

# When does an affix cease to be an affix? The lexicalization of inflected closed-class nominals in some Uralic languages

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## Background

- Many Uralic languages have large semantic case inventories
  - Spatial and non-spatial cases
  - Semantic cases, especially spatial cases, tend to have more than one sense
- All nominals (e.g., content nouns, adjectives, pro-forms, relational nouns) can be inflected for case in different degree
  - There can be some inconsistencies in the paradigms of closed-class items
  - All stem-case pairs cannot express all senses (e.g., temporal senses are restricted to stems referring to temporal entities)
- There is also an abundance of lexicalized/grammaticalized elements in Uralic languages where a stem and a semantic case form an indivisible unit
- At what point does a stem-case pair cease to be part of a productive paradigm and form a lexicalized/grammaticalized unit?

- There have been suggestions for properties that are important for the productivity of (derivational) morphology (Bauer 2001: 34–98)
  - The existence, probability, and possibility of a word-form
  - Degree of lexicalization of the form
  - Frequency of the form
  - Transparency of the form
  - Regularity of the form
  - Attestation of the form
  - Naturalness of the process producing the form
  - Defaultness of the process
  - Creativity of the process
  - Paradigm pressure
  - Analogy

## Productivity (cont.)

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## Productivity (cont.)

- The properties refer to both morphological and semantic analyzability on both syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels
  - Can the form be divided to its morphological parts, and is the case form interchangeable with other cases in the paradigm
  - Can the meanings of the stem and the case be clearly separated, and does changing of the case produce a regular semantic change in the form
- In Cognitive Linguistics perspective one can speak of analyzability at the phonological and semantic pole of the expression (e.g., Taylor 2002: 281–287)
  - An expression is maximally analyzable at the phonological pole, if the form can be completely segmented to morphemes, i.e., there are no morphophonological processes involved
  - An expression maximally analyzable at the semantic pole, if the meaning of the form is the compounded meaning of the parts
  - There can be partial analyzability, or analyzability only at one of the poles
  - The properties of productivity contribute differently to analyzability at the different poles

## Variation in the meaning of the stem

Case	Example	Translation
nominative	<i>kõrv</i>	'ear'
genitive	<i>kõrva</i>	'of ear'
partitive	<i>kõrva</i>	'ear'
inessive	<i>kõrvas</i>	'in ear'
elative	<i>kõrvast</i>	'from (inside) ear'
illative	<i>kõrvasse</i>	'into ear'
adessive	<i>kõrval</i>	'on ear'
ablativ	<i>kõrvalt</i>	'from (outside) of ear'
allative	<i>kõrvale</i>	'onto ear'
essive	<i>kõrvana</i>	'as ear'
translative	<i>kõrvaks</i>	'(become) ear'
terminative	<i>kõrvani</i>	'until ear'
comitative	<i>kõrvaga</i>	'with ear'
abessive	<i>kõrvata</i>	'without ear'

- Content nouns show full inflectional paradigms (ex. Estonian *kõrv* 'ear')
- Cases can have multiple senses (e.g., spatial cases express time, and adessive, ablativ, and allative express possession)

## Variation in the meaning of the stem (cont.)

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elative	<i>kõrvast</i>	'from (inside) ear'
illative	<i>kõrvasse</i>	'into ear'
adessive	<i>kõrval</i>	'next to'
ablative	<i>kõrvalt</i>	'from next to'
allative	<i>kõrvale</i>	'(to) next to'
essive	<i>kõrvana</i>	'as ear'
translative	<i>kõrvaks</i>	'(become) ear'
terminative	<i>kõrvani</i>	'until ear'
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- Relational nouns can be grammaticalize content nouns with reduced paradigms (ex. Estonian *kõrv-* 'vicinity')
- The stem has changed its meaning, but the meaning of the cases is the same as in content noun inflection
  - However, the secondary senses cannot be expressed

## Reduced paradigm

Case	Example	Translation		
nominative	<i>gurt</i>	‘village’	-	
accusative	<i>gurtez</i>	‘village’	-	
genitive	<i>gurtlen</i>	‘of village’	-	
ablative	<i>gurtleś</i>	‘of village’	-	
dative	<i>gurtli</i>	‘to/for village’	-	
caritive	<i>gurttek</i>	‘without village’	-	
adverbial	<i>gurtja</i>	‘of village’	-	
instrumental	<i>gurten</i>	‘with village’	-	
inessive	<i>gurtin</i>	‘at village’	<i>ulin</i>	‘under’
elative	<i>gurtiś</i>	‘from village’	<i>uliś</i>	‘from under’
egressive	<i>gurtišen</i>	‘from village’	<i>ulišen</i>	‘from under’
illative	<i>gurte</i>	‘to village’	<i>ule</i>	‘(to) under’
terminative	<i>gurtoź</i>	‘until village’	<i>uloź</i>	‘until under’
prolative	<i>gurtti</i>	‘via village’	<i>ulti</i>	‘(via) under’
approximative	<i>gurtlań</i>	‘towards village’	<i>ullań</i>	‘towards under’

- There are relational nouns that have lost all case inflection except the spatial cases (ex. Udmurt *ul-* ‘under’)
  - Spatial cases still form a productive paradigm
- The stem has lost its original content noun meaning, but the meaning of the cases is the same as in content noun inflection
  - However, some secondary senses cannot be expressed



## Same form, different meaning

Case	Example	Translation		
nominative	<i>kudo</i>	'house'	<i>meže</i>	'what'
genitive	<i>kudoń</i>	'of house'	<i>mežeń</i>	'of what'
partitive	<i>kudodo</i>	'house, from house'	<i>mežd'e</i>	'what'
dative	<i>kudońeń</i>	'for house'	<i>mežńeń</i>	'for what'
inessive	<i>kudoso</i>	'at house'	<i>mežese</i>	'where'
elative	<i>kudosto</i>	'from house'	<i>mežeste</i>	'from where'
illative	<i>kudos</i>	'to house'	<i>mežes</i>	'(to) where'
lative	<i>kudov</i>	'home, to house'	-	
prolative	<i>kudova</i>	'via house'	-	
translative	<i>kudoks</i>	'as house, (become) house'	<i>mežeks</i>	'why'
abessive	<i>kudovtomo</i>	'without house'	-	
comparative	<i>kudoška</i>	'as big as house'	-	

- A case can express totally different meanings with stems of different parts of speech (ex. *Erzya mežeks* 'why')

## Same meaning, different form

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
<i>pihana</i>	'as yard'	-	
<i>pihaa</i>	'yard'	-	
<i>pihaksi</i>	'(become) yard'	-	
<i>pihalla</i>	'at yard'	<i>takana</i>	'behind'
<i>pihalta</i>	'from yard'	<i>takaa</i>	'from behind'
<i>pihalle</i>	'(to) yard'	<i>taakse</i>	'(to) behind'

- The paradigm can use totally different cases to express similar senses (ex. Finnish *taka-* 'behind')
  - The forms are (almost) identical with the essive, partitive, and translative case, but the spatial senses are closer to that of the outer local cases adessive, ablative, and allative

## Same form, loss of paradigm

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
<i>berij̄n</i>	'behind'	* <i>berij̄n</i>	'after'
<i>berij̄ś</i>	'from behind'	* <i>berij̄ś</i>	'from after'
<i>berij̄šen</i>	'from behind'	?? <i>berij̄šen</i>	'from after'
<i>bere</i>	'(to) behind'	<i>bere</i>	'after'
<i>beroź</i>	'until behind'	? <i>beroź</i>	'until after'
<i>berti</i>	'(via) behind'	* <i>berti</i>	'via after'

- A sense of a case can lose its paradigmatic status, even when identical form is a part of a paradigm (ex. Udmurt *bere* 'after')
  - The temporal sense is present in the illative, when it is used in content noun inflection

## Lexicalized/grammaticalized forms

Fi *kanssa* ‘with [people-INE]’

Fi *päin* ‘against [head-INST]’

MdE/M *odov, odu* ‘again [new-LAT]’

MdE *kis* ‘because [road-ILL]’

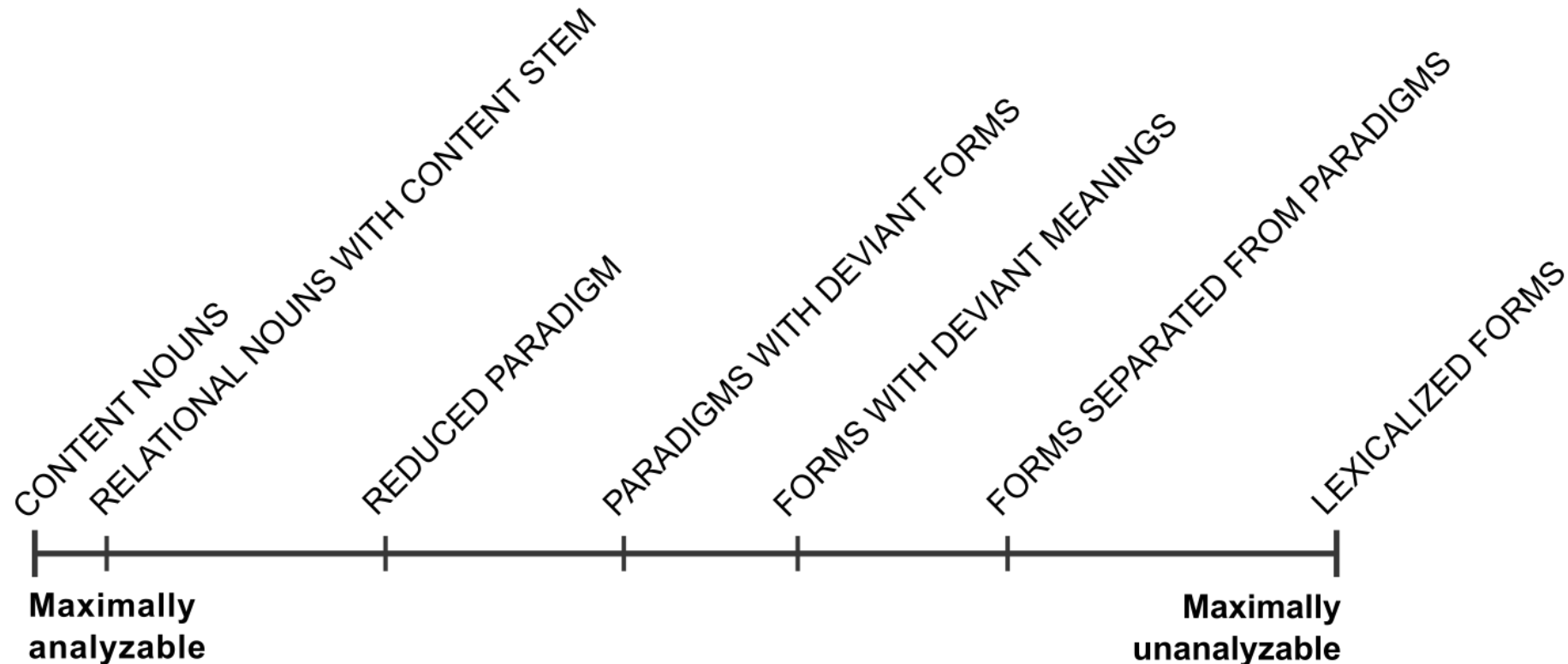
Udm *bere* ‘if, when [back-ILL]’

Udm *śariś* ‘about, in comparison [?-ELA]’

- There are of course a myriad of lexicalized/grammaticalized forms that historically include a semantic case, but which are synchronically unsegmentable and more or less opaque
  - These forms can exhibit both formal and semantic properties that are not (entirely) predictable from the properties of the parts

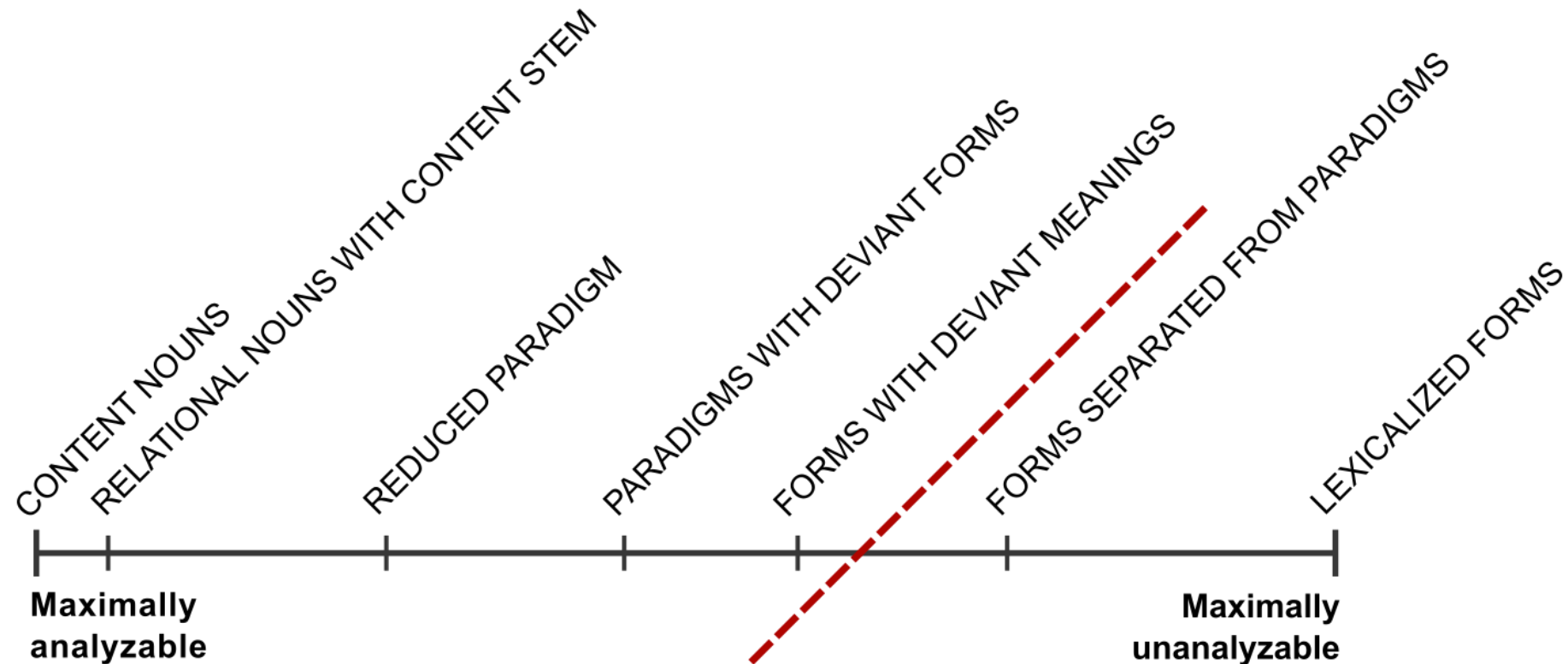
## Productivity continuum

- The different types of forms form a cline from maximally analyzable to maximally unanalyzable
  - The more left the form is, the easier it is to analyze at both phonological and semantic pole, as well as on paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels



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## Productivity continuum (cont.)

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## Conclusions

- There are different levels of productive case inflection in Uralic languages
- The productivity of a case can be evaluated with reference to the analyzability of the form
  - Four different types of overlapping analyzability can be identified
  - The exact contribution of the different analyzabilities must be worked out by future research
- The analyzability of the forms form a continuum from maximally analyzable content noun inflection to maximally unanalyzable forms
  - The productivity decreases when paradigmatic analyzability decreases
  - Forms where paradigmatic variation is not possible can be considered lexical/grammatical



## References

Bauer, Laurie 2001: *Morphological productivity*. Cambridge studies in linguistics 95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, John R. 2003: *Cognitive linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.