Grammaticalization processes of converb constructions in Udmurt

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Grammaticalized converb constructions in Udmurt and in the Volga-Kama area

• Converb constructions (henceforth, CVBCs): converb with a *-sa* ending + a finite verb

➢only adverbial relations between the two elements in many cases:

(1) *a* *muket-y3* *kyška-sa* *peg'-em*
but other-DET get.frightened-CVB escape-2PST.3SG
'but the other escaped, getting frightened' (Keľmakov 1981: 61)

• The construction CVB + V is grammaticalized on several occasions: phasal verbs, postural verbs, motion verbs, verbs denoting other activities (e.g., 'give', 'take', 'throw') tend to function syntactically like main verbs but are interpreted rather as aspectualizers.

➢In these cases, the converbs provide the lexical meaning while the verbs lose some of their lexical properties:

(2) *tros* *dyr* *luysal* *ke,* *bydes*
much time be.COND.3SG if whole
ulon-ze *vera-sa* *kušty-sal*
life-3SG.ACC speak-CVB throw-COND.3SG
'if he had more time, he would tell the story of his whole life' (UdmCorp.)

• These CVBCs (with auxiliaries often going back to verbs with similar lexical meanings) are widely used in the Volga-Kama area in Turkic (Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash) (Johanson 2011) and Finno-Ugric (Udmurt, Meadow Mari, and Hill Mari) languages, and the usage of these constructions is usually regarded as the result of early Turkic influence on the Finno-Ugric languages (cf. Bereczki 1998).

➢Similar examples of code copying from neighbouring Turkic languages into a Finno-Ugric language outside the Volga-Kama area include aspect markers in Kamas (Klumpp 2005).

Main characteristics of grammaticalized CVBCs in Udmurt

• Grammaticalization is understood here as a process of constructions with particular items in them, rather than a process concerning single elements. During this process, the unit loses specific semantic features, becoming more general in meaning, which enables the constructions to be used in new contexts (see, e.g., Bybee 2003, Himmelmann 2004).

• In the case of grammaticalized converb + auxiliary verb complex predicates in Udmurt, the primary lexical meaning of the auxiliary can be retained to different extents in different environments, for instance, with different converbs (for example, auxiliaries going back to motion verbs behave in a different way aspectually when they occur with different types of converbs). This is not uncommon cross-linguistically: aspectual auxiliaries often retain part of their lexical semantics (cf. Anderson 2006: 8)

• Both grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized cases of the finite verb constituent of the constructions exist without any formal differences in the verbal forms. Usually, in the case of grammaticalized CVB + AUX constructions, other items do not intervene between the two constituents (except for, e.g., particles), but this criterion alone does not enable us to draw any conclusions.

• Both the semantics of the converb complement and the broader context of the situation should always to be taken into consideration as well when interpreting CVBCs.

Aims of the study

• This study focuses on the following issues:

1. What are the aspectual functions and the presumed grammaticalizaton processes of one verb of posture (*kyl'lyny* 'lie') and one motion verb (*koškyny* 'go away') occurring with instances of different main verbs (or with the same main verbs in different contexts)?
2. What kinds of perfective auxiliaries can the main verb meaning 'read' be accompanied by? And if there are many, do these different auxiliaries, in addition to their perfective aspectual meaning, show any semantic compatibility with the original lexical semantics of the auxiliary? (For cross-linguistic examples see, for instance, Anderson 2006: 8)

• Beyond the functional properties, the presentation aims to outline the problematics of interpreting and classifying these kinds of grammaticalized constructions, paying attention to some ambiguous cases as well.

• The vast majority of the examples are not expected to be clear-cut cases (partially due to the absence of clear-cut criteria for determining the prototypical instances of auxiliaries, cf., e.g., Heine 1993: 21, Anderson 2006: 5).

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UdmCorp.= Udmurt electronic corpus (Medvedeva, Maria & Timofey, Arkhangelskiy): http://web-corpora.net/UdmurtCorpus

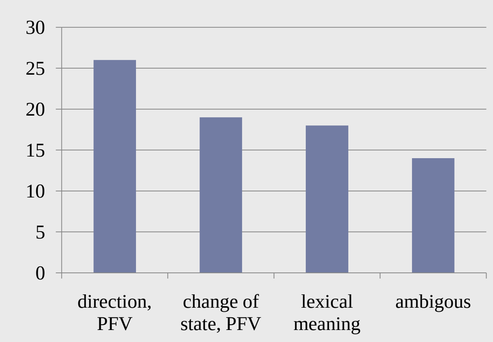
Results 1. AUX of the CVBCs	CVB + *kyl'l'yny* ('lie somewhere')	CVB + *koškyny* ('go away')
Lexical meaning ↓ Grammatical (aspectual) meaning	(3) *piči pi* *šobret* *ulaz* *viśy-sa* *kyl'l'-e* littleboy blanket under be.sick-CVB lie-3SG 'the boy was lying under the blanket being sick.' (UdmCorp.) **Imperfectivity: Continuous** (4) *pydesjaśk-i* *no* *ućky-sa* *kyl'l'-iśk-o* kneel.down-PST.1SG and watch-CVB lie-PRS-1SG 'I got down on my knees and watched' (UdmCorp.) *'I got down on my knees and lay [there] watching' **Habitual** (5) *maly* *mon so* *sovremennoj* *literatura-jez* why I DET modern literature-ACC *lidźy-sa* *kyl'l'-iśk-o* read-CVB lie-PRS-1SG 'why do I read always today's literature, (it's not at all understandable)' (Informant)	(6) *škola-me* *jylpumja-sa* *gorod-e* *košk-i* school-ACC.1SG finish-CVB town-ILL go.away-PST.1SG 'after finishing school, I moved to the town' (UdmCorp.) **Direction + PFV (motion verbs as the CVBs)** • motion verbs without any component indicating direction as the main verbs (CVBs) (7) *śin* *aź-yśt-ym* *lobźy-sa* *košk-i-z* eye in.front.of-ELAT-1SG fly-CVB go.away-PST-3SG 'it flew away so I cannot see it anymore' (UdmCorp.) • motion verbs indicating direction (denoting another direction than the auxiliary) as the main verbs (CVBs) (8) *kyškyt* *val* *korka* *pyry-sa* *košk-yny* frightening COP.PST house go.inside-CVB go.away-INF 'it was frightening to go to the house' (UdmCorp.) **Change-of-state marker, PFV** (9) *śulem* *šuna-sa* *košk -e.* heart melt-CVB go.away-PRS.3SG 'it makes your heart melt' (UdmCorp.)

Ambiguous cases

(10) *mon so-len* *ćeskyt ymnyr-az* *ućky-sa* *kyl'l'-i*
I he/she-GEN sweet face-ILL.3SG look-CVB lie-PST.
'I kept looking at her beautiful face' (UdmCorp.)
(context: the event took place at a concert)

(11) *vetl-i-z* *tatćy* *internet-yn* *puk-i-z,*
visit-PST-3SG here internet-INE sit-PST-3SG
vań *śion-ez* *śiy-sa* *košk-i-z* (UdmCorp.)
all.of food-ACC eat-CVB go.away-PST-3SG
1. 'he came here, surfed the internet, and ate up all the food'
2. 'he came here, surfed the internet, ate up all the food, and left.'

CVB + *koškyny* 'go away' (77 tokens)

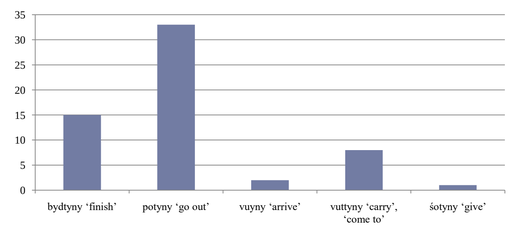


Data

lydźysa + AUX: Udmurt electronic corpus (UdmCorp.): press texts, blog texts; Tokens: **7 058 790**, Sentences: **720 884**
kyl'l'yny, *koškyny*: UdmCorp., blog texts; Tokens: **418 873**, Sentences: **54 493**

Results2. *lydźy-sa* ('read'-CVB) + perfective auxiliaries

Udmurt has several perfective aspectual auxiliaries, five of which occurred in my data accompanied by the main verb 'read' (the converb complement of the CVB construction). They are as follows:



As we can see from the diagram, most of the complex predicates with *lydźysa* occur with the motion verb *potyny* (lexical meaning: 'go out') and the phasal verb *bydtyny* (lexical meaning: 'finish'). In my data, their use is quite similar: they are often employed for emphasizing the endpoint of the perfective event. The constructions with *potyny* are very frequently used in situations in which a massive amount of reading has taken place:

(12) *al'i* *M. Bulgakov-leś,* *F. Dostojevskij-leś* *vań*
now M. Bulgakov-ABL F. Dostoyevskiy-ABL all.of
proizveďeńi-os-ses *lydźy-sa* *pot-i* (UdmCorp.)
work-PL-ACC.3PL read-CVB go.out-PST.1SG
'I have read all of the works of M. Bulgakov and F. Dostoyevskiy'

As for the other, lesser-used perfective auxiliary verbs, they tend to retain parts of their lexical semantics:

The auxiliary *śotyny* (lexical meaning: 'give'), for example, retains part of its lexical semantics in such a way that it encodes a perfective event that takes place for someone's benefit:

(13) *tazalyk-ez* *l'abź-em-en,* *bydes* *gaźet-ez*
health-3SG weaken-PTCP-INST whole newspaper-ACC
lydźy-sa *śot-iśk-o*
read-CVB give-PRS-1SG
'because he is not in a good condition, I read [him] the whole newspaper' (UdmCorp.)

The auxiliary *vuttyny* (<'come to', 'carry') is often used in situations where someone managed/did not manage to do something in time:

(14) *somynda* *goźtet-jos* *vuy-ly-ny* *kutsk-i-zy,*
so.much letter-PL arrive-FQV-INF start-PST-3PL
lydźy-sa *ik* *ej* *vutty-ly*
read-CVB PCL NEG.1SG.PST come.to-FQV.CNG
'so many letters started to come that I could not manage to read them all'

Conclusions

In my study, I first provided an outline of the grammaticalization processes of CVBCs in Udmurt with the auxiliaries *kyl'l'yny* and *koškyny,* relying on data from blog texts in UdmCorp. I found that in the case of CVB + *kyl'l'yny* (<'lie'), one meaning component ('to do something without any movement') becomes generalized and, in some cases, it has only an imperfective grammatical function. In addition to the more frequent non-habitual non-progressive continuous cases, I found cases in which *kyl'l'yny* can denote habituality as well. In case of *koškyny* (<'go away'), one semantic feature of the lexical meaning (the direction of the movement) becomes stronger compared to the other elements of the lexical meaning, which can lead to the partial or total weakening of the directional meaning as well (moving in one direction -> change of state).

The interpretation of these CVBCs always depends on the semantics of the CVB and the finite verb, as well as on the pragmatic and syntactic contexts of the construction. The word order, intervening words within the CVBCs, and the argument structure of both the main verb and the finite verb should also be taken into account.

Finally, I found that in several cases, the original lexical meaning of the auxiliary has not been lost completely but can have an effect on the usage of the auxiliary verbs and can add different semantic components to the aspectual meaning.

Udmurt

The Udmurt language belongs to the Permic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family and is spoken in the Russian Federation: mainly in Udmurtia, but also in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and the territories of Kirov and Perm. Its closest relatives are the Komi-Zyrian and the Komi-Permyak languages. The number of speakers has been continuously decreasing (2002: 463 837 speakers, 2010: 324 338 speakers) and Udmurt is often considered to be an endangered – "threatened" (ELCat/ELP), "definitely endangered" (Moseley 2010), or "developing" (Lewis & Simons & Fennig 2016) language.

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