

Resultatives grammaticalizing into passives, perfects and past tense forms in Udmurt

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Claims: In the talk, I present a novel analysis of Udmurt of *-(e)min* forms (which traditionally have been referred to as “resultative participles”). I argue that *-(e)min* forms cannot be analysed in a homogeneous way in contemporary Udmurt, and that the heterogeneity that they show in their use and in their morphosyntactic behaviour on a synchronic level is a reflection of two ongoing and typologically common grammaticalization processes, i.e.

- (1) *resultative* > *passive* (cf. Nedyalkov & Jaxontov 1989), and
- (2) *resultative* > *perfect* > *past tense forms* (Bybee et al. 1994).

Background: *-(E)min* forms always stand in predicative position and they can be formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs. They can act as predicates in main clauses without any copula/auxiliary, cf. (3)–(7) (they can, however, combine with a non-present tense or a non-indicative copula/auxiliary). Most commonly, *-(e)min* forms/constructions have been referred to as resultative participles (e.g., Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000), or as passive constructions (Asztalos 2011, F. Gulyás & Speshilova 2014).

Aims and data: The aim of this study was to investigate whether *-(e)min* constructions show the same semantic properties and morphosyntactic behaviour in old folklore texts from the end of the 19th century and in contemporary corpus data, and whether a uniform account of *-(e)min* constructions can be provided at all. The study focused on copulaless occurrences of *-(e)min* forms.

Results and analysis: While in the folklore text sample all occurrences of *-(e)min* constructions showed the properties of resultative constructions (as defined by Bybee et al. 1994), contemporary data revealed to be more heterogeneous, thus, a fourfold classification is proposed for them:

- 1) The majority of the examples showed the characteristics of **resultative** constructions: i) they describe a *state* resulting from a previous action/event, ii) they are formed of telic verbs, iii) they are compatible with the adverb *na* ‘still’, and iv) transitive verbs undergo voice change, cf. (3).
- 2) Other instances, while still featuring a voice change with transitive verbs, do not describe a *state* resulting from a previous action/event but refer to the previous action/event itself (4). These were analysed as **(actional) passives** (as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988).
- 3) **Perfects** (5)–(6): i) They present previous actions/events as relevant at utterance time; ii) they can be formed of atelic verbs; iii) when formed from transitive verbs, they do not undergo any voice change (6).

- 4) A few examples showed the properties of **past tense** forms (7)–(9): i) they can describe past events without necessarily referring to their relevance at utterance time; ii) they can co-occur with temporal adverbials referring to a specific time; iii) they can describe a sequence of events in the past.

Diachronic implications and further questions: I propose that the homogeneity of the folklore data indicates that the primary function of *-(e)min* constructions was the expression of resultativity, while the heterogeneity of the contemporary data is the reflection of the two ongoing grammaticalization processes outlined in (1) and (2). The questions of how the grammaticalization process might affect the past tense system of Udmurt, and whether the influence of Russian might play a role in the presumed grammaticalization processes will also be addressed in the talk.

- (3) *Lavka ušt-emin na bere, so-že no ta-že bašti-ni*
shop open-(E)MIN still as that-DET.ACC and this-DET.ACC buy-INF
vu-o-d na. (UC; Udmurt duńńe 26.03.2013)
arrive-FUT-2SG still ‘As the shop is still open, you will manage to buy some things.’
- (4) *Georgij Grjazev 2014-ti ar-in pusj-emin (...) Rośši-ış Žurnalist-jos-len*
G. G. 2014-ORD year-INE award-(E)MIN Russia-ELA journalist-PL-GEN
sojuz-ži-len (...) znak-en-ış. (UC; Udmurt dunne 2017.03.08.)
association-3PL-GEN sign-INS-3SG
‘In 2014 Georgij Grjazev was awarded the medal of the Russian Journalists’ Association.’
- (5) Context: ‘I could barely get up today. I’m just sleepy somehow.’
4 čas gine iž-emin, noš para-je odnože min-ono.
4 hour only sleep-(E)MIN but class-ILL absolutely go-PTCP.NEC
‘I have only slept four hours, but I absolutely need to go to class.’ (UC; Udmurto4ka 17.10.2014)
- (6) Context: The author of the blogpost describes her grandfather.
So ulon-až tros ma-je adž-emin ni.
3SG[NOM] life-INE.3SG lot what-ACC see-(E)MIN already
‘He has already seen a lot during his life.’ (UC; Marjalen zarežez 2014)
- (7) [About an event which is going to be dedicated to Vera Bogdanovskaja.]
Ta – Rossi-ış nirišeti-os-ış pel-ış nilkišno ximik, ul-emin
this Russia-ELA first-PL-DET among-ELA woman chemist live-(E)MIN
1867-ti – 1896-ti ar-jos-ž.
1867-ORD 1896-ORD year-PL-ILL ‘She is one of the first women chemists from Russia,
she lived between 1867 and 1896.’ (UC; Udmurt duńńe 23.04.2014)

- (8) (Wikipedia article on the Vyatka Governorate)
 Ta muzjem vil-in ortće val Šibir trakt – ssiľnoj-jos-ti
 this land on-INE pass_by.3SG be.PST Siberia route exiled-PL-ACC
 Šibir-e keľan šures (so vil-e og 100 pala dĕkabrist-jos
 Siberia-ILL sending road that on-ILL around 100 around Decembrist-PL
 ortć-emin). Kud-og ssiľnoj-jos Vjatka kar-in ul-emin.
 pass-(E)MIN some exiled-PL Vjatka city-INE live-(E)MIN
 ‘The Siberian Route, the road leading exiled people to Siberia, crossed this land (around 100
 Decembrists went along it). Some of the exiled people lived in the town Vjatka.’
 (UC; Wikipedia: Votka gubernija 08.03.2013)
- (9) 2000-ti ar-e gurt-iš fest’ival-len niľišeti nunal-až Madonna
 2000-ORD year-ILL village-ELA festival-GEN first day-ILL.3SG Madonna
 kiľdža-min, kiķ-eti nunal-až Majkel Džekson ekt-emin.
 sing-(E)MIN two-ORD day-ILL.3SG Michael Jackson dance-(E)MIN
 ‘On the first day of the festival held in our village in 2000, Madonna sang, on its second day,
 Michael Jackson danced.’
 (constructed)

References

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