

Impersonals, passives and related phenomena in Permic languages

Nikolett F. Gulyás

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Introduction

- some sources claim that the predicative past participle *-emyn* in Udmurt and *-öm(a)* in Komi-Permyak can serve as a passive marker (cf. Kondratieva 2009, Bartens 2000, Asztalos 2008)
- the so-called reflexive derivational morpheme *-śk-* in Udmurt, *-ś-* (*-ć-*) in Komi-Permyak marks impersonals (Kalina – Raspopova 1983, Lobanova 2017) and/or passives (Bartens 2000).

Aims and claims

- to provide a classification of the constructions formed with these elements from a typological perspective
- Q1: how many constructions can we distinguish?
- Q2: are these constructions passives, impersonals, or something else?
- Q3: how these constructions are related to each other?

Aims and claims

I assume

- that the *-emyn/-öma* participle encodes a) canonical and b) impersonal passives (R-impersonals) with transitive verb and
- impersonal passives (R-impersonals) only with intransitive verbs
- the Udmurt "reflexive marker" denotes both a) canonical and b) impersonal passives (R-impersonals)
- its Komi-Permyak counterpart denotes A-impersonals

A typology of impersonals

Malchukov & Ogawa (2011) use Keenan's (1976) definition of prototypical subjects.

They consider a construction impersonal if its subject is not:

- referential,
- definite,
- topical,
- animate,
- agentive.

Or there's no overt subject in the construction.

A typology of impersonals

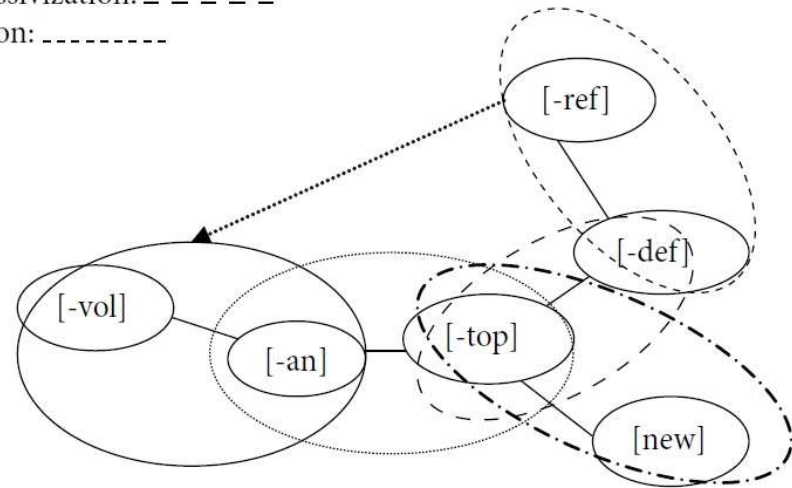
R-impersonals: sensitive to referentiality and definiteness features.

A-impersonals: sensitive to agentivity and animacy features.

T-impersonals: sensitive to topicality features.

Malchukov & Ogawa (2011)

- Differential case marking: _____
- Agreement loss:
- word order inversion:
- Impersonal passivization: - - - - -
- Subject omission:



Morphosyntactic properties

- both languages show DOM for nouns: NOM-ACC
- *-emyn/-öma* participles historically derived from a past participle marker (*-em/-öm*) and a local case marker (Bartens 2000)
- attributive (*-öm*) and predicative (*-öma*) past participles and the latter and the 3Sg 2nd past forms are syncretic in some Komi-Permyak variants (cf. Batalova 2002, Ponomareva 2010)
- typical word order is SOV in Udmurt and SVO in Komi-Permyak

Data

- Elicitation
 - translation tasks
 - grammaticality tests
 - 5 informants for Udmurt, 4 informants for Komi-Permyak
 - dataset of ca. 60 (Ud.) and 40 (K-P.) example clauses

Impersonal passives (R-impersonals)

a construction is an impersonal passive, if one or more of the following criteria apply to it:

- there is no overt grammatical subject in the construction,
- the only available argument of the verb (if there is any) is a direct object,
- passivization applies also to intransitive verbs,
- the construction lacks an overt (oblique) Agent.

(Malchukov and Ogawa 2011)

Predicative past participle + intransitive verb

Udmurt

- (1) Pinal-jos tatyn ekt-i-zy. active
child-PL here dance-PST-3PL
'The children danced here.'
- (2) Tatyn ekt-emyn. impersonal passive
here dance-PRED.PTCP.PST
'There was dancing here.'

Predicative past participle + intransitive verb

Komi-Permyak

(3) Öksiń uź-öm(a) kojka vylyn. active
 Oksana sleep-PST2.3SG bed on
 ‘Oksana slept on the bed.’

(4) Kojka vylyn uź-öm(a). impersonal passive
 bed on sleep-PRED.PTCP.PST
 ‘There was sleeping on the bed.’

Predicative past participle + transitive verb

Udmurt

(5) Anaj perepeč ší-i-z. active
mother perepech eat-PST-3SG
'The mother ate the perepech.'

(6) Perepeč-ez ší-emyn. impersonal passive
perepech-ACC eat-PRED.PTCP.PST
'The perepech has been eaten.'

Predicative past participle + transitive verb

Komi-Permyak

(7) Ajka-ez lebt-öm-aś kerku-sö. active
man-PL build-PST2-PL house-ACC.3SG
'Men build the house.'

(8) Kerku-sö lebt-öm(a). impersonal passive
house-ACC.3SG build-PRED.PTCP.PST
'The house has been built.'

Passives

a construction can be classified as passive, if:

- it contrasts with another construction, the active;
- the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;
- the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
- the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
- the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb. (Siewierska 2011)

Udmurt

- (9) Perepeč ší-emyn anaj-en. canonical passive
perepech eat-PRED.PTCP.PST mother-INS
'The perepech has been eaten by the mother.'

Komi-Permyak

- (10) Kerku lebt-öm(a) ajka-ez-ön. canonical passive
house build-PRED.PTCP.PST man-PL-INS
'The house has been built by the men.'

Ambiguity 1.

Udmurt

(11) Perepeč ší-emyn.
perepech eat-PRED.PTCP.PST
'The perepech has been eaten.'

(12) Kerku lebt-öm(a).
house build-PST.PRED.PTCP
'The house has been built.'

- subject or unmarked DO?
- impersonal or canonical passive?

Ambiguity 2.

- Komi-Permyak
- accepted by some informants

(13) Kerku lebt-ömaś.
house build-PST.?
‘The house has been built.’
‘They have built the house.’

- active, passive, or impersonal?

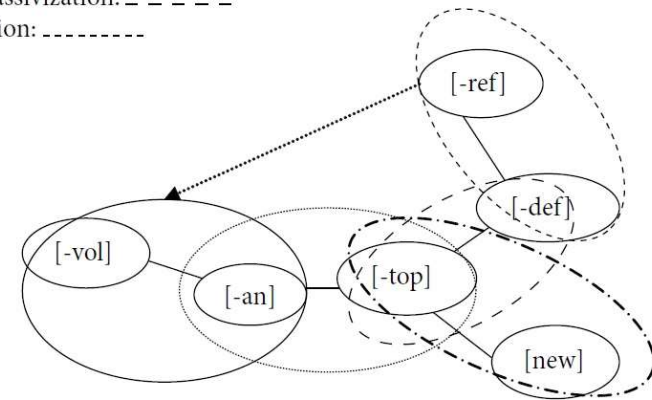
The "reflexive marker" in Udmurt

- (14) Perepeč ší-išk-i-z. ?
perepech eat-REFL-PST-3SG
'The perepech was eaten.'
- (15) Perepeč-ez ší-išk-i-z. impersonal passive
perepech-ACC eat-REFL-PST-3SG
'The perepech was eaten.'
- (16) Perepeč ší-išk-i-z anaj-en. canonical passive
perepech eat-REFL-PST-3SG mother-INS
'The perepech was eaten by the mother.' (cf. F. Gulyás – Speshilova 2014)

A-impersonals

- constructions containing subjects deviating from the prototype in terms of animacy or agentivity
- they often denote unintentional, non-volitional actions
- they show differential case marking
- but lack agreement

- Differential case marking: _____
- Agreement loss:
- word order inversion:
- Impersonal passivization: - - - - -
- Subject omission:



Starting point: middles

(17) Udmurt

Ös uśti-śk-e.

door open-REFL-PRS.3SG

‘The door opens.’

(18) Komi-Permyak

Yböś oś-ś-ö.

door open-REFL-PRS.3SG

‘The door opens.’

A-impersonals in Komi-Permyak

(19) Me yst-i gižöt e'lektronnöj počta pyr.
I send-PST.1SG letter electric post through
'I sent the letter via e-mail.'

(20) Menam ysti-śś-i-s gižöt e'lektronnöj počta pyr.
I.GEN send-PST-3SG letter electric post through
'I sent the letter via e-mail unintentionally.'

A-impersonals in Komi-Permyak

(21) Menam onmöśśi-ś-öma.
I.GEN fall_asleep-REFL-PRED.PTCP.PST
'I fell asleep unintentionally.'

(22) Menam śyv-ś-öma.
I.GEN sing-REFL-PRED.PTCP.PST
'I sang although I didn't want to do that.'

- differential case marking: +
- lack of agreement: +

Conclusion

- Q1: how many constructions can we distinguish?
- Q2: are these constructions passives, impersonals, or something else?
- Q3: how these constructions are related to each other?
 - impersonal passives (R-impersonal) with intransitive verbs + participle
 - both impersonal (R-impersonal) and canonical passives with transitive verbs + participle
 - both impersonal (R-impersonal) and canonical passives with transitive verbs + "reflexive marker" in Udmurt
 - A-impersonals with both intransitive and transitive verbs + "reflexive marker" in Komi-Permyak

Conclusion

- ambiguity can be explained by the ongoing grammaticalization process (and by DOM)
- a possible grammaticalization path for the "reflexive" marker:
- Udmurt: middle > impersonal passive (R-impersonal) > canonical passive
- Komi-Permyak: middle > impersonal passive (A-impersonal)
- this path is common cross-linguistically (cf. Malchukov – Siewierska 2011).

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Thank you!
Тай! Аттё!



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