The grammaticalization of motion verbs in Udmurt

Laura Horváth
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CIFU, Wien

Aims and data

- differences between CVBC's as not complex predicates and complex predicates
- problematics of interpreting and classifying CVBCs

- *vetlįnį* (< 'walk')
- *koškįnį* (<'go away')
- *potįnį* (< 'go out')
- *tubįnį (<* 'go up')
- *vaśkįnį (<*'go down')

- grammaticalization paths

- Udmurt Corpora
  - blog subcorpus: 491 000 tokens
- Questionnaires (2016, Izhevsk)

CVBC's as not complex predicates (*vetlįnį* 'walk')

- converb constructions with *-sa* converb: adverbial relations (adverbial subordination, manner adverbials)
- 'two event'- interpretation
A.   V is a posture verb/atelic movement verb

(1)

so-len	tuž	pot-e	val	ńi	jurtt-iśkį-tek	vetl-em-ez,
(s)he-GEN	much	go_out-3SG	be.PST	already	help-REFL-ABE	walk-PTCP.PST-3SG

koľaska-ze	donga-sa	vetlį-l-i-z.
stroller-ACC.3SG	push-CVB	walk-FREQ-PST1-3SG

'(S)he wanted to walk without support already, she used to walk, pushing the stroller.'
- two simultaneous events (imperfective, habitual)

CVBC's as complex predicates (*vetlįnį* 'walk' and atelic auxiliaries)

(2)

kart-en	kiṣno-jen	og-ogzes	ug	ńi	jarat-o,
husband-INSCOM	wife-INSCOM	each_other.ACC.3PL	NEG.3	PCL	love-3PL

noš	niḻ-zi̱	uj-jos-se	jui̯-sa	vetl-e.
CONJ	daughter-3PL	night-PL-ACC.3SG	drink-CVB	walk-3SG

'The husband and wife do not love each other anymore, and their daughter drinks all nights.'

- can be interpreted as complex predicate (pragmatic implications)
- defining the degree of grammaticalization is more problematic in case of atelic verbs: often simultaneous events
  - *siḻįnį* 'stand', *pukįnį* 'sit': even in more grammaticalized cases retain, at least to some extent, their postural semantics (imperfective event that is carried out in a standing/sitting position: be bored while sitting, etc.)
  - *kiḻ'ḻįnį* 'lie': in some cases, the lexical meaning is sometimes not detectable

CVBC's as complex predicates

- problems regarding the differentiation of grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized cases
  - a great deal of the examples are not clear-cut cases due to the nature of the grammaticalization processes – constructions are somewhere between the two endpoints of a grammaticalization cline (cf. Heine 1993: 53-69, Anderson 2006: 4-5)
  - no phonetic reduction

(3) Kirgiz: prosodic features prevent ambiguity (Johanson 1995: 315)
oqu-p   tur-d-u
read-CVB   stand-TRM.PST-3SG
  1. 'S/he was reading'
  2. 'S/he read and then stood up.'

CVBC's as complex predicates

- Volga-Kama Sprachbund: Turkic (Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash) and Finno-Ugric (Udmurt, Meadow Mari, and Hill Mari) languages (cf. Johanson 2011, Bereczki 1998, Bradley 2016)
- similar to the asymmetrical serial verb constructions (cf. Aikhenvald 2011, Amha & Dimmendaal 2011, see also Bisang 1995) but always have a marker of syntactic linkage (CVB marker)
  - CVBCs → SVCs (Tupí-Guaraní languages, l. Aikhenvald 2011: 14)

- Typological parallels:

(4) Tamil (Bisang 1995: 159)

　　raajaa　　kuumar-ukku.k　　katav-ai.t　　tiṟa-ntu　　kotu-tt-aan

　　Raja　　　Kumar-DAT　　　　door-ACC　　open-CVB　　give-PST-3SG.M

　　'Raja opened the door for Kumar.'

CVBC's as complex predicates

- grammaticalized cases, interpreted as single predicates
  - converb: lexical meaning (not adverbial modifier)
  - verb: loses some (or all) of its lexical properties: functions syntactically like a main verb but is interpreted rather as an auxiliary
    - phasal verbs ('finish')
    - postural verbs ('lie', 'stand', 'sit') and other atelic stative verbs (e.g.'live')
    - motion verbs (e.g.'go', 'walk', 'go away', 'felmegy', 'lemegy' 'go out', 'arrive')
    - verbs denoting other activities (e.g., 'give', 'leave sg. somewhere', 'throw', 'take')
      - can also occur as the sole verb in the clause
  - share mood, polarity, aspect and tense values (marked on the verb)

- usually contigous; word order: CVB, V
- shared arguments

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškịnị* 'go away'

B. V is a telic verb: sequence of events
  - CVB: 1. event -> V: subsequent event

(5)

škola-me	jịlpumja-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.)

  - ILL
  - 2 events: 1. finishing school → 2. going to town

- can be contigous or non-contigous (often non-contigous): elements other than negation verb and particles can intervene
- the CVB and the V share the same subject but not necessarily the other arguments

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškįnį* 'go away'

(6)

šin	aź-yśt-ym	lobӡ́į-sa	košk-i-z
eye	in_front_of-ELAT-1SG	fly_away-CVB	go_away-PST-3SG

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

1. **direction of a motion + telicity**

▸ with verbs of motion as CVBs

▸ dialectal differences concerning the usage, frequency and the number of auxiliaries

(7)

jurij	gagarin	inśör-į	lobӡ́-i-z.
Jurij	Gagarin	space-ILL	fly_away-PST1-3SG

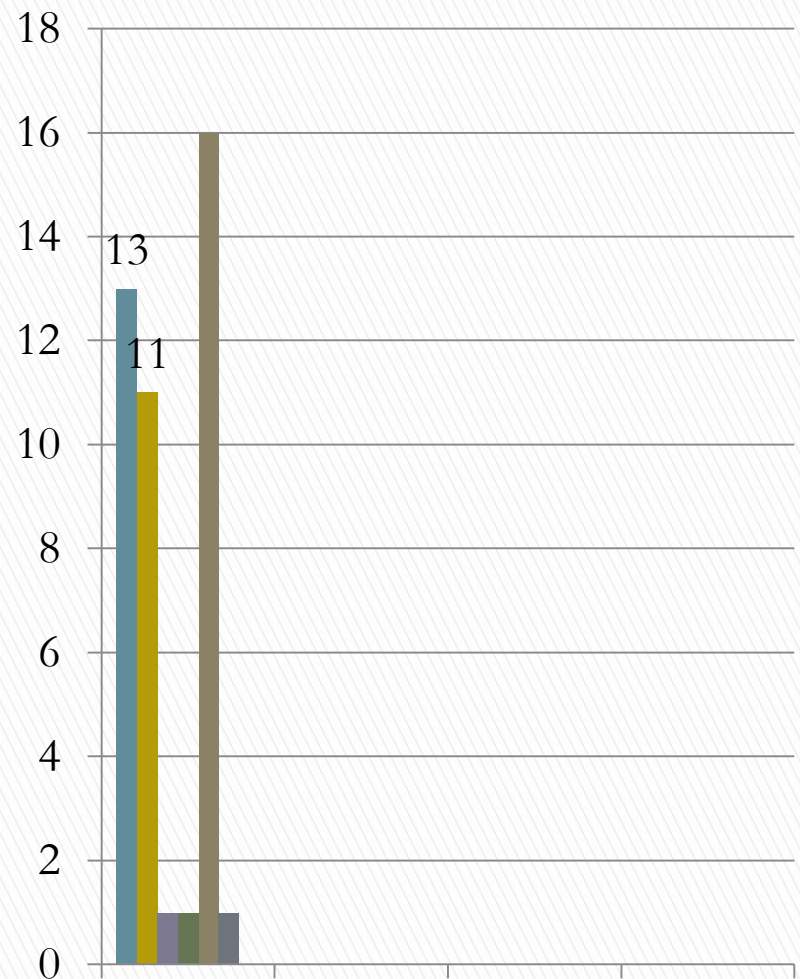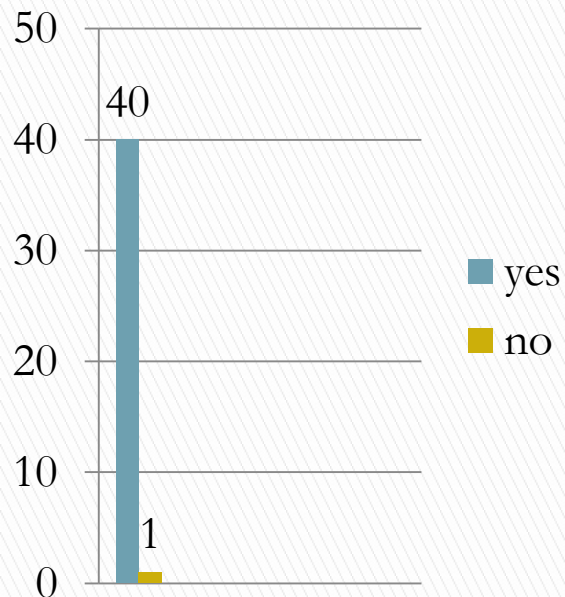'Jurij Gagarin flew into the space.' (UdmCorp.)

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškịnị* 'go away'

▸ telic constructions + IPFV aspectual markers (marked on V) → IPF sentences

(8)

beren	ogjaulońńi-ja-zị	bịźị-sa	košk-o,		pe,	val.
back	dormitory-ILL-3PL	run-CVB	go_away-PRS.3PL		PCL	AUX.PST1

'(when they see a boy, they cover their face with their rocks and) they run back to the dormitory.'

Chart legend:
- go away': koskyny, ujt'i.PFV)(-running)
- 'run away, escape' (sbežat'.PFV. ubežat' .PFV.,pegǯyny
- pobežat'.PFV'break into a run' (inchoative, phasal: starting point)
- probežat'.PFV 'run through/along'
- fast event (adverbs ǯog, ćaľak, bystro 'fast', verb dyrtyny 'hurry')
- go' (fast): idt'i.IPFV
- go' (fast, somewhere): mynyny

byźysa 'run.CVB' + *koškyny* 'go away' (questionnaire 2016)

meaning of the construction

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškini̯* 'go away'

2. **telicity**

(9)

arzamasov	no	ta	t'ema-jez	koti̯rjaśki̯ -sa	košk-i-z
Arzamasov	PCL	DEM	topik-ACC	walk_around-CVB	go_away-PST-3SG

vtorńike	darali	lavka-i̯n
tuesday.INE	Darali	shop-INE

'Arzamasov explained thoroughly this topic on Tuesday as well, in Darali's shop.'

▸ *koškini̯* as main verb: ILL, ELA
▸ context, INE→ the lexical meaning-interpretation of the auxiliary can be ruled out
▸ function (*koškini̯*): not direction

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškiṇi* 'go away'

3. **change-of-state marker, telicity**

(10)

peśa-sa ik košk-i.

sweat-CVB PCL go_away-PST.1SG

'A sweat came over me.'

(11)

juziṛ-keźiṛ luį-sa košk-iśk-o ta śariś ke malpa-śk-o.

ONOM be-CVB go_away-PRS-1SG DEM about PCL think-PRS-1SG

'It makes me shiver, when I think about this.'

CVBCs with telic motion verbs 1. *koškini* 'go away'

(12)

śinmaśki̧ -sa	ik	košk-i		kaď	java.
admire-CVB	PCL	go_away-PST.1SG		like	well

'I fell in love (kind of).'

But:

(13)

mon	kopak	śinmaśki̧ -sa	košk-i		soos	doriś.
I	completely	admire-CVB	go_away-PST.1SG		they	from

'I left them, being completely in love.'

peźtisa košḱiń̮ and the distribution of converb *ḽiȡǯ́isa*
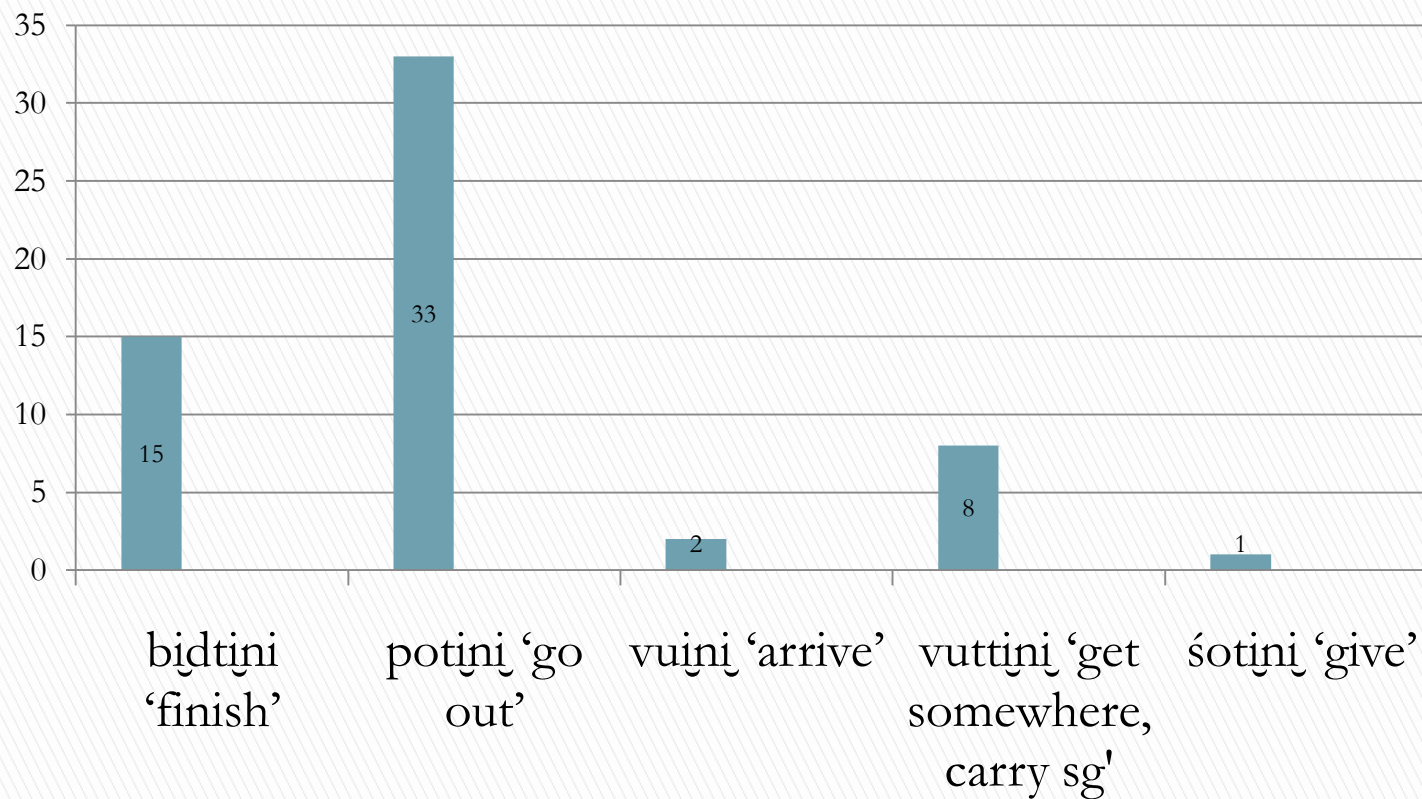
peźtisa 'cook.CVB' + *košḱiń̮* 'go away'
(Questionnaire 2016, Izhevsk)

ḽiȡǯ́isa ('read.CVB) + AUX as telic predicates
(Udmurt Corpora: 59 token / 7 million token)

CVB + *potįnį* 'go out'

1. **direction of motion, telicity**

(14)

uri-beri	diśaśkį-sa		no	pinal-jos-lį	nomįr	valektį-tek
fast	get_dressed-CVB		CONJ	child-PL-DAT	nothing	explain-CVB.NEG

mi	korka-ś	bįźį-sa	potį-sa	košk-i-m.
we	house-ELA	run-CVB	go_out-CVB	go_away-PST-1PL

'We got dressed fast and without saying anything to the children, we ran out of the house (and we went away).'

CVB + *potịnị* 'go out'

2. **telicity**

▸ „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:

(15)

Abdramov, udmurt	lit'eratura-ja	učebńik-iś	116-ti
Abdramov Udmurt	literature-ADV	practice_book-ELA	116-ORD

bam-ez	lịdǯị-sa	pot.
page-ACC	read-CVB	go_out.IMP.SG

'Abdramov, read the 116. page of your practice book! (Abdramov 11-ti bamez lịdǯe no, auďitoriiś pịrs potịsa, koške….'Abdramov reads the 116. page and leaves the classroom.')

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

?~ bịdtịnị 'finish'

CVB + *potįnį* 'go out'

(16)

oźį	mon	vań	sezon-jos-se	ik	ućkį-sa	pot-i.
so	I	all	season-PL-ACC.3SG	PCL	see-CVB	go_out-PST.1SG

'I have seen all of it's seasons (from the beginning to the end).'

- no ILL/ELA
- telic VP, perfective sentence

CVB + *potịnị* 'go out'

3. in atelic predicates: from the beginning to the end of a period (ACC) but no endpoint

(17)

papa-je	vera,	bekmanov-en	pe	bịdes	uj-ez
dad-1SG	say.3SG	Bekmanov-INSCOM	PCL	all	night-ACC

jui̯-sa	pot-i-m.
drink-CVB	go_out-PST-1PL

'My dad says that I drank all night with Bekmanov.'

(18) ~Hungarian *végig-* prefix + ACC

a	blogger és	Bekmanov	végig-i-tt-ák	az	éjszaká-t
ART	blogger CONJ	Bekmanov	PREF-drink-PST-OBJ.3PL	ART	night-ACC

és	végig-olvas-t-ak	két	könyv-et
CONJ	PREF-read-PST-3PL	two	book-ACC

'The blogger and Bekmanov drank all night and they read two books (from the start to the end).'

CVB + *tubịnị* 'go up', *vaśkịnị* 'go down'

- **direction, telicity**

(19)

mon	mịrdem-mịrdem	gilǯi-sa	tub-i	no,	vaśk-i	no.
I	hardly	swarm-CVB	go_up-PST.1SG	PCL	go_down_PST.1SG	PCL

'I could hardly swarm up and down [the mountain].'

CVB	koškiṇi 'go away' (40 tokens)	potiṇi 'go out' (28 tokens)	tubiṇi 'go up' (2) tokens	vaśkiṇi 'go down' (2 tokens)
lobiṣa 'fly (away)'	+			
lobʒiṣa 'fly away'	+	+		
biźiṣa 'run'	+	+		+
piṛiṣa 'go in'	+			
vorttiṣa 'ride a horse'	+			
ujasa 'swim'	+			
potiṣa 'go out'	+			
lobatiṣa 'make sy/sg fly'	+			
piľiśkiṣa 'break'	+			
pöśasa 'sweat'	+			
juziṛ-keźiṛ luiṣa 'make sy shiver'	+			
ʒaźegku luiṣa 'make one's flesh creep'	+			
kiṇmiṣa 'be cold'	+			
pajmiṣa 'wonder'	+			

CVB	koškini̲ 'go away	potini̲ 'go out'	tubini̲ 'go up'	vaśkini̲ 'go down'
kotịrjaśkịsa 'walk around, '	+			
lịdʒ́ịsa 'read'		+		
veraśkịsa 'speak'		+		
ući̲kịsa 'watch'		+		
adʒ́ịsa 'see'		+		
vịdịsa 'go to sleep'		+		
iʑ́ịsa 'sleep'		+		
vormịsa 'win'		+		
juịsa 'drink'		+		
ńorjasa 'croon'		+		
viśịsa 'be sick'		+		
kịlzịsa 'listen to'		+		
lịdjasa 'count'		+		
verasa 'say'		+		
lobasa 'fly'		+		

Conclusion

▸ the primary lexical meaning of the auxiliary can be retained to different extents in different environments:

　◦ interpretation of CVBC's with *koškini* (<'go away') and *potini* (< 'go out') depends on the semantics of the CVB and the finite verb, as well as on the pragmatic and syntactic contexts of the construction, and the argument structure of the components

▸ *koškini* (<'go away'): one semantic feature of the lexical meaning (the direction of the motion) has become stronger compared to the other elements of the lexical meaning, which has lead to the partial or total weakening of the directional meaning as well (direction of the motion→ telicity → change of state).

▸ *potini* (< 'go out'): direction of a motion (with converbs denoting motion) → telicity (event has been carried on from the beginning to the end: endpoint) → atelic predicates (event has been carried on from the beginning of a certain time period to the end of it: no endpoint, the event ceases to exist)

▸ *tubini* (< 'go up'), *vaśkini* (<'go down'): least productive, frequent, and grammaticalized out of the telic motion verbs as auxiliaries

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- Thank you for your attention!

- laurahorvath2017@gmail.com