamasti samade mõtete väljendamiseks, aga mõtete sagedused on käänete vahel erinevad. Selle selgitamiseks kasutan spetsiifilisuse mõistet. Spetsiifilisus viitab nähtusele, kus trajektori ja orientiiri vaheline seos kontseptualiseeritakse kas enam või vähem spetsiifilisena. Käänete semantika võrdlusest selgub, et illatiivi kasutatakse spetsiifilisemate ja latiivi vähem spetsiifiliste kontseptualisatsioonidega.

**Märksõnad:** sihikäaned, mordva keeled, kognitiivne lingvistika, kontseptualiseerimine, semantika, spetsiifilisus