

Towards a unified account of the suffix *-ez/jez* in Udmurt

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Towards a unified account of the suffix *-ez/jez* in Udmurt

Aims

- to propose a unified account of the Udmurt suffix *-ez/jez*
- to present a possible grammaticalization path from possessive uses to non-possessive uses of the suffix

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Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. The origin of the suffix
3. Functions of the suffix in today's language
4. Analogues from other Uralic languages
5. Account
6. Grammaticalization path

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Introduction

- Uralic language, Permic branch
- Minority language, Russian Federation, Udmurt Republic
- 552 299 total ethnic population, 339 800 native speakers (2010 census)
- Language contact, bilingualism

Introduction

The suffix *-ez/jez* has long been analysed as both:

- Accusative case (e.g. Csúcs 1980, Kel'makov – Hännikäinen 1999, Kontratjeva 2002, 2010, Kozmács 2007)
 - 3SG Possessive Marker (e.g. Nikolaeva 2003, Edygarova 2009, 2010, Assmann et al 2013)
- Strong connection between the two main functions -
Unified analysis is still missing

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Origin of the suffix

- The *-ez/jez* (reconstructed form **-es/is*), the 3rd person singular possessive suffix, is assumed to have developed out of a personal pronoun already in Proto-Uralic (e.g. Janhunen 1981).
- The definiteness marking function is assumed to have existed already in Proto-Uralic.
- As a marker of accusative case, it appeared during the Proto-Permic period because the original Uralic accusative suffix **-m* disappeared (Csúcs 2005).
- Wichmann (1923-24) attributes this possessive-accusative shift to the determinative function of the possessive suffix.

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Uses of the suffix *-ez/jez*



Possessive

Non-possessive

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Marking Possessive relation

Singular 3rd Person Possessive suffix

- (1) *Sasha-len* *kniga-jez*
 Sasha-gen book-3sg
 ‘book of Sasha’

Edygarova (2010): Possessive in Udmurt has two functions:

- Possessive use: marking possessive relation between the possessum and the possessor (1)
- Functional use: marking agreement between a constituent and its referent

In possessive function the appearance of the 3sgPX is obligatory

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Non-possessive functions: Marking subjects

The suffix (optionally) occurs on the subject of an intransitive sentence

(2) a. *guzhdor vylyn turyn-ez cheber*

meadow on grass-DEF beautiful

‘On the meadow, the grass is beautiful.’ (Winkler 2001:32)

b. *kar-in kalik (-ez) tros*

city-INE people(-3SG) many

‘There are many people in the city.’ (Edygarova 2015:16)

The appearance of the suffix in type of (2a) is well-known from the literature as marking definiteness in the lack of definite article (e.g. Collinder 1960, Schlachter 1960, Kramsky 1972, Rédei 1988, Leinonen 1998, Künnap 2004, Winkler 2001, 2011)

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Non-possessive functions: Marking objects

Udmurt is a DOM language. The object is always marked if definite and specific (i.e. topic) (3a) and never marked if non-specific (3b)

(3) a. *Mon (so(ze)) *kniga/kniga-jez utchaj otn.*
1SG that.ACC book.(ACC)/book-ACC search.PST.1SG there
'I searched for the book there.'

b. *Mon kniga/*kniga-jez utchas'ko gubios s'arys'.*
1SG book.(ACC)/ book-ACC search.PST.1SG mushroom.PL about
'I am searching for a book about mushrooms.'

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Non-possessive functions: Marking the Causee argument

The suffix obligatory appears both with synthetic (4a) and analytic (4b) causative constructions marking the Causee argument of the predicate.

(4) a. *Sasha pi-jez kniga-jez lydzhy-t-iz.*

Sasha.NOM boy-ACC book-ACC read-CAUS-PST.3SG

‘Sasha made the/a boy read the book.’

b. (...) *so peres' kyshno so nyl-ez min'ts'o estyny kosem (...)*

that old woman that girl-ACC sauna to.heat ordered

‘The old woman ordered the girl to heat a sauna.’ (Wichmann 1901:text 7)

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Non-possessive functions: Marking Contrast

In contrastive phrases (topics or foci) the adjective is always marked.

- (5) (...) *pokchi-ez* *brat* *kuaner*, *byzym-ez* *brat* *uzyr*
younger-3SG brother poor older-3SG brother rich
'(...), the younger brother was poor, the older brother was rich'

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Non-possessive functions: Nominalizer

As a nominalizer the suffix can appear on any kind of category

(7) *ton ponna-jez*

2sg because.of-NOMIN

‘who because of you’

(Winkler 2001:13)

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Analogues from two other Uralic languages

Px in non-possessive functions in Uralic is well-known from the literature (e.g. Fraurud 2001, Nikolaeva 2003, Simonenko 2014)

Similar functions of the 3rd possessive in other Uralic languages:

- Northern Mansi (Janda 2015)
- Hungarian (É. Kiss 2016)

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Northern Mansi (Janda 2015)

- Semantic analysis based on Langacker's (1993) reference-point model
- Original function of possessive suffixes: to denote a relation between two entities
- The main property of possessive suffixes is to establish reference (possessor is the reference point)
- Possessive relation is the default interpretation

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Northern Mansi (Janda 2015)

Reference can be either anaphoric (8a) or deictic (8b)

(8) a. *a:sj-anəl* *la:w-i*
father-sg<3pl say-prs.3sg
'Their father said.' (Janda 2015:7c)

b. *mir-um* *pussən* *amki* *ka:t-um* *wos* *pat-i*
people-sg<1sg all 1sgemph hand-sg<1sg HORT start-prs.3sg
'All my people shall be in my hands.' (Janda 2015:6)

These properties have a strong connection to the information structure.

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Hungarian analogue: *-ik* and *-ja* (É. Kiss 2016)

-ik: 3PL possessive suffix

The suffix *-ik* appearing on pronouns, (9a) on ordinal numerals (9b) and, optionally, on comparative adjectives (9c):

- (9) a. *minden-ik* ‘every’
b. *második* ‘2nd’
c. *szebb-ik* ‘more beautiful’

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Hungarian analogue: *-ik* and *-ja* (É. Kiss 2016)

-jA: 3SG possessive suffix

The suffix can mark familiarity.

(10) *Hármas-á-val mentünk be.*

three-Poss3SG-with went-1PL in

‘We went in in threes.’

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Semantic background

- Proposal: the main function of the suffix *-ez/jez* is to mark a relation between two entities.
- The use of the suffix is based on the cognitive notion of ‘**associability**’ which entails functions such as marking definiteness, referentiality and identifiability (Fraurud 2001).

Semantic background

Simonenko (2014):

- possessive suffixes encode different reference-related categories
- the role of possessive suffixes in possessive use is to pick an individual out of a set of individuals with the relevant property belonging to some person
- Possessive and non-possessive uses can have exactly the same semantics
- The salience ranking relevant for the semantics of possessive suffixes is partially derived from the hierarchy of “possessors”
- 3SG is used in both possessive and non-possessive contexts

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Syntactic analysis: Back to Hungarian

In OH texts, *-ik*-marked elements only appear as heads of possessive constructions with a lexical or pro possessor (11)

- (11) *Valanac ot hat ko, vedreci [DP pro_i mēdèn-ici] foglaluā kèt koblöt.*
were there six stone buckets every-Poss3PL taking two vats
'There were six buckets of stone and all of them were two vats.'

In Middle Hungarian, *-ik* is reinterpreted as a familiarity marker; and the *-ik*-marked element becomes a determiner/modifier. However, its possessor is still implicitly present, excluding a generic reading:

- (12) a. *Minden-ik ember magas.* b. *Minden-*ik ember halandó.*
 every man [of them] tall every man mortal

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Syntactic analysis: Implicit possessor in Udmurt

Implicit possessor appears in *-ez/jez* constructions (e.g. 13)

- (13) *kar-in kalik (-ez) tros*
city-INE people(-3SG) many
'There are many people in the city.' (Edygarova 2015:16)

The possessor can be explicit:

- (14) *kar- len kalyk -ez tros.*
city- GEN people-3SG many
'The city has many people.'

The function of this suffix is to mark the associability (familiarity) in this context.

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Implicit possessor in contrastives

Associability (Familiarity) marking is present in contrastive contexts.

Implicit possessors represent opposing subsets of a familiar referent

(15)(...) *pokchi-ez* *brat* *kuaner*, *byzym-ez* *brat* *uzyr*

younger-3SG brother poor older-3SG brother rich

‘(...), the younger brother was poor, the older brother was rich’

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Implicit possessor: anti-agreement

The partitive and counting meanings of *tros* 'many' are also distinguished by *-ez/jez*:

- (16) a. *tros-ez mynozy, kinlen van' in'i vizajez jake kin otyl,*
many-3SG go.FUT.3PL who.GEN be already visa.3SG or who there
Jevropayn ule.
Europe.in live
'Many [of them] will go, who has already visa or who live there, in Europe.'

(Internet: Facebook)

- b. *Tros adjamy lyktiz koncerte.*
many people came concert.to
'Many people came to the concert.'

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Grammaticalization path

Grammaticalization of the possessive suffixes from possessive use to non-possessive use in Uralic (e.g. Gerland 2011, Relational Suffix)

vs.

The ‘non-possessive functions’ of the Udmurt *-ez/jez* represent different stages of a similar grammaticalization path.

-ez/jez is a 3SG possessive agreement which can also be used in the presence of an implicit possessor present in the situation or the context – the associability marking

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Grammaticalization path

Possessive agreement with explicit possessor →
possessive agreement with implicit possessor →
marking associability (anti-agreement) →
marking familiarity-topic → topic-marker →
accusative case

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Grammaticalization path: relics

As a relic of its original possessive agreement role, *-ez/jez* can only merge with the category NP, hence its lexical stem is assigned an NP layer, and is interpreted as a nominal:

(8) *ton ponna-jez*

you because.of-NOMIN

‘who/which is because of you’

Similarly to Hungarian suffix *-ik* (É. Kiss 2016)

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