



Case compounding in Beserman Udmurt: Syntax and information structure

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Case compounding

- Inclusion of two or more case markers within a phonological word (Noonan 2008)
- Quite common cross-linguistically, e.g. in languages of Australia (Dench, Evans 1988), Bodic languages (Noonan 2008)
- Uralic languages: Moksha (Privizentseva 2015), Zyrian (Bubrikh 1949), Udmurt (Alatyrev 1983), Mari

Beserman Udmurt

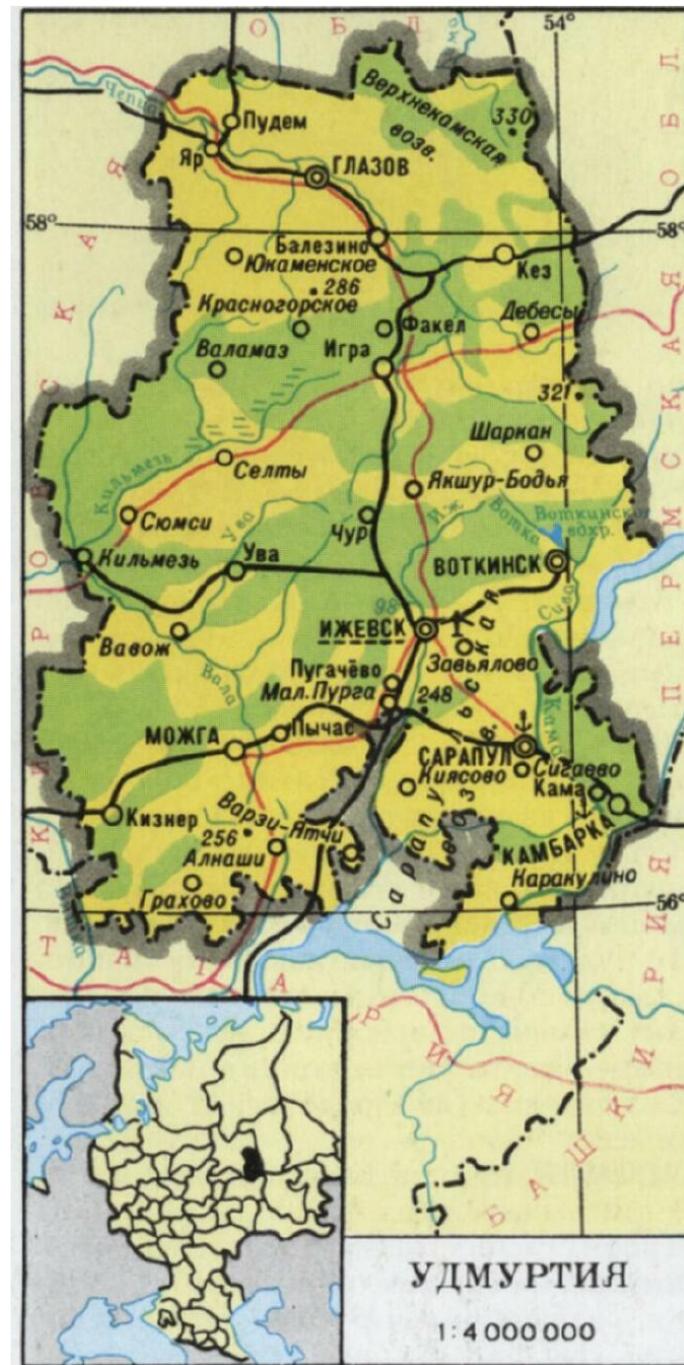
- A variety of Udmurt spoken in NW Udmurtia and SE Kirov region of Russia
- 2201 people identified themselves as Beserman (census 2010)
- 10 purely Beserman villages, 41 villages with mixed population
- All speakers bilingual in Russian, kids usually do not speak the language
- Described by Teplyashina (1970), Lyukina (2008)

Questions

- Case compounding in Udmurt has been said to require the P.3SG marker. Why?
- Not every case allows for compounding. Is it possible only with adnominal modifiers (like in Moksha or Mari)?
- What factors trigger the appearance of forms with case compounding?

The data

- Research is based on our field data
- Regular expeditions to Shamardan village (Yukamenskoye region, Udmurtia)
- Annotated corpus available at <http://beserman.ru/corpus/>



The data

- Elicitation
- Corpus data: 3 examples found in the corpus of Beserman oral speech containing about 65,000 tokens
- Also ~900 examples from the Corpus of Standard Udmurt
- Problem: case compounding elicitation is really hard; examples in ordinary speech are rare

The experiments

- Two series of experiments held in January 2015 and in January 2016 (~28,000 tokens) yielded more than 60 occurrences in total

Experiments: methodology

- Referential communication task (Krauss, Weinheimer 1966)



2015 Experiment: 2D

- Task: place cards on a picture



2015 Experiment: 3D

- Reproduce the trajectories of figures on a landscape model

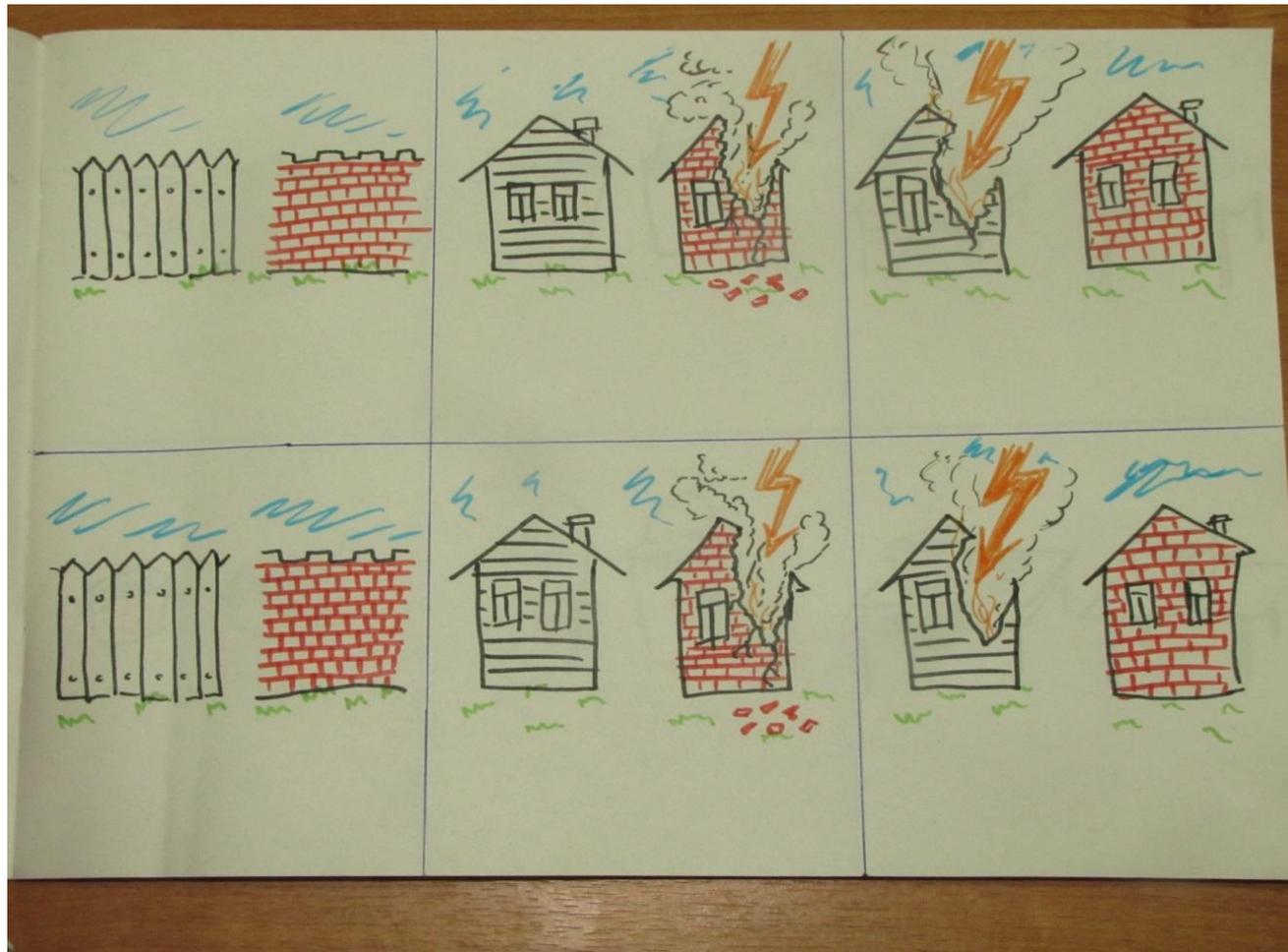


2015 Experiment

- In the experiment of 2015, there were case compounding examples in all syntactic positions except the DO
- Peculiar linguistic constraint or bad design?
- Another experiment to check

2016 Experiment

- Referential communication tasks: explain which of the cards should be discarded



Case compounding in Beserman

- All syntactic positions
- No restrictions on affix chain length:

bagurt-**laš'en**

Bagurt-RCS

“from the side of Bagurt”

bagurt-**laš'en-ez-leš'**

Bagurt-RCS-P.3SG-GEN2

“of the one from the side of Bagurt”

bagurt-**laš'en-ez-leš'-se**

Bagurt-RCS-P.3SG-GEN2-ACC.P.3SG

“the one of the one from the side of Bagurt”

Case compounding in Beserman

bagurt-laš'en	mašina	lôkte
Bagurt-RCS	car	come:PRS.3SG

“A car is coming from the side of Bagurt”

ježgurt-laš'en	mašina	lôkte
Bagurt-RCS	car	come:PRS.3SG

“A car is coming from the side of Yezhgurt”

Case compounding in Beserman

bagurt-**laš'en-ez-leš'**

Bagurt-RCS-P.3SG-GEN2

šof'or-ze

driver-ACC.P.3SG

mon todiš'ko,

I.NOM know:PRS.1SG

a

and

ježgurt-**laš'en-ez-leš'-se**

Yezhgurt-RCS-P.3SG-GEN2-ACC.P.3SG

mon

I.NOM

ug todiš'kê

NEG know:NEG.PRS.1SG

“I know the driver **of the one from Bagurt**, but I don't know **the one from the one from Yezhgurt**”

CC types (Noonan 2008)

- Simple headless adnominal
- Complex attributive adnominal
- Headed adnominal with a case-marked head
- Derivational
- Suspended affixation

CC types (Noonan 2008)

- Derivational (occasionally with the recessive and approximative cases; the former recently grammaticalized):

mužik-**len-laš'en** / muzik-laš'en
husband-GEN-RCS husband-RCS

“[Wedding guests] from the side of the husband”

CC types (Noonan 2008)

- Suspended affixation. Case suffix can attach only to the second element of coordinating comitative construction (Arkhipov 2009) if combined with nominal plural suffix:

[abi-**jen**

[grandmother-INS

ta korka-jez

this house-P.3SG

babam-**en**]-jos-**len**

grandfather-INS]-PL-GEN

“This house belongs to my grandmother and grandfather”

When CC happens

- Ellipsis of the head:

pun pervij-ez-lâ kâk gibi-ze
put:IMP first-P.3SG-DAT two mushroom-ACC.P3SG

ki-ja-z, gord šapk-en-ez-lâ
hand-ILL-P.3SG red hat-INS-P.3SG-DAT

“Put two mushrooms, in her hands, to the first one [girl], the one with the red hat.”

When CC happens

- Dependent moved away from the head:

pič'i pi-lô š'ed jârč'i-jen-ez-lô
little boy-DAT black hair-INS-P.3SG-DAT

(There are several boys. Who did he give the candy to?) — “To the boy with black hair.”

- (the dependent may stay in place, but should be emphasized with intonation)

When CC happens

- Both cases depend on the relative topicality of the head (Slioussar 2009)
- The head can be omitted when it is OFF SCREEN (Paducheva 2004: 58-59)
- Dependent is moved to the right when it is significantly more topical than the head

When CC happens

- Adjectives attach nominalizing P.3SG marker and copy case and number markers under the same circumstances:

so zək-**ez-len** <...> n'ul' pič'i-**os-âz**
that big-P.3SG-GEN four hair-INS-P.3SG-DAT

“That big one [girl] <...> has four small ones [candies].”

so **kanfet-jos-se** zək-**jos-se** š'otiz
s/he candy-PL-ACC.P.3SG big-PL-ACC.P.3SG give:PST.3SG

“She gave [him] big candies.”

When CC happens

- The same goes for nouns with the attributivizing suffix *-o*:

<...> š'otiz ta-os-êz-lê,
give:PST.3SG this-PL-P.3SG-DAT

č'už kâšet-**o**-ez-lê,
yellow headscarf-ATTR-P.3SG-DAT

odig zək kanfet, odig pič'i kanfet
one big candy one small candy

“[The grandmother] gave them, to the one with the yellow headscarf, one big candy and one small candy.”

Adnominal modifiers

- The forms with case compounding resemble adnominal modifiers
- Similar in Moksha (Hamari 2015, Privizentseva 2015) and Hill Mari (Privizentseva, Kozlov, p. c.)
- In Mari, the inner case can be the genitive or any other case followed by an attributivizer
- In Moksha, the inessive cannot be the first (inner) case, it is replaced with the elative

Adnominal modifiers: Elative

- In Beserman, the locative and the illative are replaced with the elative:

pojez,	kud-iz	mêne	moskva-je,
train	which-P.3SG	go:PRS.3SG	Moscow-ILL

mon	až'iko,	a
I.NOM	see:PRS.1SG	and

glazov- êš' - se	ug
Glazov-EL-ACC.P.3SG	no

“I see the train that is going to Moscow, but I do not see the one from/to Glazov.”

Adnominal modifiers: Elative

- Elative marker *-âš'* can be used as an attributivizer even without case compounding
- In forms with case compounding, a special marker of the elative, *-iš'*, can be used alongside *-âš'*
- Still, some speakers allow compounding with the locative without the replacement

Adnominal modifiers

- Adjectives and attributivized nouns have to be “nominalized” by P.3SG to attach case markers
- There are examples where it does not happen with the CC forms:

ben,	vož	kôšet-en-len
yes	green	headscarf-INS-GEN

puni	kal'	mon
put:PST.1SG	now	I.NOM

“Yes, I’ve just put [the hedgehog] of the one [old lady] with green headscarf.”

Comparative deletion

- P.3SG is not required in comparative deletion (GEN2 marks the basis of comparison)
- No restrictions on locative as the first case (lots of literary Udmurt examples)

vilka-jen-lâš'

fork-INS-GEN2

pin'al

kid

pin'â-jen

spoon-INS

š'iš'ke

eat:PRS.3SG

d'eš'

well

“The kid can eat with a spoon better than with a fork.” (Kholodilova 2015)

Comparative deletion

- P.3SG is not required in other situations (example from literary Udmurt):

kud.og-ez-leš' pravo-zes
someone-P.3SG-GEN2 driver's.license-ACC.P.3PL
[ar-en žyny]-ož'-ly talalo
[year-INS half]-TERM-DAT revoke:FUT.3PL

“Certain people will have their driver’s licenses revoked **for up to** a year and a half.” (*Udmurt dun'n'e*, 23.01.2007)

CC in Beserman: conclusions

1. Types of CC in Beserman: simple headless adnominal, complex attributive adnominal, headed adnominal with a case-marked head, derivational and affix on coordinating comitative constructions.
2. In most cases, forms with CC behave just like adnominal modifiers. Case suffixes which cannot attach suffixes of other cases (LOC, ILL, CAR) can be replaced with an appropriate marker (EL or negative attributivizer).
3. In these cases, forms with case compounding are used when the participant expressed by the head is either OFF SCREEN or much less prominent than its property (or property is much more “topical” than the participant itself).

CC in Beserman: conclusions

4. However, “nominalizing” p.3sg appears to be not strictly obligatory for CC even in these cases.
5. In comparative deletion and some other cases it is not required, and there are no constraints on the inner case.

Bonus

- The inner case can be marked for possessiveness
- In Udmurt, some of the case markers precede the possessive markers, and some follow them
- What happens when two possessive markers clash (root-CASE-PX-P.3SG-CASE)?

Bonus

škola-iš'en

school-EGR

“from the school”

škola-iš'en-ez

school-EGR-P.3SG

“the one [e.g. bus going]
from the school”

škola-iš'en-êd

school-EGR-P.2SG

“from your school”

škola-jed-iš'en-ez

school-P.2SG-EGR-P.3SG

“the one [e.g. bus going]
from your school”

*škola-iš'en-êd-ez

school-EGR-P.2SG-P.3SG

(but that should be verified with more speakers)

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