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Grammaticalized preverbs of aspect and their contribution to expressing transitivity in Eastern Mansi

Mansi has altogether 30 preverbs that are mainly grammaticalized particles. In my article I will discuss three grammaticalized adverbs in Eastern Mansi – *juw* '[to]home', *jål* 'down' and *nok* 'up' – that all have an aspectual meaning. These three preverbs were chosen due to their similar functions as markers of aspect, and to their similar origin as expressions of direction. I will concentrate on *juw* but I also present data on *nok* and *jål*. I will discuss the process of grammaticalization from adverbs to grammaticalized preverbs and the degree of grammaticalization of these preverbs. The theoretical background of my study is based mainly on Heine and Kuteva's study on grammaticalization (see Heine – Kuteva 2002) as well as Kiefer and Honti's observations on prefixes and preverbs in the Uralic languages (see Kiefer 1997, Kiefer – Honti 2003).

Further on, I will outline the role of preverbs of aspect in expressing transitivity and show correlations between transitivity and aspect. My approach is based on a semantic definition of transitivity. I will e. g. apply Kulikov's study (1999) on the connection between these two phenomena in Vedic Sanskrit and some other similar cases. I will show, how (in)transitivity and variation between the two verb inflection categories – the subjective and the objective conjugation – correlate with aspect as well as with the distribution of directional adverbs and grammaticalized preverbs in Eastern Mansi.

My research data come from a folklore collection gathered by Artturi Kannisto in 1901–1906 and published some decades later: *Wogulische Volksdichtung I–VII* (1951–1963). My corpus includes 84 clauses including *juw*, 24 examples on *nok* and 37 on *jål*.

Keywords: Mansi, Eastern Mansi, grammaticalization, preverbs, transitivity.

1. Introduction

Mansi (Vogul) is a Uralic language spoken in Western Siberia. Its eastern dialects have already vanished, but appr. 2 700 speakers of the northern dialects still exist. The eastern dialects were spoken at the area of the river Konda, and there were three sub-dialects – Upper Konda, Middle Konda and Lower Konda – carrying the name of the river, and one representing the tributary of Konda called Yukonda. My data represent the Middle Konda dialect.

As all Uralic languages, Mansi can be characterized by its agglutinativity: grammatical relations are expressed with suffixes, which sometimes produce very long word forms. A less typical, i. e. less agglutinative, feature is the use of preverbs. Mansi has altogether 30 preverbs that are mainly grammaticalized particles such as *nok* 'up; above', *jål* 'down; off' and *juw* '[to] home; to a destination; into', all of which are used in the expression of perfective aspect. As will be shown by the data discussed in the following sections, e. g. the verb *ääji* 'drink' receives a perfective aspect with the preverb *juw*: *juw-ääji* 'drink up', and the verb *ääli* '[try to]kill' is perfectivized with the preverb *jål*: *jål-ääli* 'kill to death'.

In the following sections I will discuss these three grammaticalized adverbs – *juw*, *jål* and *nok* – that all have an aspectual meaning. These preverbs were chosen due to their similar functions as markers of aspect, and to their similar origin as expressions of direction. I will concentrate on *juw*, but also present some data on *nok* and *jål* for comparison. Further, I will outline the role of preverbs of aspect in the expression of semantic transitivity. Concerning aspect, I will base my approach on a binary opposition between continuous and perfective aspect in Eastern Mansi, where a change in aspect is expressed by a preverb indicating perfectivity. Based on my data, I will show some correlations between transitivity and aspect, and discuss how the marking of aspect is connected to the variation in the categories of verb conjugation, as well as information-structural variation.

The theoretical background of my study is based mainly on Heine and Kuteva's study on grammaticalization (see Heine – Kuteva 2002) as well as Kiefer and Honti's observations on prefixes and preverbs in the Uralic languages (see Kiefer 1997, Kiefer – Honti 2003). Grammaticalization as a historical linguistic phenomenon has been well-documented in the literature, and also some grammaticalization processes in Mansi have been outlined, but the Mansi preverbs of aspect and time – especially those of Eastern Mansi – have not been discussed comprehensively.

Another objective of my study is to describe the connection between aspect and transitivity. Among others, Kulikov (1999) has discussed the connection between these two phenomena in Vedic Sanskrit and referred to some other similar cases as well. Kulikov concentrates especially on the relation between causativity and aspect, and presents two different correlations called *split ergativity* and *split causativity*: in split ergativity, certain aspectual categories select ergative instead of absolutive, while in split causativity certain aspectual categories select transitive-causative instead of intransitive (Kulikov 1999: 32). This cannot be applied to the Uralic languages, but in the following sections I will demonstrate how the (in)transitivity and variation between the two verb inflection categories correlate with aspect as well as with the distribution of directional adverbs and grammaticalized preverbs in Eastern Mansi.

It is no longer possible to access new live material of Eastern Mansi, which is why my research data is from a folklore collection gathered by Artturi Kannisto in 1901–1906 and published some decades later (Kannisto 1951, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1963). My corpus includes 84 clauses including *juw* – either in its concrete or in its grammaticalized meaning, and 24 examples on *nok* and 37 on *jål*. The data have been gathered from the volumes I, II and III of Kannisto's collection. The texts were originally written in the Finno-Ugric Transcription system (FUT) and were later converted to a phonetic transcription developed by Ulla-Maija Forsberg especially to meet the requirements of Eastern Mansi.

The structure of the article will be as follows: In Section 2 I will give an overview on grammaticalization of preverbs in general, and on transitivity and aspect in Eastern Mansi. Sections 3 and 4 explore the usage of the three grammaticalized preverbs – *juw*, *jål* and *nok* – and their grammaticalization. The main results, conclusions and further questions are discussed in Section 5.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Preverbs and the grammaticalization process

Grammaticalization is a complex process concerning several kinds of morphological or lexical elements. Heine and Kuteva have described grammaticalization as a development from lexical to grammatical forms and as a context dependent semantic process (Heine – Kuteva 2002: 2–3). They list four interrelated main mechanisms that grammaticalization involves:

1. desemanticization: loss in meaning content
2. extension: use in new context
3. decategorialization: loss in morphosyntactic properties
4. erosion: loss in phonetic substance

These mechanisms are not independent of each other: e. g. desemanticization precedes decategorialization and erosion. (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2–3). In other words, when the meaning of the element undergoing grammaticalization recedes from the concrete (lexical) meaning, the contexts of its usage change as well, and the morphosyntactic properties get less value. In this article I will discuss the grammaticalization of these adverbs to preverbs. The preverbs to be discussed have undergone at least desemanticization when losing their original meaning of concrete direction. They have also undergone extension when becoming more complex parts of the base verbs.

According to Kiefer and Honti, „[p]reverbs are preverbal elements which form a complex verb with the base verb” (Kiefer – Honti 2003: 137). They have three different though not unrelated functions: 1) perfectivization, 2) aktionsart-

formation, 3) lexical word formation (Kiefer 1997: 323). In Eastern Mansi, these elements derive from the lative forms of adverbs that have developed into preverbs via grammaticalization (Kiefer 1997: 325). As Kiefer – Honti have pointed out, the grammaticalization proceeds from the adverbial meaning first to the aspectual meaning, and finally to the aktionsart meaning (Kiefer – Honti 2003: 317, 318). The genuine prefixes – bearing the aktionsart meaning – represent the highest stage of grammaticalization, and they can be separated from the main verb almost by any other element. Most Uralic languages have separable preverbs and only a few have genuine verbal prefixes. According to Kiefer, only the Ugric languages – Hungarian, Khanty and Mansi – have developed verbal prefixes (Kiefer 1997: 323), but not all preverbs have reached the stage of a prefix (Kiefer – Honti 2003: 137). Also the three grammaticalized elements discussed in this article are preverbs, not genuine prefixes. They can be separated from the base verb by various elements, and they can also occur in a post-verbal position, but they do not carry the aktionsart meaning. Usually they change the aspectual meaning of the verb.

Within the Uralic language family, preverbs are also known in Selkup, Livonian, Estonian, Finnish, Votic, Veps and Karelian (Kiefer – Honti 2003: 137). It is a commonly accepted view that Proto-Uralic did not have any verbal prefixes, and they have been borrowed from Slavic: preverbs never became morphologized in Uralic (Kiefer – Honti 2003: 137). In each language they have developed separately, triggered by areal influence (Kiefer 1997: 323). Also Nurk states that the grammaticalization of the Uralic preverbs and prefixes might be of foreign origin (Nurk 1996: 77–78).

2.2. Expressing transitivity in Eastern Mansi

My approach is based on a semantic definition of transitivity. As e.g. Næss (2007) has proposed, transitivity is a semantic phenomenon, in which one of the participants is affected by the other. In my approach concerning Eastern Mansi, the expressions of transitivity include both active and passive constructions (see e. g. Virtanen 2013). Passive is the inverse category of transitive active constructions and may include all arguments of a transitive active sentence. The variation between active and passive is motivated by information-structural factors (see Virtanen 2013). The main principle is that there is a correlation between the syntactic and pragmatic functions: the most topical argument always occupies the place of the subject. In the case of transitive constructions, this causes variation between the active and the passive: active is used whenever the agent is the most topical element in the sentence (primary topic), whereas passive appears whenever any other constituent than the agent is the primary topic and occupies the subject position. Usually the subject of a passive clause is a patient or a recipient.

The syntactic variation within active constructions is primarily a variation between two verb inflection categories, the subjective and the objective conjugation. Also case marking of NPs is involved. Also the variation between different morphological categories expressing transitivity is motivated by information structure: in active transitive sentences, topical direct objects are marked, while focal ones are not. When the direct object in an active sentence is topical, it represents the so-called secondary topic (see Nikolaeva 2011: 26): it is topical, but less topical than the agent that occupies the place of the subject. Topical direct objects are obligatorily verb marked, and some of them are also case marked. (See Virtanen 2013.)

The expressions of perfective aspect in the data discussed in the following sections are often connected to transitive actions that affect the referent of a direct object of an active transitive clause (patient) or the subject of a passive clause (patient). As mentioned above, I will show how the marking of transitivity is connected to the marking of aspect, and how these two concepts correlate with each other.

3. *juw*: from concrete to aspectual meaning

In this section I will first present data on the original concrete meaning of *juw*, and further on its grammaticalized, aspectual meaning and the syntactic use of these forms. In Section 3.1 I will discuss its concrete directional meaning, in Section 3.2 its aspectual meaning and in 3.3 the frequency distribution of *juw* in different contexts. Deverbial nouns used with *juw* are briefly discussed in Section 3.4.

3.1. 'into'; '[to]home'

The original concrete meaning of the Eastern Mansi particle *juw* is 'into', '[to]home'. It is a directional locative that originates in the stem *ju-* 'inner side, inside' (WW: 180) and expresses concrete direction. It is also used in the meaning '[to]home'. Example (1) illustrates the concrete directional meaning 'into': someone is entering the house, going concretely into it:

- (1) *juw i kooj-øš, juw tuu-s, pääsyø wöär-øš.* (WV III: 8)
 in so go-PST in step-PST greeting make-PST
 'So he went in, entered, and said hello.'

Also in (2) the preverb refers to a concrete direction 'into', in a context of bringing something into a house:

- (2) *wisy=kom kâjt-iil-øš, jonkp-äg kotøl-äg juw=kâjt-tøšöä.* (WV I: 14B)
 young=man run-DER-PS1 moon-DU sun-DU in=run-PST.DU<3sg
 'The young man ran and brought (by running) the moon and the sun in.'

Example (3) indicates the meaning '[to]home', which also contains a semantic reference to the inside of a house or a house yard but primarily refers to the abstraction of 'home' in general:

- (3) *juw* *jox̣t-ø̣s.* (WV III: 9B)
 home come-PST
 'He came home.'

In (1), (2) and (3), *juw* has only a spatial or directional function, with no reference to the aspect of the verb. In these situations, a concrete directionality to home or into something motivates the use of the adverb. However, in (3) we can already see marks of desemantization or extension: the meaning 'into' has been extended to concern the whole household including even then house yard, or to represent the relational meaning 'home', the place identified as one's residence. It thus refers not only to a direction but also to the reaching of a goal.

In the previous examples, the verbs accompanied by *juw* are simple one-participant (intransitive) motion verbs. The adverbial *juw* can also appear with a two- or three-placed verb, expressing the direction where something is transferred by someone else:

- (4) *t̃at-i* *juw.* (WV III: 7B)
 bring-3SG home
 'He takes [some wood] home.'

In (4) the verb is in the subjective conjugation. The man the sentence refers to has chopped wood and starts to bring some wood home. Later on, he has brought all the wood home (5):

- (5) *jiiw-ty-m̃ø* *sok* *juw=t̃at-ø̣s-te.* (WV III: 7B)
 wood-PL-ACC all home-bring-PST-SG<3SG
 'He brought all the wood home.'

The direct object has become topical and the action is perfective. The verb is in the objective conjugation – marking topicality of the object – and the nominal object constituent is in the accusative – triggered by the verb conjugation (see e. g. Virtanen 2013). In this context *juw* still represents its adverbial function, with a concrete direction home. However, in this case *juw* is also connected to a perfective event and – especially considering its more grammaticalized functions – it already includes features of an aspect marker.

3.2. Aspectual *juw*

When used as a grammaticalized preverb, *juw* changes the aspect of the verb from continuous to perfective and loses its semantic function as an expression of

direction. Verbs accompanied by the grammaticalized *juw* are discussed in Section 3.3.

In (6) the verb *tee-* 'eat' combines with *juw* and acquires the perfective meaning 'eat up':

- (6) *tāw nää-n jål=wõõltøg-tø, juw pøl tøg-tø.* (WV II: 2)
 3SG 2SG-ACC PREF=kill-SG<3SG PREF PARTIC eat-SG<3SG
 'He will kill you and eat you up.'

In (6) the verb is inflected in the objective conjugation, which refers to the topicality of the direct object. In my data, 95 % of the active sentences containing grammaticalized *juw* include objective conjugation. Considering the nature of the preverb – it expresses perfectivity of a transitive event, which is often connected to topicality – such a frequency is quite expectable.

In (7) *juw* is used with the verb *køtilaxti* 'ask'. The verb is also used without a preverb in similar contexts, and the use of the preverb seems to be motivated by the need to emphasize the question:

- (7) *āk° kom uus k°än=pöält juw=køtilaxt-ii:* (WV II: 28B)
 one man town out=side PREF=ask-3SG
 'A man outside the gate of the town asks.'

However, example (7) represents that 5 % of active sentences in my data, which – despite the preverb – contain the subjective conjugation, which in this case is due to the nature of the verb. The verb stem *køtilaxt-* 'ask' can also be used with other preverbs like *päri* 'back': *päri-køtilaxtii* 'answer with another question'.

Example (8) is about taking a mare and letting it free. The event is perfective and results in a change of state. The preverb refers to aspect, not to a direction:

- (8) *poojtøl juw=puug-øx°, söät kōōr-øl tōārøt-äx°?* (WV II: 5)
 mare PREF=catch-INF seven stallion- release-INF
 INSTR
 'Should I take my mare and let it go with seven stallions?'

A feature common to examples (6)–(8) is that the function of *juw* is not to express direction but a change of state and its perfectivity. In comparison with (1), (2) and (3) discussed in Section 3.1, we can see a clear desemanticization and also decategorialization. The metaphorical direction 'into' might be connected to the events, but the sentences cannot be semantically understood unless we consider the grammaticalized meanings.

3.3. Verbs appearing with *juw*

According to WW, the following verbs are used with *juw* in the Eastern dialects: *karti* – throw; *jiiw* – (be)come; *lekemi* – push, jostle; *märelyti*, *märemi*, *märi* – fit, narrow, tighten; *måwømtaxti* – dive, sink; *mini* – go; *nyalti*, *nyåliji*, *nyålti* – swallow; *påsøpi* – let in, get in; *puuløji* – fit into mouth; *ropi* – come ashore, disembark; *teeg* – eat, *teelti* – pay (back); *töäjøpi* – bite, gobble, burn; *tååsyepi* – get stuck; *tuuji* – enter; *tuuli* – run away, hide.¹

In my data, the following verbs are used with *juw*: *mini* – go; *joxti* – come; *tuuji* – get in, enter; *tåti* – bring; *puugi* – grasp; *keeti* – send; *wøg* – take; *teeg* – eat; *äji* – drink; *lätøkötöäli* – talk, give a talk; *køtilaxti* – ask.

As the lists above show, verbs used with *juw* are semantically mostly verbs of motion: they mean ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘embark’, ‘enter’, ‘push’ or ‘hide’. There are also verbs of bodily functions such as ‘eat’ and ‘swallow’. The first group clearly involves a direction or the concrete meaning ‘into’ or ‘[to]home’, and also in most verbs of the second group at least a metaphorical direction ‘into’ can be seen.

It is with this second type of verbs (verbs of eating and drinking) where the function of *juw* is not a concrete ‘into’ but rather an aspectual meaning of expressing perfectivity. These verbs are two- or three-participant verbs that are usually used to express transitivity. They indicate a continuous aspect when used without the preverb, and a perfective aspect when used with a preverb. The difference between the continuous and perfective aspects can be seen in simple pairs like (9) vs. (10) and (11) vs. (12):

(9) ‘eat’ – continuous:

jāmøs lyüüly=kar tee-s ääj-øs. (WV I: 40)
 good bad=thing eat-PST drink-PST
 ‘He ate and drank good and bad.’

(10) ‘eat’ – perfective:

öämp juw=tee-s-tø. (WV I: 12B)
 dog PREF=eat-PST-SG<3SG
 ‘The dog ate it [the bird] up.’

(11) ‘drink’ – continuous:

sårøg=öän-øl k°ås tåt-wø, öät ääj-i. (WV I: 14B)
 beer=bowl-INSTR though bring-PASS NEG drink-3SG
 ‘They bring him a bowl of beer, but he does not drink.’

¹ The verb forms have been converted to Kulonen’s transcription.

(12) 'drink' – perfective:

wisy soon=toägöl keeløp kit=wor= kääsy-äät juw=ääj- (WV II: 5)
ootør øs-tø,
 young birch.bark- blood two=ridge brother- PREF=drink-
 [man] goblet =prince POSS.SG3SG PST-SG<3SG
 'The brother of the prince of two ridges drank a small birch bark goblet of blood.'

In the examples (9)–(12) the verb is in the objective conjugation when accompanied by a preverb but in the subjective conjugation when used without a preverb. This cannot be generalized to all instances, but it tells a lot about the role of the preverb in the expression of transitivity. There is a correlation between aspect and the marking of direct objects, i. e. the perfective aspect expressed with a preverb correlates with the topicality of the direct object. Only topical direct objects are marked (see Virtanen 2013), and those that are marked may appear in the same clause with the aspect-marker.

The grammaticalized *juw* can also be used with a verb inflected in the passive:

(13) *tänkør juw=nyöäløj-øw-øs. (WV III: 10B)*
 mouse PREF=swallow-PASS-PST
 'The mouse was swallowed up.'

In passive expressions the function of the preverb is the same as in the active: it expresses perfectivity. The passive does not overtly code the direct object, but the use of the passive itself tells about high topicality: in this case the passive is used, because the patient (the mouse) is the most topical argument of the sentence (primary topic) and needs to be promoted to subject (see Kulonen 1989, Virtanen 2013).

3.4. Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns can also be used with a preverb. In my data, 13 % of all sentences with *juw* involve a deverbal noun.

(14) *juw=tee-n-äänøl pøl öätyi (WV I: 28)*
 pref=eat-DER-POSS.SG3PL PARTIC NEG
 'They do not have anything to eat.'

Nominalized forms of *tee-* 'eat' can appear with or without the preverb *juw*. In both cases the meaning of the deverbal noun is 'something to eat', but the form with an aspectual preverb is used especially in contexts with hunger and a need to eat something. The perfective aspect is used to emphasize the concrete need of people or animals.

3.5. The overall picture of *juw*

I have distinguished three different meanings of *juw*: firstly the most concrete meaning 'into', secondly, the meaning '[to]home', and, thirdly, the aspectual meaning of perfectivity. These three functions represent also three different stages of grammaticalization proceeding from concrete to abstract. The different meanings of *juw* in my data have the following frequencies (see table 2):

Preverb	Frequency (%)
'into'	44 %
'[to]home'	16 %
aspectual	40 %

Table 2

In table 2 it can be seen that the concrete meaning is still vital, but the 40 % frequency of the aspectual meaning tells about strong grammaticalization. The frequency of 16 % of the meaning 'home' still represents a concrete directional function, but already includes marks of loss in the semantic value and a more extensive range of uses. The aspectual meaning shows up mostly with verbs like 'eat' or 'drink', which also contain the meaning 'into', if the participant performing the eating is conceptualized as a container. The aspectual function of *juw* is still often – though not always – connected to its concrete meaning 'into'. Originally the perfective aspect has been expressed by emphasizing direction 'into', and later on it has been adapted to perfective verb forms with other kinds of meanings as well.

4. *nok* and *jål*

The adverbs *nok* 'up' and *jål* 'down' refer to opposite vertical directions. Both of them also have an aspectual meaning in the same way as *juw*: both are used with certain verb forms to express perfective aspect. These two preverbs will be discussed only shortly to give a ground for comparison with *juw*. [*n*]*ok* and its concrete and aspectual functions are discussed in Section 4.1, and *jål* and its functions in Section 4.2.

4.1. *nok*

The original concrete meaning of *nok* is 'up'. It is used in expressions of simple concrete situations, where the action is directed upwards:

- (15) *ðõx-nø nok=suum-øs* (WV II: 2)
 hill-LAT up=gallop-PST
 'He galloped up the hill.'

In (15) *nok* is used as a directional locative expressing the direction 'up', and indicates no aspectual meaning. In (16) the same element is used together with a passive form of the verb *pøłømt* 'burn' and carries an aspectual meaning. As mentioned in Section 3.3, an aspectual particle may also be used with passive forms, expressing aspect in the same way as in the active.

- (16) *woor- syäärääny-äät koj-i, toåwtv-øł nok=pøłømt- (WV II: 5)*
pððwøł øw-øš.
Vorpaul ember.stack- lie-3SG fire-INSTR PREF=burn-
 POSS.SG3SG PASS-PST

'The Vorpaul village lies as a stack of ash, it was destroyed by the fire.'

Also the aspectual use of *nok* involves a direction in (16): the smoke goes up when the village is burning. However, the primary meaning expressed by *nok* is not this direction but the perfective aspect: the whole village was destroyed by fire. Thus *[n]ok* expresses perfective aspect of the event of destroying.

4.2. *jål*

The original concrete meaning of *jål* is 'down; downwards; beneath', and like *juw* and *nok* it is also used with motion verbs to express a direction as in (17):

- (17) *nöålmøn wity-øt tunsy-i luup, ow-nø jål tåt-il-øwø (WV II: 5)*
 beneath water- stand- tree.trunk stream down bring-
 LOC 3SG -LAT DER-PASS

'Lower in the water there is a tree trunk, the stream presses it downwards.'

In (17) the motion in the stream of the river is continuous, and *jål* appears as an adverb and expresses only direction downwards. In example (18) it is used with the verb *wððl* '[try to] kill', bringing perfective aspect to the meaning:

- (18) *tåw nää-n jål=wððl-tøg-tø, juw pøl tøg-tø. (WV II: 2)*
 3SG 2SG-ACC PREF=kill-DER- PREF PARTIC eat-SG<3SG
 SG<3SG

'He will kill you and eat you up.'

In (18) the aspectual *jål* has also at least a symbolic meaning 'down' – we can imagine the body of the killed person falling down – but its main function is to express perfectivity, not direction. In the same way as with *juw* and *nok* discussed above, the grammaticalization of *jål* is first connected to the expression of perfective aspect by emphasizing a direction. In the same sentence (18) there is also the perfective verb stem *juw-teeg-* already discussed in Section 3.3.

My data on *nok* and *jål* also show correlation between aspect and transitivity: the adverbial meaning appears with the active subjective conjugation expressing an intransitive action, while the aspectual meaning is accompanied by the objective conjugation or passive, which both index topicality of the patient.

5. Conclusions

In this article I have outlined the use and origin of three aspectual preverbs in Eastern Mansi. My data show that the grammaticalized meanings of the verbal preverbs have – or at least have had – a semantic connection to their original adverbial meanings ‘into’, ‘up’ or ‘down’ – even though they can be clearly differentiated from the area of usage of these original concrete meanings. In most of the cases, the grammaticalized form appears with a verb expressing movement into the same direction the original adverbial meaning expresses. In more abstract cases the preverbs may occur with verbs indicating a directional meaning.

The aspectual *juw* appears mainly when something is acquired by a human participant, or when the aspectual action includes the direction ‘into’, and the action is actually perfective. The aspectual *nok* is used when the event with a perfective aspect includes a concrete or a metaphoric meaning ‘up’. The aspectual *jål* appears when the event combines perfective aspect with a concrete or metaphoric symbolic meaning ‘down’. In some contexts a further extension may arise where the preverb is connected to a verb without such a directional meaning.

Further, there is quite a clear correlation between transitivity and aspect: the original spatial or directional meanings appear with intransitive verbs, or aspectually continuous transitive verb forms, while the grammatical meanings are accompanied by perfective transitive constructions. The use of *juw* with different verb forms and aspects can be summed up as follows (table 3):

Aspect	Form	Example
intransitive	subjective conjugation + adverb	<i>juw minəs</i> ‘He went home.’
continuous transitive	subjective conjugation + adverb	<i>tåti juw</i> ‘He takes [some wood] home.’
perfective transitive	objective conjugation + adverb	<i>tåtøstø juw</i> ‘He brought it home’
	passive + adverb	<i>tåtøstø juw</i> ‘It was brought home.’
	objective conjugation + gram	<i>juw-teestø</i> ‘He ate it up.’
	passive + gram	<i>juw-nyöäløjøwəs</i> ‘It was swallowed up.’

Table 3

These three preverbs represent only 10 % of all preverbs in Eastern Mansi, so these results cannot be generalized to all preverbs. However, there are obvious similarities in the grammaticalization of these three preverbs. Directional locatives have developed into preverbs expressing aspect, and in this way they also participate in the expression of transitivity. The same phenomenon has been observed also in Estonian (see Veismann – Tragel 2008). Grammaticalized preverbs tend to appear with two- or three-place verbs inflected in the objective conjugation. They can also appear with verbs inflected in the passive or in the active subjective conjugation, as well as with deverbal nouns. Common to all these forms is that they express a transitive action, and that the function of the preverb is to express perfectivity.

Abbreviations:

ACC	– accusative	PARTIC	– particle
DER	– derivational suffix	PASS	– passive
DU	– dual	PL	– plural
INF	– infinitive	POSS	– possessive suffix
INSTR	– instrumental	PREF	– preverb
LAT	– lative	PST	– past tense
LOC	– locative	SG	– Singular
NEG	– negation particle		

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