

Svetlana Edygarova  
The University of Helsinki

# **DETERMINATIVE PHRASE IN THE UDMURT LANGUAGE**

How to do Uralic syntactic fieldwork

(The basic structure of Udmurt)

18.-19.5.2012 Piliscsaba

## 3 parts:

- Possessive phrases
- Possessive suffixes and definiteness
- Things to remember when doing syntactic fieldwork among the Udmurts

# **I. POSSESSIVE PHRASES**

# Major possessive constructions

## 1.1. [N<sub>Pm</sub>-Px]

- (1) *korka-je viĭ.* 'My house is new.'  
house-1SG new

## 1.2. [N<sub>Pm</sub>]-Px

- (2) *mon oĝna-m\_ ul-iġko* 'I live alone.'  
I alone-1SG live-PRES.1SG

## 2.1. [N<sub>Pr</sub>-Gen N<sub>Pm</sub>-Px]

- (3) *sured viĭ-in vorgoron-len korka-jez.*  
picture on-INS man-GEN house-3SG

'On the picture there is [the house of the man].' Rus. На картине дом мужчины.

## 2.2. [N<sub>Pr</sub>-Gen] [N<sub>Pm</sub>-Px]

- (4) *vorgoron-len korka-jez viĭ.* '[The house] [of the man] is new.'  
man-GEN house-3SG new Rus. У мужчины новый дом.

### 3. [N<sub>Pr</sub>-AbI N<sub>Pm</sub>-Px-Acc]

- (5) *vorgoron-leś korka-z-e ažš-íško* 'I see the house of the man.'  
man-ABL house-3SG-ACC see-PRS.1SG

#### 4.1. [N<sub>Pr</sub>-NOM] [N<sub>Pm</sub>]-Px

- (6) *mon ki-ja-m kníga vož-íško*  
I hand-INS-1SG book.ACC hold-PRS.1SG  
'I hold a book in the hand.'

#### 4.2. [N<sub>Pr</sub>-NOM N<sub>Pm</sub>-Cx]

- (7) a. *kníga mon ki-ín.* 'The book is in my hand.'  
book I hand-INS
- b. \* *kníga mon ki-ja-m.* 'The book is in my hand.' (Dial.)  
book I hand-INS-1SG

## Px with postpositions

- (8) *[Mɨn-am] [ʒek vil-a-m] kniga kiʎl-e.*  
I-GEN table on-INS-1SG book lie-PRS.3SG  
'There is a book on my table.'  
Rus. 'У меня на столе лежит книга.'  
Construction with postposition **is not in the focus.**
- (9) *[[Mɨn-am ʒek-e] vil-in] kniga kiʎl-e.*  
I-GEN table-1SG surface-INS book lie-PRS.3SG  
'The book is on my table.'  
Rus. 'Книга лежит на моем столе.'  
Construction with postposition **is in the focus.**
- (10) *Mon eš-e šor-i učk-i* 'I looked at my friend.'  
I friend-1SG at-ILL look-1PRT.1SG
- (11) \**Mon eš šor-a-m učk-i*

## Method of specification (B. Heine 1997)

- Specification of the possessum

*the house of teacher*

- Specification of the possessor / referent  
topicalization

## Specification of the possessum

- Possessum is (in most cases)
  - an alienable entity, in the focus of the utterance, it has an established possessive relationship with the possessor at the moment of utterance; **the possessor** in most cases is internal (attribute)

You are friend with Masha

→ (12) *kɨtɨn* (*tɨn-ad*) *Maša-jed?* 'Where is your Masha?'  
where your-GEN Masha-2SG

- entities with high level of possession which have an anchor

(13) *anaj-ez* *no ataj-ez* *pi-zi-li* *ńań* *śot-o.*  
mother-3SG and father-3SG son-3SG-DAT bread.ACC give-PRES.3PL  
'Mother and father give a bread to the son.'



## Specification of the possessor

- The **possessum** (in most cases) is inalienable entity, in the function of adverbial modifier, is not in the focus of an utterance, the **possessor** is external (argument) and appears as:

- subject:

- (14) [mon] [vi-l-a-m]                      *vu*                      *kišt-i.*                      'I poured water on myself.'  
I                      surface-ILLAT-1SG water.ACC pour-1PRET.1SG

- direct object:

- (15) *Petir* [mon-e]                      [ki-ja-m]                      *šukk-i-z.* 'Peter hit me on the hand.'  
Peter I-ACC                      hand-ILLAT-1SG hit-1PRET-3SG

- localizer:

- (16) [Petir-len]                      [ki-ja-z]                      *kńiga.*                      'Peter has a book in the hand.'  
Peter-GEN                      hand-INES-3SG book

## Possessive suffixes (Px)

- Specify the possessum = the function of possessive specifiers

(17) *mon puni-jed-li li                      šot-i* 'I gave a bone to your dog.'  
I    dog-2SG-DAT bone.ACC give-1PRET.1SG

- Specify the possessor / referent = the function of grammatical agreement

(18) *mon    ki-ja-m                      kníga                      vož-iško*  
I            hand-INES-1SG book.ACC hold-PRES.1SG  
'I hold a book in the hand.'

(19) *mon                      ogna-m                      ul-iško    1 live alone.'*  
I                            alone-1SG                      live-PRES.1SG

# The paradigm of Px

Specification of the possessum:

1.1. Possession of the single entity by single person

Alienable	Inalienable	Parents	With locative Cx
<i>-e / -ed / -ez</i> <i>puni-je 'dog-my'</i>	<i>-j / -jd / -jz</i> <i>jir-jd 'head-your'</i>	<i>-i / -id / -iz</i> <i>mum-iz 'mother-his/her'</i>	<i>-m / -d / -z</i> <i>gurt-a-m 'in the house-my'</i>

1.2. Possession of the number entities by single person

<i>-os-j</i>	<i>korka-os-j 'houses-my', ki-os-j 'hands-my'</i>
<i>-os-jd</i>	<i>korka-os-jd 'houses-your', ki-os-jd 'hands-your'</i>
<i>-os-jz</i>	<i>korka-os-jz 'houses-his/her', ki-os-jz 'hands-his/her'</i>

## 2. Specification of the referent: grammatical agreement

Single referent	Plural referent
<p><b>-m</b> / -d / -z <i>ogna-m</i> 'I alone', <i>ki-ja-m</i> 'in my hand'</p>	<p><b>-m<sub>i</sub></b> / -d<sub>i</sub> / -z<sub>i</sub> <i>ogna-m<sub>i</sub></i> 'we alone'</p>

## Combination of Px and Cx

	PxCx	CxPx
Nom.	-e, -ed, -ez	
Acc.	-m-e	
Gen.	-e-len	
Abl.	-e-leś	
Dat.	-e-li	
Instr.		-en-i-m
Adv.	-e-ja	
Abes.	-e-tek	
Ines.		-a-m
Illat.		-a-m
Elat.		-iśt-i-m
Term.		-oź-a-m
Egres.		-iśen-i-m
Prol.		-eti-m
Appr.	-e-lań	

## Variation of Px and Cx

Adverbial: Px-Cx

- (20) *bĭgat-em-e-ja*                      *uzha-śko.*  
be.able-PARTC-1SG-ADV work-PRS.1SG  
'I work as I can.' (Krasilnikov 1991: 42)

Adverbial: Cx-Px

- (21) *mĭn-on-ja-m malpaśkon-e uśk-em.*  
go-PARTC-ADV-1SG thinking-ILL fall-2PRT.1SG  
'On the way I became in thought.' (Obrazcy 1981: 209)

Terminative, prolative

- Accusative: the possessor and the possessum both are specified

(22) *Petir šin-z-e ušt-i-z.* 'Peter opened eyes.'  
Peter eye-3SG-ACC open-1PRET-3SG

- Instrumental:
  - the possessor and the possessum both are specified

(23) *Petir punj-jez ki-ijni-z šukk-i-z* 'Peter hit the dog by hand.'  
Peter dog-ACC arm-INSTR-3SG hit-1PRET-3SG

- historically derives from locative case

# Constructions with genitive

## External and internal genitive

- Specification of the possessum → internal possessor

(24) *kńiga*      [*Petir-len* *žek-a-z*]. 'The book is in [Peter's table].'  
book      Peter-GEN table-INES-3SG  
Rus. 'Книга в столе Пети.'

- Specification of the possessor → external possessor

(25) [*Petir-len*] [*žek-a-z*]      *kńiga*. '[Peter] has a book [in the table]'  
Peter-GEN table-INES-3SG book  
Rus. 'У Пети в столе книга.'



## Juxtaposed constructions

- Specification of the possessum (possessive construction)

(26) *So-len žek vil-iz uzir.*  
he-GEN table surface-3SG rich  
'The surface of his table is rich.' (Lit. 'He is rich')

- Specification of the possessor (construction with postposition)

(27) *So-len žek vil-a-z nań.*  
he-GEN table surface-INES-3SG bread  
'There is a bread on his table.'

## **II. Possessive suffixes and definiteness**

## Marking definiteness in Udmurt:

1. Zero marking, + determinative pronoun

(28) *(ta, so) kn'iga stud'ent-len.*

*this book student-GEN*

*'This/the book belongs to the student.'*

2. Marked (definite) or unmarked (indefinite) by accusative direct object

(29) *mon n'an'-0 s'i-i.* 'I ate bread.'

*I bread.ACC eat-1PRT.1SG*

(30) *mon (ta) n'an'-ez s'i-i.* 'I ate the bread.'

*I (this) bread.ACC eat-1PRT.1SG*

3. Px

# Definiteness

## Approach of J. Hawkins (1978)

- Direct anafora (*a clutch ... the clutch*)
- Associative anafora (*a car ... the clutch*)
- An immediate situation use (*Press the clutch!*)
- Larger situation use (*the Queen*)

## **Study of I. Nikolaeva (2004)**

As a cognitive category, identifiability is apparently universal, in the sense that speakers of all language have identical cognitive abilities to identify a referent. In contrast, definiteness is a grammatical category and as such is language-specific. Definiteness will be understood as a formal feature associated with nominal expressions, which signal whether or not a referent is assumed by speaker to be identifiable. [...] This follows in particular from the fact that the rules governing the use of the definite article vary greatly across languages, while the mental ability to identify referents is, presumably, the same. (Nikolaeva 2004)

In Uralic the range of possible relationships between two entities encoded by means of the possessive construction is much wider than in Indo-European, in fact infinite, therefore the possessive affixes can express any kind of association between the host noun and another entity. This entity must be already established in the discourse or the situation of speech by the time of the utterance. (Nikolaeva 2004)

# **The Classification of non-possessive functions of PX by I. Nikolaeva (2004)**

1. Identifiability
2. an associative relationship with another entity
3. emphasis/contrast

# 1. Associative relationship is established in discourse (all PX)

(31) *magaz'in-a-dy ma-iz van'?* 'What is there in your shop?'  
shop-INS-2PL what-3SG EX (Perevoschschikov 1994: 25)

(32) *mi vyrd'z'yly-tek puk-ko-m, I ved' mi-l'am puzhym-my*  
we stir-ABS sit-PRS-1PL and PRTC we-GEN pine-1PL  
*ul-ti koshk-i-zy.*  
under-PRL go-1PRT-3PL  
'We are sitting [on the pine] without stirring, and they went right under our pine.' (Ulillam-vylillam 1990:45)



## Associative anafora

- (33) *kak techch-em bord-ys't-yz so todmotem ad'ami-jez.*  
how jump-2PRT.3SG side-ELT-3SG this unknown human-3SG  
'The stranger suddenly jumped aside him [the postman].' (Obraczy 1981: 95)
- (34) *eshsho bol'she dysh-e na uk ben d'z'it'z'i-zy.*  
again more to.get.used-PRS.3SG PRTC PRTC fox-3PL  
'Thus the fox gets used even more [to steal geoses]' (Obraczy 1981: 98)

**2. Extralinguistic establishment of the relationships (association with interlocutor, 2SG, narrative genre). Marked entity is known and is in the focus.**

- (35) *ta pi-jed muncho dor-y vu-em no ...*  
this boy-2SG sauna side-ILL arrive-2PRT.3SG and ...  
'The boy has arrived next to the sauna and ...' (Ulillam-vylillam 1983: 18)

Rarely 1SG is also used, e.g.

- (36) *berykk-i, pe, uchkyn so ad'ami-m-e no –*  
turn-1PRT.1SG (s/he says) look-INF this human-1SG-ACC and  
*so meste-e iz lu-em.*  
s/he place-ILL stone become-2PRT.3SG  
'I turned, he said, to look at this person, and he became a  
stone.' (Obrazcy 1981: 243)

Unique entities, e.g.

(37) *tol-ed*      *orch-o-z,*      *guzhem-ed*    *vu-o-z,*  
    *winter-2SG* *pass-FUT-3SG*    *summer-2SG* *arrive-FUT-3SG*  
*tyloburdo*    *chir*      *kar-o-z.*  
*bird*            *chirp*      *do-FUT-3SG*

‘Winter will go away, summer will arrive, a bird will chirp.’ (1981: 43)

(38) *kuaz’-ed*      *kytshe*    *cheber!*  
    *weather-2SG* *how*      *beautiful*

‘The weather is beautiful!’

## Identifiability based on deixis and situational context (I. Nikolaeva 2004)

(39) *guzhdor vyl-yn turyn-ez cheber.*

meadow on-INS grass-3SG beautiful

'The grass on the meadow is beautiful.' (Alatyrev 1970: 85)

(40) *turyn-ez cheber uk!* 'The grass is so beautiful!'

grass-3SG beautiful PRTC

Komi Oshk-ys! No analogy in Udmurt.

(41) *ot-yn oshmesez van'.* 'There is a spring there.' (Badretdinov 2007: 46)

there-INS spring-3SG EX

## With adverbial expressing time

(42) *nunal-a-z kyk pol* 'two times per day'  
day-INS-3SG two time

(43) *kyz'pu-zy dor-y so bert-on dzhyt-a-z ik*  
birch-3PL next-INS s/he come.back-PARTC evening-INS-3SG already  
*vas'k-i-z.*  
come.down-1PRT-3SG

'He went next to the birch [to meet her] already in the evening of his arrival.' (Perevoschschikov 1994: 12)

# Generic cases

- (44) *tros kyj-jos: s'öd d'z'yr-o-jez no, tshuzh d'z'yr-oj-ez no...*  
many snake-PL black head-ADJ-3SG PART yellow head-ADJ-3SG PART  
'There are many snakes: with black head, with yellow head ...'  
(Badretdinov 2007: 9)

# Demonstrative function of 3SG/PL (Grammatika 1962, Alatyrev 1970, Vahrushev 1980) contrastive/emphatic (Nikolaeva 2004)

Substantivization:

(45) *as'me-len-jos-yz-les'* 'from our own'

own-GEN-PL-DEM-ABL

(46) *buran gurtjos – pichi-jez no bad'z'ym-ez no –*

buranovo village-PL small-DEM and big-DEM and

*tel'evizor s'öryn puk-i-zy.*

TV behind sit-1PRT-3PL

'Inhabitants of Buranovo village – the young ones and the adult ones –  
sited in front of TV.' (Moya Udmurtia 13.3.2010)

## References:

- Edygarova, Svetlana 2009. Attributive possession in Udmurt language. — *Linguistica Uralica*, Vol. XLV, 2. Pp.101–118.
- Fraurud, Kari 2001. Possessives with extensive: A source of definite articles? — Baron, Irène, Michael Herslund, and Finn Sørensen (eds.), *Dimensions of Possession. Typological studies in language*, 47. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 243–267.
- Hawkins, John 1978. *Definiteness and indefiniteness: A study in reference and grammaticality prediction*. London: Croom Helm.
- Heine, Bernd 1997. *Possession: cognitive sources, forces and grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leinonen, Marja 2006. Omistussuhteen ulokkeita: komin possessiivisuffiksin ei-posses-siivisista funktioista. — *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 91. Helsinki. Pp. 93–114.
- Nikolaeva, Irina 2004. Possessive affixes in the pragmatic structuring of the utterance: evidence from Uralic. — Пиркко Суйхконен, Бернард Комри и Сергей А. Максимов (ред.), *Международный симпозиум по дейктическим системам и квантификации в языках Европы и северной и Центральной Азии*. Ижевск. Pp. 130–145.
- Алатырев В. И. 1970. Выделительно-указательная категория в удмуртском языке. Ижевск: УдНИИ.
- Вахрушев В. М. 1980. Субстантивированные словосочетания в удмуртском языке. — *Словосочетания в удмуртском языке*. Ижевск, с. 130–168.
- Грамматика 1962 = Перевощиков П. Н. (отв. ред.). *Грамматика современного удмуртского языка: Фонетика и морфология*. Ижевск: Удмуртское книжное издательство.
- Едыгарова С. В. 2010. Выражение неотчуждаемой посессии в удмуртском языке. — *Linguistica Uralica*, Vol. XLVI, 2, с. 112–137.



## Example sources

Krasilnikov 1991 = Красильников Г.Д. (первый выпуск 1960–1965 г.). Тонэн кылысько: роман, повесть но веросьёс. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Medvedev 2006 = Медведев Г.С. (первый выпуск 1932–1934 гг.). Лёзя бесмен: роман-трилогия, верос, Г.С. Медведев сярысь. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Obrazcy 1981 = Кельмаков В.К. (сост.) Образцы удмуртской речи: Северное наречие и срединные говоры. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Obrazcy 1990 = Кельмаков В.К. (сост.) Образцы удмуртской речи: Срединные говоры. Ижевск: Удм. ИИЯЛ.

Perevoschschikov 1994 = Перевощикова Г.К. Тодьы куака: Роман. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Badretdinov 2007 = Бадретдинов У.Ш. Чушъял вордиське веньёстэк: повестьёс, ве-росьёс, пьесаос. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Ulillam-vylillam 1983 = Улиллям-вылиллям. Выжыкыльёс: пичи но шор классьёсын дышеткись пинальёслы. Ижевск: Удмуртия.

Udmurt Dunne = «Удмурт дунне» <http://www.udmdunne.ru/>

Moya Udmurtia = ТВ «Моя Удмуртия» <http://www.myudm.ru/taxonomy/term/7>