Syntax of Uralic Languages

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Two paths running across the same field

The grammaticalization of referential marking
in Uralic languages

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Introduction

Aims

- ◆ To discuss possessive suffixes in non-possessive uses
    - ▪ extended use (Fraurud 2001)
    - ▪ non-personal definite function (Künnap 2004)
    - ▪ non-ptototypical use (Janda 2015)
    - ▪ definiteness-marking function (Gerland 2014)

    Px-determination

- ◆ Similar to definite articles in L_{+ART}? (formerly claimed, recently challenged)

Claims

- ◆ Arguments *pro* grammaticalization

- ◆ The grammaticalization of Uralic Px-determination shows a reversed order wrt the grammaticalization of definite articles

- ◆ A unified account for both grammaticalization paths
- ◆ Marking pragmatic definiteness > marking semantic uniqueness

Introduction

Disclaimer

- ♦ Relying on data as found in literature
- ♦ Testing with native speakers in progress

Background

Languages under the Influence. Uralic syntax changing in an asymmetrical contact situation

2016-2017 (OTKA/NKFI 118079; PI: Katalin É. Kiss)

http://www.nytud.hu/depts/tlp/uralic/index.html

Nominal Structures in Uralic Languages

Proposed research period: 2017-2021; under review

General observations

Empirical basis:

◆ Numerical data from quantitative studies

➢ Fraurud (2001: 250-250) for Udmurt and Turkish, as compared with Swedish and English

➢ Nikolaeva (1999: 82) for Northern Khanty, as compared with English

→ arguing that non-ownership possessive constructions are also used to express relation types that are rendered by other kinds of modification in Indo-European languages (e.g. adpositional phrases, relational adjectives, etc.)

◆ Comparative observations

◆ Significant differences between the individual languages

Previous analyses

The non-possessive use of possessive suffixes

- ♦ in Uralic languages: Khanty, Mansi, Udmurt, Komi, Mari, Samoyedic languages (cf. *inter alia* Collinder 1960: 203-204, §616; Künnap 2004)

- ♦ a feature already present in Proto-Uralic (Janhunen 1981: 32; Décsy 1990: 81)

Comprehensive studies

- ❑ Kari Fraurud (2001)
- ❑ Nikolaeva (2003)
- ❑ Schroeder (2006)
- ❑ Gerland (2014)
- ❑ Simonenko (2014)

Previous analyses

Fraurud (2001)

➢ Extensive use of possessive suffixes in Permic (+Turkish, Yucatec Maya)

➢ POSS > DEF.ART? Arguments *pro* and *contra*

➢ Type I and Type II possessives

Nikolaeva (2003)

➢ Against the definiteness-account (Px in non-referential contexts)

➢ Classification of meanings:

- Identifiability based on deixis and situational uniqueness
- Identifiability based on anaphora (optional: "conditioned pragmatically rather than by rules of grammar")
- Associative (non-prototypical possessive) relationship: i.) linking the reference to the speech act (Px:1SG or 2SG);
  ii.) linking to discourse-internal elements (Px:any)
- Emphasis and contrast

Previous analyses

Schroeder (2006)

➢ Sum of descriptive claims, but concentrating on Komi and Udmurt
➢ Px:2SG → anaphoric; Px:3SG → non-anaphoric, unique reference
➢ **"emergent category"** as marker of definiteness (i.e. not fully grammaticalized)
⇒ expected to vary

Gerland (2014)

➢ Definiteness marking function of Px: inherent to some Uralic languages
➢ Two main functions of Px: i.) establishing a relation between entities;
ii.) establishing a relation between an entity and the discourse
⇒ **relational suffix**; interpretation depends on either on the conceptual
lexical type ofthe head noun or on the context

Simonenko (2014)

➢ Khanty (Shuryshkarski), Komi (Izhem), Mari (Meadow)
➢ Px in their non-possessive uses as varieties of **reference-related markers**
➢ The same semantic mechanisms can handle both non-possessive and
possessive uses (salience-based global choice function)

Previous analyses - Summary

➢ Does the extended use of Px correspond to the process of grammaticalization of definite articles?
   – no characteristics of a well-shaped grammaticalization path
   – lack of obligatoriness

➢ Central notions: *identifiability* and *associativity*,
   (+ aspects of information structure, cf. Janda 2015, Zayzon 2015)

Problems

• the distribution of Px-determination is not identical in the individual languages (cf. Simonenko 2014, Gerland 2014: 271)
• contradictions in the literature, wrt
   – concrete uses in a given context
   – inconsistency in selecting the relevant contexts
   – examples often cited without contexts ($\Rightarrow$ ambiguity)

Recent results based on fieldwork or corpus-studies:

❑ Zayzon (2015) for Nganasan
❑ Janda (2015) for Northern Mansi (only considers anaphoric contexts)
❑ Budzisch (2016) for Southern and Central Selkup

New questions

definiteness = referential identification
(Lyons 1999)

➢ How is referential identification encoded in Uralic languages and what part, if any, do possessive suffixes have in it?

➢ What does the extended use of Px mean?

➢ Can Px-determination be analyzed as a real grammaticalized element at all?

➢ If so, do the differences between languages correspond to different stages of grammaticalization?

➢ If so, what is its relation to the process that characterizes the grammaticalization of definite articles?

The Old Hungarian grammar of referential identification

Absence of article in definite contexts:

♦ with inherently unique nouns
♦ noun phrases with generic reading

referents identified independently of the direct context
⇒ *semantic* uniqueness

♦ with demonstratives
♦ with an overt possessor expression

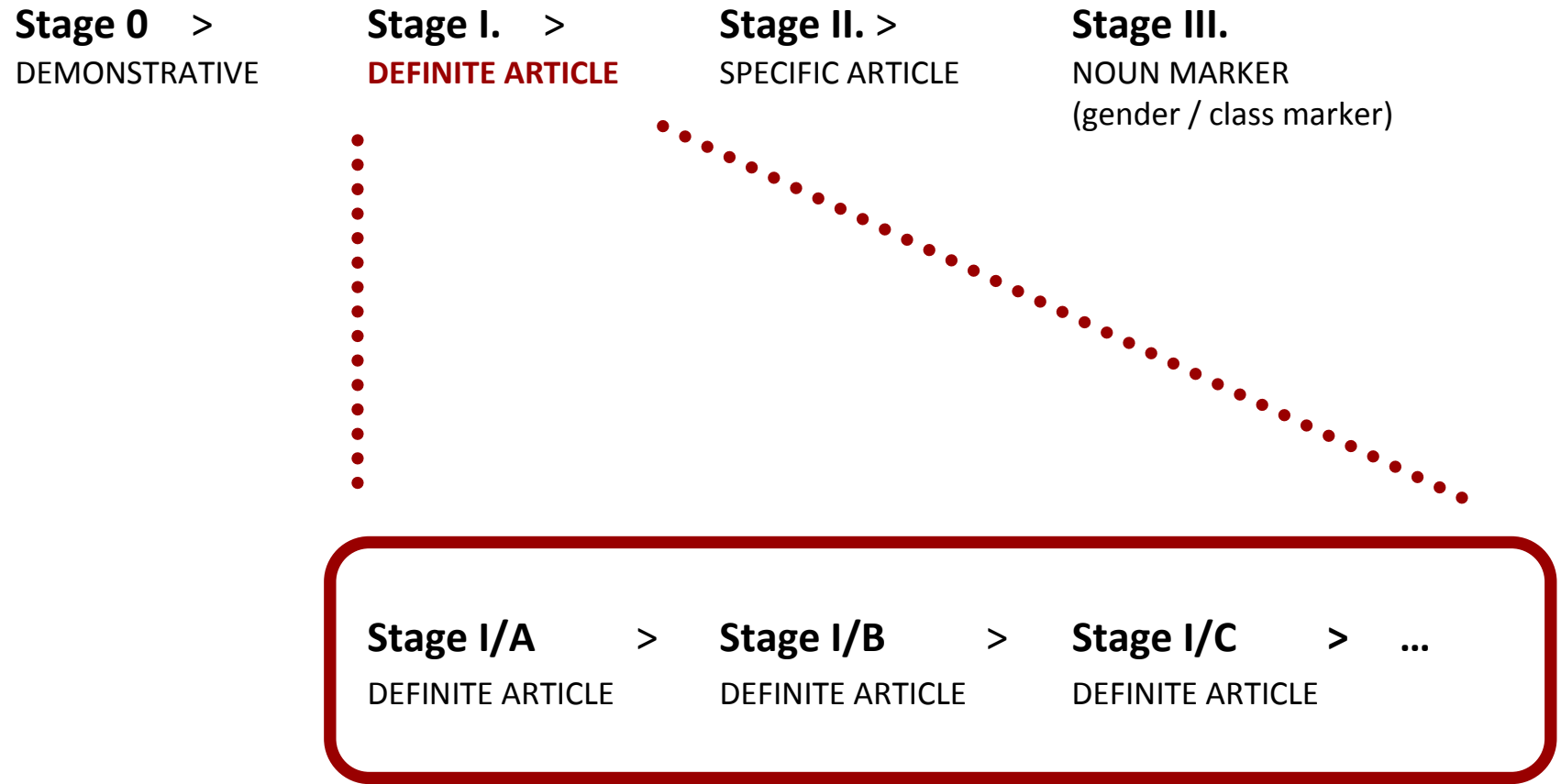referents identified by *other morphosyntactic devices*

Proposal

➢ the article first appeared to encode *pragmatic* definiteness
➢ the article must only appear, if definiteness has not been encoded otherwise

Spreading (Egedi & Simon 2012)

The definite article-cycle

The grammaticalization path of definite articles (Greenberg 1978)

Stage 0 > DEMONSTRATIVE

Stage I. > **DEFINITE ARTICLE**

Stage II. > SPECIFIC ARTICLE

Stage III. NOUN MARKER (gender / class marker)

Stage I/A > DEFINITE ARTICLE

Stage I/B > DEFINITE ARTICLE

Stage I/C > ... DEFINITE ARTICLE

Strategies for referential identification

anaphoric use	"There's *a new café* in our street. We have nothing in the fridge. Let's go and see what we can get in **the café**."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's *a new café* in our street. "**The owner** has just come back from Japan."
situational use	"What does **the cheesecake** cost?" *(here, in the café where we are)*
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	"**The sun** is shining brightly." "I am never bored with **the Italian cuisine**"

After Hawkins (1978), Lyons (1999)
and Himmelmann (1997, 1998, 2001)

Cf. also Givón's (2001: 459-465) types of mental
structures for grounding referents

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Cf. also Givón's (2001: 459-465) types of mental structures for grounding referents

Referents not explicitly present in previous discourse / speech situation $\Longrightarrow$
No DEMONSTRATIVES are used!

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / **ART**
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / **ART**
situational use	DEM	DEM / **ART**
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Old Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / **ART**	POSS / **ART**
situational use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	∅	∅	**ART**

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Old and Middle Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B	Stage I/C
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**	DEM+**ART** / **ART**
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / **ART**	POSS / **ART**	POSS+**ART** / **ART**
situational use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**	DEM+**ART** / **ART**
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	Ø	Ø	**ART**	**ART**

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Old Hungarian

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**
associative-anaphoric use	POSS	POSS / **ART**	POSS / **ART**
situational use	DEM	DEM / **ART**	DEM / **ART**
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	Ø	Ø	**ART**

Grammaticalization path of the definite article: **deixis** > **identifiability**
  anaphoric use > associative-anaphoric use
  situational use > larger situational use

Strategies for referential identification (4 > 5)

Proposal for an extended version of the model

The fifth context: associative-anaphoric use

anaphoric use	"There's *a new café* in our street. We have nothing in the fridge. Let's go and see what we can get in **the café**."
associative-anaphoric use	"There's *a new café* in our street. "**The owner** has just come back from Japan."
situational use	"What does **the cheesecake** cost?" *(here, in the café where we are)*
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	"**The sun** is shining brightly." "I am never bored with **the Italian cuisine**"
associative-situational use	"How is **the dog**?" (addressee's dog is meant) "Where is **the remote control**?" (TV in room)

Associative-situational contexts are not uniform

associative-situational context (1st/2nd person)

➤ association made with one of the interlocutors

(1) 'How is **the** / **your** / **(*that**) dog?'

	L_{+ART}	L_{-ART}
DEM	*	*
ART	✓	–
POSS	✓	✓

Associative-situational contexts are not uniform

associative-situational context (3rd person)

➤ association made with an entity different from the interlocutors

(2) 'Where did you put **the** / **its** / (***that**) remote control?'

(3) 'Will you give me please the number of **the** / (***its**) / (***that**) painter?'
    [looking around in the renewed flat]

	L$_{+ART}$	L$_{-ART}$
DEM	*	*
ART	✓	–
POSS	✓/*	✓

I. Associative uses

Px-determination is *not* extended or non-prototypical in associative-anaphoric and associative-situational contexts

associative-situational context (1st/2nd person)
➤ association made with one of the interlocutors

(Udmurt, É. Kiss - Tánczos ms. ex. 23)

(4)   Otyn   koške   n'i   avtobus-ed
       there   go.PRES.3SG already   autobus-**2SG**
       'Your bus is already going there.'

(Northern Khanty Nikolaeva 1999: 83, ex. 213d)

(5)   tam   xu:j-e:m   xal'śa   joxt-ə-s?
       this   man-**1SG**   where   come-EP-PAST.3SG
       'Where did this man (lit. my man) come from (to me)?'

I. Associative uses

associative-situational context (3rd person)

➢association made with an entity different from the interlocutors

(6)   Guždor   vylin   turyn-ez   čeber
               field   on   grass-**3SG** beautiful
             'In the field, the grass is beautiful.'
             (if the referent is available for direct sensory perception)

Special case: time expressions

Nikolaeva (2003) discussing them under "identifiability based on deixis and situational uniqueness"

(7)   Čukna-jez   tunne kežyt val

             morning-**3SG** today   cold   was

             'The morning today was cold.'

II. Beyond associativity

Extended use: Px for referential identification **in non-associative contexts**

• Direct anaphoric contexts

• Larger situational contexts

• Immediate situational contexts

Direct anaphoric use

(Komi, Southern Permyak dialect, Fraurud 2001: 252 (8) after Rédei 1978: 474)

(8)   et-piriś   sećće woktis ruć.   rućis   čig.

           once   then   came   fox   fox-**3SG**   hungry

           'Once a/the fox came that way. <u>The fox</u> was hungry.'

(Selkup, Nikolaeva 2003, ex.10, after Kuznecova et al. 1980: 187)

(9)   Qoltyt qanyqqyn anty   totta,   anty-ty   lapykɔ:l   ɛ:ŋa.

           river   bank.on   boat   stands   boat-**3SG** oar.without   is

           'A boat stands on the riverbank, <u>the boat</u> doesn't have an oar.'

II. Beyond associativity

Larger situational use

(Nganasan, Gerland 2014: 271, after Wagner-Nagy 2002: 156)

(10)   məu-δu   śürü   ŋil'ənu čiiməə

earth-**3SG**   snow-GEN   under   hidden.PTPASS.3SG

'The earth is covered with snow.'

(Southern Selkup, Vasjugan, Budzisch 2015: 47, ex.10)

(11)   tjele-dɨ   kwed-ɨ-mba

sun-**3SG**   shine-EP-HAB.3SG

'The sun is shining.'

II. Beyond associativity

Immediate situational use

(12)   'Look at the / that / (*its, *your) blackbird!'

	L_{+ART}	L_{-ART}
DEM	*✓	✓ *
ART	✓	–
POSS	*	✓

(Selkup, Upper Ket dialect, Budzisch 2016, ex. 12)

(13)   It'e, mata-l   nü-dɨ!

Itja door-**2SG** open-IMP.2SG

'Itja, open the door!'

II. Beyond associativity

Immediate situational use

(14)   wa:nt-a   tam masina:j-e:n   je:wra   man-ǝ-s?

look-IMP.2SG this car-**2SG**   aside   go-EP-PAST.3SG

'Look, that car (lit. your car) went aside'

[NB. If the addressee had no relation to the car previously.]

(15)   t'ukona   sira-da   wǝr-cawey◦

here   snow-**3SG** dirt-PROP

'Here the snow is dirty.'

Px in non-associative contexts
- based on literature

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi	Khanty	Mansi	Nenets	Nganasan	Selkup
Anaphoric	+/−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Situational	−	+/−	+	+/−	+?	+	+	+
Larger situational	−	+/−	+	+/−	+?	+	+	+

+/−   opinions vary in literature!)

+?   no example provided but generally alluded to, or
            not claimed explicitly, but presumable based on some examples.

Strategies for referential identification and definiteness marking in Uralic languages

	Stage 0	Stage I/A	Stage I/B
anaphoric use	DEM	DEM / **POSS**	DEM / **POSS**
associative-anaphoric use	**POSS**	**POSS**	**POSS**
situational use	DEM	DEM	DEM / **POSS**
larger situational use = inherent uniqueness	Ø	Ø	**POSS**
associative-situational use	**POSS**	**POSS**	**POSS**

Grammaticalization path of the Px-determination: **associativity** > **identifiability**

associative-anaphoric use > anaphoric use

associative-situational use > situational use

> larger situational use

Grammaticalization or not?

The characteristic mechanisms of grammaticalization:

- semantic bleaching

- context generalization

- morphological reduction

- phonetic erosion

Cf. the grammaticalization path of Px *-ez/-jez* in Udmurt

(É. Kiss & Tánczos ms.)

possessive agreement > partitivity marking > specific object marking

- loss of phi-features (semantic simplification),

- loss of some allomorphs (morphological simplification)

- obligatory in some of its new roles

The problem of obligatoriness…

Obligatoriness must hold in grammatically well defined contexts…

Referential identification can be encoded by more strategies

➢ Inherently unique nouns and generic noun phrases are only optionally marked if semantic definiteness does not need to be overtly marked

➢ Demonstratives

➢ Topicalization

➢ Verbal conjugation: objective agreement on the verb marking that the object is referentially identifiable (so called secondary topic)
(e.g. Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages)

➢ DOM
(e.g. Udmurt *-ez/jez* claimed to encode specific objects, É.Kiss & Tánczos ms.)

➢ Other…?

Testing…

Scene III

[Visual stimulus:
Living-room with a TV and other typical objects;
two women]

W1:	- Look, the TV is working again! It was repaired yesterday.
W2:	- Will you give me please the number of the repairman? My TV's been out of order for two weeks.
W1:	- Sure! I'll go to the kitchen, the mobile is on the table.
W2:	- Let me try the TV in the meantime. Where's the power button?
W1:	- The remote control is in the drawer.
W2:	- Why on earth did you put the remote control in the drawer??
W1:	- 'Cause the dog always steals it.
W2:	- You shouldn't let him in the room anyway! Where's the dog now?
W1:	- He's playing with the neighbor kid in the garden. I'll call them in, if you want to have a look at the dog. We can also give some cookies to the boy.

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