Grammaticalization and the genesis of adpositions

Grammaticalization is the constant process of generating grammatical categories or, in a narrower sense, the process of changing lexical units into grammatical ones. It is part of the natural system of language – a lexical morpheme acquires the status of a grammatical morpheme. There occurs a process of generalized semantic opposition and its realization. Grammar shapes standard means for the expression and association of generalized meanings (Metslang 1994: 13), thus, forms that express new grammatical meanings come into existence. Grammaticalization is regarded as a universal process in the world’s languages, which can be associated with various grammatical functions (Heine, Claudi, Hünnefeld 1991: 2).

The formation of adpositions and adposition-based case endings has been regarded as a universal example of grammaticalization. New adpositions develop mainly in two ways – from substantives and verbs (e.g. Heine, Claudi, Hünnefeld 1991). The Estonian adpositions are mostly fossilized locative forms. According to Lehmann, the genesis of adpositions goes through the following process: relational substantive → secondary adposition → primary adposition → agglutinative affix → fusional affix (Lehmann 1985: 304). Estonian adpositions originated from substantives with varying degrees of abstraction, more rarely from other parts of speech, e.g. verbs (hoolimata ‘despite’ and vaatamata ‘despite’).

Grammaticalization has often been regarded as an opposite to lexicalization. In the first case a word is subject to semantic change and moves from an open class to a closed class; in the
second case the direction of the development is opposite – some word form acquires a new meaning, thus leaving the inflectional paradigm of a full word. It is also possible to regard these phenomena as interrelated to each other and to claim that each semantic change towards more abstract content need not be directly related to grammaticalization. It is especially noticeable in those chains where an adverb serves as an intermediate step between the genesis of a postposition and its spread. At first the inflectional form of the noun gives rise to a lexical unit with a new meaning, which acquires a new grammatical function only after an extension into a certain syntactic environment.

Tiina Onikki, too, draws attention to this development in her article about locative expressions of state. She treats lexicalization and grammaticalization as different parts of the same development chain (spiral). On the one hand, a productive inflectional form is lexicalized and creates set phrases with specific meanings, on the other hand, the morphosyntactic and semantic pattern of a new expression type is born, which can be interpreted as an independent grammatical category. The new construction is generalized on the basis of analogy according to the pattern created by individual innovations (Onikki 1997).

It is likely that the purpose of the process may be important. In case new grammatical morphemes are born on the basis of productive rules, it is grammaticalization. By contrast, lexicalization implies the genesis of independent lexical units. Both processes trigger semantic and phonological simplification, and both may originate from the same source. Thus the crucial difference between these processes does not lie in their basic forms or in the occurring developments but in the final destination, which is either grammar or lexicon (Diewald 1997: 73).

Grammaticalization is a diachronic process – a logical chain with links that follow each other in time. However, at the same moment in a language there may exist usages of previous and following stages. Therefore, the grammaticalization theory enables us to explain both the diachronic development of the meaning and function of a grammatical device as well as synchronic variation (Metslang 1997: 228).
It is generally agreed that the grammaticalization process is launched by semantic change. The meaning of a linguistic element acquires a new interpretation in a certain context (reanalysis), which means positioning itself into new structures (restructuring). The subsequent generalization and spread brings about a change in the linguistic system. It is the context, which in a narrower sense could be defined as a certain linguistic construction, which causes the reanalysis of the linguistic elements. The change may originate from a certain combination. It has also been thought that metaphoric and metonymic (i.e. figurative) uses are the central forces that trigger grammaticalization processes (Laitinen, Lehtinen 1997: 12–13). First and foremost reanalysis has been regarded as the mechanism that launches the change. As a result, the semantic, syntactic, or morphological usage norm of the word that is involved in the process undergoes a change. Analogy changes only the external usage, whereby the norm spreads either in the linguistic system or in the speech community (Hopper, Traugott 1993: 32).

In the course of the grammaticalization of substantive forms, extension of meaning of a substantive in a locative case usually adds a grammatical function, which is similar to the function of typical locative cases, although it takes an analytic form. Such a construction fulfils grammatical functions in morphosyntactic structures. The typological study of various languages has revealed a number of general tendencies in grammaticalization. Thus, the meanings that are important from the cognitive or social point of view tend to undergo grammaticalization. Location or space is a domain that is regarded as the first step towards grammaticalization; it is followed by temporal and manner relations, which have a more abstract character. A functional gap may be absent in the location where a new grammatical means is born. A word will be more bound than before both paradigmatically and syntagmatically, it will place itself in a more clear-cut morphosyntactic paradigm with fewer members while the word’s syntactic flexibility and independence will decrease. The meaning will become more specific – the form that removed itself from the paradigm of a full declinable word will acquire an
individual meaning that has usually a more general meaning than the base word.

The Finnish linguist Esa Itkonen in his article on the concept of grammaticalization supports the analogy-based theory of grammaticalization and language change. In his words nothing comes into existence from nowhere, and it is impossible to imagine that language could change fully independently of its structure. Thus, the rudiments of structural change are present in the structure itself (Itkonen 1998: 34).

Any existing adposition may provide the pattern of a new adposition, which means that once the grammaticalization process has started, analogy will guide the development of new (metaphoric) meanings and the new grammatical function. The users will perceive reanalysis (restructuring) only after the change is generalized, and the new construction type will increasingly begin to manifest itself (Ojutkangas 1998: 69).

On typology

From the point of view of morphological typology, Estonian, Livonian, and Lapp form an exceptional group among Finno-Ugric languages with a higher degree of inflection, which is accompanied by higher analyticity, which is a sign of an isolating language as the next stage (Metslang 1994: 10). Estonian is rich in postpositions – the use of postpositions has been regarded as a Finno-Ugric feature in Estonian, which contrasts with Indo-European languages that use mostly prepositions. In the diachronic perspective adpositions form an open class, where new members are added by analogy with the existing adpositions. Adpositions overlap to some extent with substantives; most Estonian adpositions originated from the case-marked forms of substantives. They also overlap with adverbs – the same word may occur as an adverb or an adposition depending on whether it occurs alone or with a noun, cf. *ta seisab kõrval* ‘he is standing next’ and *ta seisab minu kõrval* ‘he is standing next to me’

Estonian grammar defines the adposition as an uninflected word, which belongs to the substantive in the sentence and adds roughly similar meanings as case markers. However, the meaning of adpositions is more specific and clearer than that of case forms
(e.g. EKG 1995: 33–34) because the semantics of adpositions has retained part of the meaning of the originally full noun.

A prototypical adposition is not independent syntactically and semantically, but it forms an adpositional phrase together with the noun. After the omission of a genitival or partitive noun the expression is syntactically and semantically unacceptable. The more prototypical the adposition, the more fossilized is its form and the more distinguishable it is from the base word (Jaakola 1997: 123).

During its initial period Written Estonian was for a long time in the sphere of strong German influence, which is manifested also in several adpositional constructions under discussion. It is understandable that in the earlier translation tradition, where morpheme-to-morpheme translation was standard practice, it was easier to translate the German prepositional constructions into the Estonian postpositional constructions than to replace them by synthetic forms.

As German is typologically an inflecting and analytic language, but Estonian is mainly an agglutinating-inflecting language, then ‘adpositionalization’ that occurs in the old literary language could be partly explained by the impact of the grammar of a typologically different language. It is confirmed by a number of cases, where the German and Estonian nouns seem to have undergone a similar process of adpositionalization. Many German prepositions have also been derived from nouns. Example include anfangs ‘in the beginning of’, mittels ‘by means of’, kraft ‘by force of’, bezüglich ‘in regard to’ dank ‘thanks to’ laut ‘according to’ zeit ‘in the course of’ anstelle ‘in place of’ and aufgrund ‘on the basis of’ (Duden 1997: 226; Diewald 1997).

Diewald, who has studied the grammaticalization of some German prepositions, has emphasized that adpositions include elements with highly different degrees of grammaticalization (Diewald 1997: 65). This claim is also valid for Estonian at any moment.

From the point of view of language history the relations between the postposition and its head has in many cases developed from the relation between the nominative head and its
nominal attribute in the genitive (Laanest 1975: 192), e.g. *lapse kõrv* 'the child’s ear' – *lapse kõrval* ‘next to the child’

**The purpose and sources of the study**

The adposition as a part of speech includes material with a rather varying degree of grammaticalization. The present study proceeded from some adpositions, still in the initial phase of development, which caught my attention while studying Old Literary Estonian, and from the comitative case, the genesis of which can be observed on the basis of the survived texts of Written Estonian. Therefore, the following selection is semantically rather varied and uneven from the standpoint of the genetic process. However, it should nevertheless shed light on the development of adpositions and whether these processes have taken place in a typical manner or whether there is something unusual in them. At the same time the theory of grammaticalization enables us to clarify the distribution of adposition – to distinguish them on the basis of their degree of grammaticalization.

Ascribing parts-of-speech labels to Estonian words is often problematic because one has to take into account both morphological and syntactic criteria. It is especially difficult to distinguish adpositions from nouns because the former are often fossilized forms of the locative cases of the latter (it is a characteristic feature of Balto-Finnic languages), being at the same used as full words. Therefore, the present article focuses on some typical pairs of full words and functional words in Old Literary Estonian. An attempt will be made to characterize on the basis of individual examples the stages of adpositionalization from a full substantive into an adposition and the possible reasons, which the adpositions in Modern Estonian perhaps do not manifest anymore.

The study tries to characterize the earliest stage in the development of Written Estonian on the basis of examples from Old Literary Estonian. Its purpose is to establish regularities in the
adpositionalization of lexical words and to show on the basis of the development of some adpositions the typological impact of German, which shifted Estonian towards analyticity during the beginning period of Written Estonian. The study will focus on the analysis of adpositions that originated from individual nouns. Below we will deal only with problematic cases. We will not discuss the numerous adpositions had already reached the stage of primary adpositions by the period of Old Literary Estonian (e.g. alla ‘to under’ all ‘under, alt ‘from under’; sisse ‘into’ sees ‘inside’, seest ‘from inside’, or peale ‘onto’ peal ‘on’, pealt ‘from on’). It goes without saying that the grammatical competence of the modern language affects the choice and analysis.

We will proceed from the understanding that adpositionalization is a step-by-step and constant process that covers long time periods, whereas different words may be at a certain moment in different stages of this development. Figuratively speaking, they may be located in various places on a scale that begins with typical full words and ends with relational words that have acquired a generalized meaning and specific usage. The study proceeds from the widespread view that new grammatical devices arise at the cost of lexical words if the latter begin to be used in a certain environment. It is important that the use of the construction become automatic and formulaic, which creates the conditions for the extension of the use of the word into other analogic associations. An attempt will be made to show that the characteristic features of Estonian were largely present already in the texts of Old Literary Estonian that were written almost four centuries ago.

The material was collected from the oldest Estonian written texts. I worked through all the existing Estonian texts from the 16th century (Ehasalu et al 1997), the original manuscript of 39 sermons by Georg Müller (1600–1606), and two ecclesiastical books by Heinrich Stahl. The latter included Hand- vnd Haufbuches Für die Pfarherren/ vnd Haufväter Ehstnischen Fürstenthumbs .. (henceforth, HH), parts I–IV 1632–1638 and Leyen Spiegel (henceforth, LS), parts I–II 1641 and 1649. The examples are followed by the name of the source or its abbreviation and page number in brackets. In the case of the
sermons by Müller the first number refers to the number of the sermon and the second number to the page number; in the case of Hand- und Haufbuch the part number is provided, too.

As the material has mostly a translational character, then one might assume that the text that was written by Germans contains German-like constructions. The sermons by Müller include German-language passages and comments. The works by Stahl include parallel texts in Estonian and German, which is brought out in the examples. The direction of translation is not always unambiguously clear because there is some reason to think that the authors that wrote down Old Estonian used handwritten texts. Judging by Stahl’s sermons, it seems that in most cases, but not always, the translation proceeded from German. Thus the following overview reflects the earliest development stage of Literary Estonian over the course of about 150 years.

1. Noun → adposition
1.1. ase → asemele, asemel

In the case of this word group texts of Old Literary Estonian reveal a development from a full noun into an adposition. It seems that the corresponding German grammatical constructions may have affected the course of development. In most cases ase ‘place’ occurs as a noun (the German equivalents are Statt, Stette, Ort, and Raum), being used in a more general meaning of location, e.g.

\[
\text{Kuy tema woyra rachwa secka, nick wöira asemelle .. tulleb} \\
(\text{Müller 23/8})
\]

‘When he comes among a strange people and instead of a stranger’

\[
\text{Ummal istup sel keicke körgkembal assemel/} \\
\text{Gott sitzet an der höhesten Stät/} (\text{Stahl, LS, 147})
\]

‘The Lord is sitting in the highest place’

The frequent adessive form of this word with a relatively abstract meaning of location has become generalized and expresses a more abstract substitutional relation. In the following examples it is on its way towards adpositionalization, e.g.
Jesus Christus Iummal poick/ meije assemel on tulnut/
Jesus Christus Gottes Sohn/ an vnser statt ist kommen/ (Stahl, HH II, 36)
‘Jesus Christ, Son of God, has come in place of us’

The previous example sentence could be interpreted also in the literal sense “above us, to our place” If one follows in making a distinction between a full noun and structural adposition the principle that an adposition cannot have any extensions, then the previous examples are closer to nouns than to adpositions (the extensions can be suggested). They would be good examples to illustrate the beginning of transfer from one variety to the other. It is accompanied by the generalization of meaning — ase as a concrete place has become an abstract generalization. Judging by meaning, one could say that it is an intermediate step between a full word and an auxiliary word. The position of the word in the sentence is important, too — its position is next to the pro-substantive, which is a typical pattern of adpositionalization: the literal sense meie ase ‘our location’ → a frequent adessive form → extension of meaning → the construction genitival noun + asemel (adpositional construction).

However, the following examples reflect a further development of adpositionalization:

Sysz tullewat küll 10 willetzust se vche aszemel (Müller 25/5)
‘Then ten miseries will come instead of the one’

Eth nemmat mitte kahs tullewat sesinnase wallo assemel
Auff das sie nicht auch kommen an diesen ort der qual (Stahl, HH III, 93)
‘That they not also come instead of this pain’
eth se leickatusse assemel se pöha wedde ristminne on sissesehut/
weil anstat der Beschneidung die Heilige Wasser Tauffe eingesetzt ist/ (Stahl, LS, 114)
‘that instead of the surgery the baptism by holy water has been applied’

These examples reveal that the word ase does not refer to a place anymore; it is used to mark an abstract substitutional relation, whereas one can say the same about the German equivalent
sentences. It seems that in all the cases the adposition is in the stage of a secondary adposition. Secondary adpositions are mostly polysyllabic, they are semantically more complex, paradigmatically varied, and belong rather loosely to semantic fields. They are mostly used in association with a certain semantic domain (Diewald 1997).

1.2. hea → heaks

Already the oldest records of Literary Estonian reveal the fossilized translative form of the noun *hea*, which has passed into formulaic use (it can function both as an adjective and a substantive; the latter suits better for the present purpose). The previous noun, though, in the adessive in the text of a court oath that was written down around 1600, e.g.

\[ Se selgke n. Puchta töösiduse kellekil hehx eck kahjux, welja reckima tahhan \]
\[ (court oath, about 1600) \]
\[ ‘I wish to speak the clear pure truth for the benefit or to the detriment of someone’ \]

The previous example reflects the intermediate stage on the way to adpositionalization. The word form *heaks* ‘for the benefit of’ acts here already as the marker of the beneficiary role, but the case of the pronoun reserves the possibility to interpret *hea* and *kahju* still as independent nouns although it is a formulaic combination.

In the sermons by Müller *heaks* already occurs more extensively as an adposition (45 instances), mostly in the combinations *meie heaks* ‘for our benefit’ *minu heaks* ‘for my benefit’, and *sinu heaks* ‘for your benefit’ e.g.

\[ Ninck mea tæma teeb, se teeb tæma keick meddi heex \]
\[ (Müller 36/14) \]
\[ And what he does, he does everything for our benefit’ \]

The works by Stahl also reveal repeatedly *heaks* as an adposition, above all in connection with the personal pronouns *minu* ‘my’ *meie* ‘our’ *sinu* ‘your’, *teie* ‘your pl. *nende* ‘their’, and the relative pronoun *kelle* ‘whose’ (“Leyen Spiegel” and “Hand- vnd Haußbuch” include 59 such occurrences.) The combination of *heaks* and a noun is rarer, e.g.
Ananias mühs ommah se Risti Kogkodusse hehx/
Ananias verkaufte seine Güter/ der Christlichen Gemeine zu gut/ (Stahl, LS, 693)
‘Ananias sold his land for the benefit of the Christian congregation’
or
eth nende wagkada hehx keick peap sündima
Das den frommen muß alles zum besten dienen (Stahl, LS, 301)
‘that everything must happen for the benefit of the pious’

The German equivalents suggest that the Estonian construction may be a translation loan. The adpositionalization of the substantival hea clearly shows how the use of the construction can become automatic (with regard to pronouns) and extend to other associations as well (the association with nouns must have been a later development). The frequent use of certain fixed combinations is also conditioned by the specific nature of the content of the text, which proceeds from the figurative system of religious works.

1.3. kesk → kesk, keskel

The noun kesk, which was used in Older Estonian, has provided adpositions first and foremost on the basis of its locative forms. Of them keskele ‘into the middle of’ and keskel ‘in the middle of’ are widely used now as well, but the noun kesk is not known anymore. In the texts of the old literary language kesk is used as a noun in the compounds kesköö ‘midnight’ keskpaik ‘midsection’ and kesklõuna ‘midday’. However, its use as an adposition is much more widespread, e.g.

On tæma sen Taiwa siddes, kesck nende Englide (Müller 6/9)
‘He is in Heaven, among the angels’

It is noteworthy that in the sermons by Georg Müller the preposition kesk occurs in the nominative and not in the adessive, as sometime later in the works by Stahl. Judging by the existing written sources, the difference in grammatical usage reveals that the use of the fossilized adessive form as an adposition is a somewhat later development.
It is of interest to note that *keskel* occurs in the old literary language mostly as a preposition unlike the present-day postposition, which could characterize the earlier use of this adposition (cf. Finnish). However, the German language may have influenced the spread of this usage tradition in the older literary language. The use of *keskel* as a postposition, which is at present common, is rarer, e.g.

*Jesus comes, where the doors were locked, and steps among them*.

Here, too, one might suspect that the use of the adposition may have become fixed due to the German influence in the translation (cf. the German equivalent *mitten*), whereas the corresponding adverb seems have served as the intermediate stage in Estonian.

1.4. komme → kombel

It seems that the construction *adessive + kombel*, as well as the *genitive + kombel*, are the most widespread uses of the word *komme* ‘custom, habit’ both in the old as well as the contemporary literary language. The word *komme* occurs most commonly in the adessive, thus having been adpositionalized and expressing manner. Here, too, adpositionalization must have taken place because of frequent use and extension to the meaning of manner. The word *komme* is, in fact, an abstract noun that does not allow any substantial transfer of meaning. Therefore, in many cases one cannot claim for sure that it is a fully grammaticalized word. Most contexts allow interpreting this form also in the nominal sense that denotes manner. Only some examples indicate that during the
The noun *komme* is absent in the oldest Estonian-language sources. However, two instances of the word as adpositions in formulaic combinations were attested – *se kombel* ‘in this manner’ (Awerbach 1589) and *kahjolickul kombel* ‘in a harmful manner’ (cort oath, 1600). In the sermons by Müller, too, the adpositionalizing adessive *kombel* occurs more frequently (164 instances) than any other form. In most instances *kombel* still agrees with the preceding word and forms such collocational pairs as *sel kombel* ‘in this way’, *mõnesarnasel kombel* ‘in some way’ *imetabasel kombel* ‘miraculously’ and *mingsarnasel kombel* ‘somehow’. According to the modern grammatical tradition, one cannot regard them as adpositions as yet, but they could have provided the basis for the automatic use of this form.

In the texts by Heinrich Stahl, too, the most frequent construction is *adessive + kombel*. It forms constructions that resemble fixed phrases, but there is no adpositionalization as yet, e.g.

*Eth nühdt/ armas welli/ sel sammal kombel se Kurrat sünno wasto tousnut/ ninck perrenkiusamisse töstnut on/Wann dann nun/ lieber Bruder/ gleiches falls der Teuffel wider dich sich gesetzt vnd Verfolgung erreget hat/ (Stahl, HH IV 212)*

‘that now, dear brother, the Devil may have risen against you in the same way and started to persecute you’

The following examples show more clearly that *kombel* was undergoing adpositionalization by the first half of the 17th century evidently by analogy with the above-mentioned fixed phrases:

*Nente kolme eszimesze Versi siddes tuñistame meye kaib-misze kombel, meddy suhre hedda* (Müller 20/1)

‘In the three first verses we witness our great misery in the manner of a complaint’

*Se pahharet omma kawwalusse kahs/ Mördri kombel pimmedusses hulckup/ Der Teuffel gern mit seiner List/ als Mörder pflegen/ im finstern ist* (Stahl, HH III, 245)
'This Devil with its cunning lurks in darkness like a murderer'

In the previous example *kombel* has been rendered in the German text by means of the comparative conjunction *als*. This suggests that the person who wrote down the text were familiar with the corresponding grammatical construction in Estonian. Otherwise they would have translated it literally.

Generally speaking, the German equivalents to the constructions including the word *kombel*, such as *eben also, gleich also, desselbigen gleichen, dessgleichen*, indicate that an attempt was made to render a relationship that is expressed by non-inflectional words.

1.5. *kõrv* → *kõrval*

The noun *kõrv* ‘ear’ which denotes a body part, has contributed the auxiliary words *kõrvale* ‘to next to’, *kõrval* ‘next to’ and *kõrvalt* ‘from next to’ to literary Estonian. The words are absent in texts dating from the 16th century. However, the first half of the 17th century already reveals some uses of *kõrval*. The sermons by Georg Müller reveal two instances where it occurs as an adposition, e.g.

*waidt syszkit keub se Issa oma Lapse kõrwal* (Müller 29/5).

‘but Father nevertheless walks next to his child’

This adposition is rather rare also in the books by Heinrich Stahl, e.g.

*erranis oppewat temma kõrwal muhdt töiset wöhrat Teedt* (Stahl, LS, 588)

‘especially others learn the way beside him’

The preposition in the German equivalent sentence indicates that *kõrval* must have taken root as an auxiliary in Estonian, and it has not been made up in the course of translation. Its rare use may have been caused by the fact that the German authors who wrote down the Estonian language may have not been familiar with some words known in popular language. Therefore, they may have substituted such words by constructions that were less known in Estonian.
1.6. käsi → kätte, käes, käest

It is likely that the internal locative case forms of the noun käsi 'hand, arm' moved away from the paradigm due to the reinforcing influence of figurative expressions (Kristuse käest midagi saama 'to receive something from Christ' oma käest verd andma 'to donate one's own blood') These forms express ownership in more general terms transfer into the ownership of someone (kätte 'lit. into the hand'), being in the ownership of someone (käes 'lit. in the hand'), and transfer from the ownership of someone (käest 'lit. from the hand'). Judging by the texts of the older literary language kätte had not fully adpositionalized as yet. According to Lehmann, these would be secondary adpositions, which are semantically transparent, only to some extent more abstract than the base word and appropriate only in a semantic field that is associated with possessiveness. The older literary language reveals some contexts, where the word has moved away from the original meaning, but the link with the meaning of the noun is still existent, e.g.

ninck namat ninda nente Korgke pappide kette ülleandnuth (Müller 20/73)
'and they had thus handed it over to the high priests'

Genitive+kätte occurs here in a typical position of the adposition as a dependent extension of the verb üle andma 'to hand over', and the context enables us to conclude a more general transfer to ownership.

The sermons by Müller reveal seven instances where käes has undergone adpositionalization, e.g.

Sesama Aick (A.R.) on io niith parrahelliis meddy käes (Müller 9/3)
'The same time is now in our hands'

The figurative expression aeg on käes 'time is at hand' clearly indicates moving away from the original meaning of the body part and the beginning of grammaticalization. By the way it points to the fact that the transfer has been extensive, involving time as
a very abstract category. The adpositional use is confirmed by the insertion of the genitival personal pronoun meie ‘our’.

The works by Heinrich Stahl also reveal that the figurative mode of expression that is characteristic of church language may have contributed to the generalization of the case forms of käsi, e.g.

*Surm/ Patt/ Kurrat/ Pörgkohaud/ Ello/ ninck Arm/ keick Iesusse Keddes on Tod/ Sünd/ Teuffel/ Hell/ leben/ vnd Gnad/ alles Iesus in Händen hat* (Stahl, LS, 411)

‘Death, sin, devil, Hell, life and grace, everything is in the hands of Jesus’

The figurative generalization has led the body part in the state of an adposition that expresses ownership. In this case both German and Estonian have followed the same logic.

There are five instances of the adpositional käest in the sermons by Müller, where it expresses a relation of generalized ownership, e.g.

*tahab se Kuüninga Rickus sinu Kædest errawotta* (Müller 15/48)

‘he wants to take the kingdom away from you’

In the previous example *genitive + käest* is a dependent extension of the verb ära võtma ‘to take away’

It seems that the semantic generalization of the forms of käsi may have been reinforced by the corresponding figurative constructions in German. It is especially noticeable in the case of the adposition käest, where most contexts in the old literary language are ambiguous, i.e. käsi ‘hand, arm’ can be interpreted as a noun as well, e.g.

*Ollemme meije se heh sahnut/ sest Issanda kehjest/
Haben wir das gute empfangen von der Hand deß Herren* (Stahl, HH II, 165)

‘We have received the good from the Lord’

Here we can see a constructional translation equivalent in Estonian, where käest is nevertheless manifested in the
generalized meaning. The impact of the German-language construction could be seen in the following example as well:

\[
\text{eth keddakit meid sest Iummala Armust erralahutama/ echk Christusse kehjest errakisckma sahp} \\
dz vns nichtes von der Liebe Gottes scheiden/ noch jemand \textbf{auß Christi Händen reissen werde} (\text{Stahl, LS, 553})
\]

‘that someone will separate us from God’s Grace or tear us away from the hand of Christ’

When we examine the preceding set of words, we can see that \textit{kätte} offers the largest number of clear instances of adpositionalization. There are fewer examples of the adpositions \textit{käes} and \textit{käest}. At the same time, in contemporary Estonian the entire group of adpositions has not reached beyond the stage of secondary adpositions. One could possibly explain it by the fact that the noun \textit{käsi} ‘hand, arm’ is frequently used as a full word. However, in order to reach the stage of a primary adposition, the relationship must fade, and the meaning must become opaque with regard to the base word.

1.7. naga → najal

Of this chain, the substantive \textit{naga} was not used in the sense ‘support’ anymore in the texts of the older literary language. However, there was a single occurrence of the adposition \textit{najal} ‘against, on’ in the catechism by Wanradt-Koell:

\[
\text{Sedda piddat teye tegkeme minu najal} \\
\text{‘You are supposed to do it with my help’}
\]

Unfortunately, the two last letters of \textit{najal} in this example sentence have perished together with a page in the book and have been reconstructed later. Therefore, we cannot fully confirm its actual use.

1.8. nimi → nimel

The noun \textit{nimi} ‘name’ is rather common in texts of the older literary language while there are also a number of fossilized multi-word constructions, such as \textit{nime juures} ‘by (one’s) name’ \textit{nime
sees 'in (your) name' nime pärast 'because of (your) name' and nime sisse 'into the name' This frequently used noun witnessed at the beginning of the literary language the grammaticalization of its adessive form nimel in the construction genitive+ nimel 'in the name of, on behalf of' which occurs mostly in the collocation Jumala nimel 'in the name of the Lord' e.g.

Sesama taha meye nuith kz Jumala Nymel teha (Müller 13/22)

'Now we want to do the same in the name of the Lord'

The genesis of this adposition could be reinforced by the German-language biblical expression because in the older literary language nimel occurs mostly in the combinations Jumala nimel 'in the name of God' or isa, poja ning püha vaimu nimel 'in the name of Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit' e.g.

ninck Ristket nemmat/ se Issa/ se Poja/ ninck se põha Waimo nimmel
Vnd Täuffet sie im Namen des Vaters/ vnd des Sohns/ vnd deß heiligen Geistes/ (Stahl, HH I, 40)

'and christen them in the name of Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit'

Later nimel may have extended by analogy from similar contexts to other constructions. The German equivalent im Namen is a sign of a possible translation loan.

1.9. pool → poole, pool, poolt; poolest

The word pool 'half; side' occurs in the oldest literary language as a noun in the fossilized combinations kõiges pooles 'everywhere' kõigest poolest 'from everywhere', and omalt poolelt 'on my behalf' The first occurrence of poole can be found in the catechism by Wanradt-Koell of 1535, e.g.

eth meye se Sacrament wöyme önsast medy pole wotta

'that we can take a half of the Sacrament'

Such an adpositional use of poole is quite expected. It must have developed from the nominal construction meie pool 'our side' Such combination-like uses are common also in the sermons by
Müller, where poole occurs most frequently in the phrase end kellegi poole käänama or pöörama ‘to turn onself in someone’s direction’ e.g.

Iss: Iumall mina ollen üx Pattune Inimene, ninck tahan hend helmelell sinu Armu poole kænda (Müller 16/6)
‘Lord, I’m a sinful person, and I want to turn myself willingly in the direction of your Grace’

Müller’s texts include pool also as a noun in the compunds meespool ‘male sex’ and naispool ‘female sex’ However, his sermons do not include the adposition poolt.

The works by Heinrich Stahl also reveal that poole in the meaning of direction is the most frequent adposition, e.g.

ninck sahtas se igkawesse ello ninck Taiwalicko selgkuse poole:
$vnd$ brechte zu dem Ewigen Leben vnd Himlischer Klarheit: (Stahl, LS, 226)
‘and sent into the eternal life and towards heavenly clarity’

The German equivalent suggests that this adpositional use had already taken root in Estonian because Stahl replaces the German preposition by the Estonian postposition and changes the word order.

Some interesting and unlikely uses can be found in the ecclesiastical books by Stahl, where the adposition poolt was used thrice and poolest twice, e.g.

sinna peat münno suhst se sanna kuhlema/ ninck nemmat münno pohlt mainitzema
du solt auß meinem Munde das Wort hören/ vnd sie von meinenwegen warnen (Stahl, LS, 52)
‘you must listen to the words from my mouth, and they must be warned on my account’

It seems that the adposition poolest, which is rare in the works by Stahl, is used in the meaning of cause, e.g.

münno Orjat peawat röhmsa süddame kahs heh meele pohlest ichkma/
Grammaticalization of adpositions in old literary Estonian

meine Knechte sollen für gutem Muth jauchzen (Stahl, LS, 472)
‘My inferiors must shout for their joyful heart and good spirit’

1.10. pära → pärre, päras; pärast; pärale, päral; päralt

The word pära did not occur anymore as a noun in the meaning ‘the last or hind part of sth; leftover, remains’ in the documented sources of the oldest literary language. However, the adpositions that developed from this noun form a rather large group of mostly archaic words that have branched into various senses. Only the postposition pärast ‘after, because’ is used in contemporary Literary Estonian.

The first occurrence of the adposition derived from the noun pära dates back to about 1510. It is used in the spatial sense ‘after’ in a collection of sermons:

Myna ../ tha syno perra tulla
‘I want to come after you’

The catechism by Wanradt-Koell and a letter dating from about 1535 reveal also the archaic adposition päras in a more abstract sense ‘after, according to’ e.g.

Ninck seel siddes tema Jumala sanna peresz laszke löwdade
(Wanradt-Koell 1535)
And in there let him find in accordance with Lord’s words

The adposition pärast in the causal sense occurs three times in the catechism by Wanradt-Koell, once in a text by L.Boierus from about 1587, and in a court oath dating from about 1600, e.g.

Sen egkewen elon ninck sen Jumala rycküden perest
(Wanradt-Koell 1535)
‘Because of this eternal life and this God’s Kingdom’

In the longer texts in the older literary language pärast is already a frequent adposition. It occurs in its causal sense in the sermons by Müller. In the works by Heinrich Stahl, too, pärast is a common adposition, having extended from the common meaning ‘because of’ to such more figurative meanings as ‘according to; for’ e.g.
Rahwo ninck röhmo kahs lehn minna erra/ Jummala tacht-misse perrast/
Mit Fried vnd Frewd ich fahr dahin/ in Gottes Willen/ (Stahl, HH II, 163)
‘I will leave with peace and joy, according to God’s will’
Issand kus sinna münnum tahaxit münno denistuse perrast maxma/
Herr wenn du mir woltest nach meinem verdienst vergelten/
(Stahl, HH IV 191)
‘Lord, where you would like to reward my service’

In addition to the adposition pärast, the authors dating from the beginning of the 17th century use extensively the adpositions pärale and päral, which were grammaticalized from the external locative cases. Both of them mean ‘according to, after, for’, which was abstracted from the sense ‘locality’ in the meaning of a sensuous process, e.g.

meije perrale olli temmale suhr igkaw/
nach vns thet ihn verlangen/ (Stahl, HH II, 28)
‘he was longing for us’
Rahel nuttis omma lapsede perral/
Rahel beweinet ihre Kinder/ (Stahl, HH III, 165)
‘Rachel wept for her children’

The adposition päral may also express possession, belonging to someone, which is also a rather widespread meaning. However, as a figurative combination it has already moved away from the original meaning of the noun to a considerable degree, e.g.

Christus on meije perral/
Christus gehöret vns/ (Stahl, LS, 12)
‘Christ belongs to us’

The catechism by Wanradt-Koell and a text by J.A.Völcker reveal a single instance of the grammaticalized adposition päralt in the fixed phrase kellegi päralt olema ‘to belong to someone’ that expresses possessiveness, e.g.

Ollecksit sina seperest köhenrettin ninck pörkhwawdan pereld/ (Wanradt-Koell 1535)
‘If you belonged because of this to devil and Hell’

*Sina ei peat tachtma oma lahembe kotta, sullan, tuttrikut, döbbrat, ninck kik mea tema peralt om* (Völcker, ca 1585)

‘You must not covet your neighbour’s house, hind, maid, domestic animals and all that belongs to him’

Müller uses the same adposition in a similar manner at the beginning of the 17th century. In his sermons, too, *päralt* occurs 15 times in the combination *kellegi päralt olema* ‘to belong to someone’

Judging by the texts in the old literary language, the adpositions that had developed from the noun *pära* had their own range of application. *Pära* and *päralt* express mostly a sensuous process or possessiveness that is abstracted from the spatial meaning, *päras* expresses spatial location, and *pärast* causality.

1.11. *sega -* sekka, seas

Of this group of words only the adpositions *sekka* ‘to among, to amid’ *seas* ‘among, amid’ and *seast* ‘from among, from amid’ are used in the contemporary literary language. It was difficult to find instances with a clear nominal use in the texts in the old literary language. However, there were occasional examples of the adposition that expresses location:

*istup seh kesckil nende oppijade sehhas/
sitzet da mitten unter den Lerern/ (Stahl, LS, 151)
‘he is sitting there in the middle among the learners’

There are all in all ten occurrences of the adposition *sekka* and 32 occurrences of *seas* in the sermons by Georg Müller, e.g.

*Ninck se Sana say Lihax/ ninck ellas meddy seas* (Müller 2/5)
And the word became flesh, and it lived among us

In the texts by Stahl the form *sehhas* occurred 53 times, and the shortened *sehs* in the sense ‘among, amid’ occurred 19 times.

In the works by Stahl *sekka* ‘to among, to amid’ occurred 33 times as an adposition, e.g.

*tulli temma wainlane ninck külwis umbrochto se nisso secka/
kam sein Feind/ vnd säet Vnkraut zwischen den Weitzen/
(Stahl, LS, 215)
‘There came his enemy and sowed some weed amid the wheat’

Taking into account the contexts where sekka and seas occur, it is likely that there may have been adpositions in the Estonian language already before the 17th century.

1.12. tava → taval

The word taval is not common in the old literary language in its contemporary sense of manner. The earliest attested occurrence dates from the text that L. Boierus wrote down at the end of the 16th century:

ey mötlate kui palyo neit rahuit waise tawal hucka läwet?
‘You don’t think how many nations perish miserably’

The sermons by Müller do not contain this adposition. The books by Heinrich Stahl reveal only a single occurrence as a noun that occurs together with an attribute that agrees with it:

Eth nühdts Lehhemb ni monnesarnasell taval tappetuth sahp/
Wann dann der Neheste auff so mancherley Art vnd Weise
getödtet wird/ (Stahl, LS, 721)
‘That now the nearest will be killed in a similar manner’

Unfortunately, the texts in the older literary language reveal too little information about this adposition.

1.13. tarve → tarbeks

The abstract noun tarve ‘need’, which is rather rare in the oldest literary language, has given rise to its grammaticalized translative form tarbeks ‘for the purpose of’ It is likely that thanks to the frequent use of this case form the word may have undergone adpositionalization by the period of the oldest literary language. The texts of Older Literary Estonian reveal a number of examples of the grammaticalization process. The earliest one can be found in the catechism by Wanradt-Koell, which was printed in 1535:
Mea meyle önnis on/ synu rickus tarbix/
‘What is blessed to us for the purpose of your kingdom’

It seems that the most frequent one in the texts of the old literary language is the fossilized construction seks tarbeks ‘for this purpose’ Its German equivalent is also a word that has lost its full meaning. However, such a use cannot be regarded as adpositional as yet. It seems that a combination of the pronoun and the noun that agrees in case may act as a preliminary stage towards its development into an adposition, e.g.

Sex tarwix on sünnul heh abbi ninck nouw/
Darzu weistu gut hülff vnd rath/ (Stahl, HH II, 115)
‘For this purpose you have good help and advice’

By analogy with the above-mentioned and other similar combination-like constructions tarbeks could have been placed next to a genitival noun in the function of expressing purpose. At this the adposition has retained a close semantic link with the base word – tarve is an abstract noun, and the resulting adposition expresses a rather abstract relationship of purpose as well.

The older literary language reveals also examples of the construction genitive + tarbeks, e.g.

Ninck hoidkut tulle tarbix sel suhrel kochto pehwal/
Das sie zum Fewer behalten werden/ am tage des Gerichtes vnd Verdamnis (Stahl, HH III, 147)
And may they keep it for the purpose of the fire on this great doomsday’

The preceding example indicates that tarbeks has been translated into German by means of a preposition, which may confirm that Stahl was familiar with the Estonian postposition tarbeks because it is not a literal translation.

1.14. viis → viisi

There is only a single occurrence of this manner-denoting adposition in the oldest Estonian-language texts, which can be found in an excerpt from the law on Livonian peasantry dating from the middle of the 16th century:
Keß Roïwi wise uhest toisest Wottap the pehl ellick kirko ellick toa seest
‘who in the robber’s manner takes from another on the road or from inside a church or a room’

According to the present-day definition, the previous example has an adposition although it would be difficult to claim it for sure, taking into account the peculiar use of forms in the texts in the old literary language. Anyway, this kind of occurrence shows that viisi was already used in the position of the adposition although the meaning is very close to that of the base noun.

2. Adposition → case ending
2.1. kaas → kaa → -ga

When ignoring Old Literary Estonian, one cannot ignore the most typical and interesting case of grammaticalization. During the period of the documented literary language the adposition kaas or kaa developed into the modern comitative ending -ga.

The initial stage in the genesis of this case can be observed in the light of the texts in the older Estonian literary language. In the texts in the older literary language the postposition kahs denotes abstract comitativeness (co-existence and co-presence) and also the instrumental relationship abstracted from the latter. The meanings of manner, state, and time are in turn more abstract than the previous meaning and express a higher degree of grammaticalization. This adposition is also a frequent dependent extension of some verbs (e.g. sõdima ‘to fight’ täitma ‘to fill’ rääkima ‘to talk’, and kõnelema ‘to speak’), expressing a thing at which an action is directed (cf. EKG I: 60). Thus, one could say that in the old literary language the postposition kaas occurs in the same functions as the modern case. Therefore, one cannot say that the case ending added new grammatical uses.

Huno Rätsep has provided a historical overview of the development of the comitative. He relates the genesis of the comitative with the -ga ending to the spread of the adpositional mode of expression in the earlier period of Balto-Finnic. The noun kansa gave rise to the k-lative form *kansak, which came to be used as a postposition together with the head in the genitive. In the
early language the postposition was subject to a number of phonetic changes: the vocalization of \( n \) before \( s \) resulted in *kaasak. The word-final \( k \) then disappeared, and the shape of the postposition was *kaasa. Later the final vowel also disappeared, so that the postposition took the shape kaas, which is common in the older literary language. After the genitival \( n \) at the end of the head had been lost, the adposition could be attached more closely to the adposition. This unstressed position gave rise to various irregular changes, the first one being the loss of \( s \) from the end of the postposition. After the final attachment of the postposition to the head, the intervocalic fortis stop \( k \) was replaced by the lenis stop, and this is how the modern case ending -ga came into existence (Rätsep 1979: 77–78).

Martin Ehala has studied the development of the comitative from the point of view of the grammaticalization theory. He distinguishes four steps in the development of the comitative case from the noun kansa ‘people, crowd’ through the intermediate stage of the postposition kaas into the modern case ending -ga (Ehala 1996: 382).

One can assume the following stages in the development of the comitative meaning: belonging to a certain crowd or group → co-existence with the animate → co-existence with the inanimate (instrumental meaning) → {metaphorization} → state → manner. This chain should also indicate an increase in the degree of grammaticalization.

In the earliest Estonian texts kaas occurs in various forms: kaes, kaeb, ka, kas, and kaen (the latter form occurs in South Estonian texts). At this the same word may have a number of different grammatical functions: its occurrence as an adposition is most common, but there are also numerous examples of its use as an emphatic modal verb, e.g.

*Temmale peame meije kahs offrima/ tenno/ auwo/ ninck kihtuse offer/
Dem sollen wir auch opffern weiß/ Danckopffer/ Danck vnd ewign Preiß/ (Stahl, HH II, 16)
‘We must sacrifice to him as well, the sacrifice of gratitude, glory, and praise’*
The question word *kaas* is represented by few examples. Paul Alvre has proved convincingly that it originated from the same stem form *kansak* as the comitative in -*ga* and the adverb *ka* 'also' (Alvre 1997), e.g.

**Kahs se Issa on sünnõ eddes surnud?**
**Ist der Vater auch für dich gestorben?** (Stahl, HH I, 62)
‘Did the Lord die for you, too?’

In this example the German equivalent indicates that the author has also added the emphatic *auch* to the question although in the Estonian sentence *kahs* fulfils not the emphatic but the interrogative function. It is possible that in his translation Stahl may have sometimes proceeded from Estonian, thus trying to render the same content in German as much as he could.

It is difficult to say on the basis of the texts in the old literary language which above-mentioned use is primary because its uses both as an adposition and a modal verb were very common and are represented by hundreds of examples. The studied texts provided more examples of the instrumental meaning of *kaas*. In sum, there were fewer examples of the original meaning of co-existence and co-presence. However, as sermons have been written in figurative language, then the higher representativeness of the meaning that has shifted towards a higher degree of abstraction is justified.

The following example sentence illustrates the instrumental meaning:

*lauluge ütleb, pasunie ka, Sion linna sise* (Boierus ca 1587)
‘sing, says, with trumpets, into the town of Zion’

The expression of manner and then state by means of the construction including the postposition *kaas* is more abstract than the instrumental meaning, and it is likely that the latter may have developed from the former, e.g.

*minna pallun sünd allandusse kahs/*
*Ich bit dich demütiglich/* (Stahl, HH II, 177)
‘I beg you humbly’
The previous example illustrated the meaning of manner; the following one, however, should illustrate the meaning of state, e.g.

*Babyloni jöggende juures/ istsime meije kibbedusse kahs*

An wasserstüssen Babylon/ da sassen wir mit schmertzen/ (Stahl, HH III, 237)

‘By the rivers of Babylon we were sitting embittered’

There were few examples of *kaas* used in the temporal meaning, which must have been abstracted from the instrumental meaning, e.g.

*Motle Issand se rascke aja pehl/ kumba kahs se iho sahp wangis piddatut/
Gedenck O HERR der schweren Zeit/ damit der Leib gefangen leyt/ (Stahl, HH II, 180)

‘Think Lord about the hard times when the body is in captivity’

The adposition quite often occurs also in fixed expressions, where it is difficult to identify the function of the case, e.g. *nymne kaeß*, *nimmy kaen* ‘with the name’ or as a dependent extension of a verb (*lepitama kellega?* ‘to reconcile with sb’ *rääkima kellega?* ‘to talk to sb’ *söötma ning jootma millega?* ‘to dine and wine with sth’), e.g.

*Nynck meyd Jumalan themen Ekewe Isen kaes leppitis* (Wanradt-Koell 1535)

‘And he reconciled us with Lord, his Eternal Father’

The oldest texts also reveal several examples where the case ending is written solidly with the noun. The earliest sources reveal solidly written forms only with the pronoun, and even those occur in certain translation formulae. Examples include *issand sinuga* ‘Lord with you’ and *kuidas asi sinuga on* ‘how is it with you’ (*βwkas* in the Kullamaa MS and two instances of *sinnucasy* ‘with you’ in a letter to one’s mother, which probably dates back to the 1530s; *temekaes* ‘with him’ in the catechism by Wanradt-Koell, where the surrounding context has perished; *sinokas* ‘with you’ in the text by Völcker). However, in the text by Boierus, which dates from the end of the 16th century, *-ga* is written solidly with the
nouns *hälega* ‘with voice’ and *wehega* ‘with force’. It indicates the beginning of the use of the case ending and, interestingly, it began earlier in the area of South Estonian than in North Estonian.

In the texts by Müller the frequent adposition *kaas* was often shortened to *kz* in the manuscript. There are only five cases where it is written solidly with the noun, whereas on two occasions the shortened form *kz* is written solidly with the noun *jumal* ‘god’ and once with the nouns *isa* ‘father’ *pere* ‘family’ and *toivutus* ‘pledge’ e.g.

\[ \text{Eth meye nüith olleme onsax sanuth lebby sen Vssu, sysz on meil Rawo Iumalakz (Müller 15/6)} \]

As we have now become blessed through the Faith, then we have peace with the Lord’

The other examples of writing as one word relate to the pronouns, whereas *sekz* or *sekaas* occurs twice and *mingkkaas* or *minckkz* seven times. As there was considerable variation in whether words were written as one word or separately, then no conclusions can be drawn on these individual examples whether the case ending had come into existence or not. These examples prove, however, that the first step towards the case ending had been taken.

In *Hand- vnd Haußbuch* by Heinrich Stahl the adposition occurs in various forms: *kahs* is the commonest (694 occurrences); *ka* occurs as a postposition nine times and *kah* three times. One should also point out that *kahs* is also very common as a modal adverb in the meaning of a contemporary sentence or phrasal extension ‘also’. In the above-mentioned work it occurs four times as a question word in the modern sense *kas* ‘do, does’

Thus, one and the same word continued to have different grammatical functions. Only on two occasions *kahs* had been written solidly with the preceding noun, but because of their exceptionality these instances could be regarded as misprints:

\[ \text{Minna usckun se Pöha Waimo sisse .. üllestousmisse sesinna- se münno Lehakahs/} \]

\[ \text{Ich gläube an den H. Geist .. aufferstehung dieses meines Fleisches/ (Stahl, HH I, 22)} \]

‘I believe in the Holy Spirit, in the resurrection of my flesh’

\[ \text{heckiselt sai sap temma suh sisse/ ettickakahs lastut/} \]
bald ward Gall in seinen Mund/ mit essig gelassen/ (Stahl, HH II, 30)
'all of a sudden was bile introduced to his mouth with vinegar'

The use of *kaas* in the second work by Heinrich Stahl *Leyen Spiegel* is, generally speaking, similar. There, too, the postposition *kahs* (2,000 occurrences) expresses the function of the instrument, co-presence, or more rarely also the manner and state; *kah* (32 occurrences) and *ka* (3 occurrences) are very rare in the same function. However, the existence of variation and the fact that there exist shorter forms side by side with the longer adpositions indicates that the adposition is developing phonologically into a case ending. There were almost no occurrences where *kaas* was written solidly with the noun. Some cases are questionable because the space between the words is so small that they can be regarded as one word. At the same time these examples, too, can be typographical errors and may not indicate the development of the case ending.

One might assume that it is the fluctuating tradition of writing solidly and separately that created the preconditions for writing the phonologically suitable shortened forms (*kaa, kz*) solidly with the preceding noun. Judging by the texts from the first half of the 17th century the case ending had not taken shape as yet. but the same functions were fulfilled by the adposition. Contemporary grammars point out that the comitative case expresses the function of co-presence, instrument, manner or state, time, and the thing at which the action is directed. In fact, the oldest literary language offers examples for all of them.

Summary

The article applied the grammaticalization theory to some adpositions in Oldest Literary Estonian, which are problematic from the point of view of part-of-speech labelling (i.e. they belong to a not fully closed class). During the period of the old literary language they were borderline cases between the full noun and a relational word. Therefore, they enabled us to observe the development paths of adpositions during the initial period of Literary Estonian.
The data of Older Literary Estonian reveal that it is mostly frequent locative case forms that have been subject to adpositionalization. As a result of a smaller or greater semantic shift they have moved away from the original lexical meaning of the corresponding nouns. Their meaning has become more abstract, they have lost some of their semantics, and at the same time the occurrence conditions of the grammatical context has become more restricted, e.g. asemele ‘to in place of’ asemel ‘in place of’; kesk ‘in the middle of’, keskel ‘in the middle of’; kõrval ‘next to’; poole ‘towards’; pool ‘at’; poolt ‘from, on behalf’; pärra ‘into the hind part’, päras ‘in the hind part’; seka ‘into the middle of’, seas ‘among’ Semantically the adpositions under discussion expressed mostly place (pärra, päras; kesk, keskel; poole, pool, poolt), manner (kombel; najal; nimel; taval; viisi), purpose (päralt; tarbeks), and possession (kätte, käes, käest). The base nouns included concrete nouns (naga ‘peg’; pära ‘hind part’), as well as nouns denoting place (ase ‘place’ kesk ‘middle part’), or body parts (kõrv ‘ear’; käsi ‘hand, arm’) but also abstract notion words, e.g. hea ‘a good thing’; komme ‘custom’, nimi ‘name’, tava ‘custom’, viis ‘manner, way’; pool ‘half’

The following table highlights the general semantic groups of base nouns in the order of increasing abstraction and illustrates the semantic distribution of adpositions.

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Grammaticalization as a common category-replacement process may be triggered because some word form is transferred to a new morphosyntactic environment, supported by re-analysis, and by analogy it becomes to be used frequently first and foremost as a construction. As far as Older Literary Estonian is concerned, the example of German-language constructions must have been essential at the stage of analogy.

During the stage of re-analysis, the important semantic extension may be caused by the original aspiration for figurativeness and innovation, a metaphoric or metonymic mode of expression. Adpositionalization may often have been triggered by an earlier use of the word as a constituent of fixed formulae (e.g. adverbal use in periphrastic verbs). Therefore, one can speak also of lexicalization as a supposed intermediate stage in the development of some adpositions. In that case one has to assume that upon moving away from the full-word paradigm and before becoming a grammatical device the word acquires its own lexical meaning. For example, the frequent combination aeg on käes ‘the time has come’ can be traced to the periphrastic verb käes olema ‘to be at hand’ Its extension is conceivable as an adpositional use: aeg on meie käes ‘time is in our hand’

Considering the partly German-style constructions of Older Literary Estonian, the examined adpositions could have come into existence as a result of the following chain: FULL NOUN → A FREQUENT CASE FORM LEAVES THE PARADIGM (in some cases lexicalization) → SEMANTIC SHIFT (re-analysis) → ASSOCIATION WITH A NOUN IN A GRAMMATICAL CASE
FORMULAIC USE (analogy; example of the German language) → ADPOSITION.

The lastly discussed comitative ending -ga is the next step of grammaticalization. It is movement towards synthetic expression, where an auxiliary word has developed into a grammatical morpheme. The development of this case ending is somewhat unusual in that all the functions of the comitative that have been described in the modern language were already present in the adposition kaas (or its phonetic variants) in the oldest literary language, which precede the development of the case ending.

The previous examples of adpositionalization proved that the grammatical means of Estonian are developing towards analyticity. At the same time all the previously discussed late adpositions belong to the secondary adpositions, which express concrete grammatical relations with a relatively low degree of abstraction. They are still transparent, as far as their origin is concerned. It means that the same stem occurs at the same time as a noun – such are the previously discussed words ase ‘place’, hea ‘a good thing’, komme ‘custom’, käsi ‘hand, arm’, kõrv ‘ear’, nimi ‘name’, pool ‘half’, pära ‘hind part’, tava ‘custom’, tarve ‘need’, and viis ‘way’. As for these adpositions, one could also say that each of them is associated with a certain semantic field: ase with an abstract spatial relation, komme, tava, and viis with the expression of manner, käsi with possession, kõrv, pool, and pära with place relations, etc. The class of secondary prepositions is an open one; new members can be added. At the same time, the primary adpositions form a closed class and the core of the adpositions as a part of speech. The primary adpositions are mostly monosyllabic and have few semantic features. In contrast to the secondary adpositions their grammaticalization is stronger.

It is fully possible that the frequent use of several adpositional constructions may have been caused by the impact of German-language structures. In order to render the numerous German adpositional relations, one had to find the suitable means in Estonian, and if they were absent, then one had to do with translation loans. In this respect the earlier Estonian texts reveal both older adpositional constructions as well as those that may have appeared in the course of translation during the early period.
of the literary language. Examples of the latter include asemel (German an Statt, an Ort), heaks (zu gut), nimel (im Namen), and viisi (auf Weise). A more hidden structural impact is manifested in the fact that although Estonian may have had other means for the expression of some grammatical function, an analytic construction was often used, which retained the number of words in a phrase. The texts of the old literary language do not reveal anymore many nominal base parts of the development chains that were discussed above although they must have existed in the popular language.

Taking into account the gradual nature of grammaticalization, one could pinpoint on the basis of texts in the old literary language such adpositions that had entered the process on in the 16th and 17th centuries. Examples include asemele, asemel; kombel, and tarbeks. Judging by the texts in the old literary language, one might say that the adpositions keskel; poole, pool, poolest; pärra, päras, pärast, päralt; sekka, seas are more adpositionalized. They are represented by numerous examples in different and not only formulaic constructions. The German-Estonian parallel texts offer rather free and not word-for-word translation equivalents for them. Also the words kõrval; najale, najal; nimel; taval, and viisi seem to be rather adpositionalized. However, as the oldest texts reveal too few examples of their use, then it is difficult to assess their development and degree of grammaticalization. At the same time, all the above-mentioned adpositions are still at the stage of the so-called secondary adpositions. Therefore, their meaning is not that abstract and they do not express the grammatical relations as purely as one would assume in the case of the primary adpositions.

Thus, one could conclude that the universal grammaticalization patterns are also suitable for the description of the development of adpositions in Literary Estonian. Here, too, the important developments include re-analysis and extension of meaning, which precede the transfer of the new grammatical relation, and analogy, which extends the potential usage contexts of the new unit in a similar morphosyntactic environment.
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GRAMMATIKALISEERUMISEST VANIMA EESTI KIRJAKEELE KAASSÕNADE NÄITEL

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Artiklis käsitleetakse grammatikaliseerumisteeooriast lähtudes vanima eesti kirjakeele tekkestaadiumis kaassõnu. Grammatikaliseerumise all mõistetakse keeles pidevalt toimuvat grammatiliste kategooriate tekke või kitsamalt leksikaalsete üksuste grammatilisteks muutumise protsessi. See on keele loomuliku süsteemi osa – mingi leksikaalne morfeem läheb üle grammatilise morfeemi staatusse.


Käsitletes puutakse mõne kaassõna kujunemise näitel osutada ka saksalt könna kujunemine analüütilisuse suunas nihutavale mõjule. Põhiliselt keskendutakse vaid probleemsetele juhtumitele ega räägita
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neist paljudest vanadest kaassõnadest, mis vanima kirjakeele perioodiks on jõudnud grammatikaliseerumises juba primaarsete adpositsioonide staadiumi (nt alla, all, alt; sisse, sees, seest või peale, peal, pealt). Valikut ja analüüsi mõjutab mõistagi tänapäevane grammatika-kompetents.


Nimisõnavormide grammatikaliseerumise käigus saab enamasti kohakäänes substantiiv tähenduse avardudes juurde grammatilise funktsiooni, mis samaneb tüüpilist kohakäänet funktsiooniga, ehkki vormistub analüütiliselt. Selline konstruktsioon täidab morfo-süntaktiiliste struktuuride koosseisus grammatilisi ülesandeid. Keelte tipoloogiline uurimine on avastanud rea üldisi tendentsi grammatikaliseerumises, st et on olemas kognitiivselt või sotsiaalselt oluliselt tähendusi, mis

Eesti vanema kirjakeele andmete põhjal selgub, et suhtesõnastunud on peamiselt sagedase kasutusega kohakäänete vormid, mis on väiksema või suurema tähendusnihe tulemusel eemaldunud vastavate substantiivide esialgsest leksikaalsetest tähendused, muutunud sisult abstraktsemaks ja vaatlemaks, samas ka grammatilise kontekstis möttetes esinemistingimustelt piiratutaks, nt asemele, asemel; kesk, keskel; kõrval; poole, pool, poolt; pärra, păras; sekka, seas. Vaatluse all olnud kaassõnad väljendavad enamasti kohta (pärra, păras; kesk, keskel; poole, pool, poolt), viisi (kombel, najal, nimel, talval, viisi), otstarvet (päralt, tarbek) ja omamist (kätte, käes, käest). Lähtesubstantiivideks on olnud nii konkreetseid asjasõnu (naga, pär), samuti kohta (ase, kesk) või kehaosa märkivaid sõnu (kõrv, käsi), ent ka abstraktseid mõistenimetusi, nt hea, komme, nimi, tava, viis, pool.

Grammatikaliseerumise paksus kui keele muutumise käigus on teatud mõned hea ja vastutavate aegad. Vaatlemaks onSee aeg, aeg on käes. Miks on aeg, nt. Eesti vanema kirjakeele puhul on analoogia etapis ilmselt oluline olnud saksala keele konstruktsioonide eeskuju.

Reanalüüsi etapis oluliselt tähendusülekande laadivad sõnavormid, nt esialgne kujundlikkuse- ja uudusmetafor, metafoorne või metonomüüme välgendusviis. Tihti võib olla kaassõnastunemiseks tõuke andnud varasem kasutus püsivormelise koosseisus (nt adverbiline kasutus kas või perifrastilises verbides), mistõttu võib mõne kaassõna kujunemisel rääkida ka leksikalisemise kui arvatavast vaheetapist. Sellisel juhul tuleb eeldada, et sõna saab täistähenduslikust paradigmast eemaldudes ja enne grammatikavahendid muutumist omaette leksikaalset tähenduse, nt sagedase kasutusega ühend, aeg on käes, aeg on meie käes, aeg on meie käes.

Vaadeldud kaassõnade tekkeahel võiks eesti vanema kirjakeele osalt saksamõjulisi konstruktsioone arvestades olla järgmine: TÄISTÄHEN-
DUSLIK NIMISÖNA → SAGEDASE KÄÄNDEVORMI EEMALDUMINE PARADIGMAST (+ mõnel juhul leksikalisesisoon) → TÄHEN-DUSNIHE (reanalüüs) → SEOS GRAMMATILISES KÄÄNDES NOOMENIGA → VORMELILAADNE KASUTUS (analoogia; saksa keele eeskuju) → KAASSÕNA.

Artiklis viimasena käsitletud komitatiivi lõpp -ga kujutab endast grammatikaliseerumise järgmist astet, liikumist sünteetilise väljenduse poole, kus abisõnast on arenenud grammatiline morfeem. Mõnevõrra ebatavaline on selle käändelõpu kujunemise juures asjaolu, et köik komitatiivi tänapäeval kirjeldamatut funktsioonid on olemas olund juba vana kirjakeele kaassõnas kaas (või selle eri variantides), mis käändelõpu kujunemisele eelines.


Mitmete kaassõnaliste konstruktsioonide sagedase kasutuse taga võib näha saaka keele struktureerimise uudse seoste edasiandmiseks oleva liikmeaegil vajadust, kus abisõnast võib olla uus koostis, mis võimaldab kasutada uusi või muuta uusi koostisid. Võimaliku tõhusaaduseks on olemas eeskätt ühe või mitmete koostisite suhteliselt koheselt kasutatud adpositsioonide hulka.

Varjatum struktuurimõju ilmneb selles, et kuigi eesti keele komitatiivi lõpperivest võistekastes käes on olemas mitmeid võimalusi, on autorid siiski sageli kasutanud analüütilisi konstruktsioone, mis säilitavad fraasisõnade struktuur. Paljudes eespool toodud arenguahelate nimisõnaliselt läheosid tööd enam vana kirjakeele tekstides, ehhki need on rahvakeele tekstides olud.
Grammatikaliseerumise astmelisust silmas pidades võib eelnevast välja tuua kaassõnu, mis vana kirjakeele tekstide põhjal otsustades on 16.–17 sajandil alles grammatikaliseerumisprotsessi sisenened. Sellised on näiteks asemele, asemel; kombel ja tarbeeks. Mönevõrra kaassõnastunumateks võib pidada adpositsioone kesk, keskel; poole, pool, poolest; pärra, päras, pärast, päralt; sekka, seas, mis on esindatud paljude näidetega erinevates, mitte vaid vormelilaadsetes konstruktsioonides ja mille kohta eesti keele paralleeltekst pakub suhteliselt vabu, mitte sõna-sõnalisi tõlkevasteid. Kaassõnastunud on ka körval; najale, najal; nimel, taval ja viisi, ent kuna nende kohta pakuvad vanimad tekstid liiga vähe näiteid, on nimetatud kaassõnade kujunemist ja grammatikaliseerumise astet raske hinnata.

Seega võib öelda, et grammatikaliseerumise universaalsed skeemid sobivad ka eesti kirjakeele kaassõnade arengu kirjeldamiseks. Siingi on oluline olnud tähele paneMINe avardumine ja ümberümbendamine, mis eelneb uue grammatilise seose edasiandmisele, ja analoogia, mis laiendab tekkinud üksuse potentsiaalseid kasutusvõimalusi sarnases morfosüntaktilises ümbruses.