Verbs of throwing and categorization of completive events: evidence from Hill Mari

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Research focus

- Hill Mari language (< Finno-Ugric, closely related to Meadow Mari)
- Grammaticalization of two verbs of throwing – *šuaš* and *kə̈škäš* – in complex predicates.
- Combinatorial restrictions in the grammaticalized uses.
- Connection with the primary meanings.

What is a complex predicate?

- A typical feature of the Mari languages, see [Serebrennikov 1960: 190–199; Pengitov et al. (eds.) 1961: 202–216; Chkhaidze 1969; Driussi 1992-1993; Bradley 2010, 2016].

- Some theoretical contribution from our project: [Kashkin, Dyachkov 2018; Dyachkov 2019].

mən' kukšə̂	*šudə̂-m*	***jə̂lat-en***	***šu-en-äm****.*
I dry	grass-ACC	burn-CVB	throw-PRET-1SG
		LEXICAL VERB	LIGHT VERB

'I have burnt down dry grass'

What is a complex predicate?

• No detachment possible (with the exception of some clitics)

püergə̈	*püšängə̈-m*	**ro-en**	**šu-en**.
man	tree-ACC	cut-CVB	throw-PRET

'The man has cut off the tree'.

*püergə̈	**ro-en**	*püšängə̈-m*	**šu-en.**
man	cut-CVB	tree-ACC	throw-PRET

#püergə̈	*püšängə̈-m*	**ro-en**	*tədə̈-m*	**šu-en**.
man	tree-ACC	cut-CVB	that-ACC	throw-PRET

'The man threw the tree after cutting it off'

What is a complex predicate?

- Inflection markers on a light verb.

vasʼa-m	**pušt-ə̂n**	**šu-mə̂.**
Vasya-ACC	kill-CVB	throw-PTCP.PASS

'Vasya is killed'.

*vasʼa-m	**pušt-mə̂**	**šu-mə̂.**
Vasya-ACC	kill-PTCP.PASS	throw-PTCP.PASS

Data and methods

- Field project of OTIPL MSU: 2016 – present.
- The village of Kuznetsovo (Hill Mari district) and its surroundings.
- Project website: http://hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/en/
- Elicitation + text corpus collected in field (63522 tokens so far).

Verbs of throwing: typology

- [Ivtushok 2015, 2016]: lexical typology of primary meanings; grammaticalization is not discussed.

- [Heine, Kuteva 2004: 297–298]: grammaticalization into perfect or completive markers.

- [Grashchenkov 2015] on Turkic: punctual semantics in complex predicates.

Hill Mari verbs: basic meanings

- See also [Mordashova 2017; Kashkin, Mordashova, in press]
- *šuaš*: one throwing action.
- *kəškäš*: multiple throwing actions.

*pet'a   m'ačik-əm **šu-en**.*
Petya   ball-ACC   throw-PRET
'Petya threw a ball once'.

*pet'a   m'ačik-əm **kəšk-en**.*
Petya   ball-ACC   throw-PRET
'Petya threw a ball multiple times'

Hill Mari verbs: basic meanings

• Only *kəᵕškäš* with liquids and granular substances.

tədəᵛ vəd-əm   *vedəᵗä*   *gəᵛc* **kəᵕšk-en** /   ***šu-en***.

he   water -ACC bucket   EL throw-PRET   throw-PRET

'He poured the water out of the bucket'.

tədəᵛ *pəᵗcəᵗ-m*   **kəᵕšk-en**   /   ***šu-en***.

he   seed-ACC throw-PRET   throw-PRET

'He threw some seeds'.

The verbs *šuaš* and *kӛškäš*: previous research

- [Pengitov et al. (eds.) 1961: 206–207; Chkhaidze 1969: 35, 55; Bradley 2010: 72, 95–96; Krasnova et al. 2017: 166–167].

- Rapid and uncontrollable perfective action.

- What is not clear:

  - ✓collocational restrictions;

  - ✓differences between two grammaticalized predicates.

Constructions with *šuaš*: telicity & speed

püergə̈　*püšängə̈-m* kok　*minut-ə̃štə̂* / *kok　minut*　**ro-en**　**šu-en.**

man　　　　tree-ACC　two　minute-IN　　two　minute cut-CVB throw-PRET

'The man cut off the tree in two minutes / *was cutting the tree for two minutes'.

püergə̈　　*pə̈sə̈n*　　　/　　ˀ*olen*　*pandê-m*　**ro-en**　**šu-en**.

man　　　　quickly　　　　　　slowly stick-ACC cut-CVB throw-PRET

'The man cut the stick quickly / ˀslowly'.

Constructions with *šuaš*: lexical verbs

- Prototype: lexical verbs of destruction:
- ✓ Cutting & breaking: *pəd̂ər̂taš* 'break', *kər̈äš* 'tear, break', *pĕčkedäš* 'cut (with a knife)', *roaš* 'cut (with an axe)', *šeläš* 'chop (wood)'
- ✓ Other ways of destroying: *jəl̃ataš* 'burn down', *puštaš* 'kill', *potopaš* 'flood'
- ✓ Removing some object or sth. from the surface: *ləktaš* 'extract', *salaš* 'mow', *itəräjäš* 'clean', *panežäš* 'singe'
- ✓ Shift to the mental domain: *mondaš* 'forget'.

- Deviations from the prototype: some verbs of physical impact, of possessor change, of creation.
- Special constructional properties; see below.

Constructions with *kə̃škä̃š*: telicity & speed

*vas'a   pumaga   l'ist-ə̈m   kok   minut-ə̃štə̂ / *kok minut*
Vasya paper   sheet-ACC   two   minute-IN   two minute
kə̂šked   kə̃šk-en.
tear.CVB throw-PRET
'Vasya tore the sheet of paper in two minutes / *for two minutes'.

*vas'a   pi-vlä-m   pə̈sə̈n / ˀolen   **pušt-ə̂n   kə̃šk-en***.
Vasya   dog-PL-ACC   quickly   slowly   kill-CVB   throw-PRET
'Vasya killed the dogs quickly / ˀslowly'

Constructions with *kәškäš*: lexical verbs

- The same range of destruction verbs as with *šuaš*.
- No shift to the mental domain (with *mondaš* 'forget').

šuaš vs. *kə́škä́š*: number of participant

- *šuaš*: not relevant with verbs of destruction.
- *kə́škä́š*: a (semantically) multiple participant is needed.
- This participant can be different depending on a frame.

Constructions with *kǝ̈škä̈š*: multiple participant

- Multiple Patient.

mǝ̈n' pükšem-ǝ̈m ***šüt-en*** ***šu-š-ǝ̂m*** / ****šüt-en*** ***kǝ̈škǝ̈-š-ǝ̈m***.
I knot-ACC untie-CVB throw-AOR-1SG untie-CVB throw-AOR-1SG
'I untied the knot'.

mǝ̈n' pükšem-vlä-m ***šüt-en*** ***šu-š-ǝ̂m*** / ***šüt-en*** ***kǝ̈škǝ̈-š-ǝ̈m***.
I knot-PL-ACC untie-CVB throw-AOR-1SG untie-CVB throw-AOR-1SG
'I untied the knots'.

Constructions with *kəӟ̈käš*: multiple participant

- Multiple Result with cutting & breaking verbs

*vas'a pol'enä-m pele loš   **šel-əӟ̈   šu-en**   /   ***šel-əӟ̈   kəӟ̈k-en***.
Vasya log-ACC   half middle chop-CVB throw-PRET chop-CVB throw-PRET
'Vasya chopped the log into two parts'.

*vas'a pol'enä-m šukê̂ laštê̂k-eš   **šel-ən   šu-en**   /   **šel-ən   kəӟ̈k-en**.
Vasya log-ACC   many piece-LAT chop-CVB throw-PRET chop-CVB throw-PRET
'Vasya chopped the log into many parts'.

Constructions with *kə̈škä̈š*: multiple participant

• Multiple Recipient with ditransitive verbs.

kečə̈ mə̃kə̂ pazar-ə̃štə̂ əl̂-ə̂n-am,   *cilä olma-m*
day along market-IN be-PRET-1SG all apple-ACC
vəẑal-en šu-en-äm   /   ***vəẑal-en kəšk-en-äm***.
sell-CVB throw-PRET-1SG   sell-CVB throw-PRET-1SG
'I spent the whole day at the market and sold all the apples'.

mə̈n' cilä olma-m   *vas'a-lan*   ***vəẑal-en šu-en-äm*** /
I   all   apple-ACC Vasya-DAT sell-CVB throw-PRET-1SG
?***vêẑal-en kə̈šk-en-äm***.
sell-CVB throw-PRET-1SG
'I sold all the apples to Vasya'.

Constructions with *šuaš*: periphery & multiple participant

- Verbs of physical impact without destruction (*mə̆škaš* 'wash', *uťužaš* 'iron').

- Verbs of possessor change (*və̃žalaš* 'sell', *podaraš* 'present (as a gift)').

- Verbs of creation (*siräš* 'write', *jalštaš* 'tie (a knot)').

- Acceptable with multiple object & pragmatic presupposition (in terms of [Lambrecht 1994]).

- An exhaustive interpretation is more likely.

Constructions with *šuaš*: periphery & multiple participant

mǝ̈n' törölkä-m   **mǝ͂šk-ǝ̂n   šu-en-äm.*

I   plate-ACC   wash-CVB   throw-PRET-1SG

'I washed a/the plate'.

*mǝ̈n' cilä   törölkä-m   **mǝ͂šk-ǝ̂n   šu-en-äm**.*

I   all   plate-ACC   wash-CVB   throw-PRET-1SG

'I washed all the plates'.

*ˀmǝ̈n' lu   törölkä-m **mǝ͂šk-ǝ̂n   šu-en-äm,**   vǝ̈ž-ǝ̈t   eče kod-ǝ̂n.*

I   ten plate-ACC wash-CVB throw-PRET-1SG five-FULL still remain-PRET

'I washed ten plates, there are five more'.

Constructions with *šuaš*: periphery & multiple participant

*papa-m   *kn'igä-m*   *məläm*   **podar-en**   **šu-en**.

granny-POSS.1SG book-ACC I.DAT   present-CVB   throw-PRET

'Granny gave me a book (as a gift)'.

papa-m   *cilä*   *kn'igä-vlä-žə̈-m*   **podar-en**   **šu-en**.

granny-POSS.1SG all   book-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC present-CVB   throw-PRET

'Granny distributed all her books as gifts'.

Constructions with *šuaš*: periphery & multiple participant

*tagačə̂ mə̈n' koklə̂ sir-mäš-ə̈m **sir-en** **šu-en-äm**.

today I twenty write-NMLZ-ACC write-CVB throw-PRET-1SG

'Today I wrote twenty letters'.

tagačə̂ mə̈n' koklə̂ sir-mäš-ge **sir-en** **šu-en-äm**.

today I twenty write-NMLZ-COM write-CVB throw-PRET-1SG

'Today I wrote all the twenty letters'.

šuaš vs. *kə̈škä̈š*: control over an action

- *šuaš*: not relevant.
- *kə̈škä̈š*: only controllable actions.

*mën' jori   pi   budkê-m   **pôdôrt-en   šu-š-ôm** /*

I   deliberately dog booth-ACC break-CVB   throw-AOR-1SG

pôdôrt-en   kə̈škə̈-š-ə̈m.

break-CVB throw-AOR-1SG

'I broke the doghouse deliberately'.

*mën' jori   agə̂l pi   budkê-m   **pôdôrt-en   šu-š-ôm** /*

I   deliberately NEG dog booth-ACC break-CVB throw-AOR-1SG

***pôdôrt-en kə̈škə̈-š-ə̈m**.

break-CVB throw-AOR-1SG

'I broke the doghouse accidentally'.

Discussion

- Primary meaning vs. grammaticalized meaning.

- Degree of grammaticalization.

- Semantic classes of verbs & quantification of participants.

Primary vs. grammaticalized meaning

- Throwing as removing an unnecessary Patient.
- This meaning component is preserved in the core of constructions (cf. 'cut', 'burn down', 'kill').

- Throwing as a completive event.
- A broader compatibility becomes acceptable (cf. 'wash', 'sell', 'write').

- Cf. [Sweetser 1988: 400]: "…there is a sense in which grammaticalization involves loss of meaning, and another sense in which it does not".

Degree of grammaticalization

- The verb *kəškäš* imposes more restrictions on the situation stemming from its primary meaning.
- Probably different degrees of grammaticalization? Cf. [Lichtenberk 1991; Traugott, Trousdale 2010; Lehmann 2015] etc.

Verb	Primary meaning	Number of a participant (core uses)	Control over the action
šuaš	'throw (one action)'	singular/multiple	yes/no
kəškäš	'throw (multiple actions)'	multiple	yes

Semantic classes & quantification

- Constructional differences between 'kill', 'cut', 'chop' etc. vs. 'wash', 'iron', 'sell' etc.

- Prototypical Patient & prototypical transitivity vs. peripheral Patient-like participants & peripheral transitivity, cf., among others, [Hopper, Thompson 1980; Dowty 1991; Malchukov 2005].

- Problem: multiple participant with *šuaš* (< basically one action of throwing) with those lexical verbs which do not involve a prototypical Patient.

- Possible direction of explanation: the semantics of intensification.

Hill Mari light verbs and intensification

- *keäš* 'go; leave' → quick transition to a result state,
  e.g. *košk-en **ke-n*** (dry.up-CVB go-PRET) 'dried up' (e.g. about washed clothes; in three hours / *in three days).

- *šalgaš* 'stand' → a frequently repeated action,
  e.g. *tol-ên **šalg-a*** (come-CVB stand-NPST.3SG) 'comes' (often / *rarely).

- *šӛndäš* 'seat' → accumulation of some resource or quality,
  e.g. *kačk-ên **šӛnd-en*** (eat-CVB seat-PRET) 'ate' (much / *few).

⇒Intensifying some quality relevant for a given situation.

- *šuaš* with 'wash' etc.: intensifying quantity & intensifying the completive semantics of the predicate.

- *šuaš* with 'kill' etc.: the completive semantics is already basic for the frames of destruction.

Thank you for your attention!