

Comitatives in Ingrian Finnish

Ingrian Finnish seems to have no apparent traces of Finnish inflectional *ine*-comitative. Nevertheless, there are at least two comitative constructions in this language.

First, in most comitative contexts a PP **GenNP + kans (kans)** is used. For example, the constructions of this type may have the following meanings:

- joint action (human participants are equally involved in the situation)
 - (1) *Anna juop kohvi Mariin kans*
 Anna drink.3.SG coffee Mary-GEN with
 ‘Anna drinks coffee with Mary’.
- reciprocal situation
 - (2) *Mie siun kansais en taho riellä*
 1.SG 2.SG.GEN with.POSS.2.SG NEG.1.SG want quarrel
 ‘I don't want to quarrel with you’.
- joint action with a different degree of control (still there are two human participants)
 - (3) *Mie tul-i-n laps-i-n kans.*
 1.SG come-PST-1.SG child-PL-GEN with
 ‘I came with the children’.
- combination of two entities
 - (4) *Pekko juop kohvi majo-n kans.*
 Pekko drink.3.SG coffee milk-GEN with
 ‘Pekko drinks coffee with milk’

If a personal pronoun is used in this construction, the postposition may have a possessive affix (double-marking), see (2).

There is another comitative construction in Ingrian Finnish. If a situation is object-oriented (strictly speaking, COMPANION-oriented¹), the postposition **keral** is used.

This type of constructions is characterized, first, by the usage of possessive affixes at least in the singular (1st and 2nd person) and, secondly, by the distinction (depending on the type of the construction) of two etymological case affixes of adessive and allative (cf. *keralla-* and *keralle-*).

- (5) *Otta minnu keralleis Helsinki*
 take.IMP 1.SG.PART KERAL.POSS.2.SG Helsinki.ILL
 ‘Take me along to Helsinki’.
- (6) *Otin miun lapset kerallein*
 take-PST-1.SG 1.SG.GEN child.PL KERAL.1.SG
 ‘I took my child along’.
- (7) *Miul ei ole rahha keral(*le) /*
 1.SG.ADESS NEG.3 be money.PART KERAL.ALL /
^{ok} *kerallain*
 KERAL.ADESS.1.SG
 ‘I had no money on me’.
- (8) *Mö emmö otta häntä keralle??(mmo) linnà*
 1.PL NEG.1.PL take 3.SG.PART KERAL (POSS.1.PL) city.ILL
 ‘We won't take him along to the city!’

My report will concern the properties of both types of comitative constructions, and especially the properties of *keral* which seems to have an intermediate status comparing to prototypical postpositions.

¹ ACCOMPANEE and COMPANION are, according to (Stolz et al. 2006), two participants of comitative, ACCOMPANIMENT situation.

References

Stolz T., Stroh C., Urdze A. (2006). *On Comitatives and Related Categories. A Typological Study with Special Focus on the Languages of Europe*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter. (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 33).