Possessive agreement grammaticalizing into a topic marker

Katalin É. Kiss
Orsolya Tánczos

Research Institute for Linguistics
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
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Aim

- to present a possible grammaticalization path from the possessive uses to the non-possessive uses of the suffix -\textit{ez/jez} in Udmurt

- on the basis of a Hungarian analogue, the grammaticalization path of which is better documented
the suffix -ez/jez has seemingly unrelated functions:

**Uses of the suffix -ez/jez**

- Possessive Agr
  - definiteness marking;
  - contrast;
  - differential object marking;
  - Nominalizing

- Non-possessive
  - definiteness marking;
  - contrast;
  - differential object marking;
  - Nominalizing

(e.g. Winkler 2001, 2011, Edygarrova 2010, Nikolaeva 2003, Kozmács 2007)
Marking possessive relation

Singular 3rd person possessive suffix:

(1) a. [Sasha-len kniga-jez]
   Sasha-gen book-3sg
   ‘Sasha’s book’

b. [([pro_i] kniga-jez]
   his/her book-3sg
   ‘his/her book’
Marking subjects

Optional occurrence on the unaccusative subject of an intransitive sentence:

(2) a. guzhdor vylyn turyn{-ez} cheber
    meadow on   grass-DEF beautiful
    ‘On the meadow, the grass is beautiful’    (Nikoaleva 2003)

b. kar{-i}n kalijk (-ez) tros
    city-INE  people(-3SG) many
    ‘There are many people in the city.’   (Edygarova 2015:16)


{-ez} marks definiteness in lack of a definite article in (2a)
Marking objects

Udmurt has DOM

The object is (j)ez-marked if definite & specific (i.e. topic):
(3)a. Mon (so(ze)) *kniga/kniga-jez utchaj otyn.
   1SG that.ACC book /book-ACC search.PST.1SG there
   ‘I searched for the book there.’

The object is not (j)ez-marked if non-specific:
b. Mon kniga/*kniga-jez utchas’ko gubios s’arys’.
   1SG book/book-ACC search.PST.1SG mushroom.PL about
   ‘I am searching for a book about mushrooms.’
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
      that old woman that girl-ACC sauna to.heat
      kosem
      ordered
      ‘The old woman ordered the girl to heat a sauna.’
Marking Contrast

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

Context: There were two brothers.

(5)(...) pokchi-jez   brat   kuaner, byzym-ez
    young-3SG   brother   poor    old-3SG
    brat   uzyr
    brother   rich

‘(...), the younger brother was poor, the older brother was rich’
As a nominalizer the suffix can appear on any kind of category e.g. adjectives

Context: There were two brothers.

(6) (...) pokchi-jez kuaner, byzym-ez uzyr
   young-3SG poor older-3SG rich
   ‘(...), the young one was poor, the old one was rich’
Hungarian analogues

-ik: a partitive-specificity marker; originally an allomorph of 3PL possessive agreement (-uk/ük)

-ja/je: a partitivity marker; also the productive 3SG possessive agreement
Occurrences of -\textit{ik} (Poss3PL)

(7)a. **Pronouns**: minden\textit{ik}, mindegy\textit{ik} ‘each’
    mely\textit{ik} ‘which’
    bármely\textit{ik} ‘any’
    némely\textit{ik}, valamely\textit{ik} ‘some’
    egy\textit{ik} ‘one’, más\textit{ik} ‘other’

b. **Adjectives**: szebb-\textit{ik} ‘the more beautiful one’

c. **Ordinals**: másod\textit{ik} ‘2nd’, harmad\textit{ik} ‘3rd’,
    negyed\textit{ik} ‘4th’, ötöd\textit{ik} ‘5th’,
-ik turns pronouns into specific-partitive

(8)a. Minden/*minden-ik ember halandó.
  every man mortal
  ‘Every man is mortal.’

b. A tanszéken minden-ik ember szakállas.
  the department-at every man bearded
  ‘At the Department, each man is bearded.’
-ik can turn adjectives into specific-partitive nominals

(9)a. Az olcsó-bb-ik-at kérem.
   the cheap-er-ik-ACC want-I
   ‘I want the cheaper one.’

b. A legolcsó-bb-ik a legjobb.
   the cheap-est-ik the best.
   ‘The cheapest one is the best.’
-ik pronouns & adjectives elicit the definite conjugation:

(10)a. Ismerek minden vendéget.

    know-1sg every guest-ACC

b. Ismerem mindenik/mindegyik vendéget.

    know-3sg<1sg each guest-ACC

(11)a. A kép, amelyet látsz

    the picture which see-2sg

b. A kép, amelyiket látod

    the picture which see-2sg<1sg
Old Hungarian: an -\textit{ik} pronoun, numeral, or adj. is always a possessum with a \textit{pro} possessor

(12) Valanac ot \underline{hat kő vedrec}_i
were there six stone buckets

[\underline{DP pro}_i mēděn-ic}_i] foglaluā kēt kőblōt.
every-Poss3PL taking two vats

‘There were six buckets of stone and all of them were two vats.’
Properties of -\textit{ik} phrases explained

- \textit{ik} is one of the Old Hungarian allomorphs of 3Pl possessive AGR (-\textit{ik}/uk/ük)

- In Old Hungarian, pronouns, adjectives and ordinal numerals with -\textit{ik} are heads of possessive constructions with a 3PL pro possessor

\[
\left[ \text{DP } \text{pro}_i \text{ mēdēn-ic}_i \right]
\]

their each-Poss3PL ‘each of them’

- Possessive constructions are inherently definite
Pathway of grammaticalization

(i) Proto-H/Early OH: -uk/ük/ik = 3PL possessive agr.
   proi minden-ik, ‘their each [each of them]’

(ii) Fission of -uk/ük/ik:
   NP+uk/ük → pronoun/numeral+ik

(iii) Reanalysis of -ik as a specific-partitive derivational suffix
   Attribute use:
   mindenik ember ‘each man’
   Taking productive PossAgr:
   mindenik-ük
   each -Poss3PL ‘each of them’
Another non-possessive Px: Poss3SG on adjectives, situationally given possessor

(13) A zöld-jé-t befőzöm, az érett-jé-t megeszem.
the green-3SG-ACC preserve-I the ripe-3SG-ACC eat-I
‘Their green ones, I preserve, their ripe ones, I eat.’

3SG: default agreement/anti-agreement:

(14) A dolgozat-ok jól sikerültek. A jav -á -t
the term-papers well succeeded the good-3SG-ACC
/*jav -uk -at beadjuk egy konferenciára.
/good-3PL-ACC submit.we a conference.to
‘The term papers succeeded well. We submit the
better part of them to a conference.’
Implicit possessor in Udmurt

-ez/jez: agreement with a situationally given possessor

(15) kar-ɨn  (pro-GEN) kalyk (-ez)  tros
    city-INE  people(-3SG)  many

    ‘There are many people in the city.’

The possessor can be made explicit:

(16) kar- len  kalyk-ez  tros.
    city- GEN  people-3SG  many

    ‘The city has many people.’
-ez/jez as a marker of partitive specificity

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

(17) a. *tros-ez* mynozy, kinlen van' in'i
    many-3SG go.FUT.3PL who.GEN be already
    vizajež jake kin, otyn Jevropayn ule.
    visa.3SG or who there 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.’
Occurrence with pronouns

Context: The family of Aljona has two gardens.

(18) Odig-ez korka beryn no muket-yz korka az’yn one-3sg house behind and other-3sg house front ‘One of them is behind the house and the other one in front of the house.’

pronouns: ta-iz ‘this’, so-iz ‘that’

Rießler (2016): taiz-ez, ‘that one over there’

not supported by the Corpus or informants
Occurrence with adjectives

Familiarity marking is present in contrastive contexts. Implicit possessors represent opposing subsets of a familiar referent

(19) (...) pokchi-ez brat kuaner, byzym-ez brat uzyr
young-3SG brother poor old-3SG brother rich
‘(…), the younger brother was poor, the older brother was rich’

Not a possessor but a grammaticalized marker

(20) kyz-ze /*kyz-de kor-de uli-ja-z pun
long-3SG.ACC /-2SG.ACC log-2SG.ACC bottom-ILL-P.3SG put.IMP
‘Put your long log to the bottom.’ (Arkhangelskiy & Usacheva 2016)
A symptom of grammaticalization:
anti-agreement

tros-ez ‘many of them’
odig-ez ‘one of them’
pokchi-ez ....byzym-ez
‘the younger one...the older one of them’

plural implicit possessor – singular agreement
Semantic background

Szabolcsi (1994): possessive relation is an unspecified relation between the possessor and the possessum.

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
- 3SG is used in both possessive and non-possessive contexts
The main function of the suffix -ez/jez is to mark a relation between two entities (Fraurud 2001, Gerland 20014).

The entity cross-referenced by -ez/jez can be lexical, or a contextually or situationally bound pro, or implicit.

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

Possessive agreement with explicit possessor →
possessive agreement with implicit possessor →
marking partitive specificity (anti-agreement) →
marking familiarity →
marking topical objects →
marking all human objects
-ez/jez on the Causee:

The frequent presuppositionality of the causee in causative constructions grammaticalized into obligatory -ez/jez marking.


References

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