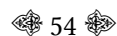171 The Mari stem *vǝl* as well as its above-mentioned cognates in Finnish and Komi-Zyrian all go back to FU *wülä* (UEW 573–574). The suffixes (illative *-kǝ*, inessive *-nǝ* and elative *-ec*) are the so-called unproductive local-case endings, which are used with ca. 40 adverb and postposition stems (Alhoniemi 1993: 62–63).

172 A Finno-Volgaic stem, cf. Fi. *loma* 'middle' (UEW 692).

173 Cognates for the Mari and Komi-Zyrian postposition stem are also found in Udmurt and Mansi (UEW 512).

174 The postposition is not of Russian origin. The stem is the same *tor-* as in D; *r* disappears before the unproductive illative case ending (cf. A).

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V   Postpositions

§ 47 The postpositions, which correspond to prepositions in other languages, are mostly case forms of nouns, the nominal stem of which is still often preserved. The most common postpositions are:

A) *Vǝlkǝ* (*vǝlk*) or *vǝkǝ* (*vǝk*) '(allative), into, onto', Ru. *на*, Fi. *päälle*; *vǝlnǝ* (adessive), Ru. *на*, Fi. *päällä*; *vǝlec* '(ablative) from', Ru. *отъ*, Fi. *päältä*. All these denote an *exterior* place and represent a root lost in the Cheremis language but easily recognizable in Zyrian *vyy* and Finnish *yli*.[171]

B) *Lǝväkǝ* (*lǝväk*) and *nǝmäkǝ* (*nǝmäk*) '(allative), under', Ru. *подъ*, Fi. *alle*; *lǝvälnǝ* or *nǝmälnǝ* '(adessive), under', Ru. *подъ*, Fi. *alla*; *lǝväc* or *nǝmäc* '(ablative), from under', Ru. *изъ подъ*, Fi. *alta*. The stem of these postpositions has disappeared.

C) *Loškə* '(illative), between', Fi. *välihin*; *loštə* '(inessive), between', Fi. *välissä*; *logǝc* '(ablative), from between', Fi. *välistä*. The root is *lo* 'middle'.[172]

D) *Torǝc* or *torc* (*dorc*) 'from', Ru. *отъ*, corresponds to the Zyrian *dorys* (from the root *dor* 'edge').[173]

E) *Tok* (*dok*) or *tokə* (*dokə*) 'towards', Ru. *къ*. The origin of the stem is most likely the Russian preposition *до*.[174]

F) *Ture* (*dure*) 'opposite, at', Ru. *противъ*, *надъ*, Fi. *vastaan*.

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G) *Anzəkə* '(allative), ahead', Ru. *впередъ*, Fi. *edelle*; *anzəlnə* '(adessive), ahead', Ru. *впереди*, Fi. *edellä*; *anzəc* '(ablative), ahead', Ru. *спереди*, Fi. *edeltä*. The root *anzə* has disappeared, Fi. *esi*, *ensi*.[175]

H) *Šaikə* '(allative), behind', Fi. *taka*, *taaksi*; *šailnə*[176] '(adessive), behind', Fi. *takana*; *šaic* '(ablative), from behind', Fi. *takaa*. Its root is the Russian preposition *за*.[177]

I) *Paštek* 'behind, in order to (fetch, search something)', e.g., *imni baštek tolnam* 'I came in order to (take) the horse'. The postposition can also be replaced by the dative case *län* or *länin*, e.g., *ätjälän* or *ätjälänin kejen* 's/he went to (fetch) father'.

K) *Jakte* 'up to where', Ru. *до*, Fi. *asti*. Instead of *jakte*, especially in adverbs the postposition *-əbək* is added to the illative case, e.g., *vädəškəbək* 'all the way to the water', *sedəškəbək* 'until there'.[178]

L) *Vašt* 'through', Ru. *сквозъ*, Fi. *läpi*.

M) *Jər* 'round, around', Ru. *кругомъ*, *около*, Zyr. *gögär*; *jərgəc* 'from around', Fi. *ympäriltä*.

N) *Peräc*[179] or *veräc* 'because of, for', Ru. *для*, Fi. *tähden*.

O) *Mučkə* 'along', Ru. *вдоль*.

P) *Pasna* 'without, except for'; originates probably from the Russian preposition *безъ*.[180]

Q) *Saga* 'beside'.

N.B. The postpositions in Cheremis are joined straight to the noun stem except for the postposition *-əvək* (cf. K above) and for *pasna* that governs the ablative case, e.g., *Juməgəc pasna* 'except for God, without God'.

175 The stem *anzə-* is of Finno-Permic origin and it occurs mainly in adverbs and postpositions with the exception of Finnic (cf. Fi. *otsa* 'forehead') (UEW 339). Thus, it is not related to Fi. *esi*.

176 In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén also gives the variant *šajəlnə*, which corresponds to present-day orthographic practices.

177 The Russian etymology is false. The same stem is also found in the Permic languages. (Cf. UEW 748–749.)

178 See § 47: A, above, and marginal note 171 (*vək ~ bək*).

179 The Mari *v* is bilabial. Therefore it can interpreted as *p* (cf. the previous marginal note).

180 The given etymology is false: *pasna* is of Chuvash origin (Räsänen 1920: 181).