

Elena Maslova

A Grammar of Kolyma Yukaghir



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Editors
Georg Bossong
Bernard Comrie
Matthew Dryer

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*In memory of my grandparents,
Sarra S. Maslova-Lashanskaya and Juri S. Maslov*

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Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	HORT	Hortative
ACC	Accusative	IMP	Imperative
ADV	adverb	INCH	Inchoative
AFF	Affirmative	INDF	indefinite
ANR	Action Nominalizer	INFR	Inferential
APPL	Applicative	INGR	Ingressive
ATTR	Attributive	INSTR	Instrumental
AUG	Augmentative	INTR	intransitive
BP	Body-Part form	INTS	Intensifier
CA	connective adverbial	IPFV	Imperfective
CAUS	Causative	IRLS	Irrealis
COM	Comitative	ITER	Iterative
CONC	Concessive	ITR	Interrogative
COND	Conditional	LOC	Locative
CONJ	conjunction	LOCNR	Locative Nominalizer
CONN	connective	NEG	Negative
COP	copula	NOM	Nominative
CP	connective particle	NR	nominalizer
DAT	Dative	NONIT	Non-Iterative
DEM	emonstrative	OF	O-Focus
DESD	desiderative	OPT	Optative
DETR	detransitivizer	ORD	ordinal
DIM	Diminutive	PFV	Perfective
DIR	Directional	PL	Plural
DLM	Delimitative	POSS	Possessive
DP	discourse particle	PRED	Predicative
DS	Different-Subject marker	PROH	Prohibitive
DSJ	disjunction (particle)	PROL	Prolative
DSTR	Distributive	PRPR	Propriative
FRQ	Frequentative	PRSP	Prospective
FUT	Future	PRV	Privative
HAB	Habitual	PURP	Purposive

QLT	qualitative	SS	Same-Subject marker
RECP	Reciprocal	STAT	Stative
REFL	Reflexive	SUP	Supine
RELNR	Relative Nominalizer	SUPERL	Superlative
RES	Resultative	TMP	temporal
RNR	Result Nominalizer	TR	transitive
RSMP	resumptive	TRNSF	Transformative
SBNR	Subject Nominalizer	VR	verbalizer
SF	S-Focus		
SG	Singular		

Abbreviations of the sources of the example sentences:

F Nikolaeva, Irina (ed.) 1989. *Foljklor jukagirov verhnej Kolymy /Folklore of Upper Kolyma Yukaghirs*. Yakutsk: Yakut State University Press.

K Maslova, Elena (ed.) 2001. *Yukaghir texts*. Tunguso-Sibirica, 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

T Appendix 3 of this book

I field notes (elicited examples)

No source is given for sentences from unpublished texts.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Kolyma Yukaghir and its genetic affiliation

Kolyma Yukaghir is spoken by about 50 people in the settlements Nelemnoye and Zyryanka, Upper Kolyma district, Yakutia (Sakha) Republic and in Seymchan and Balygychan, Magadan region, Russia. Until very recently, Kolyma Yukaghir has not been written; the writing system used for the first publication of Yukaghir folklore (Nikolaeva 1989) and currently employed in the school in Nelemnoye is based on the Cyrillic alphabet. This grammar describes the variety of Kolyma Yukaghir spoken by the oldest generation of Yukaghirs in Nelemnoye.

Kolyma Yukaghir is one of two existing Yukaghir languages (which used to be referred to as dialects of Yukaghir in the literature). Another Yukaghir language, Tundra Yukaghir, is spoken mainly in the settlements Andryushkino and Kolymskoye, Lower Kolyma district, Yakutia. The Yukaghir languages are conventionally considered a genetically isolated group; yet they can probably be affiliated with the Uralic family (Angere 1956; Bouda 1941; Collinder 1940, 1960, 1965; Nikolaeva 1988a; 1988b).

2. An overview of Kolyma Yukaghir grammar

2.1. Phonology and morphophonemics

The vowel system comprises six short vowels, as represented in (1), and their long counterparts.

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Palatalo- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>t d</i>			<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>
Affricates				<i>č d'</i>		
Fricatives			<i>š ž</i>	<i>[s']</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>n'</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>		<i>l'</i>		
Rolled		<i>r</i>				
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>j</i>		

(1) $\begin{array}{l} /i/ \\ /e/, /ø/ \\ /a/ \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} /u/ \\ /o/ \end{array}$

The long vowels $/\bar{e}/$, $/\bar{o}/$, $/\bar{\ø}/$ can be pronounced as the falling diphthongs $/ie/$, $/uo/$, $/u\ø/$.

The consonant system is represented in Table 1.

The syllable structure is very simple: with few exceptions, there exist only syllables of the form CV , CVC (at the beginning of words, also V , VC). Hence, there are no vowel clusters. Voiced obstruents are impossible in word-initial and syllable-final position; in syllable-final position, voiced obstruents alternate either with their voiceless counterparts or with sonorants. Voiced and voiceless consonants cannot co-occur within a consonant cluster, hence syllable-initial voiced obstruents are regularly devoiced at morphemic boundaries after obstruents.

Two types of morphophonemic strategies are employed to maintain the transparent syllabic structure: first, a number of Yukaghir suffixes show allomorphic variation of the form $-Ce- \sim -C-$ (below, syllabic vs. consonantal allomorphs). Basically, the allomorphs are chosen in such a way as to create a sequence of the form $\{\dots - C_1e - C_2 - C_3e - \dots\}$ or $\{\dots - C_1 - C_2e - C_3 - \dots\}$, i.e., a consonantal morph is selected after a syllabic morph, and vice versa. Secondly, the epenthetic submorphs $-u-$ and $-l-$ can be inserted in order to avoid consonant and vowel clustering at morphemic boundaries.

There are two kinds of harmonic alternations which can be conventionally termed palatal and labial, yet both affect only a very restricted number of suffixes, only one of which is productive. Palatal harmony contrasts the vowels /i/, /e/, /ø/, /u/ (with their long counterparts) and the vowels /a/, /o/ (with their long counterparts); to some extent, it also determines distribution of the velar obstruents and their uvular counterparts. Labial harmony produces the alternation /e/ ~ /o/ in some suffixes after roots with /o/ or /ō/ in the first syllable.

Word stress is mobile; to a large extent, it is determined by the syllable structure: closed syllables and open syllables with long vowels attract the stress to the end of a word.

2.2. Morphology

Yukaghir is a highly synthetic and essentially agglutinative language; suffixation prevails. There are five prefixes (two prefixes of polarity, the reflexive, the reciprocal, and the prefix of irrealis); these morphemes are characterized by a looser connection with the stem than the suffixes, so that the boundary between a prefix and its stem may be described as internal open juncture. Fusion phenomena at morphemic boundaries are marginal.

The major open classes of lexical items are nouns and verbs; they can be easily distinguished by morphological criteria. Words denoting qualities constitute a sub-class of verbs; in the attributive function, they take the verbal Attributive form (see (5)).

2.2.1. Nouns

Nouns are inflected for number (Singular, Plural), case (Nominative, Predicative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Locative, Ablative, Prolative, and Comitative), and Possession (cross-reference suffixes for third Person Possessor only). This paradigm is exemplified in Table 2 for the noun *āčē* ‘domestic deer’.

The Possessive marker cross-references either the possessive modifier or a possessor outside the NP. It can be used only for a third person Possessor that is not coreferential with the subject

Table 2. Noun inflection (Case, Number, Possession)

	Singular	Plural	Possessed ('his')
Nominative	<i>āče</i>	<i>āče-pul</i>	<i>āče-gi</i>
Predicative	<i>āče-lek</i>	<i>āče-p-lek</i>	
Accusative	<i>āče-gele</i>	<i>āče-pul-gele</i>	<i>āče-de-gele</i> (<i>āče-de-jle</i>)
Instrumental	<i>āče-le</i>	<i>āče-p-le</i>	<i>āče-de-le</i>
Dative	<i>āče-ŋin</i>	<i>āče-pul-ŋin</i>	<i>āče-d-in</i> (<i>āče-de-ŋin</i>)
Locative	<i>āče-ge</i>	<i>āče-pul-ge</i>	<i>āče-de-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>āče-get</i>	<i>āče-pul-get</i>	<i>āče-de-get</i>
Prolative	<i>āče-gen</i>	<i>āče-pul-gen</i>	<i>āče-de-gen</i>
Comitative	<i>āče-n'e</i>	<i>āče-pul-n'e</i>	<i>āče-de-n'e</i>

of the clause; otherwise, the possessive form of a personal pronoun is used to express the possessive relationship.

When combined with the Possessive cross-reference marker, the Plural may denote the number of the Possessed, the Possessor, or both, so that a form like *āče-p-ki* (decr-PL-3(NOM)) is ambiguous among 'his/her deer (many)', 'their deer (one)' and 'their deer (many)'.

Nouns have an Attributive form in *-d/-n* which can be used only non-referentially (e.g., *āče-n legul* 'decr-food, food for deer') and two "verbal" forms, the Propriative form, which is built by means of the suffix *-n'e- ~ -n'* (*āče-n'* 'to have (a) deer, to be with deer'), and the Stative form derived by the bound variant *+ŋō-* of the copulative verb *ō-* 'to be' (*āče+ŋō-* 'be (a) deer').

Nouns also have a Transformative form which is derived from the Stative form by means of the suffix *-n/-t*, e.g., *āče+ŋō-n* 'as a deer, (become) a deer', a Privative form built by the combination of the standard negative prefix *el-* and the postfix *+čuøŋ*, e.g., *el+āče+čuøŋ* 'without (a) deer', and an (almost obsolete) Prospective form, e.g., *pulut+možu* 'fiancé' (from *pulut* 'husband').

There is a number of nominal derivational suffixes, only two of which are productive, the Diminutive, *-die-*, e.g., *āče-die* 'little deer' and the Augmentative, *-tege- ~ -tke-*, e.g., *āče-tke* 'large deer'; these suffixes follow the Possessive markers within a word form. Nouns can also be built by compounding and by lexicaliza-

Table 3. Indicative and Imperative finite forms

	Intransitive Verbs		Transitive Verbs		Imperative
	Main	SF	Main	OF	
1Sg	<i>modo-je</i>	<i>modo-l</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā-me</i>	
2Sg	<i>modo-je-k</i>	<i>modo-l</i>	<i>ā-mek</i>	<i>ā-me</i>	<i>modo-k, ā-k</i>
3Sg	<i>modo-j</i>	<i>modo-l</i>	<i>ā-m</i>	<i>ā-me-le</i>	<i>modo-gen, ā-gen</i>
1Pl	<i>modo-je-jl'i</i>	<i>modo-l</i>	<i>ā-j</i>	<i>ā-l</i>	<i>modo-ge, ā-ge</i>
2Pl	<i>modo-je-met</i>	<i>modo-l</i>	<i>ā-met</i>	<i>ā-met</i>	<i>modo-ŋi-k, ā-ŋi-k</i>
3Pl	<i>modo-ŋi</i>	<i>modo-ŋi-l</i>	<i>ā-ŋā</i>	<i>ā-ŋi-le</i>	<i>modo-ŋi-gen, ā-ŋi-gen</i>

tion of nominal verb forms.

2.2.2. Verbs

Verbs fall into two major classes, transitive and intransitive. Each class has two series of Indicative finite forms, for main clauses which are neutral with respect to grammatical Focus (Main forms) and for clauses with intransitive subject (S) or direct object (O) marked for grammatical Focus (SF and OF forms, respectively). The finite verb agrees in person/number with the subject (the OF paradigm and especially the SF paradigm are less distinctive than the Main one). The Imperative is expressed by a distinct series of forms, which are shared by transitive and intransitive verbs. Illustrative paradigms are given in Table 3 (for the verbs *modo-* 'sit, stay' and *ā-* 'make').

There are Interrogative forms which are used only in question-word questions in which the questioned constituent is not S/O (in the latter case, the respective Focus-indicating forms are used). For the first person subject, there are special Interrogative person markers, *-m* 1SG, *-ōk* 1PL. The second and third person Interrogative forms differ from the Main Indicative forms only in absence of the (in)transitivity morphs *-j(e)-* / *-m(e)-* (e.g., (*qodo*) *ā-k* '(how) you (SG) made', (*qodo*) *ā-met* '(how) you (PL) made', (*qodo*) *ā* '(how) he made', (*qodo*) *ā-ŋi* '(how) they made').

The verb morphology is clearly aspect-dominated; the regularly marked aspect meanings are Imperfective, Ingressive, Resultative, and Habitual:

(2) Productive Aspect markers:

Imperfective	- <i>nu-</i>	<i>ā-nu-m</i>	'he is/was making, he makes'
Habitual	- <i>nun(nu)-</i>	<i>ā-nunnu-m</i>	'he used to make'
Ingressive	- <i>ā-/ie-</i>	<i>ā-l-ā-m</i>	'he began to make'
Resultative	- <i>ō(l)-</i>	<i>ā-l-ō-j</i>	'it is made'

The only obligatorily marked tense distinction is Future vs. Non-Future (the suffix *-te-~t-* for Future, zero marking for Non-Future), although the Past may be expressed through periphrastic verb forms. The Periphrastic Past is built by putting the Subject Nominal or Relative Nominal verb form in the predicative position:

(3) Tense marking:

Non-Future	<i>ā-m</i>	'he is making/made'
Future	<i>ā-te-m</i>	'he will make'
Periphrastic	<i>ā-l-bed-ek</i>	'(smb) has/had made'
Past	<i>make-ANR-RELNR-PRED</i>	

The verb is inflected for several moods; major mood forms are Inferential (the marker is *-l'el-*), Prospective (*-moži:-*), and Irrealis (marked by a pre-verbal morpheme *ot-/et-*). There is also a Periphrastic Prospective form made up as a combination of the Supine form with the existential verb *l'e-* 'be':

(4) Major Mood forms:

Inferential	<i>ā-l'el-u-m</i>	'he appears to have made'
Prospective	<i>ā-moži-m</i>	'he is going to make'
Irrealis	<i>ot+ā-m</i>	'he would have made'
Periphrastic		
Prospective	<i>ā-din l'e-m</i>	'he is about to make, is making'

The verb has a rich system of various nonfinite forms. The major nonfinite forms are illustrated in (5) by the verb *šubeže-* 'run':

(5) Nonfinite forms:

Action Nominal	<i>šubeže-l</i>	‘(a situation of) running’
Result Hominal	<i>šubež-ōl</i>	‘(a situation of) having run, a result of running’
Subject Nominal	<i>šubeže-jōn</i>	‘one who is running’
Relative Noyinal	<i>šubeže-j-ben</i>	‘somebody who is running’
Attributive	<i>šubeže-j</i>	‘running’

Same-subject converbs:

Imperfective converb	<i>šubeže-t</i>	‘while running...’
Perfective converb	<i>šubeže-lle</i>	‘having run...’
Conditional converb	<i>šubeže-ŋide</i>	‘if (X) run(s)...’

Different-subject converbs (3SGforms):

Ordinary converb	<i>šubeže-de-ge</i>	‘when he was running...’
Conditional converb	<i>šubeže-de-h-ne</i>	‘if he runs...’

There are four regular valence-changing means, the Reciprocal (pre-verb *n'e+*), the Reflexive (prc-verb *met+*), the Causative (suffixes *-š-*, *-š-čil'e-*), and the Resultative (*-ō(l)-*), and a number of nonproductive valence-changing suffixes.

2.2.3. Shared morphological items

A number of morphological items are shared by nouns and verbs: they have a formally identical Privative form (‘without’), built by the negative marker *el-* and the postfix *+čuoŋ*, e.g., *el+āče+čuoŋ* ‘without deer’, *el+ā+čuoŋ* ‘without making/having made’, the Connective (Comitative) form in *-n'it*, e.g., *āče-n'it* ‘and/with deer’, *ā-n'it* ‘and made, while making’; and similar Prospective marking, cf. *terike-možū* ‘fiancée (wife-to-be)’ and *ā-možū-m* ‘he is going to make’. Besides, formally identical suffixes are employed to express Causation (if attached to a verb stem) and Causation of Possession (if attached to a nominal stem), cf. *terike-š-* ‘marry somebody, give wife’ and *ā-š-* ‘cause to make’. There are also some other less transparent affinities.

2.2.4. Pro-forms

There are three series of demonstrative pronouns and pronominal adverbs, Proximate, Separated and Distal; Interrogative pro-forms; a number of Indefinite pronouns; and Personal pronouns. Demonstrative and Interrogative stems have Nominal, Attributive and a number of Adverbial (Locative) forms; they are illustrated in (6) for distal pro-forms.

- (6) Pro-forms (distal series)
- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>tabun</i> | ‘that one’ |
| <i>taŋ</i> | ‘that (Attributive)’ |
| <i>tā</i> | ‘there’ |
| <i>tā-ŋide</i> | ‘thither’ |
| <i>tā-t</i> | ‘from there, thus’ |

Pronouns proper (that is, nominal pro-forms) have the regular nominal paradigm, with the exception of the Possessive markers. Personal pronouns have some additional forms: Pronominal Accusative (*met-ul* ‘me’), Possessive form (*tude* ‘her/his’), and Intensified form (*tud-id’ie* ‘he himself’).

2.2.5. Numerals

Cardinal numerals have Attributive and Predicative forms, cf. *ataq-un* ‘two’ and *ataq-lō-* ‘be two’. The Predicative forms are used for predication of quantity and have verbal inflection. Ordinal numerals are built as Possessive nouns, e.g., *ataq-leš-ki* ‘the second one’. Numerals have an adverbial Frequentative form, e.g., *ataq-lid’e* ‘twice’.

2.2.6. Adverbs and postpositions

Spatial adverbs and postpositions have the locative paradigm comprising unmarked (Locative), Ablative (-*t*), Prolicative (-*n*) and Directional (-*ŋide*) forms.

Manner adverbs regularly contain the suffix -*n*; the same suffix can be used to derive adverbs from qualitative verbs.

Some postpositions can take the nominal Possessive marker which cross-references the argument of the postposition.

2.3. Syntax

Word order patterns in Kolyma Yukaghir are overwhelmingly head-final. This order is obligatory in noun phrases (attribute – noun, numeral – noun, possessor – possessee, etc.), postpositional phrases (noun – adposition) and non-finite clauses (SOV), and it is preferred in main clauses. However, in the latter case, other word orders are possible.

NPs are easily dropped whenever recoverable from the discourse context and/or speech situation.

There is virtually no coordination, either between NPs or between clauses. The main strategy of NP conjunction is comitative marking, and the main strategy of clause conjunction is clause chaining.

2.3.1. Case marking and grammatical Focus

Case marking patterns in main clauses are dominated by the Focus system. Grammatical Focus is marked by means of the Predicative case and an appropriate verb form (see Table 3). This marking works on an ergative basis, that is, it can be applied to intransitive subjects and direct objects, as shown in (7):

- (7) a. *tāt touke-lek jedej-l*
 CA dog-PRED appear-SF
 ‘Then a/the **dog** appeared.’ [K3]
- b. *ločil-ek tī-tā piecet-nu-l’el-mele*
 fire-PRED here-there kindle-IPFV-INFR-OF:3SG
 ‘(She) made **campfires** here and there.’ [K3]

The major function of the grammatical Focus is to delimit the scope of assertion from the preceding material (either within or outside the given clause), whereby the NP marked for Focus is conceived as the left-most (i.e., the first in the linear order) constituent within the scope of assertion.

If a clause is marked for grammatical Focus, no other case marking of core participants is needed. Similarly, if the subject is first or second person, and the direct object is third person, both occur

in the Nominative (unmarked) case (8a). Otherwise, the case-marking pattern is nominative-accusative (8b)–(8c).

- (8) a. *met tolow kudede*
 I(NOM) deer(NOM) kill(TR:1SG)
 ‘I killed a deer.’ [I]
- b. *met tet-ul juø*
 I(NOM) you-ACC see(TR:1SG)
 ‘I saw you (SG).’ [I]
- c. *tudel met kønme-gele juø-m*
 he(NOM) my friend-ACC see-TR:3SG
 ‘He saw my friend.’ [I]

If the direct object is represented by an indefinite NP, the Instrumental case form is used instead of the Accusative:

- (9) *tudel tolow-le kudde-m*
 he(NOM) deer-INSTR kill-TR:3SG
 ‘He killed a deer.’ [I]

Examples (8)–(9) show that Yukaghir lacks a uniform direct object encoding; the choice of marking depends on placement of the Focus, person of the subject, and the referential properties of the NP itself.

2.3.2. Clause chaining

Kolyma Yukaghir makes extensive use of clause chaining, where non-finite verb forms marked for switch reference (converbs) are used for all clauses except the final one:

- (10) a. *tät qonu-t juø-de-ge omni čumu*
 [CA go-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS] [people all
iŋžū-l’el-ŋi
 asleep-INFR-3PL:INTR]
 ‘He walked around and saw that all the people had
 fallen asleep.’ [F1]

- b. *tamun-pe čuge ā-ŋi-de-jne tāŋide*
 [this-PL road make-PL-3-DS-COND] [there:DIR
kewe-j-čīl'i
 go-PRV-FUT:INTR:1PL]
 ‘When/if they build the road, we will go there.’
- c. *anđile šār meru-še-t mudde-s'*
 [hawk something fly-CAUS-SS:IPFV] [pass-INTR:3SG]
 ‘A hawk passed by, flying and carrying something.’
- d. *ajā-t apl'itaj tī-tā*
 [rejoice-SS:IPFV] [A. here-there
egu-žu-de kelu-nu-j
 walk-ITER-SS:ITER] [come-IPFV-INTR:3SG]
 ‘Delighted, Opletaj is walking around (going away and coming back).’ [F31]

The range of functions covered by the converbs in Kolyma Yukaghir is extremely broad. Clause chaining is the main strategy for describing a sequence of temporally adjacent or related events, as well as for conditional and concessive constructions. This construction is also regularly used to describe the situation of perception, where the situation being perceived is expressed as the finite clause (cf. (10a)). Another noteworthy application of converbs is for aspect-like internal structuring of a single event, as in (9c) and (10d).

2.3.3. Relativization and complementation

Relative clauses are built by means of the Attributive verb forms, the Action Nominal, and, far less frequently, by the Result Nominal. The syntactic roles accessible for relativization are the subject (11a), the direct object (11b), the spatial or temporal adverbial (11c), and the Possessor of the intransitive subject (11d).

- (11) a. *purk-in šoromo lē-je šoromo*
 [seven-ATTR person cat-ATTR] person
 ‘a person who has eaten seven people’

- b. *tit īde-met anil*
 [you catch-ATTR:2PL] fish
 ‘the fish that you have caught’ [T2]
- c. *odu-pe modo-l jalhil-pe-gi*
 [Yukaghir-PL live-ANR] lake-PL-POSS
 ‘the lake where the Yukaghirs lived’ [K3]
- d. *noj-de ėitne-j nodo-k*
 [leg-POSS:ATTR long-ATTR] bird-PRED
 ‘a bird whose legs are long’

The main complementation strategy makes use of the Nominal verb forms, Action Nominal and Result Nominal:

- (12) a. *omo-s’ tet gamie-d’e-l met-in*
 good-INTR:3SG [you help-DETR-ANR I-DAT]
 ‘It is good that you have helped me.’ [F11]
- b. *tātmie-d’ōn juø-l-ōl nilgi-n*
 [such-SBNR see-0-RNR] nobody-DAT
el+pundu-je
 NEG | tell-INTR:1SG
 ‘I did not tell anybody that I had seen such a thing.’ [K2]

3. About this grammar

3.1. Purpose

The history of Yukaghir studies features the names of two brilliant researchers, Woldemar Jochelson and Eruhim Krejnovich, who have provided the basic grammatical descriptions of the Yukaghir languages (Jochelson 1898; 1900; 1905; Krejnovich 1955; 1958; 1968; 1979; 1982). The Kolyma Yukaghir language has been briefly described by Jochelson (1905) and Krejnovich (1979); the former source (which is apparently best known to the English-reading audience) is based on the rich data collected by Jochelson at the end of the XIXth century (1898; 1900). Krejnovich’s essay in *Encyclopedia of the languages of Asia and Africa* (1979) is based both on Jochelson’s materials and on Krejnovich’s own

data collected in 1959. Finally, Krejnovich's last work (1982) represents the most detailed and comprehensive source of information on a range of significant issues for both Yukaghir languages. These works constitute the major sources of first-hand data on Kolyma Yukaghir,¹ which have served as the basis for a number of papers dealing with some specific topics, as well as for typological studies involving Yukaghir data. A detailed description of Kolyma Yukaghir phonology based on new field data constitutes a part of Irina Nikolaeva's unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1988b).

Thus, there is no book which might serve as a reference grammar of Kolyma Yukaghir. Further, some important aspects of the language have not been described at all. This grammar is intended to fill that gap, drawing both on the previous descriptions of Yukaghir and on the results of my own field work, and thus to make Kolyma Yukaghir data available for further studies, as well as for cross-linguistic research.²

The grammar attempts to cover all attested forms and constructions of contemporary Kolyma Yukaghir; in this restricted sense, it is intended to be comprehensive. It is clear, however, that no single book can provide a truly "comprehensive" description of any human language, at least not at the present stage of development of linguistics. Writing a grammar inevitably involves making a number of choices, so that some aspects of the language structure may be described and exemplified in more detail, others only briefly sketched, and possibly some may be omitted from the description. Insofar as such decisions have been made consciously, I have attempted to write this grammar in such a way as to "let the language speak", rather than to force it to answer any particular theoretically pre-determined questions. In other words, I have tried to concentrate on those constructions and grammatical distinctions that appear to be of importance in Yukaghir grammar and discourse, rather than on those that play a major role in current linguistic theories.

3.2. *The structure of the grammar*

This grammar has a rather traditional structure: it comprises a sociolinguistic introduction (Chapter 2), Phonology (Chapter 3), Morphology (Chapters 4-7), Syntax (Chapters 8-14), and Texts (Appendix 3). The lexicon is represented by two Appendices: a Yukaghir-English vocabulary (Appendix 1) and an exemplified list of nonproductive verbal derivational suffixes (Appendix 2). The *Morphology* is divided into chapters according to the classification into parts of speech, which is introduced in Chapter 4. The further structuring of each chapter is essentially determined by two kinds of considerations, which can be called paradigmatic and semantic:

Whenever some morphological items clearly constitute a paradigm, they are treated as such. Normally, I start a description of a paradigm with a listing of opposed items and their form(s), which is followed by a semantic (functional) description of each particular item. If it appears that some morpheme can be more appropriately described separately, not as a member of any paradigmatic opposition (this is the case for some derivational morphemes), its form and meaning are treated together. In both cases, I take the form-to-function approach, that is, I describe the meaning(s) (or function(s)) of grammatical items singled out on formal grounds. These considerations determine the “micro-structure” of the morphological description.

On the other hand, the “macro-structure” of each chapter follows the function-to-form approach, that is, it features such general semantic categories as, e.g., “Aspect” or “Demonstrative pronoun”, under which various paradigms or separate morphological items are subsumed on functional grounds. In practice, this means that considerations of semantic affinity prevail over distinctions in the grammatical status, in particular, over the opposition between inflection and derivation. For instance, the section on Aspect deals with all morphological means employed for expressing aspectual meanings, regardless of their regularity, productivity, and the like. This is not to say, of course, that such properties are not explicated for each item. Normally, each section starts with a general overview of the morphological means it describes, their (formal

and semantic) relations to each other, grammatical status, etc.

The *Syntax* is structured according to similar considerations. It is divided into seven chapters associated with more or less traditional topics in syntax, as determined by general classification of syntactic units and types of syntactic relations. The internal structure of each chapter is determined by grammatical distinctions expressed in Yukaghir, that is, the constructions are classified according to functional considerations, which helps to highlight the contrasting features of functionally similar constructions. On the micro-level, the description of each construction takes the form-to-function approach: my aim is to describe and exemplify various constructions and the meaning(s) associated with these constructions.

I believe that this combination of the form-to-function approach to the description proper and the function-to-form approach to classification of items into chapters and sections of a grammar appropriately suits the objectives of this endeavor: on the one hand, it provides a reasonable degree of accessibility of information on the basis of rather general and semantically motivated headings determined by the more or less widely assumed view on what a descriptive grammar should cover; on the other hand, on the micro-level it licenses a description of grammatical items and associated semantic configurations, as they are attested in the specific language, rather than mapping of linguistic constructs and concepts onto that language.

To be sure, at a number of points these approaches turn out to be in contradiction, i.e., the range of functions associated with a morphological item or syntactic construction crosses the “boundaries” set by the general semantic considerations. There is no one way to solve the descriptive problems produced by such contradictions that can be applied throughout the grammar. However, there are two technical devices which are intended to override these contradictions: cross-references between the relevant fragments of the grammar and special sections providing summaries of interrelated phenomena treated in different parts of the grammar (e.g., there is a summary of properties which identify the

syntactic function of subject in Yukaghir; since these properties manifest themselves in various types of syntactic constructions, they are described in detail in different sections of the grammar). To sum up, the macro-structure of the description offered here is determined by how I understand what descriptive linguistics is about; in many respects, it follows such general guidelines for descriptive linguists as *Lingua Descriptive Questionnaire* (Comrie and Smith 1977) and *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (Shopen 1985). The micro-structure is determined by what I know of Kolyma Yukaghir and represents an attempt to describe the language “in its own terms”.

3.3. Data for this study and exemplification

This grammar is based on two types of data: authentic texts in contemporary Kolyma Yukaghir and linguistic interviews with its native speakers (see *Acknowledgments*). My text database comprises texts published by Irina Nikolaeva in 1989 and texts written down by Nikolay Vakhtin (1987) and myself (1987, 1992);³ some of the latter are published in (Maslova 2001), and some are included in this grammar (see *Appendix 3*); in order to increase the reliability of data, all controversial and/or questionable sentences of these texts have been double-checked with native speakers.⁴

As discussed in Chapter 2, Kolyma Yukaghir has been under strong pressure from Russian for at least several decades. This, in combination with the well-known methodological drawbacks of interviews, makes this sort of data far less reliable than those elicited from authentic texts. That is why I tried to use only text examples for illustrative purposes. As a result, some of these examples might seem too long and complex for the point they are intended to illustrate. Unfortunately, it is too often the case that an authentic sentence “simplified” by a linguist for some didactic purposes is not a reliable example anymore. In the case of such languages as Yukaghir, the “unnecessary” complexity of examples is the price to be paid for reliability of data. Even if I had a simpler and, in some sense, “clearer” example in my field notes, I always chose in favor of a text example.⁵ In some cases, where

this seemed to be inevitable, I did “shorten” illustrative sentences; note that all such omissions are shown by <...>; such examples should not be taken as “complete sentences”.

There is, of course, a range of phenomena which cannot be appropriately described in this fashion because they are absent or rare in the texts, but are readily produced by my informants in an interview. These phenomena are described in the grammar on the basis of my field notes, but with explicit reservations concerning the source of the data. If an example elicited in an interview is included in the grammar (in order to avoid loss of significant information), the source is indicated by the letter “I” after the idiomatic translation.

3.4. Terminology and glossing conventions

In choosing grammatical terms for Yukaghir phenomena, as well as in interlinear morphemic translations of the examples, I followed the EURO TYP guidelines (Bakker et al. 1992). All phrasal examples are provided with morpheme-to-morpheme interlinear translations; the syntactic structure is indicated by brackets. The boundaries between independent finite clauses are indicated by the symbol “|”. In some sections, angled or curly brackets are used for some additional information (e.g., to indicate the scope of assertion in the section on the semantics of Focus).

Chapter 2

Kolyma Yukaghir and its speakers

1. The Kolyma Yukaghirs

1.1. Population figures and geographical location

The Yukaghirs are a people living in the northeastern part of Russia, in the basin of the Kolyma River. Nowadays, this people consists of several small communities speaking two almost completely mutually incomprehensible languages, called Kolyma (Southern) and Tundra (Northern) Yukaghirs. There used to be no sense of ethnic identity between Tundra and Kolyma Yukaghirs, yet recently some efforts for reunification have been made (for example, the Congress of Yukaghirs in 1992, which featured common festival activities, discussions of the Yukaghir future, etc.).

Roughly speaking, there are nowadays two groups of Kolyma Yukaghirs: most of them live in Nelemnoye, where Yukaghir is still used for everyday communication; others have left the village and either constitute tiny minority groups in other places or live within Russian or Yakut-speaking groups. In Nelemnoye, there are ca. 150 Yukaghirs (see 1.2); the total of other groups of Kolyma Yukaghirs is not much higher than this, although this is only an approximate estimate. This grammar describes the variety spoken in Nelemnoye; the sociolinguistic situation in the village is described in Section 2.

According to the 1989 census, there are 1,100 Yukaghirs in Russia (this is the sum total of Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir). Strikingly, the 1979 census gives the figure of 500 Yukaghirs (Bruk 1981:215). Presumably, this difference is due to the unsteady eth-

nic consciousness characteristic of the region (see 1.3).

1.2. The village of Nelemnoye

Nelemnoye is located in the Upper Kolyma district, Yakutia (Sakha) Republic, approximately 70 km from the district center Zyryanka. It was established in 1931, when the nomadic Yukaghirs living in the basins of Yasachnaya and Korkodon Rivers were organized into the collective farm “Bright life” (kolkhoz “*Svetlaya zhiznj*”). The original name of the village was *nungeden aŋil* ‘the Rassokha mouth’ (the Rassokha is a tributary of the Yasachnaya). Later the village was renamed Nelemnoye, a Russian-based toponym, presumably motivated by the etymology of the Yukaghir *nungeden*: *nunge* is a sort of fish, like trout, which is called *nel'ma* in Russian. In 1956-58 the village was moved to a new place, about 75 km down the Yasachnaya River, since the old place near the mouth of the Rassokha River turned out to be too low (Vakhtin 1992:48).

Communication between Nelemnoye and Zyryanka is by car in winter and by motorboat in summer; there is also sporadic communication by helicopter. According to the settlement household book, the population of Nelemnoye was 245 in 1987, including 133 Yukaghirs (Vakhtin 1992:48). There is a school, a kindergarten, a shop, a post office, and a club in the village. The main economic activity is fur trade. Most of the men are hunters and fishermen, as they have been for ages. The women are employed within the village; they work in the school, in the kindergarten, in the local shop, etc.

The ethnic groups of Nelemnoye are Yukaghirs (~ 54%), Yakuts (~ 22%), Russians (~ 19%), and Evens (~ 4%);⁶ the languages spoken, in order of prevalence, are Russian, Yakut, Yukaghir, and Even. Of the 133 Yukaghirs, only nine named Yukaghir as their first language; for about 50 it is the mother tongue, i.e., it was acquired in childhood from parents (Vakhtin 1992:53, his Table 6). The oldest segment of the population is multilingual, so that Yukaghir is spoken by some Evens and Yakuts as well.

1.3. Some remarks on Yukaghir history

Apparently, the vast territories from the Lena river across modern Yakutia to the eastern coast of Chukotka were populated by the Yukaghirs in the 17th century. After the Evenki (Tungus), Yakuts, and Evens penetrated the territory, the Yukaghirs were slowly squeezed out. The Russian colonization (since the middle of the 17th century) has largely destroyed the traditional subsistence system of the Yukaghirs, resulting in a sharp decline of the Yukaghir population (Tugolukov 1979). The first scholar of Kolyma Yukaghir, Woldemar Jochelson predicted as early as in 1900 that the language could disappear and the tribe would cease to exist within a few decades (Jochelson 1900:xv).

Until recently, multilingualism was widespread, and Yukaghir, Even, Chukchi and Yakut served alternatively as languages of intercultural communication in different cultural situations (Maslova and Vakhtin 1996:999). This situation is still preserved in the oldest generation of Yukaghirs (above 60): they generally speak Yukaghir, Russian and Yakut, and often also Even, choosing an appropriate language depending on the particular situation, addressee's ethnic affiliation, etc. Russian gained the leading position in Nelemnoye after World War II, and at the same time the process of Yukaghir language loss became most active. Nowadays, Russian is the only language spoken by all inhabitants of the village.

1.4. On ethnonyms

The etymology of the ethnonym *Yukaghir* (alternative spellings are *Yukagir*, *Jukagir*, Russian *jukagir*, *jukagirskij*) is unclear; this is what Yukaghirs usually call themselves when they speak Russian. The alternative ethnonym *Odul* (Russian *odul*, *odul'skij*) corresponds to the Kolyma Yukaghir self-designation *odul*; the Tundra Yukaghir counterpart of this ethnonym is *wadul*. Strikingly, the Tundra Yukaghirs sometimes call themselves *odul* when speaking Russian.

Table 4. The role of Yukaghir in Nelemnoye (1987)

Role of Yukaghir	Number of speakers	Average age (year of birth)
First language	9	64 (1923)
Second language	13	50 (1937)
Third language	7	43 (1944)
Total	29	53 (1934)

Table 5. Average language competence for Nelemnoye Yukaghirs (Vakhtin 1992:64, Table 9)

Age groups (years of birth)	Yukaghir	Russian
> 70 (before 1917)	2.3	3.9
61-70 (1918-1927)	2.9	3.1
51-60 (1928-1937)	4.6	1.6
41-50 (1938-1947)	5.9	1.0

2. Sociolinguistic situation in Nelemnoye

According to a sociolinguistic investigation undertaken by Nikolay Vakhtin in 1987 (1992), 29 Nelemnoye Yukaghirs spoke the Yukaghir language, although it was the first language for only nine of them, see Table 4.

None of them spoke only Kolyma Yukaghir, all spoke Russian, and all but four spoke Yakut. Table 5 presents some statistical data on the degree of language competence among the Nelemnoye Yukaghirs. It was assessed by means of expert ratings, according to a seven-point scale, "1" being the highest (excellent language knowledge), "7" the lowest (no knowledge of the language).⁷

As shown by these tables, the first language of all Yukaghirs under 60 is Russian, although many have Yukaghir as their mother tongue. The youngest generation is practically monolingual. Their native language is evidently Russian, which is the only language used at school and at the kindergarten. Yukaghir has been taught at school since 1985/86, yet this does not seem to have changed the situation drastically.

These data give clear evidence of the extremely rapid decline of Kolyma Yukaghir. Yet, one must assume that a similar sociolinguistic situation was found by Jochelson at the end of the 19th century (2.1.3). How, then, has the language been maintained for

so long? A possible hypothesis is that the language competence of the middle-aged group is always underestimated by the eldest generation and by themselves, and that when a group of speakers grows older, they return to communication in their mother tongue (Vakhtin 1992:79). This hypothesis is supported by a recent slight (but nevertheless apparent) rise of the role of Yukaghir, due mainly to the global rise of ethnic self-awareness on the territory of the former Soviet Union. As far as I could observe in 1992, many relatively young Yukaghirs (of about 45-50) seemed to have "recalled" their mother tongue, which they had pretended not to speak at all in 1987, and now spoke Yukaghir with their elder fellow-citizens rather often. This "regressive shift" apparently indicates that the language competence of the middle-aged group is actually higher than was assessed in 1987. However, the different generations clearly speak distinct varieties of the language: generally, the younger the speaker, the more notable contact phenomena in their language (see Section 3 on age-defined varieties, Section 4 on the effect of language contact on Kolyma Yukaghir).

3. Accents and varieties

Given the small number of speakers nowadays, any notes about dialectal or social varieties of Kolyma Yukaghir can only be speculative. However, the currently spoken idiolects are so distinct as to prevent the best Yukaghir speakers from rating each other's language competence highly; Table 5 shows that not one got the highest rating for language competence from any expert. These distinctions, as well as the reluctance to acknowledge each other's competence, seem to result from two factors of language variation:

First, the Yukaghirs currently living in Nelemnoye represent two regional groups of Yukaghirs which used to exist before the collectivization in 1931. One group roamed mainly along the Korkodon River, the other along the Yasachnaya River. These groups apparently spoke two distinct varieties of Kolyma Yukaghir. The most notable phonological distinction concerned the labial vowel harmony, which was characteristic of the Korkodon variety and is

still maintained in the speech of some Kolyma Yukaghirs; one of my consultants, A. E. Shadrina, a daughter of a Korkodon Yukaghir, regularly labializes vowels in suffixes after /o/, which distinguishes her accent from that spoken by most of my consultants. The same distinction was described by E. A. Krejnovich on the basis of her father's accent (Krejnovich 1982:21-22).

Secondly, and most importantly, the Kolyma Yukaghir language is undergoing an extremely fast modification, so that the varieties of the language spoken even by neighboring generations are clearly distinct. This seems to be a part of the survival strategy chosen by the language in the aggressive sociolinguistic environment. Each generation faces a simple choice: given that their mother tongue is not their first language, they can either reject speaking that language and let it disappear, or simply speak as they can (cf. Vakhtin 1992:79-80). So far, each successive age group has chosen the second alternative. Quite predictably, the resulting variety differs from that spoken by their parents in being more significantly influenced by Russian. Furthermore, it can be rated as "corrupted" not only by the previous generation, but by the speakers themselves. Yet, to some extent, this strategy of "survival through modification" is approved by the oldest speakers, that is, the speakers of the "purest" existing variety: they themselves do use a special simplified Yukaghir-based jargon when addressing younger people, just in order to be understood, yet to maintain communication in their mother tongue.

Now, it is clear that this strategy has been applied at least since the end of the 19th century, which means that the current group of "best speakers" used to represent a "corrupted" version a couple of dozens years ago. Some of them are aware of the differences between their own language and the language their parents used to speak (occasionally, my questions were answered like "I would say it this way, but my father would have said it differently"). Even more so, they are aware of "mistakes" in the language spoken by their fellow-citizens, hence low ratings of their language competence.

4. The effect of language contact on Kolyma Yukaghir

The most important contact languages have been Yakut and Russian. Now the contact with Russian is more significant. Russian loanwords play an eminent role even in the Yukaghir everyday vocabulary, e.g.:

(13)	Yukaghir		Russian
	<i>terike</i>	‘wife, old woman’	<i>starukha</i>
	<i>korobe</i>	‘cow’	<i>korova</i>
	<i>šøštok</i>	‘staff’	<i>shestok</i>
	<i>užžuo</i>	‘gun’	<i>ruzhjo</i>

Now Russian lexical items are being borrowed practically without phonetic changes. Moreover, the borderline between the Yukaghir lexicon and the Russian one is likely not to be “taken into account” in the course of natural communication: almost nobody hesitates to insert a Russian word into a Yukaghir utterance. In contrast with this, the words borrowed earlier (like those given in (13)) used to be changed according to the Yukaghir phonetic rules and generally preserve their Yukaghir phonetic form in the contemporary speech.

The instances of occasional code-mixing are numerous, cf. the following examples (Russian grammatical and lexical items are in boldface):

- (14) a. **potomu čto bogatyj**-ŋo:-t *gude-j*
 [because rich-TRNSF-SS:IPFV become-INTR:3SG
tudel tamun-ŋō-t **vzad-vperjod** *ejre-ŋi*
 he] [this-COP-SS:IPFV there.and.back go-INTR:3PL]
 ‘Because he became a rich person, that is why they used
 to go there and back (swarm around him).’ [F38]
- b. **davaj tude-gele and’i-ŋā** **davaj** *kebe-s’i’i* **da**
 INGR he-ACC ask-TR:3PL [HORT go:1PL CONJ
kebe-s’i’i
 go:1PL]
 ‘They began to ask him (repeatedly), let us go, let us
 go.’ [F36]

- c. *hodi numø-ŋin*
 go:IMP house-DAT
 'Go home!' [F36]

None of the Russian items involved in these utterances can be viewed as integrated into Yukaghir grammar and/or lexicon; these examples are intended just to represent a possible source of contact changes. Yet some grammatical items of Russian origin are used very regularly and can be assumed to have replaced their original Yukaghir counterparts. One of the most notable examples is the Russian intensifier *sam* 'self' (in various phonetic forms):

- (15) a. *sam el-ožā-nu-j*
 self NEG-drink-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'He himself didn't drink.' [K4]
- b. *tude-gele kudde-m tude-sam āj amde-j*
 [he-ACC kill-TR:3SG] [he-self CP die-INTR:3SG]
 'He killed that one and died himself, too.' [K3]

Cf. the Yukaghir emphatic form of personal pronouns marked by the suffix *-id'ie*, e.g., *tude-l* 'he' > *tud-id'ie* 'he himself'.

In the most general terms, the effect of Russian contact on Kolyma Yukaghir grammar can be described as a shift from original Yukaghir synthetic grammatical patterns to newly introduced analytical patterns. In some cases, the new pattern involves a grammatical item borrowed from Russian. For example, obligative modality is now expressed almost exclusively by a construction with a Russian predicative loanword *nado* 'is-necessary' and a nominalized form of a verb (as in (16a)), which is rapidly replacing Yukaghir modal suffixes (the old pattern is illustrated by (16b)), e.g.:

- (16) a. *tamun min-gi nado*
 that take-POSS necessary
 'It is necessary to take it.'
- b. *tamun min-možī*
 that take-PRSP(TR:1SG)
 'It is necessary/inevitable to take it, I should take it.'

Another subclass of these contact phenomena comprises various expansions of Russian-like grammatical patterns construed by means of Yukaghir morphology, which squeeze out Yukaghir synthetic patterns and take over their functions. For example, Yukaghir has a verbal suffix *-jī-* designating movement in order to perform the action denoted by the stem. This suffix can occur either in a finite verb form as in (17a), or in a same-subject form dominated by a verb of movement as in (17b). Both patterns are being rapidly replaced by a construction with the Supine, similar to that found in many European languages (including Russian), e.g. (17c):

- (17) a. *tabud-ck jūø-jī-mele*
 this-PRED look-PURP-OF:3SG
 'He went to look at this.'
- b. *aŋs'i-jī-t kewe-s'*
 [search-PURP-SS:IPFV] go-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He went to look for it.'
- c. *aŋs'i-din kewe-s'*
 search-SUP go-3SG:INTR
 'He went to look for it.'

Although the construction with the Supine is hardly new for Kolyma Yukaghir, it can be assumed to have been a marginal device for expressing this situation type until recently. Now, it is the most common and frequently applied option, while the patterns represented in (17a)-(17b), having no structural parallel in Russian, are squeezed out.

Similar phenomena are found in almost all fragments of Yukaghir grammar and will therefore be described in detail in the respective sections of the book. In general, I will try to present modern Kolyma Yukaghir as it is used in everyday communication (that is, by Yukaghirs over 55-60).

5. Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir

The Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir languages used to be described as dialects, which seems to be misleading in view of the significant

distinctions in lexicon, grammar, and phonology. Presumably due to the extensive language contacts, the lexical distinctions even within the basic vocabulary are so great that glottochronological counts give ca. 2000 years of divergence (Nikolaeva and Helimsky 1997:155-156). The grammatical divergent features seem to have been underestimated in previous studies of Yukaghir, probably because neither of the grammars was known well enough. That is why both existing monographs on Yukaghir (Krejnovich 1958; 1982) treat the two languages together, although some divergent features are mentioned. The present grammar deviates from this tradition and treats Kolyma Yukaghir as a distinct language to be described in its own right.

Chapter 3

Phonology

This chapter introduces basic phonological and phonetic information needed to understand the transcription used throughout the book. Since neither acoustic nor articulatory investigation of Kolyma Yukaghir phonetics has been undertaken so far, the description presented in Sections 1-2 is based on auditory data and distributional analysis only; to a large extent, it should be viewed as an exemplified summary of the previous descriptions (Krejnovich 1982:9-28; Nikolaeva 1988b), although there are some minor differences in interpretation of data. Section 3 gives an overview of phonological and morphological alternations. The word stress (Section 4) is described according to (Nikolaeva 1988b).

1. Segmental phonological units

1.1. Vowels

1.1.1. Vowel inventory

Table 6. Vowels

	+front				-front			
	-rounded		+rounded		non-rounded		rounded	
high	i	i:				u	u:	
non-high	e	e:	ø	ø:	a	a:	o	o:

1.1.2. Allophonic alternations

1.1.2.1. The long vowels /e:/, /ø:/, /o:/ can be pronounced as the falling diphthongs [ie], [uø], [uo] in stressed syllables and before syllables with {E} (Nikolaeva and Helimsky 1997:158); see 3.4 for a description of the morphoneme {E}.

1.1.2.2. The short vowels are reduced in unstressed syllables.

1.1.2.3. /i/ has a facultative allophone [ɪ] after nonpalatal consonants.

1.1.2.4. [uo] can be advanced within front stems (2.4.1).

1.2. Consonants

1.2.1. Consonant inventory

Table 7. Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Postal- veolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>t d</i>			<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Affricates				<i>tʃ dʒ</i>			
Fricatives			<i>f ʒ</i>			<i>ɣ</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		
Laterals		<i>l</i>		<i>ʎ</i>			
Rolled		<i>r</i>					
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>j</i>			

1.2.1.1. The glottal /ʔ/ has a rather marginal status; it occurs only in some interjections: *maʔ* 'take!', *taʔ* 'come on!' (Krejnovich 1989:14).

1.2.1.2. The uvular phonemes /q/, /ɣ/ are being rapidly replaced by the velar fricatives /x/, /ɣ/ respectively, which can be viewed as a part of the general process of switching to Russian-based articulations. The current situation can be described alternatively as coexistence of two age-based accents with different consonant inventories, or as free allophonic variations [q] ~ [x], [ɣ] ~ [ɣ]. Here, the latter variant is chosen, cf. 1.2.2.3-1.2.2.4.

1.2.1.3. Consonants that occur only in *ad hoc* borrowings from Russian (not incorporated into the Yukaghir phonetics), e.g., /s/ and /v/, are not included in Table 7.

1.2.2. Allophonic variations

1.2.2.1. The glide /w/ is pronounced as [b] in word-initial position and after consonants, e.g., [binnə] ‘apparently, evidently’ (from colloquial Russian *vidno* ‘apparently, evidently’), [ʃøjʌbʊl] ‘mouse’. In intervocalic position, these allophones vary freely, cf. [kewəç] ~ [kebeç] ‘(he) left’, [tawun] ~ [tabun] ‘that’.

1.2.2.2. The glide /w/ is commonly pronounced as [u] at the end of syllables, cf. [tolow] ~ [tolou] ‘deer’, [toloupe] (PL); [jowl’el] ~ [joul’el] ‘disease’, [lew] ~ [leu] ‘(I) eat’.

1.2.2.3. The uvular plosive /q/ has a free velar fricative variant [x], cf.: [qar] ~ [xar] ‘animal skin’, [ʃaqaləŋi] ~ [ʃaxaləŋi] ‘(they) gathered’.

1.2.2.4. The uvular fricative /ɣ/ has a free velar variant [ɣ], cf. [foɣie] ~ [foɣie] ‘(he) has lost his way, (it) is lost’; [aɣurpe] ~ [aɣurpe] ‘(he) suffers’.

1.2.2.5. The uvular fricative /ɣ/ is pronounced as uvular plosive [ɣ] after /ŋ/, e.g., [aŋɣaje] ‘snow-storm’; [aŋɣim] ‘(he) has scratched’.

1.2.2.6. The affricate /tʃ/ has a free palatal fricative variant [ç] in intervocalic position and in word-final position, cf.: [a:tʃə] ~ [a:çə] ‘domestic deer’, [etʃie] ~ [eçie] ‘father’, [omotʃ] ~ [omoc] ‘(it) is good; well’. Before consonants, [ç] is preferred, e.g., [edieçtin] ‘to call’. Word-initial [ç] occurs mainly in loanwords, yet it is also occasionally possible (at least in some idiolects) if the second syllable of a word begins with this sound, cf. [tʃa:tʃa:] ~ [ça:ça:] ‘elder brother’.

1.2.2.7. The affricate /dʒ/ has a palatal fricative variant [j].

Table 8. Transcription symbols

IPA	This book	IPA	This book	IPA	This book
<i>f</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>s'</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>dʒ, dʒʲ</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>ʁ, ʁ̣</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>ʃ</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>aː</i>	<i>ā</i>

1.3. Transcription

The transcription used in this book is essentially phonemic, yet some allophonic variations are consistently reflected. This concerns major free alternations, as well as the alternations with potentially controversial phonological interpretation. More specifically, the transcription distinguishes the allophones that are described in 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.4, 1.2.2.2 and 1.2.2.6. Deviations from the IPA conventions are summarized in Table 8.

2. Phonotactics

2.1. Syllable structure

2.1.1. Syllable types

The only types of syllables are *CV*, *CVC* and *CV_jL* (*L* stands for liquids, nasals, /t/, and /k/). In the following examples, syllable boundaries are marked with “=”.

- (18) *CV*
šø=gi ‘(he) came in.’
ta=dī ‘(I) gave’
- (19) *CVC*
a=ɲil’=ge ‘in the hole’
šān=hār ‘bark, scales’
- (20) *CV_jL*
šøjl ‘stone’
ša=ša=ha=dajm ‘(he) tore (smth)’

Voiced obstruents are disallowed in syllable-final position (see 3.1); for examples of syllable-final sonorants, see (19)–(20). Syllable-final voiceless consonants are exemplified in (21).

- (21) $\emptyset n = \mathbf{mep} = te = ge$ 'in their minds'
 $\mathbf{mot} = lor = qoj$ 'thin'
 $i = \mathbf{lek} = l\bar{o}j$ 'four'
 $e\check{s} = ke = \mathbf{r\bar{i}k}$ 'attack!'

2.1.2. Word-initial syllables

Word-initial syllables can begin with a vowel ($\#V$, $\#VC$, $\#VjL$):

- (22) \bar{a} '(I) made'
 $a = \eta a$ 'mouth'
 $\bar{a}j$ 'again'
 $el = \check{s}\emptyset w$ '(he) did not come in'
 $\bar{u}jl$ 'work'

The initial consonant can be either voiceless or sonorant, i.e., voiced obstruents do not occur in word-initial position. There are two exceptions: the verbs *kude-* 'become' and *kudel'e-* 'be going to do something, get ready' can be pronounced as /*gude-*/ and /*gudel'e-*/ respectively, which probably hints at an initial stage of grammaticalization of these verbs, cf.:

- (23) a. *pulun-die* $u\emptyset\text{-}\eta\bar{o}\text{-}d'e$ $adil / \eta\bar{o}t$
 old:man-DIM [child-STAT-ATTR] guy+TRNSF
kude-j
 become-INTR:3SG
 'The old man became a young guy.' [F15]
- b. *tabun* $\bar{a}j$ $n'ied'\bar{i}\text{-}l + \eta\bar{o}t$ ***gude-l'el***
 this CP tell-ANR+TRNSF become-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'This became a legend.' [F34]
- (24) a. $\bar{a}s'e\text{-}n'\text{-}u\text{-}l$ $\check{s}oromo\text{-}pul$ $kel\text{-}din$
 [deer-PRPR-0-ANR] person-PL come-SUP
me-kudel'e-ηi
 AFF-get:ready-3PL:INTR:
 'The people with deer are getting ready to come.' [K1]
- b. *petr* *berbekin* $\check{s}ejrej\text{-}din$ ***gudel'e-nu-j***
 P. B. run:away-SUP get:ready-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'Petr Berbekin was getting ready to run away.' [F31]

The consonants /r/ and /ŋ/ also do not occur in word-initial position (see 5.5.5.3).

2.2. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are disallowed in word-initial position; the only cluster that is allowed in word-final position is *jL* (see 2.1.1). In most cases, there is a morpheme boundary within such a cluster; there is only a closed set of roots containing clusters /*jl*/, /*jl'*/:

- (25) *qojl* 'God'
šøjl 'stone'
šøjl'bul 'mouse'

The constraints on two-consonant clusters at syllable boundaries partly follow from the regularities of syllable structure described in 2.1: the initial consonant of a cluster can be either sonorant or voiceless. There are two additional constraints:

1. A voiceless and a voiced obstruent cannot co-occur within a cluster; thus, a cluster either contains a sonorant, or consists of two voiceless obstruents; see (19)–(21) and 3.2.1.
2. The glide /*j*/ cannot occur as the final consonant of a cluster; the only exception is the cluster /*wj*/, e.g., *šøwjet* 'you (PL) came in', see 3.2.2, 3.3.

The only possible three-consonant clusters are {*jlC*}, {*jl'C*} in the inflection forms of stems ending in /*jl*/ and in *šøjl'bul* 'mouse':

- (26) *qojl-ŋin* 'to God'
qojl-geŋ 'from God'
qojl-n'e 'with God'
qojl-pe 'gods'

The only exception from this generalization in my data is the compound *marqil'+uø* (girl+child) 'daughter', which is pronounced as [marqɫ'uø] or [martɫ'uø], hence, two more three-consonant clusters: [rɫ'] and [rtɫ'] due to the loss of /*i*/ in the first stem. The resulting word is sometimes pronounced as [mašɫ'uø], so that the three-consonant cluster is avoided.

2.3. Vowel clusters

As is clear from 2.1, there are generally no vowel clusters. This section presents some exceptions from this generalization.

2.3.1. Reciprocal prefix

The reciprocal prefix *n'e* (6.4.5.1) can be attached to a vowel-initial stem, e.g.:

- (27) *n'e+anure-* 'love each other'
n'e+es'keri- 'attack each other'
n'e+irkuore- 'be afraid of each other'
n'e+uldō- 'be tied to each other'

2.3.2. Vowel clustering at the phonetic level

2.3.2.1. Diphthongs [uo], [uø], [ie], see 1.1.2.1.

2.3.2.2. Clusters [ou], [øu], [eu], where [u] represents the glide /w/, see 1.2.2.2.

2.3.2.3. The initial /j/ of the intransitive 1PL agreement marker [jil'i] is sometimes not pronounced after /e/, hence a vowel cluster [ei], cf.: [egejil'i] ~ [egeil'i] '(we) stand up'.

2.4. Vowel harmony

There are two kinds of harmonic alternations which can be conventionally termed palatal⁸ and labial, yet both affect only a very restricted number of suffixes, only one of which is productive.

2.4.1. Front stems vs. back stems

The palatal harmony contrasts the vowels /e/, /ø/ (with their long counterparts) and the vowels /a/, /o/ (with their long counterparts). The stems fall into two classes (front stems vs. back stems) according to the quality of the first vowel. A native Yukaghir root has either only front vowels or only back vowels, except for /e/ corresponding to the morphoneme {E} (see 3.4) and the

vowels /i/, /u/ (and their long counterparts), which are transparent to vowel harmony:

- (28) Front stems
øndie 'brook'
kønme 'partner'
ečie 'father'
čebil' 'tundra'
mēmē 'bear', etc.

- (29) Back stems
šanaha- 'crackle'
ažū 'word, language'
čolhoro 'hare'
joŋžā 'beak'
aŋs'ī- 'look for', etc.

Stems with /i/, /u/ in the initial syllable normally belong to the class of front stems:

- (30) *čilge* 'branch'
čīzele 'hazel grouse'
šubed'e 'heart'
jūke 'far', etc.

Most exceptions from this tendency are associated with the phoneme /i/, which occurs in the initial syllable of some back stems:

- (31) *čibal'* 'stove'
čiqaha- 'squeak'
mido- 'roam'
pipol' 'sandpiper'
tiboħo- 'twinkle, wink', etc.

2.4.2. Consonants within the scope of palatal harmony

The velar and uvular consonants participate in harmonic rules as well: the velars /g/, /k/ occur in front stems only, the uvulars /h/, /q/, in back stems only.

- (32) Front stems
šøgī 'bag'
čugø 'track'
kødiel 'wolf'
kebej- 'leave', etc.
- (33) Back stems
šouho 'plate'
ahī 'in secret'
qon- 'go'
laqil 'tail', etc.

The phonemic distinction between velar consonants and their uvular counterparts exists due to the inconsistent behavior of /i/, /u/, multiple borrowings, and a wide set of productive suffixes which are outside of the scope of harmonic alternations (sec 2.4.3). As a result, the velar and uvular consonants can occur in identical phonological positions, cf. the following quasi-minimal pairs:

- (34) *nohī* 'thimble' vs. *aŋagi* 'his mouth'
omoluhī 'feel shy' vs. *īlugī* 'miss'
šōloqok 'ashes (PRED)' vs. *jukō* 'be small'
motlorqo 'be thin' vs. *irkōre* 'frighten'
mošolupkā 'owl' vs. *pon'qārā* 'birch'

2.4.3. Suffixes showing palatal harmonic alternations

2.4.3.1. The productive Ingressive marker { \bar{E} } (6.3.5.1) has the form \bar{a} - when attached to a back stem, \bar{e} - when attached to a front stem.

- (35) Front stems
ørn'e- 'shout' > *ørn'ē-* 'begin to shout'
šel'get- 'break' > *šel'get-ē-* 'begin to break'
ibil'e- 'cry' > *ibil-ē-* 'begin to cry', etc.
- (36) Back stems
šaqal'eš- 'gather' > *šaqal'eš-ā-* 'begin to gather'
ahītes' 'hide' > *ahītes'-ā-* 'begin to hide'
ahurpe- 'suffer' > *ahurp-ā-* 'begin to suffer', etc.

2.4.3.2. The non-productive inchoative suffix $\{K\bar{E}\}$ ($\{K\}$ stands for a velar or a uvular voiceless consonant) has the form $-k\bar{e}-$ in a front stem, $-q\bar{u}-$ in a back stem (there is in fact only one clear instance of the latter case).

- (37) Front stems
čel- ‘be cold (v)’ > *čel-kē-* ‘get cold’
čejlū ‘be far, be remote’ > *čejlu-kē-* ‘become remote’
eldel- ‘be boring’ > *eldel-kē-* ‘bore’
- (38) Back stem
jow- ‘ache (v)’ > *jow-qā* ‘begin to ache’

2.4.3.3. The non-productive derivational suffix $\{GE\}$ ($\{G\}$ stands for a velar or a uvular voiced consonant; see 6.4.3.3.3) has the form $-ge-$ in a front stem, $-ha-$ in a back stem.

- (39) Front stems
šel’-ge-j- ‘break in two’ (vi)
menme-ge-j- ‘jump’
čiče-ge-j- ‘stretch, lengthen’ (vi)
- (40) Back stems
šaša-ha-j- ‘tear’ (vi)
janme-ha-j- ‘twitch, jerk’

2.4.3.4. The non-productive causative suffix $\{dE\}$ (6.4.3.3.3) has the form $-de-$ when attached to a front stem, $-da-$ when attached to a back stem (occasionally, this alternation is also possible for the suffix $\{tE\}$, e.g., *čahi-ta-j-* ‘blush’).

- (41) Front stems
šel’-ge-de-j- ‘break in two’ (vt)
čiče-ge-de-j- ‘stretch, lengthen’ (vt)
jømge-de-j- ‘surround, encircle’
- (42) Back stems
šabaha-da-j- ‘hit’ (vt)
amla-da-j- ‘swallow’ (cf. *amla-j-* ‘fall in, come down’)
šaša-ha-da-j- ‘tear’ (vt)

2.4.4. Labial harmony

Labial harmony exists only in some idiolects (see 2.3) and affects the phonemic realization of {*E*} (see 3.4.2.1). If the first vowel of a root is /*o*/ or /*õ*/, the final {*E*} of the root and of some non-productive suffixes can be pronounced as /*o*/.

- (43) {*šobol'E*-} 'stop, cease' /*šobol'ok*/ (IMP:2SG)
 {*čolgorE*} 'hare' /*čolgoro*/
 {*modo-tE*-} 'put, seat, plant' /*modotomle*/ (OF:3SG)

3. Phonological and morphophonemic alternations

3.1. Syllable-final consonant alternations

Final voiced obstruents /*d*/, /*d'*/, /*g*/, /*h*/ alternate either with voiceless obstruents or with sonorants in syllable-final position.⁹ Since voiced obstruents are disallowed in this position, these alternations follow from the phonotactics. On the other hand, only a closed set of morphemes end in a voiced obstruent, and there are many phonological options which can be applied in order to avoid it in syllable-final position, some of which are apparently morphologically and/or lexically restricted.

3.1.1. Syllable-final devoicing

In a number of verb stems of the syllable structure C_1VC_2 , where C_2 is /*d*/, /*g*/, the final consonant alternates with the corresponding voiceless obstruent /*t*/, /*k*/ in word-final position (i.e., in the transitive 1SG form and in the 2SG Imperative form) and before an obstruent-initial suffix of the syllable structure CVX . A stem-final /*h*/ alternates with /*q*/ only at word-internal syllable boundaries (see 3.1.2.6).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (44) | 3SG | Imperative | Perfective converb | |
| | <i>pad-um</i> | <i>pat</i> | <i>pat-telle</i> | 'cook' |
| | <i>kød-um</i> | <i>køt</i> | <i>køt-telle</i> | 'pull' |
| | <i>leg-um</i> | <i>lek</i> | <i>lek-telle</i> | 'eat' |
| | <i>šøg-i</i> | <i>šøk</i> | <i>šøk-telle</i> | 'come in' |
| | <i>čoh-um</i> | <i>čow</i> | <i>čoq-telle</i> | 'cut' |

3.1.2. Syllable-final sonorization

3.1.2.1. Obstruent ~ nasal assimilation. Before a nasal-initial suffix, the final voiced consonant alternates with a nasal. Most commonly, /d/, /d'/ alternate with /n/, and /g/, /h/ alternate with /ŋ/. In some cases, assimilation of /g/ into /m/ before /m/ is attested.

(45)	TR:3SG	OF:3SG		TR:3PL	
	<i>pad-um</i>	<i>pan-mele</i>		<i>pan-ŋā</i>	'cook'
	<i>čoh-um</i>	<i>čoŋ-mele</i> ~ <i>čom-mele</i>		<i>čoŋ-ŋā</i>	'cut'
	<i>leg-um</i>	<i>lem-mele</i>		<i>leŋ-ŋā</i>	'eat'

3.1.2.2. Word-final nasalization. Stem-final /d'/ alternates with /n/, /n'/ in word-final position.

(46)	TR:3SG	Imperative	
	<i>mid'-um</i>	<i>min</i>	'take'
	<i>ed'-i</i>	<i>en'</i>	'live, be alive'

The final /d/ of the verb stems *jad-* 'to send', *jed-* 'be visible' shows the same alternation.

(47)	TR:3SG	Imperative	
	<i>jad-um</i>	<i>jan</i>	'send'
	<i>jed-i</i>	<i>jen</i>	'be visible'

3.1.2.3. Syllable-final nasalization. Stem-final /t/, /d/, /d'/ alternate with /n/ before the inflectional morph *-jE* (> *-d'e*, see 3.3.1.1), (48a), the non-productive detransitive suffix *-dE* (48b), and the Diminutive marker *-die-* (48c).

(48)	a.	INTR:3SG	INTR:1SG	
		<i>ajled'-i</i>	<i>ajlen-d'e</i>	'wash oneself'
		<i>ed'-i</i>	<i>en-d'e</i>	'live, be alive'
	b.	TR:3SG	DETR-INTR:3SG	
		<i>pad-um</i>	<i>pan-de-j</i>	'cook'
		<i>leg-um</i>	<i>leŋ-de-j</i>	'eat'
	c.	PRED	DIM	
		<i>pulut-ek</i>	<i>pulun-die</i>	'old man'

3.1.2.4. /d/ ~ /n/ alternation in nominalizers. The final consonant of the nominalizers *-jōd* ~ *-jōn* (6.1.3.1, 6.1.3.6), *-bed* ~ *-ben* (6.1.3.1, 6.1.3.7) is /d/ before vowels, /n/ before consonants and in word-final position. These phonological positions are illustrated by means of the Predicative form, the Nominative Plural form, and the Nominative Singular form, respectively.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (49) | (SG)-PRED | PL(NOM) | SG(NOM) | |
| | <i>lejdi-jōd-ek</i> | <i>lejdi-jōn-pe</i> | <i>lejdi-jōn</i> | 'one who knows' |
| | <i>čomōl-bed-ek</i> | <i>čomōl-ben-pe</i> | <i>čomōl-ben</i> | 'something big' |

3.1.2.5. /d/ ~ /n/ alternation in Attributive forms. The Attributive form of nouns and numerals ends in /d/ before vowel-initial nouns and in /n/ before consonant-initial nouns. This can be viewed as an instance of the same phonologically motivated alternation, if the Attributive form is assumed to constitute a single phonological word with the head noun, as far as the syllable structure is concerned.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (50) | <i>ilek-ud+anil</i> | <i>ilek-un+čohojo</i> |
| | four-ATTR-fish | four-ATTR+knife |
| | 'four fishes' | 'four knives' |
| | <i>unu-d+ord'ō-ge</i> | <i>unu-n+laŋide</i> |
| | river-ATTR+middle-LOC | river-ATTR+DIR |
| | 'in the middle of the river' | 'to the river' |
| | <i>čolhoro-d+omnī</i> | <i>colhoro-n+šoromopul</i> |
| | hare-ATTR+people | hare-ATTR+person-PL |
| | 'hare people' | 'hare men' |
| | <i>jō-d+amun-gi</i> | <i>jō-n+kis'il</i> |
| | head-ATTR+bone-POSS | head-ATTR+end |
| | 'skull' | 'forehead' |
| | <i>lebie-d+emej</i> | <i>lebie-n+pugil'</i> |
| | earth-ATTR+mother | earth-ATTR+lord |
| | 'Mother Earth' | 'Lord of Earth' |

However, the Attributive form can occasionally end in /n/ before vowel-initial stems as well, e.g., *ilekun anil* 'four fishes'.

3.1.2.6. Velar/uvular ~ glide. The velar and uvular voiced stem-final consonants alternate with /w/ in word-final position. The same alternation applies at syllable boundaries, most often before obstruents. The latter results in alternative pronunciations of some forms, cf. (44) and (51).

(51)	INTR:3SG	NEG+INTR:3SG	Perfective converb	
	<i>šøg-i</i>	<i>el+šøw</i>	<i>šøw-delle</i>	'come in'
	<i>leg-um</i>	<i>el+lew</i>	<i>lew-delle</i>	'eat'
	<i>čoh-um</i>	<i>el+čow</i>	<i>čow-delle</i>	'cut'

3.1.3. Nasal ~ Lateral assimilation

The nasals /n/, /n'/ alternate with the lateral /l/ when the next syllable starts with /l/ or /l'/, for example, before the Inferential suffix *-l'el-* or the first/second person different-subject marker.

(52)	3SG	INFR:3SG	DS:1/2	
	<i>mon-i</i>	<i>mol-l'el</i>	<i>mol-luge</i>	'say'
	<i>qon-i</i>	<i>qol-l'el</i>	<i>qol-luge</i>	'go'

In particular, the Proprietary suffix *-n'* 'to have, to possess' (6.4.2) can undergo this alternation, cf. *emd'e-n'* 'to have a younger sibling' and *emd'e-l'el* 'apparently, he had a younger sibling'.

The final /n/ of the Supine form can be assimilated into /l/ before the auxiliary stem *l'e-* 'be' within the Periphrastic Prospective form ((6.2.9.1)):

(53)	Supine	Periphrastic Prospective	
	<i>merej-din</i>	<i>merej-dil+l'e-</i>	'take off'
	<i>qana-din</i>	<i>qana-dil+l'e-</i>	'roam'

Stem-final /d/, /d'/ undergo the lateral assimilation only if they are nasalized in word-final position (see 3.1.2.2):

(54)	3SG	Imperative	INFR-3SG	DS:1/2	
	<i>jad-um</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>jal-l'el-um</i>	<i>jal-luge</i>	'send'
	<i>mid'-um</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>mil-l'el-um</i>	<i>mil-luge</i>	'take'

3.2. Syllable-initial alternations of consonants

3.2.1. Progressive devoicing

Suffix-initial voiced obstruents alternate with their voiceless counterparts after voiceless consonants.

- (55) /d/ ~ /t/: PL-POSS-LOC
čugø-pe-de-ge 'track, path, trace'
ønme-p-te-ge 'mind, consciousness'
pieje-p-te-ge 'cheek, knoll'
šoromo-p-te-ge 'man'

- (56) /g/ ~ /k/: POSS:NOM LOC
ønme-gi *ønme-ge* 'mind'
labut-ki *labut-ke* 'floating log'
molut-ki *molut-ke* 'breast'
pulut-ki *pulut-ke* 'old man, husband'

In particular, the progressive devoicing is applied together with the syllable-final devoicing (see 3.1.1) of the previous consonant, so that a combination of two voiced obstruents at a morpheme boundary results in a voiceless consonant cluster (see, for example, the Perfective Converb marker *-delle*, represented as *-telle* in (44)).

3.2.2. Lateral Assimilation of stem-initial /j/

The stem initial /j/ alternates with /l'/ after the negative preverb *el+*; the final /l/ of the preverb is palatalized in this environment.

- (57) *el'-l'ad-* < *el-* + *jad-* 'send'
el'-l'ed- < *el-* + *jed-* 'be visible'
el'-l'uø- < *el-* + *juø* 'see'

This alternation is not obligatory, cf. (57) and *el jen* '(it is) not visible', *el juø* '(I) do not see'.

3.3. Suffix-initial /j/

The initial /j/ of some verbal suffixes alternates with /d'/, /č'/ (cf. Krejnovich 1982:197-201):

(58) /j/~/d'/~/č/ alternations

Subject nominalizer	-jōn	~	-d'ōn	~	-čōn
Attributive, Intransitive	-je	~	-d'e	~	-če
Purposive ('go in order to')	-jī-	~	-d'ej-	~	-čej-

In word-final position, suffix-initial /j/ alternates with /i/, /č/; these alternations are restricted to three morphological items: the transitive 1PL marker -j, the intransitive third person marker -j, and the allomorph -j of the Active Attributive marker -jE (see 6.1.1.1, 6.1.2.1).

Partly, these alternations are motivated by the phonotactics, since /j/ cannot be the final consonant of a consonant cluster (see 2.2). This case is described in 3.3.1. In other cases, the same alternations must be described as morphophonemic, since they are restricted to closed classes of lexical items and/or morphological environments (see 3.3.2, 3.3.3)

3.3.1. Phonologically motivated alternations

3.3.1.1. According to general restrictions on consonant clusters (see 2.2), intervocalic /j/ alternates with /d'/ in syllable-initial position after sonorants¹⁰ (except for /j/, see 3.3.3.1-3.3.3.3) and with /č/ after voiceless obstruents.

(59) /j/-allomorphs

<i>ejre-jē</i>	'(I) walked'
<i>ejre-jōn</i>	'walker, someone who walks.'
<i>juø-jī-</i>	'go in order to see'

(60) /d'/-allomorphs

<i>qon-d'e</i>	'(I) went'
<i>joŋžā-l'el-d'e</i>	'(I) must have forgotten'
forget-INFR-INTR:1SG	
<i>mon-d'ōn</i>	'speaker, someone who speaks'
<i>en-d'ōn</i>	'someone who is alive; animal'
<i>min-d'ej-</i>	'go in order to take'

- (61) /č̣/-allomorphs
eire-t-č̣e ' (I) will walk'
 walk-FUT-INTR:1SG
jaqte-t-č̣e ' (I) will sing'
 sing-FUT-INTR:1SG
el i pat-č̣e ' (I) have not cooked'
 NEG+cook-INTR:1SG
pømege-t-č̣ej- 'go in order to turn'
 turn-CAUS-PURP-

3.3.1.2. In word-final position, /j/ alternates with /i/ after consonants (except /j/; see 3.3.3.2-3.3.3.3). In fact, there are only two morphemes to which this phonological condition is applicable, namely, the intransitive 3SG marker -j and the transitive 1PL marker -j.¹¹

- (62) *mon-i* ' (he) said'
 say-INTR:3SG
piede-t-i ' (it) will burn'
 burn-FUT-INTR:3SG
ajle-t-i ' (we) will wash'
 wash-FUT-TR:1PL
šaqal'e-š-i ' (we) gathered'
 assemble-CAUS-TR:1PL

3.3.2. Morphologically and lexically constrained /d'/-allomorphs /d'/-allomorphs of the suffixes listed in (58) occur with quite a number of vowel-final verb stems, i.e., in the absence of the phonological conditions which might have determined the alternation. These cases fall into several groups: /d'/-allomorphs are used after the Resultative marker -ō- (6.3.6.1):

- (63) *šoj-l-ō-d'e* 'fried'
 fry-0-RES-ATTR
il'l'aj-l-ō-d'e 'melted'
 melt-0-RES-ATTR
kiel'-ō-d'e 'dry'
 get.dry-RES-ATTR

after the copula *ō-* and its bound form *+ηō-* (5.5.5.2), e.g.:

- (64) *pō+ηō-d'e* 'orphan (attributive)'
 orphan+STAT-ATTR
arasno+ηō-d'e 'different'
 different+STAT-ATTR
čisto+ηō-d'e 'clean'
 clean+STAT-ATTR

after the qualitative suffix *-jō-* 'do V often, professionally, characteristically' (6.3.6.4), e.g.:

- (65) *lejdi-jō-d'e* 'knowledgeable, wise; wizard'
 know-QLT-ATTR
jaqte-jō-d'e 'singer'
 sing-QLT-ATTR
kimd'i-jō-d'e 'bellicose, warrior'
 fight-QLT-ATTR

with cardinal verbs (7.2.1.2), e.g.:

- (66) *ataq-lō-d'e* 'two'
 two-VR-ATTR
ilek-lō-d'e 'three'
 three-VR-ATTR
n'ahanbō-d'e 'five'
 five-ATTR

and with a group of qualitative verbs (6.3.6.3-6.3.6.4), e.g.:

- (67) *čomō-d'e* 'big'
 be.big-ATTR
ejl'ō-d'e 'wide'
 be.wide-ATTR
jukō-d'e 'small'
 be.small-ATTR
ijl'ō-d'e 'fearful'
 be.fearful-ATTR
nigejō-d'e 'hard'
 be.hard-ATTR
- (68) *lede-mie-d'e* 'low'
 below-QLT-ATTR
puden-mie-d'e 'high'
 above-QLT-ATTR
titi-mie-d'e 'similar, alike'
 like-QLT-ATTR
tāt-mie-d'e 'such, like that'
 so-QLT-ATTR
godi-mie-d'e 'which, what'
 how-QLT-ATTR

In the last three groups (examples (66)-(68)), the pronunciation vacillates, i.e., the alternative forms with /j/-allomorphs occur as well.¹²

3.3.3. Morphologically and lexically constrained /č/-allomorphs

3.3.3.1. There are two verb roots ending in /j/, *moj-* 'hold', and *ūj-* 'work'. After these stems, the initial /j/ of a suffix alternates with /č/ both in word-internal and in word-final position.

- (69) INTR:1SG INTR:3SG
met+moj-s'e *met+moj-s'* 'hold oneself'
 REFL-hold-
ūj-s'e *ūj-s'* 'work'

3.3.3.2. After the Iterative suffix *-uj(i)-* (6.3.3.2), suffix-initial /j/ alternates with /č/ in word-internal position, with /i/ in word-final position (the latter alternation resulting in word-final long /ī/).

- (70) INTR:1SG INTR:3SG
n'oh-uj-s'e *n'oh-uj-ī* 'fall down repeatedly'
jaq-uj-s'e *jaq-uj-ī* 'be reaching'
mežž-uj-s'e *mežž-uj-ī* 'awake and fall asleep again'

3.3.3.3. The Perfective suffix *-j-* (6.3.3.1), when combined with the suffix-initial /j/, gives /č/ (commonly represented by [s']) both in word-internal and in word-final position, so that the Perfective suffix is manifested only by the alternation /j/ > /č/. In the following examples, the presence of the Perfective suffix is illustrated by the 3PL forms.

- (71) INTR:1SG INTR:3SG INTR:3PL
ønže-s'e *ønže-s'* *ønže-j-ŋi* 'descend'
irke-s'e *irke-s'* *irke-j-ŋi* 'get frightened'
kewe-s'e *kewe-s'* *kewe-j-ŋi* 'go away'

3.3.3.4. There are also several stems requiring or permitting /č/-allomorphs of the /j/-initial suffixes, although there are no phonological conditions which might determine the alternation. There are two notable formal groups of such stems:

1. A group of stems ending in /ū/, which alternates with /i/ before /č/ of the suffix, e.g.:

- (72) SF INTR:3SG
ahidū-l *ahidī-s'* 'hide' (vi)
medū-l *medī-s'* 'be heard, be audible'
ijlū-l *ijl'i-s'* 'be fearful'

2. A group of stems ending in /ji/, /či/, /jī/, /čī/, regardless of whether such a string is part of a root or a suffix (73); in this case, the pronunciation vacillates, so that both /j/- and /č/-allomorphs are apparently possible.

- (73) *kes'ī-s'* ' (we) brought'
 bring-TR:1PL
jaqte-jī-s' ' (he) went in order to sing'
 sing-PURP-INTR:3SG
ū-čī-s' ' (he) has budged, moved a little'
 move-DLM-INTR:3SG

Finally, there are some /č/-requiring stems which do not fall into either of these groups, e.g.:

- (74) *kie-s'* ' (he) came' (< *kel-* 'come')
omo-s' ' (it is) good'
puge-s' ' (it is) hot'

3.4. The morphoneme {E} and related alternations

A number of Yukaghir suffixes show allomorphic variation of the form $-Ce(X)- \sim -C(X)$ (below, syllabic vs. consonantal allomorphs). Basically, the allomorphs are chosen in such a way as to create a sequence of the form $\{\dots - C_1e - C_2 - C_3e - \dots\}$ or $\{\dots - C_1 - C_2e - C_3 - \dots\}$, i.e., a consonantal morph is selected after a syllabic morph, and vice versa (Krejnovich 1982:35ff). This phenomenon is described in 3.4.1.

Other suffixes, as well as lexical morphemes, fall into two classes: morphemes of the first class attach consonantal allomorphs, those of the second class, syllabic allomorphs. The first class consists purely of morphemes ending in /e/, /o/ (see 3.4.2.1). As for the second class, there are no phonological restrictions. Furthermore, the final vowels of morphemes which belong to the first class and the vowel /e/ in the syllabic allomorphs show some common alternations which do not occur in phonologically similar morphemes of the second class (see 3.4.3.1-3.4.3.3).

These facts make it plausible to postulate the existence of a common morphonemic item (denoted here as {E}), which is instantiated by the final vowels of the syllabic allomorphs and of morphemes of the first class.

3.4.1. Suffixes showing variations of the form $-CE- \sim -C-$

This subsection provides a comprehensive list of the suffixes showing the regular $-CE- \sim -C-$ allomorphic variation. In the examples below, all phonemes instantiating the morphoneme $\{E\}$ are represented as E . In most cases, this is the phoneme $/e/$; otherwise, special notes are provided.

3.4.1.1. The Future marker $-tE- \sim -t-$. In word-internal position, the allomorph $-t-$ occurs after $\{E\}$; otherwise, $-te$ is used:

(75)	Consonantal	Syllabic
	<i>šejrE-t-ček</i>	<i>šejrE-j-tE-jek</i>
	run:away-FUT-INTR:2SG	run:away-PFV-FUT-INTR:2SG
	<i>ejrE-t-i</i>	<i>ejrE-ŋi-tE-j</i>
	walk-FUT-INTR:3SG	walk-PL-FUT-3SG

In word-final position (i.e., before a zero agreement marker), the allomorph $-t-$ is chosen regardless of the preceding morph.

(76)	Word-internal	Word-final
	<i>kej-tE-m</i>	<i>kej-t</i>
	give-FUT-TR:3SG	give-FUT(TR:1SG)

3.4.1.2. The intransitive morph $-jE- \sim -j-$ (6.1.1.1-6.1.1.2). The alternation occurs in the finite forms of 1PL, 2PL. In the finite forms of 1SG, 2SG, the morph $-jE-$ is the only option, in the third person forms, the morph $-j$ is the only option. This is illustrated by the paradigm of the verb *jaqa-* ‘reach, arrive’ in the non-Future tense and in the Future tense: in the former case, the morphophonemic environment requires the syllabic allomorph, in the latter, the consonantal allomorph (after $-tE-$).

(77)	Non-future	Future
	1SG <i>jaqa-je</i>	<i>jaqa-tE-je</i>
	2SG <i>jaqa-je-k</i>	<i>jaqa-tE-je-k</i>
	3SG <i>jaqa-j</i>	<i>jaqa-tE-j</i>
	1PL <i>jaqa-jE-l'i</i>	<i>jaqa-tE-j-l'i</i>
	2PL <i>jaqa-jE-met</i>	<i>jaqa-tE-j-met</i>
	3PL <i>jaqa-ŋi</i>	<i>jaqa-ŋi-te-j</i>

In the 1PL forms, *E* is represented by /ī/, e.g., /jaqajī'i/.

3.4.1.3. The transitive morph *-mE-* ~ *-m-*. The morphophonemic alternation occurs only in the third person Object-Focus forms and Passive Attributive forms (6.1.1.1, 6.1.2.1) In other forms containing the transitive morph, only one variant is possible, regardless of the preceding (mor)phoneme (see 6.1.1.1). The following examples illustrate the alternation immediately after a root and after different allomorphs of the Future marker.

(78)	Consonantal	Syllabic
	<i>ā-tE-m-le</i>	<i>ā-mE-le</i>
	make-FUT-OF-3	make-OF-3
	<i>kuddE-m-le</i>	<i>kuddE-t-mE-le</i>
	kill-OF-3	kill-FUT-OF-3

3.4.1.4. The Plural marker *-pE-* ~ *-p(ul)-*. After {*E*}, the plural marker has the form *-pul-* or *-p-*, depending on the following morph (79), otherwise, the form *-pe-*, regardless of the following morph (80).

(79)	PL	PL-POSS	
	<i>ās'E-pul</i>	<i>ās'E-p-ki</i>	'domestic deer'
	<i>emd'E-pul</i>	<i>emd'E-p-ki</i>	'younger siblings'
	<i>mided'E-pul</i>	<i>mided'E-p-ki</i>	'needles'
	<i>aŋd'E-pul</i>	<i>aŋd'E-p-ki</i>	'eyes'

(80)	PL	PL-POSS	
	<i>anil-pE</i>	<i>anil-pE-gi</i>	'fishes'
	<i>čāčā-pE</i>	<i>čāčā-pE-gi</i>	'elder brothers'
	<i>qār-pE</i>	<i>qār-pE-gi</i>	'skins'
	<i>mure-pE</i>	<i>mure-pE-gi</i>	'shoes'

3.4.1.5. The Augmentative marker *-tEge-* ~ *-tke-*. The consonantal allomorph occurs after {*E*}, e.g.:

(81)	<i>terikE-tke</i>	'huge wife'
	<i>ās'E-tke</i>	'huge domestic deer'
	<i>šoromE-tke</i>	'huge person'

In the last word, the morphoneme $\{E\}$ can be represented by the phoneme /o/ according to the labial harmony rules.

Examples of the syllabic allomorph:

- (82) *pulut-tEge* 'huge old man'
šā-tEge 'huge tree'
todī-tEge 'huge tooth'

3.4.1.6. The Proprietary suffixes $-n'E-$ $\sim -n'$, $-dE-$ $\sim -d-$, $-tE-$ $\sim -š-$. The suffixes derive verbs with the meanings 'have X', 'get X', and 'provide somebody with X' respectively, where X is denoted by the nominal stem. The distribution of allomorphs is illustrated by the following examples (third person subject forms):

- (83) $-n'$ $-d-$ $-š-$
ās'E-n'-i *ās'E-d-i* *ās'E-š-um* (*ās'E* 'decr')
terikE-n'-i *terikE-d-i* *terikE-š-um* (*terikE* 'wife')
čohojE-n'-i *čohojE-d-i* *čohojE-š-um* (*čohojE* 'knife')

In the last word, the morphoneme $\{E\}$ can be represented by the phoneme /o/ according to the labial harmony rules.

- (84) $-n'E-$ $-dE-$ $-tE-$
mure-n'E-j *mure-dE-j* *mure-tE-m* (*mure* 'shoe(s)')
nohī-n'E-j *nohī-dE-j* *nohī-tE-m* (*nohī* 'thimble')
numø-n'E-j *numø-dE-j* *numø-tE-m* (*numø* 'house')

See (Krejnovich 1982:44-65) for multiple examples of these alternations.

3.4.2. $\{+E\}$ -stems vs. $\{-E\}$ -stems

3.4.2.1. $\{+E\}$ -roots vs. $\{-E\}$ -roots. Lexical morphemes fall into two classes: some roots take the syllabic allomorphs of the morphemes listed in 3.4.1, the others take the consonantal allomorphs. All roots of the first class end in /e/ or in /o/. The latter option is possible (but not obligatory) only if the first vowel of the root is /o/, /ō/ and the consonant preceding $\{E\}$ is not palatal. Phonetically, the distinction between /e/ and /o/ is quite clear only

in stressed syllables; when unstressed, the final vowels of both /e/- and /o/-stems are reduced to [ə], so that the final /o/ of an {+E}-root can be assumed to alternate with /e/ in unstressed syllables.

(85) {+E}-roots in /e/: phonetic representation

Root	Predicative	Nominative	
<i>toukE</i>	[<i>tou'kek</i>]	[<i>'toukə</i>]	'dog'
<i>almE</i>	[<i>al'mek</i>]	[<i>'almə</i>]	'shaman'
<i>erpejE</i>	[<i>erpe'jek</i>]	[<i>'erpejə</i>]	'Even'
<i>qaŋičE</i>	[<i>qaŋi'tʃek</i>]	[<i>qa'ŋitʃə</i>]	'hunter'

(86) {+E}-roots in /o/: phonetic representation

Root	Predicative	Nominative	
<i>johurčE</i>	[<i>joʋur'tʃok</i>]	[<i>jo'ʋurtʃə</i>]	'flock, herd'
<i>čolhorE</i>	[<i>tʃolʋo'rok</i>]	[<i>'tʃolʋorə</i>]	'hare'
<i>qonžE</i>	[<i>qon'ʒok</i>]	[<i>'qonʒə</i>]	'gap, hole'
<i>šouhE</i>	[<i>ʃou'ʋok</i>]	[<i>'ʃouʋə</i>]	'plate'
<i>qonqE</i>	[<i>qon'qok</i>]	[<i>'qonqə</i>]	'pit, hole.'

In most {+E}-roots in /o/ the final vowel can be pronounced as /e/ in stressed syllables as well, cf. [*foro'mo*] ~ [*foro'me*] 'person'. This seems to be impossible only after a uvular consonant.

There are no phonological restrictions on {-E}-roots; in particular, they can end in /e/ and /o/ (which makes it impossible to account for the phenomena dealt with in this section on a pure phonological basis). Some examples of {-E}-roots:

(87) Singular	Plural	
<i>adil</i>	<i>adil-pe</i>	'lad, young man'
<i>jōr</i>	<i>jōr-pe</i>	'hook, catch'
<i>ajbī</i>	<i>ajbī-pe</i>	'ghost, soul'
<i>čāčā</i>	<i>čāčā-pe</i>	'elder brother'
<i>mottuškā</i>	<i>mottuškā-pe</i>	'gull'
<i>epie</i>	<i>epie-pe</i>	'grand-mother'
<i>kønme</i>	<i>kønme-pe</i>	'friend, partner'
<i>mure</i>	<i>mure-pe</i>	'shoe'

mino mino-pe 'raft'
nodo nodo-pe 'bird.'

Some $\{+E\}$ -roots show controversial behavior, that is, they occasionally permit, along with the consonantal allomorph, the syllabic allomorph of the following morpheme, cf.: *erpeje-pe-n'e* ~ *erpeje-pul-n'e* 'with Evens', *kønme-pe* ~ *kønme-pul* 'friends'.

3.4.2.2. $\{+E\}$ -suffixes. A number of non-productive derivational suffixes have the form $-Ce-$, where $/e/$ can alternate with $/a/$, $/o/$. Stems derived by means of these suffixes behave like $\{+E\}$ -roots with respect to the choice of the following allomorph. Moreover, the final vowel of $\{+E\}$ -roots and of these suffixes participate in some phonemic alternations which do not occur elsewhere (see 3.4.3). Thus, the final vowels of such suffixes can be assumed to represent the morphoneme $\{E\}$. All stems derived by these suffixes will be referred to as $\{+E\}$ -stems. To illustrate the morphophonemic behavior of derived $\{+E\}$ -stems, each of the following examples presents a verb in the Future 3SG form and in the Object-Focus 3SG form (for transitive verbs) or in the 2PL form (for intransitive verbs), see 3.4.1.1-3.4.1.3.

- (88) *šej-re-* 'bring, put in':
šej-re-t-u-m enter-CAUS-FUT-0-TR:3SG
šej-re-m-le enter-CAUS-OF-3SG
- ege-te-* 'put, install':
ege-te-t-u-m stand-CAUS-FUT-0-TR:3SG
ege-te-m-le stand-CAUS-OF-3(SG)
- legi-te-* 'feed, give food':
legi-te-t-u-m eat-CAUS-FUT-0-TR:3SG
legi-te-m-le eat-CAUS-OF-3(SG)
- ī-de-* 'catch':
ī-de-t-u-m be.caught-CAUS-FUT-0-TR:3SG
ī-de-m-le be.caught-CAUS-OF-3SG
- jube-ge-* 'get full, satisfied':
jube-ge-t-i be.full-INCH-FUT-INTR:3SG
jube-ge-j-met be.full-INCH-INTR-2PL

leŋ-de- ‘eat’ (vi):

<i>leŋ-de-t-i</i>	<i>leŋ-de-j-met</i>
eat-DETR-FUT-INTR:3SG	eat-DETR-FUT-INTR-2PL

qamie-d’e- ‘help’ (vi):

<i>qamie-d’e-t-i</i>	<i>qamie-d’e-j-met</i>
help-DETR-FUT-INTR:3SG	help-DETR-FUT-INTR-2PL

3.4.3. Alternations in {+E}-stems

In most environments, the morphoneme {E} is represented by the phoneme /e/. This subsection describes other possible phonemic instantiations of {E} and their phonological and morphological conditions.

3.4.3.1. In the non-productive derivational suffixes *-GE-* and *-dE-*, {E} is represented by /a/ in back stems (see 2.4.3.3-2.4.3.4).

3.4.3.2. Before the Diminutive marker *-dē-*, the Imperfective marker *-nu-*, the Habitual marker *-nun-*, and the Inferential marker *-l’el-*, {E} is represented as /ē/ in front stems and as /ā/ in back stems.

(89) Front stems

<i>terikē-die</i>	‘tiny old woman’
old.woman-DIM	
<i>øɾ-n’ē-nu-j</i>	‘(he) was shouting’
shout-PRPR-IPFV-INTR:3SG	
<i>ej-rē-nun-d’ū’i</i>	‘(we) used to walk’
walk-NONIT-HAB-INTR:1PL	
<i>n’ū-tē-l’el-u-m</i>	‘(he) gave a name’
name-PRPR:CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG	

(90) Back stems

<i>čolhorā-die</i>	‘tiny hare’
hare-DIM	
<i>šohu-šā-nu-m</i>	‘(he) is losing’
get.lost-CAUS-IPFV-TR:3SG	
<i>qamie-d’ā-nun-i</i>	‘(he) used to help’
help-DETR-HAB-INTR:3SG	

joq-tā-l'el-u-m '(he) must have brought'
reach-CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG

3.4.3.3. $\{E\}$ is dropped when a vowel-initial suffix is attached. If a vowel-initial suffix is attached to a vowel-final $\{-E\}$ -stem, an epenthetic consonant (most often, /l/) is inserted (see 3.5.1).

- (91) $\{+E\}$ -stems
- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>øʀ-n'e-</i> | <i>øʀ-n'ie-</i> | 'begin to shout' |
| | shout-PRPR-INGR- | |
| <i>čāharn'e-</i> | <i>čāharn'ā-</i> | 'begin to behave |
| | be.fastidious-INGR- | fastidiously' |
| <i>am-de-</i> | <i>am-d-ō-</i> | 'be dead' |
| | die-NONIT-RES- | |
| <i>leŋ-de-</i> | <i>leŋ-d-ōl'-</i> | 'be hungry' |
| | eat-DETR-DESD- | |

- (92) $\{-E\}$ -stems
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>erie-</i> | <i>erie-l'ie-</i> | 'begin to hate' |
| | hate-0-INGR- | |
| <i>ā-</i> | <i>ā-l-ā-</i> | 'begin to make' |
| | make-0-INGR- | |
| <i>ās'ĩ-</i> | <i>ās'ĩ-l-ō-</i> | 'be stretched' |
| | stretch-RES- | |
| <i>juø-</i> | <i>juø-l-ōl'-</i> | 'want to see' |
| | see-0-DESD- | |

3.5. Epenthetic submorphs

In a number of cases, epenthetic submorphs are employed in order to avoid vowel clustering or word-final consonant clustering. These phenomena are characteristic of verb morphology.

3.5.1. Epenthetic *-l-*

Before vowel-initial morphs the epenthetic submorph *-l-* is inserted after the final vowel of the stem (93a) and after /j/ (93b). The final $\{E\}$ of a stem is replaced by the suffix (93c). In some cases,

c. <i>šog-u-l</i>	‘(it was X who) entered’
enter-0-SF	
<i>ejrie-l’el-u-l</i>	‘(it was X who) walked’
walk-INFR-0-SF	
<i>ejre-t-u-l</i>	‘(it is X who) will walk’
walk-FUT-0-SF	

4. Word stress

Polysyllabic roots fall into two main groups:

1. If a root contains at least one heavy syllable, i.e., a syllable of the structure $(C)VC$ or $(C)\bar{V}$, the stress is placed on the last heavy syllable.

(95) Disyllabic stems:

<i>’ā=s’e</i>	‘domestic deer’
<i>’šup=te</i>	‘throughout’
<i>no=’hī</i>	‘thimble’
<i>le=’gul</i>	‘food’
<i>pā=’wā</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>šol=’nā</i>	‘woodpecker’
<i>šaš=’qul</i>	‘paw’
<i>mā=’but</i>	‘lasso’

(96) Trisyllabic stems:

<i>ša=na=’jāq</i>	‘fur coat’
<i>šo=’hun=me</i>	‘lichen’
<i>’šoŋ=d’i=le</i>	‘spring’
<i>ar=nū=’jā</i>	‘glutton’
<i>a=’rō=je</i>	‘a kind of fish’
<i>čo=lō=’lok</i>	‘just so’
<i>’čol=ho=ro</i>	‘hare’

2. If a root contains no heavy syllables, the final syllable is stressed:

- (97) *jo*=*'**ŋo* 'evil'
mi=*'**no* 'raft'
mo=*'**ho* 'hat'
šø-*ri*=*'**le* 'color, flower'
čø=*bi*=*'**ne* 'spear'

However, there is a small group of disyllabic roots of the structure (C)V = CE which are stressed on the initial syllable.

- (98) *'**le*=*me* 'what'
*'**kø*=*d'e* 'larva'
*'**mu*=*re* 'shoe'

If a new heavy syllable is created in the course of derivation, the stress is moved to the last heavy syllable of the stem. It can be either the final syllable of the root (if it is "closed" by the following suffix), or a suffix. The former possibility is illustrated by augmentative derivatives in *-tke* (see (81)):

- (99) *'**em*=*d'e* *em*=*'**d'et=ke* 'younger sibling'
*'**šow*=*he* *šow*=*'**hot=ke* 'plate'
*'**an*=*d'e* *an*=*'**d'et=ke* 'prince, elder'
*'**čam*:-*d'e* *čam*=*'**d'et=-ke* 'oar'

The shift of stress to a suffix is illustrated by causative derivatives in *-dE-(j)-* (see (41)-(42)) (both intransitive and causative verbs are given in the form of 3SG):

- (100) *šel'*=*'**ges* 'break' (vi) *šel'*=*ge*=*'**dej**m* 'break' (vt)
čiče=*'**ges* 'lengthen' (vi) *čiče*=*ge*=*'**dej**m* 'lengthen' (vt)
jøm=*'**ges* 'rotate' (vi) *jøm*=*ge*=*'**dej**m* 'surround'
ša=*ba*=*'**has* 'hit' (vi) *ša*=*ba*=*ha*=*'**daj**m* 'hit' (vt.)
am:-*'**las* 'fall in' *am*=*la*=*'**daj**m* 'swallow'
šaša:-*'**has* 'tear' (vi) *šaša*=*ha*=*'**daj**m* 'tear' (vt)

Generally, finite verb inflectional suffixes can be stressed in accordance with the same phonological rule; the nonverbal inflection (including non-finite verb forms) cannot attract the word stress.

Chapter 4

Parts of speech and inflectional paradigms

This chapter introduces a classification into parts of speech which forms the basis for the further morphological description. Since major classes of lexical items are distinguished morphologically, the chapter also introduces major inflectional patterns, nominal and verbal (Section 1), and a minor locative pattern (2.2) which is characteristic of spatial adverbs and postpositions.

The most typologically important feature of the Yukaghir part-of-speech system is the absence of adjectives (Krejnovich 1982:97-112). This issue is discussed in Section 3.

Closed word classes and their inflectional features are outlined in Section 4.

1. Nouns vs. verbs

There are two major inflectional paradigms, nominal (1.1) and verbal (1.2). Thus, nouns and verbs are easily distinguished morphologically (1.3).

1.1. Nominal paradigm

The nominal inflection comprises a Plural marker, Possessive markers, and Case markers, ordered according to the following scheme (the derivational size markers follow the Plural marker):

(101) Nominal inflection: X-NUMBER-(SIZE)-POSSESSIVE-CASE

Here are some instances of this pattern:

- (102) a. *pulut-pe-die-lek* 'little old men'
old.man-PL-DIM-PRED
b. *pude-p-te-gen* '(flying) above them'
above-PL-POSS-PROL
c. *šā-tege-le* '(by) big tree'
tree-AUG-INSTR

There are also a non-referential Attributive form in *-d/-n* and two verbal forms, Stative and Proprietary (see 1.3). For further information on nominal inflection, see Chapter 5.

1.2. Verbal paradigm

The verb paradigm falls into several sub-paradigms: finite forms, Attributive forms, Nominal forms, and Converbs (non-finite switch-reference forms). The finite non-imperative inflection comprises polarity markers, tense/mood markers, and agreement markers, ordered as shown by the following scheme:

- (103) Finite non-imperative inflection:
AFF+IRLS+NEG+V-INFR/PRSP-PL-FUT-(IN)TR:PERSON

Some examples:

- (104) a. *modo-l'el-ŋi-te-j* '(they) probably live'
sit-INFR-3PL-FUT-INTR
b. *m-et+jaqa-je* '(I) would reach'
AFF-IRLS-reach-INTR:1SG
c. *el+iks'ĩ-l'el-ŋi* '(they) did not catch'
NEG+catch-INFR-3PL:INTR
d. *el+jeyžu-možĩ* '(he) will not sleep'
NEG-sleep-PRSP(NEG:3SG)

The Imperative sub-paradigm is organized according to the scheme in (4-5):

- (105) Imperative inflection: NEG+V-PL-IMP/PROH-PERSON

This scheme is illustrated by the following examples:

- (106) a. *el+ā-ŋi-le-k* 'do not make (PL)'
 NEG | make-PL-PROH-2
 b. *īde-ŋi-ge-n* 'let them sew'
 sew-PL-IMP-3

For examples of the Action Nominal and of the Active Attributive form, see 3.1. For a detailed description of verb inflection, see Chapter 6.

1.3. Relationship between the major paradigms

Given the existence of nominal forms, in particular, of the Action Nominal, the nominal paradigm can be taken to constitute a subpart of the verb paradigm; see the following examples, where nominal inflectional suffixes are attached to verb stems:

- (107) a. *tāt nodo-pe laŋin qon-i*
 CA bird-PL AD:DIR go-INTR:3SG
šaqal'ā-nu-p-te-ŋin
 [gather-IPFV-PL-POSS-DAT]
 'Then she went to where the birds gathered.' [F5]
 b. *touke-pul oj-d'e-p-ki*
 [dog-PL bark-DETR-PL-POSS]
medi-s'
 be.perceivable-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'The dogs started barking.' [F54]

Note that there is no overt marker of the Action Nominal in these forms, so that nominal inflectional markers are attached directly to a verb stem (the overt Action Nominal marker appears in Singular non-Possessive forms, see 5.1.4.3).

Conversely, the nominal stems can attach the verbal inflectional markers only in the Stative form (108a) (see 5.5.5.2) or in the Propriative form (108b) (see 5.5.5.1)

- (108) a. *er-če pugil'+ŋō-l'el-d'ek*
 [be.bad-ATTR] son.in.law+STAT-INFR-INTR:2SG
 'You proved to be a bad son-in-law.' [F18]

- b. *jā-n* *køjpe-d+i uθ-n'e-j*
 three-ATTR boy-ATTR+child-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'She had three sons.' [F55]

Thus, verbs can be defined as lexical units having the verb paradigm; nouns, as lexical units having *only* the nominal paradigm.

2. Adverbs

2.1. Generalities

Adverbs have little morphology and no inflection, with the exception of spatial adverbs which have a locative paradigm (2.2).¹³ For adverbs based on numeral and pronominal stems, see 7.1.2; see also 5.5.3 for the Temporal form of nouns.

Adverbs can be derived from qualitative verbs by means of the suffix *-n* (see 4.3.3). This suffix is found also in a few synchronically non-derived adverbs:

- (109) Non-derived adverbs in *-n*:
anān 'on purpose, purposely'
kødin 'right, in a proper way'
medin 'just, only just, as soon as'
molin 'only, hardly, barely'
olmon 'merely'
šobin 'quietly, calmly', etc.

A few adverbs can take markers of degree, *-d'E* for the Diminutive degree (cf. Krejnovich 1982:105), *-hote* for the Superlative degree.

- (110) Diminutive adverbs
jūke > *jūke-d'e* 'far'
olhi-n > *olhi-d'ū* 'straightforwardly'
čerū-n > *čerū-d'e* 'slowly, quietly'

- (111) A Superlative adverb
čomō-n > *čomō-hote* 'very, very much'

Table 9. Locative paradigm

Locative (<i>at</i>)			
<i>adā</i> (be) there	<i>jūke</i> (be) far away	<i>jōbī</i> (be) in forest	<i>kejie</i> (be) in front
Prolative (<i>at/by</i>)			
<i>adā-n</i> (move) there	<i>jūke-n</i> (move) far away	<i>jōbī-n</i> (move) in forest	<i>kejie-n</i> (move) in front
Ablative (<i>from</i>)			
<i>adā-t</i> from there	<i>jūke-t</i> from far away	<i>jōbī-t</i> from forest	<i>kejie-t</i> from the front
Directional (<i>towards</i>)			
<i>ada-ŋide</i> thither	<i>jūke+laŋi(n)</i> towards far away	<i>jōbī+laŋi(n)</i> towards forest	<i>kejie-gude</i> forwards

Note that a marker of degree replaces the adverbial suffix *-n*.

A few adverbs can derive qualitative verbs by means of the suffix *-mie-* (see 6.3.6.4.2).

2.2. Locative paradigm

The spatial adverbs have a locative paradigm, which comprises Locative (unmarked), Prolative, Ablative, and Directional, as shown in Table 9.

The formal opposition between the Locative, the Prolative, and the Ablative is quite regular and productive; in particular, a number of recent borrowings from Russian take the Prolative and Ablative marking, cf. *bejd'ie* 'everywhere' (Russian *vezde* with the same meaning), *bejd'ie-n*, *bejd'ie-t*. The same opposition constitutes a fragment of the nominal local inflection (see 5.4.2.5). The formation of the Directional is irregular and involves, in a few cases, the postposition *laŋi* 'towards' (7.3.2.3) (Krejnovich 1982:159-161). The functions of these forms are illustrated in (112).

- (112) a. *tudel jōbī modo-l'el taŋ pulut*
 he in.forest live-INFR(3SG) that old.man
 'He lived in forest, that old man.' [F3]
- b. <...> *met ejmie-n adā-n*
 I across-PROL here-PROL

pugeže-s'

dart-PFV:INTR:3SG

'... he darted out right there, at the other side.'

- c. *kejie-gude tanyd'et čugō-n øndie jodū-ge*
front-DIR CA quick-ADV brook turn-LOC

jōda-j-l'el

turn-PFV-INFR(3SG)

'Then he quickly walked further forward and disappeared behind the turn of the brook.' [F34]

- d. *uørpe-p-ki bejd'ie-t*
children-PL-POSS everywhere-ABL

kelu-nu-ŋi

come-IPFV-3PL:INTR

'His children came from everywhere.' [F55]

A number of spatial adverbs are formally identical with postpositions (see 7.3).

3. Attributes and properties

3.1. Attributive forms of nouns and verbs

Both nouns and verbs can be used as noun modifiers. A noun can occur in this position either in the morphologically unmarked (nominative) form or in the Attributive (non-referential) form in *-d* ~ *-n*:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (113) | Unmarked modifiers | Attributive forms |
| | <i>mēmē čuge</i> | <i>mēmē-n qār</i> |
| | 'trace of a/the bear' | 'bear skin' |
| | <i>āče čuge</i> | <i>āče-n ømgede</i> |
| | 'trace of a/the deer' | 'deer saddle' |
| | <i>šaqale nume</i> | <i>šaqale-n ferma</i> |
| | 'house of a/the fox' | 'fox farm' |

For details on nominal modifiers, see 5.5.1, 8.2.

A verb can occur as a noun modifier either in a designated Attributive form (114) (see 6.1.2) or in the Action Nominal form

in *-l* (115) (see 6.1.3.3). The examples in (114) illustrate only the Active Attributive form in *-j(E)*. For another (Passive) Attributive form, see 6.1.2.1.

- (114) a. *id'ī tet kie-s'e šoromo tite jūs'e*
 now you [come-ATTR] person as breath
pešše-j-k
 release-PFV-IMP:2SG
 'Now, since you have just arrived, catch your breath.'
- b. <...> *tā ohō-d'e šāl-ge*
 [there stand-ATTR] tree-LOC
mot-tā-l'el-ηā
 sit-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 '... they put her on a tree growing there.' [F37]
- (115) a. *tāt ege-te-s'-u-l ør-de-ge*
 CA [stand.up-CAUS-ITER-0-ANR] shout-POSS-ABL
mežže-j-l'el-ηi
 awake-PFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Then they awoke because of his arousing shout.' [K4]
- b. *kel-u-l šoromo mon-i <...>*
 [come-0-ANR] man say-INTR:3SG
 'The man who came said: ...'

For a detailed description of relative clauses, see 11.3.

3.2. Qualitative verbs

Most words signifying qualities constitute a subclass of verbs (Krejnovich 1982:97-112), insofar as they have the full finite paradigm (116) (as described 1.2) and all non-finite forms, with the notable exception of converbs for most qualitative stems (see 3.3 for adverbial use of the qualitative verbs). In particular, these words take the verbal Attributive (117) or Action Nominal (118) form when used as noun modifiers (cf. (114)-(115)).

- (116) a. *id'ĩ pen omo-s'* *čumu*
 here it good-INTR:3SG | all
omo-te-j
 good-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'This is a nice place, everything will be good.' [F31]
- b. *tā omo-l'el-te-j,* *čuøte*
 there good-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG always
poj-ne-l'el-te-j
 light-QLT-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'It must be good there, it is always sunny bright.' [F2]
- c. *qodo modo-jemet? omo-s'ũ'i*
 how sit-INTR:2PL good-INTR:1PL
 'How are you? Good.' [I]
- d. *tudel čine-de-j-ne ot+omo-lel*
 [he hew-3SG-DS-COND] IRLS+good-INFR(3SG)
 'If he had hewed, it would have been good.' (Krejnovich 1982:169)
- e. *ejre-din omo-ge-n*
 [walk-SUP] good-IMP-3SG
 'May it be good to walk.'
- (117) a. *o, nahā omo-s'e šoromo-k kel-u-l*
 Intj [very good-ATTR] person-PRED come-0-SF
 'Wow, a very good man has come!' [F15]
- b. *met-in er-če n'ēr-ek kej-ŋile*
 I-DAT [bad-ATTR] clothes-PRED give-3PL:OF
 'They gave me bad clothes.' [K5]
- (118) a. *tāt omo-l aŋd'e-gi bojs'e*
 CA [good-ANR] eye-POSS entirely
pie-de-j-l'el
 burn-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 'Thus, his good eye was completely burned.' [F31]

- b. *lige-l* *erū-l* *alme* *tāt*
 [old-ANR] [bad-ANR] shaman CA
šeguže-l'el
 run.away-INFR(3SG)
 'The bad old shaman ran away.' [F44]

Besides being deficient with respect to the converb formation, qualitative verbs have a number of derivational peculiarities; in other words, they constitute a morphologically distinguishable subclass of verbs (see 6.3.5.3, 6.3.6.3, 6.3.6.4, 6.4.3.3.2).¹⁴ Yet their major inflectional categories, as well as the verb-like Attributive marking, prevent them from making up an autonomous class of "adjectives".¹⁵

3.3. Adverbial use of qualitative verbs

A remarkable peculiarity of qualitative verbs is their adverbial use, which seems to be directly related to the absence of converbs in their inflectional paradigm. First, a number of qualitative verbs derive adverbs by means of the suffix *-n*:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---|-----------------------|
| (119) | <i>čugō-</i> | > | <i>čugō-n</i> |
| | 'be quick' | | 'quick, quicker' |
| | <i>omō-</i> | > | <i>omō-n</i> |
| | 'be good' | | 'entirely, very much' |
| | <i>čerō-</i> | > | <i>čerū-n</i> |
| | 'be quiet, slow' | | 'slowly, quietly' |
| | <i>čomō-</i> | > | <i>čomō-n</i> |
| | 'be big, great' | | 'very much' |
| | <i>ažō-</i> | > | <i>ažō-n</i> |
| | 'be early' | | 'early' |

Cf. the following examples:

- (120) a. *pøñ ažō-l'el*
 it early-INFR(3SG)
 'It was early.'

- b. *irk-id'e ugujel-me ažō-n*
 one-ITER morning-TMP early-ADV
mežže-če
 awake-PFV:INTR:1SG
 'Once I got up early in the morning.' [K2]

Furthermore, some qualitative verbs can be used adverbially, i.e., to modify predicates or attributes, in the short Attributive form in *-j~-s'* (see 3.3.3):

- (121) a. *tet ønme omo-s' ad-i moj-k*
 your mind good-ATTR firm-ATTR hold-IMP:3SG
 'Stand firmly by your ideas.' [F22]
- b. *gristos tamun jolā-t lebie-le omo-s'*
 Christ that after-ABL earth-INSTR good-ATTR
juø-m
 see-TR:3SG
 'Since then, Christ could see the earth well.' [F9]
- c. *tet eri-s' mit joulus'-ōl mon-te-jek*
 you bad-ATTR [we ask-RNR] say-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'You have answered our question badly
 (=wrongly).' [F31]

Such a construction is absolutely impossible for ordinary verbs (which can be used adverbially only in one of the Converb forms, see 6.1.4).

3.4. Nonverbal qualitative stems

There are two pairs of qualitative stems which do not fit into the classification outlined above. A first pair comprises the stems *juku-* 'small' and *čom(o)-* 'big'. In some frozen collocations, these stems can be used attributively without any marking.

- (122) *juku+joŋžā* a kind of goose
 small+goose
čom+parnā 'raven'
 big.crow
čomo+čohojo 'sword'
 big+knife

The counterpart verb stems end in *-ō-*, *juk-ō-* 'be small' and *čom-ō-* 'be big' (see 6.3.6.1).

A second pair consists of the stems *čuϕl'e* 'old, ancient' (used almost only in the collocation *čuϕl'e omnī ~ čuϕl'e-d+omnī* 'ancient people'), and *il'l'e* 'new, fresh, (an)other'. The latter stem can be used attributively without marking (123a), in the nominal attributive form in *-d/-n* (123b), or with the Action Nominal marker (123c):

- (123) a. <...> *qam-un* *il'l'e* *šoromo-k* *kel-u-l*
 how.many-ATTR new person-PRED come-0-SF
 '... how many new people came into the world?' [K1]
- b. <...> *il'l'e-d+užō-k* *moj-mele*
 new-ATTR+gun-PRED hold-OF:3SG
 '... he is holding a new gun.' [F52]
- c. *tāt qon-u-t* *il'l'e-l* *šoromo čuge-k*
 [so go-0-SS:IPFV] new-ANR person trace-PRED
num-mele
 find-OF:3SG
 'She went and found traces of other people.' [F54]

Both stems seem to be derived by the same suffix *-l'e* from the adverb *čuϕ* 'already' and the pronoun *ile* '(an)other' respectively (cf. 7.1.1.3, 7.1.4.5). The stem *il'l'e* has the verbal counterpart in *-ō-*, *il'l'-ō-* 'be new'. See also 7.1.2.1 for the qualitative pro-forms.

4. Closed classes

There are five closed classes of items: pronouns and related pro-forms, numerals, postpositions, particles and interjections. Pro-

nouns and numerals have rich morphology which comprises nominal, verbal, attributive and adverbial forms (see 7.1, 7.2). Some postpositions have the locative paradigm and the Possessive markers (see 7.3, 8.5).

Chapter 5

Nominal morphology

1. Formation of major categories

Major nominal inflectional categories are Number, Case and Possessive. The markers are agglutinated to a stem or to each other as represented by the following scheme (“X” stands for stem; see also Tables 10, 11):

(124) X-NUMBER-POSSESSIVE-CASE

The whole paradigm is compatible with nouns and all Nominal verb forms; the non-Possessive sub-paradigm, with interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns (see 7.1.2, 7.1.3, 7.1.4), the Case sub-paradigm, with personal pronouns (7.1.1).

Table 10. Non-Possessive subparadigm¹⁶

	Singular	Plural	
		{-E}-stems	{+E}-stems
Nominative	X- \emptyset	X- <i>pul</i>	X- <i>pe</i>
Predicative	X- <i>lek</i> ~ X- <i>(e)k</i>	X- <i>p-lek</i> ~ X- <i>pul-ek</i>	X- <i>pe-lek</i> ~ X- <i>pe-k</i>
Accusative	X- <i>Gele</i>	X- <i>pul-gele</i>	X- <i>pe-gele</i>
Instrumental	X- <i>(l)e</i>	X- <i>p-le</i>	X- <i>pe-le</i>
Dative	X- <i>ŋin</i>	X- <i>pul-ŋin</i>	X- <i>pe-ŋin</i>
Locative	X- <i>Ge</i>	X- <i>pul-ge</i>	X- <i>pe-ge</i>
Ablative	X- <i>Ge-t</i>	X- <i>pul-ge-t</i>	X- <i>pe-ge-t</i>
Prolative	X- <i>Ge-n</i>	X- <i>pul-ge-n</i>	X- <i>pe-ge-n</i>
Comitative	X- <i>n'e</i>	X- <i>pul-n'e</i>	X- <i>pe-n'e</i>

Table 11. Possessive subparadigm

	Singular	Plural	
		{-E}-stems	{+E}-stems
Nominative	X-Gi	X-p-ki ~ X-pul-gi	X-pe-gi
Accusative	X-de-jle ~ X-De-gele	X-p-te-jle	X-pe-de-jle
Instrumental	X-De-le	X-p-te-le	X-pe-de-le
Dative	X-D-in ~ X-De-ŋin	X-p-t-in ~ X-p-te-ŋin	X-pe-d-in ~ X-pe-de-ŋin
Locative	X-De-ge	X-p-te-ge	X-pe-de-ge
Ablative	X-De-ge-t	X-p-te-ge-t	X-pe-de-ge-t
Prolative	X-De-ge-n	X-p-te-ge-n	X-pe-de-ge-n
Comitative	X-De-n'e	X-p-te-n'e	X-pe-de-n'e

1.1. Plural formation

The Plural marker *-p(ul)-* is chosen after stems in {E}, *-pe-* otherwise (as described in 3.3.4.1.4). The allomorphic variation *-p-* ~ *-pul-* is determined by the next morph, as shown in Table 10. The final /l/ of a stem is normally dropped before the Plural marker (see 1.2.)

1.1.1. Irregular Plural

There is one instance of irregular plural formation: *uø* 'child' > *uø-r-pe* 'children' (see also 1.1.2 on this stem). However, if the Plural marker is followed by the Possessive marker and signifies the plurality of the Possessor (see 3.2.3), it is attached to the stem in a regular way, cf. *uø-pe-gi* 'their child' and *uø-r-pe-gi* 'his/their children'.

1.1.2. "Frozen" Plural marker

In combination with three nominal stems, the Plural marker can lose its meaning, so that a second Plural marker can be attached in order to express the plurality of entities:

- (125) *køj* ~ *køjl* *køj-pe* *køj-pe-pul* 'boy, man, male'
paj ~ *pajl* *paj-pe* *paj-pe-pul* 'woman, female'
uø *uø-r-pe* *uø-r-pe-pul* 'child.'

In all cases, the simple stem (without the “frozen” Plural morph) is still in use (126), so that there arises a three-way contrast between Number forms. The stems *køj* ‘boy, man’, *uø* ‘child’ can attach the Plural marker with the expected plural meaning (127). The stem *paj* does not attach the regular Plural marker, i.e., the first Plural marker cannot signify plurality when attached to this stem.

- (126) a. *tamun-ge taŋ pajl mol-l’el* <...>
 this-LOC that woman say-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Then this woman said: ...’ [F1]
- b. *taŋ kjø tabun medi-delle alme-lek*
 [that boy that hear-SS:PFV] shaman-PRED
aŋs’i-mele
 search-OF:3SG
 ‘That boy heard that and began to search for a shaman.’ [F44]
- c. *tude uø-ŋin mon-i* <...>
 his child-DAT say-INTR:3SG
 ‘He said to his child: ...’ [F48]
- (127) a. *d’e kjø-pe čumut šaqal’-ā-ŋi*
 DP man-PL all gather-INGR-INTR:3PL
 ‘Well, all men began to gather.’ [F54]
- b. *tāt tintat uøŋ-pe irk-in terikie-die-ge*
 CA that child-PL one-ATTR old.woman-DIM-LOC
jaqa-ŋi
 arrive-INTR:3PL
 ‘Then those children came to an old woman.’ [F26]

The “frozen” combinations *paj-pe*, *kjøj-pe* can be used as the Singular forms (128); for the form *uøŋ-pe* this is impossible, i.e., it always has the meaning of plurality. However, this stem can attach the second Plural marker, with an unclear semantic impact (see (129c)).

- (128) a. *taŋ pajpe ataqu-n uø-n’e-l’el*
 that woman two-ATTR child-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 ‘That woman had two children.’ [F07]

- b. *irkin kǒjpe-die-k l'e-l*
 one boy-DIM-PRED be-SF
 'There was one boy' [F36]
- (129) a. *mit kǒjpe-pul čūl-e nugu-nunnu-ŋā*
 our men-PL meat-INSTR find-HAB-TR:3SG
 'Our men used to find meat (= be successful in
 hunting).' [K1]
- b. *paǰpe-pul tittel jolāt kebe-j-l'el-ŋi*
 women-PL they after go.away-PFV-INFR-INTR:3PL
 'The women followed them.' [F50]
- c. *tude uǒrpe-pul-gele es'ie-n'it āj*
 [her children-PL-ACC father-CONN CP
legul-pe-de-ǰle pol-čī-lle
 food-PL-POSS-ACC pull.out-ITER-SS:PFV]
legi-te-m
 eat-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'She pulled out more of their food and fed her children
 and their father.' [F23]

1.2. Comitative formation

Apart from the Comitative form in *-n'e* (see Table 10), there used to be a form in *-n'ō* (Krejnovich 1982:44, 48), now practically obsolete. In my corpus, there is only one example of this form:

- (130) *tāt aŋci-t ejre-t āče-gi*
 [CA search-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] deer-POSS
kurceŋ-n'ō n'ahā nū-l'el-mele
 crane-COM together find-INFR-OF:3SG
 'She walked, searched and found his deer (lying)
 together with a crane.' [K3]

The functional distinction between the two Comitative forms can be reconstructed as following: the Comitative in *-n'ō* used to mark NPs associated with the non-subject participants, while the form in *-n'e* had been used only for "companions" of the subject participant. Now, the latter form is easily applied in both environments

(see 4.2.3 for further details).

The suffix *-n'E-* functions in two modes, as the Comitative marker and as the Propriative marker with a meaning like 'have X, be (provided) with X', where X is signified by the nominal stem (see 4.2.3, 5.5.1). The combination of the Propriative and the same-subject Imperfective suffix *-t* has been frozen as a distinct Comitative marker. This complex marker has the form *-n'-u-t* (*-n' + -t*) after $\{+E\}$ -stems, *-n'i-t* (< *-n'e- + -t*) after $\{+E\}$ -stems (see 3.3.4.1.6), cf. *šāl-n'it* 'with a tree' and *šoromE-n'ut* 'with a man'.

1.3. Possessive forms

The Possessive marker is *-Gi* in the Nominative, *-De-* otherwise. The Possessive sub-paradigm lacks the Predicative case (the Possessive Nominative is used instead; see 4.1.2, 4.1.3).

The combination of the Possessive and the Dative markers results, in the vast majority of cases, in the short form in *-d-in*. The full form in *-de-ŋin* is also possible, but occurs only in few cases, as an optional variant of the short form, e.g., *nume-pe-de-ŋin* ~ *nume-pe-d-in* 'in/to their house'.

The Accusative marker *-gele* commonly takes the form *-jle* after the Possessive marker. The full variant is also possible, but very infrequent. The choice of a variant does not depend on the stem, as shown by the following pairs of forms:

(131)	<i>-de-jle</i>	<i>-de-gele</i>	
	<i>iri-de-jle</i>	<i>iri-de-gele</i>	'belly'
	<i>n'umud'ī-de-jle</i>	<i>n'umud'ī-de-gele</i>	'axe'
	<i>qār-de-jle</i>	<i>qār-de-gele</i>	'skin'

1.4. Consonantal stems

1.4.1. Instrumental and Predicative markers

The initial /l/ of a case marker is dropped after a consonant. This is illustrated below by the Instrumental forms.

(132)	Nominative	Instrumental	
	<i>šin'el'</i>	<i>šin'el'-e</i>	'snare'
	<i>eks'il'</i>	<i>eks'il'-e</i>	'boat'
	<i>pulut</i>	<i>pulut-e</i>	'old man, husband'
	<i>šašqul</i>	<i>šašqul-e</i>	'paw, hand, foot'

As a result, the two variants of the Predicative marker (see Table 10) are not distinguished after stems in /l/, /l'/ (see 4.1.3 on the function of this variation).

1.4.2. Stems in /l/, /l'/

The final /l/, /l'/ of a stem may but need not be dropped before the Plural marker (133) and before the Possessive marker (134).

(133)	Singular	Plural	
	<i>odul</i>	<i>odu-pe ~ odul-pe</i>	'Yukaghir'
	<i>qoil</i>	<i>qoj-pe ~ qojl-pe</i>	'god'
	<i>šāl</i>	<i>šā-pe ~ šāl-pe</i>	'tree'
	<i>marqil'</i>	<i>marqi-pe ~ marqil'-pe</i>	'girl'

(134)	Non-possessive	Possessive	
	<i>anil</i>	<i>anil-gi ~ ani-gi</i>	'fish'
	<i>čūl</i>	<i>čūl-gi ~ čū-gi</i>	'meat'
	<i>laqil</i>	<i>laqi-gi ~ laqil-gi</i>	'tail'
	<i>marqil'</i>	<i>marqi-gi ~ marqil'-gi</i>	'girl'

1.4.3. The Action Nominal and the Result Nominal

The formal variation described in 1.4.2 applies to the Action Nominal and the Result Nominal verb forms (the markers *-l* and *-ōl* respectively, see 6.1.3.1). In this case, the variation appears to have a functional burden, namely, it distinguishes verb forms (where /l/ is dropped obligatorily) and nouns resulting from lexicalization of those forms (where /l/ is not dropped), cf.:

(135)	Verb forms	Nouns
	<i>ūj-gi</i> 'his working'	<i>ūj-l-gi</i> 'his job'
	<i>jann-uo-gi</i> 'what he has sent'	<i>jan-n-uol-gi</i> 'his request'

2. Functions of the Possessive markers

The grammatical Possessive relation covers a wide range of relationships between entities. As in many languages, it clusters around three meanings, the part-whole relationship (136a), kinship (136b), and belonging (136c). For further details on the semantics of grammatical Possession, see 8.2.

The bound Possessive suffixes *-gi*, *-de-* mark the Possessive relation between the referent of the noun phrase and some third person/entity which is not the subject of the clause within which the noun phrase occurs (136a). In particular, the controller of the Possessive marking can serve as a modifier within the same NP (136b)-(136c). If the same relation holds between the referent and the first or the second person, or between the referent and the subject participant of the clause, the Possessive forms of personal pronouns must be used (see 7.1.1.2).

- (136) a. *tāt nume-ŋin qon-delle tude terike-gele*
 [CA house-DAT go-SS:PFV] his wife-ACC
aŋd'e-de-jle ulte-m
 eye-POSS-ACC bind-TR:3SG
 'Then he went home and bound his wife's eyes.' [F28]
- b. *tude uørpe-pu uørpe-p-ki legi-te-t*
 [his child-PL child-PL-POSS eat-CAUS-SS:IPFV]
kič-u-t suitan'e-t ligu-mu-l-gele
 [teach-0-SS:IPFV] [bustle-SS:IPFV] old-INCH-ANR-ACC
el+lejdī / čuøn qon-ta-j-l'el-u-m
 [NEG+know-PRV] go-CAUS-PFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'He fed and taught his grandchildren (lit. children of his children), bustled, and did not notice how he grew old' (lit. 'He carried his growing old without knowing it.') [K4]
- c. *tintaŋ pulun-die-gele pugedan'd'e*
 that old.man-DIM-ACC king
nume-d-in qon-te-m šaqale
 house-POSS-DAT go-CAUS-TR:3SG fox
 'The fox brought that old man to the house of the

king.’ [F15]

The Possessive marking can be used for anaphoric reference to the Possessor outside the clause:

- (137) a. *tamun-ge tantay pulut ejmunde-gi tadī-mele*
 that-LOC that old.man half-POSS give-OF:3SG
 ‘Then the old man gave her half of it.’ [F15]
- b. *aŋd’e-gi jowl’-ā-l’el*
 eye-POSS ache-INGR-INFR(3SG)
 ‘His eyes began to ache.’ [F48]

Note that the Possessive marking need not be applied if the Possessor is a modifier within the same noun phrase:

- (138) a. <...> *šøjl’bul iril-get ulegerā-die lebie-ge*
 mouse belly-ABL straw-DIM earth-LOC
løudi-s’
 fell-INTR:3SG
 ‘... a straw fell from the belly of the mouse onto the ground.’ [F11]
- b. *mit numø ejmunde čuø*
 our house half already
pie-de-s’
 burn-DETR-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘A half of our house has already burnt!’ [F53]

For factors determining the choice between zero vs. Possessive marking within an NP, see 8.2.2

If attached to the Action Nominal or to the Result Nominal, the Possessive suffix cross-references the subject of the nominal clause, as in (140b), (151); see 9.1.2.1 for details.

3. Functions of the Number forms

3.1. Functions of the Singular

3.1.1. Singularity

If an NP has a specific referent, the Singular form signifies that the referent is a single entity (except for cases discussed in 3.1.2).

- (139) a. *touke āj oj-d'-ā-j*
 dog CP bark-DETR-INGR-INTR:3SG
 'The dog began to bark again.' [K3]
- b. *irk-in tolow-lek kudedē-l'el-mele*
 one-ATTR deer-PRED kill-INFR-OF:3SG
 'She killed one deer.' [F18]

See also (136b), (137).

3.1.2. Singular with inherently plural and dual nouns

There are some nominal stems signifying multiple-entity objects, so that the Singular form refers to multiple entities (140a)-(140b). In particular, this is the case for ethnonyms derived by means of the morpheme *d'ī* 'people' (140c).

- (140) a. <...> *omnī čumu iŋžū-l'el-ŋi*
 people all fall.asleep-INFR-INTR:3PL
 '... all the people have fallen asleep.' [F1]
- b. *met lebejd'ī al'be-de-jle juθ-m*
 [my berries spill-POSS-ACC] see-TR:3SG
 'She saw that my berries spilled.' [T2]
- c. <...> *čaqaden-ge modo-l omnī-gele čaqaden-d'ī*
 [[C.-LOC sit-ANR] family-ACC C.-people
mon-u-t n'as'pien-ge modo-l omnī-gele,
 say-0-SS:PFV] [[N.-LOC sit-ANR] family-ACC
n'as'pien-d'ī <...>
 N.-people]
 '(They gave names to their families), by calling the people living on the Chahadan River "Chahadan people", the people living on the Nyaspian River, "Nyaspian people" ...' [K1]

A number of nouns signifying entities which normally occur in pairs (e.g., certain body parts, various kinds of shoes, etc.) usually refer to a pair of entities in the Singular form (141). The singular meaning is possible as well, but it has to be supported by the numeral *irk-in* 'one' (142a)-(142b); another option to indicate the

singular meaning is the word *ejmunde* ‘half’ (142c).

- (141) a. *aŋd'e johō-da-j-l-u-ge-ne*
 [eye open-CAUS-PFV-1|2-0-DS-COND]
emi-dej-nu-j
 dark-INCH:PFV-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 ‘When I open my eyes, it darkens.’ [F31]
- b. *tude jō-get nojl lajin embe-j*
 his head-ABL foot AD:DIR [black-ATTR]
šp̄rile-le met+čahita-j
 color-INSTR REFL+paint-INTR:3SG
 ‘(The crow) painted itself black from its head to feet.’ [F5]
- c. *tabun kōže ejre-t loŋd-ō-gi tude*
 that [[K. walk-SS:IPFV] dance-RNR-POSS his
kōže mure-le
 K. shoe-INSTR]
 ‘That is where Kojé has walked and danced in his Kojé-boots.’ [F8]
- (142) a. *irk-in aŋd'e kōdin-mej-te-j*
 one-ATTR eye right-QLT-FUT-INTR:3SG
 ‘One eye will be enough.’ [F31]
- b. *d'e irk-in noj-gi nume-ge ohō-j*
 DP one-ATTR leg-POSS house-LOC stand-INTR:3SG |
irk-in noj-gi pude ohō-j
 one-ATTR leg-POSS outside stand-INTR:3SG
 ‘Well, one of his legs is in the house, the other is outside.’ [F45]
- c. *tude kenme mure min-mele ejmunde-gi*
 his partner shoe take-OF:3SG half-POSS |
mure ejmunde ludu-n+mure-lek
 shoe half } iron-ATTR+shoe-PRED.
 ‘He took his partner’s shoe, a shoe-half, an iron shoe.’ [F42]

3.1.3. Generic reference

The Singular form is used if the NP has no specific referent.

- (143) a. *end'ōn-ŋin jukō-d'e ønme-lek*
 animal-DAT be.small-ATTR intellect-PRED
ā-mele
 make-OF:3SG
 '(God) provided animals with little intellect.' [F9]
- b. *taŋ kimnī šāl-e čumu n'iqže-t-u-m*
 this whip tree-INSTR all fell-FUT-0-TR:3SG
kušde-t
 [knock.down-SS:IPFV]
 'This whip will knock down and fell all trees.' [F19]
- c. *pulut-ki ās'e nojdī-t*
 [husband-POSS deer watch-SS:PFV]
egu-žu-j
 walk-ITER-INTR:3SG
 'Her husband herded deer.' (of a profession). [F7]

3.1.4. Singular with numerals

In combination with numerals, the Singular form is generally used (although in few cases the Plural form occurs in this environment as well, see 3.2.1).

- (144) a. *tā ataq-un tuis lebie-k*
 there two-ATTR basket earth-PRED
al'be-š-mele
 spill-CAUS-OF:3SG
 'He spilled two baskets of soil there.' [F31]
- b. *tøw-delle šešpedaŋil'-ge ilek-un čohojo-k*
 [close-SS:PFV] door-LOC four-ATTR knife-PRED
n'ačaha-da-j-mele
 pierce-CAUS-PFV-OF:3SG
 'Having closed (it), he stuck four knives in the door.' [F45]

- c. *purk-in šoromo lew-je šoromo*
 [seven-ATTR person eat-ATTR] person
ō-d'ek ell'e met-ul lew-k
 COP-INTR:2SG DP | mc-ACC eat-IMP:2SG
 'You have eaten seven people, have you? Try to eat me!'

3.1.5. Singular with the verbs *ninge-* 'be multiple, many', *čā-* 'be few'

The Singular form is generally used in the context of scalar verbs *ninge-* 'be many' and *čā-* 'be few' (although the Plural form is also possible, see 3.2.1):

- (145) a. *ninge-j nodo-k šaqal'ā-l'el-ηi-l*
 [be.many-ATTR] bird-PRED assemble-INFR-3PL-SF
 'Many birds assembled.'
- b. *šoromo-ge qojl ninge-j*
 person-LOC god be.many-INTR:3SG
 'The human being has many gods' [K4]
- c. *čā-je pod'erqo pon'ō-l'el*
 be.few-ATTR day remain-INFR(3SG)
 'There are few days left.'

Note that if the quantified NP is the subject of the clause, the verb agreement may be both plural (145a) and singular (145c). See 8.3 for further details on the scalar quantifiers.

3.2. Functions of the Plural

3.2.1. Plurality

The Plural form signifies multiplicity of the entities referred to:

- (146) a. *met tī l'e-l šoromo-pul-ηin kie-s'e*
 I [here be-ANR] person-PL-DAT come-INTR:1SG
 'I have come to the people living here.' [F47]

- b. *čohojo-pe pul n'umud'i-pe god+ā-met?*
 knife-PL ax-PL how-make-TR:2PL
 'What have you done to the knives and the axes?' [F55]

Very rarely, the Plural can be used after a numeral, or when the multiplicity is signified by the verb *ninge-* 'be many' (see 3.1.4, 3.1.5):

- (147) a. <...> *purk-in čūl'd'i pulut-pe-lek*
 seven-ATTR fairy.tale old.man-PL-PRED
kel-ŋi-l
 come-3PL-SF
 '... seven ogres came.' [F24]

- b. *uørpe-p-ki-n uør-pe ninge-ŋi*
 children-PL-POSS-ATTR child-PL many-INTR:3PL
 'He has a lot of grandchildren.' [K4]

The Plural form of a noun signifying a pair of entities marks multiplicity of pairs.

- (148) *tit mure-pe kiel'e-š-ŋi-k!*
 your (PL) shoe-PL get.dry-CAUS-PL-IMP:2
 'Dry up your shoes!' [K5]

3.2.2. Plural of pronouns

The Plural marking can be applied to demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns.

- (149) a. *tamun-pe-gen medi-nu-de juø-t*
 that-PL-PROL [hear-IPFV-SS:ITER] [see-SS:IPFV]
qon-i
 go-INTR:3SG
 'He passed [these trees], listening and looking.' [F31]
- b. *kin-pe-lek egu-žu-ŋi-l*
 who-PL-PRED walk-ITER-3PL-SF
 'Who (PL) would walk (here)?' [F31]

- c. *šār-pe-lek* *kimd'ī-t* *godō-ŋi-l*
 something-PL-PRED [fight-SS:IPFV] lie-PL-SF
 'Some creatures are lying and fighting.' [F31]

3.2.3. Plurality of Possessor

In the context of a Possessive marker, the Plural marker can signify either the plurality of the entities referred to by the noun itself, or the plurality of the entities cross-referenced by the possessive marker, or both, so that a Possessive Plural form has three readings, e.g., the form *numø-pe-gi* can mean 'his houses', 'their house', or 'their houses'. Some examples:

- (150) a. *es'ie-pe-gi* *oj-l'e-ge* *titte* *emej* *ažū-gele*
 [father-PL-POSS NEG-be-DS] their mother word-ACC
el+medī-ŋi
 NEG-perceive-3PL:INTR
 'When their father was absent, they did not obey their mother.' [F7]
- b. *es'ie-pe-gi* *titte* *uør-pe-gele* *jowhus'-ŋā*
 father-PL-POSS their child-PL-ACC ask-3PL:TR
 'The fathers asked their children.' [F55]

Note that in these examples the ambiguity of the Possessive forms is resolved by means of the verb agreement markers; cf. the Singular different-subject form in (150a) and the Plural finite form in (150b).

In the Action Nominal (151a) and in the Result Nominal (151b) form of verbs, the Plural marker signifies the plurality of the subject. In most cases, such forms involve a Possessive marker cross-referencing the subject, yet the Plural marking is also occasionally possible in the absence of a possessive marker (151c).

- (151) a. *mon-pe-gi* *medī-mele*
 [say-PL-POSS] hear-OF:3SG
 'He heard how they spoke.' [F5]

- b. *qodo jaqa-l-ō-pe-gi tamun-gele*
 [how arrive-0-RNR-PL-POSS] that-ACC
el+lejdī
 NEG+know(NEG:3SG)
 'He does not remember how they arrived.'
- c. *tud-in mon-ŋi tet-kele edie-s'-pe qojl*
 he-DAT say-3PL:INTR [you-ACC call-ITER-PL god
nume-ŋin
 house-DAT]
 'They said to him that they called him to the house of
 God.'

3.2.4. Plural marking of collective and uncountable nouns

The Plural marker applied to a collective noun (see 3.1.2) signifies reference to a set of single entities, that is, this marking implies the singulative, rather than the collective, reading of the stem. This usage is common in contexts where some distinct members of the group are referred to ((152b)-(152c)).

- (152) a. *taŋ tude lebejdī-pe-gele taŋ ul'egerā-die-le*
 that her berry-PL-ACC that straw-DIM-INSTR
noh-u-m
 string-0-TR:3SG
 'She strung her berries on the straw.' [T2]
- b. *irk-in mido-t ejre-l omni-pe-ge*
 one-ATTR [[roam-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR] people-PL-LOC
alme-l'-l'el-ŋi
 shaman-PRPR-INFR-INTR:3PL
 'One nomadic family had a shaman.' [F34]¹⁷
- c. *uø+ŋō-l šoromo-pul pudegel'-dī-pe-get*
 [child+STAT-ANR] person-PL P.-people-PL-ABL
čaqaden-dī-pe-get
 C.-people-PL-ABL<...>
 'Young people from the Pudegels, from the Chahadans
 ...' [K3]

A similar “singulative” effect occurs if the Plural marking is applied to nouns denoting substances (153a) or otherwise inherently singular objects (in (153b) below, the noun *lebie* ‘earth, land, ground’).

- (153) a. *pieje-p-te-ge* *n’āče-j* *pømne-j*
 cheek-PL-POSS-LOC [sharp-ATTR] [round-ATTR]
ludul-pe-lek *tottā-l’el-ŋile*
 iron-PL-PRED fasten-INFR-3PL:OF
 ‘On his cheeks, they fastened some sharp round pieces
 of iron.’ [T1]
- b. *godit mit modo-l* *lebie-pe* *tāt* *čejlū-kie-l’el*
 why [we sit-ANR] earth-PL CA far-INCH-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Why are the places where we used to live that far
 away now?’

4. Functions of the cases

4.1. Core cases

4.1.1. Introduction

The Yukaghir system of distinguishing the core participants, i.e., the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), the agent (A) and the patient/theme (O) arguments of a transitive verb, is complicated by the following major factors:

1. The Focus marking by means of the Predicative case, which is compatible with S and O arguments only (Jochelson 1905), see 4.1.3.¹⁸
2. The Nominative marking of third person participants under the condition that A is first or second person (Jochelson 1905; Krejnovich 1982:253), see 4.1.2.
3. The effect of person hierarchy and referentiality on the case marking (cf. Krejnovich 1982:232ff), see 4.1.3-4.1.6.

The functions of cases involved in the system are preliminarily represented in Table 12. The class of nominal phrases conventionally referred to as “third person Anaphoric” here comprises

Table 12. Case marking of core participants

	1 st or 2 nd Person	3 rd Person	
		+Anaphoric	-Anaphoric
A, S	Nominative		
O if A is 1 st -2 nd person	Pronominal Accusative	Nominative	
Focus (S, O)	Predicative	Nominative	Predicative
O if A is 3 rd person	Accusative	Accusative / Instrumental	

proper nouns (Krejnovich 1982:184), third person pronouns (Krejnovich 1982:245), and Possessive noun phrases (where the head noun either contains a bound Possessive marker or is modified by a possessive pronoun, cf. Krejnovich 1982:260-261).

This section describes and exemplifies the functions of the Nominative, Predicative, and Accusative cases, as well as the patient-marking function of the Instrumental. For further discussion of the case marking system, see 9.1.

4.1.2. The Nominative case

The Nominative noun phrase represents the S participant (154), the A participant (155), or the O participant. The latter use is possible if A is 1st or 2nd person (156) and in a non-finite clause (157).¹⁹

- (154) *čomō-d'e alme mon-i <...>*
 [big-ATTR] shaman say-INTR:3SG
 'The great shaman said ...' [F37]
- (155) *met es'ie tet pulut-kele kudede-m*
 my father your husband-ACC kill-TR:3SG
 'My father has killed your husband.'
- (156) *met mēmē iq̄i*
 [I bear bc.afraid(TR:1SG)
 'I am afraid of the bear.' [I]

- (157) *taŋ šāl-gi šelge-dej-delle qāqā*
 [that tree-POSS break-CAUS:PFV-SS:PFV] grandfather
keb-ej-l'el
 go-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 'The bear broke that stick and went away.'

The Nominative is used with Possessive noun phrases (158), proper nouns (159) and third person pronouns (160) in the predicative function (158) and in the Focus function (159), (160) (see Chapter 12 for further details on these syntactic functions).

- (158) *tabun poŋžube lukil ejū-l-ō-gi*
 that [woodgrouse arrow hit-0-RNR-POSS]
 'That is the trace of woodgrouse's arrows (= the result of their hitting the target)' [F6]
- (159) *aduøŋ aleksej-die čuŋže-l*
 This A.-DIM whistle-SF
 'It is Aleksej who is whistling.'
- (160) *tudel mie-mele*
 he wait-OF:3SG
 'He was the one she was waiting for.'

The Nominative non-Possessive form is used as the possessive modifier (see also 8.2.1-8.2.2):

- (161) *pulut numø* 'old man's house'
met terike aŋd'e 'my wife's eyes'
čomparnā ažū 'language of ravens'

The Nominative case is used for vocative noun phrases:

- (162) *pulut, mit čolhoro šejre-s'*
 old man, our hare run.away-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Old man, our hare has run away.' [F13]

The Nominative case has some other uses which are described elsewhere in the grammar: (a) argument of the copula (see 12.1.1.2), (b) apposition (8.2.1.2), (c) argument of postpositions (7.3, 8.5.2).

4.1.3. The Predicative case

The Predicative noun phrase is the nominal predicate (163) or the Focus of a clause (Krejnovich 1982: 184; 232ff). Only S (164) and O (165) can acquire the Predicative marking (9.1.1.2; cf. also Note 18). The Predicative case is incompatible with Possessive noun phrases, proper names, and third person pronouns, which take the Nominative case in these functions (see (158)-(160)).

- (163) *ūjs'ī omo-s'e šoromo-lek*
 workman [good-ATTR] person-PRED
 'The workman is a good person.' [F50]
- (164) *irk-id'e juø-de-ge šā-pe-lek ohō-ŋi-l*
 [one-ITER see-3SG-DS] tree-PL-PRED stand-3PL-SF
 'Once he saw that there were trees.' [F31]
- (165) *met tet-in šaqale-lek kej-te-me*
 I you-DAT fox-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I will give you a fox.' [F52]

The Predicative marker has two variants, *-lek* and *-(e)k*, which are formally distinguished only with vowel-final stems and in the Plural form (see Table 10, 1.4.1). There is a clear functional distinction between these variants which subsumes two interrelated factors:²⁰

First, the short variant is used if the narrow information focus (e.g., the focus of contrast) falls on a modifier, rather than on the noun phrase as a whole:

- (166) a. *kukkī vosemnadcat' nodo ažū-k*
 cuckoo eighteen bird language-PRED
lejdī-mele
 know-OF:3SG
 'The cuckoo knew **eighteen** bird languages.' [F5]
- b. o, *nahā omo-s'e šoromo-k kel-u-l*
 Intj [very good-ATTR] person-PRED come-0-SF
 'Wow, a **very good** person has come.' [F15]

- c. *tāt qon-u-t il'l'e-l šoromo čuge-k*
 [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] other-ANR person trace-PRED
num-mele
 find-OF:3SG
 'Then she went and found traces of **other**
 people.' [F54]

The relevance of this factor is indirectly shown by the fact that only the short variant is possible in question-word questions with a question word modifying a noun (cf. 12.3.1.1):

- (167) *godī-mie pajpe-k l'e-t-u-l?*
 what-QLT woman-PRED be-FUT-0-SF?
 'What woman would it be?' [F49]

Secondly, the formal opposition in question is employed to express the distinction between the true predicative and the referential use of noun phrases. The Predicative noun phrase in *-lek* ascribes a property to (i.e., classifies) some entity. In other words, an example like (165) might be appropriately rendered as 'The thing I will give to you is a fox'. The variant in *-ek* signifies the referential use (i.e., the Focus NP introduces a referential entity); this is shown by the fact that only this variant can be used if the noun phrase is modified by a numeral, in particular by the numeral *irkīn* 'one':

- (168) a. *tāt āj qon-de-ge čuge-ge irk-in qodō-d'e*
 [CA CP go-3SG-DS] way-LOC one-ATTR [lie-ATTR]
šaqale-k juš-l'el-mele
 fox-PRED see-INFR-OF:3SG
 'Then he went further and saw a fox lying on the
 road.' [F18]
- b. *qon-u-t ejre-t irk-in jurgū-k*
 [go-0-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] one-ATTR hole-PRED
num-mele
 find-OF:3SG
 'She kept going and found a hole.' [F4]

- c. *tāt āji l'e-ŋi-de-ge ataq-un ibiligie-k*
 [CA CP be-PL-3-DS] two-ATTR eagle.owl-PRED
mer-uji-t ejrie-ŋi-l
 [fly-IPFV-SS:IPFV] walk-3PL-SF
 'After having been there for some more time, two
 eagle-owls flew overhead.' [K5]

4.1.4. The Accusative case

The Accusative case is used to mark the O participant, under the condition that A is third person (otherwise the Nominative case is used, see 4.1.2):

- (169) a. *čolhorā-die-gele tā šašil-ge*
 hare- there snare-LOC
ī-de-m
 get.caught-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'He caught the hare in the snare there.' [F14]
- b. *titte čūl-gele min-ŋā*
 their meat-ACC take-3PL:TR
 'They took their meat.' [F48]
- c. *tet kimmī met-kele kudede-m*
 your whip me-ACC kill-TR:3SG
 'Your whip has killed me.' [F19]

The Accusative marking is compatible with pronouns, proper nouns, Possessive noun phrases and definite noun phrases (including generic reference, as in (170a)); if a noun phrase is indefinite, the Instrumental case is used instead (cf. Krejnovich 1982:254-255, see also Note 21).

There can be two Accusative noun phrases in a clause if some kind of possessive or part-whole relationship holds between them (cf. 5.4.2.2 for a designated body-part form).

- (170) a. *tay parā-get mus'in en-d'ōn jōbī*
 that time-ABL various live-SBNR in.forest
en-d'ōn-gele amun-de-jle omos' pōnī-ŋā
 live-SBNR-ACC bone-POSS-ACC well leave-3PL:TR

‘Since then they put the bones of all the forest animals in a proper way.’ [F34]

- b. *tude ās'e-pul-gele ūle-p-te-jle omos' adi*
 her deer-PL-ACC some-POSS-ACC well firmly
ulte-s'-l'el-u-m at-če mieste-ge
 fasten-ITER-INFR-0-TR:3SG firm-ATTR place-LOC
 ‘She fastened some of her deer very firmly to a robust plot.’ [K3]

- c. *oqil'l'ā-gele ani-pe čumut ažū-de-jle*
 perch-ACC fish-PL all word-POSS-ACC
medī-ŋā
 listen-3PL:TR
 ‘All fishes listen to Perch’s word.’ [T1]

The Accusative can mark the recipient (171a) and the addressee (171b), the functions most commonly fulfilled by the Dative case (see 4.2.1, 9.2.4).

- (171) a. *tabun-pe-gele čumu legul-pe-de-jle*
 that-PL-ACC all [food-PL-POSS-ACC
ā-delle tadī-m
 make-SS:PFV] give-TR:3SG
 ‘He made some food for all of them and gave it to them.’ [F9]
- b. *tāt parnā-gele āj mon-ŋi <...>*
 CA crow-ACC CP say-3PL:INTR
 ‘Then they said to the crow, too: ...’ [F5]

4.1.5. The Pronominal Accusative Case

First and second person pronouns have a special Pronominal Accusative form in *-ul* (see 7.1.1.1), which is used for the O participant under the same conditions as the Nominative form of nouns, i.e., if A is first or second person (172a)-(172b), or, occasionally, in non-finite clauses (172c) (cf. 4.1.2).

- (172) a. *met-ul amde-l-get polde-mek*
 me-ACC die-PFV-ANR-ABL save-TR:2SG
 ‘You have saved me from death.’ [F9]
- b. *met tet-ul kudede-t*
 I you-ACC kill-FUT(TR:1SG)
 ‘I will kill you.’ [F19]
- c. *mit-ul lek-tin kie-s’*
 [we-ACC eat-SUP] come-INTR:3SG
 ‘He has come in order to eat us.’ [F23]

Like the Accusative in *-gele* (see 4.1.4), the Pronominal Accusative can mark the recipient:

- (173) *met tet-ul mer-ujī-t ejre-din*
 I you-ACC [[fly-IPFV-SS:IPFV] walk-SUP]
pugelbie-k kej-te-me
 feather-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG
 ‘I’ll give you feathers for you to fly.’

4.1.6. The Instrumental case: patient-marking function

The Instrumental case can be used for the O participant if A is third person (i.e., under the same condition as the Accusative marking, see 4.1.4). This marking is incompatible with definite pronouns, Possessive noun phrases and proper nouns (in these cases, only the Accusative marking is available).

- (174) a. *n’umud’ī-le mid’-u-m*
 ax-INSTR take-0-TR:3SG
 ‘He took an ax.’ [F14]
- b. *šāl-e šoromo-le ulege-le čistē čumu*
 trec-INSTR person-INSTR grass-INSTR just all
jaqte-rī-m
 sing-APPL-TR:3SG
 ‘He is singing about trees, people and grass, just about everything.’ [F48]

In most cases, the Instrumental O marking is applied to unmodified nouns,²¹ since the presence of a modifier either attracts the Focus marking (see 4.1.3), or implies definiteness and licenses the Accusative marking thereby (see 4.1.4). This is rather a tendency than a rule, since in a few examples the Instrumental marking is applied to definite (175a) and/or modified noun phrases (175b).

(175) a. *tāt lej-delle šøjl'bul-e šøjl'bul iril-get*
 [CA cat-SS:PFV mouse-INSTR] mouse belly-ABL
ulegerā-die lebie-ge løudi-s'
 straw-DIM earth-LOC fell-INTR:3SG
 'After it had eaten the mouse, a straw fell onto the
 ground from the mouse's belly.' [F11]

b. *tāt-mie en-d'ōn-pe-le šoromo moj-m*
 that-QLT live-SBNR-PL-INSTR person hold-TR:3SG
 'Such animals are domestic (are kept by people).' [F9]

Like the Accusative (see (170)), the Instrumental case can mark the whole if some part of it constitutes the O participant of the clause:

(176) *šoromo-le ønme-de-ǰle čomō-žī-m*
 person-INSTR intellect-POSS-ACC big-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'He enlarged human intellect.' [F9]

4.2. Other cases

4.2.1. The Dative case

The Dative expresses recipient, benefactive, purpose, direction, and the like. The recipient function is exemplified in (177) and (178) for verbs of transfer of things (177) and information (178) (see also 9.2.4).

(177) a. *taŋ el+mer-ujī-l nodo-le šoromo-ŋin*
 that [NEG+fly-IPFV-ANR] bird-INSTR person-DAT
tadī-ŋā
 give-3PL:TR
 'They gave those flightless birds to people.' [F9]

b. *jā-n* *šoromo-k* *čobul pugil'-ŋin*
 three-ATTR person-PRED sea lord-DAT
pešše-j-ŋile
 throw-PFV-3PL:OF
 'They threw three people to the lord of the sea.' [F31]

c. *pugil'-pe-d-in* *tadī-t* *qarte-t-i*
 [lord-PL-POSS-DAT give-SS:IPFV] divide-FUT-TR:1PL
 'We will share them_i among their_i lords (about animals).' [F9]

(178) a. *tintay pulut* *mon-i* *šaqale-ŋin*
 that old.man say-INTR:3SG fox-DAT
 'That old man said to the fox.' [F15]

b. *ejūke l'e-l* *omni-pe-ŋin* *čumu*
 [not.far be-ANR] family-PL-DAT all
met-l'el-ŋā
 inform-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They informed the neighboring families about everything.' [K3]

The Dative marks a peripheral participant that is beneficially (179) or adversely (180) affected (benefactive/malefactive):

(179) a. *met-in* *met čāčā-ŋin* *qāqā-ŋin*
 me-DAT my elder.brother-DAT grandfather-DAT
mol'd'o-p-le *ik-čī-m*
 mitten-PL-ACC sew-ITER-TR:3SG
 'She sewed mittens for me, my elder brother and my grandfather.' [I]

b. *en-d'ōn-ŋin* *šoromo-ŋin* *tud-in*
 live-SBNR-DAT person-DAT [he-DAT
mon-ŋile-ben-gele *čumu ūjī-nu-m*
 say-3PL:ATTR-RELN-ACC] all work-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'He made everything for animals and people that they told him to make.' [F3]

- (180) a. *tāt-mie-d'ōd-ek* *l'e-l'el-u-l*
 that-QLT-SBNR-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
el+lejdī-je *šoromo-ŋin er-čōn*
 [NEG+know-ATTR] person-DAT bad-SBNR
 'Such a mischief happened to ignorant people.'
- b. *tet qodimie at-ki* *šukedie-ŋin n'āčīn*
 [you how strong-POSS] pike-DAT against
egie-k
 stand-IMP:2SG
 '(In order to check) how strong you are, stand up to
 the pike.' [T1]

It can express the purpose (181) or the direction (182) of movement:

- (181) a. *taskan laŋi* *kebe-j-te-jl'i* *čaj-ŋin*
 T. AD:DIR go-PFV-FUT-INTR:1PL tea-DAT
tabaq-ŋin
 tobacco-DAT
 'We'll go to Taskan for some tea and tobacco.'
- b. *leme-ŋin kel-u-k?*
 what-DAT come-0-ITR:2SG
 'What have you come for?'
- (182) a. *šoromo-ŋin čušte me+ejre-j*
 person-DAT always AFF-walk-INTR:3SG
 'He would always come to that person.'
- b. *mon-delle pud-ō-l* *lebie-ŋin goj-pe-ŋin*
 [say-SS:PFV] top-VR-ANR earth-DAT god-PL-DAT
qon-i
 go-INTR:3SG
 'Having said (it), he went to Upper Earth, to the
 gods.' [F9]

In particular, the meaning of purpose is characteristic of the Action Nominal Dative:

- (183) a. *jaqte-l-ŋin* *qon-i*
 [sing-ANR-DAT] go-INTR:3SG
 ‘He went to sing.’
- b. *tāt d’e tebegej-ŋin kebe-s’* *kudede-l-ŋin*
 CA DP T.-DAT go-PFV:INTR:3SG [kill-ANR-DAT]
 ‘Then he went to Tebegej in order to kill him.’

See 6.1.3.3, 11.4.4 for functions of the “frozen” Action Nominal Possessive Dative (Supine).

The Dative marking can be doubled, whereby the second Dative (normally, the Possessive Dative form) is used to specify the direction more precisely. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon for a body part (184a) and for the Possessive form of the AD-postposition *al’* (see 7.3.1.1.1):

- (184) a. *čūl-e* *jukō-d’ōn-ben-die-lek*
 meat-INSTR little-SBNR-RELNDR-DIM-PRED
pan-mele *tude pulut-ŋin* *aŋa-d-in*
 cook-OF:3SG | her husband-DAT mouth-POSS-DAT
tadī-m
 give-TR:3SG
 ‘She cooked a little piece of meat and gave it to her husband (putting it) into his mouth.’ [F51]
- b. *gojl gamie-d’e-l-ben-pe* *tud-in al’-d-in*
 god help-DETR-ANR-RELNDR-PL he-DAT AD-POSS-DAT
el+jaq-uj-ŋi
 NEG+approach-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘God’s assistants do not approach him closely.’ [F31]

In its temporal use, the Dative expresses a span of time:

- (185) a. *emil-me* *kind’e pod’erqo-ŋin*
 night-TMP moon day-DAT
ūjī-nu-l’el-ŋā
 work-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
 ‘They worked at night, when the moon was up.’ [F3]

- b. *tāt ūjī-t čolhorā-die pulut-n'e*
 [CA work-SS:IPFV] hare-DIM old.man-COM
n'ahā ugujel-get pod'erqo-d-in pøn
 together morning-ABL day-POSS-DAT it
emis'e-ge jaqa-nu-l'el-ŋi
 darkness-LOC arrive-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The hare and the old man worked the whole day from
 dawn to dusk.' [F3]

In one example, the Dative is used temporally in the combination with the Russian preposition *do* 'until':

- (186) *do ugujel-ŋin mie-de-ŋi*
 until morning-DAT wait-DETR-3PL:INTR
 'They waited until the morning.' [F36]

The Dative constitutes an element of some verb patterns (9.2.4, 9.2.6) and is used within the Body-Part form (see 4.2.2); see also 8.1.1 for its marginal use as a noun modifier.

4.2.2. The Dative marker within the Body-Part Form

There is a special Body-Part form built by means of the suffix *-me-* followed by the Dative marker (cf. Krejnovich 1982:267-268). It occurs with transitive verbs denoting direct physical violence, whereby the person being acted upon is represented by the Accusative NP.

- (187) a. *tāt čul'd'ī pulut-kele jøwlugiel-me-ŋin*
 CA fairy-tale old.man-ACC shoulder-BP-DAT
kigī-m
 jab-TR:3SG
 'Then he butted the ogre's shoulder' [F27]
- b. *čarčagan taŋ čul'd'ī pulut-kele n'umud'ī-le*
 [C. that fairy.tale old.man-ACC axe-INSTR
jō-me-ŋin čine-j-n'it tā kudede-m
 head-BP-DAT chop-PFV-CONN] there kill-TR:3SG
 'Charchahan chopped that ogre's head off, thereby
 killing him. [F29]

- c. *ās'e šar-din l'e-de-ge jelo-hude*
 [deer catch-SUP be-3SG-DS] [back-DIR
jōda-j-delle kurceŋ molut jurgu-me-ŋin
 turn-PFV-SS:PFV] crane breast hole-BP-DAT
johul-e paj-l'el-u-m
 nose-INSTR hit-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'When the deer was going to catch him, the crane
 turned back and hit him in the throat with his
 beak.' [K3]

- d. *tāt terikie-die jaqa-d-ās'e-gele*
 CA old.woman-DIM Yakut-ATTR-deer-ACC
jowho-de-me-ŋin paj-m
 back-POSS-BP-DAT hit-TR:3SG
 'Then, the old woman hit the horse in the back.' [F19]

The Body-Part suffix can be preceded by the Possessive marker (see (187d)); see also 9.2.3.2 for an overview of verb patterns with a body-part slot.

4.2.3. The Comitative case

4.2.3.1. The Comitative in *-n'e*. The Comitative case either creates a single noun phrase (whereby it can be glossed as 'and') (188), or marks a secondary participant of a joint action or state (189a) or a naturally reciprocal event (189b).

- (188) a. *alme n'an'ulben-n'e*
 shaman devil-COM
 'The shaman and the devil.' (title of a fairy tale) [F42]
- b. *irk-in omnī modo-l'el pulut*
 one-ATTR family sit-INFR(3SG) old.man
terike-de-n'e
 old.woman-POSS-COM
 'There lived one family, an old man and his wife.' [F22]

- (189) a. *kie, met-n'e qon met numø-ŋin*
 friend me-COM go(IMP:2SG) my house-DAT
 'Friend, go with me to my place.' [F18]
- b. *samuj mitek+te kel-te-l erpeje-pul-n'e*
 self we-PRED+-CONN come-FUT-SF [Even-PL-COM
n'ied'i-lle āče-le min-delle
 speak-SS:PFV] [deer-INSTR take-SS:PFV]
 'We will also come ourselves, after having discussed
 (it) with the Evens and taken the deer.' [K1]

For further details on the semantics and syntax of the comitative, see 8.4.1, 9.2.8, 9.3.2.1.

4.2.3.2. The Comitative in *-n'it ~ -n'ut*. The Comitative in *-n'it ~ -n'ut* is formally identical to the Imperfective same-subject converb (6.1.4.3) of the Propriative form (see 5.5.1), as illustrated in (190).

- (190) a. *d'e čuge-n'i-t ejre-t*
 [DP trace-PRPR-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV]
ohō-l-ō-pe-de-ge jā-n čomōlbed-ek
 stand-0-RNR-PL-POSS-LOC three-ATTR elk-PRED
num-mele
 find-OF:3SG
 'He went following the trace (where the deer had been standing) and found three deer. (lit. He went having a trace) ...' [F34]
- b. *ønme-n'-u-t ejre-k*
 [mind-PRPR-0-SS:IPFV] walk-IMP:2SG
 'Be clever! (lit. Walk around having mind.)' [F22]

The Comitative form in *-n'it ~ -n'ut* can signify that the participant plays the same role as the O participant (191), which is incompatible with the same-subject interpretation implied by the Imperfective converb (6.1.4.3). These and similar examples appear to demonstrate that the combination of the Propriative and the Imperfective Converb markers has been "frozen" as an alternative Comitative marker.

- (191) a. *kun+ataq-un budie uø-k iri-de-ge*
 ten+two-ATTR above child-PRED | [belly-POSS-LOC
l'e-l-ben-pe-gele emej-n'it šešpedaŋil'-ge
 be-ANR-RELNR-PL-ACC] mother-COM door-LOC
tā pen-ī-m
 there remain-CAUS-TR:3SG
 '(There were) twelve puppies (in its [= the dog' s]
 belly). He put those that were in its belly together
 with their mother near the door. [F47]
- b. *tude uør-pe-pul-gele es'ie-n'it āj*
 her child-PL-PL-ACC father-COM [CP
legul-pe-de-jle pol-čī-lle
 food-PL-POSS-ACC pull.out-ITER-SS:PFV]
legi-te-m
 eat-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'She fed her children and their father, having pulled
 out more food.' [F23]

In this function, the form in *-n'it* ~ *-n'ut* appears to be preferred over the Comitative in *-n'e*. Note that if such a form introduces a participant accompanying the subject participant, the Comitative and the Propriative converb can hardly be formally distinguished.

- (192) a. *tudel tāt kebe-s' jēn šoromo-n'ut*
 he CA go.away-PFV:INTR:3SG other person-COM
ōžī-n šāl ukeče pugil'-pe-de-n'e
 water-ATTR tree plant lord-PL-POSS-COM
 'And so he went with other people, with the lords of
 water, trees and plants.' [F9]
- b. *jolohude qana-ŋi-k āče-n'ut*
 back roam-PL-IMP:2 deer-COM
 'Roam back with deer! (or' having deer ?)[K3]

The Comitative in *-n'it* ~ *-n'ut* is the only option if more than two NPs have to be conjoined; see 8.4.1.

4.2.4. The Instrumental case

Besides the O-marking function described in 4.1.6, the Instrumental case has an array of functions that is typical for many languages. It can signify the instrument proper:

- (193) a. *tāt šāl-e čolha-j-de-ge el+ūžū*
 [CA stick-INSTR stick-PFV-3SG-DS| NEG-move(3SG)
 'She touched him with a stick, but he did not
 move.' [F51]
- b. *tāt n'umud'i-le čine-j-m*
 CA axe-INSTR chop-PFV-TR:3SG
 'Then he chopped it with an ax.' [F28]

the body part directly involved in carrying out an action,

- (194) a. *tude jukō-l šašqul-e čaŋda-s'*
 his [little-ANR] finger-INSTR touch-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He touched it with his little finger.' [F31]
- b. *tāt aŋd'e-le juø-m*
 CA eye-INSTR see-TR:3SG
 'Then he looked with his eyes.' [F48]

or any other means employed for an action,

- (195) a. *čolhoro-le tudel šinel'-e ningō*
 hare-INSTR he snare-INSTR many
ik-čī-m
 get.caught-CAUS:ITER-TR:3SG
 'He caught lots of hares with his snare.' [K4]
- b. *lukil-e n'e+aŋi-nu-ŋi*
 arrow-INSTR RECP+shot-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 'They shot arrows at each other.' [F10]

including means of transportation,

- (196) a. *čied'e-me ās'e-le tāt kew-ej-l'ie-jīl'i*
 winter-TMP deer-INSTR CA go-PFV-INGR-INTR:1PL
 'In winter we began to travel by deer.' [K1]

- b. *šl'upke-le anubuska-le kewe-s'ū'i*
 launch-INSTR dugout-INSTR go-PFV:INTR:1PL
 'We went by launches and by dugout boats.' [K1]

and material:

- (197) a. *tāt qon-u-t irk-in numø-ge*
 [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] one-ATTR house-LOC
jaga-l'el šøjl-e
 arrive-INFR(3SG) | stone-INSTR
ūj-ō-d'ōd-ek
 work-RES-SBNR-PRED
 'They went further and reached one house; (it was)
 made of stone.' [F31]
- b. *purk-in šāl-e ā-l-ō-j*
 [seven-ATTR tree-INSTR make-0-RES-INTR:3SG]
numø-n'e-j
 house-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'He had a house made of seven trees.' [F15]

See also 9.2.3.3 on verb patterns with the Instrumental slot.

4.2.5. The Local cases

4.2.5.1. The Locative case. The Locative case expresses spatial locations (198) IN ('in, inside', examples (a) below) and AD ('near, by, next to', examples (b) below), as well as the direction (199) towards these locations.

- (198) a. *taŋ jalhil-ge irk-in šūke-die ejre-j*
 that lake-LOC one-ATTR pike-DIM walk-INTR:3SG
 'In that lake lived one pike.'
- b. *irk-in jalhil-ge ninge-j omnī-k*
 one-ATTR lake-LOC many-ATTR family-PRED
ed'-u-t madā-l'el-ŋi-l
 [live-0-SS:IPFV] reside-INFR-3PL-SF
 'There were many people near one lake.' [F1]

- (199) a. *taŋ nume-ge šøj-l'el*
 that house-LOC enter-INFR(3SG)
 'He entered that house.'
- b. *tāt tintaŋ čul'd'ī pulut čobul-ge*
 [CA that fairy.tale old.man sea-LOC
jaqa-delle ožī-ge løudi-s'
 arrive-SS:PFV] water-LOC fall-INTR:3SG
 'Then that ogre reached the sea and fell into the
 water.' [F26]

It can also signify direction towards the SUPER-location ('on, onto'):

- (200) a. *urasā-pe-gi løudū-nu-l'el jeŋžō-t*
 tent-PL-POSS fell-IPFV-INFR(3SG) [[sleep-SS:PFV]
godō-j kereke-pul-ge
 lie-ATTR] Koryak-PL-LOC
 'Their tent fell on the Koryaks who were lying
 asleep.' [F50]
- b. *čogočo-ge arpa-j-ŋi-de-ge irk-in*
 [bank-LOC go.up-PFV-PL-3-DS] one-ATTR
lūs'ī-n nume-k ohō-l'el-u-l
 Russian-ATTR house-PRED stand-INFR-0-SF
 'They climbed onto the bank; there was one Russian
 house.' [F21]

The Locative case is common when the location or the direction is an expression denoting people:

- (201) a. *odu-pe-ge modo-s'ī-delle jelo-hude*
 [Yukaghir-PL-LOC sit-DLM-SS:PFV] back-DIR
kew-ej-nunnu-l'el-ŋi
 go-PFV-HAB-INFR-3PL-INTR
 'Having spent some time at the Yukaghirs' (place),
 they used to go back.' [K3]

- b. *tāt kew-ej-l'-ie-t* *taŋ omnī-pe-ge*
 [CA go-PFV-0-INGR-SS:IPFV] [that family-PL-LOC
joq-to-lle *tude-gele tā*
 approach-CAUS-SS:PFV] he-ACC there
pøŋ'-ī-l'-el-ŋā
 remain-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 'Then they set off, brought him to those people and
 left him there.'

In a number of examples, the location with respect to people is interpreted rather metaphorically, so that the resulting meaning is quite close to grammatical possession (see also 12.1.2.3 on the Locative encoding of the Possessor):

- (202) a. *šoromo-ge qojl ninge-j*
 person-LOC god multiple-INTR:3SG
 'The human being has many gods.' [F41]
- b. *taŋ paj lejdi-l'-el-u-m* *tude*
 that woman know-INFR-0-TR:3SG [her
šoromo-pul-ge irk-in jeŋžōd'e-n'ā-nu-j
 person-PL-LOC one-ATTR [dream-PRPR-IPFV-ATTR]
pulut-ek l'ie-l'-el-u-m
 old.man-PRED be-INFR-0-TR:3SG]
 'That woman knew that there was one prophetic (=-
 having dreams) old man in her kin.' [K3]
- c. *tude šoromo-n'-u-l-pe-de-ge* *irk-in*
 his person-PRPR-0-ANR-PL-POSS-LOC one-ATTR
pajpe-ge aduø-gi mēmē ō-d'ōd-ek
 woman-LOC son-POSS bear COP-SBNR-PRED
 'Within his family one woman used to have a son who
 was a bear.' [F4]

In its temporal sense, the Locative case can express either a particular period of time (203) or a quantity of time (204).

- (203) a. *taŋ parā-ge taŋ šaqal'ā-pe-de-ge*
 that time-LOC that assemble-PL-POSS-LOC
qamun-de uø+ŋō-d'e šoromo-k
 how.many-INDF [child-COP-ATTR] people-PRED
n'e+min-ŋi-l
 RECP+take-3PL-SF
 'At that time, during that gathering several young
 people married.' [K1]
- b. *irk-in tāt-mie emil-ge mend'e-lek jaqa-l*
 one-ATTR that-QLT night-LOC news-PRED arrive-SF
 'One such night, some news came.' [F3]
- (204) a. *qa-ŋide qon qodo qon*
 [where-DIR go(ITR:3SG)] [how go-ITR:3SG]
qamun kind'e-ge qon-i el+lejdī
 [how.many moon-LOC go-ITR:3SG] NEG+know(3SG)
 'Where he is going, how he is going, for how many
 days he has been going, he does not know.' [F31]
- b. *irk-in aŋd'e-n'-u-l-ben qodō-j*
 one-ATTR eye-PRPR-0-ANR-RELNR lie-INTR:3SG
irk-in ataq-un jā-n pod'erqo-ge
 one-ATTR two-ATTR three-ATTR day-LOC
 'The one-eyed one was lying one, two, three
 days.' [F31]

Other metaphorical uses of the Locative are rather rare. Some examples:

- (205) a. *met aŋd'e-ge el+l'e-le-k*
 my eye-LOC NEG+be-PROH-2SG
 'Get out of my sight! (lit. Be not in my eye.)' [F18]
- b. *čied'e-ge ejre-t jarqe-delle pugēs'e-ge*
 [cold-LOC walk-SS:IPFV] [freeze-SS:PFV] [warmth-LOC
joŋžō-t ed'-ie-l'el
 sleep-SS:IPFV] live-INGR-INFR(3SG)
 'She froze walking around in the cold, but was revived
 by sleeping in the warmth.' [F4]

- c. *ninge-je lebejdī-ge joq-te-m*
 [many-ATTR] berries-LOC arrive-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'She brought me to a place where there were lots of
 berries.' [T2]

4.2.5.2. The Ablative case. In its spatial meaning, the Ablative case signifies movement away from the locations IN (206) or SUPER ('on', (207)), and, very rarely, from the AD-location ('near, by' (208)).

- (206) a. *d'e tāt tude legul-gele šowho-get jolo-hude*
 DP CA his food-ACC trough-ABL back-DIR
lunbuge-ŋin abutte-m
 pot-DIR pour-TR:3SG
 'Well, then he poured his food out of the trough back
 into the pot.' [F23]
- b. *tude-gele čaqaj-delle ōžī-get jōbī*
 [he-ACC swing-SS:PFV] water-ABL in.forest
pešše-j-m
 threw-PFV-TR:3SG
 '(A wave) swung him and threw him from the water
 out to the land.' [F31]
- (207) a. *čohoče-get pømdu-nnu-jīl'i mied'ī-le kol'ese*
 hill-ABL roll-HAB-INTR:1PL sledge-INSTR ski
ejmunde-p-le
 half-PL-INSTR
 'We used to roll downhill on a sledge or a ski (sitting
 on one ski).' [T2]
- b. *godōbe-get čirčege-s'*
 bed-ABL spring.up-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He sprang from the bed.' [F31]
- (208) a. *emej-gi los'il-get kie-s'*
 mother-POSS fireplace-ABL come-INTR:3SG
 'His mother came from near the fireplace.' [F20]

- b. *taŋ unuŋ-**get** ledd-ude kebe-j-ŋi*
 that river-ABL north-DIR go-PFV-3PL:INTR
 'From that river, they went to the north.'

The movement 'away from' can be also described with respect to a person:

- (209) a. *met-**ket** el+šejre-j-te-jmet*
 me-ABL NEG+run-PFV-FUT-INTR:2PL
 'You will not run away from me.' [F26]
- b. *irk-id'e šoromo-**get** šejre-j-l'el taŋ*
 one-ITER person-ABL run-PFV-INFR(3SG) that
mēmē uø
 bear child
 'Once that bear-child ran away from people.' [F4]

The Ablative case can be used in a temporal meaning, in order to signify the time at which the situation starts, see (210) and (185b).

- (210) *es'ie-gi tamun taŋ parā-**get***
 father-POSS that that time-ABL
aŋd'e-t-l'el
 eye-PRPR:-INCH-INFR(3SG)
 'From that time, his father has been able to see (lit.
 ... was endowed with eyes.' [F48]

In combination with a postpositional phrase with the postposition *laŋin*, the Ablative NP can constitute an expression denoting the scope of an action:

- (211) a. *tāt mon-delle tude jō-**get** nojl laŋin*
 [CA say-SS:PFV] her head-ABL foot AD:DIR
embe-j šørile-le met+čahita-j
 black-ATTR color-INSTR REFL+paint-INTR:3SG
 'She said this and painted herself black from head to feet.' [F5]

- b. *kit-te-get kičil-de laŋin jaqte-le*
 end-POSS-ABL end-POSS AD:DIR song-INSTR
n'e-kie kič-u-m
 RECP-interval learn-0-TR:3SG
 'He learnt (it) from the beginning to the end, mixed
 with a song.' [T1]

The Ablative noun phrase can denote the location of the primary participant of an action, if it differs from that of the metaphorical end-point of this action:

- (212) a. *tabun juø-t pud-õ-l lebie-get qojl-pe*
 [that see-SS:IPFV [top-VR-ANR] earth-ABL] god-PL
n'ied'i-t mol-l'el-ŋi <...>
 [speak-SS:IPFV] say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The gods saw this from the upper earth and said:
 ...' [F9]
- b. *čarčaqan numø-get edie-s'*
 C. house-ABL respond-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Charchahan responded from the house.' [F29]
- c. *nume-ge jaqa-din l'e-de-ge numø-get*
 [house-LOC arrive-SUP be-3SG-DS] house-ABL
jaqte-lek medū-l
 song-PRED be.audible-SF
 'When he was approaching the house, a song was
 heard from that house.' [F13]
- d. *tāt pude-get ørn'ie-j*
 CA outside-ABL shout-INGR-INTR:3SG
 'He shouted from outside.' [F33]

The Ablative case also has a number of metaphorical functions. It can denote the cause of an event:

- (213) a. *taŋ paj ør-de-get met ønme bojs'e*
 that woman cry-POSS-ABL my mind completely
šohie-j
 get.lost-INTR.3SG
 'That woman's cry drove me crazy.'

- b. *mēmē čugurubie tabun-get čied'e-me*
 bear chipmunk that-ABL winter-TMP
joŋžō-ŋi
 sleep-3PL:INTR
 'That is why the bear and the chipmunk
 hibernate.' [F9]

the source of information or the basis of a judgment:

- (214) a. *čuge-de-get juø-ŋi-de-ge taŋ mēmē nahā*
 [trace-POSS-ABL see-PL-3-DS] that bear very
motlorqo-j-ben+ŋō-l'el
 thin-ATTR-RELNR+COP-INFR(3SG)
 'From its track, they saw that that bear had been very
 thin.' [F54]
- b. *tā ejre-j-ben-pe-get n'ied'-uo-pe-gi*
 [[there walk-ATTR-RELNR-PL-ABL] [tell-RNR-PL-POSS]
medī-t tawud-ek n'ied'e-rī-me
 listen-SS:IPFV] that-PRED tell-APPL-OF:1SG
 'I am telling you what I have heard from those who
 have been there.' [K1]

a group some members of which participate in the event:

- (215) a. *tintaŋ šoromo-pul-get irk-in-l'e-gi*
 that person-PL-ABL one-ATTR-NR-POSS
terike-n'i
 wife-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'One of those people was married.' [F54]
- b. *en-d'ōn-pe-de-get ataq-lō+ŋōn*
 live-SBNR-PL-POSS-ABL two-DSTR-TRNSF
mej-nu-m
 take-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'Of the animals, he took a pair of each kind.' [F31]

or the whole some part of which is involved in the event:

- (216) a. *met-in tet čolhoro-**get** qarte-k*
 me-DAT your hare-ABL share-IMP:2SG
 ‘Share some of your hare with me.’ [F15]
- b. *tāt čohojo-le čū-de-**get** čoq-telle*
 [CA knife-INSTR meat-POSS-ABL cut-SS:PFV]
karman-ge šinša-j-m
 pocket-LOC push.in-PFV-TR:3SG
 ‘She cut some of its meat and pushed it into his
 pocket.’ [F51]

Finally, the Ablative is used for the comparison of inequality (see 9.3.1.3), within some valence patterns of verbs (9.2.5), and in combination with the indefinite pronoun *jēn* ‘other (than)’ (7.1.4.6).

4.2.5.3. The Prolative case. In its original spatial meaning, the Prolative case signifies the movement along or within the locations IN (‘through, in, along’, (217)-(218)), AD (‘by, past’, (219)), or SUPER (‘above, on’, (220)). Within the first submeaning, the Prolative case can be used to denote either the route (217a) or the spatial domain (217b) of the movement, or a hole through which something moves (218). The Prolative case can introduce the idea of movement into the situation even if it is not implied by the lexical meaning of the verb (see (217c), (219b)).

- (217) a. *čuge-de-**gen** gon-*ŋi**
 trace-POSS-PROL go-3PL:INTR
 ‘They went along his trace.’ [F54]
- b. *šāšet čuŋže ejre-š-u-t juø-l-u-ge*
 [now thought walk-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] [see-1|2-0-DS]
*jēn šoromo-p-lek taŋ mit lebie-**gen***
 other person-PL-PRED that our land-PROL
*ejre-*ŋi-l**
 walk-3PL-SF
 ‘Now, I think and see that other people live in our
 land.’ [K3]

- c. *unuŋ-gen jalhil puŋle-pul-gen čobul-gen id'ī*
 [river-PROL lake brook-PL-PROL sea-PROL now
modo-t ed'-u-t l'e-j
 sit-SS:IPFV] [live-0-SS:IPFV] be-INTR:3SG
 'Now he (the perch) lives (swimming) in rivers,
 lake-brooks, in the sea.' [T1]
- (218) a. *taŋ qorobo-d+uø johul-de-gen*
 that cow-ATTR+child nose-POSS-PROL
aŋd'e-de-gen los'il-ek uk-s'ī-l
 eye-POSS-PROL fire-PRED come.out-ITER-SF
 'That calf, fire was coming out through his nose and
 eyes.' [F27]
- b. *tāt taŋ jurgū-gen uke-s'*
 CA that hole-PROL go.out-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He went out through that hole.' [F20]
- (219) a. *tamun-pe-gen medi-nu-de juø-t*
 that-PL-PROL [listen-IPFV-SS:ITER] [see-SS:IPFV]
gon-i
 go-INTR:3SG
 'He went past them, listening and looking at
 (them).' [F31]
- b. *lunbuge-pul-gen čajnik-pe-gen*
 [pot-PL-PROL tea.pot-PL-PROL
šanaha-nu-lle čibal'+jekl'ie-n
 make.noise-IPFV-SS:PFV] stove-behind-PROL
el'ed'ō-j
 disappear-INTR:3SG
 'After making some noise (moving) around the pots
 and the tea-pots, she disappeared behind the
 stove.' [K2]
- (220) a. *šoŋd'ile kieje jarqeje-gen šoromo-pul*
 [flood before ice-PROL person-PL
ejre-t juø-l'el-ŋā <...>
 walk-SS:IPFV] see-INFR-3PL:TR

‘Some people were there before the flood, by the ice,
and saw: ...’

- b. *ediŋ touke oji-t ejre-š-u-t mit*
 {this dog bark-SS:IPFV} [walk-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] our
ās'e-pul-gele ediŋ čohos'e-pul-gen
 deer-PL-ACC this hummock-PL-PROL
mer-ujī-š-u-m
 fly-IPFV-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 ‘This dog has made our deer jump over these
 hummocks by barking and making them move.’ [I]

The Prolative noun phrase can indicate a way by which information is transmitted:

- (221) *tet-in nem-dik nado+ŋō-l tamun*
 [you-DAT what-PRED necessary+COP-SF] that
met-ken ažu jan-mek
 me-PROL word send-TR:2SG
 ‘You send the information about what you need
 through me.’ [F22]

It can denote the reason (the way through which something has happened; see also 11.4.3):

- (222) a. *taŋ marqil' eris' ann'-ōl-de-gen*
 [that girl badly speak-RNR-POSS-PROL]
tabud-ek lem-mele
 that-PRED eat-OF:3SG
 ‘Since that girl had said bad things, he ate her.’ [F44]
- b. *ningō leg-u-t tamun-gen tāt*
 [many eat-0-SS:IPFV] that-PROL CA
kude-je
 become-INTR:1SG
 ‘Since I have eaten much, that’s why this has
 happened to me.’

It can denote the part of the O participant which is directly acted upon:

- (223) a. *ørd'ō-de-gen šašahada-j-m*
 middle-POSS-PROL hit-PFV-TR:3SG
 'He hit it in the middle.'
- b. *tintan šāl mībe-de-gen čine-delle*
 [that tree root-POSS-PROL cut.down-SS:PFV]
los'il+ηōt piede-t-u-k
 fire+TRNSF burn-CAUS-0-IMP:2
 'Cut down that tree by the roots and use it for
 firewood.' [F27]

Cf. 4.2.2 on a special body-part form with a similar function; see also 9.2.3.2 for an overview of verb patterns with a body-part slot.

5. Other nominal forms

5.1. The Attributive form

5.1.1. The non-Possessive Attributive form

Nouns, numerals, and the interrogative pronoun *leme ~ neme* 'what' have the Attributive form in *-d/-n* which is incompatible with Plural marking (on its compatibility with Possessive markers, see 5.5.1.2).

5.1.1.1. Attributive formation. The variant *-d* occurs before vowel-initial stems, *-n* in any context, as described in 3.3.1.2.5. If a stem ends in a consonant other than */l/, /l'/, /η/*, there is no Attributive form, or, conversely, the Attributive and the Nominative forms are not distinguished. The consonants */l/, /l'/, /η/* are dropped in the Attributive form (cf. 1.4.2).

(224)	Nominative	Attributive	
	<i>odul</i>	<i>odu-n</i>	'Yukaghir'
	<i>qojl</i>	<i>qoj-n</i>	'god'
	<i>marqil'</i>	<i>marqi-n</i>	'tree'
	<i>unun</i>	<i>unu-n</i>	'river'

5.1.1.2. Functions of the Attributive form. The Attributive form

is non-referential and is used to express some property of the head-noun referent, such as material:

- (225) *šøj-n+čāše* 'porcelain cup'
 stone-ATTR+cup
šā-n+qamujaje 'wooden spoon'
 tree-ATTR+spoon
ludu-n+mahil 'iron coat'
 iron-ATTR+coat

nationality, biological species, or sex:

- (226) *ani-n+pulut* 'fish elder'
 fish-ATTR+old.man
šāqa-n+terike 'old fox woman'
 fox-ATTR+old.woman
jaqa-n+pajpe 'Yakut woman'
 Yakut-ATTR+woman
odu-n+marqil 'Yukaghir girl'
 Yukaghir-ATTR+girl
pajpe-d+uø 'girl'
 woman-ATTR+child
qorobe-d+uø 'calf'
 cow-ATTR+child

kind:

- (227) *jalhi-n+šoromo* 'someone living in lake'
 lake-ATTR+person
āče-n+ømgede 'deer saddle'
 deer-ATTR+saddle
touke-n+mid'i 'dog sledge'
 dog-ATTR+sledge
čobu-n+pugedand'e 'sea king'
 sea-ATTR+king
lebie-d+en-d'ōn 'animal living on land'
 land-ATTR+live-SBNR

<i>mēmē-n+qār</i>	‘bear skin’
bear-ATTR+skin	
<i>lūs’ī-n+numø</i>	‘Russian (wooden) house’
Russian-ATTR+house	
<i>odu-n+numø</i>	‘Yukaghir (traditional) house’
Yukaghir-ATTR+house	

In a few cases, the Attributive modifier appears to specify a whole, a part of which is referred to by the NP:

(228) <i>čobu-n+ørd’e</i>	‘sea-middle, sea depths’
sea-ATTR+middle	
<i>unu-d+ørd’e</i>	‘midstream’
river-ATTR+middle	
<i>mure-d+igeje</i>	‘lace’
shoe-ATTR-rope	

In particular, some NPs with Attributive modifiers signify body parts which are “defined” with respect to some larger body parts:

(229) <i>jō-d+amun</i>	‘skull’
head-ATTR+bone	
<i>jō-n+kis’il</i>	‘forehead’
head-ATTR-edge	
<i>laqi-n+piērī</i>	‘tail feather’
tail-ATTR+feather	

There is a set of frozen collocations involving the Attributive form:

(230) <i>lebie-d+emej</i>	‘Mother Earth’
earth-ATTR+mother	
<i>qoj-n+numø</i>	‘church’
god-ATTR+house	
<i>jel’ōd’e-d+uk-s’ī-be</i>	‘East’
sun-ATTR+come.out-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>jel’ōd’e-d+aml-uj-be</i>	‘West’
sun-ATTR+sink-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>pod’erqo-d+ørd’e</i>	‘midday’
day-ATTR+middle	

Finally, the Attributive form can be used for arguments of postpositions (see 8.5.2). For a detailed description of the semantic contrast between the Attributive and the Nominative marking of noun modifiers, see 8.2.3.

5.1.2. The Possessive Attributive form

Nouns and Nominal forms of verbs have the Possessive Attributive form in *-de* ~ *-te*, which can be combined with the Plural marker. This marker cross-references the Possessor if the Possessed itself serves as a modifier.

5.1.2.1. Formation of the Possessive Attributive. There is an alternative variant of the Possessive Attributive form, which is built by the combination of the Possessive marker *-gi-* ~ *-ki-* and the regular Attributive marker. This variant occurs very rarely (there are only two examples in my corpus) and can be considered obsolete. The examples are:

- (231) a. *čumut šaqal'ā-gi-n+puge* *ord'e-ge*
 all assemble-POSS-ATTR+summer middle
n'e+min-ŋi-te-j
 RECP+take-3PL-FUT-INTR
 'In the middle of the summer when they all will assemble, they will marry.' [K1]
- b. *šāšet-te ūle uørpe-p-ki l'e-ŋi*
 now-DP some children-PL-POSS be-3PL:INTR |
uørpe-p-ki-n+uør-pe niŋge-ŋi
 children-PL-POSS-ATTR+child-PL many-3PL:INTR
 'Also now, some of his children are alive, his grandchildren are multiple.' [K4]

There is no clear difference in meaning between the variants of the Attributive form, cf., e.g. (231b) and (232).

- (232) *tamun uørpe-p-te uør-pe*
 that child-PL-POSS child-PL
 'These are his grandchildren.' [K4]

Below, only the Possessive Attributive form in *-de* is described.

5.1.2.2. Functions of the Possessive Attributive. The Possessive Attributive form is used to mark the Possessive relation between the referent of a nominal modifier and a Possessor outside the noun phrase (according to the rules outlined in Section 2 for the regular Possessive markers):

- (233) *mino-de ejmunde* ‘half of his raft’
 raft-POSS:ATTR half
noj-pe-de leppul ‘blood from their feet’
 foot-PL-POSS:ATTR blood
ō-de qonžo ‘holes in his trousers’
 trousers-POSS:ATTR hole

This form can replace the non-Possessive Attributive form in the meaning of “whole” (as in (228), (229)).

- (234) *jō-de amun* ‘his skull’
 head-POSS:ATTR bone
mure-de igeje ‘her lace’
 shoe-POSS:ATTR rope

For further details on this phenomenon, see 8.2.3.2. The Attributive Possessive marking is used for relativization of the Possessor (see 11.3.1.4) and for arguments of postpositions (see 8.5.2).

5.2. The Privative form

The Privative form (‘without X’) is built by the combination of the prepositional negative marker *el+* and the postpositional morpheme *+čuoŋ*:

- (235) a. *tāt kereke-pul and’e el+šoromo+čuoŋ*
 CA Koryak-PL prince NEG+person+PRV
kude-l’el
 become-INFR(3SG)
 ‘So, the prince of the Koryaks has lost his people.’ [F50]
- b. *mit el+end’ōn+čuoŋ pon’-ō-ŋl’i*
 we NEG+animal+PRV leave-RES-INTR:1PL
 ‘We are left without animals.’ [F9]

- c. *ūe end'ōn el+legul+čuoŋ l'e-ŋi*
 some animal NEG+food-PRV be-3PL:INTR
 'Some animals have no food.' [F9]

See 6.1.4.8 about a formally identical Negative non-finite form of verbs.

5.3. The Temporal form

The nouns denoting seasons or other periods of time attach the suffix *-me* to create the adverb-like Temporal form:

- (236) *čied'e-me* 'in winter'
 winter-TMP
joule-me 'in the evening'
 evening-TMP
emil-me 'at night'
 night-TMP

These forms have the generic meaning, i.e., they do not refer to any specific period of time.

- (237) a. *otu-ge godō-t emil-me*
 [camp.fire-LOC lie-SS:IPFV] night-TMP
ammel-d'ū'i el+n'er+čuoŋ
 spend.night-INTR:1PL NEG+clothing-PRV
 'We spent the nights near the campfire, without
 clothing.'
- b. *mēmē čugurubie tabun-get čied'e-me*
 bear chipmunk that-ABL winter-TMP
joŋžō-ŋi
 sleep-3PL:INTR
 'That is why the bear and the chipmunk
 hibernate.' [F9]

5.4. The Prospective form

The Prospective form ('what is going to be X') is derived by means of the postpositional marker *-možū-*, to which the inflectional

markers are attached. Within the noun morphology proper, this suffix is outmoded and is commonly used only to derive the words *terike+možū* ‘bride’ (wife+PRSP) and *pulut+možū* ‘bridegroom’ (husband+PRSP), being available but very infrequently otherwise. Yet it is widely used in combination with Nominal forms of the verb to create the Prospective Nominal form; see 6.1.3.5.

5.5. Verbal forms

5.5.1. The Proprietary form

The Proprietary form is built by means of the suffix *-n'e- ~ -n'* (see 3.3.4.1.6). Note that its syllabic variant is identical to the Comitative marker (see 5.1.2, 5.4.2.3), and the meaning is similar (‘have, be with’). Yet, in contrast to the Comitative case form, the Proprietary is completely verb-like with respect to its external syntax. It has verbal inflection and can occur in all environments where a verb can occur:

- (238) a. *met el+lebie-n'e-je*
 I NEG+land-PRPR-INTR:1SG
 ‘I have no land.’ [F8]
- b. *tiŋ amde-l marqil' kəj-n'e-l'el*
 this [die-ANR] girl boy-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 ‘This girl that died used to have a boyfriend.’ [F44]
- c. *mus'in en-d'ōn pugil'-n'e-t-i*
 various animal lord-PRPR-FUT-INTR:3SG
 ‘Every variety of animals will have a lord.’ [F9]
- d. *mit-kele qamie-ŋi-te-m legul-e*
 we-ACC help-3PL-FUT-TR food-INSTR
legul-n'e-ŋide
 [food-PRPR-SS:COND]
 ‘They will help us with food, if they have some.’ [F22]
- e. *taŋ el+terike-n'-d'e šoromo*
 [that [NEG-wife-PRPR-ATTR] person
pugeže-j-delle mon-i <...>
 run.out-PFV-SS:PFV] say-INTR:3SG

‘That unmarried man ran out and said: ...’ [F54]

However, in its internal syntax, it behaves mostly like a noun, i.e., it can be modified by the Attributive form of a numeral (239a), by a relative clause ((239b)-(239c)), by the Attributive form of a noun ((239a), (239d)) or pronoun ((239e)-(239f)) (see 8.1.1 for the list of possible noun modifiers).

- (239) a. *ataq-un mašl'-uø-n'e-j jā-n*
 two-ATTR girl-child-PRPR-INTR:3SG | three-ATTR
køjpe-d-i uø-n'e-j
 boy-ATTR—child-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 ‘She had two daughters and three sons.’ [F55]
- b. *irk-in terikie-die jukō-d'e*
 one-ATTR old.woman-DIM [small-ATTR]
uø-n'e-l'el
 child-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 ‘One old woman had a little child.’ [F55]
- c. *čā-je šoromo-n'i*
 [few-ATTR] person-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 ‘He has a small family (-: few people of his).’ [T1]
- d. *tī šaqale-n ferma-n'-d'ōn-pe ō-d'īl'i*
 here fox-ATTR farm-PRPR-SBNR-PL -COP-INTR:1PL
 ‘We used to have a fox farm here.’
- e. *jō tāt-mie imi-n'e-j-ben qodo mit*
 Intj [that-QLT neck-PRPR-ATTR-RELNR] how our
mašl'-uø-gele terike-i qōn min-te-m
 girl-child-ACC wife+TRNSF take-FUT-TR:3SG
 ‘Oh, how will somebody with a neck like that marry our daughter?’ [F5]
- f. *qam-un šorome-n'-d'ek?*
 how.many-ATTR person-PRPR-INTR:2SG
 ‘How many people do you have (=: are there in your family)?’ [I]

This noun-like behavior distinguishes the Proprietary form from the parallel denominal derivatives meaning ‘get X’ and ‘give X to somebody’, which behave just as verbs (see 6.4.2). Note, however, that there is a set of verbs resulting from lexicalization of the Proprietary forms (see Appendix 2).

Besides its major meaning of possession ((238)-(239)), the Proprietary form can be used for predicating or attributing existence.

- (240) a. *taŋ pajpā-die juø-ŋi-de-ge numø ločil-gi*
 [that woman-DIM see-PL-3-DS] house fire-POSS
jū-n'e-j
 smoke-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 ‘They saw that girl, and there was smoke above the house.’ (lit. ‘... the fireplace of the house had smoke.’)
- b. *tāčile ninge-j lebejdī-n'e-j mieste*
 CA [[many-ATTR] berries-PRPR-ATTR] place
laŋin qon-d'ī'i
 AD:DIR go-INTR:1PL
 ‘Then we went towards a place where there were lots of berries.’ [T2]

See 12.1.2 for further information on the Proprietary clauses.

5.5.2. The Stative form

The copula *ō-* ‘be’ (12.1.1.2) has the bound variant *+ŋō-*, which can be used to create the Stative form ‘be X’. The Stative form is not very common for genuine Yukaghir nouns (5.5.2.1); yet this marking appears to play a major role in borrowing of Russian adjectives (5.5.2.2).

5.5.2.1. Stative marking with Yukaghir nouns. The Stative form signifies an acquirable and/or transient state of a person:

- (241) a. *ataq-un alme+ŋō-d'e n'ied'ī-l*
 two-ATTR shaman+STAT-ATTR speak-ANR
 ‘A story about two (persons) who were shamans.’ [F44]

- b. *tudā čuøl'e-d+omnī parā-ge irk-in*
 long.ago ancient-ATTR-people time-LOC one-ATTR
pō+ηō-d'e uø-ηō-d'e²² šoromo-k
 orphan+STAT-ATTR child-STAT-ATTR person-PRED
l'e-l'el-ul
 be-INFR-0-SF
 'Once upon a time, in the ancient people's time, there
 was one young orphan.' [F32]
- c. *rajkimōl sekretar'+ηō-t ejre-j-ben*
 rajkom secretary+STAT-SS:IPFV walk-ATTR-RELNR
ō-d'e
 COP-INTR:1SG
 'I was (walking around as) the secretary of the regional
 party committee.'

The Imperfective converb of the Stative can be used to quantify the subject participant:

- (242) a. *erpeje-pul tāhile kereke-pul modo-l'el-ηi*
 Even-PL CA Koryak-PL sit-INFR-3PL:INTR
ninge-j numø+ηō-t
 [many-ATTR] house-STAT-SS:PFV
 'There were lots of Evens and Koryaks.' [F50]
- b. *odul-pe taη kun'-in+kun'-in n'ahanbō-d'e*
 Yukaghir-PL [that ten-ATTR+ten-ATTR five-ATTR
budie šoromo+ηō-t irk-in mieste-ge
 above people-STAT-SS:PFV] one-ATTR place-LOC
madā-nu-l'el-ηi
 sit-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Five hundred Yukaghirs lived at one place.' [F50]

5.5.2.2. Stative marking with borrowed Russian adjectives. In contrast with the Yukaghir qualitative verbs (4.3.2), Russian adjectives are nominal, a fact which is obviously perceived by Yukaghirs (given their native or near-native competence in Russian, see 2.2). In order to overcome this contradiction, the Stative form is employed when a Russian adjective is inserted into a Yukaghir

sentence. In this way, the Russian adjectives are “transformed” into Yukaghir qualitative verbs:

- (243) a. *āj arasno+ηō-d'e legul-ek ā-mele*
 CP various+STAT-ATTR food-PRED make-OF:3SG
 ‘He made a variety of food again.’ [F26] (Russian
razn(yj) ‘different, various’)
- b. *lebie-n+emej čisto+ηō-gen*
 earth-ATTR+mother clean+STAT-ATTR
 ‘Let the mother earth be clean.’ [F34] (Russian
chist(yj) ‘clean’).
- c. *l'e-gi eg-uj-be-gi krute+ηō-d'e*
 that-POSS [rise-IPFV-LOCNR-POSS] steep+STAT-ATTR
mieste-k tāt ā-nu-ηile
 place-PRED so make-IPFV-3PL:OF
 ‘That thing, the upward slope, they make steep places
 that way.’ (Russian *krut(oj)* ‘steep’).

The Stative form is employed for a new Russian-based modal construction with *nado* ‘is necessary’ (see 9.2.7.1, 11.1.2) and constitutes the morphological basis for the Transformative form (5.5.3)

5.5.3. The Transformative form

The Transformative form is created by means of the elements *-ηō-t* or *-ηō-n*, which can be morphologically analyzed as the Imperfective converb of the Stative (as in (242)) and the Stative-based adverb (see 4.3.3, 4.2) respectively. These variants are used more or less in the same way, showing at most some tendencies towards a semantic distribution, rather than a clear semantic distinction.

Most often, the Transformative is used as an argument of the verb *kude-* ‘to become, to happen, to begin’ (see 12.1.3.1.1). In this function the two variants of the form are semantically equal (‘to become X, to turn into X’), see (244)-(245). The form in *-t* is commonly followed by the variant *gude-* of the verb (see 3.2.1.2) and (245b)).

- (244) a. *tāt āj šøjl+ηōn kude-j*
 CA CP stone-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 'Then he turned into a stone again.' [F26]
- b. *tāt ejre-t alme+ηōn kude-j*
 [CA walk-SS:IPFV] shaman-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 'He walked in that way and became a shaman.' [F45]
- (245) a. *tāt-mie čomō-d'e qorobo øn'če+ηōt*
 that-QLT big-ATTR cow bull+TRNSF
kude-j
 become-INTR:3SG
 'He became such a large bull.' [F27]
- b. <...> *tāt šøjl+ηōt gude-l'el*
 CA stone-TRNSF become-INFR(3SG)
 '... and she turned into a stone.' [F26]

This construction can be used in the temporal sense and for weather expressions; in these functions the form in *-ηōt* is more common.

- (246) a. *jā-n n'emolhūl+ηōt gude-j mit*
 three-ATTR year-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG [our
kimd'v-l-ōl
 fight-0-RNR]
 'We have been fighting for three years.' [F31]
- b. *pen joule | ηōt kude-j*
 it evening-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 'The evening came'
- (247) a. *il'eje+ηōt kude-j*
 wind-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 'It became windy.' [F38]
- b. *pen nado+ηōt gudie-l'el*
 it fall+TRNSF become-INFR(3SG)
 'The fall came.'

With a number of transitive verbs, the Transformative noun phrase signifies the suggested function or the way of application of the O

participant. In this function, the form in *-ηōn* is more common.

- (248) a. *tiŋ šøjl jōde-je+ηōn min-te-j*
 this stone play-ATTR+TRNSF take-FUT-TR:1PL
 ‘We will take this stone as a toy.’ [F26]
- b. *tet kenme+ηōn irk-in towke-die-k*
 your friend+TRNSF one-ATTR dog-DIM-PRED
num-me
 find-OF:1/2SG
 ‘I have found a little dog, as a friend for you.’ [F20]
- c. *jodod’ūbe tude abut+ηōn ul’ege-lek*
 squirrel its nest-TRNSF grass-PRED
jeldie-nu-mele n’anme qār-e n’e-kie
 tear-IPFV-OF:3SG bush bark-INSTR RECP-interval
 ‘The squirrel is tearing grass mixed with bush bark for
 its nest.’ [I]
- d. *čolhorā-die-gele uø+ηōn en-že-ηā*
 hare-DIM-ACC child-TRNSF live-CAUS-3PL:TR
 ‘They were bringing up the little hare as a child.’ [F14]

See also 12.1.3.1 for Transformative verb patterns.

6. Nominal derivation

6.1. Derivational suffixes

6.1.1. The Diminutive

The Diminutive is derived by means of the suffix *-die-* (*/d/* alternates with */t/* after obstruents, as described in 3.3.2.1); the final */l/*, */l’/* of a stem are dropped before the Diminutive marker (cf. 1.4); the final {*E*} of a stem alternates with */ie/*, */ā/* according to the rules described in 3.3.4.3.2):

- (249) *šøjl’bul* > *šøjl’bu-die* ‘little mouse’
šāl > *šā-die* ‘little tree, stick’
šaqale > *šaqalā-die* ‘little fox’
terike > *terikie-die* ‘(little) old woman’

A noteworthy distributional feature of the Diminutive is that it follows the Plural marker when combined within one word form:

- (250) *pulut-pe-die* '(little) old men'
terike-p-tie '(little) old women'
uørpe-p-tie '(little) children'

In many cases, the Diminutive seems to have rather affectionate meaning. In order to stress the meaning 'little', the Diminutive form can be combined with the Attributive form of the verb *jukō-* 'be little'.

- (251) *jukō-d'e qorobo-die-lek tadī-ŋile*
 small-ATTR cow-DIM-PRED give-3PL:OF
 'They gave him a tiny cow.' [F27]

Another way to stress a very small quantity or size is to apply the Diminutive suffix to a nominal form of this verb.

- (252) *čül-e jukō-d'ōn-ben-die-lek pan-mele*
 meat-INSTR small-SBNR-RNR-DIM-PRED cook-OF:3SG
 'She cooked a very small piece of meat.' [F51]

In a few cases, the Diminutive entails singulative meaning:

- (253) *ul'egerā-die* 'straw'
 straws-DIM
čül-die 'a little piece of meat'
 meat-DIM

When applied to the negative form of the indefinite pronoun *leme*, *n'e-leme* 'nothing', the Diminutive suffix has an emphatic impact (like 'not even a bit').

- (254) *n'e-leme-die el+lejdi-je šoromo-pul tite*
 [[NEG-what-DIM NEG-know-ATTR] person-PL as
tī+ tā modā-nu-lle me+kie-s'ī'i
 here+there sit-IPFV-PFV] AFF+come-INTR:1PL
 'Like people who do not know even a bit (about how to hunt), we have come just having spent some time here and there (without any success).'

Finally, the Diminutive suffix is often used in combination with recent borrowings from Russian, having no function but to make a word more Yukaghir-like, e.g., *šūkā-die* ‘pike’ (from Russian *shchuka* ‘pike’), *čajka-die* ‘sea gull’ (from Russian *čajka* ‘sea gull’). In particular, this device is commonly applied to Russian first names, e.g., *Aleks’ej-die*, *Egor-die*, *Miqajla-die* (in each word, the first component is just a Russian male name).

6.1.2. The Augmentative

The Augmentative is derived by means of the suffix *-tEge-* (as described in 3.3.4.1.5). The suffix is used very rarely and only for reference to size:

- (255) *terike-tke* ‘huge old woman’
pulut-tege ‘huge old man’
todī-tege ‘huge tooth.’

6.1.3. The suffix *-d’i-*

The suffix *-d’i-* productively derives ethnonyms, mostly from names of places or rivers (see 5.3.1.2). There are two clearly lexicalized instances of such derivation: *lebej-d’i* ‘berries’ from *lebie* ‘earth’, and *ajbi-d’i* ‘dead people, the world of the dead, hell, Lower Earth’ (Lower Earth is a part of Yukaghir mythology, roughly corresponding to hell) from *ajbi* ‘soul, shadow, ghost’.

6.1.4. The suffix *-bE-* (Locative nominalizer)

This suffix derives from verbs nouns with the general meaning ‘place where people (usually) do X’, where X is the action denoted by the verb stem (Krejnovich 1982:88-89). In most cases, the noun is derived from a verb marked for Imperfective, either by the regular Imperfective marker *-nu-* (6.3.2), or by one of the Iterative suffixes (6.3.3.2):

- (256) *šøj-nu-be* ~ *šøgul-nu-be* ‘entrance’
 enter-IPFV-LOCNR

<i>šaqal'ā-nu-be</i> ~ <i>šaqad'i-be</i>	'club, meeting place'
gather-IPFV-LOCNR	
<i>madā-nu-be</i>	'seat'
sit-IPFV-LOCNR	
<i>čoh-uj-be</i>	'place where a river is crossed'
cross.river-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>orp-uj-be</i>	'mountain pass'
climb-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>eg-uj-be</i>	'mooring'
stand.up-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>uk-s'i-be</i>	'exit'
go.out-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>egu-žū-be</i>	'path'
walk-ITER-LOCNR	
<i>pejdu-be</i>	'stairs, bridge'
step-LOCNR	
<i>modi-be</i>	'place of residence'
reside-LOCNR	
<i>godō-be</i>	'bed'
lie-LOCNR	
<i>moj-bo</i>	'handle'
hold-LOCNR	

There are also few cases where the Locative nominalizer is applied to a non-verbal stem:

- (257) *pude-be* 'top, surface'
 above-LOCNR
ottu-nu-be 'fireplace'
 fire-IPFV-LOCNR
ažū-be 'conversation'
 word-LOCNR

6.1.5. The suffix *-čā-*

The suffix *-čā-* derives from nouns with the meaning 'a place where there are many Xs', where X is an entity denoted by the

nominal stem:

- (258) *šoromo-čā* ‘crowded place’
 person-DER
pie-čā ‘hilly, mountaneous place’
 hill-DER
unuŋ-čā ‘place where there are many rivers’
 river-DER

6.1.6. The suffix *-ī-*

This suffix derives from verbs nouns denoting instruments or materials, or other means employed for the action (cf. Krejnovich 1982:81). The list of derivatives is:

- (259) *čahat-ī* ‘paint’
 paint-NR
iŋd'-ī ‘thread, vein’
 sew-NR
ibiš-ī ‘breast, milk’
 suck-NR
køŋd'-ī ‘anvil’
 forge-NR
ož-ī ‘water’
 drink-NR
tod-ī ‘tooth’
 bite-NR
čied'e-d-ī ‘cold, chill’
 cold-PRPR:INCH-NR

6.1.7. The suffix *-rā-* (*-žā-*)

The suffix *-rā-* derives a few substantives denoting various items of the household. The suffix is compatible with nominal (260a), verbal (260b) and adverbial (260c) stems. In addition, it is attested in a few synchronically non-derived stems (260d).

- (260) a. *šoboho-rā* 'trough'
trough-DER
jūs'e-rā 'smoke-producing fireplace
smoke-DER against mosquitoes'
ul'ege-rā 'straws'
grass-DER
- b. *orpu-nd'i-rā* 'rack'
hang-ITER-DER
čine-rā 'sloping stake' (in the traditional
stoop-DER Yukaghir house)
- c. *šajde-rā* 'cross stake' (in the traditional
across-DER Yukaghir house)
- d. *kenke-rā* 'bucket'
jerče-rā 'pitch fork'

In particular, this suffix is commonly attached to Russian loanwords with similar semantics, e.g., *loška-rā* 'spoon' (Russian *lozhka* 'spoon'), *køušē-rā* 'ladle' (Russian *kovsh* 'ladle').

The suffix can be also distinguished in a small group of other derived substantives, which do not belong to this semantic group:

- (261) *čine-rā* 'a sunk part of tree'
chop-DER
jōs'e-rā 'bubble'
lump-DER
jolle-rā 'very old woman'
decayed.stuff-DER
ugurče-rā 'poplar'
ski-DER

A small group of nouns are derived by the suffix *-žā-*, which can be considered a variant of *-rā-*, e.g., *šølien-žā* 'cedar bush' (cf. *šølie* 'cedar nut'), *lamun-žā* 'a floating part of tree' (cf. *lamut* with apparently the same meaning).

6.1.8. The suffix *-(i)l'*

The suffix *-(i)l'* derives a closed set of de-verbal nouns, which signify mostly a typical agent or instrument involved the action denoted by the verb stem, i.e., it has a meaning like 'somebody or something which does V' (Krejnovich 1982:86-87). The list of attested examples is:

- (262) *čekč-il'* 'foreman'
 be.skilful-NR
šer-il' ~ *šež-il'* 'covering, roof'
 cover-NR
noh-il' 'bundle, string'
 string-NR
tøb-il' 'lid, cover'
 close-NR
orpo-l' 'hanger'
 hang-NR
puk-il' 'bubble, balloon'
 swell.up-NR

6.1.9. Other suffixes

There are some other suffixes, attested in one or two cases each (Krejnovich 1982:85-89); some examples:

- (263) *køŋ-ū* 'crack, split' (*køŋ-* 'split, chop')
iŋd'i-rgī 'hand-bag for sewing accessories'
 (*iŋd'i* 'thread')
im-ol 'riding deer' (*ima-* 'sit on deer back, boat, etc.')
- šogi-je* 'pocket' (*šogī* 'bag')
- aŋ-ur* 'palate' (*aŋa* 'mouth')

6.2. Compounds

The only regular type of compounding is of the form N_1 -ATTR+ N_2 . As described in 3.3.1.2.5, from the phonological point of view, the Attributive form cannot be considered a fully free word form (given

the possible alternation $-d \sim -n$ under phonological conditions determined by the head noun). That is why it is not easy to delineate noun phrases with Attributive dependent nouns and compounds based on the same structural scheme (see examples (230)). What has to be stated is that there are such collocations with the following properties (which distinguish these collocations from those described in 5.1.1):

1. The meaning of the combination is not predictable from the meanings of its components.
2. Before a vowel-initial stem, only the variant $-d$ of the Attributive marker is allowed; its alternation with $-n$ is allowed (and required) only before a consonant.
3. With respect to the Possessive marking, the collocation behaves like a single noun stem, i.e., the Possessive marking on the Attribute (the Possessive Attributive form, see 5.1.2) is disallowed.

Some examples:

(264)	<i>aŋd'e-n-šorome</i>	'pupil'
	eye-ATTR-person	
	<i>šā-d-abut</i>	'coffin'
	tree-ATTR-case	
	<i>aŋd'e-d-abut</i>	'entrails, internal fat'
	eye-ATTR-case	
	<i>čolhoro-n-lebejdī</i>	'red currants'
	hare-ATTR-berries	
	<i>epie-n-čekčil'</i>	'ladybird'
	grandmother-ATTR-foreman	
	<i>jaqa-d-ās'e</i>	'horse'
	Yakut-ATTR-deer	
	<i>jōs'e-d-amun</i>	'buttock'
	lump-ATTR-bone	

This way of word formation can be applied for naming new phenomena, cf. two alternative nouns for spectacles, *šoj-d-aŋd'e* (stone-ATTR-eye) and *aŋd'e-d-ajbī* (eye-ATTR-shade).

In some cases, one member of such a compound does not occur independently:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (265) | <i>aŋa-n-muge</i> ‘lip’ | <i>aŋa</i> ‘mouth’ |
| | <i>jouho-d-arī</i> ‘bag’ | <i>jouho</i> ‘back’ |
| | <i>šin-d-amun</i> ‘back of the head’ | <i>amun</i> ‘bone’ |

6.3. Lexicalization of verb forms

6.3.1. Lexicalization of Action Nominals

Quite a number of nouns result from lexicalization of the Action Nominal forms of verbs:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|------------|
| (266) | <i>emi-l</i> | ‘night’ |
| | be.dark-ANR | |
| | <i>ed’-u-l</i> | ‘life’ |
| | live-0-ANR | |
| | <i>čitne-l</i> | ‘length’ |
| | be long-ANR | |
| | <i>čoŋ-u-l</i> | ‘taste’ |
| | be tasty-0-ANR | |
| | <i>jodo-l</i> | ‘package’ |
| | tie-ANR | |
| | <i>joul’e-l</i> | ‘illness’ |
| | be.ill-ANR | |
| | <i>lad’i-l</i> | ‘soot’ |
| | blacken.with.smoke-ANR | |
| | <i>leg-u-l</i> | ‘food’ |
| | eat-0-ANR | |
| | <i>šorome-n’-u-l</i> | ‘relative’ |
| | person-PRPR-0-ANR | |

6.3.2. Lexicalization of Subject Nominals

The following Subject Nominalizations (see 6.1.3.5) seem to have been lexicalized:

- (267) *el+anj d'e-n-d'ōn* 'blind'
 NEG+eye-PRPR-SBNR
čom-mu-jōn 'adult'
 big-INCH-SBNR
en-d'ōn 'animal'
 alive-SBNR
er-čōn 'disaster, misfortune'
 bad-SBNR
lejdi-jōn 'wizard'
 know-SBNR

6.3.3. Lexicalizations with the Relative Nominalizer *-ben*

The following forms created by means of the Relative Nominalizer *-ben* (see 6.1.3.6) seem to have been lexicalized:

- (268) *šajde-ben* 'width'
 across-RELNR
ejmie-ben 'the other bank'
 over.there-RELNR
kimd'v-jō-l-ben 'warrior'
 fight-QLT-ANR-RELNR
n'an'-u-l-ben 'devil, sinner'
 sinful-0-ANR-RELNR
n'e-+ lej-nu-l-ben-pe 'predators'
 RECP+| eat-IPFV-ANR-RELNR-PL
čomō-l-ben 'elk'
 big-ANR-RELNR

6.3.4. Lexicalization of Attributive forms

Quite a number of nouns result from lexicalization of the Attributive forms of verbs in *-je* ~ *-d'e* ~ *-če* (see 3.3.3, 6.1.2); in some cases, the last vowel of the noun is /*ā*/ (Krejnovich 1982:90-95).

- (269) *šojlō-d'e* 'roast (meat)'
 roast-RES-NR
čomō-d'e 'elder'
 be.big-NR

<i>čie-d'e</i>	'cold, winter'
be.cold-NR	
<i>čen-če</i>	'cheer, beauty'
be.funny-NR	
<i>čoŋ-če</i>	'fat'
be.tasty-NR	
<i>egie-d'e</i>	'rein, lead'
lead-NR	
<i>emi-d'e</i>	'point, spot'
be.dark-NR	
<i>emi-s'e</i>	'darkness'
be.dark-NR	
<i>jerō-d'e</i>	'ford'
shallow-NR	
<i>jode-je</i>	'toy'
play-NR	
<i>jeŋžō-d'e</i>	'blanket'
sleep-NR	
<i>amu-n'-d'ā</i>	'bony fish'
bone-PRPR-NR	

6.4. Conversion

Some nouns are derived from verbs via conversion, without any overt morphological marking:

(270)	<i>ahurpe-</i>	'suffer'	'suffering, torment'
	<i>čanbe-</i>	'help'	'help'
	<i>čuyže-</i>	'think'	'thought'
	<i>jaqte-</i>	'sing'	'song'
	<i>jeŋis'e-</i>	'be variegated'	'variegation'
	<i>ižulbe-</i>	'be tired'	'tiredness'
	<i>čumus'e-</i>	'fish'	'fishing rod'
	<i>čoŋho-</i>	'hollow'	'hollowing tool'

Chapter 6

Verb morphology

1. Major types of verb forms

The verb paradigm falls into four subparadigms: the Finite forms, the Attributive forms, the Nominal forms, and the switch-reference forms (converbs). This section describes how these forms are built, and provides an overview of their functions (which are treated in more detail in the respective chapters on syntax).

1.1. The Finite forms

1.1.1. Formation

1.1.1.1. Major morphological patterns. The Finite verb forms are built according to the following position class patterns, (271) for non-Imperative forms, (272) for Imperative forms:

(271) *me+ et+ el+ V -l'el/-moži -ŋi-te -X₁*
AFF+IRLS+NEG+stem-INFR/PRSP-PL-FUT-AGR

(272) *el+ V -ŋi-ge/-le -X₂*
NEG+stem-PL-IMP/PROH-AGR

The first line of each scheme shows the morphemic items, the second one, their glosses. For the morphological items occupying the final positions of these schemes (X_1 , X_2), see Tables 13 and 14. The Indicative paradigm distinguishes Main and Focus-indicating (Subject-Focus and Object-Focus) forms.²³

Table 13. Indicative forms: basic allomorphs of the Focus/Person markers
Transitive paradigm (*juø-* 'see, look at')

	Main forms		Object-Focus forms	
	non-Future	Future	non-Future	Future
1SG	<i>juø</i>	<i>juø-t</i>	<i>juø-me</i>	<i>juø-te-me</i>
2SG	<i>juø-me-k</i>	<i>juø-te-me-k</i>	<i>juø-me</i>	<i>juø-te-me</i>
3SG	<i>juø-m</i>	<i>juø-te-m</i>	<i>juø-me-le</i>	<i>juø-te-m-le</i>
1PL	<i>juø-j</i>	<i>juø-te-j</i>	<i>juø-l</i>	<i>juø-te-l</i>
2PL	<i>juø-met</i>	<i>juø-te-met</i>	<i>juø-met</i>	<i>juø-te-met</i>
3PL	<i>juø-ŋā</i>	<i>juø-ŋi-te-m</i>	<i>juø-ŋi-le</i>	<i>juø-ŋi-te-m-le</i>

Intransitive paradigm (*šohie* 'get lost, disappear')

	Main forms		Subject-Focus forms	
	non-Future	Future	non-Future	Future
1SG	<i>šohie-je</i>	<i>šohie-te-je</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>šohie-te-l</i>
2SG	<i>šohie-je-k</i>	<i>šohie-te-je-k</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>šohie-te-l</i>
3SG	<i>šohie-j</i>	<i>šohie-te-j</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>šohie-te-l</i>
1PL	<i>šohie-je-l'i</i>	<i>šohie-te-j-l'i</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>šohie-te-l</i>
2PL	<i>šohie-je-met</i>	<i>šohie-te-j-met</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>šohie-te-l</i>
3PL	<i>šohie-ŋi</i>	<i>šohie-ŋi-te-j</i>	<i>šohie-ŋi-l</i>	<i>šohie-ŋi-te-l</i>

Note: See 3.3.3 on the alternations of the initial /j/ in the Intransitive Main paradigm and in the 1PL transitive Main form; 3.3.4.1.1, 3.3.4.1.2, 3.3.4.1.3 on the alternations associated with the morphonemic {E}; 3.3.5 on the epenthetic submorphs employed within the verb inflection.

Table 14. Imperative and Interrogative forms

	Imperative		Prohibitive	Interrogative
	Simple	Complex		
2SG	<i>jaqa-k</i>	<i>jaqa-ge-k</i>	<i>el-l'aqa-le-k</i>	<i>jaqa-k</i>
2PL	<i>jaqa-ŋi-k</i>	<i>jaqa-ŋi-ge-k</i>	<i>el-l'aqa-ŋi-le-k</i>	<i>jaqa-met</i>
3SG	<i>jaqa-ge-n</i>		<i>el-l'aqa-ge-n</i>	<i>jaqa</i>
3PL	<i>jaqa-ŋi-ge-n</i>		<i>el-l'aqa-ŋi-ge-n</i>	<i>jaqa-ŋi</i>
1PL	<i>jaqa-ge</i>		<i>el-l'aqa-ge</i>	<i>jaqa-l-ōk</i>
1SG				<i>jaqa-m</i> ²⁴

Note: The simple 2SG Imperative marker is zero after consonant-final stems, e.g., *jan* 'send!', *qon* 'go!', *lek* 'eat!' (from *leg-* 'eat'). There are, however, some exceptions: the overt Imperative marker can be attached to some stems by inserting the epenthetic *-u-*: *kel-u-k* 'come!', *piedet-u-k* 'burn!'.

1.1.1.2. On the internal structure of the agreement paradigms. The paradigms in Tables 13, 14 observe a number of partial morphological regularities, which are not reflected in schemes (271)-(272). For example, all 2SG markers might be further analyzed as sequences of two suffixes, where only the final *-k* (absent from the SF and OF forms only) is an agreement marker, while *-je-* signifies intransitivity, *-me-*, transitivity, and *-l*, Focus on the subject. Then, we could also speak of a zero morph which would distinguish the Imperative and the Interrogative from the Indicative. Roughly the same regularity can be observed for the third person forms (at least, if we take into account the Future forms, which reveal the morphs *-j* and *-m(e)*, absent from the non-Future Plural forms).

On the other hand, the 2PL forms, although showing a rather "stable" (i.e., constant across the paradigm) agreement marker, deviate from this pattern as far as transitivity/focus marking is concerned: the transitivity marker does not show up (or is merged with the person marker), and the Main vs. OF distinction is not expressed. Further deviations are found in the first person forms of transitive verbs: in the 1SG forms, the transitive morph *-me-* is employed to distinguish the OF form from the Main form; in the 1PL forms, the "intransitive" opposition (*-j* vs. *-l*) does this duty, while the agreement suffix (*-l'i*) is absent. Certainly, one could think of various functional accounts of these deviations and of the structure of the paradigm as a whole (see, for example, (Ostrowski 1983)). Yet, for the purposes of this grammar, it is apparently sufficient just to present the paradigm as it is. In glosses, these markers are treated as portmanteau morphs. However, whenever necessary, I refer to the morphological elements *-m(e)-* and *-j(e)-* as transitive and intransitive morphs respectively.

1.1.2. Distribution of the Finite forms

The finite forms are used in one-clause (simple) sentences and in main clauses within multiclausal sentences. The finite forms are distributed over two interdependent functional parameters, the illocutionary sentence type and the grammatical Focus. On the

one hand, neither the Imperative nor the Interrogative forms can enter the grammatical Focus construction. On the other hand, with respect to the Focus semantics (see 12.3), the Imperative forms are similar to the Main forms, inasmuch as both can serve as the single element within the scope of the illocutive operator (narrow focus). This property is manifested by the capability of being the only overt element of a main clause:

- (273) a. *tabun gon-te-l-ben-pe* *kel-delle*
 [that go-CAUS-ANR-RELN-PL come-SS:PFV]
mon-nu-ŋi: *el+kødin-mie*
 say-IPFV-3PL:INTR NEG+right-QLT(NEG:3SG)
 ‘Those who had brought it there, came back and said:
 “(It) does not fit”.’ [F3]
- b. *aji-nu-t* *tā* *mēmē-le*
 [shoot-IPFV-SS:IPFV] there bear-INTR
kudede-ŋā *n’elbet-ŋā*
 kill-PFV-3PL:TR | skin-3PL:TR
 ‘They shot and killed a bear. (They) skinned
 (it).’ [F54]
- (274) a. *gon*
 go(IMP:2SG)
 ‘Go!’
- b. *n’e+min-ŋi-ge-n*
 RECP-take-PL-IMP-2
 ‘Let them marry!’ (lit. ‘take each other’) [K1]

This is impossible for the Focus-indicating and Interrogative forms. The SF forms and the OF forms are used only in the nominal Focus constructions (Krejnovich 1982:204-216), that is, they constitute a finite clause only in combination with a noun phrase in the Predicative form.²⁵

- (275) a. *met n’āčīn irk-in* *pajpā-die-k* *kel-u-l*
 I toward one-ATTR woman-DIM-PRED come-0-SF
 ‘A girl came towards me.’ [T2]

- b. *tet-ek aŋč̄i-nu-ŋile*
 you-PRED search-IPFV-3PL:OF
 'It's you whom they are seeking.' [T2]

In particular, the Focus construction (hence, the SF or the OF form) is the only option in questions with an Interrogative pronoun in the intransitive subject function or in the direct object function (Krejnovich 1982:232-234), i.e., whenever a constituent able to trigger the grammatical Focus marking is questioned.

- (276) a. *kin-tek jaqte-l?*
 who-PRED sing-SF
 'Who is singing?' [F13]
- b. *lem-dik kes'ī-me*
 what-PRED bring-OF:2SG
 'What have you brought?' [F33]

Similarly, the Interrogative forms are used only in the context of a non-Focus question word (277). General (yes/no) questions allow only the Indicative forms (278a); the Indicative form is also an option in specific questions (278b). Thus, an Interrogative form (exactly like a Focus-indicating form) cannot constitute the narrow focus of an interrogative clause.

- (277) a. *noŋōn met nonol-ge igie-k?*
 what.for my snare.trap-LOC get.caught-ITR:2SG
 'Why did you get caught in my snare trap?' [F19]
- b. *mit emd'e noŋōn kuded-ōk?*
 our younger.sibling what.for kill-ITR:1PL
 'What have we killed our younger brother for?' [F21]
- (278) a. *irk-in čas-ke čemej-te-jek?*
 one-ATTR hour-LOC finish-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'Will you finish in an hour?' [F43]
- b. *neme leg-u-t ed'-u-t ejre-jek?*
 [[what eat-0-SS:IPFV] live-0-SS:IPFV] walk-INTR:2SG
 'What have you been living on?' [K3]

For further details on the Focus marking, see 9.1.1, 12.2-12.3. For question types, see 13.2. The functions of the Imperative are described in 2.8.

1.1.3. Polarity

1.1.3.1. Negative forms. The Negative Main forms are identical for transitive and intransitive verbs (Jochelson 1905; Krejnovich 1982:203-204): the first and second person markers are taken from the Intransitive Main paradigm, the third person marker is zero (for intransitive verbs, the regular 3SG marker *-j* is possible as well), see Table 15.

The Imperative forms take the regular negative prefix, yet the negative counterpart of the simple Imperative forms contains also the Prohibitive suffix (Table 14); see 2.8 for examples. For further details on negation, see 13.4.

1.1.3.2. The Affirmative prefix. The Affirmative marker *me-* can be attached only to a Main form. The overt Affirmative marker is by no means obligatory, that is, the finite verb of an affirmative sentence is normally not overtly marked for polarity.²⁶ The only exception is the Irrealis form, which is most often used in combination with the Affirmative marker; see 2.4. Otherwise, the Affirmative marker can be used in order to emphasize the assertion expressed by the finite verb.

- (279) a. *m+onorn'e-jek*
 AFF+lie-INTR:2SG
 'You are lying!' [F14]

Table 15. Affirmative and negative finite forms

	Intransitive: <i>amde</i> 'die'		Transitive: <i>ā-</i> 'make' (FUT)	
1SG	<i>amde-je</i>	<i>el+amde-je</i>	<i>ā-t</i>	<i>el+ā-te-je</i>
2SG	<i>amde-jek</i>	<i>el+amde-jek</i>	<i>ā-te-mek</i>	<i>el+ā-te-jek</i>
3SG	<i>amde-j</i>	<i>el+amde ~ el+amde-j</i>	<i>ā-te-m</i>	<i>el+ā-t</i>
1PL	<i>amde-ŋl'i</i>	<i>el+amde-ŋl'i</i>	<i>ā-te-j</i>	<i>el+ā-te-ŋl'i</i>
2PL	<i>amde-ŋmet</i>	<i>el+amde-ŋmet</i>	<i>ā-te-met</i>	<i>el+ā-te-ŋmet</i>
3PL	<i>amde-ŋi</i>	<i>el+amde-ŋi</i>	<i>ā-ŋi-te-m</i>	<i>el+ā-ŋi-t</i>

- b. *me-met-ahurpe-š-če*
 AFF+REFL+suffer+CAUS-INTR:1SG
 'I make myself suffer.'

1.2. The Attributive forms

1.2.1. Formation

The Attributive forms are built by means of the (in)transitivity morphs, as singled out in 1.1.1: the Active Attributive form is derived by adding the suffix *-j(e)*, the Passive Attributive form, by the same suffixes that are used for the OF forms (see Table 13). The Passive Attributive markers normally cross-reference the subject of the relative clause. However, the form in *-me* can be used as a generic ("impersonal") Passive Attributive form. Both types of Attributive forms can contain the regular Future marker (280), although such examples are rather infrequent (see 2.3 on the functions of the Future).

- (280) a. *tet-kele tāt jelo-hude joq-to-t-če*
 [you-ACC CA back-DIR arrive-CAUS-FUT-ATTR]
šoromo oj-l'e
 person NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 'There is nobody who would bring you back.' [T1]
- b. *taŋ met pahu-nu-t-me mieste āj*
 that [I seine-IPFV-FUT-ATTR:1SG] place CP
el+uke-j
 NEG+exit-PFV(NEG:3SG)
 'That place where I am going to put my seine has not appeared yet (=it is still under the water).'

The Passive Attributive forms are morphologically distinguished from the OF forms in that they cannot get the modal markers (that is, they cannot be marked for the Inferential, Prospective and Irrealis meanings), while the OF forms have the full range of finite morphology.

For a description of relative clauses, see 11.3. For further details on the Focus construction and its formal relation to relative

clauses, see 12.2.

1.2.2. Functions of the Active Attributive form

The Active Attributive form serves to build relative clauses (11.3).

- (281) a. *jā-n* *uθ-n'e-j* *omnī*
 [three-ATTR child-PRPR-ATTR] family
 'a family of three children'
- b. *mit-in* *qojl* *kej-če* *lebie*
 [we-DAT god give-ATTR] land
 'the land that God has given to us' [F8]

The Active Attributive forms of the qualitative verbs commonly serve as simple attributes, thus taking over the functions associated with adjectives in other languages.

- (282) *kellugī-je* *šoromo* 'lazy person'
lige-je *pulut* 'very old man'
omo-s'e *legul* 'good food'

1.2.3. Functions of the Passive Attributive Forms

The Passive Attributive forms serve to build relative clauses with non-subject relativized participants (see 11.3.1). The Attributive marker cross-references the subject of the relative clause.

- (283) a. *mit* *šohu-še-l* *ani-pe*
 [we get.lost-CAUS-ATTR:1PL] fish-PL
 'the fishes that we have lost'
- b. *pod'erqo* *ejmunde-ge* *ā-mele* *ūj-l*
 [day half-LOC make-ATTR:3SG] work-ANR
 'the work which he has done in half a day' [K4]
- c. *lunbuge* *tadī-mele* *šoromo-gi*
 [pot give-ATTR:3SG] person-POSS
 'that man of his, to whom he has given the pot' [I]

- d. *tude-gele pešše-j-ŋile mieste*
 [he-ACC throw-PFV-ATTR:3PL] place
 ‘the place where they have left him.’ [F31]

The form in *-me* can be used either as one of the agreement forms (for 1SG or 2SG subject (284a)) or as a generic Passive Attributive form (with unspecified subject (284b)).

- (284) a. *met jowl’etl’e-me marqil’*
 [I love-ATTR:1SG] girl
 ‘my sweetheart’ [F59]
- b. *el+lek-te-me lebie-n+en-d’ōn*
 [NEG+eat-FUT-ATTR earth-ATTR+live-SBNR]
el+kude-s’i-nnu-lek!
 NEG+kill-ITER-HAB-PROH-2SG
 ‘Never kill animals that will not be eaten!’ [K3]

1.3. The Nominal forms

1.3.1. Formation

There are four major Nominal forms, which have the regular Nominal paradigm (see 5.1):

- The Action Nominal, suffix *-l*:

- (285) *joulus’-u-l* ‘(a situation of) asking’
 ask-0-ANR
kel-u-l ‘(a situation of) coming’
 come-0-ANR
palā-l ‘(a situation of) escaping’
 escape-ANR

See 3.3.5.2 on the epenthetic *-u-*, 5.1.4.3 on the omission of the final /l/ before inflectional suffixes. Note that the Action Nominal marker and the SF marker are clearly related (see also 12.2). Yet, in contrast to the SF form, the Action Nominal is completely noun-like in its external morphology and syntax (see 1.3.2, 9.1.2.1, 11.1). Some Action Nominal forms have been lexicalized (see 5.6.3.1).

- The Result Nominal, suffix *-ōl*:

- (286) *joulus'-ōl* 'question or another result of asking'
 ask-RNR
kel-ōl 'a result of coming, somebody's having come'
 come-RNR
leg-ōl 'a result of eating, somebody's having eaten'
 eat-RNR

The Result Nominal formation commonly involves the epenthetic *-l-*; see 3.3.5.1 for examples. See 5.1.4.3 on the omission of the final /l/ before inflectional suffixes.

- The Subject Nominal, suffix *-jōd ~ -jōn*:

- (287) *el+lejđī-jōn* 'one who does not know'
 NEG : know-SBNR
nuø-jōn 'one who is smiling'
 lough-SBNR
palā-jōn 'one who is escaping or has escaped'
 escape-SBNR

See 3.3.3 on the alternations of the initial *-j* and 3.3.1.2.3 on the alternations of the final consonant.

- The Relative Nominal is derived by means of the general nominalizer *-ben* (see 7.1.2.3), which can be attached to an Attributive form or to the Action Nominal form (in its attributive function, see 1.3.2). Some examples:

- (288) *ed'-u-l-ben* 'somebody who is living'
 live-0-ANR-RELNR
ejre-j-ben 'somebody who is walking'
 walk-ATTR-RELNR
ōžo-te-j-ben 'something to drink'
 drink-FUT-ATTR-RELNR

<i>šar-nu-me-ben</i>	‘somebody I was catching’
catch-IPFV-ATTR:1SG-RELNR	
<i>ā-mele-ben</i>	‘something done by him’
make-ATTR:3SG-RELNR	
<i>kej-ŋile-ben</i>	‘something given by them’
give-3PL:ATTR-RELNR	

There are two other nominal forms, the Supine form in *-din ~ -tin* (1.3.3) and the Prospective Nominal form (1.3.5), which is derived from an Action Nominal or from a Result Nominal by means of the nominal Prospective suffix *-možū-* (see 5.5.4).

1.3.2. Functions of the Action Nominal

The Action Nominal is completely noun-like with respect to its external morphology: it can be inflected for any case (289a)-(289b), it takes the nominal Plural marker and the Possessive markers (289a), it can be the argument of a postposition (289c), etc.

- (289) a. *taŋ parā-ge taŋ šaqal’ā-pe-de-ge*
 that time-LOC [that assemble-PL-POSS-LOC]
qamun-de uø+ŋō-d’e šoromo-k
 how.many-INDF child+STAT-ATTR person-PRED
n’e+min-ŋi-l
 RECP+take-3PL-SF
 ‘At that time, when they assembled, several young people married.’ [K1]
- b. *met-ket kebe-j-k tet pajtū-l-e!*
 I-ABL go-PFV-IMP:2SG you be.sly-ANR-INSTR
 ‘Escape from me by means of your cunning.’ [F31]
- c. *mit emd’e šl’upke-ge madā-l laŋin*
 our younger.sibling [boat-LOC sit-ANR AD:DIR]
tude epie-get el+lodā
 his granny-ABL NEG-fall(NEG:3SG)
 ‘Our younger brother had been clinging to his granny until we boarded the boat.’ [K5]

For internal structure of nominal clauses, see 9.1.2.

The Action Nominal can express both facts (290a) and situations (290b), (289c), but the situation meaning is more common.

- (290) a. *tāt gude-de-jle lejtej-m uθ-ŋō-l*
 [CA become-POSS-ACC] learn-TR:3SG child-STAT-ANR
alme
 shaman
 ‘The young shaman_i learned that he_j had transformed
 (himself_j) in such a way.’ [F44]
- b. *mit emd’e čohoče budie-t mit-kele*
 our younger.sibling hill SUPER-ABL we-ACC
juθ-m, mit anil ik-čī-l-gele
 see-TR:3SG [we fish catch-ITER-ANR-ACC]
 ‘Our younger brother saw us fishing from the
 shore.’ [K5]

See 11.1 for a detailed description of the Action Nominal complement clauses, 11.4, for the use of the Action Nominal in the adverbial clauses.

The Action Nominal can be used for indirect questions.

- (291) a. *n’ied’e-te-j qodo el+noj-n’e-l šoromo*
 tell-FUT-INTR:3SG [how NEG+leg-PRPR-ANR people
noj-te-č-u-l
 leg-CAUS-ITER-0-ANR]
 ‘He will tell how he made legs for legless people.’ [F31]
- b. *tāt mon-d’e ørd’-ō-l lebie-ge qodo*
 CA say-INTR:1SG [middle-VR-ANR earth-LOC how
leme ūjī-l
 what work-ANR]
 ‘So I described how and what I had been doing on the
 Middle Earth.’ [F31]

For a description of indirect questions, see 13.5.2.2.

Finally, the Action Nominals are used to build relative clauses, i.e., the Action Nominal can modify a noun.

- (292) a. *pude qodō-l kimnī el+ūše-le-k*
 [outside lie-ANR] whip NEG+touch-PROH-2SG
 'Do not touch the whip that is lying outside' [F19]
- b. *tanjiger d'e tittle modō-l mieste-ŋin*
 CA DP [their sit-ANR] place-DAT
kebe-ŋ-nu-l'el-ŋi
 go-PFV-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Then they went away to the place where they
 lived.' [K3]

Exactly as was described for the Active Attributive forms, the Action Nominal of qualitative verbs can be used to attribute properties:

- (293) a. *tintay ad-u-l igeje-pul-gele kōd-u-m*
 that [strong-0-ANR] rope-PL-ACC gather-0-TR:3SG
 'He gathered those strong ropes.' [F48]
- b. *tāt l'e-lle omo-l towke-pul-gele čumu*
 [so be-SS:PFV] [good-ANR] dog-PL-ACC all
min-ŋā
 take-3PL:TR
 'Then they took all the good dogs.' [F54]

See 11.3.1-11.3.2 for a description of relative clauses with the Action Nominal.

1.3.3. Functions of the Supine

The Supine is used to express purpose. Although this form is formally identical to the Possessive Dative form of the Action Nominal (5.1.3, 5.1.4.3), it occurs independently of the person of the subject, that is, in contradiction to what would be expected for a Possessive form (see 5.3, 14.1.2).

- (294) a. *tet tī er-čōn ā-din kie-s'ek*
 you here [bad-SBNR make-SUP] come-INTR:2SG
 'You have come here to do bad things.' [F47]

- b. *tud-in banka-le lebejdī šaqal'e-š-tin*
 [he-DAT tin-INSTR [berries assemble-CAUS-SUP]
igeje-š-telle tadi-j
 rope-PRPR:CAUS-SS:PFV] give-TR:1PL
 'We gave him a tin to collect berries and fastened it to
 him.' [K4]

Like the Action Nominal, the Supine can take the nominal Plural marker.

- (295) *ūle en-d'ōn-ŋin noj-pe-gi ūj-mele*
 other live-SBNR-DAT leg-PL-POSS work-OF:3SG
er-čōn-get šejre-pe-din palā-din
 [bad-SBNR-ABL run.away-PL-SUP] [escape-SUP]
 'He endowed other animals with legs, for them to run
 away from bad things, to escape.' [F9]

Note that the Dative form of the Action Nominal can be used in a similar meaning, yet in a far more restricted set of environments. More specifically, such usage is attested only in a construction with a verb of movement:

- (296) a. *jaqte-l-ŋin qon-i*
 sing-ANR-DAT go-INTR:3SG
 'He went to sing.'
- b. *tami-l-ŋin qon-d'e*
 help-ANR-DAT go-INTR:1SG
 'I went to help.'

See 11.4.4 for further details on the Supine Purpose clause. The Supine also constitutes an element of some specific valence patterns (see 11.2.2) and of the Periphrastic Prospective form (see 2.9.1).

1.3.4. Functions of the Result Nominal

The Result Nominal has an extremely wide array of functions, including the result of a situation, the affected participant of a situation, the situation itself, etc.

Basically, the Result Nominal is used to denote something resulting from a situation, in particular, its visible traces (Krejnovich 1982:140; 208-209).

- (297) a. *tāt qon-u-t il'l'e-l šoromo čuge-k*
 [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] other-ANR person track-PRED
num-mele, erpeje-pul mid-ō-pe-gi
 find-OF:3SG [Even-PL roam-RNR-PL-POSS]
 'So she went and found tracks of other people, traces
 of the Evens' wandering.' [F54]
- b. *tā ā-mele mieste-de-ǰle kǰže*
 [there make-ATTR:3SG] place-POSS-ACC [[K.
menmeg-ōl mon-u-t n'ie-nu-ŋā
 jump-RNR] say-0-SS:IPFV] call-IPFV-3PL:TR
 'The places which he has made there are called "tracks
 of Koje's jumping".' [F8]
- c. *tottū-l-ō-gi id'ī jen-nu-j*
 [stick-0-RNR-POSS] now visible-IPFV-INTR:3SG
ataq-un tuis moj-t
 [two-ATTR basket hold-SS:IPFV]
 'Now it can be seen that she has stuck there, holding
 two baskets.' (from a mythological story explaining
 how the spots on the moon have appeared). [F2]

The Result Nominal can refer to the object participant of the situation signified by the verb stem which either results from or has been affected by the situation.

- (298) a. *mit-in legul-e šoromo-pul kes'ī-ŋā tet*
 we-DAT food-INSTR person-PL bring-3PL:TR [you
mid'-ōl-gele
 take-RNR-ACC]
 'People brought us (some) food, something that you
 had taken.' [F22]
- b. *tet eris' met jowlus'-ōl mon-te-jek*
 you badly [I ask-RNR] say-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'You will answer my question wrongly.' [F31]

It is worth noting that the Result Nominal in this function can take a noun phrase denoting the affected participant as an argument.

- (299) a. *jā-n korobka toh-ō-de-gele urun*
 [three-ATTR box close-RNR-POSS-ACC] bed
āl pøn'ī-m
 SUB put-TR:3SG
 'She put three closed boxes of hers under the bed.' [F43]
- b. *pude numø arqā n'e-leme oj-l'e*
 outside house near NEG-what NEG-bc(NEG:3SG)
los'il čin-ōl-get jēn-ben
 [fire.wood chop-RNR-ABL] other-RELNR
 'Outside, near the house, there was nothing but the chopped firewood.' [F22]

The Result Nominal can be used to refer to the location where the situation has taken place (see also 11.4.2, 13.5.3.1 on the use of the Result Nominal for Spatial adverbial clauses). This use is apparently motivated by the fact that the location is likely to preserve some traces of the situation.

- (300) a. *mido-t użžō-k pej-žī-ŋile*
 [wander-SS:IPFV] gun-PRED threw-ITER-3PL:OF
tudā tittel modo-l-ōl-ge
 [earlier they live-0-RNR-LOC]
 'When wandering, they saluted the place where they used to live with their guns.' [K1]
- b. *čuge-de-jle nugū-m šøjl'bul+ŋōt*
 track-POSS-ACC find-TR:3SG [[mouse-TRNSF
gude-delle šejre-j-l-ō-de-jle
 become-SS:PFV] run.away-PFV-0-RNR-POSS-ACC]
 'He found his trace, the place where he had run way after having turned into a mouse.' [F44]

The Result Nominal form is typically used for titles of mythological stories on particular issues of the world creation (in order to indicate that the events described in the story have entailed some

results relevant for the present state of the world).

- (301) a. *ørd'-ō-l* *lebie-ge* *qristos ed'-u-l-e*
 middle-VR-ANR earth-LOC Christ live-0-ANR
ā-l-ō-gi
 make-0-RNR-POSS
 'How Christ created life on the Middle Earth.' [F9]
- b. *køže kukul el+lebie* *pon'-ō-l-ō-gi*
 K. devil NEG+land leave-RES-0-RNR-POSS
 'How devil Koje was left without land.' [F8]

The Result Nominal can be used to express situations and facts. In these functions, the Result Nominal serves as the relative-past counterpart of the Action Nominal; see 11.1 for the use of the Result Nominal in various types of complement clauses, 11.4.1.1 for its use in the Anterior adverbial clause, 11.3.2 for its use in relative clauses. It can also be used as a (nominal) predicate, see 12.1.1.4.

1.3.5. Functions of the Prospective Nominal

The Prospective Nominal form denotes anything (be it an event or an entity) which can entail or bring about the situation signified by the verb (see 5.5.4 on the semantics of the Prospective marker). For example, the Prospective form in (302a) may signify a situation which could help the participants to hide themselves, a place suitable for this purpose, or the like.

- (302) a. *ahidū-l+možū* *aŋs'v-t* *irk-in*
 [hide-ANR+PRSP search-SS:IPFV] one-ATTR
kurie-ge *šøŋ-ŋi*
 fence-LOC enter-3PL:INTR
 'In looking (where/how) to hide themselves, they entered a fenced place.' [F9]
- b. *n'e-qanide* *gon-ōl+možū* *el+lejdī-t*
 [[NEG-where:DIR go-RNR+PRSP] NEG | know-SS:IPFV]
tā *mēmē-n'e* *abudā-l'el*
 there bear-COM lie-INFR(3SG)

‘Since she did not know where to go, she lay down together with the bear.’ [F4]

- c. *tudel qodo keb-ej-l-ōl+možū-gele*
 he [how go-PFV-0-RNR+PRSP-ACC]
el+nū
 NEG+find(NEG:3SG)
 ‘He did not find a way out.’ [F31]

The Prospective Nominal can serve as the relative-future counterpart of the Action Nominal in complement clauses (11.1).

1.3.6. Functions of the Subject Nominal

The Subject Nominal form signifies an entity which has participated or might participate in the situation signified by the verb as its primary participant, or otherwise has the property signified by the verb. This form can be derived only from intransitive verbs. The only exception seems to be the verb *lejdī-* ‘know’ (*lejdī-jōn* ‘one who knows, wizard’).

The Subject Nominal form can be indefinite (303a), generic (303b), or non-referential (303c); a specific definite reference by means of this form is impossible.

- (303) a. *el+aŋd’e-n’-d’ōn-pe* *aŋd’e-š-nunnu*
 NEG+eye-PRPR-SBNR-PL eye-CAUS-HAB(TR:1SG)
 ‘I used to endow the eyeless with eyes.’ [F31]
- b. *ipl’i-s’ōd-e* *el+iŋi*
 terrible-SBNR-INSTR NEG+afraid(NEG:3SG)
 ‘He was not afraid of anything terrible.’ [F9]
- c. *neme-le* *legul-n’e-t* *tāt-mie*
 what-INSTR food-PRPR-FUT(ITR:3SG) that-QLT
čomō-jōn
 big-SBNR
 ‘What will anybody who is so big have for food?’ [F9]

See 11.3.3 for further examples of headless relative clauses built by means of the Subject Nominal.

The Subject Nominal form is commonly used with the postposition *tite* ‘as, like’, to create a comparative adverbial clause (see 11.4.5). This form can also be used as a nominal predicate (see 12.1.1.3); this construction is grammaticalized as the Periphrastic Past form (see 2.9.2).

1.3.7. Functions of the Relative Nominal

The Relative Nominal is used to build headless relative clauses. They can have specific meaning (with definite or indefinite reference (304)) or generic meaning (305).

- (304) a. *tī ločil-ek elijī-ŋile, ūle-pul*
 here firewood-PRED lug-3PL:OF other-PL
el+ūj-l-ben-pe unuŋ-in anil-ŋin
 [NEG-work-ANR-RELNR-PL] river-DAT fish-DAT
eg-užu-ŋi
 walk-ITER-3PL:INTR
 ‘Here some of them lugged the firewood, the others, those who were not working, went to the river to fish.’ [K1]
- b. *tude-gele joq-to-l-ben-pe čobul*
 [he-ACC arrive-CAUS-ANR-RELNR-PL] sea
pugedend’e-ŋin mol-l’el-ŋi <...>
 king-DAT say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘Those who had brought him said to the king of the sea:...’ [T1]
- (305) a. *tud-in eg-užu-nu-l-ben*
 [he-DAT walk-ITER-IPFV-ANR-RELNR]
prav-n’e-l’el tude-ge jowle-d’i-din
 right-PRPR-INFR(3SG) [he-LOC ask-DETR-SUP]
 ‘Whoever comes to him has the right to question him.’ [F31]

- b. *met-ke čumut l'e-j tet-in*
 I-LOC all be-INTR:3SG [you-DAT
nado+ηō-l-ben
 necessary+COP-ANR-RELNR]
 'I have everything you need.' [F22]

For a description of headless relative clauses, see 11.3.3. This form can be also used as a nominal predicate (see 12.1.1.3); this construction can be used to build the Periphrastic Past form (see 2.9.2).

1.4. Switch-reference forms (converbs)

The system of converbs is organized around two basic grammatical oppositions, switch-reference (Same-Subject vs. Different-Subject converbs) and modality (ordinary vs. hypothetical, or Conditional, converbs). The ordinary Same-Subject converbs express further aspectual oppositions. For a detailed description of clause chaining, see Chapter 10. This section describes the formation of the converbs and gives a brief overview of their functions.

1.4.1. Formation

1.4.1.1. Different-Subject converbs. The system of Different-Subject (DS) converbs is represented in Table 16.

These forms can be viewed as frozen Locative forms of the Action Nominal: the ordinary DS converbs are formed by means of the locative marker *-ge*, which is preceded by the Action Nominal marker *-l* if the subject is the first or second person, and by the Possessive marker *-de-* if it is the third person. The Conditional DS converbs are formed by means of the obsolete generic locative

Table 16. Different-Subject converbs (*juø-* 'see, look')

	Ordinary DS converbs	Conditional DS converbs
1-2	<i>juø-l-u-ge, juø-l-ge,</i> <i>juø-l-u-ke</i>	<i>juø-l-u-ge-ne, juø-l-ge-ne,</i> <i>juø-l-u-ke-ne</i>
3SG	<i>juø-de-ge</i>	<i>juø-de-j-ne ~ juø-de-h-ne</i>
3PL	<i>juø-ŋi-de-ge</i>	<i>juø-ŋi-de-j-ne ~ juø-ŋi-de-h-ne</i>

marker *-ge-ne* (which is preserved in Tundra Yukaghir, see Krejnovich 1982:166-167).²⁷ Note, however, that these forms employ the verbal Plural marker *-ŋi-* (in contrast to the Locative forms of the Action Nominal, which take the nominal Plural marker). The first/second person converbs deviate from the regular Nominal pattern, as they involve the phonologically unmotivated epenthetic /u/ and the /g/ ~ /k/ alternation.²⁸

1.4.1.2. The Same-Subject converbs. There are six Same-Subject (SS) converbs (exemplified in (306) by the forms of verb *juø-* 'see, look').

(306)	Imperfective SS converb	<i>juø-t</i>
	Perfective SS converb	<i>juø-delle</i>
	Iterative SS converb	<i>juø-de</i>
	Conditional SS converb	<i>juø-ŋide</i>
	Negative (Privative) form	<i>el+juø-čuoŋ</i>
	Connective (Comitative) form	<i>juø-n'it</i>

The Perfective converb marker *-delle* has the variant *-lle*, which occurs after polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel or /j/, in particular, after derived stems. The short variant is the only option after the derivational morph *-de-*.

(307)	<i>leŋ-de-lle</i>	'having eaten'
	eat-DETR-SS:PFV	
	<i>kude-de-lle</i>	'having killed'
	kill-PFV-SS:PFV	
	<i>jaqte-lle</i>	'having sung'
	sing-SS:PFV	
	<i>ahurpe-lle</i>	'having suffered'
	suffer-SS-PFV	

See 3.3.2 on the alternations of the initial /d/ in the converb suffixes.

1.4.2. Functions of the ordinary DS converbs

The ordinary DS converbs are used to create different-subject clause chains, where the subject of the non-finite clause differs

from that of the next clause. The situation expressed by the non-finite clause can be either simultaneous with or prior to the finite clause situation:

- (308) a. *numø-ge jaqa-l-u-ge numø-ge*
 [house-LOC arrive-1|2-0-DS] house-LOC
oj-l'e-ŋi
 NEG-be-3PL:INTR
 'I came home, but they were not at home.'
- b. *mit egie-l-u-ge mit-kele legi-te-ŋā*
 [we stand.up-1|2-0-DS] we-ACC eat-CAUS-3PL:TR
 'We stood up and they gave food to us.' [K5]
- c. *tamun titte-ge jowles'-l-u-ke mon-ŋi <...>*
 [that they-LOC ask-1|2-0-DS] say-3PL:INTR
 'We asked them about this, and they said ...'
- d. *uke-j-ŋi-de-ge pulun-die tintəŋ lumbuge*
 [exit-PFV-PL-3-DS] old.man that pot
jahil-ge jaqt-ā-j
 edge-LOC sing-INGR-INTR:3SG
 'When they went out, the old man began to sing
 (sitting) on the edge of that pot.' [F20]

This construction is commonly used to express a situation of perception, whereby the DS converb of a verb of perception is combined with the main clause expressing the situation being perceived.

- (309) a. *juø-l-u-ge nahā omo-s'*
 [see-1|2-0-DS] very good-INTR:3SG
 'I saw that it was very good.'
- b. *tāt gudel'e-t juø-ŋi-de-ge oqonastie*
 [[CA prepare-SS:IPFV] see-PL-3-DS] O.
pulut n'e-qon oj-l'e
 old.man NEG-where NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 'So, while they were getting ready, they saw that the
 old man, Afanasij, was absent.' [K4]

- c. *medī-de-ge* *pude-t* *ørul-ek* *medū-l*
 [listen-3SG-DS] outside-ABL shout-PRED heard-SF
 'He heard a shout from outside.' [F19]

See 10.1-10.2 for a description of ordinary clause chaining.

1.4.3. Functions of the Imperfective converb

The Imperfective converb is used in same-subject chains, that is, if the subject of the non-finite clause is the same as in the controlling clause.²⁹ It has two major functions: it can express a simultaneous accompanying situation (310) or the cause of the controlling clause situation (311).

- (310) a. *mere-t* *juø-de-ge* *uørpe-p-ki* *ibil'e-de*
 [fly-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS] child-PL-POSS [cry-SS:ITER]
šubeže-t *ørn'e-t* *ann'-ā-ŋi*
 [run-SS:IPFV] [shout-SS:IPFV] speak-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'While she was flying, she saw that her children were running, crying and beginning to speak, shouting.' [F7]

- b. *jaqa-je* *tude-ge* *amd-ō-t*
 arrive-INTR:1SG he-LOC | [die-RES-SS:IPFV]
godō-j
 lie-INTR:3SG
 'I approached him. He lay dead.'

- (311) a. *kurčej āj imil šelge-de-j-t*
 crane CP [neck break-CAUS-PFV-SS:IPFV]
amdā-l'el
 die-INTR(3SG)
 'The crane died too, having broken its neck.' [K3]

- b. *ningō leg-u-t* *tamun-gen tāt*
 [lot eat-0-SS:IPFV] that-PROL CP
kude-je
 become-INTR:1SG
 'This happened to me because I had eaten a lot.'

- c. *tabun-ge imičume joho-mu-t*
 [that-LOC swan angry-INCH-SS:IPFV]
kukkī-die-gele pør-le paj-m
 cuckoo-DIM-ACC foot-INSTR hit-TR:3SG
 ‘The swan got angry about that and kicked the
 cuckoo.’ [F5]

There is an array of other relations between situations which can be expressed by means of the Imperfective converb, including immediate temporal sequence, manner, purpose (see 10.2.2-10.2.4 for further examples and discussion).

- (312) a. *šøg-u-t oqil'l'ā n'āče-le*
 [enter-0-SS:IPFV] perch face-INSTR
ā-l'el-u-m
 make-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘Having entered, the perch bowed.’ [T1]
- b. *ningō pundie-nu-l'el-u-m n'e-leme-die-le*
 lot tell-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG [NEG-what-DIM-INSTR
el+ahid'ī-t
 NEG-hide-SS:IPFV]
 ‘He told a lot without concealing anything.’ [F50]
- c. *tet legul aŋs'ī-t ejre-k*
 [you food search-SS:IPFV] walk-IMP:2SG
 ‘Go and look for food.’ [F22]

The Imperfective converb can also be used for complementation (see 11.2.1).

1.4.4. Functions of the Perfective converb

The Perfective converb expresses an event prior to the controlling clause event:

- (313) a. *mit čohoče laŋin ønže-j-delle*
 [we shore AD:DIR go.down-PFV-SS:PFV]
čumu-čī'i
 fish-INTR:1PL
 ‘We went down to the shore and fished.’ [K5]

- b. *mēmē šøw-delle tāt kimd'-ie-ŋi*
 [bear come-SS:PFV] CA fight-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'Some bears came in and began to fight.' [F45]
- c. *terikie-die kurul-ŋin qon-delle tintəŋ*
 [old.woman-DIM barn-DAT go-SS:PFV] [that
šøgī-gele kes'i-delle tadi-m
 bag-ACC bring-SS:PFV] give-TR:3SG
 'The old woman went to the barn, brought that bag
 and gave it (to him.)' [F19]

1.4.5. Functions of the Iterative converb

The Iterative converb signifies a series of identical accompanying subevents which take place on one occasion, simultaneously with the controlling clause situation. The controlling clause either denotes a series of subevents as well, so that the construction as a whole denotes a set of two-event sequences (314a), or a single protracted situation, within which the non-finite clause subevent takes place several times (314b)-(314c).

- (314) a. *šebis'e nono-gele šaqal'e-š-nu-de*
 [wild.rose branch-ACC gather-CAUS-IPFV-SS:ITER]
eks'il'-ŋin qon-te-s'-u-m
 boat-DAT go-CAUS-ITER-0-TR:3SG
 'He was gathering wild-rose branches and bringing
 them to the boat (several times).' [F31]
- b. *aj-nu-de qaŋi-ŋā*
 [shoot-IPFV-SS:ITER] pursue-3PL:TR
 'He pursued him, shooting (several times).'
- c. *mer-uŋ-de mon-d'i-de*
 [fly-IPFV-SS:ITER] [sit-ITER-SS:ITER]
eg-užu-j edij čomparnā
 walk-ITER-INTR:3SG this raven
 'This raven moves with pauses, flying and perching.' [I]

In most cases, the verbs participating in such a construction are marked for the Imperfective or for the Iterative (see 3.2, 3.3.2).

1.4.6. Functions of Conditional converbs

The Conditional converbs are used to express a condition under which the finite clause situation will take place (315), normally takes place (316), or might have taken place (317). Just like the ordinary converbs described above, the Conditional converbs are distinct for the same-subject and different-subject clauses (cf. examples (a) and (b) in each pair; see also 1.4.1.1 for the DS paradigm).

- (315) a. *el+jubege-ηide* *tet-ek*
 [NEG+stuff.oneself-SS:COND] you-PRED
lek-te-me
 eat-FUT-OF:1SG
 ‘If I do not stuff myself, I will eat you.’ [F29]
- b. *tamun-pe čuge ā-ηi-de-j-ne* *taηide*
 [that-PL road make-PL-3-DS-COND] there:DIR
kewe-j-t-ī’i
 go-PFV-FUT-INTR:1PL
 ‘When they make the road, then we will go.’
- (316) a. *mēmē mežže-j-ηide* *tude šašqul*
 [bear wake.up-PFV-SS:COND] his paw
n’el’i-nu-mle
 lick-IPFV-OF:3SG
 ‘Whenever the bear wakes up, he licks his paw.’ [F4]
- b. *lebejdī jiel’e-de-j-ne* *lebejdī-k*
 [berries ripen-3SG-DS-COND] berries-PRED
šagal’e-š-nunnu-l
 gather-CAUS-HAB-OF:1PL
 ‘When the berries ripened, we gathered berries.’
- (317) a. *tī-t* *mere-j-l’el-ηide*
 [here-ABL fly-PFV-INFR-SS:COND]
m-et+jaqa-j
 AFF-IRLS+arrive-INTR:3SG
 ‘If it had departed from here, it would have reached (its destination).’

- b. *met-ul aŋd'e-š-l'el-ge-ne*
 [I-ACC eye-CAUS-INFR-DS-COND]
m-et+omos'
 AFF-IRLS+good-INTR:3SG
 'If you provided me with an eye, it would be
 good.' [F31]

See 10.3 for further examples and a description of various types of conditional constructions.

1.4.7. Functions of the Connective form

The Connective form is formally identical to the nominal Comitative form in *-n'it* (see 5.4.2.3.2). In comparison to other switch-reference forms, it occurs rather infrequently and seems to signify some sort of contrast between the connected events.

- (318) a. *tabun-ge tintay pulut n'umud'i-le aji-n'it*
 [that-LOC that old.man ax-INSTR shoot-CONN]
el+johoto
 NEG+hit(NEG:3SG)
 'Then that old man threw the axe, but did not hit
 (him).' [F20]
- b. *kebe-j-n'it irk-in terikie-die*
 [go-PFV-CONN] one-ATTR old.woman-DIM
jaqa-j
 arrive-INTR:3SG
 'He went away, but came to one old woman.' [F20]
- c. *muge-n'it tude moho el+lou-de-mle*
 [undress-CONN] his hat NEG+fall-CAUS-OF:3SG
 'He undressed himself, but did not take off his hat.' [I]

1.4.8. Functions of the Negative converb

The Negative converb is formally identical and semantically close to the nominal Privative form (see 5.5.2). This form signifies that the expectable accompanying event did not take place. If the idea of counter-expectation is absent, the negated forms of other

converbs are used (see (312b), (315a) above). In this sense, the Negative converb can be seen as the negative counterpart of the Connective form (1.4.7).

- (319) a. *numø-ge el+šøk+čuoŋ n'oho-l'el pude*
 [house-LOC NEG+enter-PRV] fall-INFR(3SG) outside
 'He fell down outside, without having entered the house' (after he had already reached the house). [F37]
- b. *tāt šobol'e-nu-l'el-ŋi n'e-leme*
 CA finish-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR [NEG-what
el+ā+čuoŋ
 NEG+make+PRV]
 'And so they used to stop (working), without having done anything.' [F3]
- c. *ūj-l-e čugō-n čeme-re-j-m*
 work-ANR-INSTR quick-ADV finish-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
el+ižulbe+čuoŋ
 [NEG+get.tired+PRV]
 'He finished the work quickly, without getting tired.' [F32]

See also 13.4.3 on negation in non-finite clauses.

2. Tense and Mood

2.1. The Tense-Mood subparadigm

2.1.1. Structure of the paradigm

The major Tense-Mood forms are constituted by means of two morphological oppositions (see (271)) (Krejnovich 1982:139-152):

1. Non-Future (zero marking) vs. Future (the suffix *-t(e)-*) vs. Irrealis (the prefix *et- ~ ot-*)
2. Non-Inferential (zero marking) vs. Inferential (the suffix *-l'el-*) vs. Prospective (the suffix *-moži-*)

The Inferential marker can be combined with Future (334) and Irrealis (328b). Otherwise, the overt markers listed above are in-

compatible. The Future Inferential form expresses hypothetical meaning (see 2.6), which results in the following list of the basic Tense-Mood forms (the 3SG forms of the verb *ā-* 'make'):

(320)	Unmarked	<i>ā-m</i>
	Future	<i>ā-te-m</i>
	Irrealis	<i>m-et+ā-m</i>
	Inferential	<i>ā-l'el-u-m</i>
	Prospective	<i>ā-moži-m</i>
	Hypothetical	<i>ā-l'el-te-m</i>

This subparadigm as a whole is opposed to the Imperative (which is incompatible with either of the Tense-Mood markers), see 2.8. Besides, there are two Periphrastic Tense-Mood forms (see 2.9) and a practically obsolete Desiderative suffix (see 2.10).

The overt Tense-Mood markers are generally disallowed in the non-finite verb forms, with the following significant exceptions:

1. The Attributive forms can be marked for the Future in the regular way (see 1.2).
2. The Conditional converbs can contain the Inferential marker (see 10.3.3).

2.1.2. Formation

Basically, each Tense-Mood form is characterized by a single suffix (or a combination of two suffixes in the case of the Hypothetical), so there remain only some marginal formation issues to be described:

2.1.2.1. The Future marker has two variants, *-te-* and *-t-*. This alternation is described in 3.3.4.1.1.

2.1.2.2. The Irrealis marker is usually preceded by the Affirmative prefix, the output being *m-et-*. Otherwise, it is often pronounced as *ot-*.

2.1.2.3. Agreement suffixes after the Inferential marker. The Inferential marking disturbs the regularity of the (in)transitivity marking (see 6.1.1.1): in the first and second person Main forms, it

entails Intransitive agreement for both transitive and intransitive verbs (Krejnovich 1982:143).

- (321) *ā-l'el-d'e* 'It appears that I have made'
 make-INFR-INTR:1SG
ā-l'el-d'ek 'It appears that you have made'
 make-INFR-INTR:2SG

In the third person singular Main form, the Transitive agreement marker is an option for intransitive verbs, but the most common option is zero marking (instead of the expected *-i*; see 3.3.3.1).

- (322) *søw-l'el* 'He appears to have come.'
 enter-INFR(3SG)
søw-l'el-u-m (the same translation)
 enter-INFR-0-TR:3SG

2.2. Functions of the non-Future

The unmarked forms render present or past situations.

- (323) a. *terikie-die inđ'e-t modo-j*
 [old.woman-DIM sew-SS:IPFV] sit-INTR:3SG
 'The old woman is/was sitting and sewing.' [F13]
- b. *tet gaduon-ge lejdī-mek?*
 [you where-LOC know-TR:3SG]
 'How do you know it?' [F12]
- c. *gaduon-ge juø-met mit šoromo?*
 where-LOC see-TR:2PL our man
 'Where have you seen our man?' [F9]

The tense interpretation can be affected by the aspectual meaning of the verb, see Section 3.

2.3. Functions of the Future

Basically, the Future form refers to a future situation, with various modal nuances like promise, hypothesis, potentiality, necessity, desirability, etc.

- (324) a. *šāšet kimd'ī-ŋi-te-j*
 now fight-PL-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'Now they will fight.' [F45]
- b. *met qanin+ere kel-te-je*
 I when-INDF come-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I will come one day.'
- c. *šoromo-le irku-še-j-t*
 [people-INSTR afraid-CAUS-PFV-SS:IPFV]
kude-s'ī-t-u-m
 kill-ITER-FUT-0-TR:3SG
 'He will frighten and kill people.' [F9]
- d. *tuøn qamie-t-u-m*
 this help-FUT-0-TR:3SG
 'This will help (this must help).'
- e. *īs' mot-te-jek, tet numø čuøte*
 long sit-FUT-INTR:2SG your house always
pugō-te-j
 warm-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'You will live long, your house will always be warm.' [K2]
- f. *met numø-ge el+jaqa-te-je*
 my house-LOC NEG+arrive-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I will not reach my house (= I am not able to).'
- g. *met n'e-leme-le el+qamie-te-je*
 I NEG-what-INSTR NEG+help-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I cannot help.'
- h. *met užžō-le el+ajī-te-je*
 I gun-INSTR NEG+shoot-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I will not shoot with a gun (= I do not want to)' [F52].

The Future form can have the meaning of recommendation or instruction, in particular with the second person subject (325); if the subject is 1PL, this form can be used to express a proposal for common action (326). Hence, in these two meanings, the Future

can assume the functions of the Imperative (see 2.8).

- (325) a. *jā-n pod'erqo tāt qodō-te-jek*
 three-ATTR day CA lie-FUT-INTR:2SG
el+leŋ-de+čuøŋ el+ōže+čuøŋ
 NEG+eat-DETR:1PRV NEG+drink+PRV
 'You have to lie like this for three days, without eating
 or drinking.' [F31]
- b. *tāt kebe-j-te-jmet ijeje-ge moj-t*
 CA go-PFV-FUT-INTR:2PL [rope-LOC hold-SS:IPFV]
 'So you have to go with the rope.'
- (326) a. *taŋ mieste-ge oži ā-te-j*
 that place-LOC water make-FUT-TR:1PL
 'Let us make water at that place.' [F9]
- b. *terī mit čolhoro lek-te-j*
 wife, our hare eat-FUT-TR:1PL
 'Wife, let us eat our hare.' [F13]

Finally, the Future form can be used to express doubts or surprise concerning a present or past situation.

- (327) a. *tāt unu-d+ørd'e-gen qon-de-ge pie*
 [CA river-ATTR+middle-PROL go-3SG-LOC] hill
budie-t jaqte-lek medū-nu-l
 SUPER-ABL sing-PRED heard-IPFV-SF |
mežže-t ohō-delle mon-i:
 [hear-SS:IPFV] [stand-SS:PFV] say-INTR:3SG
/kin-tek jaqte-t-u-l ti? nilgi
 who-PRED sing-FUT-0-SF here nobody
oj-l'e
 NEG-be(NEG:3SG)]
 'So, while he was going along the middle of the river, a
 song was heard from the top of the mountain. He
 heard it, stopped and said: "Who might sing there?
 There is nobody".' [F37]

- b. *terikē, met prodaŋil'-ge nahā omo-s'e*
 wife, my ice.hole-LOC [very good-ATTR]
paj-k jed-u-l ta-ŋide
 woman-PRED visible-0-SF there-DIR
me+kebe-s'e terikie-die
 AFF+go-PFV:INTR:1SG | old.woman-DIM
mon-i: godimie pajpe-k l'e-t-u-l?
 say-INTR:3SG what woman-PRED be-FUT-0-SF
 '– "Wife, there is a very good woman in my ice-hole, I
 am going there." The old woman said: "What woman
 might be there?"' [F49]
- c. *mit uør-pe uø+ŋō-d'e šoromo-pul*
 we child-PL [child+STAT-ATTR] person-PL
qadōn-get tamun lejdī-t-ōk?
 which.place-ABL that know-FUT-ITR:1PL
 'We, the children, the young people, how could we
 know this?' [K1]

2.4. Functions of the Irrealis

The Irrealis is used to express counterfactual situations, most often in the finite clause of counterfactual conditional constructions (see also 1.4.6, 10.3.3).

- (328) a. *tagnugi anil-pe čumut ot+amde-ŋi*
 CA fish-PL all IRLS+die-3PL:INTR
 'Then the fishes would all have died.' [T1]
- b. *juø-l'el-ŋide m-et+ajī-nu-l'el-ŋa*
 see-INTR-SS:COND AFF-IRLS+shoot-IPFV-INTR-3PL:TR
 'If they had seen (this), they would have been
 shooting.' [K4]
- c. *met-kefe m-et+albōžī-m tet*
 I-ACC AFF-IRLS+overcome-TR:3SG [you
el+l'e-l'el-ge-ne
 NEG+be-INTR-DS-COND]
 'He would have overcome me, if it was not for

you.’ [F31]

This form can be also used, although less frequently, to express potentiality or desirability.

- (329) a. *tiŋ korobka-ge m-et+šøw-jemet?*
 this box-LOC AFF-IRLS+enter-INTR:2PL
 ‘Would you enter this box?’ [F43]
- b. *tudel pud-ō-l lebie-ge modo-t*
 he [upper-VR-ANR earth-LOC sit-SS:IPFV]
m-et+l’e-j
 AFF-IRLS+be-INTR:3SG
 ‘He should have lived on the upper earth.’ [F31]
- c. *met tite m-et+uŋžu-čemet ell’e*
 I as AFF-IRLS+sleep-INTR:2PL DP
 ‘You had better sleep, like I do.’ [K4]

2.5. Functions of the non-Future Inferential

The most frequent meaning of the Inferential is the hearsay evidential; in this meaning, it is used for narration, if the speaker describes events which he has not witnessed himself (Jochelson 1905; Krejnovich 1982:140), in particular in fairy tales and mythological stories. In this case, the Inferential is the major form used throughout the story (see Text 1, and all the examples in the grammar where the meaning of the Inferential is not rendered in the idiomatic translation). In contrast to this, the events in which the speaker participated himself, or otherwise witnessed, are narrated in the simple non-Future form (see Text 2). In the following piece of a text, the speaker switches from the simple form in the first two clauses (which describe situations witnessed by him himself) to the Inferential in the next one, referring to a more remote time which he could only hear about.

- (330) *šašet-te ile uørpe-p-ki l’e-ŋi*
 now-CP some child-PL-POSS be-3PL:INTR |
uørpe-p-ki-n+uør-pe niŋge-ŋi
 child-PL-POSS-ATTR+child-PL many-3PL:INTR |

sovetskij āji el+gude-de kieje tudel
 [Soviet CP NEG +become-POSS:ATTR before] he
 gojdid'āje l'e-l parā-ge šōrile čuŋde-l-ge
 [priest be-ANR] time-LOC letter read-ANR-LOC
 kičie-l'el čuŋle-d+omnī lučī tite
 learn-INFR(3SG) ancient-ATTR+people Russian as
 'Now, too, some of his children are alive. There are
 lots of his grandchildren. At the time when there were
 no Soviets yet, when there were priests, he learned
 (INFR) to read Old Russian.' [K4]

In this meaning, the Inferential partly takes over the functions of the absent Past form (Krejnovič 1982:140).

The Inferential form can be used to render information inferred on the basis of some other facts.

- (331) a. čuŋe-de-geŋ juš-ŋi-de-ge taŋ mēmē nahā
 [track-POSS-ABL see-PL-3-DS] that bear very
 motlorqo-j-ben+ŋō-l'el
 thin-ATTR-RELNR+COP-INFR(3SG)
 'From his tracks, they saw that that bear was very
 thin.' [F54]
- b. šašet el+ūj-ŋide čumu
 [now NEG+work-SS:COND] all
 ā-l'el-u-m
 make-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'If he is not working now, he must have finished.' [I]

The Inferential form can express mirative experience. In the following examples, it is used to signal that the situation differs from what was expected by the speaker (that is, from what he sees, he infers that he used to have some wrong presumptions).

- (332) a. aŋa-n'e-l'el adaŋ
 mouth-PRPR-INFR(3SG) this
 'This one has turned out to be voracious.' (lit. 'to
 have a mouth') [F42]

- b. *ønme-n'-d'e* *šoromo* *ō-l'el-d'ek!*
 mind-PRPR-ATTR person COP-INFR-INTR:2SG
 'You have turned out to be a clever person!' [F31]

The Inferential can be used to describe actions the speaker has carried out himself. In this case, the Inferential signifies that the action was unintentional (333a)-(333b), had unexpected results (333c), or that the speaker was not aware of all circumstances (333d) or consequences (333e) (Krejnovich 1982:141-142).

- (333) a. *met čohojo jonyžā-l'el-d'e*
 I knife forget-INFR-INTR:1SG
 '(It turns out that) I have forgotten my knife.' [F28]
- b. *modo-t taṇdiet mala-j-l'el-d'e*
 [sit-SS:IPFV] CA sleep-PFV-INFR-INTR:1SG
 'I was sitting and then somehow fell asleep.'
- c. *ataq-un kun'il-get ningō idie-l'el-d'il'i*
 two-ATTR ten-ABL lot catch-INFR-INTR:1PL
 'It has turned out that we have caught more than twenty.' [K5]
- d. *tā ejre-t met mēmē abut aṇil'-ge*
 [there walk-SS:IPFV] I bear den inlet-LOC
tā čāj-e ōžā-l'el-d'e
 there tea-INSTR drink-INFR-INTR:3SG
 'I walked there and it turned out that I had tea near the bear's den.'
- e. *mit čomōlben nugu-nu-de eris'*
 [we elk find-IPFV-SS:ITER] badly
gudie-nu-l'el-d'il'i
 become-IPFV-INFR-INTR:1PL
 'It has turned out that we have behaved badly when we were hunting elk.' [F34]

On the function of the Inferential in conditional constructions, see 10.3.3-10.3.4.

2.6. Functions of the Future Inferential (Hypothetical)

The Inferential and the Future markers can be combined to express a hypothesis (Krejnovich 1982:140):

- (334) a. *čuge-ge šohu-šā-l'el-te-j,*
 track-LOC get.lost-CAUS-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
loudī-l'el-te-j
 drop-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'She must have lost it, dropped it, on her way.'
- b. *tāt āj modo-l'el-ŋi-te-j*
 CA CP live-INFR-3PL-FUT-INTR
 'And so they are probably still living there.' [F24]
- c. *met emej es'ie tā-ŋide*
 my mother father there-DIR
qol-l'el-ŋi-te-j
 go-INFR-3PL-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'My mother and father must have gone there.' [F1]

This form is used only to express a hypothesis about the past or present (not about the future).

2.7. Functions of the Prospective

The Prospective signifies a situation in the future which is viewed as a consequence of some other situation. This can be either a prediction based on real-world knowledge (335), or a kind of moral obligation entailed by the given situation (336). In the passage given in (337), the Prospective form is first used to predict an event on the basis of the changing weather; the second instance is used to express an obligation entailed by the predicted event:

- (335) a. *met qollume tiŋ lebie-get kewe-j-moži-je*
 I soon this earth-ABL go-PFV-PRSP-INTR:1SG
 'I have to leave this earth soon (since I am very old).' [K4]
- b. *omo-če pod'erqo ō-moži*
 [good-ATTR] day COP-PRSP(3SG)
 'It is going to be a good day.'

- (336) *met albō-je* *met uke-j-možī-je*
 I lose-INTR:3SG | I go.out-PFV-PRSP-INTR:3SG
 ‘I have lost and have to go out.’ [F21]
- (337) *qollume šil’l’e+ηōt* *gude-te-j*
 soon thaw+TRNSF become-FUT-INTR:3SG
mon-ηi *<...> jūke l’e-l-ben-pe*
 say-3PL:INTR far be-ANR-SBNR-PL
el+l’aqa-možī-ηi. *n’āčīn*
 NEG | reach-PRSP-3PL:INTR towards
qon-možī-jūl’i
 go-PRSP-INTR:1PL
 ‘It will be melting soon, they said, those who are far
 away will not be able to arrive (because of this). (This
 means) we have to go to meet them.’ [K1]

Cf. the clearly related nominal Prospective form (5.5.4, 1.3.5).

2.8. Functions of the Imperative

The Imperative has the usual range of meaning, e.g., command, request, proposal, admonition, etc.

- (338) a. *tet jaqte-k* *kejien*
 you sing-IMP:2SG at.the.beginning
 ‘Sing first!’ [F21]
- b. *tit lebie titt-in* *qodo omo* *tāt*
 your land you-DAT [how good(ITR:3SG)] CA
ā-ηi-k
 make-PL-IMP:2SG
 ‘Arrange your land as it is good for you.’ [F8]
- c. *irkil’l’en kebe-j-ge*
 together go-PFV-IMP(1PL)
 ‘Let us go together.’
- d. *pie-de-ge-n!*
 burn-DETR-IMP-3
 ‘Let it burn!’

- e. *kødin-mie-j* *n'e / min-ŋi-ge-n*
 right-QLT-INTR:3SG RECP-take-PL-IMP-3
 'That's right, let them marry.' [F3]

The second person Imperative with the suffix *-ge-* (see Table 14) is used to express commands or requests which have to be fulfilled later (Krejnovich 1982:149).

- (339) a. *tet čolhoro kuded'e lek-telle jaqte-ge-k*
 [you hare liver eat-SS:PFV] sing-IMP-2SG
 'Eat some hare liver and then sing!' [F5]
- b. *čemej-delle kel-ge-k d'e*
 [finish-SS:PFV] come-IMP-2SG DP
 'Finish up and then come!' [F36]

See also 10.2.1, 10.3.1.3 on clause chains with the Imperative finite clause.

The Imperative can be negated in the regular way (340c), yet in the second person Imperative this formation normally involves the Prohibitive suffix *-le-* (see Table 14).

- (340) a. *tud-in er-čuoŋ el+ā-ŋi-le-k*
 he-DAT bad-SBNR NEG+make-PL-PROH-2
qamie-d'e-ŋi-k!
 help-DETR-PL-2
 'Do not do anything bad to him, help him.'
- b. *met-ul el+kudede-le-k*
 I-ACC NEG+kill-PROH-2SG
 'Do not kill me!'
- c. *qoŋl mit-kele omo-žĩ-ge-n er-čuoŋ mit-ke*
 god we-ACC good-CAUS-IMP-3 | bad-SBNR we-LOC
el+l'aga-ge-n
 NEG+reach-IMP-3
 'Let the God make us better, let the evil not reach us.'

2.9. Periphrastic Tense-Mood Forms

2.9.1. The Periphrastic Prospective

2.9.1.1. Formation. The Periphrastic Prospective form consists of the Auxiliary *l'e-* 'be' and the Supine; the final /n/ of the Supine can be assimilated into /l/ (see 3.3.1.3). In some cases, just the Dative form of the Action Nominal is used for the Periphrastic Prospective. This form has been described by Krejnovich as the mood of "being ready" (*naklonenije gotovnosti*) (1982:147-149).

The Auxiliary can be in any form, including the non-finite forms. If the lexical verb is transitive, the agreement of the Auxiliary vacillates: it can follow either the Intransitive paradigm (which reflects the intransitivity of the verb *l'e-* 'be' itself), or the Transitive one (in accordance with the transitivity of the lexical verb) (Krejnovich 1982:148).

2.9.1.2. Functions. The Periphrastic Prospective expresses relative immediate future:

(341) a. *pøñ joule+ŋõt kude-din l'e-j*
 state evening-TRNSF become-SUP be-INTR:3SG
 'It was almost evening.'

b. *el+n'e+juø-din l'e-lu-ge niŋie tāt*
 [NEG+RECP+sec-SUP be-1/2-DS] mood CA
gude-l'el
 become-INFR(3SG)
 'That is how I feel when we are not going to see each other.' [F57]

In most cases, the use of this form implies that some preliminary features of the foregoing event are already present (Krejnovich 1982:148). As a result, this form can be used to refer to a process in progress, whereby the first stage of the event has already started (but it is not necessarily the case that it would be brought to its completion):

(342) a. *leŋ-d-øl'-i-t am-de-din l'e-ŋi*
 [eat-DETR-DESD-0-SS:IPFV] die-PFV-SUP be-3PL:INTR

‘They were dying from hunger.’ [F51]

- b. *numø-ge jaqa-din l'e-de-ge numø-get*
 [house-LOC reach-SUP be-3SG-DS] house-ABL
jaqte-lek medū-l
 sing-PRED heard-SF
 ‘When he was approaching the house, he heard a song
 from within.’ [F13]

Finally, this form can be used to express an intention (Krejnovich 1982:148):

- (343) a. *čarčaqan d'e tet-ul lek-tin l'e-je*
 C. DP you-ACC eat-SUP be-INTR:1SG
 ‘Charchahan, I am going to eat you.’ [F21]
 b. *juku / joŋžä marqil' min-din l'e-mle*
 small-geese girl take-SUP be-OF:3SG
 ‘The small geese is going to marry.’ [F5]

2.9.2. The Periphrastic Past

2.9.2.1. Formation. The Periphrastic Past is formed by putting the Subject Nominal form (1.3.5, examples (344)) or the Relative Nominal form (1.3.7, examples (345)) in the Predicative position. The former construction is available for intransitive verbs only, the latter can be used with any verb, cf. (336b) and (336c). According to the general rules for predicate nominals (see 12.1.1, 12.1.1.3), this construction requires the copula *ō-* if the subject is first or second person; if the subject is third person, the nominal can just take the Predicative case marker.

2.9.2.2. Functions. The Periphrastic Past is used in order to contrast two temporal planes, that is, to highlight that the time of the situation being described precedes the time of reference; see (344a), (345a). This function is by no means grammaticalized in a way normally implied for the category of tense, rather, its usage is a matter of optional emphasis on the distinction between temporal planes; see (344a), (345a). For example, (344b) is the final

sentence of a story about some events which had happened in the speaker's childhood, i.e., long before the story was told (see Text 2). The whole story is narrated in the simple non-Future form, yet in the last sentence the speaker decided to contrast the time of the events just described with the time of speech.

- (344) a. *tāt irk-in puge-ge tāt ejre-jōn-pe*
 CA one-ATTR summer-LOC CA walk-SBNR-PL
ō-d'īl'ī
 COP-INTR:1PL
 'So, one summer, we went roaming.'
- b. *tudel amde-j-bed-ek pajpe uø-die*
 she die-PFV-ATTR-RELNR-PRED woman child-DIM
met kōnme
 my friend
 'She has died, that girl, a friend of mine.' [T2]
- c. *smert'-pe met tet-in jan-me-bed-ek <...>*
 death-PL I you-DAT send-ATTR:1SG-RELNR-PRED
qol-l'e smert'-pe?
 where-be death-PL
 'I have sent (several) deaths to you. ... Where are they?' [F43]
- (345) a. *mit-in tīne mon-d'ōn-pe-lek <...>*
 we-DAT before say-SBNR-PL-PRED
 'They had said to us before: ...'
- b. *tīne lebejdī šaqal'e-š-u-t tā āj*
 [before berries assemble-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] there CP
ibil'ie-nu-j-bed-ek
 cry-IPFV-ATTR-PRED
 'Before, while gathering berries, there he had cried too.' [K5]
- c. *met-kele eris' l'ī-mele-bed-ek <...>*
 I-ACC badly keep-ATTR:3SG-RELNR-PRED
tamun-ge igeje-le jodo-delle etergen-ŋin
 that-LOC [rope-INSTR tie-SS:PFV] ant-DAT

legi-te
 eat-CAUS(TR:1SG)
 'She had treated me badly... That is why I tied her
 with ropes and let ants eat her.' [F48]

The same construction is used (although very rarely) with a modal sense:

- (346) a. *tit-in el+kej-l-ō-d'ōd-ek*
 you-DAT NEG-give-0-RES-SBNR-PRED
 '(This) is not for you.' (lit. 'It is something not given
 to you'). [F9]
- b. *ugujel-me kewe-s'ōn-pe ō-d'ū'i*
 morning-ADV go-PFV:SBNR-PL COP-INTR:1PL
 'We have to go in the morning.' (lit. 'we are people
 going away in the morning.')

2.10. Desiderative

The suffix *-ōl'* expresses the desiderative meaning (Krejnovich 1982:146). Its productivity is hard to assess: it is practically absent from texts (where this meaning is expressed either by the Periphrastic Prospective, or more often, by means of the verb *erd'i-* 'want' or its derivatives), yet my consultants easily derived Desiderative forms from various verbs. The suffix seems to belong to the class of markers which have become obsolete too fast to lose their productivity. It is particularly common in one, apparently frozen, combination, *leŋd-ōl'* 'be hungry' (*leŋde-* 'eat').

- (347) a. *qāqā, čomōn leŋ-d-ōl'-d'e*
 grandfather very eat-DETR-DESD-INTR:1SG
 'Grandfather, I am very hungry.' [F15]
- b. *kie tebegej, qadi ismier-ge*
 friend Tebegej, which death-LOC
amd-ōl'-d'ek?
 die-DESD-INTR:2SG
 'Friend Tebegej, which way would you prefer to
 die?' [F28]

3. Aspect

3.1. Preliminaries

As a first approximation, the morphological means of aspect marking can be described by the following scheme, which reflects the linear order of various aspectual suffixes within a verb form:

- (348) [[[ROOT-INTERNAL ASPECT]-RESULTATIVE/INGRESSIVE]-
IMPERFECTIVE/HABITUAL]

The basic opposition between Perfective and Imperfective comprises two morphological “layers”: the Internal Aspect marking, on the one hand, and the regular Imperfective (3.2) and Habitual (3.4) marking, on the other. The Internal Aspect (see 3.3) comprises the Perfective suffix *-j-* (3.3.1) and a set of non-productive imperfective suffixes. As in many other languages, the Internal Imperfective is more closely related to the lexical meaning of a verb and frequently involves various sorts of quantification of situation which can be subsumed under the term Iterative (a series of identical subevents within one time interval, on one occasion).³⁰ That is why these suffixes are referred to below as “Iterative suffixes” (3.3.2). The Internal Perfective is compatible with the regular Imperfective suffix, the output also being the iterative sense (3.2.4).

Note that the Perfective vs. Imperfective opposition (with the Iterative as a distinguished subtype of the Imperfective) is also maintained within the system of the Same-Subject converbs (see 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.4.5) which thus constitute the most “external” layer of aspect marking, directly associated with temporal relations between different situations.

3.2. The Imperfective in *-nu-*

The regular way to mark the Imperfective is the suffix *-nu-* (Jochelson 1905; cf. Krejnovich 1982:135-136). This suffix has an array of functions generally associated with the Imperfective aspect, like action in progress, duration, generalized situation, etc.

3.2.1. Progressive

The Imperfective signifies a process in progress. Note that this meaning is available for stative verbs as well (see (349f)), although such examples occur very infrequently (the combination of a stative stem with the Imperfective usually entails generic interpretation; see (352d)).

- (349) a. *tāt ahid'i juø-m jarqe-lek čolho-mle*
 CA in.secret look-TR:3SG | ice hollow-OF:3SG
taŋ proľubo-ge egedie-nu-j tude
 | that ice.hole-LOC look.in-IPFV-INTR:3SG | his
jō-gele nid'ie-nu-m
 head-ACC comb-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'So, she looked secretly and saw that he had hollowed
 the ice and was looking into that ice-hole and combing
 his hair.' [F49]
- b. *pulun-die joule-me kie-s'*
 old.man-DIM evening-TMP come-INTR:3SG |
terikie-die legi-te-m tamun tude
 old.woman-DIM eat-CAUS-TR:3SG | that his
terikie-ŋin el+ann'ā-nu
 wife-DAT NEG-speak-IPFV
 'The old man arrived in the evening. The old woman
 gave him some food. He was not speaking to his
 wife.' [F49]
- c. *tamun-gele el+med-ōl'*
 that-ACC NEG+listen-DESD(NEG:3SG) |
ibil'ie-nu-j ørn'ie-nu-j
 cry-IPFV-INTR:3SG | shout-IPFV:3SG
 'He does not listen to it, he is crying, he is shouting.'
- d. *tiŋ qayis'e-pul qayī-nu-t*
 this hunter-PL [pursue-IPFV-SS:IPFV]
el+šar-nu-l'el-ŋi
 NEG+catch-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'These hunters were pursuing it, but were not catching

up with it.’ [F34]

- e. *tāt mie-dā-nu-de-ge jed-u-l*
 [CA wait-DETR-IPFV-3SG-DS] visible-0-ANR
golil-ek medū-l
 noise-PRED heard-SF
 ‘While he was waiting, he heard thunder.’ [I]
- f. *nahā is’ mežže-t godō-nu-j*
 [very long listen-SS:IPFV] lie-IPFV-INTR:3SG |
el+malaj-nu
 NEG+fall.asleep-IPFV(NEG:1SG)
 ‘He has been lying sleepless for a very long time.’ [I]

The following example illustrates the possibility of the performative use of the Imperfective:

- (350) *irk-in čas-ek tet-in kej-nu-me*
 one-ATTR hour-PRED you-DAT give-IPFV-OF:1SG
 ‘I am giving you one hour.’ [F43]

In this function, the Imperfective is incompatible with the Perfective suffix (cf. 3.3.1, 3.2.4).

3.2.2. Durative

The Imperfective can be used to mark a situation as protracted, not momentary (Krejnovich 1982:136). This meaning is easily distinguished from the progressive one when the situation is externally “bounded” by means of the Perfective converb marker.

- (351) a. *tet mino juø-nu-k nem-dik aĵī*
 your raft sec-IPFV-IMP:2SG | what-PRED CP
ūĵ-ō-te-l nem-dik nado+ŋō-l?
 work-RES-FUT-SF | what-PRED necessary-STAT-SF
noj gon-delle tude mino-gele juø-m
 [N go-SS:PFV] his raft-ACC look-TR:3SG |
juø-nu-delle mon-i: omos’
 [look-IPFV] say-INTR:3SG [good-INTR:3SG]
 ‘‘Look at your raft for some time and see what is still

to be done, what is necessary?" Noah went, looked at his raft, after having looked at it for some time, he said: "It is good." [F9]

- b. *mido-nu-lle* *adā-n* *ejre-lle*
 [roam-IPFV-SS:PFV] [thrc-PROL walk-SS:PFV]
jelohude n'ās'eda-j-l'el-ŋi
 back:DIR return-PFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Having roamed for some time, having walked there, they returned.' [I]

- c. *mie-nu-lle* *mie-nu-lle* *tāt*
 [wait-IPFV-SS:PFV] [wait-IPFV-SS:PFV] [CA
el+leŋ-de | čuøn taŋ pajl numø-get tāt
 NEG+eat-DETR+PRV] that woman house-ABL CA
kebe-s'
 went-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He waited and waited, and so went away from that woman's house, without having eaten. [F1]

In this function, the Imperfective is incompatible with the Perfective suffix (see 3.3.1, 3.2.4).

3.2.3. Generic and habitual

The Imperfective is used for generic (352) and habitual (353) situations:

- (352) a. *godo tī-t kebe-j-nu-l'el-ŋi?*
 how here-ABL go-PFV-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'How do people get out of here?' [F31]
- b. <...> *nem-dik ūjī-nu-l'el-ŋile*
 what-PRED work-IPFV-INFR-OF:3PL |
neme-le el+ūjī-š-nu-l'el-ŋi <...>
 what-INSTR NEG-work-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 '... what do people usually do, what are they not allowed to do ...' [K4]

- c. *puge-d-in* *el+al'ā-čuoŋ*
 summer-POSS-DAT [NEG+melt+PRV]
qodō-nu-j
 lie-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'It lies without melting till summer.' [F35]
- d. *tāt-mie-j* *šoromo tī* *el+l'e-nu-ŋi*
 that-QLT-ATTR person here NEG+be-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 'Such people do not live here.' [F31]
- (353) a. *n'e+nuk-lu-ge-ne* *met-in šār-ek*
 [RECP-find-1/2-DS-COND] I-DAT something-PRED
kej-l'ie-nu-mle
 give-0-INCH-IPFV-OF:3SG
 'Whenever we meet, he tries to give me something.' [I]
- b. *met n'e-qanin* *ōžī* *el+juø-nu-je*
 I NEG-when water NEG | see-IPFV-INTR:1SG
 'I never see water.' [F6]
- c. *qadmudul-e* *ūjī-nu-l'el-ŋā* *kødin*
 ring-INSTR work-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR | right
el+ūj-ō-nu-l'el
 NEG-work-RES-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 'They would make a ring, but it would never fit (= it would never be done in the proper way).' [F3]

The generic function of the Imperfective is compatible with qualitative verb stems (see 4.3.2) if the subject is generic. In this case, the Imperfective signifies that a quality is regularly (or can be) acquired by entities of the given class, rather than constituting their permanent characteristic:

- (354) a. *motlorqo-nu-j*
 thin-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'It happens (regularly, sometimes), that it is thin.' (about elk, with generic reference).

- b. *ōžī-n* *nodo-pe* *puge-če* *lebie-get*
 water-ATTR bird-PL [warm-ATTR] land-ABL
mere-t *kel-u-nu-l-ben-pe* *jaŋže-pul*
 [[fly-SS:IPFV] come-0-IPFV-ANR-RELNR-PL] goose-PL
imičume-pul *čumut* *lomd'ī-jō-nu-ŋi*
 swan-PL all change.color-QLT-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 'Water birds from the warm lands, those which usually
 come here by flying, geese, swans, they all regularly
 change color.' [F5]

3.2.4. Iterative

In some cases, the Imperfective form signifies iterative, distributive, or dispersive situations (several instances of a situation within one period of time, on one occasion, probably distributed among different participants and/or locations). This meaning arises if the Imperfective marking is applied to telic (i.e., internally bounded) verbs, in particular, to verbs derived by means of the Perfective suffix (see 3.3.1):

- (355) a. *mit* *šoŋu-še-l* *ani-pe-gele* *mit*
 [[we get.lost-CAUS-ATTR:1SG] fish-PL-ACC [our
čuge-gen *kel-u-t* *tī / tā*
 track-PROL come-0-SS:IPFV] here--there
nugu-nu-de *kies'*
 find-IPFV-SS:ITER] come-INTR:3SG
 'He was following our tracks and found the fishes that
 we had lost here and there.'
- b. *touke* *oj-d'ā-j-nu-lle* *taŋide*
 [dog bark-DETR-PFV-IPFV-SS:PFV] there:DIR
čirčege-j-l'el
 rush-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 'The dog barked abruptly (several times) and rushed
 there.'

- c. *ajā-t* *apl'itaj tī+tā* *eg-užu-de*
 [rejoice-SS:IPFV] [A. here+there walk-IPFV-ITER]
kel-u-nu-j
 come-0-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'Being glad, Aplitaj is walking to and fro and coming
 back.' [F31]
- d. *qon-u-t* *taŋ ohō-l* *čomōlben-gele*
 [go-0-SS:IPFV] that [stand-ANR] elk-ACC
šegi-še-j-nu-l'el-u-m
 run-CAUS-PFV-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'In walking, he frightened off some elk that stood
 there.' [F34]
- e. *end'ōn-pe-de-get* *ataqlō+ŋōn mej-nu-m*
 animal-PL-POSS-ABL two+TRNSF take-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'Of his animals, he took a pair of each kind.' [F9]

In some of such cases, the suffix *-nu-* seems to be lexicalized in the sense that it behaves like one of the Iterative suffixes; in particular, it precedes the Ingressive suffix within a verb form (see 3.5.2.2).

3.3. "Internal" Aspect marking

3.3.1. The Perfective marker *-j-*

The Perfective is marked by means of the suffix *-j-*; if a Perfective stem is immediately followed by a morph starting with */j/*, the Perfective is manifested only by the */j/ ~ /č/* alternation in that morph (see 3.3.3.3.3 for details and examples).

The Perfective suffix can signify virtually any type of bounding the situation, bringing about punctual ('at once', 'shortly'), complete ('entirely'), semelfactive ('only once'), etc., senses, depending on the semantics of the verb stem (Krejnovich 1982:124-125). What all these meanings have in common is that the situation can be viewed only 'as a whole', as if there was no time interval/point when such a situation has started, but it is not yet finished. Hence, the non-Future form of a Perfective verb always signifies that the situation took place before the time of speech, i.e., it can refer to the past only. This property also explains why the Perfective

suffix precludes the progressive reading of the Imperfective.

The suffix is non-productive, yet the number of verb stems having Perfective counterparts is quite large; for a representative list of Perfective verbs, see Appendix 2. In this section, each type of aspectual modification which can be brought about by Perfective marking is illustrated by a few examples (in each pair of examples below, (b) contains a verb marked for Perfective, (a), its unmarked counterpart).

3.3.1.1. Punctual ('shortly, at once'):

- (356) a. *tāt āj al'be-š-l'el-u-m*
 CA CP flow.out-CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'And he poured it out again.' [F31]
- b. *tāt al'be-še-j-l'el-u-m omos'*
 CA flow.out-CAUS-PFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG good-ATTR
aḡd'e-din
 eye-POSS-DAT
 'And so he poured (it) out at once onto his good eye.' [F31]
- (357) a. *modo-t juø-de-j*
 [sit-SS:IPFV] look-DETR-INTR:3SG
 'He was sitting and looking (gazing).'
- b. *tā šāl-ḡin čande juø-de-s'*
 there tree-DAT up look-DETR-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He glanced at the bottom of the tree.' [F27]

3.3.1.2. Completive ('entirely'):

- (358) a. *mit numø piede-l*
 our house burn-SF
 'Our house is burning!' [F53]
- b. *mit numø ejmunde čuø piede-s'!*
 our house half already burn-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Half of our house is already burnt down!' [F53]
- (359) a. *jekečan jel'ōd'e tite lolho-j*
 pot sun as boil-INTR:3SG

‘The pot is boiling like the sun.’ [F33]

- b. *taŋ oži lolho-s*
 that water boil-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘That water has boiled.’ [F26]

- (360) a. *tabun-ge kəže monut n’ū-n’e-j āj*
 [that-LOC K. called name-PRPR-ATTR] CP
gojl-ŋin qon-i
 god-DAT go-INTR:3SG
 ‘Then the one whose name was Kojé went to God
 too.’ [F8]

- b. *šāšet n’iqižel-me tā qona-s’ū’i*
 now yesterday-ADV there go-PFV:INTR:1PL
 ‘We have passed there just yesterday.’

3.3.1.3. Phase meanings. Some verbs denoting manner of movement (carrying) are commonly used as Imperfective converbs, the aspectual properties of the situation being expressed by means of the finite verb. In combination with such verb stems, the Perfective marker singles out the starting or the final phase of the situation:

- (361) a. *tude n’ēr-e juø-t jā-n*
 [his cloth-INSTR see-SS:IPFV] three-ATTR
n’emolhil-ge n’ajdō-d’ōn-ge pajā-t
 year-ABL odd-SBNR-LOC [carry-SS:IPURP]
ejrie-l’el
 go-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 ‘As he saw from his clothing, he walked around
 carrying (the worm) on his back for more than three
 years.’ [F31]
- b. *pābā-gi taŋ šøjl-gele paja-j-m*
 elder.sister-POSS that stone-ACC carry-PFV-TR:3SG
 ‘Her elder sister heaved that stone.’ [F26]
- (362) a. *tabun jā-n n’emolhil-ge mere-t*
 [that three-ATTR year-LOC fly-SS:IPFV]

jaqa-j *ørd'ō-l* *lebie-ge*
 arrive-INTR:3SG middle-VR-ANR earth-LOC
 'That one reaches the Middle Earth in three years,
 flying.' [F31]

- b. *tāt gon-u-t* *ol'l'ōdoj čomō-d'e nodo*
 [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] [[very big-ATTR] bird
mere-j-de-ge irke-j-t *molind'āt*
 fly-PFV-3SG-DS] [afraid-PFV-SS:IPFV] almost
el + amde-ŋi
 NEG+die-PFV-3PL:INTR
 'When they were going, a very big bird came flying,
 and they became so afraid that they nearly died.' [F9]

- c. *čajka + ŋōt gude-delle* *mere-j-te-j*
 gull-TRNSF become-SS:PFV fly-PFV-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'He will turn into a gull and fly away.'

3.3.1.4. Semelfactive. If the Perfective marker is applied to an iterative verb stem (denoting a series of identical movements or sounds), the result is the Semelfactive meaning, that is, the Perfective verb signifies a single event of a series.

- (363) a. *emej-gi* *los'il-ek* *čine-mele*
 mother-POSS fire.wood-PRED chop-PFV-OF:3SG
 'His mother chopped firewood.' [F2]

- b. *tāt n'umud'ī-le čine-j-m*
 CA ax-INSTR chop-PFV-TR:3SG
 'And he struck it with the axe.' [F28]

- (364) a. *jarqe-lek čolho-mle*
 ice-PRED hollow-OF:3SG
 'He hollowed the ice.' [F49]

- b. *anabuskā qonžo-k* *čolha-j-l'el-ŋile*
 dugout hole-PRED hollow-PFV-INFR-3PL:OF
 'They made a hole in the dugout boat.' [F21]

- (365) a. *tiŋ paj touke-gi uømu-nu-t*
 [that woman dog-POSS snuggle.up-IPFV-SS:IPFV]

tude al'ā čirčege-j

she AD jump-INTR:3SG

'That woman's dog jumped around her, showing affection.' [K3]

- b. *jaqa-delle taŋide šebis'e-ge molh-in*
[arrive-SS:PFV] there:DIR wild.rose-LOC middle-DAT
čirčege-s'

jump-PFV:INTR:3SG

'Having reached (it), he jumped there, into the middle of the wild-rose bush.' [F31]

3.3.1.5. "Frozen" instances of the Perfective marker. There are a number of verb stems with the Perfective marker for which the (Internal) Imperfective counterpart does not exist, see 4.3.3.3. In some cases, the Perfective suffix is opposed to an Iterative suffix, while the unmarked counterpart does not exist. Such cases are dealt with in 3.3.2.

3.3.2. Iterative suffixes

3.3.2.1. The suffixes which are subsumed here under the term Iterative (Krejnovich 1982:126-134) have a variety of meanings, most of which have to do with some sort of quantification of situations. This includes, in particular, distributive and dispersive meanings (several identical subevents involving different participants and/or different locations or directions). These suffixes can also render the same meanings as the Imperfective in *-nu-*, so that, for example, an Iterative verb can denote an action in progress (see also 6.3.4.1 on the semantic effect of the regular Imperfective when combined with an Iterative suffix). Most often, it is not the case that the semantics of a given suffix can be reduced to one particular meaning (although some tendencies will be noted below). That is why all these suffixes are glossed as Iterative (ITER), which might not reflect the meaning implied by a specific example.

In a number of cases, the Iterative suffixes are opposed to suffixes *-de-* or *-re-*, which build up the (semantically) unmarked

counterparts of the Iterative verbs. It does not seem appropriate to gloss these suffixes as Perfective, although this might be implied by the idea of the Internal Aspect opposition: these suffixes do not signify that sort of bounding the situation which is associated with the term “perfective” in general and with the Yukaghir Perfective marker in particular. For the purpose of interlinear glossing, I will use the term non-Iterative for such suffixes (gloss NONIT); thus, if this abbreviation appears in a gloss, this means that the verb has an Iterative counterpart (where the given suffix is replaced by an Iterative one).

The Iterative suffixes are listed below with some sentences intended to illustrate their meaning, and with some notes on their distribution. For a representative list of Iterative verbs, see Appendix 2.

3.3.2.2. The suffix *-uj(i)-* (Krejnovich 1982:131) takes the form *-uj̄-* if its second syllable constitutes the final syllable of the word; if the suffix is followed by a syllabic morph, its final */i/* is dropped or reduced. This suffix produces the */j/ ~ /č/* alternation in */j/*-initial morphs (see 3.3.3.3.2).

This suffix signifies that the situation is viewed as a protracted process, in most cases, consisting of a series of identical sub-situations (a multiplicative situation); it combines only with intransitive verbs (with few exceptions). Most of the authentic text instances of such verbs are Imperfective or Iterative converbs (see 1.4.3, 1.4.5). In each pair of examples below, (b) contains a verb marked for Iterative, (a), its unmarked counterpart.

- (366) a. *čuoł'e omnī parā-ge irk-in pajpe*
 ancient people time-LOC one-ATTR woman
šohie-l'el
 get.lost-INFR(3SG)
 'Once upon a time, one woman lost her way.' [F4]
- b. *šoh-uj̄-t gon-u-t jūke*
 [get.lost-ITER-SS:IPFV] [go-0-SS:IPFV] far
jaqa-l'el
 arrive-INFR(3SG)

‘He got lost several times and went far away.’

- (367) a. *tamun-ge pierī+ηōt gude-j*
 that-LOC wing-TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 ‘Then it turned into wings.’ [F7]
- b. *bučīn-ben+ηōt gud-uj-de tude*
 [various-RELN+TRNSF become-ITER-SS:ITER] his
čuge ahite-s’-u-m
 track hide-DSTR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘He turned into various things (constantly) and was
 hiding his tracks (everywhere).’ [F44]
- (368) a. *taj šoromo čuøte me+mido-j*
 that person always AFF+ wander-ITER:3SG
 ‘That man always wandered.’ [F24]
- b. *mid-uj-de ejre-ηi*
 [wander-ITER-SS:ITER] walk-3PL:INTR
 ‘They lead a nomadic life.’

In some cases, the derivative with *-uji-* is opposed to the Perfective derivative with *-j*, while the unmarked counterpart may be absent, e.g., *kewe-j* ‘to leave, to go away’ vs. *kew-uji-* ‘to be in the process of leaving, to go away and come back several times, without being able to leave after all’.

3.3.2.3. The suffix *-(u)žu-* is attached to a very restricted set of verbs and signifies the dispersive meaning (movement in various directions, location at various places):

- (369) a. *tamun tī+tā ūj-de šoromo-pul-ge*
 [that here | there work-SS:ITER] person-PL-LOC
eg-užu-l’el
 walk-ITER-INFR(3SG)
 ‘That one walked here and there and worked for
 (various) people.’ [F32]
- b. *tagnugi uørpe-p-ki šubeže-t el+mure*
 [CA child-PL-POSS run-SS:IPFV] NEG+shoe

noj-pe-de leppul ās'e šohunme-ge
 foot-PL-POSS:ATTR blood deer moss-LOC
kejlun'e-t qodō-žū-j tī+tā
 [red-SS:IPFV] lie-ITER-INTR:3SG here+there
 'The blood from the shoeless feet of her running
 children lay on the reindeer moss here and there,
 turning it red.' [F7]

Practically in all instances, there is no morphologically unmarked stem. The Dispersive suffix is opposed to the suffix *-re-*, cf. *šej-re-* vs. *šeg-užu-* 'run away'; *jie-re-* vs. *jie-žu-* 'swim'; *ej-re-* vs. *eg-užu-* 'walk'. In one single case, the suffix seems to confer a reciprocal meaning: *jug-užu-* 'kiss each other' (from *jugī-* 'kiss').

3.3.2.4. The suffix *-čī-* (Krejnovich 1982:126-127) is used with a closed class of verbs, mostly transitive, and most often has the distributive meaning (action upon several distinct objects).

- (370) a. *terike, mit uor-pe kude-s'ī-ge*
 wife our child-PL kill-ITER-IMP(1PL)
 'Wife, let us kill our children.' [F26]
- b. *tamun-pe-de-jle čumu*
 that-PL-POSS-ACC all
 ono-čī-l'el-u-m
 take.away-ITER-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'He took away all those things of his.' [F31]

This suffix can also express progressive (371a) and iterative (371b-371c).

- (371) a. *me+am-čī*
 AFF | die-ITER(3SG)
 'He is dying'
- b. *mon-de pøk-čī*
 [say-SS:ITER] run-ITER(3SG)
 'He was repeating this and running around.' [F56]
- c. *čuøte adā-t mer-uji-t tude nojl*
 [always there-ABL fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] his leg

kude-s'ī-mele, jou-qā-š-mele
 kill-ITER-OF:3SG ache-INCH-CAUS-OF:3SG
 'When he jumps from there, he always injures his leg,
 making it ache.' [I]

Almost all the derivatives with this suffix are opposed to the verbs with the suffix *-de-*, which thus form semantically unmarked counterparts of such verbs, cf. *am-de-* vs. *am-čī-* 'die', *kude-de-* vs. *kude-čī-* 'kill', etc. In some cases, the basic (morphologically unmarked) stem also exists and represents the non-Causative counterpart of the derived verbs; see 4.3.3.5.

3.3.2.5. The suffix *-jī-* (Krejnovich 1982:126) is used with a very small group of transitive verbs (see Appendix 2), with the iterative/imperfective meaning, cf. the following examples:

- (372) a. *tāt qorobo āj kigī-m*
 CA cow CP jab-TR:3SG
 'Then the cow jabbed (him) once again.' [F27]
- b. *irkiet čobine-le kigi-jī-t*
 [one spear-INSTR jab-ITER-SS:IPFV]
 niḡžā-l'el-u-m
 fall:CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'He killed one of them by jabbing him with a spear
 (more than once).'

3.3.2.6. The suffix *-č-* (Krejnovich 1982:129) is used with a closed class of verbs, all of which are derived by one of the non-productive Causative suffixes, see 4.3.3; the meaning is most often distributive:

- (373) a. *šebis'e nono-gele šaqał'e-š-nu-de*
 [wild.rose branch-ACC gather-CAUS-IPFV-SS:ITER]
 eks'il'-ḡin qon-te-s'-u-m
 boat-DAT go-CAUS-ITER-0-TR:3SG
 'He was gathering wild-rose branches and bringing
 them to the boat.' [F31]

- b. *mied'ĩ-n igeje-pul-gele abudu-de*
 sledge-ATTR rope-PL-ACC [fasten-SS:ITER]
ulte-č-u-m
 tie:CAUS-ITER-0-TR:3SG
 'He is fastening and tying sledge ropes.'

3.3.2.7. The suffix *-(n)d'ĩ-* (Krejnovich 1982:133). The suffix is associated, in most cases, with various sorts of dispersive meaning (distribution of the event among various locations). In a number of cases, there is no morphologically unmarked counterpart, the non-Iterative verb being derived by another non-productive suffix (see 6.4.3.3.3). Being applied to a transitive verb, this suffix involves, in addition, detransitivization (by elimination of the direct object); for instance, the intransitive verb *ege-nd'ĩ-* 'look in various directions' (see (374c)) is derived from a transitive verb, *egie-* 'look at something through a hole'.

- (374) a. *tĩ+tā šašaqa-d'ĩ*
 here+there tear-ITER(3SG)
 'It is torn' or 'It tears easily.' [I]
- b. *mer-uj-de mon-d'ĩ-de*
 [fly-ITER-SS:ITER] [sit-ITER-SS:ITER]
eg-užu-j edij čom+parnā
 walk-ITER-INTR:3SG this big+crow
 'This raven is flying sporadically, taking stops and perching in different places.'
- c. *tiŋ+taŋ ege-nd'ĩ*
 this+that look-ITER(3SG)
 'He is looking around.'

3.4. Habitual

3.4.1. Formation

Basically, the Habitual form is derived by reduplication of the Imperfective suffix, *-nu-* (cf. Krejnovich 1982:137-138). The output of this operation has the form *-nun-* if immediately followed by the Intransitive marker *-d'e-* (that is, in the first and second person

forms of the Intransitive paradigm, see Table 13) or the Subject Nominal marker *-d'ōn-* (see 3.3.3.1.1 on the /j/ ~ /d'/ alternation), *-nunnu-* otherwise, cf.:

- (375) a. *ejrie-nun-d'īli* 'we used to walk/walk'
 walk-HAB-INTR:1PL
jaqte-nun-d'e 'I used to sing/sing'
 sing-HAB-INTR:1SG
mon-nun-d'ōn 'one who used to say'
 say-HAB-SBNR
- b. *ejrie-nunnu-k* '(where) did/do you walk?'
 walk-HAB-ITR:2SG
erie-nunnu-m 'he used to hate/hates'
 hate-HAB-TR:3SG

If the verb contains an Iterative suffix, the Habitual form can be derived just by adding the regular Imperfective suffix. Classifying such forms as Habitual (rather than Imperfective) is somewhat controversial, given the partial intersection of the functions of the Imperfective and the Habitual (see 3.2.3). Yet such forms are generally used to express meanings not characteristic of the Imperfective (for instance, a usual, recurrent situation in the past, see (377)) and appear not to accept some of the Imperfective senses (for example, progressive).

3.4.2. Functions

The Habitual signifies a usual, recurrent situation in the past or in the present:

- (376) a. *jūke-t tet mend'e met-ke*
 far-ABL your news I-LOC
jaq-ujī-nunnu-j
 arrive-ITER-HAB-INTR:3SG
 'News from you (now) comes to me from far
 away.' [F57]

- b. *jelohude n'ās'edaj-t ninge-j promušl'e-k*
 [back:DIR return-SS:IPFV] [many-ATTR] catch-PRED
kes'ī-nunnu-mle
 bring-HAB-OF:3SG
 'He used to bring back a huge catch, when he returned
 (from hunting).'

Unlike the Imperfective in the generic/habitual function (3.2.3), the Habitual form can be used to express a situation characteristic of the past only (in contrast to the present):

- (377) a. *tāt n'e+anure-t tudā*
 [CA RECP- love-SS:IPFV] long.ago
am-čī-nu-l'el-ŋi odu-pe
 die-ITER-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR Yukaghir-PL
 'That is how the Yukaghirs used to die from love long ago.' [F35]
- b. *tudā tāt ed'u-t modā-nun-d'il'i*
 [long.ago CA live-0-SS:IPFV] live-HAB-INTR:1PL
 'We used to live that way long ago.' [K1]

It may also express a situation characteristic of the present in contrast to the past (see (376a), (379b)). For example, the following sequence of sentences occurs at the end of a text describing how Yukaghirs used to leave useless parts of killed animals in the forest without taking care of them and how terrible the consequences used to be. As a result, now:

- (378) *mit jōbī ejre-t end'ōn nuŋ-ŋide*
 [we in. forest walk-SS:IPFV] [live-SBNR find-SS:COND]
lebie-ge n'e-leme
 earth-LOC NEG-what
el+pej-žī-nu-ŋl'i qār-gi
 NEG+threw-ITER-IPFV-INTR:1PL | skin-POSS
orpu-čī-nu-l jō-d+amun-gi
 hang-CAUS:DSTR-IPFV-SF head-ATTR+bone-POSS
noj-d+amun-gi čumu n'umuje-ge
 leg-ATTR+bone-POSS all awning-LOC

pøŋ'i-nunnu-j *pøŋ'i-delle* *šubul-e*
 put-HAB-TR:1PL | [put-SS:PFV] fir.branch-INSTR
šar-nunnu-j
 cover-HAB-TR:1PL

‘When we kill an animal living in the forest, we throw nothing on the earth: we (always) hang its skin; its skull and its leg bones, we put everything on a wooden platform and cover it with fir branches.’ [F34]

If combined with the negative prefix, the Habitual has the meaning ‘never’:

- (379) a. *el+ōžā-nunnu* *ispīr-e*
 NEG+drink-HAB(NEG:3SG) spirit-INSTR |
mino-le *el+ōžā-nunnu*
 wine-INSTR NEG-drink-HAB(NEG:3SG)
 ‘He never drank spirits or wine.’ [K1]
- b. *tāt n'e-qanin* *el+ibil'ie-nunnu-j* *id'i*
 CA NEG-when NEG-cry-HAB-INTR:3SG now
 ‘And now he never cries.’ [K5]

3.5. Ingressive and Inchoative

3.5.1. Formation of the Ingressive

The Ingressive is derived by means of the suffix {-*Ē*-} (see 3.2.4.3.1), that is, the marker is manifested as -*ā*- in back stems (380a), -*ē*- (-*ie*-) in front stems (380b).

- (380) a. *čoh-ā-* ‘begin to cut’
 cut-INGR-
jowlus'-ā- ‘begin to ask’
 ask-INGR-
lolhoš-ā ‘begin to boil’
 boil-INGR-

- b. *kudel'eš-ie-* 'begin to prepare'
 prepare-INGR-
leg-ie- 'begin to eat'
 eat-INGR-
n'elbet-ie- 'begin to skin'
 skin-INGR-

If the verb stem ends in a vowel or /j/, the Ingressive derivation entails either insertion of the epenthetic submorph *-l- ~ -l'* (381a), or omission of the final vowel {*E*} (381b):

- (381) a. *ā-* > *ā-l-ā-* 'begin to make'
aŋs'i- > *aŋs'i-l-ā-* 'begin to search'
n'ie- > *n'ie-l'-ie-* 'begin to call'
nuø- > *nuø-l'-ie-* 'begin to laugh'
 b. *ahurpe-* > *ahurp-ā-* 'begin to suffer'
ajāre- > *ajār-ā-* 'begin to rejoice'
ajle- > *ajl-ā-* 'begin to wash'

The final vowel is also omitted when the Ingressive is preceded by an Iterative suffix, see (383).

3.5.2. Functions and distribution of the Ingressive

3.5.2.1. Generally, the Ingressive derivation is applied to verbs denoting processes (i.e., atelic, or unbounded, situations) and signifies (singles out) the bounded event constituted by the beginning of the process:

- (382) a. *tāt lebejdī-k šaqal'e-š-ā-l*
 CA berries-PRED gather-CAUS-INGR-OF:1PL
 'Then we began to gather berries.' [K5]
 b. *tamun-gele aŋčī-l-ā-l'el-ŋa*
 that-ACC search-0-INGR-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They began to look for him.' [K3]

In this function, the Ingressive is productive and semantically regular. It is available whenever a verb stem licenses an appropriate (process) aspectual interpretation.

3.5.2.2. Ingressive and Internal Aspect. Quite predictably, in a number of cases, the Iterative (= Internal Imperfective) marking is a necessary prerequisite for the Ingressive formation, since the non-Iterative counterpart of an Iterative stem presents an event as a single (bounded) whole and therefore does not allow the Ingressive derivation.

(383)	Event	Process	Ingressive	
	<i>šaž-</i>	<i>šaž-nu-</i>	<i>šaž-n-ā-</i>	‘catch’
	<i>ajī-</i>	<i>aj-nu-</i>	<i>aj-n-ā-</i>	‘shoot’
	<i>abutte-</i>	<i>abutte-č-</i>	<i>abutte-č-ā-</i>	‘pour’
	<i>arpe-j-</i>	<i>arp-uji-</i>	<i>arp-uj-ā-</i>	‘rise, climb’
	<i>jaqa-</i>	<i>jaq-uji-</i>	<i>jaq-uj-ā-</i>	‘arrive, reach’

The Iterative derivatives in such clusters can represent different specific aspectual modifications of the initial event (see 3.3.2); yet these distinctions seem to be neutralized by the Ingressive marking, so that their only semantic impact is to impose a “process” interpretation:

- (384) a. *tāt arp-uj-ā-ŋi* *čan-de*
 so rise-ITER-INGR-3PL:INTR top-DIR
 ‘And they began to climb/rise upwards.’ [F31]
- b. *medin numø-ge jaq-uj-ā-jil’i*
 just house-LOC reach-ITER-INGR-INTR:1PL
 ‘We began to approach the house.’
- c. *tabud-ek eje-le aj-n-ā-l’el-ŋile*
 that-PRED bow-INSTR shoot-IPFV-INGR-INFR-3PL:OF
 ‘They began to shoot at it with their bows.’ [F21]

However, it is not the case that the classification of verb stems implied by Ingressive marking wholly matches the morphological classification, as determined by Internal Aspect marking and outlined in 3.3. In particular, the Perfective marker is, in some exceptional cases, compatible with the Ingressive:

- (385) a. *tabun-ge omoče ørte-j-l’-ie-l’el-u-m*
 that-LOC strongly shout-PFV-0-INGR-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘Then he began to shout loudly.’ [K1]

- b. *gudel'-ō-ŋide* *jāl-mid'e*
 [prepare-RES-SS:COND] [three-ITER
ammal-delle *kewe-j-l'-ie-k*
 spend.night-SS:PFV] go-PFV-0-INGR-IMP:2SG
 'If you are ready, then spend three nights (here) and
 then set off.' [T1]

3.5.2.3. Ingressive and External Aspect. Ingressive derivatives can be marked for Imperfective in the regular way (see 3.2):

- (386) a. <...> *taŋ pulut āj jaqte-l-ā-nu-l'el* <...>
 that old.man CP sing-0-INGR-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 '... that old man is beginning to sing again ...' [K4]
- b. *tāt loŋdo-l-ā-nu-l'el-ŋi*
 then dance-0-INGR-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
qamun-de pod'erqo-ge čāj ōže-de
 how.many-INDF day-LOC [tea drink-SS:ITER]
leŋ-de-de
 [eat-DETR-SS:ITER]
 'Then they would begin to dance for several days,
 sometimes drinking tea, sometimes eating.' [K1]

3.5.2.4. Inchoative. The Ingressive suffix is compatible with some stative stems, the resulting meaning being inchoative (a process which results in the state signified by the verb stem):

- (387) *im-ā-* 'get up on (a deer, a sledge, etc)'
 be.on-INGR-
joŋž-ā- 'fall asleep'
 sleep-INGR-
jowl'-ā- 'become ill'
 be.ill-INGR-
ŋi-l'-ie- 'get afraid'
 be.afraid-0-INGR-

In some cases, the Ingressive suffix is opposed to the Stative suffix (see 6.3.6.3), while the morphologically unmarked counterpart is absent, cf. *al'-ō-* 'be molten' vs. *al'-a-* 'melt, become molten';

oh-ō- ‘stand’ vs. *øg-ie-* ‘stand up’.

3.5.3. Inchoative suffixes

3.5.3.1. The Inchoative suffix *-mu-* (Krejnovich 1982:106). The suffix is attached to qualitative verbs (388a). In some cases, it replaces the Stative suffix *-ō-* (388b). If the last vowel of the stem is {*E*} (3.3.4), it is pronounced as [*i*] or [*u*] before the Inchoative suffix.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|------------------|--|
| (388) | a. | <i>čā-mu-</i> | ‘become few’ |
| | | be.few-INCH- | |
| | | <i>embu-mu-</i> | ‘become black’ |
| | | be.black-INCH- | |
| | | <i>ligu-mu-</i> | ‘grow old’ |
| | | be.old-INCH- | |
| | b. | <i>ikl’i-mu-</i> | ‘become hard’ (cf. <i>ikl’-ō-</i> ‘be hard’) |
| | | hard-INCH- | |
| | | <i>čom-mu-</i> | ‘grow up’ (cf. <i>čom-ō-</i> ‘be big’) |
| | | big-INCH- | |
| | | <i>čeru-mu-</i> | ‘become slow’ (cf. <i>čer-ō-</i> ‘be slow’) |
| | | slow-INCH- | |

This suffix is the major and most regular means of expressing the Inchoative meaning for qualitative verbs; its distribution is constrained simply by the fact that the class of qualitative verbs is virtually closed (and some of them take other, far less regular, Inchoative suffixes; see 6.3.5.3.2). It is worth noting that it can be attached to a relatively new member of this class, *uø+ŋō-* ‘be young’ (the lexicalized Stative form of *uø* ‘child’ (see 5.5.5.2)), although the resulting meaning implies a quite atypical (if not unrealistic) situation of turning young again:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (389) | <i>kuš+kin-de</i> | <i>mil-l’el-de-j-ne</i> |
| | [INDF+who-INDF | take-INFR-3SG-DS-COND] |
| | <i>m-et ed’-ie-je</i> | |
| | AFF-IRLS+alive-INGR-INTR:1SG | |

uø+ηō-mu-je

child+STAT-INCH-INTR:3SG

'If anybody had taken me (as wife), I would have revived and regained my youth.'

Moreover, my consultants were willing to derive a form like *nado+ηō-mu-j* 'become necessary', where *nado* 'needed' is a recent borrowing from Russian (although no such examples are attested in the texts).

To sum up, the Inchoative suffix *-mu-* appears to function as a productive morpheme, although its domain of application is strongly constrained (see Appendix 2).

3.5.3.2. Other Inchoative suffixes are *-kie-* (see 3.2.4.3.2), *-be-*, *-l'e-*, *-ge-*, *-de-j-* (Krejnovich 1982:106-108), each of which is attested for a very restricted group of verbs (see Appendix 2).

- (390) *n'umud'i-kie-* 'become sour' (*n'umud'ū-* 'be sour')
pukel'-be- 'become soft' (*pukol'-ō-* 'be soft')
kenbe-l'e- 'become broad' (*kenbu-ne-* 'be broad')
jube-ge- 'stuff oneself' (*jube-* 'be full with food')
kejle-de-j- 'become red' (*kejle-n'-* 'be red')

The suffix *-de-j-* can be considered a frozen combination of the denominal Inchoative Propriative suffix (see 4.2) and the Perfective marker (see 3.3.1); see also 4.3.3.3 on this combination. Note that it is often opposed to the lexicalized Propriative suffix of the corresponding qualitative verb (390e), i.e., this subgroup of qualitative verbs and their inchoative counterparts appear to have been built from nominal stems (see also Appendix 2).

3.6. Resultative and Stative

3.6.1. The suffix *-ō-*

The Resultative form is built by means of the suffix *-ō-*, followed by the Intransitive agreement markers. The suffix entails the */j/* ~ */d'/* alternation in the intransitive morph *-j(e)-* (see 3.3.3.2). It is attached to the stem according to the same rules as the Result Nominal suffix *-ōl-* (see 1.3.1, 3.3.5.1).³¹

The same (or formally identical) suffix *-ō-* can be singled out (on various morphological grounds, see 3.6.3) in a number of stative and qualitative verbs; in this case, both formal and semantic relations between a stative stem and its dynamic counterpart are far less regular and predictable (in some cases, there is no such counterpart).

It seems worth noting at this point that the Resultative and the Stative belong to a wider range of formally similar items with a general stative meaning, which includes, in addition to the Result Nominal, the copula *ō-* in constructions with nominal predicate (see 10.2.1.2) and its bound variant *+ηō-* (in particular, in the Stative forms of nouns (5.5.5.2)), cf. also 3.3.3.2 for some common morphophonemic properties of these morphemes (Tailleur 1965:69-70; Krejnovich 1982:98-99).

3.6.2. The Resultative

The Resultative signifies an observable state which has resulted from a situation denoted by the verb stem, either a state of the single participant of an intransitive situation (391), or of the patient/theme participant of a transitive situation (392). In the latter case, this participant takes the subject position, while the agent cannot be specified.

- (391) a. *čolhorā-die tā ig-ō-j*
 hare-DIM there get.caught-RES-INTR:3SG
 'The hare has been caught (is caught) there (in the
 snare-trap).' [F13]
- b. *amd-ō-t godō-j*
 [die-RES-SS:IPFV] lie-INTR:3SG
 'He is/was lying dead.' [K3]
- c. *juø-de-ge pud-de-ge šār-ek*
 [see-3SG-DS] top-POSS-LOC something-PRED
im-ō-l
 mount-RES-SF
 'He saw that there was something on his back.' [F34]

- (392) a. *amun tī+tā el+pejžī-l-ō-gen*
 bone here+there NEG-threw-0-RES-IMP:3SG
 ‘Let bones not lie thrown here and there.’ [F34]
- b. *unuŋ šaide tob-ō-j*
 river across lock-RES-INTR:3SG
 ‘The river is dammed.’ [F6]

In this function, the suffix *-ō-* is quite productive; the Resultative is available whenever the situation signified by the verb entails an observable resulting state.

3.6.3. The Stative

The suffix *-ō-* can be identified in a number of stative and qualitative verbs. In some cases, the Stative verbs are derived from dynamic verbs, as in (393) (Krejnovich 1982:99); see also 3.5.2.4 and (388b) for cases where the Stative suffix is opposed to an Inchoative suffix.

- (393) *šoh-ō-* ‘be inside’
 enter-STAT-
joh-ō- ‘be open’
 open-STAT-
momž-ō- ‘be narrow’
 taper-STAT-
kiel’-ō- ‘be dry’
 dry-STAT-

In other cases, a Stative verb has no clear dynamic counterpart (e.g., *orp-ō-* ‘hang’, *qod-ō-* ‘lie’), or is derived from a noun (the meaning being more or less lexicalized):

- (394) *ørd’-ō-* ‘be in the middle’ < *ørd’e* ‘middle’
čeginm-ō- ‘be deep’ < *čeginme* ‘depth’
pug-ō- ‘be warm’ < *puge* ‘summer’
pukel’-ō- ‘be soft’ < *pukel’e* snow

The semantic relationship between a Stative verb and its dynamic counterpart can be close to that expressed by the Resultative

marker ('a state' vs. 'a situation entailing such a state'). However, the Stative (in contrast to the Resultative) denotes a state without any reference to a previous event (something can be 'narrow' without 'having become narrow', etc.).

The Stative suffix can be viewed as a result of lexicalization of the Resultative form of verbs, on the one hand, and the Stative form of nouns, on the other (see 3.6.1; cf. also TAILLEUR 1965:69-70).

3.6.4. Characteristic suffixes of qualitative verbs

3.6.4.1. The suffixes *-bō-* and *-jō-* (both containing the common 'stative' element *-ō-*; see 3.3.3.2) derive stative verbs denoting more or less permanent properties:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----------------|
| (395) | <i>lejdī-jō-</i> | 'be wise' |
| | know-QLT- | |
| | <i>jaqte-jō-</i> | 'be a singer' |
| | sing-QLT- | |
| | <i>kimd'ī-bō-</i> | 'be a warrior' |
| | fight-QLT- | |
| | <i>ijī-bō-</i> | 'be a coward' |
| | be.afraid-QLT- | |

At least with some verbs, these suffixes are in free variation, e.g., both *kimd'ī-bō-* and *kimd'ī-jō-* are attested.

3.6.4.2. The suffix *-mie-* (KREJNOVICH 1982:104) derives qualitative verbs from adverbs:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (396) | <i>šobin-mie-</i> | 'be calm, quiet' |
| | quiet-QLT- | |
| | <i>ijerin-mie-</i> | 'be unusual, strange' |
| | differently-QLT- | |
| | <i>olhin-mie-</i> | 'be straight, smooth' |
| | directly-QLT- | |

This suffix derives verbal stems from demonstrative and interrogative adverbials (see 7.1.2.1.5) and from the postposition *tite* 'like'

(see 7.3.3). It can also be identified in some synchronically non-derived qualitative verbs, see Appendix 2 for a list of verbs with this suffix.

3.7. Other aspect-related markers

3.7.1. The Purposive

The Purposive suffix *-jī-* ~ *-d'ej-* signifies movement with the purpose to perform the action specified by the verb stem (Krejnovich 1982:152):

- (397) a. *tāt ugujel-me egie-delle tude*
 [CA morning-ADV stand.up-SS:PFV] his
nonol-gele juš-jī-m
 snare.trap-ACC see-PURP-TR:3SG
 'He got up in the morning and went to look at his
 snare trap.' [F15]
- b. *čomōlben čuge aŋs'ī-jī-te-me*
 elk track search-PURP-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I will go in order to look for the track of the elk.'

The Purposive suffix *-jī-* has the form *-d'ej-* after consonants, cf. *mon-d'ej-* 'go in order to say' (Krejnovich 1982:152); the suffix induces the /j/ ~ /č/ alternation in the following morph, e.g., *jaqte-jī-s* '(he) went in order to sing'.

The suffix is productive, that is, it can be applied whenever the verb signifies an action which can be carried out intentionally (of course, except for the verbs of motion), yet it is being rapidly replaced by constructions with a verb of motion plus the Supine (supported by the similar Russian pattern), see 11.4.4.

3.7.2. The Delimitative (verbal Diminutive)

The suffix *-s'ī-* signifies some sort of diminution of an action (Krejnovich 1982:133, 152); it expresses meanings like 'slightly, shortly, a little bit', etc., e.g., *jerqoge-s'ī-* 'move' > *jerqoge-s'ī-* 'move slightly, budge'; *morie-* 'wear' > *morie-s'ī-* 'wear for a short time, just a little bit', *n'ie-* 'call' > *n'ie-s'ī-* 'call weakly, softly, quietly',

n'ienund'i- 'ask' > *n'ienund'i-sī-* 'ask for a little bit of something', etc. The suffix appears to be productive (in the sense that such forms are easily and readily built by consultants whenever this seems semantically plausible), but very infrequent.

On the one hand, this meaning is related to Aspect, insofar as it "bounds" the situation by imposing a small span of time and/or "smallness" of the affected object. On the other hand, the suffix seems to be used to signify some affectionate sympathy with the (primary) participant (similar to that associated with the nominal Diminutive). In other words, it is often the primary participant that is "diminished" in some sense, rather than the action itself. According to my consultants, the suffix is appropriate when speaking about a child, about an ill person, etc.

4. Valence-changing morphology

4.1. Preliminaries

The structure of this section (and the preceding one) is based on a semantic (functional) classification of morphemes. This solution (resulting from the general principles outlined in 1.3.1) obscures some semantic and formal affinities which appear to be very important for Yukaghir verb morphology and have to be mentioned here.

First, the system of valence-changing in the narrow sense (those grammatical items which are applied to relational expressions and modify their valence patterns) employs, to a large extent, the same set of morphs which are used for derivation of verbs from nominal stems (see 4.2). Roughly, the same morph can derive Causative verbs from both verbal and nominal stems (meaning, in the latter case, 'cause to have X'); see 4.2, 4.3.1 and 4.3.3.1. Similarly, one morph can derive Stative expressions from both verbs and nouns (3.6). In other cases, Causative verbs are derived from verbs by a suffix which, if applied to a noun, derives an intransitive verb with the meaning 'get, receive X' (see 4.2 and 4.3.3.3). Although the semantic affinity is less transparent in this case, yet the two types of valence modification have something in common: the suffix adds a new valence slot for the agent participant in both environments.

If such correlations had been absolutely transparent and regular, it would have been plausible to give up the more or less traditional scheme adopted here, and to organize the presentation in accordance with how Yukaghir organizes its morphology. Yet this is not the case: as will be observed, the system of morphs which is absolutely regular and productive, as far as the denominal derivation is concerned, is somewhat less regular and transparent within the domain of deverbal derivation. That is why a compromise solution was chosen: a subsection on the denominal derivation is included into the present section, yet it is kept apart from the valence-changing morphology proper, which is discussed afterwards.

A second type of correlation which could not be reflected in the structure of the chapter is that between the valence-changing morphology (in particular, the Causative) and the Internal Aspect marking (see 3.3.2, 4.3.3.3, 4.3.3.5). Very roughly, the Causative is strongly associated with the iterative (more precisely, distributive) meaning, and this association manifests itself formally at a number of points. Since this correlation is even less transparent and regular than the previous one, mainly because it is restricted to the domain of non-productive derivation, it was hardly possible to organize the presentation in such a way as to highlight this feature (however noteworthy it seems). This results in somewhat arbitrary distribution of information on some suffixes between this section and the preceding one. This deficiency is partly compensated by cross-references within the relevant subsections and by Appendix 2 which presents the non-productive verb derivation in a purely form-to-function fashion.

Note that the present section contains only very brief notes on the distribution of the non-productive morphemes; whenever a suffix can be attached to a closed group of verbs only, I just state this and go on to discuss its semantics. Representative lists of verbs taking each suffix are to be found in Appendix 2.

4.2. Denominal Propriative verbs

The suffixes *-de-* ~ *-d-* (the latter morph can undergo devoicing according to the rules described in 3.3.2.1) and *-te-* ~ *-š-* regularly

derive from nominal stems verbs with meanings ‘begin to possess X’ (398) and ‘cause somebody to have X, give somebody X’ (399) respectively, see 3.3.4.1.6 for the distribution of the allomorphs (Krejnovich 1982:51-54). Thus, the verbs derived by these suffixes constitute the Inchoative and Causative counterparts to the Propriative forms of nouns in *-n'e-* ~ *-n'* (see 5.5.5.1).

- (398) a. *tamun-ge taŋ paj nodo*
 that-LOC that woman bird
pugelbie-de-j
 hair-PRPR:INCH-INTR:3SG
 ‘Then that woman got (become covered by) bird
 feathers.’ [F7]
- b. *tet ejr-ōl lebie-ge tā*
 [you walk-RNR] land-LOC there
lebie-de-k
 land-PRPR:INCH-IMP:2SG
 ‘Take some of the land upon which you have
 walked!’ [F8]
- c. *es'ie-gi tamun taŋ parā-geŋ*
 father-POSS that that time-ABL
aŋd'e-t-l'el
 eye-PRPR:INCH-INFR(3SG)
 ‘From that moment on, his father had eyes.’ [F48]
- (399) a. *n'ied'e-te-j qodo el+noj-n'e-l šoromo*
 tell-FUT-INTR:3SG [how NEG+leg-PRPR-ANR person
noj-te-č-u-l
 leg-PRPR:CAUS-ITER-0-ANR]
 ‘He will tell how he provides legless people with
 legs.’ [F31]
- b. *tude-gele pie-le mieste-š-ŋā*
 he-ACC mountain-INSTR place-PRPR:CAUS-3PL:TR
 ‘They gave him a place (to live) on a mountain.’ [F9]

- c. *tet ayd'e-š met-ul*
 you eye-PRPR:CAUS(IMP:2SG) me-ACC
 'Make me an eye!' [F31]

In some cases, the Propriative suffixes (including *-n'e- ~ -n'-*) are lexicalized (see 3.5.3.2 and Appendix 2).

The Inchoative Propriative suffix *-de-* can build a "frozen" combination with the Perfective marker *-j-* which is applied, with the inchoative meaning, to nouns denoting seasons or other states of the world:

- (400) a. *pōre-de-s'*
 spring-INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'The spring came.'
- b. *tāt pen puge-de-s'*
 CA state warmth-INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Then it got warmer.'

4.3. Causative

4.3.1. The regular Causative

The suffix *-š-* marks a causative situation, i.e., it introduces a new agent participant (Causer) which in some way causes the situation signified by the verb stem. The Causee takes the direct object position if the initial verb is intransitive (401a)-(401b), the indirect object position otherwise (401c). In this function, the suffix can be attached to any verb stem, with exception of those taking a non-productive causative suffix (see 4.3.3). In most cases, it has a very general causative meaning, that is, the "manner" of causation remains unspecified.

- (401) a. *ninge-j šoromo-k ahurpe-š-me*
 [many-ATTR] person-PRED suffer-CAUS-OF:1SG
 'I made many people suffer!' [F31]
- b. *los'il-ek čine-š-nu-l'el-ŋile*
 fire.wood-PRED chop-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They made (her) chop firewood.' [F2]

- c. *tamun-ŋin eškeri-š-l'el-ŋā*
 that-DAT attack-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They told that one to attack.' [T1]
- d. *qār-de-jle kiel'e-š-u-m*
 skin-POSS-ACC get.dry-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'She dried its skin.' [F14]

In some cases, the causative derivative gets a lexicalized meaning, e.g., the morphological causative from the verb *šaqal'e-* 'gather, assemble' can mean both 'cause to assemble' (402a) and 'gather (mushrooms, berries, etc.)' (402b).

- (402) a. *jaqte-jō-l loŋdo-jō-l arann'e-j*
 sing-QLT-ANR dance-QLT-ANR quick-ATTR
s'ile-n'-u-l+ben-pe-k
 strength-PRPR-0-ANR+RELNR-PL-PRED
aŋs'v-ŋile šaqal'e-š-ŋile.
 search-3PL:OF assemble-CAUS-3PL:OF
 'They looked for singers, dancers, those who were quick, those who were strong, and called them together.' [F5]
- b. *šebis'e nono-gele šaqal'e-š-u-m*
 wild.rose branch-ACC assemble-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'He gathered wild rose branches.' [F31]

4.3.2. The second Causative

A verb derived by means of the suffix *-š-* can be suffixed by another causative marker, *-čil'e-*. Basically, the resulting verb is a causative for the first causative:

- (403) a. *čaqe al'ā-j*
 frozen.fish thaw-INTR:3SG
 'The frozen fish thawed.'
- b. *čaqe-lek al'ā-š-mele*
 frozen.fish-PRED thaw-CAUS-OF:3SG
 '(He) thawed frozen fish.'

- c. *met taŋ šoromo-ŋin čaqe-lek*
 I that man-DAT frozen.fish-PRED
al'ā-š-čil'e-me
 thaw-CAUS-CAUS-OF:1SG
 'I asked that man to thaw frozen fish.' [I]

However, the combination of the two causative markers can signify just some increase in “distance” between the Causer and Causee, which excludes any direct physical causation. For example, the simple causative of the verb *ewre-* ‘walk’ (*ewre-š-*) is ambiguous between ‘make somebody walk’, ‘lead’ and ‘carry’, while the second causative (*ewre-š-čil'e-*) covers meanings like ‘make somebody carry something’, ‘let somebody walk’, etc. The simple causative of *juø-* ‘see, look’ (*juø-š-*) means ‘show, (intentionally) cause somebody to look at something’, while the second causative (*juø-š-čil'e-*) signifies rather an unintended causation, like ‘(accidentally) allow somebody (e.g., an enemy) to see’. Such a shift along the scale between direct physical causation and permission, letting something happen (rather than the articulated secondary causation, as in (403c)) appears to be the only option if the initial (non-Causative) verb is transitive. In this case, the “intermediate” Causer cannot be expressed within the causative construction.

The second Causative is practically absent from the Yukaghir texts, although the suffix seems to be quite productive. My consultants did not hesitate to apply this operation to any causative verb. Thus, as this is the case with a number of other Yukaghir morphemes, this suffix is “available”, but is in fact out of use. The semantic observations above are therefore drawn not from examination of texts, but from consultants’ responses.

4.3.3. Non-productive Causative suffixes

There is a group of non-productive causative suffixes; each one combines with a closed class of intransitive verbs and signifies, in most cases, direct physical causation. Some of these suffixes are involved in the system of Internal Aspect marking (see 4.3.3.3, 4.3.3.5).

4.3.3.1. The suffixes *-te-* and *-še-* can be viewed as syllabic counterparts of the regular causative suffix *-š-* (see 3.3.4.1 on this type of morphophonemic alternations). A regular correlation *-te-* ~ *-š-* is still maintained in denominal Propriative verbs (see 3.3.4.1.6, 4.2),³² cf. also instances of vacillation between *-še-* and *-š-*, and *-te-* and *-š-* described below. Therefore, it might be assumed that these suffixes must have been morphophonemic variants of the regular causative. Now, however, they are preserved only within a very restricted class of verbs, while *-š-* is used independently of the morphophonemic type of stem.

The suffix *-te-* combines with a group of verbs of motion (404a), stative verbs (404b), and everyday self-care actions (404c).

- (404) a. *ege-te-* ‘put, install (in an upright position)’
 stand.up-CAUS-
joq-to- ~ *jaq-te-* ‘bring’
 arrive-CAUS-
qon-te- ‘carry, lead.’
 go-CAUS-
- b. *modo-te-* ‘make sit down, provide with a house, set, seed’
 sit/stay-CAUS-
qodo-te- ‘put (onto a surface or into a container)’
 lie-CAUS-
- c. *tami-te-* ‘dress somebody’
 dress-CAUS-
moro-te- ‘put (clothes) on somebody else’
 put.on-CAUS-
legi-te- ‘feed, give food’
 eat-CAUS-

Note that verbs *moro-* ‘put on’ and *leg-* ‘eat’ constitute an exception to the general rule, inasmuch as they are transitive but have irregular Causatives.

The suffix *-še-* has an even more restricted distribution. It is usually opposed to an Inchoative (see 3.5.2.4) or an Internal Aspect (see 3.3.2.2) suffix in the non-Causative counterpart, i.e., there is no morphologically unmarked verb.

- (405) *šoh-ie-* 'get lost' *šohu-še-* 'lose'
jerqo-ge- 'move (vi.)' *jerqu-še-* 'move (vt.)'
čere-j- 'sink, get drowned' *čeru-še-* 'drown.'

The same suffix can be attached to the stem *moro-* 'put on' (which also has the *te*-causative, see (404c)). The derivative is pronounced as *moru-še-* or *moš-šo-* and is vague between putting clothes (or other accessories) on oneself or somebody else, or in fact attaching anything to anything.

- (406) a. *šaqale tabun-gele jaq-te-lle*
 [fox that-ACC arrive-CAUS-SS:PFV]
pulundie-gele moš-šo-m
 old.man-DIM-ACC put.on-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'The fox brought it and put it on the old man.' [F15]
- b. *tude pierī amun-pe-gen moš-šo-m*
 her wing bone-PL-PROL put.on-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'She attached (it) to her wings.' [F7]

The semantic impact of these suffixes cannot be reduced to the causative meaning proper, where just a new salient cause is introduced, but the situation being caused maintains its essential properties (as it is normally the case for the regular Causative). In most cases, the non-Causative verb either requires or at least accepts an active animate (often human) subject participant, while the "counterpart" of this participant within the causative situation has no control over the situation, is normally (or obligatorily) inanimate, etc. For example, the verb *egie-* 'stand up, get up' can signify only an intentional action carried out by an animate participant. Its causative counterpart *ege-te-* cannot express a meaning like 'cause somebody to stand up', it can only signify putting or installing something (for which the idea of an upright position can make sense), cf. (407) and (408).

- (407) a. *tamun met-telle čurud'a egie-l'el*
 [that perceive-SS:PFV] noiselessly stand-INFR(3SG)
 'Having heard that, she stood up noiselessly.' [K3]

- b. *kie egie-k*
 friend stand-IMP:2SG
 ‘Get up, buddy!’
- (408) a. *čumu lebie-ge šar-delle kries-ek*
 [all earth-LOC cover-SS:PFV] cross-PRED
ege-te-ηile
 stand-CAUS-OF:3SG
 ‘Having buried everything, they erected a cross.’ [F54]
- b. *arasno + ηō-d’e legul-ek ā-delle*
 various+STAT-ATTR food-PRED [make-SS:PFV]
ostōl-ge ege-te-mle
 table-LOC stand-CAUS-OF:3SG
 ‘She made a variety of food and put it on the
 table.’ [F26]

The semantic relationship between such verbs is thus maintained only due to the identity of resulting state (in this case, of being in an upright position) implied by non-Causative and Causative verbs, which is brought about by one’s own intentional action in the former case, and by some “external cause” in the latter.

In other cases, the single participant of a non-causative verb cannot be considered a (prototypical) agent, yet a similar additional shift in the meaning can be observed. For example, the verb *šohie-* ‘get lost’ can mean both ‘lose one’s way’, as in (409a) and ‘disappear, become impossible to find (for somebody else)’, as in (409b), i.e., the inability to identify the participant’s location is conceived either from one’s own point of view, or from the point of view of an external observer. The causative can be applied only to the latter meaning: the causative verb, *šohu-še-*, cannot mean something like ‘cause somebody to lose his/her way’; see (410). In addition, the noncausative verb requires an animate participant, while the causative does not impose such restrictions.

- (409) a. *čuøl’e omnī parā-ge irk-in pajpe*
 ancient people time-LOC one-ATTR woman
šohie-l’el
 get.lost-INFR(3SG)

‘Once upon a time, one woman lost her way.’ [F4]

- b. *jolon n'e-leme-le el+kej+čuøñ tāt*
 [after NEG-what-INSTR NEG+give+PRV] CA
šohie-nu-l'el-ŋi taŋ šoromo-pul
 get.lost-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR that person-PL
 ‘Afterwards, those people disappeared without giving
 (us) anything.’ [K1]

- (410) a. *čugie šohu-šā-l'el-te-j,*
 on.way get.lost-CAUS-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
loudi-l'el-te-j
 drop-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
 ‘She must have lost (it), dropped (it) on her way.’
- b. *irk-id'e tā ejre-t titte šoromo*
 [one-ITER there walk-SS:IPFV] their person
šohu-šā-ŋile
 get.lost-CAUS-3PL:OF
 ‘Once, while walking there, they lost one of their
 men.’ [F9]

The following example illustrates how the non-causative and the causative can be employed to describe the same situation, whereby the single participant of the former coincides with the Causer of the latter (and not with the Causee, as might be expected in case of a genuine causative).

- (411) *šoh-ujī-t ejre-t numø*
 [get.lost-IPFV-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] [house
šohu-še-t lebie joŋže-t tāt
 get.lost-CAUS-SS:IPFV] [land forget-SS:IPFV] CA
gude-l'el
 become-INFR(3SG)
 ‘As he was walking, he could not find his way home, so
 he forgot his land.’ [F56]

To sum up, the semantic relationship between a noncausative verb and its counterpart derived by means of *-te-* or *-še-* deviates from the Causative meaning, as associated with the regular suffix *-š-*

(see 4.3.1). It seems therefore plausible to assume that the obsolete morphonemic variants of the Causative marker have been preserved in those cases where its meaning was felt not to match exactly the Causative semantics.

4.3.3.2. The suffix *-že-* ~ *-žī-* (Krejnovich 1982:109) combines with a group of qualitative stems, sometimes with a lexicalized meaning:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (412) | <i>čā-že-</i> | ‘make fewer, decrease’ |
| | few-CAUS- | |
| | <i>juko-že-</i> | ‘make smaller, diminish’ |
| | small-CAUS- | |
| | <i>čomo-že-</i> | ‘enlarge, increase, bring up’ |
| | big-CAUS- | |
| | <i>ejle-že-</i> | ‘make wider, stretch’ |
| | wide-CAUS- | |
| | <i>en-že-</i> | ‘feed, bring up’ |
| | live-CAUS- | |

Cf. the Detransitive suffix *-že-* (4.4.2).

4.3.3.3. The suffixes *-t-* and *-de(j)-* (Krejnovich 1982:128) build causative counterparts for a closed group of intransitive verbs. A significant subset of such verbs have the following morphological features:

1. The stem contains the suffix *-ge-* ~ *-ha-* (see 3.2.4.3.3), to which the Perfective marker is attached.
2. The verb has two causative counterparts, the Perfective one derived by the suffix *-de-* ~ *-da-* inserted before the Perfective marker, and the Distributive one, derived by the suffix *-t-* which replaces the Perfective marker.
3. In some cases, there is an Imperfective counterpart, where the combination *-ge-j-* ~ *-ha-j-* is replaced by an Iterative suffix *-(n)-d'i-* (see 3.3.2.7).

Some examples:

- (413) *šaša-ha-j-* 'tear, break off (once, at one place)' (*vi*)
šaša-nd'i- 'tear (at a number of places)' (*vi*)
šaša-ha-da-j- 'tear up' (*vt*)
šaša-ha-t- 'tear up (several things, at a number of
places, in a number of pieces)' (*vt*)
- (414) *šapaha-j-* 'hit (once)' (*vi*)
šapaha-da-j- 'hit' (*vt*)
šapaha-t- 'hit (several objects, several times,
etc.)' (*vt*)
- (415) *šel-ge-j-* 'break (once, at one place)', (*vi*)
šel'-d'i- 'break (at a number of places)' (*vt*)
šel-ge-de-j- 'break' (*vt*)
šel'-ge-t- 'break (several things, at a number of
places, in a number of pieces)' (*vt*)

The suffix *-t-* marks the Distributive Causative, i.e., it signifies that the causative action is applied to multiple entities (416b), or to multiple locations within one entity (417b), or otherwise just multiple times (417c). In this sense, it belongs to the group of Iterative suffixes, as described in 3.3.2. The Causative in *-de-j-* forms the Perfective counterpart to the Distributive Causative (416a), (417b).

- (416) a. *menmege-lle menmege-lle tude noj-gele tāt*
[jump-SS:PFV] [jump-SS:PFV] his leg-ACC CA
šelge-de-j-m
break-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
'He jumped and jumped and broke his leg.'
- b. <...> *laqi-d+amun-de-jle čumu*
tail-ATTR+bone-POSS-ACC all
šelge-t-l'el-u-m
break-CAUS:DSTR-INFR-0-TR:3SG
'She broke all their tailbones.'

- (417) a. *ørd'ō-de-gen* *šāšaha-da-j-m*
 middle-POSS-PROL tear-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
 'He tore it at the middle (in two pieces).' [F7]
- b. *met tudel n'ās'e-gi čumu*
 I he face-POSS all
šāšaha-t-u-t
 tear-CAUS:DSTR-0-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'I will tear his face (entirely, into many pieces).' [F54]
- c. *metin touke pokoje el+kej-nu*
 me-DAT dog peace-ACC NEG | give-IPFV(3SG) |
čušte met-kele me+šāšaha-t-u-m
 always me-ACC AFF+tear-CAUS:DSTR-0-TR:3SG
 'The dog does not leave me in peace, it always tears
 me.' [F9].

Some pairs of verbs containing these suffixes have no non-Causative counterpart (see Appendix 2).

4.3.3.4. The suffix *-ī-* derives Causative verbs from a closed group of heterogeneous stems (see Appendix 2). Some examples:

- (418) *čít-n-ī-* 'make longer, stretch'
 long-CAUS-
omd-ī- 'make somebody hurry'
 hurry-CAUS-
ibiš-ī- 'breast-feed'
 suck-CAUS-

In some cases, such a verb has the Perfective counterpart derived by *-de-j-* (see 4.3.3.3), cf. *aml-ī-* vs. *amle-de-j-* 'swallow' (from *amle-j-* 'get into, fall into').

4.3.3.5. The suffixes *-re-* ~ *-de-* vs. *-čī-*. As shown in 3.3.2.4, these suffixes express the Internal Aspect (non-Iterative vs. Iterative). In some cases, they also function as causative suffixes, that is, there exists a morphologically unmarked verb which constitutes the non-Causative counterpart to the verbs derived by these suffixes; the Internal Aspect opposition is present in these cases as well:

- (419) a. *tintaŋ qan'il āj igie-l'el*
 that eagle CP get.caught-INFR(3SG)
 'That eagle got caught again.' [F19]
- b. *čolhoro-le tudel šinel'-e ningō*
 hare-INSTR he snare.trap-INSTR many
ik-čī-m
 get.caught-CAUS:ITER-TR:3SG
 'He caught lots of hares by means of his snare trap.' [K4]
- c. *čolhorā-die-gele tā šašil-ge*
 hare-DIM-ACC there snare.trap-LOC
ī-de-m
 get.caught-CAUS:NONIT-TR:3SG
 'He caught that little hare in his snare trap.' [F14]

Some other examples are (see Appendix 2 for more representative lists):

- (420)
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| | -ITER | +ITER | |
| <i>šøg-</i> 'enter' | <i>šøj-re-</i> | <i>šok-či-</i> | 'bring in, push in' |
| <i>orpō-</i> 'hang' (<i>vi</i>) | <i>orpu-re-</i> | <i>orpu-či-</i> | 'hang' (<i>vt</i>) |
| <i>kewe-j-</i> 'go away' | <i>køw-de-</i> | <i>køp-či-</i> | 'lead/carry away' |

The non-Iterative Causative can attach the Perfective marker.

4.3.3.6. The Resultative Causative suffix *-ie-* (Krejnovich 1982:135) combines with a closed set of stative verbs and signifies that the Causer not only has brought the state about, but also keeps the Causee in this state.

- (421) *mod-ie-* 'make somebody sit down or settle
 sit-RES:CAUS- somewhere and keep him/her in this
 position (living in this place)'
og-ie- 'put and keep in the upright position.'
 stand-RES:CAUS-
orp-ie- 'hang something and keep it hanging'
 hang-RES:CAUS-

Some examples:

- (422) a. *mied'ĩ-ge anil-ek im-ie-l'el-mele*
 sledge-LOC fish-PRED be.in-CAUS-INFR-OF:3SG
 'He had fish in his sledge (he had put it there, and kept it there).'
- b. *tĩ mod-ie-t tet-in tĩ mieste-lek*
 [here sit-CAUS-SS:IPFV] you-DAT here place
ā-te-me
 make-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I will keep you here (make you live here) and make a place for you (to live) here.' [T1]

This suffix applies also to two transitive verbs, *moro-* 'put on' and *tøb-* 'close', with a similar resultative-like meaning (*mor-ie-* 'put on and wear', *tøb-ie-* 'close and keep closed'). For a representative list of verbs derived by these suffixes, see Appendix 2).

4.4. Transitivity and detransitivizers

4.4.1. Applicative

There are two suffixes which add the direct object slot to the valence pattern of an intransitive verb, *-re-* and *-rĩ-* (i.e., applicative suffixes). Note that the former has a number of other functions (in particular, Causative, see 4.3.3.5), while the latter is specialized for the applicative function. Each can be applied to a very small group of verbs (see Appendix 2). The semantics of the new slot is determined by the meaning of the verb; in fact, in most cases, the verb meaning implies presence of the corresponding participant in the situation being described, so that the impact of an applicative suffix is limited to assigning the direct object role to this participant. Some examples:

- (423) a. *tāt jaqte-t modo-de-ge īs'*
 [CA sing-SS:IPFV] [sit-3SG-DS] long.time
jaqte-j
 sing-INTR:3SG
 'So, while (the other one) was sitting and singing, she was also singing for a long time.'

- b. *tet-kele pietur-die-gele omos' jaqte-rī-m*
 you-ACC P.-DIM-ACC well sing-APPL-TR:3SG
irk-in marqil'
 one-ATTR girl
 'One girl sang very well about you and Peter.'
- (424) a. *pulut, pulut, āj kimdān'e-jek*
 old.man old.man CA lie-INTR:2SG
 'Old man, old man, you are lying again.' [F19]
- b. *qan'il met-kele kimdān'e-rī-l'el-u-m*
 eagle I-ACC lie-APPL-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'The eagle appears to have lied to me.' [F19]

4.4.2. Detransitive

There are three suffixes which detransitivize verbs by elimination of the direct object slot from the valence pattern, *-d'(e)-*, *-že-*, and *-de-*. Each applies to a restricted group of verbs (see Appendix 2). In most cases, the semantic impact of these suffixes is to construe the situation as having no specific patient participant, cf. the following pairs of sentences:

- (425) a. *nem-dik aduon ojī-me*
 what-PRED it bark-OF:3SG
 'What is it you are barking at?'
- b. *touke āj oj-d'-ā-j*
 dog CP bark-DETR-INGR-INTR:3SG
 'The dog started barking again.'
- (426) a. *juø-k aduon tet-ek aŋčī-ŋile*
 look-IMP:2SG | it you-PRED search-3PL:OF
 'Look, they are looking for you!'
- b. *tāt numø-ge šøk-telle*
 [so house-LOC enter-SS:PFV]
aŋsi-d'-ā-je nilgi
 search-DETR-INGR-INTR:1SG | nobody

el+l'uø-je

NEG+see-INTR:1SG

'So I entered the house and began to search, (but) I saw nobody.'

In other cases, the patient is obviously present, but remains unspecified; this case is illustrated by sentence (427c) for verbs *pan-de-* 'cook' and *leŋ-de-* 'eat' (sentences (427a)-(427b) exemplify the corresponding transitive verbs).

(427) a. *āj čūl-e pad-u-m*
 again meat-INSTR cook-0-TR:3SG
 'She cooked some meat again.'

b. <...> *met-kele kødiel lek-te-m*
 me-ACC wolf eat-FUT-TR:3SG
 'The wolf will eat me.' [F52]

c. *tāt pan-de-ŋi pan-de-lle*
 CA cook-DETR-3PL:INTR | [cook-DETR-SS:PFV]
leŋ-de-lle oqonastie pulut mon-i <...>
 [eat-DETR-SS:PFV] A. old.man say-INTR:3SG
 'So they were cooking; after that, after they had eaten, Afanasij, the old man, said: ...' [K4]

With some verbs, the suffixes *-d'* and *-že-* have a middle-like function, i.e., they signify that the agent acts on his own body:

(428) a. *ōžī min-delle tāt ajle-n-d'e³³*
 [water take-SS:PFV] CA wash-DETR-INTR:3SG
 'Having taken some water, I washed (myself).'

b. *tāt tude šøštok-ke n'igi-že-t*
 [CA his post-LOC warm-DETR-SS:IPFV]
modo-j
 sit-INTR:3SG
 'So he was sitting on his post and warming himself.'

Cf. 6.4.5.3 on the regular Reflexive marking.

4.5. Reciprocal and Reflexive

4.5.1. Formation

The reciprocal marker is *n'e-*, the reflexive marker, *met-*. These morphemes cannot be combined within one verb form, i.e., the reciprocal and reflexive meanings are treated by Yukaghir grammar as opposed members of one category.

- (429) a. *met tudel juø*
 I he see(TR:1SG)
 'I saw him' [I]
- b. *mit n'e-juø-jil'i*
 we RECP-see-1PL:INTR
 'We saw each other' [I]
- c. *tudel met-juø-j*
 he REFL-see-3SG:INTR
 'He is looking at himself' [I]

Both the reciprocal and the reflexive decrease verb valence, which in the vast majority of cases results in formal shift from the Transitive agreement pattern to the Intransitive one.

Phonologically, these morphemes are characterized by a looser connection with the stem than the suffixes, so that the boundary between a prefix and its stem may be described as internal open juncture. For example, clustering of vowels on morpheme boundaries is prohibited within the postfixal part of a word, but possible on a "preverbal" boundary, e.g., *n'e+aji-* 'to shoot each other' (see also 3.2.3.1).

4.5.2. Functions of the Reciprocal

4.5.2.1. Reciprocal constructions. The Reciprocal marks a reciprocal situation in which the reciprocal participants correspond to the subject argument and some other argument of the verb. The Reciprocal marker is productive and semantically very regular; it can be attached to a verb whenever a reciprocal situation involving the relation expressed by that verb can be imagined. There seem to be no purely grammatical restrictions on this operation,

e.g., in terms of transitivity, syntactic function assigned to the secondary argument, etc. However, if the secondary participant is represented by an NP other than direct or indirect object, an additional free reciprocal marker is required (see 9.3.2.2).

Although most instances of reciprocal marking involve the subject and the direct object arguments of a transitive verb, this seems to be just a consequence of the fact that most two-argument verbs are transitive (cf. 9.2.1). The examples in (430) illustrate this most frequent case:

- (430) a. *mit n'e+totčoš-īl'i* *šešpedaŋil'-ge*
 we RECP+press-INTR:1PL door-LOC
 'We pressed each other against the door.'
- b. *šure-de-gle paj-du-t kimd'ī-t*
 [body-POSS-ACC hit-ITER-SS:IPFV] [fight-SS:IPFV]
todī-le čumut n'e+leŋ-ŋi
 tooth-INSTR all RECP+cat-3PL:INTR
 'They beat one another, fought and ate one another.' [F45]
- c. *kimd'-ie-ŋi lukil-e*
 fight-INGR-3PL:INTR | arrow-INSTR
n'e+ajī-nu-ŋi
 RECP+shoot-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 'They began to fight, they shot arrows at each other.' [F10]
- d. *ataqlō-t n'e+kes'i-ŋi*
 be-two-SS:IPFV RECP+bring-3PL:INTR
 'The two of them brought each other (if, for example, one of them was blind and the other lame).'

The examples in (431) illustrate the reciprocal marking involving the recipient (indirect object) participant (431a), and the addressee (431b); in the latter case, the additional free reciprocal marking is needed (see 9.3.2.2 for further examples of this type).

- (431) a. *legul-ek n'e+kes'i-l*
 food-PRED RECP+bring-OF:1PL

‘We have brought food to each other.’ [I]

- b. *tittel n'e+laŋi n'e+mon-ŋi* <...>
 they RECP-DIR RECP-say-3PL:INTR
 ‘They said to each other: ...’

The reciprocal participants are normally represented by a single NP in the subject position:

- (432) a. *tamun-pe n'e+anurā-l'el-ŋi*
 that-PL RECP+love-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘They loved each other.’
- b. *odu-pe tudā čumut*
 Yukaghir-PL that.time all
n'e+lejdī-nunnu-l'el-ŋi
 RECP+know-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘At that time, all Yukaghirs used to know each other.’ [K1]

See also 9.2.8 for another, marginal, option for encoding of the reciprocal participants.

4.5.2.2. Natural reciprocals. The morphological reciprocal marker can be attached to verbs signifying so called “naturally reciprocal” situations, without any significant change in the meaning, cf. (430c) and (434a):

- (433) *čejlū-* > *n'e+čejlū-* ‘be far’
kimd'ī- > *n'e+kimd'ī-* ‘fight’
titimie- > *n'e+titimie-* ‘be the same, be alike’
šaqal'e- > *n'e+šaqal'e-* ‘gather, assemble’

Some examples:

- (434) a. *tāt n'e+kimd'ej-l'el-ŋi*
 CA RECP+fight-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘They fought’
- b. *n'e+šaqal'ā-delle n'ied'i-t ani-pe*
 [RECP+gather-SS:PFV] [speak-SS:IPFV] fish-PL
mol-l'el-ŋi <...>
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR

‘The fishes gathered, discussed it and said: ...’ [T1]

- c. *n'e+titi-mie-d'e* *kenme-pul tā*
 [RECP+like-QLT-ATTR] friend-PL there
nuk-te-mik
 find-FUT-2SG

‘You will find friends there similar to yourself.’ [F31]

See also 3.3.2.3 for a natural reciprocal derived by means of an Iterative suffix.

4.5.2.3. Incorporation. There are two attested cases of incorporation of a nominal stem between the reciprocal marker and verb stem; the incorporated stem fills the patient/theme slot of the verb.

- (435) a. *zooparke-ge ob'ez'ana-pul n'e-n'as'in modo-t*
 [ZOO-LOC monkey-PL RECP-towards sit-SS:IPFV]

n'e+pøme+aŋs'i-ŋi

RECP+ louse + search-3PL:INTR

‘In the zoo monkeys are sitting face to face and looking for each other’s lice.’ [I]

- b. *taŋ odu-pe taŋ kukujerd'i-pe*
 that Yukaghir-PL that Even-PL

n'e+ažu+medī-nunnu-l'el-ŋi

RECP+word+perceive-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR |

n'e-ažu-medī-t *n'e-qamie-ŋi*

[RECP-word-perceive-SS:IPFV] RECP-help-3PL:INTR

‘Those Yukaghirs and those Evens used to understand each other’s language; since they understood each other’s language, they helped each other. [K1]

Generally, incorporation-like phenomena are not characteristic of Yukaghir, and the status of these cases within its grammar remains unclear. It should be noted that neither a verb like **pøme+aŋs'i-* ‘lice-search’ nor one like **ažu+medī-* ‘language-understand’ exists in Yukaghir independently; these combinations are possible only in the context of the reciprocal. The form *n'e-pøme-aŋs'i-jejl'i* ‘we are looking for each other’s lice’ is found in the texts collected by

Jochelson (1900:47), but this is the only example of this type in his data. The grammaticality of this form was confirmed by my consultants in 1987 (see (435)). The second example is taken from a text written down by myself in 1992, but I have not managed to elicit any other instances of this phenomenon during my field work. It thus remains unclear whether there are strong lexical restrictions on this phenomenon, or if it is a rare (perhaps marginal), but free (with respect to the lexical items involved) type of reciprocal construction.

4.5.2.4. Lexicalization. Some combinations of the reciprocal marker and verb stem are apparently lexicalized, e.g., *n'e-mejnu-* 'to get married, to join' (from *mejnu-* 'to take something'), *n'e-lej-nu-l-ben* 'predator' (RECP-eat-IPFV-ATTR-RELNR), lit. 'one who eats each other'.

4.5.3. Functions of the Reflexive

The Reflexive marker *met-* (Jochelson 1905) ascribes the patient/theme role (implied by the meaning of the verb stem) to the agent/experiencer participant of the same situation.

- (436) a. *met joul'e-t met+emtedej-s'e.*
 [I be.ill-SS:IPFV] REFL-treat-INTR:1SG
 'I am ill and I am treating myself.' [F24]
- b. *ōžī jalhil-ge egie-delle*
 [water edge-LOC stand-SS:PFV]
met+juø-nu-j
 REFL : look-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 'She stopped near the river and was looking at herself.' [F5]

In some cases, the Reflexive marker is apparently lexicalized, e.g., *met+tadī-* 'surrender, give up' (*tadī-* 'give'), *met+moj-* 'control oneself, hold oneself' (*moj-* 'hold'). See also 6.4.4.2 for non-productive middle-like derivatives.

Chapter 7

Morphology of closed classes

1. Pronouns

1.1. Personal pronouns

The paradigm of personal pronouns is given in Table 17.

1.1.1. The case paradigm

Personal pronouns are inflected for case according to the general rules of nominal inflection, with only some minor differences:

1. The Instrumental case is not attested.³⁴
2. The first and second person pronouns have the Pronominal Accusative form (see 5.4.1.5, 9.1.1). The Nominative form of the third person pronouns has the same formal marking (-*l*) as the Pronominal Accusative.
3. For the third person pronouns, the Nominative and the Possessive forms are formally distinguished, while the first and second person pronouns are used as the Possessive modifiers in their Nominative form, i.e., like nouns (5.4.1.2, 8.2.1); see 1.1.2.

Table 17. Personal pronouns

	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	<i>met</i> 'I'	<i>tet</i> 'you (SG)'	<i>tude(l)</i> 'she, he, it'
Plural	<i>mit</i> 'we'	<i>tit</i> 'you (PL)'	<i>titte(l)</i> 'they'

Table 18. Inflectional paradigm of personal pronouns

	1SG	2PL	3SG
Nominative	<i>met</i>	<i>tit</i>	<i>tude-l</i>
Predicative	<i>met-ek</i>	<i>tit-ek</i>	
Pronominal Accusative	<i>met-ul</i>	<i>tit-ul</i>	
Accusative	<i>met-kele</i>	<i>tit-kele</i>	<i>tude-gele</i>
Dative	<i>met-in</i>	<i>tit-in</i>	<i>tud-in</i>
Locative	<i>met-ke</i>	<i>tit-ke</i>	<i>tude-ge</i>
Ablative	<i>met-ket</i>	<i>tit-ket</i>	<i>tude-get</i>
Prolative	<i>met-ken</i>	<i>tit-ken</i>	<i>tude-gen</i>
Comitative	<i>met-n'e</i>	<i>tit-n'e</i>	<i>tude-n'e</i>
Possessive	<i>met</i>	<i>tit</i>	<i>tude</i>
Free Possessive	<i>met-l'e</i>	<i>tit-l'e</i>	<i>tude-l'e</i>
Intensified	<i>met-id'ie</i>	<i>tit-id'ie</i>	<i>tud-id'ie</i>

4. The personal pronouns have two special forms, absent from the nominal paradigm:

- Free Possessive form ('mine', 'yours', etc.); see 1.1.3
- Intensified form ('self'); see 1.1.4.

5. The third person pronouns belong to the class of Anaphoric noun phrases, i.e., they do not attach the Predicative marker and take the Nominative form in the predicative function and in the Focus position (see 5.4.1.1, 5.3.1.2).

Table 18 gives illustrative paradigms for the 1SG, 2PL, and 3SG pronouns. The inflection of the other three pronouns is completely analogous.

1.1.2. The Possessive form

The Possessive form is used for possessive modifiers. The Possessive third person pronoun can be used only reflexively, that is, when the Possessor is coreferential with the subject of the clause (437a)-(437b); otherwise, the morphological Possessive marking is used (see 5.2). The first and second person pronouns are used in both environments (437c)-(437d).

- (437) a. *tāt tiŋ paj tude pulut-ket*
 CA this woman her husband-ABL
jowles'-u-m <...>
 ask-0-TR:3SG
 'Then the woman asked her husband ...'
- b. *titte čobine-pul-gele titte čomō-j čohojo-pul-gele*
 their lance-PL-ACC their big-ATTR knife-PL-ACC
mil-l'el-ŋā
 take-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They have taken their lances and their large knives
 (with them).' [F21]
- c. *met uŋr-pe el+juŋ-met?*
 my child-PL NEG-see-TR:2PL
 'Haven't you seen my children?' [F12]
- d. *tet terike tet numø-ŋin kŋu-de-j-k*
 your wife your house-DAT go-CAUS-PFV-IMP:2SG
 'Bring your wife to your house.' [F15]

The Possessive forms of third person pronouns (i.e., their bare stems) are also used as arguments of postpositions (see Section 3 and 8.5.1); see also 14.1.1.2, 14.1.2.

1.1.3. The Free Possessive form

The Free Possessive form is built by means of the substantivizer *-l'e* (see 2.2 for another use of this morpheme). This form is used to refer to the set of somebody's belongings, rather than to any particular entity from this set. Normally, it involves the focus of contrast on the Possessor; for instance, the sentence in (438c) contrasts with the preceding piece of discourse describing how stockings of other people used to disappear.

- (438) a. *qoqs'i-n'e-l-ben-pe-ŋin*
 hoof-PRPR-ANR-RELNR-PL-DAT
ud'il'-n'e-l-ben-pe-ŋin
 nail-PRPR-ANR-RELNR-DAT

- šašqul-n'e-l-ben-pe-ηin* *omos'*
 claw-PRPR-ANR-RELN-PL-DAT [[well
eg-uji-t *ejre-din* *titte-l'e*
 stand-IPFV-SS:IPFV] walk-SUP] their-NR
ūjī-nu-l'el-u-m
 work-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'For those having hooves, nails and claws, he made
 everything for them to walk around well.' [F3]
- b. *qojdid'āje-pul* *qoj-n+numø-pe-gele* *čumu*
 priest-PL god-ATTR+house-PL-ACC all
sovetskej-pe *titte-l'e+ηōn* *min-ηā*
 Soviet-PL their-NR+TRNSF take-3PL:TR
 'The priests' (houses), the churches, the Soviets took
 everything for themselves (as their own). [K4]
- c. *id'ī* *tude-l'e*³⁵ *murdū* *el'ed'ō-l'el-u-m*
 now his-NR stocking disappear-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'Now one of HIS stockings has disappeared.' [F31]

The Free Possessive form occurs very rarely and can be assumed to be practically obsolete.

1.1.4. The Intensified form

The Intensified form is built by attaching the postpositional morpheme *id'ie* to the pronominal stem. The form is used instead of the Nominative case form in order to emphasize the identity of the participant, either in contrast to other possible candidates for this role (439a), or to stress that the action is carried out by this participant alone (439b); in (439c), both factors are present.

- (439) a. *tet-id'ie* *lek-telle* *me+kimdān'e-jek*
 [you-INTS eat-SS:PFV] AFF+deceive-INTR:2SG
 'Having eaten (it) yourself, you are now lying.' [F13]
- b. *mit-id'ie* *pon'ō-jāl'ī*
 we-INTS remain-INTR:1PL
 'We remained alone.'

- c. *kudede-me* *čūl-gele* *tud-id'ie ahī*
 [kill-ATTR:1SG] meat-ACC she-INTS in.secret
lej-nu-m
 eat-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'She has secretly eaten the meat (=elk) that I have
 killed on her own.' [F48]

Nowadays, the Intensified form of personal pronouns is often created by means of the Russian loanword *sam* 'self'. The resulting form of the third person singular is either *tude+sam* (440c) or *tut-sam* 'he himself' (440d).

- (440) a. *tay ažū-gele kin joq-to-t* *čobul*
 that word-ACC who achieve-CAUS-FUT(ITR) sea
pugedan'd'e-ŋin tit+sam nuŋ-ŋi-k!
 king-DAT you(PL)+self find-PL-IMP:2
 'Who will bring this message to the king of the sea,
 decide it yourself (without me).' [T1]
- b. *met+sam met+šørile-š-te-je*
 I+self REFL-paint-CAUS-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I myself will paint myself.' [F5]
- c. *urun-ge abudā-š-u-m mit-kele tude+sam*
 bed-LOC lie-CAUS-0-TR:3SG we-ACC | he+self
lebie-ge, pol budie abudā-j
 earth-LOC floor on lie-INTR-3SG
 'He laid us on the bed, while he himself slept on the
 floor.' [I]
- d. *tut+sam titte-gele aŋs'ī-t nuk-telle*
 [he+self they-ACC search-SS:IPFV] [find-SS:PFV]
kude-s'ī-nu-l'el-u-m
 kill-ITER-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'He himself used to search, find and kill them.' [F50]

Table 19. Demonstrative pro-forms and their Interrogative counterparts

	Proximal	Separated	Distal (invisible)	Interrogative
Attributive	<i>tiŋ</i> 'this'	<i>adiŋ ~ ediŋ</i> 'that'	<i>taŋ</i> 'that'	<i>qadi</i> 'which?'
Nominal	<i>tuŋ ~ tuwen</i>	<i>aduŋ</i>	<i>tawun</i>	<i>qadōn-</i>
Locative	<i>tī</i> 'here'	<i>adā</i> 'there'	<i>tā</i> 'there'	<i>qo-n</i> 'where?'
Prolative		<i>adā-n</i> 'there along'		
Ablative	<i>tī-t</i> 'from here'	<i>adā-t</i> 'from there'	<i>tā-t</i> 'from there'	<i>qo-t</i> 'from where?'
Directional	<i>ti-ŋide</i> 'hither'	<i>ada-ŋide ~ adi-ŋide</i> 'thither'	<i>tā-ŋide</i> 'thither'	<i>qa-ŋide?</i> 'whither?'
Qualitative	<i>tāt-mie</i> 'like this'		<i>tāt-mie</i> 'like that, such'	<i>qodi-mie</i> 'what?'
Temporal	<i>tī-ne</i> 'recently'	<i>tudā</i> 'earlier'	<i>tā-ne</i> 'long ago'	<i>qanin</i> 'when?'

1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

1.2.1. Demonstrative pro-forms and their Interrogative counterparts

There are three demonstrative stems (Krejnovich 1982:155; 237):

- (441) *tī-* proximate demonstratives ('this, the nearest')
adā- separated demonstrative ('this, that there')
tā distal (invisible) demonstrative ('that; such')

and the interrogative stem *qo-* ~ *qa-* ('which?'). The demonstrative and interrogative stems show some (although not absolute) parallelism in derivation of their attributive, nominal, spatial, qualitative, and temporal forms. These forms are given in Table 19. This subsection describes only the morphology and syntactic functions of various forms. For functional distinctions between the demonstrative series, see 1.2.2. The Interrogatives are described in 1.3. See also 1.2.2.1-1.2.2.2 for complex forms associated with

particular discourse functions (examples (458), (462)).

1.2.1.1. The Attributive demonstratives are normally used as determiners:

- (442) a. *kin-tek tin mino-le ejre-t-u-l?*
 who-PRED this raft-INSTR walk-FUT-0-SF
 'Who will sail on this raft?' [F9]
- b. *tet-in pas'be edin jodolben jolo-hude*
 you-DAT thank [this package back-DIR
kes'v-l-ol
 bring-0-RNR]
 'Thank you for having brought this package
 back.' [F32]
- c. *tudel jobi modo-l'el tan pulut*
 he in.forest sit-INFR(3SG) that old.man
 'He lived in the forest, that old man.' [F3]

In some cases, although very rarely, they are used as NPs, instead of the respective nominal forms (pronouns):

- (443) a. *tabun-get tudel edin-gele cumut*
 that-ABL he this-ACC all
lejte-l'el-u-m omos'
 learn-INFR-0-TR:3SG well
 'From that one, he learned all these things well.' [F31]
- b. *tan-gele n'elbet-telle n'e-leme-de-jle*
 [that-ACC skin-SS:PFV] [NEG-what-POSS-ACC
el+min+cuon numo+lan-in kebe-j-l'el
 NEG-take-PRV] house-AD-DIR go-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 'Having skinned that one, without taking any part of
 it, he went home.' [F34]

The demonstrative *tan* in the Plural form is used to express associative plural meaning ('X and those associated with X'). This construction is most common with kinship terms (444a)-(444b) and proper names (444c).

- (444) a. *emej+taŋ-pe ejuke l'e-ŋi*
 mother-that-PL not:far be-3PL:INTR
 'The mother and the others were not far away.' [K5]
- b. *taŋnigi met met čāčā+ taŋ-pe-ge*
 CA I my elder.brother+that-PL-LOC
modo-je kis'ie-t
 sit-INTR:1SG [study-SS:IPFV]
 'At that time, I lived in my elder brother's family,
 studying.' [K2]
- c. *juke jaqa-l-ō-pe-de jolāt qristos+taŋ-pe*
 [far arrive-0-RNR-PL-POSS after] Christ+that-PL
kebe-j-ŋi
 go-PFV-3PL:INTR
 'After they had gone far away, Christ and his people
 left.' [F9]

1.2.1.2. The nominal demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns) are used as noun phrases, referring to both inanimate (445) and animate (446) entities.

- (445) a. *tet gon num-mek tuøŋ?*
 you where find-TR:2SG this
 'Where have you found it?' [F51]
- b. *met aduøŋ nugu-t!*
 I this find-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'I will find it!' [F31]
- (446) a. *godit tuøŋ āj me+čāharn'e?*
 why this CP AFF+bc.fastidious(ITR:3SG)
 'Why is she being fastidious again?' [F23]
- b. *tabun n'ū-gi tebegej*
 that name-POSS T.
 'That one, his name was Tebegej.' [F28]

The Nominal demonstratives are inflected for Number and Case in the standard way (see 5.1). For specific syntactic and discourse uses of the Nominal demonstratives, see 1.2.2.

1.2.1.3. The interrogative Nominal *qadōn* is used only in the Local case forms or in combination with postpositions. Thus, it serves as an alternative for the Locative (adverbial) Interrogatives:

- (447) a. *pulun-die, qo-t kel-u-k?*
 old.man-DIM where-ABL come-0-ITR:2SG
 ‘Old man, where have you come from?’ [F20]
- b. *qadōn-get kie-s’ek?*
 what-ABL come-INTR:2SG
 ‘Where have you come from?’

1.2.1.4. The adverbial Locative paradigm (Locative – Ablative – Prolative – Directional; see 4.2.2) is fully preserved only for the Separated Demonstrative (448); otherwise, one form is used for both Locative (Essive) and Prolative meanings (449).

- (448) a. *adā anil-ek mid’-u-l*
 there fish-PRED take-0-OF:1PL
 ‘We took some fish there (from a storage).’
- b. *tiy otturk’øl’-pe-gen adā-n qon-d’uon-pe*
 this O.-PL-PROL there-PROL go-SBNR-PL
ō-d’ū’i
 COP-INTR:1PL
 ‘We were going along the Otturkol places, there.’
- (449) a. *irk-id’e tā ejre-t titte šoromo*
 [one-ITER there walk-SS:IPFV] their person
šohu-šā-ηile
 get.lost-CAUS-3PL:OF
 ‘Once they walked there and lost one of their people.’ [F9]
- b. *tā tet terike l’e-j*
 there your wife be-INTR:3SG
 ‘Your wife lives there.’

1.2.1.5. The Qualitative forms in *-mie-* belong to the class of qualitative verbs (see 4.3.2 for the properties of qualitative verbs, 6.3.6.4.2 for other qualitative verbs derived by means of the same

suffix). The examples in (450) illustrate the verb-like morphological and syntactic behavior of these forms.

- (450) a. *alhudō-l lebie unuḡ-pe-gi čumut*
 low-ANR earth river-PL-POSS all
tāt-mie-l'el-ḡi
 that-QLT-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'All rivers on the Lower Earth are reported to be like that.' [F31]
- b. *godī-mie-d'e šāšet tāt-mie-te-je tiḡ*
 [which-QLT-INTR:1SG now] that-QLT-FUT-1SG this
lebie-ge kewe-j-l laḡ-in
 earth-LOC [go-PFV-ANR AD-DIR]
 'I will stay the same as I am now till I leave this earth.' [K4]
- c. *tīt-mie-d'uod-ek kej-te-l*
 this-QLT-SBNR-PRED give-FUT-OF:1PL |
tāt-mie-d'uod-ek kej-te-l
 that-QLT-SBNR-PRED give-FUT-OF:1PL
 'We will give you this sort of things, we will give you that sort of things.' [K1]

However, there is one important exception: as noun modifiers, these forms occur both in the verbal Attributive form (451) and in the unmarked form (452). In this sense, they can be taken to belong to the small group of putative adjectives described in 4.3.4.

- (451) a. *godī-mie-d'e+ere šoromo met jukō-l*
 [which-QLT-ATTR-INDF person my small-ANR
čāčā-gele pude kudde-lle
 elder.brother-ACC outside kill-SS:PFV]
peššej-l'el-u-m
 throw:PFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'Someone killed the youngest of my elder brothers outside and threw him away.'
- b. *tāt-mie-j šoromo tī el+l'e-nu-ḡi*
 that-QLT-ATTR person here NEG+be-IPFV-3PL:INTR

‘People like that do not live here.’ [F31]

- (452) a. *irk-in tāt-mie emil-ge mend’e-lek jaqa-l*
 one-ATTR that-QLT night-LOC news-PRED arrive-SF
 ‘Once, during such a night, some news came.’ [F3]
- b. *qodi-mie šoromo-k?*
 which-QLT person-PRED?
 ‘What (kind of) person (is he)?’

1.2.1.6. The Temporal Demonstrative forms refer either to the absolute time of the event (453) or to the temporal distance between two events (454). The form *tāne* is obsolete, and the respective meaning (‘long ago’) is commonly rendered by the form *tudā* (453b).

- (453) a. *tīne tet ibil’-ōl-get ediŋ nodo-pe āj*
 [recently you cry-RNR-ABL] this bird-PL CP
kel-ŋi
 come-3PL:INTR
 ‘These birds have come again, because you have cried recently.’ [K5]
- b. *tudā čuøl’e-d+omnī parā-ge irk-in*
 that.time ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC one-ATTR
pō+ŋō-d’e uø+ŋō-d’e
 [orphan+STAT-ATTR] [child+STAT-ATTR]
šoromo-k l’e-l’el-u-l
 person-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
 ‘Long ago, in the time of the ancient people, there was one young orphan.’ [F2]
- (454) a. *tīne pulun-die kebe-j-de-ge čolhorā-die*
 [recently old.man-DIM go-PFV-3SG-DS] hare-DIM
tude epie-ŋin mon-i <...>
 his granny-DAT say-INTR:3SG
 ‘When the old man had left, the hare said to his granny ...’ [F14]

- b. *petr berbekin tudā qodo modo tāt*
 P. B. earlier how live(ITR:3SG) CA
modo-j
 live-INTR:3SG
 'Petr Berbekin was living like he had lived
 before.' [F31]

1.2.2. The functions of Demonstratives

1.2.2.1. The deictic function. The three Demonstrative series are distinguished in terms of the distance from the point of reference (in particular, visibility (Krejnovich 1982:235-237)) and in terms of the control and direct availability for the speaker.

The series in *tī-* refers to most proximate entities and/or locations which are directly available to the speaker (for example, something belonging to the speaker):

- (455) a. *tī-ŋide ejre-s'*
 here-DIR walk-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He has come here (= to me).'
- b. *tabun-ge tiŋ mino āj*
 that-LOC this raft make-TR:1PL
 'That is why we have made this raft.' [F9]

The series in *adā-* refers to entities and/or locations which are not taken to be remote (in particular, they can be visible for the speaker), but are not directly available and/or not under the speaker's control; such entities often belong or are nearer to the addressee or to a third person:

- (456) a. *ediŋ čilge met-in kej-k*
 that branch I-DAT give-IMP:2SG
 'Give me that branch there.' [F50]
- b. *kudede-ŋide ediŋ pušnina-gi čumu*
 [kill-SS:COND] that fur-POSS all
mid'-u-t
 take-0-FUT(TR:1SG)

‘If I kill him, I will take all of his furs.’ [F38]

Finally, the Distal series in *tā* refers to entities and/or locations which are considered remote and invisible to the speaker:

- (457) a. *taŋ mēmē qol+l’e?*
 that bear where+be(ITR:3SG)?
 ‘Where is that bear?’ [F17]
- b. *uø+ŋō-l-ōl-ŋin tā-ŋide met-ek*
 child-STAT-0-RNR-DAT there-DIR I-PRED
erd’ie-š-mele
 want-CAUS-OF:3SG
 ‘I want to return to the days of my youth.’ [F58]

The Locative demonstratives of the *tā*-series can be combined with the item *ejmi* ‘across, on the other side’ (see 3.1.5.2 on its use as a postposition; cf. also Krejnovich 1982:237). In contrast with the simple forms, such combinations can be used only in the deictic function:

- (458) a. *ejmi+tā-ŋide qon-delle iżulbe*
 [across-there-DIR go-SS:PFV] tiredness
køu-de-t-i
 go-CAUS-FUT-TR:1PL
 ‘Let us go there and have a rest.’ [F31]
- b. *ejmi+tā jaqa-ŋide palatka-ge*
 [across-there arrive-SS:COND] tent-LOC
jaqa-te-je
 arrive-FUT-INTR:1SG
 ‘If I reach that place there, I will be able to reach the tent.’

The nominal Demonstratives *tuøŋ* and *aduøŋ* can be used as deictic subjects of a cleft-like construction, whereby the deictic element is followed by a complete Focus-marking clause (see 12.2.3).

1.2.2.2. The anaphoric function. The demonstrative pronoun *tabun* is often used to pick up a previously mentioned entity. This is the only way to refer back to an inanimate entity (459); for ref-

erence to an animate entity, a personal pronoun can be used as well. Generally, the demonstrative (in contrast with a personal pronoun) involves a certain amount of contrast. In particular, it often refers to the entity introduced in the previous sentence as the grammatical Focus:

- (459) a. *taŋ pulut nume-ŋin qon-delle tude*
 [that old.man house-DAT go-SS:PFV] his
lunbuge-ge pukel'e-lek qot-te-mle tabun
 pot-LOC snow-PRED lie-CAUS-OF:3SG | [that
al'ā-de-ge n'e-leme oj-l'e.
 melt-3SG-DS] NEG-what NEG-be(3SG)
 'The old man went home and put some snow into his
 pot. When it had melted, there was nothing
 left.' [F28]
- b. *irk-id'e tā ejre-t titte šoromo*
 [one-ITER there walk-SS:IPFV] their person
šohu-šā-ŋile tabun aŋs'i-t
 get.lost-CAUS-OF:3SG | [that search-SS:IPFV]
ejre-t juš-l'el-ŋa <...>
 [walk-SS:IPFV] see-INFR-3PL:TR
 'Once they were travelling around and lost one of their
 people. Walking around in search of him, they saw
 ...' [F9]

Moreover, the demonstratives are strikingly more common in the grammatical Focus position than the personal pronouns (460); see 12.3.2.3 on the pronominal Focus.

- (460) *čuge-ge qon-u-t nūbe-lek*
 [road-LOC go-0-SS:IPFV] vegetable.root-PRED
ijer-te-mle tabud-ek qon-te-mle
 pit-CAUS-OF:3SG | that-PRED go-CAUS-OF:3SG
 'She had been going along the road and had dug out
 some vegetable roots. That was what she
 brought.' [F48]

The other Nominal demonstratives are impossible in this function.

The Attributive demonstrative *taŋ* (or, much more rarely, *tiŋ*) can be used as a determiner when the noun phrase refers to an aforementioned entity:

- (461) a. *taŋ pajpe ataq-un uø-n'e-l'el*
 that woman two-ATTR child-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'That woman had two children.' [F7]
- b. *tiŋ qaŋis'e-pul qaŋi-nu-t*
 [this hunter-PL pursue-IPFV-SS:IPFV]
el+šar-nu-l'el-ŋi
 NEG+cover-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'These hunters were pursuing it, but not catching up.' [F34]

In addition, there is a complex Attributive form *tin+taŋ* 'that' (Krejnovich 1982:237), which can be used only to refer back to an aforementioned entity, i.e., this form resolves the ambiguity between deictic and anaphoric interpretations of the Attributive demonstratives:

- (462) a. *tintaŋ ataq-un pajpe-d+uør-pe pude*
 that two-ATTR woman-ATTR+child-PL outside
puguže-j-ŋi
 run.out-PFV-3PL:INTR
 'Those two girls ran out (from the house).' [F14]
- b. *tintaŋ terike čaj-le ōže-š-u-m*
 that old.woman tea-INSTR dring-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'That old woman gave (him) some tea.' [F19]

Krejnovich (1982:237) suggests that this form represents the frozen combination of the Attributive demonstratives *tiŋ* 'this' and *taŋ* 'that'. In addition to this form, he cites a nominal complex form *tin-tamun*, which is not attested in my corpus.

1.2.2.3. The resumptive function. The Nominal demonstratives are often used to refer to an aforementioned event as a whole; this function is particularly typical for the demonstrative *tabun* ~ *tamun*, yet *tuøŋ* is also possible (see also 14.2.1.2):

- (463) a. *unuŋ-gen tā irk-in mieste-gen*
 river-PROL there one-ATTR place-PROL
gon-ŋi-te-j tuŋn čejli-s' ell'e
 go-3PL-FUT-INTR | this long-INTR:3SG DP
 'They will go along the river, there, through another
 place, but it takes a long time.'
- b. *tabun jolāt tut+sam pukel'e-ge mere-j-l'el*
 that after she-self snow-LOC fly-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 'After that, she fell into the snow herself.' [F18]

The demonstrative pro-forms can also be used as main clause correlates for correlative subordinate clauses (see 13.5.3).

1.2.2.4. Discourse-linking function. The distal Demonstratives in *tā*, in particular the Ablative form *tāt* and the Local forms of the Nominal demonstrative *tabun*, serve as a very general device linking a clause to the preceding discourse (see 14.2.1.2, 14.3). In this function, these forms can be glossed as 'then, so, thus, that is why', etc.; the form *tāt* serves as most semantically vague connective adverbial (it is therefore represented as CA in the interlinear glosses.)

- (464) *mie-nu-lle mie-nu-lle tāt*
 [wait-IPFV-SS:PFV] [wait-IPFV-SS:PFV] [CA
el+leŋ-de+čuŋn taŋ pajl numø-get tāt
 NEG+eat-DETR+PRV] that woman house-ABL CA
kebe-s' tāt gon-u-t juø-de-ge
 go-PFV:INTR:3SG | [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS]
omni čumu iŋžū-l'el-ŋi
 people all fell.asleep-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'He waited and waited, and then he went away from
 the house of that woman without having eaten
 anything. Then, while walking, he saw that all people
 had fallen asleep.' [F1]

1.2.3. The pronoun *pøŋ* ~ *pen* and the nominalizer *ben*

The pronoun *pøŋ* ~ *pen* can refer to the physical environment (with a meaning like ‘world’, ‘nature’, ‘environment’, etc.; see (465)-(466)), or to the physical condition of a person (467). The former meaning is most often evoked in descriptions of weather situations, seasonal changes, etc. (465); see also 9.2.2.2 for this clause pattern. However, a less conventionalized usage is possible as well (466) (for convenience, this word is glossed as ‘it’ in the interlinear translations).

- (465) a. *pøŋ pod'erqo-d-i*
 it day-PRPR:INCH-INTR:3SG
 ‘Day was breaking.’ [F23]
- b. *pøŋ pugelbe-s'*
 it be.warm:INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘It has become warmer.’ [F48]
- c. *pen nado+ŋōt gudie-l'el*
 it autumn-TRNSF become-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Autumn came.’
- (466) *mit emd'e tamun medī-t ped-ek*
 [our brother that hear-SS:IPFV] it-PRED
ijil'-ie-mele
 get.afraid-INGR-OF:3SG
 ‘Our brother heard this and became afraid (of everything around him).’ [K5]
- (467) a. *tudel pen-gi omo-s'*
 he it-POSS good-INTR:3SG
 ‘He felt good (healthy).’
- b. *met pøŋ omo-s'*
 my it good-INTR:3SG
 ‘I felt good.’ [K2]

Presumably, the nominalizer *-ben* (see 6.1.3.7, 1.4.6, 1.5.2) can be considered the bound (grammaticalized) form of *pøŋ* ~ *pen*.³⁶

1.3. Interrogative pro-forms

Most interrogative pro-forms are derived from the interrogative stem *qo-* ~ *qa-*. e.g., *qodo* 'how', *qodi-t* 'why', *qamun* 'how many' (for more interrogatives, see Table 19); there are three other interrogative words, two interrogative pronouns, *kin* 'who, whose' and *leme* ~ *neme* 'what, who', and the Interrogative adverbial *noyon* 'what for'. The Interrogative pronouns have the regular non-Possessive nominal paradigm (as described in 5.1), but formally slightly different predicative forms, *kin-tek* and *lem-dik* ~ *nem-dik* respectively (Krejnovich 1982:234-235):

(468) a. *kin-tek jaqte-l?*

who-PRED sing-SF

'Who is singing?' [F13]

b. *tet lem-dik iḡī-me lebie budie?*

you what-PRED be.afraid.of-OF:2SG earth SUPER

'What are you afraid of on the earth?' [F31]

The Interrogatives are used in direct and indirect questions (13.2.2, 13.5.2) and in correlative subordinate clauses (see 13.5.3).

The Locative Interrogative *qon* 'where' and the Manner interrogative *qodo* 'how' can form phonological complexes with the existential verb *l'e* 'be': *qol+l'e-* 'Where is/was?' (see 13.2.2.1), *qodo+l'e-* 'How is/was?' (see 13.2.2.2). The latter combines also with the verb *ā-* 'make': *qod-ā-* 'What/how did (A) behave with respect to (O)?' (see 13.2.2.2 for examples).

1.4. Indefinite Pronouns

There are three types of indefinite pro-forms based on the Interrogatives: ordinary indefinite pronouns (1.4.1), negative quantifiers (1.4.2) and free-choice pronouns (1.4.3) and three non-derived indefinite pronouns, *šār* 'something' (1.4.4) *īle* 'some (of)' (1.4.5) and *jēn* '(an)other' (1.4.6).

1.4.1. Ordinary indefinite pro-forms

These forms are derived by means of the markers *+ere* or *-de* and generally correspond to the English *some* series:

- (469) a. *tāt qadun-get+ere āj kel-u-nu-l'el*
 CA what-ABL+INDF CP come-0-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
bojs'e amun iŋd'ī+ŋōt gude-delle
 [completely bone vein+TRNSF become-SS:PFV]
 'Then he came again from somewhere, having grown
 very thin (lit. bones and veins).' [F1]
- b. *ørđ'ōl lebie end'ōn-gi polde-gi qodo-de*
 middle earth animal-POSS save-POSS how-INDF
nado+ŋō-j
 necessary+STAT-INTR:3SG
 'It is necessary to save the animals living on the
 Middle Earth somehow.' [F9]

The Interrogative pronoun *leme* ~ *neme* can function as an indefinite pronoun 'something, somebody' without any additional marking:

- (470) *nume-pe-de jien-de-get neme*
 house-PL-POSS:ATTR other-POSS-ABL somebody
ejrie-l'el
 walk-INFR(3SG)
 'Somebody was walking between their house and the
 other ones.'

1.4.2. Negative pro-forms

Negative pronouns are derived from Interrogatives by means of the prefix *n'e*. The only exception is the negative pronoun *niłgi* 'nobody' (i.e., the negative counterpart of *kin* 'who'), see (471c).

- (471) a. *juø-t juø-t n'e-qodo*
 [see-SS:IPFV] [see-SS:IPFV] NEG-how
n'e-leme-le el+juø
 NEG-what-INSTR NEG+see(NEG:3SG)
 'He kept on looking, but could not see anything at

all.' [F23]

- b. *tāt n'e-qanin el+ibil'ie-nunnu-j id'ī*
 CA NEG-when NEG+cry-HAB-INTR:3SG now
 'Since that time, he never cries.' [K5]
- c. *šoromo-le nilgi el+leg-u-t*
 person-INSTR nobody NEG+eat-FUT(TR:3SG)
 'Nobody will eat human beings.' [F9]

See 13.4.2 for the use of these forms.

1.4.3. Free-choice indefinite pronouns

Finally, there is a Russian-like means to derive free-choice indefinite pronouns, namely, the morpheme *koš* ~ *kuš* (from Russian *hot* 'at least, if only') can be prefixed to an Interrogative pronoun, possibly in combination either with the negative prefix or with the marker of indefiniteness:

- (472) a. *kuš-kin-de mīl-l'el-de-jne*
 [any-who-INDF take-INFR-3SG-DS:COND]
m+et+ed'-ie-je
 AFF+IRRL+alive-INGR-INTR:1SG
 'If anybody had taken me with them, I would have returned to life.' [F31]
- b. *kuš-leme nado*
 any-what necessary
 'At least something is needed (whatever it may be).' [F36]
- c. *al'-de-gen ejre-l kie-s'e gon-d'e*
 near-POSS-PROL [walk-ANR] [come-ATTR] [go-ATTR]
šoromo čumut kuš-n'e-leme taŋ šāl-ge
 person all any-NEG-what that tree-LOC
larqu-de miebe-ge pøn'ī-nu-ŋā
 root-POSS:ATTR base-LOC leave-IPFV-3PL:TR
 'All people who were passing by, coming and going nearby, used to put at least one thing near the roots of that tree.' [F37]

The derivatives with *kuš* seem to have arisen recently, hence the rather flexible morphological pattern.

1.4.4. The Indefinite pronoun *šār* ‘something’

The Indefinite pronoun *šār* means either ‘something’ (more rarely, ‘somebody’) (473), or, if used as a modifier, ‘some (of), any’ (474).

- (473) a. *unu-d+ørd'ōge* *šār*
 river-ATTR+middle-LOC something
šašaha-s'
 burst-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘Something has burst in the middle of the river’ [F37]
- b. *juø-de-ge* *pud-de-ge* *šār-ek*
 [see-3SG-DS] on-POSS-LOC somebody-PRED
im-ō-l
 sit-RES-SF
 ‘He saw that somebody was sitting on its (elk’ s) back.
 [F34]
- (474) a. *šār* *leg-u-te-l-ben* *num-mek?*
 something eat-0-FUT-ANR-RELNR find-TR:2SG
 ‘Have you found something to eat?’ [F33]
- b. *šār* *pušnina* *šaqał'e-š-telle* *mit-in*
 [something fur gather-CAUS-SS:PFV] we-DAT
kud-ie-ŋi-k *kes'i-ŋi-k*
 lie-RES:CAUS-PL-IMP:2 bring-PL-IMP:2
 ‘Gather some furs, leave them for us and bring
 them.’ [K1]

1.4.5. The Indefinite pronoun *īle* ‘some’

The Indefinite pronoun *īle* ‘some’ can be used either as a modifier (475) or as an independent noun phrase (476). In the latter function, it has a meaning like ‘some of them’ or ‘others’ (in this case, it often contrasts with a previously introduced noun phrase containing the same pronoun as a modifier; see (477)). If used as a

noun phrase, the pronoun takes the nominal inflection and occurs most often in the Plural form.

- (475) a. *īle end'ōn-ŋin noj-pe-gi ūj-mele*
 some animal-DAT leg-PL-POSS work-OF:3SG
er-čōn-get šejre-pe-din palā-din
 [bad-SBNR-ABL run.away-PL-SUP] [save.oneself-SUP]
 'Some animals he endowed with legs, for them to run
 away from bad things, to escape.' [F9]
- b. *tabun medī-t īle uør-pe āj*
 [that hear-SS:IPFV] some child-PL CP
īŋl-ā-ŋi
 be.afraid-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'Some children heard this and got afraid too.'
- (476) a. *īle-pul-ŋin omo-s'e pierī-k ā-delle*
 some-PL-DAT good-ATTR wing-PRED [make-SS:PFV]
tadī-mele mer-uj-pe-din
 give-OF:3SG [fly-IPFV-PL-SUP]
 'He endowed some other (animals) with good wings,
 for them to fly.' [F9]
- b. *tude ās'e-pul-gele īle-p-te-jle omos' adi*
 her deer-PL-ACC some-PL-POSS-ACC very firmly
ulte-s'-l'el-u-m at-če mieste-ge
 tie-ITER-INFR-0-TR:SG [firm-ATTR] place-LOC
 'Her deer, she tied some of them firmly to a strong
 place.' [K3]
- (477) *īle end'ōd-e šoromo-ŋin tadī-ŋā*
 some animal-INSTR person-DAT give-3PL:TR |
īle-pul-gele al'-pe-de-ge modo-ŋā
 some-PL-ACC near-PL-POSS-LOC let.live-3PL:TR
 'They gave some animals to human beings and settled
 others near themselves.' [F9]

The pronoun has the adverbial form *īlemede* 'sometimes':

- (478) *īle-mede taŋ pulut n'ied'i-nnu-l'el*
 some-ADV that old.man speak-HAB-INFR(3SG)
 'Sometimes that old man told stories.' [K4]

1.4.6. The Indefinite modifier *jēn* '(an)other'

The modifier *jēn* '(an)other' has always the indefinite meaning (i.e., it cannot mean 'the other'):³⁷

- (479) a. *šašet čuyže ejre-š-u-t juø-l-u-ge*
 [now thought walk-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] [see-1|2-0-DS]
jēn šoromo-p-lek taŋ mit lebie-gen
 other person-PL-PRED that our land-PROL
ejre-ŋi-l
 walk-3PL-SF
 'Now, I think and can see that other people inhabit
 our land.' [K3]
- b. *tā jēn ani-pe-ŋin jēn oži-pe-ge*
 there other fish-PL-DAT [other water-PL-LOC
ed'-u-l ani-pe-ŋin mon-ŋi-te-j <...>
 live-0-ANR] fish-PL-DAT say-3PL-FUT-INTR
 'There they will say to other fishes, to fishes living in
 other waters: ...' [T1]

The substantivized form of this pronoun is derived by means of the suffix *-ben* (see 1.2.3):

- (480) a. *met tet-in jēn-bed-ek kej-te-me*
 I you-DAT other-RELNR-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I will give you something else.' [F42]
- b. *met-ket jēn-ben-pe-ge jaqa-te-jek*
 I-ABL other-RELNR-PL-LOC arrive-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'You will go from me to other people.' [F31]

This pronoun can be used in combination with the Ablative NP to render a meaning like 'else than, but':

- (481) a. *tude uør-pe-get tude šoromo-n'-u-l-pe-get*
 his child-PL-ABL his person-PRPR-0-ANR-PL-ABL
jēn šoromo-pul-n'e čomo-hote
 other person-PL-COM big-SUPERL
el+ann'ā-nunnu
 NEG+speak-HAB(NEG:3SG)
 'Except for his children and his relatives, he never
 spoke haughtily with other people.' [K4]
- b. *taŋ parā-ge mino ā-l-ben-pe-get*
 that time-LOC [[raft make-ANR-RELNR-PL-ABL]
jien-ben-pe ørd'-ō-l lebie-gele
 other-RELNR-PL [middle-VR-ANR] earth-ACC
juø-t ejre-ŋi
 see-SS:IPFV] walk-3PL:INTR
 'At that time those who were not building the raft were
 walking around and looking at the Middle Earth.' [F9]

There is a directional form in *-ŋide ~ -gude*, with the meaning 'to somewhere else, in another direction':

- (482) a. *tiŋ lebie-get jēdu-ŋide gon-te-t-u-m*
 this land-ABL other-DIR go-CAUS-FUT-0-TR:3SG
 'He will bring (me) from this land to another
 place.' [F34]
- b. *mino ejmunde end'ōn-n'e-t jēdu-gude*
 raft half animal-PRPR-SS:IPFV other-DIR
kebe-s'
 go-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'The half of the raft with the animals on it went in
 another direction.' [F9]

1.5. Universal quantifiers

1.5.1. The universal pronoun *čumu(t)* 'all, whole, everything'

This universal pronoun has two forms, *čumut* and *čumu*. Basically, the first form is used for quantification of primary participants (483), the second, otherwise (484) (Krejnovich 1982:262-263).

- (483) a. *čumut terike-l-l'el-ŋi*
 all wife-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'All (of them) were married.' [F21]
- b. *oqil'l'ā-gele ani-pe čumut ažū-de-jle*
 perch-ACC fish-PL all word-POSS-ACC
medī-ŋā
 listen-3PL:TR
 'All the fishes listened to Perch's words.' [F10]
- (484) a. *jolo-hude n'ās'ede-j-delle ahul-pe-de-jle*
 [back-DIR return-PFV-SS:PFV] assistant-PL-POSS-ACC
čumu el'ed'ie-š-u-m
 all disappear-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'He_i returned and destroyed all his_j assistants.' [F44]
- b. *tabun-pe-ŋin čumu podarok ā-delle*
 that-PL-DAT all gift:PRED [make-SS:PFV]
tadī-mele
 give-OF:3SG
 'He made presents and gave them to all of them.' [F3]

The universal quantifier cannot function as a noun modifier. It either serves as an autonomous pronoun, with the meaning 'everybody' or 'everything' (485), or is combined with the quantified noun phrase within one clause, thus forming a construction similar to quantifier floating (486).

- (485) a. *kereke-pul-gele čumut iŋī-l'el-ŋā*
 Koryak-PL-ACC all be.afraid-INFR-3PL:TR
 'Everybody was afraid of Koryaks.' [F50]
- b. *alhudō-l lebie n'an'u-l-ben-pe-gi čumu*
 be.low-ANR earth sinful-ANR-RELNR-PL-POSS all
titte la-ŋin min-ŋā
 their AD-DIR take-3PL:TR
 'The sinners from the Lower Earth have taken everybody and everything to their place.' [F9]

- (486) a. *odu-pe tudā čumut*
 Yukaghir-PL that.time all
n'e-lejdi-nunnu-l'el-ŋi
 RECP-know-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'In the past all Yukaghirs used to know each other.' [K1]
- b. *end'ōn-ŋin šoromo-ŋin tud-in*
 animal-DAT person-DAT [he-DAT
mon-ŋile-ben-gele čumu ūŋi-nu-m
 say-3PL:ATTR-RELNR-ACC] all work-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'For the animals and for the human beings, he made everything he was told to make.' [F3]

The form *čumu* can render the meaning 'whole':

- (487) *tintaŋ kenme-gi šoj-l-ō-d'e pejd'e*
 that partner-POSS [fry-0-RES-ATTR] armpit
gožidalbe mid'-u-m čumu leg-u-m
 shoulder.blade take-0-TR:3SG | all eat-0-TR:3SG
 'His partner took the fried shoulder blade and ate it whole.' [F42]

There is a new compound involving the component *čiste* ~ *čirte*, from Russian *čisto* 'clean', colloquial 'entirely'. The resulting combination *čiste+čumu* has roughly the same meaning as just *čumu*, yet somewhat intensified. The compound can take case markers.

- (488) a. *šāl-e šoromo-le ulege-le čistē+čumu*
 tree-INSTR person-INSTR grass-INSTR INTS+all
jaqte-rī-m
 sing-APPL-TR:3SG
 'She was singing about absolutely everything: trees, people, grass.' [F41]
- b. *nodo-get čistē+čumu-get čomō-l'el*
 bird-ABL INTS+all-ABL big-INFR(3SG)
 'It was the largest bird of all.' [F9]

1.5.2. The quantifier *mus'in* ~ *bučun* 'every'

This quantifier has the meaning 'every, various, any, every variety (of)'; a noun phrase containing this quantifier is often accompanied by the universal pronoun *čumu(t)*:

- (489) a. *bučun end'ōn pugil'-n'e-t-i*
 every animal lord-PRPR-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'Every animal will have a lord.' [F9]
- b. *juobī numø jeklie-n kewe-j-ηide*
 [in.forest house behind-PROL go-PFV-SS:COND]
bučun end'uon-gele gam-lō-t
 every animal-ACC [how.many-VR-SS:IPFV
nado+ηo-d'ōd-ek, čumu kečī-nu-m
 necessary-STAT-SBNR-PRED] all bring-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'When he went hunting, he brought every variety of
 animal, as many as it was necessary, everything.' [K4]
- c. *mučīn en'd'uon čumut l'e-j-bed-ek*
 every animal all be-ATTR-RELNR-PRED
 'There were all varieties of animals.'

The substantivized form of this pronoun is derived by means of the suffix *-ben* (see 1.2.3); it is used in the meaning 'everything, lots of various things':

- (490) a. *tā modo-din āj lejdi-gi bučīn-ben*
 [there live-SUP] CP know-POSS every-RELNR
nado+ηō-l'el
 necessary-STAT-INFR(3SG)
 'To live there, it is also necessary to know lots of
 different things.' [F31]
- b. *n'e-leme-die-le el+iηī-m*
 NEG-what-DIM-INSTR NEG+be-afraid+TR:3SG
bučīn-ben-gen ejre-t
 [every-RELNR-PROL walk-SS:IPFV]
 'He walked everywhere and was not afraid of
 anything.' [F31]

- c. *qoz'ain-get lebie-n+qoz'ain-get šoromo*
 [lord-ABL earth-ATTR+lord-ABL person
n'ienu-nd'ī-de-jne mus'in-ben-gele čumu
 ask-ITER-3SG-DS:COND] every-RELNR-ACC all
kej-nu-m
 give-IPFV-TR:3SG
 'When a human being asks the lord of the earth for
 various things, he gives him everything.' [F38]

2. Numerals

2.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are shown in (491) (cf. Krejnovich 1982:115).

(491)	Attributive form	Cardinal verb stem
1	<i>irk-in</i>	<i>irkie-</i>
2	<i>ataq-un</i>	<i>ataq-lō-</i>
3	<i>jā-n</i>	<i>ja-lō-</i>
4	<i>ilek-un</i>	<i>ilek-lō-</i>
5		<i>n'ahan-bō-</i>
6	<i>malha-n</i>	<i>malhijā-lō-</i>
7	<i>purki-n</i>	<i>purki-jō-</i>
8	<i>malhilek-un</i>	<i>malhilek-lō-</i>
9		<i>kunerkil'd'ō(l')-</i>
10	<i>kun'-in</i>	<i>kunel-ō-j</i>

The numeral stem for 'eight' is clearly morphologically complex: it comprises the element *malh-* (also present in the numeral for 'six') and the morpheme *ilek-* 'four'. This makes it possible to suggest that the numeral stem for 'six' might be analyzable into *malh-* and *jā-* 'three' (cf. the verbal stem). The stem for 'nine' can be traced back to some combination of *kun-* 'ten' and *irk-* 'one' (Krejnovich 1982:114-116).

The numeral for 'ten' has the nominal form *kun'il' ~ kun'el'*, which is often used instead of the Attributive form.

The cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 consist of '10' + '1, 2, 3, ...' + the postposition *budie* 'over, above', with certain morphological changes, e.g., *kun+irku-budie* 'eleven', *kun+ataqun+budie* 'twelve', *kun'il+jāl+budie* 'thirteen', etc. Yet such compounds are mostly replaced by the corresponding Russian numerals.

The cardinal numerals from 20 to 100 are built as the combination of the Attributive form of the respective simple numeral and the noun *kun'el'* 'ten', e.g., *ataq-un kun'el'* '20', *jā-n kun'el'* '30', *kun'-in+kun'el'* '100' etc. The number of hundreds is expressed by a postpositional phrase with *budie* (SUPER) following the numeral '100':

- (492) *odul-pe taŋ kun'-in+kun'-in*
 Yukaghir-PL that [ten-ATTR-ten-ATTR]
n'ahanbō-d'e budie šoromo+ŋō-t
 five-ATTR above people-STAT-SS:PFV]
irk-in mieste-ge madā-nu-l'el-ŋi
 one-ATTR place-LOC sit-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Five hundred Yukaghirs lived at one place.' [F50]

This construction is almost always replaced by a construction with the word *sto* or *isto*, from the Russian *sto* 'hundred', e.g., *jā-d-isto* ~ *jā-n+sto* '300'.

Other numerals between these are built as simple combinations of numerals for tens and the numerals from 1 to 9:

- (493) *tamun kunirkil'd'ōl'-d'e kun'il' kunirkil'd'ō-j*
 that [[nine-ATTR] ten nine-ATTR]
mēmē-k nugu-t jojlodaj-l'el-mele
 bear-PRED [find-SS:IPFV] caress-INFR-OF:3SG
 'That one has found and killed ninety nine bears.' [F4]

For cardinal verbs, see 2.1.2.

2.1.1. The Attributive form of cardinal numerals

The Attributive forms in *-n/-d* (see 3.3.1.2.5 for the conditions of this alternation) occur when a numeral is used as a noun modi-

fier. The numerals for ‘five’ and ‘nine’ do not have the noun-like Attributive form, hence the Attributive form of the respective cardinal verb is used in this function (494c). The numeral for ‘ten’ is commonly used attributively in the Nominative form (lacking for other numeral stems), (494d).

- (494) a. *met noḡōn ilek-un anil keḡde-m*
 I what.for four-ATTR fish spare-ITR:3SG
 ‘What have I spared these four fishes for!’ [F46]
- b. *qoḡl-get nienu-k jā-n pod’erqo*
 god-ABL ask-IMP:2SG three-ATTR day
gudel’e-din
 [prepare-SUP]
 ‘Ask God for three days for preparations.’ [F31]
- c. *šoromo-pul n’ahanbō-d’e šaqale-k kudede-lle*
 [person-PL [five-ATTR] fox-PRED kill-SS:PFV]
numø-ḡin kebe-j-ḡi
 house-DAT go-PFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘The men killed five foxes and went home.’ [F16]
- d. *mit+sam l’e-de-ge kun’el’ šoromo*
 we+self [be-3SG-DS] ten person
titi-mie-d’ū’i
 like-QLT-INTR:1PL
 ‘We ourselves, as it were, there were about ten of us.’

The numeral *irkin* ‘one’ is often used to mark indefiniteness (see also 5.4.1.3).

- (495) a. *irk-in pulun-die l’e-j*
 one-ATTR old.man-DIM be-INTR:3SG
 ‘There was an old man.’ [F15]
- b. *qon-u-t ejre-t irk-in jurgū-k*
 [go-0-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] one-ATTR hole-PRED
num-mele
 find-OF:3SG
 ‘She left and kept on going, and then she found a hole.’ [F4]

This form (*irkin*) can be substantivized by means of the suffix *-l'e-* (cf. also 1.1.3 for the use of this suffix with the Possessive personal pronouns), the resulting form serving as a pronoun 'one of (some group)':

- (496) a. *tāt irk-il-l'e mon-i* <...>
 CA one-ATTR-NR say-INTR:3SG
 'Then one (of them) said: ...' [F31]
- b. *met mašl'-uør-pe-get irk-il-l'e-p-ki*
 my girl-child-PL-ABL one-ATTR-NR-PL-POSS
min
 take(IMP:2SG)
 'Take one of my daughters.' [F14]

This form is not attested for other numerals. See 9.3.2.3 for use of this item in collective adverbials.

2.1.2. Cardinal verbs

Cardinal verbs can be used for predication of the number:

- (497) a. *tiŋ čomōlben kiek-ō-l noj-pe-gi*
 this elk [front-VR-ANR] leg-PL-POSS
ilek-lō-j
 four-VR-INTR:3SG
 'This elk had four front legs.' [F34]
- b. *lošija jā-n uø-n'e-l'el gin*
 L. three-ATTR child-PRPR-INFR(3SG) G.
ataq-lō-j
 two-VR-INTR:3SG
 'Loshija had three children, Gin, two.' [F21]

The Imperfective converb of cardinal verbs is used to specify the number of primary participants (in fact, this is the most frequent use of these verbs):

- (498) a. *jā-lō-t kewe-j-nun-d'il'i*
 [three-VR-SS:IPFV] go-PFV-HAB-INTR:1PL
 'The three of them used to go away.'

- b. *ataq-lō-t* *tāt modo-l'el-ŋi*
 [two-VR-SS:IPFV] CA sit-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'And so the two of them lived.' [F33]

The Action Nominal form of these verbs can be used if there is no lexical NP referring to objects being counted:

- (499) a. *irkie-l* *šažžu-m*
 one:VR-ANR catch-TR:3SG
 'He caught one.' [F34]
- b. *jān šoromo ataq-lō-l lūs'ī-pe-lek <...>*
 three person | two-VR-ANR Russian-PL-PRED
 'Three people, two of them were Russians ...' [F45]

Finally, the Attributive forms of the cardinal verbs can be used instead of the Attributive forms of the respective numerals. This usage entails a meaning like 'X each', or just some highlighting of an unusual quantity of some entities, that is, it stresses that some particular number of entities is associated with a single participant:

- (500) a. *taŋnut ataq-lō-d'e karas'-pe-k*
 then [two-VR-ATTR] crucian.carp-PL-PRED
leŋ-te-l
 eat-FUT-OF:1PL
 'Then we'll eat two crucians each.' [F26]
- b. *malhijā-lō-d'e noj-n'e-je čomōlben*
 [six-VR-ATTR] [leg-PRPR-ATTR] elk
 'an elk with six legs' [F34]

2.2. Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals are derived from the cardinal stems by means of the suffix *-(Ce)š-* followed by the Possessive marker, the variant *-š-* being attached to the verbal stems:

- (501) *ataq-leš-ki* 'the second one'
jāl-meš-ki 'the third one'
ilek-leš-ki 'the fourth one'
n'ahan'bō-š-ki 'the fifth one'
purkijō-š-ki 'the seventh one'

The only exception is the ordinal numeral 'the first', which is derived by means of the suffix *-l'e* from the adverb *anḡume-* 'from the beginning' > *anḡume-l'e* 'the first one'.

The forms listed in (501) are used as NPs; notably, the Diminutive suffix can be inserted before the Possessive marker:

- (502) a. *e, jāl-meš-tie-gi čuge-ge godō-l*
 DP three-ORD-DIM-POSS road-LOC lie-SF
 'Look, the third one is lying on the road.'
 b. *tāt ilek-leš-ki uke-s'*
 CA four-ORD-POSS come.out-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Then the fourth one came out.' [F16]

The Attributive forms of the ordinal numerals are built as the Possessive Attributive forms (see 5.5.1.2), that is, the Possessive marker *-gi* is replaced by *-de-*:

- (503) a. *tī ā-te-j ataq-leš-te aḡd'e*
 here make-FUT-TR:1PL two-ORD-POSS:ATTR eye
 'Now we'll make the second eye.' [F31]
 b. *irk-in kun'il' kuni-l'eš-te mēmē-k*
 one-ATTR ten ten-ORD-POSS:ATTR bear-PRED
nuk-te-me
 find-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I will find the hundredth bear' [F4]

The ordinal form can be also derived from the Interrogative *qamun* 'how many' (*qam-leš-te* 'which (in order)').

The meaning of 'second, third, etc. time' can be rendered either by the verbalized form of an ordinal numeral (504a), or, more rarely, just by means of the Locative case marking (504b).

- (504) a. *tāt ataq-leš-t-ō-l el+kel*
 CA two-ORD-POSS-VR-ANR NEG-come
 ‘Then he did not come a second time.’
- b. *tadī-de-ge āj moni, ataq-leš-te-ge*
 [give-3SG-DS] CP say-INTR:3SG two-ORD-POSS-LOC
 ‘When he gave, he said again, the second time.’ [F38]

2.3. Frequentative adverbials

The cardinal numerals, as well as the Interrogative *gam-un* ‘how many’ and the verb *ninge-* ‘be multiple’, derive Frequentative forms with the meaning ‘X times’ by means of the suffix *-(C)id’e*:

- (505) *gam-l’id’e* ‘how many times’
ninge-l’id’e ‘many times’
irk-id’e ‘once’
ataq-l’id’e ‘twice’
jāl-mid’e ‘three times’

Some examples:

- (506) a. *met palā-jōn ō-d’e er-čōn-get*
 I escape-SBNR COP-INTR:1SG bad-SBNR-ABL
ninge-l’id’e am-de-l-get āj
 many-FRQ die-PFV-ANR-ABL CP
 ‘I have escaped from bad things many times, even from death.’ [F31]
- b. *tāt eg-užu-l odu-pe irk-id’e*
 [CA walk-IPFV-ANR] Yukaghir-PL one-FRQ
ataq-l’id’e ejre-ŋi lučī-n+num∅
 two-FRQ walk-3PL:INTR Russian-ATTR
la-ŋin
 house+AD-DIR
 ‘The Yukaghirs that used to go there, went to the Russian house once or twice.’ [K1]

3. Postpositions

The morphology of postpositions is a mixture of the adverbial Local paradigm (see 4.2.2) and the nominal Possessive Locative sub-paradigm. The latter kind of forms are available only for some postpositions, presumably for grammaticalized nouns. They occur when a postposition is used independently, with an anaphorically dropped argument (see also 8.5.1). Some expected Locative forms are obsolete or non-existent (this concerns, in particular, the Prolative and the Directional forms).

This section contains an exhaustive exemplified list of the Yukaghir postpositions, comprising all attested forms. Postpositions with purely spatial meanings are discussed in 3.1, those which have both spatial and temporal meanings, in 3.2. The comparative postposition is described in 3.3.

Each subsection devoted to a spatial postposition is made up as a sort of dictionary entry. The heading contains a list of attested basic (=non-Possessive) forms in the following order: Locative (Essive) / Ablative / Prolative / Directional. If some form is absent, it is replaced by *.

The Possessive forms, if attested, are exemplified in sections introduced by the bullet ►. Lexicalized noun+postposition combinations are indicated by the bullet ◇, directional adverbials derived from postpositions, by ⇒, Reciprocal forms (9.3.2.2), by ●.

3.1. Spatial postpositions

3.1.1. AD-localization

al'ā / * / * / *al'-in* 'near'

(507) a. *køt-telle* *tude al'ā penī-m*
 [gather-SS:PFV] he AD put-TR:3SG
 'Having gathered (them), he put them nearby.' [F48]

b. *tiŋ paj touke-gi uømunu-t tude*
 [this woman dog-POSS make.up.to-SS:IPFV] she
al'ā čirčege-j
 AD jump-INTR:3SG

‘This woman’s dog is jumping near her, showing affection.’

- c. *taŋ tude čohoje min-delle tude āče al'-in*
 [that her knife take-SS:PFV] her deer AD-DIR
qol-l'el
 go-INFR(3SG)
 ‘She took that knife of hers and approached her deer.’

► *al'*-(POSS)-LOC ‘near’

- (508) *unuy jalhil-ge nolut al'-ge čomōlben irdie*
 river edge-LOC osier near-LOC [elk calf
emej noj-ge qodō-t juø-de-j
 mother foot-LOC lie-SS:IPFV] see-DETR-INTR:IPFV
 ‘On the shore of the river, near the osier, an elk calf is
 lying near its mother’ s feet and looking around.

- (509) a. *jowhodari-die al'-de-ge qodō-j*
 bag-DIM near-POSS-LOC lie-INTR:3SG
 ‘The bag is lying next to him.’ [F49]
 b. *šok-telle al'-de-gen qono-s'*
 [enter-SS:PFV] near-POSS-PROL go-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘He_i came in and passed him_j by.’ [F31]

► *al-d-in* ‘to, towards’

- (510) *qodo al'-d-in met jaqa-te-m?*
 how AD-POSS-DIR I arrive-FUT-ITR:1SG
 ‘How shall I approach him?’ [F56]

• *n'-al'-in* ‘to each other’ (see 9.3.2.2).

arqā / *arqā-t* / *arqā-n* / *arq-in* ‘near, at’

- (511) a. *titte arqā omnī ejūke oj-l'e-ŋi*
 they near people not:far NEG-be-3PL:INTR
 ‘There were no people living near them.’ [F22]
 b. *nuø-t tude qāqā arqā*
 [laugh-SS:IPFV] his grandfather near

jaqa-j

arrive-INTR:3SG

‘Laughing, he came close to his grandfather.’

- c. *čumut titte arq-in ejūke*
 all they-near near-DIR close
el+nuge-či-nnu-l'el-ŋi erg-t
 NEG-do-ITER-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR [shrink-SS:IPFV]
erie-t
 [hate-SS:IPFV]
 ‘All of them do not let him come close, they shrink
 away, hating him.’

- *ne+arqā* ‘near each other’ (see 9.3.2.2).

3.1.2. SUB-localization

*āl / ā-t / ā-n / ** ‘under’

- (512) a. *lebie-k irk-ie-l met āl*
 earth-PRED tremble-INGR-SF I SUB
 ‘The earth began to tremble under me.’ [F31]
- b. *tāt mon-delle ostōl ā-t legul-ek*
 [CA say-SS:PFV] table SUB-ABL food-PRED
ā-s'ī-mele
 pull.out-ITER-OF:3SG
 ‘Having said this, he pulled some food out from under
 the table.’ [F22]

► *āl-de-LOC*

- (513) *pajpe uø-die āl-de-ge ege-jōn*
 [female child-DIM [bottom-POSS-LOC stand-SBNR]
tite gude-delle, taŋd'ēt el'ed'ō-j
 as become-SS:PFV] CA disappear-INTR:3SG
 ‘The girl did so as if she stood on its bottom and
 disappeared.’ [F2]

- ◇ *čohos'+āl* ‘bank (if viewed from the land)’ (cf. *čohos'e* ‘hill’).

- (514) *čoqoč+āl laŋi šubeže-j-l'el-ŋi*
 hill+SUB AD:DIR run-PFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They ran towards the bank.' [F21]

⇒ *al-hu-de* 'downwards' (adv.); *al-hu+laŋdet* 'from below, upwards' (adv.) (see *laŋdet*)

3.1.3. SUPER-localization

budie / *budie-t* / *budie-n* / * 'on (the top/surface of)'

- (515) a. <...> *irk-in pajpā-die pie budie*
 one-ATTR woman-DIM [mountain SUPER
modo-t pon'-ō-l'el
 sit-SS:IPFV] leave-RES-INFR(3SG)
 '...one woman remained sitting on the top of the
 mountain.' [F36]
- b. *pulun-die-gele tude budie-n im-delle tāt*
 [old.man-DIM-ACC he SUPER-ABL put-SS:PFV] CA
køu-de-j-m
 go-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
 'She put the old man on her back and brought him
 away that way.' [F15]
- c. *tāt unu-d+ørd'e-gen gon-de-ge pie*
 [CA river-ATTR+middle-PROL go-3SG-DS] mountain
budie-t jaqte-lek medū-nu-l
 SUPER-ABL sing-PRED be.heard-IPFV-SF
 'When he was going along the middle of the river, he
 could hear a song coming from the top of the
 mountain.' [F37]

3.1.4. IN-localization

molho / *molho-t* / *molho-n* / *molh-in* 'middle, internal part'

- (516) a. *tittel ōzī molho kurūk ejre-ŋi*
 they water in always walk-3PL:INTR
 'They always walk in the water.' [F6]

- b. *il'aj-delle puguže-s' čomōlben*
 [rip-SS:PFV] run-PFV:INTR:3SG elk
iri-de molho-t
 belly-POSS:ATTR in-ABL
 'He ripped the elk's belly and jumped out.' [F33]
- c. *jurgū molho-n ožā-gi ilbu-nu-l'el*
 hole in-PROL water-POSS leak-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 'Inside the hole, the water was leaking.' [F31]
- d. *jaqa-delle ta-ŋide šebis'e-ge molh-in*
 [arrive-SS:PFV] there-DIR wild.rose-LOC in-DIR
čirčege-s'
 jump-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'He came close and jumped there, into the wild rose bush.' [F31]

◇ *molho-de*-LOC 'in, into; among'

- (517) a. *tā molho-de-ge šøj-l'el*
 there in-POSS-LOC enter-INFR(3SG)
 'There, he entered into it.' [F44]
- b. *odul-pe molho-de-get irk-in*
 Yukaghir-PL in-POSS-ABL one-ATTR
s'ile-n'-d'e šoromo-k l'e-l'el-u-l
 strength-PRPR-ATTR person-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
 'There was one strong man among the Yukaghirs.' [F50]
- *n'e+molho-n, n'e+molho-de-gen* 'among (our/your/them)selves'
 (see 9.3.2.2).

*id'ie / id'ie-t / id'ie-n / ** 'directly in/on' (cf. the formally similar pronominal intensifier (1.1.4))

- (518) a. *tā mer-uji-l čomō-l tadind'ahā-pe*
 [there fly-IPFV-ANR] [big-ANR] bumble.bee-PL
gristos jō-n+gičil-ge ladon'-pe-de-ge
 Christ head-ATTR-edge-LOC hand-PL-POSS-LOC

šubed'e id'ie irkie-nō madāṅi
 heart in one-DSTR sit-3PL:INTR
 'Big bumble-bees that were flying around there rested
 on Christ's forehead, on his hands and directly on his
 heart.' [F9]

- b. *tāt šubed'e id'ie-n čohoje-le kigī-t*
 [CA heart in-PROL knife-INSTR jab-SS:IPFV]
kudede-m
 kill-TR:3SG
 'Then he jabbed his heart with a knife and killed
 him.' [F24]

3.1.5. POST-localization

jekl'ie / *jekl'ie-t* / *jekl'ie-n* / ★ 'beyond, behind'

- (519) a. *tā šāl jekl'ie ahidi-če*
 there tree behind hide.oneself-INTR:1SG
 'I have hidden myself behind the tree.'
- b. *aqa juš-lu-ge šoromo-die-k ohoq*
 [suddenly see-1SG-DS] person-DIM-PRED fireplace
jekl'ie-t jede-j-l
 behind-ABL appear-PFV-SF
 'Suddenly I saw a small human being appearing from
 behind the fireplace.' [K2]
- c. *čibal' jekl'ie-n el'ed'ō-j*
 stove behind-PROL disappear-INTR:3SG
 'She disappeared behind the stove.' [K2]

► *jekl'ie-de-LOC*

- (520) *tintaṅ šoromo samuj tudel aṅd'e-de-get*
 [that person self he eye-POSS-ABL
jaqa-delle jekl'ie-de-gen ugute-j-m
 arrive-SS:PFV] behind-POSS-PROL pierce-PFV-TR:3SG
 'That man_i has pierced his_j eye throughout.' [F17]

⇒ *jaql-ude* ~ *jekl-ude* 'further', *jaqlu-gu-de* 'further, far away',

jeklu-gu+laŋdet 'from far away' (adv.) \diamond *numø jekl'ie* (lit. 'behind the house') '(for) hunting'

ejmē / ★ / *ejmē-n* / *ejm-īn* 'behind, at the other side of, across'

(521) a. *čorqo ejmie ejlō-d'e jalhil ejmie-ben*
 tundra across [wide-ATTR] lake behind.RELNR
jed-uj-ie-j

be.visible-ITER-INGR-INTR:3SG

'Across the tundra, the other side of a wide lake is becoming visible.'

b. *met ejme-n adā-n pužeže-s'*

I across-PROL there-PROL run-PFV:INTR:3SG

'It ran by there, at the other side.'

c. *mikolaj-die egor-die-n'e pujle ejm-īn*

M-DIM E-DIM-COM brook across-DIR

čahā-l'el-ŋi nodo nojdī-din

cross-INFR-3PL:INTR [bird watch.for-SUP]

'Nikolaj and Egor got across the brook to lie in wait for birds.' [K4]

\Rightarrow *ejme-gu-t* / *ejme-gu-de* 'from / to the other side'

3.2. Postpositions with spatial and temporal meanings

3.2.1. POST-orientation

jolā / *jolā-t* ~ *jelā-t* / *jolā-n* / ★ 1. behind. 2. after. Depending on the locative form and on the context, this postposition can have spatial meaning ('behind' (522)), temporal meaning ('after' (523)) or remain ambiguous between these meanings (524). The spatial reading is only available for the Locative and Ablative forms, the temporal meaning, for the Prolative and Ablative forms.

(522) a. *pølbiel jolā tāt abudā-je*

hummock behind CA lie.down-INTR:1SG

'Then I lay down behind a hummock.' [F52]

- b. *tet imi-de čomo-d'ōn, met jolā-t*
 you neck-POSS:ATTR big-SBNR I behind-ABL
juø-te-mek.
 see-FUT-TR:2SG
 'You, whose neck is long, can see from behind me.' [F5]
- c. *met jolā kel-u-k*
 I behind come-0-IMP:2SG
 'Follow me.' [F17]
- (523) a. *tabun jolā-n irk-in terikie-die-lek*
 that behind-PROL one-ATTR old.man-DIM-PRED
nojł-e kel-u-l
 foot-INSTR come-0-SF
 'After that, a little old woman came on foot.' [F28]
- b. *tude jolā-t puge juku+nodo-k*
 he behind-ABL summer small+bird-PRED
qolā-ŋile
 praise-3PL:OF
 'After her, they praised a small summer bird.' [F5]
- c. *tet kiek-ō-k jien-ben-pe tet*
 you before-VR-IMP:2SG | other-RELNR-PL you
jolā-n kel-ŋi-ken
 behind+PROL come-PL-IMP:2
 'Be the first, let the others follow you.' [F50]
- (524) *tet jolā-t mit kel-t-ū'i*
 you behind-PROL we come-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'We'll go behind/after you.' [F34]

See 11.4.1.1 for the use of this postposition in adverbial clauses.

► *jolo-de-LOC*

- (525) *tabun-gele tā tude+sam eks'il'-n'e-j*
 that-ACC there he+self boat-PRPR-INTR:3SG |
jolo-de-ge mino-n'e-j
 behind-POSS-LOC raft-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'That man himself was (sailing) on the boat, behind

him there was a raft.'

- *n'e+jelā* 'after each other' (see 9.3.2.2).

⇒ *jolohude* 'back (adv.)', *jolohu+lan̄det* ~ *jolu+lahat* 'from behind, from the rear' (adv.); *jolon* 'later'; *joloqo* 'earlier'; *jol-ō-* 'be the last', *jolo-mu-* 'remain'.

3.2.2. PRE-orientation ('before')

kieje ~ *kejie* 'before, in front of'. This postposition has both the spatial (526) and the temporal (527) meaning. See also 11.4.1.2 for adverbial clauses with this postposition.

(526) a. *tet-ul aŋd'e kieje juø-t*
 [you-ACC eye before see-SS:IPFV]
eg-užu-je
 walk-IPFV-INTR:1SG
 'I walk seeing you in front of my eyes.' [F57]

b. *mit nojl kieje tī eji-s'*
 we foot before here get.into-INTR:3SG
 'It fell down here, in front of our feet.'

(527) a. *qodo ørd'-ō-l lebie-get amde-l kieje*
 how middle-VR-ANR earth-ABL die-ANR before
kebe-j-te-m
 go-PFV-FUT-HORT
 'Let me somehow go away from the Middle Earth before I die.' [F31]

b. *tamun kieje numø-ge āj ibil'ie-nunnu-j*
 that before house-LOC CP cry-HAB-INTR:3SG
 'Before this, he used to cry at home as well.' [K5]

► *kieje-de-LOC*

(528) *kieje-de-ge mad-ā-din mon-i <...>*
 [before-POSS-LOC sit-INGR-SUP] say-INTR:3SG
 'In order to take a seat in front of him, she said:
 ...' [F5]

⇒ *kejie* / *kejie-n* / *kejie-t* / *kejie-gude* ‘ahead, at the beginning, earlier’ (adv.); *n’e-keije-din* ‘racing’; *kiej-ō-* ‘be the first, lead’; *kiej-ī-* ‘leave behind, outstrip’.

3.2.3. Directional postposition

laŋi ~ *laŋin* ~ *laŋide* ‘to, towards, in the direction of’. The semantic distinctions between these forms can be formulated only in terms of tendencies: the form *laŋin* seems to imply movement up to the final goal named by the noun (530), in contrast with the form *laŋi*, which can be used just to specify just the direction of the movement (529). The form *laŋide* seems to be more frequent in the meaning ‘to somebody’s place’ (531). The form *laŋin* commonly has the temporal meaning ‘by, until’ (532). For adverbial clauses built by means of this postposition, see 11.4.1.2.

- (529) a. *øndie laŋi qoni*
 brook AD:DIR go-INTR:3SG
 ‘She went towards the brook.’ [F17]
- b. *mad-ā-delle tāt merie-s’ tude numø*
 [sit-INGR-SS:PFV] CA fly-PFV:INTR:3SG her house
laŋi
 AD:DIR
 ‘He sat down (on it) and flew towards his house.’ [F33]
- (530) a. *taŋ lebie laŋin qon-d’īl’i*
 that land AD:DIR go-INTR:1PL
 ‘Let us go to that land.’ [K1]
- b. *taŋ čuge-pe-de-gen numø laŋin*
 that track-PL-POSS-PROL house AD:DIR
kewe-j-ge-k
 go-PFV-IMP-2SG
 ‘Then return home along that trail of theirs.’
- (531) a. *met-ul min tet laŋide*
 I-ACC take:IMP:2SG you AD:DIR
 ‘Take me to your place.’ [F2]

b. *tāt pøg-ie-j mēmē laḡide šaqula-die*
 CA run-INGR-INTR:3SG bear AD:DIR fox-DIM
 ‘Then the fox ran to the bear’s place. [F17]

(532) a. *met-in legul ā-k met kel-u-l laḡin*
 I-DAT food make-IMP:2SG my come-0-ANR AD:DIR
 ‘Cook some food for me for the time when I’ll come.
 [F31]

b. *id’ī ejuotelben laḡin tiḡ parā+laḡin*
 now next.year AD.DIR this time+AD.DIR
nem-dik ā-te-l <...>
 what-PRED make-FUT-OF:1PL
 ‘Now, what shall we make until this time next year
 ...’ [K1]

⇒ *lāhet / laḡdet* ‘around, at the side of’ (also as a bound component within spatial adverbs).

(533) a. *mit laḡdet uø+ḡō-d’e koj-pe marḡil’-pe*
 we AD:ABL child-STAT-ATTR boy-PL girl-PL
l’ie-l’el-ḡi, tite laḡdet āj
 be-INFR-3PL:INTR their AD:ABL CP
 ‘There were young boys and girls on our side, and
 some on their side too.’

b. *taskan lāhet erpeje-p-lek l’e-l’el-ḡi-l*
 T. AD:ABL Even-PL-PRED be-INFR-3PL-SF
 ‘Around Taskan, there lived Evens.’ [F55]

3.3. Comparative postposition

The comparison of equality is expressed by the postposition *tite* ‘as, like’:

(534) a. *met tite m-et+uḡžu-čemet ell’e*
 I like AFF-IRLS+sleep-INTR:2PL DP
 ‘You had better sleep, as I (did).’ [K4]

- b. *titte-n'e ed'-u-t modo-l'el titte*
 they-COM [live-0-SS:IPFV] reside-INFR(3SG) they
tite
 like
 'He lived with them, as they (lived).' [F31]
- c. *ataq-un pon'qo tite pojnī-m kužū-get*
 two-ATTR light like shine-TR:3SG sky-ABL
ōžī-get
 water-ABL
 'It (the moon) shone like two lights, from the sky and
 from the water.' [F3]
- d. *godit čuote ibiligie tite me+ibil'e-k?*
 why always eagle.owl like AFF-cry-ITR:2SG
 'Why do you always cry like an eagle owl?' [K5]

The combination of the postposition *tite* with an ethnic name can be used to signify the language:

- (535) *odul tite* '(speak) like a Yukaghir, in Yukaghir'
lucī tite '(speak) like a Russian, in Russian'
jaqal tite '(speak) like a Yakut, in Yakut'

In the following examples, the same (semantic) pattern is applied to common nouns:

- (536) a. *ann'ā-nu-j šoromo tite*
 speak-IPFV-INTR:3SG person like
 'It was speaking like a human being.' [F31]
- b. *tā egordie imičume tite edies'-u-t*
 there E.-DIM [swan like call-0-SS:IPFV]
an'n'-ā-l'el
 speak-INGR-INFR(3SG)
 'Egor began to imitate the swan's voice.' [K4]

There is a qualitative form *titimie*- 'similar to', which is derived from this postposition by means of the qualitative suffix *-mie*- (6.3.6.4.2). This form shows the same behavior as the qualitative demonstratives (1.2.1.5), that is, it is verb-like (537a), with only

one exception: as a noun modifier, it occurs both in the verbal Attributive form (537c) and in the unmarked form (537b).

- (537) a. *kurčej odul titi-mie-l'el* <...>
 crane Yukaghir like-QLT-INFR(3SG)
 'The crane turned out to be like the Yukaghirs ...' [K3]
- b. *petr berbekin titi-mie šoromo ørd'õ-l*
 P. B. like-QLT person middle-ANR
lebie-ge el+modā-nu
 earth-LOC NEG+sit-IPFV(NEG:3SG)
 'People like Peter Berbekin do not live on the Middle Earth.' [F31]
- c. *urasa titi-mie-d'e pajpe-k õ-l'el*
 house like-QLT-ATTR woman-PRED COP-INFR(3SG)
 'She turned out to be like a house (that large).'

Chapter 8

Noun phrase and postpositional phrase

1. The structure of the noun phrase

1.1. Overview of NP types

There are three major structural types of NPs: (i) a pronoun, (ii) a noun with optional preceding modifiers, (iii) a nominalized clause. These types are briefly introduced in this section, with references to other parts of the grammar where they are discussed in detail.

Pronouns (in the strict sense, i.e., pro-NPs). This class comprises personal pronouns (7.1.1.1), nominal forms of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (7.1.2.1), the indefinite pronouns *šar* ‘something’ (7.1.4.4) and *ile* ‘some’ (7.1.4.5), and the substantivized forms of the modifiers *jēn* ‘(an)other’ (7.1.4.6), *mus’in* ~ *bučun* (7.1.5.2) and *irkin* ‘one’ (7.2.1.1).

Nouns plus (optional) preceding modifiers. The major formal types of modifiers are:

- Unmarked NPs, which may (538c) but need not (538a)-(538b) be cross-referenced by the Possessive marker on the head. Some examples:

(538) a. *tāt qāqā numø-k num-mele*
CA grandfather house-PRED find-OF:3SG
‘Then she found a bear’s den.’ [F51]

b. *irkie-t jolo-mu-j šaqale*
be.one-SS:IPFV rest-INCH-INTR:3SG fox

terike

old.woman

‘She remained alone, that old fox woman.’ [F16]

c. *taŋ lebie-n+pugil’-pe es’ie-pe-gi*
 <that earth-ATTR+lord-PL> father-PL-POSS
gristos ō-l’el

Chist COP-INFR(INTR:3SG)

‘The father of those earth-lords was Christ.’ [F9]

This type of NP is described in 2.1 (zero marking) and 2.2 (the Possessive marking).

- The Attributive forms of nouns (5.5.1):

- (539) a. *čuge-ge tittle loška-d+abut*
 way-LOC their spoon-ATTR+bag
løw-die-l’el-ŋile
 fall-CAUS-INFR-3PL:OF
 ‘They have dropped their spoon-bag on their way.’ [F12]
- b. *juø-de-ge irk-in qorobo-d+øn’čie*
 [see-3SG-DS] one-ATTR cow-ATTR+male
ohō-j
 stand-INTR:3SG
 ‘He saw a bull standing (there).’ [F46]
- c. *numø-pe-d-in kel-delle*
 [house-PL-POSS-DAT come-SS:PFV]
urasā-pe-de šāl-gele igeje-le
 [urasa-PL-POSS:ATTR tree-ACC rope-INSTR
ulte-lle ās’i-nu-l’el-ŋā
 tie-SS:IPFV] pull-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
 ‘They_i came to their_j house, tied the pole of their_j urasa with a rope and pulled.’ [F50]

This type of NP is described in 2.3.

- Possessive forms of personal pronouns (see 7.1.1.2):

(540) a. *tit kenme šej-re-j-ŋi-k*
 your(PL) friend enter-CAUS-PFV-PL-IMP:2
 'Bring your friend here.' [F14]

b. *tude n'umud'i-gele mid'-u-m*
 his axe-ACC take-0-TR:3SG
 'He_i took his_i ax.' [F14]

- Demonstrative and Indefinite modifiers (see 7.1.2.1, 7.1.4.5, 7.1.4.6):

(541) a. *taŋ pajpe ataq-un*
 that woman two-ATTR
uø-n'e-l'el
 child-PRPR-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'That woman had two children.' [F7]

b. *tā jēn ani-pe-ŋin jēn*
 there other fish-PL-DAT [<other
ōžī-pe-ge ed'-u-l ani-pe-ŋin
 water-PL-LOC> live-0-ANR] fish-PL-DAT
mon-ŋi-te-j <...>
 say-3PL-FUT-INTR
 'There they will say to other fishes, to fishes living
 in other waters: ...' [T1]

- Quantifiers:

(542) a. *jā-n šoromo-k čobul pugil'-ŋin*
 three-ATTR person-PRED sea king-DAT
peššej-ŋile
 threw-3PL:OF
 'They threw three people to the sea king.' [F31]

b. *oqonastie pulut tude jouje juø-t*
 [A. old.man his trap see-SS:IPFV]
bičun anil-gele čumu
 various fish-ACC all

ī-die-l'el-u-m
 get.caught-CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'The old man Afanasij checked his trap and it
 turned out that he had caught every variety of
 fish.'

See 7.2.1 for cardinal numerals, 7.1.5 for universal quantifiers.
 In this chapter, only scalar quantifiers are described (3); see
 also 2.1.3 for quantification phrases.

• Relative clauses:

- (543) a. *amde-je šoromo-pul modo-ŋi*
 [die-ATTR] person-PL live-3PL:INTR
 'People who have died do live.' [F39]
- b. *tā tine ī-de-mle*
 there [recently get.caught-CAUS-ATTR:3SG]
anil-ek gottā-l'el-mele
 fish-PRED put-INFR-OF:3SG
 'There he stored the fish which he had caught
 earlier on.'
- c. *pude godō-l kimnī*
 [outside lie-ANR] whip
el+ūše-le-k
 NEG+touch-PROH-IMP:2SG
 'Do not touch the whip which lies outside.' [F19]

Relative clauses are described in 11.3; see also 9.1.2 for the
 case-marking in non-finite clauses.

Nominalized clauses. This class comprises Nominal clauses
 (544a) and headless Relative clauses (544b).

- (544) a. *met lebejdī al'be-de-jle juø-m*
 [my berries spill-POSS-ACC] see-TR:3SG
 'She saw that my berries spilled.'

- b. *tīne taŋ jōbī lebie-ge*
 [recently that in.forest earth-LOC
jaqa-jōn-pe mieste-gi nugu-nu-gi
 arrive-SBNR-PL] place-POSS find-IPFV-POSS
nado+ŋō-j
 necessary+STAT-INTR:3SG
 'It is necessary to find space for those who have
 come to the earth, into the forest.' [F9]

Functions of the Nominal clauses are described in 11.1 and 11.4; for a description of headless Relative clauses, see 11.3.3

Note that postpositional phrases, NPs in oblique cases and adverbs cannot serve as modifiers in Kolyma Yukaghir, with a few minor exceptions.³⁸ To some extent, their potential semantic functions are taken over by unmarked modifiers, which cover a fairly wide range of semantic relationships (see (561), (562)). On the other hand, an "oblique" modifier can be introduced by means of a relative clause, most notably, by an existential (545a) or a Propriative (545b) relative clause.

- (545) a. *jōbī l'e-l nodo-pe-get kenme+ŋōn*
 [in.forest be-ANR] bird-PL-ABL friend+TRNSF
kukkī nodo nie-l'el-mele
 cuckoo bird call-INFR-OF:3SG
 'Among the birds living in the forest, she called the
 cuckoo her friend.' [F5]
- b. *d'e tāt kebe-s' taŋ aduø-gi*
 DP CA go-PFV:INTR:3SG that boy-POSS
gudel'e-lle unuŋ-pe-gen pie-n'e-j
 [get.ready-SS:PFV] river-PL-PROL [hill-PRPR-ATTR]
mieste-pul-gen jalhil-n'e-j mieste-pul-gen
 place-PL-PROL [lake-PRPR-ATTR] place-PL-PROL
 'Well, his son got ready and went away, along rivers,
 along places with mountains, and along places with
 lakes.' [F22]

- c. *ōžī-ge* *egu-žū-l* *en'd'ōn čumu tud-in*
 [water-LOC walk-ITER-ANR] animal all he-DAT
tadī-te-j
 give-FUT-TR:1PL
 'We will give him all the animals that are walking in
 the water now.' [F9]

A possible exception is Dative modifiers, which are attested in a few examples in my corpus. Such a modifier can both precede and follow the head noun. Presumably, this is a new construction which has arisen due to the influence of Russian. Some examples:

- (546) a. *oqil'l'ā and'e-lek* *anil-pe-ŋin*
 Perch leader-PRED fish-PL-DAT
 'Perch is a prince of (to) fishes.' [F10]
- b. *pude tude numø pudel'ie čolhoro-ŋin*
 outside his house nearby hare-DAT
nonol-ek nušel'eš-mele
 snare-PRED install-OF:3SG
 'Outside, near his house, he installed a snare for
 hares.' [F15]

Note, however, that the same semantic relationships between NPs can be rendered by the regular unmarked or Attributive modifier (see 2.1, 2.3).

Besides, the substantivized pronouns *jēn+ben* 'other (than)' and *irkil+l'e* 'one (of)' can take the Ablative modifier (see 7.1.4.6, 7.2.1.1).

1.2. Word order in the noun phrase

Noun phrases are head-final (see Sections 2-3); the order of noun modifiers conforms, with few exceptions, to the following scheme:

- (547) DEMONSTRATIVE + QUANTIFIER + POSSESSIVE PRONOUN
 + ATTRIBUTE + HEAD

where "attribute" stands for any lexical modifier, be it an NP or a relative clause. This scheme is illustrated by the following examples:

Demonstrative + Quantifier:

- (548) *tintaŋ ataq-un pajpe-d+uøŕ-pe*
 that two-ATTR woman-ATTR+child-PL
 'those two girls'

Demonstrative + Possessive pronoun:

- (549) a. *taŋ tude õ*
 that his trousers
 'those pants of his'
- b. *taŋ met jaqa-d+ās'e*
 that my Yakut-ATTR+deer
 'that horse of mine'

Demonstrative + Attribute:

- (550) a. *tiŋ odu-n+pugil'*
 this Yukaghir-ATTR+son.in.law
 'that Yukaghir son-in-law'
- b. *taŋ omnī modo-l lebie*
 that [people live-ANR] earth
 'that land, where people lived'
- c. *taŋ qan-ujĩ-t modo-l omnī*
 that [[roam-ITER-SS:IPFV] live-ANR] people
 'those people leading a nomadic life'

Quantifier + Possessive pronoun:

- (551) a. *irk-in mit šorome*
 one-ATTR our person
 'one of our people'
- b. *irk-in met jowje*
 one-ATTR my net
 'one of my nets'

Quantifier + Attribute:

- (552) a. *irk-in pō+ŋō-d'e pajpe uø*
 one-ATTR orphan+STAT-ATTR woman child
 'one orphan girl'

- b. *bičun lebie-d+end'ōn*
 various earth-ATTR| animal
 'various terrestrial animals'

Possessive pronoun + Attribute:

- (553) a. *tude šā-n+qamujaje*
 his tree-ATTR+spoon
 'his wooden spoon'
- b. *met kenme pajpā-die*
 my friend woman-DIM
 'my friend (a girl)'

Attributive Indefinite pronouns combine only with attributes; they are always phrase-initial:

- (554) a. *īle ōnme-n'-d'e šoromo-pul*
 some [mind-PRPR-ATTR] person-PL
 'some clever people'
- b. *īle n'e+legu-l en-d'ōn-pe*
 some [RECP+eat-0-ANR] animal-PL
 'some animals who ate each other.'

In contradiction to the general scheme in (547), *contrastive* attributes may precede determiners and possessive pronouns. Such cases are attested with attributes which single out one of several people who have the same kinship relationship to somebody:

- (555) a. *ōrd'ō-l tude mašl'uø*
 [middle-ANR] her daughter
 'her middle daughter'
- b. *čomō-l tay pābā-gi*
 [big-ANR] that elder.sister-POSS
 'the oldest of those elder sisters of hers.'

Since the NP may contain more than one noun, its internal structure may turn out ambiguous, as shown in (556):³⁹

- (556) MODIFIER <MODIFIER HEAD>_{HEAD}
 <MODIFIER HEAD>_{MODIFIER} HEAD

These options are illustrated in (557). Note that the NP-initial demonstrative modifier is related to the NP as a whole in (557a), but to the nominal modifier in (557b).

- (557) a. *tiŋ čuøł'e-d+omnī* *n'ied'ĩ-l*
 that <<ancient-ATTR+people> tell-ANR>
 'that story of the ancient people'
- b. *tintaŋ tetn'e-j* *pulut* *numø*
 <that <be.rich-ATTR old.man>> house
 'the house of that rich old man'

This structural ambiguity can be resolved by means of Possessive marking (2.2.4) or Attributive marking (2.3.1).

2. Noun phrases as noun modifiers

There are three major ways to express the modifier-head relationship between two NPs:

1. Juxtaposition, or zero marking (see 2.1)
2. Possessive cross-reference marking on the head (see 5.2, 2.2)
3. Attributive marking on the modifier (see 5.5.1, 2.3).

Attributive and Possessive marking are incompatible, that is, the Attributive modifier cannot serve as the controller of the Possessive marking on the head.⁴⁰

The functional distinction between these structural options can be described in terms of *referential autonomy* of the modifier: the Possessive marking can be applied only if the modifier has a referent of its own, most often, specific and definite (see 2.2.1). In contrast to this, the Attributive marking signifies that the modifier is non-referential (2.3). Finally, the zero marking option is unmarked with respect to the referential autonomy of the modifier (2.1), i.e., it can be employed independently of whether the NP invokes a single referential entity or two separate entities.

2.1. Zero marking: NP_M+NP_H-CASE

In this construction, the modifier is in the Nominative case; the head noun is marked for case according to the role of the NP in the clause.

Instances of this construction fall into two major classes: one class comprises NPs which invoke two separate referential entities and establish a possessive relationship between these entities (2.1.1); NPs of the other class invoke a single referent (apposition, see 2.1.2). A special subgroup of the latter class is formed by NPs with quantifiers, where a zero-marked modifier expresses a unit of quantity (2.1.3).

The interpretation of each particular NP is determined, in most cases, by the lexical meanings of the nouns and/or by the context. The construction itself is ambiguous with respect to referential autonomy of the modifier; furthermore, in some cases, this ambiguity remains unresolved (see 2.1.2).

2.1.1. Possessive modifiers

The juxtaposition of NPs can render a possessive relationship (in a very broad sense) between their referents. The examples below illustrate the application of this construction to the prototypical possessive relations: belonging (558), part-whole (559), and kinship (560), as well as to some other relations that may be accounted for in terms of extension of the possessive prototype (561).⁴¹

- (558) a. *qāqā* *šøtkurī* *kej-k*
 grand.father ski give-IMP:2SG
 'Give me grandfather's ski.' [F14]
- b. *čarčaqan* *čül'd'ī* *pulut* *tedul-gele* *čumu*
 [C. <fairy.tale old.man> treasure-ACC all
min-delle *tiŋ* *parā* *laŋin* *aŋi* *modo-j*
 take-SS:PFV] this time DIR CP live-INTR:3SG
 'Charchahan took the whole of the ogre's treasure and
 is still alive. [F29]

- c. *egie-delle tude kene-pe n'ēr-gele*
 [get.up-SS:PFV] <his friend-PL> clothing-ACC
juø-m
 see-TR:3SG
 'He got up and saw his friends' clothing.
- (559) a. *tabun-ge met terike aŋd'e omol-be-ŋi*
 that-LOC <my wife> eye good-INCH-3PL:INTR
 'In this way my wife' s eyes are getting better. [F28]
- b. *ōžī nodo pierī tude čomōl-e*
 <water bird> feather its will-INSTR
al'bē-l'el
 molt-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'The feathers of the water birds molted by themselves.' [F5]
- c. *numø-pe-lek ohō-l'el-ŋi-l taŋ molil*
 house-PL-PRED stand-INFR-3PL-SF that <bay
kis'il-gen
 edge-PROL>
 'There were houses along the other shore of the bay.' [F31]
- (560) a. <...> *met emej pābā+taŋ-pe-gen tāt*
 <my mother> elder.sister+that-PL-PROL CA
qona-s'il'i,
 go-PFV:INTR:1PL
 '... and we passed my mother' s elder sister and her family.
- b. *tāt juø-de-ge dowre čūl'd'ī pulut*
 [CA see-3SG-DS] D. <fairy.tale old.man>
uør-pe-gele čumu kudede-l'el-u-m
 child-PL-ACC all kill-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'Then he saw that Dowre had killed all the ogre's children.' [F27]

c. *taɣnigi and'e terike-get ās'e-p-te-get*
 CA [prince wife-ABL deer-PL-POSS-ABL
min-delle jolohude jan
 take-SS:PFV] back:DIR send(IMP:2SG)
 'Then take some of their deer from the prince's wife
 and send her back.' [F50]

(561) a. *kind'e pod'erqo āj l'e-t-i*
 moon light CP be-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'There will also be the light of the moon.' [F3]

b. *qojl qamie-d'e-l-ben-pe tud-in*
 God help-DETR-ANR-RELNR-PL he-DAT
al'-d-in el+jaq-uj-ŋi
 near-POSS-DAT NEG+approach-ITER-3PL:INTR
 'God's assistants did not approach him.' [F31]

c. *met ørd'ō-l lebie šoromo ō-d'e*
 I <[middle-ANR] earth> person COP-INTR:1SG
 'I am a person from the middle earth.' [F31]

d. *čolhorā-die čūl'd'ī*
 hare-DIM fairy.tale
 'A fairy tale about a little hare.' [F14]

Note that in this construction the modifier can be generic:

(562) a. *tabun-get met medi čomparnā ažū*
 that-ABL I perceive(TR:1SG) raven word
 'That is why I understand the language of
 ravens.' [F12]

b. *čuøl'e-d+omnī parā-ge čomōlben*
 <ancient-ATTR+people> time-LOC elk
čā-l'el
 be.few-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'In the ancient people's time there were few elk.' [F34]

2.1.2. Apposition

The modifier in a zero-marked construction can have the same referent as the modified noun; see (563) for proper names as modifiers, (564) for common nouns. In the latter case, the modifier noun merely signifies an additional property of the entity referred to by the head noun, yet it may be thought of as an appropriate referential expression for this entity.

- (563) a. *puttuø pulun-die-ŋin qol-l'el-ŋi*
 P. old.man-DIM-DAT go-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They came to old man Puttuo.' [F40]
- b. *taŋ oqonastie pulut čušte juobī*
 that A. old.man always in.forest
eg-užu-j
 walk-ITER-INTR:3SG
 'That old man Afanasij used to live in the forest.'
- (564) a. *kel-delle tintan pøme pulun-die-gele*
 [come-SS:PFV] that <louse old.man-DIM-ACC>
merie-š-u-m
 fly-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'It (the wind) came and brought that louse-man away.' [F20]
- b. *jōs'erā jō tāt pømudu-j. pømudu-t*
 bubble head CA roll-INTR:3SG [roll-SS:IPFV]
pømudu-t tude jōs'erā jō-gele
 [roll-SS:IPFV] [his <bubble head ACC>
jurgu-š-u-t amde-j
 hole-PRPR:CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] die-INTR:3SG
 'So, the Bubblehead rolled. While rolling, he made a hole in his bubblehead and died' [F30]⁴²
- c. *tabun-get ulegerā kelid'e ohō-d'e šāl-ŋin*
 that-ABL straw worm [stand-ATTR] tree-DAT
čirčege-s'
 jump-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Because of that, the straw-worm⁴³ jumped onto a

standing tree.’ [F31]

d. *met šaḡalā-die terike-die-ŋin*

my <fox-DIM old.woman-DIM-DAT>

qon-te-t

go-CAUS-FUT(TR:1SG)

‘I’ll bring (it) to my little fox-woman.’ [F33]

e. *kəjpe šoromo ninge-j-bed-ek*

boy person be.multiple-ATTR-RELN-RELNR-PRED

‘There were many men.’ [F54]

f. *irk-id’e šoromo-get šejre-j-l’el tan*

one-ATTR person-ABL run-PFV-INFR(INTR:3SG) that

mēmē uø

<bear child>

‘Once he ran away from people, that bear-child.’ [F4]

Note that in (564f) the reading ‘the child of that bear’ is excluded only by a wider context: the story is about a woman who gave birth to a bear. The construction itself does not provide any clues to the intended interpretation.

In some cases, the ambiguity of the construction cannot be resolved by the context, so that an NP allows both the same-referent (apposition) and the possessive interpretations:

- (565) a. *tudel momušā alme-lek anil alme-lek*
 it m. shaman-PRED fish shaman-PRED
 ‘Momusha is a shaman, a fish-shaman (or: fishes’ shaman). [F10]

- b. *odul kimd’i-jō-l-ben*
 Yukaghir fight-QLT-ANR-RELN-RELNR
 ‘The Yukaghir warrior (the title of a story) (a Yukaghir-warrior or the Yukaghirs’ warrior).’ [F50]

- c. *juku+jonžā marqil’ min-din l’e-mle*
 small+goose girl take-SUP AUX-OF:3SG
 ‘He is going to marry a small goose girl (or: the small goose’s daughter).’ [F5]

These and similar examples appear to suggest that there is no clear border between various semantic interpretations of the zero-marked modifiers.

2.1.3. Quantification

If preceded by a quantifier, a zero-marked modifier can express a certain (unit of) quantity:

- (566) a. *irk-in qār-ek nienu-mle, ataq-un*
 one-ATTR skin-PRED ask-OF:3SG <two-ATTR
tuis lebie-k, irk-in jiereme
 basket> earth-PRED <one-ATTR log>
šāl-ek
 wood-PRED
 'He asked for one skin, two baskets of earth (soil), one log of wood.' [F31]
- b. *tude-n'e iluk-un kries-ek min-mele,*
 he-COM four-ATTR cross-PL take-OF:3SG
ataq-un ladon' lebie-k
 <two-ATTR hand> earth-PRED
 'He took four crosses, two handfuls of earth.' [F31]
- c. *tudā čuϕ'le-d+omnī parā-ge qorqodon*
 long.ago ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC Q.
irk-in jier-ge odu-pe-lek
 one-ATTR fork-LOC Yukaghir-PL-PRED
modo-l'el-ŋi-l, qamun-de numø omnī
 live-INFR-3PL-SF <how.much-INDF house> people
ō-t
 COP-SS:IPFV
 'Long ago, in the ancient people's time, there lived Yukaghirs on a fork of the Korkodon, several houses (= families) of people.' [F35]

2.2. Possessive (head) marking: NP_M NP_H-POSS-CASE

This section is mainly concerned with the factors which trigger overt Possessive marking, in contrast to the zero marking which is also available for possessive relations (2.1.1). The Possessive marking appears to signal that the Possessor (modifier referent) is accorded a higher degree of clause-level prominence. More specifically, it is conceived of either as the clause-level topic (2.2.2) or as a participant involved in the situation (2.2.3).

Thus, Possessive marking appears to involve a sort of discrepancy between form and function: semantically, the Possessor is assigned some clause-level role, while structurally its status as an NP modifier is maintained. This property of the grammar makes it possible to use the same morphological device for two essentially different functions, which are kept formally apart in many other languages, i.e., to subsume *topicalization* of the Possessor (information-packaging function) and *involvement* (situation construal function) under the same category of referential autonomy expressed by the overt Possessive marker on the head (2.2.1).

2.2.1. Referential autonomy

2.2.1.1. Pronominal Possessive marking. The Possessive marker on a noun cross-references the Possessor (5.2). The Possessive markers can be used pronominally, that is, they can replace nominal possessive modifiers. In such cases the entity cross-referenced by the Possessive marking is represented either by another (non-subject) element of the same clause or by an element of a preceding clause. This use is illustrated by the following examples:

- (567) a. *tamun-ŋin s'ile-n'-d'e* *šoromo-p-lek*
 that-DAT [strength-PRPR-ATTR] person-PL-PRED
nū-l'el-ŋile *odul-pe-le*
 find-INTR-3PL:OF [[Yukaghir-PL-INST]_i
čuge-pe-de-gen *nuk-te* *nuk-te*
 trace-PL-DS_i-PROL find-SS:ITER] [find-SS:ITER]
kude-s'ĩ-din
 kill-ITER-SUP]

‘With that in mind, they found strong men who should follow the Yukaghirs’ tracks and kill them.’ [F50]

- b. *palā-l-ben-pe* *nuk-telle* *čumu*
 [escape-ANR-RELN-PL_i find-SS:PFV] [all
mieste-p-ki *qarte-t* *legul-pe-gi*
 place-PL-POSS_i share-SS:IPFV] [food-PL-POSS
ā-delle *tadī-j*
 make-SS:PFV] give-TR:1SG
 ‘He has found those who escaped, divided (available)
 places between them, made food for them and given it
 to them.’ [F9]
- c. *es’ie-pe-gi* *titte* *uør-pe-gele* *jowlus’-ŋa* <...>
 father-PL-POSS their child_j-PL-ACC ask-3PL:TR
 ‘Their_j fathers_i asked their_i children_j: <...>’ [F55]

2.2.1.2. Internal Possessive marking. This section deals with another class of instances of the Possessive marking, where the Possessor is represented by a nominal modifier within the same NP (below, internal Possessive marking). In this construction, the Possessor is represented by an NP in the Nominative form which immediately precedes the NP bearing the Possessive marker:

- (568) a. *taŋ* *paŋ* *ør-de-get* *met ønme bojs’e*
 <that woman> cry-POSS-ABL my mind entirely
šohie-j
 get.lost-INTR:3SG
 ‘That woman’s cry drove me completely crazy.’
- b. *qāqā* *numø-gi* *čumat*
 grandfather house-POSS all
pie-de-j-l’el
 burn-PFV-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 ‘The whole den of that bear was burnt down.’ [F51]
- c. *taŋ* *šøjl’bul* *iri-de-ge* *ulegerā-k* *l’e-l*
 <that mouse> belly-POSS-LOC straw-PRED be-SF
 ‘There was a straw in the belly of that mouse.’ [F11]

The examples in (558)-(560) and (568) demonstrate that the Possessive relationship between two entities licenses both the zero marking and the internal Possessive marking (see 5.2 for more examples of the latter option). In other words, if the NP is intended to invoke two referential entities (i.e., the modifier referent and the head referent), the speaker is free to choose between these encoding options. The semantic distinction between these options can be explicated in terms of markedness: the impact of the Possessive marking is to signify that the modifier has a referent of its own, while the zero option leaves this feature unmarked (see 2.1.2). Thus, the Possessive marking resolves the ambiguity associated with the zero marking.

For instance, in (569a) the Possessive marking precludes the apposition interpretation (like in (563)), since it signals that the modifier has a separate referent. The zero marking option would have allowed both interpretations ('Alandin's servant' vs. 'servant Alandin'). Similarly, in (569b), the Possessive marking on the head indicates that the phrase *ataqun numø* refers to the specific (previously mentioned) families, while otherwise it would have been interpreted as an instance of quantification (see 2.1.3):

- (569) a. *met alandin ūjs'ĩ-gi+ŋō-d'e*
 I A worker-POSS+COP-INTR:1SG
 'I am Alandin's servant.' [F50]
- b. *ataq-un numø uørpe-p-ki jarqe-lek*
 [two-ATTR house] child-PL-POSS ice-PRED
čine-nu-ŋile
 chop-IPFV-3PL:OF
 'Children of the two families (lit. houses) chopped ice.' [F55]

The choice between unmarked vs. marked option for encoding of the Possessive relationship seems to be associated with the degree of prominence accorded to the modifier referent. Roughly, two situations are distinguished:

First, the role of the modifier referent in the message can be reduced to building an appropriate description of the head referent

(i.e., to serving as the “reference point” (Langacker 1993) for its identification). This situation entails zero marking. Secondly, the modifier referent can be conceived of as playing some independent role in the overall information structure of the message (see 2.2.2) or in the situation being described (see 2.2.3). In this situation, Possessive marking is likely to be chosen.

Note that this account explicitly relates the internal use of the Possessive markers to their pronominal use (2.2.1.1): in both cases, the controller of the Possessive marker has some other function in the clause or in some higher-level text unit, apart from being the Possessor for the entity referred to by the head.

Furthermore, this analysis gets indirect support from the Possessive marking of the primary participant in Nominal and relative clauses (see 9.1.2.1, 11.1). In these constructions, the primary participant is encoded as the grammatical Possessor of the head NP (a Nominal verb form or the relativized NP, respectively). Although both zero marking and Possessive marking are available in both constructions, the latter is applied much more frequently. This preference is straightforwardly accounted for by the analysis suggested here, insofar as the primary role in the situation signified by a non-finite clause ensures a higher degree of prominence than just the function of Possessive modifier.

2.2.2. Topicalization

Many instances of internal Possessive marking involve topicalization of the Possessor, i.e., the clause is construed as being about the entity cross-referenced by the Possessive marker. Although identification of a particular clause as an instance of topicalization is often controversial, there are some clear examples which demonstrate that this factor is in play:

- (570) a. *tudel ninge-j šoromo-gi*
 he <be.mant-ATTR person-POSS>
oj-l'e
 NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 ‘He does not have a large family. (lit. He, his large family does not exist.)’

- b. *taŋ paj touke-gi l'ie-l'el*
 <that woman> dog-POSS be-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'That woman had a dog.'
- c. *tabun n'u-gi dubegleš*
 that name-POSS D.
 'That one, his name was Dubeglesh.' [F24]
- d. *tiŋ čomōlben kiejō-l noj-pe-gi*
 <this elk> <[be.ahead ANR] leg-PL-POSS>
ilek-lō-j
 four-VR-INTR:3SG
 'This elk had four forelegs (lit.: This elk, his forelegs were four.)' [F34]
- e. *mit emd'e ažu-gi*
 <our younger.sibling> word-POSS
medi-s'
 be.heard-INTR:3SG
 'One could hear our brother speaking (lit. 'Our brother, his words were heard.')
- f. *pude godō-l šøgi aŋil'-gi johodaj-delle*
 [<[outside lie-ANR] bag> hole-POSS open-SS:PFV]
el+l'uø-k
 NEG+see-IMP:2SG
 'The bag which lies outside, do not open it and look (what is inside).' [F19]

In examples like (570) the controller of Possessive marker might have been analyzed as the "syntactic topic", i.e., as a left-detached constituent resumed by the Possessive marker within the comment, rather than as a modifier within the clause-initial NP. This analysis appears to have a number of advantages:

First, it conforms with the syntax of switch reference (14.1.3.2) and relativization (11.3.1.4), insofar as the controller of the Possessive marker can serve as the syntactic "pivot" in these construction types. Secondly, this analysis would subsume internal and pronominal instances of the Possessive marking under a single

grammatical category, inasmuch as the controller of the Possessive markers was to be analyzed as “external” in both cases. Finally, the construction under discussion would be explicitly identified with structurally and semantically similar “double-subject” constructions in topic-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976).

However, there seems to be some strong evidence against such an analysis. In a number of examples, the topic interpretation does not seem semantically plausible; more importantly from the structural point of view, the controller of the Possessive marking need not be clause-initial:

- (571) a. *terike-gi pude uk-ej-delle towke-le*
 [wife-POSS outside go.out-PFV-SS:PFV] dog-INSTR
ulte-m mēmē čuge-de-ge
 tie-TR:3SG bear trace-POSS-LOC
 ‘His wife went outside and fastened the dog on the
 bear’s track.’ [F54]
- b. *tabun-ge tudā taŋ lebie-n+pugil’-pe*
 that-LOC that.time that earth-ATTR+lord-PL
es’ie-pe-gi mon-u-l
 father-PL-POSS say-0-SF
 ‘The father of the former earth lords replied:
 <...>’ [F9]

See also (569), (574). Thus, the analysis of the Possessor as “topic” does not provide a semantically adequate account for all instances of internal Possessive marking.

In addition, the controller of Possessive marking must immediately precede the NP bearing the marker, i.e., the Possessor and the Possessed cannot be separated from each other by any other elements of the clause.⁴⁴ This observation apparently undermines the clause-external analysis of the Possessor.

And last, but not the least, the syntactic notion of topic, if identified on the basis of sentences like in (570), would be limited to this particular construction type, i.e., there is no evidence for prominence of syntactic topics other than Possessors in Yukaghir syntax.

These considerations suggest that topicality should be viewed as a pragmatic factor which ensures a sufficient degree of prominence of the Possessor to trigger the morphological marking of its referential autonomy (see 2.2.1), but does not change its syntactic status, i.e., the Possessor retains the syntactic properties of noun modifiers.

2.2.3. Involvement

Another factor which can trigger internal Possessive marking is the involvement of the Possessor in the situation being described. For instance, in (572a) the Possessor ('his wife') participates in the situation of arrival (which is shown by the Plural agreement on the verb). In sentences like in (572b), the Possessor is obviously affected by the situation:

- (572) a. *tāt tude terike šoromo-p-te-ge*
 CA <his wife> person-PL-POSS-LOC
jaqa-ŋi
 arrive-3PL:INTR
 'Then they came to his wife's people.'
- b. *met tudel n'as'e-gi čumu*
 I he face-POSS all
šašaha-t-u-t
 tear-CAUS-0-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'I will tear his whole face.' [F54]

However, this factor plays a role only in a relatively small class of instances, presumably because there is a more direct way to signify that a Possessor is involved in the situation: it can just receive the same case marking as the Possessed (cf. 5.4.1.4, 5.4.2.1). Such constructions can be described as instances of "External Possession", as attested in many other languages. The contrast between internal Possessive marking and the External Possession construction is illustrated by the following examples: in (573a) the Possessor takes the Accusative form, in (573b), it retains the unmarked (Nominative) form:

- (573) a. *tāt numø-ŋin qon-delle tude terike-gele*
 [CA house-DAT go-SS:PFV] his wife-ACC
aŋd'e-de-jle ulte-m
 eye-POSS-ACC tie-TR:3SG
 'Then he went home and tied his wife' s eyes. [F28]
- b. *tude terike-možū nugen-de-jle*
 [his wife-PRSP] hand-POSS-ACC
el+juø, el+moj
 NEG+see(NEG:3SG) NEG+hold(NEG:3SG)
 'He has not seen or held his bride' s hand. [F3]

(see 5.4.1.4 and 5.4.2.1 for more examples of Accusative and Dative “doubling” under the condition of the Possessive relationship between two instances of the same case). Note that if the head noun itself is in the Nominative case (as in (572a)-(572b)), Yukaghir has no morphological means to distinguish between the “External Possessor” which is assigned to the same case role as the Possessed (as in (573a)) and the Possessive modifier (as in (573b)).

Thus, Possessive marking on the head can serve a function similar to “External Possessor” constructions in other languages: once it is applied, the Possessor can be conceived of as a participant in the situation. This may but need not be reflected in the case marking.

2.2.4. Structural implications of internal Possessive marking

Possessive marking entails some structural implications which can be viewed as a sort of formal counterpart of the referential autonomy of the modifier. The structural autonomy of such modifiers appears to be somewhat higher than in the zero-marked construction. More specifically, the controller of Possessive marking is always an immediate constituent of the NP, or, the other way round, an NP made up by means of this encoding strategy cannot form a constituent of a “larger” NP (see 2.3.2 on the Attributive Possessive marking).

This property manifests itself in the interpretation of NP-initial demonstratives and quantifiers. As shown in 1.2, the zero mark-

ing is ambiguous as to whether such an item is an immediate constituent of the NP or of its nominal modifier; see (557). In contrast to this, internal Possessive marking licenses only the latter interpretation, that is, the NP-initial demonstrative or quantifier modifies the Possessor, but not the Possessed.

For instance, in (574a) the only possible reading is the one suggested by the gloss ('a half of your hare'), while in the absence of the Possessive marking the NP could have meant "your half of the hare". A similar contrast applies to (574a) ('the wife of one of his brothers', not 'one of his brother's wives').⁴⁵)

- (574) a. *qāqā*, *tudā* *čomō-n*
 grandfather [that.time] [be.big-ADV]
leŋd-ōl'-i-t *n'ienu-l-u-ke tet*
 eat-DETR-DESD-0-SS:IPFV] ask-1|2-0-DS] <your
čolhoro ejmunde-gi kej-mek
 hare> half-POSS give-TR:2SG
 'Grandfather, when I was very hungry and asked you
 (for food), you gave me a half of your hare.' [F15]
- b. *irk-in tude emd'e terike-de-jle*,
 <one-ATTR his younger.sibling> wife-POSS-ACC
pude ejre-de-ge, čobine-le kigī-t
 [outside walk-3SG-DS] [pike-INSTR jab-SS:IPFV]
kuddie-l'el-u-m
 kill-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'The wife of one of his brothers, when she went
 outside, he killed her by jabbing her with a pike.'

2.3. Attributive marking: NP_M-ATTR+NP_H-CASE

2.3.1. Simple Attributive marking

Attributive marking is described and exemplified in 5.5.1. Its semantic impact is opposite to that of Possessive marking: it signifies that the modifier is non-referential. In this sense, Attributive encoding also constitutes the marked option to zero marking, but for another class of situations.

More specifically, both options are available if the modifier does

not have a referent of its own, but can be thought of as an alternative conceptualization of the single referent invoked by the NP (see 2.1.2), e.g., a girl can be conceptualized both as a woman and as a child (575).

- (575) a. *tintaŋ ataq-un pajpe-d+uør-pe pude*
 that two-ATTR <woman-ATTR+child-PL> outside
pugeže-j-ŋi
 run.out-PFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘Those two girls ran outside.’ [F14]
- b. *taŋ pajpe uør-die kind’e-n’e*
 that <woman child-DIM> moon-COM
kebe-s’
 go-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘That girl went away with the moon.’ [F2]
- (576) a. *met qorobo-d+øŋ’če ataq-lō-t lek-ke!*
 my <cow-ATTR+bull> to-VR-SS:IPFV eat-IMP:1PL
 ‘Let us eat my bull together!’ [F29]
- b. *uøre-p-tie, mit qorobo øŋ’če kudede-ge*
 child-PL-DIM our [cow bull] kill-IMP:1PL
 ‘Children, let us kill our bull!’ [F29]

In contrast with zero-marked apposition (2.1.2), the Attributive modifier need not serve as an appropriate conceptualization of the relevant referent; it may just specify a property of the head referent. Thus, if the modifier does not meet this condition, only Attributive marking is available (for clear examples of this kind, see 5.5.1). This distinction gives a clue to understanding the factors that may trigger one or another option in less clear situations: the Attributive form is employed to signal that the conceptualization provided by the modifier is not salient enough to constitute an appropriate referential expression for the relevant entity in the given situation. To put it the other way round, the head noun provides a clearly more salient part of the description than the modifier noun.

The relative salience of the alternative conceptualizations of an

entity is to a large extent determined by the situation involving that entity. A clear example of this effect is given by a mythological story (see Text 1) with two major protagonists, one is the king of a lake (or the lake king), the other, the king of a sea (or the sea king). An essential property of these heroes is that they are thought of simultaneously as natural objects (the lake and the sea) and as personified entities ('kings'). Accordingly, the narrator employs alternatively Attributive marking and zero marking of the modifiers ('lake' and 'sea'), but never resorts to a simple noun. The Attributive form is used in all instances involving some sort of personification, cf. (577b) and the second instance in (577c). In contrast, when it is clearly the lake or the sea (as a natural object) that is involved in the situation, zero marking is applied, see (577a) and the first instance in (577c).

- (577) a. *jalhil pugedend'e ligu-mu-l'el* <...>
 lake king old-INCH-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'The lake king has grown old ... (= it is too shallow).'
- b. *jalhi-n+pugedan'd'e oqil'l'ā-ḡin mon-i* <...>
 lake-ATTR+king perch-DAT say-INTR:3SG
 'The lake king said to the perch: [...]'
- c. *tamun-gele tud-in tudā čobul*
 that-ACC he-DAT [that.time sea
pugedan'd'e-ge ejre-de-ge
 king-LOC walk-3SG-DS]
čobu-n+pugedan'd'e mol-l'el
 sea-ATTR+king say-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'That was what the sea king said to him when he went into the sea king.'

Thus, zero marking is employed if, in the given situation, the property signified by the modifier is salient enough to constitute an appropriate description of the referent. Attributive marking presents the very same property as relatively "marginal".

This distinction can be employed to signal rather slight shifts in conceptualization of an entity. For example, in a situation of a

marriage being happily arranged, the fiancée's property of being a "girl" is conceived as significantly more salient than that of being "a small goose", hence the Attributive marking in (578a). Once the agreement is broken (the reason being precisely that the fiancée and the fiancé belong to different species), the fact that she is a "small goose" becomes more salient, hence the zero marking in (578b).

- (578) a. *ubuj mošolupkā juku-jonžā-n+martl'uø-k*
 true owl small.goose-ATTR+girl
min-te-mle
 take-FUT-OF:3SG
 'Is that true that the owl is going to marry a small
 goose girl?' [F5]
- b. *juku-jonžā martl'uø el+qon*
 small.goose girl NEG+go(INTR:3SG)
mošolupkā-ŋin
 owl-DAT
 'The small goose girl⁴⁶ will not marry the owl.' [F5]

It is not the case that the semantic environment of the NP always explains the choice of marking option. For instance, in (576) the context appears not to provide any clues to the explanation of the speaker's choice. However, the semantic impact of Attributive vs. zero marking may be assumed to be the same, independently of whether or not it is predictable from the context: Attributive marking presents the modifying property as relatively marginal, zero marking signifies that this property is "central" enough to provide an appropriate conceptualization of the entity.⁴⁷ This assumption seems to be justified by the general semantic properties of these encoding options, as described in 5.5.1 and 2.1.2.

Thus, Attributive marking in (579a) accords the primary prominence to the conceptualization provided by the head noun (what is most salient is that some bone has been broken), while zero marking applied to a lexically identical NP in (579b) presents the body part where the bone is located as a central property of the referent (what is important is that 'it' has been attached to

the wings). Similarly, the construction in (580a) is intended to stress that there are no bad things (= drawbacks), not that there is nothing at all. In contrast to this, the zero marking in (580b) presents ‘nothing’ as an appropriate description of what has been left.

(579) a. *tabud-e ajī-t pierī-d+amun-gi*
 [that-INSTR shoot-SS:IPFV] wing-ATTR+bone-POSS
šelge-de-j-l’el-mele
 break-CAUS-PFV-INFR-OF:3SG
 ‘He shot it and broke its wing-bone.’

b. *tude pierī amun-pe-gen moššo-m*
 her <wing bone-PL-PROL> put.on-TR:3SG
 ‘She attached it to her wings (to the bones of her wings)’ [F7]

(580) a. *n’e-leme-n er-čōn oj-l’e*
 NEG+what-ATTR be.bad-SBNR NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 ‘There is nothing bad.’

b. *n’e-leme n’ās’en-d’ōn is’e-n-d’ōn*
 NEG-what be.sharp-SBNR spike-PRPR-SBNR
el+pon’ā-š-nu-ŋi
 NEG-remain-CAUS-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘They left nothing sharp, nothing with a spike.’ [F31]

On the other hand, Attributive marking appears to be preferred in NPs containing more than two nouns, see (581a) and (581b).

(581) a. *tamun juø-delle alandin mašl’uø*
 [that see-SS:PFV] A. daughter
kereke-d+and’e terike-ŋin n’ās’edaj-delle
 [<Koryak-ATTR+prince> wife-DAT return-SS:PFV]
ās’e-p-te-get min-delle mol-l’el <...>
 [deer-PL-POSS-ABL take-SS:PFV] say-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 ‘Having seen this, Alandin’s daughter returned to the wife of the Koryak prince, took her deer and said: ...’ [F50]

- b. *kereke and'e-pul jed-u-l* *šoromo-pul-gi*
 [Koryak prince-PL be.visible-0-ANR] person-PL-POSS
jolohude el+kelu-nu-l'el-ŋi
 back:DIR NEG+come-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Those people who met the Koryak princes never came
 back.' [F50]

This preference may be determined by the need to disambiguate the internal structure of the NP (cf. (556)), since the NP created by means of Attributive marking can function only as a single unit within a "larger" NP.

2.3.2. Possessive Attributive marking

The Possessive Attributive suffix is described in 5.5.1.2. Its syntactic peculiarity is determined by the fact that it marks two relations simultaneously: the Possessive relation (according to the Possessive marking scheme) and the modifier head relation between the Possessed and the head noun. In other words, it is used to mark the Possessive relationship between an NP and the modifier of another NP.

- (582) *taŋ marqil' aŋd'e-de* *ōžī*
 <that girl> <eye-POSS:ATTR water>
 'the tears of that girl (lit. the water of that girl's
 eyes) [F35]

With nominal heads, this marking is used almost exclusively pronominally (583); the only instance of internal marking in my corpus is given in (582).

- (583) a. *kurčeŋ pulut-te* *ās'e-de-n'e*
 crane <husband-POSS:ATTR deer-POSS-COM>
n'ahā pollā-l'el-ŋi
 together rot-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'A crane and her husband' deer were rotting
 together.' [K3]

- b. *id'ĩ čomōlben nuŋ-ŋide jō-de*
 [now elk find-SS:COND] [head POSS:ATTR
amun noj-de amun-pe-gi qoqs'in-pe-gi
 bone leg-POSS:ATTR bone-PL-POSS claw-PL-POSS
omos' n'umuje-š-telle čiččĩ-delle
 well platform-PRPR:CAUS-SS:PFV] [clean-SS:PFV]
omos' pøn'ĩ-ŋi-k
 well put-PL-IMP:2
 'Now, if you kill an elk, prepare a platform for its
 skull, legbones and hooves, clean them, and put them
 there in a proper way.' [F34]

Note that Possessive Attributive marking is not confined to non-referential modifiers (as it is the case for the 'plain' Attributive marking); in particular, it can serve as the controller of the Possessive marking on the head (583a).

This marking is rather infrequent with noun modifiers, but it is used quite regularly in postpositional phrases (5.2, 11.4.1) and in Nominal relative clauses (11.3.2).

3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers comprise cardinal numerals (7.2.1), universal quantifiers (7.1.5), and scalar quantifiers (*čā-* 'be few', *ninge-* 'be many'), see also 2.1.3 for quantification phrases. This section describes only the scalar quantifiers. The scalar quantifiers belong to the class of verbs.

- (584) a. *lebejdĩ ninge-j*
 berries be.many-INTR:3SG
 'There were a lot of berries.'
- b. *čuøl'e-d+omnĩ parā-ge čomōlben*
 ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC elk
čā-l'el
 be.few-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'In the ancient people's time, there were few elk.' [F34]

When used as noun modifiers, they take the verbal Active Attributive form (6.1.2.2). The same lexical items are used for scalar quantification of count nouns (585) and mass nouns (586). The head noun takes the Singular form (see 5.3.1.4, 5.3.1.5).

- (585) a. *met ninge-j šoromo-k*
 I [be.many-ATTR] person-PRED
ahurpe-š-me
 suffer-CAUS-OF:1SG
 'I plagued many people.' [F31]
- b. *ninge-j nodo-k šaqal'ā-l'el-ŋi-l*
 [be.many-ATTR] bird-PRED gather-INFR-3PL-SF
 'Many birds gathered.' [F5]
- c. *met mieste-ge čā-je lebejdī-k l'e-l*
 I place-LOC [be.few-ATTR] berry-PRED be-SF
 'At my place there were few berries.'
- (586) a. *čā-je legul-ek kej-met*
 [be.few-ATTR] food-PRED give-OF:2PL
 'You have given me little food.'
- b. *ninge-j legul-ek nado+ŋō-l,*
 [be.many-ATTR] food-PRED necessary-STAT-SF
n'ēr-ek, ōžn-k
 cloth-PRED water-PRED
 'We need a lot of food, (we need) clothing, (we need) water.' [F31]

If the quantified NP is the direct object, the scalar quantifier can float to the preverbal position. In this construction, the quantifier takes a special form in *-ō*, thus:

- (587) a. *terike, legul ningō ā-k*
 wife food many make-IMP:2SG
 'Wife, make a lot of food.' [F24]
- b. *lebejdī-le ningō šaqal'e-š-l'el-ŋa*
 berries many gather-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They have gathered a lot of berries.'

- c. *tolow tāt ningō nūŋ-i*
 deer CA many find-TR:1PL
 ‘We have found lots of deer.’
- d. *legul-e čālō kej-ŋā*
 food little give-3PL:TR
 ‘They gave a small amount of food.’
- e. *anil nahā čālō ī-de-j*
 fish very little get.caught-CAUS-TR:1PL
 ‘We have caught a very small amount of fish.’

The distinction between the “internal” quantification (as in (586)) and the construction with quantifier floating is clearly associated with the grammatical Focus (see 12.2-12.3): quantifier floating is used if the O participant itself is outside the scope of assertion (hence, cannot be marked for the grammatical Focus). Scalar quantifiers in the modifier function regularly attract grammatical Focus marking; see (586).

If the object NP is recoverable from the context, it can be dropped, so that only the quantifier is present in the clause:

- (588) a. *met-in čālō kej-met*
 I-DAT little give-TR:2PL
 ‘You have given me a small amount (of it).’
- b. *ningō pundie-nu-l’el-u-m*
 many tell-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
n’e-leme-die-le el+ahid’ī-t
 [NEG-what-DIM-INSTR NEG+conceal-SS:IPFV]
 ‘He told a lot, without concealing anything.’ [F50]

Apparently, a similar construction with quantifier floating is possible for cardinal verbs (7.2.1.2), yet it occurs very rarely:

- (589) *mit čomōlben-pe d’e n’elbe-t-i ataq̄lō*
 we elk-PL DP skin-TR:1PL two
 ‘We skinned both elk.’

See also 7.1.5.1 on the syntactic behavior of the universal quantifier.

4. NP conjunction

Following Stassen (forthcoming), the concept of NP conjunction is taken to cover all cases where one type of participation in the event is ascribed to two (or more) separate entities (represented by different lexical items). Yukaghir has three different strategies for NP conjunction, which make use of the Comitative case (4.1), asyndeton (4.2) and the connective adverb *tāhile* (4.3).

4.1. Comitative strategy

The Comitative strategy represents a sort of intermediate case between the coordination of NPs (*and*-like) and the comitative adjunct (*with*-like), a situation which seems to be fairly typical for languages without a separate morpheme for “and” (Mithun 1988; Stassen forthcoming).

The Comitative marker *-n'e* (5.4.3.2.1) can be employed to conjoin two (and only two) NPs representing the subject (590) or the object (591) participants (it is not applied to more marginal participants). This construction is also possible with the alternative Comitative form in *-n'it* ~ *-n'ut*; see 5.4.2.3.2 for examples.

- (590) a. *taŋ emil-ge alandin tude aduø-n'e kereke-pul*
 that night-LOC A. his son-COM [Koryak-PL
ohō-l mieste-ŋin kel-l'el-ŋi
 stand-ANR] place-DAT come-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘That night, Alandin and his son came to the place
 where the Koryaks were staying.’ [F50]
- b. *čuøte ibil'e-de-ge tude-gele peššej-delle*
 [always cry-3SG-DS] [he-ACC threw-SS:PFV]
kewej-l'el-ŋi emej-gi
 go-PFV-INFR-3PL:INTR mother-POSS
ečie-de-n'e
 father-POSS-COM
 ‘Because he had always cried, his mother and his
 father left him and went away.’
- c. *tāt mon-delle mukolaj-die egor-die-n'e*
 [CA say-SS:PFV] N.-DIM E.-DIM-COM

abudā-l'el-ŋi

lic-INFR-3PL:INTR

'Having said this, Nikolay and Egor lay down.'

- (591) a. <...> *taŋ pulun-die-gele n'anme is'e-n'e*
 that old.man-DIM-ACC bush spike-COM

irkil'-l'e+ŋōn amladaj-m

one-NR-TRNSF swallow-TR:3SG

'...he swallowed the old man together with the branches.' [F20]

- b. *tabun-ge erie-t jaqte-de-ŋle tude eje*
 [that-LOC hate-SS:IPFV song-POSS-ACC] [his bow

johotī-n'e min-delle tabud-e tāt
 arrow-COM take-SS:PFV] that-INSTR CA

ajī-m

shoot-TR:3SG

'Since he hated her song, he took his bow and arrows and shot at her.' [F37]

The Comitative marking licenses only the single-event ('together') interpretation of clauses like in (590)-(591), i.e., such a construction cannot be employed to describe two separate events involving the conjoined participants in the same role.

The Comitative either creates a single noun phrase or introduces a new (comitative) participant (see 5.4.2.3.1). Accordingly, if the Comitative is associated with the subject participant, the verb agreement can be either Plural (see (590)) or Singular (592)).

- (592) a. *taŋ pajpe uø-die kind'e-n'e kebe-s'*
 that woman child-DIM moon-COM go-PFV:INTR:3SG

'That girl went away with the moon.' [F2]

- b. *met irk-in pajpe uø-n'e juode-je*
 I one-ATTR woman child-COM play-INTR:1PL

'I played with a girl.'

- c. *n'e-qanide qon-ōl+možū el+lejdī-t*
 [NEG-where:DIR go-RNR-PRSP NEG-know-SS:IPFV]

tā mēmē-n'e abudā-l'el
 there bear-COM lie-INFR(INTR:3SG)
 'She did not know where to go and lay down there
 together with the bear.' [F4]

Furthermore, even if the agreement is Plural, the NP created by means of this strategy is not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint, i.e., the non-Comitative subject participant can be dropped:

- (593) a. *met emd'ie-n'e pon'o-jōn-pe*
 my younger.sibling-COM remain-SBNR-PL
ō-d'e
 COP-INTR:1SG
 'I remained there with my younger sister.'
- b. *taŋ met pajpe uø-die-n'e čupte*
 that my woman girl-DIM-COM always
me+juod-ī'i
 AFF+play-INTR:1PL
 'I always played with that girl.'

Note that in the periphrastic verb form in (593a), the nominal form of the lexical verb bears the Plural marker, while the copula shows Singular agreement. These observations suggest that there is no clear border between 'and' and 'with' functions of the Comitative.

The Comitative marker *-n'it* (see 5.1.2, 5.4.2.3.2) can be applied to create a list of two or more NPs, each of which takes the Comitative marker:

- (594) a. *aŋd'e ajbī-t ejre-ŋide čumu*
 [[eye shadow-SS:IPFV] walk-SS:COND] all
jed-i tite ørd'ō-l lebie-ge
 visible-INTR:3SG as middle-ANR earth-LOC
šāl-n'it ulege-n'it unuŋ-n'it jalgil-n'it
 tree-COM grass-COM river-COM lake-COM
čobul-n'it pie-n'it
 sea-COM mountain-COM
 'If I walk with my eyes closed, everything is visible,

like on the middle earth, trees, and grass, and rivers,
and lakes, and seas, and mountains.' [F31]

- b. *uør-pe-n'it, pajpe-n'it, čumu lej-l'el-u-m*
 child-PL-COM woman-COM all eat-INFR-0-TR:3SG
pat-telle
 [cook-SS:PFV]
 'The children and the women, he appears to have
 eaten all of them, having cooked them.'

See also 9.3.2.1 on the free comitative marker.

4.2. *Asyndeton*

Several NPs in the same role can just follow each other, each in the same case form, without any overt marking of conjunction.

- (595) a. *mēmē čugurubie tabun-get čied'e-me*
 bear chipmunk that-ABL winter-TMP
joŋžō-ŋi
 sleep-3PL:INTR
 'That is why the bear and the chipmunk
 hibernate.' [F9]
- b. *d'e tāt ajn-ā-m šūke-die-le*
 DP CA shoot-INGR-TR:3SG pike-DIM-INSTR
momušā-le
 momusha-INSTR
 'Well, he began to shoot at the pike and
 Momusha.' [F6]
- c. *tāt šobohorā-k loškarā-k kes'ī-mele*
 CA bowl-PRED spoon-PRED bring-OF:3SG
 'Then he brought a bowl and a spoon.' [F4]
- d. *poŋžube momušā šūke-die*
 woodgrouse m. pike-DIM
n'e+es'keri-l-ō-pe-gi
 RECP-attack-0-RNR-PL-POSS
 'A fight between a woodgrouse, Momusha and a
 pike.' [F6]

If several Focus subject participants are conjoined by means of this strategy, the verb can have the Singular form:

- (596) a. *čāčā-pe-gi* *emd'e-p-ki*
 elder.brother-PL-POSS younger.sibling-PL-POSS
pābā-pe-gi *epie-gi*
 elder.sister-PL-POSS grandmother-POSS
qāqā-gi *l'e-l'el-u-l*
 grandfather-POSS be-INFR-0-SF
 'She had elder brothers, younger brothers and sisters,
 elder sisters, a grandmother and a grandfather.' [F3]
- b. *esie-gi* *emej-gi* *l'e-l'el-u-l*
 father-POSS mother-POSS be-INFR-0-SF
 'She had a father and a mother.' [F3]

This agreement presumably suggests that the construction may be analyzed as a clause-conjunction with dropped verb forms; alternatively, it can be assumed that agreement is controlled by the closest NP.⁴⁸

If conjoined NPs constitute a "typical group", they can share a single Possessive pronoun (preceding the whole group) or even a single suffix (attached to the last noun):

- (597) a. *tude loškarā-gele šobohorā-gele pejžī-m*
 his spoon-ACC plate-ACC throw-TR:3SG
šešpedaŋil' arqā
 door near
 'He threw his spoon and bowl near the door.' [F4]
- b. *met emej es'ie ta-ŋide*
 my mother father there-DIR
qol-l'el-ŋi-te-j
 go-INFR-3PL-FUT-INTR
 'My mother and father have probably gone there.' [F2]
- c. *tāt qadun-get+ere āj*
 CA which.place-ABL+INDF CP
kelu-nu-l'el bojs'e amun
 come-IPFV-INFR(INTR:3SG) [entirely bone

iŋd'ĩ+ŋōt *gude-delle*
 skinflint+TRNSF become-SS:PFV]
 'Then he used to come from somewhere again, having
 turned into bones and skinflint (= very thin.)' [F1]

4.3. Conjunction with *tāhile* 'then'

NPs can be conjoined by means of the connective adverbial *tāhile* ~ *tāčile* 'then' (see 14.3 for examples of its use as an adverbial). The following examples illustrate its use for conjunction of Nominative NPs (titles of stories) (598a)-(598b), subject participants (598c), noun modifiers (598d), and secondary comitative participants of a reciprocal situation (598e).

- (598) a. *pajpe tāhile mēmē*
 woman CA bear
 'The woman and the bear.' (title of a story) [F4]
- b. *alme tās'ile amde*
 shaman CA death
 'The shaman and Death.' [F43]
- c. *erpeje-pul tāhile kereke-pul modo-l'el-ŋi*
 Even-PL CA Koryak-PL live-INFR-3PL:INTR
ninge-j numø+ŋōt
 be.many-ATTR house-TRNSF
 'Evens and Koryaks lived in large groups (in many
 houses).' [F50]
- d. *kereke-pul tāhile erpeje-pul and'e-p-ki*
 Koryak-PL CA Even-PL prince-PL-POSS
ejre-š-nu-l'el-ŋā odul-pe-gele
 walk-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR [Yukaghir-PL-ACC
kudde-din
 kill-SUP]
 'The princes of Koryaks and Evens used to send people
 to kill Yukaghirs.' [F50]

- e. *tudā taŋdjet odul-pe kereke-pul-n'e*
 that.time CA Yukaghir-PL Koryak-PL-COM
tāhile erpeje-pul-n'e kimd'ī-nun-ŋi
 CA Even-PL-COM fight-HAB-3PL:INTR
 'That is how Yukaghirs fought with Koryaks and
 Evens long ago.' [F50]⁴⁹

5. Postpositional phrases

Generally, arguments of postpositions are encoded in the same way as modifiers of nouns:

- The third person pronouns take the possessive form.
- Nouns can have the Nominative or the Attributive form.
- The argument of a postposition can control the Possessive marker on that postposition.

However, the distribution of these marking options differs from that attested in noun phrases: the possessive forms of third person pronouns are not reflexive (5.1), and the Possessive Attributive form is much more common than in NPs (5.2).

5.1. Possessive pronouns vs. Possessive markers

Formally, the pronominal arguments of postpositions are encoded in the same way as pronominal possessive modifiers of nouns, either by the possessive forms of personal pronouns (7.1.1.2) or by the Possessive marking (5.2, 2.2) on the postposition itself. Yet, in NPs, the possessive forms of third person pronouns are reflexive, that is, they signify that the Possessor is coreferential with the subject of the clause. In postpositional phrases, this is not the case, i.e., the possessive forms may (599), but need not (600) be coreferential with the subject:

- (599) a. *tāt taŋ pajpe uø-die met-kele nugen-get*
 [CA that woman child-DIM I-ACC hand-ABL
min-delle tude jelā qon-to-m
 take-SS:PFV] her behind go-CAUS-TR:3SG

‘Then that girl took me by the hand and led me behind herself.’

- b. *tabun medi-din nodo-pe šaqal'e-t titte*
 [this listen-SUP] [bird-PL gather-SS:IPFV] [their
arqā los'il piede-t-telle madā-l'el-ŋi
 near fire burn-CAUS-SS:PFV] sit-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘In order to listen to it, the birds gathered, made fire
 near themselves and sat down.’ [F5]

- c. *pulun-die-gele tude budie-n im-de-lle*
 old.man-DIM-ACC his surface-DIR sit-CAUS-SS:PFV
tāt kəu-de-j-m
 CA go-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
 ‘(The fox) put the old man on his back and brought
 him away.’ [F15]

- (600) a. *titte laŋin tāt šubeže-je*
 their towards CA run-INTR:1SG
 ‘I ran towards them.’

- b. *titte arqā omnī ej-jūke oj-l'e-ŋi*
 their near people NEG-far NEG-be-3PL:INTR
 ‘There were no people living near them.’ [F22]

- c. *tiŋ paj touke-gi uømu-nu-t tude*
 [this woman dog-POSS caress-IPFV-SS:IPFV] her
al'ā čirčege-j
 near jump-INTR:3SG
 ‘This woman’s dog jumped around her showing
 affection.’

To some extent, the non-reflexive use of these forms is determined by the fact that not all postpositions have the Possessive morphology, i.e., the non-reflexive counterpart of possessive pronouns is not always available (see 7.3 for the list of postpositions which have Possessive forms). Quite predictably, since one member of the opposition is not available, the opposition is neutralized.

It should be noted, however, that the possessive pronouns may be used non-reflexively with those postpositions which do take the

Possessive markers; see (600c) and (601):

- (601) *jouhodarī-die al'-de-ge godō-j*
 bag-DIM near-POSS-LOC lie-INTR:3SG
 'The bag lay near him.' [F49]

In other words, the functional opposition between reflexive (free) and non-reflexive (bound) pronominal modifiers is neutralized for arguments of all postpositions, independently of the morphological availability of the latter option in each particular case. It may be assumed, therefore, that the noun-to-postposition grammaticalization in Yukaghir involves two partially independent processes:

- Reinterpretation of the possessive modifier as the argument of a postposition. The possessive form of pronominal modifiers is preserved, but it is reinterpreted as a non-Possessive instance of the personal pronoun, hence the loss of the reflexive meaning (which is associated only with the possessive use of personal pronouns, see 7.1.1).
- Loss of the nominal morphology, in particular, of the Possessive morphology.

As seems to be shown by the examples above, the functional reinterpretation is a prerequisite for the loss of the Possessive morphology, but not vice versa.

5.2. Attributive marking

The non-Possessive Attributive form is available for arguments of postpositions, but occurs extremely rarely. In fact, there are but few examples of this usage (602). This is quite predictable, since the arguments of postpositions are normally referential, which precludes Attributive marking (see 2.3).

- (602) a. *kurūk šā-n+budie madā-nu-je*
 always tree-ATTR+SUPER sit-IPFV-INTR:1SG
 'I always sit on the top of the tree.' [F6]

- b. *jā-n korobka toh-ō-de-gele*
 [three-ATTR box close-RNR-POSS-ACC]
uru-n+āl pøñ'i-m
 bed-ATTR+SUB put-TR:3SG
 'He put the three closed boxes under the bed.' [F43]

In contrast to this, the Possessive Attributive Possessive marking in postpositional phrases form is employed much more frequently for arguments of postpositions than for noun modifiers.

- (603) a. *il'aj-delle puguže-s' čomōlben*
 [rip-SS:PFV] run-PFV:INTR:3SG elk
iri-de molho-t
 belly-POSS:ATTR IN-ABL
 'He ripped the elk's belly and jumped out. [F33]
- b. *numø-pe-de jekl'ie murge-lek l'el*
 house-PL-POSS:ATTR behind thicket-PRED be-SF
 'Behind their house, there was a thicket.' [F55]

If the argument of a postposition is an Action Nominal or a Result Nominal, this marking can be viewed as the most frequent, "default" version.

- (604) a. *tāt jeŋžū-t-ī'i jowle-me nodo*
 CA sleep-FUT-INTR:1PL evening-ADV [bird
mer-ujī-de laŋin
 fly-ITER-POSS:ATTR AD:DIR]
 'We will sleep till the evening period of birds' flying.'
- b. *bojs'e lige-mu-lle terike-gi*
 [entirely be.old-INCH-SS:PFV] [wife-POSS
amd-uo-de jelāt is' tud+id'ie tāt
 die-RNR-POSS:ATTR after] long he+INTR CA
modo-j, tude uørpe-pul-n'e
 live-INTR:3SG his child-PL-COM
 'After he had become very old, after his wife had died,
 he still lived for a long time alone, with his children.'

- c. *ejūke* *gude-l-ō-de* *jelāt* *tā*
 [NEG:far become-0-RNR-POSS:ATTR after] there
aji
 shoot(TR:1SG)
 ‘After he had come closer, I shot.’

See 11.4.1 for a description of this type of Adverbial clause.

Chapter 9

Syntax of the clause

This chapter discusses the case marking of the core participants in finite (1.1) and non-finite (1.2) clauses. The most remarkable feature of case marking in Yukaghir is the extensive employment of the well-known affinities between the core participant roles and pragmatic (or information-packaging) properties of NPs (1.3). Section 1.4 provides summaries of syntactic properties which may serve to identify the grammatical relations of subject, direct object and indirect object.

The most frequent word order is verb-final, yet the relative order of constituents is largely determined by their pragmatic roles (1.5).

Verb valence patterns are described in section 2. Section 3 provides an overview of clausal adjuncts.

1. Core participants and grammatical relations

1.1. Finite clauses: summary of case marking

1.1.1. Transitive finite clauses

The primary participant of the transitive finite clause (A) takes the Nominative form⁵⁰ and controls the agreement marking on the verb (see 5.4.1.2, 6.1.1.2); it is easily dropped when recoverable. The secondary participant (O) lacks a uniform case marking; the following options are available:

1. *Predicative marking.* The O participant can be marked as the Focus, which entails the choice of the OF paradigm for

the finite verb (see 5.4.1.3, 6.1.1.2). The Focus NP cannot be dropped. The Focus marking ensures the distinguishability of the participants, insofar as no other participant of a transitive clause can be marked as the Focus (see 12.2–12.3).

2. *Neutral marking.* Provided that A is first or second person, a third person O takes the Nominative form (5.4.1.2), a first or second person O, the Pronominal Accusative form (5.4.1.5, 7.1.1.1). Both in this and in the next case the O participant can be easily dropped if the referent is recoverable from the context.
3. *Accusative marking.* If A is third person, a non-Focus O participant takes the Accusative or the Instrumental form (5.4.1.4, 5.4.1.6).

These marking options are exemplified in the respective sections on case functions (5.4.1), as well as by many other examples in this book; for a description of Focus marking, see 12.2–12.3.

Note that the so called “Anaphoric NPs” (proper nouns, third-person personal pronouns, and Possessive NPs) do not take the Predicative case form (5.4.1.1, 5.4.1.2). Instead, the Nominative form is used in all positions where the Predicative case would otherwise be required. As a result, in sentences like (605) both core participants are in the Nominative case form.⁵¹

- (605) a. *tamun-ŋin titte uør-pe jal-l’el-mele*
 that-DAT their child-PL_O send-INFR-OF:3SG
čarčagan-die
 C.-DIM_A
 ‘Charchahan sent their (his and his wife’s) children to bring it.’ [F29]
- b. *tamun-ge tintan pulut ejmunde-gi tadi-mele*
 that-LOC that old.man_A half-POSS_O give-OF:3SG
 ‘In response, the old man gave (her) a half of it.’ [F15]
- c. *pon’qonodo šaqale-ŋin tude mašl’uø tadi-mele*
 lynx_A fox-DAT his daughter_O give-OF:3SG
 ‘The lynx gave his daughter to the fox (as a

wife).’ [F18]

However, such sentences are never ambiguous, since they occur only if the O participant is marked as the Focus and the Focus NP always takes the preverbal position. Hence, the NP representing the A participant cannot intervene between the Focus and the finite verb (see 1.5.1). In addition, the Focus NP (which is implied by the verb form) cannot be omitted, so that the Nominative NP in the preverbal position can only be interpreted as the O participant. Thus, it is the grammatical Focus marking (as manifested in the linearization rules, constraints on pro-drop, and the OF form of the verb) that is employed to distinguish the core participants in such clauses.

Terminological note. In the syntactic chapters of this book, the term “Predicative marking” is applied to cases like (605) as well, that is, I will not make the reservations concerning Anaphoric NPs at all points where Focus marking is mentioned. Similar terminological conventions are applied to other case marking options: the term “Neutral marking” refers to the second marking option in the list above (Nominative for third-person NPs, Pronominal Accusative for first and second person pronouns). Thus, Neutral marking is opposed to Nominative marking, where the Nominative case is used independently of the person. The term “Accusative marking” is applied to refer to the third marking option, independently of the particular case employed.⁵²

1.1.2. Intransitive finite clauses: split intransitivity

The single core participant of a finite intransitive clause (S) can either take the Nominative form or be marked as the grammatical Focus of the clause. The latter option involves the Predicative marking of the NP (5.4.1.3) and the choice of the SF paradigm for the finite verb (6.1.1.2). These options are exemplified in 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.1.3. Thus, Yukaghir appears to show a special (“Focus-oriented”) case of *split intransitivity*:⁵³ the S participant takes either Nominative marking (associated with the A participant in a

transitive clause) or Predicative marking (associated with the O participant in a transitive clause).

These marking properties naturally give rise to the following question: Which grammatical units (if any) can be associated with syntactic functions (or grammatical relations), such as subject, direct object, etc.; in other words, do the participant roles identify the syntactic functions, or are these functions identifiable only for a given packaging variant? To put the question straightforwardly, is it only the Nominative (non-Focus) primary participant (A/S) that can be identified as the subject of a clause, or is subjecthood maintained for the Predicative (Focus) S as well?⁵⁴

The former analysis might appear more plausible not only on morphological grounds, but also on the basis of functional considerations, inasmuch as some sort of topichood is generally associated with subjects. It appears, however, that Yukaghir grammar assigns the subject properties to the primary participant role (A/S), be it the Focus or not, rather than to the Nominative (non-Focus) A/S. That is to say, the syntactic generalizations of the type cross-linguistically associated with “subjects” are to be stated over the participant roles, without regard for the Focus marking. Various syntactic constructions that substantiate this claim are described in different parts of this grammar; see 1.4 for a summary of this evidence.

1.2. Non-finite clauses

The case marking of the core participants in non-finite clause differs from that outlined above for finite clauses:

- Focus marking is impossible in non-finite clauses.
- The primary participants of Nominal and Attributive relative clauses are encoded as Possessive modifiers (see 1.2.1).
- Neutral O marking in non-finite clause is compatible with the third person A participant, under pragmatic conditions which can be formulated in terms of oppositions between *global* and *local* participants (1.2.2).

1.2.1. Possessive A/S marking

The primary (A/S) participant of a Nominal clause (see 11.1 and 11.3.2) or an Attributive relative clause (11.3.1) is encoded as the Possessive modifier of the head NP, that is, of the Nominal verb form or the relativized NP respectively.⁵⁵ Since non-pronominal Possessive modifiers always take the Nominative (unmarked) form (see 8.2.1.1, 8.2.2), the case form of a noun cannot reflect this property. Therefore, Possessive A/S marking is manifested only by the following features:

- Third-person pronouns take the possessive (unmarked) form and are used reflexively, i.e., according to the general rule for Possessive modifiers of NPs (7.1.1.2), see examples (606a) and (607a).
- The A/S participant (different from that of the matrix clause) can be cross-referenced on the head NP by the Possessive marker. The sentences in (606b), (607b) illustrate pronominal Possessive marking, and the sentences in (606c), (607c) illustrate internal Possessive marking (see 8.2.2.1 for a description of this distinction).
- The Plural marker on the head may indicate either the plurality of the relativized NP (607b)⁵⁶ or the plurality of the S/A-participant of the Nominal (606c) or relative clause (607c), or both; see 5.3.2.3.

Possessive A/S marking in Nominal clauses:

- (606) a. *taŋ pulut-ŋin čumu pundu-l'el-u-m tude*
 that old.man-DAT all tell-INFR-0-TR:3SG [his
ed'-u-l-gele
 live-0-ANR-ACC]
 'He_i told that old man_j everything about his_i
 life.' [F32]
- b. *qollume lejte-ŋā erčōn-ge*
 soon know-3PL:TR [be.bad-SBNR-LOC
jaqa-l-ō-de-jle
 arrive-0-RNR-POSS-ACC]

‘They_i found out soon that he_j had reached a bad place.’ [F37]

- c. *met tet-in kišše-t ajbī-pe*
 I you-DAT show-FUT(TR:1SG) [soul-PL
uk-čī-pe-gi
 go.out-ITER-PL-POSS]
 ‘I will show you where the souls go out (from here).’ [F31]

Possessive A/S marking in Attributive relative clauses:

- (607) a. *taŋ paj tude en-že-j*
 that woman [her live-CAUS-ATTR]
touke-l-l’el
 dog-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 ‘That woman had a dog which she had brought up.’
- b. *taŋ alhudō-l lebie-get min-mele*
 [that [be.low-ANR earth-ABL take-ATTR:OF]
end’ōn-pe-gi nodo-pe-gi ørd’ō-l lebie-ge
 animal-PL-POSS bird-PL-POSS middle-ANR earth-LOC
jaqa-delle mieste el+lejdī-t
 arrive-SS:PFV] [place NEG+know-SS:IPFV]
legul-pe-gi el+lejdī-t
 [food-PL-POSS NEG+know-IPFV]
n’e+leg-ie-l’el-ŋi
 RECP-eat-INGR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘Those animals and birds which he had taken from Low Earth, having come to Middle Earth, they did not know the place, they did not know the food and they started to eat each other.’ [F9]
- c. *met emd’e-p-ki kelu-nu-l čuge-pe-gi*
 I [brother-PL-POSS come-IPFV-ANR] way-PL-POSS
juø-me-bed-ek lejdī
 see-ATTR:1SG-RELNR-PRED | know(TR:1SG)
 ‘I had seen and knew the way that his younger brothers used to come.’

1.2.2. Differential O marking: global vs. local participants

In contrast to the finite clause (see 1.1.1), Neutral O marking in non-finite clauses is compatible with a third person A participant. Thus, the variability between Neutral and Accusative O marking is not fully accounted for in terms of the person of A. Differential O marking appears to correlate with the relative prominence of the core participants outside the given clause, i.e., in some higher-level text unit. More specifically, Neutral marking is available if the A participant is conceived of as a salient element of a more global text unit than the O participant, according to the following tentative hierarchy: *clause* < *episode* < *text*.⁵⁷

1.2.2.1. Variability of O-marking. Exactly as in finite clauses, Neutral O marking is the only option when A is first or second person:

- (608) a. *tintan šāl m̄ibe-de-gen čine-delle*
 [that tree root-POSS-PROL chop-SS:PFV]
los'il+ḡōt piede-t-u-k
 fire.wood+ burn-CAUS-0-IMP:2SG
 'Cut this tree down and burn it for firewood.' [F27]
- b. *emis'e-ge aḡd'e ajbī-l-u-ge-ne*
 [darkness-LOC eye close.eyes-1|2-0-DS-COND]
jen-nu-j met kiejie-ben
 be.visible-IPFV-INTR:3SG [I before-RELNR]
 'When I close my eyes in the darkness, I can see.' [F31]

Differential O marking in clauses with third person A is illustrated by the pairs of examples in (609)–(612) for various types of non-finite clauses. In each pair of examples, the sentence in (a) illustrates the Accusative option, and the sentence in (b) illustrates the Neutral option. These examples are intended to demonstrate that there is no strict syntactic rule which governs the choice of one or another option; see the examples in (611), where there seems to be just no semantic or structural difference between the (a) and (b)-sentences which could account for the differing O marking. Neither can the differential O marking be explained in terms of semantic or pragmatic properties of the NP (as attested in some

other languages). In particular, Neutral marking may occur with highly “individuated” and referential NPs; see (611b), (613c).⁵⁸
 Differential O marking in Relative clauses:

- (609) a. *tet-kele tāt jelohude joq-to-t-če*
 [you-ACC CA back:DIR arrive-CAUS-FUT-ATTR]
šoromo oj-l'e
 person NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 ‘There is nobody who could bring you back.’ [T1]
- b. *n'e-leme-die el+lejd̄-je šoromo-pul tite*
 [[NEG-what-DIM NEG+know-ATTR] person-PL as
tī+tā modā-nu-lle me+kie-s'ū'I
 here+there sit-IPFV-SS:PFV] AFF+come-INTR:1PL
 ‘We have come after just having been sitting here and there, like people who do not know anything.’ (after an unsuccessful hunting trip) [K4]

Differential O marking in Privative clauses:

- (610) a. *taŋ-gele n'elbet-telle n'e-leme-de-jle*
 [that-ACC skin-SS:PFV] [NEG-what-POSS-ACC
el+min+cuøŋ numø+laŋin keb-ej-l'el
 NEG+take-|PRV] house+DIR go-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Having skinned it, but without having taken any part of it, he went towards the house.’ [F34]
- b. *tāt šobol'e-nu-l'el-ŋi n'e-leme*
 CA cease-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR [NEG-what
el+ā+čuoŋ
 NEG+make-|PRV]
 ‘Then they ceased (to work), without having made anything.’ [F3]

Differential O marking in same-subject clauses:

- (611) a. *tabun-gele juø-delle tāt ibil'-ie-j*
 [that-ACC see-SS:PFV] CA cry-INGR-INTR:3SG
 ‘He saw that and began to cry.’ [F29]

- b. *tabun juø-delle mon-i*
 [that see-SS:PFV] say-INTR:3SG
 'He saw that and said: [...]'

Differential O marking in different-subject clauses:

- (612) a. *met towke-lek ere paj-te-me met-kele*
 I dog only hit-FUT-OF:1SG [I-ACC
uše-j-de-j-ne
 touch-PFV-3SG-DS-COND]
 'I will hit the dog only if it touches me.' [F9]
- b. *tāt n'umud'i-die pešše-j-de-j-ne*
 [CA axe-DIM throw-PFV-3SG-DS-COND]
olhin gon-nu-l'el
 straight go-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 'So, when he throws the hatchet, it goes straight
 on.' [F31]

1.2.2.2. Local O participants. If the O participant of a non-finite clause represents the unique occurrence of some entity in the current episode of the text, it usually takes Neutral marking:

- (613) a. *irk-in aŋd'e-n'-u-l-ben šešpedaŋil'*
 [one-ATTR eye-PRPR-0-ANR-RELNR door
joho-da-j-delle amun-pe-k pude
 open-CAUS-PFV-SS:PFV] bone-PL-PRED outside
pejži-mele
 throw-OF:3SG
 'The one-eyed one opened the door and threw the
 bones out.' [F31]
- b. *oqonastie pulut tude jouje juø-t bičun*
 [A. old.man his trap see-SS:IPFV] various
anil-gele čumu idie-l'el-u-m
 fish-ACC all catch-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'Afanasij, the old man, checked his trap and it turned
 out that he had caught all varieties of fish.' [K4]

- c. *ediŋ met marqil' leg-u-l alme juø-k!*
 this [my girl eat-0-ANR] shaman see-IMP:2SG
 'Look for the shaman who has eaten my girl!' [F44]

See also (609b), (610b).

An essential point is that a local O participant may be previously mentioned in other episodes of the text; what matters is its status within the current episode. For instance, the sentence in (613c) starts an episode describing a struggle between two shamans (one who has eaten the girl and the other to whom the request in (613c) is addressed), an episode in which the girl herself does not play any role (although she is the main figure of one of the previous episodes). In (614b) the O participant has a pronominal modifier *tintay* 'that, aforementioned' which indicates that the participant plays a role in a previous episode; however, it is its single occurrence within the current episode, hence the Neutral marking.

In all instances of the local O participant, the A participant represents a continuous and/or persistent entity, that is, it does occur in other clauses of the same episode, either within (as in (613)) or outside (as in (614)) the given sentence. For instance, in (614a) the A participant is not shared by the finite clause, but nonetheless represents a prominent participant in the episode. Similarly, the sentence in (614b) belongs to a piece of text which describes a series of actions carried out by the A participant of the non-finite clause, each involving another set of non-primary participants. Hence, the core participants have differing statuses within the episode, although the difference is not observable on the sentence level.

- (614) a. *met terike qāqā kudede-de-ge tabud-e*
 [my wife_A grandfather_O kill-3SG-DS] that-INSTR
šoromo kude-je
 person become-INTR:1SG
 'My wife has killed a bear, by that means I have become a human being again (= recovered from exhaustion).' [F51]

- b. *tintan paj určile-le kigī-de-ge určile*
 [that woman_O splinter-INSTR jab-3SG-DS] splinter
šubed'e-de-ge jaqa-l'el
 heart-POSS-LOC arrive-INFR(3SG)
 '(He) jabbed that woman with a splinter, and the
 splinter reached her heart.' [F55]

1.2.2.3. Global O participants. If the O participant occurs in other clauses of the same episode,⁵⁹ both marking options are available. For Neutral O marking to be possible, the A participant must represent a more prominent and persistent figure of the episode or of the text as a whole.

For instance, in each sentence in (615) the O participant of the non-finite clause is shared by the finite clause, but it is a relatively minor element on the episode level, while the A participant is the central figure of the episode. Apparently similar examples in (616) instantiate another type of situation where both participants play significant roles in the episode. For instance, the bag in (616a) is a magic thing involved in all the events of the episode, while the knife in (615a) is nothing more than an instrument employed only within this particular event.⁶⁰

- (615) a. *tudel tude čohojo min-delle šā-n*
 [he his knife take-SS:PFV] tree-ATTR
kiel-gen jaqtude čolha-j-m
 chink-PROL further push-PFV-TR:3SG
 'He took his knife and poked it through a chink in the
 wood.' [F31]
- b. *qār min-delle jahid-ie-m*
 [skin take-SS:PFV] cut.out-INGR-TR:3SG
 'He took the skin and began to cut it out.' [F31]
- (616) a. *tintan šogī-gele el+l'uø+čuøn paja-j-m*
 [that bag-ACC NEG+see+PRV] carry-PFV-TR:3SG
 'Without having a look at this bag, he put it on his
 back.' [F19]

- b. *pulun-die-gele tude budie-n*
 [old.man-DIM-ACC he surface-PROL
im-de-lle tāt kōw-de-j-m
 ride-CAUS-DS:PFV] CA go-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
 ‘It (the fox) put the old man on its back and brought
 him away.’ [F15]

In (617), the O participant is involved in the relative clause only, but it is a continuous and persistent entity within the episode, as well as the main hero of the text (see Text 1). The A participant plays a role both in the relative clause situation and in the main clause situation, yet it is a less prominent figure of the episode and does not persist in other episodes of the text. This situation triggers Accusative marking.

- (617) *tude-gele joq-to-l ani-pe čobul*
 [he-ACC arrive-CAUS-ANR] fish-PL sea
pugedend’e-ŋin mol-l’el-ŋi
 king-DAT say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘The fishes that had brought him said to the sea king:
 [...]’ [T1]

Note that Neutral O marking does not require the A participant to be shared by other clauses of the sentence. For instance, in (612b) the O participant occurs in both clauses of the chain, the A participant being involved in the non-finite clause only. Furthermore, the O participant is a salient element of the episode (in which the hero has to follow the way indicated by the hatchet); yet the A participant is more “global”, being the main figure both of the episode and of the text, hence the Neutral marking.

This evidence seems to indicate that Neutral O marking in the non-finite clause is available only if the A participant of that clause is a more “global” entity, either on the episode level (see 1.2.2.2) or on the text level. If the O participant is a more (or equally) prominent entity both on the episode and on the text levels, it is likely to take the Accusative marking.

1.3. "Pragmatic motivations" for case marking: summary

There are four alternative mechanisms which are employed to distinguish the core participants of a transitive clause:

1. Focus marking. If the O participant is marked for the grammatical Focus, the core participants of the clause are distinguished by virtue of the fact that the A participant cannot take the Predicative marking (1.1.1). This mechanism can be viewed as a sort of grammaticalization of the semantic affinity between the A role and the "topic", on the one hand, and the O role and the "focus," on the other. Various reflexes of these affinities are attested in the grammars of many languages. What may distinguish Yukaghir typologically is the especially prominent role of this association in the core clause-internal syntax.
2. Person hierarchy. If the A participant coincides with a speech act participant and the O participant does not, no overt case marking is needed, i.e., the grammar associates the participants of the speech act with the A role and the third person with the O role. Such affinities are also clearly semantically motivated and widely attested cross-linguistically. In addition, the agreement marking on the verb gives a strong formal support to this mechanism: the combination of a Nominative NP and a first- or second-person verb form accepts only the O interpretation of that NP.
3. "Global vs. local" opposition. If the A participant of a non-finite clause represents a more global entity (in the sense of 1.2.2.2-1.2.2.3) than the O participant, Neutral O marking is available. This mechanism is not fully grammaticalized. Presumably, it can be viewed as a manifestation of the text-level topicality of referential entities.
4. Accusative marking.

These mechanisms constitute a hierarchy: if Focus marking is applied, the person distinction is irrelevant, i.e., this mechanism

is only employed for non-Focus O participants. Similarly, the “global” vs. “local” status of the O participant is relevant only if the former two mechanisms are inapplicable. Finally, Accusative marking is employed only if neither of the pragmatically motivated distinctions is at work.

The pragmatically motivated mechanisms of distinguishing the core participants can be subsumed under a rather broad category of (relative) topicality of these participants, which would include the following “statuses” (the least “topical” status, the grammatical Focus, being inaccessible for the A participant):

(618) Speech act participant > Global participant > Local participant > Focus

The general rule for case marking in transitive clauses may be then formulated as follows: if the A participant is more topical than the O participant (that is, has a higher rank in hierarchy (618)), the latter need not be marked for the case role.

1.4. Grammatical relations

This section summarizes the syntactic properties which can identify the grammatical relations in Yukaghir. It is shown that the subject properties in Yukaghir are associated with the primary participant, independently of the Focus marking. On the contrary, there are no behavioral properties which would be associated with the Nominative A/S participant alone (in contrast to the Focus S participant and other types of constituents, see 1.1.2). On the basis of this evidence, it can be assumed that the syntactic functions have to be identified on the level of participants, without regard to Focus marking.

Sections 1.4.2-1.4.3 summarize the syntactic properties which may distinguish the syntactic functions of direct object (O participant of transitive clause) and indirect object (Dative participant of ditransitive clause).

All relevant constructions are described elsewhere in the grammar. This section can serve as an index to the respective parts of the grammar.

1.4.1. Subject properties (A/S participant)

The following properties are shared by the primary participants of transitive and intransitive clauses. Some of these properties are manifested in non-finite clauses, where the Focus marking is not available; others are insensitive to the Focus S vs. Nominative A/S distinction, i.e., they are demonstrably valid for both types of NPs. Hence, all these properties are independent of the Focus marking.

- The primary participant (A/S) controls the agreement markers on the finite forms (6.1.1), Passive Attributive forms (6.1.2.3) and DSforms (6.1.4.1.1). Although in the SF paradigm the number of opposed forms is severely reduced (it distinguishes only two forms instead of six, see 6.1.1.1), the S participant still controls the only remaining agreement marker (the Plural marker *-ŋi-*).
- The primary participant controls clause-internal coreference phenomena, i.e., Reflexive and Reciprocal marking (6.4.5) and the reflexive possessive pronouns (see 7.1.1.2), see also 14.1.1.1.
- The primary participant is encoded as the Possessor in Nominal and Attributive relative clauses (1.2.1). Consequently, the choice of the possessive pronoun vs. bound Possessive marking for this participant is controlled by its coreference with the primary participant of the matrix clause (see 14.1.2).
- The primary participant is obligatorily deleted in the Supine Adverbial clause (see 11.4.2).
- The primary participant controls the switch-reference markers in clause chains. This appears to be the most significant piece of evidence in favor of the subjecthood of the S Focus constituent; indeed, the switch reference seems to be most liable to be affected by the Focus marking, since it has to do with referent tracking, hence with topicality. However, this proves not to be the case: the primary participant controls

the switch-reference markers independently of whether or not it is marked as Focus (see 12.2.4, 14.1.3.3).

- There is only one, and rather marginal, relation-changing procedure which promotes the O participant into the S position, namely, the Resultative (see 6.3.5.6.2). This procedure does not interact with Focus marking.

To sum up, despite (or rather independently of) the grammatical Focus system, Yukaghir appears to be a highly *subject-prominent* and *role-dominated* language, where the primary participant role (A/S) serves as a major syntactic function (which can be identified as “subject”).

1.4.2. Direct object properties (O participant)

The direct object (O participant) can be distinguished from other objects by the following properties:

- The O participant can receive the grammatical Focus (Predicative) marking, which is impossible for other objects.
- The O participant can take the Nominative case form (under the conditions described in 1.1.1, 1.2.2).
- The O participant can be promoted to the S position by means of the Resultative (6.3.5.6.2).
- The coreference of the O participant with the A participant is marked by the Reflexive marking on the verb (see 6.4.5.3, 14.1.1.1).
- The O participant can be relativized (see 11.3 for details).
- The O participant can control scalar quantifier floating (see 8.3).

1.4.3. Indirect object properties (Dative participant)

The following properties are shared by the O participant and the Dative participant of a ditransitive clause (see 2.4.2), in contrast to more marginal constituents:

- The O participant and the Dative participant of a ditransitive clause can take the Accusative case form (both the regular Accusative and the pronominal Accusative, see 2.4).
- The reciprocal relation between the primary participant, on the one hand, and the O participant or the Dative participant, on the other, can be marked by means of the Reciprocal marking on the verb alone (6.4.5.2), while for more marginal participants a free postposition-based reciprocal marker (see 3.2.2) is needed.
- The O participant and the Dative participant can control the omitted primary participant in the Supine Purpose clause (11.4.4).⁶¹

1.5. Constituent order

1.5.1. Basic word order

The most frequent word order in terms of the core constituents is subject-object-verb, which is illustrated by most of the examples in this grammar. However, the word order, in particular in finite clauses, is rather flexible and is more appropriately described by the following “discourse-oriented” scheme:

(619) Topic–Focus–verb–(After-Topic)

Since the Focus is grammaticalized, this scheme imposes two strict constraints on the word order variation: the Focus cannot follow the verb (see 14.2.2.3), and the A constituent cannot intervene between the O Focus and the finite verb. As shown in 1.1.1, the latter rule can play a major role in distinguishing the participants of a clause.

There are two types of deviations from the SOV order: right dislocation (1.5.2) and clause-initial objects (1.5.3). NP discontinuity is possible but rather infrequent (1.5.4).

1.5.2. Right dislocation

The subject NP can be post-posed; in most cases, this order involves highly predictable (recoverable) subjects, i.e., it occurs under discourse conditions typical for so-called afterthought topicalization in other languages.

- (620) a. *taŋ pon'qonodo-pe-ŋin ejre-j čolhorā-die*
 that lynx-PL-DAT walk-INTR:3SG hare-DIM
 'The hare visited those lynxes.' [F3]
- b. *taŋ paj-gele el+jojlohā-l'el taŋ*
 that woman-ACC NEG+stroke-INFR(NEG:3SG) that
mēmē
 bear
 'That bear did not kill (lit. did not stroke) that woman.' [F4]
- c. *mit-ek aŋs'i-ŋile n'an'ulben-pe*
 we-PRED search-3PL:OF sinner-PL
kude-čī-je-pe-gi
 kill-ITER-ATTR-PL-POSS
 'The sinful killers are looking for us.' [F9]
- d. *jā-n emd'e-l'-l'el taŋ ulum*
 three-ATTR sibling-PRPR-INFR(3SG) that [crazy
gud-uj-s'e šoromo tačile irk-in
 become-ITER-ATTR] person | then one-ATTR
pajpe-d+emd'e-l'-l'el
 woman-ATTR+sibling-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'That man who was driving himself mad had three younger brothers, and he had one younger sister.'

Other types of constituents are postposed less frequently, but this is possible under the same discourse conditions:

- (621) a. *tāt ūj-ā-l'el-ŋā* *taŋ qadmudul-gele*
 CA make-INGR-INFR-3PL:TR that ring-ACC
 'Then they began to make that ring.' [F3]
- b. *čolhorā-die edie-s'-u-m* *tude*
 hare-DIM call-ITER-0-TR:3SG his
epie-gele
 grandmother-ACC
 'The hare is calling his grandmother.' [F13]
- c. *pulun-die mon-i* *terike-die-ŋin* <...>
 old.man-DIM say-INTR:3SG old.woman-DIM-DAT
 'The old man said to his wife: [...]' [F13]
- d. *čobul pugedan'd'e ažū jann-uo-de-jle*
 [sea king word sent-RNR-POSS-ACC]
joq-to-m jalhi-n pugedan'd'e-ŋin
 arrive-CAUS-TR:3SG lake-ATTR king-DAT
 'He brought the message of the sea king to the lake king.' [T1]
- e. *d'e tāt āj čeru-še-ŋā* *čigenmō-d'e*
 DP CA CP sink-CAUS-3PL:TR [deep-ATTR
mieste-ge
 place-LOC]
 'Well, then they brought him down to a deep place again.' [T1]

1.5.3. Relative order of preverbal constituents

The most frequent relative order of preverbal NPs is subject-initial, as illustrated by (622) and many other examples in this grammar:

- (622) a. *jalhi-n pugedan'd'e oqil'l'ā-ŋin mon-i* <...>
 lake-ATTR king perch-DAT say-INTR:3SG
 'The lake king said to the perch: [...]' [T1]

- b. *kič-ō-de* *jelāt jalhi-n pugedan'd'e*
 [learn-RNR-POSS:ATTR after] lake-ATTR king
ani-n pulut-pe-le čumu n'ie-m
 fish-ATTR old.man-PL-INSTR all call-TR:3SG
 'After he had learnt (it) by heart, the lake king called
 all fish elders.' [T1]

However, a non-Focus object can precede the subject. Such examples may be accounted for in terms of topicalization of the object:

- (623) a. *tabun-gele mošolupkā mid'-ej-m*
 that-ACC owl take-PFV-TR:3SG
 'He was grasped by the owl.' [F11]
- b. *mit-in pugedend'e šørile-lek jal-l'el-mele*
 we-DAT king letter-PRED send-INFR-OF:3SG
 'The king has sent a letter to us.'
- c. *čāj-e, tabaq-e omni-n čomōd'e-pul*
 tea-INSTR tobacco-INSTR family-ATTR elder-PL
moj-nunnu-l'el-ηā
 hold-HAB-INFR-3PL:TR
 'The tea and the tobacco were held by the kin elders.'
- d. *šoromo-le nilgi el+leg-u-t*
 person-INSTR nobody NEG+eat-0-FUT(NEG:3SG)
 'The human beings, nobody will eat them.'

The relative order of objects is rather flexible. In (624), the direct object precedes the indirect object; the sentences in (625) show the reverse order.

- (624) a. *oqil'l'ā-gele čobu-n pugedan'd'e-ηin*
 perch-ACC sea-ATTR king-DAT
joq-tā-l'el-ηā
 arrive-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They brought the perch to the sea king.'

- b. *taŋ el+mer-ujī-l nodo-le šoromo-ŋin*
 that [NEG+fly-ITER-ANR] bird-INSTR person-DAT
tadī-ŋā
 give-3PL:TR
 ‘They gave flightless birds to the humans.’ [F9]

- (625) a. *šūkā-die-ŋin tude mieste-gele*
 pike-DIM-DAT his place-ACC
el+kej-nu-j
 NEG+give-IPFV-INTR:3SG

‘He did not give his place to the pike.’ [F10]

- b. *tāt tintaŋ adil-ŋin tude mašl’uø-gele tadī-m*
 CA that boy-DAT his daughter-ACC give-TR:3SG
 ‘Then he gave his daughter to this boy.’ [F15]

Generally, the relative order of preverbal NPs can be assumed to follow the scheme in (619), i.e., NPs which are within the scope of assertion are closer to the verb; if there is a single NP within the scope of assertion, it takes the preverbal position (independently of whether or not it is marked for grammatical Focus).

1.5.4. Discontinuity

Discontinuity of NPs is not frequent, yet possible. First, a modifier can be post-posed, while the nominal head occupies its typical preverbal position (the elements of a discontinuous constituent are shown by reversed angle brackets in the interlinear glosses):

- (626) a. *čūl-ek godō-l čomō-d’e end’ōn*
 >meat-PRED< lie-SF >be.big-ATTR animal<
 ‘Some meat of a large animal was lying there.’ [F31]
- b. *luki-gi ulumu-j momuša*
 >arrow-POSS< be.over-INTR:3SG >momusha<
 ‘His arrows were over, Momusha’s.’ [F6]

- c. *lebie-n jurgū-k kišše-te-me mit*
 >earth-ATTR hole-PRED< show-FUT-OF:1SG >[we
ejrie-nu-me
 walk-IPFV-ATTR]<
 ‘I will show you the hole in the earth, where we go
 out.’ [F31]

Secondly, a Nominal clause can be interrupted by the main verb, so that a constituent of the Nominal clause is postposed; in (627a), it is the comitative adjunct associated with the subject of the Action Nominal clause, in (627b), an adverbial clause subordinated to the Result Nominal in the clause-initial position:

- (627) a. *tā noj l'e-de-jle juø-ŋā*
 >[there N be-POSS-ACC]< see-3PL:TR
end'ōn-pe-n'e n'ahā
 >animal-PL-COM together<
 ‘They saw that Noah was there, together with the
 animals.’ [F9]
- b. *tottū-l-ō-gi id'ī jen-nu-j*
 >[stick-0-RNR-POSS]< now be.visible-IPFV-INTR:3SG
ataq-un twis mojt
 >[two-ATTR basket hold-SS:IPFV]<
 ‘Now one can see that she has remained there, holding
 two baskets.’ [F2]

2. Overview of verb patterns

2.1. Introductory notes

Generally, the transitivity of a clause is fully determined by its main verb. As shown in 9.1, in Yukaghir this property is associated rather with the pragmatic (information structuring) roles of the NPs, rather than with their case role semantics. To put it a little bit too straightforwardly, the transitive pattern is the Topic-Focus pattern, rather than the Agent-Patient one. Accordingly, intransitivity is associated with a single NP which is conceived of as the most appropriate candidate for both “communicative” roles.

This ensures a very wide domain of application of the transitive pattern, i.e., this pattern covers situation types which are very far from the semantic prototype of transitivity (including such meanings as ‘be afraid of’, ‘speak about’, ‘stand on’, ‘laugh at’, etc., see 2.3). In fact, the vast majority of two-slot patterns and all the patterns with more than two slots are transitive.

Apart from the core participants, Yukaghir shows a rather close correspondence between the case marking and the role interpretation of a slot. Instances of conventionalized deviations from the case semantics (as described in 5.4.2) are very rare. They can be summarized as follows:

1. Some transitive verbs have Body Part slots for the Ablative or the Prolative NP (2.3.2).
2. Both intransitive (2.5.1) and transitive (2.5.2) verbs can have the Ablative slot with partially unpredictable role semantics. Although in most cases the Ablative slot in such patterns can be described (more or less appropriately) in terms of a metaphorical “source” or “starting point”, its specific instances appear to be conventional. Note, however, that the Ablative lends itself most easily (of all peripheral cases) to various metaphorical extensions, independently of its usage within verb patterns; see 5.4.2.5.2).
3. There are marginal intransitive patterns with the Locative Experiencer (2.7.2.1) and the Dative Experiencer (2.7.1). The latter seems to be closely associated with the Benefactive (Malefactive) function of the Dative (see 5.4.2.1).
4. Some verbs have a slot which can be filled either by the Locative NP or by the Dative NP. For the verbs of movement (“Directional” slot, see 2.6), this variability could be accounted for in terms of the “adverbial” nature of the slot. It should be noted, however, that the directional reading of the Locative is possible only within this pattern. Furthermore, the same variability is preserved in the metaphorical applications of the Directional pattern (11.1.6), as well as in the peripheral Experiencer slot (at least for some verbs; see 2.7.2).

Note that there are two types of valence patterns which are not discussed here: copular patterns (see 12.1) and patterns with propositional slots (11.1-11.2).

2.2. One-slot patterns

2.2.1. Standard intransitive: V [S]

This is the only possible pattern for one-argument verbs, e.g.:

(628) <i>ad-</i>	'be strong, hard, firm'
<i>ahurpe-</i>	'suffer, feel unhappy'
<i>al'ā-</i>	'melt'
<i>amde-</i>	'die'
<i>arpe-</i>	'be careful'
<i>šašahaj-</i>	'break, tear; burst'
<i>šegužu-</i>	'run away'
<i>šel'gej-</i>	'break'
<i>čel'užu-</i>	'cry, sob'
<i>čičegej-</i>	'lengthen (out)'
<i>čommu-</i>	'grow larger, older'
<i>čunže-</i>	'think (mental activity)'; 'whistle'
<i>ed'-</i>	'be alive'
<i>ejre-</i>	'walk'
<i>egie-</i>	'get up, stand up, rise'
<i>el'ed'ō-</i>	'disappear, fade', etc.

2.2.2. "Impersonal" intransitive: V [*pø*n]

Verbs signifying states of nature, including weather expressions, season and time of day expressions, take the pronoun *pø*n~*pen* (see 7.1.2.3) as their S argument.

- (629) a. *pø*n *ažō-l'el*
 it be.early-INFR(3SG)
 'It was early'
- b. *pø*n *emi-de-s'*
 it night-PRPR:INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'It has become dark'

- c. *pen nahā puge-s'*
 it very be.hot-SS:IPFV
 'It was hot.'

This pronoun can be omitted, cf. (629a) and (630b).

- (630) a. *pōre-de-s'*
 spring-PRPR:INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Spring began.' [F48]
- b. *tāt bojs'e emi-de-s'*
 CA entirely night-INCH-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'It has become completely dark.' [F31]

Some verbs of this group are attested in texts only with "zero" subject, yet this does not seem to indicate a special (impersonal) valence pattern, since pronouns are generally dropped very easily.

2.3. Monotransitive pattern

2.3.1. Basic monotransitive pattern: V [A, O]

This is the most common pattern for two-argument verbs, e.g.:

- (631) *adie-* 'bark at'
anure- 'like, love'
aṅs'ī- 'look for something/somebody'
šar-/šaž- 'pursue, catch up (with)'
čeni- 'laugh at, tease'
edie- 'call'
emtedej- 'treat (medically)'
iṅī- 'be afraid of', etc.

In particular, this valence pattern is associated with causative derivatives of the one-argument intransitive verbs (632) and with applicative verbs (633); see 6.4.3, 6.4.4.1.

- (632) *ahurpe-š-* 'harass, torment'
al'be-š- 'spill, scatter something'
šašaha-t-/ šašaha-daj- 'tear'

<i>šegi-šej-</i>	‘frighten (off), scare (off)’
<i>šelge-dej-/šelge-t-</i>	‘break’
<i>en-že-</i>	bring up’, etc.

- (633) *egie-re-* ‘tread on’
ejme-rī- ‘look at’
ørn’e-rī- ‘shout to/at’, etc.’

Note that the Double Accusative phenomenon (see 5.4.1.4, 8.2.2.3) is not associated with a specific valence pattern, that is, it seems to be possible with any transitive verb.

2.3.2. Subpatterns with Body-Part slots

Some transitive verbs have an optional slot for an NP specifying the body part of a participant involved in the action. The case form of the body-part NP is determined by the verb. More specifically, there are three options:

- The special Dative-based Body-Part form (see 5.4.2.2) occurs with verbs signifying physical violation and specifies the affected part of the O participant (634a).
- The Ablative form is used with verbs implying “holding” some body part of the O participant (634b).
- The Prolicative form specifies the relevant body part of the A participant in the situations of “carrying” (634c).

- (634) a. *čohojo-de-le met tudel jouho-me-ŋin*
 knife-POSS-INSTR I he back-BP-DAT
kigī-m
 jab-TR:3SG
 ‘I jabbed his back with his own knife.’
- b. *tāt terike-gi nugen-de-get egie-t*
 [CA wife-POSS hand-POSS-ABL lead-SS:IPFV]
qon-te-m
 go-CAUS-TR:3SG
 ‘Then his wife brought him away, leading him by the hand.’ [F48]

- c. *tintaŋ čūl'd'ī pulut lunbuge-le jō-gen*
 [that fairy old.man pot-INSTR head-PROL
morie-t šubeže-j
 bear-SS:IPFV] run-INTR:3SG
 'That ogre ran away with the pot on his head.' [F26]

Note that if the verb does not belong to either of these valence subclasses, both the "part" and the "whole" can be manifested by Accusative NPs (5.4.1.4).

2.3.3. Subpattern with an Instrumental slot

A number of transitive verbs have an optional Instrumental slot; its semantic interpretation depends on the verb, yet it is always within the general range of "instrumental" meanings (means of the action, see 5.4.2.4), e.g.:

- (635) *ā-* 'construct, create (INSTR= material)'
aji- 'shoot, fire (INSTR= weapon),
 threw (INSTR) at O'
čahite- 'paint, oil (INSTR= material)'
čahite-j- 'touch with (INSTR)'
čine- 'fell (trees); chop; hit (INSTR= instrument)'
čoh- 'cut (INSTR= instrument)'
čolho- 'touch, push, hollow (INSTR= instrument)'
el'ie-, el'iji- 'carry (INSTR= transport)'
ijl'ī- 'frighten O with (INSTR= Stimulus)'
legite- 'feed O with (INSTR)', etc.

Some examples:

- (636) a. *tet ennume tet qodō-be ā-k*
 you at.first your lie-LNR make-IMP:2SG
šøjl-e
 stone-INSTR
 'First, make your bed (place for lying) of stone.' [F31]

- b. *tit met-ul vintovka-le jāl-mid'e*
 you(PL) I-ACC rifle-INSTR three-ITER
ajī-ŋi-k
 shoot-PL-IMP:2
 'Shoot at me from a rifle three times.' [F45]
- c. <...> *anil-e olmon mied'ī-le elijī-ŋā*
 fish-INSTR right sledge-INSTR carry-3PL:TR
 '[...] they carted fish in sledges.' [K1]
- d. *epie tabud-e iŋl'ī-m*
 grandmother that-INSTR frighten-TR:3SG
 'The grandmother frightens him with that/by means
 of that.' [K5]
- e. *tiŋ paj tude pulut-kele legi-te-m*
 this woman her husband-ACC eat-CAUS-TR:3SG
tude ejre-š-mele legul-e
 [her walk-CAUS-ATTR] food-INSTR
 'This woman fed her husband with the food which she
 brought.' [K3]

2.4. Patterns with a Dative slot

2.4.1. Intransitive: V [S, DAT]

This is the standard valence pattern for intransitive speech act verbs, like *ann'e* 'speak', *n'ied'ī* 'speak, tell (a story)', etc.

- (637) a. *met-in el+ann'e*
 I-DAT NEG+speak(NEG:3SG)
 'She did not speak to me.' [K2]
- b. *met n'ied'ī-t-če tet-in*
 I tell-FUT-INTR:1SG you-DAT
 'I'll tell you (something).' [F53]

These verbs signify just the act of speaking and do not require the contents of speech to be specified in any way. They have an alternative Reciprocal valence pattern (see 2.8).

Note that the basic speech act verb *mon-* ‘say’ is morphologically labile, that is, it can take both transitive and intransitive agreement markers. From the syntactic point of view, it behaves rather like a transitive speech act verb (cf. 2.4.2, 11.1.3.3), i.e., it requires some speech-reporting element to be present and does not occur with the Reciprocal pattern.

2.4.2. Transitive: V [A, O, DAT]

This is the standard valence pattern for ditransitive verbs, e.g.:

- (638) *tadī-* ‘give (third person Recipient)’
kej- ‘give (first or second person Recipient)’
atuludaj- ‘sell something to somebody’
jan- ‘send’
kiše- ‘show’, etc.

Some examples:

- (639) a. *met-in er-če n’ēr-ek kej-ŋile*
 I-DAT [bad-ATTR] clothing-PRED give-OF:3SG
 ‘They gave me bad clothing.’ [K4]
 b. *mit-in puggedend’e šōrile-lek jal-l’el-mele*
 we-DAT king letter-PRED send-INFR-OF:3SG
 ‘The king has sent us a letter.’ [K1]
 c. *met-in atuludaj-k*
 I-DAT sell-IMP:2SG
 ‘Sell it to me.’ [F52]

The same pattern is characteristic of transitive speech act verbs:

- (640) a. *niġ-in met-ul el+pundu-le-k*
 nobody-DAT I-ACC NEG+tell-
 ‘Do not tell anybody about me.’ [F22]

- b. *tamun-gele emej pābā-gi*
 that-ACC mother elder.sister-POSS
n'ied'i-rī-m
 tell-APPL-TR:3SG
 'My mother's elder sister said that/told about
 that.' [K1]
- c. *irk-id'e čomparnā mere-t gon-dege*
 [one-ITER raven fly-SS:IPFV] [go-3SG-DS]
jowlus'-u-m tude uør-pe-gele
 ask-0-TR:3SG her child-PL-ACC
 'Once, when a raven was flying by, she asked (it) about
 her children.' [F29]

This is also the valence pattern of the Causative derivatives of monotransitive verbs (see 5.4.3, in particular, 5.4.3.2).

With ditransitive verbs, the Accusative can be used instead of the Dative (see 5.4.1.4). The following examples illustrate both marking options with two basic verbs of giving:

- (641) a. *tāt tintan̄ adil-ŋin tude mašl'uø-gele tadī-m*
 CA that boy-DAT his daughter-ACC give-TR:3SG
 'Then he gave his daughter to that boy.' [F15]
- b. *tabun-gele terikie-die legul-e bojl'e-ge*
 that-ACC old.woman-DIM [food-INSTR bowl-LOC
al'be-š-telle tadī-m
 spill-CAUS-SS:PFV] give-TR:3SG
 'The old woman poured the food into the bowl and
 gave it to (the dog).' [F20]
- (642) a. *tamun tāt kes'i-l-u-ke-ne met tet-in*
 [that CA bring-1|2-0-DS-COND] I you-DAT
pušnina-lek kej-te-me
 fur-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG
 'If you bring it, I will give you some fur.' [F38]

- b. *met tet-ul mer-ujī-t ejre-din pugelbie-k*
 I you-ACC [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV walk-SUP] fur-PRED
kej-te-me
 give-FUT-OF:1SG
 'I'll give you some fur for flying.' [F7]

2.5. Patterns with Ablative

2.5.1. Intransitive: V [S, ABL]

Some intransitive verbs have a secondary slot for the Ablative NP:

- (643) *palā-* 'save oneself from, escape (from)'
omolbe- 'get better, recover (from)'
ijlā- 'become afraid of'
ahidū- 'hide oneself from', etc.

This pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

- (644) a. *qodo amde-l-get palā-te-jek?*
 how die-ANR-ABL escape-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'How will you save yourself from death?' [F31]
- b. *tāt joul'e-l-get omolbe-je*
 CA be.ill-ANR-ABL recover-INTR:1SG
 'That is how I have recovered from the illness.' [K2]
- c. *met mēmē-get ijlā-je*
 I bear-ABL become.afraid-INTR:1SG
 'I became afraid of the bear.' [I]

2.5.2. Transitive: V[A, O, ABL]

Some transitive verbs also have an Ablative slot:

- (645) *ahidī-* 'hide something (O) from somebody (ABL),
 conceal'
aṅs'ī- 'ask somebody (ABL) for something (O)'
jowles' 'question somebody (ABL) about some-
 body/something (O)'
min- 'take something (O) from somebody/some
 place (ABL)', etc.

Some examples:

- (646) a. *nerne ā-l-ōl-gele met-ket ahidī-m*
 [what make-0-RNR-ACC] I-ABL hide-TR:3SG
 'He conceals from me what he has done.' [I]
- b. *gon-delle lebie-n'e-l-ben-pe-get*
 [go-SS:PFV] land-PRPR-ANR-RELNR-PL-ABL
aŋs'ī-k
 search-IMP:2SG
 'Go and ask (for some land) those who have land.' [F8]
- c. *qaduon-get kin-get min-mik?*
 which.place-ABL who-ABL take-TR:3SG
 'From where, from whom have you taken (it)?' [F22]

2.6. Patterns with Directional slot

2.6.1. Intransitive (verbs of movement): V [S, DIR]

The valence pattern of most verbs of movement contains a slot for the spatial goal (end point) of the movement, which can be expressed alternatively by a Dative NP, a Locative NP, or by an appropriate postpositional phrase, e.g.:

- (647) *šøg-* 'enter, come in'
amlaj- 'fall through (e.g., under ice)'
arpaj- 'ascend, go up'
ønzěj- 'descend, go/come down'
ejū- 'get somewhere'
end'i- 'look at (direction)'
jaqa- 'arrive, come'
čahahadaj- 'touch, come, visit'
jiej- 'get'
čerej- 'sink,' etc.

This variability is illustrated by the following examples:

- (648) a. *numø-ge šøg-i*
 house-LOC enter-INTR:3SG
 'He entered the house.' [F13]

- b. *tāt l'e-lle šøg-i numø-ŋin*
 [CA be-SS:PFV] enter-INTR:3SG house-DAT
 'After that, he entered the house.' [F14]
- c. *taŋ ulege molho šøg-i*
 that grass inside enter-INTR:3SG
 'He went into the grass (in order to hide himself).' [F9]
- (649) a. *čoqočo-ge arpaj-ŋi-de-ge irk-in lūs'ī-n*
 [shore-LOC rise-PL-3-DS] one-ATTR Russian-ATTR
numø-k ohō-l'el-u-l
 house-PRED stand-INFR-0-SF
 'They went ashore, there was one Russian (= wooden) house.' [F21]
- b. *tāt šāl-ŋin arpa-s'*
 CA tree-DAT rise-INTR:3SG
 'Then he climbed onto a tree.' [F18]
- c. *irk-in marqil' jaqt-ā-j šāl budie*
 one-ATTR girl sing-INGR-INTR:3SG [tree on
arpaj-delle
 rise-SS:PFV]
 'One girl began to sing, having climbed onto a tree.' [F41]

Although some verbs of movement show (statistical) preference for the Dative or the Locative, this does not seem to be a matter of a grammatical convention. Rather, the choice of a marking option reflects semantic nuances implied by the respective cases or particular propositions. See also 11.1.6 for a nonspatial application of this pattern.

2.6.2. Transitive: V [A, O, DIR]

This pattern occurs with Causative derivatives of the verbs of movement (650) (cf. 9.2.6.1), and some other verbs with similar meanings (651):

- (650) *šej-re-* ‘bring, make come in’
ej-te- ‘put, throw, keep (somewhere)’
joq-te- ‘bring, lead’, etc.
- (651) *āde-* ‘pull’
abutte- ‘pour out (O) into (LOC/DAT)’, etc.

Some illustrative examples:

- (652) a. *jalhil-ge joq-te-m*
lake-LOC arrive-CAUS-TR:3SG
‘He brought him to the lake.’ [F28]
- b. *tet numø-ŋin joq-te-t tet-in*
[you house-DAT arrive-CAUS-FUT(TR:1SG)] you-DAT
nado+ŋō-l-ben
need+STAT-ANR-RELNR
‘I’ll bring what you need to your house.’ [F22]
- (653) a. *bl’utse-ge abutte-lle, ataq-un loške*
[saucer-LOC pour.out-SS:PFV] [two-ATTR spoon
abut titimie-d’ōn-gele <...>
container be.alike-SBNR-ACC]
‘Having poured it out into the saucer, the quantity of
about two spoons of it, [...]’
- b. *d’e tāt tude legul-gele šouho-get jolohude*
DP CA her food-ACC plate-ABL back:DIR
lunbuge-ŋin abutte-m
pot-DAT pour.out-TR:3SG
‘Well, then she poured out her food from the plate
back into the pot.’ [F23]

2.7. Patterns with non-primary Experiencers

There is a small group of intransitive verbs which have a nonsubject slot for Experiencer. The non-primary Experiencer can be represented by the Dative or Locative NP. This group falls into several semantic subgroups:

- (654) a. Evaluation predicates:
omo- 'be good'
erū- 'be bad'
 and their aspectual derivatives.
- b. Intransitive verbs of perception:
jed- 'be visible'
medū- 'be heard, audible, perceivable'
 and their aspectual derivatives.
- c. Modal predicates:
nado(+ηō-) 'be needed, be necessary' (see 5.5.5.2)
erd'ī- 'be needed, desirable, unavoidable'.

2.7.1. Pattern with the Dative Experiencer: V [S, E_{DAT}]

The Dative Experiencer is possible with all the verbs in (654), with the exception of *erd'ī-* 'be (physically) needed, desirable, unavoidable'. Some examples:

- (655) a. *ediy ani-pe-ηin qodo omo-s'*
 this fish-PL-DAT how good-INTR:3SG
 'How good it is for these fishes!' [F6]
- b. *tāhile omo-s'e oqotnik-pe-ηin*
 then [good-INTR:3SG] hunter-PL-DAT
jed-ej-nu-l'el qanin-ure
 be.visible-PFV-IPFV-INFR(3SG) when-INDF
 'Then good hunters would see him sometimes (he would show himself to them).' [F38]
- c. *d'e mit-in id'i lem-dik nado+ηō-l?*
 DP we-DAT now what-PRED necessary+STAT-SF
 'Well, what else do we need now?'

For the verb *medū-* 'be heard, perceivable', see 11.1.5. Note that the Dative Experiencer does not combine with the clausal S, which is also possible for these verbs (see 11.1.2).

2.7.2. Pattern with the Locative Experiencer: V [S, E_{LOC}]

2.7.2.1. The Locative Experiencer is possible with evaluation predicates (654a) in a construction describing the physical condition of a person, with the pronoun *pø̃n* ~ *pen* ‘world, state’ (7.1.2.3) filling the S slot:

- (656) *ū̃e-ben-ge* *ped-ek* *erū̃-l*
 some-RELN-LOC it-PRED bad-SF
 ‘Some felt bad (lit. In some (of them), it was bad).’

This is, however, a marginal pattern; more often, the Experiencer is encoded as the grammatical Possessor of *pø̃n* ~ *pen* (see 7.1.2.3 for examples).

2.7.2.2. The Locative marking of Experiencer is an option for the verb *jed-* ‘be visible, appear’ (see (655b) for the Dative Experiencer with the same verb):

- (657) *irk-in* *šoromo-ge* *tudā*
 one-ATTR person-LOC long.ago
jed-ej-l’el *lebie-n* *pugil’*
 appear-PFV-INFR(3SG) earth-ATTR lord
 ‘Once upon a time, one person saw the Earth Lord
 (lit. in one person, the Earth Lord appeared.)’ [F38]

2.7.2.3. The verb *erd’ĩ-* has two distinct valence patterns for two easily distinguishable meanings, ‘want, wish’ (see 11.2.2) and ‘be (physically) needed, unavoidable’.

The latter pattern contains a slot for the Locative Experiencer. It is employed if the situation is entirely out of the control of the Experiencer. In contemporary Yukaghir, this pattern is clearly attested only with the Action Nominal of the verb *jeŋžō-* ~ *iŋžō-* ‘sleep’ and with the noun *niŋiedū* ‘vomiting, nausea’:

- (658) a. *niŋiedū* *tāt* *erd’ĩ*
 vomiting CA want(3SG)
 ‘I feel sick’

- b. *met-ke iḡžō-l erd'ī*
 I-LOC sleep-ANR want(3SG)
 'I want to sleep, I feel sleepy' [I]

The verb agreement vacillates in such a construction: my informant suggested the 1SG form of the verb as a possible variant for the sentence in (658b); see also 12.1.2.3 for a similar phenomenon.

2.8. Reciprocal pattern: V [S, COM]

A group of intransitive verbs signifying situations with two participants playing similar roles (so called “naturally reciprocal events” (Kemmer 1993:102)) have a secondary slot for a Comitative NP (see 5.4.2.3):

- (659) a. *tāt šoromo-p-lek nuḡ-ḡile tite-n'e*
 CA person-PL-PRED meet-OF:3SG | heir-COM
n'ied'ī-ḡi
 speak-3PL:INTR
 'Then they met some people and spoke with them.' [F51]
- b. *kimnī, šāl-n'e kimd'ī-k*
 whip tree-COM fight-IMP:2SG
 'Whip, fight with trees.' [F19]
- c. *ann'-ā-l'el kind'e-n'e*
 speak-INGR-INFR(3SG) moon-COM
 'She began to speak with the moon.' [F2]

All such verbs occur with the one-slot valence pattern as well; in this case, the S slot is conceived of as representing all participants of the situation:

- (660) a. *šaqal'ā-delle d'e ann'-ā-ḡi*
 [assemble-SS:PFV] DP speak-INGR-3PL:INTR |
n'ied'ī-ḡi
 speak-3PL:INTR
 'They gathered and began to speak, to discuss things.'

- b. *tit noḡōn kimd'ī-met?*
 you why fight-ITR:2PL
 'Why have you been fighting?' [F31]

The Comitative valence option exists for some morphological Reciprocals as well (661), although the one-slot variant is far more frequent (see 6.4.5.2 for examples):

- (661) *irkid'e tī modo-je lige-je*
 one-ITER [there live-ATTR be:old-ATTR]
pulut-n'e n'e-nū-l'el
 old:man-COM RECP-find-INFR(INTR: 3SG)
 'Once he met with a very old man living there.' [F31]

Given the general properties of the Comitative strategy of NP conjunction (8.4.1), there can be no sharp border between the one-slot and the Comitative valence options. For instance, the example in (662) apparently represents the Comitative option, yet the verb agreement is Plural:

- (662) *qahiel-n'e il'ede-ḡi*
 loon-COM quarrel-3PL:INTR
 'He quarreled with the loon.' [F5]

3. Clausal adjuncts

3.1. Overview of clausal adjuncts

3.1.1. Spatial and temporal adjuncts

Spatial adjuncts are expressed by means of the local case forms of NPs (5.4.2.5), by postpositions (7.3.1-7.3.2), by local forms of demonstratives (7.1.2.1) and by locative adverbs (4.2.2). Temporal adjuncts can be expressed by the Dative case (5.4.2.1), the Locative case (5.4.2.5.1), the Ablative case (5.4.2.5.2) and by some postpositions (7.3.2). Nouns denoting periods of time have a special Temporal form (5.5.3).

These adjuncts tend to be clause-initial (663) or, less frequently, clause-final (663a), (664):

- (663) a. *tudā čuøl'e-d+omnī parā-ge irk-in*
 that.time ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC one-ATTR
pulut-ek l'e-l'el-u-l ørd'ō-l
 old.man-PRED be-INFR-0-SF be.middle-ANR
lebie-ge
 earth-LOC
 'Long ago, in the ancient people's time, there was an
 old man on Middle Earth.' [F3]
- b. *unu-d+ørd'e-ge šār*
 river-ATTR+middle-LOC something
šašaha-s'
 break-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'Something has blown up in the middle of the
 river.' [F37]
- (664) a. *ønme-lek ejre-š-nu-l'el-mele čuøte <...>*
 mind-PRED walk-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-OF:3SG always
 'She would always think: ...' [F2]
- b. *qāqā, čugōn šerī kie-s'*
 grandfather soon war come-INTR:3SG
 'Grandfather, a war will start soon.' [F15]

See 11.4.1-11.4.2, 13.5.3.1 for a description of spatial and temporal adverbial clauses.

3.1.2. Cause, Purpose and Manner

Causal adjuncts are expressed by the Ablative NP (5.4.2.5.2) or the Prolative NP (5.4.2.5.3). Purpose adjuncts are expressed by the Dative NP (5.4.2.1) or by the Transformative (5.5.5.2). Manner adjuncts are expressed either by the Instrumental (5.4.2.4) or by adverbs (4.2.1), including adverbially used qualitative stems (4.3.3). Such adjuncts normally take the preverbal position:

- (665) a. *taɲnugi čumu omos' ā-te-j*
 CA all well make-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'Then we will make everything well.' [F9]

- b. *petr berbekin čugōn kebe-s' tiŋ*
 P. B. quickly go-PFV:INTR:3SG this
mieste-get
 place-ABL
 'Petr Berbeikin went away from that place
 quickly.' [F31]
- c. *met-kele čumut eris' l'ī-ŋā*
 I-ACC all badly keep-3PL:TR
 'All of them treat me badly.' [F2]

3.1.3. Standard of Comparison

Comparative constructions are built by means of an adjunct representing the standard of comparison; no other marking is needed. For comparison of equality, the standard of comparison is marked by the postposition *tite* 'as, like' (see 7.3.3); for comparison of inequality, it is marked by the Ablative case, e.g.:

- (666) a. *uø+ŋō-l alme tude-get čomō-l'el*
 child-COP-ATTR shaman he-ABL big-INFR(3SG)
 'The young shaman was greater than he was.' [F44]
- b. *tudel mit-ket āj omos' modo-j*
 he we-ABL CP well sit-INTR:3SG
 'He lives even better than we do.' [F31]
- c. *ataq-un kun'il-get ningō*
 two-ATTR ten+ABL many
ī-die-l'el-d'il'i
 get.caught-CAUS-INFR-INTR:1PL
 'We have caught more than twenty.'

The idea of inequality can be stressed by means of the connective particle *āj* ~ *ajī* (667a), see 14.2.2.1. This particle is also used if the standard of comparison is implicit (667b).

- (667) a. *mit-ket āj pudō-l'el tudel*
 we-ABL CP high-INFR(3SG) he
 'He is even higher than we are.' [F31]

- b. *aji omos' adi ā-gi nado*
 CP well strongly make-POSS necessary
 'It is necessary to make it much stronger (than it is now).'

The superlative degree is expressed by using the quantifier *čumu* 'all' as the standard of comparison (with the Ablative marker):

- (668) *nodo-get čistē čumu-get čomō-l'el*
 bird-ABL entirely all-ABL big-INFR(3SG)
 'It is the largest bird.' [F9]

3.2. Sociative adjuncts

Sociative markers comprise the free comitative marker (3.2.1), free reciprocal markers (3.2.2) and collective adverbials (3.2.3).

3.2.1. The free comitative marker

The Comitative adjunct can be represented by a noun phrase in the Comitative case (cf. 8.4.1). There is also a free comitative marker *n'ahā* 'together (with)'. Most often, this marker follows a Comitative NP:

- (669) a. *mit-n'e n'ahā mit touke-pul kel-ŋi-l*
 we-COM together our dog-PL come-3PL-SF
 'Our dogs came along with us.'
- b. *mit epie irk-in lige-je pajpe-n'e*
 we grandmother one-ATTR [old-ATTR] woman-COM
n'ahā pon'ō-l'el-ŋi
 together remain-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'My grandmother together with an old woman
 remained (there).'

Outside the context of the Comitative NP, this marker can be used either to introduce a comitative participant, i.e., as a postposition (670), or as a collective adverbial 'together' (671).

- (670) *taŋ odu-n+pulej+ŋōt*
 [that Yukaghir-ATTR+son.in.law+
gude-l-ben čuøte tude terike n'ahā
 become-ANR-RELNR] always his wife together
jelohude kel-u-nun-l'el-ŋi
 back:DIR come-0-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'That man who had become a Yukaghir son-in-law
 used to come back together with his wife.'
- (671) *tāt n'ahā kebe-j-ŋi nume-ŋin*
 CA together go-PFV-3PL:INTR house-DAT
 'Then they went home together.' [F18]

See also (674) for its use as a free reciprocal marker.

3.2.2. Free reciprocal markers

A free reciprocal marker can be built by combining the reciprocal prefix *n'e-* and a postposition (see 7.3 for postpositions attested in such combinations). Such items are used instead of the Reciprocal marking on the verb (see 6.4.5.2) if the reciprocal participants correspond to the subject argument of the verb and the argument of the postposition:

- (672) a. *n'e+jelā kewe-j-l'-ie-ŋi*
 RECP+after go-PFV-0-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'They went after each other.'
- b. *mit poloq-pe čumut n'e+arqā l'e-ŋi*
 our tent-PL all RECP+near be-3PL:INTR
 'Our tents were near each other.'

The reciprocal marker made up of the interior postposition *molho* (in the Prolicative form, see 7.3.1.4.1) can be used with natural reciprocals (cf. 6.4.5.2.2, 2.8) in order to stress that the action involves only members of the group construed as the S participant of the situation:

- (673) a. *n'e+molho-de-gen n'ied'ī-ŋi*
 RECP+IN-POSS-PROL speak-3PL:INTR
 'They spoke to each other.' [K1]

- b. *tāt n'e+molho-n mojiēd'e-t*
 [CA RECP+IN-PROL mix-SS:IPFV]
el+lejdī-jīl'i id'i kin qodimie omnī
 NEG+know-INTR:1PL now [who which family
ō-gi
 COP-POSS]
 'We have mixed with each other, so that we do not
 know now who is of which family.' [K1]

The free reciprocal markers can be combined with the reciprocal marking on the verb. In this context, the free comitative marker *n'ahā* can also function as a free reciprocal marker (674c).

- (674) a. *n'+al'-in n'e+uld-ō-ŋi*
 RECP+AD-DIR RECP-tie-RES-3PL:INTR
 'They are tied to each other.'
- b. *n'e+jelā n'e-kewe-s'īl'i*
 RECP+after RECP-leave-1PL:INTR
 'We are leaving together, one after another.' [I]
- c. *n'ahā n'e+joulod'-ā-ŋi*
 together RECP+ask-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'They both asked each other.'

3.2.3. Collective adverbials

The collective meaning ('together') is regularly expressed by means of the Transformative form (5.5.5.3) of the substantivized numeral *irkil-l'e* 'one' (7.2.1.1) or by means of the adverb *irkil-l'en* 'together', derived from the same numeral:

- (675) a. *tāt mit irkil'-l'e+ŋōn modo-je šoromo-pul*
 CA we [one-SBST- live-ATTR] person-PL
ō-d'ōn-pe ō-d'īl'i
 COP-SBNR-PL COP-INTR:1PL
 'We used to be people living together.' [K1]

- b. *irkil'-l'e+ηōt anil promušl'aj-t nodo promušl'aj-t*
 one-SBST+ [fish hunt-SS:IPFV] [bird hunt-SS:IPFV]
egužu-l'el-ηi
 walk-ITER-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They walked around together, fishing and hunting
 birds.' [K1]

- (676) a. *odu-pe kukujerd'ī-pe-n'e n'e+nuk-telle*
 [Yukaghir-PL Even-PL-COM RECP-find-SS:PFV]
n'e+lejtej-t irk-in kind'e
 [RECP+learn-SS:IPFV] [one-ATTR moon
titi-mie-d'ōn-ge irkil'-l'e-n
 like-QLT-SBNR-LOC] one-SBST-ADV
modā-l'el-ηi
 live-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The Yukaghirs and the Evens met each other, got
 acquainted with each other and lived together for
 approximately one month.' [K3]
- b. *egor-die mikolaj-die-n'e irkil'-l'e-n*
 E.-DIM M-DIM-COM one-SBST-ADV
otu-n'ā-l'el-ηi
 camp.fire-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Egor and Nikolaj had a campfire together.' [K4]

See also (671) for the free comitative marker in the same function.

Chapter 10

Clause chaining

Yukaghir has no grammatical means to create a coordinate structure of two (or more) finite clauses.⁶² The only strategy of clause conjunction⁶³ is clause chaining, that is, a structure in which one (typically final) clause contains a finite verb form, and each non-final clause is marked to indicate whether or not it has the same subject as the controlling clause (typically, the next clause in the chain) (Longacre 1985:264). As in other chaining languages, clause chaining in Yukaghir neutralizes the distinction between clause coordination and subordinate adverbial clauses (Longacre 1985:239), that is, it may be employed both to conjoin clauses and to modify the proposition rendered by the finite clause.⁶⁴ In particular, clause chaining is employed in conditional (Section 3) and concessive constructions (Section 4).

1. Types of clause chaining

The non-finite verb forms employed for clause chaining express two major grammatical distinctions, switch reference (1.1) and the opposition between ordinary and conditional chains (1.2); see also 6.1.4.3-6.1.4.5, 6.1.4.7-6.1.4.8 for further semantic distinctions between same-subject forms. In addition, clause chaining encompasses various types of syntactic cohesion between clauses (1.3).

1.1. Switch reference

1.1.1. Switch-reference controlled by the next clause

The switch-reference markers indicate whether the subject of a non-finite clause is the same as or different from that of the *controlling* clause.⁶⁵ With some minor exceptions (see 1.1.2), the controlling clause is the next clause in the chain, independently of its own syntactic status. For instance, the initial clause in (677a) bears a same-subject (SS) marker, since it has the same subject as the next clause. Note that the finite clause in this chain has a different subject (which is signified by the different subject (DS) form in the second clause). The chain in (677b) involves two primary participants (indicated by A and B in the gloss) and contains two switches of subject reference, from A to B after the first two clauses, and from B to A after the next two clauses. It can be easily observed that the choice of a switch-reference form depends on the subject of the next clause, not that of the finite one.

(677) a. *čaj ože-t modo-l-u-ke met ejme-n*
 [tea drink-SS:IPFV] [sit-1|2-0-DS] I across-PROL
adā-n pugeže-s'
 here-PROL dart.out-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'I was sitting and drinking tea, (and) it darted out
 right there, at the other side.'

b. *irk-id'e tāt qaṇī-t šar-din*
 [one-ITER CA pursue-SS:IPFV]_A [catch-SUP
l'e-de-ge mottuškā johurče molho šøk-telle
 be-3SG-DS]_A [gull flock in enter-SS:PFV]_B
titte-n'e morotaja monut jalhil budie-n
 [they-COM M. called lake SUPER-PROL
mere-ṇi-de-ge aṇdīlā+ṇōt gude-delle tā
 fly-PL-3-DS]_B [hawk-TRNSF become-SS:PFV]_A [there
mon-te-m mottuškā johurče-gele
 sit-CAUS-TR:3SG gull flock-ACC]_A
qaṇī-nu-t
 [pursue-IPFV-SS:IPFV]_A
 'Once A pursued B and was just about to catch him, B

entered a flock of gulls, flew together with them above a lake called Morotaja, (but) A turned into a hawk, continued to pursue B and made the flock of gulls land there.' [F44]

Note that two subjects can be conceived as coreferential if the referent of one of them is a member of the group referred to by the other. Such phenomena are associated with the Comitative and the Reciprocal marking. For instance, the primary participant of the second DS-clause in (677b) is a group (B and the gulls), as shown by the Plural marking on the DS form; the preceding clause is marked as having the same subject, although it has a singular primary participant (B). In (678) the primary participant of the same-subject clause is a group including the primary and the secondary participant of the finite clause ('you (PL)' and 'that person').

- (678) *tiŋ šoromo čobu-n+ørd'e laŋin*
 that person sea-ATTR+middle AD:DIR
n'e+kenmī-t joq-to-ŋik
 [RECP-accompany-SS:IPFV] arrive-CAUS-PL-IMP:2
 'Bring this person to the middle of the sea, accompany each other.'

1.1.2. Exceptions: Switch reference controlled by the finite clause

There are two types of exceptions from the general rule of switch-reference, where the controlling clause is the *finite* clause (which is not the next one). Most importantly, if a non-finite clause follows the finite clause, the latter is the controlling clause:

- (679) a. *šagalā-die terike tāt irkie-t*
 [fox-DIM old.woman CA get.scared-SS:IPFV]
amdā-j tabun juø-delle
 die-INTR:3SG [that see-SS:PFV]
 'The old fox woman died from fear, having seen this.' [F33]

- b. *oqil'l'ā kel-u-l jalhil-get jalhi-n pugedan'd'e*
 Perch come-0-SF [lake-ABL] [lake-ATTR king
jan-de-ge
 send-3SG-DS]
 'Perch⁶⁶ came, from the lake, the lake king had sent
 (him).'

For factors which may trigger this clause order, see 2.2. In addition, two DS clauses following each other can have the same subject, so that both DS forms indicate non-coreference of their common subject with that of the finite clause. Thus, the first DS form does not conform to the general rule of switch reference. This construction is possible only if the second DS clause is a paraphrase of the preceding clause (680a) or subchain (680b):

- (680) a. *qāqā-pe-gi ajlī-de-ge*
 [grand.father-PL-POSS forbid-3SG-DS]
 "el+qon-ŋi-lek" mon-de-ge tamun-gele
 [[NEG+go-PL-PROH-2] say-3-DS] that-ACC
uørpe-p-ki el+med-ōl'-ŋi
 child-PL-POSS NEG+listen-DESD-3PL:INTR
 'Their grandfather forbids, saying: "Do not go," but
 the children do not obey.' [I]
- b. *taŋ qona-t modo-ŋi-de-ge qona-ŋi-de-ge*
 [that [roam-SS:IPFV] live-PL-3-DS]] [roam-PL-3-DS]
irk-in pajpā-die pie budie modo-t
 [one-ATTR woman-DIM hill super sit-SS:IPFV]
pon'ō-l'el
 remain-INFR(3SG)
 'They lead a nomadic life, they roamed, and one
 woman remained sitting on the top of a hill.' [F36]

The ability of the finite clause to take over the controlling function may result from *neutralization* of the distinction between the two types of switch-reference control in a number of contexts. The distinction is neutralized if the next clause is either the finite clause itself or has the same subject as the finite clause. This is the case for all switch-reference clauses in SS chains (681a), in biclausal DS

chains (681b), and in multiclausal chains with a single switch of reference in the initial clause (681b).

- (681) a. *mikolaj-die egor-die-n'e egie-delle*
 [N.-DIM E.-DIM-COM stand.up-SS:PFV]
ajle-n-delle ūj-ō-d'e legul-ge
 [wash-DETR-SS:PFV] [make-RES-ATTR food-LOC
madā-delle leŋ-d-ie-ŋi
 sit-SS:PFV] eat-DETR-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'Nikolaj and Egor stood up, washed themselves, sat
 down to the prepared food and began to eat.' [K4]
- b. *tāt šāl-e čolha-j-de-ge*
 [CA tree-INSTR push-PFV-3SG-DS]
el+ūžū
 NEG÷move(NEG:3SG)
 'She pushed it with a stick, (but) it did not
 move.' [F51]
- c. *tāt gon-ŋi-de-ge āj n'an'-u-l-ben-pe*
 [CA go-PL-3-DS] [CP be.evil-0-ANR-RELN-PL
čuge-de-jle nuk-telle šar-din l'e-ŋā
 way-POSS-ACC find-SS:PFV] catch-SUP be-TR:3SG
 'They went away, (but) the sinners found their tracks
 again and were about to catch them.' [F9]

1.2. Ordinary vs. Conditional chaining

Yukaghir distinguishes two major types of clause chains, *ordinary*/(and *conditional*, which use two different sets of switch-reference forms (see 6.1.4). This grammatical distinction absorbs two semantic oppositions:

First, conditional chaining is available only if the clauses involved do not refer to any specific situations which are asserted or presupposed to have taken place. This property is referred to below as *neutral mode of reference*, in contrast to the *specific mode of reference*. Note that the notion of neutral mode of reference covers generic clauses and clauses with the future time reference

Table 20. Distribution of ordinary vs. conditional chains

mode of reference	specific	neutral
scene-setting	ordinary chaining	conditional chaining
clause-conjunction	ordinary chaining	

(see 3 for details). Ordinary chaining is available independently of the mode of reference. Secondly, the conditional switch-reference clause serves as the temporal and/or conditional *setting* for the finite clause, that is, the conditional switch-reference marker excludes the clause from the scope of the illocutionary operator applied to the finite clause and thus cannot be employed for *clause conjunction* (see 62); the latter function is only possible for ordinary clause chaining. The resulting distribution of ordinary vs. conditional chains is shown in Table 20.

Thus, under the neutral mode of reference the clause-conjunction and the scene-setting applications of chaining are consistently distinguished by the choice of ordinary vs. conditional switch-reference marking. This distinction is most clear if the finite clause is Imperative, as this context entails the most crucial semantic difference between clause conjunction and setting: the ordinary switch-reference clause expresses an action to be fulfilled by the addressee (682), while the conditional switch-reference clause specifies the circumstances under which the action signified by the finite clause has to be fulfilled (683).

- (682) a. *tet čolhoro kuded'e lek-telle jaqte-ge-k*
 [you hare liver eat-SS:PFV] sing-IMP-2SG
 'Eat some hare liver and then sing!' [F5]
- b. *tet juø-t ann'ā-de mer-ujī-t*
 [you see-SS:IPFV] [speak-SS:ITER] [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV]
ejre-k
 walk-IMP:2SG
 'Walk, fly, speak, look around!' [F5]
- c. *tintaŋ šāl mībe-de-gen čīne-delle los'il+ŋōt*
 [that tree root-POSS-ABL chop-SS:PFV] fire-TRNSF

piede-t-u-k

burn-CAUS-0-IMP:2SG

‘Chop down that tree and burn it for firewood.’ [F27]

- (683) a. *qāqā*, *met poŋis’e leŋ-d-ōl’-ŋide*
 grandfather [my fat eat-DETR-DESD-SS:COND]
kiete-din noho mundej-k
 mix-SUP sand bring-IMP:2SG
 ‘Grandfather, if you want to eat my fat, bring some
 sand to mix with it.’ [F29]⁶⁷
- b. *joulus’-ŋi-de-j-ne mon <...>*
 [ask-PL-DS-COND] say(IMP:2SG)
 ‘If they ask, say: ...’ [F22]
- c. *mit tiŋ and’e-n’e kebe-j-l-u-kene tit*
 [we this prince-COM go-PFV-1|2-0-DS-COND] you
mit jolāt kel-ŋi-k
 we after come-PL-IMP:2
 ‘When I go with this prince, follow us!’ [F50]

Note that clause conjunction and scene setting may be combined within one chain. In this case, the initial clause serves as the setting for the following subchain.

- (684) *gudel’-ō-ŋide jāl-mid’e*
 [get.ready-RES-SS:COND] [three-ITER
ammal-delle kewe-j-l’-ie-k
 spend.night-SS:PFV] go-PFV-0-INGR-IMP:2SG
 ‘If you are ready, spend three nights here and set off!’

The specific mode of reference allows only the ordinary chaining; hence, the grammatical distinction between clause conjunction and setting is neutralized (see 2.3.2 for the ordinary switch-reference clauses in the setting function).

For a description of ordinary chaining, see Section 2, the conditional constructions are described in Section 3.

1.3. Structural cohesion

Clause chaining allows three structural options featured by different degrees of cohesion between clauses in the chain: *linear*, *nesting* and *merged* (1.3.1–1.3.2). However, most instances of chaining are ambiguous with respect to these structural options (1.3.3).

1.3.1. Linear chaining vs. nesting

Clause chaining can exhibit either linear or nesting structure, that is, a switch-reference clause is either followed by the controlling clause or is embedded in the controlling clause, as shown in (685).

- (685) a. Linear structure: ...[XV₁]_{switch-reference}[YV₂]_{controlling}...
 b. Nesting structure: ...[Y₁[XV₁]_{switch-reference}Y₂V₂]_{controlling}...

(here X stands for nonverbal elements of the switch-reference clause, Y, Y₁, Y₂ stand for nonverbal elements of the controlling clause). The nesting structure appears to have the semantic effect of backgrounding (see 2.3).

1.3.1.1. The major evidence for positing this distinction is given by chains containing a *shared participant with nonconstant case role*, that is, a participant which is involved both in the switch-reference clause situation and in the controlling clause situation, but in different roles. The linear structure can be posited for those instances of clause chaining in which such participants are treated in the same way as in sequences of finite clauses, that is, the shared participant is introduced in the initial clause and can be resumed in the controlling clause by a lexical NP (686a) or a pronoun (686b), or otherwise omitted (686c).

- (686) a. *tamun-ge n'atn'ūjā-ŋin n'āč'in egie-de-ge*
 [that-LOC burbot-DAT against stand-3SG-DS]
n'atn'ūjā tude-gele el+qod-ā-l'el
 burbot he-ACC NEG+what-make-INFR(NEG:3SG)
 'Then he stood against the burbot, (but) the burbot
 did not hurt him.'

- b. *šoromo end'ōn-pe tite āj legul-n'e-t*
 [person animal-PL like CP food-PRPR-SS:IPFV]
modo-ŋi-de-ge gristos titte-gele kis'-u-t
 [sit-PL-3-DS] [Christ they-ACC teach-0-SS:IPFV]
legi-te-t omo-s'e legul-e
 [eat-CAUS-SS:IPFV [be.good-ATTR] food-INSTR]
šoromo+ŋōn nuge-de-m
 person+TRNSF make-NONIT-TR:3SG
 'People still lived and ate like animals, Christ taught
 them, fed them with good food and made human
 beings of them.' [F9]
- c. *irk-id'e čomparnā mere-t qon-de-ge*
 [one-ITER raven [fly-SS:IPFV] go-3SG-DS]
joulus'-u-m tude uør-pe-gele
 ask-0-TR:3SG her child-PL-ACC
 'Once a raven flew nearby, and she asked it about her
 children.' [F12]⁶⁸

The nesting structure is the only possible analysis if the NP representing the shared participant takes the case form determined by its role in the controlling clause but precedes the switch-reference clause (687). This construction is available only if the preposed constituent specifies the primary participant of the embedded clause. This participant is obligatorily omitted in the embedded clause.

- (687) a. *taŋ aduø-gele jukō-de-ge tud-in*
 that son-ACC [be.small-3SG-DS] he-DAT
mil-l'el-u-m jien šoromo-p-ket
 take-INFR-0-TR:3SG other person-PL-ABL
 'He_i took (=adopted) that son_j from other people,
 when he_j was small.' [F50]
- b. *tamun-gele tud-in tudā čobul pugedan'd'e-ge*
 that-ACC he-DAT [that.time sea king-LOC
ejre-de-ge čobu-n+pugedan'd'e mol-l'el
 walk-3SG-DS] sea-ATTR+king say-INFR(3SG)
 'That was what the sea king_i said to him_j when he_j

went into the sea king_i.'

1.3.1.2. Another piece of evidence in favor of the distinction between the linear structure and nesting is given by switch-reference marking. As shown in 1.1.1, switch reference is normally controlled by the next clause, which implies identical syntactic relationships in all pairs of adjacent clauses. On the other hand, if a non-finite clause is *embedded* in its controlling clause, it is likely not to exhibit the controlling properties with respect to the foregoing clause, that is, switch reference in a clause which precedes a nesting subchain must be controlled by the matrix clause, rather than by the embedded one. This seems to be the case in (688):

- (688) *tāt qon-u-t ol'l'ōdoj čomō-d'e nodo*
 [CA go-0-SS:IPFV] [[[very be.big-ATTR] bird
mere-j-de-ge irke-j-t molind'āt
 fly-PFV-3-DS] get.scared-PFV-SS:IPFV] almost
el+amde-ŋi
 NEG+die-3PL:INTR
 'They went (further), (but) a very big bird came, so
 that they almost died from fear.' [F9]

In this example, the DS clause does not control switch reference in the initial clause; instead, the controlling function is taken over by the next clause of the chain. Hence, it may be assumed that the DS clause is embedded in its controlling clause, and the resulting nesting structure functions as a single unit in the overall linear structure of the chain. It should be noted that reliable examples of this sort are very rare.

1.3.2. Merged clauses

Some chaining constructions are arranged in such a way as to place all the participants involved before all the verb forms. In effect, the clauses are *merged* to create a structure quite similar to the single-clause construction, the only difference being that the (complex) situation is described by means of several (chained) verb forms. This structure is easily identifiable if some participant of

the controlling clause is not involved in the switch-reference clause situation, but nonetheless precedes the switch-reference verb form.

- (689) a. *tabun-gele terikie-die legul-e bojil'e-ge*
 that-ACC old.woman-DIM food-INSTR [pot-LOC
al'be-š-telle tadī-m
 pour-CAUS-SS:PFV] give-TR:3SG
 'The old woman poured the food into the pot and gave
 (it) to her.'
- b. *tabun-ge qojl-pe čumut šaqal'e-delle*
 [that-LOC god-PL all gather-SS:PFV]
ørđ'-ō-l lebie-gele alhudō-l lebie-ge
 middle-VR-ANR earth-ACC [low-ANR] earth
čānde paja-j-t loṅde-ṅā
 [upwards carry-PFV-SS:IPFV] separate-3PL:TR
 'Then all the gods gathered and separated Middle
 Earth from Low Earth by raising it upward.' [F9]⁶⁹

The merged structure can be viewed as a particular case of nesting. However, it is available under stronger syntactic conditions: the merged clauses must share the core participants, with *constant* case roles, i.e., both situations must involve the same primary participant and, if transitive, the same O participant (689). This structure appears to be associated with the tightest semantic cohesion between clauses (see 2.4).

1.3.3. Structural ambiguity of clause chains

The structural options outlined in 1.3.1–1.3.2 are distinguishable only if the chain contains an NP which demonstrably belongs to the controlling clause, but not to the switch-reference clause, since the linear position of such an NP can indicate the degree of structural cohesion between clauses. Yet most instances of clause chaining simply do not contain NPs which would be able to signal the type of structure involved. This structural ambiguity is a direct consequence of two basic syntactic properties of Yukaghir, the extensive use of zero anaphora and the verb-final order.

Indeed, if a shared participant with nonconstant case role is

omitted, the distinction between the linear and the nesting structure (see 1.3.1.1) is neutralized, cf. (690) and (687).

- (690) a. *merie-de-ge qon-te-m*
 [fly-3SG-DS] go-CAUS-TR:3SG
 'He flew and it (the wind) carried him.' [F20]
- b. *ločil arqa jaqa-de-ge lejtej-m omos'*
 [fire near arrive-3SG-DS] learn-TR:3SG well
 'He came closer to the fireplace, and she recognized him.'

On the other hand, if all participants of the controlling clause situation are involved in the switch-reference clause situation in the same case roles (691), they are likely to precede all verb forms independently of the structural option involved. Given the verb-final word order, a chain-initial NP representing a shared participant may be taken to belong to either clause (and be dropped in the other), or otherwise to the merged complex as a whole (as in (689)). In (691), the linear analysis is represented with square brackets, the nesting analysis, with curly brackets.

- (691) a. *šaqale tamun-gele lej-t qodō-j*
 [fox {that-ACC eat-SS:IPFV}] lie-INTR:3SG
 'The fox was lying and eating it.' [F18]
- b. *čarčaqan taŋ čül'd'ī pulut-kele n'umud'ī-le*
 [C. that fairy.tale old.man-ACC {ax-INSTR
jō-me-ŋin čine-j-n'it tā kudede-m
 head-BP-DAT chop-PFV-CONN}] there kill-TR:3SG
 'Charchahan killed the ogre by cutting off his head with the ax.' [F29]

The structural ambiguity of most ordinary chains appears to be an essential property of this strategy of clause linking (rather than an artifact of inadequate tools of syntactic analysis). Instead of a strict formal opposition between co-ordination and subordination, the clause-chaining offers a rather flexible device for combining clauses exhibiting various degrees of backgrounding and semantic cohesion (see 2.3–2.4).

2. Semantics of ordinary chains

2.1. General semantic properties and “loose” chaining

Ordinary chaining involves three semantic properties:

1. The clause chain expresses *temporal relations* between the situations (a switch-reference clause situation can be either prior to or simultaneous with the controlling clause situation); see 2.2.
2. Clause chaining involves some degree of *backgrounding* of the non-finite clauses, or, the other way round, the finite clause is accorded the primary prominence; see 2.3.
3. Clause chaining implies *thematic unity* between clauses, which may entail various degrees of semantic cohesion (2.4).

These properties are characteristic of all instances of ordinary chaining and determine the functional distinction between the chaining and the mere sequencing of finite clauses. However, within this functional domain, the semantic impact of chaining varies from presenting a sequence of events as a coherent stretch of discourse to signaling rather tight semantic relations between propositions. The former pole is instantiated by chains describing a coherent series of subsequent events.

- (692) a. *taŋ uør-pe qon-u-t oži-ge lødū-t*
 [that child-PL go-0-SS:IPFV] [water-LOC fall-SS:IPFV]
amdā-l'el-ŋi
 die-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The children went (there), fell into the river and died.' [F12]
- b. *tabun medī-din nodo-pe šaqal'e-t titte*
 [that listen-SUP] [bird-PL gather-SS:IPFV] [they
arqā los'il piede-t-telle
 near fire burn-CAUS-SS:PFV]
madā-l'el-ŋi
 sit.down-INFR-3PL:INTR

'In order to listen to it, the birds gathered, made fire near them and sat down.' [F5]

- c. *irk-id'e kel-de-ge terikie-die mon-i* <...>
 [one-ITER come-3SG-DS] wife-DIM say-INTR:3SG
 'Once he came, and his wife said: ...' [F49]

The order of clauses in such a chain is iconic, i.e. it reflects the temporal order of events; thus, the temporal interpretation of clause chains does not differ from the "default" interpretation of sequences of finite clauses. The deranking is also uniquely determined by the temporal order (the finite clause always describes the last event), hence, the backgrounding effect is not significant. Finally, the semantic cohesion amounts to the temporal adjacency of events and some sort of discourse coherence (or thematic unity). In sum, the chaining is employed simply as a discourse structuring device and involves a minimum of semantic implications.

The following sections demonstrate that each of the properties outlined above can have a more significant impact on the interpretation of a clause chain. This semantic variation correlates with the degree of structural cohesion: the "loose" chains as in (692) exhibit the linear structure, while a higher degree of backgrounding or semantic cohesion may involve the nesting or merged structure (1.3). Besides, the degree of semantic cohesion may determine the choice of the Perfective vs. Imperfective SS form in a consecutive chain (see 2.4.1). However, no strict grammatical distinctions can be drawn between various semantic subtypes of ordinary chains.

2.2. Temporal relations in clause chains

An ordinary clause chain expresses situations which occur either one after another (consecutive chain, (692)) or at the same time (simultaneous chain, (693)). The non-finite clause never signifies a situation subsequent to the controlling clause situation (this relation can be expressed by means of an adverbial clause with postposition, see 11.1.1.2). The Perfective converb is typically used for consecutive chains (6.1.4.4), the Iterative converb, for simultaneous chains (6.1.4.5). Other switch-reference forms are neutral

with respect to this distinction.

- (693) a. *terikie-die* *ijd'e-t* *modo-j*
 [old.woman-DIM sew-SS:IPFV] sit-INTR:3SG
 'The old woman was sitting and sewing.' [F13]
- b. *taj* *mieste-gen* *čirčege-de*
 [that place-PROL jump-SS:ITER]
loŋdā-nu-l'el
 dance-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 'At that place he was dancing and jumping.' [F8]
- c. *tāt* *jaqa-pe* *lučī-pe* *ninge-mu-ŋi-de-ge*
 [CA Yakut-PL Russian-PL be.multiple-INCH-PL-3-DS]
el'ed'uo-jil'i *čā-mu-jil'i*
 disappear-INTR:1PL | be.few-INCH-INTR:3SG
 'Then the Yakuts and the Russians became numerous,
 while we disappeared, our population declined.'

If a non-finite clause follows the finite clause (see 1.1.2), it expresses the temporal relation with respect to the finite-clause situation, i.e., the temporal interpretation of a chain is determined by the syntactic relationship between clauses, rather than by their linear order.

- (694) a. *tittel* *ejre-lle* *kelu-nu-l'el-ŋi*
 [they walk-SS:PFV] come-0-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
il'o-n *šār* *min-delle* *terike+možū*
 [new-ATTR something take-SS:PFV] [wife-PRSP
nug-u-t
 find-0-SS:IPFV]
 'They walked for some time and then returned, having bought something new and found fiancées.'
- b. *omos'* *modo-j* *ūjī-t* *jaqte-de*
 well live-INTR:3SG [work-SS:IPFV] [sing-SS:ITER]
 'He lives very well, working and singing.' [F31]

Furthermore, the need to express some relation to the finite-clause situation (rather than the relations between subsequent non-finite clauses) appears to be a major factor which triggers the post-

position of a non-finite clause. Such a construction is likely to occur if the chain contains several non-finite clauses all of which have to be related to the finite clause, rather than to one another. For instance, all non-finite clauses in (694a) signify situations prior to the finite clause situation, while their relative temporal order remains unspecified.

2.3. Backgrounding

Clause chaining involves a backgrounding/foregrounding semantic effect; the primary prominence is accorded to the finite-clause situation. This semantic effect plays a major role in two sorts of phenomena:

1. The switch-reference clause (in contrast to the finite clause) can represent only presupposed (or given) information pre-supposition; such a clause serves as a linking device (2.3.1) and/or as a temporal setting (2.3.2).⁷⁰
2. In simultaneous ordinary chaining, the structural deranking is not determined by the temporal order of events (in contrast to the consecutive ordinary chaining, see 2.2); hence, the choice of the finite clause signals the relative prominence of the propositions (2.4.2).

2.3.1. Non-finite clauses as a linking device

A chain-initial clause can refer back to the foregoing finite clause; such a clause simply recapitulates the preceding finite clause, but in a switch-reference form and with omitted nominal constituents. This use is characteristic of the Perfective SS clause (695a) and, even more so, of the DS clause (695b)–(695c). Thus, non-finite clauses can serve just to establish links between syntactically independent units.⁷¹

- (695) a. *tintay ad-u-l igeje-pul-gele kød-u-m*
 that strong-0-ANR rope-PL-ACC gather-0-TR:3SG |
køt-telle tude al'ā penī-m
 [gather-SS:PFV] he near put-TR:3SG

‘He gathered those firm ropes. Having gathered them, he put them nearby.’ [F48]

- b. *tabud-ek eje-le aj-n-ā-l'el-ŋile*
 that-PRED bow-INSTR shoot-IPFV-INGR-INFR-OF:3SG
ajī-nu-de-ge n'ied'ī-lek numø
 | [shoot-IPFV-3SG-DS] speak-ANR:PRED house
molho-de-get medū-l'el-u-l
 inside-DS-ABL be.heard-INFR-0-SF
 ‘They began to shoot at it with an arrow. While they were shooting, they heard a conversation from inside the house.’ [F21]

- c. *čunžē-s' čunžē-j-de-ge šešpedaŋil'*
 think-PFV:INTR:3SG | [think-PFV-3SG-DS] door
joho-s'
 open-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘He thought for a while. When he thought, the door opened.’ [F45]

2.3.2. Non-finite clauses as scene setters

A simultaneous non-finite clause can be employed to establish a temporal and/or situational frame for the finite-clause situation, rather than to render information about the event. This use is sometimes signaled by the connective particles *āj* or *ajī* ‘still’ (see 14.2.2.1):

- (696) a. *āj tāt legul ā-t ejre-de-ge tintan*
 [CP CA [food make-SS:IPFV] walk-3SG-DS] [that
šoromo emes'ke šøk-telle tintan marqil'-gele
 person noiselessly enter-SS:PFV] [that girl-ACC
nugen-de-get mid'-u-t mon-i <...>
 hand-POSS-ABL take-0-SS:IPFV] say-INTR:3SG
 ‘While she was still walking around and cooking, that man came in noiselessly, took that girl’s hand and said ...’ [F20]

- b. *tāt ajī n'ied'i-t ohō-ŋi-de-ge tudā*
 [CA CP [speak-SS:IPFV] stand-PL-3-DS] [[that.time
šoŋd'ile kieje ejre-t juø-l
 flood before walk-SS:IPFV] see-ANR]
šoromo-p-lek kel-ŋi-l
 person-PL-PRED come-3PL-SF
 'When they were still standing there and speaking,
 those people who had been there before the flood and
 had seen (it) arrived.'

The setting interpretation appears to be involved in chains with embedded DS clauses (see 1.3.1.1–1.3.1.2), that is, an embedded DS clause may be assumed to serve as a temporal setting (rather than to participate in clause-conjunction).

2.4. Semantic cohesion

Clause chaining signals thematic unity, which may involve a more or less tight semantic cohesion between clauses. The various degrees of semantic cohesion may be represented by the following tentative scale:

- (697) Temporal adjacency of events > Causal relations between events > Single referential event

For chains with a rather loose semantic cohesion, see examples (681), (686), (692). Chains involving causal relations are described in 2.4.1. The tightest semantic cohesion is observed in simultaneous SS chains where the clauses are conceived as signifying different conceptualizations of the same referential event (2.4.2). A special type of semantic cohesion is represented by chains in which a switch-reference clause signifies an event of perception, while the situation being perceived is described by the finite clause (2.4.3).

2.4.1. Causal interpretation of clause chains

Ordinary chaining can involve causal relations between clauses, where a non-finite clause signifies the cause of the situation de-

scribed by the controlling clause. This meaning is characteristic of the Imperfective SS clause.

- (698) a. *tabun juø-t aplitaj ajā-l'el*
 [that see-SS:IPFV] A. rejoice-INFR(3SG)
 'Aplitaj saw it and rejoiced.' [F31]
- b. *tabun medī-t ile uør-pe āj*
 [that listen-SS:IPFV] some child-PL CP
inl-ā-ŋi
 be.afraid-INGR-3PL:INTR
 'Having heard this, some children got scared again.'
- c. *marqil-gi mie-de-t ahurpe-t*
 [girl-POSS wait-DETR-SS:IPFV] [suffer-SS:IPFV]
ibil'ie-t tāt šøjl+ŋōt gude-l'el
 [cry-SS:IPFV] CA stone-TRNSF become-INFR(3SG)
 'His girl waited, suffered, cried and then (because of this) turned to stone.' [F35]
- d. *tāt n'e+anure-t tudā*
 [CA RECP+love-SS:IPFV] that.time
amčī-nu-l'el-ŋi odu-pe
 die-ITER-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR Yukaghir-PL
 'That's how Yukaghirs used to die from (mutual) love.' [F35]

In some cases, the DS clause also expresses the cause of the controlling-clause situation.

- (699) a. *čuøte ibil'e-de-ge tude-gele peššej-delle*
 [always cry-DS-3SG] [he-ACC throw-SS:PFV]
kewej-l'el-ŋi emej-gi
 go-PFV-INFR-3PL:INTR mother-POSS
ečie-de-n'e
 father-POSS-COM
 'Because he used to cry, his mother and father left him and went away.'

- b. *tāt-mie ūjčō-d'e šoromo-pul īs'*
 that-QLT be.working-ATTR person-PL long
modā-nunnu-l'el-ŋi qojl gamie-de-ge
 live-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR [god help-3SG-DS]
 'Such hard-working people live long, (because) God
 helps (them).'

2.4.2. Simultaneous SS chains

Simultaneous SS chains show the tightest degree of semantic cohesion, insofar as clauses denoting actions carried on simultaneously by the same participant can be conceived as signifying different aspects of a single referential event. Most often, one clause specifies the *purpose* of the action, the other, the *manner* in which this purpose has been achieved. Both the manner clause (700) and the purpose clause (701) can be deranked; thus, the choice of the finite clause is determined not by the type of semantic relationship, but rather by the relative prominence of the signified actions (see 2.3).

This type of semantic cohesion appears to be associated with the nesting or merged structure (see 1.3.1–1.3.2). For instance, the nesting structure is obviously involved in (700c), where the NP *nume-ŋin* 'home' fills the Directional slot of the controlling verb. Furthermore, the purpose/manner interpretation seems to be available under the same syntactic conditions as described in 1.3.2 for the pre-position of nonshared participants, i.e. the clauses involved must have the same primary participant and, if transitive, the same O participant, see (700c), (701a).

- (700) a. *tamun-gele āj legi-te-t šoromo+ŋōn*
 that-ACC CP [eat-CAUS-SS:IPFV] person-TRNSF
nuge-de-nu-l'el-ŋā
 make-NONIT-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
 'They would feed him again and (by this means) make
 him a human being (= improve his physical
 condition).' [F1]
- b. *kimdān'e-t mit end'ōn min-met*
 [lie-SS:IPFV] our animal take-TR:2PL

‘You have taken our animals by deceit.’ [F9]

- c. *d'e pukundie tude jaqadās'e-gele nume-ŋin*
 DP old.man-DIM his horse-ACC house-DAT
egie-t kəu-de-j-m
 [hold-SS:IPFV] go-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG
 ‘Well, the old man took his horse home, guiding it
 (with a rein).’ [F28]

- (701) a. *šāšet pon'qonodo čolhoro-le mejnu-t*
 [now lynx hare-INSTR take-IPFV-SS:IPFV]
leg-u-t ejre-t arnūjā-ŋin
 [eat-0-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] [glutton-DAT]
legi-te-t me+kud-ie-nu-m
 eat-CAUS-SS:IPFV] AFF-lie-CAUS:RES-IPFV-TR:3SG
amun-pe-de-jle
 bone-PL-POSS-ACC
 ‘Now the lynx catches and eats the hare, and stores its
 bones, in order to feed the glutton (with these
 bones).’ [F3]
- b. *tabun aŋs'ī-t ejre-t juø-l'el-ŋa <...>*
 [[that search-SS:IPFV] walk-SS:IPFV] see-INFR-3PL:TR
 ‘They walked looking for him and saw [...]’ [F9]
- c. *tet uør-pe-gele čarčaqan-die alme-ŋin*
 your child-PL-ACC C-DIM shaman-DAT
legi-te-m albō-t
 eat-CAUS-TR:3SG [save.oneself-SS:IPFV]
 ‘Chachahan let a shaman eat your children, in order to
 save himself.’ [F29]
- d. *tit šoromo kimdan'e-rī-t tāt*
 you [person deceive-NONIT-SS:IPFV] CA
me+gudie-jemet
 AFF-become-INTR:2PL
 ‘You did it in order to deceive people.’

In some cases, the single-event interpretation of simultaneous SS chains is determined by a common semantic component in the

lexical meanings of the verbs. In this situation, the non-finite clause provides a more concrete and specific description of the situation, e.g. ‘fly’ and ‘walk’ in (702a), ‘shout’ and ‘say’ in (702d), etc. This meaning obligatorily involves the merged chain structure (see 1.3.2).

- (702) a. *id'ī+de mer-ujī-t eg-užu-j*
 now+CP [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-ITER-SS:IPFV
 ‘Now it still flies around (= it is still alive).’ [F7]
- b. *irk-in aŋd'ej-n'-u-l-ben ørn'e-de*
 [one-ATTR eye-PRPR-0-ANR-RELNR shout-SS:ITER]
mol-l'el <...>
 say-INFR(3SG)
 ‘The One-eyed shouted (said shouting): ...’ [F31]
- c. *tudā čobul miekl'ie čobul čorgo-ge*
 that.time sea nearer sea tundra-LOC
omni-pe-lek qan-ujī-t
 family-PL-PRED [wander-ITER-SS:IPFV]
mido-t en-l'el-ŋi-l
 [roam-SS:IPFV] live-INFR-3PL-SF
 ‘At that time, closer to the sea, in the tundra, some people used to live, roaming and wandering.’ [F7]⁷²

2.4.3. Non-finite clauses of perception

A non-finite clause can express a situation of perception, while the rest of the chain describes the event(s) being perceived (703). Thus, the semantic cohesion between clauses is determined by the fact that the finite clause fills the complement slot of the non-finite verb. The verb of perception is normally represented by a DS converb, although the Imperfective converb is also possible (if semantically appropriate, see (703e)). This construction signals that the situation being perceived is more prominent than the fact of perception; otherwise, a construction with sentential complement is employed (see 11.1.3.1).

- (703) a. *juø-ŋi-de-ge omos' modo-l'el*
 [see-PL-3-DS] well sit-INFR(3SG)
 'They saw that he was living well.' [F31]
- b. *juø-l-u-ge nahā omo-s'*
 [see-1|2-0-DS] very be.good-INTR:3SG
 'I saw that it was very good.'
- c. *medī-l-u-ge met-ek ørn'e-rī-ŋile*
 [hear-1|2-0-DS] I-PRED shout-NONIT-3PL:OF
edie-s'-te
 [call-ITER-SS:ITER]
 'I heard that it was me to whom they were shouting,
 calling.'
- d. *šašet čuŋže ejre-š-u-t juø-l-u-ge*
 [now [thought walk-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] see-1|2-0-DS]
jen šoromo-p-lek taŋ mit lebie-gen
 other person-PL-PRED that our land-PROL
ejre-ŋi-l
 walk-3PL-SF
 'Now I think and see that other people walk through
 (= inhabit) our land.'
- e. *tude n'e:r-e juø-t jā-n*
 [his clothes-INSTR see-SS:IPFV] three-ATTR
n'emolhil-get n'ajdō-d'ōn-ge pajā-t
 year-ABL odd-SBNR-LOC [carry-SS:IPFV]
ejrie-l'el
 walk-INFR(3SG)
 'He saw, from his clothes, that he had been walking
 around and carrying (the worm) for more than three
 years.' [F31]

In a number of cases, a non-finite clause of perception is combined with the finite clause formed by an intransitive verb of perception (*jed-* 'appear, be visible', *medū-* 'be heard, perceivable', or their aspectual derivatives, see 11.1.2, 11.1.5). In this situation, the semantic cohesion is supported by the common component in the

lexical meanings of the verbs involved in the construction.

- (704) a. *aqa juø-l-u-ge šoromo-die-k ohoq*
 [suddenly see-1|2-0-DS] person-DIM-PRED stove
jekl'ie-t jed-ej-l
 behind-ABL be.visible-PFV-SF
 'Suddenly I saw a small human appearing from behind
 the stove.'
- b. *tāt irk-id'e mikolaj-die medī-de-ge loči-n*
 [CA one-ITER N.-DIM hear-3SG-DS] fire-ATTR
šanaha-k medū-l
 crackle-ANR:PRED be.heard-SF
 'Then once Nikolaj heard fire crackling.'
- c. *tāt aji juø-de-l-u-ge irk-in met emd'e*
 [CA CP see-DETR-1|2-0-DS] one-ATTR my brother
kel-le med-ej-l
 [come-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV-SF
 'Then I saw again that one of my brothers was
 coming/appeared.'
- d. *medī-l-u-ge ørul-ek medū-l*
 [hear-1|2-0-DS] shout-PRED be.heard-SF
 'I heard a shout.'

3. Conditional constructions

The conditional meaning is signified by the conditional switch-reference forms; with the single exception of the Inferential conditional construction, the conditional chaining requires the finite verb to be marked for tense/mood, aspect or illocutionary type in such a way as to preclude the specific mode of reference (see 1.2).

The semantic distinctions between types of conditional constructions signaled in Yukaghir are fairly typical cross-linguistically (see Thompson and Longacre 1985:190). The *reality* conditionals and the *unreality* conditionals are distinguished by means of the Inferential marking on the switch-reference form; in addition, the unreality conditional constructions are marked by

the Irrealis prefix on the finite verb (3.3). Within the class of reality conditionals, the *predictive* (hypothetical) and *generic* constructions are distinguished by the form of the finite verb (3.1-3.2). Finally, there is a grammatically distinguishable class of *inferential* conditional constructions, where the conditional clause situation is conceived of as the basis of judgement (3.4).

3.1. Predictive conditional constructions

The Predictive conditional construction implies that the situation signified by the finite clause is possible in the future. Thus, the finite verb can take the Future form (705)-(706), the Prospective form (707), or the Imperative form (see 1.2). This marking imposes the neutral mode of reference and thus precludes the use of an ordinary switch-reference form in the setting function (see 1.2). As a result, the conditional switch-reference clause is employed to express either a condition under which the finite clause situation is predicted to take place or a temporal setting for this situation; that is, the conditional chaining does not distinguish between hypotheses (*if*-clauses, examples (705)) and presumptions (*when*-clauses, examples ((706)) with future time reference, or, in other words, any presumptions concerning the future are treated as hypothetical.⁷³

- (705) a. *epie arqa l'e-l-u-ge-ne met-kele*
 [grandmother near be-1|2-0-DS-COND] I-ACC
nilgi el+peššej-t
 nobody NEG +throw-FUT(NEG:3SG)
 'If I am near my grandmother, nobody will leave me alone.'
- b. *met+moj-l-u-gene met tet-ul*
 [REFL-hold-1|2-0-DS-COND] I you-ACC
aŋd'e-š-u-t
 eye-CAUS-0-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'If you hold yourself still, I will make you an eye.' [F31]

- c. *kudede-ŋide ediy pušnina-gi čumu*
 [kill-SS:COND] this fur-POSS all
mid'-u-t
 take-0-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'If I kill him, I will take all his furs.' [F38]
- d. *mit jowje-ge uguje ninge-j anil*
 [our net-LOC tomorrow [be.multiple-ATTR] fish
l'e-ŋide irkil'e l'e-lle qon-tī'i
 be-SS:COND] [together be-SS:PFV] go-FUT-INTR:1PL
 'If there are lots of fish in our net tomorrow, we'll do it
 together and go.'
- (706) a. *gol-l-u-ke-ne čuge-ge irk-in šøqī-k*
 [go-1|2-0-DS-COND] way-LOC one-ATTR bag-PRED
qodō-te-l
 lie-FUT-SF
 'When you go, there will be a bag lying on your
 way.' [F19]
- b. *tamun-pe čuge ā-ŋi-de-j-ne taŋide*
 [that-PL way make-PL-3-DS-COND] there:DIR
kewe-j-t-ī'i
 go-PFV-FUT-INTR:1PL
 'When they make the road, we will go there.'
- c. *tudel numø-ge kel-de-j-ne*
 [he house-LOC come-3SG-DS-COND]
kudde-t
 kill-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'When he comes home, I will kill him.'
- d. *jekečan jiel'e-de-j-ne*
 [bowl get.ready-3SG-DS-COND]
leŋ-de-t-čīi
 eat-DETR-FUT-INTR:1PL
 'When the bowl boils, we will eat.'

The Prospective form of the finite verb (see 6.2.7) signifies that the finite-clause situation is taken to be a natural (unavoidable)

consequence of the conditional-clause situation:

(707) a. *tā l'e-l ani-pe met kewe-j-l-u-ge-ne*
 [there be-ANR] fish-PL [I go-PFV-1|2-0-DS-COND]
qohol'e-l-u-ge-ne čumut amde-možĩ-ŋi
 [wither-1|2-0-DS-COND] all die-PRSP-3PL:INTR
 'If I (a lake) go away, if I wither, all fishes living here
 will die.'

b. *čied'e-me legul čemej-de-j-ne*
 [winter-TMP food finish-3SG-DS-COND]
leŋ-d-ōl'i-t amde-možĩl'i
 [eat-DETR-DESD-0-SS:IPFV] die-PRSP:INTR:1PL
 'If the food is finished in the winter, we will die from
 hunger.'

3.2. Generic conditional constructions

The generic conditional construction is signified by the Imperfective (708) or the Habitual (709) form of the finite verb. Neither of the clauses involved denotes a specific actual situation; rather, they refer to any situation of the given type which might have occurred or is going to occur. This imposes the neutral mode of reference, hence the availability of the conditional construction (see 1.2).

The Imperfective marking on the finite verb signifies that the situations described are possible (708a)-(708b) or regularly occur (708c)-(708d) at various time points in past, present, or future, i.e., within an unlimited period including the time of speech (see 6.3.2.3).

(708) a. *el+peššej-ŋi-de-j-ne čobul pugil'*
 [NEG+throw:PFV-PL-3-DS-COND] [sea lord
joho-mu-lle n'e-lerne
 angry-INCH-SS:PFV] NEG+what
el+kej-nu-l'el
 NEG+give-IPFV-INFR(NEG:3SG)
 'If they do not throw (somebody), the sea lord gets

angry and does not give anything.’

- b. *čuøte tet-ul juø-nu tet*
 always you-ACC see-IPFV(TR:1SG) [you
l'e-l-u-gene
 be-1|2-0-DS-COND]
 ‘I always look at you, when you are here.’ [F2]
- c. *tāt ejre-t jubege-ŋide*
 [CA walk-SS:IPFV] [stuff.oneself-SS:COND]
ajā-t niŋie-gi
 [rejoice-SS:IPFV] soul-POSS
omol-bā-nu-l'el
 be.good-INCH-IPFV-INFR(3SG)
 ‘So he walks, and if/when he stuffs himself, he is glad
 and his state improves.’ [F1]⁷⁴
- d. *mit jōbī ejre-t end'ōn nuŋ-ŋide*
 [we in.forest walk-SS:IPFV] [animal find-SS:COND]
lebie-ge n'e-leme
 earth-LOC NEG-what
el+pejžī-nu-jil'i
 NEG+throw:ITER-IPFV-INTR:1PL
 ‘If/when we find (=kill) an animal while walking in the
 forest, we never throw anything on the earth.’ [F34]

The Habitual form of the finite verb signifies that the situations used to occur regularly within some period of time in the past (see 6.3.4.2):

- (709) a. *titt-in kel-ŋi-de-j-ne tabud-ek*
 they-DAT [come-PL-3-DS-COND] that-PRED
tadī-nunnu-l'el-ŋile
 give-HAB-INFR-3PL:OF
 ‘They used to give it to them_i, whenever they_i came.’
- b. *pugeme n'e+nuŋ-ŋide āj*
 [summer-TMP RECP+find-SS:COND] CP
jōdā-nun-d'ıl'i
 play-HAB-INTR:1PL

‘Whenever we met in summer, we also used to play.’

3.3. The unreality conditional constructions

The unreality conditional construction is marked by the combination of the Inferential marking on the switch-reference form (6.2.5) and the Irrealis marking on the finite verb (6.2.4). The conditional clause can signify either a situation which is taken to be possible in the future, but unlikely to happen (710a), or a counterfactual situation with nonpast (710b) or past (710c) time reference.

(710) a. *qu, met-ul aŋd'e-š-l'el-gene*

Intj [I-ACC eye-PRPR:CAUS-INFR:12-DS-COND]

m-et+omo-s'!

AFF-IRLS+be.good-INTR:3SG

‘Wow, if you made me an eye, that would be good.’ [F31]

b. *abute-č-ā-l'el-gene*

[pour-ITER-INGR-INFR:12-DS-COND]

m-et+jerqoge-jek *jiedude*

AFF-COND-move-INTR:2SG | wrongly

m-et+ā *tet aŋd'e*

AFF+IRLS+make(TR:1SG) your eye |

m-et+eri-s'

AFF+IRLS-bad-INTR:3SG

‘If I were to start to pour out (now), you would move and I would make your eye wrongly, it would be bad.’ [F31]

c. *tāt ūj-t* *žad'ī-t*

[CA work-SS:IPFV] [be.greedy-SS:IPFV]

m-et+el'ed'ō-jek

AFF-IRLS+disappear-INTR:2SG

[el+kes'ī-l'el-ŋide]

NEG+bring-INFR-SS:COND

‘Working in such a way, you would have ruined yourself by greediness, if you had not brought it back.’ [F32]

3.4. Inferential conditional constructions

In the Inferential conditional construction, the conditional clause is presented as the basis of the judgment expressed by the finite clause. This is the only construction type which licenses conditional chaining without any marking of the neutral mode of reference on the finite verb; hence, the very absence of such marking signifies the inferential use of the conditional chaining.

The finite verb takes the unmarked (non-Future) tense-mood form if the implied time reference is nonpast (711a) and the Inferential form otherwise (see (711b), (712)). This distribution is determined by the semantics of the Inferential marker, which implies that the situation has taken place before the time of speech (see 6.2.5). As a result, the conditional chaining entails the (inferred) past-in-the-future interpretation of the unmarked tense form.

- (711) a. *el+kel-l-u-ke-ne* *m+amde-je*
 [NEG+come-1|2-0-DS-COND] AFF+die-INFR:1SG
 'If I do not come, that will mean that I will have died.' [F50]⁷⁵
- b. *tudel eksil'-gi* *čuo* *uj-ō-de-j-ne*
 [he boat-POSS already make-RES-3SG-DS-COND]
tud-in gamie-d'ā-l'el-ŋi
 he-DAT help-DETR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'If his boat is already built, then they have helped him.' [I]

The conditional clause in the Inferential construction can signify just the action of reflection which brings the speaker to the conclusion expressed by the finite clause:

- (712) *id'ī tamun ōnme-ge kel-de-j-ne*
 [now that mind-LOC come-3SG-DS-COND]
juø-l-u-gene ūe-pul ubuj
 [see-1|2-0-DS-COND] some-PL truth
mol-l'el-ŋi <...>
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Now, if it comes to mind, if I think about it, (I see that) some of them have told the truth.'

Note that the Inferential conditional construction is the only type of clause chaining in which the finite clause situation is taken to be prior to the non-finite clause situation.

4. The concessive construction

Concessive meaning is expressed by means of the clause-final particle *tit* ‘although’. If the contrasting clauses have the same subject, the concessive clause can be formed either by the Imperfective SS form (713a) or by a finite verb form (713b).

- (713) a. *ulum gud-uj-l'-ie-t* *tit,* *"tāt*
 [mad become-ITER-0-INGR-SS:IPFV CONC] [[CA
šoromo-p-le kude-s'i-t
 person-PL-INSTR kill-mult-SS:IPFV]
palā-te-je," mol-l'el
 escape-FUT-INTR:1SG] say-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Although he was going mad, he thought: “I will save myself by killing all these people.’
- b. *me:me: ō-l'el tit met šoromon'ul*
 [bear COP-INFR(3SG) CONC] my relative
 ‘Although he looked like a bear, (he) is my relative.’ [F4]

If the subjects are different, a Conditional DS converb is most often used for the concessive clause, independently of whether the meaning is “plain” concessive (‘although’, (714a)) or conditional concessive (‘even if’, (714b)). Another option is the Result Nominal clause (714c):

- (714) a. *pen jowle-j-de-j-ne* *tit tarj*
 [it become.evening-PFV-3SG-DS-COND CONC] that
terike-gi aŋčī-din kewe-j-l'el
 wife-POSS search-SUP go-PFV-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Although it was already evening, his wife went to look (for him).’

- b. *omo-če+de* *n'e:r* *ō-de-j-ne*
 [be.good-ATTR+CP clothing COP-3SG-DS-COND
tit *erie-nunnu-m* *lebie-n+šørile*
 CONC] hate-HAB-TR:3SG [earth-ATTR+color
l'e-de-j-ne
 be-3SG-DS-COND]
 'Even if it the clothing was good, he did not like it if
 there was flower pattern.'
- c. [*mon-ō-de* *tit*] *taŋide* *qon-i*
 say-RNR-POSS:ATTR CONC there:DIR go-INTR:3SG
 'In spite of what she had said, he went there.' [F31]

See 14.3 for a connective adverbial involving the concessive particle.

Chapter 11

Subordination

This chapter describes morphological strategies of clause subordination. These strategies make use of two types of non-finite verb forms, Nominal forms (6.1.3) and Attributive forms (6.1.4), and are employed for complementation (Sections 1-2), relativization (Section 3) and adverbial clause formation (Section 4). Other clause-linkage strategies are described in Chapter 10 (clause chaining) and in 13.5.3 (subordination by means of interrogative pro-forms).

1. Nominal complements

1.1. *Introductory notes*

Nominalization is the major strategy of sentential complementation.⁷⁶ The nominal complement can be built by means of the Action Nominal form (6.1.3.3), the Result Nominal form (6.1.3.4), or the Prospective Nominal form (6.1.3.5). Note that the nominal complement can be represented by a SS chain with nominalized final clause (see examples (720b), (721a)).

The Action Nominal can be taken as the primary strategy for creation of nominal complements, in the following sense: whenever a verb can take a nominal complement, the latter can be built by means of the Action Nominal. In contrast with this, the Result Nominal and the Prospective Nominal complements (see Note 64) are available under the following semantic conditions:

- The Result Nominal may (but need not) replace the Action Nominal if the complement situation is conceived of as having

finished before the matrix clause situation started; see (716b), (721b)-(721c), (722b), (729a).

- The Prospective Nominal may (but need not) replace the Action Nominal if the complement situation is conceived as going to take place after the matrix clause situation; see (717b), (722c).

The class of complement-taking verbs is, to a large extent, semantically predictable and roughly corresponds to the classes of complement-taking verbs attested in other languages, such as verbs of perception, evaluation predicates, etc.⁷⁷ Nominal complements can fill the S slot (1.2), the O slot (1.3), and the Directional slot (1.6). There is also a special construction with the Instrumental Action Nominal (1.5).

1.2. Complements in the S slot

The following intransitive verbs can take complements in the S slot:

Evaluation predicates: *omo-* ‘be good’, *erū-* ‘be bad’, and their aspectual derivatives; see (715).

Source-based verbs of perception: *jed-* ‘be visible’, *medū-* ‘be heard, audible, perceivable’, and their aspectual derivatives; see (716).

Modal predicates: *nado(+ηō-)* ‘be needed, be necessary’ (see 5.5.5.2), *pon’ō-* ‘remain’ (in a modal meaning like ‘remain to be done’); see (717), (725b).

Theme-based verbs of termination:⁷⁸ *šobol’e-* ‘cease, stop’, *čemej-* ‘end, finish’, and their aspectual derivatives; see (718).

Note that this list largely overlaps with the list of verbs which open the Dative Experiencer slot (see 9.2.7). However, the Nominal complement in the S slot does not co-occur with the Dative Experiencer.

The construction with the modal predicate *nado* ‘be necessary’ and the Action Nominal form is impersonal (generic), i.e., an action is presented as necessary without specification of the subject participant; interestingly, this construction entails compulsory Possessive marking on the Action Nominal (717).

- (715) a. *omo-s’ tet gamie-d’e-l met-in*
 good-INTR:3SG [you help-DETR-ANR I-DAT]
 ‘It is good that you have helped me.’ [F31]
- b. <...> *met kew-ej-l eri-s’*
 [I go-PFV-ANR] bad-INTR:3SG
 ‘If I go away, it will be bad.’ [T1]
- (716) a. *touke-pul oj-d’e-p-ki medi-s’*
 [dog-PL bark-DETR-PL-POSS] be.heard-INTR:3SG
 ‘Dogs’ barking is heard.’
- b. *tottū-l-ō-gi id’i jen-nu-j <...>*
 [stick-0-RNR-POSS] now be.visible-IPFV-INTR:3SG
 ‘Now one can see that she has remained there
’ [F2]
- (717) a. *met kew-ej-možī-je tamun čobul*
 I go-PFV-PRSP-INTR:1SG | [that sea
pugedend’e-ηin mon-gi nado+ηō-l
 king-DAT say-ANR:POSS] necessary+STAT-SF
 ‘I have to go, it is necessary to say this to the sea
 king.’ [T1]
- b. <...> *ed’-u-l+možū nado+ηō-j*
 [live-0-ANR+PRSP] necessary+STAT-INTR:3SG
ell’e <...>
 DP
 ‘... after all, it was necessary to survive (to go on
 living) ...’
- (718) a. *mit emd’e tamun juø-t ibil’e-gi*
 [our brother that see-SS:IPFV] [cry-ANR:POSS]
šobol’e-j
 cease-INTR:3SG

‘Our brother saw this and stopped crying.’ [K5]

- b. *tāt kereke-pul odul-pe-n’e*
 CA [Koryak-PL Yukaghir-PL-COM
kimd’i-l-pe-gi čemie-s’
 fight-ANR-PL-POSS] finish-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘In this way, the fight between Koryaks and Yukaghirs
 ended.’ [F50]

1.3. Complements in the O slot

The following transitive verbs can take complements in the O slot:

- Verbs of perception (1.3.1).
- Verbs of termination (1.3.2).
- Speech act verbs (1.3.3).
- Verbs of cognition (1.3.4).
- A semantically heterogeneous group of other verbs (1.3.5).

Generally, the subject of the complement clause can but need not be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (coreference constraints imposed by specific complement-taking verbs are described in 1.3.1-1.3.5). In the complement clause, the common subject is either omitted ((720a), (721a)) or represented by the reflexive possessive pronoun (722c). If the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the matrix clause, it is normally cross-referenced by the Possessive marking on the nominal verb form, independently of whether or not it is represented by a lexical NP (cf. (719) and (720b), (722a), (722b)).

1.3.1. Verbs of perception

The following examples illustrate the pattern with the complement in the O slot for the basic verb of seeing, *juø-* ‘see, look at’ (719a), the basic verb of listening, *medī-* ‘hear, listen’ (719b), and for the

verb *kiše-* ~ *kišše-* ‘show’ (719c). In this construction, the subject of the complement clause cannot be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.

- (719) a. *tabun medī-t tintay n’an’ulben pøn*
 [that hear-SS:IPFV] [that devil [nature
pod’erqo-t-ki juø-t
 day-PRPR:INCH-POSS] sec-SS:IPFV]
šejre-s’
 run.away-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘That devil heard this, saw that it was getting light
 and ran away.’ [F23]
- b. *mit medī-l-bed-ek towke*
 we listen-ATTR:1PL-RELN-RELNR-PRED [dog
oj-d’ā-j-nu-gi
 bark-DETR-PFV-IPFV-POSS]
 ‘We did hear the dog barking.’ [K4]
- c. *met tet-in kišše-t ajbī-pe*
 I you-DAT show-FUT(TR:1SG) [soul-PL
uk-čī-pe-gi
 go.out-ITER-PL-POSS]
 ‘I will show you how the souls go out (from
 here).’ [F31]

This construction is a marginal option for the verbs *juø-* ‘see, look at’ and *medī-* ‘hear, listen’; the primary strategy of linking a clause of perception and the clause denoting the situation being perceived is ordinary chaining (10.2.4.3). Complementation is employed only if it is the event of perception (rather than the situation being perceived) that constitutes the point of the message and has to be foregrounded. The complement clause normally represents given (presupposed) information.

1.3.2. Transitive verbs of termination

Transitive verbs of termination are the causative counterparts of the intransitive verbs described in 1.2 (examples (718)). The sub-

ject of the complement clause is controlled by the subject (720a) or the direct object (720b) of the matrix clause and cannot be expressed by a NP in the complement clause; however, it can be cross-referenced by the Possessive marker on the Nominal verb form (720b).

- (720) a. *ūj-l-e* *čugō-n*
 [work-ANR-INSTR] quick-ADV
čeme-re-j-m *el+ižulbe+čuøn*
 finish-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG [NEG+get.tired+PRIV]
 'He finished his work quickly, without getting
 tired.' [F32]
- b. *ūe* *n'e+leg-u-l* *end'ōn-pe-le*
 some [RECP-eat-0-ANR] animal-PL-INSTR
šobol'e-š-u-m *n'e+lej-pe-de-jle*
 cease-CAUS-0-TR:3SG [RECP+eat-PL-POSS-ACC]
 'He made some predators cease eating one
 another.' [F9]

See 2.1 for an alternative complementation pattern for the verbs of termination.

1.3.3. Transitive speech act verbs

Nominal complementation can be used to express the contents of reported speech with transitive speech act verbs (see 13.5.1-13.5.2 for an overview of the strategies employed for this purpose). With these verbs, the Result Nominal complements are more frequent, presumably because the event being reported normally precedes the event of speech (see 1.1). The subject of the complement clause can (721a) but need not (721b) be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause; it can be omitted in the complement clause.

- (721) a. *tittel ejr-ōl-gele* *nahā omos'*
 they [walk-RNR-ACC] very good
n'ied'i-rī-nunnu-ηā
 tell-APPL-HAB-3PL:TR
 'They described very well how they had been

walking.'

- b. *met-in čomparnā pundu-m tet tāt l'e-l-gele*
 I-DAT raven tell-TR:3SG [you CA be-ANR-ACC]
 'A raven has told me that you had done it (lit. that you were this way).' [F12]

1.3.4. Verbs of cognition

The verbs of cognition take complements constructed by means of the Action Nominal (722a), the Result Nominal (722b), and the Prospective Nominal (722c). The subject of the complement can be either coreferential (722c) or non-coreferential (722a)-(722b) with the subject of the matrix clause.

- (722) a. *tāt gude-de-jle lejte-j-m*
 [CA become-ANR:POSS-ACC] learn-PFV-TR:3SG
uøŋō-l alme
 [young-ANR] shaman
 'The young shaman_i found out that he_j changed (himself_j) in this way.' [F44]
- b. *qollume lejte-ŋā er-čōn-ge*
 soon learn-3PL:TR [bad-SBNR-LOC]
jaqa-l-ō-de-jle
 arrive-0-RNR-POSS-ACC]
 'They found out soon that he had been in a bad place.' [F37]
- c. *tude amd-ōl+možū-gele el+lejdī*
 [he die-RNR+PRSP-ACC] NEG+know(NEG:3SG)
 'He does not know that he is mortal.' [F9]

1.3.5. Other complement-taking verbs

The nominal complements occur with some other transitive verbs; the only semantic feature these verbs have in common is that they do not imply realization of the complement situation (723). The subject of the complement clause can be either coreferential

(723b)-(723c) or non-coreferential (723a) with the subject of the matrix clause.

- (723) a. *tāt numø laŋin kew-ej-l'el jukō-l*
 CA house AD:DIR go-PFV-INFR(3SG) [[be.small-ANR
emd'e-gi id'ī kel-gi mie-din
 younger.sibling-POSS now come-ANR:POSS] wait-SUP]
 'Then he went to the house, this time in order to wait
 for his youngest brother to come.'
- b. *met terike šøq-u-l omoluhī-t*
 [my wife [enter-0-ANR] feel.shy-SS:IPFV]
el+šøw
 NEG+enter(NEG:3SG)
 'My wife feels too shy to come in.' [F14]
- c. *tī-t qol-le iŋī-m tahane*
 [here-ABL go-ANR:INSTR] be.afraid-TR:3SG CA
tit
 CONC
 'However, he was still afraid of going away from
 here.' [K5]

1.4. Detached nominal complements

In a few examples, the complement co-occurs with an ordinary NP filling the same valence slot of the complement-taking verb. In such constructions, the complement takes the postverbal linear position, while the more common preverbal position is occupied by the ordinary NP. The sentences in (724) illustrate the case where the O slot is filled by an ordinary NP and the clause is followed by the complement with the subject referentially identical to that NP. Note that this is the only (and extremely rare) construction type that allows the reflexive possessive pronoun representing the subject of a Nominal clause to be controlled by the direct object (and not by the subject) of the matrix clause (724a):

- (724) a. *marqil' tude-gele čušte mie-nunnu-m tude*
 girl he-ACC always wait-HAB-TR:3SG [his
kel-u-l-gele numø jekl'ie-t
 come-0-ANR-ACC house behind-ABL]
 'The girl was always waiting for him, for him to return
 after hunting.' [F35]
- b. *mit emd'e čohoče budie-t mit-kele juø-m*
 our brother hill above-ABL we-ACC see-TR:SG
mit anil ik-čī-l-gele
 [we fish get.caught-CAUS:ITER-ANR-ACC]
 'Our brother saw us fishing from the hill.' [K5]

On the other hand, examples (725) show that this referential identity is not a necessary condition for such a construction; (725a) illustrates the detached complement semantically associated with the O slot, (725b), with the S slot. Unfortunately, such examples are too rare for any detailed description.

- (725) a. *n'ade-lek mie-l'el-ŋile pøn jarqā-lek*
 fall-PRED wait-INTR-3PL:OF [it freeze-ANR:PRED]
titte lebie lajin keweĵ-din
 [their land AD:DIR go-PFV-SUP]
 'They were waiting for the fall, for the world to
 become frozen, in order to go to their land.' [K3]
- b. *tī ørd'ō-l lebie-ge jā-n pod'erqo-k*
 here middle-ANR earth-LOC three-ATTR day-PRED
pon'ō-l ed'-u-l+možū
 remain-SF [live-0-ANR+PRSP]
 'Only three days remained to live on Middle
 Earth.' [F31]

1.5. The verb *medū-* 'be heard': Instrumental Action Nominal

The verb *medū-* 'be heard, perceivable' and its aspectual derivatives can take the complement in the S slot (716a), according to the construction schema outlined in 1.2. This section describes another pattern which is only possible with *medū-* and its aspectual

derivatives. In this construction, the primary participant of the complement situation fills the S slot of the matrix clause, while the Action Nominal takes the Instrumental form (lit. ‘X is perceivable by/with V-ing’).⁷⁹ The subject NP is obligatorily omitted in the complement clause. This pattern contains an optional slot for the Dative Experiencer in the matrix clause (726b), (727a) (see 9.2.7). However, the experiencer is most commonly introduced by means of a non-finite clause of perception (726a), (727b) (see 10.2.4.3).

- (726) a. *medī-l-u-ge emej+taŋ-pe ørn'e-le*
 [hear-1|2-0-DS] mother+that-PL [shout-ANR:INSTR]
mede-j-ŋi
 be.heard-PFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘I heard my mother and the others shouting.’ [T2]
- b. *epie | taŋ-p-in ørn'e-nu-le*
 grand.mother+that-PL-DAT [shout-IPFV-ANR:INSTR]
medi-s' mit emd'e anil-e
 be.heard-PFV:INTR:3SG my brother [[fish-INSTR
īde-ŋā mon-u-t
 get.caught-CAUS-3PL:TR] say-0-SS:IPFV]
 ‘My grandmother and the others heard my brother shouting (saying): “They are fishing!”’
- c. *taŋ parā-ge juku+jonžā martl'uø*
 [that time-LOC small.goose daughter
epie-gi tāt modo-lle juø-t
 grand.mother-POSS CA sit-SS:PFV] [see-SS:IPFV]
mol-le medi-s' <...>
 [say-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘At that time, the grandmother of small goose’s daughter, after sitting in this way for a while, looked around and said (lit. was heard to say): ...’ [F5]

This construction is particularly common with the Action Nominal of the verb *kel-* ‘come’ (727a)-(727b) and other verbs of movement (727c). As shown by the examples in (727), in combination with such verbs the meaning of the verb *medū-* is extended to cover all means of perception, not only by ear (including extrasensory

perception, as in (727a)):

- (727) a. *mit-in ol'l'ōdoj čomōd'e jowl'e-lek*
 I-DAT [very be.large-ATTR] disease-PRED
kel-le mede-j-l
 [come-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV-SF
 'I feel a terrible disease coming (of the shaman's
 extrasensory perception).' [F47]
- b. *tāt tebegej qodō-t juø-de-ge*
 [CA T. lie-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS]
ās'e-n'-d'e erpeje-p-lek kel-le
 deer-PRPR-ATTR Even-PL-PRED [come-ANR:INSTR]
mede-j-ŋi-l
 be.heard-3PL-SF
 'While lying, Tebegej saw Evens with deer
 coming.' [F28]
- c. *tāt ajī numø-ge el+jaqa-de kieje*
 [CA CP [house-LOC NEG+arrive-POSS before]
juø-de-ge emd'e-gi tude kieje numø+laŋin
 see-3SG-DS] brother-POSS he before house-DIR
qol-le mede-j-l
 [go-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV-SF
 'And even before he reached the house, he saw his
 brother going towards the house ahead of him.'

1.6. Complements in the Directional slot

The verbs *ajā-* 'be glad, rejoice (at/over)' and *kičie-* 'learn (how to)' open the Directional slot (9.2.6.1) for a NP signifying a process. It may be either the pronoun *tamun* 'that' (728a) or a nominal complement (728b), (729). According to the general properties of the Directional slot, this NP can take the Dative (728) or the Locative (729) case form.

- (728) a. *emej+taŋ-pe tamun-ŋin ajā-ŋi*
 mother+that-PL that-DAT rejoice-3PL:INTR
 'Mother and the others rejoiced over that.'

- b. *āčē-le imo-t ejre-l-ŋin*
 [[deer-INSTR sit-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR-DAT]
kičie-l'el
 learn-INFR(3SG)
 'She learned how to ride a deer.'

- (729) a. *pajpe šoromon'ul-pe-gi ajā-l'el-ŋi tan*
 woman relative-PL-POSS rejoice-INFR-3PL:INTR [that
pajpe ejre-t jaqa-l-ō-de-ge
 woman [walk-SS:IPFV] arrive-0-RNR-POSS-LOC]
 'That woman's relatives were happy that she had
 arrived.'

- b. <...> *šorile čuŋde-l-ge kičie-l'el*
 [letter think-ANR-LOC] learn-INFR(3SG)
čuøl'e-d+omnī lučī tite
 ancient-ATTR+people Russian as
 '<...>he learned how to read Old Russian.'

These verbs have an alternative pattern where the complement situation is represented by a converb (2.1).

2. Minor complementation strategies

With some complement-taking verbs, the complement situation may be expressed by a switch-reference clause (most often, the Imperfective SS clause; see 2.1) or by the Supine clause (2.2). Generally, these strategies are available if the primary participant of the complement situation is referentially identical with the subject of the main clause. They are strictly distinguished in terms of modality assigned to the complement situation: a switch-reference clause implies that the situation has taken place, the Supine clause does not.

The Applicative suffix on a complement-taking verb signals that the primary or the secondary participant of the complement clause situation is assigned to the O slot of the matrix clause situation (2.3).

2.1. Clause chaining as a strategy of complementation

The complement situation can be represented by the Imperfective SS clause under the following conditions:

1. The subjects of the complement-taking verb and the complement situation are referentially identical, and
2. The complement situation is conceived of as actually having taken place; this modality can be either implied by the meaning of the complement-taking verb (730)-(731) or imposed by the use of the pattern (732b).

This construction is used in accordance with the general semantics of ordinary clause chaining (10.2); the only difference is that the switch-reference clause must be taken to fill a valence slot of the controlling clause (which would otherwise have been filled by a nominal complement).

The following examples illustrate this pattern for intransitive⁸⁰ (730) and transitive (731) verbs of termination and for the verbs taking the nominal complement in the Directional slot (732).

- (730) a. *d'e tāt šobol'e-j ibil'e-t*
 DP CA stop-INTR:3SG [cry-SS:IPFV]
 'Then he stopped crying.'
- b. *lebejdī šaqal'e-š-u-t čemie-čl'i*
 [berries gather-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] finish-PFV:INTR:1PL
 'We finished gathering berries.'
- (731) a. *parnā qahie-le šørileš-u-t*
 crow [loon-INSTR paint-0-SS:IPFV]
čeme-re-j-m
 finish-APPL-PFV-TR:3SG
 'The crow finished painting the loon.' [F5]
- b. *juoreqa-k kicie-t*
 seminary-PRED [study-SS:IPFV]
ceme-re-j-l'el-mele
 finish-APPL-PFV-INFR-OF:3SG
 'He graduated from a seminary.' (lit. 'He finished a seminary, studying.') [K4]

- (732) a. *ajā-j* *šoromo čuge juø-t*
 rejoice-INTR:3SG [person trace see-SS:IPFV]
 'He was happy to see human tracks.' [F22]
- b. *čomōlben qaŋī-nu-t* *kis'ie-l'el-ŋi*
 [elk pursue-IPFV-SS:IPFV] learn-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They learnt how to pursue elk.' [F34]

Sentences like (732b), in contrast to the Nominal complement construction with the same verb (see 1.6), imply that the process of learning included (or was equal to) actually performing the action ('While pursuing elk (on a number of occasions), they learnt how one has to do this.').

In most instances, a switch-reference clause in the complement function involves the Imperfective SS form. This tendency conforms to the general meaning of this form (which signifies a relatively tight semantic cohesion between clauses, see 10.2.4). However, if the matrix clause is a Perfective SS clause, the complement clause may (733a) but need not (733b) take the Perfective SS form.

- (733) a. *tāt leŋde-lle* *čemej-delle mon-i <...>*
 [[CA eat-DETR-SS:PFV] finish-SS:PFV] say-INTR:3SG
 'Then, having finished eating, he said: ...' [F24]
- b. *jowle-me leŋ-de-t* *čemej-delle*
 evening-TMP [[eat-SS:IPFV] finish-SS:PFV]
irkil'l'e-p-ki mon-i <...>
 one-PL-POSS say-INTR:3SG
 'In the evening, having finished eating, one of them
 said: ...' [F21]

2.2. The Supine complements

The Supine complements occur under the following conditions:

1. The subject of the complement-taking verb is either referentially identical to the primary participant of the complement-clause situation, or otherwise to one such participant (for the verb *gamie*- 'help' and its derivatives). The subject is obligatorily omitted in the Supine clause.

2. The complement-taking verb does not imply realization of the complement situation.

This pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

- (734) a. *titte es'ie-ŋin gamie-d'ā-nu-l'el-ŋi*
 their father-DAT help-DETR-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
kereke-n'e kimd'i-din
 [Koryak-COM fight-SUP]
 'They helped their father to fight with Koryaks.' [F50]
- b. *tet tāt-mie ažū mon-din qodit*
 you [that-QLT word say-SUP] why
el+kellugi-jek
 NEG+be.lazy-INTR:2SG
 'Why are you not too lazy to say such words!' [F53]
- c. *čumu lejdi-din erd'ie-j*
 [all know-SUP] want-INTR:3SG
 'He wants to know everything.' [F31]⁸¹
- d. *ās'e-n'-u-l šoromo-pul kel-din*
 deer-PRPR-0-ANR person-PL come-SUP
me+kudel'e-ŋi <...>
 AFF+get.ready-3PL:INTR
 'People with deer are getting ready to come ...' [K1]

2.3. Applicatives of complement-taking verbs

The applicative derivatives (6.4.4.1) of the intransitive complement-taking verbs *ajā-* 'rejoice' and *erd'i-* 'want' (*ajā-re-* and *erd'ō-re-* respectively) has an O slot for the theme participant which corresponds to the the primary (735b) or the secondary (735a) participant of the complement situation. The complement situation remains an obligatory element of the sentence. With the verb *ajā-re-*, this situation can be specified either by the Imperfective SS clause (735a) or by the DS clause (735b), with the verb *erd'ō-re-*, by the Supine clause (736).⁸²

- (735) a. *tet-ul ajā-re juø-t*
 you-ACC rejoice-APPL(TR:1SG) [see-SS:IPFV]
 'I am glad to see you.'
- b. *tet kel-l-u-ke tet-kele ajā-re-m*
 [you come-1|2-0-DS] you-ACC rejoice-APPL-TR:3SG
 'He is glad that you have come'
- (736) a. *met ieqāj tāt-mie-d'ōd-ek moro-din*
 I also that-QLT-SBNR-PRED [put.on-SUP]
erd'ō-re-me
 want-APPL-OF:1SG
 'I wanted such a thing too, to put it on.' [T1]
- b. *ediŋ jaqal met martl'uø erd'uo-re-mle*
 this Yakut my daughter want-APPL-OF:3SG
terike+ŋon min-din
 [wife+TRNSF take-SUP]
 'This Yakut wants my daughter, in order to marry
 her.' [I]

3. Relative clauses

There are two types of constructions involving a non-finite clause as a noun modifier, Nominal relative construction and Attributive relative construction. In the Nominal relative clause the subject of the relative clause is construed as the grammatical Possessor of a nominal verb form. In the Attributive relative clause, this is not the case; on the contrary, the subject of the relative clause can be construed as the grammatical Possessor of the relativized NP (see 9.1.2.1 for examples).

Nominal relative clauses are formed by the Action Nominal form or by the Result Nominal form. Attributive relative clauses are formed by means of the dedicated Attributive forms (6.1.2) or the Action Nominal form. Thus, the Action Nominal is used in both relativization strategies. These constructions are formally distinguished by the placement of the Possessive marker cross-referencing the subject of the relative clause: in the Attributive

relative construction, it is placed on the head noun, in the Nominal relative construction, on the verb form itself.

The Attributive relative clause is the primary relativization strategy, i.e., this strategy is used for subject relativization (3.1). The Nominal relative clause plays a rather marginal role and is employed primarily for relativization of spatial and temporal adverbials (3.2).

3.1. Attributive relative clauses

The instances of Attributive relativization fall into four classes according to the syntactic role of the relativized constituent: the subject (3.1.1), the direct object (3.1.2), the spatial or temporal Locative (3.1.3), and the Possessor of the (intransitive) subject (3.1.4).

This distribution seems to be typologically remarkable, if not exceptional, since the primary relativization strategy appears to be applied for relativization of the highest and the lowest ranks in the Noun Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977).⁸³ Two major factors may have determined the attested distribution:

- The accessibility of spatial and temporal adverbials is supported by the existence of the minor Nominal relativization strategy (see 3.2), which can use the same morphological resources (Action Nominal form).
- Possessor relativization seems to be related to topicalization by means of Possessive marking (see 8.2.2.2), i.e., it may be accounted for in terms of Topic relativization.

Generally, the verb forms do not mark the case role of the relativized constituent. However, they show some sort of (not fully grammaticalized) orientation toward various types of constituents:

- The Passive Attributive form cannot be applied for relativization of the subject and the Possessor.
- The Active Attributive form is not used for Locative relativization.⁸⁴

- The Action Nominal is almost never employed for relativization of the direct object (the only text example is given in (742)).

As all noun modifiers, the relative clause precedes its head, but it can be (very rarely) shifted to the clause-final position (after the verb); see (744b).

3.1.1. Subject relativization

The subject can be relativized by means of the Active Attributive form (737) or the Action Nominal form (738). The factors which determine the choice of one or another form seem to be correlated with grammatical Focus marking; more specifically, the Active Attributive form is preferred if the NP as a whole is marked for grammatical Focus. Both constructions are available for S (sentences (a)-(b) in (737)-(738)) and A (sentences (c)-(d)).

- (737) a. *tāt āj qon-de-ge čuge-ge irk-in qodō-d'e*
 [CA CP go-3SG-DS] way-LOC one-ATTR [lie-ATTR]
šaqale-k juø-l'el-mele
 fox-PRED see-INFR-OF:3SG
 'When he was still going, he saw a fox lying on the way.' [F18]
- b. *numø-ŋin qol-l-u-ke-ne čuge-ge ataq-un*
 [house-DAT go-1|2-0-DS-COND] way-LOC [two-ATTR]
n'emolhil-n'e-j jaqadās'e-k uld-ō-t
 year-PRPR-ATTR] horse-PRED [fasten-RES-SS:IPFV]
ohō-te-l
 stand-FUT-SF
 'When you go home, there will be a two-year-old horse fastened on your way.' [F19]
- c. *purk-in šoromo lē-je šoromo*
 [seven-ATTR person eat-ATTR] person
ō-d'ek ell'e
 cop-INTR:2SG DP
 'You are a person who has eaten seven people, aren't

you?'

- d. *tā omos' kis'-ō-d'e lejdi-je*
 there [well learn-RES-ATTR] [know-ATTR]
šoromo-k modā-nu-l'el-u-l
 person-PRED sit-IPFV-INFR-0-SF
 'Well educated, knowledgeable people live there.' [F31]
- (738) a. *tā mot-te-pe-de jolāt amde-din*
 [there sit-CAUS-PL-POSS:ATTR after] [die-SUP
l'e-l uøŋō-l køj ed'-ie-l'el
 be-ANR] [young-ANR] boy live-INGR-INFR(3SG)
 'After they had put him there, the young boy who was
 dying returned to life.' [F37]
- b. *omni-n+čomōd'e-pul-ge tud-in*
 people-ATTR+elder-PL-LOC [he-DAT
qamied'ā-nunnu-l šoromo-p-lek
 help-DETR-HAB-ANR] person-PL-PRED
lie-nunnu-ŋi-l
 be-HAB-3PL-SF
 'The kin elders used to have people who helped
 them.' [K1]
- c. *tāt ajī n'ied'i-t ohō-ŋi-de-ge tudā*
 [CA [CP speak-SS:IPFV] stand-PL-3-DS] [[that.time
šoŋd'ile kieje ejre-t juø-l
 flood before walk-SS:IPFV] see-ANR]
šoromo-p-lek kel-ŋi-l
 person-PL-PRED come-3PL-SF
 'When they were still standing there speaking, there
 came people who had been there before the flood and
 had seen it.'
- d. *tude-gele joq-to-l ani-pe čobul*
 [he-ACC arrive-CAUS-ANR] fish-PL sea
pugedend'e-ŋin mol-l'el-ŋi <...>
 king-DAT say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The fishes that had brought him said to the sea king:

...’ [T1]

The common subject of a same-subject clause chain can be relativized, so that the whole clause chain constitutes a complex relative clause (738c), (739).

(739) a. *qan-ujī-t* *ejre-l* *omnā* *nuk-telle*
 [[[roam-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR] family find-SS:PFV]
tabud-e *ed’ie-je*
 that-INSTR live-INGR-INTR:1SG
 ‘I met people who were roaming (there), that is why I
 was returned to life.’ [F22]

b. *tiŋ* *paj* *pulut-ki* *aŋčī-t*
 [[[that woman husband-POSS search-SS:IPFV]
ejre-l *šoromo-pul-n’e* *n’e+nugu-nu-de*
 walk-ANR] person-PL-COM RECP+find-IPFV-SS:ITER]
numø-ge *modo-l* *šoromo-pul-ge*
 [house-LOC live-ANR] person-PL-LOC
jaqa-l’el-ŋi
 arrive-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘They met (in various places) with people who were
 walking and looking for the husband of that woman
 and came to those people who remained at home.’ [K1]

Note that relativized qualitative verbs take over the attributive function associated with adjectives in many other languages (see 6.1.2.2, 6.1.3.2). See 9.1.2.2 for encoding of the O participant in non-finite clauses.

3.1.2. Object relativization

The direct object can be relativized by means of the Active Attributive form (740), the Passive Attributive form (741), or, very rarely, by the Action Nominal form (742). The subject of the relative clause is treated as the Possessor of the head noun (see 9.1.2.1).

- (740) a. *met aŋd'e el+juø-je mieste-ge kudede-k*
 [my eye NEG+see-ATTR] place-ABL kill-IMP:2SG
 'Kill them in a place which is out of my sight.' [F13]
- b. *kin ā-je legul-ek tuben ohō-l?*
 [who make-ATTR] food-PRED that stand-SF
 'The food made by whom is there?' [F26]
- (741) a. *kes'ī-k tit īde-met anil*
 bring-IMP:2SG [you catch-ATTR:2PL] fish
 'Bring the fish that you have caught.' [K5]
- b. *tiŋ paj tude pulut-kele legi-te-m*
 that woman her husband-ACC eat-CAUS-TR:3SG
tude ejre-š-mele legul-e
 [her walk-CAUS-ATTR:3SG] food-INSTR
 'That woman fed her husband with the food which she
 had brought.' [K3]
- (742) *met kudede-l čomōlben šounbe-n'-i*
 [I kill-ANR] elk fat-PRPR-INTR:3SG
šounbe-n'-i
 fat-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'The elk I have killed is fat, (it) is fat.' [F33]

3.1.3. Locative relativization

The Locative can be relativized by means of the Action Nominal form (743) or the Passive Attributive form (744), the former option being much more common. Exactly as in the case of O relativization, the subject of the relative clause is treated like the Possessor of the head NP (9.1.2.1; see also (743a)-(743b), (744c)).

- (743) a. *odu-pe modo-l jalhil-pe-gi čomōd'e*
 [Yukaghir-PL live-ANR] lake-PL-POSS [big-ATTR]
jalhil ō-l'el
 lake COP-INFR(3SG)
 'The lake where the Yukaghirs lived was a large
 lake.'

- b. *taŋ touke-n'e tude pulut gon-u-l čuge-gi*
 that dog-COM [her husband go-0-ANR] way-POSS
nugu-l'el-mele
 find-INFR-OF:3SG
 'With that dog, she found the way that her husband went.'
- c. *taŋ paŋpe uø-die en-d'ōn ō-d'ōd-ek*
 that woman child-DIM live-SBNR COP-SBNR-PRED
mit juø-l parā-ge
 [we see-ANR] time-LOC
 'That girl was still alive at the time we saw (them).'
- d. *tudā tiŋ lebie-ge odu-pe titt-id'ie*
 that.time [this earth-LOC Yukaghir-PL they-INTS
modō-l parā-ge n'e+nugu-nu-t
 live-ANR] time-LOC [RECP-find-IPFV-SS:IPFV]
n'e+nugu-nu-t irkil'l'en
 [RECP-find-IPFV-SS:IPFV] together
egu-žu-nnu-l'el-ŋi
 walk-ITER-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'Long ago, at the time when only Yukaghirs inhabited this land, they used to meet each other and to walk around together.'
- (744) a. *šoromo leg-ōl-gen ahite-met mieste-ge*
 [person eat-RNR-PROL hide-ATTR:2PL] place-LOC
tā tottō-gen šoromo čūl
 there stick-IMP:3SG person meat
 'At the place where you have hidden that you have eaten a human being, let (some) human meat remain there.' [F9]
- b. *lebie-n+jurgū-k kiše-te-me mit*
 earth-ATTR+hole-PRED show-FUT-OF:1SG [we
ejrie-nu-me
 walk-IPFV-ATTR]
 'I'll show you the hole in the earth where we go out.' [F31]

- c. *tāt āj kebe-s' tude modo-mle lebie*
 CA CP go-PFV:INTR:3SG [his sit-ATTR:3SG] earth
layin
 AD:DIR
 'Then he went again to the land where he lived.' [F31]

In one example, the Active Attributive form is apparently involved in Locative relativization:

- (745) *tabun-ge nodo-pe tī-t+tā-t*
 that-LOC bird-PL here-ABL+there-ABL
šaqal'ā-l'el-ŋi tā taŋ svad'ba
 gather-INFR-3PL:INTR there [that wedding
ō-te-j mieste-ge
 COP-FUT-INTR] place-LOC
 'Then the birds gathered from everywhere in the place
 where that wedding was going to take place.' [F5]

However, this example is controversial, since the relativized verb is the copula (see 12.1.1.2). This implies that the meaning of the relative clause may be something like 'the place which will be the wedding place'.⁸⁵

3.1.4. Possessor relativization

The Possessor of the intransitive subject can be relativized by means of the Active Attributive or Action Nominal forms; in all instances, the subject represents a body part of the relativized participant and takes the Possessive Attributive marker which cross-references the head noun:

- (746) a. *kurceŋ noj-de čitne-j nodo-k*
 crane [leg-POSS:ATTR long-ATTR] bird-PRED
 'The crane is a bird whose legs are long'
- b. *tintaŋ n'ās'e qār-de n'elbet-ō-l*
 that [face skin-POSS:ATTR flay-RES-ANR]
paj-gele taskan-ŋin kəu-dej-ŋā
 woman-ACC T-DAT go-CAUS:PFV-3PL:TR
 'They brought that woman whose face skin was flayed'

away to Taskan.’ [F55]

See also examples (749e), (750e).

3.2. Nominal relative clauses

The Result Nominals (3.2.1) and the Action Nominals (3.2.2) can function as modifiers of nouns. In this construction, the nominal verb form bears the Possessive marker cross-referencing the subject of the relative clause; since the nominal verb itself serves as a modifier, it takes the Possessive Attributive marking (see 8.2.3.2).

3.2.1. The Result Nominal relative clause

The Result Nominal can be used to relativize the O participant (747a) or Locative (747b).

- (747) a. *taŋ qaŋis’e-p-ki keb-ej-l’el taŋ*
 that hunter-PL-POSS go-PFV-INFR(3SG) [that
alme or-ōl-de lebie-d-in
 shaman show-RNR-POSS:ATTR} earth-POSS-DAT
 ‘That hunter of theirs went to the land which the
 shaman had shown.’ [F34]
- b. *mēmē taŋ pajpe-gele tudel modo-l-ō-de*
 bear that woman-ACC [she sit-0-RNR-POSS:ATTR]
numø-ge joq-tā-l’el-u-m
 house-LOC arrive-bring-CAUS-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘The bear brought that woman to the house where she
 used to live.’ [F4]

As described in 6.1.3.4, the Result Nominal can refer to the O participant of the situation signified by the verb stem or to the location where this situation has taken place, since these elements of a situation are most likely to bear some traces (Results) of that situation. Thus, the accessibility of NPs for this strategy is determined by the capability of the Result Nominal itself to denote the relativized participant. This correspondence appears to indicate that the Result Nominal relative clause instantiates the general schema for NPs in the function of noun modifier (see

8.2). More specifically, the Result Nominal clause and the head NP may be assumed to have the same referent.

3.2.2. The Action Nominal relative clause

The Action Nominal builds both Attributive and Nominal relative clauses, the former use being much more common (see 3.1). In the Nominal relative construction, it can only be used for relativization of a temporal adverbial, the word *parā* ‘time’ (from Russian *pora* ‘time’) being the only attested head of this construction:

- (748) a. *lučī-pe jaqa-pe tiŋ lebie-ge aji*
 [Russian-PL Yakut-PL this earth-LOC CP
čā-pe-de parā-ge <...>
 be.few-PL-POSS:ATTR] time-LOC
 ‘At the time when there were still few Russians and Yakuts here ...’
- b. *tudā čuøl'e-d+omnī parā jelāt*
 long.ago ancient-ATTR+people time after
čuøl'e-d+omnī-pe en-pe-de
 [ancient-ATTR+people-PL live-PL-POSS:ATTR]
parā-ge <...>
 time-LOC
 ‘Long ago, after the ancient time, at the time when ancient families were alive ...’

3.3. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses can be created by means of the relative nominalizer *ben* (which can be attached to any verb form employed for Attributive relative clauses). The resulting NPs can have both specific and generic meaning (see also 6.1.3.6).

A headless relative clause with *ben* can signify the subject (749a)-(749b) or the object (749c) participant of the relative-clause situation, or otherwise the Possessor of the subject (749d). The Locative interpretation is impossible (note that the Result Nominal clause can be used to refer to the location where the

situation has taken place, see 6.1.3.4).

In a few cases, two relative clauses are substantivized by means of a single suffix *ben*, which is attached only to the second verb form; see (749b).

- (749) a. *kel-u-l-ben-pe* *tī* *āj* *numø*
 [come-0-ANR-RELNR-PL] here CP house
jeklie-n *eg-užu-ŋi*
 behind-PROL walk-ITER-3PL:INTR
 ‘Those who had come hunted here too.’ [K1]
- b. *tud-in eris’ ann’e-l čuŋže-l-ben-pe-gele*
 [he-DAT bad speak-ANR think-ANR-RELNR-PL-ACC]
erulet-nu-l’el-u-m
 bewitch-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘He used to bewitch those who had bad thoughts
 about him or spoke badly to him.’ [F44]
- c. *titte ludu-n+loskut-pe*
 their iron-ATTR+piece-PL
el+nado+ŋō-ŋi *godō-gen*
 NEG+necessary+STAT-3PL:INTR | lie-IMP:3SG
kej-ŋile-ben
 [give-3PL:ATTR-RELNR]
 ‘I do not need their pieces of iron (= medals), let
 whatever they give just lie there.’ [K4]
- d. *ayd’e-de jow-l-ben-pe eris’*
 [eye-POSS:ATTR ache-ANR-RELNR-PL] [bad
juø-l-ben-pe-ŋin *met omolot-nunnu*
 see-ANR-RELNR-PL-DAT] I treat-HAB(TR:3SG)
 ‘I have treated those whose eyes ached, (eyes of) those
 who see badly’ [F31]

A headless relative clause can also be created by the subject nominalizer *jōn* (see also 6.1.3.5), yet in this way only the subject participant or the Possessor (750c) can be relativized:

- (750) a. *n’an’d’e ā-jōn-pe* *alhudō-l* *lebie-ŋin*
 [sin make-SBNR-PL] be.low-ANR earth-DAT

čere-še-nu-l'el-ηā

sink-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR

'Whoever committed a sin, they sent them to Low Earth.' [F9]

b. *ūe-pul qojl lejdi-jōn-pe qojl-ηin*

some-PL [god know-SBNR-PL] [god-DAT

n'as'anu-l-ben-pe mon-nu-l'el-ηi <...>

pray-ANR-RELNR-PL] say-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR

'Some (of them), those who knew God and prayed, used to say ...' [K4]

c. *tet imi-de čomo-d'ōn met jolā-t*

you [neck-POSS:ATTR be.big-SBNR] I behind-ABL

juø-te-mik

see-FUT-TR:2SG

'You, a creature whose neck is long, will see from behind me.' [F5]

4. Adverbial clauses

4.1. Temporal Adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are constructed as postpositional phrases with a Nominal clause as the argument of the postposition (see 8.6.2 on the internal syntax of such phrases, 7.3.2 on the postpositions with temporal meanings). The Anterior clause involves the Result Nominal (4.1.1), the Posterior clauses, the Action Nominal (4.1.2). If the subject of the Nominal clause is third person, the verb form normally takes the Possessive Attributive marking (8.2.3.2); see (751a)-(751c), (753).

Note that temporal relations between situations are most often expressed by means of clause chaining (Chapter 10); the temporal adverbial clauses with postpositions are applied to signify temporal relations which cannot be expressed by means of the clause-chaining strategy:

- The DS forms do not distinguish between prior and simultaneous non-finite clause situations; the Anterior adverbial

clause is used to mark the former meaning, see 4.1.1.⁸⁶

- In a clause chain, the non-finite clause situation cannot be posterior to the finite clause situation; this relation is expressed by means of Posterior clauses with postpositions *kieje* ‘before’ or *laŋi* ‘towards’, see 4.1.2.

4.1.1. The Different-Subject Anterior clause

A different-subject situation prior to the superordinate clause situation is expressed by the combination of the Result Nominal clause and the Ablative form of the postposition *jolā* ‘after’, *jolā-t* ~ *jelā-t* (see 7.3.2.1).

- (751) a. *kič-ō-de* *jelāt jalhi-n pugedan’d’e*
 [learn-RNR-POSS:ATTR after] lake-ATTR king
ani-n pulut-pe-le čumu n’ie-m
 fish-ATTR old.man-PL-INSTR all call-TR:3SG
 ‘After he had learned (it), the lake king called all the fish elders.’ [T1]
- b. *d’e kel-ō-pe-de jelāt uøre-p-tie*
 [DP come-RNR-PL-POSS:ATTR after] child-PL-DIM
adi-pe n’e+kieje-din
 boy-PL RECP+first-POSS:DAT
šube-nd’i-nnu-l’el-ŋi
 run-ITER-HAB-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘After their arrival, children, boys used to race one another.’ [K1]
- c. *tittel kew-ej-l-ō-pe-de jelāt tī*
 [they go-PFV-0-RNR-PL-POSS:ATTR after] [here
pon’ō-l šoromo-pul ile-pul adi
 remain-ANR] person-PL [some-PL strongly
n’ied’i-lle āj kew-ej-nu-l’el-ŋi
 speak-SS:PFV] CP go-PFV-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘After their departure, some of those people who remained here also used to go away, having agreed about everything.’ [K1]

- d. *tā abudā-l-ōl jelāt irk-in ibiligie*
 [[there lie.down-0-RNR after] one-ATTR eagle.owl
kel-delle mit arqa šāl-ge madā-delle
 come-SS:PFV] [we near tree-LOC sit-SS:PFV]
ibil'-ie-j
 cry-INGR-INTR:3SG
 'After we had laid down, one eagle owl came, landed
 on a tree near us and began to cry.' [K5]

4.1.2. Posterior clauses

A situation posterior to the superordinate clause situation is expressed by the combination of the postposition *kieje* 'before' and the Action Nominal clause; the construction is not marked for switch reference, cf. (752a) and (752b).

- (752) a. *taŋ šoromo-die pulut mon-ōl tite ūj-l*
 that person-DIM [old.man say-RNR as] [work-ANR
kieje taŋ jodolbed-e čahataj-lle
 before] [that package-INSTR touch-SS:PFV]
ūj-gi kižō-de-ge čugōn
 [work-POSS be.easy-3SG-DS] quickly
čeme-rej-m
 finish-CAUS:PFV-TR:3SG
 'As the old man had said, that man before touched (it)
 with that package before he started to work, his work
 became easy, so he finished it quickly.' [F32]
- b. *ugujel-me juol'ōd'e uk-čī-l kieje*
 morning-ADV [sun exit-IPFV-ANR before]
kebe-j-ŋi titte šoromo-pul laŋin
 go-PFV-3PL:INTR their person-PL AD:DIR
 'In the morning, before sunrise, they went towards
 their people.'

The Action Nominal in this construction can be negated, yet without the expected semantic change: the construction as a whole preserves approximately the same meaning; see (753). However,

while the affirmative variant just establishes a temporal relation between the situations, the negative variant is used to signify a causal relation between the adverbial clause situation and the termination of the superordinate clause situation. For instance, (753b) is intended to stress that the existence of the Soviets entailed the disappearance of the priests.

- (753) a. *irk-in nugen-e jien-ben-gele*
 [one-ATTR hand-INSTR other-RELNR-ACC
el+min-de kije
 NEG+take-POSS:ATTR before]
el+løudā-nu-l'el
 NEG+fall-IPFV-INFR(NEG:3SG)
 'Until he took something else with his hand, it did not fall.' [F31]
- b. *sovetskej āji el+gude-de kije tudel*
 [Soviet CP NEG+become-POSS:ATTR before] he
gojdid'āje l'e-l parā-ge šørile čuŋde-l-ge
 [priest be-ANR] time-LOC letter read-ANR-LOC
kičie-l'el čuøl'e-d+omnī lučī tite
 learn-INFR(3SG) ancient-ATTR+people Russian as
 'Before the Soviet power was established, at the time when there had been priests, he had learnt how to read Old Russian.' [K4]

The situation which determines the temporal endpoint of the superordinate clause situation can be expressed by the Action Nominal clause with the directional postposition *laŋi* ~ *laŋide* (see 7.3.2.3):

- (754) a. *čomō-d'e pas'ibe modo-te-je tī met*
 [big-ATTR] thank | live-FUT-INTR:1SG here [my
šoromo-pul kel-u-l laŋide
 person-PL come-0-ANR AD:DIR]
 'Thank you very much, I will live here until my people come.'

- b. *taŋ čūl-gele mēmē pen*
 [that meat-ACC bear [it
pod'erqo-t-te laŋi leg-u-t
 day-PRPR:INGR-POSS:ATTR AD:DIR] eat-0-SS:IPFV]
godō-l'el
 lie-INFR:3SG
 'The bear was lying and eating that meat until
 dawn.' [F54]

4.2. Spatial adverbial clauses

Spatial adverbial clauses are built as Locative forms of the Result Nominal (4.2); thus, this strategy makes use of the locative interpretation of the Result Nominal form (see 6.1.3.4, 3.2).

- (755) a. *kes'ī-mele lebie-gele tude ohō-l-ō-ge*
 [bring-ATTR:3SG] earth-ACC [he stand-0-RNR-LOC]
al'be-š-u-m
 spill-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
 'He spilled the soil he had brought where he
 stood.' [F31]
- b. *tā gon-u-t juø-de-ge tudā*
 [there go-0-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS] [[that.time
ejr-ōl-ge lebie ā-delle modo-ŋi
 walk-RNR-LOC] earth make-SS:PFV] live-3PL:INTR
 'He went there and saw that they had settled down and
 were living at the place where he used to walk.' [F8]
- c. *mit joloqo nume-n'-ōl laŋi*
 [we before house-PRPR-RNR AD:DIR]
ejrie-nu
 walk-IPFV(3SG)
 'She goes to where we used to have a house.' [F48]

4.3. Causal clauses

Causal adverbial clauses are built as Result Nominal clauses in the Prolicative (756a)-(756b) or the Ablative (756c) case form (i.e., in

the same case forms that are used for other causal adjuncts; see 9.3.1.2). This construction is used if the situations related have different primary participants.⁸⁷

- (756) a. *id'ī nilgi oj-l'e tāt irk-id'e er-čuoŋ*
 now nobody NEG-be(3SG) [CA one-ITER bad-SBNR
ā-l-ōl-gen
 make-0-RNR-PROL]
 'Now there is nobody, because we did something bad
 once.' [K3]
- b. *taŋ marqil' eris' ann'-ōl-de-gen*
 [that girl badly speak-RNR-POSS-PROL]
tabud-ek lem-mele
 that-PRED eat-OF:3SG
 'Because that girl had spoken wrongly, he ate
 her.' [F44]
- c. *tīne tet ibil'-ōl-get ediŋ nodo-pe āj*
 [recently you cry-RNR-ABL] this bird-PL CP
kel-ŋi
 come-3PL:INTR
 'Because you cried before, these birds came again.' [K5]

4.4. The Supine Purpose clause

The Purpose adverbial clause is formed by means of the Supine form (see 6.1.3.3). The subject of the Supine clause is taken to be referentially identical with the subject of the superordinate clause (757), with its direct (758a) or indirect (758b)-(758c) object, or with the Dative Experiencer (758d). The NP controlling the Supine subject always precedes the Supine clause. The subject cannot be expressed overtly in the Supine clause.

- (757) a. *terike-die tāt šej-re-din*
 old.woman-DIM CA [enter-CAUS-SUP]
uke-s'
 go.out-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'The old woman went out in order to bring (it)

in.’ [F13]

- b. *kereke egie-delle čilge*
 [Koryak stand.up-SS:PFV] [[branch
šelge-de-j-din gon-u-t tā
 break-CAUS-PFV-SUP] go-0-SS:IPFV] there
n’oho-l’el
 fall-INFR(3SG)
 ‘The Koryak stood up, went to break the branch and
 fell down there.’ [F50]
- c. *tudel ørd’-ō-l lebie āl-bed-ek*
 he [middle-VR-ANR] earth under-RELNR-PRED
inerte-mle ørd’-ō-l lebie čere-še-din
 dig-OF:3SG [middle-VR-ANR earth drown-CAUS-SUP]
 ‘He dug the bottom of Middle Earth in order to drown
 it.’ [F31]

In (758), the primary participant of the Supine situation is represented by \emptyset_i in the interlinear gloss; the controller in the superordinate clause is indicated by the subscript i in the interlinear gloss. Note that the Plural marker in the Supine form indicates the plurality of the primary participant, (758c).

- (758) a. *met-kele kereke-pul tājle erpeje-pul aŋs’ī-din*
 I-ACC_i [\emptyset_i Koryak-PL CA Even-PL search-SUP]
jannu-m
 send-TR:3SG
 ‘He has sent me to look for Koryaks and Evens.’ [F50]
- b. *met-in tet čilge kej-k qaŋsā*
 I-DAT_i your branch give-IMP:2SG [\emptyset_i pipe
čičči-din
 clean-SUP]
 ‘Give me your branch, for me to clean the pipe.’ [F50]
- c. *ūle-pul-ŋin omo-s’e pieri-k*
 some-PL-DAT_i [be.good-ATTR wing-PRED
ā-delle tadī-mele mer-uj-pe-din
 make-SS:PFV] give-OF:3SG [\emptyset_i fly-ITER-PL-SUP]

‘To some of them, he made and gave good wings, for them to fly.’ [F9]

- d. *met-in lebie-lek modo-din*
 I-DAT_i earth-PRED [\emptyset _i reside-SUP]
nado+ηō-l
 be.needed+STAT-SF
 ‘I need some land in order to live there.’ [F8]

4.5. Comparative adverbial clauses

The comparative postposition *tite* (see 7.3.3) can take the Action Nominal clause as its argument:

- (759) a. *n'e+juø-t ejre-l tite omo-s'ōn*
 [[RECP-see-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR] like good-SBNR
nem-dik l'e-t-u-l
 what-PRED be-FUT-0-ANR
 ‘What can (lit. will) be as good as walking and looking at each other?’ [F57]
- b. *tā tude modo-l tite modo-j*
 there [he live-ANR] like live-INTR:3SG
 ‘He lives there as he used to.’ [F31]

This postposition can also govern a headless relative clause (see 3.3), the result being a comparative clause with the meaning ‘as if’:

- (760) a. *pajpe uø-die āl-de-ge ege-jōn tite*
 woman child-DIM sub-POSS-LOC [stand-SBNR like]
gude-delle taŋd'et el'ed'ō-j
 become-SS:PFV CA disappear-INTR:3SG
 ‘The girl did as if she stood on its bottom and disappeared.’ [F2]
- b. *aŋa-de-jle určile-le erel'e-š-u-m*
 mouth-POSS-ACC chip-INSTR stretch-CAUS-0-TR:3SG
nuø-jōn tite
 laugh-SBNR like

‘He stretched her mouth, as if she were laughing.’ [F14]

c. *petr berbekin tāt qinme-de*

[P. B. CA writhe-SS:ITER]

ørčī-de čahīže-l’el

[shout-ITER-SS:ITER] roll-INFR(3SG)

am-čī-l-ben tite

[die-ITER-ANR-RELNR] like

‘Petr Berbekin rolled, writhed and shouted, as if he were dying.’ [F31]

Chapter 12

Nominal predicates and grammatical Focus

1. Clauses with nominal predicates

1.1. Descriptive clauses

A descriptive clause links two NPs which serve as alternative descriptions of the same entity, one of which is referential (the subject), the other, predicative. Two alternative clause patterns are used to express such a link, the copular pattern with the copula *ō-* (1.1.2) and the pattern with an NP in the Predicative form (1.1.1). There seems to be no formal distinction between identification and classification (characterization) clauses.

The predicative slot of a descriptive pattern can be occupied by a headless relative clause (1.1.3) or by a Result Nominal clause (1.1.4).

1.1.1. Clauses with nominal predicates in the Predicative form

The nominal predicate in the Predicative case occurs only with the third-person subject (761); otherwise, the copular pattern must be used (see 1.1.2):

- (761) a. *čomōlben lebie-n+end'ōd-ek*
elk earth-ATTR+animal-PRED
'The elk is a land animal.' [F34]
- b. *momušā laqidīs'e čistē čumu amun-ek*
M. tail entirely all bone-PRED
'The whole tail of Momusha is only bones.' [F6]

- c. *titt-in čumu tudel id'ī pugil'-ek*
 they-DAT all he now lord-PRED
 'To all of them, he is now the lord.' [F9]
- d. *tiŋ marqil' met emd'e*
 this girl my younger.sibling
 'This girl is my younger sister.'

The subject of a descriptive clause can be easily omitted, so that a clause is made up of a single NP in the Predicative case:

- (762) a. *irk-in šoromo ejre-j jōbī*
 one-ATTR person walk-INTR:3SG in.forest |
alme-lek
 shaman-PRED
 'One man lived in the forest. (He was) a shaman.' [F42]
- b. *unuŋe-ŋin qon-u-t qon-u-t*
 [river-DAT go-0-SS:IPFV] [go-0-SS:IPFV]
qon-u-t d'e mād'i čuge-ŋin jaqa-je
 [go-0-SS:IPFV] DP sledge trace-DAT arrive-INTR:1SG
čuøl'e-d+omnī čuge-k
 | ancient-ATTR+people trace
 'I was going and going and going towards the river and reached a track of a sledge. (It was) an ancient track.'
- c. *taskan lāhet erpeje-p-lek l'e-l'el-ŋi-l*
 T side Even-PL-PRED be-INFR-3PL-SF |
ataq-un numø erpeje-k
 two-ATTR house even-PRED
 'Near Taskan there were Evens. (These were) two families of Evens.' [F55]

1.1.2. Copular descriptive clauses

The copular pattern is the only option if the subject of a descriptive clause is first or second person:

- (763) a. *met vasilej-die ō-d'e*
 I V.-DIM COP-INTR:1SG
 'My name is Basil.'
- b. *met jalhi-n+šoromo ō-d'e*
 I lake-ATTR+person COP-INTR:1SG
 'I am a lake being.' [T1]
- c. *er-če šoromo ō-l'el-d'ek*
 be.bad-ATTR person COP-INFR-INTR:2SG
 'You have proved to be a bad person.' [F38]
- d. *tet iŋl'i-s'e jowl'e-l ō-d'ek*
 you be.terrible-ATTR be.ill-ANR COP-INTR:2SG
 'You are a terrible disease!' [F47]

The bound copula form $+ηō-$ can also be used in this construction, although such examples are less common; see (764). Somewhat unexpectedly, the bound variant, in contrast to the free variant, allows Plural and Possessive marking on the noun:⁸⁸

- (764) a. *mit kereke-pul+ηō-d'ili*
 we Koryak-PL+COP-INTR:1PL
 'We are the Koryaks (you are looking for).' [F50]
- b. *met alandin ūjs'ī-gi+ηō-d'e*
 I A. worker-POSS+COP-INTR:1SG
 'I am Alandin's worker.' [F50]
- c. *kin+ηō-k?*
 who+COP-ITR:2SG
 'Who are you?' [F50]
- d. *er-če pugil'+ηō-l'el-d'ek*
 [be.bad-ATTR] son.in.law+COP-INFR-INTR:2SG
 'You turned out to be a bad son-in-law.' [F18]

With the third-person subject, the copular pattern is used if some modal meaning has to be expressed (765), in non-finite descriptive clauses (766) and in negative clauses (767a):

- (765) a. *tamun mēmē abut ō-l'el*
 that bear container COP-INFR(3SG)
 'It turned out to be a bear' s den. [F4]
- b. *omo-če pod'erqo ō-moži*
 [good-ATTR] day COP-PRSP(3SG)
 'It is going to be a nice day.'
- c. *odu-pe jā-n numø ō-l'el-ŋi*
 Yukaghir-PL three-ATTR house COP-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'The Yukaghirs were three families.'
- d. *čumu irkil-l'e ō-ŋi-gen*
 all one-ATTR-SBST COP-PL-IMP:3
 'Let all of them be the same (= similar)!' [F31]
- (766) a. *āji šil'l'e ō-de-ge,*
 [CP snow.crust COP-3SG-DS]
čā-mu-l'el-ŋi
 few-INCH-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'When it was still the time of frozen snow crust, they
 became fewer.'
- b. *petr berbekin n'an'u-l-ben ō-de-jne*
 [P. B. sinful-0-ANR-RELNR COP-3SG-DSCOND]
piede-t-i los'il-ge <...>
 burn-FUT-INTR:3SG fire-LOC
 'If Petr Berbekin is a sinner, he will burn in fire
 ...' [F31]

The negative prefix is attached to the free copula (767a)-(767b) or to the noun followed by the bound copula (767c) (Krejnovich 1982:193-194)):

- (767) a. *čomparnā el+ō*
 raven NEG+COP(NEG:3SG)
 'This is not a raven.'
- b. *alme el+ō-d'e*
 shaman NEG+COP-ATTR:1SG
 'I am not a shaman.' [F44]

- c. *met el+tebegej+ηō-d'e*
 I NEG+T.+COP-INTR:1SG
 'I am not Tebegej.' [F28]

The subject of a copular clause can be omitted if its referent is recoverable; see (767a)-(767b) and (768).

- (768) a. *ørd'-ō-l lebie-ge ejre-t*
 [[middle-VR-ANR] earth-LOC walk-SS:IPFV]
čomō-j šoromo ō-l'el
 [big-ATTR] person COP-INFR(3SG)
 'When he lived on Middle Earth, he used to be a
 giant.' [F31]
- b. *tāt-mie kellugi-je šoromo-pul+ηō-l'el-ηi*
 [that-QLT lazy-ATTR] person-PL+COP-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They were such lazy people.' [F53]

The copula *ō-* has the transitive counterpart *o-ž̄-*, which has a slot for Nominative NP that qualifies the O participant from the point of view of the A participant:

- (769) *mit id'ī tit-ul šoromo*
 we now you(PL)-ACC person
el+ō-ž̄i-t-ū'ī
 NEG+COP-CAUS-FUT-INTR:1PL
 'From now on we will not consider you human beings
 (you will not be human beings to us).' [K4]

1.1.3. Headless relative clauses as nominal predicates

Headless relative clauses (see 11.3.3) can be used as nominal predicates, both with the copula *ō-* (770) and in the Predicative form (771)-(772). In this construction, the subject of a descriptive clause is identified with (or described as) the relativized participant.

If the relativized participant is the subject, the subject of the matrix clause is identified with the subject of the relative clause. Thus, the whole construction has a single subject NP which is de-

scribed as the primary participant of the relative clause situation. The resulting structure is similar to that of a simple clause, the only difference being the “complex” form of the verb; see (770)-(771). As described in 6.2.9.2.2, such constructions function as the Periphrastic Past. Note that in such a construction the negative marker is attached to the lexical verb, not to the copula (771b)-(771c).

- (770) a. *met ørd'ō-l lebie-ge l'e-j-ben*
 I [be.middle-ANR earth-LOC be-ATTR-RELNR]
ō-d'e
 COP-INTR:1SG
 ‘I have been on Middle Earth.’ [F31]
- b. *tamun kieje el+kudde-j-ben ō-d'e*
 [that before NEG+kill-ATTR-RELNR] COP-INTR:1SG
 ‘Before that, I had never killed.’
- c. *molind'āt leŋd-ōl'-i-t*
 [almost [eat-DETR-DESIR-0-SS:IPFV]
el+amde-j-ben-pe ō-d'ī'i
 NEG+die-ATTR-SBNR-PL] COP-INTR:1PL
 ‘We have almost died from hunger.’
- (771) a. *magadan-ge ataq-un n'emolhil-ge l'e-lle tāt*
 [M.-LOC two-ATTR year-LOC be-SS:PFV] CA
kie-s'uod-ek
 come-SBNR-PRED
 ‘He has come after having spent two years in Magadan.’
- b. *šoŋd'il'e kieje met-ket kewe-čuoŋ-pe-lek*
 flood before we-ABL go-PFV:SBNR-PL-PRED
 ‘They had gone away from me before the flood.’

If the relativized participant is the direct object, the subject of the matrix clause is identified with the O participant of the relative clause situation. Thus, the O participant is represented by the subject NP (this constituent is shown in boldface in (772)). This structure clearly distinguishes such constructions from their simple

transitive counterparts:

- (772) *aduøñ šoromo kimdan'e-rī-din tetčie-pe*
 this [person deceive-APPL-SUP rich.person-PL
ā-ŋile-bed-ek
 make-3PL:ATTR-RELN-PRD]
 'This is a thing the rich did in order to deceive
 people.'

However, the substantivized Passive Attributive forms (such as those in (772)) can be also involved in the Periphrastic past forms, which entails reanalysis of the construction as a simple clause, hence, the Accusative marking of the O constituent (see examples in 6.2.9.2.2).⁸⁹

1.1.4. Result Nominal clauses as nominal predicates

The Result Nominal clause (6.1.3.4) can function as a nominal predicate of a descriptive clause. This construction describes some observed state of affairs as a result of a prior situation. The subject of such a descriptive clause is either represented by the pronoun *tabun* or dropped.

- (773) a. *tabun poŋžube lukil ejū-l-ō-gi*
 that [wood.grouse arrow get-0-RNR-POSS]
 'It is the trace of the wood grouse's arrows.' [F6]
- b. *petr berbekin juø-nu-m igeje-p-te-jle*
 P. B. see-IPFV-TR:3SG rope-PL-POSSACC |
omos' uld-ō-gi
 [well fasten-RNR-POSS]
 'Peter Berbekin checked his ropes. They had been
 fastened well.' [F31]
- c. *tabun køže ejre-t loŋd-ō-gi tude*
 that [[K. walk-SS:IPFV] dance-RNR-POSS his
køže mure-le
 K. shoe-INSTR]
 'It was Koje who walked and danced there in his
 shoes.' (lit. 'That is the result of Koje having walked

and danced in his shoes.')} [F8]

- d. *met-kele met es'ie jad-ō-gi* <...>
 [I-ACC my father send-RNR-POSS]
 'It was my father who had sent me ...' (lit. '(My being here) is a result of my father s having sent me.')} [F22]

This construction can be employed to signify that the primary participant of the Result Nominal situation is a part of the assertion; see, e.g., (773c)-(773d).⁹⁰ This use is motivated by the fact that the A participant constitutes an element of the preceding situation, but not of the resulting state. For example, the sentence in (773d) is intended to explain why the speaker is in some place (the resulting state of affairs which does not involve the cause), and this explanation invokes a preceding transitive situation with its A participant.

1.2. Proprietary clauses

1.2.1. Semantics of the Proprietary clauses

A nominal predicate can be represented by an NP in the Proprietary form (5.5.5.1). In this construction, the Proprietary predicate introduces an entity which is associated with the entity represented by the subject as a possession (774), a part (775), a relative (776), or something located in the place (777). The latter pattern can be used with general existential meaning, with unspecified subject (778).

- (774) a. *pulun-die ilek-un ayd'e-n-d'e*
 old.man-DIM [four-ATTR eye-PRPR-ATTR]
jowje-n'-i
 net-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'The old man had a net with four cells.' [F26]
- b. *tit tite tudel modo-din prav-n'e-j*
 you as he [live-SUP] right-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'He has the right to live, just like you.' [T1]

- (775) a. *irk-in qoški kie-n'e-j*
 one-ATTR layer slit-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'One layer had slits.' [F31]
- b. *šoromo nugen-n'e-t noj-n'e-t*
 [person hand-PRPR-SS:IPFV] [leg-PRPR-SS:IPFV]
godō-t me+kimd'ī-ŋi
 [lie-SS:IPFV] AFF+fight-3PL:INTR
 'They had human hands and legs, and they lay there
 and fought.' [F31]
- (776) a. *irk-in terikie-die jukō-d'e*
 one-ATTR old.woman-DIM [little-ATTR]
uø-n'e-l'el
 child-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'One woman had a little child.' [F55]
- b. *čā-je šoromo-n'i*
 [few-ATTR] person-PL-INTR:3SG
 'He has a small family.' [T1]
- c. *tet numø-ge ninge-j omni-n'e-jek?*
 you house-LOC [many-ATTR] family-PRPR-INTR:2SG
 'Do you have a large family?' (lit. 'Do you have many
 people in your house?') [I]
- (777) a. *taŋ jalhil ninge-j ani-n'ā-l'el*
 that lake [be.many-ATTR] fish-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
nodo-n'ā-l'el
 bird-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'That lake, there were lots of fish and birds there.' [T1]
- b. *alhud-ō-l lebie āžul-n'e-j*
 [low-VR-ANR] earth shelf-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'There is a shelf on Low Earth' [F31]
- (778) a. *naha kus'ie-n'e-j*
 very mosquito-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'There are a lot of mosquitoes.'

- b. *šøštok-n'e-j*
 perch-PRPR-INTR:1SG
 'There was a perch.' [F22]

A Proprietary clause can contain an Instrumental NP which refers to the same entity as the noun in the Proprietary form; the Proprietary noun signifies the function (use) of the entity:

- (779) a. *neme-le legul-n'e-t tātmiē*
 [what-INSTR food-PRPR-FUT(ITR:3SG)] [such
čomō-jōn?
 big-SBNR]
 'What will someone who is that big have for
 food?' [F9]
- b. *irk-in čolhorā-die-le uø-n'e-j*
 one-ATTR hare-DIM-INSTR child-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'She had a little hare for the child.' [F13]
- c. *tāt juø-l-ge molut-ki čumut lebejdī-le*
 [CA look-1|2-DS] breast-POSS all berries-INSTR
korol'ki-n'e-j
 necklace-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'Then I saw that her breast was covered with strings of
 berries.' [T2]

The entity introduced by means of a Proprietary clause can be picked up in the next clause:

- (780) a. *čobul pugil'-ge nodo-n'e-j tabun*
 sea lord-LOC birdi-PRPR-INTR:3SG | [thati
jā-n n'emolhil-ge mere-t jaqa-j
 three-ATTR year-LOC fly-SS:IPFV] arrive-INTR:3SG
ørd'ō-l lebie-ge
 [middle-VR-ANR] earth-LOC
 'The sea lord has a bird. That one reaches Middle
 Earth in three years of flying.' [F31]

- b. *irk-in pulut-e punnume-n'e-j.*
 one-ATTR old.man-INSTR neighbor-PRPR-INTR:3SG |
taŋ pulut terike-n'i
 that old.man wife-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'He had an old man as a neighbor. That old man had
 a wife.' [F28]

1.2.2. Locative encoding of Possessor

Nominative NP representing the subject of a Propriative clause can be replaced by a Locative NP with the same semantic interpretation. Note that such constructions are not confined to the locative use of the pattern (cf. (777))

- (781) a. *tude-ge tī šoromo-pul-n'e-l'el*
 he-LOC here person-PL-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'He had relatives here.' [F31]
- b. *tude-ge irk-in towke-n'e-j taŋ*
 he-LOC one-ATTR dog-PRPR-INTR:3SG that
pulut-ke
 old.man-LOC
 'He had a dog, that old man.' [K4]
- c. *irk-in mido-t ejre-l omni-pe-ge*
 one-ATTR [[roam-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR] family-PL-LOC
alme-l'-l'el-ŋi,
 shaman-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
qaŋis'e-l'-l'el-ŋi
 hunter-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'In one nomadic clan, there was a shaman and a
 hunter.' [F34]
- d. *titte-ge and'e-l'-l'el-ŋi*
 they-LOC prince-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'They had princes.' [F50]

The Locative NP in this construction controls the Plural marker on the Propriative form (which is normally controlled by the subject); this construction does not occur with the first or second person

Locative.

This construction can be viewed as a sort of mixing of the Proprietary pattern and the existential pattern with a spatial adverbial, which can be employed to express similar meanings.⁹¹

- (782) a. *tī+tā modo-l qon-ujī-t ejre-l*
 [here+there sit-ANR] [[roam-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-ANR]
šoromo-pul-ge qaḡis'e-pul l'e-l'el-ḡi
 person-PL-LOC hunter-PL be-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'These people who led a nomadic life (lived here and there, roaming) had hunters.' [F34]
- b. *jalhil molil-ge jurgū-k l'e-l'el-u-l*
 lake gulf-LOC hole-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
 'There was a hole in the arm of the lake.' [F31]
- c. *tā irk-in numø omni-ge irk-in*
 there one-ATTR house people-LOC one-ATTR
marqil'-ek l'e-l'el-u-l
 girl-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
 'In one family, there was a girl.' [F35]

1.3. Minor copular-like clause patterns

1.3.1. Transformative clauses

A transformative clause links a referential entity and a description of its state obtained as a result of some process. The referential entity may be represented as the S participant (1.3.1.1) or the O participant (1.3.1.2).

1.3.1.1. Intransitive transformative clauses are formed by means of the verb *kude-* 'become'; the slot for the description of the resulting state of the subject referent is filled by an NP in the Transformative form (783) (5.5.5.3) or, less often, by an adverb (784):

- (783) a. *tudel towke-die+ḡōt kude-delle mit-ke*
 [she dog-DIM-TRNSF become-SS:PFV] we-LOC

- jaqa-l'el*
arrive-INFR(3SG)
'She came to us, having turned into a dog.' [F20]
- b. *tabun āj n'ied'ī-l+ηōt gude-l'el*
that CP tell-ANR-TRNSF become-INFR(3SG)
'This, too, has become a legend.' [F34]
- (784) a. *e-e, pulut, kōdin kude-j*
DP old.man right become-INTR:3SG
'Well, old man, it has taken the right position.' [F48]
- b. *tāt monō-de jolāt kind'e ej-jūke*
[CA say-RNR-POSS:ATTR after] moon NEG-far
gude-j
become-INTR:3SG
'After she had said it, the moon became closer.' [F2]

1.3.1.2. Transitive transformative clauses are constructed with the verb *nugede-* 'make, behave in some way with respect to somebody' (785), or with the verb *ā-* 'make' (786).

- (785) a. *tamun-gele āj legi-te-t šoromo+ηōn*
[that-ACC CP eat-CAUS-SS:IPFV] person-TRNSF
nugede-nu-l'el-ηā
make-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
'They fed him again and made him a human being (fig.)' [F1]
- b. <...> *tude-gele kind'e+ηōn nugede-l'el-ηā*
he-ACC moon-TRNSF make-INFR-3PL:TR
'... they made him the moon.' [F1]
- (786) a. *n'ās'e qār-de-jle moho+ηōn ā-m*
face skin-POSSACC hat-TRNSF make-TR:3SG
'From its face-skin, she made a hat.' [F14]
- b. *tā jaqa-l-ō-pe-de jelāt tanṭeṭ*
[there arrive-0-RNR-PL-POSS after] that
uṅžōd'e-n'ā-nu-l pulut-kele titte
dream-PRPR-IPFV-ANR old.man-ACC their

čomōd'e+ηōn ā-l'el-ηā

elder-TRNSF make-INFR-3PL:TR

'After they arrived there, they made that prophetic old man their elder.' [K3]

1.3.2. Privative clauses

Privative clauses follow the same distribution pattern as the Transformative clauses: they describe a resulting state of the S participant (1.3.2.1) or the O participant (1.3.2.2). This state is described as absence of some associated entity and is normally expressed by means of the Privative form of a noun (5.5.2).

1.3.2.1. Intransitive Privative clauses are constructed with the copula *kude-* 'become' or the verb *pon'ō-* 'remain':

(787) a. *tāt kereke-pul and'e el+šoromo+čūøñ*

CA Koryak-PL prince NEG+person+PRIV

kude-l'el

become-INFR(3SG)

'So, the prince of the Koryaks was left without (his) people.' [F50]

b. *mit el+end'ōn+čūøñ pon'ō-jl'i*

we NEG+animal+PRIV remain-INTR:1PL

'We are left without animals.' [F9]

In some examples, there is no postnominal Privative marker, and the same meaning is rendered just by means of the negative prefix attached to a bare noun stem:

(788) a. *met keŋde-l-ge el+anil kude-je*

I grudge-ANR-LOC NEG+fish become-INTR:3SG

'I have found myself without fish because of my greediness!' [F46]

b. *køže kukul el+lebie pon'ō-l-ō-gi*

Koje devil NEG+land remain-0-RNR-POSS

'How the devil Koje was left without land.' [F8]

1.3.2.2. Transitive Privative clauses are built by means of the verb

nugede- ‘make, behave in some way with respect to somebody’ or the causative counterpart of the verb *pon’ō-* ‘remain’, *pon’ā-š-* ‘leave, cause to remain’.

- (789) a. *met-kele el+pondo nugede-m*
 I-ACC NEG+money make-TR:3SG
 ‘He left me without money.’
- b. *mit-ul el+end’ōn+čuoŋ pon’ā-š-met*
 we-ACC NEG+animal- PRIV remain-CAUS-TR:2SG
 ‘You have left us without animals.’ [F9]

2. Syntax of the Focus construction

2.1. Introductory remarks

This grammar treats the grammatical Focus as a constituent of the finite clause, i.e., the Focus is considered as a clause-internal syntactic phenomenon (9.1.1). This analysis is motivated by a number of considerations which are summarized in 2.2.

On the other hand, the morphology employed for Focus marking shows its obvious formal similarity to cleft and cleft-like constructions in other languages:

- An NP receives Predicative marking, which is also employed for nominal predicates (see 9.1.1 and 1.1.1).
- The finite verb form is deranked by the same formal means that are applied for relativization (see 9.1.1 and 11.3.1).

It might therefore be suggested that the Focus construction should be analyzed as a combination of a clause-external constituent and a free relative clause. Furthermore, there are two types of constructions which apparently favor the clause-external analysis of the grammatical Focus (2.3-2.4).

This combination of properties indicates that the Focus construction is a result of grammaticalization of a cleft-like structure, a typologically quite frequent source for Focus constructions.

2.2. Focus as a clause-internal phenomenon: summary

The grammatical Focus in Yukaghir exhibits a number of syntactic features which identify it as a clause-internal phenomenon:

- The word order in the Focus construction not only maintains the regularities attested in other clause types, but even adheres to them more strictly, that is to say, the Focus NP is not split off from the remainder of the clause. In particular, the A constituent cannot intervene between the Focus and the verb form (see 9.1.5.1). This linearization rule can be viewed as grammaticalization of the information-packaging function of Focus marking, which implies that the presupposed material (in particular, the topic) should precede the Focus (see Section 3). On the other hand, it is in obvious contradiction with a cleft-like analysis, which would suggest that the A constituent belongs to a free relative clause.
- The accessibility constraints on Focus marking are much stronger than those on relativization; in particular, the A constituent is accessible for relativization (11.3.1.1), but not for the Focus marking (9.1.1.1). The Focus marking is organized in such a way as to ensure the unique identification of the clause-internal role of the NP: it can be applied only to one participant role per clause type.
- The Focus S constituent maintains the syntactic properties associated with the subjects (9.1.4.1, 2.4).
- The SF and OF forms of the verb, in contrast with the similar forms used for relativization, have the full range of finite morphology (see 6.1.2.1, 6.1.3.2).

These properties suggest that the Focus in Yukaghir is grammaticalized as a clause-internal phenomenon: the strong syntactic constraints on Focus marking are not motivated by the constraints on relativization, nor by the Focus semantics *per se*. Rather, they are targeted at integrating the Focus into the clause-internal syntax, so that the Focus marking unambiguously assigns the NP to a clause-internal function (participant role).

2.3. Cleft-like constructions

The Focus construction may contain, although rather infrequently, a demonstrative pronoun in the Nominative form which is not assigned to any clause-internal function and can be analyzed only as the subject associated with the Predicative NP according to the descriptive pattern (1.1.1). Consequently, the remainder of the construction should be analyzed as a free relative clause. The sentence in (790a) illustrates the OF construction with a demonstrative pronoun, (790b), the SF construction.

- (790) a. *juø-k aduøñ tet-ek aŋčĩ-ŋile*
 see-IMP:2SG | this you-PRED search-3PL:OF
 ‘Look, it is you that they are looking for.’ [K5]
- b. *aduøñ aleksej-die čuŋže-l*
 this A.-DIM whistle-SF
 ‘It is Aleksej that is whistling.’

It should be stressed that the demonstrative pronoun in such a construction is not a “dummy subject”, i.e., it always refers to some actual phenomenon in the situation of speech. In (790), the demonstrative refers to a situation taking place at the time of speech (calling somebody in (790a), whistling in (790b)). In (791), the demonstrative has an entity referent (a dog found by the speaker and his mother).

- (791) *emie, tuøñ šoromo-lek touke+ŋõt*
 mother that person-PRED [dog-TRNSF
kude-delle ejrie-l’el-u-l
 become-SS:PFV] come-INFR-0-SF
 ‘Mother, this one has turned out to be a human being
 which has transformed into a dog.’ [F20]

However, other types of NPs are impossible in this position (e.g., in (791), the demonstrative pronoun cannot be replaced by an NP like ‘that dog’).

The construction observes all constraints on the Focus construction outlined in 2.2: Predicative marking can be applied only to the S/O participant; the A constituent cannot take the linear

position between the Focus and the verb form, i.e., it is either postposed (792a) or precedes the Focus (thus taking the position between the demonstrative pronoun and the Predicative NP, (792b)).

- (792) a. *tuøŋ lem-dik ūj-met tit?*
 that what-PRED make-OF:2PL you
 'What is it that you are doing?'
- b. *aduøŋ tet čičetke-lek juø-l'el-me*
 this you C-PRED see-INFR-OF:2SG
 'It is Chechetka that you have seen.'

However, this construction gives a piece of syntactic evidence in favor of the clause-external origin of the grammatical Focus, insofar as the demonstrative pronouns manifest the presence of the subject slot (which can be attributed to the main clause with nominal predicate, but cannot be accounted for under the clause-internal analysis of the Focus).

On the other hand, this construction could have become possible under the influence of Russian, where the demonstrative pronoun *eto* 'it, this' is regularly used to highlight the focus; in particular, this pronoun appears in the Russian translations of the sentences like (791)-(792) provided by the Yukaghir narrators. Thus, such sentences appear to combine the Yukaghir and the Russian tools for focus marking. Notably, such examples have not been attested in previous descriptions of the Yukaghir Focus (which are based on earlier data), which can be taken as a piece of indirect evidence in favor of this hypothesis.

2.4. Clause chains with shared Focus

Clause chains with shared Focus provide a strong piece of evidence in favor of the clause-internal analysis of Focus, inasmuch as the S Focus invariably serves as the controller of switch reference, i.e., it maintains the syntactic properties of the subject (9.1.4.1, 10.1.1, 14.1.3.3). However, such chains exhibit also some deviations from the general rules of clause chaining (as described in 10.1.3), which may be viewed as evidence for the clause-external analysis of the

Focus.

These deviations result from a contradiction involved by the shared Focus participant: on the one hand, a shared participant has to be specified in the chain-initial clause, on the other hand, the finite clause (i.e., the only clause type which can contain the grammatical Focus, see 9.1.1) is normally chain-final. Thus, the Focus NP has to be placed in the initial clause of the chain (since it represents a shared participant), but in the final clause of the chain (since it is a constituent of the finite clause).

The syntax of clause chains allows two ways to resolve this contradiction: the non-finite clauses of the chain may be either post-posed (10.1.1.2) or embedded (10.1.3.1). Both options would allow the Focus NP to precede the non-finite clauses. The sentences in (793) illustrate the post-position of non-finite clauses in clause chains with shared S Focus, (794)-(795), the nesting structure. The latter option is normally applied if all clauses in the chain are intransitive (794); however, it occurs with transitive non-finite clauses as well (795).

- (793) a. *taŋ omni-pe-ge numø-pe-de*
 that people-PL-LOC house-PL-POSS:ATTR
niŋiniel-gen irk-in šoromo-k čuøte
 interior-PROL one-ATTR person-PRED always
eg-užu-l legul aŋs'ĩ-t
 go-ITER-SF [food search-SS:IPFV]
 'Among those people, from one house to another, a
 human being used to walk, looking for (some)
 food.' [F1]
- b. *kin-tek gon-te-l ørd'-ø-l lebie il'l'e*
 who-PRED go-FUT-SF [middle-VR-ANR earth new
mieste-gi ā-din, end'õn-pe-gi
 place-POSS make-SUP] [animal-PL-POSS
pollod'ĩš-u-t mieste-p-ki qarte-t
 produce-0-SS:IPFV] [place-PL-POSS share-SS:IPFV]
legul-pe-gi tadĩ-t?
 [food-PL-POSS give-SS:IPFV]

‘Who will go and make new places on Middle Earth, produce its animals, divide the places (among them) and give food to them?’ [F9]

- c. *pie budie pukel'e-ge irk-in marqil'-ek modo-l*
 hill top snow-LOC one-ATTR girl-PRED sit-SF
jaqte-de

[sing-SS:ITER]

‘On the top of the hill, in the snow, a girl was sitting and singing.’ [F37]

- (794) a. *tāt āji l'e-ŋi-de-ge ataq-un ibiligie-k*
 [CA CP be-PL-3-DS] two-ATTR eagle.owl-PRED
mer-uji-t ejrie-ŋi-l
 [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] go-3PL-SF
 ‘After they had been there for a while, two eagle owls came flying.’ [K5]

- b. *qojded'eje-p-lek unmure-t ejre-ŋi-l*
 priest-PL-PRED [preach-SS:IPFV] walk-3PL-SF
 ‘Priests walked around preaching.’

- c. *tāt ahurpe-t qodō-t juø-de-ge*
 [CA suffer-SS:IPFV] [lie-SS:IPFV] [see-3SG-DS]
irk-in nodo titi-mie-d'ōd-ek kel-delle
 one-ATTR [bird like-QLT-SBNR-PRED] [come-SS:PFV]
al'-de-ge modo-l
 near-POSSLOC sit-SF

‘When she was lying and suffering, she saw that somebody resembling a bird came and sat down near her.’ [F7]

- (795) <...> *mit jukō-l emd'ie čibal'*
 our [small-ANR] younger.sibling [stove
pie-de-t-nu-t ejre-l
 burn-CAUS-IPFV-SS:IPFV] walk-SF
 ‘... our little sister was walking around and kindling the stove.’

From the syntactic point of view, such examples do not contra-

dict the clause-internal analysis of Focus, since both post-position of non-finite clauses and nesting are available independently of whether or not the chain contains a shared Focus. In particular, non-Focus constituents of the finite clause may precede the non-finite clause(s) as well, see 10.1.3.1.1, 10.1.3.2.

Note, however, that apart from the chains with shared Focus, the nesting structure is associated with a relatively high degree of semantic cohesion between clauses and/or backgrounding of the non-finite clauses (see 10.2.3-10.2.4). In contrast to this, the shared Focus triggers this structure independently of the semantic relations between clauses. For instance, (794c) and (795) instantiate the case of temporal chaining which is not likely to involve the nesting structure outside the context of shared Focus.

Thus, for sentences like (794) and (795) to conform with the general properties of clause chains, the shared Focus must be assumed to impose a sufficient degree of semantic cohesion and/or backgrounding to license the nesting structure. In other words, from the semantic point of view, the shared Focus is a chain-level, rather than a clause-level phenomenon.

This semantic feature appears to be better accounted for under the clause-external analysis of Focus. The preposed Focus would then be taken to dominate the whole clause chain, which in turn can be analyzed as a complex free relative clause with relativized subject. This analysis is warranted by the possibility of relativization of the shared subject from clause chains (see 11.3.1.1). Thus, the availability of the nesting structure as in (794) and (795) may indicate that the grammatical Focus retains some properties of a cleft-like structure.

3. Semantics of grammatical Focus

Focus marking in Yukaghir is strongly constrained in terms of the participant roles it is compatible with: it can be applied only to one participant per clause type, the S participant of an intransitive clause and the O participant of a transitive clause (see 2.2). In other words, the widely known “focus prominence” of Yukaghir has to be understood, in the case of Kolyma Yukaghir, in a rather

specific fashion: it is not a language which marks *which* element of a (finite) clause represents the Focus of this clause. Rather, it is a language which marks each finite clause for *whether or not* its S/O participant is the Focus.

If the S/O constituent represents the only element within the scope of assertion (*narrow focus*) or its *contrastive* part, Focus marking is compulsory (3.1). Conversely, if this constituent is excluded from the scope of assertion, only the neutral packaging option is available. Between these poles, the Focus marking is applied to *delimit* the assertion rendered by the given clause from the preceding material. More specifically, it identifies the S/O constituent as the first constituent within the scope of assertion (3.2). Thus, generally, the grammatical opposition between the neutral and Focus packaging options is used not to mark the status of a single constituent, but rather serves a more global information-structuring function.

It should be stressed that this marking operates independently of the discourse-determined statuses of the NPs involved, like newness, accessibility, etc. The most compelling evidence of this independence is given by the Focus marking of pronominal (i.e., highly accessible) NPs (3.2.4), on the one hand, and the regular absence of this marking in text-initial existential clauses, where the S participant obviously represents a new entity (3.2.5).

3.1. Compulsory Focus marking

There are a few easily identifiable environments which always trigger Focus marking, that is, discourse or clause-internal contexts in which Focus marking is compulsory. This class comprises environments where the situation being described is taken to constitute the presupposed or implied information (i.e., the finite verb belongs to the pragmatic presupposition of the clause; see 3.1.1-3.1.2) and the contexts of explicit contrast associated with the S/O constituent (3.1.3).

Note that these environments are defined for both S/O constituents as a whole and for modifiers within such NPs, i.e., the Focus-marking system generally does not distinguish between the

Focus on the whole constituent and on one of its subconstituents (see, however, 5.4.1.3, for the effect of this distinction on the choice of the Predicative marker on NP).

3.1.1. Question words

If the S/O constituent is represented by an interrogative pronoun or contains a question word, it has to be marked as the Focus (796).

- (796) a. *kin-tek* *tiŋ* *mino-le* *ejre-t-u-l?*
 who-PRED this raft-INSTR walk-FUT-0-SF
 ‘Who will sail in this raft?’ [F9]
- b. *tet* *lem-dik* *iŋi-me* *lebie budie?*
 you what-PRED be.afraid-OF:2SG earth on?
 ‘What are you afraid of on the earth?’ [F31]
- c. *kin* *ā-je* *legul-ek* *tuben ohō-l?*
 [who make-ATTR] food-PRED it stand-SF
 ‘Who has cooked the food standing there?’ [F26]
- d. *qam-un* *šoromo-k* *tī-t*
 how.much-ATTR person-PRED here-ABL
keb-ej-te-l
 go-PFV-FUT-SF
 ‘How many people will go from here?’ [K1]
- e. *qodimie-j* *šaqale-k* *černoburka-lek*
 what-ATTR fox-PRED silver.fox-PRED
nado+ŋō-l *dū?*
 necessary+STAT-SF ITR
 ‘What (kind of) fox do you need, do you need a silver fox?’ [F38]

This case is fully grammaticalized: the Focus marking is mandatory whenever a question word occurs in the S/O position, i.e., not only in question-word questions, but also in dependent clauses made up as questions (where the interrogative pronoun functions as a sort of relative pronoun, see 13.5.3), and in exclamatory sentences with question words (see 13.3.1.1).

3.1.2. Narrow focus

If the answer to a question-word question like (796) is constructed as implied by the question, that is, if it answers exactly that question, without any reformulation of its presuppositions, the constituent that “replaces” the question word is also marked as Focus. The sentence in (797a) is the answer to the question in (793b) and (797b) is the answer to (796b):

- (797) a. *met-ek qon-te-l*
 {I-PRED} go-FUT-SF
 ‘(Who will go to make new places on Middle Earth?) I will go.’ [F9]
- b. *met {legul-ek} iṅī-me monut*
 I food-PRED be.afraid-OF:1SG {called
čuoḡeje-k šounbe-n-d’e čūl-ek
 sour.cream-PRED | fat-PRPR-ATTR meat-PRED |
čolhoro qār iṅžōd’e-k }
 hare skin blanket
 ‘(What are you afraid of? ...) I am afraid of the *food* which is called *sour-cream*, of *fat meat*, of *hare-fur blankets*.’ [F31]

This environment can be subsumed under a broader category of “narrow focus” clauses, i.e., clauses in which the S/O constituent or one of its subconstituents is the only element of the assertion, the remainder of the clause being presupposed and/or implied. This environment obligatorily triggers the Focus packaging variant:

- (798) a. *el+jubege-ṅide tet-ek*
 [NEG-stuff.oneself-COND:SS] {you-PRED}
lek-te-me
 eat-FUT-OF:1SG
 ‘If I do not stuff myself (with what you have given me), I will eat *you*.’ [F29]

- b. *tāt ugujel-me egie-delle tude*
 [CA morning-TMP get.up-SS:PFV] his
nonol-gele juø-jī-m irk-in
 snare.trap-ACC see-PURP-TR:3SG | {one-ATTR
čolhoro-k} igie-l'el-u-l
 hare-PRED get.caught-INFR-0-SF
 'He got up in the morning and went to check his
 snare-trap. *One hare* was caught.' [F15]
- c. *emd'e, piede-jel'i mit numø*
 younger.sibling, burn-INTR:1PL | {our house}
piede-l
 burn-SF
 'Brother, we are burning. *Our house* is burning.' [F53]
- d. *medī-l-u-ge emej+taŋ-pe ørn'e-l-e*
 [listen-1|2-0-DS] mother+that-PL [shout-ANR-INSTR]
med-ej-ŋi qaŋide
 be.perceivable-PFV-3PL:INTR where:DIR
keb-ej-k, qaduon-ge l'e-k?
 go-PFV-ITR:2SG which.place-LOC be-ITR:2SG
medī-l-u-ge met-ek ørn'e-rī-ŋile
 [listen-1|2-0-DS] {I-PRED} shout-APPL-3PL:OF
edie-s'-te
 [call-ITER-SS:ITER]
 'I heard my mother and the others shouting: "Where
 have you gone to? Where are you?" I heard that it
 was *me* whom they called.'
- e. *pulun-die, pulun-die, omo-s'e*
 old.man-DIM old.man-DIM {good-ATTR}
jaqadās'e-lek kes'ī-l'el-me
 horse-PRED bring-INFR-OF:2SG
 'Old man, old man, you have brought a *good*
 horse.' [F19]

3.1.3. Contrastive Focus

If the S/O constituent or one of its subconstituents is included into the scope of assertion *and* is contrasted with another unit (present in the context or in the situation of speech), the Focus packaging variant is compulsory (contrastive Focus).

- (799) a. *šašet čuŋže ejre-š-u-t juø-l-u-ge*
 [now thought walk-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] [see-1|2-0-DS]
jen šoromo-p-lek taŋ mit lebie-gen
 {other person-PL-PRED that our land-PROL
ejre-ŋi-l
 walk-3PL-SF}
 ‘Now, when I think (about it), I see that *other* people walk around our land.’ [K3]
- b. *kenme, met mure kej-k met tet-in*
 friend my shoe give-IMP:2SG | I you-DAT
jien-bed-ek kej-te-me
 {other-RELN-RELNR-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG}
 ‘Friend, give me *my* shoe! I will give you *another* one.’ [F42]
- c. *mit jolā tittel kew-ej-l’el-ŋi-l*
 we after {they go-PFV-INFR-3PL-SF}
 ‘They went after us.’
- d. *pukul’ō-d’e amun-pe-de-jle lonči-lle*
 [be.soft-ATTR bone-PL-POSSACC remove-SS:PFV]
āt-če amun-pe-lek tottoš-ŋile
 {be.sturdy-ATTR bone-PL-PRED fasten-3PL:OF}
 ‘Having removed his *soft* bones, (they) fastened *sturdy* bones.’

Note that the notion of contrastive Focus, as employed here, is not equal to the notion of the focus of contrast, as defined by Chafe (1976). More specifically, the contrastive Focus environment does not imply that the remainder of the clause is presupposed, i.e., the contrastive Focus is not taken to be a kind of narrow focus (as in 3.1.2). The only additional condition is that the contrasting

element is a part of the assertion (which is intended to rule out so called “contrastive topics”).

Thus, the Focus packaging variant is compulsory if the S/O constituent (or its sub-constituent) represents the narrow focus *or* the contrastive part of the assertion. Either condition is sufficient for the Focus marking to be compulsory. Of course, the rare clear instances of the focus of contrast (where these conditions are combined) also involve the Focus marking:

- (800) *el met-ek tāt l'e-l čomparnā-k tāt l'e-l*
 {NEG I-PRED} CA be-SF | {raven-PRED} CA be-SF
 ‘It is not *me* that is doing this, it is a *raven* that is
 doing this.’

3.2. Free Focus marking

3.2.1. Functions of Focus marking

If the scope of assertion comprises both the finite verb and the S/O constituent (“broad focus”), and there is no explicit contrast, Focus marking is not mandatory, i.e., the broad scope of assertion generally allows both packaging options. In this situation, Focus marking (in contrast to neutral clause structure) has a twofold semantic impact: it signifies that the S/O constituent is a part of the assertion and delimits the assertion rendered by the given clause from the previously introduced information, i.e., the Focus is always the first constituent of the sentence which is within the scope of assertion.

The role played by each of these factors is slightly different for intransitive (SF marking) and transitive (OF marking) clauses. For intransitive clauses, the semantic difference between the neutral and Focus packaging variants is appropriately approximated as the opposition between clauses with the S participant outside vs. within the scope of assertion, i.e., Focus marking is normally required to impose the so-calledthetic, or broad-focus information structure (3.2.2). For transitive clauses, this factor is less significant, since the O participant is not the “default” topic of the transitive clause (as it is the case for the S participant). Accord-

ingly, the delineating function plays the major role in the choice of a packaging option, i.e., Focus marking is applied to signal a salient information-structuring boundary immediately before the O constituent (3.2.3).

There are two environments which suggest that this distinction is a matter of a tendency of usage, rather than of a strict functional opposition between SF marking and OF marking. First, a pronominal O constituent must be marked for the grammatical Focus to be included into the scope of assertion. In this case, the type of NP implies the “default” topical status and thus overrides the difference between the S participant and the O participant (3.2.4). Secondly, the SF marking is not applied if the S constituent is exactly the first element of a text, i.e., when there is simply nothing to be delimited from. This observation appears to indicate that the delineating effect is involved in the SF semantics as well. This is most clearly illustrated by the structural difference between text-initial and text-internal existential sentences (3.2.5).

Thus, the general semantic impact of Focus marking is to present the S/O constituent as the first element of the assertion. Note that the compulsory Focus marking environments can also be subsumed under this general formulation.

3.2.2. Thetic clauses

SF marking is employed in order to impose the so-called thetic, or presentational, articulation (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987), that is, to present a state of affairs (an event together with the entities involved in this event) as a unitary whole, without analysis into two “packaging” units corresponding to the notions of subject (topic) and predicate (comment). Roughly, these are clauses which can serve as appropriate answers to questions like ‘What has happened?’. Thetic clauses signal some sort of discourse discontinuity, i.e., the event described by a thetic clause does not belong to any coherent chain of actions (Krejnovich 1982:214).

- (801) a. *āj tāt modo-de-ge irk-in šaqale-k kel-u-l*
 [CP CA sit-3SG-DS] {one fox-PRED come-0-SF}
 ‘While he was still sitting, a fox came.’

- b. *čugōn, kupec aduø-k òži-ge loudū-l*
 quickly, {merchant son-PRED water-LOC fall-SF}
 ‘(Go) quickly, a merchant’s son has fallen into the
 water.’ [F15]
- c. *numø-ge jaqa-din l’e-de-ge numø-get*
 [house-LOC arrive-SUP be-3SG-DS] house-ABL
jaqte-lek medū-l
 {song-PRED be:heard-SF}
 ‘When he was approaching the house, a song was
 heard from the house.’ [F13]
- d. *petr berbekin tāt ejre-t irk-id’e*
 [P. B. CA walk-SS:IPFV] [one-ITER
juø-de-ge šār-pe-lek kimd’v̄-t
 see-3SG-DS] {something-PL-PRED fight-SS:IPFV
qodō-ŋi-l
 lie-3PL-SF}
 ‘While walking so, Petr Berbekin once saw that
 somebody was lying and fighting.’ [F31]
- e. *irk-id’e er-čōd-ek odu-pe*
 one-ITER {be.bad-SBNR-PRED Yukaghir-PL
molho-de-ge jed-ej-l’el-u-l
 inside-POSSLOC be.visible-PFV-INFR-0-SF}
 ‘Once a bad thing appeared among the Yukaghirs.’
- f. *gamun-de n’emolhil-ek muddej-l’el-ul*
 {how.much-INDF year-PRED pass-INFR-0-SF}
 ‘Several years passed.’ [F4]

3.2.3. Delimiting function of the OF marking

A broad scope of assertion including a non-contrastive O constituent allows both packaging options. The Focus variant seems to be applied in order to contrast the assertion rendered by the given clause and the previously introduced information, so that the Focus NP identifies the left “boundary” of the assertion. If there is no pragmatically motivated boundary immediately before the O

constituent, the neutral variant is likely to be chosen. This strategy of information structuring works both on the clause-internal (3.2.3.1) and on the interclausal levels (3.2.3.2).

3.2.3.1. Clause-internal structuring. If a clause contains a nominal A constituent, two alternative information structures can be distinguished: First, the clause can be constructed as providing information about the A participant (that is, the A constituent is taken to be the topic of that clause and excluded from the scope of assertion). Secondly, the event can be presented as a unitary whole and opposed to the previously introduced information.

The first type of information structure is encoded by means of the Focus packaging option (802). For instance, the second clause in (802a) is intended to provide the relevant information about the cuckoo (it was sent to call other birds, because it was a polyglot), hence the Focus packaging variant.

- (802) a. *tamun-pe-gele edie-s'-tin kukkī-k*
 [that-PL-ACC call-ITER-SUP] {cuckoo-PRED
jan-nu-ŋile kukkī vosemnadsat' nodo
 send-IPFV-3PL:OF} | cuckoo {eighteen bird
ažū-k lejdī-mele
 language-PRED know-OF:3SG}
 'In order to call these, they sent the cuckoo. The
 cuckoo knew eighteen bird languages.' [F5]
- b. *tenn'e-je šoromo anil-ek*
 [rich-ATTR] person {fish-PRED
ik-s'ī-mele <...>
 get.caught-CAUS:ITER-OF:3SG}
 'The rich person was fishing ...' [F46]

The second type of information structure is likely to occur if the (transitive) event as a whole is opposed to some background information. A characteristic environment is the context of a conditional construction (803), where the main clause as a whole is opposed to the conditional setting (roughly, it can be conceived of as an answer to a question like 'What will happen if ...'). In this situation, the most significant information-structuring bound-

ary lies between the conditional clause and the main clause, rather than between the A constituent and the O constituent of the main clause (as would have been implied by Focus marking), hence the neutral packaging option:⁹²

(803) a. *met jūs'edej-l-u-ke-ne tudel ønme-le*
 [I breathe-1|2-0-DSCOND] {he mind-INSTR
šohušā-nu-m
 lose-IPFV-TR:3SG}
 'If I breathe out, he will lose consciousness.' [F17]

b. *jūø-l-u-kene met mahil*
 [see-1|2-0-DSCOND] [my coat
el+uld-ō-de-j-ne met tij and'e
 NEG+tie-RNR-2SG-DSCOND] {I this prince
kudede
 kill(TR:1SG)}
 'If you see that my coat is not fastened there, this will mean that I have killed this prince.' [F50]

The same mechanism can be applied to exclude other (non-primary) clause-initial constituents from the scope of assertion, as illustrated by (804) and by the first clause in (802a).

(804) a. *tabun-ge ønme-lek ejre-š-l'el-mele*
 then-LOC {mind-PRED walk-CAUS-INFR-OF:3SG}
 'Then he started to think (lit. made his mind walk).' [F31]

b. *met tet-in šaqale-lek kej-te-me*
 I you-DAT {fox-PRED give-FUT-OF:1SG}
 'I will give you a fox.' [F52]

c. *tet-in kew-ej-din l'e-l jalhi-n*
 you-DAT [go-PFV-SUP be-ANR] lake-ATTR
pugedan'd'e-get čomō-d'e ilugele-lek
 king-ABL {[big-ATTR] regards-PRED
kečī-me
 bring-OF:1SG}
 'I have brought to you the best regards from the lake'

king, who is going to go away.’

3.2.3.2. Inter-clausal structuring. If the O constituent is clause-initial, the same distinction operates on the interclausal level. The neutral packaging option construes the main clause as a part of a coherent information flow (805), while the Focus variant signals some sort of discourse discontinuity between the Focus-marking clause and the preceding one, i.e., the event is presented as unexpected (806a) and/or implies a sort of semantic contrast to the preceding material (806b).

(805) a. *met uør-pe leg-u-t čül'd'ĩ pulut*
 {[my child-PL eat-0-SS:IPFV] fairy.tale old.man
určile-le pejdĩ-m
 chip-INSTR kindle-TR:3SG}
 ‘The ogre is eating my children and kindling a
 chip.’ [F56]

b. *ammal-delle uguje-de-ge tude*
 {[spend.night-SS:PFV] morning-POSS-LOC his
šašil-gele juø-jĩ-m
 snare.trap-ACC see-PURP-TR:3SG}
 ‘He slept in the night and, in the morning, went to
 check his snare-trap.’ [F13]

(806) a. *tāt āj qon-de-ge čuge-ge irk-in qodō-d'e*
 [CA CP go-3SG-DS] way-LOC {one-ATTR lie-ATTR
šaqa-le-k juø-l'el-mele
 fox-PRED see-INFR-OF:3SG}
 ‘While he was still going, he saw a fox lying on the
 way.’ [F18]

b. *taŋ mit qaŋis'e tude čomōlben el+juø-čuoŋ*
 [that our hunter his elk NEG+see-PRV]
taŋ šoromo-lek qaŋ-ie-l'el-mele
 {that person-PRED pursue-INGR-INFR-OF:3SG}
 ‘That hunter of ours, without looking at his elk, began
 to pursue that human being.’ [F34]

- c. *taŋ kəj tabun medi-delle alme-lek*
 [that boy that listen-SS:PFV] {shaman-PRED
aŋs'ĩ-mele
 search-OF:3SG}
 'That boy, having heard this, began to look for a
 shaman.' [F44]

3.2.4. Pronominal Focus

Focus marking must be applied to signal that a pronominal S/O constituent is included in the scope of assertion. This marking is needed to override the “default” topic interpretation of a pronoun (which is implied by the neutral packaging variant). For example, the second clause in (807a) is intended to provide further information about some bird (the dropped subject of the first clause); yet, if not for the Focus marking, it would have been interpreted as providing information about the man (referred to by the demonstrative pronoun). Similarly, both clauses in (807a) are meant to explain why the speaker and his companions have come, not to provide information about the referent of the pronoun (the son-in-law), hence, the Focus marking of the highly accessible pronominal referent in the second clause.

- (807) a. *tudā šoromo ō-d'uod-ek tabud-ek*
 that.time person COP-SBNR-PRED | {that-PRED
tāt gude-l nodo+ŋōt.
 CA become-SF bird-TRNSF}
 'It (the bird) used to be a man, that man has
 transformed into a bird.' [K5]
- b. *mit tit pugil' mit šoromo šohie-l tudel*
 our your son.in.law our person get.lost-SF | {him
aŋs'ĩ-l
 search-OF:1PL}
 'Our son-in-law (your relative), our person got lost, we
 are looking for him.' [K3]

Thus, Focus marking treats pronominal O constituents in the same way as S constituents (3.2.2), that is, it is applied to signify inclusion in the scope of assertion, independently of the factors outlined in 3.2.3 for non-pronominal O constituents. The examples in (808) show that the OF marking of a pronoun does not imply any sort of discontinuity or contrast between the given clause and the previously introduced information.

- (808) a. *čoqočo-ge arpaĵ-ŋi-de-ge irk-in*
 [shore-LOC ascend-PL-3-DS] {one-ATTR
lus'ĩ-n numø-k ohō-l'el-ul
 Russian-ATTR house-PRED stand-INFR:SF} |
tabud-ek eje-le ai-nā-l'el-ŋile
 {that-PRED bow-INSTR shoot-INGR-INFR-3PL:OF}
 'When they went out to the shore, there stood a
 wooden house. They began to shoot at it with a
 bow.' [F21]
- b. *qodo ejr-ōl aduød-ek pundu-t-me*
 [how walk-RNR] {this-PRED tell-FUT-OF:1SG}
 'How I walked, that is what I will tell about.'
- c. *tĩne tet ibil'-ōl-get ediŋ nodo-pe āĵ*
 [recently you cry-RNR-ABL] this bird-PL CP
kel-ŋi tet-ek aŋčĩ-nu-ŋile
 come-3PL:INTR | {you-PRED search-IPFV-3PL:OF}
 'Because of your having cried recently, these birds have
 come again. They are looking for you.' [K5]

3.2.5. Existential clauses

The functional account of SF marking presented in 3.2.2 implies that the existential semantics should obligatorily involve this marking. This is indeed the case for text-internal existential clauses (809) and for text-initial existential clauses containing clause-initial adverbials (810).

- (809) a. *tāt+l'e-lle* *šøg-i* *numø-ŋin*
 [CA+be-SS:PFV] enter-INTR:3SG house-DAT |
pulun-die-k, *terikie-k* *l'e-ŋi-l*
 {old.man-PRED old:woman-PRED be-3PL-SF}
 'After a while, he entered the house. There were an
 old man and an old woman.' [F14]
- b. *juø-de-ge* *jalhil-ek* *l'e-l*
 [see-3SG-DS] {lake-PRED be-SF}
 'He saw that there was a lake.' [F31]
- (810) a. *tudā* *čuoł'e-d+omnī* *parā-ge*
 that.time ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC
irk-in *pulut-ek* *l'e-l'el-u-l*
 {one-ATTR old.man-PRED be-INFR-0-SF}
ord'ō-l *lebie-ge*
 be.middle-ANR earth-LOC
 'Long ago, in the time of ancient people, there was an
 old man on Middle Earth.' [F3]
- b. *tudā* *čuoł'e-d+omnī* *parā-ge* *gorqon*
 that.time ancient-ATTR+people time-LOC K.
irk-in *jier-ge* *odu-pe-lek*
 one-ATTR fork-LOC {Yukaghir-PL-PRED
modo-l'el-ŋi-l <...>
 live-INFR-3PL-SF}
 'Long ago, in the time of ancient people, there lived
 Yukaghirs on a fork of The Korkodon ...' [F35]

On the other hand, text-initial existential clauses without clause-initial adverbials normally take the neutral form. The examples in (811) illustrate the typical structure of the beginning of a narrative:

- (811) a. *pulun-die* *l'e-j* *terike-n'-i*
 old:man-DIM be-INTR:3SG | wife-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 'There was an old man. He had a wife.' [F13]

- b. *ataq-un šoromo-pul l'e-ŋi*
 two-ATTR person-PL be-3PL:INTR |
mid-ujī-t eġre-ŋi
 [roam-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-3PL:INTR
 'There were two people. They roamed from place to
 place.' [F54]
- c. *jā-n n'emd'e-die modo-l'el-ŋi*
 three-ATTR RECP-brother-DIM sit-INFR-3PL:INTR |
čumut terike-l-l'el-ŋi
 all wife-PRPR-INFR-3PL:INTR
 'There lived three brothers. They were all
 married.' [F21]
- d. *irk-in omnī modo-l'el pulut*
 one-ATTR family live-INFR(3SG) old.man
terike-de-n'e ataq-un aduø-n'ā-l'el
 wife-POSSCOM | two-ATTR son-PRPR-INFR(3SG)
 'There lived a family, an old man and his wife. (This
 family) had two sons.' [F22]

Thus, SF marking is applied only if there is some preceding material; otherwise, the neutral variant is chosen even for existential clauses, where the S constituent is “by definition” included in the scope of assertion. This evidence seems to indicate that SF marking serves the same delimiting function as described in 3.2.3 for OF marking. If there is nothing to be delimited from (or contrasted to), as in (811), this packaging option is not applied.

Chapter 13

Sentence types and negation

This chapter deals with grammatical manifestation of illocutionary distinctions (Sections 1-3) and negation (Section 4). Yukaghir distinguishes Declarative sentences (which are not discussed as such), Imperative sentences (Section 1), polar (2.1) and question-word questions (2.2), and two minor types: Exclamations (3.1) and Optative sentences (3.2).

The verb forms used in major sentence types are described in 6.1.1; this chapter is concerned with syntactic properties associated with distinct types, in particular, their characteristic particles (2.1.2, 2.1.3, 3.2).

Section 5 describes the syntactic strategies of reporting the contents of a speech act, including the attested peripheral uses of these strategies.

1. Imperative sentences

The imperative sentence type is distinguished by means of verb morphology, that is, by use of the Imperative verb forms (see 6.1.1). Therefore, this sentence type is described and exemplified in 6.2.8; this section contains only some marginal notes.

In order to propose a common action (i.e., instead of the 1PL Imperative), the main (Indicative) 1PL form can be used, with or, less frequently, without the Future marker (see also 6.2.3).

- (812) a. *n'ied'i-din irk-in mieste šaqal'ā-t-ū'i*
[speak-SUP] one-ATTR place gather-FUT-INTR:1PL
'Let us gather in one place in order to speak.' [K1]

- b. *taɲnugi gudel'e-jīli*
 CA get.prepared-INTR:1PL
 'Then let us prepare everything.' [F31]

With the second person Imperative, the particle *jaq* 'come (on)' can be used:

- (813) a. *jaq qon loškarā šobohorā kes'ī-k*
 IMP go(IMP:2SG) | spoon plate bring-IMP:2SG
 'Come on, go and bring spoons and plates.' [F13]
- b. *jaq čugōn ōži-ŋin ŋnžej-ŋi-k!*
 IMP quickly water-DAT go.down-PL-IMP:2
 'Come on, go quickly and bring water.' [F29]
- c. *uø:re-p-tie, jaq ukej-delle qāqā-ŋin*
 child-PL-DIM IMP [go.out-SS:PFV] grandfather-DAT
tit qorobo igeje-š-telle tadī-ŋi-k
 your cow [rope-PRPR:CAUS-SS:PFV] give-PL-IMP:2
 'Children, go, tie your cow and give it to
 grandfather.' [F27]

This particle can be etymologically related to the verb *jaqa-* 'arrive, reach'.

The subject of the Imperative is normally omitted (813), yet this is not an obligatory feature of this sentence type (814).

- (814) a. *id'ī tet met-ul šørile-š*
 now you I-ACC paint-CAUS(IMP:2SG)
 'Now paint me!' [F5]
- b. *tet aŋd'e-š met-ul*
 you eye-CAUS(IMP:2SG) I-ACC
 'Do endow me with an eye!' [F31]
- c. *tet čuøte leŋde-k*
 you always eat-DETR-IMP:2SG
 'Always eat!' [F9]

See 6.2.8 for further examples.

The Imperative is incompatible with the grammatical Focus marking (6.1.1.2).

2. Questions

2.1. Polar questions

2.1.1. Ordinary polar questions

The ordinary polar question (yes-no question) is not marked morphologically; the interrogative meaning is expressed only by a rising intonation contour (Krejnovich 1982:150). A question can have the form of an affirmative (815) or negative (816) clause:

- (815) a. *čolhorō, čolhorō l'e-jek?*
 hare hare be-INTR:2SG
 'Hare, hare, are you here?' [F13]
- b. *šār leg-u-te-l-ben num-mek?*
 something eat-0-FUT-ANR-RELNR find-TR:2SG
 'Have you found something to eat?' [F33]
- c. *omo-s' šoromo-k?*
 good-ATTR person-PRED
 'Is (he) a good person?' [F31]
- (816) a. *met uør-pe el+juø-met?*
 my child-PL NEG+see-TR:2PL
 'Haven't you seen my children?' [F12]
- b. *jodod'ūbe, met čolhoro el+l'uø-jek?*
 squirrel my hare NEG+see-INTR:2SG
 'Squirrel, haven't you seen my hare?' [F13]
- c. *tet āj el+piede-ček?*
 you CP NEG+burn-PFV:INTR:2SG
 'Haven't you burned down yet?' [F31]

2.1.2. Alternative questions and the disjunctive/interrogative particle *dū*

Disjunction in alternative questions is expressed by a clause-final particle *dū*, which is repeated after each of the disjoined alternatives:

- (817) a. *godimie-j šaqale-k? černoburka-lek*
 which-ATTR fox-PRED silver.fox-PRED
nado+ηō-l dū krasnyj lisa
 be.needed+STAT-SF DSJ:ITR red fox
nado+ηō-l dū jodod'ube-lek
 be.needed+STAT-SF DSJ:ITR squirrel-PRED
nado+ηō-l dū
 be.needed+STAT-SF DSJ:ITR
 'Which fox (do you need)? Do you need the silver fox,
 or the red fox, or do you need the squirrel?' [F38]
- b. *igeje čičegej-gen ad-i dū,*
 rope stretch-IMP:3SG | strong-INTR:3SG DSJ:ITR
šašaga-daj-m dū
 tear-CAUS-TR:S DSJ:ITR
 'Let the rope stretch! Is it strong (enough), or will he
 tear it up?' [F31]

If the disjoined alternatives are an assertion and its negation, the latter can be represented by the negative form of the existential verb, *oj-l'e* (lit. 'there is no'); see (818). In this case, the disjunctive particle can be absent from the first clause (819a), or from both clauses (819b).

- (818) a. *kenme-n-d'ek dū oj-l'e*
 partner-PRPR-INTR:2SG DSJ:ITR NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
dū?
 DSJ:ITR
 'Do you have a partner (= are you married) or
 not?' [F14]
- b. *kudede dū oj-l'e dū?*
 kill(TR:1SG) DSJ:ITR NEG-be(NEG:3SG) DSJ:ITR
 'Have I killed it or not?' [F48]
- (819) a. *met-kele min-te-m modo-te-m*
 I-ACC take-FUT-TR:3SG settle-FUT-TR:3SG
oj-l'e dū?
 NEG-be(NEG:3SG) DSJ:ITR

‘Will he take me, will he settle me here or not?’ [F31]

- b. *taŋ šorome ed'-i oj-l'e?*
 that man live-INTR:3SG NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 ‘Is that man alive or not?’

On the other hand, this particle can mark a question without an explicitly expressed alternative:

- (820) a. *čejli-s' dū?*
 be.far-INTR:3SG DSJ:ITR
 ‘Is it far?’ [F48]
- b. *me+n'oho-j dū?*
 AFF+fall-INTR:3SG DSJ:ITR
 ‘Did he fall down?’

This particle can also be used in declarative contexts. In two examples in my corpus, it is used clause-internally in order to disjoin constituents of a declarative clause (821). In one example, it is used to disjoin declarative clauses (822).

- (821) a. *jā-n dū ilek-un dū isto*
 tree-ATTR DSJ:ITR four-ATTR DSJ:ITR hundred
metro-ge qon-d'ī'i
 meter-LOC go-INTR:1PL
 ‘We went three or four hundred meters.’
- b. *omos' at-če n'e+anurel-e*
 [[well be.strong-ATTR] RECP-love-ANR-INSTR
šubed'e-ge moj-t id'ī jaqte-nu-ŋi
 heart-LOC hold-SS:IPFV] now sing-IPFV-3PL:INTR
titte īlū-l joulū-l marqil'-gele
 their [lovable-ANR] [beloved-ANR] girl-ACC
dū adil-gele dū uø-ŋō-d'e
 DSJ:ITR boy-ACC DSJ:ITR [child-STAT-ATTR]
šoromo-pul
 person-PL
 ‘Now, holding a very strong mutual love in their hearts, they sing about their sweet beloved girl or boy, the young people.’ [K1]

- (822) *petr berbekin n'an'u-l-ben*
 [P. B. be.sinful-ANR-RELNR
ō-de-jne piede-t-i los'il-ge
 COP-3SG-DS-COND] burn-FUT-INTR:3SG fire-LOC
dū alhudō-l lebie-ŋin
 DSJ:ITR be.low-ANR earth-DAT
čere-j-te-j dū
 sink-PFV-FUT-INTR:3SG DSJ:ITR
pon'ō-te-j tā tātaduøŋ-pe tite <...>
 remain-FUT-INTR:3SGthere CA these like
 'If Petr Berbekin is a sinner, he will burn in the fire, or
 he will sink to Low Earth, or he will remain here, like
 these ...' [F31]

2.1.3. The contrastive/negative particle *ell'e*

The particle *ell'e* has the general semantic effect of contrasting two propositions, one of which remains implicit. The implicit proposition is presented as false, in contrast with that expressed by the clause. This particle is used in Indicative sentences (2.1.3.1), in tag questions (2.1.3.2), and for negative responses (2.1.3.3).

2.1.3.1. In Indicative sentences, the clause-final particle *ell'e* is used to contrast the proposition expressed in the clause to what might be presupposed (823a), apparently evident (823b), expected (823c), or desired (823d):

- (823) a. *d'e qodo gonžo-š-te-m*
 DP how hole-CAUS:PRPR-FUT-ITR:1SG
el+n'umud'ī+čuøŋ el+lejdī-je ell'e
 [NEG+ax+PRV] | NEG+know-INTR:1SG DP
 'Well, how was I supposed to chop it without an ax?
 After all, I did not know how (although I was
 supposed to).'
- b. *kelid'e-lek ell'e šār-e*
 worm DP | something-INSTR

ɪŋl'ɪ-l'el-te-m

be.afraid-INFR-FUT-TR:3SG

'After all, it is just a worm (however mighty it appears), there must be something it would be afraid of.' [F31]

c. *taŋ and'e el+n'oho ell'e*

that prince NEG+fall(NEG:3SG) DP

'That prince did not fall down, however (although I had jabbed him with a knife).' [F50]

d. *mit mieste čejl'i-s' ell'e*

our place be.far-INTR:3SG DP

'Our place was far away, after all (however willing we were to reach it).'

2.1.3.2. This particle can be used for a sort of tag question. It signifies that the proposition expressed by the clause is assumed by the speaker to be true, and contrasts this assumption with the potential negative response.

(824) a. *tā doqtor l'e-j ell'e?*

there doctor be-INTR:3SG DP

'There is a doctor, right?'

b. *čomolben čul min-din numøge*

[elk meat take-SUP} house-LOC

qon-nun-d'il'i ell'e?

go-HAB-INTR:1PL DP

'We used to go home in order to take elk meat, right?'

2.1.3.3. This particle can be used for a negative response in a dialogue; the previous turn can be either an assertion (825a) or a polar question (825b).

(825) a. *"el+kej-te-je, šejre-j-te-jek"*

NEG+give-FUT-INTR:1SG run-PFV-FUT-INTR:2SG

"ell'e el+šejre-j-te-je"

DP NEG-run-PFV-FUT-INTR:1SG

'"I will not give it to you, you will run away". "No, I

will not run away.” [F13]

- b. *pottuø, tī marqi-pe mudedej-ŋi ne?*⁹³
 P. here girl-PL pass-PFV-3PL:INTR NEG
ell'e marqi-pe el+mudedej-ŋi
 DP girl-PL NEG+pass-PFV-3PL:INTR |
kureqatī-pe mudedej-ŋi
 white.crane-PL pass-PFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘Pottuo, have some girls passed by? No, no girls
 passed by, some white cranes passed by.’ [F40]

2.1.4. Ask-to-repeat verb

There is a special verb used for requests to repeat the previous utterance (Krejnovich 1982:151). Such requests are built as questions containing only the second person form of the verb *monohot*⁹⁴ (cf. *mon-* ‘say’):

- (826) *taŋ parā-ge tāt mon-de-ge irk-in*
 [that time-LOC CA say-3SG-DS] one-ATTR
aŋd'ej-n'-u-l-ben antaj-l'el “qu,
 eye-PRPR-0-ANR-RELNR reply-INFR(3SG) Intj
monohot-ček?”
 say.what-INTR:2SG
 ‘At that time, when he said this, the One-eyed one
 replied: “Wow, what have you said?”’ [F31]

Note that the same function can be fulfilled by means of a question-word question with the basic speech act verb *mon-* ‘say’:

- (827) *e-e šāšet lem-dik mon-me?*
 Intj now what-PRED say-OF:2SG
 ‘Hi, what have you just said?’ [F31]

2.2. Question-word questions

2.2.1. Questioning constituents of the main clause

Any constituent of the clause can be questioned (see 7.1.3 for interrogative pro-forms used for such questions). The linear position

of the question word is rather flexible; it can occur either in the position most typical for the constituent type (831b), (832b) or be sentence-initial; see (830b), (831a).⁹⁵

The verb normally takes the Interrogative form (see 6.1.1.1); however, the Indicative main forms are also possible; see, e.g., (828b), (835a), with the exception of first-person forms which can be only Interrogative. Questions to the S/O constituent obligatorily involve Focus marking, including the Focus-indicating verb form. The following examples illustrate question-word questions to other types of constituents.⁹⁶

Primary participant of a transitive clause:

- (828) a. *kin mit-kele gamie?*
 Who we-ACC help(ITR:3SG)
 'Who has helped us?' [F22]
- b. *kin met-kele edies'-u-m?*
 who I-ACC call-0-TR:3SG
 'Who is calling me?' [F27]

Various peripheral participants:

- (829) a. *leme-ŋin kel-u-k?*
 what-DAT come-0-ITR:2SG
 'What have you come for?' [F27]
- b. *kin-get min-mik*
 who-ABL take-2PL
 'Who have you taken it from?'
- c. *neme-le ejme-š-te-m?*
 what-INSTR cost-PRPR:CAUS-FUT-ITR:1SG
 'What shall I pay with?' [F32]

Manner (830), reason (831), and purpose (832):

- (830) a. *tabun-get qodo palā-t-ōk?*
 that-ABL how escape-FUT-ITR:1PL
 'How will we escape from that?' [F31]
- b. *qodo met tude-n'e modo-t en-te-m*
 how I [he-COM live-SS:IPFV] live-FUT-ITR:1SG

‘How will I live with him?’ [F5]

- (831) a. *noŋōn met nonol-ge igie-k?*
 what.for my snare-LOC get.caught-ITR:2SG
 ‘What have you gotten caught in my snare trap
 for?’ [F19]
- b. *tit noŋōn kimd’i-met?*
 you what.for fight-ITR:2PL
 ‘What did you fight for?’ [F31]
- (832) a. *godit kimd’i-ŋi?*
 why fight-3PL(ITR)
 ‘Why are they fighting?’ [F31]
- b. *marqil’ godit amde?*
 girl why die(ITR:3SG)
 ‘Why did the girl die?’ [F44]

Starting point (833) and direction (834) of movement:

- (833) a. *pulun-die, qot kel-u-k?*
 old.man-DIM where:ABL come-0-ITR:2SG
 ‘Old man, where have you come from?’ [F20]
- b. *qadōn-get nuk-te-m?*
 which.place-ABL find-FUT-ITR:1SG
 ‘Where shall I find it?’ [F23]
- (834) a. *emej qaŋide ejrie-nu?*
 mother where:DIR walk-IPFV(ITR:3SG)
 ‘Where would your mother go to?’ [F48]
- b. *qaŋide me+qon-d’ek?*
 where:DIR AFF+go-ITR:2SG
 ‘Where are you going to?’ [F22]

Temporal (835) and spatial (836) localization:

- (835) a. *tit qanin kie-čemet?*
 you when come-ITR:2PL
 ‘When have you come?’

- b. *qanin tet-ul juø-te-m?*
 when you-ACC see-FUT-ITR:1SG
 ‘When will I see you?’
- (836) a. *čarčaqan, qon l'e-k?*
 C. where be-ITR:2SG
 ‘Charchaqan, where are you?’ [F29]
- b. *tet qon num-mek tuøn?*
 you where find-TR:2SG that
 ‘Where have you found it?’ [F51]

The locative question word *qon* and the existential verb *l'e* can form a complex expression *qol+l'e* ‘where’, which may (841b) but need not (841c) take the verb agreement markers:

- (837) a. *taŋ mēmē qol+l'e*
 that bear where+be(ITR:3SG)
 ‘Where is that bear?’ [F17]
- b. *tet šoromo-pul qol+l'e-ŋi?*
 your person-PL where+be-3PL:INTR
 ‘Where are your people?’
- c. *qol+l'e smert'-pe?*
 where death-PL
 ‘Where are Deaths?’ [F43]

2.2.2. Questioning the predicate

The descriptive nominal predicate (see 12.1.1) can be questioned by putting an interrogative pronoun in the predicative position:

- (838) a. *neme-pe-lek?*
 what-PL-PRED
 ‘Who are they?’ [F31]
- b. *tuøn tet-ke neme-lek?*
 this you-LOC what-PRED
 ‘What’s up with you?’ [F54]

- c. *kin+ŋō-k?*
 who+COP-ITR:2SG
 'Who are you?'

The verbal predicate can be questioned by means of the combination of the question word *qodo* 'how' with the verb *ā-* 'make' or *l'e-* 'be' (see 7.1.3). The former option is employed when both the A participant and the O participant of the action being questioned are specified or implied (839), the latter, if only one participant is specified, independently of its role in the situation being questioned, i.e., such a question can mean both 'What did/will X do?' (840) and 'What happened/will happen to X?' (841). The negative marker on such a complex signifies negation of a possible situation involving specified participants (841b).

- (839) a. *tudā taŋ met jaqadās'e met šoqī*
 that.time that my horse my bag
qod+ā-mek?
 how+make-TR:2SG
 'What did you do with my horse and my bag?' [F19]
- b. *tet tamun qod+ā-mek?*
 you that how+make-TR:2SG
 'What did you do with it?' [F48]
- c. *čohojo-pul, n'umud'ī-pe qod+ā-met?*
 knife-PL ax-PL how+make-TR:2PL
 'What did you do with the knives and the axes?' [F55]
- (840) a. *šaqale qodo+l'e-t-i?*
 fox how+be-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'What can the fox do?' [F18]
- b. *qodo+l'e-t-ōk?*
 how+be-FUT-ITR:1PL
 'What shall we do?'
- (841) a. *ī, qāqā, qodo+l'e-k?*
 Intj grand.father how+be-ITR:2SG
 'Hi, grandfather, what's on with you?' [F17]

- b. *juø-ŋi-de-ge omo-s' amun-pe-gi*
 [see-PL-3-DS] good-ATTR bone-PL-POSS
*el+qodo+l'ā-l'el*⁹⁷
 NEG+how+be-INFR(NEG:3SG)
 'They saw that nothing happened to his good
 bones.' [T1]

2.2.3. Questioning constituents of the noun phrase

Any noun modifier can be questioned. The following examples illustrate questions to the possessive modifier (842), the attributive modifier (843), and to the scalar quantifier (844).

- (842) a. *kin jaqtel omo-l?*
 whose song be.good-SF
 'Whose song is better?' [F21]
- b. *tet kin aduø õ-d'ek?*
 you whose son COP-INTR:2SG
 'Whose son are you?'
- (843) a. *neme-n numø-ge jaq-te-t-u-m?*
 what-ATTR house-LOC arrive-CAUS-FUT-0-ITR:1SG
 'To what house shall I bring her?' [F15]
- b. *godi-mie šoromo-k?*
 what-QLT person-PRED
 'What kind of a man is he?' [F31]
- (844) *gam-un il'l'e šoromo-k kel-u-l*
 how.many-ATTR new person-PRED come-0-SF
 'How many new people came (to the world)?' [K1]

2.2.4. Questioning constituents of non-finite clauses

Constituents of non-finite clauses can be questioned, yet such examples are rather rare:

- (845) a. *met uør-pe qañide keb-ej-t*
 [my child-PL where:DIR go-PFV-SS:IPFV]
el'ed'ō-ŋi
 disappear-3PL:INTR
 '(lit.) My children disappeared having gone away
 where to?' [F29]
- b. *neme leg-u-t ed'-u-t ejre-jek?*
 [what eat-0-SS:IPFV] [live-0-SS:IPFV] walk-INTR:2SG
 '(lit.) You walk and live eating what?' [K3]
- c. *qadōn-ge ejre-lle me+kel-met?*
 [which.place-LOC walk-SS:PFV] AFF+come-ITR:2PL
 '(lit.) Having walked where have you come (here)?'
- d. *kin ā-je legul-ek tuben ohō-l?*
 [who make-ATTR] food-PRED this stand-SF
 '(lit.) Food made by whom is there?' [F26]
- e. *godī-mie omo-s'ōn-ge jaqa-t met-ul*
 [what-QLT be.good-SBNR-LOC arrive-SS:IPFV] I-ACC
el+juø-l-ōl'-d'ek?
 NEG+see-0-DESD-INTR:2SG
 'Which good thing have you achieved, so that you do
 not want to see me?' [F57]

2.2.5. Multiple question words

One question can contain two question words:

- (846) a. *qaduon-get kin-get min-mek*
 which.place-ABL who-ABL take-TR:2SG
 'From which place and from whom have you taken
 it?' [F22]
- b. *godo qañide qon?*
 how where:DIR go(ITR:3SG)
 'How and where to did he go?'

- c. *qodimie mieste-ge qam-un šoromo-k*
 which place-LOC how.many-ATTR person-PRED
l'e-l
 be-SF
 'How many people are in which place?'

2.3. Negative/dubitative use of questions

The form of a question-word question can be used to negate the proposition expressed by the clause, or to present it as doubtful. In the combination with the Future form of the verb (6.2.3), this gives the meaning of impossibility or at least crucial complications in accomplishing the action. The question word of manner *qodo* gives a more general meaning (847), other question words can be conceived as specifying a particular component of a situation which is lacking (848).

- (847) a. *ijluge met n'ēr nahā eris' qodo*
 terrible my clothing very bad-INTR:3SG | how
qon-te-m
 go-FUT-ITR:1SG
 'It' s terrifying, my clothing is very bad, how will I go?
 (= I cannot go). [F15]
- b. *met qorobo øn'če met+id'ie qodo lek-te-m?*
 my cow bull I+INTS how eat-FUT-ITR:1SG
 'How will I eat my bull myself? (= I cannot eat it
 myself).' [F29]
- (848) a. *d'e užžō qaṇide qon-u-t užžō*
 DP gun where:DIR go-0-FUT(ITR:3SG) | gun
l'ie-l'el
 be-INFR(3SG)
 'Well, where will the gun go (there is no place for it to
 go), there was a gun.'

- b. *posuda oj-l'e neme-get*
 plates NEG-be(NEG:3SG) | what-ABL
leŋ-de-t-ōk?
 eat-DETR-FUT-ITR:1PL
 'There are no plates, what will we eat from (= we have nothing to eat from).' [F13]
- c. *nem-dik tude-ge jaqa-te-l?*
 what-PRED he-LOC achieve-FUT-SF
 'What will reach it? (= there is nothing that can reach it).' [F58]

If there is no Future marker, a question-like clause with *qodo* can express just somewhat emphasized negation (849), a clause with *noŋon* 'what for', the absence of reason (purposelessness) of the action that has taken place (850).

- (849) a. *tiŋ towke met-kele uŋžo-š-u-m qodo*
 this dog I-ACC sleep-CAUS-0-TR:3SG how
oj-d'e-t
 bark-DETR-SS:IPFV
 'How did this dog let me sleep, barking? (= It did not let me sleep).' [K4]
- b. *qodo omo-s'e jaqte tuøŋ*
 how good-ATTR song that
 'How is this song good? (= This is not a good song).' [F21]
- (850) a. *qarien noŋon kudedi-l'el-u-m met terike*
 pity what.for kill-INFR-0-ITR:1SG my wife
 'It's a pity, what have I killed my wife for (= it turned out there was no reason to do so).' [F13]
- b. *mit emd'e noŋon kuded-ōk*
 our brother what.for kill-ITR:1PL
 'What for have we killed our brother (= there was no reason).' [F21]

3. Minor sentence types

3.1. Exclamations

3.1.1. Question-like exclamations

Exclamations are constructed like the question-word questions, yet the clause normally contains a word providing the “answer” to the formally questioned element (cf. ‘what’ and ‘good’ in (851a), ‘how’ and ‘well’ in (851b)):

- (851) a. *jowluge qodimie omo-s’e towke-die-k*
 poor.creature what be.good-ATTR dog-DIM-PRED
met-ke jaqa-l
 I-LOC arrive-SF
 ‘Poor creature, what a nice little dog has come to me!’ [F20]
- b. *adiŋ ani-pe-ŋin qodo omo-s’*
 this fish-PL-DAT how be.good-INTR:3SG
 ‘How good it is for these fishes!’ [F6]
- c. *qodo is’ mie-de-t-ōk*
 how long wait-DETR-FUT-1PL
 ‘How long we should wait!’

3.1.2. Interjections

The interjection *jekkejtī* is used to express an unpleasant surprise; it can be followed by a question-like exclamation:

- (852) a. *jekkejtī qodimie er-če towke-k juṣ-met*
 Intj what be.bad-ATTR dog-PRED see-OF:2PL
 ‘Gosh, you see what a bad dog it is!’ [K4]
- b. *jekkejtī jekkejtī tet-ek tāt l’e-l’el-u-l*
 Intj Intj you-PRED CA be-INFR-0-SF |
tet-ul kudede-t
 you-ACC kill-FUT(TR:1SG)
 ‘Oh, you have turned out to behave in such a way, I will kill you.’ [F27]

The interjection *idek* ‘no, well really!, what next!’ is used for negative reactions to requests:

- (853) *"epie, qāqā šøtkurī met-in*
 grandmother grandfather ski I-DAT
kej-k" tabun-ge epie-gi
 give-IMP:2G | that-LOC grandmother-POSS
mon-i, "idek idek el+kej-te-je"
 say-INTR:3SG Intj Intj NEG+give-FUT-INTR:1SG
 “Grandmother, give me grandfather’s ski!”. His
 grandmother answered: “What next! I won’t!” [F13]

Some other interjections are:

- (854) a. *eldelge jō* ‘It’s boring!’
 b. *jukun’d’uge jō* ‘It’s a pity!’
 c. *omoho jō* ‘Great, wonderful!’
 d. *n’ādude* ‘That’s enough!’
 e. *ınluge* ‘It is awful!’ (see (847a)).

3.2. Optative

There is a special construction which signifies that the situation is strongly desired, yet the speaker cannot bring it about; in particular, the fulfillment of this wish may depend on some other person(s) (855b) or be simply impossible (855d). This construction is built as the combination of the optative particle *qonoho* and the Result Nominal form (6.1.3.4) of the verb. The construction is subjectless; the implied primary participant of the situation is the speaker.

- (855) a. *nolut tite norqune-l embe-l majle-gi*
 willow like be.curly-ANR be.black-ANR hair-POSS
qonoho ırk-id’e juø-l-ōl
 OPT one-ITER see-Ø-RNR
 ‘May I see at least once his black hair, curly like a
 willow!’ [K1]

- b. *tiŋide tit-n'e n'ahā qonoho jaqa-l-ōl*
 there:DIR you-COM together OPT achieve-0-RNR
 'How much I would like to go together with you.' [K1]
- c. *qonoho eks'il'-e keb-ej-l-ōl,*
 OPT boat-INSTR go-PFV-0-RNR
 'If only I could go away by boat!' [F31]
- d. <...> *qani-d+uø+ŋōt tet-u-l*
 eagle-ATTR+child+STAT-SS:IPFV [you-ACC
juø-din qonoho mer-ujī-t ejr-ōl
 see-SUP] OPT [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-RNR
 '... if only I could fly as an eaglet in order to see
 you!' [F57]

A similar meaning can be expressed by the combination of the manner question word *qodo* and the Future Interrogative 1SG:

- (856) a. *id'ī tiŋ lebie-get qodo keb-ej-te-m*
 now this earth how go-PFV-FUT-ITR:1SG
 'Now I would like to go away from this earth
 somehow!' [F31]
- b. *amdel-get qodo palā-te-m?*
 die-ANR-ABL how escape-FUT-ITR:1SG
 'If only I could escape from death somehow!' [F31]

4. Negation

4.1. Standard negation

4.1.1. Sentential negation

The standard sentential negation is expressed by attaching the prefix *el+* to the finite verb, as illustrated by (857) and many other examples in this grammar (see also 6.1.1.3.1):

- (857) a. *tamun-ge met-kele el+jan-ŋi*
 that-LOC I-ACC NEG+send-3PL:INTR
 'They did not let me go there'

- b. *met numø-ge el+jaqa-te-je*
 I house-LOC NEG+achieve-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I will not reach the house.' [F42]
- c. *tet tāt tī-t el+keb-ej-te-jek!*
 you CA here-ABL NEG+go-PFV-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'You will not go away from here.' [F31]
- d. *tabun-gele tintay towke el+lej*
 that-ACC that dog NEG+eat(NEG:3SG)
 'That dog did not eat that.' [F20]

See 6.2.8 for negation of the Imperative.

The scope of negation can be limited to an adverbial:

- (858) a. *tiŋ paj met-telle n'ū-de*
 [this woman hear-SS:PFV [name-POSS:ATTR
mon-ō-de-jle el+antej qollume
 say-RNR-POSS-ACC] NEG+reply(NEG:3SG) soon
 'When that woman heard her name, she did not reply
 immediately (= replied not immediately).' [K3]
- b. *taŋ parā-ge lebie āj omos'*
 that time-LOC earth CP well
el+jed-ie-j
 NEG+be.visible-INGR-PFV(NEG:3SG)
 'At that time, the earth had not appeared well yet (= was not sufficiently visible).' [F9]
- c. *čāšet el+kel-te-je*
 now NEG+come-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'I will not come now (= not immediately)'
- d. *tudā taŋ tite id'ī el+modo-jīl'ī*
 that.time that like now NEG+live-INTR:1PL
 'Now we do not live like those ones (lived) at that time.' [K1]

See 4.1.3 on adverbial negation.

Note that if the standard negative prefix occurs with a noun in the Nominative form (which happens very rarely outside of some

specific verb patterns; see 12.1.3.2), it can have only the privative meaning ('without'), that is, the negated Nominative form is used instead of the Privative form; see (5.5.2):

- (859) *tāt juø-de-ge el+qār qodō-j*
 [CA see-3SG-DS] NEG+skin lie-INTR:3SG
 'Then he saw that it lay without skin.' [F51]

4.1.2. Focus and negation

Constituent negation (by means of the standard negative marker) is possible only with the Focus constituent (860a). The scope of standard negation on the verb in the Focus construction is confined to the Focus constituent (860b)-(860c). Both types of examples are extremely infrequent.

- (860) a. *el met-ek tāt l'e-l*
 NEG I-PRED CA be-SF
 'It is not me who is doing this.'
- b. *noj n'e-qadōn-ge el+l'e-l*
 N. NEG-which.place-LOC NEG+be-SF
 'The person we cannot find anywhere is Noah.' [F9]
- c. *muge-n'it tude moho el+løude-mle*
 [undress-CONN] his hat NEG+take.off-OF:3SG
 'He undressed himself, and it was only his hat that he did not take off.' [I]

4.1.3. Negated adverbials

Two adverbs, *jūke* 'far' (with its Locative forms; see 4.2.2) and *īs'* ~ *ičie* 'long' take the standard negative marker.⁹⁸

- (861) a. *ōžī el+jūke l'e-t-i*
 water NEG+far be-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'The water will not be far.' [F3]

- b. *el+ičie l'e-lle taŋ pulut āj*
 [NEG+long be-SS:PFV] that old.man CP
jaqtā-l-ā-nu-l'el jeŋžōd'e-n'-u-t
 sing-0-INGR-IPFV-INFR(3SG) dream-PRPR-0-SS:IPFV
 'After being there for a short time, that old man began
 to sing again, dreaming.' [K4]

This construction is in clear semantic contrast to negative marking on the verb (cf. (861c) and (862a)) and to double negation, both on the adverb and on the verb (cf. (861a) and (862b)).

- (862) a. *īs' el+l'e-lle ōžī nodo kie-s'*
 [long NEG+be-SS:PFV] water bird come-INTR:3SG
 'After being absent for a long time, the duck
 came.' [F52]
- b. *titte arqā omnī ejūke oj-l'e-ŋi*
 they AD people NEG:far NEG-be-3PL:INTR
 'Around them, there were no people nearby.' [F22]

The negative marker is also attested with some adverbial pro-forms, but in these examples it entails negative marking on the verb:

- (863) a. *taŋide el+qodo el+qon-možī-je*
 there:DIR NEG+how NEG+go-PRSP-INTR:1SG
 'I can by no means go there.' [F31]
- b. *id'ī el+tāt el+l'e-ŋi-lek*
 now NEG+ CA NEG+be-3PL-PROH-IMP:2
 'From now on do not be (behave) like this.' [F9]

See 4.2.1 for negative adverbials.

4.2. The negative marker *n'e*

4.2.1. Negative quantifiers and adverbials

Generally, negative quantifiers and adverbials are built by means of the prefix *n'e-* added to the interrogative pro-forms (see 7.1.4.2); the negative quantifier for human participants is *niłgi* 'nobody'.⁹⁹ A negative pro-form requires the presence of standard negation

within the same clause. Two negative pro-forms can be combined within one clause (864d).

- (864) a. *tāt numø-ge šøk-telle*
 [CA house-LOC enter-SS:PFV]
aŋsī-d'-ā-je nilgi
 search-DETR-INGR-INTR:1SG | nobody
el+l'uø-je
 NEG+see-INTR:1SG
 'Then, having entered the house, I began to search,
 (but) I saw nobody.'
- b. *n'e-qanide el+qon*
 NEG-where:DIR NEG+go(NEG:3SG)
 'He did not go anywhere.' [F31]
- c. *n'e-qodo el+paja-j-te-jek*
 NEG+how NEG+carry-PFV-FUT-INTR:2SG
 'You will by no means hoist it.' [F27]
- d. *n'e-leme n'e-qadōn-ge oĵ-l'e*
 NEG-what NEG-which.place-LOC NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 'There isn't anything anywhere.' [F37]

This construction is made up exactly as its Russian counterpart, including the formal identity of the negative prefix used with the pro-forms (cf. the Yukaghir standard negative marker in (863a) in a formally similar construction, which is, however, far less frequent than the construction with *n'e*). Therefore, it seems plausible to consider this construction a loan from Russian. An additional piece of evidence in favor of this hypothesis is given by Tundra Yukaghir, where there are no negative pro-forms with *n'e*; instead, contrastive/free-choice pro-forms are used in negative sentences (Krejnovich 1982:222-225).

4.2.2. The negative marker *n'e* with nouns

In some examples, the negative marker *n'e* occurs in prenominal position, in combination with standard negation on the verb, with a meaning like 'not even' or 'neither ... nor ...':

- (865) a. *met ahurpe-l juø-de n'e õži*
 [my suffer-ANR see-SS:ITER] NEG water
el+kes'ĩ-jemet
 NEG+bring-INTR:2PL
 'You saw how I suffered, you did not even bring me
 some water.' [F7]
- b. *n'e touke-pul el+oži-ŋi n'e tudel*
 NEG dog-PL NEG+bark-3PL:INTR | NEG he
 'Neither dogs barked, nor it (the bear).'

In contrast with the formally identical marking on the pro-forms, such constructions are extremely rare.

4.3. Negation in non-finite clauses

Non-finite clause can be negated in the same way as a finite clause:

- (866) a. *met aŋd'e el+juø-je mieste-get kudede-k*
 [my eye NEG+see-ATTR] place-ABL kill-IMP:2SG
 'Kill them somewhere where I will not see it.' [F13]
- b. *ningõ pundie-nu-l'el-u-m n'e-leme-die-le*
 many tell-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG [NEG-what-DIM-INSTR
el+ahid'ĩ-t
 NEG+conceive-SS:IPFV]
 'He said a lot, without conceiving even a little
 bit.' [F50]
- c. *čejlukie-j met n'e-qaŋide*
 be.far-INTR:3SG [I NEG-where:DIR
el+ejr-õl
 NEG+walk-RNR]
 'It is a long time that I did not travel.' [F31]

Instead of the negated SS form (cf. (866b)), the special Negative (Privative) form can be used, but the latter construction has an additional contrastive effect (6.1.4.8).

- (867) a. *taŋ pulut tāt el+jɛŋžō+čuoŋ āj*
 that old.man [CA NEG+sleep+PRV] CP
egie-j
 stand-INTR:3SG
 ‘That old man stood up again without having
 slept.’ [K4]
- b. *tabun-get tāt omos’ ed’-u-t er-čuoŋ*
 [that-ABL CA well live-0-SS:IPFV] [be.bad-SBNR]
n’e-leme el+ā-čuoŋ
 NEG-what NEG+make-PRV]
eg-užu-l’el-ŋi
 walk-ITER-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘That is why they used to live in a proper way, without
 doing anything bad.’ [K3]
- c. *tāt mit laŋide el+juø-de-j+čuoŋ*
 CA [we towards NEG+see-DETR-PFV+PRV]
numø-ŋin šøg-i
 house-DAT enter-INTR:3SG
 ‘Then she entered the house, without having a look at
 us.’

See also 11.4.1.2 on the combination of negative marking with the postposition ‘before’.

4.4. Negative particles

4.4.1. ‘No, by no means’

The particle *kijeŋ* expresses the modal meaning of impossibility; it is used only in combination with standard negation:

- (868) a. *kijeŋ el+en-te-jek*
 DP NEG+live-FUT-INTR:2SG
 ‘There is no way that you will be able to survive
 (there).’ [F31]

- b. *tittel n'e-leme-die kiejen el+ā-ŋi*
 they NEG-what-DIM DP NEG+make-3PL:TR
tud-in
 he-DAT
 'They were not able to do him any harm at all.' [T1]

4.4.2. 'Almost, only, hardly'

These and similar meanings are expressed by a group of apparently related items derived from the stem *mol-*:

- (869) *moli* preventive particle (870)
molin 'only' (871a); 'hardly' (871b)
moldo 'nothing but' (872)
molind'ā 'hardly, almost not' (873)
molind'āt 'nearly, almost, hardly' (874).

The preventive particle *moli* is used only in combination with the Future affirmative second person forms in sentences intended to prevent unintended results of the hearer's careless actions:

- (870) *towke moli aji-te-met*
 dog PREV shoot-FUT-TR:2PL
 'Make sure that you do not shoot the dogs.'

The particle *molin* 'only, hardly' occurs only in the affirmative Focus construction:

- (871) a. *tā juø-de-ge irk-in pulut-tege-k*
 [there see-3SG-DS] one-ATTR old.man-AUGM-PRED
molin modo-l
 only sit-SF
 'He saw that there was only one gigantic old man sitting.' [F22]
- b. *juø-ŋi-de-ge jūs'e-gi molin l'e-l*
 [see-PL-3-DS] breathing-POSS hardly be-SF
 'They saw that he was hardly breathing.' (lit. 'There was almost no breathing.') [F37]

The particle *mol̄do* occurs only in sentences with existential (or similar) semantics; all attested instances of this particle involve body-part nouns, i.e., the meaning of the construction is, roughly: ‘(Instead of somebody) there was/was seen/was present only her/his body part’. The particle triggers SF marking on the verb:

- (872) a. *terike-gi mol̄do amun qod̄o-l*
 wife-POSS only bone lic-SF
 ‘Only bones of his wife were lying there.’ [F48]
- b. *ejre-t juø-ŋi-de-ge mol̄do jō*
 [walk-SS:IPFV] [see-PL-3-DS] only head
jed-uj̄-l
 be.visible-ITER-SF
 ‘They walked and saw only his head appearing from time to time.’

The particles *mol̄ind’ā* and *mol̄ind’āt* have similar meanings: they signify that the situation referred to by the clause did take place, but only with difficulty (or almost did not). Yet the former is used in positive sentences (873), the latter, only in combination with standard negation. In combination with the negation, the particle marks the nonoccurrence of the situation as something that barely happened, i.e., the positive situation is presented as having nearly/almost taken place (874). This particle is far more frequent than *mol̄ind’ā*.

- (873) *mol̄ind’ā jaqa-j tā*
 hardly arrive-INTR:3SG there
 ‘He barely reached that place (=only with difficulty, almost did not).’ [F31]
- (874) a. *mol̄ind’āt leŋ-d-ōl’-i-t*
 almost [eat-DETR-DESD-0-SS:IPFV]
el+ amde-j-ben-pe ō-d’ū’i
 NEG+die-ATTR-RELNR-PL COP-INTR:1PL
 ‘We almost died from hunger.’

- b. *molind'āt* *el+jarqā-l'el-d'e*
 almost NEG+freeze-INFR-INTR:1SG
 'I was almost killed by the frost.'
- c. *molind'āt* *el+mere-j*
 almost NEG+fly-PFV(NEG:3SG)
 'She nearly flew away.' [F7]

5. Speech-reporting strategies

Speech-act verbs fall into two groups. The first group comprises verbs which can introduce reported speech but do not require the reporting element to be present; it comprises intransitive speech-act verbs (9.2.4.1) and their applicative derivatives which have an O slot for the Addressee. The second group comprises the verbs which have an O slot for the reporting element, transitive speech-act verbs (9.2.6.2) and the labile verb *mon-* 'say'. To be more precise, these verbs require some speech-reporting expression to be present, and this expression may but need not be represented by an NP marked as the direct object. Thus, these verbs may take an ordinary NP (9.2.6.2) or a regular nominal complement (11.1.3.3) as the reporting element.

This section deals with syntactic strategies which are used primarily for reporting speech, quotations (5.1) and indirect questions (5.2). These strategies can also be applied, although infrequently, for other types of clause-linkage (5.1.3, 5.3).

5.1. Quotations

5.1.1. Short quotations

The verb *mon-* 'say', and, more rarely, other transitive speech act verbs, allow a *short quotation* (that is, not more than one finite clause) in the preverbal position:

- (875) a. *juø-nu-llē* *juø-nu-llē* *omo-s'*
 [see-IPFV-SS:PFV] [see-IPFV-SS:PFV] [good-INTR:3SG]
 mon-i
 say-INTR:3SG

‘He looked at it for some time and said: It is good.’ [F9]

- b. *tamun-gele taŋ pulut, aduon omos’*
 that-ACC that old.man [[this good
gudie-ŋi mon-u-t
 become-3PL:INTR] say-0-SS:IPFV]
el+mon-nunnu
 NEG+say-HAB(NEG:3SG)
 ‘That old man never regarded that as a good
 (appropriate) behavior.’ (lit. ‘He never said: They did
 this well.’) [K4]
- c. *kin-tek tamun tāt l’e-l? joules’-l’el-u-m*
 [who-PRED that CA be-SF] ask-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘‘Who has done it?’’ (she) asked.’

5.1.2. Long quotations

Any clause signifying a speech act can be followed by a long quotation, that is, a syntactically autonomous piece of text (discourse) comprising one or several clauses. This pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

- (876) a. *n’ied’i-nu-ŋi tudā tāt mie šoromo*
 tell-IPFV-3PL:INTR that.time such person
l’e-l’el.
 be-INFR(3SG)
 ‘They say that once upon a time there was such a
 person.’ [F1]
- b. *jowle-d’ā-je tet čāčā+taŋ-pe*
 ask-DETR-INTR:1SG your elder.brother-that-PL
kel-ŋi?
 come-INTR:3SG
 ‘I asked: ‘‘Have your elder brothers and the others
 come?’’’

- c. *epie met-in mon-i, id'ī ōži*
 grand.mother I-DAT say-INTR:3SG [now water
keči-k!
 bring-IMP:2SG]
 'Grandmother said to me: "Now bring some
 water!"' [K5]
- d. *tāt parnā mon-i qahiel-ŋin: id'ī tet met-ul*
 CA crow say-INTR:3SG loon-DAT now you I-ACC
šp̄rileš!
 paint(IMP:2SG)
 'Then the crow said to the loon: "Now paint me!"' [F5]
- e. *epie met-kele ørn'e-rī-m, tandeqa,*
 grandmother I-ACC shout-APPL-TR:3SG [enough
el+čumuči-ŋi-le-k!
 NEG+fish-PL-PROH-2]
 'Grandmother shouted to me: "That's enough, do not
 fish (more)!"' [K5]

A long quotation introduced by a preceding speech act clause can be concluded (877a)-(877c) or interrupted (877d)-(877e) by the Imperfective converb of the verb *mon-* 'say'. Such instances can be viewed as a combination of the long quotation and the short quotation strategies.

- (877) a. *tī+tā met-l'el-ŋā, taŋ omnī-pe*
 here+there inform-INFR-3PL:TR [[that people-PL
eris' gude-l'el-ŋi mon-u-t
 badly become-INFR-3PL:INTR] say-0-SS:IPFV]
 'They announced (it) everywhere, saying "Something
 bad has happened to those people."'
- b. *šubeže-de ørn'e-je, met tī*
 [run-SS:ITER] shout-INTR:1SG [[I here
l'e-je, mon-u-t
 be-INTR:1SG] say-INTR:3SG]
 'I was running and shouting, saying "I am here".'

- c. *tittel met-kele edie-s'-ŋā, kel-u-k,*
 they I-ACC call-ITER-3PL:TR [[come-IMP:2SG
mon-u-t
 say-0-SS:IPFV]]
 'They were calling me, saying: "Come!"' [K4]
- d. *jaqa-delle pundu-l'el-u-m, omos'*
 [arrive-SS:PFV] tell-INFR-0-TR:3SG [good
loŋdo-l-ben, mon-u-t mon-ŋi
 dance-ANR-RELN] [say-0-SS:IPFV] say-3PL:INTR
imičume-k kurče-ŋek tās'ile andubus'ā-k
 [swan-PRED crane-PRED CA duck-PRED]
 'Having arrived, they said: Those who danced well,
 they said, were the swan, the crane and the duck.' [F5]
- e. *jaqa-delle numø-ge n'ied'ī-l'el*
 [arrive-SS:PFV] house-LOC tell-INFR(3SG)
tāt-mie-d'ōd-ek juø-me, mon-u-t,
 [that-QLT-SBNR-PRED see-OF:1SG] [say-0-SS:IPFV]
āče-gi kurčeŋ-n'e n'ahā amd-ō-t
 [deer-POSS crane-COM together [die-RES-SS:IPFV]
god-ō-pe-gi
 lie-RNR-PL-POSS]
 'She returned home and said: I have seen such a thing,
 she said, his deer and a crane lying dead together.' [K3]

5.1.3. Long quotation as a complementation strategy

Long quotations can be taken to constitute a "zero" strategy of sentential complementation, where a complement-taking clause is followed by a formally independent sequence of clauses. As shown by the examples (878), this strategy can be applied outside the context of speech act clauses; however, such instances are very infrequent.

- (878) a. *parnā tud+id'ie pon'ō-delle čuŋže*
 [crow he+INTS remain-SS:PFV] [thought
ejre-š-u-t modo-t ønme-de-ge
 go-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] [sit-SS:IPFV] mind-POSS-LOC
jaqa-j met+sam
 arrive-INTR:3SG {I+self
met+šørile-š-te-je
 REFL+paint-PRPR:CAUS-FUT-INTR:1SG]
 'The crow remained alone, it was sitting and thinking,
 and (an idea) came to its mind: I'll paint myself.' [F5]
- b. *juø-m olhujpe-lek ohō-ŋi-l*
 see-TR:3SG [bowl-PL-PRED stand-3PL-SF]
šøjnube-ge amun-pe-lek qodō-ŋi-l
 [entrance-LOC bone-PL-PRED lie-3PL-SF]
 'He saw: there stood bowls, there lay bones near the
 entrance.' [F31]
- c. *gon-u-t juø-l-u-ke čugie šār-ek*
 [go-0-SS:IPFV] [see-1|2-0-DS] on.way something-PRED
adā qodō-l, čuge-ge juø čomōlbed-ek
 here lic-SF way-LOC | see-TR:1SG [elk-PRED]
nahā čomō-d'e čomōlbed-ek
 [very be.big-ATTR elk-PRED]
 'In going, I saw that something was lying on my way,
 right in front of me, on the trail. I saw (that it was) an
 elk, a very big elk.'

For basic complementation strategies, see 11.1-11.2.

5.1.4. "Indirect speech"?

There seems to be no grammatically established phenomenon of "indirect speech": generally, the contents of speech are reported by means of quotations. Some features of indirect speech can be found only in a few examples. In (879a), the 2SG verb form in the reporting element identifies it as an instance of indirect speech (a quotation would have involved the 1SG form). In (879b), this is indicated by the third person reflexive pronoun. Note that

this pronoun is controlled by the subject of the first clause ('that woman'), not by its own subject ('old man'). This is a rather rare contradiction to the general rule for the reflexive possessive pronouns (see 14.1.1.2), which apparently demonstrates that such constructions constitute an exception to the general syntactic conventions (which simply do not cover "indirect speech").

- (879) a. *me+mo-d'ek* *jūke jaqa-te-jek?*
 AFF+say-INTR:2SG [far arrive-FUT-INTR:2SG]
 'Do you think you will go far away?' [F31]
- b. *taŋ paj* *lejdi-l'el-u-m,* *tude*
 that woman knew-INFR-0-TR:3SG her
šoromo-pul-ge irk-in *jeŋžōd'e-n'ā-nu-j*
 person-PL-LOC one-ATTR dream-PRPR-IPFV-ATTR
pulut-ek *l'ie-l'el-u-m*
 old.man-PRED be-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'That woman knew that there was one oracular old
 man in her family.' [K3]

5.2. Indirect questions

Indirect questions can be either identical in form to direct question-word questions (5.2.1) or contain a nominal form of the verb instead of the Interrogative (finite) form (5.2.2).

Basically, the indirect question serves as a reporting element (complement) with speech act verbs and verbs of cognition; in this case, it renders the "theme" of the reported speech or thought (5.2.1-5.2.2). This syntactic pattern is also compatible with verbs implying finding an answer to some question (5.2.1). In addition, this strategy can be applied to create correlative subordinate clauses (5.3), although this use appears to be rather marginal.

5.2.1. Finite indirect questions

Finite indirect questions are identical in form to direct question-word questions; they are used as a complementation strategy with speech act verbs (880), with verbs and expressions of cognition

(881), or with clauses signifying searching or finding out (882). Most often, the indirect question takes the sentence-final position, yet it can be sentence-initial as well (882b).

Note that the first-person form of the Interrogative verb can signal either the coreference of the primary participant with the speaker (880a) or its coreference with the subject of the matrix clause (881b). The latter option is worth noting, given that the indirect question cannot be viewed as a quotation.

- (880) a. *mit-in mon qodo gudie-t-ōk*
 we-DAT say(IMP:2SG) [how become-FUT-ITR:1PL]
qodo ā-t-ōk
 [how make-FUT-ITR:1PL]
 'Tell us how we have to behave, what we have to do.' [K4]
- b. *tittel n'ied'i-l'el-ŋi godi-mie mieste-ge*
 they speak-INFR-3PL:INTR [what-QLT place-LOC
gam-un šoromo-k l'el,
 how.many-ATTR person-PRED be-SF]
gam-un il'l'e šoromo-k kel-u-l
 [how.many-ATTR new person-PRED come-0-SF]
gam-un šoromo-k kew-ej-l
 [how.many-ATTR person-PRED go-PFV-SF]
oj-l'e-l
 [NEG-be-SF]
 'They discussed how many people lived in which place, how many new people had come (to the world), how many people had gone, did not exist.' [K1]
- (881) a. *qodo lejdī-te-m, kin-tek keb-ej-te-l?*
 how know-FUT-ITR:1SG [who-PRED go-PFV-FUT-SF]
 'How shall I know who will go?' [F31]
- b. *tāt modo-t ønme-de-ge jaqa-l'el*
 [CA sit-SS:IPFV] mind-POSS-LOC arrive-INFR(3SG)
qodo tī-t keb-ej-te-m
 [how here-ABL go-PFV-FUT-ITR:1SG]
 'He lived in this way and he had gotten an idea of how

he would go away from here.’ [F31]

- (882) a. *met juø-t nem-dik adā*
 I see-FUT(TR:1SG) [what-PRED here
legi-te-mle
 eat-CAUS-OF:3SG]
 ‘I will see whom she feeds there.’
- b. *taŋ ažū-gele kin joq-to-t*
 [that word-ACC who arrive-CAUS-FUT(ITR:3SG)
čobul puggedan’d’e-ŋin tit sam nuŋ-ŋik!
 sea king-DAT] you self find-PL-IMP:2
 ‘Who will bring this speech to the sea king, find yourself!’
- c. *nuk-te-j kin-tek qollume kebej-te-l*
 find-FUT-TR:1PL [who-PRED soon go-PFV-FUT-SF
ørd’-ō-l lebie-ŋin
 middle-VR-ANR earth-DAT]
 ‘We will find someone who will go away to Middle Earth soon.’ [F31]

5.2.2. Nominalized indirect questions

With speech act verbs and verbs of cognition, the indirect question can be nominalized. The nominal verb form can be marked for the Accusative (883) or the Nominative case (884).

- (883) a. *tā jaqa-delle čumu pundu-m qodo*
 [there arrive-SS:PFV] all describe-TR:3SG [how
gude-l-ōl-gele
 become-0-RNR-ACC]
 ‘Having come there, he described everything that had happened.’ [F9]
- b. *tā mon-ŋi-te-j qanin svad’ba*
 there say-3PL-FUT-INTR [when wedding
ō-de-jle
 COP-ANR:POSS-ACC]
 ‘There they will say when the wedding will take

place.' [K1]

- (884) a. <...> *el+lejdi-jil'i* *id'i kin qodimie*
 NEG+know-INTR:1PL now [who which
omnī o-gi
 people COP-ANR:POSS]
 '<...>we do not know now who belongs to which
 people.' [K1]
- b. *čušte ays'i-d'e-t* *eg-užu-l'el*
 [always search-DETR-SS:IPFV] go-ITER-INFR(3SG)
joulu-d'e-t lige-je šoromo-pul-get
 [ask-DETR-SS:IPFV [old-ATTR] person-PL-ABL
tī-t qodo keb-ej-nu-gi ørd'o-l
 [here-ABL how go-PFV-IPFV-ANR:POSS middle-ANR
lebie+laŋin.
 earth+DIR]]
 'He always walked around searching, asking old people,
 how to go away from here to Middle Earth.' [F31]

5.3. Correlative subordinate clauses

The indirect question construction can be used to create adverbial (5.3) and relative (5.3.2) clauses. In this case, the question word serves as the subordinator, with a demonstrative pro-form of the *tā*-series serving as the correlate in the main clause. This pattern constitute a marginal alternative to subordination by means of verb morphology (see Chapter 11) and appears to be due to the Russian influence.

5.3.1. Correlative adverbial clauses

The correlative adverbial clause can have spatial (885), temporal (886), or comparative (887) semantics, depending on the question word employed. The question word *qodo* 'how' can be used not only with comparative meaning (887), but with temporal meaning (886) as well.¹⁰⁰ This word *qodo* 'how' can be used without a correlate in the main clause, see (886b), (887c).

- (885) a. *qaduon-get kel-u-k tanjide*
 [which.place-ABL come-0-ITR:2SG] there:DIR
kebe-j-k
 go-PFV-IMP:2SG
 ‘Go back to where you have come from!’ [F18]
- b. *end’ōd-e qaduon-ge juø-ŋa t̄a*
 [animal-INSTR which.place-LOC see-3PL:TR] there
mieste-gi ā-t legul-e nem-dik
 place-POSS make-SS:IPFV food-INSTR [what-PRED
l’e-l tabud-e legite-ŋā
 be-SF] that-INSTR eat-CAUS-3PL:TR
 ‘Where they saw animals, they arranged places for
 them and fed them with what was there.’
- (886) a. *qodo lomd’i-ŋi-t tāt tet šobol’e-ge-k*
 [how shed-3PL-FUT(ITR:3SG)] CA you stop-IMP-2SG
 ‘When they shed, then stop (shedding).’ [F5]
- b. *alme qodo uŋžis’ kenme-gi āj*
 shaman how sleep-PFV:INTR:3SG friend-his CP
uŋži-s’
 sleep-INTR:3SG
 ‘When the shaman fell asleep, the other one also fell
 asleep.’ [F42]
- (887) a. *tit lebie tit-in qodo omo tāt*
 your earth [you-DAT how good(ITR:3SG)] CA
ā-ŋi-k
 make-PL-IMP:2SG
 ‘Arrange your land as is good for you.’ [F8]
- b. *mit qodo modo-j̄l’i tāt modo-ŋi tittel*
 we how sit-INTR:1PL CA live-3PL:INTR they
 ‘As we live, so do they.’ [F39]
- c. *met kebe-j-te-je qodo kel-u-m*
 I go-PFV-FUT-INTR:1SG how come-0-TR:3SG
 ‘I will go away as I have come.’ [F47]

If an indirect-question adverbial clause has spatial meaning, the finite (Interrogative) form of the verb is often replaced by the Result Nominal form, i.e., the indirect question strategy is mixed with the morphological one (see 11.4.2):

- (888) a. *gristos mer-ujī-t ejre-j*
 Christ [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-INTR:3SG
qaduon-ge lebie
 [which.place-LOC earth
uk-ej-l-ō-de-gen
 go.out-PFV-0-RNR-POSS-PROL]
 ‘Christ was flying along the places where the earth had
 appeared.’ [F9]
- b. *n’e+kebie-rej-nu-l’el-ŋi kin*
 RECP+go-APPL-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR [who
qadōn-ge modo-l-ōl mieste-ge tajide
 which.place-LOC live-0-RNR] place-LOC there:DIR
omdu-t jaqa-nu-l’el-ŋi
 [hurry-SS:IPFV] arrive-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘They left each other and, in a hurry, arrived to those
 places where they lived.’ [K1]

5.3.2. Correlative relative clauses

Correlative relative clauses are made up as finite indirect questions, with the demonstrative pronoun *tamun* ‘that’ (889a)-(889b) or a full NP (890) serving as the correlate in the main clause; in one instance, the correlate in the main clause is the universal quantifier (889c).

This pattern can be used for the same types of relativization as the Attributive relative clauses (11.3.1): for relativization of the subject (889a), of the direct object (889b)-(889c), of the Possessor (890a), of the temporal (890b) and spatial (890c) adverbial. The spatial relative clause (890c) can combine a question word with the Result Nominal form (cf. the similar effect in correlative adverbial clauses constructed according to the same pattern).

- (889) a. *tet-in nem-dik nado+ηō-l tamun*
 [you-DAT what-PRED necessary+STAT-SF] that
met-ken ažū jan-mek
 me-PROL word send-TR:2SG
 ‘You send a message about what you need through
 me.’ [F22]
- b. *tā l'e-l ani-pe-ηin kin-tek num-met*
 there be-ANR fish-PL-DAT [who-PRED meet-OF:2PL]
tamun-pe-ηin čumu mon-ηi-k <...>
 that-PL-DAT all say-PL-IMP:2
 ‘To the fishes who live there, to those who you meet,
 say to all of them: ...’ [T1]
- c. *lem-dik anure-me čumu min*
 [what-PRED like-OF:2SG] all take(IMP:2SG)
aduøn kurul-get
 this warehouse-ABL
 ‘Take everything you like from this warehouse!’ [F38]
- (890) a. *kin murdū el'ed'ō-l taη šoromo-gele*
 [who stocking disappear-SF] that person-ACC
šādabut-te-lle čobul-ηin
 [coffin-PRPR:CAUS-SS:PFV] sea-DAT
pejžī-nu-l'el-ηā
 throw-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
 ‘They put the person whose stocking disappeared into
 a wooden coffin and threw him into the sea.’ [F31]
- b. *tamun-get kukkī nodo qodo ann'ā-t*
 that-ABL [cuckoo bird how [speak-SS:IPFV]
šobol'e taη parā-ge lomd'ī-nu-ηi
 cease(ITR:3SG)] that time-LOC shed-IPFV-3PL:INTR
 ‘That is why, at the time when the cuckoo stops
 speaking, (the birds) molt.’ [F5]
- c. *čuge-le joηžu-l'el-u-m qaduon-get*
 way-INSTR forget-INFR-0-TR:3SG [which.place-ABL

tudel ejr-ōl-gele

he walk-RNR-ACC]

'He forgot the way that he had come.' [F31]

Chapter 14

Coreference and discourse coherence

1. Grammaticalized coreference phenomena

1.1. Clause-internal phenomena

1.1.1. Participant reflexivization

The only explicit means of assigning two participant roles in a clause to a single referent is the Reflexive marking on the verb, which is described in 6.4.5.3. The controller of such reflexivization is always the A participant, the target, the O participant. Accordingly, a pronoun in the direct object function can only be non-reflexive.

If a participant other than O is coreferential with the subject, the regular personal pronouns are used, so that only the context can disambiguate reflexive vs. non-reflexive use of a pronoun. The sentences in (891) give examples of reflexively and non-reflexively used Dative personal pronouns. The sentences in (892) illustrate reflexively used personal pronouns in other syntactic positions.

(891) a. *dubegleš tintarj čul'd'i pulut-pe tettil'-pe-gele*
D. that fairy.tale old.man-PL wealth-PL-ACC
čumu tud-in mid'-u-m
all he-DAT take-0-TR:3SG
'Dubeglesh took the whole wealth of those ogres for himself.' [F24]

b. *tud-in ørd'ō-l tude mašl'uø tadi-mele*
he-DAT middle-ANR her daughter give-OF:3SG
'She gave her middle eldest daughter to him.' [F18]

- (892) a. *alhudō-l lebie n'an'ulben-pe-gi ĉumu tittle laḡin*
 [low-ANR] earth sinner-PL-POSS all they AD:DIR
min-ḡā
 take-3PL:TR
 'The sinners from Middle Earth took everything to
 their place.' [F9]
- b. *šāšet aḡd'e-gi loḡde-lle met-ke*
 [now eye-POSS separate-SS:PFV] I-LOC
modo-t
 settle-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'Now I'll take his eye and put it on myself.' [F31]

For reciprocal constructions, see 6.4.5.2, 9.3.2.2.

1.1.2. Possessor reflexivization

The coreference of the Possessor of any participant with the third person subject of the clause is marked by use of the possessive pronoun (in contrast with the bound Possessive marking); see 5.2, 7.1.1.2. The following examples illustrate this kind of reflexivization in various peripheral syntactic positions:

- (893) a. *tude uḡr-pe-get tude šoromon'ul-pe-get jēn*
 his child-PL-ABL his relative-PL-ABL other
šoromo-pul-n'e ĉomo-hote
 person-PL-COM large-SUPERL
el+ann'ā-nunnu
 NEG+speak-HAB(NEG:3SG)
 'Apart his children and his relatives, he never spoke
 loudly with other people.' [K4]
- b. *bojs'e lige-mu-lle terike-gi amd-uo-de*
 [entirely old-INCH-SS:PFV] [wife-POSS die-RNR-POSS
jelāt is' tud'id'ie tāt modo-j tude
 after] long he+INTS so lived-INTR:3SG his
uḡrpe-pul-n'e
 children-PL-COM
 'When he grew very old, after the death of his wife, he

lived alone for a long time, with his children.’ [K4]

- c. *tude emd’e-pul čuge-pe-de-gen*
 [his brother-PL way-PL-POSS-PROL
egužu-lle juø-dege <...>
 walk-ITER-SS:PFV] see-3SG-DS
 ‘He walked along the tracks of his brothers and saw
 ...’
- d. *titte nume-ŋin qanā-ŋi*
 their house-DAT roam-3PL:INTR
 ‘They roamed towards their house.’ [F14]

In one example, the possessive pronoun is apparently controlled by the (dropped) Dative Experiencer (see 9.2.7.1 on the verb pattern involved in this example). Note that the switch reference in the non-finite clause is controlled by the same participant, that is, the subject of the non-finite clause and the Possessor in the finite clause are coreferential (see 1.3.3 on such constructions):

- (894) *kel-delle tude towke an’n’e-l-e*
 [come-SS:PFV] his dog [speak-ANR-INSTR]
medi-s’
 perceivable-PFV:INTR:3SG
 ‘He came and heard his dog barking.’

1.2. Reflexivization and omission in subordination

The general mechanism of Possessor reflexivization can be applied to establish coreference between the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of a Nominal clause or an Attributive Relative clause (see 9.1.2.1). Thus, the use of the possessive pronoun signifies the referential identity of the subject of a subordinate clause with the subject of the matrix clause (895); alternatively, the subject of a subordinate clause can be omitted if it is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (896).¹⁰¹

- (895) a. *irk-in ayd'ej-n'-u-l-ben tude tudā*
 one-ATTR eye-PRPR-0-ANR-RELNR [his that.time
ejr-ōl-gele ørd'ō-l lebie-ge
 walk-RNR-ACC be.middle-ANR earth-LOC]
pundu-l'el-u-m
 tell-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 'The One-eyed one told about how he used to live on
 Middle Earth.' [F31]
- b. *tā modo-j tude ā-mele*
 there live-INTR:3SG [he make-ATTR:3SG]
lebie-ge
 earth-LOC
 'There he lives, on the earth which he has made.' [F31]
- (896) a. *pulut-ki ločil ejmie modo-t čumu*
 [husband-POSS fire across sit-SS:IPFV] all
pundu-m qodo modo-l-ōl-gele, qodo
 tell-TR:3SG [how live-0-RNR-ACC] [how
ejr-ōl-gele
 walk-RNR-ACC]
 'Her husband, sitting at the other side of the campfire,
 told her everything about how he lived, how he
 walked.' [K3]
- b. *tā tine î-de-mle anil-ek*
 there [earlier get.caught-CAUS-ATTR:3SG] fish-PRED
got-tā-l'el-mele
 lie-CAUS-INFR-OF:3SG
 'There he put the fish he had caught before.' [K4]

For more examples, see 9.1.2.1, 11.1.3, 11.3.1.3-11.3.1.4, 11.4. See also 11.1.4, 13.5.1.4 for exceptional (i.e., non-reflexive) use of the possessive pronouns.

1.3. Chain-level phenomena

1.3.1. Summary

1.3.1.1. Switch reference. On the level of clause chains, the major means for marking coreference are the same-subject forms (see 6.1.4, 10.1.1, 12.2.4): if a non-finite clause has the same primary (subject) participant as the controlling clause, a same-subject form must be used. The reverse rule (i.e., the rule which ensures the different-subject marking in a non-finite clause with a primary participant different from that of the controlling one) has some exceptions which are described in this section. Such deviations from the strict subject-oriented switch-reference rules occur if the whole chain can be thought of as having the same topic (although different primary participants are involved in its component clauses); see, for example, the first chain in (897). Most instances of this phenomenon appear to be triggered either by topicalization of the grammatical Possessor (1.3.2) or, less frequently, by the SF marking in the finite clause (1.3.3).

It should be noted that phenomena of this sort are quite predictable in a spoken language with no conventionalized written variety. However, the number of examples that show violations of strict grammatical motivation of switch reference is surprisingly small.

1.3.1.2. Shared participants. If a chain contains a shared participant with a *constant* case role, it can be expressed by one (and only one) NP, i.e., if it is overtly expressed in one clause, it must be dropped in all other clauses of the chain. Normally, such a participant is introduced in the chain-initial clause (10.1.3.3). In a few cases, however, a highly accessible referent is omitted in the initial clause(s) but is expressed by an NP in the finite clause (897). Such a structure appears to be employed to signal a low degree of semantic cohesion between clauses. For instance, in (897) the overt subject NP in the finite clause of the last chain precludes the same-event interpretation (10.2.4.2) of the preceding SS clause, i.e., it indicates that 'discussing' and 'saying' are two separate subsequent events (not two aspects of the same event).

- (897) *tamun ønme-ge l'e-t ani-pe-lek*
 [that mind-LOC be-SS:IPFV] fish-PRED
šaqal'a-š-mele šaqal'a-ŋi-de-ge tāt
 gather-CAUS-OF:3SG \emptyset_i gather-PL-3-DS] CA
mol-l'el <...> n'e+šaqal'ā-delle
 say-INFR(3SG) [\emptyset_i RECP+assemble-SS:PFV] [\emptyset_i
n'ied'i-t ani-pe mol-l'el-ŋi
 speak-SS:IPFV] [fish-PL say-INFR-3PL:INTR]
 'With that in mind, he gathered the fishes_i. When
 they_i gathered, he said: ... The fishes_i gathered,
 discussed it and said: ...' [T1]

In the linear chains, shared participants with *non-constant case role* are treated in the same way as in sequences of finite clauses (10.1.3.1, 2.1.1); in the nesting structure, the shared participant is obligatorily omitted in the embedded clause (10.1.3.1).

1.3.2. Possessor as a controller of switch reference

If the primary participant of a non-finite clause is referentially identical with the grammatical Possessor of the primary participant of the controlling finite clause, an SS form (most often, the Imperfective converb) can be used instead of the expected DS form:

- (898) a. *mit emd'e tamun juø-t ibil'e-gi*
 [our brother that see-SS:IPFV] cry-ANR:POSS
šobol'e-j
 stop-INTR:3SG
 'Our brother saw it and his crying stopped.' [K5]
- b. *tamun molho oqonastie pulut*
 [that IN A. old.man
jeŋžōd'e-n'-u-t jaqte-gi
 dream-PRPR-0-SS:IPFV] song-POSS
medū-nu-l
 perceivable-IPFV-SF
 'Amid that (noise), the old man Afanasiy is sleeping

with dreams, and his song is being heard.’ [K4]

- c. **nodo-pe** *n’e+šørile-š-u-t*
 [bird-PL RECP+paint-PRPR:CAUS-0-SS:IPFV]
gudel’e-t kus’-pe-gi
 [prepare-SS:IPFV] free.time-PL-POSS
oj-l’e
 NEG-be(NEG:3SG)
 ‘The birds painted each other, prepared themselves,
 they had no free time.’ [F5]

The converse situation (the subject of the controlling finite clause is the grammatical Possessor of the subject of a non-finite clause) may also involve SS marking:

- (899) a. **ūle** *legul-pe-gi oj-l’e-t*
 some [food-PL-POSS NEG-be-SS:IPFV]
el+legi-te-nu-l’el-ŋi
 NEG+eat-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘Some of them had no food (lit. their food being absent), so they did not feed him.’ [F9]
- b. **ninge-j nodo-k šaqal’ā-l’el-ŋi-l**
 many-ATTR bird-PRED gather-INFR-3PL-SF
n’ied’i-gi medī-t
 [talk-ANR:POSS perceivable-SS:IPFV]
 ‘Many birds have gathered, their conversation is heard.’ [F5]

In contrast with the coreference of primary participants, the coreference with the grammatical Possessor does not require SS marking, i.e., DS marking is also quite possible in this situation:

- (900) a. **tittel** *uŋžōd’e jaqa-ŋi-de-ge uŋžōd’e molho*
 [they bedding arrive-PL-3-DS] bedding IN
terike-p-ki uørpe-p-ki amd-ō-t
 wife-PL-POSS children-PL-POSS [die-RES-SS:IPFV]
qodō-l’el-ŋi
 lie-INFR-3PL:INTR
 ‘They came closer to the bedding, their wives and

children lay there dead.’ [F21]

- b. *irk-id'e šoromo-p-ki emd'e-p-ki*
 [one-ITER person-PL-POSS younger.sibling-PL-POSS
juobī numø jekl'ie-n kewe-j-ŋi-de-ge tiŋ
 in.forest house behind-PROL go-PFV-PL-3-DS] this
aleksej-die pul'd'egej-l'el
 A.-DIM untie.onself-INFR(3SG)
 ‘Once his relatives, his younger brothers went to the
 forest for hunting, this Alexej untied himself.’

The ability of the grammatical Possessor to control switch reference marking is apparently related to topicalization by means of the Possessive marking (see 8.2.2.2): SS marking is used if the clauses have the same topic (which functions as the subject in one clause and as the Possessor of the subject in the other). This account is supported by the fact that the Possessor serves as the controller of switch reference only if the subject is represented by an inanimate NP ((898c), (899b)), often by a Nominal verb form ((898a)-(898b), (899a)), i.e., by an NP which can hardly be conceived as the topic of its clause. If both primary participants related as the grammatical Possessor and the Possessed are animate, the DS form is normally used; see (900).

1.3.3. Different-subject chains with Focus

Normally, the S-Focus participant of the finite clause controls switch reference. Chains with shared S Focus are described in 12.2.4. The following examples show that if the subject of a non-finite clause is different from the S Focus of the controlling finite clause, a DS form is used:

- (901) a. *tāt pod'erqo-me modo-ŋi-de-ge purk-in*
 [CA day-TMP sit-PL-3-DS] seven-ATTR
čūl'd'ī pulut-pe-lek kel-ŋi-l
 fairy.tale old.man-PL-PRED come-3PL-SF
 ‘They were sitting there in the daytime, and seven
 ogres came.’ [F24]

- b. *aqa juø-l-u-ge šoromo-die-k*
 [suddenly see-1|2-0-DS] person-DIM-PRED
ohoq jekl'ie-t jed-ej-l
 kitchen.range behind-ABL be.visible-PFV-SF
 'Suddenly I saw that a small human being appeared
 from behind the kitchen range.' [K2]
- c. *numø-ge jaqa-din l'e-de-ge numø-get*
 [house-LOC arrive-SUP be-3SG-DS] house-ABL
jaqte-lek medū-l
 song-PRED be.heard-SF
 'When he was approaching the house, a song was
 heard from that house.' [F13]
- d. *čoqočo-ge arpaj-ŋi-de-ge irk-in lūs'i-n*
 [hill-LOC rise-PL-3-DS] one-ATTR Russian-ATTR
numø-k ohō-l'el-u-l
 house-PRED stand-INFR-0-SF
 'When they climbed the hill, there appeared to be a
 wooden house.' [F21]
- e. *tā qol-l-u-ke anda mit kieje irk-in*
 [there go-1|2-0-DS] here we before one-ATTR
čomōlbed-ek kew-ej-l
 elk-PRED go-PFV-SF
 'When we were walking around there, an elk passed
 (went away) right in front of us.'

Note that due to the properties of the SS chains with shared Focus (12.2.4), DS marking is in fact not needed, since the very fact that the Focus NP is placed within the final finite clause is enough of an indication that it is not coreferential with the primary participant of the non-finite clause. However, the general rule of switch reference requires DS marking in such constructions.

On the other hand, there are few examples where this rule is violated, i.e., an SS form occurs in the non-finite clause with a primary participant different from the S-Focus participant of the finite clause.

- (902) a. *jaqa-delle* *āj qan'il-ek* *igie-l'el-u-l*
 [arrive-SS:PFV] CP eagle-PRED get.caught-INFR-0-SF
 'When he came (to the snare), it appeared that again
 (an/the) eagle had been caught.' [F19]
- b. *d'e tāt čuŋže-j-delle* *jaqadās'e-p-lek*
 [DP CA think-PFV-SS:PFV] horse-PL-PRED
šøŋ-ŋi-l
 enter-3PL-SF
 'Well, when he thought so, horses came in.' [F45]

Such constructions appear to be possible if the subject of the non-finite clause is a highly topical entity which serves as the primary participant of the next clause (following the finite clause of the given chain). It may be hypothesized that the use of the SS form indicates that this entity is the topic for the whole chain. However, such examples are too rare for any definitive conclusions.

2. Paragraph-level phenomena

2.1. Referent tracking

2.1.1. Entities

The following options are available for reference to an aforementioned entity:

- I. a. \emptyset (zero anaphora, or pronoun drop).
 - b. Cross-reference (agreement) markers on verbs (for primary participants only; see 6.1.1.1 for cross-reference marking in finite verb forms, 6.1.4.1, for DS converbs, 6.1.2.1 for Passive Attributive forms, 9.1.2.1 for the Possessive marking of primary participants in nominal and relative clauses).
- II. Possessive markers on NPs (for third person referents only, see 5.2 for the anaphoric function of the Possessive markers, 7.3 for the Possessive forms of postpositions).
- III. Personal pronouns (7.1.1, 7.1.2.2.2).

- IV. Demonstrative pronoun: *tamun* ‘it/he/she’, *tamun-pe* ‘they’ (7.1.2.2.2, 12.3.2.3).
- V. NP with a simple demonstrative modifier *taŋ* or *tiŋ* (7.1.2.2.2);
- VI. NP with the special modifier *tintaŋ* for aforementioned entities (7.1.2.2.2).

The choice between options (Ia) and (Ib) is determined by the syntactic role assigned to the entity. Subjects are often dropped (as illustrated by virtually all examples in this grammar), but this drop is obligatorily compensated by some variant of bound cross-reference marking (see (Ib)). The following examples illustrate the omission of the object participant, which is not cross-referenced within the clause by any morpheme:

- (903) a. *ūle omnī legi-te-nu-l’el-ŋā*
 some people eat-CAUS-IPFV-INFR-3PL:TR
 ‘Some people fed (him).’ [F1]
- b. *šuke-die tāt eskerī-l’-ie-l’el-u-m*
 pike-DIM CA attack-0-INGR-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 ‘The pike attacked (him).’ [T1]

An argument of a postposition, if omitted, must be represented by the Possessive marker on the postposition (8.5.1):

- (904) a. *čomo+čohojo-gi al’-de-ge godō-j*
 big+knife-POSS AD-POSS-LOC lie-INTR:3SG
 ‘His lance was lying next to him.’ [F49]
- b. *tā molho-de-ge šøj-l’el*
 there IN-POSS-LOC enter-INFR(3SG)
 ‘He entered inside it.’ [F44]

The Possessive marking on one constituent can serve to represent another (dropped) participant of the same situation, i.e., an obligatory participant that is not referred to explicitly tends to be interpreted as referentially identical to the entity represented by a Possessive marker within the same clause (or clause-chain):

- (905) a. *qāqā-gi* *mid'-u-m*
 grandfather-POSS take-0-TR:3SG
 'His_i grandfather took (him_i).'
- b. *legul-pe-gi* *ādelle* *tadī-gi* *nado*
 [[food-PL-POSS make-SS:PFV] give-POSS] necessary
 'It is necessary to make and give (them_i) their_i
 food.' [F9]

Generally, the options outlined under I through VI above can be viewed as a hierarchy reflecting the accessibility of the referent (topic continuity). However, at least two other factors are in play. First, if the participant role assigned to the entity changes in the given clause, it is likely to be referred to by an overt NP. If the role changes from non-primary to primary, a lexical NP is likely to be chosen:

- (906) *tabun-ge tintay nume-n'e-l pulut*
 that-LOC that house-PRPR-ANR old.man
mon-i tude mašl'uø-ŋin "tit kenme
 say-INTR:3SG his daughter-DAT your friend
šej-re-j-ŋi-k" tintay ataq-un
 enter-CAUS-PFV-PL-IMP:2 | that two-ATTR
pajpe-d + uør-pe pude
 woman-ATTR+child-PL outside
puguže-j-ŋi
 run.out-PFV-3PL:INTR
 'Then that old man, the owner of the house, said to his daughters_i: "Bring your friend inside!" Those two girls_i ran outside.' [F14]

If the primary participant of the previous clause is assigned a non-primary role in the given clause, it is likely to be referred to by a pronoun:

- (907) *omnī-n + čomōd'e-pul-ge tud-in*
 family-ATTR+elder-PL-LOC [he-DAT
gamie-d'ā-nunnu-l šoromo-p-lek lie-nunnu-ŋil
 help-DETR-HAB-ANR] person-PL-PRED be-HAB-3PL-SF

titt-in omnī-n+čomōd'e mon-to-j <...>
 | they-DAT family-ATTR+elder say-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'Each elder of a family used to have people who helped
 him. The elder of family would say to them: ...' [K1]

Secondly, the choice of one or another option can be influenced by the degree of coherence between clauses: if the situation described by the given clause does not belong to a coherent sequence of actions, its participants are likely to be referred to overtly. This effect is illustrated by the following example, where the entity introduced by an NP in the first clause is represented by the personal pronoun in clauses involving some slight "gaps" in discourse coherence (shift to a "background description" in clause [2] and back to the sequence of imperative sentences in [4]), and by zero otherwise, although its accessibility clearly remains the same in all clauses.

(908) *oqil'l'ā qon-gen!* *tudel ninge-j*
 [1] perch go-IMP:3SG [2] he [many-ATTR]
šoromo-gi oj-l'e \emptyset *čā-je*
 person-POSS NEG-be(NEG:3SG) [3] he [few-ATTR]
šoromo-n'-i *tudel qon-gen,* \emptyset
 person-PRPR-INTR:3SG [4] he go-IMP:3SG [5] he
āžū jannul-gele joq-to-gen
 word message-ACC arrive-CAUS-IMP:3SG
 'Let the perch go! He does not have a large family,
 (he) has a small family. Let him go and bring the
 message.' [T1]

A detailed description of these factors is outside the scope of this grammar. See also 7.1.2.2.2, 12.3.2.3 on the difference between the demonstrative and personal pronouns.

2.1.2. Situations

The major means of referring to a previously described situation within a clause describing another situation are nominal demonstrative pronouns (7.1.2.2.3); the pronoun *tabun* ~ *tamun* 'that' can replace Nominal clauses in the complement function (909a) and in the adverbial function (909b):

- (909) a. *tabun medī-delle n'atlebie pulut pude*
 [that hear-SS:PFV] partridge old.man outside
layi puguže-s'
 AD:DIR run.out-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'The old male partridge heard this and ran out.' [F33]
- b. *tabun-get tī l'e-l šoromo čumu*
 that-ABL [here be-ANR] person all
čajka-die+ηōt gude-l'el-ŋi
 gull-DIM+TRNSF become-INTR-3PL:INTR
 'Because of this, all the people who were here turned
 into gulls.' [F31]

The Locative form of this demonstrative has a function which cannot be derived from the meanings of the constituent morphemes: it is regularly used in order to indicate that the situation described by the given clause is a reaction to the actions of another participant, most often, to utterances or requests:

- (910) a. *ibil'e-t olmon čel'užu-j. tamun-ge*
 [cry-SS:IPFV] right weep-INTR:3SG | that-LOC
tintaŋ nume-n'e-l pulut mon-i <...>
 that [house-PRPR-ANR] old.man say-INTR:3SG
 'She was crying, even weeping. In reaction to this, that
 owner of the house said: ...' [F14]
- b. "*met-in tet čolhoro-get qarte-k*"
 I-DAT your hare-ABL share-IMP:2SG
mon-i tamun-ge tantaŋ pulut
 say-INTR:3SG | that-LOC that old.man
ejmunde-gi tadī-mele
 half-POSS give-OF:3SG
 "Share your hare with me!" she said. In response, the
 old man gave her a half of it.' [F15]

The situation just described can also be resumed in the next clause by the combination of the connective adverb *tāt* (see 7.1.2.2.4) and the verb *l'e-* 'be' (911a)-(911b) or, less frequently, *ā-* 'make' (911c) or *kude-* 'become' (912).¹⁰²

The expressions *tāt+l'e-* and *tāt+ā-* normally take the form of the initial clause in a clause chain and establish a link between the preceding finite clause and the rest of the chain. The switch-reference markers thus indicate whether the subject of the *preceding* finite clause is similar to or different from that of the next clause:

- (911) a. *tabun-gele ostōl-ge ege-te-m*
 that-ACC table-LOC stand-CAUS-TR:3SG |
tāt+l'e-lle *āj šøjl+ŋōn kude-j*
 [CA+bc-SS:PFV] CP stone+TRNSF become-INTR:3SG
 'He put it on to the table. Then he turned into stone again.' [F26]
- b. *irk-id'e los'il-ek šaqal'e-š-mele*
 one-ITER fire.wood-PRED gather-CAUS-OF:3SG
numø-ge tāt+l'e-de-ge pulut
 house-LOC | [CA+be-3SG-DS] old.man
kie-s'
 come-INTR:3SG
 'Once he was gathering fire-wood at home. Then an old man came.' [F28]
- c. *tāt āt ejre-t lebie-gen*
 [CA make-SS:IPFV] [walk-SS:IPFV] earth-PROL
tī+tā eris' met+mōj-s'e end'ōd-ek
 here+there [badly REFL+hold-ATTR] animal
nodo-pe-lek juø-ŋile
 bird-PL-PRED see-3PL:OF
 'Doing this, walking along the earth, here and there they saw animals and birds that kept themselves badly.' [F9]

The expression *tāt kude-* (*tāt gude-*) is most often used as a Nominal clause:

- (912) *tit tāt gudie-l-ōl-gele qoɟl aɟī*
 [you CA become-0-RNR-ACC] God CP
juø-te-m
 see-FUT-TR:3SG
 ‘God will see that you have done this.’ [K4]

See also Section 3 on the connective function of the form *tāt*. Note that these means of referring to a previously described situation are generally not applied if the main predicate of the given sentence is the same as in a preceding clause (for this case, see 2.2).

2.2. Links between same-type situations

There are several grammatical means to combine or to establish an explicit link between clauses referring to semantically similar situations, i.e., situations which can be signified by means of the same verb (in a particular case, between clauses describing the same referential situation). Such a link can be established either by means of a connective particle (2.2.1-2.2.2) or by using a single verb form for both situations (2.2.3).

2.2.1. The connective particle $\bar{a}j \sim a\bar{j}i$ ‘too, again, still’

The particle $\bar{a}j$ is employed to link a clause to a clause referring to a (semantically) similar situation, most often signified by the same verb. In the simplest case, the situations linked by means of this particle are just two occurrences of the same situation, with the same sets of participants. In this case the particle can be glossed as ‘again’ (if the clause describes the second occurrence of the situation, (913), (914)) or ‘too’ (if it describes the first occurrence (914)). The clauses involved need not be adjacent (e.g., in (913a) two instances of the particle refer back to two different preceding clauses). The particle takes the preverbal position:

- (913) a. *tamun-ge taŋ pulut āj mežže-j-delle āj*
 [that-LOC that old.man CP awake-PFV-SS:PFV] CP
ørn'e-rī-l'ie-nu-l'el-u-m
 shout-APPL-0-INGR-IPFV-INFR-0-TR:3SG

‘In reaction to this, the old man woke up again and began to shout at it (the dog) again.’

- b. *pulut, pulut, āj kimdān'e-jek*
 old.man old.man CP lie-INTR:2SG
 ‘Old man, old man, you are cheating again.’ [F19]

If such clauses are adjacent, the particle can occur in both of them (914a). Note that the linear order of the clauses can be reversed with respect to the temporal order of the situations (914b):

- (914) a. *d'e taŋ jeklie āj ejr-ū'i sobenn'i āj*
 DP that behind CP walk-INTR:1PL | today CP
ejr-ū'i
 walk-INTR:1PL
 ‘Well, we walked beforehand, too, and we walked again today.’
- b. *mit emd'e āj ibil'ie-j, <...>*
 our younger.sibling CP cry-INGR-INTR:3SG
t̄ine lebejdī šaqal'e-š-u-t t̄ā āj
 [this.time berries gather-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV] there CP
ibil'ie-nu-j-bed-ek
 cry-IPFV-ATTR-RELN-PRD
 ‘Our younger brother began to cry again ... Before, while gathering berries, he had cried, too.¹⁰³’

The same particle can link clauses describing similar situations with *distinct* sets of involved participants. The examples in (915) illustrate the case where the situations differ in one participant slot. In (916), the participants are rearranged with respect to their roles in the situation. If the NP representing the changed participant is not adjacent to the verb form, the particle normally takes the postnominal position (916b) (otherwise, the preverbal and postnominal positions cannot be distinguished). If this NP is marked as the grammatical Focus, the particle takes the prenominal position (see (915d), (919a)).¹⁰⁴

- (915) a. *ōžī el+jūke l'e-t-i kind'e pod'erqo*
 water NEG+far be-FUT-INTR:3SG | moon light
āj l'e-t-i
 CP be-FUT-INTR:3SG
 'The water will not be far, and there will be moonlight too.' [F3]
- b. *momušā tude lukil-e mid'-u-m*
 M. his arrow-INSTR take-0-TR:3SG |
šūke-die āj tude lukil-e mid'-u-m
 pike-DIM CP his arrow-INSTR take-0-TR:3SG
 'Momusha took his arrows, and the pike took his arrows too.' [F6]
- c. *terikie-die kurul-ŋin qon-delle tintan šoqī-gele*
 [woman-DIM barn-DIM go-SS:PFV] [that bag-ACC
kes'ī-delle tadī-m jaqadās'e-gele āj
 bring-SS:PFV] give-TR:3SG | horse CP
tadī-m
 give-TR:3SG
 'The old woman went to the barn, brought and gave him the bag, and she gave the horse too.' [F19]
- d. *tā irk-in numø omni-ge irk-in*
 there one-ATTR house people-LOC one-ATTR
marqil'-ek l'e-l'el-u-l irk-in numø
 girl-PRED be-INFR-0-SF | one-ATTR house
omni-ge āj irk-in kōj-k l'e-l'el-u-l
 people-LOC CP one-ATTR boy-PRED be-INFR-0-SF
 'There was a girl in one family, and there was a boy in one family, too.' [F35]
- (916) a. *noŋōn mit-ul tāt ahurpe-š-mek tet āj*
 why we-ACC CA suffer-CAUS-TR:2SG | you CP
ahurpe-jek?
 suffer-INTR:2SG
 'Why do you make us suffer, and suffer yourself, too.' [K3]

- b. *tudel āj met-ket joule-d'ā-j met āj*
 he CP I-ABL ask-DETR-INTR:3SG | I CP
joule-s' <...>
 ask-TR(TR:1SG)
 'He asked me, I asked him too ...' [K4]

In a few cases, this particle establishes a link between a finite clause and a non-finite clause within the same sentence:

- (917) a. *īs' jaqte-de-ge kužū-ge tuča-get āj*
 [long song-3SG-DS] sky-LOC cloud-ABL CP
jaqt-ā-j irk-in paj
 sing-INGR-INTR:3SG one-ATTR woman
 'She sang long, and on the sky, from a cloud another
 woman began to sing, too.' [F41]
- b. *titte numø-n'ōl-ge āj*
 [they house-PRPR-RNR-LOC] CP
n'uboje-n'e-ŋi
 awning-PRPR-3PL:INTR
 'Where they had the house, they had an awning
 too.' [F54]

The variant *ajī* is used if the clause does not describe another occurrence of a situation, but the same protracted situation (which is thereby marked to take place still, although the time reference has changed). The variant *āj* can occur in this case as well. In this context, the particle can be glossed as 'still' or 'yet', depending on whether the clause is positive or negative:

- (918) a. *āj modo-jek? āj el+amde-jek?*
 CP live-INTR:2SG CP NEG+die-INTR:2SG
 'Do you still live? Haven't you died yet?' [F31]
- b. *tudel numø-ge ajī el+l'aqa*
 he house-LOC CP NEG+arrive(NEG:3SG)
 'He has not come home yet.'
- c. *met lebejdī-k ajī ūjī-me*
 I berries-PRED CP work-OF:1SG
 'I was still gathering berries.' [T2]

In transitive clauses, the variant *ajī* can mean ‘more’ (with the scope over the O participant), in contrast with *āj* (which can only mean ‘too’ in similar contexts). Note that the meanings ‘still’ and ‘more’ can be distinguished by means of the linear position of the particle, cf. (918c) and (919a). If the construction involves quantifier floating (8.3), the particle is placed before the quantifier (919c).¹⁰⁵

- (919) a. *ajī lebejdī-lek šaqal'e-š-u-l*
 CP berries-PRED gather-CAUS-0-OF:1PL
 ‘(Then) we gathered more berries.’ [T2]
- b. *tamun lajin met kene-pe ajī*
 that AD:DIR my friend-PL CP
ik-čī-ηā
 get.caught-CAUS:ITER-3PL:TR
 ‘By that time, my friends caught more (fish).’ [K5]
- c. *met āj čumuč-ie-je ajī ningō*
 I CP fish-INGR-INTR:1SG | CP many
ī-de-j
 get.caught-CAUS-TR:1PL
 ‘I began to fish too, we have caught much more.’ [K5]

2.2.2. The connective particle *-de ~ -te*

The enclitic *-de ~ -te* (the latter variant occurs after voiceless consonants) establishes a rather loose and semantically nonspecific link (‘and, too’) with the immediately preceding clause. It is attached to the first word of the clause (even if it is an NP modifier; see (920a), (920b)).

- (920) a. *taη jalhil ninge-j ani-n'ā-l'el*
 that lake many-ATTR fish-PRPR-INFR(3SG) |
nodo-n'ā-l'el jēn+de čomō-d'e
 bird-PRPR-INFR(3SG) | other+CP [big-ATTR]
lebie-n end'ōn ninge-l'el
 earth-ATTR animal many-INFR(3SG)
 ‘There were many fishes and birds on/in that lake.

And other animals, big terrestrial animals, were numerous too.'

- b. *ninge-j+de* *uø-n'e-j-ben*
 [many-ATTR]+CP child-PRPR-ATTR-RELNR
ō-d'uod-ek
 COP-SBNR-PRED
 '(He was a good hunter). And he had many children
 (lit. he was a person with many children).' [K4]
- c. *id'ī+de* *mer-ujī-t* *eg-užu-j*
 now + CP [fly-ITER-SS:IPFV] walk-ITER-INTR:3SG
 'Now, too, she is flying around.' [F7]

This particle can also function as a sort of contrastive marker, i.e., it contrasts the clause to some implied presupposition ('even'). In this function, this particle is attached to the constituent it focuses (921c). It is often combined with an intensifier (921a)-(921b).

- (921) a. *met-ul jan* *met+id'ie+de* *čurud'ā*
 I-ACC send | I+INTS+CP slowly
jaqa-te-je
 arrive-FUT-INTR:1SG
 'Let me go, I will somehow arrive by myself (without a guide).' [T1]
- b. *samuj mit-ek+te* *kel-te-l* *erpeje-pul-n'e*
 self we-PRED+CP come-FUT-SF [Even-PL-COM
n'ied'ī-lle *āče-le* *min-delle*
 speak-SS:PFV] [deer-INSTR take-SS:PFV]
 'We ourselves will come too, having agreed with Evens,
 having taken the deer.' [K1]
- c. *mikolaj-die jukō-d'on-get+te*
 N-DIM small-SBNR-ABL+CP
nuø-l'-ie-nunnu-j
 laugh-0-INGR-HAB-INTR:3SG |
čeni-l'-ie-nunnu-m
 ridicule-0-INGR-HAB-TR:3SG
 'Nikolaj used to start laughing even at something

small, he used to make fun (of people).’ [K4]

In a few examples, the particle is used in several successive clauses:

- (922) a. *anil+de l'e-j čül+de l'e-j*
 fish+CP be-INTR:3SG | meat-CP be-INTR:3SG
 ‘There were both fish and meat.’
- b. *tabud-e tāt modo-j čobul-ge+de*
 that-INSTR CA live-INTR:3SG | sea-LOC-CP
l'e-j unuŋ-ge+de l'e-j
 be-INTR:3SG | river-LOC+CP be-INTR:3SG |
jalhil-ge+de l'e-j
 lake-LOC+CP be-INTR:3SG
 ‘That is why it lives so, in the sea, and in rivers, and
 in lakes.’ [T1]

See also 2.2.3 for use of this particle in constructions with a shared finite verb.

2.2.3. Shared finite verb forms

Two same-type situations with different sets of participants can be described by a single finite verb. There are two types of such constructions, NP conjunction and omission of the second verb form.

The first type involves NP conjunction either by means of asyndeton or by means of the connective adverb *tāhile*, see 8.4.2-8.4.3.¹⁰⁶ Note that the ordinary NP conjunction, as described in 8.4.2-8.4.3, is available only if the sets of participants involved in the same-type situations differ only in one slot. Otherwise, the connective particle *-de ~ -te* must be used on each of the conjoined NPs:

- (923) *end'ōn-ge+de šoromo-ge+de uøŋō-d'e*
 animal-LOC+CP person-LOC+CP young-ATTR
šoromo-pul marqil'-pe+de adil-pe+de
 people-PL girl-PL+CP boy-PL+CP
omo-čōn-pe+de mieben-d'ōn+pe qayide
 good-SBNR-PL+CP nice-SBNR+PL where:DIR

gon-ŋi-t?

go-3PL-FUT(NEG:3SG)

‘Both among animals and among human beings young people, both girls and boys, good and nice, where will they go? (= there are some).’ [K1]

The second construction type consists of a complete clause followed by a clause without finite verb. The latter must contain either the Focus NP (924) or the connective particle *āj* ‘too, also’ (925), or both (926). Such examples occur very rarely; generally, the preferred option is to repeat the verb.

- (924) a. *irk-in qār-ek nienu-mle ataq-un tuis*
 one-ATTR skin-PRED ask-OF:3SG | two-ATTR basket
lebie-k irk-in jiereme šāl-ek
 earth-PRED | one-ATTR log wood-PRED
 ‘He asked for one skin, two baskets of earth (soil), one log of wood.’ [F31]

- b. *qarbas-e ile-pul ūjī-nu-l’el-ŋile*¹⁰⁷
 karbass-INSTR some-PL work-IPFV-INFR-3PL:OF |
ile-pul anabuskā-k
 some-PL dugout-PRED
 ‘Some of them made karbasses, others, dugout boats.’ [K1]

- (925) a. *ōžī nodo pierī tude čomōl-e al’bu-l’el*
 water bird wing his will-INSTR fade-INFR(3SG) |
niŋie-pe-de pugelbie āj
 body-PL-POSS:ATTR feather CP
 ‘The wings of waterfowl faded by themselves, the feathers on the bodies, too.’ [F5]

- b. *met palā-jōn ō-d’e er-čōn-get*
 I escape-SBNR cop-INTR:1SG bad-SBNR-ABL
ninge-l’id’e amde-l-get āj
 many-ITER | die-ANR-ABL CP
 ‘I have escaped from bad things many times, from death, too.’ [F31]

c. *mit laŋde-t uøŋō-d'e koj-pe marqil'-pe*
 our side-ABL child-STAT-ATTR boy-PL girl-PL
l'ie-l'el-ŋi titte laŋde-t āj
 be-INTR-3PL:INTR | their side-ABL CP
 'On our side, there were young boys and girls, on their
 side, too.' [K1]

- (926) *mieste-p-ki ūj-mele ahid-ō-t*
 place-PL-POSS work-OF:3SG [hide-RES-SS:IPFV
l'e-p-tin er-čōn-get ūle-ŋin todī-k
 be-PL-SUP bad-SBNR-ABL] | other-DAT teeth-PRED
čomō-d'e ud'il'e-k nodo-ŋin āj pierī-k
 [big-ATTR] claw-PRED | bird-DAT CP wing-PRED
mer-uj-pe-din jōbī ejre-p-tin
 [fly-ITER-PL-DAT] [in.forest walk-PL-POSS]
ōžī-ge ejre-p-tin
 [water-LOC walk-PL-SUP]
 'He made places for them, to be hidden from bad
 things, for others, teeth and big claws, for birds, wings,
 for them to fly, to walk in the forest and in the
 water.' [F9]

3. Connective adverbials

There are several items derived from the demonstrative stem *tā* (see 7.1.2.1-7.1.2.2), which can be employed to establish an explicit link between two finite clauses (or clause chains). These items are generally clause-initial. This link is rather loose; in fact, there is no principled way to decide whether the resulting sequence of clauses can be taken to represent "one sentence". Note that the items in question cannot be considered "coordinators", since they are occasionally involved in clause chains (see Chapter 10) as well.

This section gives an exemplified list of such items with some brief semantic comments.

- *tāhile* ~ *tāčile* 'then, and' (see 8.4.3 for its use for NP conjunction).

- (927) a. *tāt ul'egerā-k jelde-l tāčile ninge-j*
 CA straw-PRED pick-OF:1PL | CA {many-ATTR
lebejdī-n'e-j mieste laḡin gon-d'īl'i
 berries-PRPR-ATTR] place AD:DIR go-INTR:1PL
 'Then we picked some straw and went towards a place
 where there were many berries.' [T2]
- b. *tāt ūjs'ī-gele tud-in nie-l'el-u-m*
 CA worker-ACC he-DAT call-INFR-0-TR:3SG
urasā-ḡin tāhile mol-l'el <...>
 tent-DAT | then say-INFR(3SG)
 'Then he called the worker to his tent and said:
 ...' [F50]
- c. *jerčebā šørile-š-telle tet-ul tās'ile*
 [duck paint-CAUS-SS:PFV] you-ACC then
šørile-š-u-t
 paint-CAUS-0-FUT(TR:1SG)
 'Having painted the duck, I will then paint you.' [F5]

- *tāt* 'then, so, thus'. Morphologically, this is the Ablative adverbial pro-form ('from there', see 7.1.2.2.4). It can be used as a nonspecific connective adverbial which makes explicit the temporal sequence of events ('then, so'), or presents the event described by the given clause as a part of a coherent sequence of events. This is the most common connective adverb (note that it is present in almost all examples in this grammar).

- (928) a. *parnā qahie-le šørile-š-u-t*
 crow loon-INSTR [paint-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV]
čeme-re-j-m tāt parnā mon-i
 finish-CAUS-PFV-TR:3SG | CA crow say-INTR:3SG
qahiel-ḡin <...>
 loon-DAT
 'The crow finished painting the loon. Then the crow
 said to the loon: ...' [F5]
- b. *tintan šøḡi-gele el+l'uø+čuøḡn paja-j-m*
 that bag-ACC [NEG+see-PRV] carry-PFV-TR:3SG |

tāt numø-ge jaqa-delle mon-i <...>
 [CA house-LOC arrive-SS:PFV] say-INTR:3SG
 'He put that bag on his back without having a look at it. Then he came home and said: ...' [F19]

- *tañniger* ~ *tañnugi* 'then'. This item appears to bring about the implicational (conditional) semantics, that is, the previous clause is taken to describe a pre-condition for the situation described by the given clause. As a result, the item tends to occur with Future verb forms:

(929) a. *qollume emej+tañ-pe kel-ñi-te-j*
 soon mother+that-PL come-3PL-FUT-INTR |
tañniger kewe-j-t-ā'i numø-ñin
 CA go-PFV-FUT-INTR:1PL house-DAT
 'Mother and the others will come soon, then we will go home.' [K5]

b. *qollume lebie omos' jede-j-te-j*
 soon earth well visible-PFV-FUT-INTR:3SG |
tañnugi čumu omos' ā-te-j
 CA all well make-FUT-TR:1PL
 'The earth will become visible well soon, then we'll make everything well. [F9]

- *tañdēt* 'this way'. This item presents signals that the previous clause describes how the action referred to by the given clause is/was was performed:

(930) a. *pierī-le ūja-j-m tañdēt*
 wing-INSTR work-PFV-TR:3SG | this.way
merie-s'
 fly-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'She flapped, and flew away this way.' [F7]

b. *tāt arnūjā-die pukel'e-ge čahiže-j tañdiet*
 CA glutton-DIM snow-LOC roll-INTR:3SG | this.way
omol-be-j
 good-INCH-INTR:3SG

'Then the glutton rolled in the snow, and recovered this way.' [F17]

- *tahane tit* 'but, however, nevertheless'. The item *tahane* is attested only in the context of the concessive particle *tit* (see 10.4):

- (931) a. *tāt juø-din erd'ie-t tī+tā*
 [CA [see-SUP] want-SS:IPFV] here+there
ege-de-nnu-j tahane tit
 peeped-DETR-HAB-INTR:3SG | CONC
n'e-leme-le el+juø
 NEG+what-INSTR NEG+see(NEG:3SG)
 'He wanted to see (it) and peeped constantly here and there. However, he saw nothing.' [F23]
- b. *tudel ataq-lid'e ørd'ō-l lebie lajin*
 he two-ITER be.middle-ANR earth DIR
tī-t jolo-hude jōdā-l'el tahane
 here-ABL back-DIR go.back-INFR(3SG) |
tit el+jaqa-nu-l'el
 CONC NEG+achieve-IPFV-INFR(NEG:3SG)
 'He went back from here towards Middle earth twice. However, he never reached it.' [F31]
- c. *met-kele tol'či-t molind'āt*
 [I-ACC push-SS:IPFV] almost
el+kud-de-ŋi minne tahane tit
 NEG+kill-NONIT-3PL:INTR DP | RSMP CONC
met čumu kude-s'i
 I all kill-ITER(TR:3SG)
 'They pushed me and nearly killed me. However, I killed all (of them).'

Appendix 1

Vocabulary

This appendix is intended to present the “core” Yukaghir vocabulary. In addition, an attempt was made to include all lexical items that occur in illustrative examples used in this book.

Verbs are given in 3SG main forms; the inflectional markers are separated by ‘.’.

Part-of-speech labels

<i>adv</i> adverb	<i>n</i> noun
<i>det</i> determiner	<i>num</i> numeral
<i>indef</i> indefinite	<i>part</i> particle
<i>inter</i> interrogative	<i>postp</i> postposition
<i>interj</i> interjection	<i>pron</i> pronoun
<i>loc adv</i> locative adverb	<i>v</i> verb
<i>mod</i> modifier	

Symbols

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ~ replaces the headword of an entry | – before a part-of-speech label indicates a word derived by conversion. |
| ▶ derivative(s) section of an entry | |
| ■ compound(s) section of an entry | [...] alternative form of a stem |
| • idiom(s) section of an entry | ⇒... See ... |

a, ā

ā·m *v* do, make.*abudā·j* *v* lie down; go to bed.▶ *~š·um* *v* CAUS.*abut* *n* 1. cover; case; box. 2. den; nest.*āče* *n* domestic deer.*ad·i* *v* be strong; hard; firm.▶ *~i* *adv* strongly, firmly, solidly.
~ilu·mu·j *v* INCH. *~ul·be·j* *v*
INCH. *~ule·d·um* *v* CAUS.*adi·ŋ* *det* [*ediŋ*] this, that (remote)
⇒ 7.1.2.1-2. ▶ *ad-ā* *adv* there
(remote); *ad-uŋ* *pron* this one,
that one.*adie·m* *v* bark at (of hunting dog).*adil* *n* boy, young man.■ *ad-uŋ* *n* son.*ahī* *adv* in secret. ▶ *~d'i* *adv* in
secret. *~d'is'* *v* hide (oneself).
~d'ī·m *v* conceal, steal up (to).
~te·m *v* hide.*ahime* *n* 1. sworn brother.
2. buddy, pal.*ahurpe·j* *v* suffer. ▶ — *n*
suffering, torment. *~š·um* *v*
torture; harass.*ajā·j* *v* rejoice, be glad ⇒ 11.1.6,
11.2.1.1. ▶ *~re·m* *v* APPL ⇒
11.2.1.2.*ajbī* *n* 1. soul. 2. shadow, ghost.
3. reflection. ▶ — *v* return to the
earth in a new body (through
reincarnation). *~d'ī* *n* hell, the
world of the dead.*aji* *part* 1. still; yet. 2. more ⇒
14.2.2.1.*āj* *part* 1. again; too. 2. still; yet ⇒
14.2.2.1.*āl* *n* bottom. ▶ *āl postp* under ⇒
7.3.1.2.*āžul* *n* shelf; cupboard.*ajī·m* *v* shoot.*ajle·m* *n* wash. ▶ *~d'i* *v* wash
(oneself).*ajlī·m* *v* prohibit.*al'* *postp* near; towards.*al'ā·j* *v* melt.*al'be·j* *v* 1. spill. 2. fade.*alme* *n* shaman.*am-de·j* *v* die. ▶ *am-čī* *v* ITER.*amun* *n* bone. ▶ *~d'ā* *n* a bony
fish.*anān* *adv* on purpose, purposely.*anabuskā* *n* dugout.*an'd'e* *n* leader, head, prince.*and'ī·m* *v* call, look for.▶ *~d'ā·j* *v* DETR.*an-n'e·j* *v* speak. ▶ *an-te·s'* *v*
PFV reply, say suddenly. *an-čī* *v*
reply, respond. *an-čī-š·um* *v* ask
(for).*andenuŋ* *n* river bed.*andubučā* *n* a kind of duck.*anil* *n* fish.*aniri* *n* gut, intestine.*anure·m* *v* love.*aŋa* *n* mouth. ▶ *aŋ-ur* *n* palate.*aŋ-il'* *n* 1. entrance, hole.

2. estuary (of a river). 3. mouth.

4. window. ■ *~n muge* *n* lip.*~n pugelbie* *n* beard.*aŋčī·m* *v* search, look for. ▶ *~d'ī*
v DETR.

aŋd'e *n* eye. ■ **~d ajbī** *n* spectacles. **~n čō** *n* orbit, eye socket. **~ niŋiŋiel** *n* bridge of the nose. **~d oži** *n* tear. **~n pugelbie** *n* eyebrows. **~n šøbil'** *n* 1. ciliary. 2. upper eyelid. **~n šorome** *n* pupil (of the eye).

aŋd'edabut *n* internal organs; internal fat.

aŋdil *n* waist.

aŋdile *n* falcon; hawk.

aŋnume *adv* first of all; from the beginning. ► **~l'e** *pron* the first one.

aŋim *adv* at one side, in one direction.

aŋmure *adv* barefoot.

arimel *n* bottom.

arnūjā *n* glutton.

arpe-j *v* be careful.

arqā *postp* near ⇒ 7.3.1.1.

ataledaj-m *v* sell.

ataq-un *num* two.

ažō-j *v* be early. ► **~n** *adv* early.

ažū *n* 1. word. 2. language. 3. voice. ► **~be** *n* conversation.

b

bejd'ie *loc adv* everywhere (from Russian *vezd'e*).

bojs'e *adv* entirely, completely, altogether (from colloquial Russian *vovs'e*).

budie *postp* on ⇒ 7.3.1.3.

č

čā-j *v* be small (in number).

► **~lō** *adv* little, few, not enough.

~lō-n *adv* shortly, briefly.

~mu-j *v* INCH. **~že-m** *v* decrease.

čāharn'e-j *v* be fastidious.

čāčā *n* elder brother.

čāšet *adv* just, just now, at present, at once.

čad'ile *n* footpath.

čadude *adv* up; upwards.

čahā-j *v* cross (e.g., a river).

čahiže-j *v* writhe; cringe.

čahil *n* thigh; haunch.

čajdō-j *v* be insufficient.

čamd'e *n* oar.

čamani *n* Siberian white salmon.

čebil' *n* tundra.

čeginme *n* depth.

► **čeginm-ō-j** *v* be deep.

čejd'ie *adv* on purpose, purposely.

čejl-is' *v* be far away.

► **čejlu-kie-j** *v* 1. (happen) long ago. 2. move away, become remote.

čekč-ō-j *v* be skillful.

► **čekč-il'** *n* expert; skillful person.

čie-s' *v* [čel] be cold. ► **~d'e** *n* 1. cold; frost. 2. winter.

~d'e-d-i *v* catch cold.

~d'e-d-ī *n* cold (illness).

~d'e-š-um *v* cool, chill.

čemie-s' *v* end, stop ⇒ 11.1.2,

11.2.1.1. ► **čeme-re-j-m** *v*

finish, stop doing something ⇒

11.1.3.2, 11.2.1.1.

čemej *n* aunt.

čen-is' *v* be funny, merry.

► **~če** *n* joyfulness; beauty.

~ī-m *v* laugh (at).

čer-ō-j *v* be slow, quiet.

► **čeru-n** *adv* slowly, quietly, silently. **čeru-d'e** *adv* slowly, quietly, little by little.

čičele *n* fritillary.

čibal' *n* stove.

čit-ne-j *v* be long. ► **čiče-ge-s'**

v stretch (*vi*). **čiče-ge-de-j-m** *v*

stretch (*vt*). **čiče-rī** *n* eel.

čilge *n* branch.

čičēdie *n* calf.

čine-m *v* chop; fell trees.

► **~že-j** *v* DETR. **~j-m** *v* PFV (semelfactive). **~rā** *n* snag; sawyer.

čirče-ge-j *v* 1. hop, jump.

2. splash, spatter. 3. shoot (of a gun). ► **~s'** *v* PFV 1. jump out, spring out. 2. shoot (once).

~t-če *n* gun. **čirče-n'd'ī** *v* hop; jump constantly (as a

characteristic feature).

čirče-n'd'ī-n'-u-l-ben *n* flea; grasshopper.

čiste *adv* without exceptions, entirely, altogether, all, whole (from Russian *čisto*).

čō *n* pit, hole.

čobine *n* spear, lance.

čobul *n* sea.

čoh-um *v* cut. ► **čoha-j-m** *v*

PFV cut abruptly, cut off one piece of something. **čoho-je** *n* knife.

■ **čoho-je-d abut** *n* sheath.

čohočo *n* 1. hill. 2. shore.

čolhore *n* hare.

čolōlok *adv* just so, without any purpose.

čom-ō-j *v* 1. be big; large. 2. be the eldest. ► **~čī** *v* be a little bit larger. **~d'e** *n* elder; head.

~hote *adv* very much, strongly, greatly. **~l-ben** *n* elk. **~n** *adv*

very, very much. **~žī-m** *v*

1. enlarge. 2. bring up.

čom-mu-j *v* INCH.

čom-mu-če *n* teenager.

čoŋ-is' *v* [čoŋū] be tasty, sweet.

► **~čo** *n* fat, bacon. **~ul** *n* taste.

~ul-be-j *v* become full of tasty food.

čorqe *n* 1. tundra. 2. glade.

► **~d'ī** *n* tundra people, Chuckchee.

čowr-ō-j *v* be tight.

► **čowro-mu-j** *v* INCH.

čøw *n* hoarfrost.

čūl *n* 1. meat. 2. fig elk.

► **čū-die** *n* a bit of meat.

čūl'd'ī *n* fairy tale.

čuge *n* 1. way. 2. trace, track; trail.

čugō-j *v* be quick (be able to run, do everything quickly). ► **~n** *adv* quick, fast, quicker, faster.

čugurubie *n* chipmunk.

čumu, **~t** *pron* all; everything, everybody.

čumuče *n* fishing rod.

► **čumuč-ī-m** *v* fish.

čun·um *v* 1. count. 2. read.

čunže·j *v* think, consider.

▶ — *n* thought; idea.

čuø *adv* already. ▶ *~l'e mod* ancient; old. ⇒ 4.3.4.

čuøte *adv* always, repeatedly, continuously.

d

d'e part well, now.

de part and, too ⇒ 14.2.2.2.

du inter part ⇒ 13.2.1.2.

e

ed'i *v* live, be alive. ▶ *~ie:s' v* revive, come to life. *~ie-te:m v* 1. help. 2. revive; enliven. *~ul n* life. *en-že:m v* 1. bring up. 2. feed.

ečie n father.

ečkeri·m v [es'keri] attack.

egie·j v 1. stand up; get up. 2. rise. ▶ *~s' v* PFV stop. *~re:m v* step on.

eje n bow.

ejl'ō·j v be wide, broad.

ejme n price. ▶ *~š·um v* pay.

ejme·j v look at; observe.
▶ *ejme-rī·m v* APPL.

ejmie postp behind; at the other side of; across ⇒ 7.3.1.5.2.

ejmunde n half.

ekčil' n boat (a Yukaghir boat built of three boards).

el'ed'ō·j v disappear.

elil n bag.

emil n night. ▶ *em-be·j v* be dark; black.

emd'e n younger sibling.

emej n mother.

epie n grandmother.

er·is' v be bad, evil. ▶ *~ie:m v* hate. *~is' adv* wrongly; poorly. *~ul-be·j v* INCH.

erd'i v [erd'e] want ⇒ 9.2.7.2, 11.2.2. ▶ *erd'ō-re:m v* want ⇒ 11.2.2.

ere part only.

erpeje n Even.

ewre·j v go; walk. ▶ *~š·um v* bring; lead; carry. *eg-užu·j v* ITER. *eg-užu-be n* path.

i, ī

ibi·m v suck. ▶ *~še:m v* suck; nurse (*vi*). *~š-ī n* 1. breast (female). 2. milk. *~š-ī·m v* nurse (*vt*).

ibil'e·j v cry. ▶ *ibil'e-gie n* eagle owl.

ič adv [is'] long, for a long time.

idejne adv sometimes.

idek intj impossible; by no means.

id'i adv now.

igie-s' v get caught. ▶ *ī-de:m v* catch. *ik-čī·m v* ITER catch; fish. *ik-čī-če n* fisherman.

igeje n rope.

ī·is' v be nice, beautiful.

īle indf mod some, other(s) ⇒ 7.1.4.5. ▶ *~me-de adv* sometimes.

ilek·un num four.

il'eje *n* wind.

ime·j *v* sit on deerback, on a boat, sledge, etc. ► *im-de-m* *v* 1. put on deerback, on a boat, sledge, etc. 2. load (a boat, sledge).

im-de-č·um *v* ITER. *im-ie-m* *v* have something with oneself (in the boat, sledge). *im-ōl* *n* riding deer.

imil *n* neck.

imičume *n* swan.

inđ'e·j *v* sew. ► *inđ'-ī* *n*
1. thread. 2. vein.

injer *adv* separately. ► *~ī-m* *v* keep (things) separately. *~in* *adv* differently, another way.
~in-mie·j *v* strange, unusual.

injer *n* pit, hole. ► *~te-m* *v* dig.

inī-m *v* be afraid of. ► *in-l'is'* *v* be frightful. *in-l'-ī-m* *v* frighten; threaten.

inl'ō·j *v* be fat.

irdie *n* new-born deer or elk.

iril *n* belly, stomach.

► *iri-n'e·j* *v* be pregnant.

irke·j *v* tremble, shudder.

► *irkie-s'* *v* PFV 1. flinch; start. 2. become frightened, scared.
irkō-re-m *v* become scared of.
irku-šaj-m *v* frighten.

irk-in *num* one. ► *irki-d'e* *adv* once. *irkil-l'e-n* *adv* together ⇒ 9.3.2.3.

ižulbe·j *v* be or get tired.
► — *n* tiredness.

j

jā-n *num* three.

jad-um *v* send.

jahil *n* shore; edge.

jahlil *n* lake.

jamul *n* upper reaches (of a river).

janže *n* goose.

jaqa·j *v* reach, arrive, approach.

jaqal *n* Yakut. ■ *jaqa-d āče* *n* horse.

jaqte·j *v* sing. ► — *n* song.
~jōl *n* singer. *~rī-m* *v* sing about somebody or something.

jarqe *n* ice. ► *jarqu-re-m* *v* freeze; ice. *jarq-ā·j* *v* freeze.

jed·i *v* be visible. ► *~ie-s'* *v* PFV appear, become visible.
~u-tej-m *v* show.

jedie *n* uncle (father's younger brother); aunt.

jedul *n* thunder.

jekečān *n* pot, bowl.

jel'ōd'e *n* sun. ■ *~d amlujbe* *n* west; sunset. *~d ukčibe* *n* east; sunrise.

jere·j *v* 1. swim. 2. flow.

jereme *n* log, beam.

jie-s' *v* fall; accidentally get somewhere.

jien *indf mod* another ⇒ 7.1.4.5.

jō *n* head. ■ *~d amun* *n* skull.
~n kičil *n* forehead.

jōbī *n, loc adv* forest; in the forest.

jōde·j *v* play.

jodo·m *v* tie.

jodod'ube *n* squirrel.

joha-s' *v* PFV open.

► *joho-da·j-m* *v* open; switch on.
joŋ-nō·j *v* be open.

johor *n* postp.
johotī *n* arrow.
johul *n* nose.
johurče *n* herd; flock; pack.
jollerā *n* old woman.
jolā *postp* [jelā] 1. behind. 2. after
 ⇒ 7.3.2.1.
joŋo *n* evil; harm.
joŋže·m *v* forget.
joŋži·s' *v* fall asleep.
jorhōd'e *n* doe; mare.
jow·s' *v* ache. ▶ — *n* illness.
 ~*d'e* *n* wound; sore. ~*l'e·j* *v* be
 ill. ~*qā·j* *v* INCH.
jowhe *n* back (body part).
jowje *n* net.
jowl'etl'e·j *v* love.
jowle *n* evening. ▶ ~*·s'* *v* PFV
 grow dark.
jowlō·j *v* be known.
jowlohī·m *v* 1. fondle; pet,
 stroke. 2. kill (of a bear).
jowlu-d'e·j *v* ask.
 ▶ *jowlu-č·um* *v* ask.
jūke *loc adv* far away.
 ▶ ~*-d'e* *adv* (a little bit) further.
jugī·m *v* kiss.
jugul *n* tall tree.
jukō·j *v* 1. be small. 2. be the
 youngest. ~*že·m* *v* diminish;
 lessen.
juø·m *v* look; see. ▶ ~*de·j* *v*
 DETR. ▶ ~*de·s'* *v* PFV have a
 look.
jurō·j *v* be bent, curved.
jurgū *n* gap; hole.

jurgud'ieje *n* star.

k

kej·m *v* give (to a speech act
 participant).
kejlen'·i *v* be red.
kelid'e *n* worm.
kenkerā *n* bucket.
kečī·m *v* bring.
kewe·s' *v* PFV go away; leave.
 ▶ *køw-de·m* *v* drive out.
køw-de·j·m *v* bring, lead away;
 send away. *kep-čī·m* *v*
 CAUS:ITER.
kič·um *v* teach; train. ▶ ~*ie·j* *v*
 learn; study ⇒ 11.1.6, 2.1.1.
kičil *n* end.
kie *n* friend, buddy, mate
 (address).
kiegen *adv* between, through.
kiejen *adv* by no means, in no
 way.
kiel *n* crack; chink.
kiel'e·j *v* dry (up). ▶ *kiel'-ō·j* *v*
 be dry.
kieje *postp* in front of; before.
kie·s' *v* [kel] come.
kigī·m *v* jab; butt.
kilbe *n* moss.
kimd'ī *v* fight, struggle.
 ▶ ~*jō-ben* *n* warrior; fighter.
kimdān'e·j *v* lie, deceive.
 ▶ ~*bō·j* *v* be a liar. ▶ ~*rī·m* *v*
 APPL deceive.
kimnī *n* whip.
kin *inter pron* 1. who. 2. whose.

kind'e *n* 1. moon. 2. month.
kiše·m *v* show.
kižō·j *v* be easy, simple.
kødiel *n* wolf.
kødin *adv* right, properly.
køj *n* boy.
køliče *n* ski.
kønme *n* 1. mate, partner, friend.
 2. the other one.
kuøde·m *v* beat; hit.
kuøke *n* head (of fish, animal)
kude·j *v* 1. become; transform.
 2. happen.
kudede·m *v* kill. ► *kude-čī·m* *v*
 ITER.
kudel'e·j *v* get ready, prepare.
kudie·m *v* put and keep
 somewhere.
kudul *n* mud. ► *kun-n'e·j* *v* be
 dirty.
kukūl' *n* sleeping bag.
kukul *n* devil.
kun·in *num* ten. ► *~el'* *n* ten.
kurčeg *n* crane.
kurūk *adv* always.
kurul *n* 1. barn, warehouse.
 2. ancient Yukaghir burial (on four
 poles).
kurulbuž *adv* continuously,
 ceaselessly
kužū *n* sky.

l

laŋi *postp* towards ⇒ 7.3.2.3.
labut *n* floating log.
laqil *n* tail.

larqul *n* root.
lebejdī *n* berries.
lebie *n* earth; land.
ledde *adv* 1. below; downwards.
 2. in the north, to the north,
 northwards.
leg·um *v* eat. ► *leg-ul* *n* food.
legi-te·m *v* feed. *leŋ-de·j* *v*
 DETR.
lej-dī·m *v* know; remember.
 ► *lej-te·m* *v* learn. *lej-te-č·um* *v*
 recall.
leme *inter pron* what.
lepul *n* blood.
lige·j *v* be old. ► *ligu-mu·j* *v*
 INCH grow old.
lodāq *adv* face downwards.
lolho·j *v* boil.
lorqaj·m *v* be unable, hardly able
 to do something.
loŋde·j *v* dance.
ločil *n* 1. fire. 2. firewood.
 3. fireplace.
ludul *n* iron.
lukil *n* arrow.
lunbuge *n* bowl; pot.
lus'ī *n* Russian.

l'

l'e·j *v* 1. be; exist. 2. live.
l'ī·m *v* have.
l'omd'e·j *v* fade, lose color.

m

mahil *n* coat.

majle *n* hair.
malh·an *num* six.
malh̄ilek·un *num* eight.
manšøjl'bul *n* rat.
marqil' *n* girl. ■ *marqil'-uø* *n* daughter.
mēmē *n* bear.
med·um *v* inform; bring news.
 ► *~is' v* [*~ū*] be heard; perceivable ⇒ 11.1.5. *~ī·m v* 1. hear; perceive. 2. understand; feel. *~ej·m v* 1. taste. 2. catch.
men-d'e *n* news.
medin *adv* 1. just; only just. 2. as soon as.
mejł'id'e *n* one-year-old elk or deer; yearling.
melut *n* breast.
memže·j *v* burn.
menmege·j *v* jump.
mere·j *v* fly. ► *~š·um v* raise and bring away.
met *pron* I; my.
mežže·j *v* 1. listen. 2. be awake.
 ► *~s' v* PFV wake up.
mid'·um *v* take.
mid'ī *n* sledge.
mided'e *n* needle.
mido·j *v* roam; wander (of the nomadic way of life).
mie·m *v* wait.
miebe *n* 1. root (visible). 2. kin. 3. habit; tradition. 4. generation.
mieke *adv* near. ► *~mie·j v* be near.
mino *n* raft.
mit *pron* we, our.

modo·j *v* 1. sit. 2. live; stay (somewhere). ► *~to·m v* 1. place; put. 2. make somebody live somewhere. *mod-ie·m v* 1. place; put. 2. seat, offer a seat. 3 settle, permit to live.
moho *n* hat.
moj·m *v* held; keep.
molho *n* middle, interior.
 ► *molho postp* inside ⇒ 7.3.1.4.
moldo *adv* only.
molil *n* bay.
molin *adv* only, hardly, barely.
 ► *~d'āt* *adv* almost, nearly.
mon·i *v* [*mo·*] say.
moro·m *v* put on.
mošolupkā *n* owl.
motlorqo·j *v* thin.
mottuškā *n* gull.
mučin *indf mod* various, all, any.
mumžele *n* gray eagle owl.
mure *n* shoe.
murge *n* forest.

n

nār *adv* always, ceaselessly.
nahā *adv* very much, too much.
nas'īle *adv* hardly, barely (from Russian *nas'īlu* 'barely, with difficulties')
nīqār *n* snowstorm.
nigejō·j *v* 1. be difficult, hard to deal with. 2. have difficulty.
nilgi *pron* nobody.
ninge·j *v* be multiple.
 ► *~mu·j v* INCH.

nijie *n* 1. mood; temper; state of mind. 2. breast.

nodo *n* bird.

nohi *n* thimble.

noho *n* sand.

nojdi-m *v* guard; watch (over).

▶ *~d'e-je* *n* guard; watchman.

nojł *n* leg.

nonže-j *v* be weak.

nono *n* 1. branch. 2. blade. 3. knob; handle.

nonol *n* snare.

noḡōn *inter adv* what for.

noqšo *n* sable.

nølbō-j *v* smile.

nūbe *n* roots (for culinary purposes).

nuø-m *v* laugh.

nužunō-j *v* be poor.

nug-um *v* find; obtain; gain.

nuge-de-m *v* 1. make; transform into; leave without.

▶ *nuge-čī-m* *v* ITER.

nugen *n* hand; arm.

nuled'e *n* crowd.

numø *n* house.

n'

n'āče *n* 1. face. 2. point; spike.

n'āde *n* fall (autumn).

n'ādude *interj* that's all, there is nothing more.

n'ahā *adv* together.

n'ahanbō-j *v* be five.

n'ajdel'is' *v* be comfortable.

n'an'is' *adv* sinfully.

n'anme *n* willow twigs; osier.

n'atlebie *n* partridge.

n'atn'ūjā *n* burbot.

n'elbe-dej-m *v* skin (of an animal). ▶ *n'elbe-t-um* *v* ITER.

n'elī-m *v* lick.

n'ie-m *v* call. ▶ *~nu-m* *v* ask for something.

n'ied'i *v* speak; tell.

n'ier *n* clothes.

n'igī-m *v* warm. ▶ *~že-j* *v* warm oneself.

n'igize *n* yesterday; the day before.

n'iqže-m *v* knock down.

n'oho-j *v* fall down.

n'onō-j *v* be green; light blue.

n'onorodo *adv* sideways.

n'ū *n* name.

n'ugere *n* side. ▶ *n'ugere-n* *adv* at the side

n'umud'i *n* ax.

o, ō

ō *n* trousers; pants.

ō-j *v* [ŋo] copula ⇒ 12.1.1.1.

odul *n* Yukaghir. ■ *odu-n šāl* *n* larch. *odu-n lebejdī* *n* blueberry.

ohō-j *v* stand.

ohoq *n* stove; oven.

ohube *n* arrowhead.

ojdoho *n* stony shore.

oj-i-m *v* bark at. ▶ *~d'e-j* *v* DETR.

oĵōdo *interj* really, in fact.
ol'vōdoj *adv* very.
olbol'e *n* female.
olhin *adv* straight, straightforwardly. ▶ *~mie:j* *v* be straight; smooth.
olhuj *n* large bowl.
olmon *adv* merely.
olo·m *v* steal.
omni *n* 1. people. 2. family; kin.
omdi's' *v* hurry; hasten.
 ▶ *~ī·m* *v* CAUS.
omnuge *n* shame.
omo·s' *v* be good. ▶ *~s'* *adv* well. *~čā* *adv* properly, well and truly. *~l·be·j* *v* recover; get better. *~l·e·t·um* *v* treat. *~žī·m* *v* make better.
omol'is' *v* be ashamed. *~u·hī* *v* feel shy.
omonmie·j *v* be cool; half-hearted.
ondahil *n* shore.
ono·m *v* take away.
onor *n* tongue. ▶ *~n'e·j* *v* be a liar.
oŋ·i *v* be wet.
oŋil *n* crack, slit.
oqil'l'ā *n* perch (fish)
ōro·m *v* 1. indicate; point at.
 2. appoint.
orpōlube *n* personal tree (that has impact on one's fate).
orpō·j *v* hang.
otul *n* fire; fireplace.
ōže·m *v* drink. ▶ *ōž-ī* *n* water.
ōž-ī-n'e·j *v* liquid; fluid. *ōž-ī*

nodo *n* duck.

ø, ̄

̄ *n* child. ▶ *~ŋō·j* *v* be young.
̄l' *n* cant; cheek.
̄munnu·j *v* make up (to); snuggle up (to).
ømgede *n* saddle. ▶ *~š·um* *v* saddle.
øn'če *n* buck; bull.
ønče·s' *v* PFV descend, go or come down (e.g., towards a lake, river).
øndie *n* brook.
ønme *n* mind, cognition, memory.
 ▶ *~de·š·um* *v* recall. *~de·s'* *v* PFV regain consciousness. *~n'·i* *v* be clever, behave wisely.
 • *~ejreš* think, meditate.
 ~*ejte* remember.
ønmedie *n* young larch.
ørul *n* shout. ▶ *ør-čī* *v* be shouting, shout several times.
ør-n'e·j *v* shout. *ør-n'e-rī·m* *v* shout to/at. *ør-te·s'* *v* PFV.
ørđ'e *n* middle.

P

pābā *n* elder sister.
pad·um *v* cook; boil.
padie·m *v* install a net.
pahul *n* seine. ▶ *pahu-nu·j* *v* fish with a seine.
paj·m *v* hit.
paja·m *v* carry (on one's back).
pajl'is' *v* be sly; be canny.
pajl, pajpe *n* woman.

► *pajpā-die* *n* small woman; girl.
 ■ *pajpe-d emd'e* *n* younger sister. *pajpe-d uø* *n* girl.
palā-j *v* escape; save oneself.
parā *n* time; period of time.
parnā *n* crow. ■ *čom~* *n* raven.
pebel *n* cradle.
ped'el *n* 1. smell; breath; air.
 2. spirit. 3. fate. ► *pen-n'e-j* *v* smell.
perul *n* threshold.
peššej-m *v* throw; let fall.
pežel *n* spark.
pibil *n* needle(s) of a conifer.
pie *n* mountain. ► *~je* *n* 1. knoll, hill, mound. 2. cheek.
piede-j *v* burn. ► *~s'* *v* PFV burn down. ► *~t-um* *v* CAUS.
pied-ī-m *v* set on fire.
piediče *n* finger.
pieri *n* wing.
pō *n* 1. orphan; widow. 2. servant.
pōre *n* spring (season).
pod'e-rqo *n* day.
pohožil *n* knee.
pojne-j *v* light; white; bright.
 ► *pojn-ī-m* *v* shine; light (up).
polžiče *n* leaf.
pon'ō-j *v* remain; be left.
 ► *~š-um* *v* leave alone; let remain. *pon'-ī-m* *v* leave alone; let remain.
poŋde *n* money; coin.
poŋiče *n* fat.
poŋžube *n* wood grouse.
pøg-i *v* run (of an animal).

► *pøk-čī* *v* ITER.
pølbiel *n* hillock; hummock.
pøme *n* louse.
pømne-j *v* be round; spherical.
pøril' *n* the front part of the foot; toe.
pude *adv* 1. over; upward.
 2. outside. ► *~be* *n* top; upper surface. *~l'ie* *adv* near the house; in the yard. *~n-mie-j* *v* be high. *~n-mie-d'e* *n* height. *pud-ō-j* *v* 1. be above; be higher. 2. win.
puge *n* summer. ► *~s'* *v* be hot; warm. *~de-s'* *v* PFV it has grown warm; summer has begun. *~d'e* *n* warmth. *pug-ō-j* *v* be warm.
pugelbie *n* fur; feather.
pugeže-j *v* run out of the house.
pugedan'd'e *n* king.
pugil' *n* lord; owner.
 2. mother-in-law; father-in-law (a parent of one's wife).
pukel'e *n* snow. ► *~be-j* *v* become soft. *pukel'-ō-j* *v* be soft.
pulej *n* son-in-law.
pulut *n* 1. old man. 2. husband.
pundu-m *v* tell; narrate.
punke *n* hill.
punnume *n* neighbor.
purkī-n *num* seven.

q

qādmudul *n* ring.
qāqā *n* 1. grandfather. 2. bear.
qār *n* skin.
qadi *inter mod* which.

qadōn-ge *inter adv* where.
qalerge *n* rose gull.
qamie-m *v* help. ▶ *~d'e-j n*
 DETR. *~d'ī n* assistant.
qamujāq *n* wooden spoon.
qamun *inter mod* how much.
qan'be *n* palm.
qan'il *n* eagle.
qana-s' *v* roam away.
 ▶ *qan-ujī v* lead the nomadic
 way of life.
qanin *inter adv* when.
qanī-m *v* pursue. ▶ *~če n*
 hunter.
qanide *inter adv* where (to),
 whither.
qanśā *n* smoking pipe.
qarien *interj* It is a pity.
qarte-m *v* share.
qilbe *n* water plant.
qobo *adv* below; at the bottom.
 ▶ *~ben n* bottom. *qob-ō-j v* lose
 (a game etc.) *qob-ō-te-m v* win.
godit *adv* why.
godo *adv* how.
godō-j *v* lie. ▶ *~be n* bed.
godo *n* contents. ▶ *~n'e-j v* be
 full. ▶ *~te-m v* put into; fill.
god'ā *n* uncle (mother's brother).
gohī-m *v* dig into.
qohol'e-j *v* shoal; grow shallow;
 dry out.
gojl *n* god. ■ *qoj-d emej n*
 godmother. *qoj-d ečie n*
 godfather. *qoj-d id'āje n* priest.
qoj-n numø n church.

qolhut *n* mammoth.
qolil *n* sound; noise.
qollume *adv* soon.
qon-i *v* go (away). ▶ *~to-m v*
 carry; lead. *qona-s'* *v* PFV pass
 by.
qonže *n* tear; rip; hole.
qon *inter adv* where.
qoqčil' *n* hoof.
qorobe *n* cow.
qoroj *n* two-year-old male deer.
qorqil' *n* arm; lever.
qoš *n* layer.

š

šajde *adv* across. ▶ *~ben n*
 width. *šajdu-de* *adv* aside.
šāl *n* 1. tree. 2. wooden stick.
 ▶ *šā-n'e-j v* be woody. ■ *šā-d*
abut n coffin. *šā-n pāj n* fungus
 on a tree. *šā-n qār n* bark; scale.
šapaha-s' *v* hit (*vt*).
 ▶ *~da-j-m v* CAUS:PFV hit (*vt*).
~t-um v CAUS:ITER.
šaqal'e-j *v* gather; assemble.
 ▶ *~š-um v* gather (e.g.,
 mushrooms); make somebody
 assemble. *~nu-be, šaqa-d'i-be n*
 place where people gather, club.
šaqale *n* fox.
šaqale-j *v* be yellow.
šār *indef pron* something.
šašaha-s' *v* 1. tear; break.
 2. burst. ▶ *~da-j-m v* CAUS:PFV
 tear (at one place, in two pieces).
~t-um v CAUS:ITER. *~d'ī v*
 ITER. *šaša-n-d'ī v* become torn.

- šašil* *n* snare, trap.
šašqul *n* hand; foot; claw; finger.
šaž-um *v* 1. catch up with; overtake. 2. cover. 3. press (upon). 4. dig.
šebiče *n* wild rose.
šejre-j *v* run away.
šel'ge-s' *v* PRV break (vi).
 ► *~de-j-m* *v* CAUS:PFV. *~t-um* *v* CAUS:ITER. *šel'-d'ī* *v* break (vi) into many pieces.
šin'el' *n* snare.
šinšaj-m *v* put (into).
šindamun *n* back of the head; occiput.
šobin *adv* quietly; calmly.
 ► *~mie-j* *v* be quiet, calm, cool.
šobodaŋil' *n* window.
šobol'e-j *v* cease, stop (doing something). ► *~š-um* *v* CAUS cease; stop; break off.
šoh-ie-j *v* 1. get lost. 2. lose one's way. ► *šoh-uji* *v* ITER 1. wander, go around without knowing the way. 2. disappear, get lost (usually). *šohu-še-m* *v* CAUS lose.
šohunme *n* lichen.
šolnā *n* woodpecker.
šoyd'ile *n* spring; flood season.
šoromo *n* human being.
 ► *~čā* *n* place full of people.
~n'-ul *n* 1. family. 2. relative.
šorom-ī *n* relative.
šowhe *n* plate, dish, pan, trough.
 ► *~rā* *n* dishes; washtub.
šownbe *n* fat.
šøbil' *n* top of a mountain, hill.
šøg-i *v* come in. ► *~ie-m* *v* keep; store. *šek-či-m* *n* CAUS:ITER bring (into). *šek-či-be*, *šøj-nu-be* *n* entrance. *šoh-ō-j* *v* RES be inside. *šøw-re-m* *v* CAUS bring (into); push. *šøw-re-j-m* *v* CAUS:PFV bring (into).
šøgī *n* bag. ► *šøgi-je* *n* pocket.
šøjbe-j *n* bc gray.
šøjl *n* 1. stone. 2. hillock.
 ► *šøj-d*, *šøj-n* *mod* 1. stone. 2. porcelain, china. ■ *šøj-d aŋd'e* *n* spectacles. *šøj-d iče* *n* spit of land.
šøjl'bul *n* mouse.
šølie *n* cedar nut. ► *~čā* *n* mountain pine, Japanese stone pine. ■ *~nodo* *n* nutcracker.
šørile *n* 1. color; paint. 2. flower.
 ► *~n'i* *v* be painted, decorated. *~š-um* *v* 1. paint, color. 2. embroider. 3. write.
šøtkurī *n* shoe or ski made of deer skin.
šubed'e *n* heart.
šukume *adv* in vain.
šupte *adv* through, throughout.
šure *n* body.
- t**
- tonbe-j* *v* be strong. ► *~je* *n* strong, mighty warrior; hero.
tønb-ī-m *v* tighten; tension; strengthen.
tā-ŋ *det* that (distal) ⇒ 7.1.2.1-2.
 ► *tā* *adv* there. *~ne* *adv* long ago. *~t* *adv* 1. from there. 2. this way. 3. and then. *~mie-j* *v* such.
ta-mun *pron* that one.

tāhile *adv* then; and.

tadī-m *v* give (to a third person).

tadind'ahā *n* bumblebee.

ted-ul *n* wealth; money.

► *ten-n'e-j* *v* be rich. *tet-čie* *n* rich man.

terike *n* old woman; wife.

tet *pron* you; your.

tibil *n* 1. feather. 2. needle(s) which have fallen from a tree.
■ *~amun* *n* wing.

tibo *n* rain. ► *tib-ā-j* *v* start to rain. *tib-ō-j* *v* rain (It's raining).

tiboho-j *v* 1. blink; wink.
2. flicker; glimmer. ► *~s'* *v* PFV (semelfactive).

tie-m *v* aim; take aim.

tī-ŋ *det* this (proximate) ⇒ 7.1.2.1-2. ► *tī* *adv* here (proximate). *~ne* *adv* recently.

tīt *pron* you; your (PL).

tīt *part* although.

tite *postp* like. ► *~mie-j* *v* such; similar.

tittel *pron* they.

toburaq *n* dust.

todie-m *v* bite. ► *tod-ī* *n* tooth.

todind'ahā *n* wasp.

tohō-j *v* dense; thick. ► *toh-al* *n* fat (on the surface of soup).

tojnu-m *v* drive (a herd).

tolow *n* wild reindeer.

tono-m *v* drive deer together.

totto-m *v* 1. glue. 2. infect; contaminate. ► *~hor-um* *v* catch. *~š-um* *v* press. *tottis'* *v* stick; be glued (to).

towke *n* dog.

toh-um *v* close. ► *tōb-ie-j* *v* get closed. ► *tōb-ie-m* *v* keep closed.

tønbe *v* 1. be strong. 2. become tense; strain oneself.

tuøn *pron* [*tuben*] this one ⇒ 7.1.2.1-2.

tudā *adv* before; some time ago.

tukne *n* nail.

tulugu *n* left side.

tunmul *n* throat.

u, ū

ubuj *interj* That's true.

ūčaq *n* deer.

udō-j *v* be usual, habitual.

uguje *n* next day, tomorrow.
► *~l* *n* morning.

ugur *n* 1. edge. 2. spine (of a fish).

ugurče *n* ski made of deer skin.
► *~rā* *n* cottonwood; poplar.

uj-s' *v* be born. ► *~lōl-pe* *n* (PL) parents.

ūjī-m *v* work. ► *ūj-čī* *n* employee; worker.

uke-s' *v* PFV go out.

► *uk-či-be* *v* exit. *uk-ej-če* *n* plant; beam.

ul'ege *n* grass. ► *~rā* *n* straw.

ulde-m *v* finish.

ulded'e-j *v* give no clear answer; avoid answering a question, waffle.

ulte-m *v* tie.

ulū *n* fish trap.

ulumu-j *v* be over, cease.

uneme *n* ear.

unmure *n* tambourine.

unmut *n* corn.

unuy *n* river.

určile *n* splinter; chip.

urun *n* bed.

ūše·m *v* touch; move.

užžō *n* gun (from Russian *ružjo*).

Appendix 2

Non-productive verb derivation

This Appendix is intended to provide representative lists of verbs derived by non-productive morphological means discussed in 6.3-4. The meaning(s) of each item are rendered by abbreviated glosses; each entry includes references to the section(s) in which the affix is described. The symbol ‡ introduces lexicalized instances of a suffix.

For each item (and each meaning), the Appendix provides a list of verbs derived by means of this item. Two ways of glossing these verbs are employed:

1. The meaning of the closest morphologically and semantically simpler counterpart is given in brackets. If the corresponding stem is not formally identical with the derived stem minus the suffix, as shown by the hyphen, its form is also given in brackets; otherwise, it is not repeated.
2. If the meaning of the complex stem is purely compositional, no other glosses are provided; otherwise, the derived verb is provided with its English translation. Note that qualitative verbs are glossed as English adjectives (that is, 'dark' and not 'be dark').

The (in)transitivity of a verb is indicated only if it is not implied by the morphological meaning (e.g., the Causative always implies 'transitive', hence, no special indications are given).

- ā-** (6.3.5.2.4) **INCH** *al'-ā-* 'melt'. For the Ingressive, see 6.3.5.2.1.
- be-** (6.3.5.3.2) **INCH** *adil-be-* [*ad-* 'strong, hard']; *erul-be-* [*erū-* 'bad']; *pukel'-be-* [*pukol'-ō-* 'soft']. # *em-be-* 'black' [*emi-* 'dark'].
- bō-** (6.3.6.4.1) **QLT** *iqi-bō-* 'be a coward' [*iqi-* 'afraid of']; *kimdi-bō-* ['fight']; *kimdā-n'e-bō-* [*kimdā-n'e-* 'lie, deceive'].
- čī-** ~ **-s'i-** (6.3.3.2.4, 6.4.3.3.5) **1. CAUS:ITER** *ik-čī-* ~ *ik-s'i-* [*ig-ie-* 'get caught']; *køp-čī-* [*kewe-j-* 'go, leave']; *lon-čī-* [*lodā-* *vi.* 'separate, detach oneself']; *orpu-čī-* [*orp-ō-* 'hang']; *šek-čī-* [*šog-* 'enter, get into'].
- 2. ITER/DSTR** *am-čī-* *vi.* 'die'; *an'-čī-* *vi.* 'respond'; *ik-čī-* 'sew'; *løp-čī-* *vt.* 'drop, let fall'; *nuge-čī-* *vt.* 'act, do'; *ono-čī-* *vt.* 'take away'. # *ā-s'i-* *vt.* 'pull, stretch'.
- de-** (6.3.3.2.4, 6.4.3.3.5, 6.4.4.2) **1. CAUS:NONIT** *ī-de-* [*ig-ie-* 'get caught']; *im-de-* [*ime-* 'ride on an animal's back, on a sledge, etc.']; *køu-de-* [*kewe-j-* 'go, leave']; *loŋ-de-* [*lodā-* *vi.* 'separate, detach oneself'].
- 2. NONIT** *am-de-* *vi.* 'die'; *ā-de-* *vt.* 'pull'; *ī-de-* *vt.* 'sew'; *løu-de-* *vt.* 'drop, let fall'; *nuge-de-* *vt.* 'act, do'.
- 3. DETR** *čolho-de-* ['hollow']; *eye-de-* ['look at through a hole']; *juø-de-* ['see, look']; *leŋ-de-* [*leg-* 'eat']; *mie-de-* ['wait']; *pan-de-* [*pad-* 'cook']; *puj-de-* ['blow']. # *il'e-de-* 'quarrel'.
- de-j-** (6.4.3.3.3, 6.3.5.3.2) **1. CAUS:PFV** *amle-de-j-* 'swallow' [*amle-j-* 'drop into, fall into']; *čičege-de-j-* [*čičege-j-* 'become long']; *jenmege-de-j-* [*jenmege-j-* 'run against']; *joha-de-j-* 'open, switch on' [*vi.* 'open']; *n'as'a-ha-da-j* [*n'ača-ha-j-* 'pierce, penetrate']; *šapa-ha-da-j-* 'hit' [*šapa-ha-j-vi.* 'hit, knock, stub a part of one's body against something']; *šel-ge-de-j-* 'break' [*šel-ge-j-vi.* 'break'].
- 2. LEX:PFV** *emte-dej-* *vt.* 'treat, give medical care'; *erbe-dej-* *vt.* 'saw'; *jataha-da-j-* 'straighten, rectify'; *jømge-dej-* *vt.* 'encircle'.
- 3. INCH:PFV** *emi-dej-* ['dark']; *jū-dej-* [*jū-n'e-* 'smoky']; *keŋle-de-j-* [*keŋle-n'-* 'red']; *pōre-dej-* [*n.* 'spring']; *puge-dej-* [*n.* 'summer']; *šaqale-daj-* [*šaqale-n'-* 'yellow'].
- d'-** (6.4.4.2) **MDL** *aŋle-d'-* ['wash'].
- d'e-** (6.4.4.2) **DETR** *aŋha-dā-* ['scratch, brush']; *aldu-d'e-* ['curse, damn, cast spells']; *aŋdī-d'ā-* ['call, look']; *el'i-d'e-* ['carry']; *jonod'e-* ['clean up']; *jowlu-d'e-* *vi.* 'ask'; *oj-d'e-* [*oj-* 'bark']; *qamie-d'e-* ['help']; *šoj-d'e-* ['fry'].
- d'i-** ~ **-n-d'i-** (6.3.3.2.7) **ITER/DSPR** *ege-nd'i* *vi.* ['look at through a hole']; *jenme-di* 'run across'; *jar-d'i* ['swim'];

- joha-nd'i-* [*vi.* 'open']; *jute-d'i-
vi.* [*jute-ge-j-
vi.* 'burst'];
menme-d'i [*menme-ge-* 'jump'];
*šel'd'i-
vi.* 'break'; *šube-nd'i*
'run (of a human being)'.
-ē- (6.3.5.2.4) INCH *eg-ie-*
'stand up'; *ig-ie-* 'get caught'.
For the Ingressive, see
6.3.5.2.1.
-ē- (6.4.3.3.6) 1. CAUS:RES
im-ie- [*ime-* 'ride on an
animal's back, on a sledge,
etc.']; *mod-ie-* [*modo-* 'sit, stay,
live']; *øg-ie-* [*oh-ō-* 'stand'];
orp-ie- [*orp-ō-* 'hang']; *kud-ie-*
[*god-ō-* 'lie']; *šøg-ie-* ['enter'].
2. TR:RES *mor-ie-* 'wear, have
something on' [*moro-* 'dress,
put on']; *tøb-ie-* 'keep closed'
[*tøb-* 'close']. 3. LEX:CAUS
er-ie- 'hate' [*erū-* 'bad'].
-ge-~ha- (6.3.5.3.2) 1. INCH
jube-ge- 'stuff oneself' ['full'].
2. LEX:ITER *čiga-ha-
vi.* 'squeak'; *menme-ge-* 'jump';
*pøme-ge-
vi.* 'rotate' [*pøm-ne-*
'round']; *šana-ha-
vi.* 'crackle'.
-ge-j-~ha-j (6.3.5.3.2,
6.4.3.3.3) 1. INCH:PFV
*čiče-ge-j-
[čit-ne-* 'long'].
2. LEX:PFV *jute-ge-j-
vi.*
'burst'; *n'ača-ha-j-
vi.* 'pierce,
penetrate'; *šel-ge-j-
vi.* 'break'.
-j- (6.3.3.1) 1. PFV *abude-j-
vt.*
['pull out']; *amle-j-
vi.* 'get
into, fall into'; *čande-j-
vi.*
['moor, touch']; *čeme-j-
vi.*
'stop, cease'; *čere-j-
vi.* 'sink';
*čoha-j-
vt.* ['cut off']; *čunže-j-
vi.* ['think']; *ige-j-
vi.* ['get
caught']; *jaqa-j-
vi.* ['arrive'];
*jede-j-
vi.* 'appear' [*jed-* 'be
visible']; *je-re-j-
'swim away'*
['swim']; *joha-j-
vi.* ['open'];
*jowlud'e-j-
vi.* ['ask']; *juø-de-j-
vi.* ['see, look']; *køu-de-j-
[køu-de-* CAUS from *kewe-j-* 'go,
leave']; *kerpe-j-
[kerpe-* 'rake,
move']; *lolho-j-
[lolhe-* 'boil'];
*mežže-j-
'awake'* ['listen, stay
awake']; *memže-j-
['blaze'];
mere-j-
['fly'];
mide-j-
[mid-*
'take']; *mora-j-
~ moro-l-aj-
[moro-* 'dress, put on']; *n'ele-j-
[n'eli-* 'lick']; *pajā-j-
['carry,
bring'];
piede-j-
[piede-* 'burn'];
*šej-re-j-
vi.* ['run away,
escape']; *šube-že-j-
vi.* ['run
away (of a human being)'.
2. SEM *čahite-j-
vt.* ['rub,
paint']; *čiga-ha-j-
vi.* ['squeak'];
*čine-j-
vt.* ['chop']; *čolho-j-
vt.*
['hollow']; *irke-j-
vi.* ['shake,
tremble']; *menme-ge-j-
['jump'];
pungege-j-
['thunder,
roar'];
šana-ha-j-
vi.* ['crackle'];
*tibo-ha-j-
['blink']. 3. LEX:PFV
arpa-j-
vi.* 'rise'; *egie-j-
vi.*
'stop'; *jenme-ge-j-
vi.* 'run
across'; *kewe-j-
'go, leave';
šapa-ha-j-
vi.* 'knock a part of
one's body against something';
*šel-ge-j-
vi.* 'break'.
-jī- (6.3.3.2.5) ITER *eli-jī-*
['carry']; *kigī-jī-* ['jab']; *tadī-jī-*
['give'].
-ī- (6.4.3.3.4) 1. CAUS *aml-ī-*
'swallow' [*amle-j-
'get into, fall
into'];
čen-ī-* 'laugh, tease'
[*čenu-* 'funny']; *čit-n-ī-* [*čit-ne-*
'long']; *ibiš-ī-* 'nurse (*vt.*)'
[*ibiše-
vt.* 'nurse (*vi.*)'];
joŋ-n-ī- [*joŋ-nō-* 'be open'];
momž-ī- [*momžū-
vi.* 'tighten'];

- omd-i-* [*omdu* ‘hurry’]; *omol-i-* ‘put to shame’ [*omolū-* ‘be ashamed’]; *pied-i-* [*piede* ‘burn’]; *pon'-i-* [*pon'-ō-* ‘be left, remain’]; ‡ *emb-i-* ‘saw’; *kønm-i-* *vt.* ‘accompany’ [*kønme* ‘companion, partner’].
- kē~ -qā-** (3.2.4.3.2, 6.3.5.3.2) **INCH** *eldel-kie-* [*eldelū-* ‘boring’]; *jow-qā-* [‘ache’]; *n'umudi-kie-* [*n'umudū-* ‘sour’]; *puge-kie-j* ‘hot’ [*n.* ‘summer’].
- l'e-** (6.3.5.3.2) **INCH** *čiče-l'e-* [‘*čit-ne*’ ‘long’]; *kenbe-l'e-* [*kenbu-ne-* ‘broad’]; *šolgu-l'e-* [‘*šolgun-ne-*’ ‘rigid, tough (of animal skin)’]. ‡ *jow-l'e-* ‘ill’ [‘ache’].
- mie-** (6.3.6.4.2) **QLT** *ejuke-mie-* [‘not far’]; *elide-mie-* [‘tender, delicate’]; *ijerin-mie-* ‘unusual, strange’ [‘in another way’]; *kødin-mie-* [‘right, proper’]; *lede-mie-* [‘low, flat’]; *meko-mie-* [‘close, near’]; *olhin-mie-* [‘smooth, plain’]; *omon-mie-* [‘cool, calm’]; *puden-mie-* [‘high’]; *tāt-mie-* ‘such’ (see 7.1.2.2.4); *titi-mie-* ‘similar to’ [*tite* ‘like’ (see 7.3.3)]; *šobin-mie-* [‘calm, quiet’].
- mu-** (6.3.5.3.1) **INCH** *adilu-mu-* ~ *adi-mu-* [*ad-* ‘strong, hard’]; *čā-mu-* [‘few’]; *čom-mu-* [‘*čom-ō-*’ ‘big’]; *čowru-mu-* [‘*čowr-ō-*’ ‘tight’]; *embu-mu-* [‘*embe-*’ ‘black’]; *ijl'i-mu-* [‘*ijl'-ō-*’ ‘thick’]; *ikl'i-mu-* [‘*ikl'-ō-*’ ‘hard’]; *jeru-mu-* [‘*jer-ō-*’ ‘shallow’]; *joho-mu-* ~ *joŋo-mu-* [*joŋo n.* ‘evil’], *joŋo-n'e-* *vi.* ‘angry, evil’]; *jolo-mu-* [‘*jol-ō-*’ ‘be the last’]; *ligu-mu-* [‘*lige-*’ ‘old’]; *nigeji-mu-* [‘*nigej-ō-*’ ‘hard, difficult’]; *ningu-mu-* ~ *ninge-mu-* [‘*ninge-*’ ‘multiple’]; *nonžu-mu-* [‘*nonž-ō-*’ ‘weak’]; *puknu-mu-* [‘*pukn-ō-*’ ‘dense, rich’].
- ne-** (4.3.2) **QLT** *čit-ne-* [‘long’]; *joŋ-nō-* ‘be open’ [*joha-* *vi.* ‘open’]; *kenbu-ne-* [‘broad’]; *pøm-ne-* [‘round’]; *šolgun-ne-* [‘rigid, tough (of animal skin)’].
- n'-** ~ **n'e-** (4.3.2, 5.5.5.1) **QLT** *čāhar-n'e-* [‘fastidious’]; *en'-n'e-* [‘cheerful’] [*ed-* ‘alive’]; *jū-n'e-* [‘smoky’] [*jū* ‘smoke’]; *kejle-n'-* [‘red’]; *poj-n'e-* [‘white, light’]. ‡ *ā-n'e-* *vi.* ‘pull (of a draught animal)’]; *an'-n'e-* *vi.* ‘speak’]; *kimdā-n'e-* [‘lie, deceive’]; *šaqale-n'-* [‘yellow’] [*šaqale* ‘fox’]; *šubede-n'-* [‘diligent, painstaking’] [*šubede* ‘heart’].
- ō-** (6.3.6.3) **STAT.** *čom-ō-* [‘big’]; *čour-ō-* [‘tight’]; *oh-ō-* [‘stand’]; *ijl'-ō-* [‘thick’]; *ikl'-ō-* [‘hard’]; *ill'-ō-* [‘new’]; *momž-ō-* [‘narrow, tight’] [*momžū-* *vi.* ‘tighten’]; *nigej-ō-* [‘hard, difficult’]; *nonž-ō-* [‘weak’]; *orp-ō-* [‘hang’]; *pon'-ō-* [‘be left, remain’]; *pukol'-ō-* [‘soft’]; *pukn-ō-* [‘dense, rich’]; *god-ō-* [‘lie’].
- re-** (6.3.3.2.4, 6.4.3.3.5, 6.4.4.1) **I. CAUS:NONIT** *orpu-re-* [‘*orp-ō-*’ ‘hang’]; *ajā-re-* [‘rejoice, be glad’]; *jarqu-re-* [‘*jarq-ā-*’ *vi.* ‘freeze’]; *šøj-re-* [‘*šøg-*’ ‘enter, get into’].

- 2. NONIT** *ej-re-* ‘walk’; *jā-re-* ‘swim’; *jie-re-* ‘flow, drift’; *šej-re-* ‘run away, escape’.
- 3. APPL** *an’dā-re-* [‘tease’]; *eg-ie-re-* ‘step (on)’ [‘stand up’]; *erdō-re-* [*erde-* ‘want, strive’]; *irkō-re-* ‘become afraid of’ [*irke-* ‘tremble’]; *kudel’e-re-* [‘be going to, prepare to’].
- rī-** (6.4.4.1) **APPL** *ejme-rī-* [‘watch’]; *jømge-rī-* ‘bypass’ [‘rotate, revolve’]; *jaqte-rī-* ‘sing about’ [‘sing’]; *kimdān’e-rī-* ‘lie to’ [*kimdā-n’e-* ‘lie, deceive’]; *n’iedi-r’ī-* [‘tell, narrate’]; *ørn’e-rī-* ‘shout to’ [‘shout’].
- s’-** (6.3.3.2.6) **ITER:DSTR** *el’i-te-s’-* [‘load, fasten’]; *im-de-s’-* [CAUS from *ime-* ‘be ride on an animal’s back, on a sledge, etc.’]; *jowlu-s’-* *vt.* ‘ask’; *kiš-še-s’-* [‘show’]; *orpu-re-s’-* [*vt.* ‘hang out’]; *ul-te-s’-* [‘tie’].
- še-** (6.4.3.3.1) **CAUS** *čeru-še-* ‘drown’ [*čere-j-* ‘sink’]; *moru-še-* ‘put on, dress oneself or somebody else’ [*moro-* ‘dress, put on’]; *šohu-še-* ‘lose’ [*šohie-* ‘lose one’s way, disappear’].
- še-j’-** (6.4.3.3.1) **CAUS:PFV** *irku-še-j-* ‘frighten, make tremble’ [*irke-* ‘tremble’]; *šegi-še-j-* ‘let run away, frighten off’ [*šej-re-* ‘run away, escape’].
- t-** (6.4.3.3.3) **1. CAUS:ITER** *jata-ha-t-* ‘straighten, rectify’; *joha-t-* [*vi.* ‘open’]; *n’ača-ha-t-* [*n’ača-ha-j-* ‘pierce, penetrate’]; *piede-t-* [*piede-* ‘burn’]; *šana-ha-t-* ‘make something crackle, use something to crackle’ [*šana-ha-* ‘crackle’]; *šapa-ha-t-* ‘hit’ [*šapa-ha-j- vi.* ‘hit, knock, stub a part of one’s body against something’]; *šel-ge-t-* ‘break’ [*šel-ge-j- vi.* ‘break’]. **2. CAUS/PRPR** *erule-t-* ‘injure, harm (e.g., by witchcraft)’ [*erū-* ‘bad’].
- te-** (6.4.3.3.1) **1. CAUS** *ahi-te-* ‘hide’ [*ahidū-* ‘hide (oneself)’]; *ege-te-* ‘put, install’ [*eg-ie-* ‘stand up’]; *ej-te-* ‘throw, use smth to hit’ [*ejū- vi.* ‘hit’]; *eli-te-* ‘load, fasten’ [*el’ie-* ‘carry’]; *jaq-ta-* ‘bring’ [*jaqa-* ‘arrive’]; *legi-te-* [*leg-* ‘eat’]; *modo-te-* [‘sit, stay, live’]; *moro-te-* [‘dress, put on’]; *tami-te-* [*tam-* ‘dress oneself’]. **2. LEX:TR** *il’i-te-* ‘curse, offend’.
- te-j-** (6.4.3.3.1) **CAUS:PFV** *jedu-te-j-* [*jed-* ‘visible’]. **2. LEX:PFV** *an-te-j- vi.* ‘respond’.
- uj(i)-** (6.3.3.2.2) **ITER** *abud-ujī- vt.* [‘pull out’]; *abud-ujī- vi.* [*abud-ā-* ‘lie down’]; *al’b-ujī- vi.* [*al’be-* ‘spill’]; *aml-ujī-* [*amle-j-* ‘get into, fall into’]; *čem-ujī- vi.* [*čeme-j-* ‘stop, cease’]; *čer-ujī- vi.* [*čere-j-* ‘sink’]; *eg-ujī- vi.* [*eg-ie-* ‘stand up’, *eg-ie-j-* ‘stop’]; *ibil’-ujī- vi.* [*ibil’e-* ‘cry’]; *irk-ujī- vi.* [*irke-* ‘tremble’]; *jaq-ujī- vi.* [*jaqa-* ‘arrive’]; *jarq-ujī-* [*jarq-ā-* ‘freeze’]; *jed-ujī-* [*jed-* ‘be visible’]; *kew-ujī-* [*kewe-j-* ‘go, leave’]; *mežž-ujī-* [*mežže-* ‘listen, stay awake’];

menmeg-uji- [*menme-ge-* 'jump']; *mer-uji-* [*mere-* 'fly']; *mid-uji-* [*mid-* 'take']; *mid-uji-* [*mido-* 'roam']; *n'oh-uji-* [*n'oho-* 'fall']; *šoh-uji- vi.* 'walk around unable to find one's way' [*šoh-ie-* 'lose one's way']; *šož-uji- vi.* [*šož-ie-* 'become numb'].

-že- (6.4.4.2) **1. DETR** *čine-že-* ['chop']; *kerpe-že-* [*kerpe-* 'rake, move']; *qohī-že-* ['dig'].

2. MDL *čanu-že-* ['defend']; *n'eli-že-* ['lick']; *n'igi-že-* ['warm, heat']; *šere-že-*

['embroider']. **3. NONIT** *šube-že-* 'run'.

-žē- ~ -žī- (6.4.3.3.2) **CAUS** *al'be-žī-* ['spill']; *čomō-že-* *čomō-žī-* ['big']; *en-že-* 'bring up' [*ed-* 'alive']; *jukō-že-* ['small']; *il'e-že-* 'renovate, renew' ['new']; *omo-žī-* ['good'].

-(u)žū- (6.3.9.2.3)

1. ITER:DSPR *eg-užu-* [*ej-re-* 'walk']; *jie-žu-* [*jie-re-* 'flow, drift']; *godō-žu-* ['lie']; *šeg-užu-* [*šea-re-* 'run away, escape'].

2. RECP *jug-užu- vi.* 'kiss' [*jugī- vt.* 'kiss'].

Appendix 3

Texts

The Appendix represents two oral genres, a fairytale and a story from the speaker's childhood. Both texts were recorded in 1992. The author and narrator is Vasilij Gavrilovich Shalugin.

1. *Oqil'l'ā*

1. *irk-id'e irk-in jalhil qohol'-ā-din l'ie-l'el.*
one-ITER one-ATTR lake wither-INGR-SUP be-INFR
2. *jerū-mu-j, jerū-mu-t*
shallow-INCH-INTR:3SG shallow-INCH-SS:IPFV
- qohol'e-j.* 3. *‘tā l'e-l ani-pe met*
wither-INTR:3SG there be-ANR fish-PL I
- kewe-j-l-u-ge-ne qohol'e-l-u-gene čumut*
go-PFV-1|2-0-DS:COND wither-1|2-0-DS:COND all
- amde-možī-ŋi.”* 4. *tamun ŋnme-ge l'e-t*
die-PRSP-3PL:INTR that mind-LOC be-SS:IPFV
- ani-pe-lek šaqal'a-š-mele.* 5. *šaqal'a-ŋi-de-ge tāt*
fish-PL-PRED gather-CAUS-OF-3SG gather-PL-3-DS CA
- mol-l'el:* 6. *“met kewe-j-možī-je.* 7. *tamun čobul*
say-INFR(3SG) I go-PFV-PRSP-INTR:1SG that sea
- pugedend'e-ŋin mon-gi nado+ŋō-l.* 8. *tude*
king-DAT say-POSS necessary+COP-SF he
- el+mon-de kieje met kewe-j-l eri-s'.*
NEG+say-POSS-ATTR before I go-PFV-ANR bad-INTR:3SG

9. *taŋ ažū-gele kin joq-to-t čobul*
 that word-ACC who arrive-CAUS-FUT(ITR:3SG) sea

pugedan'd'e-ŋin tit+sam nuy-ŋik!"
 king-DAT you+self find-PL-IMP:2

10. *n'e+šaqal'ā-delle n'ied'i-t ani-pe*
 RECP+gather-SS:PFV speak-SS:IPFV fish-PL

mol-l'el-ŋi: 11. *"oqil'l'ā qon-gen.* 12. *tudel ninge-j*
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR perch go-IMP:3SG he many-ATTR

šoromo-gi oj-l'e. 13. *čā-je*
 person-POSS NEG-be(3SG) few-ATTR

šoromo-n'i. 14. *tudel qon-gen.* 15. *āžū*
 person-PRPR-INTR:3SG he go-IMP:3SG word

jan-nu-l-gele joq-to-gen."
 send-IPFV-ANR-ACC arrive-CAUS-IMP:3SG

16. *d'e tāt tude-gele gudel'e-š-ie-l'el-ŋā*
 DP CA he-ACC prepare-CAUS-INGR-INFR-3PL:TR

ani-n pulut-pe, tiŋ šuke-die-pe n'atn'ujā-pe
 fish-ATTR old.man-PL this pike-DIM-PL burbot-PL

čamani-pe iče-pul jen-ben-pe 17. *"čobul-ge*
 white.salmon-PL sturgeon-PL other-RELNR-PL. sea

čomō-d'e unun-pe-ge jalhi-n pujle-pul-ge
 deep-ATTR river-PL-LOC lake-ATTR watercourse-PL-LOC

bičun n'e+lej-nu-l-ben-pe-k leŋ-ŋi-te-l."
 various RECP+eat-IPFV-ANR-RELNR-PL-PRED eat-3PL-FUT-SF

18. *tud-in d'e ludu-n mahil ūjā-l'el-ŋile.*
 he-DAT DP iron-ATTR coat make-INGR-INFR-3PL-OF

19. *ā-delle moššā-l'el-ŋile.* 20. *tud-in*
 make-SS:PFV put.on-INFR-3PL-OF he-DAT

mol-l'el-ŋi: 21. *"tet godi-mie at-ki*
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR you which-QLT strong-POSS

šuke-die-ŋin n'atn'ujā-ŋin n'āč'in egie-k!"
 pike-DIM-DAT burbot-DAT against stand-IMP:2SG

22. *tamun-ge n'atn'ujā-ŋin n'āč'in egie-de-ge n'atn'ujā*
 that-LOC burbot-DAT against stand-3SG-DS burbot

- tude-gele el+qod-ā-l'el.* 23. *šukedie-ŋin*
 he-ACC NEG+how-make-INFR(3SG) pike-DIM-DAT
egie-de-ge šuke-die tottohor-u-m. 24. *tamun-ge ani-n*
 stand-3SG-DS pike-DIM catch-0-TR:3SG that-LOC fish-ATTR
pulut-pe mol-l'el-ŋi: 25. *“aĵi omos’ adi*
 old.man-PL say-INFR-3PL:INTR CP well strong
ā-gi nado.” 26. *tamun-ge ugur-de-ge*
 make-POSS necessary that-LOC spine-POSS-LOC
mided'e-š-l'el-ŋā. 27. *n'āče-de-ge*
 needle-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR face-POSS-LOC
pieje-p-te-ge n'āče-j pømne-j ludul-pe-lek
 cheek-PL-POSS-LOC sharp-ATTR round-ATTR iron-PL-PRED
tottā-l'el-ŋile. 28. *pierend'ā-pe-de-jle čumu adi*
 attach-INFR-3PL:TR fin-PL-POSS-ACC all strong
ā-l'el-ŋā. 29. *šāhar-pe-de-jle adi*
 make-INFR-3PL:TR scale-PL-POSS-ACC strong
tottā-l'el-ŋā. 30. *d'e tāt āj šukedie-ŋin*
 attach-INFR-3PL:TR DP CA CP pike-DIM-DAT
mol-l'el-ŋi: 31. *“eškeri-k!”* 32. *šuke-die tāt*
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR attack-IMP:2SG pike-DIM CA
eškeri-l'ie-l'el-u-m. 33. *tamun-ge oqil'l'ā*
 attack-0-INGR-INFR-0-TR:3SG that-LOC perch
el+met+tadī-l'el. 34. *d'e tāt mol-l'el-ŋi:*
 NEG+REFL+give-INFR(3SG) DP CA say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 35. *“čobul čomō-d'e le-je nie-ŋi-k!”* 36. *tamun-ŋin*
 sea big-ATTR eat-ATTR call-PL-IMP:2 that-DAT
eškeri-š-l'el-ŋā. 37. *tamun eškeri-de-ge oqil'l'ā*
 attack-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR that attack-3SG-DS perch
el+met+tadī-l'el. 38. *tamun eškeri-t*
 NEG+REFL+give-INFR(3SG) that attack-SS:IPFV
el+qod-ā-l'el. 39. *d'e tāt id'ī mon-ŋi:*
 NEG+how-make-INFR(NEG:3SG) DP CA now say-3PL:INTR
 40. *“čobul čigenmō-d'e mieste-k.* 41. *čeginmō-d'e mieste-ge*
 sea deep-ATTR place-PRED deep-ATTR place-LOC

- godo l'e-t?" mon-u-t tude-gele čigenmō-d'e*
 how be-FUT(ITR:3SG) say-0-SS:IPFV he-ACC deep-ATTR
mieste-ge joq-to-lle juø-ŋā. 42. juø-ŋi-de-ge
 place-LOC arrive-CAUS-SS:PFV see-3PL:TR see-PL-3-DS
amun-gi požžol'ā-nu-l'el. 43. tamun-gele
 bone-POSS bend-IPFV-INFR(3SG) that-ACC
mol-l'el-ŋi: 44. "amun-gi adulu-du-gi nado."
 say-INFR-3PL:INTR bone-POSS strengthen-POSS necessary
 45. *pukol'ō-d'e amun-pe-de-jle lon-čī-lle*
 soft-ATTR bone-PL-POSS-ACC fall-CAUS:ITER-SS:PFV
at-če amun-pe-lek totto-š-ŋile. 46. d'e tāt āj
 strong-ATTR bone-PL-PRED attach-CAUS-3PL:OF DP CA CP
čeru-še-ŋā čigenmō-d'e mieste-ge. 47. juø-ŋi-de-ge
 sink-CAUS-3PL:TR deep-ATTR place-LOC see-PL-3-DS
omos' amun-pe-gi el+qodo-l'ā-l'el.
 good-ATTR bone-PL-POSS NEG+how-be-INFR(3SG)
 48. *pierenžā-pe-gi āj omo-l'el-ŋi.*
 fin-PL-POSS CP good-INFR-3PL:INTR
 49. *d'e tāt jalhi-n pugedan'd'e-ŋin*
 DP CA lake-ATTR king-DAT
joq-tā-l'el-ŋā. 50. "gudel'e-š-i, čumu
 arrive-CAUS-INFR-3PL:INTR prepare-CAUS-TR:1PL all
juø-j, omos' ā-j." 51. jalhi-n pugedan'd'e
 see-TR:1PL well make-TR:1PL lake-ATTR king
oqil'l'ā-ŋin mon-i: 52. "gudel'-ō-ŋide jāl-mid'e
 perch-DAT say-INTR:3SG prepare-RES-SS:COND three-ITER
ammal-delle kewe-j-l'-ie-k! 53. jā-n
 spend.night-SS:PFV go-PFV-0-INGR-IMP:2SG three-ATTR
pod'erqo s'is'kin kis'-te-mik jaqa-delle čobu-n
 day long learn-FUT-TR:2SG arrive-SS:PFV sea-ATTR
pugedan'd'e-ge neme mon-ōl+možū." 54. d'e tāt oqil'l'ā
 king-LOC what say-RNR+PRSP DP CA perch
kič-ie-m nem-dik mon-to-mle. 55. omos'
 learn-INGR-TR:3SG what-PRED say-FUT-OF:3SG well

- kič-u-m tude mon-ōl+možū-gele kitte-get*
 learn-0-TR:3SG he say-RNR+PRSP-ACC end-ABL
kičil-de laŋin jaqte-l-e n'e+kie
 end-POSS:ATTR DIR sing-ANR-INSTR RECP+interval
kič-u-m. 56. kič-ō-de jelāt jalhi-n
 learn-0-TR:3SG learn-RNR-POSS:ATTR after lake-ATTR
pugedan'd'e ani-n pulut-pe-le čumu n'ie-m.
 king fish-ATTR old.man-PL-INSTR all call-TR:3SG
57. tāt mol-l'el: 58. "medī-ŋi-k met ažū
 CA say-INFR-INTR(3SG) listen-PL-IMP:2 my word
mon-ōl-gele godo kis'-l'el-u-m." 59. oqil'l'ā tāt
 say-RNR-ACC how learn-INFR-0-TR:3SG perch CA
n'ied'-ie-l'el nem-dik mon-to-mle
 tell-INGR-INFR(3SG) what-PRED say-FUT-OF:3SG
jaqte-l-e n'e+kie. 60. tā čemej-l'el
 sing-ANR-INSTR RECP+interval there finish-INFR(3SG)
kitte-ge jaqa-delle. 61. čemej-l-ō-de jelāt
 end-LOC arrive-SS:PFV finish-0-RNR-POSS:ATTR after
oqil'l'ā čumut mol-l'el-ŋi: 62. "omos'
 perch all say-INFR-3PL:INTR well
kis'-l'el-u-m. 63. n'e-leme čajduo-d'uon
 learn-INFR-0-TR:3SG NEG-what insufficient-SBNR
oj-l'e. 64. čumut kodin-mie-j."
 NEG-be(3SG) all right-QLT-INTR:3SG
- 65. d'e tāt kewe-j-l'-ie-l'el oqil'l'ā čobu-n*
 DP CA go-PFV-0-INGR-INFR(3SG) perch sea-ATTR
pugedan'd'e laŋin. 66. jalhil-get unu-n laŋide jalhi-n
 king DIR lake-ABL river-ATTR DIR lake-ATTR
pujle-gen joq-to-ŋā unun-ge. 67. d'e
 watercourse-PROL arrive-CAUS-3PL:TR river-LOC DP
unun-ge jaqa-l-ō-de jelāt unun-gen čobul-ŋin
 river-LOC arrive-0-RNR-POSS:ATTR after river-PROL sea-DAT
eg-užu-l ani-pe čobul-ge joq-to-ŋā. 68. čobul
 go-ITER-ANR fish-PL sea-LOC arrive-CAUS-3PL:TR sea

- pugedend'e-ge jaqa-de-ge oqil'l'ā tude-gele joq-to-l*
 king-LOC arrive-3SG-DS perch he-ACC arrive-CAUS-ANR
ani-pe čobul pugedend'e-ŋin mol-l'el-ŋi: 69. "oqil'l'ā
 fish-PL sea king-DAT say-INFR-3PL:INTR perch
kel-u-l jalhil-get jalhi-n pugedan'd'e jan-de-ge."
 come-0-ANR lake-ABL lake-ATTR king send-3SG-DS
 70. *čobun pugedan'd'e tamun-gele medī-delle*
 sea-ATTR king that-ACC listen-SS:PFV
mol-l'el: 71. "met-in šej-re-ŋi-k!" 72. *oqil'l'ā-gele*
 say-INFR(3SG) I-DAT enter-CAUS-PL-IMP:2 perch-ACC
čobu-n pugedan'd'e-ŋin joq-tā-l'el-ŋā.
 sea-ATTR king-DAT arrive-CAUS-INFR-3PL:TR
 73. *šøg-u-t oqil'l'ā n'āče-le ā-l'el-u-m.*
 enter-0-SS:IPFV perch fase-INSTR make-INFR-0-TR:3SG
 74. "čomō-l čobu-n pugedan'd'e, tet budie-n nilgi
 big-ANR sea-ATTR king you above-ATTR nobody
oj-l'e. 75. *tet-in kewe-j-din l'e-l jalhi-n*
 NEG-be(3SG) you-DAT go-PFV-SUP be-ANR lake-ATTR
pugedan'd'e-get čomō-d'e ilugele-lek keči-me.
 king-ABL big-ATTR greeting-PRED bring-OF:1SG
 76. *čomō-d'e n'ienud'ie-l-ek āžū jan-nu-mle."*
 big-ATTR ask-ANR-PRED word send-IPFV-OF:3SG
 77. *jalhi-n pugedan'd'e jan-n-uol-gele kitte-get*
 lake-ATTR king send-IPFV-RNR-ACC end-ABL
kitt-in jaqtel-e n'e+kie čumu n'ide-m.
 end-DAT sing-ANR-INSTR RECP+interval all tell-TR:3SG
 78. *tamun-ge čobu-n pugedan'd'e mon-i:* 79. "d'e
 that-LOC sea-ATTR king say-INTR:3SG DP
omo-če āžū jan-n-uol-ek. 80. *n'e-leme-n*
 good-ATTR word send-IPFV-RNR-PRED NEG-what-ATTR
er-čōn oj-l'e. 81. *n'e-leme el+čajduo.*
 bad-SBNR NEG-be(3SG) NEG-what NEG-insufficient(3SG)
 82. *ažū jan-n-uol-gi ønme-ge min."*
 word send-IPFV-RNR-POSS mind-LOC take(TR:1SG)

83. *tude šoromo-pul-ŋin mon-i:* his person-PL-DAT say-INTR:3SG
šoromo titel'uo omo-s'e mieste-ge jūče peššej-din
 person like good-ATTR place-LOC breath throw-SUP
mieste ā-delle tadi-ŋi-k!"
84. "oqil'l'ā kie-če perch come-ATTR
peššej-din
 throw-SUP
 85. *tude+sam čobu-n* he+self sea-ATTR
puġedan'd'e tude šoromo-pul-n'e n'ied'i-t jalhil
 king his person-PL-COM speak-SS:IPFV lake
puġedan'd'e ažu jan-n-uol-ek n'ide-mele.
 king word send-IPFV-RNR-PRED tell-OF:3SG
86. *tamun-ge ile-pul mon-ŋi:* that-LOC other-PL say-3PL:INTR
ligu-mu-l'el. 87. "jalhil puġedend'e lake king
 old-INCH-INFR(3SG) that-ABL he go-ITER(3SG) we
lanjide kel-ŋin. 88. *kødin gudie-l'el ažu*
 DIR come-DAT right become-INFR(3SG) word
jan-n-uo-gi. 89. *tud-in mon-t-ī'i:*
 send-IPFV-RNR-POSS he-DAT say-FUT-INTR:1PL
 90. *kodin-mie-j qodo gud-ōl tet+sam*
 right-QLT-INTR:3SG how become-RNR you+self
lejdi-k! 91. *tet ažu jan-n-uol*
 know-IMP:2SG you word send-IPFV-RNR
kodin-mie-j."
 right-QLT-INTR:3SG
92. *oqil'l'ā jāl-mid'e ammal-delle mol-l'el:*
 perch there-ITER spend.night-SS:PFV say-INFR(3SG)
93. "qodo gude-l-ōl+možu mon-ŋi-k!" 94. *čobu-n*
 how become-0-RNR+PRSP say-PL-IMP:2SG sea-ATTR
puġedan'd'e edies'-telle tude-gele mon-i: 95. "tet qodo
 king call-SS:PFV he-ACC say-INTR:3SG you how
jelohude jaqa-te-jek? 96. *tet-n'e*
 back:DIR arrive-FUT-INTR:2SG you-COM
kel-u-l-ben-pe mudde-j-ŋi. 97. *tet-kele tāt*
 come-0-ANR-RELN-PL pass-PFV-3PL:INTR you-ACC CA

- pugedan'd'e-ŋin āj tude+sam jaqa-j.* 117. *tude-get*
 king-DAT CP he+self arrive-INTR:3SG he-ABL
nienund'ie-j oqil'l'ā: 118. "met-ul jan!
 ask-INGR-INTR:3SG perch I-ACC send(IMP:2)
 119. *met+id'ie+de čurud'ā jaqa-te-je.* 120. *met-ul*
 I+self+CP slowly arrive-FUT-INTR:1SG I-ACC
jan! 121. *tet-ket me+nienund'i-je.* 122. "omos'
 send(IMP:2). you-ABL AFF+ask-INTR:1SG well
ejre-jek. 123. *omo-s' āžū jan-n-uol omos'*
 go-INTR:2SG good-ATTR word send-IPFV-RNR well
joq-to-mik. 124. *čobu-n ørd'e laŋin met tet-in*
 arrive-CAUS-TR:2SG sea-ATTR middle DIR I you-DAT
gamie-d'e-t-če. 125. *šoromo-p-lek*
 help-DETR-FUT-INTR:1SG person-PL-PRED
kej-te-me. 126. *tittel tet-kele čobu-n ørd'e-ge*
 give-FUT-OF:1SG they you-ACC sea-ATTR middle-LOC
joq-to-lle tā jēn ani-pe-ŋin jēn
 arrive-CAUS-SS:PFV there other fish-PL-DAT other
ōžū-pe-ge ed'-u-l ani-pe-ŋin mon-ŋi-te-j:
 water-PL-LOC live-0-ANR fish-PL-DAT say-3PL-FUT-INTR
 127. «*tudel tit tite āj tī modo-din prav-n'e-j.*»
 he you like CA here sit-SUP right-PRPR-INTR:3SG
 128. *tāt-mie ažū mon-u-t čobu-n pugedan'd'e*
 that-QLT word say-0-SS:IPFV sea-ATTR king
mon-i: 129. "tet-in čobu-n mahil-ek tet-in
 say-INTR:3SG you-DAT sea-ATTR coat-PRED you-DAT
niŋie omoled'e-ŋin kej-te-me." 130. *tāt mon-delle tude*
 soul goodness-DAT give-FUT-OF:1SG CA say-SS:PFV his
šoromo-pul-ŋin čobu-n pugedan'd'e mon-i: 131. *tiŋ*
 person-PL-DAT sea-ATTR king say-INTR:3SG this
šoromo čobu-n ørd'e laŋin n'e+kenmī-t
 person sea-ATTR middle DIR RECP+accompany-SS:IPFV
joq-to-ŋi-k! 132. *tā l'e-l ani-pe-ŋin*
 arrive-CAUS-PL-IMP:2 there be-ANR fish-PL-DAT

- kin-tek num-met tamun-pe-ŋin čumu mon-ŋi-k:*
 who-PRED find-OF:2PL that-PL-DAT all say-PL-IMP:2
 133. *«tit tite tudel modo-din prav-n'e-j.* 134. *tud-in*
 you like he sit-SUP right-PRPR-INTR:3SG he-DAT
er-čuon el+ā-ŋi-lek! 135. *qamie-d'e-ŋi-k!»*"
 bad-SBNR NEG+make-PL-PROH-IMP:2 help-DETR-PL-IMP:2
 136. *tāt-mie ažu-le čobu-n pugedan'd'e lostubī-delle*
 that-QLT word-INSTR sea-ATTR king praise-SS:PFV
mon-i: 137. *"numø-ge omos' jaqa-k!"*
 say-INTR:3SG house-LOC well arrive-IMP:2SG
 138. *taŋ kewe-j-l-ōl-e oqil'l'ā jaqa-j.*
 that go-PFV-0-RNR-INSTR perch arrive-INTR:3SG
 139. *čobul pugedan'd'e ažu jan-n-uo-de-jle*
 sea king word send-IPFV-RNR-POSS-ACC
joq-to-m jalhi-n pugedan'd'e-ŋin.
 arrive-CAUS-TR:3SG lake-ATTR king-DAT
 140. *jalhi-n pugedan'd'e tamun-ge ajā-t tude-ge*
 lake-ATTR king that-LOC rejoice-SS:IPFV he-LOC
l'e-l ani-pe-gele čumu jan-nu-m. 141. *unun-ŋin*
 be-ANR fish-PL-ACC all send-IPFV-TR:3SG river-DAT
jalhi-n pujle-pul-gen jan-nu-m. 142. *tamun*
 lake-ATTR watercourse-PL-PROL send-IPFV-TR:3SG that
jelat tude+sam kewe-s' čobul laŋin. 143. *oqil'l'ā*
 after he+self go-PFV:INTR:3SG sea DIR perch
tī modo-to-mle mieste oj-l'e-t unun-gen
 here sit-FUT-ATTR:3SG place NEG-be-SS:IPFV river-PROL
jalhil pujle-pul-gen čobul-gen id'ī modo-t
 lake watercourse-PL-PROL sea-PROL now sit-SS:IPFV
ed'-u-t l'e-j. 144. *tamun-gele tud-in tudā*
 live-0-SS:IPFV be-INTR:3SG that-ACC he-DAT that.time
čobul pugedan'd'e-ge ejre-de-ge čobu-n pugedan'd'e
 sea king-LOC walk-3SG-LOC sea-ATTR king
mol-l'el, 145. *tāčüle ajī nilgi tude-gele*
 say-INFR(3SG) then CP nobody he-ACC

el+ūše-gen. 146. *tabud-e* *tāt modo-j.*
 NEG+touch-PROL that-INSTR CA sit-INTR:3SG
 147. *čobul-ge+de l'e-j* *unun-ge+de l'e-j,*
 sea-LOC-CP be-INTR:3SG river-LOC+CP be-INTR:3SG
jalhil-ge+de l'e-j.
 lake-LOC-CP be-INTR:3SG

Perch

(1) Once a lake was going to dry out, (2) it was getting shallow. (3) "The fishes that live here, if I disappear, all of them are going to die," – (4) with that in mind, he (the lake) gathered the fishes. (5) After they had gathered, he said: (6) "I have to go away, (7) it is necessary to inform the sea-king about this. (8) It is wrong to go away without having informed him in advance. (9) Choose yourselves who will bring this message to the sea-king. (10) The fishes gathered, discussed the matter and said: (11) "Let Perch go! (12) He does not have a large family, (13) his family is small. (14) Let him go (15) and bring the message."

(16) Well, the fish elders began to prepare him for the trip, the pikes, burbot, white salmons, sturgeons, and others. (17) "Various predators can eat him in the sea, in large rivers and in lake watercourses." (18) And they began to make an iron coat for him. (19) Having made it, they dressed him in it. (20) They said to him: (21) "In order to check whether it is robust enough, stand up against Pike and Burbot!" (22) Burbot was not able to do anything against him, (23) but Pike did catch him. (24) Then the fish elders said: (25) "It is necessary to strengthen him even more!" (26) They fortified his spine with needles, (27) attached sharp round pieces of iron to his cheeks, (28) strengthened his fins, (29) and glued his scale firmly. (30) Then they told Pike again: (31) "Attack!" (32) Pike attacked, (33) but he did not give up. (34) Then they said: (35) "Call a large sea predator!" (36) They told this one to attack (him). (37) He attacked, but Perch did not give up. (38) He could not do anything against him. (39) Well, then they said: (40) "The sea is

deep! (41) How will he be doing in a deep place?" – with that in mind, they brought him to a deep place, and (42) saw that his bones were bending. (43) That is why they said: (44) "We have to strengthen his bones". (45) They replaced his soft bones with robust ones and (46) brought him into a deep place again. (47) They saw that nothing happened to his good bones. (48) The fins proved to be good, too.

(49) Then they brought him to the lake-king: (50) "We have prepared him and checked everything, we have done our job well." (51) The lake-king said to Perch: (52) "If you are ready, spend three days here and then set off. (53) During these three days you will learn by heart what you have to say when you reach the sea-king." (54) Perch began to learn his speech. (55) He learnt it very well, from the beginning to the end, mixed with a song. (56) After he had finished, the lake-king called the fish elders (57) and said: (58) "Listen how he has learnt the speech!" (59) Perch began to tell what he had to, mixed with the song. (60) He finished when the speech was over. (61) After he had finished, they said: (62) "He has learnt it well, (63) there are no flaws, (64) everything is correct.

(65) Well, Perch went to the sea-king. (66) They brought him from the lake to a river along a watercourse. (67) After he had reached the river, the fishes migrating between the river and the sea brought him into the sea. (68) When they came to the sea-king, the fishes which had brought him said: (69) "There has arrived Perch from the lake, the lake-king had sent him." (70) Having heard this, the sea-king said: (71) "Bring him to me!" (72) They brought Perch to the sea-king. (73) Having entered, he bowed: (74) "Great sea-king, there is nobody higher than you are! (75) The lake-king who is about to go away, greets you and (76) asks you for a great favor." (77) And he told the lake-king's message from the beginning to the end, mixed with the song. (78) The sea-king said: (79) "Well, this is a proper appeal, (80) there is nothing bad, (81) there are no flaws. (82) I accept his request." (83) He said to his people: (84) "Perch is our guest, prepare a nice place for him to have a rest." (85) He himself, the sea-king, spoke with his people and described the lake-king's message. (86) The others

replied: (87) "The lake-king grew old. (88) That is why he is about to wither and come to us. (89) His message is correct. (90) Let us tell him: (91) 'You know yourself how to behave properly. (92) Your message is correct'."

(93) Perch spent three nights there and asked: (94) "What should I do, tell me!" (95) The sea-king called him and said: (96) "How can you go back? (97) Those who had come with you, passed by. (98) There is nobody who could bring you back. (99) You have to wait until the next year". (100) Perch replied: (101) "How should I live here? (102) I am a lake person." (103) The sea-king said: (104) "I will settle you here, (105) I will arrange a place for you to stay." (106) "Right," Perch said, (107) "thank you very much. (108) I wait here until my people come. (109) Then I will go home." (110) They arranged a place for him to stay. (111) While he was staying there, he decided (112) that he could go home alone. (113) While living there, he had learnt everything: (114) the language, simply everything: how they lived and walked, (115) what people did, what was prohibited. (116) Once he came to the sea-king (117) and started to implore him: (118) "Let me go, (119) I will go alone step by step. (120) Let me go, (121) I ask you." (122) "You have made a good trip, (123) you have properly brought a good speech. (124) I will help you till the middle of the sea, (125) I'll give you people. (126) They will bring you there and tell other fishes who live there (127) that you have the right to live there, like they themselves." (128) Having said this, the sea-king also said: (129) "I'll give you a sea coat as a reward." (130) Then he said to his people: (131) "Bring this person up to the middle of the sea. (132) Tell those who live there: (133) 'He has the right to live here, like you. (134) Do not do anything against him, (135) help him'." (136) Having praised him with these words, he said: (137) "May you Reach your home safely!"

(138) Perch set off and arrived. (139) He brought the sea-king's answer to the lake-king. (140) The lake-king was delighted and let all the fishes go. (141) He sent them into the river along watercourses. (142) And then he went away into the sea himself. (143) Perch has no place to live here, that is why he lives in rivers, in lake watercourses and in the sea. (144) That is because when

he went to the sea-king long ago, the sea-king said: (145) “Nobody should touch him from now on.” (146) That is why he may live everywhere, (147) be it in a river, in the sea or in a lake.

2. Met kønme

1. *jukō-t met kønme pajpā-die-k škola-ge ajī*
 small-SS:IPFV my friend woman-DIM-PRED school-LOC CP
el+kičie-jīl'i. 2. *taŋ met pajpe uø-die-n'e*
 NEG+learn-INTR:1PL that my woman child-DIM-COM
čuoŋte me+juo-dīl'i. 3. *numø-lek ūjī-nunnu-l.*
 always AFF+play-INTR:1PL house-PRED work-HAB-OF:1PL
4. *čohoče-get pømdu-nnu-jel'i miedī-le kol'ese*
 hill-ABL roll-HAB-INTR:1PL sledge-INSTR ski
ejmunde-p-le. 5. *puge-me n'e+nuŋ-ŋide āj*
 half-PL-INSTR summer-TMP RECP+find-SS:COND CP
jōdā-nun-dīl'i. 6. *mit emej+taŋ-pe unuŋ-ge ejūke*
 play-HAB-INTR:1PL our mother+that-PL river-LOC not:far
l'e-de-j-ne odu-n / numø-k ūjī-nunnu-l,
 be-3-DS-COND Yukaghir-ATTR+house-PRED work-HAB-OF:1PL
ločil-ek šaqal'e-š-nu-l. 7. *lebejdī*
 fire-PRED gather-CAUS-IPFV-OF:1PL berries
jīel'e-de-jne lebejdī-k šaqal'e-š-nunnu-l.
 ripen-3-DS-COND berries-PRED gather-CAUS-HAB-OF:1PL
8. *irk-id'e taŋ met kenme met-in n'ied'i.*
 one-ITER that my friend I-DAT tell(INTR:3SG)
9. *jōbī lebejdī ā-t ejre-t irki-d'e,*
 in.forest berries make-SS:IPFV walk-SS:IPFV one-ITER
10. *emej / taŋ-pe ejūke l'e-ŋi,* 11. *unun-ge čohoče*
 mother+that-PL NEG:far be-3PL:INTR river-LOC shore
budie čāj-ek ōže-ŋile, 12. *met lebejdī-k ajī*
 SUPER tea-PRED drink-3PL:OF I berry-PRED CP

- ūji-me.* 13. *tāt+l'e-t* "qaduon-ge ninge-j
 make-OF:1SG CA+be-SS:IPFV where-LOC many-ATTR
lebejdī l'e-j?" mon-u-t juø-t ejre-je.
 berries be-INTR:3SG say-0-SS:IPFV see-SS:IPFV walk-INTR:1SG
14. *met n'āčīn irk-in pajpā-die-k kel-u-l.*
 I against one-ATTR woman-DIM-PRED come-0-SF
15. *met tudel juo-l'-ie: qaduon-get tudel*
 I her see-0-INGR(TR:1SG) where-ABL she
kel?
16. *met-in el+ann'e,*
 come(ITR:3SG) I-DAT NEG-speak(3SG)
el+juø-die-nu. 17. *lebejdī-k*
 NEG+look-DETR-IPFV(3SG) berry-PRED
- šaqal'e-š-nu-mle.* 18. *tāčīle tāt-mie jukō-d'e*
 gather-CAUS-IPFV-OF:3SG then that-QLT small-ATTR
ul'egerā-die-k min-mele. 19. *taŋ tude lebejdī-pe-gele taŋ*
 straw-DIM-PRED take-OF that here berries-PL-ACC that
ul'egerā-die-le noh-u-m. 20. *tāt juø-l-ge*
 straw-DIM-INSTR string-0-TR:3SG CA see-1|2-DS
molut-ki čumut lebejdī-le korol'ki-n'e-j.
 breast-POSS all berries-INSTR necklace-PRPR-INTR:3SG
21. *tamun tude lebejdī-pe-gele ul'egerā-ge*
 that her berries-PL-ACC straw-LOC
nou-mele-ben-gele āj tude molut-ke tutto-m.
 string-OF:3SG-RELNR-ACC CP her breast-LOC attach-TR:3SG
22. *tamun juø-t met ieqāj ul'egerā min-delle*
 that see-SS:IPFV I too straw take-SS:PFV
lebejdī-k nou-me. 23. *nahā omos' nohu.*
 berries-PRED string-OF:1SG very well string(TR:1SG)
24. *met molut-ke tutto-din l'e-l-u-ge met lebejdī-pe*
 I breast-LOC attach-SUP be-1|2-0-DS my berries-PL
ul'egerā šašahaj-ge čumut al'be-ŋi 25. *taŋ pajpe*
 straw break-ANR:LOC all spill-3PL:INTR that woman
uø-die laŋin juø-de-če. 26. *met lebejdī*
 child-DIM DIR see-DETR-PFV:INTR:1SG my berries

- al'be-de-jle juø-m.* 27. *met laŋide kie-s'.*
 spill-POSS-ACC see-TR:3SG I DIR come-INTR:3SG
 28. *kel-delle tudel irk-in korol'ki-gele lebejdī-le*
 come-SS:PFV she one-ATTR necklace-ACC berries-INSTR
ūj-uo-d'on-gele met-in moššo-m. 29. *juø-l-u-ge*
 work-RES-SBNR-ACC I-DAT put.on-TR:3SG see-1|2-0-DS
nahā omo-s' 30. *tāt taŋ pajpe uø-die met-kele*
 very good-INTR:3SG CA that woman child-DIM I-ACC
nugen-get min-delle tude jelā qon-to-m. 31. *tāt*
 hand-ABL take-SS:PFV she behind go-CAUS-TR:3SG CA
čomō-d'e čitne-j ul'egerā-n'e-j mieste-ge
 big-ATTR long-ATTR straw-PRPR-ATTR place-LOC
jaqa-jl'i. 32. *tāt ul'egerā-k jelde-l.* 33. *tāčile*
 arrive-INTR:1PL CA straw-PRED pick-OF:1PL then
ninge-j lebejdī-n'e-j mieste laŋin qon-d'īl'i.
 many-ATTR berries-PRPR-ATTR place DIR go-INTR:1PL
 34. *tā jaqa-delle lebejdī-k šaqal'e-š-u-t*
 there arrive-SS:PFV berries-PRED gather-CAUS-0-SS:IPFV
taŋ ul'egerā-pe-ge āj noh-i. 35. *met kenme met-ket*
 that straw-PL-LOC CP string-TR:1PL my friend I-ABL
jaqlude qon-i. 36. *met-in el+ann'ā-nu.*
 back go-INTR:3SG I-DAT NEG+speak-IPFV(3SG)
 37. *l'e-lek šebiče-lek nou-l'el-mele,* 38. *met-in*
 that-PRED wild.rose-PRED string-INFR-OF:3SG I-DAT
kes'ī-delle kiše-m. 39. *tamun-gele met-ke āj*
 bring-SS:PFV show-TR:3SG that-ACC I-LOC CP
moššo-m. 40. *juø, nahā omo-s'.* 41. *tudel*
 put.on-TR:3SG see(TR:1SG) very good-INTR:3SG she
āj tāt-mie-d'uod-ek mor-ie-mele. 42. *tāt ajī jeqlude*
 CP that-QLT-SBNR-PRED put-RES-OF:3SG CA CP back
qon-d'īl'i. 43. *ajī lebejdī-lek šaqal'e-š-u-l.*
 go-INTR:1PL CP berries-PRED gather-CAUS-0-OF:1PL
 44. *tāt ul'ege-le lebie-n šøžile-le kokošnik*
 CA grass-INSTR earth-ATTR flower-INSTR headdress

- titi-mie-d'uod-ek* *ā-mele.* 45. *tāčile tude jō-ge*
 like-QLT-SBNR-PRED make-OF:3SG then her head-LOC
moro-m. 46. *met ieqāj tāt-mie-d'uod-ek* *moro-din*
 put.on-TR:3SG I too that-QLT-SBNR-PRED put.on-SUP
erd'uo-re-me. 47. *met-in ūj-ā-j* *lebie-n*
 want-APPL-OF:1SG I-DAT make-INGR-TR:1PL earth-ATTR
špžile ul'ege-le kokošnik titi-mie-d'uon. 48. *tabun medin*
 flower grass-INSTR headdress like-QLT-SBNR that just
moro, *met kenme lajin juø-de-če,*
 put.on(TR:1SG) my friend DIR see-DETR-PFV:INTR:1SG
met kenme n'e-qadōn-ge *oj-l'e.* 49. *ørtej-din*
 my friend NEG-which.place-LOC NEG-be(3SG) shout-SUP
l'e-je, *medī-l-u-ge ørul-ek* *medū-l.*
 be-INTR:1SG hear-1|2-0-DS shout-PRED be.heard-SF
 50. *medī-l-u-ge emej+taŋ-pe ørn'e-l-e*
 hear-1|2-0-DS mother+ that-PL shout-ANR-INSTR
mede-j-ŋi: 51. *“qajde kebe-j-k?”*
 be.heard-PFV-3PL:INTR where:DIR go-PFV-ITR:2SG
 52. *qaduon-ge l'e-k?”* 53. *medī-l-u-ge met-ek*
 which.place-LOC be-ITR:2SG hear-1|2-0-DS I-PRED
ørn'e-rī-ŋile edies'te. 54. *titte lajin tāt*
 shout-APPL-3PL:OF call-SS:ITER they DIR CA
šubeže-je. 55. *šubeže-de ørn'e-je:* *“met tī*
 run-INTR:1SG run-SS:ITER shout-INTR:1SG I here
l'e-je,” *mon-u-t.* 56. *kitte-ge šubeže-t*
 be-INTR:1SG say-0-SS:IPFV end-LOC run-SS:IPFV
jaqa-je. 57. *met-kele čomo-hote il'ete-ŋā,*
 arrive-INTR:1SG I-ACC large-SUPERL scold-3PL:TR
mon-ŋi: 58. *“qajide kewe-j-k?”* 59. *qajide*
 say-3PL:INTR where:DIR go-PFV-ITR:2SG where:DIR
šohie-k?” 60. *met titt-in mo-d'e:* 61. *“met*
 get.lost-ITR:2SG I they-DAT say-INTR:1SG I
irk-in pajpe uø-n'e juode-je. 62. *met kenme*
 one-ATTR woman child-COM play-INTR:1SG my friend

- āj šohie-j.*" 63. *molut-ke l'e-l lebejdī-le*
 CP get.lost-INTR:3SG breast-LOC be-ANR berries-INSTR
ūj-ō-l korol'ki kiše-din l'e-je, tamun
 make-RES-ANR necklace show-SUP be-INTR:1SG that
n'e-qadōn-ge oj-l'e. 64. *tīne lebie-n*
 NEG-which.placc-LOC NEG-be(3SG) recently earth-ATTR
šōžile-le ul'egerā-le ūj-ō-l met kokošnik āj
 flower-INSTR straw-INSTR make-RES-ANR my headdress CP
oj-l'e. 65. *jelohude qon-din l'e-je, "čugie*
 NEG-be(3SG) back go-SUP be-INTR:1SG way.LOC
šohu-šā-l'el-te-j, loudī-l'el-te-j"
 get.lost-CAUS-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG drop-INFR-FUT-INTR:3SG
mon-u-t. 66. *tamun-ge met-kele el+jan-ŋi.*
 say-0-SS:IPFV that-LOC I-ACC NEG-+send-3PL:INTR
 67. *tamun čumu n'ied'i-rī.* 68. *tamun-ge mon-ŋi,*
 that all tell-APPL(TR:1SG) that-LOC say-3PL:INTR
 69. *īle-pul "er-čōd-ek juø-me," mon-ŋi*
 some-PL bad-SBNR-PRED see-OF:2SG say-3PL:INTR
 70. *īle-pul "me+kimdān'e-j," mon-ŋi "jejžō-delle*
 some-3PL AFF+like-INTR:3SG say-3PL:INTR sleep-SS:PFV
me+kies'. 71. *godimie tāt-mie pajpe*
 AFF-come-INTR:3SG which-QLT that-QLT woman
uø-k juø-te-mle."
 child-PRED see-FUT-OF:3SG
72. *idī tamun ønme-ge kel-de-j-ne*
 now that mind-LOC come-3SG-DS-COND
juø-l-u-gene īle-pul ubuj mol-l'el-ŋi.
 see-1|2-0-DS-COND some-PL right say-INFR-3PL:INTR
 73. *er-čōn-ŋin juø-l'el-u-m.* 74. *tudel*
 bad-SBNR-DAT see-INFR-0-TR:3SG she
amde-j-bed-ek, pajpe uø-die met kønme.
 die-PFV-ATTR-RELN-RELNR-PRED woman child-DIM my friend

My friend

(1) As a child, I had a friend, a girl. We did not go to school yet. (2) I used to play with that girl, (3) building houses, (4) rolling from the hills on sledges and on skis. (5) When we met in summer, we played, too. (6) If our mothers and families stayed not far (from each other) along the river, we would build a Yukaghir (traditional) house, or gather firewood. (7) When the berries would grow ripe, we would gather berries. (8) Once this friend of mine told me:

(9) Once, when I was gathering berries (10) (my mother and the others were not far away, (11) they were sitting on a hill drinking tea, (12) and I was gathering berries), (13) I was looking where there were lots of berries. (14) I met a girl. (15) I looked at her: Where had she come from? (16) She did not speak to me, nor did she look at me. (17) She was gathering berries. (18) Then she took a little straw (19) and strung the berries. (20) I saw that her breast was covered with necklaces made of berries. (21) She put those berries strung onto the straw on her breast, too. (22) I also took a straw and strung my berries, (23) I strung them very well. (24) But when I started to put it on, the straw broke and all my berries spilled. (25) I looked at the girl. (26) Once she saw that my berries had spilled, (27) she came to me. (28) She put one of her berry necklaces on my breast. (29) I looked at it; it was very nice. (30) Then she took my hand and led me. (31) In this way, we reached a place where there were such long straws. (32) There we picked a long straw (33) and went to a place where there were lots of berries. (34) Having reached this place, we began to gather and string berries. (35) My friend was walking behind me. (36) She did not speak to me, (37) she strung wild rose hips, (38) brought them to me and showed them to me. (39) She put it on my breast, too. (40) I looked at it; it was very nice. (41) She had such a necklace, too. (42) We went further and (43) gathered even more berries. (44) She made a sort of headdress of grass and flowers (45) and put it on. (46) I wished for such a headdress for myself, too. (47) We started to make a similar headdress for me. (48) As soon as I put it on, I looked at my friend, but she disappeared. (49) I was going to shout and suddenly heard a shout myself, (50) my mother and

the others were shouting: (51) "Where have you gone, (52) where are you?" (53) I heard that they were calling me. (54) Therefore I ran towards them, (55) crying: "I am here!" (56) When I came to them, (57) they railed at me: (58) "Where have you gone, (59) where have you lost your way?" (60) I answered: (61) "I have been playing with a girl, (62) but she has disappeared, too." (63) I was going to show them my necklaces made of berries, but they were absent. (64) The headdress that I had just made was absent, too. (65) I was going to go back, since I thought that I had dropped them on the way, (66) but they did not let me go. (67) I have told them everything. (68) They said, (69) some of them said "You have seen a bad thing!", (70) others, "She is just fibbing, she has come after having slept for a while, (71) what girl could she possibly see?"

(72) Now, if one recalls this story, it comes to mind that some of them were right, (73) it was a bad sign. (74) She died, that girl, a friend of mine.

Notes

1. The monographic description (Krejnovich 1958) is concerned mainly with the grammar of Tundra Yukaghir, with references to the Kolyma Yukaghir materials collected by Jochelson; (Krejnovich 1979) also sketches the Tundra Yukaghir grammar.
2. Note that if my description of a phenomenon attested by Jochelson and/or Krejnovich differs from that suggested by these scholars in more than the degree of detail, I usually indicate the deviation from the primary description simply by “cf.” in front of the relevant reference, without going into the discussion of the controversy, in order not to overload the book with details which are hardly interesting for its potential readers. However, if the differences appear to be significant, they are described explicitly.
3. The examples from published texts are indicated by a letter (“F” for (Nikolaeva 1989), “K” for (Maslova 2001), and “T” for the texts included in this book) followed by the number of the text (according to the sources’ numbering). The transcription of Nikolaeva’s examples (which are presented in Cyrillic-based orthography) is mine. Note that a number of examples from (Nikolaeva 1989) contain some deviations from the published source, which reflects the results of discussing these sentences with informants; a reference to the published source has been preserved if such deviations are relatively insignificant (including corrections of misprints). The examples from unpublished texts appear without any indication of the source, the examples elicited in interviews are indicated by the letter “P”.
4. The materials published by Irina Nikolaeva in 1997 have not been included in the corpus of examples employed for this grammar precisely because I have had no chance to check them with other informants.
5. For the same reason, I employ the examples cited by E. A. Krejnovich only in exceptional cases, simply because he normally does not indicate whether a particular example has been elicited in an interview or has been attested in a text. Furthermore, he mentions that he “con-

structed" some of his Kolyma Yukaghir examples on the basis of other data (1982:249); this method of exemplification is never employed in this grammar.

6. These percentages are based on data collected in 1987 by a joint expedition of the Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences (St.Petersburg branches) and published by Nikolay Vakhtin (1992:50, Table 1).
7. See (Vakhtin 1992:57-58) for a detailed description of how these ratings were obtained.
8. In their reviews to an earlier version of this grammar, Bernard Comrie and Christian Lehmann suggested that this system might be more appropriately described as advanced tongue root (rather than palatal) harmony. Since a justifiable choice between these options could only be based on a thorough phonetic investigation of the phenomenon, I have opted for the term traditionally adopted in the Yukaghir studies (Collinder 1940:80-88; Krejnovich 1982:20-21; Nikolaeva and Helimsky 1996:157).
9. The voiced obstruent /ʒ/ does not occur in morpheme-final position.
10. The final /n/ of the verb stem *mon-* 'speak, say' is dropped before the morph *-d'e*, e.g., *mo-d'e* 'I said', *mo-d'ek* 'You (SG) said', etc.
11. The allomorph *-j* of the attributive marker *-jE* does not occur after consonants.
12. The Resultative marker, the Stative marker, the copula *ō-*, and the final *-ō-* in the qualitative and quantitative verbs are notably similar, so that, at least diachronically, they might be assumed to instantiate the same morpheme (see 6.3.6.1). Then, the phonologically unmotivated alternation /j/ ~ /d'/ is restricted to a small set of morphological environments. A further diachronic hypothesis might be that the morphemes constituting these environments used to contain a final sonorant, which triggered this alternation (see 3.3.1). This hypothesis is supported by Tundra Yukaghir data, where final /l/ of the Resultative marker and of qualitative stems like in (67) is still preserved in some contexts (Krejnovich 1982:98-99); see also 6.3.6.
13. That is why there is no special chapter on adverbs in this grammar.
14. Krejnovich (1982:105) describes the forms of "degree of comparison" for qualitative verbs. According to his observations, some nominal forms of the verb (referred to as Subject Nominal and Relative Nominal in the present grammar, see 6.1.3.6-6.1.3.7) can signify a higher degree of quality, especially when combined with the nominal Augmentative marker (see 5.6.1.2).
15. See 5.5.5.2 on integration of Russian adjectives into Yukaghir grammar.
16. Small capitals denote consonants that can undergo devoicing after a

- final voiceless obstruent of a stem, as described in 3.3.2.1.
17. In this sentence, the Plural marking on the verb is controlled by the Locative NP; for a description of such constructions, see 12.1.2.3.
 18. Krejnovich (1982:249) suggests that the A participant in Kolyma Yukaghir may get the Predicative marking as well; however, his examples of this phenomenon contain detransitivized verbs (with the suffix *-že-*, see 6.4.4.2), so that the Predicative marker is in fact attached to the S participant.
 19. For O marking in non-finite clauses, see 9.1.2.2.
 20. Krejnovich (1982:253; 256) observes a correlation between the choice of *-(e)k* on the head and the presence of an attributive modifier; this correlation is in accordance with the functional account suggested here.
 21. Krejnovich (1982:250-251; 256-257) considers presence vs. absence of a (lexical) noun modifier as the major factor which determines the choice of the Accusative vs. Instrumental marking.
 22. The combination *uø+ηō-* 'child+be-' is apparently lexicalized with the meaning 'be young'.
 23. The verb inflection has been described by Jochelson (1905) and discussed by Krejnovich (1982:184-216). Krejnovich (1982:201-208), in contrast to (Jochelson 1905), claims that the transitive verb in Kolyma Yukaghir has the SF form in *-l*. This claim strongly contradicts my data, see (Maslova 1997) for details and discussion. The absence of the transitive SF paradigm in Kolyma Yukaghir represents one of the major divergent features between the Yukaghir languages, as Tundra Yukaghir has a specialized transitive SF form with zero inflection (Krejnovich 1955; 1982:209-210).
 24. Krejnovich (1982:149-151) includes the form in *-m* both in the Interrogative and in the Imperative paradigm; see 13.3.1.1 and 13.3.2 for Interrogative applications of this form.
 25. See 5.4.1.3, 12.2 for further examples and discussion.
 26. This is a clear point of divergence between Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir. In the latter, the affirmative pre-verb is employed much more frequently and can be analyzed as Predicate Focus marker (Maslova 1989; Comrie 1992; Fortescue 1996).
 27. The *-ge- ~ -h- ~ -j-* alternation in the third person Conditional DS verbs instantiates the same morphophonemic rule as the alternation of the Accusative marker after the Possessive marker (see 5.1.3); in fact, the Accusative marker may be assumed to have developed from the generic locative marker.
 28. According to Krejnovich (1982:167), the forms in *-l-ge(ne)* are used with the singular subject and the forms in *-l-u-ke(ne)* express the plurality of subject. This correlation is not confirmed by my data. The form in

- l-u-ge(ne)* is absent from the paradigm presented by Krejnovich.
29. Normally, the controlling clause is the next clause of a chain. See 10.1.1 for further details.
 30. In fact, these suffixes might have been described as expressing *Aktionsarten*. Krejnovich (1982:121ff) describes all the suffixes under discussion in this chapter as *sposby protékaniya dejstviya* (i.e., *Aktionsarten*).
 31. It should be noted that the Result Nominal cannot be analyzed as the Action Nominal form of the Resultative (although formally it might be possible), just because the Resultative formation can be applied to a semantically restricted class of verbs (see 3.6.2), while the Result Nominal form is available for any verb.
 32. In Tundra Yukaghir two variants of the regular causative suffix, *-s-* and *-se-*, are distributed according to the general morphophonemic rule described in 3.3.4.1 (see Krejnovich 1982:68; Maslova 1993:273).
 33. See 3.3.1.2.3 on the /d'/ ~ /n/ alternation.
 34. My informants seemed to be able to construct the form by attaching the nominal Instrumental marker to a pronominal stem, but not to use it, and it does not occur in texts.
 35. Here the Free Possessive form functions as a nominal modifier (see 8.2.1 on this construction).
 36. Notably, this nominalizer was rendered as *-bon* by W. Jochelson (1900), which makes it possible to posit the original form **bøn*.
 37. This meaning is rendered by the noun *kønme* 'mate; the other'.
 38. In one example in [F9], the temporal demonstrative form *tudā* appears to be used as a noun modifier ('former'), see (571b). Since there are no other examples of this sort, this phenomenon is not discussed in the grammar.
 39. In this chapter, the internal structure of complex NPs is indicated by angle brackets in the interlinear gloss.
 40. The Possessive Attributive marking (2.3.2) constitutes an exception to this rule.
 41. In this chapter, two separate referential entities invoked by an NP with nominal modifier are called "Possessor" and "Possessed", independently of the exact semantics of the relation between them.
 42. This is about the hero of a fairy-tale who has a bubble for a head, and that is why his name is Bubblehead.
 43. The thing is a straw and a worm at the same time.
 44. This rule does not cover the cases of pronominal Possessive marking, as described in 2.2.1.1.
 45. This meaning is not ruled out by cultural knowledge, since polygamy used to be allowed in the Yukaghir tribes.
 46. As described in 2.1.2, the construction is ambiguous between the posses-

sive and the apposition interpretations, so the reading 'the small goose's daughter' is also possible.

47. This formulation does not take into account the possessive use of the zero marking, since in this case Attributive marking is not an option.
48. This option was suggested to me by Bernard Comrie.
49. Note that the Comitative markers in this example introduce the secondary participant of a reciprocal situation (see 9.2.8); two Comitative participants are conjoined by the connective adverb.
50. See Note 127.
51. In this chapter, the core participant roles are shown by indexes A and O in the interlinear gloss unless they are recoverable from the case marking.
52. See 5.4.1.6 on the semantic difference between the Accusative proper and the O-marking Instrumental
53. This phenomenon was described by Krejnovich as "quasi-ergativity" (1982:232).
54. I am grateful to Maria Polinsky for drawing my attention to this issue many years ago.
55. A special case not dealt with here is represented by relativization of the Possessor (see 11.3.1.4 for details).
56. This meaning is impossible for Nominal clauses, simply because the head denotes a situation (not a countable referential entity).
57. Note that this property is similar to topicality in Givón's sense (i.e., topic continuity and persistence), with the qualification that the structuring of a text into episodes must be taken into account.
58. The only exception may be the first and second person pronouns, which tend to trigger Accusative marking in all instances, see (609a), (612a). In my corpus, there are no examples of Neutral (= Pronominal Accusative) marking of these pronouns with third-person A. It should be noted, however, that my informants do rate the Neutral option grammatical in such cases. Apart from this, the Accusative marking of the first and second person pronouns can be viewed as an instantiation of the more general rule suggested here, insofar as they tend to refer to the most prominent entities in any episode they occur.
59. An entity is taken to "occur" in some clause if it is involved in the situation being described, independently of whether it is represented by an overt NP within that clause.
60. Note that the Accusative NP in such examples may represent the O constituent of the finite clause, cf. 10.1.3.1, 10.1.3.3.
61. This property is shared by the Dative Experiencer as well (see 2.7.1).
62. To be more precise, there is no convincing way to draw the distinction between a sequence of independent clauses and a sentence built by juxtaposition of finite clauses.

63. The term "clause conjunction" is used here to refer to any syntactic link between two or more clauses all of which have the same illocutionary function.
64. In the latter function, it is opposed to specialized adverbial clauses, a relatively minor strategy for clausal modification of propositions (see 11.4, 13.5.3.1).
65. Some deviations from the strictly subject-oriented switch-reference procedure are described in 14.1.3).
66. "Perch" is interpreted as a proper name within the context of this fairy tale, hence the Nominative form in the Focus position.
67. In this example, the detransitivized verb *leŋ-de-* 'eat' is used despite the presence of the direct object; this deviation is presumably entailed by the Desiderative suffix which is typically used with the detransitivized verb, but not with its transitive counterpart (*leg-* 'eat').
68. The linear structure is posited for the DS clause and the controlling finite clause. The relation between the SS clause and the DS clause is more appropriately described in terms of nesting, see 2.4.2 for a further discussion of such examples.
69. In this example, the underlined NP fills the Ablative slot of the verb *loŋde-* 'separate (from)', which is absent from the pattern of the verb *paja-* 'carry'.
70. Note that this application of the ordinary chaining is possible only under the specific mode of reference (1.2).
71. This function appears to be fairly typical for sentence-initial temporal clauses across languages (Thompson and Longacre 1985:212).
72. See 12.2.4 for a description of SS-chains with shared Focus.
73. The glosses for predictive conditional constructions are based on the context, as well on (Russian) translations provided by informants.
74. In this example, the controller of switch reference is the Possessor of the finite-clause subject, see 14.1.3.2 for a description of this phenomenon.
75. This example is one of very few exceptions from the rule of switch reference: the DS form is used despite the shared subject.
76. The term "complementation" refers to constructions where a clause denoting a situation or fact fills a valence slot of the main verb (Noonan 1985:42). Note that two of the three nominal verb forms employed for complementation, the Result Nominal (6.1.3.4) and the Prospective Nominal (6.1.3.5), can denote entities as well. In this case, they function like ordinary NPs and can appear in a clause independently of the valence properties of the main verb. Such constructions are outside the scope of this section.
77. However, see 2.2 for a group of verbs taking the Supine complements.
78. This is the only type of phase verb existing in Yukaghir: other phase

meanings are expressed morphologically (see 6.3). See also 2.1 for an alternative complementation pattern for the verbs of termination.

79. Thus, this construction might be described in terms of subject-to-subject raising.
80. Note that the nominal complement of an intransitive verb of termination fills the S slot of the matrix clause; in the pattern with converb, this slot is filled by the primary participant of the complement clause situation. Thus, this construction might be described in terms of subject-to-subject raising.
81. See 9.2.7.2.3 for the alternative pattern for the verb *erd'ĩ-* 'want'.
82. The Applicative may be thus taken as a morphological marking of the subject-to-object or object-to-object raising.
83. There is a single interview example of relativization of the Dative constituent (with the Passive Attributive form, see 6.1.3.3), yet there is no text evidence confirming this possibility. It should be noted that the relativization of constituents other than core participants belongs to the class of phenomena which do not lend themselves to reliable "interview" investigation, at least not in the case of Yukaghir; the only thing which can be said is that such constructions are not produced readily and are not attested in texts. No statements of absolute grammatical constraints can be made; yet even if such constructions are grammatically possible, they are far more "marginal" than Locative relativization and Possessor relativization.
84. The only attested example is controversial, see comments to the sentence in (745).
85. Note that in this example the Russian word *svad'ba* 'wedding' is used instead of the Yukaghir Action Nominal form *n'e+mid'ul* 'taking each other' with apparently similar meaning, which makes it possible to suggest that here this word refers not to the action itself, but to the place of festive activities.
86. Note that for same-subject situations, this meaning is expressed by means of the Perfective Converb, see 10.2.2.
87. Otherwise, the causal relationship can be expressed by means of the Imperfective SS form; see 10.2.4.1.
88. This property distinguishes a nominal predicate with the bound copula from the Stative form constructed with the same marker (see 5.5.5.2).
89. Note that Predicative marking on the object is impossible in this construction, presumably because of the Predicative marking on the verb form.
90. Krejnovich (1982:208-209) considers this construction a part of the Focus-marking system (for A Focus marking, which cannot be achieved by means of the regular grammatical Focus construction, see 12.2.1).

- That approach is not accepted in this grammar because of significant differences in the role these constructions play in the grammar and discourse. Most importantly, the construction with the Result Nominal is not obligatory in the environments which trigger compulsory Focus marking on the S/O participant (see 12.3.1); see also (Maslova 1997) for further details.
91. The “locative” pattern for predication of possession is presumably induced or at least strongly supported by Russian influence, where such a pattern constitutes the major option.
 92. Note that a logically possible variant of dealing with such a situation would be to put the Focus O constituent in the clause-initial position, before the A constituent (which would have been then included into the scope of assertion). Yet this variant is prohibited by the word-order rules, i.e., this constituent order is not allowed in the Focus construction; see 9.1.5.1.
 93. This *ne* can be assumed to be just the Russian negative marker.
 94. Krejnovich (1982:151) gives the whole person/number paradigm of this verb, yet all forms but those of second person appear to be out of use.
 95. In most instances these word order options cannot be distinguished (just because the subject is very often omitted).
 96. For examples of questions to the S/O constituent, see 12.3.1.1.
 97. Note that the phonological integrity of the complex *qodo-l'e-* is indicated by the alternation of the final /e/ with /ā/ before the inferential marker, which shows that the stem as a whole belongs to the class of back stems, see 3.2.4.1).
 98. The combination *el+jūke* can be fused into *ejūke* ‘not far’.
 99. The interrogative pronoun *kin* ‘who’ does not take the negative prefix.
 100. This use of the manner question word is quite typical for colloquial Russian.
 101. Note that the possessive relationship between the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause is expressed by means of the bound (non-reflexive) Possessive marking (see (893)).
 102. Note that the verbs *l'e-* ‘be’ and *ā-* ‘make’ can also combine with Interrogative adverbials to build questions to predicates (13.2.2.2).
 103. The omitted piece of the text represents the direct speech (what the brother was saying while he was crying).
 104. Thus, the grammatical Focus shows a predicate-like behavior; see 12.2 on the syntactic status of the Focus.
 105. Thus, such a quantifier shows the same behavior as the grammatical Focus; see 8.3 on the semantics of this construction.
 106. Note that the comitative strategy of NP conjunction implies the single-event interpretation.

107. This example involves an unexpected OF form in the first clause (the case marking and the word order indicate rather topicalization of the O constituent). Presumably, the narrator changed his plan: he was going to speak about karbasses, but then decided to mention that other people made other kind of boats.

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