

Voice alternations in Kazym Khanty participial relative clauses

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Introduction This study addresses the syntax of a particular type of non-finite relativization in Kazym Khanty, namely, relative clauses involving marking of several arguments by the Locative case, which is the case of demoted participants in passive as well (1).

Argument marking in relatives Kazym Khanty participles (PTCP.NPST in *-ti* and PTCP.PST in *-am*) can relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, direction, and locative adjuncts. Table 1 represents the marking of arguments in relative clauses with different syntactic positions relativized:

		Marking of arguments		
		SU	DO	IO
Pivot relativization of adjunct	Subject		ACC	DAT
	DO	NOM / LOC		DAT
	IO	NOM, LOC	LOC, *NOM	
	Direction / Locative	NOM, *LOC	ACC	DAT
	adjunct			

Cases of direct object relativization (2) with locative subjects have been approached as relativization of passive sentences (see Nikolaeva 1999: 76 for the Obdorsk Khanty data). Relativization of indirect objects seems to be more intriguing (3). At first glance, it involves a process akin to antipassivization (or, to be precise, secundative alternation and optional passivization then, as in (4)): IO promotes to DO, DO demotes and receives Locative marking. However, the subject can stay in Nominative, which means that it was only secundative alternation took place. All of this leads us to the following questions:

- Why is the relativization of IO can only be done through its promotion, while the relativization of non-arguments is possible without any voice alternations?
- What are the syntactic differences of Locative and Nominative subjects?

Subject-head agreement Pronominal subject of a relative clause triggers possessive marking on the head noun (5), which could possibly mean that the subject takes a possessor-like position in the structure. Nikolaeva (1999) provides a diachronic explanation for this agreement pattern in Obdorsk Khanty, analyzing participles in relative clauses involving such agreement as former adnominal modifiers of mixed nature. I evolve this point of view by assuming that the Nominative Agent is located higher in the structure than the participial nominalizing node, while the Locative Agent stays inside the participial phrase.

Claim The passive strategy of relativization is indeed the primary one for the relativization of direct and indirect objects. Thus, one needs to promote DO to the subject position to relativize it from there. To relativize a dative argument, one needs to promote it to subject as well. However, participial relative clause as a reduced structure has no head that could assign the Case to the Agent participant, which triggers its extraction (raising) to possessor. There exist cases where this mechanism is obligatory, which is related to information structure. In the talk, I will provide further evidence that the nominative Agent in participial relative clauses is a Genitive possessor indeed. I will also discuss several typological parallels of such a pattern in other languages.

Examples

(1) ma aŋk-em-ən ɬapt-ɬ-aj-əm
I mother-1SG-LOC feed-NPST-PASS-1SG
'My mother feeds me'. (lit. 'I am fed by my mother')

(2) a. puχ ɬapt-əm amp änt purśan-ɬ
boy feed-PTCP.PST dog NEG bite-NPST
b. puχ-ən ɬapt-əm amp änt purśan-ɬ
boy-LOC feed-PTCP.PST dog NEG bite-NPST

'The dog fed by the boy doesn't bite'.

(3) a. jəwan-en lipə-t-ən mojt-əm ewi
John-2SG flower-PL-LOC grant-PTCP.PST girl
b. ^{OK}jəwan-en-ən lipə-t-ən mojt-əm ewi
John-2SG-LOC flower-PL-LOC grant-PTCP.PST girl
c. *jəwan-en-ən lipə-t mojt-əm ewi
John-2SG-LOC flower-PL grant-PTCP.PST girl
d. *jəwan-en lipə-t mojt-əm ewi
John-2SG-LOC flower-PL-LOC grant-PTCP.PST girl

'the girl to whom John has gifted the flowers'

(4) ma jɪŋk ojka-*(jən) xəɬəm ɬajəm-*(ən) mojtə-s-i-jəm
I water guy-LOC three axe-LOC grant-PST-PASS-1SG

'The merman granted me three axes' (lit. 'I was granted by the merman by three axes').

(5) nəŋ ɬ'uxət-əm iśn-en ma nuχ pənš-s-əm
you wash-PTCP.PST window I out open-PST-1SG

'I opened the window that you have washed'.

References

Nikolaeva, Irina. 1999. *Ostyak*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.