Morpheme order variation in Udmurt adverbial clauses

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Introduction

- This talk is about a type of non-finite adverbial clauses in Udmurt (Uralic)

- These clauses are formed with the nominalization *-(e)m* or the deverbal noun *-(o)n* selected by the so-called adverbial case *-ja*

- Morpheme order variation:
  the adverbial case either precedes (1) or follows (2) the possessive agreement, which indicates the ϕ-features of the subject of the adverbial clause

Introduction (cont.)

(1) **Case**-**Poss**

[Uža-nə̂ bə̂gat-**em**-**ja**-**s**] śud-em, pe,
work-INF be.able-NMLZ-ADV-POSS.3SG feed-EVID.3SG QUOT

soostə̂ so.
3PL.ACC 3SG

'While he was able to work, he was feeding them, they say.'

(2) **Poss**-**Case**

[Bi̯gat-**em**-**e**-**ja**=no
be.able-NMLZ-POSS.1SG-ADV=ADD

vala-**m**-**e**-**ja**] uža-śko.
understand-NMLZ-POSS.1SG-ADV work-PRS.1SG

'I work according to my abilities and understanding.'

(Edygarova 2010: 110–111)

Claims

◆ These adverbial clauses fall into two types:

	Meaning	Morpheme order	Nmlz type
Type 1	temporal ('while')	**Case**-**Poss**	event
Type 2	oblique ('according to') ('based on')	**Poss**-**Case**	non-event

◆ The term 'adverbial case' is a misnomer; these clauses are best analyzed as postpositional phrases with complex (Type 1) or simple (Type 2) internal structure; diachronic relation between the two

Roadmap

1. Background

2. New empirical findings

3. Analysis

4. Conclusion

Background

Background

- Both finite and non-finite adverbial clauses are used in Udmurt

- Non-finite adverbial clauses can be formed in two ways:
  (i) nominalization + postposition or semantic case, (ii) converb
  (Perevoshchikov 1959; Winkler 2011; Georgieva 2018)

  (3) Vi̯l' už   bordi̯ kutsk-on aź-i̯n   […]
      new work to   start-VN front-INE
      'Before starting a new project, […]'

  <div align="right">Udmurt Corpus (Udmurt duńńe, 2013.06.14)</div>

↦ (1), (2) and (3) are PPs

- The adverbial case generally encodes adverbial modifiers, with the meaning 'according to' or 'based on', as in (4a,b):

(4) a. Plan-**ja** uža-j.
    plan-ADV work-PST.1SG
    'I worked according to the plan.'
  b. Diśkut-ez-**ja** todma-j.
    clothes-POSS.3SG-ADV recognize-PST.1SG
    'I recognized [him/her] based on his/her clothes.'

(Georgieva 2018)

Note: The adverbial case can also form adnominal modifiers; this use is considered to be a new development, particularly productive in standard Udmurt (Edgarova 2017)

- But a spatial meaning, 'along', is also possible, albeit rare (5):

  (5) Kuar tel-**ja**   košk-i-z.
      leaf   wind-ADV leave-PST-3SG
      'The leaf flew away along/with the wind.'   (Edygarova 2017: 78)

- This spatial meaning is attested in some frozen forms, e.g., the adverb in (6a). The temporal postposition in (6b) also contains the adverbial case.

  (6) a. kir**ja**   b. dir**ja**
         field.ADV   time.ADV
         'along the fields'   'during'

- Case suffixes in Udmurt generally have a fixed position: some (e.g., inessive, illative, elative) precede the possessive markers, while others (e.g., genitive, ablative, abessive) follow them, cf. (7a,b)

(7) a. korka-**jśt**-**iz**   b. korka-**jez**-**tek**
         house-ELA-POSS.3SG   house-POSS.3SG-ABE
         'from his/her house'   'without his/her house'

- The adverbial case is the only one in present-day Udmurt that displays both orders, but the **Poss**-**Case** order is considered to be the general pattern (Edygarova 2010: 109–111)

Background (cont.)

- The suffix of the adverbial case **-ja** is formally similar to the possessive declension of the inessive and illative cases: **-(j)a** (9)

(8) a. gurt-ịn   busị-ịn   b. gurt-e   busị-je
     village-INE   field-INE   village-ILL   field-ILL
     'in the village / field'   'to the village / field '

(9) gurt-**a**-**mị**   busị-**ja**-**mị**
    village-INE/ILL-POSS.1PL   field-INE/ILL-POSS.1PL
    'in our village / field'
    'to our village / field'

New empirical findings

Correlation between meaning and morpheme order

- The adverbial clauses in question show a correlation:
  Case-**Poss** & temporal ('while, as')
  Poss-**Case** & oblique ('according to, based on')

- Observed robustly in corpus data (Udmurt Corpus, 9.57 million words; standard Udmurt) and examples from descriptive studies (Fokos-Fuchs 1958; Edygarova 2010)

  Cf. the minimal pair with *-em*-nominalizations in (1)–(2) as well as the one with deverbal nouns in (10)–(11)

Correlation between meaning and morpheme order (cont.)

(10) **Case**-**Poss**

[Oźị mịn-**on**-**ja**-**z**]   metro-je   vu-i-z.
this.way go-VN-ADV-POSS.3SG metro-ILL arrive-PST-3SG
'As he went like this, he arrived at the metro (station).'

<div align="right">(Winkler 2001: 53)</div>

(11) **Poss**-**Case**

Mi   um   l'ukiśke   ad'ami-jez
1PL.EXCL NEG.1PL separate.PRS.CN.PL person-ACC

vịžị-jez-ja,   [osk-**on**-**ez**-**ja**]   [...]
root-POSS.3SG-ADV believe-VN-POSS.3SG-ADV
'We don't separate people based on their origin and religion.'

<div align="right">Udmurt Corpus (Udmurt duńńe, 2008.05.28)</div>

Distribution of the adverbial case

- Corpus data (Udmurt Corpus, 9.57 million words; standard Udmurt)

	Hits	**Dependent type**
Case-**Poss**	675	derived Ns
Poss-**Case**	16,129	derived and non-derived Ns

⇝ these findings support the earlier generalizations re: the two morpheme orders with the adverbial case (see Edygarova 2010)

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- Claim:
  Case-**Poss** occurs with event nominalizations
  Poss-**Case** occurs with NPs (incl. non-event nominalizations)

Nominalizations in Udmurt

- Two main types of nominalizations: **Event** vs. **non-event**
  (Georgieva 2018; see also Serdobolskaya et al. 2012 and Dékány & Georgieva 2020)

- Non-event nominalizations: result nouns, manner nominalizations
  (in the sense of Comrie & Thompson 2007) or object
  nominalizations (e.g., instrument):

(12) a. źećịra-n
          swing-VN
          'swinging'
          'the way of swinging'
          '(a) swing'

      b. źećịra-m
          swing-NMLZ
          'swinging'
          'the way of swinging'

- Only non-event nominalizations can be pluralized:

(13) Ivan-len **ʒećira-m-jos-jz**
Ivan-GEN swing-NMLZ-PL-POSS.3SG
anaj-ataj-os-se pajmịt-i-z.
mother-father-PL-POSS.3SG.ACC amaze-PST-3SG
'The ways in which Ivan was swinging amazed his parents.'
*'Ivan's swingings amazed his parents.' (event nominalization)

(Georgieva 2018: 53)

⇴ they are garden-variety nouns

Types of nominalizations with the adverbial case

- Corpus data (Udmurt Corpus):

	Hits
V-NMLZ-PL-**Case**-**Poss**	0
V-VN-PL-**Case**-**Poss**	0
V-NMLZ-PL-**Poss**-**Case**	79
V-VN-PL-**Poss**-**Case**	511

↪ Only **Poss**-**Case** occurs with non-event nominalizations

- Speakers' judgements: **Case**-**Poss** is ungrammatical with pluralized nominalizations

(14) [Gureź-e   (tros   pol) **tuba-m-ja-z**   /
      mountain-ILL   many times climb-NMLZ-ADV-POSS.3SG
      *tuba-m-jos-ja-z]   al'pińist   odig
       climb-NMLZ-PL-ADV-POSS.3SG   mountain.climber   one
      pol=no   usi̮-mte.
      time=ADD   fall-NEG.EVID.3SG
      'The mountain climber didn't fall a single time while climbing
      the mountains (many times).'   (elicited)

↛ **Case**-**Poss** occurs only with event nominalizations

Interim summary

The so-called adverbial case(s) in Udmurt:

	Meaning	Morpheme order	Dependent type
	(spatio)temporal	**Case**-**Poss**	event nmlz-s (marginally NPs)
	oblique	**Poss**-**Case**	NPs including non-event nmlz-s

Interim summary

The so-called adverbial case(s) in Udmurt:

	Meaning	Morpheme order	Dependent type
ADV-1	(spatio)temporal	**Case**-**Poss**	event nmlz-s (marginally NPs)
ADV-2	oblique	**Poss**-**Case**	NPs including non-event nmlz-s

Analysis

Analytical possibilities

1 The adverbial case indeed shows morpheme order variation (=traditional grammars)
But: theoretically undesirable & empirically not well-founded (cf. previous slide)

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   1 ADV-1 and ADV-2 are unrelated to each other, albeit form-identical
In Georgieva (2018), I argued that ADV-1 is simply the inessive/illative used before possessive morphemes (see below).

Analytical possibilities

1. The adverbial case indeed shows morpheme order variation (=traditional grammars)
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   1. ADV-1 and ADV-2 are unrelated to each other, albeit form-identical
      In Georgieva (2018), I argued that ADV-1 is simply the inessive/illative used before possessive morphemes (see below).

   2. **ADV-1 and ADV-2 are related to each other**

Given that ADV-2 in adverbial clauses matches the general use of the adverbial case (cf. (4)), it is ADV-1 that "stands out".

Q1 What is ADV-1 then?

Q2 How are ADV-1 and ADV-2 related?

Proposal in a nutshell

In Georgieva (to appear), I argue that

- What traditional grammars have labelled as the 'adverbial case' in Udmurt covers **two types of postpositional phrases**:

(15) a. $[_{K_{LOC}P}$ -a $[_{N_{PLACE}P}$ -j $[$ $]]]$ ADV-1
    b. $[_{PP}$ -ja $[$ $]]$ ADV-2

- There is a **diachronic relation: ADV-1 > ADV-2**, i.e., the complex P was reanalyzed as a simple P

Theoretical assumptions

- Spatial PPs can have complex internal structure: path- and place-denoting Ps, AxPartP

(16) [$_{\text{PlaceP}}$ in [$_{\text{AxPartP}}$ front [of the car]]]

(Jackendoff 1983; van Riemsdijk & Huybregts 2002; Svenonius 2006; Asbury et al. 2008; Cinque & Rizzi 2010, a.o.)

Theoretical assumptions (cont.)

- Ps can be adpositions or semantic cases:

(17) a. **in** the house
 b. a ház-**ban** [Hungarian]
  the house-INE

(Moravcsik 2009; Malchukov & Spencer 2009b; Asburry 2008; Dékány 2012; Dékány & Hegedűs 2021, a.o.)

Theoretical assumptions (cont.)

- Diachronic changes in the PP domain:
  (i) grammaticalization, (ii) morphologization

  (Waters 2009; Hegedűs 2014; Kittilä et al. 2022, a.o.)

- Ps often grammaticalize from nominal elements:

  (18) nominal > AxPart^0 (> Place^0/Path^0)

  In Hungarian, Ps like *alatt* 'under', *előtt* 'in front', etc., historically go back to relational nouns that filled AxPart^0.

- A syntactically independent P may turn into a morphologically bound one (=case marker)

- Two types of PPs: complex and simple (Usacheva 2012; Simonenko & Leontyev 2012; Winkler 2011)

(19) a. $[_{K_{LOC}P} [_{N_{PLACE}P} [\ ]]]$ complex PP
      b. $[_{PP} [\ ]]$ simple PP
                                              (Usacheva 2012)

- Complex PPs feature an $N_{PLACE}P$ and $K_{LOC}P$ (Usacheva 2012)

  (20) korka vi̬l-i̬n / vi̬l-e / vi̬l-i̬ś
       house top-INE top-ILL top-ELA
       'on top / onto the top / from the top of the house'

- N_{PLACE}: locates Figure wrt Ground; relational noun (NB: can be morphologically bound!)   (=AxPart)

- K_{LOC}: expresses motion or location; spatial cases   (=Path/Place)

PPs in Udmurt (cont.)

- Agreement in complex PPs: possessive markers can follow K_{LOC}

    (21) korka vi̯l-**a**-**d**
           house top-INE/ILL-POSS.2SG
           'on top of your house (lit. on your top of house)'

    (22) [$_{PossP}$ *d* [$_{K_{LOC}P}$ *a* [$_{N_{PLACE}P}$ *vi̯l* [ ]]]]

- This essentially results into **Case**-**Poss** order

Analysis

- ADV-1 (*-ja*): spatiotemporal; **Case**-**Poss**; formally similar to the inessive/illative used before possessives (*-(j)a*)

↪ ADV-1 = INE/ILL (Georgieva 2018)

- But: presence of a glide
  the adverbial case can be used without possessives, unlike INE/ILL
  ADV-1 is *not* semantically equivalent to 'in' (23)

(23) tel̦**ja** kir**ja**
     wind.ADV field.ADV
     'along/with the wind, along the fields'

- Proposal: ADV-1 *contains* the INE/ILL in a complex PP

  (24) $[_{\text{K}_{\text{LOC}}\text{P}} \; a \; [_{\text{N}_{\text{PLACE}}\text{P}} \; j \; [\;]]]$

  Traditional approaches: the adverbial goes back to lative/prolative *-j* and lative *-a* (Rédei 1988)

- Prediction of (24): possessive agreement will be marked on top of the PP, as in complex PPs in general

⇸ **Case**-**Poss** morpheme order

- This prediction is borne out: cf. the temporal clauses in (1), (10), (14)

- The contribution of the N_{PLACE} head *-j*:
  spatial 'along' (cf. (24)) and its temporal equivalent 'as long as' in the adverbial clauses in question (cf. (1), (10), (14))

- Unlike other N_{PLACE} heads, *-j* does not combine with other semantic cases
  → a "frozen" form, analyzed by the traditional grammars as the 'adverbial case' (in my terms, ADV-1)

Analysis (cont.)

- ADV-1 has very limited use in present-day Udmurt: it occurs only with non-finite adverbial clauses

- ADV-2 is the productive one: a simple P

  (25) [PP *ja* [ ]]

    - selects for NPs due to its semantics ('according to' or 'based on')
    - only Poss-Case order is possible, as with simple PPs in general

Analysis (cont.)

- ADV-1 > ADV-2

  - structural simplification: complex P to simple P

  - semantic change: spatiotemporal > oblique

    (26) in (the time of) my thinking > in my opinion

    (27) I recognized him while he was walking > I recognized him
          based on the way he was walking

    Note: Traditional approaches assume a similar split for the
    Proto-Uralic locative, whose allomorphs gave rise to the inessive and
    instrumental cases in Udmurt (Serebrennikov 1963; Bartens 2000)

Conclusion

Conclusion

- In this talk I showed that the non-finite clauses with the so-called adverbial case in Udmurt fall into two types

- The analysis proposed captures the differences between these types by postulating two different PP structures

- The two PPs (aka two adverbial cases) were argued to be diachronically related

- More on this in Georgieva (to appear); this paper also discuss another type of non-finite adverbial clauses in Udmurt, which show a puzzling requirement for a spatiotemporal match with the matrix event ☺

Thank you for your attention!

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