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The direct object in Kamas against the overall Uralic background

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Kamas and Russian inhabitants of P'yankova fabricate millstones.
(Photograph by Arkadij Tugarinov, 1925)

Disclaimer: this is about <u>direct objects</u>, this is not the complete story of patients.

(1) a. Kamas and Russian inhabitants of P'yankova fabricate <u>millstones</u>.

b. Fabricating <u>millstones</u> is what they do in P'yankova.

c. Millstones are fabricated by inhabitants of P'yankova.

d. The fabrication of millstones in P'yankova.

…

0. Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- Object Flagging (Case Marking)

  - asymmetric DOM: accusative (or other) vs. zero (nominative)

    – the prominency parameter: definiteness and animacy hierarchies

    – focality or topicality

    – imperative, impersonal, nonfinite parameter

    – other

  - symmetric DOM: accusative vs. partitive/ablative/inessive/dative (still DO?)

    – partial affectedness, verbal aspect

    – focality or topicality again

- Object Indexing (Object Agreement/Objective Conjugation)

  – topicality

  – definiteness

Aissen 2003, Bossong 1985, 1998, Comrie 1979, Croft 1988, de Swart 2007, Iemmolo 2010, 2011, Malchukov and de Hoop 2008, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011…

Alvre 1987, Havas 2008, Wickman 1955

Functional motivations of DOM

- syntagmatic motivation I, the discriminatory approach: differentiate the object from the subject where the object shows typical subject properties! The markedness reversal, e.g., *Millstones killed the village head of P'yankova*;

- paradigmatic motivation, the highlighting approach: mark properties/statuses of the object argument! E.g., identifiability: *a millstone* vs. *the millstone*;

- syntagmatic motivation II: restrict the focus domain! E.g., [*Take the new millstones to Abalakova*]$_{FOC}$ vs. *Take the new millstones* [*to Abalakova*]$_{FOC}$.

Outline:

1. Uralic DOM patterns

2. Kamas DOM

1. Uralic DOM patterns

1a) *no DOM*—almost completely generalized accusative marking: Hungarian, Mari;

1b) *prominency based DOM*—accusative (genitive) marking of prominent objects; Saami, Mordvin, Permic, Ob-Ugric, Samoyed;

1c) *partial affectedness and verbal aspect based DOM*—the career of the ablative: Finnic;

1d) *structural DOM*: no marking where no overt subject expression is possible, i.e. in imperative, impersonal, with non-finites: Finnic, Samoyed;

1e) *focality:* symmetric DOF due to the lack of DOI: Komi dialects;

2a) *topicality* based object agreement: Ob-Ugric, Samoyed;

2b) *definiteness* based object agreement: Hungarian;

2c) *definiteness and perfectivity* based object agreement: Mordvin.

1a) no DOM

Hungarian: accusative (*-t*) also with low prominency objects (2a), in imperative (2b). However, some variation with infinitive objects (2c) and possessive marked objects in 1st and 2nd person (2d):

(2) a.   *Mi-t (*mi) akarsz?* 'What do you want?'

b.   *Főzz rizs-t (*rizs)!* 'Cook rice!'

c.   *Elmentek széna ~ szénát kaszálni.* 'They left to cut hay.'

d.   *Átépitjük a ház-unk ~ ház-unk-at.* 'We rebuild our house.'

1a) no DOM

Mari: accusative also with low prominency objects (3). Infinitive objects are unmarked when focal (4a), but marked when topical (4b) (Serdobol'skaya & Toldova 2007):

(3) *šud-ǝm   nalǝ̂n*
     hay-ACC   has.bought
     'he has bought hay' (Lewy 1922: 130)

(4) a.   What does Petya need to do?

        Petya-lan   pareŋge   erǝkt-aš   küleš.
        Petya-DAT   potatoe-ACC   clean-INF   necessary
        'Petya needs [to clean (the) potatoes]FOC.'

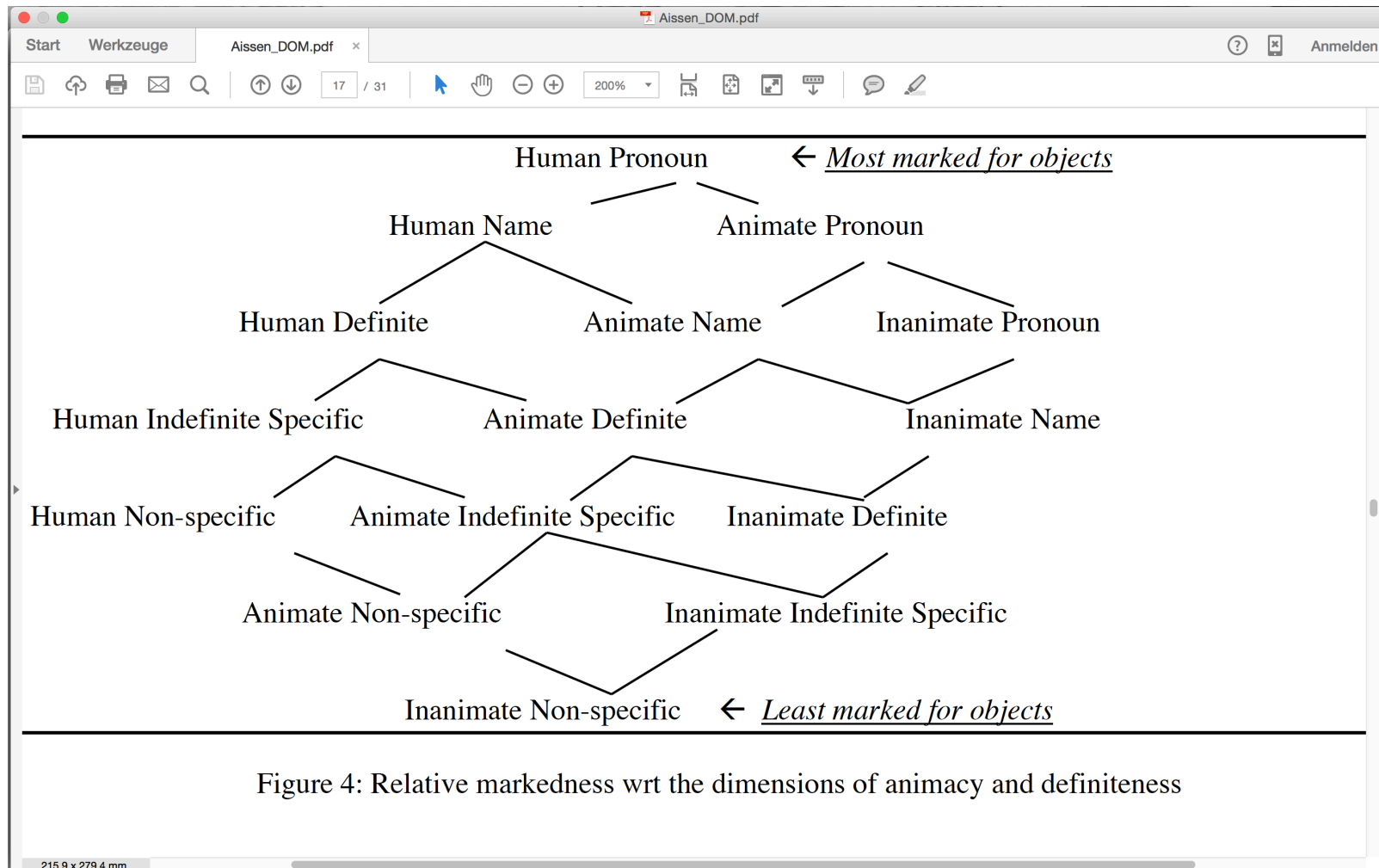   b.   What do you with the laundry?

        *Vurgem-ǝm (*vurgem)   šakal-aš   küleš.*
        laundry-ACC   dry-INF   necessary
        'The laundry [must be dried]FOC.'

     (Serdobol'skaya & Toldova 2007: 216)

1b) prominency based DOM

Extreme variant: accusative marking only at the top of the hierarchy, i.e. with personal pronouns (see Aissen 2003): Khanty, Northern Mansi;

Human Pronoun ← *Most marked for objects*

Human Name   Animate Pronoun

Human Definite   Animate Name   Inanimate Pronoun

Human Indefinite Specific   Animate Definite   Inanimate Name

Human Non-specific   Animate Indefinite Specific   Inanimate Definite

Animate Non-specific   Inanimate Indefinite Specific

Inanimate Non-specific ← *Least marked for objects*

Figure 4: Relative markedness wrt the dimensions of animacy and definiteness

1b) prominency based DOM

the definiteness (givenness/identifiability/accessability) parameter, e.g. Saami (5a, b), Eastern Mansi (6a, b), Western Mansi (7a, b):

(5)   South Saami (Itkonen 1972: 179)

    a.   ***urrə***   ***gâptah*** *skruwdəsťə* *aj*   *goårah*
        new   jackets   from.fabric   also they.sew
        'new jackets are also sewn from fabric'

    b.   ***urrə***   ***gâptə-jďə***   *skruwdəsťə* […] *goårajipəwh*
        new   jacket-ACC.PL   from.fabric   we.sewed
        'the new jackets we sewed from fabric'

1b) prominency based DOM

(6) Eastern Mansi (Yukonda; Kálmán 1976: 166–167)

    a.   *No   sox   pumś   mojt-ət-nəl   åm ös   äk   pumś   mojt xånś-åm*
        but   all   interesting   tale-PL-ABL   I   still one interesting   tale   know-1SG
        'But I know a tale still more interesting than the most interesting tale.'

    b.   *Tə **mojt-mə** åm nönānnə i   pöləj-lött-iləm.*
        this tale-ACC I   you.DAT   also   tell-OC:1SG
        'This tale I'll tell you too.'

(7) Western Mansi (Pelymka; Marcantonio 1993: 33)

    a.   *poľwuj   nɛmp   **kum** […]   at ľə   wašntoə-lī-nə?*
        bullfinch   called   man   not   know-OC-2SG
        'do you not know a man called bullfinch?'

    b.   *poľwuj   nɛmp   **kum-nə**   at ľə   koåšloə-lī-nə?*
        bullfinch   genannt man-LAT   not   notice-OC-2SG
        'have you not noticed the man called bullfinch?'

1b) prominency based DOM

the animacy parameter; cf. the use of the Komi accusative in *-ös*:

(8) elicited

    a.   *Me aďďa Bobyk-ös/*Bobyk.* 'I see Bobyk' [a dog];

    b.   *Me ľubita Syktyvkar-ös ~ Syktyvkar.* 'I like Syktyvkar.'

1b) prominency based DOM

Fundamental split regarding the function of possessive marked DOs:

- the base form of a possessive suffix is also a good object marker: Ugric, Finnic;

- a possessive suffix triggers obligarory object marking, i.e. has an own accusative form: Permic, Samoyed.

1c) partial affectedness and verbal aspect based DOM

Finnish choice: expression of partial/imperfective object (9a) vs. total/perfective object (9b); no choice with negation (10a), cardinal numerals (10b), and partitive verbs (10c):

(9)   a.   *Näen   sinut.*
           I.see   you.ACC
           'I see you.'

      b.   *Näen   sinua.*
           I.see   you.PART
           'I'm seeing you, I see a bit of you.' (Kiparsky 1998: 280)

(10) a.   *E-n   näe   sinua   (*sinut).*
           not-1SG see.CONN   you.PART   you.ACC
           'I don't see you.'

      b.   *Hän   leikkasi kaikki   kolme   banaani-a   siivu-i-ksi*
           (s)he   cut   all   three   banana-PART slice-PL-TRSL
           '(S)he cut all three bananans into slices'

      c.   *Miksi   häiritset   minua   (*minut)?*
           why   disturb   me.PART   me.ACC
           'Why do you disturb me?' (elicited)

1d) structural DOM: no marking where no overt subject expression is possible

A syntagmatic DOM parameter proper. Finnish nominative instead of genitive with total objects in imperatives (11a, b)—but not (11c)—, impersonal (11d), nonfinites (11e):

(11) a. *Saata   tyttö   kotiin!*
   escort.IPV2SG girl   home
   'Walk the girl home!'

  b. *Saatta-kaa-mme   tyttö   kotiin!*
   escort-IMP1PL   girl   home
   'Let's walk the girl home!'

  c. *(Hän)   saatta-koon   tytö-n   kotiin.*
    (s)he   escort-OPT3SG Mädchen-GEN   home
   'He should walk the girl home.' (Timberlake 1974: 165–166)

  d. *Poika   tuotiin   huoneeseen.*
   boy   bring.PASS   room.ILL
   'The boy was brought into the room.' (Alhoniemi 1991: 19)

  e. *Minun   täytyy   syödä   tuo kala.*
   I.GEN   must   eat   that fish
   'I must eat that fish.' (Comrie 1975b: 116)

1d) structural DOM

Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014: 201)

(12)   *piśmo/piśmo-m   tola-q/tola-d°*
             letter/letter-ACC   read-IMP2SG/read-IMP2SG.OC
             'read a/the letter'

1e) focality (symmetric DOF due to the lack of DOI)

Komi dialects (19th, early 20th cent. Vym, Izhma): dative marking of highly topical—
among them contrastive topical—DOs (13b) vs. focal accusative (13a); NB: no object
agreement in Permic.

(13) a. *Vaj leććam   da **öš-sö**   naćkam   a **mös-sö**   viďžam!*
　　　　　adh we.go.about and ox-ACC3SG   we.butcher   but cow-ACC3SG we.keep

　　　　　'Davaj, pojdëm byka zab'ëm, a korovu budem deržat'.
　　　　　 Come on, let's butcher the ox, but keep the cow!'

　　　b. *Közjajka   **mös-ly**   lyśtis* […]. ***Öš-ly**   naćkisny.*
　　　　　landlady   cow-DAT   milked   ox-DAT   they.butchered

　　　　　'Xozjajka podoila korovu […]. Byka zakololi.
　　　　　 The landlady milked the cow […]. The ox, they butchered.'

　　　(Vym; Onež'e Žilina & Sorvačeva 1971: 200)

18

2a) topicality based object agreement: Ob-Ugric, Samoyed;

2b) definiteness based object agreement: Hungarian;

(14)   a. Hungarian

     a   fejszé-t néz-i
     DEF axe-ACC look-3SG.OC

    b. Eastern Mansi (Virtanen 2015)

     sågrøp-mø   sons-i
     axe-ACC   look-3SG

    'he looks at the axe'

2c) definiteness and perfectivity based object agreement: Mordvin:

(15)   Erzya (Keresztes 1999: 14)

       a.   *veďe-ńť*   *kand-i-ń*
           water-GEN.DET   fetch-PST-1SG
           'I fetched the water'

       b.   *veďe-ńť*   *kand-i-ja*
           water-GEN.DET   fetch-PST-S:1SG.DO:3SG
           'I've fetched the water'

2. Kamas DOM

- prominency based DOM

- imperative parameter?

- genitive objects

- object agreement

Data

- Donner texts and phrases, 1912–1914 (Joki 1944+manuscripts); *pre-shift* Kamas

2.1. Kamas prominency based DOM

The object marking rules of Kamas

- 1st and 2nd persons come invariably in a syncretic pronominal accusative-dative case (e.g., *măna* 'me' vs. nom. *măn*);

- 3rd person pronouns and demonstratives come invariably in accusative case (e.g., *dĭ-m* 'this; (s)he, it');

- lexical object expressions are unmarked when (i) non-referential, (ii) referential new, (iii) mass nouns;

- specificity triggers also non-referential accusative marking with the question pronoun *ĭmbi* 'what', and (probably) also with conflated objects expressions;

- possessive marked nouns of 1st and 2nd person come in a syncretic nominative-genitive-accusative, i.e. they don't have a special object form;

- possessive marked nouns of the 3rd person are marked with a specific accusative form, however, there is a split according to inflectional classes: only vowel stems show this form (-bə), with consonant stems the possessive suffix is the same as in nominative and genitive (-Tə); consonanst stems, however, may show forced object marking by the pleonastic marker -Təbə;

- in the imperative, also referential lexical nouns may be unmarked;

Illustrating examples:

accusative marking of (textually) given object

(16) a. *ne ťaktə săbəj'=lei-bi.* (…)
woman old take.out=DIRECT-PST
'He took out a woman's dead body.'

b. *amno=l-bi kü-ne ne-m pa-n tabə-ndə*
sit=TR-PST die-PTC woman-ACC tree-GEN trunk-LAT3SG
'He seated the dead woman at the bottom of a tree' (8.83, 87)

Unmarked textually given object?

(17)   ***dö ne***   *kut-la'* *ba'bdə-bi,*   *ami-m* *kut-la'* *ba'bdə-bi.*
        that woman kill-CV throw-PST   other-ACC   kill-CV throw-PST

        dĭgəttə *šo-bi*   *dĭ* *ne-nə*   *bazo'.*
        then   come-PST   this woman-LAT again

        'He killed that woman, the other one he killed. Then he came to this woman
         in turn.' (3.16–17)

Probably topicalizing: 'That woman, he killed her…' Not visible because of lack of object agreement in past tense.

3rd person possessive DO

(18)　　*sola=j　e'bdə-bə　　ködər-bi* (…) *mana　ṕel-də　　ködər-bi.*
　　　　left=ADJ hair-ACC3SG tie.open-PST　right　　side-3SG tie.open-PST
　　　　'She tied her left hair (plaid) open,'She tied her right side open.' (6.10, 12)

(19)　　a.　*dĭgəttə　pi'd=ö-bi,　　　ular-də　　　boku(l)-la'　i-bi.*
　　　　　　then　　wash=ITR-PST　　sheep-3SG　　tether-CV　　take-PST
　　　　　　'Then he washed himself and tethered his sheep. (8.42)

　　　　b.　*ular-də-bə　　　　　bostu-bə　　talə-j　　　ńe'bdə-bi*
　　　　　　sheep-3SG-ACC3SG　　own-ACC3SG rupture-CV　tear-PST
　　　　　　'He tore his own sheep in pieces.' (8.59)

Specificity:

(20)   a.   *tăn **ĭmbi**   ha-lia-l?*
                  you what   do-PRS-2SG
                  'What are you doing?' (3.18)

        b.   *kajət   kuza   i-ge-l?   **ĭmbi-m**   pi-le'   mĭŋ-ge-l?"*
              how   person be-PRS-2SG what-ACC   search-CV   go-PRS-2SG
              'What kind of person are you? What are you looking for?' (2.32–33)

(20)   a.   *akťa (~ kola-n kam) ornaštər-*'change money'

        b.   *nüke-m/parga-m ornaštər-* 'exchange a wife/a coat [get changed]'

        (KW:50a)

Animacy proper?

rather specificity:

(21)   *o'b kuza-m   kuro='-li-m*
          one man-ACC   be.upset=TR-FUT-1SG
          'I'll upset a person' (KW:34b)

Imperative objects

unmarked given objects (NB: object agreement):

(22)   *amor=də-na ťardə   ťü-nə   hen-də*
         eat=TR-PTC   board   floor-LAT   put-IMP2SG.OC
         'put the eating board on the floor' (KW:21a)

Genitive objects

Only three instances; genitive functions: partitive (23b), and instructive (24):

(23)   a.   *te'də   kaga=nzə-gəj-jə'   o'b üžü šer-lie-i'.*
            four   brother=CONREC-DU-PL   one cap wear-PRS-3PL
            'Four brothers are wearing one cap.' (NR.3)

    b.   *te'də   tibi   o'b üžü-n   šer-le'   no-ga-i'.*
            four   man   one cap-GEN cap-LAT wear-CV stand-PRS-3PL
            'Four men are wearing one cap.' (R.15)

also with given DO referent:

(24)   *dĭgəttə bü   to'bdo-bi. dĭ   bü-n   su'la' i-bi ...*
            then   water   come.up-PST DEM   river-GEN   scoop-CV   take-PST
            'Then a river appeared. He scooped from this water/river…' (2.18–19)

Object agreement in Kamas

- object conjugation endings are restricted to imperative, present and future tense, i.e. the bulk of contextual verb forms (past tense in narratives) does not allow for any observations;

- object agreement occurs also with 1st and 2nd person pronouns;

- object agreement occurs also with definite focal objects; not expected.

Illustrating examples

OA with personal pronouns

(25)   *e-ne*   *idə-ne*   *tănan*   *i-gübə*
         NEG-PTC   be.visible-PTC   you.OBL take-IMP3SG.OC
         'the invisible shall get you' (KW:18b)

OA with (formally) definite focal object

(26) –*urgāba' šo-', uja pü-lā̃m-bi.*
grandfather come-IMP2SG meat ripen-RES-PST
"'Grandfather, come! The meat is done.'"

–*sagər konu-n kuba-bə šuktəl-gut!*
black bear-GEN skin-ACC3SG spread.bed-IMP2PL.OC
"'Spread out a black bear's skin!'" (1.24–25)

(27)   *dĭgəttə   dĭ   ko'bdo   ma'-gəndə   mĭllāndə-ga.   bü-m   bej-bi,*
then   this girl   tent-LAT3SG   go.DUR-PRS   water-ACC   cross-PST

nüjü-bə   **ṕer-ie-t:**   *"šĭ'   ipekə-t-śə'-le'   kajət*
breast-ACC3SG   show-PRS-3SG.OC   you.PL   bread-3SG-INS-2PL   how

măn   nüjü-m   özer=lü'-bi."
I   breast-1SG   grow=MOM-PST

'Then the girl is going home. She crossed the river, she shows her breast: "How my breast has grown from your bread."' (10.55–58)

(28) *nükke   büźe-źə' amno-bi.   šide   ńi-dən   i-bi-i'.*
      woman   man-INS live-PST   two   boy-3PL be-PST-PL

      dĭ   ńi-zeŋ-dən   śar-bi-ndən   essen   uda-bə   saj
      DEM   boy-PL-3PL   play-PTC-LOC3PL child.PL.GEN hand-ACC3SG   off

      ńe'-lə-dən (…)
      tear-FUT-3PL.OC

'A wife and husband lived. They had two sons. In playing, these sons of them will tear off (other) children's hands (…).' (6.1–3)

Discussion

- continuity of the *m*-accusative

- specificity sensitivity: Turkic?

- changes in object agreement: cf. Selkup

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