

Aims and questions

Contact patterns between Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages has extensively been studied on the level of the lexicon (e.g. Wichmann 1903, Räsänen 1920; Räsänen 1923) and morphophonology (e.g. Saarinen 1997, Johanson 2000).

Contact phenomena of morphosyntactic properties are still understudied (but see Bereczki 2002).

Can patterns of code copying be displayed within a well-established Sprachbund in the domain of valence-changing operations?

The Volga-Kama linguistic area



Titular republics of associated languages

Turkic core members (diagonal lines):

- 1) Tatarstan (Tatar)
- 2) Chuvashia (Chuvash)
- 3) Bashkortostan (Bashkir)

Finno-Ugric core members (dark dots):

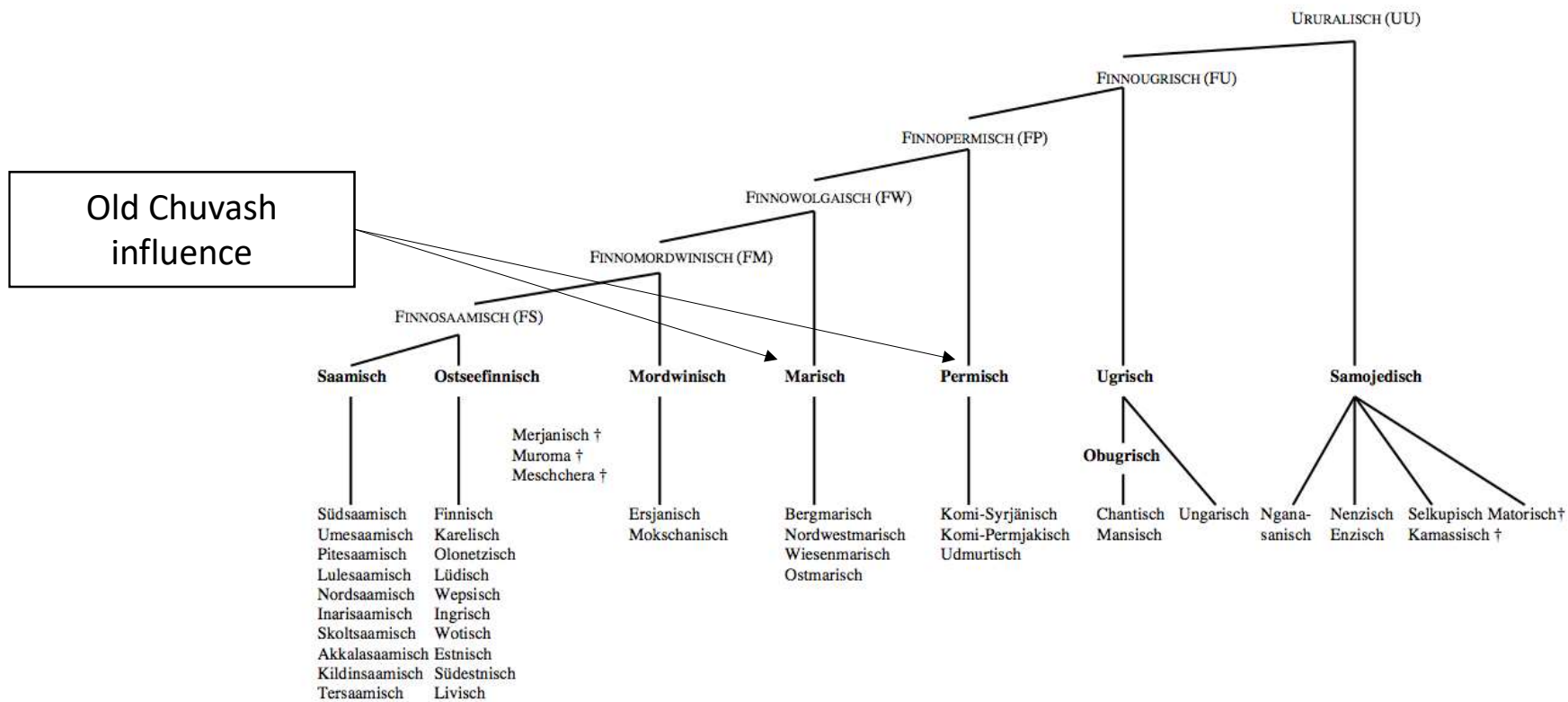
- 4) Mari El (Mari)
- 5) Udmurtia (Udmurt)

Finno-Ugric peripheral members (light dots):

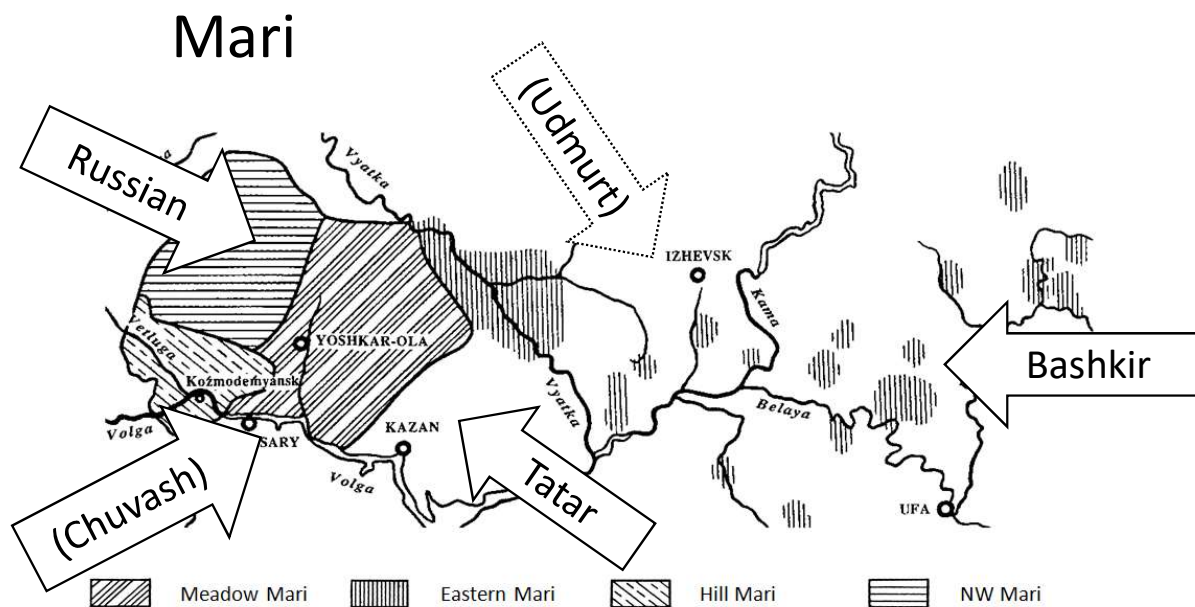
- 6) Mordovia (Mordvin)
- 7) Komi Republic (Komi)

(cf. Helimski 2003)

The Volga-Kama Sprachbund: History

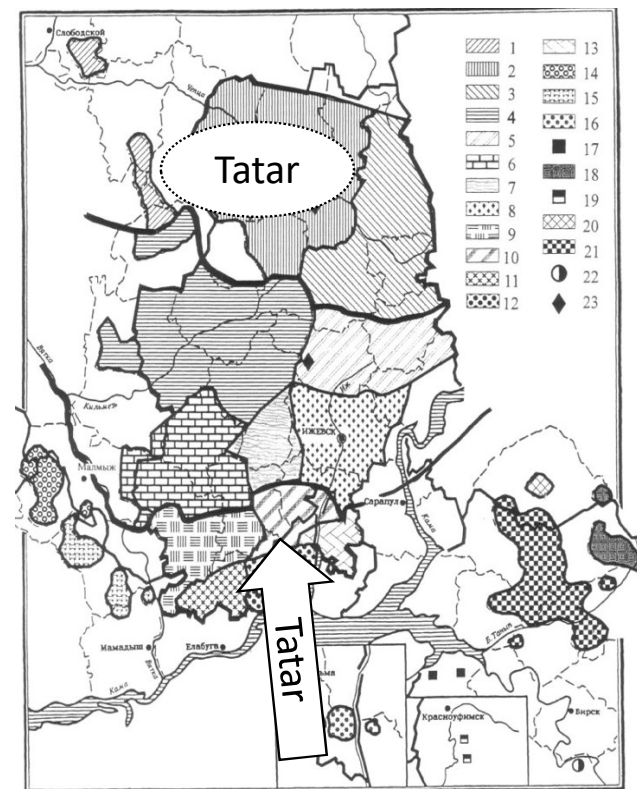


The Volga-Kama Sprachbund: Dialectology



(< Luutonen 1997: 186)

Udmurt



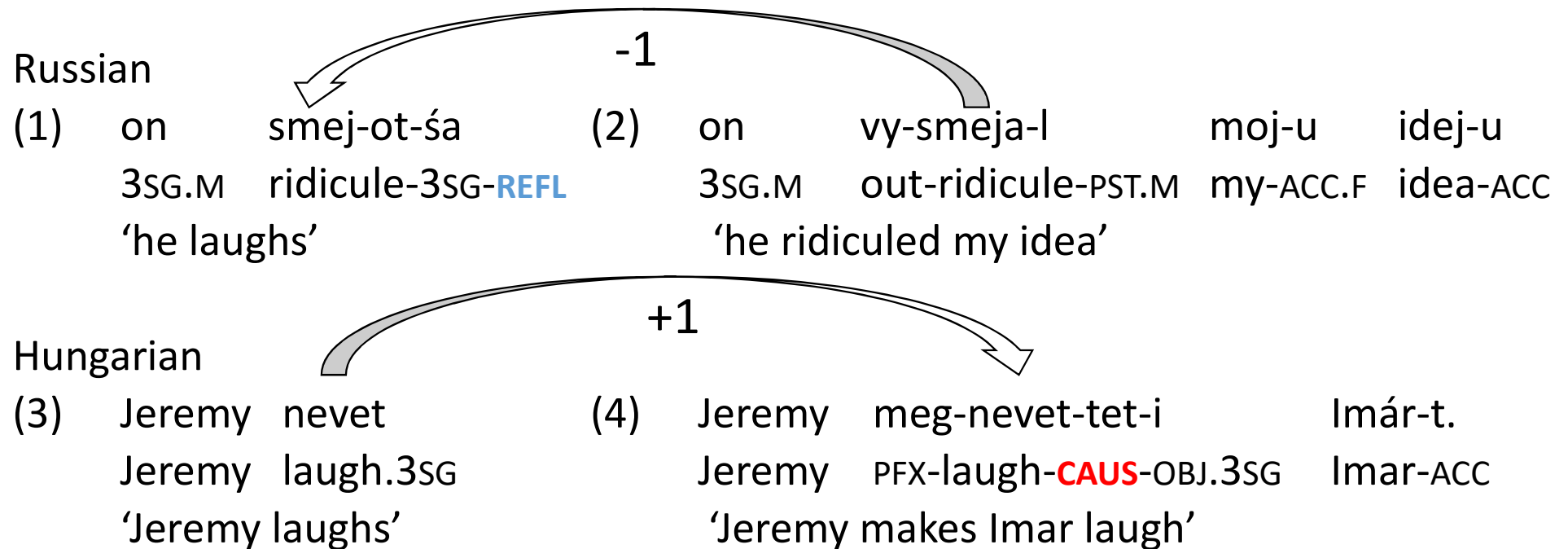
(< Nasibullin 2000: 73)

Data

- Reference materials (descriptive grammars, lexica)
- Elicited data (20–100 clauses / language)
- Corpora (cf. corp.mari-language.com; soon to be published with 50+ million tokens)

Valence orientation

e.g.: 'to laugh' ↔ 'to ridicule' / 'to make laugh'



Valence orientation

Mari

	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	voštyl-	vostyl t o-	causative
2. die-kill	kolo-	pušt-	suppletion (lexical)
3. sit-seat	šinč-	šynd d -	causative
4. eat-feed	koč-	pukšo-	suppletion (lexical)
5. learn-teach	tun em -	tun ykt o-	both derived from same stem
6. look-show	ončo-	onč ykt o-	causative
7. be_angry-make_angry	syre-	sy rykte -	causative
8. fear-scare	lüd-	lüd yktö -	causative
[...]			

(cf. Nichols et al. 2004)

Valence orientation

Tatar

	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	kölü	köl der ü	causative
2. die-kill	ülü	ül ter ü	causative
3. sit-seat	utıru	utı r tu	causative
4. eat-feed	aşaw	aş a tu	causative
5. learn-teach	uqu	uq ı tu	causative
6. look-show	kürü	kür sät ü	causative
7. be_angry-make_angry	açulanu	açulan dır u	causative
8. fear-scare	qurqu	qurq ı tu	causative
[...]			

(cf. Nichols et al. 2004)

Microvariation

- i) Does a variety allow for double accusative marking in a causative construction?
- ii) Does a variety allow for quasi-causatives?
- iii) Can more than one causative suffix be attached to a verbal stem in a variety?
- iv) Does the variety allow for a canonical passive construction with an overt Agent?
- v) Does a variety allow for impersonal (subjectless) passives that allow for a direct object marked with the accusative case?
- vi) Does a variety allow for a valence-decreasing suffix to be used to indicate the non-volitional nature of an activity?

Causatives

Causative morphemes (with borrowings)

Mari	Udmurt	Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
-kt	-ty	-t	-t	-t
-t/-d		-d	-(t)tAr	-Vr,
-ar ←			-Ar	-DVr, -GVr, -GVz, -sät
-Dar ←				-Vz

(cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 149, 153)

Valence increase (intr. > tr.)

Mari

(5) Üdyr mal-a.

girl sleep-PRS.3SG

'The girl is sleeping.'

(6) Vospitatel' üdyr-ym mal-**t**-a.

kindergarten_teacher girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

'The kindergarten teacher makes the girl sleep.'

Valence increase (intr. > tr.)

Udmurt

(7) Nylaš iž-e.

girl sleep-PRS.3SG

‘The girl is sleeping.’

(8) Vospitaťel’nica nylaš-ez ižy-**t**-e.

kindergarten_teacher girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

‘The kindergarten teacher makes the girl sleep.’

Valence increase (intr. > tr.)

Komi-Permyak

(9) Peslalöm pašköm kośm-ö ötöryn.
washed clothes dry-PRS.3SG outside

‘The washed clothes are drying outside.’

(10) Nasta koś-t-ö peslalöm pašköm ötöryn.
Nastya dry-CAUS-PRS.3SG washed clothes outside

‘Nastya is drying the washed clothes outside.’

Valence increase (intr. > tr.)

Chuvash

(11) Xěr śivăr-at'.
girl sleep-PRS.3SG
'The girl is sleeping.'

(12) Anne xěr-e śivăr-**ttar**-at'.
mother girl-DAT.ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes the girl sleep.'

Valence increase (intr. > tr.)

Tatar

(13) Qız yoqlı-y.
girl sleep-PRS.3SG
'The girl is sleeping.'

(14) Ana qız-nı yoqla-**t**-a.
mother girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes the girl sleep.'

Valence increase (tr.)

Mari

(15) Ava-že üdyr-žy-lan kočkyš-ym pogy-**kt**-yš.
mother-3SG daughter-3SG-DAT food-ACC gather-**CAUS**-PST1.3SG

‘Mother made her daughter lay the table.’

Animacy effect with *-kt*: causee is **human**.

-kt and *-t/-d* in Mari-English dictionary (dict.mari-language.com):

- 383 verbs derived by *-kt*
- 334 verbs derived by *-d/-t* after the translative *-aŋ* and *-em* denominal suffixes
- 50 verbs derived by *-d/-t* in other situations

Corpus survey, elicitations: *-kt* clearly productive, *-d/-t* only productive after denominal suffixes.

Valence increase: Flagging

Mari

(16a) Myj joča-**m** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG child-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give the child to drink.’

(16b) Myj čaj-**ym** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG tea-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give tea to drink.’

(16c) Myj joča-**lan** čaj-**ym** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG child-**DAT** tea-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give the child tea to drink.’

> No double accusatives in Mari – or are there?? (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 52)

Valence increase: Flagging

Udmurt

(17) Dyšetíš stud'ent-**ez** kńiga-**jez** lydžy-**t**-e.
teacher student-**ACC** book-**ACC** read-**CAUS**-3SG
'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

- Double accusatives are allowed (cf. Tánczos 2015)

Valence increase: Flagging

Komi-Permyak

- No morphological causation with transitive verbs

(18) Maša Öndi-**sö** čökt-ö sój-ny kaša-**sö**.
Masha Andrey-**ACC** order-PRS.3SG eat-INF porridge-**ACC**
'Masha makes Andrey eat the porridge.'

- Double accusatives are allowed
- Russian influence?

Valence increase: Flagging

Chuvash

(19a) Věrenteken Pěter-**e** kěneke-**ne** vula-**ttar**-at'.
teacher Peter-**DAT.ACC** book-**DAT.ACC** read-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

(19b) Amă-šě Pěter-**na** kofe(**0**) ěś-**ter**-et.
mother-3SG Peter-**DAT.ACC** coffee(**ACC**) drink-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes Peter drink coffee.'

- Accusative-dative syncretism impede classification

Valence increase: Flagging

Tatar

(20) Uqıtuçı bala-**ga** kitap-**ni** uqı-**t**-tı.
teacher child-**DAT** book-**ACC** read-**CAUS**-PST.3SG
'The teacher made the child read the book.'

> No double accusatives

Preliminary overview

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-

Quasi-causatives

Only with psych-verbs

Russian

(21) meńa tošn-it
 1SG.ACC cause_nausea-3SG
 ‘I feel sick.’

Mari

(22) Ača-m vaky-**kt**-a.
 father-ACC vomit-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
 ‘Father feels sick.’

Quasi-causatives

Udmurt

(23) Mone ösky-**t**-e.

I.ACC vomit-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

'I feel sick.'

Komi-Permyak

(24) Menö kyn-**t**-ö.

I.ACC freeze-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

'I'm cold.'

Quasi-causatives

Chuvash

- (25) Man-a śüśen-**ter**-et.
I-DAT.ACC shiver-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'I'm shivering.'

Tatar

- (26) Min-e qaltıra-**t**-a.
I-ACC tremble-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'I'm trembling.'

Preliminary overview

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+

Double Causation

Mari

(27) tudo vaty-ž-lan vüd-ym yry-**kt-ykt**-en.
3SG wife-3SGPX-DAT water-ACC heat-**CAUS-CAUS**-3SG.PST2
‘He made his wife heat water.’

Tatar

(28) trener marat-nı yeger-**t-ter**-de
trainer Marat-ACC run-**CAUS-CAUS**-PST.3SG
‘The trainer made Marat run.’

Preliminary overview

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple causative suffixes	+	+	-	-	+

Reflexives

Valence decrease: Reflexive

Mari

(29a) Balerine-vlak čüčkydyn vis-**alt**-yt, šon-em.
ballerina-PL often weigh-**REFL**-3PL think-1SG

‘Ballerinas weigh themselves often, I think.’

(29b) Üdyr-vlak teatr-yške kaj-aš jamdyl-**alt**-yt.
girl-PL theatre-ILL go-INF prepare-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

‘The girls are getting (themselves) ready to go to the theatre.’

Valence decrease: Reflexive

Udmurt

(30a) Maša diś-jos-ty miśk-e.

Masha cloth-PL-ACC wash-PRS.3SG

‘Masha washes the clothes.’

(30b) Maša miški-śk-e.

Masha wash-REFL-PRS.3SG

‘Masha washes herself.’

Valence decrease: Reflexive

Komi-Permyak

(31a) Maša synal-ö jurśi-sö.
Masha comb-PRS.3SG hair-ACC.3SG
‘Masha combs her hair.’

(31b) Maša syna-**ś**-ö.
Masha comb-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
Lit.: ‘Masha combs herself.’

Valence decrease: Reflexive

Chuvash

(32a) Maša all-i-ne śāv-at'.
Masha hand-3SG-DAT.ACC wash-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes her hands.'

(32b) Maša śāv-**ǎn**-at'.
Masha wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes herself.'

Valence decrease: Reflexive

Tatar

(33a) Maşa qul-ı-n yu-a.
Masha hand-3SG-ACC wash-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes her hands.'

(33b) Maşa yu-**in**-a.
Masha wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes herself.'

Valence decrease: Middle

Mari

(34a) Omsa-m poč!
door-ACC open.IMP.2SG
'Open the door!'

(34b) Omsa poč-**ylt**-eš.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence decrease: Middle

Udmurt

(35a) Ös-ez ušt-o.
door-ACC open-PRS.3PL
'The door is opened.'

(35b) Ös ušti-**śk**-e.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence decrease: Middle

Komi-Permyak

(36a) Yböš-sö ošt-ö.
door-ACC.3SG open-PRS.3PL
'The door is opened.'

(36b) Yböš oš-**ś**-ö.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence decrease: Middle

Chuvash

(37a) Alăk-a uś-at-ăp.
door-DAT.ACC open-PRS-1SG
'I open the door.'

(37b) Alăk uś-**ăl**-at'.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens/is opened.'

Valence decrease: Middle

Tatar

(38a) Işek-ne aç-a-m.
door-ACC open-PRS-1SG
'I open the door.'

(38b) Işek aç-**ı**-a.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens/is opened.'

Valence decrease: Passive

Mari

(39a) Ola-šte kok u škol čoŋ-**alt**-eš.
city-INE two new school build-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Two new schools are being built in town.'

(39b) Joškar-Ola-šte šuko teatr festival' ert-**ar-alt**-eš.
Yoshkar-Ola-INE many theatre festival pass-**CAUS-REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Many theatre festivals are carried out in Yoshkar-Ola.'

Valence decrease: Passive

Mari

(40a) Mlande jür dene mužk-**yIt**-eš.
land rain with wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

‘The land is being washed by the rain.’

(40b) ?Tyn-eš pur-**ty**-maš akušerka dene yšt-**alt**-yn.
faith-LAT enter-**CAUS**-NMLZ midwife with do-**REFL**-PST2.3SG

‘The baptism was done by a midwife.’ (< Mari Wikipedia)

Valence decrease: Impersonal passive

Mari

- (41) Ala-kunam ožno suas jylmy-m=at tunem-**alt**-yn.
sometime earlier Tatar language-ACC=and study-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'Sometime in the past, Tatar was studied as well.'

Valence decrease: Impersonal passive

Udmurt

(42) Perepeč-ez śi-**iśk**-i-z.

perepech-ACC eat-**REFL**-PST-3SG

‘The perepech [Udmurt food] was eaten.’

Valence decrease: Impersonal passive

Tatar

(43) Monda zur öj(0) töz-el-ä.
here big house(ACC) build-REFL-PRS.3SG
'A big house is being built here.'

Not in Chuvash, Hill Mari [!]

Komi-Permyak: only in participial construction

Preliminary overview

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple causative suffixes	+	+	-	-	+
Impers. passive with obj.	+~	+	~	-	+

Valence decrease: Non-voluntariness

Mari

(44a) Sar godym šüjšö pareŋgy-m=at kočk-**alt**-yn.
war during rotten potato-ACC=and eat-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'During the war, (we) had to eat rotten potatoes as well.'

(44b) Joča-m yšty-meke, šagal mal-**alt**-yn.
child-ACC make-CVB.PRI little sleep-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'After having the child, (I) [!] hardly slept.'

Valence decrease: Non-volitionality

Udmurt

(45a) Mon stakan-ez pił-i.
1SG glass-ACC break-PST.1SG
'I broke the glass.'

(45b) Mon stakan-ez pił-i-**śk**-em.
1SG glass-ACC break-PST-**REFL**-1SG
'I broke the glass (by accident).'

Valence decrease: Non-volitionality

Komi-Permyak

(46a) Me yst-i eľektronnöj poćta pyr gižöt.

1SG send-PST.1SG electronic post through letter

‘I sent an e-mail.’

(46b) Menam (kažavtög) ysti-**śś**-i-s eľektronnöj poćta pyr gižöt.

1SG.GEN accidentally send-**REFL**-PST.3SG electronic post through letter

‘I sent an e-mail by accident.’

Valence decrease: Non-volitionality

Komi-Permyak

(47a) Menam onmöśí-**ś**-öma.

1SG.GEN fall_asleep-**REFL**-PTCP.PST

'I fell asleep (unintentionally).'

(47b) Menam śyv-**ś**-öma.

1SG.GEN sing-**REFL**-PTCP.PST

'I broke out in song (without planning to).' (Cf. F. Gulyás 2016)

Summary

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple causative suffixes	+	+	-	-	+
Impers. passive with obj.	+~	+	~	-	+
Non-voluntality	+	+	+	-	-

References

- Alhoniemi, Alho 1993. *Grammatik des Tscheremissischen (Mari)*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Bereczki, Gábor 1984. Die Beziehungen zwischen den finnougriischen und türkischen Sprachen im Wolga-Kama-Gebiet. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 86. 307–314. [published online at www.nytud.hu/nyk/reg/086.pdf]
- Bereczki, Gábor 2002. *A cseremisz nyelv történeti alaktana*. Studies in Linguistics of the Volga Region 1. Debrecen: University of Debrecen.
- Bradley, Jeremy 2016. *Mari Converb Constructions: Productivity and Regional Variance*. [Doctoral thesis] Vienna: University of Vienna. [Draft published online at othes.univie.ac.at/43606/]
- F. Gulyás, Nikolett 2016. *Személytelen szerkezetek finnugor nyelvekben*. [Doctoral thesis] Budapest: ELTE. [published online at edit.elte.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10831/32853/disszertacio_fgulyas_nikolett_nyelvtud.pdf]
- Helimski, Eugene 2003. Areal groupings (Sprachbünde) within and across the borders of the Uralic language family: A survey. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 100. 156–167. [published online at www.nytud.hu/nyk/100/helimski.pdf]
- Johanson, Lars 2000. Linguistic convergence in the Volga area. In: Dicky Gilbers et al. (eds), *Languages in contact – Studies in Slavic and general linguistics*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 165–178.

References

- Nichols, Johanna & A. Peterson, David & Barnes, Jonathan 2004. Transitivity and detransitivizing languages. *Linguistic Typology* 8. 149-211.
- Räsänen, Martti 1920. *Die tschuwassische Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XLVIII. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. [published online at fennougrica.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/89880]
- Räsänen, Martti 1923. *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne L. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. [published online at fennougrica.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/89883]
- Saarinen, Sirkka 1997. Language contacts in the Volga region – Loan suffixes and calques in Mari and Udmurt. In Heinrich Ramisch & Kenneth Wynne (eds), *Language in time and space – Studies in honour of Wolfgang Viereck on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 388–396
- Tánczos, Orsolya 2015. *Causative constructions and their syntactic analysis in the Udmurt language*. [doctoral dissertation]. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Catholic University. [published online at btk.ppke.hu/uploads/articles/7431/file/T%C3%A1nczos%20Orsolya_disszert%C3%A1ci%C3%B3.pdf]
- Wichmann, Yrjö 1903. *Die tschuwassische Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XXI. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. [published online at fennougrica.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/89849]

Thank you! Аттьö! Tay! Tav!

jeremy.moss.bradley@univie.ac.at

nikolett.f.gulyas@btk.elte.hu

The present study was supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office under grant number NKFI K 125282 and NKFI 125206.



Thanks to informants: Yulia Speshilova, Alona Rodionova, Olga Ignatieva, Larisa Ponomareva, Polina Ponomareva, Vasili Epanov, Tatiana Efremova, Elena Kapitonova, Alexander Savelyev