



Object marking in Komi-Permyak

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Introduction

(1) Me vižöt-a žoriž.
I watch-PRS.1SG flower
'I am watching a flower.'

(2) Me vižöt-a Taña-ös.
I watch-PRS.1SG Tanya-ACC
'I am watching Tanya.'

Introduction

- Different explanations about DOM
 - animacy (Batalova 1975, 2002, Ponomareva 2010)
 - definiteness (Rédei 1978, Bartens 2000)
 - identifiability/topicality (Klumpp 2014, based on Northern dialects)
- A pilot-project for standard KP
- Q1: What is the motivation for DOM?
- Q2: How DOM is connected with possessive marking?

Outline

- Background
- DOM in Komi-Permyak
 - animacy
 - definiteness
 - topicality
- Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes
- Concluding remarks

Background

- Permic < Uralic
- Perm Region (formerly Komi-Permyak Autonomous District)
- ca. 94.000 ethnic KP-s, ca. 61.000 native speakers (PEREPIS 2010)
- closest cognates: Komi-Zyryan and Udmurt
- peripheral member of the Volga-Kama linguistic area (Helimski 2003)



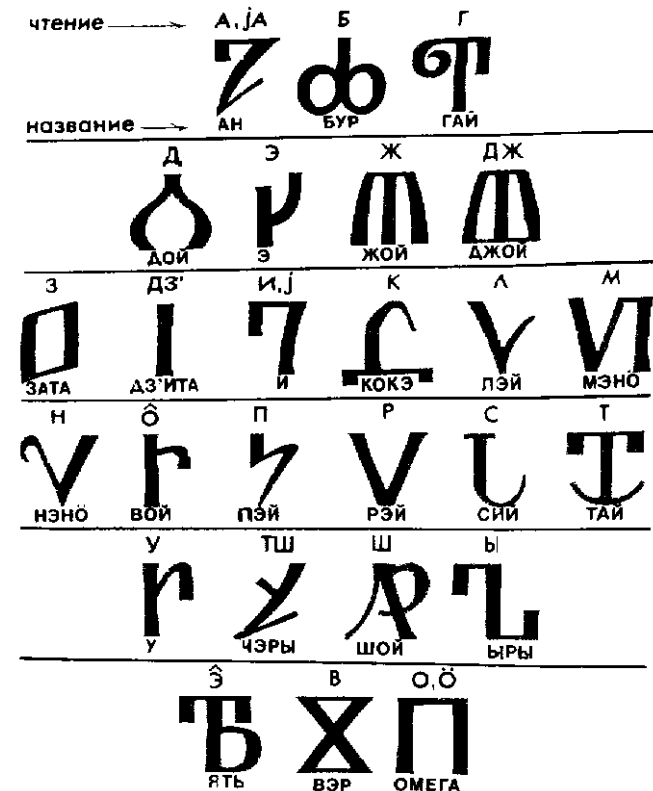
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Komi-Permyak_Autonomous_Okrug#/media/File:RussiaPermyakia.png

Background

- taxonomy:
 - a dialect of Komi together with Komi-Zyryan and Izhma (Rédei 1978, Bartens 2000, Kuznetsov 2022)
 - a language (Batalova 1975, Ponomareva 2002, 2010)
- 2 (sub)dialects (Klumpp 2022, for a different approach Batalova 1975)
 - Northern
 - Southern
- the literary language is based on the southern dialects
- intensive Russian influence
- less documentation as compared to KZ (cf. Lobanova 2017, 2018)

Background

- SVO but often left-branching
- nominative-accusative alignment
- 17/18 nominal cases
- no case marking asymmetry
- possessive and non-possessive case marking



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Permic_script#/media/File:Alfabeto_di_san_Stefano.png

Differential object marking

- widespread in Uralic
- different subtypes:
 - indexing (e.g., Hungarian)
 - flagging (e.g., Udmurt, Komi-Zyryan, Komi-Permyak)
 - both indexing and flagging (Ob-Ugric) (cf. Klumpp & Skribnik 2022)

Data and methods

- elicitation
 - 4 native informants
 - 2 of them are trained
- corpus study
 - Korp = Borin et al. (2012)
 - Perem Komi Corpus (2022)
- some data for the *Typological database of the Volga-Kama Finno-Ugric languages* (NKFIH K 125282)
- in the making: *Komi-Permyak corpus* (NKFIH FK 143242)

Marking of DO-s in Komi-Permyak

- nouns
 - zero marking
 - accusative: -**ös**
 - possessive-accusative: -**ös**, -**tö**, -**sö**, -*nymös*, -*nytö*, -*nysö*
- personal pronouns: -**ö** (*menö*, *tenö*, *sijö*, *mijanö*, *tijanö*, *nijö*)
- other pronouns:
 - zero (*myj* 'what')
 - -**ö** (*etö* 'this', *nijö* 'these', *ködö* 'that')
 - -**ös** (*kinös* 'whom')
- adjective: -**ö**

DOM and animacy

(1) Me vižöt-a žoriž.
I watch-PRS.1SG flower
'I am watching a flower.'

(2) Me vižöt-a Taña-ös.
I watch-PRS.1SG Tanya-ACC
'I am watching Tanya.'

- zero marking with inanimates
- accusative marking with animates (Batalova 2002)

DOM and animacy

- zero marking with animates [+animate], [-human]

(3) Petra košš-ö vöv vör-iś.

Peter look_for-PRS.3SG horse forest-ELA

‘Peter is looking for a horse in the forest.’ (Ponomareva 2010: 69)

DOM and animacy

- zero marking with animates [+animate], [+human]

(4) Öndi vižćíś-ö nyvka-ös.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG girl-ACC
'Andrey is waiting for a girl.'

(5) ?Öndi vižćíś-ö nyvka.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG girl
?'Andrey is waiting for a girl.'

DOM and animacy

- zero marking with animates [+animate], [+human]

(6) Öndi vižćíś-ö Maša-ös.
 Andrey wait-PRS.3SG Masha-ACC
 ‘Andrey is waiting for Masha.’

(7) *Öndi vižćíś-ö Maša.
 Andrey wait-PRS.3SG Masha
 *‘Andrey is waiting for Masha.’

DOM and animacy

- zero marking with animates [+animate], [+human]

(8) Öndi vižćíś-ö menö.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG I.ACC
'Andrey is waiting for me.'

(9) *Öndi vižćíś-ö me.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG I
*'Andrey is waiting for me.'

DOM and animacy

- overt marking with inanimates

(10) Öndi vižćiš-ö ńebög-sö.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG book-ACC.3SG
'Andrey is waiting for his book.'
'Andrey is waiting for the book.'

DOM and animacy

- overt marking with inanimates

(11) Öndi vižćiš-ö ŋebög-ös.
Andrey wait-PRS.3SG book-ACC.1SG

‘Andrey is waiting for my book.’

*‘Andrey is waiting for the book.’

*‘Andrey is waiting for a book.’

DOM and animacy

- overt marking with inanimates

(12) Irina bošt-ö sijö.
Irina buy-PRS.3SG it.ACC
'Irina buys that.'
??'Irina buys him/her.'

DOM and animacy

- ditransitive verbs

(13) Öndi śet-ö taña-lö kožin.
Andrey give-PRS.3SG Tanya-DAT present
'Andrey gives Tanya a present.'

(14) Öndi śet-ö taña-lö pon-sö.
Andrey give-PRS.3SG Tanya-DAT dog-ACC.3SG
'Andrey gives his dog to Tanya.'
'Andrey gives the dog to Tanya.'

DOM and animacy

- causative constructions (intr. < tr.)

(16) Petra jökt-ö.

Peter dance-PRS.3SG

‘Peter is dancing.’

(17) Petra jöktö-t-ö

Peter dance-CAUS-PRS.3SG

‘Peter makes Nastya dance.’

Nasta-ös.

Nastya-ACC

DOM and animacy

- causative constructions (tr.)
- overt marking with inanimates

(18) Maša Öndi-ös čökt-ö šoj-ny kaša-sö.
Masha Andrey-ACC order-PRS.3SG eat-INF porridge-ACC.3SG
‘Masha makes Andrey eat the porridge.’

DOM and animacy

- quasi-causative constructions

(19) Menö kyn-t-ö.
I.ACC freeze-CAUS-PRS.3SG
'I'm cold.'

(20) *Irina kyn-t-ö.
Irina freeze-CAUS-PRS.3SG
'Irina is cold.'

- with animates only, overt marking is obligatory

DOM and animacy

- impersonal passives
- overt marking with inanimates

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

Interim summary

- Q1: What is the motivation for DOM?
- animacy doesn't seem to have a good explanatory value
- many counterexamples

- unmarked animates: +
- marked inanimates: +

DOM and definiteness

- DO-s with zero marking are indefinite
- marked DO-s are definite (cf. Bartens 2000)

- seems to explain the variation better
- personal pronouns, proper names, nouns with possessive suffixes are definite
- two distinctions: zero vs overt marking
- Acc vs. Acc-Poss marking

DOM and definiteness

- zero vs overt marking
- no example for zero marking with personal pronouns
- with inanimates:

(22) Öndi bošt-ö kožin.
Andrey buy-PRS.3SG present
'Andrey buys a present.'

(23) Öndi šet-ö Taña-lö kožin-sö.
Andrey give-PRS.3SG Tanya-DAT present-ACC.3SG
'Andrey gives Tanya the present.'

DOM and definiteness

- zero vs overt marking
- with inanimates:

(24) Öndi bošt-ö kožin-sö.
Andrey buy-PRS.3SG present-ACC.3SG
'Andrey buys the present.'

(23) Öndi šet-ö Taňa-lö kožin-sö.
Andrey give-PRS.3SG Tanya-DAT present-ACC.3SG
'Andrey gives Tanya the present.'

DOM and definiteness

- zero vs Acc vs Poss-Acc marking

Context: What did you do yesterday?

(25) Mam-ö pöžal-i-s šańga-ez.
mother-1SG bake-PST-3SG šańga-PL
'My mother baked šańgas.'

(26) Mam-ö pöžal-i-s šańga-e-sö.
mother-1SG bake-PST-3SG šańga-PL-ACC.3SG
'My mother baked the šańgas [you know].'

DOM and definiteness

- zero vs Acc vs Poss-Acc marking

Context: What did you do yesterday?

(27) Mam-ö pöžal-i-s šańga-ez-ös.
mother-1SG bake-PST-3SG šańga-PL-ACC/ACC.1SG
‘My mother baked the šańgas [I like].’

DOM and definiteness

- examples, especially (25)-(27), show that definiteness alone can not completely explain the variation
- however, it has a greater explanatory value than animacy

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- canonical marking

(28) Nasta-lön jurśi-(ys) basök.
Nastya-GEN hair-3SG nice.
'Nastya's hair is nice.'

(29) Tenat jurśi-(yt) basök.
you-GEN hair-2SG nice.
'Your hair is nice.'

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- the 3Sg possessive suffix denotes an entity know from the context

(30) Vör-yn em kerku.

forest-INE be.PRS.SG house

Kerku-ys važ.

house-3SG old

‘There is a house in the forest. The house is old.’

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- the 3Sg possessive suffix denotes an entity identifiable from general knowledge

(31) Jen-ys zer-ö.
 God-3SG rain-PRS.3SG
 ‘It is raining.’

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- with adjectives without nouns (cf. Havas et al. 2015)

(32) Ućöt-ys pyzan vylyn.
small-3SG table on
‘The small one is on the table.’

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- with determiners > partitive function

(33) Eta nébög-ys öd'dön interésnöj.
this book-3SG very interesting
'This book is very interesting.'

Non-possessive functions of possessive suffixes

- with proper names

(34) Posad-śańas Kudymkar-ys bura tydal-ö.
village-DEL.3SG Kudymkar-3SG good seem-PRS.3SG
'There's a good view to Kudymkar from the/his/her village.'
(Korp)

Topicality

- the entity which is easily accessible / given (for different reasons) is the topical one
- this domain can explain both the variation between marked and unmarked and the two marked variants

(35) Kyčöm roza bošt-a-n? Čoćkom-sö.
which rose take-PRS-2SG white-ACC.3SG
'Which rose do you take? The white one.'

Concluding remarks

Q1: What is the motivation for DOM?

- animacy has low and definiteness a higher explanatory value
- under the domain of topicality, the former ones can be unified (cf. Klumpp 2014)

Q2: How DOM is connected with possessive marking?

- Topicality hierarchy: Poss-Acc > Acc > zero marking
- many directions for further research:
 - grammaticalization path
 - corpus-driven data
 - unified explanation for case and person marking

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Thank you!

АТТЬÖ!

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