

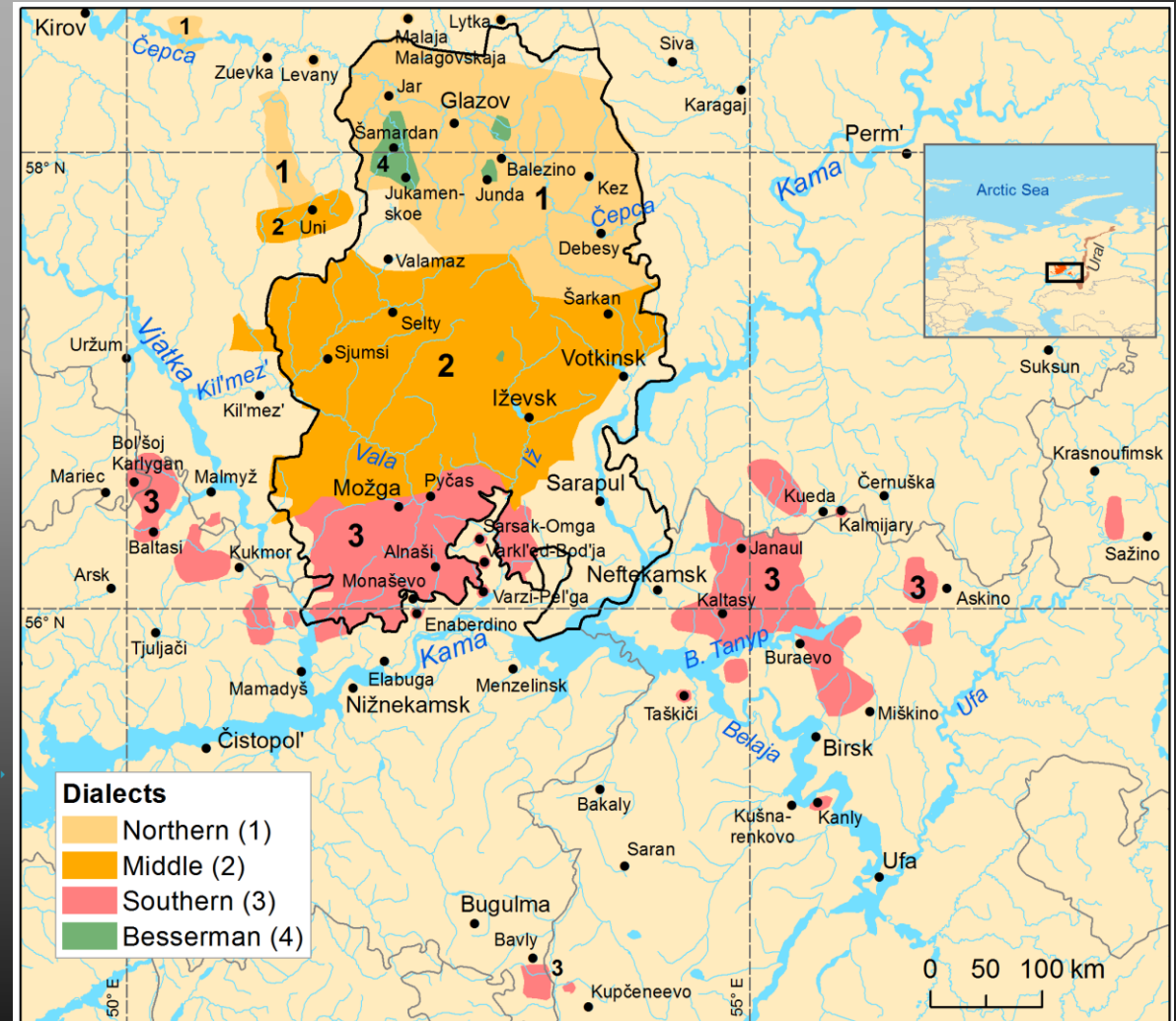
Udmurt Complex Predicates with 'give', 'throw' and 'leave'

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Udmurt

- ▶ Permic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family
- ▶ Closest relatives: Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak languages
- ▶ Number of speakers:
 - 1989: 520 000
 - 2010: 324 338
- ▶ “threatened”(ELCat/ELP), “definitely endangered”(Moseley 2010)



„Distribution of Udmurt at the beginning of 21st century”, BEDLAN-project, Timo Rantanen (based on Maksimov 2001 and 2009).

Data

- ▶ Udmurt Corpora (UdmCorp.):
 - blog subcorpus: 490 000 tokens (*śotini* ‘give’, *kelʹtini* ‘leave something’)
 - press+ blog subcorpus, 4 million tokens (*kuštini* ‘throw’)
- ▶ Questionnaires (2016, Izhevsk)

Aims and outline

- ▶ Problematics of interpreting converbal constructions (CVB + *śotini* ‘give’, *kel’tini* ‘leave something’ and *kuštini* ‘throw’) and classifying them as complex predicates
- ▶ arguments of the CVB and V
- ▶ pragmatic and syntactic context
- interpretations, ambiguous cases
- 1. CVBC’s as not complex predicates
- 2. CVBC’s as complex predicates in Udmurt: features, aspectual role, areal (and typological) parallels
 - 1. CVB + *śotini* ‘give’
 - 2. CVB + *kel’tini* ‘leave (something somewhere)’
 - 3. CVB + *kuštini* ‘throw’
 - 4. CVB + *kel’tini* vs. *kuštini*
- 3. Conclusion and further goals

CVBC's as not complex predicates

- ▶ Converb clauses with *-sa* converb: manner adverbials, adverbial subordination (Georgieva 2018: 87)
- ▶ 'two event'- interpretation:
- ▶ V is a posture verb/atelic movement verb & if not complex predicate: simultaneous
- ▶ V is a telic verb & if not complex predicate: sequential
 - CVB: 1. event -> V: subsequent event
- ▶ Can be contiguous or non-contiguous (often non-contiguous): elements other than negation verb and particles can intervene
- ▶ the CVB and the V share the same subject (switch-reference is excluded) but not necessarily the other arguments

(1) ken-ze, kat'irna-ez, ćulo-jen žugi-sa, uram-e kušt-i-zi,
daughter-in-law-ACC.3SG Kat'yрна-ACC dishbrush-INSTR beat-CVB street-ILL throw-PST-3PL

'His/her daughter-in-law, Kat'yрна, was beaten and thrown to the streets.' (UdmCorp.)

- ILL, INSTR are not shared arguments
- 2 event: 1. beating 2. throwing out to the streets

CVBC's as not complex predicates

(2) todmo-tem niľaš „vkontakte”-iś konkurs śariś ivor-ez lidžy-sa,
know-ABE girl Vkontakte-ELA contest about news-ACC read-CVB
nast’a-li asleštiz tuž-ges ik éber večernij derem-ze śot-i-z.
Nastya-DAT herself.ABL very-COMP PCL beautiful night gown-ACC.3SG give-PST-3SG
‘An unknown girl, after reading about the contest in Vkontakte, gave her own beautiful night gown to Nastya.’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ non-contiguous
- ▶ CVB and V have different arguments
 - different direct object NP-s as complements → non-grammaticalized
- ▶ interpretation: sequential: 1. reading the news → 2. giving the dress to Nastya

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, postural verbs, motion verbs, verbs denoting other activities (e.g., 'give', 'leave sg. somewhere', 'throw', 'take')
 - can occur as the sole verb in a clause as well
- ▶ usually contiguous
- ▶ shared arguments
- ▶ 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 and Dimmendaal 2011, see also Bisang 1995) but always have a marker of syntactic linkage (CVB marker)

CVBC's as complex predicates

- problems regarding the differentiation of grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized cases
 - Kirgiz ($\leftrightarrow$ Udmurt): prosodic features prevent ambiguity (Johanson 1995: 315)
- (3) oqu-p tur-d-u
read-CVB stand-TRM.PST-3SG
1. 'S/he was reading'
 2. 'S/he read and then stood up.'
- ▶ Udmurt: 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)

CVBC's as complex predicates

- ▶ „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:

(4) Abdramov, udmurt lit'eratura-ja učebník-iš 116-ti
Abdramov Udmurt literature-ADV practice_book-ELA 116-ORD
bam-ez lidž'i-sa pot.
page-ACC read-CVB go_out.IMP.SG

‘Abdramov, read the 116. page of your practice book!

Abdramov 11-ti bamez lidž'e no, aud'itoriiš pirs potiša, 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)

CVBC's as complex predicates

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

1. with different converb („context expansion”, cf. Himmelmann 2004)

2. in different contexts: (syntactic) context + pragmatic implications

- *silini* ‘stand’, *pukini* ‘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.)
- *kiľ’ini* ‘lie’: in some cases, the lexical meaning-interpretation of the auxiliary can be ruled out ~ Tatar (see, e.g. Ersen-Rasch 2009: 167)

(5) 2 čas olomar *daurt-ısa* *kiľ’-i-zi* :)

2 hour something do-CVB lie-PST-PL3

‘they did something for two hours’(*‘they did something for two hours, lying’) (UdmCorp.)

- rehearsal of a singing group
- delimited imperfective event (cf. Timberlake 2007: 294)
- phasal verbs, telic movement verbs + ? ‘give’, ‘leave (something somewhere)’, ‘throw’, ‘take’:
perfective events

Aspectual markers of Udmurt

Function	Marker	Structure
Progressive	Durative preterite	V.PRS + AUX.PST
PST	FQV derivational suffix (simple past)	- <i>li</i> , - <i>ll'a</i> -
	Durative preterite	V.PRS + AUX.PST
Habitual	dur.pret. + FQV	V.FR.V.PRS + AUX.PST
	Frequentative preterite	V.FUT + AUX.PST
		-
PRS	FQV(/-)	<i>li</i> , - <i>ll'a</i> -
	auxiliaries of CVBC's	CVB + AUX
-pluractional +characteristic IPFV +stative	Durative preterite	V.PRS + AUX.PST
	FQV derivational suffix (simple past)	- <i>li</i> , - <i>ll'a</i> -
	auxiliaries of CVBC's	CVB + AUX
Imperfectivity (other than PROGR, HAB)	auxiliaries of CVBC's	CVB + AUX
Telicity	auxiliaries of CVBC's (not all productive)	CVB + AUX

IPFV aspect marking and CVBC's

- ▶ Components of CVBC's as complex predicates: share mood, polarity, aspect and tense values
- ▶ marked on the V
- ▶ PST-HAB

- (6) eš-e kerttj -sa śot-e val.
friend-1SG knit-CVB give-PRS.3SG AUX.PST
'My friend used to knit (for me).' (UdmCorp.)
- !(7) gažet-žurnal-jos-iś so-li siź-em stat'ja-os-tj
newspaper-journal-PL-ELA (s)he-dat dedicate-PTCP.PASS article-PL-ACC
kuddir as-li -z vandi-li-sa kel'tj-l-i-z.
sometimes himself-DAT-3SG cut-FQV-CVB leave-FQV-PST-3Sg

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

- ▶ Udmurt PST-HAB/PROGR events: the aspect of the VP has to be changed according to the aspect at the sentence level (Horváth 2018)

CVB + šotini ‘give’

- ▶ Hill/ Meadow Mari :
- Benefactive marker (Bradley 2016: 210–213)

(8) Meadow Mari

lud-ən pu-aš

read-CVB give-INF

‘read (to...)’ (Bradley 2016: 210)

- ▶ + Chuvash, Tatar (Serebrennikov 1960: 198–199), Udmurt, Bashkir (Bradley 2016: 213)
- aspectual marker indicating completion, rapidity, short duration (cf. Bradley 2016: 210–213)

(9) Meadow Mari

ečan=at inñə-ž-əm lupš dene βitar-en pu-əš.

Echan=and horse-3SG-ACC whip with pierce-CVB give-PST1.3SG

‘Echan whipped his horse severely.’ (Bradley 2016: 211)

- Cross-linguistically: ‘give’ > indirect object marker, benefactive marker, dative, coverb (cf. Bisang 1995, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–151)

CVB + *śotiņi* ‘give’

- (10) *śijon* *pežti-ku* (...) *makaron-ez* *bobi-jen* *sura-sa* *śotiško*,
meal cook-CVB.SIM macaroni-ACC bean-INSTR mix-CVB give-PRS.1SG
niļ-jos-li *og-ogzi-ļeš* *l'uk-ono!*
girl-PL-DAT each_other-ABL sort-PTCP.NEC

‘When I cook, (so that the girls wouldn’t bother me), I mix the macaroni with beans [for them], the girls have to sort them out!’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ benefactive
- ▶ *śotiņi*: ditransitive verb; - beneficiary: rather a complex predicate?
 1. ‘mixing them for the girls’
 2. ‘mixing the macaroni with beans → giving them to the girls’
- ▶ These types of constructions: sources of the grammaticalization?
- ▶ Aspectuality: telic predicate, sentence level: PRS-HAB (can be grammatically unmarked)

CVB + šotini 'give'

(11) soos so-je tinid žog uští-sa šot-o-zy!
they DEM-ACC you.DAT quickly open-CVB give-FUT-3PL

1. They are going to open it to you quickly! (UdmCorp.)

2. *They are going to open it and give it to you!

- ▶ direct object + indirect object
 - arguments of the CVB and V as well: can be interpreted as complex predicate
 - + semantic features of the direct object: abstract noun (internet) → single predicate

- ▶ Benefactive, but: indirect object present

‘CVB + šotini ‘give’: aspectual features

- (12) tazalik-ez l'abž-em-en, bides gažet-ez
health-3SG weaken-PTCP-INS whole newspaper-ACC
lidži-sa šot-iško.
read-CVB give-PRS.1SG
‘Because he is not in a good condition, I read [him] the whole newspaper’ (UdmCorp.)
(UdmCorp.)

!

- (13) tazalik-ez l'abž-em-en, gažet-iś lidži-sa šot-iško.
health-3SG weaken-PTCP-INS newspaper-ELA read-CVB give-PRS.1SG
‘Because he is not in a good condition, I read [him] from the newspaper’ (Y. S.)

CVB + šotini ‘give’

- (14) kin ben so-je kuša-sa šot-o-z?
 who yes DEM-ACC chew-CVB give-FUT-3SG
 ‘Who is going to explain it in details?’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ Complex predicate
- ▶ lexicalized construction

CVB + *kel'tini* 'leave something'

- ▶ *kel'tini* + direct object + locative argument (illative case as argument marker)

(15) no śures vile ton-e žugi-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.)

- ▶ locative phrase: argument only of the V and not the CVB
- ▶ rather two consecutive events
- ▶ source of the grammaticalization path?

CVB + kel'tiŋi 'leave something'

- (16) mon kad' piči mugoro ad'ami-os-ti l'oga-sa no kel'tozi
I like little -bodied person-PL-ACC trample-CVB PCL leave-FUT-3PL
ažištizi ke ed koški.
in_front_of-ELA-3PL if NEG.PST.2SG go_away.CNG.SG

'Small people like me are going to be trampled on, if we are going to be in their way.' (UdmCorp.)

► Locative argument: -

- Rather single predicate (can be interpreted as two consecutive events)

- (17) kšuša níkit'ina-petrova ultija-sa-ges kel't-i-z šijon-ez no šudon-jos-ti.
Ksyusha Nikitina-Petrova insult-CVB-PCL leave-PST-3SG food-ACC and game-PL-ACC
'Ksyusha Nikitina-Petrova insulted the food and the games.' (UdmCorp.)
context: no leaving-event

► Single predicate

CVB + kel'tiŋi 'leave something'

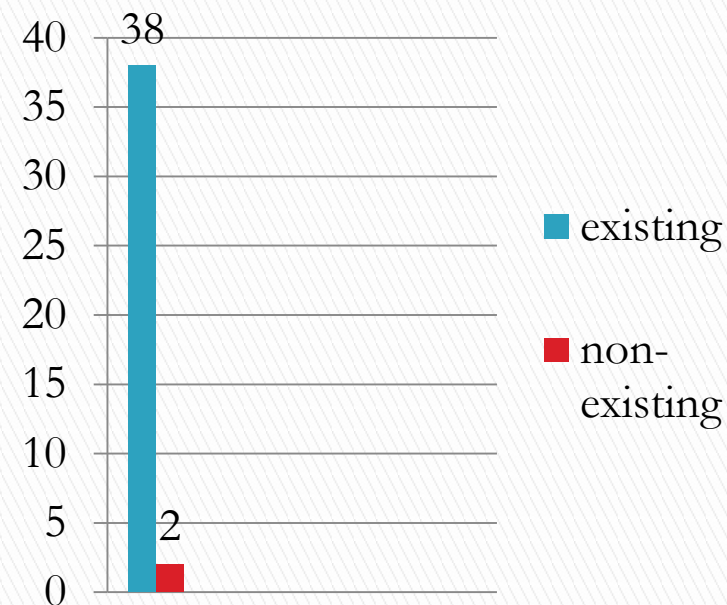
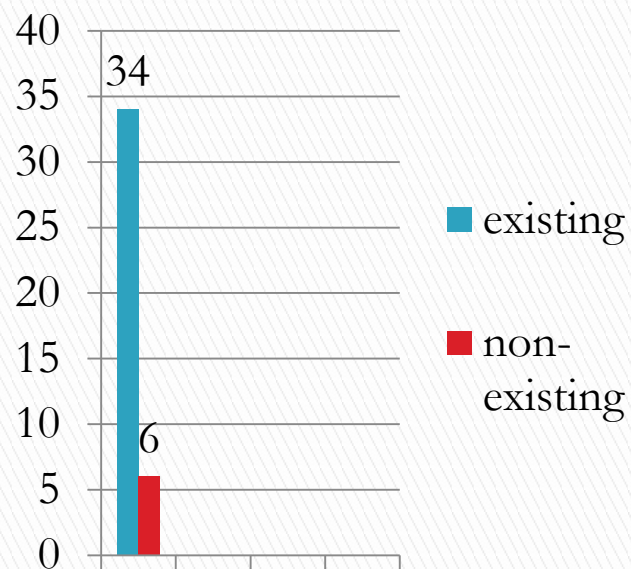
- (18) es bordi badžim bukva-os-in „čukaže” gožti-sa kel't-em.
door on big font-PL-INSTR tomorrow write-CVB leave-PST.3SG
'On the door there is written „tomorrow” with big fonts.' (UdmCorp.)

► ILL

- (19) vetl-em-zes odno_ik gožti-sa kel't-o.
visit-NMLZ-ACC.3PL definitely write-CVB leave-FUT.1SG
'I am definitely going to write about their visit.' (UdmCorp.)

► ILL:-

Questionnaire 2016, Izhevsk



pežtiša 'cook-CVB' + śotiņi 'give'

pežtiša 'cook-CVB' + kel'tiņi 'leave (something)': 1. cook the meal and leave it somewhere 2. 'leave the food cooking unattended on the stove'

CVB + kuštini ‘throw’

(20) ‘doktor, keś-em apendicit-me vandy-sa kušt-e.’
doctor tear-PTCP.PST appendicitis-ACC.1SG cut-CVB throw-PRS.3SG

‘The doctor cuts out and throws away/ cuts out/ my perforated appendicitis.’

- ▶ interpretation: depends on the context (Y. S.): *kuštini* can be interpreted as aspectualizer in one context and as main verb in the other
- ▶ pragmatic implication: after operation, it is usually thrown away ~ *silini* ‘stand’, *pukini* ‘sit’:

(21) śi-jem pot-on keṭ-ez vandi-sa ik kušt-e.
eat-PTCP.PST go_out-NMLZ stomach-ACC cut-CVB PCL throw-PRS.3SG

‘They feel intense hunger pung (lit. hunger cuts in their stomach)’

- ▶ interpretation: single predicate (Y. S.)
- ▶ telic, rapid, short event (historical present)

CVB	+ kel'tiņi 'leave sg somewhere'	+ kuštīņi 'throw'
užasa 'work:CVB'	+	
merttysa 'plant:CVB'	+	
vožmatīša 'show:CVB'	+	
sit'asa 'defecate:CVB'	+	
majaļ'asa 'lubricate:CVB'	+	
gožtīša 'write:CVB'	+	
śotīša 'give:CVB'	+	
ļogasa 'tread/trample:CVB'	+	+
vatiša 'hide:CVB'	+	
pītsasa 'close:CVB'	+	
žugiša 'beat:CVB'	+	
śalasa 'spit:CVB'	+	
kuštīša 'throw:CVB'	+	
ponīša 'put:CVB'	+	
śukkiša 'beat:CVB'	+	
pusjiša 'make_a_note:CVB'	+	
gožjasa 'write:CVB'	+	
kužmasa 'present:CVB'	+	
ut'altīša 'tidy_up:CVB'	+	
īštīša 'lose:CVB'	+	

CVB	+ kel'tiņi 'leave sg somewhere'	+ kuštīņi 'throw'
vandiša 'cut:CVB'	+	+
dongiša 'push:CVB'	+	
kištiša 'pour:CVB'	+	+
tuspuktiša 'take_a_picture:CVB'	+	
verasa 'say:CVB'	+	+
vunetiša 'forget:CVB'	+	
pejasa 'lie:CVB'	+	
gozijasa 'tie:CVB'	+	
čogiša 'injure/be_injuredCVB'		+
sužasa 'clean:CVB'		+
kešasa 'tear_away:CVB'		+
örekčasa 'deceive:CVB'		+
koraltiša 'cut_off:CVB'		+
ībiša 'shoot:CVB'		+
nuiša 'bring:CVB'		+
turnasa 'reap:CVB'		+
bydtiša 'finish:CVB'		+
sužasa 'clean:CVB'		+
kižirtiša 'squeeze:CVB'		+

CVB + kuštini ‘throw’ and kel’tini ‘leave something’

- (22) jelizaveta ivanovna-len tīmišk-em keṭžož-ez kīrišk-i-z –
Jelizaveta Ivanovna-GEN fill_up-PTCP.PST distress-ACC break_out-PST-3SG
mar malpaz, vań-ze vera-sa kušt-i-z.
what think-PST.3SG all-ACC say-CVB throw-PST-3SG
‘All the distress of Jelizaveta Ivanovna broke out – she told everything what was on her mind.’
(UdmCorp.)

- (23) kot'kud veran-az odno_ik mar_ke no šerem-ze vera-sa kel'toz.
all_of sentence-INE.3SG inevitably something PCL joke-ACC.DET say-CVB leave-FUT-3SG
‘She is going to say something funny in every sentences of hers.’ (UdmCorp.)

- ▶ / kuštoz ‘throw-FUT-3SG’: saying something in a meanful way („spitting the words”), suddenness, rapid action
- ▶ kel'toz : more neutral when used in grammaticalized CVBC’s

(Y. S.)

Conclusion and further goals

- ▶ interpretation of CVBC's with *śotini* 'give', *kel'tini* 'leave something' and *kuštini* 'throw' depends on the semantics of the CVB and the finite verb, as well as on the pragmatic and syntactic contexts of the construction
- ▶ intervening words within the CVBCs and the argument structure of both the main verb and the finite verb should also be taken into account
- ▶ the primary lexical meaning of the V can be retained to different extents in different environments
- ▶ CVB + *śotini* 'give' : benefactive, atelic and telic
- ▶ CVB + *kel'tini* 'leave something' and *kuštini* 'throw': usually telic (can be modified by imperfective markers)
- ▶ Further goals:
 - word order of the arguments and CVBC's
 - suprasegmental properties of the grammaticalized/non-grammaticalized CVBCs

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