On one type of comitative constructions in the Circum-Baltic area (with the focus on the Finnic languages)

Of all Circum-Baltic languages, the Finnic languages and the Baltic language Latvian are characterised by the use of two formally distinct comitative markers. The first one is more frequent and more salient and can be called the basic comitative marker. The other one is used in a restricted range of constructions, mostly in the contexts of ‘taking along’ and ‘going along’, see the example from the Epistle to the Galatians where both markers are represented.

The comitative markers belonging to the second group can be analysed as presupposition triggers. The presupposition there deals with the involvement of one of the co-participants, which is backgrounded. Therefore, such comitative constructions can be called presuppositional comitatives.

In my talk, I’m going to present the data from various Finnic varieties illustrating the use of presuppositional comitatives. These constructions have been discussed earlier in (Oinas 1961), and I’m going to revisit them more systematically with the help of various types of data, including texts collected in the second part of the 20th century and later.

Presuppositional comitatives in the Finnic languages are represented by several syntactic patterns: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and possessive. It can be shown that the intransitive pattern seems to be less stable in those Finnic languages which are in close contact with Russian; the basic comitative construction is used there instead. Still, the dedicated Finnic markers are typically preserved in the contexts of ‘taking along’ (the transitive pattern) and in the ditransitive and possessive pattern. Another relevant parameter of variation deals with the semantics of predicates. Finnish, Estonian, and Livonian are the richest in terms of verbs compatible with presuppositional comitative markers. Finally, an important feature characteristic of most Finnic presuppositional comitatives is concerned with the distinction of directional vs. stative contexts, which is reflected in the form of the comitative marker, cf. Finnish mukaan/mukana, Estonian kaasa/kaasas, etc.

The analysis of the data shows that in most Finnic varieties both comitative markers have developed from the same source. The presuppositional comitative marker is typically a longer, less grammaticalised form, cf. Votic -ka vs. kaasakaaz, Veps -ke vs. kerdal(e)/kerdou, etc. The two major sources of Finnic comitatives are roots *kansa ‘group of people’ and *kerta ‘time, turn’. The ka-comitatives occur in the western Finnic varieties, while the ke-comitatives are characteristic of their eastern area. Such borderline varieties as Lower Luga Ingrian or Central Ingrian Finnish use the ka-comitative as the basic comitative marker, and the ke-comitative as the presuppositional comitative marker.

In order to put the Finnic data in a wider Circum-Baltic context, I will compare them to Latvian, where the presuppositional comitative construction is rather prominent, and discuss some cases of apparent contact-induced change, addressing the data from the extinct Leivu dialect of Estonian and Latvian Romani.

References

KorpFi = https://korp.csc.fi/ (the Korp interface, includes texts in Ingrian and Veps)
EMK= Eesti murrete korpus: http://www.murre.ut.ee/mkweb/ (includes data on Livonian and Votic)
The corpus of Võro and Seto: https://synaq.org/ilo/
The corpus of Võro (Uma Leht): http://www.murre.ut.ee/otsing/voru.php
The corpus of Veps texts: http://vepsian.krc.karelia.ru/subcorpus/intro.php
Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. (Galatians 2:1, King James Version)

1) I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas
   assertion: I went to Jerusalem with Barnabas

2) I took Titus with me;
   assertion: I made Titus going with me
   presupposition: I went to Jerusalem

a. Finnish
   *Neljätoista vuot-taa myöhemmän men-i-n uudelleen Jerusalemiin*
   fourteen[GEN]year-PTV later go-PST-1SG again Jerusalem:ILL
   *Barnabakse-n kanssa ja ot-i-n muka-an myös Titukse-n.*
   Barnabas, and take-PST-1SG PCOM-ILL also T.-GEN

b. Estonian
   *Seejäre, neljateiskümme aasta pärast, läksi-n ma taas üles*
   then fourteen.GEN year.GEN after go-PST-1SG ISG.NOM again up
   *Jerusaleemma koos Barnabase-ga ning vöt-si-n ka*
   Jerusalem.ILL together B.-COM as_well take-PST-1SG also
   *Tituse kaasa.*
   T.-GEN PCOM.ILL

c. North Karelian
   *Nelläntoista vuuvve-n piäästä mie tuaš män-i-n Jerusalemiih*
   fourteen: GEN year:GEN go-PASS-PTV go-PST-1SG again Jerusalem:ILL
   *Varnava-n kera ta ot-i-n vielä kera-Ila-ni Tiita-n.*
   Varnava-ke da ot-i-n kera-le vie Tiita-GEN.
   B.-GEN with and take-PST-1SG yet PCOM-ADV-P.1SG T.-GEN

d. Livvi Karelian
   *N'elläntostu vuuvven men-dii-u men-i-n uvvessah Jerusalemah*
   fourteen: GEN year:GEN go-PASS-PTV go-PST-1SG again Jerusalem:ILL
   *Varnavan-ke da ot-i-n kerdale völ*
   Varnavan-ke da ot-i-n kerdale GEN
   B.-COM and take-PST-1SG PCOM-ALL yet T.-GEN

e. Veps
   *Nellästöskümnes vodes pälči minä män-i-n udheze*
   fourteen:INE/ELA year:INE/ELA after ISG.NOM go-PST-1SG again
   *Jerusalema Varnavan-ke da ot-i-n kerdale Infinity_
   Jerusalem.ILL B.-COM and take-PST-1SG PCOM-ALL yet T.-GEN
   Tiita-GEN.
   T.-GEN

f. Livonian
   *Siž, pierrī nēļatuostīn āgas-tō, ma lekš tegiž*
   then after fourteen:GEN year-PTV ISG.NOM go-PST-1SG back
   *Jeruzālemõ kubs Barnabāsõ-ks, jēni vōtō-n ka Titusō*
   Jerusalem.ILL together B.-COM PCOM take.PST-1SG also T.-GEN

g. Latvian
   *Pēc t-am, pēc četrpadsmit gad-iem, es atkal*
   after that-DAT.GM after forty
terms year-DAT.PL ISG.NOM again
   *no-gāi-u uz Jeruzālem-i kopā ar Barnab-u,*
   no-gāi-u uz Jeruzālem-i kopā ar Barnab-u,
   *PVB-go.PST-1SG to Jerusalem-ACC.SG together with B.-ACC.SG*
   Latvian