



Ditransitive alignment in Surgut Khanty

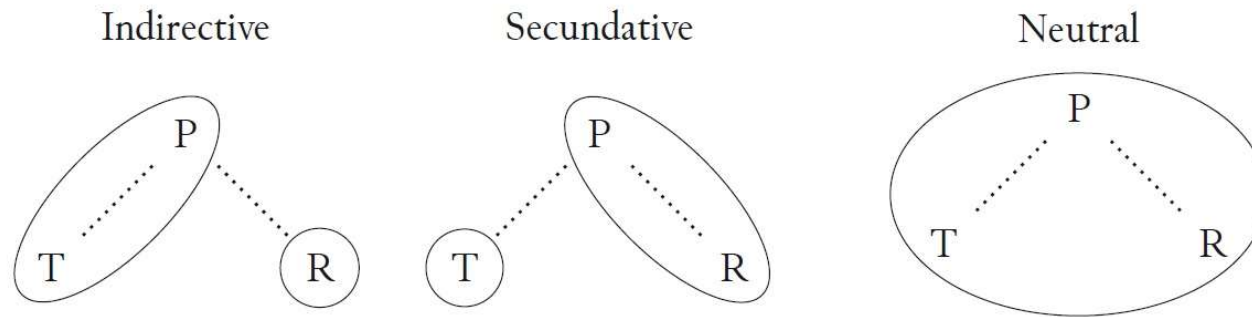
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Introduction

- ditransitive constructions consist of:
 - a ditransitive verb denoting physical or mental transfer like ‘to give’, ‘to sell’, ‘to tell’ taking three arguments:
 - AGENT (A) argument,
 - THEME (T) argument, and
 - RECIPIENT (R) argument
- alignment types: based on case marking and agreement patterns of the T and R arguments compared to the PATIENT (P) argument of a monotransitive verb (Haspelmath 2005, Malchukov et al. 2010, Comrie 2012, Bárány 2017)

Alignment types



(Malchukov et al. 2010)

- (1a) Harry read [_P a book]. (monotransitive)
- (1b) Harry gave [_T a book] [_R to Ron]. (indirective)
- (1c) Harry supplied [_R Ron] [_T with a book]. (secundative)
- (1d) Harry gave [_R Ron] [_T a book]. (neutral)

Alignment types in Surgut Khanty

Surgut Khanty (Ugric < Uralic, elicited)

(2a) Ksūša ṅāń λī-λ. (monotransitive)

Ksusha bread eat-PRS.3SG

‘Ksusha is eating bread.’

(2b) Ksūša Mīša-ya ṅāń mə-λ. (indirective)

Ksusha Misha-LAT bread give-PRS.3SG

‘Ksusha gives bread to Misha.’

(2c) Ksūša Mīša ṅāń-at mə-λ. (secundative)

Ksusha Misa bread-INSF give-PRS.3SG

‘Ksusha gives bread to Misha.’

Alignment types in Surgut Khanty

- personal pronouns

(3a) Ksūša māntem(a) nāń mə-λ. (indirective)
Ksusha I.DAT bread give-PRS.3SG
'Ksusha gives bread to me.'

(3b) Ksūša mānt nāń-at mə-λ. (secundative)
Ksusha I.ACC bread-INSF give-PRS.3SG
'Ksusha gives bread to me.'

- encoding of Surgut Khanty ditransitives (Csepregi 2015, Sosa 2017)
- DOM in SKh (Honti 1984, Csepregi 1998, É. Kiss 2019)

Alignment in Northern Khanty

(4a) Northern Khanty (Obdorsk, Nikolaeva 1999: 40)

(ma) Juwan e:lti a:n ma-s-θ-m. (indirective)
I John to cup give-PST-EP-1SG
'I gave a cup to John.'

(4b) (ma) a:n Juwan e:lti ma-s-e:m. (indirective)
I cup John to give-PST-SG. 1SG
'I gave the cup to John.'

(4c)(ma) Juwan a:n-na ma-s-e:m/ *ma-s-θ-m. (secundative)
I John cup-LOC give-PST-SG. 1SG/give-PST-EP-1SG
'I gave John a cup.'

- similar indexing in Synya Khanty (F. Gulyás 2015) and Northern Mansi (Bíró & Sipőcz 2017)

Ditransitive alternation in Northern Ob-Ugric languages

- the alternation is motivated by topicality values: the A argument is the primary topic
- typically, the R argument of the ditransitive verb is animate, human, and more topical than the inanimate T argument → R is the secondary topic
- when the T is promoted to the secondary topic function, it is marked both **by flagging and indexing**, and often also by **word order** (Nikolaeva 1999, Skribnik 2001, Bíró & Sipőcz 2017)
- BUT: generally, there indexing is neutral in SKh

Questions and data

- What factors motivate the alternation in SKh?
 - **topicality (due to data from NKh)**
 - animacy
 - definiteness
 - markedness
 - additional semantic properties (Malchukov et al. 2010)
- Data
 - two fieldworks, 4 informants, elicitation, dataset of 1140 clauses
 - syntactic and judgement tests (Comrie et al. 2010)
 - text corpora (OUIDB)

Object agreement in Surgut Khanty

(5a) Mā äwə-m oxotník-a mə-Λ-em.
I girl-1SG hunter-LAT give-PRS-**OBJ.1SG**
‘I give my daughter to the hunter.’

(5b) Oxotník policejskij wēli-jat məj-təγ.
hunter policeman reindeer-INSF give.PST-**OBJ.3SG**
‘The hunter gave a reindeer to the policeman.’

- both alignment types allow object agreement
- judgement test: secundative alignment is neutral

Passivation

- only P arguments can be passivized in Surgut Khanty (cf. Csepregi 2015)
- alignment types in the passive follow the pattern used in the active voice

(6a) Paγ-nə īmp-əΛ äwi-ja məj-i. (T passivation)
boy-LOC dog-3SG girl-LAT give.PST-PASS.3SG
‘The boy gave his/the dog to the girl.’

(6b) Paγ-nə ānki-Λ wēli-jat məj-i. (R passivation)
boy-LOC mother-3SG reindeer-INSF give.PST-PASS.3SG
‘The boy gives a reindeer to his mother.’

Passive alternation in Surgut Khanty

- judgement test: R passivation is more neutral as compared to T passivation
- R passivation is used for secondary topic promotion (Kulonen 1989, Sosa 2017) → common pattern cross-linguistically
- due to the lack of alternation in indexing, thus topic promotion is expressed via flagging → passivation
- in the passive construction, nominal arguments are marked differently (as opposed to their active counterparts) → they are more accessible in the discourse → markedness?

Additional factors

- definiteness

(7a) Paɣ̃ ĩmp-əʌ äwi-ja mə-ʌ.

boy dog-3SG girl-LAT give-PRS.3SG

‘The boy gives his/the dog to the girl.’

(7b) Paɣ̃ t'ūt äwi-ja mə-ʌ.

boy DEM girl-LAT give-PRS.3SG

‘The boy gives that to the girl.’

- markedness (?)

(7c) Paɣ̃-nə ĩmp-əʌ äwi-ja mə-ʌ-təɣ̃.

boy-LOC dog-3SG girl-LAT give-PRS-OBJ.3SG

‘The boy gives his/the dog to the girl.’

- locative agent constructions (Filchenko 2006, Schön 2022)

Conclusion

- Surgut Khanty corresponds to Northern Khanty in terms of flagging, but it uses indexing differently
- the alternation is motivated by topicality values of the arguments
 - in secundative alignment, T is a promoted secondary topic
 - instead of indexing, passivation and locative agent constructions in the active voice are used
- judgement: passive > locative agent construction > active
- markedness of nominal arguments and definiteness of the T tends to be a motivating factor not for the alternation but for the usage of passives and locative agent constructions
- future research: extended judgement test, the usage of locative agent constructions, separate R arguments from benefactives

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Pāsipa!
Thank you!

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