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Adversative Passive in Udihe

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Udihe: also Udege, Udie, Ude, Udeghe, Удыгейский, удэйский <
Tungusic < Tungus-Manchu < Altaic < Nostratic
less than 20 speakers



According to the latest censuses (1989, 2002 and 2010), the number of Udihe is constantly decreasing from 1.902 in 1989 to 1.496 people in 2010.

In 2010 620 people were registered in the Khabarovsk Territory; 793 people lived in the Primorsky Territory. An additional 83 Udihe were registered outside of these territories (including 42 people in the Jewish autonomous area).

Udihe constitute an insignificant percentage of population not only in the Russian Federation as a whole, but also in places of their traditional residence

Passive voice in Udihe

- Finite verbs and Gerunds
- formed by the suffix *-u-* followed by tense and person/number affixes
- Passive Participles
- Present *-uji*
- Past *-sA*
- Future *-uzana*

derivation

inflexion

Regular derivation

- *duktə-* ‘to beat’ *duktə-u-* ‘to be beaten’
- *gidala-* ‘to spear’ *gidala-u-* ‘to be speared’
- *gakpa-* ‘to shoot’ *gakpa-u-* ‘to be shot’
- *diŋə-* ‘to press’ *diŋə-u-* ‘to be pressed’
- *diga-* ‘to eat’ *diga-u-* ‘to be eaten’

Some passive verbs lack non-passive counterparts:

dogbo-u- ‘to be caught by the night’,

sikie-u- ‘to be caught by the evening’

gekti-u- ‘to be frozen’

The passive voice

is a decrease in the role of the Agent with the promotion of the Patient into the highest role in the clause (Subject). Crosslinguistically, the agent is either not expressed or is expressed by an adjunct of the clause.

“In a great many languages, probably the majority of the world’s languages, passivization (promotion of a non-agent to the main sentence-topic position) requires the deletion of the underlying agent”(Givón 1979: 30).

Hierarchy of animacy

In the language of the world, the possibility of the an overt expression of the Agent in a passive clause is often limited. It depends on the animacy of the Agent.

Hierarchy of animacy of the Agent in passive constructions

Pronoun - Human - Animates - Natural phenomena – Object

(based on the animacy hierarchy of Silberstein).

In Udihe, the Agent is de-emphasized, the attention is transferred to the Patient. The Agent not overtly expressed may be impersonal or generic

(1) *məfəi waa-u-ha-fəi təlunju-si-hə-ni.*

Ref.Acc.Pl kill-Pass-pp-ss.Pl tell-Pst-3sg

‘She told how they themselves had been killed’

(lit. She told about themselves’ being killed)

if overtly expressed, it is encoded by the Dative.

(2) *Min-du akinda-u-ze-hi si meime-zi.*

1sg-Dat spear-Sem-Pass-Opt-2sg 2sg harpoon-Ins

‘I’ll spear you with a harpoon!’

(lit. you will be speared by me with a harpoon)

Agent in passive constructions (marked by the Dative)

Pronoun

(3) *Duktə-u-ʒə-hu min-du.*

beat-Pass-Opt-2Pl 1Sg-Dat

‘You will be beaten by me.’

Human

(4) *Ag'a-du digana-u-ʒa-i.*

elder.brother-Dat speak-Pass-Opt-1Sg

‘The big brother will curse me. (I will be cursed by my brother)’

Animal

(5) *Buk-ki-ni Uz'a-la, kalima-du xukti-u-ə-ni.*

die-Pst-3Sg Uza-Foc whale-Dat jump-Pass-Pst-3Sg

‘Uza perished being crushed by the whale.’

(6) *Bi zuu gäxi-du saña-u-gə-i!*

1Sg two bird-Dat shit-Pass-Prf-1Sg

‘Two birds have just pooped on me!’

Inanimate agent

Natural phenomenon

(7) *Tokö-du imi bugə-u-hi sugala maga-i-di-ni?*

cloud-Dat why bury-Pass-2Sg north be.bad.weather-Prp-Dat-3Sg

‘Why are you covered by clouds during northern bad weather?’

Object

(8) *Mam’asa, sina-di-i diŋə-u-gə-i, bələ-nə-jə!*

grandmother backpack-Dat-Ss press-Pass-Prf-1Sg help-And-Imp

‘Grandmother, I am crushed by my own backpack, come and help!’

No restrictions on the animacy of the agent

Animacy of the Patient

- On the contrary, only an animate being (a person or an animate character of a tale) can be the Patient of the action. In my corpus, there were no "passive sentences" where the Subject/Patient would be an inanimate object.
- The example given by Nikolaeva & Tolskaya in Udihe grammar was obtained by translation from Russian:

(9) *Əi lenta-wa sin-du əniŋə-du bu-u-o-ni.*

this ribbon-ACC 2SG-DAT mother-DAT give-PASS-
PST-3SG

‘This ribbon is given to you by the mother.’ (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 16.1.1.2.2).

Semantics

Passive constructions with finite verbs express the **adversative meaning**

• Verbs most often in these constructions

<i>wa-u/waa-u</i>	to be killed
<i>gidasi-u/gidala-u</i>	to be speared'
<i>gakpa-u</i>	to be shot with an arrow
<i>mäusa-u</i>	to be shot
<i>duktə-u</i>	to be beaten
<i>akinda-u</i>	to be killed with a harpoon

Cf. also specific use of verbs of “neutral semantics”

(10) *Bi ag'a-di-i diga-u-ʒə-hu*

1sg elder.brother-Dat-1sg eat-Pass-opt-2pl

‘You will be eaten by my elder brother’

(11) *Kand'a mafa-du kaja-u-mi suu səsigə-wə-ni*
kanda old.man-Dat order-Pass-Ger sun wedge-Acc-3sg

gəənə-mi əmə-hə-mi.

fetch-Ger come-Pst-1sg

‘I came for a piece of the sun because old man Kanda ordered me to’ (lit. ‘I came ordered by Kanda)

Adversative passive and causative

Similar constructions were described by Mal'chukov for the Ewen language (Mal'chukov 2008). The author considers the adversative passive to go back to the causative constructions.

The intermediate stage was “permissive passive”: the Agent “permits” something be done with him. This assumed development of the adversative passive out of causative explains the coding of the Agent by the Dative case; in causative constructions, the Dative codes the causee, cf.

- (12) *Aziga kəku-du ajan-zi ʒə-wəŋ-ki-ni.*
girl cuckoo-Dat well-Ins eat-Caus-Pst-3sg
‘The girl fed the cuckoo well’.

Manchu language

In literary Manchu there is a form with the suffix *-bu/-mbu* which combines two completely different grammatical meanings, causative and passive.

ala-bu- a) ‘to make (order, allow, let) to say’, b) ‘to be said’ ...

“Causative as an active action and passive which is not even an action, but a state, seem to be incompatible.<...> However, in both cases, forms with *-bu/-mbu* express a discrepancy between the initiator of the action and its actual performer. In one case, one person induces to perform an action, and another person performs it; in the second case, one person performs the action, and another person experiences it. For example, *baitala-bu* means a) ‘to make someone to use or prescribe something or someone’, b) ‘to be used or prescribed by someone’ <...> This persuades us that we deal not with two homonym forms but with two values of one form.

(Avrorin 2000: 178-179).

in Udihe

Causative is encoded by the suffix *-wAŋA-/-wAŋ-/-wAn-/-wA-*. The last variant (*-wA-*) etymologically seems to be more archaic. Compare (adversative) passive (13a) and causative (13b) constructions:

(13a) [*Mafa-du-ni*] *mam'asa-i tuxi doo-lo-ni*
husband-Dat-3Sg wife-Ss sledge inside-Loc-3Sg
təə-u-gi-hə-ni.
sit-Pass-Ref-Pst-3Sg

‘The wife was put in the sledge by the husband’

(13b) *Mam'asa-du-i tuxi doo-lo-ni*
wife-Dat-Ss sledge inside-Loc-3Sg
təə-wə-gi-hə-ni *mafa-ni.*
sit-Caus-Pass-Ref-Pst-3Sg husband-3Sg

‘The husband made his wife sit in the sledge’.

Passive participles

do not express adversative meaning. They have a whole range of uses, the most often being:

- Present -*uji* nominalization or nominal modifier
- Past -*sA* resultative nominal modifier or predicative
- Future -*uzəŋa* deontic modal modifier of predicative

(14) *wakca-u-ji xazu* ‘hunting tools’ (*wakca-* ‘to hunt’)

ʒə-u-ji ‘food’ (*ʒəə* - ‘to eat’)

(15) *olokto-so uləhə* ‘boiled meat’ (*olokto-* ‘to boil’)

(16) *Jat'au oo-so bi-mie bi-si-ni.*

cabin make-Pp.Pass be-Ger be-Pst-3Sg

‘The maternity cabin has been done already!’

(17) *jə-wə ʒə-wən-uzəŋə-i?*

what-Acc eat-Caus-Fp.Pass-1Sg

“With what should I feed him?”

- In Udihe, as in other Manchu-Tungusic languages participles can be predicates of a clause with the auxiliary verb or independently. Thus, passive participles form passive clauses, see (16).

(17) *B'ata bagdi-i=jaza* *aziga-zi gəgbisi-li-uji*
 boy be.born.PrP=for.example girl-Ins call-Inc-PrP.Pass
 ‘For example, a born boy is called as a girl’.

(18) *Jəgdig ‘ə isesi-ni, joxo kumte-sə, gunə.*
 guy look-3Sg boiler turn.over-Pp.Pass Adm
 ‘The guy looked: the boiler was upside down, wow!’

Two types of passive clauses

- Udihe had two types of passive clauses with different forms of predicates:
 - a) Clauses with passive finite verbs or gerunds with the suffix -u-; these constructions
 - have adversative meaning;
 - there is a restriction on the animacy of the Patient (Subject of the passive clause);
 - the Agent can be overtly expressed (marked by the Dative).
 - b) with passive participles (past, present or future) with or without auxiliary verbs; these clauses
 - do not express the adversative meaning:
 - the Agent cannot be overtly expressed:
 - there is no restrictions on the animacy of the Patient.

Effect of the endangerment

“New” Udihe texts analyzed:

- literary works by Alexandre Kanchuga;
- modern Udihe teaching materials

Clauses of the second type are not present, and the adversative passive was not used.

Udihe constructions with passive participles were put into the correspondence with particular Russian constructions and therefore were used in the same contexts.

Correspondence of Udihe and Russian constructions in the Modern Udihe

Ud. Future Passive = Rus. “nado” (it is necessary) constructions

(19) *Əji-wə sa-u-zaŋa!*

this-Acc know-Fp.Pass

‘It has to be learned’ (Rus. *Nado vyuchit*’)

Ud. Present Passive = Rus. Infinitive

(20) *Isesi-zəŋə-ti nuati, ono-do dogbo akisi-uji saa-laga-ti.*

see-Fut-3Pl 3Pl how-Foc night spear-PrP.Pass know-Purp-3Pl

‘They will see and learn to spear (fish) at night’

Ud. Past Passive = Rus. Past Perfective Participle

(21) *Bata-ziga ana kumtə-sə uə-lə-ni tə-i-ti.*

boy-Pl boat over.turn-Pp.Pass top-Loc-3Sg sit-Pr-3Pl

‘The boys are sitting on an overturned boat’.

Conclusion

- In modern Udihe, words though preserving the phonetic shape and morphological forms, both in inflexion and derivation, have changed the grammatical meaning of these forms. Concrete grammatical forms in Udihe are put in correspondence with certain forms of Russian, and copy the use of the latter.
- The adversative has no special grammatical form in Russia. It is neither obligatory or optional category. As a result, the adversative forms have disappeared also in modern Udihe.

Sagdi asasa !