



The Finnish Case System

Cognitive Linguistic Perspectives

Edited by

Minna Jaakola and Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö

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Glossary of symbols and abbreviations

ABE	abessive
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ADJ	adjective
AP	adjective phrase
ADJZ	adjectivizing suffix
AdpP	adpositional phrase
AdvP	adverbial phrase
ADVZ	adverbializing suffix
ALL	allative
CAR	caritive
CL	clitic
CMPR	comparative
CNG	connegative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional mood
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
e-np	the sole argument of the existential clause
ELA	elative
ESS	essive
EXESS	exessive
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instructive
LM	landmark
MAN	manner suffix
NEG	negation

NMLZ	nominalizing suffix
NP	noun phrase
NOM	nominative
obj	object
PAR	partitive
PASS	passive voice
PL	plural
PoP	postposition phrase
POT	potential mood
pp	postposition
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
POSS	possessive suffix
RP	reference point
subj	subject
SG	singular
SUP	superlative
T	target
TR	trajector
TRA	translative
VZ	verbalizing suffix
Q	question clitic
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

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Introduction

A Cognitive Linguistic account of the Finnish cases

1 Introduction

The Finnish language is perhaps best known for its rich case system. Depending on the analyst and on the definition of a case in use, Finnish has at least fourteen, possibly fifteen or even more cases. Following the usual linguistic practice, the Finnish cases have been divided into 1) grammatical cases, which mark core arguments (subjects, objects, predicate nominals) and have a highly abstract meaning, and 2) semantic cases, which mark different types of adverbials and have a relatively concrete meaning, such as location, instrument, or manner. The understanding that even grammatical cases have a (schematic) meaning has been prevalent in traditional accounts of the Finnish cases. These accounts have never treated the grammatical cases as semantically empty markers, as is customary in some formalist traditions. As for Finnish, this is the more natural, as the grammatical cases that mark each core argument alternate on a semantic basis – the choice of the case depends on factors such as quantificational and aspectual boundedness versus unboundedness, definiteness versus indefiniteness, or affirmative versus negative polarity.

The Finnish case system has been extensively studied throughout modern history and from a wide range of theoretical perspectives. These include the grammaticalisation and language-historical points of view (for example, see Laitinen 1992; Grünthal 2003 and the literature cited, Inaba 2015), traditional-grammar based accounts (for example, see Penttilä 2002 [1963]; Särkkä 1969; Leskinen 1990), case grammar (Siro 1977), generative grammar (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979; Vainikka 1989; 1993; Kiparsky 2001), functional-typological approaches (Hynönen 2016; Ylikoski 2018; Larjavaara 2019), conceptual semantics (Leino et al. 1990; Nikanne 1993), systemic-functional grammar (Shore 2020), and, last but not least, approaches based on cognitive linguistics. During the last few decades, in fact, it is the cognitive-linguistic approach that has become the mainstream approach in the study of Finnish grammar in general and of its case system

in particular. The most influential cognitive-linguistic frameworks in use have been those by Langacker (1987, 1991a, 2008) for Cognitive Grammar, Talmy (2000a, 2000b) for Cognitive Semantics, and more recently, different versions of Construction Grammar (for example, see Goldberg 2006; Croft 2001; Kay and Fillmore 1999). Among the early scholars who first introduced cognitive linguistic models to the study of Finnish, the most notable linguist undoubtedly is Pentti Leino (1983, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1993, 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2002). These pioneers discovered the models to be ideally suitable for the analysis of a language such as Finnish, as well as compatible with the Finnish linguistic tradition, which had avoided a formalist revolution and instead had maintained the insights of traditional grammar, which are often compatible with the central assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics. Of course, the Finnish linguistics tradition is diverse, but most importantly, earlier approaches did not draw a strict distinction between grammar and semantics. Finnish linguistics also has a deep-rooted tradition in data-based analysis. The advantage of the Cognitive Linguistic orientation, however, was that it offered more systematic methods and accurate concepts than traditional notional descriptions.

The present volume continues and brings together cognitive-linguistic perspectives on the Finnish cases. These articles also consider the extensive work by earlier scholars from different theoretical backgrounds. While the research tradition of Finnish cases is diverse in terms of theoretical background, and whereas a majority of the relevant works have been published in miscellaneous fora and mostly in Finnish, the present volume also attempts to summarise the main achievements of past research. Our aim is thus to present an up-to-date cognitive-linguistic account of the Finnish cases that would also serve the interests of an international reader. We present an overview of the case system, analyse some central subsystems within it (most importantly, the system of local cases), and provide accounts of the functions of individual cases. As a consequence, we discuss the concept of case from the perspective of a morphology-rich language. However, the volume consists of individual studies that apply cognitive linguistics in slightly different ways by following the analytical models closely or more loosely. Thus this volume is by no means an exhaustive description of the Finnish cases. The individual articles in this volume therefore approach Finnish cases from different perspectives and are heterogeneous in their research objectives, the imposition of research questions, and the data in use. While some strive towards an ambitious application of a specific cognitive-linguistic framework (such as Cognitive Grammar or Construction Grammar), others are more eclectic, and still others are inclined to adopt a functional-typological approach. This volume also aims to offer relevant knowledge on the Finnish case system for those readers who are not familiar with cognitive linguistics or will not commit themselves to its theoretical framework. To facilitate the task of the reader, this introduction presents a brief overview of the main tenets and central terminology of cognitive linguistics, with an emphasis on the elements that are central in the analysis of cases (Sections 2 and 3). We subsequently introduce the system of Finnish cases (Sections 4, 5 and 6), and the articles of this volume (Section 7).

2 Central tenets of Cognitive Linguistics

Over the last few decades, Cognitive Linguistics has established itself as one of the mainstream schools of thought in linguistics, including the study of languages other than English (and other extensively analysed Western European languages). What began as a small group of rebels in the 1970s has since grown into a global movement that comprises a broad range of theoretical frameworks and diverse methodological approaches, all loosely connected by a number of fundamental underlying assumptions concerning the nature of language (Evans 2019 is a recent, comprehensive introduction to Cognitive Linguistics). The Cognitive Linguistics enterprise is constantly expanding into the study of new languages, as well into novel areas of research such as language typology, comparative linguistics, historical linguistics, and second-language acquisition, among others. The analytical toolkit of Cognitive Linguistics, with its fundamental assumptions is that a) all grammar is meaningful and b) meaning is based on conceptualisation, has demonstrated itself to be preeminent in the analysis of languages with flexible word order, rich morphology, and thus complex morpho-syntax, such as Finnish. We have discovered that a significant advantage of Cognitive Linguistics is that it provides thorough and holistic methods to describe how meaning is organised by grammatical choices.

Cognitive Linguistics argues that language is a primarily semantic, symbolic system for the expression of meaning. This means that not only lexical items but also grammatical elements, including abstract (syntactic) structures, are analysed as meaningful. Lexicon and grammar are not discrete subsystems but form a continuum of symbolic, meaningful structures. This means that even a clause-level structure, such as the transitive clause, is considered to be a syntactic schema, which has an abstract, relational meaning, and serves as a schema (or template) for the formulation of novel expressions that instantiate the schema. These more or less complex schemata are often referred to as *constructions*, especially in frameworks known as *construction grammars* (for example, see Goldberg 2006; Croft 2001, 2022; Kay and Fillmore 1999). Construction grammars are currently used extensively in the cognitive-linguistic study of grammar. There are several definitions for a construction in the literature, but they share the common insight that constructions are grammatical (morphological and syntactic) schemata, that is, pairings of meaning and form, and comprise elements from a single morpheme up to a whole sentence that instantiate such schemata (see also Langacker 2005, 158). As the central concept for generalisation at any level in Cognitive Grammar is schema, schemas equate constructions and both notions will be adopted in the analyses of this volume.

In Cognitive Linguistics, meaning is equated with *conceptualisation*. When conceptualisation is analysed by linguistic means, we describe meaning organisation that is intersubjectively shared, conventionalised, and conveyed by constructions and lexemes. This is referred to as *construal* in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008, 55). The notion of construal illustrates how different constructions and lexical choices can impose different meaning organisations even when referring ostensibly to the

same or comparable state-of-affairs. Thus, linguistic meaning consists not only of *what* the language-user chooses to express but also *how* to express the content selected for expression. Cognitive Grammar discerns a few dimensions of construal to facilitate the contextual analysis (ibid. 55–89). For the analyses of this volume, the most important dimension is prominence. For example, prominence is displayed in the Figure/Ground alignment and its manifestations (see below). In general, the method adopted to analyse conventionalised linguistic meaning is in general a traditional contextual analysis in which a difference of form expresses a difference in meaning. Meaning differences are also extracted by comparing minimal pairs that differ only by one symbolic unit. The analysis of meaning also relies on the linguistic intuition of speakers as members of the speech community and the knowledge of actors who are members of the (sub)culture shared by the speech community (on the intersubjective approach to construal in the frame of CG, see Möttönen 2016).

A well-known example of the centrality of conceptualisation for linguistic expression is the phenomenon known as *fictive motion* (Talmy 2000a: Ch.2). Language users commonly rely on semantically dynamic elements when they express scenarios in which no actual change takes place; consider, for instance, *This highway goes from Helsinki to Turku*, *The tree threw its shadow down into the valley*, or *The scenery rushed past us as we drove along*. These expressions utilise verbs that express motion or other types of change as well as other dynamic elements such as directional locative expressions (*to*, *from*). According to Talmy, the common use of such expressions reflects our cognitive bias towards dynamism. In short, fictive motion and related phenomena serve as a prime example of the importance of conceptualisation in linguistic meaning.

Some cognitive linguists and some articles in this volume also adopt the notion of *image-schema* to describe conceptualisations. An image schema illustrates a skeletal generalisation of the meaning organisation construed by a linguistic expression. Common examples are the landmark of an 'in'-type adposition or case construed as a container. For instance, let us consider AdpP phrases such as *in the house* and *in the forest* that share the same image-schematic construal of the landmark ('house', 'forest') as a container, or different expression types related to change that share the construal of a path (see Onikki-Rantajääskö; Voutilainen, in this volume). The status of image schemas is controversial. Some scholars such as Mark Johnson (1987) maintain that image schemas are a crossroad of linguistic meaning and sensory information such as vision. Thus, we not only speak about containers, we see and feel them as well. Johnson also describes image-schemas as a habit of action, opening a processual viewpoint to linguistic meaning. However, there is little evidence on the psychological reality of image schemas (for example, see Gibbs and Colston 1995). For this reason, it is better to understand image-schemas as analytical tools for a linguistic analysis to describe the generalisations over similar linguistic expressions as well as the intersubjectively shared skeletal meaning organisation of the symbolic units in language.

Different languages commonly utilise different types of conceptualisations to talk about the same extralinguistic entities and relations between them. This is a manifestation of the insight commonly attributed to Roman Jakobson: Languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey. For example, the grammar of some languages (such as Romance and Slavic) pays significant attention to the gender of the people talked about (and of the interlocutors), while others, such as Finnish, have a gender-neutral system. Some languages also rely on absolute coordinate systems in the expression of spatial relations, even between minor entities ('The spoon is to the north of the plate', see Levinson 2003), while others use a relative system ('The spoon is to the right of the plate'). In short, speakers of different languages need to pay attention to and be aware of different matters. Slobin (1996) has referred to this awareness as 'thinking for speaking', involving selecting those characteristics of objects and events that (a) fit some conceptualisation of the event, and (b) are readily encodable in the language being used. As regards the Finnish case system in particular, one such feature is the explicit expression of directionality by the subsystem of local cases: different cases are used for GOAL, SOURCE, and (stationary) LOCATION. The metaphorical uses of the local-case system for the expression of non-spatial relations – time, possession, and state – expand and conventionalise these oppositions into those domains as well (see Onikki-Rantajääskö, this volume). Thus, our articles contribute to the discussion of whether and how linguistic meaning (semantics) is language-specific. However, more typological research is needed to compare the meaning structure of languages. Similarly, research is needed on how cognition sets limits for linguistic variation before a firm position can be formulated as to the extent to which semantics is language-specific.

Another fundamental tenet of Cognitive Linguistics is what is known as its *cognitive commitment*. This refers to the principle that linguistic description must not be in conflict with what is known of general human cognition. The ideal is that knowledge about the general human cognitive systems would be systematically taken into account in explaining how language represents and structures meaning. Indeed, the conception that general cognitive capacities motivate the structure and semantic organisation of language plays a vital role in the framework of Cognitive Grammar (for example, see Langacker 1991a, 2008) and Cognitive Semantics (see Talmy 2000a, 2000b, 2017). Perhaps the most widely known manifestation of this is the phenomenon referred to as Figure/Ground alignment – humans tend to perceive situations so that something (the Figure) "stands out" from its surroundings (the Ground), which remains in the background. In perception of space, the Figure is typically relatively small, has clear boundaries, may be an animate entity, is capable of motion, or is otherwise active in the situation. By contrast, the Ground is a relatively large and stationary entity, that is, potentially mass-like. According to Langacker and Talmy, the Figure/Ground alignment manifests itself in innumerable ways in language. The difference between Figure and Ground is rooted in classic Gestalt Psychology, and its use as a central organising principle of language in Cognitive Semantics illustrates that cognitive linguistics can accord with studies of cognition. However,

the main focus of cognitive linguistics is in the semantic and grammatical organisation of language, while the relation between language and cognition needs to be studied in multidisciplinary collaboration.

To summarise, this volume focuses on meaning organisation construed by the case system of the Finnish language but does not make claims as to its relation to cognition. Furthermore, this volume will not endeavour to compare the Finnish case system to that of other languages because that would require more comprehensive comparative typological studies between languages.

3 *The treatment of cases in Cognitive Linguistics*

As Cognitive Grammar (CG) provides thorough analytical tools for the study of meaning, it is particularly accurate for the analysis of cases. According to CG, the Figure-Ground alignment has a number of pivotal roles in case systems as well. One of them is the distinction between a profile and a base in the semantic structure of a linguistic expression. *Profile* refers to what a linguistic expression actually designates, whereas *base* is a wider portion of the active cognitive domain(s) that provides a background for the profile (Langacker 1991a, 544). For example, *Monday* profiles one element in the seven-day cycle of a week, and the concept of ‘week’ serves as the base against which ‘Monday’ (the profile) stands out.

In CG, different linguistic expressions profile diverse types of entities. For instance, nouns, or more precisely, full *nominals* (the CG term for noun phrases), profile *things*, whereas most other word classes profile *relations*. Relations may also prevail between things or other relations. Thus, the phrase *the book on the table* has two nominals (*the book* and *the table*) that profile two things, while the preposition *on* profiles a relation between them. The phrase locates a Figure (the book) with respect to a Ground (the table). According to CG terminology, the primary focal participant of a relation (the Figure) is referred to as the *trajector*, while the secondary focal participant (the Ground) is a *landmark* (Langacker 1987, 217–220, 231–243; 2008, 70–73). The trajector/landmark alignment often coincides with the categories of traditional syntax. For example, in transitive clauses, subjects are analysed as trajectors and objects as landmarks (for a detailed account, see Langacker 2008: 72–73, 381–382). This is another manifestation of the leading principle that grammatical structure is meaningful in that categories such as subject and object have a semantic basis.

From the viewpoint of conceptualisation, a *thing* is defined as a product of grouping and reification (Langacker 2008, 105). In *grouping*, a set of connected entities are conceived of as a single entity for higher-level purposes (Langacker 2016, 63). For instance, the components of a car (its body, wheels, engine, battery, seats, etc.) together constitute the car, and are conceived of as a single entity (for details, see Langacker 2008, 2016). Nouns form a word class that specialises in the expression of things, while other word classes, including adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and adpositions (pre- or postpositions) designate *relations*.

Relations are defined as sets of interconnections between entities, and these can be things or other relations. Relations are divided into two main types: *temporal* ones (also called *processes*), which are expressed by finite verb forms, and *atemporal* ones, which are expressed by other relational elements, such as infinitives, adjectives, adverbs, and adpositions. The difference between processes and atemporal relations lies in the manner that the relation is conceptualised. According to CG, a process is tracked through time, in a phase-by-phase manner, by utilising the conceptualisation strategy referred to as *sequential scanning*. Atemporal relations, by contrast, are conceptualised holistically by using the conceptualisation strategy known as *summary scanning* (see Langacker 1991a, 1991b, 2008). An illustrative analogy for this difference is the one between watching a film (sequential scanning) versus watching a picture (summary scanning). The picture-watching analogy is intuitively clearest for those atemporal relations that can be based on a single mental image, such as the meaning of the preposition *in*, which designates an unchanging relation. Nevertheless, some atemporal relations are complex and involve a change, such as the one expressed by the preposition *into*, which means (roughly) that the trajector (Figure) is first situated outside the landmark (Ground) and then enters it (as in *He ran into the room*). The crucial matter is therefore how *into* differs from, say, the verb *enter*. The difference, according to CG, lies again in how the relation is conceptualised. The verb *enter* uses sequential scanning and tracks the event through time. The preposition *into* presents a (roughly) similar change with summary scanning and profiles all phases of the change at once. Thus, Cognitive Grammar treats (English) adpositions as expressions of atemporal relations, either simple or complex, and this characterisation concerns the class as a whole.

The description of cases is not uniform in Cognitive Grammar. This is because cases do not behave syntactically uniformly, and moreover, languages differ greatly in terms of their case systems (Langacker 1991b, 234, 235). A general description for a case marker is that its function “is to specify the type of role that a nominal entity plays with respect to some relation” (ibid. 235). The main divisive factor lies in how the concept of relationship is organised, that is, what the case profiles. Roughly speaking, a grammatical case profiles a thing (as nominals do), while a semantic case profiles a relation (as adpositions do).

Grammatical cases mark the main participants of the verb process (the subject and the object). According to CG description, this means that they do not have their own trajector/landmark relation but instead unify with the relation expressed by the verb. More precisely, grammatical cases specify and describe the role of an NP in the verb process (Langacker 1991a, 404, 1991b, 235, 2000, 36, 2008, 350). For example, Langacker (2008) analyses the Luiseño object marking *-i* as an example of a thing-profiling case. Langacker argues that it does not posit its own trajector/landmark asymmetry, but instead it specifies the case-marked noun as the landmark in the verb process (ibid. 349–350).

The treatment of semantic cases in CG, by comparison, resembles that of adpositional constructions (Langacker 1991a, 404, 1991b, 235; Leino 1989,

185, 189). A semantic case designates its own atemporal relation between a trajector and a landmark. In the case-marked construction, the landmark is expressed by the nominal (NP) that carries the case ending (as in the Finnish *mato-lla* mat-ADE 'on a/the mat'). The trajector of this relationship is another participant in the clause-level expression, most commonly designated by another nominal (for example, the grammatical subject or object, *kissa on mato-lla* cat be.3SG mat-ADE 'the cat is on the mat'). In this manner, the function of semantic cases, similarly to prepositions, is to relate one participant, the trajector, to another one, the landmark.

However, the division is not self-evident or strict between cases that profile a thing and cases that profile a relation. Langacker (1991a, 405fn, 1991b, 235) argues that a case morpheme may be given both descriptions, according to its polysemy. It is also worth noting that even a grammatical case evokes the concept of a schematic relation, even though it does not have to be foregrounded in its meaning (see also Huuimo; Jaakola, in this volume). For example, Langacker (1991a, 405) describes an instrumental case as evoking the schematic conception of an action chain involving an agent, an instrument, and a theme (acted upon by the agent), with a transmission of energy from one participant to another. According to Langacker, within "a prototypical" instrumental case, this relation serves as its semantic base, while its profile is the instrument role which figures in that process.

As mentioned above, semantic cases designate atemporal relations, but they often combine (as their trajector) processual relations that are construed by the verb in the clause. The trajector can comprise the whole event that is designated by the verb, together with the verb's own trajector and landmark(s). This type of a processual trajector can also be referred to as a *trajectory*. Moreover, if fully schematic semantically, the verb (meaning 'be') may only add a temporal profile to the relation construed by the case form, as in *Kissa on mato-lla* cat be.PRES.3SG mat-ADE 'A/the cat is on a/the mat'. However, the combination of different relations is often more complex. In the clause *Kissa jahtaa lankakerää mato-lla* cat chase-3SG ball-of-wool-PAR mat-ADE 'A/The cat is chasing a ball of wool on the mat', the whole processual relation of 'a cat is chasing a ball of wool' occurs on the mat and thus forms the trajector in the relation construed by the local adessive case that has 'the mat' as its landmark. In addition, the transitive processual relation has a trajector (cat) and a landmark (ball of wool) of its own.

All types of cases have a profile that requires a relevant base in addition to a schematic relationship. The base is background knowledge, which is described as domains and domain matrices in Cognitive Grammar. This is necessary in order for cases to be meaningful. In this volume, fundamental divisions such as concrete versus abstract, and domains such as space, time, possession, psychophysical and other kinds of states, etc., are predominantly referred to when analysing the domains as the bases of the case profiles. The wider cotext and even context with situational facets form a base for different types of figures of speech, which also includes the conventional uses of the cases. The base also has cultural knowledge that is sometimes crucial in conventionalised expressions. Cognitive Grammar aims at a unified account in the sense that its basic analytical concepts apply to different

levels of language – not just at the clausal level but also to the combinations of morphemes and to a discourse level that is wider than that bound by syntactic relations (Langacker 2008, 457, 499; see also Harrison et al. 2014). However, the analysis of cases in this volume is mainly limited to clausal contexts.

4 The Finnish case system: an overview

4.1 THE FINNISH SYSTEM OF CASES THAT MARK CORE

ARGUMENTS: NOMINATIVE, PARTITIVE, ACCUSATIVE,
GENITIVE

In this subsection, we briefly introduce the Finnish grammatical cases: the nominative, partitive, accusative, and genitive. The genitive is best viewed as an in-between category between grammatical and semantic cases.¹ Table 1, however, introduces all 15 cases of Finnish in the singular and plural.²

Case	Singular	Plural	Paraphrase of the case (with this type of noun)
Nominative	<i>aita</i> 'fence'	<i>aita-t</i>	
Partitive	<i>aita-a</i>	<i>aito-j-a</i>	
Accusative	<i>aita-n</i>	-	
Genitive	<i>aita-n</i>	<i>aito-j-en</i>	'of, s'
Inessive	<i>aita-ssa</i>	<i>aito-i-ssa</i>	'in'
Elicative	<i>aita-sta</i>	<i>aito-i-sta</i>	'from, out of'
Illative	<i>aita-an</i>	<i>aito-i-hin</i>	'into'
Adessive	<i>aita-lla</i>	<i>aito-i-lla</i>	'on, at, in the vicinity'
Ablative	<i>aita-lta</i>	<i>aito-i-lta</i>	'from on, from the vicinity'
Allative	<i>aita-lle</i>	<i>aito-i-lle</i>	'onto, to the vicinity'
Essive	<i>aita-na</i>	<i>aito-i-na</i>	'as'
Translative	<i>aita-ksi</i>	<i>aito-i-ksi</i>	'for, as'
Abessive	<i>aita-tta</i>	<i>aito-i-tta</i>	'without'
Comitative	<i>aito-ine-en</i> ³	<i>aito-ine-en</i>	'with'
Instructive	-	<i>aito-i-n</i>	'by'

Table 1. The Finnish cases.

- 1 For an overview of the grammar of Finnish language, for example, see Karlsson 2015.
- 2 Case suffixes follow vowel harmony. In addition, the partitive, the illative and the plural genitive have allomorphs. Morphophonological alternations may also occur in the stem, such as the consonant gradation (as in *aita-* : *aita-*) as well as the alternation between the singular and plural stems (as in *aita* : *aitoi-*) (Karlsson 2015, 32–36, 40–44).
- 3 The comitative case only occurs in the plural and predominantly with a possessive suffix as it does here. The plural form can thus refer to a single fence or to many fences.

Finnish cases have distinctly different frequencies. According to studies on written standard language corpora (Leino 1991, 176; Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1227), the most frequent cases are the nominative, the partitive, the genitive, constituting two-thirds of all case-inflected occurrences (the genitive also includes the *n*-ending accusative in these studies). The local cases (the inessive, elative, illative, adessive, ablative, allative, essive, and the translative) account for about one-third of all uses, and the remaining (the abessive, the comitative and the instructive) account only about 0.5–2%.

As we have pointed out above, the research tradition of Finnish grammar has never intended the label “grammatical” to imply that such cases are meaningless grammatical markers. Quite the opposite, the Finnish linguistics tradition has analysed in great detail the semantic oppositions conveyed by the choice of a particular case to mark a core argument. This is because no core argument in Finnish is invariably marked with only one grammatical case; there is always a semantically-regulated alternation between the different cases. Grammatical subjects alternate between the nominative and the partitive; predicate nominals alternate between the nominative, the partitive and the genitive; and grammatical objects alternate between the nominative, the accusative, and the partitive (for details, see Huumo, this volume, Jaakola this volume). More precisely, canonical subjects in typical transitive and intransitive clauses only take the nominative case (1), while so-called existential subjects, which are typically postverbal, indefinite NPs that are introduced in the discourse as new elements, alternate between the nominative and the partitive (2). For this alternation, the nominative expresses a bounded quantity and the partitive conveys an unbounded quantity (in mass nouns and plurals). Furthermore, the genitive marks construction-specific subjects, such as the first argument of a non-finite verb form (3a) as well as the first argument in certain modal and experiencer constructions (3b).

- (1) **Kissa** sö-i ruoho-a. **Koira** nukku-i.
 cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG grass-PAR dog.NOM sleep-PST.3SG
 ‘The cat ate grass. The dog slept.’
- (2) Piha-lla on **kissa.** Piha-lla on **kisso-j-a.**
 yard-ADE be.PRS.3SG yard-ADE yard-ADE be.PRS.3SG cat-PL-PAR
 ‘There is a cat in the yard. There are cats in the yard.’
- (3a) Anno-i-n **koira-n** juos-ta.
 let-PST-1SG dog-GEN run-INF
 ‘I let the dog run.’
- (3b) **Koira-n** täytyy juos-ta.
 dog-GEN must.3SG run-INF
 ‘The dog must run.’

In object marking, the nominative (in the plural) and the accusative (in the singular) mark quantitatively bounded object NPs in transitive clauses that indicate an event that culminates (4). In Vendlerian terms, these constitute achievements or accomplishments (Vendler 1957). The partitive object marks

unbounded quantities (in mass nouns and plurals, as in example 5), as well as object nominals in clauses that indicate a non-culminating situation (as in example 6). Again, Vendler referred to these as states and activities. The partitive may also signal the progressive viewpoint aspect (7). In addition, clausal negation turns all existential subjects and objects into the partitive, irrespective of the quantification and aspect (8). In other words, the main factors that determine the choice of the case in marking a core argument are semantically-based phenomena, such as quantification, aspect, and polarity.

- (4) Kissa sö-i **hiire-t.** Kissa sö-i **hiire-n.**
 cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG mouse-PL.NOM cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG mouse-ACC
 ‘The cat ate the mice. The cat ate a/the mouse.’
- (5) Kissa sö-i **ruoho-a.** Kissa sö-i **hiir-i-ä.**
 cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG grass-PAR cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG mouse-PL-PAR
 ‘The cat ate grass. The cat ate mice.’
- (6) Taput-i-n **koira-a.**
 pat-PST-1SG dog-PAR
 ‘I patted the dog.’
- (7) Kissa sö-i **hiir-tä.**
 cat.NOM eat-PST.3SG mouse-PAR
 ‘The cat was eating a/the mouse.’
- (8) Kissa ei syö-nyt **hiir-tä.**
 cat.NOM NEG.3SG eat-PTCP mouse-PAR
 ‘The cat did not eat a/the mouse.’

Finnish offers evidence and serves as a good example for the position that grammar conveys meaning. As Cognitive Linguistics argues that grammar is meaningful, it is thought to be self-evident that even grammatical cases have a meaning – a view that is suitable for the analysis of the Finnish cases system. Langacker (1991a, 378) argues that all case markers are meaningful and their value pertains primarily to the semantic role of the case-marked nominal. Cases indicate the grammatical role of a nominal or its semantic relation in a clause (Langacker 1991a, 398). Even case markers that do not alternate in (Finnish) the manner described above but only mark the syntactic function of a nominal (such as the subject or object) are regarded as meaningful because the grammatical functions themselves are regarded as meaningful (Langacker 1991a, 379). More generally, Langacker further specifies that cases governed by other elements (such as verbs or adpositions) are also not semantically empty, even when they apparently contribute nothing else than the grammatical function of the nominal. In such cases, their meaning may merely be redundant,⁴ and it completely conflates with the meaning organisation of the construction.

4 It is important to note that according to cognitive linguistics, redundancy is not to be disparaged. Langacker (2008, 188) observes that every language makes extensive use of redundancy in one way or another; by providing the listener with extra clues, redundancy helps ensure that a partially degraded message can nonetheless be understood.

Again, Finnish has case alternation in the marking of adpositional complements, which can be either in the genitive or in the partitive. Most adpositions only take one or the other, but a few, typically bipositions (referring to adpositions that can be used as both prepositions and postpositions) allow alternation in their complement marking. When used as postpositions, their complement is in the genitive, while a prepositional use requires the partitive complement (*kylä-n lähellä* [village-GEN near] versus *lähellä kylä-ä* [near village-PAR] ‘near a/the village’). Although the case alteration in the complement predominantly follows the differences in word order, it also reflects differences in the meaning organisation of the cases in question (compare Huumo 2013).

Another perspective is that the division between grammatical and semantic cases could also be understood as a phenomenon that illustrates the fundamental Figure/Ground alignment in language. As stated above, the cases that mark subject and object arguments also include schematic information regarding the relation in which the given entity participates (for the partitive case in particular, see Huumo, this volume). Within grammatical cases, the relation between the participants is backgrounded (but still available), whereas within the semantic cases, this relation is foregrounded and forms the very profile of a case.

A case that challenges the distinction between grammatical and semantic cases is the genitive (see Jaakola, this volume). The Finnish genitive has a large number of grammatical functions that extend from that of a modifier in an NP, AP and an AdvP, a complement in an AdpP, a possessive predicate complement, to marking subject arguments in non-finite and certain modal constructions (compare examples 3a and 3b above). In its most prominent use as a noun-modifying marker, the genitive is clearly a relational element because it foregrounds the relation between the genitive-marked noun (the modifier) and the head of an NP (for example, *Anna-n lapaset* Anna-GEN mittens ‘Anna’s mittens’). In this function, the genitive most clearly reflects the reference point relation: the genitive-marked landmark (the modifier) functions as a conceptual background and an instruction to identify the trajector (the head), and the genitive case is an explicit marker of this specific relation. The subject-marking genitives (examples 3a and 3b) resemble more typical grammatical cases in that they mark one of the core arguments of a verb process. On the other hand, the subject-marking genitives can also be given a relational interpretation that follows the reference point structure. The subject-marking genitives foreground a specific aspect of a relation between the subject referent and the process by marking a highly specific participant’s role. In other words, genitive subjects are either the subjects of a summary scanned process that is expressed by a non-finite verb form (as in 3a), or subjects of modal predicates (as in 3b). It is also important to note that Finnish is not a particularly exceptional language in this respect; several languages have the subjects of non-finite verb forms marked with the genitive or a respective possessor marker (Heine 1997).

A highly debated topic in the research tradition of Finnish grammar is the status of the accusative case. Traditionally, the accusative ending *-n* is described as a marker of the boundedness of the object-NPs in the singular

What is interesting from the perspective of the form-meaning-relation is that in present-day Finnish, the identification of the genitive and the accusative occurs at the construction level (that is, whether or not the *n*-ending lexeme functions as an object-NP) (see Jaakola, in this volume).

4.2 THE SYSTEM OF FINNISH ADVERBIAL CASES

In this volume, we follow the classification of Voutilainen (this volume) and use the term adverbial case instead of the semantic case to avoid a strict division between grammatical and semantic cases, and to highlight the typical syntactic use of those cases. The adverbial cases include the local cases that consist of six or eight cases, depending on the status of the essive and the translative, and the three less frequent cases. These are the comitative, which specifies relations of accompaniment (see Belliard, this volume), the abessive, which conveys a lack of something (see Vihervalli & Onikki-Rantajääskö, this volume), and the instructive, which is productive only in the plural, basically indicating instruments and means but has other (lexicalised) meanings as well.

The local cases constitute the heart of the adverbial cases (see Onikki-Rantajääskö, this volume). The local cases form a system with two dimensions (see Table 2). Firstly, there are six local cases proper, indicating internal and external locationality (see below) and two non-spatial cases usually referred to as “abstract” or “general” local cases (for example, in Siro 1964). The local cases proper (internal and external) indicate spatial relations but also time, possession, circumstances, psychophysical and other types of states. The primary function of the two abstract local cases is not spatial: they indicate a role, occupation or function in general (such as *opettaja-na* [teacher-ESS] ‘(to work) as a teacher’; *opettaja-ksi* [teacher-TRA] ‘(become) a teacher’). Their older, spatial functions are presently observable in lexicalised adverbs or adpositions only.

The second dimension concerns directionality, which divides the cases into three. Each case series has one (semantically) **location case** that indicates a location where the trajector is situated, one (semantically) **source case** indicating a location out of which the trajector moves, and one (semantically) **goal case** that indicates a location into which the trajector moves. Let us turn to Table 2:

DIRECTIONALITY:	LOCATION	SOURCE	GOAL
INTERNAL	INESSIVE	ELATIVE	ILLATIVE
	<i>talo-ssa</i> ‘in the house’	<i>talo-sta</i> ‘out of the house’	<i>talo-on</i> ‘into the house’
EXTERNAL	ADESSIVE	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE
	<i>pöydä-llä</i> ‘on the table’	<i>pöydä-ltä</i> ‘off the table’	<i>pöydä-lle</i> ‘onto the table’
GENERAL	ESSIVE	TRANSLATIVE	(ELATIVE)
	<i>opettaja-na</i> ‘as a teacher’	<i>opettaja-ksi</i> ‘[become] a teacher’	(<i>opettaja-sta</i>) ‘(from [being a teacher])’

Table 2. The Finnish system of local cases.

In Table 2, the uppermost terms GOAL, LOCATION and SOURCE are semantic labels based on directionality. The GOAL cases – the illative, the allative and the translative – indicate a relation where the trajector moves into the **search domain** defined in terms of the landmark (which is indicated by the case-inflected NP). The term *search domain* in Cognitive Grammar (for example, see Langacker 1987, 1991a, 2008) refers to the area where the trajector can be located. The internal and external LOCATION cases – the inessive and the adessive – indicate the presence of the trajector in the search domain. The SOURCE cases, the elative and ablative, indicate a relation where the trajector exits the search domain. Furthermore, the labels *internal* and *external* reflect the difference between a search domain situated inside the landmark, which is then conceptualised as a CONTAINER, and one that is outside the landmark. In the latter case, the search domain can be either on top of the landmark ('on the table') or in its vicinity ('at the house'). The choice depends in particular on the type of the landmark: if the landmark has a salient upper surface (as in a 'table', 'chair', 'marketplace', etc.), then the 'on top of' reading is preferred. These crucial differences in the conceptualisation of the landmarks can be interpreted as image-schematic differences.

The counterparts of the goal and location cases in the more abstract subsystem of the general local cases are the translative (see Voutilainen, this volume) and the essive (see Hynönen, this volume). The abstract translative case indicates a metaphorical GOAL, which is acquired by the trajector as a role, an occupation or a function. The essive has a historical background as a spatial local case but in the present-day language, it indicates a role, an occupation or a function of the trajector. As can be seen, there is no abstract SOURCE case, but the elative case has acquired some of its functions (Siro 1964).

The relations indicated by Finnish local cases are primarily **topological**, such as containment and vicinity (for the terminology, see Levinson 2003). The cases do not indicate projective relations based on an axis system or a frame of reference, which is a function that is more typical of Finnish adpositions (see Huumo and Ojutkangas 2006; Ojutkangas, this volume).

Table 2 combines all eight cases and suggests that their similarity is based on the dimension of quality (internal, external and general) and the dimension of change versus static relation (source, and goal versus location). Earlier research by Siro (1964) categorises the dimensions as quality and direction, suggesting that the local case system generalises abstract meaning differences instead of pure locality. Voutilainen (2008, this volume) presents an elaborate description of the adverbial case system, emphasising that locativity and change are independent concepts. Voutilainen's description of the local case system includes only the local cases proper (the inessive, the elative, the illative, the adessive, the allative and the ablative). This means that the translative and the essive are not considered to be local cases but as general cases that indicate dynamicity and stativity in abstract semantic fields, such as acquiring a role (*tulla opettajaksi* become teacher-TRA) or as being in a role (*olla opettajana* be teacher-ESS). This type of a description proposed by Voutilainen focuses on the highly frequent abstract uses of the translative and the essive in modern Finnish rather than their historical origins in

the semantics of goal and location. Most importantly, the description by Voutilainen emphasises the construal of change and stativity in the system as a whole, and locates the concept of move under the concept of change.

In the Finnish grammar tradition, the local cases have been referred to as *quasi-predicates* since Siro (1964), which bears some resemblance to the Cognitive Grammar treatment of semantic case relations (as argued in detail by Leino 1989). The quasi-predicates in Siro's model are expressions that convey a relation between (typically) two participants (which in CG terms are the trajector and the landmark), and they may even indicate a relation without a predicate verb in constructions such as newspaper headlines (Västi 2012). Siro observes that the tendency is for quasi-predicates to relate to object nominals in transitive clauses as well as to subject nominals in intransitive clauses. To capture this generalisation, Siro formulates his extensively used *relation rule* (*suhdesääntö* in Finnish), stating (in CG terms) that a quasi-predicate construes a relation in which the trajector is the subject in an intransitive clause and an object in a transitive clause⁶, c.f. *Hän nosti kissan matolle* s/he lift-PST.3SG cat-ACC mat-ALL 'S/he lifted the cat to the mat' in which the goal case, the allative, designates the path of the cat (the object) to the mat.

As has been pointed out by subsequent scholars, the relation rule does not always apply. More precisely, this rule works better for locatives with directional (GOAL or SOURCE) meanings than those that indicate a stationary location. As argued by Alhoniemi (1975), for the locatives that convey a stationary location, the relation often holds between the landmark and the entire process designated by the predicate verb, and the locative phrase indicates a setting for the whole process with all its participants. Alhoniemi also demonstrated that lexical meanings, besides the syntactic structure, guide the interpretation regarding the trajector, as in *Hän keitti puuroa kattilassa* s/he cook-PST.3SG porridge-PAR kettle-INE 'S/he cooked porridge in a kettle' versus *Hän keitti puuroa keittiössä* s/he cook-PAR.3SG porridge-PAR kitchen-INE 'S/he cooked porridge in the kitchen'. The grammatical structure of the two examples is identical, but only the first example obeys Siro's relation rule (only the porridge, not the cook, is in the kettle), while in the second example, the location 'in the kitchen' contains the entire process with both participants (so that the porridge and the cook are both in the kitchen). Stative local cases in particular function as clausal adjuncts/adverbials in a frame-setting function. These cases indicate the concrete or abstract place of the whole trajectory (Alhoniemi 1975; Huumo 1997; Leino 1989).

The options do not end here. Besides indicating a clausal argument or a free clausal adverbial/adjunct, a locative case form can also function as a free modifier (or attribute) and display the relation of its landmark to a certain participant in the clause. Some of the uses fall into the typological category of depictives or secondary predicates, particularly the essive case form (see Hynönen, in the present volume). Stative local cases may also occur with their own trajector/theme, thus manifesting the nature of the quasi-predicate

6 Siro did not adopt the terminology of CG.

(as in *Hän tuli sisään **hattu päässä*** s/he come-PST.3SG inside-ILL hat head-INE lit. ‘S/he came in with her/his hat on the head’). Moreover, there is a cline from adverbials to periphrastic predicates with the verb *olla* ‘to be’ with some abstract uses of the stative cases, such as *hän on lähdössä* s/he is leave-NMLZ-INE ‘s/he is leaving’ (locatives of state, Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, this volume, Niva 2022).

As for the remaining three cases, they form a group usually laconically referred to as only a set of “marginal” or “less-used” cases. The three are the instructive (*hän käveli **palja-in jalo-in*** s/he walk-PST.3SG bare-PL.INSTR foot-PL.INSTR ‘s/he walked barefoot’), the comitative (*hän käveli **laukku-ine-en*** s/he walk-PST.3SG bag-COM-POSS3 ‘s/he walked with her/his bags’, see Belliard in this volume) and the abessive (*hän käveli **tue-tta*** s/he walk-PST.3SG support-ABE ‘s/he walked without support’, see Vihervalli & Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). These three cases are used as manner adverbials, but the category of manner adverbials also includes other productive and petrified case forms. The division of labour between the marginal cases and near-synonymous adpositions reveals that even the most marginal cases have their own functions in the case system and even though lexicalisation plays a role in their persistence, they are not fading away.

5 Cases and almost-cases: inflection versus derivation

As stated above, the exact number of the Finnish cases varies slightly in the descriptions. The general view is that Finnish has fifteen nominal cases, but additional cases – or almost-cases – have also been proposed (most recently by Ylikoski 2018, 2020a). These include inflectional suffixes that are thought not to belong to the case paradigm because they only occur in some dialects (such as the exessive *-ntA koto-nta* ‘from home’), or because they are used only with restricted word categories (such as the prolative *-(i)tse posti-tse* ‘by post’). But some bound morphemes that are frequent and belong to everyday language are also considered derivational affixes rather than cases, such as the *-sti*-suffix (approximately ‘-ly’, discussed in Jääskeläinen, in this volume). These forms raise the question of the borderline between inflection and derivation.

The features of inflection include the high productivity and the lack of restrictions – the ability of the suffix to attach to different stems (such as the use with singular and plural stems, or attached to all types of nominals), and the ability to take a modifier that agrees in number and case (such as *iso-ssa talo-ssa* big-INE house-INE ‘in a big house’). Syntactically, inflection is a process that modifies nouns to fit into syntactic constructions. The concept of derivation, on the other hand, is a process that creates units in the lexicon. This includes the idea that the meaning of the word changes as a unit. Within nominal inflection, the (denotative) meaning of a noun remains, and the function of the morpheme is to mark the syntactic role of the noun in a construction. However, the articles of this volume contain examples that illustrate how the similarity and difference in meaning form a continuum and do not form clear-cut criteria to differentiate inflection and derivation.

It is important to point out that the traditional accounts of Finnish grammar also have analysed the relation between a case suffix and a derivational suffix as resembling more a continuum. The aforementioned prolative *-(i)tse*, the exessive *-ntA*, and the *sti*-suffix have been considered either as candidates for a case or as markers of denominal adverbs. Moreover, the comparative and the superlative, as well as the active and passive participles – all formed by suffixes – have also been discussed as borderline cases of inflection and derivation (for example, see Hakulinen et. al 2004, §62, §1265).⁷ In addition, the abessive, the instructive and the comitative are often referred to as “marginal cases” due to the restrictions on their use. This type of approach is in line with the cognitive-linguistic argumentation. For example, Langacker (2008, 346–347) observes that the need to draw a strict line is partly based on a (fallacious) categorical distinction between lexicon and grammar. Nonetheless, the variety of suffixes reflects the agglutinative nature of Finnish.

6 Meaning of cases

There is no simple answer to the question of what we mean by the meaning of a case. The meaning of the units of language affect each other in syntactic constructions as well as in their cotext and context. Meanings are intertwined even in the clausal cotext, let alone in wider contexts. Facets of meaning are also distributed in constructions more often than isolated in single units (for example, see Sinha & Kuteva 1995). And after all, linguistic expressions are only prompts to activate the problem-solving enterprise of interpretation in language users’ minds. So why talk about the meanings of cases?

Yet in the notional grammatical tradition and in functional linguistics, there has been no problem in talking about the meanings of cases. It seems evident that there is something common and conventional, well-entrenched in many if not all the different uses of cases (noun stems, constructions, and contexts) that is possible to capture in a schematic description. At the same time, the schematic categories of stem nouns, other participants in the relational cases as well as constructions in which the cases participate, all play a role even in the schematic meanings of the cases. The (polysemous) meaning of the case is extracted by analysing the search domains of the landmarks and the types of the trajectors that participate in the relations as well as the relations themselves in their different types of cognitive domains.

The functions of the Finnish cases differ from each other significantly and this means that the system analysed in this volume offers an excellent testing ground for cognitive linguistic theories of cases, insofar as there are

7 Ylikoski (2020a) discusses two more candidates that are between inflection and derivation – the repetitive temporal marker *-isin* (*ilta+isin* ‘in the evenings’) and the distributive *-(i)ttAin* (*ma+ittain* ‘by country’) (for similar argumentation concerning Estonian, see Ylikoski 2020b).

such theories. Indeed, we are not aware of a unified cognitive-linguistic “case theory”, even though there are a number of accounts of cases in different languages, most notably Slavic (Janda 1993, 2004; Dąbrowska 1997) and German (Smith 1987). These accounts typically build on the general framework of Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar. It is also important to mention that the local-case system of the closely related Estonian language has been studied from the perspective of cognitive linguistics (for example, see Vainik 1995; Klavan 2012).

The challenge is to find an optimal granularity, a level of schematicity in the description. The problem with the most schematic descriptions is that they tend to be too strong in that they are unable to distinguish the meaning, function and use of a certain case from other possible units. This has been the issue when determining the basic meaning for the cases (see Leino et al. 1990 and the references mentioned there). At the other end, it is easy to drift to the description of landmarks and constructions instead of the role of the case form with them. This means that the optimal level of description is neither minimalist nor maximalist.

This also means that one meaning or sense is not likely to cover all uses of a case form, but polysemy prevails instead. In the vein of Cognitive Linguistics, the description in this volume focuses on prototypes but also acknowledges more peripheral uses and idioms and searches for motivating links between the prototype(s) and more peripheral senses. It also takes into account the possibility that there are more than one prototypical meaning or sense for every case form. The criteria for the *prototype* may vary, but usually prototypes represent well-entrenched and frequent uses that displace semantic categories from which it is easy to see motivating links to less frequent, crystallised or otherwise marginal uses. Productivity thus plays a role in the prototype effect. Other predictable consequences of the prototype effect are the fuzzy boundaries of meaning categories and continuums from one sense to another (Langacker 1987; Leino 1993; Rosch 1978).

Besides prototypicality, a central mechanism in productivity and different types of extensions of basic schemas is analogy. To put it simply, new expressions are created and based on the model of familiar ones. Analogy is structural similarity, also concerning the meaning organisation displayed by the constructions and lexemes filling them. Analogy relies on abductive reasoning that allows an explanation or a precondition to be abducted from a consequence. Thus, it creates hypotheses of similarity between the observed “new” instance and known models. Abductive reasoning and analogy also create new insights in combining old models in a creative way. Applied to language, this means that an expression can be motivated by more than one conventional linguistic unit or schema. Abductive conclusions are uncertain, and often no further evidence is available to verify which models were actually used in creating a new expression. Besides new expression types, analogy creates patterns of similar expressions. For example, those abound in certain local case expressions, locatives of state, and adpositions (see Onikki-Rantajääskö; Jaakola and Ojutkangas, in this volume). Metaphor is one form of analogy, and metonymy often plays a role in metaphorical

extensions. Metaphor is ubiquitous not only in language but also in the abstraction of the case meanings, as will be evident in many articles of this volume (for analogy and metaphor, see Anttila 2019 [1977]; Itkonen 2005; Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

7 *The articles in this volume*

This volume focuses on the uses of the cases with noun stems. Thus, nominal forms of verbs, the infinitives and participles are only mentioned in passing (for example, see Herlin & Visapää 2005; Hamunen 2019; Jaakola 2021). This volume is divided into three sections. The first is devoted to the cases of the core arguments of the clause, the second to the cases typically used in adverbials, and the third to the more general topics, such as the border zone between cases and adpositions that often include petrified case forms as well as the borderline between inflection and derivation. Apart from the first article, all other contributions to this volume are based on analysed corpora. The data used is mainly written standard language from the 1980s to the 2020s. To shed light on a specific research question, the authors consult contemporary internet writing, spoken dialects, and old literary Finnish. We have discovered that the older data are not outdated because the Finnish case system is highly persistent. Thus, the meanings and uses represented in this volume are recognisable in modern Finnish unless exceptions are specifically mentioned.

The first article of the volume by Tuomas Huumo presents a Cognitive Grammar account of the diverse functions of the Finnish partitive case. The partitive is a grammatical case (although semantically conditioned) that marks some object (O) arguments, some existential S (= S_e) arguments, and some predicate complements (PC). In each function, the partitive alternates with other cases: the nominative in the S_e, O, and PC marking, and the accusative in the O marking. Following the Finnish syntax tradition, Huumo argues that this alternation is based on four central semantic facets of the clause-level expression, which crosscut the grammatical functions of the partitive. Firstly, the partitive expresses an unbounded quantity of a referent conceptualised as a mass (the Q-partitive). The Q-partitive is common in the S_e and O arguments. Secondly, the partitive O can indicate non-culminating aspect (the A-partitive). Thirdly, the partitive marks negation in the O and S_e arguments (the N-partitive). The fourth function of the partitive, attested in PCs only, is to predicate a mass conceptualisation of the subject referent in copular constructions (the M-partitive). Huumo's account follows the analysis of the nominal structures in Cognitive Grammar, most notably Langacker (2016).

In the second article, Minna Jaakola analyses the polysemy of the genitive in the framework of Cognitive Grammar. The genitive has a wide variety of uses – it marks the modifier in the NP, AP, and AdvP, the complement in the AdpP, the possessive predicate complement, and the subject argument in the non-finite and certain modal constructions. Jaakola proposes an analysis that describes the semantics of the genitive on a general level and

as a network of specific uses. At the schematic level, the variety of functions is motivated by the Reference Point asymmetry (Langacker 1991a, 1993), which is analysed from the syntactic-semantic and discourse perspective. The genitive nouns are used as conceptual backgrounds to localise other entities designated by the given construction. Alongside the reference point effect, the polysemy of the genitive category is structured by specific-level schemas. Based on the analysis of written and spoken data, the article proposes that the modifier genitive is the most central, and its core meanings – possession and other person referenced relations, part/whole, location, and co-denoting expressions – are bases for other uses. This article also discusses the syncretism of both the genitive-accusative and the genitive-instructive and justifies why the genitive and accusative are separate cases in present-day Finnish.

Part two focuses on cases that predominantly have adverbial functions. Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö describes the semantic system of Finnish locative cases. The focus of her article is on six case forms that comprise the core of the local case system in modern Finnish, the inessive, illative, elative; adessive, allative, ablative. In the frame of Cognitive Grammar, the local cases are analysed as relations and each of them has two basic spatial senses. These can be described as image schemas that are projected onto more abstract semantic domains. Depending on the constructions and the semantic categories of the noun stems, the meanings include abstract domains such as time, possession, psychophysical and other types of state-of-affairs, scales as well as abstract locations and paths in general. In addition, the individual case forms have conventional senses such as source, topic, cause, reason, means, etc. This analysis comprises the systematic meaning organisation of the local cases, including the relation of the individual senses to those that are reflected in the threefold organisation of stative versus dynamic cases. Sometimes a more schematic construal prevails in which the opposition between the case series is less significant. In this article, Onikki-Rantajääskö presents a synthesis of the Cognitive Linguistic description of the Finnish local cases on the basis of numerous earlier corpus-based studies (for example, see Leino et al. 1990, Leino 1989, 1991, 1993, 2002; Onikki 1990, 1994; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 2006).

In his article titled “The construal of change in Finnish translative expressions”, Eero Voutilainen examines the polysemy of the Finnish translative case *-ksi* (‘to/for’). This study focuses specifically on how expressions with the translative are used to construe different types of change and dynamicity (*lämmitä 6 dl maitoa haaleaksi* warm-IMP.2SG 6 dl milk-PAR lukewarm-TRA ‘warm 6 decilitres of milk lukewarm’; *protestanttiväestö tuntee itsensä katkeraksi* protestant-folks feel-3SG itself-POSS3 bitter-TRA ‘the protestant community feels bitter’). Voutilainen makes a distinction between expressions of ‘actual’ and fictive change in the frame of Cognitive Grammar and Cognitive semantics (Langacker 1990; Talmy 2000). Voutilainen’s article also describes the interplay between the translative case, the predicate verb and the argument structure of the clause in the construal of change. His analysis also addresses the fuzzy boundaries between change and other directional phenomena, such as purpose and consequence.

Emmi Hynönen describes in her article titled “Border zones of the

Finnish essive case and its semantic neighbours” similar or overlapping uses of the essive case and other elements from the viewpoint of Cognitive Grammar, particularly concentrating on the semantic border zones and their conceptual description (see Janda 1993; 2004). The Finnish essive case (-*na*) has the primary semantic function of expressing non-permanent states, that is, roles, functions and properties (*Minä olen opettaja-na ~ sairaa-na* I be-1.SG teacher-ESS ~ ill-ESS ‘I am [temporarily working as] a teacher ~ [not chronically] ill’). The essive is also used as a case of state-denoting predicate complements (*Minä työskentelen opettaja-na* I work.FREQ-1.SG teacher-ESS ‘I am working as a teacher’) and depictive secondary predicates (*Minä juon kahvin kylmä-nä* I drink-1SG coffee-ACC cold-ESS ‘I am drinking the coffee cold’). The essive also has progressive-continuative meanings, and it can be described as an aspectual affix used in nominal predication. Yet another role of the essive is when it has functions parallel to the temporal converb construction (*Nuore-na ~ Ollessani nuori olin opettaja-na* young-ESS ~ be.INF.INE.POSS1SG young.NOM be-PST-1SG teacher-ESS ‘When I was young, I worked as a teacher’). Hynönen describes the functions of the essive and discusses the division of labour with other elements in the Finnish case system, such as the inessive, the adessive, and the translative, as well as other grammatical elements such as the manner adverbial markers (-*sti* -‘ly’) and the infinite verb affixes used in converb structures (Hynönen 2016; 2017; see also Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; Leinonen 2008). The grammatical elements that convey essive-like meanings only partially overlap with the essive-case expressions.

In her article “Comitative case in use”, Maija Belliard presents an introduction to the Finnish comitative case (-*ine*) and analyses its meanings and usage in a large contemporary text corpus. This analysis reveals that the comitative case has a wider usage in current written Finnish than what has been previously described in Finnish grammars and textbooks, and that the usage is productive. The article also briefly compares the usage of the comitative case and the postposition construction *kanssa* ‘with’. The corpus data demonstrate that the two forms have different functional domains and as a consequence, it does not appear likely that *kanssa* would replace the comitative case in the usage as has been assumed.

The abessive case belongs to the marginal cases of the Finnish case system together with the comitative and instructive. The abessive has a caritive meaning of ‘without’ (*hatu-tta* hat-ABE ‘without a hat’). In the article titled “Finnish abessive in contemporary internet writing”, Auroora Vihervalli and Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö describe the basic constructions and the semantic categories of noun stems that take the abessive case. They also compare the use of the abessive with the use of the preposition *ilman* ‘without’ in a corpus-based study. The data were collected from an internet discussion forum that represents modern informal Finnish. On the basis of the data, the writers attempt to answer the question of whether the abessive case is losing ground in comparison to the preposition.

The last section of the volume shifts the analytical focus to the border zones of the case system and related phenomena. The section begins with Mari Siirainen’s analysis of three nearly synonymous change-of-state

constructions in Finnish. All these constructions use the same predicate verb (*tulla* ‘to become’), but they have different case constellations as the undergoer of a change and the endpoint of the process are marked differently. Firstly, the NOM construction includes a grammatical subject marked with the nominative and the endpoint with the partitive (or nominative) (*kahvi tul-i vahva-a* coffee.NOM become-PST.3SG strong-PAR ‘Coffee turned strong’). Secondly, the TRA construction also has a normal nominative marked subject. The translative case marks the endpoint (*lapsi tul-i sairaa-ksi* child.NOM become-PST.3SG ill-TRA ‘The child fell ill’). Thirdly, the subjectless ELA construction has the undergoer marked with the elative case and the outcome with the partitive (or nominative) case (*kahvi-sta tul-i vahva-a* coffee-ELA become-PST.3SG strong-PAR ‘The coffee turned strong’). However, the NOM construction is almost extinct in contemporary written Finnish. The analysis offers a comparison of the constructions as well as observations on the rise of one construction and the demise of another.

The article by Krista Ojutkangas, “Dynamic local cases in use: Expressing directional events in Finnish”, focuses on dynamic local cases, with special attention to the spatial descriptions which have not only one, but two, or even several landmarks. This study is based on a corpus of recorded Finnish dialect samples and the results are compared with previous studies on lexicalisation patterns. The Finnish data both support and enrich the views presented earlier, for example, by displaying a strong goal bias, which is a tendency to favour expressions of goal landmarks over sources. In addition, the article discusses not only motion verbs but a variety of dynamic verb types and takes into account the construction type of the landmark expression in the study.

The article titled “Readymade grammar: Why are Finnish postpositions an open class?” by Minna Jaakola and Krista Ojutkangas illustrates further the role of inflection in Finnish grammar by focusing on the class of postpositions. A majority of Finnish postpositions are lexicalised forms of case-inflected nouns, and the category of postpositions appears to be an open class with wide-ranging semantics. This article addresses what it means for a grammatical category to be open and the basis for that openness. This analysis inquires whether and how it is possible for a case-inflected noun to jump directly into a postposition phrase without taking individual steps on a path to grammaticalisation. As many of the Finnish postposition sets have a number of members, it appears implausible that each would have undergone an individual grammaticalisation process. The objective of this study is to evaluate the emergence of new postpositions from a wider perspective and to determine the motivation for the openness elsewhere in constructions, semantics, language ideologies as well the impact of other languages.

In the last article of the volume, “The Finnish *sti*-forms: derivation or case inflection?”, Anni Jääskeläinen discusses the status of the productive *-sti*-form. An open question in Finnish linguistics tradition is whether the suffix *-sti* is either a derivational or an inflectional morpheme. Almost all Finnish adjectives, many numerals and some pronouns may be derived into adverbs with the suffix *-sti*, producing forms such as *kauniisti* ‘beautifully’, *nopeasti*

‘quickly’ and *toivottavasti* ‘hopefully’. Although *sti*-adverbs are often said to depict manner, they can in fact have a multitude of contextually derived interpretations, such as manner, quantity, multiplicative, intensity, comment, duration or marginal, depending on the meaning of the base adjective and the clausal or phrasal context (see Orpana 1988). Jääskeläinen tests the status of *sti*-forms in a Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar framework, and reconsiders the dividing line between derivation and case inflection. Jääskeläinen argues that for most of the usages, the productive *sti*-forms can be considered as inflected adjectives: the general function of the suffix *-sti* is to attach the quality expressed by an adjective to a process. Jääskeläinen also discusses the theoretical pros and cons of this perspective: if we adopt the viewpoint that *sti*-forms are instances of case inflection, how much do we need to expand the idea of case inflection (if at all)? Furthermore, what are the advantages of this type of thinking?

This volume neither exhausts the discussion on the Finnish case system nor the analyses of cases in the framework of cognitive linguistics. Instead, our aim is to demonstrate the fruitfulness of meaning-based analysis, and the starting-point that meaning is not to be found in distributions only as many quantificational approaches suggest (for discussion this topic, see Kanner 2022). The discussion on the methods and validity of the argumentation on such an intangible phenomenon as linguistic meaning in general and the meaning of grammatical units in particular will surely continue. The articles in this volume can be considered as one contribution towards a better understanding of how the Finnish case system serves the meaning-making function of the language.

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Cases and core arguments I

Toward a Cognitive Grammar account of the Finnish partitive case

Abstract

I present an integrated Cognitive Grammar account of the central grammatical and semantic functions of the Finnish partitive case. I start by briefly introducing the main grammatical functions of the partitive: it marks some object (O) arguments, some existential S (= S_e) arguments, and some predicate complements (PC). In each function, it alternates with other cases: the nominative in S_e, O, and PC marking and the accusative in O marking. I argue that the partitive has four central semantic functions that crosscut its grammatical functions. First, it expresses an unbounded **quantity** of a referent conceptualized as a mass (the **Q-partitive**). The Q-partitive is common in S_e and O arguments. Second, the partitive O can indicate non-culminating **aspect** (the **A-partitive**). Third, the partitive marks **negation** in O and S_e arguments (the **N-partitive**). The fourth function of the partitive, attested in PCs, is to predicate a **mass** conceptualization of the subject referent in copular constructions (the **M-partitive**). My account is based on recent treatments of nominal structures in Cognitive Grammar, most notably Langacker (2016).

1 Introduction

The use of the partitive case is undoubtedly one of the most intriguing problems in Finnish syntax, both for the grammarian attempting to give an adequate account and for the second-language learner. The partitive is used in essentially all the main syntactic functions of nominals (noun phrases): it can mark object (O) arguments (example 1), S arguments in existential clauses (henceforth S_e arguments; example 2) and predicate complements¹ (PCs; example 3).

1 I use the term **predicate complement** (PC) as a cover term for **predicate nominals** (PN, as in *Lisa is a bus driver*), and **predicate adjectives** (PA, as in *The movie was scary*).

- (1) Liisa rakasta-a Heikki-ä.²
 name love-PRS.3SG name-PAR
 ‘Liisa loves Heikki.’
- (2) Kannu-ssa on kahvi-a.
 pot-INE be.PRS.3SG coffee-PAR
 ‘There is (some) coffee in the pot.’
- (3) Kahvi on musta-a.
 coffee be.PRS.3SG black-PAR
 ‘Coffee is black’; ‘The coffee is black.’

However, the partitive is never the sole marker for all nominals in a certain grammatical function. In each of its uses, it alternates with other cases: chiefly with the nominative (examples 4 and 5), but in O marking also with the accusative³ (6).

- (4) Pöydä-llä on kirja.
 table-ADE be.PRS.3SG book.NOM
 ‘There is a book on the table.’ [S_c]
- (5) Tuoli on korkea.
 chair be.PRS.3SG high.NOM
 ‘The chair is high.’ [PC]
- (6) Liisa tapas-i Heiki-n
 name meet-PST.3SG name-ACC
 ‘Liisa met Heikki.’ [O]

The S_c is in the partitive in (2) but in the nominative in (4), and the same is true of the PCs in (3) vs. (5). In O marking, the counterpart of the partitive is the accusative (in the singular); consider examples (1) vs. (6). Note that the accusative case (with the ending *-n*) is only used in the singular. In the plural, the partitive O alternates with the nominative (see Section 2.1).

In addition to the functions listed above, the partitive also has other uses in certain less central grammatical functions, which due to considerations of space will not be discussed here in detail. It marks, for instance, the complements of some adpositions (e.g. *Helsinki-ä kohti* [Helsinki-PAR towards] ‘towards Helsinki’; *ennen viikonloppu-a* [before weekend-PAR] ‘before the weekend’), and indicates the mass measured in quantifier constructions (*paljon kahvi-a* [a.lot.of coffee-PAR] ‘a lot of coffee’) and measure noun constructions (*säkillinen peruno-i-ta* [sackful potato-PL-PAR] ‘a sackful of potatoes’).

The rules governing the use of the partitive and of the other cases with which it alternates in S_c, O and PC marking are complex, and the choice of case depends on a combination of syntactic, semantic and discourse features.

- 2 All the examples in this chapter are invented. This is for the sake of simplicity and because the basic facts presented (in Sections 1 and 2) are not controversial—similar accounts can be found in standard grammars. The main contribution of the chapter is theoretical (Section 3).
- 3 Unlike Hakulinen et al. (2004) in their comprehensive grammar, I use the traditional term *accusative* for the case ending *-n* that marks some object nominals in the singular and looks similar to (but is historically distinct from; see e.g. Anttila 1989: 103) the genitive, which likewise has the ending *-n* in the singular.

In Section 2, I outline the factors that trigger the partitive in each of its grammatical functions, and summarize their shared features in traditional grammatical terms. Section 3 then presents a Cognitive Grammar account of the main semantic functions of partitive-marked nominals: among other matters, I discuss the kind of reference they give and how they relate to the systems of grounding and quantification. I argue that a CG account, which emphasizes the importance of conceptualization as the foundation of linguistic meaning, allows a unified and theoretically more accurate account of the diverse functions of the partitive than traditional accounts, which tend to overlook such issues. In Section 4, I sum up the results of the study.

2 Main grammatical functions of the Finnish partitive

2.1 OBJECT MARKING

According to the comprehensive grammar by Hakulinen et al. (2004, §1229), more than half of all grammatical objects in Finnish (58% in their written-language sample and 56% in their spoken-language sample) are in the partitive. This is not surprising, since the partitive object is used under one or more of three conditions that are frequently realized: it indicates a) that the object nominal designates an unbounded quantity of a mass (7), b) that the clausal aspect is of a non-culminating kind (8), and/or c) that the object nominal is under negation (9).

- (7) Ost-i-n omeno-i-ta.
 buy-PST-1SG apple-PL-PAR
 ‘I bought [sm⁴] apples.’ [UNBOUNDED QUANTITY]
- (8) Liisa aja-a auto-a.
 name drive-PRS.3SG car-PAR
 ‘Liisa drives / is driving a/the car.’ [NON-CULMINATING ASPECT]
- (9) Heikki ei löytä-nyt kirja-a.
 name NEG.3SG find-PTCP book-PAR
 ‘Heikki did not find a/the book.’ [NEGATION]

Examples (7)–(9) illustrate the three main factors that trigger the partitive object. The examples are such that only one factor plays a role in each. Unbounded quantity expressed by the object nominal ‘apples’ triggers the partitive in (7), but not in (8) or (9), in which the objects designate discrete entities (which are quantitatively bounded). Were the nominative plural used in (7) (*omena-t* [apple-PL.NOM]), the object nominal would be understood as an expression of a bounded quantity of apples. Such a bounded quantity is most naturally conceived of as definite (‘I bought the apples’) but it may

4 I follow Langacker (2016) in representing the English unstressed *some* as *sm*. According to Langacker (2016: 93), *sm* is an indefinite article for mass nouns, and hence an element of grounding. It is often a natural translation equivalent for the Finnish partitive object that expresses quantitative unboundedness of a relatively small quantity. For the expression of indefiniteness by the Finnish partitive, with a detailed comparison to English, see Chesterman (1991).

alternatively be understood as an indefinite expression for a quantitatively bounded set, such as ‘a [set of] apples needed for a certain dish’ (‘I bought [a set of] apples [for the apple pie]’). Below, I discuss the ‘set’ meanings of the plural nominative O in more detail.

Non-culminating aspect⁵ triggers the partitive in (8), where the verb ‘drive’ is atelic, but not in (7), where the event culminates instantaneously. Negation triggers the partitive in (9) but not in (7) or (8), which are affirmative. Note that the partitive in (9) is due solely to negation, since the object nominal designates a discrete entity (‘a book’) and the verb ‘find’ designates an achievement, i.e. an event type that culminates instantaneously. In affirmative clauses, the verb *löytää* ‘find’ does not allow the aspectual partitive O. The partitive in (9) is thus seemingly not motivated by quantity or aspect. However, aspect (8) and negation (9) are related phenomena, in that negation can commonly be conceptualized as a state (the continuing non-occurrence of an event). Despite its achievement verb, the negation in (9) can thus be argued to involve aspectual features of a state, in terms of Vendler (1957). It is likewise important that non-occurring events do not culminate, another feature shared by expressions of non-culminating aspect and negation.

Examples (7) – (9) are, at least on the face of it, clear cases. A particular occurrence of the partitive object, however, may quite commonly be motivated by two or even all three of the factors listed above. Quantitative unboundedness, for instance, commonly gives rise to non-culminating aspect if the sub-quantities participate in the event sequentially (and the object nominal is an *incremental theme* in terms of Dowty 1991). That is why example (10) has a number of readings, in which non-culminating aspect, unbounded quantity, or both can be factors triggering the partitive:

- (10) Heikki sö-i puoluko-i-ta.
 name eat-PST.3SG lingonberry-PL-PAR
 a) ‘Heikki was eating lingonberries.’ [QUANTITY + ASPECT]
 b) ‘Heikki ate lingonberries.’ [QUANTITY ONLY]
 c) ‘Heikki was eating the lingonberries.’ [ASPECT ONLY]

In reading (a), the quantity of lingonberries is unbounded, and the event is ongoing (progressive; thus non-culminating): Heikki is eating lingonberries, and since the overall quantity of berries is conceived of as unbounded, the event can (theoretically) go on indefinitely. In this reading, the unbounded quantity of berries supports non-culminating aspect. In reading (b), the

5 More precisely, *non-culminating aspect* is a cover term for several different aspectual meanings, all of which can be expressed by the Finnish aspectual partitive object: atelic, progressive, cessative, and prospective. An *atelic* event lacks a point of culmination altogether (an English example: *George stared at the moon*). A *progressive* event is ongoing at the topic time (*George was eating pizza*). A *cessative* event is of a telic kind but ceases before reaching its point of culmination (*George ate [some of the] pizza*). A *prospective* event is likewise of a telic kind but is only anticipated at the topic time (*George is killing* [‘trying to kill’] *the mosquito*). Progressive, cessative, and prospective are different kinds of *viewpoint aspect*. (See Huumo 2010 for a detailed account; for the term *topic time*, see Klein 1994).

partitive has a quantificational function only: Heikki has finished eating, but the quantity of berries he ate is conceptualized as unbounded. In reading (c), the overall quantity of the berries to be eaten is bounded (for example, Heikki is eating a serving of berries). The partitive now signals non-culminating (progressive) aspect only, and represents the ‘eating’ as ongoing.

The alternative to the partitive in (10) is the nominative plural, which is much less ambiguous: it means that the event has culminated and concerned a bounded quantity of berries (10’).

(10’)	Heikki	sö-i	puoluka-t.
	name	eat-PST.3SG	lingonberry-PL.NOM
	‘Heikki ate up the lingonberries’; ‘Heikki ate [a serving of] lingonberries.’		

In (10), the bounded quantity of berries is most likely definite (‘the lingonberries’) but it may alternatively be indefinite, if the object designates a serving of berries. Thus, even though there is a correlation on the one hand between the partitive O and indefiniteness, on the other between the nominative O and definiteness, this correlation is not absolute. Since Finnish has no dedicated markers for definiteness, definiteness is often inferred from the context. It can also be signaled indirectly by other means, such as demonstratives, word order, and case marking (a detailed account in Finnish is Vilkkuna 1992). However, since the primary function of these elements is to express other meanings than definiteness, they are not always reliable clues to definiteness. In (8) and (9), for instance, the nominals ‘car’ and ‘book’ are in the partitive for reasons related to aspect and negation, and the examples are vague with regard to definiteness. The accusative object designating a discrete entity in (11) below is similarly vague with respect to definiteness (‘a book’ or ‘the book’). The accusative signals that the object nominal designates a discrete entity and that the aspect culminates; not whether the object is definite or indefinite.

(11)	Liisa	löys-i	kirja-n.
	name	find-PST.3SG	book-ACC
	‘Liisa found a/the book.’		

It should also be emphasized that the above examples illustrate only the most general principles of Finnish object marking; for a number of exceptions, see e.g. Huumo (2009, 2010); for nominals including quantifiers, Huumo (2017, 2020).

2.2. S_E MARKING

In existential clauses, the S_e argument⁶ may be in either the nominative or the partitive. The main function of the partitive S_e is to express an unbounded quantity, and it is used in S_e arguments that are headed either by a mass noun

6 Traditionally, existential S arguments have been analyzed as grammatical subjects, but Huumo and Helasvuo (2015) present a number of arguments against such an analysis. To avoid controversies, I use the term *S-argument* (= the single argument of an intransitive predication, not necessarily a grammatical subject; cf. Comrie 2013) for these elements, abbreviated as S_e (the S argument of an existential clause).

in the singular (12) or by a plural form (13). Only S_c arguments headed by a count noun in the singular are in the nominative (14), but negation turns even these into the partitive (15).

- (12) Kannu-ssa on kahvi-a.
 pot-INE be.PRS.3SG coffee-PAR
 ‘There is coffee in the pot.’
- (13) Kadu-lla on auto-j-a.
 street-ADE be.PRS.3SG car-PL-PAR
 ‘There are cars on the street.’
- (14) Pöydä-llä on kirja.
 table-ADE be.PRS.3SG book.NOM
 ‘There is a book on the table.’
- (15) Pöydä-llä ei ole kirja-a.
 table-ADE NEG.3SG be.CNG book-PAR
 ‘There is no book on the table.’

Note that in an existential clause the verb is always in the 3rd person singular (even in 13, which has a plural S_c), and does not show subject–verb agreement with the S_c . This is one reason why Huumo and Helasvuo (2015) do not analyze the S_c as a grammatical subject. Other reasons include the semantics and discourse functions of the S_c : it is typically non-topical and introduces a discourse-new referent, but does not constitute a semantic starting point for the predication (see Huumo 2003; Huumo and Helasvuo 2015).

Examples (12)–(15) are canonical existential clauses, and their typical word order is XVS_c , with X as a locative adverbial. However, since Finnish has a discourse-pragmatically conditioned free word order (see Vilkuna 1989 for details), it is quite common for the S_c to occupy a preverbal position (Karlsson 1978). In that case, it is only the morphosyntax (partitive case; absence of person and number agreement between S_c and verb) that marks the clause as an existential clause.

The range of verbs that can be used in existential clauses is actually quite wide (as most recently demonstrated by Larjavaara 2019 with extensive written-language data), although in actual usage the verb *olla* ‘be; exist’ dominates, especially in spoken discourse. Even highly agentive intransitive verbs are perfectly acceptable in existential clauses, as illustrated by (16) and (17), and occasionally the partitive may even mark the A arguments of transitive clauses (for these, see Huumo 2018).

- (16) Koulu-ssa opiskele-e myös ruotsinkielis-i-ä.
 school-INE study-PRS.3SG also Swedish-speaker-PL-PAR
 ‘There are also Swedish-speakers studying in the school.’
- (17) Kilpailu-ssa juokse-e loistav-i-a juoksijo-i-ta.
 contest-INE run-PRS.3SG excellent-PL-PAR runner-PL-PAR
 ‘There are excellent runners running in the contest.’

It is manifest that the case marking of the S_c resembles that of the object, with the exception that aspect is not a factor triggering the partitive in S_c arguments. The S_c in (14), for example, is in the nominative even though the aspect (both lexical and clausal) is non-culminating.

Irrespective of their case marking, S_e arguments tend to be indefinite, and they introduce discourse-new referents. This is the case even when the S_e is headed by a definite demonstrative, as in (18) (an Internet example from Huumo, 2023).

- (18) (Skorpionit ovat vanha eliöryhmä.)
 Nii-tä ol-i jo
 they-PAR be-PST.3SG already
 yli 400 miljoona-a vuot-ta sitten.
 over 400 million-PAR year-PAR ago
 ‘(Scorpions are an old species.) They existed [= ”there existed them”] already
 over 400 million years ago.’

In (18) the partitive S_e *niitä* ‘them’ is a clause-initial and topical demonstrative pronoun. It thus certainly seems to be definite. The discourse topic refers to scorpions (in general), and the example goes on to assert that scorpions existed as early as four hundred million years ago. The example is a good illustration of the function of the partitive. Even though the S_e argument is lexically a demonstrative pronoun, the partitive case and singular 3rd person verb form confirm that the sentence is existential. In spite of its apparent definiteness, the partitive S_e maintains its indefinite nature by indicating what Vilkuna (1989,260) calls a *non-exhaustive* reference: the example does not mean that *all* (relevant) scorpions or all members of a specific *group* of scorpions existed four hundred million years ago, but that there existed (some) scorpions then and other scorpions at other times. The non-exhaustive reference of the partitive allows what Itkonen (1980) calls a *surplus*: the partitive S_e does not refer to a class or a group exhaustively but gives an indefinite reference to an unbounded quantity of a mass or a multiplicity of entities belonging to the class or group. In contrast, the nominative *ne* ‘they’ in (18) would mean that all scorpions (all members of the species or all members of a topical subgroup of scorpions) existed at that time (and none at other times).

Now let us return to nominative-marked S_e arguments. As we saw in (14), an S_e headed by a count noun in the singular is in the nominative unless it is under negation, as in (15). An S_e in the nominative singular does not designate an unbounded quantity, but a discrete object in its entirety. Even an S_e in the plural, which is typically in the partitive and designates an unbounded mass, can be in the nominative if it instead expresses a quantitatively bounded set. Consider (19) vs. (20).

- (19) Laatikko-ssa on pelikortti-t.
 box-INE be.PRS.3SG cards-PL.NOM
 ‘There is [a deck of] playing cards in the box.’
 (20) Laatikko-ssa on pelikortte-j-a
 box-INE be.PRS.3SG card-PL-PAR
 ‘There are playing cards in the box.’

While (20) is a canonical existential clause with a plural partitive S_e designating an unbounded quantity of cards, the nominative plural S_e in (19) refers to a bounded set, which in this case is a deck of cards. The XVS $_e$ word

order and lack of verb agreement confirm that (19) is an existential clause; under negation, the S_c in (19) would become a partitive. Note also that the S_c is indefinite in both (19) and (20); in this respect it contrasts with the definite nominative S (and the verb agreeing with it) in the non-existential (19’):

- (19’) Pelikortti-t o-vat laatiko-ssa.
 card-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL box-INE
 ‘The playing cards are in the box.’

This again shows that the Finnish case marking system of S arguments does not explicitly mark a nominal as definite or indefinite. The case marking instead distinguishes bounded quantities (NOM) from unbounded ones (PAR), or, from a more discourse-oriented point of view, indicates the opposition between an exhaustive reference (NOM) and a non-exhaustive one (PAR) (Vilkuna 1989, 260).

2.3 PREDICATE COMPLEMENTS

The partitive also marks predicate complements (PC) in copular clauses. I use the term *predicate complement* as a cover term for predicate nominals (noun phrases, PN) and predicate adjectives (PA). In the same way as in O and S_c arguments, the partitive that marks the PC alternates with the nominative. The case marking of the PC, however, reflects not only the lexical semantics of the PC itself but also (and primarily) the semantics of the subject nominal, which itself is in the nominative. This concerns especially predicate adjectives (PA). If the subject nominal is (headed by) a count noun in the singular and designates a discrete object, the PA is in the nominative (21). The PA is in the partitive if the subject nominal designates a mass, i.e. is headed by a mass noun in the singular (22) or by a plural form (23).

- (21) Tuoli on korkea.
 chair.NOM be.PRS.3SG high.NOM
 ‘The chair is high.’
- (22) Kahvi on musta-a.
 coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG black-PAR
 ‘(The) coffee is black.’
- (23) Tuoli-t o-vat korke-i-ta.
 chair-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL high-PL-PAR
 ‘(The) chairs are high.’

Aspect and negation do not affect the case marking of the PC. For example, non-culminating aspect, which is common in copular constructions (most of which express a state in aspectual terms), fails to trigger the partitive PC in (21). Negation too fails to trigger the partitive in PCs, as illustrated by (24).

- (24) Tuoli ei ole korkea.
 chair.NOM NEG.3SG be.CNG high.NOM
 ‘The chair is not high.’

When the subject nominal designates something concrete, whether a discrete object or a mass, the rules of case marking of the PC are relatively

straightforward. However, when the subject nominal is an abstract noun, and especially when it is an action nominalization, the case of the PA largely depends on the speaker's choice of presenting the subject nominal alternatively as similar to a discrete object (by using a nominative PC) or to a substance (by using a partitive PC).⁷

When the subject of a Finnish copular clause is an action nominalization, the case of the PC reflects aspectual features of the nominalization and of the stem verb from which the nominalization is derived (for details, see Huumo 2009). For instance, a nominalization derived from the punctual verb *aivastaa* 'sneeze' is conceptualized as a metaphorical discrete object ('a sneeze'), which is why the PC can only be in the nominative in (25). The nominalized durative activity of 'fishing' in (26), on the other hand, is conceptualized as mass-like, which is why the PC can only be in the partitive (for a cognitive-linguistic account of aspectual classes metaphorically conceptualized as discrete objects vs. masses, see also Janda 2004). Note that both nominalizations are formed by the same derivative affix *-us*, which here derives nouns from the verb stems *aivasta-* 'to sneeze' and *kalasta-* 'to fish', respectively. The case of the PA thus directly follows from the semantics of the stem verb.

- (25) Aivastus ol-i äänekäs.
 sneeze.NOM be-PST.3SG loud.NOM
 'The sneeze was loud.'
- (26) Kalastus ol-i jännittävä-ä
 fishing.NOM be-PST.3SG exciting-PAR
 'Fishing was exciting.'

Often both the nominative and the partitive are possible, and the choice between them reflects fine-grained differences in conceptualization. For example, the nominative PC in (27) indicates that the subject nominalization designates a discrete entity, 'a run' as an accomplishment (Langacker's *episodic conceptualization*); the partitive PA in (28) assigns the subject nominalization the meaning 'running', an ongoing activity conceptualized as a homogeneous mass, excluding the bounding from the scope of the predication.

- (27) Juoksu ol-i nopea.
 run.NOM be-PST.3SG fast.NOM
 'The run (an episode, as in a race) was fast.'
- (28) Juoksu ol-i nopea-a
 run.NOM be-PST.3SG fast-PAR
 'The running (an activity conceptualized as an internal series) was fast.'

Such differences are also related to the fact that a nominative PC typically assigns a quality to the subject referent as a whole, while a partitive PC

7 In terms of Cognitive Grammar (see Section 3), the discrete-object analogy for an action nominalization represents an *episodic* conceptualization of the activity and profiles a region whose constitutive entities are the component states of the process designated by the stem verb. In contrast, the substance analogy profiles an *internal series* of component states as homogeneous, and excludes the bounding from the scope of the predication. (Cf. Langacker 1991: 25–26.)

assigns it to each (conceivable) component or sub-quantity of the subject referent. In other words, the nominative PC expresses a holistic and the partitive PC a distributive meaning. This is especially clear in the plural, where the nominative PC can be used with a plural subject only if the latter designates a bounded set or an entity that consists of several components. Consider (29) vs. (30) (from Sadeniemi 1950) and (31) vs. (32).

- (29) Uutise-t ol-i-vat lyhye-t.
 news-PL.NOM be-PST-3PL short-PL.NOM
 ‘The news (= the newscast) was short.’
- (30) Uutise-t ol-i-vat lyhy-i-tä.
 news-PL.NOM be-PST-3PL short-PL-PAR
 ‘The news [reports] were short.’
- (31) Nämä shakkinappula-t o-vat musta-t.
 these.NOM chess.piece-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL black-PL.NOM
 ‘These chess pieces (= in a set) are black.’
- (32) Nämä shakkinappula-t o-vat must-i-a.
 these.NOM chess.piece-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL black-PL-PAR
 ‘These chess pieces are black.’

Example (29) represents a conceptualization of the subject referent as a bounded set, a complete newscast (which consists of news reports); the nominative PC then assigns a quality to this set as a whole. The partitive PC in (30) has a distributive meaning and characterizes each news report individually. In (31) vs. (32) a similar difference distinguishes the ‘set’ reading and the ‘unbounded mass’ reading of a plural subject. The nominative PC in (31) means that the pieces referred to constitute the subset of black pieces in a chess set. In (32), the partitive PC indicates a distributive meaning in which the quality of blackness is attributed to each chess piece individually, and there is no indication whether the pieces constitute or are part of a set.

Similar oppositions are relevant in copular clauses that involve subject nominals headed by a mass noun in the singular. Consider (31) and (32):

- (31) Tämä kahvi on pieni.
 this.NOM coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG small.NOM
 ‘This coffee (a serving) is small.’
- (32) Tämä kahvi on musta.
 this.NOM coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG black.NOM
 ‘This coffee (a serving) is black.’

In spite of the fact that mass-noun subjects usually trigger the partitive PC (as in 22), the reading whereby the subject designates a bounded quantity, such as a serving, triggers the nominative PC in (31) and (32). In (31) the PC ‘small’ expresses a quality that can only characterize a bounded quantity, such as a serving of coffee, not ‘coffee’ as a substance. The ‘serving of coffee’ meaning is also relevant in (32), which can be compared to the more typical (22) with the partitive PC (meaning ‘(the) coffee is black’). The quality of blackness can be attributed alternatively either to coffee as a substance, as in (22), or to a serving of coffee, as in (32). Thus, (32) is felicitous for instance when the speaker brings two cups of coffee to the table and says that only the one referred to is black (the other one has milk in it).

Lastly, consider copular clauses in which the PC is a predicate nominal (PN), as opposed to the predicate adjectives discussed thus far. In copular clauses with a PN it is the semantics not only of the subject but also of the PN itself that plays a role in the case marking of the PC. For example, the subject in (33) and (34) designates a discrete object, ‘a ring,’ which normally would trigger the nominative PN, as in (34). In (33), however, the PN ‘gold’ designates the substance the ring is made of, and triggers the partitive PN. In (34) the PN, ‘gift,’ refers not to a substance but to a discrete object; thus the nominative PN is used.

- (33) Sormus on kulta-a.
ring.NOM be.PRS.3SG gold-PAR
‘The ring is gold.’
- (34) Sormus on lahja.
ring.NOM be.PRS.3SG gift.NOM
‘The ring is a gift.’

When the subject nominal designates a substance, the nominative PN headed by a mass noun often represents a conceptualization of the substance as of a qualitatively unique kind (35), as opposed to (36), where the partitive PN results in a reading with the subject nominal designating a substance as such. Note that English signals this difference with the presence (35) or absence (36) of the indefinite article (as shown in the translations).

- (35) Huoneenlämmö-ssä vesi on neste.
room-temperature-INE water.NOM be.PRS.3SG liquid.NOM
‘At room temperature, water is a liquid.’
- (36) Huoneenlämmö-ssä vesi on nestet-tä.
room-temperature-INE water.NOM be.PRS.3SG liquid-PAR
‘At room temperature, water is liquid⁸.’

2.4 INTERIM SUMMARY

Table 1 gives a summary of the functions of the Finnish partitive marking the object, the existential S_e , and the predicate complement.

Function	Partitive O	Partitive S_e	Partitive PC
Non-culminating aspect	+	-	-
Nominal under negation	+	+	-
Unbounded quantity	+	+	-
Indefiniteness	(+)	(+)	-
Conceptualization as mass	(+)	(+)	+

Table 1. Main functions of the partitive in the marking of core arguments.

8 Note that unlike the English *liquid*, the Finnish *neste* is only a noun, not an adjective. Thus, *liquid* in the English translation of (36) is a mass noun, not an adjective.

The table first lists the three classic functions of the partitive object (aspect, negation and quantity), followed by two additional functions related to the quantificational one: the expression of indefiniteness and conceptualization as a mass. A plus sign without parentheses indicates that a partitive form used in the corresponding grammatical function may be triggered by the respective meaning alone, while minus (-) signs indicate that this is not the case. A plus sign in parentheses, i.e. (+) indicates that the partitive may indirectly express the respective meaning, in addition to its more fundamental function.

As Table 1 shows, the object-marking partitive has three main functions: aspect, negation, and quantification. In addition, when it expresses unbounded quantity, it implies indefiniteness and conceptualization of the object referent as a mass. The meaning of a mass as such, however, does not trigger the partitive object: a mass can alternatively be conceptualized as quantitatively bounded, in which case the partitive is not used. An object nominal headed by an indefinite count noun likewise does not trigger the partitive, in spite of its indefiniteness (recall example 11). This demonstrates that indefiniteness or conceptualization as a mass are not features that trigger the partitive O; rather, the partitive O that expresses unbounded quantity may additionally imply these two features.

The middle column sums up the functions of the partitive S_e in existential clauses: it expresses negation and quantification but lacks the aspectual function. Again, indefiniteness and mass conceptualization are not directly expressed by a partitive-marked S_e but are implied by the partitive that expresses unbounded quantity (hence the parentheses). As in objects, mass conceptualization of the S_e as such does not trigger the partitive. Masses can alternatively be conceptualized as quantitatively bounded, in which case the nominative S_e is used; recall example (19) with the nominative plural S_e designating a bounded set ('deck of cards').

As regards the marking of PCs, a partitive PC expresses conceptualization of the subject referent (or of the referent of the PC itself, if it is a nominal) as a mass. Note that in PCs the question is not about quantity: the subject nominal of a copular clause can only be in the nominative, which, according to the received view, means that it designates a bounded quantity. (For a few exceptions, see Huumo 2009, 2010; Larjavaara 2019 argues that the non-alternating nominative S of copular and other non-existential constructions is neutral with respect to quantitative [un]boundedness). Because of its nominative case, the subject of a copular construction gives an exhaustive reference and designates its referent as quantitatively bounded. For instance, the partitive PA *musta-a* [black-PAR] in (22) does not mean that the nominative S designates an unbounded quantity of coffee, but that it designates coffee as a substance. That is why I have placed a minus sign in the righthand PC column in the "unbounded quantity" row, and a plus sign on the last row, signaling that the partitive PC explicitly expresses a mass conceptualization (either of the subject argument or of the PC itself, if the PC is a PN). Unlike a partitive O or a partitive S_e , which reflect the count/mass opposition only indirectly by expressing quantification, a partitive PC specifically indicates the count/mass distinction. Like the partitive S_e , the

partitive PC has no aspectual function proper (but recall the discussion of action nominalizations and their aspectual nature in examples 25–28).

3 A Cognitive Grammar account of the partitive

In this section, I outline a Cognitive Grammar (CG) account of the Finnish partitive in the functions of O, S_p, and PC. I rely mainly on Langacker (2016), which is a recent and detailed presentation of nominal structure in Cognitive Grammar. I start by briefly outlining the CG approach to nominals and case marking (Section 3.1), and then apply the model to the semantic functions of the Finnish partitive, which cross-cut its grammatical functions (Sections 3.2–3.5).

3.1 NOMINALS AND CASE MARKING IN COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

According to Cognitive Grammar (CG), linguistic meaning is based on conceptualization, and linguistic categories need to be defined accordingly. In terms of CG, the function of a nominal is to designate a *thing*. This is a technical, schematic notion based on a particular way of conceptualizing the entity talked about. The definition of *thing* relies on the cognitive operation known as *grouping*, which means treating a set of entities as a single element for some higher-level purposes (Langacker 2016, 62).

At first sight such a definition seems to be best suited to nouns such as *team* or *group*, which literally designate a set of individual entities, but less well to nouns such as *cat*, *rock* or *water*. However, the definition is purported to account for all nouns. As to nouns such as *rock*, Langacker points out that solid objects consist of a substance which is distributed through a region in space, and that this region is completely occupied by the substance. Registering this continuity thus counts as a connecting operation, providing the basis for grouping. In the case of solid objects, grouping is so automatic that it typically operates below the level of conscious awareness (Langacker 2016, 66–67). In general, a count noun profiles a thing which is construed as bounded within the immediate scope in the domain of instantiation; in other words, there is some limit to the set of constitutive entities (Langacker 2008, 132, 136).

With regard to mass nouns such as *water* or plurals such as *cats* (CG subscribes to the common view that plurals are similar to masses), the grouping argument takes a somewhat different form. Rather than spatial continuity, the crucial point is *quality*: all sub-quantities of a substance, whatever their spatial distribution, are qualitatively uniform, and it is this qualitative uniformity that provides a basis for grouping (Langacker 1991, 18; 2016, 70). In other words, a substance designated by a mass noun such as *water* is bounded in **quality space**.

Another argument concerning mass nouns made by Langacker (2016, 85) is that, like proper names, they can have *unique reference*. This is the case when they designate a substance as an undifferentiated whole with a maximally inclusive reference, as in *Milk is good for you*. In such uses, English mass nouns are used without a *grounding* expression (such as a determiner or

a quantifier); a feature, as Langacker points out, they share with proper names. Count nouns, on the other hand, have non-unique reference, which is a more complex phenomenon. When ungrounded (*boy, cup, dog*), they merely designate a *type*, which is an abstraction from a number of instances. Actual instances of the type are designated by full (grounded) nominals (*the boy, a cup, that dog, many dogs*). Mass nouns can likewise designate instances (sub-parts; Langacker 2016, 85) of a mass when they are grounded and have non-unique reference (*this milk, sm milk*, where *sm* is the unstressed *some*, functioning as an indefinite article for mass nouns). Such instances arise through delimitation of the maximal extension when some portion of it is singled out for individual attention (Langacker 2016, 85–87). According to Langacker (2008, 133), a mass noun does not itself invoke a boundary as an onstage element to be attended to, and there is therefore no bounding within its immediate scope.

When we apply these notions to Finnish partitive forms, we need to keep in mind that they are not just nominals – they are case-inflected nominals. In other words, they combine a nominal stem with a case ending. The treatment of cases in CG takes somewhat different forms depending on whether we talk about – in traditional terms – *grammatical* cases or *semantic* (mostly local) cases (see also the Introduction and Onikki-Rantajääskö's article in this volume).

As in many other languages with a rich system of inflection, local cases are common in Finnish. In terms of Cognitive Grammar, local cases express the relationships that prevail between entities (Leino 1989, 166). Local cases thus fulfill the function typical of prepositions in some other languages, such as English. In contrast, grammatical cases express the semantic roles of clausal participants. In more precise terms, they are “meaningful elements that combine with nominals to specify the nature of their involvement in a clausal process” (Langacker 1991, 384). For example, an accusative case that marks a nominal as a grammatical object also specifies the role of that nominal in the clause-level meaning, where it constitutes the **landmark** (the secondary focal participant)⁹ of the profiled process, which is fundamentally a semantic function in CG.

The Finnish partitive meets Langacker's definition of a (grammatical) case. Since it alternates with other cases (nominative and accusative) in all central uses, however, it clearly signals more than merely the grammatical function of the case-marked nominal. In fact, the partitive quite literally specifies the nature of the nominal's involvement in the clausal process, and does so in a number of ways more or less intimately related to the function of the nominal. The partitive may specify the conceptualization of the nominal itself (e.g., in terms of quantification), but it also has features typical of a *grounding* element for mass nouns and plurals. In its grounding function, the partitive “specifies the status vis-à-vis the ground [the speech event, its participants, their interaction, and the immediate circumstances] of the thing

9 The primary focal participant of a relationship is called its **trajector**. In a transitive clause, the subject is the trajector and the object the landmark. For details, see Langacker (2008: 70–73, 364–366).

profiled by a nominal” and “directs the hearer’s attention to the intended discourse referent” (cf. Langacker 2008, 259). Additionally, when it expresses aspect or negation, it may relate more directly to the clausal process itself.

3.2 THE Q-PARTITIVE: QUANTIFICATION

I start with the quantificational function of the partitive, the **Q-partitive**. According to Langacker (1991, 73), quantification presupposes instantiation, since quantity does not pertain to an unanchored type conception but rather to instances of the type. A good starting point for the analysis is thus to propose that the Q-partitive designates a delimited and quantitatively unbounded instance of a schematic mass, which can be a substance (‘water’) or a replicate mass (‘cats’). The nominal stem then elaborates the type instantiated by the nominal.

The expression of quantity is the main function of the partitive when it marks S_e arguments in affirmative existential clauses (examples 12 and 13 above) and O arguments in affirmative transitive clauses that indicate culminating aspect (in cases where aspect¹⁰ or negation are not factors that trigger the partitive; example 7). Quantification can therefore be considered the basic function of the Finnish partitive. Among its functions, quantification is most directly relevant to the semantics of the nominal that carries the partitive ending, not to other nominals (as in predication) or to clause-level phenomena (as in aspect and negation). It is highly likely that the Q-partitive was historically the first grammatical function acquired by the partitive case, at the outset of the process of grammaticalization from a local SOURCE (‘from’) case towards its present-day functions (Larjavaara 1991; 2019).

Since the Q-partitive marks nominals headed by mass nouns and plurals, an obvious starting point for assessing its function is the CG account of mass nouns. As Langacker (2016, 85) argues, mass nouns with unique reference are similar to proper names, in the sense that they designate a mass as an undifferentiated whole with a maximally inclusive reference, as in *Milk is good for you* (‘any actual or imagined milk’). In traditional terms, mass nouns with a maximally inclusive reference are generic expressions. The Finnish Q-partitive¹¹ cannot express a maximally inclusive reference; such reference can only be expressed by the nominative. Consider (37)–(38):

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| (37) | Maito | on | hyvä-ksi | sinu-lle. |
| | milk.NOM | be-PRS.3SG | good-TRA | you-ALL |
| | ‘Milk is good for you.’ | | | |
| (38) | Home | kasva-a | kosteude-ssa. | |
| | mold.NOM | grow-PRS.3SG | humidity-INE | |
| | ‘Mold grows in humidity.’ | | | |

10 It is debatable, nonetheless, whether an event that concerns an unbounded quantity of an object referent (such as *John ate berries*) actually culminates. For instance, Larjavaara (2019) classifies such expressions as aspectually non-culminating. For the sake of clarity, however, I will keep the functions Q-partitive and A-partitive apart in such expressions.

11 Note that the aspectual A-partitive and the N-partitive of negation are able to express a maximally inclusive reference; see Sections 3.4 and 3.5.

Example (37) is a direct translation of Langacker's example, with the subject nominal 'milk' in the nominative. The partitive would be ill-formed in this example. Example (38) illustrates a similar use of the mass noun 'mold' with a maximally inclusive reference. The intransitive verb 'grow' also allows a partitive-marked S_e (39), referring to a delimited and quantitatively unbounded instance of 'mold' (not to the maximal extension).

- (39) Home-tta kasva-a talo-n sein-i-ssä.
 mold-PAR grow-PRS.3SG house-GEN wall-PL-INE
 'There is mold growing in the walls of the house.'

The difference between (38) and (39) is that only (38) gives, in CG terms, a maximally inclusive reference: it concerns any actual or imagined instance of 'mold'. Example (39), in contrast, is an actual-level predication that asserts the presence of mold in a particular location (for the virtual vs. actual distinction in CG, see Langacker 1999). In terms of Vilkuna (1989, 260), the partitive gives a non-exhaustive reference; this is another way of stating the fact that it does not refer to the maximal extension.

Similar differences in meaning are relevant in the plural; consider (40) vs. (41). While the nominative S of the intransitive (non-existential) example (40) may have a maximally inclusive reference (generic 'any fish'), the partitive S_e in (41) gives a non-exhaustive reference to some actual-level fish.

- (40) Kala-t elä-vät vede-ssä.
 fish-PL.NOM live-PRS.3PL water-INE
 'Fish live in water.'
- (41) Kalo-j-a elä-ä vede-ssä.
 fish-PL-PAR live-PRS.3SG water-INE
 'There are fish living in (the) water.'

Obviously, a nominative form of a mass noun or a plural does not always refer to the maximal extension. Were the partitive in (39) replaced with the nominative, the nominal would maintain its actual-level reference but would refer to a *contextually relevant* extension of 'mold' exhaustively (i.e., all the mold growing in the walls of the house; cf. Langacker 2016, 143). In Finnish, the nominative of a mass noun or a plural is most commonly conceived of as definite, and a definite mass expression specifies the instance referred to as the most inclusive one in the discourse space (Langacker 1991, 100–101).

The opposition between the exhaustive reference presented by the nominative and the non-exhaustive reference presented by the Q-partitive can thus manifest itself at two levels: 1) at the level of maximal extension (e.g., 'any milk' vs. '[sm] milk') and 2) at the level of a contextually relevant extension (e.g., '[all] the milk' vs. 'some [of the] milk'). Both kinds of extension are referred to exhaustively by the nominative and non-exhaustively by the Q-partitive.

According to Langacker (1991, 76–77), the function of the plural (in English) is to designate an unbounded region within its scope in the domain of instantiation, and the plural morpheme is the profile determinant. In Finnish, this kind of meaning is expressed by the plural Q-partitive, while

the plural nominative designates a bounded region. This results in a situation where the Q-partitive designates a delimited but unbounded quantity of a substance, in which some portion of either the maximal extension or of a contextually relevant extension is singled out for individual attention (cf. Langacker 2016, 87). The Q-partitive thus expresses what Itkonen (1980) refers to as *a quantity that allows a surplus*, as opposed to the nominative, which refers to the full maximal or contextually relevant extension (and does not allow a surplus). Consider examples (42)–(45):

- (42) Kahvi on pannu-ssa.
 coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG pot-INE
 ‘The coffee is in the pot.’
- (43) Kahvi-a on pannu-ssa.
 coffee-PAR be.PRS.3SG pot-INE
 ‘There is coffee in the pot’; ‘As for coffee, there’s some in the pot.’
- (44) Lehmä-mme o-vat laitume-lla
 cow-POSS1PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL pasture-ADE
 ‘Our cows are in the pasture.’
- (45) Lehm-i-ä-mme on laitume-lla
 cow-PL-PAR-POSS1PL be.PRS.3SG pasture-ADE
 ‘There are cows of ours in the pasture.’

In (42) the nominative (‘the coffee’) gives an exhaustive reference to a contextually relevant extension of coffee (for instance, ‘all the coffee I just made’). In (43) the partitive S_c refers non-exhaustively to such an extension, leaving open the possibility that there is coffee in other places too (e.g. in the thermos). In CG terms, the *base* of such a reference can be either the maximal extension (‘coffee’ as such) or a contextually relevant extension (e.g., ‘the coffee I just made’).

In the plural examples (44) and (45), the first person plural possessive suffix in the nominal ‘our cows’ makes it clear that both the nominative S in (44) and the partitive S_c in (45) relate to a contextually relevant extension of cows, the cows owned by the speaker’s family (not to cows in general). The nominative refers to this extension exhaustively (‘all our cows’) while the partitive S_c gives a non-exhaustive reference (‘some cows of ours’). Again, the partitive leaves open the possibility of a surplus, i.e. that there are ‘cows of ours’ in other locations too.

Similar oppositions are at work in object nominals when the partitive object is a Q-partitive; consider (46) vs. (47).

- (46) Huomas-i-n lehmä-nne laitume-lla.
 notice-PST-1SG cow-POSS2PL.NOM pasture-ADE
 ‘I noticed [all] your cows in the pasture.’
- (47) Huomas-i-n lehm-i-ä-nne laitume-lla
 notice-PST-1SG cow-PL-PAR-POSS2PL pasture-ADE
 ‘I noticed [some] cows of yours in the pasture.’

Since these nominals are objects, other factors potentially triggering the partitive (aspect, negation) need to be ruled out first: examples (46) and (47) are affirmative and designate culminating aspect (‘notice’). Like the partitive S_c in (45), the partitive O in (47) is thus a Q-partitive and gives a non-

exhaustive reference to the contextually relevant extension of cows ('some cows of yours'). The nominative O in (46) refers to the contextually relevant extension as a whole, indicating that all the hearer's cows were noticed in the pasture. Again, the Q-partitive leaves open the possibility that the hearer's cows were present in other places too.

The non-exhaustive reference given by the Q-partitive is closely related to indefiniteness, and we can in fact generalize that all Q-partitive nominals are indefinite. According to Vilkuna (1992, 52), a nominal that gives a non-exhaustive reference to a mass or a plurality is indefinite even if it refers to a sub-quantity of a more extensive bounded quantity (i.e., of a contextually relevant extension in CG terms) which as a whole is definite. Such expressions have been debated in the Finnish syntax tradition; Siro (1957) argued for an explicit distinction between quantification and definiteness,¹² which he took to be entirely independent factors. According to Siro, both bounded and unbounded quantities can thus be definite or indefinite. As an example of an indefinite bounded quantity, consider the indefinite '[deck of] cards' in example (19'), Section 2.2. Siro also argued that an unbounded quantity can be definite. His example is (48):

- (48) *Tämä-n sarja-n os-i-a on sitoja-lla.*
 this-GEN series-GEN part-PL-PAR be.PRS.3SG bookbinder-ADE
 '(Some) parts of this series are at the bookbinder's.'

According to Siro, the partitive nominal *tämän sarjan osia* 'parts of this series' designates (in present terms) an unbounded quantity but is nevertheless definite, because the parts belong to a specific publication series that is referred to by a definite nominal, as shown by the demonstrative *tämä* 'this'. However, subsequent scholars, including Vähämäki (1975, 122) and Vilkuna (1992, 52), have pointed out that the definiteness only concerns the series as a whole, not the parts referred to: the addressee still does not know which or how many parts are at the bookbinder's. Thus, the partitive S_e in (48) is nonetheless indefinite and gives a non-exhaustive reference to the contextually relevant extension of books (i.e., all parts of the series).

In sum, all Q-partitives indicate indefiniteness, which in Cognitive Grammar terms is a grounding phenomenon: indefiniteness signals that the hearer is not expected to be able to identify the referent. Moreover, the Q-partitive has a function as a semantically vague quantifier: it designates a quantity greater than zero but smaller than the maximal or contextually relevant extension. It relates the profiled instance to an external point of reference, which is a more inclusive entity, or reference mass, that contains the instance as its subpart (cf. Langacker 1991, 89). This means that the Q-partitive also serves as a grounding element in (roughly) the same way as the English *sm* (unstressed *some*), which according to Langacker (2016) is an indefinite article for mass nouns, or absolute quantifiers such as *many*, *much*, or *a few* (see Langacker 2016, 154–157). Figure 1 illustrates the function of the Q-partitive.

12 Siro did not use these terms.

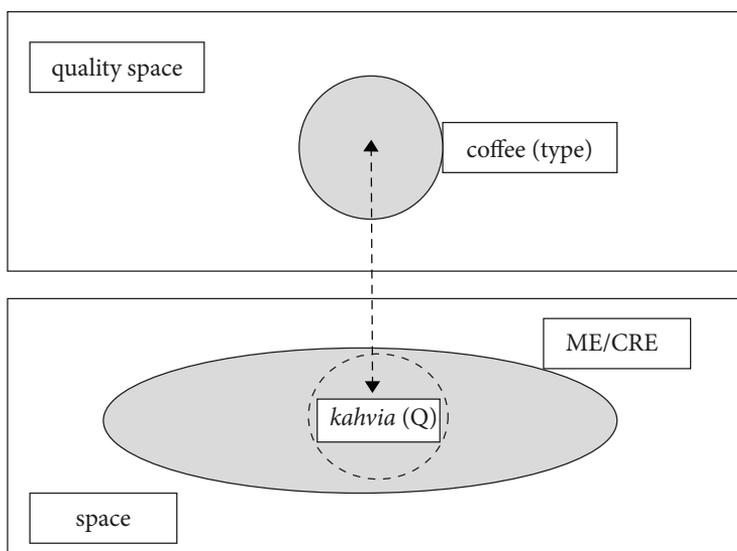


Figure 1. The Q (quantitative) partitive.

In Figure 1, the partitive *kahvia* profiles a quantitatively unbounded instance of ‘coffee’ (the dotted circle in the lower part of Figure 1). In the upper part, which illustrates quality space, the type ‘coffee’ occupies “a bounded region in a multidimensional space defined by whatever dimensions go into characterizing a substance” (see Langacker 2016, 70). The circle in the quality space represents the bounded region occupied by the type ‘coffee’. The partitive *kahvia* then profiles a delimited, quantitatively unbounded instance of the type at the actual level (the box below). The dotted line in the circle illustrates the quantitative unboundedness of what the form profiles: the Q-partitive is quantitatively vague. At the same time, the region it profiles constitutes a portion of a more extensive reference mass, represented by the larger grey ellipse. Depending on the context, this reference mass can be the maximal extension (ME) of coffee or a contextually relevant extension (CRE), from which the partitive then selects a sub-quantity for profiling (‘some of the coffee I just made’). The counterpart of the Q-partitive in case alternation, the nominative *kahvi*, can alternatively profile the type ‘coffee’ as such, the maximal extension exhaustively, or a contextually relevant extension exhaustively. Another way of stating the function of the Q-partitive is to say that it overrides or elaborates the baseline conception of reference to the maximal extension (cf. Langacker 2016, 127).

3.3 THE M-PARTITIVE: PREDICATOR OF A MASS CONCEPTUALIZATION

The M-partitive marks predicate complements (PC) in copular constructions. It indicates that either the subject nominal or the PC itself (in case the latter is a predicate nominal, PN) designates a mass. Such a mass can be quantitatively bounded or unbounded; the M-partitive does not quantify it. In traditional terms, most PCs (especially PAs) are non-referential:

they attribute a quality to the subject referent but do not themselves refer. According to CG, however, all nominals, including PCs (such as *a teacher* in *John is a teacher*) have at least a *virtual* referent. This means that they specify a type instantiation with which the subject referent is then identified (for type instantiation, see Langacker 1991, 51–73, for a detailed CG account of copular constructions in Lithuanian, see Mikulskas 2016). The function of the case (nominative vs. partitive) of the PC in Finnish needs to be assessed against this background.

It is most convenient to start with examples in which both subject and PC are clearly (even in traditional terms) referential and the copular clause expresses a part–whole relationship between them. Such an expression means ‘X is part of Y’, where X is the subject and Y the predicate nominal (which has to be a nominal, not an adjectival phrase). This is probably historically the earliest use of the partitive PC, since it is attested not only in Finnish but in other Baltic Finnic languages as well (e.g., Estonian; Ereht 2017, 286–287). In such expressions, the subject nominal designates an entity that constitutes part of the entity designated by the PN. The partitive case of the PN then signals a part-whole relationship. The partitive is used even when the subject is a count noun in the singular (which typically triggers a nominative PC). Consider (49) and (50):

- (49) *Tämä kylä on Häme-ttä.*
 this.NOM village.NOM be.PRS.3SG name-PAR
 ‘This village is part of (the province of) Häme.’ (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979.)
- (50) *Liisa on perhe-ttä-mme.*
 name.NOM be.PRS.3SG family-PAR-POSS1PL
 ‘Liisa is (a member of) our family.’

In (49) the subject nominal is definite, as shown by the demonstrative pronoun *tämä* ‘this’. In terms of Cognitive Grammar, this means that the subject designates a grounded instance of the specified type (‘village’). In (50), the subject is a proper name, meaning that it has unique reference as such. In both examples, the PC designates a larger whole of which the subject referent constitutes a part: in (49) the province in which the village is located, in (50) the family of which the subject referent is a member. Such examples illustrate the relatively infrequent usage of the M-partitive where it actually expresses a ‘part of’ relationship. This function is close to the historically original SOURCE (‘from’) case function of the partitive: it expresses a more extensive whole, from which one part is (mentally) detached for scrutiny. It is semantically close to the Q-partitive, in the sense that it gives a non-exhaustive (‘part of’) reference to a more extensive whole.

Interestingly, the partitive PC can also be in the plural in such examples. Consider (51):

- (51) *Liisa on parha-i-ta ystäv-i-ä-ni.*
 name.NOM be.PRS.3SG best-PL-PAR friend-PL-PAR-POSS1SG
 ‘Liisa is (one) of my best friends.’

On the face of it, (51) appears to identify one person with several type instantiations, which would be awkward. However, this is not what the

example means: in (51) there is a scope relation between the plural and the partitive case such that the plural first evokes the concept of a replicate mass (see Langacker 1991, 76–80), the full extension of ‘my best friends’, and the partitive then profiles a sub-quantity of that mass. In this case, the sub-quantity consists of a single individual. Such a meaning is akin to the part-whole relationship expressed in (50), where Liisa forms part of the speaker’s family. In (51), Liisa forms part of the mass constituted by the speaker’s best friends. The example thus does not express an identity relation but class inclusion (for this distinction, see Langacker 1991, 67–71; Mikulskas 2016, 69–82), unlike (52), which uses the nominative and expresses identification:

(52) Liisa on paras ystävä-ni
 name.NOM be.PRS.3SG best.NOM friend.NOM-POSS1SG
 ‘Liisa is my best friend.’

When the subject nominal is also in the plural, as in (53) below, the plural partitive PC is typically used.

(53) He o-vat Liisa-n ystäv-i-ä.
 3PL be-PRS.3PL name-GEN friend-PL-PAR
 ‘They are friends of Liisa’s.’

Example (53) is particularly relevant to the present argument, as it shows how we get from class inclusion (a ‘part of’ meaning) to identification (cf. Larjavaara 2019). The plural number of the partitive PN in (53) can have two alternative motivations. The first is that, as in (51), the PN designates a contextually relevant extension of a mass (‘[all] Liisa’s friends’), of which the partitive then selects a sub-quantity. In that case, the implication is that Liisa has other friends besides ‘them’. The second possible motivation for the plural partitive PN in (53) is that since the subject nominal is in the plural, its referents need to be identified by a number of instantiations of the type designated by the PN. In such a case the PN merely presents a type specification, and does not give a non-exhaustive reference to a reference mass. Figure 2 illustrates the meaning of the partitive PN in (53).

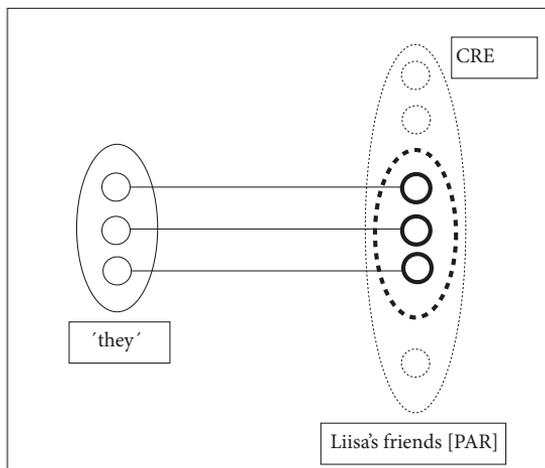


Figure 2. The M (mass-conceptualization) partitive in example (53).

In Figure 2, the partitive PN ‘Liisa’s friends’ simultaneously indicates class inclusion and identification of the subject referent (‘they’). The PN ‘Liisa’s friends’ profiles a replicate mass (this is the function of the plural morpheme), of which the partitive case then profiles a sub-quantity. The overall replicate mass can be a contextually relevant extension (CRE): for example all the friends Liisa has, or all the friends she took with her to a party. The expression identifies the entities designated by the subject nominal with the individual instances designated by the partitive PN. More simply, (53) can either be seen as similar to (51), in which case it means that there is a more extensive set of ‘Liisa’s friends’, out of whom the PN then profiles a sub-quantity, or the plural number of the PN can be directly motivated by the plural number of the subject. In the latter case, each individual designated by the subject (‘they’) is identified with one type instantiation designated by the PN. In this interpretation, it is possible that the extension designated by the subject in fact covers the whole reference mass designated by the PN; in other words, that the subject ‘they’ refers to all (contextually relevant) friends of Liisa’s, not only some of them. Such a meaning is explicitly expressed by the nominative PN in (54). The nominative excludes the possibility of a non-exhaustive reference that would leave room for a surplus. Consider (54) and Figure 3:

- (54) He o-vat Liisa-n ystävä-t.
 3PL be-PRS.3PL name-GEN friend-PL.NOM
 ‘They are Liisa’s friends (all the friends she has, or a full contextually relevant set, such as the friends she brought with her to a party).’

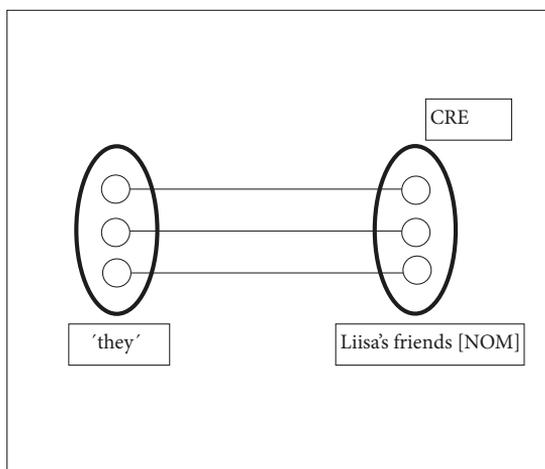


Figure 3. The M (mass-conceptualization) partitive in example (54).

In Figure 3, the nominative PN *Liisa-n ystävä-t* [Liisa-GEN friend-PL.NOM] designates holistically the contextually relevant extension of ‘Liisa’s friends’. The plural nominative PN now has a bounding function: it imposes a ‘bounded set’ reading upon the PN itself and indirectly upon the subject nominal. The copular construction does this by identifying the subject referent with a bounded set. In contrast, the partitive PN in (53) does not impose a ‘set’ reading upon the PN or the subject. It profiles the individuals

that constitute (part of) the reference mass. The difference is even more prominent in examples (55) vs. (56).

- (55) Nämä o-vat shakkinappula-t.
 these.NOM be-PRS.3PL chess.piece-PL.NOM
 ‘These are (a set of) chess pieces.’ (Cf. Figure 3)
- (56) Nämä o-vat shakkinappulo-i-ta.
 these.NOM be-PRS.3PL chess.piece-PL-PAR
 ‘These are (individual) chess pieces.’ (Cf. Figure 2)

The difference is clear in example (55), in which the schematic set designated by the subject *nämä* ‘these’ is identified with a virtual bounded set of chess pieces profiled by the nominative PN. In (56), on the other hand, the partitive PN lacks the ‘bounded set’ meaning and profiles a vague quantity of chess pieces. The copular construction then identifies each entity profiled by the subject nominal (‘these’) with one virtual instantiation of the type ‘chess piece’, giving rise to the distributive meaning. The quantificational sense of the partitive PN, in which it evokes a more extensive reference mass (as in 51), is now in the background only. However, a certain type of context may still activate it; it is possible, for instance, that all the chess pieces referred to in (56) belong to the same set. Even if they do, however, they do not constitute the whole set; that meaning would require the nominative PN, as in (55).

From here, it is a short step to the typical collective vs. distributive opposition between the nominative PC (which can be either a PN or a PA) and the partitive PC. As will be recalled, the nominative PC attributes a quality to the subject referent conceptualized as an indivisible reference mass (such as a set), while the partitive PC is capable of attributing the quality to individual members or sub-quantities that constitute the subject referent. Consider our earlier examples (31) vs. (32), repeated below:

- (31) Nämä shakkinappula-t o-vat musta-t.
 these.NOM chess.piece-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL black-PL.NOM
 ‘These chess pieces [a set] are black.’
- (32) Nämä shakkinappula-t o-vat must-i-a.
 these.NOM chess.piece-PL.NOM be-PRS.3PL black-PL-PAR
 ‘These [individual] chess pieces are black.’

The nominative PA in (31) identifies ‘these chess pieces’ with a set of schematic ‘black’ entities, imposing the ‘bounded set’ reading upon the subject (cf. *These chess pieces are the black ones*). The partitive PA in (32) again lacks the ‘set’ meaning and profiles a vague quantity of black entities, with which the chess pieces profiled by the subject nominal are then identified. The sense of inclusion observed in (51) with the plural partitive PN is now missing, or at best very vague. There is no reason to assume that the plural PA in (32) has as its base a more extensive set of black entities, out of which it then profiles a sub-quantity. What motivates the plural PA in (32) is the plural subject and the distributive meaning, whereby the quality of ‘blackness’ is attributed to each chess piece individually. Such an analysis is supported by the fact that

when the subject is in the singular a PA cannot be in the plural, unlike the PN in example (51) above. Thus (57) is clearly ill-formed:

- (57) *Liisa on mukav-i-a.
 name.NOM be.PRS.3SG nice-PL-PAR
 Intended: ‘Liisa is [one of the] nice [ones].’

Now consider expressions of material, in which the PN designates the substance of which the subject referent consists. Such a PN is in the partitive, irrespective of whether the subject nominal is headed by a count noun (58) or a mass noun (59):

- (58) Sormus on hopea-a.
 ring.NOM be.PRS.3SG silver-PAR
 ‘The ring is silver.’
 (59) Vesi on neste-ttä.
 water.NOM be.PRS.3SG liquid-PAR
 ‘Water is liquid_[N].’

In both examples, the partitive PN gives a non-exhaustive reference to (the maximal extension of) the substance it designates: the ring consists of silver, and water (as a substance) is liquid (recall that the Finnish *neste* ‘liquid’ is a noun, not an adjective). Against the analysis above, it is conceivable that in such expressions only the mass-noun subject allows the PN to be alternatively in the nominative (59’), while the count-noun subject does not allow this (58’):

- (59’) Vesi on neste.
 water.NOM be.PRS.3SG liquid.NOM
 ‘Water is a liquid.’
 (58’) *Sormus on hopea.
 ring.NOM be.PRS.3SG silver.NOM
 ‘The ring is silver.’

The subject nominal in (59’) designates the maximal extension of water (in traditional terms, it is generic) and identifies this with one particular kind of liquid in the type space: it profiles a sub-region (a certain kind of liquid) of the full region (liquid in general; see Langacker 1991, 30). In other words, the nominative PN *neste* ‘liquid’ in (59’) is used as a count noun (cf. Langacker 2008, 132, 144–145), as also suggested by the English translation with the indefinite article *a*. By contrast, in (58’) the subject nominal designates an instance of a type, and the silver the ring is made of does not count as a particular kind of silver, which is why the nominative PN is ill-formed.

Another relevant difference between (59) and (59’) is that in (59) the quality of ‘being liquid’ is again attributed to any conceivable sub-quantity of the maximal extension, and the predication is distributive. In (59’), on the other hand, the predication necessarily concerns the maximal extension as a whole. This is because no sub-quantity of water could be attributed the quality of being ‘a liquid’. A similar difference shows up in (61) vs. (62), but is now more concrete:

- (61) Tämä on juusto.
 this.NOM be.PRS.3SG cheese.NOM
 ‘This is a cheese.’
- (62) Tämä on juusto-a.
 this.NOM be.PRS.3SG cheese-PAR
 ‘This is cheese.’

Again, the nominative PN in (61) designates a type instantiation. It either designates the maximal extension of a certain kind of ‘cheese’, which is then treated as a count noun (as in ‘water is a *liquid*’ in 59’), or it gives an exhaustive reference to a contextually relevant extension of cheese, meaning ‘a piece of cheese’. In (62), on the other hand, the partitive PN gives a non-exhaustive reference to the maximal extension. It designates a virtual sub-quantity of the maximal extension, in the same way the plural partitive does in (53) and (56) above. Thus the subject nominal ‘this’ in (62) is assigned mass noun status, and the attribution of the quality ‘being cheese’ is distributive. It concerns any conceivable sub-quantity of the cheese designated by the subject.

Such differences are also at work in the domain of predicate adjectives. Recall that a PA attributing a quality to a count-noun subject is in the nominative (21), while one characterizing a mass-noun subject is in the partitive (22).

- (21) Tuoli on korkea.
 chair.NOM be.PRS.3SG high.NOM
 ‘The chair is high.’
- (22) Kahvi on musta-a.
 coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG black-PAR
 ‘[The] coffee is black.’

In (21) the quality of ‘height’ is attributed to the chair as a whole (not to its conceivable components), while in (22) the quality ‘blackness’ is attributed to (the) coffee as such (the maximal extension or a contextually relevant extension), or to any conceivable sub-quantity of it.

3.4 THE A-PARTITIVE: ASPECT

In Cognitive Grammar, the aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective processes is seen as fundamentally similar to the count/mass distinction of nominals (Janda 2004; Langacker 2008, 147). Like a count noun, a perfective process is internally heterogeneous; an imperfective process resembles a mass noun by being internally homogeneous. (Langacker 2008, 153.) The aspectual function of the object-marking partitive (the A-partitive), whereby it marks a process as non-culminating (roughly, imperfective) is closely related to its quantificational function in the semantics of nominals. This association is clearest when the partitive-marked nominal has the role of an **incremental theme** (in terms of Dowty 1991). An incremental theme is a participant whose part-whole relations are homomorphic to the part-whole relations of the event, as in *mow the lawn*. As the event unfolds, the affected part of the incremental theme gradually grows. This correlates with the progression of the activity towards its endpoint, which is reached when

the complete incremental theme has been affected (e.g., the whole lawn has been mown).

According to Cognitive Grammar, relationships designated by full finite clauses are **sequentially scanned** to track their evolvement in time (Langacker 1987, 248–253). In sequential scanning, a series of states are conceived through the successive transformation of one into another. In a relationship involving an incremental theme, the scanning concerns not only the unfolding of the event but also the region occupied by the incremental theme. The conceptualizer tracks the progression of the activity within the entity affected as the affected part gradually increases. Lindner (1983, cited in Boers 1996, 145) uses the term *processed region* for the affected part of the object referent on which the process has already acted, and points out that as the process evolves, the projected region approximates the intrinsic boundaries of the original intact object.

If such an event is conceptualized as ongoing (progressive aspect), or if it ceases before the processed region reaches the boundaries of the incremental theme (cessative aspect), the processed region constitutes only part of the incremental theme. Moreover, if the entity affected is quantitatively unbounded, there is no intrinsic boundary to reach at all, as in *This sewer pipe leaked waste water into the ground*. It is plausible to assume that in such cases the Finnish Q-partitive has started to mark the object: the object designates the processed region alone, and thus gives a non-exhaustive reference to the intact whole (if there is one). At the same time, the partitive marking of the object contributes to the aspectual meaning of the clause: it indicates that the event has not yet reached its point of culmination (if there is one to reach). According to Larjavaara (1991), this function, in which (in his terms) referent quantification and event quantification go hand in hand, has gradually given rise to the purely aspectual function of the object-marking partitive (the A-partitive) in which nominal quantity is not at issue. Example (63) illustrates a context in which the partitive object can alternatively express unbounded quantity, non-culminating aspect, or both:

- (63) Jo-i-n kahvi-a.
 drink-PST-1SG coffee-PAR
 a) 'I drank [sm] coffee.' [QUANTITY]
 b) 'I was drinking coffee.' [QUANTITY AND ASPECT]
 c) 'I was drinking the coffee.' [ASPECT]

In reading a), the event has ended and the partitive object means that the quantity of coffee consumed is unbounded. In this reading, the partitive O is a pure Q-partitive: it refers to an unbounded quantity, which is a sub-quantity of either the maximal extension ('I drank sm coffee') or a contextually relevant extension (e.g., 'I drank some of the coffee [you just made].')

In reading b), the event is ongoing (progressive) at the topic time (see Klein 1994 for the notion). The unboundedness of the quantity expressed by the partitive now correlates with non-culminating aspect: the processed region (the quantity of coffee already consumed) is gradually increasing while the event unfolds. In this reading, the partitive O combines features of a Q-partitive and an A-partitive: it expresses simultaneously a non-exhaustive

reference and the fact that the event has not reached its point of culmination.

In reading c), the quantity of coffee to be consumed is bounded; in other words, there is a contextually relevant extension of coffee, such as a serving, of which the partitive then profiles a processed region. The use of the partitive signals that the processed region does not yet coincide with the contextually relevant extension (but gives a non-exhaustive reference to it). Thus, it additionally signals that the activity of ‘drinking’ has not yet reached its point of culmination; see Figure 4.

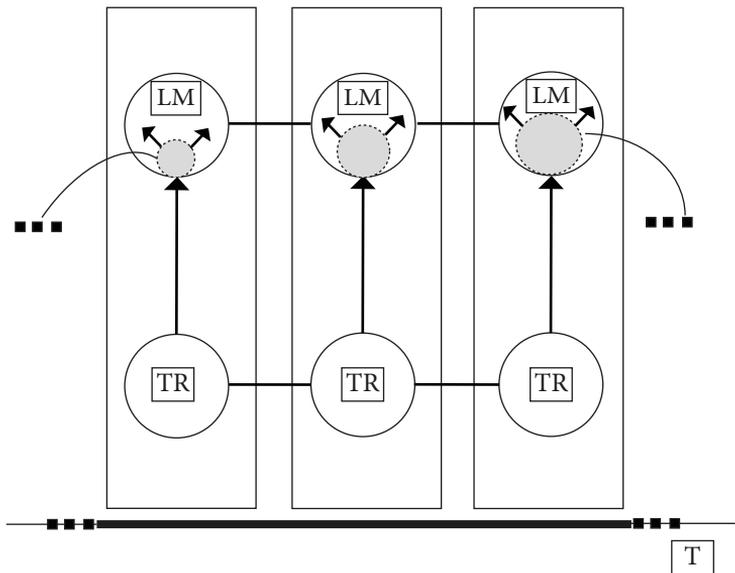


Figure 4. The A (aspectual) partitive.

In Figure 4, there is a transitive relationship with a Trajector (TR, the subject referent), causing the Landmark (LM, the object referent) to undergo an effect that advances incrementally within the Landmark. The partitive case of the object designates the processed region (dotted circle), which increases in the course of the event. At the same time, it contributes to the imperfective aspectual meaning. The curved lines (left and right) mark the twofold function of the partitive: to indicate quantity (of the processed region inside the LM) and aspect (of the overall event).

Figure 4 illustrates the correlation between a non-exhaustive nominal reference and imperfective aspect. As usual, the partitive gives a non-exhaustive reference to a contextually relevant extension (the overall quantity of the LM) by designating the processed region, which forms part of the overall extension and increases gradually in the course of the event. When the processed region finally coincides with the overall extension, the event culminates and cannot progress any further – this state of affairs is expressed in Finnish with the accusative object. The partitive object is thus only felicitous for those phases of the situation that precede the point of culmination and at which the event is aspectually imperfective. In (63), the overall object referent is a bounded quantity (such as a cup of coffee),

but it can alternatively be unbounded, in which case there is no point of culmination to reach in the first place. On the other hand, the intact object can also be a discrete entity. Such is the case in (64):

- (64) Savenvalaja tek-i kukkaruukku-a.
 potter.NOM make-PST.3SG flowerpot-PAR
 ‘The potter was making a flowerpot.’

We might argue that the partitive O in (64) still has the function of expressing a very special kind of quantity, in addition to non-culminating aspect: it refers to the processed region, which in this case is the existing part of an unfinished flowerpot. If not supported by the aspectual meaning, however, the Q-partitive as such is not capable of expressing such a meaning. This is shown by the fact that the partitive S_e (which lacks the aspectual motivation) cannot normally refer to the existing part of an unfinished discrete entity such as a flowerpot (64’).

- (64’) *Pöydä-llä on kukkaruukku-a.
 table-ADE be.PRS.3SG flowerpot-PAR
 Intended: ‘There is [an unfinished] flowerpot on the table.’

This shows that even though the partitive O in (64) can give a “non-exhaustive” reference to the prospective intact flower pot (which at this point is only fictive), it has to be supported by aspectual features and is thus functionally closer to an A-partitive than to a Q-partitive.

The purest type of A-partitive expresses no quantification whatsoever. This is the function of the partitive O which is not an incremental theme. There is thus no part-by-part scanning of it by the conceptualizer. What is scanned through (by sequential scanning) is the process itself: the partitive signals that the profiled segment of the process does not include a point of culmination. This may be either because there is no such point at all (as in the atelic example 65) or because the event is still ongoing at the topic time (as in the progressive example 64).

- (65) Kaupa-ssa ihastel-i-n kukkaruukku-a.
 shop-INE marvel-PST-1SG flowerpot-PAR
 ‘In the shop, I marveled a/the flowerpot.’

In (65) the partitive O designates a discrete entity in its entirety. The flowerpot is not an incremental theme but participates in the event as a whole throughout. The partitive object now refers exhaustively to an intact flowerpot that persists in the situation. This shows that a purely aspectual A-partitive does not quantify the object nominal carrying the case ending. It is also possible for an A-partitive to designate the maximal extension of a mass; consider (66) and (67):

- (66) Liisa rakasta-a kahvi-a
 name love-PRS.3SG coffee-PAR
 ‘Liisa loves coffee.’
 (67) Heikki ihaile-e poliitikko-j-a.
 name admire-PRS.3SG politician-PL-PAR
 ‘Heikki admires politicians.’

In (66) and (67), the generic object nominals designate the maximal extensions of ‘coffee’ and ‘politicians’, respectively. Their partitive marking now reflects the aspectual nature of the process, which does not culminate. Unlike Q-partitives, which are always indefinite, A-partitives are vague with respect to definiteness, as shown by the English translation of the object nominal in (65). These features show that the purest type of A-partitive is semantically quite different from the Q-partitive, which quantifies the nominal carrying the case ending. The main function of the A-partitive is to specify the aspectual nature of the clause-level predication, which it renders non-culminating: it either means that there is no point of culmination at all, in which case the designated event is inherently atelic, or that the reaching of the point of culmination is not included within the scope of the predication. As regards the object nominal, the A-partitive merely indicates that the participation of that nominal in the event continues over time.

3.5 THE N-PARTITIVE: NEGATION

The partitive of negation, or N-partitive, occurs in objects and S_c arguments that are under the scope of negation; recall examples (9) and (15). As those examples demonstrated, clausal negation triggers the N-partitive in such nominals irrespective of quantity or aspect. For the N-partitive to be used, it suffices that the sentence includes some negative-polarity items, and that negation or doubt is implied. Consider (66) and (67).

- (66) *Tuskin* *asema-lla* *on* *taksi-a*.
 hardly station-ADE be.PRS.3SG taxi-PAR
 ‘There will probably be no taxi at the station’; ‘There will hardly be any taxi at the station.’
- (67) *Ost-i-t-ko* *pesukone-tta?*
 buy-PST-2SG-Q washing.machine-PAR
 ‘Did you buy a/the washing machine?’ (Implication: I assume you didn’t.)

In (66) and (67), the N-partitive marks the nominals ‘taxi’ and ‘washing machine’ even though these are count nouns and the examples are formally affirmative. One would thus expect the nominative S_c in (66) and the accusative O in (67). What triggers the partitive S_c in (66) is the negative-polarity adverb *tuskin* ‘hardly’. In (67) the use of the partitive O, according to Ikola (1972), means that the speaker has doubts and expects a negative answer. Were the accusative *pesukoneen* used, the example would imply the expectation of an affirmative answer. In fact, even a formally negated question sometimes allows the accusative O to signal the expectation of an affirmative answer (68).

- (68) *E-t-kö* *juuri* *osta-nut* *pesukonee-n?*
 NEG-2SG-Q just buy-PTCP washing.machine-ACC
 ‘Didn’t you just buy a washing machine?’

Examples (66)–(68) demonstrate that the partitive of negation has a semantic motivation and is not merely a formal marker triggered by clausal negation. According to Larjavaara (1991, 397–399), the N-partitive is the most recent

function of the object-marking partitive; the roots of the N-partitive most likely lie in the A-partitive, which marks objects in sentences indicating non-culminating events (i.e., progressive, cessative or atelic aspect). Correspondingly, the aspectual function of the accusative or nominative O is to indicate culmination of the event. When the partitive object took over its present-day aspectual function, its counterparts in case alternation, the accusative and nominative, remained in use to express the opposite aspectual meaning: that culmination is in fact reached. It is obvious that a negated and thus non-occurring event does not culminate. Thus the accusative (or nominative) object, which specifically indicates culmination of an event, at some point of history has become semantically incompatible with negation.

However, since the case marking of S_e arguments (which lacks the aspectual function) has also developed an N-partitive in negated existential clauses, we need to assume that negation and quantification are likewise related functions. As argued in Section 3.1., the Q-partitive of affirmative existential clauses gives a non-exhaustive reference either to the maximal extension or to a contextually relevant extension of a reference mass. In contrast, the nominative S_e gives an exhaustive reference to either the maximal or a contextually relevant extension of the reference mass. Since the Q-partitive is always indefinite, it does not track a previously established discourse referent but establishes a new referent in the current discourse space. The referent of the partitive S_e is accessed by the conceptualizer only as part of the designated situation (see Huumo 2003 for an account). The unbounded quantity expressed by a partitive S_e is conceptualized against a measurement scale (cf. Langacker 2016, 150) that starts from zero. This is particularly clear when the partitive S_e has the role of an incremental theme. As the event unfolds in time, the quantity that has already participated in the event gradually increases. Consider (69):

(69) Alko-i sata-a, ja vähitellen
begin-PST.3SG rain-INF and little.by.little

kuoppa-an kerty-i vet-tä.
hole-ILL collect-PST.3SG water-PAR

‘It began to rain, and little by little water collected in the hole.’

At the point of inception, when the rain begins, the quantity of water in the hole is zero. It makes sense to assume that the N-partitive of S_e arguments is related to this kind of zero-quantification. In Cognitive Grammar terms, the N-partitive profiles an instance of the type in question but represents “the limiting case in which the magnitude of the instance is zero”, in the words of Langacker (1991, 110), who discusses the English quantifier *no* (as in *no cat* or *no water*). If the event fails to occur, it does not advance from this initial zero stage, which is why the quantity expressed by the S_e in a negated clause remains at zero (this is essentially the explanation given by Itkonen 1982, 433 for the N-partitive). In this respect, the N-partitive resembles the English quantifier *no*, which, according to Langacker, is able to occur with

all noun classes: count nouns, mass nouns and plurals (as in *no cat*, *no milk*, *no children*). This function of the N-partitive is illustrated in Figure 5 below.

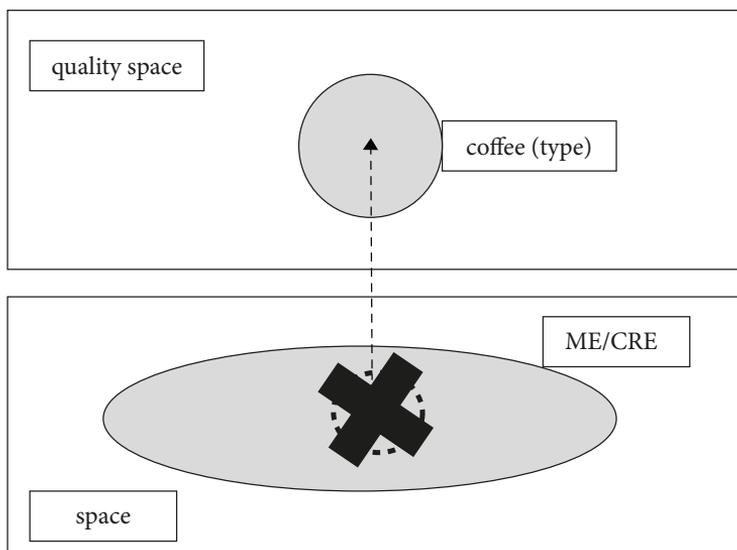


Figure 5. The N partitive (of negation).

Figure 5 illustrates the partitive of negation, as in ‘There’s no coffee in the cup.’ The negated expression does profile a type ‘coffee’ (in the quality-space box above) but the cross in the box below reflects the fact that no actual instance of coffee is profiled by the partitive-marked nominal. An important difference between the Finnish N-partitive and the English negative quantifier *no* is that the N-partitive also marks S_c and O arguments under the scope of clausal negation, not only those under constituent negation. Langacker (1991,134) argues that negation portrays a situation in which an entity (i.e. a thing or process) fails to occur in a mental space, but does so by evoking a background conception in which the entity *does* occur in that mental space. The missing entity is typically a process in clausal negation, but it can also be a thing (as in *no cat*). An extreme case in point is a single discrete entity, which in Finnish (in affirmative contexts) is designated by a count noun in the nominative (S_c) or in the accusative (O). When under negation, such nominals (when nonspecific) designate a virtual referent that has no counterpart in actuality; the N-partitive then signals the absence of such a virtual referent from the designated situation.

An important difference between these grammatical functions of the partitive (S_c vs. O) is that in most cases an S_c under negation is nonspecific (70), though it can also be specific (71), whereas an O can be either specific or nonspecific (72).

- (70) Huonee-ssa ei ole lamppu-a.
 room-INE NEG.3SG be.CNG lamp-PAR
 ‘There is no lamp in the room.’

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (71) | Piha-lla
yard-ADE | ei
NEG.3SG | ole
be.CNG | Liisa-a.
name-PAR |
| | ‘There’s no Liisa in the yard.’ | | | |
| (72) | Liisa
name.nom | ei
NEG.3SG | osta-nut
buy.CNG | kirja-a.
book-PAR |
| | ‘Liisa did not buy a/the book.’ | | | |

The N-partitive *lamppua* ‘lamp’ in (70) profiles an arbitrary (indefinite and nonspecific) instance of the type, whereas the proper name *Liisaa* (71) gives a unique reference to an individual whose presence in the mental space of ‘the yard’ is denied. In (72), the partitive O *kirjaa* is vague with respect to specificity: what the example negates is the event of ‘buying’. One can see slightly different motivations for the N-partitive in such uses. If the N-partitive is nonspecific, it can be analyzed as simultaneously expressing a particular kind of zero quantity (of the type of entity it profiles) in the designated relationship; consider *no lamp* in the English translation of (70). In this sense, the N-partitive bears a resemblance to the Q-partitive. If the N-partitive is specific (such as 72 with the definite reading of ‘[the] book’), then more relevant than quantification is the aspectual fact that a negated event fails to culminate. It is thus feasible to argue that the N-partitive with specific reference resembles (and gains support from) the A-partitive.

4 Conclusions

I have outlined a Cognitive Grammar account of the main functions of the Finnish partitive case. The partitive has other functions, not addressed in this article, and even its main uses (the marking of S_c, O and PC) involve certain exceptions and borderline cases that for considerations of space could not be raised here. I have argued that the partitive has four interrelated semantic functions, which crosscut its grammatical functions: quantification (Q), indication of mass status (M), aspect (A), and negation (N).

In the foregoing Cognitive Grammar account of these semantic functions, I have argued that the function of the Q-partitive is to give a non-exhaustive reference to a reference mass, which can alternatively be its maximal extension or a contextually relevant extension. The non-exhaustiveness of the reference given by the Q-partitive renders the partitive-marked nominal practically always indefinite, even though the expression of indefiniteness as such is not a function of the partitive case. The quantity expressed by the Q-partitive is vague: it can be close to zero or close to the maximal (or contextually relevant) extension, and it can accumulate during the event (as in example 69). Since the Q-partitive is essentially an absolute (though vague) quantifier, it also has a grounding function in the sense of Langacker (2016, 86–87; 156–157).

The M-partitive marks predicate complements (PC) in copular constructions. It indicates the mass status of either the subject nominal or the predicate complement itself, if the latter is a nominal headed by a mass noun (as in example 58, ‘The ring is silver’). In general, a PC evokes a virtual referent with which the subject referent is identified. The M-partitive has

a wide range of functions, extending from its historically original ‘part of’ meaning (examples 49 and 50), which is close to the non-exhaustive reference type of the Q-partitive, to uses in which the main function of the M-partitive is to attribute a quality to the subject referent in a distributive way. In such uses, it presents an internal conceptualization of the subject nominal as consisting of a substance or of a replicate mass (in the plural).

The aspect-marking A-partitive is conceptually close to the Q-partitive in contexts where the object nominal is an incremental theme. As the process unfolds, the processed region of the incremental theme gradually grows. Until the process has been completed, the object nominal merely gives a non-exhaustive reference to the intact object referent (or to the contextually relevant extension of a reference mass), which has not yet been fully affected by the event. The event culminates only when the region processed coincides with the intact object referent, at which point the Finnish object-marking system selects the accusative or the nominative. A further development of this is the “pure” A-partitive, which does not depend upon quantification but designates all kinds of imperfective aspect (progressive, cessative, atelic).

The partitive of negation, the N-partitive, relates semantically to the other meanings of general incompleteness expressed by the Q-partitive and the A-partitive. A negated event fails to occur, and obviously does not proceed to a culmination, which is why the object marking system selects the partitive to mark object nominal under negation. Furthermore, the quantity expressed by nominals under negation often remains at zero, especially if the nominal is nonspecific and designates an incremental theme. Thus the N-partitive is also related to the Q-partitive in signaling the extreme case of a non-exhaustive reference, i.e. that the quantity of the referent remains at zero (in the mental space of the designated situation).

The Cognitive Grammar account outlined above is, in my view, compatible with the more traditional accounts offered by Itkonen (1976) and Larjavaara (1991). It shows that the functions of the partitive are clearly interrelated and semantically motivated at least diachronically, and at least to some extent synchronically as well.

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The polysemy of the Finnish genitive

Abstract

This article is a usage-based study on the polysemy of the Finnish genitive case. The genitive has a wide variety of uses as it marks the modifier in the NP, AP and AdvP, the complement in the AdpP, the possessive predicate complement, and the first argument in the non-finite and certain modal constructions. The main premise of this paper is that these uses are not separate syntactic configurations; instead, the Finnish genitive forms a category that consists of a network of motivated semantic and syntactic relations. At the schematic level, the variety of functions is motivated by the reference point asymmetry, and the genitive nouns are used as conceptual backgrounds to localize other entities designated by the clause. Alongside this schematic meaning, the category is structured by specific level schemas, the most important being the person referenced genitives and the genitives designating part-whole relationship and location. In this article, the reference point analysis and the specific schemas are applied through a syntactic, semantic and discourse functional perspective. Moreover, this article discusses the syncretism of both the genitive-accusative and the genitive-instructive and justifies why the genitive and accusative are separate cases in present-day Finnish.

1 Introduction

The Finnish genitive is an intriguing case both historically and synchronically. It is marked by an *-n* in the singular and with multiple variants in the plural: *-en*, *-den*, *-tten*, *ten*, and *-in* (see Paunonen 1974). From the present-day perspective, the Finnish genitive is characterised by its wide variation both syntactically and semantically. Firstly, the genitive marks a modifier in the NP (1a), in AP and AdvP (1b), a complement in AdpP (1c), and a possessive predicate complement (1d). Secondly, the genitive marks the subject argument of certain non-finite (1e) and modal verb constructions (1f).

- (1a) lapse-*n* uni
 children-GEN sleep
 ‘children’s sleep’
- (1b) **kauhea-*n*** hyvä/hyvin
 awful-GEN good/well
 ‘awfully good/well’
- (1c) **pu-i-den** alla
 tree-PL-GEN under
 ‘under the trees’
- (1d) vika on **sinu-*n***
 fault be.3SG 2SG-GEN
 ‘The fault is yours’
- (1e) **pele-*n*** lopu-ttu-*a*
 game-GEN end-PASS.PTCP-PAR
 ‘when the game is over’
- (1f) **poruka-*n*** täytyy ol-la ajo-i-ssa
 group-GEN must.3SG be-INF time-PL-INE
 ‘the group must be on time’

This multifunctionality could be interpreted as indicating semantic emptiness. This interpretation would serve as evidence that the Finnish genitive is first and foremost a structural default case for the specifier position (Vainikka 1993, 2011), or even a marker without semantic content with different uses that are separate syntactic relations (Mahieu 2013). Indeed, the genitive nouns are predominantly used as modifiers, and the wide polysemy that results is difficult to summarize by one or two basic meanings. Nevertheless, it is rather easy to determine the semantic motivations for the different syntactic uses of the genitive, and the wide variation of semantic interpretations can be described in a structured manner. The aim of this paper is to present an overview of the present-day genitive category in the frame of Cognitive Linguistics. The Finnish genitive forms a complex, polysemous category that is constructed on prominent meanings and the network-like relations around them.

This multifunctionality also raises the question of polysemy and homonymy. Historically, the singular genitive is intertwined with specific cases in certain constructions, namely the accusative and the instructive, all marked by an *-n*. The most intriguing relationship is between the genitive and the accusative. The accusative originates from the ending **-m*, which changed into *-n* during the Proto-Finnic era (due to a phonological change that occurred in the word-final position that changed **-m* to *-n*) (for example, see Anttila 1989, 103). Thus, in present-day Finnish, the accusative and the singular genitive have a similar appearance and they can

be distinguished only at the level of syntactic construction.¹ Nonetheless, the question of the Finnish *-n* case(s), or the limits of the genitive, raises the issue of the fundamental relation between form and meaning. According to the principles of cognitive linguistics, a different form indicates a different meaning (e.g. *own* and *possess*, *Pete's* and *of Pete*) (see Langacker 1987; 1991, *passim*; Croft 2001, 111). Within the Finnish *-n* cases, we see how a similar form may affect meanings. This syncretism of the genitive, the accusative and the instructive are discussed in Sections 5 and 6.

The genitive is considered to be one of the grammatical cases in Finnish alongside the nominative, partitive, and accusative because they mark the main arguments of the verb (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1222). The division of cases into grammatical (or structural) and semantic is proposed by many linguistic theories. Cognitive grammar also recognises this difference, as cases are described as having nominal or relational profile (Langacker 1991a, 404–405, 2008, 349; Introduction of this volume). The former, the nominal, refers to cases that describe the role of the NP in a relation designated by some other element (in practice, the subject or object in a verb process) and thus have a thing-like profile. The latter type refers to cases that posit their own atemporal relation between the participants (such as the local cases that mark adverbials). Langacker (1991b, 235) also states that the case morpheme can have both profile variants, and this description is also applicable to the Finnish genitive. It designates a relation when used in the modifier and complement position, as illustrated below:

<i>Anna</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>auto</i>
NAME	GEN	car
landmark		trajector
(LM)		(TR)
'Anna's auto'		

The genitive marks a relation between the modifier (landmark) and the head (trajector) in all the examples (1a-d), but the profile of the genitive is more controversial when it occurs in verb constructions (1e, f). This is because it can be described as a case that marks the subject argument and thus has a nominal profile. I discuss this analysis in Section 6.

A growing number of usage-based studies promotes the position that cases are categories that more often form around family resemblances than one core meaning, and consist of different interrelations between schemas and their extensions (e.g. Janda 1993; Dąbrowska 1997; Berg-Olsen 2004). The Finnish genitive is no exception to this, as its different uses form a category that is best described as a network with a few central nodes and the connective superschema. On a schematic level, the meaning

1 The accusative marks the boundedness of the object NP in the singular (e.g. *Kissa joi maido-n* cat drink-PST.3SG milk-ACC 'cat drank the milk [all of it]') (for more detailed, see Huumo in this volume). The role of the accusative in the Finnish case system has been under discussion for decades, and the latest, comprehensive grammar categorises the *-n* case of an object-NP as a genitive (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §1222).

of the genitive is motivated by reference point asymmetry (see Langacker 1993). The genitive-marked noun functions as a conceptual topic, a reference point, which is offered to the interlocutors to uniquely identify the other entity, designated either by the head noun in specifier constructions, or by the process in verbal constructions. Alongside this schematic meaning, the meaning of the genitive is organised through prototypical schemas and their semantic extensions, and the different meanings are related in various ways. The central schemas include genitive nouns that refer to human animates, expressions of part-whole relationships and location. These serve as models for other, more abstract uses.²

This article is based on data-based study of the genitive functions (Jaakola 2004). The main data consisted of over 6 000 examples collected from newspaper and magazine texts.³ An additional data, a small set of columns in a magazine, fiction and free spoken data, were used for a specific discourse-oriented analysis. For the sake of clarity, some examples in this article are slightly simplified, and illustrative examples have been taken from the Internet.

The outline of this paper is as follows: Section 2 introduces the reference point model and discusses its applicability as a generic-level schema. The following sections, 3–6, describe the different syntactic variants of the genitive. Section 3 reviews the genitive modifier in the NP (from now on referred to as the N genitive), and the predicate complement. Section 4 describes the genitive in the AP and AdvP (A genitive), and Section 5 the genitive in the AdpP (P genitive). Section 6 presents the genitive subjects and adverbials in verb constructions (V genitive). It also discusses the difference between the genitive and the accusative. Section 7 provides an overview of the genitive network and discusses the interplay between form and meaning.

2 *The genitive as a reference point case: a discourse perspective*

This section introduces the reference point model (Langacker 1993; Taylor 1997) as a generic level schema applied to the Finnish genitive. The focus here is on the N genitive, which is the most central genitive type as well as the most frequent. However, the reference point function also motivates other uses, and I will also apply it in the following sections.

The reference point model exploits the asymmetric nature of perception. It is natural for humans that we conceptualise a relation as a scanned concept; we can shift our focus of attention to create a mental path from a

- 2 This is not a completely new way of thinking in Finnish linguistics; Kangasmaa-Minn (1972, 29) states that we best understand the genitive functions when we cease to follow only one particular explanation.
- 3 Hakulinen, Karlsson & Vilkuna text corpus. University of Helsinki, Department of general linguistics. 1980. Publications of the Department of General Linguistics, University of Helsinki. 67 000 words, representing written standard language. This corpus is not outdated because the use of the genitive as a frequent and central case is highly persistent. In addition, a sample of newspaper and magazine corpuses in CSC.fi was used.

perceptually more accessible entity to one that is less accessible. The *reference point* is a salient entity in the sense that it can be effortlessly recognised in discourse, and it can therefore be offered to the interlocutors as a specifier of another entity (Langacker 1991a, 170–171; 1993). This asymmetry is the basis for the N genitive construction, but its effect extends to other genitive uses as well. The genitive-marked noun functions as a *reference point* (RP) in relation to another entity, the *target* (T). This asymmetry is illustrated in Figure (1). The figure also illustrates the *conceptualizer* (C), the virtual entity that positions a given asymmetry, which is often equalised with the speaker/writer (Langacker 2008, 445).

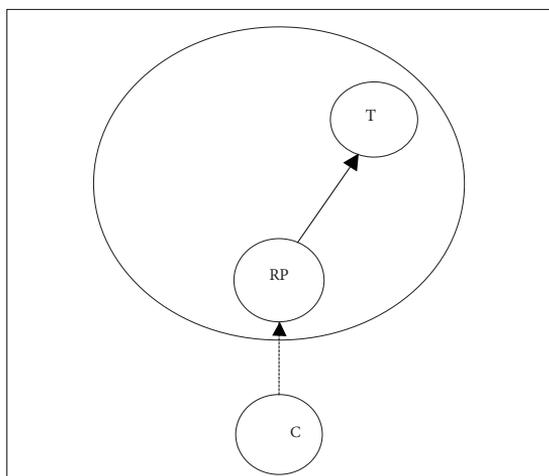


Figure 1. Reference point asymmetry (Langacker 1991a, 172; 2000, 174).

In the N genitive construction, the reference point scanning follows the landmark/trajector path, which is illustrated below:

<i>Anna-n</i>	<i>auto</i>	
name-GEN	car	'Anna's car'
landmark (LM)	trajector (TR)	
reference point (RP)	target (T)	

The landmark and the trajector are both relevant to the meaning of the genitive, and consequently they are both taken into account in the following analyses.

The inherent salience based on the universals of cognition has been modelled by different hierarchies. One of the most significant is the agency hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976), which is applied to several studies on possessive structures (for example, see R. Hawkins 1981; Deane 1992, 202–204; Langacker 1991a, 307, 2008, 505–508; Taylor 1996, 219–221). Participants in a speech situation and humans in general are at the top of the hierarchy and thus function as primarily apparent to perception. Respectively, the concrete entities are more prominent and typically more

easily observed than abstract entities. These hierarchical organisations should account for much of the reference point asymmetry: the higher an entity, the more obvious choice it is to be used as a reference point.

Tables 1 and 2 present the division of reference points (the genitive-marked landmarks) and targets (trajectors, that is, the heads of NPs) of the N genitive expressions in my data (Jaakola 2004).⁴ As the tables indicate, genre has a great impact on variation. As is evident in Table 1, the human referenced landmarks frequently occur in literature and conversational data, but are less frequent in other genres such as journalistic and media texts (the main data and the columns). However, together with the human institutions and collectives, the human-denoting landmarks cover one-third or more of all the tokens in the data. For the genres of journalism and media, abstract landmarks are frequent, which illustrates typical topics in these genres. Table 2 also illustrates the effect that genre has on trajectors.

	Main data	Additional data		
		Columns	Fiction	Conversation
Human	21%	20%	59%	59%
Institution/collective	16%	25%	3%	11%
Concrete inanimate	24%	9%	29%	16%
Abstract inanimate	39%	46%	9%	14%
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 1. Landmarks of the N genitive in the data.

	Main data	Additional data		
		Columns	Fiction	Conversation
Human	10%	9%	10%	33%
Institution/collective	6%	7%	2%	2%
Concrete inanimate	13%	6%	63%	41%
Abstract inanimate	71%	78%	25%	24%
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Trajectors of the N genitive construction in the data.

The frequencies themselves do not serve as an explanatory device to justify the agency hierarchy or reference point asymmetry. The analysis in this section and those that follow will better illustrate the applicability of these two models, as central nodes in the polysemy network of the Finnish genitive are the genitive landmarks that denote humans, concrete parts and locations. Together these genitive types serve as a departure point for different semantic extensions. The analysis of the data also leads to an important point that linguistic expressions do indeed break conventional order, and salience may be constructed differently in a given discourse. This means that a review is needed of genitives in their contexts.

4 The size of the additional corpus is rather small (see Table 3). However, the frequencies illustrate the diversity of the genitive expressions in different genres.

2.1 THE MODIFIER GENITIVE IN RELATION TO DISCOURSE SALIENCY

Discourse-motivated salience is related to the concept of access in discourse flow. According to this type of salience, the reference point should be easily identified, such as being explicitly mentioned previously or somehow accessible through the context.

In order to analyse the explanatory power of the reference point asymmetry with the Finnish genitive, I conducted a textual analysis of N genitives on a small compilation of full texts and spoken data (this additional data include magazine columns, a children's book, a short story, and extracts of free spoken conversation). Table 3 introduces the frequency of the N genitives that occur in these data.

		N genitives ⁵
Columns	2 965 words	202
Fiction	6 155 words	183
Conversation	1.5 hours	177
Total		562

Table 3. The N genitives in the additional data.

I only present the frequencies from the written data. In spoken conversation, salience and referentiality are constructed differently than in the written language, and thus the distribution of the NPs in the written language and conversation cannot be directly equated.

The present analysis focuses on the distribution of the genitive landmarks and their trajectors to determine whether their order follow a salience hierarchy that is motivated by discourse. The analysis is partly based on Chafe (1994), who divides the salience level of the nominal referents into three *activation states*: given, accessible, or new. Based on the principles of the reference point asymmetry, I formulate and propose the following two hypotheses concerning the N genitives: 1) The landmarks would be easily recognised, that is, given (mentioned earlier in a text), or at least accessible (recognisable with context clues); 2) The trajectors are new (not previously mentioned or primed in the context).

As expected, the majority of landmarks in the data are identifiable in the sense that they either have already been explicitly referred to in the previous text, or they are activated by some element in the context (Table 4).

	Columns	Fiction
Given (active)	45%	74%
Accessible (semiactive)	29%	14%
New (inactive)	26%	12%
Total (%)	100%	100%

Table 4. The activation states of landmarks.

5 The compound nouns are one frequent type of units in which the genitive occurs (e.g. *mere-n-ranta* sea-GEN-shore 'seashore'). These are excluded from this analysis, although their inner structure follows the reference point model.

Nevertheless, there are also examples of the genitive noun referring to a new entity in the discourse world, that is, one that is not primed in the text. These are entities that are self-evidently identifiable (such as the rector of a university in the university magazine). Another type consists of examples that do not select a specific referent, such as generic references (2a), or idioms (2b).

- (2a) vaikka mua hetkellisesti masensi, mä en tietenkään aikonut vapaaehtoisesti viettää **nunnan elämää**
 ‘even though I was momentarily depressed, of course I wasn’t intended to voluntarily spend **the life of a nun**’, lit: nun-GEN life
 (Fiction)
- (2b) Vaikka sanonta ”publish or perish” eli ”julkaise tai tuhoudu” yleensä kuvaa eräänlaista tieteellistä pakkotyötä, siihen sisältyy **totuuden siemen**.
 ‘Although the phrase “publish or perish” usually describes a kind of forced scientific work, it contains **the seed of truth**.’ lit. truth-GEN seed
 (Column)

This type of new landmarks and their trajectors typically remain individual mentions and will not be repeated later in the text. However, this small data do not support the conclusion that any specific N genitive type would appear specifically as new and/or individual mentions, but an analysis of wider data would clarify the picture here.⁶

The difference between the trajectors that are new and those that are mentioned or accessible occurs in the data as expected; the new mentions comprise the majority, even in the fictional text type (Table 5).

	Columns	Fiction
Given (active)	16%	19%
Accessible (semi-active)	10%	29%
New (inactive)	74%	52%
Total (%)	100%	100%

Table 5. The activation states of trajectors.

Yet another interesting observation emerges in the written data, and the conversation data likewise support this. The trajector is never more easily identifiable than the landmark. Table 6 illustrates the possible combinations of a reference point and target. Firstly, when the landmark is “given”, the trajector can occur at any activation level. Secondly, when the landmark is “accessible”, the trajector cannot be “given” but is either “accessible” or “new”. Thirdly, when the landmark is “new”, the trajector can only be “new”.⁷

6 Referentiality and continuity in discourse are affected by the wider construction (see, for example, Helasvuo 2001), and this whole phenomenon would require a more comprehensive analysis that is beyond the scope of the present analysis.

7 And of course, this consideration is made without taking into account the recognizability produced by the landmark.

Landmark	Trajector		
	given	accessible	new
given	given	accessible	new
accessible	-	accessible	new
new	-	-	new

Table 6. The landmark/trajector combinations of the N genitive constructions.

Table 6 does not imply that this is a rule but a conventional tendency, in which the landmark is always either more accessible or as new as the trajector. The data itself are small, but an analysis of the main data supports this. The use of the N genitive is conventionalised in the sense that the genitive-landmark functions as a background for the trajector, and this function is not only based on the inherent hierarchies of salience and topicality, but also supported by the discourse-related topicality.

Finally, I analysed the topic continuity of the N genitives, that is, whether the genitive modifiers and heads are mentioned again further in the texts.⁸ The reference point model should not be interpreted to mean that genitive NPs are structures which would introduce topics in texts. It seems that this is not the case. The most common is that the trajectors do not receive any subsequent mention. In this respect, the columns and fiction data are similar (Table 7).

	Columns	Fiction
No mentions	78%	76%
One or more mentions	22%	24%
Total (%)	100%	100%

Table 7. The continuity of the trajectors.

The division of landmarks is slightly more complicated. Firstly, landmarks are re-mentioned easier than trajectors. Secondly, landmarks participate more frequently than trajectors in referential chains, that is, landmarks receive more than two mentions (especially in fiction).

	Columns	Fiction
No mentions	54%	31%
One or more mentions	46%	69%
Total (%)	100%	100%

Table 8. The continuity of landmarks.

Based on my data, the picture of the referentiality and discourse continuity changes so that if a genitive NP is a part of a referential chain, reference continuity is more often carried by the genitive modifier than the head. This applies in particular to the person referenced genitive (3) and to the part-

⁸ Whether entities are offered as discourse topics is not merely a genitive-NP feature but a function that is achieved by larger constructions. For example, only approximately a half of the new genitive NPs in the data occur in subject or object positions, which also affects their ability to display referential continuity in the text.

whole genitives. Example (3) includes one referential chain that begins from the genitive-NP.

(3) Hyvä vai paha?

Jotkut asiat jäävät paremmin mieleen kuin toiset. Parhaiten yliopisto-opiskelusta muistan professori **Holger Thesleffin** *Plotinos-luennot*. Klassisen kreikan taitoni eivät siihen aikaan olleet kovinkaan kummoiset, mutta **Thesleffin** *selkeä esitystapa ja innostus* auttoivat. Mieleen on jäänyt myös **Thesleffin** *jäähyväisluento*, se oli Platonin Protagorasta, ja sanailimme jotain Jeremy Benthamin, ”mahdollisimman suuri hyvä mahdollisimman monelle” -miehen, utilitarismista. **Thesleff** oli niitä opettajia, joka ei pahastunut tyhmistä kysymyksistä tai vastaan väittämisestä. Päinvastoin, jos asia jäi epäselväksi, **hän** ilmestyi seuraavalle tunnille kirja kainalossa ilmoittaen: “täällä kysyttiin edellisellä kerralla sitä ja sitä ja kävin kirjastossa tarkistamassa...” – –

‘Good or bad?’

Some things are better remembered than others. From my university studies, I remember best the **Professor Holger Thesleff’s** *Plotinos lectures*. My skills in classical Greek were not very good at the time, but **Thesleff’s** *clear presentation and enthusiasm* helped. I also remember **Thesleff’s** *Farewell Lecture*, it was on Plato’s Protagoras, and we discussed something about the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham, the “greatest good for as many as possible” man. **Thesleff** was one of those teachers who didn’t resent stupid questions or arguing. On the contrary, if the matter remained unclear, **he** appeared for the next time with a book under his arm, stating, “last time you asked this and that and I went to the library to check ...” – –
(Column)

The first mention of Holger Thesleff is a genitive modifier (*professori Holger Thesleffin Plotinos-luennot*)⁹ in the beginning of the column, and it receives four further mentions of which two are still genitive modifiers. The trajector (*Plotinos-luennot*) is not mentioned again per se (that is, the lectures), but Plotinus will be a topic in the following passage (omitted here). Even though the genitive-marked and other pre-modifiers have not been considered referential (for example, see Donnellan 1971; Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, 130; Du Bois 1980, 208–209), it appears that certain types of modifiers can be used to introduce and maintain elements in discourse.

2.2 THE GENITIVE AS A REFERENCE POINT MARKER

The textual analysis reveals that the conventional use of the N genitive follows reference point asymmetry. Even so, the role of the genitive modifiers in relation to referentiality and topic continuity would require a more profound analysis with larger data. It might be that with specific genitive types, the landmarks can be used as a permanent reference point, through which other entities only “visit” in the discourse space (see Table 7). The textual analysis reinforces the centrality of certain genitive types: person referenced and part-whole genitives are specific from the perspective of the referential and the discourse topicality, and both types also play an important role in the polysemy within the N genitive but also in relation to other genitive constructions.

9 The landmark and the trajector are both new mentions. Thesleff is not well-known outside the specific field, but he is introduced as a background for the lectures.

An interesting point of reference for the Finnish genitive is provided by the English *'s*-construction. Based on Taylor (1996, 214), the English *'s*-construction more strongly follows the asymmetry mentioned-landmark / new-trajector (in Taylor's data, only 6% of the possessor nominals were completely new, that is, without previous mention). Concerning referential continuity, both constructions are rather similar, as trajectors do not easily receive further mentions. The English *'s* follows more consistently the empathy hierarchy (see Taylor 1996, 221), whereas the Finnish N genitive appears to be more flexible in meaning, which is also reflected in its frequency compared to the English *'s*. When comparing the Finnish genitive and the English *'s*, it should be remembered that they also differ in syntax. The English *'s* is considered to be a clitic rather than a case, and it is governed by a rich set of grammatical and semantic constraints (c.f. Taylor 1996, 214; Langacker 2000, 175–179). In addition, many of the central meanings of the Finnish genitive (including the part-whole and the location) are expressed in English by the preposition *of* (e.g. Langacker 2000, 80–83, 181–182). Another relevant construction type is noun modifiers (see Rosenbach 2019), for example *FBI director* is expressed by the genitive in Finnish (*FBI:n johtaja*).

In the following sections, I supplement the reference point model with an analysis of specific level meanings. I also describe the different semantic links and continuums that built the network of the genitive category.

3 *The genitive modifier in the NP: the N genitive*

3.1 THE N GENITIVE AS A NETWORK

In addition to the schematic reference point asymmetry, the N genitive is structured with a few central schemas, of which the most important are the possessive and the part-whole relationships, and the expressions of location. These are also universally typical meanings for the genitive case (Heine 1997). These central meanings function as models for different extensions inside the N genitive and the genitive category as a whole. The interpretation of an expression depends on which elements the genitive connects, and the features of the landmark and the trajector are both relevant to the meaning of a predication. The following analysis is therefore based on the types of the landmark and the trajector which serve as reference points and targets. Firstly, I discuss the effect of human reference points combined with different type of targets, and then the effect of locations and concrete things as reference points. Finally, I describe the semantics of abstract reference points.

The meaning of a noun is a combination of foregrounded and backgrounded elements of a complex knowledge frame. The part of a frame that is relevant in a given discourse situation is described in cognitive grammar by adopting the concept of *active zone* (Langacker 1987, 271–274, 1991b, 189–202). For example, humans as landmarks in the genitive-NP easily trigger possessive or agentive interpretations, and the active zone of these predications is a social framework or human activity. Places as landmarks, on the other hand, create an idea of a location, or a part-whole. An overall characteristic of the genitive expressions is the permanence of the

relationship, and these three schemas (human referenced relations, location, and part-whole) serve as starting points to describe the abstract meanings of the genitive.

3.2 HUMAN REFERENCE POINTS

The genitive expressions with human landmarks produce a wide range of meanings, depending on the features of the trajector. Possession as a cultural concept is one of the core meanings of the N genitive, as it is well suited to reference point asymmetry: possessors are high in the topicality hierarchy, the relationship is exclusive, each possessee usually has only one possessor, and the relation is typically of long duration (on the possessive gestalt, see Taylor 1996, 340; Heine 1997). When the trajector is an object that is available for the cultural concept of possession, that is the natural interpretation of the utterance. Respectively, when the trajector introduces other aspects of meaning, the most prominent motivation for the genitive is an interpretation of control and proximity. For example, the frame of *turn* in (4) includes information on periodicity and rotation, and the genitive-NP specifies the operator who controls the actions that need to be completed during the turn.

- (4) Tul-i perämiehe-n vuoro toimi-a kirjuri-na.
 come-PST.3SG pilot-GEN turn act-INF scribe-ESS
 ‘It became the pilot’s turn to act as a scribe’

The concept of control is also important when the trajector is the result of an act. Humans as agents are good reference points for different types of results, such as a work of art (*Chaplinin filmit* name-GEN film-PL ‘Chaplin movies’), scientific findings (*Parkinsonin tauti* ‘Parkinson’s disease’), or cultural institutions (*Nobelin rauhanpalkinto* ‘Nobel Peace Prize’).

In standard Finnish, when personal pronouns modify genitives, they are combined with a possessive suffix in the head noun. The possessive suffix agrees in person and number with the pronoun modifier (5).

- (5a) minu-n vuoro-ni
 1SG-GEN turn-POSS1SG
 ‘my turn’
- (5b) sinu-n vuoro-si
 2sg-gen turn-POSS2SG
 ‘your turn’
- (5c) heidä-n vuoro-nsa
 3PL-GEN turn-POSS3
 ‘their turn’

The personal pronoun can also be omitted, as in *kun vuoroni tuli* (when turn-POSS1 come-PST.3SG) ‘when it was my turn’. In colloquial Finnish, the most typical expression has no suffix, such as *mu-n vuoro* (1SG-GEN turn) ‘my turn’.

An important group of trajectors consists of deverbal nouns. Finnish has a rich system of deverbal nouns and this increases the frequency of

N genitives in all genres. Deverbal nouns denote a reification of a verb process, and their genitive modifiers express participants of that reified process, either the trajector (subject argument of the resp. verb process, as in 6a), or the landmark (object argument, as in 6b–c).

- (6a) **yhtiö-n** reagoi-nti compare: **yhtiö** (SUBJ) reagoi
 company-GEN react-NMLZ company react.3SG
 ‘reacting of a company’ ‘company reacts’
- (6b) **sein-i-en** maala-ilu compare: hän maala-a **seinä-ä** (OBJ)
 wall-PL-GEN pain-NMLZ 3SG paint-3SG wall-PAR
 ‘painting of the walls’ ‘s/he paints the wall’
- (6c) **kalja-n-juo-ja** compare: hän juo **kalja-a** (OBJ)
 beer-GEN-drink-NMLZ 3SG drink.3SG beer-PAR
 ‘beer drinker’ ‘s/he drinks beer’

Deverbal nouns as trajectors are central in the genitive category, most importantly because they link the N genitive and the V genitive of the infinitival verb forms (both synchronically, and diachronically, see Section 6).

The control that is typical for human landmarks can be construed in highly abstract ways. One form occurs as the subjective perspective of a landmark on the trajector, as in the example (7) where the writer identifies the trajector (Africa) through their own experiences.

- (7) **Minu-n Afrikka-ni** muuttu-u koko aja-n. lapsuude-n
 1.SG-GEN Africa-POSS1SG change-3SG all time-ACC. Childhood-GEN
 mielikuva savi-majo-i-sta ja kylä-tie-stä kulkijo-ine-en
 image clay-hut-PL-ELA and village-road-ELA walker-COM-POSS3
 vaihtu-u TV:n kauhu-kuvi-in.
 change-3SG TV-GEN horror-picture-PL-ILL
 ‘My Africa is changing all the time. Childhood image of clay huts and the village road with its walkers turns into horror pictures on TV.’

Thus, the different uses of N genitive form a continuum from possession into a highly abstract controlling of highly abstract entities, which is based on the concept of an association between the possessor and the possessee, the actor and the result of an act, or the actor and the act. Another continuum evolves from inherent body-part expressions (*juoksijoiden jalat* ‘runners’ legs’) into more abstract characteristics of a person (8):

- (8) kapellimestari **Albrechti-n** hiukan **kulmikas ja hiomaton** tyyli
 conductor name-GEN slightly angular and unpolished style
 ‘conductor Albrecht’s slightly angular and unpolished style’

Both relations – the cultural possessive relationship and a concrete human body with its parts – can be presented as a basis for conceptualizing other types of expression. The third schema for extensions consists of interpersonal

expressions, from kinship to less permanent relations. Kinship relationships are unique and inherent (everyone has a limited number of parents, cousins, uncles, etc.), but in addition, a person engages in other associations with other persons (e.g. *minun paras ystäväni* ‘my best friend’, *lääkäreiden kilpailijat* ‘doctors’ competitors’, *Gandhin vastustaja* ‘Gandhi’s opponent’). And finally, the person referenced genitives lead to different extensions with inanimate participants and produce more abstract associative readings (e.g. *ryöstäjien uhri* > *olosuhteiden uhri*, ‘victim of robbers’ > ‘victim of circumstances’).

One type of genitive that is syntactically different but semantically related to person referenced N genitives is the genitive that marks the predicate complement in the copula construction [subj *be* NP-gen]:

(9a) Kirjat o-vat minu-n.
book-PL be-3PL 1SG-GEN
‘The books are mine’

(9b) Jos et aina ymmärrä, vika on vain sinu-n.
if NEG.2SG always understand.CNG fault be.3SG only 2SG-GEN
‘If you don’t always understand, the fault is only yours’

This construction is rather infrequent in written data, and it is semantically restricted to mark possession and other person referenced relations. In this sense, this genitive contrasts with the adessive adverbial, which expresses (often temporary) control in the copula clause (10), while the genitive predicate complement conveys ownership (9a).¹⁰

(10) Kirja-t o-vat minu-lla.
book-PL be-3PL 1SG-ADE
‘I have the books’, lit. ‘books are at me’

In emphasising contexts (mostly in written genres) other meanings than person referenced associations are also possible in the genitive marked predicate complements. In the data, the rare examples are abstract part-whole meanings, as in (11).

(11) Ei ero kuitenkin ollut niin suuri kuin olisi saattanut luulla.
neg.3sg difference however be.PTCP that big as be.COND might.PTCP think.INF

Ansio on ennen kaikke-a sävellykse-n:
merit be.3SG before all-PAR composition-GEN

Honeggerin sävelkieli on siinä määrin värikästä, että teoksen sanoma tulee perille.

name.GEN melody.language be.3SG that degree.INSTR colourful that piece.GEN message come.3SG there

‘However, the difference was not as great as one might have thought.

Merit belongs, above all, to composition [lit. ‘**merit is of composition**’]: Honegger’s melodic language is so colourful that the message of the piece gets through’

10 It should be noted that local cases are widely used in possessive constructions, as in *Minulla on kirja* 1SG-ADE be.3SG book ‘I have a book’, see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume.

The genitive modifier construction and the genitive predicate complement are different constructions but semantically related. The genitive modifier construction foregrounds the mental path that makes the possessee identifiable through the possessor. In the predicate complement construction, the possessee (a grammatical subject) is the starting point, and the genitive indicates the possessive relation per se – the possessee can be connected with this specific possessor. This relation is what the genitive complement predicates about the subject-NP.

3.3 PLACE AND TIME AS REFERENCE POINTS

One everyday human behaviour involves identifying things based on their location. In this manner, we describe concrete objects (12a), living beings (12b) other places (12c), or events (12d). Thus, it is quite natural that one basic type of genitive landmarks consists of words denoting a place. The N genitive construction is also a conventional template for proper names (as in *Helsingin yliopisto* Helsinki-GEN university ‘University of Helsinki’).

(12a) Istu-t kahvi-lla keittiö-n pöydä-n ääre-ssä.
 sit-2SG coffee-ADE kitchen-GEN table-GEN end-INE
 ‘you sit with coffee at the kitchen table’

(12b) Suojelualue-n japani-n-makaki-t opp-i-vat nopea-sti
 sanctuary-GEN Japan-GEN macaque-PL learn-PST-3PL quick-ly
 pese-mä-än hiekkaise-t bataati-t
 wash-INF-ILL-3PL-ALL sandy-PL sweet potato-PL
 ‘the Japanese macaques in the sanctuary quickly learned to wash the sandy sweet potatoes’

(12c) Yhtiö toimi-i Suome-n Lapi-ssa.
 Company operate-3SG Finland-GEN Lapland-INE
 ‘The company operates in Finnish Lapland’

(12d) Nairobi-n yleiskokoukse-ssa jä-i pöydä-lle
 Nairobi-GEN general-assembly-INE left-PST.3SG table-ADE
 Unescon-n joukkotiedotusohjelma.
 UNESCO GEN mass-media program.
 ‘The UNESCO mass media programme remained on the table at the Nairobi General Assembly.’

An essential element is the permanence of the relationship between the places and the entities located in it: the object is usually in that place (as in 12b, these Japanese macaques live in this area¹¹) or in that place there is typically such an entity (for example, a table in the kitchen, 12a). Similarly, an identifying function is obvious with recurrent events (such as international conferences) held in different places, and these are conventionally expressed by the genitive (12d). In contrast, the genitive expressions of short-term

11 The genitive is also used to name species (*japaninmakaki* Japan-GEN macaque).

and random locations are atypical and highly rather context-dependent. The meaning of a temporary location —as well as temporary possession —is typically expressed by using a local case construction (see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume), as in *Juna on asemalla* train be.3SG station-ADE ‘the train is at the station.’

The frequent types of genitive expressions are the associations between a place and its features (13a), or a place and on-site activities (13b). When the trajector is an abstract referent, the interpretation easily entails more than merely expressing the location. For example, a prominent feature in the interpretation of the place name *Isojoki* in (13c) is its institutional, administrative nature.

(13a) **Helsingi-n ilmasto** on ankara.
Helsinki-GEN climate be. 3SG harsh
‘Helsinki’s climate is harsh.’

(13b) **Huikkea-t hinna-t pan-i-vat Kainuu-n puolukkamarckkina-t** sekaisin.
huge-PL price-PL put-PST-3SG Kainuu-GEN lingonberry-market-PL mixed’
‘Staggering prices messed up the lingonberry business in Kainuu.’

(13c) **Isojoe-n asukasluku** on vähän yli neljä tuhatta.
Isojoki-GEN population be.3SG little over four thousand.
‘The population of Isojoki is little over four thousand.’

Similarly, time-related concepts are suitable as a reference point for other entities, and this is based on their ability to identify other entities: unique temporal entities, such as dates and eras (14a) or individual processes and events (14b, c) can function an abstract location, a conceptual background for other entities, such as eras, events, sub-processes, or even participants.

(14a) **1910-luvu-n** Pariisi, Antiiki-n Kreikka
1910-decade-GEN Paris antiquity-GEN Greece
‘Paris of the 1910s’ ‘Ancient Greece’

(14b) **Oppiminen on tämä-n jakso-n johta-va toiminta.**
learning be.3SG this-GEN phase-GEN lead-PTCP activity
‘Learning is the main activity of this phase.’

(14c) **Tilaisuude-n puhuj-i-na** ovat – –
event-GEN speaker-PL-ESS be.3PL
‘The speakers of the event are - -’

The basic conceptualisation of these genitive expressions (12–14) is that the trajector is located in the conceptual area of the landmark. In addition, there can easily be an interpretation of a part-whole relation, as in (14b, c), where the trajectors function as functional parts that make up the event or the process. Genitives that evoke a locational interpretation may indeed intertwine with the part-whole genitives, but they nonetheless are different conceptualisations.

3.4 PART-WHOLE RELATIONS

The part-whole meaning expressed by the genitive is based on an inclusion relationship (Figure 2): the target (the trajector) is located within the reference point (the landmark).

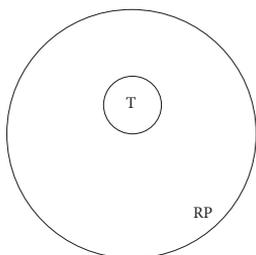


Figure 2. The part-whole genitive (P. Leino 1993, 289).

At the core of the part-whole genitives are permanent relations, that is, inseparable or functional cohesive relations where the reference point functions as conceptual background for the target.¹² Typical part-denoting trajectors are relational nouns that presuppose a whole (the landmark). A frequent type of part-whole genitive is the member of a collective (*ryhmän paras* group-GEN best ‘best of the group’, *joukkueen jäsen* ‘team-GEN member ‘member of the team’, *yhdistyksen sihteeri* association-GEN secretary ‘secretary of an association.’) Typical part-whole genitives are also body-parts and terrain terms (15a), parts of an organisation or collective (15b), or relationships between an entity and its inherent parts, such as theories and their methods (15c).

- (15a) Kuva-t o-vat San Antonio-n **tulivuore-n** **rintee-ltä**,
 Picture-PL be-3PL San Antonio-GEN volcano-GEN slope-ELA,
saare-n **etelä-kärje-stä**.
 island-GEN south-tip-ELA

‘The photos are from the slope of the San Antonio volcano, the southern tip of the island.’

- (15b) **yhtiö-n** **markkinointi-osasto**
 company-GEN marketing-department
 ‘the company’s marketing department’

- (15c) **lingvistiika-n** **ja** **psykolingvistiika-n** **malle-j-a** **ja**
 linguistics-GEN and psycholinguistics-GEN model-PL-PAR and
metode-j-a sovelle-taan afasia-n tutkimise-en.
 method-PL-PAR apply-PASS aphasia-GEN research-ILL
 ‘linguistic and psycholinguistic models and methods are applied to the study of aphasia.’

12 This makes the inclusion relation different from the inclusion expressed by the inessive, see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume.

It is difficult to determine the boundary between the locational and the part-whole readings, particularly with abstract knowledge frames. In (16), the trajector is not an inherent part of the reference point but rather a property that also denotes a conceptual background (slowness requires someone or something that is slow).

- (16) **teksti-n** **hitaus** harmitta-a
 'text-GEN slowness annoy-PRS.3SG
 'the slowness of the text is annoying'

Even though the N genitive has very few semantic restrictions, there are some limits concerning the part-whole semantics. Firstly, the genitive expressions follow the hierarchy of scopes rather well (see Langacker 2008, 64). The reference point (the whole) is typically the immediate scope, the "portion directly relevant" for the target. For example, a conventional expression is *ovenkarmi* (door-GEN frame 'door frame') instead of *?talon karmi* ('frame of the house'). The compound nouns follow this hierarchy particularly well, but it also affects the other uses of the genitive.

Secondly, parts and wholes that occur in the genitive NP are conceptualised as bounded entities. This means that quantifying words that denote an amount of something (instead of a specific member or part) are not used as trajectors in the genitive NP (17a), but these types of relationships are expressed by the partitive or the relative (17b).

- (17a) ***kylä-n** **puolet** on vede-n peito-ssa
 village-GEN half be.3SG water-GEN cover-INE
 (17b) **puolet** **kylä-stä** on vede-n peito-ssa
 half village-ELA be.3SG water-GEN cover-INE
 'half of the village is covered with water'

The part-whole genitive and the part-whole relative differ in their construal (that is, how the relation is arranged): the genitive expresses an inclusion (and construes the entities as bounded), whereas the relative (17b) brings out the entity (a specific part or the amount) from the whole (P. Leino 1993, 290; Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume; on the partitive, see Huumo in this volume).

3.5 THE CO-DENOTING GENITIVE

To conclude what I have demonstrated thus far, the genitive NPs typically follow the following hierarchy:

<u>Landmark:</u>	<u>Trajector:</u>
whole	part
entity (more schematic)	property (more specific)

Some conventional expressions deviate from this. These include expressions that have the landmark and the trajector denoting the same entity. The most idiomatic expressions follow a pattern that the landmark is a more specific expression, whereas the trajector is more schematic, as in (18). These co-denoting genitives differ from the prototypical genitive NP in that within these expressions, the landmark alone can express the referent of the head of the NP because it provides a more specific elaboration of the trajector. This is illustrated in example (18), where the subject of the sentence can be expressed by the co-denoting genitive construction (before the slash) or by the word that was used as the genitive modifier (after the slash).¹³

- (18a) **Suome-n kieli** / **suomi** kuulu-u
 Finnish-GEN language / Finnish belong-PRS.3SG
 itämerensuomalaise-en haara-an.
 Balto-Finnic-ILL branch-ILL
 ‘The Finnish language / Finnish belongs to the Balto-Finnic branch.’
- (18b) **Tasku-ssa on euro-n kolikko** / **euro.**
 Pocket-INE be.3SG euro-GEN coin / euro.
 ‘there is a euro coin / one euro in the pocket’
- (18c) **Helsingi-n kaupunki** / **Helsinki** on mukana hankkee-ssa.
 Helsinki-GEN city / Helsinki be.3SG with project-INE
 ‘City of Helsinki / Helsinki takes part in the project.’
- (18d) **Onne-n tunne** / **onni** valtas-i miele-n.
 Happiness-GEN feeling / happiness capture-PST.3SG mind-ACC
 ‘The feeling of happiness / happiness took over the mind.’

The co-denoting structure includes a variety of expressions in which the trajector is a general concept and the landmark denotes its elaboration. These expressions can be paraphrased by a classifying copula construction, as in *suomi on kieli* (Finnish be.3SG language ‘Finnish is a language’) and *onni on tunne* (happiness be.3SG feeling ‘happiness is a feeling’).

In addition to the names of the languages, states, concepts, etc., a conventionalised type of co-denoting genitives are the expression of measure and quantity (19a) (see Kangasmaa-Minn 1966). The extension of this type involve expressions that have the trajector as the entity that is measured. In (19a), the trajector is a specification of the unit (pure co-denoting genitive), whereas in (19b), the trajector is something that has this particular measured feature (extension).

- (19a) **Tunni-n aika** / **tunti** voi riittä-ä se-n kuivumise-en.
 Hour-GEN time / hour may suffice-INF it-GEN dry-ILL
 ‘An hour may be enough to dry it.’

13 In actual use, it depends on the context as to which part of the genitive-NP is referentially continuous.

- (19b) **Tunni-n** **une-t** keskellä päivä-ä on luksus-ta.
 Hour-GEN sleep-PL middle day-PAR be.3SG luxury-PAR
 ‘An hour’s sleep in the middle of the day is a luxury’

Another elaboration of co-denoting expressions follow a format such that the trajector consists of a landmark, as in (20):

- (20) **poik-i-en** **joukko** / **pojat** pörräs-i ympäri-llä
 boy-PL-GEN group / boy-PL spin-PST.3SG around-ADE
 ‘a group of boys / the boys spun around’

This type of genitive expressions (18–20) is also classified as “descriptive” and distinct from the main type of “determining” or “specifying” genitives (for example, see Jokinen 1991; from a typological perspective, see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003a). However, all these genitives (18–20) create the reference point effect, because the qualifying landmark also functions as an identifying element in relation to the trajector (for example, *ota se kahden kilon pussi, ei sitä pienempää* ‘take that **bag of two kilos**, not the smaller one’). If an NP includes several genitive nouns, the order of co-denoting and other genitives is based on semantics. The genitive chains follow the general order in that the identifying and anchoring modifiers are placed before the qualifying modifiers, as in *opiskelijoiden sujuva suomen kielen taito* (student-PL-GEN Finnish-GEN fluent language-GEN knowledge) ‘students’ fluent Finnish language skills’. Thus, the best candidate for the identifying function is placed first, and the co-denoting genitives are typically located adjacent to the head, as in *Pekan onnen tunne* (Pekka-GEN happiness-GEN feeling ‘Pekka’s feeling of happiness’).

3.7 OVERALL PICTURE OF THE N GENITIVE

The polysemy of the N genitive category is based on reference point relation. The reference point—the genitive-marked landmark—functions as a conceptual background and an instruction to identify the trajector. A more specific interpretation depends on the features of the landmark and the trajector. The central images are part-whole and location, and the variety of person-referenced asymmetries. These construals motivate the more abstract uses, and even the co-denoting genitives (18–20) are based on the general schema. Moreover, the swear genitives (*helvetin/saatanan idiootti* hell-GEN/devil-GEN idiot ‘hell’s/devil’s idiot) are elaborations from locational and social relations into markers of intensifying meaning (for example, *helveti-n ruma* hell-GEN ugly ‘fucking ugly’). The “descriptive genitives” (such as *kunnian mies* ‘man of honour’ *synnin pesä* ‘nest of sin’) form a mixed group of abstract relations, where the trajector is conceptually anchored and located within the landmark and becomes specified in that manner. Finally, in compound nouns, the genitive varies with the nominative. The genitive-marked compounds follow the meaning types introduced above, but there are a few pairs of synonymous genitive and nominative compounds, such as *elämänkerta – elämäkerta* life-GEN/NOM story ‘biography’. Even within these pairs, they have different construals, as the nominative does not set

a corresponding reference point asymmetry, but instead denotes a mere adjacency of the two entities. It is interesting to note that the nominative case of the first component appears to be the more productive type of compound noun in present-day Finnish (Tyysteri 2015).

4 *The genitive in adposition phrases: the P genitive*

The majority of Finnish adpositions have developed diachronically from (local)case-inflected nouns, which explains the post-location as well as the genitive in the postposition construction (for example, see Grünthal 2003; Jaakola and Ojutkangas in this volume).¹⁴ In Finnish, one of the important sources of P genitives is the part-whole relation. This reflects the fact that universally the most typical sources for adpositions are body parts (21a) together with terrain terms (21b) as well as different relational terms denoting parts (21c) (see Hagège 2010):

- (21a) jono-n **hännillä**
 queue-GEN tail.PL.ADE
 ‘at the end of the queue’
- (21b) vuore-n **juurella**
 mountain-GEN root.ADE
 ‘at the foot of the mountain’
- (21c) kirko-n **edessä** / **vieressä**
 church-GEN front.INE / side.INE
 ‘in the front of the church / next to the church’

The abstract conceptualisation of the N genitives and the P genitives is basically the same, the reference point asymmetry. The difference lies in the nature of the trajector of the genitive marked relation, which is a noun (a thing) or a postposition (a relation), respectively:

	LM	TR
N genitive	pöydä-n table-GEN	ala-osa under-part
		‘bottom of the table’
	LM	TR
P genitive	pöydä-n table-GEN	alla under
		‘under the table’

14 Finnish also has a few prepositions with the partitive complement, and adpositions that take both the partitive and genitive complements, such as *talo-n ympäri* house-gen around ‘around the house (outside)’; and *ympäri talo-a* around house-part ‘around the house (inside the house)’; see Grünthal 2003; Huumo 2013.

The trajector in the P genitive construction is a complex entity, as the adposition is a relational predicate. An illustrative example is the locational postposition. A concept of locative construction also includes an idea of a *search domain*, a region where something is located (B. Hawkins 1984, 168–173; Langacker 1991a, 286; Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). For example, *alla* (‘under’) designates a space that is vertically below the landmark. In the expression *pöydä-n alla* (‘under the table’), the genitive designates a relation between two entities: the landmark (‘table’), and the trajector, the search domain of ‘under’. The genitive landmark serves as a reference point that specifies and restricts the possible search domain.

The similarities of the N genitives and P genitives are crucial in the development of new postpositions and even for the openness of the postposition category in Finnish. The genitive in the PoP is grammaticalized into a highly grammaticalized reference point marker, and the more specific meaning features such as part-whole, location, and person referenced relations are bleached. The change from an NP to a PoP also includes a reanalysis of the noun + case combination to function as a single unit.

It is characteristic of Finnish postpositions that they can be divided into meaning groups, such as locational expressions based on different types of part-whole conceptualisations, as in examples (21a–c). In addition, some groups are predominantly based on the person referenced genitive, such as the companion (22a), the means (22b), and the possessive set (22c).

(22a) *kanssa, keskuudessa, joukossa, seassa, seurassa*
‘with, among, in a group, within, in company’

(22b) *avulla, avustuksella, kustannuksella, myötävaikutuksella, tuella, välityksellä*
‘with help, through, at the expense of, contributing to, supporting, mediating’

(22c) *hallussa, hoivissa, hoteissa, huomassa, huostassa*
‘in possession, in care, under control’

The postpositions that occur in a given set share similar lexical origins. For example, the companion set originates from nouns that denote a group or set, and the means set have emerged from expressions that denote support and a mediating force. In addition to these somewhat transparent postpositions (19–22), there are those that are more grammaticalized and morphologically opaque, such as the causal *takia, vuoksi, tähden* ‘because’. Jaakola and Ojutkangas (in this volume) present a more detailed analysis of the interplay between the N genitive and the P genitive constructions and the role of meaning groups during the development of Finnish postpositions.

5 The genitive in adjective and adverb phrases: the A genitive

5.1 CONSTRUCTIONS

Adjectival modifiers of nouns agree in number and case, for example *sinis-i-ssä auto-i-ssa* (blue-PL-INE auto-PL-INE) ‘in blue cars’. However, some constructions have the modifiers of AdjP or AdvP heads marked by the *-n*

case, as in *sinise-n kirjava* (blue-GEN variegated) ‘blue variegated, bluish’. These constructions are illustrated in Table 9:

(A) Superlative construction	<i>kisa-n</i> race-GEN ‘fastest in the race’	<i>nope-in</i> fast-SUP
(B) Intensifying noun-modifier construction	<i>kive-n-kova</i> stone-GEN-hard ‘rock hard’ <i>mere-n-harmaa</i> sea-GEN-green ‘sea grey’	
(C) Denominal adjective construction	<i>metri-n</i> metre-GEN ‘one metre long’ <i>talo-n</i> house-GEN ‘size of a house’ <i>kulissi-en</i> scene-PL.GEN ‘behind-the-scenes-like’	<i>mitta-inen</i> measure-ADJZ <i>koko-inen</i> size-ADJZ <i>taka-inen</i> behind-ADJZ
(D) Intensifying adjective-modifier construction	<i>melkoise-n</i> quite-GEN ‘quite good / well’ <i>hirveä-n</i> terrible-GEN ‘terribly many’	<i>hyvä/hyvin</i> good/well <i>moni</i> many

Table 9. The A genitive constructions.

It should be noted that the *-n* case predominantly occurs in these constructions in the singular (constructions A and C also allow a plural marking), which illustrates the construction-specific nature of these modifiers.

Despite their diverse historical origins (Kangasmaa-Minn 1972; Tuomikoski 1978; Leskinen 1990), the *-n* cases in these constructions are compatible with the N genitive. This is due to their profile equating with the reference point asymmetry, that is, the genitive noun serves as a conceptual basis for the quality expressed by the adjective or adverb. The reference point analysis is most obvious when the modifier is a noun (constructions A–C) because these are directly linked to specific uses of the N genitive. The superlative construction (A) is a true part-whole relationship, and it fully resembles the part-whole genitive, which can be illustrated by comparing an AdjP (23a) to an NP with a superlative modifier (23b). (The phrases are indicated in brackets).

(23a)	<i>hän</i>	<i>on</i>	[<i>kisa-n</i>	<i>nopein</i>]	
	3SG	be.3SG	race-GEN	fast-SUP	
	's/he is the fastest in the race'				
(23b)	<i>hän</i>	<i>on</i>	[<i>kisa-n</i>	[<i>nopein</i>	<i>juoksija</i>]]
	3SG	be.3SG	race-GEN	fast-SUP	runner
	's/he is the fastest runner in the race'				

In addition, the intensifying modifier construction that has a noun as a modifier is motivated by a specific subtype of the part-whole genitive, namely the relation of the whole and its property. For example, in *kive-n-kova* (stone-GEN hard 'rocky'), the trajector (*kova* 'hard') denotes a prominent feature of the landmark (*kivi* 'stone').

Construction (C) has semantic links in two directions. Firstly, it links the co-denoting N genitives, particularly to expressions of measure and quantity. For example, the following expressions constitute a pair in which the trajector changes from an expression of property to a derivational adjective:

<i>kahde-n</i>	<i>metri-n</i>	<i>pituus</i>	–	<i>kahde-n</i>	<i>metri-n</i>	<i>pitu-inen</i>
two-GEN	metre-GEN	length		two-GEN	metre-GEN	length-ADJZ
'two metres in length'				'two metres long'		

Another link forms between PoP and AdjP:

<i>rappio</i>	<i>kulissi-en</i>	<i>takana</i> (PP)	–	<i>kulissi-en</i>	<i>taka-inen</i> (ADJ)	<i>rappio</i>
decay	scenery-PL.GEN	behind		scenery-PL.GEN	back-ADJZ	decay
'decay (is) behind the scenery'				'behind-the-scenes decay'		

The adjectives formed with *-inen* are dependent and their complement is marked by the genitive.

5.2 THE SYNCRETISM OF THE GENITIVE-INSTRUCTIVE-ACCUSATIVE

From the perspective of the case marking system, the most intriguing construction is the intensifying adjective modifier of an adjective or an adverb (D in Table 9). More generally, the intensifying modifiers comprise a mixed group, and the *-n* case originates diachronically from three cases, the genitive, instructive and the accusative. From the synchronic point of view, the ending *-n* in construction D has been classified either as the instructive (for example, see Tuomikoski 1973, 206–207, Leskinen 1990), the genitive (Hakanen 1973, 127; Orpana 1988, 193; Vainikka 1993) the accusative (Tuomikoski 1978, 28, 36–39), or as a schematic *n* category that includes diachronically diverse forms (Tuomikoski 1978; Leskinen 1990, 31). The instructive is a case that is rather marginal in modern Finnish. It is productive only in the plural (as it marks adverbials that express typically means or manner, for example *palja-in jalo-in* bare-PL.INSTR foot-PL.INSTR 'barefoot'). In addition, it occurs in lexicalised and opaque adverb forms, as in *aivan* 'quite, right', *oikein* 'properly, right, very', *täysin* 'completely'¹⁵.

15 The respective genitive forms would be *oikea-n* (right-GEN), *täyde-n* (full-GEN).

These *-n* endings in construction (D) would fit into the instructive category because of the intensifying meaning they convey. This is illustrated by the fact that the intensifying modifier can also be marked by the *-sti*-suffix (*-ly*), as in *ensisijaise-n ~ ensisijaise-sti tärkeä* ‘primarily important’ (Jääskeläinen in this volume). On the other hand, intensifying modifiers can be conceptualised as regions that limit and specify the property expressed by the trajector, which promotes the reference point analysis and the genitive interpretation. Productivity also plays a central role in the interpretation of the *-n* case. As the singular instructive became unproductive, it may have merged with the singular genitive with the support of the reference point semantics of the genitive. Thus, the similar form is a departure point, and as the meanings are not contradictory (as they both can mark a specifying and describing modifier), it is possible to provide the reference point, and the respective genitive interpretation of all these *-n* endings.¹⁶

This type of syncretism illustrates how the re-analysis of grammatical structure is realised in form-meaning pairs, which are always related to the entire language system. An important point is that with the constructions A–D, the reference point structure functions inside the AdjP or AdvP, whereas adjective modifiers in the NP are not construed as reference points (for example, *kaunis laulu* beautiful.NOM song.NOM ‘beautiful song’). The nominative differs from the genitive in that it expresses a schematic adjacency, which for its part motivates the agreement in case and number (for example, *kaunii-ssa laulu-ssa* beautiful-INE song-INE ‘in a beautiful song’). In their basic use, as parts of speech, adjectives and adverbs describe rather than locate. They are nonetheless conceptualised as reference points in the modifying construction D, where they are used as a conceptual base (as an identifying knowledge frame) for the given property, not simply something that is connected to the property. This interpretation (a modifier that serves as an identifying base) is most natural in expressions such as *kivenkova* (stone-GEN hard ‘rock-hard’) where the adjective expresses an inherent feature of the reference point (stones are typically hard). However, as the A genitive is a grammaticalized reference point case, the property of the trajector need not be inherent part of a property expressed by the reference point (as in *sika-maise-n kylmä* pig-ADJZ-GEN ‘terribly cold’, lit. ‘pig-like cold’ *kauhea-n kaunis* terrible-GEN beautiful ‘terribly beautiful’).

5.3 SECTION SUMMARY

To conclude, even the A genitive comprises a category with interrelations, and the genitive in these adjective and adverbial phrases is not merely a structural case that is semantically empty (and only used in these constructions due to their syntax). Instead, the A genitive has semantic value that is compatible with the schematic reference point asymmetry. Moreover, the A genitive is linked directly to the specific uses of the N genitive, primarily the part-whole genitives and the co-denoting genitives.

16 In effect, the genitive and the instructive may illustrate the continuous interplay between form and meaning, as these cases are assumed to have the same origin in Proto-Uralic (Janhunen 1982, 67).

The A genitive is a complex category diachronically, and it involves a different interplay between the genitive, the instructive and the accusative. The interpretation of the different *-n* cases also provides an opportunity to discuss the relationship between form and meaning from the perspective of how a similar form can unify meaning. As the genitive is predominantly a reference point case, and as this conceptualisation does not conflict with the meaning of the instructive, their syncretism, and even a change in conceptualisation (from the instructive to the genitive), may be motivated.

6 The genitive in verb constructions: the V genitive

The genitive is used in certain verb constructions to mark the subject-like argument or the adverbial. The prototypical subject in Finnish is in the nominative, and the predicate verb agrees with it in number and person. The genitive nouns can be analysed as construction-specific subjects in certain constructions. These include the genitive arguments in non-finite verb forms (24) and the Necessive construction (25) (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §910).

(24a) **syksy-n** **tul-le-n** sien-i-ä kasva-a
autumn-GEN come-INF-INSTR mushroom-PL-PAR grow-3SG
‘when autumn comes, the mushrooms grow’

(24b) Anna **las-ten** **harjoitel-la.**
let.IMP.2SG child-PL.GEN practice-INF
‘Let the children practice’

(25) **Meidä-n** **täytyy** **nosta-a** hinta-a.
1PL-GEN must.PRS.3SG raise-INF price-PAR
‘We must raise the price’

The genitive nouns in these constructions correspond to the concept of subject in the sense that they express the first argument of the base verb of the infinitive:

(24a’) **syksy-n** **tul-le-n** – **syksy** **tule-e**
autumn-GEN come-INF-INSTR autumn.NOM come-3SG
‘when autumn comes’ ‘autumn comes’

(24b’) Anna **las-ten** **harjoitel-la.** – **lapse-t** **harjoittele-vat**
let.IMP.2SG child-PL.GEN practice-INF child-PL.NOM practice-3PL
‘Let the children practice’ ‘children practice’

(25’) **Meidä-n** **täytyy** **nosta-a** hinta-a. – **me** **nosta-mme** hinta-a
1PL-GEN must.3SG raise-INF price-PAR 1PL.NOM raise-1PL price-PAR
‘We must raise the price’ ‘we raise the price’

There appears to be a functional need in Finnish to distinguish the subject argument in non-finite constructions from basic subjects.¹⁷ The nominative subject (the basic subject) is used with finite predicates that have a processual profile that is temporally anchored, whereas the non-finite verb forms profile an atemporal relation. The nominative subject triggers agreement in person and number in the predicate verb, but the genitive subjects lack this agreement in person and number. Yet some of the infinitival constructions display agreement through the possessive suffixes that mark co-referentiality with the personal pronoun. The possessive suffix alone can mark the subject referent (26), and the personal pronoun is optional.

- (26) Lapsi nukku-i (minun) lähti-e-ssä-ni
 child sleep-PST.3SG (1SG-GEN) leave-INF-INE-POSS1SG
 'the child was sleeping while I left'

Langacker (1998, 2008, 523) connects the possessor in a possessive construction and the subject through the reference point structure, as both are used as a starting point to recognise another entity, a possessee (in a wide sense) or a process. In human perception, possessors and agent-like subject referents are particularly prominent and serve as natural reference points for the observer to access another entity, which also explains their syntactic coding and common features in different languages. Also, other factors motivate Finnish agents and experiencers marked by the genitive, most importantly, the prominence of person referenced genitives in the category as a whole. In addition, (and related to the person reference genitive), a further connecting feature between the V genitive and the N genitive is the close relationship between deverbal nouns (which are frequent in the N genitive data) and the non-finite verb forms.

6.1 THE GENITIVE IN NON-FINITE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Finnish has a rich system of non-finite verb forms and a number of constructions include the genitive subject. The most relevant are listed in Table 10 (see Sulkala & Karjalainen 1993, 210, 319; Sands & Campbell 2001, 270, 277–279; J. Leino 2015).

The genitive subjects of non-finite predicates fit well with the schematic reference point construal of the genitive, and the relational interpretation is similar with N genitives, especially the expressions with deverbal nouns as trajecors (see Section 3.2.). In non-finite constructions, the genitive fulfils the same identification relationship in that it provides an access to specify the trajector, which in this case is a process. In fact, for some infinitival forms and their genitive arguments, a historical starting point has most obviously been the genitive modifier construction (Hakulinen 1979, 576–577, 579, 582, 585; Kangasmaa Minn 1966, 53–54; J. Leino 2015).

17 This is not universally uncommon, and likewise, it is not uncommon to mark subjects of non-finite verb forms with the genitive or respective possessor marker (Heine 1997; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003b, 2003c; Sands and Campbell 2001).

The interrelations between the deverbal nouns and non-finite verb forms are also evident from the perspective of productivity and frequency. Based on the dialect data, it seems that modern Finnish infinitive constructions originate from smaller, idiomatic constructions, which may have become more productive during the development of literary Finnish. For example, in the dialect data, the Temporal Construction occurs with a limited number of verbs and genitive arguments, which illustrates its origin as a (temporal) adverbial phrase. The development of the Temporal Construction into a productive construction has also been influenced by the source languages of Bible translations, especially Greek and Latin (and later in the nineteenth century by Swedish), which have also been offered models for genitive subjects. (Lindén 1966, 341; Itkonen-Kaila 1991; Herlin & Kotilainen 2005.)

The genitive-NPs in the Permissive and the Referative Construction are construction-specific subjects that have evolved through syntactic reanalysis and adapted to other non-finite genitive subjects. In the Permissive Construction, the genitive subject originates from an adverbial NP that has denoted the recipient of the permission (J. Leino 2003; 2015 and its literature). The Referative Construction has undergone a slightly different development. That evolution involved the interplay between the genitive and the accusative, as the object complement (marked by the accusative) has been reanalysed as a genitive subject (J. Leino 2015, Inaba 2015). I return to this construction in (6.3).

6.2 THE GENITIVE IN MODAL AND EXPERIENCER CONSTRUCTIONS

The genitive occurs in certain finite verb constructions and the most important of these are the Necessive and Experiencer constructions. The genitive in these constructions marks a participant who both experiences (the dynamic or deontic) obligation or permission and performs an action. Table 11 lists the most frequent Necessive constructions. As can be seen, the

a) NECESSIVE VERB CONSTRUCTION

<i>Minu-n</i>	<i>täytyy</i>	<i>men-nä</i>
1SG-GEN	must.3SG	go-INF
'I must go'		

b) COPULA + NP CONSTRUCTION

<i>Sinu-n</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>pakko</i>	<i>men-nä</i>
2SG-GEN	be.3SG	necessity	go-INF
'You must go'			

<i>meidä-n</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>lupa</i>	<i>mennä</i>
1PL-GEN	be.3SG	permission	go-INF
'We are allowed to go'			

c) PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTION

<i>Minu-n</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>men-tä-vä</i>
1SG-GEN	be.3SG	go-PASS-PTCP
'I must go'		

Table 11. Necessive constructions with a genitive subject.

necessive predicate is either a necessive verb (a) or a combination of copula and a noun (b), or a participle (c).

The syntax of these constructions is specific in many ways, as the predicate verb is permanently in the third-person singular, and a characteristic of these constructions is that the subject argument is easy to be left out, as in *Täytyy mennä*. (must.3SG go.INF) ‘one/I must go’, *Nyt on mentävä* (now be.3SG go.PASS.PTCP) ‘now one/I must go’. (The diversity of these constructions in dialects, see Laitinen 1992.)

The most thorough analysis of the Necessive construction and the case-marking of its subject argument is Laitinen (1992) (see also Laitinen 1997; Laitinen and Vilkuna 1993; of the participle construction C, see Pekkarinen 2011, 177–184). Laitinen analyses the genitive-NP as a subject of the infinitive, but she emphasises that the genitive-NP has a relation to both verbs (the modal predicate and the infinitive), which promotes an analysis that is holistic and construction-based. Moreover, Laitinen’s analysis demonstrates the fundamental indexical basis for case marking. There is an interesting variation between the genitive and the nominative subjects in this construction (especially) in spoken Finnish. This variation is based on different aspects, the most important being the status of a subject-NP in the animacy-person hierarchy (see Silverstein 1967; see also Section 2 above), alongside the modal meaning of the predicate (dynamic, deontic, epistemic-evidential, or practical necessity). The choice between the genitive and the nominative index the speaker’s interpretation in relation to the subject referent’s personhood, experiencer role, and potentiality to act agentively and intentionally. The genitive marked subjects apply to the upper end of the animacy-person hierarchy and higher in agentivity than the nominative marked. As a general overview, the genitive marker subjects are construed as speech act participants (in an actual situation or in some previous speech situation), and as experiencers and agents (and of course, depending on the speaker’s point of view, these roles can be given to inanimates, as well as animates can be marked with the nominative).

Diachronically, the genitive subjects of the Necessive construction are a result of a reanalysis from an adverbial into a subject. I only briefly mention that the origin of these particular adverbial *-n* cases has been assessed from various perspectives (for example, Laitinen 1992; P. Leino 2001; Inaba 2015; J. Leino 2015). Traditionally, the *-n* case in such uses has been analysed as the successor to the ancient dative genitive, but in the light of recent studies, the old origin of the dative genitive has become questionable. Based on the old literary Finnish data, Inaba (2015) demonstrates that the so-called dative genitive has developed through contact with Swedish, and have been supported by a different reanalysis in specific constructions. Laitinen (1992, 114–115) points out, that the original genitive-marked adverbial in the Necessive construction doesn’t have to have conveyed any specific directionality, but the most important factor has been the referential status of the noun and its ability to function as reference point in a situation. These findings demonstrate that the most important link between the V genitive and the N genitive is the wide use of human-referenced genitive, and especially the ability to index personhood, not just animacy (also Kangasmaa-Minn 1966).

An important link between the different V genitives is the Experiencer copula construction, in which the genitive-marked adverbial denotes the experiencer of mental or bodily feelings (27a, b). However, the adessive is more frequent than the genitive.

(27a) **Minu-n** / **minu-lla** on hyvä ol-la
 1SG-GEN / 1SG-ADE be.3SG good be-INF
 'I feel good.'

(27b) **Minu-n** / **minu-lla** on kylmä/nälkä.
 1SG-GEN / 1SG-ADE be.3SG cold/hungry
 'I am cold/hungry.'

The adverbials that are marked by external local cases can also be used in the Necessive copula constructions (b in Table 11) as an alternative to genitive subjects. The copula + noun predicates that express obligation and necessity are marked by the genitive, whereas expressions of permission can also be marked by the adessive (28a). With some necessive verb predicates, a difference in meaning emerges with respect to the genitive and the adessive, as in 28b and 28c (for a more detailed, see Laitinen 1992, 106–115).

(28a) **minu-n** / **minu-lla** on lupa ol-la onnellinen
 1SG-GEN / 1SG-ADE be.3SG permission be-INF happy
 'I'm allowed to feel happy'

(28b) **Minu-n** sopi-i men-nä.
 1SG-GEN suit.3SG go-INF
 'I can go.'

(28c) **Minu-lle** sopi-i men-nä.
 1SG-ALL suit.3SG go-INF
 'It suits me to go.'

The adessive-marked copula constructions (27, 28a) resemble the default possessive construction (29), in which the adessive adverbial functions as a possessor (it should be noted that Finnish lacks the *habere*-type of verb, and the genitive is not used in the basic possessive construction, **minun on auto* 1.sg-GEN be.3SG auto). (About the predicate complement construction *auto on minun* 'the car is mine' see Section 3.2, examples 9 and 11.).

(29) **Minu-lla** on auto.
 1SG-ADE be.3SG car.NOM
 'I have a car.'

The polysemy of the external local cases includes association, which explains their uses with human referenced nouns in possessive constructions (see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume).

To conclude, Table 12 illustrates a continuum on which the genitive changes from the N genitive to the V genitive and from the possessor via the experiencer to the genitive subject.

		Foregrounded feature of the genitive noun			Syntactic role
Genitive NP	1. <i>Minu-n pää-ni on kipeä.</i> 1SG-GEN head-POSS1SG be.SG3 ill lit. 'my head is ill' 'my head hurts'	possessor			NP modifier
Predicate complement	2. <i>Auto on minu-n.</i> car be.3SG 1SG-GEN 'the car is mine'	possessor			predicate complement
Cleft	3. <i>Minu-n on pää kipeä.</i> 1sg-GEN be.SG3 head ill 'my head hurts'	possessor	experiencer		adverbial
Experiencer copula construction	4. <i>Minu-n on nälkä.</i> 1SG-GEN be.3SG hunger 'I am hungry'		experiencer		adverbial
Necessive copula construction	5. <i>Minu-n on pakko men-nä.</i> 1SG-GEN be.3SG compulsion go-INF 'I must go'		experiencer	agent	genitive subject
Necessive participle construction	6. <i>Minu-n on men-tä-vä.</i> 1SG-GEN be.3SG go-PASS-PTCP 'I must go'		experiencer	agent	genitive subject
Necessive verb construction	7. <i>Minu-n täytyy men-nä.</i> 1SG-GEN must.3SG go-INF 'I must go'		experiencer	agent	genitive subject

Table 12. The continuum from the genitive modifier to the genitive subject.

The continuum is synchronic, and no exact picture exists concerning the age of the constructions. The human-referenced genitives are central on this continuum, as animacy and personhood connect the most prominent N genitive uses and the most prominent subject features. The division of labour with the adessive is also an important factor (see examples 27–28). Along this continuum, the foregrounded feature of the genitive-NP changes from the possessor (in 1–3) into an experiencer of physical or physical-emotional feeling (3, 4, 5), and further into a subject that both experiences and acts (5, 6, 7). The weakest link in the continuum is step 3, a rare spoken language construction (see Huumo & J. Leino 2012). Canonically, such a possessor element is marked by the external local cases (*minulla on pää kipeä* 1SG-ADE be.3SG head ill). Diachronically, these steps 3 and 4 illustrate a cleft from the genitive modifier construction. Inaba (2015, 70, 95) estimates the genitive in the Experiencer copula construction (4) to be relatively new (as it is not found in 16th century texts) and evolved through the cleft from the genitive modifier, supported by the analogy of other V genitive constructions. Yet few additional idiomatic genitive constructions are based on clefts (Inaba 2015, 72, 73, Ikola 1959, 47–48). Another model for these clefts is the predicate complement construction (2). Furthermore, the genitives used in the non-finite verb constructions (Table 10) support the genitive subject interpretations in finite constructions.

Thus far, I have emphasised the relational nature of the genitive. The N, A and the P genitive have a relational profile, and it manifests the reference

point relationship between the genitive-marked modifier and the head of a phrase. However, the V genitives blur this description, because they are construction-specific subjects with specific semantic features (experiencers, persons, intentional agents). In other words, this particular genitive marks the subject argument in a verb process, and it can be described as designating a thing. Nonetheless, if we accept the interpretation of subjects as reference points, the relational conceptualisation is also available even at the sentence level.

Cases that mark the subject and object arguments also denote semantic features (for the partitive, see Huumo in this volume). The genitive subjects are a specific type of subjects and loaded with rather specific information on the semantic role. In this sense, it is illustrative that (especially in spoken Finnish) a variation occurs between the genitive and the nominative. Laitinen (1992, 269–270; 1997) demonstrates that genitive subjects in the Necessive construction apply to the upper end of the Silverstein's (1967) hierarchy (see Section 2 above). Most importantly, the general overview of dialects presented by Laitinen is that the genitive is used to indicate human referents as potential speech act participants and more agentive than nouns that appear in the nominative. From a typological point of view, it appears that the strict division between the grammatical and semantic case, as well as nominal and relational cases, is overblown, because this type of ambiguity exists universally (see Langacker 1991a, 405fn, 1991b, 235). In Finnish, the V genitive is a case in point.

6.3 THE GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE: SYNCRETISM OR HOMONYMY?

One origin of the genitive subject in certain constructions is the reanalysis of the accusative case, which is due to their formal similarity in the singular (as both are marked by an *-n*). The accusative *-n* marks object-NPs in the singular, and its most prominent meaning is to indicate quantitative boundedness and culminating event (for the Finnish object marking system, see the Introduction and Huumo in this volume). The possibility of reanalysis, of course, raises the question of the similarity of their meanings.

The accusative is a controversial case in Finnish, and it has been treated in different ways (G. Karlsson 1966). According to the Finnish descriptive grammar (Hakulinen et. al. 2004, §1222), the *-n* marked object is even referred to as the genitive. This resembles analyses where the case morpheme *-n* is seen as a highly schematic connective case that includes the genitive and the accusative functions (for a diachronic perspective, see Janhunen 2005).

In terms of their syntax, however, these two cases with *-n* are fundamentally different: the noun marked by an accusative is the head of the NP that functions as an object, whereas the genitive-marked nouns are modifiers or complements, or they are a specific type of subject. The most important difference therefore concerns the profile of the cases: the genitive is predominantly a relational case, that is, the genitive noun serves as a reference point vis-à-vis the target. The only possible exception to this are the genitive subjects especially in modal constructions, where the case resembles a grammatical case, expressing the syntactic role of the NP in a verb process. The accusative, for its part, has a profile of a thing—it marks the NP (which is

a thing in the CG sense) to be a landmark in a transitive process. This means that the genitive and accusative differ with respect to the profile of the case, and even when the profile would be similar (a thing), they differ with respect to which role they designate to a participant in the verb process.

One example of accusative-genitive syncretism is the Referative construction, in which the genitive NP dates back to an object of the main predicate (Ikola 1959, 53; Hakulinen 1979, 565–572; Hakulinen & Leino 1987; J. Leino 2015). Thus, in example (30a), the former meaning would have been ‘I saw the going boy’ or ‘I saw the boy, the goer’ (J. Leino 2015, 242). A clear indication of reanalysis is that the plural nouns are also marked by the genitive (30b), as the accusative *-n* occurs only in the singular.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--|
| (30a) | Näe- <i>n</i>
see.1SG
‘I see the boy go.’ (J. Leino 2015, 242) | poja-<i>n</i>
boy-GEN | mene-vän.
go-PTCP.GEN |
| (30b) | Huomas- <i>i-n</i>
notice-PST-1SG
‘I noticed the money was lost.’ | raho-<i>j-en</i>
money-PL-GEN | kadon-<i>nee-n</i>.
disappear-PST.PTCP-GEN |

As in the case of the Referative construction, genitives that have evolved from accusatives are the result of reanalysis where the accusative-marked noun has changed from the head of an NP into a modifier of the non-finite verb form. As a consequence, the profile of the case has changed from one that is an object-marking case to a marker of a reference-point relation. This type of reanalysis can be illustrated by a present-day example. For instance, the Facebook message *Muutin miehen uuteen kotiin* (example 31) produced two, completely different interpretations: either ‘I moved the man to his new home’, or ‘I moved into the man’s new home’. It is important to note that these interpretations require different syntactic analyses of the sentence:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (31a) | Accusative interpretation: | | | |
| | Muut- <i>i-n</i> | miehe-<i>n</i> | [uute- <i>en</i> | koti- <i>in</i>] |
| | move-PST-1SG | man-ACC | new-ILL | home-ILL |
| | V | obj | adverbial | |
| | ‘I moved the man to his new home’ | | | |
| (31b) | Genitive interpretation: | | | |
| | Muut- <i>i-n</i> | [miehe-<i>n</i> | uute-<i>en</i> | koti-<i>in</i>] |
| | move-PST-1SG | man-GEN | new-ILL | home-ILL |
| | V | genitive | modifier | head |
| | ‘I moved into the man’s home [in order to live there]’ | | | |

These two interpretations assign completely different participant roles to the noun *miehen*. In (31a), the *-n* marks the head of the object-NP and *miehen* has the role as a patient of the predicate verb: the participant who changes the apartment is the man, and this is somehow enabled by the speaker. In (31b), *miehen* is a modifier inside the NP, the participant through whom we are supposed to identify the home where the speaker herself has moved.

These examples (30, 31) illustrate how the accusative-genitive syncretism requires profound shifts in meaning, from an object argument to a modifier that serves as a reference point. I consider this to be one of the reasons that the object-marking accusative and the genitive need to be analysed as separate case markers, and at this point, the Finnish case system tolerates homonymy.¹⁸

6.4 SECTION SUMMARY

The V genitive is linked to N genitives by the similarities between deverbal nouns and non-finite forms as well as by the continuum from modifier constructions via copula constructions to necessary predicates (Table 12 above). The genitive subject is motivated from the synchronic point of view, as the subject arguments of the finite and the non-finite verb forms serve as a reference point in relation to the verb process: either a temporal process (finite constructions) or an atemporal relation (non-finite constructions). In addition, the important factor is the centrality of the person referenced genitive.

The ambiguity of the V genitive indicates that the strict division neither works between grammatical and semantic cases nor between thing-profiling and relation-profiling cases. The cases that mark the subject and object also include schematic information on the relation in which the given referent participates. The difference between nominal and relational cases could be determined so that within some cases, such as the cases that mark core arguments, the relation between the participants is backgrounded, whereas in the case of the cases that mark adverbial phrases, this relation is foregrounded and forms the profile of a case. Such an analysis would also work better in describing polysemy and language change.

7 Conclusions

I have presented a usage-based, meaning focused description of the Finnish genitive. The overall picture can be illustrated as a network of prominent meanings and the continuums between them that are based on family resemblances. The highly abstract superschema that connects the diverse uses is the reference point asymmetry. The genitive is not a semantically empty marker of a relationship or a syntactic relation. Instead, it is a tool for a speaker/writer to posit relations where one entity is used as a background for another entity or a process. This is especially applicable to the N, P and A genitives, but it covers also the genitive arguments as a specific type of actors or experiencers (V genitive). I examined the motivation for this asymmetry in terms of salience, motivated by discourse or “inherently”;

18 This example and its interpretations are authentic. The different interpretations also attracted the discussants’ attention, which I consider to be an indication that this reanalysis requires a change of construction, and does not merely concern a polysemy of the case.

described by agency and animacy hierarchies (for example, see Silverstein 1967) in Section 2. The analysis of written data revealed that the use of the N genitive follows the reference point model: landmarks are always more easily identifiable than the trajectors, and landmarks are used as backgrounding elements for them.

Syntactically, the genitives divide into two main types: the modifier and complement positions (the N, A and P genitives) and the V genitive of verb constructions. Semantically, the N genitive is the most central, and its core meanings—possession and other person referenced relations, part/whole, location, and co-denoting expressions—are bases for other uses. The P genitive is predominantly based on grammaticalized part-whole expressions and their analogical elaborations. The A genitive is linked to certain conventional N genitive and P genitive expressions, especially the co-denoting genitives. Moreover, the A genitive attests to the availability of the reference point interpretation, as the historically diverse *-n* cases (the instructive and the accusative as a marker of an intensifier) appear to be merged into the genitive. The V genitive is linked to N genitive through person referenced genitives and the interrelations between the nominalisations and non-finite verb forms. I also argued that the V genitive and even the genitive subjects function as reference points, either in relation to the process denoted by the non-finite verb form or the predicate verb.

Finally, I provided evidence to support a distinction between the genitive and the accusative, which is a controversial issue in Finnish linguistics. I also argued against the analyses that propose that the Finnish *-n* case to be a “bifunctional” connective case that includes the genitive and the accusative function, which would require the description to be raised to a highly abstract level and thus lose contact with actual usage. On the contrary, the Finnish data illustrates the importance of syntactic constructions and the continuum-like interrelations in the interpretation of a single case.

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Adverbial cases II

The Finnish local case system

Abstract

This analysis introduces the Finnish local case system in terms of two traditionally mentioned dimensions, quality as a difference between internal and external cases and direction as a difference between the stative cases of location and dynamic ‘to’ and ‘from’ cases. The prototypical spatial senses of the six local cases (inessive, illative, elative; adessive, allative, ablative) are analysed in the framework of Cognitive Grammar. The abstract, fictive or virtual motion is central to understanding the productive use of the dimension of direction. The analogical and systemic means that expand the uses from spatial to abstract domains are then summarised. Extensions to cognitive domains other than the spatial domain are based on image schemas and metaphors. In addition, the differences between the cases offer a potential for differences in meaning. These have been conventionalised in various ways in different domains and with separate categories of noun stems and even with individual stems. However, abstraction has also sometimes led to more schematic construals in which the difference bleaches between case series. Some domains, such as psychophysical and abstract states, possession and temporal relations, deserve special attention because they are coded extensively by the local cases. This article ends with a short excursion into idiomatic uses, petrified lexemes and more opaque uses of the local cases. This article is dedicated to the research question of whether all uses of the local cases can be explained as motivated on the basis of the basic image schemas of the spatial meanings. The answer to this question relies on the complex motivating links that are based on analogy.

1 Overview of the local cases

Finnish is famous among most of the other Finno-Ugric languages for its multifaceted case system, with the local cases constituting the core of this multitude. Finnish has six local cases proper, but the borderline between local cases and other cases is not strict, nor is it clear between local cases and petrified adverbs with an old case form. To begin with the clear cases, the

local cases form a matrix of two dimensions. This includes the dimension of two qualia, which are referred to as internal and external cases. These two are divided symmetrically into stative case forms of location and dynamic case forms of goal and source, as shown in Table 1 below. The dynamic cases indicate that a movement or a change-of-state has a direction, a starting point (source) and an end point (goal). Furthermore, the use of the dynamic local cases construes this path in harmony with the directionality of the predicate verb.

	Stative cases	Dynamic cases	
	location	goal 'to'	source 'from'
Internal cases	- <i>ssa</i> 'in' inessive <i>talo-ssa</i> house-INE 'in a/the house'	-(<i>h</i>) <i>Vn/-seen</i> 'into' illative <i>talo-on</i> house-ILL 'into a/the house'	- <i>sta</i> 'from in' elative <i>talo-sta</i> house-ELA 'from a/the house'
External cases	- <i>lla</i> 'on/at/in the vicinity' adessive <i>pöydä-llä</i> table-ADE 'on a/the table' <i>sauna-lla</i> sauna-ADE 'in the vicinity of a/the sauna'	- <i>lle</i> 'onto/to the vicinity' allative <i>pöydä-lle</i> table-ALL 'onto a/the table' <i>sauna-lle</i> sauna-ALL 'to the vicinity of a/the sauna'	- <i>lta</i> 'from on/the vicinity' ablativ <i>pöydä-ltä</i> table-ABL 'from on a/the table' <i>sauna-lta</i> sauna-ABL 'from the vicinity of a/the sauna'

Table 1. Internal and external local cases in Finnish.

Diachronically, the local case system includes one additional set, which consists of the general local cases, as illustrated in Table 2. (See the articles by Huumo, Hynönen and Voutilainen in this volume; Hynönen 2016; 2017; Leinonen 2008, 167–168; Huumo & Ojutkangas 2006, 12; Leino 1990a; Siro 1964, 29.) Most of the adpositions are also lexicalised forms of the local cases, internal, external or general local cases, and often the whole case series of the stative and the dynamic cases are in use (see the article by Jaakola and Ojutkangas in this volume).

General local cases	- <i>na</i> 'as a' essive <i>opettaja-na</i> teacher-ESS 'as a teacher'	- <i>ksi</i> 'turn into something' translative <i>opettaja-ksi</i> teacher-TRA 'into a teacher'	-(<i>t</i>) <i>A</i> partitive - <i>sta</i> elative' 'cease to be something' <i>opettaja-sta</i> opettaja-ELA 'from being a teacher'
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Table 2. The general local cases (the traditional description)

There are three reasons for the general local cases not being included in the local cases in this study. Firstly, they have preserved their spatial senses only in some petrified adverbs or adpositions (1a). A small set of spatial and temporal nouns have been conventionalised to occur in a comparative and superlative form, creating relational concepts and these are likewise used in the general local cases (1b, see Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 301; Hynönen 2016: 51–55):

- 1 Some dialects and colloquial speech even have the separate exessive case form *-ntA*, diachronically combining the essive and partitive forms. Some lexicalised forms are widely known, such as *koto-nta* home-EXESS 'from home'.

(1a)	taka-na behind-ESS 'behind'	taa-kse behind-TRA 'to behind'	taka-a behind-PAR 'from behind'
(1b)	ranne-mpa-na strand-COMP-ESS 'nearer to the beach'	ranne-mma-ksi strand-COMP-TRA 'to nearer to the beach'	ranne-mpa-a strand-COMP-PAR 'from nearer to the beach'

Secondly, as is apparent in the last column of Table 2, the productive use of the internal 'from' case has replaced the older separative case partitive which has turned into a grammatical case (see Huumo in this volume). As a consequence, the system of local cases and the system of grammatical cases have partly merged, and the traditionally termed general local cases represent a grey zone between them. In their productive use, the general local cases have abstract senses only, and these are discussed in other articles of this volume (see Hynönen and Voutilainen) which forms the third reason to exclude them from this article. However, it is important to remember that in some uses, the forms for the internal or external local cases as well as for the general local cases constitute near synonyms (see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; Hynönen 2016).

This article begins by addressing the prototypical spatial senses of the local cases. The abstract or virtual motion deserves some additional reflection because when compared to the neighbouring Indo-European languages, the dimension of direction is highly productive in the Finnish case system (Hakulinen 1979; Hakulinen & Atkinson 1961). Finnish uses the directional cases productively in situations that do not involve actual motion. However, a substantial number of such uses can be explained as an instantiation of fictive motion (/subjective motion/virtual dynamicity in a broad sense; see Huumo 2018; Langacker 1987, 173; 1999,6; 2008, 528–529). They also represent one cline from the spatial sense to one that is more abstract. The focus of this analysis subsequently turns to domains other than space. The first step is to introduce the analogical and systemic means that expand usage. Extensions to cognitive domains other than the spatial domain are based on image schemas and metaphors. Local cases code some domains so extensively, such as psychophysical and abstract states, possession and temporal relations that this coding deserves special attention. The overview of the typical and productive uses of the Finnish local cases does not mention idiomatic uses and petrified adverbs. For this reason, the end of this article also briefly addresses the opaque uses of the local cases. The treatise attempts to answer the research question, which is stated according to the basic tenets of Cognitive Grammar, of whether all uses of the local cases are motivated by the basic image schemas of the spatial meanings. As we shall see, the answer relies on the complex links that are based on analogy.

This analysis is based on many earlier studies on the Finnish local case system (for example, see Helasvuo & Campbell (eds.) 2006; Leino et al. 1990; Leino 1993a; 2002 (including many earlier published articles); Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; see also Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1235–1257). The systematic overview is based on the corpus of an earlier project compiled

from the Finnish magazine *Suomen kuvalehti* (consisting of the volume 36/1975–11/1976, 610 000 words, and including 2 000–3 000 examples of every case, picked at random, illative forms also from HKV-corpus²; see Leino et al. 1990, 7). I have added some new examples using the Korp-interface from the corpora of modern Finnish in the Language Bank of Finland (Fin-Clarín, see <https://www.kielipankki.fi/language-bank/>), or by using Google to search on the internet. For cases that appear to be clear, invented examples are also used. As most of the examples are somewhat simplified, the sources are not mentioned.

2 Basic spatial senses of internal and external cases

2.1 TWO PROTOTYPES OF THE INTERNAL STATIVE CASE

Both the internal and external cases have two basic senses in their spatial use. The overview begins with the prototypical senses of the stative cases and then continues to the dynamic cases. The choices between case series and a continuum from spatial to more abstract interpretations are also discussed.

The stative internal case, the inessive, construes the relation between a trajector and a landmark as either an INCLUSION (2a) or a CONTACT (2b), depending on whether the landmark is construed as a CONTAINER (2a) or as a SURFACE (2b). The trajector is depicted in the figures as a smaller, darker circle and the landmark as a bigger, light circle. The relation of contact does not entail a vertical relation and thus it is not depicted in Figure 2, although example 2b implies a vertical relation due to the conventional construal of the relation of the trajector and the landmark.

- (2a) Hän on talo-ssa.
 S/he be.3SG house-INE
 'She/he is in a/the house'

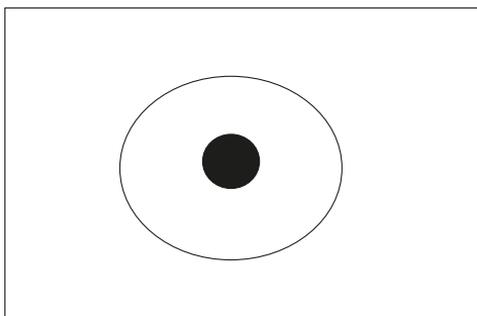


Figure 1. INCLUSION

- (2b) Lamppu on kato-ssa.
 lamp be.3SG ceiling-INE
 'A/The lamp is on the ceiling.'

2 The HKV-corpus consists of 66 851 words and fragments of various text genres written in modern standard Finnish, see Hakulinen et al. 1980.

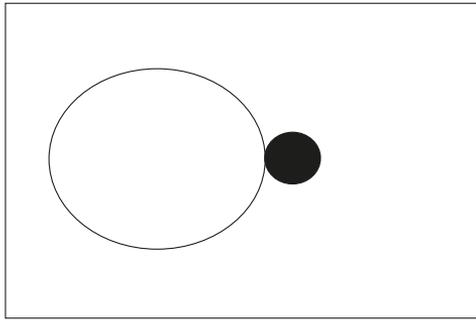


Figure 2. CONTACT

It is possible to envision the relation of contact as an extension from the prototypical relation of inclusion. The contact is typically a type of fastening that allows – but does not require – partial inclusion with the surface, as in *naula seinä-ssä* nail wall-INE, ‘a/the nail in the wall’. From a typological perspective, the area of contact expressed by the ‘in’ case is rather wide. In the cline between the ‘on’ and ‘in’ relations on the scale proposed by Bowerman and Pederson (2003), the Finnish inessive covers the relations *hattu pää-ssä* hat head-INE ‘hat on’ as well as *korkki pullo-ssa* cap bottle-INE ‘cap in the bottle’, or *kansi purki-ssa* lid jar-INE ‘a/the lid on a/the jar’, and thus only the extreme end of the ‘on’ relation ‘on the table’ is expressed by the ‘on’ adessive case (see 8a below; Levinson et al. 2003, 488; Bowerman & Choi 2001).

As for inclusion, the criteria are functional more than complete topological inclusion with the trajector always being completely inside the landmark (c.f. Herskovits 1986, 44 on English): the inclusion concerns the active zone of the relation, the functionally crucial part of the trajector and the landmark being more in the relation of inclusion than any other option. An image schema of the two-dimensional area and a virtual circle of the functional closure of a landmark entity are also included in the container extensions in the relation of inclusion (c.f. Herskovits 1986, 68). Thus conventional functional differences arise between the use of the inessive (inclusion) and the adessive (‘on’-relation, see below) as in *omena kulho-ssa* apple bowl-INE ‘an/the apple in a/the bowl’ versus *omena lautase-lla* apple plate-ADE ‘a/the apple on a/the plate’. However, the apple in the first example could be on top of the pile of fruits and therefore functionally inside but possibly higher than the brim of the bowl; another pertinent example is *lintu puu-ssa* bird tree-INE ‘a/the bird in a/the tree’ vs. *lintu oksa-lla* bird branch-ADE ‘a/the bird on a/the branch’, although in the actual state-of-affairs, the bird would be sitting on the branch in both cases. The inessive in both examples construes a functional closure of the landmark as a container.

It is rare to find minimal pairs that have both senses of inclusion and contact being possible in a contradictory manner of asking for disambiguation, that is, when either one must be selected. Instead, ambiguous expressions are often avoided by using specifying adpositions (see the article by Ojutkangas in this volume; Ojutkangas 2008, 3 fn. 1). Without context, the following example has three interpretations, each depending on the polysemy of the expression that designates the landmark:

- (3) Kärpänen on lasi-**ssa**.
 fly be.3SG glass-INE
 a. 'A/The fly is (climbing) on a/the window'
 b. 'A/The fly is in a/the glass'
 c. 'A/The fly is inside glass [as a material]'

In 3a the landmark is construed as a surface, in 3b as a container, and in 3c as a container consisting of a mass, glass as a material. The interpretations could be disambiguated by using the postposition 'inside' (gen + PP, including either an internal or external case; see Ojutkangas in this volume). However, the distinction in meaning is not necessarily clear (See Ojutkangas & Huumo 2010), because the postposition conveys a container in both cases:

- (3b') Kärpänen on lasi-n **sisä-llä**.
 fly be.3SG glass-GEN inside-ADE
 'A/The fly is in/inside a/the glass'
 (3c') Kärpänen on lasi-n **sisä-ssä**.
 fly be.3SG glass-GEN inside-INE
 'A/The fly is inside glass [as a material]'

Adverbs can also serve as a second landmark to specify a relation (see Ojutkangas). In this manner, the relation of a CONTACT is often specified by an expression that denotes fastening (compare 4a and b). With an upright surface as a landmark, when the fastening is not the focus of the relation, the external local case is usually used instead (4c). This means that free variation occurs between the uses of the internal and external cases in the relation of attachment with a vertical landmark when the theme object does not intrude into the landmark. This does not imply that there is no difference in the image-schemas of the case series: even for these cases, the inessive case construes the contact by attachment more prominently than the adessive case, which instead construes immediate proximity.

- (4a) Juliste on seinä-**ssä**.
 poster be.3SG wall-INE
 'A/The poster is on the wall.'
 (4b) Juliste on sinitarro-i-lla kiinni **seinä-ssä**.
 poster be.3SG Blu.tack-PL-ADE fastened wall-INE
 'A/The poster is fastened with Blu-tack on the wall.'
 (4c) Juliste on seinä-**llä**.
 poster be.3SG wall-ADE
 'A/The poster is on the wall.'

The contact construed by the internal case prevails in relations such as *takki naula-ssa* coat peg-INE 'a/the coat on a peg', but the external case is conventionalised to express relations in which it is possible to see the 'on' relation of vertical support, such as *pyykki naru-lla* laundry string-ADE 'the/a laundry on the string'. The motivating image of support or immediate

proximity are both possible in *veitsenterä-llä* knife blade-ADE ‘on the blade’ [also a metaphor], but when the contact and attachment is in focus, the case is the inessive: *veitsen terä-ssä on verta* knife-GEN blade-INE is blood-par ‘there is blood on the blade’. Both case series are equally suitable in *helmet kaula-ssa ~ kaula-lla* pearl-PL neck-INE ~ neck-ade ‘wearing pearls’ in which all the image-schematic construals are possible motivations: support of an ‘on’ type and an immediate proximity connected with the external case (see below) and contact and even some type of inclusion of the internal case in the sense of being in the dominion/circle/search domain of the neck.

Some specific idiomatic conventionalisations, such as accessories, display the typical possibilities to take either an internal or external case, such as *panta pää-ssä* band head-INE but *panta otsa-lla* band forehead ‘wearing a headband’, *rusetti selä-ssä* bow back-INE ‘a/the bow on the back’, *vyö lanteilla* belt hips-ADE ‘a/the belt on the hips’, *vyö housui-ssa* belt trousers-INE ‘belt in trousers’, *avaimet vyö-llä* key-PL belt-ADE ‘a bunch of keys on one’s waist’ or *avaimet vyö-ssä* key-PL belt-INE construing the contact and fastening of the keys to the belt. In general, an external case is used to express an outfit in the adverb *päällä(än)* head.ADE-(POSS3) ‘on’ which designates the ‘on’ relation, as in *pusero päällä* ‘sweater on’.

The logic may even appear to be reversed for frequent and conventionalised uses with a vague motivation that can be connected to the general idea of contact, such as *housut jala-ssa* trousers leg-INE ‘trousers on’, *käsineet käde-ssä* glove-PL hand-INE ‘gloves on’, *kengät jala-ssa* shoe-PL foot-INE ‘shoes on’ lit. ‘shoes in the leg’.

The relations of contact and inclusion are mixed in some concrete conventional uses that also serve as starting points for chains of senses that can lead to more abstract meanings (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; 2006). When some mass nouns are used to express a landmark, the relation implies that the trajector is covered or overwhelmed by the landmark (5–6). Some conventional singular uses of a countable noun construe the landmark as a type of mass. (7). This relation is not only spatial but has functional effects as well. In other words, these expression types are on the border between spatial meanings and locatives of state (see below Section 5). The relationship is functional when there are effects of a process, an action or another type of temporal relation implied by the relation and that entails implications for the functionality of the trajector involved in the expression of the relation (such as when bread is mouldy (6), it is inedible and as a consequence, its functionality suffers).

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| (5) | Kengä-t
shoe-PL | o-vat
be-3PL | kura-ssa.
mud-INE
‘The shoes are all covered with mud.’ |
| (6) | Leipä
bred | on
be.3SG. | homee-ssa.
mould-INE
lit. ‘The bred is in mould.’ ‘The bred is mouldy’ |
| (7) | Puu-t
tree-PL | o-vat
be-3PL | lehde-ssä.
leaf-INE
‘The trees are in leaf.’ |

These constitute a type of hybrid relations that is not purely spatial, but the functional relation resembles more an implication than clearly a separate sense of its own. The expression type also consists of an expression of landmarks that is a type of instrument or means in functional relationships related to covering (as in *lahja paketi-ssa* present package-INE ‘a/the present in a package’, *käsi sitee-ssä* hand bandage-INE ‘a/the arm in a sling’) while at the same time, the internal case is motivated by the relations of inclusion and contact. These form watershed types and models for analogical spreading to more abstract expression types. (Onikki 1997; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; 2006.)

2.2 TWO PROTOTYPES OF THE EXTERNAL STATIVE CASE

The external adessive case has two senses that cannot be reduced to one. When the landmark is conceived of as a surface, the relation is interpreted as a stative location on the surface. The trajector is prototypically located on top of the upper surface of the landmark (8a). The adessive case usually entails support, and vertical relations without support are expressed by adpositions, which often include the adessive case (as in *yläpuole-lla* up.side-ADE ‘over’). But the adessive is used to express being in the sky, *Taivaa-lla on pilviä* sky-ADE is cloud-PL-PART ‘There are clouds in the sky’ and the inessive conveys the abstract place in the domain of religion or life after death, that is a container.

- (8a) Kirja on pöydä-llä.
 book be.3SG table-ADE
 ‘A/The book in on the table.’

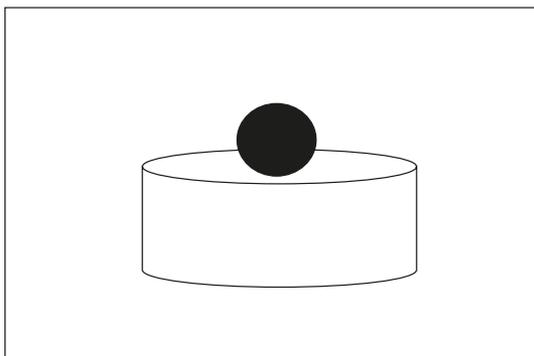


Figure 3. ON-TOP-OF

In the relation of an association, the upper surface of the landmark is not salient. Instead, what is critical is proximity.

- (8b) Hän on sauna-lla.
 s/he be.3SG sauna-ADE
 ‘S/he is in the vicinity of sauna.’

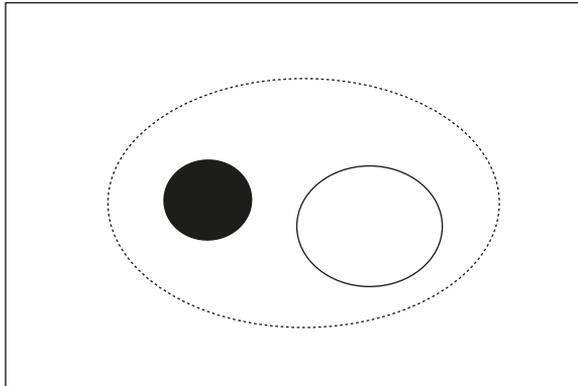


Figure 4. ASSOCIATION

In the sense of association, the location is considered to be a region that is in the vicinity of the landmark and certain landmarks, such as a sauna, which consists of a separate building (in 8b), even allowing an inclusion with the landmark as part of the region. This is because a person is typically in the vicinity of a sauna when heating it, carrying wood and water inside, etc., that is, moving around, in and out. Thus, the adessive case construes a search domain in the sense of an association, a type of sphere of influence, or a dominion of the landmark, which is depicted in the figure by a light circle and by a dotted line.

While the interpretation of the relation depends on the image schematic construal of the landmark, conventionalisation also plays a role in default senses. For instance, the landmark in example 9 could be considered as either a surface or a location with a dominion. The implied function is specified by context and encyclopaedic knowledge. The default reading includes a boat or something similar that someone is using on a lake, that is, the 'on' reading prevails. The landmark in 10 is interpreted as a container, the trajector being somehow in the water.

However, it is not required to be completely submerged under water. The prototypical spatial relation construed by the local case is interpreted as a culturally expected means of manifesting the relation, although there is not always only one specification of the relationship. In the same manner in example 11, one is in the water (swimming or drowning), but in 12, the hole is construed as a location with a dominion and the relation is therefore the association. The specifying role of the context is illustrated by example 13. These senses are spatial, and the possible functional relation is implied by them. However, these types of uses form a cline to the locatives of state (see below Section 5).

- (9) Hän on järve-**llä**.
s/he be.3SG lake-ADE
'S/he is on the lake.'
- (10) Hän on järve-**ssä**.
s/he be.3SG lake-INE
'S/he is in the lake.'
- (11) Hän on avanno-**ssa**.
s/he be.3SG hole-in-the-ice-INE
'S/he is in the hole in the ice.' that is: in the water
- (12) Hän on avanno-**lla**.
s/he be.3SG hole-in-the-ice-ADE
'S/he is near the hole in the ice.' that is: beside the hole
- (13) Kun Röhr sanoo Jäämere-**ssä**, hän ei tarkoita Jäämere-**llä**.
when name say.3SG Ice.sea-INE, he NEG.3SG mean.CNG Ice.sea-ADE

Hän on harrastanut sukeltamista yhdeksänvuotiaasta,
he be.3SG get.into.PTCP diving.PAR nine-year.ELA

'When Röhr says in Arctic Ocean, he does not mean at Arctic Ocean. He got into diving at the age of nine.' (HS 1.12.21)

Sometimes the difference between the internal and external cases result in landmarks, although the relation – or at least the state-of-affairs described by the expression – does not differ greatly. With the external case in example 14, the chair is interpreted as more of a surface, and with the internal case in example 15, the chair is conceived of as an armchair, that is, it more closely resembles a container. (Alhoniemi 1979.)

- (14) Hän istu-u tuoli-**lla**.
s/he sit-3SG chair-ADE
'S/he sits on a/the chair'
- (15) Hän istu-u tuoli-**ssa**.
s/he sit-3SG chair-INE
'S/he sits in a/the chair'

For the internal case, the landmark is conceived as more container-like and for the external case, the landmark resembles a surface. The difference in the relation is not necessarily highly salient and both cases are conventionally used in certain contexts. There can be a difference in the construal of the landmark between the external and internal case with nouns such as 'a chair' in the examples above, and they can therefore refer to different chairs (although there is an overlap as well). This reflects polysemy or a vagueness of meaning on the basic level of the category that is solved on a more specific level of categorisation (such as the difference between an armchair and a stool). The choice of the case series might therefore implicate a more specific category. There is sometimes no difference in the categorisation

and the choice between the case series thus approaches free variation, as is evident in example 16a and b.³

- (16a) Paista kala pannu-**ssa**.
 fry-IMP.2SG fish pan-INE
 'Fry the fish in a/the frying pan'
- (16b) Paista kala pannu-**lla**.
 fry-IMP.2SG fish pan-ADE
 'Fry the fish on a/the frying pan'

For these types of concrete uses, it is still possible to determine what motivates the use of the case series, although the difference in the relation is not relevant. These parallel uses indicate that more abstract uses could have arisen in which the difference between the case series has disappeared, although the motivation for different cases has originally been based on their more concrete image-schemas.

The difference between the case series can prevail and, when used with the same or similar nouns, it can slightly motivate more abstract senses. For example, buildings are image-schematic containers and thus location in a building is typically expressed by an internal case. The use of the external case may also be motivated by the relation of association. For instance, buildings have a metonymic link to institutions, as the name of many institutions are the same noun as their buildings. This means that the local cases can have a meaning that is more concrete and more abstract when used with a noun that refers to both a building and an institution. Both case series may be used in a similar manner to refer to location or action that occurs in some institutions, but the internal case is more typical in creating a membership-type relation or action in an institution and the external case more typically construes a concrete location or a more temporary or loose relationship with the institution. Thus, the default reading of the internal case is institutional for 17 and spatial for the external case in 18.

- (17) Hän on yliopisto-**ssa**.
 s/he be.3SG university-INE
 'S/he studies or works in the university.'
- (18) Hän on yliopisto-**lla**.
 s/he be.3SG university-ADE
 'S/he is at the university (building).'

In a similar vein, it is more typical to say *hän opiskelee yliopisto-ssa* s/he study-3SG university-INE 's/he is studying at university' or *hän on töissä yliopisto-ssa* s/he be.3SG work-INE university-INE 's/he works at the university'. However, the external case is also used particularly with the latter: *hän on töissä yliopisto-lla* s/he be.3SG work-INE university-ADE 's/he works at the university'. The external case may also indicate a more temporary relationship or jobs other than the permanent posts, such as a professor.

3 For the differences in construal with English adpositions, see Herskovits (1986, 76).

Syntactically, the local cases mainly construe the location of the theme in accordance with the predicate verb of the clause. The theme is either the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause. To make a generalisation over both of these possible syntactic positions (a trajector or a landmark of the clause), I will refer to the semantic role of the theme to name the participant that is in the relation designated by the local case to its landmark. It is also usually the core argument of the clause. (Siro 1964, 25–40; Langacker 1991.)

However, the stative cases more typically indicate the location of the whole process that is expressed by the verb with its arguments. This means that the stative case expressions often occur as free adverbials. Thus, they can designate a relation of a landmark to the whole trajectory expressed by the processual verbal predicate and the rest of the clause indicating the participants in the relation designated by the verb. Their use is more marginal as the attributes of a noun located after their head and are referred to as appositional attributes in traditional Finnish grammar. For purposes of the present analysis, these free adverbials are called post-modifiers. Some of them may be defined as depictives in typological studies (see Creissels 2014; Hynönen 2016; 2017). In more abstract uses, the category of free adverbial also includes functions other than those that are purely locational (see below). The relation expressed by the local case is independent from the predicate verb but usually conflates with the relation construed by the verb (for example, see Alhoniemi 1975; Leino 1989).

2.3 TWO PROTOTYPES OF THE DYNAMIC CASES

The dynamic cases display the above-mentioned basic senses as goals and sources. The source or goal cases construe a source and/or goal path with dynamic verbs that indicate a change of a place or a state. On some occasions, such as titles, the local cases can also be used without a verb. Owing to their ability to construe the location or the path of the theme of the clause, the local cases have been referred to as quasi-predicates in the Finnish grammar writing tradition (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 969; Siro 1964, 25–40; P. Leino 1989).

The use of goal-oriented cases, the illative and allative, is more frequent than that of the source-oriented cases, the elative and ablative (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1227 Table 10). Structurally possible symmetry does not always materialise in use and that may even have structural consequences that manifest the principles of the usage-based view of language. At least there are obvious signs of the asymmetry between the stative, source and goal-oriented cases in lexicalised case forms that are prevalent in more abstract domains.

The dynamic cases are used in various ways with verbs that imply paths. In addition, the mere use of local case forms can construe a path even without a predicate verb in usages such as titles (Västi 2012). The elative case construes either a separation source path from an INCLUSION (19) or a CONTACT (20) and the illative case a goal path into an INCLUSION (19) or to a CONTACT (21). Figure 5 depicts the separation goal path concerning inclusion, where the trajector separates from an inclusion with a first landmark and the process represented by the arrow ends in an inclusion with the second landmark. In

Figure 6, the path is the separation from a contact of the trajector and the landmark.

- (19) Hän kävel-i huonee-**sta** toise-**en**.
 s/he walk-PST.3SG room-ELA other-ILL
 ‘S/he walked from one room to another.’

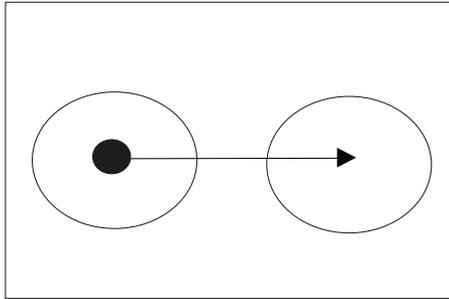


Figure 5. The SEPARATION GOAL PATH concerning an INCLUSION (c.f. 19).

- (20) Lamppu puto-s-i kato-**sta**.
 lamp drop-PST.3SG ceiling-ELA
 ‘The lamp fell from the ceiling.’

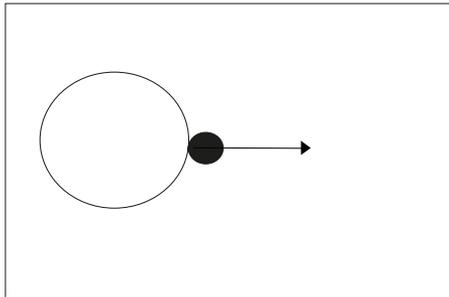


Figure 6. The SEPARATION PATH concerning a CONTACT (c.f. 20).

- (21) Hän kiinnitt-i lamppu-n seinä-**än**.
 s/he fix-PST.3SG lamp-ACC wall-ILL
 ‘S/he attached the [wall] lamp on the wall.’

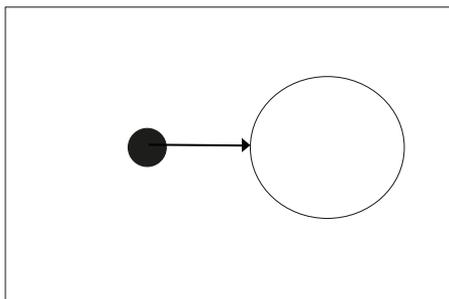


Figure 7. The GOAL PATH concerning a CONTACT (c.f. 21).

The ablative case construes a separation source path either from an ON-TOP-OF (22) relation or an ASSOCIATION (23) relation and for the allative case, a goal path either to an ON-TOP-OF (22) relation or an ASSOCIATION (24) relation. Once again, the figures portray an image schematic relation that depicts the decisive vertical relation between the trajector and the landmark and the upper surface of the landmark. The downward movement is specific in example 22. In general, the relevant orientation of the path extends only from on the landmark that is designated by the source case or to the top of the landmark designated by the goal case. The small dot stand for the trajector, the arrow symbolises the path, the cylinders represent the landmark in Figure 7. The dotted light circle indicates the search domain of the landmark in Figure 8, and Figure 9, representing an alternative way to illustrate the transition with grey circles that indicate the phases of movement by the trajector, and the end point marked with a back circle.

- (22) Kissa hyppäs-i pöytä-ltä lattia-lle.
 cat jump-PST.3SG table-ABL floor-ALL
 ‘A/The cat jumped from the table to the floor.’

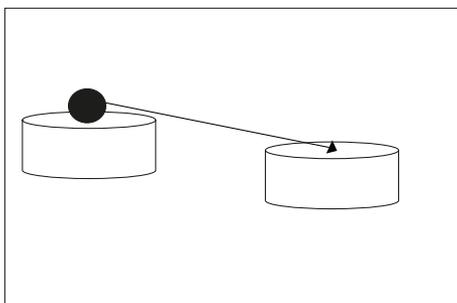


Figure 8. The SEPARATION GOAL PATH concerning an ON-TOP-OF relation (22)

- (23) Juna läht-i asema-lta.
 train leave-PST.3SG station-ABL
 ‘The train left the station.’

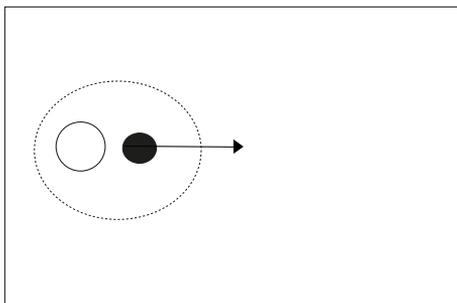


Figure 9. The SEPARATION concerning an ASSOCIATION (23)

- (24) Juna saapu-u asema-**lle**.
 train arrive-3SG station- ALL
 ‘The train arrives at a/the station.’

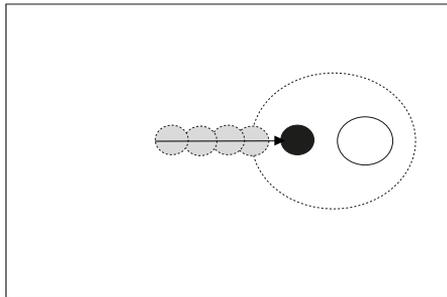


Figure 10. The GOAL-PATH to an ASSOCIATION (24)

Although both ends of the path can be construed by the local cases, both ends of the path are not often expressed in one clause. One explanation that has been offered for the more frequent use of ‘to’ cases than ‘from’ cases is the general goal-orientation of the human mind (Nikanne 1987). Another plausible reason is that in language use, it is often not relevant to explicate canonical orientations or default relations. It is usually possible to infer the other end of the path from the explicated one, from the expression of the path, or from the context (See Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 204–209). The explication of both ends would result in complex clauses that are typically avoided in language use. Sometimes, when it is necessary to describe the path in detail, other means such as adpositions are also used – these often also include a local case ending (Ojutkangas 2006; this volume). A more detailed study of the use of the local cases as expressions of paths, however, is beyond the scope of the present analysis.

3 *Virtual dynamicity*

Finnish typically construes changes as paths. This means that dynamic local cases typically occur with verbs that express movement or change of state. In addition to departure being designated by a ‘from’ case, the verb ‘arrive’ also takes a ‘to’ case form, as we have seen in examples 23 and 24 above. The direction of movement or orientation is designated by either a ‘from’ or a ‘to’ case or by both. Dynamic cases not only express actual movements or changes but also convey extensions, dimensions and orientations (25), and this also motivates more abstract uses. Dynamic cases construe a path or a scale, and the path combines with the meaning of the predicate verb to specify the trajectory. Thus, the trajectory may construe a movement of the theme, its change-of-state, or extension – or any of these in a virtual and subjective manner of construal (Huumo 2018; Langacker 1999, 6; 2008, 528–529; Leino 1990b).

- (25) Joulukuusi ulottu-u **lattia-sta** **katto-on.**
 Christmas.spruce extend-3SG floor-ELA ceiling-ILL
 ‘The Christmas tree extends from floor to ceiling.’

Some special conventional uses of the source and goal cases are based on meronymy. The internal case of the relative has a special usage type – it construes a contact point that also forms the source of the extension caused by the effect of the process described by the verb. The result is that the extension and the source path are virtual although the process may be concrete. The source point designated by the noun in the relative case is also a type of active zone in the relation described by the verb, because it construes the point where the energy flow of the process effects the theme (c.f. Langacker 1987, 271–273, 485; Leino 1993a, 100–104). The theme of the clause typically has a semantic relation of meronymy with the (secondary) landmark of the relation construed by the source case (as in a tree butt (27), hand – wrist (28) s/he – his/her hair (29), even the young tree and the stool in 26).

- (26) Taimi kasva-a kanno-n **tyve-stä.**
 sapling grow-3SG stool-GEN tree butt-ELA
 ‘The/a sapling grows from the tree butt of the base.’
- (27) Hakkaa puu **tyve-stä.**
 cut-IMP.2SG tree butt-ELA
 ‘Cut the tree at the base’
- (28) Käsi katkes-i **rantee-sta.**
 arm break-PST.3SG wrist-ELA
 ‘The hand broke from the wrist’
- (29) Hän takertu-i **hiuks-i-sta-an** oksa-an.
 s/he get-entangled-PST.3SG hair-PL-ELA-POSS3 branch-ILL
 ‘S/he clung to the twig of his/her hair’

In a similar manner, the illative case construes the point of contact as a goal path. When the illative describes the location as an active zone of the effect of the process designated by the verb, the goal case can either represent a primary or a secondary landmark. The illative construes the goal path of the energy flow where the process affects the landmark. Once again, meronymy relations are typical between the primary and the secondary landmark (s/he – leg in 30, s/he – cheek, as in 31). The syntactic functions of the primary and the secondary landmarks vary according to the predicate verb and different constructions (see Siro 1964, 59). Furthermore, the recipient in example 31 is in a goal case, the allative, in accordance with the dynamic construal of the verb. In general, coming into existence is construed as a goal path.

- (30) Hevonen potkais-i häntä **jalka-an.**
 horse kick-PST.3SG s/he.PAR leg-ILL
 ‘The/A horse kicked her/him in the leg’

- (31) Häne-*lle* tul-*i* mustelma **poske-en.**
 s/he-ALL come-PST.3SG bruise cheek-ILL
 ‘S/he got a bruise on his/her cheek’

Conventional construction types also construe different types of virtual paths that follow imaginable consequences of changes. The source or goal path designated by the dynamic local case is often a type of a mental path of perception or construes the subjective relation of conceptualizer to the trajectory. The change is virtually construed as creating the path (see Voutilainen in this volume). In this manner, dynamic local cases express finding, seeking and remaining. The motivation for the dynamic case form is the same as in taking (compare 32, 33 and 34) and leaving (35–36, 37) (Huumo 2005; 2006; 2007).

- (32) Ot-*i-n* avaim-e-*n* **lauku-sta.**
 take-PST-1SG key-ACC bag-ELA
 ‘I took the key out of the bag.’
- (33) Löys-*i-n* avaim-e-*n* **lauku-sta.**
 find-PST-1SG key-ACC bag-ELA
 ‘I found the key in the bag.’
- (34) Etsi-*n* avain-ta **lauku-sta.**
 look-for-PST-1SG key-PAR bag-ELA
 ‘I looked for the key in the bag.’
- (35) Ve-*i-n* lauku-n **juna-an.**
 take-PST-1SG bag-ACC train-ILL
 ‘I took the bag to the train.’
- (36) Laukku jä-*i* **juna-an.**
 bag leave-PST.3SG train-ILL
 ‘The bag was left on the train.’
- (37) Jä-*i-n* **juna-sta.**
 leave-PST-1SG train-ILL
 a. ‘I left the train.’
 b. ‘I missed the train.’

As a result of the finding in example 33, the key moves on the path from the bag to the primary trajector that is denoted by the subject of the clause. In seeking, the source path is more of her/his intention and perception, an intended path or path of perception from the stimulus of the sought after object to the perceiving seeker (34). In remaining, there is the implicit path of movement and the (growing) distance of the conceptualizer from the location of the intended target. It is virtually possible to follow this path in either direction as in 36 and 37. The thing that is left is construed on the goal path in relation to the place where it remains. The path is created by the (growing) distance of the conceptualizer in relation to the place of the intended object. In addition, the motivation for the ‘to’ case resembles that of moving an object to the place (compare 35 and 36). The unrealised

exit is construed as entering the place, a goal path without the following source path. The missed destination is occasionally construed as a source-path (37). The path is from the intended goal to the achieved location. The motivation of the source case is the same as if the trajector had come out of the landmark (compare readings 37a and b). The unrealised entering is therefore construed as an exit, a source path without a preceding goal path. The source path implies the non-location at the place (the thing that has left the place is no longer there; thus it is also implicitly related to negation, see example 63). By contrast, the opposite, the location implies a goal-path (to be somewhere implies that the thing located has moved to that place) and it consequently suits the implication of remaining.

The paths are not only construed by perception and intention in comparison to movement, but are also based on the connections between movements, locations and changes of states.

- (38) Kettu kuol-i **kaivo-on.**
fox die-PST.3SG well-ILL
‘The fox died in the well.’
- (39) Kettu kuol-i **myrkytykse-en.**
fox die-PST.3SG poisoning-ILL
‘The fox died of poisoning.’
- (40) Kettu kuol-i **myrkky-yn.**
fox die-PST.3SG poison-ILL
‘The fox died of the poison.’

It is possible to explain the possible use of the ‘to’ case in clauses such as 38 by extending the notion of remaining and the dynamic cases thereof. The goal case pinpoints that as a result of the change of state designated by the verb the trajector remains in the location. (The fox died and thus remained at the bottom; Hakanen 1975, 10; Hakulinen 1979, 525). The change needs to be decisive in that it exhibits moving away (Huomo 2006, 64). This means that one can virtually follow the path, which implies the change of place in relation to an earlier location. At the same time the change of state manifests itself in the same path that ends at the resultant place of the trajector. There is iconicity between the dynamicity of the change of state and the goal case (see Voutilainen in this volume). In a similar manner, the reason for the change of state is construed by a ‘to’ case in 39 and 40. Just as the spatial goal-path in 38 resembles that of moving, the causal goal-path in 39 and 40 is similar to that of change of state in the locatives of state (as in *kettu sairastui myrkytykseen* fox get-ill-PST.3SG poisoning-ILL ‘the fox got poisoned’, see 47b below). A motivational grammaticalisation cline is therefore from an end state to a cause or reason (see Heine et al. 1991, 162; Radden 1985).

When considering options between stative and dynamic cases, the subjective construal of intention plays a role. If we compare the options in examples 41 and 42, the goal case construction implies that ending up in the place described by the landmark due to the change of state was not the original intention or did not constitute the default case. In other words, it resembles

the implications of remaining. The source case applies to the waking up just as falling to sleep relates to the goal path (Huumo 2006). The stative case is the default case (43) and thus the other case may express extra connotations; here the source case implies that the place is somehow unexpected (44). The difference between cases offers a potential for a meaning distinction that is used conventionally in more than one way in different contexts.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|
| (41) | Nukahd-i-n
fall.in.sleep-PST-1SG
'I felt in sleep on the sofa.' | sohva-lla.
sofa-ADE |
| (42) | Nukahd-i-n
fall.in.sleep-PST-1SG
'I fell in sleep on the sofa.' | sohva-lle.
sofa-ALL |
| (43) | Heräs-i-n
wake.up-PST-1SG
'I woke up on the sofa.' | sohva-lla.
sofa-ADE |
| (44) | Heräs-i-n
wake.up-PST-1SG
'I woke up on the sofa.' | sohva-lta.
sofa-ABL |

Another productive possibility concerns the different types of virtual paths construed on the basis of perception (see Alhoniemi 1975: 15; Huumo 2006). These resemble the paths of dimensions.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (45) | Majakka
lighthouse | näky-y
is.visible-3SG | kallio-lta
cliff-ABL | mere-lle.
sea-ALL |
| | 'The lighthouse is visible from the cliff to the sea.' | | | |
| (46) | Majakka
lighthouse | näky-y
is.visible-3SG | kallio-lta.
cliff-ABL | |
| | a. 'The lighthouse is visible on the cliff' | | | |
| | b. 'One can see the lighthouse when (looking) on the cliff.' | | | |

The location of the conceptualizer in these examples is implicit but can be inferred from the form of the local cases. Ambiguity even occasionally arises in the potential location of the conceptualizer. An example of this is 46, in which either the lighthouse or the view point conceptualiser is on the cliff (See Huumo 2006; 2010). However, a detailed analysis of the different dynamic path construals remains beyond the scope of this article. (These are extensively studied by Huumo in many of his articles.)

4 Extensions to non-spatial domains and senses

At this point, it is possible to summarise the basic tendencies underlying the extensions in the use of the local cases. These even increase in prominence

as we proceed to non-spatial domains. When considering the use of the local cases in domains other than spatial and senses, it is possible to discern at least three types of motivations for extensions to the more abstract domains:

1. Extensions based on spatial senses are fundamental to more abstract senses. The general image schematic construals remain the same in both the spatial and more abstract senses of the cases. (For example, see Lakoff 1990.)

However, this is not the only principle that explains the meaning organisation of the case system. As has been illustrated above, the differences between cases have been conventionalised to convey various differences in meaning with different nouns and domains. Let us now turn to introduce the more complicated patterns and subsystems in abstract domains.

2. The case system creates paradigms of differences in form that generate a network of meaning differences. The oppositions between cases are organised somewhat differently in different domains. It is not only the local cases proper that come into play but the general local cases such as the essive and the translative in the expressions of time (see chapter 8 below), and ultimately the case system as a whole as well. This could be described as some type of Saussurean structuralist principle in practice, but at the same time, it follows the principle of “difference in form is a difference in meaning” (Langacker 1987).

As was demonstrated above, the semantic difference between the internal and external cases, and even the general local cases, is not always exceedingly clear, as their uses overlap in various ways.

3. Occasionally, the difference between the internal and external cases has lost its salience and at least one series has been conventionalised with certain stems. Typically, the image schematic difference between the stative and dynamic, and between cases that are source-oriented and goal-oriented remains relevant but in some idiomatic expressions, even that loses its salience. Some idiomatic uses appear to challenge the above-mentioned principle in 2 and represent a type of free variation, but as mentioned above, it is possible to ascertain motivating links based on image schemas of more concrete senses, and conventionalisation rules out free variation in most cases.

These three mechanisms or organising principles interact in various ways, as will be demonstrated below. The main factor that explains the organisation of language in general is analogy and that of the local cases in particular. At the level of various conventional uses, the productivity is not as systematic as the structural symmetry of the case series suggests. Instead, the productivity is partial, and the system consists of a network of intersecting patterns that are fragmentary. Patterns are formed on the basis of models, and analogical thinking creates schemas, schema instantiations and extensions based on models. That is, language users utilise model expressions to create new expression, and at the same time make generalisations that manifest schemas. New target expressions cause schema extensions when they are not fully sanctioned by entrenched models. (Langacker 1987, 71–73.) Extensions can

also lead to new schemas by the reanalysis familiar in grammaticalisation studies (for example, compare Heine et al. 1991). Furthermore, there can be more than one model for one expression, and it is difficult to determine which expressions or schemas have formed the original models for language users. While synchronic research can analyse the similarities and differences concerning different patterns, the origin of them appears to be beyond the reach of even diachronic research due to a lack of suitable linguistic corpora, and it certainly is beyond the limits of this article. (This approach is based on Onikki-Rantajääskö 1997, 2001, 2006; on analogy see e.g. Anttila 1977; Itkonen 2005; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2010.)

5 *General image schematic extensions: locatives of state*

Two general image schemas of the local cases motivate the more abstract extensions. The first is based on the idea of a stative location as an abstract location as state. Goal paths and source-paths manifest abstract motion to and from the location, that is changes (47). A transition into a state and out of it is representing the beginning and an end of a state.

- (47a) Hän on flunssa-**ssa**.
 s/he be.3SG flu-INE
 ‘S/he is in a flu.’
- (47b) Hän sairastu-i flunssa-**an**.
 s/he get.sick-PST.3SG flu-ILL
 ‘S/he got a flu.’
- (47c) Hän paran-i flunssa-**sta**.
 s/he get.better-PST.3SG flu-ELA
 ‘S/he got better of a flu.’

The other common construal is to conceive of the source and goal path as a departure point and as an end point on a scale (48). The latter extension type is therefore based on the image schema of dimension. Both these construal types have many common features and they are often interchangeable in some contexts because an image-schema of a path can represent a dimension and the dimension or the trajectory can be construed by virtual (or subjective) motion. (For example, see Huumo 2018; Langacker 1987, 168–173.)

- (48) luvu-t yhde-**stä** kymmene-**en**
 numer-PL one-ELA ten-ILL
 ‘numbers from one to ten’

The use of cases that express ‘to’ and ‘from’ to indicate a departure and an end point on a scale is productive. The default case for abstract senses are the internal cases. The use of the local cases to indicate psychophysical or other types of states and changes of states is very frequent, but it is not completely

productive. Either the internal or external cases have been conventionalised to hundreds of stems denoting psychophysical or social states, feelings and abstract states (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001). I call this expression type the locatives of state (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2006). It represents a typological type of locational predications (Stassen 1997, 242) and the metaphor of STATES ARE LOCATIONS (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999, 180–184). As Finnish only has one type of the verb ‘to be’ *olla*, not a separate location verb, the criteria for the locational coding type is the local case form. Stassen (1997; 2001) focuses only on the Finnish essive in this coding type (as for the critique, see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 241–245; Pajunen 1998 a;b).

Both overlap and the division of labour occur between the essive and the internal and external cases. The essive case is more productive, but it focuses more on roles, adjective stems and other functions as described by Hynönen (this volume; 2016). Although both convey a temporary state, the implicit possibility of an alternative state is construed in the background of the essive (see Hynönen 2016; Kirsi Vanttinen p.c.). Hynönen (2016; this volume) generalises the meaning function of the essive as an expression of a non-permanent state. The other option could be to expand the typological category of the functives (c.f. Creissels 2014, 2; 624–630; Hynönen 2016, 26). If the characteristic of the essive is a non-permanence of the state, the locatives of state construe the inclination of the state to be changeable instead (*muutosalttiis* in Finnish). For example, the essive that occurs in the clause *vilja on laonneena* grain is flatten-PTCP-ESS ‘the grain is beaten down’ construes the non-permanence of the state as a resultant end state of a change *laota* ‘be beaten down’ (Hynönen 2016, 70). In comparison, the locative of state *vilja on laossa* grain is flatten-nmlz-ine may imply that the state may change, that the grain may grow again. The non-permanent state construed by the essive is always linked as a property of the theme participant, whereas the locatives of state are instead pure expressions of state. In the aforementioned example, the essive construes the end state as a property of the grain so that the locative of state does not. Despite their meaning differences, due to their common history as locative cases, the essive and inessive have been conventionalised to some expressions that are near synonyms, and this also concerns the locative goal cases and the translative (as in *hän on pitkänään* s/he be.3SG long-ESS-POSS3 ~ *pitkällään* long-ADE-POSS3 ‘s/he is laying down’; *hän käy pitkäkseen* s/he lay long-TRA-POSS3 ~ *pitkälleen* long-ADE-POSS3 ‘s/he lays down’). (Hynönen 2016, 107–108; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 245–248.)

It is possible to discern dozens of meaning groups among the locatives of state (see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001). They form patterns of similar expressions based either on meaning and form or on meaning alone as well as larger meaning groups on a more schematic level of categorisation. Patterns formed by the phonological form are typical of descriptive words (as in *silmät sikkara-ssa* ~ *sikkara-lla(an)* ~ *sikkura-ssa* ~ *sikkura-lla(an)* ‘eyes screwed up’, *hiukset sikkara-ssa* ~ *sikkara-lla* ~ *säkkärä-ssä* ~ *säkkärä-llä* ‘hair [is] frizzy’, *lanka sykkyrä-ssä* ~ *sykkyrä-llä* ‘the yarn [has got] tangled’, *hän makaa sykkyrä-ssä* ~ *sykkyrä’llä(än)* ‘s/he lies curled up’). The characteristic vowel alteration may result in meaning differences as well as the difference

between the case series. Conventionalisation also comprises typical semantic categories of the themes. Most of the descriptive expressions are specialised for certain theme types. The central principle in their organisation is analogy: new expressions have been and are formed according to the model of other expressions. It is also possible to discern motivating links between more concrete and abstract uses. However, it is not easy to decisively determine which expressions have formed the original models for others. At any rate, analogical similarities, which are based on structural schematic similarities in the form and meaning, result in sporadic patterns of lexicalised expressions and partial productivity (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, on analogy see Anttila 1977; Itkonen 2005). Only some of the meaning groups are mentioned here.

Even some concrete nouns have been conventionalised in a more abstract sense with local cases, some of them with both internal and external cases (49). In their stative use, they often designate the trajector as being in a state of performing an activity in handling the object(s) named by the stem. The conventionalised sense is thus functional. The motivating link of using a local case is based on metonymy. One potential participant, often representing the patient of the action, stands for the whole state-of-affairs. However, the patient is not the only semantic role of the stem noun in the situation described. The case is not in a straightforward relation to the spatial senses. However, one starting point for the analogical spreading of this expression type is a kind of construal of dominion or search-domain, as it is with the internal case. With the internal case, the dominion can be thought of as (two-dimensional) inclusion (being in the circle of X, among X, as being enclosed by X forming an area or container) as in the expression *Hän on marja-ssa* s/he be.3SG berry-INE lit. 's/he is in a/the berry' meaning 's/he is picking up berries', motivated as being among berries, in the area where berries are located. The use of this case can be compared to those that exhibit a difference in meaning between the internal and external case: *pello-lla* pelto-ADE 'on the field'; *pello-ssa* pelto-INE lit. in the field construing a location among crops or in the soil (c.f. also examples 5–7 and 9–18 above); *metsä-ssä* wood-INE 'in a/the wood' *metsä-llä* wood-ADE 'hunting in the woods or elsewhere'. Many, but not all, conventional expressions denote gathering, hunting, fishing or other actions that are typical activities in traditional agriculture (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 2006), as in the following examples:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------|------|--------------|--------------------|
| (49a) | Hän | on | kala- ssa . | (49b) | Hän | on | kala- lla . |
| | s/he | be.3SG | fish-INE | | s/he | be.3SG | fish-ADE |
| | 'S/he is fishing.' | | | | | | |
| (49c) | Hän | läht-i | kala- an . | (49d) | Hän | läht-i | kala- lle . |
| | s/he | go-PST.3SG | fish-ILL | | s/he | go-PST.3SG | fish-ALL |
| | 'S/he went fishing.' | | | | | | |
| (49e) | Hän | tul-i | kala- sta . | (49f) | Hän | tul-i | kala- lta . |
| | s/he | come-PST.3SG | fish-ELA | | s/he | come-PST.3SG | fish-ABL |
| | 'S/he came from fishing.' | | | | | | |

The difference in meaning between the internal and external cases in 49 is nearly non-existent, with the most notable distinction being that external cases are less likely to refer to professional fishing. However, there are dialectal differences in their usage (see SMS s.v. *kala*⁴).⁵ Usually only internal or external cases have been conventionalised with a certain stem and the meaning difference between the case series has disappeared. The stative external case of the adessive also denotes being in a state, that is, an abstract inclusion (49b), and external source cases and goal cases designate the beginning of state (49d) as well as the separation therein (49f) in the same manner as the internal cases (compare 49a and b, c and d, and 49 e and f). There are various types of motivating links between the more concrete and abstract uses of the cases, such as clines from concrete nouns to deverbal nominalisations as stems, but the traces have vanished due to analogical spreading (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; 2006).

The role of conventionalisation is evident by the gaps in the expressions of various domains. For example, although numerous locatives of state denote emotions, it is not possible to use a Finnish local case to express ‘being in love’ (**Hän on rakkaudessa* s/he be.3SG love-INE, **rakkauksissaan* love-NMLZ-PL-INE-POSS3).⁶ The locatives of state have frequently been lexicalised in a special case form, including a certain derivative suffix and/or plural and/or possessive suffix (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001; 2006).

- (50) Hän on masennuksi-**ssa**.
s/he be.3SG depression.NMLZ.PL-INE
‘S/he is depressed.’
- (51) Hän on suutuksi-**ssa(an)**.
s/he be.3SG get.angry.NMLZ.PL-INE-POSS3
lit. ‘S/he is in her/his angers.’ ‘S/he is angry.’
- (52) Hän on iloi-**ssa-an**.
s/he be.3SG joy.PL-INE-POSS3
lit. ‘S/he is in her/his joys.’ ‘S/he is glad.’

Although the stative and dynamic cases predominantly behave symmetrically in the same manner as in their concrete uses, differences in conventionalisation do occur between the case series. On the one hand, source and goal cases are either not used or not used as frequently with many lexicalised locatives of state (*Hän tuli *iloi-hin-sa* s/he come-PST.3SG joy-

4 For the map of the dialectal distribution of the adessive, see https://kaino.kotus.fi/sms/?p=map&map_id=146763

5 The semantic difference between some expressions in the Finnish standard language is nearly non-existent, because the expressions in question have been acquired from two main dialectal groups, the Eastern and Western dialects. Examples of these are the terminative adverbs *asti* and *saakka* ‘till, until’ (see Päiviö 2007).

6 Emotions are also expressed by (often inchoative) verbs, participles and adjectives (see Murmann 2018), and these often originate from the same stems as locatives of states. Examples of these are *Hän on masentunut* ‘s/he be.3SG depressed’ (participle), *Hän suuttui* ‘s/he got angry’ (verb), *Hän on iloinen* ‘s/he is glad’ (adjective).

PL-ILL.3SG ‘S/he became glad’; c.f. the nominal predicate with an adjective in translative *hän tuli iloiseksi* s/he become-PST.3SG glad-TRA ‘s/he became glad’). On the other hand, there is a continuum in the more productive use of the ‘to’-illative case with the nominalisations that indicate the phasal inchoative use (*Hän pinkaisi juoksuun* s/he shoot-PST.3SG run-NMLZ-ILL ‘S/he shot for a run’; *Hän vaipui masennukseen* s/he sink-PST.3SG depression-ILL ‘s/he sank into depression’). In spite of that, goal path nominalisations are not the most productive means of expressing the inchoative. Instead, the more productive means of expressing the inchoative is by using the verbal construction, as in *hän suuttui* s/he get-angry-PST.3SG ‘s/he got angry’.

Psychophysical states comprise a large group among the locatives of state. For example, hundreds of local case expressions describe drunkenness, the most common of them *olla humalassa* lit. be hop-INE, be drunkenness-INE but also *olla päissään* be head.PL.INE.POSS3 ‘to be drunken’ (see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 97–103). Expressions of posture or facial expression are often used to indicate mental or psychophysical states as well, although the conventionalisation of both senses varies; occasionally the more abstract sense is clearly conventionalised, whereas sometimes it is to be inferred in a suitable context. Many types of metonymy relations act in lexicalisations. The expressions of drunkenness above display the metonymic motivation in the stems and other morphemes in the lexicalised expression, even though at this point, it is not possible to go further into detail. The expressions of posture and facial expressions exemplify a metonymic relation in which the locative of state describes a substate of the larger state-of-affairs, such as a mental or psychophysical state, and it may thus metonymically indicate that overall state. Certain expressions have conventionalised the postures and facial expressions they describe as signs of certain psychophysical states, such as *pää pystyyn* head up-ILL ‘head up, cheer up’, based on the metonymic metaphor of happy is up (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The metonymy has led occasionally to a metaphor, when the concrete sense of a posture or facial expression has been bleached, as in *kuunnella korvat pystyssä* listen ear-PL up-INE ‘to listen with the ears up’, that is ‘attentively’, *kuunnella silmät pystyssä* ‘to listen with the eyes up’, that is ‘astonished’, *kuunnella hiukset pystyssä* ‘to listen with the hair up’, that is ‘horrified’. Sometimes the concrete interpretation is not possible with a conventionalised theme, as in *sydän sykkyrä-ssä* lit. ‘the heart curled up’, ‘with one’s heart in one’s mouth [from worry] ~ *sykkyrä-llään* [from worry or from happiness] or the theme is very general *Mikä meni vinoon?* what go-PST.3SG askew-ILL ‘what went wrong?’ (Onikki-Rantajääskö 1994; 2001; 2006).

Many stems in the locatives of state are rarely used, and their morphology is often complex with petrified plural forms and possessive suffixes, as in *hän on tajuissaan* s/he is consciousness.PL.INE.POSS3 ‘s/he is conscious’, *hän on hereillä* s/he is wake.NMLZ.PL.ADE ‘s/he is awake’ (there is a noun *taju*, but the stem *here* is not used as an independent noun, c. f. *herä-* as a verbal stem in *herätä* ‘wake’). The possible motivation for various morphemes is not self-evident, but it is apparent in the patterns and chains formed by analogy. The use of nominalisations is only partially productive in the inessive, although the inchoative use in the illative is more productive. The relative source case

- (57) Kahdeksan **kymmene-stä** eurooppalaise-sta asu-u kaupunkialuee-lla.
 eight ten-ELA European-ELA live-3SG urban-area-ADE
 ‘Eight out of ten Europeans live in an urban area.’
- (58) Tonttu tekee paja-ssa-an leikkikalu-j-a mm.
 elf make-3SG workshop-INE-POSS3 toy-PL-PAR amongst-other-things

puu-sta ja **tuohesta.**
 wood-ELA and birch-bark-ELA
 ‘The elf makes in his workshop toys amongst other things from wood and birch bark.’
- (59) **Höyrymehu-sta** kaikki alko-i.
 steam-juice-ELA everything began-PST.3SG
 ‘It all began from steam juice.’
- (60) Salli-kaa minu-n puhu-a te-i-lle **rakkaude-sta.**
 let-IMP.2PL I-GEN talk-INF you-PL-ALL love-ELA
 ‘Let me talk to you about love.’
- (61) Nykyään on yhä vähemmän ihmis-i-ä, jotka
 nowadays be.3SG still less people-PL-PAR who.PL

 tek-isi-vät tä-tä työ-tä **rakkaude-sta.**
 make-COND-3PL this.PAR work-PAR love-ELA
 ‘Today, there are fewer and fewer people who would make this work out of
 love.’

The uses of the ablative external case are not as frequent, but occasionally the noun in the ablative case expresses a stimulus (62), a topic-like entity (63a), an event (63b) as well as a cause or a reason (64) and these are also often construed as source-like entities. Syntactically, these types of uses are often adjuncts, free adverbials, but avoidance is also expressed particularly by constructions that have a source case as an argument (63). Source cases have an inherent link to negation, in this case, the obstruction type (Saury 2004, 106) which does not always occur with an explicit negation (c.f. Alhoniemi 1975, 18). The trajector participant avoids an influence from a source (62, 63a) or from participating in an event that often has negative connotations in the context (63b). The avoidance is construed as a virtual source path from the landmark. The general connection between negation and the source path is motivated by the inferential relation that when something has gone away from somewhere it is no longer there. The landmark in these cases is construed by the source case as a type of virtual source, such as fictive motion away from it, and the verb conveys the relation of avoidance or obstruction. The unrealised potential influence or (abstract) location is construed as a source path from the source of influence or the situation. There need not to be any inherent direction in the relation construed by the verb, but the relations construed by the verb and the local case merge and obtain the direction of the path from the source case.

- (62) Hän suoja-a silm-i-ä-än valo-lta.
s/he protect-3SG eye-PL-PAR-POSS3 light-ABL
'S/he protects his/her eyes from light.'
- (63a) Hän vältty-i ikäv-i-ltä uutis-i-lta.
s/he avoid-PST.3SG nasty-PL-ABL news-PL-ABL
'S/he avoided nasty news.'
- (63b) Hän vältty-i onnettomuude-lta.
s/he avoid-PST.3SG accident-ABL
'S/he avoided the accident.'
- (64) En saa-nut nuku-ttua ukkose-lta.
NEG.1SG get-PTCP sleep-PASS.PTCP.PAR thunder-ABL
'I could not sleep because of a thunderstorm.'

For the constructions of the verbs of perception, the quality of a stimulus is expressed by either a source case ablative or a goal case allative: *Ruoka maistuu hyvä-ltä ~ hyvä-lle* food taste.3SG good-ABL ~good-ALL 'the food tastes good'. There is no obvious motivating schema for the uses, but the use of the dynamic cases follows the general tendency to favour dynamic cases instead of one that is stative. The source case resembles that of a stimulus. The motivating link could also occur in the examples in which the association schema of the external cases fits the image schema of resemblance or likeness (not exactly the same but close): *Sinä näytät äidi-ltä-si* you look-2SG mother-ABL-POSS2SG 'You look like your mother', *Tämä tuoksuu karvasmanteli-lle* this smell-3SG bitter.almond-ALL 'This smells like bitter almond'.

The 'to' illative case does not represent as many specialised senses as the elative, but rather a more general, abstract sense of an entirety, a goal or purpose. Example 65 includes an incremental participant (stack), and the goal case illustrates a cline between a concrete sense and one that is abstract. The trajector is moved to the landmark, but furthermore, it also is the material from which the landmark is formed. The virtual construal is similar in more abstract uses, where something is used or intended for a certain action or purpose. Often these uses involve a type of (hypothetical) temporal order that suits the goal-oriented path: the trajector exists before it attains the end of the goal path. These types of uses form a cline of motivation to the abstract sense of purpose which lacks the implication of the temporal order.

- (65) Hakkuu-tähde pan-naan sopiva-an pino-on.
logging-residue put-PASS suitable-ILL stack-ILL
'The logging residue is placed in a suitable stack.'
- (66) Häne-n puhee-nsa anto-i aihee-n otsikko-on.
s/he-GEN speech-POSS.3SG give-PST.3SG subject-ACC headline-ILL
'His/Her speech gave the subject to a headline.'
- (67) Siihen tarkoitukse-en tarvitse-mme enemmän ja syvällise-mpä-ä tutkimus-ta.
that.ILL purpose-ILL need-1PL more and profound-CMPR-PAR research-PAR
'For that purpose, we need more and more in-depth research.'

- (68) Se on tarkoite-ttu ainoastaan **ammattillise-en** **käyttö-ön.**
 it be.3SG intend-PASS.PTCP only professional-ILL use-ILL
 ‘It is intended for professional use only.’

In some constructions, the external ‘to’ case, the allative, also has the same type of abstract uses of a topic (compare 69 and 70). The deverbal noun in the internal case (69) is a nominalisation of an action, *nomen actionis* and the outer case (70) more resembles *nomen acti*, the result of an action, doubts as a mental content in the action and thus an entity, but the difference is not clear and does not apply everywhere (on the word *epäillä*, *epäily* ‘doubt’, see also Salminen 2020).

- (69) Jos on aihet-ta **epäily-yn,**
 if be.3SG subject-PAR doubt-ILL
 ‘If there is reason to doubt,’

- (70) Tili-en tasapainottaminen, joka anto-i aihee-n komissio-n **epäily-i-lle,**
 account-PL.GEN balancing that give-PST.3SG subject-ACC commission-GEN doubt-PL-ALL
 ‘Balancing the accounts, which gave rise to the Commission’s doubts,’

The ‘to’ cases have a wide range of goal-related senses and these can be interpreted as being in a motivated relation to each other. It is difficult to determine where one sense ends and another begins. In other words, there is a cline from polysemy to a vagueness in meaning (Tuggy 1993).

7 Possession

The external cases express possession when the stem denotes a human being (71; Nikanne 1987; 1990a;b). In general, stems that denote human beings favour external cases, and this applies to other living things, but above all, to persons and personification, institutions, etc. Some free variation and borderline cases occur with respect to inalienable possession, which is typically construed by the internal cases (72, 73). There is a continuum from concrete stems to more abstract ones such as circumstances (cf. locatives of state above). Finnish does not have a separate verb for possession, and thus the possessive construction is expressed as a type of locative construction and there is a link of motivation between these constructions. In short, the possessee is in the dominion of the possessor (c.f. the relation of association). The inalienable possession is related to meronymy that manifests as a kind of part-whole relation. In addition, when the meronymic relations concern a living thing, they are often expressed by the external cases (Alhoniemi 1975, 19). The possessive-locative constructions (74) also express relations of cognitive contents to the persons whose mental contents are in question.

- (71a) **Häne-llä** on auto.
 s/he-ADE be.3SG car
 ‘S/he has a car.’

- (71b) **Minu-lla** on sinu-t.
I-ADE be.3SG you-ACC
'I have you.'
- (72) **Koira-lla** ~ **koira-ssa** on kirppu-j-a.
dog-ADE ~ dog-INE be.3SG flea-pl-par
'The dog has fleas.'
- (73) Männä-t o-vat alumiini-a ja **nii-ssä** on kolme rengas-ta.
piston-PL be.3pl aluminium-PAR and they-INE be.3SG three ring-PAR
'The pistons are made of aluminium and have three rings.'
- (74) Häne-llä on kokemus-ta.
s/he-ADE be.3SG experience-PAR
'S/he has experience.'

The alienable possession motivates the use of the external cases to express the semantic roles of the benefactive (75–76) and the malefactive (77) and such extensions. There is a continuum between the ablative of avoidance and malefactive. (c.f. Alhoniemi 1975, 17–18.) The external cases are also used with verbs of communication (78–79). Similar to the perceptions above, cognitive contents are often also expressed as locations (74) and changes in them (80–81) as paths (Alhoniemi 1983, 226–227; Kittilä 2006; Leino et al. 2001).

- (75) **Häne-lle** on anne-ttu nämä keino-t.
s/he-ALL be.3SG give- PASS.PTCP these means-PL
'S/he has been given these means.'
- (76) Työ-stä on **häne-lle** hyöty-ä.
work-ELA be.3SG s/he-ALL benefit-PAR
'S/he benefits from the work.'
- (77) **Häne-ltä** evä-tään työpaika-n saa-nti.
s/he-ABL deny-PASS job-GEN get-NMLZ
'An access to a job will be denied from her/him.'
- (78) Pyydä-n **häne-ltä** selvennys-tä asia-sta.
ask-1SG s/he-ABL clarification-PAR matter-ELA
'I ask her/him for clarification.'
- (79) Vastaa **häne-lle**.
answer.IMP.2SG s/he-ALL
'Answer to him/her.'
- (80) Asia kirkastu-i **minu-lle**.
thing become-clear-PST.3SG I-ALL
'The thing became clear to me.'
- (81) Asia unohtu-i **minu-lta**.
thing forget-PST.3SG I-ABL
'I forgot the thing.'

For some uses of the dynamic cases, the possessive and meronymic relationships between a whole and its part may be conflated. The goal case may also indicate a recipient in existential relations (see example 31 above), and the source case, a malefactive, in processes concerning losing or harm (82) (Alhoniemi 1975, 18).

- (82) **Häne-ltä** murtu-i ranne.
 s/he-ABL broke-PST.3SG wrist
 'S/he broke his/her wrist.' ['His/her wrist broke on him/her.']

The external 'from' case, the ablative, even has some uses that resemble the ergative, that is, a human agent designated by an oblique case (Nikanne 1990a,b, on ergativity, for example, see also Langacker 1991). In these cases, the trajector (the intransitive subject) represents a theme that undergoes a change or a movement and the ablative designates the human instigator of that process. Syntactically, the noun in the ablative is a free adverbial. Motivational links lead to this sense from stimulus-like sources that represent a cause or a reason (see example 64 above) (as for the general grammaticalisation path, see Heine et al. 1991, 159–163; Heine 1997). Motivation also links these uses to possession. Furthermore, a state-of-affairs can be linked to a type of possessor by external cases even though the construction that describes the possessee resembles a noun phrase that includes a post-modifier in a possessive construction (*minulla on asiat kunnossa* I-ade is-3.sg thing-pl condition-ine 'I have things in order'). The external separative case then resembles a malefactive when the state of affairs has negative connotations. This forms a motivating link to nonintentional agentivity (84).

- (83) **Siitose-lta** keihäs lentä-ä.
 Siitonen-ABL javelin fly-3SG
 lit. 'The javelin flies by Siitonen.' 'Siitonen really makes the javelin fly.'
 (Nikanne 1990)

- (84) **Minu-lta** rikkoutu-i lasi.
 I-ABL break-PST.3SG glass
 'A/The glass was broken by me.'

The wide use of the dynamic cases thus also concerns possessive relations and similar abstractions, such as relations that are agentive, cognitive and interactional. Conventional constructions construe either the earlier possessor/donator as a source path, or the receiver as the goal path, or even both with processual relations expressing a change of possession or cognitive or communicative content. Also, the place where the possessee is located is expressed by a source case even though the change occurs only in the relation of possession, and location remains the same (Alhoniemi 1975, 13):

- (85) Hän ost-i (**perheel-le-en**) asunno-n lähiö-stä.
 s/he buy-PST.3SG (family-ALL-POSS.3P) apartment-ACC housing-development-ELA
 'S/he bought an apartment (for his/her family) in a/the housing development.'

8 Temporal relations

The expressions of temporal relations form a manifold and heterogeneous system that utilises the whole case system. For temporal relations, a dominant role is played by expressions that are conventionalised and idiomatic. In addition, the internal and external local case expressions comprise only a part of the expressions of the temporal relations. The difference between case series predominately disappears because the abstract location in time is not three-dimensional in the same manner as spatial relations. In some constructions, this even leads to free variation between local case series. This means that the common general and schematic meaning of case series prevail, which is the abstract location based on time, and the differences between case series do not alter schematic meaning. (See Lauerma 1990.)

The general local essive case expresses the location of an event on a day of the week, on a specific date, or in a year (see the article by Hynönen in this volume), and the general ‘to’ case, the translative expresses a change in date (see Voutilainen in this volume). The internal inessive case (86) expresses a temporal location of a trajector at a month-denoting landmark. However, the time of the day (87), seasons (88) and many other time periods as landmarks are in the external case form (89). In a similar manner, the adessive (90–91), as an external case, can also construe a moment.

- (86) Hiihtoloma on **helmikuu-ssa.**
skiing-holiday be.3SG February-INE
‘The skiing holiday is in February.’
- (87) Näh-dään **illa-lla**
see-PASS evening-ADE
‘We’ll see in the evening.’
- (88) **Talve-lla** pitä-isi sata-a lun-ta.
winter-ADE should-COND.3SG rain-INF snow-PAR
‘In winter it should (rain) snow.’
- (89) Ensimmäise-t sauna-t o-vat ol-lee-t **kivikaude-lla** maakuoppa-sauno-j-a
first-PL sauna-PL be.3PL be-PTCP-PL stone-age- ADE pit-sauna-PL-PAR
‘The first saunas have been open pit saunas during the Stone Age.’
- (90) Tul-i-t **sopiva-lla** **hetke-llä.**
come-PST.2SG right-ADE moment-ADE
‘You came at the right moment.’
- (91) Hän saapu-i viime **minuuti-lla.**
s/he arrive-PST.3SG last minute-ADE
‘S/he arrived at the last minute.’

A month is more clearly a bounded period of time than those expressed by the external case. However, conventionalisation plays a greater role than differences in the construal, even though the image-schema of inclusion as a

more exact time or a bounded time period and that of association as a looser interval may have motivated the conventionalisation between the case series (see also Hynönen 2016, 56–61).

When it is a question of transition, the parallel dynamic cases are also used, but the construal of the source and goal paths concerns predominantly changes in appointments (92–94) or durations (95–97). This is because time travelling belongs to the discourse universes of imagination and metaphor (see Huumo 2017; 2018). Not only the internal dynamic cases, but also the external cases are conventional variants (92–94). On some occasions, as with days of the week, free variation even occurs among all three goal cases (94). The internal dynamic cases are more conventionalised in expressing duration (95–97) as well as changes in exact dates.

- (92) Siirre-ttiin kokous maanantai-**sta** tiistai-**hin** ~ maanantai-**lta** tiistai-**lle**.
 move-PASS.PST meeting Monday-ELA Tuesday-ILL ~ Monday-ABL Tuesday-ALL
 ‘The meeting was postponed from Monday to Tuesday.’
- (93) Siirre-ttiin kokous huhtikuu-**sta** toukokuu-**hun** ~ huhtikuu-**lta** toukokuu-**lle**.
 move-PASS.PST meeting April-ELA May-ILL ~ April-ABL May-ALL
 ‘The meeting was postponed from April to May.’
- (94) Siirre-ttiin kokous tiistai-**ksi** ~ tiistai-**hin** ~ tiistai-**lle**.
 move-PASS.PST meeting Tuesday-TRA ~ ILL ~ ALL
 ‘The meeting was postponed to Tuesday.’
- (95) Istuntoviikko kestä-ä maanantai-**sta** perjantai-**hin**.
 session.week last-3SG Monday-ELA Fridady-ILL
 ‘The session week lasts from Monday to Friday.’
- (96) Loma kestä-ä kesäkuu-n ensimmäise-**stä** päivä-**stä** elokuu-n puoleenväli-**in**.
 holiday last-3SG June-GEN first-ELA day-ELA August-GEN middle-ILL
 ‘The holiday lasts from June first to mid-August.’
- (97) Istu-ttiin kokoukse-ssa aamu-**sta** ilta-**an**.
 sit-PASS.PST meeting-INE morning-ELA evening-ILL
 ‘We were sitting in the meeting from morning until night.’

Some nouns also denote time-limited periods without being primarily expressions of time, such as periods of life. These compare to other abstract nouns and occur in an internal case form as landmarks (98).

- (98) Ei minu-n nuoruude-**ssa-ni** tuollais-i-a terme-j-ä ol-lut.
 neg I-GEN youth-INE-POSS1SG such-PL-PAR term-PL-PAR be-PTCP
 ‘There weren’t such terms in my youth.’

The series of dynamic cases are usually comparable to the selection of the stative case. In addition, there are idiomatic expressions and construction types in dynamic cases. For example, a specific time of a day is expressed by

the nominative (*Hän tuli kello kolme* s/he come-PST.3SG clock three ‘s/he came at three o’clock’), but when time is expressed in terms of an hour, the ablative can be used instead of the nominative, because the precise point in time serves as a source-path of a duration (as in 99–100). In the same vein, as an internal source case, the elative has conventional temporal uses with certain stem types, such as part of the day or season. This use of the elative is motivated by the image schema of the source path as a temporal dimension. Verbs that occur in these constructions form a continuum from those that convey a temporal duration to those expressing momentaneous processes. Duration can also be construed as an end state of a change of state described by the verb, the source path thus construing the beginning of the resultant state (102). (P. Leino 1993b.)

- (99) Tava-taan **kolme-lta**.
meet-PASS three-ABL
‘Let’s meet at three o’clock’
- (100) Se tapahtu-i **kolme-lta**.
it happen-PST.3SG three-ABL
‘It happened at three o’clock’
- (101) pelkää-n, miten **illa-sta** ~ **illa-lla** ~ **tänä ilta-na** käy.
be.afraid-1SG how evening-ELA ~ evening-ADE ~ this.ESS evening-ESS happen.3SG
‘I am totally afraid of what will happen in the/this evening.’
- (102) **Tänä syksy-nä** ~ Tämän vuode-n **syksy-stä** ~ syksy-llä
this.ESS autumn-ESS ~ this.GEN year-GEN autumn-ELA ~ autumn-ADE
nämä työ-t siirty-i-vät G.G.-yhtiöl-le.
these work-PL move-PST.3PL G.G. company-ALL
‘This autumn these works were moved to the company G. G.’

In addition, many time-denoting adpositions occur with local case endings, but they remain beyond the scope of this article.⁷ It should be mentioned, however, that the internal cases express aspectually bounded duration of time in which something happens (as in 103), more typically in the stative case of the inessive, but sometimes also in the illative, the ‘to’ case, (on the variation with partitive see Huumo’s article in this volume).

- (103) Hän juoks-i maratoni-n **kolme-ssa tunni-ssa** ~ **kolme-en tunti-in**.
s/he run-PST.3SG marathon-ACC three-INE hour-INE ~ three-ILL hour-ILL
‘S/he ran a marathon in three hours’

7 The stem *aika* ‘time’ and some other similar expressions are also used to specify points of time as a kind of postposition. As a landmark of a stative location in time, it is in the internal ‘to’ illative case, as if the certain point of the time were a goal-path (*Tavataan kolmen aikaan* meet-pass three-gen time-ILL ‘Let’s meet at three o’clock’). The general stative case of the essive is also used, especially for periods of time (*Tapasimme kesän aikana useasti* meet-PST-1PL summer-GEN time-ESS frequently ‘We met many times during the summer’).

The relationship between productivity, conventionalisation and idiomatic expressions is complex for the expressions of time. Otherwise, the rather clear difference between the stative location and dynamic source and the goal paths is relative for idiomatic expressions of time. It is possible to construe events either as situated at stative points of time or as the starting or ending points of temporal dimensions. (Leino 1993b.)

9 A brief outline: Idiomatic expressions and their motivation

As mentioned above, the local cases are used not only as a productive system in both spatial and more abstract domains, but they have more idiomatic uses as well. Many crystallised expressions appear among locatives of state and in expressions of time relations. However, a whole variety of idioms is beyond the scope of the present article. Even so, some additional types of idiomatic expression must be mentioned, but first, one separate productive construction type deserves attention.

Most of the lexicalised local case forms function as free adverbials in clauses. The prototypical free adverbial is an expression of manner or means, and the prototypical productive form of a means adverbial is a noun that denotes an instrument in the stative external case of the adessive (104–105).

(104) Lapsi syö jo **haaruka-lla** ja **veitse-llä**.
 child eat.3SG already fork-ADE and knife-ADE
 ‘The child is already eating with a fork and a knife.’

(105) Lapse-t laske-vat **pulka-lla** mäke-ä.
 child-PL down-3PL sledge-ADE hill-PAR
 ‘Children slide down the hill with a sled.’

The motivating link can be found in the use of vehicles as means, where the image schema of being on something applies (105). The form has become productive through analogical spreading. While the infinitives and participles are beyond the scope of this analysis, it needs to be mentioned that the *mA*-infinitive is also used in the adessive to express manner or means. Typological studies have attested a grammaticalisation path from the grams with the image schema of ‘on’-support to the sense of means expression, and the adessive of means is compatible with it (Heine 1997). (Hamunen 2019.)

Some idiomatic illative forms are also used as manner adverbs, albeit more rarely (106–108). The illative forms a marginal option among the different means for conveying iteration or repetition, such as the productive *sti*-adverbs (*kahdesti* ‘twice’), expressions with a partitive form (*kaksi kertaa* ‘two times’), and frozen adverbs with hardly analysable old case-forms (*kerran* ‘once’) (see the article by Jääskeläinen in this volume). Some expressions have a conventionalised external case allative instead (109). Due to analogical spreading and idiomatisation, the motivation for the use of goal cases is not straightforward, but it is consistent with the general tendency of Finnish to favour path construals and especially goal paths. Some adverbs have spatial

uses as well (*taajaan* ‘close together’ c.f. 108) and in general, the spatial adverbs form parallel analogical patterns. The goal path is motivated in some spatial uses (*taimet istutettiin harvaan* sapling-PL plant-PASS.PST sparsely-ILL ‘The plants were planted wide apart’), but in general, the motivation for the goal case remains vague.

- (106) Hän tek-i se-n kahte-en kerta-an.
s/he make-PST.3SG it-ACC two-ILL time-ILL
‘S/he made it twice.’
- (107) Hän juoks-i nopea-an.
s/he run-PST.3SG quick-ILL
‘S/he ran quickly.’
- (108) Busse-j-a kulke-e taaja-an.
bus-PL-PAR go-3SG frequent-ILL
‘Buses go frequently.’
- (109) Aje-ttiin hiljalleen.
drive-PASS.PST slow.ADE.POSS3
‘We drove slowly.’

There are also idiomatic adverbials in the internal ‘from’ case, the elative, the most productive of them having a numeral stem or something similar and denoting the number of persons acting together. Many idiomatic expressions contain a conventionalised possessive suffix (often in a third person form).

- (110) Ol-tiin kaksi-sta-an.
be-PASS.PST two-ELA.POSS3
‘We were alone [only two of us].’

Just as the external ‘from’ case, the ablative, is used to express points of time (99), it is possible to use some stems to indicate the source point of a sudden or rapid action (111).

- (111) Siltä istuma-lta Ikonen marss-i keskus-vaali-lautakunta-an
it.ABL sit-DER.ABL name march-PST.3SG central-election-commission-ILL
ja ilmoitt-i halua-va-nsa ehdokkaa-ksi.
and announce-PST.3SG want-PTCP-POSS3 candidate-TRA
‘From that sitting, Ikonen marched to the Central Election Commission and announced his wish to stand as a candidate.’

The most common stems are *istu-ma* (‘sit’ + nominal suffix) and *seiso-ma* (‘stand’ + nominal suffix). The derivational suffix *-ma* is the same as in the productive *-mA*-infinitive (which is referred to as the third infinitive in Finnish), but here the border between a deverbal noun and a nominal form of a verb is fuzzy and the frozen form functions as an adverb. Furthermore, the stative and ‘to’ forms of the outer cases of these stems have not been

conventionalised in this use. The image schema of a source path motivates the use of the separative case form. The expression with a posture verb stem can be compared to the more spatial idioms with the same type of meaning (as in *niiiltä sijoiltaan* those-ABL site-PL-ABL-POSS3 ‘rapidly, at once’) and these nominalisations of the basic posture verbs also imply the site of the posture. The posture expressed by a source case is construed as a type of source path for the action of the main verb, even when that posture is static in the state-of-affairs (*hän tervehti heitä istualtaan* s/he greet-PST3SG they-PAR sit-ABL-POSS ‘she greeted them from his/her seat’).

The motivation for a local case form is more vague for some case-government verbs, constructions that have the verb governing the case form of the argument. For example, the verb *pitää* ‘like’ also continues to have a concrete sense of ‘hold’ (112) and the elative case of the landmark argument is motivated by the concrete sense (113). There is little evidence for the motivation of the inner dynamic ‘to’ case, the illative, with verbs that only have an abstract sense, such as *rakastua* ‘to fall in love’ (114) and *uskoa* ‘believe’ (115–116). However, they fall neatly into the same pattern of dynamic construal as many other constructions in which interest is construed as directing from the experiencer-subject to the stimulus, the topic or the goal of activity (Murmman 2018, 90). In addition, two senses of the verb *uskoa* ‘to believe’ are differentiated by the difference in the case form of the argument, the illative ‘to believe in somebody’s capability’ and the partitive ‘to believe somebody’s words’ (compare 116 a and b).

(112) Hän pitä-ä kiinni **kahva-sta.**
s/he hold-3SG fast handle-ELA
‘S/he holds the handle.’

(113) Pidä-n **sinu-sta.**
like-1SG you-ELA
‘I like you.’

(114) Rakastu-i-n **sinu-un.**
fall-in-love-PST-1SG you-ILL
‘I fell in love with you.’

(115) Usko-n **Jumala-an.**
believe-1SG God-ILL
‘I believe in God.’

(116a) Usko-n **sinu-un.**
believe-1SG you-ILL
‘I believe in you.’

(116b) Usko-n **sinu-a.**
believe-1SG you-PAR
‘I believe you.’ [what you said]

The potential difference in the intensity of the relation is aptly expressed in the following verse by a Finnish songwriter:

- (117) Minä katso-n **sinu-a,**
 I look-1SG you-PAR
 ‘I look at you.’
- ja sinä katso-t **minu-un.**
 and you look-2SG I-ILL
 ‘and you look into me.’
 (Samuli Putro: *Pienet rukoukset*)⁸

In this case, the dynamic construal of perception offers a potential difference in meaning between the partitive and illative cases. The use of the illative thus also has a conventionalised meaning. Indeed, the nuances go beyond the expression of pure perception to the mental contents of “seeing the soul” of the other person, or otherwise giving an intense and thoughtful look that indicates some interpretative thought processes concerning the goal of the perception.

The elative case is found in constructions of attraction that are not only based on polysemy from concrete uses to more abstract ones, as in examples 112 and 113 above, but the elative is also motivated by the construal of the source path as a topic or something similar (compare example 60 above). As for the illative case, the goal case is used in inchoative constructions and thus also indicates a transfer in the action in the expressions of interest. This inchoative use concerns infinitives more than nouns and is consequently beyond the scope of this analysis. However, occasionally, the contrast between the elative and the illative case is also possible for the constructions of interest, with the illative case then indicating a more intense interest and action, whereas the elative case instead construes the topic or stimulus of interest. The nominalisation in the illative case in example 119 implicates that the girls began to search for glow-worms, with the elative case construing the bustle in 118 more as a stimulus to becoming excited, although the inchoative reading is not excluded.

- (118) Ja tämä-kin koira innostu-i **touhu-sta.**
 and this-CL dog become.excited-PST.3SG bustle-ELA
 ‘And also this dog became excited by the bustle.’
- (119) Joku tytö-i-stä huomasi, että maasto-ssa ol-i
 some girl-PL-ELA notice-PST.3SG that terrain-INE be-PST.3SG
 kiilto-mato-j-a ja innostu-i niide-n **etsimise-en** kontallaan.
 glow-worm-PL- PAR and get.into- they-GEN seek-NMLZ- on.all.fours-
 PST.3SG ILL ADE.POSS3
 ‘One of the girls noticed that there were glow-worms on the ground and got into searching for them on all fours.’

8 I thank Krista Ojutkangas for this example.

In this manner, the idiomatic uses are in linked in many ways to more productive ones, although the connection is not always evident. Few uses lack an evident motivating link to the more productive uses of the local cases. Nonetheless, the network of motivating links connects even the peripheral vague uses to those that have a clear motivation.

In general, the tendency to favour dynamic case constructions is salient in Finnish. In a structural vein, the difference between internal and external cases and cases in general creates a potential for semantic difference. This article has demonstrated the different ways in which this potential has been conventionalised in the uses of the Finnish local case forms. The image-schematic construals based on spatial relations and paths play a crucial role in different motivating links between the spatial and abstract senses of the local case expressions. Nonetheless, the motivation between concrete and abstract uses is not always clear. While analogy has motivated the extensions, analogical extensions and conventionalisation have also blurred the overall picture.

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The construal of change in Finnish translative expressions

Abstract

In this article, I examine the polysemy of the Finnish translative (*-ksi/-kse*, ‘to, for’) case, and how expressions with the translative are used to construe change that is general, non-spatial and dynamic (as in *lämmitä 6 dl maitoa haalea-ksi* ‘warm 6 deciliters of milk lukewarm’; *Jakobson toteaa tällaiset deterministiset tulkinnat vääri-ksi* ‘Jakobson states these deterministic interpretations to be false’). The construal of change is a holistic phenomenon that cannot be reduced to a single grammatical element, such as the finite verb in the clause. Instead, the construal depends on the expression as a whole, as well as its wider context. I demonstrate this by conducting a syntactic and semantic analysis of the Finnish translative in which the construed change varies diversely depending on the verb and argument structure of the clause. The essential distinction I make in this analysis is between expressions of ‘actual’ and fictive change (for example, see Matsumoto 1996; Sweetser 1997; cf. Langacker 1990; Talmy 2000). I also discuss the fuzzy boundaries between change and other directional phenomena, such as purpose and consequence. Furthermore, I suggest that the Finnish cases that are traditionally described as “local cases” could be more suitably characterised in terms of dynamicity and stativity.

1 Introduction

The concepts of change and stativity are essential in human conceptualisation. This is reflected in grammar, and studies often describe the processes profiled by verbs in such terms as dynamicity and stativity, or perfectivity and imperfectivity. The same distinction is often evident in the use of adverbs, adpositions, case suffixes and, more generally, in clausal aspect. Yet from the semantic point of view, many distinctive types of change occur, and these different types of dynamicity are expressed by different linguistic means. Furthermore, different lexical and grammatical elements construe these changes in various ways that reflect different types of conceptualisation.

My analysis focusses on the polysemy of the Finnish translative (*-ksi/-kse*, ‘to/for’) case that is particularly used to express different types of general, non-spatial change and dynamicity which convey the beginning of a new state or role (*lämmitä 6 dl maitoa haalea-ksi*; warm-IMP 6 dl milk-PAR lukewarm-TRA; ‘warm 6 decilitres of milk lukewarm’; *Jakobson toteaa tällaiset deterministiset tulkinnat vääri-ksi*; Jakobson state-3SG this.kind.of-PL deterministic-PL interpretation-PL false-PL-TRA; ‘Jakobson states these deterministic interpretations to be false’). As a theoretical and methodological framework, I adopt Cognitive Grammar (CG), outlined by Ronald W. Langacker (for example, see 1987a; 1990; 1991; 2008). Most previous studies on the Finnish translative, as well as most other case suffixes, have either been concise parts of larger grammatical descriptions (see Setälä 1880; Penttilä 1963; Hakulinen et al. 2004), or they have focussed on one or a few particular uses of the suffix (for example, see DuBois 2014, 2023; Fong 2003; Helasvuo 1990; J. Leino 2010; Metslang 2007; Pälsi 2000). One aim of this study is therefore to provide a coherent view on the polysemy of the translative through the CG framework. My data consist of 2 120 translative clauses collected from the Finnish daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1981.¹

In Section 2, I briefly examine the dimensions of construal as well as how change is construed through grammar. The construal of change is viewed as a holistic phenomenon that depends on the expression as a whole and cannot be reduced to a single grammatical feature, such as the finite verb in the clause. Sections 3–6 provide a detailed syntactic and semantic analysis of the Finnish translative case. In Section 3, I discuss the position of the translative in the system of Finnish adverbial cases, emphasising dynamicity and stativity instead of locality. The latter is the center of traditional depictions. My detailed analysis of translative expressions makes the essential division between actual change, where the referred situation is dynamic (Section 4), and fictive change, where the situation is static but its conceptualisation is dynamic (Section 5). Section 6 contains a discussion on the fuzzy boundaries between change and other related phenomena, such as purpose and consequence. Section 7 summarises and discusses the main conclusions of this study.

2 *Construal of change*

Cognitive grammar particularly emphasises the construal of linguistic expressions (see Langacker 2008, ch. 3). It has been pointed out that even ostensibly synonymous expressions embody considerable variation in terms of how they view the situation. Change, on the other hand, forms an essential

1 This corpus was initially collected for a research project on Finnish local cases (P. Leino et al. 1990). Some elements that were considered to be irrelevant for the description of case suffixes were excluded in the data collection (see P. Leino 1990). Additionally, I have simplified some complex clauses to better illustrate the use of focal features. This has not affected the nature of the analysed features in this study.

category in human cognition. The CG position on change is that it constitutes a very basic image schema, a highly schematic configurational concept that is independent of any particular experiential domain such as time or space (Langacker 2008, 33).² The centrality of change in human conceptualisation suggests that it is likewise essential and reflected in a variety of linguistic categories and grammatical structures. This change can be defined in various ways, and alternative linguistic expressions construe this change differently.

Change is a central dimension in the meaning of linguistic expressions. This arises from the *temporal dynamicity* of the linguistic construal, that is, the fact that all conceptualisation occurs dynamically through processing time (Langacker 2008, 79–85). However, the overall role of change in grammar is highly dependent on how change is defined. In terms of linguistic conceptualisation, there are at least two very general alternative definitions of change, one narrow and one broad. Using a narrow definition, change only occurs when a shift occurs in a basic conceptual relationship between a trajectory and a landmark, such as inclusion, separation, identity, association, and contact (see Nurminen 2011; Sivonen 2005, 52–53; on different conceptual relationships in CG, see Langacker 1987, 230; Lakoff 1987, 420). For example, this occurs in the expression *Bob rushed to the class*, which has the basic conceptual relationship between Bob and the class changing from separation to inclusion. This conceptualisation is conveyed most visibly by the dynamic motion verb *rush* and the lative preposition *to* in the expression. Nonetheless, according to this definition, expressions such as *Bob walked around the lake*, would not express change because no considerable shift occurs in the conceptual relation (vicinity) between entities. This is not changed by the finite verb *walk* conveying a dynamic action that causes the entity to move through space, thus continuously altering the spatial relationship between entities.

This exclusion could be avoided by adopting a broader definition of change. According to this line of thought, any verbally expressed alteration in a thing or a relationship constitutes a dynamic activity. This definition would, for instance, justify regarding the expression *Bob walked round the lake* as describing change. The same inclusion could likewise be extended to expressions that describe a seemingly static situation with a dynamic construal. This subjective, virtual or fictive change (for example, see Matsumoto 1996; Sweetser 1997; cf. Langacker 1990; 2008; Talmy 2000, introduction to this volume) is apparent in an expression such as *detached garage*, where the only dynamic process being described (*detached*) is virtual and intended to specify the difference between an entity and the prototype (Langacker 2008, 529; example cited in *ibid.*). A somewhat similar phenomenon is active in an expression such as *These articles get longer every year*, which construes the difference between entities as a change “in an abstracted role description” (*ibid.*). The most often mentioned instance of fictive change is the case of fictive motion (for example, see Langacker 1990; 2008, 75; Talmy 2000). For this type of change, the focus of the conceptualizer scans along an object,

2 According to Langacker (2008, 33), other such phenomena include, for example, contrast, boundary, continuity, inclusion and separation.

which leads to the construal of a static situation as dynamic movement (*The railroad goes from Detroit to Chicago*).

The conception of time is crucial to change because all dynamicity necessarily occurs through time. Langacker divides relationships into two categories according to how they conceptualize time, a simplex and complex. In a simplex, a configuration is “fully manifested at a single point in time” and construes a non-processual relationship (Langacker 2008, 99, 109). The second category, a complex, is formed of multiple component relationships “typically manifested successively through a continuous span of time” (Langacker 2008, 117–118). The preposition *in* is offered as an example of a simplex, non-processual relationship because it profiles only one spatial configuration. The preposition *into*, by contrast, forms a complex because it profiles a series of states, even though they are not presented as evolving processually in a same manner as with a finite verb, such as *enter* (ibid.). From the standpoint of change, a simplex can be considered as a static relationship and a complex as a dynamic one.

Another central theme related to change in CG is the aktionsart and perfectivity of finite verbs. Langacker (2008, 104) observes that verbs profile a temporal relation, that is, a process that evolves over time. Langacker (2008, 147–160) describes dynamic verbs as perfective (*fall, kick*) and static verbs as imperfective (*be, sit*). The semantic archetypes behind these categories are the notions of event and state that Langacker considers to be comparable to the count (object) versus mass (substance) division of nouns. The perfectives are conceptualised as being bounded because they express events that are construed as having a beginning and an end, “involving some kind of change through time” (ibid.). By contrast, the imperfectives are conceptualised as unbounded because they express “stable situations of indefinite duration” (ibid.), construing the process homogeneously. Nonetheless, as Langacker (2008, 148–151) points out, the distinction must be conceived of as flexible, with one reason being that the same verbs are used differently in different contexts.

In addition to verbs, CG considers change in many other grammatical categories. The grammatical elements in CG other than verbs describe an atemporal relation which construes a complex relation holistically in summary scanning, leaving the temporal evolution of the relation out of the focus. However, a strict differentiation between temporal and atemporal relations is problematic because the dynamic relationship always has at least an implicit temporal dimension for the change to occur. Perhaps a more suitable description would be that, in grammatical elements other than verbs, the temporality is not “in focus” or “highlighted” in the same manner (see Langacker 2008, 117–118). This perspective can be applied to, for example, infinitives and participles (Langacker 2008, 119–120, 122), adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions that profile a dynamic relationship (such as *complete, quickly, when*), nouns such as *catastrophy*, and *earthquake* that reify the process into an abstract thing (see Langacker 2008, 134), and to case suffixes (see the introduction to this volume).

The interpretation of dynamicity for a linguistic element eventually derives from the complete expression with its holistic meaning. For example,

different linguistic constructions produce a different construal of change, even with the same verbal basis (as in *He opened the door; The door opened*; see Langacker 2008, 369). Langacker (1997, 248) has illustrated this by stating that syntactically related words work each other's meanings, that is, they reciprocally influence their interpretations. Geeraerts (1993, 259–260) describes this phenomenon as *searchlight* and Talmy (2000: 256) as *windowing of attention*: by building up a certain syntactic environment, the speaker can direct the hearer's attention to a particular meaning or aspect of a linguistic unit. Finally, just as the words and morphemes work together to contribute to meanings in a clause, the clauses also act in relation to each other in discourse as there is “no definite boundary between grammar and discourse” (Langacker 2008, 499). The scope of this empirical study, however, is limited to the analysis of the translative in clausal contexts.

3 The translative in the Finnish case system

The translative is one of the cases that are typically used in adverbials (adjuncts). Three of them – the instructive, comitative and abessive – are prototypically used in the adverbials of manner, means and instrument; the rest are usually referred to as “local cases” (Figure 1; introduction to this volume).

DIRECTIONALITY:	SEPARATIVE 'from'	INCLUSIVE 'in/at'	LATIVE 'to'
QUALITY:			
INTERNAL	elative <i>lasi-sta</i> 'from the glass'	inessive <i>lasi-ssa</i> 'in the glass'	illative <i>lasi-in</i> 'into the glass'
EXTERNAL	ablative <i>kato-lta</i> 'from the roof'	adessive <i>kato-lla</i> 'on the roof'	allative <i>kato-lle</i> 'onto the roof'
"GENERAL"	(elative) [changing] <i>poliisi-sta</i> 'from police'	essive [being] <i>poliisi-na</i> 'as police'	translative [changing] <i>poliisi-ksi</i> '(in)to police'

Figure 1. The Finnish local cases (cf. Siro 1964; also P. Leino 1990a; Huumo 2009; Huumo & Ojutkangas 2006).

As is evident in Figure 1, Finnish cases that express locality are usually conceived of in terms of two interconnecting categorisations, the dimension of directionality and the dimension of quality. The third category of quality is that of the “general local cases”, aimed at describing the essive and translative as well as the non-local separative use of the elative (ibid.; see also the introduction and Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). However, as we shall see in the following sections, the notion of locality does not adequately fit the function of translative expressions, except for few lexicalised local adverbs (see Section 6). The same problem is evident in the use of the essive (‘as’) case (Hynönen 2016, in this volume).

As the essive and translative (as well as non-local uses of the elative) do not adequately fit the traditional description, I propose an alternative categorisation for the Finnish adverbial cases based on dynamicity and stativity. Even Siro (1964, 30–31), who was an early proponent of the model introduced above, divides the traditional local cases in Figure 1 into “cases of change” and “cases of being” because the separative and lative cases more closely resemble one another semantically than the inclusive/locative cases. These two broad categories of change and being usually also occur with their own sets of verbs that Siro (1964) calls “verbs of change” and “verbs of being”. However, this dichotomy could be elevated to be more central to the description of adverbial cases than locality (Figure 2).

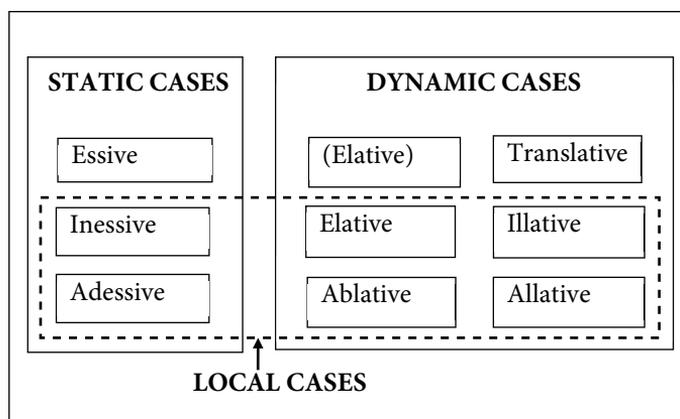


Figure 2. A dynamicity-based view of the Finnish adverbial cases

In Figure 2, the former category of local cases is divided by stativity and dynamicity into *static cases* and *dynamic cases*. In this manner, the non-local essive and translative cases are not categorised as local cases, but as general static and dynamic cases. Additionally, the number of local cases is reduced to only six cases that actually denote locality in their prototypical use. The essential difference with the earlier descriptions is that the “cases of being” and “cases of change” are traditionally considered as being subordinate to the locality. In figure 2, however, locality is described as subordinate to the dimension of stativity and dynamicity. In other words, movement is conceived of as a type of change – not the other way around. This is in line with the position cited above by Langacker that change, as a fundamental configurational concept, is independent from the experiential domain of space (Langacker 2008, 33). Instructive, comitative and abessive form their own functional group and are not included in Figure 2.

The Finnish translative case is marked morphologically by the suffix *-ksi* or *-kse-* (*talo-ksi*; house-TRA; *talo-kse-ni*; house-TRA-1POSS).³ The prototypical translative expression is connected to a noun, adjective, or pronominal stem in a resultative construction that construes a change

3 The latter suffix occurs before the possessive suffix and in some lexicalised local adverbs, such as *taa-kse* ‘[moving] behind’ and *luo-kse* ‘[moving] near’.

relation between an earlier state of an entity and the result.⁴ The focus of this study is on how the translative profiles a relationship between the prominent participant in the expression, the trajector, and the secondary focus, the landmark (Langacker 1987, 217–220, 231–243; 2008, 70–73; introduction to this volume). As in other Finnish expressions containing an adverbial case, the subject (in intransitive clauses) or object (in transitive clauses) is usually categorised as the trajector and the stem to which the suffix is attached as a landmark (see Huumo & Ojutkangas 2006, 12; introduction to this volume). For example, in the intransitive expression *Hän tul-i iloise-ksi* (s/he become-PST.3SG happy-TRA ‘s/he became happy’), the personal pronoun *hän*, as a subject of the clause, represents the trajector that undergoes the process expressed by the construction with a finite verb. The result of the process is then construed by the landmark, which is expressed by the adjective stem *iloise-* connected to the translative suffix *-ksi*. Respectively, in the transitive clause *Minä te-i-n häne-t iloise-ksi* (I make-PST-1SG s/he-ACC happy-TRA ‘I made him/her happy’), the trajector is expressed by the object *hänet*, while the landmark is expressed by the same adjective inflected in the translative case. Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated later in Sections 4–6, the translative is also used to express many other types of change, depending on the other linguistic elements in the expression, such as the verb, subject, object and other adverbials.

4 Actual change: resultative expressions

The prototypical uses of the Finnish translative are found in different resultative constructions that express an entity undergoing change (for example, see Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1259; on resultativity, see also Boas 2003). The change in these expressions can be labelled as ‘actual’ as opposed to the ‘fictive’ change discussed in Section 5. The adverbial in the translative case refers to a result that is caused by a dynamic process conveyed by the finite verb in the clause (see also Hakulinen 2004 § 482; Fong 2003; Pälsi 2000).⁵ Syntactically, the translative phrase is usually analysed as a nominal predicate, where the formal properties of the adverbial are combined with

- 4 In addition to nominals, the translative can be attached to nominal verb forms such as infinitives (*tehdäkseen*; do-1INF-TRA-POSS3 ‘to do’) and participles like *tehtäväkseen*; do-PASS-PTCP-TRA-POSS3 ‘for himself/herself to do’). Due to practical considerations, these expressions have been left outside the scope of this article. (On the translative in the infinitive word forms, see P. Leino 2005; Pekkarinen 2005; 2011.)
- 5 To make things simple, I refer to the head of the translative phrase as a verb, which is usually the case. That said, Finnish has a deverbal noun (most often derived with a derivational suffix *-minen*) that can also function as a head of the translative phrase (as in *yhteiskunnallise-n elämä-n palauttaminen normaali-ksi* [social-GEN life-GEN returning normal-TRA] ‘returning of the social life back to normal’). My data also contain some clauses, most probably newspaper headlines, in which there is no clear head (*autoradiopuhelu-t automaattis-i-ksi* [car.radio.call-PL automatic-PL-TRA] ‘car radio calls to be automatic’; cf. Västi 2012).

the semantic qualities of the predicative, that is, the ability to characterise the participants (subject, object, or oblique) of an event or state (Hakulinen – Karlsson 1979, 211–213; Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 908, 974; Lundgren 1992, 1; Vilkuna 2000: 169–170). The nominal predicate can be a noun, pronoun or an adjective, and this predicate may function both as an adjunct and an oblique. In addition to the translative, essive, ablative and adessive expressions can also function as the nominal predicates in Finnish (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 979). The nominal predicate differs from other syntactic functions in that it can agree either with the subject or the phrase it predicates. This distinction in agreement marks a certain difference in point of view: when the nominal predicate congrues with the plural phrase it predicates, it portrays the referent group distributively as separate entities, whereas the singular form describes the group as a collective: *Lapse-t o-ivat saira-i-na ~ sai-raa-na*; child-PL be-3PL sick-PL-ESS ~ sick-ESS; ‘children are sick’ (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1286; examples cited from *ibid.*; see also Lundgren 1992; Pajunen 2000; Hynönen 2016.)

In intransitive clauses, the translative phrase refers to the subject, whereas in transitive clauses, the translative phrase refers to the object of the clause (Siro 1964, 26–29; from the perspective of CG, see P. Leino 1989). Concerning semantic roles (see Langacker 2008, 366), the subject of a transitive clause usually represents the agent that causes the change, whereas the object expresses the patient that undergoes the change (1). The subject in intransitive clauses can be either an agent (2) or a patient (3).

- (1) Kosti ja Jouko palkkas-i-vat Jouko-n vaimo-n **reskontra-ksi**
 name and name hire-PST-3PL Jouko-GEN wife-ACC personal.ledger-TRA
 ‘Kosti and Jouko hired Jouko’s wife as a personal ledger’
- (2) Jyväskylä mieli-i liki 90 000 asukkaan **kaupungi-ksi**
 name aims.at.being-3SG nearly 90 000 inhabitants-GEN city-TRA
 ‘Jyväskylä aims at being a city of nearly 90 000 inhabitants.’
- (3) meijeri käv-i pian **ahtaa-ksi**
 dairy become-PST.3SG soon tight-TRA
 ‘soon the dairy became tight’

Besides the division between transitive and intransitive expressions, translative expressions can be divided syntactically and semantically into two groups according to the verb in the clause. The first group consists of change-of-state expressions and has the translative phrase serving an adjunct to a dynamic verb that signifies some type of action, intention or declaration (4). The second group consists of clauses that always have an object, regardless of the typical dynamicity or transitivity of the verb (5–6) (Pajunen 2001, 152–153). When the object occurs with a transitive verb, the object is uncharacteristic in comparison to the typical uses of the verb (6).

- (4) häne-n idea-nsa kehitty-y luonnokse-sta **valmii-ksi tuottee-ksi**
 she-GEN idea-POSS₃ develop-3SG draft-ELA finished-TRA product-TRA
 ‘her idea develops from a draft to a finished product’

- (5) Suomi pyristel-i ensi jakso-n **maalittoma-ksi**
 Finland struggle-PST.3SG first period-ACC goalless-TRA
 ‘Finland struggled the first period goalless’
- (6) syö-mme-kö me itse-mme **saira-i-ksi** vai **terve-i-ksi**
 eat-1PL-INT we self-3SG.POSS sick-PL-TRA or healthy-PL-TRA
 ‘do we eat ourselves sick or healthy’

The comprehensive grammar of contemporary Finnish (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 481) refers to the first expression type as the “change-of-state pattern” (*tilanmuutosmuotti*) with the term “pattern” (*muotti*) being closely comparable to what Langacker (2008, 167–173) describes as *constructional schema*, and what in construction grammar is referred to as a *construction* (for example, see Fillmore & Kay 1995; Goldberg 1995; 2006; Fried & Östman 2004). By contrast, Pälsi (2000, 214–221) adopts a more strict position when defining constructions (see Goldberg 1995) by stating that this expression type does not fulfill the non-compositionality requirement of constructions. The main argument by Pälsi is that the meaning of the expression can be predicted adequately from the sum of its parts, namely the noun and verb constructions, intransitive and transitive constructions and object complement construction. However, the second expression type meets her requirement of non-compositionality (see Goldberg 1995). Pälsi refers to it as the *extrinsic object construction* because the subject performs the action described by the verb so completely and intensively that it makes the object move into the state expressed by the nominal predicate (Pälsi 2000, 248). Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 482) categorise the second expression type to be part of the same “resultative pattern” that also occurs with adverbs and cases other than the translative (*hakata joku sairaalaan* [to.beat someone hospital-ILL] ‘beat someone into hospital’; *jyrätä suunnitelma läpi* [steamroll plan through] ‘push a plan through’). Hakulinen et al further state that the presence of the object is based on the entire expression and not on the transitivity of the verb (ibid.). It is essential to notice that the requirement of non-compositionality plays less central role in construction grammar than in the previous analysis by Pälsi (2000) described above (for examples, see Goldberg 2006). I adopt this broader orientation in this study.

From the perspective of CG, the process construed by both resultative constructions can be interpreted metaphorically as a realisation of the PATH schema outlined by George Lakoff (1987, 275). According to this scheme, the dynamic verb expresses the nature of the process, which has been described as movement along the PATH. The trajector of the predication profiled by the subject or object in the clause is thus the entity that undergoes change. The landmark profiled by the stem of the translative indicates the GOAL of the path. The SOURCE in Finnish resultative expressions is typically manifested in the relative phrase (6), but it is not necessarily explicit in the clause. In the latter cases, the source can be thought of as being included in the trajector, such as a feature that changes as a result of the process, but it is not foregrounded in the construal of the expression. The path schema can be used to metaphorically illustrate dynamic processes. However, it portrays the conceptualisation of change metaphorically as a spatial relationship. As was

argued in Section 3, there is no reason to consider change as a sub-category of movement, but rather the opposite—movement is a type of change.

As demonstrated above, Finnish resultative expressions form at least two separate constructions or construction groups that profile a dynamic relation of change. Nevertheless, the translative expressions discussed in this section can be categorised semantically and morpho-syntactically into four subcategories according to the type of change that is conceptualised. I refer to these subcategories as alteration (Section 4.1), switch (4.2), transition (4.3), and coming into existence (4.4).⁶

4.1 ALTERATION

The actual change or result denoted by the translative is profiled more specifically as an alteration. On this construal, the trajector of the relationship changes with respect to one or more of its existing features. For these expressions, the translative is connected to an adjective stem that signifies the feature or quality (landmark) that comes to, or is increased in the thing profiled by the trajectory (7–9).⁷ The trajector and landmark differ in relation to specificity: the trajector profiles a THING and the landmark its FEATURE. The thing undergoing change can be anything from an animate and inanimate thing, a collective, to abstract things, states and events (see also Helasvuo 1990):

- 6 Of the earlier grammatical descriptions, Setälä (1880, 12) briefly mentions the difference between a change in a characteristic or state (alteration) and transition. He also differentiates between real (actual) and imagined (fictive) change (see section 5). Penttilä (1963, 357–359) specifies this description by saying that the nominal predicate in the translative case can also signal the forming of a new state of affairs (coming into existence).

Helasvuo (1990) describes the translative expressions used in nominal predicates as *identifying*. By this, she refers to a semantic field described by Jackendoff (1983, 194) as not a spatial location but belonging to a category or having a certain feature. Helasvuo assigns four different meanings to this identifying translative: change (*meijeri käv-i pian ahtaa-ksi*; dairy get-PST.3SG soon confined-TRA; ‘soon the dairy got confined’), directionality (*Pekka aiko-o insinööri-ksi*; Pekka aims.to.be-3SG engineer-TRA; ‘Pekka aims to be an engineer’), purpose (*pienperhee-n tue-ksi on etsi-ttä-vä mu-i-ta vaihtoehto-j-a*; small.family support-TRA be.3SG search-PASS-PTCP other-PL-PAR alternative-PL-PAR ‘one has to search for other alternatives as support for the small family’) and remaining (*sonaatti jä-i hieman harhaileva-ksi*; sonata leave-PST.3SG somewhat wandering-TRA ‘the sonata remained somewhat wandering’). However, these semantic categories are not described much further. In this article, the first three meanings are treated as alteration and transition. Translative expressions that denote remaining are discussed in section 5.5.

- 7 According to CG, adjectives profile an atemporal relationship between a thing and a cognitive domain (see P. Leino 1993, 82). Concerning the adjective *haalea* ‘luke warm’ in (11), for example, this domain is a temperature that is portrayed as a scale or a cline. In this relation, the landmark (LUKEWARM) construes a part in this scale on which the trajector (MILK) is situated (on the scalarity of adjectives in Finnish, see Seppänen – Herlin 2009).

- (12) Väinö-n painajaise-sta rieha käänty-y **Lemmingi-n taivashä-i-ksi**
 name-GEN nightmare-ELA happening turn-3SG name-GEN heaven.wedding-PL- TRA
 ‘From Väinö’s nightmare the happening turns to the heavenly wedding of Lemminki’

In the expressions of switch, the entities profiled by the trajector and landmark can be schematically equivalent (11), or the landmark can be construed as more specific. The latter occurs either when the translative is connected to an adjective stem (10), or the clause has another adverbial in the relative (12). Similar to the expressions of alteration in Section 4.1, the relative profiles the SOURCE of the PATH, whereas the translative profiles the GOAL. Also, like alteration, what is switched can be an animate or inanimate thing or collective, or it can be an abstract thing, state or event.

4.3 TRANSITION

The translative is often also used to express a transition to a social or otherwise functional role. The trajector construes an animate or inanimate THING, whereas a landmark describes a ROLE, and the thing is conceived of entering it. The translative is connected to a noun stem, with rare exceptions being adjectives that denote placing, such as *seuraava* ‘next’, *vallitseva* ‘prevalent’, *tehokkain* ‘most efficient’ and *paras* ‘best.’⁹ The trajector and landmark do not belong to the same level of specificity (switch), and the landmark does not profile a quality of the trajector (alteration) but an abstract position, which the trajector inhabits after the process of transition.

The roles differ with regard to the semantic features of the trajector and landmark. ASSIGNMENTS consist of roles that are occupied by a human. Long assignments are usually occupations, leadership positions or other types of responsibilities (13). Shorter assignments are generally less institutional (14). STATUS is conveyed by institutional roles that are also occupied by human participants but are not associated with an assignment or duty, such as degrees, honorifics, or placing connected to sports (15–16). FUNCTION can be activated as a role either by entities that are human (17), inanimate (18) or abstract (19). Function consists of a vast array of different roles and, more specifically, it can sometimes be conceptualised as an INSTRUMENT intended for achieving a specific goal or purpose.

- (13) lääkäre-i-stä osa koulute-tta-isi-in **opettaj-i-ksi**
 doctor-PL-ELA part train-PASS-COND teacher-pl-TRA
 ‘part of doctors would be trained as teachers’
- (14) **esitelm-i-en** **pitäj-i-ksi** on kutsu-ttu asiantuntijo-i-ta
 presentation-PL-GEN holder-PL-TRA be.3SG invite-PTCP expert-PL-PAR
 ‘experts have been invited as givers of presentations’

9 The absence of adjectives is probably motivated by the fact that they are prototypically used to profile a FEATURE that is not suitable for a role because it is a relation, not an entity (cf. P. Leino 1993, 82).

- (15) J.Y. väittel-i **tohtori-ksi** Helsingi-n yliopisto-ssa
 J.Y. defend-PST.3SG doctor-TRA name-GEN university-INE
 'J.Y. defended his/her doctorate in the university of Helsinki'
- (16) Terhi juoks-i **A-tyttö-j-en** **Suome-n** **mestar-i-ksi**
 name run-PST.3SG A-girl-PL-GEN Finland-GEN champion-PL-TRA
 'Terhi ran for Finnish Champion in A-girls'
- (17) komentaja ei halun-nut **vangi-ksi** talonpoika-a
 commander NEG-3SG want-PTCP prisoner-TRA farmer-PAR
 'the commander did not want to take a farmer as prisoner'
- (18) käännä toinen puoli taikinalevy-stä **kanne-ksi**
 turn-IMP.2SG other side dough-plate-ELA lid-TRA
 'turn the other side of dough plate as a lid'
- (19) hän on pys-ty-nyt kanavoi-ma-an **tue-kse-en**
 he/she be.3SG can-PASS-PTCP channel-INF-ILL support-TRA-POSS
 mon-i-a vaivaa-va-n tyytymättömyyde-n
 many-PL-PAR bother-PTCP-ACC dissatisfaction-ACC
 'he/she has been able to channel the dissatisfaction that bothers many as his/her support'

The verbs in transitional translative expressions vary somewhat according to the role described above. Verbs that are connected to ASSIGNMENT or STATUS are usually mental, communicative and performative verbs that describe wanting, planning, asking or commanding, such as *hakea* 'apply', *kutsua* 'invite', *määrätä* 'order', *nimittää* 'appoint', *pyrkii* 'strive for', and *valita* 'choose'. Placing that is associated with different sports constitute an exception in the expression of struggling, rising, declining or some action related to a sport (as in *juosta* 'run', *kiilata* 'wedge', *kiriä* 'spurt', *kohota* 'rise', *kurottaa* 'reach'). These verbs are by nature often intransitive. Verbs connected to other roles express other actions such as moving, rising, declining, getting, having to and different processes that lead to change that also at least imply a transition into a role (as in *kouluttaa johtajaksi* 'train as leader', *asettaa presidenttiehdokkaaksen* 'set someone as one's presidential candidate, *paketoida kursseiksi* 'pack as courses'). Verbs that are most typically connected to alteration, such as *muuttua* 'change [intransitive]', *muuttaa* 'change' [transitive], *tehdä* 'do' and *tulla* 'become', appear to be less frequent in expressions of transition. Nevertheless, the division between the translative expressions of transition and alteration is not categorical. The transition to a new role often means, according to the interlocutors' encyclopaedic knowledge, some type of change in the nature or behaviour of an entity. This is especially apparent in expressions that have a dynamic verb (*tais-i-n-pa suunnitel-la kappalee-n sovittamis-ta hitaa-ksi balladi-ksi*; might-PST-1SG-CLT plan-INF song-GEN arrangement-PAR slow-TRA ballad-TRA; 'I seemed to have planned arranging the song to a slow ballad').

4.4 COMING INTO EXISTENCE

It has been argued by Hakulinen et al (2004 § 904) that the Finnish translative construes change only in already existing entities. This would separate the translative from the elative that predominantly expresses the birth or creation of a new feature or thing in a construction X-ELA + Verb + Y, as in *leivonnais-i-sta tul-i suu-ssa.sula-v-i-a*; pastry-PL-ELA become-PL.3SG mouth-INE.melt-PTCP-PK-PAR; ‘pastries turned out to be delicious’; *lapse-sta tul-i poika*; child-ELA become-PST.3SG boy; ‘the child turned out to be a boy’ (examples cited from *ibid.*; see also Onikki-Rantajääskö this volume). However, my data consist of many translative expressions that denote the coming into existence of a new entity.

- (20) koko vuode-n tulos muodostu-u tyydyttä-vä-ksi
 whole year-GEN result form-3SG satisfy-PTCP-TRA
 ‘the sum total of the whole year turns out adequate’
- (21) voi jäsenkunna-n kynnyksysymykse-ksi tul-la jopa se, o-vat-ko
 can-3SG membership-GEN threshold.question-TRA become-INF even it be-3PL-Q
 ‘the threshold question of the membership can even become whether –’
- (22) **diesele-i-den kuninkaa-ksi** teh-ty Mercedes-Benz 300
 diesel-PL-GEN king-TRA make-PASS.PTCPname 300
 ‘Mercedes -Benz 300 that has been made the king of diesels’
- (23) hallitus on anta-nut naisvaliokunna-lla **tehtävä-ksi** laati-a säännö-t
 government be.3SG give-PST women.committee-ALL assignment-TRA write-INFrule-PL
 ‘the government has given the women committee the assignment to write the rules’

The trajector of the relation can be either an entity that is either concrete or an abstract that only exists as a result of the dynamic process described by the finite verb. In both instances, the word representing the trajector is usually a noun, although subordinate clauses (20) and non-finite word forms (23) are also used. The construction seems to favour abstract and inanimate trajectors. My data contain no instances of human participants, although intuitively they could be possible (such as *hän vain syntyi-i nero-ksi*; he/she just born-PST-3SG genius-TRA; ‘he was only born a genius’, Google 30.6.2011). The landmark of the relation, however, construes the form of existence that the trajector occurs. The instances involving the translative connected to a noun stem (21–23) are somewhat comparable to the ROLE expressions described above. When the case is connected to an adjective stem (20), the landmark profiles a FEATURE and the expressions more resemble the expressions of alteration described previously in this section. An independent sub-group of this construction is formed by expressions that have the trajector represented by a figure. This figure often expresses a quantity on a conventional scale, such as points, counts and placings (24–26).

- (24) Arto Laine isk-i **tilantee-ksi** 1–2
 name name strike-PST.3SG situation-TRA
 ‘Arto Laine stroke 1–2 as the score’

- (25) **vuode-n keskihinna-ksi tul-i silti 613 dollari-a**
 year-GEN average.price-TRA become-PST still 613 dollar-PAR
 ‘the average price became still 613 dollars’
- (26) **maajoukkue-t, joide-n sijoituks-i-ksi tul-i-vat vasta neljäs ja viides**
 national.team-PL who-GEN ranking-PL-TRA turn.out- PST-3SG only fourth and fifth
 ‘national teams whose rankings turned out only fourth and fifth’

The verbs that occur in the expressions of coming into existence predominantly include general change-of-state verbs (as in *mennä* ‘go’, *muodostaa* ‘form’, *tehdä* ‘do’, *tulla* ‘become’ and *valmistua* ‘be finished’) and verbs of dynamic action (*ampua* ‘shoot’, *antaa* ‘give’, *heittää* ‘throw’ and *iskeä* ‘strike’). The cognitive verbs in my data describe decision-making (*valita* ‘choose’) and planning or imagining something into a premeditated form of existence (*suunnitella* ‘plan’). The communicative verbs in these expressions describe corresponding resultative declarativity (*määrätä* ‘order’) and suggesting (*esittää* ‘present’, *suositella* ‘recommend’).

It is difficult to describe the difference between the translative and elative expressions of coming into existence. One reason for this difficulty is that the verbs used in the expressions are not entirely the same (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 904), which makes it challenging to form functional paraphrases.¹⁰ Nonetheless, in general, these expressions can be compared in terms of construing different points of view. Metslang (2007) has observed, following the terms adopted by Erelt (2005), that the elative can be envisioned as a *source marking* (*Mercedes-Benz 300:sta tul-i diesel-i-den kuningas*; Mercedes-Benz.300-ELA become-PST.3SG diesel-PL-GEN king; ‘Mercedes-Benz 300 became the king of diesels’) and the translative as a *goal marking* element (*Mercedes-Benz 300 tuli dieseleiden kuninkaaksi*; Mercedes-Benz 300 become-PST.3SG diesel-PL-GEN king-TRA; ‘Mercedes-Benz 300 became the king of diesels’) (cf. Jokela & Nummila 2015). This position is supported by the fact that no translative expressions in this construction occur with an elative phrase. Furthermore, the goal of the process in elative expressions is expressed by the nominal predicate (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 904). The similarity between elative and translative expressions can also be observed in the expressions of alteration analysed earlier: *me-i-stä tule-e kuuluis-i-a*; we-PL-ELA become-3SG famous-PL-PAR; ‘we become famous’ ~ *me tule-mme kuuluis-i-ksi*; we become-3SG famous-TRA; ‘we become famous’ (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 904, examples cited from *ibid.*). Even though the constructions may seem synonymous, their differences in form is reflected

10 According to Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 904), only elative expressions can be used to describe a thing that takes time (*Kokoukse-sta tul-i vaikea*; Meeting-ELA become-PST.3SG hard ~ **Kokous tul-i vaikea-ksi*; Meeting become-PST-3SG hard-TRA ‘The meeting became hard’). However, even though the provided example is correct, many counter examples can also be found, such as *I Musici-n ilta luostari-ssa muodostu-i loistava-ksi triumfi-ksi* I Music-GEN night monastery-INE is.formed-PST-3SG brilliant-TRA triumph-TRA; ‘I Music’s night at the monastery became a brilliant triumph’.

in their different construals. In translative expressions, the trajector (subject of the clause) profiles the entity that is undergoing change, while in elative expressions, it is profiled with the landmark marked by the elative. This may affect the changing entity so that it is presented as more active in translative expressions.

5 Fictive change: cognitive and communicative processes

Some CG scholars have pointed out that linguistic conceptualisation of events tends to lean towards certain dynamism (see Langacker 2008, 31–32; Talmy 2000, 171–172). In other words, speakers frequently use semantically dynamic elements when they refer to static situations. This has been generally identified as fictive dynamicity, and the usual example of this concerns motion that is subjective (Langacker 1990), virtual (Langacker 2008, 75), or fictive (Talmy 2000) and here it is the mental conceptualisation that is dynamic, not the actual event being expressed (such as *The road goes from the mansion to the church*). Fictive dynamicity is not restricted to motion, but can be observed in other types of change as well, labelled fictive change (see Matsumoto 1996; Sweetser 1997; Langacker 2008, 530).

Fictive change is also expressed in the Finnish translative expressions that occur in the presence of mental verbs, that is, verbs that are used to encode any psychological activity and lexicalise human experience as well as to interpret things and their relations (Pajunen 2001, 296). For example, in the clause *Elomaa-n äkkiputous tulkit-tiin kommunistie-n mieliala-n ilmaukse-ksi* (Elomaa-GEN sudden.drop interpret-PASS.PST communist-PL-GEN mood-GEN expression-TRA; ‘Elomaa’s sudden drop was interpreted as an expression of mood by the communists’) Elomaa’s drop (trajectory) is conceptualised dynamically with the translative phrase expressing the mood by the communists (landmark) through the act of interpretation. Mental verbs thus describe both subjective action, as in acts that are perceptive, emotive and cognitive, and intersubjective action, such as speech and other modes of communication (ibid.; see Croft 1993, 55). Mental verbs embody considerable syntactic and semantic variation (ibid; Levin 1993, 188–189; Rips – Conrad 1989).¹¹ Due to their construed dynamicity, many of these

11 This section presents my analysis of mental verbs that do not resemble the resultative expressions described in Section 4. They differ in this manner from the declarative speech act verbs, where the linguistic activity causes a change of state in ‘objective’ reality (for example, see Searle 1969; Goddard 1998, 135–155), or verbs of wanting, hoping and willing that intend it to happen. The difference between these types of mental verbs can also be demonstrated by examining their near-synonymous subordinate *että* ‘that’ clause paraphrases compared to translative expressions. Verbs of wanting, hoping and willing take a subordinate *että* clause with a dynamic change-of-state verb (*halua-n kirjailija-ksi*; I want-1SG writer-TRA; ‘I want to become a writer’ ~ *halua-n, että minu-sta tule-e kirjailija* I want-1SG that I-ELA become-3SG writer; ‘I want that I become I writer’). Verbs analysed in this section, on the other hand, take a static verb in the *että* ‘that’ clause (*luul-i-n hän-tä kirjailija-ksi* I think-PST-1SG he/she-PAR writer-TRA; ‘I thought him to be a writer’

expressions can be thought of as profiling a somewhat similar PATH than expressions denoting actual change (Section 4). Yet this path is not always clear. For example, none of these constructions occur with an elative phrase that expresses the SOURCE of the path. As in actual change (Section 4), the translative expressions denoting fictive change can be classified syntactic-semantically as nominal predicates because they characterise the participants of an event or state.

Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 485) regard the mental translative expressions as a part of a larger construction named the “evaluation pattern” (*arviointimuotti*) and verbs that they consider to be part of the construction are transitive verbs of evaluation, categorisation and testifying. Hakulinen et al also argue that the verbs *pitää* ‘like, consider’, *kokea* ‘experience, feel’ and *nähdä* ‘see, consider’, even nominal predicates with the essive are part of the same construction. They also regard verbs such as *leimautua* ‘become marked’, *osoittautua* ‘turn out to be’, and *paljastautua* ‘be revealed’ and impression verbs such as *tuntua* ‘feel’ to be intransitive equivalents of evaluation verbs. However, as expressions with these verbs (such as *arvioida* ‘assess’, *havaita* ‘detect’, *todeta* ‘note’, and *epäillä* ‘suspect’) exhibit considerable semantic differences, and as some of them even occur with different case adverbials, I have decided to analyse these expressions as occurrences of separate constructions (cf. J. Leino 2010; DuBois 2014; 2023). For my analysis, I have divided the expressions of fictive change into four semantic groups. These are expressions of perceiving and turning out (Section 5.1), evaluation and experience (5.2), declaration and definition (5.3), and calling and describing (5.4). After these mental expressions, I turn to briefly consider the translative expressions of leaving and remaining (5.5) that also have a distinctively dynamic construal.

5.1 PERCEIVING AND TURNING OUT

The transitive mental verbs in my data, such as *havaita* ‘detect’, *todeta* ‘note’ and *tunnistaa* ‘recognise’ together form a construction with an object and the nominal predicate that expresses different types of perceiving. Verbs in this category are semantically general, that is, they do not represent a certain sense (for a different perspective, see Pajunen 2001, 319–338). Verbs such as *todeta* ‘note’, *tunnustaa* ‘admit’ and *tuntea* ‘feel’ in this group can be regarded as semantically ambiguous because they also enable a communicative interpretation of declaring (*todeta*, *tunnustaa*) and experiencing (*tuntea*).

- (27) puolue on tunnusta-nut **välttämättö-mä-ksi** anta-a työläis-i-lle sananvalta-a
 party be.3SG admit-PTCP necessary-TRA give-INF worker-PL-ADE say-PAR
 ‘the party has admitted it necessary to give workers some say’

~ *luul-i-n, että hän on kirjailija* I think-PST-1SG that he/she is writer ‘I thought that he is a writer’. (See e.g. Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 485; also Kuiri 1984, 107; Penttilä 1963, 359; cf. Hakulinen – Karlsson 1979, 214, 339; Ikola 1974, 82).

- (28) ammoniakkikäsitely on Aurola-n mukaan havait-tu **hyödyllise-ksi**
 ammonium.treatment be.3SG Aurola-GEN according detect-PASS.PTCP useful-TRA
 ‘According to Aurola, ammonium treatment has been detected useful’
- (29) moottori-n ääni on tuskin **dieseli-ksi** tunniste-tta-va
 engine-GEN sound be.3SG hardly diesel-TRA notice-PASS.PTCP
 ‘the sound of the motor is hardly noticeable as diesel’

The subject of perceptive expressions is an animate thing that can be regarded semantically as an experiencer. The object NP (or concerning *tunnustaa*, the first infinitive (27) profiles the trajector of the relation: the target of perception that can either be a concrete or an abstract entity (such as a THING or an EVENT). The landmark, profiled by the stem of the translative case, is a FEATURE expressed by an adjective stem, or a THING expressed by a noun stem (29). In other words, the landmark is a feature or a category that is already obtained by the trajector, but the subjective perception of the landmark is presented as a fictive change involving the trajectory gaining the feature or category. No other adverbials with local cases, such as the elative, occur in this construction.

Expressions that contain verbs of **turning out** can be understood as forming an intransitive counterpart to the verbs of perception where the perceiver is expressed as implicit and general. The expressions of turning out convey how a thing is conceptualised as it appears to one or more agents of perception that are not necessarily coded in the construction. For the data I consulted, the verbs in this construction include *osoittautua* ‘turn out to be’, *paljastua* ‘be revealed’ and *ilmetä* ‘appear’. The trajector of the relation construes a concrete or an abstract THING or EVENT that is the target of observation. The landmark resembles the expressions of perception in that it construes a FEATURE (31) or a THING (30), which acts as an identity-constructing category that the trajector receives in the subjective act of observation.

- (30) hän ei halu-a paljastu-a **sosialistitoisinajatteli-ksi**
 he/she NEG-3SG want-INF be.revealed-INF socialist.dissenter-TRA
 ‘he/she does not want to be revealed as a socialist dissenter’
- (31) virastotyöjärjestelmä on osoittautu-nut **erittäin hyvä-ksi**
 bureau.work.system be.3SG turn.out-PTCP very good-TRA
 ‘bureau work system has turned out to be very good’
- (32) kustannus-te-n kasvu saatta-a osoittautu-a **ennakoi-tu-a suuremma-ksi**
 cost-PL-GEN growth may-3SG turn.out-INF expect-PTCP-PAR big-CMPR-TRA
 ‘the increase of costs may turn out to be bigger than expected’

The difference between the expressions of turning out and expressions of perception (see 27–29 above) is evident in their construal: the trajector in the turning out expressions is not profiled by the object but the subject of the clause. The expressions of perception have the agent of observation manifested in the subject, whereas in the expressions of turning out, the subject expresses

the target of observation, and the agent of observation is not usually coded in the expression. As a consequence, for the turning out expressions, the target of observation can be considered to be more independent in relation to the agent of observation. This means that the agent of observation in the construction of turning out is construed subjectively because it is not mentioned explicitly and is therefore a part of the linguistically construed act of observation. In contrast, the agent of observation in the construction of perception is construed objectively with the subject, that is, separately from the act of observation (see Langacker 1990; 2008, 77–78). It can be further argued that when the agent of observation is not explicitly mentioned, the result of the process is described as a feature of the target rather than being affected by the agent's actions. The observer can be mentioned explicitly by using an allative phrase (*hanke saatta-a osoittautu-a Neuvostoliito-lle edullise-mma-ksi kuin läänne-lle*; project may-3SG turn.out-INF Soviet.Union-ALL affordable-CMPR-TRA than west-ILL; 'The project may turn out to be more affordable to Soviet Union than to the west'). It is then construed semantically more as a recipient than as an active participant in the process.¹² Finally, it can be argued that the processes of both perceiving and turning out are conceptualised dynamically as a PATH with the translative NP acting as a GOAL. The SOURCE of the path (that is, the preliminary impression of the situation) is not usually mentioned explicitly. However, in expressions of turning out, the source (that is, the expected default state) can be perceived as manifested in the partitive adjunct to the translative phrase (32).

5.2 EVALUATION AND EXPERIENCE

The expressions of evaluation and experience differ from the expressions of perceiving and turning out, as discussed in section 5.1, because the feature or category (landmark) which is conceptualised as coming to the trajector is not entering the frame of conceptualisation for the first time. Additionally, of the expressions, at least evaluation may be considered as involving mental action that is more intentional and agentive than for perception or turning out.

- (33) Elomaa-n äkkiputous tulkit-tiin **kommunisti-e-n mieliala-n ilmaukse-ksi**
 name-GEN sudden.drop interpret- communist- mood-GEN expression-TRA
 PASS.PST PL-GEN
'Elomaa's sudden drop was interpreted as an expression of mood by the communists'
- (34) protestanttiväestö tunte-e itse-nsä **katkera-ksi**
 protestant.population feel-3SG itself-ACC.POSS3 bitter-TRA
 'the protestant population feels bitter'
- (35) Fabianinkatu 15 on luokitel-tu **arvokkaa-ksi rakennukse-ksi**
 name 15 be.3SG categorize-PTCP valuable-TRA building-TRA
 'Fabian Street 15 has been categorised as a valuable building'

12 Alternatively, the Soviet Union can be interpreted as a beneficiary in the process, not an observer.

- (36) **Marcosi-n uude-n yhteiskunna-n ansio-ksi** on luet-tu, että – –
 name-GEN new-GEN society-GEN achievement-TRA be.3SG consider-PTCPL that
 ‘The fact that – – has been considered an achievement by Marcos’s new society’
- (37) Määttänen ei katso-nut **aiheellise-ksi** pistäyty-ä juttus-i-lla
 name NEG-3SG see-PTCP justifiable-TRA pop.in-INF chat-PL-ADE
 ‘Määttänen did not see it justifiable to pop in for a chat’

The division between evaluative and experiential verbs is unavoidably fuzzy. Prototypically, however, evaluative verbs can be conceived of as expressing cognitive action, whereas experiential verbs convey emotive action. Both groups of verbs are transitive; semantically, they designate different processes of evaluation, classifying, comprehension, feeling and experiencing (such as *arvioida* ‘evaluate’, *katsoa* ‘look’, *kokea* ‘experience’, *luokitella* ‘categorize’, *luonnehtia* ‘depict’, *nähdä* ‘see’, *tulkita* ‘interpret’, *tuntea* ‘feel’, *ymmärtää* ‘understand’). The subject of the expression represents a human agent or experiencer. The trajector of the relation profiled by the object describes the target of the evaluation or source of the experience that can range from an any animate or inanimate THING (34–35) to an abstract EVENT (33). Besides nominals, the object is occasionally manifested as a clause (36) or a non-finite verb form (37). When the object is a noun, it always occurs in the accusative form. In effect, the choice of case serves as a divisional feature between two relations: some verbs, such as *arvioida* ‘evaluate’, are used both as a cognitive verb and a communicative verb. For these verbs, the expressions that have an accusative object describe evaluation, whereas the translative expressions that have a partitive object express description (as in *Timonen arvio-i saksalais-ta hyvin samantyyllise-ksi pelaaja-ksi* [Timonen evaluate-3SG German-PAR very similar.style-TRA player-TRA; ‘Timonen evaluates the German as a player with very similar style’; see chapter 5.4 below). Thus, these verbs are not only communicative, they are also used as cognitive verbs in certain contexts. The landmark of the relation can be either a concrete or abstract THING (35) or an abstract EVENT (33). The landmark expresses the PROPERTY or CLASS that the trajector fictively acquires due to the evaluation or experiencing process. No other adverbial phrases with local cases occur in the construction.

The evaluative expressions that have the trajector describing a quantifiable thing and the landmark construing a certain quantity that is expressed by a figure can be envisioned as forming their own conventionalised sub-construction (*lakkisien-ten keskituotanno-ksi metsämaa-lla arvioi-ti-in 480 miljoonaa kilo-a*; hymenomycete-PL.GEN average.production-TRA forest.soil-ADE estimate-PST-PASS 480 million-PAR kilo-PAR; ‘the average production of hymenomycetes on forest soil was estimated to be 480 million kilos’). By contrast, a similar but a syntactically reverse construction is formed by expressions in which the roles are backwards (*rakennuskustannukse-t on arvioi-tu 65 miljoona-ksi marka-ksi*; building.cost-PL be.3SG evaluate-PASS.PTCP 65 million-TRA markka-TRA; ‘the building costs have estimated to be 65 million marks’). There is an essential difference in the construal: the former construction presents the result of evaluation as a trajector and the target of

evaluation as a dynamically construed landmark. In the latter construction, the trajector expresses the target of evaluation and the landmark profiles the result of the evaluation.

For certain verbs, the expressions of evaluation and experience have a near-synonymous counterpart with the essive (*näen sen tärkeäksi ~ tärkeänä*; see-1SG it-ACC important-TRA ~ important-ESS; ‘I see it as important’; *koen sen turhaksi ~ turhana*; experience-1SG it-ACC pointless-TRA ~ pointless-ESS; ‘I feel it as pointless’). These expressions also display a perceivable difference in construal: the translative construction is comparable to other translative expressions and is therefore construed more dynamically similar to a resultative construction (see Section 4). The essive expressions describe the situation as more static.

5.3 DECLARATION AND DEFINITION

The expressions of declaration and definition form around a transitive verb¹³ that expresses unidirectional communication. These include examples such as *esittäytyä* ‘present oneself’, *haukkua* ‘bark, trash’, *ilmoittaa* ‘announce’, *julistaa* ‘declare’, *kertoa* ‘tell’, *leimata* ‘label’, *mainita* ‘mention’, *myöntää* ‘admit’, *määritellä* ‘define’, *nimetä* ‘name’, *osoittaa* ‘point out’, *sanoa* ‘say’, *todeta* ‘state’, *tunnustaa* ‘admit’ and *vannoa* ‘swear’. They can be further divided into affirmative verbs of saying (*sanoa* ‘say’), evaluation (*haukkua* ‘bark, trash’), commitment (*vannoa* ‘swear’), and categorisation (*nimetä* ‘name’) (see Pajunen 2001, 344–355). Some of the verbs also occur in descriptive use (such as *sanoa* ‘say’ and *luonnehtia* ‘characterise’; see below).

- (38) Hakuri esittäyty-y von Streber-suvu-n ensimmäise-ksi jäsene-ksi
 name present.oneself-3SG von name-family-GEN first-TRA member-TRA
 ‘Hakuri presents oneself as the first member of the von Streber family’
- (39) tasavalla-n kannattajat haukku-i-vat monarkia-n mielettömi-ksi puuro-ksi
 republic-GEN supporter-PL trash-PST-3PL monarchy-ACC absurd-TRA porridge-TRA
 ‘supporters of the republic trashed monarchy as absurd mess’
- (40) Sonkeri totes-i lieventävä-ksi asianhaara-ksi, että – –
 name mention-PST.3SG attenuating-TRA circumstance-TRA that
 ‘Sonkeri mentioned as an attenuating circumstance that – –’
- (41) suopo-n paperi-en salassapido-n syy-ksi kerro-taan: – –
 name-GEN paper-PL.GEN concealment-GEN reason-TRA tell-PASS
 ‘the reason for concealment of the security police papers has been told as follows: – –’
- (42) Jakobson totea-a tällaise-t deterministi-se-t tulkinna-t väär-i-ksi
 name state-3SG this.kind.of-PL deterministic-PL interpretation-PL false-PL-TRA
 ‘Jakobson states these kind of deterministic interpretations as false’

The subject of the expressions is an active agent that performs the declaration or definition. The object construes the trajector of the relation and the target of the action, which is a concrete or abstract THING. It is in the accusative,

13 Or a reflexive intransitive derivative verb (as in *ilmoittautua* ‘sign up’).

somewhat similarly to the evaluative expressions described above. In addition to nouns, the objects in my data include a subordinate *että*-clause (40) and a larger text sequence following a colon (41). The landmark in the construction describes a PROPERTY (adjective; 42) or a CLASS (noun; 39) that the trajector fictively attains as a consequence of the communicative process. No other adverbial phrases occur in the construction. In contrast to the previous mental constructions, the base of the predication is intersubjective or discursive. In other words, the change is conceptualised as occurring in the mind of one or more recipients of the linguistic action. For instance, in example (38), Hakuri becomes a member of the von Streber family to those linguistically construed recipients who do not formerly possess such information.

5.4 CALLING AND DESCRIBING

The expressions of calling and describing also have a transitive verb that describes unidirectional communication (such as *arvioida* ‘evaluate’, *arvostella* ‘review’, *epäillä* ‘doubt’¹⁴, *kehua* ‘praise’, *kommentoida* ‘comment’, *kritisoida* ‘criticise’, *kutsua* ‘call’, *kuvailta* ‘describe’, *luonnehtia* ‘characterise’, *nimittää* ‘call, name’, *sanoa* ‘say’, *syyttää* ‘blame’, *väittää* ‘claim’ and *ylistää* ‘commend’). Thus, a large portion of the verbs are the same verbs that occur in expressions of declaration and definition, such as the verbs of evaluation (*arvella* ‘suspect’, *arvioida* ‘evaluate’, *arvostella* ‘review’) and the verbs *sanoa* ‘say’ and *nimittää* ‘call’ (see above). The essential difference lies in the choice of the case for the object. The object of calling and describing constructions is in the partitive case; the object of declaring and defining constructions is in the accusative. Verbs that are specific to these particular constructions are therefore verbs of calling (*kutsua* ‘call’) and describing (*luonnehtia* ‘characterise’, *kuvailta* ‘describe’, *kuvata* ‘depict’).

- (43) Goodyear kehu-u aluks-i-aan **huippaturvallis-i-ksi**
 name praise-3SG vessel-PL-PAR.POSS3 ultra.safe-PL-TRA
 ‘Goodyear praises its vessels as ultra safe’
- (44) uut-ta tulokas-ta kutsu-ttaisiin **Carla-ksi**
 new-PAR comer-PAR call-PASS.COND name-TRA
 ‘the newcomer would be called Carla’
- (45) sanomalehti kommento-i häne-n sovittelutehtävä-ä-nsä **merkityksettömä-ksi**
 newspaper comment-PST-3SG he/she-GEN mediation.task-PAR-POSS3 meaningless-TRA
 ‘the newspaper commented on his/her mediation task as meaningless’
- (46) Irja Kilpeläinen sano-o kirjoittamis-ta-an **itseterapia-ksi**
 name name say-3SG writing-PAR-POSS3 self.therapy-TRA
 ‘Irja Kilpeläinen says her writing is self therapy’

14 On the use of the translative with the Finnish verb *epäillä* ‘suspect’, see Salminen 2020.

- (47) Timonen arvio-i saksalais-ta hyvin samantyyllise-ksi pelaaja-ksi
 name evaluate-3SG German-PAR very similar.style-TRA player-TRA
 ‘Timonen evaluates the German as a player with very similar style’

The subject is once again a human agent who is capable of linguistic and evaluative action. For both constructions, the trajector profiled by the object of the clause construes a concrete or abstract THING (43–44) or an abstract EVENT (45). These expressions do not contain infinitive and clausal objects (cf. above). In expressions of describing, the landmark construes a FEATURE (adjective; 43) or a THING (a descriptive noun or a noun with an adjective modifier; 47). In expressions of calling, the landmark profiles a THING (a term-like or name-like noun; 44, 46) that acts as a descriptive paraphrase for the trajector (see J. Leino 2010). The base of the predication is, once again, intersubjective: the trajector acquires a new feature or a membership in a category in the recipients’ minds due to the act of calling or describing. Kuiri (1984, 106–108) considers declarative and descriptive translative expressions to be the same ‘referative’ construction and focusses particularly on the perspective of reported speech. Kuiri observes that both constructions can be paraphrased as a subordinate *että* ‘that’ clause (ibid.). Another perspective is that of Ikola (1961, 91–93), who considers it to be a type of nominal predicate whose use is restricted to a specific group of verbs. The construction of calling, in contrast, is analysed by Kuiri (ibid. 108–114) as a specific, metalinguistic translative construction, which occurs partly with different verbs and cannot be replaced by an *että* paraphrase, even though the division between constructions is not categorical. J. Leino (2010) argues that the same expression type is a parenthetical construction of *X was called Y*. Leino further observes that this is often used to explain words or names that the speaker assumes to be unknown to the hearer, and often occurs as a parenthetical subsumed in another construction: *se siellä Onkamo-ssa ol-i, Antti-uko-ksi kuttu-ttiin, semmonev vanha vanaha nuottamies*; it there Onkamo-INE be-PST-3SG Antti old.man-TRA call-PASS.PST that.kind old old dragnet.man; ‘in Onkamo there was, old man Antti he was called, an old, old dragnet man’.

5.5 LEAVING AND REMAINING

An interesting exception to other translative expressions is found in the expressions of leaving and remaining with the verb *jääädä* ‘remain’ and its transitive counterpart, *jättää* ‘leave’. Traditionally, these have not been understood as constituting dynamic verbs that could motivate a lative case because they usually express a static state that is opposite to change. Especially the verb *jääädä* ‘remain’ has been analysed in attempting to explain this supposed contradiction between a static verb and a dynamic case (for example, see Tunkelo 1931; Hakulinen 1979; Huumo 2005; Rahkonen 1977; more generally Dahl 1987; Fong 1998; Croft 2001).¹⁵ Most research on the

15 One explanation has supposed that the verb has historically expressed dynamicity (see Hakulinen 1979, 527; cf. SSA s.v. *jääädä*). This meaning is still present in some uses of the verb, as in the phrase *jääädä leskeksi* ‘be left a widower’ (see Huumo

verb *jäädä* has focussed on occurrences that are semantically spatial and used with the illative case (*lapse-t jä-i-vät koti-in*; child-PL stay-PST-3PL home-ILL; ‘the children stayed at home’; *naarmu jä-i lasi-in*; scratch remain-PST.3SG glass-ILL; ‘the scratch remained in the glass’; see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). When the verb is analysed in clauses that contain the translative, its lative use is interpreted from a different perspective. Many uses are clearly dynamic in nature (48), other expressions are distinctly static (49), and some can be interpreted as both dynamic and static (50).¹⁶ Expressions in the first dynamic group have clearly a resultative aspect, and the verb *jäädä* is used in them, among other things, to describe punctual action (Huumo 2005, 514–516). This does not apply to the more static (and ambiguous) group that requires another explanation in reference to the motivation of the dynamic translative case.

- (48) kruununprinssi Franz Ferdinand jä-i salamurhaaja-n saalii-ksi
 crown.prince name name remain-PST.3SG assassin-GEN prey-TRA
 ‘Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand was left as the prey of the assassin’
- (49) milloin tämä tapahtu-u, jä-i edelleen avoime-ksi
 when this happen-3SG remain-PST.3SG still open-TRA
 ‘when this happens remained open still’
- (50) omavastuuosuude-ksi jä-ä noin sata markka-a
 deductible-TRA remain-3SG about hundred markka-PAR
 ‘about one hundred marks were left as deductible’
- (51) asemakaavoitusosasto-n tehtävä-ksi jä-i laati-a asemakaavaehdotus
 detailed.plan.department-GEN assignment-TRA remain-PST.3SG draft-INF detailed.plan.suggestion
 ‘to draft a detailed plan suggestion was left for the detailed plan department’
- (52) Sixteni-n aja-ksi jä-i-kin 5.03,9
 name-GEN time-TRA remain-PST.3.SG-CL
 ‘Sixtens time remained 5.03,9’

2007). Another explanation has argued for the motivation that the verb expresses both the action and the state that results from it (Tunkelo 1931; Hakulinen 1979, 525; Rahkonen 1977; see also Dahl 1987; Fong 1998; Croft 2001, 116–117; cf. Huumo 2007). Huumo (2005, 507) has suggested a third explanation by examining the construal of the static *jäädä* expressions. Huumo maintains that *jäädä* and the lative case together construe a subjective or fictive change where the state depicted by the clause is contrasted to a projected, alternative but unfulfilled state of affairs. It describes an unexpected deviation from the presumed course of action (ibid. 520). From this perspective, it is justified to think of these expressions as somewhat parallel to the dynamic translative expressions analysed in the previous section. They can also be seen as conceptualising a certain PATH or – more suitably – two alternative PATHS with a projected (implicit) and actualised (explicit) GOAL. The construction does not, however, express the SOURCE by an relative adverbial.

16 According to Huumo (2005), dynamic uses orient towards the past, and the static uses orient towards the future because they focus on the unchangeable state which remains.

- (53) jouhisorsakoiras ei suinkaan ole päättä-nyt jääd-ä **poikamiehe-ksi**
 male.duck NEG-3SG ADV-CL be.CNG decide- remain- bachelor-TRA
 PTCP INF
 ‘the male duck has not decided to remain a bachelor at all’
- (54) loppu jä-ä **karjanrehu-ksi**
 rest remain-3SG cattle.feed-TRA
 ‘the rest is left as cattle feed’

The trajector in the expressions of remaining is construed by the subject of the clause that describes the agent (or undergoer) of remaining. The animate THINGS can be semantically either agents or patients; the inanimate and abstract THINGS, QUANTITIES and EVENTS are inevitably patients (see also Huumo 2005, 517–518). In addition to nouns, the subject of *jäädä* can also be a subordinate clause (49) or a non-finite verb form (51). The landmark of the relation describes the FEATURE (adjective), or RESULT (52), ROLE (53) or FUNCTION (54) (noun), where the trajector remains.¹⁷

The verb *jättää* ‘leave’ is a transitive counterpart to *jäädä*. It is similar to *jäädä* in many ways—it can express dynamic change of state, (55) a static remaining of state (56), or it can be interpreted as either of these two with support from the context (67).

- (55) meidän tule-e jättä-ä Eurooppa sekä miljoona sotilas-ta **suojattomi-ksi**
 we-GEN must- leave- Europe and million soldier- shelterless-
 3SG INF PAR PL-TRA
 ‘we must leave Europe and a million soldiers shelterless’
- (56) Kautto ol-isi jättä-nyt teollisuusaluee-n mieluummin **nykyise-ksi pello-ksi**
 name be- leave- industrial.estate- rather current-TRA field-TRA
 COND.3SG PTCP ACC
 ‘Kautto would have rather left the industrial estate as the current field’
- (57) Laffite jätt-i Piqueti-n **viidenne-ksi**
 name leave-PST.3SG name-ACC fifth-TRA
 ‘Laffite left Piquet fifth’

The essential difference between the translative expressions that have the verbs *jäädä* and *jättää* is in how they construe the described course of action. With *jäädä*, the thing construed by the trajector (subject) can either be an agent or a patient; the action orientated towards the patient is left without an explicit reference. With *jättää*, on the other hand, the trajector is always a patient (object), and the power which it succumbs to is expressed by the subject of the clause.

17 The projected landmark is usually not explicitly mentioned. Even so, it can be manifested as the partitive adjunct of a comparative adjective (*talouskasvu jä-i normaali-a hitaa-mma-ksi*; economic.growth remain-PST.3SG normal-PAR slow-CMPR-TRA; ‘the economic growth was left slower than normal’).

6 Fuzzy boundaries: from change to directionality and beyond

As for conceptualisation, the expressions of change are not easily separated from other types of dynamic or directional phenomena. Within the realm of Finnish translative constructions, these include at least expressions of purpose (Section 6.1), consequence (6.2) as well as dynamically construed expressions of suitability (6.3), expressions of comparison (6.4), and temporal relations (6.5). In this section, I briefly consider these expressions and their relationship to change.

6.1 PURPOSE

Certain clausal contexts have an adverbial in the translative that essentially expresses an aim or purpose for a state or action. Most translative uses naturally involve some type of orientation towards a target where the expressions of actual or fictive change display some characteristics of intentionality (see Sections 4–5 above). The construction presented here, however, is the one in which the expression of purpose can be thought of as being primary and distinct from meanings such as consequence or suitability (see Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 360; see also Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1259, 456). In this construction, the adverbial in the translative case acts as an adjunct for a single noun (58) or the clause as a whole (59), expressing the purpose or aim of their referents.¹⁸ The word stem connected to the translative is usually a deverbal action nominalisation that denotes a certain type of action, in most cases the derivative *-minen* (58–59). Yet there are also some instances in the data that contain something other than the derivative stem (as in *henkise-n tue-n pohja-ksi*; mental-GEN support-GEN basis-TRA; ‘for the basis of mental support’; *vastineeksi*; counterpart-TRA; ‘in return’).

(58) *neuvottelu-i-ssa* 52 *amerikkalaisvangi-n* *vapauttamise-ksi* on edisty-tty
 negotiation-PL-INE 52 american.prisoner-GEN freeing-TRA be.3SG make.progress-PTCP
 ‘there has been progress in the negotiations to free 52 American prisoners’

(59) *lakko-je-n* *estämise-ksi* voida-an turvautu-a poikkeustoim-i-in
 strike-PL-GEN prevention-TRA can-PASS retort-INF exceptional.measure-PL-ILL
 ‘exceptional means can be resorted to in order to prevent strikes’

The verb in this construction is usually either intransitive (58–59) or part of a predicative construction (*lämpötilo-je-n ero-t o-vat riittävä-n suure-t vuoto-je-n toteamise-ksi*; temperature-PL-GEN difference-PL be-3PL sufficient-GEN big-PL leak-PL-GEN detection-TRA; ‘differences between temperatures are big enough to detect leaks’). By comparison, the verbs behind the derivatives

¹⁸ The distinction between the two is not always easy to make. For example, when the adverbial is located at the end of the clause and is preceded by a noun that is suitable for an adjunct, both interpretations are possible (as in *kaupunginhallitus anto-i lautakunna-lle ohjee-t kaavoitukse-n jatkamise-ksi*; city.council give-PST.3SG. committee-ALL instruction-PL zoning-GEN continuation-TRA; ‘The city council gave the committee instructions for the continuation of the zoning’).

that construe the landmark of the relation are transitive (apart from *onnistua* ‘succeed’). In addition, these verbs express activity that is intentional and dynamic, albeit mainly rather abstract (such as *edistää* ‘promote’, *horjuttaa* ‘undermine’, *jouduuttaa* ‘hasten’, *korjata* ‘repair’, *luoda* ‘create’, *mahdollistaa* ‘make possible’, *onnistua* ‘succeed’, *parantaa* ‘heal’, *rauhoittaa* ‘calm’, *suojeella* ‘protect’, *toteuttaa* ‘implement’ and *välttää* ‘avoid’). The landmark construes an ACCOMPLISHMENT that is interpreted as a PURPOSE for the trajector that appears as an INSTRUMENT (noun) or another type of MEANS (clause) to achieve the purpose. When the translative is connected to something other than derivative stems, the adverbial always acts as an adjunct to a complete clause.

6.2 CONSEQUENCE

Expressions of consequence form an independent construction that consists of a subject, a copula, a translative adverbial and, alternatively, an allative adverbial (see also Penttilä 1963, 35; cf. Setälä 1880, 13; Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1259). Expressions of consequence can be considered to be ‘frozen’ or idiomatised to some degree (Hakulinen et al. *ibid.*), but it is still a somewhat morpho-syntactically productive construction that forms an open category of expressions.¹⁹

- (60) *esimerki-ksi potkulauta on hyödy-ksi siksi, että*
example-TRA kickboard be.3SG use-TRA therefore that
se ei saastu-ta kuten vaikka auto saastutta-a
it NEG.3SG pollute-INF like for.instance car pollute-3SG
 ‘for example, a kickboard is of use because it does not pollute like, for instance, a car pollutes’ (Google30.6.2011)
- (61) *virallise-t maanviljeli-jöide-n liito-t o-vat ol-leet haita-ksi maa-lle*
official-PL farmer-PL-GEN union-PL be-3PL be-PTCP detriment-TRA land-ILL
 ‘official famers unions have been to the detriment of the land’
- (62) *yhde-n-kin nitee-n tuottaminen vuode-ssa ol-isi kulttuuri-lle kunnia-ksi*
one-GEN-CL volume- production year-INE be-COND. culture-ILL glory-TRA
GEN 3SG
 ‘producing even one volume in a year would be to the glory of culture’

The trajector of the relation is a concrete or abstract THING (60–61) or EVENT (62) that is construed by the subject of the clause. The landmark, by comparison, construes an EFFECT that is caused by the trajector. The landmark is represented by an adjective that is polar and evaluative (*hyväksi* ‘for the good of someone’) or a noun (*eduksi* ‘of use to someone’, *haitaksi* ‘to the detriment of something’, *kunniaksi* ‘to the glory of something’) connected to the translative case. The entity that is the target of the effect can be expressed explicitly by an allative phrase (61–62), although it also

19 Some of the translative expressions, nonetheless, also act as postpositions (such as *jonkun avuksi* ‘for someones help’, *hänen edukseen* ‘for his/her benefit’), which can be considered as a further grammaticalised variety of this construction.

often remains implicit. The process described by the finite verb (copula) is always static, but the translative phrase creates a dynamic construal of the directionality of the expression. It is thus semantically close to the expressions of transition and purpose above.

6.3 SUITABILITY

The translative expressions of suitability form a family of evaluative constructions that express how suitable the subject is for performance in a role, assignment, or in other function. The base of the predication here is a form of cognitive action similar to the ones discussed in Section 5. The expressions of suitability can be interpreted as semantically close to the expressions of purpose due to their implicit intentionality (cf. Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 360; Section 6.1 in this article). Nevertheless, they form a group of four independent constructions. One consists of an intransitive verb of suitability and its arguments with a translative adverbial (63). The other three are syntactically rather fixed, and they can be formalised as follows (with some variation in word-order): N-ELA + COPULA + N-TRA (64), N-PAR + COPULA [+ N-ADE/INE] + N-TRA (65), and N(SUBJ) + COPULA + A/N(PRED) + N-TRA (66–67).

- (63) aikauskirja sopi-i englanninkielise-nä lahja-ksi ystävä-lle
 magazine suit-3SG English-ESS gift-TRA friend-ALL
 ‘when in English, a magazine suits as a gift for a friend’
- (64) **lemmenjuoma-n aineks-i-ksi** sii-tä ei ole
 love.potion-GEN ingredient-PL-TRA it-ELA NEG.3SG be.CNG
 ‘it does not suit for ingredients of a love potion’
- (65) häne-ssä ei ol-lut taiteilija-a **palas-i-en uudelleen kokoaja-ksi**
 he/she-INE NEG.3SG be-PTCP artist-PAR piece-PL-GEN again assembler-TRA
 ‘there was not enough artist in him/her to reassemble the pieces’
- (66) X ja Y o-vat jo tois-ta **julkaisu-n teemo-i-ksi**
 X and Y be-3PL already another-PAR publication-GEN theme-PL-TRA
 ‘X and Y are already quite another thing for themes of the publication’
- (67) yksi mies on liian vähän
 one man be.3sg too little
Kellokoske-n sairaala-n osasto-n valvoja-ksi
 name-gen hospital-gen department-gen watch-tra
 ‘one man is too little for a department watch in the Kellokoski Hospital’

The first construction of suitability (63) is created around a verb of suitability that is intransitive and semantically abstract (*sopia* ‘suit’, *riittää* ‘suffice’, *kelvata* ‘pass’, *kelpuuttaa* ‘accept’) that expresses rather a relationship between an entity and a target category than a process. The trajector construed by the subject construes the evaluated entity that undergoes the fictive change of fitting the role or function construed by the landmark. More specifically, the trajector is an animate or inanimate THING or an EVENT that acts as a

resource, material or requirement for the ROLE or FUNCTION profiled by the landmark. The landmark, in other words, represents a purpose or goal by which the trajector is evaluated. This suitability is sometimes specified by an inessive or allative adverbial (63).

The second construction of suitability (64) resembles the first one in terms of its function (see also Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1259), but it is morphosyntactically unique. This construction has no subject, and the finite verb is always the copula. The trajector is construed by an elative oblique and expresses a THING or EVENT under evaluation. The landmark profiles the ROLE or FUNCTION that acts as the standard for evaluation. Unlike the first construction, this relation does not seem to favour inanimate trajectors. These expressions are also inclined to occur in a negative form (cf. Kiuru 1977), such that non-negative expressions acquire a tone of unexpectedness (as in *häne-stä on ol-lut sekä kriitiko-ksi että taiteilija-ksi*; he/she-ELA be.3SG be-PTCP both critic-TRA that artist-TRA; 'he/she has sufficed both as a critic and as an artist'). Despite the static copula, the dynamic construal of the relation enables a conceptualisation of a PATH schema, in which the trajector forms a SOURCE that is necessary for the actualisation of the ROLE or FUNCTION (GOAL) that is profiled by the landmark.

When compared to the first two constructions, the third construction of suitability (65) is perhaps more accurately interpreted as expressing sufficiency (cf. Flint 1980). The subject profiles the trajector of the relation that expresses an entity which is presented as quantifiable and as the target of evaluation. Typically, the trajector in this relation would be some type of concrete or abstract SUBSTANCE (*me-i-llä on vilja-a vain om-i-ksi tarpe-i-ksi*; we-PL-ADE be.3SG grain-PAR only own-PL-TRA need-PLTRA; 'we only have enough grain for our own needs'; *aineks-i-a sinu-lla on pite-mmä-ksi-kin artikkeli-ksi*; material-PL-PAR you-ADE be.3SG long-CMPR-TRA-CL article-TRA; 'you have material even for a longer article'; Penttilä 1963). It is interesting to note that the examples in my data concern a human entity (65), but even that is construed as a quantifiable substance that can be evaluated in terms of sufficiency. The landmark profiled by the translative adverbial describes, once again, a ROLE or FUNCTION that establishes a standard for the evaluation. The alternative adessive or inessive adverbial provides a holder or location, which the evaluated entity belongs to. Besides occurring as the second construction of suitability, these expressions have a similar tendency to occur in a negative form or with a tone of unexpectedness.

The fourth construction of suitability (66–67) constitutes the most fixed construction due to its conventionalised word order. For this construction, the subject of the clause describes the entity whose suitability is under evaluation. A predicative (adjective; 66) or adverbial (adverb; 67) construes the trajector of the relation that expresses a FEATURE (adjective) or a QUANTITY (adverb) as an evaluation of the entity. The landmark is construed by the stem of the translative adverbial. Like other landmarks in the relations of suitability, the stem of the adverbial expresses the ROLE or FUNCTION that serves as the criterion to evaluate the entity. A clear difference from the other constructions of a similar type, however, is that the entity being evaluated is described by the subject of the clause, and the trajector expresses

the manner in which the suitability is (or is not) fulfilled. The rigid word order of the construction is evident when the order of the predicative and the translative adverbials are switched — it creates a different construction that expresses a comparison: *Yksi mies on liian vähän Kellokoske-n sairaala-n osasto-n valvoja-ksi*; one man be.3SG too little Kellokoski-GEN hospital-GEN department-GEN watch-TRA; ‘one man is too little for a department watch in the Kellokoski hospital’ → *Yksi mies on Kellokoske-n sairaala-n osasto-n valvoja-ksi liian vähän*; one man is Kellokoski-GEN hospital-GEN department-GEN watch-TRA too little; ‘for a department watch in the Kellokoski hospital, one man is too little’ (see chapter 6.4 below).

6.4 COMPARISON

The latter example provides a comparison of an entity (subject) and a category or circumstance (translative adverbial) related to a certain feature and the cognitive domain behind it (predicative or adverbial of quantity) (see Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 355; Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1259; Hynönen 2016). From the point of view of the verb, this construction has two variants: one that has a copula (68) and another with a verb that expresses dynamic action (69).

- (68) Gruppo Sportivo on **rock-yhtye-ksi** jo varsin iäkäs
 name name be.3SG rock.band-TRA already quite old
 ‘Gruppo Sportive is already quite old for a rock band’
- (69) **jouko-n painav-imma-ksi auto-ksi** Pajero pysähty-y kohtuullise-n hyvin
 group-GEN heavy-SUP-TRA car-TRA name stop-3SG reasonable-GEN well
 ‘for the heaviest car in the group, Pajero stops reasonably well’ (Hakulinen et al. 2004)
- (70) **näin varhaise-ksi** täällä on väke-ä paljon
 so early-TRA here be.3SG people-PAR much
 ‘for this early there are a lot of people here’ (Penttilä 1963)
- (71) **kaikki men-i oikein hyvin ensikertalaise-ksi**
 everything go-PST.3SG really well first.timer-TRA
 ‘everything went really well for a first timer’ (Hakulinen et al. 2004)

The trajector in this relation is an animate or inanimate THING that is being compared to the implicit schematic prototype of a CATEGORY (68–69) or CIRCUMSTANCE (71) that is construed by the landmark. In the expressions that contain a copula, the feature that is unusual about the trajector compared to the landmark is described by a predicative (adjective; 68) or an adverbial of quality or quantity (70). For the expressions with other verbs, the deviating feature is conveyed by the adverbial (71). The base of the predication is a cognitive frame of evaluation, as with the expressions of fictive change and suitability analysed in prior chapters.

6.5 TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS

The translative case is also used in specific temporal expressions. These can be classified generally into three types: expressions of planning and arranging

an event (72–73), time limit (74), and duration (75). All of these relations activate the temporal dimension as their conceptual base.

- (72) varapuheenjohtaja kuulutt-i kokoukse-n tammikuu-n 14. päivä-ksi
 vice.chairperson call-PST.3SG meeting-ACC January-GEN 14th day-TRA
 ‘the vice chairperson called the meeting for January 14th’
- (73) täysistunto on siirret-ty lauantai-sta ensi tiistai-ksi
 plenary.session be.3SG move-PASS.PTCP Saturday-ELA next Tuesday-TRA
 ‘the plenary session has been moved from Saturday to text Tuesday’
- (74) lauantai-ksi ilmesty-y paino-sta uunituore Liikuntatieto-opas
 Saturday-TRA come.out-3SG press-ELA oven.fresh Exercise.knowledge.
 manual
 ‘Fresh Exercise Manual comes out from press by Saturday’
- (75) lentokenttä joudu-ttiin sulke-ma-an 40 minuuti-ksi
 airport must-PASS.PST close-INF-ILL 40 minute-TRA
 ‘the airport had to be closed for 40 minutes’

The expressions of planning and arranging an event occur in connection with a cognitive or communicative verb of a corresponding activity, such as *kuuluttaa* ‘announce’, *kaavailla* ‘envision’, *suunnitella* ‘plan’, and *sopia* ‘agree on’ (72). The construction expresses a process that involves a planned thing or event dynamically appearing in a conceptualisation of the future. The trajector of the relation is a durative EVENT (such as *kokous* ‘meeting’ *tapaaminen* ‘encounter’) described by the subject (intransitive) or object (transitive) of the clause. The landmark is a distinctive MOMENT or OCCASION (*klo 13* ‘13 o’ clock’, *tammikuun 14. päivä* ‘14th day of January’, *helmikuu* ‘February’, *ensi vuosi* ‘next year’) that, alongside the verb choice, separates these from durative expressions (see below). In contrast to the expressions of time limit, the arranged action does not occur before the moment described by the landmark but during it. The durative occasion that is profiled by the landmark is not necessarily completely covered by the arranged event; when the landmark expresses a punctual moment, it marks the beginning of the event. A special case of the relation is represented by expressions that describe the postponement of an event (73; see also Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 354; cf. Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1250). The verb in this construction is usually *siirtää* ‘move’ or its frequentative derivative *siirrellä* ‘move something around’. In these expressions, the translative also occurs with certain relative comparative adjectives (as in *aiemmaksi* ‘for earlier’ and *myöhemmäksi* ‘for later’). The expressions of postponement describe a temporal shift in the time dimension (see Nikanne 1990, 64). They differ from other expressions of planning and arranging in that because the EVENT already has a prearranged time, an relative adverbial describing the previously set time (73). This activates both the SOURCE and GOAL ends

of a dynamic PATH schema (see Section 4), as opposed to other temporal expressions with the translative.²⁰

In the expressions of time-limit (74), the translative adverbial describes a moment that has occurred before the action of the verb has taken place (see Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 354). From another point of view, it can be claimed that the action is complete after that moment (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1250). The translative phrase in this construction is a clause modifier. The finite transitive or intransitive verb in the clause expresses dynamic action (*tehdä* ‘do’, *ehtiä* ‘make it for’, *rientää* ‘hurry’, *saada valmiiksi* ‘finish’). The clause construes the trajector of the relation as a PROCESS that occurs before the punctual MOMENT (*kello kaksi* ‘two o’ clock’) or as a durative OCCASION described by the landmark (*ensi kausi* ‘next season’). As with the expressions of planning and arranging an event, when the landmark profiles a durative OCCASION, the time-limit is situated at the beginning of that occasion.²¹ Following Alhoniemi (1978), these expressions of a temporal cusp can also be approached as a certain type of temporal terminativity (see also Päiviö 2007).

The construction of duration resembles the previous temporal expressions (see also Setälä 1880, 13; Penttilä 1963, 354; Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1250) in that duration constructions have both transitive and intransitive verbs that express dynamic action. Furthermore, the translative adverbial acts as a clausal adjunct, and the clause construes the trajector of the relation (PROCESS). However, unlike the previous temporal constructions, the landmark profiles a TEMPORAL QUANTITY (*tuokio* ‘moment’, *toimikausi* ‘term of office’), and the expressions only occur in contact with durative verbs. It must be noted, nonetheless, that the distinction between different temporal expressions is not entirely clear. Constructions that semantically are between the constructions of planning and duration are those that have a dynamic verb and a translative adverbial of durative occasion (such as *rehu-n tuontiohjelman tämä-n vuode-n heinä-joulukuu-ksi vahvistet-tiin*; animal feed-GEN export.program this-GEN year-GEN July-December-TRA confirm-

20 The verb in the expressions of planning and arranging an event is, save for one occurrence, always transitive in my data. As for the exceptional case, *illaksi lukiossa on luvassa iloiset iltamat*; evening-TRA high.school-INE be.3SG promise-INE happy-PL soiree-PL; ‘for evening, there will be a happy soiree in the high school’, the verb chain *olla luvassa* ‘there will be’ can be regarded as an intransitive equivalent to transitive verbs. The intransitive verb *osua* ‘land’ mentioned by Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 1250) does not occur in my data (*tänä vuonna autoton päivä osuu maanantaiksi*; this-ESS year-ESS carless day land-3SG Monday-TRA; ‘this year the carless day lands on Monday’). They can be considered as constituting a borderline case of this relation type because they do not have a mental verb that describes intentional action. A somewhat similar borderline case arises with the verb *ennustaa* ‘foretell’: *ensi vuodeksi ennustetaan kolmen prosentin inflaatiota*; next year-TRA foretell-PASS three-GEN percent-GEN inflation-PAR; ‘for next year, a three percent inflation is foretold’ (Google 30.6.2011).

21 When the landmark profiles a special occasion (such as *jouluksi* ‘for Christmas’) and the verb expresses intentional action, the expression displays some similarities with the construction of purpose (see above) (as in *teen koristeita jouluksi* ‘I am making decorations for Christmas’; see Setälä 1880: 13).

PASS.PST; ‘the export programme for animal feed for July to December this year was confirmed’) as well as those that have a verb of planning or arrangement that is connected to an adverbial of temporal quantity (*osin hankkeet sovi-taan vuode-ksi kerra-lla-an*; part-INS project-PL agree-PASS year-TRA moment-ADE-POSS3; ‘partially the projects are agreed on for a year at a time’; Google 19.9.2010). By comparison, the expressions that have a dynamic verb and a translative adverbial that refers to a specific time frame fit between the constructions of time limit and duration (as in *tule-n joulu-ksi koti-in*; come-1SG Christmas-TRA home-ILL; ‘I come home for Christmas’; Google 30.6.2011; see also Penttilä 1963, 354).

7 Conclusion

This study presents an analysis of the polysemy of the Finnish translative case (‘to/for’) and its connection to meanings of change and dynamicity. I began by mapping the nature of change and the dimensions of construal in Cognitive Grammar, followed by an overview on the Finnish case system (Sections 2–3). In this general discussion, I proposed that instead of adopting the traditional localist view, the Finnish adverbial cases would be best functionally described with respect to change and dynamicity. In my grammatical analysis of approximately two thousand translative expressions, I demonstrated that these expressions construe several types of change, depending on other grammatical elements in the clause and the construction as a whole. From this perspective, I divided the different uses of the translative roughly into three categories: I) expressions of actual change, more specifically alteration, switch, transition and coming into existence (Section 4); II) fictive change, such as perceiving and turning out, evaluation and experience, declaration and definition, calling and describing, as well as leaving and remaining (Section 5); and III) other closely related directional phenomena, such as purpose, consequence, suitability, comparison and certain temporal relations (Section 6).

This study focussed on the relatively productive uses of the Finnish translative. In addition to these, a rich variety of frozen and idiomatic expressions pose a challenge to semantic description. These include lexicalised expressions of spatial direction, discussed briefly in Section 3 (for example, *kauaksi* ‘far’, *taakse* ‘back’, *luokse* ‘near someone’; *alemmaksi* ‘lower’, *etelämmäksi* ‘more to south’), manner (as in *englanniksi* ‘in English’, *ilmaiseksi* ‘for free’, *mieliksi* ‘pleasing to someone’; *erikseen* ‘separately’, *yksikseen* ‘alone’, *ammattikseen* ‘for one’s profession’), order (such as *aluksi* ‘first’, *toiseksi* ‘secondly’, *seuraavaksi* ‘next’, *lopuksi* ‘finally’, *viimeksi* ‘lastly’) and quantity (as in *puoliksi* ‘half’, *osaksi* ‘partly’, *tarpeeksi* ‘enough’, *liiaksi* ‘too much’; *enimmäkseen* ‘for the most part’, *kerrakseen* ‘enough for once’). In addition to these four semantically rather coherent groups, a large number of adverbs, adpositions, particles and multi-word idioms are more difficult to categorise (such as *miksi* ‘why’, *siksi* ‘therefore’; *avuksi* ‘for help’, *esimerkiksi* ‘for example’, *lisäksi* ‘additionally’, *tueksi* ‘for support’, *vaihteeksi* ‘for a change’, *valmiiksi* ‘ready’, *vuoksi* ‘because’; *harmikseen* ‘unfortunately’).

mieleisekseen ‘as one pleases’, *jokseenkin* ‘somewhat’; *antaa – saada anteeksi* ‘forgive, be forgiven’, *käyttää hyväksi* ‘take advantage of’, *tulla kalliiksi* ‘be expensive’, *antaa periksi* ‘give up’, *käydä selväksi* ‘be clear’, *saada tarpeekseen* ‘get enough of something’). A detailed analysis of their meaning and use is left for further study. Other fruitful topics for future research include quantitative approaches to the different translative constructions, the analysis of the translative in the infinitive and participle verb forms (*tehdäkseen* ‘in order to do’, *tehtäväksi* ‘to do’) as well as the historical development and the grammaticalisation of different translative expressions.

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Border zones of the Finnish essive case and its semantic neighbours

Abstract

The Finnish essive case (suffix *-nA*) has the primary semantic function of expressing non-permanent states, that is roles, functions and properties. This function is most transparent in copular clauses in which the essive case nominal can be syntactically classified as a nominal predicate (*Minä olen opettaja-na ~ sairaa-na* ‘I am [temporarily working as] a teacher ~ [temporarily ~ not chronically] ill’). It can also be used as a case of state-denoting predicate complements in clauses containing a non-copular predicate verb (*Minä työskentelen opettaja-na* ‘I am working as a teacher’), as well as a case of depictive secondary predicates (*Minä juon kahvin kylmä-nä* ‘I am drinking the coffee cold’). These functions are also carried out by other elements in the Finnish 14-case system, such as the inessive (*-ssA*), adessive (*-lla*), and translative (*-ksi*), as well as other grammatical elements, such as the adverbial marker denoting manner (*-sti*) and some infinite verb affixes used in converb structures.

In this study, I shall describe these similar or overlapping uses of the essive case and other elements from the viewpoint of cognitive grammar, particularly concentrating on semantic border zones and the conceptual description of them (see Janda 1993; 2004).

I Introduction

The Finnish essive case (*-nA*) has the primary semantic function of expressing roles, functions and temporally limited properties of the referent of the trajectory of the relation. It is used in nominal predicates (copula complements) of copular sentences (1–2). It can also be used as a case of state-denoting predicate complements (3), as well as a case of secondary nominal predicates (4).

- (1) *Minä ole-n opettaja-na.*
 I be-1SG teacher-ESS
 ‘I am [temporarily working as] **a teacher**.’

- (2) *Minä ole-n sairaa-na.*
 I be-1SG ill-ESS
 'I am [temporarily ~ not chronically] **ill**.'
- (3) *Minä työskentele-n opettaja-na.*
 I work-1SG teacher-ESS
 'I am working as **a teacher**.'
- (4) *Minä juo-n kahvi-n kylmä-nä.*
 I drink-1SG coffee-ACC cold-ESS
 'I am drinking the coffee **cold**.'

Similar functions are also carried out by other elements in the Finnish system of 14 to 15 cases, such as inessive (-*ssa*), adessive (-*lla*), and translative (-*ksi*), as well as other grammatical elements, such as the adverbial marker denoting manner (-*sti*) and some infinite verb affixes used in converb structures (Hynönen 2016; 2017; see also Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, in this volume; Leinonen 2008; Jääskeläinen in this volume).

In this study, I shall describe these similar or overlapping uses of the essive case and other elements from the viewpoint of cognitive grammar (CG), particularly concentrating on semantic border zones and their conceptual description (see Janda 1993; 2004). I also take into account the perspective of linguistic typology by using classification that is consistent with existing typological categorisation (on the methodological consistency, see e.g. De Groot 2017; on the relationship between cognitive linguistics and typology, see Van der Auwera & Nuyts 2007, 1081–1082).

The foundation of this study is the tradition of usage-based cognitive linguistics. The examples used are based on the data consisted of 9,096 sentences collected from the Syntax Archives of the University of Turku. However, in this article, I am using simplified, yet realistic structures based on my corpus. The data are mostly observed by using a qualitative method, that is by comparing sentences and structures which can use both essive case nominals and elements with similar meanings.

2 Theoretical perspectives

In this study, case semantics is described by the theory of semantic border zones (Janda 2004, see also Janda 1993). As Janda (2004) states, the relationship between the members of the case system is multifaceted and flexible:

The cases interact with each other, variously dividing up and sharing meanings and syntactic roles, and thus drawing the whole of the case system into an interconnected, interdependent entity. The border zones that hold this system together are the places where speakers are empowered to choose among alternative expressive strategies.

In this article, the essive case is compared to other semantically similar elements. Many of these are case endings as well, and they are discussed in more detail in the other articles of this book. The theory has been built on CG, which allows for a broad, encyclopaedic perspective on semantics

(see Langacker 1987, 162–163). It also provides the possibility to create a typologically consistent characterisation, since it has been built up by the idea of comparison. Janda (2004, 1, 5) points out that cognitive border zones hold the case system together and give the speaker a chance to choose the appropriate conceptualisation.

The border zone theory coheres with the basic principles of linguistic typology. From the viewpoint of case semantics, Janda (1993, 15) has formed four cognitive framework-based semantic assumptions which are followed in this study:

- i) case is always meaning-bearing
- ii) case meaning has a constant objective moment that can be subjectively applied
- iii) case meaning involves the organisation rather than the specification of information
- iv) case meaning is not essentially different from lexical meaning in structure.

The first assumption is very broadly shared with cognitive semantics (see Introduction of this volume), and so is the second, referring to the cooperation between the intersubjective knowledge on the polysemous nature of a grammatical element and its use in a context. The third assumption describes the very nature of case as a functionally flexible element, and the fourth elaborates on Langacker's (1987, 18–19) idea of the continuum of lexical and grammatical meaning on a structural level in grammatical elements, such as case affixes. It is also essential that although being semantically very close in many occasions, different conceptualisations never completely overlap (see Janda 2007, 644).

Janda (2004) suggests three parameters involved in the description of the border zones. The first of these parameters is the number of cases: in Finnish, for example, it is possible to express similar meanings using the nominative and the essive case. The NOM and ESS in the sentences *Se on valmis* (it is ready.nom) and *Se on valmiina* (it be.3SG ready-ESS) 'It is ready' share very close meanings although they are different conceptualisations of a situation. This means that there can be two possible cases, albeit there may be a slight semantic difference: the essive case form *valmiina* implicates that there is some kind of a purpose, the referent has been prepared to be ready for something. However, it is also possible to have more cases or other grammatical elements involved in this kind of variation, which can be seen in Section 4. The second parameter is the semantic relationship: absolute synonymy is extremely rare but synonymy can also be seen as a less categorical phenomenon in which the meanings may be contiguous or even overlap. The third parameter involves the factors contributing to the semantic relationship, which is crucially dependent of the construal in the choice between different conceptualisations and constructions. For example, it is possible to choose between stative and active when describing certain roles in Finnish, such as being a referee (*Hän on ottelu-n tuomari* ~ *on ottelu-ssa tuomari-na* ~ *tuomar-oi ottelun* (s/he is game-GEN referee.NOM ~ is game-INE referee-ESS ~ referee-vz.3SG game-ACC 'S/he is the referee of the game ~ refereeing the game'; see Section 4.4).

3 Semantics of the Finnish essive case

As bound morphemes, all case affixes have a very special relationship between form and function (Janda 2007, 638–642). What is special about the essive case is that it has only a few functions, (non-permanent) state being the only productive one. From this perspective, it integrates with lexical semantics: compared to words, grammatical elements tend to be more polysemous. There is also a hierarchy within the case system: the oblique cases, such as the essive and the inessive, tend to be more adposition-like with fewer functions than the grammatical cases, such as the genitive or the partitive (see Langacker 1991, 379–380).

3.1 THE ESSIVE CASE AS A PART OF THE FINNISH CASE SYSTEM

The Finnish cases are categorised in various ways (see Introduction of this volume). In the most common grouping used by, for example the newest Finnish comprehensive grammar (Hakulinen et al. 2004), the essive is defined as a local case due to its history: the essive used to be a locative case in a three-case system before the inessive replaced it (Itkonen 1966, 264; see also Ylikoski & Aikio 2016, 60–61; Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). This history as a general locative case still can be seen in certain lexicalised forms, such as *koto-na* (home-ESS) ‘at home’ or limitedly productive comparative locatives, such as *pohjoise-mpa-na* (north-CMPR-ESS) ‘more north’. The essive also resembles other local cases in the sense that it is an equal part of the system used in expressing time (*keskiviikko-na/pääsiäise-nä* Wednesday-ESS/Easter-ESS ‘on Wednesday/during Easter’ ~ *toukokuu-ssa* May-INE ‘in May’ ~ *kesä-llä* summer-ADE ‘in (the) summer’) (see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume).¹

The categorisation of local cases consists of eight cases (Table 1).

	stative location	point of departure	destination
inclusion (traditionally ‘internal’)	inessive ‘in’ <i>varasto-ssa</i> ‘in storage room’	elative ‘(out) from’ <i>varasto-sta</i> ‘out of storage room’	illative ‘to’, ‘into’ <i>varasto-on</i> ‘into storage room’
association ² (traditionally ‘external’)	adessive ‘near’, ‘on a surface’ <i>varasto-lla</i> ‘at/near storage room’	ablative ‘from near’, ‘off of a surface’ <i>varasto-lta</i> ‘from (near) storage room’	allative ‘to near’, ‘onto a surface’ <i>varasto-lle</i> ‘to (near) storage room’
predicative/state (traditionally ‘general’)	essive <i>varasto-na</i> ‘as storage room’	(elative) ³ <i>varasto-sta</i> ‘changing from being, functioning as storage room’	translative <i>varasto-ksi</i> ‘changing into, becoming storage room’

Table 1. The traditional categorization of the Finnish local case system from the viewpoint of CG.

- 1 Despite being semantically similar when coding a point in time, these case suffixes can seldom be used in the same groups of time-denoting lexemes (cf. Haspelmath 1997). For instance, weekdays are coded with the essive, whereas the months use the inessive. For a more detailed description, see Hynönen 2017 (or Hynönen 2016 in Finnish).
- 2 The term *association* is used in relation to the adessive case by Onikki-Rantajääskö (2001, 217; see also Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume).
- 3 The historical locative case is the partitive (*koto-a* home-PAR ‘from home’). Some

The essive case is clearly different from the inessive and the adessive: the thing (trajector) overlaps with an entity (landmark), which represents a state (role or property), not a location. Since this is the most prototypical function of the essive case, the co-location of the thing and the entity is nothing but an extension of spatial relationships, and thus, the essive can be differentiated from the local case system.

Table 1 is not superschematic: it describes the prototypical uses of the cases. The difference between inclusion and association is clear, but the distribution of the inessive and the adessive cases is not quite as straightforward: for example, in various contexts, the adessive can have the meaning of inclusion (*Ole-n koulu-lla* be-1SG school-ADE 'I am at school'). Both of these cases are also widely used in expressing states (see Section 4.2).

From a more contemporary perspective, the essive can be defined as one of the primarily state-denoting cases⁴, the other being the translative. The system borrows 'from' cases from the local cases. The local cases have also state-denoting functions, different from the prototypical meanings of the essive (see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume). In a more global, typological system of cases, these state cases are part of the category of abstract cases (see Haspelmath 2009). From the viewpoint of predication, it also can be stated that the essive and the translative form a system of state cases which is part of the case system as a subcategory (see also Voutilainen in this volume).

3.2 TYPOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE NON-PERMANENT STATE

From the viewpoint of linguistic typology, the essive is a rare occurrence of a grammatical marker used in nominal predication which basically only has the function of expressing a non-permanent state in opposition to a permanent or so-called neutral, not temporally defined state (see e.g. Stassen 1997, 190–193; Pajunen 2000, 40; Hynönen 2016). In nominal predicates of copular sentences, this function can be divided into two categories: roles (prototypically temporary class inclusions of people, *Hän on opettaja-na*, *s/he is teacher-ESS* 'S/he is working as a teacher') and functions (prototypically temporary class inclusions of inanimate objects, *Jakkara on pöytä-nä* stool is table-ESS 'The stool is being used as a table'), which form a category of functives (see Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998, 324; Haspelmath 2009; Creissels 2014, 2). Since this categorisation is typologically created, which means it is a purely semantic definition, the functions of the Finnish essive do not completely fit into it: by definition, functives cannot express properties or

dialects also use the so-called exessive case (*koto-nta* home-EXESS 'from home') which is not a part of the "official" Finnish case system. It can also be used in expressing a state as a starting point of a change, in other words in a similar function as the elative case. The ablative is also used for complementing the system of abstract cases: it is used for certain cognitive and/or sensory states (*tuoksua hyvä-ltä* smell good-ABL 'smell good').

4 The term *state-denoting* is used here as a semantic umbrella concept, not as an aspectual description, although the two often coincide in essive case nominal predicates.

fictional or simulative roles that are included with similatives and equatives.⁵

Essive case nominals are used as three types of nominal predicates: nominal predicates in copular clauses, predicate complements and secondary nominal predicates (see Examples 5–12); about this kind of syntactic categorization, see Nichols 1979; 1981; De Groot 2017; on grey areas considering essive case nominals, see Hynönen 2016). These three functions have semantic differences in relation to the schematic meaning of the essive that expresses a non-permanent state. The non-permanent meaning is most transparent in nominal predicates, whereas it can be vague in other uses. As noted in the previous section, the case also has local and temporal uses (see Hynönen 2017).

The non-permanent features of the essive case are clearest in the simplest of minimal pairs, which are possible in nominal clauses with nominal predicates. The difference between the nominative and the essive is in the permanence of the class in which the referent of the subject is predicated. In adjective predicates, the difference is often (but certainly not always) less clear, since they express properties which are prototypically more unstable and inclined to change than roles and functions, thereby adjectives, as a part of speech, are an intermediary between nouns and verbs (Examples 5–6; see also Givón 1979, 13; Wetzer 1996).

(5) *Kaino on opettaja-na.*
K. be.3SG teacher-ESS
'Kaino is (working as) a teacher (now).'

(6) *Kaino on sairaa-na.*
K. be.3SG ill-ESS
'Kaino is ill (but expected to recover).'

Nominal predication is discussed further in Section 4.1 from the viewpoint of semantic overlapping and the proximity of nominative and essive nominal predicates.

The essive case is also used in lexical verb-governed structures which contain the implication of non-permanence (Examples 7–8) or its extension, such as expressing a role that is based on an evaluation made by the referent of the subject (Example 9).

(7) *Joulukuusi säily-i kaunii-na kauan.*
Christmas.tree remain-PST.3SG beautiful-ESS a.long.time
'The Christmas tree has been (remained) beautiful for a long time.'

(8) *Kaino käytt-i ylimääräis-i-ä esimerkke-j-ä esitelmä-n täyttee-nä.*
K. use-PST.3SG extra-PL-PAR example-PL-PAR presentation-GEN filling-ESS
'Kaino fleshed out his presentation with additional examples.'

5 Nevertheless, there is a more comprehensive typology-based approach to the Finnish essive, that is the typology of non-verbal or nominal predication (see e.g. Hengeveld 1992; Wetzer 1996; Stassen 1997; Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005; Eriksen 2006; Schroeder et al. 2008; De Groot 2017).

- (9) *Kaino pitä-ä Rauni-a ystävä-nä-än.*
 K. consider-3SG Rauni-PAR friend-ESS-POSS3
 ‘Kaino considers Rauni a friend.’

In these structures, the essive case complement is used in contexts that in principle express non-permanence. Even the semi-copular verb *pysyä* ‘to stay’ conveys an implication of change, whereas the verb *pitää*⁶ ‘to consider’ is an example of non-prototypical elaborations of the essive schema, an expression of evaluation or belief. Even though this kind of meaning can seem to be quite far from the idea of a non-permanent state, it has similar properties such as activating a continuum of alternative states.

The essive is also an element which is used in secondary nominal predicates, more specifically depictive (Example 10), temporal (Example 11) and circumstantial (Example 12) predicates.

- (10) *Kaino juo mehu-n kuuma-na.*
 K. drink.3SG juice-ACC hot-ESS
 ‘Kaino is drinking the juice hot.’
- (11) *Kaino suoritt-i autokoulu-n 18-vuotiaa-na.*
 K. complete-pst.3sg driving.school-acc 18-year.old-ess
 ‘Kaino completed the driving school when he was 18’ (lit. ‘as an 18-year-old’)
- (12) *Hammaslääkäri-nä Kaino tunte-e hyvin suu-n anatomia-n.*
 Dentist-ESS K. know-.3SG well mouth-GEN anatomy-ACC
 ‘As a dentist, Kaino knows the anatomy of the mouth well.’

It is also noteworthy to point out that these three types of secondary predicates are controlled differently. In transitive constructions, depictive nominal predicates (Example 10) are typically controlled by the object, while circumstantial nominal predicates (Example 11) tend to favour the subject, as do temporal nominal predicates (Example 12). In other words, the depictive nominal predicates tend to follow the quasi-predicate rule (Siro 1964) which states that a locative case ending refers to the object. Contrary to this, the circumstantial and temporal nominal predicates do not follow or go against the rule, since their referent can vary.

Secondary predicates form a category consisting of nominal predicates which are included in another predication. They are participant-oriented, not verbally oriented like adverbials of manner are (Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2006, 4, 10, 14; see also Article 11 this volume)⁷. This means that the secondary predicate is an additional predicative structure that utilizes the TAM⁸ marking of the primary predicate.

The difference between the types of secondary predicates is primarily based on semantics: temporals express age or a stage of development, and circumstantials have some kind of conditional or even consequential implication, whereas depictives are neutral in the sense that they are free

6 The verb *pitää* is exceptionally polysemous (‘to keep’, ‘to like’ etc.).

7 On the terminology, see also Platt & Platt 1972; Bartsch 1976.

8 TAM = tense, aspect, mood.

from such temporal or causal features. They form a nominal predication within another predication, and their function is to express a role, function or property that is relevant to the process expressed by this other predication. There is also a vaguer semantic difference: temporals literally always activate the idea of a temporal continuum, while depictives, and especially the circumstantials, may not contain any such implication, merely a comparison between possible states of the referent (see also Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 245–246; Salminen 2000, 153; 2002, 299–300).

3.3 SUPERSHEMA

As previously noted, grammatical elements are typically polysemous, and they have metaphorical and metonymical extensions (on cases, see e.g. Janda 2007, 642–643). From this point of view, the *essive* case is somewhat narrow: it has three semantically close meanings. As shown in Section 3.1, the *essive* case has a history of expressing spatiotemporal relationships. From the synchronic viewpoint, it is also clear that these functions have been lexicalised or they are strictly limited to certain lexical categories. The only productive use of the case is the expression of a non-permanent state. It is, however, semantically interesting to discuss the three dimensions of the case as a unity, that is the superschema of the case which covers all the meanings of the element (see Langacker 1987, 380–381; Evans 2007, 207). It also must be emphasized that all superschemas are not very linguistically significant nor cognitively salient (Langacker 1987, 381). Nevertheless, in the case of the *essive* case the superschema is based on a well-known connection between space, time and state.

The *essive* may not seem like a particularly odd case, because its semantic dimensions consist of space and its typical extensions, time and state, whereas the status of these three is an exceptional, non-permanent state being, the most prominent of the semantic functions. This raises the question of the core meaning of the case. The most succinct analysis has been suggested by Langacker (2007 p.c.): the meaning of the three dimensions can be reduced to the meaning of the English preposition *at* or, from a much broader perspective, be characterised as a completeness of an abstract co-location. The preposition *at* can be interpreted as meaning ‘to be in contact with something’, in other words the case forms a continuum of non-permanent states (*at A* → *at B* → *at C* etc.). Without the idea of a continuum, a non-permanent state can also be interpreted as partial inclusion, which slightly conflicts with the concept of contact. This viewpoint emphasises that the relationship between the entity and the state is more intense and indistinguishable from one another. It also must be emphasized that as for roles, functions and especially properties, inclusion and contact are used as abstractions which also are connected to the locative origin of the *essive* case.

The *essive* superschema can be defined by using three different outlines (Hynönen 2016, 66). The first is to characterise the case from a form-oriented viewpoint, equally consisting of all the functions, even the most lexicalised and limited ones (space and time). This means that the superschema is very abstract: the *essive* conceptualises the entity in a spatiotemporal network that is metaphorically expanded in expressing abstract locations (states

as spaces, see Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 15; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2006). The second version of the superschema can be built upon the state-denoting function of the case, in which it is important to acknowledge that the essive can also convey a meaning of permanence in certain grammatical functions, mostly in causal expressions (13; see also Herlin 1997):

- (13) *Pohjoise-na aluee-na Lapi-ssa on kaamos-aika talve-lla.*
 northern-ESS area-ESS Lapland-INE be.3SG polar.darkness-time winter-ADE
 'As a northern area, Lapland has months of no sun during the winter.'

This option would lead to the conclusion that the superschema could be defined as 'a vague characterisation of an entity' (see also Helasvuo 1990, 204), or an abstract inclusion in relation to a temporal experience of space (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 217, see also Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 30–32). Thirdly, forming a concrete and diachronic hierarchy can expound upon the issue, in which the spatial function is seen as the core. This kind of superschema can be defined as localistic (see Leino 1991). This viewpoint may not be synchronically quite as relevant as the second one, which concentrates on the state, but it has the potential of describing the metaphoric nature of the case.

4 *Semantic border zones*

Part of the grammatical elements that convey essive-like meanings only narrowly overlap with essive case expressions. They can be semantically similar, but are distributed differently: they share a cognitive domain. I call this relationship *semantic territories*. Janda (2004) has carried out a similar survey on the Russian case system and concluded that the border zones between these cases hold the system together and form areas in which the speaker has the possibility to choose the conceptualisation they prefer in the situation. This metaphor carries the idea of case-typical domains which sometimes meet each other. The borders are, nevertheless, quite distinct, and, as hypothesised in cognitive linguistics, there is no synonymy between the different strategies, although the differences can be marginal.

4.1 NOMINATIVE: PERMANENCE VERSUS NON-PERMANENCE IN NOMINAL PREDICATION

Nominal predication in Finnish has the basic structure NP + cop + NPC/APc, in which NPC/APc is the structural copula complement, semantically a nominal predicate. The copula cannot be omitted. In the basic nominal predication, various semantic oppositions are based on the case of the nominal predicate. The nominative case is used in predicates of three semantic types of nominal predications (class inclusion, attribution and equation⁹), and the essive case is used in the first two in order to code a semantic opposition of permanence versus non-permanence (Examples 14–15).

9 On the terminology and the semantic types of nominal predication, see Payne 1997.

- (14) *Kaino on opettaja ~ opettaja-na.*
 K. be.3SG teacher.NOM ~ teacher-ESS
 'Kaino is a teacher (e.g. who has a degree) ~ Kaino is (working as) a teacher (now).'²
- (15) *Kaino on sairas ~ sairaa-na.*
 K. be.3SG ill.NOM ~ ill-ESS
 'Kaino is (perhaps permanently) ill ~ Kaino is ill (but expected to recover).'

In Example 14, the essive case nominal expresses a temporary role, whereas the contrasting nominative form has the meaning of a more stable class inclusion (e.g. a qualification). Example 15, however, defines a property. As properties are prototypically more inclined to change, the difference in the meaning is more subtle and, in most cases, contextual. For many occasions, there is little difference between the nominative and essive forms, but the essive is still clearer in expressing that the property is not permanent. Without any context, the nominative form can refer to a permanent, sometimes also mental, condition. It is also possible to suggest that the nominative case is open to different interpretations, whereas the essive case is limited¹⁰.

The prototypical nominal predication has the function of expressing a stative relationship. In CG, the case predicate is described as an atemporal relationship in which the temporal scope is not emphasised (see Langacker 1987, 214–222), although this description does not necessarily cover nominal predication. Finnish nominal predication contains a verbally inflected copula, that is it is clearly conceptualised as a process. Nominal predication in Finnish has various functions in its use. In terms of the essive, the relevant functions are class inclusion and attribution. The essive case is used in nominal predication as a non-permanence marker, and therefore it can be defined as a nominal aspect marker that activates this non-permanence, that is it transfers a stative situation to a more dynamic frame. To be precise, this component is realised as different variants: the two main features of non-permanence are temporariness (Example 16) and change (Example 17), the latter of which is mostly realised as an inclination towards change from one state to another (see Pajunen 2001, 80).

- (16) *Kaino on tilaisuude-n seremoniamestari-na.*
 K. be.3SG occasion-GEN master-of-ceremonies-ESS
 'Kaino is (serving as) master of ceremonies for the occasion.'
- (17) *Kaino on kilpailu-ssa toise-na.*
 K. be.3SG competition-INE second-ESS
 'Kaino holds second place in the [ongoing] competition.'

In Example 16, Kaino serves as a master of ceremonies, that is he has a role which lasts for a period of time and then ceases. The situation is different in Example 17, in which the essive case ordinal is conceptualised in a group of

10 For more detailed information on this kind of definition, see Erelt & Metslang's paper on similar case variation in Estonian (2003).

states linked to each other. There is an implication that change in the current state is realised as another, implicated state. The big picture is, nevertheless, even more ambiguous, since there are many instances in which the opposition between the nominative and the essive is not this straightforward. This ambiguity can be based on the context of the nominal predicate, as well as the lexical meaning of the word inflected in the essive. One example of this can be illustrated by replacing the affix of the nominal predicate in Example 16: the conceptualisation is changed from a non-permanent essive to a permanent nominative, but it has little effect on the interpretation of the sentence since the modifier *tilaisuuden* ('occasion') already limits the continuance of the state (see also Nurminen 2015, 103–107).

In relation to the semantic function of the essive case, there are significant differences between nouns and adjectives. There is a tendency for essive case NP predicates to have a clearer, non-permanent meaning than AP predicates in which the difference between the nominative and essive can be very subtle, although it always exists in the coding strategy. It must also be emphasised that the essive case is more typical for adjectives that code properties which can be conceptualised as either stable or temporary (*sairas* 'ill', *valmis* 'ready', *tyhjä* 'empty' etc.; see also Pajunen 2000). These adjectives also contain a component of change as inventory of alternative states (see Hynönen 2016, 76; Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 245–246). The example *valmis* 'ready' seems different from the others, as it strongly refers to a permanent state; its essive case form, however, expresses being ready for a purpose (*Pasta on valmii-na* 'The pasta is ready [to be eaten]'; *Hän on valmii-na matkaan* 'She is ready for a trip').

4.2 TRANSLATIVE: RESULT VERSUS A NON-PERMANENT STATE

The essive and translative cases differ in their uses: the translative functions as a case which codes resultative states ('to change into X'; Example 18), whereas the essive expresses a current, yet non-permanent state ('to be X at the moment'; Example 19).

- (18) *Kaino ryhty-y opettaja-n sijaise-ksi ~ tule-e lähtövalmii-ksi.*
 K. start-3SG teacher-GEN substitute-TRA ~ (be)come-3SG ready.to.go-TRA
 'Kaino is starting as a substitute teacher ~ will soon be ready to go (lit. becoming ready to go).'

- (19) *Kaino on opettaja-n sijaise-na ~ lähtövalmii-na.*
 Kaino be.3SG teacher-GEN substitute-ESS ~ ready.to.go-ESS
 'K. is (working temporarily as) a substitute teacher ~ ready to go (at the moment).'

In other words, the translative case profiles states as results or, from a more processual perspective, inchoative or ingressive predication. Both cases are used in secondary predicates as well as in predicate complements. As previously shown, essive case complements are used with verbs that cohere with the semantics of a non-permanent state, and this applies to the translative which is used in constructions containing resultative verbs (see also Voutilainen in this volume).

Usually, there is a clear opposition between the functions of these two cases, but the uses can overlap. Despite the distinct semantic opposition between depictive/continuous and resultative/incipient states, there are structures in which the semantic difference is not quite as clear, for example in adverbials expressing order (*Ensimmäise-nä ~ Ensimmäise-ksi flunssassa olin minä* first-ESS ~ first -TRA cold-INE be-IMP-1SG I; ‘First, it was me who had a cold’), or in certain cases of existence predication (*Ruoka-na ~ Ruoka-ksi on lasagnea* meal-ESS ~ meal-TRA is lasagne-PAR ‘We will have lasagne for the meal’). The fuzziness of the border zones is not contrary to expectations: since the context tends to profile either a stative or resultative zone, the interpretation does not necessarily require separate coding strategies. An example of the extension from one zone to another can be found in Estonian, a language closely related to Finnish. It uses the translative case in both class inclusive and resultative predication, and the essive – still used in some contexts – has almost entirely lost its status as case (see also Ereht & Metslang 2003).

4.3 LOCATIVE CASES: STATES AS PLACES

As shown in Section 3, the essive case has a strong locative background, although its spatial uses have become marginal. Nevertheless, the local cases in Finnish, mostly the inclusion-denoting inessive and the adessive, overlap with the essive case in expressing various kinds of (non-permanent) states. From the viewpoint of temporariness, it must be noted that these three cases are also the most central elements that are used in expressing time. In this function, they constitute a rather intangible web in which their semantic differences become vague (see Hynönen 2016). However, this is not the case in expressing non-permanent states: the semantic territories of the cases are conceptually rather unambiguous, albeit in different ways. The use of the same root words is rare and mostly restricted to a few lexicalised forms, and the variation is not free (see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 246–247, in this volume).

The most interesting issue considering the relationship between the essive and the local cases may be the distribution of their functions as well the lexical items used in the inflection. There is also variation in the predominance of the functions: the inessive and the adessive are primarily local cases, while the essive, despite its history, is not. This also means that the state-denoting functions of the inessive and the adessive are fundamentally metaphoric or extensional in relation to their locational functions.

The inessive and the essive cases both express non-permanent states, but they are used with different lexemes (e.g. noun + INE vs. adjective + ESS; Example 20–21).

(20) *Minä ole-n influenssa-ssa.*
 I be-1SG flu-INE
 ‘I have a flu.’ (lit. ‘I am in a flu’)

(21) *Minä ole-n sairaa-na.*
 I be-1SG ill-ESS
 ‘I am [temporarily] ill.’

Examples 20–21 show different root words in the same schematic category being coded by different cases, yet in a similar function. There are similar functional overlappings with the adessive case as well (adjective + ADE ~ ESS; Example 22).

- (22) *Vatsa-ni* *on* *löysä-llä* ~ *löysä-nä*.
 stomach-1SG.POSS be.3SG loose-ADE ~ loose-ESS
 ‘I have a diarrhoea.’ (lit. ‘My stomach is **loose** at the moment.’)

As demonstrated in Example 22, some occasions allow the possibility of using the same root word in both the local and essive case. Take, for example, certain loci, such as units of measurement, including currencies (ESS vs. INE *mitata metrei-nä* ~ *metrei-ssä* ‘to measure in metres’; ESS vs. ADE vs. INE *maksu euroi-na* ~ *euroi-lla* ~ *euroi-ssa* ‘payment in euros’) and expressions of dimension (*Kuva on suora-na* ~ *suora-ssa* picture is straight-ESS ~ straight-INE ‘The picture is straight’). The difference in the conceptualisation lies in the semantic territories of the cases: for instance, in the example with the euro, there is the possibility of coding an alternative state of the currency (ESS, INE), or the currency as an instrument of purchase (ADE). The essive and inessive cases are different conceptualisations of alternative states, and this kind of overlap is quite rare. The difference between the two can be described in relation to their prototypes: the inessive case has a more distinctive locational meaning of being in a certain position, whereas the essive case implies that the position is temporary.

The use of local cases is especially typical in expressing psychophysical states of human entities (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 296, in this volume). The essive case is, nevertheless, less restricted than its local counterparts, since there is practically no risk of ambiguity due to its scarcity of functions: essive case elements express a state, whereas the inessive and adessive cases have various functions.

4.4 VERBAL BORDERLINES: ASPECTUAL FEATURES AND DERIVATION

Choice of aspect is based on the conceptualisation of the speaker, not on an objective observation (Comrie 1981, 4). The essive case has progressive-continuative meanings within the expressions of state, and therefore it can be described as an aspectual element used in nominal predication. It adds verb-like qualities to adjectival predicates (Pajunen 2000, 80) and makes class inclusion to be more like a process. It has a function analogous to the progressive construction *olla tekemässä* (‘to be doing something’), and it is used in functions parallel to a temporal converb construction: *Nuore-na* ~ *Olle-ssa-ni nuori ol-i-n opettaja-na* (young-ESS ~ be-INE-POSS young be-POST-1SG teacher-ESS) ‘When I was young, I worked as a teacher.’ It also has a function similar to derivational suffixes that are used in expressing a role or property as a process (for example, noun *tuomari* ‘referee’, *olla tuomari-na* ‘to be a referee’ > verb *tuomaroida* ‘to serve as a referee’, noun *puna* ‘redness’ > adjective *olla punainen*, *punaise-na* verb *punoittaa* ‘to be red’).

The first of the verbal close categories is the progressive (continuative) *-massa/-mässä* infinitive which has uses similar to the English *-ing* progressive. It consists of two affixes: the infinitive *-ma/-mä* and the inessive

case ending. This progressive construction and essive case nouns have different functions, but their relationship is interesting from the viewpoint of aspect. In Finnish, there is a gap in the paradigm: the verb *olla* ‘to be’ does not have a progressive form in a progressive use. There is the structurally coherent form *olla olemassa*, but it is used in expressing existence (*Joulupukki on ole-ma-ssa* Father Christmas is be-INF-INE ‘Father Christmas exists’), not in structures expressing continuity of a state like the progressive form of *be* in the English sentence *Robin is being nice* does. There are other coding strategies for progressive states, and the essive is one of them.

The second group of verbal close categories are verb structures which consist of the *e*-infinitive form and the inessive case suffix. They are used in expressing a process simultaneous with the governing structure. This temporal converb construction and the essive case secondary predicates form an interesting continuum (Examples 23–26).

- (23) *Opiskelija-na Kaino työskentel-i usein illa-lla.*
 Student-ESS K. work-PST.3SG often evening-ADE
 ‘When he was a student, Kaino often worked in the evening.’ (lit. ‘as a student’)
- (24) *Oll-e-ssa-an opiskelija Kaino työskentel-i usein illa-lla.*
 be-INF-INE-POSS3 student.NOM K. work-PST.3SG often evening-ADE
 ‘When he was a student, Kaino often worked in the evening.’ (lit. ‘when being a student’)
- (25) *Ol-le-ssa-an opiskelija-na Kaino työskentel-i usein illa-lla.*
 be-INF-INE-POSS3 student-ESS K. work-PST.3SG often evening-ADE
 ‘When he was a student, Kaino often worked in the evening.’ (lit. ‘when being as a student’)
- (26) *Kun Kaino ol-i opiskelija, hän työskentel-i usein illa-lla.*
 when K. be-PST.3SG student s/he work-PST.3SG often evening-ADE
 ‘When he was a student, Kaino often worked in the evening.’ (lit. ‘when s/he was a student’)

In these examples, the situation is conceptualised differently, but there is little semantic difference. On the one hand, adding the infinitive structure does not affect the interpretation, instead, it merely emphasises the temporality of the secondary predicate or even processualises it, also eliminating the possibility of interpreting it as being causal. On the other hand, the infinitive itself has a de-processualising effect on the copula. This ambivalence presents the continuum between nominal and verbal predication both structurally and semantically. Essive case temporals formed from inherently temporal word roots (e.g. *aikuisena* ‘as an adult’; see Section 3) are almost¹¹ unambiguously time-denoting as such, but lexemes that do not express age or a stage of development can also be temporalised (see also Nichols 1981, 134–135; Huomo 1999, 393–394).

11 There is, of course, the possibility that a lexical element has other meanings as well, depending on the context. The word *lapsi* ‘child’ can also be used in the meaning of ‘offspring.’

The third group of verbal close categories includes so-called essential verbal derivatives which, in most occasions, have the function of expressing the role of a human referent. They are formed from nouns by adding a verbalizing derivative affix, mostly *-(e/i)le-*, *-oi-* or *-öi-* (*Kaino nimby-ile-e ~ tunar-oi* 'Kaino is being a nimby ~ messing it up' [lit. 'being a bungler']). This derivation type, particularly the variant containing also the frequentative affix *-le-*, is very productive in non-formal contexts (Hakulinen et al. 2004, § 308). A close equivalent to this in English is when nouns are used as verbs (*pickpocket > to pickpocket*). Moreover, similar verbal derivation is possible for colour adjectives by using different affixes (*punertaa ~ punoittaa* 'to be reddish ~ to be red'). There is a difference in the dynamicity of the conceptualisation of the state from the most permanent nominative case to the most non-permanent finite verb form. The essive case and the progressive (infinitive) verb form are the transitional forms in between (Examples 27–30):

Permanent class inclusion:

- (27) *Kaino on painituomari.*
 K. be.3SG wrestling.referee.NOM
 'Kaino is a wrestling referee (that has a license).'

Non-permanent class inclusion:

- (28) *Kaino on painituomari-na.*
 K. be.3SG wrestling.referee-ESS
 'Kaino is (serving as) a wrestling referee (in this match).'

Process:

- (29) *Kaino on tuomar-oi-ma-ssa painiottelu-a ~ painiottelu-ssa.*
 K. be.3SG referee-VZ-INF-INE wrestling.match-PAR ~ wrestling.match-INE
 'Kaino is refereeing a wrestling match.' (progressive)

Action:

- (30) *Kaino tuomar-oi painiottelua ~ painiottelussa.*
 K. referee-VZ.3SG wrestling.match-PAR ~ wrestling.match-INE
 'Kaino is refereeing a wrestling match.' (non-progressive)¹²

It must be also mentioned that the essive case is also present in a lexicalised form called a quasi construction, which is marked with a complex combination of suffixes (*Hän on laula-v-i-na-an* 'S/he is sing-PTCP-PL-ESS-POSS3 'S/he pretends to be singing')¹³. In this construction, the essive case provides the meaning component of an alternative state as well as an evaluation. Taru Salminen (2000, 154; see also Salminen 2002) has stated that the semantic features of the essive case may even have motivated the meaning of the whole construction.

12 This continuum can be extended to cover even more active events, that is the uses of the verb *tuomita* 'to judge, to referee' which is the root word of the noun *tuomari* 'judge, referee'.

13 In dialects, there is some variation in the number of suffixes forming the construction.

4.5 -*STI* ADVERBIALS: A THIN LINE BETWEEN MANNER AND STATE
 The fifth and final borderline is drawn between the essive case and an element which can also be counted as part of lexical semantics and word derivation, and it is an example of the continuum between grammar and lexicon. This element is the suffix *-sti* which is used to form adverbials of manner from adjectival stems; the English equivalent is the suffix *-ly* (*kiva* > *kiva-sti* ‘nice > nicely’) (Jääskeläinen in this volume). Syntactically, the two forms can be used quite similarly (31).

- (31) *Kaino katsele-e lintu-a tarkkaavaise-na ~ tarkkaavaise-sti.*
 K. watch-3SG bird-PAR attentive-ESS ~ attentive-MAN
 ‘Kaino is watching the bird attentively’. (lit. ‘being attentive at the same time ~ in an attentive manner’)

There is a conceptual difference between the variations in Example 25: the essive case depictive secondary predicate is participant-oriented whereas the adverbial of manner is event-oriented. Accordingly, the essive case in general is not defined as a manner-coding affix (see Lundgren 1992, 36), but there have been alternative perceptions as well (e.g. Virkkunen 1977, 6; Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, 219).

It must be also emphasised that not all Finnish verbs allow for this kind of overlapping involving the characterisation of the referent of the subject and the event described by the verb. For example, in the sentences *Hän vatka-a kerma-a vihaise-na* (s/he whip-PRS.3SG cream.PRT angry-ESS ‘S/he is whipping the cream and is angry’) and *Hän vatka-a kerma-a vihaise-sti* (s/he whip-PRS.3SG cream.PRT angry-MAN ‘S/he is whipping the cream angrily’) the difference is clear: the essive case predicate nominal describes the state of mind the person whipping the cream is in, whereas the adverb form expresses the manner of the whipping. These two can be reflected in one another, but the opposition of the meanings is still present.

The relationship between expressing state (ESS) and manner (e.g. *-sti*) is semantically somewhat problematic to describe, as is, for example, the difference between English equivalents (in relation to depictives, see Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005, 2). In principle, depictives and adverbials of manner contrast distinctively as adjuncts since depictives are primarily modifiers of the trajectors of the relationship, whereas adverbials of manner are modifiers of verbs, mostly verbal predicates. These functions, however, overlap, and it must be emphasised that it is very common for manner and state to be coded with the same strategies (see Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004, 61; 2005, 32; de Groot 2008, 92–93). Sometimes a substitution test can be used for identifying adverbials of manner (*He shouted angrily* > *in an angry manner*): this kind of substitution is never possible in essive case depictives (see also Hakulinen 1979, 577, Karlsson 1995, 55). The difference can also be described based on the function of the constituent (Vilkuna 2000, 170).

5 Conclusion

The essive clearly covers its own semantic territory in the complex system of elements used in expressing non-permanent states. However, it can be argued that it does not have a clearly specific function which could not be covered by other affixes or structures or be implied by contextual circumstantial factors. The territory is quite established in relation to its semantic neighbours, although it can be conceptually vague, since the (super)schematic level of the essive case is somewhat abstract itself.

From the viewpoint of semantic border zones, the semantic territory of the essive case seems to lie in the progressiveness of a prototypically stative event. This feature can be seen differently in relation to its neighbouring element: within the border zone of infinitive verbal structures or so-called essential or essive verbs, the essive case covers a semantic territory of a more stative yet somewhat dynamic conceptualisation, whereas in contrast to nominative case nominal predicates, the essive case is the more dynamic option. This shows the diversity of grammatical choice when expressing state.

There are various types of partial overlapping or conceptual vagueness in the border zones. The relationship between the essive case and the manner-denoting affix *-sti* is conceptually clear on the schematic level, but there are elaborations that do not show an absolute difference, at least in minimal pairing. The border zones of the essive and translative cases show similar tendencies: the stative/depictive and resultative functions are easily defined on a conceptual level, whereas some of the more or less abstract ones seem to overlap.

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Comitative case in use

Abstract

This article examines the Finnish comitative case *-ine* and analysis its functions and usage based on a large contemporary text corpus of written Finnish. The prototypic function of the comitative is to express accompaniment of human participants. The main meanings expressed by *-ine* in the data, in the order of frequency, are composition, connection, accompaniment, inherent part-whole relation, possession, and spatial relation. The data reveal that *-ine* is more often used in functions beyond the prototypic one, combining inanimate rather than animate participants. Furthermore, the usage of the case is more productive at the periphery of the functional domain than in its core, and *-ine* is most creatively used to portray the world: to demonstrate connections between things, and to describe the parts that form and define wholes or sets. A comparison to the postposition construction *kanssa* ‘with’ shows that *kanssa* concentrates at the core of the comitative’s functional domain, predominantly expressing the companion of an active, human agent. Hence, the two forms have different functional domains and complete one another as a means of expression, and thus far there is no evidence of one replacing the other.

1 Introduction

The comitative is a morphological form that primarily expresses the accompaniment of prototypically human participants. Accompaniment is an asymmetric relationship of (at least) two participants with the main actor, the accompanee (name proposed by Stolz et al 2005; 2006; 2009), and the companion who participates in the situation only through the former as the secondary actor. The comitative marks the landmark and it is typically¹ used to encode the companion. In other words, the comitative expresses a relation in which the landmark is the companion and the trajector is the accompanee.

1 One exception is the Finnish *mukana, mukaan* ‘with, along’ that is used to mark the accompanee (Ojutkangas 2017a,b).

Arrangement 1 is an illustration of the comitative expression. In addition to the primary function of accompaniment, the comitative has other functions in the world's languages as well. (See Stolz et al 2006 for the typology of the comitative.)

TRAJECTOR = ACCOMPANEE	VERB	LANDMARK = COMPANION
<u>Merja</u>	moved	with her family.

Arrangement 1. An example of a comitative expression.

The Finnish language has several morphological means to express accompaniment. This study focuses on the most grammatical one, the comitative case *-ine*[-POSS], as illustrated in example 1. To facilitate the reading of examples in this analysis, the landmarks (companions) are emphasised in bold print and the trajectors (accompanees) are underlined.

- (1) Merja muutt-i **perhe-ine-en** kerrostalo-on.
 name move-PST.3SG family-COM-POSS3 apartment.block-ILL
 'Merja moved with her family into an apartment block.'

It is important to remember that the term *comitative* refers to a form, not a meaning, and hence notions such as “the comitative (semantic) relation” or “comitativity” that combine the two should not be used. In the Finnish linguistic tradition, the term comitative is only reserved for the comitative case form. However, from the typological perspective that was adopted in Sirola-Belliard (2016) (also Ojutkangas 2017a, 2017b), the comitative refers not only to an inflectional affix (the most common in the world's languages is a suffix, as N-COM in Finnish), but it also refers to other morphological forms such as an adposition, an adverbial construction, or a serial-verb construction. The most frequent comitative adposition in Finnish is the postposition *kanssa* ‘with’, which is also discussed in this article. As regards the meaning that the comitative markers (prototypically) express, an apt term for it is accompaniment, rather than “comitativity” or other terms.

The main focus of this study is to analyse the comitative case *-ine* and to introduce the different meanings and uses of *-ine* that occur in a large contemporary text corpus. This study demonstrates that the comitative case has a wider usage in current written Finnish than what has been described in Finnish grammars and textbooks where *-ine* is considered a marginal case, and that the comitative case has productive usage in current written Finnish, contradicting the assumption of *-ine* being unproductive. At the end of the paper, by consulting the same text corpus, I also briefly discuss the usage of the postposition *kanssa* that expresses an accompaniment relation that is not as clearly asymmetric as the one expressed by *-ine*. As a result of that comparison, it is evident that the functional domain of *-ine* differs significantly from that of the *kanssa* construction. The results of this paper are based on Sirola-Belliard (2016).

The argumentation proceeds such that I describe the data and method of research in Section 2. Section 3 provides the background for this analysis by describing the formal features of the comitative case and introduces

the previous descriptions of its functions. The following Sections 4–6 concentrate on the semantics of the comitative. Section 4 outlines the basic grounds for the meanings of *-ine*, Section 5 introduces the various uses of the comitative case found in the corpus to convey different meanings, and Section 6 compares the usages of *-ine* and *kanssa*. Finally, Section 7 features a discussion on the data containing new evidence that the functional domain of the comitative case is clearly wider than what former descriptions have indicated.

2 The data and methodology

This study is based on a newspaper corpus of 31 million words HS2000 (Pajunen 2003; Virtanen 2000–2003), which is composed of the volumes 2000 and 2001 of *Helsingin Sanomat*, Finland's leading national newspaper.² As HS2000 not only includes the actual news but all the other edited texts published in the newspaper as well, such as columns, sports, art criticism, readers' letters, etc., it represents written standard Finnish in depth.

The whole corpus contains approximately 6 600 occurrences of the comitative case, and of these, approximately 5 600 nouns are inflected in the comitative (the remaining being modifiers – adjectives, pronouns and numerals). The postposition construction N-GEN + *kanssa* occurs in the corpus about 23 500 times. The principal data for this research consist of the first 1 000 sentences with the case ending *-ine* and the first 1 000 sentences with the postposition *kanssa*; only the quantitative analyses conducted on the syntactic features have been based on the first 500 examples of each form, and the quantitative analyses of animacy is based on the first 2 000 examples of each form.

The data were analysed both syntactically and semantically. The main syntactic features examined were the components of the comitative phrase, the position of the phrase in the sentence, and the word order in the sentence. The main semantic features included the participant animacy, the interrelationship of the participants, and the semantic type of the governing verb. The analysis of the different meanings was predominantly based on the animacy of the participants, which was divided into four categories: human, nonhuman animate, concrete inanimate, and abstract inanimate. When considering the additional meanings that the comitative acquires in context, the entire sentence was also considered, including the word order and the verb semantics. If not mentioned separately, all the examples used in this paper are from the corpus data, although they are often simplified for the sake of clarity.

2 I would like to thank Sanoma Company for the opportunity to use Helsingin Sanomat for this research.

3 The background of *-ine*

A comitative case expression typically includes a noun (or several nouns) inflected in the comitative case *-ine* that express(es) the companion and a noun (or several nouns) that express(es) the accompanee. While *-ine* marks the landmark and encodes the companion, the accompanee is not marked by any specific morphological form. However, the accompanee is often specified by the subject or the object of the predicate verb. Examples of these are *Merja* (example 1) and *Alvar Öhmanin* (example 2), respectively, and they correspond to 78% and 19% of the *-ine* corpus data occurrences of the clear cases, respectively. (See Table 2 that compares the syntactic positions of the trajector-NPs of *-ine* and the postposition *kanssa*, Section 6.2.)

(2)	Hilkka	Helsti	tapas-i	neuvola-ssa
	name	name	meet-PST.3SG	child.welfare.clinic-INE
	piene-n	<u>Alvar</u>	<u>Öhman-in</u>	äite-ine-en.
	little-ACC	name	name-ACC	mother-COM-POSS3
	'Hilkka Helsti met at a child welfare clinic little Alvar Öhman with his mother.			

Interpretation of the right accompanee in a transitive clause is often based on the context. This is apparent in example 2. A neutral situation at a child welfare clinic is that a child, Alvar Öhman is the accompanee (expressed by the object argument), who is accompanied by his mother. However, the expression itself would enable the interpretation that little Alvar alone would meet Hilkka Helsti and **Hilkka's** mother (in this interpretation the accompanee of the mother is the subject referent). For example, in sentences like *Hilkka tapa-si Alvar-in ystävä-ine-en* Hilkka meet-PST Alvar-GEN friend-COM-POSS3, both interpretations, 'Hilkka met Alvar+friend(s)' and 'Hilkka+friend(s) met Alvar' are equally possible.

When using the case ending *-ine*, the accompanee is practically always verbalised explicitly, either as a separate NP (such as *Merja* and *Alvar Öhmanin* in examples 1 and 2) or as a personal suffix in the verb conjugation (as the singular first person suffix *-n* in example 3). In 99% of the collected examples from the data, the accompanee is expressed in the same sentence as the *-ine* phrase, but it can also be presented further in the context. The comitative case ending resembles the other case endings in Finnish in that it has adjectival modifiers agreeing with its head nouns³. This is illustrated in example 4.

3 A modifier also appears marginally in the instructive case *-in*. The incongruent inflection mainly concerns the pronoun *oma* 'own', such as *om-in lup-ine-nsa* own-INSTR permission-COM-POSS3 'without permission [lit. with one's own permission]' as in the example from the data: *Valtiovarainministeriö käytti vararahastoa om-in lup-ine-nsa* 'The Ministry of Finance used a reserve fund without permission [lit. with its own permission]'. In more informal language, the incongruent version appears to be far more common than in the written language. In addition, a modifier in the genitive case is also used (accounting for 3% of the comitative phrases in the data), as in *piha henkilökunna-n pysäköintipaikko-ine-en* yard staff-GEN parking.

- (3) Taaperra-n **varuste-ine-ni** venee-n laida-lle.
waddle-1SG equipment-COM-POSS1SG boat-GEN side-ALL
'I waddle with my equipment to one side of the boat.'
- (4) Ittapala **punais-ine** **mehu-ine-en** ja **täpötäys-ine** **lautas-ine-en**
Supper red-COM juice-COM-POSS3 and jam-packed-COM plate-COM-POSS3

oli tarjolla säännöllisesti
be-PST.3SG served regularly
'Supper with red juice and jam-packed plates was served regularly.'

When the comitative case ending *-ine* is attached to a noun, it is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix, while the modifiers appear without a suffix. This is illustrated in example 4: the nouns *mehu-ine-en* juice-COM-POSS3 and *lautas-ine-en* plate-COM-POSS3 take the possessive suffix but the modifiers *punais-ine* red-COM and *täpötäys-ine* jam-packed-COM are without. The landmark of the possessive suffix predominantly coincides with the trajector of the comitative case and, hence, indicates the accompanee (as in examples 1–4 with Merja, Alvar Öhman, me and supper; see also the case A in Arrangement 2), although this is not necessary. Let us consider a rare example in the corpus, (5): the landmark of the singular second person possessive suffix *-si* is not the accompanee 'the villains' but the singular 2. person 'you' – the reader or more generic unspecified person (see also case B in Arrangement 2). This is possible because the possessive suffix relation has its own trajector and landmark that are separate from those of the comitative expression⁴, as illustrated in Arrangement 2.

- (5) Rahastoyhtiö-n konna-t livistä-vät **raho-ine-si** mene-mä-än.
fund-GEN villain-PL run.off-3PL money-COM-POSS2SG go-INF-ILL
'The villains of the fund will run off with your money.'

	RELATION TYPE	TRAJECTOR	LANDMARK
A	comitative case	<i>Merja</i> (ACCOMPANEE) Merja 'Merja'	<i>perhe-ine-en</i> (COMPANION) family-COM-POSS3 'with her family'
	possessive suffix	her family	Merja
B	comitative case	<i>konna-t</i> (ACCOMPANEE) villain-PL 'the villains'	<i>raho-ine-si</i> (COMPANION) money-COM-POSS2SG 'with your money'
	possessive suffix	your money	2SG

Arrangement 2. The different relations of the comitative expression and the possessive suffix.

space-COM-POSS3 'a yard with parking space(s) for the staff [lit. of the staff]', even though the grammarians do not usually mention at all the possibility of having the modifier in the genitive case – and the only one who does (Penttilä 1957, 438) claims it to be impossible. (For a more detailed overview, see Sirola-Belliard 2016, 85f.)

4 I would like to thank Tuomas Huumo for this observation.

The comitative case *-ine* is always formally plural, even when coding singular referents, and this is because the case ending includes the plural marker *-i-*. (For a review of the *-i-* element in grammars, see Litola 2017 and Sirola-Belliard 2016, 60.) The interpretation of whether there is one companion or many is often implicit and related to the lexical semantics, as in example 1 *perheineen* family-COM-POSS3 (one usually has only one family). The interpretation can also be directed by the context or general conventions as in example 6 *flyygele-ine-en* grand.piano-COM-POSS3 (one assumes that a platform in a waiting room contains only one grand piano at a time). The number sometimes remains ambivalent, as in example 7 *emo pentu-ine-en* dam cub-COM-POSS3 (the bear dam can have only one cub as likely as several cubs). When needed, the plurality of the expression can be emphasised by suitable modifiers. Examples of these are *mon-ine* many-COM, *lukuis-ine* numerous-COM or, most commonly, *kaikk-ine* all-COM as in example 8, with *kaikkine* specifying that more than one bonus is included in the salary.

- (6) Odotussali-n keske-llä on koroke **flyygele-ine-en**.
 Waiting.room-GEN middle-ADE be.3SG platform grand.piano-COM-POSS3
 'In the middle of the waiting room there is a platform with a grand piano.'
- (7) Karhujahdi-ssa kaade-ttiin emo **pentu-ine-en**.
 Bear.hunt-INE shoot-PASS.PST dam cub-COM-POSS3
 'During bear hunting, a dam with her cub was shot.'
- (8) Nyt palkka-ni on kaikk-ine **lis-ine-en** 10817 mk.
 now salary-POSS1SG be.3SG all-COM bonus-COM-POSS3 10817 mark
 'Now my salary is all the bonuses included [lit. with all its bonuses] 10817 marks.'

The landmark of *-ine* typically occurs in the sentence immediately following the trajector (in 66% of the corpus data), as in examples 2–4, 6 and 7 above, but the landmark and the trajector can also be located apart. In the latter case, the most common place for the landmark is after the predicate verb (19% of the data), as in examples 1, 5 and 8 above. However, the landmark can also follow some other word in the sentence (7%), or occur at the very beginning of the sentence (4%) (the remaining 4% of the data consist of occurrences that have more than one possible interpretation) (see Table 3 that compares the elements preceding the landmark-NPs of *-ine* and *kanssa*, Section 6.2).

In case systems in general, the comitative case belongs to cases that are referred to as semantic (Blake 2001, 33) or concrete (nonspatial) (Haspelmath 2009). The comitative only appears in large case systems, usually in languages that also have local case(s) (Blake 2001, 155ff.). Within the Finnish case system, the comitative case *-ine* has the lowest frequency of all the case endings, accounting for 0.1% of the inflected nouns in the standard written language (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §1227, Table 10) and even less in the spoken language (Ikola 1999, 59–60). In the entire corpus of the Finnish daily newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, the comitative covers 0.12% of

the inflected nouns and 0.02% of all the words. As a contrast, for example the inessive case ‘in, inside’ occurs in 15.7% of the inflected nouns and in 2.4% of all the words. Besides being infrequently used, the comitative is also one of the youngest case endings in the Finnish case system, having evolved through the fusion of different elements. However, there is no general agreement on the exact origin of the comitative; most probably the comitative case is related to the essive case. (For a summary of the different views, see Sirola-Belliard 2016, 59–60.)

If the origins of the Finnish comitative case are uncertain, even less is known concerning the development of the functions of *-ine*. Ravila assumed (1943, 255–257) that *-ine* was originally used to express co-ordination, as copulative conjunctions did not exist in the proto-Uralic language. However, no further research appears to have been conducted on the history of the functions of *-ine*, apart from a brief reference to the old dialectic usages of *-ine* in Litola (2015, 30). Before any conclusions can be drawn on how the functions of the case developed, more thorough diachronic research needs to be conducted.

In earlier descriptions the comitative case has unanimously been considered “marginal” (Siro 1964, 63) and “underutilized” (Hakulinen et al 2004 §1261), among the other two most infrequent Finnish cases, abessive and instructive. (For an apology for the abessive case, see Ylikoski 2021; see also Introduction in this volume.) Furthermore, it has been claimed that the comitative case is unproductive (Grünthal 2000, 48–49, 2003, 27; Helasvuo 2001, 37), is mostly used in fixed expressions (Vilkuna 2000, 81) and is losing its functions (see Stolz ym. 2006, 61; latest Metslang et al 2017) to be replaced by postposition *kanssa* (Stolz et al 2005, 214; 2006, 61). However, thus far, little evidence has been presented to support these claims. For example, in order to make the conclusion of a decrease of the functions or *kanssa* replacing *-ine*, a thorough diachronic study is needed. Meanwhile, we can observe present day language, such as the corpus data of this study, and notice that *-ine* is used notably wider than the preceding assumptions or descriptions of the comitative case’s functions indicate. This gives a temptation to suggest that the case’s functions might even be increasing, at least in the written language (some suggestions of this were also presented by Ikola 1999).

Indeed, the description of *-ine* given by Finnish language textbooks does not account for a significant proportion of the actual usage in the contemporary written language (for example, see Ikola 2001, 35–36; Korpela 2004–2015 s.v. komitatiivi; Korpela 2015, chapter 90; Saarimaa 1967, 173–174, 218). According to the textbooks, *-ine* should only be used in the meaning ‘A and his/its B’ where the possessive relation between the accompanee and the companion is alienable and the comitative modifies the predicate verb (for instance, this was evident in example 1: *Merja muutti perheineen* ‘Merja moved with her family ~ Merja and her family moved’).

Apart from this meaning ‘A and his/its B’ proposed in textbooks, the comitatives that occur in the corpus exhibit a wide range of usage. Let us consider three examples. Firstly, some comitatives express possession (as found in example 3 above: *taaperran varuste-ine-ni* ‘I waddle with my equipment’, cf. *‘I and my equipment waddle’). Secondly, some comitatives

combine participants in an inalienable relation that expresses a part of a whole (as in the body-part expression in example 9 *raajamme kehittyvät käsiksi sorm-ine-en* ‘our limbs develop into arms with fingers’, cf. *‘limbs develop into arms and fingers’). Thirdly, some comitatives are used as noun modifiers (as in example 10: *miehet poskikiharo-ine-en* ‘men with the locks on their cheeks’, cf. *‘men and the locks on their cheeks’). The latest comprehensive grammar of Finnish (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §1264) mentions three meanings for *-ine*. The first is accompaniment, the second, a part of a whole relation (although only when the whole is expressed by the subject or the object of the sentence, excluding the usage found in example 9), and finally, possession.

- (9) Raaja-mme kehitty-vät käs-i-ksi **sorm-ine-en** ja jalo-i-ksi **varpa-ine-en**.
 limb- develop- arm-PL- finger-COM- and leg-PL-TRA toe-COM-POSS3
 POSS1PL 3PL TRA POSS3

‘Our limbs develop into arms that include fingers and legs that include toes.’

- (10) Ne mustatakkise-t miehe-t **poskikiharo-ine-en** o-vat useimmiten haside-ja.
 those black-jacketed-PL man-PL cheek.lock-COM- be-3PL mostly hasidic-PL.PAR
 POSS3

‘Those men with a black jacket and locks on their cheeks are in most cases Hasidic men.’

As no diachronic research has been conducted on the functions of *-ine*, one can only speculate as to how long these meanings have belonged to the usage of the case ending. Indeed, it appears that using *-ine* in wider meanings than those described in the grammars and language guidance might not be a recent phenomenon, considering that the literature has strongly concentrated on providing instructions on how **not** to use the case. In the nineteenth century, Ahlqvist (1873, 61) was one of the first to emphasise the need for a specific semantic relation between the participants that are connected by *-ine*, such that only participants belonging together *indispensably* or *naturally* are accepted (as in *miekka tupp-ine-nsa* sword scabbard-COM-POSS3 ‘a sword with its scabbard’), while random co-occurrence should not be expressed by *-ine* but rather with the postposition *kanssa* (for example **Uusi Testamentti selityks-ine-en* new testament explanation-COM-POSS3 ‘The New Testament with its explanations’). This could imply that the real usage of *-ine* has long been more variable than the official descriptions, but a diachronic study is needed to verify this.

It is also important to note that the few remarks that have been made in grammars concerning the syntactic position of the comitative case ending state that it can only modify the subject or object of the sentence (Penttilä 1957, 437–438, Setälä 1966, 77). Although this applies to a major part of the corpus data, some comitatives modify an adverbial (3% of the data). The latter is illustrated by example 9 above, and by example 11 in which the landmark is *ongelmineen* ‘with its problems’ and the trajectory is *entistämisestä* ‘about the restoration’, which is an adverbial. As this alternative has neither been mentioned in grammars, nor has it been reported to appear in the earliest Finnish written sources, and as the first notions of it are rather recent (Andersson 1963), it may be a new arrival in a newspaper language

(as assumes Ikola 1999). The latest comprehensive grammar (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §1264) remains neutral and only states that a comitative phrase modifies “some other noun phrase in the sentence”.

- (11) Mahdy kerto-o Kairo-n rakennus-ten entistämise-stä **ongelm-ine-en**.
 name tell-3SG name- building-PL. restoration-ELA problem-COM-POSS3
 GEN GEN
 ‘Mahdy tells about the restoration of the buildings in Cairo and the problems related to that.’

The current study does not adopt a normative stance but instead examines all the usages of the comitative equally that occur in the corpus data.

4 *The foundation for the functions of -ine*

The meanings that the comitative case ending can express are founded on two features of *-ine*: the asymmetry of the participants, and the obligatory possessive suffix. Let us first consider the asymmetry. As the companion exists and participates in the situation only through the accompanee, the two are necessarily situated on the same side in the force-dynamics (Talmy 1988), the companion cannot have its own participant role separate from the accompanee and hence, it does not have any independence in the action. In other words, the comitative case ending can only express parallel co-participation (such as ‘walk’, ‘sing’, ‘live’, or ‘feed the ducks with someone’) with the participants being on the same side in the force-dynamics. The comitative case ending cannot express reciprocal relations (such as ‘fight’, ‘discuss’, ‘date’, or ‘negotiate with someone’) that require independent participants in separate roles, on opposing sides in the force dynamics. (For the different types of co-participation, see Creissels and Nougulier-Voisin 2008, 291–293.)

The second feature concerns the obligatory possessive suffix that is attached to the case ending when inflecting a noun. The landmark of the possessive suffix coincides, in most cases, with the trajector of the comitative case, namely the accompanee (for other, rare cases, see example 5 and the Arrangement 2 above). This creates a semantic bond between the accompanee and the companion. The most likely reason that *-ine* can express all the possessive notions listed by Heine (1997, 34–35) is due to the possessive suffix. The first three notions – physical (the trajector is contiguous to the landmark), temporary (the trajector controls the landmark temporarily) and permanent possession (the trajector owns the landmark) – are often bound together, as exemplified by *varuste-ine-ni* ‘with my equipment’ in example 3 above. The other four possessive notions are abstract possession (as expressed in ex. 12 below: *ihmiset pelko-ine-en* ‘people with their fear(s)'), inalienable possession (in ex. 13: *äiti tyttär-ine-en* ‘mother with her daughter(s)'), inanimate inalienable possession (in ex. 14: *rakennus torne-ine-en* ‘building with its tower(s)'), and inanimate alienable possession (in ex. 15: *rakennus irtaimisto-ine-en* ‘building with its fittings’).

- (12) Ihmise-t joutu-vat **pelko-ine-en** vieraa-seen ympäristö-ön.
 person-PL end.up-3PL fear-COM-POSS3 unfamiliar-ILL environment-ILL
 ‘People end up with their fear(s) in an unfamiliar environment.’
- (13) Äiti **tyttär-ine-en** ol-i syöttä-mä-ssä sors-i-a.
 mother daughter-COM-POSS3 be-PST.3SG feed-INF-INE duck-PL-PAR
 ‘Mother with her daughter(s) was feeding ducks.’
- (14) Rakennus palo-i korke-ine **torne-ine-en** maa-n tasa-lle.
 building burn-PST.3SG high-COM tower-COM-POSS3 ground-GEN level-ALL
 ‘The building burned down with its high tower(s).’
- (15) Rakennus tuho-utu-i **irtaimisto-ine-en**.
 building destroy-REFL-PST.3SG fitting-COM-POSS3
 ‘The building was destroyed with its fittings.’

This semantic bond between the accompanee and the companion enables *-ine* to express meanings that transcend the prototypic function of the comitative, the expression of accompaniment, and that often indicate that participants together form different types of wholes or sets. It is interesting that a similar type of comitative morpheme is found in another Uralic language, Hill Mari, in which the affix *-ge* is used to combine parts that are necessary in forming an object or a set, whereas the postposition *dono* ‘with’ is not restricted to any particular type of participant (Khomchenkova 2019; p.c. Khomchenkova 24.9.2020).

It is important to note, nonetheless, that the possibilities for the landmarks of *-ine* are considerably limited by the obligatory possessive suffix. The circumstances in which the landmark of the comitative case ending can be a proper name are rather limited, and pronouns as its landmarks are effectively non-existent. When the comitative case ending has a proper name as a landmark and the comitative expresses prototypic accompaniment, (such as *Eira saapu-i Risto-ine-en* name arrive-PST.3SG name-COM-POSS3 ‘Eira arrived with her Risto’), the primary interpretation is that the two participants form a couple. Furthermore, the possessive relation between the participants appears to become marked and the expression consequently conveys a distinctive meaning, such as cuddling (‘with Risto who is her lovable companion’) or even disparagement (‘with Risto who is nothing else than her companion’). A revealing fact is that these usages are not found in the corpus. The rare corpus cases where the landmark of *-ine* is a proper name are not used to express accompaniment but, instead, a part-whole relationship: the accompanee corresponds to a whole and the companion is indicated to be a part of that whole. This is illustrated by example 16 in which *-ine* is used to single one (the leading) figure of a musical group. (Proper names as landmarks of the comitative case ending have been analysed more precisely in Sirola-Belliard 2016, 182–184, 187–189.)

- (16) Rolling Stones on Mick Jaggere-ine-en EMI:n vetonaulo-j-a.
 name name be.3SG name name-COM-POSS3 name-GEN drawcard-PL-PAR
 ‘Rolling Stones, with Mick Jagger [as its leader], is one of the drawcards of EMI.’

To summarise, the meaning of *-ine* is constructed on the basis of asymmetric participants who are usually bound together by the possessive suffix. The key to the more precise function of each comitative construction is the animacy of the participants. (For animacy in general, see Croft 2003; Yamamoto 1999; for the impact on the meaning of cases, see Aristar 1997; Kittilä et al 2011, 18–22; and in the Finnish context, see Laitinen and Vilkuuna 1993, 42–45; Helasvuo and Campbell 2006.)

As was illustrated above, the comitative expresses prototypically a relation between (at least) two human participants, as in example 1: *Merja muutti perhe-ine-en* ‘Merja moved with her family’ (accompaniment). When the companion is less animate, the meaning begins to shift. For example, *Merja muutti koir-ine-en* ‘Merja moved with her dog(s)’ may still be interpreted as an expression of accompaniment, even though it is no longer prototypic and includes the notion of Merja owning the dog (permanent possession). With an inanimate companion such as *Merja muutti matkalakku-ine-en* ‘Merja moved with her suitcase(s)’, the comitative may no longer be interpreted as expressing accompaniment but rather as possession. In this article, the participants of the comitative expressions have been analysed as four categories according to their animacy: human (as ‘mother’ and her ‘daughter(s)’ in example 13 above), nonhuman animate (mainly animal, as ‘bear dam’ and ‘bear cub(s)’ in ex. 7), concrete inanimate (as ‘building’ and ‘tower(s)’ in ex. 14), and abstract inanimate (as ‘fear(s)’ in ex. 12).

Let us now turn to outline the functional domain of the comitative based on the animacy of the participants, as different combinations of animacy are related to different meanings. This analysis does not assign separate categories to the different meanings, but rather considers them as continua with fuzzy borders that has prototypic occurrences at the core of the category and less prototypic at the edges. Accordingly, the functional domain of the comitative contains a certain number of somewhat clear meanings, and between them, as well as outside them, there are less clear occurrences. The next section presents the meanings of *-ine* found in the corpus data, as well as the other main functions that a comitative expression can display in its context. The analysis is based on Sirola-Belliard (2016).

5 The functional domain of *-ine*

5.1 MEANING EXPRESSED BY *-INE*

The comitative case ending *-ine* in the corpus expresses the following meanings, arranged in an order from the prototypic meaning of the comitative to those that are less prototypic (for data examples of different meanings, see Table 1 below): *accompaniment*, *possession*, *part-whole relationships* that divide into two major subtypes that are *inherent part-whole relationship* and a more loose part-whole relation that I refer to as a *composition*, and the relation of *connection* which can be seen to have a subclass of *spatial relation*.⁵

5 The so-called emphatic comitative, such as *pullo poik-ine-en* ‘bottle boy/son-com-poss3’ ‘many bottles [lit. bottle with its son(s)]’; that is sometimes mentioned

As the meanings cannot be considered as clear-cut, separate categories but rather as continua and it is not possible to exhaustively classify every occurrence as expressing a certain meaning, it is not therefore possible to present the exact frequencies of the different meanings in the data. According to the approximate extent of their occurrence in the data, the meanings can be arranged in their order of frequency as displayed in Table 1. After the table, I will present the different meanings, beginning from the typologically prototypic meaning of the comitative and moving on to those that are less prototypic.

Meaning	Example	
Composition	<i>iltapala punaisine mehuineen</i> (ex. 4) 'a supper with red juice [one part of the supper is red juice]'	most frequent  least frequent
Connection	<i>rakennusten entistäminen ongelmineen</i> (ex. 11) 'the restoration of the buildings and the problems related to that'	
Accompaniment	<i>Merja muutti perheineen</i> (ex. 1) 'Merja moved with her family'	
Inherent part-whole	<i>raajamme kehittyvät käsiksi sormineen</i> (ex. 9) 'our limbs develop into hands with fingers'	
Possession	<i>konnat livistävät rahinesi</i> (ex. 5) 'the villains run off with your money'	
Spatial relation	<i>Atitlán-järvi intiaanikylineen</i> (ex. 40) 'the Lake Atitlán and the Indian villages on its shores'	

Table 1. Meanings expressed by *-ine* from the most frequent to the least frequent in the data.

The prototypic meaning expressed by the comitative is **accompaniment**: an asymmetric co-participation between two (or more) humans (as *he laps-ine-en* 'they with their child(ren)' in ex. 17). The accompaniment relation can also exist between two animals (as *koppelo poikas-ine-en* 'wood grouse with its young' in ex. 18) or between a human accompanee and an animal companion (as *joulupukki poro-ine-en* 'Father Christmas with his reindeer' in ex. 19), although the relationship is then less prototypic. A rare but possible case is an accompaniment between an animal accompanee and its human companion (such as *Alma isänt-ine-en* 'Alma [dog] with her master', ex. 20). In the accompaniment relation, both the accompanee and the companion participate in the action, although the first one is the principal actor or the one in the focus. Approximately one-fourth of the *-ine* data expresses accompaniment. A prominent part of these are lexically

as a special case among the usage of the comitative case (for example, see Ikola 1999; Hakulinen et al. 2004 §1264; Eskola & Tommola 2000, 97), is not discussed here because it rarely occurs in the data. However, the usage of the emphatic comitative, as well ostensibly is more diverse than has been previously thought (for an overview, see Sirola-Belliard 2016, 250–259).

foreseeable expressions of conventional situations (such as *perhe-ine-en* ‘with one’s family’ or *seurue-ine-en* ‘with one’s group/party’) that could easily be considered as fixed expressions. This might be one reason for the assumptions of *-ine* being unproductive and used only in fixed expressions (on this aspect, see also Sirola-Belliard 2017).

- (17) He asu-vat nyt Sydney-ssä **laps-ine-en**.
 they live-3PL now name-INE child-COM-POSS3
 ‘They live now in Sydney with their child(ren).’
- (18) Tarha-n liepeillä **poikas-ine-en** asu-nut koppelo
 farm-GEN around young-COM-POSS3 live-PTCP wood.grouse
 löyty-i raadel-tu-na.
 be.found- PST.3SG maul-PASS.PTCP-ESS
 ‘The wood grouse that had lived with its young around the farm was found mauled.’
- (19) Joulupukki-kin asu-u **poro-ine-en** Lapi-ssa!
 father.christmas-CL live-3SG reindeer-COM-POSS3 name-INE
 ‘Also Father Christmas lives with his reindeer in Lapland!’
- (20) Alma **isänt-ine-en** pala-a koulu-lta.
 name master-COM-POSS3 return-3SG school-ABL
 ‘Alma [a dog] returns from the school with her master.’

When a human accompanee has an inanimate concrete companion, the relation easily includes an interpretation of an intertwined combination of physical, temporary, or permanent **possession**. For example, in *vartija haulikko-ine-en* ‘the guard with his shotgun’ (see ex. 21), the shotgun is most probably (although not necessarily) in the guard’s hand (physical possession). However, without further context, it is impossible to ascertain whether the shotgun is his property (permanent possession) or only given to him to use for a time (temporary possession). Yet the primary motivation for the comitative expression is usually to express physical possession: that the accompanee is accompanied with the concrete companion. Possession may also be abstract when the human accompanee has an abstract companion (see ex. 22). (Abstract possession could also be classified under the inherent part-whole relationship, as an analogy to body-part relations, see below ex. 24.) In the literature, this meaning of possession is often regarded as part of the prototypic meaning of accompaniment (for example, see Lehmann & Shin 2005). However, I consider the possession its own function as the possessive interpretation does not belong to the prototypic accompaniment relation.

- (21) Vartija matkust-i **haulikko-ine-en** bussi-ssa.
 guard travel-PST.3SG shotgun-COM-POSS3 bus-INE
 ‘The guard traveled in the bus with a shotgun.’

- (22) Naispoliisi-n aviomies ekovihre-ine **mielipite-ine-en**
 woman.police-GEN husband eco.green-COM opinion-COM-POSS3
- sopi-i kirja-n kuvio-on.
 fit-3SG book-GEN pattern-ILL
- ‘Woman police officer’s husband with his eco-green opinion(s) fits in the pattern of the book.’

The comitative case *-ine* also combines participants in a **part-whole relationship**, where *-ine* typically marks the part(s) and the accompanee is equivalent to the whole. This relation can be a prototypic inherent part-whole relationship or a looser one. In an **inherent part-whole relationship**, both participants are inanimate concrete entities, and the part (companion) is inherent and essential for the whole (the accompanee) as well as conventionally predictable, as roots are for a plant in example 23. The typical motivation for the expression is to specify that the part is *included* in the given situation although it could be omitted, as in example 23, which underlines that when pulling up the plants the roots are also removed. As was mentioned above concerning the expressions of accompaniment, the expressions of inherent part-whole relationships are likewise often lexically foreseeable and thus, easily conceived of as fixed expressions.

- (23) Hän kisko-o kasvi-t maa-sta **juur-ine-en.**
 3SG pull-3SG plant-PL ground-ELA root-COM-POSS3
- ‘(S)he pulls up the plants by the roots [literally “with their roots”].’

An inherent part-whole relationship can also be a body-part relation, although the accompanee is then animate – either human (as *kaunotar hoikk-ine uum-ine-en* beauty slender-COM waist-COM-POSS3 ‘a beauty with her slender waist’) or non-human animate (as ‘the cows with their horns and heavy udder’ in ex. 24). The typical motivation for expressing a body-part relation with the comitative case is to *describe* the appearance of the accompanee, as in example 24 in which it is specified which specific type of cows is in focus (those that have horns and a heavy udder). As a contrast to the inclusive motivation mentioned above, the point here is not to specify that the horns and udder should be included when the cows are put out to pasture but to provide a visual description of the accompanee.

- (24) [Haluan lehmät takaisin laitumelle – enkä mitään erikoislihavaa piffikarjaa, vaan]
ayrshire-lehmä-t **sarv-ine-en** ja painav-ine **utare-ine-en.**
 name-cow-PL horn-COM-POSS3 and heavy-COM udder-COM-POSS3
- ‘[I want to have the cows back to pasture – and I don’t mean any especially fat beef cattle but] the Ayrshires that have horns and heavy udder [lit. with their horns and heavy udder].’

Besides the prototypic inherent part-whole relationship, *-ine* is used to express a more loose part-whole relationship that is referred to here as **composition**. This is one of the most common meanings of the comitative case ending in the data. For this relation, the part is neither essential for the whole nor foreseeable on a conventional basis, as in an inherent relation. On

the contrary, the wholes of the composition relation are by nature such that they could be composed of countless different parts. By naming the (most important) part(s) that form the whole, the comitative expression describes the accompanee and specifies its character among all the possibilities in the world. Thus, the motivation for the comitative is to specify and classify reality. For example, a house interior can be composed of any number of different parts, but the parts named in example 25 – wall(s) made of shingles and decorative chair(s) – specifies and classifies the interior as having a rustic style.

- (25) Talonpoikaistalo-ssa on alkuperäinen sisustus
 rustic.house-INE be.3SG original interior
- päresein-ine-en** ja koristeellis-ine **tuole-ine-en.**
 shingle.wall-COM-POSS3 and decorative-COM chair-COM-POSS3
 ‘The rustic style house has an original interior that includes wall(s) made of
 shingle and decorative chair(s).’

In addition to inanimate concrete participants, a composition relation can have abstract participants. This is exemplified by (26) where the programme organised for the museum area is specified to include (at least) circus performance(s) and dancing. As discussed above, the inherent part-whole relationship expressions are often connected to conventional situations and are lexically foreseeable which probably have contributed to assumptions of the unproductive nature of *-ine*. However, the expressions of the composition relation are mainly lexically unpredictable and creative, describing random situations in a highly productive manner.

- (26) Museoaluee-lla monipuolis-ta ohjelma-a **sirkusesityks-ine-en**
 museum.area-ADE diverse-PAR programme-PAR circus.performance-COM-POSS3
- ja keskiaikais-ine **tansse-ine-en** koko sunnuntai-n.
 and medieval-COM dance-COM-POSS3 all Sunday-ACC
 ‘On the museum area [there is] a rich programme, including circus performance(s)
 and medieval dance, all Sunday.’

The parts of the composition relation are often bound by cultural and situational factors. For example, the distinguishing features of a meal vary according to the culture and the situation. In fact, in one corner of the world, a meal can be composed of goose liver as an appetizer, stuffed quail for the main course, cheese in between, and apple pie for dessert (as in example 27), while in another part of the world, the significant part of a meal may be an apéritif called “Marskin ryyppy”, named after Mannerheim, Marshal of Finland, who was the commander-in-chief of Finland’s defense forces during World War II (see example 28).

- (27) Tilaukse-sta saa myös ranskalaistyyllise-n juhlamenu-n
 order-ELA get.3SG also French.style-ACC festive.menu-ACC

hanhenmakso-ine-en, täyte-tty-ine **viiriäis-ine-en**,
 goose.liver-COM-POSS3 fill-PASS.PTCP-COM quail-COM-POSS3

juusto-ine-en ja **omenapiira-ine-en**.

cheese-COM-POSS3 and apple.pie-COM-POSS3

‘Also a festive menu in a French style, including goose liver, filled quail, cheese and apple pie, is available on an order.’

- (28) [Nähtävää Lopella Mannerheimin metsästysmökki.]

Tilaukse-sta Marski-n päivällinen **ryppy-ine-en**.

order-ELA name-GEN dinner shot-COM-POSS3

‘[To see in Loppi [is for example] the hunting lodge of Mannerheim.]

On an order [one can get] the dinner of Marski, including a [Marski’s] shot.’

It is important to note that naming the elements of the composition relation is not only an action of *classifying* the world but also a means to *construct* the world. The entities of the reality consist of a wide variety of different components and hence, it is a choice made by the speaker/writer as to which types of things are stated to compose reality. For example, let us compare how everyday life is described in examples 29 and 30.

- (29) Kehitysmä-i-den asukka-i-den elämä on
 developing.country-PL-GEN inhabitant-PL-GEN life be.3SG

tavallis-ta arke-a **tö-ine-en** ja **leikke-ine-en**
 ordinary-PAR everyday.life-PAR work-COM-POSS3 and play-COM-POSS3

sekä **ilo-ine-en** ja **suru-ine-en**.⁶
 together.with joy-COM-POSS3 and sorrow-COM-POSS3

‘The life of the inhabitants of developing countries is ordinary everyday life that consists of work and play, joy(s) and sorrow(s).’

- (30) Elämä on suuri-mma-lta osa-lta-an arke-a
 life be.3SG big-SUP-ABL part-ABL-POSS3 everyday.life-PAR

kaikk-ine **velvollisuus-ine-en**, **pettymyks-ine-en**, jne.
 all-COM obligation-COM-POSS3 disappointment-COM-POSS3 etc.

‘Life is, for the most part, the daily grind with all its obligations, disappointments, etc.’

In addition to the inherent part–whole relationship and the composition relation described above, *-ine* can express some specific part–whole relations

6 The simplified example is adapted from https://publications.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/29577/Paula_Rupponen.pdf?sequence=1 (referred to 4.12.2021).

that concern human participants. The part in a **member–collection relation** corresponds to a member of a collection-whole, such as a child is part of a family in *perhe lapsineen* ‘family that includes child(ren)’ (see ex. 31). Identifying **hyponymic expressions** (see ex. 32) have the whole corresponding to the hyperonym, for example, to the archetype of evil, and the parts to hyponyms, such as to the Gestapo, a devil and a dictator, specifying which archetypes are specifically in question.

(31) Uude-lle asuinaluee-lle on muutta-nut paljon
 new-ALL residential.area-ALL be.3SG move-PTCP many
 nuor-i-a perhe-i-tä **laps-ine-en.**
 young-PL-PAR family-PL-PAR child-COM-POSS3
 ‘Many young families with their children have moved to the new residential area.’

(32) Pahuude-n arkkityyppi-t o-vat näyttämö-llä **gestapo-ine-en,**
 evil-GEN archetype-PL be-3PL stage-ADE gestapo-COM-POSS3
paholais-ine-en ja **diktaattore-ine-en** kliseisyys-teen asti.
 devil-COM-POSS3 and dictator-COM-POSS3 clichedness-ILL until
 ‘On the stage, there are archetypes of evil, such as gestapo(s), devil(s) and dictator(s), in a very cliched way.’

While the parts and the whole discussed above are in an inalienable relation with each other, *-ine* also bounds inanimate participants that are in an alienable relation and connects them together in a tight bunch. This **relation of connection** is illustrated by example 33 with concrete participants and by example 34 with abstract ones.

(33) Hyvä siivouskaappi sisältä-ä pölynimuri-n **vaihtopusse-ine-en.**
 good cleaning.cupboard include-3SG vacuum.cleaner-ACC change.bag-COM-POSS3
 ‘A good cleaning cupboard includes a vacuum cleaner and (a) dust bag(s) that go with it.’

(34) Ydinvoimala-lle riittä-ä yksi vuosihuolto pari-n viiko-n **seisokke-ine-en.**
 nuclear.plant-ALL be.sufficient-3SG one annual.service couple- GEN week- GEN stoppage-COM-POSS3
 ‘One annual service with a stoppage of a couple of weeks is sufficient for a nuclear plant.’

In example 33, the tight bunch is created by a vacuum cleaner and the dust bag(s) that is(/are) needed for the vacuum cleaner to function. In example 34, the tight connection is between the annual service of a nuclear plant and the stoppage in the activities of the plant which is inevitable in order to complete the annual service. The participants are distinct entities, but they belong to the same conceptual field and together form a functional or conceptual whole. The connection between the participants is often sufficiently conventional and canonical (such as a vacuum cleaner with its dust bag in ex. 33, or *laite latauslaitte-ine-en* device recharger-COM-POSS3 ‘a device with its recharger’, or *vaaka punnuks-ine-en* scale weight-COM-POSS3 ‘scale with its weights’) that the expression could also be interpreted

as a part–whole relationship. For the abstract participants, the relation of connection can also be that of a consequence, as evidenced by example 35, where drinking is presented as leading inevitably to crimes, health damages and social problems and, hence, together they create a conceptual wholeness.

- (35) Juopottelu **rikoks-ine-en**, **terveysvahinko-ine-en**
 boozing crime-COM-POSS3 health.damage-COM-POSS3
- ja **sosiaaliongelm-ine-en** kasva-a.
 and social.problem-COM-POSS3 increase-3SG
- ‘Boozing with the crimes, health damages and social problems [that result from it] increases.’

The participants who are bound together by *-ine* in the relation of connection tend to go together conventionally, but this is not essential. The comitative may also create a connection between two participants when the lexical meanings of the landmark and the trajector do not appear to be related, and that tight connection is created only in and by the comitative expression. Furthermore, the comitative case ending allows stretching the connection between the participants sufficiently far that it can be difficult or even impossible to understand the relationship between the participants without consulting the context. This is illustrated by the following two examples.

In example 36 *joulu Concorde-lento-ine-en* ‘Christmas with its Concorde-flights’, the comitative establishes a connection between Christmas and flights made by the Concorde airliner and these would not otherwise be easily associated. This connection is justified by the general knowledge in Finland that the Concorde airliners were used to bring tourists to Lapland for the immensely popular Christmas package holidays, especially those from the Great Britain. Example 37, *asvaltointi kumipinto-ine-en* ‘asphalting with its rubber surface’, stretches a connection even further. To understand how a rubber surface is connected to asphalt, the context is needed to explain that the question concerns how to make an area impermeable to liquids: firstly, the area must be covered with asphalt and then a rubber surface needs to cover the asphalt. The motivation for using the comitative here, as in all comitative expressions that express a relation of connection, is to indicate which entities belong together and form a whole or a set.

- (36) [Matkailun edistämiskeskus markkinoi ulkomaille neljää jouluhanketta. – –]
 Lapi-n valkea joulu **Concorde-lento-ine-en** on niistä tunne-tu-in.
 name-GEN white Christmas name.flight-COM-POSS3 be.3SG they.ELA know-PTCP-SUP
 ‘[The centre for promoting travelling Visit Finland markets abroad four Christmas projects. – –]
 The White Christmas of Lapland with its Concorde flights is the most knows of them.’
- (37) [Direktiivin mukaisesti tällainen alue on asvaltoitava ja asvaltin päälle on vielä laitettava nesteiden varalta läpäisemätön kumipinta.]
Asvaltointi **kumipinto-ine-en** merkitse-e miljoona-n lisäinvestointi-a.
 asphaltng rubber.surface-COM-POSS3 mean-3SG million-GEN extra.investment-PAR
 ‘[According to the directive, an area like this must be *asphalted* and, *on the asphalt*, one must place an impermeable *rubber surface* in reserve for any liquids.] Asphaltng with the rubber surface means investing an extra one million [Finnish marks].’

If inanimate concrete participants are separate entities and do not form a functional or conceptual whole, their relationship is easily interpreted as being **spatially** motivated. This is also in line with the typological assumptions that the comitative would originally derive from a locative such that the co-participation would have originally meant existing in the same space (see Yamaguchi 2004, 121–122). Depending on the context and the nature of the participants, the conventional interpretation is usually that the companion is located within the accompanee or in its proximity. When located within the accompanee, the companion can exist in a container, as in example 38: *laiva laste-ine-en* ‘boat with its cargo [within the boat]’, or in an area, as in example 39: *Laivalahdesta bulevarde-ine-en* ‘[neighbourhood of] Laivalahti with its boulevard(s) [situated in the area]’. Location in the proximity of the accompanee is illustrated by example 40: *Atitlán-järvi intiaanikyl-ine-en* ‘the lake Atitlán with its Indian villages [that are situated by it]’.

- (38) *Laiva laste-ine-en pala-a lähtösatama-ansa.*
 ship cargo-COM-POSS3 return-3SG departure.port-ILL.POSS3
 ‘Ship with its cargo returns to the port of its departure.’
- (39) *Laivalahde-sta bulevarde-ine-en tul-le-e kiinnostava asuinpaikka.*
 name-ELA boulevard-COM-POSS3 make-POT-3SG interesting neighbourhood
 ‘Laivalahti with its boulevard(s) will probably make an interesting neighbourhood.’
- (40) *Guatemala-n suositu-imp-i-a turistikohte-i-ta on*
 name-GEN popular-SUP-PL-PAR tourist.attraction-PL-PAR be.3SG
tulivuor-ten ympäröi-mä Atitlán-järvi intiaanikyl-ine-en.
 volcano-PL.GEN surround-PTCP name-lake Indian.village-COM-POSS3
 ‘On of the most popular tourist attractions of Guatemala is Lake Atitlán surrounded by volcanos and the Indian villages on its shores.’

As indicated above, *-ine* is used to express the togetherness of the participants. In other words, it joins inalienable participants in different types of part-whole relationships and alienable participants in a relation of connection. For some of the data, it is not possible to determine whether the two participants are two separate entities (and hence the comitative expresses connection) or if they belong to one and the same entity being participants of a part-whole relationship (mostly of composition). In these cases, the meaning of the comitative glides on the continuum between the two into a somewhat hazy meaning of general *belonging together* where the focus is to convey that connections exist between things in order to itemize the world and construct a conception of it. For instance, in example 41, it is not important whether the genetic technique(s) and food help are part of agribusiness or connected to it, as it is essential to express that all of these belong together and form some sort of (functional) wholeness.

- (41) Teollisuusma-i-den tehokas maataloustuotanto **geenitekniikko-ine-en**
 industrial.country-PL- efficient agricultural. genetic.technique-COM-
 PL.GEN production POSS3

ja **ruoka-apu-ine-en** ei pysty autta-maan kehitysmä-i-tä.
 and food.help-COM-POSS3 NEG.3SG can.CNG help-INF developing.country-PL-PAR
 ‘The efficient agricultural production of the industrial countries that goes together with
 genetic technique(s) and food help [lit. with its genetic technique(s) and food help] cannot
 help the Third World.’

5.2 ADDITIONAL MEANINGS IN CONTEXT

Besides its basic meanings (introduced above) that are based on the accompanee and the companion only, the comitative expression can also have an additional meaning that is determined by its context. The interpretation can either be made on lexical grounds based on conventions and world knowledge, or based on specific textual issues. Often the contextual meaning provides sufficient motivation to use the comitative expression.

Reason or cause. The companion of part–whole relationship may indicate a reason or a cause for a statement made in the context. Let us consider example 42 which makes the proposition ‘the statue brings to mind the mythical creatures in antiquity’. This sentence includes a comitative expression of an inherent part–whole relationship: the accompanee (the statue) corresponds to the whole of which the companion (the hooves) is an inherent (body-)part. At the same time, this selected part justifies and provides the reason for the proposition made regarding the whole (‘the statue brings to mind a mythical creature *because* it has hooves’).

- (42) **Kavio-ine-en** patsas tuo miele-en antiiki-n taruolenno-t.
 hoof-COM-POSS3 statue bring.3SG mind-ILL antiquity-GEN mythical.creature-PL
 ‘With its hooves, the statue brings to mind the mythical creatures in antiquity.’

In an expression of a cause, the accompanee creates or causes the existence of the companion, like driving a car, creates the exhaust gases (see ex. 43 *ajoa päästöineen* ‘driving with its emission (s)’).

- (43) Yhteisautoilu vähentä-ä ajo-a **päästö-ine-en**.
 car.share reduce-3SG driving-PAR emission-COM-POSS3
 ‘Car share reduces [the amount of] driving and hence the emissions.’

Concessive. An expression of reason (‘because of’) may change to a concessive meaning (‘in spite of’) when the clitic *-kin* ‘also, even’ is added to the landmark-NP (the companion) and the comitative expresses a part of the whole. This is illustrated by example 44, which includes the companion *neoklassisme-ine-en-kin* neoclassicism-COM-POSS3-CL ‘in spite of [lit. also with] their neoclassicistic features’. If the expression did not have the clitic *-kin*, it would convey a meaning of reason, ‘a series of variations is spirited because of its neoclassical features’, but adding *-kin* creates the opposite meaning: ‘in spite of the neoclassical features it has’. The same phenomenon occurs with the Finnish essive case (see Hynönen 2016, 213–216).

- (44) *Muunnelmasarja* on pirtsakka **neoklassisme-ine-en-kin**.
 variations.on.a.theme be.3SG perky neoclassicism-COM-POSS3-CL
 ‘Variations on a theme are perky in spite of their neoclassicistic features [lit. with their neoclassicism].’

Instrument. The typological literature often analyses the comitative and the instrumental together. The close relation they have in Indo-European languages (compare *She chops down a tree with her daughter* [comitative] vs. *with an axe* [instrumental]) have earlier been assumed to be universal (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 134–135) but later shown to be a typological feature that is over-represented in the European area (for example, see Stolz et al 2006). (For the typology of the comitative and instrumental see. Stolz et al 2005, 2006, and for the judgments between the meaning of accompaniment and instrument in English, see Schlesinger 1979.)

Finnish codes instruments prototypically with the adessive case (*Hän kaata-a puu-n kirvee-llä* 3SG chop-3SG tree-ACC axe-ADE ‘(S)he chops down a tree with an axe’), and sometimes with the instructive case (*Hän kaata-a puu-n käs-in* 3SG chop-3SG tree-ACC hand-INSTR ‘(S)he chops down a tree with [bare] hands’). For the comitative case, it is also possible to express an instrument, although this is marginal. However, a comitative that expresses possession can evoke an instrumental interpretation in a certain context with a suitable predicate verb. This is illustrated by example 45 that contains the possessive comitative expression *Takamäki puhaltim-ine-en* ‘Takamäki with his wind instruments’ and the action verb *tuottaa* ‘produce’. As the combined effect of these two, the landmark is interpreted as an instrument that produces the material for the sound design.

- (45) *Enemmän toivo-i-n äänisuunnittelu-sta, jo-hon Jone Takamäki*
 more hope-PST-1SG sound.design-ELA REL-ILL name name
 on **puhaltim-ine-en** tuotta-nut aineisto-a.
 be.3SG wind.instrument-COM-POSS3 produce-PTCP material-PAR
 ‘I had more hopes for the sound design for which Jone Takamäki has produced material with his wind instruments.’

Besides the additional meanings mentioned above, *-ine* can also be used as a **textual means** in its context, such as a means to condense the text. The fact that the comitative case ending creates a link between the participants and thus can connect even unpredictable participants (such as *joulu Concorde-lentoineen* ‘Christmas with its Concorde flights’ found in example 36 and *asvaltointi kumipintoineen* ‘asphalting with its rubber surface’ in example 37) can be used to avoid extra explanations and hence condense the text. This is further illustrated by example 46 *palkkaratkaisu liittokierroksineen* ‘[literally] pay settlement with its round(s) of the trade unions’. The context in this example offers no explanation as to how the round of (negotiations with or between) the trade unions is related to the achieved pay settlement.

- (46) Viimekeväinen palkkaratkaisu **liittokierroks-ine-en** osoitt-i
of.last.spring wage.settlement union.round-COM-POSS3 show- PST.3SG
- epäilijö-i-den ol-leen oikea-ssa.
doubter-PL-GEN be-PL.PTCP right-INE
- ‘The wage settlement with the union rounds that took place last spring showed that the doubters were right.’

When *-ine* is used as a textual means in this manner, the reader needs to use extra-contextual information to fill in the condensed gap – allowing the verbaliser to be lazy or sensitive. This type of usage constitutes the core of the driving force for the comitative case: with this linguistic choice, one can even present two completely separate entities as belonging together without a further need to justify or explain the connection in between.

6 Comparing the comitative case *-ine* with the postposition *kanssa*

In addition to the comitative case ending *-ine*, accompaniment is likewise expressed in Finnish by several postpositions that govern the genitive case, with the most generally used being *kanssa* (see also Jaakola and Ojutkangas in this volume). These two forms differ considerably relative to their meanings, and the contexts of their usage, with the corpus data revealing that both forms have their proper functional domains that overlap only slightly. *Kanssa* is clearly concentrated on the prototypic function of the comitative, expressing the accompaniment of human participants (although it can combine any kinds of participants, including inanimates). While *-ine* also expresses accompaniment, as demonstrated above, these expressions cover only a quarter of the *-ine* data and are often nearly idiomatic, fixed expressions, whereas the usage of *-ine* on the borders of the functional domain, indicating connections between inanimate participants in non-prototypic functions, is diverse, creative, and productive.

In the literature, the claims exist that the comitative case *-ine* is no longer a productive case (Grünthal 2000, 48–49, 2003, 27; Helasvuo 2001, 37), is losing its functions (see Stolz ym. 2006, 61; latest Metslang et al 2017) and is being replaced by *kanssa* (Stolz et al 2005; 2006). It is interesting that the assumption that *-ine* might be fading out “because many incorrectly use the postposition *kanssa* instead of the comitative case” has been mentioned in the literature as early as the mid-nineteenth century (see Ikola 1999, 61–62, 65 who refers to Renvall 1840 and Latvala 1894). However, no data-based evidence has been presented to support these claims,⁷ and apart from a brief reference to old dialectic usages of *-ine* in Litola (2015, 30), no diachronic research appears to have been conducted on the usage of the different Finnish comitative markers. Furthermore, an analysis of the contemporary data reveals that *-ine* is a productive case (Sirola-Belliard 2017) and the claims

7 For example, the claims in Metslang et al 2017 are based on the “generally spread assumption” (p.c. Metslang 14.5.2020).

of replacement are not validated (see Sirola-Belliard 2011 for the opposing arguments). This article will reinforce the conception by demonstrating the differences in the functional domains of the two forms in the present-day Finnish. In other words, *kanssa* concentrates on expressing accompaniment and fits the typological picture of the prototypic comitative marker, while *-ine* is used mainly beyond the prototypic function and has wider functional domain than *kanssa*.

In this section, I briefly introduce the postposition *kanssa*, its background and its usage in the corpus data. I follow this by discussing the similarities and differences between *kanssa* and *-ine*, and finally compare their functional domains.

6.1. THE FORM, MEANINGS, AND FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN OF KANSSA
The postposition *kanssa* ‘with’ is a grammaticalized form of a noun *kansa* that is of Germanic origin and indicated originally ‘a group’ or ‘a crowd’ (for example, Häkkinen 2004, s.v. *kansa*, *kanssa*). This is one of the most frequent adpositions in Finnish and the most common postposition used to express accompaniment (Saukkonen et al 1979, 41–42). The landmark of *kanssa* expresses the companion, and the accompanee (the trajector) is expressed elsewhere in the sentence, for example:

Merja	tule-e	perhee-n	kanssa.
name	come-3SG	family-GEN	with
TR		LM	
ACCOMPANEE		COMPANION	
‘Merja comes with the family.’			

The basis for the functions of *kanssa* lies in its independence and symmetry – the very opposite to *-ine*. *Kanssa* encodes a companion that is independent of the accompanee and, hence, can have its own role in the situation. Whereas *-ine* can only express parallel co-participation, *kanssa* is not restricted to it: according to the context, *kanssa* allows both parallel and reciprocal interpretation and hence, expresses unspecified co-participation (for the classification, see Creissels and Nougquier-Voisin 2008, 291–293). In that regard, *kanssa* resembles the comitatives in Indo-European languages, such as English *with*, French *avec* or German *mit*. As for symmetry, the participants that are combined by *kanssa* are typically interpreted as being equal (see also Ojutkangas 2017a, b, concerning the symmetry of the adposition *mukana~mukaan* ‘with’). According to dictionaries such as the Kielitoimiston sanakirja (s.v. *kanssa*), *kanssa* should only be used with equal participants, and combining not fully equal participants is a “non-native” usage and should be avoided in standard language. However, non-equal participants are often combined with *kanssa* in spoken Finnish (as in a part–whole relation expression such as *heiluta pää-n kanssa* sway head-GEN with ‘sway [with] your head’ or an expression of instrument such as *mene-n pyörä-n kanssa* go-SG.1.P bike-GEN with ‘I will go by [with] bike’ that are normal in Southwestern dialect of Finnish), but the present study is confined to the written language.

The corpus data reveal that *kanssa* is used predominately to combine two (or more) human participants in an active situation. The trajector that expresses the accompanee is typically the subject of the sentence (87% of the occurrences which have an explicit expression for the accompanee; see Table 2, which compares the syntactic positions of the trajector-NPs of *kanssa* and *-ine*, Section 6.2). The landmark that expresses the companion is situated after the predicate verb in 29% of the data, the landmark follows a word other than a verb that *kanssa* is governed by (such as *neuvottelu* ‘negotiation’, *avioliitto* ‘marriage’, *equal* ‘tasavertainen’, *vastakkain* ‘opposing, against’) in 26% of the data, and in 32% of the data, the landmark occurs after some other word in a sentence. It very rarely immediately follows the trajector-NP (3%). (See Table 3 that compares the elements preceding the landmark-NPs of *kanssa* and *-ine*, Section 6.2.)

The main function of *kanssa* is to express the co-participation⁸ of human participants. The data contain expressions of parallel co-participation rather equally (as ‘moved with his wife’ in ex. 47) as well as reciprocal co-participation (as ‘quarrels with his wife’ in ex. 48). It is important to notice that only the first relation could be expressed with the comitative case ending (*mies muutti vaimo-ine-en*), but the second cannot since *-ine* cannot mark an independent participant at the opposite side of the force-dynamics that is needed for a reciprocal action (in more detail, see below ex. 57).

(47) *Mies* muutt-i **vaimo-nsa** kanssa Pariisi-in.
 man move-PST wife-GEN.POSS₃ with name-ILL
 ‘The man moved with his wife to Paris.’

(48) *Mies* riitele-e **vaimo-nsa** kanssa Pariisi-ssa.
 man argue-3SG wife-GEN.POSS₃ with name-INE
 ‘The man argues with his wife in Paris.’

Although *kanssa* is mainly used to express situations where the human participants are actively co-participating, it can also be used to express static relations between participants, such as comparison (as in ‘same time with the last customers’ in example 49), and the combination of inanimate participants, which often states which food goes together (as in ‘soup with bread’ in example 50). It is worth noticing that the predicate verb in the sentence may be active (such as ‘to arrive’ or ‘to serve’ in these examples) while the relation expressed by *kanssa* is static.

(49) Saavu-n kyläkaupa-lle sama-an aika-an viimeis-ten **asiakka-i-den** kanssa.
 arrive-1SG village.shop-ALL same-ILL time-ILL last-PL.GEN client-PL-GEN with
 ‘I arrive to the village shop at the same time as the last clients.’ [the time was the same but the persons did not arrive together]

8 The primary function of *kanssa* is to combine equal participants in the situation (even though it also leaves open other possibilities). This prototypic meaning is not referred to here as the accompaniment that is a relation between clearly asymmetric participants, but instead I adopt the more neutral term of co-participation.

- (50) Tarjoa **keito-n** kanssa leipä-ä.
 serve.IMP.2SG soup-GEN with bread-PAR
 ‘Serve bread with the soup.’

As regards the function of possession, *kanssa* is only able to code control or physical possession, as evidenced by example 51 below, and even this rarely occurs in the data. That reflects the nature of the data on written Finnish, but it is important to note that this type of coding appears to be rather common in spoken Finnish. However, more in-depth observations on spoken Finnish are beyond the scope of this article. As we saw in Section 5.1, the comitative case ending easily encodes all the seven possessive notions cited by Heine (1997, 34–35), but for *kanssa* construction, the meaning of temporary, juridic or abstract possession usually follows only when an additional possessive suffix is attached to the landmark-NP that expresses the companion. This indicates that the possessive interpretation comes in these occurrences from the entire expression, not from the *kanssa* postposition itself. Nonetheless, at least one expression of abstract possession without any help from a possessive suffix is found in the corpus (see example 52).

- (51) Upseeri tul-i luokse-ni **asee-n** kanssa.
 officer come-3PL. PST to-POSS1SG gun-GEN with
 ‘The officer came to me with a gun.’

- (52) Me-i-lle voi tulla kaikk-i-en **ongelm-i-en** kanssa.
 we-PL-ABL can.3SG come all-PL-GEN problem-PL-GEN with
 ‘(One) can come to us with all the problems.’

A few examples of the instrumental use of *kanssa* also occur in the data, with an expression of physical possession combined with a suitable action verb, such as *punakynän kanssa* ‘with a blue pencil’ combined with *käydä kimppuun* ‘attack’ in example 53. The usage of *kanssa* to express an instrument is mentioned in the comprehensive grammar as a special meaning (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §992), but it had also been acknowledged previously (for example, see Oinas 1961, 44; Kielitoimiston sanakirja: s.v. *kanssa*) and judged as originating from foreign, that is, Swedish, influence and therefore not recommended. Nevertheless, this is used regularly in the spoken language, just as it is in example 54: when asking my son to wash his hands, my mother does not use the adessive *saippua-lla* soap-ADE ‘with soap’ as the instrument is most often encoded in the standard language, but she uses the *kanssa* construction *saippua-n kanssa* soap-GEN with ‘with soap’.

- (53) Teksti-n kimppuun pit-i käy-dä **punakynä-n** kanssa.
 text-GEN bundle.ILL must-PST go.INF red.pencil-GEN with
 ‘One had to attack the text with a blue [lit. red] pencil.’

- (54) Pese käde-t hyvin, **saippua-n** kanssa.
 wash.IMP.2SG hand-PL well soap-GEN with
 ‘Wash [your] hands well, with soap.’

It has been assumed (see Heine et al 1991, 163–166) that there is a continuum of meaning that ranges from accompaniment to the instrument and then to the meaning of manner and that the meaning of a comitative marker may grammaticalise through the continuum. According to the traditional position (for example, see Jaakola 1997), *kanssa* does not express manner, but data from a contemporary newspaper corpus demonstrate that it can convey this to a limited extent (such as *ajan, ajatuksen, järjen, luvan, itkun* and *naurun kanssa* ‘with time, thought, reason, permission, crying, laughing’, see Tuukkanen 2012). My 2000 occurrences’ *kanssa* data contain three expressions (total $n = 5$) that can be interpreted as indicating manner: *ajan kanssa* ‘using lot of time [lit. with time]’, *luvan kanssa* ‘with permission’ and *vauhdin kanssa* ‘with speed’ (see ex. 55 that is a quote from spoken Finnish). As regards expressing manner with *kanssa* in spoken Finnish, a separate study on this is warranted.

- (55) Vauhdi-tta mä pääse-n korkea-mma-lta kuin
 speed-ABE 1SG get-1SG high-CMPR-ALL than
- tä-llä tava-lla **vauhdi-n** kanssa.
 this-ADE way-ADE speed-GEN with
- ‘Without speed [=when doing a standing jump] I manage to jump higher than in this way with speed [=when taking a run-up].’

When *kanssa* combines a human accompanee and an inanimate companion, instead of conveying possession or instrument, it often expresses a meaning that can be referred to a fictive co-participation. This is what Meriläinen (2015) proposes in arguing that an inanimate companion is presented as an active participant in the (often reciprocal) situation. This is illustrated by example 56 which presents a drinking problem as the opposing side of a fighting situation. The fictive nature of the relation is revealed by the impossibility of the coordinative paraphrase ‘*(s)he and the drinking problem fought’.

- (56) Hän taistel-i **alkoholiongelma-n** kanssa jo nuore-na.
 3SG fight-3PL.PST alcohol.problem-GEN with already young-ESS
- ‘(S)he fought with the drinking problem already when (s)he was young.’

6.2 COMPARATIVE NOTIONS

The meaning expressed by the comitative form is dependent on the animacy of the participants that the form joins, as was demonstrated in Sections 5.1 and 6.1 above. Therefore, it is illustrative to compare the functional domains of the forms on the grounds of the animacy in the data. Chart 1 summarises the differences between the comitative case ending *-ine* and the postposition *kanssa* from the perspective of participant animacy, as well as their frequencies in the data. The size of the half-discs in the chart is proportional to the frequency of the occurrence in the whole corpus; the size of the discs shown in the legend corresponds to 5 occurrences per 1 000 000 words in the corpus. (The data consist of clear cases from the first 2 000 occurrences of both forms: *-ine* $n = 1\,835$, *kanssa* $n = 1\,930$. The animacy of

the accompanee is plotted on the x-axes and the animacy of the companion on the y-axes.)

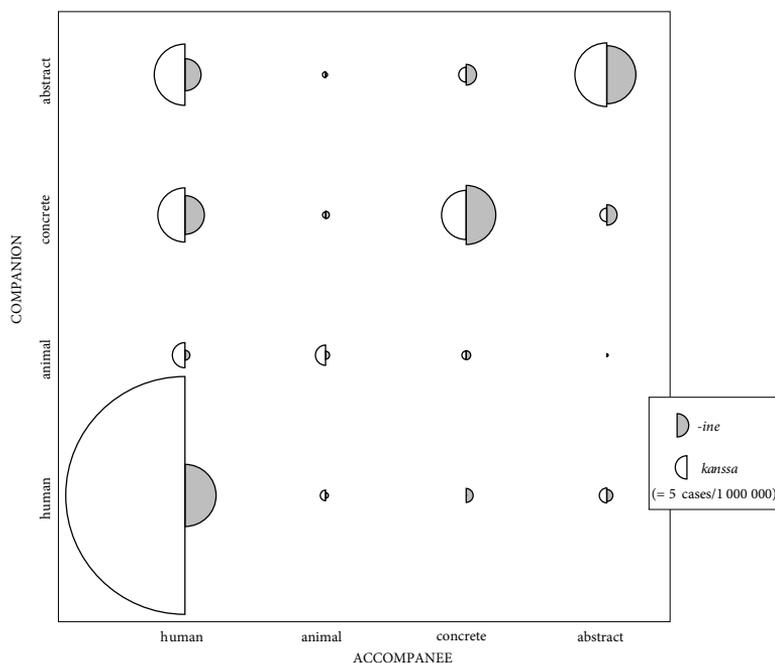


Chart 1. Animacy of the participants in the usage of *-ine* and *kanssa* (picture by Michael O'Dell, Sirola-Belliard 2016, 192).

The chart clearly indicates that *kanssa* concentrates on combining human participants, whereas *-ine* is widely used with inanimate participants. Combining human participants is dominated by the postposition *kanssa* in two aspects. Firstly, in most *kanssa* expressions (79%), both the participants are human; as a comparison, less than one-third (29%) of *-ine* expressions combine only human participants. Secondly, most of the relations that contain human participants in the data are expressed by *kanssa* rather than by *-ine*. The latter is explained by the fact that *kanssa* is in general far more frequent than the comitative case ending (see Section 2), and as the human relations are the main target of *kanssa*, it is natural that *kanssa* combining human participants occur in the data notably more often than *-ine* combining human participants. The case ending, on the other hand, has half of its occurrences with inanimate participants (49%). Moreover, despite the lower total frequency of *-ine*, most of the relations that combine two inanimate participants in the data are expressed by *-ine*. This alone reflects a major difference in the functional domains of the two forms.

Regarding human participants, at least four reasons account for *kanssa* being more suitable to combine with them than *-ine*. These reasons are related to reciprocity, proper names, personal pronouns, and the implicitness of the accompanee. Firstly, it is only possible to encode the reciprocal action between the participants with the postposition *kanssa*, not with *-ine*, as

has been noted above. This is also common in the data (37% of the *kanssa* expressions). This difference between the two markers is well illustrated by example 57, which describes a reciprocal action of negotiating. *Tuomioja kollego-ine-en* ‘Tuomioja with his colleagues’ form together one side of the negotiations as *-ine* can only express a companion that is dependent on the accompanee in the situation and cannot fulfill an independent participant role. In order to express the opposite side of the negotiations, the *kanssa* expression *sissien kanssa* ‘with the guerrillas’ is needed. For the same reason, the same difference applies to encoding comparison, as well: if we consider example 49 (Section 6.1.) *Saavun samaan aikaan asiakkaiden kanssa* ‘I arrive at the same time as the clients’ and attempt to formulate an equivalent comitative case expression, we will notice that *Saavun samaan aikaan asiakka-ine-ni* does not express a comparison – in other words, it does not mean ‘I arrive at the same time as my clients’ but expresses an accompaniment ‘I arrive **with my clients** at the same time’ which leaves the comparison open (at the same time as who/what?). The fact that *-ine* does not express reciprocity is in line with the asymmetric nature of the comitative case, and the same lack of reciprocity characterises for example the Russian comitative marker *s* (Ressue 2015, 348f.).

- (57) *Tuomioja* ei **kollego-ine-en** aio käydä **sissi-en**
 name NEG.3SG colleague-COM-POSS3 plan.CNG go.INF guerrilla-PL.GEN
 kanssa suor-i-a neuvottelu-ja Filippiini-en hallitukse-n ohitse.
 with direct-PL- negotiation-PL.PAR name-GEN government-GEN past
 PAR
 ‘Tuomioja with his colleagues does not plan to negotiate directly with the guerrillas
 past the government of the Philippines.’

Secondly, the landmark of *kanssa* can be specified by any noun, including a proper name (as in *Eira saapui Riston kanssa* ‘Eira arrived with Risto’, or *sopimus Atlanta Hawksien kanssa* ‘a contract with the Atlanta Hawks’ in ex. 58). It is very common for the landmark of *kanssa* to be a proper name (35% of the data), whereas proper names as landmarks of comitative are exceedingly rare, as was presented in Section 4 (see ex. 16 and the explication before it). Furthermore, the landmark of *-ine* can be a proper name only when the companion is semantically related to the accompanee – or can be presented as being one. Instead, such a completely neutral *kanssa* expression as in *hän saapui tarjoilijan kanssa* ‘(s)he arrived with a waiter’ would not be possible with *-ine* without an extra explanation in the context, because *hän saapui tarjoilijo-ine-en* ‘(s)he arrived with his/her waiter(s)’ alone leaves too many open questions.

- (58) Sopimus **Atlanta Hawks-i-en** kanssa tek-i Möttölä-stä
 contract name name-PL-GEN with make- PST.3SG name-ELA
 ensimmäise-n suomalaise-n NBA-miehe-n.
 first-ACC Finnish-ACC NBA-man-ACC
 ‘The contract with Atlanta Hawks made Möttölä the first Finnish player in NBA.’

Thirdly, there are no limitations to using *kanssa* with personal pronouns, as in *hän saapui minun kanssani* '(s)he arrived with me'. In contrast, personal pronouns do not fit into the landmarks of the comitative case ending, as personal pronouns match poorly with the possessive suffix (**minu-ine-en* 1SG-COM-POSS3 '*with his/her me').⁹

The fourth difference between the two forms is the possibility to leave the accompanee implicit in the sentence. *Kanssa* easily allows the accompanee to remain implicit in the sentence (in 23% of the data). Implicitness can be related to a sentence that has the accompanee as the agent but it is left unmentioned, as with the zero person construction (*Meille voi tulla kaikkien ongelmien kanssa* '(One) can come to us with all problems' in ex. 52 above), the necessive construction (*Tekstin kimppuun piti käydä punakynän kanssa* '(One) had to attack the text with a blue pencil' in ex. 53 above), or the passive voice (*Pankkikortti-sta sovi-taan asiakkaa-n kanssa* debit.card-ELA agree-PASS client-GEN with '[Getting] the debit card is agreed with the client'). Furthermore, when *kanssa* is governed by a word that expresses a situation involving several participants, such as an argument, discussion, friendship, marriage, meeting negotiation, or a contract with someone, the accompanee can be left implicit. This is illustrated in example 58 above: the Atlanta Hawks, an American basketball team competing in the National Basketball Association (NBA), is one participant entering into the contract but the other one, the accompanee, is not specified in the *kanssa* construction *sopimus Atlanta Hawksien kanssa* 'a contract with Atlanta Hawks' – even though the most probable answer is Möttölä mentioned later in the sentence.

As regards the construction with *-ine*, however, an explicit accompanee is practically always required in the sentence (specified either as a separate NP or a personal conjugation suffix). The corpus data (of 1 000 sentences) includes only one occurrence of *-ine* with no explicit accompanee: *Si-tä on päätöks-ine-en kuin pölykoira* DEM-PAR be.3SG decision-COM-POSS3 like dust.bunny '[One] is like a dust bunny with his/her decisions'. This expression with a zero-person construction implicates that the accompanee is the agentic general person 'someone, anyone'. It is interesting that the data does not include any passive-voice examples that would have the accompanee as the implicit agent, such as *Puisto-on mennä-än laps-ine-en* park-ILL go-PASS child-COM-POSS3 'Into a park [one] goes with his/her child(ren)'. Moreover, this type of expression might seem questionable or even impossible for language users. The obvious preference to have an explicit accompanee (the trajector) in the sentence is most likely related to the obligatory possessive suffix attached to *-ine* that needs its own landmark – that, in most instances, coincides with the trajector of the comitative (see Arrangement 2 in Section 2). The reason that the comitative with an implicit accompanee appears to be acceptable in a zero-person construction could be due to it allowing an interpretation of an ellipse and, hence, an elliptic landmark for the possessive suffix: *Puisto-on voi [ø] mennä laps-ine-en* park-ILL can.3SG [ø] go-PASS

9 The Internet offers some rare exceptions where a personal pronoun inflected in the comitative case is used as a noun or is part of a play on words, but my whole corpus of 31 million words does not include any examples of them.

child-COM-POSS3 'Into a park [one, a person, anyone, everyone] can go with his/her child(ren)'.¹⁰

In conclusion, *kanssa* dominates the prototypic participants of the typological comitative. Furthermore, *kanssa* fits the typological picture of a prototypic comitative by nature of the situations it is used to describe. The usage of *kanssa* in the data is concentrated on dynamic situations (approximately three-quarters of the data) that are typologically expected when a comitative expresses its prototypic function, the accompaniment (Stolz et al 2006, 26–30). There are notably fewer static verbs related to *kanssa* than in the corpus text in general (for a general view on Finnish verb type frequencies, see Pajunen 2001–2007). The comitative case ending, on the other hand, often occurs with static verbs (constituting greater than one-third of the data) that are typologically related to non-prototypic functions of the comitative (Stolz et al 2006, 26–30). However, motion verbs are more common with *-ine* than in the general verb type profile of the corpus (and are interestingly far more common with *-ine* than with *kanssa*) which fits the prototypic picture of the comitative. (For a detailed comparison of verb types used with *-ine*, *kanssa* and in general, see Sirola-Belliard 2016, 154–160, the Chart 8, p. 158, in particular.)

The usage of *kanssa* is concentrated on human participants at the centre of the prototypic functional domain of the comitative, but *-ine* is used most frequently and most creatively with non-animate participants on the edges of the functional domain where the usage of *kanssa* is rare or even impossible. One such non-prototypic meaning is the loose part–whole relationship, the composition. In the usage of the inflectional comitative, the composition is very often expressed (see examples 25–30, Section 5.1) but as for *kanssa*, it is completely lacking in the data and also intuitively feels impossible (as in ex. 27: *menu juusto-ine-en* but **menu juusto-n kanssa* in the sense of 'a menu that includes cheese, among other things'; the latter exists only in the sense of 'a menu and cheese in addition to it'). *-ine* is also more expressive than *kanssa* so that various additional meanings may be attributed to it in context (see examples 42–46, Section 5.2). The only common contextual additional meaning for both markers is that of an instrument which is rather marginal for them both in the data (see example 45, Section 5.2, and example 53, Section 6.1). However, it is common in spoken Finnish to express an instrument with *kanssa*.

The two forms also differ at the syntactic level. The trajector (the accompanee) of a *kanssa* construction is predominantly specified by the subject of the predicate verb (87%) and only rarely by the object (5%), whereas it is more common for the landmark of the comitative case to have a trajector specified by the object of the predicate verb (19%) (see Table 2, where the data for *-ine* consist of 448 sentences out of a total of 500 sentences and the data for *kanssa* consist of 342 sentences out of a total of 500 sentences¹¹).

10 I thank the 12 informants, both linguists and those not linguistically educated, who participated in evaluating and discussing the acceptability of different constructions with an implicit accompanee on the social media channels 12.–16.9.2021.

11 In order to describe the proportions of existing syntactic positions, I excluded

Form	Trajector's syntactic position	%	Example
-ine	subject	78	<i>Merja muutt-i perhe-ine-en</i> (ex. 1) name move-PST.3SG family-COM-POSS3 'Merja moved with her family'
	object	19	<i>Hilkka tapa-si Alvari-n äite-ine-en</i> (ex. 2) name meet-PST.3SG name-ACC mother-COM-POSS3 'Hilkka met Alvar and his mother'
	other	3	<i>Mahdy kerto-o rakennus-ten entistämise-stä ongelm-ine-en</i> (ex. 11) name tell-3SG building-PL.GEN restoration-ELA problem-COM-POSS3 'Mahdy tells about restoration of buildings and the related problems'
kanssa	subject	87	<i>Mies muutt-i vaimo-nsa kanssa</i> Pariisi-in. (ex. 47) man move-PST wife-GEN.POSS3 with name-ILL 'The man moved with his wife to Paris'
	object	5	<i>Tarjoa keitto-n kanssa leipä-ä.</i> (ex. 50) serve.IMP.2SG soup-GEN with bread-PAR 'With the soup serve bread.'
	other	8	<i>Keitä-n mansiko-i-sta mehu-a vadelm-i-en kanssa.</i> boil-1SG strawberry-PL-ELA juice-PAR raspberry-PL-GEN with 'I make juice out of strawberries and raspberries.'

Table 2. The syntactic position of trajector-NPs.

The expressions of the two forms also differ with respect to their positioning within a sentence (see Table 3, which presents the data for both *-ine* and *kanssa*, $n = 500$ sentences for each form). The landmark of the comitative case usually occurs in the sentence immediately following the trajector (TR+LM, 66%) but also rather often directly after the predicate verb (V+LM, 19%). The landmark of the *kanssa* construction, on the other hand, occurs equally often immediately following the predicate verb (V+LM, 29%), some other word that governs *kanssa* (gov+LM, 26%), and any other word of the sentence (any+LM, 33%) – but very rarely immediately following the trajector (TR+LM, 3%, that also includes occurrences that contain the word *yhdessä* 'together (with)' that is situated in between the trajector and the landmark, such as in *Tapahuma-n järjestää JazzHouse yhdessä Suome-n Jazzliito-n kanssa* event-ACC organise.3SG name together Finland-GEN Jazz. association-GEN with 'The event is organised by JazzHouse together with Jazz Finland'). For both constructions, the noun that specifies the landmark can also begin the sentence (begLM, *-ine* 4%, *kanssa* 9%).

from the 500 sentences data those occurrences where the syntactic position of the trajector-NP was difficult or impossible to define. The main occurrences that were removed were those lacking a predicate verb as well as those lacking a separate word for a trajector. The significant difference between the sizes of the remaining *-ine* and *kanssa* sentences is explained by the possibility of leaving the accompanee implicit, as has been described above.

Form	LM's position	%	Example
-ine	TR+LM	66	<i>Äiti tyttär-ine-en ol-i syöttä-mä-ssä sors-i-a.</i> (ex. 13) mother daughter-COM-POSS3 be-PST.3SG feed-INF-INE duck-PL-PAR 'Mother with her daughter(s) was feeding ducks.'
	V+LM	19	<i>Rakennus tuho-utu-i irtaimisto-ine-en.</i> (ex. 15) building destroy-REFL-PST.3SG fitting-COM-POSS3 'The building was destroyed with its fittings.'
	begLM	4	<i>Kavio-ine-en patsas tuo miele-en taruolennot.</i> (ex. 42) hoof.COM-POSS3 statue bring.3SG mind- ILL mythical.creature-PL 'With its hooves the statue reminds of the mythical creatures.'
	any+LM	7	<i>Hän kiskoo kasvi-t maasta juurineen.</i> (ex. 23) 3SG pull-3SG plant-PL ground-ELA root-COM-POSS3 '(S)he pulls up the plants [from the ground] by the roots.'
	(ambiguous)	4	<i>Telta-t ol-i-vat kuin klubi-jä tanssilattia-ine-en.</i> tent-PL be-PST-3PL like club-PL.PAR dance.floor-COM-POSS3 'The tents where like clubs with their dance floors.'
kanssa	TR+LM	3	<i>Kriisi alko-i, kun hän kannattaj-iensa kanssa valta-si parlament-i-n.</i> crisis begin-PST when 3SG supporter-PL.GEN.POSS3 with seize.PST parliament-ACC 'The crisis began when (s)he with his/her supporters seized the parliament.'
	V+LM	29	<i>Mies muutt-i vaimo-nsa kanssa Pariisi-in.</i> (ex. 47) man move-PST wife-GEN.POSS3 with name-ILL 'The man moved with his wife to Paris.'
	begLM	9	<i>Suomalais-ten kanssa kilpaile-vat Belgia ja Tanska.</i> Finn-PL.GEN with compete-3PL name and name 'Belgium and Denmark are competing with the Finns.'
	gov+LM	26	<i>Sopimus Atlanta Hawksien kanssa</i> (ex. 58) contract name.PL.GEN with 'The contract with Atlanta Hawks'
	any+LM	33	<i>Upseeri tul-i luokse-ni ase-n kanssa.</i> (ex. 51) officer come-3PL. PST to-POSS1SG gun-GEN with 'The officer came to me with a gun.'

Table 3. Elements preceding the landmark-NPs in the sentence.

7 Conclusions

This study has examined the background of the Finnish comitative case ending *-ine* and its usage based on the large contemporary newspaper text corpus HS2000 (Pajunen 2003; Virtanen 2000–2003). The comitative case is the most grammatical means in Finnish to express the accompaniment that is an asymmetric relation between (prototypically human) participants. These include the accompanee, the main actor and the trajector, who is usually specified by the subject or the object of the predicate verb, and the companion, who is the secondary actor and the landmark of *-ine*. When attached to a noun, *-ine* is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix and, in most instances, the landmark of the possessive suffix coincides with the trajector of the comitative. This was illustrated by example 1: *Merja muutt-i perhe-ine-en* name move-PST.3SG family-COM-POSS3 'Merja moved with her family'.

My analysis of the contemporary corpus revealed that the comitative case has many functions beyond the prototypic function of accompaniment ('Merja

moved with her family’). In fact, accompaniment is not the most frequent function of *-ine* in the corpus, as the case is more often used to combine inanimate rather than animate participants. The other main meanings that *-ine* expresses in the corpus data are possession, an inherent part–whole relationship, a loose part–whole relation referred to as a composition, and the relation of connection (see Section 5.1). In certain contexts, the comitative construction may also convey the meaning of a reason or a cause, ‘because of’, a concessive meaning ‘in spite of’, or an instrument. The comitative case is also used as a textual means that condenses the text by leaving the nature of the relation between the landmark and the trajector unspecified and by merely indicating the existing connection between them. (see Section 5.2.)

Considering all these usages, the functional domain of the comitative case is clearly wider than what the former descriptions indicated. If we consider one of the most frequent functions of *-ine* in the corpus, the meaning of a composition, this alone attests to the former descriptions being limited. For example, the latest comprehensive Finnish grammar states that *-ine* “expresses an **inseparable** part of a whole or shows what someone has in his company or possession” (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §1264; my emphasis), a definition that excludes all the expressions of composition in which the parts of a whole may be separated from the whole. Furthermore, the relation of connection is absent from the previous description.

This is an interesting observation particularly when we consider it in relation to the level of fixedness or (un)productivity of the comitative case ending. As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Sirola-Belliard 2017), *-ine* is not as fixed or as unproductive as has been assumed. It has its fixed usage, which is linked to verbalising canonical situations, such as the accompaniment of human participants (as in *perhe-ine-en* ‘with (one’s) family’, *vaimo-ine-en* ‘with (one’s) wife’) and the inherent part–whole relationships (as in *juur-ine-en* ‘with its roots’, *johdanto-ine-en* ‘with its introduction’), and which is characterised by a few lexemes that occur very often. However, the main part of the usage of *-ine* in the corpus consists of verbalising rather unique situations in which the case ending is used to indicate connections between entities that form different wholes or that otherwise belong together (for instance, see examples 27–30, 33–37 and 46). These types of expressions are typically lexically unpredictable, containing lexemes that occur only once or twice in the corpus, and they can be considered a highly creative and productive usage. This is characteristic of the aforementioned meanings, the composition and the relation of connection, that the former literature does not recognize – or when it does, considers “bad language” that should be avoided. Nevertheless, it is these usages that reveal the greatest driving force of the comitative case ending.

Whereas *-ine* is the most grammatical form in Finnish to express the prototypic meaning of the comitative, the accompaniment, the most frequent form is the postposition *kanssa* that governs the genitive case, such as *Mies muutt-i vaimo-nsa kanssa* man move-PST wife-GEN.POSS₃ with ‘The man moved with his wife’. *Kanssa* can be justifiably considered the prototypic comitative marker in Finnish because its usage is highly concentrated on combining human participants, and, moreover, it is used in the corpus to

combine human participants approximately ten times more frequently than *-ine*. The precedence of *kanssa* over *-ine* in expressing human relations can be noticed in at least four different ways. Firstly, *kanssa* can be used to express the opposite participants of a reciprocal action, whereas *-ine* combines participants only on one side of the force-dynamics. Secondly, all kinds of nouns are neutral as landmarks of *kanssa*, including proper names, whereas having a proper name as the landmark of *-ine* implies a special relationship between the participants. Thirdly, personal pronouns can only be landmarks of *kanssa* but not of *-ine* because the possessive suffix does not fit with personal pronouns. The fourth point is that the accompanee (the trajector) is often left implicit with *kanssa* but rarely if ever is it implicit with *-ine*.

In the corpus data, *kanssa* mainly expresses human co-participation: parallel co-participation, in which the accompaniment is included (*Mies muutti vaimonsa kanssa* ‘The man moved with his wife’), reciprocal co-participation (*Mies riitelee vaimonsa kanssa* ‘The man argues with his wife’), as well as fictive co-participation (*Hän taisteli alkoholiongelman kanssa* ‘(s)he fought with the drinking problem’). In addition to these, *kanssa* is also used to express comparison, combination, rarely possession, instrument, and, very marginally, manner. The broader meanings that *kanssa* (with its shortened forms such as *kans*, *kaa*, etc.) has in the spoken language were beyond the scope of this paper.

A comparison of the meanings expressed by *-ine* and *kanssa* revealed that *kanssa* concentrates at the core of the comitative’s functional domain, predominantly expressing the companion of an active agent. Instead, the comitative case ending is more frequent and productive at the periphery of the functional domain than in its core, and it is most creatively used to portray the world: to demonstrate – or even construct new – connections between things, and to describe the parts that form and define wholes or sets. While *kanssa* expresses humans acting together, *-ine* emphasises the aspect of belonging together and predominately for inanimate participants.

As the functional domains of the two forms differ this clearly, it does not seem likely, as has been assumed, that *kanssa* would replace the comitative case in the usage. The previous claims might be based on the apparent difference in the frequencies of the two forms, but since *-ine* is the most infrequent case in the Finnish case system and has always been rare in use, the quantitative domination of *kanssa* does not implicate substitution. Another point is that based on the contemporary corpus and the descriptions in the previous literature on the usage of the comitative case, the functions of the case appear to be broadening rather than decreasing. However, this would require a separate diachronic study to verify the potential development and changes in the actual usage of the comitative case. The challenge of such a study is the low frequency of *-ine* which requires large-scale corpora. In addition to the semantic broadening, the syntactic usage of the comitative case also appears to become wider, as it is likely that the adverbials as the trajectors of *-ine* are newcomers and have appeared in newspaper language only during the twentieth century, as was noted in Section 3.

As a brief overall summary, the Finnish comitative case has traditionally been considered peculiar and marginal, even unproductive, but when

I consulted a large contemporary text corpus to observe the uses of the comitative and adopted a typological orientation to explore comitative markers in other languages in the world, I discovered that the comitative is a rather common form with a notably more diverse range of functions than traditionally described. Moreover, the corpus data also reveal that *-ine* is used productively. Lastly, as counter evidence to the general assumption that the comitative case is losing its functions to the postposition *kanssa* ‘with’, the corpus data reveals that the two forms have different functional domains and complete one another as a means of expression.

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Finnish abessive in contemporary internet writing

Abstract

In this article, we analyse the use of nouns in the abessive case form (referred to here as abessive nouns) in contemporary Finnish internet writing. The abessive is one of the three marginal cases of Finnish and it is first and foremost categorised as a special form of the MA-infinitive (*sanomatta* ‘without saying’; Hamunen 2019) even though it is also a possible form for nouns (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1261). The focus of this article is on the abessive nouns because they exhibit more variation in their occurrence. This analysis introduces six semantic categories for the abessive nouns as well as some wider contextual functions. We also compare the use of the abessive nouns to that of the near-synonymous adposition *ilman* ‘without’. Our aim is to provide a more detailed picture of the partial productivity of the abessive nouns. Our contemporary data enabled us to understand the entrenched use of the abessive case and we determined that while this case is marginal, it is not dying out because its marginality is manifested in specialised and even lexicalised meanings, for example as intensifying adverbs.

1 Introduction

Even though Finnish has a rather rich case system, it is justified to reflect on whether all the cases are actually used. The obvious candidates for this reflection are the marginal cases of Finnish – the abessive, comitative, and instructive (for the comitative, see the article by Belliard in this volume). The abessive case is rather rarely used (see table 1 below) and its main functions (lack of something, neglect) are often expressed by other linguistic means, as in *rahatta* raha-abe / *ilman rahaa* without money-par ‘without money’. The Finnish abessive case occurs more productively as a part of the MA-infinitive abessive (*sanomatta* ‘without saying’; Hamunen 2019) even though it is a possible form for nouns as well (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1261). This article examines closely the usage of Finnish abessive nouns. This analysis confirms and refines the findings by Ylikoski (2021) based on a larger contemporary

electronic corpus. Our main objective is to determine whether the abessive nouns are easily replaceable, or despite their infrequent usage, whether the case has its own semantics that explains the usage.

	Syntax Archive		Parole	
	%	n	%	
NOM	30.5	39 939	37.4	59 251
GEN	22.9	29 912	21.7	34 393
PAR	13.6	17 734	13.7	21 720
T-AKK	0.1	108	0.1	107
ESS	2.6	3 434	2.1	3 393
TRA	2.2	2895	1.6	2 546
INE	6.8	8 864	5.8	9 200
ELA	4.6	6 072	4.0	6 316
ILL	6.7	8 792	6.1	9 606
ADE	4.2	5 553	4.0	6 335
ABL	1.1	1 457	1.0	1 490
ALL	2.4	3 123	2.2	3 435
ABE	0.2	308	0.2	266
COM	0.1	120	0.1	103
INS	2.0	2 610	0.3	474
Total		130 921		158 655

Table 1. Frequencies of the Finnish cases in written standard language data (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1227).

In this article, we demonstrate that nouns in the abessive (abessive nouns hereafter) have various functions in contemporary written Finnish and that these fall into semantic categories. The aim is to determine how Finnish speakers use this marginal case in a language environment that is free and unchecked. We also compare the usage of the abessive to the near-synonymous adposition *ilman* ‘without’.

In principle, every noun¹ can be inflected for the abessive case but in practice, the use of abessive nouns is limited. This article explores these limits to determine the possible reasons for them. (For more detailed results, see Vihervalli 2016.)

2 Data

The data were gathered from a Finnish chat website, ylilauta.org. The corpus we consulted was collected from 2012 through 2014. This time frame was appropriate for our objective to analyse contemporary Finnish. The website ylilauta.org is fairly popular. For example, at the time of 2015–2016, this

1 However, there are exceptions, such as the demonstrative pronouns **tättä*, **tämättä* *tämä*+abe ‘without this’, and the use of the abessive case form of most other pronouns. The use of an attribute in a singular abessive form is also exceedingly rare but Ylikoski (2021, 147–148) offers examples of this occurring in a large corpus. (C.f. Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1262; Pantermöller 2006, 53).

website received three million visitors and nearly a million new messages were created within a month (www.ylilauta.org).

The data were extracted from a random selection of conversation threads at Ylilauta. The purpose of our study was to determine whether the abessive case is used in a free and unedited written language – a style that is used at Ylilauta. The writers who contribute to Ylilauta are anonymous, they participate free of charge and do not need to register for the site. All in all, Ylilauta represents free, informal, contemporary Finnish internet language. Informal internet language has an inclination towards spoken language², but without conducting a more detailed study, it is difficult to distinguish between the influence of the standard written language and the spoken varieties on the contributors' use of the abessive case, which has been purported to indicate a more literary style than that of spoken varieties (Ylikoski 2021, 154).

The Ylilauta data is morphologically coded at the Korp interface of the Language Bank of Finland. Through Korp, it is possible to search a selected corpus for certain words, word combinations, and grammatical units. We gathered our data by conducting an extended search via Korp. We selected the part of speech to be nouns and the morphological analysis to be the abessive case. The Korp search programme first produced 6 042 hits, and the first 2 000 were selected for analysis. We began by deleting the misspelled words (there were many due to the spelling of the Finnish partitive case ending *-tA*, which is close to the abessive ending *-ttA*³). After these deletions, out of the first 2 000 hits, 679 were confirmed abessive nouns and these form the data for this study.

Some examples were occasionally simplified to exclude those parts that did not concern the use of the abessive case. We ensured, however, that sufficient cotext remained around the abessive nouns to analyse the semantics of the case. The examples otherwise occurred in an unchanged form and therefore might have included some misspellings. The present analysis is based on the original tokens.

3 *The abessive among the expressions of neglect*

Finnish has several morphosyntactic ways to express neglect or a lack of something. The abessive nouns represent a level of neglect expressed at the phrase and lexicon level (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1615). The clauses that contain an abessive noun convey some type of lacking – how something occurs without something, or how something is without something. The abessive case thus can be typologically included in caritive expressions or

2 For example, see Helasvuo, Johansson & Tanskanen 2014.

3 During the earlier stages in written Finnish and in dialects, partial homonymy occurred between these cases. This is because the abessive had (and in some dialects continues to have) different endings, such as *'-ta'*, and both cases were used with the preposition *ilman* 'without' (see Pantermöller 2010). On the origin of the case ending, see also Hamari 2011,40 and Ylikoski 2021, 141.

those having a privative function (compare Miestamo 2017, 435; Ylikoski 2021, 141).

The adposition *ilman* ‘without’ is often used instead of the abessive noun (compare 1 and 2).⁴ A similar meaning can also be expressed by using the construction *vailla ~ vaille* ‘without’ (3), a negative verb (4), the caritive derivative adjective *-tOn* (referred to as the caritive adjective in the Finnish grammatical tradition, (5), or the negative prefixes *epä-* or *ei-* ‘non’ and ‘no’ (c.f. Salminen 2020, 68, 100). The following examples demonstrate the different means used to express neglect or absence in Finnish. The different constructions construe the state-of-affairs in a slightly different manner, but the main caritive meaning is the same: there is no book in the relation between the trajector (‘I’) and the landmark (‘book’) ⁵.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| (1) | Ole-n
be-1SG | kirja- tta .
book-ABE | | | ‘I am without a book.’ |
| (2) | Ole-n
be-1SG | ilman
without | kirja-a.
book-PAR | | ‘I am without a book.’ |
| (3) | Ole-n
be-1SG | vailla
without | kirja-a.
book-PAR | | ‘I am lacking a book.’ |
| (4) | Minu-lla
I-ADE | ei
NEG.3SG | ole
be.CNG | kirja-a.
book-PAR | ‘I don’t have a book.’ |
| (5) | Ole-n
be-1SG | kirja- ton .
book-CAR | | | ‘I am bookless.’ |

Overall, if we exclude the basic negation – as in example 4 – none of the variants belong to the most frequently used expression types. The frequencies of the Finnish cases indicate that the abessive case is used rather rarely (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1228). In fact, the abessive is either the most infrequent or the second least used case form (see table 1).

As demonstrated above, Finnish has several ways to express lacking. Negation (4) or all other caritive constructions are not comparable in the same manner within different syntactic constructions. The closest parallel to the abessive in different constructions is the adposition *ilman* ‘without’ (see also Ylikoski 2021, 151). We return later to the question of whether the abessive form could be replaced by other expressions of lacking when we compare the use of the abessive with that of the adposition *ilman* ‘without’. Let us now closely examine the meaning functions of abessive nouns.

4 *Ilman* ‘without’ is also an adverb that can leave the landmark unspecified, which makes the sentence elliptical. The context reveals what is lacking: *Jäätelöt loppuivat. Te jäitte ilman.* ‘The ice cream(s) ran out. You were left without.’ (See Leino 1993, 214.)

5 Cognitive grammar considers adjectives as points or regions on a scale (Langacker 1987, 216). Thus, example 5 differs from the others in terms of the relation between the trajector and landmark even though the sense of lacking is rather similar.

4 Semantic categories of stem nouns

In principle, it is possible to inflect any Finnish noun for the abessive (see also Ylikoski 2021, 144). Yet only three per cent of the abessives that occur in our data combine with concrete nouns. Thus, the usage of abessives with nouns that refer to tangible objects appears to be marginal. Firstly, let us examine this marginal usage more closely. In particular, we concentrate on the usage of abessives with abstract nouns.

Landmarks do not appear to be connected by anything other than their concreteness. For example, out of seventeen concrete nouns in the data, three refer to cigarettes. Even they represent a cline from concrete nouns to nominalisations (6). In addition, some deverbal nouns that may refer to concrete things but at the same time, as *nomen actis*, they also exhibit features of *nomen actionis*. The meaning conveyed in example 7 closely resembles manner and means rather than a lack of an instrument (concrete nouns such as *kondomitta* condom-abe ‘without a condom’ do not appear in our data; a Google search of these nouns reveals that they are possible but rare). Another example that exhibits a cline away from countable noun stems to is that beer is a countable noun in the plural (example 8), but the stem is also an uncountable mass noun.

- (6) Itse päät-i-n tänään ol-la loppu-vuode-n sauhu-tta.
 self decide-PST-1SG today be-INF rest-year-ACC smoke-ABE
 ‘I myself decided today to be without smoke for the rest of the year.’
- (7) – – pane-e yhdenilla-n hoito-j-a ehkäisy-ttä – –
 screw-3SG one.night-GEN stand-PL-PAR contraception-ABE
 ‘He screws one night stands without contraception’
- (8) Jää-t kaljo-i-tta!
 stay-2SG beer-PL-ABE
 ‘You’re left without (a) beer!’
- (9) Itse-hän men-i-n eko-i-hin treene-i-hin pari-tta.
 self-CL go-PST-1SG first-PL-ILL training-PL-ILL partner-ABE
 ‘I did go to the first training without a partner.’

Only one hit occurs in our data for a stem word that refers to a living thing, which is a training partner (9). Even here, *pari* ‘a partner’, (also ‘a pair’) is more abstract as it expresses a relational role than a noun that refers mainly to a human being (as in *kaveri* ‘a companion’, which according to a Google search we conducted, rarely occurs in the abessive). Thus, although in principle, the abessive case ending is productive with all types of nouns, our data indicate that it is only rarely used with purely concrete nouns.

The semantic distinctions proposed for the negation of comitativity and instrumentality in typological studies can be problematic with the abessive, and they are not clearly manifested in our data. For this reason, they are not included in our analysis (see Hamari on Permic languages (2011, 48–49)

and Pantermöller on Finnish (2006, 70, 2010, 42), c.f. Penttilä 1963, 435-442; Stolz 1996, 14, Stolz et al. 2006, 167–170.) Syntactically, abessives occur either as free adverbials (9) or are situated in an argument position with the verbs ‘to be’ (6), ‘to stay’ (8) and ‘to leave’, which may reflect the origin of the case as a directional lative case form (Hamari 2011, 52; Huumo 2005, 506; Korhonen 1981, 226). Our data exhibit signs of a distribution of verb types such as ‘stay’ and ‘leave’. These verbs predominantly occur with concrete landmarks (which rarely occur in the data overall) rather than other verbs with abessives that occur in an adjunct position. However, more extensive data is required to verify this.

As stated above, the general function of an abessive is to express some type of lacking. Nonetheless, it is possible to create more specific categories for the abessive nouns within this schematic meaning of lacking. The concrete nouns mentioned concern a category of the general lack of an entity which Finnish descriptive grammar (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 1262) divides into two syntactic types. The first is the non-existence or lack of an entity and the second is that something may occur despite the lack of an entity that, in a default case, would be connected to the state of affairs (for example, compare 6 and 7). These two syntactic types, which also demonstrate the difference between an abessive in an argument position as a landmark in a clausal relation and an abessive as a free adverbial, can be depicted by the following Figures. In Figure 2, the abessive represents another layer as a relation that has the whole clausal relation as its trajectory.⁶

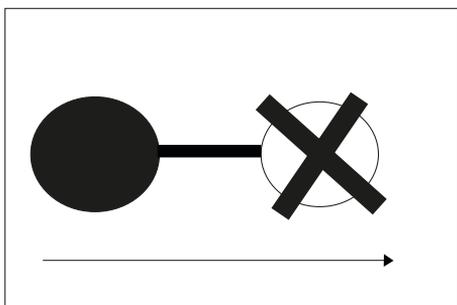


Figure 1. The abessive as a clausal landmark, as in *Hän on hatutta*. S/he is hat-abe ‘S/he is without a hat.’

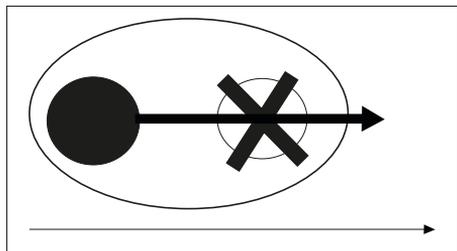


Figure 2. The abessive as a free adverbial, another layer of a landmark with the whole clausal relation as its trajectory.

6 The verbal process together with its arguments construe a trajectory and clausal adverbs can have the whole trajectory as their trajector.

It is important to note that abessives that refer to feelings do not always indicate the absence of a feeling but have instead been abstracted to describe how matters are achieved. For instance, *surutta* ‘without sorrow’ does not actually mean a lack of sorrow; rather, it conveys that something is being done briskly (11). Thus, the category of feelings, which is based on the stem noun, has extended or even transferred to the categories of fluency and intensity. Moreover, abessives are often used to indicate an attitude or an argumentative stance. This also reflects a cline of abstraction and subjectification from a human participant’s attitude, usually the trajector of the clause (11), to a conceptualiser’s stance (12).⁷

The abessives that refer to cause express an action that occurs without a cause or reason. This category includes *syyttä* (*suotta*) ‘without a cause’, *aiheetta* ‘for no reason’, *perusteetta* ‘lacking grounds’ and *perusteluitta* ‘without justification’ and it overlaps with the categorisation of Hakulinen et al. mentioned above. An abessive that refers to a cause always conveys a meaning of something achieved in vain or in a manner that does not please either the participant indicated by the clausal trajector or the conceptualiser (or both). The difference between an attitude of the trajector of the clause and an argumentative stance of the conceptualiser is not always clear, which reflects an abstraction and subjectification cline to textual adverbials and adverbs. The conceptualiser’s attitude is an evident interpretation for clauses in which the clausal trajector or landmark cannot be the source of the opinion, as in 15. Otherwise, the cotext can support the interpretation that the abessive describes the conceptualiser’s argumentative stance as grounds for action rather than as the agent’s opinion concerning this.

- (13) -- pyyt-el-i-n **syyttä** **suotta** anteeksi --
ask-FREQ-PST-1SG reason.ABE no-reason.ABE apology.TRA
‘I was apologizing for no reason’
- (14) -- jotka täysin **perustelu-i-tta** kilju-vat armeija-n puolesta --
who-PL totally reason-PL-ABE scream-3PL army-GEN behalf.ELA
‘who scream on the behalf of the army without any reason’
- (15) Darkthronen myöhe-mmä-t levy-t saa kyllä
Darkthronen-GEN late-CMPR-PL CD-PL get.3SG sure

paska-a niska-an ihan **aihee-tta** --
shit-PAR neck-ILL quite reason-ABE
‘Darkthronen’s later releases do get some bullshit for no reason’

7 The subjectification of the conceptualiser’s viewpoint would add an additional dotted line indicating the conceptualiser’s viewpoint and thus the stage model to Figure 2 (c. f. Langacker 2008, 356–357). The arrow would point from the audience representing the conceptualiser to the abessive noun, the whole relation being on stage.

- (16) Sama-lla tava-lla voi spekuloi-da **perustee-tta**
 same-ADE way-ADE can.3SG speculate-INF reason-ABE
 mistä tahansa aihee-sta.
 what.ELA ever matter-ELA
 ‘In the same way one can speculate on any matter without reason.’

These abessive forms appear to have repeatedly argumentative use. The abessives that refer to a cause can be used to defend an opinion. In example 15, the writer implies that the later CDs of the band named Darkthrone have been unjustifiably criticised. By using an abessive, the writer asserts his/her claim, referring to the later production by the band, thus by adopting a defensive tone.

The stem nouns that refer to remuneration indicate either straightforward monetary matters or their expression symbolically. Examples of the abessives in this category are *veloitukse* (17), *korvaukse* (18), *maksutta* (19), ‘free of charge’, *palkatta* ‘without wages’ and *vastikkeetta* ‘without payment’. Means of payment can be interpreted as being concrete or abstract, such as *pennittä* ‘without a penny’ and *rahatta* ‘without money’.

- (17) Sinu-n-kin valokuv-i-a-si voi-daan käyttä-ä täysin **veloitukse-tta** – –
 you-GEN-CL photo-PL-PAR-POSS2SG can-PASS use-INF totally charge-ABE
 ‘Your photos also can be used totally free of charge’
- (18) – – toinen kansa vie tois-ten kasvatta-ma-n vilja-n **korvaukse-tta**.
 other nation take.3SG other-PL. grow-PTCP- grain- charge-ABE
 GEN ACC ACC
 ‘one nation takes the grain grown by others free of charge’
- (19) – – posti kuljetta-isi perille asti **maksu-tta** tai halva-lla.
 post transport- there.ALL all-the-way-to charge-ABE or cheap-ADE
 COND.3SG
 ‘– – [the mail] would be delivered by post all the way free of charge or at a low price’

The harm category of abessives construes how one survives in a situation and they reflect an evaluation of the result of a process. For instance, verbs such as ‘survive’ and ‘last’ (*selvitä*, *säilyä*) are used with the abessives that focus on the outcome of the process. They designate a potential harm, threat or change that does not occur. Examples of abessive nouns are *vahingotta* (20), *vauriotta* (21), *naarmutta* (22) ‘with no harm’, *tappiotta* ‘without loss’ and *rangaistukse* ‘without punishment’. The stem nouns refer to a harm or negative outcome that could have resulted from an action. The abessive communicates that this type of potential harm has not transpired or will not occur.

- (20) Usko-isi-n, että näin selviä-ä **vahingo-i-tta**.
 Believe-COND-1SG that like.this survive-3SG damage-PL-ABE
 ‘I would believe that in this way one can manage with no harm.’
- (21) – – niillä selvit-tiin **vaurio-i-tta** vuode-n metsäseikkailui-sta.
 those.ADE survive-PST-PASS damage-PL-ABE year-GEN forest.adventure-PL-ELA
 ‘With those we survived a year’s forest adventures with no harm.’

- (22) Kersantti säily-i **naarmu-i-tta** – –
 Sergeant survive-PST-3SG scratch-PL-ABE
 ‘The sergeant survived without a scratch.’

The abessives of fluency express the ease of an action when making progress. Many abessive nouns belong to this category: *ongelmitta* ‘without problems’ (23), *vaivatta* (24), *vaikeuksitta* (25) ‘without trouble’, *keskeytyksittä* ‘without interruptions’ (26), *häiriöttä* ‘without disruption’, *moitteetta* ‘flawlessly’ (27), *esteettä* ‘without hindrance’ (28), *virheettä* ‘flawlessly’ and *kritiikittä* ‘uncritically’. Often the stem nouns of the abessive designate an obstacle and the abessive construes a lack of it. This category thus partly overlaps with the category of obstacles we mentioned earlier. Some of the lexemes have been conventionalised in a very general sense and even lexicalised, such as *vaivatta* ‘without trouble’ (24), but many have retained their more specific meaning and thus form a cline from a more specific interpretation, such as *rajoituksitta* ‘without restrictions’ in example 29, to a general meaning of fluency.

- (23) – – juoma-t tul-i **ongelm-i-tta** kotiove-lle asti – –
 drink-PL come-PST.3SG problem-PL-ABE home.door-ALL all-the-way-to
 ‘The drinks came without trouble all the way to my door’
- (24) – – kävel-len pääse-e aluee-lle **vaiva-tta**.
 walk-INE.INSTR get-3SG area-ALL trouble-ABE
 ‘You can get to the area with ease by walking.’
- (25) – – fit men-i tuuma-a piene-mpä-nä päälleni **vaikeuks-i-tta** – –
 sama
 same fit go-PST-3SG inch-PAR small-CMPR-ESS OVER.ALL-POSS2SG difficulty-PL-ABE
 ‘The same fit one inch smaller went on me without difficulty’
- (26) – – jatku-u **keskeytykse-ttä** aina kaikkien
 continue-3SG interruption-ABE up-untill all.PL.GEN
 valittu-j-en lopullise-en täydellistymise-en asti.
 chosen-PL-GEN finite-ILL perfection-ILL until
 ‘[It] will continue without interruptions up until the chosen ones attain ultimate perfection’
- (27) Toimi vielä kesä-n alu-ssa edelleen aivan **moittee-tta** – –
 function-PST.3SG still summer-GEN beginning-INE still quite reproach-ABE
 ‘[It] worked still in the beginning of the summer quite flawlessly.’
- (28) – – omista-va luokka voi aja-a om-i-a etu-j-a-an **esteettä** – –
 own-PTCP class can.3SG drive-INF own-PL-PAR interest-PL-PAR-POSS3 hindrance-ABE
 ‘The owning class can pursue its own interests without hindrance.’

- (29) Kyllä käsittä-ä-kse-ni OM ja lainsäädäntö
 sure understand-INF-TRA-1SG.POSS OM and legislation
- salli-i IP-tunniste/ loggaustieto-jen kysely-n lähes
 allow-SG IP ID/ logging-data-PL.GEN query-ACC nearly
- rajoitukse-tta** yleise-n turvallisuude-n nimissä --
 restriction-ABE general-GEN security-GEN name.PL.INE
 ‘As far as I understand the Ministry of Justice and the legislation allow IP ID/
 logging data query almost without restrictions in the name of general security.’

The abstraction tendencies entailed by lexicalisation are evident in the pair found in the following examples: *mutkitta* bend-pl-ABE ‘straight away’ and *muitta mutkitta* lit. ‘without no other bends’. The first, *mutkitta*, can have either a more concrete or an abstracted interpretation of fluency, whereas the second phrase, *muitta mutkitta*, includes an intensifier with an alliteration that is abstracted in the meaning.

- (30) Viimeise-t tanssi-t suju-i-vat **mutk-i-tta**
 last-PL dance-PL go-PST-3PL bend-PL-ABE
 ‘The last dances went smoothly’ or lit. ‘without extra curves’
- (31) -- joku kaarta-a **muitta mutkitta** naapurimöki-lle päin --
 somebody turn-3sg other.ABE bend.PL.ABE neighbour.cottage-ALL toward
 ‘Somebody turns just like that toward the neighbouring cottage.’

Besides the literal meaning of *mutkitta*, this abessive noun conveys that matters are proceeding smoothly without problems. Moreover, the abessive phrase *muitta mutkitta* has an additional meaning of matters proceeding quickly, smoothly and in a straightforward manner, without further ado, “just like that”. This abessive phrase also has an intensifying meaning which constitutes one direction of abstraction in this type of abessive noun.

The last semantic category consists of abessives that describe intensity. The abessives belonging to this category are such as *kiistatta* ‘without argument’ (32), *ehdo(i)tta* ‘without reservation(s)’, *varauksetta* ‘without reserve’ (33), and the most frequent abessive in our corpus, *poikkeuksetta* ‘without an exception’ (34). They intensify by neglecting any conceptual, argumentative or knowledge-based element that could hedge the claim made by the clause. In this way they emphasise and strengthen the claim made in the sentence. Thus intensifying abessives are used in argumentation to convince or to strengthen an argument.

- (32) Setti on **kiista-tta** 5/5.
 set be.3SG argument-ABE
 ‘The set is without argument 5/5.’
- (33) Vanha-a Jugoslavia-a voi-n suositel-la **varaukse-tta.**
 old-PAR Jugoslavia-PAR can-1SG recommend-INF reserve-ABE
 ‘I can recommend old Jugoslavia without reserve.’

(34) Sivarikeskukse-n henkilökunta on **poikkeukse-tta**
 non-military.service.center-GEN staff be_{3SG} exception-ABE

helveti-n hyväntuulis-ta – –
 Hell-GEN good-humoured-PAR

‘The staff in the non-military service centre is invariably in a good mood.’

Intensifying abessives have been further abstracted than the previous categories. These abessives have acquired modal meanings, as they are used to emphasise that no factors could weaken the claim made by the sentence, thus expressing “no doubt”. This category includes many conventionalised forms, and some have been lexicalised in a meaning that clearly differs from the meaning of the stem. In other words, *kiistatta* does not necessarily refer to a lack of controversy but instead affirms that there is no doubt. Their meaning has even further developed to the abstract function of a textual intensity adverb.

The use of the abessive *poikkeuksetta* ‘invariably’ is appropriate for the argumentative style of the web chats in our corpus. This abessive underlines the user’s argument while also literally communicating that the claim is valid without exception. The use of *poikkeuksetta* is an easy means when convincing others of one’s own opinion. This type of persuasive function accounts for why *poikkeuksetta* is the most used abessive in our data (33% of all abessives).

The six categories presented above are not exhaustive, but they present the main tendencies except for a few more isolated cases. These categories constitute the largest, clearest and most comprehensive groups in our data. They also display the tendencies of abstraction, conventionalisation and lexicalisation. The clausal status of the free manner adverbial has supported the abstraction tendencies towards meanings that construe the manner of the action, such as straightforwardness or intensity. Furthermore, the analysis has revealed the inclination of the abessive nouns towards intensifying functions in argumentation. This leads us to another topic, which we address in the next section – the question of whether abessive nouns tend to have meanings that separate them from the near synonymous adposition phrases.

5 Comparing abessive nouns to the adposition ilman ‘without’

In this section, we compare some abessive nouns to the adposition *ilman* ‘without’ to determine whether or not they convey a different meaning. At the same time, we consider whether lexicalisation plays a role in their usage. Penttilä ([1963] 2002, 435) presumed early on that the adposition *ilman* gains ground from the abessive case.

Our data reveal that an abessive noun is always used only once in a sentence. When it is necessary to express lacking more than once, this is achieved by using both the abessive and the adposition ‘without’ (c.f. also Ylikoski 2021, 151–152):

- (35) – – sillä monesti ol-lut 2-3 päivä-ä ilman tupakka-a ongelm-i-tta.
 because many.times be-PTCP 2-3 day-par without cigarette-PAR PROBLEM-PL-ABE
 ‘because [s/he has] been many times 2-3 days without smoke with no trouble’
- (36) – – ihan huole-tta voi lähte-ä
 quite worry-ABE can.3SG leave-INF
 ilman tukko-a raha-a liikentee-seen.
 without wad-PAR money-PAR traffic-ILL
 ‘quite without worrying you can go out without a wad of banknotes.’
- (37) – – voi-n huole-tta juo-da vaikka kuinka
 can-1SG worry-ABE drink-INF much as
 tämä-n jälkeen ilman oire-i-ta.
 this-GEN after without symptom-PL-PAR
 ‘After this I can safely drink how much I like without symptoms.’

When both expression types occur in the same clause, they tend to express the lack of the more concrete things in a prepositional phrase, while abessives have an argumentative function.

To determine whether the stems of the most used abessive nouns are also used in ‘without x’ phrases, we conducted a limited search in our corpus. We compared the parallel adposition phrases with the ten most used abessive nouns by searching for the partitive form of the same stem nouns that occurred with the adposition *ilman* ‘without’. The main reason for this comparison was to determine if the abessive nouns have a special usage. The number of the adpositions cannot be directly compared to the abessive forms because we searched the whole Ylilauta corpus for adpositions, whereas we randomly selected the abessives (see Section 2 above; the total number of abessive forms is 679 in our data). To maintain clarity, we refer to the data that only consist of the abessives as “the limited data” and our Ylilauta data including the adpositions as “the whole corpus”.

The most frequent abessive noun in the limited data is *poikkeuksetta* ‘without an exception’ (with 223 hits). The whole corpus had zero occurrences of *ilman poikkeusta* ‘without an exception’. This suggests that *poikkeuksetta* is lexicalised. In practice, the abessive form is irreplaceable even though in principle, the adposition phrase is rather synonymous with the abessive. In addition, we noticed earlier that the use of the abessive form had an intensifying argumentative function. When the most frequent abessive noun behaves in this manner, it indicates that this might also apply to (some) other nouns. Pantermöller (2006, 53) also argues that the abessive is a form that is lexicalised and phraseological in modern Finnish.

The abessive *huomiotta* ‘without notice’ was used 50 times in the limited data. The form *ilman huomiota* ‘without notice’ was detected only four times in the whole corpus. This implies that *huomiotta* is also lexicalised. Still comparing the abessive example 38 with the following examples with the adposition phrase does not reveal clear differences. Although there is a

hedge modifier *lähes* ‘almost’ with the abessive, that does not count for all occurrences. Examples (39–42) are all the four in the corpus in which the noun *huomio* is used exceptionally with the adposition *ilman*.

- (38) – – todellinen syy, talousongelma-t ja ahneus,
real reason economic.problem-PL and greed

jää-vät *lähes* **huomio-tta** – –
stay-3PL almost notice-ABE
‘the real reason, economic problems and greed, are almost ignored’
- (39) Miksi nämä jää-nee-t **ilman** **huomio-ta?**
why these leave-PTCP-PL without notice-PAR
‘Why [have] these [been] ignored?’
- (40) – – kaikki negatiivise-t kertomukse-t sivuute-taan **ilman** **huomio-ta**
all negative-PL story-PL dismiss-PASS without notice-PAR
‘All negative stories are ignored.’
- (41) – – ole-t itke-nyt minu-n kakkapäisyyt-tä-ni, ja sitä
be-2SG cry-PTCP I-GEN shit.headednes-PAR-POSS1SG and that

kuinka jätä-n olkiukko-si **ilman** **huomiota**
how leave-1SG straw.man-POSS2SG without notice-PAR
‘You have cried over my shithheadedness and how I ignore your straw men.’
- (42) Ilmeisesti terve poika oli jää-nyt kokonaan – –
apparently healthy boy be.PST.3SG leave-PTCP wholly

ilman huomio-ta raskaa-na ole-va-n äidi-n
without notice-PAR pregnant-ESS be-PTCP-GEN mother-GEN

yrittä-essä huolehti-a sairaa-sta katraas-ta-an.
try-INF.INSTR-INE take.care-INF sick-ELA brood-ELA-POSS3SG
‘Apparently the healthy son had been completely ignored meanwhile the pregnant mother tried to take care of her sick brood.’

The three examples (39–41) appear to convey the same meaning as the abessive – something has been ignored. The last example may express that the boy has not only been ignored, but neglected as well. In this instance, the adposition underlines the neglect more concretely than the abessive.

The abessive form *huoletta* (‘without worry’) appeared in the limited data 48 times (see examples 12, 36 and 37). The form *ilman huolta* (‘without a worry’) occurred eight times in the whole data. This indicates that this abessive form is also lexicalised. The following are examples of the adposition:

- (43) – heidä-n äiti-nsä sa-isi-vat teh-dä vapaasti
 they-GEN mother-GEN.POSS3 get-COND-3PL do-INF freely
 ura-a ilman huol-ta laps-i-sta.
 career-PAR without worry-PAR child-PL-ELA
 ‘Their mothers could be free to pursue their career without worrying about [their] children.’
- (44) – – voi-t jatka-a elämä-ä-si ilman huol-ta
 can-2SG continue-INF life-PAR.POSS2SG without worry-PAR
 sii-tä, että sinu-sta tule-e nisti.
 it-ELA that you-ELA become-3SG junkie
 ‘you can go on with your life without worrying about becoming a junkie.’
- (45) voi-t ol-la pari lukukaut-ta poissaoleva-na ilman huol-ta.
 can-2SG be-INF couple semester-PAR absent-ESS without worry-PAR
 ‘you can be absent for a couple of semesters without worry.’

Unlike the adposition, the abessive *huoletta* does not occur with modifiers that follow the head. The adposition phrase in examples 43 and 44 includes a modifier that indicates the topic or the stimulus of the worry (*ilman huolta lapsista* ‘without worrying about children’; *ilman huolta siitä, että* – ‘without worrying that –’). The abessive *huoletta* carries the general meaning of being or undertaking something without worrying, and it does not imply a special reason. The abessive *huoletta* is therefore also used as a sole core argument in the idiomatic phrase *ole huoletta* be-imp.2sg worry-abe ‘don’t worry’, where the adposition is not used. As with the previous examples, the adposition phrase occurs in a rhema position and imparts new information, while the typical position of the abessive corresponds to that of the adverb *vapaasti* ‘freely’ in 43. Actually, the abessive *huoletta* would fit into the same clause with the adverb only when coordinated with the conjunction ‘and’. Thus, the abessive would also share the function of the free manner adverbial in the clause. The adposition relates the lack of worry to the trajector (subject) of the clause, but we have already seen examples of the abessive in an argumentative position where it can express the stance of the conceptualiser as well (see 12, 36 and 37).

The limited data included 42 hits for the abessive *ongelmitta* (‘without a problem’, see examples 23 and 35). Unlike above, the adposition phrase *ilman ongelmia* (‘without problems’) received more hits in the whole corpus, with a total of 89. This implies that this abessive form is not as lexicalised as the ones before. The following are some examples of the adposition use:

- (46) Onnistu-i-n jopa pelaan aamu-sta asti ilman ongelm-i-a – –
 succeed-PST-1SG even play-INF.ILL morning-ELA since without problem-PL-PAR
 ‘I even succeeded to play ever since from morning without problems.’
- (47) Edellinen Razer palvel-i 5 vuot-ta ilman ongelm-i-a – –
 last Razer serve-PST.3SG 5 year-PAR without problem-PL-PAR
 ‘The last Razer served 5 years without problems.’

The use of the abessive and adposition appears to be fairly similar. There can be some slight differences, but these are somewhat difficult to detect. Once again, the adposition seems to link the lack of troubles to the clause trajectory.

Let us now turn to compare some nouns that refer to feelings. An example is *surutta* ('without sorrow', see example 11), which had 35 hits in the limited data and *armotta* ('without mercy'), with 14 hits in the limited data that have no parallel adpositions in the whole corpus. As mentioned above, the abessive forms of the stem nouns that refer to feelings have been abstracted from conveying a lack of the feeling to one of expressing a manner of doing something. To illustrate this difference, we present the following invented examples:

- (48) Hän on opetel-lut elä-mään **suru-tta.**
 s/he be-3SG learn-PTCP live-INF.ILL SORROW-ABE
 'S/he has learned to live carelessly.'
- (49) Hän on opetel-lut elä-mään **ilman suru-a.**
 s/he be-3SG learn-PTCP live-INF.ILL without SORROW-PAR
 'S/he has learned to live without sorrow.'
- (50) Hän juhli-i **armo-tta.**
 s/he party-3SG mercy-ABE
 'S/he parties heavily.'
- (51) Hän juhli-i **ilman armo-a.**
 s/he party-3SG without mercy-PAR
 'S/he parties without mercy.'

When the abessive noun *surutta* ('without sorrow') is used, it indicates that the person has learned to live in a carefree manner. Although the verb *elää* 'to live' is prototypically a stative verb, when combined with the abessive *surutta* the process acquires dynamic agentive and intentional features in the construction. The adposition form *ilman surua*, however, indicates that the person has learned to live without sorrow. The same logic applies to the latter examples. *Hän juhlii armotta* expresses meaning that the person parties hard. The latter means that the person parties without mercy, which does not make sense without the context that specifies the target of the attitude. The abessive *armotta* has an abstract meaning of intensity. Thus, the abessive and adposition display a clear difference in meaning regarding nouns naming feelings. The meaning of the abessive noun is specialised and abstracted to intensify the manner of the process that the predicate verb described.

The abessive *syyttä* ('without reason') appears 21 times in the limited data, whereas the form *ilman syytä* ('without a reason') occurs 52 times in the whole corpus. The semantic difference between these two forms is difficult to detect. The following are some examples of the adposition:

- (52) Mikään päätös ei voi synty-ä **ilman syy-tä** – –
 any decision NEG.3SG can.CNG born-INF without reason-PAR
 'No decision can be made without a reason.'

- (53) Ei-vät ne käy kenen-kään tuntemattoma-n
 NEG-3PL they go.CNG nobody.GEN-CLT unknown-GEN

kimppuun ilman syy-tä – –
 [round] upon.ILL without reason-PAR

‘They won’t attack any unknown person without a reason.’

- (54) Jos hikoilu jatku-u pitkään ja ilman syy-tä,
 If sweating continue-3SG long and without reason-PAR

voi kysee-ssä ol-la esim stressaantu-minen.
 can question-INE be-INF e.g. stress-NMLZ

‘If sweating continues for a long time and without a reason, e.g, stress might be at issue.’

The noun that has the adposition indicates a lack of a specific reason. By comparison, the abessive form indicates a lack of reasons in general. The following examples illustrate that the difference between the two is not always clear (compare 53 and 55):

- (55) – – saata-n passiivis-agressiivise-sti räjähtä-ä
 may-1SG passive-aggressive-ly explode-INF

sinu-lle ihan syy-ttä.
 you-ALL quite reason-ABE

‘I might passive-aggressively explode for you for no reason at all.’

- (56) – – oli-vat laitta-nee-t syy-ttä karenssi-n
 be-PST.3PL put-PTCP-PL reason-ABE waiting.period-ACC

päälle kahde-ksi kuukaude-ksi.
 on.ALL two-TRA month-TRA

‘[They] had turned the waiting period on without a reason for two months.’

The abessive form *tuloksetta* ‘without result, in vain’ appears 27 times in the limited data and the adposition form *ilman tulosta* occurs in the whole corpus 7 times. The meaning of these expressions seems to be rather similar: the end result of an event is non-existent or something is undertaken without an intended result (compare 57 and 58).⁸

- (57) Ole-n kokeil-lut eri merkki-i-ä shampo-i-ta,
 be-1SG try-PTCP different brand-PL-PAR shampoo-PL-PAR

mutta ilman tulos-ta.
 but without result-PAR

‘I have tried shampoos of different brands but without result.’

8 The sense of ‘without intended result’ would require a different Figure than Figure 2 with transitive verbs, in which the outcrossed participant representing the abessive noun would be placed at the very end of the action chain.

- (58) Ole-n yrittä-nyt jo vuosikaude-t, mutta **tulokse-tta**.
 be-1.SG try-PTCP already year.long-ACC.PL but result-ABE
 ‘I have already tried for years but without result.’

The abessive *vaiivatta* ‘without trouble, without effort’ occurs 17 times in the limited data, but the adposition phrase *ilman vaiivaa* had only 1 hit. The abessive *vaiivatta* appears to be lexicalised as an adverb that describes how smoothly something occurs (60). The phrase *ilman vaiivaa* can have a different meaning that expresses a lack of a specific trouble or ailment. In the absence of a wider context, example 59 remains ambiguous between these interpretations.

- (59) Kaunis, älykäs ja tasapainoinen täydellinen nainen
 beautiful intelligent and well-balanced perfect woman

ilman vaiiva-a, se-n hikky haluaa
 without trouble-PAR it-ACC hikikomori want-3SG
 ‘Beautiful, intelligent and well-balanced perfect woman without effort/without ailment is what hikikomori wants.’
- (60) --jos ne osaa **vaiiva-tta** vääntä-ä niska-t.
 if they can.3SG trouble-ABE wring-INF neck-PL
 ‘If they can easily wring someone’s neck.’

The final comparison is between the abessive *varauksetta* (15 hits in the limited data) and *ilman varausta* (2 hits in the whole corpus). It is clear that *ilman varausta* refers in both examples to a hotel reservation (61). All the *varauksetta* abessives refer to a feeling of being reserved (62 and 63).

- (61) -- ottakaa hotellin respaa tai kaveri avuksi varauksen tekemisessä,
 take-IMP.2PL hotel-GEN receptionist-PAR or buddy help-TRA reservation-GEN
 make-NMLZ-INE
ilman varaus-ta kun näi-hin harvemmin on asia-a --
 without reservation-PAR when this-PL.ILL rarely be.3SG matter-PAR
 ‘Contact the hotel’s receptionist or a buddy for help in making a reservation, because without reservation there is no question of getting in these.’
- (62) Todellisuude-ssa jos kaikki lopetta-isi-ivat teeskentele-mise-n
 reality-INE if all stop-COND-3PL pretension-NMLZ-ACC

 ja alkaisi-ivat rakasta-a kanssaolio-i-ta-an **varaukse-tta** --
 and start-COND.3PL love-INF with.being-PL-PAR-POSS3 reservation-ABE
 ‘In reality if all could stop pretension and start loving their fellow beings unconditionally’
- (63) -- tyydy-n vain suosittele-ma-an sitä **varaukse-tta**.
 settle-1SG only recommed-INF-ILL it.PAR reservation-ABE
 ‘I will confine myself to recommending it without reservation.’

In principle, the examples mentioned above could also have been expressed by the adposition phrase because the context would have guided the correct interpretation. Yet in practice, our data indicate that the two expression types tend to be used to convey different meanings. Once again, in the adposition, the more literal and concrete meaning of the noun is productively used and the adverbial has the function of means. The adposition favours the rhematic end position in the clause and this suits the “heavier” nature of the structure of the two-word phrase, and it is also more prone to specific readings. The noun in the abessive, on the contrary, activates the more abstract sense of an attitude, and the abessive therefore functions as a manner adverbial.

To conclude, the most frequent abessive nouns indicate a rather strong tendency towards specialised uses. Only two of the ten stems we compared appear to be used somewhat similarly, both in the abessive and in the adposition *ilman* ‘without’ (*ongelmitta*, *tuloksetta* ‘without trouble, with no result’). Some nouns tend to become more general or abstract when inflected in the abessive than when used with the adposition. This means that the abessive expressions can have different meaning than the same stems used productively in the adposition phrase. That is a indication of lexicalisation.

The stem nouns with this tendency are notably those that refer to feelings (*armo* ‘mercy’, *suru* ‘sorrow’). In general, the adposition is more inclined than the abessive to facilitate a concrete meaning of the noun stem. By comparison, the abessive tends to be used as a manner adverbial and in argumentative functions. The adposition is thus used as a more concrete adverbial of means or an instrument, and it more often construes the relation of participants inside the clause instead of assuming wider textual and argumentative functions. The lexicalisation can even change the abessive noun into an intensifying adverbial, but there are borderline cases in which it is not easy to discern whether the abessive functions as a case form of a noun or as an adverb. It is noteworthy that even though *poikkeuksetta* and *ilman poikkeusta* might carry the same meaning ‘without exception’, only the abessive form is used in our data. The abessive *poikkeuksetta* ‘invariably’ functions as a rhetorical means in the conversations of our data. It is used as an intensifying adverbial in the argumentation to bolster the truth-value of a claim. These types of usages of the abessive forms manifest a grammaticalisation path from one that is purely clause-internal to the subjectified stance of the conceptualiser, and to wider textual, rhetorical and argumentative functions.

6 Conclusions

All in all, our contemporary data attest to the entrenched use of the abessive case. This case is marginal, but it is not dying out. This outcome confirms the observations by Ylikoski (2021) on the Finnish abessive case that was based on a large contemporary electric corpus. Ylikoski pinpoints the productivity of the case, but in our sample, the marginality is manifested in specialised and even lexicalised meanings. This discrepancy is probably due to this study adopting a more contextual and comparative analysis, a smaller corpus

size as well as the difference in genres between the two investigations.

In practice, the abessive appears not to be as productive as it is in principle, especially with concrete nouns. Nonetheless, the abessive has found its ecological niche along the grammaticalisation cline towards an intensifying adverb as well as having textual, rhetorical and argumentative functions. In these functions its scope is wider than that of the parallel adposition phrase. From solely construing the relation between the clause-internal trajectory/trajector and landmark it has sometimes widened its interpretation to subjectifying the argumentative stance of the conceptualiser. Still possibilities exist for a more productive use of the abessive case. The potential for productivity has prevented the abessive from crystallising as a derivational suffix of adverbs. Thus there are grounds to include the abessive as a part of the case system.

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Cases and related phenomena III

Case alternation in Finnish change-of-state constructions

Abstract

This article analyses three nearly synonymous change-of-state constructions in Finnish. The common feature of these three is that they use the same predicate verb *tulla* ‘to (be)come’. Even though these constructions are synonymous, they have different case constellations. The difference in form reflects different construals of change. The undergoer of a change and the endpoint of the process is marked differently in each construction: 1) The NOM construction includes a grammatical subject marked with the nominative and the endpoint with the partitive (or nominative) (*kahvi tul-i vahva-a* [coffee.NOM become-PST.3SG strong-PAR] ‘Coffee turned strong’). 2) The TRA construction also has a normal nominative marked subject but the endpoint is marked with the translative (*lapsi tul-i sairaa-ksi* [child.NOM become-PST.3SG ill-TRA] ‘Child fell ill’). 3) The subject of the ELA construction has the undergoer marked with the elative case and the outcome with the partitive (or nominative) case (*kahvi-sta tul-i vahva-a* [coffee-ELA become-PST.3SG strong-PAR] ‘Coffee turned strong’). Interestingly, the first one, with just the most unmarked case(s), i.e., nominative (and partitive), is almost extinct in contemporary written Finnish, while the other two are quite common. This analysis offers a comparison of the constructions as well as observations on the rise of one construction and the demise of another. The polysemy of the elative case is of importance here.

1 Introduction

I will present here an analysis of three Finnish syntactic constructions that convey a change of state. These concern a change that is typically conveyed by a specific verb, *tulla*¹ ‘to become’ and the different case constellations that surround it. My focus here is to show how the morphosyntax of these constructions reflects different construals of change. What is interesting from

1 The verb *tulla* has a high frequency with the basic meaning ‘to come’ but it also means ‘to become’ in certain constructions.

this point of view is the interplay of the cases in the constructions rather than any particular case per se. Worth noting is that there are naturally many intransitive verbs that can be used to denote change of state, but they are outside the scope of this article. Voutilainen, in this volume, also discusses expressing change with the help of a specific case, the translative.

The theoretical orientation adopted in this article is that of Construction Grammar, which takes the following position: “constructions are learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function” (Goldberg 2006, 5). Langacker (2005, 158) maintains that, of all grammar theories, Cognitive Grammar is closest to Construction Grammar; they, for example, share the notion that “constructions are form-meaning pairings” and “linguistic knowledge comprises vast number of constructions”. In the same vein, this article wants show the human capacity to construe the same situation in alternative ways using the Finnish case alternation as an example. The linguistic expression of change-of-state reflects the different ways of construing the process.

The three constructions discussed differ in their frequency and in their grammatical acceptability. Two of the constructions are commonly used and widely accepted by native speakers, while the third one is infrequent in contemporary usage, and typically judged to be either old-fashioned or ungrammatical. However, it has not completely disappeared from contemporary language use, even if it is very rare. Therefore, comparing the infrequent construction with the two more frequent ones demonstrates the variability of expressions of change of state and the division of labour within different constructions, which in turn have had an effect on their historical evolution. This analysis addresses the differences in meaning between these constructions, offers a glimpse of their dialectal distribution and presents a sketch of their possible historical development in their frequency of use.

Differences between the constructions also relate to how the entity that undergoes the change, and the outcome of the change are expressed. In the most infrequent of the constructions (henceforth, the NOM construction), the element that conveys the meaning of change is the predicate verb, most typically *tulla* ‘to become’². The NOM construction³ is exemplified below:

- (1) Puuro tul-i sakea-a.
porridge.NOM become-PST.3SG thick-PAR
‘The porridge became thick’ (= “Porridge turned thick”).

The construction can be described schematically as:

NP_{nom} + V_{agr} + AdjP/NP_{nom/par}

The entity that is changing is expressed by the first nominal element (NP). It is in the nominative case, and it occurs as a canonical nominative subject and

2 In addition to the verb *tulla*, other verbs, such as *syntyä* ‘come to exist’ or *kasvaa* ‘grow’, that express the meaning of an intransitive change may also occur in this construction.

3 The term NOM refers to the case of the first nominal element of the construction.

the verb agrees with it. The outcome of the change (the new state or property) is expressed by the second nominal element (NP or AdjP). Depending on the semantics of the subject NP, it occurs either in the nominative or the partitive. The case alternation follows the general schema of the predicate complement: when the subject is a mass noun or in the plural form, the predicate complement is in the partitive case, otherwise it is in the nominative (see Huumo, in this volume). As stated, the status of the NOM construction is controversial in the present-day Finnish. While it is invariably mentioned in classic grammars of Finnish, it is seldom heard or seen and many speakers even consider it to be ungrammatical, and it may appear as if it only lived on the pages of old grammar books.

The second construction I refer to as the TRA construction:

- (2) Puuro tul-i sakea-ksi.
 porridge.NOM become-PST.3SG thick-TRA
 ‘The porridge became thick’ (‘Porridge turned thick’)

This construction is as follows:

$NP_{nom} + V_{agr} + AdjP/NP_{tra}$

The TRA construction resembles the NOM construction in that they both include a prototypical nominative subject and a finite verb that agrees with it. The difference of these constructions lies in the form of the outcome of the change, which in the TRA construction is in the translative case. The core meaning of the translative case is change (see Voutilainen, in this volume).

The third construction I refer to as the ELA construction:

- (3) Puuro-sta tul-i sakea-a.
 porridge-ELA become-PST.3SG thick-PAR
 ‘The porridge became thick’ (‘Porridge turned thick’)

The ELA construction is schematically as follows:

$NP_{ela} + V_{3sg} + AdjP/NP_{nom/par}$

In the ELA construction, the first nominal element (NP) refers to an entity whose change is at issue, and it is expressed by the elative case. The core meaning of the elative case is ‘out of’. Using the terminology of cognitive grammar, it profiles the source path. In this kind of clauses, the process is viewed “from the end” (Leino 1989, 204). On the elative case, see Onikki-Rantajääskö, in this volume.

The ELA construction is similar to the NOM and TRA constructions in that the second nominal element (NP or AdjP) expresses the new state or property which the referent of the first nominal element achieves. The case alternation resembles that of the NOM construction: the second nominal element is either in the nominative or partitive, varying as it does in the NOM construction. In examples (1) and (3), it is in the partitive case, because *puuro* ‘porridge’ is a mass noun in Finnish. The prototypical verb is

tulla ‘to become’, as in the NOM and TRA constructions. The verb is always in the third person singular and there is no agreement with any NP in the construction.

The term *first nominal element* I have used refers to the word order in which the clauses have been presented here. It is the word order in which these clauses appear in traditional grammar books. As the word order in Finnish is free, actual instances of these constructions may well have the first nominal element appear after the second nominal element. (On word order in Finnish, see Vilkuna 1989.)

2 *The three change-of-state constructions and their relationship to Finnish clause types*

Clause type has been an important basic concept in the study of Finnish grammar (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979, 93–97, see also Hakanen 1972 and Vilkuna 2020). Hakulinen et al. (2004, § 891) divide the Finnish syntactic clause types into two main groups: those with the prototypical nominative subject where the finite verb agrees with the subject, and those that are either subjectless or have a less prototypical subject. The first group includes the intransitive and transitive clauses and the predicate complement clause. The second group includes existential, possessive, and resultative clauses.

The general clause types (with a nominative subject) are:

- Intransitive
- Transitive
- Predicate complement

The restricted clause types (with no nominative subject) are:

- Existential
- Habitive
- Phenomenon
- State
- Result
- Quantifying
- Emotion causative

Genitive initial (Hakulinen et al. 2004 § 891).

The NOM and TRA constructions belong to general clause types because they have a nominative subject and a verb that agrees with it. The ELA construction is different and belongs to a clause type of its own: *the result clause*.

If we look at the NOM construction, we can see that it has the same structure as the predicate complement clause (*predikatiivilause*) and the sole difference is that the only verb that occurs in the predicate complement clause is the verb *olla* ‘to be’. The following is an example of a typical predicate complement construction:

- (4) Kahvi on vahva-a.
 coffee.NOM be.PRS.3SG strong-PAR
 ‘The coffee is strong.’
 NP_{nom} + V_{agr} + AdjP/NP_{nom/par}

The predicate complement provides information on the referent of the subject, and it is most often an adjective phrase. The only difference between the sentences that have the verb *olla* ‘to be’ and those that have *tulla* ‘to become’ concerns the meaning of the finite verb. The meaning of the verb *olla* refers to what something **is** like (stative), whereas meaning of the verb *tulla* relates to what it turns into, what the outcome is of the change of state. As already noted, in contemporary written Finnish, this change-of-state construction (the NOM construction) with the verb *tulla* is infrequent and even thought to be ungrammatical. The NOM construction represents an instance of a general clause type, the predicate complement construction.

The TRA construction is an instance of the schematic intransitive construction and, moreover, a sub-construction of it. Hakulinen et al (2004, § 481) classify it as a change-of-state pattern (*tilanmuutosmuotti*). The translative element is a compulsory part of the construction.

- (5) Lapsi tul-i sairaa-ksi.
 child.NOM become-PST.3SG ill-TRA
 ‘The child became ill.’

The third change-of-state construction, the ELA construction, does not contain a nominative subject. In this case the construction represents a *result clause* (*tuloslause*), which belongs to the *restricted clause types* listed above (Hakulinen et al. 2004, § 904, see also Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, 98). In this construction, there is no element in the nominative case that would govern the finite verb, so it is permanently in the third person singular (as in all special clause types). Instead, the element referring to the entity that undergoes a change is in the elative case. (On the meaning and use of the elative case, see Onikki-Rantajääskö, in this volume.) The second nominal element in the construction, usually an AdjP, behaves in the same manner as the predicate complement in the NOM construction. It occurs either in the nominative or partitive, depending on the semantics of the element in the elative case.

The syntactic category of the nominative/partitive element in the construction that expresses an outcome of change has been analysed in several ways in Finnish linguistics. For example, Hakanen (1978), following traditional views, regards it as a special case of a subject in an existential clause. On the other hand, Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 957) classify it rather differently as a predicate complement. The structure of the ELA construction does indeed resemble that of another Finnish clause type, the existential clause, particularly when the nominative/partitive element (the outcome) is an NP. In the latest analysis of this element in existential clauses, Helasvuo and Huomo (2010, 184–192) coin a completely new category for this type of element in an existential clause – an E-NP. An E-NP is a NP in an existential

clause. However, the change-of-state constructions most often have an AdjP, not an NP.

Let us now compare the ELA construction with an existential clause. The structure of an existential clause is as follows:

- NP_{local case} V_{3sg} NP_{nom/par}
- (6) Talo-sta tul-i mies.
 house-ELA come-PST.3SG man.NOM
 ‘There came a man out of the house.’

Prototypical existential clauses have the NP in a local case, the verb in the third person singular and then the NP in the nominative/partitive case. The meaning of these types of clauses is concrete: something exists somewhere or moves into/away from there. (See Ojutkangas in this volume.)

In existential clauses as well as in the ELA construction, the finite verb stays in the third person singular regardless of the number of the nominative/partitive element:

- (7) Talo-sta tul-i mieh-i-ä.
 house-ELA come-PST.3SG man-PL-PAR
 ‘Some men came out of the house.’

As a comparison, the structure of the ELA construction is as follows:

NP_{ela} + V_{non-agr} + AdjP/NP_{nom/par}

An example of the ELA construction is the following:

- (8) Kahvi-sta tul-i vahva-a.
 coffee-ELA come-PST.3SG strong-PAR
 ‘Coffee became strong’

Another example is where the predicate is not in plural in spite the ELA element occurring in the plural:

- (9) Pull-i-sta tul-i kov-i-a.
 bun-PL-ELA come-PST.3SG hard-PL-PAR
 ‘The coffee buns turned hard.’

The ELA construction resembles the existential clause with the main difference being that the second nominal element is usually an AdjP. See Table 1 for a comparison of the change-of-state constructions with the clause types.

Change-of-state construction	Clause types
NOM construction <i>kahvi tuli vahva-a</i>	predicate complement clause <i>kahvi on vahva-a</i>
TRA construction <i>lapsi tuli sairaa-ksi</i>	intransitive clause <i>lapsi tuli sairaa-ksi</i>
ELA construction <i>kahvi-sta tuli vahvaa</i>	existential clause <i>talo-sta tuli mies</i>

Table 1. Change of state constructions compared with clause types.

3 *The different construal of change in three constructions*

In this section, I address the question of how these constructions are used to express the different aspects of the change-of-state. The crucial factor is the choice of case, i.e., whether the undergoer of the change is a nominative-marked subject vs. an elative-marked adverbial, or whether the endpoint of the process is nominative/partitive marked vs. translative marked. Finnish has a tendency to use dynamic cases (translative, illative, allative, elative, ablative) with dynamic verbs, and similarly, stative cases (essive, inessive, adessive) with stative verbs (Siro 1964, 30–31).

In the NOM construction, the only element in the clause that expresses a change is the verb: the change would not be expressed without the verb denoting change (*tulla* ‘become’). The cases used in this construction are the nominative (subject) and the nominative/partitive (the outcome). The other two constructions have something more than merely a verb that denotes change. This means that not only the change-denoting verb, but also the cases used in the constructions add to how we understand the change in state. What the dynamic case translative does in the TRA construction is it profiles the goal path in the construal. It thus emphasises the change. The meaning of change in the ELA construction is strengthened by the elative case because it profiles a source path thus emphasising the source of the change.

The differences in construal, i.e., the meanings associated to the different cases have already been described by earlier generations of linguists on Finnish. For example, Ikola (1965, 50–51) suggested that the meaning of the NOM construction is that something new is prepared and that when it is finished, it is of the quality that the AdjP expresses. In other words, the sentence would not really express a change in something that existed before but would convey something brand new. According to Ikola (1965, 50–51), the ELA construction, by contrast, would express a change in something that existed already before the change.

Several decades prior to these observations by Ikola, Setälä also analysed the meaning of the NOM construction. Setälä contrasted it with the TRA construction and, like Ikola, Setälä (1883, 10–11) argued that the NOM construction has the meaning of something that comes about and then is of a certain quality when it comes into existence.

Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979, 98) also analyse the ELA construction and, rather surprisingly, suggest that the ELA construction has the meaning that was proposed earlier by Setälä and Ikola for the NOM construction: something comes about, and it is of a certain quality when it comes into existence. Hakulinen et al. (2004 § 904) adopt the same position as Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979.

It seems that the NOM construction never became firmly established in standard Finnish. The meaning that the NOM construction conveys in the eastern Finnish dialects has become part of the meaning of the ELA construction in standard Finnish. Both constructions express the quality of something when it comes about. What has happened is that the construction that portrays the change in quality of an entity, namely the

- (13) **Kahvi** itsessään tul-i ihan hyvä-ä.
 coffee.NOM itself become-PST.3SG quite good-PAR
 ‘The coffee itself turned quite good’
 (Suomi24)

As mentioned earlier, the NOM construction was never established in the standard language, but it has been used to this day in spoken (and occasionally in free written) Finnish. By contrast, the ELA and TRA construction are rather frequent. A search of the same data resulted in 10 times more ELA constructions: 93 occurrences. Here is one example of those:

- (14) **Omena-sosee-sta** tul-i taas erittäin hyvä-ä
 apple-mousse-ELA become-PST.3SG again very good-PAR
 ‘The apple mousse became very good again’ (Suomi24)

The TRA construction is also fairly frequent, and it is predominantly used with emotive predicates (such as *iloinen* ‘glad’ or *vihainen* ‘angry’) as well as predicates meaning some other temporary state such as *sairas* ‘ill’.

- (15) **Koira-kin** tul-i **sairaa-ksi.**
 dog-CL become-PST.3SG ill-TRA
 ‘Even the dog got ill.’ (Suomi24)

A search the same corpus of the word combination of *tuli* (‘became’) and *iloiseksi* (‘glad + translative case’) produced 94 occurrences. Thus, also the TRA construction is more frequent than the NOM construction.

Let us now turn briefly to examine the history of Finnish grammars. My focus will be on the descriptions of the NOM construction. It is interesting that Finnish grammars both old and new have always featured the NOM construction as one of the existing forms of the predicate complement construction.

The first mention of the NOM construction is by E. N. Setälä in his classic study published in 1883 titled *Koillis-Satakunnan lauseopillisia havaintoja* [‘Syntactic observations on the North-East Satakunta dialect’]. After this pioneering work, several studies were published about these types of syntactic observations on dialects from various areas: Latvala 1895 and 1899, Kannisto 1902, and Sirelius 1894 all contained mentions of this construction. Setälä’s influential school textbook, *Suomen kielen lauseoppi* [The Syntax of the Finnish Language], mentions the NOM construction in the third edition (1891), and after that in all of the many subsequent editions until as late as the 1970s⁵. To illustrate the construction, Setälä’s textbook editions used the example sentence, *Puuro tuli mustaa* ‘porridge became black’, which continued to be a topic of amazement for pupils, as Anhava (1996) recounts in his school memoirs.⁶

5 For example, see Setälä, Nieminen & Ojajärvi 1972.

6 Ikola (1997) answers Anhava and regrets that the construction is not frequently used any more.

Only in 2004 did Hakulinen et al. take the position that the construction does not merit such visibility: “Cases such as *Puuro tul-i musta-a* or *Räättäli tek-i taki-n liian lyhye-n*’ have been repeated from one grammar book to another. The expressions have maybe always been marginal. More common, for most of the speakers the only alternatives, have been *Puuro-sta tul-i mustaa* [porridge-ELA become-PST.3SG black-PAR ‘The porridge became black’] ja *Räättäli tek-i taki-sta liian lyhye-n*. [tailor.nom make-PST.3SG coat-ELA too short-GEN ‘The tailor made the coat too short’]” (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 1). (Translation M.S.)

In short, all classic syntactic descriptions of spoken Finnish contain mentions of the NOM construction, but it continues to be rarely used in the written standard language. This explains why it sounds odd, especially to those who are educated and mostly accustomed to using standard Finnish, and this may be a reason it was labelled as “marginal” in Hakulinen et al. (2004).

When trying to find out about the origin of the change-of-state constructions, evidence from closely related languages can shed light to their development paths.

Jokela and Nummila (2015) analyse the historical development of these three constructions in written Finnish as well as written Estonian, where similar constructions also exist. They conclude that the TRA construction was a dominant change-of-state construction in old literary Finnish and that the ELA construction seems to have appeared rather late. The only observation that Jokela and Nummila make on the NOM construction is that it is relatively rare and is described in grammars as archaic.

Estonian has both TRA and ELA constructions, but the most frequent verbs used in these Estonian constructions are *saama* ‘to get, to become’ and *jääma* ‘to stay, to become’, or *tulema* ‘to come’⁸. The verb *tulema* is sometimes used but it has a concrete locative meaning. Of these constructions in Estonian, TRA is more frequent than ELA. The outcome in an ELA construction can only be expressed by an NP but not with an AdjP. (Erelt 2005; Pajusalu & Trigel 2007, 301.)

Examples of the TRA construction in Estonian (with the second element expressed by the translative or allative case) are as follows:

(16a) Mees saa-b **terve-ks.**
 man get-PRS.3SG well-TRANS
 ‘The man gets well.’

(16b) Mees jää-b **haige-ks.**
 man turn-PRS.3SG ill-TRANS
 ‘The man falls ill.’

7 The sentence *Räättäli teki takin liian lyhyen* [tailor.nom make-pst.3sg coat-gen too short-gen ‘The tailor made the coat too short’] is an example of a causative (and transitive) version of the NOM construction. Those types of cases are beyond the scope of this paper.

8 The Estonian *tulema* is etymologically the same verb as the verb *tulla* in Finnish.

- (16c) Haige tule-b **teadvuse-le.**
 patient come-PRS.3SG consciousness-ALL
 ‘The patient is regaining consciousness.’
 (Pajusalu & Trigel 2007, 294)

Example of the ELA construction in Estonian is:

- (17) **Tüdruku-st** saa-b kirjanik.
 girl-ELA get-PRS.3SG writer.NOM
 ‘The girl will become a writer.’
 (Pajusalu & Trigel 2007, 301)

Pajusalu and Trigel (2007) observe that the ELA construction does not sound natural in Estonian if the outcome is expressed as an AdjP. In Livonian, an almost extinct language very closely related to Estonian, the TRA construction is the most frequent construction, but the NOM construction is also used. The ELA construction, however, does not exist in Livonian.

Norvik (2020) also considers all types of change-of-state constructions in the Finnic languages other than Finnish, Estonian or Livonian. The small Finnic languages are Livvi-Karelian, Ingrian, Ludian, Lutsi, Valdai Karelian, and Veps. The NOM construction is more typical of the eastern languages (Valdai Karelian, Livvi-Karelian, Ludic, Veps) and of a southern Finnic language that is now extinct but was once spoken on the language island of Lutsi Estonian, which is in current Latvia. The TRA construction occurs more frequently in the languages that are spoken near the Estonian language area (Ingrian, Votic). The ELA construction does not exist at all in the languages observed by Norvik (2020).

5 *The NOM and ELA constructions in old Finnish dialects*

While the NOM construction is very infrequent in contemporary Finnish, it is still possible and even probable that the NOM construction has been used rather frequently in old dialects. To verify this hypothesis and get a clearer picture of the semantics of the construction, I consulted dialect corpora that were collected in the 1960s and 1970s in *Lauseopin arkisto* [‘The Finnish Syntax Archive’]. I searched for all occurrences of both the NOM and ELA constructions that had the finite verb *tulla* ‘become’. I focused on occurrences in sentences of positive polarity that are in the indicative mood, with the finite verb *tulla* in either the present or the past tense⁹.

Usage of the TRA construction has remained stable and was therefore omitted from this data gathering. The NOM and ELA constructions were compared to each other regarding the following questions: Are there differences in the frequencies of the use of these constructions in different dialect areas? Which contexts are they used in?

9 Of the three constructions, the NOM and ELA constructions are interchangeable in actual usage, so I concentrated on comparing them.

The corpus contained 164 occurrences of the NOM construction and 236 occurrences of the ELA construction in a total of 193,947 clauses. The NOM construction is rare, but it does exist. The search result proved that the NOM construction was alive and continued to be used in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, the NOM construction could be found wherever Finnish was spoken. However, there are clear differences between the different dialect areas: it was more frequent in the eastern and northern dialects (more than 38% of the instances of change constructions use the NOM construction in the east and north) than in the south and southwest (less than 38%).

According to the corpus, the NOM construction is considerably rarer than the ELA construction in most dialect areas. However, in the eastern parts of the Savo dialect area and the Southeastern dialect area, the NOM construction is more frequent than it is elsewhere. Then again, in the Southwestern dialect area, the ELA construction is almost exclusive¹⁰ and the NOM construction is rarely if ever found.

The data showed no instances of the NOM construction with an NP as the outcome. It thus became apparent that sentences that express the outcome of change of state by an AdjP needed to be compared with each other. The following is a typical example from the corpus of a NOM construction with an AdjP as the outcome:

- (18) ja että ne vihda-t tul-i pehme-i-tä
and that those whisk-NOM.PL become-PST.3SG soft-PL-PAR

että ne täytyi sillon kiiruustit tehrän jos ne olis jäänees siitä heinän ajasta nin
'you had to prepare them [sauna whisks] quickly so if they had been delayed
from the hay time'

ne oli-s tul-lu kov-i-a
they be-COND.SG3 become-PTCP hard-PL-PAR

'so that the sauna whisks would become soft, you had to prepare (Häme)
them quickly because if they had been delayed from the hay time,
they would have ended up hard.'

The elements that convey the outcome are the AdjPs, as in (18) *pehmeitä* ['soft'] and *kovia* ['hard'].

The topic of this section only concerns sentences that use an AdjP to express an outcome (as in *kahvi tuli vahvaa* ['coffee [NOM] became strong'] or *kahvista tuli vahvaa* ['coffee [ELA] BECAME strong']). When we compare sentences such as these in the old dialectal data, there are more instances of the NOM construction. Approximately 70% are NOM constructions and only 30% are ELA construction, as is shown in Table 2.

	nom construction	ELA construction	Total
All dialectal areas	138 (69.1%)	63 (30.9%)	201 (100%)

Table 2: NOM and ELA constructions with outcomes expressed as an AdjP

10 The dialect area map is included at the end of the article.

If we consider different dialectal areas, the distribution of these constructions varies. The difference is greatest between the Southwestern dialects and Savo dialects (in the eastern parts of the language area). Table 3 presents a comparison of the Southwestern and Savo dialects.

	NOM construction	ELA construction	Both constructions
Southwestern dialects	6 (35.3%)	11 (64.7%)	17 (100%)
Savo dialects	55 (91.2%)	6 (9.8%)	61 (100%)

Table 3: NOM and ELA constructions with outcomes expressed as an AdjP. A comparison of the Southwestern and Savo (eastern) dialects.

Table 3 shows that the proportion of NOM construction occurrences in the Southwestern area is only 33.3%. However, 91.2% of the instances in Savo (eastern dialects) were NOM constructions. The Savo dialect area in the 1960s and 1970s thus appears to have been the stronghold of the NOM construction. For example, in Savo, one would say: *kahvi tuli vahvaa* [‘coffee [NOM] became **strong**’], whereas in the Southwestern area, one would say *kahvista tuli vahvaa* [‘coffee [ELA] became **strong**’].

In addition to these two areas discussed above, the NOM construction is also rather frequent in other dialectal areas. In fact, the NOM construction accounts for more than 50% of all change-of-state constructions with an AdjP outcome in all dialectal areas except the Southwestern one.

6 The function of the NOM construction in dialects

What I have discovered above is that the NOM construction, which is exceedingly odd and puzzling for contemporary native speakers of Finnish from southern Finland, who are heavily influenced by the standard language, thrived and was productive in the speech of older rural people in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in the eastern dialects.

Let us now turn to examine the uses of the NOM construction to determine its main function in language. Interestingly, in dialect interviews, the NOM construction was used primarily to describe how foods and drinks have been prepared. The recurring theme is what one has to do to procure a food of a certain quality. In example 19 the interviewer and interviewee are talking about drying meat on the roof. The NOM construction is used by the dialect-speaking interviewee even though the interviewer uses the ELA construction, as in example 19.

(19) Interviewer: ELA construction

tul-i-ko **siitä,** **liha-sta** **pehmeä-tä** sielä kato-lla
 become-PST.3SG-Q it.ELA meat-ELA soft-PAR there roof-ADE
 Interviewer: ‘Did the meat become soft on the roof?’

Interviewee: NOM construction

no ko ei se oikheem pehmeä-ä tul-lu.
well as NEG.3SG it really soft-PAR become-PTCP

‘Well, no, it didn’t become soft.’

(Far North)

The following two sentences from the corpus concern preparing a net (20) and a ditch (21). Again, the NOM construction is used.

- (20) ni sitte se paollattaminehan se sae olla nuottaverkossa aevan silimällee
niin- kun jotta
‘so the spinning of the net when spinning a dragnet it had to be really
precise so that’

neliskanttinen tullo-o se silimä.
square become-prs.3sg it mesh

‘So the spinning of the net when spinning a dragnet it had to be really
precise so that the mesh would become square.’ (Savo)

- (21) sitte kul laeja-t pist-i ni se oja
then when edge-NOM.PL put-PST.3SG so it ditch

tul’ suora.
become-PST.3SG straight

‘then when you put the edges so the ditch would become (Savo)
straight’

It is important to note that the typical word order of a NOM construction is rarely the basic neutral order that consists of *NP V AdjP* in that order. Instead, the dislocation construction¹¹ is more typical, as in sentence (22).

- (22) kun sauhu ruppee vaaleneen ni se... terva lakkaa tulemasta mutta
‘when the smoke begins to lighten so the tar stops emerging but’

kun se tulle-e piki-musta-a se sauhu
when it come-PRS-3SG coal-black-PAR it smoke

sillon- ov viä tervaa tulosa.

‘then there is still some tar coming’

‘when the smoke begins to lighten, then the tar stops emerging (Häme)
but when the smoke comes out as really pitch-black then there is
still some tar coming’

11 On dislocation, see Lambrecht 1994; on dislocation in Finnish, see Laury 1997, 166–171.

new construction in the speech of elderly rural people in the 1960s, we can see that the most frequent usage occurred when someone explained how something was made and what the outcome would be once the process was completed. Examples of these are found in sentences 25 and 26.

- (25) ja sit mä suurusta se pistän tommost vehnäjaoho hiuka ja rukkissi jaohoi
‘I thicken it I put a little bit of wheat flour and rye flour’

nii	et	siit	tle	hyvä [perunapuuroa].
so	that	it.ELA	become.PRS.3SG	good.PAR

‘I thicken it I by putting (adding) wheat flour and (Southwest) rye flour so that it becomes [potato porridge]’

- (26) jos pistettii hyvä maito happanemman ni
‘If it was put good milk souring’

siit	tul-i-ki	hyvä-ä [viiliä].
it.ELA	become-PST.3SG-CL	good-PAR [curdled milk].

‘If it was put good milk souring so from it (Southwest) came good [curdled milk]’

Let us now turn our attention to the polysemy of the elative case used in these constructions, as it plays a central role in the development of the ELA construction. The ELA construction has exactly the same form as a type of existential clause where something concretely moves out of something. The outline of the development of the ELA construction is illustrated by the following numbered sentences that have exactly the same syntactic construction and the same verb, *tulla*, as the finite verb. The most concrete meaning of the elative case is a movement from a location, an instance source path construal in a concrete meaning (see Onikki-Rantajääskö, in this volume).

1) Movement out of a location

- (27) ku hän tul **kamari-st** ulos
when s/he become.PST.3SG **room-ELA** out
‘When he came out of the room.’ (Southwest)

This usage of the elative occurs when something moves from inside something and subsequently emerges from there to the outside. The usage of the elative in the following sentence expresses a situation when a smaller amount is extracted from a greater amount:

2) Something is separated from some location/substance

- (28) kaksykymmentä viisi simmo-t kuarma simmose-st
twenty five that.kind.of-PAR load.PAR that.kind.of-ELA
- hein-ma-st** tul
hay-field-ELA become.PST.3SG
‘Of the hay field came 25 loads of hay.’ (Southwestern)

The relative is also used when something is prepared from ingredients. The word referring to the ingredients is in the relative case:

3) Something is made from some substance

(29) kylä sitä **ehokaura-sta-ki** tulle-e
 yes it.ELA **oats-ELA-CL** become-PRS.3SG

niin hyv-i-ä kauran-kryyne-j-ä.
 so good-PL-PAR oat-groats-PL-PAR

‘The oats will make very good oat groats’ (Southwest)

(30) **siit** tul leipp-i sit aika tava-l.
it.ELA become.PST.3SG bread- PL.PAR then quite manner-ADE

‘It turned into quite a lot of bread.’ (Southwest)

The relative can also be used in a more abstract or metaphorical sense:

4) Something develops out of something

(31) ni **siit** tule kallis-t lysti
 so **it.ELA** become.PRS.3SG expensive-PAR thing-PAR

‘It will become very expensive.’ (Southwestern)

(32) hän käv-i koulu-u ja **häne-st** tul-i lääkäri
 s/he go- PST.3SG school-PAR and **s/he-ELA** become-PST.3SG doctor

‘S/he went to school and s/he became a doctor.’ (Southwest)

Something(someone) actually changes in this usage and the result is something else. Something became very expensive (31) or s/he became a doctor (32).

The outcome in all the sentences mentioned above is referred to by an NP. Yet the key question concerns how that version of the ELA construction developed with the AdjP as the outcome.

The reason for this version of the ELA construction having an AdjP to express the outcome might be a kind of ellipsis. When one describes how to prepare something that has a certain property or quality, and the outcome has been previously mentioned, then one often uses a construction that could be thought of as elliptical: the head is omitted because it is exceedingly obvious. An example of this is (33):

(33) si-hen tällät-tim paljon jauho-i **siit** tul
 that-INE put-PASS.PST much flour-PL.PAR **it.ELA** become.PST.3SG

sit hyvä-ä.
 then good-PAR

‘One put a lot of flour in it and it became good’ (Southwest)

The word *puuroa* ‘porridge’ is omitted because it was previously mentioned. The ELA construction occurs with an AdjP that expresses the outcome.

So far we have seen this development mainly in the southwestern dialects and partly in the Häme dialects (the southern-southwestern region of Finland). These dialects can be considered to have fairly high prestige, which has helped the construction to make its way into standard Finnish.

8 Conclusion

The motivation for this paper arose from a group of constructions mentioned in the traditional grammars of Finnish that sound odd and ungrammatical to many Finnish speakers. It transpired that those peculiar sentences were instances of a construction that had been widely used in Finnish dialects until fairly recently. However, a new construction replaced it, particularly in the standard language. I traced the origin of the new construction to the southwestern dialects in Finland and presented evidence that the polysemy of the elative case made it possible for this construction to emerge.

What has happened is that a construction that expresses the quality of something that changes has itself changed. The construction subsequently replaces a predicate complement construction with one that resembles the existential construction, but it is a construction in its own right. Furthermore, the meaning of the old NOM construction in standard Finnish is now the basic meaning of the newer ELA construction.

The development of the result clause, a new clause type in Finnish, is the end point of the development described above. Why this change has occurred in the first place continues to be unexplained. The overall tendency to use dynamic cases with change-denoting verbs, as discussed earlier, is a possible explanation for this development.

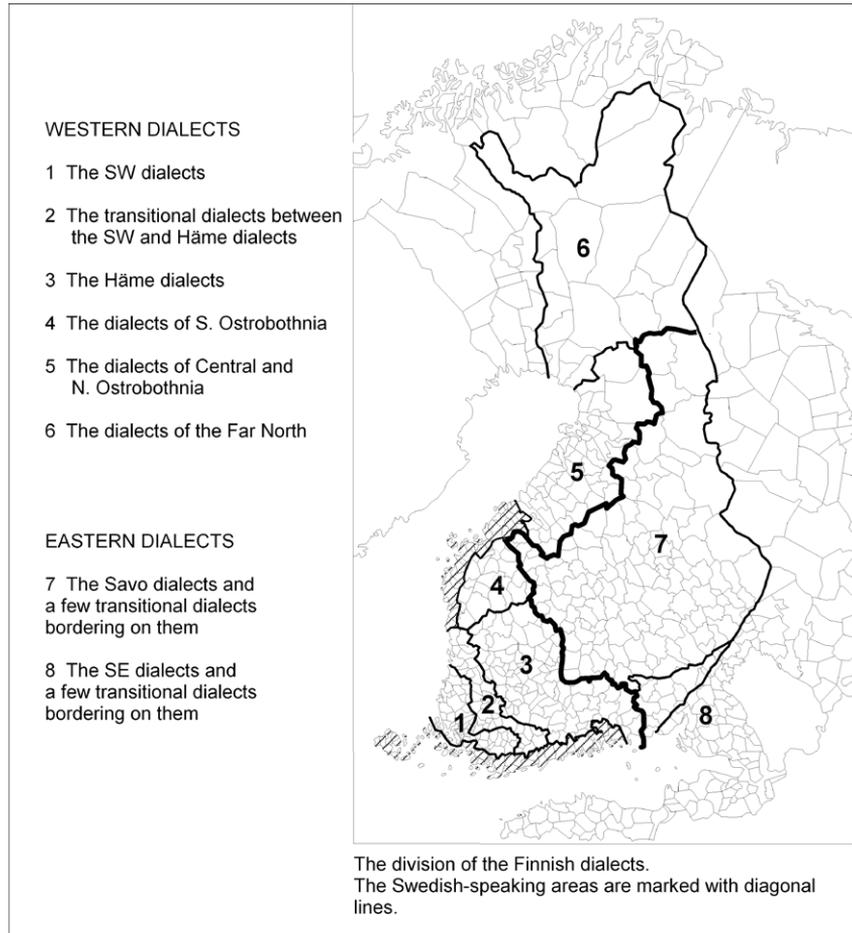
Data

The Finnish Syntax Archive is available at: <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2014073030>

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Dynamic local cases in use

Expressing directional events in Finnish

Abstract

This paper focuses on dynamic local cases, with special attention to spatial descriptions which employ not only one but two or even several landmarks. The study is based on a corpus of recorded Finnish dialect samples. The data shows a strong goal bias, i.e., a tendency to favor expressions of goal landmarks over sources, and especially so with descriptions with human actors, as expected on the basis of previous studies. On the other hand, the study does not directly support the idea that when the language has formal means for differentiating between the expressions of source and goal, these are aptly used to express more than one landmark per motion event. The data is analyzed according to the verb type, the type of the spatial relationship expressed by the landmark, and the construction type of the landmark expression. It is shown that in Finnish, verbs of motion are more often than other dynamic verbs accompanied by two or several landmark expressions, which is an expected result. However, it is the construction type of the landmark expression that gives the greatest motivation for the use of double landmarks, which can be convincingly explained by the conceptualization strategy of nesting.

1 Introduction

Finnish has an extensive system of local cases and spatial grams, that is, independent grammatical elements, such as postpositions and adverbs (see Svorou 1993, 31; 2002, 124). These case and gram systems also intersect, since most grams are morphologically complex, consisting of an etymologically nominal stem and a historical or a present-day local case ending. For example, the grams meaning ‘on, on top of’ consist of the stem *pää* ‘head’ and a productive outer local case ending, yielding a paradigm of three members: *pää|llä* [head + ADE] ‘on, on top of’, *pää|lle* [head + ALL] ‘to, onto, to the top of’, and *pää|ltä* [head + ABL] ‘off of/from, from the top of’. A common feature of (nearly) all local cases and grams is that they form triads, expressing static location, transition to a location, and transition from a location (of the local

case system, see Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume, and of the postposition system, see Jaakola and Ojutkangas in this volume). This paper focuses on dynamic local cases, those which express a kind of spatial transition, with special attention to descriptions which employ not only one but two or even several landmarks. The hypothesis is that the triadic nature of the Finnish case system supports the usage of several landmarks in actual language use. Previous studies have shown that especially in satellite-framed languages (see below), there is a tendency to express more than one landmark per motion event when the language has formal means, for example local cases and adpositions, for differentiating between the expressions of source and goal (Ragnarsdóttir & Strömqvist 2004, 118; Slobin 2004, 239–247; Özçalışkan 2009, 275; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, 408–410).

Talmy's classification of lexicalization patterns (2000b) shows that Finnish is a satellite-framed language: motion is primarily expressed by motion verbs which conflate manner of motion (e.g. *vieriä* 'to roll'), and the direction of motion is expressed by satellites, that is, adverbs and particles which designate a path (e.g. *vieriä ulos* 'to roll out'). In addition to the verb and the satellite, crucial elements of motion events are Figure (the mover, the topical entity in the ongoing discourse) and Ground (the entity that is used as a reference object for the figure). These two terms correspond to Langacker's concepts of trajector and landmark, respectively; for keeping the terminology in the current book consistent, the latter terms will be used. In Finnish, a crucial part of the description of the motion event is the expression of the landmark, which due to the rich system of local cases and spatial grams, contains explicit information concerning the stativity or directionality of the motion in question. Example 1 illustrates expressions of landmarks, an NP in a local case and a postposition phrase.

- (1) Pallo vieri **porti-lle** / **pensaa-n** **alle**
 ball roll.PST.3SG gate-ALL / bush-GEN under.ALL
 'The ball rolled to the gate / under ("to under") the bush.'

Finnish is typologically a language in which it is possible to express an entire path, the source, the route, and the goal of the motion simultaneously, with landmarks connecting to one verb; Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) divide languages into three groups in this respect¹. Example 2 is thus a perfectly conceivable description in Finnish:

- (2) Pallo vieri **ove-lta** **porta-i-ta** **pitkin** **porti-lle.**
 ball roll.PST.3SG door-ABL step-PL-PAR along gate-ALL
 'The ball rolled from the door, along the steps, to the gate.'

Descriptions such as Example 2 contain several expressions of landmarks which all locate the trajector on one phase of the path (from the door, along

1 The other types are languages in which the path is expressed with one or two verbs, depending on the type of the final phase of the motion event, and languages in which all three phases must be expressed separately (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007, 517).

the steps, to the gate). One of the basic tenets of cognitive linguistics is that language use – as well the lexicon as the grammatical constructions – is based on the language user's, or conceptualizer's, choices: the same situation can be schematized in multiple different ways. (E.g. Talmy 2000a, 225–230.) As for Example 2, expressing any of the landmarks alone would be enough for a reasonable although brief description of the ball's path (on path windowing, Talmy 2000a, 225–226). However, when multiple sources or goals are expressed with one verb, the conceptualizer is able to follow the route by scanning it mentally from one landmark to another. This kind of construction may be a chained or nested locative. (Langacker 1999, 196–198.) Example 2 displays a chained locative: the landmarks are successive points on the path of the ball's motion, each leading the conceptualizer forward to the ball's final location. Example 3 illustrates the other type, a nested locative:

- (3) Pallo on **piha-lla** **porta-i-den** **päässä** **pensaa-ssa.**
 ball be.3SG yard-ADE step-PL-GEN end.INE bush-INE
 'The ball is in the yard, at the end of the steps, in the bush.'

A nested locative construction describes the conceptualizer's mental path in search of the trajector, and each landmark functions as a search domain for the next, which is situated somewhere inside the previous landmark (Langacker 1999, 196–198). This article mainly focuses on the expressions of multiple landmarks in different kinds of dynamic events; formally, the landmarks are expressed with an element containing a lative 'to' or a separative 'from' function. Both chained and nested locatives are represented in the constructions explored in this study. This article is restricted to the spatial usages of dynamic local cases only, and it is based on a corpus of recorded Finnish dialect samples.

The data was primarily collected on the basis of the expression type for the landmark(s). This method brought along a broad group of dynamic verbs; although motion and caused motion verbs are basic as expressions of dynamic events, other dynamic verbs in this study will be considered as well, for example verbs of putting and verbs of acquisition. The research questions are as follows:

1) Do descriptions of directional events employ multiple landmarks, and if they do, how do source and goal landmarks combine with verbs (i.e. do they contain expressions for a source/sources or a goal/goals only or for both the source(s) and the goal(s))? Are landmark expressions found in an iconic order – does the expression of a source landmark always (or mainly) precede the expression of a goal landmark?

2) Does the Finnish data support the results of previous studies in that a symmetric local case system encourages overt expressions of both the source and goal landmarks?

3) Do some types of dynamic verbs or types of spatial relationships employ multiple landmarks more easily than others? Do verb occurrences with human actors behave differently from other occurrences?

4) In Finnish, several kinds of constructions are used for expressing landmarks: noun phrases in local cases, adpositional phrases, adverbs, and

goal grams (such as *ulos* ‘out’). Are some construction types favored as first and others as second landmark expressions, in cases involving multiple landmarks?

5) What kinds of explanations (other than the symmetrical case system) can be found for the patterns revealed while answering the aforementioned questions?

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 outlines the theoretical framework in more detail, along with the relevant parts of the Finnish local case and postposition systems. The data and the method used will also be presented in this section. Section 3 concentrates on the findings of the analyzed data. In Section 4, explanations for these findings are shown, and Section 5 summarizes the main findings of the study.²

2 Theoretical viewpoints, data, and method

In a motion event, landmarks can be seen as structuring building blocks between which a trajector’s motion takes place. Selecting landmarks is a result of a language user’s conceptualization, and it is generally possible to structure the same event in different ways. For example, if we describe our way home from work, where does it start: from the office on the second floor or from the parking lot? Does the route include a stop at a gas station or a walk to the mailbox before entering the house? The way the structure of the path is described linguistically depends on the type of windowing of attention: the portions which receive the most attention are windowed, that is, expressed with overt material as seen in Example 2, repeated here as Example 4a. Each landmark (LM) represents one portion of the path, and even the fullest description of a path is discontinuous; language users are, however, able to infer implicit information to form entire paths (Examples 4b–d). (Talmy 2000a, 258–259, 265–268, 270–271.)

- (4) Pallo vieri
ball roll.PST.3SG
‘The ball rolled

	SOURCE LM = INITIAL WINDOWING	ROUTE LM = MEDIAL WINDOWING		GOAL LM = FINAL WINDOWING ³
a)	ove-lta door-ABL from the door,	porta-i-ta step-PL-PAR along the steps,	pitkin along	porti-lle. gate-ALL to the gate.’

2 This study has been funded by the Academy of Finland, project number 285739. I would like to thank Tuomas Huumo and other researchers in this book for their useful comments on earlier versions of this article.

3 This article focuses on initial and final windowing; expressions of routes, that is, medial windowing, however, are not explored. This is why the combinations initial + medial and medial + final windowing are not found among these examples. On coding the route in Finnish, see Tuuri 2021.

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| b) | ove-lta
door-ABL
from the door to the gate.’ | porti-lle.
gate-ALL |
| c) | ove-lta.
door-ABL
from the door.’ | |
| d) | | porti-lle.
gate-ALL
to the gate.’ |

According to Talmy (2000a, 265–266), language users have a tendency to conceptualize paths as having a beginning and an end in different locations. This may be due to humans’ scope of perception – we imagine paths as if we could see the beginning and the end in our visual field – or to qualitative differences (e.g. moments of stationariness, shifts in path direction) which are conceived of as dividing motion to separate units with beginning and end points, that is, sources and goals. A symmetric local case system, such as the Finnish one, makes opposite directions conceptually present even when they are not explicitly expressed; it is as if they are in a window with the curtains drawn. In most cases, motion away from a source landmark thus also has a goal landmark, and vice versa. For example, in *laatiko-sta* [BOX-ELA] or *laatiko-n sisältä* [BOX-GEN in.ABL] ‘from (inside) a box’ the goal landmark is somewhere outside the box, whether it is expressed or not. In a similar manner, *laatikko-on* [BOX-ILL] or *laatiko-n sisälle* [BOX-GEN in.ALL] ‘into a box’ conceptually also contain information about the source of the trajectory’s motion.

It should be taken into account that according to Bourdin (1997), descriptions of motion events tend to show goal bias across languages. This means that language users focus much more attention on the goal of the motion than on the source: for example, the grammatical encoding of goals tends to be simpler than that of sources, and goals may be treated in more detail, that is, by using different grammatical coding for “goal-approximation” (English *towards*, Finnish *kohti*) and “goal-extent” (English *all the way to*, Finnish *asti*). (Bourdin 1997, 190–209; see also Kopecka & Ishibashi 2011.) Various studies (e.g. Stefanowitsch & Rohde 2004) have also shown that in real language data, goals are expressed more often than sources. Verspoor, Dirven and Radden (2004, 84) emphasize that reaching the goal is more important than having motion going away from the source, especially when human action is involved in the motion event. One textual factor, which has an effect on the frequencies of source and goal landmarks, is that in narrative texts at least, the source is often well known information for the speakers, and thus not needed to be overtly expressed.

The Finnish system of local cases is symmetric when it comes to expressing the directions ‘to’ and ‘from’, but it is natural to expect that in the Finnish data, goal landmarks are also windowed more often than other landmarks. The text frequencies of the Finnish local cases already show a clear goal bias (see Table 1: approx. 1.6 occurrences in a ‘to’ case per each occurrence in a

‘from’ case). However, the frequencies do not reveal the functions of cases, but they contain both spatial and abstract (e.g. possessive, temporal) uses as well as uses where the case is governed by a verb (e.g., *tykätä jäätelöstä* [like.INF ice.cream-ELA] ‘to like ice cream’; *rakastua Tukholma-an* [fall.in.love.INF Stockholm-ILL] ‘to fall in love with Stockholm’). Even more importantly, they do not contain any information about the combinations of landmark expressions in ‘to’ and ‘from’ cases: we can ask if a dynamic verb is accompanied by one or more landmark expressions, and if it is, which directionalities do they express. There is still thus a need for a corpus-based study of directional local cases in spatial use. In this study, the role of human actors will also be taken into account.

LOCAL CASE TYPE	DIRECTIONALITY		
	‘TO’	‘FROM’	ALL DYNAMIC LOCAL CASES (OF ALL CASE-INFLECTED WORDS)
INTERNAL	6.7%	4.6%	11.3%
EXTERNAL	2.4%	1.1%	3.5%
ALL	9.1%	5.7%	14.8%

Table 1. Text frequencies of the Finnish directional local cases (Hakulinen et al. 2004, § 1227).

This study will consider a wide range of grammatical elements with a spatial function (see also Ragnarsdóttir & Strömqvist 2004, 117–119). The following expression types are included, all considered to be prototypical ways of expressing the source or the goal of a dynamic event.

1) Finnish has an extensive system of local cases, and hence noun phrases in directional local cases (illative, allative ‘to’; elative, ablative ‘from’) are the central expression type of source and goal landmarks (*laatikko-on* [box-ILL] ‘into the box’, *laatiko-lle* [box-ALL] ‘onto/to the vicinity of the box’; *laatiko-sta* [box-ELA] ‘from (the inside of) the box’, *laatiko-lta* [box-ABL] ‘off of/from the vicinity of the box’).

2) In addition to local cases, independent spatial grams are crucial elements in Finnish descriptions of spatial relationships. Most spatial grams are used in several different constructions, as prototypical postpositions with an expression of the landmark in the genitive (e.g. *laatiko-n sisään* [box-GEN in.ILL] ‘into the box’), as “quasi-postpositions”⁴ with an expression of the landmark in one of the local cases (*laatikko-on sisään* [box-ILL in.ILL] ‘into (the inside of) the box’), and as plain adverbs without an expression of a landmark (e.g. *tule sisään!* [come.IMP.2SG in.ILL] ‘come in! [to the house/room]’). Cross-linguistically, this is typical of grams (see e.g. Hagege 2010, 51–57, 255–256, Libert 2013, 89–100).

3) The last-mentioned usage type of independent spatial grams is the one closest to the idea of a satellite as a companion to a (motion) verb, and in addition to these, there is a small group of satellite-type grams which

4 In this study, this construction type is, however, analyzed as a combination of an NP in a local case and an adverb. This solution makes the analysis clearer; the construction type is not very frequent.

express goal⁵ only: *ylös* ‘up’, *alas* ‘down’, *ulos* ‘out’, *pois* ‘away’. These lack the constructional variation of prototypical grams and express goals in a more general manner and as plain adverbs only; they will be called goal grams in this study.

This study is based on a corpus of recorded Finnish dialect samples from the University of Turku Syntax Archives. The size of the corpus is approximately 900,000 words. The data used is colloquial Finnish, typically produced as monologues and partially with narrative features, since the main purpose of traditional dialect interviews was to make the interviewee talk as much as possible. Where and how the recordings between the interviewer and the interviewee took place is likely not radically different from that in which the so-called frog story data has been collected. This is relevant because much of the research I will refer and compare my findings to is based on data produced by asking interviewees to narrate the story of a wordless picture book, *Frog, Where Are You?* by Mercer Mayer (1969; see e.g. Strömquist & Verhoeven (ed.) 2004). On the other hand, findings from studies contrasting several text types have shown consistency across different types of data (for example novels or newspapers, Stefanowitsch & Rohde 2004; Slobin 2004, 244). The data of this study was compiled in several steps as described in Table 2.

WHAT was extracted from the corpus?	WHERE do the occurrences come from?	WHY were they included in the research data?
Projective spatial grams, i.e. grams which express a directional location on one of the basic axes: vertically up–down and sagittally front–back.	From the entire corpus.	Because of their primary status as grams in a language with an extensive local case system: local cases rarely express information of spatial axes (Levinson 2003).
Grams meaning ‘into’ and ‘from inside’.	From the entire corpus.	Because, first, they express a location in a container, which is a central spatial concept for humans (Lakoff 1987), and second, they share this function with the internal local cases (see Ojutkangas 2008).
NPs in directional local cases, (illative, allative ‘to’; elative, ablative ‘from’).	1) From two dialect sample texts, i.e. two dialect interviews. 2) From sentential contexts of the grams already included in the data.	Because they are the most frequent expression type for a spatial relationship: the function of the cases is to express spatial relationships in a more general way, concentrating on the stationariness or motion and the direction of the latter.
Goal grams (‘up’, ‘down’, ‘out’, ‘away’).	From the data set already selected in the previous steps.	They are a data-driven addition, triggered by the initial analysis of the research data. However, they are not systematically extracted.

Table 2. The compilation of the research data.

5 The lative ‘to’ meaning of these grams is clear: they all carry the historical lative ending *-s* (Häkkinen 2002, 80).

Table 3 shows the composition of the research data from this viewpoint. Although the rightmost column summarizes the total number of constructions with NPs in local cases and ones with grams, these are not directly comparable to each other, because different construction types were extracted from different areas within the corpus.

SPATIAL ELEMENT	DIRECTIONALITY			
	'TO'	'FROM'	TOTAL	
INTERNAL LOCAL CASES	613	288	901	Constructions with NPs in local cases: total 1 301
EXTERNAL LOCAL CASES	247	153	400 ⁶	
'ABOVE': <i>pää-, yl-</i>	336	51	387	Constructions with grams: total 1 176
'BELOW': <i>al-</i>	183	77	260	
'FRONT': <i>ete-</i>	88	10	98	
'BACK': <i>taka-, jälke-, perä-</i>	35	50	85	
'IN': <i>sisä-</i>	246	24	270	
GOAL GRAMS	76		76	
TOTAL	1 824	653	2 401 + 76 = 2 477	

Table 3. The composition of the research data according to the landmark expression type.

It was mentioned in Section 1 that Finnish is typologically a language in which it is possible to express a whole path with landmarks connecting to one verb. In the present study, the analysis of the landmarks is thus verb-based, and the findings will be shown as expressions of landmarks per verb, although the data was primarily collected on the basis of the expression type for the landmark(s). The coding of the data went as follows:

Phase A: Each occurrence of an NP in a directional local case or a gram (in a sentential context) is an entry of its own in a database. Syntactically, the constructions analyzed are adverbials, modifiers of verbs, and thus the semantic type of the verb was analyzed (e.g. verbs of motion, caused motion, putting). Spatial elements express a relationship between the trajector, the entity which is in focus and whose location is being described, and the landmark; the location of the trajector is expressed in relationship to the landmark. The types of the trajector (= TR; e.g. human, animal, thing) and landmark (= LM; e.g. thing, place) were coded in the database.

- 6 These contain lative forms of demonstratives. Demonstrative elements are important in terms of descriptions of spatial relationships. In addition to pronouns, the Finnish demonstrative system includes demonstrative adverbs based on the same pronominal roots as found in its regular pronouns. As expressions of spatial elements, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs display an interesting division of labor (Laury 1996), and both are included in the data of the present study. However, the case inflection of demonstrative adverbs differs from that of pronouns in that their 'to' case forms contain the affix *-nne*, which is not a regular illative or allative ending, although their other forms are identical to external local cases. (See also Section 4.3.)

- Phase B: After this, the spatial elements were cross-checked, asking if there are several grams or NPs in directional local cases accompanying one verb. If yes, do they express several sources, several goals or a source and a goal of one trajector in the event expressed by the verb?
- Phase C: The form of the construction expressing the landmark was analyzed (e.g. adposition phrase, NP).
- Phase D: When the verb is accompanied by expressions of both source and goal landmarks, the linear order of the landmark expressions was coded as iconic (source before goal) or non-iconic (goal before source).

The following example (5) illustrates this. It is thus an occurrence with two landmarks: one expressing the source (with an adposition phrase) and other expressing the goal (with an NP in a local case) of the motion of one trajector, in iconic order. For the sake of clarity, the examples used in this paper are simplified reformulations of real corpus occurrences.

(5)	Jyvä-t	tul-i-vat	konee-n	alta	säkki-in.
	grain-PL	come-PST-3PL	machine-GEN	under.ABL	sack-ILL
PHASE A:	TR: SUBSTANCE	VERB: MOTION	LM1: THING		LM2: THING
PHASE B:			SOURCE		GOAL
PHASE C:			ADPOSITION PHRASE		NP
PHASE D:			ICONIC		

‘The grain came out from under the machine and went into the sack.’

The findings of this analysis will be discussed in the next section. The methodology employed in the study is mainly qualitative, but a quantitative analysis is also used as background information, assisting in focusing the qualitative analysis. Owing to the qualitative emphasis in this study, only simple percentages and Chi square values are used as quantitative tools for calculations.

3 Single or multiple landmarks?

Table 3 above shows the data from the viewpoint of landmark expression types. The core information on frequencies is repeated here as Table 3a:

SPATIAL ELEMENT	DIRECTIONALITY		
	‘TO’	‘FROM’	TOTAL
NPs IN LOCAL CASES	860	441	1 301
GRAMS	964	212	1 176
TOTAL	1 824	653	2 477

Table 3a. Summary of the construction types and the directionalities they express in the data.

Given that there are altogether 2010 verbs in the data, Table 3 gives a preliminary answer to the first research question on multiple landmarks. There are more landmark expressions (altogether 2477) than verbs in the data; some verbs are thus accompanied by two or more landmark expressions. The data also shows that, when only spatial meanings are considered, the goal bias is even stronger than when all occurrences of dynamic local cases are considered (see Table 1), at least in this sample, in which there are approximately 2.8 landmark expressions in a ‘to’ case per each expression in a ‘from’ case. The frequencies presented in Table 1 are based on standard written Finnish, and it is possible that this partially accounts for this difference.

As noted above, the data for this study was primarily collected on the basis of the expression type for the landmark(s). A consequence of this is that systematic information about verbs with zero directional landmark expressions is not directly available. In compiling the data, two dialect sample texts, that is, two dialect interviews, were used in collecting the basic set of NPs in dynamic local cases. The same texts were used to give a suggested idea of the general frequency of directional landmark expressions; to keep this comparison simple, only motion verbs were considered. The result was similar for both texts: the percentage of verbs without any and with at least one directional landmark expression were 40 and 60%, respectively. According to Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2009, 406), satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages with local case systems tend to prefer verbs with more landmark expressions than most other verb-framed languages. Finnish is a satellite-framed language with an extensive system of local cases and independent grams; in this respect, the percentage of verbs with zero landmark expressions seems surprisingly high (cf. e.g. with English, in which the percentage is 12 vs. 82%; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, 406). An important viewpoint with lexicalization patterns (i.e., satellite- and verb-framed) is that many other factors influence the ways paths are described in a particular language; the basic typology proposed by Talmy (2000b, 27–67) is but one aspect in this viewpoint (e.g. Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, 410, Slobin 2004, 247–249).

The Finnish system of spatial grammatical elements is typically described as case-driven. This is natural, since case inflection is very characteristic to Finnish in general, starting from the marking of its argument structure. On the other hand, the class of postpositions in Finnish is an open category (Jaakola & Ojutkangas, this volume), and its role in expressing spatial (and abstract) relationships is significant, as postpositions (and other grams) are used for expressing, for example, location on the basic axes. However, I am not aware of research carried out on the mutual weight of local cases and grams in real language use. This study brought about suggestive information on this as a by-product: what are the percentages of local cases and grams that occur in spatial directional landmark expressions in the two texts where both construction types were collected systematically? According to this analysis, the dominance of the local cases is clear: they are used in 85% of directional landmark expressions, while grams are responsible for the rest (15%). These findings are, of course, preliminary.

Table 4 below combines the information concerning the verbs and the landmark expressions, showing distribution of both of their different combinations. This is to answer the first research question which is if descriptions of directional events employ multiple landmarks, and if they do, how do source and goal landmarks combine with verbs (i.e., do they contain expressions for sources or goals only or for both the source and the goal).

DIRECTIONALITIES OF LM EXPRESSIONS	NUMBER OF LM EXPRESSIONS			
	ONE	TWO	THREE OR MORE	TOTAL
SOURCE(S) ONLY	356 (22.3%)	35 (9.7%)	6 (11.3%)	397 (19.8%)
GOAL(S) ONLY	1 240 (77.7%)	162 (44.9%)	19 (35.8%)	1 421 (70.7%)
BOTH SOURCE(S) AND GOAL(S)	–	164 (45.4%)	28 (52.8%)	192 (9.5%)
TOTAL (% OF ALL VERBS)	1 596 (79.4%)	361 (18.0%)	53 (2.6%)	2 010 (100%)

Table 4. Directionalities indicated by one, two, or three or more landmark expressions in the data.

A great majority of verbs occur with only one landmark expression. The percentage of verb occurrences with two or several landmark expressions (roughly 20%) seems rather low, when compared to other languages with the same kinds of linguistic means for expressing spatial relationships (local cases, grams). For example, the percentage for single versus multiple landmark expressions in Basque are 60 and 40%, respectively (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, 407). When comparing the findings of the present study to previous research, it is important to note that the data used here are much larger than in research conducted on the basis of narrated frog stories. A larger data size results in more verb types and a wider set of topics the interviewees discuss. In other words, the data used here offer perhaps a more versatile view on the descriptions of spatial relationships than the rather uniform frog story data. It is possible that this, together with genre differences, is what is behind some of the differences in the results.

The following examples illustrate the different landmark combinations: Example 6 shows a single source landmark expression, Example 7 has two goal landmark expressions, and there are three landmark expressions in Example 8, two for the source and one for the goal. These examples are also a preview to the following section, which deals with verb types, as they illustrate the three most common types in the data, verbs of motion (6), putting (7), and other action (8).

- (6) **Ansku-sta** tul-i proomu-n kanssa ihmis-i-ä.
 name-ELA come-PST.3SG barge-GEN with human-PL-PAR
 1st LM
 ‘There were people coming from Ansku by barge.’
- (7) **Kaukalo-on** pan-tiin lun-ta alle.
 trough-ILL put-PASS.PST snow-PAR under.ALL
 1st LM 2nd LM
 ‘The snow was put into the trough (before some other substance went on top).’

- 8) **Sarve-sta** ol-i kaikki **sisältä** **pois** keite-tty.
 horn-ELA be-3SG.PST everything in.ABL away boil-PTCP
 1st LM 2ND LM 3RD LM
 ‘Everything was boiled away from inside of the horn (to make it empty and clean).’

If we look at the data in Table 4 more closely, we can first see that a majority of all landmark expressions indicate a goal landmark. Furthermore, there is a great deal of goal bias in verbs with two or more landmark expressions, if we look at the occurrences with only source or goal landmarks (35 + 6 = 41 and 162 + 19 = 181 occurrences, respectively). This is an expected finding, based on what is known about goal bias in general and the text frequencies of ‘to’ and ‘from’ cases in Finnish (Table 1). What is slightly surprising is that when the verb is accompanied by two or more landmark expressions, they equally often express both the source and the goal (164 + 28 = 192 occurrences, or 9.5% of all verbs) as the goal only (162 + 19 = 181 occurrences, or 9.0%). One would have expected that there would be a greater goal bias difference in these cases as well.

From another point of view, we can see that nearly one-third of all source landmark expressions (653; see Table 3a) occur together with a goal landmark expression (164 + 28 = 192 occurrences). This is an important piece of information in terms of the use of Finnish ‘from’ cases, and it can perhaps be seen as a consequence of goal bias: the source is worth mentioning together with the goal, more so than on its own. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004, 97–98, 109–110) has proposed a complete path hypothesis for Basque, where expressing both the source and the goal of one motion event is very common. In Basque, this is possible when the path being described is conceptualized as a delimited trajectory, with fixed points as a source and a goal (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004, 97). This is certainly a pattern into which part of the Finnish occurrences can fit, but it does not cover the whole picture. We will return to this issue later in Sections 4.1 and 4.3.

As an answer to research question 2, we can say that the findings are basically in line with previous ones in that existing linguistic means for expressing different directionalities increase the frequency of expressing both source and goal landmarks. However, in a clear majority of occurrences there is only one landmark expression. The existence of a symmetrical local case system as such does not explain why and in what circumstances both directions of a motion or other dynamic event are expressed. The next section will mainly focus on the group of occurrences with double landmark expressions in more detail. At the end of Section 4, we will briefly discuss the occurrences with only one landmark expression to show that single landmark expressions may be motivated, in addition to goal bias, by the type of spatial relationship that is being described.

4 Patterns of double/multiple landmark expressions: types of verbs, types of spatial relationships, types of constructions

In this section, occurrences with two or several landmark expressions will be analyzed according to verb type (motion and caused motion, action: putting, action: other, other), spatial relationship (topological general directionality 'to, from', motion to/from a location on an axis, motion to/from a container), and construction (adpositions in different constructions, NPs in local cases, goal grams). With each point of view, the aim is to give explanations for the patterns revealed in the data. This is to answer research questions 3, 4, and 5.

4.1 VERB TYPE AND HUMAN ACTORS

The first step in analyzing the verb types was to calculate the percentage of occurrences of each type having one versus two or several landmark expressions. The findings are shown in Table 5.

NUMBER OF LM EXPRESSIONS	VERB TYPE					TOTAL
	MOTION	CAUSED MOTION	ACTION: PUTTING	ACTION: OTHER	OTHER	
TWO OR MORE	151 (24.4%)	61 (20.7%)	70 (16.5%)	80 (19.7%)	52 (19.5%)	414
ONE	468 (75.6%)	234 (79.3%)	354 (83.5%)	326 (80.3%)	214 (80.5%)	1 596
TOTAL	619	295	424	406	266	2 010

Table 5. Occurrences with one versus two or several landmark expressions across verb types.

Motion verbs stand out as having two or several landmark expressions more often than with other verbs, and there is a statistically significant difference between motion verbs and the other groups, as confirmed by employing the Chi square test ($X^2(4) = 10.167$, $p = 0.038^7$; marked in bold). This can be seen as an expected result. Motion verbs are the prototypical means for expressing a single trajector's transition between landmarks. This finding also supports the basic research setting where only motion verbs are considered when linguistic descriptions of dynamic events are studied: the widest range of landmark expressions are found with motion verbs. In this study, all verb types are nevertheless considered in the following: Table 6 shows how the landmark directionality types (sources only, goals only, both source and goal) are distributed across the verb types in the data.

DIRECTIONALITIES OF TWO LM EXPRESSIONS	VERB TYPE					TOTAL
	MOTION	CAUSED MOTION	ACTION: PUTTING	ACTION: OTHER	OTHER	
SOURCES ONLY	12 (9.1%)	2 (4.2%)	2 (3.2%)	10 (13.7%)	9 (20.0%)	35 (9.7%)
GOALS ONLY	43 (32.6%)	15 (31.3%)	54 (85.7%)	28 (38.4%)	22 (48.9%)	162 (44.9%)
BOTH SOURCE AND GOAL	77 (58.3%)	31 (64.6%)	7 (11.1%)	35 (47.9%)	14 (31.1%)	164 (45.4%)
TOTAL	132	48	63	73	45	361 (100%)

Table 6. Distribution of landmark directionality types across verb types: occurrences with two landmark expressions.

7 Values under 0.050 are considered to be signs of statistical significance. I would like to thank Jouko Katajisto for his help with the statistical analysis.

(11)	Koiras cock	on be.3SG	valkoinen white	selä-n back-GEN 1st LM	päältä top.ABL	ja and
	musta black	vatsa-n belly-GEN 2nd LM	alta. under.ABL			

‘The male (eider, waterfowl) has a white back (“is white from the top of the back”) and a black belly (“is black from under the belly”).’

According to Verspoor, Dirven and Radden (2004, 84), the goal is more important than the source, especially when human action is involved in the motion event. To verify if the present data confirms this claim in other verb types as well, the occurrences with two landmark expressions were analyzed according to the type of actor in the clause. Are human actors more frequent in occurrences with only goal landmark expressions? Table 7 shows the findings of this analysis.

DIRECTIONALITIES OF TWO LM EXPRESSIONS	TYPE OF ACTOR		
	HUMAN	NON-HUMAN	TOTAL
SOURCES ONLY	21 (8.3%)	14 (12.8%)	35
GOALS ONLY	125 (49.6%)	37 (33.9%)	162
BOTH SOURCE AND GOAL	106 (42.1%)	58 (53.2%)	164
TOTAL	252 (100%)	109 (100%)	361

Table 7. Human and non-human actors across landmark directionality types in double landmark occurrences.

The present data supports the idea that there is stronger goal bias in descriptions of human action. Those occurrences having a human actor and two goal landmark expressions stand out, showing a statistically significant difference from the other occurrences (indicated in bold). This is confirmed by the Chi square test ($X^2(2) = 7.835$ $p = 0.02$). To focus further on the landmark expressions, we will next turn to the types of spatial relationships these describe.

4.2 TYPE OF THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP

In considering the type of the spatial relationship that is being expressed, the options are general directionality, motion to/from a location on an axis, and motion to/from a container. To be able to consider the data from this viewpoint, one restriction must be made: the first landmark expression is seen as the decisive one. The conceptualizers – interlocutors of the interaction – typically start their mental journey along the path from the first landmark expression. It is thus interesting to see what kinds of spatial relationships (if any) receive a specification in the form of (an) other landmark expression(s). Spoken language is dependent on its linear order, and the most fluent conceptualization follows an iconic path. In the data, the iconicity of the expressed landmarks is highly valued; in over two thirds of the occurrences having both the source and the goal landmark expressed, the source is

expressed first. This may be seen as further support for considering the first landmark expression as decisive. Table 8 shows how the occurrences with one and two or several landmark expressions are distributed across different types of spatial relationships.

NUMBER OF LM EXPRESSIONS	TYPE OF THE SPATIAL RELATION (FIRST OR SINGLE LM EXPRESSION)			
	GENERAL DIRECTIONALITY ('to, from' local cases)	MOTION TO/FROM A LOCATION ON AN AXIS (dynamic 'front-back', 'above-below' -grams)	MOTION TO/FROM A CONTAINER (dynamic 'in' grams)	TOTAL
TWO OR MORE	303 (27.5%)	91 (13.1%)	20 (9.3%)	414 (20.6%)
ONE	798 (72.5%)	604 (86.9%)	194 (90.7%)	1 596 (79.4%)
TOTAL	1 101 (100%)	695 (100%)	214 (100%)	2 010 (100%)

Table 8. Occurrences with one versus two or several landmark expressions across types of spatial relationships.

When the type of the spatial relationship is considered, landmarks which express general directionality ('to, from'; indicated in bold) are clearly more often followed by (an) other landmark expression(s) than landmarks which express motion to/from a location on an axis or a container. This may be due to the versatility of these spatial relationships; a multitude of different landmarks may be relevant as neutral, topological sources and goals. The difference is statistically significant, as confirmed by the Chi square test ($X^2(2) = 72.759, p < 0.001$).

We saw previously that there are some interesting patterns within verb types and landmark directionality types: both the source and the goal landmark tend to be expressed with verbs of motion and caused motion, while verbs of putting typically occur with an expression of a goal landmark only. To see if there are any correlations between the types of spatial relationships and landmark directionality types, the occurrences with two landmark expressions were analyzed accordingly. Table 9 shows the findings of this analysis.

DIRECTIONALITIES OF TWO LM EXPRESSIONS	TYPE OF THE SPATIAL RELATION (FIRST OR SINGLE LM EXPRESSION)			
	GENERAL DIRECTIONALITY ('to, from' local cases)	MOTION TO/FROM A LOCATION ON AN AXIS (dynamic 'front-back', 'above-below' grams)	MOTION TO/FROM A CONTAINER ('in' grams)	TOTAL
SOURCES ONLY	23 (8.9%)	12 (14.3%)	-	35
GOALS ONLY	112 (43.4%)	40 (47.6%)	10 (52.6%)	162
BOTH SOURCE AND GOAL	123 (47.7%)	32 (38.1%)	9 (47.4%)	164
TOTAL	258 (100%)	84 (100%)	19 (100%)	361

Table 9. Distribution of landmark directionality types across types of spatial relationships: occurrences with two landmark expressions.

These data show no statistically significant differences between the combinations of types of spatial relationships and landmark directionalities (Chi square test: $X^2(4) = 5.645, p = 0.227$). However, since source landmarks, in general, are given much less attention than goal landmarks, let us have

a look at the expression type that explains the highest value within the sources only type, expressions of a dynamic spatial relationship on an axis (indicated in bold). Spatial relationships on an axis are dependent on a specific coordinate system, and this is the difference between them and the containment or general directionality type, which are both topological, independent of coordinates. A frequency-based interpretation could be that motion away from a point on a coordinate seems to be given special attention from the conceptualizers. However, a closer look at these occurrences (expressions of motion to/from a location on an axis, occurrences with two landmark expressions, source only) reveals that the result emerges again from the function of expressing part-whole relationships with 'from' cases. Example 11 above illustrates this type.

We can conclude that the type of spatial relationship does not seem to be crucial for double landmark expressions. The last viewpoint to be considered, the construction type, will give the greatest motivation for the use of double landmark expression.

4.3 CONSTRUCTION TYPE, NESTED AND CHAINED LOCATIVES

The third way to look at the data is through the construction type of the landmark expressions. The construction types are analyzed with respect to their positions as the first or the second landmark expression. Table 10 below shows the findings.

POSITION OF THE LM EXPRESSION	CONSTRUCTION TYPE OF THE LM EXPRESSION					TOTAL
	NP IN A LOCAL CASE	DEMON-STRATIVE PRONOUN/ ADVERB	ADPOSITION PHRASE	PLAIN ADVERB	GOAL GRAM	
AS 1ST	135 (54.7%)	112 (74.2%)	56 (40.9%)	35 (31.5%)	23 (30.3%)	361
AS 2ND	112 (45.3%)	39 (25.8%)	81 (59.1%)	76 (68.5%)	53 (69.7%)	361
TOTAL	247 (100%)	151 (100%)	137 (100%)	111 (100%)	76 (100%)	722

Table 10. Construction types as first and second landmark expressions in double landmark occurrences.

The construction types fall into three categories: a construction type that is used more often as a first landmark expression (highlighted in bold), construction types favored as second landmark expressions (highlighted in grey), and a construction type which seems to be neutral in this respect (not highlighted). Demonstratives are found in the first group, grams as adpositions and adverbs and goal grams in the second, and NPs in local cases in the third. We should look at the findings of goal grams with caution, however, because these grams were not systematically included in the data. For demonstratives, the Chi square test shows a statistically significant difference from other types ($X^2(4) = 68.981, p < 0.001$).

A possible explanation for this finding is the nesting of locatives. In Langacker's definition of this concept (1999, 196–198), each landmark in a nested locative functions as a search domain for the next, which is found somewhere inside the previous landmark. If we interpret this a bit more

liberally and take the definition to the level of concrete constructions, the definition would be as follows: the landmark expressions in a nested locative construction are in an order in which each expression is semantically more precise than the previous one. When a description of a spatial setting is conceptualized with several landmarks, it is natural to “zoom in”, start the description from a more general landmark, to be followed by a more detailed one.

In comparison to all other construction types, the spatial meaning of demonstratives is general. The Finnish demonstrative system has three members with regard to distance: *tämä*, *täällä* ‘here (close to the speaker)’, *tuo*, *tuolla* ‘there (away from the speaker and the addressee)’, and *se*, *siellä* ‘there (close to the addressee)’. The notions of “distance” and “spatial” must be understood non-literally, as descriptions originating from the morphological form, the local case endings, that the demonstratives carry. (E.g. Etelämäki 2005, 2006, 2008⁸.) The space they express can be physical, but it is first and foremost social and mental; demonstratives express whether the conceptualizers consider the referent (in this case, the landmark) to be a noteworthy element. They do not relay information about the landmark very much as such, but rather function as elements which direct the conceptualizers’ attention and organize the information flow. As pronominal elements, they are light and often anaphoric, which gives them a natural position at the beginning of a clause (Example 12) or at the beginning of a spatial description within a clause (Example 13). All of this makes them perfect first members in nested locatives. The meaning of grams, on the other hand, is complex: they express two spatial concepts simultaneously, in the present data a location with a relationship to an axis or a container, and a motion to or from such a location. They are thus apt to be used as second members in nested locatives. The meanings of NPs in local cases are less complex than grams in that they only express the motion to or from a landmark entity. They are, however, the most frequent construction type in the data, and this is an indication of their versatility as landmark expressions.

To continue the analysis of nested and chained locatives, it is reasonable to divide the landmark directionality types into two: those in which only sources or goals are expressed and those in which both the source and the goal are expressed. For the first type, the majority of occurrences (113/197,

8 It has been convincingly demonstrated that the primary meaning of Finnish demonstratives is not spatial but interactive; their most important function is to contribute to the organization of discourse. Knowledge, consciousness, and attention are important frames in which “close to” or “away from” are to be understood; for example, the pronoun *se* can be “(physically) away from the speaker and close to the addressee” or “known to both the speaker and the addressee but not worthy of special attention”. These ideas are based on the pioneering work on deixis done by William Hanks (e.g. 1992, 2005), and his theory has been thoroughly tested on and developed further with Finnish data (Laury 1996, 1997, 2005; Etelämäki 2005, 2006, 2008). Details of the semantics of the Finnish demonstrative system are outside the scope of this paper, but their role in connection with other spatial elements would certainly be worthy of further investigation (on demonstratives with relation to Finnish *ulko* ‘out’ grams, Ojutkangas 2012).

typical conceptualization strategy is a nesting of locatives, and in these there is a strong connection to construction types: demonstratives tend to occur as first landmark expressions. In the present data, nesting is a noteworthy pattern and different from the complete path type which Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004, 97) proposes for Basque spatial descriptions including both a source and a goal landmark expression. The other conceptualization strategy is natural in occurrences with both the source and the goal landmark expressed: they represent chained locatives, in an iconic order. No construction type seems to stand out in these as a specialized expression of a chained locative.

Before concluding with the main findings, we will briefly note occurrences having a single landmark expression.

4.4 MOTIVATIONS FOR SINGLE LANDMARKS

We have been thoroughly discussing occurrences having two or several landmark expressions. However, 1,597 out of 2,015, or 79.3%, of all verbs in the data, occur with a single landmark. The most obvious motivation for this is expressed by John R. Taylor (2002, 13):

“Humans are smart. Given only a snippet of information, we rapidly fill out the details, supplying missing data – -. As a result of our smartness, the interpretation we give to a linguistic expression typically goes well beyond what is actually said.”

This is of course an extremely important point of view on language. Communication would in no time become dysfunctional if we were to verbally express even nearly everything that is present in or relevant for the topic that is being discussed. In the present context, we can add other, although minor, reasons to this fundamental motivation for expressing only one landmark. It should be noted that this is by no means an extensive list of reasons for single landmark conceptualization. Instead, the reason for mentioning them here is to remind us that human smartness (or laziness) is not the only motivation for it. This would be an interesting research topic of its own.

First, there are descriptions of paths in the data which do not have a source that could be expressed. For example, motion of body parts is directed to a goal, but the source is often completely irrelevant, as in Example 16. Sometimes thinking of the source leads to absurd interpretations – for example a loose thumb being somewhere convenient at the grandmother’s disposal.

(16)	Mummu	pan-i	peukalo-nsa	haava-n	päälle.
	grandma	put-PST.3SG	thumb.ACC-POSS ₃	wound-GEN	top.ALL
				1st LM	

‘Grandma put her thumb on (“onto”) the wound.’

Another type of path without a source is a description of creation or emergence. If an entity is to be made or to appear, it does not exist before its goal. This is illustrated by Examples 17 and 18. Appearance in a spatial relation may also be fictive, as is seen in Example 19, in which the fictively

moving entity is the corner of the house; what really moves, is the water level (this is a description of a spring flood). In Talmy's (2000a, 130–134) classification of fictive motion, this represents frame-relative motion, although with an inanimate fictive mover (a house).

- (17) **Taikina-n** **päälle** teh-tiin risti.
dough-GEN top.ALL make-PASS.PST cross
1st LM
'We used to make a cross on top ("onto") of the dough.'

- (18) Mesimarja-t kasvo-i-vat **suo-n** **päälle.**
arctic.bramble-PL grow-PST-3PL marsh-GEN top.ALL
1st LM
'Arctic brambles (berries) were growing in ("onto") the marsh.'

- (19) Talo-n nurkka tule-e **vede-n** **alle.**
house-GEN corner come-3SG water-GEN under.ALL
1st LM
'The water rises up to the corner of the house'; literally "the corner of the house comes under ("to under") the water".

Furthermore, there are idiomatic expressions which contain a dynamic landmark expression. Idioms may contain dynamic spatial elements which have become opaque, although the meaning of the expression had still remained spatial. Consider Examples 20 through 22:

- (20) Hirvi rupes-i **aja-ma-an** meitä **takaa.**
moose start-PST.3SG drive-INF-ILL 1PL.PAR behind.PAR
'A moose started to chase us', literally "drive us from behind"

- (21) Siihen aika-an ol-i **sisään** **lämpiä-vä-t** sauna-t.
DEM.ILL time-ILL be-PST.3SG in.ILL warm-PTCP-PL sauna-PL
'At that time, you had a smoke (chimneyless) sauna, literally "inward-warming sauna"

- (22) On lähde-ttä-vä ensin **tuule-n** **alta.**
be.3SG start-PASS-PTCP first wind-GEN under.ABL
'You must first start out (setting the fire) downwind', literally "from under the wind"

The idioms in Examples 20 through 22, *ajaa takaa* 'to chase', *sisäänlämpiävä* 'chimneyless', and *tuulen alta* 'downwind' are all stylistically neutral spatial expressions. It is out of the scope of this paper to find out how frequent they (and other idioms of the same type) or the other phenomena illustrated by Examples 16 through 19 are. In the present context, their most important purpose is show variety in occurrences having a single landmark expression, to show that they do not constitute a uniform group.

5 Conclusion

The conclusion will show concise answers provided to each research question. Question 5, on the motivations the patterns revealed, will be discussed along with each of the four other answers.

1) Do descriptions of directional events employ multiple landmarks, and if they do, how do source and goal landmarks combine with verbs?

Roughly 20% of the verbs in the data occur with two or more landmark expressions. If only one landmark is expressed, it is with great likelihood a goal landmark (nearly 80%). In general, the findings thus show strong goal bias, as expected on the basis of previous research on other languages as well as the text frequencies of the Finnish local cases. However, one of the most interesting patterns found in this study is that when a verb is accompanied by two or several landmark expressions, the landmarks equally often express goals only and the source and the goal (the percentages of both being approximately 45%). This is especially important with respect to the general frequency of 'from' cases, since it reveals that, in addition to being much less frequent cases than the 'to' cases, they are also very apt to occur together with an element expressing the goal. This is the context of over 80% of the landmark expressions in 'from' cases. At least on the basis of the current data, there is thus a strong tendency in Finnish for the source landmark to receive an overt expression only if the goal landmark is overtly expressed.

2) Does the symmetric local case system encourage overt expressions of both the source and the goal landmarks?

Because landmark expressions were the primary starting point for collecting the data, we only have suggestive information on how often verbs occur without any landmark expression. This was investigated on the basis of two text samples, where only the plain occurrences of motion verbs were calculated. In both texts, the percentages were 40% for plain motion verbs and 60% for motion verbs with at least one landmark expression. It is possible that other verb types would have fewer landmark expressions than motion verbs, since motion verbs showed higher frequencies in certain other respects as well. The data for this study shows lower percentages of double and multiple landmark expressions than several previous studies have shown for a language with a rich system for describing different spatial relations. This may partially be due to the type and the size of the data used.

3) Do some types of dynamic verbs or types of spatial relationships employ multiple landmarks more easily than others? Do verb occurrences with human actors behave differently from other occurrences?

In this data, motion verbs have a higher probability to have two landmark expressions than other verb types; the difference is statistically significant. When it comes to combinations of verb types and landmark directionality types, verbs of putting are apt to occur with the goal landmark expression only (due to their complement-like, nearly obligatory kind of nature), while both the source and the goal landmark are expressed more often with verbs

of motion and caused motion than with other verb types. This is an expected result: motion on a path has easily accessible sources and goals to be selected and expressed by the conceptualizer.

Types of different spatial relationships were investigated with regard to the number of landmark expressions and landmark directionality types. Landmarks which express the general directionality ‘to’ or ‘from’ are accompanied by another landmark expression more often than ones which express motion to/from a location on an axis (front–back, above–below) or motion to/from a container (in). It was proposed that the motivation for this could be the freedom of choosing the landmark, as many different kinds of entities are suitable as topological, neutral sources and goals expressed by NPs in local cases. In other respects, there were no clear differences between the types of spatial relationships, but in occurrences having two landmark expressions, the directionality types are fairly evenly represented with each spatial relationship type.

It has been proposed that human action would tend to especially be goal biased, and the current data confirmed this pattern. It is possible that this is influenced by the data type: the topics in dialect interviews are such that human action – traditional working habits and skills in a rural environment – is extremely present in the texts.

4) Are some construction types, which are used for expressing landmarks, favored as first and others as second landmark expressions in occurrences having double landmarks?

Different construction types were considered in relation to their position as the first or the second landmark expression. In this investigation, three groups emerged: the first position is characteristic of demonstratives and the second position is characteristic of grams in different constructions (adpositions, adverbs, goal grams). NPs in a local case are neutral in this respect. The last-mentioned condition may be motivated by the same factor as the tendency for expressions of general directions to be followed by another landmark expression: the versatility of potential landmark entities. The reason for demonstratives being used as first landmark expressions and grams being used as second can be convincingly explained by the conceptualization strategy of nesting, supported by the natural properties of demonstratives as pronominal and often anaphoric elements. In nested locatives, the conceptualizers’ attention is focused on one landmark at a time. The first nested landmark is wider in scope, and the second, more compact one, is situated somewhere within the first. Demonstratives are semantically on a more general level than the other construction types, as they do not merely conduct spatial information, but instead function as crucial instruments for directing the conceptualizers’ attention and organizing information flow. This often makes them a natural choice for the first landmark expression. The grams, on the other hand, are favored as second landmark expressions, possibly because of their more detailed semantics, that is, the ability to express two spatial concepts simultaneously (location on an axis or containment and direction to or from such a location).

In addition to nested locatives, a conceptualizing strategy of chained locatives is strongly prevailing in the present data. In chained locatives, two or several landmarks are used in succession, each functioning as a steppingstone for the next. The occurrences where both the source and the goal landmarks are expressed typically represent chained locatives, and the order of landmarks in a majority of these is iconic (source first, goal second). Nesting and chaining as spatial conceptualization strategies call for a study of their own.

Finally, some minor notes on the majority of the data, occurrences with only one landmark expression, were made. First, the path described by a verb and a dynamic landmark expression may not have a natural other end (e.g. motion of body parts, expressions of creation or emergence). The other type discussed consists of idiomatic spatial expressions in which the meaning of the landmark expression has become opaque (e.g., *tuule-n a-lta* [wind-GEN under-ABL] ‘downwind’). The function of this brief discussion was to first and foremost remind us of the diversity of dynamic events described with a multitude of verb types and one landmark expression in a certain kind of dynamic form. It also reminds us of gaps still present in research on Finnish verbal syntax and spatial semantics.

Some of the findings of the present investigation were compared with those of previous studies on other languages, in the framework of lexicalization patterns. An important point of view present in this line of research is that the division between satellite- and verb-framed languages is not a clear-cut typology, but that languages develop individual traits in the ways they express motion and other dynamic events. This study has shown that Finnish is no exception to this. It is a satellite-framed language with an extensive system of spatial grammatical elements, but it still does not seem to express single or multiple landmarks equally often as languages with these properties typically do. The data used also shows that, although it represents a prototypical directional event type, motion shares many features with other directional events.

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Readymade grammar

Why are Finnish postpositions an open class?

Abstract

Postpositions relate to the local case system both semantically and structurally: they share the basic semantic categories they express, and the majority of Finnish postpositions are lexicalised forms of nouns inflected in local cases. This paper focuses on Finnish postpositions as open class. Finnish postpositions form *sets*, that is, groups of words that have different lexical origins but with near-synonymous meanings and similar morphological structures. The sheer number of Finnish postpositions makes it implausible that each of them would have undergone an individual grammaticalisation process. The objective of this study is to evaluate the emergence of new postpositions from a wider perspective, relying on construction-based argumentation. A crucial factor in the openness of postpositions is the ambiguity of the genitive construction, which makes it possible to reanalyse a local-case inflected noun as a postposition, and to begin using it in a postposition construction. This is how some postposition types acquire new members directly as readymade postpositions. These are lexemes in a local case form which become postpositions by entrenchment, by repeated use of language speakers. This analysis introduces several mechanisms of entrenchment that produce and maintain openness. The basic mechanism is analogy, and the analysis also points to different motivations that explain the postposition sets: language users seek out expressions for different semantic nuances, and they look for novel or even playful expressions. However, other motivating factors are language ideologies and the impact of other languages.

1 Introduction

The semantic categories expressed by adpositions tend to be place, time, and relation (Hagège 2010, 259). In this sense, adpositions strongly relate to local cases, and a discussion on the postposition system is essential also for understanding the case system. Adpositions as well as other word classes that serve a grammatical function (such as pronouns and conjunctions), have generally been described as closed classes; they rarely receive new

members, and when they do, the process is typically slow and gradual. The development of these elements is a widely researched topic, and the typical phases of the grammaticalisation of adpositions are well known (for example, see Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, 103–107, 10–131; Svorou 1993; Lehmann 2002a, 2002b; Hågège 2010, 113, 164). In Finnish, however, the class of postpositions appears to be an open class with wide-ranging semantics. This article addresses what the openness of a grammatical category means and what it is based on. We begin by briefly introducing the Finnish system of postpositions and the structure of the postposition phrase from the perspectives that pertain to our topic. We then adopt a constructionist position to define the parts of speech and present our research problem. We apply the Cognitive Grammar description of adpositions as relational predicates, that is, constructions that express a relation between trajector and landmark, such as *ball* (trajector) *under the table* (landmark) (for example, see Langacker 2008, 116–117).

In the spatial domain, cases are rarely used when describing a location on one of the basic axes, the sagittal front–back and the vertical up–down axis (Levinson 2003, 98–110). This is also the situation in Finnish, which despite the extensive system of spatial cases, uses a closed set of adpositions in these basic spatial functions¹. In addition, a postposition which expresses the location ‘in’ is among these basic postpositions – it shares this function with the internal local cases (Onikki-Rantajääskö in this volume, Ojutkangas 2008). These postpositions are considered to be basic due to their function of expressing a location on one of the basic axes or in a container; in addition, the oldest postpositions attested in the Uralic languages are among those introduced in Table 1 (Jalava & Grünthal 2020, 113, 116, 124; UEW 6, 71–72, 276–277, 506–507, 573–574).

According to the structure of the Finnish local case system, most Finnish postpositions have three different local case forms: one expressing a stative relationship, one serving as a source- and one as a goal-marker. The typical case series of the postpositions is comprised of internal or external local cases, and some of them even have both, as illustrated by the ‘in front of’ and ‘in’ postpositions in Table 1. The first postposition in the ‘behind’ group (*takana*, *taakse*, *takaa*) shows that the form of a postposition can also be a historical local case (here the essive, translative, and partitive). (As a note, the form of a postposition may also be morphologically opaque from the present-day perspective; examples of such postpositions are presented in Table 2.) Table 1 also presents the basic structure of the Finnish postposition phrase (PoP): A PoP consists of an expression of a landmark in the genitive and a postposition.²

- 1 The external local cases also have the meaning ‘on/from/to top of’, which according to Levinson’s study, is typologically rare (Levinson 2003, 98–110; Onikki-Rantajääskö, in this volume). Furthermore, we return to the open/closed status of the group of these postpositions in Section 5.
- 2 Finnish also has a group of prepositions with a partitive complement (as in *ilman minu-a* without the 1SG-PAR ‘without me’) as well as lexemes which function as prepositions and postpositions and take both the genitive and partitive complements (such as *talo-n ympäri* house-GEN around ‘around the house’, *ympäri*

Expression of the landmark: noun/pronoun+GEN	Postposition	In English
<i>jonku-n</i> 'someone's' <i>jonki-n</i> 'of something'	<i>edessä, edestä, eteen</i> front.INE, front.ELA, front.ILL <i>edellä, edeltä, edelle</i> front.ADE, front.ABL, front.ALL	'in/to/from front of', 'ahead'
	<i>takana, takaa, taakse</i> back.ESS, back.PAR, back.TRA <i>jäljessä, jäljestä, jälkeen</i> trace.INE, trace.ELA, trace.ILL <i>perässä, perästä, perään</i> rear.INE, rear.ELA, rear.ILL	'behind', 'from behind', 'to behind'
	<i>päällä, päältä, päälle</i> head.ADE, head.ABL, head.ALL <i>yllä, yltä, ylle</i> top.ADE, top.ABL, top.ALL [glossing according to the present-day Finnish]	'on/from/to top of'
	<i>alla, alta, alle</i> bottom.ADE, bottom.ABL, bottom.ALL [glossing according to the present-day Finnish]	'under', 'from under', 'to under'
	<i>sisällä, sisältä, sisälle</i> in.ADE, in.ABL, in.ALL <i>sisässä, sisästä, sisään</i> in.INE, in.ELA, in.ILL	'in', 'from in', 'into'

Table 1. Finnish basic postpositions that express 'in front of', 'behind', 'on top of', 'under', and 'in'.

The picture in Table 1 illustrates the our main points of interest. The first is the analysability of Finnish adpositions as *units* that include a case marker. The second is the observation that even within the basic postpositions, two locations ('behind' and the 'on top of') are expressed by more than one postposition stem. Our third point of interest is in the specific function of the genitive in the PoP.

Table 2 contains further examples of common postpositions. The source for this small selection is from the Finnish grammar by Penttilä (1963, 337–342), which lists total of nearly 400 postposition forms (or "almost postpositions") of approximately 140 different stems. From Table 2, it is evident that there rarely is only one element per a function expressed by a postposition. Instead, postpositions form *sets*, which are groups of words with different lexical origin that have a common general meaning and similar morphological structure: a stem and a local case ending. To save space, the postpositions in Table 2 appear in one case form only, but most of them

taloa around house-PAR 'around the house [inside of it]'), but these are beyond the scope of this article (see Grünthal 2003, 46, 62–68, 76–84). Many, if not most, adpositions are also used as adverbs, that is, without an overtly expressed landmark and thus occur in other construction types than the genitive constructions. These usages are also beyond the scope of this paper.

have three local case forms, exactly like the basic postpositions in Table 1 (if not, this is indicated in the table). For example, the possessive postpositions can express both a stative possession (*hallussa* ‘in the possession of’) and changes in a possessive relation (*haltuun* ‘to the possession of’, *hallusta* ‘from the possession of’). In this article, the case morpheme in the examples is indicated in bold when it is part of a postposition.

Expression of the landmark: noun/pronoun+GEN	Postposition set	In English
<i>jonku-n</i> ‘someone’s’	<i>vieressä</i> side.INE <i>kyljessä, kupeessa</i> flank.INE <i>korvalla</i> ear.ADE <i>rinnalla</i> chest.ADE <i>sivulla</i> side.ADE	‘beside’
<i>jonki-n</i> ‘of something’	<i>läpi, kautta, myöten</i> (only these forms, morphologically opaque in the present-day Finnish)	‘through’, ‘via’
	<i>takia, vuoksi, tähden</i> (only these forms, morphologically opaque in the present-day Finnish)	‘because of’
	<i>kanssa</i> (only this form; morphologically opaque in the present-day Finnish) <i>parissa, kimpussa, keskuudessa, joukossa, seassa, seurassa</i> group/set/pair.INE (see Table 4)	‘with, among’ (= companion set)
	<i>hallussa, hoivissa, hoteissa, huomassa, huostassa</i> care/custody.INE <i>käsissä, kourissa, kynsissä</i> hands/nails.INE (see Table 5)	‘in possession of’ (= possessive set)
	<i>avulla, avustuksella, kustannuksella, myötävaikutuksella, tuella, välityksellä</i> help/assistance/expense/support.ADE (only these forms, see Table 6)	‘with means of’ (= means set)

Table 2. Examples of Finnish postposition sets.

While the Finnish system of postpositions illustrates that a part of speech consists of more or less prototypical members (Penttilä 1963, 337; see also Lehmann 1985, 2, 2002a), the Finnish system also challenges the traditional position that primary and secondary adpositions form closed classes (compare Lehmann 2002b: 84). It is a valid observation that the adpositional status for some words listed in Table 2 could be questioned by considering that they are rather relational nouns (used metaphorically in an NP) and not adpositions proper. However, syntactic and semantic criteria differentiate the two constructions, the NP and the PoP. Finnish adpositions form a specific construction (a form-meaning pair) with their complement; they are units that have a limited number of inflectional forms, cannot be modified, and express more specific relations than the local cases (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §687). This definition is in line with the typological definitions of adpositions (for example, see Hagège 2010, 8).

In this study, we consider whether and how it is possible for a case-inflected noun to jump directly into a PoP without taking individual steps on a grammaticalisation path.³ What kinds of mechanisms can be found to explain the openness of the class of postpositions? Our objective is to evaluate the emergence of new postpositions from a wider perspective, and not to concentrate on the development of a single lexical item, which is the classical – and often efficient – view on grammaticalisation. As many of the Finnish postposition sets have a number of members, it seems implausible that each would have undergone an individual grammaticalisation process. We therefore need to search elsewhere for the motivation. This search is supported and encouraged by the fact that a pervasive phenomenon in language structure is that it has broods, patterns and sets based on analogical models (Anttila 2019 [1977]; Itkonen 2005; introduction to this volume). In Finnish, the tendency to form sets or patterns that are unified by a similar case structure is illustrated, for instance, by the locatives of states that form paradigms of near-synonymous adverbs, such as the pattern [*be* noun.PL.INE.POSS]: *olla haltioissaan, riemuissaan, mielissään, iloissaan* ‘be happy’ [lit. in exaltations, delights, minds, joys]; *olla ihmeissään, huolissaan, hädissään* ‘be worried’ [in wonders, worries, distresses] (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 2006, in this volume).

We rely primarily on construction-based argumentation, and envision parts of speech primarily as instructions for words in language use. Thus, when an element is used in a postposition construction, that element is a postposition. A similar constructional perspective is adopted by Jalava and Grünthal (2020, 112, 118). Their analysis considers Uralic postpositions predominately as elements of a phrase rather than as a part of speech and as morphemes rather than lexemes (for a syntax-based analysis concerning adpositions that resemble the relational nouns, see Hagège 2010, 166–169). This is what we refer to as *readymade*, which is a concept that we have borrowed from the field of art, originally introduced by French artist Marcel Duchamp. A readymade is a manufactured, (typically unaltered) ordinary object selected by an artist who declares and raises it to a position of an artwork (see <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/r/readymade>). Analogically, new Finnish postpositions are unaltered ordinary lexemes in a local case form and when used, they are thus “declared” as components of grammar.

The three postposition sets introduced in Table 2 will be discussed in this article: the companion, possessive, and means sets, which are all typical meanings for adpositions (see Hagège 2010, 262). On a general level, these three all express different types of (social) co-occurrence, with varying tendencies to be used with human landmarks. Firstly, we focus on the companion set (Section 3) to illustrate what a set is comprised of, what is the origin of the members, and how the division of labour is organised between the members of a given set. Turning to the following section (Section 4), we present our hypothesis on the possible mechanisms that have fed (and

3 This possibility is also suggested by Lehmann (2002b, 70), although he associates this phenomenon with reinforcement in particular.

continue to feed) the sets. The main focus in this section is on the possessive and means sets, and we adopt an orientation to these that is “near-historical”, meaning that it concentrates on what happened in and for the Finnish language during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study is qualitative and usage-based. Although no quantitative data is included in the analysis, the observations presented in this article are strongly based on the data that consist of actual language usage. The following section consists of presenting the data, theoretical background, and a more detailed discussion of the methodology. In Sections 3 and 4 we present the data-based analysis of two postposition sets, and Section 5 gives an overview of the main mechanisms that produce postpositions in Finnish.

2 *The theoretical background, the data, and the method*

We claim that the crucial factor in the development of new postpositions is the interplay between the following two constructions, illustrated in (1).

- (1a) NP-gen *puu-n* *juuri*
 tree-GEN root
 ‘tree root, foot of the tree’
- (1b) PoP *puu-n* *juurella*
 tree-GEN root.ADE
 ‘at the foot of the tree, by the tree’

The structure of the Finnish postposition phrase (PoP) is identical to that of the genitive modifier construction (NP-gen construction). This reveals the diachronic origin of most Finnish postpositions: they are predominantly lexical units developed in the genitive modifier + noun construction, crystallised into special meanings. Typical genitive-NPs refer to humans, whole entities, and places, all which are easily recognisable and can function as backgrounds – reference points – for other entities (Jaakola 2004, in this volume). These meaning types are likewise relevant in the development of adpositions. Cross-linguistically, a typical origin for a locative gram construction is the genitive modifier + noun construction, and Svorou even proposes the term “relator” for the genitive marker (Svorou 2002, 122–127). Our position is that in Finnish, the genitive-NP construction also functions as a breeding ground for new members of already existing postposition sets.

The status of a postposition develops from two bases: the re-analysability of the genitive construction as well as the repeated use of a noun in a local case within a genitive construction. During the reanalysis of a Finnish genitive construction from an NP to a PoP, both parts of the construction change. In the PoP, the genitive case is grammaticalised into a highly schematic reference point marker, and its more specific meaning features such a part/whole, location, or person referenced relations are bleached or even lost (Jaakola 2004, in this volume). The function of the reference point (the genitive-inflected word) is to specify and locate the relation expressed

by the postposition, while the function of the postposition is to express the type of the relation (together with the local case, either ‘at/in’ or ‘to/from’).

The role of case inflection in the development of Finnish adpositions is equally important. In other words, the unit that becomes a postposition is not the noun per se, but a case-inflected form of a given noun. Within the reanalysis from an NP-gen to a PoP, the head noun in a local case form ceases to represent a transparent case-inflected noun but instead is reanalysed as a unit with a function as a whole. This does not require any reduction or merging in its form. According to grammaticalisation theory, morpho-phonological reduction is typically one of the processes that are expected to be involved in the evolution of new grammatical elements, such as adpositions. In this sense, however, Finnish is a conservative language in that changes in the phonological form are rare. Morpho-phonological reduction can therefore occur in the form of condensing, where an originally multimorphemic noun of an NP becomes a unit, a monomorphemic postposition of a PoP. (On morpho-phonological reduction, see Svorou 2002, 132–134.)

To demonstrate the relation between the NP-gen and the PoP constructions, we compare a case-inflected noun and a postposition. Figure (1a) illustrates the semantic structure of the postposition *seurassa* (‘with, in company of’) in present-day Finnish. This postposition is a relational unit that expresses companion (the trajector is connected with the landmark). Figure (1b), in turn, illustrates the structure of *seura-ssa* as a case-inflected stem that fit in the NP-gen construction.

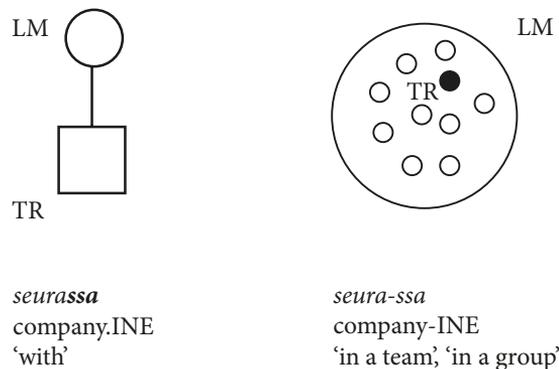


Figure. 1a) an adposition

Figure. 1b) a noun inflected in the inessive

The figure illustrates that the crucial difference between a postposition and a case-inflected noun lies in the construal of their relational meaning. Thus, a postposition (Figure 1a) profiles a relation as a unit, whereas a case-inflected noun (Figure 1b) has a relational image that is based on the semantics of the case ending (*-ssa* ‘in’).

The question is whether it is reasonable to presuppose that postpositions with generally three different local case forms are monomorphemic. Due to their origin and function, Finnish postpositions are subordinate to the local case system. Postpositions must have equal opportunities to function

in similar syntactic structures as the local cases, and this requires retaining the three-fold system of expressing motion to a landmark, remaining at a landmark as well as motion from it. That the postpositions consist of two morphemes (or even three, as some also have a petrified plural marker) does not prevent them acquiring the status of a unit (see also Jalava & Grünthal 2020, 118). We can therefore reformulate the definition of morpho-phonological reduction occurring in the form of condensing: in Finnish, a noun form *with a full case paradigm* and used in an NP becomes a unit, that is, a postposition *with a fossilised three-fold local case paradigm* that is used in a PoP.

As mentioned above, to be able to produce units, reanalysis must be accompanied by frequency of use. In Langacker's (1987, 2016) terms, this is conveyed by entrenchment: "with repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively entrenched, to the point of becoming a *unit*; moreover, units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence" (1987, 59, emphasis added).

We summarise the emergence of new postposition set members in Table 3, which illustrates the reanalysis of the genitive construction and the two interpretations.

	From an NP	to a PoP
	<i>ihmis-ten</i> <i>seura-ssa</i>	<i>TV-ohjelma-n seurassa</i>
	people-PL.GEN company-INE	TV-show-GEN with
	'in the company of people'	'with the television show'
FUNCTION OF THE GENITIVE	reference point, realised as e.g. part-whole or human-referring	reference point, the more specific meanings bleached
EXPRESSION OF THE RELATION	local case ending	postposition
CONSTRUCTION	NP-GEN NP-LOC	NP-GEN POSTP

Table 3. The reanalysis of the genitive construction.

The role of a set – a combination of near-synonymous lexemes – is also important. We hypothesise that it is possible to name a *basic member* for each set, a member which is semantically neutral and frequently used and thus viable with different types of landmarks. A basic member must also demonstrate a documented history in Finnish, that is, it must have been used early in the literary language (beginning from the mid-sixteenth century) and/or have cognates in the sister languages of Finnish. As analogy is an unavoidable factor in language change (Anttila 1989, 88, 146), the existing PoPs offer an analogical model for novel structures, with new lexical items expressing a relationship which already has an established means of expression, especially the basic member. For example, *kanssa* 'with' is the basic member of the companion set: it is frequent, it is usable with different types of landmarks and it is a demonstrably old word. This means that *kanssa*

‘with’ can therefore function as an analogical model for other candidates for new members in the companion set:

Because	<i>X-n kanssa</i>	is possible, then	<i>X-n seurassa</i>	is possible
	X-GEN with		X-GEN with	
			(lit. company.INE)	

The meaning of each postposition set is, of course, not unified, but the members express different semantic nuances under the general common meaning of the set. However, a detailed semantic analysis of the postposition sets is beyond the scope of this paper. We discuss some semantic differences that emerge in the analysis of the landmark types; this is illustrated within the companion set (Section 3). The crucial element in the semantic analysis of adpositions is the genitive marked landmark because it is the stable element in the construction, while the trajector of a postposition is expressed in varying means. New postpositions arise from near-synonymous words of existing members in the set, and within the companion set, we also discuss how the original meaning of the word may affect its use as a postposition.

We discuss the role of the hypothetical basic member in a set, but we also consider why the basic member alone is insufficient. The companion group (Section 3) illustrates the need for language users to express different semantic nuances. On the other hand, language users also strive for diversity of expressions, and they even display a tendency to play with language, as will be evident in the examples of the possessive set (Section 4). With the possessive set, we also discuss the role that general ideologies may have had in the development of a language. In addition, the impact of other languages is also important, which we demonstrate with the means group. These are discussed as mechanisms of entrenchment in Section 4; we ask what kinds of factors enable the emergence of readymade postpositions as units. Eventually, the crucial factor is the ambiguity of the genitive construction. This makes it possible to reanalyse a local-case inflected noun as a postposition and to begin to use it in a reference point construction (PoP) instead of an NP.

This analysis is based on data from both contemporary and old literary Finnish. The main data were compiled from the Corpus of Old Literary Finnish (covering the years 1543–1809) and the Corpus of Early Modern Finnish (1809–1899), published by the Institute for the Languages of Finland, and the serial publications in the Digital collections of the National Library of Finland (late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries). Besides these sources, some examples were obtained by conducting internet searches. From each data source, we searched for occurrences within sentences of the members of companion, possessive, and means sets, and analysed them qualitatively. For the companion set, we analysed the semantic type of the landmark as well as contextual factors, such as the type of the activity expressed in the sentence. For the possessive set, we focussed on the order of the different postpositions in the literary language, in which combinations the postpositions are used in texts, and on the distribution of the different postpositions in the Finnish dialects. And finally, to be able to track the origin of the new postpositions that occurred in the literary language, for

the means set, comparisons were made with Swedish data from the same time period. Let us now turn to the results of these analyses, beginning with the companion set.

3 Structure and contents of a set: Companion

3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE SET

The postpositions that denote companion and togetherness illustrate the transition from noun to adposition as well as the division of labour in communicating detailed meanings. Each postposition favours a certain type of landmark and certain contexts, thus profiling different aspects of companionship. The main difference concerns whether the trajector is *with* (2) or *among* (3) the landmark.

- (2) Aapeli on Uolevi-n *kanssa*.
 name be.3SG name-GEN with
 ‘Aapeli (TR) is **with** Uolevi (LM)’
- (3) huhu levis-i ihmis-ten *keskuudessa*
 rumour spread-PST.3SG people-PL.GEN centre.INE
 ‘a rumour (TR) spread **among** the people (LM)’

The companion set consists of postpositions with stems that denote or have denoted ‘group’, ‘set’, ‘company’ (see Table 4 below). As stated above, the form *kanssa* (‘with, accompanied by’) is a good candidate for being the basic member of the companion set: it has been used in the literary language from early on, it is documented in all Finnish dialects, and it has cognates in other Finnic languages (as in Estonian, where it has developed further into the comitative case marker *-ga*). It is thought to be a grammaticalised inessive (‘in’) form of the word *kansa* ‘people’ (Häkkinen 2004 s.v. *kanssa*). What is rather exceptional is that *kanssa* is a reduced form, which is atypical for Finnish postpositions (see Section 2); this is most obviously due to two similar foneme sequences that have merged (**kansassa* > *kanssa*). Concerning its status as a basic member, it is also relevant that *kanssa* is frequent in all the data, and its meaning is flexible because it “expresses unspecified co-participation that allows both parallel and reciprocal interpretation according to the context” (Belliard in this volume, Sirola-Belliard 2011). Moreover, *kanssa* combines with all types of landmarks (such as human, inanimate, or an abstract entity; distributional groups, collectives, or a mass).

The postpositions in this set can be divided into two categories – the with-type and the among-type (see Table 4). The with-type represents the most prototypical companion: the relation is abstract in the sense that it does not (any longer) denote location, but instead an asymmetric *accompaniment* with two participants (for definitions of accompaniment, see Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2006: 26–27). Furthermore, the among-type denotes companionment, but the main difference is the construal of the landmark, which for the among-type PoP is a count noun in the plural, a noun denoting a collective,

or a mass noun, but not a count noun singular. In other words, the landmark is an entity where the trajector can be located and accompanied in this sense. We will analyse both types because they illustrate the possible transitions of the companion set postpositions and the interaction between the NP and the PoP constructions.

Table 4 lists the most typical companion postpositions and their stems. The time estimations of the first mention as a postposition in the literary language is based on three sources: Jussila (1998), the Dictionary of Old Literary Finnish, and the Corpus of Early Modern Finnish (CEMF). It should be noted that most of the stems as well as their PoP usage are considerably older than the history of written Finnish, which began slowly in the 1540s in translated religious texts (Häkkinen 2016).

	In the literary language since	Meaning	Stem
with-type			
<i>kanssa</i>	1540s	'with', 'accompanied by'	* <i>kansa</i> 'people, public, crowd'
<i>mukana</i> <i>muassa</i>	1710s 1750s	'along, with'	(*'group') ⁴
<i>kimpussa</i>	1600s	'with, at'	<i>kimppu</i> 'bunch, bundle'
<i>parissa</i>	1640s	'with', 'among'	<i>pari</i> 'pair'
<i>seurassa</i>	1540s	'with', 'in company of'	<i>seura</i> 'company, team, party'
among-type			
<i>joukossa</i>	1540s	'among'	<i>joukko</i> 'group, crowd; cluster, set'
<i>seassa</i>	1540s	'among, amidst, in the middle, in the mix'	<i>seka</i> - 'mixed, composite'
<i>keskuudessa</i>	1830s	'among, with, in the midst of'	< * <i>keskuus</i> 'company, interaction' < <i>keskus</i> 'centre' < <i>keski</i> - 'mid, central'

Table 4. Companion set.

Kanssa ('with') is a crystallised inessive form, whereas the other postpositions also have elative and illative forms ('from the company/among' and 'to the company/among'), as in *parissa* 'with', *parista* 'from with', *pariin* lit. 'to with'. An interesting exception is *mukana*, which contains the essive, a general local case that shares some similar functions with the inessive (Hynönen in this volume). A clear morphological distribution emerges in the data: for most members of the set, the inessive ('in') forms dominate. Exceptions to this are *kimpussa* ('with, at') and *mukana* ('among, with'), of which the most common form in the data is the illative (*kimppuun* 'to with', *mukaan* 'along'; 'according to'). The elative ('from') forms are rare in the data.⁵

4 The origin of *muka* is uncertain. The strongest candidate for its etymology is that it is a Germanic loan from the noun **mūga-z* 'crowd', which the Swedish *allmoge* 'peasantry' is based on (Häkkinen 2004 s.v. *muka*).

5 A closer analysis of the distribution is, however, beyond the scope of this paper. On *mukaan* see Ojutkangas 2017.

There is a clear semantic motivation for the use of the genitive complement in this set that is based on – besides the schematic reference point function – the specific meanings of the genitive. Firstly, the semantics of person-referenced genitive is important, as many of the companion postpositions are developed from nouns that denote groups. This raises the point that a group can be easily identified through its members (as in 4), and in particular, it raises the idea of association and control (see Jaakola in this volume). This is equally true of the possessive set to be discussed later.

- (4) *Ashi-n* *joukko* ja *Rakettiryhmä* o-vat
 name-GEN group and name be-3PL
- louku-ssa uponnee-ssa laiva-ssa (KLK-fi, 2000)
 trap-INE sunken-INE ship-INE
- ‘Ash’s team and the Team Rocket are trapped in a sunken ship.’

Secondly, another important base is the co-denoting genitive (see Jaakola in this volume). In this type of NP-gen construction, the trajector consists of the landmark; for instance, *poikien* (LM) *joukko* (TR) (boy-PL-GEN group ‘a group of boys’) is a set that consists of boys, and at the same time, a set is identified by the boys.

And thirdly, the genitive of locational expressions also plays a role in companion postpositions. As Table 4 illustrates, the etymological basis for the companion adpositions lies predominantly in lexemes denoting crowds, but another important concept is that of a location in a crowd or a group. An expression of location (being among some group or mass) may easily acquire connotations of companion (being with that group or mass). As a note, some other postpositions denote location in their basic use but also have companion-type meanings, such *lomassa* ‘between; while; among’ (e.g. *välipala työn lomassa* snack work-GEN between (lit. gap.INE) ‘[have a] snack while working’).

Within the companion set, *kanssa*, *mukana*, *muassa* and *keskuudessa* are grammaticalised forms that occur only as postpositions in a PoP or as adverbs, whereas the other forms are also used as nouns in NPs. When a relational noun, or a case-inflected noun, as in Finnish, becomes a companion postposition, the change involves a metonymic transition from ‘being in a group/location’ to ‘being in company, with.’⁶ The landmark type is also an important difference between the NP-gen and the PoP because the PoP has fewer requirements for the landmark. Similarly, the possible step from an among-postposition to a with-postposition also includes that the landmark does not need to be a group or a mass. Landmark variability is also an aspect that partially accounts for the number of companion postpositions. Next, we will briefly examine why there are so many lexemes of both types (‘with’ and ‘among’), and attempt to demonstrate how these postpositions have slightly different meanings in relation to companionship.

6 For additional information on similar shifts with body-part terms in Finnish, see Suutari (2006).

3.2 THE WITH-TYPE

The word *kanssa* has the most neutral ‘with’ meaning (see 2 above), and it combines with any type of landmark. Likewise, *mukana* ‘along, with’ (see Ojutkangas 2017) is flexible and frequent, as in (5).

- (5) Nuore-na kulj-i-n niitten mukana
 young-ESS go.around-PST-1SG they.PL.GEN with.ESS
 ‘When I was young, I wandered around with them.’ (Ojutkangas 2017, 269)

The other with-postpositions have more specialised meanings. For example, the stems of the postpositions *kimpussa* (*kimppu* ‘bunch, bundle’) and *parissa* (*pari* ‘pair’) denote the shape of a group that is a specific, tight composition, or a number of members. The postposition *kimpussa* foregrounds an action that is oriented towards the landmark, and it has rather limited contexts due to it involving the idea of intense working (see the predicate verb *puurtaa* ‘slog’ in 6a), and often even a violent orientation of the action expressed (for example, an idiomatic expression *käydä kimppuun* go bunch.ILL ‘to attack’). This meaning of an intensive, force-dynamic action (Talmy 2000: 409) is lexicalised, and it is also present with neutral verbs (6b). A similar but more neutral force-dynamic meaning is also triggered by *parissa*, especially with inanimate landmarks (6c).

- (6a) FatCat ryhmä-n lisäksi *auto-suunnitelm-i-en* *kimpussa*
 name group-GEN addition.TRA car-plan-PL-GEN bunch.INE

 puurs-i kolme muu-ta ryhmä-ä. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 slog-PST.3SG three other-PAR group-PAR
 ‘In addition to the FatCat group, three other groups were working on car plans.’
- (6b) Ensimmäinen euro-demari *aihee-n* *kimpussa*
 first euro-democrat subject-GEN bunch.INE

 ol-i Britannia-n pää-ministeri Tony Blair. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 be-PST.3SG Britain-GEN prime minister name
 ‘The first Euro democrat on the subject was British Prime Minister Tony Blair.’
- (6c) Kansallis-ooppera on työskennel-lyt *teos-sarja-n* *parissa*
 national opera be.3SG work-PTCP work-serie-GEN pair.INE

 nyt neljä vuot-ta. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 now four year-PAR
 ‘The National Opera has been working on the series for four years now.’

The postposition *seurassa* creates an interpretation pertaining to social interaction (7a), which is due to the meaning of the noun *seura* ‘company, team’. This interpretation is also present with inanimate landmarks, particularly when the topic concerns using a communication tool (7b). A relation is possible with concrete landmarks (7c), but these are rather rare and context-dependent in the data, perhaps even humorous.

- (7a) Aamu ooppera-ssa Placido Domingo-n seurassa
 morning opera-INE name-GEN company.INE
 ‘Morning at the opera with Placido Domingo’ [title of a radio show]
- (7b) Aikuise-t viihty-vät lehde-n seurassa
 adult-PL enjoy-3PL magazine-GEN company.INE
 noin 40 minuutti-a. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 about 40 minute-PAR
 ‘Adults spend about 40 minutes with the magazine.’
- (7c) Sashimi-a, japanilais-ta mureket-ta, tonni-kala-a ja
 sashimi-PAR Japanese-PAR tenderloin-PAR tuna-fish-PAR and
 retikka-a sekä tofu-a riisi-n seurassa. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 radish-PAR and tofu-PAR rice-GEN company.INE
 ‘Sashimi, Japanese tenderloin, tuna and radish and tofu with rice.’

The landmark of the with-type postpositions can either be an individual or a collective, whereas the among-type postpositions take a landmark that is collective or mass. In other words, the among-type postpositions are more tightly attached to the source meaning (‘being in a group’). However, the among-type postpositions can also have more schematic ‘involved, in company, with’ meanings in the PoP, for which the with-type postpositions serve as analogical models.⁷ The next section focusses on the among-type postpositions.

3.3 AMONG-TYPE

As with with-postpositions, there are several among-postpositions. Their lexical origins can be traced to nouns that denote groups and company, and each of them expresses something specific about the companion relation.

The form *joukossa* is not only frequent as a postposition but as a noun as well. The PoP uses relate to the NP-gen meaning (‘being in a group’), which illustrates the interplay between the PoP and the NP. The postposition *joukossa* (‘among, in company’) denotes a highly neutral companionment through a location (being in a crowd or a set, or being in company of a group or a set). The most typical landmarks are crowds (8a), but in the PoP, inanimate sets such as (8b) as well as masses (8c) are also possible.

- (8a) Kuuma-n ryhmä-n hiihtäj-i-stä Varis läht-i
 hot-GEN group-GEN skier-PL-ELA name leave-PST.3SG
 viimeis-ten joukossa. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 last-PL.GEN group.INE
 ‘Of the hot group skiers, Varis left among the last ones.’

7 Furthermore, dialects and non-formal variants have postpositions with stems that have been borrowed from Swedish, such as *följyssä* ‘with, among’ (< *följa* ‘to follow’), *megessä* ‘with’ (< *med* ‘with’) (SMS s.v. *följyssä*; Paunonen s.v. *megessä*)

Secondly, *keskuudessa* ('among, with, in the midst of') illustrates the role of analogy. From the perspective of present-day Finnish, *keskuudessa* is easily connected to the frequent *keski-* 'middle' postpositions that express spatial and abstract locations, as in *jouko-n keskellä* group-GEN middle.ADE 'in the middle of a group'. The interpretation of the postposition *keskuudessa* would thus be location-based 'in the middle of a group of people' -> 'among', which would follow the model of the other among-postpositions that are location-originated (*joukossa, seassa*). However, its transition into a postposition appears to be more complex.

An analysis of the data from old literary Finnish reveals that both *keskellä* 'in the middle' and *keskuudessa* 'among' have been predominantly human referenced and used to express interactionally motivated 'among' relations (Salmi 2009: 27–32, 42). Furthermore, based on the eighteenth and nineteenth century material, the primary lexical source of *keskuudessa* is the outdated noun *kesku(u)s* 'company, interaction' (Ahlman 1865). For example, in nineteenth century texts, *keskuudessa* is used as an adverb meaning 'in contact/interaction', as in (10).

- (10) Kunnioita itse-ä-si *keskuude-ssa* toise-n
 respect.IMP.2SG self-PAR-POSS2SG interaction-INE other-GEN
- sukupuole-n kanssa. (KLK-fi, 1879)
 sex-GEN with
 'Respect yourself when interacting with the other sex.'

As a result of this meaning, the importance of socialising and interacting among the humans as a landmark continues to be promoted in the current uses of *keskuudessa*: in present-day Finnish, the landmarks of *keskuudessa* still refer to humans (groups or collectives). In addition, *keskuudessa* differs from the other human referenced among-postpositions by strongly implying communication and interaction between the group members, as in (11), where reputation of a campaign is created and maintained by human verbal interaction (see also example 3).

- (11) Yhteis-vastuu-keräykse-llä on *ihmis-ten* *keskuudessa*
 common-responsibility-collection-ADE be.3SG people-PL.GEN kesku(u)s.INE
- hyvä maine. (KLK-fi, 2000)
 good reputation
 'The Common Responsibility Campaign has a good reputation among people.'

Therefore, as a postposition, *keskuudessa* is influenced by more than one schema, as the 'among' meaning originates from two directions: based on the data from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *keskellä* (middle-ADE, 'in company, among; in the middle of') offers one supporting model, but the most important factor has been the semantics of the outdated noun meaning 'interaction' used in a PoP.

To conclude, the companion set demonstrates the power of analogy for different lexical origins. This set also illustrates the transition from an NP-gen into a PoP that involves three important factors. Firstly, the requirements of the landmarks are relaxed in a PoP (for example, it does not have to be a human, a collective, or a mass). Secondly, the specific meanings of the genitive are bleached and the schematic reference point meaning becomes the most prominent. Finally, the ‘with’ or ‘among’ postposition becomes a unit where the semantics of the inessive (or other local case) also bleaches. Metonymically, being in a group or a set (that is expressed by the NP-gen construction) thus develops into more abstract meanings such as being with a group, and finally, being with someone or something (expressed by the PoP).

4 *Mechanisms of entrenchment: a hypothesis*

For the development of the Finnish language, the nineteenth century was an extreme period. This was when a myriad of new words and structures were introduced into the literary language and variation played a central role in its development; before the end of the nineteenth century, there was no Finnish standard language (Häkkinen 1994, 13–16, 2018, 8, 76, 121, 125). In this section, we present our hypothesis that the spirit of this period normalised the openness of the category of postpositions. We present two sources for new set members and a construction type that specialises in introducing near-synonymous expressions. These can be discussed as mechanisms of entrenchment, which are phenomena that create contexts of repeated use and consequently contribute to the emergence of new postpositions as readymade units (c.f. Langacker 1987, 2016).

4.1 THE POSSESSIVE SET AND THE SPIRIT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The possessive set is outlined in Table 5, in which each postposition in the set occurs in the inessive form¹⁰. The estimation of the first mention as a postposition in the literary language is based on the same sources as in the companion set (Table 4); we also consulted the serial publications from the early twentieth century in the Digital collections of the National Library of Finland.

10 The plural suffix *-i* appears in many conventionalised elements without a clear connection to the regular semantics of the plural number (see Onikki-Rantajääskö 2001, 61–66), but research on its role is beyond scope of this paper.

Postposition	In the literary language since	Stem
care-type		
<i>hallussa</i>	1540s	<i>haltu-</i> 'shelter, protection'
<i>hoivissa</i>	1890s	<i>hoiva</i> 'care'
<i>hoteissa</i>	1830s	<i>hoteet</i> (pl.) 'custody, care'
<i>huomassa</i>	1540s	<i>huoma-</i> ; cf. <i>huomata</i> 'notice, become aware'
<i>huostassa</i>	1780s/1830s	<i>huosta</i> 'custody, care'
control-type		
<i>kourissa</i>	1690s/1820s	<i>koura</i> 'hand, mitt'
<i>kynsissä</i>	1730s/1830s	<i>kynsi</i> 'nail'
<i>käsissä</i>	1540s	<i>käsi</i> 'hand'

Table 5. Possessive set.

In a similar vein to the companion set, the possessive set consists of two types – the care-type, and the control-type. Onikki-Rantajääskö (2001, 107–109) analyses these postpositions in relation to the wider network¹¹ of locatives of states, and points out the continuums between the possession, control and care. For the care-type, the postpositions express possession in the sense that the possessor somehow takes care of the possessee. The control-type postpositions, on the other hand, are grammaticalised local case forms of words that refer to the (human) front limb (see Heine 1997, 51–52). The human hand is a common metaphor for power (Kövecses 2002, 208–209), and these postpositions most often express the possessive relationship as clearly unequal, with the possessee being under the control of the possessor.

Clearly the basic member of the set is *hallussa* 'in possession of' – and the dynamic case forms *haltuun* 'to possession of' and *hallusta* 'from possession of'. It has been documented in all Finnish dialects, it dates back to usage in the earliest literary language (example 12), it is far more frequent than the other members (CEMFF; Saukkonen & al. 1979), it has a cognate in the Karelian language, and it has been borrowed by Estonian, Votic, and North and Luulaja Saami (SSA). *Huomassa* is likewise used early in the literary language, but *hoivissa*, *hoteissa* and *huostassa* appeared productively in texts during the nineteenth century. (These forms were included in a dictionary manuscript compiled by Christfrid Ganander (1787), but this book was not published at the time; in addition, the illative *huostaan* was used by Ganander in a compilation of fairy tales in 1784 (COLF).) *Käsissä* was also used in the early literary language, but the use of *kynsissä* and *kourissa* with a possessive meaning began in the nineteenth century (apart from sporadic occurrences in earlier centuries).

To illustrate the use of these postpositions in early texts, when possible, we selected examples which also attest to a possible (minor) factor in the growth of postposition sets in the earlier phases of Finnish literary language. These include repetitive word pairs (which despite the literal meaning of the word *pair*, can consist of two to three members; see Koskeniemi 1968; Nummila & Ojutkangas 2013). Nummila and Ojutkangas (ibid.) demonstrate

11 The fact that a lexeme can be part of different groups and paradigms again reflects the importance of analogy in creating and structuring language.

that this construction type has been productive during the entire history of the Finnish literary language, that repetitive word pairs are used to express versatile conceptualisations, and that they enable a concise description of a situation from two (or three) different viewpoints. Repetitive word pairs by definition introduce near-synonyms, and the ones of interest to us consist of postpositions or postpositions and nouns (in example 14, *huoleen* is an illative form of the noun *huoli* ‘worry, care’ which has not become a postposition). Part of these word pairs are conventionalised expressions, but the repetitive word pair is a construction with a constructional meaning: it indicates alternative conceptualisations. Rhetorically, repetitive word pairs are highly efficient, and as such they provide good contexts to introduce new candidates for sets. Repetitive word pairs form a construction type with an entrenching effect, as it increases the frequency of the word forms used in them and thus pushes these word forms towards the status of a unit. In the following, each of the examples 12, 14, and 17 contains a repetitive word pair. The examples are presented in the order of their age, and example (12), dating back to the sixteenth century, contains the three possessive postpositions that have been used since the beginning of the literary language¹².

- (12) *laske* *sinu-s* *hene-n* *käsij-nse*,
lay.down.IMP.2SG you.ACC-POSS2SG s/he-GEN hand.PL.ILL-POSS3

haltw-nsa *ia* *homa-ns* (COLF, 1594)

haltu.ILL-POSS3 and *huoma.ILL-POSS3*

‘Lay yourself down into his/her (Lord’s) hands and possession’

- (13) *nuorukais-ta*, *joka* *toht-i* *heitte-ä*
young.man-PAR who have.courage-PST.3SG throw-INF

ihte-ä-än *mere-n* *hoteisiin* (CEMF, 1835)

her/himself.PAR. POSS3 sea-GEN *hoteet.ILL*

‘a young man who had the courage to throw himself in (“the possession of”) the sea.’

- (14) *Paras* *on* *heittäy-dä* *se-n* *huole-n*
best be.3SG throw.oneself-INF it-GEN care-ILL

ja *huostaan* (CEMF, 1842)

and *huosta.ILL*

‘It is best to throw oneself into its care and possession’

- (15) *Kymmene-ksi* *vuode-ksi* *men-köön* *talo-mme*
ten-TRA year-TRA go-IMP.3PL house-POSS1PL

toise-n *kouriin.* (CEMF, 1870)

other-GEN mitt.PL.ILL

‘For ten years will our house go to another person’s possession.’

12 The orthography of the time differed considerably from the one used during and after the nineteenth century.

(16) minä vo-isi-n paet-a heidän kynsistä-än. (CEMF, 1884)
 I can-COND-1SG escape-INF their nail.PL.ELA-POSS3
 ‘I could escape from them.’

(17) varat, pankki-n haltuun ja
 funds bank-GEN haltu.ILL and

 hoiviin usko-ttu-i-na (KLK-fi, 1903)
 hoiva.PL.ILL entrust-PTCP-PL-ESS
 ‘funds that have been entrusted to the bank’

During the nineteenth century, Finnish developed into a language that had a standard variant that could be used in all areas of life: education, culture, science, and politics. A leading value or objective during the formation of the Finnish standard language was the equality of areal dialects. The Finnish literary language was first firmly based on Southwestern dialects and shortly thereafter on Western dialects, but this changed radically during the nineteenth century, when those writing in Finnish became increasingly conscious of the Eastern dialects (Häkkinen 1994, 436–451). To enable the use of Finnish in new areas of life, new words and constructions were continuously needed. The source for new elements was often dialects, and writers familiar with different dialects proposed expressions they considered useful and suitable for more general use. For instance, all the members of the care-type in the possessive set have at least partially different distributions in Finnish dialects (DFD). We think that it is entirely possible that the spirit of this period encouraged the formation and enlargement of postposition sets. Using the power of analogy, the existing PoP construction with its constructional meaning and the existing postpositions within a set of postpositions, received and accepted new set members. At that time, a factor that promoted the growth of sets and thus a mechanism of entrenchment was indeed the spirit in which the language users treated the rich variety of expressions they encountered.

4.2 THE MODERN FRINGES OF THE POSSESSIVE SET AND THE ROLE OF PLAY

Underlying the open class of postpositions also lies a trait which is exceedingly typical for humans: we tend to become bored easily, and are inclined to appreciate variety. For example, Päiviö (2007) has demonstrated that the Finnish terminative adverbs *asti* and *saakka* (both meaning ‘all the way to’) are very close synonyms, and the clearest motivation for the two is the human need to create variety. In a language such as Finnish, with these structural resources, this is reflected in an expression even in a grammatical part of speech. In short, the language seems to need an open category of postpositions. Although we have thus far focussed on what happened to the Finnish language in the nineteenth century, the sets currently remain open, and one factor that motivates them is indeed the human tendency to prefer variation and to play with language (see Lehmann 1985, 10). Consider the following examples (18 to 20 from the major Finnish daily newspaper), with non-conventionalised expressions of change in a possessive relationship:

- (18) Ennätysmäärä ekstaasi-a *viranomais-ten*
 record.breaking.amount ecstasy-PAR authority-PL.GEN
- haavi-in.* (HS 8.11.2000)
 net-ILL
 ‘A record-breaking amount of ecstasy was caught in the authorities’
 dragnet.’
- (19) Länne-n on varo-tta-va ettei Myanmar
 west-GEN be.3SG be.careful-PASS-PTCP that.NEG name
- jää *Kiina-n* *tasku-un* (HS 7.2.2021)
 be.left.3SG name-GEN pocket-ILL
- ‘The West must be careful not to leave Myanmar in the rule/power/
 domination of China’
- (20) Afganistani-n romahdus *Talebani-n* *syli-in* pakotta-a
 name-GEN collapse name-GEN lap-ILL force-3SG
- läntise-n yhteisö-n itse-tutkiskelu-un (HS 23.8.2021)
 western-ACC community-ACC self-study-ILL
- ‘Afghanistan’s collapse under the Taliban’s rule/power/domination forces the
 western community into soul-searching.’

The expressions in examples 18 to 20 are candidates for the class of postpositions: they are used in the correct construction in the field of the possessive set, and in principle, nothing actually prevents them from entering the set. Of course, the meanings of these words must fulfil some requirements for the landmarks of a possessive relationship they can express, but this also applies to fully conventionalised postpositions, as we witnessed earlier with the companion set (see also Ojutkangas & Huumo 2010). *Haaviin* (18; lit. ‘into a net’) carries a meaning of catching, *taskuun* (19; lit. ‘into a pocket’) a meaning of secrecy or total control, and *syliin* (20; lit. ‘into a lap’) a meaning of the helplessness of the trajector, but for other members of the possessive set, the meanings of ‘care’ and ‘control’ also vary. We claim that if the use of *haaviin*, *taskuun*, and *syliin* become more frequent, they would be directly full members of the possessive set, without taking detours on the paths to grammaticalisation. In other words, we claim that linguistic playfulness can function as a mechanism of entrenchment.

4.3 THE MEANS SET AND THE ROLE OF LOAN TRANSLATIONS

Before concluding, we need to discuss an additional factor that has produced new postpositions in Finnish. When languages are in close contact, borrowing is unavoidable, and although the most common type of borrowing is lexical, borrowing may have structural consequences as well. All borrowing is not transparent: loan translations introduce a more subtle influence from one language to another. In this context, we demonstrate how loan translations have contributed to the growth of a postposition set which expresses means – and thus has entrenched the word forms into units. These are introduced in Table 6 (see also Häkkinen 2016, 109–110, 126).

Postposition	In the literary language since	Stem	Loan translation from Swedish
<i>avulla</i> ‘with the help of’	1540s	<i>apu</i> ‘help’	<i>med hjälp (av)</i> ‘with help (of)’
<i>avustuksella</i> ‘with the assistance of’	1890s	<i>avustus</i> ‘assistance’	<i>med biträde (av)</i> ‘with assistance (of)’
<i>kustannuksella</i> ‘at the expense of’	1840s	<i>kustannus</i> ‘expense’	<i>på någons bekostnad</i> ‘on someone’s expense’
<i>myötävaikutuksella</i> ‘with the influence of’	1870s	<i>myötä</i> ‘along with’ + <i>vaikutus</i> ‘influence’	<i>under medverkan (av)</i> ‘under participation (of)’
<i>tuella</i> ‘with the support of’	1920s	<i>tuki</i> ‘support’	not directly
<i>välityksellä</i> ‘with the mediation of’	1870s	<i>välitys</i> ‘mediation’	<i>genom förmedling (av)</i> ‘via mediation (of)’

Table 6. The means set.

The basic member of this set is *avulla* ‘with the help of’. This has been used since the introduction of the literary language, it has been documented in all Finnish dialects, it is far more frequent than the others, and it has cognates in most Balto-Finnic languages, such as the Estonian *abil*. For this postposition, it is uncertain whether a loan translation needs to be expected; it could be that its postpositional status is of endemic origin. However, the Swedish *hjälp* ‘help’ does indeed occur in parallel verses in the earliest Bible translations and is thus a possible source for the Finnish postposition. Let us consider the following example (21), featuring the Finnish translation from 1548 (COLF) accompanied by the Swedish Gustav Vasas Bibel (1541) and the King James Bible (1611; Philem. 1:22).

- (21a) mine *teiden* *rucoxe-n* *auulla* teille lahijoitetan.
 I you.PL.GEN prayer-GEN help.ADE
- (21b) iagh *medh idhra* *böners* *hielp*, idher giffuin warder.
 I with you.PL.GEN prayer.PL.GEN help
- (21c) *through your prayers* I shall be given unto you.

What makes the Finnish *avulla* a postposition and how is it different from the Swedish *hjälp*? Our answer is the PoP construction. The Swedish model in example 22b has a prepositional phrase with *idhra böners hielp* ‘your prayers’ help’ as the landmark and *medh* ‘with’ as the preposition. The Finnish equivalent in example 22a contains a postpositional phrase with *teiden rucouxen* ‘your prayer’s’ as the landmark and *auulla* ‘with the help of’ as the postposition. When we are not dealing with excessive borrowing and a situation of substrate/superstrate languages, borrowing occurs on the terms of the target language. Even though an expression is a loan, it depends on the target language what the role of the expression will be like. The Finnish

language system can borrow a noun (or, as in the current example, acquire a loan translation) and place it in the category of postpositions through the structure and the constructional meaning of the PoP.

In the means set, same kind of borrowing has apparently happened to several members of the set at slightly different times. The data from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contain postpositions that occur repeatedly with similar landmarks, making the expressions somewhat resemble idioms. This was the source of our curiosity concerning a possible model from Swedish, which at the time exerted a strong influence on the Finnish language – all writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were at least bilingual in Swedish and Finnish, and many of them had Swedish as their first language. For these writers, the Swedish models were thus alive and transparent. To explore this, we examined similar Swedish data (newspapers and journals) from the same time period, searching for translations of the recurring landmarks observed in the Finnish data. The following are examples of the matches we detected:

- (22a) Taiteilija Oskar Merikanto anta-a *Siwori-n* kööri-n
 artist name give-3SG name-GEN choir-GEN
awustuksella erinomaise-n konserti-n (KLK-fi,1897)
 assistance.ADE excellent-ACC concert-ACC
 ‘The artist Oskar Merikanto will give an excellent concert with the assistance of Siwor’s choir.’
- (22b) gifves – en konsert af pianisten Lydia Lehmann
 give.PASS INDEF concert by pianst.DEF name
med *biträde* *af* *fröken Lukinova* – – (KLK-sv, 1895)
 with assistance by miss name
 ‘A concert will be given by the pianist Lydia Lehman with the assistance of Miss Lukinova.’
- (23a) 70 *tiedemiehe-n* *myötävaikutuksella* aikaansaatu
 – –
 70 scientist-GEN influence.ADE accomplish.PASS.PTCP
 yhteiskunnallisen tietokirjallisuutemme pääteos (KLK-fi, 1911)
 social.GEN non-fiction.GEN.POSS1PL principal.work
 ‘A principal work on social science accomplished by the influence of 70 scientists’
- (23b) – en ny sång.bok skulle utgifvas under
 INDEF new song.book would publish.PASS under
medverkan af *samtliga* *sång.lärare* – – (KLK-sv 1909)
 influence.DEF by every sing.teacher
 ‘A new song book would be published by (the influence of) the group of singing teachers.’

Examples 22a and b present the Swedish model *med biträde* (*av*) for the Finnish (NP-gen) *avustuksella* ‘with the assistance of’. Indeed, there is a one-to-one morphological correspondence between the expressions: *biträde* and *avustus* ‘assistance’; *med* and the adessive *-lla* ‘with’, and *av* and the genitive *-n* ‘of’. On the syntactic level, nonetheless, a difference emerges, as the Swedish *med biträde* consists of a preposition and a noun, whereas the Finnish *avustuksella* is a postposition – owing to the PoP construction and the genitive within it. Examples 23a and b can be analysed correspondingly. These postpositions are by no means the only ones originating in loan translations, but further research is required on this topic.

An analysis from a period of major language change is fruitful in that it can reveal new insights into the current state of a language. Based on observations made on data from this type of change in Finnish, we have sketched the possible mechanisms for the growth of Finnish postposition sets. Let us now turn to an overview of our results and the conclusions we draw from them.

5 Overview: Where do new postpositions come from?

Our claim is not that readymade postpositions are the only source of new postpositions. Some postpositions do not form sets (see Table 1), and as for the classical step-by-step grammaticalisation, it is often possible to neatly document it in the spatial domain. Furthermore, the consistency of (at least most) postposition sets is a mixture of elements with diverse origins and histories. In the following, we provide a sketch of three possible types of postpositions or postposition sets in Finnish. Our question pertains to how they acquire new members.

The first type consists of the old postpositions expressing the basic meanings that postpositions have in a language with an extensive local case system, such as ‘in front of’, ‘behind’, ‘on top of’, ‘under’; in addition to these, postposition ‘in’ (see Table 1). Their origin is in nouns that convey a general part of a whole, such as ‘front part’, ‘inner part’ (this is the etymology of all Finnish postpositions in this type). Due to their old age, the development of postpositions has limited documentability in the literary language.

The basicness of these postpositions may explain why they do not always form sets. However, the postpositions that express ‘in, into’ have obtained a recent non-standard sibling: a readymade postposition *inessä*, *ineen* (24a) [English *in* + the inessive/illative case ending] (paradigmatically also the relative *inestä*, but there are no textual occurrences of it in our data). The common use of *inessä* is that of an adverb, that is, without an accompanying noun in the genitive, either with a neutral spatial meaning ‘in’ (24b) or to express social involvement. Note that the Finnish expression for ‘outside, out of’ is also originally an adverb, but even it has entered the class of postpositions, although the use is sporadic and non-standard (25).

- (24a) Jos ne letkut on tukossa, vesi
 if those tube.PL be.3SG blocked water
 saattaa valua *auto-n* *ineen.* (internet)
 may.3SG run.INF car-GEN in.ILL
 ‘If those tubes are blocked, water may run into the car.’
- (24b) Huomenna klo 14.00-16.00 välillä *inessä?* (Suomi24)
 tomorrow at 2pm to 4pm between in.INE
 ‘Are you at home tomorrow at 2 to 4 pm?’
- (25) Kavereita, tekemistä ja jonkin näköstä aivotoimintaa
 friend.PL.PAR doing.PAR and some.GEN kind.PAR brain.function.PAR
 myös *koulu-n* *ulkona.* (internet)
 also school-GEN out.ESS
 ‘There’s friends, something to do and some kind of brain function also outside the school.’

Examples (24–25) thus show that even the postpositions with the most basic spatial meaning postpositions are not completely closed sets.

The second type consists of postpositions that convey non-basic spatial relations, such as ‘beside’ (see Table 2, the first row). This type acquires new members at least along gradual grammaticalisation paths, from nouns, that originally express a specific part of a whole, such as body-part nouns, driven by metonymy and metaphor. This is the classical view of grammaticalisation (for example, see Heine & al. 1993), which has been utilised in the study of Finnish by scholars such as Jaakola (1997), Ojutkangas (2001), and Suutari (2006). The development of this postposition type is usually at least partially documentable in the literary language, dialects or comparatively in related languages. An open question is whether or not readymade postpositions are possible in these sets. To answer this would require further research.

The third type consists of postpositions that express abstract relations, such as the companion, possessive, and means sets (see Sections 3 and 4). According to the traditional view in grammaticalisation study, postpositions with abstract meanings develop along gradual grammaticalisation paths, from nouns with a suitable meaning. In addition, we argue that this type also acquires new members from readymade postpositions, and this development is primarily driven by analogy and entrenchment. This process is enabled by the existing PoP construction and its constructional meaning of expressing a relationship. New postpositions therefore emerge by direct transition from a case-inflected noun to a unit that has a postposition status. Our analysis examined several mechanisms of entrenchment: the need for near-synonyms, playing with language, approval of variation, and loan translations.

We have based our hypothesis on the mechanisms of the growth of postposition sets on observations made on data: we focussed particularly on data from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period in the development of the Finnish language, a major strategy was to introduce new candidates for Finnish words by following models from other languages. Thus far, this “competition of candidates” has predominantly been

analysed from the vantage point of developing terminologies for the different branches of sciences (see Laine 2007 on geography and Pitkänen 2008 on botany). For example, Laine (*ibid.*) demonstrated that the terms that became established were neither the first nor the only terms to be suggested for use. The difference between the postpositions and the scientific terms is that in terminology, the goal is to establish a single term to be used systematically for each concept. As for the rest of the language, it does not actually matter that there are several alternatives to select from. On the contrary, language users appreciate having a choice.

6 Conclusion

Our main claim is that Finnish postpositions form an open class. Thus, Finnish postpositions form sets, which are groups of words that have different lexical origins but with near-synonymous meanings and similar morphological structures. We claim that some postposition types acquire new members directly, as readymade postpositions, without undergoing a gradual grammaticalisation process with a meaning evolving from spatial to abstract through (partially) predictable intermediate steps. These are lexemes in a local case form which become postpositions by entrenchment, by a “declaration” of language users. In other words, we approach the parts of speech from a constructional perspective, which in the current context means that when a word fits a PoP construction, it is a postposition.

A crucial factor in the openness of a grammatical part of speech is the interplay between the two constructions, the NP-gen and the PoP. These constructions share the same morphological elements: a noun inflected in the genitive (syntactically either a modifier in an NP-gen phrase, or a complement in a PoP), and a noun inflected in the local case (a head). The ambiguity of the genitive construction makes it possible to reanalyse a local-case inflected noun as a postposition, and to begin using it in a reference point construction (PoP).

Another important factor is the role of local case inflection, as most Finnish postpositions have three different local case forms: ‘in’, ‘from’, and ‘to’. The unit that develops into a postposition is not the noun *per se* (as in *kansa* ‘people’), but a case-inflected form of a given noun (such as *kansa-ssa* ‘people-INE’). Due to the Finnish local case system, the syntax requires the three forms of postpositions, and thus in Finnish, a postposition is a unit that typically entails a fossilised three-fold local case paradigm. No morphophonological reduction is needed in the transition from a case inflected noun to a postposition.

Our analysis introduced several mechanisms of entrenchment that produce and maintain openness. We identified three postposition sets (companiment, possessive and means) to illustrate some basic principles of the Finnish postposition system. The basic mechanism is analogy, and we can find lexemes and constructions that offer models for novel expressions. We can also point to different motivations that explain the existence of near-synonymous postpositions and therefore the postposition sets: language

users seek out expressions for different semantic nuances, and they look for novel or even playful expressions, as evidenced by the companionship and possessive sets. For the possessive and the means set, we illustrated the role of language ideologies, and the impact of other languages. Our claim was not that the Finnish class of postpositions is equally open in all semantic areas, but we offered a sketch of three different postposition types and all were demonstrated to have acquired new members through different processes and different intensities.

According to Anttila (1989, 88), “[a] grammar is largely a system of relations, and analogy is a *relation of similarity*” (emphasis original). He further observes that “[a]nalogy is particularly valuable in suggesting cues and hypotheses, and in helping us comprehend and treat phenomena and occurrences we cannot see. Grammar is exactly such a phenomenon” (ibid. 105). Indeed, analogy is a human superpower and it manifests itself as different grammatical patterns in different languages. For Finnish, analogy is one factor that enables the openness of the postposition class.

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The Finnish *-sti*

Case ending or derivational suffix?

Abstract

Are there exactly 15 cases in the Finnish language, as most grammars state, or should the number of cases in the Finnish language be open to reconsideration? In this chapter it is stated that the Finnish suffix *-sti* behaves very much like a case suffix and produces forms that behave like case forms, although this suffix is not usually seen as a case suffix but rather a derivational suffix that produces lexical adverbs. The chapter describes the meaning and use of *-sti*. The productivity and morphosyntactic behavior of *-sti* are described, after which, a general, schematic function of *-sti* is given, following the spirit of cognitive grammar: *-sti* is a morphosyntactic device that enables the description of a quality, expressed by an adjective, to modify a relationship rather than a thing, expressed by a noun. The meanings of *-sti* is then analyzed more closely, and three of its main uses are illustrated as three different constructions. Based on this examination and the evidence the examination gives, the suffix *-sti* is deemed to function like a case ending: it is a bound morpheme that is attached to the stem of a nominal in order to express the relation of a word or a phrase to the rest of the clause. Its limitations of use are either relative, positional or not relevant to its status as a case. Thus, it is stated that *-sti* could, and perhaps should, be seen as a case ending. However, it might not be fruitful to force it into the category of case (although already internally incoherent), but its meaning and use can be described as construction related, and thus it can also be left as it is, an unnamed suffix.

1 Introduction

This article examines the Finnish suffix *-sti* and the boundaries of the category of case. *-sti* is a suffix that is mainly attached to adjectives: *helpo-sti* (easy-sti) 'easily', *hieno-sti* (nice-sti) 'nicely', *nopea-sti* (quick-sti) 'fast'. *-sti* is usually not considered a case ending. A general consensus holds that there are fifteen nominal cases in the Finnish language: four so-called grammatical cases (nominative, partitive, genitive, accusative) and nine semantic cases, which

are further divided into six locative cases (inessive, elative, illative, adessive, ablative, allative), two state cases, sometimes called abstract locative cases (essive and translative), and three little-used or under-used cases (abessive, instructive and comitative) (e.g., Alho & Kauppinen 2008, 45–48; Hakulinen et al. §81, §1222–1223, see also the Introduction of this volume).

But is this an exhaustive list? Additional cases are sometimes proposed for Finnish, or the status of these forms as possible cases is at least taken into consideration (Särkkä 1969; Hakulinen et al. §62, §1265; Alho & Kauppinen 2008, 48; Anhava 2010; Ylikoski 2018, 2020). The division between case inflection and lexical or syntactic derivation is not clear-cut, and *-sti* forms could be seen either as case forms or derivational adverbs. Another example of the continuum between case inflection and derivation is the prolative form, which has been mentioned as a possible case (e.g., Sebeok 1946; Ylikoski 2018). In addition, some case-like forms might occur in certain dialects even though they do not occur in standardized language, like the little-used exessive case with its abstract locative meaning:

Liisa	eros-i	opettaja- nta
Liisa	resign-3SG.PST	teacher-EXESS
'Liisa resigned from her job as a teacher.' ¹		

The Finnish *-sti* form is a good candidate for an additional case (Tuomikoski 1973; Jääskeläinen 2020). Practically all Finnish adjectives, many numerals, some pronouns and even some nouns can take this suffix, producing forms such as *kauniisti* 'beautifully', *pahasti* 'badly', *nopeasti* 'quickly', *helvetisti* 'a hell of a lot', *älyttömästi* ('insanely' or 'an insane amount of'), *kymmenesti* 'ten times' and *useasti* 'often'. There are a handful of lexicalized forms, such as *leikisti* (play-*sti*) 'not seriously, not really', 'as in children's play', in which *-sti* is attached to a noun (*leikki* 'children's play'). These forms are used as adverbials. Thus, traditionally, the suffix *-sti* has been regarded as a derivational suffix that changes adjectives into adverbs, and not a case ending.

-sti forms can have a multitude of often lexeme-specific or contextually derived interpretations (Orpana 1988), of which general meanings associated with manner (example 1), quantity (example 2) and intensity (example 3) are many times mentioned (Hakulinen et al. § 373). When attached to a numeral, the suffix produces a multiplicative meaning (example 4):

- (1) Siksi teksti-ä kannatta-a luke-a **hitaa-sti**, nautiske-llen.
 therefore text-PAR is.worth-3SG read-INF slow-*sti* savor-INF.INSTR
 'Therefore the text is worth reading **slowly**, savoring [it].'
- (2) Ol-i-n aina äärimmäise-n puhelias, kysel-i-n **kauhea-sti**
 be-PST-1SG always extreme-GEN talkative ask-PST-1SG awful-*sti*

1 Throughout this article, examples from the data are numbered, while morphological invented examples are left unnumbered. (About the data, see the very end of the article.)

- ja ol-i-n huol-i-ssa-ni jostakin pikku-seika-sta.
 and be-PST-1SG worry-PL-INE-POSS1SG something.ELA little-thing-ELA
 ‘I was always extremely talkative, I asked **an awful lot** [of questions] and worried
 about some little thing.’
- (3) Romaani on rakenne-ttu **voimakkaa-sti** tunte-i-siin vetoa-va-ksi
 novel be.3SG built-PASS.PTCP strong-sti sentiment-PL-ILL appeal-PTCP-TRA
 ‘The novel has been built [in a way] to **strongly** appeal to sentiments’
- (4) **Kolma-sti** filmat-tu klassikko maa-ta valloit-tav-i-sta avaruus-olio-i-sta
 three-sti film-PASS.PTCP classic earth-PAR colonize-PTCP-PL- space-creature-PL-
 ELA ELA
 ‘A **three-times**-filmed classic about aliens colonizing the Earth’

When reading a specific example, these interpretations (manner, quantity, intensity), among other semantic nuances, are difficult to pin down. Manner, often given as the sole meaning of *-sti* forms (for example, Ahlman 1933; Karlsson 1999, 218), is a linguistic category that is not easy to define precisely. Sometimes manner is used as a cover term that includes the meanings of, for example, intensity and quantity. Sometimes even more separate semantic categories such as instrument and means are included; this is the view that the newest Finnish comprehensive grammar takes (Hakulinen et al. §988–994). The reason for this incorporation is that these meanings are difficult to differentiate, as the same means and expressions can sometimes be used to express them (Hakulinen et al. §988). For many scholars, however, this is not precise enough. For example, König (1995) suggests that when analyzing circumstantial relations, some of these meanings, as well as the meanings of “attendant circumstance” and “absence of expected attendant circumstance”, should be kept separate from manner (König 1995, 64–67, 83; Hamunen 2019). Upon close analysis, intensity and quantity, as well as other, more separate meanings, can often be differentiated from manner – but not in all cases. In this paper, ‘manner’ when used, is understood broadly as a cover term. Here the meaning of ‘manner’, and what *-sti* indicates, is roughly ‘something that is attached as a quality to a temporal process or an atemporal relationship’, the more specific meaning of which greatly depends on the adjective or other nominal in *-sti* form and the context. Most of the meaning seems to stem directly from the meaning of the adjective in *-sti* form, and some meanings are clearly lexeme specific.

When the various meanings of *-sti* forms are examined, a question might arise: is the suffix *-sti* polysemous? Most nominal cases have many functions and are polysemous (e.g., Leino 1990, 1993; see the other chapters in this volume). Especially the meanings of ‘manner’ and ‘multiplicative’ that *-sti* produces seem to be different. However, most of the meaning differences in the uses of *-sti* are due to the meaning of the nominal as a stem of a *-sti* form, or to the meaning of the combination of the stem and *-sti* as a construction (see 4.1–4.3). Thus, the polysemy of *-sti* forms is mainly construction related. The meaning of the suffix *-sti* itself can be seen as rather similar in different uses.

In this chapter, I will describe the meaning and use of *-sti* and raise again the issue of the status of *-sti* either as a case suffix or a derivational suffix (Tuomikoski 1973; Jääskeläinen 2020). Can *-sti* be considered a case ending, and if so, on what grounds? What is case-like in its use? And what aspects of its use could be seen as a proof of its nature as a derivational suffix? This description utilizes the descriptive tools of cognitive grammar (e.g., Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008; P. Leino 1993) and construction grammar (e.g., Fried & Östman 2004; J. Leino 2003; Jääskeläinen 2013; Hamunen 2019). The semantic composition of *-sti* forms is described in the spirit of cognitive grammar (chapter 3), and the description of the different functions of *-sti* utilizes modified formulations of construction grammar (chapter 4). These formulations aid in combining the differing semantic components of *-sti* forms in tight and easily interpretable illustrations.

In order to be able to answer the questions raised, I will first describe the meaning and use of *-sti* in more detail. In Section 2, I estimate the productivity and morphosyntactic behavior of *-sti*. In Section 3, a general, schematic function of *-sti* is given, following the spirit of cognitive grammar. Section 4 describes the meanings of *-sti* more closely and differentiates its three most important uses. Finally, in Section 5, I will give a summary of what has been stated and further discuss the status of *-sti* as a possible case ending. Because of space restrictions, a comprehensive description of *-sti* forms in syntactic structures is not included in this paper.²

2 *-sti* statistically and morphologically

2.1 PRODUCTIVITY

Productivity is an obvious requirement for a case (for example Hakulinen et al. 2004, §61; Sirola-Belliard 2017). The use of *-sti* is productive with adjectives. In present-day Finnish, most adjectives, along with certain other words, can be used with *-sti*, and *-sti* is frequent in texts. Bauer (2001) calls

- 2 The suffix *-sti* or the equivalent form that it produces has not acquired a generally used name. Because of their meaning, Tuomikoski (1973) calls the forms that *-sti* produces, along with two other adverbial *-n* forms with similar functions, “instructive” adjectival forms, in quotes. This term is not useful for only *-sti* forms, however, as it is prone to be mixed with the instructive case. Sometimes the name multiplicative has been used for this suffix or the equivalent (adverb) case (Mäkinen 1999–2004). With this title, *-sti* forms have been associated with the multiplicative case of Hungarian and certain other languages (e.g. Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi 1998, 345; Anhava 2010, 243). “Multiplicative” is a term whose meaning varies; grammars of different languages describe forms called multiplicative, but these multiplicatives are not equivalent. As parts of speech, multiplicative forms are often considered adverbs, and the multiplicative suffix is not often considered a case ending. For some of the uses of the suffix *-sti*, the name multiplicative is well suited: when combined with numerals and the adjective-like pronouns, like *moni* ‘many’, the suffix *-sti* produces multiplicative or multiplicative-temporal meanings, such as *sadasti* ‘a hundred times’, *monesti* ‘many times, often’ (see L. Hakulinen 1968, 188). For other meanings, the term multiplicative is not as well suited and not very precise.

the first-mentioned aspect of productivity ‘availability’ (*-sti* is available for most adjectives), and the second aspect ‘profitability’ (*-sti* is indeed attached to many different adjectives and is frequent in texts) (see Belliard in this volume, Sirola-Belliard 2017, esp. pp. 84–88 regarding the comitative case and its productivity). When counted in written texts, the frequency of words in *-sti* form varies between 0.67% (newspaper texts) to 0.79% (internet texts) and 0.84% (fictional prose); for every 1000 words, approximately 7 to 8 words are in *-sti* form. These frequencies include all words in *-sti* form, the productively formed ones as well as the lexicalized ones; in many cases, the difference between these is not clear.³

If estimated by productivity alone, *-sti* could well be a case suffix, as Hakulinen et al. (2004, §62, §1265) point out. However, not all *-sti* forms are productively inflected. As certain forms of nominal cases, certain *-sti* forms have lexicalized and are prone to lexicalize into adverbs or particles with distinctive meaning. Some lexicalized or semi-lexicalized examples of *-sti* forms are *runsaasti* (‘abundant’ + *sti* ‘a lot’), *hyvästi* (*hyvä* ‘good’ + *sti* ‘good bye’) and *tietysti* (archaic past participle passive of the verb *tietää*, ‘to know’ + *sti* ‘of course’).

2.2 MORPHOLOGICAL AND MORPHOSYNTACTIC BEHAVIOR OF THE SUFFIX *-STI*

In this section, I describe *-sti* as a suffix and estimate how well its morphosyntactic behavior matches that of case forms.

The suffix *-sti* is added to the inflectional stem of a given adjective (or other word), similarly to case suffixes:

<i>helppo</i>	<i>helpo-</i>	<i>helpo-sti</i>
nominative form	inflectional stem	
‘easy’		‘easily’

The suffix *-sti* always attaches to a singular stem, and *-sti* forms never occur as plurals, unlike most inflectional case forms. This lack of plurality has been one of the arguments based on which *-sti* forms have been regarded as derivational, rather than inflectional (Hakulinen et al. 2004 §62, §1265).

3 These frequencies were calculated with the help of Korp, the concordance search tool of the Language Bank of Finland. The corpora used for these frequencies are the following: newspaper corpus (Suomen kielen tekstikokoelma, lehdet), 144,117,021 tokens; fictional prose corpus (Suomen kielen tekstikokoelma, Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava 1993), 37,958 tokens; internet corpus (Suomi24), 2,663,114,497 tokens. Finding all forms with the suffix *-sti* amongst these tokens was not simple, as there are other word forms that end in *-sti*. I have done this estimation using the extended query tool with the following parameters: the word ends in *-sti*, *-stikin*, *-stihan* or *-stihän* (*-sti* followed by common clitics); the word is not *asti* (a frequent adverb); the word class is not noun, verb, subject or adjective. These parameters only yield adverbs and numerals ending in *-sti* and exclude the frequent *asti* (*-sti* forms are classed as adverbs in the Language Bank annotation). The query is rough, to be sure, but it does give approximate results as the corpora are large, and the number of false findings, or of *-sti* forms not found, would be low compared to the forms accurately found.

However, when lack of plurality is used as an argument against *-sti* being a case, it must be given two counterarguments. Firstly, as Tuomikoski (1973) points out, the syntactic and semantic position of *-sti* forms explain their singularity. Number is not a meaning category of adjectives *per se* but one of countable nouns. Thus, in those occurrences when adjectives appear in plural, they agree with a plural head noun, which they modify (Tuomikoski 1973). When adjectives are not used as modifiers of nouns, but as modifiers of entities depicting relations (verbs, adjectives, other word forms used as adverbials), they cannot agree in number and are devoid of singularity or plurality. Thus, it is quite natural that *-sti* forms only appear in singular, which is the unmarked form. Secondly, there are other nominal cases that do not have a perfect singularity/plurality opposition: the comitative case only occurs in plural form (with singular or plural meaning), and the instructive case is only productive in the plural. Thus the ability to occur in both singular and plural is clearly not a strict condition for case status.

The suffix *-sti* is mainly limited to adjectives: basically all adjectives, underived or derivational (including certain participles) can take it, whereas its use with other parts of speech is limited. This is another reason *-sti* has not been considered a nominal case ending.

However, when considering the status of *-sti* forms as possible inflectional case forms, one fruitful point of comparison are the Finnish comparative and superlative adjectival forms, which are also possible for most adjectives and are also limited to adjectives. This comparison is also relevant because of the inflection-like productivity of the comparatives and superlatives (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §61–62).

Practically all adjectives in Finnish take part in comparison (again with certain semantic restrictions) and thus each have a comparative paradigm, in which they have specific comparative and superlative forms:

<i>helppo</i>	<i>helpo-mpi</i>	<i>helpo-in</i>
easy	easy-CMPR	easy-SUP
‘easy,	easier,	the easiest’

These comparative forms are clearly derivational (and not inflectional case forms), as they can be inflected in all fifteen cases, in singular and in plural. When comparatives are used as pre-modifiers for nouns, they agree with their head noun in number and case, as non-comparative adjectives and adjectival participles normally do:

<i>helpo-mma-ssa</i>	<i>pele-ssä</i>	
easy-CMPR-INE	game-INE	‘in an/the easier game’
<i>helpo-imma-ssa</i>	<i>pele-ssä</i>	
easy-SUP-INE	game-INE	‘in the easiest game’
<i>helpo-mm-i-ssa</i>	<i>pele-i-ssä</i>	
easy-CMP-PL-INE	game-PL-INE	‘in (the) easier games’
<i>helpo-imm-i-ssa</i>	<i>pele-i-ssä</i>	
easy-SUP-PL-INE	game-PL-INE	‘in the easiest games’

What is interesting – and revealing – is that these comparative forms can also be inflected in *-sti*, as well as in the other fifteen cases:

- (5) *minu-lla on liian vähän keltarauhas hormooni-a niin tämä*
 I-ADE be.3SG too little lutein-cell hormone-PAR CONJ this
lääke lisää sitä että tul-isi-n helpo-mma-sti raskaa-ksi.
 medicine add.3SG it.PAR that come-COND-1SG easy-CMPR-sti pregnant-TRA
 ‘I have too little progesterone, so this medicine adds it, (so) that I would become pregnant **more easily**.’
- (6) [en] *osaa tehdä yhtä vaivais-ta banneri-a*
 NEG.1SG can make.CNG one.PAR measly-PAR banner-PAR
maailma-n helpoimma-sti opastetu-lla ohjelma-lla.
 world-GEN easy.SUP-sti instruct.PTCP.PASS-ADE program-ADE
 ‘I can’t make one measly banner with a program that is instructed **in the easiest way** in the world.’

This kind of usage indicates that *-sti* forms indeed behave similarly to case forms, whereas the comparative suffixes are derivational: this usage shows the productivity and place of the suffix *-sti* as similar to other case endings, since comparative stems can also be inflected in the other fifteen cases.

However, *-sti* forms of comparative adjectives are often considered dialectal (or archaic) or otherwise marginal (Tuomikoski 1973, 208; Hakulinen et al. 2004, §373) and they are not used often, especially in standardized language.⁴ Many *-sti* forms of comparatives are replaced in standard language by *-in* forms of comparative adjectives, analyzed as plural instructives by Tuomikoski (1973):

<i>helpo-sti</i>	<i>helpo-mm-in</i>	<i>helpo-imm-in</i>
easy-sti	easy-CMPR-PL.INSTR	easy-SUP-PL.INSTR
‘easily’	‘more easily’	‘the most easily’

4 The *-sti* forms of comparative adjectives are not entirely uncommon; comparative and superlative forms ending in *-mmasti* and *-mmästi* (excluding, for example, the basic form *kumma-sti* ‘oddly’) occur 4,231 times in the internet corpus (Suomi24) of the Language Bank of Finland, which consists of 2,663,114,497 tokens, searched with the help of Korp, the concordance search tool. (The search was a rough one, with only forms without clitics searched, and the findings might also include an amount of false findings, e.g. misspellings.) In the newspaper corpus (*Suomen kielen tekstikokoelma*, Lehdet), which presents a more standardized language with its 144,117,021 tokens, they appear only 56 times, which is much more rare. (Again, these were found with a rough search.) There are also some lexical idiosyncrasies: the superlative form *nöyrimmä-sti* ‘most humbly’ is frequent. The instructive superlative form *nöyrimmin* (‘most humbly’) occurs 727 times in the Suomi24 corpus, and its equivalent *-sti* form *nöyrimmästi* (‘most humbly’) occurs quite a often, 729 times. These occurrences are often (ironic) apologies.

Paradigms such as *helposti – helpommin – helpoimmin* (‘easily, more easily, the most easily’), often given as comparative paradigms for adverbs of manner (e.g., Karlsson 1999: 218–219; Hakulinen et al. 2004, §301, §375), are in fact mixed paradigms. The comparative paradigm is formed so that the basic degree-adjectival stem takes *-sti* but the derivational comparative and superlative stems (e.g., *useamma-*, *useimma-*) take the plural instructive *-in* as an ending instead. In fact, the comparative semantic paradigm of ‘manner’ adverbials in standardized language comprises of a derivational comparative stem and two different case endings that can be seen, because of their shared position, as positional allomorphs. Semantically this is not unmotivated, as the meanings of *-sti* and the instructive case, depicting i.a. instrument, means, position and manner (Leskinen 1990, 4–10), are not very far apart; in addition, both endings are mainly limited expressions that function as modifiers of verb forms (including deverbal participles).

This morphosyntactic behavior of *-sti* is a strong argument in favor of it being a case form. Another example of the case-like morphosyntactic behavior of *-sti* is its use with compound numerals (discussed further in Section 4.2):

tusina-an	kolme-sti-toista	mahtuv-i-ssa	lehti-kolumne-i-ssa
dozen-ILL	three-sti-of.second	fit.PTCP-PL-INE	newspaper-column-PL-INE
	‘in newspaper columns that fit thirteen times in a dozen’		

The suffix *-sti* functions in this and similar examples exactly as a case suffix would: when these compound numerals take *-sti*, the suffix is attached to the inflecting part of the compound, as case suffixes would be. *-toista* in the compound *kolme-toista* ‘three of second (ten)’ is always uninflected, and the case suffixes are attached to the inflecting part, *kolme-*, for example, in *kolme-ssa-toista* (three-INE-of.second) ‘in thirteen’. In contrast, a derivational suffix would be attached to the very end of the numeral. This is another morphological criterion indicating that *-sti* functions as a case ending.

Semantically a *-sti* form is equal with other case forms in the paradigm of case forms of a given adjective or numeral: an adjective or numeral does not change its meaning or semantic valence when it is inflected in *-sti*. According to my data, it is difficult to find much semantic difference between the meaning of an adjective in *-sti* form and its meaning in other case forms. There are some lexicalized *-sti* forms that have developed a distinctive meaning, which is not unusual for other lexicalized case forms either. The fact that the productive *-sti* forms maintain the meaning and valence of their base adjective is also apparent when examining dictionaries: For example, in the Dictionary of contemporary Finnish (*Nykysuomen sanakirja*), most *-sti* forms can be found in the article of their corresponding adjective and are presented amongst other examples in which a given adjective might be inflected in case. It seems that the writers have esteemed that the meaning of adjectives in *-sti* form is quite equivalent to their meaning in other case forms; this is my estimation as well.

3 The general function of *-sti*

When *-sti* has been regarded as similar to case endings, one of the arguments in favor of this view has been the fact that the suffix *-sti* and the inflectional stem of a nominal form a syntagma whose meaning is largely the sum of the meanings of the parts. The function of the suffix is to show the syntactic function of the stem in a phrase or a clause (Tuomikoski 1973). But what is this function, more precisely? Is it possible to formulate the function of *-sti*? To state that it depicts ‘manner’ is not quite adequate when we consider all the uses of *-sti* forms.

The most schematic description of the function of the suffix *-sti* in all its syntactic uses can be formulated as follows: *-sti* is a morphosyntactic device that enables the description of a quality, expressed by an adjective, to modify a relationship – either a process, expressed by a verb, or an atemporal relationship, expressed by another adjective or an adverb(ial) –, rather than a thing, expressed by a noun. In other words, *-sti* is semantically and syntactically a means of marking a property expressed with an adjective or another nominal belonging to a relationship (and not to a thing) (see also Leino 1989, 172–173). Syntactically, the suffix creates an elaboration site that enables the form to function as an adverbial in a clause (Jääskeläinen & Hamunen 2011; Hamunen 2019).

In cognitive grammar, grammatical categories, such as noun, verb and adjective, are notional and based on conceptual archetypes. Nouns profile things; a thing is an abstract schematization with a physical, three-dimensional object as a prototype. Verbs profile temporal processes, with energetic interactions as prototypes. Adjectives, adverbs, adpositions and conjunctions profile relationships; a verb profiles a temporal relationship, whereas adjectives and adverbs profile atemporal relationships between entities. Prototypical adjectives profile properties or qualities by means of creating a schematic relationship between an entity and a region in some (basic) domain or between an entity and a position on the scale of a quality. A fundamental definition here is the idea of construal: the same entities (events, things, processes, relationships) can be construed in differing ways, profiling differing aspects of the same entity. For example, when an entity is profiled as a thing, using a noun, this profiling is the result of conceptual grouping and reification, whereas when the same event is profiled as a process, it is profiled as a relationship developing through time. There is a fundamental difference between things and relationships: things as entities are conceptually independent, whereas relational entities are conceptually dependent on their participants or on the relationships of their participants (Langacker 2008: 93–117).

The main function of adjectives is to designate qualities or properties. When properties are expressed by adjectives, these properties are not conceptually or syntactically independent, but are conceptually attached to other entities. For example, color or a physical property (‘red’, ‘soft’) naturally belongs to a concrete, physical thing (in the words of Langacker, it has a thing as its schematic trajector, e.g. Langacker 2008, 115–116, 321–322). A human propensity (‘sad’, ‘angry’) naturally resides more specifically in a sentient being

(or the thing as its schematic trajector is specified to be a sentient being), et cetera. Adjectives can have certain restrictions of use because of their meaning: not all adjectives are comparable, and not all adjectives can be felicitously used to modify all kinds of nouns. Their conceptual un-independence is also manifested syntactically: in Finnish, an adjective is usually syntactically a pre-modifier of a noun, or a subject or object complement. In these positions, an adjective agrees with its head in number (in all of the above-mentioned cases) and in case (when used as a pre-modifier).

As well as things, processes and other relationships can also have qualities and properties. However, their qualities cannot be expressed syntactically by the means of pre-modification or predication but must be conveyed by the means of different adverbials of the verb and adverbials of adjectives and adverbs. In Finnish, the qualities of relationships cannot be described with adjectives without morphosyntactic alteration: the adjective must inflect in *-sti* form or in some other suitable case form.⁵ Seen this way, the suffix *-sti* seems to function just like a case ending: it is a bound morpheme that is attached to the stem of a nominal in order to express the relation of a word or a phrase to the rest of the clause.⁶

At the same time, while used with verbs, the suffix *-sti* marks the property expressed by an adjective as something processual and not as inherent as it would be if it were marked as a property of a thing. The adjectival meaning does not change, and the quality expressed by the adjective is often still semantically drawn to its best equivalent in the clause (as analyzed by Orpana 1988, 77–99). In these cases, *-sti* also marks the quality as less permanent or fixed than in nominal modification or in predication (see Section 4.1).

Numerals and certain semantically related pronouns – another group that takes *-sti* productively as an ending – function comparably to adjectives. By default, numerals are attached to noun phrases that profile countable things. Yet, processes can be counted as well; in their case, the counting refers to how many times a certain event occurs. Similarly to adjectives, numerals

5 Illative and partitive are sometimes possible for adjectives as adverbials, and in the case of adjectives modifying other adjectives, *-n* forms are also possible. In certain adverbial uses, the essive and translative cases are used.

6 However, Langacker (2008, 113–117) presents a different analysis when describing adjectives as modifiers of processes: he calls all modifiers of verbs, adverbs and adjectives “adverbs”; thus deciding this parts-of-speech category on the grounds of syntactic function. This might be due to the English language used as an example. In fact, Langacker (2000, 2008) does not differentiate between the notions of adverb and adverbial at all. Langacker (2008, 115–116) writes: “Adjectives and adverbs differ from prepositions in having only a single focal participant (a trajector but no focused landmark). They differ from one another in the nature of their trajector: a thing in the case of adjectives, a relationship for adverbs. [...] An adverb is traditionally defined as modifying a verb (e.g. *work fast*), a preposition (*directly into the fire*), an adjective (*exceedingly handsome*), or another adverb (*almost excessively brilliant*).” However, as Tuomikoski (1973) points out when considering *-sti*, not all parts of speech used as adverbials are adverbs – many case forms, infinitival forms and even clauses can be used as adverbials, and they do not become adverbs in the process. In fact, Langacker’s (2000, 34–36) definition of “case marker” would easily apply to *-sti*.

modifying nouns in Finnish are pre-modifiers of the noun phrase, agreeing in case and number with their head – as in *viide-lle piene-lle anka-lle* (five-ALL little-ALL duck-ALL ‘to five little ducks’), whereas numerals as modifiers of a process are again marked with *-sti*. With numerals, the meaning of *-sti* is multiplicative (‘n times’), but this is ultimately due to the nature of the meaning of numerals and not to the meaning of *-sti* as such (see Section 4.2):

Viisi	pien-tä	ankka-a	kaakatt-i	viide-sti
five	little-PAR	duck-PAR	quack-PST.3SG	five-sti
‘five little ducks quacked five times.’				

4 The meaning of *-sti* forms: three different constructions

After the discussion of the most schematic formulation of the function of the morpheme *-sti* in the previous section, I will now describe the most important functions of *-sti* forms and the semantic restrictions associated with these uses, in order to discuss the productivity of *-sti* – productivity is often given as one of the defining traits of case inflection and inflection in general (for example, Haspelmath 1996). First, I discuss how *-sti* is attached to adjectival stems and how the meaning of the stem (along with other factors) has a bearing on the meaning of the combination (4.1). Then, I discuss the use of *-sti* with a numeral as a stem (4.2). Finally, I examine a third and semantically more separate function: the use of *-sti* in expressions of quantity (4.3).

4.1 CONSTRUCTION 1: *-sti* AND ADJECTIVES

The suffix *-sti* is frequent in many kinds of genres and it can be attached to almost all adjectives, such as *kaunii-sti* (beautiful-*sti*), ‘beautifully’ and *varovaise-sti* (careful-*sti*) ‘carefully’. In practice, however, there are some semantic limitations concerning its productive use, and these limitations have been presented as one of the reasons why *-sti* has not been given the status of a case suffix (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §62); but semantic limitations in the use of a specific case are not entirely uncommon (Belliard this volume, Sirola-Belliard 2017 on comitative case).

Some adjectives and many participles are semantically such that they do not easily take the suffix *-sti*, or more precisely, they require a more specific context to be able to occur in *-sti* form. Hakulinen et al. (2004, §373) states that because of their meaning, all adjectives are not fit to express manner or quantity, which are the most common meanings that the suffix *-sti* produces. Of these “impossible” meanings Hakulinen et al. (ibid.) lists adjectives that express permanent, inherent qualities like color, age, shape and size, when used non-metaphorically. For example, the forms **kolmivuotiaasti* ‘three-year-oldly’ and **kuusikulmaisesti* ‘hexagonally’ would be impossible in Finnish, and forms such as *?sinisesti* ‘bluely’ and *?vanhasti* ‘oldly’ would be questionable. Also, proadjectives like *sellainen* ‘like it’ and individualizing adjectives like *ensimmäinen* ‘the first’ and *ainoa* ‘the only’ could not take the suffix *-sti* (ibid.).

These tendencies, noted by Hakulinen et al. (2004, §373), reflect the hierarchy of adjectival meanings proposed by Dixon (1982, 2004): the adjectives that express the most fixed and at the same time most basic properties seem to occur rather as modifiers of nouns than as modifiers of verbal processes (or modifiers of other relationships). The “impossible” adjectives listed by Hakulinen et al. express the types of properties that tend to be fixed (such as AGE, DIMENSION and COLOR).⁷ In general, as adjectives are not conceptually independent (see Section 3), they also impose certain demands on the entities they can felicitously define.

However, these limitations are not absolute but fairly strong tendencies and, in many cases, context related. The choice of a particular *-sti* form is an intricate interplay between the meaning of the verb and its frame elements, on the one hand (Orpana 1988, 77–118), and the meaning and valence of the adjective, on the other hand. When used with certain verbs, some “impossible” adjectives are in fact quite possible. For example, forms such as *punaisesti* ‘redly’ and *kuusikulmaisesti* ‘hexagonally’ seem to be possible at least when they semantically modify something that is produced as a result of a process:

- (7) Kangas on kudo-ttu kuusikulmaise-sti ja se anta-a
Fabric be.3SG weave-PASS.PTCP hexagonal-sti and it give-3SG

alusvaatte-i-lle joustavuut-ta kaikki-in suunti-in.
undergarment-PL-ALL flexibility-PAR all-PL.ILL direction-PL.ILL

‘The fabric is woven hexagonally, and this gives the undergarments flexibility in all directions.’

- (8) Lämpimä-n punaise-sti sisuste-tu-ssa kabineti-ssa on
warm-GEN red-sti decorate-PASS.PTCP-INE banquet-room-INE be.3SG

puu-venee-n päälle rakenne-ttu diplomaattipöytä ja iso-t kangas-tuoli-t
wood-boat-GEN head-ALL build-PASS.PTCP diplomat-table and big-PL fabric-chair-PL

‘In the banquet room, decorated warmly red, there is a conference table built on top of a wooden boat, and big, upholstered chairs.’ (Internet)

The manner or the method something is done or produced with has an influence on the result; for example, when a fabric is woven with a certain method, the resulting fabric has a hexagonal structure. In these examples, an adjective that semantically attaches itself to the result has been made an

⁷ Dixon (1982, 2004) defines semantic categories of adjectives for typological comparison. These semantic categories form a hierarchy. The core categories to appear in languages with small adjective classes are DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and COLOR. These properties are generally fixed: they are natural properties of the things they belong to. Languages with larger adjective inventories also have adjectives for PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, and so on. The order of adjectives in noun modification also follows this hierarchy; the more basic ones are situated closer to the head noun (Dixon 2004, 10; also, Hakulinen et al. §584–585).

- (11a) Lapsi on kaunis
 child be.3SG beautiful
 ‘(The) child is beautiful’
- (11b) Lapsi on kaunii-na
 child be.3SG beautiful-ESS
 ‘(The) child is beautiful’ temporarily, e.g., ‘dressed nicely’
- (11c) Lapsi on kaunii-sti
 child be.3SG beautiful-sti
 ‘(The) child is nicely’, ‘(The) child is behaving well’

The adjective *kaunis* (‘beautiful’) in the nominative case (a) and in the essive case (b) are semantically attached to the subject noun *lapsi* (‘child’). The difference between the two is that the nominative case describes the property of beautifulness as something permanent, whereas the essive case describes it as temporary; the child is not described as beautiful as such, but in some temporary sense (s)he is beautiful, and the most conventional reading is that the child is dressed and combed nicely for some occasion (‘made beautiful’) (see Hynönen 2017, in this volume). In the third sentence, the quality of beautifulness is attached to the process of the child being. Usually, the process of being is too stative to acquire an actual ‘manner’ element, and indeed, in this example, the verb *olla* (‘to be’) acquires a polysemous reading of ‘to behave’, due to the adjective in *-sti* form. (Also, the adjective *kaunis*, ‘beautiful’, has slightly different polysemous meanings between a–b and c.)

This comparison shows that the quality expressed with a *-sti* form is the most non-permanent and processual of the three forms shown above. The quality or property that is constructed with the use of the suffix *-sti* as a quality of a process, rather than a quality of a thing, is thus, by default, constructed as less permanent, regardless of the type of adjective used (adjectives can naturally depict more or less stative qualities). By comparing these three forms we see that the nominative (as a subject complement or as a congruent pre-modifier of a noun) expresses a permanent quality, the essive expresses a less permanent but still relatively stable quality, and the *-sti* form expresses a quality that is acquired during or as the result of a process, a quality that shows during a process, or a quality that is the most temporary of the three, e.g., a position that can be changed. Often, several options for the choice of case would be possible and near synonymous, but a subtle difference in meaning remains.

So far, we have dealt with cases in which adjective-stemmed *-sti* forms are used as adverbials of the verb, such as the following example:

- (12) Liisa Anttila löys-i ykkös-rasti-n notko-sta vasta
 name name find-PST.3SG one-controlpoint-ACC dell-ELA only
- hake-ma-lla tietä-mä-ttä tarka-sti mistä sille osu-i.
 search-INF-ADE know-INF-ABE accurate-sti where.ELA it.ALL hit-PST.3SG
 ‘Liisa Anttila found the first controlpoint in the dell only by searching, **without accurately knowing** how she hit it.’

In (12), the adverbial *tarka-sti* ‘accurately’ defines the quality of the verbal process of ‘knowing’. However, a *-sti* form may be used also as an adverbial of the clause, rather than of the verb, conveying stance in epistemic (13) and other comments (14) (Orpana 1988, 94–118):

- (13) **Oikea-sti** uinti-kausi on täyde-ssä käynni-ssä.
 real-sti swimming-season be.3SG full-INE functioning-INE
 ‘In reality the swimming season is on.’

- (14) Hän on koon-nut **ansiokkaa-sti** harmonikka-an liitty-vä-ä aineisto-a
 3SG be.3SG collect-PTCP praiseworthy-sti accordion-ILL connect-PTCP material-
 PAR PAR
 ‘(S)he has praiseworthily collected material concerning the accordion.’

Orpana (1988, 94–118) analyzes these kinds of uses (14) as containing two propositions: ‘(S)he collected material concerning the accordion’ + ‘it is praiseworthy (that (s)he did it)’. Orpana (*ibid.*) separates this type from the more-common type on the basis of semantic extension: comment adverbials do not restrict the semantic extension of the proposition but only comment on it, whereas other (non-comment) *-sti* adverbials restrict the extension of the proposition expressed in the clause.

Epistemic comments, as in (13), are often lexicalized and tend to appear clause-initially (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, 218; Orpana 1988, 99–118). Usually, however, when used as comments (as in 14), *-sti* forms appear in a manner that is syntactically identical to their use as modifiers of the verb, and the comment reading is often based on intricate world knowledge rather than on constructional difference, the lexical semantics of the verb, or the semantics of the adjective in *-sti* form. Thus, we see identical adjective-stemmed *-sti* adverbials used for two purposes: as modifiers of the verb, depicting qualities of processes, and as modifiers of the proposition as a whole, in which case these adverbials in fact convey an opinion of the speaker rather than any actual quality of a process. In fact, it might be stated that the comment use of *-sti* adverbials takes advantage of a more-general syntactic means: with this use, a quality (expressed by an adjective in *-sti* form) can be attached to a clause as if it were a property of the process depicted by the verb and its arguments, when in fact it is an expression conveying stance.

Figure 1 depicts the semantic composition of a *-sti* form with an adjective as a stem, shown as a simplified constructional formalization (see e.g., Fried & Östman 2004). Figure 1 explains the meaning of some of the most frequent uses of *-sti* forms: *-sti* forms as free adverbials of ‘manner’ attached to verb forms and *-sti* forms as comments.⁸

8 The examination in Section 4.1 and in Figure 1 mainly applies to uses in which a *-sti* form is used as an adverbial of a verb form or a clause (and not as an adverbial of, e.g., adjectives). Also, due to space restrictions, this description is simplified and only explains the most obvious meaning components. We have attempted to give a more detailed account elsewhere (Jääskeläinen & Hamunen 2011). On these lines, Hamunen (2019) continues to show how adjuncts (free adverbials) can be described as syntactic constructions.

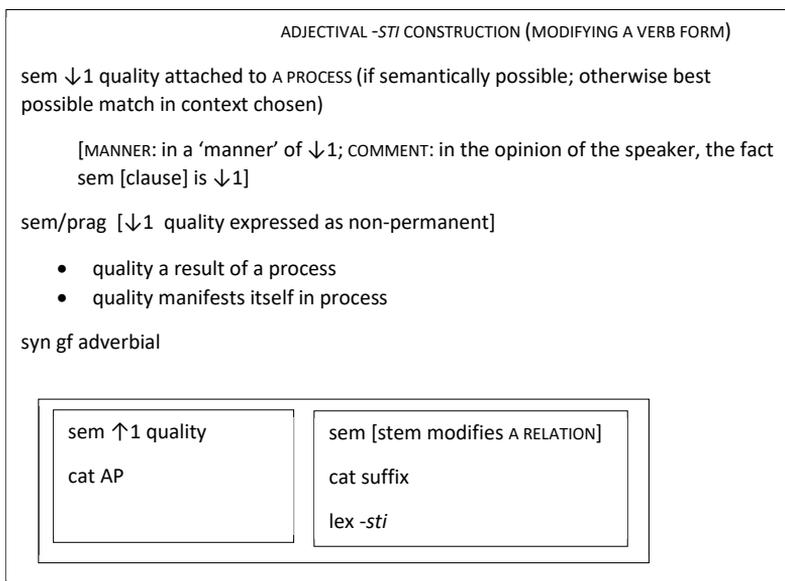


Figure 1. Construction 1. The adjectival *-sti* construction: *-sti* form modifying a verb form.

In all figures, “cat” is short for linguistic category, “lex” for lexical item, “syn” for syntactic use, and “gf” for grammatical function. “Sem” stands for “semantic information” and “prag” is short for “pragmatic information”. Pragmatic nuances of meaning are more usage related, more subtle or more emergent than meaning components marked as “semantic” knowledge, but semantic and pragmatic knowledge are not always entirely separable. The arrows ↑ and ↓ with numbers show how semantic information “rises” upwards from elements to the level of the construction. Importantly, the placing of the semantic information marked “sem ↓1 quality attached to a process” shows that this information emerges at the level in which the suffix *-sti* and a given adjective are combined as a unified element, ready to be used in another construction.

There is also a semantic description: “quality [expressed by the adjective] attached to A PROCESS if semantically possible; otherwise best possible match in context chosen”. This is meant to explain in a simplified fashion two intriguing facts about the meaning interpretation of adjectival *-sti* forms in context: their interpretation as comments (as discussed above), on the one hand, and on the other hand, the fact that even though a *-sti* form is a free adverbial, nominally modifying a verb form, its interpretation in context might be such that it nevertheless modifies another element, either an element existing in the clause or an element in the frame of the verb, as in example 15:

- (15) Opiskelija-n ei ole pakko syödä **surkea-sti.**
 student-GEN neg.3SG be.CNG must eat.INF bad-sti
 ‘A student does not have to eat very bad [food].’

In (15), the adjective *surkea* ‘very bad’, although in *-sti* form and thus a modifier of the verb, attaches itself semantically to an unmentioned frame element of the verb *syödä* ‘to eat’. What is ‘very bad’ is the food eaten and not the manner or other aspect of eating *per se*. This is not uncommon. Orpana (1988, 77–99) analyzes several of the cases in which an adjective in *-sti* form, syntactically a free adverbial of the verb (or clause), in fact attaches itself semantically to a certain frame element of the verb (either implicit or explicit), rather than to the process expressed by the verb, despite being in *-sti* form (see also Piitulainen 1982, 67–69). One example is verbs that have a general meaning of ‘to equip with, to endow with’. Orpana (1988, 85–86) shows how, with these verbs, a *-sti* form often modifies an element expressing material (i.e. the object or instrument that something is equipped or endowed with).

In her study, Orpana (1988, 77–99) emphasizes the meaning of the verb and the verb type with its semantic roles. The data of the present study indicates that the meaning and the semantic valence of the adjective in *-sti* form has an equally important role. The suffix *-sti* is foremost a syntactic suffix whose function is to show that the property expressed by an adjective is attached to a process or interpreted processually, rather than something inherently belonging to a thing. The adjective itself in *-sti* form rarely changes its meaning (or, rather, polysemous meanings) or valence. Thus, qualities semantically belonging to the Dixonian core categories of DIMENSION, AGE, and COLOR, as well as PHYSICAL PROPERTY and HUMAN PROPENSITY, are still often drawn to their semantically best equivalents in the interpretation of the clause (with the aid of world knowledge), whether these are implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the clause.

In Figure 1, the slot of the adjective is in fact marked AP, adjectival phrase. It is possible to analyze that adjectival phrases, not just single adjectives, can be inflected in *-sti*. This is the case in examples (16) and (17):

- (16) Hän soitt-i hapuil-len, rytmise-sti epävarma-sti ja loppu-a kohden jopa ruma-sti
 3SG play-PST.3SG fumble-INE. rhythmical-sti unsure-sti and end-PAR towards even ugly-sti.
 INSTR

‘(S)he played in a fumbling manner, rhythmically unsurely and towards the end even in an ugly manner.’

- (17) Hän kuvaa näke-määnsä barokkise-n rikkaa-sti ja yksityiskohtaise-sti
 3SG portray.3SG see-INE.PAR. baroque.GEN rich-sti and elaborate-sti
 POSS3SG

‘(S)he portrays what (s)he sees/what (s)he has seen baroque-like richly and elaborately.’

In (16), the adverbial phrase *rytmisesti epävarmasti* ‘rhythmically unsurely’ can be analyzed as an instantiation of an adjectival phrase [*rytmisesti epävarma*] ‘rhythmically unsure’ in which a *-sti* form modifies an adjective, inflected as a phrase in *-sti*: [[*rytmisesti epävarma*]-*sti*]. Also 17 [*barokkisen rikkaasti*] (baroque.GEN rich-*sti*) can be analyzed similarly: the phrase

[*barokkisen rikas*] (baroque.GEN rich ‘rich as is typical for baroque’)⁹ has been inflected in *-sti*.

In fact, it could be said that the ability of a *-sti* form to be modified by modifiers that adjectival forms usually get (e.g., *-sti* forms and *-n* modifiers) is a trait inherited from the adjective. The ability to be modified like an adjectival form would be very natural if *-sti* forms were seen as case forms: being inflected in *-sti* does not alter the valence of the adjective but only its ability to function as an adverbial in a syntactic role. This is why the slot of the adjective in Figure 1 is marked AP, rather than A, which includes expressions in which the adjective is already modified, for example, by an *-n* form intensifier or by a *-sti* form. Most cases in which a *-sti* form modifies an adjective (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §621–622) can be further inflected in *-sti*, producing expressions in which a *-sti* form modifies another *-sti* form. Almost all adjectives can be inflected in *-sti* form, and these adjectival phrases, although already modified by a *-sti* form or another type of adverbial, are not exceptions.¹⁰

It is noteworthy that the modifiers that *-sti* forms get are similar to those that adverbs usually get but also similar to those that adjectives, in general, get as heads of adjectival phrases. When *-sti* forms have been analyzed as derived de-adjectival adverbs, their modifiers seem to fit the bill. However, these modifiers do not prove whether a *-sti* form is an inflected adjective or a derived adverb at all, as adjectives and adverbs have similar modifiers (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §681).

4.2 CONSTRUCTION 2: *-STI* AND NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals are another parts-of-speech category that productively takes *-sti* as an ending. This produces a multiplicative meaning: ‘n times’ (see example 4). In fact, ordinal numbers are also marginally possible in *-sti* form, but their use is very rare. When *-sti* is attached to an ordinal, the meaning is ‘for the nth time’. Examples can be found, for example, in folk poetry. The following is one occurrence in *Kalevala* (Runo 25):

- (18) Havukoita ei ne olle eikä kirjokoppeloita: ne on Pohjan poikasias. Katso tarkoin **kolmannesti!**
‘They are not hawks or mottled capercaillies: they are boys from the North. Look closely **for a third time!**’

The suffix *-sti* is often used only with a limited set of numerals – another trait that would indicate that it is not as productive as “real” cases are. Hakulinen

9 Orpana (1988, 119–191) thoroughly analyzes the uses in which an adjective in *-n* form modifies another adjective and divides them into different semantic groups. Example (17) would belong to her group “modifier does not change the extension of the head; the relationship of head and modifier is based on stereotype” (ibid 137–149); example (17) is based on the stereotype that it is typical for things from the Baroque period to be rich in style.

10 However, Hakulinen et al. (§677) see these structures differently and do not propose that an adjectival phrase, such as [*rytmisesti epävarma* ‘rhythmically unsure’], can be inflected in *-sti* as a phrase but suggests that *-sti* forms that modify *-sti* forms, such as *rytmisesti epävarmasti*, are just modifiers of adverbs. As *-sti* forms can modify adverbial forms as well as adjectives, these two different analyses remain possible.

in *-sti* is a cardinal numeral (marked cat NUM), the resulting meaning is that of multiplicativity, ‘n times’. If the stem inflected is a swearword noun or an affective adjective, the meaning is that of quantity, as will be seen in the following chapter.

4.3 CONSTRUCTION 3: SWEARWORDS, AFFECTIVE ADJECTIVES AND THE EXPRESSION OF QUANTITY

Let us now handle the question of the limited set of nouns that can productively or semi-productively take the suffix *-sti*. Certain swearwords in *-sti* form express the meaning of quantity with an affective tone; they express an amount that is large or even excessive, or sometimes very little:

- (21) Tö-i-tä on teh-tävä jatko-ssa-kin saatana-sti, todet-tiin puheenvuoro-i-ssa.
 work-PL-PAR be.3SG make-PASS.PTCP continuation-INE-CLT Satan-sti state-PST.PASS comment-PL-INE
 ‘A hell of a lot of work (lit. Satan-ly) work must be done in the future, too, was stated in the comments.’
- (22) **helveti-sti** kisso-j-a
 hell-sti cat-PL-PAR
 ‘a hell of a lot of cats’, ‘a lot of cats’

Most of these quantifying examples are structurally ambiguous. A *-sti* form can either express quantity or intensity related to the verbal process (functioning as an adverbial of the verb/clause), or it can describe the quantity of the group or substance expressed by a noun phrase (NP) in the clause, in which case it often (but not always) forms a phrase with that NP (Hakulinen et al. 2004, §657). Often both of these alternative analyses are possible. These expressions of quantity can be described as instantiations of a specific construction.

Quantity is often mentioned as one of the meanings that *-sti* produces (chapter 1). However, *-sti* forms expressing quantity fall into two separate groups that are interesting when examined in a construction-related way: those whose stem cannot be used as an *-n* form intensifier, and those whose stem can be used as an *-n* form intensifier. Thus, in spite of being partly synonymous, these two groups behave differently. Table 1 illustrates these two groups:

Group 1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stem cannot be used as <i>-n</i> form intensifier • <i>-sti</i> forms mostly lexicalized • stem adjective neutral, expresses e.g., size • <i>-sti</i> form neutral in meaning • Construction 1 	Group 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stem can be used as <i>-n</i> form intensifier • <i>-sti</i> forms semi-lexicalized or productive • stem adjective affective • <i>-sti</i> form affective • Construction 3
<i>runsaa-sti</i> ‘a lot’ <i>roima-sti</i> ‘a lot’ <i>kova-sti</i> ‘a lot’ <i>niuka-sti</i> ‘little’	<i>kauhea-sti</i> ‘an awful lot’; ‘a lot’ <i>hirveä-sti</i> ‘an awful lot’; ‘a lot’ <i>hurja-sti</i> ‘an awful lot’; ‘a lot’

Table 1. Two groups of adjective-stemmed *-sti* forms that express quantity.

The first group of *-sti* forms – those whose stems cannot be used as *-n* form intensifiers – can be seen as lexicalized or semi-lexicalized instantiations of Construction 1, presented in Figure 1 (*AP-sti*), while the second group

demands a different description. The first group inherits the meaning of quantity from its base adjectives, whereas the second group receives the meaning of quantity or intensity mainly from the construction.

The first group consists of quite lexicalized expressions of quantity or intensity, such as *runsaa-sti* (ample-*sti*) ‘a lot’, *suure-sti* (great-*sti*) ‘greatly’, *niuka-sti* (meagre-*sti*) ‘little’, *kova-sti* (hard-*sti*) ‘hard’, ‘a lot’, *reippaa-sti* (brisk-*sti*) ‘abundantly’ and *reilu-sti* (fair, generous-*sti*) ‘a lot’. The tone of these quantifying expressions is mostly neutral. Usually, in these lexicalizations the meaning component of quantity derives from the stem adjective: these adjectives express size or multitude (*suuri* ‘large’, *niukka* ‘meagre’, *runsas* ‘ample’), physical property (*kova* ‘hard’), or physical property / human propensity (*reipas* ‘brisk’, *roima* ‘hefty’, *reilu* ‘fair, generous’); in this last case the meaning of quantity is somewhat indirect and motivated by metonymy. Interestingly, these adjectives cannot be used in *-n* form as intensifiers for adjectives or adverbials: for example, **suure-n hieno* and **reippaa-n hieno*, with the intended meaning ‘very nice’, are not possible. (However, these adjectives can be used as *-n* form modifiers for adjectives, but then their meaning is not that of intensity. For example, *reippaa-n urheilullinen* ‘brisk-GEN sporty’ means ‘brisk and sporty; sporty in a brisk kind of way’ but not ‘very sporty.’)¹¹

The second group consists of *-sti* forms that are not as lexicalized as those in the first group (although some are lexicalized to a certain extent). These adjectives, usually affective in tone¹², can also be used as general adjectival intensifiers in *-n* form. Swearword nouns behave similarly:

<i>-sti</i> form ‘large quantity’	<i>-n</i> form intensifier ‘very’
affective adjectives	
<i>kamala-sti</i> (awful- <i>sti</i> ‘an awful lot’, ‘very much’)	<i>kamala-n hyvä/huono</i> (awful-GEN good ‘very good/bad’)
<i>hurja-sti</i> (wild- <i>sti</i> ‘very much’)	<i>hurja-n hieno/ruma</i> (wild-GEN nice ‘very nice/ugly’)
<i>mielettömä-sti</i> (mindless- <i>sti</i> ‘an amount that is insane’, ‘very much’, ‘excessively’)	<i>mielettömä-n upea/ankea</i> (mindless-GEN great/bleak, ‘amazingly great/bleak’, ‘very great/bleak’)
swearword nouns	
<i>saatana-sti</i> (Satan- <i>sti</i> ‘a hell of a lot’)	<i>saatana-n hyvä/huono</i> (Satan-GEN good/bad, ‘extremely good/bad’)
<i>helveti-sti</i> (hell- <i>sti</i> , ‘a hell of a lot’)	<i>helveti-n hyvä/huono</i> (hell-GEN good/bad, ‘very good/bad’)

Table 2. Examples of *-sti* quantifiers and *-n* form intensifiers.

- 11 It is not clear what case these *-n* forms are in: it is debatable whether *-n* forms used this way are genitives or instructives, or even accusatives, because their singular forms are homophonous (Jaakola 2004, 200–225, this volume; Leskinen 1990, 1–3, 29–34, Tuomikoski 1973, 206). This question is dealt with in Chapter 2 of this volume. Jaakola (2004, 222–228) states that productively used *-n* form modifiers of adjectives/adverbials are associated with other uses of genitive and thus, diachronically judged, can be considered genitives if anything. In the glosses of this article, I follow Jaakola (2004), but I do not offer this choice as a definite answer to their nature.
- 12 The adjectives in this construction are simply labeled “affective” because of space restrictions. They (and their types) can be analyzed in more detail.

As we can see, some of these productive, affective expressions of quantity are “usual” in the sense that they are formed of adjectives (such as *kauhea-sti*, awful-*sti* ‘very much’):

- (24) Tamperee-n ja Nokia-n poja-t toi-vat
 name-GEN and name-GEN boy-PL bring.PST-3PL
- kauhea-sti Lielahde-n pirttu-a** Mainila-n kanttiini-in.
 awful-*sti* name-GEN spirit-PAR name-GEN canteen-ILL
- ‘The boys of Tampere and Nokia brought an awful lot of rectified spirit from Lielahti into the canteen of Mainila.’

Others are more unusual because their base is a noun and not an adjective (*helveti-sti*, hell-*sti*, *saatana-sti*, Satan-*sti*, ‘very much; excessively’). Not all nouns can be used this way: the possible choices for this use are swearwords. The affective adjective or swearword as a stem of a quantifying -*sti* form or an -*n* form intensifier does not lose all of its meaning, but the meaning is faded. The more lexicalized the combination becomes, the more the stem loses its own meaning, and the combination simply means ‘a lot, very much’ or ‘very’.

Swearwords that can be used in -*sti* form comprise an open or semi-open group; it is not possible to list all the swearwords that can be inflected in -*sti* (the use can be extended), but there are clearly some swearwords that cannot. For example, words of abuse cannot be used this way (a semantic restriction), neither can interjections, which otherwise share some uses with swearwords, nor can other poorly inflected words (a morphological restriction). For example, *jumalauta* is a common swearword, but it is not used as a -*sti* form quantifier or as an -*n* form intensifier. This is likely because *jumalauta* originates from a clause (*Jumala auta* ‘God help’), and even though it is highly lexicalized, it still inflects poorly. This is another indication that -*sti* functions like a case ending: according to most analyses, the intensifying -*n* form is clearly a case form (either instructive or genitive). -*sti* functions like the -*n* form in these productive constructions: it cannot be attached to poorly inflecting or indeclinable words.

Figure 3 illustrates the quantifying construction of -*sti* forms:

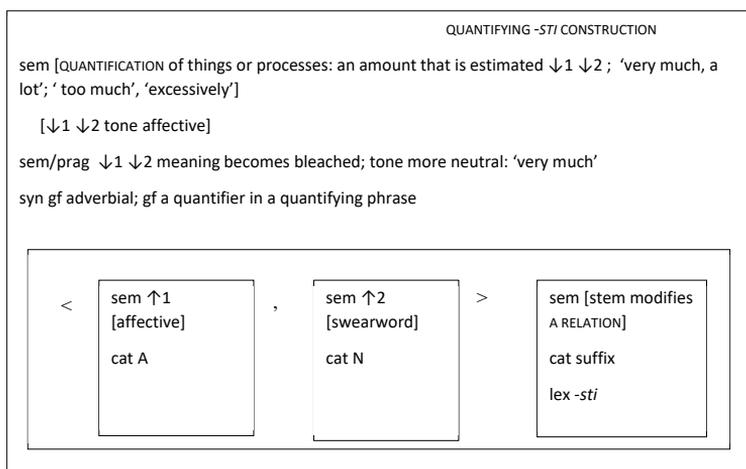


Figure 3. Construction 3. The quantifying -*sti* construction

The marking [$\langle v1, v2 \rangle$] expresses that the values between \langle and \rangle are alternative options (J. Leino & Östman 2005).

It is worth mentioning that the quantitative reading of a specific *-sti* form is often possible even when *-sti* is not combined with an affective adjective or a swearword if the context is such that no other reading is more natural. When these expressions are examined, we might even say that the suffix *-sti* itself seems to carry the meaning of “muchness” or quantity. When combined with numerals, *-sti* expresses multiplicativity, and quantity is semantically close to multiplicativity. However, it would be more accurate to say that this meaning of quantity is constructional and construction related: When *-sti* is combined with either an affective adjective or a swearword, the meaning of a *-sti* form is interpreted as quantifying. This interpretation of quantity is also possible when there is no other interpretation more readily available (when, for example, the adjective in *-sti* form does not seem to express the quality of a process, either because of the adjective or because of the verb). In these cases, the more typical quantifying examples (with either affective adjectives or swearwords in *-sti* form) function as a model, and other, more context-related expressions of quantity can be seen as less-typical instantiations of Construction 3. Thus, the quantifying construction enables these readings.

5 Discussion

We have now seen how *-sti* functions as a suffix and how *-sti* forms function semantically and syntactically in different structures. *-sti* is a productive suffix and productivity is a requirement for a case ending (2.1, 4.1). It has also been shown that from a morphological and morphosyntactic point of view, *-sti* functions similarly to case endings.

To sum up: The suffix *-sti* forms a syntagma with the inflectional stem of an adjective or another word. Within this syntagma, *-sti* expresses the relation of its stem to the rest of the clause, similarly to adverbial case endings. In the comparative paradigm of adverbials of ‘manner’, *-sti* shares a place with the plural instructive case. In this syntactic position, *-sti* can be seen as a positional allomorph of the instructive case ending. It is not impossible to inflect the comparative stems of adjectives in *-sti* form either, which shows that the productivity and place of the suffix *-sti* are similar to those of case endings. In addition, the use of *-sti* with compound numerals is similar to that of case endings (2.2). Semantic and morphological restriction of use, given as counterarguments against the case status of *-sti*, are relative and not absolute (2.2, 4.1–4.2). Certain poorly inflecting parts of speech, such as interjections or certain swearwords, do not inflect in *-sti*. For these parts of speech, other case forms are also impossible (for instance, they can’t be used as *-n* form intensifying adjectives), which is another indication that *-sti* functions like a case ending (4.3). The one morphological trait that clearly separates *-sti* from other case endings is the lack of plurality. This, however, was shown to be a semantically and syntactically motivated positional trait (2.2). Finally, when a *-sti* form is the head of a phrase, it takes the same kinds

of modifiers that adjectives take in other positions; in this sense, a *-sti* form is similar to other case forms of adjectives (4.1).

Syntactically, *-sti* behaves most like the adverbial, so-called under-used cases (instructive, comitative, abessive): similarly to *-sti*, these three cases only occur as free modifiers and not as complements. *-sti* also shares some uses with the illative and partitive cases, when used as adverbials of manner, and the essive and translative cases, when used as adjectival modifiers that do not have a head noun as such.

The only strong criterion for leaving *-sti* out of the category of case endings is the fact that nouns do not mainly inflect in *-sti*. In typology, case inflection is often defined so that it specifically applies to nouns (e.g., Blake 2001; Kittilä, Västi & Ylikoski 2011). For example, Blake (2001, 1) defines the notion of case in relation to nouns:

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. (Blake 2001, 1.)¹³

This kind of definition would indeed leave *-sti* outside of its scope. Often, however, the definition of case seems not to exclude word classes that are not nouns. Finnish, especially, is a language in which case inflection could not be defined so that it only applies to nouns: the Finnish nominals (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals) inflect similarly in case, and their case inflection is not always dependent on a head noun. Adjectives can inflect in case independently of nouns and do not always agree with a head noun. In the terminological database *The Helsinki Term Bank for the Arts and Sciences* a “case ending” receives the following definition:

“a bound morpheme (“tunnus”) which is attached to the stem of a nominal and expresses the relation of a word or a phrase to the rest of the clause”.¹⁴

This definition could apply to *-sti*. In the Finnish tradition, *-sti* forms have been understood in three different ways: as lexical adverbs (the most prominent and traditional view), as the result of syntactic derivation (Sulkala 1981; Orpana 1988), and as case forms (Tuomikoski 1973; Jääskeläinen 2020). Most present-day scholars seem to hold the first-mentioned view and see *-sti* forms as units, lexical adverbs that are used as adverbials. Certainly, their use could be seen as a proof for this view.

The view that *-sti* forms are case forms of adjectives has mainly been held by one scholar (Tuomikoski 1973). According to Tuomikoski (1973), the reasons for considering *-sti* forms as adverbs (and not inflected adjectives)

13 However, Blake later (2001: 7) adds that also other nominals, such as pronouns, and words “that are not obviously nouns” may inflect in case. Blake gives as examples Greek adjectives (used like nouns) and certain adverbs.

14 <https://tieteentermipankki.fi/wiki/Kielitiede:sija>. Accessed 23.07.2019.

are historical and analogical; for example, in the grammars of many languages adjectival adverbs are the exemplars of adverbs as parts of speech. These languages are morphologically different to Finnish, however; for example, the functions of case suffixes are mainly taken by adpositions, and so it might go unnoticed that the endings of “adjectival adverbs” function in a similar way to case endings and that these forms could be seen as case forms of adjectives, not as lexical adverbs.

Tuomikoski’s (1973) notions regarding *-sti* forms were never generally accepted; they received recognition (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, 85, 136; Itkonen 1986; Leino 1989, 173n11) but failed to change wider grammatical thinking. For example, Hakulinen et al., published in 2004 and considered an authoritative grammar of Finnish, takes Tuomikoski’s (1973) idea concerning *-sti* forms into serious consideration but ultimately rejects it, and the consensus of fifteen cases remains (2004 §62, §1265). There is understandably an obvious need to preserve the continuity of the grammatical tradition and its case system of fifteen members.

But would accepting *-sti* as a case actually destroy the integrity of the Finnish system of cases? How internally consistent is the category of case? Indeed, the Finnish system of fifteen cases is not internally coherent, and this has been acknowledged by naming the different sub-parts of the category, for example, “grammatical cases” and “semantic cases”, thus following their differing syntactic functions and meanings. Siro (1964, 63) further names the three under-used cases (abessive, comitative, and instructive) “marginal cases” because of their limited use; words inflected in these cases are never used as arguments or complements of verbs – which would be more typical for case forms – but always as adverbials. Some Finnish grammars also speak of “adverb cases” in addition to just cases; adverb cases are usually, synchronically speaking, more-or-less unproductive. For instance, the lative case can only be seen in lexicalized adverbs. Some writers such as Särkkä (1969) do not seem to make a distinction between historical adverb cases and present-day nominal cases, and treat them similarly. However, the productivity of *-sti* clearly makes it different from historical adverb cases, which are mostly unproductive.

In fact, the category of case is somewhat open and somewhat under defined in cognitive grammar as well (e.g. Langacker 1991, 2008). Langacker’s description of case (1991: 398–413) is quite strongly based on those “prototypical” cases that in the Finnish grammar writing would be called “grammatical cases”; those cases that derive a higher-order nominal when combined with a nominal.¹⁵ However, when morphologically rich case languages are examined, it is clear that “nominal” cases are not the only cases of case. In Finnish the category of case is continuum-like: in one end,

15 Langacker (1991, 405) writes (emphasis mine): “At least some case markers are therefore best analyzed themselves being nominal in character, since the effect of combining them with a nominal is to derive a higher-order nominal. **Let us reserve the term case for predications of this sort.** The instrumental *with* is not a case marker by this definition, but its inflectional counterpart in other languages may well be.”

there are “nominal” cases that produce elements used as arguments (see Part 1 of this volume). Then there are cases that are semantic in nature but nevertheless produce elements that are sometimes used as complements of verbs and thus behave in a more case-like manner (locative cases are like this). In the other end of the continuum, we find “marginal” cases that are never used as arguments or complements of verbs but are only used as adjuncts and are in this sense un-case-like.

In fact, it might be fruitful to assess different nominal cases by traits or values, such as productivity, modifier agreement, use in marking arguments, singularity-plurality distinction et cetera: perhaps the most prototypical nominal cases hold more of these traits than certain less typical nominal cases. Indeed, as most categories are, in reality, continuum-like, it can be expected that we find examples that do not easily fulfill all the criteria of a prototypical example. This is, in fact, the case with the fifteen Finnish cases as well. Some of them behave like prototypical cases (e.g., nominative, partitive), while some are less prototypical morphologically, semantically or syntactically (e.g., comitative, instructive). The idea of prototypical cases and less prototypical cases follows the spirit of cognitive linguistics: in cognitive linguistics categories are often not strict but allow some fuzziness on the boundaries. Thus, the category of case might not be a simple yes-no category but a continuum of more and less case-like qualities. In Finnish linguistics, this idea of major and minor nominal cases has recently been addressed by Ylikoski (2018, 2020).

All in all, *-sti* forms seem to be very difficult to pin down as morphological forms. They hold traits of both lexical adverbs and case forms and can be seen in different ways, depending on the point of view (Jääskeläinen 2020). In fact, the division between inflection and derivation is not strictly definable but more or less continuum-like (e.g., Haspelmath 1996; Portero Muñoz & García Velasco 2018). This being the case, it is not surprising that there exist forms that are somewhere in the middle of the cline: *-sti* holds some traits of a case, but it is not a prototypical case. It also clearly does not represent what derivation most typically is (see Haspelmath 1996). It might in fact be pointless to force *-sti* into either category, a case suffix or derivational suffix: it is a linguistic creature that has a combination of traits that allow it, to some extent, to go into either category or both categories, but not perfectly.

In this chapter, I have presented a way that makes it possible not to decide what *-sti* is. When its meanings and functions are described as construction related and when its place and meanings are shown within its constructions, its category can be left unnamed and it can be simply called a suffix. Nonetheless, if we follow the Finnish tradition of grammar writing, *-sti* should be considered a nominal case. Within this system, it is similar to other cases. Morphologically it functions like a case, and syntactically and semantically it is comparable to cases, especially to the comitative, abessive and instructive cases. Its lack of plurality is a place-related trait. Its inability to take nouns as stems is not conclusive when deciding its status as a case but, instead, proves that in Finnish adjectives can inflect in case independently of nouns, and that adjectives indeed are an existing word class in Finnish (and not a subset of nouns) (for Finnish adjectives as a word class, see Pajunen

1994). Moreover, it would certainly be beneficial to typologists and linguists generally interested in case to know that the Finnish system of case is not set in stone: the list of fifteen cases of Finnish found in most grammars is an approximation and not a definite fact.

Data

This study is partly based on the data collected and used by Markus Hamunen and me (Jääskeläinen & Hamunen 2011). This introductory research data consisted of one thousand *-sti* forms, collected from the Finnish text collection of the Language Bank of Finland's corpus of the *Aamulehti* 1995 newspaper (see <https://www.kielipankki.fi/language-bank/>) and analyzed in detail. For this chapter I have used an abundance of other data, collected from the Language Bank's newspaper and internet corpora, as well as from the internet with Google searches. All examples express actual language use, with the exception of certain morphological examples.

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Abstract

Minna Jaakola and Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö

The Finnish Case System

Cognitive Linguistic Perspectives

This volume presents an up-to-date cognitive-linguistic account of the Finnish cases that would serve the interests of an international audience. As the Finnish linguistic tradition has always considered grammatical cases to be meaningful elements, this volume also addresses the extensive work by earlier scholars from different theoretical backgrounds. The volume consists of an introduction and eleven articles. The introduction presents the system of Finnish cases and provides a brief overview of the main tenets of cognitive linguistics, offering guidance for those readers who are not familiar with cognitive linguistics. Some articles focus on one case and present a unified account of its functions, others analyse a larger group of cases that form a system (the local cases), whereas yet others address the use of cases in certain constructions (such as expressions of change). This collection of articles also discusses more general topics, such as the notion of case, questions of polysemy, the traditional division of cases into grammatical and semantic, the relationship between inflection and derivation, and the role of inflection in the categories of adpositions and adverbs.

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