(In)alienability in Beserman Udmurt as a lexical category

Maria Usacheva
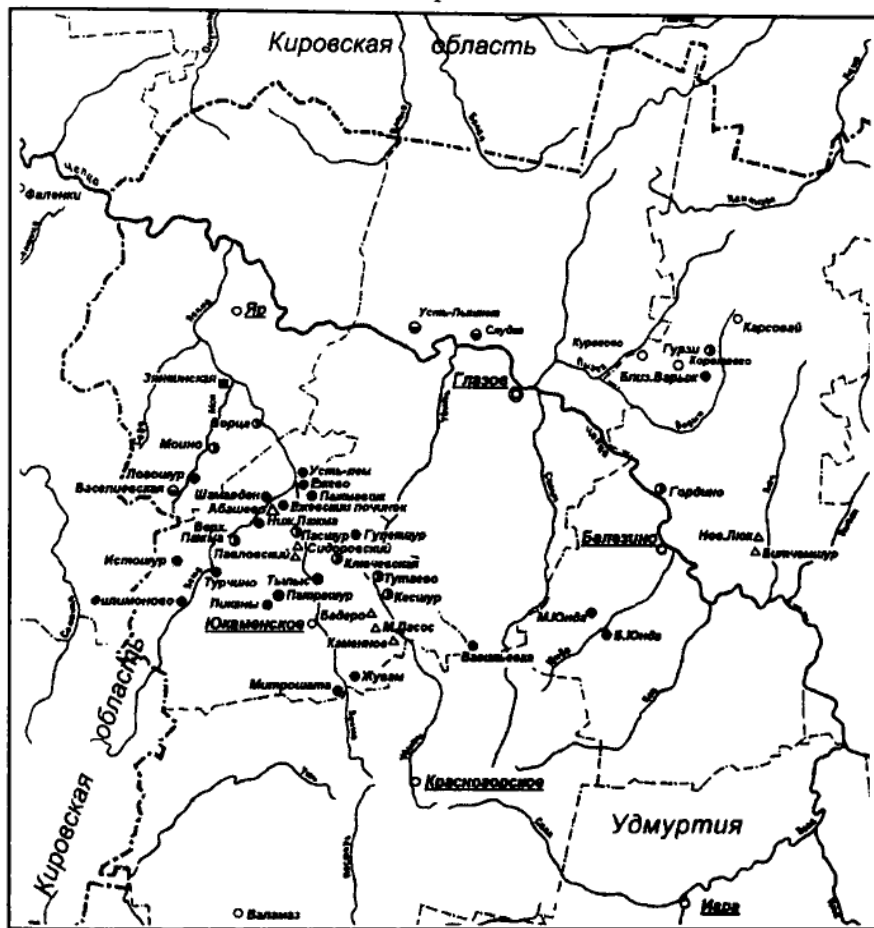
Udmurt among Finno-Ugric languages
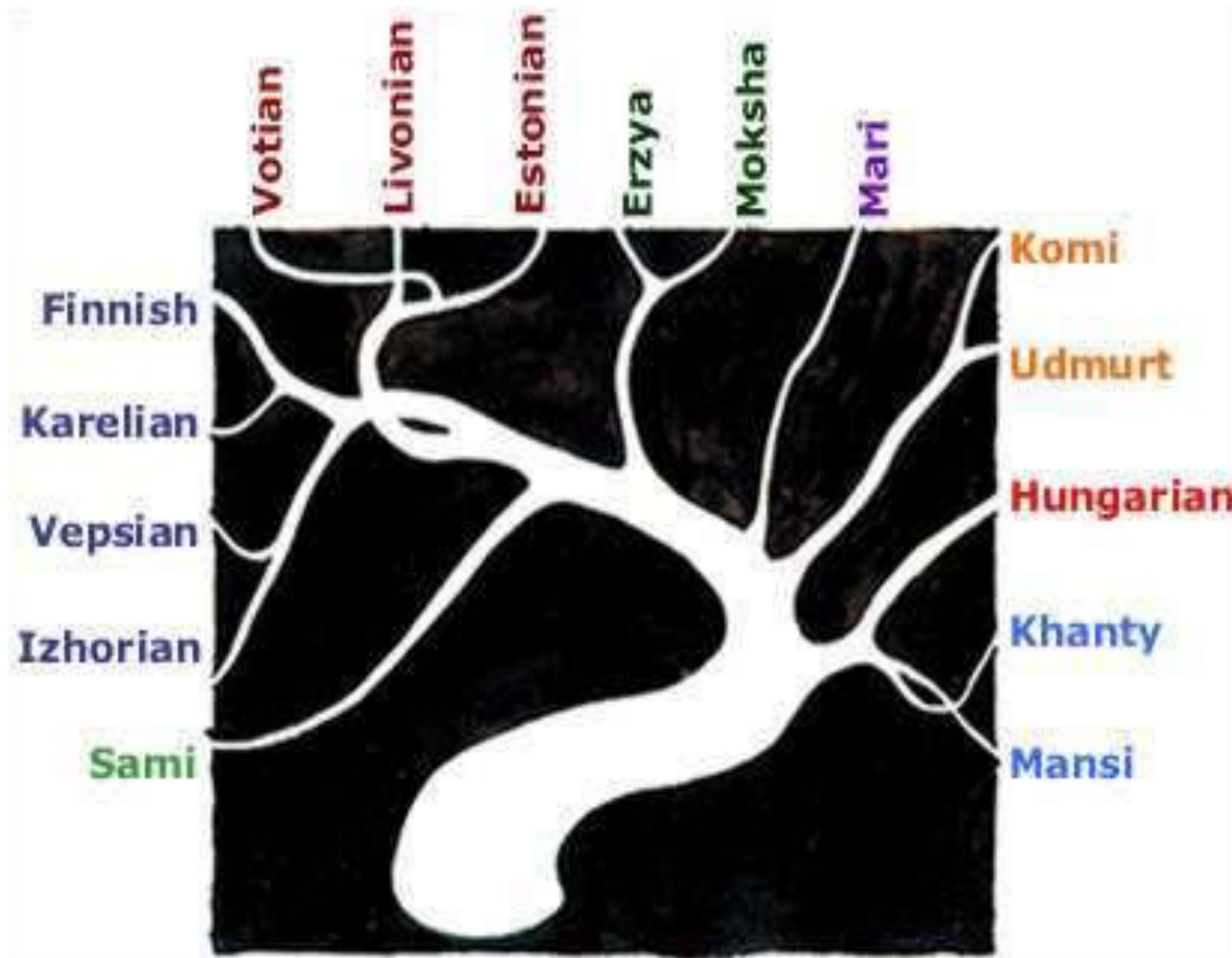
The settlement of the Besermans in Udmurtia

Карта 1

Карта-схема расселения бесермян на северо-западе Удмуртии

- ● — бесермянские населенные пункты
- ◑ — бесермяно-татарские населенные пункты
- ⊖ — бесермяно-удмуртские населенные пункты
- △ — бесермяно-русские населенные пункты
- ■ — бесермяно-удмуртско-русские населенные пункты

Popova E.V. Semejnye obychai i obrady beserman. Izhevsk, 1998, p. 17, map 1.

(In)alienability in Standard Udmurt

- Standard Udmurt has a category of (in)alienability [Yedygarova 2010]

- Two sets of possessive markers: *-e, -ed, -ez* vs

-ị , -ịd, -ịz [Alatyrev 1983: 570] (only in sg)

- The choice of the set is strongly motivated by semantic class of the noun, but in certain contexts inalienable nouns attach "alienable" markers (*-e, -ed, -ez*).

Standard Udmurt: example

- *jɨr* 'head' - the default form *jɨr-ɨz* 'his head'
- ability to attach markers from the "alienable" set in certain contexts:

(1) zök **jɨr-ez** "kem ţɨn-ɨd" šu-em   odotʹ-lɨ,

big   head-P.3 so   you-DAT say-PST.EVID   odot-DAT

make   övöl śik-ɨn   en   vera-śk-ɨ.

something not.be forest-LOC neg.imp say-DETR-SG

And her Big head [husband] told Odot: "You have deserved it" – you shouldn't say any old thing in a forest. [Yedygarova 2010: 45]

Standard Udmurt

Syntactic properties of inalienable nouns [Yedygarova 2010: 45-48]:

- ✓ they are used without possessive suffixes only if they have generic referential status or if the speaker is possessor;
- ✓ possessor can be omitted;
- ✓ if possessor is present, its linear position is next to the inalienable noun and cannot bear genitive marking;
- ✓ if there are more than one possessors, inalienable noun, as a rule, does not attach plural suffixes.

Beserman

- Two sets of possessive markers : *-e, -ed, -ez* vs - *ə̂, -ə̂d, -ə̂z* (also only in sg). Most lexical units can attach markers from the first set, some – from the second and some – from both.

- Typological features of inalienable units:

✓ there is a distinct number of nouns which attach - *ə̂, -ə̂d, -ə̂z* [Heine 1997: 197] – new loanwords attach markers from the other set;

✓ suffixes - *ə̂, -ə̂d, -ə̂z* are more archaic than *-e, -ed, -ez* [Nichols 1992: 117].

Beserman: lexical category

- Ability of a given unit to attach possessive markers from one of two sets (or from both) does not depend on context:

(2) sə̂re mar so   tə̂n-a-d   **nə̂l-ə̂d**

then what this you-GEN1-P.2 daughter-P.2(SG)

pi-ed   i   ješšo mə̂n-ə̂nə̂ kule   otč'ə̂?

son-P.2(SG) and even go-INF   have.to that.ILL

And then what – you have a daughter and a son, and you have to go there? [T]

(3) a   pič'i **nə̂l-ə̂d**   kə̂-t-ə̂n   sə̂l-e?

and little girl-P.2(SG) where-OBL-LOC stand-PRS.3SG

And where is your [figure of] little girl standing? [T]

Standard Udmurt: comparison

Cf. examples from Corpus of Standard Udmurt (http://web-corpora.net/UdmurtCorpus/search/?interface_language=ru):

(4) Семья кылды-т-й-з, кык пиос-с-э

    family   form-CAUS-PRT-3(SG) two son-P.3-ACC

буд-эт-й-з, **ныл-ыз**

grow-CAUS-PRT-3(SG) daughter-P.3(SG)

дыш-ет-ск-е на.

get.to.know-CAUS-DETR-3SG.PRS   already

[He] set up house, brought up two sons, his daughter is already studying. (CSU; Udmurt dunne, 2007.03.02)

(5) Басьт-э та   мусо **ныл-эз**   та-т-ысь.

    take-SG that pretty girl-P.3(SG)   here-OBL-EL

Take this pretty girl away from here (CSU; Marina Sergeyeva, udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru, 2013–2014)

Beserman: lexical category

- There are 3pairs of homonyms which attach different suffixes:

(6) mə̂nam kuž   **nə̂r-ə̂/*nə̂r-e**

    I.GEN1   long nose-P.1(SG)/*nose-P.1(SG)

my long nose (fieldnotes)

(7) mə̂nam kuž   ***nə̂r-ə̂/nə̂r-e**

    I.GEN1   long *nose-P.1/nose-P.1

my piece of land in a winding of a river (fieldnotes)

(8) odig **pə̂d-ez/*pə̂d-ə̂z**   piž'

    one pound-P.3(SG)/*pound-P.3(SG) flour

one pound of flour (fieldnotes)

(9) so-len   **pə̂d-ə̂z/*pə̂d-ez**   viš'-e

    this-GEN1 leg-P.3(SG)/*leg-P.3(SG)   hurt-3SG.PRS

His leg hurts (fieldnotes).

(10) ded'   **š'ul-ə̂z/*š'ul-ez**   kijal-č'ik-i-z

    sledge   skid-P.3(SG)/*skid-P.3(SG) break-DETR-PRT-3(SG)

The break of his sledge has broken (fieldnotes).

(11) so-len   **?š'ul-ə̂z/š'ul-ez**   viš'-e

    this-GEN1 ?intestine-P.3(SG)/intestine-P.3(SG)   hurt-3SG.PRS

His intestine hurts (fieldnotes).

Beserman: lexical category

- Nouns with oblique stems -*k* and -*m* always attach inalienable markers (no matter which semantic class they belong to):
- ✓ *š'in'* 'eye' - *š'in'm-ə̂* 'my eye'
- ✓ *vupə̂l'ə̂* 'water bubble' - *vupə̂l'ək-ə̂z* 'this water bubble'

However, the overwhelming majority of them does belong to one of three classes:

- ✓ body parts (*kə̂s* 'waist' - *kə̂sk-ə̂* 'my waist'),
- ✓ relational nouns (*puš* 'inner space' – *pušk-ə̂z* 'the inner space, the inner part (of smth)'),
- ✓ essential attributes (*viž'* 'mind' - *viž'm-ə̂* 'my mind').

The last two are most "inalienable ones": all their members attach only possessive markers from the inalienable set. As for body parts, most of them attach markers from both sets.

- There is no clear semantic motivation for most of nouns for attaching markers of a given set:

Inalienable kinship terms: *nə̂l* 'daughter', *š'ur nə̂l* 'stepdaughter', *və̂n* 'cadet (brother)', *warmaj* 'father-in-law' (the others attach only alienable suffixes; cf. Standard Udmurt with inalienable "kinship terms in a descending line" [Yedygarova 2010]).

Beserman: lexical category

Some semantic groups can be defined clearly. We can draw a hierarchy:

states, essential attributes > some kinship terms > relational nouns > body parts, blood, abstract concepts (time, quantity), parts of objects which are complicated to be removed (hull) > the other nouns

(bold – inalienable markers, underlined – alienable markers)

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

- Corpus study (corpus of Beserman oral speech http://beserman.ru, ca. 75 000 tokens)
- Parameters:
- ✓ frequency of use with and without possessive suffixes;
- ✓ frequency of use with and without possessor;
- ✓ linear possession of possessor;
- ✓ case marking of possessor;
- ✓ plural suffixes on inalienable nouns.

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

Lexical class	Lexemes	Possessive markers				Possessor				Linear position with respect to possessor			Nominal plural marker	
		on -ə	on -e	no	other markers	noun-GEN	pronoun-GEN	pronoun-NOM	noun-NOM	distant	contact	without possessor	no	yes
Inalienable kinship terms	nəl 'daughter'	41	2	15	43	10	14		1	6	17	74		3
	nəl 'girl'	10	1	70	8		2			1	1	87		5
Alienable kinship terms	abi 'granny'		2	2	4					1		7		
	abi 'old woman'		2	44	1							47	1	
	anaj 'mother'		8	5	7		6			5	1	24		1
	ataj 'father'		15	6	5		2			2		24		2
	babam 'grandfather'		3	2	1							6		
	babam 'old man'		4	16								20		
	pin'al 'child'		15	80	29	2	11			8	5	110	11	49
	kart 'husband'		3									3		
	ken 'daughter-in-law'		2		1							3		
	tataj 'aunt'		5	1	1		1			1		6		1

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

Lexical class	Lexemes	Possessive markers				Possessor				Linear position with respect to possessor			Nominal plural marker	
		on-ə	on-e	no	other markers	noun-GEN	pronoun-GEN	pronoun-NOM	noun-NOM	distant	contact	without possessor	no	yes
Body parts	nə̂r 'nose'	2	1	1	4		2		2	1	1	6		
	bə̂ž 'tail'	9										1		
	č'ə̂rtə̂ 'neck; throat'	9										1		
	ə̂m 'mouth'	9		2	5		1				1	6		
	ə̂m dur 'lips'		1		3							4	3	1
	š'ulə̂m 'heart'	3		1		2					2	2		
	š'in' 'eye'	2			8	1	1				2	6	5	
	ə̂m nə̂r 'face'	4	1	2	3		4			3	3	2		
	gad' 'chest'		1		2	1						2		
	gon 'wool, hair (on body)'		1	2					2			1	1	
	jə̂r 'head'	8	2	6	26	8	8		3	5	14	23	2	4
	sit'an 'buttocks'	2			1							3	2	
	kə̂t 'stomach'	2		4	8	3	2			2	3	9	3	
	pin' 'tooth'	5		3	2	1				1		9		
	pə̂d 'leg'	13	3	21	58	2	16			1	8	73	22	21
	vir 'blood'	1	5	5	1		1				1	11		

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

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		on -ə	on -e	no	other markers	noun-GEN	pronoun-GEN	pronoun-NOM	noun-NOM	distant	contact	without possessor	no	yes
Relational nouns	š'er 'rear part'			53	31		1	3	74			74	5		
	puš 'inner space'			14	15				15			15	8		
	vəl 'top, surface'														
	jəl 'top, apex'	4		19	7				24			24	5		
	dor 'neighbourhood'			289	102	1	10	42	311	1	374		36		
	urdes 'flank'			1	5		3		2		5		1		
	ul 'lower part'			54	11			1	41		42		22		
	vis 'interval'	6	33	21			3	9	20	1	27	28		4	2
	pəl 'homogeneous environment'			98	22			5	98		103		14		
	sereg 'inner corner' (alienable)			16	16	2			18		20		12		

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

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		on -ə	on -e	no	other markers	noun-GEN	pronoun-GEN	pronoun-NOM	noun-NOM	distant	contact	without possessor	no	yes
Essential attributes	zən 'smell'	1		3						2		4		
	kənar 'strength'	1	1				1				1	1		
	n'əm 'name'	17		4	7	5	6	1	3		15	11	2	2
	məl 'mood, spirit'	7		2	2							11		
	š'am 'temper'	5		2		2	2			4		3		
Alienable nouns	ž'až'eg 'goose'		6	76	13		2				2	96	7	34
	gurt 'home; village'		1	88	38	1	3		1	1	4	122		4
	ž'ek 'table'			15	1							16		

Beserman (in)alienable units: syntax

Conclusions:

➢ The tendency to be used with possessive suffixes is related to semantics, not to lexemes;

➢ Case marking of possessor is the matter of NP-structure in general and is influenced by part-of-speech of possessor (pronoun vs noun), information structure, referential status and other factors;

➢ Linear position of possessor and ability to use with and without possessor are related to semantic class but not to inalienability;

➢ Inalienability demonstrates no correlation with attaching nominal plural markers. Ability to attach plural markers is influenced by other factors like referential status of NP, position on the animacy hierarchy (in groups with numerals) [Shmatova, Chernigovskaya 2010] and is also connected to structure of Beserman NPs [Arkhangelskiy, Usacheva: in print].

General conclusion:

(In)alienability in Beserman is a lexical category with a certain semantic basis. There seem to be no specific syntactic properties of inalienable nouns.

Thank you for your attention!

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