

(The) Mari: an introduction

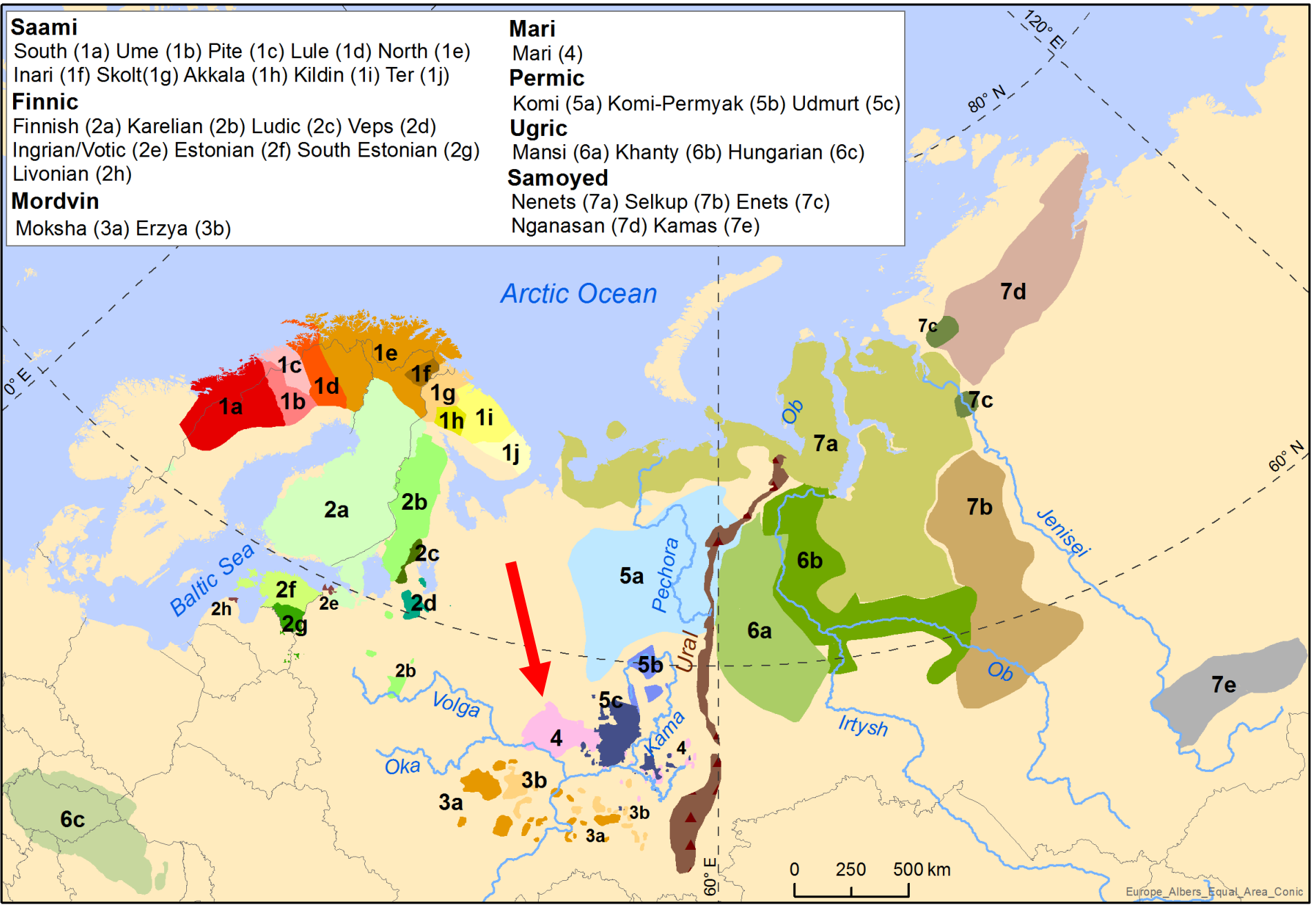
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Introduction to Mari

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The Mari: Nomenclature

	Endonym	Exonym
Mari	марий-влак	(черемис-влак)
English	Mari	Cheremis
German	Mari	Tscheremissen
Russian	марийцы	(черемисы)
Finnish	marit, marilaiset	(tšeremissit)
Estonian	marid, marilased	(tšeremissid)
Hungarian	marik	cseremiszek
Udmurt	мариецъёс	поръёс (черемисьёс)
Tatar	(марилар)	чирмешләр
Chuvash	(марисем)	çармăсsem

Population Statistics (Russia only)

	„Ethnic Mari“	Speakers	% Speakers / Ethnic Mari
2010	547 605	388 378	70.9
2002	604 298	?	80.7
1989	643 698	?	80.8
1979	599 637	?	86.7
1970	581 082	?	91.2
1959	498 006	?	95.1
1939	476 382	?	? (~ 100)
1926	428 001	?	? (~ 100)
1897	375 439	?	? (~ 100)

The Mari Traditional Religion



The Mari Traditional Religion



Pre-Russian Times

- ~660: Volga Bulgaria established
- 961: First recorded mention of the Maris (*цармис*)
- ~1240: Golden Horde established
Fall of Volga Bulgaria
- 1438: Russo-Kazan wars begin
- 1547: Ivan the Terrible takes throne



(Muscovy in late middle ages)

Integration into Russia



- 1551: Hill Maris join Muscovy
- 1552: Khanate of Kazan annexed
Cheremis Wars begin
- 1557: Cheremis Wars end



In Tsarist Russia

- 1707: Mari migration to East
- 1775: First Mari Grammar
- 1821: First Mari school opens (Morko)

СОЧИНЕНІЯ
ПРИНАДЛЕЖАЩІЯ
къ
ГРАММАТИКЪ
ЧЕРЕМИСКАГО ЯЗЫКА.



ВЪ САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГѢ
при Императорской Академіи наукъ
1775 года.

Russian Revolutions



Ватна губерния салтак, Пашаза да ир-
стын Дулат шамачын Советшат куму-
шын айра, сирт да ишо рунтук-
тыш йушым йымс ирген теге пу-
чал каласын.

шамычым милиция воч илэш лон-
гылкак шуктушамым ончыкак илэш.

Адан буйым илэтан оччана. Мо лаш?

1. Чыла Ватна губерния каласын
умалдыран: чыла лон кумушак
шоаткым, ишо иштэмы арка ла-
ны, мола рунтуктуней йуш ланат
нарылэш гын, йуш ила гын, туго
икат веронтишлан туналтын кана-
лан 100 тыгэ—гыч 200 марто
штрафым туналтын, алы 2—гыч
3 тыгэ марто вострокш итараш;
ысь кана кучалтылан штрафым
300-гыч 600 тыгэ марто туналтын,
алы 3-гыч 6 тыгэ марто востро-
кш итараш; кумушак каналан
штраф 600-гыч 1000 тыгэ марто,
алы вострок 6-тыгэ гыч 1 ил
марто. Тугай койш обшества ка-
лык комитат куды кумш ливон
гын, тугай обшествен шуйка-
лыда ак пин ватше тыгыл тавар
(сирт) кумым чарыды восток, ент-
сам (красный тавар мыны) чай-
ым, сахарым, понашым да монь.
Тугач моня мнандэ ужашымой
годым нуным мола губернияло
очылтанак колташ. Варжакым, ту-
гай койш салтак коллалты лив-
он гын, ола-шамыч-гыч иртыл-
ты, сар иштэмы-гыч иртылты
коллалты, ивонданты ту шот ла-
нак ишташ; нуней иштэмылан
казна-гыч колтымы пайка нумым
чараш кудаш; салтак-шамычлан
пайка илэштэмылан ту пинель
кумым чараш кудаш.

Тыгөдэй илэмашым ончалат да,
ортот вайб лэктэм. Ичмэй, у н-доч
вара, буйым илэтан „Мари увэр“
лэктэм туналын алы. Кызата паша
пужлэи кайыш. „Мари увэр“ буйыш
ик пин икый ойгы толэн логалы.
Моншай ойгы манен вондыл гын,
тыгэ мыныш: „ик мотар-гыч ты-
гөдэй тумалдымы паша шамыч то-
лэн пазарашты, вара вьсь мотар-
гыч-казна-ши-булды кошкым. Типо-
графшай ватшыш-бамыч,— мо-
лына ахкам ода змарны гым,
мо ога ишны; типографшай
ик йылганан ода ну“, маней
пашаштым кудалтышты. Вара шукы
кутрым-доч вара пашактан ш-
гоалыч, ишташ туналышты. Туге го-
нат, нуня мымнам онышты. Октя-
брь 1915-и шты газатанан ик номеры
12—18 тыгэ шога алы, 1916-и
шты—29—25 т., 1917-и шты—
45—49 т., 1918-и туналтышты—
89—90 т., кызат—350 тыгэ, 350
тыгэ типографшай раскоджк вала.
Тугачла адык раскод шукы: кагыз
ак, почта, экспедитор, корректор,
секретари да монь, шук! Тудым
чалажакман поналтын колтэт да,
ортот вайб лэктэм! 4000—5000 га-
зета налшы йаг кудаш. Кызат
мэмнан Мари увэрим налшы йаг
ик тудом нары вала. Башкырак га-
зета налшы муза. Башкырак 5000
айг лаж! Тунам вара ишо лэктат
огна луд. Куде Пумй полжакж.

Редакция.

Кугыжанаш паша.

Кызат кугыжанаш паша ирген
мом каласшат от шинчы. Мэмнан
кугы Россия-гыч можж кудаш, ту-
длат вала ойгы. Иреш олашты
мэмнан кугырак-шамыч шамыч-доч
„мирим“ иштэн толанышты. Туге
гынат, шамыч чарыды мамнан ола-
шамычым налынак шога. Илэмчым
чараш мэмнан салтак монь ука.

„Лонкар“ маншм армия уды да,
тудат пин шыгал. Тудж адык ша-
ман олаштышты „Ирешуй“—шамы-
чым пазарон толаныш. Кызат ода
лада рун калык шьэ кокта каро-
далыш. Паша-илэмаш-валтак пуж-
лэи шуй. Мо лашы? Илэмоч палы
огла. Россия-доч фин-шамыч ой-
рлат. Сибирь ойраш. Малороссия
кайды. Шет-шамыч, латыш-шамыч,
литва номыч кидэш бурат. Калык
комесар-шамыч Москвакэй илэш
тодыл укашты. Петроградшай илэш
оган ли, маншты. Кугы олаштышты
кочкыш-йуш илэмо ука, маншты.
Ваткаштыт уржа кидан кромыкж
2 тыгэ 50 ар, буржк лынкашты
3 тыгэмык илэшт. Олаштышты бур-
оч илэшты. Мо лашы? Палы огла.
Йомына мо вара?!

Губерня увэр-шамыч.

*** Ватна губерния Мари шылда
шамычшты толпаш шылдан ту-
ндышай-шамыч мар-гыч лажы,
маней вьсь чрезвычайный сьезд
пуччал мутыш шылдыш. Пин вьшк
шукыш-кугыш туналтыш-шамыч-
ым йамдылал возыш.

„Истор. оид. народ. образ.“
тыды пашам тыгэ вьрдыкжы шук-
таш шона:

1) Шэрнурон тэной иштэлан
Мари учительска семинариям —
почаш шона.

2) кижжым — „идеологическы
курсы“ маншм шолам почаш. Тун-
ка 100-йаг-гыч—150-йаг марто по-
гыжжы.

Туды „идеологическы курсы“
шэй тунэмаш тураш шоншай (Га-
рамашат-пирьытат): пурйном алы,
налдыш вале*—маншм прошением
возыш—Ватна губернияшты Мари
калыкым почын-турьыжым ноб-
лышкы маншм ир-ишэныш моти-
шылан пуаш кудаш. Прошениежы
марда дич гынат йра.

Туды курсышкы: а) второклассная
школам, б) вышнее начальное учи-
лищем тэмы лэктш-шамыч, в) да,
а) тудышкола-шамычым итэро-
дожк учительлан шолгыш-шамыч
тунизаш пурон кэртят.

— „Тунэмаш пурэм“ маншш пин
вашкэ прошением шукы. Отвэтлан—

• 1905–1907: Russian Revolution of 1905

• 1907: First Mari Calendar

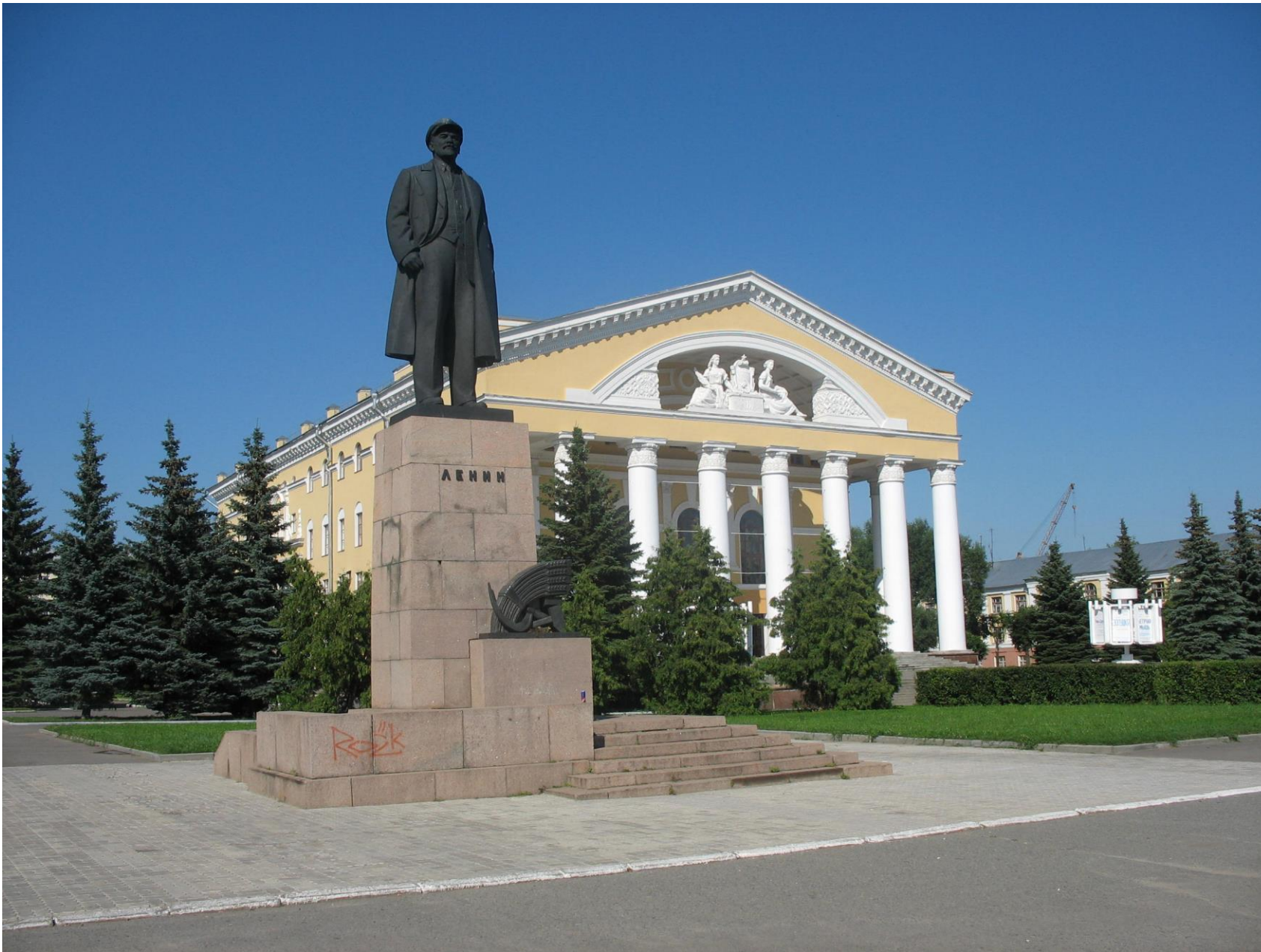
• 1915: First Mari Newspaper (“Война увэр”)

• 1917: October Revolution

First All-Russian Mari Council
Russian Civil War begins

Soviet Russia

- 1918: Soviet (local) victory
- 1919: Mari Theatre established
- 1920: Mari Autonomous Oblast
- 1936: Mari ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic)



The Great Purge

- 1937+: † Sergey Chavayn, Shabdar Osyp, Yyvan Kyrla, Yakov Shketan, Olyk Ipay, Patrash Vasli, ...



The Great Purge



Sergei Chavain, 1888–1937

- 16 June 1936: “Сталинлан”

“[...]”

*А кызыт автолан мунчалтыш –
Суран гай шыма у шоссе.*

*Но эн чапле, эн моктышашлык –
У калык кушкеш элешна,
У илыш адак сай лийшашлык,
Элнаже эре кугешна!”*

- 11 November 1937: †

The Great Purge



Sergei Chavain, 1888–1937

- 16 June 1936: “To Stalin”

“[...]”

Now the cars can glide –

On a highway smooth as leather.

But most glorious, most laudible –

A new people are growing in our land,

The new life will become good again,

Our country is ever proud!”

- 11 November 1937: †

Later Soviet Union

- March 1953: † Joseph Stalin
- 1953–1964: Khrushchev Thaw
- 1964–1985: Era of Stagnation
- 1985–1991: Perestroika and Glasnost

Post-Soviet Times

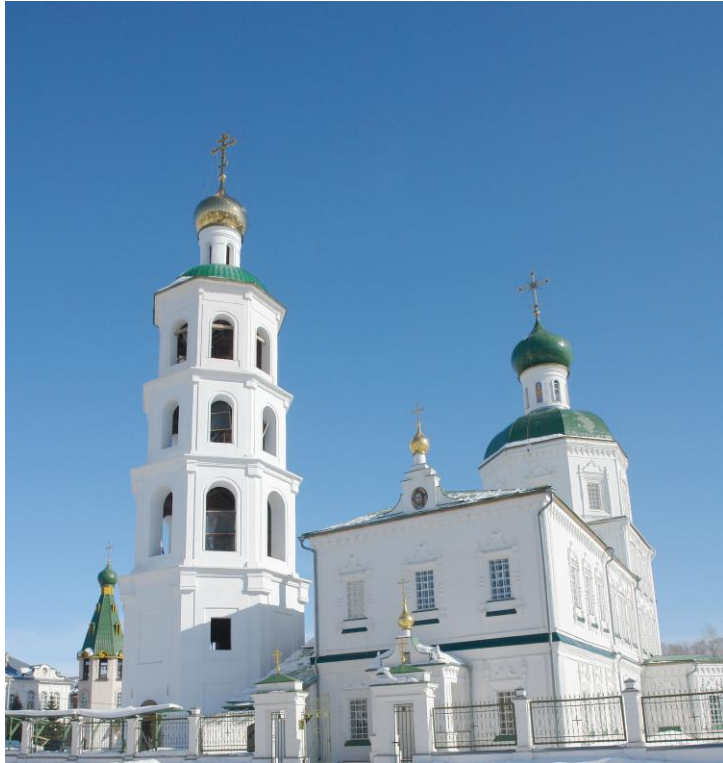
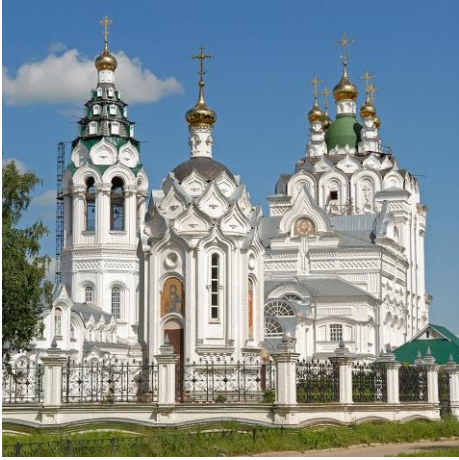
- 1990–: Mari El Republic

Presidents / Heads:

- 1991–1997: Vladislav Zotin (communist party)
- 1997–2001: Vyacheslav Kislitsyn (communist party)
- 2001–2017: Leonid Markelov (LDPR → United Russia)
- 2017–: Aleksandr Yevstifeyev (United Russia)



Yoshkar-Ola (“Red City”)





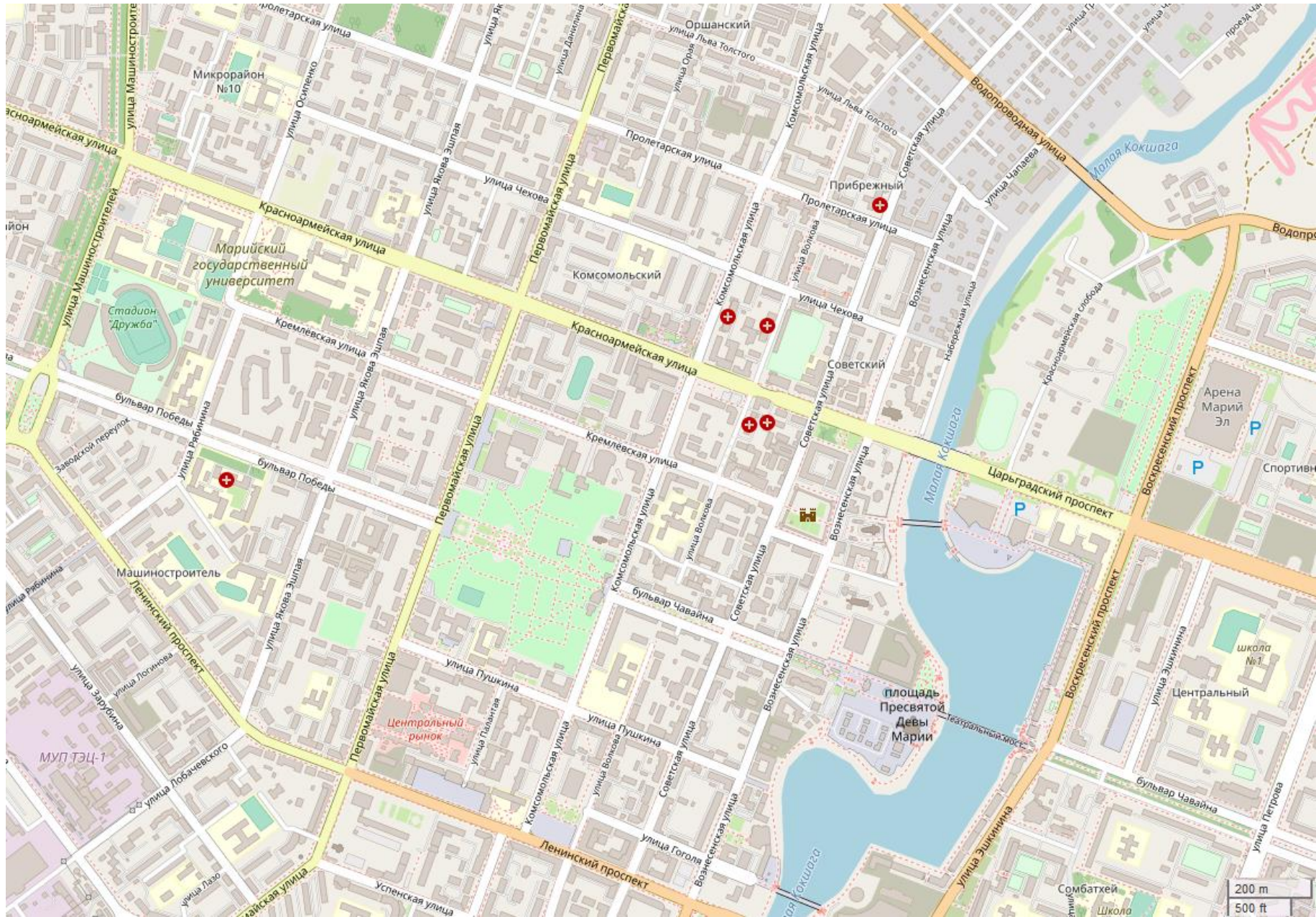
(Yoshkar-Ola National Art Gallery)



(Prince Rainier and Grace Kelly)

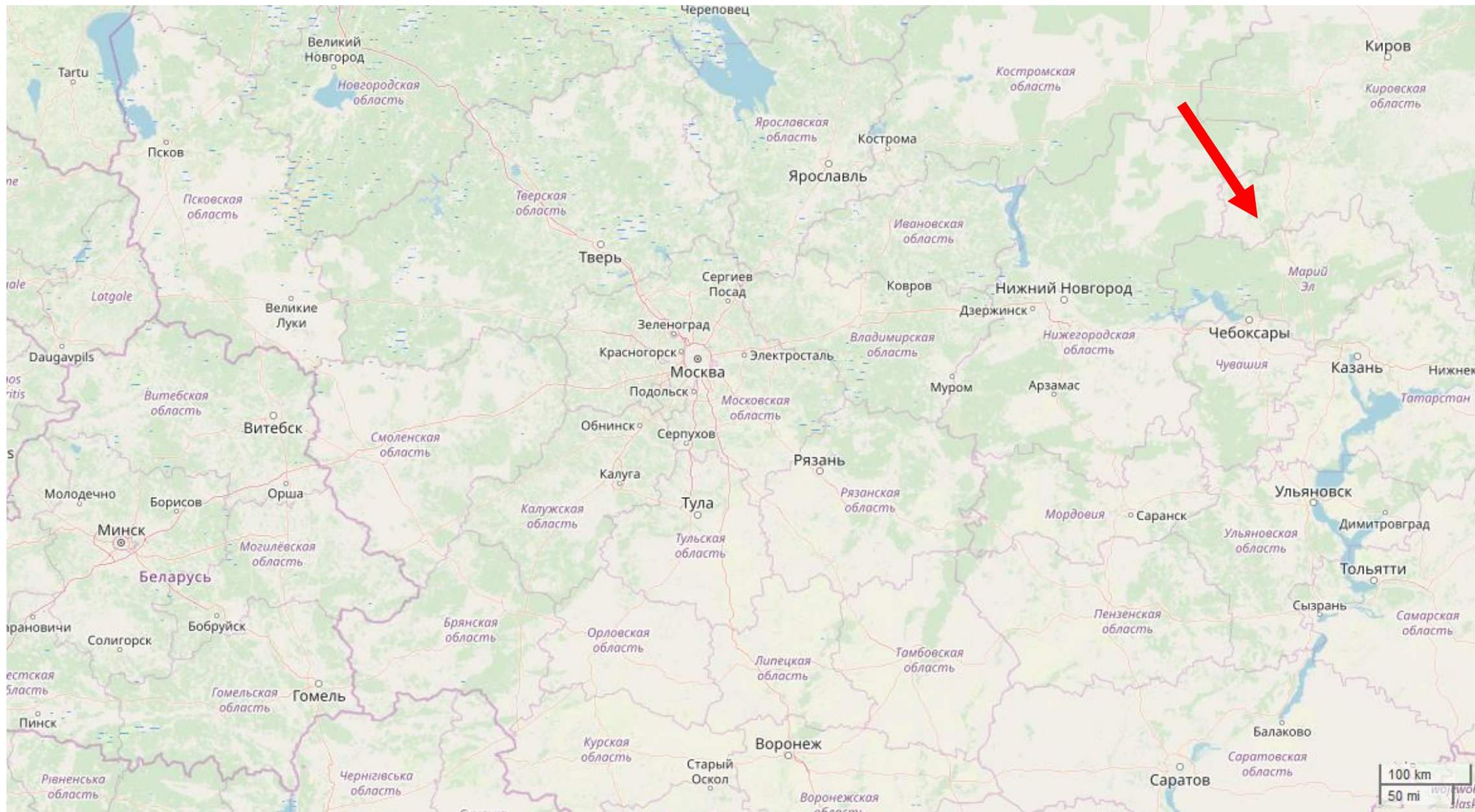


(Yoshkar-Ola Kremlin)



Mari El Republic





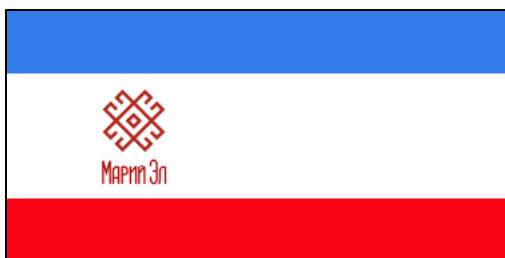
Flags



2011–

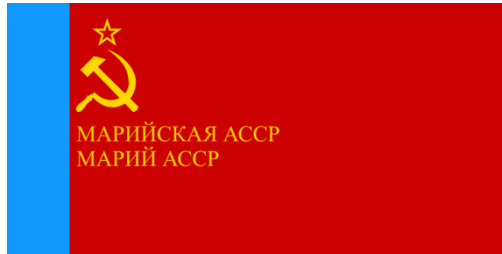


2006–2011



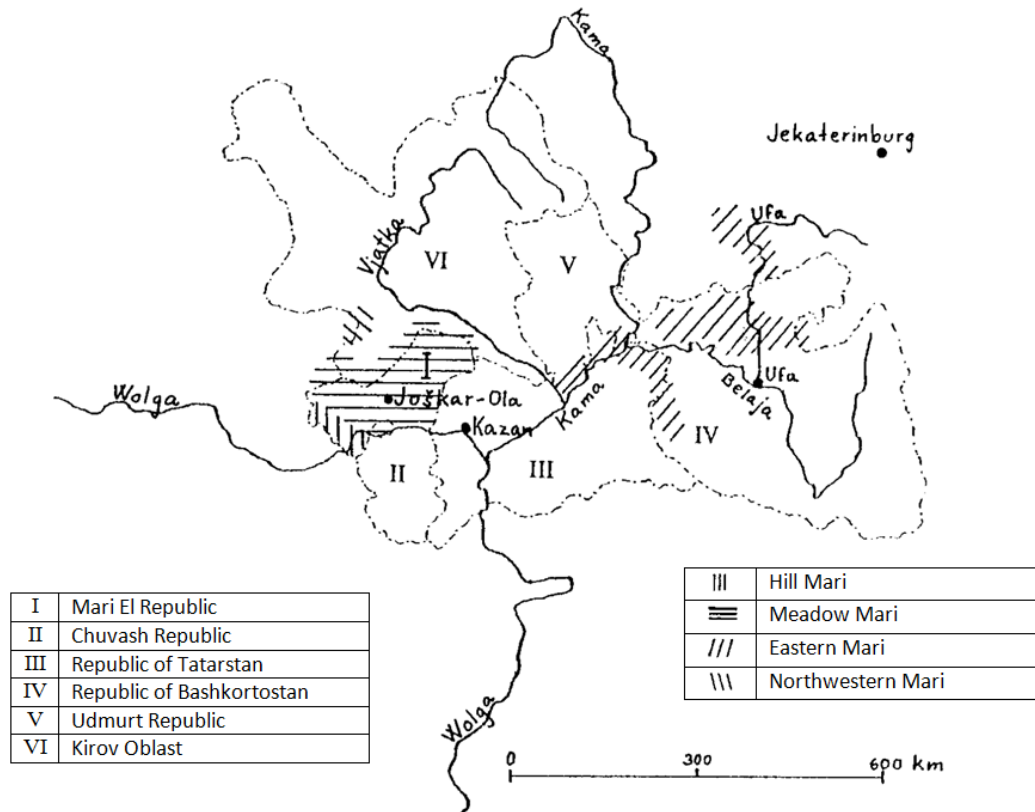
1992–2006

Flags



1978 –1991

Mari Within and Without the Mari El Republic



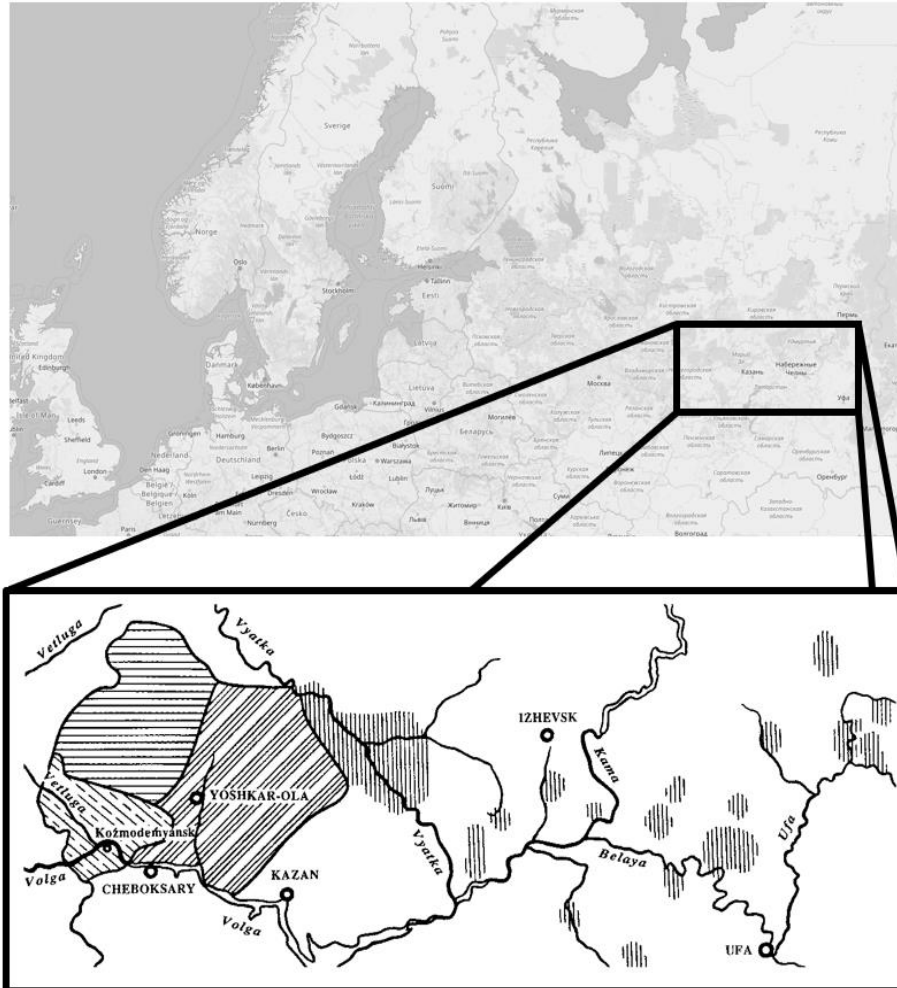
Demographics of Mari El (2010 census):





313,947	Russians	(47.4%)
290,863	Mari	(43.9%)
38,357	Tatars	(5.8%)
6,025	Chuvash	(0.9%)
13,138	Others	(2.0%)

Demographics of Russia (2010 census):

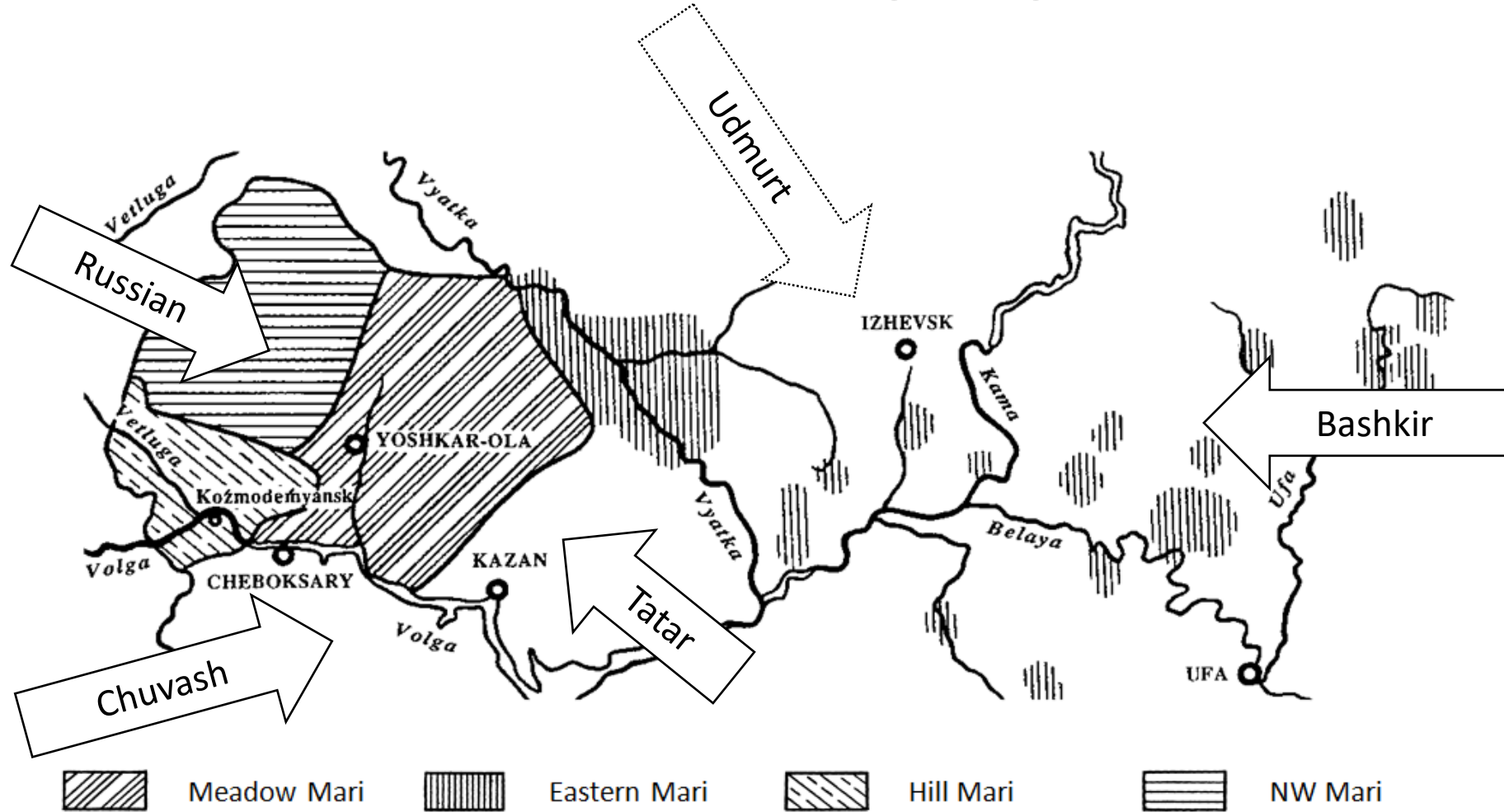
547,605 Mari

Mari Varieties

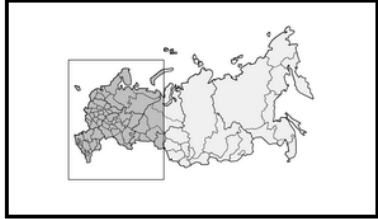


Literary Standard	Dialect	Speakers
Meadow-Eastern Mari	 Meadow Mari	365 000
	 Eastern Mari	
	 Northwestern Mari	
Hill Mari	 Hill Mari	23 000

Contact languages



Volga-Kama Sprachbund



Turkic core members (diagonal lines):

- 1) Tatarstan (Tatar)
- 2) Chuvashia (Chuvash)
- 3) Bashkortostan (Bashkir)

Finno-Ugric core members (dark dots):

- 4) Mari El (Mari)
- 5) Udmurtia (Udmurt)

Finno-Ugric peripheral members (light dots):

- 6) Mordovia (Mordvin)
- 7) Komi (Komi)

Vocabulary

Hill Mari	Meadow Mari	Translation
тетя (cf. Russian дитя)	йоча (cf. Chuvash ача)	child
өлицä (cf. Russian улица)	урем (cf. Tatar and Chuvash урам)	street
охырец (cf. Russian огурец)	кияр (cf. Persian [xiyâr])	cucumber
пумага (cf. Russian бумага)	кагаз (cf. Persian [kâğaz])	paper
веремä (cf. Russian время)	пагыт (cf. Arabic [waqt])	time
цäш (cf. Russian час/часы)	шагат (cf. Arabic [sā'a])	clock; watch; hour
свет (cf. Russian свет)	түня (cf. Arabic [dunyā])	world

Sound Inventory: Consonants (UPA)

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Dento-Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	Voiceless	p		t		t'	k
	Voiced	b		d			g
Fricative	Voiceless		(f)				χ
	Voiced	β	(v)	ð			ɣ
Sibilant	Voiceless			s	š		
	Voiced			z	ž		
Affricate				c	č	č'	
Nasal		m		n		n'	ŋ
Lateral				l		l'	
Trill				r			
Approximant						j	

Just Hill Mari

Just Meadow Mari

1. p: voiceless bilabial stop, like English p (spark)

/pört/	house	/optaš/	to place
/pu/	tree; wood	/šüşpâk/	nightingale
/pel/	half	/čaple/	lovely
/šopo/	sour	/üp/	hair
/üpan/	haired, having hair	/šêp/	calm
/kopa/	palm of the hand	/žap/	time

2. b: voiced bilabial stop, like English b (ball)

This consonant appears predominantly in loan words and descriptive words, as well as in the combination /mb/.

Due to terminal devoicing, this phoneme cannot occur in word-final position – see point 5 of the introduction (page 38).

/boks/	boxing
/benzin/	gas (petrol)
/tabu/	taboo
/kombo/	goose
/šümbel/	darling

3. k: voiceless velar stop, like English c (scar) or k (skin)

/keće/

sun; day

/ške/

oneself; own

/kö/

who

/pikš/

arrow

/kok/

two

/akret/

ancient

/aka/

(elder) sister

/ik/

one

/tükaš/

to touch

/jük/

voice; sound

/šuko/

much; many

/adak/

again

4. g: voiced velar stop, like English g (good)

For peculiarities affecting the pronunciation and distribution of this sound, see section 5 of this introduction (page 38).

Older sources will denote this phoneme as a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ in most positions. This pronunciation is no longer common.

/gân/

if

/šogaš/

to stand

/goč/

through

/tuge/

like that

/gâč/

from

/kugu/

big

/ikgaj/

alike

/pongo/

mushroom

/erge/

son

5. t: voiceless dental stop, like English t (star)

/tele/

winter

/ikte/

one

/tide/

this

/utla/

excessively

/tušto/

there

/ertaš/

to walk by

/oto/

grove

/kudât/

six

/jatâr/

very much

/čot/

a lot

/βate/

wife

/jot/

foreign

6. d: voiced dental stop, like English d (**duck**)

For peculiarities affecting the pronunciation and distribution of this sound, see section 5 of this introduction (page 38).

Older sources will denote this phoneme as a voiced dental fricative /ð/ in most positions, akin to th in *this*. This pronunciation is no longer common.

/dene/

with

/mondaš/

to forget

/deke/

to

/pârdâž/

wall

/deč/

from

/kinde/

bread

/čodâra/

forest

/uda/

bad

/odo/

Udmurt

7. β: voiced bilabial fricative

This sound does not occur in English. It is equivalent to the Spanish intervocalic *b* (*nube*). It does not occur in word-final position. It should also be noted that younger speakers usually pronounce this sound as a voiced labiodental fricative /v/.

/βate/

wife

/soβla/

spoon

/βer/

place

/sörβalaš/

to beg, to plead

/βuj/

head

/türβö/

lips

/aβa/

mother

/leβe/

warm

/kaβa/

sky

8. f: voiceless labiodental fricative, like English f (father)

This sound is exclusively found in loan words.

/fakt/

fact

/šef/

boss

/afrike/

Africa

/cellofan/

cellophane

9. v: voiced labiodental fricative, like English v (vase)

Traditionally, this sound was exclusively used in Russian loan words. In recent years, however, it has replaced /β/ in all contexts among younger speakers.

Due to terminal devoicing, this phoneme cannot occur in word-final position – see section 5 of this introduction (page 38).

/vaze/	vase
/d'ivan/	couch, sofa
/avgust/	August

10. s: voiceless alveolar fricative, like English s (sun)

/saj/	good	/porsân/	silk
/ser/	shore	/jüksö/	swan
/satu/	goods	/posna/	separate
/pasu/	field	/tüs/	color
/jösö/	difficult	/kas/	evening
/püsö/	sharp	/pârês/	cat

11. z: voiced alveolar fricative, like English z (zoo)

In the first position, this sound occurs only in Russian loan words.

/zal/	hall	/urzo/	handful
		/üzgar/	object
		/süzlö/	awl
/küzaš/	to climb	/teŋêz/	sea
/aza/	baby	/kagaz/	paper
/izi/	small	/negêz/	foundation

12. š: voiceless postalveolar fricative, like English sh (show)

/šâl/	meat	/umša/	mouth
/šij/	silver	/jüştö/	cold
/šodo/	lung	/βaštar/	maple
/ušem/	union	/ješ/	family
/üşan/	faith	/ruš/	Russian
/paša/	work	/ulaš/	to be

13. ž: voiced postalveolar fricative, like English s in leisure, measure

In the first position, this sound primarily occurs in loan words.

/žap/

time

/ožno/

earlier

/žest/

gesture

/užga/

fur

/kuržaš/

to run

/kužu/

long

/mardež/

wind

/užaš/

part

/eŋâž/

raspberry

/šâže/

fall

/keŋež/

summer

14. χ: voiceless velar fricative

This sound does not occur in English, but is a common sound in German, where it is spelled ch (*machen*). In Mari, it occurs only in Russian loan words.

/χor/

choir

/kolχoz/

kolkhoz

/ceχ/

work hall

15. j: palatal approximant, like English y (yard)

/jot/

foreign

/sajlaš/

to elect

/jön/

method

/ojgo/

grief

/jer/

lake

/pajrem/

holiday

/pojan/

rich

/βuj/

head

/kajaš/

to go

/saj/

good

/püja/

dam

/toj/

brass, bronze

16. c: voiceless alveolar affricate, like English ts (cats)

This sound occurs primarily in loan words.

/ceχ/

work hall

/raci**o**n/

ration

/molod'**ec**/

well done!

/ak**ce**nt/

accent

17. č̣: voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate, similar to English ch (**church**)

/č̣ân/	true	/monč̣a/	bathhouse, sauna
/č̣on/	soul	/küdârč̣ö/	thunder
/č̣âβe/	chicken	/tič̣maš/	whole
/ač̣a/	father	/lač̣/	exactly
/č̣üč̣ü/	(maternal) uncle	/küč̣/	finger nail
/koč̣o/	bitter	/küšâč̣/	from above

18. m: bilabial nasal, like English m (man)

/mo/

what

/im^hne/

horse

/m^haj/

I

/omsa/

door

/m^hukš/

bee

/olma/

apple

/omo/

sleep; dream

/id^ham/

threshing floor

/jumo/

god

/tam/

flavor

/tumo/

oak

/em/

medicine

19. n: alveolar nasal, like English n (no)

/ner/

nose

/janda/

glass

/nare/

roughly

/tumna/

owl

/nele/

heavy; difficult

/sösna/

pig

/tenij/

this year

/čon/

soul

/tarβanaš/

to move

/tagan/

heel

/dene/

with

/ijan/

icy

20. *ń*: palatal nasal, like English ny (canyon)

/ńimo/

nothing

/imńe/

horse

/ńemâć/

German

/arńa/

week

/ńustâk/

sullen

/kürtńö/

iron

/tüńa/

world

/pütâń/

all, everything

/βâńer/

canvas

/kutâń/

along

/mâńar/

how many

/sugâń/

blessing

21. ŋ: velar nasal, like English ng (song)

This sound does not occur in the first position.

		/p oŋ go/	mushroom
		/š oŋ šo/	hedgehog
		/j eŋ ga/	sister-in-law
/o ŋ a/	board	/č aŋ /	bell
/š âŋ a/	mosquito	/o ŋ /	breast
/e ŋ er/	river	/j eŋ /	person

It is important to note the difference between /ŋ/ and the sound combination /ŋg/.

/β eŋ e/	son-in-law	/m eŋ ge /	column
/č aŋ a/	jackdaw	/k oŋ ga/	oven, stove
/o ŋ a/	board	/š oŋ go/	old

22. l: alveolar lateral approximant, like English l (like)

/leβe/

warm

/kumlo/

thirty

/lač̣̌/

exactly

/polšaṣ̌̌/

to help

/lupṣ̌̌/

whip

/süzlö/

awl

/kolo/

twenty

/el/

land

/nele/

difficult

/nêl/

four

/ilaṣ̌̌/

to live

/kol/

fish

23. l': palatal lateral approximant

This sound is found in Italian, where it is denoted by *gl* (*figlio*). It also occurs sporadically in some variants of English, for example in the word *million*.

/l'uβâk/	messy (person)	/pâr'l'a/	together
/l'ârgaš/	to giggle	/βâr'l'aŋge/	wagtail
/l'apkaš/	to chatter	/pügâ'l'mö/	cone
/šül'ö/	oat	/mugâ'l'/	scornfully
/kogâ'l'o/	pie	/kul'/	bast sack
/šol'o/	(younger) brother	/cel'/	target

24. r: alveolar trill

The Mari r is equivalent to the r found in continental European languages (e.g., Italian, Russian) and not to the English r.

/ruaš/

dough

/erge/

son

/rodo/

relative

/arña/

week

/rüdö/

center

/jorlo/

poor

/aru/

clean

/jer/

lake

/örêš/

moustache

/βür/

blood

/jöra/

good, fine

/eŋer/

river

Sound Inventory: Vowels (UPA)

	Front		Central		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	i	ü				u
Mid	e	ö	ə		ê	o
Open	ä				a	

Just Hill Mari

1. i: close unrounded front vowel

Like i in German or Latin, or English ea in *easy*.

/nine/

these

/indeš/

nine

/pij/

dog

/nij/

bast

/pire/

wolf

/imne/

horse

/ige/

animal young

/igeće/

weather

/izi/

small

/βij/

power

/ilâš/

life

/ik/

one

2. u: close rounded back vowel

Like u in German or Latin, or English oo in *moon*.

/tudo/	(s)he	/aru/	clean
/nuno/	they	/kugu/	big
/βuj/	head	/pasu/	field
/ulaš/	to be	/užoš/	part
/tušto/	there	/usta/	skilled
/uke/	no; none	/ušem/	union

3. ü: close rounded front vowel

This sound does not occur in English, but is common in German, where it is denoted by ü (*müde*), and in French, where it is denoted by u (*tu*).

/üp/	hair	/üdâr/	daughter; girl
/tür/	edge	/ümêl/	shadow
/küzö/	knife	/üβö/	willow
/kütü/	herd	/kü/	stone
/üj/	butter	/küeštaš/	to bake
/müj/	honey	/küčâk/	short

4. a: open unrounded back vowel

Like a in German or Latin, or English a in *father*.

/ak/	price	/joč a /	child
/aβ a /	mother	/saj/	good
/t au /	thank you	/pas u /	field
/ul am /	I am	/paš a /	work
/oŋ aj /	interesting	/ij an /	icy
/jed a /	every	/žap/	time

5. o: mid rounded back vowel

Like o in German or Latin, or English o in *more*. Note the reduction of this sound in word-final position when not stressed – see points 4 (page 37) and 6 (page 39) of this introduction.

/mo/

what

/molo/

other

/koka/

aunt

/oto/

grove

/βož/

root

/korno/

path

/jot/

foreign

/tušto/

there

/βošt/

through

/kolo/

twenty

/joŋež/

bow (weapon)

/šošo/

spring

6. e: mid unrounded front vowel

Like e in German or Latin, or English e in *end*. Note the reduction of this sound in word-final position when not stressed – see points 4 (page 37) and 6 (page 39) of this introduction.

/ere/ always

/me/ we

/eŋer/ river

/ner/ nose

/teŋge/ ruble

/kue/ birch

/tele/ winter

/keće/ sun; day

/erge/ son

/imńe/ horse

/tâlze/ moon; month

/nele/ heavy; difficult

7. ö: mid rounded front vowel

This sound does not occur in English, but is common in German, where it is denoted by ö (*möglich*), and in French, where it is denoted by eu (*peur*). Note the reduction of this sound in word-final position when not stressed – see points 4 (page 37) and 6 (page 39) of this introduction.

/pört/

house

/jösö/

difficult

/örš/

bullfinch

/körgö/

insides

/kö/

who

/βül'ö/

mare

/jön/

method

/rüdö/

center

/sösna/

pig

/šüdö/

hundred

/jöra/

good, fine

/küzö/

knife

8. ê: mid unrounded central vowel

This reduced vowel is pronounced similarly to the English reduced vowel that is denoted in different ways (*alone, lemon, heaven*).

/t^hêlze/

moon; month

/er^hêk/

freedom

/tun^hêkt^hêšo/

teacher

/êl'e/

was

/êr/

kopeck

/ječ^hêze/

skier

/k^hêzêt/

now

/p^hêlêš/

ear

/m^hêjêh/

my

/jêr/

around

/tê/

this

/omêdêh^hmêlêk/

insomnia

Phonology

- No distinctive vowel length; geminate consonants only at morpheme boundary
- Reduced vowels:
 - *курык* /kurêk/ ‘hill, mountain’
 - *олык* /olêk/ ‘meadow’
 - *туныктышо* /tunêktêšoê/ ‘teacher’
 - *пöртыштö* /pörtêštöê/ ‘in the house’
 - *йылымдымылыкыштыже* /jêlmêdêmlêkêštêžê/ ‘in her/his aphasia (lit. tonguelessness)’

Phonology

- NO first syllable stress
 - Meadow Mari: last full vowel (usually) stressed (if there is one) :
 - *йолта•ш* /jolta•š/ ‘friend’
 - *пеледе•ш* /pelede•š/ ‘it blossoms’
 - *пеле•дын* /pele•dân/ ‘it blossomed’
 - *йы•лмыдымылыкыштыже* /jâ•lmêdêmlêkâštêže^ê/ ‘in her/his aphasia (lit. tonguelessness)’
 - Hill Mari: penultimate syllable (usually) stressed

Spirants

Finnish	Mari (M ~ H)	Hungarian	
syli 'fathom'	šülő ~ šəl 'fathom'	_öl 'fathom'	< Ur. *süli (*süle)
sata '100'	šüdö ~ šüdə '100'	száz '100'	< ?Fiu. *śata < Indoir. *śata-m (< leur. *k'ṃtó-m)
hihna 'strap'	šüštö ~ šəštə 'leather'	-	< Balt., cf. Lit. šikšnà

Spirants

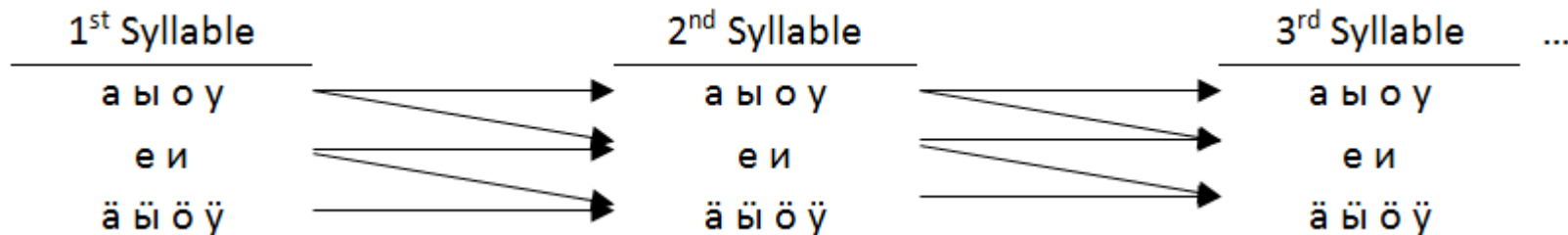
- *шошо* /šošo^{ə̂}/ ‘spring’
- *шүшпык* /šüšpâk/ ‘nightingale’
- *ыштышт* /âštâšt/ ‘they should do’
- *шымше* /šâmše^{ə̂}/ ‘seventh’
- [...]

Vowel Harmony

- In Meadow and Eastern Mari:
 - “Originally” only suffixal vowel harmony: illabial (/ -e/) vs. labial (/ -o/ & / -ö/), for labial vowels also velar (/ -o/) vs. palatal (/ -ö/). E.g. inessive -(ы)шт(e/o/ö):
 - эл /el/ ‘land’ → элыштe /elâšt^e/ ‘in the land’
 - школ /škol/ ‘school’ → школыштo /školâšt^o/ ‘in the school’
 - пöрт /pört/ ‘house’ → пöртыштö /pörtâšt^ö/ ‘in the house’
 - Unstressed vowels are reduced (→ centralized); extent depends on dialect
 - элыштe /elâšt^e/ → /elâšt^{e̞}/ → /elâšt^{ə̞}/
 - школыштo /školâšt^o/ → /školâšt^{o̞}/ → /školâšt^{ə̞}/
 - пöртыштö /pörtâšt^ö/ → /pörtâšt^{ö̞}/ → /pörtâšt^{ə̞}/
 - Under Turkic influence development of illabial ~ labial vowel harmony within stems (orthographically unmarked):
 - корем /korem/ ‘ravine’ ~ пöлем /pøløm/ ‘room’
 - !! ер дек /jer dek/ ‘to the lake’ ~ кÿтÿ дек /kyty døk/ ‘to the herd’

Vowel Harmony

- In Hill Mari:
 - Palato-velar vowel harmony:
 - *толаш* /tolaš/ ‘to come’
 - *пäläш* /päläš/ ‘to know’
 - “Palatal attraction”: /e/ and /i/ can occur after velar vowels, but then vowels that follow them are palatal: *кужикä* /kužikä/ ‘somewhat long’, but **күжика* /küžika/.



Case

	Meadow Mari	Hill Mari
Nominative	∅	∅
Genitive	-(â)n	-(ə)n
Accusative	-(ʔ)m	-(ə)m
Dative	-lan	-lAn
Lative	-eš	-eš
Illative	-(â)š(kE ^â)	-(bl)š(kə)
Inessive	-(â)štE	-(ə)štə
Comparative	-la	-lA (< Chuvash!)
Comitative	-Ge	-Ge
Caritative	-	-De

Vowel harmonic alternation:

E: e ~ o ~ ö

G: ɣ ~ k

D: δ ~ t

ə: ə ~ â

A: a ~ ä

Case?

- E.g. Postposition *ɔek* /dek ~ tek/ ‘to’:
 - Assimilation and vowel harmony across orthographic word boundary:
 - *ep ɔek* /jer dek/ ‘to the lake’
 - *ep-βlak ɔek* /jer-βlak tek/ ‘to the lakes’
 - Eastern Mari *kytjy ɔek* /kyty dɔk/ ‘to the herd’
 - Idiosyncratic forms when connected to personal pronouns:
 - *myj dekem* /mâj dekem/ (I.NOM to.PX1SG) ‘to me’
 - *tudyn ɔek* /tudân dek/ (s/he.GEN to) ‘to her/him’

„Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax.“

– Talmy (Thomas) Givón

Number

- No dual
- Multiple nominal plural suffixes in dialectal and functional distribution:
 - *кече* /keće/ ‘day’ > *кече-влак* /keće-βlak/ ~ *кече-шамыч* /keće-šamêč/ ‘days’
 - *ола* /ola/ ‘city’ > *олалаште* /olalašte/ ‘in the cities’ (short form, primarily with local cases and postpositions)
 - *ава* /aβa/ ‘mother’ > *авамыт* /aβamêt/ ‘mother and her friends/family’ (associative plural)
- Order of number suffix (**Nx**) and possessive suffix (**Px**) can vary:
 - *мут-влакэм* /mut-βlakem/ ~ *мутем-влак* /mutem-βlak/ ‘my words’

Possessive Suffixes

чон 'soul' >

	Sg		Pl
1	чонем /čonem/	чонна	/čonna/
2	чонет /čonet/	чонда	/čonda/
3	чонжо /čonžo/	чонышт	/čonâšt/

Possessive Suffixes

Px + Cx: чонем /čonem/ 'my soul' >

Nominative:	чонем	/čonem/	
Genitive:	чонемын	/čonemân/	
Accusative:	чонемым	/čonemâm/	
Dative:	чонемлан	/čonemlan/	~ чонланем /čonlanem/
Lative:	чонешем	/čonešem/	
Illative:	чонышкем	/čonêškem/	
Inessive:	чоныштем	/čonêštem/	
Comparative:	чонемла	/čonemla/	~ чонлам /čonlam/
Comitative:	чонемге	/čonemɣe/	

Possessive Suffixes

- Secondary (?) usages:

- 1SG & 3SG: Vocative (for some kinship terms)

- *үдырем* /*üdêrem*/ '(my) daughter'

- *ачаже* /*ačaže*/ (used by women to address their husbands – literally 'her/his father')

- 2SG & 3SG: Determining / Reference tracking

paša-na-že

uda-n

kaj-a

work-PX1PL-PX3SG

bad-ADV

go-3SG

'our work isn't going well'

- 3SG & 3PL: '... of them'

- *иктыже* /*iktêže*/ ... *весаже* /*βesêže*/ 'the one ... the other' (one-PX3SG ... other-PX3SG)

- *южышт* /*južêšt*/ 'some of them' (some-PX3PL)

Tense

- Present (also future), simple past tenses I & II, compound past tenses I–IV
- tüŋal- ‘to begin’:
 - kutâr-aš tüŋal-am
 - speak-INF begin-PRS.1SG
 - ‘I will speak’

Tense

tol- 'to come' >

	Present	Simple past I	Simple past II	Compound past tense I	Compound past tense II	Compound past tense III	Compound past tense IV
1SG	tolam	tol'âm	tolânam	tolam ê'ê	tolam ulmaš	tolânam ê'ê	tolânam ulmaš
2SG	tolat	tol'êč	tolênat	tolat ê'ê	tolat ulmaš	tolênat ê'ê	tolênat ulmaš
3SG	toleš	tol'o	tolên	toleš ê'ê	toleš ulmaš	tolên ê'ê	tolên ulmaš
1PI	tolêna	tolna	tolênna	tolêna ê'ê	tolêna ulmaš	tolênna ê'ê	tolênna ulmaš
2PI	tolêda	tolda	tolênda	tolêda ê'ê	tolêda ulmaš	tolênda ê'ê	tolênda ulmaš
3PI	tolêt	tol'êč	tolênêt	tolêt ê'ê	tolêt ulmaš	tolênêt ê'ê	tolênêt ulmaš

ê'ê 'was' (simple past I), ulmaš (simple past II)

Tenses

- Simple past tenses:

I	II
“immediate observations of happenings or actions”	“non-witnessed past”
“great vivacity”, “clarity”	“long-lasting activity”, “may correspond to the imperfective aspect in Russian”
“rapidly occurring and rapidly completed activity”	
“to indicate activities that occur in succession”	“the result of activities completed in the past”, with the effects of said activity persisting to the moment of speech in some, but not all, cases
“on occasion indicate long-lasting activities that have, however, been completed by the moment of speech”	
“such an activity that occurred recently, in close proximity to the moment of speech”	“an action that happened long ago”

Tense

- Compound past tenses:

	... êl'e 'was' (in simple past I)	... ulmaš 'was' (in simple past II)
Present (tolat 'you come') + ...	I: tolat êl'e 'you used to come'	II: tolat ulmaš 'it turns out you used to come'
Simple past II (tolênat 'you came') + ...	III: tolênat êl'e 'you were coming'	IV: tolênat ulmaš 'it turns out you were coming'

Mood

- Indicative
- Imperative (not in 1SG)
- Desiderative (in -не /-ne/): *толне* /tolne/ ‘I want to come’
- Various periphrastic modal constructions, e.g.:

koč-m-em

eat-PTCP.PASS-PX1SG

‘I don’t want to eat’ (lit. ‘My eaten does not arrive’)

šu-eš

arrive-PRS.3SG

Non-Finite Verbal Forms

	Suffix	pale- 'to know'
Infinitive	-aš	palaš 'to know'
Necessitive infinitive	-man	palâman '... must know'
Active participle	-šE	palâše 'knowing' (used adjectivally)
Passive participle	-mE	palâme 'known'
Future-necessitive participle	-šaš	palâšaš 'to be known'
Negative participle	-DâmE	palâdâme 'unknowing; unknown'
Affirmative instructive gerund	-ân / -en	palen 'knowing' (used adverbially)
Negative gerund	-De	palâde 'without knowing'
Gerund of prior action	-mek(e)	palâmek(e) 'after knowing'
Gerund of future action	-meš(ke)	palâmeš(ke) 'before knowing'
Gerund of simultaneous action	-šêla	palâsêla 'while knowing'
Nominalization	-maš	palâmaš 'knowing'
Negative nominalization	-Dâmaš	palâdâmaš 'not knowing'

Converb Constructions

‘Лучо вашкерак иктым темен пу, йӱын колтем, иезуит-влак манмыла, ad majorem dei gloriam.’

lučo	βaške	-rak	iktâ	-m
better	quick	-COMP	one	-ACC
adv	adv	-deg	nm	-case

tem	-en	pu	-∅,
fill	-CVB	give	-IMP.2SG
v	-adv	v	-mood.pers

jü	-ân	kolt	-em,
drink	-CVB	let.go	-1SG
v	-adv	v	-pers

ijezuit	-βlak	man	-mâ	-la,	ad	majorem	dei	gloriam.
Jesuit	-PL	say	-PTCP.PASS	-COMP	***			
n	-num	v	-adj	-case	***			

‘Better fill one up for me (lit. filling give) quickly; I’ll drink it down (lit. drinking send), as the Jesuits say, ad majorem dei gloriam.’

The Mari Summer School

Summer School of the Mari Language and Culture

(Yoshkar-Ola, 7–27 July 2014)

„Mari State University is happy to announce annual **Summer School of Mari Language and Culture** organized in Yoshkar-Ola – the capital of the Mari El Republic. In 2014 for the first time the Summer School of the Mari Language and Culture will run for two weeks in Yoshkar-Ola, the Mari El Republic, and for one week in the Mari village, the Republic of Bashkortostan.“

Пеш кугу тау!

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