

Areal Typology of Loanverbs

How are Russian Reflexive Verbs Borrowed?

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Russian 'Reflexive' verbs

→ **-sja** (-sja~-sj) in Russian

→ **wide range of functions**

- 'middle voice' marker (in terms of *Kemmer 1993*)
- REFL&RECIP&DECAUS&PASS&IMPS... (see, e.g., *Letuchiy 2016*)

мыться, целоваться, взрываться, строиться, кусаться...

- + verba deponentia (with -sja only) & irregular uses

смеяться, стараться, надеяться... & плакаться, молиться...

Russian 'Reflexive' verbs

→ **-sja** (-sja~-sj) in Russian

→ **non-standard linear position**

- postinflectional
- **STEM-INFLECTION-sja**

строи-ть-ся, строи-л-ся, строи-м-ся, строй-те-сь...

Russian ‘Reflexive’ verbs: Borrowing

HERE IN FOCUS

- Borrowing REFL-verbs (with *-sja*) in languages that are in contact with Russian

(1) Nganasan (Uralic), INEL Nganasan Corpus

səɾəvnəva-ir-ü-mü? [**fight-DRV-PRS-1SG.S/SG.O**] ‘мы соревновались’ ← *соревноваться*

(2) Dolgan (Turkic), INEL Dolgan Corpus

gatovitsa-l-ṭā-ŋ [**prepare-VBLZ-FUT-2SG**] ‘будешь готовиться’ ← *готовиться*

(3) Chirag Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian), Chirag Corpus

poznakomica d-urχ-le [**meet LCT-become.IPF-CVB**] ‘(мы) знакомились’ ← *знакомиться*

Russian 'Reflexive' verbs: Borrowing

PROBLEMS

- **semantic** : idiosyncratic meaning → difficult to omit or replace
- **morphological**: non standard position → difficult to integrate

HYPOTHESIS

- There are **splits** in morphological integration between NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs
- REFL-verbs are treated so that their **integration is maximally facilitated**

Verbal borrowing: Parameters of variation 1

Based on *Wohlgemuth (2009)*; for lgs of Russia: *Forker (2021)*

1. Input-form: What is integrated?

- **Bare stem**

prs.stem (*risuj-* ‘draw’) vs. pst.stem (*risova-* ‘draw’)

- **SL-form**

INF (*risovat* ‘to draw’), PST (*risoval* ‘drew’), IMPER (*risuj* ‘draw!’), full paradigm (*risuju~risuješ*... ‘I~you ... draw’)

Verbal borrowing: Parameters of variation 2

Based on *Wohlgemuth (2009)*; for lgs of Russia: *Forker (2021)*

2. Integration strategy: How is the input-form integrated?

- **Direct Insertion** (DI)

(4) Alutor (Chukotko-Kamchatkan): *kúsi-k* [*mow*-INF] ‘mow (grass)’ ← *косить*

- **Indirect Insertion** (IndI)

(5) Dolgan (Turkic): *nač'inaj-da:n* [*start-VBLZ*-CVB.SEQ] ‘having started’ ← *начинать*

Verbal borrowing: Parameters of variation 2

Based on Wohlgemuth (2009); for lgs of Russia: Forker (2021)

2. Integration strategy: How is the input-form integrated?

- **Light Verb** (LV)

(6) Khakas (Turkic): *putat'* *pol-yan* [*mix*.INF *be*-PST] 'she mixes' ← *путать*

- **Paradigm Insertion** (ParadigmI)

(7) Romani (Indo-European): *xadíl~xadíla~xadíli* [walk.**PST.SG.M**~walk.**PST.SG.F**~walk.**PST.PL**] 'he~she~they walked' ← *ходить*

Examples

(8) Ulcha (Tungusic): NONREFL-verb (Strategy: DI, Input-form: bare stem) (← *попа́дaть*)

d'iŋ_d'iŋ pul'a popada-xa-n čupal ti
very bullet **get.into**-PST-3SG all so

‘All the bullets directly **hit** their targets’ (INEL Ulcha corpus)

(9) Ulcha (Tungusic): REFL-verb (Strategy: IndI, Input-form: INF) (← *материт́ся*)

ti jaja-m ti materit'-sja-l-i-ni
so sing-CVB.SIM.SG so **swear.INF-REFL-VBLZ**-PRS-3SG

‘He sings like this and **swears** like this’ (INEL Ulcha corpus)

Outline

1. Introduction
2. **Data & Methods**
3. **Reflexive marker: *sja*-retention vs. *sja*-omission vs. *sja*-replacement**
4. **Reflexive marker & Input-form**
5. **Input-form: Splits**
6. **Integration strategy: Splits**
7. **Conclusions & Discussion**

2. Data & Methods



Corpus study

CORPUS-BASED study (as far as possible) + descriptions, dictionaries, p.c.

Corpus-search for Russian REFL-verbs

→ **A list of borrowable REFL-verbs** based on

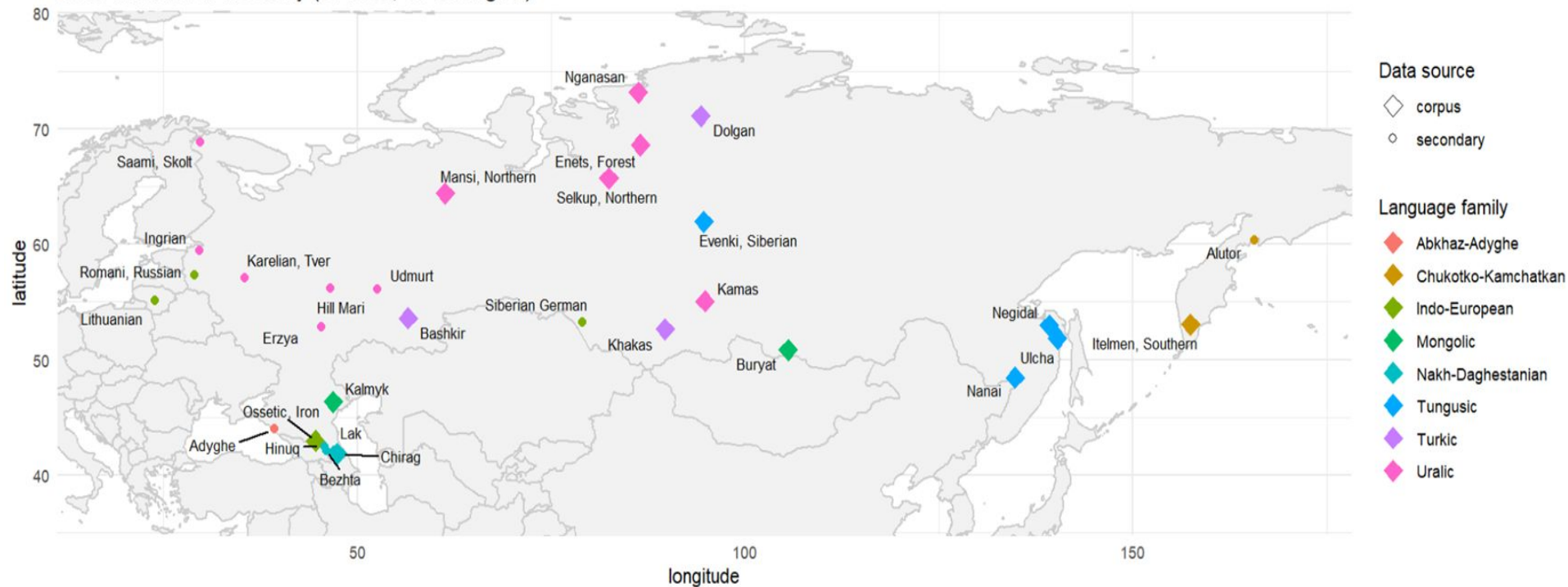
- **corpus evidence:** throughout search for Russian loanverbs in several corpora that contain annotation of ‘borrowings’ (*INEL corpora*)
- **frequency evidence:** frequencies of Russian REFL-verbs based on Russian National Corpus (Russian frequency dictionary by *Ljashevskaja & Sharov 2009*)
- **borrowability evidence:** borrowability-indices based on cross-linguistic data from World Loanword Database (*Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009*)

A list of borrowable REFL-verbs (96 items)

баловаться, беспокоиться, болтаться, бороться, валяться. венчаться, веселиться, взрываться, волноваться, встретиться, готовиться, дразниться, драться, жаловаться, заблудиться, заниматься, здороваться, знакомиться, извиняться, издеваться, интересоваться, истощаться, кататься, креститься, крутиться, купаться, лечиться, материться, маяться, меняться, мириться, молиться, мучиться, надеяться, наниматься, начаться, обижаться, опомниться, организовать, остановиться, отказаться, etc.

Sample: 31 languages, as diverse as possible

Lects included in the study (31 lects, 55 strategies)



Database

Database on integration of borrowed REFL-verbs

- Work-in-Progress
- By now: 31 languages = 55 strategies of borrowing REFL-verbs
- 1 Row = 1 Strategy; not 1 language

lect_strategy	family	REFL marker	REFL marker	preserves sj	non-refl strategy	refl-strategy	different strategy	non-refl input	refl input for	different input
Adyghe1	West-Caucasian	double (RUS sja)	DOUBLING	yes	LV	LV (be, like intran)	no	INF	INF	no
Adyghe2	West-Caucasian	RECIPIENT (RE)	RECIPIENT	no	LV	LV (do, like trans)	no	INF	INF	no
Alutor	Chukotko-Kamchatka	no	ZERO	no	DI	DI	no	INF(~stem_prs/ir)	INF	no
Bashkir	Turkic	RUS	RUS	yes	LV do	LV do	no	INF	INF	no
Bezhta	East-Caucasian	double (RUS sja)	DOUBLING	yes	LV	LV	no	INF	INF	
Buryat (main)	Mongolic	RUS	RUS	yes	IndI	LV	yes	stem or (occasionally) past form on -l		
Buryat (spoken)	Mongolic	double (RUS & b)	DOUBLING	yes	LV become (with tr)	LV become	no (this strategy)	INF	INF	no
Chirag (main)	East-Caucasian	double (RUS & b)	DOUBLING	yes	LV (~ do -- tr, be)	LV (become, ma)	no	INF	INF	no
Chirag (marginal)	East-Caucasian	RECIPIENT (LV)	RECIPIENT	no	LV do (tr)	LV become (rfl)	no	INF	INF	no

Database

GENERAL

- lect_strategy
- family
- source
- examples

REFL-MARKER

- REFL-marker & REFL-marker_short
- Preserves *-sja?*

INTEGRATION STRATEGY

- NONREFL strategy
- REFL-strategy
- Different strategies for REFL and NONREFL?

INPUT-FORM

- NONREFL input-form
- REFL input-form
- Different input-forms?

3. Reflexive marker: *-sja* or not?



Type 1: Sja-retaining (RUS)

Russian *-sja* is preserved

- Tungusic:
 - Ulcha, Evenki, Negidal
- Mongolic:
 - Buryat, Kalmyk
- Turkic:
 - Dolgan, Khakas, Bashkir
 - Uralic: Erzya, Kamas
- Indo-European:
 - Ossetic, Romani

Type 1: Sja-retaining (RUS): Example

(10) Kalmyk (Mongolic): sja-retaining, LV-strategy (← *мириться*)

Tegäd *däkäd* *hojurn* *mirit-sja* *ke-vü-vidən*

than more two.together *make.up.INF-REFL* do-PST-1PL

‘Потом уже **помирились** вдвоем.’

‘Then the two of us **made up**.’ (INEL Kalmyk corpus: KSG_2008_Perfume_nar.028)

Type 1: Sja-retaining (RUS): Example

(11) Romani, Russian (Indo-European): sja-retaining, Paradigm Insertion (← *влюбиться*)

jój *vlubíla-s'* *de* *léste*
3F.SG.DIR **fall.in.love.PST.SG.F-REFL** in 3M.SG.LOC

‘she **fell in love** with him’ (Kozhanov n.d.)

Type 2: Sja-omitting (ZERO)

No reflexive marker instead

- Tungusic:
 - Ulcha, Nanai, Evenki, Negidal
- Uralic:
 - Enets, Skolt Saami, Erzya
- Chukotko-Kamchatkan:
 - Itelmen, Alutor
- Indo-European:
 - Ossetic

Type 2: Sja-omitting (ZERO): Example

(12) Itelmen (Chukotko-Kamchatkan): sja-omitting, DI-strategy (← **мучиться**)

sisitʰan *sepaŋevt-anke* *ø-ŋaʰx-aʰ-qzu-z-en*

Сисильхан Синяневт-DAT SBJ3SG-жениться-FUT-IPFV-PRES-SBJ3SG

pramo *ø-mučĭ-s-in*

прямо **SBJ3SG-мучить(ся)-PRES-SBJ3SG**

‘Сисильхан хотел жениться на Синяневт, прямо **мучается**’ (Itelmen corpus:
Синяневт и кит)

Type 2: Sja-omitting (ZERO): Example

(13) Ossetic, Iron (Indo-European): sja-omitting, LV-strategy (← *отказаться*)

ныр *раз трех-ыл*

отказать

с-код-т-ай

now if.R three.GEN.R-SUPER

refuse.INF

PFV-do-TR-PST.TR.2SG

‘раз от трехкомнатной ты **отказалась...**’

‘since you have **refused** the three-room [flat]...’ (Ossetic spoken corpus: Houses and children)

Type 3: Sja-replacing (RECIPIENT)

A native marker replaces *-sja*

- Tungusic:
 - Evenki
- Uralic:
 - Skolt Saami, Ingrian, Karelian, Mansi, Nganasan, Enets, Selkup, Udmurt, Hill Mari
- Northwest Caucasian:
 - Adyghe
- Nakh-Daghestanian:
 - Lak; Hinuq, Chirag
- Indo-European:
 - Ossetic, Siberian German, Lithuanian, Romani

Type 3: Sja-replacing (RECIPIENT): Example

(14) Selkup, Northern (Uralic): Rus. *-sja* $\Rightarrow$ Selk. detranzitivizer ($\leftarrow$ *учиться*)

uč'i-ti-sa-k

learn-DETR-PST-1SG.S

'I **studied**' (INEL Selkup corpus, SAG_196X_Lifestory_nar.005)

Type 3: Sja-replacing (RECIPIENT): Example

(15) Romani, Russian (Indo-European): Rus. -sja $\Rightarrow$ Romani reflexive ($\leftarrow$ *жениться*)

čav-ó *že* *mánde* *žen-in-dá-pe!*

son-DIR.SG PTC 1SG.LOC **get.married-ADPT-PST.3SG-RFL**

‘my son got married!’ (Kozhanov n.d.)

Type 4: Sja-Doubling (DOUBLING)

A native marker & *-sja*

- Mongolic:
 - Buryat
- Northwest Caucasian:
 - Adyghe
- Nakh-Daghestanian:
 - Bezhta, Hinuq, Chirag

CORRELATION: DOUBLING → LV strategy

Type 4: Sja-Doubling (DOUBLING): Example

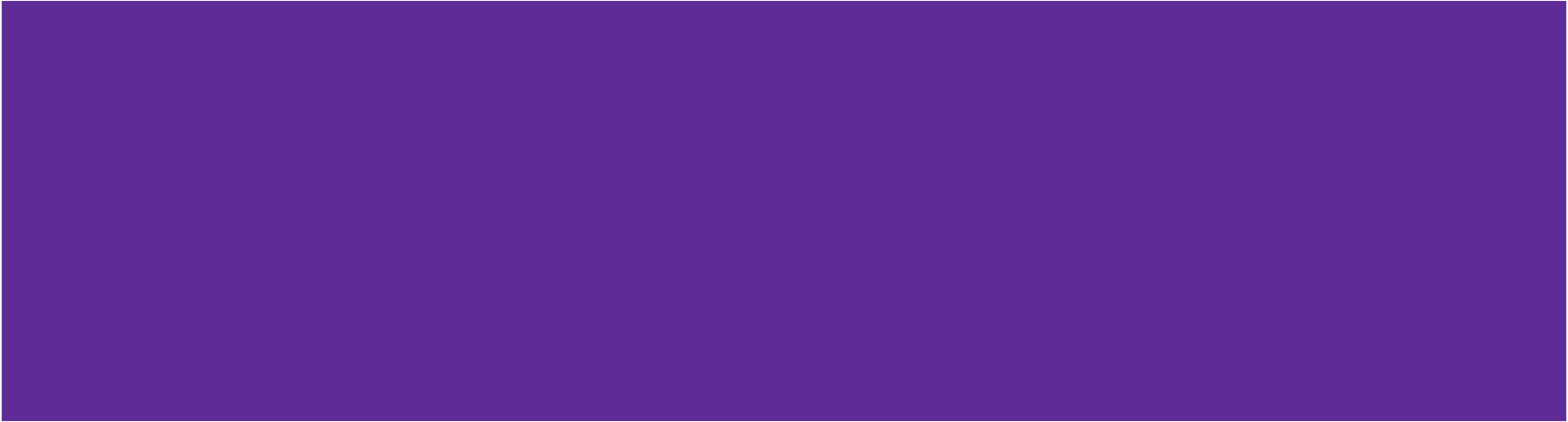
(17) Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian): -sja & LV choice (← *подавиться*)

padavit-sja *b-aq-na*

choke.INF-REFL III-become-CVB

‘and she **choked**’ (Khalilova 2020)

4. Reflexive marker & Input-form: Correlation



Reflexive marker & Input-form

HYPOTHESIS (*Forker 2021: 261*)

-*sja* is preserved (*sja*-retaining or doubling) → INF as input-form

RESULTS

- Confirmed with reservations
- Counter-evidence from Tungusic
 - Evenki: PST-*sja*
 - Negidal: IMPER-*sja*
 - marginal in both languages
- Counter-evidence from Romani: Paradigm Insertion (cf. example (11) above)

Reflexive marker & Input-form: Example

(18) Negidal (Tungusic): IMPER(?) - REFL

<i>oj</i>	<i>e:mi</i>	<i>toksan-ʃə-n</i>	<i>gun-ə-n</i>
PROX	what-SS.COND	run.away-Q.FUT-3SG	say-NFUT-3SG
<i>naoborot</i>	<i>radoβaj-sa-ja-n</i>		<i>gun-ə-n</i>
in.contrast.R	be.happy.IMP.SG-REFL -NFUT-3SG		say-NFUT-3SG

“But why would he run away, she says, on the contrary **he was happy**,” she says.
(Pakendorf & Aralova: APN_two_sisters)

Reflexive marker & Input-form: Example

(19) Evenki (Tungusic): PST + REFL

Nuɣa-n

in'əktə-l-də-n —

əšila

gun-d'ə-n:

PRO.3.[NOM]-3SG

laugh-INCH-AOR-3SG

now

say-IPFV.[AOR]-3SG

"Nu, *miril-s'a-w-yot,*

əšila!"

well

reconcile.PST-REFL-PASS-IMP.1PL.IN

now

Он засмеялся, после этого говорит: "Ну, теперь **давайте мириться!**"

He laughed, then said, "Well, **let's make up** now!" (INEL Evenki:

NNR3_1913_WhoseLakelsThis_nar.028)

5. Input-form: Splits



Splits in input-forms

HYPOTHESIS

REFL-verbs prefer input-forms that facilitate their integration

- expected splits: NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs
- bare stem vs. SL-form (PST, IMPER, INF, SL-paradigm)

RESULTS

- Confirmed with reservations

Splits in input-forms: Examples

(20) Dolgan (Turkic), INEL Corpus: NONREFL-verb: bare stem (prs.stem)

sdavaj-dax-tim [**pass-VBLZ**-PST1-1SG] ‘я сдала (экзамен)’ ← *сдавать*

(21) Dolgan (Turkic), INEL Corpus: REFL-verb: INF

gatovitsa-l-ṭā-ŋ [**prepare-VBLZ**-FUT-2SG] ‘будешь готовиться’ ← *готовиться*

Splits in input-forms: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
bare stem vs. PST	NA
bare stem vs. IMPER	NA
bare stem vs. INF	Ulcha
bare stem~INF vs. INF	Udmurt
bare stem vs. INF	Negidal, Dolgan
bare stem vs. SL-paradigm	Erzya

bare stem vs. SL-form

Splits in input-forms: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
bare stem vs. PST	NA
bare stem vs. IMPER	NA
bare stem vs. INF	Ulcha
bare stem~INF vs. INF	Udmurt
bare stem vs. INF	Negidal, Dolgan
bare stem vs. SL-paradigm	Erzya

BUT:

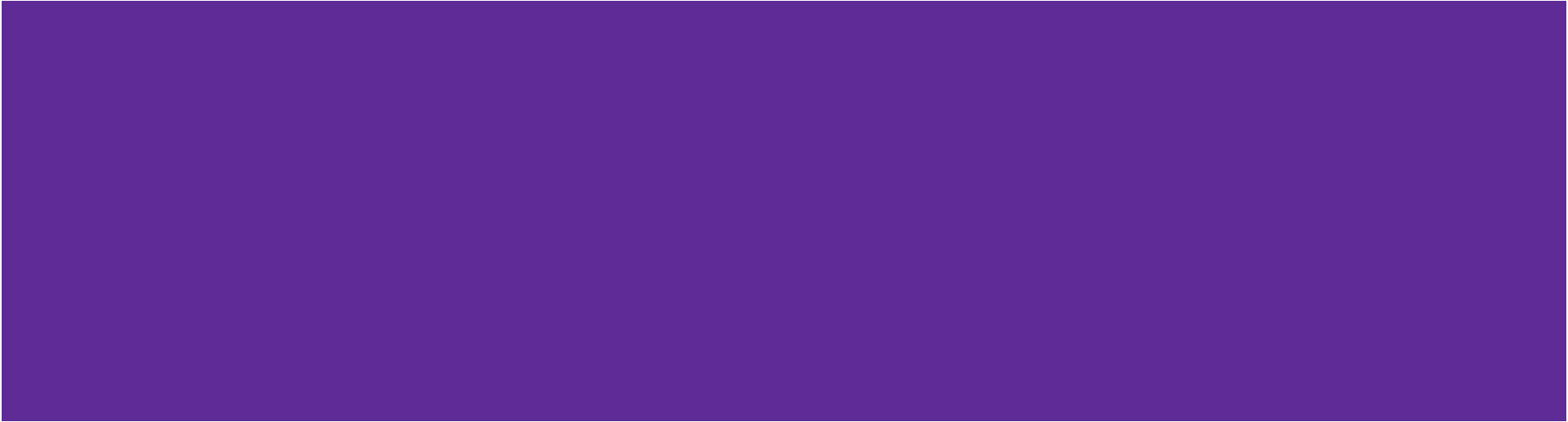
no splits with PST [rare?]
no splits with IMPER
[difficult to identify?]

Splits in input-forms: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
bare stem vs. PST	NA
bare stem vs. IMPER	NA
bare stem vs. INF	Ulcha
bare stem~INF vs. INF	Udmurt
bare stem vs. INF	Negidal , Dolgan
bare stem vs. SL-paradigm	Erzya

BUT: Not only in sja-retaining
lgs

6. Integration strategy: Splits



Splits in integration-strategies

HYPOTHESIS

REFL-verbs prefer strategies that facilitate their integration

- Expected splits: NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs
- DI vs. IndI vs. LV vs. Paradigm Insertion

RESULTS

- Confirmed with reservations

Splits in integration-strategies: Examples

(22) Buryat (Mongolic): Indirect Insertion strategy

провожаа-ла-д [провождать-VRBL-CVB.ANT] провожать

(23) Buryat (Mongolic): REFL-verb – Light Verb strategy

расстраиваться боло-од [расстраиваться стать.-CVB.ANT] расстроился

(Бертагаев 1974)

Splits in integration-strategies: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
DI vs. IndI	Ulcha, Sk. Saami
DI~IndI vs. IndI	Udmurt, N. Selkup
IndI vs. LV	Buryat, Dolgan
IndI(~LV) vs. LV	Kalmyk
DI vs. Paradigml	Erzya

DI > IndI, Paradigml > LV

Splits in integration-strategies: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
DI vs. IndI	Ulcha, Sk. Saami
DI~IndI vs. IndI	Udmurt, N. Selkup
IndI vs. LV	Buryat, Dolgan
IndI(~LV) vs. LV	Kalmyk
DI vs. ParadigmI	Erzya

DI > IndI, **ParadigmI** > LV
BUT: Place of ParadigmI?

Splits in integration-strategies: Results

NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs	languages
DI vs. IndI	Ulcha, Sk. Saami
DI~IndI vs. IndI	Udmurt, N. Selkup
IndI vs. LV	Buryat, Dolgan
IndI(~LV) vs. LV	Kalmyk
DI vs. ParadigmI	Erzya

BUT: Not only in sja-retaining lgs

7. Conclusions & Discussion



Results

Splits between NONREFL-verbs vs. REFL-verbs

- in both **input-forms** and **integration strategies**
- correlate with the **ease of integration**

Problems

Splits are attested not only for *sja*-retaining, but also for *sja*-omitting/replacing languages

- a deeper explanation is necessary

Are the results for input-forms and integration strategies independent?

- yes, although there are correlations between these parameters

Methodological insights

- More than one way of borrowing REFL-verbs in one language
- Difficult to differentiate between strategies
- Difficult to differentiate between input-forms
- A detailed corpus-based study required:
 - a preliminary procedure of search for borrowed REFL-verbs in corpora

For further research

- Splits between different REFL-verbs
 - correlations with the meaning of *-sja*?
- RECIPIENT and DOUBLING strategies
 - what can replace *-sja*?
- ...

Thank you!



Abbreviations

1, 3 – 1, 3 person; III – 3 class; CVB – converb; DETR – detransitivizer; F – feminine; HORT – hortative; IMP – imperative; INF – infinitive; M – masculine; NFUT – non-future; PL – plural; PRS – present tense; PST – past tense; REFL – reflexive; S – subject; SEC – sequential; SG – singular; SIM – simultaneous; VBLZ – verbalizer.

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