
Caritive constructions in Northern Khanty

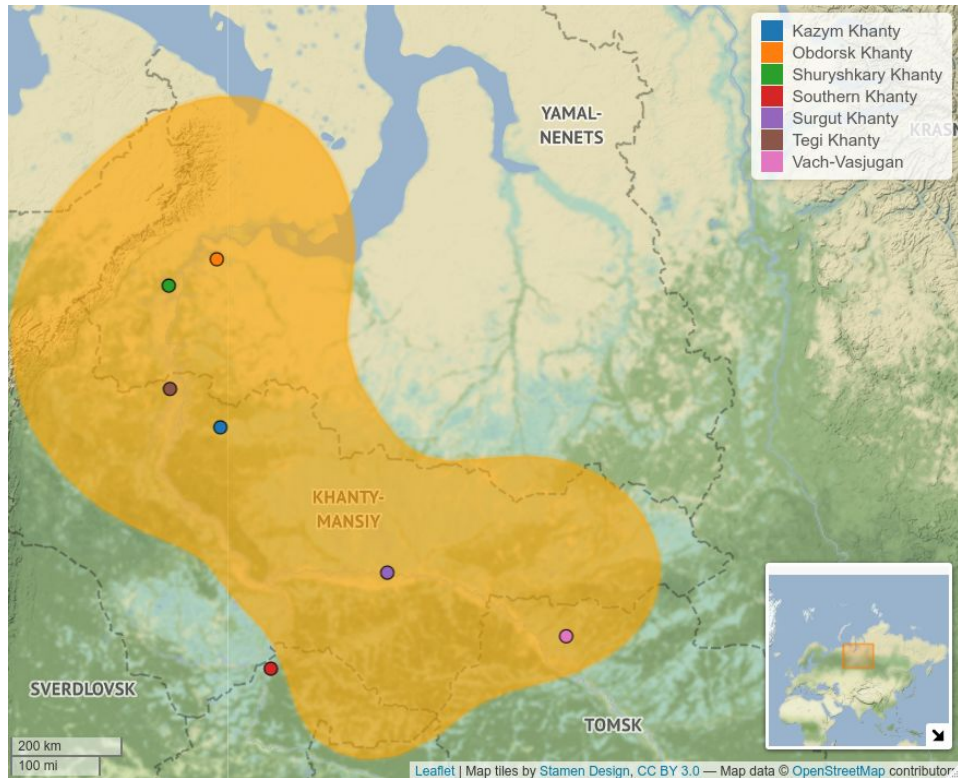
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Introduction

Kazym Khanty < Northern Khanty <
Ob-Ugric < Ugric < Finno-Ugric <
Uralic

Data was mainly collected by elicitation in the NRU HSE and MSU expedition to the village Kazym in summer 2019. Some additional data was gathered online (by Skype interviews) in 2020.

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Caritive markers in Khanty

- 1) caritive affix *-λι*
- 2) postposition *takλα/takλι*

There is no significant difference between two versions of the postposition. It depends on the speaker's dialect.

Morphological properties of *takla*

If the absentee is expressed by pronoun, it's obligatory to mark the postposition with possessive affixes:

- (1) *luw man-əs nəŋ taklena /*takla*
3_G go-P_T[3_G] 2_G without.PO_{3G}.2_G / without

'He left without you'

Otherwise, marking the postposition with possessive affixes is ungrammatical:

- (2) *mun woša was'a-jen takla /*taklala man-s-əw*
1_{PL} city vasya-PO_{3G}.2_{sg} without/without.PO_{3G}.3_{sg} go-P_T-1_{PL}

We went to the city without Vasya.

absentee morphosyntactic properties

takla: absentee can have it's own dependents

(5) *was'aj-en* *χur-enj* *knižka-λαλ* *takla* *marem-əs-i*

vasya-PO□□.2□G picture-ATTR book-PO□□.3□G without be_bored-P□T-PA□□.[3□G]

Vasya is bored without illustrated books.

For *-λι* it's not so clear:

(6) *mašaj-en* *kawrəm* *jɪŋk* *takla* */?jɪŋk-λι* *an-λαλ* *λυχət-əl*

masha-PO□□.2□G hot water without /water-CAR dish-PO□□.3□G wash-NP□T[3□G]

Masha does the dishes without hot water

For some speakers the use of *-λι* is okay here, other deem it ungrammatical. Perhaps those that allow *-λι* interpret *kawrəm jɪŋk* 'hot water' as a compound.

Compatibility

Common nouns:

-λι: OK

takla: OK

(7) *pet'aj-en* *lajn-λι* */lajn* *takla* *wənt-a* *man-əs*
petya-PO[3]G axe-CAR /axe without forest-DAT go-P[3]G
Petya went to the forest without an axe.

Compatibility

-*li* can't be used with proper nouns and personal pronouns.

takla can combine with both proper nouns and personal pronouns, but when absentee is a personal pronoun it's obligatory to use possessive markers on the postposition:

- (8) *luw* *man-əs* *nǎŋ* *taklena* */*nǎn-li* */*nǎn takla*
3_{SG} go-P_T[3_{SG}] you without.PO_{3SG}.2_{SG} /you-CAR / you without
'He left without you'

Compatibility

wh-pronouns:

(9) *muj takla* /**mujli* *lanjink* *an kawər-ti*
what without /what-CAR soup NEG COOK-N IN.NP T
Without what one can't make a soup?

Syntactic functions of the caritive phrase

Depictive:

- (10) *tam ol st'opaj-en tus-li /*tuš takla juχtəs*
This year styopa-PO□□.2sg mustache-CAR mustache without come-P□T[3□G]
This year Styopa arrived mustacheless.

Adverbial dependent:

- (11) *Mašaj-en keši-li /?keši takla λελ*
masha-PO□□.2□G knife-CAR / knife without eat.NP□T[3□G]
- (12) *muj wər-ən lajm takla /lajmli tət'jəχ sewarli*
what likeness-Loc axe without / axe-CAR firewood cut.N□IN.NP□T
How can one cut firewood without an axe?

Syntactic functions of the caritive phrase

Attribute:

(13) *wasaj-en* *χur-li* /**χur takla* *kniška* *təs*
vasya-po□□.2□G picture-CAR /picture without book bring.P□τ[3□G]

Vasya brought a book without pictures

(14) *təm* *mil-li* /**mil takla* *ewi-je* *jami-je*
that hat-CAR /hat without girl-DIM good-DIM

That girl without a hat is cute

Definiteness

Absentee can be non-specific (15), definite (16) and indefinite (17):

(15) *muj wər-ən lajm takla /lajm-li tət'jɛx sewarli*

what like axe without /axe-CAR firewood cut.N IN.NP T

How can one cut firewood without an axe?

(16) *Mašaj-en petaj-en takla šaj jań-λ*

masha-PO .2 G petya-PO .2 G without tea drink-NP T [3 G]

Masha drinks tea without Petya

(17) *was'ajen mulšər knižkali juxtes*

vasya-PO .2 G what.INDE book-CAR come-P T [3 G]

Vasya came [to school] without some book

Functions of absentee

Companion (18), (19), instrument (20)

- (18) *masaj-en* *ńawrem-əl-al* *takla* *šošij-λ*
Masha-PO□□.2□G child-PL-PO□□.3PL without walk-NP□T[3□G]

Masha walks without her children

#ńawremλi

- (19) *ma* *piλ-li* *wənta jän-s-əm*
1sg partner-CAR forest go-P□T-1□G

I went to the forest without a partner.

- (20) *muj* *wəɾən* *łajm* *takla* */łajmli* *tət'jəx* *sewarli*
what like axe without / axe-CAR firewood cut.N□IN.NP□T

How can one cut firewood without an axe?

Functions of absentee

Legal possession (21), temporary possession (22), garment (23)

(21) *mašina-λi* /**takla* *lawert* *wəλ-ti*
car-CAR / without hard live-N IN.NP T

It's hard to live without a car

(22) *pet'aj-en* *λajn-λi* /*λajm takla* *wənta man-əs*
petya-PO .2 G axe-CAR /axe without forest go-P T[3 G]

Petya went to the forest without a/the axe

(23) *təm* *mil-λi* /**mil takla* *ewi-je* *jami-je*
that hat-CAR /hat without girl-DIM good-DIM

That girl without a hat is cute

Functions of absentee

Kinship relations (24, 25), body part (26), vehicle (27)

(24) *nawrem-et ank-eλ takla juλεη haš-s-et*
child-PL mother-PO□□.3□G without at_home be_left-P□T.3PL
Children are alone at home without the mother

(25) *nawrem-et anki-λi haš-s-et*
child-PL mother-CAR be_left-P□T.3PL
Children were left without their mother

(26) *wəsi kυrλι iki juχtəs*
village leg-CAR man arrive-P□T[3□G]

A man without a leg arrive to the village

(27) *vertolet takli /*vertolet-λi šiw ant juχλι*
helicopter without / helicopter-CAR there neg reach.N□IN.NP□T

You can't go there without a helicopter

Participant exception

Some speakers can use the adposition in the meaning of participant exception:

(28) *was'aj-en* *λελ* *kašəŋ wonšəmut* *huməswəl* *tumpi /takla*
vasya-PO□□.2□G eat.NP□T[3□G] every berry cranberry except /without
Vasya eats any berries, except cranberry

(29) *isa* *xant-ət* *huməswəl* *λελ* *petaj-en* *takli*
every human-PL cranberry eat.NP□T[3□G] petya-PO□□.2□G without
Everyone, except Petya, eats cranberry.

For some it's even possible to use it in the meaning of participant addition:

(30) *nin-en* *wux* *takla* *pa* *muj* *mosəl*
you.PL-DAT money without ADD what need
What do you need besides money?

There are two other adpositions which are defined by Russian word 'κrome' in the dictionaries. It's unclear what's the difference between them and *takla*.

Further plans for the research

- dependent types for the absentee
- other types of absentee: it appears that infinitives can be marked with *takla*
- conjunction and caritives: if caritive markers are needed on both conjuncts
- *takla*, *tumpi* and *tuχελρι* distribution in the participant exception contexts and the like

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