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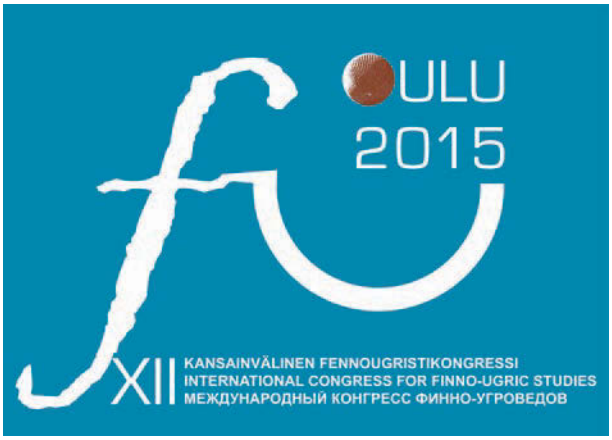

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Ditransitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages[1]

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1 Introduction

In this paper I am going to discuss a sub-area of transitivity, namely the ditransitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages.

Transitivity is one of the most investigated areas of syntax and it is a central issue in Uralic syntactic research as well. Numerous studies (e.g. works of Hajdú, Havas, Honti, Janhunen, É. Kiss, Klumpp, Mikola, Nikolaeva, Pusztay, Skribnik, Virtanen, etc.), including some monographs (Keresztes 1999; Körtvély 2005) have focused on the transitive clauses of the Uralic languages both from diachronic and synchronic aspects.

Rather great attention has been paid to the Ob-Ugric languages although there have not been any monographs focusing on the Mansi or Khanty transitivity. However, these languages prove to be more interesting than many other Uralic languages in this respect. First, these languages have both subject and object agreement in their verbal paradigm, what is not present in all Uralic languages. Furthermore, differential object agreement and differential object marking can also be observed in the Ob-Ugric languages. There is ergativity in Eastern Khanty dialect. Additionally, the alterntion of ditransitive clauses in these languages is an exceptional feature within the Uralic language family. Ob-Ugric languages have namely an alternation between two different kinds of ditransitive constructions. In my paper I am going to study only this latter type of transitive clauses. Let's see an example for it from both languages!

(1) NM
tōrəm naŋən(n) matər mi-s
God you.DAT sth. give-PST.3SG
'God gave you something.'
(Munkácsi IV: 338)

[1] This work was supported by OTKA K 101652.

(naŋən) *χūrəm-sat* *sajt-əl* *mīγ-ləm*
(you.ACC) three-hundred rubel-INSTR give-SG.1SG
'I give (you) 300 rubles.'
(Munkácsi IV: 334)

(2) EKh
āŋki *ńēwrem-a* *ńāń* *mə-ʌ.*
mother child-LAT bread give-PRS.3SG
'Mother gives bread to the child.'

āŋki *ńēwrem-əʌ* *ńāń-at* *məj-təɣ*
mother child-3SG bread-INSTR give-PST.SG.3SG
'Mother gave bread to the child.'
(Ugradat)

These constructions have been widely investigated in Ob-Ugric linguistics, but the term "ditransitive" was applied for the phenomenon only in the latest decades. Traditionally these constructions have been considered as an exotic feature of the Ob-Ugric languages that is absent from the other related languages. Recently, pragmatic studies on transitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages (Nikolaeva 2001; Skribnik 2001) shed new light on these constructions. The ditransitive alternation of Ob-Ugric languages has not yet been studied typologically. In my paper I would like to fill this gap.

It is worth to mention that the same two structures are attested in the Selkup language as well (3). However, this fact is lesser-known and the constructions have not been studied extensively. Rare examples can be found from Northern Samoyedic languages, too (4). Cf.:

(3) Selkup
qopɨ-m *əsɨ-tɨ-nɨk* *tattɨ-mpɔɔ-tɨt.*
fur-ACC father-3SG-LAT give-PST.NAR-3PL
'They gave the fur to their father.'
(Kuznecova et al. 1980: 178)

kətsat-tɨ *mi-ŋɨ-tɨ* *čuntɨ-sä.*
grandchild-3SG give-CO-3SG.O horse-INSTR
'He/She gave a horse to his/her grandchild.'
(Kuznecova et al. 1993: 43/41)

(4) Tundra Nenets

t′uku°	*n′enec′ə-n°h*	*mən′°*	*kniga-m*	*m′iqŋa-d°m*
this	person-DAT	I	book-ACC	give-1SG

’I gave the book to this man.’

t′uku°	*n′enec′ə-m*	*mən′°*	*kniga-xəna*	*m′iqŋa-w*
this	person-ACC	I	book-LOC	give-1SG

’id.’
(Nikolaeva 2014: 237)

In this paper, I discuss ditransitivity from a typological perspective. I consider this useful for the following reasons: first, ditransitive constructions have been extensively studied in typological research in the past decade, several studies and books focused on ditransitivity (e.g. Malchukov et al. 2010). These cross-linguistic studies provide an apt framework for the analysis of the Ob-Ugric languages. Second, I consider the typological perspective useful for the following reason. Mansi and Khanty transitivity and to lesser extent ditransitivity have been studied from several theoretical aspects, using historical, descriptive, functional grammatical and information-structural theoretical frameworks. However, there have not been any typological descriptions of the Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions.

The sources of the linguistic data used in this paper are rather heterogeneous both as regards their age and genre. The Khanty data are mainly based on examples from studies on the Khanty language and transitivity. Also in the case of Mansi, I relied on linguistic data presented in the literature on this topic to some extent. However, the main source of the Mansi data was my own database which comprises around 300 Northern Mansi and around 100 Southern Mansi ditransitive constructions. These were collected from folklore texts from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Munkácsi, Kannisto), from literary texts from the last decades (Dinislamova 2007), from the Mansi newspaper (Luima Seripos) and from data recorded from native speakers. My database is a seleced database from more hundreds ditransitive clauses. Compiling this selected database the repetitions of the same verbs and similar contexts were avoided and full structures (i.e. structures with more arguments) were preferred. (Bíró & Sipőcz 2013.)

It can be seen from the sources that in my paper I focus mainly on the Mansi language, especially on its Northern dialect, the only variety of Mansi which is still spoken today. While it would be interesting to study all Mansi and Khanty dialects, as they show significant alternations with respect to ditransitivity (e.g. the presence or absence of the accusative suffix in Mansi or

ergativity in Eastern Khanty), the detailed discussion of both languages would go beyond the scope of this paper.

2 Ditransitivity, ditransitive construction, ditransitive verb

Ditransitivity is a special case of transitivity. Similarly to defining transitivity, it is expedient to take both formal and semantic aspects into account also when defining ditransitivity. On the basis of this, ditransitive constructions are defined as an argument structure required by the ditransitive verb, containing the verb itself, the agent (A), the recipient (R) and the theme (T) (Malchukov et al. 2010: 1). Compare:

English			Hungarian			
Mary gave	*John*	*a book.*	*Mari*	*könyvet adott*	*Jánosnak.*	'id.'
Mary told	*John*	*a story.*	*Mari*	*mesét mondott*	*Jánosnak.*	'id.'
A	R	T	A	T	R	

Ditransitive verbs are three-argument verbs which typically denote physical transfer (*give, send, bring, etc.*). If other verbs with similar semantic features are also used in similar constructions, they are included in the group of ditransitive verbs as well. For instance, such verbs are verbs of communication, as seen in the examples above. Neither the formal nor the semantic approach is sufficient in itself. First, because ditransitive-like syntactic structures can also be required by other verbs. E.g. in this Hungarian example – *Nekitámasztom a hátamat a falnak.* 'I am leaning my back against the wall.' – the argument structure is the same, but anyway I would not say, that this is a ditransitive clause. Second, the definitions of recipient and transfer seem also rather "loose" if we take into account ditransitive constructions in several languages. There are prototypical ditransitive constructions and verbs, and there are less prototypical ones. I will address this matter in detail later on (cf. 3).

2.1 Main typological groups of the ditransitive constructions

Typological categorization of ditransitive constructions is based on the comparison of ditransitives with categorization of monotransitive constructions. We differentiate between construction types taking into account whether the T or the R argument of the ditransitive verb occurs in the same position as the patient (P) of the monotransitive construction. On the basis of this, we can differentiate between 3 main construction types: (1) **indirect object**

construction (IOC), in which marking of the P and T is the same, (2) **secondary object construction (SOC)**, in which marking of the P and R is the same, and (3) neutral alignment (**double object construction DOC**), in which both T and R are marked the same way as P. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 2–8.) Cf.:

1. *Mari gave **money** to her son.* T = P (≠ R) Cf.: *Mari is counting **money**.*
T P
2. *Mari supplied **the guests** with food.* R = P (≠T) Cf.: *Mari is expecting **guests**.*
R P
3. *Mary gave **John a book**.* R = T = P Cf.: *Mary saw **John**.*
R T P

There are further types as well (tripartitive (T ≠ R ≠ P) and horizontal (T = R ≠ P) constructions, serial verb construction (**SVC**) and the possessive construction (**POS**)), but as they occur rather infrequently, I will not discuss them further. Except for the possessive construction which is worth mentioning, because it is used in the Northern Samoyedic languages, making these languages typologically special as far as this feature is concerned. In the Nganasan example below (5) the R argument of the construction is coded on T with a possessive suffix following a destinative suffix.[2]

(5) Nganasan
mənə kńiga-ðə-mtu mi-śiə-m
I book-DST-ACC.3SG give-PST-1SG
'I gave him/her the book.'
(Wagner-Nagy & Szeverényi 2013: 28)

2.2 Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions

Mansi and Khanty belong to languages having more than one ditransitive constructions. These constructions are:

1. Indirect object construction, where the theme (T) of the ditransitive construction is the object, and the recipient (R) is encoded with the LAT (lative-

[2] There is a chapter on ditransitive constructions in WALS (Chapter105), and some of the Uralic languages are also mentioned in it: Finnish, Saami, Hungarian, Udmurt, Khanty and Selkup. As it is to be expected, Finnish, Saami, Hungarian, Udmurt use indirective (dative) constructions. Khanty uses a mixed type construction, i.e. there are two constructions alternating in the language. I think, the Selkup data are incorrect, because alternation is also present in Selkup, similarly to the Ob-Ugric languages.

dative) suffix. The object is in NOM-case or in ACC-case.[3] The verb can be in the subjective or objective conjugations.

(6) NM
Pjotr Gavrilovič ānəmn …..… ťit kassēta-ɣ ťēt-əs.
P.G. I.DAT two cassette-DU send-PST.3SG
'Pjotr Gavrilovich sent me two cassettes.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 5)

(7) NKh
Tam nepak-em ma pilneŋ-em-a ma-s-em.
that book-1SG I girlfriend-1SG-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG
'I gave that book to my girlfriend.'
(informant's data)

2. Secondary object construction, where the R of the ditransitive construction is the syntactic object and the T is marked with the instrumental or instructive suffix, or in Northern Khanty with the LOC suffix, wich is the mean of INSTR-case in this dialect. In this construction the verb is almost always in the objective conjugation.

(8) NM
Mań piɣ-əm nē-ɣəl viɣ-ləm.
Little son-1SG woman-INSTR take-SG.1SG
'I will find a wife for my youngest son.'
(Munkácsi IV: 324)

(9) EKh
ʌüw ʌüw-at ťūt-at mə-ʌ-təɣ.
s/he s/he-ACC that-INSTR give-PRS-SG.3SG
'S/he gives it to her/him.'
(Ugradat)

[3] There is no accusative case in Khanty and Northern Mansi. In non Northern Mansi dialects the objet can get the ACC suffix. In both languages the personal pronouns have a distinct accusative form.

2.3 Alternation

Several languages have more than one ditransitive constructions. This phenomenon is called alternation, and is well-known from English (it is often called also *object shift*), e.g.: *Mary gave a pen to John. / Mary gave John a pen.* In English the indirective and the neutral alignments alternate.

In the Ob-Ugric languages we can see the alternation of the indirective and secundative types. This type of alternation is cross-linguistically more common than the alternation found in English. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 18.) Concerning alternations the important question is the following: what factors determine the choice between the different constructions. On the basis of findings in typological studies several factors can be mentioned: the markedness of the arguments, the prominence differences between the T and R arguments, the topicality of the arguments, there may be semantic difference between the alternating constructions, etc. It is also common that several factors work together in a language. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 20–21.)

As it was mentioned, in some languages the alternation is related to topicality. Ob-Ugric languages seem to belong to this group. There is a diversity of statements about the Ob-Ugric alternation in the literature. I would like to mention only some of them. They concern the alienability or inalienability of the object (Honti 1999: 37), or the partiality/totality of the object (Honti 1969: 119). According to Rombandeeva (1979: 99–115), the only native Mansi linguist, the choice is influenced by the definiteness of the object and by the fact how emphasized the object is. In my opinion, some of the earlier assumptions are incorrect and some of them are not complete.

Kulonen discusses these constructions in connection with Dative Shift and she claims that the aim of switching from one construction to the other is to promote the recipient to direct object position, from where it could also be promoted to subject position with the help of passivization (Kulonen 1999). The connection between the use of different conjugations, constructions and topicality was studied by Nikolaeva in Khanty, and by Skribnik in Mansi (Nikolaeva 2001; Skribnik 2001). They refuted the statement prevailing in previous research that the main function of the objective conjugation is to mark the definiteness of the object. They claimed that the main function is rather the marking of the topicality of the object, i.e. the element familiar from earlier

discourse triggers the objective conjugation.[4] According to this new view based on the information structure, the function of promoting the recipient to direct object position is to express the relative topicality of different noun phrases within a clause. As a result, T and R occur alternately in the object position the topicality of which is marked by the definite conjugation of the verb. In the example (10) all arguments are new information except the A, consequently the predicate agrees only with the subject expressing the A (thus the verb is in subjective conjugation). The example (11) represents the case in which the A and the T are given participants, and the R is the new information. Thus the verb must agree with the A and the T. Consequently, the IOC is used where the T is the syntactical object, the verb agrees with it in the objective conjugation. And in the example (12), besides the A the R is also a given participant, and the T is the new information. Consequently the SOC is used, in which the R is the syntactical object which the predicate in the objective conjugation agrees with.

(10) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič	*ānəm*	*jurt-ane*	*jot ťit*	*kassēta-ɣ*	*ťēt-əs.*
P.G.	I.LAT	friend-PL.3SG	PP two	cassette-DU	send-PST.3SG
A = TOP		**[IOC + Subj. agr.]**			

'Pjotr Gavrilovich sent me two cassettes by his friends.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 5)

(11) NM

(*tan)*	*al-ne*	*χul-anəl*	*gosudarstwə-n*	*miɣ-anəl*
(they)	kill-PTCP	fish-3PL	state-LAT	give-SG.3PL
A	**+**	**T**	**= TOP**	**[IOC + Obj. agr.]**

'They give the fish they catch to the state.'
(Kálmán 1976: 136)

[4] This pragmatic approach provided an explanation for the problem why a definite object (e.g. an object with a possessive suffix) can be accompanied by a verb in the subjective conjugation. However, it also needs to be mentioned that earlier grammatical descriptions, partly because they were written earlier, could not have applied the theoretical framework based on information structure which brought about the breakthrough in the study of Ob-Ugric transitivity. The claim in earlier studies that the definiteness of the object triggers the use of the objective conjugation is understandable if we consider the fact that definiteness and topicality of the object coincide in the majority of the cases.

(12) NM
Nēnan *am* *śopr-śonaχ-əl* *wāri-jaγəm.*
you(DU).ACC I silver-cup-INSTR do-DU.1SG
R + A = TOP [SOC]
'I make the two of you silver cup.'
(Kálmán 1976: 70)

The same phenomenon from Khanty can be seen in the examples (13–15).

(13) NKh
(ma) *Juwan-a* *ān* *ma-s-əm*
I John-LAT cup give-PST-1SG
A = TOP [IOC + Subj agr.]
'I gave a cup to John.'

(14) Nkh
(ma) *(ān)* *Juwan-a* *ma-s-em*
I cup Juwan-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG.
A + T = TOP [IOC + Obj agr.]
'I gave the cup to John.'

(15) NKh
(ma) *(Juwan)* *ān-na* *ma-s-em/*ma-s-əm*
I Juwan cup-LOC give-PST-SG.1SG / give-PST-1SG
A + R = TOP [SOC]
'I gave John a cup.'
(Nikolaeva 2001: 32–35)

The following Mansi examples collected from a native speaker confirm the correlation between the information structure and the use of the different constructions. If T or R occurred as contrastive topics, the native speaker used the indirective construction in the case of T (16), and secundative construction in the case of R (17). Cf.:

(16) **T as contrastive topic:**
Wi-s-lum *ńań* *os* *śakwit, śakwit* *oma-m-(n)* *mi-s-lum.*
buy-PST-SG.1SG bread and milk, milk mother-1SG-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG
'I bought bread and milk, I gave the milk to my mother.'
(informant's data)

(17) **R as contrastive topic:**
Uwśi-m tor-əl mi-s-lum,
sister-1SG kerchief-INSTR give-PST-SG.1SG
kaŋk-um sup-əl mi-s-lum.
brother-1SG shirt-INSTR give-PST- SG.1SG
'I bought a kerchief for my (elder) sister and a shirt for my (elder) brother.'
(informant's data)

Finally an interesting aspect of alternation is worth mentioning. While working with native speakers they were asked that what kind of difference they feel between the two structures, more of them commented, that there is some kind of tense and modal differences between them. Cf. (18) and (19):

(18) NM **IOC:**
Am xusap-ət tawen ťēt-eɣəm.
I package-PL s/he.LAT send-1SG
'I send him/her packs.' (and s/he gets it)
(informant's data)

(19) NM **SOC**
Am tawe xusap-əl ťēt-eɣəm /ťēt-iləm.
I s/he.ACC pack-INSTR send-1SG/SG.1SG
'I will send him/her a pack.' (maybe some day)
(informant's data)

It seems, that the TAM category of the verb affects the choice of the construction. Similar tendency has been mentioned in connection with Khanty ditransitive clauses by Sosa (2015). The phenomenon needs further investigation.

2.4 Passivization

In order to have a full picture of the alternating constructions, we have to study the passivization of ditransitive constructions as well. In the Ob-Ugric languages if the discourse topic or the primary clausal topic is not in the Agent role, then it is promoted to subject position, i.e. passivization is used. This is in fact the main function of Mansi and Khanty passivization.

Concerning the passivization of ditransitive verbs, the question is which argument (T, R) can passivize. On the basis of this, three primary alignment

types can be distinguished (similarly to the main alignment types of active ditransitive constructions):

1. Indirective passivization: T passivizes, but R does not;
2. Secundative passivization: R passivizes, but T does not;
3. Neutral alignment: both R and T passivize (Malchukov et al. 2010: 27–30).

As it is to be expected, the alignment of passivization often follows the general alignment of encoding. If a language uses secundative constructions, then most probably it will use a secundative alignment in passivization as well. On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, we can claim that passivization of the indirective construction leads to T-passivization (20–21) and passivization of the secundative construction always results in R-passivization (22–23) in Ob-Ugric languages. Cf.:

T-passivization from an indirective construction:

(20) NM

(am)	*jarm-ən*	*ta-ke*	*maj-we-s-əm*
(I)	poverty-LAT	that-PTCL	give-PASS-PST-1SG
T	**R**		**V**

'I was given/handed over to poverty.'
(Munkácsi IV: 330)

(21) Ekh

mā-nə	*nüŋati*	*järnas*	*jɔ̄nt-ʌ-i.*[5]
I-LOC	you.LAT	shirt	sew-PRS-PASS.3SG

'A shirt was sewn for you (by me).'
(informant's data)

R-passivization from a secundative construction:

(22) NM

(tan)	*tōnt*	*tax*	*ōs*	*akw*	*Buran-əl*	*mi-w-et.*
(they)	then	PTCL	PTCL	one	Buran-INSTR	give-PASS-3PL
R					**T**	**V**

They got (they were given) one more new Buran.
(Dinislamova 2007: 11)

[5]The Agent of the Passive construction is marked by LOC suffix in Khanty and by LAT in Mansi.

(23) EKh
āŋki-nə *ńēwrem* *ńāń-at* *mə-ʌ-i*
mother-LOC child bread-INSTR give-PRS-PASS.3SG
‘The child gets bread from the mother.’
(Ugradat)

The following sentences were recorded from a Mansi native speaker and they were uttered in a row. The first sentence (24) contains T-passivization, the word ‘dress’ is the topic, the dress was given to the informant as a present. In the next sentence (25), she talks about herself as the recipient, someone who was given a present, so she uses R-passivization:

(24) NM
Ti *mańśi sup* *podruška-m-n* *mujlupt-awe-s.*
this Mansi dress girlfriend-1SG-LAT present-PASS-PST.3SG
’This Mansi dress was given (to me) by a friend as a present.’
(informant’s data)

(25) NM
Tor-el *os* *mujlupt-awe-s-um.*
kerchief-INSTR also present-PASS-PST-1SG
’I was given a kerchief as well.’
(informant’s data)

Typological findings confirm that R-passivization is generally more frequent than T-passivization. The reason for this can be found in the function of passivization, namely the topicalization of the object. Since in a ditransitive construction R tends to be more topical than T, it is understandable that “R-passivization is generally preferred over T-passivization.” (Malchukov et al. 2010: 30). Also my corpus supports this claim: in Mansi mainly the secundative construction is passivized (R-passivization) but there are a few examples for the passivization of the indirective alignment as well (T-passivization).

2.5 Summary

The following table (Table 1.) shows the results of the statistical analysis of the Mansi database. These numbers provide very little information if we do not take into account the context of the texts. However, we can still draw several conclusions on the basis of the frequency of the data itself. First of all, both constructions can be considered equally frequent. In accordance with the

typological data, R-passivization is typical in passive constructions, while T-passivization is rather rare. In the case of the SOC constructions, the use of the subjective conjugation is almost insignificant. This is in correlation with the fact that SOC is used with topical R which functions as a syntactic object in this construction and triggers the use of objective conjugation. Another interesting statistical fact is that in Mansi the ratio of active and passive sentences is far more balanced in ditransitive clauses than in monotransitive clauses. Although passive is used in Mansi very frequently, the ratio of passive constructions was under 10% in surveys containing 2000 transitive clauses (Skribnik 2001). In the corpus of Mansi ditransitive clauses this ratio was considerably bigger: 34%. This could be in correlation with the interaction between the constructions and the informational structure: in a three-argument construction there are two arguments which can rival for the subject position. (Bíró & Sipőcz 2013.)

Table 1. The statistics of the Mansi database

Construction	%
R-passivization	34%
IOC (Subj agr.)	28%
SOC (Obj agr.)	20%
IOC (Obj agr.)	10%
T-passivization	6%
SOC (Subj agr.)	2%
Total	**100%**

Finally I would like to mention that alternation works as a tendency and perhaps it is not at all surprising. My database, especially the written sources cannot provide all the necessary pragmatic details. For instance, they lack emphasis and the correlation between reality and the actual situation. In the corpus, there are several examples in which the use of the given construction is hard to explain. The examples (26) and (27) were uttered in similar situations, the constructions are still different.

(26) NM

Ānəm tē-ne matər tot-en, sim-əm ētxel-aw-e!

I.DAT eat-PTCP.PRS something bring-IMP.2SG heart-1SG starve-PASS-3SG

'Give me something to eat, my heart is starving.'

(27) NM
Ānəm tē-n-ut-əl tot-eln, sim-əm ētxel-aw-e!
I.ACC eat-PTCP.PRS-thing-INSTR bring-IMP.SG2SG heart-1SG starve-PASS-3SG
'Give me something to eat, my heart is starving.'
(Munkácsi I. 11)

3 Ditransitive verbs

As we saw above, alternation is a structural change which involves the use of the same verb in different ditransitive constructions with basically the same meaning. There is another phenomenon, the *lexical split* which also has to be studied from a typological perspective.

In the case of lexical split the ditransitive verb of the construction determines which construction is used in the given language. For instance, in English there are some verbs which do not "follow" structural alternation: e.g. *say (sth to sb)* occurs only in indirective constructions, whereas *present (sb with sth)* and *supply (sb with sth)* are used with a secundative one. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 48.) Lexical split can be observed even in languages which typically use one type of ditransitive constructions. For example, in German indirective constructions are used, but the verb *lehren* 'to teach' is used neutrally (DOC). We can observe the same in Hungarian: besides the general indirective type secundative constructions can also occur with some of the verbs, e.g. *(meg)kínál vkit vmivel* 'offer sth to sb to drink/eat', *(meg)ajándékoz vkit vmivel* 'give a gift', *ellát vkit vmivel* 'provide', *felszerel vkit vmivel* 'supply' etc. The majority of languages has similar examples.

In the case of lexical split, a given verb defines the structure to be used as opposed to alternation in which grammatical and/or pragmatic factors govern the choice of the construction, as we saw above. Usually the split can be explained by the semantics of the given verb. But how can we characterize the ditransitive verbs semantically? In the case of a typical ditransitive verb the transfer is physical, R is animate, T is inanimate, and the result of the action is a change in the location/possession of T. In this respect, the verb *give* is perhaps the most typical ditransitive verb. Further semantic aspects can be the efficiency of the action (cf. *give – send*), the way how the action is implemented (cf. *give – throw*), whether the action involves a change in the location or possession of T (cf. *give – take*), and the place of the R and T arguments in the animate-inanimate hierarchy (cf. *give – introduce*), etc.

As far as I know, literature on ditransitive verbs does not include a semantic categorization, which could be considered exhaustive and generally applicable. General categories occurring in the literature are transfer verbs (e.g. *give, sell,*

take), verbs of caused motion (e.g. *send, post*), and ballistic verbs (*throw, roll, cast*), verbs of creation typically with a beneficiary (e.g. *build, create, cook*), communication verbs (e.g. *say, tell, sing*) and verbs generally following the instrumental strategy (e.g. *feed, hit, supply*). Typological research studied the characteristics of structural choice by analyzing these categories.

The size of the ditransitive verb group, i.e. how widespread the ditransitive construction is, varies from language to language. There are languages in which ditransitive verbs formulate a closed group with few members. There are other languages, however, which have an abundance of verbs occurring in ditransitive constructions. The Ob-Ugric languages seem to belong to the latter category. In the following part of my paper I intend to answer the question how widespread ditransitive verbs are in the Ob-Ugric languages, and whether their semantic groups show some kind of tendency for the choice of structure, i.e. for lexical split. The examples will be from the Mansi language. Regarding some statement in the earlier literature, these languages are characterized by the equality of the constructions:

> *In Ob-Ugric languages, on the other hand, we find such indirect object promotion as a regular grammatical device practically independent of lexical or semantic limitations.* (Skribnik 2001.)

> *The language is unusually liberal in allowing extensions of a particular strategy into another domain. Thus, the indirective strategy is found not only with 'give' verbs but also with 'feed' verbs, one step down the scale, while the secundative instrumental strategy is found not only with canonical ditransitives like 'give' verbs, but also with verbs like 'cook' with an optional benefactive. "Syntactically both groups behave identically…" (Nikolaeva 1999: 40).* (Malchukov et al. 2010: 50.)

3.1 Transfer verbs

As regards their meaning, transfer verbs are the most typical ditransitive verbs. Within this group the semantic distinctions are gradual. Transfer verbs can refer to changes in possession (*give, sell*) or they can simply refer to a change in T's location (*hand over, take*). The verbs of caused motion (*send*) are also categorized as transfer verbs. Ballistic verbs are also close to the category of transfer verbs (*throw, roll*). A further similar category is formed by verbs in which the action is not momentary (like *throw*), but continuous (*press/push*).[6]

[6] These groups show associations with different event schemas (Levin 2008)
a. give-type verbs: caused possession only

The question is the following: to what extent ditransitive constructions which are defined on the basis of their canonical verbs (*give*) may extend to other transfer-verbs types. As a consequence of the extension Goal and Locative thematic roles can appear in the position of Recipient even with [-HUMAN] semantic component.

According to typological research, several languages display differences between the subtypes of transfer verbs (Figure 1). The following weak implication can be formulated: if the verbs 'send' and 'throw' can occur in DOC in a language, then 'give' types of verbs can also, but not the other way round: DOC 'send, (throw') → DOC 'give'. (Malchukov 2014.)

	'give' >	'send' >	'throw'
English DOC	----------	- - - - - -	
German (Dative)	----------		
Icelandic (*till*)		----------	
Chinese (DOC)	---------		

Fig. 1. Encoding of 'transfer verbs' in Germanic (Malchukov et al. 48–9, Malchukov 2014).

In Mansi these verb classes do not differ syntactically, verbs from all of the subgroups of transfer verbs equally alternate, both their indirective and secundative use is possible in active and in passive voice as well. Cf.:

'give'

(28) NM

tōrəm	*naŋən*	*matər*	*mi-s*
God	you.DAT	something	give-PST.3SG

'God gave you something'

(Munkácsi IV: 338)

(29) NM

akw ēt	*ūnl-en-ən*	*māγəs*	*χūrəm-sat*	*sajt-əl*	*mīγ-ləm*
one night	sit-PTCP.PRS-2SG	PP(for)	three-hundred	ruble-INSTR	give-SG.SG1

'I give you 300 rubles for sitting (watching) here one night.'

(Munkácsi IV: 334)

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b. throw-type verbs: activity, caused motion, caused possession
c. send-type verbs: caused motion, caused possession

’bring’

(30) NM

Ta xōtal am oma-m palt ťit lēŋən os ťit ťisup tot-s-um.

that day I mother-1SG PP (to) two squirrel and two mallard bring-PST-1SG

‘I brought two squirrels and two mallards to my mother that day.’

(Dinislamova 2007: 67)

(31) NM

nānan am tēnut-əl toti-ɣl-as-anəm

you.(PL)ACC I food-INSTR bring-FRQ-PST-PL.1SG

’I brought you food.’

(informant’s data)

’send’

(32) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič ānemn jurt-ane jot ťit kasētta-ɣ ťēt-əs.

P. G. I.LAT friend-PL.3SG PP(with) two casette-DU send-PST.3SG

’P.G. sent me two cassettes by his friends.’

(Dinislamova 2007: 9)

(33) SM

Näjär-äw-nä tīni-kar-l kīt-änt-iw.

prince-girl-LAT food-thing-INSTR send-PRS-PASS.3SG

’The princess sends him/her food.’

(Kannisto III.161.)

’throw, shoot’

(34) NM

Tonton-ojka piɣ ńāl liɣ (tēnatenn).

T.-old son arrow shoot.SG3 they(DU).LAT

’The son of Old Tonton shoot his arrow (towards them).’

(Kálmán 1976: 64)

(35) NM

(tēnten) ńāl-əl liɣ-aɣmēn.

they(DU).ACC arrow-INSTR shoot-DU.DU1

’We (the two of us) shoot them (the two of them) with arrows.’

(Kálmán 1976: 64)

3.2 Benefactive verbs

Another, cross-linguistically attested phenomenon is the **benefactive extension**. In this case the extension leads from recipients to beneficiaries (and possibly further to possessors). In some languages the typical beneficiary differs from the recipient (cf. *build sth **for** sb*), in other cases they coincide. (In Hungarian a postposition can be used in this case besides the dative construction, cf. *Ételt adtam a fiúnak* (DAT) ~ * *a fiú számára* (boy + PP 'for'). 'I gave the boy some food.'/ *Ételt készítettem a fiúnak* (DAT) ~ *a fiú számára* (boy + PP 'for'). 'I made some food for the boy.') A weak implicational correspondence can be found here as well: if a benefactive verb can occur in DOC in a language, then 'give' types of verbs can also, but not the other way round: DOC benefactive → DOC 'give'. (Malchukov 2014.)

On the basis of the Mansi examples, we can claim that if either a recipient or a typical beneficiary occurs in the construction, both the SOC and the IOC are possible.

(36) NM

Xōn-nə	*manər*	*jomas*	*wār-iɣl-as-əm?*
prince-LAT	what	good	do-FRQ-PST-1SG

'What good have I done to the prince?'
(Munkácsi IV: 337)

(37) NM

nēnan	*am*	*śopr-śonaχ-əl*	*wāri-jaɣəm*
you(DU).ACC	I	silver-cup-INSTR	do-DU.1SG

'I make (the two of) you silver cup.'
(Kálmán 1976: 70)

There is a remarkable tendency in the examples with benefactive meaning: the postpositional construction R + PP *māɣəs* 'for somebody' is significantly more frequent in newer data for the marking of the beneficiary. This obviously involves IOC constructions. Such use of the postposition is rare in older folklore texts. This might be the result of Russian influence, because Russian also has indirective alignment and a prepositional benefactive argument (e.g. ***dl'a** ďeťej* 'for children').

(38) NM
Nē sāw wārmaľ-t takwi pāwl-əŋ χōtpa-ne māγəs wār-i.
women many thing-PL own village-ADJ man-PL.3SG PP (for) do-3SG
‘The woman has done a lot of thing for the people living in her village.’
(Dinislamova 2007: 45)

3.3 Instrumental verbs

One more type of extension is the extension of the instrumental strategy. This means that the prototypical instrumental verbs (*hit, beat*) can spread to the ditransitive domain, thus the thematical roles T and Instrument practically coincide. Cf. Figure 2.

	‘give’ >	‘feed’ >	‘hit’
Even (instrumental)		----------	
Jalonke (instrumental)		----------	
Eskimo (instrumental)	----------		

Fig. 2. Ditransitive-instrumental cline (Malchukov et al. 50).

In Mansi the SOC (with the INSTR-strategy) occurs unusually freely. Practically all ditransitive verbs allow the secundative-type construction. The use of the SOC is possible with all groups of transfer verbs (40) and with benefactive verbs (41), too. The example (39) shows the prototypical INSTR use of the causative verb *titti-* ’feed, give sb sth to eat’. Cf.:

(39) NM
Manər-əl mēn naŋən ti-tt-iləmēn.
what-INSTR we (DU) you.ACC eat-CAUS-SG.1DU
What should we feed you with?
(Munkácsi IV: 151)

(40) NM
Aṅ mōlal kit ēlm-ip kasaj-il maj-la-s-ləm
then earlier two edge-ADJ knife-INSTR give-PST-SG.1SG
’And then I gave him a two-edged knife.’
(Munkácsi I: 21)

(41) NM
Ōma, naŋən sūp-əl junt-ilum.
Mother you.ACC dress-INSTR sew-SG.1SG
'Mother, I will sew a dress for you.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 45)

3.4 Verbs of communication

As I have already mentioned in the majority of languages, the verbs of communication are also characterized by ditransitive constructions. In these cases the transfer is some kind of mental transfer. In Mansi the group of mental transfer verbs occurring in both ditransitive constructions is strikingly wide ('say', 'tell', 'tell a story, a tale', 'sing', 'think', 'name', 'dance' etc.). In my opinion, there are two main reasons why they are so widespread. First, they show the analogical influence of the ditransitive constructions which are governed by the information structure. Second, they could have spread from folklore, and they occur mainly in folklore and literary texts more frequently. They form a figura etymologica construction which is typical in Ob-Ugric folklore. Figura etymologica constructions contain a T argument which is the same word as the verb stem (like *dance a dance*, *think a thought*, etc.).

(42) NM
lātəŋ mānawn ***lawi-ɣla-s-ən***
word we.LAT say-FRQ-PST-2SG
'You said us something.'
(Dinislamova 2008: 10)

(43) NM
latəŋ-l naŋən ***lawi-t'e-luw***
word-INSTR you.ACC say-DIM-SG.1PL
'We say you something.'
(Dinislamova 2008: 10)

(44) NM
Pjotr Gavrilovič mānawn potr-ət potert-as, ērɣ-ət ***ērɣ-əs.***
P. G. we.LAT tale-PL tell-PST.3SG song-PL sing-PST.3SG
'Pjotr Gavrilovič told us stories and sang us songs.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 15)

(45) NM

ńōtne	*ērɣ-əl*	***ērɣ-il-iləm***
beautiful	song-INSTR	sing-FRQ-SG.1SG

'I sing a beautiful song for you.' (Dinislamova 2008: 80)

3.5 Conclusion

The lack of the lexical split and the alternation which can be considered complete implies that pragmatic structuring was a major structuring force which presumably through analogy spread the two types of argument structures to practically all ditransitive-like constructions beyond the scope of prototypical cases.

Mansi:

	hit > feed > give > send > throw > make
SOC	----------
IOC	----------

Fig. 3. The extension of the constructions in Mansi

4 Historical background of the Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions

Earlier studies frequently raised the question whether ditransitive alternation of the Ob-Ugric languages is the result of common heritage or parallel innovation?

An interesting feature of the Ob-Ugric languages is that despite the differences in their morphology, their syntax displays significant similarities.

> *Although the modal elements are not always the same, the syntax of the two languages is often entirely parallel even in details.* (Kálmán 1988: 408.)

From a historical perspective it can be considered controversial that syntactic structures and usage rules, which are identical even to the details, are usually realized by using different morphological means. This concerns different sub-areas of syntax, and is clearly visible e.g. in the objective conjugation, the passive and ditransitive constructions. The following diachronic question arises from this phenomenon: if these syntactic phenomena based on common principles result from common origin, i.e. from the Ob-Ugric protolanguage, then why are they morphologically so different. Then again, if the morphological difference results from a separate development, then can the great number of syntactic matches be explained by later (continuous) Mansi-

Khanty areal contact? In my opinion, there is no generally valid answer for this question which would explain all syntactic phenomena. (Or at least our current knowledge is not sufficient for formulating such a synthesis.) Consequently, I intend to provide an explanation only regarding the ditransitive constructions.

Kulonen (1990, 1999: 68–70) claims that ditransitive verbs in both Ob-Ugric languages create identical sentence structures, doing it partly by using the same morphemes. That is why she considers the reconstruction of an Ob-Ugric "dative-movement mechanism" possible. Cf.:

> NP_1 [Ag] [Subj] [Nom] – NP_2 [Pat] [Obj] [Nom/Acc] – NP_3 [Rec] [Adv] [Dat/Lat] >
>
> NP_1 [Ag] [Subj] [Nom] – NP_3 [Rec] [Obj] [Nom/Akk] – NP_2 [Pat] [Adv] [Instr/Lok/Instr.-Fin]

Kulonen (1990: 53) suggests the reconstruction on the basis of the common morphological traits in the ditransitive constructions of the two Ob-Ugric languages. According to her hypothesis, there were three nominal cases participating in this mechanism for marking the object: the nominative (for the A and T), the accusative (for the T and R), and the instrumental (for the T). In the Ob-Ugric languages (dialects) today more case suffixes are used for this purpose. Out of these two suffixes can be considered ancient: the **m* accusative and the instrumental suffix containing a *-t element which can be traced back to the Ob-Ugric protolanguage.

I think that the identical mechanisms of the Mansi and Khanty ditransitive constructions do not necessarily mean that they have a common origin. Still, differences in their morphology do not make it impossible to assume that the current ditransitive constructions originate from the Ob-Ugric period. On the basis of the typological background, the two types of constructions seem typical, the alternation of these constructions in the same language is also common. Grammatical markers in the constructions are also non-arbitrary, they are required semantically (cf. 3). If the alternation of the two construction types already existed in the Ob-Ugric protolanguage, grammatical markers in the constructions were the case markers "available" in the protolanguage (nominative, accusative, lative-dative, and instrumental) or postpositions having the same function. We should not assume that these are grammaticalized ditransitive markers of Theme or Recipient, which the Ob-Ugric languages preserved unchanged to this day.

The actual grammatical markers which were attached to the arguments of the ditransitive construction could have changed along with evolvement of the nominal declination paradigms in the Mansi and Khanty dialects.

Abbreviations

A	agent of a (di)transitive clause
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective marker
CAUS	causative marker
CO	coaffix
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DOC	double object construction
DST	destinative
DU	dual
EKh	Eastern Khanty
FRQ	frequentative
INSTR	instrumental
IOC	indirect object construction
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
NAR	narrative
NKh	Northern Khanty
NM	Northern Mansi
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PP	postposition
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
R	recipient
SG	singular
SM	Southern Mansi
SOC	secundary object construction
T	thema
V	verb

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