

Grammaticalization processes of complex predicates with converbs in Udmurt

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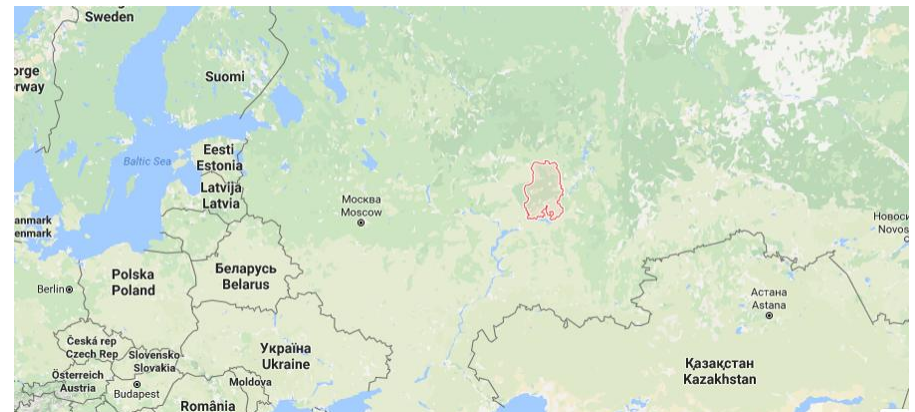
Aims and data

- ▶ Grammaticalization processes of verbs in Udmurt converb constructions
 - ▶ *koškyny* ‘go away’, *kelʹtyny* ‘leave’, *kyllʹyny* ‘lie’, *potyny* ‘go out’, *śotyny* ‘give’
 - ▶ Problematics of interpreting and classifying converb constructions
 - ▶ Ambiguous cases and typological parallels
 - ▶ Aspectual meanings
 - Data
 - ▶ Udmurt Corpus/ Udmurt Corpora (UdmCorp.): 7/9,5 million tokens
 - ▶ subcorpus (blogs): 48870 tokens
 - ▶ Questionnaires (2015, 2016, Izhevsk)
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Udmurt

- ▶ Permic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family
- ▶ Spoken in the Russian Federation: Udmurtia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and the territories of Kirov and Perm
- ▶ Closest relatives: Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak languages
- ▶ Number of speakers:
 - ▶ 2002: 463 837
 - ▶ 2010: 324 338
- ▶ “threatened”(ELCat/ELP), “definitely endangered” (Moseley 2010), “developing” (Lewis & Simons & Fennig 2016)



Serial verbs and converb constructions

- ▶ Constructions containing a dependent verb form: mono-clausal multi-verb constructions alongside with serial verb constructions and constructions with auxiliaries (Aikhenvald 2011)
- ▶ SVCs: „sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort” (Aikhenvald 2006: 1)
- ▶ Fuzzy boundaries: grammaticalization of minor verbs („aspectual, directional, or phasal specification for the whole construction”) (Aikhenvald 2011: 10)
- ▶ Some converb constructions are similar to serial verbs in their semantics and composition (Aikhenvald 2011: 14)
- ▶ CVBC > SVC (Aikhenvald 2011: 14)
- ▶ Similarities (Bisang (1995), Amha & Dimmendaal (2011))



Serial verbs and converb constructions

- Main properties of serial verbs (Dixon 2011):
 - ▶ An SVC consist of more than one verb, but the SVC is conceived of as describing a single action
 - ▶ Each verb in an SVC may also occur as the sole verb in a clause
 - ▶ No mark of linkage or subordination in an SVC
 - ▶ An SVC functions like a single predicate
 - ▶ There must almost always be (at least) one argument shared by all the verbs in an SVC
 - ▶ The verbs in an SVC may make up one word, or may remain separate words
 - ▶ The components of an SVC may be contiguous or non-contiguous
 - ▶ Two main varieties:
 - ▶ Asymmetrical: major member (wide range of possibilities) + minor member (limited set of possibilities)
 - ▶ Symmetrical: both members come from an unrestricted class
 - ▶ Asymmetrical SVCs tend to become grammaticalized, and symmetrical SVCs tend to become lexicalized



Converb constructions (V-*sa* + V) in Udmurt

- ▶ Converb clauses with *-sa* converb: manner adverbials, adverbial subordination; simultaneous or posterior/anterior action (Georgieva 2018: 87)

(1) *Ižkar-yn, mon dory kotyr-ez kel'ty-sa,*
Izhkar-INE I to belonging-ACC leave-CVB
košk-i-m bilet-jos-ly Syrjez-e.
go_away-PST-1PL ticket-PL-DAT Syryez-ILL

‘In Izhkar, after leaving our belongings in my place, we went to buy tickets to Syryez.’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Two finite verbs with a conjunction:

(2) *10 ar mar ortčysa, soos-ty serpalt-o no kel't-o*
10 year what after they-ACC sack-3PL and leave-3PL

‘After around 10 years, they [sportsmen] usually get the sack’ (UdmCorp.)



Converb constructions (V-*sa* + V) in Udmurt

- ▶ Phasal verbs, postural verbs, motion verbs, verbs denoting other activities (e.g., ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘throw’): syntactically like main verbs but are interpreted rather as aspectualizers/auxiliaries (cf. Horváth 2013)

- ▶ Converb: lexical meaning, verb: lose some (or all) of their lexical properties:

(3)

<i>tros</i>	<i>dyr</i>	<i>luysal</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>bydes</i>
much	time	be.COND.3SG	if	whole
<i>ulon-ʒe</i>	<i>vera-sa</i>	<i>kušty-sal</i>		
life-3SG.ACC	speak-CVB	throw-COND.3SG		

‘if he had more time, he would tell the story of his whole life’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Volga-Kama area: Turkic (Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash) and Finno-Ugric (Udmurt, Meadow Mari, and Hill Mari) languages (cf. Johanson 2011, Berezcki 1998)
- ▶ Glossar: the vast majority of the examples are not clear-cut cases due to the nature of the grammaticalization processes – elements: somewhere between the two endpoints of a grammaticalization cline (cf. Heine 1993: 53-69, Anderson 2006: 4-5).



Converb constructions (V-*sa* + V) in Udmurt

- ▶ „paired verbs” (e.g. Kelmakov 1975)
- ▶ 1. converb + 2. verb: share mood, polarity, aspect and tense values
- ▶ frequentative suffix

(4) <i>gažet-žurnal-jos-yś</i>	<i>so-ly</i>	<i>siž-em</i>	<i>stat’ja-os-ty</i>
newspaper-journal-PL-ELA	(s)he-DAT	dedicate-PTCP	article-PL-ACC
<i>kuddyr</i>	<i>as-ly-ž</i>	<i>vandy-ly-sa</i>	<i>kel’ty-l-i-ž</i>
sometimes	him(her)self-DAT-3SG	cut-FQV-CVB	leave-FQV-PST-3SG

‘(S)he would sometimes cut the articles from the newspapers about that topic [fishing]’

- ▶ single event
- ▶ finite verb: drawn from a restricted set of verbs



Converb constructions (V-*sa* + V) in Udmurt

- ▶ Particles and/or negation verbs:

(5) *vala-sa* *no* *ej* *vutty*
understand-CVB PCL NEG.PST.1SG come_to:CNG.SG
'I did not manage to understand' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Elements other than particles or negation verbs

(6) *škola-me* *jylpumja-sa* *gorod-e* *košk-i*
school-ACC.1SG finish-CVB town-ILL go_away-PST.1SG
'after finishing school, I moved to the town' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ The subject of the converb and the second verb are co-referential, switch-reference is excluded
-



Converb constructions (V-sa + V) and argument structure

- ▶ illative argument-> consecutive events:

(7) *no* *šures vyle* *ton-e* *žugy-sa* *kel't-o-zy*
and **road on.ILL** **you-ACC** beat-CVB leave-FUT-3SG
'and they will beat you and then leave you on the road' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ no illative argument, rather a single event:

(8) *kin-e* *ke ki-yn-yž* *no* *dongy-sa* *kel't-i-ž*
who-ACC **if** arm-INS-3SG PCL bump-CVB leave-PST-3SG
'(s)he bumped somebody with his/her arm' (UdmCorp.)

* '(s)he bumped somebody with his/her arm and left him/her [there]'



Converb constructions (V-*sa* + V) and argument structure

▶ ACC

(9) *vetl-em-žes*

visit-PTCP-ACC.3PL

odno_ik

definitely

gožty-sa kel't-o

write-CVB leave-FUT.1SG

‘I am definitely going to write everything about their visit.’ (UdmCorp.)



CVB+ *koškyny* ('go away')

- ▶ Lexical meaning:
-

(10=6)

škola-me

school-ACC.1SG

ɟɪlpumja-sa

finish-CVB

gorod-e košk-i

town-ILL go_away-PST.1SG

'after finishing school, I moved to the town' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Direction + PFV
- ▶ semantic force is rather carried by the converb

(11) *śin aź-ɟst-ym*

eye in_front_of-ELAT-1SG

lobžy-sa košk-i-ž

fly-CVB go_away-PST-3SG

'it flew away so I cannot see it anymore' (UdmCorp.)



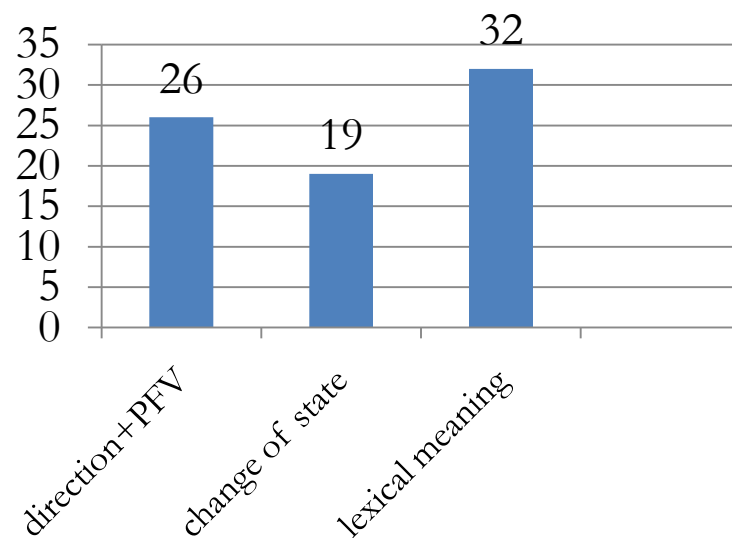
CVB+ *koškyny* ('go away')

- ▶ Change-of-state marker, PFV

(12) *peša-sa* *ik* *košk-i*
sweat-CVB PCL go_away-PST.1SG

'A cold sweat came over me.' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ CVB + *koškyny* 'go.away' (Udmurt corpus, subcorpus of blogs: 77 tokens / 419 000 tokens)



CVB + Perfective auxiliaries

- ▶ Perfectivity: lexical aspect of the verb, modifiers+ auxiliaries of converb constructions

(13) *Pinal-jos-me* *ma-in* *śud-yny* *jormy-sa,*
child-PL-ACC.1SG what-INS feed-INF be_indigent-CVB
ujbyt *berdy-sa* *pot-y-l-i.*
all_night cry-CVB go_out-FQV-PST.1SG

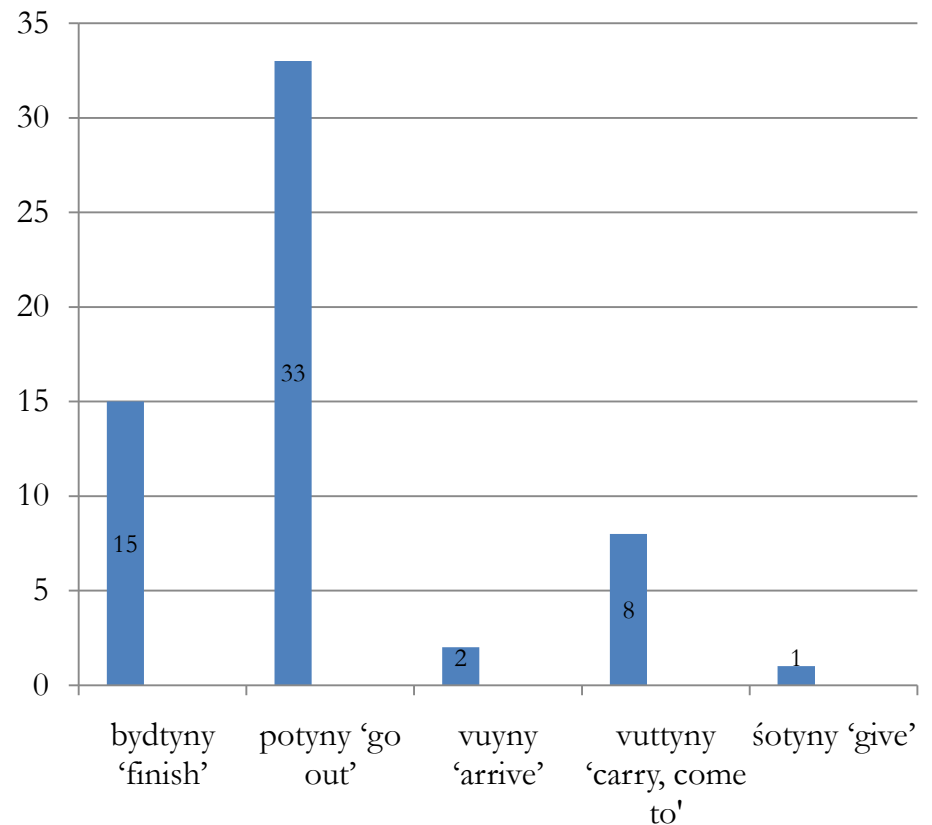
‘I could not give my children any food, I used to burst into tears all night.’
(UdmCorp.)



lydžy-sa ('read'-CVB) + V.PFV

1. What kinds of perfective auxiliaries can *lydžy-sa* be accompanied by?
 2. Semantic compatibility with the original lexical semantics of the auxiliary
- ▶ dialectal background

▶ Udmurt Corpus: 59 tokens / 7 million tokens



lydžy-sa ('read'-CVB) + V.PFV

(14)	<i>al'i</i>	<i>M. Bulgakov-leś,</i>	<i>F. Dostojevskij-leś</i>	<i>vań</i>
	now	M. Bulgakov-ABL	F. Dostoyevskiy-ABL	all_of
	<i>proizved'eńi-os-ses</i>	<i>lydžy-sa</i>	<i>pot-i</i>	
	work-PL-ACC.3PL	read-CVB	go_out-PST.1SG	

'I have read all of the works of M. Bulgakov and F. Dostoyevskiy' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ *śotyny, vuttyny*: retain parts of their lexical semantics – cross-linguistically common (cf. Anderson 2006: 8)
- ▶ *śotyny* ('give') > benefactive

(15)	<i>tazalyk-ez</i>	<i>l'abž-em-en,</i>	<i>bydes</i>	<i>gažet-ez</i>
	health-3SG	weaken-PTCP-INS	whole	newspaper-ACC
	<i>lydžy-sa</i>	<i>śot-išk-o</i>		
	read-CVB	give-PRS-1SG		

'because he is not in a good condition, I read for him the whole newspaper' (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Benefactives < 'give' (see, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149-151)
-



lydžy-sa (‘read’-CVB) + V.PFV

- ▶ *vutyny* (<‘come to’, ‘carry’) with *lydžysa*: ‘to manage to read something in time’:

(16) *somynda* *gožtet-jos* *vuy-ly-ny* *kutsk-i-zy*,
so_much letter-PL arrive-FQV-INF start-PST-3PL
lydžy-sa *ik* *ej* *vutty-l-y*
read-CVB PCL NEG.1SG.PST come.to-FQV-CNG.SG

‘so many letters started to come that I could not manage to read them all’ (UdmCorp.)



„we cannot say it with one word”

- ▶ Quote from a Tariana speaker (Aikhenvald 2011: 2)
- ▶ „speakers themselves are often aware of the existence of multi-verb constructions as a feature of their language” (Aikhenvald 2011: 2)
- ▶ Udmurt speakers sometimes ignore the pragmatic implications and contextual determinations on purpose:

(17) (context: in the classroom)

Teacher:

- *Abdramov, udmurt li'eraturaja učebnikys 116-ti bamež lydžysa pot.*

‘Abdramov, read (read-CVB + go_out.IMP) the 116. page of your practice book!

Abdramov 11-ti bamež lydže no, auditorijs pyrs potysa, koške....

‘Abdramov reads the 116. page and leaves the classroom.’

- ▶ While compositionality of these chunks is lost, their analysability can be maintained (cf. the semantic compositionality and analysability of chunks – Bybee 2010: 45)
-



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries:

kyl'lyny (<'lie')

- ▶ common cross-linguistically (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 193-4, 276-9, 280-2)
- ▶ Spanish Progressive < movement verbs or locational-postural verbs, e.g., < *estar* 'to stand' (Kranich 2010: 115), 'to be located' (Bybee 2010: 147)
- ▶ main verb + gerund complement > compound verb form (finite verb: auxiliary, converb: lexical meaning) (Bybee 2010: 148)

[*estar*]_{verb} [VERB+ndo]_{comp} -> [estar+VERB+ndo]_{verb progressive}

- ▶ *sylyny* 'stand', *pukylyny* 'sit' retain, at least to some extent, their postural semantics
- ▶ *kyllyny* 'lie': more grammaticalized in some cases
- ▶ Grammaticalization processes of SVCs: Northern Paiute language: 'stand' is continuous marker, 'sit' and 'lie': lexical meaning (Thornes 2011: 32-4).

- ▶ Tatar:

(19) *bez Kazan-da* *yaš-əp* *jat-a-byz*
we Kazan-LOC live-PRS.CVB lie-PRS-PL

'We are living in Kazan.' (Ersen-Rasch 2009: 167)



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: *kyl'lyny* (<'lie')

- ▶ context of the situation + pragmatic implications

(18) <i>mon</i>	<i>so-len</i>	<i>ćeskyt ymnyr-až</i>	<i>ućky-sa</i>	<i>kyl'ly-i</i>
I	(s)he-GEN	sweet face-ILL.3SG	look-CVB	lie-PST.1SG

'I kept looking at her beautiful face' (UdmCorp.)

*'I looked at her beautiful face, lying.'

- ▶ Non-grammaticalized cases do not constitute one intonation group
- ▶ Kirgiz: prosodic features prevent ambiguity (Johanson 1995: 315)



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: *kyll'yny* (<'lie')

▶ Continuous

(20) *pydesjašk-i* *no* *učky-sa* *kyll'-išk-o*
kneel_down-PST.1SG and watch-CVB lie-PRS-1SG

'I got down on my knees and watched' (UdmCorp.)

*'I got down on my knees and lay [there] watching'

▶ Delimited imperfective events (Timberlake 2007: 294)

(21) 2 *čas* *olomar* *daurt-ysa kyll'-i-zy* :) (UdmCorp.)
2 hour something do-CVB lie-PST-PL3

'they did something for two hours' (*'they did something for two hours, lying')

▶ context: rehearsal of a singing group

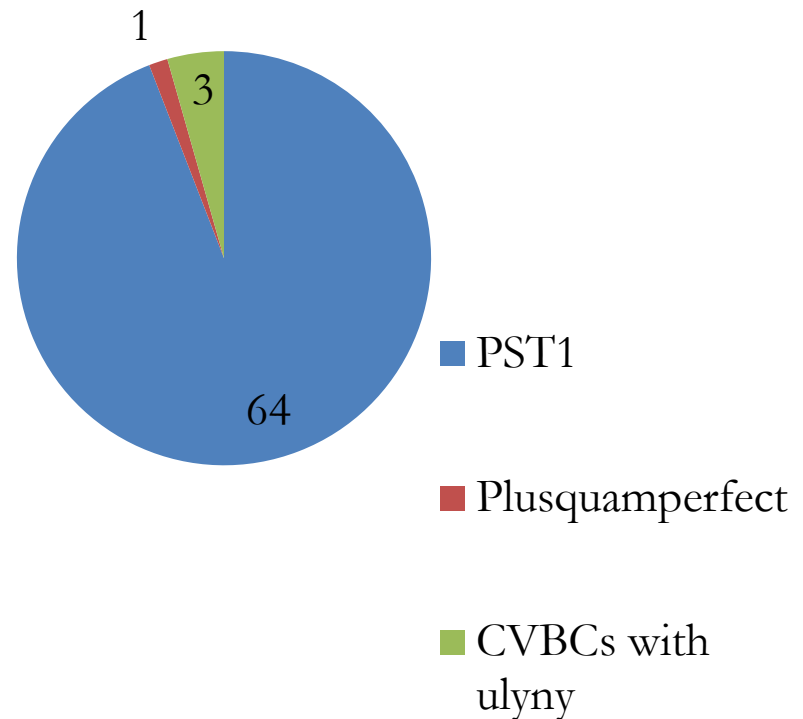
▶ syntactic context (20), pragmatic implications (21): the lexical meaning-interpretation of the *kyll'yny* can be ruled out



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: *kyl'lyny* (<'lie')

- ▶ 'Yesterday I washed my car for two hours.' Russian > Udmurt

(22) *tolon mon bydes kyk*
yesterday I whole two
čas mašina mišky-sa ul-i.
hour car wash-CVB live-PST.1SG



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: *kyl'lyny* (<'lie')

(23) *Kot'ku uram-e pot-is'k-o šunit dis'as'ki-tek.* (UdmCorp.)
always street-ILL go_out-PRS-1SG warm dress-CVB.ABE

'I always go out to the street without being dressed warmly.'

(24) *Eššo jir-i berlo dir-e vis'-il-e* (UdmCorp.)
yet head-1SG late time-ILL ache-FQV-PRS.3SG

▶ 'I have recurring headaches.'

▶ PRS-HAB

(25) *maly mon so sovremennoj literatura-jez*
why I DET modern literature-ACC
lidžy-sa kyl'ly-išk-o
read-CVB lie-PRS-1SG

'why do I read always today's literature, (it's not at all understandable)'
(Informant)



Postural verbs as imperfective auxiliaries: *kyl'lyny* (<'lie')

- ▶ Aspectual markedness of event-external past pluractional habitual events and other pluractional events: obligatory (see, Horváth 2015)
- ▶ CVB + *kyl'lyny*:

- ▶ PST-HAB

(26) <i>ažlo</i>	<i>jua-sa</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>kyl'ly-o</i>	<i>val,</i>
in_former_times	ask-CVB	NEG.PRS	lie-CNG.3PL	AUX.PST
<i>luška-lo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>tiñi</i>		
kidnap-3PL	and	PCL		

‘They would not ask before, they just kidnapped [the women] and that was it.’ (UdmCorp.)



Conclusions

- ▶ both members occur as the a sole verb in a clause
- ▶ interpretation of CVBCs depends on the semantics of the CVB and the finite verb, as well as on the pragmatic and syntactic contexts of the construction
- ▶ word order, intervening words within the CVBCs, and the argument structure of both the main verb and the finite verb should also be taken into account
- ▶ both imperfective and perfective auxiliaries can occur with other imperfective markers
- ▶ imperfective auxiliaries are able to encode present habituality and temporarily limited imperfective events without other markers
- ▶ prototypical cases of grammaticalized CVBCs: single predicates, non-contiguous (but only PCL, NEG)



Further goals

- ▶ suprasegmental properties of the grammaticalized/non-grammaticalized CVBCs
- ▶ interviews (Udmurtia, Tatarstan 2015/2016)
- ▶ word order of the constituents and of their arguments
- ▶ other auxiliary-like verbs in CVBCs



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Thank you for your attention!

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NEMZETI KUTATÁSI, FEJLESZTÉSI ÉS INNOVÁCIÓS HIVATAL

