

IS-driven idiosyncrasies of the Northern Khanty SELF-intensifier

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Northern Khanty, Kazym dialect

- ▶ Ob-Ugric < Uralic
- ▶ Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, Middle Russia
- ▶ Spoken by some 10,000 people (mostly elderly) – Threatened
- ▶ High dialect variation

Data gathered via direct elicitation (2022–2023, Kazym village)

Intro: intensifiers

Focus expressions that contrast the individual with others related via a salient relation

Adnominal

- (1) a. Mr. Jones' dog is indeed more sophisticated than Jones **himself**. (Jones vs Jones' dog)
- b. Even the presenter **herself** didn't believe in the hypothesis. (the presenter vs. the presenter's opponents)

Adverbial (left out today)

- (2) The old woman crossed the street **herself**. (without help)

Intro: intensifiers

Focus expressions that contrast the individual with others related via a salient relation

Adnominal

- (3) a. Mr. Jones' dog is indeed more sophisticated than Jones **himself**. (Jones vs Jones' dog)
- b. Even the presenter **herself** didn't believe in the hypothesis. (the presenter vs. the presenter's opponents)

Eckardt's analysis [Eckardt 2001]:

- ▶ an intensifier is an identity function $\lambda x \in D_e.ID(x)$
- ▶ for it to be meaningful, it must be focused
- ▶ when it is focused, focus alternatives are relation functions (dog-of, opponent-of etc.)

Lyutikova's [2001] hierarchy

Lyutikova proposes there are several readings of intensifiers (naming mine for consistency):

- ▶ contrastive: *It was not John's brother but John himself.*
- ▶ additive: *John himself agreed with the critics.*
- ▶ scalar: *The King himself ordered it.*
- ▶ contrastively topicalized: *John's wife left, John himself stayed.*

There is a typological availability hierarchy of the readings:

(4) additive, contrastive » contrastive-topical, scalar

NKh adnominal intensifier

λ_{hw} (also 3SG personal pronoun; along w/ λ_{iw} 3PL, λ_{in} 3DU)

The contrastive and additive readings are available.

- (5) {Is it Vasya's brother laying there in the snow?}

ǎntə sít waśaj-en λ_{hw} u-λ
no this Vasya-POSS.2SG INT lay-NPST

'No, it's Vasya himself laying.'

- (6) {Is it true that Pasha's wife doesn't want to get a dog?}

paśaj-en λ_{hw} ǎnt lǎŋχa-λ amp tǎj-ti
Pasha-POSS.2SG INT NEG want-NPST dog own-NFIN.NPST

'Pasha himself doesn't want to get a dog.'

λ_{uw} must have its *intensificatum* topical

In the scalar reading, the individual is new to discourse and focused (this is likely what creates the scale).

- (7) **president* λ_{uw} *waśaj-en* *sawot* *kəšaj-a*
president INT Vasya-POSS.2SG factory head-DAT
omas-s-əλλe
put-PST-3SG>SG

'The president himself appointed Vasya as the head of the factory.'

λ_{uw} must have its *intensificatum* topical

In the scalar reading, the individual is new to discourse and focused (this is likely what creates the scale).

NKh does not allow it

- (8) **president* λ_{uw} *waśaj-en* *sawot* *kəšaj-a*
 president INT Vasya-POSS.2SG factory head-DAT
 oməs-s-əλλe
 put-PST-3SG>SG

'The president himself appointed Vasya as the head of the factory.'

λ_{uw} must not be contrastively topicalized

λ_{uw} is only marginally available in contrastively topicalized reading.

(9) {Petya's wife went to the city}

*pet'aj-en λ_{uw} juλəŋ χaś-əs
Petya-POSS.2SG INT at_home stay-PST
'Petya himself stayed at home.'

Syntactic positions

$\lambda_{\mu w}$ is an **adnominal** intensifier

It would be expected an intensifier phrase is available in any syntactic position

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λ_{HW} is an **adnominal** intensifier

It would be expected an intensifier phrase is available in any syntactic position

But it's not the case

- ▶ λ_{HW} can only be a subject of a phrase

λ_w can only be a subject of a phrase

λ_w can be a subject of a clause, irrespective of the case it bears

- (10) *kašen rəpatnik λ_w joχtə-s pa ime-λ tə-s*
every worker INT come-PST and wife-POSS.3SG bring-PST
'Every worker came himself and brought his wife.'

- (11) *mašaj-en λ_w-eλa šit ǎn mos-λ, λ_w*
Masha INT-DAT this NEG be_needed-NPST (s)he
puχ-əλ-a mos-λ
son-POSS.3SG be_needed-NPST
'Masha herself doesn't need it, it's Masha's son who needs it.'

λ_{uw} can only be a subject of a phrase

λ_{uw} can be a possessor, i. e. a subject of a DP.

(12) {Is it Misha's father's parka?}

ǎntə́ síť mišaj-en λ_{uw} mol'se-λ
NEG DEM Misha-POSS.2SG INT parka-POSS.3SG

'No, it's Misha's own parka.'

λɰw can only be a subject of a phrase

λɰw cannot be an object

- (13) **ma wašaj-en* λɰw-ti ask-s-εm
I Vasya-POSS.2SG INT-ACC call-PST-1SG>SG
'I asked Vasya himself {but he sent his son instead}.'

- (14) {Did you tell it Pasha's wife?}

**ma pašaj-en* λɰw-ελα ísi sít ολɰη-ən
I Pasha-POSS.2SG-DAT INT-DAT ADD this about-LOC
lup-s-ə̃m
tell-PST-1SG
'I told it Pasha himself, too.'

λɛw can only be a subject of a phrase

The subject of passive included

(15) {Why is Vasya's son going?}

waśaj-en λɛw *mojaŋa* *woχ-s-a*, *puχ-əλ*
Vasya-POSS.2SG INT to_visit call-PST-PASS son-POSS.3SG
χən
NEG

'Vasya himself was invited, not his son.'

Summarizing

- ▶ $\lambda_{\#}w$ is only available as a subject of a phrase
- ▶ $\lambda_{\#}w$ requires its argument (intensificatum) to be topical
- ▶ $\lambda_{\#}w$ is poor in contrastive topic

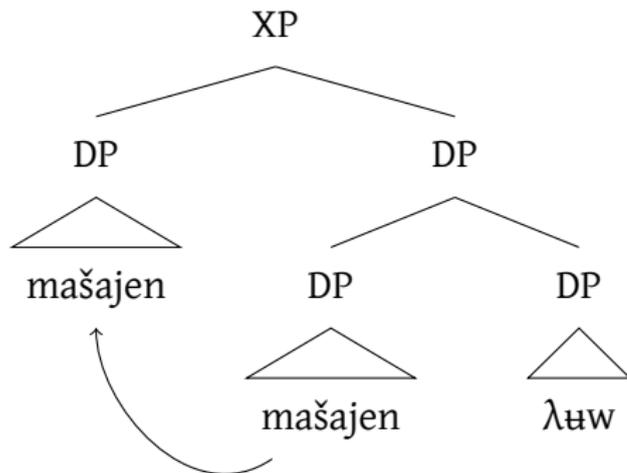
How to unite the idiosyncrasies?

Summarizing

- ▶ λw is only available as a subject of a phrase
- ▶ λw requires its argument (intensificatum) to be topical
- ▶ λw is poor in contrastive topic

How to unite the idiosyncrasies?

The get-out requirement. the intensificatum must move out of the intensifier DP



The proposal

The get-out requirement. the intensificatum must (overtly) move out of the intensifier DP

The requirement can be satisfied via topic movement to TopP

There is overt topic movement in NKh indeed

- (16) *ši jupijn taməs woj ma änt pa wantijλ-s-əm.*
DEM after such beast I NEG ADD see-PST-1SG
'Since then I haven't seen such a beast.'

The proposal

The get-out requirement. the intensificatum must (overtly) move out of the intensifier DP

The requirement can be satisfied via topic movement to TopP

- ▶ The movement is blocked when there is an argument higher
- ▶ The movement is impossible when the intensificatum is focused
- ▶ It is the whole intensifier DP that moves when it is contrastively topicalized

The movement is blocked when there is an argument higher

- (17) **ma waśaj-en* *λɛw-ti* *ask-s-em*
I Vasya-POSS.2SG INT-ACC call-PST-1SG>SG
‘I asked Vasya himself {but he sent his son instead}’
ma ‘I’ would move instead of *waśaj-en*, as it is topical

It is still unclear if the intensifier would be allowed in double focus sentences

Possessors

Where does the intensificatum move when $\lambda\mu w$ is a possessor?

(18) {I was searching for the house of Andrey's parents but}

ma antrej-en $\lambda\mu w$ *χot-əλ* *wojət-s-εm*
I Andrey-POSS.2SG INT house-POSS.3SG find-PST-1SG>SG
'I found the home of Andrey himself.'

There is possessive agreement in NKh which seems to require a topical possessor

It is obligatory with $\lambda\mu w$

We suggest it is because the intensificatum moves to Spec,PossP

The movement is impossible when the intensificatum is focused

- (19) **president* λ_{HW} *waśaj-en* *sawot* *kešaj-a*
president INT Vasya-POSS.2SG factory head-DAT
omās-s-əλλe
put-PST-3SG>SG

'The president himself appointed Vasya as the head of the factory.'

As *president* is new and focused, it cannot be extracted

It is the whole intensifier DP that moves when it is contrastively topicalized

(20) {Petya's wife went to the city}

*pet'aj-en ληw juλəŋ χας-əs
Petya-POSS.2SG INT at_home stay-PST
'Petya himself stayed at home.'

The constraint might be phonological

Phonologically empty DPs don't obey the constraint

mašaj-en *aŋki* *uš-a* *wɛr-s-əm,* \emptyset *λɨw-ti*
Masha-POSS.2SG mother mind-DAT make-PST-1SG PRO INT-ACC
šit *ǎntə*
DEM NEG

'Masha's mother, I recognized, but her(self), I did not.'

The constraint might be phonological

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mašaj-en *aŋki* *uš-a* *wɛr-s-əm*, \emptyset $\lambda_{\#}w-ti$
Masha-POSS.2SG mother mind-DAT make-PST-1SG PRO INT-ACC
šit *ǎntə*
DEM NEG

'Masha's mother, I recognized, but her(self), I did not.'

Such an anaphora would be unexpected, were $\lambda_{\#}w$ a personal pronoun

It must be an intensifier with a PRO — despite contrastively topicalized on left periphery and accusative.

Concluding

- ▶ We have seen that NKh intensifier obeys Lyutikova's hierarchy: additive, contrastive » *contrastive-topical, *scalar
- ▶ Together with the subjecthood requirement, they result in three constraints to be explained

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- ▶ We have seen that NKh intensifier obeys Lyutikova's hierarchy: additive, contrastive » *contrastive-topical, *scalar
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- ▶ The explanation: a constraint that the intensificatum be extracted from the DP

Concluding

- ▶ We have seen that NKh intensifier obeys Lyutikova's hierarchy: additive, contrastive » *contrastive-topical, *scalar
- ▶ Together with the subjecthood requirement, they result in three constraints to be explained
- ▶ The explanation: a constraint that the intensificatum be extracted from the DP
- ▶ The focused-intensifier-topical-intensificatum requirement might be the key to solving Lyutikova's hierarchy