

Ditransitive constructions in Tungusic languages

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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 belemn-i-e uŋ-dye-m.
I you-DAT two-INDEF.ACC helper-PL-INDEF.ACC send-FUT-1SG
'I will send you two helpers.'

c. Nanai: Mama inda-sal-du dalam-ba bu-he-ni.
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';

b. Nanai: Bue mene tetradi-sal-bari alosimdi-du bu-he-pu.
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].

(6) a. Uilta: Bi mapa-tai ulisse-e buu-hem-bi.
I old.man-ALL meat-ACC give-PAST-1SG
'I gave the meat to the-old-man'.

b. Nanai: Mi enin-či-i biče-ve ujgu-hem-bi.
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)), nuŋni- 'show'(see (12)), silba- 'say', 'inform', 'promise'(see (13)), ulgučen- 'tell' (see (15)), uŋ- 'send'(see (16)), uniye- '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 nuḡan-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-dyeḡe-s ?
what-INDEF.ACC-CLT you.SG I-DAT tell-FUT-2SG
‘And what will you tell me now ?’

(11) Nuḡan bultamni-du ilmakta-l-va seekta-l-va iče-vken-e-n.
he hunter-DAT young-PL-ACC willow-PL-ACC see-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
‘He showed the young willows to the hunter.’

(12) Mun-du nuḡni-dye-ngki-tyn dikte-l gryada-l-va-tyn.
we-DAT show-IMPV-HAB.PAST berry-PL vegetable.bed-PL-ACC-3PL
‘They showed us berries growing in rows.’

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

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

(15) Aya, bi sin-du nimḡakan-me ulgučen-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 uḡ-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).

- (19) Nuᅇan hute-l-vi azbuka-du alagu-dya-ŋki-n.
 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) Nuᅇan 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-IMPV-HAB.PAST-3SG
 ‘He accustomed Vasya to the most difficult affairs and trips.’
- (22)
- | | Recipient | Theme |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Pattern 1 | ALL.1 (-[du]lA) | ACC // REFL.POSS (uŋ- ‘send’) |
| Pattern 2 | ALL.2 (-t[y]ki) | 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** nuᅇan-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 gu-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] guun-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 guun-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-dyeŋe-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) Nuḡan-ma-n Sibir’-dule uḡ-če-tyn.
 he-ACC-n Siberia-ALL.1 send-PAST-3PL
 ‘They exiled him to Siberia.’
- (31) Nuḡan-ma-n ilan-dula anḡani-l-dula sinma-ča-tyn.
 he-ACC three-ALL.1 year-PL-ALL.1 elect-PAST-3PL
 ‘They elected him for three years.’
- (32) Nuḡan omolgi-vi aka-la-n uḡi-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.:
- b. Nuḡan okno-tki iče-vken-e-n.
 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) Kuḡaka-r guluvun-ma iče-re-Ø
 child-PL fire-ACC see-NONFUT-3PL
 ‘The boys saw the bonfire.’
- (37) Bu dolboni-va haval-dyača-vun.
 we night-ACC work-IMP-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

- (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 biletý-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:
- purta-va buu-dyeri beyetken ‘the boy who is giving the knife’
 - purta-va buu-če beyetken ‘the boy who gave the knife’
 - purta-va buu-dyeŋe 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
 buu-ne-l-ve-n.
 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) Nuŋan 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) Ŋi-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) Nuŋartyn 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) Ŋgi buu-re-n ?
 who give-NONFUT-3SG
 lit. ‘Who gave ?’;
- (59) Ŋgi-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 ?’
- (61) a. Nuᅇan beye-l-du meenmi ičevken-e-n.
 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-dyenge-n.
 sell-FUT-3SG
 ‘He himself will buy the newspaper for himself in the street.’
- (62) ani-**maat-** ‘to give presents to **each other**’
 buu-**meet-** ‘to give sth to **each other**’
 borit-**maat-** ‘to divide into parts and give parts to **each other**’
 duku-**maat-** ‘to write sth to **each other**’
- (63) a. Beyetken girki-du-vi dukuvun-me duku-žara-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-**maat**-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 iče-re-n.
 this man house-ACC-3SG see-NFUT-3SG
 ‘That man saw his house’
- b. Nuᅇan tar beye-du žu-vi iče-vken-e-n.
 he this man-DAT house-REFL.POSS see-CAUS-NFUT-3SG
 ‘He showed his house to this man’
- c. Nuᅇartyn 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 buu-če-tyn.
 man-PL each.other-DAT-ver reindeer-PL-REFL.POSS give-PAST-3PL
 ‘The men gave their reindeer to each other’.

Designative case markers (Evenki -(y)A, Negidal -(y)A/-IA, Even -gA/-kA, Nanai -go, Oroch -IAA/-yAA/-nAA, Udehe -nA, Ulcha -žu, Uilta -do)

- (66) a. Personal possession:

<i>žaw-ya-w</i>	‘a boat for me’	<i>žaw-ya-wun</i>	‘a boat for us’
<i>žaw-ya-s</i>	‘a boat for you’ (SG)	<i>žaw-ya-sun</i>	‘a boat for you’ (PL)
<i>žaw-ya-n</i>	‘a boat for him/her’	<i>žaw-ya-tyn</i>	‘a boat for them’.

- b. Reflexive possession:

<i>žaw-ya-wi</i>	‘a boat for oneself (myself/yourself/himself/herself)’
<i>žaw-ya-war</i>	‘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’;
- (68) a. Nanai: Mi ag-bi dangsa-go-iva ga-chi-ni.
 I elder-brother-1SG book-DESIG-1SG buy-PAST-3SG
 ‘My elder brother bought a book-for me’,
 b. Uilta: Bi apun-do-si ga-tchi-mbi.
 I cap-DESIG-2SG take-PAST-1SG
 ‘I took a cap for you’.
- (69) Bu **sin-du** avady-val belemni-l-e-s buu-dyɛɛ-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.’
- (70) Oroch: **Min-du** asa-naa-m buu-dyɛɛ-su.
 I-DAT wife-DESIG-1SG give-FUT-2PL
 ‘(You.PL) give me a wife-for-me’ (Avrorin, Boldyrev 2001; 115).
- (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’
 b. Mi Antom-ba dia-go-i dyapa-ham-bi
 I Anton-ACC friend/companion-DESIG-REFL.POSS take-PAST-1SG
 ‘I took Anton as a companion/friend-for-myself’.
- (72) Nanai (Avrorin 1961: 34)
 a. Alosimdi naondyokam-ba danjsa-va hola-van-di-ni.
 teacher boy-ACC book-ACC read-CAUS-PRES-3SG
 ‘The teacher makes the boy read the book.’
 b. Alosimdi naondyokam-ba danjsa-go-i ga-van-ki-ni.
 teacher boy-ACC book-DESIG-REFL-POSS buy-CAUS-PAST-3SG
 ‘The teacher made the boy buy a book for himself.’
- Suffixes of purposive converbs: in Evenki, Even, and Negidal -dAA, Nanai -go, Oroch -lAA, Udehe -lAgA, Ulcha -bdA, Uilta -buddo).
- (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 -- danjsa-go-i ‘a book-for-oneself’ hola-go-i ‘in order to read’
 PL -- danjsa-go-ari ‘a book-for-oneselves’ hola-go-ari ‘in order to read’

b. Personal possession forms

1SG - daŋsa-go-i-va ‘a book-for-me’	hola-go-i-va ‘in order for me to read’
2SG - daŋsa-go-a-si ‘a book-for-you.SG’	hola-go-a-si ‘in order for you.SG to read’
3SG - daŋsa-go-a-ni ‘a book-for-him/her’	hola-go-a-ni ‘in order for him/her to read’
1PL - daŋsa-go-po-va ‘a book-for-us’	hola-go-po-va ‘in order for us to read’
2PL - daŋsa-go-a-su ‘a book-for-you.PL’	hola-go-a-su ‘in order for you.PL to read’
3PL - daŋsa-go-a-či ‘a book-for-them’	hola-go-a-či ‘in order for them to read’;

(76) Oroch (Nedjalkov 1979)

a. Reflexive possession forms

SG - ugda-laa-ji ‘a boat-for-oneself’	vaa-laa-i ‘in order to kill for oneself’
PL - udda-laa-bbeji ‘a boat-for-oneselves’	vaa-laa-bbeji ‘in order to kill for oneself’

b. Personal possession forms

1SG - ugda-laa-mi ‘a boat-for-me’	vaa-laa-wi ‘in order for me to kill’
2SG - ugda-laa-si ‘a boat-for-you.SG’	vaa-laa-si ‘in order for you.SG to kill’
3SG - ugda-laa-ni ‘a boat-for-him/her’	vaa-laa-ni ‘in order for him/her to kill’
1PL - ugda-laa-mu ‘a boat-for-us’	vaa-laa-mu ‘in order for us to kill’
2PL - ugda-laa-su ‘a boat-for-you.PL’	vaa-laa-su ‘in order for you.PL to kill’
3PL - ugda-laa-ti ‘a boat-for-them’	vaa-laa-ti ‘in order for them to kill’.

(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.’		