

Verbs of ingestion in Erzya, the ablative object?

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Introduction

Verbs of ingestion, such as ‘to eat’ and ‘to drink’ have appeared in the grammars since 1838, but it wasn’t until the 1950s that the partitive-function ablatives found in these constructions were considered direct objects.

We examine the ablative of the proposed four direct objects from the 1950s and its compatibility with causatives, passives and the other direct objects.

Our findings are that the ablative form can co-occur with genitive and inessive objects, which share a complementary distribution for aspect.

We ask the question what to call the partitive-function ablative, and how it fits into syntax.

Concepts

(1) Verbs of Ingestion

(2) Direct objects

(3) Causative

(4) Passive

Verbs of ingestion

The category *verbs of ingestion* (aka consumption, intake) has been alluded to by many working with the Mordvin languages.

These verbs include: *jarsams* ‘to eat’, *sevens* ‘to eat’, *śimems* ‘to drink’ and their equivalents, but the category is also extend to *targams* ‘to smoke’ and *lékśtams* ‘to breathe’

(cf. Kolâdënkov, M.N. 1954:202, 1962:115–116 ; Wickman, Bo 1955:12; Kont, K. 1963: 48; Itkonen, E. 1972:170; Larsson, L. 1981:190–191; Keresztes, L. 1990:73–74, 2011:100; Bartens, R. 1999:93–94; Kiparsky 2004; Rueter 2010: 84)

Direct objects (cf. Kolâdënkov 1954: 47)

There is no individual case covering the role of the direct object, rather FOUR.

Nominative

Genitive

Ablative

Inessive

Nominative direct object

Nominative indefinite singular and plural

ćorǎńkaś kundaś numolo.

boy.def catch.prt1.sg3 hare

‘The boy caught a hare.’

fejteres kundaś narmuń-ť.

girl.def catch.prt1.sg3 bird-pl

‘The girl caught (some) birds.’

N.B. In some forms of the literary language the definite nominative is used in expressions with infinites, but other variants use a definite genitive (cf. Grünthal 2008: 233).

Genitive direct object

The genitive appears in all three declensions

Proper names and personified beings generally take the indefinite declension.

The definite declension can be used with both common and proper names.

The possessive declension with the 3Sg possessive suffix is oblique, i.e. *-OnzO*, thus we know it is not nominative.

pižemeš šimǎ-ińže veše kasovks-tne-ń...

Rain.def provide.drink.for-Prt1.3Sg>3Sg all plant-Pl.Def-Gen

‘The rain watered all the plants...’ (cf. Ůrčĕnkova, N. Pižemečírke. Sâtko 125–126)

Genitive direct object

pižemeš *šimđ-iňže*

veše *kasovks-tne-ň...*

rain.def provide.drink.for-Prt1.3Sg>3Sg all plant-PI.Def-Gen

‘The rain watered all the plants...’ (cf. Ūrčenkova, N. Pižemečírke. Sâtko 125–126)

šimema *ved-eňť*

ošoň

ťe *pełkseňťeň*

uskšešť

drink.VN water-Gen.Sg.Def town.gen this part.Dat.Sg.Def haul.Dist.Prt1.3PI

boćkaso *Angarasto*

barrel.Ine *Ankara.Ela*

‘The drinking water was being hauled into this part of the city in barrels from Ankara’

(Malkina 1968 № 6: 50) (cf. Kolâdënkov 1954: Grünthal 2008: 234)

Ablative direct object

The ablative can occur in all three declensions.

Use: part of whole

... *kosa* *jarcašć* *kše-dé*...

... where.Ine eat.Prt1.3PI bread-Abl

‘wo sie **von dem Brode** gegessen hatten’ (1821 JHN 6:23; Gabelentz 1838/39: 392)

... where they ate of the bread...

Inessive direct object

Indefinite, definite and possessive forms

Use: irresultative

A *skal-ci-ńť* äšť poťa

But cow-ine-def.sg not.prt1.pl3 suck.conneg

‘But they did not suck on the cow.’ (MSFOu 84: 239 ‹Naksaftom›) (cf. Grünthal 2008: 231)

Shape of the object

Bo Wickman states that when the object in a sentence «*he threw a stone*» is rendered literally in English by '*he threw with a stone*', he does not consider the latter form a grammatical case, as it might correspond to «*to fight with a sword*» (cf. 1955: 6)

The use of the ablative in the partitive function is not obligatory in Mordvin (Id. 12)

Subsequent research literature, however, tends to regard both the ablative and inessive forms as object (Itkonen, E. 1972: 157, 169–172; Larsson 1983: 122); Bartens 1999: 94–96; Luraghi et al. 2020; Grünthal 2022; Hamari & Ajanki 2022)

Irresultative-Partial alternation

Pižemeš moda-so-ńť načtɪ

Rain.def earth-ine-def.sg wet.3sg

‘The rain is making the earth wet.’ <ongoing> (Rogožin A. «Lituva»; Kolâdënkov 1954: 205), (cf. Hamari & Ajanki 2022: 427)

Pižemeš moda-ńť načtɪže

Rain.def earth-gen.def.sg wet.Prt1.3Sg>3Sg

‘The rain got the earth wet.’ <completed>

Causative

There is a general association found between:

jarsams 'to eat' and *andoms* 'to give food to'

simems 'to drink' and *simdemms* 'to give drink to'

Andoms 'to provide with food = X is responsible for the situation where **Y eats**'

Simdemms 'to provide with drink = X is responsible for the situation where **Y drinks**'

Causative morphology

The actual causative forms in *-Ovt-*, however, are more likely to be translated with the English 'have, make, force to'.

Thus, the causative of *jarsams* 'to eat' is attested in the nonce form *jarsa-vtoms* 'to make eat = X is the causer and Y eats'

In a like manner, the causative of *śimems* 'to drink' is attested in the form *śimev'tems* 'to make eat = X is the causer and Y drinks Z'

Jarsavttan ‘I will make you eat’

pekstik *kurgot,* *žars* *černila-do* *ežiťiň*
shut.Imp.2Sg mouth.Gen.Px2Sg so.long.Ill ink.Abl not.Prt1.1Sg>2Sg
korštavtt, *koňovťne-de* *jarsavttan,* *kontoraň* *křisa*
gulp.Conneg paper.Pl.Def-Abl make.eat.1Sg>2Sg office.Gen rat

‘Shut your mouth, as long as I haven’t had you gulp some ink, I’ll make you eat paper, [you] office rat.’ (Šukšín, 2001)

Causative verbs of ingestion, etc.

jarsams 'to eat' => *jarsavtoms* 'to let/make someone eat'

šimems 'to drink' => *šimevtoms* 'to let/make someone drink'

targams 'to smoke' => *targavtoms* 'to let/make someone smoke'

Íekštams 'to breath' => *Íekštavtoms* 'to let/make someone breath'

suskoms 'to bite' => *suskovtoms* 'to let/make someone bite'

šimđems 'to provide drink for', *andoms* 'to provide food for', *kavañams* 'to treat to'...

The Passive -OvOms (completed action)

With intransitive verbs:

Meaning: 'managing to complete the action indicated by the verb, <actor is retained as subject>'

Ííšems 'to exit; to leave': *Ííševems* 'to manage to exit; to manage to leave'

With transitive verbs:

Meaning: 'to get + passive <patient becomes subject>' – NOT the "be" passive

kundams 'to catch (v.t.)' *kundavoms* 'to get caught'

-OvOms Passive with *simems* ‘to drink’

The verb *simems* can appear alone, take nominative, genitive or ablative objects.

lomañeś śimevś person.Def drink.Pass.prt1.3Sg

‘the person managed to drink [too much].’ <actor>

vedeś śimevś water.Def drink.Pass.prt1.3Sg

‘the water got drunk/finished off [consumed]’ <patient>

-OvOms Passive with *jarsams* and *sevems* ‘to eat’

The verb *jarsams* can appear with or without an ablative object.

lomañés jarsavś person.Def eat.Pass.prt1.3Sg

‘the person managed to eat [too much].’ <actor>

umañés sevevś apple.Def eat.Pass.prt1.3Sg

‘the apple got eaten/finished off [consumed]’ <patient>

Does the verb *andoms* ‘to feed’ take two direct objects

Keresztes (1990: 74; Keresztes 2011: 109) provides the question

Son śimǎ-ińže lovso-do

son śimǎ-əžəń lofc-tə

3Sg feed.Prt1.3Sg>3PI milk-Abl

‘he/she fed them on milk.’

The verb illustrates a third person singular subject and a **third person plural object** with an additional **ablative “direct object”**.

A double direct-object construction: Gen & Abl

Son [pižemeš] šimǎ-ińže

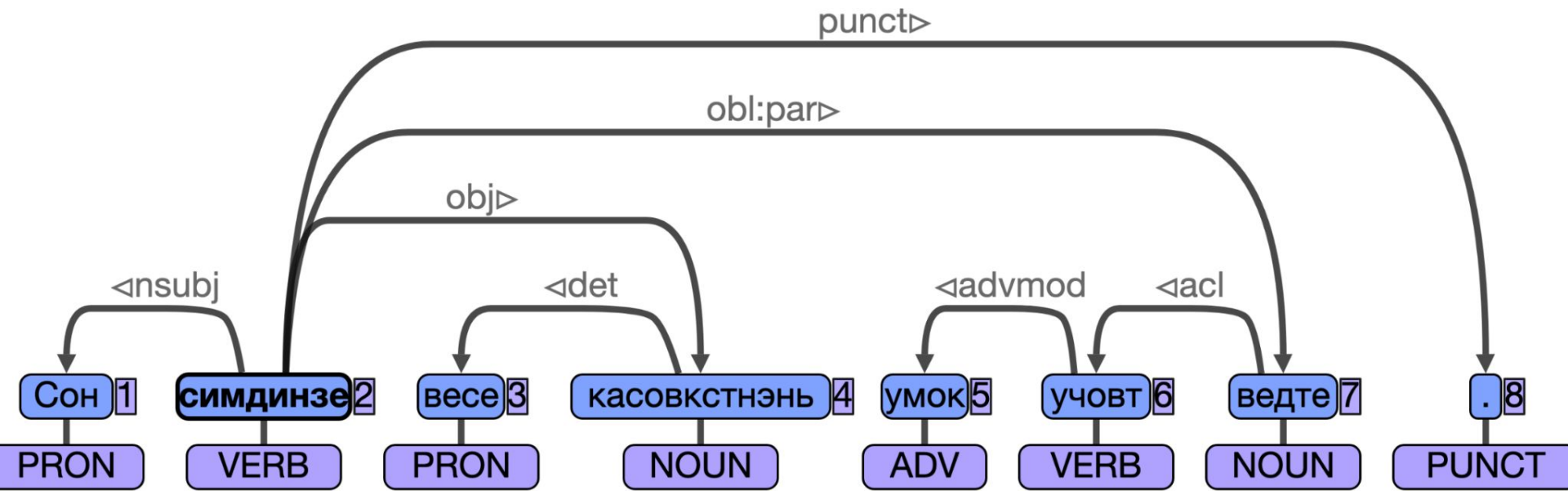
veše kasovks-tne-ń umok

3Sg water-Prt1.3Sg>3Pl all plant-Pl.Def-Gen a.long.time

učovt ved-íte.

wait.Ptc.Telic water-Abl

‘The rain watered all the plants with water that had been expected for a long time.’
(Ůrčěnkova, N. Pižemečírke. Sâtko 125–126)



Is this a passive with an object?

Bazar-sto rama-ž a jarsa-v-at siveľ-ňe-de ...

bazar-Ela buy-Conv Neg eat-Pass-Prs.ScSg2 meat-Dim-Abl

‘Buying at the bazar you can’t eat a little meat...’ (Martinov, A. Sâtko 1965, № 4: 24)

Prok šim-ev-at pekŕe-ň meď-ťe

As.if drink-Pass-Scsg2 linden-gen honey-abl

‘As if you were able to drink of linden honey’ (Troškin, M. 1972 № 2: 43)

-*OtOTms* Passive subject with partitive object?

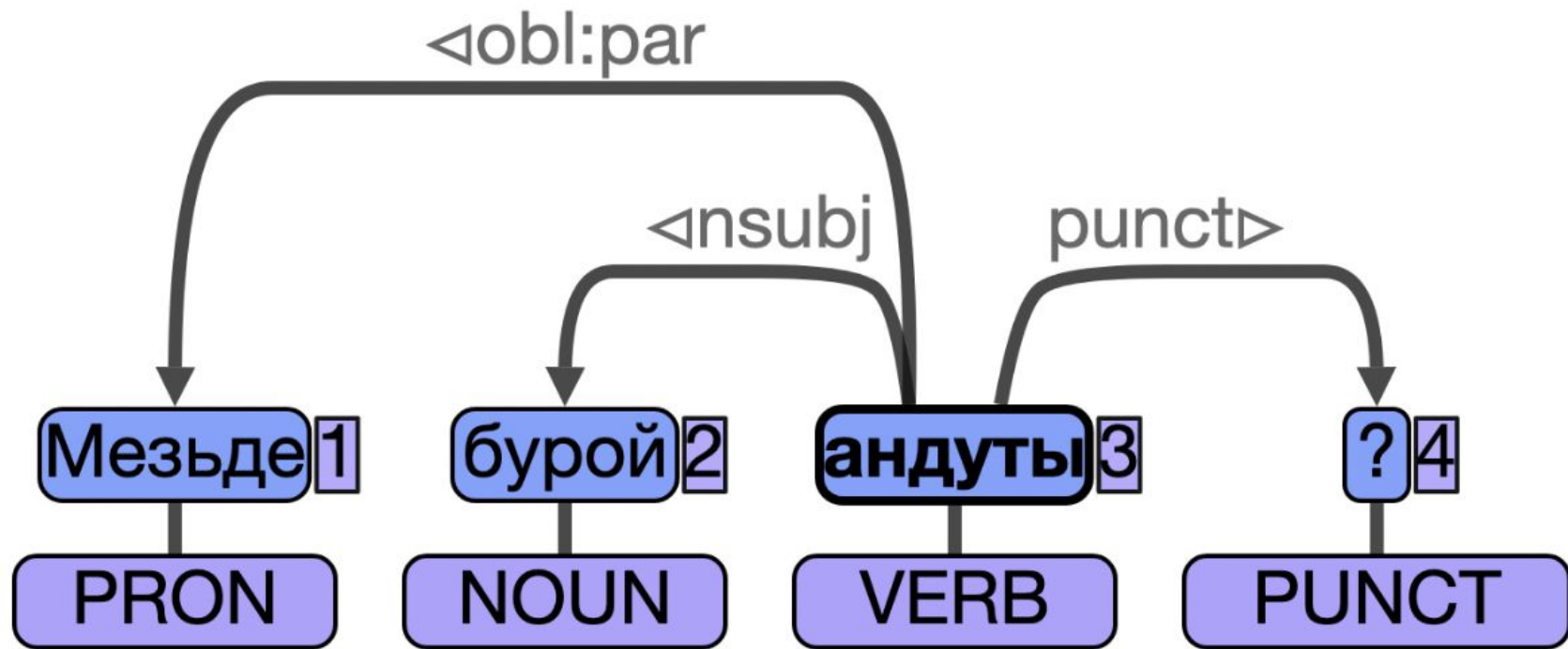
— 46 —

Мезьде бурой андуты?

Шкань вишкеде бурой андуты,

5. Свѣжа ведьте бурой симдеты.

(OMNS 1882: 44–47; Salo 2015: 140)



sent_id = OMNS:XVIII:3

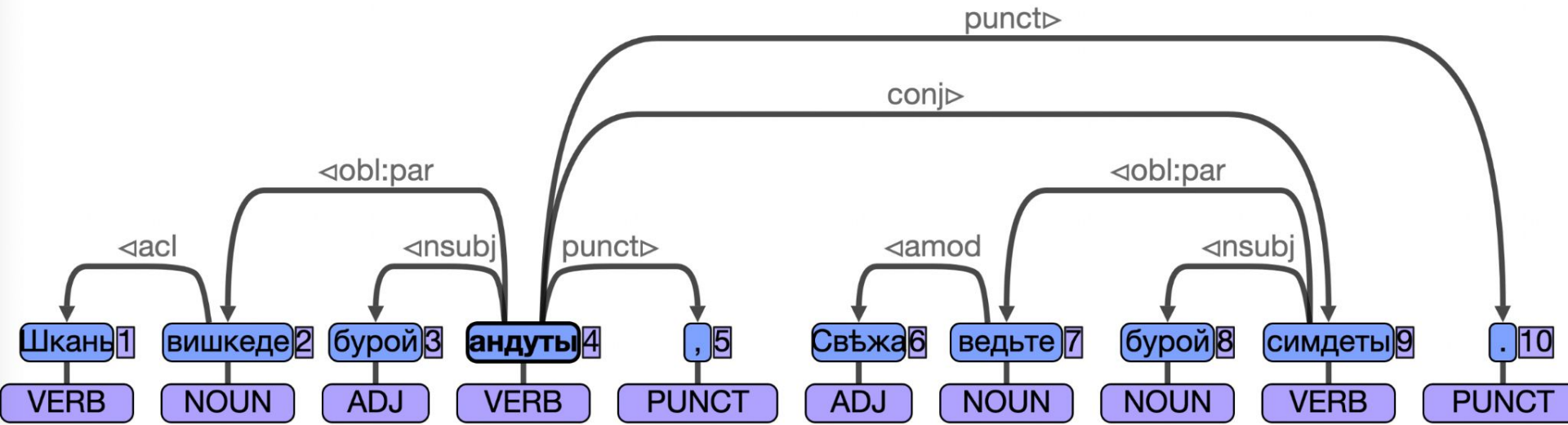
text_orig = Мезьде бурой андuty?

1 Мезьде мезе PRON Pron Case=Abl|Definite=Ind|Number=Plur,Sing|PronType=Int 3 obl _
gloss_en=what

2 бурой бурой ADJ A Case=Nom|Definite=Ind|Number=Sing 2 dep _ gloss_en=the.brown

3 андuty андотомс VERB V Mood=Ind|Number[subj]=Sing|Person[subj]=3|Tense=Pres|Valency=1 0
root _ gloss_en=be.fed|SpaceAfter=No

4 ? ? PUNCT CLB _ 3 punct _ _



sent_id = OMNS:XVIII:4–5

text_orig = Шкань вишкеде бурой андuty, Свѣжа ведьте симдеты.

text_en = The brown is fed on rolled spelt, it's given fresh water to drink.

1 Шкань чукамс VERB V

Case=Gen|Definite=Ind|Number=Plur,Sing|PartForm=Det|Tense=Pres|Valency=1|VerbForm=Part 2 acl _
gloss_en=roll

2 вишкеде вишке NOUN N Case=Ab|Definite=Ind|Number=Plur,Sing 4 obl:par _ gloss_en=spelt

3 бурой бурой ADJ A Case=Nom|Definite=Ind|Number=Sing 4 nsubj _ gloss_en=the.brown

4 андuty андотомс VERB V Mood=Ind|Number[subj]=Sing|Person[subj]=3|Tense=Pres|Valency=1 0 root _
gloss_en=be.fed|Spaceafter=No

5 , , PUNCT CLB _ 4 punct _ _

6 Свѣжа свежа ADJ A Case=Nom|Definite=Ind|Number=Sing 7 amod _ gloss_en=fresh
7 ведъте ведь NOUN N Case=Abl|Definite=Ind|Number=Plur,Sing 9 obl:par _ gloss_en=water
8 бурой бурой NOUN N Case=Nom|Definite=Ind|Number=Sing 9 nsubj _ gloss_en=the.brown
9 симдеты симдетемс VERB V Mood=Ind|Number[subj]=Sing|Person[subj]=3|Tense=Pres|Valency=1 4 conj _
gloss_en=be.given.to.drink|SpaceAfter=No
10 . . PUNCT CLB _ 4 punct _ _

A double direct-object construction: Ine & Abl

I am now looking for sentences with both an inessive and ablative direct object.

valske marto lomañ-ťne-se andít jogurt-to.

morning with person-Pl.Def-Ine feed.3Pl yoghurt-Abl

‘In the morning the people are being fed yoghurt.’

Genitive and Inessive direct objects incompatible

The complementary distribution of genitive and inessive direct objects is inherent.

Completed action vs irresultative, ongoing action.

In Summary

Verbs of ingestion, ‘to eat’, ‘to drink’, ‘to smoke’, ‘to breathe’ provide a testing ground for examination of the four so-called direct objects in Erzya and probably Moksha.

The ablative can coexist with patient objects and subjects, i.e., passivization and genitive objects.

The ablative operates outside of the Erzya passive realm.

What could we call this partitive-function

Ablatiivimuotoinen adverbiaalimäärite 'Adverbial modifier in the ablative' ~ 'Oblique partitive for Universal Dependencies'

This name would parallel the term used by Raija Bartens (1999: 94) in the description of the cause function associated with the verb *peleäms* 'to be afraid of'

Sources

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Šukoňan kunsolomaň kise!

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Jefim korša-s läm-da (Grünthal 2022: 5) (MKM 65)

Učemašť, ílát šongarjamda koršaftádáz.

wait.Imp.2>1Pl evening vegetable.soup-Abl let.have.to.gulp.1>2Pl

(Анатолий ЕЖОВ: moksha 1992-02-03: 38)

susk-i-ń kši-đe (Grünthal 2022: 14) (ÈKS 65)

Авась аламошка ведтенть копордась. (XXXX казне sjatko_1991-03:45)

Пекстык кургот, зярс чернилаго эзитинь корштавт, конёвгнеде ярсавтан, конторань крыса. (Василий Шукшин, Атякштнэнь колмоце морамозост. Translated from Russian Юрий Антонов, myv_Sjatko_2001-№12: 5)

pekstik kurgot,

Shut your mouth, as long as I haven't had you slurp some ink, I'll make you eat paper, [you] office rat.