Ditransitive constructions in Tungusic languages

(Igor Nedjalkov, St. Petersburg)

Three ways of flagging Themes in Evenki:
1) Accusative case markers (Definite Accusative suffixes -va/-ve/-vo; -ma/-me/mo; Indefinite Accusative suffixes -ya/-ye/-yo/-a/-e/-o);
2) reflexive possession suffixes (-vi/-mi; -var/-ver/-vor/-mar/-mer/-mor);
3) specialized designative case markers (-ya/-ye/-yo/-a/-e/-o).

(1) a. Evenki: Etyrken sulaki-du imuren-me buu-re-n.
old.man-NOM fox-DAT fat -DEF.ACC give-NONFUT-3SG
‘The-old-man gave the fat to the fox’.
b. Bi sin-du dyur-e belemni-l-e unj-dye-m.
I you-DAT two-INDEF.ACC helper-PL-INDEF.ACC send-FUT-1SG
‘I will send you two helpers.’
old.woman dog-PL-DAT food-ACC give-PAST-3SG
‘The old woman gave food to the dogs’;
(2) a. Evenki: Bi hute-vi sin-du buu-dye-m.
I child-REFL.POSS you.SG give-FUT-1SG
‘I will give you my daughter’;
we our notebook-PL-REFL.POSS teacher-DAT give-PAST-1PL
‘We gave our notebooks to our teacher.’
(3) Evenki: Purta-ya-v (min-du) buu-kel.
knife-DESIG-1SG.POSS (I-DAT) give-2SG.IMP
‘Give me a/the knife’;
(4) Purta-ya-v (purta-ya-s; purta-ya-n) oo-kal.
knife-DESIG-1SG (knife-DESIG-2SG; knife-DESIG-3SG make-2SG.IMP
‘Make a knife-for-me (a knife-for-you; a knife-for-him/her, etc.)
(5) [Recipient in the Dative case - Theme in the Definite Accusative case // or with a Reflexive Possession marker].
I old.man-ALL meat-ACC give-PAST-1SG
‘I gave the meat to the-old-man’.
I mother-ALL-REFL.POSS letter-ACC send-PAST-1SG
‘I sent a letter to my mother.’
(7) List of Evenki ditransitive verbs
a. basic (underived) ditransitive verbs used in constructions of the major (Dative - Accusative) pattern: anii- ‘give a gift’ (see (8)), buu- ‘give’ (see (1a),(9),(18a)), guun- ‘say’ (see (10)), nuni- ‘show’(see (12)), silba- ‘say’, ‘inform’, ‘promise’(see (13)), ulgučen- ‘tell’ (see (15)), unj- ‘send’(see (16)), uniyi- ‘sell’, ‘buy’(see (17),(61b));
b. derived ditransitive verbs: iče-vken- ‘show’ (see (11)), tyli-vken- ‘explain’ (see (14));
c. verbs of teaching: alagu- ‘teach’ (see example (19)), tatyga- ‘teach’ (see (20)).

(8) Bi sin-du tar nanna-va ani-dya-m.
   I you.SG-DAT that (deer)hide-ACC present-FUT-1SG
   ‘I will give you this hide as a present.’

(9) Bi hute-vi sin-du buu-dye-m.
   I child-REFL.POSS you.SG give-FUT-1SG
   ‘I will give you my child.’

(10) a. Alagumni nuğan-du-n er turen-me guun-e-n.
    teacher he-DAT this word-ACC say-NONFUT-3SG
    ‘The teacher said to him this word’
b. Ee-ya-ka si min-du guun-dyeše-s ?
    what-INDEF.ACC-CLT you.SG I-DAT tell-FUT-2SG
    ‘And what will you tell me now ?

    he hunter-DAT young-PL-ACC willow-PL-ACC see-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
    ‘He showed the young willows to the hunter.’

    we-DAT show-IMPV-HAB.PAST berry-PL vegetable.bed-PL-ACC-3PL
    ‘They showed us berries growing in rows.’

(13) Nuğan Nastia-du Katia bi-deri-ve-n silba-ça-n.
    He Nastia-DAT Katia live-PRES.PART-ACC-3SG say-PAST-3SG
    ‘He told Nastia where Katia lived.’

(14) Bi nuğan-du-n meenmi upkat-va tyli-vken-dye-ə.
    I she-DAT myself all-ACC understand-CAUS-FUT-1SG
    ‘I will explain to her everything myself.’

(15) Aya, bi sin-du nimjanak-me ulguçen-dye-m.
    good I you.SG-DAT fairy-tale-ACC tell-FUT-1SG
    ‘OK, I will retell you a fairy-tale.’

(16) Esiken bi sin-du dukuvun-me un-dye-m.
    now I you-DAT letter-ACC send-FUT-1SG
    ‘Now I will send you the letter.’

(17) Kolhozniki-l kete-ve uluki-kse-l-ve gosudarstvo-du
     state.farmer-PL many-ACC squirrel-hide-PL-ACC state-DAT
     uniye-re-Ø sell-NONFUT-3PL
     ‘State farmers sold many squirrel hides to the state.’

(18) a. Bi sin-du buu-dye-m hute-vi.
    I you-DAT give-FUT-1SG child-REFL.POSS
    ‘I shall give you my child (son//daughter).’
b. Bi sin-du buu-dye-m hute-i asi-ya-s.
    I you-DAT give-FUT-1SG child-REFL.POSS wife-DESIG-2SG.POSS
    ‘I shall give you my daughter as-a-wife-for-you’ (Kolesnikova 1966: 161).
she  child-PL-REFL.POSS ABC-DAT teach-IMPV-HAB.PAST-3SG
‘She taught ABC to her children’

(20) Amaaka-n nekun-mi evenki-l turen-du-tyn
grandfather-3SG granddaughter-REFL.POSS Evenki-PL language-DAT-3PL
tatyga-ča-n.
teach-PAST-3SG
lit. ‘Her grandfather taught his granddaughter the Evenki language.’

(21) Nuğan  Vasya-va urgepču-meme-l-dule ity-l-dula,
he Vasya-DEF.ACC difficult-VERY-PL-ALL.1 affair-PL-ALL.1
girkuni-r-dula tatyga-dye-ŋki-n.
trip-PL-ALL.1 teach-IMPF-HAB.PAST-3SG
‘He accustomed Vasya to the most difficult affairs and trips.’

(22) Pattern 1  ALL.1 (-[du]lA) ACC // REFL.POSS (uŋ- ‘send’)  
Pattern 2  ALL.2 (-[t]yki) ACC // REFL.POSS (guun- ‘say’)  
Pattern 3  ACC [Ø] (guun- ‘say’).

Pattern 1: Recipient-ALL.1 -- Theme-ACC // REFL.POSS:

(23) a. Eni  sin-dule ukumni-ve uŋ-che-n. (cf. example (16))
mother you.SG-ALL.1 milk-ACC send-PAST-3SG
‘Mother sent you (the) milk.’

b. Min-dule nuğan-ma-n uŋ-kellu.
I-ALL.1 he-ACC-n send-2PL.IMP
‘Send him to me.’

Pattern 2: Recipient in the ALL.2 -- Theme-ACC // REFL.POSS

(24) Evenki: a. Tara-ve  guu-kel  min-tyki. (cf. (10) and (25))
that-ACC tell-2SG.IMP I-ALL.2
‘Tell me that’.

b. Girki-tki-vi  tara-ve  guu-kel.
friend-ALL.2 that-ACC tell-2SG.IMP
‘Tell it to your friend.’

Pattern 3 [Recipient in the Accusative case]

(25) a. Atyrkan  [tara-ve]  guu-e-n  beye-l-ve. (Cf. (10) and (24))
old.woman [that-ACC] tell-NONFUT-3SG man-PL-ACC
‘The-old-woman said (it) to the men’.

b. Etyrken  omolgi-va  guu-e-n:
old.man boy-ACC say-NONFUT-3SG
‘The old man said to the boy.’

2. Other uses of Recipient markers.

(26) Mit-tu  enin-ty  bazar-du kete-ye
we-DAT mother-1PL market-DAT many-INDEF.ACC
čeme-l-e  iniye-dye-ŋe-n.
sunflower.seed-PL-INDEF.ACC buy-FUT-3SG
‘Our mother will buy us many sunflower seeds at the market.’
(27) **Dyugani-du** dylača sot ngeri-dyere-n.
summer-DAT sun very shine-PRES-3SG
‘The Sun in summer shines very brightly.’

(28) Beye-l dyu-va **beyumimni-du** oo-ra-Ø.
man-PL house-ACC hunter-DAT make-NFUT-3PL
‘The men built a house for the hunter.’

(29) **Beyumimni-du** tamura pektyrevun bi-si-n.
hunter-DAT expensive rifle-NOM be-PRES-3SG
‘The hunter has an expensive rifle’.

(30) Nuŋan ma-n Sibir’-dule un-če-tyn.
he-ACC Siberia-ALL.1 send-PAST-3PL
‘They exiled him to Siberia.’

(31) Nuŋan ma-n ilan-dula anŋani-l-dula sinma-ča-tyn.
he-ACC three-ALL.1 year-PL-ALL.1 elect-PAST-3PL
‘They elected him for three years.’

(32) Nuŋan omolgi-vi aka-la-n unji-rke.
he son-REFL.POSS uncle-ALL.1-3SG send-EPISTEMIC.MOOD
‘Probably he sent his son to his uncle.’

(33) a. Bira-tki ollomo-sin-a-v.
river-All.2 fish-set.off-NONFUT-1PL
‘We went to the river to fish.’ Cf.:

s/he window-All.2 see-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
lit. ‘S/he showed in the direction of the window.’

(34) Tygde tymani-tki ete-če-n.
rain morning-ALL.2 finish-PAST-3SG
lit. ‘The rain finished towards morning.’

3. Other uses of Theme markers

The object in example (3) may also take the following suffixes: purta-va ‘definite knife’, purta-ya ‘any knife’, purta-vi ‘your own knife’, purta-va-v ‘my knife’, purta-va-s ‘your knife’, etc.

(35) Bi halka-va ga-Ø-m.
I hammer-ACC take-NONFUT-1SG
‘I took the hammer.’

(36) Kuŋaka-r guluvun-ma iče-re-Ø
child-PL fire-ACC see-NONFUT-3SG
‘The boys saw the bonfire.’

(37) Bu dolboni-va haval-dyača-vun.
we night-ACC work-IMPF-1PL
‘We worked the whole night.’;

(38) Kolhoz tonna-va kartoška-l-va mun-du buu-re-n.
collective.farm ton-ACC potato-PL-ACC we-DAT give-NONFUT-3SG
‘The collective farm gave us one ton potatoes.’

(39) Moty-ya
gelk-AT.IND
look.for-TRY-BEGIN-NONFUT-1SG
‘I will go and try to find an elk.’

(40) a. Ukunmi-ye
milk-AT.IND
lit. ‘Pour some milk.’

b. Ukunmi-ye
milk-AT.IND
‘There is no milk.’

(41) Etyrken (agi-li)
old.man (taiga-PROL)
I-DAT much-ACC tell-IMPV-HAB.PAST-3SG
‘The old man told me much about the taiga.’

Behavioral Properties of Ditransitive constructions

(42) Dukuvun nuñan-du-n
‘The letter was given to him’, but not:

(43) * Nungan dukuvun-me (ACC) // dukuvun-di (INSTR) buu-v-re-n.
(with the intended meaning) ‘He was given the letter.’

(44a) = (1a). Etyrken
sulaki-du
fat-ACC
give-NONFUT-3SG
‘The old man gave the fat to the fox’.

(44b) Imuren
fat-NOM
fox-DAT
give-PASS-NONFUT-3SG
‘The fat was given to the fox’ (or ‘by the fox’).

(45) Tar sulaki
top-ACC
etyrken-du
not-PAST-3SG old.man-DAT give-PASS-PART
lit. ‘That fox did not give itself to the old man.’, i.e.
‘That fox did not let the old man catch it (in his traps) [thanks to its cleverness].’

(46) Eri-l-du
fact-PL-DAT
scientist-PL
part-3PL show-PASS-PAST.PART
‘The role of scientists is shown by these facts.’

(47) Nuñan
she
Moskva-la
study-INCH-PURP-REFL.POSS
send-PASS-PAST
‘She was sent to study in Moscow.’

(48) Tar iken-du
song-DAT
marksman-GOOD-PL-PROL
say-PASS-IMPF-3SG
lit. ‘In that song it was said about excellent hunters.’

(49a) = (1b) Mama
old.woman
inda-sal-du
dalam-ba
bu-he-ni.
‘The old woman gave food to the dogs’.

(49b) (Inda-sal-du) Dalom-ba
dog-PL-DAT
food-ACC
give-PASS-PRES.PART
‘It is necessary/customary to give food (to dogs).’
(49c) (Inda-sal-du) Dalom-ba bu-vu-hen.
(dog-PL-DAT) food-ACC give-PASS-PAST.PART
Food was given to the dogs.

(50) Tynive uniye-v-če-l bilety-l tadu bi-si-Ø.
yesterday buy-PASS-PAST.PART-PL ticket-PL there be-PRES-3PL
The tickets which were bought yesterday are there.’

(51) Si buu-ne-s hute songo-l-cho-n.
you give-PERF.PART-2SG child cry-BEGIN-PAST-3SG
‘The child which you gave (me) began to cry.’

(52) Beye anty-du bi purta-va buu-če-v suru-če-n.
man which-DAT I knife-DEF.ACC give-PAST-1SG go.away-PAST-3SG
‘The man (to) whom I gave the knife went away.’

(53) Relativization of Agent:

a. purta-va buu-dyeri beyetken ‘the boy who is giving the knife’
b. purta-va buu-če beyetken ‘the boy who gave the knife’
c. purta-va buu-dyeğe beyetken ‘the boy who will give the knife’;

(54) a. Tadu baka-ra-n unta-l-va enin-mi etyrken-du
there find-NONFUT-3SG fur.boot-PL-ACC mother-1SG old.man-DAT
give-PERF.PART-PL-ACC-3SG
‘She found the fur boots which my mother had given to the old man.’

b. Beyetken buu-ne-n purta sokoriv-ra-n.
boy give-PERF.PART-3SG knife get.lost-NONFUT-3SG
‘The knife which was given by the boy got lost’.

(55) Nuñan girki-du-vi ulle-ve
he friend-DAT-REFL.POSS meat-DEF.ACC
buu-ri-ve-n saa-Ø-m.
give-PART-DEF.ACC-3SG know-NONFUT-1SG
‘I know that he gave meat to his friend.’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 153)

(56) Di-du-de tar purta-va buu-ne-ve-n
who-DAT-CLT that knife-ACC give-PERF.PART-ACC-3SG
bi e-če-v iče-re.
I not-PAST-1SG see-PART
‘I did not see to whom he had given that knife.’

(57) Nuñartyn min-du upkat-va gele-dyeri-ye-v
they I-DAT everything-DEF.ACC need-PRES.PART-DESIG-1SG
buu-če-tyn.
give-PAST-3PL
‘They gave me everything I needed.’

(58) Ngi buu-re-n ?
who give-NONFUT-3SG
lit. ‘Who gave ?;

(59) Ngi-du buu-re-n ?
who-DAT give-NONFUT-3SG
‘(To) whom did s/he give (it) ?’;
(60) Eekun-ma buu-re-n?
    What-ACC give-NONFUT-3SG
    ‘What did s/he give?’

    he man-PL-DAT himself show-NONFUT-3SG
    lit. ‘He showed himself to the men’

   b. Nungan meenin meen-du-vi gazeta-va ulitsa-du
    he himself himself-DAT-REFL.POSS newspaper-ACC street-DAT
    uniye-dyenenge-n.
    sell-FUT-3SG
    ‘He himself will buy the newspaper for himself in the street.’

(62) ani-маat- ‘to give presents to each other’
    buu-мееt- ‘to give sth to each other’
    borit-маat- ‘to divide into parts and give parts to each other’
    duku-маat- ‘to write sth to each other’

(63) a. Beyetken girki-du-vi dukuvun-me dukuẕ̌ara-n.
    boy friend-DAT-REFL.POSS letter-ACC write-PRES-3SG
    ‘The boy is writing a letter to his friend’

   b. Beyetke-r dukuvu-r-ve memegi-l-du-ver duku-маat-chara-Ø.
    boy-PL letter-PL-ACC each.other-DAT-ver write-REC-PRES-3PL
    ‘The boys write letters to each other’.

(64) a. Tar beye žu-va-n ičे-re-n.
    this man house-ACC-3SG see-NFUT-3SG
    ‘That man saw his house’

    he this man-DAT house-REFL.POSS see-CAUS-NFUT-3SG
    ‘He showed his house to this man’

   c. Nuŋartyn memegil-du-ver žu-l-var ičevken-meet-te-Ø.
    they each.other-DAT-ver house-PL-REFL.POSS show-REC-NFUT-3PL
    ‘They showed each other their houses’.

(65) Beye-l memegil-du-ver oro-r-vor buuče-tyn.
    man-PL each.other-DAT-ver reindeer-PL-REFL.POSS give-PAST-3PL
    ‘The men gave their reindeer to each other’.


(66) a. Personal possession:
    žaw-ya-w ‘a boat for me’
    žaw-ya-xun ‘a boat for us’
    žaw-ya-s ‘a boat for you’(SG)
    žaw-ya-sun ‘a boat for you’ (PL)
    žaw-ya-n ‘a boat for him/her’
    žaw-ya-tyn ‘a boat for them’.

   b. Reflexive possession:
    žaw-ya-wi ‘a boat for oneself (myself/yourself/himself/herself)’
    žaw-ya-war ‘a boat for ourselves//yourselves/themselves’.
(67) Oroch: a. Tadu megge asa-laa-i baa-ha-ni. Then hero wife-DESIG-REFL.POSS find-PAST-3SG ‘Then the hero found a wife-for-himself’;


(69) Bu sin-du avady-val belemni-l-e-s buu-dye-ñe-vun. we you.SG-DAT any-CLT helper-PL-DESIG-2SG give-FUT-1PL lit. ‘We shall give you any quantity of helpers-for-you.’


(71) Nanai (Avrorin 1959: 179; Avrorin1961: 170)

a. Mi dia-go-i dyapa-ham-bi I friend/companion-DESIG-REFL.POSS take-PAST-1SG ‘I took a companion/friend-for-myself’


(72) Nanai (Avrorin 1961: 34)


(73) Evenki: Bu-kel tan-daa-v. give-2SG.IMP smoke-PURP.CONV-1SG.POSS ‘Give me [a pipe, tobacco, etc.] to smoke’

(lit. ‘Give so-that-I-smoked // in-order-to-smoke-for-me’);

(74) Muu-ve emep-kellu um-daa-n. water-ACC bring-2PL.IMP drink-PURP.CONV-3SG ‘(You-pl.) bring water so that s/he drank (it) // for-him/her-to-drink’;

(75) Nanai (Avrorin 1961: 167-170)

a. Reflexive possession forms

SG -- danṣa-go-i ‘a book-for-one’self’ hola-go-i ‘in order to read’

PL -- danṣa-go-ari ‘a book-for-one’selves’ hola-go-ari ‘in order to read’
b. Personal possession forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>danṣa-go-i-va ‘a book-for-me’</td>
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<td>hola-go-a-si ‘in order for you.SG to read’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>danṣa-go-po-va ‘a book-for-us’</td>
<td>hola-go-po-va ‘in order for us to read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>danṣa-go-a-su ‘a book-for-you.PL’</td>
<td>hola-go-a-su ‘in order for you.PL to read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>danṣa-go-a-či ‘a book-for-them’</td>
<td>hola-go-a-či ‘in order for them to read’</td>
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(76) Oroch (Nedjalkov 1979)

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<td>uγda-laa-ji ‘a boat-for-oneself’</td>
<td>vaa-laa-i ‘in order to kill for oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>udda-laa-bbeji ‘a boat-for-oneselves’</td>
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<td>vaa-laa-wi ‘in order for me to kill’</td>
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<td>2SG</td>
<td>uγda-laa-si ‘a boat-for-you.SG’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>uγda-laa-mu ‘a boat-for-us’</td>
<td>vaa-laa-mu ‘in order for us to kill’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>uγda-laa-su ‘a boat-for-you.PL’</td>
<td>vaa-laa-su ‘in order for you.PL to kill’</td>
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<td>uγda-laa-ti ‘a boat-for-them’</td>
<td>vaa-laa-ti ‘in order for them to kill’.</td>
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(77) Nanai (Avrorin 1961: 169)

Min-du sia-go-iva (= depu-gu-ive) bu-ru.
I-DAT eat-PURP.CONV-1SG (eat-PURP.CONV-1SG) give-2SG.IMP
‘Give me to eat’;

(78) Oroch

Agdu-va saa-laa-mu ekku-ve !
news-ACC know-PURP.CONV-1PL come-2SG.IMP
lit. ‘Come here so that we knew the news.’