

Possessive agreement grammaticalizing into a topic marker

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Aim

- to present a possible grammaticalization path from the possessive uses to the non-possessive uses of the suffix *-ez/jez* in Udmurt
- on the basis of a Hungarian analogue, the grammaticalization path of which is better documented

Facts

the suffix *-ez/jez* has seemingly unrelated functions:

Uses of the suffix *-ez/jez*

Possessive Agr

Non-possessive

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

(e.g. Winkler 2001, 2011, Edygarova 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 vyl̄yn turyn-ez cheber**

meadow on grass-DEF beautiful

‘On the meadow, the grass is beautiful’ (Nikoaleva 2003)

b. **kar-ĩn kal̄k (-ez) tros**

city-INE people(-3SG) many

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

Common view (Collinder 1960, Schlachter 1960, Rédei 1988, Leinonen 1998, Winkler 2001, 2011, etc.):

-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.’

Nominalizer

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 *-ik* (Poss3PL)

(7)a. **Pronouns:** minden*ik*, mindegy*ik* ‘each’

mely*ik* ‘which’

bármely*ik* ‘any’

némely*ik*, valamely*ik* ‘some’

egy*ik* ‘one’, más*ik* ‘other’

b. **Adjectives:** szebb-*ik* ‘the more beautiful one’

c. **Ordinals:** másod*ik* ‘2nd’, harmad*ik* ‘3rd’,
negyed*ik* ‘4th’, ötöd*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. **Ismere**m** minden**ik**/mindegy**ik**** vendéget.

know-3SG<1SG each guest-ACC

(11)a. A kép, **amelyet látsz**

the picture which see-2SG

b. A kép, **amely**iket** lát**od****

the picture which see-2SG<1SG

Old Hungarian: an **-ik** pronoun, numeral, or adj.
is always a possessum with a *pro* possessor

(12) Valanac ot hat ko vedrec_i
were there six stone buckets

[_{DP} **pro_i** mēdèn-**ic_i**] foglaluā kèt kọblọt.
every-Poss3PL taking two vats

‘There were six buckets of stone and all of
them were two vats.’

Properties of *-ik* phrases explained

- *-ik* is one of the Old Hungarian allomorphs of 3PL possessive AGR (*-ik/uk/ük*)
- In Old Hungarian, pronouns, adjectives and ordinal numerals with *-ik* are heads of possessive constructions with a 3PL *pro* possessor

[_{DP} **pro**_i **mēdèn-ic**_i]

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.

pro_i minden-ik_i ‘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 →

Attributive 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-*ın* (pro-GEN) kal_ık (-*ez*) tros**
city-INE people(-3SG) many

‘There are many people in the city.’

The possessor can be made explicit:

(16) **kar- len kalyk_ı-*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
vizajez jake kin , otyń 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

Uralic/Udmurt:

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.

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