

# Contents

Preface

Contents

List of figures, maps and tables

1. Introduction .....	13
1.1 Languages, data and methodology .....	14
1.2 The transcription and encoding of data .....	16
1.3 The organisation of the present work .....	16
2. Contrasting the Finnic languages .....	19
2.1 Genetic relationship between the Finnic languages .....	20
2.2 Language ecology 22 .....	
2.3 Typological divergence between the Finnic languages .....	24
2.4 Basic differences in noun inflection .....	25
2.5 Key hypotheses concerning diachronic change in the Finnic case and adposition system .....	29
3. Erosive and preservative forces in morphosyntactic change .....	32
3.1 Inflectional elements in change .....	34
3.2 Preservative processes in diachronic change .....	39
3.2.1 Preservative morphosyntactic change .....	40
3.2.2 Analogy .....	41
3.3 Conclusions .....	43
4. The Finnic adpositional phrase .....	45
4.1 The syntactic ambiguity of the adpositions .....	46
4.2 Historical preamble .....	47
4.2.1 The age of old adpositional stems .....	47
4.2.2 Suffixed postpositions and their morphological adaptation .....	50
4.3 Adpositions in a contact-linguistic perspective .....	53
4.4 Defining the number of adpositions in Finnic .....	56
4.5 The morphosyntax and case government of adpositions .....	62
4.5.1 The morphosyntax of postpositional phrases .....	68

4.5.1.1	The inflection of the noun complement .....	68
4.5.1.2	The inflection of postpositions .....	74
4.5.2	The morphosyntax of prepositional phrases and bipositional adpositions .....	76
4.6	Morphosyntactic change in the Livonian postpositional phrase .....	84
4.6.1	Remarks on the Livonian genitive-accusative .....	85
4.6.1.1	The paradigmatic and syntagmatic genitive-accusative .....	85
4.6.1.2	Genitive attribute and word order .....	89
4.6.2	The morphosyntactic structure of the Livonian postpositional phrase .....	92
4.6.2.1	The form of the complement: nominative vs. genitive .....	95
4.6.2.2	The form of the complement: dative 9 .....	9
4.6.2.3	Dative and adverb .....	101
4.6.3	Grammatical heads and syntactic morphochange .....	105
4.7	The morphosyntax of adpositional phrases in comparison to case inflection .....	109
4.8	Conclusions .....	114
<b>5.</b>	<b>The evolution of the Veps local case system .....</b>	<b>116</b>
5.1	Introduction	116
5.2	A review of the historical roots of the Veps local cases	122
5.3	The functional domains of local cases	128
5.3.1	Local cases and spatial relations .....	132
5.3.2	Local cases and temporal adverbials .....	135
5.3.3	Local cases and possessive relations .....	136
5.3.4	Local cases and instrumental relations .....	139
5.3.5	Exterior local cases and morphosyntactic reanalysis .....	141
5.3.6	Other semantic roles of the Veps local cases .....	147
5.4	The merger of case affixes and compensation .....	151
5.4.1	Syncretism between local cases .....	154
5.4.2	Functional constraints in recovering the local case system .....	156
<b>6.</b>	<b>Language contact and morphosyntactic change .....</b>	<b>161</b>
6.1	Historical impact of language contacts on Finnic	161
6.2	Southern Veps prolative-comitative	162
6.2.1	Prolative in Finnic and Veps	165
6.2.2	From prolative towards comitative and instrumental functions .....	169
6.2.3	Preliminary conclusions on the development of the prolative-comitative .....	172
6.2.4	The instrumental in Russian .....	174
6.3	Contact-induced reanalysis in Livonian .....	177
6.3.1	Previous conceptions of the history of the Livonian translative-comitative .....	180
6.3.2	The functional distribution of the translative-comitative .....	182

6.3.3	The Finnic-Mordvin translative .....	185
6.3.4	<i>pa</i> and <i>par</i> in Standard Latvian .....	188
6.3.5	Merger of <i>pa</i> and <i>par</i> in Latvian dialects .....	192
6.3.6	Development of the translative-comitative 1 .....	93
6.4	Interaction between endogenous and contact-induced change .....	195
6.4.1	Analogy in reanalysis .....	196
6.4.2	The gradualness of the development of the Southern Veps prolative-comitative and the Livonian translative-comitative .....	199
6.5	Conclusions .....	201
7.	Summary .....	203
	References .....	206