



New aspects in the study of Mari, Udmurt, and Komi-Permyak: The Typological Database of the Volga area Finno- Ugric Languages

Erika Asztalos – Nikolett F. Gulyás – Laura Horváth – Bogáta Timár
(Eötvös Loránd University)

5th Mikola Conference
University of Szeged
20.9.2019

Outline

- Aims and motivations
- Overview of the UTDB and the VLTB projects
- Preliminary results
- Case studies
 - Reduplication
 - Predicative possession in Udmurt
 - Agreement marking on adpositions in Meadow Mari

Aims and motivations

- To create an online typological database of (some less described) Finno-Ugric languages
 - using the terminology and concepts of linguistic typology (Dryer 2001, Haspelmath & Dryer 2013) in order to
 - make these languages more “visible” cross-linguistically,
 - broaden our perspective on some morphosyntactic properties of the target languages.
-
- The first phase of the project (UTDB) is ready, the second phase (VLTB) is in progress.

Key notions of the database

- Parameters: cross-linguistically comparable grammatical properties
 - e. g. Optative mood
 - Is there a distinct verbal paradigm to express the optative mood?
- Values: the set of logically possible variants of a certain parameter
 - NoOptInfl: There is no distinct verbal paradigm to express the optative mood.
 - OptInfl: There is a distinct verbal paradigm to express the optative mood.

WALS and UTDB: similarities and differences

WALS (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013)

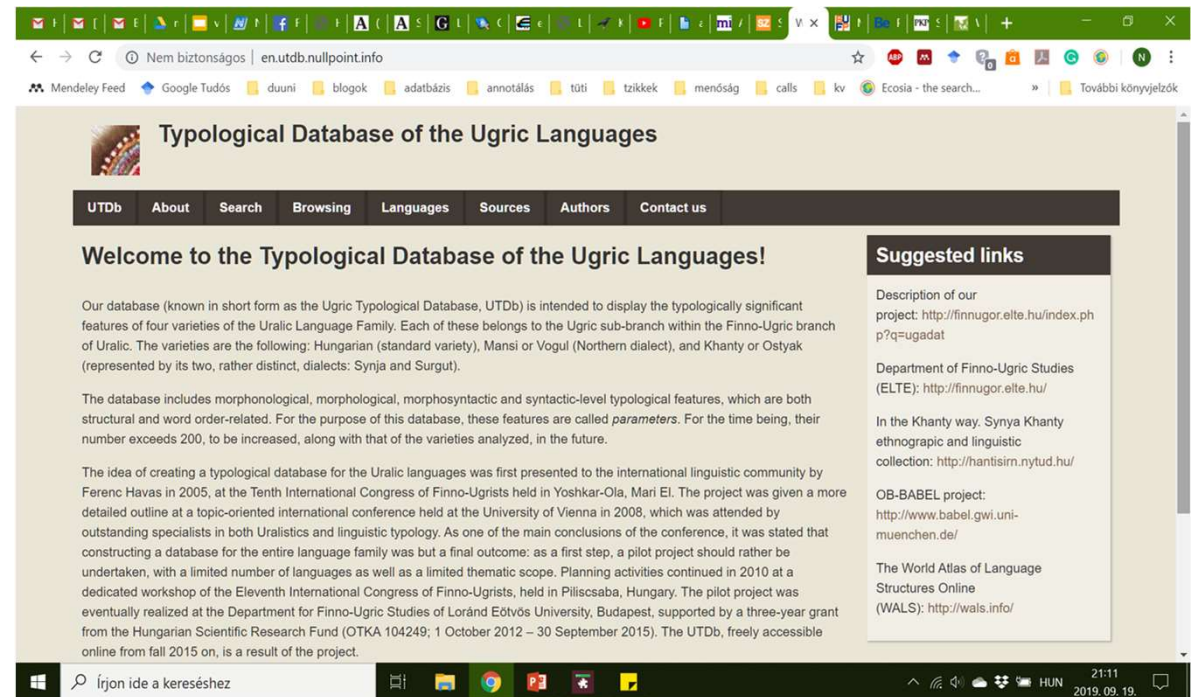
- Languages of the world
- Phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon
- 192 parameters
- For FU languages: poor and sometimes outdated data
- Different goals!

UTDB (Havas et al. 2015)

- One language family
- Morphology, syntax
- 213 parameters
- Some new data based on fieldwork
- Glossed examples
- The database is available in Hungarian, English, and Russian

UTDB: Typological Database of the Ugric Languages

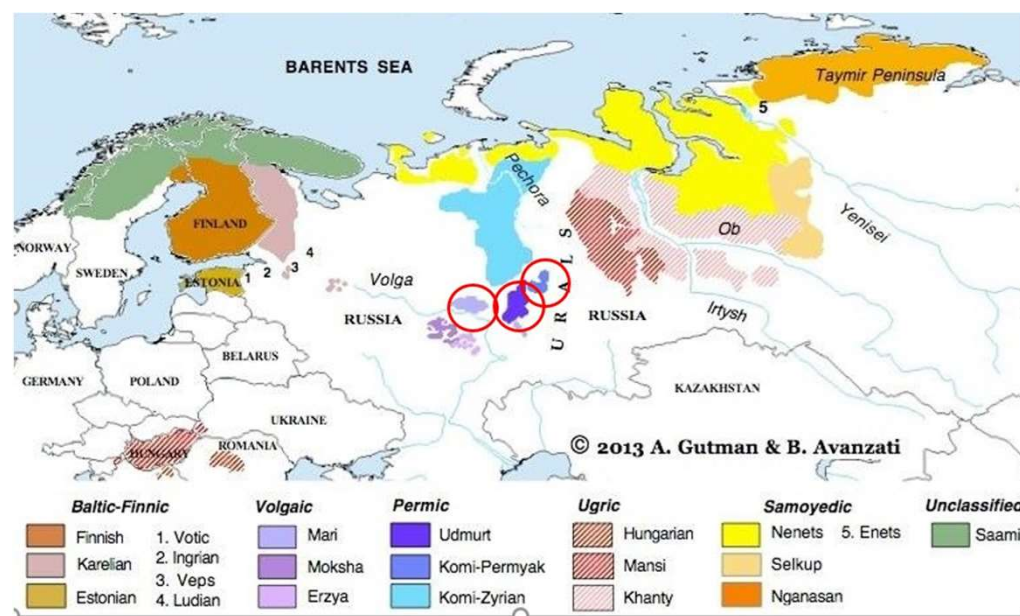
- 2012–2015
- OTKA K 104249
- Synja Khanty
- Surgut Khanty
- Northern Mansi
- Hungarian
- ca. 208-210 values/lg
- utdb.elte.hu



- Project team: Ferenc Havas (PI), András Czentnár, Márta Csepregi, Nikolett F. Gulyás, and Szilvia Németh

VLTB: Typological Database of the Volga Area Finno-Ugric Languages

- 2017–2021 (48 months)
- Meadow Mari
- Udmurt
- Komi-Permyak



- Project team: Ferenc Havas (PI), Erika Asztalos, Nikolett F. Gulyás, Laura Horváth, Ditta Szabó, and Bogáta Timár

Preliminary results

- ca. 110 values are defined in Hungarian
- English and Russian translations are in progress
- fieldwork
- more than 15 conference presentations (SLE, SWL, ALT)
- three papers (to appear)
- revision of some values and parameters of the UTDB
- a new interface for the database (in progress)

Preliminary results

Typological Database of the Ugric Languages

[Home](#) [About](#) [Search](#) [Browsing](#) [Languages](#) [Sources](#) [Authors](#) [Contact us](#)

 English  Magyar  Русский

HOME

Home

WELCOME TO THE TYPOLOGICAL DATABASE OF THE UGRIC LANGUAGES!

Our database (known in short form as the Ugric Typological Database, UTD_b) is intended to display the typologically significant features of four varieties of the Uralic Language Family. Each of these belongs to the Ugric sub-branch within the Finno-Ugric branch of Uralic. The varieties are the following: Hungarian (standard variety), Mansi or Vogul (Northern dialect), and Khanty or Ostyak (represented by its two, rather distinct, dialects: Synja and Surgut).

The database includes morphonological, morphological, morphosyntactic and syntactic-level typological features, which are

SUGGESTED LINKS

Description of our project: <http://finnugor.elte.hu/index.php?q=ugadat>

Department of Finno-Ugric Studies (ELTE): <http://finnugor.elte.hu/>

In the Khanty way. Synya Khanty ethnographic and linguistic collection: <http://hantisir.nytud.hu/>

Case study 1

Reduplication

- expressive, evocative, onomatopoetic formations: common in the languages of VTDB (Riese 2015, Shlyakhova 2013, Fejes 2015) + Turkic languages of the area (cf. Iskandarova 2015, Semenova & Ivanova 2015)
- word class-changing (derivational) function: Bashkir (Iskandarova 2015: 3395):
 - (1) Meadow Mari
 - man-eš* ~ *man-eš*
 - say-3SG ~ say-3SG
 - ‘gossip’ (Riese 2015: 3287)
- **total reduplication**

Reduplication

- **partial reduplication**

(2) Meadow Mari

joltaš-em *tap ~ taza*
friend-1SG RED ~ healthy

‘my friend is fit as a fiddle’ (www.marilanguage.com)

- Tatar and Chuvash influence (Riese 2015: 3287) < Old Turkic (Erdal 1991: 65)

(3) Tatar

kap ~ kart
RED ~ old

‘very old’ (Károly 2015: 3411)

Reduplication

- **echo reduplication**

(4) Udmurt

kyryž ~ *meryž*

crookedly ~ RED

‘very crookedly’

(Shlyakhova 2013: 1330)

(5) Meadow Mari

kadyr ~ *gudyr*

crooked ~ RED

‘very crooked’

(Riese 2015: 3287)

Reduplication

- VTDB: typologically relevant when productive
- Evaluative Morphology (Körtvélyessy 2015)
 - prototypical cases express the meaning of quantity under or above the „default value”
 - influenced by extralingual factors: culture, experience and knowledge of the speakers (Körtvélyessy 2015: 41–42)
- augmentatives (total reduplication): Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga area
- higher quantity of a quality: intensification of color names and other adjectives, adverbs

Evaluatives

- Udmurt, Komi-Permyak, Meadow Mari

(6) Komi-Permyak

görd ~ görd

red ~ red

‘very red’ (L. P.)

(7)

Komi-Permyak

basök ~ basök

beautiful ~ beautiful

‘very beautiful’ (L. P.)

- (Northern) Udmurt, Komi-Permyak: also with conjunctions (*da/i* ‘and’)

Evaluatives

(8) Komi-Permyak

basök-śa ~ basök

beautiful-PRECL ~ beautiful

‘very beautiful’ (L. P.)

(9) Udmurt: ABL (*leś*): *ćeber-leś ~ ćeber* ‘very beautiful’

(10) Meadow Mari:

- postposition *deč* ‘from’: *motor deč motor* ‘very beautiful’ (A. S.)
- particle *at*: *motor-at ~ motor* ‘very beautiful’ (A. S.)

Reduplication as an aspectual device

- inflectional function (cf. Inkelas 2014, Beard 1998)
- imperfective aspectual categories (Inkelas 2014: 173–174, Štekauer, Valera & Körtvélyessy 2012: 126–127)
- Udmurt, Meadow Mari: total reduplication of a verb express imperfective non-pluractional event

(11) Udmurt

gužembyt uža-śk-od ~ uža-śk-od (..)

all_summer work-PRS-2SG ~ work-PRS-2SG

‘you work all summer (and still, you can achieve nothing)’
(Shibanov 2014: 529)

- augmentatives: higher quantity of the duration of an action than the prototypical default value (cf. Körtvélyessy 2012: 41–47).

Reduplication as an aspectual device

- pluractionality and habitual value of an action can be intensified:
Northern Udmurt, Komi-Permyak (Keľmakov & Hännikäinen 1994: 125,
Bartens 2000: 275)

(12) Udmurt

pjos-jos no, nyl-jos no kyrža-l'la-l'la-zy

man-PL too girl-PL too sing-FREQ-FREQ-PST.3PL

udmort krežž-os-ty.

Udmurt song-PL-ACC

‘[A long time ago], men and girls used to sing Udmurt songs.’
(Keľmakov & Saarinen 1994: 125)

Reduplication as an aspectual device

(13) Permyak (L. P)

körkō *me* *ker-l-i* *šanga-ez.*

long_time_ago I make-FREQ-PST.1SG shanga-PL

1. 'I did once shangas a long time ago.'

2. 'A long time ago, I used to make shangas (many times).'

(14) Permyak (L. P.)

körkō *me ker-l-yvl-i* *šanga-ez.*

long_time_ago I make-FREQ-FREQ-PST.1SG shanga-PL

'A long time ago, I used to make shangas (many times).'

Case study 2

Predicative possession in Udmurt

- Related parameters:
 - Habitative constructions
 - Possessive marking in habitive constructions

Canonical expression

(GEN +) possessee[NOM]-Px + be-verb

(15) Udmurt

(tynad) pinal-jos-yd vań.

you.GEN child-PL-2SG be.PRS

‘You have children.’ (Csúcs 1990: 73)

Non-canonical variants: How can we account for them?

- without Px:

(16) Udmurt

15 ar	ortćysa	mynam	lu-o-z	badźym	korka.
15 year	after	I.GEN	be-FUT-3SG	big	house

‘In 15 years I will have a big house.’ (Asztalos 2018a: 127)

→ Are the conditions of Px-omission similar to those with the adnominal possessive constructions?

Non-canonical variants: How can we account for them?

- without existential verb:

(17) Udmurt

Saša-len KYK nylpi-jez.

Sasha-GEN two child-3sg

‘Sasha has two children.’ (Asztalos 2018a: 125)

→ associated with existential presupposition + exhaustivity

→ the possessee or its modifier is presumably focussed (Asztalos 2018b)

Case study 3

Person marking on nominal adpositions

- WALS 48A: pronouns and nouns
- VLTB:
 - 74a personal-pronominal adpositions
 - 74b non-personal-pronominal adpositions
 - 74c nominal adpositions

Values

☐	No adpositions	63
☒	No person marking	209
☐	Pronouns only	83
☐	Pronouns and nouns	23

Parameter values

- **NoAdp:** The language does not have adpositions.
- **AdpNonPM:** Person marking cannot be expressed on adpositions.
- **AdpNNonPM:** Person marking cannot be expressed on nominal adpositions.
- **AdpN(PM):** Person marking is optional for adpositions when they appear with nouns.
- **AdpNPM:** Person marking is required for adpositions when they appear with nouns.

A case study of Mari

AdpNNonPM

(18) Meadow Mari

pakča-**m** marte kaj-əza.

yard-**1SG** up_to go-IMP.2PL

‘Go until my yard.’ (Until you reach to my yard.) (A. S.)

(19) Meadow Mari

*pakča marte-**m** kaj-əza.

yard up_to-**1SG** go-IMP.2PL

‘Go until my yard.’ (Until you reach to my yard.) (A. S.)

A case study of Mari: possessive clitic climbing (PCC)

AdpN(PM)

(20) Meadow Mari

pakča-**t** pokšelne kukšo pušenje šog-a.
yard-**2SG** in_the_middle dry tree stand-3SG
'A dried up tree stands in the middle of your yard.' (A. S.)

(21) Meadow Mari

pakča pokšelne-**t** kukšo pušenje šog-a.
yard in_the_middle-**2SG** dry tree stand-3SG
'A dried up tree stands in the middle of your yard.' (A. S.)

The phenomenon of Possessive Clitic Climbing (PCC)

- irregular agreement on the postposition
- the possessive suffix starts to behave like a clitic
- possible causes: animacy hierarchy, alienability, controlledness, grammaticalization...

Grammaticalization (Rédei 1962)

(20) Meadow Mari

pakča- t	pokšelne	kukšo	pušenje	šog-a.
yard- 2SG	in_the_middle	dry	tree	stand-3SG

‘A dried up tree stands in the middle of your yard.’ (A. S.)

(21) Meadow Mari

pakča	pokšelne- t	kukšo	pušenje	šog-a.
yard	in_the_middle- 2SG	dry	tree	stand-3SG

‘A dried up tree stands in the middle of your yard.’ (A. S.)

cf. **üstembalne** ~ **üstel** **ümbalne** ‘on the table’
 pörtončelne ~ **pört** **ončelne** ‘in front of the house’

Animacy

(22) Meadow Mari

üdər-em	vokten(e)	pərəs-na	mal-a.
daughter-1SG	next.to	cat-1PL	sleep-3SG

‘Our cat sleeps next to my daughter.’ (A. S.)

(23) Meadow Mari

*üdər	vokten-em	pərəs-na	mal-a.
daughter	next.to-1SG	cat-1PL	sleep-3SG

‘Our cat sleeps next to my daughter.’ (A. S.)

(24) Meadow Mari

pört	votken-em	pərəs-na	mal-a.
house	next.to-1SG	cat-1PL	sleep-3SG

‘Our cat sleeps next to my house.’ (A. S.)

Controlledness (Kubínyi 2016)

(25) Meadow Mari

vuj ümbaln-**em** karme kuržtal-eš.

head on-**1SG** fly run-3SG

‘A fly is running on top of my head.’ (A. S.)

(26) Meadow Mari

joltaš-**em** vereš paša-m əšt-em

friend-**1SG** instead.of work-ACC do-1SG

‘I’m working instead of my friend’ (Riese et al. 2019: 165)

(27) Meadow Mari

*joltaš vereš-**em** paša-m əšt-em

friend instead.of-**1SG** work-ACC do-1SG

‘I’m working instead of my friend’ (A. S.)

Controlledness: Meadow Mari vs Permic

Table 2. Distribution of the alternative patterns by configuration.

		PCC pattern Controlled/ Uncontrolled		Regular pattern Controlled/ Uncontrolled		No agreement Controlled/ Uncontrolled	
	PPs with possessor (E)*	C (E, %)	UnC (E, %)	C (E, %)	UnC (E, %)	C (E, %)	UnC (E, %)
Komi	44	24 54,5%	2 4,5%	0 0%	0 0%	13 29,5%	5 11,4%
Udmurt	46	28 61%	2 4,3%	6 13%	4 8,7%	3 6,5%	3 6,5%
Mari	63	5 7,94%	1 1,58%	30 47,62%	13 20,63%	5 7,94%	9 14,29%

Kubínyi (2016)

Meadow Mari: **AdpNNonPM / AdN(PM)**

Udmurt: **AdpNNonPM / AdN(PM)**

Komi-Permyak: **AdpNNonPM / AdN(PM)**

References

- Asztalos, Erika 2018a. *Szórendi típusváltás az udmurt nyelvben*. PhD thesis. Eötvös Loránd University.
- Asztalos, Erika 2018b. *Nonverbal existential sentences in Udmurt*. Syntax of the World's Languages 8, Párizs, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2018. szeptember 3–5. (poster presentation)
- Bartens, Raija 2000. *Permilaisten kielen rakenne ja kehitys*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Csúcs Sándor 1990. *Chrestomathia Votiacica*. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2001. *Matthew Dryer's Typological Database*. Buffalo: Department of Linguistics, University at Buffalo. <http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/dryer/dryer/database>
- Dryer, Matthew S. – Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) 2013. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/>
- Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic Word Formation. A Functional Approach to the Lexicon*. Vol I. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Fejes, László 2015. Permic. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.) *Word-formation*, Vol.5, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 3260–3274.
- Iskandarova, Gulnara 2015. Bashkir. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.) *Word-formation*, Vol.5, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 3386–3397.
- Károly, László 2015. Tatar. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.) *Word-formation*, Vol.5, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 3398–3413
- Keľmakov, V. K. & Saarinen, Sirkka 1994. *Udmurtin murteet*, Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisuja 47, Turku / Izhevsk: Turun yliopisto.

References

- Körtvélyessy, Livia 2015. *Evaluative Morphology from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Kubínyi Kata 2016. *Possessive clitic climbing as a pattern of agreement with the possessor in Permic and Mari postpositional phrases*. XII. International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies (CIFU). Poster.
- Rédei, Károly 1962. *Die Postpositionen im Syrjänischen unter Berücksichtigung des Wotjakischen*. Budapest: Akadémiai.
- Riese, Timothy 2016. Mari. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.) *Word-formation*, Vol.5, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 3275–3288.
- Riese, Timothy; Bradley, Jeremy; Schötschel, Monika; Yefremova, Tatiana 2019. *Mari (марий йылме): An Essential Grammar for International Learners* [draft version]. University of Vienna. Vienna. [published online at grammar.mari-language.com]
- Semenova, Galina N. & Ivanova, Alina M. 2015. Chuvash. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.) *Word-formation*, Vol.5, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 3451–3467.
- Shibanov, A.A. 2014. *Синтаксис наречий в удмуртском языке. Вопросы Уралистики 2014*. Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 520-538.
- Shlyakhova, S. S. 2013. Study of Reduplication in Finno-Ugrian Languages of Permic Group. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* 16, 1329–1333.
- Štekauer, Pavol, Valera, Salvador & Körtvélyessy, Livia 2012. *Word-Formation in the World's Languages. A Typological Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



Thank you for your attention!

utdb.elte.hu

The present study was supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office under grant number NKFI K 125282.

Thanks to Anastasiya Saypasheva, Yulia Speshilova, Larisa Ponomareva, Vasili Epanov, Tatiana Efremova