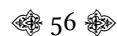


- 181 Many of the stems given below and in the previous § 47 can function as both adverbs and postpositions.
- 182 The forms with *u* in the first syllable, which Castrén gives in his footnote represent a Meadow Mari dialect. The materials Castrén used when compiling his grammar were not exclusively Hill Mari, e.g., the grammar of 1775 shows traits of transitory Meadow dialects. (Sebeok – Raun 1956: 13–17.)
- 183 *Kə-škə* with the illative and *kə-štə* with the inessive ending.
- 184 *Kəš-ec* ‘from where’ with the unproductive elative suffix.
- 185 In the printed version of Castrén’s grammar, the forms with *tä-* ‘that’ are given in parentheses, as if they were variants of the pronoun *ti-* ‘this’. Here they are presented in the same way as in the Swedish manuscript, where both paradigms are given separately with their correct meanings.
- 186 The same stem is presented in § 47: D–E, marginal notes 173–174.
- 187 EGT had a misprint (*mindirk*) instead of the last form, but this was corrected in the second list of corrections printed in a later edition of *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*.
- 188 Lit. in every place.
- 189 The last two forms with the unproductive inessive and elative are missing from EGT, but they exist in the

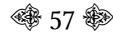


VI Adverbs

§ 48 Like postpositions, many adverbs are also case forms of nouns, and they have been formed from substantives and adjectives as well as from numerals and pronouns.¹⁸¹ Many adverbs are primitives in Cheremis, but several of them have been borrowed from Russian. Among these are:

A) Of place: *kəškə* ‘where to’^{*182}, *kəštə* ‘where’¹⁸³, *kəšec* ‘from where’¹⁸⁴, *kəškəbək* ‘up to where’, Ru. *докуда*; *tiškə* ‘toward here’, *tištə* ‘here’, *tišec* ‘from here’, *tiškəbək* ‘up to here’; *təškə* ‘(toward) there’, *təštə* ‘there’, *təšec* ‘from there’, *təškəbək* ‘up to there’¹⁸⁵; *sedəškə* ‘to over there’, *sedəštə* ‘over there’, *sedəšec* ‘from over there’, *sedəškəbək* ‘all the way over there’; *tygə* ‘out’, *tynə* ‘outside’, *tyc* ‘from outside’; *tokə*, *tokəžə* ‘home’, *tonə*, *tondžə* ‘at home’, *torəc* or *torc* ‘from home’¹⁸⁶; *mändärkə* ‘to far away’, *mändärnə* ‘far away’, *mändärcc* ‘from afar’¹⁸⁷; *liškə* ‘nearby’, Ru. *близь*, *lišnə* ‘nearby’, *близко*, *lišəc* ‘from nearby’, *сблизь*; *cilə väre* ‘everywhere’¹⁸⁸; *šəpšälə* ‘scattered’; *nigəštət* ‘nowhere’; *anzəkə* ‘forwards’, *anzəlnə* ‘in front, before’, *anzəc* ‘from in front’; *šaiəkə* ‘behind to’, *šailnə* ‘behind’, *šaic* ‘from behind’; *mängeš* ‘back’; *ördəškə* ‘sideways’, *ördəštə* ‘at the side’, *ördəšgəc* ‘from the side’; *vaštareš* ‘towards’; *kyškə* ‘upwards’, *kyšnə* ‘up’, *kyšəc* ‘from above’¹⁸⁹; *ylkə* ‘down’, *ylnə* ‘down’, *yləc* ‘from below’¹⁹⁰; *tořeš* ‘transverse, across’; *pokšək* ‘into the middle’, *pokšəlnə*

*) Or: *kuškə*, *kuštə*, *kušec* etc.



‘in the middle’, *pokšec* ‘from the middle’; *pak* or *wak* ‘away’, *palnə* ‘far away’, *pac* (*vac*) ‘from far away’.

N.B. Most of these and following adverbs can take the diminutive ending *rak* (*räk*).¹⁹¹

B) Of time: *kənam* ‘when’, *kənan*¹⁹² *gənjät* ‘sometime’; *tənäm* ‘then’, *tənän*¹⁹³ *gənjät* ‘around that time’;¹⁹⁴ *kəzät* ‘now’; *ižə* ‘at last’; *pervi* ‘earlier’; *vara* ‘later’; *šukerdə* ‘long ago’; *edče* (*euče*) ‘still’;¹⁹⁵ *jäle* ‘soon’; *ryšt* ‘suddenly’; *južnam* ‘sometime’; *šären* ‘often’; *tagadčə* ‘today’; *irgodəm* ‘tomorrow’; *kəməšəštə* ‘day after tomorrow’; *tengedčə* ‘yesterday’; *anzalgedčə* ‘the day before yesterday’; *kedčən* ‘in the day’; *jədən* ‘in the night’;¹⁹⁶ *vatnə* ‘in the evening’; *padč* or *padčkəc* ‘late’.

C) Of quantity: *manjarə* ‘how much’; *tinərə* ‘so much’; *velə* ‘only’; *šukə*, *šukən* ‘much’; *iziš*, *izin* ‘a little’; *šagal* ‘a little’;¹⁹⁷ *sitə* ‘enough’;¹⁹⁸ *cic* or *cicok* ‘full’; *utla* ‘too much, excessively’.

D) Of quality: *jažon* ‘well’; *xudan* (*xydo*) ‘badly’; *takeš* ‘in vain’; *toko* ‘barely’; *proc*, *so*, *piš* ‘very’; *šətkədə* ‘especially’; *təxälə* ‘completely’.

E) Of relation: *kəce* or *kəceok* ‘how’; *kəce* *gənjät* ‘somehow’; *tenge* or *tengeok* ‘so, like that’; *tenge* *gənjät* ‘even like that’; *kanjə* or *kanjok*¹⁹⁹ (encl.) ‘like’; *ladč* (encl.) ‘suitably’; *tidäləm*²⁰⁰ ‘therefore’; *žə*, *vet* ‘ever’.

F) Interrogatives: *malan* ‘why, what for’; *li* (*ли*) ‘whether’.

G) Negatives: *nimat* ‘nothing’, *nigəce* or *nigəceät* ‘not in any way’; *nigənam* or *nigənamat* ‘never’;²⁰¹ *nigəškət* ‘nowhere (illative)’; *nigəštət* ‘nowhere (inessive)’²⁰².

Swedish manuscript and have thus been added here.

- 190 The stem is found in most Uralic languages, cf. Fi. *ala-* ‘lower, under’ (UEW 6).
- 191 See § 16, Comparison.
- 192 This should be *kənam*.
- 193 This should be *tənäm*.
- 194 This kind of indefinite pronoun does not seem to exist in Mari. Even the Russian translation given in the Swedish manuscript *могда нубудь* seems incorrect.
- 195 The Mari word is borrowed from the Russian form given in parentheses.
- 196 Both *kedčən* and *jədən* are missing from EGT. They have been added here according to the Swedish manuscript.
- 197 This is a Meadow Mari form. In Hill Mari it should read *šəxäl*.
- 198 The given form is actually the third person singular of the verb *sitem* ‘to be enough’. It can be used like an adverb.
- 199 This form is taken from the Swedish manuscript. The form *kanjəok* appears in EGT, which is phonetically impossible.
- 200 Probably a typographical misprint: the dative ending should end in an *n*.
- 201 In EGT *ä* in the final syllables. Correct forms are quoted from the Swedish manuscript.
- 202 In EGT *ä* instead of the correct *a*.