

## Summaries

### **Maria P. Bezenova.** “Primer book for Votyak children of the Sarapul district”: morphological features

The article examines the morphological features of the “Primer book for Votyak children of the Sarapul district” (1882). The significance of the study lies in the fact that although written records are one of the main sources for studying language history, most of Udmurt written records have not been examined yet.

The paper describes the main grammatical categories of the noun (number, possession, case) and the verb (voice, mood, tense), as well as those of the non-conjugated verb forms (infinitive, participle, adverbial participle). The analysis of morphological characteristics is based on the previously identified graphic and phonetic features of the written source and employs a comparative method: the linguistic data were compared with the data from the literary language and modern Udmurt dialects. Furthermore, whenever possible, the issues of the origin of morphological markers are raised in order to identify the innovative or archaic nature of the characteristics which are reflected in the written record at the morphological level.

As a result, the analysis has revealed a number of features in the formation of the plural forms of nouns, the elative case, the reflexive voice from the verbs of the first conjugation and adverbial participles. At the same time, as the analysis shows, all these features are still present in the modern dialects of the Southern Udmurt dialect zone. This confirms the assumption put forward earlier and based on the analysis of the phonetic system of the written record that the primer may have been based on a dialect located in the modern territory of the northern part of Malopurginsky district of the Udmurt Republic.

*Keywords:* the Udmurt language, dialectology, Sarapul dialect, written records, morphological features

### **Pavel V. Grashchenkov, Ulyana V. Isaeva.** Adjectival ordering on the data of Turkic texts

The paper aims at modelling of the ordering of adjectives from different semantic classes in a noun phrase from theoretical, typological and experimental perspectives. This phenomenon, being an issue with narrow theoretic scope, had been one of the starting points that gave rise to the cartographic syntax approach. The cartographic syntax approach, proposed and elaborated in formal linguistics, postulates a universal arrangement of adjectives from different semantic classes. Alternatively, in both formal and functional linguistics, it is sometimes suggested that adjectives inside a noun phrase do not create a strong hierarchy and the order of particular adjectives might be influenced by their lexical meaning. This paper discusses the results of the corpus study of Bashkir, Tatar, Turkish, Kazakh and Kyrgyz texts. The goal is to answer the question: Which of the noun phrase models suits the Turkic data better? For this study, we analyse the distribution of noun phrases with different orderings of multiple attributive adjectives belonging to 4 semantic classes: EVAL[uation], SIZE, AGE and COLOR. The data has been collected from the Wikipedia texts for the target languages (approx. 146M words). We came to the conclusion that adjectives do not form a strict hierarchy of functional projections, where each semantic class has its own position. The data from the selected Turkic languages show some patterns of adjectival ordering (such as SIZE-COLOR or AGE-SIZE). At the same time no strict ordering restrictions have been observed. We conclude that treating adjectives as adjuncts in the noun phrase structure is a more suitable approach.

*Keywords:* Turkic, syntactic typology, noun phrase structure, attributive adjectives, semantic classes

### **Vadim V. Dyachkov.** Event structure of Hill Mari denominal verbs

The paper deals with the event structure of denominal verbs in Hill Mari, a Finno-Ugric language. In Hill Mari, denominal (as well as some deadjectival) verbs are derived using the same suffix giving rise to several different structural types of predicates. The paper focuses on the properties of denominal predicates that are of interest to the theory and typology of the phenomenon and that are not predicted by the existing theories of denominal derivation. Some influential theories assume that there is one-to-one correspondence between the semantic properties of the base stems and those of their denominal/deadjectival counterparts. Namely, quantized nouns and closed-scale adjectives should give rise to telic verbs, whereas cumulative nouns and open-scaled adjectives should derive atelic ones. However, in many cases, this prediction is not confirmed by the Hill Mari data. Namely, I present the data showing that the semantic properties of base adjectives are not transferred to the derived predicate and consider some other cases of denominal derivation challenging the existing theories. I also suggest that these facts can be accounted for if one assumes that the derivational suffix encodes the process component (equivalent to DO or BECOME operator in various theories of predicate decomposition) determining distributional properties of the predicate. I present the language-specific tests sensitive to the event structure of the predicate that allow us

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to confirm this hypothesis. Finally, I show how the Hill Mari data contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon under study and present a tentative typology of denominal derivational affixes.

*Keywords:* Hill Mari, denominal verbs, deadjectival verbs, degree modification, event structure, unergativity

### **Marina V. Kutsaeva.** Linguistic biographies of Moscow region Maris — natives of Hill Mari district of the Republic of Mari El

The present paper is the second in a series of articles devoted to the linguistic biographies of representatives of the Mari diaspora of the Moscow region, in this case, natives of the Hill Mari district of the Republic of Mari El in the sample. The main purpose of the sociolinguistic survey conducted by the author in the Mari diaspora in 2019-2021 was to identify and describe the functioning of the ethnic language in the conditions of the internal diaspora; in particular, such aspects as the domains of use of Mari and the functions it performs in the diaspora were studied. The use of the language is largely determined by the previous language experience of respondents in their small homeland.

The questions contained in the questionnaire were formulated in such a way that it made it possible, when summing up the results, to single out and highlight the most common features of the respondents' linguistic biographies, such as intra-family communication, preschool education, school education (the language of instruction and the subject of instruction), further education. In addition, channels for learning Mari and Russian were established, depending on the place of residence of the respondents in their small homeland (rural or urban settings), as well as languages of communication with neighbours in their small homeland. A comparative analysis of a set of languages spoken by the respondents, natives of the Hill Mari district and natives of the areas where the Meadow Mari is spoken in the Republic of Mari El, was carried out.

To ensure the completeness and reliability of the study, the results obtained in the sample were compared with the archival materials from the funds of the State Archive of the Republic of Mari El and focused on Hill Mari use as a language of instruction or a subject of instruction in the educational system from 1960 to 2002 (the cohort coverage in the sample).

*Keywords:* internal diaspora, Hill Mari, Meadow Mari, language policy in education, family language policy

### **Natalia N. Logvinova.** Relativization in the Maloe Karachkino dialect of Chuvash. On the typology of general noun-modifying clause constructions

The article analyzes features of relativization in Maloe Karachkino dialect of Chuvash (> Bulgar > Turkic). The elicitation data (collected by the author in a series of field trips from 2018 to 2020) shows that the gap strategy [Comrie, Kuteva 2005] is the main relativization mechanism in Maloe Karachkino dialect, and the syntactic restrictions on the relativized position are very weak. More precisely, only the positions of caritive object and object of comparison are not available for relativization. Otherwise, Maloe Karachkino dialect covers almost the entire Accessibility Hierarchy [Keenan, Comrie 1979]. At the same time, the success of relativization often depends on the naturalness of the connection between the predicate and the argument in the target position. The weakness of purely syntactic restrictions and the reliance on pragmatic naturalness give grounds to consider the Maloe Karachkino's data in the context of the theory of General noun-modifying clause constructions (GNMC) [Matsumoto et al. 2017]. Maloe Karachkino dialect then occupies an intermediate position in the GNMC typology, since it shows identical design of relative clauses and noun-modifying sentential complements, but only limitedly allows frame constructions, which are supposed to be diagnostic of GNMC. However, as shown in the article, there are certain syntactic differences between relativization clauses and nominal sentential complements. In addition, the revision of the existing literature on the GNMC phenomenon, indicates that frame constructions are usually not described for the Turkic languages. Moreover, a more detailed analysis of the constructions for relativization and complementation reveals the non-identity of these structures in all languages where any diagnostics were carried out. Thus, the data of the Maloe Karachkino dialect contributes to the typology of phenomena that have recently been united under the term of GNMC. The data of this and some other idioms show that GNMC phenomenon turns out to be much less homogeneous than it is proposed to consider in [Matsumoto et al. 2017].

*Keywords:* Chuvash language, dialectology, relativization, nominal modification, noun, semantics, syntax