

Summaries

Daria D. Belova. On the question of the event structure of the morphological causative: Tatyshly Udmurt data

The paper deals with the event-structure properties of causative verbs with the suffix *-t* in Tatyshly Udmurt (Republic of Bashkortostan). Concerning external causatives, we consider the following phenomena that are sensitive to the event structure and are accepted in the literature as diagnostics of mono- or bi-eventive causatives: a set of possible controllers of the subject of the converb clause (only the Causer / the Causer and the Causee), modification by the manner, temporal localization, duration, and frequency adverbials (only the caused sub-event / the caused and the causing sub-events / the whole situation). Applying these diagnostics shows the following results. The test for the ability to control the subject of the converb clause is the only one of the entire battery that corresponds to the bi-eventive structure, which may be due to some external syntactic factors and thus casts doubt on the reliability of this test in other languages. The tests for the interpretation of adverbials show that the causing subevent cannot accept any modifiers and has an extremely reduced structure. Causatives with both contact and distant semantics are therefore single-eventive, which contradicts the known data of standard Udmurt. The results obtained speak in favor of approaching the semantics of causatives as a continuum between direct and indirect causation. Tatyshly Udmurt morphological causatives with the suffix *-t* cover the entire semantic continuum, except for the actual indirect ones, since even distant uses do not allow a temporal gap between the causing and the caused sub-events. The fact that situations of causation, which are conceptualized as single, indivisible situations, are expressed by morphologically productive rather than lexical means seems typologically curious.

Keywords: Udmurt language, morphological causative, event structure, direct and indirect causation

Fedor V. Golosov. Grammaticalization of the verb *tak* ‘scatter’ in Poshkart Chuvash: semantics and selectional restrictions

The paper is dedicated to the semantics and the distribution of the light verb *tak* in Poshkart Chuvash. In its lexical usage, the verb *tak* means ‘scatter’, i. e., denotes a series of throwing events distributed over time. This verb is grammaticalized into an aspectual modifier (light verb) that forms telic pluractional complex predicates in combination with lexical verbs with an external argument. Any event denoted by a complex predicate with *tak* should consist of a number of subevents that is larger than the contextually relevant standard. Besides that, the light verb *tak* shows controversial behavior with respect to the well-known opposition between event-internal and event-external pluractionals. According to the tests provided in [Henderson 2012], the light verb *tak* shows split behavior and cannot be assigned to one of the classes. Namely, complex predicates with *tak* pattern with event-external pluractional predicates in that they can be formed from lexical verbs of various actional classes, can denote events with large breaks between their subevents and have the extension which is a subset of the extension of their base predicate. On the other hand, complex predicates with *tak* pattern with event-internal pluractionals in that they do not denote habitual events and require the denoted subevents to be of a large number and have a shared endpoint. It will be shown, however, that despite the similarity observed with the event-internal pluractionals, the light verb *tak* can still be analyzed as an event-external pluractional — and such an analysis is presented in the paper.

Keywords: Chuvash language, light verbs, complex predicates, typology of pluractionality, formal semantics

Anna V. Dybo, Vera S. Maltseva, Elvira V. Sultrekova, Aleksandra V. Sheimovich, Philip S. Krylov. The structure of the Khakas word form and restrictions on the compatibility of affixes in the automatic parser for the Khakas language

This article is a continuation of [Dybo et al. 2019]. The paper is devoted to the description of morphological rules operating in the automatic parser of the Khakas language (<https://khakas.altai.ru/grammar/>). When working with large volumes of actual linguistic material, any automatic model of morphological analysis, which does not include restrictions on the compatibility of morphemes, will come up with a large number of incorrect analyses, while the Turkic languages already show an extremely high amount of correct homonymous analyses. The article presents not the analysis algorithm that is used in the parser code, but a list of rules written in natural language that underlies the operation of the algorithm. In the explanation of each rule, we give examples illustrating it and explain the need for such a restriction on the behavior of affixes. They have a different status. Some of the restrictions are due to the fundamental structure of the Turkic word form or the incompatibility of the semantic characteristics of morphemes. The other part is a consequence of the fact that

the automaton is aimed at practical application, the analysis of texts that fell into the Khakas Language Corpus. The article begins with a scheme of the Khakas word form and a brief description of the inflectional affixes of the Khakas language. Some of the Khakas dialect morphemes found in the course of field work are described for the first time. Some diachronic processes in Khakas are also discussed.

Keywords: Turkic languages, Khakas language, corpus linguistics, morphology, grammar, automatic language processing

Uliana P. Strizhak. Movement in Japanese: objective understanding of the verb arguments

The study of Japanese agentivity leads to the debatable point of why Japanese, which mainly follows a non-transitive model, demonstrates accusative case marking for the motion, resulting in the increased overall agentivity of the utterance. Since the semantics of the motion verbs lacks an explicit direct transfer of the action to the object, the object marking of Japanese locatives in the description of motion requires closer consideration as to whether they are a prototypical transitive model. This article analyzes the status of the Japanese “movement accusative” in its formal and semantic interpretation and examines the cognitive background of the accusative representation of space in Japanese. The objective and adverbial understanding of movement is singled out and their objective features are determined. In describing the cognitive background of the representation of the motion in Japanese this article puts forward and substantiates a hypothesis that European languages usually designate a spatial landmark as an action platform thus separating the place and the actor, while Japanese encourages a human to identify himself with the assigned territory. As a result, the Japanese formal unity of locative and object formulas does not mean that they are always semantically equal: in some cases, movement can be interpreted either as focusing on a locative object or it is nothing more than a description of circumstances. Consequently, it seems possible to partially exclude locative structures from agentivity due to their discrepancy with the prototypical transitive model, even if they formally correspond to transitive structures. Therefore, some Japanese motion constructions can be considered as low-agentive or completely non-agentive.

Keywords: motion verb arguments, locative constructions, object features, agentivity, Japanese language, argument distribution

Idalia V. Fedotova, Alena K. Prokopieva, Anastasia E. Shamaeva, Aitalina V. Timofeeva. Nomination strategies for ‘newborn’ in Turkic languages and other words for ‘baby’ in Yakut

From a typological perspective, it is valuable to study ways of coding the meaning ‘baby’ in the languages of the world. The concepts ‘baby’ and ‘newborn baby’ do not belong to any semantic field that has been widely studied on the material of various languages of the world (kinship terms, aquamotion verbs, verbs of falling, temperature terms, colour terms), hence almost no comparative literature. Additionally, the semantic component ‘baby’ can be included in the broader lexical meaning ‘child’. Moreover, in the dictionaries of poorly studied and insufficiently described languages, words for different stages of a child’s growth and development up to one year are not recorded. This discrepancy begs the question of to what extent different languages code the reality in an even way: in some languages, researchers have recorded separate designations of a newborn baby, an infant, crawling, starting to walk, and in other languages they are still unknown.

This study offers a new overview of all semantic models associated with labelling a baby under the age of one year in the Yakut language. Yakut words for a newborn child are examined on the Turkic background and compared with other languages of the world. 12 semantic models for ‘baby’ have been found: ‘red’, ‘new’ + ‘born’, borrowing ‘new, fresh’, ‘sticky, slippery’, ‘immature’, intensifier ‘water’, ‘getting dry’, ‘making certain sounds’, ‘in the cradle’, ‘breast’ (= ‘with breast’), borrowed word for ‘baby’ > ‘a baby who can sit’, ‘movement method’ > ‘toddler’. A possible explanation for the semantic shift ‘red’ > ‘newborn’ is proposed. The semantic models for ‘newborn’ among the Turkic languages are also observed, with the following source meanings: ‘raw’, ‘new’ + ‘born’, ‘red’. Some parallels in world languages are also considered.

Keywords: the Yakut language, Turkic languages, semantic shift, nomination strategies, colour terms, red, words for ‘baby’

Venera N. Khisamova, Liliya I. Abdullina. Metaphorical models in the medical terminology of the Tatar language

The article describes the models of metaphors in the medical terminology of the Tatar language. Metaphorization is one of the ways how medical terms are formed, and it has its own specific properties in the scientific language. The formation of metaphorical terms follows certain models, which can be divided according to denotative and significative descriptors. The study focuses on 1126 metaphors, among which 425 are metaphors according to the denotative descriptor, and 701 are metaphors according to the significative descriptor. The metaphors under analysis were selected from dictionaries using the method of continuous sampling. As part of the study, 4 metaphorical models were identified according to the denotative descriptor, and 27, according to the significative descriptor. Within each metaphorical model, metaphors are distributed according to the concepts of “health/norm”, “illness/pathology”, “medical instruments/devices”, “pharmacy”. The study calculates the ratio of metaphors to models and thus identifies the most productive and the least

productive models; within each model, the ratio of concepts is determined, which makes it possible to trace how anatomical objects are represented as Earth surfaces, plant organs etc., and diseases as animal behavior etc. The article also compares the medical metaphors in the Tatar language with such units in the Russian language in terms of productivity and the ratio of concepts; furthermore, it indicates how loan-translation terms from the Russian language relate to the native Tatar metaphors. As a result, the study reveals full cross-language equivalents, as well as metaphorical terms that function only in one language and reflect the national worldview of by the Tatar people and metaphors that express different aspects of one concept in the Tatar and Russian languages.

Keywords: medical terminology, metaphor, term, Tatar language, metaphorical models

