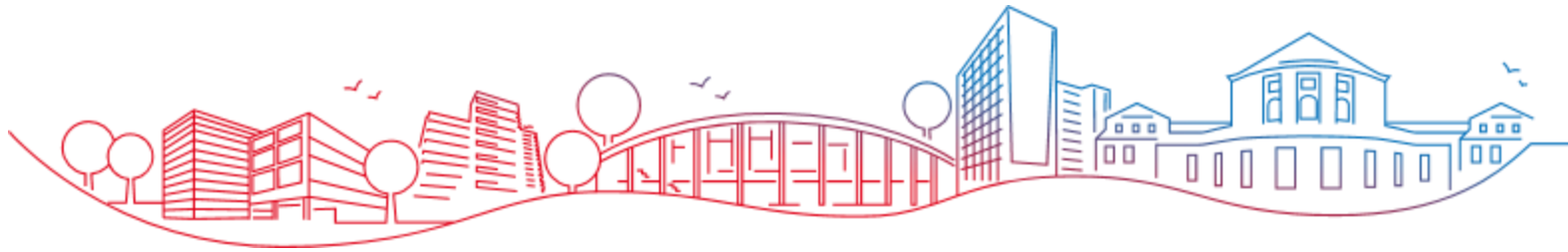




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Permic ‘if’-based particles

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Origin of discourse elements

- It's often hard to tell where a discourse particle comes from
- Discourse particles are short
- Their meaning is difficult to describe
- People sometimes only consider the way a particle looks
 - E.g., Udmurt *uk* has been considered either a Chuvash or a Tatar borrowing
 - However, this would be inconsistent with the meaning, syntax and dialectal distribution of *uk* (Arkhangelskiy 2023)
- We will look at a couple of Permic particles

Languages and sources

- Languages:
 - Udmurt (+ Beserman)
 - Komi
- Sources:
 - Modern written corpora
 - Corpus of early Udmurt newspapers (1920s-1930s)
 - Munkácsi's Udmurt texts (1887)
 - Dictionaries, descriptions of dialects

Permic particles

- Udmurt/Beserman: *íske* ‘then, in that case’

(1) Udmurt (CSU)

Íske, *ximija* *jarat-ontem* *predmet-ti* *val,*
in.that.case chemistry love-PTCP.HAB.NEG subject-2PL.POSS be.PST

noš *jarat-ono-os-iz?*
and love-PTCP.DEB-PL-3SG.POSS

{[S1] I used to get the best note for all subjects except chemistry.}

‘[S2] So chemistry was apparently a subject you didn’t like, and what were your favorite ones?’

Permic particles

- Udmurt/Beserman: *íske* ‘then, in that case’

(2) Beserman (elicited)

<i>Íske,</i>	<i>tunne</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>mân-ê</i>	<i>turna-nê.</i>
in.that.case	today	I.NOM	NEG.NPST.1SG	go-CNG.SG	gather.hay-INF

{I was going to gather hay today, but I see the rain is coming.}

‘In that case, I won’t go gather hay today.’

Permic particles

- Komi: *eške* ‘particle claimed to be equivalent to Russian *bi* in conditional or optative sentences or *že* in questions’

(3) Komi (CSKZ)

<i>Pože</i>	<i>eške</i>	<i>vel-i</i>	<i>gegervo-ni</i>	<i>taje</i>	<i>šekidlun-se,</i>
possible	would	be-PST.3SG	understand-INF	this	difficulty-ACC.3SG.POSS
<i>śorn-i-is=ke</i>		<i>mun-i-s</i>	<i>kučem-ke</i>	<i>med</i>	<i>kar jiliś.</i>
talk-3SG.POSS=if		go-PST-3SG	which-INDEF	other	city about

‘One could have understood this difficulty if it had concerned some other city.’

The riddle of *íske*

- Assumed to be a Chuvash borrowing (Wichmann 1987: 4, Fedotov 1968: 102, Tarakanov 1975: 177)
 - < Modern Chuvash *ěke*, earlier *ǣke*
- Has extremely many ‘variants’ in the dialects:
 - *oške, uske, ózke, äske, śike, śke, ske*
- Some can be explained as shortened, metathetic, or regular dialectal variants of others
- But not all of them!
- **No** known regular correspondence would explain *i/o/u/ö*, as well as *s/ś*

Chuvash $-(ə)εkε$: Meaning, syntax

- (4) Chuvash (Ashmarin 1937: 115-116 via samah.chv.su + www.copius.eu/trtr.php)

esə pirənpε puuratən-i? — puuratəp-εkε.

‘Are you coming with us? – **Of course** I am coming.’

- (5) Chuvash (Ashmarin 1937: 115-116 via samah.chv.su + www.copius.eu/trtr.php)

kalarəm-εkε əna.

‘Да **ведь** я сказал ему.’ = ‘I told him, **didn’t I.**’ / ‘Ich habe **ja** ihm gesagt.’

Chuvash $-(ə)εkε$: Meaning, syntax

- These and other examples (Ashmarin 1937: 115-116; Fedotov 1963: 65-66): this is primarily an **enimitive** particle
 - Panov (2020): enimitive particles (Russian *ведь*, German *ja*) mark what the speaker considers to be *uncontroversial information*
- Diachronically $< iε + kε$, where Chuvash $iε$ comes from Tatar $iε$ (Fedotov 1963: 65), itself an enimitive particle
- Cliticizes to the predicate
- Semantically and syntactically an unlikely candidate for Udmurt $iške$

Proposal

- Udmurt *íske* and its kin are **unrelated** to Chuvash $-(ə)εke$
- Different particles are based on several different instances of the same construction, $P=ke$ 'if P'
 - A protasis of a conditional clause consisting of one phonological word
 - Different predicates $\Rightarrow$ different particles
- The same is true for Komi *eśke* (Komi $=ke \sim$ Udmurt $=ke$ 'if')
- Proof: semantics + phonology (stress pattern) + other instances of this construction were lexicalized in Komi

Udmurt conditionals

- Let's start with *uske*, *özke*, *äske*
- Udmurt negation in most TAM forms: short negative verb (tense + person + sometimes number) + connegative
- Udmurt real conditionals:
 - =*ke* in the protasis; most often cliticizes to the predicate; cliticizes to the negative verb if there is one
 - Tense in the protasis: PST or FUT
 - Negative verbs: *uz* NEG.FUT.3SG, *ez* / *öz* / *ez* NEG.PST.3SG (dialect-dependent)

Udmurt conditionals

(6) Udmurt (CSU)

[S1] So uz ortč'-i.
 that NEG.FUT.3 pass-CNG.SG

[S2] Ez=ke ortč'-i, Subbot'in vera-lo-z [...].
 NEG.PST.3 pass-CNG.SG S. say-FUT-3SG

‘[S1] It (the law you are proposing) won’t pass.

[S2] **If it doesn’t**, then [at least] Subbotin will say [he did all he could do].’

Udmurt conditionals

(7) Udmurt (CSU)

<i>Uníversít'et-ez</i>	<i>jílpuṃja-m</i>	<i>jegit-jos</i>	<i>líkt-o-zí,</i>	<i>víldí.</i>
university-ACC	finish-PTCP.PST	young-PL	come-FUT-3PL	I.guess
<i>Ėz=ke,</i>	<i>díšetis'-jos-tí-</i>	<i>vet'eran-jos-tí</i>	<i>jurtt-iní</i>	<i>kur-o-zí.</i>
NEG.PST.3	teacher-PL-ACC.PL	veteran-PL-ACC.PL	help-INF	ask-FUT-3PL

'I guess young university graduates will come (i.e., apply for this position). **If not**, then one will ask experienced teachers to help.'

Udmurt conditionals

(8) Udmurt (CSU)

Lu-o-z=ke, pol'it'ika-je pjr-išk-o-zi, uz=ke -
be-FUT-3PL=if politics-LAT enter-PASS-FUT-3PL NEG.FUT.3=if

d'eputat-jos-ti [...] kurla-sa=gine ul-o-zi.
MP-PL-PL.ACC scold-CVB=only live-FUT-3PL

{These people will only care if there is anything in it for them.}

'If yes, they will enter politics, if not, they'll just keep complaining about the MPs.'

Udmurt conditionals

- Then why don't they mean 'if not / otherwise'?
- Eventual contamination with *iske*. **But!** Actually, at least *uske* does, even if the dictionary does not acknowledge that explicitly:

(9) Udmurt (Kirillova 2008)

<i>Ju-įnte</i>	<i>ošmes-ez</i>	<i>ju-i-d=ke,</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>kušt-į</i>
drink-PTCP.PST.NEG	spring-ACC	drink-PST-2SG=if	leaf	throw-IMP.2SG

<i>uske</i>	<i>kut-o-z.</i>
otherwise	catch-FUT-3SG

'When drinking from a spring nobody had drank from before, throw a leaf [into it], **otherwise** you will get sick (lit. '[it] will catch [you]').'

Udmurt: ‘if so’

- Now, *ośke*
- Cannot be found in modern dictionaries, CSU, social media, or the literary corpus
- But appears many times in the newspapers in the 1920s
- Means the same thing as *iśke*, apparently
- Sometimes spelled as *oźke*
- Transparently based on the clause *oź=ke* ‘if so’ (*oź* is a very widespread variant of the standard *oźi* ‘so (distal demonstrative)’)

Udmurt: ‘if so’

(10) Udmurt (Vjĭ gurt, 17.11.1928)

Jara-lo-z. Oske mon so-je eť-o tatsi.
be.ok-FUT-3SG then I:NOM that-ACC call-FUT.1SG here:LAT

{A group of people proposes to call someone along. The speaker doubts anyone will agree to come. Someone says that a certain Onísım Pavol will likely come if invited. The speaker responds,}

‘Ok. In that case, I’ll invite him here.’

Udmurt: ‘if so’

(11) Udmurt (Vjlgurt, 12.05.1928)

Ja, oške śot-o, pi-je.
ok then give-FUT.1SG son-1SG.POSS

{The speaker asks his mother to give him some old fabric so that he can sell it and buy himself a newspaper. His mother is unsure because they were saving money to buy new clothes. He goes on to explain why a newspaper is more important. The mother agrees,}

‘Alright, in that case, I’ll give [it to you], son.’

Udmurt: ‘if so’

- Finally, *iśke*
- Must be based on **iź=ke* ‘if so’, **iź* being a proximal demonstrative
- Idea proposed by Munkácsi (1887) and then forgotten
- Problem: **iź* did not survive, never attested independently
 - Apparently, the *i*- series was completely replaced with *ta*- (*taź* ‘so’ < *ta* ‘this’)
 - The same process is underway with the *o*- series in some varieties (Beserman, Northern Udmurt *oź* / *soź* ‘so’ < *so* ‘that’)
- Crucial piece of evidence by Munkácsi: stress on the first syllable in the 19th century

Udmurt: ‘if so’

(12) Udmurt (Munkácsi 1887: 51)

<i>Ug=ke</i>	<i>vera,</i>	<i>iśke</i>	<i>ačmeos</i>	<i>ālī</i>	<i>so-je</i>	<i>vera-t-o-m!</i>
NEG.PRS.3=if	tell:CNG.SG	then	we.INCL:NOM	now	that-ACC	tell-CAUS-FUT-1PL

‘If he won’t tell, then we will make him tell!’

Komi ‘if’-based elements

- Several elements clearly lexicalized from the same construction in Komi (Serebrennikov 1963: 382; Lytkin & Gulyaev 1970: 75):
 - *gaške* ‘maybe’ < *gaž=kę* wish=if ‘if there is wish / if you wish’
 - *burakę* ‘probably; it seems’ < *bura=kę* well=if ‘if [this is] good’
 - *sižkę* / *sičkę* ‘then; in that case’ < *siž=kę* so=if ‘if [it is] so’

Komi ‘if’-based elements

(13) Komi (CSKZ)

<i>Čorž-ęni,</i>	<i>burake,</i>	<i>mijan</i>	<i>śeļem-jas.</i>
become.hard-PRS.3PL	probably	we.GEN	heart-PL

‘Apparently, our hearts are becoming hard.’

Komi ‘if’-based elements

(14) Komi (CSKZ)

<i>Večl-ema-eś</i>	<i>stan-se</i>	1915	<i>vo-e,</i>		
produce-PST.EVID-PL	loom-ACC.3SG.POSS	1915	year-LAT		
<i>sižke,</i>	<i>regid</i>	<i>si-li</i>	<i>śo</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>tir-a-s.</i>
in.that.case	soon	that-DAT	hundred	year	be.filled-FUT-3SG

‘The loom was produced in 1915, so it will turn 100 soon.’

Komi ‘if’-based elements

- This corroborates my point that $P=if$ has been a productive way of forming discourse elements in Permic languages
- and brings us to Komi *eśke*:
- Distributionally, it is compatible with an ‘if so’ origin
 - Tillinger’s (2022) observations: mostly in apodosis, but not in protasis
- Even if I can’t tell exactly which demonstrative it is based on:
 - Standard Komi-Zyrian *esiž* ‘so’
 - Luza-Letka dialect *eži*, *eže*, *eždeę*; Yazva Komi *ež*, *eži* ‘so’ (Fedyuneva 2014: 149)

Conclusion

- Short ‘if P’-clauses have lexicalized into a lot of discourse elements in Permic languages
- Specifically, there are attested cases of ‘if [it is] so’ turning into ‘then; in that case’
- This is how Udmurt *íske* and Komi *eške* must have been formed
- The Chuvash etymology for *íske* is clearly wrong anyway
- You have to consider semantics and syntactic distribution, not just the looks

Acknowledgments

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Thank you for your attention!

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