

*RIHO GRÜNTAL* (Helsinki)

## SYNCRETISM IN THE CENTRAL VEPS LOCAL CASE SYSTEM

**Abstract.** Syncretism and the overlapping of morphologically distinct units or entire categories have different influence on morphologically complex and less complex forms. In principle, both syncretism and polysemy corrupt the ideal distribution of morphological units and the balance between form and function. However, compared to polysemy, the influence of syncretism is more dramatic because it decreases the efficiency and grammatical applicability of individual forms, whereas polysemy extends the functional capacity of inflectional categories. In Veps, there is relatively little syncretism in synchronic case paradigms. Both noun and verb inflection are based on regular suffixal morphology. Unlike in the southern Finnic languages, such as Vot, Estonian and Livonian, syncretism does not influence the most frequent case categories in Veps. There are certain lexical types that display morphonological alternation but there are no inflectional categories that would be distinguished by means of flexive morphology and stem alternation. However, in certain cases syncretism extends beyond those categories that are predictable as there are some examples of accidental inflectional homonymy between the partitive singular and nominative plural. More generally speaking, the historical development of the Veps local case system is strongly affected by syncretism. This article focuses on syncretism in the western varieties of Central Veps, which are slightly different from the other local varieties of the given language area. Those categories that are affected by syncretism will be examined in the light of paradigmatic overlapping and syntactic compensation. The assessment of syncretism from a functional perspective is based on the assumption that paradigmatic identity between distinct categories is not always realized at a syntactic level.

**Keywords:** Central Veps, morphology, case, syncretism, local cases, variation.

### 1. Introduction

In recent linguistic works (Baerman 2005; Baerman, Brown, Corbett 2005 : 38; Haspelmath 2008; Luraghi 2008) the overlapping of two or more distinct morphological categories and loss of the formal border between the units is most commonly labelled as syncretism, based on the influence of diachronic change in synchronic paradigms. Inflectional homonymy is the alternative concept that has been used in linguistic literature and emphasizes the identity between words and lexical types instead of categories (Carstairs 1987; 1992 : 203–205; Johnston 1997; Paradigms 1991). In prin-

principle, the conceptual difference reflects a slight difference in the typology of syncretism in different languages because languages which prefer suffixal morphology have clearer category-based rules, whereas those that display flexive morphology are lexically ruled, at least to some extent.

Linguistically, syncretism is pervasive in the inflectional morphology of world's languages. However, in overviews based on large language samples aiming at a concise typological picture, the occurrence of syncretism in non-core cases, typically adverbial ones such as local cases, is not represented. In WALS, for instance, four parameters are applied in the description of case syncretism. In the map concerning syncretism most languages do not have case marking at all (123 languages), many others do not have syncretism (35 languages), and only a small part of the chosen sample display syncretism between core cases, such as the nominative, genitive and accusative (18 languages), or core and non-core (22 languages) (Baerman, Brown 2005).

In general, the local cases tend to be organised so that there may be syncretism between lative and locative or ablative and locative cases but not between lative and ablative (cf. Grünthal 2003 : 151–156; Stolz 1992). Thus, there seems to be a hierarchy between local cases as the locative may merge with either of the two others within a tri-partite system. Conceivably, the locative may be considered as the less marked local case, because it is more frequently involved with syncretism and paradigmatic overlapping. The lative and ablative, in turn, are more marked in this respect and functionally more specific, which explains why they are kept apart, if a given language displays local cases. In the Finnic languages, for instance, there are examples of the merger between a lative and locative case, namely the allative and adessive in Karelian (Kettunen 1960 : 17), whereas the geographically adjacent Veps has examples of a merger of a locative and ablative case, namely the inessive and elative. However, in another tri-partite local case set Veps demonstrates a merger between a lative and locative case that will be examined in more detail below.

In comparison to the main parameters chosen in large language samples, the Central Veps local case system represents a less frequent pattern that shows paradigmatic overlapping between non-core local cases. A closer analysis reveals the constraints in the syncretism patterns and the importance of morphonology and the stem vowel.

The local cases in Veps are of particular value for investigating the morphological interface of individual categories, because there are three distinct sets consisting of three distinct cases. Basically, the tri-partite local case sets display three morphosyntactic properties, namely the lative (LOC+), locative (LOC=) and ablative (LOC–) functions, whereas each local case set expresses a more specified type of spatial relations. The interior local cases, for instance, mainly denote basic spatial relations and are alternatively called the *s*-set. The exterior local cases relate to the space upon or on something and display several more grammatical functions. Alternatively, they are labelled as the *l*-set. Finally, the third and chronologically youngest one based on a suffixed postposition indicates the space at, by or in the vicinity of something, alternatively termed the *n*-set.

## 2. Syncretism and its constraints in local case systems

The Veps local case system has recently undergone many changes such as the erosion and reanalysis of existing case endings and the suffixation of postpositions, and syncretism has had an important role in this change (Grünthal 2003 : 151–156; 2005; Tikka 1992). The suffixation and morphological adaptation of postpositions has partly taken place via Suffixaufnahme (cf. Double Case 1995) and a reanalysis of the earlier morphosyntactic pattern. It illustrates the dynamics of language change and the susceptibility of local cases to new functions and semantic changes. The following paradigms (see Table 1) were collected during fieldwork that was carried out in the summer of 2009 in the Central Veps villages of Podporožje district, Leningrad region.

Table 1

Case syncretism between local case forms in two Veps noun paradigms

Case	Singular <i>hebo</i> 'horse'	Plural	Singular <i>pert'</i> 'house'	Plural
ILL	<i>hebo-he</i>	<i>hebo-i-he</i>	<i>pert'-he</i>	<i>pert-i-he</i>
INE	<i>hebo-s</i>	<i>hebo-i-š</i>	<i>perti-š</i>	<i>pert-i-š</i>
ELA	<i>hebo-späi</i>	<i>hebo-i-špäi</i>	<i>perti-špäi</i>	<i>pert-i-špäi</i>
ALL	<i>hebo-le</i>	<i>hebo-i-le</i>	<i>perti-le</i>	<i>pert-i-le</i>
ADE	<i>hebo-l</i>	<i>hebo-i-l</i>	<i>perti-l</i>	<i>pert-i-l</i>
ABL	<i>hebo-lpäi</i>	<i>hebo-i-lpäi</i>	<i>perti-lpäi</i>	<i>pert-i-lpäi</i>
APPR	<i>hebo-nno</i>	<i>hebo-i-de-nno</i>	<i>perti-nno</i>	<i>pert-i-de-nno</i>
PROP	<i>hebo-nno</i>	<i>hebo-i-de-nno</i>	<i>perti-nno</i>	<i>pert-i-de-nno</i>
EGR	<i>hebo-nnopäi</i>	<i>hebo-i-de-nnopäi</i>	<i>perti-nnopäi</i>	<i>pert-i-de-nnopäi</i>

The two nouns presented in Table 1 have different syncretism patterns. The inflection of the first one, *hebo* 'horse', is more common, all suffixes are clearly manifested and have explicit morpheme borders. The second, *pert'* 'house', represents a more specific but yet not completely infrequent lexical type, in which the stem vowel *-i* is identical with the plural marker *-i-*. In plural forms the plural marker *-i-* merges with the stem vowel, which converges to a portmanteau morpheme and increases considerably the number of identical outputs of singular and plural forms in the three tri-partite local case sets.

This kind of identity between singular and plural does not occur in other lexical types, nor in the grammatical cases of the given word: *pert'* 'house.NOM.SG' : *perti-d* 'house-NOM.PL', *perti-n* 'house-GEN.SG' : *perti-de* 'house-GEN.PL', *perti-d* 'house-PART.SG' : *perti-i-d* 'house-PART.PL'. However, the nominative plural and partitive singular forms are identical in the vast majority of noun types, which causes a different geometrical pattern between the inflectional forms involved as demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2

**Grammatical cases in Central Veps and syncretism  
between the partitive singular and nominative plural in all noun types**

Case	Singular <i>hebo</i> 'horse'	Plural	Singular <i>pert'</i> 'house'	Plural
NOM	<i>hebo</i>	<i>hebo-d</i>	<i>pert'</i>	<i>perti-d</i>
GEN	<i>hebo-n</i>	<i>hebo-i-de</i>	<i>perti-n</i>	<i>perti-i-de</i>
PART	<i>hebo-d</i>	<i>hebo-i-d</i>	<i>perti-d</i>	<i>perti-i-d</i>

Consequently, there are three different syncretic patterns in the Central Veps case paradigm, which are the identity between the lative (approximative) and locative (propinquative) case of the *n*-set of local cases, the overlapping of *i*-stem singular and plural forms, and the more random identity between the nominative plural and partitive singular forms. Carstairs (1987; 1992 : 204–205) labels the latter as accidental homonymy and contrasts it with systematic homonymy that has a much more pervasive influence on the functional categories at issue. These constraints determine the character of syncretism in Central Veps case paradigms relatively clearly.

In colloquial language, however, the geometry of the syncretic patterns is not completely stable and there is some allomorphy in the approximative *n*-set of local cases. Moreover, as frequently attested, pronouns do not follow the same rules as nouns. Thus the same informant (born in Sařjäre) who applied the same inflectional pattern and syncretism between the approximative (APPR) and propinquative (PROP) cases as presented in Table 1 made a clear distinction when pronouns were asked (cf. Table 3).

Table 3

**The distinguishing of the approximative and propinquative cases  
in the approximative *n*-set of local cases according to  
a Central Veps informant (2009)**

Case	SG1	SG2	SG3	PL1	PL2	PL3
APPR	<i>minu-nnou</i>	<i>sinu-nnou</i>	<i>häne-nnou</i>	<i>miide-nnou</i>	<i>tiide-nnou</i>	<i>hiide-nnou</i>
PROP	<i>minu-nmost</i>	<i>sinu-nmost</i>	<i>häne-nmost</i>	<i>miide-nmost</i>	<i>tiide-nmost</i>	<i>hiide-nmost</i>
EGR	<i>minu-nmoupäi</i>	<i>sinu-nmoupäi</i>	<i>häne-nmoupäi</i>	<i>miide-nmoupäi</i>	<i>tiide-nmoupäi</i>	<i>hiide-nmoupäi</i>

In this case the opposition between the three local cases, the lative (LOC+), locative (LOC=) and ablative (LOC–), is maintained, as in the case of the two other local case sets, the interior (*s*-set) and exterior (*l*-set) ones. Other informants born in different Central Veps villages were asked to answer the questions about the paradigm structure as well, but none of them made a similar distinction between the approximative (LOC+) and propinquative (LOC=) in the case of ordinary nouns. Nevertheless, in two cases the informant produced a mixed paradigm where the singular and plural paradigms were different. In one single case (the informant was born

in Šondjal), the approximative and propinquative were kept apart in the singular (*kažinno* 'cat-APPR', *kažinnost* 'cat-PROP', *kažinnopäi* 'cat-EGR'), whereas in the plural they merged (*kaži-de-nnost* 'cat-PL-APPR' = *kaži-de-nnost* 'cat-PL-PROP', *kaži-de-nnopäi* 'cat-PL-EGR'). Another informant (born in Ladv) formed a mixed paradigm of personal pronouns in which he distinguished between the approximative (LOC+) and propinquative (LOC=) in the singular but in the plural they merged as demonstrated in Table 4.

Table 4

**Paradigmatic variation in distinguishing and syncretism  
between the approximative and propinquative cases**

Case	SG1	SG2	SG3	PL1	PL2	PL3
APPR	<i>minu-nno</i>	<i>sinu-nno</i>	<i>häne-nno</i>	<i>miide-nnost</i>	<i>tiide-nnost</i>	<i>hiide-nnost</i>
PROP	<i>minu-nnost</i>	<i>sinu-nnost</i>	<i>häne-nnost</i>	<i>miide-nnost</i>	<i>tiide-nnost</i>	<i>hiide-nnost</i>
EGR	<i>minu-nnopäi</i>	<i>sinu-nnopäi</i>	<i>häne-nnopäi</i>	<i>miide-nnopäi</i>	<i>tiide-nnopäi</i>	<i>hiide-nnopäi</i>

Tikka (1992 : 47, 121–143) claims that the merger between the approximative and propinquative case has taken place in Northern Veps solely, whereas Central and Southern Veps do not follow this pattern and display a system of three distinct *n*-cases. In the light of the data drawn from Central Veps villages in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is only occasional indication of the assumed distinction between the approximative (LOC+) and propinquative (LOC=) in this particular local case set in the investigated area, whereas in the eastern parts of the Central Veps area in Vologda region this distinction is maintained (Nina Zajceva, p.c.). As regards the presented data, the paradigm in Table 3 above can be taken as an archaic pattern that is areally motivated, because the informant was born in the southernmost village and closer to the Southern Veps area, in which the distinction between the cases at issue used to be realised.

### 3. Reanalysis and morphological adaptation

Historically the approximative *n*-set of local cases can be derived from an adpositional phrase in which the postposition used to exhibit the same morphosyntactic properties as different local cases do, namely a lative (LOC+), locative (LOC=) and ablative (LOC–) one: *\*hepo-n loo-k* 'to (beside of) a horse': *\*hepo-n loo-na* 'at (beside of) a horse': *\*hepo-n loo-ta* 'from (beside of) a horse'. This postposition has a restricted etymological distribution and it is attested in the Sami languages, Finnish, Karelian, Lude and Veps but not in the southern Finnic languages (SSA 2 : 104–105). Veps is the only language in which it has become suffixed.

Compared to Central and Northern Veps there is a considerable difference in the morphologization and reanalysis of the suffixed postposition in Southern Veps. The characteristic division into three local cases occurs in the *n*-set as it does in the two other local case sets (Tikka 1992 : 47, 121–143) as indicated in examples (1–3).

- (1) *män tsari-lost*  
 go.IMPF.3SG czar-APPR  
 '(S)he went to the czar' (Kettunen 1920 : 20)
- (2) *mä olen tata-lon da mama-lon*  
 I am father-APPR and mother-PROP  
 'I am with my father and mother' (Kettunen 1925 : 21)
- (3) *hän koume nedali-d ol' da meide-lonpä möst läk-ś*  
 (s)he three week-PART was and we-EGR again leave-IMPF  
 'He stayed for three weeks and departed from us again' (Kettunen 1920 : 9)

In these examples, the genitive suffix *-n-*, which used to be the case of the complement of the postpositional phrase, has not left any traces, whereas in Northern and Central Veps it has been reanalysed as is seen in Tables 1, 2 and 4 above.

As regards a parallel semantic and morphological change, the output of the suffixed postposition in Veps dialects illustrates different outcomes of a language change that starts from the same point. In Central and Northern Veps the suffixation of the postposition includes remnants of an earlier morphosyntactic structure. The morphological adaptation of the morphosyntactic pattern consisting of the genitive suffix *-n* of the noun complement and the postposition into the case system involves a reanalysis of the morphemes. The Southern Veps examples, in turn, show a more mechanic agglutination with a loss of the genitive *-n*. In principle, there is no indication that reanalysis and semantic change would be involved in the suffixation of the postposition (cf. Campbell, Harris 1995 : 30, 61; Haspelmath 1998 : 326). However, in a less frequent context, if a possessive suffix is attached to the noun as in example (4), the genitive appears as a portmanteau morpheme in the possessive suffix *-ń-* in its old place between the pronoun *mindā-* and the suffixed case *-lost*.

- (4) *tul' mindā-ń-lost tatā-ń beseda-le*  
 come.IMPF.3SG I-1SG-PROP father-1SG visit-ALL  
 'My father came to visit me' (Kettunen 1920 : 8)

Historically, the differences in the morphological adaptation of the suffixed postposition between the Veps dialects have led to areal divergence. In Southern Veps, syncretism never arose, whereas in Northern and Central Veps, the reanalysis of the case was more thorough. However, contrary to what has been concluded so far, Southern Veps applies one particular rule much more consistently than other dialects, viz. case agreement between the attribute and noun (Tikka 1992 : 141). This is demonstrated in example (5).

- (5) *män-dä tarbiž lib mest neti-lost habā-že-lost pehko-lost*  
 go-INF must will again this-APPR aspen-ADJ-APPR block-APPR  
 'I shall have to go back to this aspen block again' (Kettunen 1925 : 8)

In Northern and Central Veps the lack of agreement makes those local cases that have newly suffixed postpositions different from other cases that display agreement consistently. In Central Veps the rise of syncretism between the approximative and propinquative cases as indicated in the forms *hebo-nno* and *perti-nno* in Table 1 above is a part of the reanalysis. In the



flow of subsequent and interrelated changes syncretism does not reveal anything about earlier dissimilarity between the categories involved. Only pronouns show that the Central Veps local case system of the *n*-cases probably used to consist of a similar tri-partite system as the two other local case sets (cf. Tables 3 and 4 above). Thus, in Central Veps the suffixation of the postposition involved a reanalysis of the earlier morphosyntactic pattern, leading to the assimilation of the genitive suffix *-n* into the following homorganic consonant *l-* that was the initial sound of the postpositional stem *\*loo-*. Furthermore, a semantic extension of the case took place as a consequence of syncretism. These changes are illustrated in Figure 1.

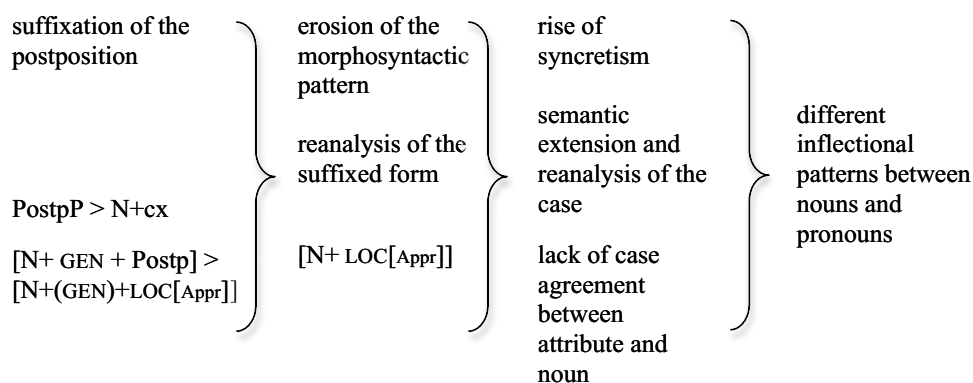


Figure 1. Reanalysis and morphologisation of the approximative *n*-cases in Central Veps.

In Veps there are many other cases that originate from lately suffixed postpositions. The suffixation is partly motivated by a compensation of syncretism by the re-establishment of a difference between two inflectional categories. This causal explanation is best illustrated by the analogical diffusion of all ablative (LOC-) local cases, namely the elative, ablative and egressive (cf. Table 1 above; Grünthal 2003 : 116–159, 2005). In these cases the reorganisation of the given local case set has re-established the opposition between the locative (LOC=) and ablative (LOC-) cases.

Our current example illustrated in Tables 1 and 4 and Figure 1 shows an opposite development of syncretism. In this particular case, Central Veps accepts the rise of syncretism between a lative (LOC+) and locative (LOC=) case. According to one informant, this development is extended to plural personal pronouns as indicated in Table 4. The influence of syncretism is exhaustive, because there are no other grammatical means that would compensate for the merger between the approximative (LOC+) and propinquative (LOC=). Thus, the lack of compensating mechanisms confirms the syncretism between the two categories. Ultimately, it does not differ considerably from polysemy any more.

An effective rule that affects syncretism in a syntactic context is case agreement. Example (5) demonstrates the adaptation of a suffixed case to this rule in Southern Veps, whereas Northern Veps does not follow it. The same ambiguity is valid for many other suffixed cases.

#### 4. Case agreement patterns and compensation of syncretism

Basically, the degree to which paradigmatic syncretism affects languages like Veps can be measured in two ways. Synchronically, random syncretism need not influence a language at a functional level if it is clearly limited and syncretistic forms are an exception to the rule. Contrary to this, extensive merger between distinct categories implicates that syncretism very likely has further consequences and is involved with language change (Grünthal 2003; 2005; 2007). From the viewpoint of language change, compensation is a major way to decrease the influence of diachronic changes such as the loss of opposition between two or more distinct grammatical categories (Harris, Campbell 1995 : 317–320; Heath 1998). The changes are seen in the inflectional system and in case paradigms. Nevertheless, paradigmatic handicaps may be compensated syntactically as well, not only by morphological change.

In the following, case agreement will be used to determine the real impact of paradigmatic overlapping and syncretic forms on the functional domains in which they are used. Although all Finnic languages consistently display case agreement between attribute and noun, the system is not uniform. In Central Veps there are several adverbial cases that originate from postpositions and have become suffixes quite recently. Historically, the gaps in the agreement between attribute and noun reflect those syntactic structures and postpositional phrases that used to precede the suffixing of the postpositions.

In comparison to basic inflectional paradigms Central Veps case agreement patterns show an extensive discrepancy between the grammatical and adverbial cases, because case agreement is much more inconsistent in the latter ones, most notably in those that originate from recently suffixed postpositions.

Table 5

Case and number agreement of local cases in Central Veps

Case	Singular 'expensive house'	Plural 'expensive houses'
ILL	<i>kal'heze pert'he</i>	<i>kal'hiže pertihe</i>
INE	<i>kal'hes pertiš</i>	<i>kal'hiš pertiš</i>
ELA	<i>kal'hes pertišpäi</i>	<i>kal'hiš pertišpäi</i>
ALL	<i>kal'hele pertile</i>	<i>kal'hile pertile</i>
ADE	<i>kal'hel pertil</i>	<i>kal'hil pertil</i>
ABL	<i>kal'hel pertilpäi</i>	<i>kal'hil pertilpäi</i>
APPR	<i>kal'hen pertinno</i>	<i>kal'hide pertidenno</i>
PROP	<i>kal'hen pertinno</i>	<i>kal'hide pertidenno</i>
EGR	<i>kal'hen pertinnopäi</i>	<i>kal'hide pertidennopäi</i>

Considering the two agreement patterns in the attributive clause, number agreement between the complement and the head holds much more rigor-



ously than case agreement. As a matter of fact, number agreement extends to many other syntactic patterns and is attested widely in the Uralic languages (Dalrymple, Nikolaeva 2006; Honti 1997; Майтинская 1979; Ravila 1941), whereas case agreement occurs in the Finnic languages only. Nevertheless, it is quite common that especially recently suffixed cases often deviate from it (Grünthal 2003 : 130–170; Nevis 1988; Tikka 1992). This is seen in Table 5 that shows lack of agreement in the elative, ablative, approximative, propinquate and egressive, which are all cases originating from a postposition.

The way the given cases violate the case agreement rule is not uniform either. The elative and ablative both display an ablative (LOC-) function in a tri-partite local case set and share the marker (-s-, respectively -l-) of the given subsystem but do not have the marker of the given morphosyntactic property ‘from’ (encoded as [LOC]-). The dyadic origin of these two cases is clearly present in the morpheme structure and in the splitting of functional properties between two morphemes. Consequently, the elative and ablative do not completely lack case agreement, because they agree in the type of local case (LOCI/LOCE) but not in terms of the morphosyntactic property (LOC-).

The approximative, propinquate and egressive cases, in turn, agree only in number, whereas there is no indication of case agreement between the complement and the head. However, the syncretic forms still reflect the previous syntactic structure, because both the complement *kalhide* and the head *pertide-nno* have the genitive plural marker *-ide-* (see Table 2 above). In the singular, the genitive ending *-n* is segmentable solely in the attribute *kalhen* that does agree in case with the noun. In sum, this must be interpreted as a characteristic of the given local case set (the *n*-set of approximative local cases) that has its roots in the previous syntactic structure but synchronically has one additional marker.

The corruption of the balance between form and function and the rise of syncretism leads to a question whether language can tolerate it or not. It is likely that the change in the semantic space of individual units is inter-related with other structural changes. As a matter of fact, extensive syncretism and the blurring of borders between structural and functional categories are a most concrete example of a possible catalyst of subsequent changes. Inter-related changes and compensation do not always take place exactly by filling a gap, such as replacing the loss of a morpheme with another one. Alternatively, it is likely that compensating mechanisms decrease the influence of syncretism. In Estonian, for instance, the ubiquitous syncretism and morphological overlapping between grammatical cases is compensated with various syntactic means (Blevins 2005; 2008; Grünthal 2001; 2007).

## 5. Conclusions

Regardless of the historical impact of syncretism in the restructuration of the Veps local case system, it is not very important for Veps synchronic morphology. It has clear constraints and does not blur the distinction between individual categories as in southern Finnic languages. The syncretism between singular and plural forms is limited to *i*-stem nouns and is often compensated by agreement rules. The identity between the

partitive singular and nominative plural is regular but in this case, too, other rules compensate for the functional overloading of one suffix. Conceivably, the merger of these two forms rather demonstrates the limited influence of occasional inflectional homonymy. Finally, the merger of the lative (approximative) and locative (propinquative) cases of the *n*-set of local cases in Northern and Central Veps is so complete that the functional variation could actually be labelled as polysemy of one case. In such a systematic example historical syncretism does not synchronically display the most significant characteristics of syncretism any more, namely the blurring of the morphosyntactic properties of identical forms.

More generally speaking, the Veps example illustrates a language with a regular suffixal morphology and little morphological alternation. In the light of those viewpoints that were discussed above these characteristics seem to decrease effectively the influence of syncretism.

**Address:**

Riho Grünthal  
University of Helsinki  
E-mail: rgruntha@mappi.helsinki.fi

**Abbreviations**

**ABE** — abessive; **ABL** — ablative; **ADE** — adessive; **ALL** — allative; **APPR** — approximative; **COM** — comitative; **EGR** — egressive; **ELA** — elative; **ESS** — essive; **GEN** — genitive; **ILL** — illative; **IMPF** — imperfect; **INE** — inessive; **INST** — instrumental; **LAT** — lative; **LOC** — locative; **LOC+** — a lative case; **LOC=** — a locative case; **LOC-** — an ablative case; **LOCE** — an exterior local case; **LOCI** — an interior local case; **NOM** — nominative; **PART** — partitive; **PL** — plural; **PROL** — prolative; **PROP** — propinquative; **SG** — singular; **TERM** — terminative; **TRANSL** — translative.

**WALS** — *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, Oxford 2005.

**R E F E R E N C E S**

- B a e r m a n, M. 2005, Directionality and (Un)natural Classes in Syncretism. — *Language* 80, 807–827.
- B a e r m a n, M. B r o w n, D. 2005, Case Syncretism. — *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, Oxford.
- B a e r m a n, M., B r o w n, D. C o r b e t t, G. C. 2005, *The Syntax-Morphology Interface. A Study of Syncretism*, Cambridge.
- B l e v i n s, J. 2005, Word-based declensions in Estonian. — *Yearbook of Morphology* 2005, 1–25.
- 2008, Declension Classes in Estonian. — *LU XLIV*, 241–265.
- C a m p b e l l, L., H a r r i s, A. C. 1995, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Cambridge.
- C a r s t a i r s-M c C a r t h y, A. 1987, *Allomorphy in Inflection*, London.
- 1992, *Current Morphology*, London.
- D a l r y m p l e, M., N i k o l a e v a, I. 2006, Syntax of Natural and Accidental Coordination. Evidence from Agreement. — *Language* 82, 824–849.
- Double Case. Agreement by Suffixaufnahme, New York 1995.
- G r ü n t h a l, R. 2001, Homonymy and Systemacy in Estonian Noun Inflection. — *Keele kannul. Pühendusteos Mati Ereli 60. sünnipäevaks 12. märtsil 2001*. Tartu (Tartu Ülikooli eesti keele õppetooli toimetised 17), 42–61.

- 2003, *Finnic Adpositions and Cases in Change*, Helsinki (MSFOu 244).
- 2005, *Hány oka lehet a vepsze szekunder névutói eredetű helyhatározóragok suffixálódásának?* — *Uráli Grammatizáló*. 2003. Szeptember 4—6, Budapest, 126—134.
- 2007, *Morphological Change and the Influence of Language Contacts in Estonian*. — *Beiträge zur Morphologie*. Germanisch, baltisch, ostseefinnisch, Odense, 403—432.
- H a s p e l m a t h, M. 1998, *Does Grammaticalization Need Reanalysis?* — *Studies in Language* 22:2, 315—351.
- 2008, *Creating Economical Morphosyntactic Patterns in Language Change*. — *Language Universals and Language Change*, Oxford, 185—214.
- H e a t h, J. 1998, *Hermit Crabs. Formal Renewal of Morphology by Phonologically Mediated Affix Substitution*. — *Language* 74, 728—759.
- H o n t i, L. 1997, *Numerusprobleme*. — *FUF* 54, 1—126.
- J o h n s t o n, J. 1997, *Systematic Homonymy and the Structure of Morphological Categories. Some Lessons from Paradigm*. PhD thesis, University of Sydney. <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/396/1/adf-NU1999.0013whole.pdf>.
- K e t t u n e n, L. 1920, *Näytteitä etelävepsästä I*, Helsinki (Suomi 4:18).
- 1925, *Näytteitä etelävepsästä II*, Helsinki (Suomi 5:4).
- 1960, *Suomen lähisukukielten luonteenomaiset piirteet*, Helsinki (MSFOu 119).
- L u r a g h i, S. 2008, *Synkretismus*. — *Morphologie. Ein Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, Berlin, 638—647.
- N e v i s, J. 1988, *On the Development of the Clitic Postposition Category in Estonian*. — *FUF* 48, 171—197.
- Paradigms. The Economy of Inflection*, Berlin 1991.
- R a v i l a, P. 1941, *Über die Verwendung der Numeruszeichen in den uralischen Sprachen*. — *FUF* 27, 1—136.
- S t o l z, T. 1992, *Lokalkasussysteme. Aspekte einer strukturellen Dynamik*, Wilhelmsfeld.
- T i k k a, T. 1992, *Vepsän suffiksoituneet postpositiot. Kieliopillisiin sijoihin liit-  
tyvä suffiksoituminen*, Uppsala (*Studia Uralica Upsaliensia* 22).
- М а й т и н с к а я К. Е. 1979, *Морфология финно-угорских языков*, Москва.

РИХО ГРЮНТАЛ (Хелсинки)

## О СИНКРЕТИЗМЕ СИСТЕМЫ МЕСТНЫХ ПАДЕЖЕЙ В СРЕДНЕВЕПСКИХ ДИАЛЕКТАХ

В статье рассматривается морфология средневепских местных падежей с точки зрения синкретизма, или идентичности форм. По сравнению с распространенными южнее прибалтийско-финскими языками — эстонским, вырусским (южноэстонским) и ливским — падежный синкретизм в средневепских диалектах встречается гораздо реже. Только между аппроксимативными местными падежами, появившимися в результате секундарной агглютинации, возник регулярный синкретизм, поэтому падежи с локативной и лативной функциями (-*lpo*) оказались идентичными. Благодаря изменению, которое затронуло парадигму и отдельные типы слов, мы имеем здесь дело не с синкретизмом, а скорее с обретением одним из падежных окончаний новых функций. Лишь у местоимений можно отметить разницу между упомянутыми падежами. Различие парадигм существительных и местоимений свидетельствует и о том, что в сравнительно небольшом языковом ареале наблюдается много вариаций и между отдельными информантами прослеживаются четкие различия, обусловленные историческим и ареальным фоном.