

Case-marking of the Heads of Adverbial Clauses in Siberia Areal

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In this talk, I will focus on adverbial clauses, namely the strategy of their formation through adding case markers to verbal forms, such as participles, action nominals, infinitives, and some others. The research is based on a sample of 48 languages that includes proper Siberian languages and some others beyond this area, belonging to the same language families as the aforementioned Siberian.

Adverbial clauses are commonly defined as "clauses which encode (more or less explicitly) one or more of the semantic (adverbial) relations" [Schmidtke-Bode, Diessel 2020: 27]. Adverbial relations (henceforth, ARs), in turn, link two events¹ "such that one of them (the dependent) corresponds to the circumstances under which the other one (the main) takes place" [Cristofaro 2003: 155]. The circumstances under discussion may represent:

- the time frame for the main event regarding the dependent event (temporal ARs). It can be further divided into relations of anteriority, posteriority, simultaneity, etc.,
- other (non-temporal) semantic relations, such as reason of the main event (reason ARs), its purpose (purpose ARs), the way in which it takes place (manner ARs), etc..

Various ways of coding ARs are attested in the languages of the world, primarily by means of conjunctions, adpositions, and specialized morphemes attached to a verb in dependent clause. Such specialized verb form can be considered a converb in the terminology of Martin Haspelmath, who defines it as a "nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination" [Haspelmath 1995: 3]. Haspelmath does not consider the diachrony of converbs in detail, but he notes that there are two main origins of these non-finite forms: adpositional or case forms of masdars/verbal nouns and participles which lost their capability for agreement [Haspelmath 1995: 17].

Similar observations regarding the origin of converbs are attested in various researches on particular languages or language families; nevertheless, this issue does not receive detailed consideration in the literature. Moreover, a study by Daniel Ross and Ksenia Shagal on the relations between participles and converbs in the languages of the world points out that even partial and/or diachronic overlap of the markers of these non-finite forms is quite rare and is mainly typical for the languages of Europe [Ross, Shagal 2017: 19-20].

However, Ross and Shagal's sample practically does not include Siberian languages, while in Gregory Anderson's brief typological overview of those languages, the tendency to form converbs from case forms of participles is mentioned as one of features of the Siberian area [Anderson 2006: 8-10]. Anderson also notes that, in addition to participles, case markers in Siberian languages can attach to other verb forms (infinitives, finite forms, etc.), also forming adverbial clauses. Despite the importance of these observations, in Anderson's work they are

¹ 'state of affairs' in Cristofaro's terminology

described only briefly. The present study is intended to take a closer look at the way in which adverbial clauses are formed using case forms of verbs in the languages of Siberia.

The first part of this talk will be dedicated to an overview of verb bases that can be involved in formation of adverbial clauses. In addition to participles and action nominals mentioned in Haspelmath's study, five more bases were attested, namely, infinitives, converbs, nominalized verb forms, bare verb stems, and finite verbs. Thus, (1) shows ARs of anteriority in [Chukchi language](#) encoded with a locative case marker which is added to a bare verb stem. ARs of anteriority in [Vach-Vasjugan language](#) are also formed with locative case marker, though attached to an already existing converb of manner (2).

(1) *ʔeptə-k* *yəm* *qora-ŋə* *Ø-yəntek-wʔ-i*
kick-LOC I deer-NOM.SG 2/3.S/A-run-TH-2/3SG.S
 'Having kicked me, the deer ran away'. [Blyumina 2018: 6]

(2) *tʃiml-ali* *amis-min-nə,* *ni*
 a_little-DIM sit-CVB.MNR-LOC woman

mənä-yən *juya-tə*
 go-PST.3SG gather_woods-PST.3SG
 'After sitting awhile, the woman went off to gather firewood'. [Filchenko 2007: 470]

In the second part of the talk I will analyse the main functions of the cases used to encode different ARs. As a basis, I will use their functions rather than simply labels, since those functions may differ in the languages of the sample. Thus, the main function of the case labelled Dative in [Alutor language](#) is coding the Recipient and Goal [Nagayama 2003: 57], and in [Manchu language](#), Recipient, Place, and Instrument [Avrorin 2000: 82]. Since the semantics of ARs is expected to correspond to the semantics of the case used in the construction, it is important to separate such cases.

It will be seen that most of the ARs are formed due to a metaphorical extension of the semantics of the case. For example, the case whose main function is to encode Source is primarily used in temporal ARs of anteriority and non-temporal ARs of reason, which reflects a transition from an initial point in space to an initial predetermining point in time.

Finally, I will show that some of the observed constructions and peculiarities in formation of adverbial clauses are due to close contacts between the languages of the area.

Abbreviations

2, 3 — second, third person; A — subject of transitive verb; CVB — converb; DIM — diminutive; LOC — locative case; MNR — manner; NOM — nominative case; PST — past; S — subject of intransitive verb; SG — singular; TH — thematic suffix.

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