

Grammaticalization of the verb of speech in Finno-Ugric languages¹

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1. Mari and Udmurt complementizers derived from the verbs of speech

It is well known that speech verbs in languages of the world can grammaticalize giving rise to complementizers (Lord 1976; Klamer 2000; Güldemann, von Roncador 2002). In this latter function, they are used in contexts that do not presuppose any speech situation, i.e. with mental verbs, emotional verbs, etc. For example, in Eastern Mari, the verb *manaš* (see (1) for the independent usage of this verb) in the form of converb is used as a complementizer that introduces indirect speech (2). Moreover, the same form is attested introducing subordinate clauses of mental and emotional verbs, as in (3). In that case, *manən* is desemanticized, since it does not denote a speech situation, hence, presenting an example of grammaticalized usage.

MARI (EASTERN)

- (1) *kugu-rak-še man-eš "təj ajda ončal"*
big-COMP²-P.3SG say-PRS.3SG you come.on look.IMP

The elder brother says: "You go and have a look" <...>.

- (2) *üdər ava-že tud-əm molo joča deč*
girl mother-P.3SG dem-ACC other child from
čot-rak jörat-a man-ən moktan-en.
very-COMP love-PRS.3SG say-CONV boast-PST.3SG

The girl boasted that her mother loves her more than other children.

- (3) *jəvan ola-ške kaj-em man-ən šon-a.*
Ivan city-LAT go-PRS.1SG say-CONV think-PRS.3SG

Ivan thinks that he will go to the city.

The same phenomenon is observed in Besermyan variant of Udmurt language with the converb of the verb *šuanə* 'to say':

UDMURT (BESERMEN)

- (4) *mar pe ta? – ž'ič'ə šu-e.*
what CIT DEM fox say-PRS.3SG

"What is this?" – The fox says.

- (5) *Vas'a vera-z brat-ez-lə, soje žug-o-z šu-sa.*
Vasja tell-PST.3 brother-P.3SG-DAT dem.ACC beat-FUT-3 say-CONV

Vasja told to his brother that he would beat him.

- (6) *pi č'akla-š'k-e so baš't-o-z vit' šuə-sa.*
boy think-DETR-PRS.3SG DEM get-FUT-3 five say-CONV

The boy thinks that he will get the mark "5".

The described grammaticalization pattern is attested in many genetically non-related languages, as in Indo-European (Slavic, Indo-Aryan, Iranian), Uralic (Finno-Ugric: Mari, Udmurt), Altaic

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² Glosses: SG – singular number, PL – plural number, ACC – accusative case, DAT – dative case, INS – instrumental case, LAT – lative case, ILL – illative case, COMP – comparative suffix, DEM – demonstrative pronoun; PRS – present, PST – past tense ('first past' in reference grammars), FUT – future tense, IMP – imperative mood, JUSS – jussive mood, OPT – optative mood, INF – infinitive, CONV – converb, DETR – detransitivizing suffix, CAUS – causative suffix, CIT – citative particle.

(Mongolic, Turkic: Kononov 1953), Malayo-Polynesian (Klamer 2000), Nakh-Daghestanian (Daniel 2007).

Both Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages have complement constructions, where the simple converb of the verb ‘to say’ is used as a complementizer: the form *manən* in Mari and *šuəsa* in Udmurt (Majtinskaja 1982: 96; Isanbaev 1961; Timofeeva 1961). Other genetically related Finno-Ugric languages (Komi, Mordvin e.a.) lack such complementizers. Constructions with the converb formed along the same morphological pattern are attested in the neighbouring Tatar and Chuvash languages (*dip* in Tatar, *tese* in Chuvash), as in many other Turkic languages. Therefore, it has been suggested that this grammaticalization pattern in Mari and Udmurt is due to contact influence from Tatar and Chuvash.

The question arises, whether the syntactic and semantic properties of the complementizer constructions in Finno-Ugric languages correspond to the properties of Tatar and Chuvash constructions. The aim of this paper is to answer this question. This would permit to refine the ‘contact’ hypothesis with the exact information on whether the whole construction is borrowed or rather the morphologic model of forming the complementizer.

The data discussed in this paper have been gathered during the fieldwork in Eastern Mari (village of Staryj Torjal), and Besermyan variant of Udmurt (village of Shamardan).

2. The grammaticalization scale of speech verbs

Grammaticalization of speech verbs into complementizers is attested in many languages of the world (see e.g. Harris and Campbell 1995, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Lord 1976, Lehmann 2002, Saxena 1995 e.a.). There are two possible paths of grammaticalization, a speech verb can be grammaticalized into a citation marker, or it is grammaticalized into a subordinate conjunction that introduces both complement clauses and adverbial clauses of cause, purpose, measure etc. The grammaticalization pattern found in Mari and Besermyan follows the second path.

The opposition between direct and indirect speech constructions in languages of the world is based on the following (after Toldova 1999; Toldova, Serdobolskaya 2006; Aikhenvald 2009). The direct/indirect speech constructions have two speech acts, the matrix clause denoting the ‘real’ speech act and the complement clause denoting the imaginary speech act. The two situations, the one introduced by the matrix clause and the one introduced by the dependent clause have different “coordinates”, namely, participants, temporal and local characteristics. These coordinates can be encoded along the following strategies of reference: deictic strategy (direct speech strategy), where the NPs (temporal/local characteristics) in the complement clause are coindexed with the imaginary speech act participants (as in *He said: “I was in China yesterday”*), see (7a); or anaphoric strategy (indirect speech strategy), where the NPs (temporal/local characteristics) in the complement clause are coindexed with the real speech act participants, or, in case of no coreference to the real speech act participants, encoded by anaphoric devices used in this language (as in *He said he had been to China the day before*), see (7b) (see Toldova 1999 for the interlacing of these strategies in colloquial speech).

(7)	a.	anaj-ez	vera-z	ataj-ez-lə	mone	kwaret-i-z
		mother-P.3SG	tell-PST.3	father-P.3SG-DAT	I.ACC	scold-PST-3
		kužəj-e	šuə-sa.			
		boss-P.1SG	say-CONV			
	b.	anaj-ez	vera-z	ataj-ez-lə	soje	kwaret-i-z
		mother-P.3SG	tell-PST.3	father-P.3SG-DAT	dem.ACC	scold-PST-3
		kužəj-ez	šuə-sa.			
		boss-P.3SG	say-CONV			

The mother_i said to the father that her_i boss had scolded her_i (a. ...that my_i boss scolded me_i. b. ...that her_i boss scolded her_i).

As for temporal and locative adverbials, these parameters will not be discussed here, since no shift similar to English is observed in Finno-Ugric.

The choice between direct and anaphoric reference strategy manifests itself in the choice of the mood of the dependent verb by the verbs of causation, speech causation, or intention: imperative is used by deictic reference strategy (8a), and infinitive by anaphoric reference strategy (8b).

MARI

- (8) a. ača üdər-lan pört muš-šo man-ən küšt-en.
 father girl-DAT house wash-JUSS say-CONV order-PST.3SG
 b. ača üdər-lan pört musk-aš küšt-en.
 father girl-DAT house wash-INF order-PST.3SG

The father ordered the girl to clean the house.

3. Mari and Besermyan complementizer constructions compared to Tatar

3.1. Semantic shifting of the speech verb

The discussed verb in Mari, Besermyan, and Tatar has the meanings 'to say' (illustrated in section 1) and 'to name':

BESERMYAN

- (9) 14 janvarja “vuž vil’ ar” šui-š’ko-m.
 14 January old new year say-PRS-1PL

We call the 14th of January “Old New year”.

The groups of matrix verbs that can host the constructions with converb of speech as a complementizer include the following: speech verbs (7), mental verbs (6) (where an imaginary 'inner' speech can be supposed to occur), emotion verbs (10), adverbial constructions (with the semantics of purpose (11) and reason (12)). See the examples from Besermyan (the same semantic shift is observed in Mari and Tatar):

- (10) mon jara-t-iš’ko [so d’eš’ mad’-e šuə-sa].
 I love-CAUS-PRS he well sing-PRS.3SG say-CONV

It pleases me that he sings well.

- (11) jul-e – avgust-e tin’ turən dastiš’k-o-m n’i turən
 July-ILL August-ILL dem hay prepare-FUT-1PL already hay
 [život-lə tolalte med okm-o-z šu-sa].
 cattle-DAT in.winter OPT be.enough-FUT-3 say-CONV

In July-August we prepare the hay in order that it should be enough for the

- (12) parnik-ez... kal’ uš’t-i-m val n’i [pəš’ šu-sa].
 hotbed-ACC now open-PST-1PL be.PST already hot say-CONV

We’ve opened the hotbed because it was [too] hot.

The grammaticalization path of this form can be characterized with the following scheme:

verbs of speech → mental verbs with → emotion verbs with → verbs that introduce events
 ↓ propositional semantics propositional semantics
 speech causation → verbs of causation and intention → adverbial clauses of purpose and reason

3.2. Syntax of the constructions with grammaticalized verbs of speech: pronouns reference strategy

In Besermyan and Mari, as well as Tatar, both strategies of participants encoding, deictic and anaphoric, are used with the complementizer derived from the verb of speech. However, some groups of matrix verbs show preference towards deictic or anaphoric strategy.

MARI

- (17) iza-že šüžar-žə-lan [maska-m
elder.brother-P.3SG younger.sister-P.3SG-DAT bear-ACC
pušt-ən-**am** man-ən] kalas-əš.
kill-PST-**1SG** say-CONV tell-PST.3SG

The brother_i told to the sister that he_i has killed the bear.

- (18) izaže_i šüžar-žə-lan [maska **tud-əm_i**
elder.brother younger.sister-P.3SG-DAT bear dem-ACC
susərt-en man-ən] kalas-əš.
wound-PST.3SG say-CONV tell-PST.3SG

The brother_i told to the sister that the bear had wounded him_i.

- (19) [iza-že pört-əm nal-eš man-ən] tudo ojl-en.
elder.brother-**P.3SG** house-ACC take-PRS.3SG say-CONV dem tell-PST.3SG
The lad_i said that his_i brother would buy a house.

The distribution of the factors relevant for the choice of the reference strategy in Eastern Mari is shown in the following table:

S 1 / IO 1 =	S 2	DO 2, IO 2, POSS 2
verbs of speech: 'say', 'tell'	deictic (anaphoric)	anaphoric / deictic
verbs of speech causation: 'demand', 'request'	deictic /anaphoric	anaphoric / deictic
mental verbs: 'think', 'know', 'believe'	anaphoric / deictic	anaphoric
verbs of emotion: 'rejoice', 'be angry'	anaphoric / deictic	anaphoric
verbs of causation: 'make', 'send'; verbs of intention: 'decide', 'want'	anaphoric / deictic	anaphoric
adverbial purposive clauses	anaphoric / deictic	anaphoric
adverbial clauses of reason	anaphoric / deictic	anaphoric

These results are totally different from Tatar. According to (Khanina 2007), in Tatar (Mishar dialect) the choice of the reference strategy depends on the syntactic construction used. The peculiarity of the complement clauses with the grammaticalized verb of speech in Tatar (as well as in other Turkic languages) is the possibility of encoding the subject of the complement clause with accusative case. Accusative subject constructions most often take the anaphoric strategy of participants' encoding, while nominative subject constructions take the deictic strategy.

- (20) sin [**min** bütän kil-m-i-m di-p] at-t-eŋ.
you **I(NOM)** another come-NEG-ST.IPFV-1SG say-CONV say-PST-3SG
You said you wouldn't come again. (Khanina 2007: 132)

- (21) alsu [**min**ϣ [**ul** kit-tϣ] di-p] ujl-ϣj.
Alsu I.ACC **dem.NOM** leave-PST say-CONV think-ST
Alsu thinks that I have left (lit. thinks about me "He's left"). (Ibid.)

S 1 / IO 1 =	S2 = nominative	S2 = accusative
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Reference strategy in the complement clause	deictic	anaphoric
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(After Khanina 2000; 2003; 2007)

Hence, the distribution of the syntactic properties of the discussed constructions differs in Finno-Ugric languages when compared to Turkic languages. However, the semantic shifts observed in Mari, Besermyan, and Tatar are the same.

The conclusion then can be made that it is not only the morphological model of forming the complementizer that is due to areal influence, but also the semantic constraints on the constructions formed with this complementizer. The syntactic features of the discussed constructions, on the contrary, have probably arisen in the discussed languages independently.

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