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Ditransitive constructions in Ket

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1. Introduction.

1.1 Basic characteristics of Ket

- Language ID: Ket (aka *Yenisey Ostyak*)
- Language family: Yeniseic (last surviving member)
- Geografical location: Central Siberia
- Main typological characteristics:
  - agglutinative noun system
  - polysynthetic verb system

1.2 Morphological structure of the Ket verb

Fig. 1 ***Position classes in Modern Ket***

P8	P7	P6	P5	P4	P3	P2	P1	P0	P-1
subject or thematic valence reducing affix	incorporate infinitive as semantic peak or incorporated noun, adj, or adverb root	subject or object	thematic consonant (most are seman-tically opaque)	*tense/ mood /a/, /s/* or 3rd person animate subject or object	inanim. subject or object; or thematic valence change affix	*tense/ mood/ aspect con-sonant /n/, /l/*	subject or object or thematic valence reducing affix	base 1. verb root as semantic peak or 2. aspect/voice auxiliary)	anim. subject plural (in many verbs that use P8 for subject)

- Not all of these positions (from Fig. 1) may be filled simultaneously in any verb form.
- In the surface (phonetic) representation of a verb form
  - some paradigmatically present elements may be truncated or elided (marked by {});
  - some non-morphological elements (vowels and consonants) can be inserted (not glossed).
- For a detailed observation of the rules governing deletion and insertion, see (Vajda 2004: 74-76).

1.2.1 Agreement marking

There are two productive transitive configurations and five productive intransitive configurations, some involving multi-site subject marking.

NB! The selection of agreement marker configuration is a lexical property of the stem, derived from a host of etymological idiosyncrasies, and is not dictated by any overall grammatical rule.

(1) Transitive configurations

- *Ket Transitive Configuration I*

SBJ^{8}-laugh^{7}-CAUS^{5}-NPST^{4}-**OBJ**$^{4/3/1}$-ITER.TRAN^{0}-**AN.PL.SBJ**$^{-1}$ 'S makes O laugh repeatedly'
1SG **d{i}**^{8}-dáq^{7}-q^{5}-a^{4}-**ku**^{1}-da^{0} (I make you.S laugh)[1]
3M **d{u}**^{8}-dáq^{7}-q^{5}-**aj**^{4}-da^{0} (he makes him laugh)
3F **da**^{8}-dáq^{7}-q^{5}-a^{4}-**b**^{3}-da^{0} (she makes it laugh)

- *Ket Transitive Configuration II*

SBJ^{8}-find^{7}-**OBJ**^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-ITER^{0}-**AN.PL.SBJ**$^{-1}$ 'S finds O repeatedly'
1SG **d{i}**^{8}-bákdeŋ^{7}-**ku**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-bed^{0} (I find you.S)
3F **da**^{8}-bákdeŋ^{7}-**u**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-bed^{0} (she finds it)

- *Ket Transitive Configuration III (unproductive)*

SBJ^{8}-outside^{7}-**SBJ**^{6}-TH^{5}-**OBJ**$^{4/3/1}$-take^{0}-**AN.PL.SBJ**$^{-1}$ 'S takes O outside'

1SG **d{i}**^{8}-ɤ́la^{7}-**bɔ**^{6}-k^{5}-**ku**^{1}-qus^{0} (I take you.S)

3M **d{u}**^{8}-ɤ́la^{7}-**bu**^{6}-k^{5}-**a**^{4}-qus^{0} (he takes him)

3F **da**^{8}-ɤ́la^{7}-**bu**^{6}-k^{5}-**b**^{3}-qus^{0} (she takes it)

(2) Intransitive configuration (two basic)

- *Ket Intransitive Configuration I*

SBJ^{8}-hanging^{7}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-**N.SBJ**^{3}-be.extended^{0}-**AN.PL.SBJ**$^{-1}$ 'S is hanging'
3F **da**^{8}-áŋ^{7}-k^{5}-s^{4}-ta^{0}
3N (S, PL) áŋ^{7}-k^{5}-**b**^{3}-ta^{0}

- *Ket Intransitive Configuration II*

grow^{7}-**SBJ**^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-start^{0}	IC^{8}-red^{7}-**SBJ**^{6}-NPST^{5}-PRES^{4}-become^{0}	being^{7}-**SBJ**^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-become^{0}
'S starts growing'	'S turns red'	'S comes into being'
1S tíjiŋ^{7}-**ba**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-qan^{0}	da^{8}-súlej^{7}-**bɔ**^{6}-k^{5}-s^{4}-a^{0}	sí^{7}-**ba**^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-q^{0}
3F tíjiŋ^{7}-**i**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-qan^{0}	da^{8}-súlej^{7}-**u**^{6}-k^{5}-s^{4}-a^{0}	sí^{7}-**i**^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-q^{0}
3N (SG, PL) tíjiŋ^{7}-**i**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-qan^{0}	da^{8}-súlej^{7}-**u**^{6}-k^{5}-s^{4}-a^{0}	sí^{7}-**Ø**^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-q^{0}

2. Ditransitive constructions in Ket

2.1 Basic patterns

There are 2 basic types:

1) indirective construction
   a) dative
   b) benefactive
2) double object construction (DOC)

[1] Here the Ket examples are given in phonological transcription with morpheme breaks. Further examples are represented in a 4-tier transcription: 1) phonetic transcription; 2) phonological transcription with morpheme breaks; 3) glossing; 4) English translation.

2.1.1 Indirective construction

a) Dative subtype

Here belongs the majority of transfer verbs including *qɤd^{7}-k^{5}-s^{4}-i/bed^{0}* 'give (3)' (unlike *b^{3}-aq^{0}* 'give (1)' and *n^{5}-b^{3}-u^{0}* 'give (2)', it rather means 'subject makes a gift/transfer with object'), *ik^{7}-k^{5}-bes^{0}* 'bring', *qɯ^{7}-a^{4}-bed^{0}* 'sell', *eda^{7}-q^{5}-t~a^{0}* 'send', as well as *t^{5}-a^{4}-ki^{0}* 'tell'.

(6) *āt haŋtip ketdaŋa tqʌrʲuksibɛt*

ād	**haŋ-tib**	keˀd-daŋa	**d{i}**^{8}-qɤd^{7}-**u**^{6}-k^{5}-s^{4}-i/bed^{0}
1SG	female-dog	person-M.DAT	**1SG**^{8}-gift^{7}-**3SG.F**^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-make^{0}

'I give a dog to him.'

(7) *āt obdɯŋa jɛ́ɛ̀lʲ diɣunbesʲ*

ād	ob-daŋa	éèl	d{i}^{8}-ik^{7}-u^{6}-{k^{5}}-n^{2}-bes^{0}
1SG	father-M.DAT	berries	1SG^{8}-here^{7}-3SG.N^{6}-TH^{5}-PST^{2}-move^{0}

'I brought berries to my father.'

(8) *āt iriŋ daŋa derʲaqimne*

ād	idiŋ	daŋa	d{i}^{8}-eda^{7}-q^{5}-b^{3}-n^{2}-a^{0}
1SG	letter	M.DAT	1SG^{8}-send^{7}-CAUS^{5}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-MOM^{0}

'I sent a letter to him.'

(9) *qɯˀ kɛˀt baŋa qɯɣabɛt sujat*

qɯˀ	keˀd	baŋa	{du^{8}}-qɯ^{7}-{u^{6}}-k^{5}-a^{4}-bed^{0}	sujad
sell	person	1SG.DAT	{3SG.M^{8}}-sell^{7}-3SG.N^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-ITER^{0}	dress

'Salesman is selling me a dress.'

(10) *āt daŋa tovinʲnʲə āp bisɛpda qaan*

ād	daŋa	{di8}-t^{5}-o^{4}-b^{3}-n^{2}-ki^{0}	āb	biseb-da	qaan	
1SG	3SG.M.DAT	1SG^{8}-TH^{5}-PST^{4}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-tell^{0}	my	brother-GEN	words	

'I told my brother's words to him.'

- Basic properties: agreement is indirective (object agreement prefixes index T), flagging is also indirective (R in dative, T unmarked).

b) Benefactive subtype

Other option for encoding of Beneficiary is marking of R by benefactive or adessive case (may be variants of the same case (cf. Vall, Kanakin 1985: 27)), consider the verb *kit^{7}-k^{5}-bed^{0}* 'buy':

(11) *āt sɛˀn daŋalʲ qimdiŋt tkittɛŋilʲbɛt*

ād	seˀn	**qim-diŋt**	d{i}^{8}-kit^{7}-aŋ^{6}-{k^{5}}-l^{2}-bed^{0}
1SG	deers	**woman-F.ADES**	1SG^{8}-price^{7}-3AN.PL^{6}-TH^{5}-PST^{2}-make^{0}

'I bought (for) the woman reindeers.'

- Basic properties: agreement is indirective (object agreement prefixes index T), flagging is also indirective (R in benefactive, T unmarked).

2.1.2 Double object construction (DOC)

This type includes two GIVE verbs *b³-aq⁰* 'give(1)', *n⁵-b³-u⁰* 'give(2)' (which differ in aspectual properties), and few other verbs like *q⁵-a⁴-b³-dil⁰* 'dress(1)', *k⁵-a⁴-b³-to⁰* 'dress(2)', *t⁵-a⁴-b³-kit⁰* 'rub'.

(12) *kɛʔt qīm tīp divijaq*

keʔd **<u>qīm</u>** tīb **d{u}**^{8}-**<u>i</u>**^{6}-b^{3}-ij^{2}-aq^{0}
person **<u>woman</u>** dog **3SG.M**^{8}-**<u>3SG.F</u>**^{6}-APPL^{3}-PST^{2}-give^{0}
'The man gave (his) wife a dog.'

(13) *āt isʲa dɯlʲ denʲ danʲbu*

ād i-sa dɯl den d{i}^{8}-a^{6}-n^{5}-b^{3}-u^{0}
1SG day-DIST child money 1SG^{8}-3SG.M^{6}-TH^{5}-APPL^{3}-give^{0}
'I give the child money everyday.'

(14) *ām dɯʔlʲ besemda aʁamnəlʲ*

ām dɯʔl besam da^{8}-a^{6}-q^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-n^{2}-{d}il^{0}
mother child fur.coat 3SG.F^{8}-3SG.M^{6}-TH^{5}-PST^{4}-APPL^{3}-PST^{2}-dress^{0}
'Mother dressed the child in a fur coat.'

(15) *ām āt dɯʾ rabaɣopto*

ām ād dɯʾ da^{8}-ba^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-to^{0}
mother 1SG hat 3SG.F^{8}-1SG^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-APPL^{3}-put^{0}
'Mother puts a hat on me.'

(16) *bū kɯʔt ara batabgit*

bū kɯʔd ād da^{8}-ba^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-kit^{0}
3SG fat 1SG 3SG.F^{8}-1SG^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-APPL^{3}-rub^{0}
'She rubs me with fat. '

- <u>Basic properties</u>: flagging is neutral (both objects unmarked), indexing (usually) secundative (object AGR with R); but see below on animacy effects.
- Another property of this construction is that the verb includes an 'applicative' marker *-b-*, which is formally identical to the inanimate object (argument) marker in P3 (see below exx. 17-18).

(17) *datiŋqivit*
da^{8}-tiŋ^{7}-q^{5}-**b**^{3}-t^{0}
3SG.F^{8}-turn^{7}-CAUS^{5}-**3SG.N**^{3}-MOM^{0}
'She turns it.'

(18) *datiŋɕajit*
da^{8}-tiŋ^{7}-q^{5}-**a**^{4}-t^{0}
3SG.F^{8}-turn^{7}-CAUS^{5}-**3SG.M**^{4}-MOM^{0}
'She turns him.'

Why do canonical ditransitives verbs include an applicative marker, while less canonical ditransitives do not? This is typologically unusual.

2.2 Animacy effects in DOC

In DOC with GIVE1indexing is usually secundative, however, when the T is pronominal (only 1,2 pronouns) the construction changes to indirective, both in indexing (agreement with T) and flagging (R is now in dative).

(19) *anuks^{j} ū ketdɯŋa āt dbiɣoq*

anuks **ū** ked-daŋa **ād** **d{i}**^{8}-b^{3}-(i)-**k{u}**^{1}-aq^{0}
tomorrow **2SG** person-3SG.M.DAT **1SG** **1SG**^{8}-APPL^{3}-**2SG**^{1}-give^{0}
'Tomorrow I will give you to the man.'

This is true even if R is also a pronoun:

(20) *āb ōp ukuŋa āt dburaq*

āb **ōb** u-kuŋa **ād** **d{u}**^{8}-b^{3}-u^{2}-**d{i}**^{1}-aq^{0}
my **father** 2SG-DAT **1SG** **3SG.M**^{8}-APPL^{3}-PST^{2}-**1SG**^{1}-give^{0}
'My father gave me to you.'

Thus, hierarchy effects; ditransitive alignment is labile: usually (when R is higher than T on person/animacy scales), then alignment (agreement) is secundative, when T is higher (or when both R and T are equally pronominal), then alignment is indirective (agreement with T and R is dative).

2.3 Word order

Remarkably free in both types of ditransitive constructions, but there is a strong tendency for unmarked objects in DOC to be preverbal (exx. 12-16, etc.).

2.4 Notes on derived ditransitives

Derived ditransitives are marginal insofar as morphological causatives are not built productively from transitives.

Some (ex. 21) are formed analytically, some other (ex. 22) are rather formed with incorporated object.

(21) *bū āt ɛsl^{j}a dɛr^{j} dɛraqadda*

bū ād esla ded d{u}^{8}-eda^{7}-q^{5}-a^{4}-d{i}^{1}-da^{0}
3SG.M 1SG paper read 3SG.M^{8}-send^{7}-CAUS^{5}-NPST^{4}-1SG^{1}-ITER.TRANS^{0}
'He makes me read the book.'

(22) *ām āt dananʲbetqirit*

ām ād da^{8}-**nan-bed**^{7}-q5-di^{1}-t^{0}
mother 1SG 3SG.F^{8}-**bread-make**^{7}-CAUS^{5}-1SG^{1}-MOM.TRANS^{0}
'Mother makes me bake bread.'

Still there are some causatives of transitives (ex. 23), and these have secundative alignment: have a double object construction with the causee unmarked and controlling verb agreement.

(23) *qīm āt seˀn^{j} dautaqqindit*

qīm **ād** seˀn **da**^{8}-utaq^{7}-q^{5}-in^{2}-**di**^{1}-t^{0}
woman **1SG** deer.PL **3SG.F**^{8}-graze^{7}-CAUS^{5}-PST^{2}-**1SG**^{1}-MOM.TRANS^{0}
'The woman made me graze reindeer.'

NB! This verb has no applicative marker *-b-* unlike other DOC verbs. Morever, the underlined object *seˀn* 'reindeer' doesn't trigger any agreement verb-internally.

Other causatives can behave differently. For example, *iliŋ^{7}-q^{5}-da^{0}* 'feed' takes the causee as the main object, while the base object (what is eaten) is in instrumental.

(24) *āt bū nanʲasʲ diliŋqajda*

ād **bū** nan-as **d{i}**^{8}-iliŋ^{7}-q^{5}-**a**^{4}-da^{0}
1SG **3SG** bread-INST **1SG**^{8}-eat^{7}-CAUS^{5}-**3SG.M**^{4}-ITER.TRANS^{0}
'I feed him with bread.'

Thus it basically follows the Russian pattern.

2.5 Notes on syntactic properties

2.5.1 Reflexives (and reciprocals)

Reflexives (and sometimes reciprocals) if related to the (main) object can be expressed by coreferent subject agreement (in 3rd person; in 1,2 person by object pronouns – we comb us, etc, cf. ex. 25). This seems to be possible for both monotransitives and ditransitives of the indirective type, which predictably encode coreference of A and T arguments:

(25) *bū datuɣunʲbutɔlʲgit*

bū **da**^{8}-tukun^{7}-**bu**^{6}-t^{5}-o^{4}-l^{2}-kit^{0}
3SG **3SG.F**^{8}-comb^{7}-**3COREF**^{7}-TH^{4}-PST^{4}-PST^{2}-rub^{0}
'She combs herself.'

(26) *bū ʌtɯŋere ʌːtʲqolerij*

bū ɤd-ɯŋe **da**^{8}-ɤːd^{7}-k^{5}-o^{4}-l^{2}-**a**^{1}-dij^{0}
3SG 2PL-DAT **3SG.F**^{8}-visible^{7}-TH^{5}-PST^{4}-PST^{2}-**3SG.COREF**^{1}-INTR^{0}
'She showed herself to us.'

However, the same subject marker can also be used for coreference between Subject and Recipient:

(27) *dɛˀŋ uska qapka tqʌraŋbuɣabetin*

dɛˀŋ uska qapka **d{u}**^{8}-qɤdaŋ^{7}-**bu**^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-bed^{0}-in^{-1}
people back forth **3AN.PL**^{8}-gift.ITER^{7}-**3COREF**^{7}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-ITER^{0}-AN.PL^{-1}
'People give it (among themselves) back and forth.'

NB! With oblique objects reflexives/reciprocals are formed by anaphoric pronouns.

2.5.2 Resultative (passive)

Ket has no regular morphological passive. However, certain stem types do have productive resultative derivations.

Possible ways to form stative resultatives:

1) insertion of the affix /a~aja/ in P1 (exx. 28, 30);
2) change of the base morpheme (such as base *-to^{0}* 'put' changed to stative resultative *-ta^{0}*, cf. exx. 15 and 31);

An example of a resultative from a monotransitive:

(28) *avaro*

a^{4}-b^{3}-**a**^{1}-do^{0}

NPST^{4}-3SG.N^{3}-**RES**^{1}-cut^{0}

'It is cut.'

Resultative is possible with some indirective ditransitives, as well. Indirective ditransitives built with the base *-bed*^{0} regularly form stative resultative stems by adding the affix /aja/ in P1:

(29) *āp hun^{j} qoˀt qʌruksajabet*

āb hun qoˀt qɤd^{7}-u^{6}-k^{5}-s^{4}-**aja**^{1}-bed^{0}

1SG daughter already gift^{7}-3SG.F^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-**RES**^{1}-make^{0}

'My daughter is already given.'

However, resultative forms are impossible for GIVE (1,2).

Yet at least in one case of a verb with a double object construction, promotion of R/Goal argument to the resultative subject is possible. This can be seen with DRESS verbs. While *q*^{5}*-dil*^{0} 'dress(3)' which takes an indirective pattern has a resultative with T as subject (ex. 30), the secundative DRESS2 has a resultative with G as the subject (ex. 31).

(30) *dɯˀ qiberəl^{j}*

dɯˀ q^{5}-(i)-b^{3}-**a**^{1}-dil^{0}

hat TH^{5}-APPL^{3}-**RES**^{1}-dress^{0}

'The hat is put on.'

(31) *dɯˀ āt baɣapta*

dɯˀ ād ba^{6}-k^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-**ta**^{0}

hat 1SG 1SG^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-APPL^{3}-**be.put**^{0}

'I am wearing a hat.'

Thus resultative formation is indirective in the case of Indirective ditransitives and secundative with DOC ditransitives.

2.5.3 Questions

No restrictions on questioning of nominal constituents, including T and R from a double object construction.

2.5.4 Relativization

Relativization by prenominal finite strategy (involving a fully finite verb is placed before the relativized constituent) is possible for subjects, (non-oblique) objects, and also for some obliques usually marked by "bare" cases [2].

[2] Here belongs *-as* (Instrumental), *-bes* (Prosecutive), *-an* (Caritive), *-ka* (Locative). They attach to the noun stem without the genitive element *-d-*.

With a double object GIVE, both objects can be relativized:

(32) *āt denʲ dovijaq keʔt*

[ād den d{i}^{8}-o^{4}-b^{3}-ij^{2}-aq^{0}] keʔd
[1SG money 1SG^{8}-3SG.M^{4}-APPL^{3}-PST^{2}-give^{0}] person
'The man I gave money to.'

(33) *āt bisep dovijaq denʲ*

[ād biseb d{i}^{8}-o^{4}-b^{3}-ij^{2}-aq^{0}] den
[1SG brother 1SG^{8}-3SG.M^{4}-APPL^{3}-PST^{2}-give^{0}] money
'The money which I gave to my brother.'

With Indirective ditransitives only T can be relativized by gapping. The dative R if relativized is resumed by a resumptive pronoun:

(34) *āt dɛŋnaŋa tqʌtnibet ɛslʲa*

[ād deŋ-naŋa d{i}^{8}-qɤd^{7}-n^{2}-i/bed^{0}] esla
[1SG people-3AN.PL.DAT 1SG^{8}-gift^{7}-PST^{2}-make^{0}] book
'The book which I gave to the people.'

(35) *āt ɛslʲa naŋa tqʌtnibet dɛʔŋ*

[ād esla naŋa d{i}^{8}-qɤd^{7}-∅^{6}-{k^{5}}-n^{2}-i/bed^{0}] deʔŋ
[1SG book 3AN.PL.DAT 1SG^{8}-gift^{7}-3SG.N^{6}-TH^{5}-PST^{2}-make^{0}] people
'The people to which I gave the book.'

Relativization by non-finite prenominal strategy (involving the so-called Infinitive) is possible for T in Indirective constructions (ex. 36) and both for T and R in DOC constructions (exx. 37-38), the subject of the relative clause is in GEN:

(36) *āp ɛrʁat kɛʔt*

[āb edqat] keʔd
[my send] person
'The person I sent.'

(37) *ketda qīl dɯ̄lʲ*

[ked-da qīl] dɯ̄lʲ
[person-GEN dress] child
'The child the man dressed.'

(38) *ketda qīl dɯ̄ʔ*

[ked-da qīl] dɯ̄ʔ
[person-GEN dress] child
'The hat the man (regularly) puts on.'

Thus relativization in both strategies is indirective (T behaves like P) with the indirective pattern, but neutral in RCs formed from DOC (both T & R can be relativized).

2.5.5 Nominalization

Bare infinitives/nominalizations of the type:

(39) *dɯlʲda tàrʲ binuʁut*

dɯl-da tàd b{in^{7}-b^{3}}-n^{2}-qut^{0}
child-GEN beat R^{7}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-finish^{0}
'The beating of the child finished.' or 'The child finished beating.'

With nominalization built from monotransitives GEN argument may be either A or P.

Alternatively P can be unmarked:

(40) *dɯ̄lʲ tàrʲ binuʁut*

dɯ̄l tàd b{in^{7}-b^{3}}-n^{2}-qut^{0}
child beat R^{7}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-finish^{0}
'The beating of the child finished.'

Thus, GEN can refer to A or P, a caseless NP refers only to P.

With ditransitives:

(41) *āp taʔp deŋnaŋa qɯren binuʁut*

āb taʔb deŋ-naŋa qɯd-en b{in}^{7}-{b^{3}}-n^{2}-qut^{0}
my dogs people-3AN.PL.DAT gift-ITER R^{7}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-finish^{0}
'My giving of dogs to people finished.'

Here like with monotransitives, T can be caseless or genitive (T=P), R will be dative (NB! this is GIVE3 which is indirective; GIVE1,2 do not have infinitives).

DRESS1 is the only DOC ditransitive which can have an infinitive:

(42) *āp dɯlda qarʲaŋ qīlʲ binuʁut*

āb dɯl-da qadaŋ qīlʲ b{in^{7}-b^{3}}-n^{2}-qut^{0}
my child-GEN clothes dress R^{7}-3SG.N^{3}-PST^{2}-finish^{0}
'My child's dressing finished.' or 'I finished dressing my child.'

In this construction, both R and T (like P) can appear in the GEN; importantly however only T (like P) can appear caseless. This is then an indirective feature (P=T).

3. Diachronic issues

3.1 The origin of the applicative marker

- An open question: What is the role of the applicative marker in a ditransitive construction and how to explain its identity to the marker of inanimate patients of transitives?

(43) *kɛˀt dɔˀn dubbɛt*

keˀd doˀn du^{8}-**b**^{3}-bed^{0}
person knife 3SG.M^{8}-**3SG.N**^{3}-make^{0}
'The man makes a knife.'

See also (ex. 17).

While some approaches (cf. Belimov 1991) do not consistently differentiate between different *-b-* markers, as shown by Vajda (2004), the use of *-b-* in GIVE1 cannot be regarded as an agreement marker:

- *b^{3}-aq^{0}* 'give(1)' is also compatible with an animate theme, even if such constructions tend to be avoided.
- Note also that the applicative marker is retained in constructions with a pronominal object (when the construction switches to indirective if T is 1,2 person, see exx. 19-20).

Yet, it can be shown that diachonically the applicative marker is identical to the inanimate object marker (cf. Georg's 2007 discussion of 'petrified uses' of *-b-*).

- The original identity of all the aforementioned varieties of *-b-* prefix is also still evident from morphological behavior: the *-b-* marker in all of its uses regularly disappears in imperatives (Georg 2007).

Note that cross-linguistically T in a ditransitive construction is usually inanimate; for some languages it has been noted that animate Ts are prohibited (cf. Baker 1996 on Mohawk), in other languages animate/pronominal Ts trigger an alignment switch (as is also case in Ket; see Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2007 for other languages).

3.2. Evolution of ditransitive constructions

The proposed diachronic scenario:

- DOC constructions

Verbs like GIVE(1,2) represent the first stage:

(44) *āt ōp ōks^{j} davaq*

ād ōb ōks d{i}^{8}-a^{6}-b^{3}-aq^{0}
1SG father stick 1SG^{8}-3SG.M^{6}-APPL^{3}-give^{0}
'I give (my) faher a stick.'

- Variabile DOCs

Verbs like as *t^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-kit^{0}* 'rub' represent an intermediate case:

a) it still allows for a double object construction:

(45) *bū īs tɤˀ daaŋtabɣit*

bū īs tɤˀ da^{8}-aŋ^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-kit^{0}
3SG fish salt 3SG.F^{8}-3AN.PL^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-APPL^{3}-rub^{0}
'She rubs fish with salt.'

NB! At the same time, *t^{5}-a^{4}-b^{3}-kit^{0}* 'rub' can appear in an instrumental applicative construction:

(46) *bū īs tɤɣas^{j} daaŋtabɣit*

bū īs tɤ-as da^{8}-aŋ^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-**b**^{3}-kit^{0}
3SG fish salt-INST 3SG.F^{8}-3AN.PL^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-**APPL**^{3}-rub^{0}
'She rubs fish with salt.'

b) if instrument is incorporated it can obviate the use of the applicative marker (cf. Vajda 2003: 81):

(47) *bu is^{j} datʌaŋtaɣit*

bū īs da^{8}-tɤ^{7}-aŋ^{6}-t^{5}-a^{4}-kit^{0}
3SG fish 3SG.F^{8}-salt^{7}-3AN.PL^{6}-TH^{5}-NPST^{4}-rub^{0}
'She salts fish.'

NB! Incorporation obviating the use of object agreement is regularly observed for monotransitives in Ket and is also common cross-linguistically.

- Instrumental applicative constructions

Other verbs (e.g. *ɤla^{7}-k^{5}-b^{3}-taŋ^{0}* 'drag') can appear in instrumental constructions only:

(48) *būŋ āt súùlas dɤlabogdoviltaŋin*

būŋ ād súùl-**as** d{u}^{8}-ɤla^{7}-bo^{6}-k^{5}-d/o^{4}-**b**^{3}-l^{2}-taŋ^{0}-in^{-1}
3AN.PL 1SG sledge-**INST** 3AN.PL^{8}-out^{7}-1SG^{6}-TH^{5}-across/PST^{4}-**APPL**^{3}-PST^{2}-drag^{0}-AN.PL^{-1}
'They dragged me outside by sled (once).'

NB! Change to instrumental construction may be due to language contact: imitation of the Russian pattern?

- Other verbs?

It remains unclear whether other verbs containing an "applicative" or "intensive" marker *-b-* can be traced back to the ditransitive double object construction.

Note that in some cases, restructuring should have affected agreement as well.

(49) *āt tɯʔs^{j} bur'ɛ tan dɛs^{j}komdaq*

ād tɯʔs bude tan d{i}^{8}-es^{7}-k^{5}-o^{4}-b^{3}-n^{2}-daq^{0}
1SG stone his in.direction 1SG^{8}-up^{7}-TH^{5}-PST^{4}-INTENSE^{3}-PST^{2}-throw^{0}
'I threw a stone at him.'

Here restructuring affected agreement as well, insofar as the verb agrees with the theme/instrument, while originally it should have indexed the goal argument, as the presence of the applicative/intensive marker suggests. A concomitant change was a change in the status of the secondary (inanimate) object marker, which was dissociated from the case-marked nominal and acquires a a semi-formal status of the "applicative" or "intensive" markers.

4. Conclusions:

In general, these data suggest that originally the basic type of the ditransitive (and broader three argument) construction in Ket was a double object construction with both objects unmarked, and which used two different agreements slots for primary object (goal) and for the invariantly marked secondary object (theme/instrument). Subsequently the secundative pattern was partially reanalyzed with some ditransitives, with the secondary object marker retained in a semi-fossilized form of the "applicative" or "intensive" markers.

Qualification: a major diachronic question (which will be left open here) is whether for the period when the present day applicative markers were a full-fledged agreement a single verb form accommodated several object slots or there were several verbal components subsequently contracted.

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Glossing:

ABL Ablative
ADES Adessive
AN animate
APPL applicative
CAUS causative
COREF coreferential subject marker
DAT Dative
F feminine
N inanimate
IC involuntary causative
INST Instrumental (Comitative)
INTENSE intensifier
INTR intransitive
ITER ITERative
M masculine
MOM momentaneous
NPST non-past
PL plural
PST past
R semantics is not clear
RES resultative
SG singular
TH thematic consonant
TRANS transitive