

Cases as Markers of Non-verbal Predicates: Essive and Translative in Uralic

Casper de Groot

Utrecht – 27 May 2013

c.degroot@uva.nl

This paper argues for the following points

- Enlarge the domain of the study into secondary predication to main non-verbal predication.
- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Depictives may share properties with Manner
- Uralic Essive and Translative are no case markers but predicative markers

International Research project

Uralic Essive

- On the basis of a typological linguistic questionnaire we wish to establish an appropriate description of the use of the Essive markers in the Uralic.
- The investigation takes the form as starting point and then describes its function.
- If a language under investigation does not have an Essive, the forms/constructions are described, where other languages may use the Essive.

Essive versus Translative

- Essive carries the meaning of a temporary location or state of being, often equivalent to the English "as a (child)".
- Translative indicates a change in state of a noun, with the general sense of "becoming *X*" or "change to *X*".
- Uralic:

Essive cognate	<i>-n</i>
Translative cognate	<i>-ks</i>

What is the Essive?

Finnish

- Heikki on Jämsässä lääkärinä.
'Heikki is (working as) a doctor in Jämsä.'

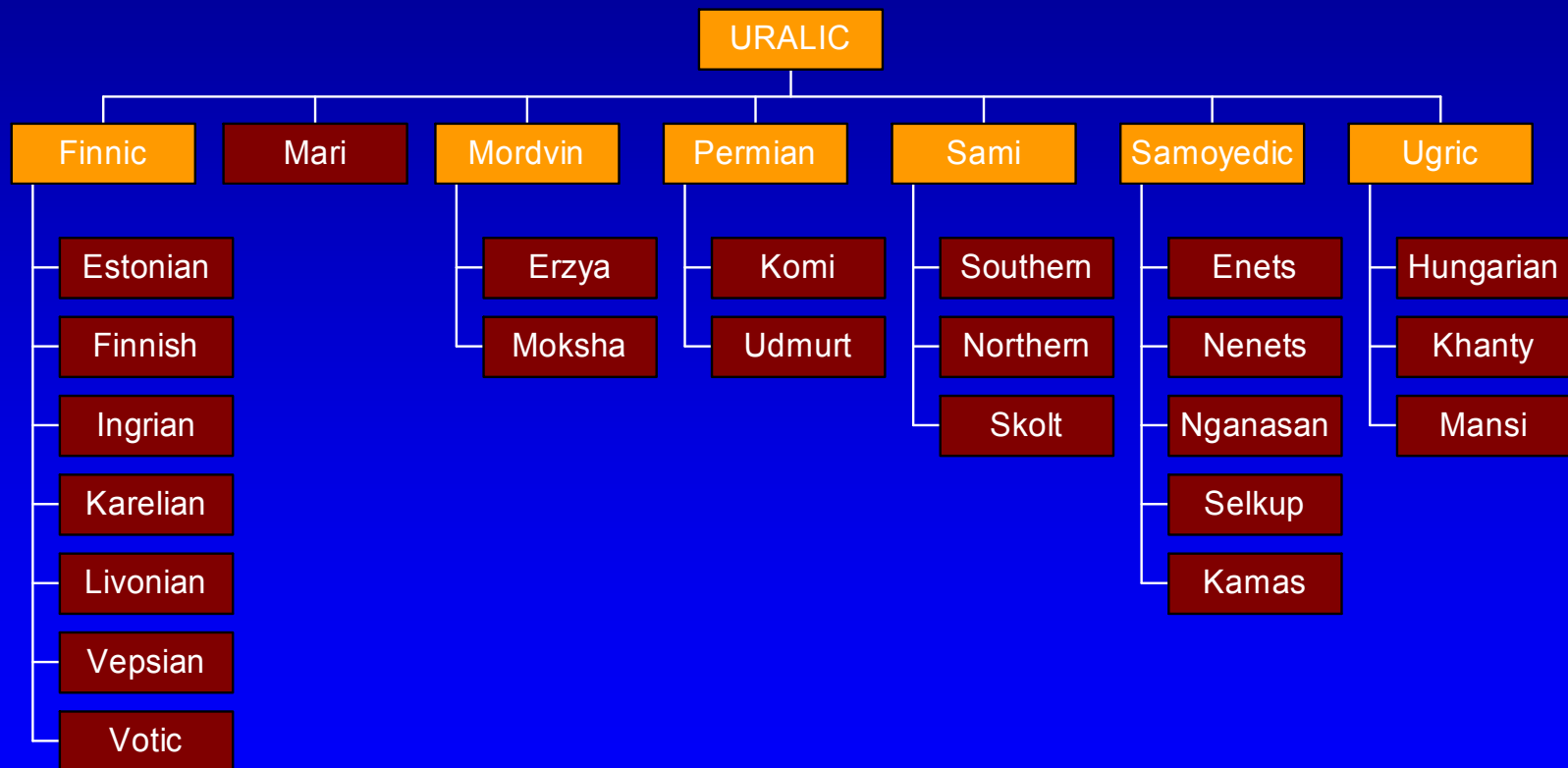
Hungarian

- Katonaként voltam Tallinnban.
'I was as a soldier in Tallinn.'

The Essive in the languages of the world

- The “Essive Case” is a unique property of the Uralic language family. Some but not all Uralic languages have an “Essive case”.
- Where some of the Uralic languages employ the “Essive case”, other languages use some other case (e.g. the Instrumental), adpositions, complementizers, or do not use a marker at all.

Uralic languages





FINNO-UGRIC				SAMOYEDIC		YUKAGHIR		
FINNIC			UGRIC					
A. Baltic-Finnic:	Veps	3	Udmurt	A. Hungarian	Enets	5	Tundra	
Estonian	Votic	4	D. Mari	B. Ob-Ugric:	Nenets		Kolyma	
Finnish	B. Sami		E. Mordvin	Mansi	Nganasan			
Ingrian	1	C. Permic:		Khanty	Selkup			
Karelian	Permyak							
Livonian	2	Komi						

Diagonal lines indicate sparsely populated areas

Where is the Essive used?

Mary is sick-ESS

John is a soldier-ESS

Kate went to the meeting cheerful-ESS

Dan is working as a doctor-ESS

Sue ate the fish raw-ESS

Pete considers Chris a fool-ESS

God changed them into birds-ESS

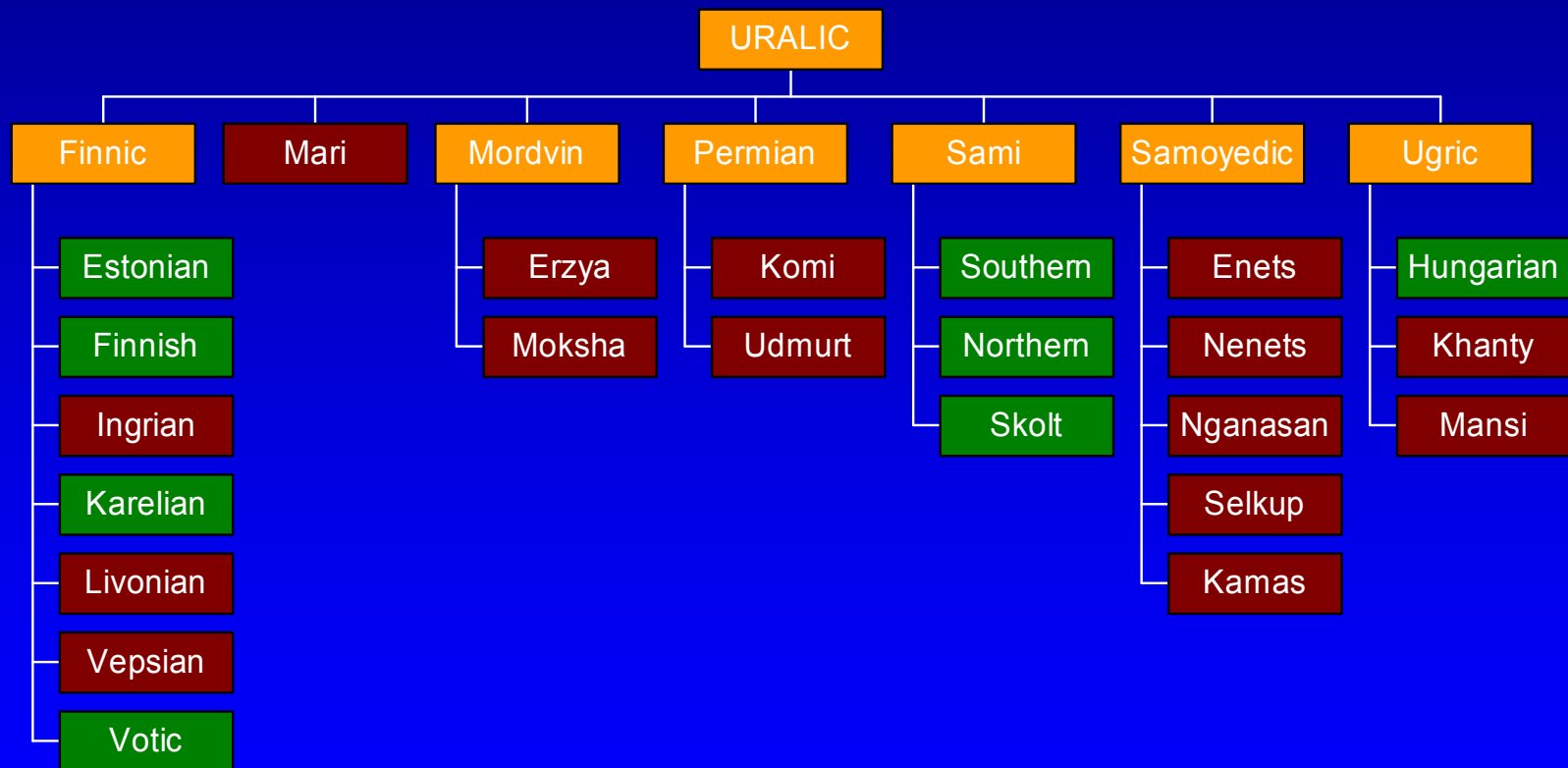
We will make sauna on saturday-ESS

the house-GEN behind-ESS

Where is the Essive used?

	E	F	H
Mary is sick-ESS	+	+	-
John is a soldier-ESS	+	+	-
Kate went to the meeting cheerful-ESS	+	+	-
Dan is working as a doctor-ESS	+	+	+
Sue ate the fish raw-ESS	+	+	-
Pete considers Chris a fool-ESS	-	+	-
God changed them into birds-ESS	-	-	-
We will make sauna on saturday-ESS	+	+	-
the house-GEN behind-ESS	-	+	-

Uralic languages with Essive



Non-verbal predications

Predicative adjective

FIN Hän on sairaa-na.
he is sick-ESS
'He is sick.'

Predicative noun

VOT Elin sematehe-nnä Tallina-za.
I-was soldier-ESS Tallinn-LOC
'I was a soldier in Tallinn.'

Non-verbal predications

Restrictions

Classes of adjectives and nouns (stage level)

Person (1,2,3, singular, plural)

Aspect (Habitual only)

Tense (Past only)

Location (Overt expression)

EST Ta oli seal noore-na.
s/he was there young-ESS
'S/he was there (as/when) young.'

Non-verbal predications

Time stability

The Nominative in Finnish and Estonian is used in situations that are relatively 'time-stable' (individual level), whereas the Essive (or other oblique case) emphasizes the temporary nature of the situation (stage level).

Non-verbal predications

Encoding of the predicate

Double

FIN Tyttö on pieni
Girl is small.NOM
'The girl is small.'

Hän on sairaana.
he is sick-ESS
'He is sick.'

Non-verbal predications

Encoding of the predicate

- Votic
 - (i) “turning into a state/location” (Translative, marked with *-ssi*),
 - (ii) “being in a state/location” (Essive, marked with *-nl/-nnl/-nnə*)
 - (iii) “leaving a state/location” (Excessive, marked with *-nt*).

Non-verbal predications

Triple encoding in Estonian

- a. NN on meie saadik London-is
NN is our ambassador.NOM London-INES
'NN is our ambassador in London.'
- b. NN on meie saadiku-na London-is
NN is our ambassador-ESS London-INES
'NN is our ambassador in London.'
- c. NN on meie saadiku-ks London-is
NN is our ambassador-TRANS London-INES
'NN is our ambassador in London.'

- (a) being ambassador is a permanent (inalienable) characteristic of NN;
(b) NN is (temporarily) in London in his capacity as ambassador ;
(c) NN is fulfilling the role of ambassador (in an official capacity, but it is not a permanent characteristic of NN).

Non-verbal predications

Languages without the Essive

Livonian

Īd aigast ma vo'l' Puoipse oppattaj-ks
One year I was in Pope teacher-COM/TRANS
'For one year I was in Pope as a teacher.'

Non-verbal predications

- Alternations Nominative – Essive – Translative
- Permanent – temporally bound
Individual level - Stage level
- Explicative – evaluative identification
X is a doctor – X as if he is a doctor
- “What seems to be relevant here is the distinction between functive proper (He works as a doctor = ‘He works, and the way he works identifies him as a doctor’), and a wider notion of identification related in some way or another to the event, with the possibility of an explicative reading.” (Creissels 2011)

Secondary predication - Depictive

Estonian

- Mary läks loengule rõõmsana.
Mary went to lecture cheerful-ESS
'Mary went to the lecture cheerful.'
- Peeter töötab Itaalias kokana.
Peter works in Italy cook-ESS
'Peter works as a cook in Italy.'

Finnish also uses the Essive in these examples.

Secondary predication - Depictive

Hungarian

- Kati nyers-en ette meg a halat.
Mary raw-ADV ate up the fish
'Mary ate the fish raw.'
- Mari jókedvü-en ment az előadáshoz.
Mary cheerful-ADV went the lecture-to
'Mary went to the lecture cheerful/ly.'
- Péter szakács-ként dolgozik Olaszországban.
Peter cook-ESS works Italy-in
'Peter works as a cook in Italy.'

Secondary predication - Depictive

Hungarian

Noun+ESS (stage level)

- Pál idegenvezető-ként dolgozik Görögországban.
Paul tour operator-ESS works in Greece
'Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece.'

Preposition + Noun (individual level)

- Pál mint idegenvezető dolgozik Görögországban.
Paul as tour operator works in Greece
'Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece.'

Secondary predication - Depictive

- Komi-Permyak

Петер лечитись-өн уджалö Таллиннын.

Peter doctor-INSTR works in Tallinn

‘Peter is working as a doctor in Tallinn.’

- Udmurt also employs the Instrumental in this kind of depictive.
- Russian influence.

Secondary predication - Depictive

Restrictions

- Adjective > Noun
- Subject > Object > other

Semantic aspects

- Time-stability (stage level, individual level)
- Manner – Depictive

Secondary predication - Complement

Finnish Essive as a marker of a complement

- Pidä-n poikia älykkäi-nä.
Hold-1SG boy.PL.PART intelligent.PL-ESS
'I consider the boys intelligent.'

Estonian employs the Translative

- Ma pean neid poisse tarka(-de)-ks.
I consider these boys intelligent(-PL)-TRANS
'I consider these boys intelligent.'

Hungarian employs the Dative

- Okos-ok-nak tartom a fiúkat.
clever-PL-DAT I-consider the boys
'I consider the boys clever.'

Secondary predications - Complements

Restrictions

- Class of verbs ('consider' vs 'appoint')
- Peter considers the boy clever (state)
- Peter appointed the boy the leader (change in state)

Other types

Skolt Saami

- te'l E'mmel muu'tti si'jjid lå'dd-en
then God changed them bird-ESS
'Then God changed them into birds.'

Votic

- Nämä neįssa лаuko–pä-n ламmitte-ма sauna
they start saturday-ESS heat-CONV sauna
'They will make sauna on Saturday'.

Translative

Bill (became) a soldier-TRANS

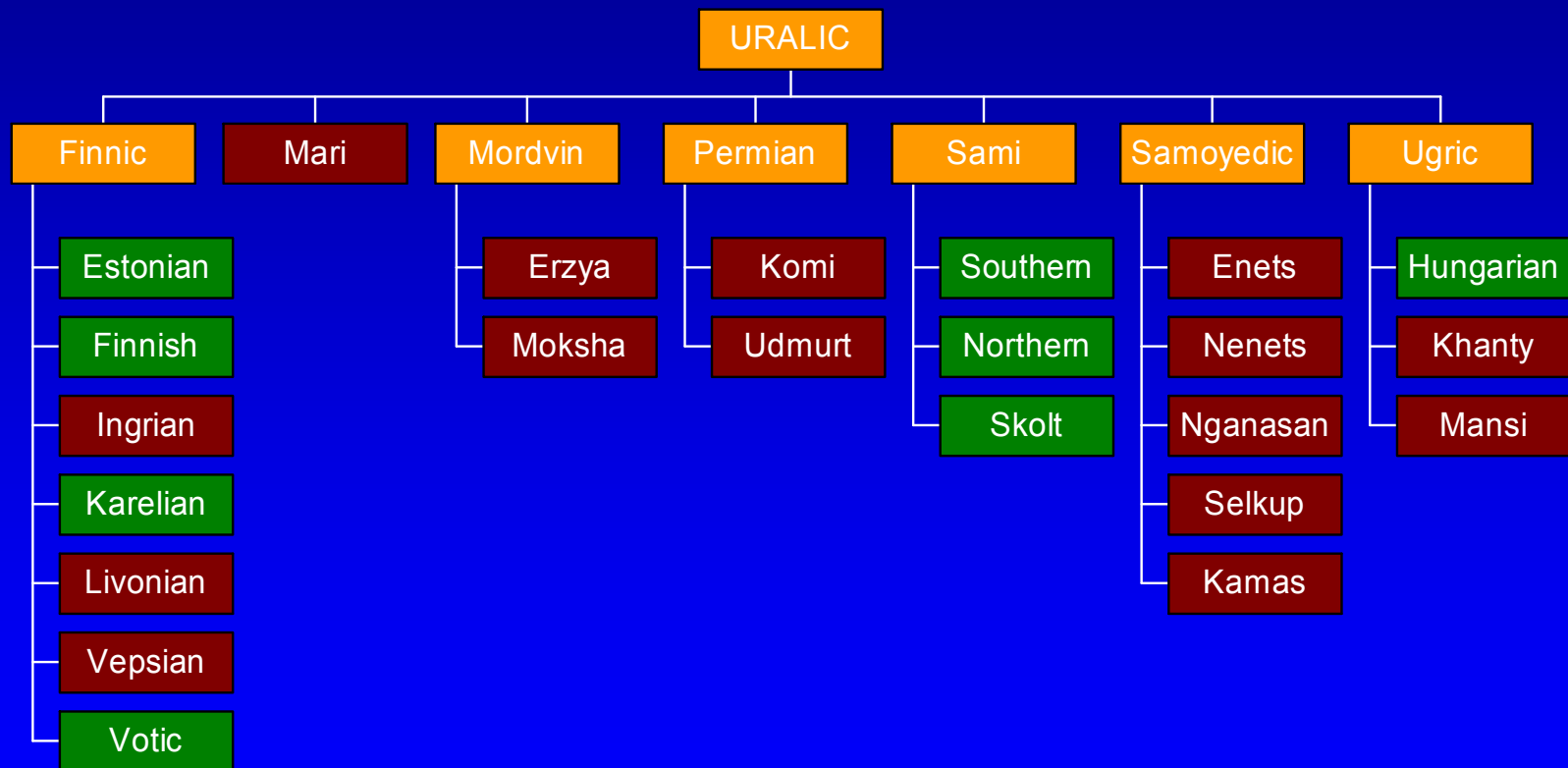
God changed them into birds-TRANS

Pete considers Chris a fool-TRANS

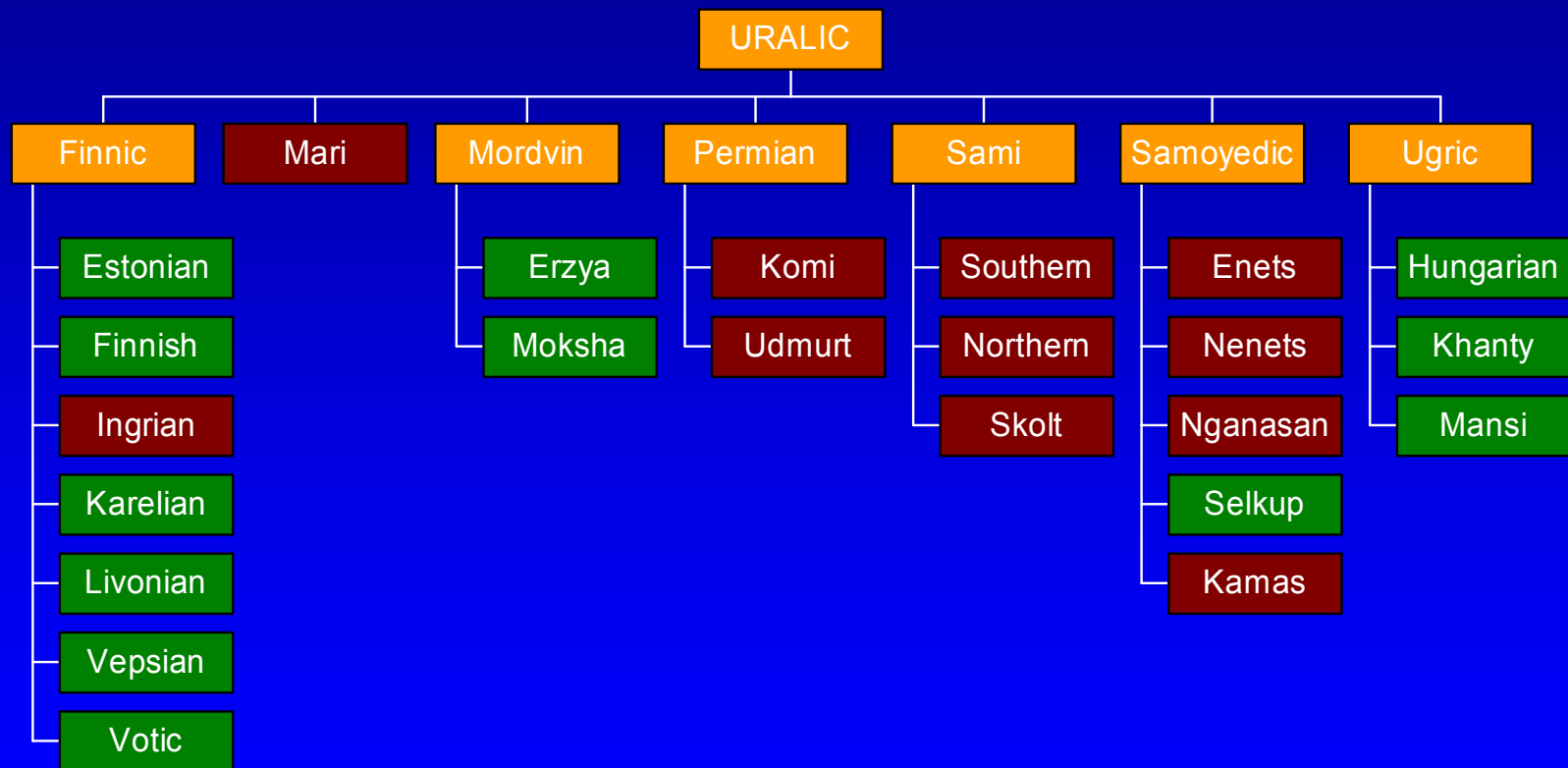
John is a soldier-TRANS

Dan is working as a doctor-TRANS

Uralic languages with Essive



Uralic languages with Translative



Translative as marker of secondary predicate

Depictive (as a teacher)

- Livonian
- Erzya
- Moksha

Complement (I consider him clever)

- Estonian
- Khanty

Other uralic languages with Translative

- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| • Finnish | Karelian | Vepsian | Votic |
| • Selkup | Hungarian | Mansi | |

Essive versus Translative

	STATE	CHANGE
Hungarian	Essive	Translative
Mordvin	Translative	Translative
Skolt Saami	Essive	Essive

Note:

Essive cognate *-n*

Translative cognate *-ks*

Other aspects

Syntax

- The position of the X-ESS in the clause
- Other syntactic restrictions
- The scope of negation

Pragmatics

- Focus
- Depictives form or are within the scope of the focus of the clause

This paper argues for the following points

- Enlarge the domain of the study into secondary predication to main non-verbal predication.
- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Depictives may share properties with Manner.
- Uralic Essive and Translative are no case markers but predicative markers.

This paper argues for the following points

- Enlarge the domain of the study into secondary predication to main non-verbal predication.
- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Depictives may share properties with Manner.
- Uralic Essive and Translative are no case markers but predicative markers.

Non-verbal predications - Depictives

- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Stage level Adjectival predicates marked by Essive.
- Explicative vs evaluative identification of Nominal predicates – individual level interpretation possible.

This paper argues for the following points

- Enlarge the domain of the study into secondary predication to main non-verbal predication.
- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Depictives may share properties with Manner.
- Uralic Essive and Translative are no case markers but predicative markers.

Depictives - Manner

- Depictives but not main non-verbal predicates may share properties with Manner
- Estonian – unlike Finnish - depictives with Essive may have a manner interpretation.
- Hungarian may use *–ként* in a manner sense:
- Gyerek-ként gondelkozik. ‘He thinks as a child.’
- Hungarian adverbial marker as depictive marker.

This paper argues for the following points

- Enlarge the domain of the study into secondary predication to main non-verbal predication.
- Main non-verbal predications may share properties with Depictives.
- Depictives may share properties with Manner.
- Uralic Essive and Translative are no case markers but predicative markers.

Essive and Translative are predicative markers and not case markers

- Verbs do not select Essive or Translative arguments
- Exception: a closed class of verbs, such as consider, appoint, change).
- Essive in Finnic and Saami on Adjectival and Nominal main and secondary predicates
- Essive in Hungarian on Nominal secondary predicates

International Research project Uralic Essive

- Purposes of the project
- Descriptive
- Typological
- Theoretical

Branch	individual language	Name	Name	Affiliation
Finnic	Finnish	Emmi	Hynönen	University of Turku
	Estonian	Helle	Metslang	University of Tartu
	Estonian	Liina	Lindström	University of Tartu
	Votic & Ingrian	Elena	Markus	University of Tartu
	Votic & Ingrian	Fedor	Rozhanskiy	University of Tartu
	Livonian	Tiit-Rein	Viitso	University of Tartu
	Veps	Riho	Grünthal	University of Helsinki
	Karelian	Vesa	Koivisto	University of East Finland
Saami	Southern Saami	Florian	Siegl	University of Helsinki
	Northern Saami	Jussi	Ylikoski	Sámi University College
	Skolt Saami	Timothy	Feist	University of Surrey
Mordvin	Erzya	Rigina	Turunen	University of Helsinki
Mari	Mari	Sirkka	Saarinen	University of Turku
Permic	Komi	Marja	Leinonen	University of Tampere
	Komi	Galina	Nekrasova	University of Syktyvkar
	Udmurt	Svetlana	Edygarova	University of Helsinki
Ugric	Hungarian	Casper	de Groot	University of Amsterdam
Ob-Ugric	Northern Khanty			
	Eastern Khanty	Andrey	Filtchenko	University of Tomsk
	Northern Mansi	Katalin	Sipőcz	University of Szeged
Samoyedic	Tundra Nenets	Lotta	Jalava	University of Helsinki
	Forest Nenets	Florian	Siegl	University of Helsinki
	Forest & Tundra Enets	Florian	Siegl	University of Helsinki
	Nganasan	Sándor	Szeverényi	University of Szeged
	Selkup	Beáta	Wagner-Nagy	University of Hamburg
	Selkup	Andrey	Filtchenko	University of Tomsk
	Kamas	Gerson	Klumpp	University of Tartu

Thank you very much for your attention.