Impersonals in Finno-Ugric

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3rd SOUL – Syntax of Uralic Languages
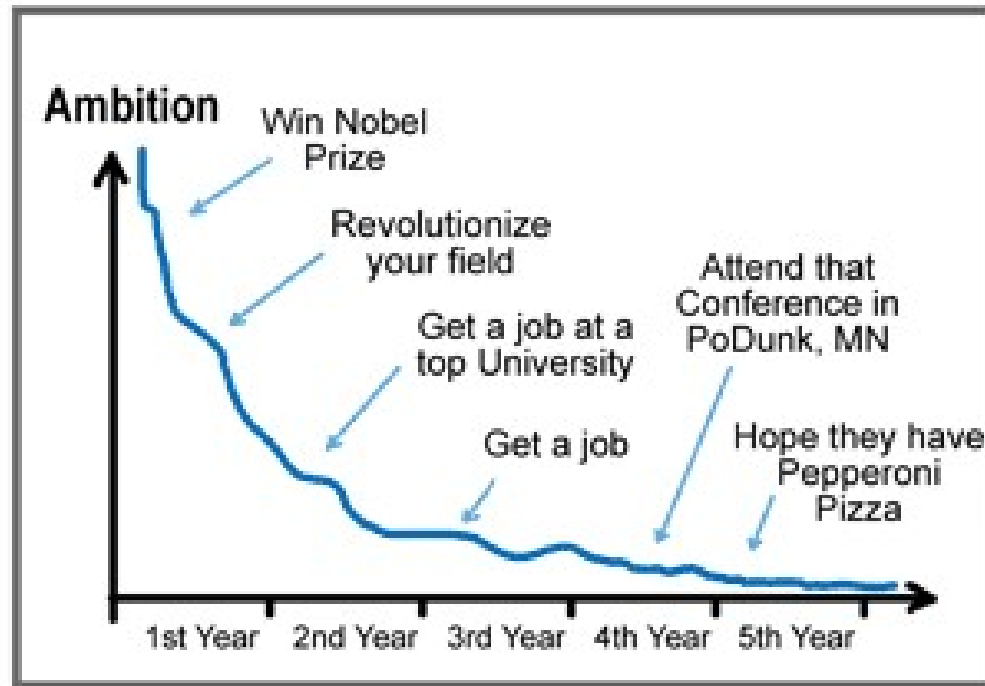
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Goals

- To provide a classification of the encoding strategies of impersonals
- studying six Finno-Ugric languages (Hungarian, Surgut Khanty, Komi-Permyak, Udmurt, Meadow Mari, and Finnish)
- using a typological framework.

- Only a few comprehensive studies on the topic (but see Stipa 1962, Schiefer 1981) are accessible.
- Former studies focus on a specific construction type (Bartens 1995, Salo 2011) or language (Helasvuo & Vilkuna 2008, Huumo & Helasvuo 2015).
- Impersonals in Surgut Khanty have not been analyzed.

Goals vs. reality

The problem

- Impersonals are well-described in Indo-European languages.

- Do impersonal constructions really exist cross-linguistically?
  - They do. (Cf. Malchukov & Siewierska 2011, Malchukov & Ogawa 2011, Siewierska 2008a, 2008b, and Sansò 2006)

- If they do, are they present in Finno-Ugric languages?
  - According to Stipa (1962) and Schiefer (1981), impersonals are common in FU.

(1) Hungarian
A   szoba ki van   takarít-va.
the room out be.PRS   clean-CVB
'The room is cleaned.'

(2) Surgut Khanty
Wīči pə   təγə   jaŋqiʌə-ʌ-ət.
always sure here   walk-PRS-3PL
'They (people) often come to this place.'

(3) Meadow Mari
Üstembake   pogə̂-mo.
table.ILL   put-PTCP.PASS
'The table is set.'

(4) Komi-Permyak
Menam   onmöśśi-ś-öma.
I.GEN   fall_asleep-REFL-PTCP.PASS
'I (unintentionally) fell asleep.'

(5) Udmurt
Olga-jez   beryk-t-e.
Olga-ACC   turn-CAUS-3SG
'Olga feels sick.'

(6) Finnish
Tuule-e.
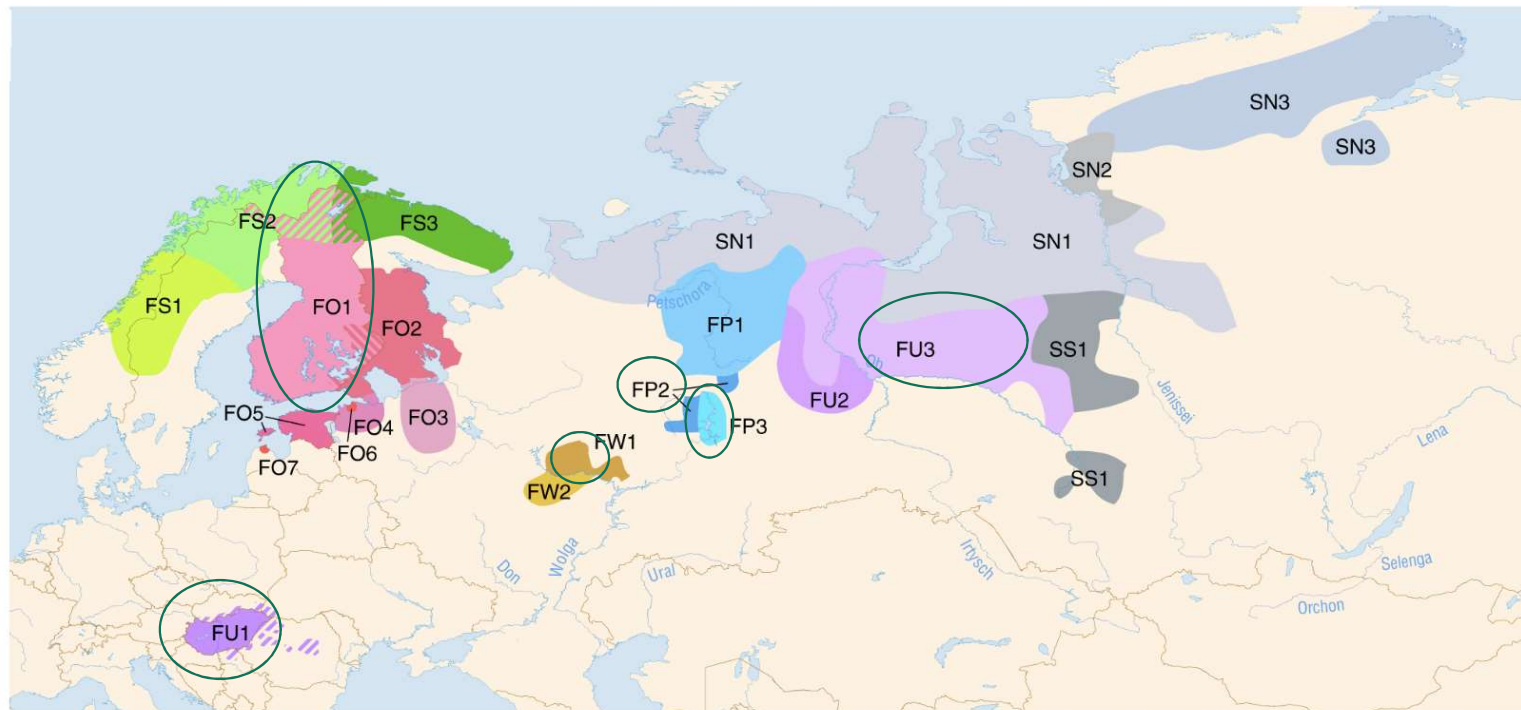the_wind_blow-3SG
'The wind is blowing.'

Additional questions

- General: how can we define impersonals cross-linguistically?

- Specific:

i)   How can we classify impersonals in FU languages?

ii) What morphosyntactic similarities exist among them?

iii) How impersonals are used in FU languages?

iv) Are there any constructions or patterns which are specific to FU languages (only)?

Outline

- Languages of the sample
- Theoretical background
  - The notion(s) of impersonal
  - Approaches to impersonals in Finno-Ugric studies
  - A typology of impersonals
- Data and methods
- R-impersonals
  - 3Pl impersonals
  - Generic noun constructions
  - Impersonal passives
  - Constructions denoting weather phenomena (weather verbs)
- A-impersonals (a brief overview)
  - Inanimate subjects
  - Quasi-causatives
- Summary

URALIC LANGUAGES

F Finno-Ugric

FO Baltic-Finnic
- FO1 Finnish
- FO2 Karelian
- FO3 Veps
- FO4 Ingrian
- FO5 Estonian
- FO6 Votic
- FO7 Livonian

FS Sami languages
- FS1 Western Sami
- FS2 Central Sami
- FS3 Eastern Sami

FU Ugric
- FU1 Hungarian
- FU2 Mansi
- FU3 Khanty

FP Finno-Permic
- FP1 Komi-Zyrian
- FP2 Komi-Permyak
- FP3 Udmurt

FW Finno-Volgaic
- FW1 Mari
- FW2 Mordvinic

S Samoyedic

SN Northern Samoyedic
- SN1 Nenets
- SN2 Enets
- SN3 Nganasan

SS Southern Samoyedic
- SS1 Selkup

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uralic_languages#/media/File:Linguistic_map_of_the_Uralic_languages_(en).png

The notion(s) of impersonal

Impersonal constructions are „distributed complementary to semantically equivalent or similar 'personal' types of verb constructions such as reflexives or (medio)passives." (von Seefranz-Montag 1984)

„…impersonal forms of personal verbs preserve transitivity, but inhibit the expression of a syntactic subject." (Blevins 2003)

„...we consider it more suitable to speak of personal and impersonal uses of a given verb..." (Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997)

The notion(s) of impersonal

Helasvuo & Vilkuna (2008): both formal and functional criteria needed.

Impersonal constructions:

i) lack grammatical person opposition,

ii) lack an Agent or other primary argument in the argument structure,

iii) non-subject-like (oblique) coding of the primary argument,

iv) the identity of the primary argument is left open. (ibid.)

The notion(s) of impersonal

„From the structural point of view impersonalization is associated with the lack of a canonical subject, from the functional perspective with agent defocusing." (Siewierska 2008a: 2)

- structural approaches
  - whether they permit the existence of verbs with a zero subject or not
- functional approaches
  - focus on the so-called instigator (i.e. agent/actor, etc.) of the event or action
  - impersonality is a scalar category with central and less typical members

Approaches to impersonals in Finno-Ugric studies

Stipa (1962):

- Studied impersonals focusing on the relation between predicates and subjects.

- An impersonal construction is always subjectless.

Schiefer (1981):

- the equivalents of German *man*-constructions

- morphosyntactic criteria

- including passives and action nominals

A typology of impersonals

Malchukov & Ogawa (2011) use Keenan's (1976) definition of prototypical subjects.

They consider a construction impersonal if its subject lacks one or more of the following features, i. e. it is not:

- a referential argument,
- a definite NP,
- topical,
- animate,
- agentive.

Or there's no overt subject in the construction.

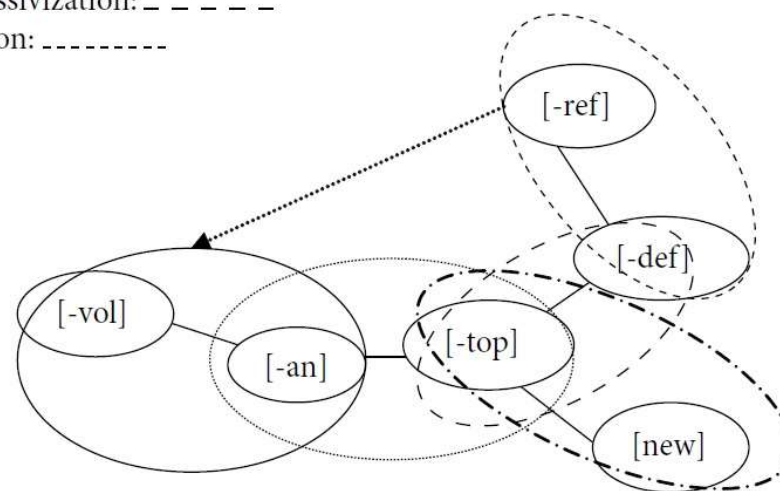# A typology of impersonals

R-impersonals: sensitive to referentiality and definiteness features.

A-impersonals: sensitive to agentivity and animacy features.

T-impersonals: sensitive to topicality features.

Malchukov & Ogawa (2011)

- Differential case marking: _____
- Agreement loss: _____
- word order inversion: _____
- Impersonal passivization: _ _ _ _ _
- Subject omission: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

Data and methods

- Reference grammars
  - (Kenesei et al. 1998, Tolcsvai Nagy 2013, Honti 1984, Csepregi 2011, Batalova 1975, Kalina & Raspopova 1983, Ponomareva 2010, Alatyrev 1970, Csúcs 1990, Bartens 2000, Vasikova 1987, Bereczki 1990, Alhoniemi 2010, Vilkuna 1996, Karlsson 1999, VISK)

- Elicitation
  - 4 questionnaires containing translation tasks (60-100 sentences each, Hu/Ru, 34+ informants)
  - „pragmaticality" tests (double-checking the data, 1-1 native expert, Hu/Kha/KP/Ud/Fi)

- Corpus study
  - Pavlik Morozov –paraleellitekstikorpus (Russian fiction text, non-annotated parallel translations, 13,000 tokens per language, no data for Surgut Khanty, data only for 3Pl and generic noun constructions)

R-impersonals

- Constructions containing an indefinite or an overt but non-referential subject

- Syntactic and/or semantic restrictions
  - no agreement
  - indefinite, vague reference (Siewierska 2011)

- Human reference is usually involved except for „weather verbs" (Siewierska 2008b, Blevins 2003)

- The speaker is often excluded from the group of potential referents

- The subject evokes a plural reading (Siewierska 2008b)

R-impersonals

- Indefinite subject
    - denotes human entities (generally)
    - can be expressed by verbal morphology, i. e. by an omitted pronominal subject or by a generic or impersonal pronoun

(7) Russian

Govor'at (on uexal).

say.PRES.3PL he leave.PST.3SG

'They say he left.'

(8) German

Man sagt (er ist gegangen).

'They say (he left).' (Malchukov & Ogawa 2011: 28)

R-impersonals

(9) Polish
Podano   kawe.
served.IMPS.PART   coffee.ACC
'Coffee was served.' (Siewierska 1984: 113)

Subtypes of impersonals with an indefinite subject:

• 3Pl impersonals

• generic noun constructions

• impersonal passives

3Pl impersonals

(10)
Gyakran   jár-nak   ide.
often   walk-PRS.3PL here
'They (people) often come to this place.'

(11)
Felépít-ett-ék   a   ház-at.
build-PST-3PL   the   house-ACC
'They have built the house.'

3Pl impersonals

(12) Surgut Khanty

Wīči   pə   təɣə   jaŋqiʌə-ʌ-ət.

always sure   here   walk-PRS-3PL

'They (people) often come to this place.'

(13)

kurəška   īʌə   kös-i.

mug   away   break-PASS.3SG

'The mug has been broken.'

(14)

kuruška   iʌ   ōrijə-ɣ.

mug   away   break-PASS.3SG

'The mug broke.'

(15)

rūť   məɣ-nə   ürɣem

Russian   land-LOC   much

qūʌ   ʌī-ʌ-ət.

fish   eat-PRS-3PL

'In Russia they eat a lot of fish.'

3Pl impersonals

(16) Komi-Permyak
Čöka tatćö vovlö-ny.
often here   walk-3PL
'They (people) often come to this place'

(17)
Kerku   stroit-i-sö.
house   build-PST-3PL
'They have built the house.'

3Pl impersonals

(18) Udmurt
Tatyn   ekt-i-zy.
here   dance-PST-3PL
'They have danced here.'

(19)
Čemyś tros   kalyk tatćy   vetl-e.
often   many   people here   walk-3SG
'They (people) often come to this place.'

(20)
Oloma   śaryś   no   veraśk-o   berlo   dyr-e.
something   about   also   talk-3PL   recent time-ILL
'Recently they have been talking about all sorts of things.'

3Pl impersonals

(21) Meadow Mari

Takšə̂m   tə̂ške šuko košt-ə̂t.
usually   here   lot   walk-3PL
'They (people) often come to this place.'

(22)
Pušeŋg-ə̂m   sümə̂r-en-ə̂t.
tree-ACC   cut_down-PST2-3PL
'The tree has been cut down.'

3Pl impersonals

(23) Finnish (Keresztes 1995: 40)
Sano-vat, että…
say-3PL that
'They say that...'
• Not found in the dataset.

(24)
Täällä käy-dään yleensä paljon.
here walk-PASS.PRS usually lot
'They (people) often come to this place.'

(25)
Talo rakenne-ttiin (valmii-ksi).
house build-PASS.PST ready-TRA
'They have built the house.'

3Pl impersonals

Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
3Pl intr.	3Pl intr.	3Pl intr.	3Pl intr.	3Pl intr.	impersonal passive
3Pl tr.	passive	3Pl tr.	3Pl tr.	3Pl tr.	impersonal passive
	(3Pl tr.)		('man')		(3Pl non-impersonal)

Usage of 3Pl impersonals

- Generic reading
  - Typically mark habitual actions.
  - Or they code other irrealis contexts such as probability, negation or modality.

- Episodic reading
  - Describe events anchored in time, usually with perfective aspect.
  - Temporal anchoring narrows the possible referents of the subject.
  - The referents could be people in a given time (space or situations).

- Specific reading
  - The subject of constructions with specific usage can be understood from the context.
  - The subject here is a specified but non-determined, concrete entity.
    (Siewierska 2011: 61–65 based on Cabredo Hofherr's (2006) classification)

Generic

• The subject refers to a non-specified member of a group

(26) Komi-Permyak

Rośśija-yn śoj-öny   una ćeri.

Russia-ine eat-3PL   lot   fish

'In Russia they eat a lot of fish.'

(27) Udmurt

Vengri-yn   ćoryg tros ug   śijo.

Hungary-INE   fish   lot   NEG.3PL   eat:CNG

'In Hungary they don't eat a lot of fish.'

Episodic

(28) Surgut Khanty

mäs jəŋk tīn noq ńowt-i.

cow water price up move-PASS.PST.3SG

'They have raised the price of the milk.'

(29) Udmurt

Vengri-yn noš‿ik jöl dun-ez žut-iľľam.

Hungary-INE again milk price raise-PST2:3PL

'They have raised the price of the milk in Hungary again.'

Specific

• The plural reading is not neccessary.

(30) Surgut Khanty

ōwpi-nə   säwrəm-ʌ-ət.

door-LOC   knock-PRS-3PL

'Someone is knocking at the door.'

(31) Finnish

Ove-en   kopute-ttiin.

door-ILL   knock-PASS.PST

'Someone is knocking at the door.'

Usage of 3Pl impersonals

Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
generic	3Pl	3Pl	3Pl	3Pl	impersonal passive
episodic	passive	3Pl	3Pl	3Pl (passive participle)	impersonal passive
specific	3Pl	3Pl	3Pl	3Pl	impersonal passive

Usage of 3Pl impersonals

- The following implicational hierarchy applies to the languages studied here in terms of reference:

(32) Possible usages of 3Pl impersonals:

plural reading, members of the group cannot be separated (generic usage) > plural reading with non-identifiable members (episodic reading) > the members are more or less separated and indefinite (specific usage)

- FU languages show the same hierarchy as Indo-European languages. Cf. Siewierska (2011), Siewierska & Papastathi (2011).

Generic noun constructions

„a *man*-construction is an impersonal active construction in which the subject position is filled by (an element deriving etymologically from) a noun meaning 'man'. Syntactically, this element may pattern like a full pronoun, or it may retain some or all of the syntactic properties of a noun. Semantically, the construction is an agent-defocusing strategy, i.e. it is used when the speaker wants to background the agent of an action (either because it is generic/non-identifiable, or because it is specific but unknown)." (Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007: 96)

Generic noun constructions

- The referent of the impersonal generic pronoun is always indefinite and human.

- Patterns are found in Indo-European and African languages (cf. Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007).

(33) Icelandic

Ef   maður   er   ekki   giftur.

ha   MAN   is   not   married

'If one is not married' (Siewierska 2011: 62)

Generic noun constructions

„My investigations suggest that man-imps are also not a feature of Uralic, Turkic or the languages of the Caucasus, though they do occur in Hungarian and also sporadically in the languages of the Caucasus as evidenced … from Abkhaz." (Siewierska 2011: 71–72)

Hu	SKh	K-P	Ud	MM	Fi
ember	qo	mort	aďami	ajdeme	ihminen
nép(ek)	jāɣ	jöz	kalyk	kalə̂k, jeŋβlak	väki

Generic noun constructions

Grammaticalization process of *man* (Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007: 99)

i)   species–generic (not impersonal)

(34) What God has joined together let no man put asunder.

ii) human non-referential indefinite

- the interpretation 'whole mankind' is excluded
- *man* refers to a contextually bound sub-group of humanity (people belonging to a given group, people in a given location/situation, and so on)
- corresponds to English 'one'

(35) Latin

ut solet homo gestare parvulum fi lium suum

'As a man ⁄ one bears his little child.'

Generic noun constructions

iii) referential indefinite

- *man* can be used to refer to a specific human subject that the speaker does not want, or cannot, specify.
- corresponds to English 'someone'

(36) Swedish

Man har mordat Palme (Altenberg 2004/2005: 94)

'Someone murdered Palme. / Palme has been murdered.' (ibid.)

Generic noun constructions

- Hungarian generic noun *ember* can have species–generic and human non-referential indefinite readings.

(37) Hungarian

Ilyenkor	jobb,	ha	csendben	marad	az	ember.
at_this_time	better	if	silence:INE	stay.3SG	the	man

'It's better if one stays silent in such a situation.'

Generic noun constructions

(38) Surgut Khanty

qantəqqō	ťūń-əŋ-kə	waʌ-ta	kīč-əʌ	waʌ-ʌ.
Khanty_man	happy-ADJ-TRA	be-INF	wish-3SG	be-PRS.3SG

?'One wants/Khanty people want to be happy.'

NB: Sentences like 'One doesn't like to get up early.' were not translated at all.

Generic noun constructions

(39) Komi-Permyak

Mort raďejt-ö vežśöm-mez.

man like-3SG change-PL

'One likes changes.'

(40) Udmurt

Aďami ug tody, mar lu-oz čukaźe.

man NEG.3SG know:CNG what be-FUT.3SG tomorrow

'One doesn't know what will happen tomorrow.'

Generic noun constructions

(41) Meadow Mari

Ajdeme   βaštaltɘ̂š-ɘ̂m   jörat-a.

man   change-ACC   like-3SG

'One likes changes.'

(42) Finnish

??Ihminen   pitä-ä   vaihtelu-sta.

man   like-3SG   change-ELA

'One likes changes.'

Generic noun constructions

(43) Finnish

Ei	ole	mukava-a,	jos	heräte-tään
NEG.3SG	be:CNG	pleasant-PAR	if	wake-PASS.PRS

aamuvarhaise-lla.

early_morning-ADE

'It's not pleasant being woken up early in the morning.'

Generic noun constructions

- Impersonal generic noun constructions can be found in all tested languages.

- Their use is strongly limited in Finnish.

Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
man	man	man	man	man	man
				2Sg form	passive
					zero
					construction

Impersonal passives

- Khanty has a complete passive paradigm (Honti 1984, Kulonen 1989, Csepregi 2011)

(44) Surgut Khanty

īki ʌājəm kənč-əʌ.

man axe search-PRS.3SG

'The man is looking for an axe.'

(45)

īki-nə ʌājəm kənč-ʌ-i.

man-LOC axe search-PRS-PASS.3SG

'The man is looking for an axe.'

- In other languages of the sample passive is not considered to be an autonomous category.

Impersonal passives

Following Malchukov and Ogawa (2011) and Comrie (1977), I consider a construction to be impersonal passive, if one or more of these criteria apply to it:

i) There is no overt grammatical subject in the construction.

ii) The only available argument of the verb (if there is any) is an object.

iii) Passivization applies also to intransitive verbs.

iv) The construction lacks an overt (oblique) Agent.

Impersonal passives

Constructions lacking an overt subject

(46) Hungarian

Tálal-va   van.

serve-CVB   be.PRS

(47) Surgut Khanty

??ūmt-i.

sit(tr)-PASS.PST.3SG

'The table is set./The food is served.'

Impersonal passives

(48) Komi-Permyak

Pyzan   vylö   löśöt-öm   (ńi).

table   onto   make-PTCP.PST   already

(49) Udmurt

Ӡök   vyle   tyr-emyn.

table   onto   put-PTCP.PST

'The table is set./The food is served.'

Impersonal passives

(50) Meadow Mari

Üstembake pogə̂-mo.

table.ILL   put-PTCP.PASS

'The table is set./The food is served'

Finnish differs from the pattern:

(51) Finnish

Pöytä   on   kate-ttu.

table   be.3SG   set-PTCP.PASS

'The table is set.'

Impersonal passives

(52) Hungarian

A   szobá-ban   ki   van   takarít-va.

the   room-INE   PREF   be.PRS   clean-CVB

'There was cleaning in the room.'

(53) Surgut Khanty

tēm   qɔ̄t   lōqi-nə   noq   raŋij-min.

this   house   inner_corner-LOC   up   clean-CVB

'There was cleaning in this room.'

Impersonal passives

(54) Komi-Permyak

žyr-yn   dźimľaś-öma-ś.

room-INE   clean-PTCP.PASS-REFL

(55) Udmurt

Komnata-yn   uťalt-emyn.

room-INE   clean-PTCP.PASS

'There was cleaning in this room.'

Impersonal passives

(56) Meadow Mari

Tide   pölem-ə̂šte   erə̂ktə̂-me.

the   room-INE   clean-PTCP.PASS

(57) Finnish

Tä-ssä   huonee-ssa   on   siivo-ttu.

this-INE   room-INE   be.PRS.3SG clean-PTCP.PASS

'It has been cleaned/There was cleaning in the room.'

Impersonal passives

The only available argument of the verb (if there is any) is an object.

(58) Komi-Permyak

Menćim	ńebög-ös	bośt-öma-ś	tatiś.
I:ABL	book-ACC.1SG	take-PTCP.PASS-REFL	from_here

(59) Udmurt

Myneśtym	kńiga-me	tatyś	nu-emyn.
I:ABL	book-ACC.1SG	from_here	take-PTCP.PASS

'My book has been taken from here./Someone has taken my book from here.'

Impersonal passives

(60) Meadow Mari

Mut-ə̂m   ojlə̂-mo.

speech-ACC say-PTCP.PASS

'The/A speech has been delivered.'

(61) Finnish

Sinu-t   on   vali-ttu.

you-ACC   be.3SG   choose-PTCP.PASS

'You have been chosen.'

Impersonal passives

Passivization also applies to intransitive verbs.

(62) Surgut Khanty

ńēwrem   urok-nə   wojəm-ʌ-i.

child   class-LOC   fall_asleep-PRS-PASS.3SG

'The child fell asleep in class.'

(63) Komi-Permyak

Estön   kotraś-öma-ś.

here   run-PTCP.PASS-REFL

'Someone ran here.' (A plural reading is also possible.)

Impersonal passives

(64) Udmurt

Klub-yn   ekt-emyn.

club-INE   dance-PTCP.PASS

'There was dancing in the club'

(65) Finnish

Täällä   on   käy-ty.

here   be.3SG   walk-PTCP.PASS

'Someone has walked here.'

Impersonal passives

The construction lacks an overt (oblique) Agent.
Counterexamples:
(66) Komi-Permyak

Kerku	lebt-öma-ś	ajka-ez-ön.
house	build-PTCP.PASS-REFL	man-PL-INS

(67) Udmurt

Korka	vorgoron-jos-yn	pukt-emyn.
house	man-PL-INS	build-PTCP.PASS

'The house has been built by the men.'

Impersonal passives

- Overt oblique Agents can occur in passive-like constructions in Meadow Mari (Uchaev 1956) and in Finnish (Manninen & Nelson 2004) but my dataset doesn't support that claim.

Impersonal passives

	Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
lack of subject	+	+	+	+	+	+
object argumentum	–	–	+	+	+	+
intransitive verb	–	+	+	+	+	+
overt Agent is ungrammatical	–	–	–	–	+	+

R-impersonals

- Constructions containing an indefinite or an overt but non-referential subject.

- Weather verbs usually lack a grammatical subject at all or they have „dummy/expletive" subjects. (Malchukov & Ogawa 2011)

(68) Russian

Sveta-et.

dawn-PRES.3SG

'It dawns.' (id.)

(69) It dawns. (id.)

Weather verbs

- I classified the constructions according to their predicates and arguments on the basis of Eriksen et al. (2015)

- Subtypes of weather verbs:

i) predicate type: verbal predicate without a subject

ii) argument type: construction containing a nominal element or a nominal and a verbal element have a semantic feature related to the weather phenomena

iii) predicate-argument type: both components of the construction contain the semantic momentum concerning weather

  - same stem (figura etymologica)
  - different stems

Predicate type

(70) Hungarian

Virrad.

'It dawns.'

(71)

Tavaszodik.

'It is becoming spring.'

Non-overt (pro)nominals?

(72)   *Az/ő/Isten/a világ esik.

'It/(s)he/God/the world is raining.'

Predicate type

(73) Surgut Khanty
čōwə-ʌ.
snow-PRS.3SG
'It is snowing.'

(74)
torəm čōwə-ʌ.
God   snow-PRS.3SG
'It is snowing.'

(75)
ʌoŋtəqs-əɣ.
become_summer-PST.3SG
'Summer arrived.'
Lit.: 'It became summer.'

Predicate type

(76) Komi-Permyak

Pemd-ö.

get_dark-3SG

'It is getting dark.'

(77)

Šont-ö.

get_warm-3SG

'[The weather] is getting warm.'

(78)

Zer-ö.

rain-3SG

'It is raining.'

(79)

Jen-ys   zer-ö.

God-3SG   rain-3SG

'It is raining.'

Predicate type

(80) Udmurt
Zor-e.
rain-3SG
'It is raining.'

(81)
Kuaź   zor-e.
weather   rain-3SG
'It is raining.'

(82)
Gudyrj-a.
thunder-3SG
'It is thundering.'

(83)
Inbam   gudyrj-a.
sky   thunder-3SG
'It is thundering.'

Predicate type

(84) Meadow Mari

Kə̂lmə̂kt-a.

freeze-3SG

'It is freezing [outside].'

(85)

Jumo kə̂lmə̂kt-a.

God   freeze-3SG

'It is freezing.'

Predicate type

(86) Finnish

Sata-a.

rain-3SG

'It is raining.'

(87)

Tuule-e

wind_blow-3SG

'The wind is blowing.'

Argument type

• Construction containing a nominal element or a nominal and a verbal element have a semantic feature related to the weather phenomena

(88) Hungarian

Hideg   van.

cold   be.PRS

'It is cold.'

Argument type

(89) Surgut Khanty

jēɣʌi.

cold

'It is cold.'

(90)

jēɣʌi   jə-ʌ.

cold   become-PRS.3SG

'[The weather] is getting cold.'

Lit.: 'It becomes cold.'

Argument type

(91) Komi-Permyak
Ötörön   uragan.
outside   storm
'There is a storm outside.'

(92)
Lokt-ö   gožum.
come-3SG   summer
'Summer is coming.'

(93) Udmurt
Akšan.
dusk
'The night is falling.'

(94)
Keźyt   kar-iśk-e.
cold   do-REFL-3SG
'[The weather] is getting cold.'

Argument type

(95) Meadow Mari
Keŋež.
summer
'It is summer.'

(96)
Šošo   tol-eš.
spring   come-3SG
'Spring is coming.'

(97) Finnish
On   kesä.
be.3SG   summer
'It is summer.'

(98)
Tule-e   syksy.
come-3SG   fall
'Fall is coming.'

Predicate-argument type

- Both components of the construction contain the semantic momentum concerning weather

Same stem:

(99) Hungarian
Es-ik   az   eső.
rain-3SG   the   rain
'It is raining.'

(100) Surgut Khanty
jom   jomə-ʌ.
rain   rain-3SG
'It is raining.'

(101) Komi-Permyak

ʔzer   zer-ö.
rain   rain-3SG
'It is raining.'

Predicate-argument type

(102) Udmurt

?Lymy   lymyj-a.
snow   snow-3SG
'It is snowing.'

(103) Meadow Mari

βolgenće   βolgalt-eš.
lightning   flash-3SG
'It is lightening.'

(104) Finnish

??Sade   sata-a.
rain   rain-3SG
'It is raining.'

Cf. Salo (2011)

Predicate-argument type

Different stems

(105) Hungarian

Hull   a   hó.
fall.3SG   the   snow
'It is snowing.'

(106) Surgut Khanty

ʌɔ̄ńt̬   ʌoʌə-ʌ.
snow melt-3SG
'The snow is melting.'

(107) Komi-Permyak

Pölt-ö   töv.
blow-3SG   blow
'The wind is blowing.'

(108) Udmurt

Jözor   uś-e.
hail   fall-3SG
'It is hailing.'

Predicate-argument type

(109) Meadow Mari

Lum   šul-a.

snow melt-3SG

(110) Finnish

Lumi sula-a.

snow melt-3SG

'The snow is melting.'

Predicate-argument type

(111) Finnish (verbal predicate + partitive)

Sata-a   lun-ta.

rain-3SG   snow-PAR

'It is snowing.'

Predicate-argument type

(112) Surgut Khanty (verbal predicate + instrumental)

ʌɔ̄ńt́-nat   jomə-ʌ.

snow-COMINS   rain-3SG

(113) Komi-Permyak

Lymsor-ön   zer-ö.

sleet-INS   rain-3SG

(114) Udmurt

Lymy-jen   zor-e.

rain-INS   rain-3SG

'It is sleeting.'

Predicate-argument type

	Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
predicate	+	+	+	+	+	+
argument	+	+	+	+	+	+
predicate–argument	+	+	+	+	+	?
predicate–argument	+	+	+	+	+	+
predicate + Part	−	−	−	−	−	+
predicate +Ins	−	+	+	+	−	−

A-impersonals

- The group consists of constructions containing subjects deviating from the prototype in terms of animacy or agentivity.

- There aren't grammatical markers specified to mark inanimate subjects in the examined languages, however, in some cases inanimate subjects get spesific case marking.

- In the Surgut Khanty passive, a Force participant can take the Locative case as well.

(115) Surgut Khanty

wɔ̄t-nə   qɔ̄t   owti īʌə   kös-i.

wind-LOC   house   roof away break-PASS.PST.3SG

'The wind blew away the roof.'

Inanimate subject

- Both Permic languages have a construction where the Force is marked with the instrumental case.

- Russian pattern?

(116) Komi-Permyak

Va-ön   kyröt-i-s   bereg[ACC].

water-INS   wash_away-PST-3SG shore

'The water washed away the shore.'

(117) Udmurt

Töl-en   nu-i-z   ľipet-ez.

wind-INS   take-PST-3SG roof-ACC

'The wind carried away the roof.'

A-impersonals

- The second group of A-impersonals involves constructions coding involuntary subject.

- I use the term *agentivity* broadly with its several subtypes:

i) unintentional actions

ii) expression of will

iii) quasi-causative event

iv) physical experience

Quasi-causatives

(118) Komi-Permyak

Menö   kyn-t-ö.

I.ACC   freeze-CAUS-3SG

'I'm freezing.'

(119) Udmurt

Mon-e   beryk-t-e.

I-ACC   turn-CAUS-3SG

'I feel sick.'

(120) Meadow Mari

Tudə̂-m   püž-altar-a.

(s)he-ACC   sweat-CAUS-3SG

'(S)he is sweating.'

(121) Finnish

Minu-a   kahvi-tta-a.

I-PART   coffee-CAUS-3SG

'I'm feeling the need for a coffee.'

A-impersonals

type of occurrence	Hungarian	Surgut Khanty	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt	Mari	Finnish
unintentional event	–	–	Gen + reflexive	reflexive	–	Abl
expression of will	Dat	specific construction	Gen + specific construction	Gen + specific construction	Gen + specific construction	Gen
quasi-causative	–	–	Acc	Acc	Acc	Part
physical experience	Dat	Dat/Lat		Dat	Dat	Ade/ Gen

Summary

i) How can we classify impersonals in FU languages? – R, A impersonals are common. T impersonals form a separate group only in Finnish.

ii) Are there any constructions or patterns which are specific to FU languages (only)? – No.

- Checking former implications for FU languages:
  - If in a language, the impersonal (pro)nouns has an indefinite human reading, then it also has a species-generic (non-impersonal) reading (Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2006). > Generic nouns of the tested languages verify this impication.
  - If a language is entirely pro-drop, it doesn't use impersonal (pro)noun (cf. Siewierska 2011). > Surgut Khanty is against this implication.

Summary

An additional implication:

(122) If a language uses impersonal passives with intransitive verbs, then the language uses them also with transitive verbs.

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Thank you!
Aitäh!