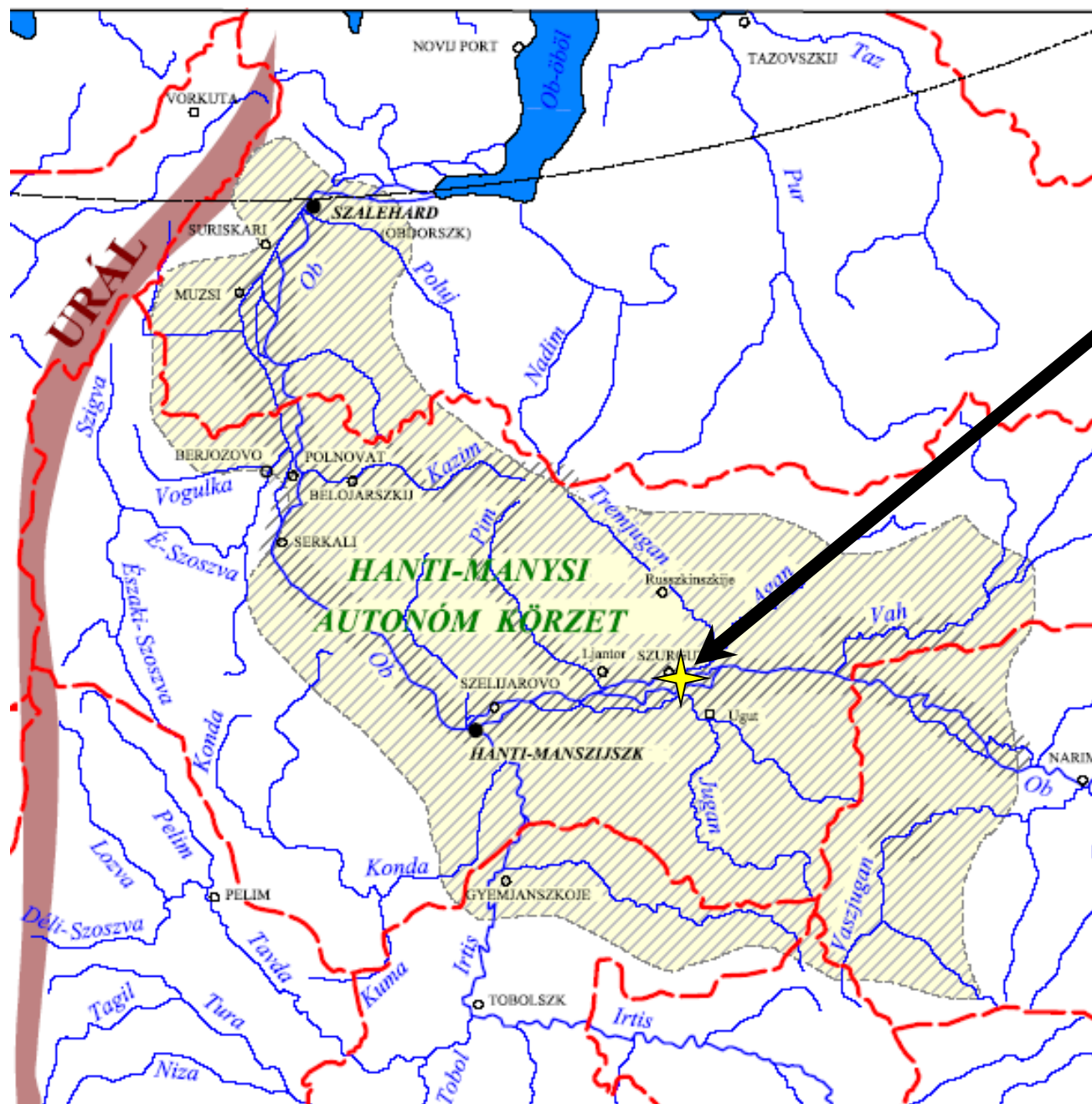


**Marking the agent on non-finite verb forms in
Surgut Khanty**

**Маркирование агента нфинитных конструкций
в сургутском диалекте хантыйского языка**

CSEPREGI MÁRTA

CIFU 12, Oulu, 20/8/15



Surgut

Non-finite verb forms in Surgut Khanty

- infinitive *-ta(γə)*
- present participle *-t-*
- past participle *-m-*
- converb *-min*
- negative non-finite form *-ʌəγ*
- (conditional non-finite) *-ŋ-)*

Case marking and possessive marking on non-finite verb forms

	morphological marker			
non-finite verb types	person marker	number marker	case marker	postposition
infinitive	–	–	–	–
participle	+	+	+	+
converb	–		–	–
negative non- finite form	+	–	+	–
conditional non-finite	+	–	–	–

Functions of the participles

- The participle „proper”: attributive use
- Nomen actionis?
- subject
- object
- adverbial

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 1

Agent-oriented (Haspelmath (1994: 153))

- (1) *wont-a* *jüw-əm* *jɔ̄y*
forest-LAT come-PTC.PST people
'people who came to the forest'
'люди, которые пришли в лес'
(Csepregi 1998: 70.)

- (2) *low mōq-ʌ-ʌʌ* *päwəʌtə-tə* *nīŋ pūpi*
cub-PL-3SG bathe-PTC.PRS female bear
'a female bear who is bathing her cubs'
'медведица, которая купает своих медвежат'
(Csepregi 2012: 64.)

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 2

Agent-oriented (Haspelmath (1994: 153))

- (3) *awλ-ət* *pūλt-əm* *āt'e-m*
sledge-PL harness- PTC.PST father-1SG
'my father, who has harnessed the sledge'
'мой отец, который запряг нарты' (LNK)

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 3

Patient-oriented

- (4) *āʔe-m pūat-əm awa-ət*

father-1SG harness- PTC.PST sledge- PL

'sledges that were harnessed by my father'

'нарты, которые запряг мой отец' (Csepregi 2012: 65.)

Relative participle (Lehmann 1984: 49–58)

- (5) *āʔe-m säm-a pīt-əm pūyäl*

father-1SG eye- LAT fall- PTC.PST village

'the village where my father was born'

'деревня, где родился мой отец'

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 4

The agent is a personal pronoun

- (6) *nüŋ* *p̄lat-əṁ-a* *awλ-ət*
you harness- PTC.PST-2SG sledge- PL
'sledges that were harnessed by you'
'нарты, которые ты запряг'

- (7) *(mā) säṁ-a* *p̄it-m-am* *p̄üṁəλ*
(I) eye- LAT fall- PTC.PST-1SG village
'the village where I was born'
'деревня, где я родился'
(Csepregi 2012: 70.)

Detour Nr.1: Possessive marking

(8) *iwan rȳt*
Ivan boat
'Ivan's boat'
'лодка Ивана'

(9) *(mā) rȳt-ə̃m*
I boat-1SG
'my boat'
'моя лодка'

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 5

The agent is a personal pronoun

Agreement in Western Khanty dialects (Kazym)

(10) *ma katal-əm xul-em put lipij-n xaś-əs.*

I catch-PTC.PST fish-1SG pot inside-LOC stay-PST.3SG

'The fish I caught stayed in the pot.'

'Рыба, которую я поймал, осталась в котелке'.

(Skribnik – Kovgan 1986: 41.)

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 6

The agent is a personal pronoun

Agreement in Eastern Khanty dialects (Surgut)

- (11) *kātəλ-m-am* *qūλ* *pūt-nə* *qȳt’*.
catch- PTC.PST-1SG fish pot- LOC stay- PST.3SG

‘The fish I caught stayed in the pot.’

‘Рыба, которую я поймал, осталась в котелке’.

(Csepregi 2012: 67.)

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 7

The agent of the participle and the subject of the main clause are different

Eastern Khanty (Surgut)

(12) *wīht'amtə-m-a köt-am qow märə noq əntə äryaɬyə-ɬ.*

cut-PTC.PST-2SG hand-1SG long time up NEG heal-PRS.3SG

'My hand, which was cut by you, did not heal for a long time.'

'Моя рука, которую ты порезал, долго не заживает.'

(Csepregi 2012: 68.)

Participles and negative non-finites as attributes 8

The agent of the participle and the subject of the main clause are different

Western Khanty (Kazym)

(13) *naŋ ewt-əm jəš-em xuw jam-a ant ji-Λ.*

you cut-PTC.PST hand-1SG long good- LAT NEG become-
PRS.3SG

'My hand, which was cut by you, did not heal for a long time.'

'Моя рука, которую ты порезал, долго не заживает.'

(Skribnik–Kovgan 1986: 44.)

Agreement strategies in Finno-Ugric languages 1 (Kubínyi 2012)

1. Pron Ptcp-Px N (Eastern Khanty, Hungarian, Udmurt, Mari, Nganasan)
2. Pron Ptcp N-Px (Western Khanty, Erzya, Mari)
3. Pron Ptcp-Px N-Px (Enets, Old Hungarian)
4. N-Gen Ptcp N (Mari, Komi, Finnish)
5. N-Cx Ptcp N (Eastern Khanty, Hungarian)

Agreement strategies in Finno-Ugric languages 2

5. N-Cx Ptcp N (Eastern Khanty, Hungarian)

- (14) *āt'e-m-nə* *pūat-əm* *awλ-ət*
father -1SG-LOC harness- PTC.PST sledge- PL
'sledges harnessed by my father'
'нарты, запряжённые моим отцом'
(Csepregi 2012: 71)

Agreement strategies in Finno-Ugric languages 3

5. N-Cx Ptcp N (Eastern Khanty, Hungarian)

- (15) *nüŋ-nə* *pūłt-ə̃m* *awł-ə̃t*
 you- LOC harness- PTC.PST sledge- PL
 'sledges harnessed by you'
 'нарты, запряжённые тобой'

- (16) *mā-nə* *kata-ə̃m* *qūł*
 I- LOC catch- PTC.PST fish
 'the fish I caught '
 'рыба, пойманная мной'

Negative non-finite as an attribute

Agent-oriented

- (17) *köλ-nam* *qōlāntā-λəy* *ñēwrəm-yən*
word-APR listen-PTC.NEG child-DU
'two disobedient children'
'два непослушных ребёнка' (Aypin 2002: 30.)

Patient-oriented

- (18) *säm-nat* *wū-λəy* *ot-e*
eye-COM see-PTC.NEG thing-2SG
'what you did not see with your eyes'
'глазом не видимую твоя вещь'
(Koškareva – Pesikova 2006: 33.)

The participle as an argument 1

As subject or object – The agent is a noun

- (19) *ort-ew wīy-t-aḷ sēt'-əḷ!*
hero-1PL shout- PTC.PRS-3SG sound- PRS.3SG
'The shouting of our hero can be heard!'
'Слышится крик нашего предводителя!'.
(Paasonen – Vértés 2001: 22.)

- (20) *əj nīŋ-em təyə ʌyətəḷ-t-aḷ pə əntem.*
one woman-1SG here visit- PTC.PRS-3SG PCL
does.not.exist
'My friend doesn't visit me.'
'Моя подруга не навещает меня'. (Csepregi 1998: 78.)

The participle as an argument 2

As subject or object – The agent is a personal pronoun

- (21) *ɬüw ogurec wāht'-m-aɬ tərəm.*
(s)he cucumber slice-PTC.PST-3SG finished
'(S)he finished slicing the cucumber.'
'Он/она нарезал(а) огурец'. (Gugán 2013: 171/157)
- (22) *t'aqa nüŋ ma wär-t-am əntə wū-ɬ-e.*
really you I do-PTC.PRS-1SG NEG see-PRS-2SG
'Now really, you don't see what I am doing.'
'Ты, конечно, не видишь, что я делаю'
(Koškareva 2004:124/ 94.)

Detour Nr.2: possessive constructions with a marker on the possession

(23) *iwan r̥yt-əɬ t'ətti.*

Ivan boat-3SG here

'Ivan's boat is here.'

'Лодка Ивана здесь'.

(24) *lekar n̥ät-əɬ qoɬnə?*

doctor name-3SG how

'What's the name of that doctor?'

'Как зовут врача?'

Person-marking suffixes without an agent

Incipient grammaticalization?

(25) *tow jəŋk-nə moləy-t-aʌ sēt'-əʌ.*

lake water-LOC whisper-PTC.PRS-3SG sound-
PRS.3SG

'There is a whispering in the water of the lake.'

'В озёрной воде какой-то шорох слышится.'

(Koškareva 2004:122/ 61.)

Participles in adverbial clauses 1

The agent is a personal pronoun

(26)(*liüw*) *jaqə jowət-m-aλ-a* *jāstə-γ*.

(s)he in arrive-PTC.PST-3SG-LAT say-
PST.3S

'Having arrived home, (s)he said.'

'После того как он пришёл домой, сказал'.

Participles in adverbial clauses 2

The agent is a noun

The agent of the participle and the subject of the main clause are coreferent

- (27) *pit'əŋkə-li jaqə jowət-m-a-a jāstə-γ.*
bird- DIM in arrive- PTC.PST-3SG-LAT say- PST.3SG
'Having arrived home, the little bird said.'
'После того как птичка пришла домой, сказала'.
(Csepregi 1998: 66)

- (28) * *pit'əŋkə-li jaqə jowt-əm-a jāstə-γ.*
bird- DIM in arrive-PTC.PST-LAT say- PST.3SG

Participles in adverbial clauses 3

The agent is a noun

The agent of the participle and the subject of the main clause are different

(29a) *miša jaqə ʎaŋ-əʈ-nə, maša kēm wūyəl.*

Misha in enter- PTC.PST-LOC Masha out exit.PST.3SG

'When Misha entered, Masha went out.'

'Когда Миша вошёл в дом, Маша вышла'.

(29b) *miša jaqə ʎaŋ-t-aʎ-nə, maša kēm wūyəl.*

Misha in enter- PTC.PST-3SG-LOC Masha out exit.PST.3SG

'When Misha entered, Masha went out.'

'Когда Миша вошёл в дом, Маша вышла'. (Csepregi 2015)

Negative non-finites as adverbials 1

The agent is a personal pronoun
The agent of the non-finite and the subject
of the main clause are coreferent
Temporal subordination

(30) *mā wont-nam mən-əɣ-am-nə ār līwpəs līt'atə-ə-əm.*

I forest- APR go-PTC.NEG-1SG-LOC a.lot food prepare-PRS-
1SG

'Before going to the forest, I prepare a lot of food.'

Прежде чем пойти в лес, я готовлю много еды' (LNK)

Negative non-finites as adverbials 2

Further kinds of adverbials (result, state)

- (31) *əj-məta lat-nə wəjək qūl wäl-ləy jə-y.*
one some time- LOC game fish kill-PTC.NEG become-PST.3SG
'Once he became unfortunate at hunting'
'И вот как-то раз рыбу-зверя добыть не может.'
(Koškareva – Pesikova 2006: 47.)
- (32) *qantək qo wū-ləy al-al.*
Khanty man know- PTC.NEG lie-PRS.3SG
'the man lies unconscious'
'человек лежит без сознания'
(Karjalainen – Vértes 1964: 292.)

Negative non-finites as adverbials 3

The agent is a noun

The agent of the participle and the subject
of the main clause are different

Temporal subordination

(33) *āŋki-ʌ-nə mɔ̃ŋt'-at mɔ̃ŋt'-ʌəɣ, ɳēwrem əntə wojəmtə-ʌ-i.*

mother-3SG -LOC tale- INSFIN tale-PTC.NEG child NEG
fall.asleep- PRS-PASS.3SG

'The child does not fall asleep until his/her mother tells
him/her a tale.'

'Пока мама не расскажет сказку, ребёнок не засыпает.'

Marking the agent of the infinitive and of the converb 1

Infinitive

(34) *ńȳr īlǝ əntǝ wǝj-i, pȳrǝs iki-nǝ ńārǝk kür əntǝ wu-taγǝ.*

boot NEG take- PST.PASS.3SG old man bare foot NEG
see- INF

'They do not take off their boots so that the old man would not see the bare feet.'

'Кисы снимать нельзя, чтобы старик голые ноги не видел'.

(Koškareva – Pesikova 2006: 71.)

Marking the agent of the infinitive and of the converb 2

Converb

(35) *vospitat'el'nica-nə p̄ȳərtə-min,*

teacher-LOC

help-CNV

āŋki āj-nē

ȳlə wojaɬtə-ɬ-i.

mother little-woman

away sleep-PRS.3SG

‘The mother lulls the little girl to sleep with
the help of the kindergarden teacher.’

‘Мама усыпляет девочку с помощью
воспитательницы’.

(F.Gulyás 2015. LNK)

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