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THE APUDESSIVE IN LITHUANIAN Apudesyvas lietuvių kalboje

Abstract. The paper describes the rise of the apudessive preposition *pàs* in Lithuanian. The apudessive meaning ('at someone's home') was rare in Old Lithuanian, where *pàs* denoted spatial proximity in competition with *priẽ*. The preposition *pàs* underwent a multi-stage evolution [BEHIND] > [ADESSIVE] (first only directional) > [ADESSIVE] (both directional and positional) > [APUDESSIVE] (both directional and positional).

Keywords: Lithuanian; Old Lithuanian; prepositions; adessive; apudessive.

Anotacija. Straipsnyje aprašomas apudesyvinio prielinksnio *pàs* atsiradimas lietuvių kalboje. Apudesyvinė reikšmė ('kieno nors namuose') reta senojoje lietuvių kalboje, kurioje *pàs* žymėjo artumą erdvėje, kaip ir *priẽ*. Prielinksnis *pàs* patyrė daugiapakopę evoliuciją: [UŽ] > [ADESYVAS] (iš pradžių tik krypties) > [ADESYVAS] (tiek krypties, tiek vietos) > [APUDESIVAS] (tiek krypties, tiek vietos).

Raktažodžiai: lietuvių kalba; senoji lietuvių kalba; prielinksniai; adesyvas; apudesyvas.

1. Introduction

In the Indo-European languages, prepositions are generally analyzed in terms of case government and their description often boils down to determining the case form taken by their complement (+ACCUSATIVE, +GENITIVE, +DATIVE, etc.). Much less attention has been paid to the semantic constraints to which their complement can be subjected. It may happen, however, that these semantic constraints play a crucial role in the selection of prepositions. In my native French language, for example, the preposition *chez* 'at somebody's home' can only introduce human beings whose place of residence is referred to (e.g. *chez moi* 'at my home', *chez Jean* 'at John's home'); for obvious reasons, inanimate complements are impossible (e.g. †*chez la table* †'at the table's home', †*chez Paris* †'at the home of Paris'). The preposition *chez* is regularly distinguished from other prepositions that convey a broader notion of spatial proximity, such as Modern French *à*, *près de*, *à côté de* 'near, next to, close to, at, by'. In this respect, two language types can be roughly distinguished. In some languages (type 1), there is a separate

preposition corresponding to Modern French *chez*, e.g. Albanian *tek*, Swedish *hos* and Lithuanian *pàs* ‘at someone’s home’. Other languages (type 2) do not have such prepositions and use more general prepositions that convey spatial proximity as their core meaning (‘near, next to, close to, at, by’), without any limitation in terms of animacy or reference. This situation is found for example in Romanian *la* or Latvian *pie*, which mean both ‘near, next to, close to, at, by’ (+ animate or inanimate complements) and ‘at someone’s home’ (+ human beings). The terms ‘adessive’ (< Latin *ad* ‘at, by’) and ‘apudessive’ (< Latin *apud* ‘near, at, by’) are sometimes used indistinctly to denote spatial proximity without any semantic limitation. In this paper, I propose using ‘adessive’ for any kind of proximity and reserving ‘apudessive’ for the specific meaning ‘at somebody’s home’, with exclusive reference to human beings and their place of residence. Type 1 refers to those languages where adessive and apudessive are distinguished, type 2 to those languages where they are not distinguished.

The position of the Baltic languages with regard to this distinction is interesting. Whereas Modern Latvian belongs to type 2 and uses the preposition *pie* (+GEN) both with the adessive and the apudessive meanings, Modern Lithuanian belongs to type 1 and distinguishes *priė* ‘at, by’ (+GEN = adessive) and *pàs* ‘at someone’s home’ (+ACC = apudessive). There is thus a typological split between the two Baltic languages. The aim of this paper is to describe the rise of the apudessive preposition *pàs* in Lithuanian against the background of a historical and typological comparison.

2. Description

In Modern Lithuanian, the meaning of *pàs* (+ACC) is predominantly apudessive, referring to the place of residence of human beings, both for the semantic role of position (ex. 1) and for that of direction (ex. 2):¹

- (1) **Modern Lithuanian.** Ambrazas (1997, 416)

<i>gyventi</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>tėvus</i>
live.INF	at, by	parent.ACC.PL.M
‘to live with one’s parents (at their place)’		

- (2) **Modern Lithuanian.** Ambrazas (1997, 416)

<i>sueiti</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>draugą</i>
go together.INF	at, by	friend.ACC.SG.M
‘to go together to a friend’		

¹ On the semantics and construction of *pàs* see especially Fraenkel (1929, 81–86).

The *Lithuanian Grammar* by Ambrazas *et alii* (1997, 416) defines the meaning of *pàs* (+ACC) as ‘location referred to by a human (or animate) noun’ (cf. ex. 1) resp. ‘final point of movement also referred to by a human (or generally animate) noun’ (cf. ex. 2), but adds that *pàs* can be used with inanimate nouns as well, ‘as a synonym of *prie* in colloquial speech’. This is illustrated by the following couple of examples (ex. 3–4):

(3) **Modern Lithuanian.** Ambrazas (1997, 416)

<i>stovėti</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>langą</i>
stand.INF	at, by	window.ACC.SG.M
‘to stand at/by the window’		

(4) **Modern Lithuanian.** Ambrazas (1997, 416)

<i>stovėti</i>	<i>prie</i>	<i>lango</i>
stand.INF	at, by	window.GEN.SG.M
‘to stand at/by the window’		

A similar observation is made by Jonas Šukys (1978, 62), who writes that *pàs* refers to ‘the house, accommodation or territories of persons or living creatures, where one stays, lives and works’ (*asmenų ar gyvų būtybių namai, būstai arba teritorijos, kur kas būna, gyvena, dirba*). He adds that *pàs* may also be used more broadly to denote spatial proximity, regardless of the nature of the locative landmark, but notes that this possibility only occurs ‘in some dialects and in literature’ (*kai kuriose tarmėse ir grožinėje literatūroje*).

There thus seems to be a certain degree of variation regarding the semantic scope of the preposition *pàs* in Modern Lithuanian. It is worthwhile reviewing the historical data that can shed some light on the original meaning of *pàs*.

Before presenting the Old Lithuanian evidence, it is necessary to bear in mind that the ancient Lithuanian literature is generally translated from other languages, which may have a serious impact on the semantic spectrum of *pàs*. There is no adessive/apudessive distinction in German (positional *bei* +DAT, directional *zu* +DAT) or Latin (positional and directional *ad* +ACC, *apud* +ACC), so that the absence of distinction in Old Lithuanian might sometimes be suspected to be calqued from these languages, at least to a certain extent. The situation in Polish is more complicated, due to the progressive decline of the positional preposition *u* (+GEN) and its increasing limitation to the apudessive function in the modern language. The directional preposition *do* (+GEN) is both adessive and apudessive.

In the earliest Lithuanian texts, the preposition *pàs* (+ACC) is adessive and competes with *priẽ* (+GEN). The question arises as to under what conditions it came to take on the apudessive meaning. Due to space constraints, I shall limit myself to a selection of Lithuanian texts covering the time span between the first written documents to the threshold of the modern standardized language:

- The writings of Martynas Mažvydas (1547–1570)
- Mikalojus Daukša's *Postilla Catholicka* (1599)
- The *Ziwatas* (1759)
- The three reference grammars by August Schleicher (1856), Friedrich Kurschat (1876) and Jonas Jablonskis (1919)

2.1. Martynas Mažvydas (1547–1570)

The preposition *pàs* occurs only three times in the writings of the first Lithuanian author, Martynas Mažvydas (1547–1570). It is always used in reference to inanimate landmarks:

- (5) **Old Lithuanian.** Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfcžoniskas* 447₁₁ [1570]

<i>latrui</i>	/	<i>pas</i>	<i>defchine</i>	<i>nũkrikfžawotamui</i>
robber.DAT.SG.M		at, by	right.ACC.SG.F	crucified.DAT.SG.M

‘(He spoke) to the robber crucified on his right.’

- (6) **Old Lithuanian.** Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfcžoniskas* 505₄ [1570]

<i>Jr</i>	<i>bũs</i>	<i>kaipo</i>	<i>medis</i>	
and	be.FUT.3	like	tree.NOM.SG.M	

<i>fodintas</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>werfmes</i>	<i>wandenu.</i>	
planted.NOM.SG.M	at, by	stream.ACC.PL.F	water.GEN.PL.M	

‘And he shall be like a tree planted by the streams of water.’ (= Latin *et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum*, German *der ist wie ein Bawm gepflantzet an den Wasserbechen*, cf. Psalm 1, 3)

- (7) **Old Lithuanian.** Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfcžoniskas* 511₁₃ [1570]

<i>Melfiu</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>fchwęnta</i>	<i>bafžnicže</i>	<i>tawa.</i>
pray.FUT.1.SG	at, by	holy.ACC.SG.F	church.ACC.SG.F	2.SG.GEN

‘I shall pray in your holy church.’

The use of the preposition *pàs* does not seem to have been triggered in these examples by foreign models. Spatial proximity without any semantic

restriction is more commonly expressed in Mažvydas' writings by the adessive resp. allative case or alternatively by the preposition *prieg*. Both can refer to inanimate and to animate landmarks alike.

2.2. Mikalojus Daukša (1599)

In the *Postilla Catholicka* by Mikalojus Daukša (1599), there is a total of 17 instances of the preposition *pàs*. It is regularly used with inanimate objects to denote spatial proximity; its meaning is adessive ('near, next to, close to, at, by'), not specifically apudessive. The locative landmark can be (1°) a general location (ex. 8):

- (8) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* 322₁₃ [1599]
kad būwo pas wiétq ánq.
 when be.PST.3 at, by place.ACC.SG.F that.ACC.SG.F
 'as he was near that place' (= Polish *gdy był wedle miejfcá*)

(2°) a more limited area, e.g. a road (ex. 9–10):

- (9) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* 97₁₉ [1599],
 cf. 97₃₀ [1599]
Jr kad fëio więná pũle pas këlq.
 and when sow.PST.3 one.NOM.SG.F fall.PST.3 at, by road.ACC.SG.M
 'And, as he was sowing, one ear fell along the road.' (= Polish *A gdy siał iedno vpádlo podle drogi*)

- (10) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* 102₉ [1599],
 cf. also 105₄₅, 105₄₆ [1599]
Áklas nêkuris fedëio pas këla
 blind.NOM.SG.M some.NOM.SG.M sit.PST.3 at, by road.ACC.SG.M
ëlgetaudamas.
 begging.NOM.SG.M
 'A blind man was sitting along the road, begging alms.' (= Polish *ślepy niektory siedział wedla drogi żebrzac*)

the banks of a river (ex. 11):

- (11) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* 524₃₁ [1599]
pas krâfzta fedédami
 at, by bank.ACC.SG.M sitting.NOM.PL.M
 'sitting on the banks' (= Polish *wedla brzegu siedzacy*)

(3°) a material object, e.g. a cross (ex. 12):

(12) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 172₄₀ [1599]

O ftowëio pas krįžiu Jėsaus
 and stand.PST.3 at, by cross.ACC.SG.M Jesus.GEN.SG.M
Motina io.
 mother.NOM.SG.F 3.SG.GEN

‘And standing by the cross of Jesus was his mother.’ (= Polish *A stały u krzyża Jezusowego Mátka iego*)

a door (ex. 13):

(13) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 269₇ [1599]

O búwo nêkuris elgeta wardu
 and be.PST.3 some.NOM.SG.M beggar.NOM.SG.M name.INSTR.SG.M
Lozorius kuris gulëio pas wartús io.
 Lazarus.NOM.SG.M who.NOM.SG.M lie.PST.3 at, by gate.ACC.PL.M 3.SG.GEN

‘And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus who was laid at his gate.’ (= Polish *A był niektóry żebrak / imieniem Łazarz / ktory leżał u wrot iego*)

(4°) a body part, e.g. the feet (ex. 14):

(14) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 490₄₅ [1599]

fedédama pas kóias Wiefzpatiés.
 sitting.NOM.SG.F at, by foot.ACC.PL.F Lord.GEN.SG.M

‘sitting at the Lord’s feet’ (= Polish *siedzac wedle nog Páńskich*)

In these contexts, the preposition *pàs* renders Polish *u* ‘at, by’ (ex. 12, 13), *wedle, wedla* ‘along’ (ex. 8, 10, 11, 14) or *podle* ‘near’ (ex. 9).

Pàs can also refer to human beings. Here again, its meaning is not apudessive, but more generally adessive, denoting spatial proximity (‘near, next to, close to, at, by’) without specific reference to the place of residence. In (15), for example, the context shows Jesus staying in a Pharisee’s house and a sick man approaching him:

(15) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 339₃ [1599]

Jr fžitai žmógus wándenimis patúžes
 and behold man.NOM.SG.M water.INSTR.PL.M swollen.NOM.SG.M
ftowëio pás ij.
 stand.PST.3 at, by 3.SG.ACC

‘And, behold, a man swollen with water was standing next to him.’ (= Polish *á oto cżłowiek opuchły stał przed nim*)

The prepositional group *pàs ij* cannot refer to Jesus' house, since Jesus is precisely not at home. It denotes simply the proximity of the man coming to Jesus ('next to him'). The same can be said about (16), where a Samaritan discovers a wounded man along the road:

- (16) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 322₁₄ [1599]
Bêt Samaritônas nêkuris kêlú
 but Samaritan.NOM.SG.M some.NOM.SG.M way.INSTR.SG.M
éidamas atêio pas ií.
 going.NOM.SG.M arrive.PST.3 at, by 3.SG.ACC
 'But a Samaritan who was travelling came upon him.' (= Polish *Ale Sámárytan niektory iádac / przyfzedł wedle niego*)

We have the same adessive meaning in all the other occurrences of *pàs* with human landmarks that can be found in Daukša (ex. 17–20):

- (17) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 38₂ = 41₁₄ [1599]
O fšitái Anġelas Wiefšpaties ftóios
 and behold angel.NOM.SG.M Lord.GEN.SG.M stand up.PST.3
pas iús.
 at, by 3.PL.ACC
 'And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood up in front of them.' (= Polish *A oto Anyoł Pánfki ftánał wedla ich* in 38₂ resp. *A oto Anyoł Pánfki ftánał podle nich* in 41₁₄)
- (18) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 61₆ [1599]
Né gal regt pas fawę fancžio.
 NEG can.PRS.3 see.INF at, by REFL.ACC.SG being.GEN.SG.M
 'They cannot see a man standing next to them' (= Polish *nie mogą widzieć obecnego*)
- (19) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 228₃₈ [1599]
Sžitái du wîru ftóios
 behold two.NOM.DU.M man.NOM.DU.M stand up.PST.3
pas iús.
 at, by 3.PL.ACC
 'Behold, two men stood up next to them.' (= Polish *oto dwá meżowie ftáneli wedle nich*)
- (20) **Old Lithuanian.** Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* 516₄₁ [1599]
Pařtate ij tarp ių pas fawę.
 place.PST.3 3.SG.ACC among 3.PL.GEN at, by REFL.ACC.SG
 'He placed him (the little child) among them by his side.' (= Polish *pořtáwil ie między nimi podle siebie*)

As with inanimate landmarks, the equivalence with Polish is regular: Lithuanian *pas* renders Polish *wedle* ‘along’ (ex. 16, 17, 19), *podle* ‘near’ (ex. 17, 20), more rarely *przed* ‘before, in front of’ (ex. 15).

2.3. *Ziwatas* (1759)

The *Ziwatas* (1759) is interesting in that it reflects 18th century Lithuanian, moreover in a variety of Low Lithuanian (Samogitian) dialect that was not previously attested. On the other hand, as a religious text, it cannot be addressed without consideration of the textual tradition it belongs to. In the *Ziwatas*, the preposition *pàs* is relatively frequent (28x). It can introduce inanimate landmarks, which may be widely different in nature, such as a road (ex. 21):

(21) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 96₇ [1759]

Jezufas apfwyite akla pas kieli.
 Jesus.NOM.SG.M enlighten.PST.3 blind.ACC.SG.M at, by way.ACC.SG.M
 ‘Jesus enlightened a blind man along the way.’

a gate (ex. 22):

(22) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* V₁₂ [1759]

Nes pafate pas wartus Tiewu fowa
 for place.PST.3 at, by gate.ACC.PL.M father.GEN.PL.M REFL.GEN.SG
budely diel fawys.
 small hut.ACC.SG.F for REFL.GEN.SG
 ‘He built at the gate of his fathers a small hut for himself.’

a building (ex. 23):

(23) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 198₁ [1759]

Pona Jezufa pas Suda troba
 Lord.ACC.SG.M Jesus.ACC.SG.M at, by court.GEN.SG.M building.ACC.SG.F
pry Pylota nuwede.
 at, by Pilatus.GEN.SG.M bring.PST.3
 ‘The Lord Jesus was brought to the Court building, to Pilatus.’

a crib (ex. 24):

(24) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 228₂₆ [1759]

piemenis, kuryi pas Prakarta buwa
 shepherd.NOM.PL.M who.NOM.PL.M at, by crib.ACC.SG.M be.PST.3
 ‘shepherds who were near the crib’

a window (ex. 25):

(25) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 207₁₀ [1759]

Diel to Pylotas lyipe Jezufa
 because that.GEN.SG Pilatus.NOM.SG.M order.PST.3 Jesus.ACC.SG.M
Pona pas ląga wyina dydey awkfstay
 Lord.ACC.SG.M at, by window.ACC.SG.M one.ACC.SG.M very.ADV high.ADV
 eyty.
 go.INF

‘Therefore Pilatus ordered the Lord Jesus to come at a window from very high.’

a cross (ex. 26):

(26) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 223₁₄ [1759], cf. also 233₂₂, 246₄ [1759]

atejys drebedamas pas kriziu
 arrived.NOM.SG.M trembling.NOM.SG.M at, by cross.ACC.SG.M
 ‘arrived trembling at the cross’

a mountain (ex. 27):

(27) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 156₁₀ [1759]

O teyp atejys pas kalna Aliwu,
 and thus arrived.NOM.SG.M at, by mount.ACC.SG.M olive.GEN.PL.M
tare Mokitynems fawa.
 speak.PST.3 disciple.DAT.PL.M REFL.GEN.SG

‘And thus, as he arrived at the Mount of Olives, he spoke to his disciples.’

Cf. also 298₇ (*pas Staličiy* ‘near the seat’), 308₁₂ (*pas Jeruzalu* ‘near Jerusalem’), 316₁₀ (*pas Trona* ‘near the throne’) with other inanimate landmarks. There does not seem to be any limitation as to the nature of the landmark.

The preposition *pàs* can also refer to human beings (or humanlike figures such as God), denoting spatial proximity without specific reference to the place of residence (ex. 28–34):

(28) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 82₂₀ [1759]

O pufiey naktyis ateytum pas anq
 and middle.LOC.SG.F night.GEN.SG.F come.COND.2.SG at, by 3.SG.ACC
kalbedamas jem.
 speaking.NOM.SG.M 3.SG.DAT

‘And in the middle of the night you would come to him (a friend), speaking to him.’

- (29) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 150₁₇ [1759], cf. also 137_{6(2x)} [1759]
Tuw *ćiefu* *Jonas* *fiedieje*
 that.INSTR.SG.M time.INSTR.SG.M John.NOM.SG.M stay.PST.3
pas *Jezufa* *milawfi.*
 at, by Jesus.ACC.SG.M dearest.ACC.SG.M
 ‘At that time John was staying at the dearest Jesus.’
- (30) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 160₁₄ [1759], cf. also 184₂₀ [1599]
fioięs *pas* *anus*
 standing.NOM.SG.M at, by 3.PL.ACC.M
 ‘(Jesus) standing next to them (= the disciples)’
- (31) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 219₄ [1759]
Milawfe *Motina* *jo* *pas* *aną* *artyi*
 dearest.NOM.SG.F mother.NOM.SG.F 3.SG.GEN at, by 3.SG.ACC near
eyty *negalieje.*
 go.INF NEG=can.PST.3
 ‘His dearest mother could not come nearer to him.’
- (32) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 232₂ [1759], cf. also 232₂₀, 300₁₅ [1759]
kayp *kokfay* *łatrus* *kiba* *pas* *tawi*
 as a sort of.NOM.SG.M thief.NOM.SG.M be hanged.PRS.3 at, by 2.SG.ACC
 ‘as a thief is hanged alongside you’
- (33) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 287₂₁ [1759]
Dielto *gadna* *efi* *buty* *pas*
 because=that.GEN.SG worthy.NOM.SG.F be.PRS.2.SG be.INF at, by
Diewa.
 God.ACC.SG.M
 ‘Therefore, you are worthy to be close to God.’
- (34) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwas* 289₁₀ [1759]
Gadna *tad* *turiety* *pas* *Sunu* *fawa*
 worthy.NOM.SG.F then have.INF at, by son.ACC.SG.M REFL.GEN.SG
milawfi *Stalićiy* *garbies*
 dearest.ACC.SG.M seat.ACC.SG.F honor.GEN.SG.F
 ‘worthy to have pride of place near your dearest son’
 Cf. also 298₁₀ [1759] with another human landmark (*Panna Maria* ‘the Virgin Mary’).

In none of these examples is there any exclusive reference to the place of residence. The human being is presented as a locative landmark, irrespective of his position in space. An interesting point is that, in the *Ziwatas*, there are at least 3 instances of *pas numus* (= Standard Lith. *pàs namùs*) +ACC ‘at the house of X’ (ex. 35–36):

(35) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 180₁₃ [1759], cf. also 279₄ [1759]

Szwećiaufe *Maria* *Panna* *tuw*
 holiest.NOM.SG.F Mary.NOM.SG.F Lady.NOM.SG.F that.INSTR.SG.M
ćiefu *pas* *numus* *Kayfošiaws* *ftowieje*.
 time.INSTR.SG.M at, by house.ACC.PL.M Caiaphas.GEN.SG.M stay.PST.3
 ‘The Holy Virgin Mary at that time was staying at Caiaphas’ home.’

(36) **18th century Lithuanian.** *Ziwatas* 185₃₋₄ [1759]

Motina *jo* *yr* *Mokityney* *ftowiedamy*
 mother.NOM.SG.F 3.SG.GEN and disciple.NOM.PL.M staying.NOM.PL.M
pas *anus* *numus* *gyrdieje* *balfa* *ano*.
 at, by that.ACC.PL.M house.ACC.PL.M heard.PST.3 voice.ACC.SG.M 3.SG.GEN
 ‘His mother and disciples, staying at that house, heard his voice.’

The collocation *pas numus* ‘at’ + ‘the house’ suggests that *pàs* does not convey in its core meaning the seme [+HOUSE] since it must be connected with the noun *nāmas* ‘house’ to express the apudessive meaning.

2.4. Schleicher (1856), Kurschat (1876) and Jablonskis (1919)

The *Litauische Grammatik* by August Schleicher (1856) offers us a glimpse into 19th century colloquial Lithuanian as was spoken in East Prussia. In the chapter on prepositions, Schleicher writes (1856, 282):

Pàs an, bei steht in seiner bedeutung der praep. prë (mit dem genitiv) ser nahe, prë bezeichnet die unmittelbare nähe und berührung, pàs die nähe überhaupt
 ‘Pàs ‘at, by’, has a meaning very close to that of the preposition *prië* (+ gen.), *prië* denotes immediate proximity and contact, *pàs* proximity in general.’

This formulation goes back in pretty similar terms to Kurschat (1843, 7). Schleicher gives a few examples that illustrate the broad equivalence between *pàs* and *prië*, e.g. *botágq pàs sėnq* and *prë sėnos pakabinti* ‘to hang the whip on the wall’ (= German *die peitsche an die wand, in die nähe der wand hängen*), *jis sėdos pàs stálq* and *prë stálo* ‘he sat down at the table’ (= German

er setzte sich an den tisch), *jis gyvén prė kaimyno* ‘he lives at the neighbor’s house’ (= German *er wohnt beim nachbar*) and *jis yr pàs kaimyną* ‘he is at the neighbor’s house (e.g. as a guest)’ (= German *er ist beim nachbar (z.b. zu besuch)*). Most of these examples do not exhibit a particular predisposition of *pàs* to the apudessive meaning, even if it can occasionally refer to the position of a human being inside his house (as in *pàs kaimyną* ‘at the neighbor’s house’).

The *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* by Friedrich Kurschat (1876) describes the meaning of the preposition *pàs* in practically the same terms (1876, 394, § 1460):

Priė wird gesetzt, wenn die unmittelbare Nähe und Berührung bezeichnet werden soll, pàs bezeichnet die Nähe überhaupt.

‘*Priė* is used to denote immediate proximity and contact, *pàs* denotes proximity in general.’

Kurschat adds:

Wo es auf den Unterschied dieser beiden Begriffe nicht ankommt, da werden pàs und priė beliebig für einander gesetzt, wobei in einer Gegend mehr pàs, in der andern mehr priė beliebt ist.

‘When the distinction between these two concepts is not at stake, *pàs* and *priė* are used indifferently, *pàs* more in one region, *priė* more in another one.’

The authoritative grammar by Jonas Jablonskis (1919, 170) gives a few examples of the preposition *pàs*, with a predominantly apudessive meaning (e.g. *aš gyvenu pas jį* ‘I live at his home’, *dirbau pas kunigą tris dienas* ‘I worked for three days at the priest’s home’, etc.), but not exclusively (e.g. *sėskis pas krosnį* ‘sit down near the oven’). The Academic Grammar of 1971 (LKG 2, 626) still describes the meaning of *pàs* in very broad terms, as ‘denoting spatial relations’ (*erdvės santykiams reikšti*). The *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (LKŽ 9, 439–440) writes that *pàs* denotes ‘a person, sometimes also any living creature, as a place, an environment, where an action takes place or a state is expressed’ (*asmenį, kartais ir šiaip gyvą padarą kaip vietą, aplinką, kurioje vyksta veiksmas, pasireiškia būseną*).

For obvious reasons of space, this brief overview could not be complete and I had to confine myself to a few milestones of the history of *pàs* since the earliest Lithuanian texts. What seems to emerge from these data is that the apudessive meaning (‘at someone’s home’) was *never* exclusive in Lithuanian and even seems to have been quite rare and marginal in Old Lithuanian,

where *pàs* usually denoted spatial proximity without any limitation, in competition with *priẽ*. There is no undisputable evidence in Old Lithuanian to support the distinction suggested by Kurschat and Schleicher between *priẽ* = immediate proximity and *pàs* = proximity in general. The history of the Lithuanian preposition *pàs* thus illustrates, to a certain extent, a restriction of meaning from ‘near, next to, close to, at, by’ (adessive) to ‘at someone’s home’ (apudessive). This evolution corresponds to what William Croft (1990, 126), describing the implementation of reanalysis in historical linguistics, called ‘hyponalysis’, i.e. the promotion of a contextual feature as an inherent feature:

In HYPOANALYSIS, the listener reanalyzes a contextual semantic/functional property as an inherent property of the syntactic unit. In the reanalysis, the inherent property of the context (often the grammatical context [...]), is then attributed to the syntactic unit, and so the syntactic unit in question gains a new meaning or function.

This means that the preposition *pàs*, referring to spatial proximity, could be contextually understood as referring to someone’s house and that this contextual feature gained increasingly more importance in the modern language and eventually became predominant, without completely upsetting the possibility of using *pàs* in its broader meaning.

3. Origin and development

The origin of *pàs* must be assessed against this background. To begin with general considerations, apudessive prepositions can be traced back to two main sources in the Indo-European languages:

- (1°) grammaticalized forms of nouns meaning ‘house, home’
- (2°) semantic restriction of adessive prepositions

To the first type belong, inter alia, French *chez*, Old French *chies* (< Latin *casā* or *casīs* ‘at home’, ablative sg. or pl. of *casa* ‘house, home’) and Scandinavian *hos* (< *hus* ‘house, home’). It comes as no surprise that already from the beginning these prepositions are limited to the place of residence of human beings. To the second type belong apudessive adpositions that were originally not marked by that semantic feature and whose meaning was more general. Albanian *tek* ‘to somebody’s home’ (directional) probably belongs to this type: it is likely to go back to a locution **tō k^u* ‘there where’ reanalyzed as a directional preposition with first adessive, then apudessive

meaning.² The evolution [ADESSIVE] > [APUDESSIVE] can also be supposed for Lithuanian *pàs*. This scenario is supported by the philological evidence which shows that the apudessive meaning of *pàs* developed only very recently in the history of Lithuanian and has never completely obliterated the original adessive meaning.

3.1. Etymology

Even if the adessive origin of *pàs* is not disputed, its precise etymology still remains in the dark. Traditionally, Lithuanian *pàs* is derived from PIE **pos*, which is reconstructed mainly on the basis of the comparison with Arcado-Cypriot Greek πός ‘towards’ + DAT or ACC (written *po-se* in Cypriot). Further comparanda routinely mentioned in the literature are Vedic Sanskrit *paścā* ‘behind’ (adverb), Young Avestan *pasča* ‘behind’ (adv.), Old Persian *pasā* ‘after’ (adverb), Latin *post* ‘behind, after’ (adverb and preposition +ACC < PIE **pos-ti*), Tocharian B *postām* ‘after, later’ (adverb), Armenian *əst* ‘along, according to’ (+DAT), ‘because of’ (+LOC), ‘after’ (+ABL), Albanian *pas* ‘behind’ (adverb and preposition +ABL), Old Church Slavic поздѣ ‘late’ (adverb), all of which seem to be based on **pos-* followed by various particles.³ The direct equation between Lithuanian *pàs* and Arcado-Chypriot Greek πός has been questioned by Chantraine (DELG, 932). Chantraine derives πός from **posi* which is preserved in Mycenaean Greek (*po-si*) and can result from the assibilation of PIE **poti* in non-Doric dialects. Lithuanian *pàs* thus remains isolated. The diversity of forms precludes any precise reconstruction. More or less explicitly, it is sometimes suggested that there was in PIE a system of cognate adverbial or adpositional forms based on the following variations:

	<i>*-s</i>	<i>*-ti</i>
<i>*po-</i>	<i>*pos</i>	<i>*poti</i>
	Lithuanian <i>pàs</i>	Greek πoτί, Avestan <i>paiti</i> ‘to’
<i>*pro-</i>	<i>*pros</i>	<i>*proti</i>
	Greek πρός (but more likely from <i>*proti-V-</i>)	Greek πρoτί, Vedic Sanskrit <i>práti</i> ‘against’, Old Church Slavic противѣ

In this system, **pos* could represent the basic form **po-* with adverbial **-s*, just as Greek εἰς ‘into’ (+ACC) reflects **h₁en-s*, ἐξ ‘from’ (+GEN) **h₁eǵ^h-s*, etc.

² See Petit (2015).

³ See, e.g., ALEW 2, 737.

There is no need to underscore the fragility of this reconstruction, which simply juxtaposes heterogeneous data without determining whether they all existed in the same synchrony and how they differed from one another. In addition, the variation between **po-* and **pro-* is not explained.⁴

What is more serious is that the original meaning of **pos* remains unclear in this reconstruction. Leaving aside Arcado-Cypriot πός, which has its own history, all cognate forms seem to derive from a common meaning ‘behind, after’, which hardly fits with that of Lithuanian *pàs* ‘near, next to, close to, at, by’ and could rather be more reminiscent of that of Lithuanian *põ* ‘after’ +GEN, ‘under’ +INSTR (secondary lengthening of *pa-* < PIE **pǝ*, cf. Old Church Slavic по ‘after’ +LOC, Latin *pōnō* ‘to put down, to place’ < **pǝ-sinō*, perfect participle *pǝ-situs*). The semantic link between ‘behind, after’ and ‘near, next to, close to, at, by’ is not inconceivable, but at least requests clarification. In his usual way, Pokorny (IEW, 841) simply adds up all attested meanings: ‘immediately next to, behind, after’ (German: *unmittelbar bei, hinter, nach*). It is generally assumed that the meaning ‘behind’ is still reflected by the derivative Lithuanian *pãstaras* ‘the last one’ (‘the one behind’) from **pos-teros*, corresponding to Latin *posterus* ‘coming after, following, next, ensuing’.⁵ If this is correct, this confirms that the original meaning of Lithuanian *pàs* was ‘behind’. This implies a non-trivial semantic shift [BEHIND] > [NEAR] which still has to be explained.

3.2. Functional evolution

A striking detail of the preposition *pàs* in Lithuanian is its construction with the accusative. This construction is exclusive since the earliest Lithuanian texts. Only in some Low Lithuanian dialects do we find another construction, *pàs* (+GEN), which is obviously secondary, calqued on *priẽ* (+GEN).⁶ The motivation for the selection of the accusative case with *pàs* was not really addressed in the literature. *Pàs* belongs to a limited set of prepositions that are construed in Lithuanian only with the accusative, such as *apiẽ* ‘about,

⁴ Note, in passing, that we have exactly the same problem in Baltic between Latvian *pie* and Lithuanian *priẽ*.

⁵ For the formation in **-tero-* see PIE **pro-tero-* (Greek πρότερος ‘first’, Avestan *fratarā-* ‘anterior’) from **pro* (Greek πρό, Avestan *fra-* ‘before’) or **h₁en-tero-* (Vedic Sanskrit *ántara-* ‘interior’) from **h₁en* (Greek ἐν ‘in’), to mention just a few examples. Cf. also Classical Sanskrit *apataram* ‘away’ adverb (from *ápa* ‘from’), Vedic Sanskrit *nitarām* ‘below, down’ (from *ní* ‘below’) = Old High German *nidar*, German *nieder*.

⁶ Zinkevičius (1966, 423).

around', *apliņk* 'about, around', *ī* 'into', *pagal* 'by, according to, along', *palei* 'by, near, along', *pāskui* 'after, behind', *peŗ* 'through, over, in, by', *priēŗ* 'against, before' and *prō* 'through, by'.⁷ From an Indo-European perspective, it is expected that the prepositions that require the accusative case denote movement or direction *towards* a target, in contrast with the locative for the locative role of position and the ablative for the locative role of source. The directional meaning is still implied by Lithuanian *ī* 'into', *priēŗ* 'against, before' and maybe *peŗ* 'through, over, in, by', but many other prepositions construed with the accusative can be used indifferently to denote position and direction, and this is precisely what we observe with *pās*: compare *būti pas draugq* 'to be at a friend's home' (position) and *sueiti pas draugq* 'to go to a friend's home' (direction). Polyfunctional prepositions may also use the accusative, in competition with another case, to denote direction, e.g. *ūŗ* 'for' (+ACC) opposed to 'behind' (+INSTR), or *pō* 'all over' (+ACC) opposed to 'under' (+INSTR) and 'after' (+GEN). The directional meaning is not always clear, however. The PIE distribution [POSITION = +LOC, DIRECTION = +ACC, SOURCE = +ABL] has been deeply disturbed in Baltic due to a conspiracy of factors, such as the Balto-Slavic decline of the ablative (merged with the genitive), the Baltic decline of the locative (merged with the dative), the rise of the system of postpositional cases and, more generally, the redistribution of the semantic functions of some prepositions. Nevertheless, the constant use of the accusative with *pās* cannot be due to sheer coincidence.

Taken superficially, position and direction are usually considered the two sides of a single coin, only distinguished by the position of the referent (or Figure) with regard to the locative landmark (or Ground), either within (position) or moving from outside towards this landmark (direction). The difference, however, is that position has to specify the locative relation (within a closed space, on a surface, next to the landmark, etc.), since this relation is actually fulfilled and clearly visible, whereas direction may leave the nature of this locative relation unspecified, since the landmark has not yet been reached. There are examples of discrepancies between position and direction across languages. In Gothic, for example, the preposition *ana* means specifically 'on, on the surface of' when it denotes position (+DAT), e.g. *ana stapa was* 'he was on the shore' (Mk 4, 1 = ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἤν), whereas it has a broader meaning 'towards' (not necessarily 'towards the surface of') when it denotes direction (+ACC), e.g. *qam ana fera Magdalan* 'he went to the region of Magdalan / Dalmanutha' (Mk 8, 10 = ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά).

⁷ Cf. Ambrazas (1997, 414–419).

Similarly, the Latvian preposition *uz* means specifically ‘on, on the surface of’ when it denotes position (+GEN), e.g. *putns sēž uz zara* ‘a bird is perched on a branch’, whereas it means ‘towards’ (not necessarily ‘towards the surface of’) when it denotes direction (+ACC), e.g. *steigties uz staciju* ‘to run to the station’. In Old Prussian, a distinction is made between *en, an* ‘in’ and *na* ‘on, on the surface of’ for position, but no distinction with *na* ‘towards’. To put it more precisely, the locative role of direction is less specific than the locative role of position and does not imply a complete parallelism of meaning.

One may assume that the original function of *pàs* was directional. This assumption could explain not only the construction with the accusative, but also the semantic evolution of the preposition. If one reconstructs the original meaning of PIE **pos* as ‘behind’, i.e. combining the two semes [+PROXIMITY], [+BEHIND], it can be surmised that the complexity of this meaning was fully preserved in the locative role of position, but was blurred to a broader meaning [+PROXIMITY] in the locative role of direction, where the important point was to denote the movement, not necessarily to specify the initial position of the referent with regard to the landmark. The general meaning of proximity ascribed to the preposition *pàs* by Schleicher (1856) and Kurschat (1876) could be accounted for in the light of this analysis, in contrast with *priē*, which denoted close proximity from the beginning. My assumption is that the evolution [BEHIND] > [NEAR] may have arisen for the preposition *pàs* in the directional meaning. It may have been the case that *pàs* was still used in the positional meaning as ‘behind’ (this meaning is still preserved by *pāstaras*); it was soon replaced in that function by other prepositions that had a similar meaning, such as Lithuanian *ùž* ‘behind’ (+INSTR).

The next step in this scenario would be the extension of *pàs* (+ACC) to the positional meaning. This ambivalence could have been prompted by the model of the quasi-synonymous *priē*. Originally, there was in Lithuanian a distinction between *priē* (+DAT) for the locative role of position and *priē* (+GEN) for the locative role of direction. This distinction is still suggested, to a certain extent, by Old Lithuanian data, but, very soon, the construction with the genitive became predominant both to denote position and direction, as shown by the following instances from Old Lithuanian (ex. 37–38):

- (37) **Old Lithuanian.** Martynas Mažvydas, *Forma Chrikftima* 131₁₀
 [1549] = *Gefmes Chrikfcžoniskas* 233₁₀ [1566]
Prieg wandens est fžodis fchwentas.
 at, by water.GEN.SG.M be.PRS.3 word.NOM.SG.M holy.NOM.SG.M
 ‘Near water is the Holy Word.’

- (38) **Old Lithuanian.** Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfcžoniskas* 442,
[1570]
Siunte ghi prieg Heroda.
 send.PST.3 3.SG.ACC at, by Herod.GEN.SG.M
 ‘He sent him to Herod.’

The same ambivalence is regular in Modern Lithuanian, e.g. *sėdėti prie lango* ‘to sit at the window’ (position) / *prieiti prie lango* ‘to go to the window’ (direction). It can be assumed that the extension of *pàs* (+ACC) to the positional meaning results from the influence of *priẽ* (+GEN), in which the two locative roles were not distinguished:

Position	Direction
<i>priẽ</i> (+GEN)	<i>priẽ</i> (+GEN)
<i>pàs</i> (+ACC)	<i>pàs</i> (+ACC)

←

My assumption is that the preposition *pàs* underwent, in its prehistory and even in its history, a multi-stage evolution [BEHIND] > [ADESSIVE] (first only directional) > [ADESSIVE] (both directional and positional) > [APUDESSIVE] (both directional and positional). There is no doubt that this reconstruction contains an element of speculation which will probably not escape the attention of my readers, and particularly of the recipient of this paper, whose intelligence and critical mind we all admire. The fact remains that the history of prepositions is a complex one and often involves multifaceted functional and semantic redistributions of this kind.

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