

RECIPIENT ENCODING IN SOUTHERN SELKUP

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

- constructions with the verb meaning ,to give' form ditransitive constructions like in (1)

(1) Mary gave John a book

Agent

Receiver Theme

- agent participant causes an object/theme to pass into the possession of an animate receiver.

SOUTHERN SELKUP TEXT CORPUS

SOUTHERN SELKUP TEXT CORPUS

- SELkupSpokenLanguage Corpus (SELSLC)
- DFG project: „Syntactic description of the Southern and Central Selkup dialects: a corpus-based investigation



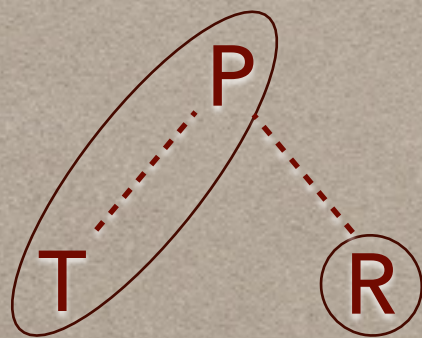
DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY

DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY I

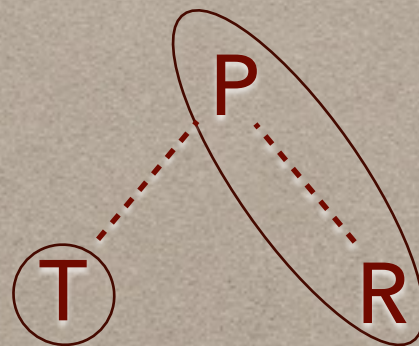
- ➔ ditransitive verbs:
 - ➔ physical transfer verbs like *give, bring, send*, etc.
 - ➔ cognitive or mental transfer verbs like *tell, show, teach*

DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY II

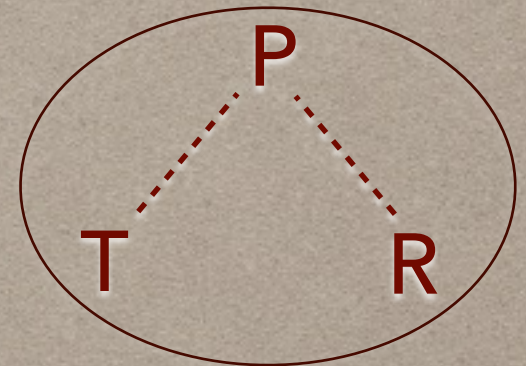
- ➔ alignment = the comparison of the properties of arguments across constructions
- ➔ three major alignment types according to Malchukov et al. (2010)



indirective alignment



secondary object alignment



neutral alignment

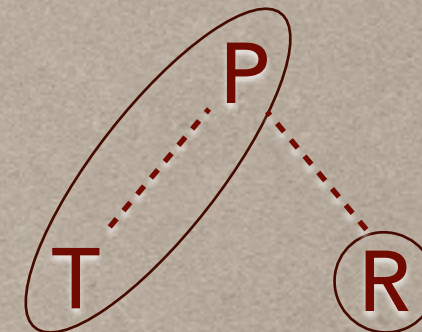
Figure: Malchukov et al (2010). *Ditransitive constructions: a typological overview*. In: Malchukov, A. I. „Studies in ditransitive constructions: a comparative handbook“. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter. p. 5

DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY III

(2) [monotransitive], German

Ich aß den Apfel.
1SG ate the.ACC apple
A P_{ACC}

‘I ate the apple.’



indirective alignment
[dative constructions]

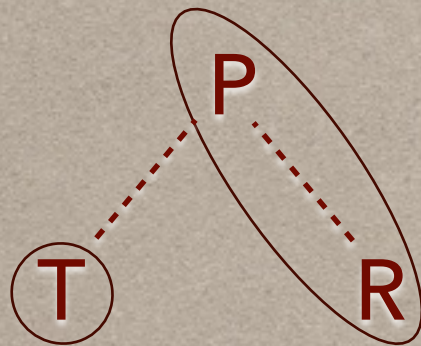
(3) [ditransitive], German

Ich gab dem Kind den Apfel.
1SG gave the.DAT child the.ACC apple
A R_{DAT} T_{ACC}

‘I gave the child the apple.’

$(T = P \neq R)$

DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY IV



secondary object alignment
[primary object constructions]

monotransitive

(4) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 383], Northern Selkup (Taz)

mat tašintĩ amta-k.

1SG SG.ACC eat-1SG

A P_{ACC}

‘I eat you.’

ditransitive

(5) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 249], Northern Selkup (Taz)

šintĩ poqqĩ-sä mi-nta-k qəəliš-qintoo.

1SG.ACC net.INSTR give-FUT-1SG fish(verb)-SUP

R_{ACC} T_{INSTR}

‘I give you the net to fish (so that you fish).’

(R = P ≠ T)

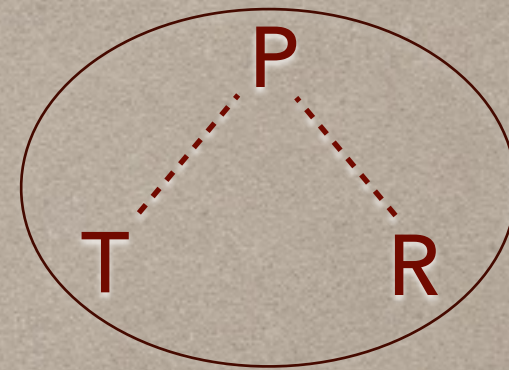
DITRANSITIVE TYPOLOGY V

(6) [monotransitive], English

He will beat me.

A

P



neutral alignment
[double object constructions]

(7) [ditransitive], English

He gave me the book.

A

R

P

(T = P = R)

MONOTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

MONOTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS I

→ monotransitive constructions compared to intransitive constructions

→ accusative alignment ($A = S \neq P$)

→ ergative alignment ($A \neq S = P$)

→ neutral alignment ($A = S = P$)

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| transitive | -> agent-like argument (A) |
| | -> patient-like argument (P) |
| intransitive | -> single argument (S) |

MONOTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS II

→ direct object in **accusative** case

(8) [SEV_1981_SisterBrother_flk: 24], Middle Ob

Tab čobir-p awe:špa-s
3SG berry-ACC eat-IPFV-PST.[3SG.S]
A P_{ACC}
'He ate berries.'

→ accusative alignment (A = S ≠ P)

→ indirective alignment type

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS SOUTHERN SELKUP

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTHERN SELKUP I

- ➔ the **theme** is almost always encoded with the accusative case
- ➔ the **recipient** is encoded with the dative/allative case, if it is expressed by a **noun**
- ➔ the **recipient** is encoded with the dative case, if it is expressed by a **pronoun**
- ➔ ditransitive constructions occur almost always only with **objective conjugation**

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTHERN SELKUP II

→ Recipient is expressed with a noun

(9) [TTD_1964_CalfHare_flk: 1.29], Tym

| | | | |
|----------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| čel'enga | me-xi-d | n'oma-n | ko:wrip. |
| calf | give-PST.REP-3SG.O | hare-DAT/ALL | small carpet-ACC |
| A | | R _{DAT/ALL} | T _{ACC} |

'The calf gave the hare the carpet.

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTHERN SELKUP III

→ Recipient is expressed with a pronoun

(10) [PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk: 67], Chaya

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| man | te:gga | tamd'el | me-ža-u | qu:dəyo-m. |
| 1SG | 2SG.DAT | tomorrow | give-FUT-1SG.O | pull strap-ACC |
| A | R _{DAT} | | | T _{ACC} |

‘Tomorrow I will give you a pull strap.’

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTHERN SELKUP IV

→ Russian loanwords

(11) [TTD_1964_Frog_flk: 24], Tym

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Iwānuška | iža-l-gu-k: | ε-m | mēka | sadan'je |
| Ivanushka | say-INCH-ITER-3SG: | father-PX.1SG | 1SG.DAT | task-[SG.NOM] |
| | | A | R _{DAT} | T _{NOM} |
| me-xā, | štobi tēka | čēy | n'aj-p | mē-gu i tab-i-p |
| give-AOR.[3SGS], that | 2SG.DAT | white | bread-ACC | do-INF and 3SG-EP-ACC |
| | R _{DAT} | | T _{ACC} | |
| ābi-d-gu. | | | | |
| eat-TR-INF | | | | |

‘Ivanushka said: My father has given me the task, that you made white bread for feeding him.’

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS NORTHERN SELKUP

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NORTHERN SELKUP I

- ➔ the **nominal recipient** is always encoded with the **dative/allative** case -> the **theme** has accusative case
- ➔ the **pronominal recipient** is usually encoded with the **accusative** case -> the **theme** has instrumental case
- ➔ there are examples where the **pronominal recipient** is encoded with the **lative** case -> the **theme** has accusative case
- ➔ the choice of the case marker seems so depend on the information structure of the sentence and not on the definiteness of the direct object -> further research
- ➔ subjective and objective conjugation

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NORTHERN SELKUP II

→ nominal recipient

- (12) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 387], Northern Selkup, Taz
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| il't'a-nti-nik | meešak-ti | mi-ŋi-ti. |
| grandfather-OBL.PX3SG-DAT/ALL | sack-ACC.PX3SG | give-CO-3SG.O |
| R _{DAT/ALL} | T _{ACC} | |
- ‘(S)he gave his/her grandfather the sack.’

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NORTHERN SELKUP III

→ pronominal recipient (accusative case)

(13) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 249], Northern Selkup, Taz

šintì poqqi-sä mi-nta-k qəəliš-qıntoo.
2SG.ACC net-INSTR give-FUT-1SG to fish-SUP

R_{ACC} T_{INSTR}

‘I give you the net to fish.’

→ indirective alignment

(T = P ≠ R)

→ pronominal recipient (lative case)

(14) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 327], Northern Selkup, Taz

kekkišä mat təpınık ɔtā-m mi-s-ap, təp nillä
when 1SG 3SG.DAT reindeer-ACC give-PST-1SG.O 3SG instantly

A R_{DAT} T_{ACC}
laqalteɛ-s-i.
go away-PST-3SG

‘As soon as I gave him/her the reindeer, (s)he went away.’

→ secondary object alignment

(R = P ≠ T)

SUMMARY

SUMMARY I

→ the agent does not obligatory have to be lexically overt

- (15) [SEV_1981_SisterBrother_flk: 86], Middle Ob
Na ol-m nenn'a-n-d tādīmbat.
this head-ACC sister-DAT/ALL-PX3SG bring-PST.REP-3SG.O
T_{ACC} R_{DAT/ALL}
'This head he brought to the sister.'

- (16) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 387], Northern Selkup, Taz
il't'a-nti-nik meešak-ti mi-ŋi-ti.
grandfather-OBL.PX3SG-DAT/ALL sack-ACC.PX3SG give-CO-3SG.O
R_{DAT/ALL} T_{ACC}
'(S)he gave his/her grandfather the sack.'

SUMMARY II

- in Southern Selkup the recipient does not obligatory have to be lexically overt, but may be referred to from the context

(17) [ILP_1981_StonyOldWoman_flk: 3], Middle Ob

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Tab-ı-p | qū-la | mādi-r-gu-za-dit | štob qwēli-p |
| 3SG-EP-ACC | human being-PL | ask for-FRQ-ITER-PST-3PL.S/O | that fish-ACC |
| | | | T _{ACC} |
| koti-k | me-k-nε-t, | sūru-p | me-k-nε-t. |
| much-ADV | give-ITER-AOR-3SG.O | wild animal-ACC | give-ITER-AOR-3SG.O |
| | | T _{ACC} | |

‘The people ask for her to give them many fishes, many wild animals.’

SUMMARY III

→ in Northern Selkup the recipient has to be lexically overt

- (18) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 387], Northern Selkup, Taz
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| il't'a-nti-nik | meešak-ti | mi-ŋi-ti. |
| grandfather-OBL.PX3SG-DAT/ALL | sack-ACC.PX3SG | give-CO-3SG.O |
| R _{DAT/ALL} | T _{ACC} | |
- ‘(S)he gave his/her grandfather the sack.’

SUMMARY IV

→ In the Southern dialects also the theme can be lexically covert

(19) [TFF_1967_ItjaAldigaNet_flk: 23], Middle Ob

A Īd'e ē̄za-l-gwa: aza me-nž̌a-w

but Itja say-INCH-ITER.[3SG.S] NEG give-FUT-1SG.O

theme encoding

‘But Itja says: (I) don’t give (it) (to you).’

agent
encoding

recipient known from
the context

SUMMARY V

Table 1: Overt and covert Recipient in Northern and Southern Selkup

| | Northern Selkup | Southern Selkup |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Agent _{LEX.OVERT} | X | X |
| Agent _{LEX.COVERT} | X | X |
| Recipient _{LEX.OVERT} | X | X |
| Recipient _{LEX.COVERT} | ○ | X |
| Theme _{LEX.OVERT} | X | X |
| Theme _{LEX.COVERT} | ○ | X _{only S} |

SUMMARY VI

(20) [PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk: 67], Chaya

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| man | te:gga | tamd'el | me-ža-u | qu:dəyo-m. |
| 1SG | 2SG.DAT | tomorrow | give-FUT-1SG.O | pull strap-ACC |
| A | R _{DAT} | | | T _{ACC} |

‘Tomorrow I will give you a pull strap.’

➔ If the agent is lexically overt, it is always encoded with the nominative case, i.e. the unmarked form

(21) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 327], Northern Selkup, Taz

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|------------------|------------------|----------------|-----|-----------|
| kekkišä | mat | təpinik | ɔtā-m | mi-s-ap, | təp | nillä |
| when | 1SG | 3SG.DAT | reindeer-ACC | give-PST-1SG.O | 3SG | instantly |
| | A | R _{DAT} | T _{ACC} | | | |

laqaltəɛ-s-i.
go away-PST-3SG

‘As soon as I gave him/her the reindeer, (s)he went away.’

SUMMARY VII

→ The nominal recipient is marked with dat/all case

(22) [SEV_1981_SisterBrother_flk: 86], Middle Ob

| | | | |
|------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Na | ol-m | nenn'a-n-d | tādīmbat. |
| this | head-ACC | sister-DAT/ALL-PX3SG | bring-PST.REP-3SG.O |
| | T _{ACC} | R _{DAT/ALL} | |

‘This head he brought to the sister.’

(23) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 387], Northern Selkup, Taz

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| il't'a-nti-nik | meešak-ti | mi-ŋi-ti. |
| grandfather-OBL.PX3SG-DAT/ALL | sack-ACC.PX3SG | give-CO-3SG.O |
| R _{DAT/ALL} | T _{ACC} | |

‘(S)he gave his/her grandfather the sack.’

SUMMARY VIII

→ In Southern Selkup the pronominal recipient is always encoded with the dative case

(24) [PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk: 67], Chaya

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| man | te:gga | tamd'el | me-ža-u | qu:dəyo-m. |
| 1SG | 2SG.DAT | tomorrow | give-FUT-1SG.O | pull strap-ACC |
| A | R _{DAT} | | | T _{ACC} |

‘Tomorrow I will give you a pull strap.’

SUMMARY VIX

- In Northern Selkup the pronominal recipient is encoded with the accusative case or the dative case

(13) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 249], Northern Selkup, Taz

šintì poqqi-sä mi-nta-k qəəliš-qintoo.

2SG.ACC net-INSTR give-FUT-1SG to fish-SUP

R_{ACC} T_{INSTR}

‘I give you the net to fish.’

(14) [Kuznecova et al. 1980, p. 327], Northern Selkup, Taz

kekkišä mat təpiniḱ ɔtə-m mi-s-ap, təp nillä
when 1SG 3SG.DAT reindeer-ACC give-PST-1SG.O 3SG instantly

A R_{DAT} T_{ACC}

laqaltəɛ-s-i.
go away-PST-3SG

‘As soon as I gave him/her the reindeer, (s)he went away.’

SUMMARY X

- ➔ In Southern Selkup the theme is usually encoded with the accusative case

(25) [PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk: 67], Chaya

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|----------------|------------------|
| man | te:gga | tamd'el | me-ža-u | qu:dəyo-m. |
| 1SG | 2SG.DAT | tomorrow | give-FUT-1SG.O | pull strap-ACC |
| A | R _{DAT} | | | T _{ACC} |

‘Tomorrow I will give you a pull strap.’

- ➔ In Northern Selkup the encoding of the theme alternates depending on the recipient encoding

SUMMARY XI

Table 2: Recipient encoding in Northern and Southern Selkup

| | recipient | dative construction | primary object construction |
|---------------------------|-----------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Northern Selkup | N | $R_{\text{DAT/ALL}}[T=P]_{\text{ACC}}$ | |
| | PRO | $R_{\text{DAT}}[T=P]_{\text{ACC}}$ | $T_{\text{INSTR}}[R=P]_{\text{ACC}}$ |
| Central / Southern Selkup | N | $R_{\text{DAT/ALL}}[T=P]_{\text{ACC}}$ | |
| | PRO | $R_{\text{DAT}}[T=P]_{\text{ACC}}$ | |

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR
ATTENTION!**