

Contact-induced variation in the information structure of the Udmurt sentence

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Claims

- Foci can be located in 3 positions in Udmurt:

immediately preverbal	widespread use	developed under Russian influence
sentence-final		
sentence-initial		
- None of them is necessarily [+exhaustive] and [+contrastive]

The Udmurt focus in the literature 1.

- **Immediately preverbal** (Glezdenev 1921, Bausev 1929, Vilkuna 1998, Tánczos 2010):

(1) *Saša kinoteatryn T'ERMINATOREZ učkiz.*

PN.NOM cinema-INE PN-ACC watch-PST.3SG

‘Sasha watched THE TERMINATOR in the cinema.’

(2) *T'erminatorez kinoteatryn SAŠA učkiz.*

‘It was Sasha who watched the Terminator in the cinema.’ (Tánczos 2010)

The Udmurt focus in the literature 2.

- **Sentence-final:** Tánczos (2010):
 - developed under Russian influence
 - only a minority of her informants accepted and produced it

(3) *Saša kinoteatryn učkiz T'ERMINATOREZ.*

PN.NOM cinema-INE watch-PST.3SG PN-ACC

‘Sasha watched THE TERMINATOR in the cinema.’

(4) *T'erminatorez kinoteatryn učkiz SAŠA.*

‘It was Sasha who watched the Terminator in the cinema.’

The Udmurt focus in the literature 3.

- **Sentence-initial** (Zhukov 1937, Bulychov 1947, Timerkhanova 2006, 2011, Asztalos 2015):

(5) **TUNNE mon zavode myno.**
today 1SG.NOM factory-ILL go-FUT.1SG
'I will go to the factory TODAY.'

(6) **ZAVODE tunne mon myno.**
'Today I will go TO THE FACTORY.'

(7) **MON tunne zavode myno.**
'It is me who will go to the factory today.'
(Zhuikov 1937: 18)

Focus positions in Russian

- ***Right Focus*** (Bailyn 2012): information focus (King 1995, Neleemann and Titov 2009, Dyakonova 2009, Bailyn 2012)

(8) *Knigu čitaet IVAN.*
book.ACC read-PRS.3SG PN.NOM
'It is Ivan who is reading the book.'

Preverbal foci in Russian

- They can precede or follow the topic(s):

(9) **PETROVA** *načal'stvo* *v* **komandirovku**
Petrov-ACC management.NOM to business_trip.ACC
poslalo. (Dyakonova 2009)
send-PST.3SG.N ‘It was Petrov whom the management
sent on a business-trip.’

(10) **Ja** **BABUŠKE** **zvonil.**
I-NOM grandmother-DAT call.PST.3SG.M
'I called GRANDMOTHER.'

Semantics of the Russian preverbal foci

- **Contrastivity:**

- contrastive (King 1995, Neleemann and Titov 2009, Dyakonova 2009)
- not necessarily contrastive (Bailyn 2012):

'- What did Jacob bring?

(11) -	<i>POSYLU</i>	<i>Jakov</i>	<i>(POSYLU)</i>	<i>priños.</i>
	parcel.ACC	PN.NOM	parcel.ACC	bring-PST.M
'Jacob brought A PARCEL.'				

- **Exhaustivity:**

- not necessarily exhaustive (Dyakonova 2009, Bailyn 2012)

Aims

- To test and to compare the acceptability of the immediately preverbal, the sentence-final and the sentence-initial focus positions in Udmurt
- Is any of them necessarily exhaustive and/or contrastive?
- To compare their properties with those of the Russian focus positions
- Is any of them an A'-projection?
- Is there a topic position in Udmurt?

Data collection

- online survey
- S, O, Dat, Adv foci
- focus tests: wh-questions, alternative questions, corrections, superlative predicates, numerically modified noun phrases, long movement, parasitic gaps, crossover
- grammaticality judgments on a 5-point Likert scale
- one topic test
- 36 complete (+ 24 incomplete) responses

The informants

- native speakers
- mainly young ones
(86% born between 1982 and 1999)
- 72% speaks equally well Udmurt and Russian
- 86% has a university degree / is a student
- they were encouraged to use the spoken variant of Udmurt

Results

Topic position

- SAdvV:
 - ungrammatical/odd with non-specific subjects
 - grammatical with specific S → they are in topic position:

'- What's new?'

(12) - *Katā apaj */?Kuno tunne*

PN.NOM auntie.NOM guest.NOM today

mi dory vuoz.

1PL.NOM to arrive-FUT.3SG

'Auntie Kate (*/?A guest) will come to us today.'

Acceptance of the focus positions

- *Sentence-final foci*: almost as good as the immediately preverbal ones (↔ Tánczos 2010)
- *Sentence-initial foci*: less good, but still acceptable

	Average points (1–5)	Less preferred syntactic functions
Immediately preverbal	4,37–4,86	–
Sentence-final	3,81–4,57	Adv (3,81–4,03)
Sentence-initial	3,03–4,45	O (3,03–3,43); non-specific, unmarked O (3,05)

Sentence-final Adv foci

- 3,81:

'- *When will you call your grandfather?*'

(13) - (?) Peśatajely	žingyrto
grandfather-DAT	telephone-FUT.1SG
ĆUKAŽE.	
tomorrow	

'I will call my grandfather TOMORROW.'

← General tendency of Adv-s to appear rarely
in postverbal position? (cf. Vilkuna 1998: 205)

Non-specific, unmarked O foci in sentence-initial position

- Degraded acceptability (3,05):

'- Lera is eating perepechi.'

(14) - ? <i>Ug,</i>	<i>PEL'ŃAŃ</i>	<i>Lera</i>
NEG.3SG.PRS	pelmeni.NOM	PN.NOM
<i>śije.</i>		
eats-PRS.3SG	'No, Lera is eating PELMENI.'	

← OSV preferred with topical objects?

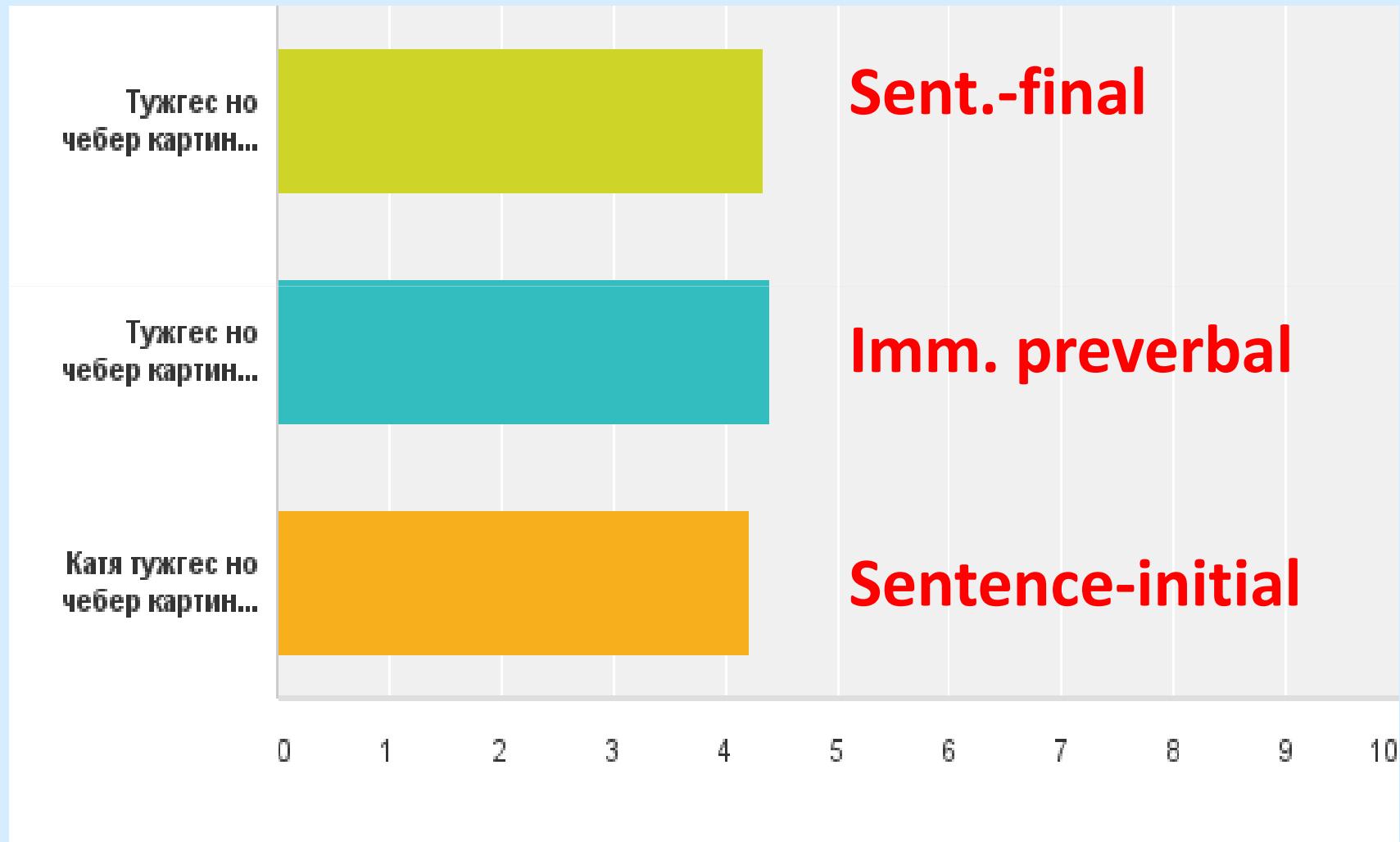
S foci with superlative predicates: almost
equally good in each position ($\geq 4,22$)

‘The nicest picture was made by Katya.’

(15)

- a. *Tužges no čeber kart'inajez KAT'A*
very-CMPR PTCL nice picture-ACC PN.NOM
dašaz.
make-PST.3SG (4,41)
- b. *Tužges no čeber kart'inajez dašaz KAT'A.* (4,35)
- c. *KAT'A tužges no čeber kart'inajez dašaz.* (4,22)

S foci with superlative predicates: almost equally good in each position ($\geq 4,22$)



Dat foci with superlative predicates: almost equally good in each position ($\geq 4,37$)

‘Yesterday in the „Philharmony” Concert Hall there was held a beauty contest called „Cheberina.”

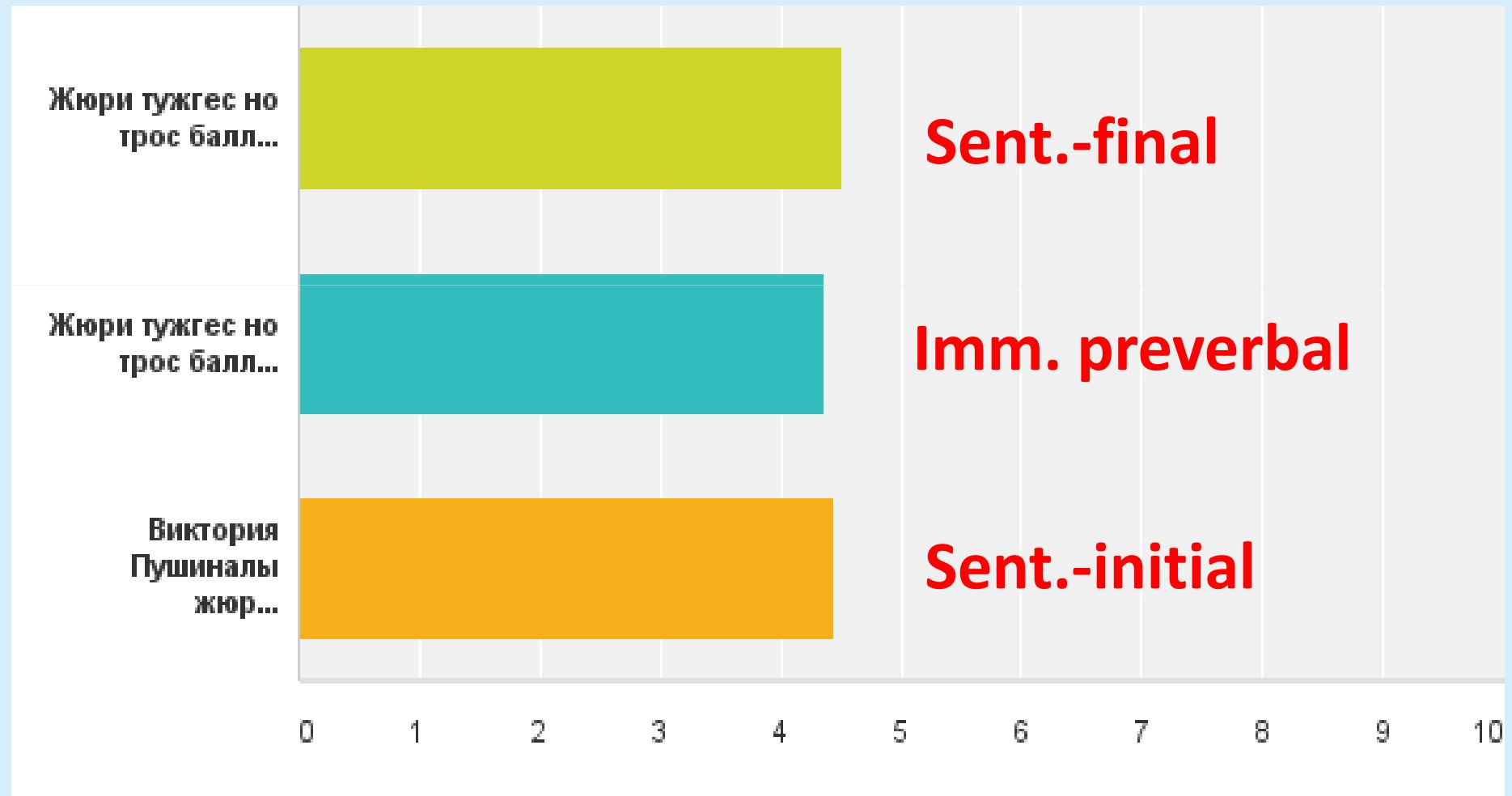
The jury gave the highest score to VIKTORIYA PUSHINA.’

(16)

- a. *Žuri tužges no tros ball*
jury.NOM very-CMPR and lot score.NOM
VIKTORIJA PUŠINALY šotiz.
PN.NOM PN-DAT give-PST.3SG (4,37)

- b. *Žuri tužges no tros ball šotiz VIKTORIJA PUŠINALY.* (4,5)
c. *VIKTORIJA PUŠINALY žuri tužges no tros ball šotiz.* (4,45)

Dat foci with superlative predicates: almost equally good in each position ($\geq 4,37$)



Contrastivity tests

- wh-questions (are F positions necessarily contrastive?)
- answers to alternative questions:
 - *Did Sasha choose Ksjusha or you?*
 - *Sasha chose ME.*
- corrections:
 - *Lera is eating perepechi.*
 - *No, Lera is eating PELMENI.*

None of the positions is necessarily contrastive

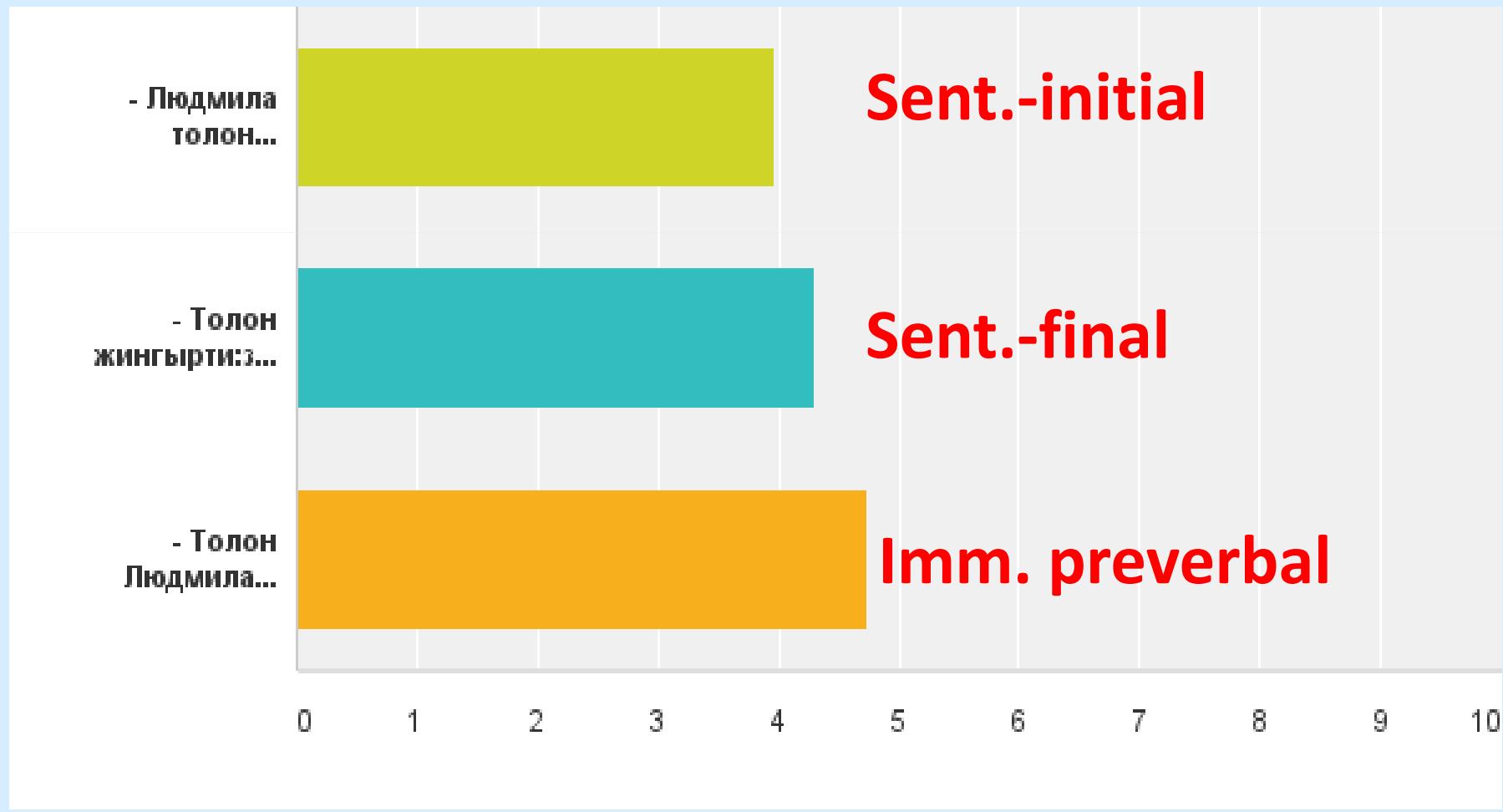
'- Who telephoned yesterday?
- LYUDMILA telephoned yesterday.'

(17)

- a. *Tolon* *ŁUDMILA* *žingyrtiz.* (4,73)
yesterday PN.NOM telephone-PST.3SG
- b. *Tolon* *žingyrtiz* *ŁUDMILA.* (4,3)
- c. *ŁUDMILA* *tolon* *žingyrtiz.* (3,97)

None of the positions is necessarily contrastive

Answer to wh-question (S focus)



In contrastive contexts, foci can appear in each of the positions

- ‘- Today Anna will sing for us.’
- No, it’s Diana who will sing for us today.’

- (18) a. *Uz, tunne mil’emly D’IANA*
NEG.FUT.3SG today 1PL.DAT PN.NOM
kyrdžaloz. (4,7)
sing-FUT.3SG
- b. *Uz, tunne mil’emly kyrdžaloz D’IANA.* (4,3)
- c. *Uz, D’IANA tunne mil’emly kyrdžaloz.* (3,86)

Exhaustivity test

- numerically modified NP-s – ‘exactly *n*’ or ‘at least *n*’?

(19)

a. *János KÉT HAMBURGERT eszik meg egy nap.*

John two hamburger-ACC eats PRV one day

‘John eats (exactly) TWO HAMBURGERS per day.’

b. *János két hamburgert megeszik egy nap.*

John two hamburger-ACC eats one day

‘John eats (at least) two hamburgers per day.’

(Patona 2013: 46)

No focus position is necessarily exhaustive

	‘at least n ’	‘exactly n ’
Imm. prev.	79%	21%
Sent-final	79%	21%
Sent.-init.	81%	19%

Is any of the focus positions an A'-projection?

- *Long focus movement*: possible with foci that occupy an A'-position:

(20) *Péter* *MARIT* *javasolta*,
PN.NOM PN-ACC suggest-PST.3SG.

hogy *hívjuk* *meg*.
COMP invite-IMP.3PL PRV

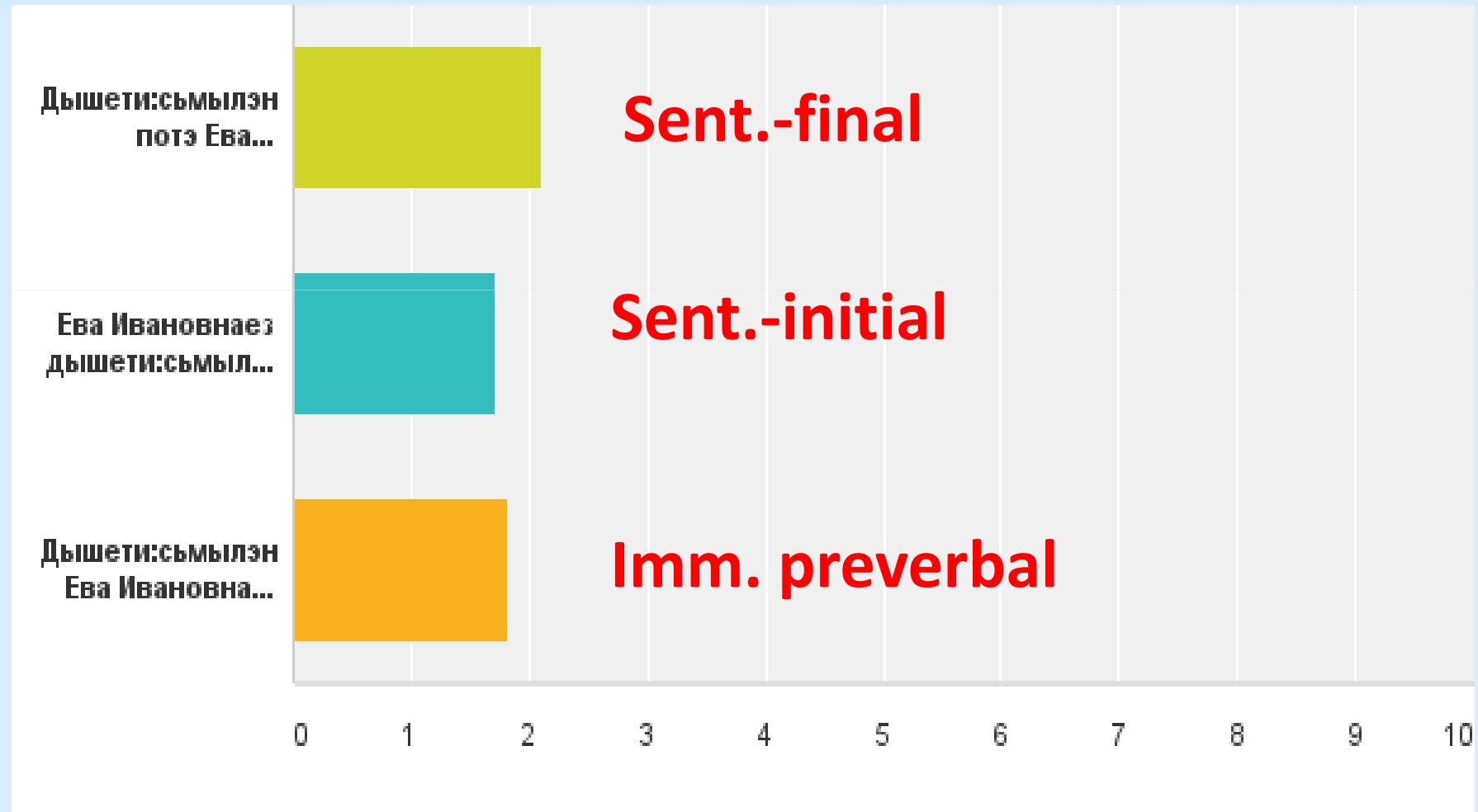
‘Peter suggested that we invite MARY.’

Long movement of foci is ungrammatical ($\leq 2,11$)

‘Our teacher wants Jeva Ivanovna to become the head of the school.’

- (21) a. **Dysetišmylen JEVA IVANOVNAJEZ pote,*
teacher-POSS.1PL-GEN PN.NOM PN-ACC come_out-PRS.3SG
med školalen d'irektorez luoz. (1,82)
PTCL school-GEN headmaster-POSS.3SG become-FUT.3SG
- b. **Dysetišmylen pote JEVA IVANOVNAJEZ, med školalen d'irektorez luoz.* (2,11)
- c. **JEVA IVANOVNAJEZ dysetišmylen pote, med školalen d'irektorez luoz.* (1,71)

Long movement of foci is ungrammatical ($\leq 2,11$)

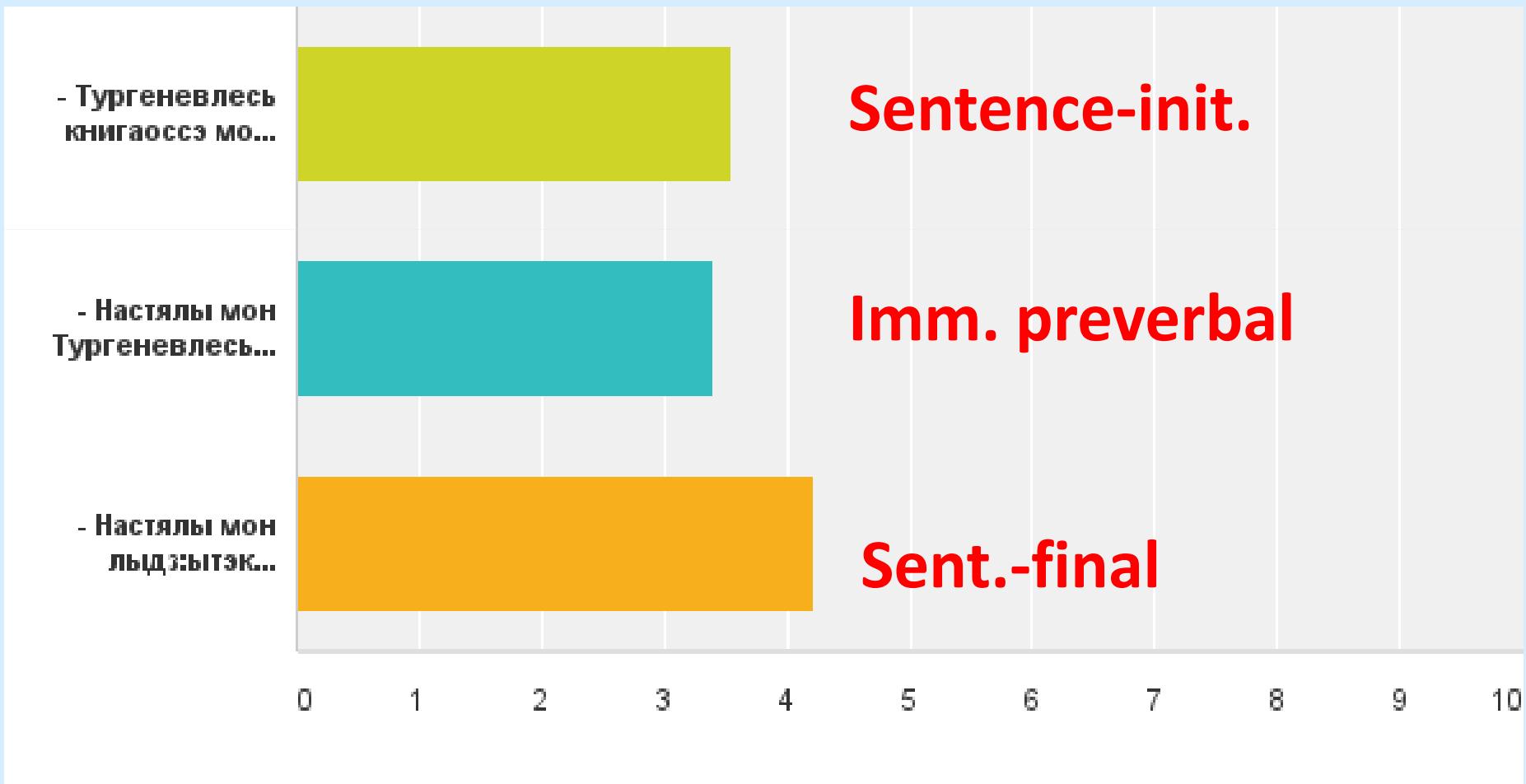


All of the focus positions can license a parasitic gap ($\geq 3,41$)

- '- Which books did you give to Nastya without reading?
- It was TURGENEV'S BOOKS that I gave to Nastya without reading
—.

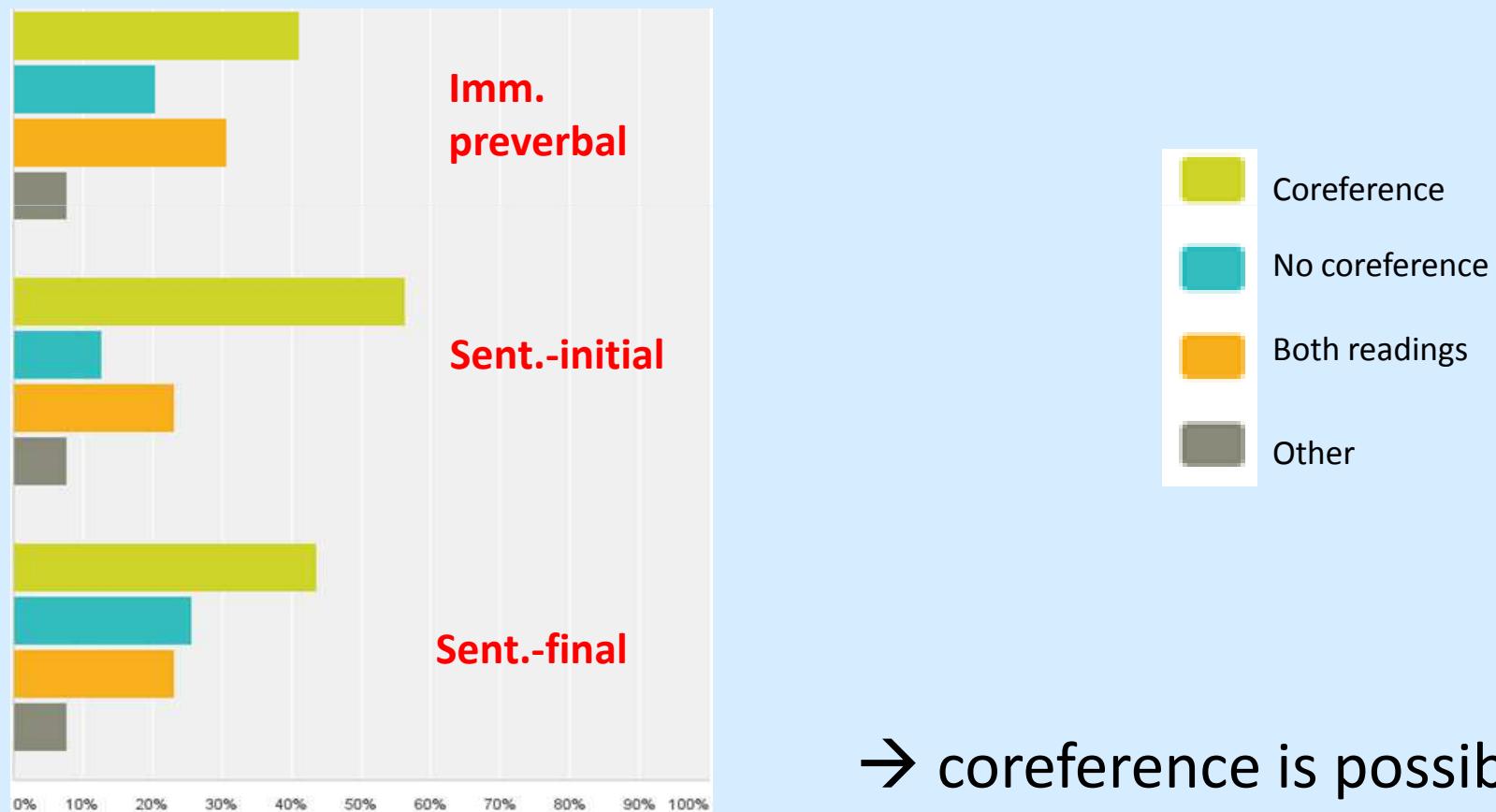
- (22) a. *Nastały mon TURGEŃEVLEŚ*
PN-DAT 1SG.NOM PN.ABL
KNÍGAOSSE kuźmaj lydzytek. (3,41)
book-PL-3SG.ACC give-PST.1SG read-GER.NEG
- b. *Nastały mon lydzytek kuźmaj TURGEŃEVLEŚ KNÍGAOSSE.* (4,22)
- c. *TURGEŃEVLEŚ KNÍGAOSSE Nastały mon lydzytek kuźmaj.* (3,54)

All of the focus positions can license a parasitic gap ($\geq 3,41$)



No weak crossover effects

- **His_i, dog bit JOHN_i* – no coreference between the pronoun and the focus (in certain languages)



	Imm. preverbal	Sentence-final	Sentence-initial
Long movement	-	-	-
Parasitic gap	+	+	+
Weak crossover	-	-	-
Scopal interaction	-	-	-

→ Is any of them an A'-position?

Conclusions

- Immediately preverbal and sentence-final foci: widely accepted irrespective of the syntactic function of the focused item
- Sentence-initial position: preferred with S and Dat foci ← OSV preferred with topical O-s?
- There is a topic position
- Similarly to Russian, no focus position is necessarily exhaustive
- No focus position is necessarily contrastive
- Is any of them an A'-position? → further testing

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