

*Diathetic Ambivalence
of Participles
in the Uralic Languages*

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metochē

meta ‘beyond’, ‘above’ + *ekhein* ‘to have’

“having something else with (or beyond) its own”

participium

pars ‘part’ + *capere* ‘to take’

“taker part (i.e. participant)”

onoma/nomen *rhēma/verbum*

Adjectival properties of participles

- modifying a noun
- adjectival declination
- adjective-like agreement with nouns
- reinterpretation mostly as adjectives

Differences from adjectives:

- higher derivability
- no degrees of comparison

Verbal properties of participles

- displaying tense, aspect, voice, mood
- retaining the argument structure of (and the word order alongside) the verb

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

1. Participles precede the finite forms of verb.

1a Participles as sources for the finite verbal paradigm:

3Pl in Indo-European **-ent^[h]~ont^[h]*

**bheronti* 'they fetch, they take'

(Dorian Greek *pheronti*, Latin *ferunt*, Gothic *baírant*, Old Indian *bharanti*, Russian *берым*)

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

1b. Participial origin of some finite forms in conjugation in F-U languages

- Hungarian: *-t* (*írt* → *írt-am*, *írt-ál* etc.)
- (Northern) Khanty: *-t* (impf.), *-s* (pf.)
- Mansi: *-(u)m* (3Sg non-evid. obj.)
- Permic: *-m* (perf.) *-o* (pres.), *-a* (fut.)

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

1b. Participial origin of some finite form in conjugation in F-U languages

- Mordvin: first participle → 3Sg pres.
- Mari: first participle → 3Sg pres. (first conj.)
- Finnic: 3Sg, 3Pl (*tuleb, tulee; tulevad, tulevat*)
- Saami: passive participle → passive conj.

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

2. Indo-European:

aspectual → temporal conjugation system

but participles are (remain) aspectual

(not vice versa)

Are participles „*deverbal* nominals”?

Affirmative – but verbs must be considered at an evolutionary stage where the personal paradigm is not yet (wholly) developed.

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

3. The older the sources, the more frequently participles appear in predicative role.

Rigveda text: only participial predicates.

Are participles „deverbal *nominals*“?

- Deverbal nominals do not usually penetrate into conjugation.
- Derived adjectives mostly derive from nouns, not verbs; no models for *de-verbal* participles.
- Derived adjectives never “inherit” tense and voice, retain verbal argument structure at most partly.

Participles are more archaic than verbal conjugation

Languages with no adnominal adjectives exist, but there are no languages without predicative adjectives.

In Pre-Indo-European: nouns, verbs, particles. (No adjectives yet.)

If participles arose by analogy with adjectives, then participles are far younger than verbs are.

This contradicts to the fact of penetration of participles into the finite conjugation.

Primordial participles were predicates.

4. Difference between predicativity of adjectives and participles: presence/lack of copulas

- Originally no copula at all, in Pre-IE no difference between verbal and nominal predicates
- Later: copula with adjectives but not with participles

Primordial participles were predicates.

5. Finnish: *tulevat* could not have become a personal verbal form if it had been construed as an adjective

pojat tulevat (**pojat ovat tulevat*)

tuli NEG: *ei tullut* (**ei ole tullut*)

tultu – as an adnominal adjective?!

Primordial participles were predicates.

6. Participles – phrases of sentential value

- Ancient IE languages: relative, conditional, concessive, time and purpose clauses and other circumstantial phrases
- Common in OV languages (Proto-IE: an SOV language)
- Subordinate clauses ~ SOV → SVO?

Primordial participles were predicates.

1. Participles incorporated into the finite conjugation.
2. Aspectual participles alongside temporal conjugation.
3. Predicative use of participles in old Indo-European languages.
4. Frequent lack of copulas alongside participial predicates.
5. Finnic third person singular and plural verbal forms.
6. Participles in the function of later relative clauses in old IE languages.
7. Conjunction between participle and verb in old IE languages
8. Patient nouns in participle + noun compounds.
9. Nominalized participles in sentential function.
10. Active use of passive past participles.

Primordial participles were predicates

- further remarks

Emergence of participles happened a lot earlier than the word-classes (parts-of-speech) arrangement of the lexical stuff.

Participles are primordially **predicates**, not verbs.

Participles are able to fulfill the function of an attribute, but they are not adjectives either.

Do participles substitute for subordinate (relative) clauses?

- Subordinate clauses cannot lack finite verbs.
- Prerequisite: finite verbs in the simple sentence.
- Participles are older than the verbal paradigm.
- Consequence: Participles are older than subordinate clauses.

Subordinate clauses substitute for participles.

Predicativity and voice of participles

- Voice cannot be a built-in feature for participles.
- Hun. past tense: **past participle + personal ending**
ír-t → *ír-t-am* 'I wrote', *ír-t-ál* 'you wrote' etc.
men-t → *men-t-em* 'I went', *men-t-él* 'you went' etc.
- The pattern is the same for intransitive verbs,
→ at the time of formation of the past tense, past participles must have been **neuter** as regards **voice**.

Predicativity and voice of participles

Formation of voices presupposes the transitive frame in syntax:

- opposition of subject (agent) and direct object (patient)
- consequence: active and passive sentence structures
- the raise of voices involves predicative function
- Conclusion: participles needed to be in predicative function in order to gain diathesis.

Predicativity and voice of participles

The diathetic ambiguity of participles in adnominal function proves that their reanalysis as attributes happened earlier than their diathetic bifurcation in predicative role.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

- In Uralic languages, participles can often have both an active and a passive meaning.
- Diathetic neutrality of the participle is equal to that of its participial suffix, separately taken.
- Ambiguous examples: when one and the same participial word-form can be used both with active and passive meaning.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Hungarian

- As a rule, present participles (-ó/-ő) – active, past participles (-t/-tt) – passive. But:

eladó lány ‘salesgirl’ – active,

eladó lány ‘girl to marry off’ – passive;

olvasott ember ‘a well-read man’ – active,

olvasott könyv ‘a widely read book’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Ostyak/Khanty

- Present participles (-*tə*, -*te*, -*tĩ*, -*ti* etc.) – active, but there are passive usages as well:

Kaz. *wŭli-pŏrti wəj* ‘reindeer-biting animal (= wolf)’ – active,

Kaz. *jaśtĩ jĩnk* ‘drink water’ – passive.

nəpek ɣanšut əvi ‘the girl writing a letter’ – active,

əvijn ɣanšut nəpek ‘the letter being written by the girl’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Ostyak/Khanty

- Past participles (*-ə̃m*, *-î̃m*, *-mə̃*, *-mî̃*, *-m*) – both passive and active:

Vj. *jömə̃ kăsi* ‘the man who has arrived’ – active,

V. *kănčam nipik* ‘a written book’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Mansi/Vogul

- Continuous participle (*-ne, -n*):

minne χum ‘walking man’ – active,

line jiw ‘throwing stick’ – passive.

- Perfect participle (*-m*):

jiw lim χum ‘the man who has thrown the stick’ – active,

ēry^um ērye ‘the song sung by him/her’ – passive .

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Udmurt/Votyak

- Continuous participle (*-iś, -ś*) – always active,
- Perfect (*-em, -m*), future (*-no, -ono*) and possibility participles (*-mon*) – both active and passive:

li_čtem ki_šnomurt ‘a woman who has arrived’ – active,

li_čžem k_niga ‘a read book’ – passive.

pono gužem ‘next (lit. coming) year’ – active,

korano pu ‘the tree to be chopped down’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Udmurt/Votyak

giriṁon pijaš ‘a young man who can plough’ – active,
giriṁon inti ‘a place that can be ploughed’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Komi/Zyryan

- The “active continuous” participle (-*iś*) always active,
- “Passive continuous” (-*an*), and perfective (-*em*) both active and passive:

vuśan jem ‘sewing needle’ – active,

kežan šu ‘seed for sowing’ – passive.

veleđem mort ‘scholarly man’ – active,

pežalem náń ‘baked bread’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Komi/Zyryan

itškan mort ‘scythe-man’ – active,

itškan turun ‘grass being scythed’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Erzya and Moksha/Mordvin

- Five-six participles bound to one of the voices,
- but participle perfect (Erzya -*ź*, Moksha -*f*) can be both active and passive:

še uřvakstoź brać ‘that married brother’ – active,

peľs końaź šel’mse ‘with half-closed eyes’ – passive.

šizef alaša ‘a tired horse’ – active,

noldaf alaša ‘a horse let loose’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Mari/Tcheremis

- Continuous participles (east. -š^he, -š^ho, -š^hö, w. -š^he, -š^ha) are usually active,
- Perfective (east. -m^he, -m^ho, -m^hö, w. -m^he, -m^ha) and future (-š^haš(lək), w. also -š^häš(lək)) participles – both active and passive:

kol kučəmo üzɣar ‘a tool for fishing’ – active,

kuralme mlande ‘a ploughed field’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Mari/Tcheremis

tolšaš i ‘the coming year’ – active,

âštâšaš paša ‘the work to be done’ – passive.

Ambiguous example:

lutšaš jen ‘a man going to read’ – active,

lutšaš kníga ‘a book to be read’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Fennic languages

Finnish:

-va/-vä (< **-pa/-pä*):

teke-vä 'doing', *teh-tä-vä* 'to be done', 'task'

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Fennic languages

Finnish:

-nut/-nyt active, but *-(t)tu/-(t)ty* both voices:

karhu on tapttu ‘the bear has been killed’ – passive,

ei tapttu (as NEG of *tapettiin*) ‘nobody has killed, no murder has taken place’ – active,

tapttu karhu ‘a killed bear’ – passive,

karhun tapttua kananpojan ‘when the bear had killed the chicken’ – active.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Fennic languages

Finnish:

-maton both voices:

tuntematon 'unknown' – passive,

kuolematon 'immortal' – active.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Saami/Lapponian languages

- Continuous participle (fused, **-je < *-ja*) and *-g'gje* – always active.
- Perfective participle (*-m*) active or passive depending on the verbal root:

čallam ‘who has written’ *boattam* ‘who has come’ – active,

gullâm ‘heard’; *čallum*, *čallujuvvum* ‘written’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Saami/Lapponian languages

Kildin Saami (- V + *nč*) – both active and passive:

ormnč olmá ‘the man who sat down’ – active,

vařešt raddnč mur ‘wood chopped in the forest’ –
passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Samoyedic languages

Selkup

- Imperfective (*-(n)tił'*) and privative (*-kunčitił'*) participles – always active,
- Perfective (*-pił'*) and instant (*-(p)såtił'*, *-(p)sātił'*) – both active and passive:

ālčipił' 'fallen' – active,

qetpił' 'captured' – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Samoyedic languages

Selkup

- Perfective (*-p̄il*) and instant (*-(p)s̄at̄il*, *-(p)s̄āt̄il*) – both active and passive:

tēsä japorps̄at̄il qup ‘the man going to fight with you’ – active,

mēps̄at̄il alaḡo ‘the barge to be constructed’ – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Samoyedic languages

Selkup

- Perfective (*-pɨl' /-pyl'*) (ambiguous):

ɔ̄täp qətpyl' qorgy 'the bear who has killed the deer'
– active,

qorgyt qətpyl' ɔ̄tä 'the deer killed by the bear'
– passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice

Samoyedic languages

Nenets

- Imperfect participle (*-na, -ńe, -da, -d'e, -ta, t'e*) is strictly active,
- Affirmative (*-wī/-mī*), negative perfect (*-wadawej/-madawej*) and future participle (*-wanda/-manda*) – both voices.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Samoyedic languages

Nenets

jīl'ewwī 'who has lived' – active,

ηadammī 'torne' – passive.

jīl'ewwadawej 'who has not lived yet' – active,

pod'ermmadawej 'unharnessed' – passive.

towwanda '(something) to come, future' – active,

śertawwanda '(something) to be done' – passive.

Participles of Uralic languages and voice Samoyedic languages

Nenets

- Negative (an ambiguous example):

śertawadawej ‘who has not done (something) yet /
what has not been done yet’.

Have there existed participles in the U/FU protolanguage?

Typological considerations: the answer is YES.

- richness of participial systems in the Uralic languages,
- similitude of shape and functions,
- diathetic uncertainty,
- predominant role of non-finite subordination related to OV basic word order.

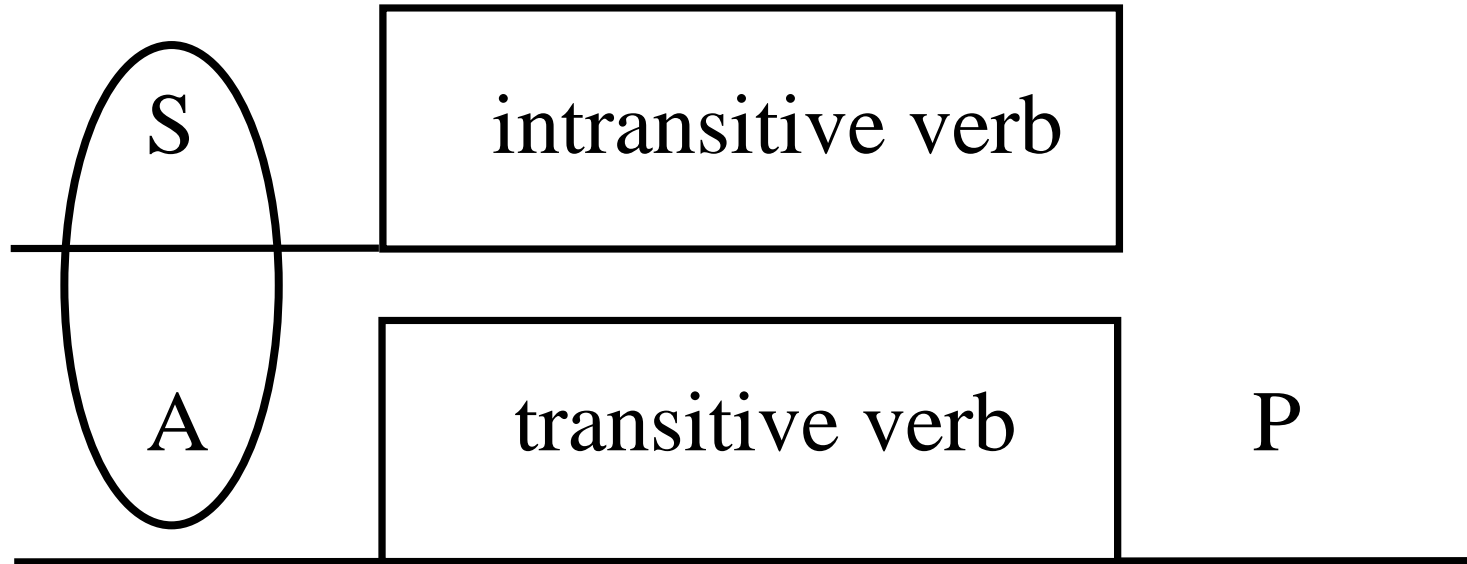
Participles in the U/FU protolanguage (and beyond)

- Participles already existed in the Uralic protolanguage.
- As regards voice, they were originally indeterminate which is partly retained in their later adnominal function.

Participles in the U/FU protolanguage (and beyond)

- What period can the raise of verbal voice be dated to in human language?
- The answer requires historical-typological considerations targeting **alignment types**.

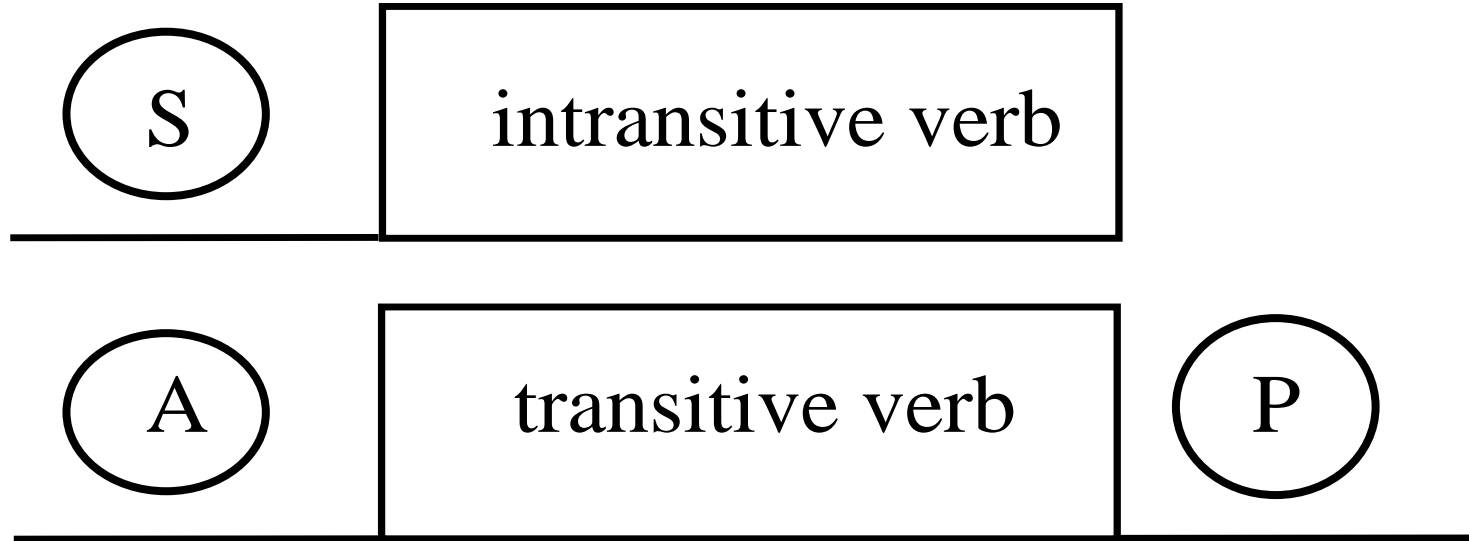
Transitivity scheme



Nominative pattern

$$S = A \leftrightarrow P$$

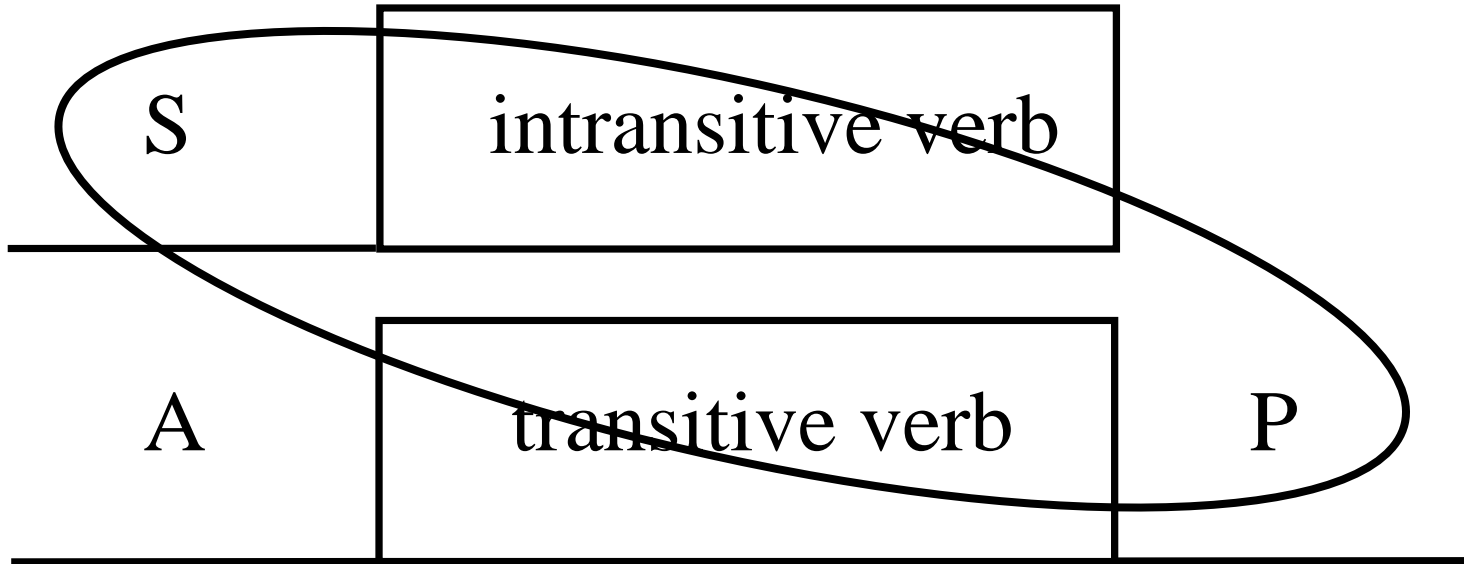
Transitivity scheme



Triadic (tripartite) pattern

$S \leftrightarrow A \leftrightarrow P$

Transitivity scheme

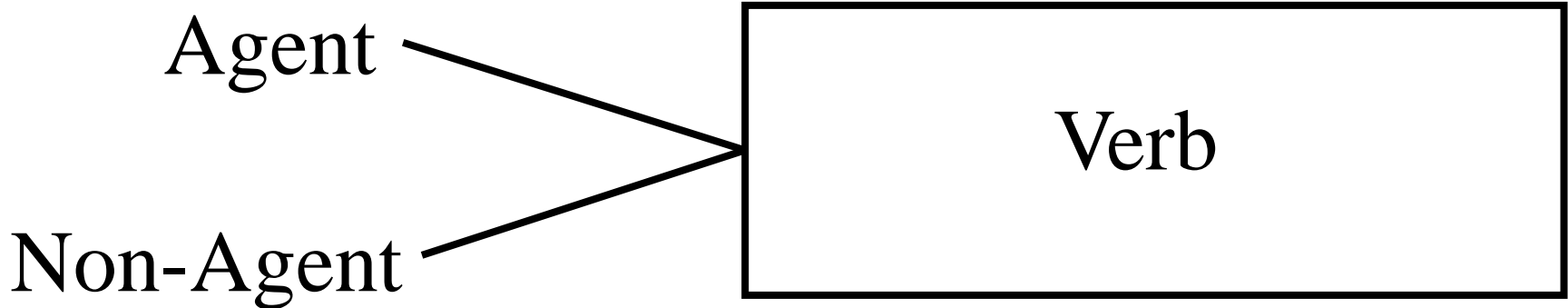


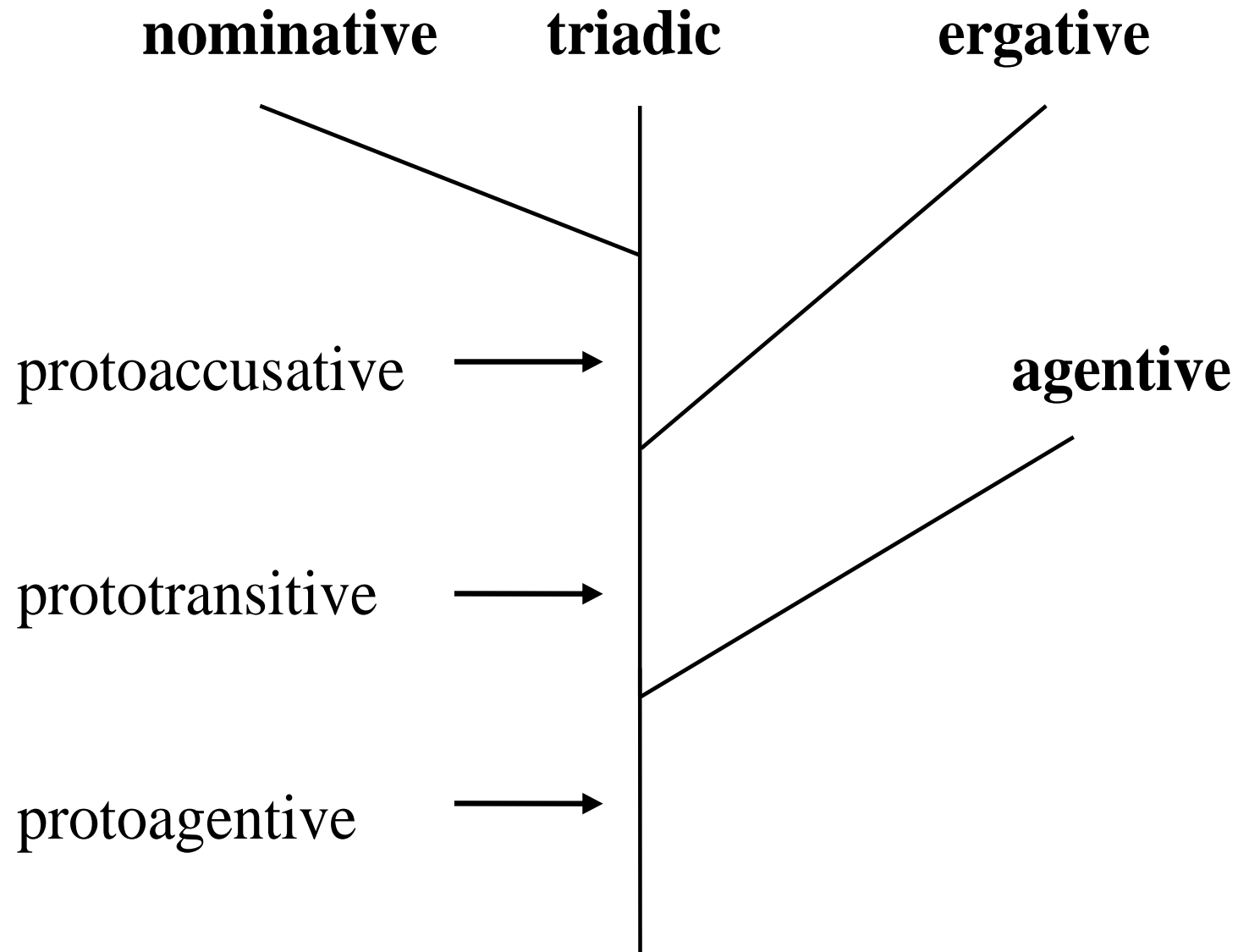
Ergative pattern

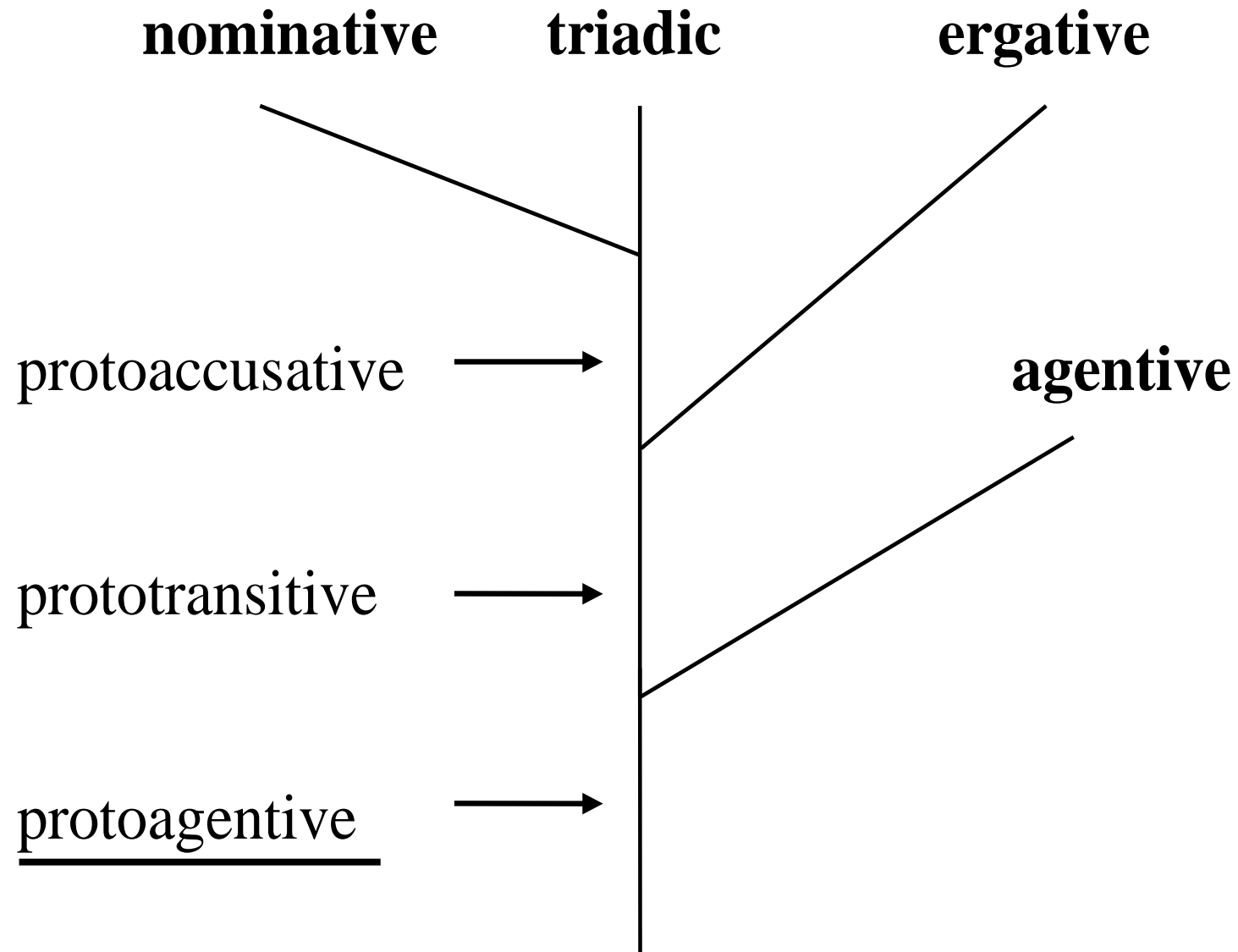
$S = P \leftrightarrow A$

Agentive (active) pattern

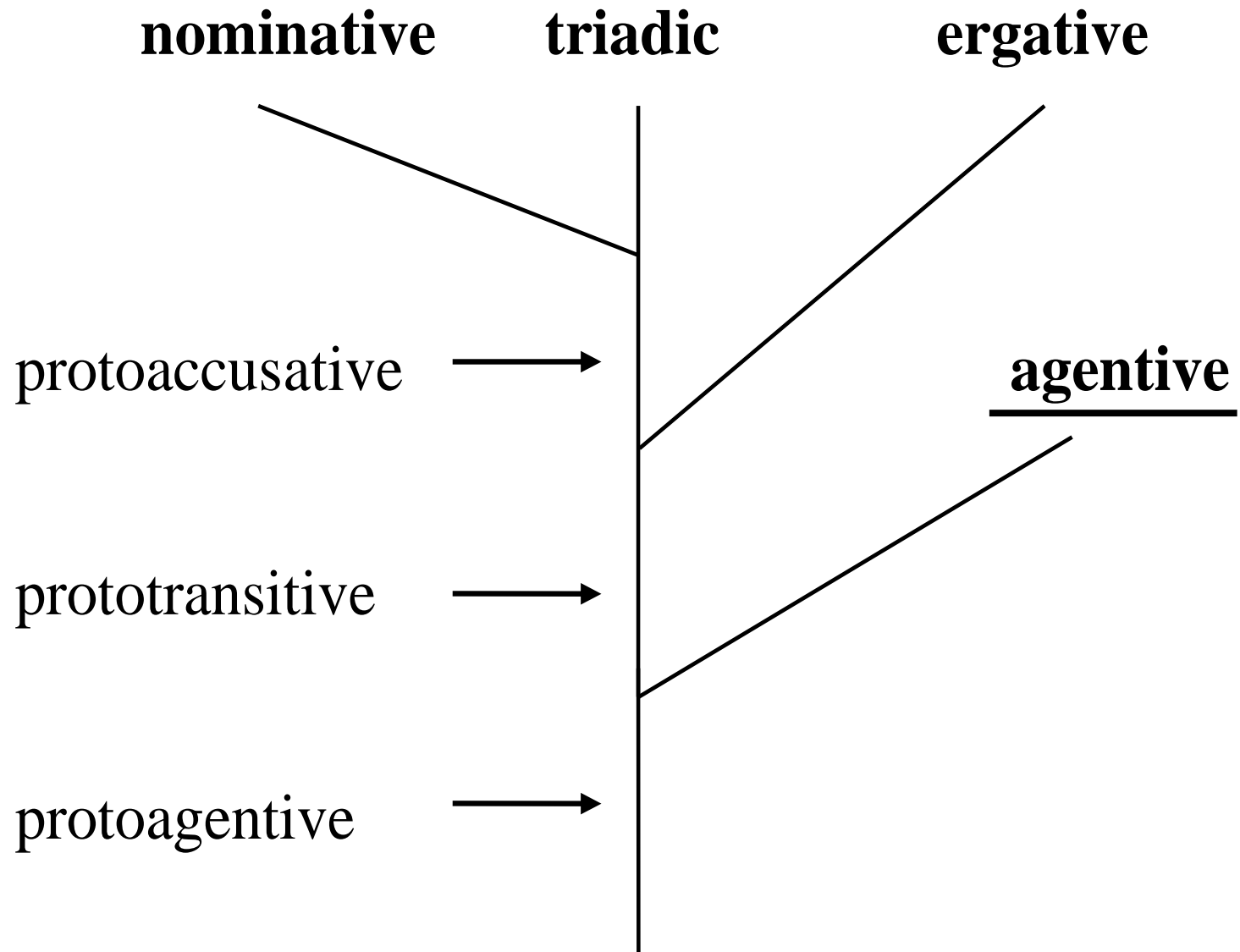
Agentive (active) pattern

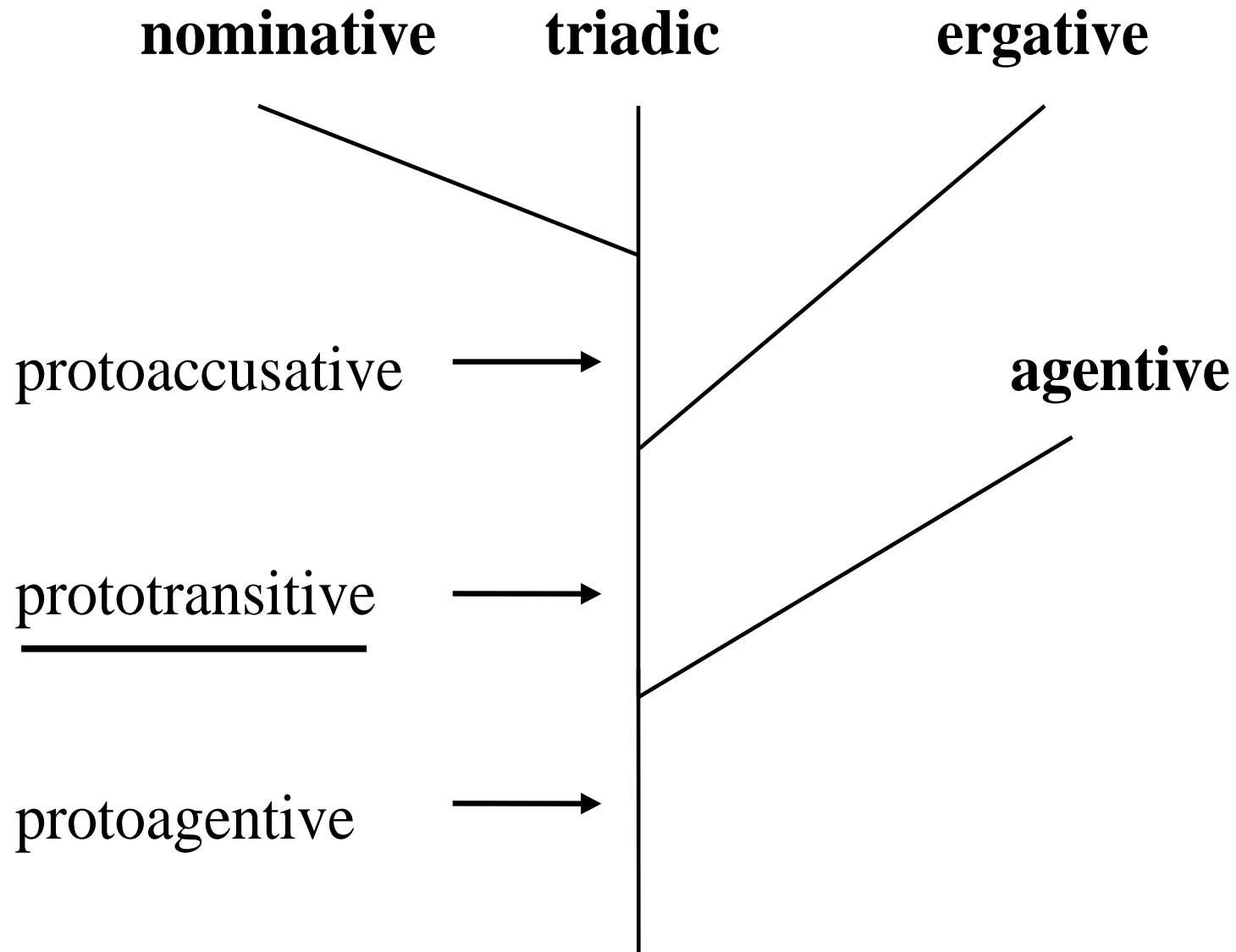




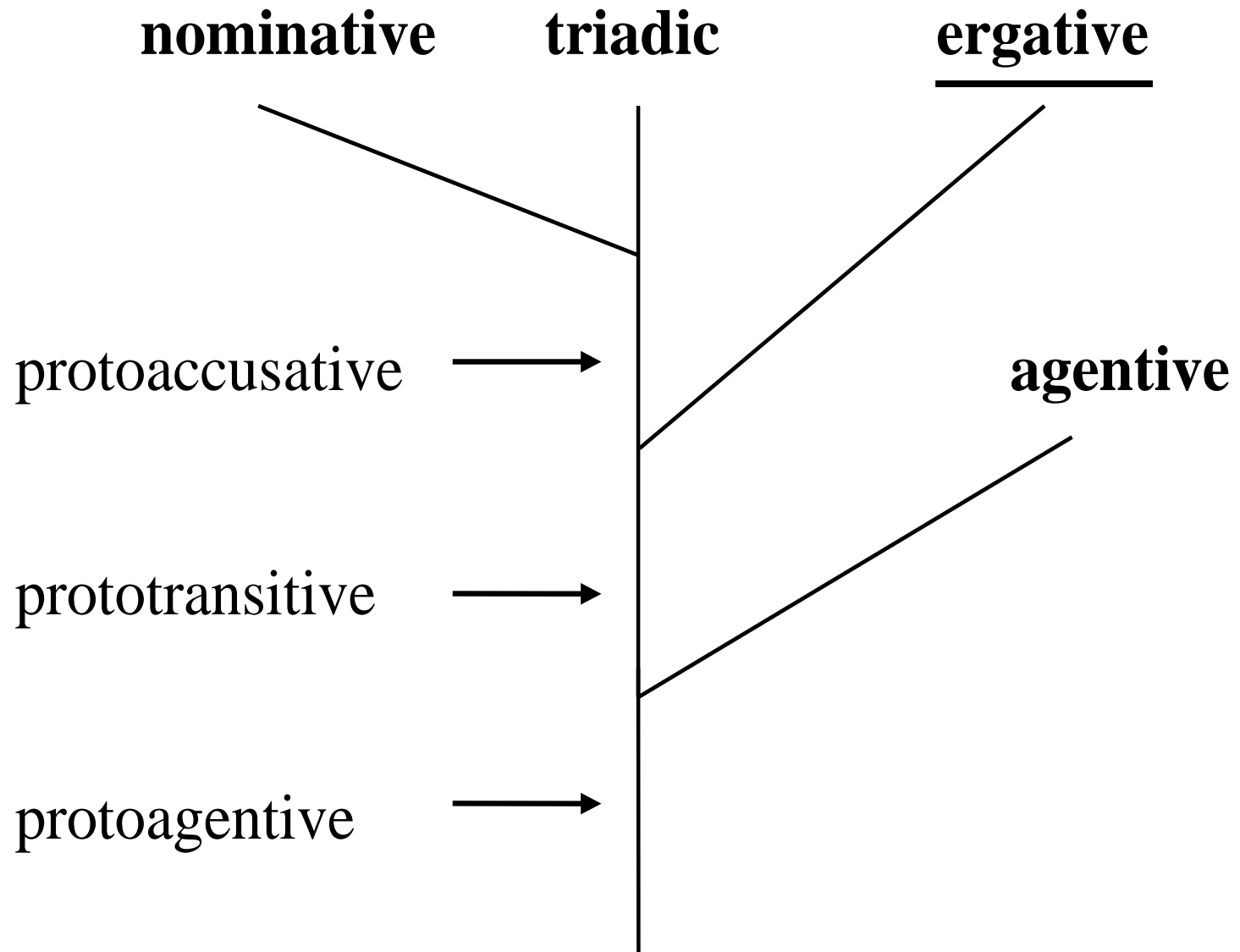


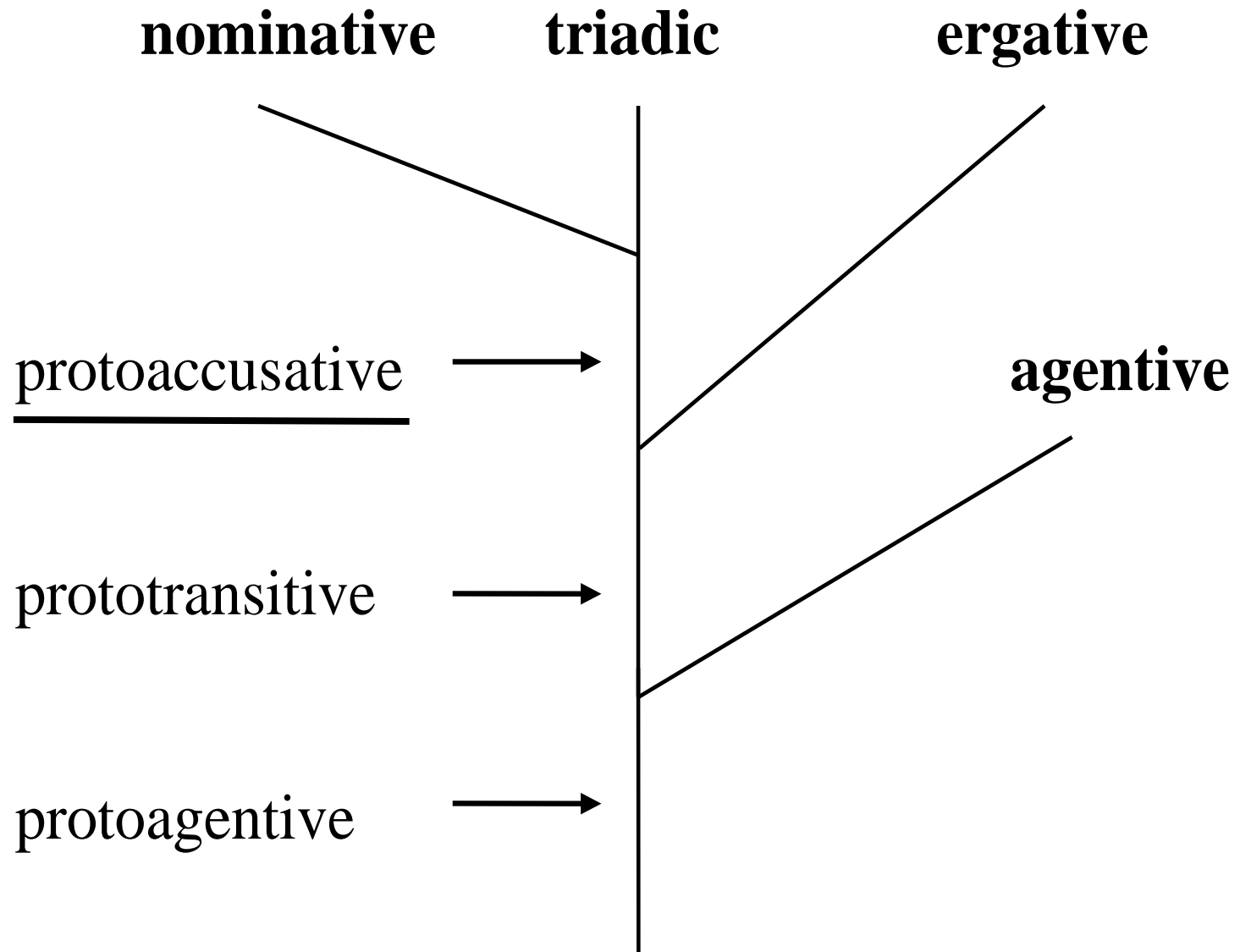
- Protoagentive stadium:
 - arguments: agents and non-agents
 - active and stative paradigms in conjugation
 - yielding the agentive type



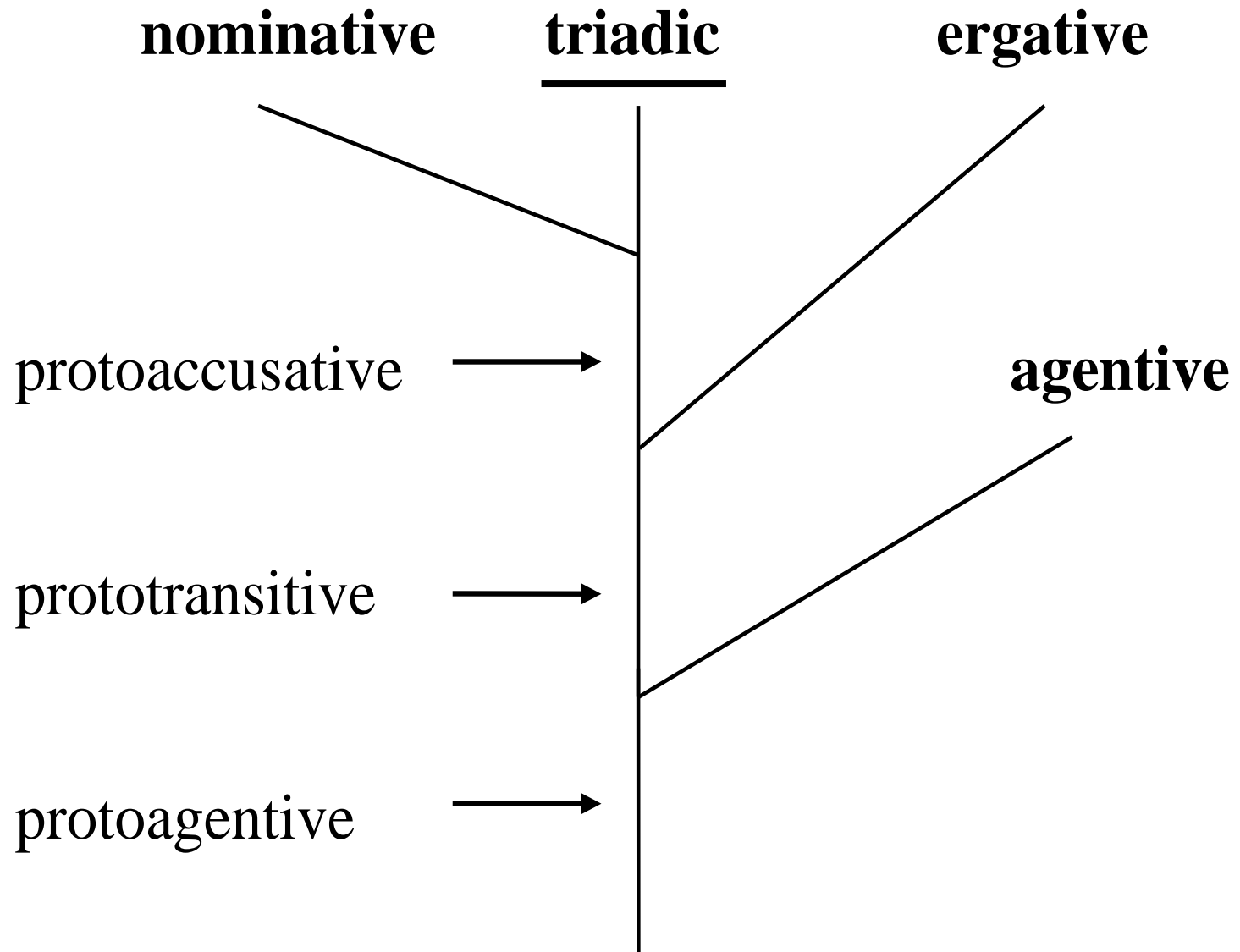


- Prototransitive stadium:
 - transitivity principle overcomes,
 - intransitive verbs: marking of animacy vanishes; marking of inanimacy coincides with the P position,
 - transitive verbs: marking of inanimacy vanishes; animacy marking reanalyzed as transitivity marking (transitive subject) in general,
 - giving birth to ergative system.





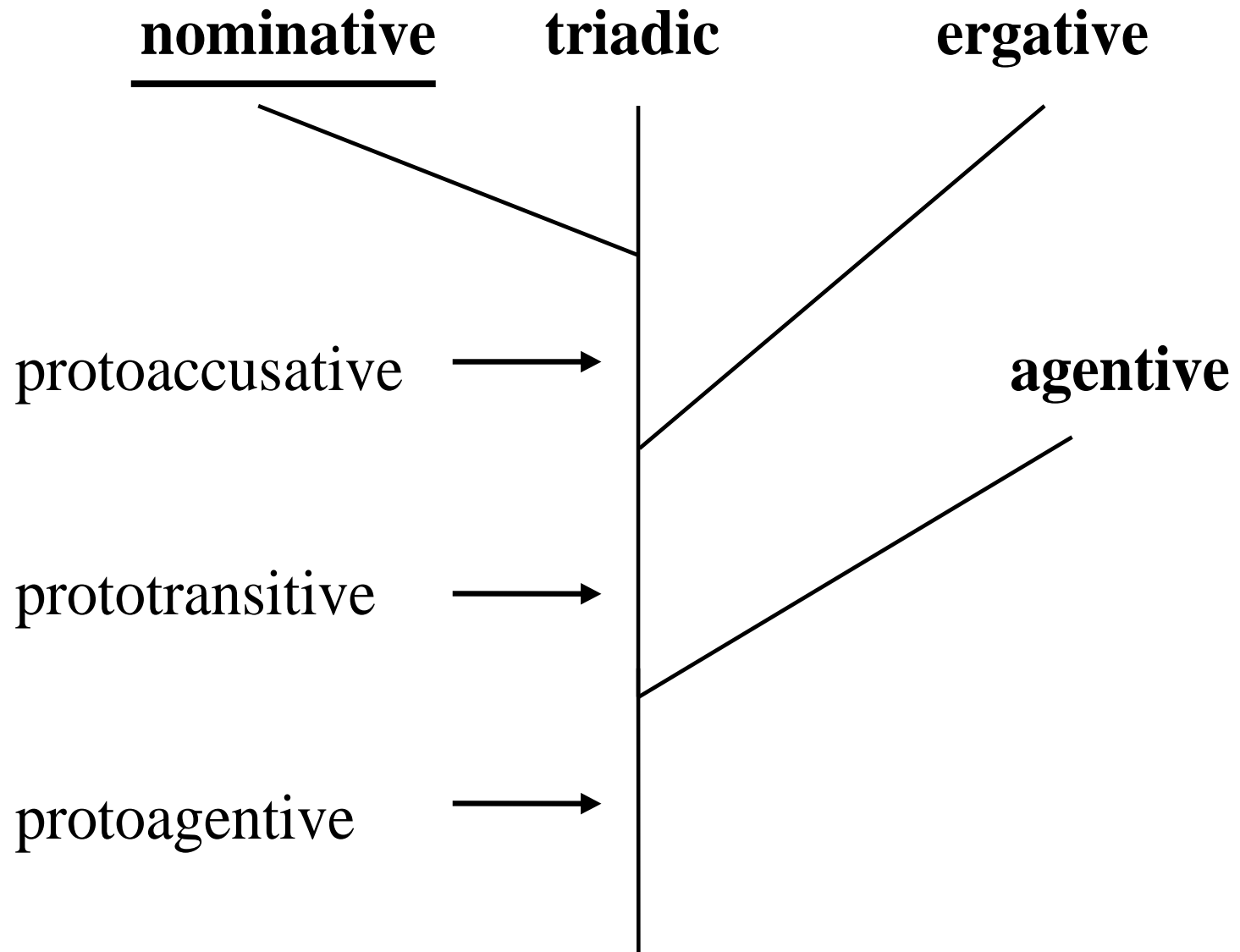
- Protoaccusative stadium:
 - evolving of a dedicated marking for the patients of transitive verbs (the P position)
 - stabilizing the triadic structure for some languages,



- Protoaccusative stadium:

- later: specific marking for S vanishes, A marking spreads onto the S position (S and A merge),

- birth of the nominative pattern and nominative case.



Participles and voice – historical way

Participles and voice – historical way

Phase No. 0

- Going-to-be participial suffixes have semantic value.
- They can attach both to nominals and verbs.
- They emphasize force, conscious, intentional activities of the denoted entities
- and/or their corresponding capability.

Participles and voice – historical way

Phase No. 1

- The same suffixes, attached to verbs, form predicates → they become participles.
- Participles keep depicting activities and the ability to perform them (i.e. constant properties).

Participles and voice – historical way

Phase No. 2

- Due to reanalysis of predicative participles alongside additional finite predicates, as well as by analogy of adjectives,
- participles get construed as adnominal attributes →
- Double function (predicate and attribute).

Participles and voice – historical way

Phase No. 3

- In the frame of *transitive sentences*, both verbal and participial *predicates* acquire diathesis →
- *Voice* as a verbal category comes into being.

Participles and voice – historical way

Phase No. 4

- Category of voice spreads over onto adnominally used participles.
- A part of participles and participial suffixes preserves their original nature of lacking voice
- → *diathetic ambivalence (ambiguity)*.
- **Diathetic uncertainty of participles is a remnant of their oldest, pretransitive past.**

...and as far as Uralic languages are concerned

- Instability of voices of participles in the Uralic languages indicates that, primordially, they were *neuter* in regards diathesis.
- Uralic participles attest that their *principle* goes back to the prenominal, or, even, pretransitive stadium of language evolution.

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Thank you for your kind attention.