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Nominative object in North Russian dialects in areal and typological view

The phenomenon

(1) Kapust-a nado poč'ist'it'
Cabbage-NOM.SG need (mod) clean-INF
'It is necessary to clean a cabbage'

(2) Van'a korovu kup'il.
Vanya-NOM.SG cow-AKK.SG buy-PRS-3SG
'Vanya have bought a cow'

The phenomenon

- **Lithuanian:**

(3) *Reikia* *šienas* *grėbti*
need.PRS.3 hay.NOM.SG.M rake.INF

‘It is necessary to rake the hay.’ (Ambrazas 2001: 391)

- **Latvian:**

(4) *Kāpēc* *šī* *filma ir* *jā-redz?!*
why DEM.NOM.SG.F film-NOM.SG.F AUX.PRS.3 DEB-see

‘Why does one have to see this film?!’ (Seržant 2016: 163)

- **Finnish:**

(5) *hänen* *täytyy kirjoittaa* *kirje*
GEN. 3SG. INF.I NOM.

‘He must write a letter’ (Timberlake 1975: 205)

Goal

- The main goal of the study is to describe Nominative object structure in North Russian dialects and to describe the phenomenon from areal and typological point of view. We consider common DOM features (such as animacy, definiteness, word order, information structure, modality and types of predicates) for various syntactic constructions with the nominative objects in North Russian dialects.

Types of syntactic environment

- **NO with independent infinitive (I)**

(6) Dak Tol'ko pašn'-a paha-t', kartošk-a p'er'eb'ir-a-t'
PART Only arable land-NOM.SG plow-INF, potato-NOM.SG sort out-INF.
Only plow arable land and to sort out potatoes (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 25])

- **NO with infinitive depending on another infinitive (II):**

(7) Poi-t'y tr'apk-a namoč'i-t'
Go-INF rag-NOM.SG wet-INF
to go to wet a rag (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 25])

- **With infinitive depending on verb (III):**

(8) Prid'ot-s'a izb-a my-t'
Go-REFL house-NOM.SG clean-INF
It's necessary to clean a house (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 26])

Types of syntactic environment

- **With finite verbs without modal meaning (IV):**

(9) *Pr'a-l-a* *ran'she* *kanopl'-a*
 spin-PST-FEM *before* *flax-NOM.SG*

I used to spin flax

- **With infinitive depending on modal predicative 'nado' (V):**

(10) *Nado* *by-l-o* *ban'-a* *rubi-t'*
 Need *be-PST* *Bathroom-NOM.SG* *hack-INF*

'It was necessary to build a bathhouse' (RNC, Arhangelsk region)

- **V with another word order (VI):**

(11) *Kapust-a* *nado* *počist'it'*
 Cabbage-NOM.SG *need (mod)* *clean-INF*

'It is necessary to clean a cabbage' (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

Types of syntactic environment

- **NO with modal predicative only (without verb) (VII):**

(12) Nado li vod-a t'ot'-a Kat'-
Need PARTQ water-NOM.SG aunt-NOM.SG Kate-Vocative
Aunt Kate, do you need water? (RNC, Arhangelsk region)

- **NO with infinitive, which depends on finite verb (VIII)**

(13) Hod-il korov-a doi-t'
Go-PST COW-NOM.SG to milk a cow-INF
He went to milk a cow (Вологод. [Маркова 1989: 27])

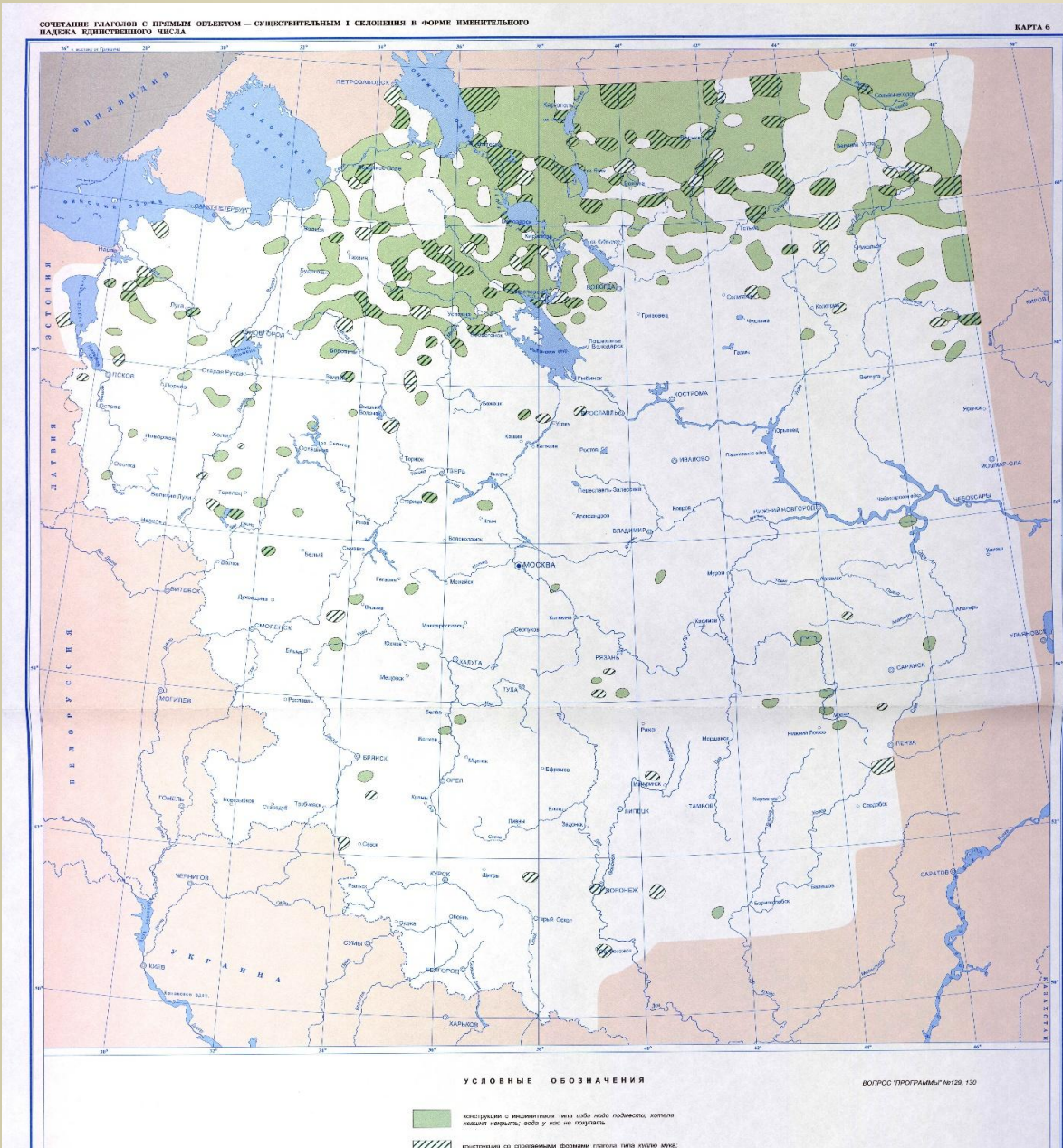
- **NO in preposition groups (IX):**

(14) On id'o-t na mogil-a
He go-PRS.3SG on grave-NOM.SG
He is going to the grave ([Timberlake 1974]: 107)

Data

Source	I	II	III	IV	V, VI	VII	VIII
Siniki (Ustianskiy Arhangelsk region) vyllage district,	3	1	1+0	10	4	9	1
Ustja River Basin Corpus	4	4	0	1	7	3	0
Russian National Corpus	8	0	0	0	2	1	0
Markova 1989	81	5	9+1	64	193	0	13
Timberlake 1974	4	3	0	2	3	0	0
Stepanov 1985	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
TOTAL	100	13	11	77	211	15	14

Distribution of the Nominative objects with verb forms

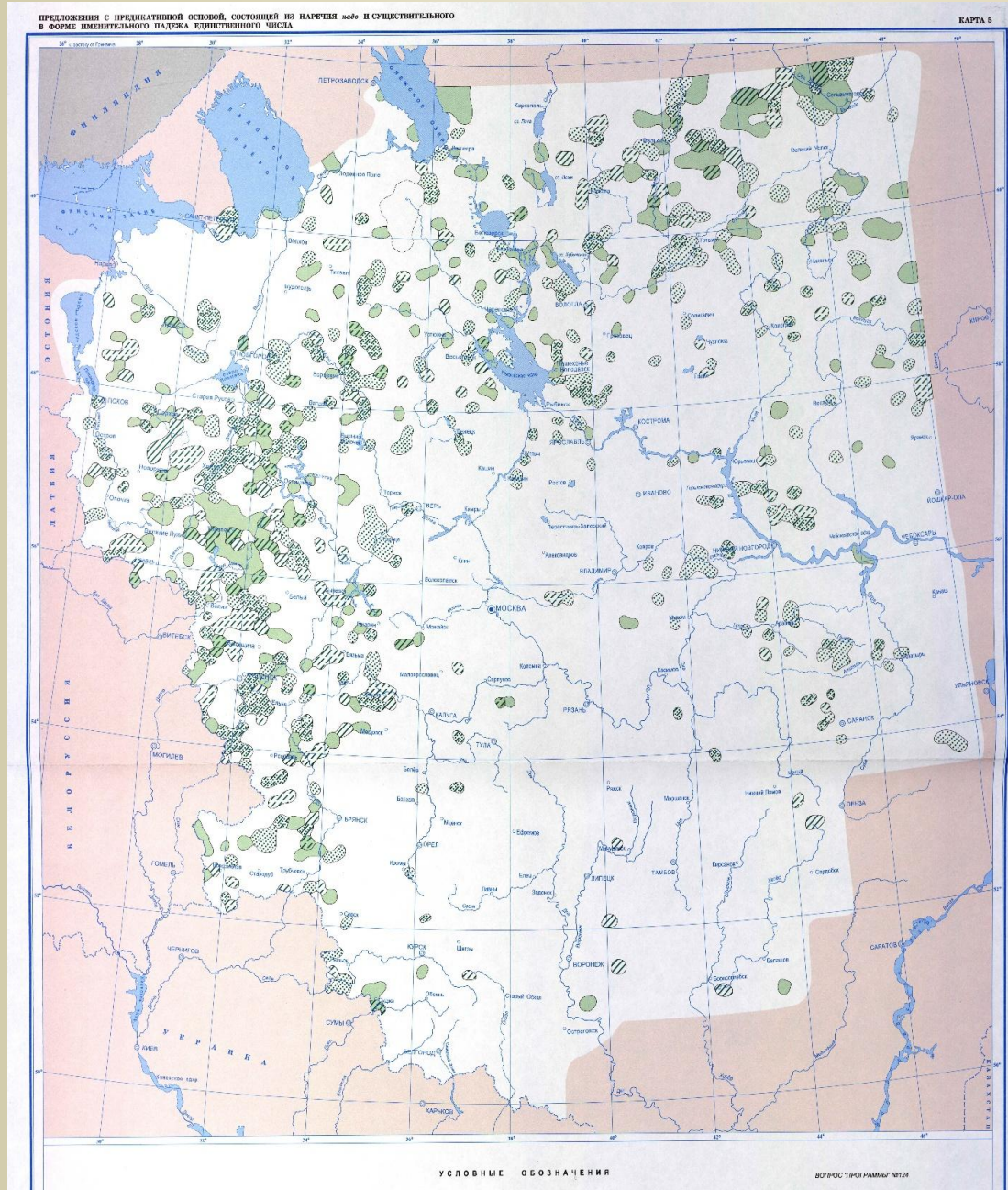


Van'-e nado kapus-ta

Vanya-DAT.SG need cabbage-NOM.SG

Vanya needs cabbage

Distribution of the nominative object without verbs with *nado* ('need') in Russian dialects



Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- Animacy
- Definiteness
- Word Order
- Information structure
- Modality

Animacy and definiteness

- 1/2 pron > 3 pron > proper > human > animate > other [Silverstein 1976].

Animacy and definiteness

Source	inanimate nouns	animals	human	names
Ustja River Basin Corpus	18	3	1	0
Russian National Corpus	10	1	0	0
Timberlake 1974	10	2	0	1
Markova 1989	143	13	7	1
Siniki vyllage	23	5	3	0
TOTAL	204 (84%)	24 (10%)	11 (5%)	2(1%)

Animacy and definiteness

(15) Lenk-a č'etyr'-e god-a n'e mog-l'-y prop'isa-t'
Lenka-NOM.SG four-NOM year-GEN.SG NEG can-PST.-PL. register-INF
(They) can't to register Lenka by four years (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 27])

Animacy and definiteness

Source		inanimate nouns	animals	human	names
Russian Corpus	National	110 (55%)	40 (20%)	44 (21%)	9 (4%)

Word order

- word order in NO constructions (without constructions with predicatives and with prepositions)

Source	OV	VO
Siniki vyllage	11 (6)	5 (4)
Ustja River Basin Corpus	14 (1)	4 (0)
Russian National Corpus + Timberlake 1974	20(2)	5 (0)
Markova 1989	100 (37)	31 (16)
TOTAL	145 (46) - 76%	45 (20) - 24%

Word order

- Word order in AO constructions

	OV	VO
With infinitive	230 (58%)	167 (42%)
With finite verbs	71 (65%)	38 (35%)

Word order

- (16) Van'-e nado kapus-ta
 Vanya-DAT.SG need cabbage-NOM.SG
 Vanya needs cabbage

Word order in NO constructions with predicatives

Source	object- predicative	predicative - object
Siniki vyllage	3	6
Ustja River Basin Corpus	2	1
Russian National Corpus	0	2
Markova 1989	0	0
TOTAL	5 (36%)	9 (64%)

Word order in NO constructions with infinitive and modal predicative (V, VI)

Source	predicative- infinitive- object	predicative- object- infinitive	object- predicative- infinitive	object-infinitive- predicative	infinitive-predicative- object
Siniki vyllage	0	0	4	0	0
Ustja River Basin Corpus	4	2	1	0	0
Russian National Corpus	0	1	1	0	0
Markova 1989	3	16	5	1	1
Timberlake 1974	1	2	0	0	0
TOTAL	5 (11%)	21 (55%)	11 (28%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

Modal predicative+object/ Modal predicative+object+verb form

(16)	Mužyk-ám	nádo	tak-ája	défk-a,	dak	štób
	défk-a					
	Man-DAT.PL	need	such-FEM.SG.NOM	girl-NOM.SG	PART	that
	girl-NOM.SG					

A man needs a GIRL! (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

(17)	Nado	noč'-ju	et-a	ryb-a	lovi-t'
	Need	night-INST.SG	THIS-FEM.NOM.SG	fish-NOM.SG	catch-INF

It is necessary to catch this fish at night (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 27])

Information structure

- **Nominative object in focus**
- (18) *У м'ен'я́ ё́тот ша́р'ик бо́л'шо́й мне́ ё́т'их двé на́до рез'у́нк'и на́т'яга́т' у́же. А вн'изу́ мо́жно тр'я́поч'ка.* (*fos*) (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

- **Nominative object in focus (in Question)**
- (19) Vilka nado? N'et
Fork-NOM.SG need No
Do you need a fork? No (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

Information structure

- **Nominative object with focus particles:**

(20) Gus'-em ved' nado vod-a
Goose-DAT.PL PART need water-NOM.SG

Gooses need water (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

(21) Dak jemu ved' nado sobak-a
PART him PART need dog-NOM.SG

He needs a dog (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

- **Nominative focus in contrastive focus**

(22) Ondatr-u, v'ydr-u, bobr-a, no
muscrat-ACC.SG otter-ACC.SG beaver-ACC.SG, but
nork-a n'e pr'ihod'ilos' mn'e strel'a-t'
mink-NOM.SG NEG come-REFL me shoot-INF

(I) shot a muscrat, an otter and a beaver, but I didn't shot a mink (Siniki village, Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

Information structure

Source	Topic	Focus (47 – focus, 2 – focus in question, 2 – contrastive focus)
Siniki vyllage	4	27
Ustja River Basin Corpus	2	19
Russian National Corpus	1	7
TOTAL	7 (11%)	53 (89%)

Modality

(23) Kartošk-a nado byl-o pol'iva-t' uže
Potato-NOM SG need be-PST.3 water-INF already

It is already necessary to water potatoes (Siniki village,
Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

(24) A vniz-u možno tr'apočk-a
And down-Loc may cloth-NOM.SG

and at the bottom you may (put) a rag (Siniki village,
Ustianskiy district, Arhangelsk region)

(25) Možno vyrasti-t' borodk-a
May grow-INF beard-NOM.SG

May grow a beard (Karelia Republic [Markova 1989: 26])

Areal perspective

	Types of syntactic environment
North-Russian	with infinitive , finite verbs and modal predicatives
Lithuanian	gerundive, infinitive form with an auxiliary, modal predicative , defective verb (third person only) or the evidential construction with a non-canonically realized subject
Latvian	debitive
Finnish	with passive, infinitive , imperative

Areal perspective

	Word order	Information structure	Animacy	Definiteness
North-Russian	OV	Focus	<inanimate	<indefinite
Lithuanian	VO	Focus	<inanimate	<indefinite
Latvian	OV (nom-deb)	?	<inanimate	<indefinite
Finnish	?	?	<inanimate	<indefinite

Conclusion

- Typological behavior of those constructions in North Russian dialects is usual. Features definiteness and animacy are similar with an approximate total pattern in other languages with DOM: nominative objects tend to be inanimate and indefinite. The presence of these structures special status from the point of view of information structure (attraction to focus) is comparable to the situation in the geographically close Baltic and Finno-Ugric languages. The information structure is important for the formation of the studied constructions; nominative objects could be in different types of focus. The word order in these constructions can be explained with one hand by the reflex of their syntactic status in diachrony and on the other hand by features of information structure

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