

Complex adpositions in Permic languages¹

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Just as other Uralic languages, Permic languages have postpositions and no prepositions. Complex postpositions are very rare in Permic languages. The probable reason for this is that usually the postpositions are quickly agglutinated into complex case markers instead of existing as postpositional clusters. Besides, Permic spatial systems are quite complex: they include spatial cases (up to 8 in Udmurt, up to 9 in Komi, depending on the variety), postpositions with adverbial-like properties, and relational nouns (inflected postpositions) with noun-like properties. Yazva Komi also has a very developed system of deictic units which are often used instead of spatial PPs. However, some complex postpositions do exist. They consist of elements denoting 'front', 'back', 'bottom', 'top', 'side' in Udmurt; 'front', 'top', 'edge', 'upper part' in Komi. Most of complex postpositions arise from PPs with the head with the meaning 'side' (Udmurt) or 'edge' (Komi). In Yazva Komi there are relational nouns derived from complex postpositions which consisted of two stems: $\nu\lambda r d \acute{a} l$ 'upper part' ($\leftarrow \nu\lambda l$ 'top' + $d\lambda r$ 'edge') and $u r d \acute{o} l$ 'lower part' ($\leftarrow u l$ 'bottom' + $d\lambda r$ 'edge').

Permic complex postpositions are similar to simple spatial relational nouns in many respects. In Udmurt, they attach nominal dependents in the nominative or in the genitive, like both full-fledged and relational nouns. Unlike full-fledged nouns and like relational nouns, they allow for nominative dependents with definite referential status. However, they only accept pronominal dependents in the genitive, which puts them one step lower on the grammaticalization path than 'true' relational nouns. In Komi, complex postpositions

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