Mapping syntactic position to functions of discourse particle *dak* in Udmurt

Iuliia Zubova
University of Tartu

Introduction

The discourse particle *DAK* is found across several Uralic languages and in dialectal and colloquial varieties of Russian.

(Leinonen 2002 for Komi; Gusev 2020 for Kamas; Arkhangelskiy, T. 2021 for Beserman Udmurt; Post 2014, 2015 for Northern Russian dialects) .

https://sites.utu.fi/urhia/language-maps/

Introduction

The lexeme is a (dialectal) Russian borrowing

Its ability to occur postpositionally is an areal phenomenon characteristic of several Uralic languages and Northern Russian dialects.
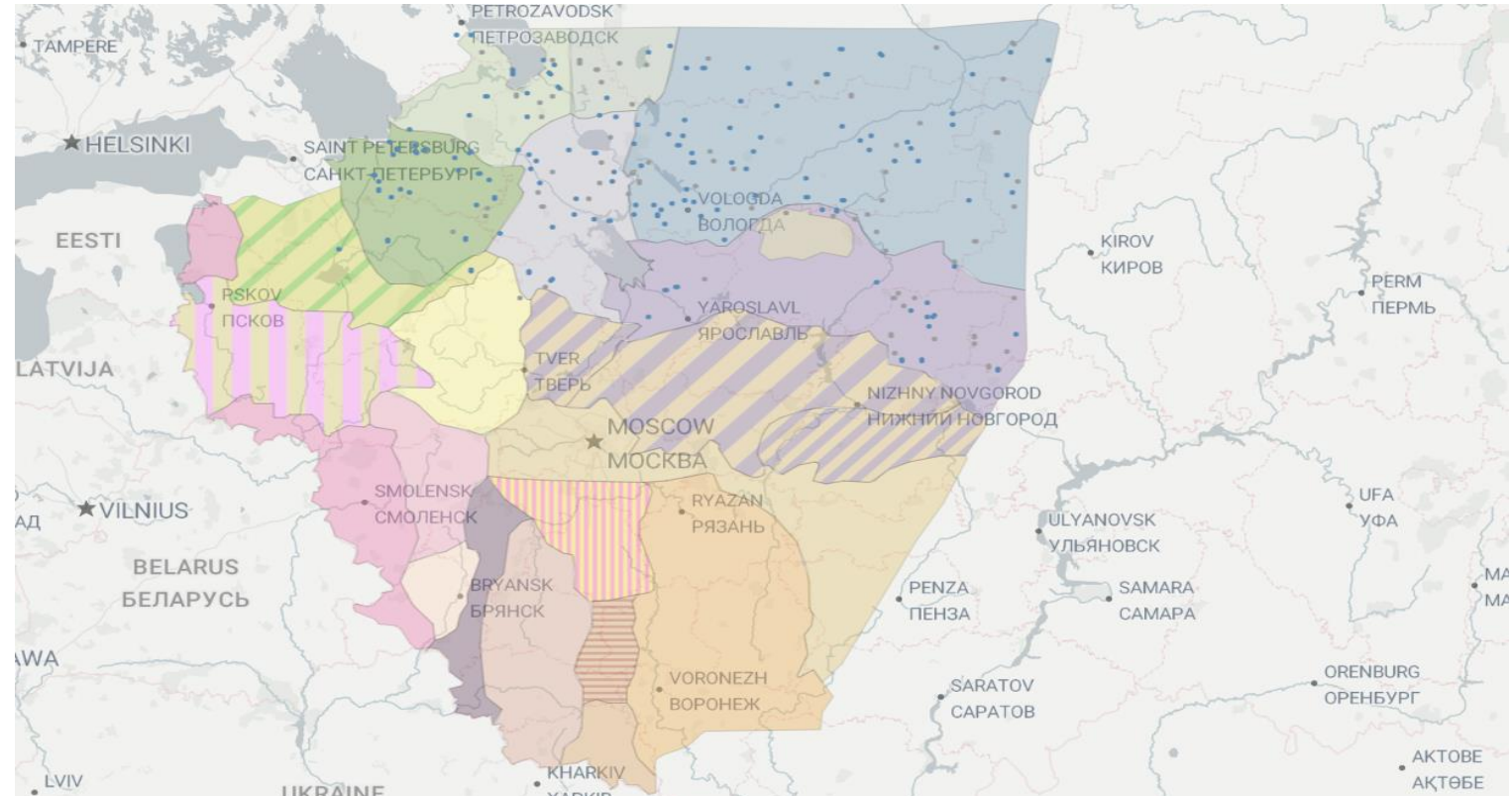
Post (2015) has suggested the following development path for Russian dialects:

manner demonstrative

(cf. standard Russian *tak* 'so') >

 connective ('then') >
a postpositive particle

Database of the Dialectological Atlas of the Russian Language. Value "Constructions with the postpositive particle dak."

Introducion

- The particle *dak* doesn't occupy a central place in the system of Udmurt discourse particles.

- It is absent from southernmost varieties of Udmurt;

- it is marked as "colloquial" in the dictionary (Kirillova 2008);

- it's quite rare in written corpora (95 occurrences). To compare, the particle *uk* 'after all', 'isn't it' has 6857 occurrences.

Introduction

- In Udmurt, *dak* can be used

1) sentence-initially;

2) sentence-internally;

3) subordinate clause-finally;

4) sentence-finally.

Aims

- To map the syntactic positions of the particle *dak* in Udmurt to its functions.

- To specify the role of information structure in particle placement.

- To analyze the functions of *dak* in the light of typology for manner, quality and degree demonstratives (König & Umbach 2018).

Corpus data

- Corpus data

- 95 examples from the main Udmurt Corpus annotated for syntactic position, sentence type, and function.

- Blogs – 57 examples, press – 34 examples, jokes - 9 examples.

- The punctuation placement is inconsistent. The original punctuation of the corpus examples is retained.

Questionnaire data (acceptability judgment)

- 5 native speakers of Udmurt (age groups 21-30; 31-40) living in Estonia.

- 4 speakers come from the southern regions of Udmurtia, 1 from Central Udmurtia.

1. Sentence-initial *dak:* responsive turn-initial

- Most typically introduces a contradicting response

(1)   [– If you were from the same area as Serafim Sokolov and Viktor Tuganaev, you would know these words].

– **Dak** *mon   ki̠k-ses   ik   tod-iśko.*

 DAK 1SG   two-P.3PL.ACC   PTCL   know-PRS.1

'But I do know both of them!' ("Udmurt duńńe" 2009.05.20, CSU)

1. Sentence-initial *dak:* monologization

Monologization in narrative genres. Rhetorical question.

(2) [I woke up early that day. Oh, how difficult it was to get up.]

A **dak** *mar kar-o-d, sult-i oźj no taźj,*

and DAK what do-FUT-2 get.UP-PST.1 so and so

sįče nunal-e, teatre mįn-on nunale sult-i.

such day-LAT theater go-NOM day-LAT get.up-PST.1

'But what can you do, I got up anyway, such a day, the day of going to the theater.'

1. Sentence-initial *dak:* responsive turn-initial

Dak marks the response as obvious to the hearer:

(3)   **Dak**   *tolon*   *ata-e*   *čorjg*   *kut-i-z,*

DAK   yesterday   father-P.1SG fish   catch-PST-3

(*vera- śko   uk*).

tell-PRS.1   PTCL

'But my dad caught fish yesterday, (I'm telling you).'

1. Sentence-initial *dak:* responsive turn-initial

• Can associate with a narrow focus (marked with intonation):

(4) **Dak** *TOLON* *ata-e* *čorʝg* *kut-i-z,*

DAK yesterday father-P.1SG fish catch-PST-3

tunne *ę-z* *kuṭ̌i.*

today NEG.PST-3 catch-NEG.SG

'But my father caught fish YESTERDAY, not today.'

2. Sentence-internal *dak*: topic marking.

- Lost of dialogicity.
- Marking topic.
- expressing regret in (5) or boasting (typical of kid's speech).

(5)

Tolon	*ˀdak*	*ata-e*	*čorɟg*	*kut-i-z*
Dak	yesterday	father-P1SG	fish	catch-PST-3

(tunne	*ę̌-z*	*kutɟ.)*
today	NEG.PST-3	catch-NEG.SG

'Yesterday, my father caught fish, today he hasn't.'

2. Sentence-internal *dak*: topic marking

(6)

Nu,	*ṇị̌l-jos-ḷị*	*śot-iśko-d*	*už*	*kudiz*	*śekịt*	*ik*	*ẹvẹl,*
PTCL	girl-PL-DAT	give-PRS-2	work	which	difficult	PTCL	NEG

a	*pi-os-ḷị*	***dak***	*možnośekịt-ges*	*kar-ịnị*	*ińi.*
CONJ	boy-PL-DAT	PTCL	can	difficult-CMPR do-INF	PTCL

'Well, for girls, you find work that's not very difficult,
and [for boys]ₜₒₚ, you can make more difficult (tasks).'
("Mịnam Udmurt'ije", 2011.05.24, CSU)

2. Sentence-internal *dak*: topic marking

'As for X, P'

Topicalized elements:

- Subjects
- Case and prepositional phrases
- Adverbials

2. Sentence-internal *dak*: topic marking

(9) [Where do your parents work?]

a. *Ana-e*   *ˀdak* *škola-ɟn*   *uža.*

   mom-P.1SG DAK school-INE   work.3SG

   'As for my mom, she works at school.'

   Ataj-e   *dak* *pensij-e*   *pot-i-z.*

   dad-P.1SG   DAK pension-INE   come.out.3SG

   'As for my father, he retired.'

Adding the resumptive pronoun:

b. *Ana-e* *dak,* *so*   *škola-ɟn*   *uža.*

   'As for my mom, she works at school.'

   Ataj-e *dak,* *so*   *pensij-e pot-i-z.*

   'As for my father, he retired.'

2. Sentence-internal *dak*: topic marking

(10)

Kapron	*kolgotki*	**dak**.	*Mjnam*	*so-in*	*veś*	*vojna.*
Nylon	stockings	dak	I.gen	that-ins	always	war

'Nylon stockings. I'm always at war with those.'

3. Topic marking beyond sentence level

Discourse topic/background is set up in the preceding sentence.

(11)

Mịnam		*ataje-len*	*firma-jaz*			*negr*	*uža.*
I.Gen		dad-Gen	company-Lat.p.3Sg			black.man	work.3Sg

Dak	*so*	*velosiped-en*	*gine*	*už*	*dur-az*		*vetl-e.*
Dak	3Sg	bike-Ins	only	work	edge-Lat.p3Sg		go-3Sg

'There is a black man at my dad's company. So he only goes to work by bycicle.' ("Анекдотъёс (serem.ru)", 2016).

3. Topic marking beyond sentence level

- Trnavac&Taboada (2016: 70) propose "to determine backgrounding at the discourse level by mapping foregrounding and backgrounding to the nucleus-satellite structures of a text".

- Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST): nuclear and satellite components in discourse relations (Mann and Thompson 1988).

- Background = satellite

- "<...> main-subordinate structures at the sentence level are the result of grammaticalization of nucleus-satellite structures at the discourse level" (Trnavac&Taboada (2016: 73) following Matthiessen and Thompson (1988)).

3. Topic marking beyond sentence level

Discourse topic/background is set up in the preceding sentence.

['There is a black man at my dad's company'] **satellite**

['He only goes to work by bicycle.']   **nucleus**

By removing the nucleus, the text loses in coherency.

By removing the satellite, the text loses in transparency.

4. *Dak* in complex sentences

- Matić & Van Gijn & Van Valin (2014)

- **Internal information structure** of dependent elements
I believe [that [this book]$_{top}$ Mary gave to Paul].

- **External information structure** of dependent elements
[It was only [after I arrived home]$_{foc}$ that I saw them].

4. *Dak* in complex sentences

Matić & Van Gijn & Van Valin (2014)	External IS
Daughter subordination	Can be topics: *That he is a liar is a well-known fact.* Focalization is restricted.
Ad-subordination (conditional, temporal, reason, relative, and other types of clauses)	Topic or focus roles are freely assigned. "Topicalized ad-subordinate clauses usually serve as scene-setting devices".

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: conditionals

(12)

Ma,	*badǯʲim*	*mašina-os*	*mʲn-o*	***ke***	***dak****,*
PTCL	big	car-PL	go-PRS.3PL	if	PTCL

sʲǯe	*kol'eja*	*lu-e*	*otʲn.*
such	track	become-PRS.3SG	here

'Well, if big cars go, such tracks appear there.' ("Mʲnam Udmurt'ije", 2013.11.19, CSU)

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: conditionals

(13) [Your friend witnessed an incident at work. You ask him: Will you report this case to your boss?]

a.　　*[Jua-z-ɟ　　ke]　　vera-lo.*

　　　　ask-PST3-PL　　if　　　say-FUT.1SG

　　　　'If they ask, I'll say.'

b.　　*Vera-lo　　　　[jua-z-ɟ　　　　　　ke].*

　　　　say-FUT.1SG　ask-PST3-PL　　　　if

　　　　'I'll say, If they ask.'

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: conditionals

(14) [Your friend witnessed an incident at work. You ask him: Will you report this case to your boss?]

a.   [*Jua-z-j*   *#$^{??}$**dak/ke dak]***   *vera-lo.*

        ask-PST.3-PL   if   say-FUT.1SG

b.   *Vera-lo*   *[jua-z-j*   *#**dak/ke dak].***

        say-FUT.1SG   ask-PST3-PL   if

        *'If they ask, I'll say.'

        'I'll say, since they asked.'

Dak can only be used in **factual conditionals**.

Lowe 1992: 348: "conditionals that consist entirely of actual world information".

Premise-conclusion relation.

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: relative clauses

Merlin (1988:93) suggests that in Russian dialects of the Kama region the conjunction in the protasis is optional while the correlative marks the relationship between the clauses.

(15) Russian

Spros'at,   ***dak***   *skažu.*

ask.PFV:NPST.3PL   DAK   say.PFV:NPST.1SG

'If they ask, then I'll say.' (Merlin 1988:92)

(14a) Udmurt

Jua-z-ɉ   *#??****dak/ke dak***   *vera-lo.*

ask-pst3-pl   if   say-fut.1sg

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: relative clauses

(16a)

Mon	*ţiņjd*	*kniga*	*va-i*	*[kudze*	*ton*	*kur-i-d*	*val].*
I	you.DAT	book	bring-PST.1	REL	you	ask-PST-2	be.PST

(16b)

[Kudze	*kniga-ez*	*ton*	*kur-i-d*	*val]*	*mon*	*vai.*
REL	book-P.3SG	you	ask-PST-2	be.PST	I	bring-PST.1

'I brought the book which you had asked for.'

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: relative clauses

(16c)

*Mon   ţinjd   kniga   va-i,   [kudze   ton   kur-i-d   val   ***dak**].*

I   you.DAT book   bring-PST.1   REL   you   ask-PST-2   be.PST   DAK

'I brought the book you had asked for.'

(16d)

*Mon   ţinjd   kniga   va-i.   Ton   kur-i-d   val   **dak**.*

I   you.DAT book   bring-PST.1   you   ask-PST-2   be.PST   DAK

'I brought the book (because) you had asked for it.'

4. *Dak* in complex sentences: relative clauses

(16e)

[Kudze kniga-ez   ton   kur-i-d   val   [?]dak]   mon   vai.

rel   book-p3sg   you   ask-pst-2   be.pst   dak   I   bring-pst.1

'I brought the book you had asked for.'

(16f)

Ton   kur-i-d   val   dak   kniga-ez]   mon   vai.

you   ask-pst-2   be.pst   dak   book-p3sg   I   bring-pst.1

'Because you had asked for the book, I brought it'.

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

(17)

Tolon	*ata-e*	*čorʝg*	*kut-i-z*	*dak!*
yesterday	father-P1SG	fish	catch-PST-3	DAK

'How much fish your father caught yesterday!'

Exophoric (gestural) use of demonstratives

Semantic categories of demonstratives (König&Umbach 2018)	manner	quality	degree
Udmurt	*oźi̮/si̮ǰče*	*si̮ǰče*	*si̮ǰče/so bi̮dža*
Standard Russian	*(vot) tak*	*(vot) takoj*	*(vot) takoj*
German	*so*	*so/solch*	*so*
	'He walks like this (mimicking).'	*'I would like to have a car like that.'*	*'The fish was this big.'*

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

- Demonstratives typically precede the noun/verb/adverb/adjective.
- But they are also attested postpositively in degree exclamatives.

(18) [These (guys) interviewed Arzami Ochej, then stayed for the talk,]

     ŝečok-jos   *s̨ǰče*   *dak.*

     nice.person-PL   DEM   DAK

     'Such great guys.'

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

Dak can only be used postpositively in degree exclamatives, typically following the predicate.

(19a) *Sasha   čeber   kịrẓ́a   **dak**!*

         Sasha   beautiful   sing.3SG   DAK

(19b) *Sasha   čeber   ?**dak**   kịrẓ́a!*

         Sasha   beautiful   DAK   sing.3SG

(19c) *Sasha   #**dak**   čeber   kịrẓ́a!*

         Sasha   DAK   beautiful   sing.3SG

         'Sasha sings so beautifully!'

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

- Degree exclamative can be followed by a correlative resultant clause:

(20)*<…> zavuč-mĵ <…>*   *keśk-i-z*   **dak**   *šor-a-m,*

     head.teacher-P1PL   tear-PST-3   DAK   center-LAT-P1SG

     až   *śiń-jos-ĵz*   *ik*   *pot-o*   *val*   *in.*

     even   eye-PL-P3SG   even   come.out-3PL be.PST   already

     'Our head teacher shouted at me so (intensively) that her eyes nearly came out.'

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

Leinonen (2002): Particle of semantic completeness?

(21)   Dialectal Russian

Opeť **tak**   *v*   *gorle*   *bolid*   **dak**.

again MAN.DEM   PREP   throat:LOC   hurt:NPST:3SG   DAK

'Again (my) throat is in pain.' (Vilegodskij rajon, AOS 1999: 234, cit by Leinonen 2002: 130)

5. Sentence-final *dak:* degree exclamatives

(23)   *Fsego-**to***   *povidala*   ***dak.***

all.GEN.SG-PTCL   see.PST.F.SG   dak

'I have seen it all'. (Karelia; Kolesov 1998: 166)

Post (2014:257-258):

"the expression *Fsego-to povidala* 'I have seen it all' represents a thought that has a certain implication, which the hearer is expected to be able to infer. The lack of context does not enable us to know what was meant, but it could well express the cause of something the speaker either has uttered earlier or has no need to express explicitly, because it is obvious to the hearer(s)."

- My suggestion: it's not an ellipsis, it's a demonstrative functioning as a degree modifier ('I've seen **absolutely** everything').

Conclusions

1. The function of *dak* changes depending on its syntactic position.

2. Turn-initially, *dak* is used in response utterances to introduce a response (positive or negative) that the speaker thinks to be obvious to the hearer.

3. *Dak* marks the sentence topic when used sentence-internally, or discourse topic when used between two sentences or clauses.

4. *Dak* is used clause finally in factual conditional clauses. It occurs in non-factual conditionals only together with the conditional conjunction.

5. *Dak* occurs sentence-finally (or following the predicate) in degree exclamatives. There is no ellipsis of the resultant clause.

Acknowledgments

Data sources

- Corpus of Standard Udmurt. Available online at udmurt.web-corpora.net.

- Database of the Dialectological Atlas of the Russian Language. I. A. Marchenko, O. N. Dolgov, A. S. Azanova, M. S. Zambrzhitskaya, E. A. Zalivina, S. A. Zemlyanskaya, D. I. Mochul'skij, E. I. Tsejtina, D. G. Chistyakova, R. V. Ron'ko. Database of the Dialectological Atlas of the Russian Language. Accessed March 10, 2024. https://da.ruslang.ru/

References

- Arkhangelskiy, T. 2021. Vzaimnoje vlijanije beserm'anskogo i russkogo v upotreblenii modal'nyx častic. Presentation. Jaziyki Rossii v kontakte s russkim jazykom. 11-13.02.2021.

- GUSEV V.U. 2020. ABOUT KAMAS POSTPOSITIVE CONDITIONAL-TEMPORAL CONJUNCTION DAK. ТРУДЫ ИНСТИТУТА РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА ИМ. В.В. ВИНОГРАДОВА. 4 (26). 76-89.

- König, E., & Umbach, C. (2018). Demonstratives of manner, of quality and of degree. *Atypical demonstratives: Syntax, semantics and pragmatics*, 285-328.

- Leinonen, M. 2002. Morphosyntactic parallels in North Russian dialects and Finno-Ugric languages, *Scando-Slavica*, 48:1, 127-146, DOI: 10.1080/00806760208601184.

- Lowe, I. (1992). Conditional clauses: their information status and discourse function. *Language in context: essays for Robert E. Longacre*, (107), 339.

- Mann, William C., Thompson, Sandra A., 1988. Rhetorical structure theory: toward a functional theory of text organization. Text 8 (3), 243--281.

- Matić, D., Van Gijn, R., & Van Valin Jr, R. D. (2014). Information structure and reference tracking in complex sentences: An overview. *Information structure and reference tracking in complex sentences*, 1-42.

- Merlin, V.V. 1978. "Častica *dak* kak sredstvo vyraženija aktual'nogo členenija", *Živoe slovo v russkoj reči Prikam'ja*, Perm, pp. 88–98.

- Post, M. (2014). Connectives, Subordination and Information Structure: Comments on Trubinskij's Observations on the "-to… dak" Model in the Pinega Dialects. Seržant & Wiemer, eds., Contemporary approaches to dialectology: *The area of North, North-West Russian and Belarusian dialects*. Bergen: University of Bergen, pp. 245–269.

- Post, M. (2015). 12. The Northern Russian utterance-final particle dak as an information-structuring device. In S. Hancil, A. Haselow & M. Post (Ed.), *Final Particles*, pp. 285–304. Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110375572-012

- Trnavac, R., & Taboada, M. (2016). Cataphora, backgrounding and accessibility in discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *93*, 68-84.